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PREFACE

This number of the Bulletin introduces a significant departure from the earlier numbers. With a view to devoting greater attention to Tamil traditions and Tamil culture, a large number of sections (I to IV) of the Bulletin carry material relating to Tamil culture. This change is not because of any move to deliberately ignore the importance or value of traditional cultures in the other regions of South and South-East Asia, the study of which is the objective of the Institute. The idea is to give preference to regional culture studies, which an international body like the Unesco itself favours in their cultural programmes.

A word of explanation is necessary in regard to the diacritical marks in the sections of the Bulletin, where they are used. A uniformity in their use was found difficult because languages like Tamil and Sanskrit have each a system of transliteration of their own. Hence the authors were left free to use such diacritical marks as conformed to the system which they followed.

The Institute is grateful to all those who have by their contrt-butions to the Bulletin made it possible to bring out this number. Acknowledgements of sources from where materials have been drawn are indicated in the relevant contexts.

The Institute is grateful to the Government of Tamil Nadu and the Government of India for their grants for the year 1972 which has enabled the Institute to continue to function as it did in previous years. To the University of Madras and its esteemed Vice Chancellor, Thiru N. D. Sundaravadivelu, who is the President of the Institute, it is indebted in no small measure. The University accommodates the Institute in its buildings, and provides it with other amenities ; its large academic staff in its various Research Departments in the Humanities offer their hearty cooperation in the work of the Institute. It also bears as usual, the cost of paper and printing the two issues of the Bulletin for the year. The Executive Committee has given much ready help in the management of the Institute both in its administrative and academic sides.

K. K. PILLAY,

1st Feb. 1973. *Director.*

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THE CULTURE OF THE TAMILS

BY

JUSTICE S. MAHARAJAN

High Court, Madras

I

In Māmallapuram, near Madras, stands a rock-hill, carved in the 7th century A D., into more than a hundred pieces of sculpture, which have been described by H. Zimmer[1] as the "grandest expression of plastic Indian art, one of the largest, most beautiful and most dramatically striking masterpieces of all times." Another Frenchman, Leopold Bazou, who was inspired by this description, went to Māmallapuram to study the sculpture and was struck with the powerful master-mind that had conceived the whole scene. He declared "Art has reached here its full mastery," but he was astonished that the artist had nowhere signed his name to authenticate his work. Bazou exclaimed, "Names have never meant much in South India.....Self-depreciation, tempered with a deep sense of humour, has ever been a virtue of the Tamils."[2] Evidently, what he meant by self-depreciation was a sense of humility, deprecatory of the ego. In fact, one would very much like to know the names of the master-sculptors of Mahābalipuram, of the great architects of the temples of Tanjore, Madurai, Srīrangam and Chidambaram, of the illustrious authors of Tamil classics like *Tholkāppiam* and *Muttollāyiram*, but all of them preferred the self-denying joy of anonymity to the vulgar glare of publicity. It may be that humility, as Hazlitt says, is the worst of virtues, but it does connote a maturity born of an ancient culture which according to archaeologist, Mortimer Wheeler, is over six thousand years old.

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1. H. Zimmer, "Mythes et symboles dans la civilization de i'Inde,' Paris 1951.
2. Leopold Bazou, "A Sculptor's Paradise in South India."

In times of decadence and political subjection, the humility of the Tamilian has occasionally degenerated into an inferiority complex, which, in its turn, has given rise (by way of compensatory process) to moods of vulgar and empty boastfulness. But, during periods of prosperity, the Tamilian has shown unmistakable evidence of dignified humility born of strength and broad understanding.

It is not without significance that the cult of non-violence should have captured the imagination of the Tamils. Gandhiji records the fact that it was a Tamil woman, in an advanced stage of expectancy, who offered hereself first as a volunteer in the Satyāgraha movement which he started in South Africa. This recent incident seems to illustrate a dominant note in Tamil culture, for, as long ago as the 1st century A.D., *Tirukkural* had emphasized the need for non-violence in thought, speech and action; the theme of the 33rd chapter of the *Kural* is, "The highest virtue is non-killing; for killing brings in its train every other vice."

Not that the Tamilian has succeeded in renouncing acts of violence. In fact, in the history of the Tamils, there has been frequent internecine warfare among the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas. But what is remarkable is that more than once the fratricidal wars were stopped in response to the appeal of a wise poet, who would appear on the battlefield and preach to the rival armies the virtues of peace. In a communal riot, which took place at Tuticorin in 1953, the rioters marched into the colony of a particular community and indulged in loot and acts of vandalism. As one of the rioters invaded a house and raised his bill-hook to cut off the head of a sleeping baby, his fellow-rioters threatened the the miscreant with dire consequences if he dare touch the child. Thus they saved the child from slaughter. A strong ethical sense and a responsiveness to finer sensibilities would appear implanted in the consciousness of the Tamils.

Another trait of the Tamilian is his tolerance and cosmopolitan outlook. His refreshing lack of jingoism is evidently due to the intimate international contacts he has had from the earliest times. R. B. Dixon, the celebrated archaeologist and historian, asserts that the Tamils had extensive trade with

Malaya, North Borneo and Northern Philippines even in the 1st millenium B C. and that trade led to colonisation and conquest of those countries by the Tamils. According to Paul Pelliot, there is evidence in Chinese literature of diplomatic relations between South Indian coasts and the Chinese empire as early as the 2nd century B.C. A Chinese writer, Pan Kou, who lived at the end of the 1st century, mentions the fact that in the time of the Hun Emperor, the Chola King sent embassies to China (*vide* K. M. Panikkar, "*India and China*," pages 17 and 19). Strabo, a Greek, who wrote his *Geography* in the 1st century A D, makes mention of the embassy sent by the Pāndyan king to Emperor Augustus on the occasion of the latter's accession to the throne. Pliny, who wrote his *Natural History* in 77 A.D, gives an account of a voyage to India and says that passengers preferred to embark at Barake in the Pāndyan country rather than at Muziris, which was infested with pirates. Warmington speaks of the ships that sailed from the West with gold, cock, pepper, silk, cotton, ivory and pearls from Tamil Nad. In fact, the Tamil word for rice, *Arisi*, became *Oriza* in Greek and the Tamil word for peacock, *Thōgaimayil*, became *toga* in Rome. The Greeks and Romans had trading stations in the Tamil kingdoms and many of them were employed by the Tamil kings as body-guards or palace guards. It is not therefore surprising that the Tamils, who had contacts with different nations and races, were singularly free from insularity, and a *Sangam* poet of the pre-Christian era proclaimed, with incredible catholicity' "Every country is my native land and every one my kinsman."

The rudimentary principles of Science were not unknown to the Tamils. Many of them dabbled in alchemy and some of the *Siddhās* (Mystics) professed to have discovered the three salts (*Muppu*) with the aid of which they claimed to have converted copper into gold. Compounds of iron, copper, mercury and arsenic were prepared in their crude laboratories. According to certain historians, the Tamils were the earliest users of iron implements in India. The *Siddhā* system of medicine, the secrets of which were jealously and selfishly guarded by the physicians, was in vogue. That arsenic could cure eosinophilia was known to the *Siddhās* and it is well-known that Allopathy recently borrowed this concept from *Siddhā* medicine and has been effectively eradicating a disease which did not respond to any drug

known to it. There is a legend that Bhōhar, a Tamil mystic and physician of renown, went to Germany and propagated there the knowledge of the *Siddhā* system of medicine. *Kapilar Ahaval* shows that the Tamils practised principles of eugenics from the earliest times. Marco Polo, who was born in Venice and who visited the eastern coast of Tamil Nād on his voyage back from China to Venice in the last quarter of the 13th century, refers to the skill of the Tamilians in building vessels and boats of different sizes and in the art of diving for oysters at the bottom of the sea. He adds, "The natives make use of a kind of bedstead or cot of very light cane-work, so ingeniously contrived that when they lie on them and are inclined to sleep, they can draw the curtains about them by pulling a string. This they do in order to keep out tarantulas, which bite severely, as well as to prevent their being annoyed by flies and other small insects, while, at the same time, the air, so necessary for reducing this excessive heat, is not kept out."

It is in engineering that the Tamils reached a high degree of perfection. The network of canals through which the Tamil country was irrigated by gravitational flow has been characterised by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as evidence of their ancient and glorious civilization. The Chola King, Kāja-rājan (985 A.D. to 1016 A.D.) built the historic Grand Anicut—a long irrigation dam which stopped and stored the Cauvery waters for irrigation during the dry months of the year. The skill of his engineers and the labour of millions of workmen combined to raise this dam of unhewn stone, 1080 feet long and 60 feet broad, below the island of Srīrangam. The same king constructed the temple of Brahadīswara at Tanjore and dedicated it to Śiva. The *gōpuram* (tower) of this temple is 216 feet high and is topped by a block of granite 25½ feet square and 80 tons in weight. This stone was hauled four miles over an inclined plane and put on top of the tower. The temple carries sculptures depicting the different poses and *bhavās* of *Bharatanātyam*. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes the temple as the "greatest temple in India," and the Tamil-speaking people as "perhaps the greatest temple-builders in the world." The icon of Lord Naṭarāja in Chidambaram symbolises the dynamics of the cosmic dance and has been described by competent foreign critics as the culmination of Tamilian art.

According to Marco Polo, "In this country, there are many experts in the science of physiognamy, which teaches the understanding of the nature and quality of men and whether they tend to good or evil. These qualities are immediately detected on looking at a man or woman."

Some gallant attempts were made by the Tamils to correlate the moods of Man with those of Nature. The division of human life into *aham* and *puram* (subjective and objective or introvert and extrovert) is an instance in point. Furthermore, they divided land into five categories (tinai), namely, hills and hilly area, woods and wooded country, fertile plains, sea-board and desert. An elaborate grammar was evolved nearly two thousand years ago, defining the customs and manners of those inhabiting the five different areas, the moods of Nature in each area and the suitability of each area as background for different aspects of the human drama, such as love-making, wedding, pangs of separation, re-union, etc. The seasons of the year and the different hours of the day were also correlated to human moods and the interplay between the two was extensively studied. Though these classifications revealed a penetrating study of man and nature, the inability of the later *Sangam* poets and dramatists to free themselves from the conventional framework of *aham, puram* and *tinai* served to stifle their creativity.

Though the Tamils were a practical, realistic and reason-loving people, their thinkers held up before themselves almost imposible ideals of chastity, bravery and ethical perfection. They believed that by chastity a woman could command the Elements, bring down rain or burn a city to ashes. One of the tests of chastity of a woman was that no man, however lustful, could cast covetous eyes upon her and, if he did, her chastity was not above board. Although such severe standards were imposed upon women it does not appear that men were subjected to the same rigour. Perhaps, it was thought that from the social point of view, woman's chastity was more important than man's. Even during the *Sangam* period, the institution of prostitution appears to have been well established and many of the tiffs between married couples were due to the machinations of the harlots. Harlots were taken so much for granted that grammarians laid down rules delineating the behaviour-patterns of the three characters in the

eternal triangle. It may however be observed that harlots were assigned a very low and contemptible status in society.

Life in Tamil Nād was characterised by utter simplicity. The basic dress of the Tamilian consisted of two or three pieces of unsewn cotton cloth, one being used as a loin cloth and the other as a covering for the body. A turban on the head and gold-embroidered silk as covering for the body were used for ceremonial occasions. *Kuppāyam* (long-sleeved shirt or coat) appears to have been worn by the soldiers whose weapons of war were shields and swords. Woman's dress was a little more elaborate; a long saree and a blouse draped her body gracefully. The women used to wear the saree in such a way that though it brought out the curves of the body, it did no violence to their modesty. The simplicity of the Tamilians' dress and their semi-nakedness have very often led the foreigner into misjudging their culture. Marco Polo says in his *Travels*, "The natives of this part of the country always go naked except that they cover their private parts with a piece of cloth. The king wears no more cloth than the rest except that he has a piece of richer cloth and is distinguished by various kinds of ornaments, such as a collar set with jewels, sapphires, emeralds and rubies of immense value. He also wears, suspended from the neck and reaching to the breast, a fine silken string containing 104 large handsome pearls and rubies." It is possible that the description given by Marco Polo is of the fishermen of the east coast and their chief. However, the semi-nakedness of the Tamilians did not blind Marco Polo to the greatness of their culture, for he calls the Coromandel or eastern coast of India "the noblest and richest country in the world."

Tamils had a great love of flowers. The *atti* flower was the emblem of the Cholas, the palmyra flower of the Cheras, and the margosa flower of the Pāṇḍyas. Women used to adorn their hair with flowers whereas men used to wear garlands of flowers around their neck. Their intimacy with flowers was so great that they developed an elaborate flower symbolism. The *vengai* flower connoted love. Jilted lovers used to wear *erukkalai*, the most trivial of flowers, and thereby evoke the pity of their beloved. The Tamils conceived Śiva as having a *konrai* flower tucked up in his head, *konrai* itself symbolising

the stars of the Milky Way, while the Milky Way, in its turn, symbolised the Infinite.

In his Presidential Address delivered at the All India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad, in October, 1953, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee said, "The flower ritual of the Tamilians evolved on different lines from the fire ritual of the Āryans." He quotes Mark Collins in support of his thesis, that the word "Pūja" of Sanskrit is derived from the Tamil "Pu" meaning flower and the Tamil "Cey" meaning "to do." According to him, the Tamils invoked the divine spirit in an image, a pot, a pebble or a tree, poured water over it and offered it flowers and fruits and incense and music and dance, treating the divine spirit as an honoured guest like a king on a visit to a subject of his. It is the thesis of Dr. Chatterjee that in the ritual of the *Homa*, the worshipper is not keenly conscious of any force pervading the universe, but only used the fire as a messenger to the Gods of wind, sun, thunder, rain, etc. He further points out that in the flower ritual of the Tamilians there was no place for animal sacrifice, but that such sacrifice was part of the fire ritual. The synthesis of the two rituals took place probably after the 2nd century A.D.

Apart from flowers, the Tamils loved outdoor sports such as cock-fights, ram-fights and bull-fights. Open-air dances by nautch-girls (Pādini) were arranged by kings. The dancers used to interpret, through emotional expression and rhythmic movements of the limbs, the songs sung by ministrels called *Paṇars*.

Bharata, in his prologue to the *Nātya-Śāstra* makes the modest statement that he is unequal to the task of codifying the art of dancing which was in vogue in Tamil Nād for hundreds of years before him. Bāla Saraswatī, the greatest living exponent of the art of *Bharatanātyam*, recently gave a performance in the Ted Shawn theatre in Massachusetts. An American reviewer noted that "it was Hindu dance in its purest form, and she radiated a contagious spirit of calmness." "The most articulate fore-finger in the world of dance (employing two thousand years of gestural dance development) is the dancer's special approach to the art, an approach not based on physical virtuosity, but rather, upon nuances, shading, subtleties." This was the appreciation of another American art critic.

Music also flourished in the Tamil country from ancient times. The wide variety of *ragas* and musical instruments known to the Tamilians has been graphically described in the *Śilappatikāram* of the 2nd century A.D. Music was employed also as a background to manual labour. Tamilian folk-lore is replete with the songs of the plough-man, the boatman, the hunter, the warrior and the hewer.

The people living in the river-valleys in Tamil Nād revelled in public baths in the rivers. Marco Polo says, "Both men and women wash their entire bodies in water both morning and evening. Until this ablution has taken place, they neither eat nor drink; anyone who neglected this observance would be regarded as a heretic; it ought to be noticed that in eating they make use of the right hand only and never touch their food with the left, reserving the latter for cleansing the private parts of the body. They drink out of a particular vessel, and each individual from his own, never making use of the drinking vessel of another person. When they drink they do not put their lips to their vessel, but hold it above the head and pour the liquid into the mouth, not allowing the vessel to touch the lips. In giving drink to a stranger, they do not hand their vessel to him, but pour the wine or other liquid into his hands from which he drinks as from a cup."

One of the customs of the Tamils which bespeak their living contact with Nature is that they generally eat food not from plates but from plantain leaves. Their love of trees was so great that they started worshipping them. In fact, in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of most of the famous temples in Tamil Nād, there is a holy tree which is offered worship. The *vanni* tree, the bamboo tree, the jack fruit tree, the tamarind tree and the *tulasi* plant and even the *aruham-pul* (a kind of grass) are worshipped as symbols of the Cosmic spirit. The miracle of the seed sprouting into stem, leaf, flower and fruit was a profound reminder to them of the miracle of creation, sustenance and destruction.

The average Tamilians lived in mud houses with thatched roofs. The floors would be swept every day and smeared with cowdung which is known to be a better disinfectant than phenyl or dettol. The humblest of the people would beautify the floor of the house and the courtyard by drawing a variety of designs

(mostly floral) with white silicon powder; the art of *kolam* is an indispensable part of the housewife's equipment.

The eating habits of the Tamils are equally simple. Though the majority of the Tamils are non-vegetarians, the maximum number of vegetarians in India are to be found in Tamil Nād. There are thousands upon thousands of Tamils who have been practising abstinence from meat, fish and even eggs for several centuries. *Idli* is a peculiar Tamil delicacy which has recently become popular in the rest of India. Finely ground pastes of rice and blackgram are mixed in a particular proportion and allowed to ferment for about twelve hours and then boiled in steam. The *idli* so prepared is soft and fragile and readily melts in the mouth. As the late Rasikamani T. K. Chidambaranātha Mudaliār used to say, there are two thousand years of tradition behind the *idli* which no non-Tamil has so far succeeded in producing.

Reverence for life, in whatever form, appeared conspicuous among the Tamils, at any rate during the *Sangam* period. Pāri, the renowned patron of Tamil letters, found a jasmine creeper lying across his path and refused to ride his chariot over it. The story is that he abandoned his chariot and allowed the plant to creep on it for support. There is also the legend of Péhen, another chieftain, who finding a peacock shivering with cold, covered it with his own silk mantle. As P. T. Srinivāsa Iyengar says in his *History of the Tamils*, "This sane love of Nature was the cause why they beautified their tools, their house, their furniture and their vessels with carvings imitative of creepers, leaves, flowers and animals."

By the first century A.D., as the Romans were codifying their laws, we find Tiruvalluvar codifying ethics in Tamil Nād. Although it is wrong to contend that the great ideals of perfection which the *Kuraḷ* preached were being practised by the contemporary Tamils, it must be admitted that a society which gave birth to the *Kuraḷ* in the 1st or 2nd century A.D., must have had something in common between it and the illustrious author of the *Kuraḷ*. As Albert Schweitzer has said in his book, *Indian Thought*, "With sure strokes, the *Kuraḷ* draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct

of man to himself and to the world, its utterances are characterized by nobility and good sense. There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom." According to Scheweitzer, in a country which believed in world-and-life-negation, the lonely voice of Valluvar affirmed life and the world, at the same time assimilating all the valuable ethical results of the thought of world-negation. It is the assertion of Schweitzer that this voice of Tiruvalluvar gradually penetrated into Hindu thought through the great religious teachers who had sprung from the lower castes and lived among and felt with the people.

We shall next proceed to examine the language of the Tamils and find out if it gives us any clue to the distinctiveness of the Tamil way of living. It must not be forgotten that a language reflects the character and ability of the people who have forged it. As Milton said, "Show me a language of the people. Without knowing them I can say what they are." Rev. Percival, who was a great student of Tamil, said of Tamil, "Perhaps, no language combines greater force with equal brevity; and it may be asserted that no human speech is more close and philosophic in its expression as an exponent of the mind. The sequence of things—of thought, action and its results—is always maintained inviolate." Dr. Schmid declares, "The mode of collating its words follows the logical or intellectual order more so than even the Latin or the Greek." Dr. Winslow, in his *Tamil-English-Dictionary*, says, "It is not perhaps extravagant to say that in its poetic form the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek and, in both dialects, with its borrowed treasures, more copious than the Latin. In its fullness and power, it more resembles English and German than any other living language." Rev. Percival, in *The Land of the Veda*, argues that the Tamil language teems with words expressive of different degrees of affinity, and that where, in a European language, a long periphrasis would be required, Tamil presents the thing in its own single term and this fecundity extends to all the ramifications of the family tree. He adds, "If I speak of a sister, I may either take a word that gives the relationship subsisting between us or I may select one that will indicate our relative ages. Measures and divisions of time are equally minute and expressive. The language, thus specific, gives to the mind a

readiness and clearness of conception, whilst its terseness and philosophic idiom afford equal means of lucid utterance." Dr. G. Slater makes a legitimate attempt to infer from the Tamil language the character of those who have evolved it, and concludes, "The Tamil language is extraordinary in its subtlety and sense of logic. The perfection with which it has been developed into an organ for precise and subtle thought, combined with the fact that it represents a much earlier stage in the evolution of inflectional language than any Indo-Germanic tongue, suggests the priority of the Dravidians in attaining settled order and regular government."[1]

The western theory of jurisprudence is that the king can do no wrong because he is above the law. But Tamil jurists have rejected this theory and have always held that the king is as much subject to the law as his citizens. That this theory was translated into practice can be seen from an amazing account given by Marco Polo in his *Travels*. He says that in the Pāndya country the creditors could attach the person of debtors by drawing a circle around them, which they should not leave until after the satisfaction of the debt. If the debtor attempted to escape, he rendered himself liable to punishment. Marco Polo claims to have been an eye-witness of a remarkable example of this custom. He says, "The king owed a sum of money to a certain foreign merchant and, although frequently asked for payment, put him off for a long time with promises. One day, when the king was riding on horse-back, the merchant took the opportunity of describing a circle around him and his horse. As soon as the king saw what had been done, he immediately halted and would ride no further until the demand of the merchant was fully satisfied. The bystanders beheld what happened and marvelled at the king, saying that he was most just, for he himself submitted to the laws of justice." The name of the king has been given by Marco Polo as "Sender-Bundi," presumably, Sundara Pāndyan.

One vitiating infirmity of the Tamilian is that despite his early contacts with the Greeks and the Romans, he never learnt to record his own history. As Alberuni, a scholar who visited India in the 11th century A.D., observed, "The Indians of the past, despite their high intellectual attainments, lacked the

historical spirit." It is possible that the records of history preserved on palmyra leaves have been lost. The first Tamilian to keep a diary was Ānandaraṅgam Pillai who lived at Pondicherry in the 17th century and who must have learnt from the French the art of keeping a diary. The only evidence of historical events kept by the Tamils is in the shape of stone-inscriptions mostly on temple-walls. But even these inscriptions do not possess the objectivity required of the Muse of History.

The capacity of the Tamils to assimilate the best in other cultures and adapt it to the peculiar genius of the Tamil people is remarkable. Some of the brightest periods of Tamil history were brought about by an apparent clash of cultures and the consequent synthesis thereof. The *Kuraḷ* and the way of living preached by it were the product of the interaction between old Tamil culture and the culture of the Buddhists and Jains. Perhaps, the golden age of the Tamils, which extended from about the 5th century A.D., to the 13th century A.D., was the result of the influx of Sanskrit culture. It was during this period that the Āḻwars and the Nāyanmārs were in full song; Kamban sang the *Rāmāyaṇam* and celebrated it with an orchestral fullness that had never before been attained and that has never since been rivalled, in poetry, which can rank with the greatest that has been achieved in world literature; and the Chola and Pallava architecture and sculpture acquired a new dimension of depth. It was during this period again that Śankarā and Rāmānuja, who have been aptly called the Sanksritising Dravidians, preached their great gospels throughout the length and breadth of India. The Tamils began to use Sanskrit as their *lingua franca* and propagated the principles of their integrated culture, philosophy and religion not only throughout India, but also in Java, Malaya, Indo-China, China and the Philippines. As Dr. S. K. Chatterjee says, the Tamils modified the Sanskrit language according to their own speech-habit and then by sheer weight of numbers, swamped the native speakers of Āryan and forced them, through the influence of new environments, to accept these modifications and innovations. Even the syntactical structure of the Sanskrit language was changed and a number of Tamil words were absorbed and assimilated by Sanskrit in the same way as a number of Sanskrit words were absorbed and assimilated by Tamil. *Āgamās*, which

were Tamilian in origin, were written in Sanskrit, even as *Nigamas*, which were Āryan in origin, were translated into Tamil. A great intercourse of culture took place during this period and the result was a most magnificent efflorescence in the Tamilian way of living. As Dr. Chatterjee remarks, "What struck me long ago was, that inspite of its many obvious and outstanding poems of originality, which furnish some of its most pleasing features, there cannot be any doubt that Tamil literature cannot be dissociated from Sanskrit and other Indian literature, but belongs very much to the orbit of Pan-Indian Hindu literature, taking 'Hindu' in its most comprehensive sense. This is much truer of the compositions of the Śaiva Saints, the Nāyanmārs and the Vaishṇava devotees, Āḷwārs, who are the glory of *Tamizhagam* and of India, compositions, which, by their profoundity and beauty and their divine and human quality, have enriched the spiritual life and aspirations, not only of Hinduism, but also of the whole humanity. Some of the deepest things in Hindus religious culture like the practice of *Yoga* certainly go back to the pre-Aryan period.....Tamilians have unquestionably made the basic things of Indian culture more profound and more extensive in many departments."

As Dr. Pope observes in his Preface to the *Tamil-English-Dictionary*. "I have felt sometimes as if there must be a blessing in store for a people that delight so utterly in compositions thus remarkably expressive of a hunger and thirst after righteousness." Sir John Elliot, writing in his *Hinduism and Buddhism* (Volume II, page 271) regarding the literature of the Śaiva Siddhānta, affirms, "In no literature with which I am acquainted, has an individual religious life—its struggles and dejections, its hopes and fears, its confidence and its triumph—received a delineation more frank and more profound." It was during this period that the *Tiruvāchakam* of Mānickavāsakar was sung, and the sacred verses of *Tiruppāvai* and *Tiruvembāvai*, exported from Tamil Nādu to Thailand, where, according to Father Thani Nāyagam, they are sung even to this day during the coronation of kings. It may also be noted that during this period *Kotravai*, the Goddess of the Tamils, merged with the Āryan Goddess *Durgai*, and *Śiva* of the Tamils became identified with *Rudra*. This fusion became more and more intimate and brought to the Tamils, a richness and fullness in their way of

living, which is comparable only to the contribution made by the British during their imperial rule over India.

During the golden age, the temple became the centre of all activity in Tamil Nād; education, dancing, drama, poetry, sculpture, architecture, philosophy and religion were imparted within its precincts. The heavy veil that usually separates human life from the life of the spirit was lifted and God came to be worshipped as Lover, Beloved, Master, Servant, Friend, Father and Mother; He ceased to be a distant and hazy cloud in the sky and became a plentiful river flowing intimately through the garden of the spirit, enriching every department of life in Tamil Nād. Somerset Maugham, the celebrated novelist, was shocked, as he went round the corridors of the Madurai Mīnakshi temple, that people should be bawling out and talking irreverently in the house of God, but he confesses that by the time he completed the round, through the "irreligious" din and bustle of the temple, a spirit of religious ecstasy stole over him. Evidently, the gay abandon of the devotees, the fragrance of flower and sandal-paste, the brass lamps, the incense and the music, the resounding peals of the temple gong, the slow dance of camphor lights, the uninhibited frenzy of the worshippers and the mystic potency of the idols must have induced in Somerset Maugham a state of heightened awareness. His experience emphasizes what is perhaps most outstanding in Tamil culture, namely, that the Tamils in their intimacy with God occasionally forgot to revere him.

John Spiers, the English Editor of *Values*, wisely says of the religion of the Tamils, "It is linked with the natural pantheism or hylozoism which recognizes deity in stone, river, tree and animal, as well as in men. The messages of its graven images are profounder and more affective to the naturally contemplative *Coolie-pariah* masses than the mere repetition of fixed creeds. Frenzy is still possible and can be indulged in unashamedly (as for instance by the *Kāvadi* dancer). The individual man or woman worshipping can enjoy the numinous or divine shivering to find peace of mind." He significantly adds, "Indeed a pinch of even a good dose of this genuine ecstasy infused into the hard sin-coated core of modern Christianity would go a long way in making many people healthy and

sane, particularly if they could throw off the heavy weight of guilt, shame and sin. The *Śiva* religion is one of joy. The very name of the Deity means "Auspicious One".....A religion of happiness and joyous abandon encourages the arts of peace and culture."

Thērottam or the dragging of the temple car round the main streets of a town is an institution which still keeps the religious spirit alive among the Tamils. The bedecked Deity is reverently installed in a massive, stately chariot which is dragged by coir ropes, which are about one furlong in length and six inches in diameter. Thousands of devotees put their hands to the ropes and pull the chariot with concentrated devotion, joyously proclaiming the name of the Diety and the car moves inch by inch over twenty or thirty days before reaching the destination. The thrilling roar of "*Arōharā*" raised by thousands upon thousands of devotees to the accompaniment of *Nādaswaram* music and the blowing of conches and horns, and the sight of the majestic car rumbling slowly along the street furnish an occasion for active community worship, in which the cumulative unconsciousness of the masses breaks down the barriers of the ego and gives them a glimpse, albeit momentary, of the Ultimately Real.

Between the 13th century and the 19th century, however, there was a decadence of Tamil culture and a deterioration in public morals. Poetasters and arid grammarians and uncreative moralists held sway during this period of political chaos, economic instability and religious sterility and, the living faith of the dead became the dead faith of the living.

With the advent of the British, however, a spirit of rationalistic and scientific inquiry influenced the Tamilians as it influenced every other part of India. But, during this period, the Tamil intellectuals lost their moorings and became denatured.

It is only after the advent of freedom that the Tamil-speaking people have begun to rediscover their soul and adapt the blessings of western education to the genius of the soil. They seem ready to absorb the new influences and to contribute their own, as during the golden age, to the composite culture of Bhārat.

THE URBAN PHASE OF ANCIENT TAMIL CULTURE*

BY

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The chief interest and importance of the Sangam period lie in the picture of civilisation and culture offered by the vast field of Śangam Literature. This civilisation is the common basis on which succeeding generations have built up an imposing structure known as 'Tamil civilisation'. The intimate connection between literature and culture is an axiomatic truth. In recent years the spade of the archaeologist is very active.[1] I have made an extensive use of the information furnished by the archaeologists spade too.

In this context, I have taken 'culture' to mean the total way of life of the people. The term comprehends all characteristic activities and ways of thinking of that group. When the group lives according to that culture, the result is civilisation. I have taken it in the broadest sense to include all those movements which have been contributing to build up Tamil civilisation :— Social and religious ideas, Judicial and police organisation, manners and morals, literature and economics, art and industry.

Ancient Tamil culture was heterogenous in character. The most striking feature of the culture of the Śangam age is its composite quality. In is the unmistakable result of the blend of

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* Śankara Pārvati Endowment Lectures, 1971-1972 University of Madras

1. Indian Archaeology 1962—63, A review P12—13
1961—62, P26—27 Tirukkampuliyūr and Uraiyūr Excavations, conducted by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Prof. of Ancient history and archaeology, University of Madras
Archaeological Survey of India, Excavations at Kodungallur in February—March 1970.

many cultures. In studying the cultural and religious developments of the early Tamils, one is apt to overlook the parts played by the Greek, Roman, Phoenician, Jewish, Egyptian, Ethiopean, Indonesian and Chinese mariners and traders, courtesans, artisans, and mendicants, who were more or less constant factors in the urban life of Tamiḻakam of those days.[2] Evidently the sea-coasts[3] of ancient Tamiḻakam, were exposed to such contacts. The littoral tracts which had the full benefits of such intercourses, must have imbibed them and diffused them into the interior. It is indeed difficult to spot out now microscopically the urban and rural traits in the composite culture and so to say, they are inseparable. Yet, one cannot ignore the urban characteristics in the process of evolution of Tamil Culture.

A word of explanation is necessary here. Urbanity does not depend upon the numerical strength of the population. It is dependant upon intercourse with external economic forces. A significant fact is the absence of the agricultural sector of the economy, which is considered fundamental. The most important feature is the heterogenous character of the people that swarm the area. Their principal and perhaps the only occupation is trade. It is what Kautilya designates as "Paṇya" (Saleable article) which leads to evolution of currency. The Rig-vēda too refers to Pāṇis, who were town-dwellers, often lifting the "cows of the rural folk."

Before attempting to describe the culture that was current in the urban areas, it is necessary to demarcate the territorial limits of this culture, though such traits may also be found outside the limits, as culture knows no barriers. For example, I do not deny for a moment the individuality of the culture of Kerala at a later day or at present. Unquestionably, the East and the West coasts developed their own peculiarities at a particular stage. Nevertheless, just as there is a continuity of linguistic evolution from the beginning of the Christian era down till day on the East and West coasts, there exists parallel continuity on the cultural side too. The parting of the ways may have started somewhere about the post - Sangam period. The divergence

2. K. K. Pillay, "A Social history of the Tamils" pp. 246-262.

3. *Ibid*—P. 263 - 273.

may have become complete by about the tenth century. Ever since, the East and the West coasts, like the Kāviri and the Coḷeroon forked out into two and developed divergent linguistic and cultural peculiarities. During the transitional stage, the relationship of the languages and cultures of the East and West coasts, could be graphically represented by two circles overlapping each other over a considerable area, but extending on either side a little distance beyond; the overlapping areas, representing the similarities; the incipient divergencies. Anterior to this period, the peoples of Tamiḷakam—the country ruled over by Mūvēndar, the three kings—had practically the same language, the same culture, the same outlook on life, hopes and aspirations, beliefs and ideals.

The view that except for mere political contacts Kerala was already culturally and linguistically separate from the East coast even in the days of Tolkāppiyam would not hold water in view of the definition of Tamiḷakam given by the introduction to Tolkāppiyam :[4] the country where Tamil is spoken is bounded on the north by the Vēṅkaḍa Hills of North Arcot District, by Kumari on the South, and by the two oceans on either side. Nothing can be more convincing than this definition of a homogenous tract comprising all parts of Tamiḷnādu except the Telugu and Kannada areas. Tolkāppiyam indeed speaks of the twelve tracts comprising the Centamiḷ country.[5] It has been suggested that Koḍuntamiḷ, was the earlier form of Tamil and that the improved pattern is represented by Centamil. This at any rate is not envisaged by Tolkāppiyam. The acceptable view is perhaps that after a time Centamil acquired certain local peculiarities and became transformed to Koḍuntamiḷ. It is noteworthy that many pure Tamil words which were not in ordinary usage in Tamil still survive in Malayalam.[6]

In order to stress the original unity of Tamiḷakam, I feel it necessary to point out in this context, some of those old features for which there are counterparts in the life of Kerala. These

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4. "Vada Veṅkaḍam Tenkumari Āyidait-Tamil Kūṟu nallulagaṭṭu Tolkāppiyam Pāyiram"

5. Centamiḷ cārnda Pannīrunilam

6. cf. Karaiyunnu, Viḷikkunnu.

appear to be preservations, whose history dates back to the period of the classics :

(1) The extraordinary freedom enjoyed by women particularly, the freedom for every damsel to choose her own husband through Kaḷavoḻukkam (Secret union) to which the stigma associated with the Āryan (?) Gāndharvavivāha was not attached;

(2) The martial spirit of rulers and their subjects, mirrored in the heroism of later Kerala kings and in the Cāvēru practice of fighting for one's cause "even unto death" ;

(3) Deities like Māyōn, Cēyōn, Vēlan and Koṟṟavai, many of which have counter-parts in the nooks and corners of present day Kerala ;

(4) Religious practices like worship of trees, blood sacrifice and vaḻipādu ;

(5) Customs like Ōṇakkali ōṇattaḻḻu and āṇdippāṭṭu in praise of vēlan, Kuṟattippāttu for the driving away of evil spirits, Vēlakkaḷi, Veṟiyāttam (cf: Veḻiccappāḍus of to-day) Koṟṟavaippāttu (in Pāṇa or Bhagavatippāttu of to-day), worship of hero-stones still prevalent in the mountainous regions of the West-coast, Cākyārkūttu and the old Tuṇanigaikkūṭṭu corresponding to the Kaikōttikkalai of to-day.

I have just touched on a few of these old practices and preservations to indicate the under compass of the culture indicated by the classics. A superfluity of material awaits comparative study and interpretation at the hands of the scholars.

That ancient Tamiḻakam is one of the greatest city-making regions of the world could be established beyond doubt, from references made to them in literature. I am not able to agree with the view that such descriptions of cities and towns in literature were not founded on a solid substratum of truth. It is true that the scientific temper observes all things with a view to discover their mode of exstence, their relations to each other and to the environment, and the literary temper observes such things in

their relation to man's emotional and moral nature. The poet however, does not weave out of a fertile imagination, but simply describes what pleasurable feelings the external objects rouse in him.[7] To this extent his literary temper is not incompatible with the scientific.

There is however a partial truth in the criticism that the description in literature is stereotyped and as such do not portray actual facts. Some purāṇas of late origin betray some such convention. But such a charge could not be levelled against the poetry of the ancient Tamil classics.

Sometimes, the absence of definite chronology of this ancient literature is deplored. A chronology would no doubt be a valuable aid to historical studies. But the absence of it does not militate against the accuracy of details about towns which this literature reveals. A chronology of the more ancient poets has been attempted to be settled by internal evidence, such as style, meaning of words, concordance and so on.

The question to what extent the civilisation of the ancient Tamils is a blend of the non-Tamilian and Tamilian is a very big one. The exact relation has yet to be discovered. A detailed and critical study of Sanskrit literature of the early period might show how the North was influenced by the South, as the Sangam literature shows how the South was influenced by the North.

Pre-historic Period

Patterns of civilisation do not develop capriciously overnight, as if by a freak of nature. They have their geographical, economic, psychological and other causes. Placed as Tamilnādu is in the apex of the Indian ocean, which had been from the dawn of pre-history the high road of international navigation and commerce, its cultural pattern could not have been otherwise than what it was and is. Histriographers

7. The Tamil poet Kaḍialūr Uruthiran Kaṇṇanār praises the city Kāvērippūmpattiṇam in inimitable lines : 'I would not for a moment live separate from my beloved, even if the full possession of the most beautiful city of Kāvirippūmpattiṇam were offered me" *Pattinappālai*—L. 218 . 220.

declare that man's civilised existence could have been only in the River-valleys such as those of the Hō-wang-hō, the Mēkong, the Ganges, the Indus, the Ōxus, the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Nile, the Vōlga and the Mississippi. Human origins and simple organised existences could not have been otherwise, of course. But the next stage of inter-tribal and international complexes could develop only through land and sea-traffic and intercourse. Regions like Central Asia, North Persia, Asia Minor, Ethiopia and Eastern Europe which were on the overland caravan routes of the ancient world, had thus distinct but nomadic patterns of culture; while Indo-China, Tamiḻnādu, Arabia, Egypt, Greece and Italy had developed different patterns having nevertheless a common littoral basic atmosphere. Speaking in the ancient Tamilian's own technical vocabulary, man must have orginated in Marudam but urbanished in Neidal.

One ancient ethnologist, who seems to have a lion's share in interpolating the Uttarakāṇda into Vālmiki's Rāmayaṇa, has described the creator Brahma, as being responsible for the assignment of professions also to those whom he had made to reside on the outskirts of the ocean (ambhas). To one section (called Jaksha or Yaksha) he gave the task of moving over or sailing on (Jaksha) the waters, and to another (Rakshas) as naval garrisons on board the sailing vessels. And it is noteworthy that the above text has specific references to littoral regions of ancient South India, where Tamil Nādu and Ceylon are situated.

Geological and literary evidences postulate the existence in the pre-Buddhistic epoch of world history, of a vast stretch of land extending southward from the present Kanyākumari up to at least the Equator. Scattered references by classical and Arabian writers to the land of Taprobane, its extent and location, collected and published by Professor MeCrindle and Nilakanta Sastri support the above postulate to some extent. If archaeology and epigraphy too step in to confirm it, the situation of Kumarikandam of Tamiliana on the equator must have been an ideal one for being the gullet of international navigation in the ancient world.

The late Dr. Lohavary,[8] the French scholar and Dravidiologist, has explained seven years ago in his book on *Dravidian*

8. Dr. Lohavary, *Dravidian Origins*—Orient Longmans, Madras.

origins, that the Basque language, now spoken by a small community inhabiting northern Spain on the slopes of the Pyrennes mountains, is almost akin to our ancient Tamil. He has cited more than 2500 words common to both. It is interesting to learn that this Basque does not belong to the Indo-Germanic or Indo-Āryan groups of languages. But, it had been in use in Europe long before the advent of the Āryan tongues. Words from this language could be traced in the language of Etturia, Sicily, North-Africa, Ionia, Phonecia and Chaldaea. It can, therefore be safely asserted that this language had passed through these countries in the course of centuries and found its way into South India. It could have mingled with the spoken tongues of the South Indian peoples, two thousand five hundred years ago and become what was later known as Koduntamil. The late M. S. Ramaswami Iyer of Madras, in his twenty and odd articles in *The Hindu*[9] published forty years ago, tried to establish that there were Tamilian colonies in Western Asia, based on the occurence of some Tamil words in Hebrew and Aramic languages. But as Tamilology had not the good fortune to get the attention that it now receives, he was led to err in reversing the process of colonisation. We cannot however jump to the conclusion that the Tamils, were some people of ancient Europe, who later migrated to South India. In like manner, the theory that the so-called Āryans belonged to one race, who came from the Volga-valley, stayed for some time in Central Asia, then invaded India, overwhelmed the natives there and established themselves in their place is also a misconceived yarn. It is beyond logic to conjecture mass invasions of such huge magnitude taking place during those by-gone ages, when there were no thoroughfares and no effective means of transportation; but that customs and manners underwent changes due to mutual impacts, is an incontrovertible fact. Exchanges of myths, beliefs, superstitions, why, even inter-racial marriages and concubinage—are very likely phenomenen.

Littoral Character

Before proceeding to examine the littoral character of the culture of ancient Tamil Nadu, I think it necessary to enquire

9. " When the Indians flew over the lands of the West."

whether this land had been inhabited at all; and if so, by whom? It has almost become a slogan of late, to equate all pre-Āryan inhabitants of India with the so-called Dravidians. To those who question the theory of non-Indian origin of Vedic Aryans, the term "pre-Āryan" conveys no meaning. Even accepting for argument's sake, the theory of the advent of the Āryans through the Khyber pass., there were other elements than the so called "Dravidian" in South India. According to Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, ancient India had Negroid, Negrito, Mongolian, Kirāta, and Austric-Munda ethnic and linguistic cultures coexisting in the whole sub-continent and the so-called Dravidian was only one among many others. Even now Tamil India includes many ethnic stocks like the Kuṟavas, Maṟavas, Kaṇikkāras, Kādas, Puḷḷuvans, Veḷḷāḷas, Mudaliars, Nāḍars, Nāyars and other racial units with more distinct ethnic characteristics than those which differentiated the Āryan and the Cacausian and the Mongolians. It was much more distnict, two thousand years ago when there was no intermingling of castes as at present. The co-existence of multitudinous ethnic stocks in one geographical region cannot be accidental. It is therefore reasonable to postulate that the Austric-Muṇda, the Mongolian Kirāta, the Negrito-Negro and Scythian Āryan ethnic elements of Tamiḷiana had all immigrated at various epochs of history from the East and the West, necessarily through the sea. These elements having linguistic, ethnic and cultural differences gradually developed through the ages, a composite culture. One of the linguistic elements that coalesced with the general core, might perhaps have been the carriers of the Basque impact from the Mediterranean region, mentioned by Dr. Lahovary. When, therefore, the sage Agasthya of the Āryan stock discovered the beauty of the literature of this composite culture, he, as all pioneer immigrants do every where in the world, immediately wrote a grammar for the benefit of his own co-immigrants. This naturally helped to integerate the varying cultural elements of the land into one single linguistic unit, which moderners call the Tamil culture. Existence of various ethnic and linguistic units in various pockets explain the occurence of the twelve varieties of Koduntamil, mentioned by Tolkāppiyar.

At this stage of our inquiry, it has become necessary to explain the root meaning of the term "Dravidian". "Drāvida" is a

Sanskrit word derived from the root "Dra"[10] a place of refuge or a 'Penal settlement'. It may be equated with another Sanskrit term "Daṇdaka" derived from "Daṇda" one of the sons of Ikshvāku, who had been banished by his father for some offence. Now "Daṇda" itself means punishment. It is not therefore unreasonable to suppose that the name of the son of Ikshvāku was only an allegorical name for an out-law and Daṇdaka, the land where he settled, a penal settlement. It must be remembered that Rāma was also banished to Dandakāraṇya.

Now this "Drāvida" the Sanskrit name which had always been applied only to the southern region of India was therefore only a 'Region' and not an ethnic stock nor a linguistic group. It was only after the establishment of the Tamil kingdoms, that Tamil became the major but not the *sole* language of the land. To derive "Drāvida" from Tamil appears therefore to be far from the truth.[11]

We may now try to find out the location of the most ancient cities of Tamil land from literary as well as archaeological evidences. As the earliest Tamil literary productions do not go beyond the 3rd or 4th century B.C. we have to search for references elsewhere. Kātyāyaṇa (5th century B.C.) mentions Kerala while Megasthenes and Kautilya mention Pāṇḍya. The latter refers to the magnificent pearl fishery at Pāṇḍya Kavātam, probably Kapātapuram, the seat of the second Śangam cited by the commentator of Iṟayanār Ahapporuḷ. Aśoka also confirms the existence of the three Tamil Kingdoms in his edicts. It can therefore be assumed that the "Three Kingdoms" existed even in the 5th century. Other references to these kingdoms may be brushed aside as they are definitely of a much later date.

There are however, some probable references to some unnamed kingdoms of the south in the Uttarakāṇḍa of Rāmāyana. These unnamed kingdoms may perhaps be taken as anterior to the famous "Muvēntar epoch," of Tamilian history.

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10. The story of Muchukunda.

11. The world "Drāvida" was coined to equate the language of the Tamilian by Maxmuller. He subsequently realised the error and withdrew the statement. Subsequently Tamilologists did not approve the correction.

These kings were named Hēthi and Prahēthi, Kāla and Grāmaṇi, who were said to be the paternal and maternal ancestors of the Rāvaṇa brothers. If Hēthi and Prahēthi may be taken as "wielders of arrows and bows," we may not be wrong in identifiying them with the predecessors of the Chēra Kings who had the bow symbol. If Kāla may be taken as a translation of "Thennavan" or 'Māṟan' we may take him to be an early chieftain of the pre-Pāṇdyan region. "Grāmaṇi" is said to be the father-in-law of Sukēsi, the great grand father of the Rāvaṇa brothers. The Royal designation "Grāmaṇi" now long obsolete in Tamil Nadu was the title of many Ceylonese Tamilian kings, of the pre-Christian and early Christian periods.[12] The name Sukēsi who was said to be the grandson of Kāla reminds us of Chenchadaiyan (செஞ்சடையன்) a name common among the Pāṇdya kings. His father "Vidyuthkēsi," also smacks of a "Minchadaiyan" (மிஞ்சடையன்). Lastly the well-known name Malayavan itself reminds us of the title "Malaiyavan (மலையவன்) of the Chēras. I refer to these occurrences in the epic just to draw your attention to the maritime activities of these kings of the pre-dynastic period, who were ruling somewhere in the littoral tracts of South India. And when Kubēra, the step-brother of Rāvaṇa, assumed the rulership of Laṅka, the first conveyance that he received from those who crowned him was a *ship with sails* propelled by wind power. (Pushpaka, Pushp–meaning wind). It must be noted here that the earlier sea-going vessels were propelled by hundreds and even thousand oars. The Purāṇas mention that 'Kārtha-vīriya-Arjuna' and Bāṇāsura were endowed with thousand hands moving about on the ocean surface rowing with their help. Even Rāvaṇa is said to be a king with ten-heads. This needs a rational explanation. He was called "Daśamukha" or 'Daśāsya' in Sanskrit. These two 'mukha' and Āsya mean in Tamil Talai (தலை) and Vōi (வாய்) 'Vōi' is always applied to river mouths.[13] And 'Mukha' or Talai is also the head-quarters of a chieftain. In 'Mukham' too, we discern the latter half of 'Turaimukham.' Rāvaṇa is but another name for Daśamukha. It means 'One who bemoans loudly, "from the root" Rū-Ṛd-to weep.' 'Pulampan' is a technical term connoting a chief of 'Pulam' (a littoral tract) But in popular parlance

12. These kings are referred to in Mahāvamsa as Tamilian usurpers.

13. Ālavoy, Tiruchcheṟalaivōi etc.

'pulampan' means one who bemoans loudly. 'Pulampan' was therefore translated into Sanskrit as Rāvaṇa, by the non-Tamilian lay author of Rāmāyaṇa who must have had only a superficial knowledge of Tamil. The author of Uttara Khāṇda also narrates an episode wherein the ten-headed Rākshasa chief gets his name Rāvaṇa because of his loud roar and weeping, after his unsuccessful attempt to lift Mount Kāilaśa. By 'Rāvaṇa' if he means only a 'bewailer' and not the littoral-chief (Pulampan), how are we to explain the further references to him as Rāvaṇēswara, which conveys the absurd sense of a Lord of Bewailers? Rāvaṇēswara can therefore be equated only with the "warden of many sea-ports." Since he was the overlord-chieftain of ten-sea ports, he was called 'Daśamukha.' That was why he was able to destroy all the ten sea-ports (heads or talais) with a view to wrest the kingdom from his reluctant elder brother Kubēra.

Now, what were the ten sea ports? From the Rāmāyaṇa itself, we get references to the following seven only: Pāthāḷa at the mouth of the Indus: Brigukachcha (Broach); Sūrpāraka (Sopara); Gōkarṇa (near Goa) Marīchapura (Muziris), Kapātapura (Koṟkai) Champāpathi (Puhār); and Lanka. The epic however does not seem to describe in any manner, the above mentioned sea-ports. The only town it mentions in the mainland is Kishkinda, the capital of the woodland mountain chief Sugrīva (the Toṇdaimān?) which cannot therefore be taken as an urban locality. But from the detailed description which the Epic gives of the capital city of Lanka,[14] we may have an idea of the urban littoral civilisation of the Tamils of the age, even though their chief Rāvaṇa was a semi-Āryan.

Historic period : Town planning

Drifting to more historic times, we can study the civilisation of ancient Tamiliana. The Tamils lived quite a happy peaceful life in the maritime southern continent with all that characterised the life of such a maritime race. They lived in peace, unassailed by hostile enemies, though internecine feuds and wars were too common.

14. Sundara-Khāṇda of the epic—the description tallies with Tamilian cities.

The towns perhaps are the noblest of the creations of the ancient Tamils. The town served as a centre of civilisation and as a refuge in times of war. They evolved quite naturally. Certain natural advantages like a sea-coast, a river valley etc. favour their growth. In Tamiḻakam, added to these factors, there has also been a twin attraction between temples and cities.[15] A remarkable feature of this culture at a distant past is, that spirituality and morality, cleanliness and godliness, commerce and religion interact on one another in the social well-being of the people. The poet Nakkīrar has portrayed the spots favoured by Gods in exquisite lines in *Tirumurukārṟuppadai*.[16] These lines furnish the key to the proper understanding of the principles underlying the selection of sites for the building of temples (and cities that follow). A clear coast-belt, or a natural river or hill boundary, which are alike easy of access in times of peace and easy of defence in times of war have always invariably been chosen. There have been incessant feuds among the ancient Tamil kingdoms of the South. Yet, the progress of commerce and growth of civilisation was uninterrupted. The reason is to be sought in the location of the cities, a testimony to the originators.[17]

Some cities have also grown from within. The Tamil word for city namely "Nagar" is used variously in ancient Tamil literature.[18] It means a house, a temple, a palace or a castle and also a city. This is significant in as much as, it gives the clue that these separate items should be so co-ordinated and each assigned an important place in the city as to contribute effectively to the efficiency of town-life.

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15. cf: "Don't reside in a place where there is no temple."—Avvaiyār

16. *Tirumurukarruppadai*: Ll 220-226

17. Madurai, Vañji, Kāñchīpuram, Kāvīrippūmppattinam, Woṟaiyūr, etc., Of these it is noteworthy that Woṟaiyūr was a conscious and deliberate creation of the Chōḻa king Karikāl Peruvaḻattān, who had his capital in Kāvīrippūmppattinam for a very long time.

18. Perumpāṇāṟṟuppadai . L 298 (house)
Ibid : L 440 (palace)
Maduraikkānchi : L 169 (city)
Kallādam : V 14 (temple)
Ibid : V 3 (mansion)

There are many common features in all these ancient towns. which deserve our notice. "Pattinam" is the general appellation of towns near the sea-shore.[19] Kāvīrippūmpattinam was the capital of the Chōḷa kings (until they removed to Uṟaiyūr near Tiruchirāpalli) was at the mouth of the river Kāvīri and is a good examples of a sea-shore town. Vañji or Karūr, the ancient seat of the Chēra Kings was a typical fortified city. This city appears to be a conscious creation for definite practical purposes.

Sometimes, the palace or a temple is taken as a starting point and houses are built around them.[20] The temple or the palace forms the nucleus round which the houses and other features are grouped. This shows that the layout of a village or a city has proceeded on rational lines with reference to the practical requirements of an orderly growth of the houses and of future development of the city.

Besides being a temple city, the city of Madurai[21] was planned to safeguard it against surprise attacks by hostile forces. The earliest of the datable records in which allusions to the city of Madurai seem to be traceable are, the early Brahmi-inscriptions incised in Caverns in the Siddhar Malai and the Alagar Malai hills, not far distant from Madurai. The inscriptions probably belong to the third century B.C.[22] It is not improbable that Madurai is really mentioned in them.[23] The next of the datable references is to be found in Pliny (77 A.D.). He makes mention of the "Mediterranean emporium of *Madoura.*"

The temple of Madurai dedicated to Śiva as Lord Sundara, seems to be at least as old as the Śangam period. It is mentioned in the poems of that age.[24] It is one of the grandest temples in the country; it is impossible to discover in its

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19. Kāvīrippūmpattinam, Vishakappattinam, Masūlippattinam, Chennappattinam.

20. We can gather from local traditions that in Kāñchīpuram, the priests of the temple were accomodated in the four streets round the temple: Ref: Kāñchippuranam—Nak V 110

21. Madurai of Sangam times

22. K. V. Subramania Aiyar in PTAIOC 4 (1924 Madras) 280-2

23. Ibid 298-9; Krishna Sastri Ibid I (1918 Poona) 342-6

24. Pattinappālai: 6; Maduraikkāñchi 453-5

architecture, any traces which would take the present structure much earlier than the 10th century A.D. The temple to Vishṇu as Sundararāja is also referred to in poems assigned to the Sangam period.[25] However these are not infallible and it should not be concluded that the city could not have been found before 3rd century B.C. nor the temples raised before the 3rd century A.D.[26] The absence of positive evidence is no ground to assume a conclusion in the negative.

The invasions into the southern country had made it necessary to have only a small gateway on the northern side of the city as a defence in war. Further, the northern limits of the city extended up to the river Vaigai and afforded a natural defence to to the city. The main entrance gate of the city was as wide as the mouth of the river Vaigai.[27]

Perhaps, Vañji affords a classical example of a typical fortified city. Starting from the outer portion of the city, there were first the residences of soldiers who guarded the city gates. Then the Puranagar (Puṟanchēri) or the part of the city next to the ditch and the walls was set apart for the several classes of people, mostly a mixed population of different social status including the soldiers in the army.

As in other cities, so also in Vañji, the ditch encircled the walls of the city. The water from the palace, public halls, and private residences fell into this ditch by means of a conduit sluice known as Tūmbu. This conduit pipe exhausted the water of the city into the ditch near the entrance gate where it was covered over with a stone culvert.[28] Fish were let into the ditch and aquatic flowers like the lotus, Kuvalai, Senkaḻunīr and Āmbal grew in the ditch-water, and by combination of colours reflected a beautiful rainbow appearance.[29] The walls were high, wide and massive and there were several defensive and offensive weapons on the walls of the fort which would throw arrows, stones missiles, hot oil, molten

25. Paripādal : Poem 165 ; Gopinatharao in ST (1906 AS 541-3 Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar in Ib (1910 J. F) viii . III-4

26. Francis. W: Madura Gazetteer (1906) i-273

27. Maduraikkāñchi-l 356 Vaiyaiyanna Valakkudaivayil

28. Maṇimēkalai : ch. XXVIII : ll : 5-8 Churunkaittūnbin Mannivalaṟ

29. Maṇimēkalai : ch XXVIII-ll 20-22

copper, and molten iron on the approaching enemy.[30] A noteworthy feature was that there was the defence created by the prickly trees and shrubs specially planted so as to form an artificial forest. In ancient Tamil literature, mention is made about four kinds of defence to a city,[31] namely one of land, one of water, one of mountain and one of forest. They were artificially created by the ditch, the walls and the planted forest. The forests are known as Milai. Generally Maṟava garrisons resided there and guarded the trees, which provided a line of defence to the city. The great city of Kāñchīpuram was also planned on lines similar to those of Madurai and Vañji.

Kāvīrippūmpattinam, situated at the mouth of the river Kāvīri was a beautiful maritime city.[32] It is said to have been a city ten miles square.[33] From descriptions available in literature, the original design must have been a square. The site selected for the city, had all the desirable, natural advantages namely a river, a sea coast, a safe haven for ships and general fertility of the land. We are also able to know that the city was divided into two main portions 'Maruvūrpākkam' and 'Pattinappākkam' with a central market between the two divisions. 'Pākkam' means a subdivision of the city.

On the outskirts of Maruvūrppākkam and the near sea coast the 'Yavanar' or Greeks and other merchants from foreign countries had their residence and their place of business.[34] The housing of these foreign merchants near the sea-coast was intended both for convenience and for the facility of collecting duties from them. The customs officials of the State sealed the goods with the state-stamp. The removal of the goods from the docks was not permitted until the duty has been paid.[35]

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30. Ibid XXVIII ll 23-24—Silappathikāram: XV ll 207-216

31. Nīr-araṇ, Nilavaraṇ, Malairaṇ, Kāttuaraṇ

32. Silappathikāram ch. VI-11. 32 "Beautiful city whose gardens were fertilised by the Kāveri"

33. Ūr Nār Kātha Vattikai-Silappathikāram 'Kātham' represents a measurement of ten miles.

34. Silappathikāram: ch. V. l 10 "Payanaravaṟiya Yavanarirukkai"

35. Pattinappālai: ll 129-135

The cities should have become so famous and so long established and should have been so widespread as to have attracted the attention of the early classical writers of the West, whose reference in glowing terms to these cities has been responsible for drawing the adventurous spirits amongst the early Greeks and Romans to settle in these eastern cities as traders and as mercenary troops at so early a period as the Śangam epoch.

In the city of Madurai, the temple was situated in the centre of the city and shed a halo of sanctity all round.[36] The four streets[37] round the King's palace were occupied by the ministers and rich merchants, who wished to be secure with their big treasure, Brahmins and others, mostly servants of the royal household. At Vañji, passing into the gate way, there were streets,[38] where thc soldiers who guarded the gates of the city had their residence. Passing from the streets where the guards of the fort lived, we come across with parallel rows of streets, inhabited by people following different trades and occupations. The order in which the trades werer epresented in the successive streets was briefly as follows. Dealers in fish, salt, toddy, cakes, mutton and ropes, lived in adjacent streets. Next in order were the quarters for the potters, copper-smiths, bellmetal-workers, goldsmiths, carpenters, sculptors, artists, leather merchants, florists, astrologers, musicians, chank cutters, pearlbead sellers and professional dancers.

At Vañji, the central market separated these streets represented by the different trades and occupations, from the city proper or the urban portion known as "Akanakar' (அகநகர்). On the other side of the central market, were quarters in order, for the dancing women, weavers, dealers in gold and merchants selling precious stones. Then followed, the four streets round the palace intended for the Brahmins, the ministers, the chief military officers and servants of tne king's household. Behind the palace and the streets were the quarters set apart for elephant trainers and horse-trainers.

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36. Kallādam ; V-14

37. Maduraikkāñchi : l. 522

38. Maṇimekalai : Ch XX VIII-ll. 29-30

At Kāñchipuram too, the planning of the streets followed in general details, the same traditional procedure of allotting streets to castes and occupational groups. Brahmins, merchants, agriculturists, and others, lived in parallel streets.[39] There must have been four wide main streets round the temple where the servants of the temple lived.[40] The car streets were wide and stately for the chariots to pass easily.[41] The arrangement of streets round a common square and peopled by the sevəral castes was considered very desirable from the social as well as hygenic points of view.

Of Kāvīrippūmpattinam, we are more concerned with that part of the city called 'Pattinappākkam.' The palace of the king was situated in this part of the town and the royal street, (Kōviyan)[42] was the main highway here. The leading merchants the pious brahmins, the thrifty farmers, ayurvedic physicians and the astrologers lived in separate streets in different types of houses, appropriate to each class of people, the various designs presenting by contrast a picturesque sight. Bangle and ring makers out of conch shells, pearl-bead sellers etc. had their quarters on the western side of the palace. The sūtrās (those who stand and praise); the Makadars (those who sit and praise) the time reckoners and the dancers (கூத்தர்) lived in different streets near the palace. Cooks, musicians, the drummers in festivals and on battle field and buffoons[43] lived in houses of various types and dimensions suitable to their calling. The servants of the royal household lived beyond these streets. Along with them, lived those who trained horses and elephants.

Pattinappākkam provides a classical example of a sea port town. In the distribution of folk in distinct quarters in the city, their associations and interests have been chiefly consulted. The object appears to have been to find the right place for each class of people and encourage their dwelling in associated groups in places where they would flourish most usefully.

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39. Kāñchippurāṇam, V. 107.
40. *Ibid*: V. 110.
41. Perumpāṇārṟuppatai, l. 397.
42. Śilappathikāram, Ch. V. l. 40.
43. Śilappathikāram, Ch. V. l. 53, 'Nakai Vēḷambarōdu vakaitheri Irukkaiyum.'

There were several such sea-ports both on the Western and Eastern coasts of Tamiḻakam. The information that we get about them, are amply supplemented by the data furnished by the foreign writers of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. From the Śangam works, we learn that on the east-coast, the prominent ports were Māvilangai[44] (modern Mahābalipuram), the famous Puhār or Kāhandi, well known as Kāvērippūmppattinam,[45] Puraiyāṟu or Purandai,[46] Koṟkai, and Kumari.[47] They thrived as flourishing harbours and as active emporiums of trade.

Much of the charm of the cities lingered in the houses and mansions built by people for their own occupation. The house that a man has built to live in is a clear expression of his own personality. A noteworthy feature is the material used in the construction of such characteristic homes. These big houses were terraced over. The walls were high and plastered over with white lime.[48] The kitchen was spacious and the smoke could find its way through openings in the kitchen. A number of wide windows admitted plenty of light and air to the apartments of the high mansions of the city.[49] In the bigger mansions, the windows were wider than in the comparatively smaller house, but many such windows were never the less provided. In the taller storeys of lofty buildings, the windows were so arranged, exactly in the south, that the southern Zephyr may play without obstruction into the inner apartments.[50] Of the wood the mango tree, the Vēmbu (neem), the Iluppai and the Vengai are note-worthy. Wood, which was uprooted in a storm and wood found in a cremation ground were not used. The entrance gate was generally fashioned to be wide and the exit, narrow.[51]

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44. Puṟanānūṟu: 176, Sirupāṇāṟṟuppatai: 116-9 'Melangae' of Ptolemy (McCrindle P. 185)
45. Indian Antiquary Vol. XI P. 247
46. Akanānūṟu 100; (52) Naṟṟiṇai 23 Akam—27, 201;
47. Puṟanānūṟu 6, 17 and 67, Maduraikkāñchi: 70 Tol: Pāyiram
48. Neḍunalvādai l. 110 (56) Maṇimēkalai ch. 1V (l. 52-53)
49. Maduraikkāñchi: l. 358
50. Nedunalvādai: l. 60-62
51. Chakravāḷakkōṭṭam—a public hall is described as having a small gateway in the West, with a wide entrance in the East Maṇimēkalai—Ch: VI—l. 22

A most important amenity in a city life is perhaps the market. Great care has been bestowed by the ancient Tamils, in locating the market at a central place in the city. In Madura, the markets were two: a day market, where business was transacted during day-time; and a night-market which was open throughout the night. These two markets were very near each other.[52] Yet they were separate, two big streets having been specially allotted for the purpose. The streets where merchants exposed their wares for sale were wide and the stalls were located on either side. This was a big market[53] At Vañji, the central market was so located as to separate the streets where people professing different trades and occupations lived from the city proper or the urban portion, known as "Akanakar." It is interesting to note that adjoining the other side of the central market were quarters in order for the dancing women, weavers, dealers in gold and merchants selling precious stones.

In the coastal city of Kāvērippūmppattinam between the suburban portion called the Maruvūrppākkam and the urban division known as Pattinappākkam was a large open area where the day market was centrally situated,[54] in a site which presented the apppearance of a vast plain between two opposing forces. It is note-worthy that the market was situated between the two important divisions of the city.

Such descriptions reveal the general conditions of the city and its streets, each having its distinctive features. In all these, we see more of the descriptions of urban life than that of the villages, which were far more numerous than the towns. There occur but a few stray references to the dwelling places of the common people in the villages.

(To be continued)

52. Maduraikkānchi l. 365
53. Silappathikāram : Ch. 14—l. 179
54. Silappathikāram : Ch. V—l. 59-61

CULTURE AS REVEALED IN PARIPATĀL

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Now-a-days, the word civilization is used for denoting 'nākarikam' in Tamil, whereas the word culture is used for 'Paṇpāṭu.' But in Cankam classics, we find the word 'nākarikam' is used in the meaning of 'Paṇpāṭu.'

Muntai yiruntu naṭṭōr koṭuppiṉ
Nañcum uṇpar naṉṉā karikar

—(Naṟṟiṇai, 355)

Peyakkaṇṭum nañcuṇ ṭamaivar nayattakka
Nākarikam vēṇṭu pavar

—(Tirukkuṟaḷ, 580)

Those who desire to be styled the very pink of courtesy will drink off even the poison that hath been mixed for them before their own eyes. Here the word 'Nākarikam' includes the concept of culture. Culture and civilization are inseparable and they may be considered as the two sides of the same coin.

Let us have an idea of the culture and civilization of the ancient Tamils as revealed in Paripāṭal. It is one of the eight anthologies of Cankam Literature. It cannot be expected to throw much light upon culture and civilization in all their different aspects as may be expected from Pattuppāṭṭu or Puṟanāṉūṟu. It deals only with themes such as Tirumāl, Cevvēḷ and the river Vaiyai. Nevertheless, it may be said to the credit of this anthology, that, in regard to religion and the sportive aspects of life which form part of culture and civilizalion, no other anthology of the Cankam age can compete with Paripāṭal. We do see

abundance of material in Paripāṭal portraying prominently two aspects of the life of the ancient people—sacerdotal ceremonies and romance in river. Had we had in possession the four Paripāṭals on Madurai, we would have been in a coign of vantage so as to get an abundant glimpse into the life of the people of Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇṭiya rulers.

Of the many aspects of culture and civilization in Paripāṭal, let us see the importance given to education. The kings of Tāmiḻ Nādu were patrons of art and literature. One of the Pāṇṭiya kings himself was a great poet and artist described with 'biruda' 'Terimāṉ Tamiḻ mummait teṉṉam poruppaṉ.'[1] This is the only reference in the whole of the Cankam anthologies to the three-fold divisions of Tamil 'Tamiḻmummai.' The citizens of Madurai are called 'Taṇṭamiḻkkuṭikaḷ.'[2] The description of Tirumāḷ as representative of 'Muttamiḻ' also reveals not only the deification of Tamiḻ but also the richness in its tripartite classifications. Tiruppaṟaṅkuṉṟam at flood season presented the aspect of an amphitheatre more or less for those who triumphed among poets, musicians and gamblers to plant their banners.

Madurai was in those days the seat of learning. It had known no defeat either in war or in knowledge. It guarded and helped to foster Tamil as the fence helps the crops. So the city is aptly eulogised as 'Tamiḻvēli.'[3] From the above citations Mahāvidwan R. Rāghava Iyengār infers that there were Cankams and critics in the city.[4] The young students beginning to study with palmyra leaves are referred to as 'maiyaṭalāṭal maḻapulavar.[5] Antaṇars who were well versed in the four Vedas resided in Madurai. They chanted vedic hymns early in the morning. The citizens of Madurai woke up to the recitations. The crowing of the cock was of no account. As learning flourished in Madurai, its fame and name spread all over the world.

After education, fine arts are considered to be highly civlizing agencies. The high standard of excellence in fine arts like

1. Paripāṭal Tiraṭṭu 4 (Rajam Edition)
2. Ibid 7-5
3. Ibid 8-1
4. Tamiḻ varalāṟu pp 52, 53
5. Paripāṭal 11-88

architecture, painting, music, dance etc., reached by our ancient Tamils, is vividly brought out in Paripāṭal. Regarding architecture, Tamiḻnādu is famous for its architectural beauties throughout its length and breadth. The word 'Kōil' and 'nagar' which denote temple and city now-a-days, denoted palaces of kings and shrines of the Almighty respectively in ancient days. The shrines at Paraṅkuṉṟam, Tirumāliruñcōlaimalai, Kulavāy and Irunthaiyūr were among such centres of art. In the heart of Madurai was the palace of the Pāṇṭiya kings, which was like the seed vessel (pokuṭṭu) of the lotus. Around the palace there were many streets. They are compared to the petals of the lotus. The city itself is likened to the lotus which blossoms from the navel of Tirumāl.[6] From the lay-out of the streets of Madurai can be inferred that town planning had received the attention of the city builders. There were big mansions which had a number of storeys.[7]

As regards paintings, the word 'ōvam' is found in Paripāṭal.[8] In Tamil, the words 'Eḻututal' and 'Eḻuttu' denote respectively the process of painting and the painting itself.[9] The paintings of a tiger at a huge mansion were so realistic that it scared away the elephant which passed that way.[10] Those at the shrine of Paraṅkuṉṟam made it look like the place where Maṉmataṉ taught his disciples the uses of weapons.[11] The shrine at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam had many beautiful paintings. There was the zodiacal sign painted in the mantap. One painting represented Irati, another Kāmaṉ. The story of how Indra was turned into a cat by Kautamā and how Akalikai was turned into a stone because of the curse of Kautamā was depicted in other paintings.[12]

Music held an important place in the life of the old Tamils, They sang hymns to the accompaniment of instruments, while worshipping God, so as to be ensured a happy life with their consorts, or relief from the tiresomeness of a long pilgrimage or

6. Paripāṭal Tirattu 7 1-4
7. Paripāṭal 10-71
8. Ibid 21-28
9. Ibid 21-28 : 19-53
10. Ibid 10 : 45-48
11. Ibid 18 : 27-29
12. Ibid 19 : 46-53

restoration to the hearts of their heroines. The people heard and enjoyed the musical sounds of nature too—the humming of the bees, the droning of the beetles, the cooing of the cuckoos, the hooting of the torrents etc. In Paripāṭal 'Koḷai' and 'Iyal' denote songs.[13] The musical instruments such as muḻavu, yāḻ, kuḻal, Tūmpu, Muracu, Kiṇai, Mattarai, Taṭāri, Taṇṇumai, Makuḷi, Ottu, Tuṭi and Paṟai are mentioned by Paripāṭal. There are two kinds of Vaṅkiyam, one containing seven slots and the other five. Kuḻal is also sometimes called Vaṅkiyam. Murucu is known also as Maṉṟal. Tāḻam is known also as Pāṇṭil. Yāḻ is sometimes called Narampu and Kūram.[14] A very few poets mention some melodies in Paripāṭal—the seven melodies of Pālai, the melody of Marutam, Naivaḷam, Iḷivāyppālai and Kuralvāyppālai.[15]

There is reference in Paripāṭal to the stage for dancing.[16] Experts in dancing defeated their compeers and hoisted their flags at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. Before the commencement of the dance, some took toddy for invigoration. Though Paripāṭal does not describe Kutakkūttu, Kuravaikkūttu, and Veṟiyāṭṭu in detail, it uses these words.[17] The dancers were called Vayiriyar and the dance itself was called niruttam.[18] The king gave presents to the girls who danced skilfully.[19]

A society is considered to be in the pinnacle of civilization, if agriculture and industries, and trade and commerce are highly developed. Let us study the Paripāṭal in this angle, and a study will reveal the prosperous conditions that obtained in the above fields in Tamil Nadu.

Cultivation has always assumed a great importance in the economic ideals of this country. The cultivators in the fields were called 'Kaḷamar' and 'uḻavar.' The division of land as

13. Ibid 16-12 ; 18-51
14. Ibid 18-51 ; 19-44
15. Ibid 19-42
16. Ibid 8-109 ; 16 ; 11-13
17. Ibid 3-83 ; 5-15
18. Ibid 10-30 ; 12-43
19. Ibid 7-80

vaṉpulam (wet-land) and meṉpulam (dry-land) is found in Paripāṭal.[20] The agriculturists rushed to wet lands with their kinsmen to do their work, of cultivation. Owing to the Vaiyai being in flood, often many occupations flourished. On one side, the cultivators extracted the juice from the sugar-cane with the help of machines. The sound made by the machines mingled with that of the plough men's songs. The farmers shouted aloud happily, drinking toddy. The farmers' wives planted the paddy singing joyously. The fields were so beautiful as to attract even Tirumāl.[21]

The people made dagger, spear, float, chariot and horn with 'netti.' There is a reference to liquor manufacture, in Paripāṭal. They made some embroidered silk cloth also. They dyed leather and made sandals. They knew how to make ornaments. They prepared the best fragrant pastes and scented powders.[22] They collected various flowers and made garlands and wreaths.

The shop was called 'Aṇkāṭi' in ancient times and there was a separate shop for selling things such as dagger, chariot, spear, made of 'Neṭṭi' which were needed for water sports. The poet Karumpiḷḷaippūtaṉār has employed in his ode the ship as a simile twice.[23] It makes us think that there was a sea borne trade and exchange of products at that time. The streets of merchants who brought cereals, clothes, jewels and ornaments from mountains and oceans from their own and foreign countries are mentioned in Paripāṭal.

Another aspect of culture and civilization is the social life of the people. In the ancient period, the people were called after the region they occupied. A man living in the hill was called Kuṟavan.[24] They were also called after their occupations as the words 'uḻavar' and 'vaṇikar' reveal. Antaṇars and saints were considered the formost in the social ladder. There were separate streets for Antaṇars, Veḷḷālars and Vaṇikars.[25] The

20. Paripāṭal Tiraṭṭu—1 : 26, 27
21. Ibid 1 : 14-17
22. Paripāṭal Tiraṭṭu 2-84
23. Paripāṭal 10 : 81-84, 7-20
24. Ibid 8-69
25. Paripāṭal Tiraṭṭu 1 : 18-27

streets where musicians and dancers lived were called 'Cēri' or 'pākkam.'[26] The young men who lived in 'puṟaccēri' were unable to go to and participate in the water sports, because they were treated as belonging to the backward community. Brahmins were highly regarded. People took oath on brahmins just as they did on 'paraṅkuṉram' and on the sands of Vaiyai. To relieve their fatigue and bodily pain, people used to drink liquor.

There were a few festivals on sacred days. A festival in honour of Lord Siva began on the day of Tiruvātirai. Some are of opinion that it was for Paracakti. To bathe in the river in the month of Tai (January-February) was considered sacred. 'Āvaṇi aviṭṭam' was also treated as one of the festivals.[27] The heroines celebrated festivals at Parankuṉram to get united with their lovers from whom they had been separated.

People wore silk and cotton clothes. The clothes were called by various names like 'Tukil,' 'Pūntukil,' 'Puṭṭakam,' and 'Uṭukkai' according to their nature and pattern. The silk cloth with flowery work at the border is compared to the Vaiyai full of flowers. Garments suitable for water-sports were called 'Puṭṭakam.' They wore shirts even at that time and they were called 'Meyyāppu' which is found in Cilappatikāram as 'Meyppai.'

In the age of Paripāṭal both men and women were fond of adorning themselves with ornaments made of gold, pearls and other precious stones as well as with flowers and tender leaves. Some wore corals and the stem of 'Kuvaḷai' on their hands as bangles. They decked their ears with the sprout of 'Asōku' and the flowers of 'Kuvaḷai.' Some bedecked themselves with precious jewels and ornaments from head to foot. The girls wore on their heads 'Talaikkōlam' known as Toyyakam. As this jewel is made of pearls, it was also called Mattakanittilam. (Talaikkōlamuttu). It is learnt that 'Talaippāḷai' and 'Muccai' also adorned their heads. They beautified themselves with various garlands of pearls, of corals and of gold on their chests. They wore ear ring (tōṭu) and makarakuṇṭalam and adorned

26. Paripāṭal 7 : 31, 32
27. Ibid 11 : 9, 10

their forehead with 'tilakam.' They put on 'toṭi' and 'valai' on their shoulders. The men and women wore rings on their fingers known as āḻi or mōtiram. The men decorated their shoulders with epaulet. They wore waist rows of precious stones ('mēkalai' and 'Kāñci') and golden anklets inlaid with pearls on their legs. It was also called 'nittila variccilampu.' Their toes also were adorned with rings. They dressed and adorned themselves with jewels standing before the mirror.

Besides the flowers, the people liked very much perfumed articles. Both men and women adorned themselves with various garlands such as 'Kaṇṇi,' 'Tār,' 'Koṭai.' Tar was the name of the garland worn on the chest by men and kōtai was the garland worn by women. They also wore garlands made of leaves known as 'paṭalai' or 'Ilaimālai.' The women wore on their tresses fragrant roots (Iruveri) with various flowers. They used perfumed hair oils and sweet scented powders. The fragrant sandal paste was besmeared on the chests and breasts of men and women. They used 'Cempañcukkuḻampu' on their nails and cheeks. Musk was also in use. They prepared perfumed oil with the help of kuṅkum and camphor and fragrant water. They beautified their eyes with collyrium. The fragrant fumes of acquila and sandal were allowed to permeate their tresses of hair. They used fragrant powders to cleanse the oils from their body. As they wore fragrant flowers, garlands, pastes, powders, and perfumed oils, they were described as people with sweet smelling bodies.[28]

In the social life of the ancient people, games and pastimes played an important role. Water sports in the tank, in the torrent and in the river were indulged in joyously by both men and women. People participating in the water festival decked themselves with flowers, rich apparel, and ornaments such as ring, bangles and epaulet. They wore some flowers made of gold; they replaced sandal paste by acquila paste. They dressed their hair and wore wreaths of varied fragrant blossoms. They put on costumes and ornaments, best fitted for water sports known as 'Puṭṭakam' and 'Īraṇi.' They used chains, garlands, powder, snow and perfumed oil. The fragrance on their body

28. Ibid 12-25

spread to a very long distance. Their garments and garlands were made sweet smelling by fragrant fumes. The people of both sexes went to the river for sports on swift-footed horses, elephants, bullocks and mules and chariots and in palanquins and in carts known as 'vaiyam.' They took along with them fragrant fumes, fire, flowers, garlands, sandal and perfumed powders. They also took instruments such as syringe, horn, the bamboo pipe, and tray with which they played in the water. They had also the spears and daggers made of 'Netti' which they whirled. They took along with them the float and the chariot made of 'Netti' besides conch, crab and fish made of gold, to drop into the river as offerings. The participants of water-sports beautified the river Vaiyai by presenting garlands, musk and jewels. Besides, they fed the river with toddy. They offered 'avi' and fragrant fumes as oblations to the Vaiyai.

The lovers played sports in the river with their consorts or their harlots. They sprinkled water with syringe and they threw the bowl full of coloured water on each other. They swam with the help of the float. Some spread the filaments of screw pine (Tāḻai) over the waves and the foams. The colour of the women who took part in sports brightened, their faces and the nipples of their breasts became red; their eyes looked like the sharp fragrant arrows of Maṉmatā. Some young men snatched away the balls and Kaḻaṅku from the playing girls and jumped into the river. While sporting in the river the lovers embraced each other. The streaks of unguents mixed with one another and they were blasted; the string of mēkalai broke; the garland of pearls seemed to be dim owing to the perfumed pastes sticking to them; the paints (cempaṅcu) worn on nails and cheeks faded. The ornaments and garlands of the lovers mingled with each other in embrace. The fragrant pastes on the breasts of women formed a thick sediment at the bottom of the river. On the banks of the Vaiyai singing and dancing went on, inducing the passion of love. People sang merrily to the accompaniment of their musical instruments such as the flute, drum, makuḻi and lute.

After playing in the Vaiyai, people took toddy to get warmth. Young girls went near the fire of sacrificial pits made by the brahmins and warmed themselves and dried their clothes before it. Some people used to drop golden conch crab and fish into the

river praying that these creatures should prosper in the river. They used to give alms to the poor.

As Paripāṭal deals mainly with Gods like Tirumāl and Cevvēḷ, it lays greater stress on the aspect of worship. From the study of this religious aspect of Paripāṭal, we can understand the high maturity and nobility of the devotees. The people worshipped not only Gods like Tirumāl and Cevvēḷ but also their abodes and the trees which were sacred to them. The Garuda and the elephant by name 'Pinimukam' which were the vehicles of Tirumāḷ and Cevvēḷ respectively were also worshipped by the devotees. They ate the remnants of the food offered to the elephant hoping that it would help in achieving their expectations. It is understood that the people rang the bell during prayer. They worshipped God by offering presents of ever-burning lamps (Nantāviḷakku). The Vaiyai also was worshipped with offerings. Paripāṭal alone among the Cankam classics mentions that people with their kinsmen worshipped Gods and prayed both for themselves and for their kinsmen. There was a custom of swearing on Murugan on His abode Paraṅkuṉṟam, and on the sands of Vaiyai. Sometimes they took oath on Brahmins. If they failed to fulfil their promises, they thought the spear of Cevvēḷ would hurt them. The devotees sometimes worshipped even at the direction where the shrines lay.

The Paripāṭal songs reveal that the poets worshipped Tirumāḷ not for themselves alone but also for their kinsmen. Again, they wanted heavenly bliss not only for themselves, but also for others. The prayers of the devotees Cevvēḷ and to Tirumāl do not generally have much difference. But asking the Almighty to give boons on the worldly happiness, is found only in the odes on Cevvēḷ, but not in the odes on Tirumāl. At Paraṅkuṉṟam the devotees of varying ages after worshipping Cevvēḷ pray for boons. A few young girls wish that their dreams of embracing their lovers should come true and that the Vaiyai swell, so as to help the lovers to have water-sports. The married women pray for progeny. Some entreat that their husbands should attain wealth. Some earnestly beg that their consorts should secure victory on the battle-fields. Some desire that the torrents in Paraṅkuṉṟam should be always in floods. To worship God in the company of kinsfolk, to long for heavenly bliss on their own behalf and on

behalf of their kinsmen, to yearn to be at the foot of the hill where he resides, and to entreat the privilege of constantly singing His praises are the similarities made by the poets who have sung on Cevvēḷ, and Tirumāl in Paripāṭal. Katuvaṉ Iḷaveyiṉaṉār begs Lord Murugan not for worldly things i.e., gold, prosperity and enjoyment but for His grace, love and virtue [29]. These requests of Paripāṭal poets influenced the Alwārs and the Nayaṉmārs very much who adapted them in their hymns.

No reference to the civilian aspect of government is found in Paripāṭal. There are a few references in it to military life. In Madurai there were institutions for both education and military training. From the line 'puḷattiṉum pōriṉum portōḷāk 'kūṭal' (Paripāṭal 19—8) we may infer that there was a military school at that time, according to Mahāvidwan R. Rāghava Iyeṅgār [30] Armies though tired after waging war and ready for peace parleys, stood on prestige and hesitated to approach each other. The king of the Pāṇṭiyā country was called by various names Teṉṉavaṉ, Pañcavaṉ, Māṟaṉ and Vaḻuti. The construction of encampment, the beating of the drum before the march past to the battle-field, fighting with spear and bow, capturing the countries of their foes and plundering their belongings, tying the hands of the defeated, are the only things revealed by Paripāṭal about warfare. The kings partronised arts and artists, giving bounteous gifts. They relieved the distress of the needy by their generous presents. The chaste women were held in high regard. They believed that the worship of the chaste woman would relieve them of their distress and bestow benefits on them.

If fine, we can say that Paripāṭal portrays the picture of a people who have reached highest standard of life spiritual, social, economic and political. The goal of life has been aptly described by the poet Kaṭuvaṉ Iḷaveyiṉaṉār as follows :

Yāam Irappavai
Poruḷum poṉṉum pōkamum allaṉiṉpāl
Aruḷum aṉpum aṟaṉum mūṉṟum
Uruḷiṉark kaṭampiṉ olitā rōyē —(Paripaṭāl 5 : 78.81)

He entreats Lord Murugan not for worldly pleasures and wealth but for His grace, love and virtue. No wonder Paripāṭal has a universal appeal.

29. Ibid 5 : 78.81
30. Tamiḻvaralāṟu p-60.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN AS REVEALED IN KAMBARĀMĀYANAM

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The period from the 900 to 1300 A.D. has been hailed as the "Period of Literary Revival" of Tamil Literature. It is also called "the Age of the Kāvyas," because it is in this period that many of the great Kāvyas of Tamil Literature were written. The poet Kambar who composed the Tamil Rāmāyana flourished in the later half of the 12th century A.D. He always gives prominence to the treatment of noble ideals and finer human sentiments. Of these the "Brotherhood of man" is considered to be the most noble one from times of old in Tamil Nad. Classical Tamil Literature is full of this ideal expounded to the public by broad-minded poets. This speaks only of the high level of culture attained even in classical times in this part of the country.

This ideal rises above and transcends all considerations of caste, creed, colour, country, language, and position. The fundamental thing that unites all the different castes and creeds and creates unity in diversity is love, attended by brotherly feeling. That, it begins at home is said of charity. The same may be said of brotherhood too. This is born in the family and finds a place among children of the same mother, and spreads slowly to children of different mothers through the same father. The circle widens and spreads to the village, district and country, and engulfs the whole world with its diverse creations, when it attains prefection. At this stage brotherhood becomes universal.

Kamban's treatment of this ideal in his famous Rāmāyana can be discerned in Rāma's relations with his brothers and later with his colleagues Guha, Sugrīva and Vibhīshana. It will be seen that this is born out of the poet's broadmindedness and catholocity of views. Great poets always look at things from an ideal point of view and consider human nature, not from the narrow sectarian point of view but from the view-point of 'Man' in general. It is a unique feature of the Tamil Rāmāyanam, that the idea of brotherhood of man, that the brotherly treatment meted to Guha, the Hunter Chief, Sugriva the Monkey Chief and Vibhishana, the Rākshasa Chief, by "Kamban's Rāma" is not to be seen in any other Rāmāyana.

Even as the world famous author of the sacred Thirukkural did, Kamban also "addresses himself without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs, to the whole community of mankind.....formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason.....proclaims in their very essence, in their eternal abstractedness, virtue and truth and presents as it were, in one group the highest laws of domestic and social life". We find that in Kamba Rāmāyanam from the beginning to the end, in all possible situations, not merely in one padalam or two, nor in this canto or the other, but throughout, the author expounds this ideal. This exposition may be found in a number of ways:—through the actions of the characters, or revealing their intention in their dialogues and monologues, or through the talks of one character about another or the revealing of the poet's own idea of a particular character. When the reader visualises all these situations synthetically, he will realise the origin, growth and development of this ideal of universal brotherhood, in a single unit in the same way as pearls or flowers are tied together in a graceful garland by a common string. This treatment of brotherhood in the Tamil Ramayanam may be said to be the cream and essence of Tamil culture and civilization.

This idea of brotherhood, to be of any practical value should permeate and influence the whole family. It is not to be imposed upon the other members by the head of the family but must be imbibed by every one of them—young and old, man and woman—in its true spirit, through the example set by the head himself. Then only it is likely to shed its lustre around to be followed by others too. Our poet makes the whole royal

household of Rāma, the ideal brother, imbibe the noble sentiment and practice it in their daily life.

The poet first deals with the brotherly dealings existing between Rāma and Lakshmana, Bharatha and Satrugna and between one another. This brotherly feeling that is born in the Royal house-hold of Dasaratha, slowly widens and brings into its fold Guha, Sugriva and Vibhishana as the fifth, sixth and the seventh brothers. Dasaratha the father of the four, becomes thus, the father of the seven in Kamba Rāmāyana. It is not merely that Rāma alone has this view, but this is shared by his old mother, who represents the other mothers, his other brothers and his young wife Sita.

We shall now try to go into this aspect of brotherhood of man from its initial stages to its final growth in Rāma's house-hold in some detail and also prove how the whole family imbibed this spirit.

The relations between Rāma and Lakshmana may first be discussed. Though born of different mothers, they always go together as one soul in two bodies. From their youth, to their old age, whether they roamed about and played on the sands of rivers, banks of pools, or flower gardens, or were engaged in their studies; whether they went to offer protection to the sacrifices of the Sage Viśvāmitra, or experienced woes in the forest during their stay of 14 years; whether they pursued the search for Sita or fought battles with Rāvana; in short, in every moment of Rāma's life, we see Rāma and Lakshmana together inseparable, even as "the shuttle cook and the thread" of the weaver's loom. It will not be out of place, if we pick up one or two fine instances in the Kambarāmāyanam to prove the intensity of the brotherly feeling that existed between them. In reply to Bharatha, who had asked him how Sri Rāma, Lakshmana and Sita spent the night in his place, Guha said that while Rāma and Sita were sleeping soundly during the whole night, Lakshmana stood watch over them with his drawn bow and arrow even without a wink of sleep.

"அல்லியாண் டமைந்த மேனி அழகனும் அவளும்துஞ்ச
வில்லியூன் றியகை யோடும் வெய்துயிர்ப் போடும் வீரன்
கல்லியாண் டுயர்ந்த தோளாய் கண்கள்நீர் சொரியக் கங்குல்
எல்லிகாண் பளவும் நின்றான் இமைப்பிலன் நயனம் என்றான்,"

The pen picture of this situation in the original, is pointed in such graphic way that the reader cannot but admire the selfless devotion of Lakshmana to Rāma even at the sacrifice of his own comforts and necessities, nay—even at the cost of his life, if it need be. It is this selfless devotion, that both Bharatha and Satrugna praise to the skies, and say that they are both unworthy of being ranked with Lakshmana in the list of Rāma's brothers. Another instance may suffice, though instances may be multiplied, to show how this brotherly love was reciprocated by Rāma. In their sojourn in the forest, once Rama sent Lakshmana to fetch water in the night; and when there was delay in his return Rāma anxious for his safety began to sob bitterly saying that it was possible for him to keep his body and soul together even after the separation from his father, brothers and dear wife, because of the satisfaction of being together with Lakshmana.

"என்னைத் தருமெங் தையையென் னையரைப்
பொன்னைப் பொருகின்ற பொலன் குழையாள்
தன்னைப் பிரிவே னுளனு வது தான்
உன்னைப் பிரியா தவுயிர்ப் பலவோ."

Is this not proof positive, if proof is necessary, for the devotion which Rāma too had for Lakshmana?

We may now pass on to the cosideration of the brotherly feeling that existed between Bharatha and Satrugna. Even though they were not born of the same mother, they too were inseparable even as Rāma and Lakshmana were inseparable. During the whole of their life, whether it be in their practising charioteering or horse ride, or in their educational lessons or study of vedas and other sastras they were always together.

"பரதனு மிளவலு மொருநொடி பகிரா
திரதமு மிவுளியு மிவரினு மறைநூல்
உரைதரு பொழுதினு மொழிகில ரெனையாள்
வரதனு மிளவலு மெனமரு வினரே."

Not a moment would pass for the one without the other and in this, they, according to the poet, could not be compared to anything else than Rāma and Lakshmana. Brotherhood among children of the same father, but of different mothers is the first step in the realisation of 'Brotherhood of man.'

It will be needless to say that of all the brothers, Bharatha stands foremost in his selfless devotion and service to Rāma, and it is enough, if we just refer to the testimony of Kosala, Guha and Vāli. When Kosala, to her utter bewilderment, knew, that Bharatha was innocent, and that his intention was to go back to the forest to restore Rāmachandra, she exclaimed that there was not a single king in the long line of the solar race so noble and worthy as Bharatha and that even countless number of Rāmas will notbe equal to one Bharatha. Guha also on knowing Bharatha in his true colours, showers on him the encomium that, due to his noble act of rejecting the crown offered to him through the intrigues of his mother, as a sinful act, and going to the forest to bring back the rightful owner of the crown, even thousand Rāmas may not equal one Bharatha in nobility.

" தாயுரை கொண்டு தாதை உதவிய தரணி தன்னைத்
தீவினை யென்ன நீத்துச் சிந்தனை முகத்திற் றேக்கிப்
போயினை யென்ற போது புகழினுனெய் தன்மை கண்டால்
ஆயிர மிராமர் நின்கேழ் ஆவரோ தெரியி னம்மா."

To add one more to the list, though a number of such situations can be quoted, Vāli when he knew, that it was Rāma, who aimed at him with his arrow from a hidden place exclaimed in disgust, that Rāma was utterly unwrothy of being born as a son of Dasaratha, who gave up his life, to keep his promise and to hold aloft the honour and prestige of his race, and as an elder brother of the great Bharatha. This unsolicited praise bestowed on Bharatha, gives us a real idea of what others think about this great soul.

Satrugna is famous for his taciturnity. He never speaks, but when once he speaks, his utterings are at once an index of mature thought, his ideals and brotherly feelings. When after the lapse of 14 years, at Nandigram, Bharatha, ready to give up his life in the sacrificial fire, because Rama did not return at the appointed hour, requested Satrugna to look after the affairs of the State until Rāma's return, Satrugna bursts out with sobs and says that he is unworthy of being associated with Rama's brothers, of whom, one went along with Rāma to share his woes in the forest, and another, thinking that others would misunderstand him, if he remained at Ayodya after the death of Dasaratha and departure of Rāma to the forest, went to the outskirts of the

town, and remained in penance, in sack clothes and ashes and was ready even to give up his life because Rāma did not, as promised, arrive at the appointed hour.

"காளை நலமகளைக் கைவிட்டுப் போவானைக் காத்துப் பின்பு
போனனு மொருதம்பி போனவர்கள் வருமவதி போயிற் றென்னு
ஆனுத உயிர் விடவென் றமைவானு மொருதம்பி அயலே நாணு
தியானுமிவ் வரசாள்வென் என்னேயிவ் வரசாட்சி இனிதேயம்மா"

This one instance itself proves abundantly the depth of the brotherly feelings that Satrugna had for his other brothers. Thus Dasaratha's sons vied with each other in brotherly feelings and service.

The next stage in our treatment of the subject is reached when we deal with the admittance of Guha as the fifth son of Dasaratha and the oldest of all younger brothers of Rāma as delineated by our poet. The treatment by the poet of the first visit paid by Guha to Rāma in his camp on the northern bank of the Ganges and the reception given to him, is unique in Kambar and has no parallel in any other version of the Rāmāyana. With the extensive and intensive knowledge of all the aspects of human nature, Kambar's treament of the meeting of Guha the hunter-chief and Rāma, a Royal Prince, is true to life. We all know that in daily life, those who visit temples, kings, or other personalities or children do not go empty handed, but take gifts or offerings of articles which they consider dear, invaluable and sweet. Though they may not be of any material value they consider it invaluable and worthy because they are sweet to them and because they take them to their heroes or gods with genuine love and affection. Kambar, to give a realistic touch to the scene, makes Guha take the rare honey gathered from tree-tops in the forest, and good fish caught from the waters of the Ganges as worthy offerings to Sri Rāma, though Vālmiki in the original, makes his Guha take merely "Eatables and drinkables" without specifying them. What other articles than honey and fish will be more appropriate for a hunter as offerings? Rāma says, in the original Vālmiki Rāmāyana, that he is not in a position to eat them and requests Guha to bring 'grass and horsegram for the horses.'

We can easily imagine the state of one's mind if the offerings presented by one with love, is rejected by the hero to one's

very face. But Rāma in Kamba Rāmāyana shows understanding of human nature very well. In this situation the line of action which he chose is very noble and noteworthy and ought to be engraved in gold and enshrined in our minds. Guha with his heart beating high, is standing before Rāma with his offerings, being very anxious about its acceptance. There are a number of sages who accompanied him and who are around him. Rāma turns round with a smile on his lips, looks at the sages and accepts the gifts after giving out his own views of the gifts. He says that anything offered to him out of love from the bottom of the heart it sweeter and purer than Amrutha and sanctified and purified by love, the offerings entitle acceptance and being eaten with pleasure.

"அரியதா முவப்ப வுள்ளத் தன்பினு லமைந்த காதல்
தெரிதரக் கொணர்ந்த வென்ரூல் அமிழ்தினுஞ் சீர்த்த வன்றே
பரிவினில் தழீஇய வென்னிற் பவித்திரம் எம்ம னோர்க்கும்
உரியன இனிதி னுமும் உண்டன மன்ரே வென்ரூன்."

Guha was immensely pleased. Rāma was pleased as well. Every one was pleased and we also relish and enjoy the scene.

With these scenes, Rāma welcomes Guha and introduces him as his sweet and loving brother and friend to Lakshmana and Sita. When Guha offers to go with Rāma to the forest so that he may be of some service to him, Rāma tries to satisfy him by accepting him as one of his brothers and says that Guha was his very soul, that Lakshmana was his younger brother and Sita was his brother's wife and that the number of brothers which originally four had now risen to five after the advent of Guha.

"என்னுயி ரனையாய் நீ இளவலுன் னினையானிங்
நன்னுத லவள் நின் கேள் நளிர்கடல் நிலமெல்லாம்
உன்னுடை யதுநானுன் ரெழிலுரி மையினுள்ளேன்."

"முன்புள மொருநால்வேம் முடிவுள தென வுன்னு
அன்புள இனிநாமோர் ஐவர்கள் உளராணேம்."

Again, Rāma consoles Guha by saying that he need not worry himself much because his (Guha's) another brother, i.e. Lakshmana is there to accompany him to the forest to look after him and that a third brother i.e. Bharatha, is there to look after the affairs of

the State at Ayodya. Thus Rāma's brothers Bharatha and Lakshmana become Guha's brothers too.

As we have remarked, this brotherly feeling is reciprocated and permeates the whole family. Rāma's other brothers, mother and wife too accept willingly this attitude of Rāma fully realizing its value and importance. When Guha was introduced to Kosala by Bharatha he says, that Guha was the younger brother of Rāma and the elder brother of himself and Lakshmana and Satrughna.

" இன்றுணைவன் இராகவனுக் கிலக்குவற்கும் இளையவற்கும்
குன்றனைய திருநெடுந்தோட் குகன்." [எனக்கும் மூத்தான்

Kosala was at once moved by this brotherly feeling among them and fondly addressed Guha as her fifth son, and blessed all the five children of hers to live long and rule the kingdom together. The parting scene with Guha and especially Rāma's words about her relationship to him so touched Sita's heart, and impressed her that, later, while she was pining for Rāma in the Asokavana, where she was imprisoned by Rāvana, this remisiscence was still green and fresh in her mind. She thought of this and this one thought gave rise to emotions and feelings of love in her.

1. " நைவீ ரலீர் மைந்தீர் . . . . .
கைவீரக் களிறனைய காளையிவன் றன்னோடும் கலந்து நீங்கள்
ஐவிரும் ஒருவிராய் அகலிடத்தை நெடுங் காலம் அளித்திர்."

2. " ஆழநீர்க் கங்கை அம்பி கடாவிய
ஏழை வேடனுக் கெம்பியுன் தம்பி நீ
தோழன் நங்கை கொழுந்தி எனச் சொன்ன
ஆழி நண்பினை யுன்னி அழுங்குவாள்."

We meet the sixth brother of Rāma at Kishkinda. After hearing what Sugriva had to say about his relations with his elder brother Vāli and the many sufferings he had to undergo at his hands, Rāma not only decided to help him but was pleased to adopt him as his brother and said that the enemies of Sugriva either in heaven or earth were his enemies too, that Sugriva's friends and relatives were his and that he was his brother.

" மற்றினி யுரைப்ப தென்னே வானிடை மண்ணில் நின்னைச்
செற்றவர் என்னைச் செற்றார் தீயரே யெனினும் உன்னோ
டுற்றவர் எனக்கும் உற்றார் உன்கிளை எனதென் காதல்
சுற்றமுன் சுற்றம் நீயே இன்னுயிர்த் துணைவன்."

Vibhishana in the Uddah Kānda is admitted into the fold of brothers as the seventh one by Rāma. Even at the risk of being misunderstood by critics that Rama took Sugriva and Vibhishana into his confidence merely out of selfishness with a view to know the secrets of his enemies in return for offering the crown to them and using the knowledge gained thereby against his enemies, Vali and Rāvana, Rāma acted the way he did. Though some view Vibhishana as a traitor who betrayed his brother and his kingdom with the selfish motive of gaining it for himself, Vibhishana on the other hand went over to Rāma's side, according to the poet, with the firm conviction that Rāma was not a mortal, but God incarnate and that he could break off the shackles of birth if he were to take refuge in him. Rāma was to Vibhishana the deliverer of mortals from the sinful world. "*புன்புலப் பிறவியின் பகைவன்.*" By joining the ranks of Rāma, Vibhishana thought he would attain deliverance from birth and death. "*இராமன் தாளிணை புல்லுதும்; புல்லியிப் பிறவி போக்குதும்.*" He did not care for the kingdom though it was offered to him. On the other hand his sole desire was to the request Rāma to crown him with the same crown that adorned the head of Bharatha, i.e. the feet of Rāma. "*இளையவற் கவித்த மௌலி, என்னையும் கவித்தி என்றான்.*" Rāma with his usual grace granted Vibhishan's request and took him over as his own brother. The Seventh Act of the Drama is now over and, as if to give a summary of the growth and developmet of this wider circle of universal brotherhood, the poet makes Rāma say at this juncture that the number of brothers became five with Guha, that it became six with Sugriva, the son of the Sun god, who goes round the mount Meru, that, with the advent of the loving Vibhishana it became seven and that Dasaratha was really blessed in becoming the father of seven sons after Rama came to live in the forest.

"*குகனொடும் ஐவரானேம் முன்புபின் குன்று சூழ்வான்*
மகனொடும் அறுவ ரானேம் எம்முழை அன்பின் வந்த
அகனமர் காதல் ஐய நின்னொடும் எழுவ ரானேம்
புகலரும் கானம் தந்து புதல்வராற் பொலிந்தா னுந்தை."

Thus we see from this short and rapid survey, that the idea of universal brotherhood permeates and runs through as an under current, throughout the Kamba Rāmāyana. The highly placed Royal Prince, Rāma, though he was the highest in the

land cosidered Guha, Sugriva and Vibhishna to be his own brothers in thought, word and practice. Rāma in the Tamil Rāmāyana sets this sentiment as his ideal and by practising it in his life, holds it aloft for us all to follow. It is because of the want of this brotherly feeling and mutual love and trust, in spite of differences of race and creed, among not merely individuals and communities, but among nations as well, that we see to-day before us, horrible wars between nations shattering human civilization and culture to pieces. We see around us not only this ghastly world wars but equally horrible struggles between capital and labour, between castes and creeds and between communities in our country to-day. If only this brotherly feeling and social integration that existed in the Rāma Rājya, should prevail among us in practice, this world of ours, and our dear motherland, would become better and safer place for living.

IS NESCIENCE ONE?

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One of the classical modes in India of interpreting a text is to write *vārttikā*,[1] which, by definition, is empowered to differ from the commentary (*bhāṣya*); it is intended to interpret and criticise it, if necessary and explain its intent and import. It explains the stated propositions, supplies the unstated ones and criticises the stated if necessary. This is a privilege which a *bhāṣya* or a *ṭīkā* does not enjoy, particularly a *ṭīkā* cannot pass criticism on the statement in the *bhāṣya*.[2]

Vācaspati, while avowedly writing a *ṭīkā* on the *Sūtra-bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, contributes his own ideas to the original and expresses freely differences of opinion.

Has Vācaspati then transgressed the limits of his terms of reference? To this Amalānanda answers pungently that *Bhāmatī* could as well be called a *vārttika*, if one so willed. After all, a *vārttika* does not have horns on its head.[3]

Particularly in interpreting the *Vedānta-sūtras* I-15, I.2.21, I-4.3, II-1.15, II-4.17, III-1.25, it is said that Vācaspati wrote his own views independent of what Śaṅkara has said.[4] Patently, ideas

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1. uktānukta-duruktādi cintā yatra pravartate taṁ granthaṁ vārttikaṁ prāhuḥ vārttikajñā manīṣiṇaḥ.
   Bhāṣya is defind as follows : sūtrārtho vaṛṇyaṛte yatra
   padaiḥ sūtrānusāribhiḥ
   svapadāni ca varṇyante
   bhāṣyaṁ bhāṣyavido viduḥ
2. ṭikāyāṁ durukta-cintā na yuktā : *Kalpataru*, II.47
3. natu vārttikasya sṛṅgam asti, II-4.7
4. sūtra-bhāṣyam anapekṣya vyākhyāṁ cakāra : *Kalpataru.*

like those of Vācaspati were the nucleus from which the tradition of the *Bhāmatīprasthāṇa* has developed.

Doctrine of Nescience.

Nescience is treated as one by S'aṅkara as is evidenced by his commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* I.4.3: "For that causal potentiality is of the nature of nescience; it is rightly denoted by the term "undeveloped" (*avyakta*); it has Lord for its substratum (*āśraya*); it is of an illusion (*māyā-mayi*); it is a universal sleep (*mahāsuptiḥ*) in which are lying the souls devoid of the consciousness of their individual character."

The individual soul owes its individuated existence to nescience.[5]

Vācaspati believes that nescience is not one and common to all souls, unlike, for example, the *pradhāna* of the Sāṅkhyas which is one homogenous principle of matter. Nescience, on the contrary, differs from individual to individual.[6]

At the time of the release through the destruction of nescience, it is only the nescience of the particular individual that is destroyed, leaving the nesciences in the other centres of consciousness quite unimpaired. This renders the individual effort to get release meaningful and is at one with the evidence of experience of the world-continuance even after a soul has been liberated.

The logical perplexity arises as follows. If nescience located in Brahman is reponsible for the corruption of the soul into a state of birth and death, it is difficult to see how the liberated souls will be free from this danger. Liberation is Brahmanhood. It the foregoing account is to be trusted, then even in Brahmanhood, there is the menacing presence of nescience, which may involve the liberated souls back again in the cycle of existence.

If, on the other hand, this nescience is rooted out without remainder, by the knowledge possessed by the released soul, it should mean the thorough extirpation of all empirical existence.

5. (Avyaktādhīnatvāt Jīvabhāvasya): *S. B.* I. 4. 3.

6. See *Bhāmatī* I. 4. 3

with no one left as bound and with nothing left as phenomenal. Any single case of liberation will mean universal liberation. In other words, liberation is one, undivided and total, because the binding nescience is one and undivided even as its contradictory, the knowledge, is.

Śaṇkara says that there need be no fears of the return of the released souls to the cycle of existence because the corrosive potencies of nescience are burnt out by knowledge.[7] This leaves unanswered the other horn of the dilemma. The total destruction of nescience will mean the complete removal of conditioned existence once for all.[8] In other words, the liberation of one will mean the liberation of all.

Amalānanda puts the horns of the dilemma precisely: Is the nescience residing in Brahman destroyed by knowledge or not? If yes, there is universal liberation (*sarvamuktih*): If not, there is the implicit danger of the released souls returning to conditioned existence. It is in this connection that Vācaspati tries to get over the difficulty under the pretext of explicating the intention of the *bhāṣya* and says that nescience differs from person to person. One's ignorance is obliterated by the knowledge of that person only according to the sound principle that knowledge and ignorance are opposed to each other, only when they pertain to the same. One's knowledge does not contradict another's nescience,[9] but only one's own. Hence there is no logical difficulty of the salvation for everyone when an individual is liberated.

But there is yet another logical difficulty that can naturally be felt here. That is the fallacy of mutual dependence. The very diversity of individuals is caused by nescience, as Śaṇkara has earlier indicated. Now Vācaspati says that diversity of nescience is caused by the division of individuals. The classical solution of this problem of mutual dependence is that it is not a logical fallacy if this mutual dependence is

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7. vidyayā tasya bīja-śakteḥ dāhāt.

8. avidyā-dāham-upetya sarva-mukter-āpādāṅāt aparihāratvam. *Kalpataru.*

9. bhinnādhikaraṇayoḥ vidyā-avidyayoḥ avirodhāt: *Bhāmatī*

beginningless with reference to an actual sprout.[10] It is a fallacy only if it were case of knowledge by definition. Soul and its nescience are found in fact, beginninglessly interlinked.

Yet this nescience is not an independent constituent cause of the phenomenal series. It requires to be based on the Lord. It is, to both Śaṅkara and Vācaspati, *parameśvarāśraya* but in slightly different senses. Nescience being by definition an insentient power, it cannot operate apart from the Lord without His direction. This dependence is total and unexceptionable. The Lord is either the efficient cause or the substratrum.[11] As the former, He will be the inducer. He is the content of nescience, like the fragrance which is the inducer of the sense of smell, being the content of that smell. As the latter, he will be the basis (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the world-process, as the rope of the snake that appears in it. The rope is there the *Upādāna* of the snake-illusion. The Lord is the *Upādāna*. Hence the nescience, though located[12] in the individual, yet depends on the Lord either by virtue of the efficient causality of the Lord towards nescience in the above sense, or as its content but not as its locus[13] because in the Lord[14] who is of the nature of knowledge there could be no taint of ignorance. According to Appayya Dīkṣita the text: "Brahman is taintless" (*niravadyam*) makes out that Brahman is of the nature of knowledge. The text: "All delusions are transcended" (*moham atyeti*) makes it clear that there is no place for the darkness of nescience in Brahman. The text "*nityamuktaḥ*" (eternally free) underlines the absence of ignorance which is the cause of bondage.[15] In

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10. anāditvāad bījāṅkuravad ubhaya siddeḥ, *Ibid.*
Vācaspati sometimes uses the expression "avidyopādhi-bheda" and not merely "*avidyā-bheda.*" Avidyā is not of different kinds; *avidyātva* is one. Vācaspati explains why the śruti designates *avidyā* as one by saying *avidyātvamātreṇa* ekatvopacāraḥ. See *Kalpataru.*
11. *Jagad-bhrama-adhiṣṭhānatayā ity-arthaḥ, Kalpataru* I.4.3
12. *adhikaraṇa* is the word used by Vācaspati.
13. Vācaspati uses the words Īśvara and 'Brahman' as though that makes no difference. S'aṅkara also uses the term *parmeśvarāśraya.*
14. *Vidyāsvabhāve brahmaṇi tadanupapatteḥ, Bhāmatī* I.43
15. This is Appayya Dīkṣita's contention. He quotes the text: "*Jña-ajñau dvau ajau īs'a-anīs'au*" as the evidence for saying that the individual soul alone is the locus of nescience. *jīva eva ajñanāś'rayaḥ, na brahma ityatra pramāṇam.* See *Parimala* I-4.3

the words of Amalānanda, there could be no connection of any trace of nescience with Brahman, but only with the individual soul which has difference introduced into it by nescience. It is the individual that says that he is ignorant and not the Lord. That which superimposes a distinction in that which is distinctionless, can be said to be related only to that which is the result of such superimposed distinction.[16]

One possible criticism here is that if nescience is located in the soul, the person bound will be different from the person liberated since, on release there is no soul-hood and, release is the essence of the soul. But the wind will be taken away from the sails of this criticism if it is understood that the release is for the soul that hitherto laboured under ignorance. It was that soul that *was* bound that is *now* released. This prevents nescience from being taken over into Brahman and at the same time finds a locus for it in the individual soul. Thus only bondage and release acquire meaning. Nescience is located, that is to say, in the individual soul which it has delimited and which is of the nature of Brahman. Hence nescience is indirectly related to Brahman, just as pot which is the locus of ether delimited by itself is also locus at the same time of *ākāśa* undelimited by it, because delimited ether is the same as the undelimited ether. No real distinction has been brought about in the ether itself because of delimitation.

Amalānanda argues that the text "*soakāmayata svayaṁ akuruta*" does not intend to say that the 'Desire' (*akāmayata*) and *Action* are the modification of *māyā* conditioning the Lord, and that the world is the evolute of this *māyā* and is common to all. According to him the *Kāmakrtī* (Saṁkalpa and Action) are the transfiguration of the nescience of the individual soul;[17] not the modification of the *māyā* in Brahman. Appayya takes the first to mean that the *Kāmakrtī* ("It desired and made itself") are the transfiguration of the Lord who is the content of the nescience of the individual.[18] The first transfiguration leads to further transfigurations. In the snake-illusion, the snake itself is a *vivarta*; it leads to the further *vivarta* of the serpentine

16. निर्विशेषे यत्काल्पनिकं विशेषं संपादयति तत्स्वकल्पित विशेषोपहित एव संसृत्यते।—*Ibid*

17. jīvāvidyāvivartaḥ; na ca brahma—vikriyā

18. jīvāvidyāviṣaya—īs'vara—vivarta.

movement.[19] The common world appearing to be the same to all minds is possible on this hypothesis because Brahman is the *adhiṣṭhāna* and inner essence of all. Letters, for instance, are the same; but the pronunciation may differ. Similarly here also.

Śaṅkara is sure that the *jīvabhāva* is first dependent on nescience.[20] Vācaspati notices this and says that though there is no determination of earlier and later, obtaining as between soul and nescience, yet granting that nescience is earlier, Śaṅkara makes this statement. Amalānanda explains that the statement of antecedence of nescience in bringing about the *jīvatva* is figurative.[21]

This is a logical difficulty that is involved in fixing the priority of any one of the terms of a particular conceptual pair. This is due to the fact that the pair is beginningless. Perhaps it is due to the fact that they arose together when Brahman desired[22] to become many. Nescience and the souls must have appeared *together,* in which case the relative antecedence between the two cannot be fixed.

Now, it could not have been Vācaspati's contention that the nescience differing with each individual is really so. If difference as a category of experience is illusory and is removable by knowledge, its diverse locations also must share the same unstable character of an illusion. It is easy to guess that no *real* plurality of nescience could have been meant by Vācaspati as, the plurality of the selves has at best, only an empirical reality. There is no compromising the truth that the soul in nature, is Brahman.[23] Nescience, too, is not independently real. Vācaspati knows that this nescience is the *power* of Brahman and is called *Māyā.*[24] It is obvious that provisionally, the nescience as *power* is not incompatible with Brahman. It is indeterminable ontologically as either

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19. vivartaś'ca vivarte hetuḥ, sarpa iva visarpaṇasya — *Kalpataru* I-4.3

20. avidyāvattvenaiva jīvasya sarvaḥ
saṁvyavahāraḥ saṁtato vartate — *S.B.* I-4.3.

21. pūrvatvam upacaritam — *Kalpataru*

22. so' kāmyata bahu syāṁ prajāyeyeti.

23. Jīvānāṁ svarūpaṁ vāstavaṁ brahma: Bhāmatī.

24. brahmaṇastu iyam avidyāś'aktiḥ — *Ibid.* In fact this differentiates *advaita* from the Sāṅkhya.

real or unreal. This is the meaning of the term *avyakta*[25] an expression by which Śaṅkara has described nescience. But as *anirvacanīya*, it does not have a reality in the final ontology of Advaita.[26] Yet as the indefinable power of Brahman, it has an ontological status. As such it is, as Vācaspati puts it in another way, dependent on the Lord.[27] So there is no reason to believe that Vācaspati denied this *dependence* of nescience on the Lord and affirmed instead its dependence on the individual soul.

Vācaspati is not saying that *avidyā-śakti* is itself enough. It requires the Lord as the efficient or the inducing *preraka* cause or the *upādāna*. By *Upādānatā*, Vācaspati means the "basis or substratum of the world-illusion,"[28] just as the snake-illusion has as its substratum the rope. So it is not known how far it is correct to say that nescience is *located* in Brahman, though it is made out to be an indeterminable power of Brahman. Thus the nescience *located* in the soul is *dependent* on the Lord either through His being its content (*viṣaya*) or through being its inducer. (*prerakaḥ*).[29]

It is clear then that *avidyā* as a power of the Lord has quite a different connotation from the one which the nescience *located* in the individual has. The soul is neither the inducing cause nor the content of nescience from which it suffers. And *tadāśrayatva* is interpreted by Amalānanda as *tadviṣayatva*. The term *viṣaya* has an epistemological slant.

It concerns the *knowing*. When Śaṅkara uses the expression "*vidyayā tasya bija-śakteḥ-dāhāt*," he means to say that the nescience of the soul is removed by knowledge. Īśvara as the content of ignorance is then no more concealed.

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25. iyam eva asya avyaktatvaṃ, yad anirvācyatvaṁ nāma : *Bhāmatī*

26. In later Advaita, even *removal* of nescience does not have reality over and above Brahman.

27. avidyā-śakteḥ īśvarādhīnatvam : *Bhāmatī*

28. prapañca - vibhrama - īśvaropādānaḥ : *Bhāmatī*
jagad—bhrama—adhiṣṭhānatā — *Kalpataru*

29. jīvādhikaraṇāpyavidyā nimittatayā
viṣayatayā vā īśvaram āśrayate iti
īśvarāśrayā ityucyate, na tu ādhāratayā : *Bhāmatī*

But, is nescience as the power of the Lord also annihilated? No; because having by the power of nescience projected the manifold individualities, Īśvara's power keeps the empirical manifold even though one individual has freed himself from the nescience of which he was the locus by his own khowledge. Thus the soul's knowledge of truth is the contradictory of the ignorance that beset it *epistemically*, that is, that had concealed the truth from its vision. Earlier the truth (Īśvara, Brahman) was not known, now it is known. The difference lies in ignorance being removed. Such an ignorance is an epistemic principle, removable by knowledge, far different from nescience as the power of the Lord which does not discharge any epistemic function, but is only an ontological power subsistent in the Lord.

Vācaspati makes clear the distinction between nescience as an ontological power and nescience as an epistemic condition when he, in criticism of the Sāṅkhya view, says that nescience is not like the Pradhāna which is one and undivided. When it is argued by Sāṅkhya that bondage and liberation are the result of the lack of discrimination and its obtainment respectively between Pradhāna and Puruṣa, Vācaspati replies that, then, it is nescience that is responsible for bondage which is removed by the removal of nescience and that, therefore, the oneness of Pradhāna is not quite relevant to the issue. What matters is the nescience in the individual,[30] and that is obviously epistemic, creating the delusion and destroyed by knowledge obtained by valid methods. It is such a nescience that is located in the individual and varies from individual to individual. Otherwise, if the nescience is one and located in Brahman, the degrees of knowledge noticed in the individuals are unexplained. That the individuals are empirically many is known by the text which says: "It desired.....I will become many."

Moreover, interpreting the Bhāṣya text: "The individual transmigrating souls lie asleep in nescience, Vācaspati says that by *śerate* sleep or merger (*laya*) is meant. By "transmigrating" (*saṁsāriṇaḥ*) the experience of the multiplicity (*vikṣepa*) is meant.[31] The defect thus lies in the vision of the individual soul.

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30. avidyā — sad — asadbhāvābhyām eva tadupapatteḥ *Bhāmatī*.

31. Saṁsāriṇaḥ iti vikṣepa uktaḥ: — *Bhāmatī*

A TAMIL COLLEGE OF 13TH CENTURY

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Education in Tamilnādu in ancient and medieval times was generally religious and based on largely Sanskrit learning in its scope and orientation. It was not exclusively literary, for the study of subjects like fine arts, technical and other useful arts also received attention and patronage and enjoyed a status equal to that of literary studies. During the period from the 6th century A.D. down to the end of the 13th century A.D. the history of Tamilnādu witnessed the rise and fall of the three great powers namely, the Pallavas, Chōlas and Pāṇḍyās. Some of the rulers of these dynasties were not mere empire builders, but also worked for the promotion and progress of education in the country. During this period, Tamilnādu reached a high water mark in different spheres of material life viz. education, literature, religion, art and architecture.

The sources which supply information for the study of progress of education in ancient times fall into two groups namely (1) epigraphical records and (2) the contemporary literature and travellers' accounts. The epigraphical records of the period from the 4th to the 13th century A.D. contain much information, particularly about the establishment of institutions like *Ghaṭikās Agrahāras, Maṭhas, Śālais* and temple-colleges which worked for the promotion of education in the country. They are helpful to form a general picture of the educational system, its curriculum and its salient features in ancient Tamilnādu. But it must be borne in mind that most of the records mention grants and endowments made for the maintenance of Sanskrit scholars and establishment of institutions for Sanskrit studies only. They do not give any information about the progress of Tamil studies or

its status in relation to the Sanskrit education though there was a steady flow of Tamil literature from time to time. With regard to the Karnāṭaka country, though, most of the records refer to the progress of Sanskrit studies, it is fortunate to have a few of them occasionally throw some glimpses into the study of Kannada language and literature.

Up till now it was believed that there is not even one inscription which refers to fostering of Tamil studies, in ancient Tamilnādu. But now we come across two inscriptions from Tirukkacciyūr, in the Chingleput district, which for the first time, record the existence of a Tamil college in the village of Kāvaṇūr in the same district during the period of the Pāṇḍyas, i.e. the 13th century A.D. The inscriptions call the institution a *Ghaṭikā*. Before entering into a discussion of the nature of Tamil studies fostered by the institution, it is better to understand and identify the institution, which was known as *Ghaṭikā*.

Epigraphy mentions the establishment of numerous *Ghaṭikās* in various places in South India right from the 4th century A.D. down to the end of the 15th century A.D. The word *Ghaṭikā* has been variously interpreted by scholars. Kielhorn identifies the *Ghaṭikā* with *Gōsthi* and says that it was an establishment consisting of groups of holy and learned Brahmanas, probably in each case founded by a king.[1] According to Krishnaswami Aiyangar, it was a Brahman settlement.[2] Dr. Minakshi interprets that it was the place or institution where scholars aud students strove after knowledge.[3] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri calls it a Corporate college.[4] Thus the word *Ghaṭikā* may be taken to mean either an institution or a settlement or an assembly, but we have to bear in mind that its real interpretation mainly depends on the context of the inscription. A careful study of the present records from Tirukkacciyūr mentioning the *Ghaṭikā* at Kāvaṇūr suggests beyond doubt that the *Ghaṭikā* in the place might have been an educational institution or an assembly of learned scholars who were all proficient in Tamil language and literature.

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1. E. I. VIII, P.26 and note-1
2. S. K. Aiyangar, *Evolution of Hindu Administrative institutions in South India*, P.105
3. C. Minakshi, *Administration and social life under the Pallavas* P.186
4. K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, P.310

Of the two inscriptions, one mentions the name of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and the other is undated. It is very difficult to identify the king because there are more than one Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in the Pāṇḍya dynasty, who reigned in different periods. But a close study of the palaeography of these two inscriptions suggest that they belong to the end of the 13th century A.D.[5] This is the first time that we hear of a *Ghaṭikā* consisting of Tamil scholars. The first inscription[6] records that Kāvaṇūr *alias* Poyyāmoḷi-mangalam was the proprietory land (*kāṇi*) of Perunambikal who was a descendent of Cāttanār who was also titled Muttamiḷ Acāryan and said to have belonged to the *Ghaṭikā* of the village. Though we are unable to identify the scholar Cāttanar, he is described in the record as *Muṭṭamiḷ Acāriyarāna Tamil karai kaṇḍa Cāttanār*. Since the member Nambikal claims descent from Cāttanar, it may be suggested that the history of the *Ghaṭikā* would have had its foundation laid in a few centuries earlier. The word Nambikal is an interesting one which may be taken to mean either the name of a person or a teacher. For instance, in the Eṇṇāyiram inscription[7] of the Chōla king, Rājēndra, which mentions the establishment of a big Sanskrit college in the village, the teacher was called Nambikal. Hence the person mentioned in the present record would have been probably a teacher in the *Ghaṭikā* for Tamil Studies. The other inscription[8] mentions the names of a few scholars of the *Ghaṭika* who were all well versed in Tamil language and literature. Since the record is badly damaged more details are not available. However one of the members is called Poyyāmoḷi Tamil Velan. The other names are not clearly visible except the titles like *Muttamil*, etc. The word *Poyyamoḷi* appears as a title to the member Tamil Velan thereby showing that he was hailing from the village Kavanur *alias* Poyyāmoḷimangalam. It may be also taken to indicate the proficiency of the scholar in *Tirukkural*, which was also called *Poyyamoḷi*.

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5. The author has studied the Palaeography of these two inscriptions with the permission of Dr. Gai, the chief Epigraphist, Government of India at Mysore.
6. 51 of 1932-33
7. 333 of 1917
8. 301 of 1909

Though we do not get direct reference to Tamil studies in the Tamil country, the present inscriptions are of utmost value from the point of view of Tamil learning. Since the *Ghaṭikā* consisted of these great Tamil scholars, naturally it would have played a prominent role in the spread of Tamil studies and literature. The titles, like *Muttamiḻ, Poyyāmoḻi,* etc. point to the fact that different branches of Tamil literature would have been studied in the *Ghaṭikā*. Since the inscriptions are incomplete and badly damaged it is difficult to make much out of them.

It is equally interesting to note that the name of the village Kavaṇūr bears *Poyyāmoḻi,* one of the names of *Kural,* as prefix to Mangalam. This fact indicates that Poyyamoḻi-mangalam was closely associated with the promotion of Tamil literature and culture. We may not be far wrong it we conclude that Kāvaṇūr would have flourished as a great centre of Tamil culture, promoting Tamil learning, probably during the days of the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas.

FOLK LORE OF TAMIL NADU*

BY

A. V. JEYECHANDRUN, M.A., B.L.,
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Folk lore of Tamil Nadu sums up all that could be told in Tamil language or expressed by other media by the sons of the soil, as expressions of their link with the land, its people, its idioms, and all that they experience as an integral part of its culture. Folk lore is packed with homely truths, seeking to guide men and women into happier life. It has introduced pleasurable living, opened the eyes of man to the loveliness of the finest human emotions and experiences. No other media of expression has taught the most precious lessons learned by humanity than folk lore.

Searching for her daughter who has chosen to live with her lover instead with her parents, a sobbing mother asks the passers by :

Have you seen a couple
pass this way ?
My daughter and son of another woman,
both knit in love,
have you seen them pass ?

She gets a reassurance from their voice :

See we did,
the handsome lad
and the tender girl,
both young and strong.

It's natural, Don't Sob,
Get back home, mother !

Script of Radio Talk on "The Folk Lore of Tamil Nadu" broadcast over All India Radio Studios, Tiruchi on 23-10-1971 at 9-15 p.m.

The elderly passers-by advise the mother to bear the news of elopement with equanimity :

Sandal paste is priceless
to its user, picked.

No use is it to the hills
where it is born

Sparkling white pearl
to its wearer precious.
What use is it to the water,
in the depth of which it is born.

Music is to the musician exquisite,
is it anything to *yazh*,
Where it is born.

Do go your way, mother,
No use is your daughter, chaste
Except to the good lad she followed in faith,
to lead a life of married bliss.

These lines sum up certain truths that are understandable ; but the spirit of these lines and the idiom in use could be caught only in the language in which it is originally written—Tamil. Folk lore is parochial for it is the expression of truths, symbols, experiences that could be expressed only in one language, the language in which people *feel.*

Old songs. old stories, old sayings, old beliefs, customs, practices, mind skills, hand skills, theatrical talents, and fine arts —these have a life of their own. They do not get destroyed inspite of the print-cum-cinema age. They are in the mouth and hands of the rural people always, all the while being renewed, patterned by common experience, varied by constant repetition. They are cherished because of their expressive quality.

Folk lore retains the spontaneity and vitality of primary impulse and the quick of the primitive soul of our ancestors.

Let us examine a few folk songs.

Universally, the birth of a child, the care with which it should be attended to, do's and dont's of its proper upbringing, are subject

matter of folk lore. In Tamil Nadu to every mother, her son is a *Māharaja*—a veritable *Chakravarthi* who rules the land. She carefully hides the chubby child from other's gaze lest 'evil eye' falls on it.

(1) To have a look at you,
what a motley crowd,
Let not evil eye fall on you, my dear!
Just close the door a little please!

Another mother sings a lullaby.

(2) All kings with elephant brigade,
await your orders, dear kid,
seated in the court yard.
Emperors with pearl umbrellas
are at our doors
to pay tributes in pearls.

Incidentally in course of time, the *rājas* in the song will be replaced by *amaichars*—ministers who are now real rulers of the soil.

Feeding kids, poses several problems. To fall into the child's moods and feed it, requires considerable tact. The folk lore equips young mothers with themes for diverting the child's attention and transfering its mood. Moon in the song plays the trick.

(3) Moon! Moon! come! come!
stop not awhile do come!
Climbing over hills do come!
bring jasmines but do come!

The 'boy-meet-girl,' and wedlock are pet themes of folk lore the world over. The Tamils are no exceptions. The only difference being the Tamil folk lore breathes Tamil traditions. References to the boys—eligible bachelors or would be husbands—are only as '*athān*,' '*māmā*' and '*machān*.' The word '*athān*' means son of paternal aunt, and the words '*māmā*' and '*machān*' point out mōther's brother. Till recent past, marriages in higher castes were endogamous. The *athāns*, *māmās*, were often jeered at by young girls. In rural areas it is always 'adam teasing,'

never 'eve teasing.' A '*māmā*' requests her girl to meet him under the mango tree. The girl rebuffs the suggestion :

(4) You *māmā* !
under the mango shade !

Come in goggles
Sandal on forehead and
zaried turban

The girl asks her *māmā* not to seek clandestine meeting under the shade, but openly seek her hand in marriage through her parents, meeting them with sufficient paraphernalia.

Young girls often sing in company, funny folk songs on marital love. Once a girl was asked what she would do if she married. A folk song sketches her dreams.

(5) Lassie dear !
sweet little, white *thumbai* !
If *athān* comes
What will you do ?

Hard sugar candy
shall I cut and offer.

Tastily heated milk
shall I serve
As he eats, shall I cajole,
with my own hand shall I feed.

Silken mat
shall I spread.
besides him
shall I sit
and chatter.

Thumbai is a white little flower-symbolising virginity. Incidentally the food stuffs mentioned prepare the couple physically for the increased physical activity required for the consumnation marriage.

The girl was married, a child was born, the first flush upsurging physical lust has poured out. She is facing the hard realities of a household—its ambivalent aspects.

Let us listen to the care-worn married woman :

(6) *Athān* did come,
What said he ?

Pluck the bitter gourd said he,
pluck did I, prepared a dish
'insect' he said.

Spread a leaf, food I served,
'dust' he declared

Baked a pan-cake, afresh I gave,
'cow dung cake,' he threw it away.

The child I placed it on his lap,
'no dolls for me,' he pushed it aside.

Marriage is not, all love or all lament. The girl has to adjust herself to the varying moods of the husband, for the edifice of a happy home is built only on the bedrock of her sacrifice.

'*Nalangu*' is a ritual when the bride and bridegroom are anointed with sandal paste. The bride's party sing in praise of the bride, and tease the groom while the bride-groom's party take the other tune. The songs are rich with punch.

(7) The bride is red like the *kovai*.
Oh ! look at the groom,
angularities of his face !

Come ! anoint them !
Like the yellow lime is her complexion,
his, volcanic and vile !
come ! ānoint them !

A Tamil proverb directs that even with thousand lies a marriage should be performed if all things otherwise went well. The marriage has been performed, the bride's party realises the bluff. The song now :

(8) Judge at Kumbakonam thought we
gave our daughter fine.

But now supervisor of dustbin-labourers,
Realised we.

For anything the rural folk invoked gods. They believed that performance, in the village open, of the drama on Harichandra and particularly, the *mayāna kānda* where Harichandra in a bid to collect tolls asks his wife to part with her *tāli*, was sure to bring rain. Often folk songs, invoking gods to order rain were sung. These songs were to them magical invocations. Let us also join them.

(9) Oh moon! Oh moon!
Oh God almighty,
Oh Indra! Oh Vasudeva!
Let rain pour now.

Oh Malayāla Bhagavathi!
pacifying lady of the dance Lord!
Make the rain descend down,
Let humans prosper.

Rain is the elixir of life on earth and the burden of all these folk songs is 'let humans live.'

Any new changes are at first viewed with suspicion and then gradually absorbed by the rural community. The train and the telephone were themes of a number of folk songs :

(10) Engined vehicles,
Skill on both sides,
Without Bullock—it goes,
Magical white man's cart.

Self propelled it moves,
caste whiteman's cart.

Comes the cart, at Vadipatti shandi.
Telepnone speaks at Samayanallur station.

An aeroplane evoked in them greater awe :

(11) Like the flying hay-stack comes the aeroplane.
The sound of its flight—
sends down tremor of fear.

A ten mile-distance flies the aeroplane.
Even the dead will arise alive,
at the hands of this white man's son.

Folk lore differs from the rest of literature in its history and choice of words; its author is the original 'forgotten man,' and the language is that of the mob. When folk literature gets nearer the poets and writers, it tends to shape about itself into a formal literary tradition.

Ālwars, Nāyanmārs, have chosen folk lore as the media to spread the *bhakti* movement. The classical example is Mānikkavāsaga who has clothed many of his soul-stirring poems in the folk garb. The *pāvai pāttu*, a folk song sung by the village belles during the months of Margali and Thai (December-January) for getting up early in the morning and proceeding to the river or any other water source for a bath aud praying to the lord for conferring on them a boon of a good bride-groom—comes in handy as an example. Both the poems *Tiruvembāvai* and Āndal's *Tiruppāvai* have stood the test of time and for centuries have been sung by young unmarried girls of Tamil Nadu.

The other humbler and homelier folk forms used in literature are the *ammānai*, sung when the girls play with three balls, *sunnam*, when they pound rice and other food preperations, *sālal*, *Pūvalli*, *untiyār*, *Tōl Nōkkam* and *ūsal*. Songs in the form of folk pattern are known as *varippāttu* in Tamil literature.

Folk type-write-ups and back ground songs for folk dances are many. Songs for *kummi*, *pallu*, *kuram*, *Kuravanji*, *nondi nātakam*, keep time, rhythm and provide explanatory back drop for sequences of the dances of dance-dramas.

When these songs or stories are absorbed in literature they acquire scholarly prestige, and erudition. Folk forms like the *pillai-t-tamil*, and the *kalampakham*, are good examples.

As with songs so with classical music, the origins of which can be traced to folk music. Tunes of the *cindu*, especially kavadi *cindu* and *Nondi cindu*, compare favourably with their sophisticated counterparts, classical compositions, in rhythmical variations. Sophisticated rāgas like *nīlāmbari*, *ānanda bhairavi*, *punnāgavarali*, *navaroz*, *kurinji*, and *nādanāmakriya* had their origins in folk music.

Even in folk music instruments, Tamil Nadu provides a variety. The folk story of Desingu Rājan is reeled out in songs keeping time with *kidikkitti vādyam.* The *thombai kūttādi* uses percussion instruments. Sūriya valayam, chandravalayam. udukku, pambai, urumi, silambu, sangu, jālara, kudam, tavil, tundina are all folk instruments.

Folk dances of Tamil Nadu have a special appeal. *Puravi āttam, terukkūttu, karakam, Kāvadi, pagal veṣam, kuravan kuratti* are dances which inform and entertain rural folks down the ages in Tamil Nadu.

All these constitute the folk lore of the Tamils, descended to them in a never ending stream, defying time. They have been passed from father to son and still will be passed on to posterity till enternity.

Primaily the folk lore is for the people—in all strata of existence. Like life itself, folk lore is 'animal' in its origins and 'spiritual' in its possible fruit. By and large they always explore human experience and try to shift the genuine and the enduring from the shoddy and vulgar, to erect an hierarchy of values.

இவ்விடை

என்மகள் ஒருத்தியும், பிறள் மகன் ஒருவனும்
தம்முளே புணர்ந்த தாம்அறி புணர்ச்சியர்;
அன்னர் இருவரைக் காணிரோ? பெரும!
காணேம் அல்லோம்; கண்டனம் கடத்திடை

ஆண்எழில் அண்ணலோடு அருஞ்சுரம் முன்னிய
மாண்இழை மடவரல் தாயிர் நீர் போறிர்?
பலவுறு நறும்சாந்தம் படுப்பவர்க்கு அல்லதை
மலையுளே பிறப்புனும், மலைக்கு அவைதாம் என் செய்யும்?
நினையுங்கால், நும்மகள் நுமக்கும் ஆங்கு அனையளே;

சீர்கெழு வெண்முத்தம் அணிபவர்க்கு அல்லதை
நீருளே பிறப்பினும் நீர்க்கு அவைதாம் என்செய்யும்?
தேருங்கால், நும்மகள் நுமக்கும் ஆங்கு அனையளே;
ஏழ்புனர் இன்னிசை முரல்பவர்க்கு அல்லதை
யாழுளே பிறப்பினும் யாழ்க்கு அவைதாம் என்செய்யும்?

குழுங்கால், நும்மகள் நுமக்கும் ஆங்கு அனையளே;

எனவாங்கு,
இறந்த கற்பினுட்கு எவ்வம் படரன்மின்;
சிறந்தானை வழிபடஇச் சென்றனள்;
அறந்தலை பிரியாஆறும் மற்று அதுவே".

—(கலித்தொகை: 8)

THE FOLK SONGS REFERRED TO IN THE TALK

கிராமியப் பாடல்கள்.

(1) கண்மணியைக் காண்பதற்குக்
கன கூட்டம் வந்ததுபார்!
கண்ணேறு வந்து விடும்!
கதவைச் சற்று மூடுங்கள்.

(2) ஆனைகட்டி வாழ்கின்ற
அரசர்கள் எல்லோரும்—உன்
ஆணைகளைக் கேட்பதற்கு
அமர்ந்திருப்பார் வாசலிலே

முத்துக் குடைபிடித்த
முடிமன்னர் எல்லோரும்
முத்து திறை யளக்க
மொய்த்திருப்பார் வாசலிலே

(3) நிலா நிலா வா வா.
நில்லாமல் ஓடிவா!
மலை மேலே ஏறிவா!
மல்லியப்பூ கொண்டுவா!

(4) மாமாடா மாமா!
மாமரம் சோலை
நீ வரும் வேளை
நீலக் கண்ணுடி
சந்தனப் பொட்டு
சரிகைத் தலைப்பாய்!

(5) அம்மா பொன்னே
தும்பைப் பூவே!
அத்தான் வந்தால்
என்ன செய்வே?

கட்டி வெல்லம்
புட்டு வைப்பேன்
கறந்த பாலெக்
காய்ச்சி வைப்பேன்
உண்ணச் உண்ணச்
சோறு ஊட்டுவேன்
பட்டுப் பாயை
விரிச்சிப் போட்டு
பக்கத்திலிருந்து
பேசிக்கிட்டிருப்பேன்

(6) அத்தான் வந்தாரே
என்ன சொன்னரு
ஆற்றிலிருக்கிற
பாகற்காயை
அறுக்கச் சொன்னரே
அறுத்துக் கிறுத்துப்
பொரிச்சு வைத்தேன்
பூச்சி என்ருரே!
எலேயை போட்டுச்
சோறு படைத்தேன்
திப்பி என்ருரே!

அடையைத் தட்டிக்
கையிலே கொடுத்தேன்
வறட்டி என்ருரே
பிள்ளே எடுத்து
மடியிலே வைச்சேன்
பொம்மை என்ருரே.

(7) கோவைப்பழம் போல
எங்கள் பெண்ணழகு—இந்த
கோணமூஞ்சு மாப்பிள்ளேக்கு
நலங்கிட வாரும்.

எலுமிச்சம் பழம் போல
எங்கள் பெண்ணழகு—இந்த
எரிமூஞ்சி மாப்பிள்ளேக்கு
நலங்கிட வாரும்.

(8) கும்பகோணத்து ஜட்ஜ் என்று
பெண் கொடுத்தோம்
குப்பை வாரி மேஸ்திரி
தெரியாமல் போச்சு.

(9) சந்திரரே, சூரியரே
சாமி பகவானே
இந்திரரே, வாசுதேவா
இம்ப மழை பெய்ய வேணும்

மலையாள பகவதியே
மனங்குளிர்ந்த கூத்தனுச்சி
மழையை இறக்கி விடு
மாதுடங்க கையெடுக்க.

(10) எஞ்சினு வண்டிகளாம்
இருபுறமும் சூட்சியமாம்
மாடில்லாமே போகுதடி
மாய வெள்ளக் காரன் வண்டி
தன்னுலே போகுதில்லோ
சாதி வெள்ளக்காரன் வண்டி
வண்டி வருகுதடி
வாடிப்பட்டி மந்தையிலே
தந்தி வந்து பேசுதடி?
சமயநல்லூர் டேசனிலே

(11) வய்க்கப் படப்புப் போல
வருகுதடி ஏராப்பிளான்
பறக்கும் சத்தம் கேட்டவுடன்
பதறுதடி என் மனசு!
பத்து மைல் துரத்திலே
பறக்குதடி ஏராப்பிளான்!
செத்தாப் பிழைப்பனோ? இந்தச்
சீமை வெள்ளக் காரன் மகன்!

SECTION II: REPORTS OF SEMINARS AND LECTURES

The Institute of Traditional Cultures, University Buildings, Madras-5 conducted two seminars on 'Chettiars and Hinduism in South-East Asia' (1st December 1971) and 'Non-Aryan Elements in Rig Veda' (16th February 1972) respectively in room No. 48 of the University Departmental Buildings. The following is a report of the proceedings of the seminars:

CHETTIARS AND HINDUISM IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Director:

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M. A., D. Litt., D. (Phil.) (Oxon.).

Leader:

Thiru S. M. L. Lakshmanan Chettiar (Somalay).

Others:

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Leaders :

Esteemed Director and Friends,

I am happy to lead in this seminar.

I am aware of the work of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, viz. of disseminating information relating to the cultures of the countries of South and South-East Asia. Thc subject of this paper falls well within the scope of the Institute's work.

My happiness also arises from the fact that I am speaking today under the presidency of my own teacher, Dr. K. K. Pillay, a great historian.

Today is Thiru Kārthigai Deepam day; a day of illumination and of special importance to Lord Subramanya and my paper too deals mostly with the temples for this deity.

Like the term 'Middle East', the term 'South-East Asia' too, became popular during World War II. For the purpose of this paper, we are taking into account Hinduism in Ceylon, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, Viet Nam, Thailand and Indonesia, and it is to refer to these countries that we are using the general term 'South-East Asia'.

Hinduism owes its present status and importance in South-East Asia to the deep faith of the various Hindu groups living there, to the activities (in a few places) of Śrī Rāmakrishna Mission, the Divine Life Society etc. Along with these, the role of the Chettiars has been significant in making Hinduism a live

force in the spiritual and cultural affairs of various countries. In making this study, we are not underrating the services of other groups. Ours is only an academic and objective approach.

The Chettiars or Nāṭṭukkoṭṭai Nagarathārs of Chettināḍ (in Tamil Nāḍu) are overseas traders and (after mid-19th century) bankers. Religion is the basis of their community organization. Every Chettiar belongs to one of the nine temple-circles and marriages have to be registered at the appropriate temple-circles in prescribed manner and time.

To quote Dr. Philip Siegelman "huge sums were expended by the Chettiars for temple construction, the guilding of the temples of Tanjore and South India and the purchase of lands in the Cauvery delta, whose incomes sustained and still sustain, the temple trusts of many of South India's most opulent temples.....they are still thought of as financial wizards in the administration of temple lands and funds..... Chettiar contributions to the support and construction of temples was often so seemingly legendary (wealthy men would deliberately court and often experience financial ruin in such projects) that it approaches hyperbole."[1]

Chettiars are ardent Hindus and are devotees of Śiva. Not a single Chettiar is a Vaishnavite. According to one scholar, they practise tithing to Śiva rather than Vishnu, because Vishnu gives his blessings to his devotees only by making them virtuous, while Śiva gives pecuniary and material prosperity.

There is not even a single case of Chettiar conversion from Hinduism to other religions, in spite of the fact that some of them have married outside the Hindu fold and live in countries where Hinduism is not the predominent religion. This is particularly important, since almost all the Hindus who were settled in Malaysia by the Pallava and Chola rulers embraced Islam in the 15th century.

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1. (*Religion and Economic Activity: The Chettiars of Madras*—paper read at Washington D. C. at the 6th annual meeting of the International Society for the study of under-developed Economies, 1964).

In Indonesia, for instance, the continuous flow of Hindu migrants from the first to the twelfth century shaped Indonesian culture and deeply influenced its civilisation. Indonesia finally passed to Islam in the 15th century. And Islam too went to Indonesia from India.

In Ceylon, a Hindu trading community embraced Christianity. They are all Catholics and are called "Colombo Chetties" to distinguish them from the Chettiars.

Even while staying abroad, the Chettiars have their moorings in India by keeping regular contacts with temples in Tamil Nāḍu, through particular families of priests. They make generous donations for renovation of temples in India and when they visit India, usually once in three years, they make it a point to go on pilgrimage to various temples in South India. Some Chettiars from Burma used to come to Chettinad via Vāraṇāsi.

Chettiar activity in religion has extended to various States of India; their connections with the Viśvanāth Temple at holy Vāraṇāsi are close, continuous and significant. Abroad, the Chettiars have built the Mīṇakshi Chockalingam temple in Mauritius over a century ago. Currently a Hindu Temple project is under way in New York city and a Chettiar (Dr. A. Alagappa, Chief of the Water Resources section of the United Nations) is the prime mover of the project.

Everywhere the Chettiars went to South-East Asia, they sponsored the construction of Hindu Temple in the important places where they have settled permanently or for business purposes. Besides attending to their profession, the only thing to which the Chettiars devote their time and money is religious activity. Their pattern of daily tife, generally, is orthodox and the older men perform Śiva Pūja every morning. Footwear cannot be worn in the business premises.

The temples built by the Chettiars are medium-sized. They are not very huge structures; there is no thousand-pillared hall or even a hundred-pillared hall in any of them. But they are con-

spicuous landmarks in those towns because of their Dravidian architecture and Rājagopuram or gateway-towers noted for their grace and harmony, colour and form. They are well kept, neat and tidy.

These temples are of recent origin having been built in the second half of the 19th century; so they are not hoary shrines figuring in song, story and legend. Still the local people have great attachment to these temples and in recent years, visiting scholars and saints have composed hymns on some of them e. g. Kambai Sannadhi Murai.

In most cases, the whole Chettiar community and not just one individual family doing business in that locality, undertakes the job of building a temple and maintaining it. There are exceptions to this rule e. g. Selva Vināyakar Kōvil, Kandy, Ceylon, to which particular reference will be made later.

Valuable jewellery and silver chariots have been provided for the temples. Flower gardens are maintained. The temple establishment includes Paṇḍāram priests, Ōdhuvārs to sing divine songs and musicians to play the Nādhasvaram.

The endowments are all by Chettiars. However, others too, make small voluntary contributions during festivals by depositing cash into the temple Hundi as thanks-giving offering for boons conferred by the deity, for curing ailments and for giving them a high standard of living.

The members of the community contribute annually certain percentage ($\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% usually) of their capital invested in business (not property) for the maintenance of these temples.

Another source of income is the proceeds of sale in auction on the last day of every festival, token offerings of small items of jewellery etc. donated by beneficiaries. The Chettiars buy in such auctions, auspicious articles, viz turmeric, betel leaf, lime fruit etc. at fancy prices. The Almighty is believed to bless the buyers with a prosperous and peaceful year.

Management of the temples is by rotation among various Chettiar groups according to well-established conventions. Usually, it rotates among the various groups of business houses. In each building or *kiddangy*, the senior-most business house is powerful, The others too try their level best to get the management in turn and since temple management involves a lot of money, they go all out to get it even by giving security, if so desired. It turns out to be an issue of prestige. Instances are not wanting where a junior brother buys office space in another *kīddangy* to secure the chance of managing the temple at least once in his life-time. There is no Hindu Religious Endowment Board in these countries; but the entire community of Chettiars acts as an inspectorate and there are no serious cases of misappropriation. The accounts are an open book audited by the entire community; when a business goes default, the temple investments are the first charge on the assets.

Annual festivals are held in these temples. Important among these are Thai Pūśam in Singapore, Penang, Rangoon and Saigon, Ādivel in Ceylon etc. During these festivals, the deity is taken to a nearby place on the outskirts of the cities (e. g. Pasumandan near Rangoon, Vellavetta near Colombo, Unuvattunai near Galle). Feeding the poor folk of *all* religions is an important item of these celebrations. Religiously inspired honesty has characterised the dealings of the Chettiars.

The temples are usually consecrated to Lord Subramanya, popularly known as Murugan. The men versatile in Āgamās are few and far between in the overseas countries and so it is much easier to maitain a Subramanya temple than a Śiva temple. Also it can be initially put up with just a picture or by planting a Vēl (a weapon in the armoury of Lord Subramanya). The social life of the Chettiars revolves around the temples. It is in the temples that Chettiars welcome dignitaries, hold meetings of a business nature, fix rates of interest etc. No meeting will have a Chairman; for Lord Subramanya also called affectionately the 'Chetty Murugan' is regarded as Chairman for any community meeting.

The icons are made in India by reputed sthapthis in consultation with heads of mutts viz. H. H. Sankarāchārya Swāmigal of Kāñchī Kāmakōṭi Pitham. Services of qualified persons are requisitloned from India to perform re-dedication ceremonies, installation of vigrahas etc.

In South India, a tank and a temple go together. In between them, long rows of beggars stand or sit awaiting small coins from temple-goers. These scenes are hard to find outside India.

In most temples there are wells, bath-rooms, sanitary facilities and plentiful supply of clean water through pipes.

CEYLON

The Thiruketheeswaram temple, 32 K. M. from Talaimannar on the Western coast of Ceylon, in the village of Mantota, is one of the two most sacred pre-historic temples in Ceylon which have been referred to in classical literature and have received laudatory hymns from Śaiva saints. The other is Konesvara temple at Trincomallee.

According to legend, Thiruketheeswaram Temple was worshipped by Rāvaṇa and Prince Vijaya, the founder of the Sinhala race, known to the ancients as "Mathottam". Modern Thiruketheeswaram was the one and only Ceylonese port which had trade links with Greece and Rome. The Portuguese destroyed this temple in the 17th century. Just as Rameswaram is so called because Rāma worshipped there, Ketheesvaram owes its name to the worship here by Kethu.

The following account is from *Thiruketheeswaram papers* compiled, edited and published by Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan in 1957. (Page No. 13):

"The original site of the Temple, which had been razed to the ground, was traced in June, 1894 from the clue afforded by the old well on the Temple land. The Śivalingam which was in worship in pre-Portuguese period, a Nandi and a Ganesha image were discovered near the old foundations of what is believed to be the old Temple site.

"The Naddukoddai Chettiars both in Jaffna and in Colombo took an interest in this Temple from the beginning. Subsequently, the Temple itself came under the management of the Old and New Kathiresan Temples of Colombo. At present, it is under the management of a Panchayat of the Thiruketheeswaram Temple Restoration Society on which, by a rule of the Society, the two Colombo Temples will always have representation."

Similar tributes have been paid to the Chettiar community and to individual Chettiar like Mr. Palaniappa Chettiar for their work in Thiruketheeswaram in a journal called *Indu. Sadhanam* in its issue of 13th Margazhi 1893 and in Mr. N. Kailasa Pillai's foreword to a publication on Thiruketheeswaram Temple in 1935.

According to a letter received by me from Swami Saravanamuthu of Eezhathu Sivanadiyar Thirukoottam, it was Mr. RM. AR. Palaniappa Chettiar who came forward to buy the land (jungle where the temple lay hidden and in pieces) to the extent of 40 acres, in a public auction. Again, it was the Chettiars who arranged to get a Shiva Linga from Vāranāsi and to perform a *kumbhabishekam* on 28th June 1903. The management of the temple then passed on to the Chettiars who were doing business in Madambe; on March 1, 1919 they transferred the management to the old and new Kathiresen temples of the Chettiars in Colombo. During their management (which lasted till 1951), they purchased and donated 80 acres of agricultural land to the temple. As the income was insufficient to maintain the establishment, the Chettiars met the salaries of the priests, an accountant and an orderly. In the farm, a big bore-well was constructed and drinking water was supplied from it to the temple through a pipe system.

A local committee is managing the temple from 1952. It includes two Chettiars to represent the old and the new Kathiresan temples. When the Chettiars came into the scene, it was just a jungle in British possession. When they handed over the management to the local committee, in 1951, there was a well-built temple with endowments worth Rs. ten lakhs.

The Chettiars have built in Thiruketheesvaram, a resthouse for pilgrims, priority of accommodation being given for Chettiars.

Selva Vināyakar Temple, Kandy: This temple is situated in Kattukkele in the business district of Kandy, an ancient capital of Ceylon famous for its Buddhist 'Temple of Tooth'. It is one of Ceylon's major Hindu temples and is run on the lines of big Devasthanams in India, as will be evident from the calendar of festivals published by the management.

It is said to have been built in about 1800 by a single Chettiar family of Devakottai who had business in Kandy under the name and style of "AR. L. SV. N."

The main shrine is for Vināyaka or Ganesh. Sub-temples have been constructed for Somasundaram-Mīnakshi and for the Goddess Kāḷi.

In about 1940, the said family wound up its business in Ceylon and left the island. However, the temple goes on from strength to strength, thanks mainly to the income it derives by way of rent from (i) a few houses and (ii) 40 shops being real estate both endowed by the family to the temple. The annual budget of the temple exceeds Rs. 60,000/-.

Five kilometres from Kandy is Thennakumpara on the banks of the Mahavaliganga River. Here the temple's flowergardens and coconut groves (seven acres in extent) are situated, as also a chapel for Vināyaka. To this site, the deities from the temple at Kandy go in ceremonial procession for the Panguni Uttiram festival in March–April, in three decorated chariots - all donated by the family referred to. The expenses for the festival are met by a society known as "Hindu Ma Manram of the Central Province."

The temple's establishment includes among others five Pandārams and four Brahmin priests.

The Temple of the Tooth celebrates in July - August, a month-long Buddhist festival called the Prahara. On the last day, Buddhists go to the Mahavaliganga to fetch large quantities of river-water which is stored in the Selva Vināyakar temple. The eleven Trustees of the Buddhist shrine, known locally as Thisava, worship at the Selva Vināyakar temple, accept temple honours and leave

in a procession (seated on elephants) to the Temple of the Tooth. Visits of Sinhalese and Muslims is a daily sight in the Selva Vināyakar Temple.

Trincomallee: Chettiars' connection with Trincomallee, the other Ceylonese shrine sung in Thevāram, is not as close as that with Thiruketheesvaram. Negotiations are currently underway to gift a very big silver chariot from the Chettiar Trust in Galle to this temple.

Katargama: Katargama is a great shrine in south-central Ceylon, worshipped by the Sinhalese as well as the Hindus. A big festival is celebrated there in the month of Adi, (July-August) in praise of Lord Subramanya. Two weeks before the festival, groups of Chettiars leave Colombo on foot with His lance or Vēl. Some of them carry the Kāvadi. This trek of nearly two hundred miles, part of it in hilly terrain in jungle country shouting loudly 'Arōhara' is arduous. Only utter devotion and faith sustain the marchers who escape unhurt by elephants and other wild life. Waves of change sweep every activity; as a result, the ceremonial march to Katargama was left to the will of individuals. Replicas of Katargama were built in Bampalapitia and Wellavatta, (five and six miles respectively from Sea Street, Colombo) and called *Upayakatargama*. The community's march now ends here.

In Katargama itself, the Chettiars had built a Nagara Madam with a chapel for the Lord of Katargama. Katargama has since been declared a holy city and all shops and buildings within the notified area have been demolished in March/April 1971. Compensation has been given in kind by allotting equal area of land on the south eastern side of the river. The Chettiars are hesitating to build a new their Nagara Madam in the site now offered.

The Sea Street Temples: The Sea Street in Colombo has been the Wall Street of Ceylon for 150 years as the centre of its rice supplies, its business in jewellery and its banking activity. The Chettiars dominated the scene.

The Chettiars had built a temple in Sea Street in about 1820. There was competition in endowment and management and the temple was more or less controlled by Chettiars mostly from Devakottai and Okkur. It is since called the old Kathiresan temple.

The others, mostly rice suppliers to estates, decided in 1880 to build a new temple; all new business entrants to Colombo were to be admitted to this temple only. Hence the name New Kathiresan Temple.

Both temples have functioned smoothly and without friction, competition being confined to overdoing the festivals. The festivals are conducted by the temples, separately in alternate years. The old temple had a wooden chariot; the "new rich" of the new temple constructed a chariot in silver at a cost of Rs. 1½ lakhs. The authorities of the old temple did not want to be outwitted. Sentiment would not allow them to discard the wooden chariot for old is gold. So they plated the old one with gold and old really became gold.

Both temples have very valuable jewellery, priceless gems, silver endowments, flower-gardens and vast properties.

The temples jointly supported other Hindu temples in the Pettah area. To cite an instance, they arranged poor feeding annually in April-May in the Vināyaka temple maintained in Sea Street by the Jaffna Tamils. A Chettiar family (ඔபரி.ඔச.ගු.) gave large endowments to the Mettu Theru Subramania Swami Temple near Sea Street.

Ādi Vēl Festival has come to be celebrated as the universal festival of all Ceylonese. To the Chettiar Temples in Sea Street, this is the greatest religious event of the year and for the duration of the festival period, business takes a holiday. Even banks and certain offices declare a holiday.

With fanfare, publicity, illumination etc., the festival has become a carnival. After Maheśvara Pūja, the Chettiars and other devotees assemble at the Sea Street temple from where the deity is

taken in a grand procession on a chariot with its glittering lance along principal Streets. The procession starts early morning, making its way inch by inch and reaching Bempalapitiye or Wellawetta late in the evening.

The deity camps there for three days giving 'dharshan' to thousands of pilgrims of all faiths. Sumptuous food is provided for devotees as well as for the poor.

On the evening of the fourth day, the massive return procession commences amidst scenes of great excitement. The Governor-General, the Prime Minister, Ambassadors and the Sinhalese commoner all participate in it. Offerings are made to the deity in cash, in Hundi boxes kept at the camp-temple and carried right through the procession until it reaches Sea Street in the small hours of the morning.

In July-August 1971, Ceylon passed through a period of emergency due to violent political activity of a kind hitherto unknown in our part of the world. As a result, the Chettiars were not keen on celebrating the Ādi Vēl Festival. They would not take any risks. But Government came forward to offer them all possible protection and insisted on the festival being held as usual. And everything went off cordially and without hitch or trouble.

Negombo (Neer-Kolumbu): The Chettiars have built a Māriamman Temple here and it is well-endowed with flower gardens and real estate. The Navarātri and Thai Pūśam Festivals are celebrated.

Galle: The Chettiar temple for Subramanya at the port-town of Galle on the way from Colombo to Katargama is one of the well-endowed temples in Ceylon. For the Katargama Festival the deity is taken to a campsite at Unuvattunai, 5 K. Ms. from Galle.

Ratnapure: Chettiars had business in this gem-town until 1950. The temple for Subramanya was constructed at nearby Thiruāāṇaikkatti and the deity was brought to Ratnapure during the Thai Pūśam festival. The temple and its properties have since been handed over to local Hindus for maintenance.

Navalapittiye: The Chettiar Temple for Subramanya known locally as Kathiresan Kovil is noted for its daily rituals. Its main sources are rentals from real estate. In 1969 a pillared hall with seating capacity for 750 persons was constructed.

Gampola (Kampalai): The Kathiresan temple here was built by the Chettiars and well-endowed through annual donations. The deity is worshipped by the Sinhalese and referred to by them as 'Kathirkamo Dheyyo' (கதிர்காமோ தெய்யோ) or Deity of Katargama. The festival deity is used at Thai Pūśam festival. Any number of people used to be fed on the occasion. With permanent funds shrinking after the exodus of Chettiars from Ceylon, hundi collections have become a major item of revenue.

The members of the other communities have come forward to conduct many festivals and to foot the bill every year. The festival calendar lists the donors.

Mathampai: The Chettiar group here was never large. They contented themselves by building a compact temple for Ganesh and endowed it adequately.

Kurunakal: Endowed with coconut estates, the Kathiresan Temple here is noted for Panguni Uttaram festival. In 1971 a gateway tower was built thanks to donations mainly from Chettiars.

Padura: This is a small place near Mt. Lavina. The Chettiars of Devakottai are said to have built the Katargama Temple here. The priest is a Sinhalese. Local people carry Kāvadis and roll down on earth to circumambulate the temple.

Pussella: The Kathiresan Temple here is known for its Māsi Magam festival and poor feeding.

Jaffna: Before World War I, Jaffna was a prominent centre of Chettiar business activity in rice, being the port for import from Rangoon, Akyab and Nagapattinam. In those days they had built a Śiva temple (now referred to as Chetty Śivankovil) in Vannarponnai and a Kathiresan Kovil nearby. In the latter the main event is Chitra Festival in April-May.

Munisvaram is 11 K.M. from Mathampi. There is a Nagara-viduthi here; on the full moon day of Āvaṇi the month—long 'Ther' (car) festival is concluded with poor feeding.

Miscellaneous: Chettiars have also sponsored the visits of religious leaders from India to Ceylon. On one such occasion Mr. S. Sivasubramanian, a leading Proctor and Notary and Secretary, Śaiva Paripālana Samājam wrote to a leading member of the community as under (on 1st June 1953).

"The Hindu Public must be greatly thankful to Nagarathar community and to you for the immense benefit you are giving to us by making arrangements for the Swamiji's visit".

The Chettiars also undertook pilgrimages to Sivanadipatham (Adam's Peak) to have a look at Sun-rise and Sun-set in this hill-station-cum-Śaivite shrine.

BURMA

Burma was the most important and prosperous area of Chettiar investment from 1850 to the outbreak of World War II in the Far East. Naturally, it was here that Chettiar temples were built in a large number of places. Important among these are shore temple-centres at 62 places. They also built a Vishṇu temple at Kanbe, near Rangoon.

Another feature is that the Chettiars in Burma financed the daily rituals at Viśvanāth Temple, Vāraṇāsi from 1934 to 1962. For this purpose they collected Mahamai all over Burma among the Chettiar firms on Thai Pūsam Day. The fund thus secured was managed by the Śrī Kāsi Nāttukkoṭṭai Nagara Chatram Managing Society.

In 1933 the executive committee of the Chettiars Association of Burma decided to open all the 62 Chettiar temples in Burma to Harijans.

The daily life of the Chettiars in Burma has been very religious. Chettiar integrity was an accepted fact among Burmese, partly because of Chettiar system of accounting and tallying of book

balance with cash on hand and partly because of the deep impression they created among ordinary Burmese folk (men as well as women) by their profound religious way of life.

The 62 temples referred to catered to the needs of all the Chettiars in Burma, some of them having their jurisdiction over neighbouring villages, e.g. the temple at Nyaunglabin (in Pegu District) covered Chettiar businessmen in Dobi, Painjulo, Charuttaka and Choochin. With mahamai funds from these places, the temple was managed by the men at the headquarters. Tamils as well as Burmese were fed on every Kārthigai Day. A Paṇdāram priest was in charge of the services to the Pillāyar (stone idol) and Dandāyuthapāṇi (bronze) images. The latter deity was taken in procession in town at the Māśi Maham festival.

Throughout Burma, the *Burmese* used to adorn the deities of Chettiar temples with silk clothes on festive occasions.

In a place called Soombiyo, the Chettiars used to organise annually a big festival in honour of Buddha in co-operation with Buddhist monks, Burmese officers etc., for three days in the month of November. They hosted a big dinner to the entire elite and arranged Burmese dramas and variety entertainments.

In Kanbe, the Chettiars fed one and all on Kārthigai day at the Subramanya Temple belonging to the entire Tamil population of Burma.

In Henzada, the Chettiars paid for and managed the major Burmese festivals. In return, the Burmese visited the Chettiar temple on Fridays and Mondays. The Burmese had great faith in the intermediary priest of Chettiar temple and used to seek from him forecasts regarding fluctuations in the price of paddy, their staple crop. On many occasions, the predictions turned out to be accurate.

The temple escaped unhurt during heavy Japanese bombing and this miracle added to Burmese faith in the deity and the priest.

Another area of Chettiar activity was Akyab, an important port near Indian (now Bangla Desh) border. The Kathireśan temple is situated a furlong from the river port.

Since the last century, it has been noted for rice trade as well as banking. It was a transit centre, importing surplus rice from Thanjavur delta, Viet Nam and Burma and selling them to chronically deficit areas in undivided Bengal, N. E. India and Ceylon in specially chartered ships. There were 30 Chettiar business houses and they had all their offices under one roof. The first floor of this large building, housed the temple, quite a substantial one.

The main festival was Māśi Maham. That day was a bank holiday in Akyab. The deity was carried in a small silver chariot to Tamase, 8 K.M. away.

The prosperity of businessmen here can be inferred from the saying 'Arikan Palaniappa, alaruthada un thanthi' i.e. Palaniappa of Akyab, the entire telegraph line is thundering with your telegrams about chartered ships. The reference is to M. M. PL. ெம, ெமஈ, பழ family of Nemathanpatti who renovated and enlarged the beautiful Subramanya Temple atop the hill at Virali-malai, Trichy district. The Chettiar community at Akyab also maintained a comfortable rest house and chapel at Chittagong where their representatives used to go periodically on business visits.

Rangoon: The Chettiar temple in Rangoon - the richest of all Hindu temples in Burma - is managed by a trust elected periodically. The Rangoon Nāttukkoṭṭai Chettiars Temple Trust was formed in 1935 and is still functioning. It maintains—

(1) the Daṇḍāyuthapāṇi Temple in Ararai in 112–122, Moghul street.

(2) the Daṇḍāyuthapāṇi Temple in Paśumandan

(3) a religious Mutt at Kanbe, 6 miles from Rangoon.

Under its auspices, the Thai Pūśam, the biggest Hindu festival of Burma, is celebrated in a grand manner with processions of the deity from Rangoon to Paśumandan and *vice-versa*. Poor feeding

on a large scale, music performances and religious plays, are all part of the gāla festival. Thevāram recitals are also arranged. Films on South Indian temples are shown at these festivals by the Indian Embassy in co-operation with the Revolutionary Government of Burma. Well-to-do Hindus of all castes used to breed good bullocks to get the privilege of their bulls drawing the silver chariot of the deity.

The deities are adorned with costly jewellery and "abishekas" are performed. Food cooked for the deity at temple kitchen is distributed as 'prasādam' to the devotees. There is also special feeding for all the participants, apart from poor feeding.

The Ararai Temple is said to have been constructed in 1890; it is more a private chapel than a public temple since it is on the first floor of a three storey mansion. It has acquired great sanctity because it is the meeting-place of all Chettiars in Burma and momentous decisions have been taken here. On arrival in Burma and departure for India, Chettiars have worshipped here. The annual ceremonies for deceased ancestors are also offered here. The Pillayār Nōnbu festival in December - a type of Chettiar Ganesh Chaturthi - too is held here in great solemnity.

The daily services are elaborate in detail and the attendance is large and representative. The jewellery is heavy and costly and the deity is dressed and adorned by connoisseurs of the art.

The Daṇḍāyuthapaṇi Temple at Paśumandan is said to have been built around 1900, with Rajagopuram etc. complete and adjoining the temple, is the spacious mutt built with a large banqueting hall to feed huge numbers of people at the monthly Kārthikai festivals, the annual Thai Pūśam festival etc. and an auditorium to hold religious discourses and cultural performances. The temple was damaged during Japanese bombing (1942). The idols were immediately shifted to the neighbouring Chettiar Mutt which served as an interim temple or Bālālayam. The temple has since been completely re-built at a cost of one and a half lakhs of rupees. Construction was completed in 1967 and the new edifice has been consecrated. To quote Dr. Philip Siegelman "For

a group which is expecting imminent withdrawal, this is a remarkable act."

The Trust has invited from Tamil Nādu several scholars to deliver religious lectures. It has lavishly supported the Siddhi Vināyakar Temple in the 24th street, the Kāli Amman Temple near the market, Samarasa Samājam etc. - premier organisation of Hindus in Rangoon. The managements of those bodies have in recent years come forward to give the Trust representation in their executive committees.

The Trust has contributed generously to the 2500th anniversary celebrations of Buddha and similar worthy causes.

The Trust's funds arose from Mahamai donations (collected at Thai Pūśam until 1950) which have since accumulated.

The Chettiars have provided endowments to the Hanumān Temple run by the Mārwāris in "Bhagavandas House", to the Jain Temple of the Gujarathis and to the Sule Pagoda, the Shwe Dagon Pagoda and other Buddhist shrines. Chettiars visited these pagodas and worshipped there.

The Perumāḷ (Vaishṇava) Temple in 51st street was founded by a Reddiar gentleman of Thiruvānaikovil (whose family founded the Sithambara Reddiar High School in Rangoon). They entrusted to S. T. P. C. RM. [illegible] Firm of Pellatur (who had their business office at Reddiar Mansions 59/61 Moghul Street) the management of this temple.

Moulmein: This is a Burmese port known for its rice and timber exports. It was the first Chettiar settlement in Burma. Chettiar contact with Moulmein dates to a period before the British conquest of Burma.

The Chettiar Temple is situated in 214 Lower Main Road which runs parallel to the neighbouring Strand Road. The Lahce or Vēl of Lord Subramanya is installed there and it is dressed to give the look of the deity - Lord Subramanya. A Paṇḍāṛam priest performs two services daily.

The image is covered with gold on festival days and taken round on Thai Pūśam day along the business area of Moulmein in a silver chariot. Stops are made at street junctions, entrances to saw-mills and door-steps of business houses to facilitate worship by one and all. The journey ends at Diango, (five K.M. from Moulmein) where the deity camps for the duration of the festival.

20 K.M. from Moulmein is Śiva Sthalam (Sowthalom in Burmese) which is a hill with a Subramanya temple on top. Here different visions of the deity can be had as in Cinerama. Burmese, as well as as the large Tamil agricultural labour population of the Moulmein and Thaton districts pierce their tongues with silver pins and dance kāvadi and vēl to get the blessings of Lord Subramanya. To help this piercing of pins experienced persons were brought from the Subramanya shrine at Ettugudi near Nāgapaṭṭiṇam. At the foot of the hill, pilgrims of all castes and creeds are fed free in the Chettiar mutt. Chettiars have made liberal endowments to the hill temple.

On prescribed days, Chettiars of Moulmein used to have baths at Chykmyo (Tamil - Thekkumathi) 44 miles from Moulmein at the confluence of the Moulmein River and the sea.

The Chettiar temple at Moulmein is one of the major Hindu temples in Burma. The artisans who were brought from India in connection with the construction of the temple became agents of Chettiar banking firms, later on. Another noteworthy feature is that Burmans in Moulmein area are more Hindu than Buddhist in their outlook and way of life.

In Burma, there is not even a single Chettiar left in the mofussil i.e. outside Rangoon. There is a crying need to make a survey of the situation regarding conduct of services in the temples and the use made of temple properties and jewellery, left by the Chettiars. In some places, the vast properties are left uncared for. In others, they are said to be inadequately used or even misused. The Government of India and all Hindus should evince interest in the subject and take steps for proper utilisation of the resources for the objects for which they were created. The

number of Chettiars still living in Rangoon is just a dozen and so they have lost their missionary zeal and representative status. The affairs of the temples need to be looked into.

SINGAPORE

The Chettiar Temple in Tank Street was established on the fourth of April 1859. It has the look of a great South Indian temple. It is considered to be the richest among the Hindu temples outside India. The spiritual atmosphere also is that of the grand temples of South India. It is "efficiently managed" (see, *Singapore Hindus Religious and Cultural Seminar*—1969–71—pp. 183–184).

The impression it makes on visitors - Indian political leaders, eminent British writers, tourists from the world over - is profound. Many prominent authors have been struck by the Thai Pūsam festival and have devoted pages to it in their books. It is as important and gay as the big festivals at Palani, Thiruchendūr or Tiruttani.

At this and other festivals in this temple, Sikhs as well as Chinese dance with kāvadis and do walking over the fire seeking the infinite mercy of Lord Subramania or Daṇḍāyuthapāni. At least a few Sikhs and Chinese can be seen in the temple any day, any time. One striking feature is that even those Hindus who do not frequent temples in India visit this temple regularly in Singapore from the day of disembarkation or landing to the day of their leaving Singapore.

The gold-plated peacock-shaped chariot is used to carry the deity inside the temple in procession on Kārthigai days.

The chief deities are Dandāyuthapāṇi (Main Deity) Aimbu Vināyakar and Idumban. The other deities are Sundareswarar, Sithi Vināyakar, Mīnākshi Amman, Dakshiṇāmūrthy, Chandikeswar, Nadarājar, Sivakāmi, Vairavar and Navagrahams. The Navarātri also is a great event in this temple. The deity is very artistically dressed every day of the festival and a cultural programme is

offered in the evenings, embracing every aspect of music and dance.

MALAYSIA

There are 16 important temples built by Chettiars in Malaysia, spread out in Alor Star, Sunkurumbai, Kuala Lumpur, Muar, Kulim, Taiping, Sāvi, Batu Pahat, Penang, Ipoh, Seramban, Killan, Valāppur, Teluk Anson, Malacca and Tappa, besides chapels in Chettiar-owned rubber estates and tin-mines. All these are for Daṇḍāyuthapāni. In addition to these, the Chettiars are managing the following temples:

Śiva Temple, Penang.

Selva Vināyagar Temple, Seremban

Poyyatha Vināyagar Temple, Malacca

Daṇḍāyuthapāṇi Temple, Bari Pundhar.

The fact that others handed over their temples to the Chettiars for maintenance speaks about the devotion of the group and the esteem in which they are held by the people among whom they live.

All the temples are beautiful and imposing structures, built as a labour of love and devotion to the Almighty. Rome was not built in a day. In about 1810, when Chettiars first reached Malaysia in strength they planted the Lance of Lord Subramanya in their places of business. Later on, construction of temples was thought of. It was spread over several stages. Many temples were built brick by brick and there was not much of stone-work. Granite cut stone is not used there. New structures were added to, whenever rubber and tin prices shot up. These are all concrete masonry works.

The temples are built in Dravidian architectural style, the distinct individuality of Hindu temples which are the pride of South India. So these magnificent edifices with Rājagopurams on top of the gateways are a landmark in every part of Malaysia and they attract the attention of one and all, the permanent resi-

dents as well as fleeting visitors. They are not Ārupadai-vīdus or traditionally famous temples; but each of them is important in its own right. Enough land for expansion, suitable buildings, more than sufficient jewellery, liquid funds and real estate adequate to meet recurring expenditure - all these have been provided. There is ample light and ventilation in the temple. So no one perspires even in the sanctum sanctorum. What is more important is that the temples are neat and tidy. This is due to the high standards of sanitation, personal cleanliness and living of the people in Malaysia.

We do not find in the temples in Malaysia sign boards such as: Don't spit here. Leave your shoes at the entrance to the temple. Don't waste holy ash, and kumkum. Don't apply remnants of sandal paste to temple walls and pillars.

There is no need fer such requests there.

The priest offers a very small quantity of holy ash and so it cannot be wasted.

The camphor used for the worship and the milk poured over the idols for abishekam are all of high quality and purity. It is a serene experience to observe the worship at close quarters.

The number of daily worshippers is substantial even in small places e.g. Killan. This includes people of all races as also Sikhs and Buddhists. At festivals, the crowds are huge and participants include people from all walks of life, officials, local gentry, businessmen and labourers. In each festival 2 to 3 thousand persons are fed free. Crackers play a great part in these festivals and there is an attempt to out-do the Chinese in their use of crackers for their New Year's Day.

The attendance at temples in normal days as also on festival days includes Harijans. There is no prohibition of their entry into temples and there is very little discrimination against them in the social life of Malaysia. Their living standard is high and they—particularly the barbers—are an effective and powerful group. Madrasi barbers are respected all over Malaysia and

Singapore for their professional ability and 5-starred hotels consider it a privilege to have them on their establishment. They refer to it with pride in their advertisements.

Returning to the subject of festivals, Thai Pūśam is celebrated in Penang. The other temples share between them Chitra Pourṇami, Vaikāsi Viśākam, Ādi Vel, Āvani Caturthi, Thiru Kārthigai, Mārgazhi Thiruvāthirai, Māśi Makam and Panguni Utsavam and so all the year round there are festivals. Many Chettiars try to mark attendance at all these festivals.

These temples are utilised as community centres also by being the venue for non-controversial meetings and of marriages. The priest officiating at the marriages as master of ceremonies does not have adequate knowledge of mantras and often tape-records of such mantras (brought from India) are used.

Management of the temples is in the hands a trustee elected every year from among the contributors of Mahamai. Trusteeship involves great responsibility and is a coveted honour. If conferring trusteeship to anyone is hesitated for any reason, the claimant establishes his credentials to the satisfaction of the entire community and gains the trusteeship.

In all religious activities, the Chettiars have co-operated with other Hindus — of Indian as well as Ceylonese origin. As instances, I may point to the sponsorship of visits of religious leaders and theological scholars, of the organisation of the Śaiva Siddhāntha Samāja Conference in Malaysia and of the conduct of Siddhāntha classes in Kuala Lumpur, Seramban and other places.

MALACCA

Malacca is an ancient town, a prosperous port and in the words of well-known writer "one of the strongholds of Chettiars" in Malaysia.

In about 1900 the Chettiars proposed to build a temple in Malacca. A local community known as Malacca Chettis is

believed to have emigarted from Tamil Nādu, a thousand years ago. They have since given up the language. They suggested that instead of putting up a new temple, the Chettiars could take over the existing one. They had earlier sold their Drowpadi Amman Temple to the Jaffna Tamils for a token price of one Malayan dollar.

The Poyyatha Vināyagar temple of the Malacca Chetty Community is said to have been built in 1781, in land alienated for the purpose by the then Dutch rulers. They gave it to the Nāttukkoṭṭai Chettiars for management and maintenance.

The Chettiars have added new structures and also put in a sub-temple for Śiva. The Chettiars also celebrate the Māśi Makam festival at a cost of 1000$ a year; so much so the temple is now referred to as a Chettiar temple. As desired by the young men of the Malacca Chetty community, a sign Board has been put up in 1966 to show that the temple is the 'property of Malacca Chetty community.'

The Chettiars take the idol of Subramanya or Daṅdāyuthapāṇi from this temple to Sannāsimalai in ceremonial procession for the annual festival and feed 5,000 persons on that day.

SANNĀSIMALAI

Eight K. M. from Malacca is Sannāsimalai. A holy person said to be a Bengali had put up a Śiva Linga there. At his request, the Chettiars formed a committee to administer it. Later they collected money from among themselves to purchase properties and to construct a silver chariot.

To enable the maintenance of the temple from assured incomes, the Chettiars purchased nine acres of land; a part of it has been developed as a flower-garden for temple use. Rubber has been planted in 3 acres. Two hundred thousand Malaysian dollars have been spent on the expansion and renovation of the temple.

KUALA LUMPUR

The capital of Malaysia is Kuala Lumpur. There is a large Hindu community here half of which is Indian Tamil group and another half Jaffna Tamil group from Ceylon. Common to all these Tamils is the Māriamman Temple, the oldest Hindu Temple in Malaysia. The Unesco is considering a proposal for technical aid for its preservation on the lines of their aid to Srirangam, Thanjavur and Ramesvaram Temples.

The important festival in the Māriamman Temple is Navarātri. The Chettiars bear all the expenses for the elaborate rituals on the sixth day of this festival.

The Daṇḍāyuthapāṇi Temple is owned and maintained by the Chettiar community of Kuala Lumpur. The management rotates once a year among all the Kiddangies in a serial order decided by lots. When all the Kiddangies have had their turn, the lots are again drawn for the next set of years, the number of years, being co-equal to that of the Kiddangies.

Within each Kiddangy the various firms doing business normally come to certain arrangement among themselves as to who should manage the affairs of the temple. Usually the senior-most (oldest) business house manages the temple. But every firm (including junior firms and new-comers) aspire for the honour. These claims are settled by natural consent and everything done to safeguard temple funds. Sometimes a compromise is effected by having *de jure* and *de facto* trustees.

Mahamai is collected at $1\frac{1}{8}\%$ of the turnover of the business and $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% of the book-value of the properties (real estate).

Some of you may be aware of the fact that poet Kannadasan has sung on this temple, during his current visit.

PENANG

I may quote the following:

"The Indian Community has its many temples, the most well-known being the Chettiar Temple in Waterfall Road. The annual

Thai Pūśam festival attracts thousands of Hindus and sightseers of all religions and nationalities to this temple from all over Malaya and the Kāvadi, an ornamental piece of semi-circular bent wood decorated with pictures of Gods, which some of them carry in fulfillment of vows, with skewers stuck on body, cheek or tongues present a picture of Oriental belief in voluntary mortification of the flesh.

In Pitt Street is the Subramania Temple with a Gōpuram with intricately carved figures adorning the facade which is an exact replica of South India Hindu Temples. This temple is the residence from where the God is taken on an elaborately decorated chariot to the Waterfall Temple on Thai Pūśam Day."

This extrrct is from the book *Penang Calling* published by Happy Store, Penang, 1961.

One feature of Thai Pūśam in Penang is that the Chinese break 2 to 3 thousand coconuts during the 5.4. K. M. long procession of Lord Subramanya. They arrange them properly and display them artistically at the pavement.

The very poor among the Chinese collect the pieces of broken coconuts for consumption. The Police and Municipal staff clean the place within a few minutes, remove each and every bit of the broken shell and absorb the coconut water with dust cloth. How good it will be if we can imitate them here in India?

The participation of the Chinese in Kāvadi dance etc., and their identification with the festival is so complete that, one can mistake them for Tamil-speaking Hindus of Indian nationality.

Elaborate arrangements are made by various organs of Government for the success of the festival. The Electricity Department goes all out to help illuminate the chariot. All traffic is diverted. Banks are closed for the day.

The Śiva Temple at Penang built by a Gurkha who was serving in the British Army has been handed over to Chettiars for management. Brahmin priests are appointed to conduct pūjas.

Chettiars have endowed heavily and have extended and enlarged the temple.

I may draw your attention to Mr. M. Nadarajan's brief paper. 'The Nāṭṭukkoṭṭai Chettiar community in South East-Asia'. It does not deal with religion at length; but it does not avoid mention of Chettiar contributions in this field. It has been published in the *Proceedings of the First International Conference - Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur, April, 1966,* Vol. I, K. L. April 1969, pp. 251–260.

THAILAND

Chettiars have been connected with Thailand since 1860.

Walking along Silom road, the nerve centre of Bangkok City, one can find a South Indian temple gōpuram - that of an 80 year old Māriamman Temple.

In an article in *The Hindu,* Sunday, April 4, 1971, entitled *Māriamman Temple in Baugkok,* Mr. K. R. N. Swamy writes:—

"I asked the priest who is from Mayuram taluk of Tamil Nādu, as to how the temple came to be built in the heart of Bangkok. He said that the Chettiyar community which had settled in Bangkok in the last decades of the 19th century had asked the then King of Siam, King Chaulangkorn, for a piece of land to build the temple. The King, as a munificent gesture, granted the present site tax-free. In those days the temple was far away from the King's palace and city centre. But, to-day the city has expanded so much that the 12,000 sq. feet occupied by the temple is among the most costly property in Bangkok.

This temple has had a very colourful existence. Once the compound of the temple covered a much larger area of Silom road. But in 1942, when the Japanese occupied the city of Bangkok, they found the vast compound of the temple blocking their city planning and they arbitrarily built a wall, thus restricting the area of the temple.

Formerly, the Indian community in Bangkok, mainly South Indians, used to come regularly to the temple. But now many have left for South India and the Indian devotees number barely sixty, most of them officials of the United Nations offices at Bangkok.

One welcome feature of the temple is the way the temple authorities have harmonised it with the local religion. Near the sanctum are huge Buddha images covered with gold gilt. In another corner the images of Lord Krishṇa and other members of the Hindu pantheon are worshipped. In the enclosures outside the main temple many images of South Indian village deities like Kāthavarāyan are kept.

One peculiar feature is the way devotees come to it to foresee their luck. After some rituals, the priest asks the worshipper to pull out a card from a stock kept below the deity. This card is supposed to tell his luck for the ensuing twelve months. As I was talking to the priest I found many Siamese and Chinese worshippers bowing before the main door and walking away. Many Siamese women came inside the shrine and went away after worship. Among other devotees were some Chinese artisans.

Mystified, I asked the priest to explain the meaning of these foreigners worshipping the Hindu Goddess. He replied that they considered the goddess as the Universal Mother and that their respect was not in any way less than that of Indians.

Inside the temple is a silver chariot, in which the deity is taken around by Siamese worshippers during Daśara. On the 10th day of Daśara the goddess is kept on a silver throne and worshipped with great ceremony. On other ceremonial days a silver vehicle (vāhanam) is used and it is taken around the temple precincts.

For the Chinese the most important day is the New Year, and the temple is literally crowded with Chinese devotees. Besides being in the centre of the business district, all local businessmen come to the temple before opening and closing major deals.

Ten years ago, the temple authorities built a choultry inside the temple compound for visitors. The monthly income of the temple is more than Rs. 1,000 and the yearly income nearly Rs. 20,000. But years of tropical weather have damaged the temple and two years ago some expert sculptors were taken from South India to carry out repairs. The priests are from South India and this Indian temple is a landmark in modern Bangkok.

This is the only account available.

As against this, a view is held that Chettiars could not have built a temple for Goddess Māriamman in preference to their favourite God, Murugan alias Daṇdāyuthapāṇi. The second point made out is that unlike the Chettiar temples in South-East Asia, this one is not maintained by the Chettiars.

The answers are simple. The Chettiar Community in Bangkok was never numerically large. The maximum number of business-houses was less than a score. They had a chapel or worship-room in one of them. At the peak (boom) period of activity, the thought of erecting a temple occured to them and they approached the ruler who generously donated the land.

At the blue-print stage, business perhaps was slack due to the economic depression and the community may have taken note of the fact that they had 'local' families too! Also, there was a large Tamil community of Padayāchis, who with their village-background and folk-culture wanted a temple for Goddess Māriamman. Evidently the Chettiars agreed to the use of the land for such construction and in its evolution to the present structure, Chettiar contribution cannot be ruled out, according to Mr. R. V. Than of Indian Overseas Bank, Bangkok. (Letter to me dated 10th September 1971).

After all, the Chettiars are not anti-Māriamman; in Chettināḍ they have donated liberally to the Māriamman temple at Konniyūr (Koppanapatti) and still undertake strenuous marches on pilgrimage to the temple. In Kuala Lumpur, the Chettiars participate in the affairs of the Māriamman temple by bearing the expenses for a part of the festival.

The book published by the Māriamman Temple-management in Bangkok in 1951 in Tamil and written by one Mr. Adaikappa Chettiar does not give an insight into the origin of the temple. It is neither scientific in treatment nor historical in fact. All that is available in this book is that "it was built about 100 years or so ago by Tamilians who lived here."

The second point is even more easily answered. Most Chettiar temples in Burma are not managed by Chettiars now, since they have quit the country. The same may be true of Bangkok. In Malaysia, not all the temples managed by Chettiars are Chettiar-sponsored. Perhaps, Bangkok's is a case in reverse.

The subject is worth further research and investigation.

SOUTH VIET-NAM

South Viet-Nam is a land of Buddhists ruled by Christians. In the capital town - Saigon - the Chettiars have built a temple for Daṇḍāyuthāpani in about 1880 and endowed it adequately.

There are four services daily. Thiru Kārthigai is celebrated. On Thai Pūśam day, the deity is taken in procession on a chariot which was made in and brought from India in 1931.

On Mondays, the Chettiar community of Saigon assemble at the temple, hold a common prayer and read *Śiva Purāṇam*. They celebrate the days of Saints Sambandar, Sundarar and Thirunāvukkaraśar, the Thēvaram trio, St. Māṇikkavāchakar of Thiruvāchakam fame and Dakshināmūrthy Swāmigal of Thiruvārur. On all these days, the poor are fed on a large scale.

The Chettiar community of Saigon finances the activities of the Dakshiṇāmūrthy Swāmigal Mutt at Thiruvārur.

The Chettiar temple at Saigon is 250′ long and 150′ broad. It is one of the tourist attractions of Saigon. Viet-Namese and non-Viet-Namese alike sought shelter in the temple during the B. 29 bombings in 1939.

The jewels and real estate of the temple were valued at Rs. five crores in Indian money in 1971.

The Chettiar community in Saigon has been generous in supporting projects for renovation of Buddhist shrines.

During the economic depression of the early 1930s austerity measures were in force in Saigon and so the Chettiar community celebrated the Thai Pūśam festival within the temple precincts. The monies thus saved were turned over to social welfare projects for the benefit of the Viet Namese.

INDONESIA

The sea-coast of Indonesia is just 1250 miles from Madras and this is only as distant as Amritsar is from Madras.

Chettiars are said to have gone there to deal in corals and pearls long before they went to Malaysia. The merchant is referred to in Bahasha Indonesia (Indonesian language) as 'Chetty'; for 'coral' and 'pearl', the words used are the Tamil 'Pavaḷam and 'Muththu'.

Indonesia is full of Hindu temples of old and so Chettiars did not have the need to build new ones. The only temple they have constructed is the Daṇḍāyuthapāṇi Temple in Maidan—Dilli, the capital of Sumatra. The fixed deity (mūlavar) is said to be made of white stone since granite is not available in Indonesia. The festival deity is in bronze.

Two services are performed daily by a Paṇḍāram priest and the Thai Pūśam is a great event when the Lord is taken in procession on a wooden chariot along the main avenues—Jal Hind, Jal Masjid, Keśavan etc. Poor feeding is an important adjunct to the festival. All the Indians in Indonesian Government service get a holiday on Thai Pūśam day. The temple is lavishly endowed with jewellery and with real estate, the rental income meeting the maintenance cost of the temple.

The temple was built in 1890. The contract for its construction was taken up by one Kumarasamy Chettiar. Arriving in Indonesia under difficult circumstances, he amassed wealth after constructing this temple. He rose to a high position in the

Indonesian Government service. He thought that it was all due to the grace of Daṇdāyuthapāṇi; so he decided to put up a temple for Daṇdāyuthapāṇi in his home-town of Chinnalapatti in Madurai District after retirement. He took up the work in 1905; but died next year. A faithful grandson of his, Dr. G. S. Kumarasamy of Mint Street, Madras, completed it in 1964 and the result is the now famous Shri Subramanyaswāmi Temple known for the miraculous occurence of *Jyothi.*

I have raced against time and tried to cover as much as can be done in an hour. I request you to forgive me for my shortcomings.

Thiru C. V. RM. Alagappa Chettiar: Mr. Somalay emphasised on Chettiar devotion to Muruga. It is true but it is not to be misunderstood. Chettiars are even more faithful in their worship of Vināyaka. They had a Vināyaka idol in emerald. To commemorate it, they perform a Vināyak Pūja, called Pillaiyār Nōnbu, in December-January every year, the only community in Tamil Nādu to do so. This ceremony comes off on the day Satayam constellation and Shashti Tithi combine.

The temples in Malaya are kept clean. It is easy to keep them clean there. The flooring is in mosaic marble. Marble lends itself easily to washing and cleaning.

Chettiar tradition is best illustrated by their special Chettinad dialect. Ṭhadukku, a square mat made of palmyrah leaf, is used as a seat for a single person at lunch. Veru Vaiththal or habit of each married couple living separately with a kitchen of their own and having individual business even while continuing in joint family is another Chettiar distinctive individuality.

In U. S. A. where I lived with my family for sometime, I found many things in common between old-world Chettiars and modern American businessmen, piety, minute attention to details, laborious accounting, bringing up of children under parental discipline etc.

I hope in spite of all the radical changes around us, some good features of Chettiar life will be continued.

A. K. Chettiar: He spoke and made a detailed reference to Chettiar contribution to religious life in Burma in 1930s.

Sri M. V. M. Alagappan: It is gratifying to find our cultural complex getting its limelight from a body like the Institute of Traditional Cultures. I propose to mention here some of the difficulties encountered by Chettiars in fostering Hindu religious practices in distant lands.

The Chettiar temples for Muruga all over South-East Asia can be easily compared to the big Indian temples for Muruga. They have scrupulously adhered to the details given in Śilpa Sāstras for erecting the *sanctum sanctorum*, central tower, gateway tower, quadrangular enclosures, temple kitchen, flagpole etc.

After attending the first International Tamil Conference Seminar in Kuala Lumpur in 1966, I stayed in Muar (in Malaya) for a few months. Based on this experience, I wish to state that I was surprised to hear that during wars and internal troubles, the Chettiar temple at Muar gave shelter to all people without distinction of religion or nationality.

The priest of the Chettiar temple at Muar was chosen from Tamil Nādu and from time to time, his visit visa was renewed by the Immigration authorities; but during the period of my stay, I heard that the Malaysian authorities refused to renew the visa, since all temporary permits had been cancelled. If the Chettiars were keen on having a priest for their temple, they were asked to choose one from locally available folk. For three continuous days, the Chettiars held extensive talks with Immigration Officers, explained to them that the priest's qualifications included knowledge of Vedas and Āgamas, training under senior priests and complete identification of his personal life with religious activity. The authorities refused to believe that a local person cannot be trained to succeed him, even though they extended the visa of the priest on that particular occasion.

The first duty of a Chettiar going out of India is to offer prayers at the Daṇḍāyuthapāṇi temple at the port of landing. He does this before settling to work or transacting any business.

Such is the affinity between Chettiars and Hinduism. After a careful assessment of Chettiars' social practices and customs of their groups prevalent in Chettinad, one can arrive at a conclusion that Chettiars adhere steadfastly to the practice of identifying their day-to-day activity with religious worship. Tamil tradition insists on people living in a place where a temple exists. So the Chettiars migrating overseas build new temples there. The Chettiars emigrating to far-off countries like the United States have started a fund-raising campaign to construct a community centre-cum-Vināyaka temple in New York.

In Malaysia I noticed the pious devotion of the Chettiars to Daṇḍāyuthapani at Batu Bahat Temple. When we were all worshipping the deity, a Chinese lady got divine inspiration and chanted 'Murugā' very emotionally. I understood that she had visited all the temples in South India. A Chettiar had adopted her as his child and married her to an Indian who has since becomes a Malayan citizen.

In Attahgudi in Chettinad I saw a Chinese girl speaking in typical Chettinad accent.

Whatever changes may affect Chettiars, their intense religious faith will continue to influence their social and business life.

S. Sivapatha Sundaram: It is a significant feature that the Subramania shrines erected by the Nāṭṭukkoṭṭai Chettiars in Ceylon are not named Daṇḍāyuthapāṇi shrines as they are called in Burma or Malaysia but are named Kathireśan temples. This is because of the fact that the presiding deity of Kataragama, the celebrated shrine in South Ceylon, is Kathireśan, the lord of Kathir Grāma, and the Chettiars from time immemorial have been devoted to this Kathireśan of Ceylon. In all other parts of Ceylon Subramania shrines are called Muruga Moorthy temples. In the heart of Jaffna town there is a Kathireśan temple very near the Śivan temple of Vannarpannai and this is again one built and sponsored by the Nattukkottai Chettiars in Jaffna.

The two Kathireśan temples on Sea Street in Colombo (Chettiar Theru in Tamil) are called New Kathireśan and Old

Kathireśan temples. In the olden days it used to be said that these deities were taken in procession to Kataragama. Today this custom is given up but symbolically the deity is taken in a "silver" or "golden" car to nearby Bambalapitya, a suburb of the city during the month of Ādi, coinciding with the Kataragama festival.

The Thirukethiswaram temple is one of those holy places sung by the Śaiva saints during the 7th century A.D. It is situated near the ancient sea port of Mantota, a flourishing trading centre where the Romans and the Greeks (Ionians) had bartered goods with the Tamils during the 2nd century A.D. The temple was destroyed by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, along with the other celebrated Kanamalai (Trincomalee) on the eastern coast. In the middle of the last century Ārumuga Navalar, the champion reformer of the Hindus in Ceylon, persuaded one Paśupathy Chettiar of Jaffna to find means to restore the lost temple of Kethīswaram. Paśupathy Chettiar was a descendant of Vaithialinga Chettiar who migrated from Vaithīswaran Koil in Tanjore district to Jaffna during the 17th century, and he belonged to the Śaiva Velāla Chettiar community. This gentleman naturally enlisted the help and munificence of the Nāttukkoṭṭai Chettiars in Jaffna and arranged for the restoration and daily Pūja routine in the temple at Thirukethiswaram.

In the predominantly Buddhist areas in Ceylon like Kandy, Galle, Ratnapura and Navalapitya the contribution of the Nāttukkoṭṭai Chettiars towards Hindu revival and maintaining the practice of Hindu festivals and rituals is something to be recorded with admiration. Periodically, they used to get down from Tamil Nādu, religious savants for lectures and also arranged for top ranking Nādaswara vidwans from South India to participate in the Ādi Vel festival of Colombo. This latter practice still exists and but for the Nāttukkoṭṭai Chettiars, such vidwans could not visit Ceylon since any other organisation cannot afford this arrangement. Besides, the Chettiars have a traditional right for this arrangement recognised by the Government of Ceylon from the British days.

Besides maintaining some temples in Ceylon the Chettiars do recognise the great interest the Ceylonese Tamils have in the temples of South India and they had willingly assisted and encouraged them to visit these temples and study them for historical purposes.

V. Ramasubramanian (*Aundy*): After perusing the enumeration (in the synopsis sent by the leader of this seminar) of the temples and temple-endowments of the Nagarathars in South-East Asia, I became interested more in being illuminated than in commenting thereon. Even after listening to his talk, I felt incompetent to add to the information furnished by him. But, when the next speaker, Śri Alagappa Chettiar, in his brilliantly eloquent, extempore exposition of the original habitat, customs, manners and faith of the Chettiar caste, enriched our understanding of the community's adventurous traditions, rooted in ancient sea-borne foreign trade, I felt not only proud of having such a community in our midst, but also spurred on to give vent to my reactions on some of the aspects of life of the Chettiars touched by him.

When he traces the origin of the community to the merchant-princes of Puhār, (Kaverip-Pūm-Paṭṭiṇam) of the 'Śilappadikāram' epoch, I naturally equated it with that of its hero, Kōvalan, and its heroine, Kaṇṇaki. It was called 'Peruṅkudiār' (mansion-dwellers), juxtaposed against another community by name 'Sirukudiar' (hut-dwellers), but not Chettiars. And, as far as I could remember, there is no mention of the latter term in the epic. Nevertheless, in its sequel, 'Maṇimēkhalai', the compound term 'Kumbala-C-Chetti' occurs, in the sense of woollen shawl merchants and carpet merchants. If, as I am inclined to do, we equate that caste with that of the Nāttukkōṭṭai Chettiars, the claim of Mr. Alagappa may be justified. It is, however, insufficient evidence, even though there is no stronger proof to contest the identification either.

But, was Puhār their original home? Did their antiquity stop with that? I think not. There are serious snags in assigning a Tamilian origin to the caste. The same epic tells us that the wedding ceremony of the hero and the heroine had been performed

according to the injunction of Brahminical Sūtras before a holy fire and officiated by a 'Veteran Brahmin Purohita', on the auspicious asterism of Rohiṇi. Holding each other's hands, the bride and bridegroom went round the homa fire, looked at Arundhati, the star, and were blessed with almost the same words as King Janaka's in the 'Bālakānda' of the 'Rāmāyaṇa' of Valmīki. ....'Kātar Piriyāmal' (Sahadharma-Charī-Tava), 'Kavvukai Nekizhāmal',.....(Pāṇim Grihnīṣva Pāṇinā), 'Thīthu Aruka' (Bhadram Te)[1].

And, again, they were ceremonially surrounded and circumambulated by a group of well-dressed, bejewelled, married and happy women, some carrying and scattering flowers, some singing, some pleasantly talking, some carrying pots of water, some holding lighted lamps, some bearing caskets of sweet-smelling unguents, some holding plates of fuming incense and others carrying potfuls of sprouted seed-grains (Pālikas). All these are *cent* per *cent* Brahmanical rites, prescribed by the Grihya sūtras and suggest that the caste of Kovalan and Kannaki did not originate in Tamil Nādu.

And, further, the term 'Chetty' is but a Tamil derivative of the Sanskrit 'Śreshtin', which connoted 'a member of a Śreni'. And 'Śreni' meant 'a guild of merchants' according to Kautīlya's 'Arthasāstra' (4th century B.C.). It occurs in the same sense not only in Buddhist and Jaina literatures, but also in the famous Hāthigumpha inscriptions of Khāravela (2nd century B.C.). The above term 'Śreshtin' has been corrupted into '*Seth*' in Gujarat and Rajasthan, 'Shetty' in the Canarese area, 'Chetti' in Andhra Deśa and 'Chettiār' in Tamil Nādu. This is another evidence of the All-India character of the Chettiar caste. The 'Vāyu-Purāṇa' and some other Purāṇas seem to suggest that the old *Vaiśāli* kingdom of the Ikshvākus was their original home. They say that the term '*Vasāli*' had been applied to the dynasty because of their matrimonial alliance with the Vaiśya caste. The *Avantisundari-Kathā-Sāra* also mentions an ordinance issued by Chandra-Gupta

1. "Iyam Sitā Mama Sutā, Sahadharmacarī Tava // Pradicchainam Bhadram Te. Pāṇim Grihṇiṣva Pāṇinā //.

Maurya of Magadha exempting the caste of Chetties from capital punishment.

I completely agree with Mr. Alagappa in his statement that these merchants did not take with them to foreign lands their women-folk. I go further and say that they did not take them even to the various trade centres within India. And pure common sense prompts us to conclude that they could not have kept up their Brahmacharya in those settlements. They must be having marital connections with some or anyone of the local castes, incidentally absorbing, to some extent, at least, their languages, customs, beliefs and manners. That may perhaps explain the cultural differences between the Gujarti Seths, the Canarese Shetties, the Andhra Chetties and the Tamilian Chettiars. The name '*Āchi*', now applied to the elderly women of the Nāttukkoṭṭai Chettiars, may perhaps indicate that the above mentioned matrimonial connection in Tamil Nādu must have been originally confined exclusively to the *Āyi* women only. It must not be forgotten that the *Āyis* of old were the ruling castes in *Nanjil Nād*, having matrimonial connections with the *Adigamans* also. That was why the author of 'Śilappadikāram' has reserved more than two full chapters for the glorification of the *Āyi* caste and made Kōvalan choose the household of one of their caste, 'Mātari', as the fittest for entrusting his chaste wife, Kaṇṇaki, during his absence. I am only posing this proposition for further consideration and so not care to present it as proven.

It is reasonable to assume that some of the social and economic conventions, including their laws of inheritance, were framed to suit such long separations of their men from their women. They were perhaps one of the earliest Indian castes to grant their women absolute rights to property. It must have been sheer necessity, due to the natural religious urge of all mankind, that has made them build temples and shrines in the lands of their sojourn. We may add incidentally that Tamil aesthetics too got enriched by very close observations of women pining for their absent husbands (*pirital* or *vipralamba*). And, ironically enough, this community seems to have been a major source of supply of Kovalans to many an enticing Mādhavi.

It is a recorded fact that the Chettiars had their settlements in South-East Asia, even as early as the first century after Christ, if not earlier. And our learned leader's paper is an enumeration of their religious benefactions through the ages. But did they travel eastward only and not westward? We have enough historical evidence of individuals from Palestine, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Arabia, Ethiopia and Carthage having visited and even settled in South India. Did our Chettiars alone in return choose to boycott trips to those lands?

My answer is that they did go and settle there too. Mr. J. Duncan M. Berrit of the University of London in a paper, 'The Theban Scholiasticus and Malabar', contributed to Vol. 82, No. 1, 1962, of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, U.S.A., declares that there were Indian colonies in Egypt and other parts of Africa in the early centuries of the Christian era, which had frequent contacts with their mother country. It incidentally discloses the adventures of a ship-wrecked Theban in Ceylon and his subsequent repatriation to his native land of Egypt. And, again, wherefrom did the Kumbala-Chetties, who traded in carpets, get their woollen wares and *Yavanikās*, if not from the Middle East? The *Maṇimēkhalai* tells us that their ships travelled via the island of *Maṇi-Pallavam*, from Puhār to the Western Nāga lands.

It can be assumed that the crew and the escorting armed garrisons aboard a big-sized merchant man could also have disembarked in those Western lands. Now, if these wealthy traders had their colonies and settlements in Palestine and Egypt, is it improbable that they had brought back from those lands some of the elements of the worship of the cock-bannered, spear-armed god Moloch of the Phoenicians, who was also their God of Fire? The practice of offering the first fruits of any crop to the deity was alone an importation from Phoenicia. The proferring of one's tuft of hair, inserting needles on one's body, and dedicating one's daughters to the temple were all transplanted into South India by the Mariners and Garrisons, but not by the more sophisticated merchant-princes. I must not be misunderstood here as suggesting that the Skanda Cult and the profession of pros-

titution were importations from the Middle East. But I am inclined to think that the motif of sacred prostitution (Dēvadāsi system), dedicating daughters to the service of the Temple-deity, offerings of hair and mutilation before it, are definitely foreign to South India. Even though the Nagarathars did not indulge in the above modes of worship, they became more devoted to the cock-bannered Muruga than to any other God of the Hindu Pantheon. And the Bull-baiting pastime of ancient Crete and the other Aegian Islands, could have also travelled with them to Chettiār-Nād.

Lastly, I am afraid Mr. Alagappa's assertion that Gaṇapati was the original deity whom the Nagarathārs worshipped needs correction. The cult of Gaṇesa came into vogue in Tamil Nādu only after the Sangam Age. Not even a single work of that age has a prayer or invocation to that God, and the Chettiars, had been living in Tamil Nādu several centuries prior to that God's advent. Even as regards the pure Śaivite character of their religion, I have my own doubts. The Aiycchiar Kuravai and other Vaishṇavite modes of worship, mentioned in the 'Silappadikaram' had their reverence. And, besides, the phenomenon of Kovalan (Gopalan) Kaṇṇaki (Krishnā), Mā-Sātruvān (worshipper of Lakshmī) and Mā-nāikan (Husband of Lakshmī) all having Vaishṇavite names needs explanation.

I thank the leader and other speakers for their enlightening discourses.

C. N. Singaravelu: I had an opportunity of going over to Malaya in 1963 in connection with a special Conference of Śaiva Siddhānta Mahā Samājam held at Kuala Lampur. I toured extensively in Malaya and Singapore for about a month along with the well-known scholar and author in Tamil, Thiru Roya Chokalingam Chettiar, popularly known as Roya Cho and delivered lectures on Śaivism and Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy, I had therefore an opportunity to know the Nagarathār community intimately in Malaya and Singapore. The members of the community ,are known for hospitality and attachment to religion. The temples built by them in Singapore, Kuala Lampur and Penang are the most cleanly kept temples, I have ever seen. The temples built

by them in Malaya are mostly Daṇdāyuthapāṇi temples. The Nagarathārs in Mālaya are most attached to Lord Muruga especially in the form of Daṇdāyuthapāṇi and next to Lord Muruga they are attached to Lord Nāṭarāja. When ths Chettiars doing business in Malaya go over to India on a visit, they make it a point to visit Chidambaram before leaving for Malaya as if to take leave of Lord Naṭarāja.

It is a remarkable fact that all the members of the community without exception are Śaivites (i.e.) worshippers of Lord Śiva. But I am told that the majority of the community are non-vegetarians and I used to wonder why a community so religious and lavish in temple building is non-vegetarian generally. There is another fact that I noticed among the Nagārathārs in Malaya. They preserve their distinctive culture in Malaya and Singapore. Very few of them have been westernised. Most of them yearn to come back to India one day or other and they therefore keep as it were one foot in Malaya and another in India. The attachment of the Nagarathār community to Tamll Language and literature is also well known. There are many outstanding scholars in Tamil belonging to that community. The late Mahāmahopādyaya M. Kathiresan Chettiar and Roya Cho are names to conjure with among lovers of Tamil.

Dr. N. Sanjṭvi: Dr. Sanjivi dealt elaborately with various matters arising from references in Tamil literature. He suggested that an Institute of Chettiar Culture could be eonsidered.

M. Shanmugham Pillai: Thiru Alagappan makes a specific reference to the provenance of the words 'Ūruṇi', 'Vyañjanam' and similar other expressions in the conversational conventions of Chettinad even to-day. Similar Tamil expressions are in vogue in Nanjil Nad also. 'Ūruṇi', 'Vyañjanam', 'Āthāl', 'Appachi' and other conventional words are prevalent also there. It is a fact of experience that they are not in use in the intervening Tirunelveli District.

This leads us to the inference that there must have been a free intercourse between the two regions in those days. Some

words used for specifying the names of eatables are also the same in both the regions. If we study the other prevailing conventions, we can easily discover other similarities. Hence, such common features based on habit and language deserve a comparative study and research even.

A. Uthandaraman: Thiru S. M. L. Lakshmanan Chettiar (Somalay) is best fitted to lead the seminar. Everybody knows that the Chettiars of Chettinad are financial wizards and ardent Hindu Śaivites. They are however not fanatics. The Vishṇu temple at Ariyakudi is patronised by them. They have also assisted in the renovation of Vishṇu temples at Chidambaram, Kūdal Alagar temple at Madurai, Srīvilliputtūr etc. Most of the temples in Tamil Nādu were constructed or renovated by kings but they fell into disrepair in course of time. The Chettiars were responsible for the repairs and renovation of most of the sacred temples on a grand scale. The monumental work turned out by them in the following major temples bear ample testimony to their devotion and munificence.

Chidambaram	Thiruvaiyāru
Thiruvānaikka	Karūr
Tiruvanṇāmalai	Mayuram
Madurai	Cuddalore
Kānchipuram	Thirukkālathi
Thiru Ālangādu	Rameswaram
Sikkil	Tiruvārur
	Tirukkuttālam etc.

Hindus of Tamil Nādu owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Chettiars for the extensive renovation of all famous temples. There is however a feeling among a section of devotees that while the Chettiars spent enormous amounts on repairs and renovation of almost all important temples they did not make adequate provision for their maintenance and worship as they did in the case of new temples constructed by them in India and in certain other countries of S. E. Asia; though some of them like the Rettai Anā Runā family of Devakottai did make endowments for performance of specific pūjas, festivals etc.

It is desirable to compile a record of the items of work done by them in each temple and to arrange for inscribing them in a prominent place in such institutions. There is still scope for renovation of a number of temples and for provision of endowments for maintenance and pūjas in them.

Winding up the discussions, *Mr. Lakshmanan Chettiar (Somalay)* said :

I am thankful to all the participants for so ably supplementing my rather hurriedly-prepared and incomplete paper.

Mr. C. V. RM. Alagappa Chettiar has made a valuable contribution to the subject. There is no denying the fact that the Chettiars are specially devoted to Vināyaka ; the legend about their having had an icon of Vināyagar in emerald (like the emerald Buddhā of Bangkok and the emerald Natarāja of Thiru Uttarakōsa Mankai) is confirmed by the celebration of a peculiar ritual known as '*Pillayār-Nonbu*'. It is a special festival of the Chettiars; it falls 21 days after Thiru Kārthigai, on the day when Shaṣti Tithi and Sadhaya constellation jointly occur.

I am inclined to agree with his view that the cleanliness of the Chettiar temples in Malaysia is due to the mosaic marble flooring. Certainly marble is easier than stone to be kept in hygienic conditions. It is time temple-managements in Tamil Nādu realise that cleanliness is next to Godliness.

My esteemed friend Mr. A. K. Chettiar has supplemented my paper ably and I cannot thank him sufficiently for giving so much of his time to this seminar. His notes are a mine of information.

Mr. M. V. M. Alagappan said rightly that Chettiar temples gave protection in war-time to people of all religions in Malaysia. This is true of Chettiar temples elsewhere also and of all Hindu temples in India from time immemorial.

The concentration of Chettiars in the western part of Malaysia is to be attributed to its proximity to India.

The generation gap is a real problem. A voluminous and authoritative book on Chettiars is a desideratum.

Mr. Sivapathasundaram has given useful information on Thiruketheesvaram. I am grateful to him for enlightening us on the name *Kathiresan*, which Chettiars in Ceylon use unlike Chettiars elsewhere who connote Subramanya by the nomenclature Daṇḍāyuthapāṇi.

Mr. Aundy raised the question: 'Are the Chettiars indigenous to Tamil Nādu? Or, are they immigrants?' This is a ticklish issue and has to be dealt with in a separate seminar. According to one theory, their original home was somewhere in the Mediterranean. According to another, they hailed from a Nāga-nadu. A third version attributes their earliest settlement to Kāñchipuram.

Mr. Singaravelu rightly referred to the work of the late Mr. K. Ramanathan Chettiar and of Chettiar hospitality in Malaysia to the delegates to the Samajam conference. A stage has been reached when no one can now have one foot in India and another in Malaysia. I feel that most people are currently making their choice once and for all.

There are both vegetarians and non-vegetarians among Chettiars. In Devakottai particularly, almost everyone is vegetarian. It may be safe to state that Chettiars are vegetarians by conviction and tradition. Probably, some of them took to or were forced to take to non-vegetarianism as a matter of convenience when they had to go out of India.

Dr. Sanjeevi has dealt elaborately on various issues arising from reference in Tamil literature. I would invite his attention to my study '*Chettināḍum Tamiḻum*'. It is true that Chettiars have spread Tamil words in the countries of South-East Asia.

The charge that after all Chettiars developed only popular religion is not inaccurate. We have to remember that they were not religious missionaries. What else is possible by businessmen, doing religious work in their spare time in countries where the dominant religion was not Hindu? In my humble view, but for Chettiar activity in religion, most Tamils and Keralites in South-East Asia would have fallen easy converts to other folds.

Dr. Sanjeevi's suggestion for an Institute of Chettiar Culture is worth considering. There are a hundred aspects to be dealt with and today's seminar was confined to a single aspect only. Even here, we have not had time to cover the entire ground.

Mr. Shanmugam Pillai's mention of the emerald Vināyaka and of its being kept in Nagercoil should be the starting point for researches on the links between Chettiars and Nanjilnad.

The seminar has been very useful (to me) and I should think that several points of view have emerged. There is room for further researches on many points covered in the discussions.

May I again thank Dr. K. K. Pillai and the Institute of Traditional Cultures for having organised this seminar?

Dr. K. K. Pillay: I am grateful to Thiru S.M.K. Lakshmanan Chettiar for having led the seminar, and I am also grateful to the participants who took part in the discussion. The proceedings of their seminar will be printed in the Bulletin and complementary copies will be sent to all of you.

Thank you,

II. NON-ARYAN ELEMENTS IN ṚG VEDA

Director :

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D. Litt., D. Phil. (Oxon.).

Leader :

Mr. M. Sundar Raj, Financial Adviser and Chief Accounts Officer, Integral Coach Factory, Madras-38.

Others :

Mr. P. N. Appuswami, B. A., B. L., Advocate, 24, II Main Road, Gandhinagar, Madras-20.

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Mr. A. Kalyanaraman, M. A., Accountant-General (Retd), 39 Tirumalai Pillai St., Madras-17.

Dr. K. Kunjunni Rajah, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras-5.

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Lt. Col. N. Nair (Retd.), 70, Srinagar Colony, Madras-15.

Dr. S. K. Nayar, M. A., Ph. D., Reader, Malayalam Department, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mr. P. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Staff Reporter of the "Hindu" (Retd.), 24, Velu Naicker Street, West Mambalam, Madras-33.

Mr. K. Rajagopal, B. Sc., Technical Assistant, Department of Botany, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mr. C. E. Ramachandran, M. A., M. Litt., Reader Department of Indian History, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mr. M. Ramakrishna Sastri, M. A., M. Litt., Research Assistant, Sanskrit Department, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mr. V. Ramasubramanian (Aundy), 95, Venkatarangam Pillai Street, Triplicane, Madras-5.

Mr. A. Sadasivan, 124, Pachaiyappa's College Hostel, Madras-30.

Mr. D. Sadasivan, M. A., M. Litt., Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mr. R. N. Sampath, M. A., Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, University Buildings, Madras-5.

Dr. N. Sanjivi, M. A., Ph. D., Reader in Tamil, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Dr. A. Shankar Kedilaya, M. A., Ph. D., Reader, Department of Kannada, University of Madras, Madras-5.

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Selvi P. Sulochana, 87, Presidency College Women's Hostel, Chepauk, Madras-5.

Mr. A. Sundaramurthi, M. A., Senior Research Fellow, Indian National Science Academy, Madras.

Mr. K. D. Tirunavakkarasu, M.A., M.Litt., Tirukkural Research Department, University of Madras, Madras-5.

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Mr. T. B. Venugopala Panikkar, M. A., Research Assistant, Department of Malayalam, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Mr. S. Viswanathan, 8, IV Cross Street, East Shenoynagar, Madras-30.

Mr. K. Vivekanandam, No. PER. 199/A, Railway Quarters, Ayanavaram P. O., Madras-23.

Welcoming the leader of the Seminar, Mr. Sundar Raj and the invitees the Director said:

Mr. M. Sundar Raj, is Financial Adviser and Chief Accounts Officer, Integral Coach Factory, Madras. I am grateful to him for having agreed to lead this seminar on Non-Aryan Elements in the Ṛg Veda under the auspices of this Institute. Mr. M. Sundar Raj is a keen student of Indology and he lectures and writes on topics of interest like the one on which he is going to talk to-day.

A student of Chemistry, he is by profession a Financial Administrator in Central Government service. Being keenly interested in his fellowmen he has written a number of articles on Sociology of Public Administration, and other allied matters.

Hinduism in all its aspects, i.e. Sociology, Philosophy, etc. has attracted him very much and it is this which has taken him to the field which forms the subject of today's Paper. The problems of Ṛg Vedic Mythology have been his special area of study and he has already contributed two important Papers, viz. (i) "Ṛg Vedic Mythology" which has appeared in Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's 80th Birthday Felicitation Volume, and (ii) "Ṛg Vedic Mythology and Cultural History" which he read recently before the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. He advances a new theory for explaining the Ṛg Vedic myths.

I look forward to an interesting seminar and a discussion by the participants on the subject of the seminar. I now request Mr. Sunder Raj to lead the seminar.

Mr. Sundar Raj: I thank the Director of this Institute for giving me an opportunity to lead this seminar.

The question of the extent to which non-Āryan influences have affected the development of Sanskrit from the earliest times has been discussed by Prof. Burrow in his *The Sanskrit Language*. He has pointed out that this influence is to be seen not only in phonetic developments, such as that of the series of occlusives,—the so-called cerebrals,—but also in grammar. An example which he has cited is the occurrence in Sanskrit of the gerund or conjunctive participle, which, he opines, is a derivation from Dravidian languages where such a construction is extensively used. But it is mainly in their vocabulary that Prof. Burrow thinks that Sanskrit and the Indo-Aryan languages have been affected by non-Āryan influences.

In the words of Prof. Burrow, "the tendency to substitute new words for inherited Indo-European words has been permanently active in Indo-Āryan . . . . It is not unusual to find pairs of names in Sanskrit, used equally commonly, of which one is non-Āryan, e.g. mārjāra (marj-) and bidāla (cat), etc. etc. . . . . What were clearly local words belonging originally to different languages have been adopted into Sanskrit, and the multiplicity of the Sanskrit vocabulary reflects an original linguistic compli-

cation in India which has receded before the advance of Indo-Āryan". (p. 374).

The Muṇda and the Dravidian languages have, it is conceded, been the two major sources of loan words in Sanskrit. Of these two, the Dravidian is much the more important. In the words of Prof. Burrow again, "it has become clear that quite a considerable portion of the Sanskrit vocabulary is of Dravidian origin and that this influence has operated over a long period in the history of the language". (p. 380). Much of the borrowings is said to have occurred in the post-Vedic period but "a small nucleus" is already found in the Ṛg Veda. Examples given by Prof. Burrow are: ulūkhala - (mortar), kuṇḍa - (hole in the ground, pit), bala - (strength), etc.

It must, however, be pointed out that the cultural contents of the Ṛg Veda have not yet been satisfactorily explained, and till this is done, the extent of such borrowing cannot be definitely specified. The view-point that there is only a small nucleus of Dravidian loanwords in the Ṛg Veda is based on the verses whose meaning is clear and unambiguous. But this is not the case with very large sections of the hymns. As Prof. Burrow himself has pointed out (p. 41), many of the old words of the Vedas ceased to be understood in later times, and in spite of all the work of modern scholarship "there remains a considerable amount of material which defies interpretation". Hence the view that the number of Dravidian loanwords in the Ṛg Veda is "a small nucleus" can only be tentative.

The difficulties in interpreting the Ṛg Veda are of two kinds. Firstly, we have a number of gods, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, etc., whose mutual relationships, activities and descriptions appear extremely odd and bizarre. For example, Indra is said to have gone into the house of his father Tvaṣṭṛ and, in a fit of drunkenness, cut off his head. Again, Tvaṣṭṛ is himself said to be the father-in-law of Vāyu. (p. 116, "Vedic Mythology" by A. A. Macdonell-Reprinted by Indological Book House). And so on. The second difficulty is encountered in tracing the etymology of of the names of the gods. It is generally accepted by all scholars

from the time of Yāska of the 8th century B. C. that the relevant myths have a close bearing on these names, for example, Agni is so named because of his traits which are those of fire. The etymology of Agni is readily derived from "ignes" (Latin for "fire"). But most other names, such as Viṣnu have remained intractable. These myths which are innumerable are spread throughout the Veda, and no rational explanation has so far been found which would present them in an integrated and mutually consistent picture.

A more detailed discussion of the problem of Ṛg Vedic mythological exegetics, and of such associated questions as the relationship between the Indus Valley culture and the Vedas, the continuity of mythological tradition in Hinduism, etc., will be found in my article entitled "Ṛg Vedic Mythology" in Prof. K. A. N. Sastri Felicitation Volume (1971). Here I would only point out that a basic defect common to all Vedic mythological studies so far is the failure to evolve a solution by the application of a single key or formula drawn from the Vedas themselves. A solution based on such a formula is, it is obvious, the only way to reach the correct interpretation, free of *a priori* objections. For some unknown reason, however, a rigorous search for such a key has not been attempted till now, and the studies so far have proceeded on the implicit assumption that such a key does not exist.

Lunar Asterisms:

An important passage which is worth examining in this connection is Verse IV. 4. 10 of the *Taittirīya Samhita* of the Black Yajus (p. 348, Vol. II ed. A. B. Keith) which lists the nakṣatras, or lunar asterisms, and assigns to each of them one or more gods as presiding deities. Similar verses with slight variations in the names of the deities are found in other Samhitas as well, such as the Kāthaka, the Maitrāyani Samhita, etc., as pointed out by Macdonell and Keith under the heading, "Nakṣatra" in "The Vedic Index" (Vol. I). A collated list of all these sources, following the one prepared by the Indian Calendar Reforms Commission (1955) (p. 18 of the Report), presided over by Prof. M. N. Saha,

indicating also position of the nakṣatras in the Zodiacal constellations as identified by astronomers, may bə seen at Table I.

It is rather surprising that even though these Samhita passages were examined very carefully in the Vedic index, the significance of relating the nakṣatras and deities in this manner has not been enquired into by its authors. When this question is raised, however, and the possibility explored that they provide a key to the myth, it is found that a very large number of them can be explained thereby in a simple and rational mannner.

Indra: It will be seen, from the list at Table I, that Indra and Tvaṣṭr are the presiding deities of Citrā (No. 12) which is in the constellation Virgo (Kanyā). As is well-known Indra comes into prominence only in the later stages of the Ṛg Veda. Citrā is then the house of which Tvaṣṭr was the lord in the first instance, into which Indra has intruded later, an act which is symbolically expressed as cutting off the head of Tvaṣṭr. (Ṛg Vedic verses IV. 18. 3, 12, etc.). Since both are in the same house, a sort of family relationship of son and father is established between them. In another myth Tvaṣṭr is said to have taken shelter amongst women (p. 133 *Vedic Mythology* by Macdonell I. 161. 4. 5). When we see that Citrā is in the constellation Virgo (Kanyā) the aptness of the story becomes clear.

Tvaṣṭar is the father-in-law of Vāyu (VIII. 26. 21) because the lord of the next asterism (item 13) is Vāyu.

Asvins: The pair of gods known as Asvins are important in the Ṛg Veda. Amongst other things they possess a chariot with only three wheels (I. 118. 1 and 2, etc.), and the figure three is associated with them in various ways (p. 50 VMM). The explanation for this lies in the fact that the nakṣatra stars Arietis are in the constellation Aries or Mesha (Fig. 2).

Agni: Agni is said, in the Ṛg Veda, to be a roaring bull with pointed horns and is also said to have six eyes or three heads. He is also said to have seven sisters (p. 89 *et seq* VMM) (I. 146. 1, X. 164. 3 etc.). The meaning of these myths become clear when it is noticed from the list at Table I that Agni' is

the lord of the nakṣatra Krttikā (item 1), and has as associates in this status both Soma and Prajāpati. Krttikā is the group of stars known as Pleiades in the constellation Taurus. Pleiades is a cluster of stars of which six only are ordinarily visible to the naked eye though a seventh may also be seen if the vision is very sharp (Fig. 3 may be seen). The six stars are the six eyes, of the three heads; the seven which are seen by sharp vision constitute the seven sisters. Agni is the roaring bull because Pleiades is in the Taurus constellation.

Prajāpati: Prajāpati, it will be seen, is the lord, both of Rohiṇi (item 2) and Krttikā (item 1), which nakṣatras are in the constellation Taurus, Rohiṇi being Aldeberan which is near the mouth of the bull. These facts explain the myth of Prajapati's incest with his daughter (p. 119 VMM) (X. 61. 7 etc.). Rohiṇi, being a female name, is said to be the daughter (in the Ṛg Veda the daughter's name is Urvas - a word whose radical part is the same as Rohiṇi), and, therefore, is said to be the daughter of Prajāpati, the lord of the house; both being in the constellation Taurus is symbolically expressed by the myth of both becoming deer (or animals).

Rudra: The point of Rudra's arrow being aimed at Prajāpati is justified by the three stars on the belt of Orion which are seen pointed in line against Pleiades, the house of Prajāpati. Rudra, being the lord of Ārdrā Bāhū, is found on the arm of Orion (Betel-geuse), bāhū meaning arm (Fig. 3).

The Eagle: *Srona:* A myth in the Ṛg Veda says that Suparṇa the eagle went up to bring Soma which is in the heavenly mountains; on its way back it was shot at by Kṛṣanu, the black archer and a feather fell off the eagle on to the ground (p. 111 VMM) (IV. 27. 3 & 4 etc.). The explanation for the story lies in item 20 of the list, where Viṣnu is said to be the lord of Sroṇa in the constellation Aquila (Eagle) one of whose neighbours is Sagittarius (the archer). The relative positions will be seen in Fig. 4, where it will be noticed that on the tip of the wings of the eagle, there are two stars, Sroṇa itself being the 3 stars on the neck of the eagle.

One of the later Samhita stories refers to Indra being enticed by an Asura woman and being led by her into the house of Asuras where he lives as a man amongst men and woman amongst women (p. 57 VMM). This story is a symbolic expression of Indra appearing as a presiding deity of the 16th nakṣatra, namely Rohiṇi Jyeṣthā (Antares) in the list, which is in the constellation Scorpio (Fig. 5). It is known that the Vedic people classified the nakṣatras as Deva and Asura (vide Tilak's Orion), and nakṣatras in Scorpio whose very appearance struck terror into the ancient Sumerians may appropriately be considered to belong to the evil class which explains why Indra is said to have gone into the house of Asuras. Indra's becoming a woman refers to the fact that this nakṣatra has a female name, namely, Rohiṇi (Jyeṣta).

Indra's war with Vṛtra which is the most important myth in the Ṛg Veda would refer to the same relationship between Indra, Rohiṇi Jyeṣta and the Scorpio constellation. Vrtra, the Ṛg Veda says amongst other things lies like a serpent, i.e. an evil demon in the waters and Indra in his war strikes him in the side which corresponds to the fact that Rohiṇi Jyeṣta is in the middle of the Scorpio. The war which is eternal and recurring is over cattle whom Vrtra has carried away from the Devas and kept in his custody. The cattle here apparently means the moon and this story is a mythical explanation for the phasal changes of the moon, the waning of the moon being ascribed to the serpent or demons.

Indra in the Ṛg Veda is said to be a bull, the offspring of a cow (p. 56 VMM) (X. 111. 2 etc.). He was born in an unnatural way through the side of his mother (IV. 18. 1 & 2). Vrtra's mother is also called a cow (I. 32. 9). These are symbolical expressions identifying Indra as the lord of Jyeṣta Rohiṇi (Antares) which is in the side of Scorpio (Vrtra).

Varuṇa: Varuṇa, amongst other things, is said, in the Ṛg Veda, to be clad in the sky, that is, he is said to be naked, and that water flows from him as from a jar etc. (p. 25 VMM) (I. 152. 1; VIII. 41. 8 etc.). A reference to the list will show that Varuṇa jointly with Indra is the lord of the nakṣatra

Satabhiṣak (item 22) which is in the Aquarius constellation (Kumbha). The figure of this constellation at Fig. 6 explains the myth. This figure may be compared with the terra cotta plaque of Sumeria (c. 2100 B.C.) (Fig. 10). This is usually explained by scholars as the figure of "a naked priest holding a pot from which water flows". This should be correctly identified with Varuṇa. From its appearance, it seems to indicate the probability that the ancient Varuṇa cult was a prototype of the later Digambara Jainism. The "Vratas" which are associated with the Varuṇa cult in Vedism seem also to point to its being the origin of Jainism.

Indra: Indra is "a father" (IV. 17. 17 etc.), He was the friend of the fathers in olden times (VI. 21. 8). He is a Maghavān, and bestows goods and wealth (II. 19. 4) etc. His weapon, the thunderbolt (Vajra) lies enveloped in the water (VII. 89. 9). He possesses also a bow and arrow (VIII. 45. 4), and an 'ankuśa', a hook used as an elephant-goad.

All this is explained by reference to Fig. 7b. This is a redrawing of the constellation "Leonis" (Fig. 7a). The nakṣtra "Maga" of which the presiding deity is "Pitṛ" (Fathers) falls in this constellation.

Many more myths can be explained similarly, but these examples should suffice to show that a large number of the Ṛg Vedic myths are nothing but descriptions of the lunar asterisms and their relevant positions.

In this connection a question may be raised as to how these myths can be associated with constellations when the term "raṣi", the Sanskrit word for "constellation" does not appear in the Ṛg Veda. The point is that the Ṛg Veda has deliberately made myths out of plain astronomical facts, for what purpose it is not difficult to see. Had it been made clear that these are constellations the entire course of Hinduism would have been different. Moreover, it may be pointed out that the term "gaṇa" which is equivalent to "raṣi" does appear in some myths.

Solar Calendarical Events

Certain other myths on investigation reveal themselves to be concerned with solar calendarical events, to which the key described in the preceding paragraphs would not apply.

The pincipal solar myth is that of Viṣnu, who has been recognised from the time of Yāska to be the deified form of the sun. The Ṛg Vedic myth of Viṣnu, is the base on which the later Purāṇas have elaborated into Trivikramanārāyaṇa and other stories, and is found to be a simple statement to the effect that Viṣṇu took three steps one of which is longer than the other two and that it took him to the highest heaven (p. 37 VMM) (I, 155. 5 etc). A simple explanation of this is found in the annual movement (steps) of the sun starting from the position of Autumnal Equinox as in the *Fig.* 8. There are three steps, (i) from Autumnal Equinox to Winter Solstice, (ii) from Winter Solstice through the Vernal Equinox to the Summer Solstice and (iii) from the Summer solstice to the Autumnal Equinox, the starting point. Of these the second seems to be longer than the other two and it takes the sun from the southern most point, i.e. the lowest position to the Summer Solstice in the northern most or the highest point.

Another important solar myth is that of the Ādityas and Mārtāṇda (p. 43 VMM). The relevent story in the Ṛg Veda is that at first Aditi produced seven Ādityas to place before the gods, and then she produced the eighth, namely, Mārtaṇd who was then thrown away (X. 72. 8 etc.). A clue to this puzzle can be found from the Avestan list of the names of the days which are names of gods (Table II). It is shown by Darmester that the names in the first, 8th, 15th and 23rd positions are the same, being the name of Ahura Mazda (Dhātusho). This list indicates the division of the month into four periods, two of seven days each, and two of eight. The myth of the Ādityas then seem to be the Vedic parallel to the Avestan division of the month. The waning and waxing phases of the moon had apparently been divided further by the Vedic people into two periods of 7 and 8 days, the Ādityas being the names of these days. Mārtāṇda is the name of the 8th day which occurs in alternate periods. With the exception of a

small number of myths whose origins can be attributed to the earlier Indo-European phase of the Vedic people, or to a Fertility Cult phase of earlier civilisations, the entire Ṛg Vedic myths can be shown by similar analysis to deal with astronomic phenomena connected with the movements and position of the sun and moon as would be described in a primitive luni-solar calendar. Earlier scholars, such as Tilak, in his *Orion*, and Keith and Macdōnell, in their *Vedic Index*, had also noted that the Ṛg Vedic people seemed to be conversant with some of these phenomena, but the instances noted by them were very few, being cases where direct and obvious references are to be found, such as the names of the stars Agha (Māgha) and Arjuni (Phalguni). Verses of this nature are very few. The terms "Revati" and "Punarvasu" which appear in the hymn (X. 19. 1) are treated in the Vedic Index as adjectives meaning "rich" and "bringing wealth again" and not as names of stars. Whether this is correct is a matter for question.

Having solved first the two difficulties mentioned earlier in Ṛg Vedic interpretation, it is now possible to proceed to the second, namely, the etymology of the names of the gods.

Etymology

It was Yāska in the 8th century B.C. who first attempted to derive the etymology of the names of gods from the Sanskrit vocabulary. Modern scholarship of the last 150 years, following the footsteps of Yāska also made similar attempts drawing upon a wider knowledge of the Indo-European languages on the assumption that Ṛg Vedic Sanskrit is essentially an Indo-European language. These attempts have been not very successful as will be seen from Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology* as well as from Burrow's statement earlier cited. For example Viṣnu is declared to be a word which has no Indo-European etymology whatsover, and derivations for names such as Asvin and Vṛtra have at the best little co-relation with the connected myths.

When an attempt is made to apply Dravidian etymology with the aid of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary of Burrow and Emeneau (DED), it is found that very satisfactory derivations are

available which rigorously fulfill the fundamental principle that the etymology and the myth should be in perfect correspondence. In this connection it may be noted that the Ṛg Veda itself states that the hymns are "constructed as a carpenter builds a chariot", and that it would be quite in order to see the words as not flowing according to any fixed phonological laws, but as deliberately constructed out of basic roots or elements of parent words.

To take as an example, for Vṛtra the best Indo-European derivation is from the root 'vṛ' meaning 'to cover', which would explain Vṛtra as a "coverer" of cows, whose correspondence with the myth is very tenuous, as the latter says that Vṛtra stole the cows and hid them in his fortress and that he is a snake lying on the waters, etc. The Dravidian etymology of the radical "vṛ" is traced from "Virian" (DED 4440), a Tamil word meaning a black poisonous viper, and in popular parlance also a black scorpion, a deadly variety. This accord with the myth for Vṛtra has already been identified as the Scorpio constellation to whose malefic influence is attributed the phenomena of the waning and waxing of the moon.

Similarly Viṣnu can be derived from the Dravidian etymology to mean (i) "falling" to denote the Autumal Equinoctial position, from "vizhu" (viṛu) (DED 4457) or (ii) "vizhi" (viṛi) meaning "eye", a common symbol for the sun. It may also be mentioned that "vizhuvan" in Sanskrit means the equinoctial day, as also the stick by which the primitive astronomers studied the the solar movements.

The Sanskrit (Indo-European) etymology for "punarvasu" (bringing wealth again) may be compared with the Dravidian "united, tied, joined together, etc." (DED 3423(b)) which accounts for the Punarvasu star being in the Mithuna (Gemini) constellation, whose presiding deity is Aditi, who in the Ṛg Veda has a close associate, Diti.

Again, Krttikā in Sanskrit (Indo-European) etymology provides no connection with the myths of Agni, the lord of the house,

whereas if the name is expanded, as in Dravidian linguistic pattern, the word is Kārthikeya, made up of three elements, viz., "Kār" meaning black (DED 1253), "thi" meaning fire (DED 2672), and "keya" or "chey" meaning child (Sangam, Old Tamil, see also 2311 DED) all of which are from Tamil and in perfect correspondence with the myths.

One more example is that of Mārtānd for which Sanskrit (Indo-European) etymology can find no better derivation than mṛt (meaning dead) and aṇda (meaning egg), both together being "rotten or dead egg" which has only the faintest relationship with the myth, whereas in Tamil etymology it would be a derivation from "māru" (meaning "change" or "alternate") (DED 3897, 3903, 3960 and 3961) and "tānd" (DED 2578) (meaning cross or jump) which would give the meaning for Mārtānd as "one who skips or jumps or appear alternately" giving a perfect correspondence to the myth.

Sroṇa for which no Sanskrit (Indo-European) etymology can find a derivation to correspond with the myth of the feather of the eagle, can in Tamil be derived from "sira" (or "sirai") meaning "feather" (DED 2133) and "koṇa" meaning "tip", "end", etc. (DED 1733). All this find a close correspondence with the myth.

One remarkable loanword in Āryaman, the name of an Āditya in the Ṛg Veda for which Macdonell (VMM p. 45) finds an Indo-European etymology meaning friend is better derived from Tamil (Sangam) "Aryama" meaning "lion" which accords with fact that Aryamā is the lord of the asterism "Pūrva Phalguni" (item 9 in the list at Table I) in the constellation "Leo" or "Simha", the Lion.

It is not proposed to discuss other etymological derivations here for want of space, but it may be taken that almost all these names have an etymology which has more closely allied to that of Tamil language than that of any other Dravidian languages. That many of these words are still in current use in Tamil

language should not be a matter for surprise. The examples of Dravidian loanwords in the Ṛg Veda as accepted by Prof. Burrow it will be noticed are words which are still in current use, for example "ulūkhala" or "ulakka" (modern Tamil) and "bala" which is also modern Tamil etc. In fact the following remarks of Prof. Burrow's which form the concluding para of *The Sanskrit Language* are worth quoting in full:

> "It follows that the problem of Dravidian loanwords in Sanskrit is somewhat different from what is usually met with in loanword studies, since the particular dialects or languages from which the borrowings took place have vanished leaving no record behind, and the major Dravidian languages of the South, with which mainly the comparisons must be made, are separated by great distances geographically and by anything up to a millennium or over in time. Fortunately the differences between the various Dravidian languages are not so great as to render dubious the reconstruction of the primitive form of the language and the form of words met with in the loanwords in Sanskrit does not differ materially from that which is arrived at by the comparative study of the existing Dravidian languages. It is a characteristic of the Dravidian languages that they have not evolved with the same rapidity as Indo-Aryan, and consequently the classical Dravidian languages and even the minor spoken languages recorded only in modern times can be used profitably to trace the Dravidian origin of Sanskrit words which were borrowed before any of these languages are themselves recorded, and from other ancient Dravidian dialects which have themselves disappeared."

Dravidian Rituals and Cults

There is also plenty of material in the myths which refer to various rituals and cult practices of a distinctly Dravidian character, such as are practised even today by non-Brahman communities in Tamil Nādu, or have diffused from them into Brahmanism.

The myths of Pūsan are an example. Pūsan (p. 35 et seq. VMM) has been identified as a sun god from many of the verses in the Ṛg Veda including that of the Gayatri. Pūsan is said to be fond of gruel (i.e. kañji) (he is a "karambhād", eater of gruel) (I. 138. 4); he has goats for steed (IV. 55. 4), and is the conductor of the dead (X. 17. 3). He is bountiful and gives cattle to men. He is fond of cattle chariot-racing; his goad drives cattle straight, and he is fond of chariot-racing (VI. 56. 2).

Pūsan's bounty is particularly often mentioned. He possesses all wealth (I. 89. 6), abounds in wealth (VIII. 4. 15), is beneficient, bountiful, etc. . . . He is termed "devotion-stimulating" (IX. 88. 3), is invoked to quicken devotion (II. 40. 6), and his awal is spoken of as "prayer-instigating" (p. 36 VMM) . . . Pūsan is the "lord of the path" in many ways, grants an auspicious path, and leads to good pastures. He is a "deliverer", vimōcana"; he preserves cattle from injury by falling into a pit, etc. (p. 36 VMM) . . . He is the strong friend of abundance, the strong lord and increaser of nourishment (X. 26. 7 & 8). etc.

All these may be compared with the Tamil practices of celebrating the month of "Mārgazhi", which is considered an auspicious month, and is celebrated with devotional songs, etc. when the houses are cleaned, and daubed with-cow-dung (the Tamil word, pūsu (pūcu) (DED 3569) meaning "daub", etc.) This month sees the end of the sun's passage to the south, and its close, marks the Winter Solstice (with due correction for the errors in Hindu panchāngam making). On the last day of the month, Bhōgi is celebrated by burning old clothes, brooms, etc., signifying the destruction of evil and disease (It may be remarked here that the sun's passage in the south is symbolically represented as a disease from which the sun (sipivista) is cured when he turns the Winter Solstice). The next day is Poṅgal when rice is boiled, and the 'gruel' is offered at mid-day to the sun-god. The third day is "Māttu-Poṅgal", (lit. cattle festival) when cattle are washed, and decorated and in the after-noon cattle-racing, cattle-fighting, and chariot racing are arranged.

The close similarity between these and the myths of Pūsan point to this Dravidian (Tamil) practice having been in existence in the times of the Ṛg Veda. Similarly, the typically Tamil Muruga-cult can also be shown as existent in those times. (It would take too long to quote here chapter and verse in support of this. A paper read by me in January before the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which is to be published in their journal shortly may be referred for some of the evidence).

Archaeology

The generally accepted view at present regarding the origin of the Ṛg Veda is that they were composed sometime about 1600 to 1400 B.C. (or perhaps a little later), but that the cultural elements described therein belong to even earlier dates. It is also conceded that the Ṛg Veda is a composition of the Āryan people after their entry into India and that prior to their coming, a great urban agricultural civilisation flourished in the plains of the Indus Valley. Any search for archaeological evidence for cultural elements included in the Ṛg Veda should, therefore, naturally look for material of the second or early third millennium B.C. in the related areas, namely, the Indus Valley and other regions in India as well as the neighbouring regions of Sumeria and Persia.

The terra cotta plaque of Sumeria (c. 2100 B. C.) of a naked priest holding a pot in his hand from which water flows (Fig. 10) has already been discussed earlier, and its similarity with the Varuṇa figure of the Aquarius constellation has been noted. Another figure of a common occurrence in the Middle East of that period is that of a man holding a pot, such as that shown in the picture at Fig. 11, which belongs to about 3000 B.C. This motif which is found very wide-spread is also clearly intended to represent Varuṇa. Again we have an Indus Valley stone bowl of about 2500 B.C. found in Sumeria which is at Fig. 12. The various figures which appear on the bowl can now be seen to represent some of the lunar asterisms. For example, we have the bull, the lion, the snake, the man from whose hand water flows (that is, Varuṇa) and so on. We have also a bronze pendant of Luristan about 1000 B.C. (Fig. 13) which clearly shows the various constellations and which can be understood only thus.

These are a few instances of the archaeological evidence in support of the view that lunar asterisms and constellation figures played an important part in the thought of the people of this area at that time. This has already been established from a study of the Sumerian and Akkadian documents, vide the works of scholars such as Sir Leonard Woolley (History of Mankind), and Leo Oppenhein (Ancient Mesopotamia). It is now found that the symbolism of the artefacts and of ancient art is also the same.

Clearly then, there was in existence at that time a religion to which we may give the name "Asteric" in which lunar asterisms and solar movements played an important part in determining the time of festivals and rituals, and that in many respects these rituals were of a type familiar to us today in Dravidian practice. When the Āryan people absorbed the culture of the Indus Valley, they took over along with the cultural elements, the Dravidian words and practices attached to this culture. This explains the vast amount of Dravidian (Tamil) loanwords in the Ṛg Veda and the various non-Aryan elements described in this paper.

This may perhaps be the appropriate place to make a digression and touch upon the history of ancient astronomy. It is clear that the origins of astronomy and of the constellations and asterisms lie in the Indus Valley and its sister civilisation of Sumeria of the third millennium B.C. from where it spread to Greece in the first millennium B.C. Greece developed it further. Meanwhile in India to the wandering Indo-Āryans astronomy had not the same practical purpose which it served to the great urban agricultural civilisation of the Indus Valley. Consequently not only did astronomy make no progress in Vedism and early Hinduism, but even what knowledge had been taken from the Indus Valley had lost its meaning by the early centuries of the Christian era. About the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., Hinduism had to learn astronomy afresh from the Greeks and the Romans. The views of eminent scholars, such as those expressed by Keith and Macdonell in the Vedic Index denying the credit of primacy to Hinduism in this matter require to be re-examined.

Data from Hindu (Tamil especially) iconography, the Sangam literature, the Sumerian myths, and rituals, South Indian archaeology, etc. could be adduced in further evidence, but it would take too much time to go into them. However, it is hoped, that even without going into these and other additional data available with the author (as mentioned earlier) the plausibility of the theses has been established in this paper that essentially, and more or less completely, the Ṛg Vedic cultural elements are of Dravidian provenance (more correctly Tamilian, the Indus Valley civilisation being apparently a proto-Tamilian one), and that it may not be too far-fetched to describe the Ṛg Veda as a sort of "*Tamil Panchāngam*". Ṛg. Vedic Sanskrit is consequently a hybrid language, and bilingual philology, viz., Indo-European and Dravidian is necessary for its correct interpretation and understanding.

TABLE I

NAMES OF NAKṢATRAS IN THE YAJURVEDA WITH THEIR PRESIDING DEITIES

No.	Names of Nakṣatras	Presiding Deity	Constellation of Principal Star
1	Kṛttikā	Agni (Prajāpati and Soma)	η Tauri
2	Rohiṇi	Prajāpati	α Tauri
3	Mṛgasirṣa	Soma	λ Orionis
	Invakā	,,	
4	Ārdrā	Rudra	α Orionis
	Bāhū	,,	
5	Punarvasu	Aditi	β Geminorum
6	Tiṣya	Bṛhaspati	δ Cancri
7	Āsresa	Sarpa	ε Hydrae
8	Maghā	Pitṛ (Indra*)	α Leonis
9	Phalguni	Aryamā	δ Leonis
	Pūrva Phalguni		
10	Phalguni	Bhaga	β Leonis
	Uttara Phalguni		
11	Hasta	Savitā	δ Corvi
12	Citrā	Indra, Tvaṣṭā	α Virginis
13	Svāti	Vayu	α Bootis
	Niṣṭyā		
14	Visākhā	Indrāgni	α Librae
15	Anurādhā	Mitra	δ Scorpii
16	Rohiṇi	Indra	α Scorpii
	Jyeṣthā		
17	Vicratau	Pitṛ	λ Scorpii
	Mūlabarhani, Mūla Nirṛti, Prajāpati		
18	Aṣāḍhā	Āpah	δ Sagittarii
	Pūrvāsādhā		

* (For the identification of Pitṛ with Indra which is not to be found in the list of the Committee, see text of the paper).

TABLE I—*contd.*

No.	Names of Nakṣatras	Presiding Deity	Constellation of Principal Star
19	Asāḍhā	Visvedeva	δ Sagittarii
	Uttarāṣāḍhā		
	Abhijit	Brahma	α Lyrae
20	Sroṇa	Viṣṇu	α Acquilae
21	Sraviṣṭhā	Vasu	β Delphini
22	Satabhiṣak	Indra, Varuṇa	λ Aquarii
23	Proṣṭhapada	Ajaekapād	α Pegasi
	Purva Proṣṭhapada		
24	Proṣṭhapada	Ahirbudhniya	γ Pegasi
	Uttara Proṣṭhapada		
25	Revati	Pūsā	ξ Piscium
26	Asvayuja	Asvin	β Arietis
27	Apabharaṇi	Yama	4/ Arietis

(P. 200 of the Report of the Calendar Reform Committee, 1955, Government of India)

TABLE II

The Persians did not have weeks or decads, but named the successive days of the month serially according to their gods or religious principles. The Avestan names of days are as follows:

1. *Ahurahē mazdāo*
2. Vanheus mananhō
3. Ashahē vahistahē
4. Kshathrahē vairjēhē
5. Spentajāo ārmatōis
6. Hauravatātō
7. Ameretātō
8. *Dathushō*
9. Athrō
10. Apām
11. Hvarekshaētahē
12. Māonhō
13. Tistrejēhē
14. Geus
15. *Dathushō*
16. Mithrahē
17. Sraoshahē
18. Rashnaos
19. Fravashinām
20. Verethraghnahē
21. Rāmanō
22. Vātahē
23. *Dathushō*
24. Daēnajāo
25. Ashōis
26. Arstātō
27. Asmanō
28. Zemō
29. Mathrahēspentahē
30. Anaghranām

"The eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of the month are under the rule of Ahura and the Amesha-Spentas, like the first day; they have therefore no name of their own and are named from the day that follows. The month was divided into four weeks, the first two numbering seven days, the last two numbering eight".

(Darmesteter's note to Sirozah I. 8 of the Zend Avesta. P. 6-7 of "The Zend Avesta", Part II, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIII).

(Page 166—Report of the Calendar Reform Committee)

R. N. Sampath: I offer my sincere congratulations to Sri M. Sundar Raj for his well-prepared paper on "Non-Āryan Elements in the Ṛg Veda" with the slides, diagrams and tables, At the same time I bring to his kind attention certain facts for reassessment regarding the various theories for the concept of Vedic Gods.

The slides that were displayed and the diagrams and the tables indicate a perfection as well as the awareness of the zodiacal system and the constellations even in the Ṛg Veda. For the first time the mention of various stars and their Adhidevatās occurs only in the Taitirīya Samhitā period. Moreover Indira as the Ṛg Veda deity in the Ṛgvedic period is totally a different concept with reference to Indira as the Adhidēvatā of the star Chitra and then to associate effiminacy or the loss of masculinity in him because of the association with Rōhini, another star is definitely a later purāṇic idealogy. To anticipate such later developments and to press this idealogy into this concept (Ṛgvedic) is not a satisfactory explanation.

The equation of Sun to Vishṇu and then to interprete the three steps of Vishṇu referred to in Ṛgveda as the movements of the Sun towards the northern and southern ends is also not satisfactory. In a year, there are four points which should be taken note of and also during which time the Sun makes an effective impress. They are the four nodes of Solar movements viz., two solsticial points and two equinoxial points termed in Sanskrit as Ayanas and Vishus. So, according the movement of the Sun as per these nodes, there should be four steps and not three and if the equinoxial points are ignored then the two solsticial points alone are to be reckoned with and that will count only two steps and not three. Moreover to derive "Viśhṇu" through the verbal stem "Vizhu" is philologically flimsy. Besides these points we have to take into consideration a fact which has come to stay and which will become a "myth" if we are to derive all the names of the Vedic deities from Dravidian ideas and concepts.

Historically it is accepted that Vedic culture has influenced the southern Peninsula to a considerable extent. If all the names

are to be derived from the so called non-Āryan elements then the statement of Aryanisation of Dravidians becomes wholly untenable.

Besides no society in primitive days ever allowed itself to be swayed completely and fully by those whom they might have treated at that time as enemies. Speaking from the study of history, psychology and sociology this conclusion seems to be untenable.

The Vedic deity *Varuṇa* has been known to the Indo-Āryan group even before they entered into the Indus plains and to say that Varuṇa is easily derivable from the Tamil traditional stories requires re-consideration. The explanation of Vishṇu in association with Garuda and also with "Srona" (Thiruvōṇam) star and then again as a characteristic bird of South India requires satisfactory linking. If the Garuda is found only in the South and if by the time of the Taitirīya Samhitā period they could have spread only to the Gangetic plains from Pānchāla country, the linking of Garuda i.e., extreme South with the Vedic concept of Vishṇu of north becomes unbridged. For want of cohesion between the two places the concept becomes void. I may add that during the Ṛgvedic Samhitā period, when the Vedic deities got clear explanation anthropomorphically the Vedic Āryans lived only in the land of Kurus and the Pānchālas which correspond to the region of Punjab and its north-western adjacent regions.

I request the learned author to take these points that I have raised now not as cynical criticism but as healthy suggestions for proper re-assessment to arrive at well-grounded conclusions.

A. Sundaramurti: Mr. Sundar Raj has presented a very interesting paper. What strikes us most is the novelty of his approach to the subject. He has tried to base his conclusions regarding the Dravidian element in Ṛg Veda on certain astronomical facts and diagrams. In his discussion he has freely drawn on the legends included in the Ṛg Veda and the diagrams of the star groupings in the heavens. It is not known why the ancient Āryans related a particular deity to a particular Nakshatra. The relation appears to be a haphazard one mostly, excepting perhaps in the case of Agni named as the presiding deity of Krittigai. Unless

and until we know the correct basis of the relationship, it is not safe to base a legend or a myth on it. I am afraid that Mr. Sundar Raj does not stand on safe ground when he draws conclusions on certain assumptions and presumptions regarding the star groupings and the position of certain stars in the groups.

There does appear to be a certain degree of accord among the ancient Hindus and the Greeks and Romans regarding the star groupings in the heavens and the figures imagined to be seen in the shape of the constellations. The Hindus have not created any myths regarding most of the constellations, excepting perhaps Krittigai, lying on the ecliptic though a few are current on some star groupings found elsewhere in the heavens, like the Great Bear, the Pole Star, Southern Cross etc. But in the western system, there is found a rich hoard of myths and legends on each of the constellations noticed in the sky. The constellation of Orion is an important one in the Greek mythology; but the Hindu astronomy does not include the entire constellation in its star configuration. It concerns only with two stars contained in it viz. Ārdra and Mrigaśīrṣa. The stars in the belt of the Orion have not been recognised by the Hindus. Such being the case, to imagine that Rudra's arrow (the three stars in the belt of Orion) are aimed at Prajāpatī appears to be vain. Rudra is not also in the line with the arrow and the arrow is not directed straight against Prajāpati (Pleiades).

Mr. Sundara Raj says that Suparṇa, the eagle was shot at by Krsanu, the black archer, and the explanation given by him does not appear to be suitable or appropriate. A casual observation of the heavens where the constellation of Sagittarius lies will show, that the arrow of the archer is aimed at the Scorpion (Vrischiga Rāśi) and not at the Aquila. Aquila has no place in the configuration of the Makara Rāśi of the Hindus.

To mix up the western and Hindu legends based on different star positions and configurations and build a theory regarding the influence of Dravidian culture into the Ṛg Vedic age is not sound logic. Mr. Sundara Raj has yet to produce sufficient evidence in support of his interpretation of the astonomical legends. Vedic

legends should not be interpreted with reference to constellations based on Greek legends. I am not able to see any Dravidian element in these myths or legends. Any logical interpretation should conform strictly to the existing facts, and these facts cannot be changed or adulterated or mutilated to suit one's logic.

I think that the theory of Mr. Sundar Raj needs more eluci dation and further proof for being accepted as a sound one.

Dr. Kunjunni Raja: I was very happy to listen to this interesting paper of Mr. Sundar Raj which sheds fresh light on many of the dark nooks and corners of ancient Indian civilization and at the same time raises many new problems regarding the relationship between the so called Āryan and Dravidian civilization.

The Ṛgveda is a *Kāmadhenu* even to scholars. It is really surprising that this ancient text easily accommodates many a theory. We have had various interpretations of the Vedic symbols, historical or legendary, as representing natural phenomena, as mystical and philosophical, as astronomical or even as representing pure mathematical problems.

"ye yathā mām prapadyante
tāmstathaiva bhajāmyaham"

seems to apply here. As in the case of other symbolic literature, here also when we do not have the real key to the symbols, any key seems to open the symbols.

The key to the new interpretation of the Vedic mythology is a passage in the *Taitirīya samhitā* giving the names of the gods as the presiding deities of the various nakshatras. Obviously this is much later than the Ṛgveda. On the basis of this Mr. Sundar Raj has been able to explain many of the Vedic myths from astronomical points of view, as representing the various constellations in the zodiac and the movements of the Sun and the Moon in them. He has also used the Greek legends about the zodiac. He points out that the available Indo-European etymologies of the names of the gods do not fully explain these myths, whereas, Dravidian etymology seems to be quite apt. Here we have to remember the general maxim that the apparent simi-

larity in sound is not by itself an evidence of mutual relationship of words.

The *Ṛgveda* has been considered as the most important ancient literature of Indians, if not of the world. If Mr. Sundar Raj can prove - as he thinks he can - that the Ṛgveda is saturated with Dravidian culture, it would mean that the Vedic literature is as much the heritage of modern Dravidians as that of the Āryans; that will mean that Āryans and Dravidians are the inheritors of the Vedic culture. Thus the petty quarrels and controversies based on the dichotomy of Āryan and Dravidian, has very little substance behind it; and Indian Culture is integral and indivisible. I wish that the learned lecturer will be able to prove his thesis; but I am not sure that he will be able to do it.

Regarding the non-Āryan loan words in ancient Sanskrit it may be noted that Prof. Burrow's is not the last word and that he himself has modified his views in the light of fresh evidence.

There are 3 different approaches to the problem:

1. All unexplained Indo-Āryan words are of Dravidic origin;
2. Some are borrowed from Muṇda or Austric languages;
3. Most of these words can be shown to be Indo-Āryan or even Indo-European. Theeme, Bailey and Wust belong to the 3rd school.

It may also be noted that the Dravidian theory of Indus-velley civilization, however probable and plausible, it may be, is still a hypothesis. Heimendorf's theory that the Dravidians might have migrated by sea or the west coast of India by 500 B.C. is even less plausible. Reference may also be made to R. C. Mazumdar's rebuttal of the view that 'the Ārya Victory over the Indus-Valley people seems to have involved wholesale massacre'. Even in the Ṛgveda there is no evidence to show that its authors were emigrants from a foreign country. Most of the hymns were composed in the Indus-Valley area, but there is no suggestion anywhere that they do not belong to the place but have come from elsewhere.'

I hope that the learned lecturer will continue his interesting studies and investigate Ṛgvedic sources of modern Dravidian culture.

Śri P. Parthasarathy: The Rig Veda is not an easy book to master. Quite apart from the age of its composition, on which opinions differ, the story of the modern interpretation of the Ṛg Veda is in fact, the history of various attempts to penetrate its meaning, different schools of investigators emphasising different points of view. If it is shown as a result of research that there has been a Dravidian influence in its composition, to whatever extent, it is a matter to be welcomed rather than despised. If foreign scholars like Maxmueller have devoted a whole life time to such study and research, there can be no bar to indigenous talent being harnessed to continue such research and study. From that point alone, if on no other, research scholars like Śrī Sundararaj should be enthused to continue their work unhampered. The argument that only a section of the communities in India like the Brahmins were engaged in the recitation and study of the Vedas cannot hold good at the present day to shut out aspirants from seeking a knowledge of Vedic literature which in fact is the property of all mankind. What is important is the approach to such study and research in order to make them purposeful, to act as a cementing force among the different communities. Scholars, historians and critics would do well to bear this fundamental idea of establishing unity among the people as the most cherished desire of our ancestors, who had helped to preserve this Vedic literature for us.

Dr. A. S. Kedilaya: I wish to refer to the Dravidian words in the Ṛg Veda. That there are Dravidian words in the Ṛg Veda is mentioned by T. Burrow in his book 'The Samskrita Language'. This opinion is supported by the views of other scholars also.

In the old Kannada Grammar book, Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, of 1260 A.D., the grammarian Kēśirāja gives 21 words as Tatsamas at the end of the Tadbhava chapter (chapter on derivative words from Samskrita). By the word Tatsama he means that they are found both in Samskrita and Kannada. He neither says that they are borrowed from Samskrita nor that they are borrowed into

Samskrita from Kannada. He says that they are equal to both the languages. The words are maṇi, mañca, paṭṭa, toraṇa, aṭṭa, gōṇi, sabaḷa, aṅka, late, kaṅkaṇa, kōṇṭe, bala, angaṇa, bila, bandi, māle, gāḷa, gaṇḍa, galla, malla and taḷa. Some of these words like, bala, bila belong the period of the Ṛg Veda. That Kēśiraja was convinced that these words are Dravidian, is seen in his listing them and terming them as Tatsama words.

Emeneau and Burrow also confirm that these words are Dravidian by including them in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. T. Burrow in the last chapter of his book 'The Samskrita Language' gives a list of 106 words as Dravidian loans into Samskrita. He says that some of them are found in the Ṛg Veda. The words are ulūkhala, kaṭuka, kuṇḍa, khala, daṇḍa, piṇḍa, bala, bila, mayūra. The Dravidian words in the Ṛg Veda attest the presence of Dravidian in North Western India at that period.

Caldwell and *Kittel* also give a list of Dravidian loans in Samskrita. Kittel gives a list of 420 words probably borrowed by Samskrita from Dravidian. Caldwell lays down certain principles to find out whether the word in question is from Dravidian or not.

All these lists of words go to prove the existence of Dravidian loans in Samskrita of the Vedic period also.

There are no doubt difficulties in confirming the words as Dravidian loans. Prof. Thieme and Dr. Aryendra Sharma have expressed them in their writings (Prof. Thieme, in his review of T. Burrow's book in Lang. Vol. 31, p. 439 and Dr. Aryendra Sharma in his Presidential Address of the Indian Linguistics Section in the All-India Oriental Conference, 19th Session Delhi in Dec. 1957 published in the proceedings of the Conference in 1959).

In Burrow's list of 'the most important and certain of the Dravidian loans', Thieme finds not a few instances where a closer investigation of the facts bring out features that make the assumption of a Dravidian loan impossible.

The word *khala* (stamping ground, threshing floor) in *ulūkhala* according to Burrow is a Dravidian loan, but Prof. Theime opines differently. He says it is the vernacular counterfeit of the educated form khara used in the sacrificial language as a designation of the square elevated ground where sacrificial vessels are kept when not in use. (Khara-hole, empty, space). Khara a place where there is kha, being devoid of grass.

The word *mayūra* (peacock) is said to be a Dravidian loan by T. Burrow. Several Dravidian languages have a word similar to *mayūra*, Tamil *Mayil*, Malayalam *Mayil*. Pj. Mañil, etc. Theime says that to confirm this assertion we should know whether an original Dravidian or pre-Dravidian Mayura can be shown to be formed from meaningful elements and possessed of a sense that would fit it to become an appellation of the peacock and whether it can be made evident that a suffix *ūra* was fairly wide-spread in pre-Dravidian and could account also for words like masūra, kharjūra, etc. As long as we do not get sufficient evidences to this effect Theime opines that we cannot take a word like mayūra to prove speech contact beween Vedic and pre-Dravidian.

The post-vedic word mukta (pearl) in Prakrit is *mutta*. [Tamil Malayalam Kannada; Tulu - *Muttu*]. This poses the question whether vernacular *mutta* is a Dravidian loan or whether Dravidian has borrowed from an Āryan Vernacular. Theime says that we can answer in one way or another, provided we show that in one of the two languages, the word is a meaningful formation. In Pali, or Prakrit, muttā, is a feminine of p. p. mutta (Sanskrit *Mūrta*) of *mūrchati* 'congeals' (pearls were considered to be congealed drops of rain fallen into a sea-shell at a particular time). Sanskrit *anala* (fire): in Tamil is *aṇal* (fire) Verb to burn etc. Theime observes that for Sanskrit *anala* a hypothetical assumption is available i.e. root *al* nourish, feed. The theoretical possibility and predictable likelihood of an adj. 'insatiable' is nominalized and used as a word for fire. There is an adjective *anala* meaning 'insatiable'.

Burrow and others suppose the word *śava* to be derived Tamil *ca̤ā*, Kannada *sā* (die), Tamil *cāvu* (death), Kannada *sāvu*.

Theime is of opinion that in this case we are confornted with a system of interrelated forms. The word *śava* is not an isolated word in Sanskrit *śava* a derivative noun from the root *śavati* go (used only by Kāmbhojas) Sanskrit *cyu*.

There is the root śū (swell) from which the word śava is formed.

Sanskrit śava has a correspondence in Pali chava.

These and such observations make us feel the need of the working together of Indo-Europeanists and Dravidianists in forming opinions about matters such as those cited above.

Thiru K. D. Thirunavukkarasu: Ṛg-Veda is one of the greatest monuments of human thought. It is an anthology of 1028 hymns, divided into ten mandals. Primarily it contains hymns addressed to various gods and goddesses, asking for their favour, but incidentally these hymns refer to various aspects of contemporary life. We may, therefore, learn from the Ṛg-Veda not only the religious ideas and rituals but also a great deal of the cultural life and material condition of the earliest Indo-Āryans.

(1) *The Age of Ṛg Veda*

The most important knowledge that we derive from the Ṛg Veda is the evolution of the idea of God from the most primitive or polytheistic notions to the highest philosophical conception of one God, as the ultimate Reality.

Ṛg-Veda is the earliest literary document of India and we can trace from it an unbroken line of literary evidence for the entire development of Indian culture. From the references to other elements, we are able to identify the many affluents and tributary or feeder streams which have made valuable contribution to the development of Indian culture.

From a purely linguistic point of view, Ṛg Veda in its present form cannot be dated much earlier than 1000 B.C.[1]

1. Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalker, A. D. (Eds.): The Vedic Age, p. 203; Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951.

(2) *The Advent of the Āryans*

The advent of the Āryan tribes into India from Iran, appears to have been a slow process, probably occupying generations. The Āryans themselves have not preserved any memory of it in the Vedic literature available for the simple reason that they were not conscious of having entered a new country. This was certainly due to the fact, that they did not find any appreciable difference in the non-Āryan people they encountered in India, from the non-Āryan people they knew in Eastern Iran.

The beginning of the Āryans ingress to India was comparatively a late event in ancient history. Scholars believe that this event might have taken place some where about the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.[2]

When the Āryans came to India, the country was not a no-man's land. It was already populated by some races or peoples which had risen to a high level of civilization.

But, it was believed till the third decade of this century that "all the better elements in Hindu religion and culture - its deeper philosophy, its fine literature, its more reasonable organization, everything in fact which was great and good and noble in it - came from the Āryans, as a superior white race and whatever was dark and lowly, and superstitions in Hindu religion and civilization represented only an expression of the suppressed non-Āryan mentality. This view is now being gradually abandoned."[3] It is now becoming more and more clear that the non-Āryans contributed by far, the greater portion in the fabric of Indian civilization, and a great deal of Indian religious and cultural traditions.

(3) *Who were the non-Āryans*?

In the Ṛg Veda, which contains the earliest description of the Āryan civilization, there are references to two kinds of people, who stand in marked contrast to each other in social and religious

2. Chatterji, S. K.: Indo-Aryan and Hindi, P. 17. Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1942,

3. Majumdar, R. C.: Op. cit. p. 157.

institutions, in language and habits of daily life. These are on the one hand the Āryans, and on the other, those who were looked up by them as enemies, comprised under the names Dasyu, Vritma, Krishṇa, Paṇi etc.; all being brought under the general category of Dāsas or Dasyūs and the *Nishādas*. 'Daha' is the Iranian modification of *Dāsa* which had been noted by Greeks. In Iranian, the word '*Dahyu*' was in use (in Modern Persian *dih*) meaning "country" or "country side". In India the word '*dāsa*' and *dasyū* changed their meaning - as names of the enemies of the Āryans offering them resistance, who were very often conquered and enslaved and these words came respectively to mean "Slave" and "robber". The two names originally appear to be related but being derived from a root '*das*' or '*das*', which literally mean a 'subordinate' or 'a slave'.[4]

The Āryans are described as performing sacrifices to bright and friendly gods - the Powers of Nature. The Dasyūs were on the other hand, irreligious, sensual and non-sacrificing, were enemies that disturbed Āryan religious rites and worshipped strange gods, perhaps the "phallus". In the Ṛg Veda, they were called as devoid of devotion "abrahman" (R. V. iv; 16. 9), lawless, "avrata" (R. V. i. 51. 8), devoid of Vedic rituals "akarman" (R. V. x. 22. 8), non-worshippers of vedic gods "brahmadvisha" (R. V. vii. 104. 2), "apavrata" (R. V. v. 52. 9), non-sacrificers "ayajvana" (R. V. viii. 59, 11) way-layers "paripanthi" (R. V. i. 103. 6) and "Sisnadevah" (R. V. vii. 21. 5). The term '*Sisnadevah*' is explained by Sāyana as 'abrahmacharyah', while Macdonell and Keith render it as "those who have phallus for their deity."[5]

Dr. A. P. Karmarkar points out that the earliest Pre-Vedic inhabitants of India were designated by the Vedic Āryans as *Vrātyas*.[6]

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4. Basham, A. L.: The Wonder that was India, p. 33, Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1967.
5. Keith, A. B. and Macdonell, A. A.: Vedic Index, II, p. 382. Verlag Von karl, Strassburg, 1895.
6. Karmakar, A. P.: The Religions of India, Vol. I; p. vi. Mira Publishing House, Lonavla, 1950.

These Non-Āryan peoples of ancient India have been identified with the people of Austric, Muṇda and Dravidian speeches of the modern India, by the anthropologists and linguists.[7]

(4) *The Role of Non-Āryans in the Ṛg Vedic Civilization*

Individual non-Āryans chiefs are named, such as Ilibisa, Dhuni, Chumuri, Pipra, Varchin and Sambara and non-Āryan peoples the Simyus, Kīkatas, Ajās, Yakshus and Sigrus. The distinction between the Āryan and non-Āryan is also defined. It is both physical and cultural. The non-Āryans are known as dark-skinned as well as noseless (anāsa) or snub-nosed (like the Dravidians).

They spoke hostile speech (mridhravak), i.e. spoke a language radically different from the Vedic Sanskrit; The non-Āryans of the Ṛg Veda were fully fortified in the strongholds of their own civilization which was materially quite advanced. The Ṛg Veda tells of their towns and forts (pura and durga R. V. i. 41, 3) made of iron (ayasi R. V. ii. 58, 8) or stone (asmamayi, R. V. iv. 30, 20); of forts "broad" (prithvi), and "wide" (urvi, R. V. i. 189, 29) and "full of Kine" (gomati Av. viii. 6, 23); to forts of hundred pillars (Śatabhuji R. V. i. 168, 8; R. V. vii. 15, 14); and autumnal (Śāradī) forts as refuge against irrundetions. Many passages refer to the destruction of the forts of the Dāsa High lander as Sambara, which the number is given as 90 (7. 130. 7); 99 (ii. 19. 6); 100 (ii. 14. 6).

Remnants of this civilization can be traced in the ruins of cities unearthed at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The principal non-Āryan opponents of the Āryans in the Ṛg Veda are the Paṇis, a merchant class people, according to Yāska (Nirukta, vi. 27), who must have been the builders of this commercial civilization of the Indus Valley. That the Āryans of the Vedic age knew of a civilization existing in the region south of the Punjab is perhaps indicated by one solitary reference in which it is stated that Indra safely brought Turvasa and Yādu over the Samudra or sea.[8] This

7. Bagchi, P. C. (Ed.): Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidian in India pp. 2–8, Calcutta University, 1929.

8. Ṛg Veda, vi. 20, 12 repeated in RV. i, 174, 9.

shows that while most of the Ṛg-Vedic peoples hailed from the north-west, the Yādus and Turvasas were immigrants from the south and considered worthy of admission to the society of the Āryas.[9] Thus, the Āryans had to contend against an advanced civilization in the Indus Valley with its many cities which they had to reduce. So, their god, Indra was called '*Purandra*', "sacker of cities" (R. V. i. 103, 3).

In this connection, it would be appropriate to mention the view of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, that "there is a possibility or perhaps, rather not an impossibility, that in the modern place-name (Harappa) may be recognized the *Hari-Yūpuya* which is mentioned once in the Ṛg Veda (VI. 27, 5) as the scene of defeat of the *Vricivants* by *Abhyavartin cayamana.* The tribe of *Vricivants* is likewise nowhere else referred to in the Ṛg Veda, but may be connected with *Varcin,* who was a foe of Indra and may be thought to indicate Harappa as the traditional scene of an Āryan victory over a non-Āryan tribe."[10]

Besides this, there are a number of references to the struggle between the Āryans and the non-Āryan tribes in the Ṛg Veda, of which, one of the prayers of an Āryan tribe to Indra may be quoted here; "We are surrounded on all sides by Dasyu tribes. They do not perform sacrifices; they do not believe in anything; their rites are different; they are not men! O destroyer of foes! Kill them! Destroy the Dasa race;" (R. V. x. 22, 8).

(5) *Non-Āryan Elements in the Ṛg Veda*

From the foregoing observations, we can get a glimpse of the role of the non-Āryans in the social and political arena of the Ṛg Vedic age. They have contributed a great many elements of paramount importance in the evolution of Indian culture which is after all a composite creation.

The non-Āryans of the Ṛg Vedic period have left their indelible marks in the spheres of language, religion and social customs and

9. Arch. Survey of India, Memoirs No. 37.

10. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer: The Indus Civilization, p. 18 CHI-Supplement, CUP, London, 1957.

habits. They seems to have made substantial contribution to the enrichment of the Vedic language and religion.

(*a*) *Non-Āryan influence in the Vedic language*

Dr. T. Burrow, the eminent linguist of England with great care and consideration, admits that there are some non-Āryan linguistic features in the Vedic language. He indicates that in the field of phonology and semantics, the non-Āryan elements have gradually penetrated into the language of the Ṛg Veda itself.

He observes that "in more general terms, such influence is seen in the phonetic development of a new series of occlusives, the so called cerebrals.

Cerebrals appear in pure Āryan words as a result of phonetic change affecting these *e.g.* nizda→niẓḍa→nīḍa and although such a development is a part of the process taking place within Indo-Āryan itself".[11]

The use of gerund or conjuctive participle is the second important feature of non-Āryan influence in the Vedic language. "It is found nowhere in the Indo-European languages. The same type of participle (gerund) with the same kind of syntactic usage happens also to be a noteworthy feature of Dravidian. It may well be the extensive use made of this formation in Sanskrit is partly due to the influence of Dravidian usage".[12]

Then, he proceeds to illustrate the influence of Dravidian on Sanskrit, by listing some of the most important loan words in the Vedic language. He says that "it is important to note that there is a small nucleus already found in the Ṛg Veda: *ulūkhala, Kaṭuka, Kuṇḍa, Khala, daṇḍa, piṇḍa, bala, bila, māyura*"[13] and then he expresses that "the Dravidian words in the Ṛg Veda attest the presence of Dravidian in North West India at that period".[14]

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11. Burrow, T.: The Sanskrit Language, p. 373, Faber & Faber, London, 1954,
12. *Ibid*, p. 374.
13. *Ibid*, p. 386.
14. *Ibid*, p. 387,

Prof. Sten Konow found it more probable that the Dravidian languages might have modified the Āryan grammar in such characteristics like inflexion of nouns, and the Muṇda family had thus at the utmost, exercised but an indirect influence through the Dravidian forms of speech.[15]

The reduction of the verbal system of the Vedas and the inverse extention of nominal phrases have been explained by Jules Bloch as the result of the Dravidian influence.[16] He also points out that the identification already proposed by Gundert and Kittel of the term, *mukha* with the Dravidian word '*Mūkku*' for 'nose' and concludes that '*mukha*' may be a loan word from Dravidian.[17]

(*b*) *Cultural influence*

(1) *Social influence*

It is rather difficult to estimate exactly the ways in which the two peoples influenced each other in their social and religious life. The Āryans drove the non-Āryans to forests and mountain fastness or made them slaves. The dasi or female slave is frequently referred to in the Ṛg Veda. There was also inevitably at work, a process of fusion between the Āryan and the non-Āryan by intermarriage or by alliance. Instances of such alliance were seen in the Battle of the Ten Kings. The Battle of the Ten Kings was the first battle fought in ancient India, between the Āryans and non-Ārayan tribes who lived in the region of the "Seven Rivers". We find that against the confederacy of ten kings, the Tristus were assisted in this battle by the Prihus and the Parsus who may be identified with the ancestors of the historical Parthians and the Persians.

There is a dialogue between Saramā, the messenger of Indra and the Paṇis in the Ṛg Veda. It clearly refers to an attempt made by the Āryans, to introduce the worship of Indra among non-Āryan tribes. The Paṇis, however, are seen to resist the intrusion and would try to convert the messenger of Indra to their

15. Bagchi, P.C.: Op. cit. p. xi
16. *Ibid*, P. 43
17. *Ibid*, P. 56

faith rather than accept the Āryan cult.[18] Glimpses of this kind of conflict between the Āryans and the non-Āryans are recorded in the Ṛg Veda. The causes of the conflict were both cultural and political.

(2) *Religious influence*

The religion of the Ṛg Veda is the product of the Āryans, who must have been affected considerably by their new environment and had encounters with the non-Āryan peoples and whose blood must have been becoming more and more intermingled by intermarriages. The religion of Ṛg Veda, is a polytheistic one, concerned with the worship of gods, the great majority of whom are personifications of phenomena of the powers of nature.

The number of Gods is stated in the Ṛg Veda to be 33, though there are a few groups that obviously cannot be included in this total.[19] Only about twenty are frequently invoked. Among them, Rudra and Viṣṇu arrest our attention here.

(*a*) *Rudra*

The god Rudra occupies a very subordinate position in the Ṛg Veda. Rudra is the only god whose malevolence is already characteristic and later becomes even more prominent. They hymns addressed to him, mainly expresses fear of his terrible shafts and deprecation of his anger. He is the subject of three hymns in the Ṛg Veda[20] and is mentioned in all only about seventy-five times. In the Ṛg Veda he is attributed with braided hair, beautiful lips, firm limbs; his colour is brown and he is in multi form. He is essentially radiant (Çuci), bright as the sun or gold, resplendent, the Aśura of heaven; he wears golden ornaments and sits on a chariot seat.[21] The character of Rudra in the Ṛg Veda is distinctly formidable; he wields the lightning and the thunderbolt and is on archer, but his fierce character is

18. Ṛg Veda, x, 108

19. Macdonell, A. A.: India's Past, p. 25; Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1927.

20. Macdonell, A. A.: Vedic Mythology, P. 74, Strassburg, 1897.

21. *Ibid*, P. 76.

not manifested. He is as destructive as a terrible beast, the ruddy boar of heaven. He is unassailable, rapid, young, unaging, ruler of the world and its father. From this side of his nature may be derived his aspect as wise, beneficent, bountiful, easily invoked and auspicious (Śiva), but the last epithet which furnishes the late Vedic name of the god, is not recognised even in the Atharva Veda.[22]

Rudra in the Ṛg Veda, is closely associated with the Maruts whose father he is, and who are often spoken of as the Rudras or the Rudriyas. He bears also once the epithet Tryambaka which appears to mean 'having three sisters', or 'mothers'; the interpretation of the reference as an allusion to the three divisions of the universe is possible enough.[23]

There is a specific reference to Rudra as 'Nila-lohita', 'the 'Red One with blue throat' in the Ṛg Veda (X, 136, 7). The etymology of the word *rudra* is somewhat uncertain as regards the meaning. It is generally derived from the root *rud*, to cry, and interpreted as the Howler. This is the Indian derivation. European scholars like Grassmann and Pischel connect this with a root *rud*, having the conjectural meaning of 'to shine' and 'to be ruddy'. Thus the term Rudra would mean the 'bright' or the 'red one'.[24]

Thus the above (study) will show that the Ṛg Vedic Rudra is an absolutely independent personality—even independent of Śiva of the proto—Indian times. But an effort was made here to amalgamate the two elements of Rudra and Śiva—without, however, introducing the name of Śiva. This has been done by indroducing some more elements and attributes which more or less originally belonged to the sphere of Śiva.[25]

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22. Keith, A. B.: The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda & Upanishads, Vol. I, P. 143, O.U.P. London, 1925.

23. *Ibid*, p. 143.

24. Macdonell, A. A.: Vedic Mythology, p. 77.

25. Karmarkar, A. P.: op. cit. p. 53.

(*b*) *Mother Goddess*

No direct reference is made in connection with the Mother Goddess in Ṛg Veda. The Ṛg Veda uses the expression 'Ambaka' in connection with Rudra. But, that has hardly any connection with the Mother Goddess. In fact goddesses play an insignificant role in the Ṛg Veda. The only one to whom more than one or two hymns are addressed is Ushas, Dawn. She is celebrated in twenty hymns in the Ṛg Veda.

(*c*) *Vishṇu*

Vishṇu occupies a very subordinate position in the Ṛg Veda. He is invoked in five hymns and his name occurs not more than a hundred times in all. He is known as one who has taken three strides. The opinion that Vishṇu's three steps refer to the course of the sun is almost unanimous. The name can be diversely explained as 'the active one' from the root '*vis*', or as crossing the back of the world or the earthly regions' from vi and snu (akin to sanu). Prof. A. B. Keith lays stress on the latter meaning and says that the "solar nature of the deity is reasonably plain"[26]. Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar derives the name Vishṇu from the Tamil word Viṇ (விண்) and asserts that he was a sky-God whose colour was like the blue sky.[27]

So, Vishṇu appears partly Āryan, a form of the Sun-God and, partly at least, the deity is of Dravidian affinity as a sky-God.

(*d*) *Krishna*

In the Ṛg Veda, Krishṇa is portrayed as a non-Āryan chief, opposing Indra. A tribe of the Dasyus was called as Krishṇa in the Ṛg Vedic age. One of the Ṛg Vedic hymns refers to Krishna as follows:

"The fleet Krishṇa lived on the banks of the Amsumati with ten thousand troops. Indra became cognisant of this

26. Keith, A. B.: op. cit. p. 109.

27. Srinivasa Aiyangar: Life in Ancient-India in the Age of the Mantras, p. 126, Madras, 1926.

loud-yelling chief. He destroyed the marauding host for the benefit of the Āryas" (Ṛg Veda, 8, 96, 13)

According to P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Krishṇa represents partly at least a Dravidian God of Youth called Māyōṉ or Kaṇṇaṉ who has later been identified with Vishṇu as an incarnation of his own personality.[28]

From the light of this study on the 'Non-Āryaṅ Elements in the Ṛg Veda', the gradual fusion of the two is visible, and the profound influence exerted by the non-Āryans in the evolution of Indian religion and culture appears to be of considerable importance, for further research.

V. Ramasubramaniam: "The Rig Veda Samhita Text does not narrate any myth or legend concerning the twenty-seven Nakshatras-(Asterisms). About the 10th century B.C. there appeared 'Vedāṇga Jyōtisha', an astronomical treatise, which defined the exact positions of the nakshatras in the elliptic (heavenly) and their apparent movements, including the precession of the equinoxes. That became the basic text-book for the almanac-makers of the Brāhmana epoch. It was after the composition of this 'Vedāṇga-Jyōtisha' that some of the pre-Vedic deities of the Ṛg-Veda were assigned the overlordships of the 27 Nakshatras. Some new deities too were invented, who were not in the Ṛg-Veda.

Since the 'Brāhmaṇas were influenced by the above-said 'Vedāṇga-Jyōtisha' to a very great extent, they incorporated many of these astronomical facts into their explanations of myths and legends. Again, soon after Śaunaka and Kātyāyana of the 5th or 6th centuries B.C., Indian astronomers came into contact with the Yavana and Chaldaean astronomers, and there arose within a couple of centuries an integrated system of Indian astronomy. When the predecessors of Āryabhatta and Varāhamihira of about the 5th-6th centuries A.C. wrote their treatises, rationally collating all then known facts of celestial phenomena, they combined not less than six systems, absorbing as well as discarding many prior imageries. When at a still later epoch, Sadgurusishya, Sāyana

28. *Ibid*, p. 130.

and Dya-Dviveda wrote their commentaries, they were puzzled by the multiplicity of the data, and recorded conflicting interpretations of the allusions, which have made modern vedic scholars more puzzled than ever. I think in the same manner, our leader pushed back the dates of a few comparatively late but obscure, Tamilian rituals of a small locality to a pre-historic epoch and attempted to build a whole 'Tamil Panchāṇgam' on it.

Let me now try to explain my approach to the theory of Tamilian influence on the Rig-Vedic culture. Though my conclusions are also on the positive side, my approach to the problem is quite different from that of Mr. Sundar Raj.

More than a thousand years before the composition of the Rig-Veda on the soil of India, this land found itself inhabited by more than five ethnic and linguistic elements - viz. the curly-haired, dark-skinned negrito-Austric Mundas of Orissa and Central India, the straight-haired, snub-nosed, yellow Mongoloid kirātas of the Eastern Indian and Himalāyan regions, the dark-brown Alpine Tamilians of South India, the brown-eyed semitic Arabs and Phoenicians of Western India, and the fair-skinned, sharp-nosed, blue-eyed so-called 'Āryans' in and around Taxila and Kashmir. It must be remembered that these people were not named then as I have named them. These technical terms were coined in the last few centuries when anthropology and ethnology were developed into concrete sciences. The proto-types of the so-called 'Āryans' spoke a language called 'Bhāsha', (which meant only 'language'), which was *not* the Sanskrit of the Vedas, but a remote ancestor of it, which had no 'Ta-Varga' in its alphabet. The Mongoloids spoke an older form of the Tibeto-Chinese, but without the letter 'R' as well as the 'Ta-Vargas'. The Austrics had no 'L' nor the 'Ta-Vargas'. The Tamilians have no 'H', 'Sh'. 'F', nor the gutturals, but have the 'Ta-Vargas', plus the softened 'zha'. The Semites too had no 'Ta-Varga', but had an abundance of 'H' and the Gutturals.

India was then not a nation, but a continent of heterogeniously populated units, having a multiplicity of cultures. There were, however, social, political and commercial intercourses among

these units, very frequently interspersed with wars too. And South India was the most thinly-populated unit. It is impossible now, with the date at our disposal, to assert wherefrom and when these people came, which of them were indigenous and which were exotic. There are conflicting theories. It is enough for our purpose to know that, at one remote period of world-history, these people were found inhabiting the Indian sub-continent side by side.

Several centuries later, we find in this once-multilingual land, with multi-racial elements, a collection of literature called 'The Vedas', which were composed in a refined form of the older 'Bhāsha' of the white-skinned elements, but replete with the 'Ta-vargas', the Gutturals, as well as other letters not germane to the older spoken "Bhāsha'. It also had incorporated into itself many myths and legends hailing from the one or the other of the co-existing ethnic and linguistic stocks. Racial intermixture had also changed the structure of society.

This refined way of life—'Samskāra', as it was called,—called itself 'Āryan' (meaning 'gentlemanly) and the new literary *lingua franca* was also called 'Samskrita', connoting a 'purified language'. When this literature appeared in the Indian sub-continent, the Persian, the Caucasian, the Hittite, the Mittanni, and the Indo-European agnates of the older 'Bhāsha' also developed their own refined languages in their respective regions. But they did not assimilate the 'Ta-vargas'. Nor did they compose the Vedas, as these were exclusively indigenous to the Indian sub-continent. The Mongoloids became Āryanised in culture, but speaking at home a dialect tinted with Tibeto-Chinese vocabulary. The same phenomenon happened in the upper-class Munda, Semitic and Tamilian elements also. All these dialects acquired many words and letters from the newly integrated 'Samskrita' also.

The leader states in his synopsis: "Another inhibiting factor has been the view that the cultural elements of the Ṛg Veda are essentially Āryan and could be elucidated only by studies which have an Indo-European bias". This statement lacks accuracy. The late B. G. Tilak, Max Mueller and Keith have themselves referred

to the incorporation of Sumerian and Babylonian myths in the Vedic hymns. Dr. Suktankar and Father Heras too have furnished several examples.

The inhibition, I am afriad, seems to be just in the opposite direction—to equate all the pre-Āryan culture of India—with the so-called "Dravidian', as if there were only two cultures—Āryan and Dravidian—in ancient India. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the greatest multi-linguist (Pan-Moḻi-Pulavar) of modern India, has declared more than once that at least twelve annas in the rupee of Indian culture is 'Non-Āryan', but not exclusively 'Dravidian'. Let me quote his own words—'In our racial make-up, we have, in the first instance, the Austrics, spreading from North-East India through Indo-China and Malaya to Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. The Mongoloid element is akin to the entire population of Central, Northern, Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. Our Dravidian element is now confined to India only, but it had its pre-historic connection with Western Asia and Eastern Europe as well as probably Northern Africa. The Āryans who have formed a strong leaven in the population, have given us close intellectual and spiritual kinship with the peoples of the West. The semitic element forms a strong link with the peoples of the Near East, particularly the Arab world'.

Now, the question arises naturally as to how and wherefrom this new composite self-styling 'Āryan' culture emanated. Remember that this 'Ta-varga' had been incorporated in the most sacred hymns and mantras of the Vedas. Would any self-conscious chauvinistic religious congregation assimilate such foreign letters into its religious chantings? How could the 'Ta-varga' have percolated into the Vedic hymns, unless we postulate the only possible theory that the Tamilians, the Mundas, the Mongols, the Semites and the so-called 'Āryans' had, for centuries, or even millenia, conjointly collaborated and whole-heartedly produced this Vedic culture and literature? It is not, therefore, mere idle fancy that prompts us to conclude that the Rig-Vedic culture and its literature were the joint ventures of an integrated community of civilized 'Gentlemen' of pre-historic India.

Not long after the blossoming of this integrated Āryan culture, some of its adventurous missionary recluses emigrated to Southern India and re-discovered there a nascent language, developing sweet lyrics and pastorals. They saw the arts of music and dance also of a high aesthetic standard. The speakers of the language called their speech 'Tamil', which connoted 'sweet speech'. Agastya, the first Āryan missionary, mastered it. His disciples began to cultivate it further, adapting, adopting and assimilating several techniques from the Sanskrit and other linguistic grammars and prosodies. Within a few centuries, a rich literature came into existence in South India, but not elsewhere.

The late Dr. Lohavary, the French Dravidologist, had published ten years ago a book named 'Dravidian Origins', (Orient Longmans, Madras), in which he declares that the ancient Basque language, now spoken by a small community inhabiting the North of Spain on the slopes of the Pyrenees mountains, is very much akin to our ancient Tamil. He has cited more than 2500 words common to both. It is interesting to learn that the Basque language does not belong to the Indo-Germanic, nor to the Indo-Āryan group of languages. But it had been in use in Europe before the advent of the Indo-European tongues. The French savant states that many words from this language could be traced in the languages of Etruria, Sicily, North Africa, Phoenicia, Egypt, Arabia and Sumero-Babylonia. He surmises therefore that the ancestor of the Basque language had passed through these countries in the course of centuries, through the intermediacy of Phoenician and Indian traders and mariners, and found its way into South India and the lands of South-East Asia. Mingling with the spoken languages of the earliest South Indian peoples of about 2000 B C., it must have contributed to what was later known as 'Koduntamil' or dialectic Tamil. Dr. Lohavary's theory refers only to the linguistic aspect of the Tamil culture and *not to that culture* itself. The Basque culture had been and still is quite different from that of the Tamilian.

Now, this piece of information leads us to the next step that 'Sentamil' and its culture were also products of integration to

which the Sanskritic, the Mongoloid, the Munda, the Semitic and the Alpine had substantially contributed. Even the so-called vestiges of Dravidian myths and legends, rites and rituals, cannot therefore be asserted as its own exclusively.

It was the late Prof. Max Muller, who first erroneously equated the term 'Dravidian' with the Tamil language and culture, and then applied it to an imaginary racial stock also, forgetting the fact that all those who spoke Tamil need not belong to one race and that the ancient 'Dravidas' included Gujarati and Marathi Brahmins also. Bishop Caldwell, who wrote a decade later, enthusiastically confirmed Max Muller's thesis. But Max Muller realised his error and subsequently rectified his mistake and magnanimously withdrew his theory. The Christain missionary philologists, however, stuck on to the error and are, I am afraid, still doing so.

Vishṇu was only a mirror God in the Ṛg Veda, below the rank of the Sun, the Moon, the Winds, the Air, the Rain and the Storms, and connoted the outspreading space, having 'three paces' (Tri-pada),—viz. the Earth. the Sky and the Nether world. It was but a crude primitive concept of the universe and did not possess any of the later philosophical or astronomical extensions of meaning. It is a derivative of the Sanskrit root, 'Vish' to surround or spread. It was only after the advent of the more scientific 'Vedānga-Jyōtisha' that God was associated with the overlordship of the Equinox, Vishuvan with two Equinoxial foot-steps, the Earth and the Sky only, and not three. That was why Mahābali had to bow down his head discomfited when asked to show the third foot step of the God of space. Vishṇu is therefore a cent percent Sanskrit word, denoting a sense quite in keeping with the crude concepts of the other names of the Rig-Vedic Gods. To declare that it is a derivative of 'Viṇ', is like putting the cart before the horse, Dr. Burrow notwithstanding.

Sundar Raj: I thank the Director of this Institute for giving me an opportunity to hold this Seminar. I have been for many years interested in the Ṛg Vedic puzzle. It is my belief that the

extant explanations for the Ṛg Vedic myths whether of the Western schools including sociological, such as that of Prof. Levy Straus or of those from within the Hindu field, are not satisfactory, and do not solve the various problems. I have explained in greater detail in my Paper on "Ṛg Vedic Mythology", in Sri K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's 80th Birthday Felicitation Volume the particular reason why I think these explanations are not to be treated as complete. I have been in search of a simple, rational and comprehensive explanation for all the myths which would present them as interlinked and forming a single picture. I have had to break away from certain basic accepted principles of the extant theories as, on a most careful examination I find that they have no incontravertible reason to sustain them.

Director: Winding up the seminar he observed: We have had an interesting seminar and I thank Mr. Sundar Raj and those who participated in it. I have to compile a report on the proceedings of the seminar for publication in the Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures. So I request those who participated in it to send me a script of their talk. Perhaps there are others who for want of time could not speak. I invite them to let me have their observations which will be processed and published in the report of the proceedings.

My personal reaction to the paper of Mr. Sundar Raj is that though he has not convincingly proved all aspects of his thesis, there is considerable truth in his contention. As a student of Indian History, I believe the Āryas, so called, came from outside. They were not indigenous inhabitants of India as P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar and some others thought. The name 'Ārya' which has been assumed by them itself shows that they considered themselves different from and superior to the earlier inhabitants of the land. If the Āryans thus came into contact with the non-Āryans, it is presumable that there must have appeared some non-Āryan elements in the Ṛg Veda. It is natural. It is too much to think that there would have been any attempt to eschew extraneous influence at that early period.

There is an increasing volume of evidence in support of the theory that the Dravidians were once occupying a large part of North India. A conflict between the Āryans and Dravidians might have led to the migration of some Dravidians to the south. During the period of co-existence, some influence of the Dravidians must have figured in the religious book of the Āryans. The contention of Burrows that about 20 non-Āryan words have appeared in the Ṛg Veda substantiates this. The entire subject is interesting and calls for further study.

Aries

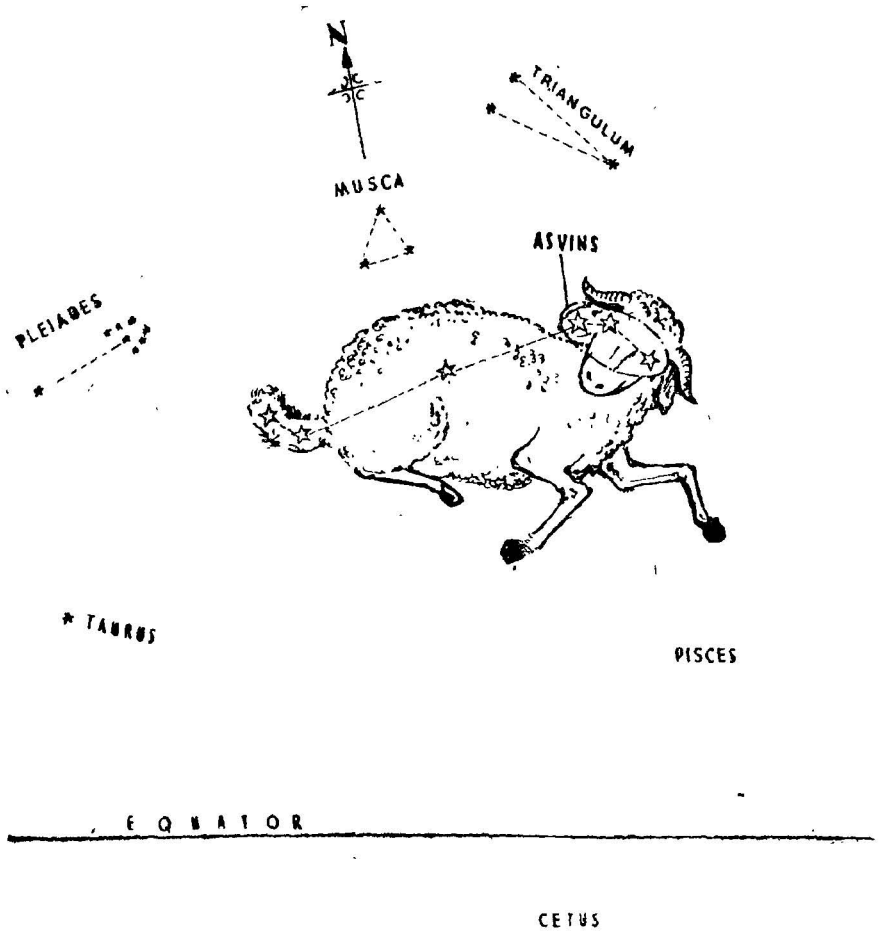
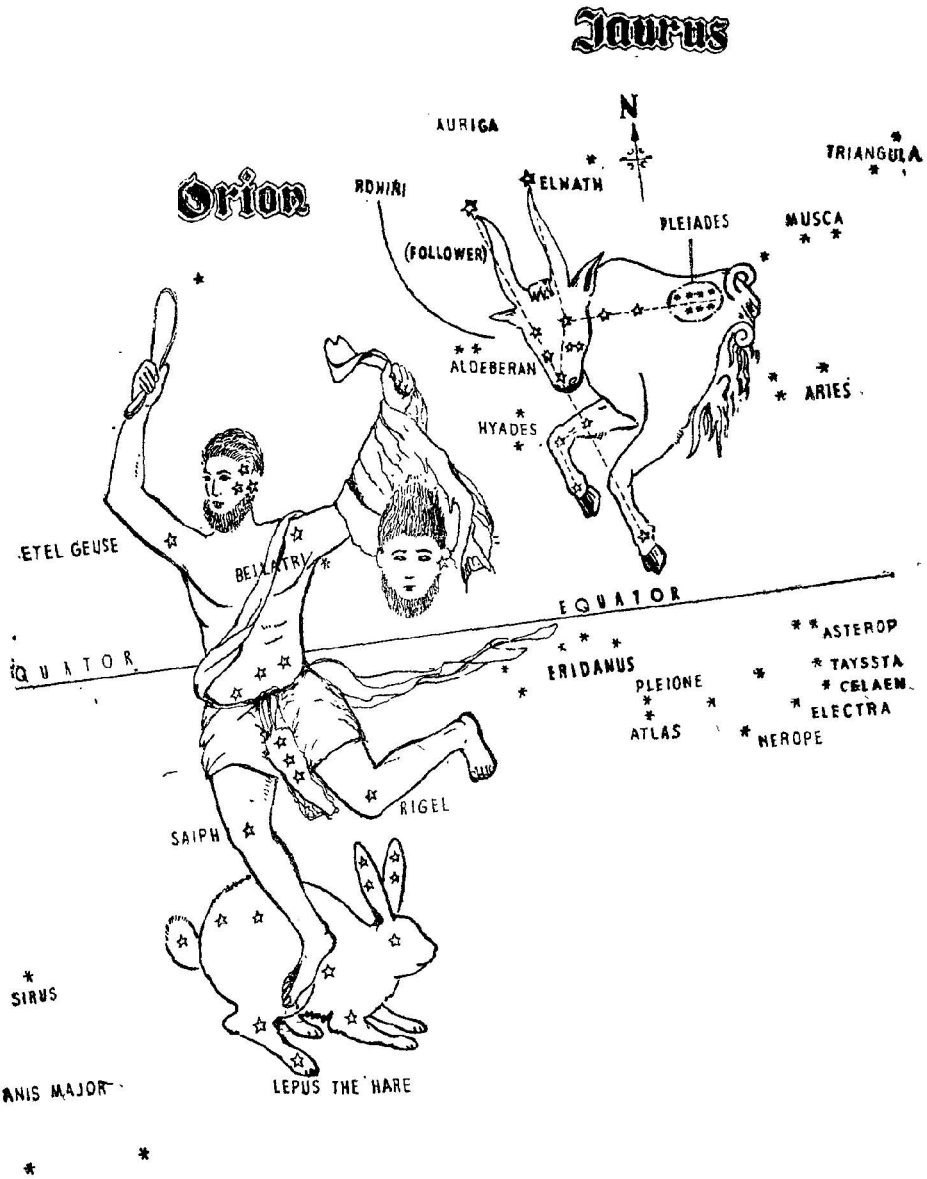


FIG. 2

Fig. 2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CELAENO
ELECTRA
ATLAS
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RIGEL
SAIPH
SIRUS
CANIS MAJOR
LEPUS THE HARE

Fig. 3

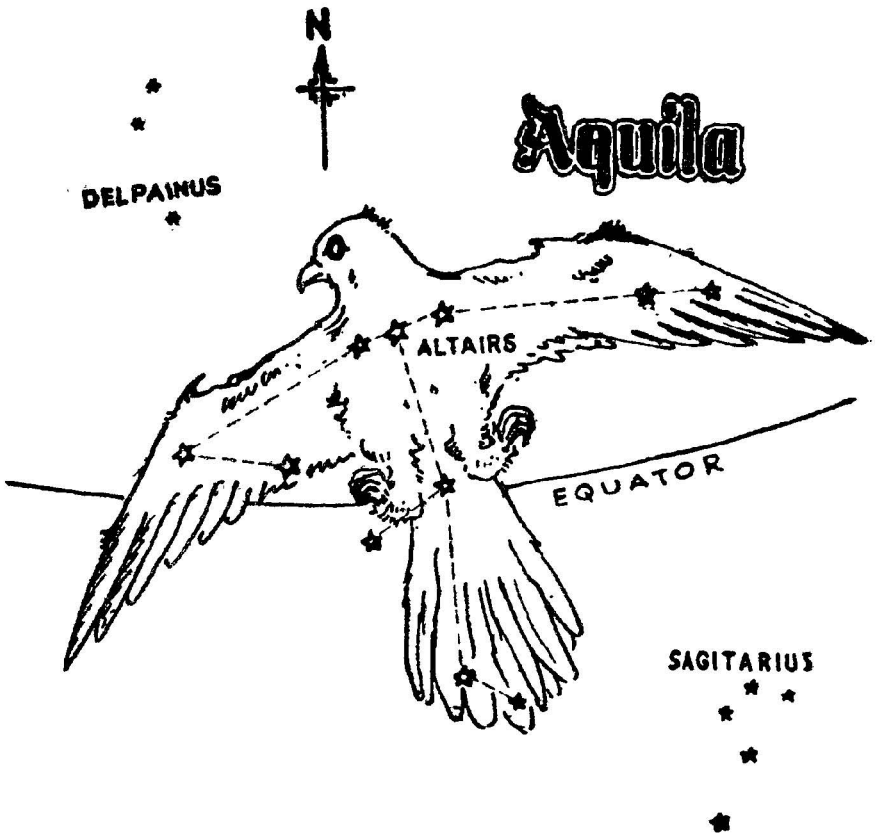


Fig. 4

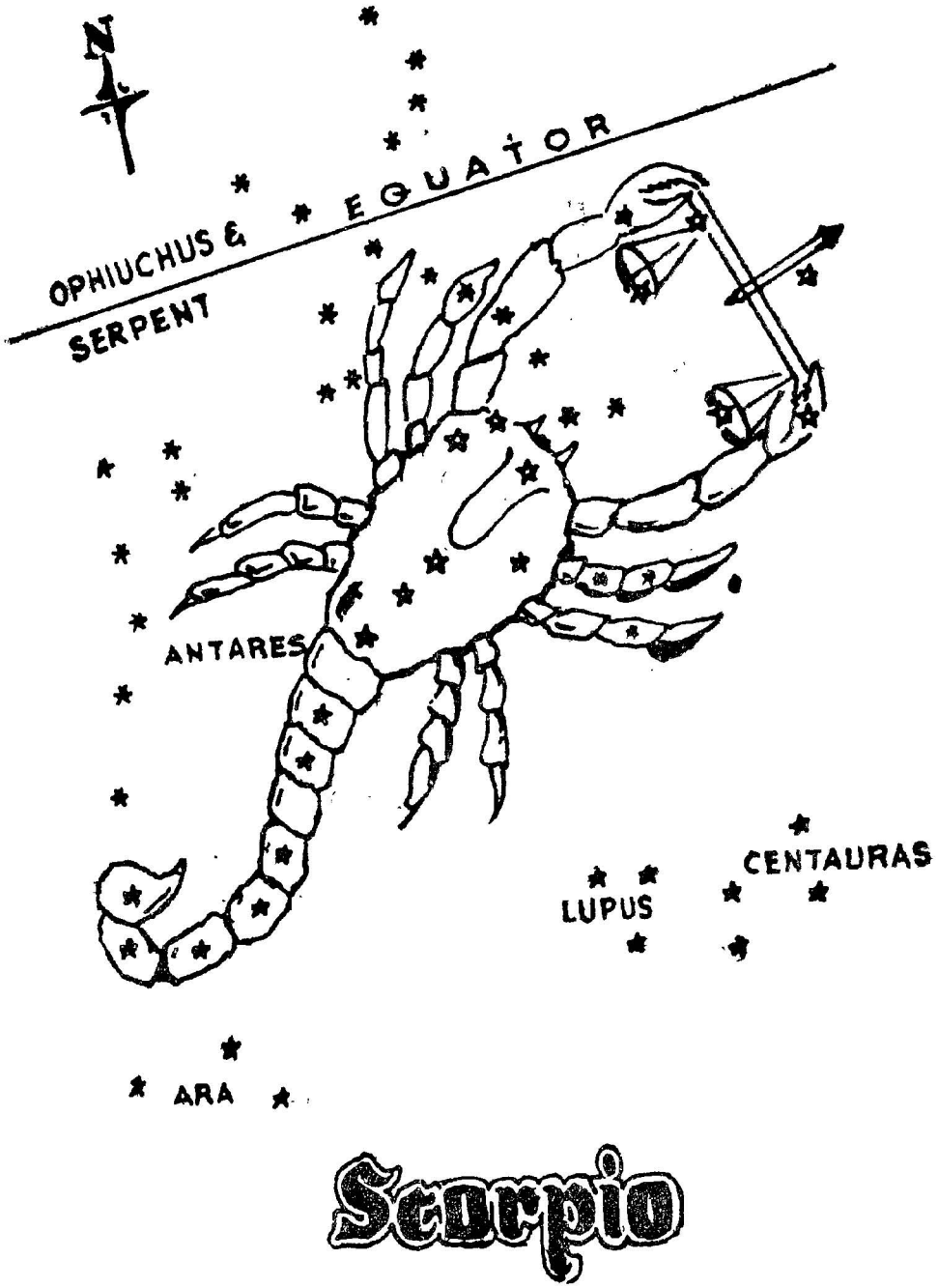
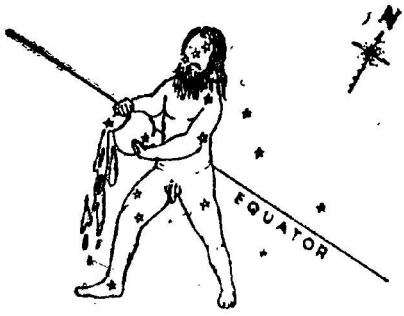

N
EQUATOR
OPHIUCHUS &
SERPENT
ANTARES
CENTAURAS
LUPUS
ARA
Scorpio

Fig. 5



Aquarius

Fig. 6

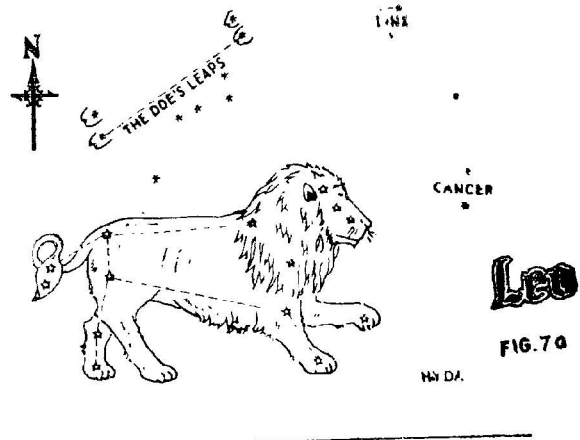
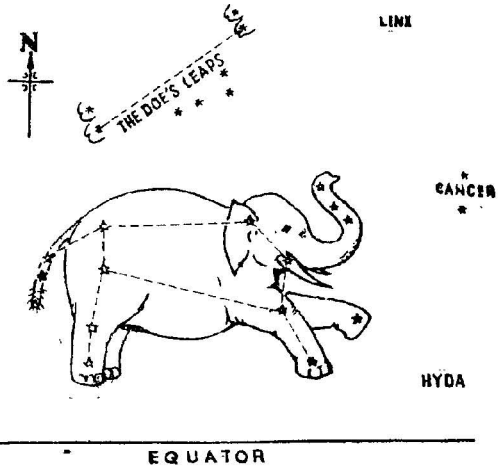


Fig. 7-a



Leo - re-drawn as Elephant

Fig 7-b

ANNUAL MOVEMENT OF THE SUN

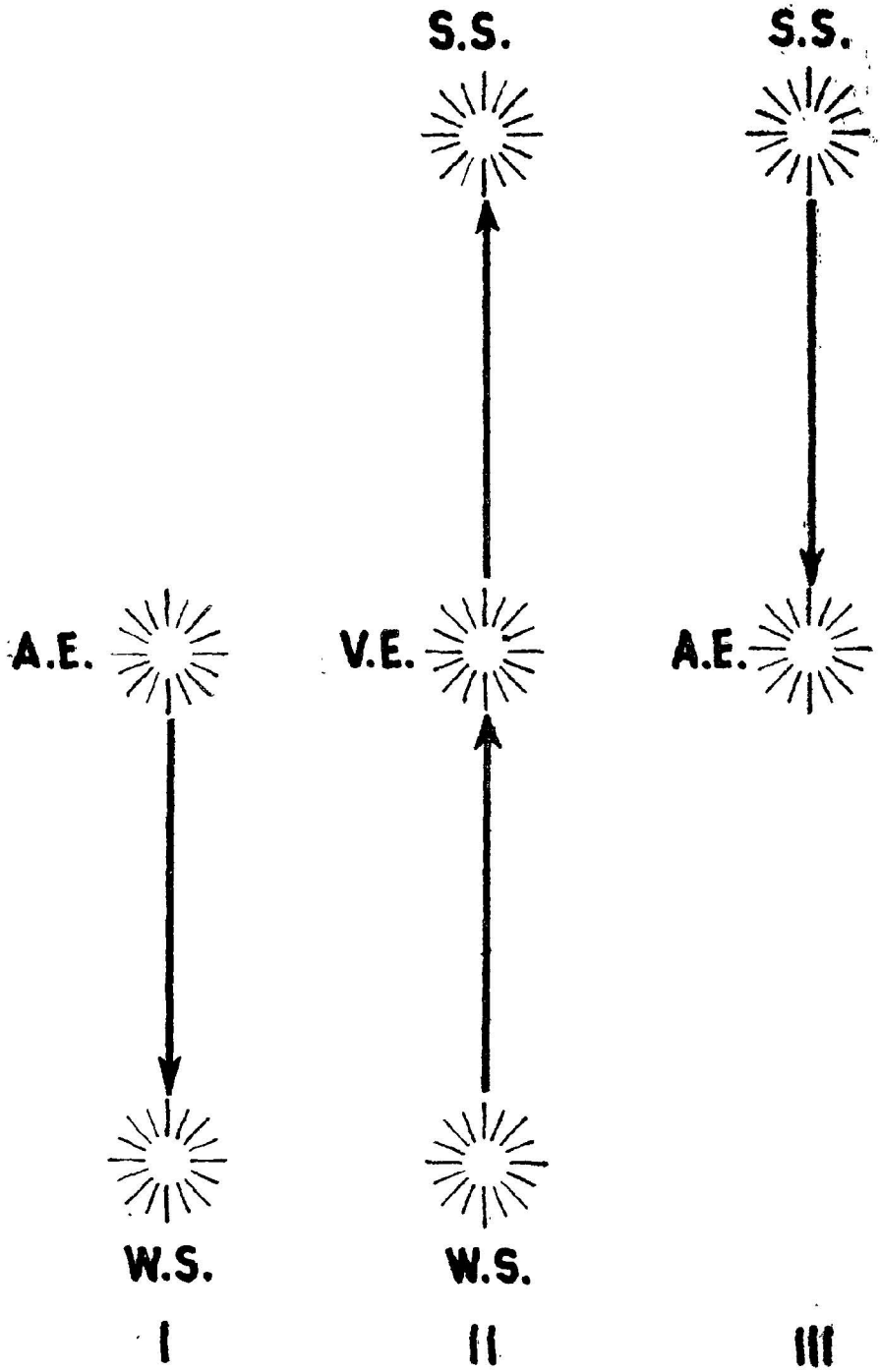
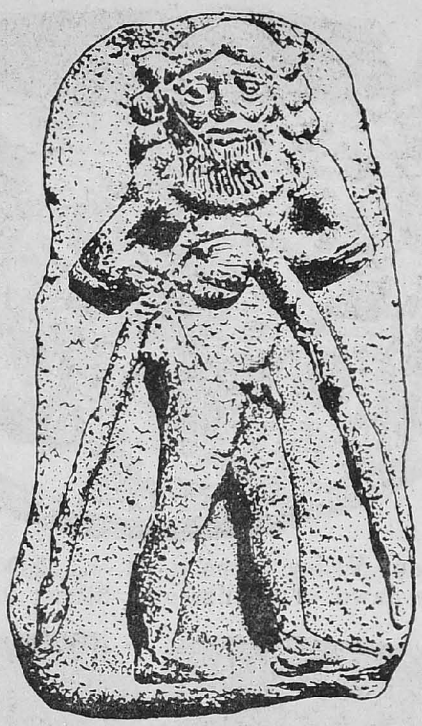


FIG. 8



Terracotta Plaque - Sumeria - C. 2100 BC.
(The Dawn of civilization - Stuart Piggott)
Fig. 10

Limestone Statuette - Susa C-3000 - 2800 BC.
(The Art of Iraon - Andre Godad)
Fig. 11

Indus Valley Stone Bowl - C. 2500 BC.
(The dawn of civilization - Stuart Piggott)

Fig. 12
Bronze Pendant - Luristan ? C-1000 BC.
(The Art of Iran - Andre Godard)

Fig. 13

SECTION III: BIBLIOGRAPHY ON TAMIL CULTURE

BY

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This bibliography on Tamil Culture, is a selective one. Only such of those items as are significant for research and advanced studies are included. Annotation is added wherever necessary.

This list includes books, theses, and articles published in periodicals, journals etc. The materials are arranged under the following subject headings:

Tamil Culture: General

Tamil Culture: Fine Arts

Tamil Culture: Language and Literature

Tamil Culture: Polity

Tamil Culture: Religion aud Philosophy

Tamil Culture: Society

The entry for a book consists of: Author, Title, Edn., Collaborator, Imprint, Pages etc., Price and Annotation. The entry for a periodical article consists of: Contributor, Title of the Article, Name of the Periodical, Volume Number, Month and Year, Place of occurence and Annotation. In the case of a thesis, Name of the university, Degree for which it was supplicated and Year of supplication are included. Name of the journal, Place and Year of publication are included in the case of an article published in a journal.

The entries found under each subject heading are arranged alphabetically author-wise. Each entry is serially numbered.

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SECTION IV: INSTITUTIONS, SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CULTURE:

German State Library: Oriental Department (Halle University, G. D. R.):

The unique collection of precious oriental manuscripts established the fame of the department, which spread far beyond the borders of Germany, and attracted scholars and experts who came to study these treasures. Before the Second World War, there were about 22,000 items, that were kept in special strong-rooms because of their great value. Removed during the war to libraries in the area that is now the Federal Republic of Germany, they are still withheld from our state by revanchist laws basing on the West German sole representation claim. Only about 1,000 manuscripts are still in the department. Some of them are especially valuable and of great significance particularly for the South-East Asian area. There is, for example, a Cambodian manuscript of the PATISAMBHIDAMAGGA, written on palm leaves, several Jaina manuscripts in Sanskrit and Prakrit, an illustrated miniature scroll containing the text of Bhagavad Gita and a bamboo staff from Sumatra with carved symbols.

The department's collection of books was also greatly reduced as a result of the war. In contrast to the manuscripts, however, it has been possible to fill many gaps with second-hand acquisitions or reprints. Numerous newly purchased works and especially also complete sets of periodicals in oriental languages or on the countries of Asia and Africa have been added to the collection so that the present stock of some 160,000 volumes far exceeds that before the war.

The reference library of the reading room comprises 7,500 volumes of important works about the countries and languages of

Africa and Asia. Readers with a special interest in South East Asia, i.e. in its countries, peoples, languages and literatures will find here nearly everything they need. There are, for instance, Buddha's speeches, further Buddhist original texts, mainly in Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan, as well as various translations of these works. Gandhi's writings are available to the reader just as well as the Directory and Yearbook of the Times of India and the three-volume Ensiklopedia Indonesia published in Bandung. Another group of books comprises travelogues and pictorial volumes about African and Asian countries. There are dictionaries, grammars and text-books for Bengali, Indonesian and Vietnamese. The famous St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary by Otto Boehtlingk belongs to the old stock of the department. A valuable new acquisition, on the other hand, is the Tripitaka, a 168—volume Japanese edition of the two Tibetan block prints of the Buddhist Kanjur and Tanjur texts. The equipment of the reading-room includes a microfilm reader which facilitates working with manuscripts and other texts on microfilms. There is also a permanent display of the latest numbers of relevant periodicals. As a result of the cultural and exchange agreements concluded after 1945, the department regularly receives in addition to scholarly publications, a great number of popular periodicals and dailies which, as the reading matter of broad sections of the population in the respective countries, are sometimes useful as primary research material. This is also the reason why the department has acquired a number of popular periodicals in modern Indian languages—like Bengali or Hindi, because the development of living languages can be followed better through them than through any learned treatise. It subscribes moreover to some major theoretical publications, most of them in English, as for instance the Calcutta Research Studies or the Papers on Southeast Asian subjects, which inform about current problems of these countries, their languages and literatures.

The department's volumes are registered in alphabetical and systematical catalogues which contain references to literature in occidental languages about the Orient as well as to original oriental literature. Here, the visitor will also find bibliographical reference works, as for instance, the Indian National Bibliography, Calcutta, or literature about the major oriental religions.

The readers in the Oriental Department come from all walks of life. There one sees students of the languages and cultures of Asia and Africa. Some of them are still acquiring the fundamentals of their chosen subjects, while others are already collecting material for essays or theses. Orientalists engaged in research in every possible field, journalists and writers, and also people who from purely personal interest for the problems of the countries and peoples of Asia and Africa, enquire after relevant literature are free to use the large collections of the department. And, of course, one can also meet young Africans, Indians, Vietnamese and Japanese who are studying in the GDR in order to acquire expert knowledge which they will put one day at the service of their countries, find here important material for their studies and literature in their mother tongues. (GDR Reports, August 15, 1972).

Prof. Dr. sc. phil. Morgenroth Dr. Wolfgang (Jena, *G D. R.*):

Studied Indology and Comparative Philology at the Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena. After having finished his studies he became a lecturer on Comparative Philology and Indology at the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-University of Greifswald in 1954. Since 1969 he has been a Professor of Linguistics and Indology. Besides this from 1959 to 1969 he was a lecturer on Indian languages—especially Sanskrit and Middle-Indo-Aryan-at the Humboldt University of Berlin, the capital of GDR.

He did research on the older Upanishads (e.g. Chandogya-Upanishad Edition, Translation: Comment: published at the University of Jena in 1958) and on various problems of Historica Grammar of Indo-Aryan-Languages. Besides this he dealt with Sanskrit fable literature (e.g. Sukasaptati, Translation) published in Berlin 1968 and 1971. He has also composed a Grammar of Sanskrit completed by exercises for students of Sanskrit in the GDR and elsewhere, that will come out this year in Leipzig. Now he is working on Sanskrit fable literature (Mahābhārata) and doing research on Historical Grammar of Indo-Aryan-Languages preparing an introduction into the study of Indian languages.

In 1964 he participated in the 26th International Congress of Orientalists held in Delhi. (Democratic Germany, Vol. VII, No. 8, April 15, 1972).

Spitzbardt Dr. Harry: Jena, (*G. D. R.*):

Professor of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics at the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, has become known in India and Indonesia through his manifold publications in the field of General Linguistics, Indonesian, Sanskrit and English. He was a participant of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi in 1964, to which he contributed a paper about "Automatic Synthesis of Indonesian Syntagmata". One year later he returned to India, coming as a visiting professor to lecture at colleges and universities about "Computational Linguistics", "Problems of Modern Language Teaching" and other subjects. When he visited India for the third time in 1969 he talked about "Sanskrit Loan Words in the Bahasa Indonesia" at linguistic institutes of Delhi, Bombay, Cochin, Trivandrum and Madras. At this year's International Sanskrit Conference in New Delhi he reported about his investigations concerning "The Lexical and Morphological Impact of Sanskrit on Modern Indonesian".

He is an honorary member of the Linguistic Circle of Delhi and a member of the Presidium of the South-East Asian Society in the German Democratic Republic. (Democratic Germany, Vol. VII, No. 8, April 15, 1972).

PAINTING:

Erich Mueller Karl, (*G. D. R.*):

A famous painter and graphic artist from the German Democratic Republic. He toured India several times and created many works giving evidence of the deep knowledge he has gained about India and its people. Through his artistry and personal relations he is contributing to the consolidation of friendly relations between both our countries. (GDR Reports, August 15, 1972).

INDIA

ARTS

Gue Miss Pritilata (Calcutta):

The Gue sisters combine indigenous motifs with a skilful application of wax, resulting in creation of attractive specimens of batik art. Specially attractive were designs of birds animals,

and symbolic motifs, rendered on such utility articles as sari, necktie, handkerchief and stole. Miss Jajul Dhariwal, a former student of Santiniketan Kalā Bhavan, gave a good account of her talent through her specimens of works done in wood, stone, concrete metal and plaster of Paris. Though progressive in outlook, as is evidenced in her plaster of Paris and stone works, she respects tradition. The best examples were *Harmony in Integrals* (concrete), *Speed* (plaster of Paris) and *Agony and Ecstasy* (wood). (CNI., November 1971).

CULTURE :

Gurukulas (India) :

Gurukula is an ancient institution. Literally, it means a guru's family. The children who come to read with the guru be come members of his family In the figurative language of the Vedas, the guru takes them into his womb and after fostering them with knowledge, gives them a second birth and they are known as the twice-born.

The founders of the Gurukula had originally taken part in establishing the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) College, Lahore, the first educational enterprise of the Ārya Samaj, but had seceded from the College when it did not come up to their ideals. They wanted the College to give more prominence to Sanskrit and Vedic studies, but those in control were not prepared to risk university affiliation by making drastic changes in the curriculum.

The decision to start the Gurukula was taken in November 1898, but in hung fire for want of funds. Then a lawyer of Jullundur, Lala Munshiram (afterwards known as Swami Shraddhanand), took up the challenge. He gave up his successful practice at law and went on a fund-raising tour. The resources of the Ārya Samaj had already been strained by the growing needs of DAV College. Still he managed to collect Rs. 30,000/- within a short period. The news was received with great rejoicing by his partymen. He was the first to send his two sons to the Gurukula, to which some time afterwards he also gave away all his property worth around half a million rupees.

He had read in the Vedas that, it was in retreats of mountains and at confluences of rivers that brahmins of cultivated wisdom were born. Such a location was found when Munshi Aman Singh gifted to the Gurukula his Kangri village on the bank of the Ganga, with the Himalayas forming the backdrop.

The Gurukula had two chief objects before itself. One was to promote Sanskrit and Vedic studies, but that did not mean that modern studies were to be ignored. The other was to inculcate sound moral values early in life, and to that end the Gurukula was to take boys at a young age.

The Gurukula had some difficulty in getting Sanskrit teachers. The Arya Samaj had attracted mostly people who had had the benefit of English education. Sanskritists, who were generally Puranics, had kept away from it. And which Puranics would agree to teach at an institution that was professedly anti-Puranic? But through the offices of a Puranic-turned-Arya, Pandit Gangadatta, the first Ācharya of the Gurukula, the services of some Vāranasi Pandits were obtained. It is to these pandits largely that the Ārya Samaj owes whatever Sanskrit scholarship it possesses.

The Gurukula prepared its own text-books. Since the founder of the Ārya Samaj, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, had enjoined strict brahmacharya during studentship, Sanskrit texts were purged of all amorous and sensual passages. For modern subjects, text-books were prepared in Hindi. This was the earliest attempt to teach modern learning through the medium of an Indian language.

In 1907, the Kangri Gurukula underwent an important change. Ram Dev, a trained graduate, took over as Headmaster and replaced the Pāthashala system of teaching by the modern school system. A time-table was drawn up for different subjects. The bell began ringing, to sound the end of a lesson period. The pandits felt Westernism was over-taking the Gurukula. They quit *en bloc* and offered their services to another Gurukula which imparted only Sanskrit education. It was founded some time earlier by Swami Darśhanānand, near Hardwar, at Jwalapur.

There thus emerged three schools of thought in the Ārya Samaj over the question of education. At one extreme were advocates of pure Sanskrit and at the other those of Western education, and in between were protagonists of an integrated study of Sanskrit and modern learning.

As the Ārya Samaj does not approve of co-education, separate Gurukulas were opened for girls. Among other subjects the Vedas were also taught to the girls. The Vedas are no longer out of bounds to the girls even in orthodox institutions, but it is only in the Kanyā Gurukulas that the girls are given the sacred thread.

The revivers of the Gurukula institution were intensely patriotic and passionately attached to their ancient Indian heritage. Therefore they sought no Government patronage.

With the Ārya Samaj becoming suspect as a seditious body in the first two decades of this century, the Gurukulas also came to be regarded as "sources of danger" to the Government. The suspicions got credence from the fact that the Gurukulas were located in secluded areas. To see things for himself, the Lt-Governor of U.P., Sir James Meston, visited Kangri Gurukula four times and Brindāban Gurukula once between 1913 and 1916. The gubernatorial visits were rounded off with the Viceregal visit of Lord Chelmsford to Kangri. There were suggestions of Government aid which were politely refused by the Gurukulas.

The most remarkable feature of the Gurukulas is their seclusion. It is the most influential factor in moulding the attitudes of the inmates.

Removed from immediate contact with class and caste society, the students easily imbibe the spirit of equality which the Gurukula system instils in them. They are treated equally in food, clothing and residence. Caste-consciousness is totally absent among students. Though they live together for years, they neither know nor care to know one another's caste. Also non-existent is untouchablity. For a Hindu, his kitchen is the most sacred place, more sacred than his temple. In the Gurukulas the so-called untouchables not only have unrestricted access to that sanctum, but also preside

there as cooks. Those of the orthodox Hindus who are aware of this never accept cooked food there.

Following the Ārya Samajic tenet that a man's profession determines his varna, all teachers in the Gurukulas are pandits.

The Gurukulas have succeeded in bringing about the identification of the so-called Śudra castes with what is generally termed brahmanical literature. By imparting the sacred Sanskrit knowledge even to castes who, under an old injunction, ought to have their ears stopped with molten lead before hearing it, the Gurukulas have emotionally involved these castes with that heritage. The result is, that particularly in Haryana and West U.P., where the tradition of Sanskrit has never been very strong, the Śudras cultivate it more zealously than even the brahmins.

Through Ārya Samajist institutions, the Gurukulas have followed liberal academic traditions.

For the Gurukulas, the coming of independence meant deliverance not only from foreign rule but also financial worries. They had boycotted an alien Government but there was no need to boycott a swadeshi Government. They sought from it both aid and recognition and received them as their due.

In the post-independence period, the Gurukulas have modified their working a great deal. They have relaxed their former strict admission rules. They even entertain day scholars. In the matter of studies, they now offer a wide choice. There are about 40 Gurukulas spread all over the country.

Among them the foremost is the Kangri Gurukula, Hardwar—recognised as a "deemed university" by the Government, like Kāshi Vidyāpeetha and Delhi's Jamia Milia Islamia. This Gurukula remains a specialised centre for an integrated study of Sanskrit and Western learning. (*IWI*, 17—9—72).

DRAMA :

Krishnamurthi, K. S. (1/6, Chella Pillayar Koil Street Madras-14): Born 1914; Is a leading drama writer and composer. He wrote *Kalaivānan*, *Andamān Kaithi* the latter of which got him an

award from the State Government. All his dramas have been enacted various times and won him an award for drama from the Sangitha Nataka Academy.

Arumugam, R. (Kottampatti, Madurai):

Born 1915; A writer of Novels and Radio plays. Is the announcer and playwright for the All India Radio. He has written about 500 Radio dramas and 15 other works prominent among which are "*Nirr pūtha Neruppu*" (novel) '*Pon Vaṇdu*' (novel), '*Muchchandi*' and some translations of English works.

Arumugam, S. Poovai, B.A.: (Poovaima Nagar P.O., Thanjavur district):

Born 1928; A versatile writer who won the Madras Government's award for his 'Poovaiyin Stories' and a prize for his one act play 'Magudi'. Writes under various pseudonymns. Apart from the above two prize-winners he has written a critical essay on Tamil writers "*Kalki Muthal Akhilan Varai*", a novel "*Pathni Deivam*", an essay "*Thennāttu Gāndhi* and a novel for children "*Thāyin Maṇikkodi*".

Avanashilingam, T. S., B.A., B.L. (Ramakrishna Vidyala P.O., Coimbatore):

Born 1903; formerly Education Minister of Tamil Nadu. Was also a Member of Parliament. He was the first to legislate the Madras Libraries Act. A deep Gāndhian scholar, leading educationist, is running a number of Institutions. He has written over ten Tamil Books on Economics, Children's health, travels and on Mahātma Gāndhi and has written a number of books in English on Basic Education, Gāndhian ideals and Vivekānanda.

Bandopadhyay Tarashankar (Calcutta):

Born in 1898; died in 1971. Dominated in Bengali literary field during the post-Tagore period. Author of more than a hundred works. He began writing from 1928. Among his numerous publications *Hansuli Banker Upakatha, Kalindi, Kavi, Saptapar*, are well-known. Went to Moscow in 1958 as a delegate to the Asian Writer's Conference. He also led the Indian delegation to the

Afro-Asian Worker's Conference at Tashkent. Held the Presidentship of the All India Writers' Conference, Madras 1959. Was awarded Padmabhūshan by the Government of India in 1967. (CNI, November 1971).

Dandapāṇi Deśigar, Maha Vidwan: (44, "Tirumandiram", Pudu Agraharam, Mayuram):

Born 1906; A versatile Tamil Scholar well versed in Sanskrit; has been the recipient of a number of gold medals and titles like *Adīnappulavar, Virinūlpulavar*; was Professor in Tamil in Annamalai University and the Adīna Vidwan in *Tiruvāvaduthurai.* His *Tirukkuraḷ Uṛai Vaḷam* won appreciation of Tamil writers Śangam. He has written an English work on the beauty and structure of Tirukkuraḷ in 1951. Among his over 45 Tamil works are *Tiruvācagapperoḷi, Gaṇapathi, Murugan* (all Research works). His translations from Sanskrit are *Bharatha Nātyam* and *Pratāpa Rudrīyam.*

Guruswamy, M.P., M.A., (Regional Planning Centre, Gandhi Niketan, T. Kallupatti P.O., Madurai district):

Born 1936; A children's story writer who has won the prize for his works from the Southern Languages Book Trust. He is the author of *Nizhalottam, Ilamaikkanavu, Pārkkum Paravaigaḷ, Iḷamaikkothu* (Novels) apart from poems entitled *Malarkkoththu.*

Indra, T., B.A.: Pseudonym "Smriti"; (9, Shanker Niketan, Central Avenue Road, Chembur, Bombay 7):

Born 1938; Wrote the novel '*Lakshiya Pādai*' which won the Kalaimagaḷ Narayanaswami Iyer Prize.

Kannan, P. M. A. Reputed novelist who has written over 25 novels like *Vāzhvin Oli, Pen Deivam, Kannikā Danam, Nāgavalli.* The first named novel won for him a prize from the Tamil Nadu Govt.

Kumaraswamy, T. N., B.A. (18, Raja Street, Paadi, Madras 59):

Born 1907; Is a linguist knowing in addition to Tamil, Sanskrit, Telugu, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarathi and Russian languages. He has written in a space of 40 years a number of novels and short stories and has translated in Tamil over hundred novels

in Telugu, Gujarati, and Bengali languages. His translations of Bengali novels are quite famous. He translated Tamil *Śilappadikāram* into Bengali. He toured Russia at the invitation of writers of Soviet Russia.

K. C. Paṇigrāhi: (Orissa):

A veteran author in Oriya and one of the leading figures of modern Oriya literature; Śrī Kalindi Charan Paṇigrāhi was born in 1901 at Bishwanathpur, a village in the district of Pūri. Inheriting a love of literature and an urge for social progress from the elders of his family, who were all writers, Śrī Paṇigrāhi took to creative writing at a very early age and contributed regularly to his school and college magazines. While still at college he collaborated with his classmates to launch the literary journal *Shakti Sādhana* which hailed the *Sabuj Juga* or the Green Age. Inspired by Rabindranath Tagore and led by the young Paṇigrāhi and his colleagues, this romantic, revolutionary literary movement has made a lasting impact on modern Oriya literature. Since then Śrī Paṇigrāhi has wielded his prolific pen in the enrichment of Oriya literature and has made significant contribution to almost all genres of creative writing including poetry, fiction, drama, juvenilia and journalism besides a voluminous body of writing in the form of radio plays, features, talks and journals. His novel *Matir Manish* first published in 1931, has been translated into various Indian languages through the Sahitya Akademi and has also been made into a successful film. Held in high esteem by the writers and the reading public of Orissa, Śrī Paṇigrāhi has been closely associated with a number of literary and cultural organisations. Besides working as an adviser and producer in All India Radio, he has been a member of the Sahitya Akademi since its very inception and has represented his language in many a learned and literary gathering. In recognition of his outstanding contribution to Oriya literature, he was also awarded by the President of India with Pamabhushan. For his eminence as an author, the General Council of the Sahitya Akademi has unanimously elected Śrī Kalindi Charan Paṇigrāhi as a Fellow of the Sahitya Akademi. (Sahitya Akademi, Monthly News Bulletin, November–December 1971, Nos. 95–96).

Rajamanickam Mugavai, B.A. (Ramanathapuram) :

A poet, a script writer and translator of foreign short stories and poems ; has written scripts for over five Tamil films as well as songs for the films. He was the Vice President of the Tamil Writers' Association in 1965.

Ramalingam Pillay, V. (Salem) :

Popularly known in Tamil Nad as Nāmakkal Kavigñar ; Was a poet, novelist, Dramatist, a biographer but only on account of his poems he became famous. Was a Poet Laureate for some time in the Tamil Nādu Govt. He was a staunch Nationalist. His Novel *Malai Kaḷḷan* has been filmed. Born 1888, died 1972 (July).

Ramaswami Virudhai: (47–1, Muthiah Mudali Street, Vellala Teynampet, Madras-18) :

Born 1924 ; Writer of Scripts for films and novels. He has written the script for 10 films like *En magaḷ, Bhūlōka Rambai ; Nichchaya Thāmboolam* etc. and Novels *Thēnum Pālum ; Pirandha Pāśam, Irumbu Veli* etc.

Rajagopalachariar, Chakravarthi, Bharat Ratna, B.A., B.L., Naoroji Road, Madras-10) :

Born 1878 ; Free India's first Governor-General ; Is one of India's greatest sons popularly known as Rājāji. He is a writer who writes with lucidity and simplicity on religious topics. Has written over forty books all relating to religion and ethics—in Tamil the most famous of which are *Vyāsar Virundhu* and *Chakravarthi Thirumagan*, which have been translated into various Indian languages and English. The latter book was given an award by the Sahitya Academy. His book Rāmakrishna Upanishad was awarded a prize by the Tamil Nādu Govt. His English work on Mahābhārata has run to several editions and all his English works are equally outstanding as his Tamil works. The Doctrine and way of life, Bhagavad Gita for the lay Reader are among some of his famous English works. [Died Dec. 1972].

Rajavelu, G., M.A. (Director of Translations, Tamil Nadu Govt., Fort St. George, Madras-9) :

Born 1920 ; He has written over 15 books of which his Novel *Kādal Thoongugiradu* won him the Narayanaswami Ayyar's prize awarded by the Tamil literary monthly *Kalai Magal.* Among his other novels are *Azhagu Ādugiradhu, Vāna Vidhi, Kāntha Muḷ, Thangachchurangam.* His paper under the Kalki Memorial Lectures of the Madras University has been published under the Title *Vān Kuyil* which shows his ability for Research into spiritual truths of Subrahmanya Bhārathi's *Kuvil Pāttu.*

Somasundaram, M.P., Vidwan ; (25, Vth Trust Cross Street, Madras-28) :

Born 1921 ; A versatile writer in Tamil of poems, short stories, travelogue, and history ; has also in joint authorship with Rājāji (Bhārat Ratna C. Rajagopalachariar) written on religious works like *Tirumūlar Thavamozhi.* He won the Sahitya Academy award for his "Akkarai Cheemaiyil" (a Travelogue) and the Tamil Nādu Govt's award for his short story "*Kē'ḷatha Gānam*". He has also won the first prize for short stories in a competition held by Ānanda Vikatan, a leading Tamil magazine in 1937 & 1939. Among his works are *Kadal Kaṇda Kanavu* (Historical Novel), *Iḷavenil* (short story), *Ravichandrikā* (Social Novel). He has also prepared a compendium of Tamil stories and dramas.

Thillainayagam, V., M.A., M.L.S., B.T. : (Director of Libraries, Tamil Nadu, Govt., Madras-6) :

Born 15th July 1925 ; After the late Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, Thiru Thillainayagam can be stated to be one of the outstanding exponent in Library Science in South India, especially in Tamil Nādu ; Was for over a decade the Librarian of the Connemara Public Library, Madras, one of the National Libraries of India and he is now the Director of Libraries for Tamil Nādu Govt. In 1970 he was the recipient of an award by the Unesco Mandram for being "a fine Teacher of Library Science in Tamil Medium". His works include "Arasarum Pulavarum" for children, "Noolagappani" (Library Science) Kurippedu (A reference annual) "Noolagauṇarvu" (Library habit) all in Tamil. He edited the Madras State Bibliography of children's literature and Madras State Bibliography from 1963.

MUSIC

Giri Raj, (Bareily):

A young student of Ustad Vilayat Khan. His father is a known musician, Pandit Ram Gopal Singh. Pandit Giri Raj passed his B.Sc. from Agra University and after graduation began to learn sitar with his brother Pandit Ghan Sham Singh. Later he went to Vilayat Khan under whom be studied for over 12 years; Has won the coveted Sur Mani award of the Sur Singar Samsad in 1967. He plays the gayaki style with rare clarity.

Kannadāsan; (12, Jagadambal Street, Madras-17):

Born 1926; Quite popular and famous for composing songs for a large number of Tamil films; Is also a poet (2 Volumes of poems have been published), Novelist (*Āyiram Theevu Aṇgayarkkaṇṇi*) and a short story writer (*Ēzhathu Rani*).

Laxman Prasad (Jaipur Wale) (Rajasthan):

Today, he ranks among the renowned vocalists of Rajasthan and sings Khayal, Dhrupad, Thumri, Bhajan, Gazal etc. with equal ease and mastery. (*Journal of the Indian Musicological Society*, Vol. 2, No. 2, April–June, 1971).

Ramanathan, S.: (Sangeetha Bhushanam) (20/1, Sydoji Street, Madras-5):

Born 1917; Knows all South Indian languages in addition to Sanskrit, Hindi and English; Has done Research in the music of *Śilappadikāram*, Written Musical treatises like Syāma Sāstri's rare meters; Thyāgarāja Utsava Sampradāya Keertanai etc. He was a music lecturer in the Wesleyan University in America and was the Research scholar under the Tamil Nādu Sangeetha Nataka Sangam.

PAINTING

Bhargava Veena:

Paritosh Sen writes in *IWI*, 10—9—72, page 53 of this contemporary painter: "Veena Bhargava's work brings a breath of the art scene. To her, professionalism is a high virtue. In her art, one notices an appreciable attempt to absorb valid experiences and to translate the impact in exact terms.

Veena Bhargava refuses to ignore either the frustration and violence of the present-day socio-economic reality or the song and laughter of life. The emotionally charged figures and forms impress themselves on the mind and the tension in her compositions, subtly balanced, helps her work out an individual style. The gestures that bring the paintings into being subsist in it not only through vestiges of energy—swipes of paint, splashes, smears—but through the constant forcing together of the visual elements.

For Veena Bhargava, problems of art do not exist in isolation; they gather momentum and seek to resolve themselves within the framework of the painter's experience".

Panwar Prabha (College of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow):

A batik painter on leather; winner of the Presidential award 1972. An artist trained at Shantiniketan under the late Master Nandalal Bose and his illustrious daughter Smt. Gauri Devi Bhanja who is not only the pioneer but also a master artist in this medium. Smt. Panwar had the honour of being chosen by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for the first ever officially sponsored exhibition of Batik Paintings in Czechoslovakia. On January 25 this year her thirty large batiks were displayed in Praha. The Czech press paid rich tributes to the work and talent of the artist as "full of poetic charm. The artist is remarkably original and refined". (CNI, May 1972).

Surti Abid (Bombay):

A promising young painter. He took to the medium of mirrors for his art inspired by the native Kutch mirror work; participated in the great Expo 70 exhibition held in Japan. He is also known as a short story writer in Gujarati. A documentary is being prepared on Surti's mirror art. (CNI, 1971).

Swaminathan, J. (Bombay):

A major contemporary painter; Born in Simla in 1928. Mostly self-taught-though he studied for sometime in the Art Department of the Delhi Polytechnic and had a spell of scholarship at the Academy of Fine Arts, Warsaw. He has participated since 1960 in various exhibitions in London, Zurich, Warsaw, Tokyo

and Saigon. He was awarded a Nehru Fellowship for his thesis on "the Significance of the Tradition-Numen to contemporary Art", "The subjects of Swaminathan's new paintings is the mountain landscape of the Kangra valley, treated in a metrphorical spirit and in a metaphysical mood". (*I.W.I.*, dated 21—11—1971).

POPULAR SCIENCE

Gunasekhar, P.—(82, L.I.C. Colony, Kurichi, Coimbatore):

Born 1936; is a facile writer of scientific books in Tamil apart from novels. His three science books "*Aṇuvin Rahasyam, Thiṅgaḷō Thiṅgaḷ, Pagalarasan*, won for him a prize from the Indian Govt. and these have been translated in other languages.

Kaliaperumal, M. (33, East Street, Chidambaram):

Born 1936; A facile writer in science subjects; Has written books on Fruits and Vegetables; poultry diseases and cure, poultry development, Soils and fertilisers. His last named book got him the Indian Government's prize for Adult Education.

RELIGION

Acharya, P. Sri (75, Canal Bank Road, Madras-28):

Born 1892. A prolific writer who has over 60 works on Religion (like *Divya Prabhanda Sāram*), Tamil (*Veera-Tamizhagam, Thulli Thirigindra kālam* etc., *Gñāna Śikharam, Bhārathi Ninaivugal*) to his credit. He won the Sahitya Academy award for his work on Śrī Rāmānuja. He also won the award of Tamil Writers' Sangam in 1959.

Gopinath Kaviraj Padma Vibhushan (Varanasi):

The greatest living authority on the Tantra philosophy. Was born a posthumous child on September 7, 1887 in village Dhamari (now in Bangla Desh). In 1910 he graduated from the Allahabad University. For his M.A. in Sanskrit he joined the Queens College Varanasi under Principal Dr. Arthur Venice, who was a great scholar of Sanskrit, Indian philosophy and archaeology. Here Gopinath found the famous Ācarya Narendra Dev as his classmate. In April 1913 both came together to the University at

Allahabad for their final examination. Topping with record marks in the University, Gopinath joined research at the Government Sanskrit College, Vāraṇāsi, on advice from Dr. Venice: but on April 4, 1914 he was appointed Principal of the Saraswati Bhavan, which houses one of the richest collections of books and manuscripts on Indian philosophy, history and culture in Sanskrit and other languages and was under the department of Post-Vedic Research Studies of the Allahabad University. Soon he was raised to the post of Reader in the Department. Before his death on April 14, 1918, Dr. Venice assigned to Gopinath the task of editing and publishing the rare manuscripts of the Bhavan. And thus started the publication of the world famous 'Prince of Wales Saraswati Tracts' and 'Saraswati Bhavan Studies' series of works on Indian philosophy, archaeology and culture with original commentaries by Kaviraj. In 1924 he became Principal of the Government Sanskrit College on the retirement of Sir (Dr.) Ganga Nath Jha and served in that position until March 13, 1937.

Kaviraj Gopinath had started his creative career as a poet but his extra-curricular studies at Jaipur acquainted him with the *Tantra* mysticism of Indian philosophy and later his meeting with Yogi Vishuddhan at Harwar, among several other genuine sadhus of the age, who admitted him into his divine order on January 21, 1918, immersed him completely into the study and practice of *Tantra* philosophy. He has 254 contributions in Bengali, 145 in Hindi, 15 in Sanskrit, 48 in English; his prefaces to philosophical research works number 37 in Bengali, 23 in Hindi, 41 in Sanskrit and 14 in English; his edited works in Bengali, Sanskrit and English total to 21, whereas his original books in all the four languages number 25.

Kaviraj has been honoured with the degree of Mahāmahōpādyāya (1934), D.Litt. (Allahabad, Vāranāsi and Calcutta Universities), Sahitya Vāchaspati (Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan, Allahabad), Fellowships (Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal and Burdwan University), Sahitya Akademi Award for his Hindi books on *Shakta* aspects in the *Tantra* philosophy (1965) and *Padma Vibhushan* in 1965. (CNI, November 1971).

Kothandaram, P. (Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry-2):

Born 1896; An ardent follower and disciple of Sri Aurobindo; is well versed both in French and English; has published a number of books on Śrī Aurobindo apart from works in History, Historical Research and biography. He is the author of Short story, an art, Literature and criticism, Śrī Aurobindo (Biography), Indian Painting, and Bharathi Yugam (a historical research work). He has also translated a number of Śrī Aurobindo's works in Tamil like 'On Yoga'. "Essays on Gīta" etc. His two books on "Science and Society" and Soil fertility (*Maṇvalam*) won for him prize from the Tamil Nādu Government. Is currently the Editor of the Aurobindo Ashram's Tamil publication "Karma Dhara".

Kripananda Variar, M, (89, Singanna Chetty Street, Madras-2):

Born 1906; Is to-day the most popular religious lecturer who has massappeal. He is able to drive home great spiritual truths through various popular anecdotes and analogies. He is a prolific writer and commentator on Purāṇas and Tamil devotional poems on Lord Subramania. He is a devotee of Lord Muruga and he has been conferred the title of 'Thirumuruga". He has published annotated editions on *Thiruppugazh, Kandapurāṇam, Kandaralaṅkāram, Kandar Anubhūti.* He collects sizable sums as donations during his lectures, which he contributes for renovation of temples.

Ramanathan, P. (Saiva Siddhanta Noolpathippu Kazhagam, Madras-1):

Born 1890; A great scholar and lecturer in Śaiva Siddhanta; has written scholarly commentaries with meanings on Śivagñānabotham, Tirumanthiram in addition to a host of other books on Śaivaism and Śaivaite ethics.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PAINTING:

Dove Pauline (*Charlotte, North Carolina*):

Painter and serigrapher; an American artist whose work incorporates traditional Indian motifs. Miss Dove was in India in the dual role of tourist and visiting artist. Besides sightseeing in

Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Cochin, Madurai and Madras, she also exhibited her silk-screenings in the four largest cities.

In New Delhi she demonstrated her own creative innovations in silk-screening to a group of artists at the Triveni Art Gallery.

Silk-screen printing, Miss Dove said, originated hundreds of years ago as an Oriental art form. During this past century it was adapted, particularly in the West, into a commercial process called serigraphy. Relatively recently, artists have begun to explore it as a creative, rather than as a commercial expression.

Silk-screening is basically a stencilling procedure, Miss Dove explained. In this method of printing, a silk screen is stretched taut over a frame, and a stencil is formed by applying such things as cut paper or glue or crayon to the screen. Then layer over layer of transparent colored ink is applied, which goes through the uncovered areas on the screen to form a multihued print on the paper underneath.

As an artist she works primarily in acrylic paint—a plastic-based paint that is clean, odorless, quick-drying, sturdy and water-soluble. With the special effects she can obtain, because acrylic paint is so translucent, Miss Dove has given what she called "a kind of an American twist" to various Indian artistic motifs. Hanumān, Tāra, the Vishṇu incarnations, Ganesh and others have all found their way into her paintings.

"I've been painting off and on since I was about 12 years old, but I started seriously painting in college and went on to graduate school and majored in painting as a graduate", Miss Dove said recalling her career so far. She received her Master of Fine Arts degree from George Washington University. She is an instructor of art at the Central Piedmont Community College in Charlotte, North Carolina. (*The American Reporter* 23-8-1972).

SECTION V: FOLK AND OTHER ARTS

FROM FOLK ART TO A FACULTY

When the Government Arts College for Women in North Madras conducted an exhibition of *Rangoli*, it was forcibly brought home to many of us, that what we fondly cherished all along as a folk art, has attained the status of a faculty! On the street in front of the house it is common "Kolam", on the parlour floor it is "Rangoli" and on the blackboard of the College class-room it is "*Isaikkolam*" or rather symphony in symmetry. To be frank, no simpler or more ingenious floor decoration has been devised by humanity anywhere in the world than by our rangoli folk art.

Most of the rangoli patterns have not only a form and content but are symbolic of the precise mood of the house. There is a specific form for supplication to the gods in a common cause like inviting rains; as well there is a separate form for occasions like greeting guests or propitiating the various aspects of divinity. In the case of *Isaikkolam*, for instance, a specific propitiatory hymn is hummed or chanted in tune with the outline of the kolam.

In the more elaborate Rangoli, coloured powders are set like pictures in front of the thresholds of the home to accentuate an occasion and as a symbol of ritualistic custom. This form of decoration done by women is very old and is closely bound up with ceremonial and special significance, such as occasions when supplications are made for rain, prayers for successful harvests and thanks-giving, birthdays, and wedding; prayers for the welfare of the family and community and for celebration and at festival time generally. Though emanating from folk origins, the art has been known and practised and continues to be practised even today in small towns and suburban city areas and also in the more sophisticated homes. In Madras and many other temple towns of Tamil Nadu, during the shivering *Mārghazi* month (15th December to 14th January), housewives vie with each other in patiently drawing kolam patterns of elaborate intricacy over the wide street-front opposite their houses. The yellow pumpkin flowers are used like

table flowers to lend added charm to the white patterns. So much for our kolam tradition. It is known as *Rangoli* in Gujarat and Maharashtra, Alpana in Bihar and West Bengal, and Kolam in South India. These hand-made patterns are generally done in white with multi-coloured insets, and may take the shape of stylised flowers of all kinds, fruits such as the mango and almond, animals such as the elephant, fish, birds like the parrot, peacock and swan, and some beautiful and intricate geometrical designs, with floral insets, all symbolic in form and meaning. So well done are these decorations that although drawn free-hand they look like decorative mats created by the hand of a consummate artist. Decorating the floor in this manner may not strictly come under the creative artistic endeavour but it calls for an intimate knowledge of the prototype patterns and the highly developed sequence for colour symmetry. They are prized and appreciated because they are symbolic of a picturesque embroidery done on the fabric of the earthen floor. (*Tamilarasu*, I March 1972—p. 42).

THE DHANGER: A DRAVIDIAN TRIBE IN NEPAL

The Dravidian-speaking tribes, with the exception of the Brahui in Baluchistan, have long been thought to be located almost exclusively in central and southern India. Only one small Dravidian tribe, the Maler, has been found located as far north as the southern side of the Ganges River. It is for this reason that I thought that both ethnologists and linguists would be interested to hear of a Dravidian tribe located still further north near the foothills of the Himalayas.

I had first heard reports in 1968 of a tribe reputed to be from South India from a Peace Corps volunteer, who was stationed in Dhanusha District in the eastern Tarai (lowlands) of Nepal. He said they were called the Dhangar and were located in the village of Sakhuwa about 10 minutes walk from the larger town of Mahendranagar.

While working on another project in September, 1970, I came across the same tribe located in Jabarha, a village about two hours walk west of the main highway to Kathmandu and the bazaar town of Jitpur in Parsa District of the central Tarai.

There are about 20 houses of Dhangar and 9 houses of Paharis (hill people) in the village. I was told by Dhangars that their ancestors came originally from Chota Nagpur (Orissa and Bihar), but they had no idea of the reasons or the period the migrations occured. They call themselves Rajbangshi, the name of a larger tribe located throughout the eastern Nepalese Tarai and in Bihar. Since their language is so different from that of Rajbangshi and their caste position is so much lower (they are considered untouchable), it appears that they may have taken this name for status reasons, a not uncommon practise in either Nepal or India for lower castes to do.

They said that there are villages of Dhangar located in several districts to the east, especially in Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Siraha, Saptari, Sunsari and Morang districts. Although they said they *do not* hunt in Parsa District, they had heard of Dhangar to the east using bows and arrows for hunting. I did not collect much ethnographic data in my brief stay in their village, but it appears that they share some of their customs with tribes living in the surrounding area. They worship at the major festivals of Dassehra and Holi, and worship Saraswati, a major Hindu deity. They dress similar to other tribes of the area and have the same basic agricultural practices, house types, and shamanistic practices.

I mainly concentrated on collecting basic linguistic data in order to establish whether or not they truly had a Dravidian language, and, if so, to which tribe they were most closely related. I later compared the vocabulary list I had collected with Dravidian languages listed in the Linguistic Survey of India. I found the basic vocabulary and grammar to be almost exactly the same as that of the Kurukh or Oraon of Chota Nagpur. There is, however, a fair number of Bhojpuri (the Indo-European language spoken in this portion of the Nepalese Tarai) words in the Dhangar language.

The Linguistic Survey of India lists one other name for the Oraon as being Dhangar. "Dhangari simply means 'the language of the Dhangars, a caste whose business it is to dig wells, tanks, etc." The Survey estimates the number of Oraon to exceed

5,00,000. I could not however, find any Dhangar listed in the Nepal Census or any Rajbangshi as being listed in the districts mentioned above. On the basis of their being located in several districts in the central-eastern Tarai, it appears certain that there must be at least a few thousand Dhangar in Nepal.

Referring to the origins of the Oraon and the closely related Maler, the Survey mentioned the following: "According to their own traditions, the ancestors of the tribe speaking these two languages lived originally in the Carnatic, whence they moved north up the Narbada River, and settled in Bihar on the banks of the River Son. Driven thence by the Musalmans, the tribe, split into two divisions, one of which followed the course of the Ganges and finally settled in the Rajmahal Hills, while the other went up the Son and occupied the north-western portion of the Chota Nagpur plateau. The latter were the ancestors of the Kurukh and the former of the Maler. This account agrees with the features presented by the two languages which show that (like Gondi) they must be descended from the same Dravidian dialect that formed the common origin of Tamil and Kanarese". If this story is taken to be true, then it seems likely that the Dhangar went north to Nepal only much later after they had first settled in Chota Nagpur, since the Dhangar vocabulary is still so close to that of the Oraon (and not of the Maler).

For comparative purposes I have listed below a few examples of Dhangar and Oraon words with the English translation.

English	*Dhangar*	*Oraon*
one	unta	onta
I	in	en
thou	nin	nin
hand	khed	khed
nose	mui	mui
belly	kul	kul
wife	mukka	mukka
water	am	am
dog	ala	ala
go	kala	kala

One Dhangar informant mentioned that Dhangar are still today emigrating from Chota Nagpur to settle in the eastern Tarai. Thus it is possible that the Dhangar may not have been in Nepal for more than a few hundred years.

In any event the discovery of a Dravidian tribe in Nepal does serve to provoke a thoughtful reexamination of some of the arguments for the possibility of Dravidian influences in some of the languages in Nepal and for the possibility of some Nepalese tribes, especially the important Tharu and Newar tribes, having originally emigrated from areas in central and Southern India. The Tharus speak various dialects of the major Indo-European languages (Bhojpuri, Maithili, Abadi, etc.) spoken in the area in which they reside, but some Tharus with whom I have spoken claim that their ancestors originally came from southern India. The Newars, speaking a Tibeto-Burman language, have a tradition of their ancestors coming to Nepal from South India. At present no conclusive evidence has been presented as to the origin of either the Tharus or the Newars, but scholars who dismissed out of hand the possibility of these tribes coming from South India because of the great distance involved, should be prepared to reconsider this contingency.

It appears certain that the Dhangar will continue becoming more acculturated into Nepali society. They have already begun to substitute some Nepali and Bhojpuri words for Dhangari ones, and the settling of Paharis and Mahdesis (plains people) into the forest area in which the Dhangars prefer to live has increased tremendously in recent years due to malaria eradication and increased pressure on available land. A study of their customs and language should be carried out in the near future, especially as the culture of the Oraon of Chota Nagpur has undergone significant changes since the time of S. C. Roy's work with them. The Dhangar may provide the opportunity to study customs which the Oraon in India no longer follow, and which may themselves soon be due for extinction. (By Johan Reinhard, in the *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research*, No. 12, 1970).

THE GINDAD DANCE OF RAJASTHAN

During the joyous days of the Holi festival, group performance of the Gindad Dance goes on for about a week in Shekhavati area of Rajasthan (Jhujhunu-Sikar-Chuvu Districts and its suburbs). All the classes of people of the village take part in this dance. The Muslims are also seen participating with the Hindus. The Panch i.e. the principal person of the village and other people of their mohallas prepare "mandap" or the proper place for the performance of the dance. Open space for the "mandap" is chosen so that the greatest number of the people may dance in circular from and the greatest number of audience may witness it. Amongst the audience there are both men and women.

Large space is taken in the open for the performance. For decoration, sticks are fixed in the ground on which gas lantern hangs on them and coloured flags of paper are also attached to them.

In the middle of the Mandap there is the seat of the 'Nagarchi' (one who plays on the Nagara). This place takes the shape of a high platform and becomes the pivot round which the whole of the performance of the Gindad dance takes place. The dance continues according to the rythm of Nagarchi's Nagara. It must be taken into account that in small villages only a wide field is considered enough for the dance. There is no need of a "Mandap" or a "Marach". The Nagarchi sits on the ground in the middle of the chowk. There is no need of light arrangements and the preparation of the dance is done easily.

That rounded form which comes in the boundary of the open stage for the purpose of dance is called Ged or the Gher. When a large number of persons are gathered for the Gindad dance, then a smaller Ged is made within the bigger one. After the performance of the dance for one and a half hour the dance begins a second time; it is again called a Ged.

The rythm of the Gindad dance is connected with the Nagara instrument. Some qualifications are required of a good Nagara

player. Clear performance of the Bol, perfection in rythm and a skill for playing for hours at a stretch are some of the requirements of an efficient Nagara player. There is ebb and flow in the rythm of an inefficient Nagara player. The performance of the Gindad dance depends totally upon Nagara playing. The Nagara player should be expert in his art. The stage of the Nagarchi is just high in the middle of the Ged.

For the exhibition of laya or rythm, Nagara (an instrument made of leather covering) is used. The sound of this instrument is very loud and is audible from a very long distance. In Gindad dance it is sounded thrice with the help of a wooden. stick. This beating means four matras or beats i.e. 1, 2, 3, 4. The fourth matra or the fourth beat is silent. It is not sounded. With the fourth beat begins a movement which is called Gati of the dance.

The sound of the instrument called Nagara is highly respected in Rajasthan. There is an old tradition of Nagara being played on auspicious occassions; at religious places; in the battle field and at the coming of the Raja's and the Maharaja's "savari" and on the main gate of the royal places. It is considered very important even now.

In the days of the Holi festival, the games of Gulal and coloured water give pleasure and in the night all the people gather together to enjoy the Gindad dance. No separate dancers are required for the purpose. All the people enjoy; each person participates in this dance. Even small children dance in their locality without any Nagara or the open stage. They pronounce in a rythmic way the sound of Nagara.

"Ghale Gindad Lage Danka".

In the Gindad dance each dancer binds Ghungaru on his ankles. The Ghungarus are specially made of bronze and each Ghungaroo has two leaves. At least a hundred Ghungaroos are bound above the ankles. In small villages the dancers participating

in Gindad dance do not give undue importance to the ghungaroos. The person who can possess, uses it and others dance without them.

Each dancer of the Gindad takes a stick in each of his hands i.e. two sticks in all—held by one dancer. These sticks are thick and strong. Their length is at least 18" to 20". They are made with great care. Each dancer strikes the stick with another dancer's stick as soon as the sound of Nagara is produced. Each beat of the stick is rythmic and there are several styles of striking them together. Main styles are as follows:—

(1) Each dancer takes a pair of dancers, one behind him and another in front of him. They fill the rhythm by striking the sticks.

(2) First beat is done by the right hand and the second one is done upward just before the face of the dancer in the middle.

(3) Both sticks are beaten upward and downward with the dancer in front position. The same is repeated with the dancer just behind.

(4) The sticks are beaten thrice in three matras i.e. downward, the middle and upward.

(5) The sticks are beaten with rhythm and the hands move gracefully.

It has been found in some of the villages that the Gindad dancer has only one stick in his right hand and he goes striking the stick in a rythmic way.

The costumes of the Gindad dancers are full of variety. They can be seen dancing in the costumes of a saint; a sadhu; a wealthy person; a hunter etc. Some male dancers dance in female costumes. These fancy dresses serve only the purpose of recreation and the audience takes interest in it. But in small

villages there is no fancy dress and each dancer often dances in ordinary dress of his daily wear.

In the Gindad dance both feet are thrown upwards with the sound of the first, second and the third matra expressed and sounded, with the help of Nagara. The jump is the same in the three matras but the foot-steps are different due to change of place. The fourth matra is left unsounded in the Nagara. This Matra or the beat, helps the dancer to take a turn at his own place. The movement is done on each of the fourth beat (unsounded). Some dancers take a half circle, and then take a turn. This semi circular movement is called "Bhramari-half-moon". Full movement is called "Bhramari full moon". The artist who takes full turn becomes tired easily because of his greater exertion. The movement of the foot-steps is as follows:—

(1) Simple steps—Dancing with both feet in the Ged or the round and moving forward with the jumping activity.

(2) The forward step of the Ged or the round—The first beat in the Ged, the second outside and the third one again in the Ged making the dance performance.

(3) The inward step of the Ged—Same as the forward steps going in the inner portion on two matras and coming again in three matras.

(4) The inside-outside feet and steps—In this activity the dancer first, moves the foot-steps in the first four matras and takes his feet back in the last four matras and makes movement.

(5) The sitting position—Sitting in the dance or dancing in the sitting position.

In the Gindad dance the movement of the waist is on the right side at the time of striking the stick with the right hand and at the time of striking the sticks upwards the left side bends.

In this dance there is the combination of four types of sounds :—

(1) Foot steps Dham Dham Dham Mak

(2) Sticks Khat Khat Khat Khat

(3) Ghungaroo Chum Chum Chum

Chan

(4) Nagara Dhi Na da

This dance which is the combination of four types of sounds is very important from social, and artistic points of view. The principal sound is of the Nagara instrument out of the four sounds. The word "Dhinnada" gives the conception of the Gindad, ghindad or the Ginnad dance.

In the beginning, the dance goes in Madhya 'Laya. Slowly the rhythm of the sound of Nagara develops and the dance takes to fast tempo. In the fast tempo the Ged of the Gindad cannot go on for a long time and after some time the dance ends. There is no expression of any idea in this dance. It only expresses the feeling of gusto. The indication of the end of the dance is done by the sound of "Dhin Dhin Dhin Dhin". After this a new Ged or round begins. In this way there are two or three rounds in one night. From Jai Chandra Sharma in *Journal of Indian Musicolocigal Society*, Vol. 2, No. 2. April-June 1971).

MANJI VIRATTU

A Time—Honoured sport in Tamil Nadu is *Manji Virattu* or Sallik-kattu in which a bull is made to run with a *Manji* (rope) round its neck. *Virattu* means to chase the bull into running with fear and fury. To add to the confusion the drums are beaten vigorously. The rope around the neck—at times also across the sharpened horns of the bull—carries a prize, in appreciation of the valour, for its conqueror. *Sallik-kattu*, the other name for this game, means stopping and tethering (*Kattuthal* in Tamil) the bull, running with a *Salli* a special kind of rope prepared from the tender shoots of tamarind trees. It is also said

that this game is named after its founder Salli, a Yadhava. *Manji Virattu* is described as *Earu Thazhuwal* (gaining the hand of a beautiful girl in marriage as a prize for the victory over a ferocious bull) in *Kaliththogai*, an ancient Tamil poem of the Sangam period. The game has been described as a mark of valour of the Aayars (cowherds) living in Mullai Land. Almost all the marriages in Mullai Land were decided through the *Manji Virattu*.

Nowadays the stake is no longer the hand of any beautiful girl. *Manji Virattu* has almost assumed a festive gaiety. And the best catch now for conquering a bull is perhaps a piece of laced cloth, or a few silver coins, or an occasional gold piece tied around the neck of the bull or around its sharpened horns. However, neither the thrill of the game nor its importance for the village folk has diminished.

Kuthapar, Navalpattu and Kajamalai of Tiruchirapalli district, Tanjore, Ramnad and Tirunelveli are famous centres of this game.

(M. Nagarajan in *IWI.*, March 5, 1972).

HUNGER — AN ANCIENT CURE FOR MODERN MALADIES

"The hunger cure is an ancient Indian method. Now it has returned to us from Russia, where it has been given a scientific basis". This is what Yuri Nikolayev, a Soviet physician, D. Sc. (Medicine), was told by Indian doctors when he visited their country last year.

Professor Nikolayev heads a department at the Research Institute of Psychiatry, where for almost 25 years he has been conducting research into controlled hunger as a means of treating various maladies.

He showed me a small booklet, Relief-Diet Therapy for Neuro-Psychic Disorders, Cure by Controlled Hunger. Further down it said: "Instructions on Methods. Approved by Deputy Chief of the Russian Federation's Central Treatment and Prophylais Department of the Ministry of Public Health". The Instructions were the outcome of painstaking studies and conclusions drawn from Professor

Nikolayev's treatment of patients. It is also an appreciation and a recognition of his initiative.

"Hunger as a cure has been known since ancient times in Egypt, India and Greece", Nikolayev told me. Moreover, there are grounds to believe that people resorted to hunger as a cure even in prehistorical times. It is well known that when animals fall ill they instinctively stop eating until they get well.

"In India, hunger is practised by the old system of ayurveda. It is used for the preliminary evacuation of toxins from the organism, which is followed by the applications of diverse balsams, ointments and drugs. Hunger is also a main component of yoga. In Russia, as far back as the 18th century, P. Veniaminov and I. Spassky, professors of Moscow University, indicated in their papers the great effectiveness of controlled hunger as a cure, and even made several successful experiments in treating a variety of diseases. Soviet physician N. Narbekov spoke in his papers of the extensive therapeutic possibilities of controlled hunger, and obtained positive results in the treatment of metabolic disorders, in particular the fatty metabolism, many cardiovascular, dermic and some allergic disorders, such as bronchial asthma, eczema, etc. Academician A. Bakulev successfully applied controlled hunger to the treatment of ulcer of the stomach and of the duodenum.

"At the present time the method is applied in a number of Soviet clinics. It is successfully used at the Patrice Lumumba University clinic of dermic diseases for treating psoriasis, herpes simlex, neurodermatitis, eczema, etc. Professor Robert Baboyants, head of the Chair of Dermic Diseases at the First Medical Institute, is also using this method for the treatment of skin diseases".

"Our innovation, if I may say so", he continued, "is that we have initiated the use of controlled hunger for the treatment of psychic disorders, primarily sluggish forms of schizophrenia. Particularly good results have been obtained in the treatment of diverse hypochondriac conditions when patients are overanxious about their health, are likely to greatly exaggerate their existing ailments and believe they are suffering from diseases which they

do not have, and of diverse phobias: morbid fear of loneliness, of crowds, darkness, infection, sharp articles, and so on.

"Altogether we have treated some 7,000 patients at our clinic. Our extensive experience enables us to broaden the range of application of this method, and to take up the treatment of cases formerly considered hopeless".

Describing the application of the method, Yuri Nikolayev cautioned that it can be applied only under strict medical supervision. "We have set aside special wards for the patients undergoing this cure. The treatment is subject to the formal consent of patients and their relatives. The patient first undergoes detailed clinical and laboratory tests. Complete termination of the intake of food commences only if there is no contra indication.

"The abstinence period is fixed individually for each case separately. It ranges from 20 to 40 days. For the duration of abstinence the patient receives absolutely no drugs".

—Why is it that, unlike forced hunger, when a person dies without food, controlled hunger not only preserves life, but cures ailments?

"First of all, because in case of forced hunger the organism perishes due to poisoning by endotoxins. In our case we try by all means to withdraw them from the organism as soon as possible. Before the commencement of abstinence the patient's intestines are purged. He is given a great deal of water, hydro treatment every morning, and general massage or Charcot's bath. Out patients spend most of the time in the open.

"As a rule, the appetite disappears and conditioned reflexes die down in the first 3—5 days. Patients are no longer disturbed by the sight and smell of food, the rattle of dishes, etc. However, pleasant memories of food persist, particularly if the patient is not distracted from such thoughts. This is when the experience of the doctor and psychotherapy help.

"The most difficult moment usually comes on the 6–7th day of abstinence, when the patient begins to feel a certain heaviness,

This is the time when the organism switches over to what is called endogenous nutrition, i.e., nutrition from the organism's own energy sources. The crisis lasts a short time, and when it passes the patient begins to feel extremely well—his mood improves, strength increases and the symptoms of his principal ailment begin to diminish. This state continues until the depletion of the organism's energy stores.

This happens about the 30–35th day. By that time the patient's tongue becomes clean, his skin takes on a pink colour, the unpleasant odour from the mouth disappears, and he develops a 'wolf's appetite'. This is when the most important process commences—the process of rehabilitation.

"First we give the patient diluted fruit juices, then, undiluted, a mixture of grated fruit with yogurt, then salads of boiled vegetables, gruels and cooked vegetables, and only on the 30–40th day do we give the patient regular rations.

"Over the entire period of abstinence the patient loses an average of 15–20 percent of his weight, that is if the purpose of treatment is not control of obesity, when quite different results may be obtained. For instance, some time ago two brothers applied to our clinic. The elder of the two weighed 210 kg. the younger 175. They could hardly pass through the door. Having taken the hunger cure, both patients lost half of their original weight, and both feel quite well now".

—What are the biological mechanisms of the hunger cure method?

"There are five of them. First, a state of rest for the nervous system and the brain—the so-called protective inhibition; second, the evacuation of toxins and the cleansing of the organism; third, a sharp general inhibition which acts as a stimulus for the subsequent rehabilitation; fourth, intensive auto-renovation of the tissues, and fifth—a state of stress for all systems of the organism, and particularly for the endocrinal system".

—In what way does controlled hunger affect man's brain?

"Like all other organs, the brain, in the period of hunger, also rids itself of toxins and undergoes the process of renovation. Besides this, it is given a considerable period of rest, because the entire digestive tract, which ordinarily consumes a colossal volume of brain energy, is in a way switched off. This fact forms the basis for the treatment of neuro-psychic disorders. Patients who suffer from atherosclerosis experience restoration of memory and their inclination to weep at the least provocation is also overcome".

At the conclusion of our talk, I asked Professor Nikolayev to comment on his visit to India, and on the Institute's international contacts.

"I spent six weeks in India, visiting New Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Patiala, where I delivered lectures on our hunger cure method. I was most pleased to see that Indian specialists appreciated my speeches. The Mayor of New Delhi, Mr. Gupta, invited all specialists in ayurveda to a meeting where I spoke on the work of our Institute. I had many private visitors at my hotel seeking advice on the hunger cure of various diseases.

"Our Institute receives many scientists from all socialist countries, and also from India, Japan, the USA, France and elsewhere".

(Konstantin *Razin* in *Moscow News*, No. 14—1972).

THE DESCENDANTS OF URVASHI

For over ten centuries, the temple-dance of Orissa, now commonly known as Odissi, has been preserved in its pristine purity of form and chastity of spirit by the "Mahari"s, or "Devadasis", dancers dedicated to temple-service at an early age. Reference has been made in the Natya Shastra to "Oudra Nritya", which was possibly the original form of this style, but, for the last few centuries it has earned for itself the sobriquet of "Mahari Nritya" from that of its exponents. Till very recently this dance-discipline was referred to by this name only, and it is only for the last forty years or so that it has been given the new nomenclature of "Odissi". This is perhaps more befitting to the present form of this system, which has now been divided into two clear streams of tradition, fairly divergent from each other in technique, attitude and environmental influence.

The original Mahari Nritya which had, till then, followed one particular tradition, was suddenly, in the 17th Century, brought out of the temple and imparted to a class of boys called "Gutipua"s, who were attached to drama-parties and went dancing from village to village. Naturally, this system of dance, which had till now been the exclusive monopoly of women-dancers, underwent considerable change, both in outward technique and inward feeling, when performed by young boys, who danced only from the age of seven till such time when they would sprout a beard.

The lyrical grace and subtle enchantment of the dance of the Maharis were replaced by sprightly, darting, almost puppet-like movements of the young boys. Fluidity froze into a certain rigidity, grace was substituted with verve and suppleness merged into fast, jerky rhythms. Above all the mellow, subtle, delicate nuances of expression that were such a characteristic feature of the "abhinaya" of the Maharis disappeared almost completely, and the standard of expressive acting deteriorated considerably. The young boys were not able to summon the ecstasy, the self-surrender, the "God-intoxication" of these women who were considered the chosen servitors of the Lord, and who, knowing none else but Him, poured their heart out in ardent song and passionate dance before Him every day. These boys were never allowed to dance inside the temple, and they never knew what it was to hold such intense communion with the Lord that it was as if He was verily present before them in throbbing reality. The "satvika" (a typical word which can be translated only roughly as "spiritual") nature of their "abhinaya" could not be captured by the "Gutipua"s, because their way of life was entirely different. They could never feel that closeness, that kinship, that conception of inseparability with the Lord that the Mahari knew from the moment when, in early girlhood, she embraced this life.

It is necessary, in this context, to trace briefly the tragic and chequered history of the Maharis. Obviously, the institution of consecrating young girls to the temple for the purpose of serving

and entertaining the Lord dates back to many centuries, but the earliest documentary evidence of it can be found in the 9th. Century, in an inscription on the temple of Brahmeshwar in Bhubaneshwar, which mentions the consort of the Kesari King Uddyota offering so many dancing-girls to this particular temple. Such a practice, therefore, must have been in existence long before the actual date of this inscription.

Till the 11th Century, they were known as "Devadasi"s, and the name Mahari given to them by the then ruling King Chudagangadeva, most illlustrious ruler of the Ganga dynasty. A certain locality came to be assigned to them, which was named "Churangashahi". In addition, they were given a little plot of cultivable land plus the "prasad" from the temple.

The Maharis were divided into three categories, "gauni" (singer), "bauni" (player) and "nachuni" (dancer). These were again sub-divided into "Bahir-guani"s, those who danced or sang only on the "natamandap" or outer pavilion of the temple, and "Bhitargauni"s, those whose performed only before the Lord, inside the sanctum sanctorum of the temple.

On the day the Mahari was supposed to have her "pali" (duty), she purified herself with ritual bath, decked and adorned herself like a bride, and offered her dance to the Lord as an intrinsic part of the temple rites. Through her dance were demonstrated the different rites of worship to the people who came to witness it.

A document found to be in the possession of Mukuta Mahari, an ancestress of my Guru, describes in great detail the chaste and austere life the Mahari must lead in order to occupy this privileged position cf handmaiden and confidante of the Lord. She must not communicate in any way with any man, she must lead a chaste and celibate life, she must keep her body and soul free from all impurities. In order to see that the Mahari abided by all these rules of conduct and canons of behaviour, the King and the temple authorities used to appoint a man called the "Dosandhi Poricha", who kept a stern eye all her movements.

In return for her renunciation of earthly pleasures, the Mahari earned the unique privilege of being closest to the Lord. Her soul was supposed to be one with His, and she was so intimate with Him as to share His confidence. In fact, whenever anybody, even the King, wanted a special favour from the Lord, he would request the Mahari to speak to Him on his behalf. Even the selection of a new Mahari to replace one about to retire was made by the aged Mahari herself after receiving a "dream-command" from the Lord. Such a girl was usually selected from a Brahmin family, and had to be not only young but beautiful and well-versed in the arts. Hence, it was said that Lakshmi (Goddess of Wealth and Beauty), and Saraswathy (Goddess of Learning) both resided side by side in the house of a Mahari. Moreover, they were said to have descended from the heavenly nymphs (Apsaras) who danced in the court of Indra, King of Gods, and had such delectable names as Urvashi, Rambha, Menaka, Ghritachi.

They were held in such high esteem that people would take mud from the front of their houses to lay the foundation of new temples and houses. They also served as models for the world-famous sculptures of the Sun-temple of Konarak, the pillars and friezes of which are adorned with dancing figures of the most surpassing loveliness, bearing testimony to the peerless artistry and effulgent grace of the Maharis.

From this revered position they fell into the dust of public derision during the 15th century when the Moguls invaded Orissa. Prataparudradeva, who was then the king, went into hiding for fear of them, and his kingdom was ruled in his absence by his commandar-in-cheif, Rai Ramananda. He was a devout worshipper of God Krishna, and was greatly influenced by the "madhura bhakti" (devotion through love) cult of Mahaprabhu Chaitanya. In order to propagate this cult and to spread the principles of Vaishnavism, he brought the Maharis out of the temple to take part in dramas being enacted in public theatres, entrusting to them the female roles which had hitherto been performed by young boys.

This proved to be the undoing of the Maharis, who, till now secure in the incense-filled sanctuary of the temple, had not known the pit-falls of the outside world. The Moguls caught hold of such girls and not only made them drink and dance in royal courts, but also used them for their pleasure. The temple-gates were barred to these unfortunate girls, and the name Mahari came to have an unsavoury connotation.

Even the king ordained that the arts of dance and music should henceforth be transferred to young boys, since women were always subject to the danger of having their bodies defiled. Thus, the "gutipua"s come into being, and, gradually, by the 17th. century, during the reign of Ramachandradeva, had occupied the dance-scene, while the hapless Maharis had slowly receded into the background.

Even though, when Divyasimhadeva was the ruler, it was decreed that Mahari could marry the Panda (Priest) of the temple, for it was not possible for everyone to devote herself single-mindedly to the service of the Lord and concentrate wholly upon the high principles of her calling,—the stigma upon her name persisted. Even though she had joined the ranks of respectably married women and her children were born of holy wedlock, they were referred to as prostitutes, and their children called illegitimate. Even the barber would refuse to shave their children.

To add to their pitiful lot, the little plot of land they had was taken back by the king because they did not know how to cultivate it. Some of them were constrained to become "maguni"s, singing at rich men's mansions on festive occasions, and getting a few coins and a little food in return. Some of them took to nursing, and some just died of starvation. The two or three Mahari who are still living have not danced for years.

But their art has not died. It is still a living flame, nourished with love, care and dedication by my Guru, Shri Pankaj Charan Das, direct descendant of the Maharis, whose mother and sisters were dancing in the temple of Jagannatha at Puri till about forty years ago. His poineering efforts in the revival of this ancient

art have finally been recognised by the Sangeet Natak Akademi, and he has been honoured with the President's award this year.

Being born a son of the family, he was not supposed to dance, but only play on the "pakhawaj", but his interest in the dance was so overwhelming that he studied it, with an almost fanatic zeal, from his grandmother, Srimathi Ratnaprabha Devi, a famous Mahari of her time. He gave the art an entirely new and dynamic dimension. He not only chastened and refined some of the movements but incorporated rhythm into some of the numbers to which the Maharis only, did "abhinaya". He has revived some of the rare gems from the repertoire of the Maharis, including the "Pancha-kanya" solo dance-dramas, which he has thought fit to pass on to me as his most devoted disciple.

His style is marked by grace, lyricism and subtlety, and is as fine and delicate in its craftsmanship as the silver filigree jewels for which Orissa renowned. The face also reflects a whole gamut of human emotions, poignant yet refined in the extreme, eschewing all crudity, vulgarity and violence. To watch him dance is to visualise his ancestresses as they must have danced, resembling a series of sculptured figures come alive in movements of entrancing beauty, touching all but touched by none, a picture of loveliness at once ravishing and remote.

Ever since I came under the guidance of my Guru eight years back, I have felt it to be the mission of my life to revive the Mahari tradition. The Mahari tradition is not a mere technical form, nor can it be defined by set rules and canons. It is a way of life, in which the dancer has surrendered herself at the feet of Lord Jagannatha, with the gaze of her innermost soul riveted in rapt adoration upon His image. This is why the traditional entrance of the Mahari upon the stage always commences with the words, "Jagannathaswamy nayanapathagami bhavatu me" (May the Lord Jagannatha come into the path of my vision). The Oddissi I have given my life to learn, at the feet of my Guru, which has now become my faith, my salvation and my own way of life, is precisely the same as was danced by the Maharis till about forty yeary back, and as can be transmitted

only by my Guru, who now remains the only direct inheritor of this tradition.

The art of the "Descendants of Urvashi", after knowing near-extinction, is now crying for revival, for resurgence into buoyant life, for reestablishment into the faith and esteem of the "rasika"s, the cognoscenti, the connoisseurs. This year has begun auspiciously for it, with my Guru being awarded the highest honour an artist can hope for in our country. I hope all dance-devotees will join with me in my fervent prayer that the Mahari Nritya may soon be reinstated into its former sanctity and original splendour. (by Rita Devi in Journal of the Indian Musicological Society, Vol. II, No. 2, April-June 1971).

INDIAN MINIATURES

The best of the Bombay Prince of Wales Museum treasures is found in its collection of miniatures. It represents all schools of Indian Painting—from the Western Indian, Sultanate, Mughal, Rajasthani, Pahari and Deccani Kalams.

Most Indian miniatures are "illuminations" to a particular text, whether it be historical, religious or secular. It is fascinating to "read" the narrative through the pictures. Very often a flat ground of red or blue or sometimes black is used, against which the figures are projected as though on a stage. Sometimes the sheer literalness of the visual translation will astonish the viewer, or the remarkable naivete with which gestures are used to record emotions! There is passion in every glance and movement, grace in every flowering tree, a symbolic meaning to the black sky or the pond of lotuses at the base of painting.

Even a cursory glance at the miniatures will show that the choice of subject and treatment vary with each school of painting. Very often the intensity of feeling in a painting reflects the climate of thought at a particular age or the inspiration of a great personality. The deep humanist spirit generated by Akbar encouraged the illustration of Hindu epics that perhaps never before had been illustrated. The religious ecstasy Mirabai and the Bhakti movement exercised a profound influence on Rajasthani painting and poetry of the 17th century, which turned to Krishna

and themes of love as the new and regenerative hope for a downtrodden society.

This essential bond between the spirit of the times and its reflection in art forms one of the most fascinating sources for study. Buddhist and Jain manuscripts of the early medieval period, for instance, bear the inherent limitation of most religious themes with often a conventional treatment of the subject. Of this earlier group of palm-leaf manuscripts of the Western Indian School, the Museum possesses two very fine copies of 14th century Kalpasutra and Kalakacharya Kathas. But the most lively of Jain documents here is late Balagopalastuti, recounting in a delightful fashion the early life and exploits of Krishna.

The most crucial period in the history of Indian miniatures is the early 16th century, which saw the revival of indigenous schools of both painting and poetry in North India. A manuscript of the Laur Chanda purchased by the Museum in 1956 lends credence to the belief that there was a school of miniature paintings before the Mughal period. Illustrating a popular romance in the Avadhi dialect of UP, its very fine miniatures are definitely the product of a Courteliar, utterly independent in style of the Western Indian School.

The Museum possesses another beautiful set of paintings of the Gita Govinda executed about the same period. We see Krishna sporting with the gopis in the deep flowering forests, Radha alone in her anguish, their love messages and reunions—all told with the most impassioned gestures and a bold, brilliant colour scheme. With the appearance of such documents it is now believed that Jaunpur and several centres in UP and Malwa had patronised schools of painting—significantly, much before the birth of the Mughal style.

The impact of Mughal art is beyond cavil. Ākbar's patronage of artists and his liberal thinking not only introduced a new religious cult but revolutionised the course of art. Along with the great histories of Islam and of the Mughals, Hindu epies such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana were translated and illustrated. Of this last category the Museum possesses two pages

from a very fine copy of the Ramayana closely related to the late Akbar style, and a more watered-down version of the Mahabharata (renamed in Persian as the Razm Nama).

One of the major contributions of Mughal artists in the field of secular art is portraiture. Two from the Akbar period are in the Museum. Miya Tansen, the brilliant musician, is shown in the gesture of clapping his hands to fieep tala to the music. Among the finest of court portraits at the Museum is that of Jehangir receiviug fakirs at the court at Ajmer. From his own memoirs we know that the king liked the city well enough to settle there for three years, that he was in the habit of receiving visitors to the palace whom he "made happy with numerous gifts according to their real circumstances". "With a marvellous aerial view we see details of the palace architecture, the swarthy doorkeeper and the retainers, the parade and finery of the courtiers within and the Emperor seated in the royal pavilion, thronged by fakirs whose faces are taken directly from life!

From his memoirs, too, we learn of Jehangir's curious passion for collecting strange animals, and of commissioning detailed drawings of them. From this interest grew another form of realistic portraiture, of animals: the study of a hawk, or the most engaging composition of two camels in combat. Later, in Shahjahan's reign, this interest in portraiture spread to genre studies from daily life: a group of musicians, a Hindu yogi or dervishes seated around a banyan tree.

The impact of Mughal art on the Rajasthan courts was considerable - nowhere more so than in Mewar which, ironically, had put up the most stubborn resistance against the Muslim invaders. In a dated Ramayana set from Udaipur of 1649 even the court dress, mannerisms and some compositional details are derived from Mughal painting. But the most interesting aspect of these miniatures is that the scenes are set in the undulating landscape around Udaipur: In this sense these paintings hold a double interest for the Puranic episodes of Rama's childhood, marriage and wanderings are used to reflect the actual social customs of the 17th century.

Rajasthan painting is more plebian in spirit than the Mughal. The new art movement synchronised with a revived Vaishnavism and the growth of Brajbhasha literature. Krishna becomes the dominant theme in Rajasthani painting and poetry. Alternatively are the many different themes of love-inspired lyrics, such as illustrations to the Gita Govinda, the Ragamala series, the Rasika-priya and the Nayaka-Nayika bheda. From Malwa comes an exquisite set of 95 paintings illustrating the Amaru Sataka, where the hero and heroine are visualised in different moods of love, quarrels, separations and reconciliations. The contemporary setting of a pavilion, decorative trees, the peacock, the lonely heroine and conventional gestures have all become part of a pictorial vocabulary, set in brilliant enamel-like colours of intense beauty

Such intensity becomes less apparent in later Rajasthani painting, of which perhaps the best represented examples in the Museum are from Bundi. Although Krishna is featured, the painting is no more than a documentary of actual life at a noble house-hold, where the snake-charmer is called in to entertain the zenana, a secret meeting or an elopement is described in highly romanticised terms. More than any other subject perhaps the Baramasa paintings of the 12 months were a favourite with the Bundi painters, allowing them to indulge in their passionate enchantment with the charms of nature.

In the later centuries patrons of art had themselves painted. From the small feudatory state of Deogarh comes a series of interesting portraits of Maharewat Gokuldas, who is described in Tod's Annals of Rajasthan as "one of the finest men I ever beheld... 6 ft. 6, perfectly erect, and a Hercules in bulk". He is depicted on horseback, hunting wild boar, smoking a hookah with his women at Holi, worshipping Sri Nathji, or picnicking after a hunt. Another great personality was Balwant Singh of Jammu, brother of the famous ruler Ranjit Dev, who is shown duck shooting, holding a cup of wine, with his favourite hookah, fondling a child, or simply writing a letter!

Apart from the pleasure of looking at these exquisite pictures, we learn a great deal about the social life, the festivals and the customs of the period depicted. *(Geeti Muzaffār Ali in Illustrated Weekly of India 2—4—72)*

SECTION VI: NOTES AND NEWS

May, 1971: The establishment committee for the proposed Asian Cultural Centre for Unesco Activities met on 24 March in Tokyo for the first time to commence official formalities of incorporation. The said Cultural Centre will be legally incorporated by the end of April and its office will be housed in the Japan Book Publishers Association Building, 6 Fukuro-machi, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo. Financially this Centre is based on the contribution of private funds and subsidies from the government, and the budget of the Centre for the fiscal year 1971 is 66,867,000 yen or approximately $ 186,000.

The Centre aims to contribute to the mutual understanding and the cultural development of Asian region through promotion of cultural exchange and through several projects to conserve cultural relics and traditional cultural heritages. The functions of the Centre are: (1) to exchange informations on policies, on culture and on cultural development, (2) to promote the exchange of personnel to assist cultural development, (3) to conduct researches on traditional cultures and to co-operate on their conservation and utilization and (4) to carry out other projects needed to attain the objectives of the Centre. The proposed projects for this year and for 1972 are to organize seminars for the revivification of the traditional arts of the Asian region, seminars of the renovation techniques of cultural treasures, campaign to conserve "Borobudur", field survey, experts meeting on technical assistance and the production of a chart which shows the distribution of cultural heritages in the Asian region. (Bulletin of Asian National Commissions for Unesco - Unesco-Asia, Vol. 3 No. 2, May 1971).

May, 1971: It is proposed to hold an International Sanskrit Conference from 11th to 22nd December, 1971, in New Delhi. The theme of the conference will be "The contribution of Sanskrit to world Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Civilizations". (Bulletin

of Asian National Commissions for Unesco. Unesco-Asia, Vol. 3, No. 2, May 1971).

May, 1971: An Anthology of Sinhalese Literature up to 1815 A.D. prepared by the Unesco National Commission has been published by Unesco and is priced at 90 shillings, and was edited by C. H. B. Reynolds. Among the translators are Dr. S. Paranavithane, Dr. D. E. Hettiarchchi and W. G. Archer. The Selections in the Anthology ranges from Buddhistic teachings on Nirvana to tales of disclplinary habits of Ceylonese School Masters and includes extracts from the bestknown writers of ancient Ceylon. The Anthology starts with fragments of phrases scribbled on a plaster wall from 6th to 9th Centuries. It continues with the great prose works of the 14th Century and beautiful poems of 15–16 centuries. The latter parts of the Anthology brings the story down to the extinction of Ceylonese independence with the British capture of Kandy in 1815. (Bulletin of Asian National Commissions for Unesco-Unesco-Asia, Vol. 3 No. 2, May 1971).

October, 1971: *The International Bibliography of Translations Index Translationum*, published each year by Unesco, is now on sale. This 22nd volume gives data for 1969, during which year 38,172 works were trunslated in 65 countries. As in preceding years, the USSR leads with the highest number of translations: 3,853, including translations of works originally appearing in that country. Germany (both the Federal Republic and the Democratic Republic) comes next with 3,538. For the third consecutive year Spain holds third place with 2,737 works translated (2,538 in 1968: 2,308 in 1967). (Unesco Chronicle Oct. 1971, Vol. XVII, No. 10).

October, 1971: Research shows that between 3600 B.C. and the present day, the world has known only 292 years of peace. Over that period, there have been more than 14,500 major or minor wars in the course of which 3,600 million people have been killed or have perished of famine or in epidemics—that is, more than the total population of the world in the middle of the twentieth century. After reviewing the various modern theories—biological, biogeopolitical, geopolitical, sociological—on the origin of armed aggression an an instrument of foreign policy, Mr. N. A. Kovaisky,

Vice-Director of the Institute of the International Labour Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, cites these impressive figures and suggests that international aggression is the result of complex social, economic and political processes. He concludes by proposing various ways of preventing armed aggression. (*Unesco Chronicle*, Oct. 1971, Vol. XVII, No. 10).

December, 1971 : Dr. Margaret Mead, the first woman to win the Kalinga Prize for the popularization of science has outlined a five-point programme to achieve the world culture she believes is essential to human survival. Outlining ways in which she believes such a world culture could be brought about, Dr. Mead recommended the following steps:

(1) A single world-wide system of measurement and symbolization of the physical universe, including scientific and engineering terminology, as well as currency and units of time and space, and the calendar.

(2) A written language independent of existing scripts and existing spoken languages which permits the visual presentation of ideas in the same way that the Chinese script transcends the different spoken languages of China.

(3) A shared spoken language based on a natural language, which all people would use as a second language, while retaining their mother tongue, the language learned in infancy, which is intricately related to the capacity for intimacy, poetry and religion. By natural language, Dr. Mead meant a language already spoken on earth, not an artifically constructed one, but she cautioned that it should not be chosen to give any group an advantage.

(4) New, universal systems of measuring society which, unlike our current use of economic statistics, reflect the complexity of each culture and its variety rather than uniformity. Comparisons of Gross National Product, literacy statistics and other terminologies are not applicable in describing growth in all societies and lead to invidious and unrealistic comparisions, she said.

(5) New urban systems in which small face-to-face communities can be maintained and in which the countryside and the wilderness again become accessible to every individual. She said that in industrialized countries the small family unit does not present needs.

Summing up, Dr. Mead said: "Just because of the fragility of the whole life support system of this small planet, we now know that we are bound together in a common rate, long proclaimed by prophets and poets, now for the first time spelled out for us by the painstaking and breathtaking advances of science. I believe that we need better models than the nation state, and better models than federation of previously sovereign national units. We have yet to develop such a model in which activities rather than spatial entities, which are bound and mutually exclusive, can be interwoven over the surface of the globe, transcending other lines of allegiance and participation." (*Unesco Features*, No. 611, December (1/II) 1971).

March, 1972: The *News letter* of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies reports:

Dr. P. R. Subramanian from the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras was attached to the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies during 1971, and Dr. Caroline Ralston from the Australian National University, Camberra. Dr. Subramanian, who was the recipient of a grant from the Danish Government, worked with great assiduity on the Tamil dictionary project, completing the arduous task of proof reading the entire vocabulary of 118,000 words. He also worked on the catalogue of Tamil documents in the Danish State Archives and made a tour of Scandinavia in order to examine the folklore archives and the principles on which they are arranged. The Institute has undertaken the task of converting the keywords of the Tamil lexicon published by the University of Madras into machine-readable form. The dictionary, which consists of six large volumes and a supplement, was completed in 1936. 118,000 words were punched on tapes by Mr. Grinstead and Mrs. Setsuki Bergholdt. The difficult and tedious task of proof-reading and correcting the tapes was then

undertaken by Dr. P. R. Subramanian. The final corrections were carried out by Mr. Grinstead and Dr. Subramanian on computer with the help of a correction programme written by Mr. Donald Wagner. The text is now ready for establishing a Tamil Compound Index and a Tamil Reverse Dictionary. Only the initial elements of compound words can easily be found in alphabetical order in in a Tamil lexicon. Our intention is to prepare an alphabetical index to all words which occur as elements of compounds in the dictionary, separated by hyphens, and to list them, whether initial or non-initial, with the compound context of each occurrence so that all elements can easily be traced. The same punched tape can be used for the preparation of a Tamil Reverse Dictionary listing Tamil words in alphabetical order derived from reading the words from end to beginning.

It is hoped that the programming and processing of the dictionaries will take place in 1972, with the assistance of the Institute of Datalogy at the University of Copenhagen.

The concordance of the two Tamil texts from the early Cankam period, Kuruntokai and Ainkurunuru, prepared by Dr. Pannerselvam, has been expanded to include and English translation of individual words, and is being made ready for publication. We hope that Dr. Panneerselvam, who teaches Tamil at the University of Helsinki, will rejoin the Institute for the autumn term of 1972.

March, 1972: For the first time ever, an exhibition of original French paintings by well-known contemporary artists was held last month in Bombay. This exhibition, organised jointly by the governments of France and India, under the Indo-French Cultural Agreement, was sponsored by the "Association Francaise d' Action Artistique", French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Arriving in Bombay after having been shown in Delhi, Madras and Ahmedabad, the exhibition was a major event from every point of view. During the week it lasted, as many as 6,500 visitors came to view the French paintings. Nearly 50 artists have had their representative works - oil on canvas, collage, serigraph, etc.....on display at this show, painters of world fame such as: Pierre

Soulage, Victor Vasarely, Zoo-Woo-Ki, Serge Poliakoff, Hans Hartung, Jean Dubuffet, Georges Mathieu, and many others. Both these events show how much the Indian public is interested in French cultural activities, and how successful the Indo-French cultural co-operation can be: let us hope it will increase in the future. (France, April 1972)

5—4—72: A narrow stairway led to the top where small rooms clustered together in an attempt at privacy. Somewhere, feet thumped the floor to the rhythmic beat of the tabla. Somewhere also voices sang in unison, transforming the basic notes into beautiful melodies.

The whole place was alive with music. The music of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, New Delhi, music that will soon be heard at several universities and at the White House in the United States.

The Gandharva Vidyalaya, New Delhi leaves for the U. S. April 7 to participate in the Third International University Choral Festival sponsored by the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York City. Sixteen of the world's outstanding university choruses, totalling 640 young singers from 16 countries and five continents are taking part in the festival. The choral festival is supported by contributions by private organizations and patrons of the Lincoln Center. The first festival was held in 1965, the second in 1969. It is a non-competitive invitational event.

It will be the first time that a chorus from India will be participating in the festival. The Indian choir's first appearance will be at the State University of New York, on Long Island. It will perform at high schools and colleges in other areas of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Maryland. On April 19, the choir members will arrive in Washington, D. C., to be guests in private homes for their stay. The American President's wife Mrs. Richard Nixon, will honor them with a reception at the White House on April 21. The choir will present a special concert at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts the following day.

On April 23, the Indian and other groups will present the first of five concerts at the Lincoln Center in New York, with their final gala concert on April 30. The Gandharva Choir's repertoire is wide-ranging, It includes hymns from the Vedas dating back some 2,500 years as well as the most recent experimental compositions. They will sing some songs in foreign languages too, music for which was sent from the States. These songs will be sung together by all 16 choruses. A unique feature is that the Gandharva Choir has some items in South Indian classical music besides lilting folk songs from every region of India. (*American Reporter*, 5—4—72)

April 1972 : On the occasion of the International Book year 1972, Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, (ex-Deputy Director-General, Unesco and Director, Madras Institute of Development Studies) observed among other things in his inaugural address of the 9th Sarada Renganathan Lectures "Books for All" : "In the end the problem boils down not only to leading the horse to the river water but making sure that it has a thirst so that it does drink. It is not enough to plan and execute an expanded programme of book production. We need to promote the reading and book buying habit. This involves more than the promotion of literary programmes and campaigns, though they are needed in their own right. We of the educated elite who are all of us so steeped in the oral tradition, if we could only spend one-tenth of the time that we spend talking and listening to each other, in reading and reflecting, the book demand of the country will multiply to a point where even the dimensions of the National Book Plan that I have sketched for the seventies will prove to be insufficient. And so what I am pleading for is that during the International Book Year we leave aside our pretentions, shibboleths and supersititions about the sacerdotal character of books, our alleged learning and learned traditions and our pretended respect for the wise man. In place we should frankly acknowledge our lacks and weaknesses in not acquiring books in the regular way we acquire clothes and food, in not reading reflecting and not encouraging and helping others to read and think. It is under such conditions that we can set for ourselves as the International Book Year

resolution, that as a people we will each buy at least five books a year and use our libraries so that we will read around 20 books a year. In the end a reading and book acquiring public is the only sure basis of any programme of Books for All. (Bulletin, Madras Development Seminar Series, Vol. II, No. 4, April 1972).

April 1972: Evidence is coming in from several sides that rampant technology does not necessarily bring prosperity to the people in the developing countries. A senior vice-president of a giant American pharmaceutical concern, Merck, Dr. Antonie Knoppers, recently wrote, referring to the decade of the sixties: "Less developed areas, increasingly conscious of their incapacity to emulate the leaders in producing their own technology, felt compelled to ask the rich for a share of technological largesse, only to feel cheated and deceived when what they received seemed out of place and unworkable in its new environment. Even without such disillusioning experiences, evidence abounded that technology was not an easily exportable commodity, much less a panacea for the economic ills of less developed nations. The proof lay in the United States, where technology, far from eradicating the problems of the economically distressed frequently exacerbated them. The reason was evident: technology as it has flowered in the United States, usually surfaces as a market item in a rich economy. It gravitates towards profit, not towards economic problems." Or here is another voice, that of Dr. Georgy Skorov, director of science and technology research at the Institute of World Economy and International Affairs of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The technologies of the advanced countries which are usually capital-intensive and labour-saving, are not fit for the resource endowment of the developing countries, whose main characteristics are shortage of capilal and abundance of labour. These two features would both require an opposite kind of technology. With unemployment and under-employment of human resources looming ahead as, perhaps, the biggest economic and social problems of the developing countries in the 1970s and 1980s, the indiscriminate use of labour-saving technologies and methods of production can only lead to further aggravation of

the employment situation." (*Unesco Features*, No. 618, April (I) 1972).

April 1972: A symposium on folk Literature in South Indian languages was held recently by the Southern Regional office of the Sahitya Akademi with Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar in the Chair. Prof. M. M. Bhat, Dr. S. K. Nayar, Dr. C. R. Sarma and Dr. N. Sanjeevi presented papers on Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu and Tamil folk literatures respectively. The speakers not only found similarities in the folk literatures of different languages but also emphasised that these have inspired the great scholar-writers throughout the ages.

8th April '72: On the occasion of the first birth centenary of Sri Aurobindo a Seminar was held; it was attended by a large audience comprising writers and intellectuals and was marked by lively discussions in which eminent authors representing the four south Indian languages participated. The following papers were read at the Seminar: 1. 'Influence of Sri Aurobindo on Kannada Literature' by Prof. V. K. Gokak; 2. 'Sri Aurobindo's Aesthetics and Kannada Literature' by Dr. R. S. Mugali; 3. Influence of Sri Aurobindo on Malayalam Literature' by Sri M. Govindan; 4. 'Sri Aurobindo's Aesthetics and Malayalam Literature' by Dr. A. Ayyappan; 5. 'Influence of Sri Aurobindo on Tamil Literature' by Dr. Prema Nandakumar; 6. 'Sri Aurobindo's Aesthetics and Tamil Literature' by Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran; 7. 'Influence of Sri Aurobindo on Telugu Literature' by Dr. Adapa Ramakrishna Rao; 8. 'Sri Aurobindo's Aesthetics and Telugu Literature by Prof. C. N. Sastry (Amarendra); and 9. 'Sri Aurobindo and Indian Aesthetics' by Prof. Sisir Kumar Ghose.

May 1972: The Unesco staff writer, Mr. Howard Brabyn writing on the world environmental crisis in *Unesco Features*, No. 620 concludes: "At present, greedily obsessed with economic growth mistaking license for liberty in our attitude towards childbirth and looking to technology for salvation, we are ransacking the world of its limited resources and polluting its waters, lands and atmosphere. We are offering up the next generation

in a monstrous child sacrifice to the twin Molochs of Progress and Gross National Product".

1st May 1972: A glimpse of the wealth of Indian handicrafts Fair in Munich this year where the Indian Embassy in Bonn, in cooperation with the All India Handicrafts Board, had arranged a display of carpets, silks and metalware with intricate art work. The Fair, regarded by many as the world's leading handicrafts event of the year, attracted some 2,408 firms - a good number of them coming from countries in the Latin American, African and Asian contiments. (*German News*, Vol. IV, No. 8).

1st May 1972: An exhibition of Indian contemporary art comprising works of artists of the sixties and masters of the older genre, was inaugurated by Indian Ambassador Kewal Singh at the Sona Art Gallery in Duesseldorf recently. Jointly organised by the Rotary Clubs of Bombay and Duesseldorf, the exhibition brought out the best two generations of modern artists have to offer. Adding to the originality of modern art were creations by Piraji Sagara, Swaminathan, Amba Das, Jyoti Bhatt, Bhupen Khakkar and Ganesh Pyne. Reproductions of the works of masters like Jamini Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Bendre and Hebbar depicted the high water mark of India's modern art a few decades earlier. Commenting on the exhibition, Dr. Wend von Kalnein, Director of the Duesseldorf Museums, said the Indian artists have created works unique in the blend of the East and the West. (*German News* - Vol. XIV, No. 8.)

June 1972: The ways in which the arts embody the spirit of man and serve human goals is the subject of a new set in the Unesco Art Education Slides series. "The Arts and Man" aims at explaining the many functions of the arts in terms of forms, traditions and professions evolved throughout history. Painting, sculpture, architecture, design, literature, theatre, cinema, music and dance all the arts are presented in the light of both their universal qualities and cultural differences. The 100 slides in the set show creative and performing artists, artisans at their craft, and the public as consumer and patron of the arts.

The text of the accompanying the slides was written by well known personalities, including Herbert Read, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Pier Luigi Nervi, Basilio Uribe, Richard Buckminister, Fuller, Andre Maurois, Grigory, Kozintsev and Yehudi Menuhin. (*Unesco Features*, No. 623).

July, 1972: The Draft Programme and Budget of Unesco for 1973-74 includes among other things.

A number of *studies of cultures* particularly of Asian cultures. The Central Asian studies project includes the publication of albums for the general public, the study of contemporary Central Asian civilization, the creation of an association for international research, and decentralized activities entrusted to research centres and National Commissions.

Research work on Buddhist art will include the preparation of an inventory of current research and publication of an album on the image of Buddha. Unesco will also continue to support the International Institute of Tamil Studies in Madras.

The Study of Malay culture will cover three main areas: creative expression, ideas and institutions, comtemporary social and cultural developments. A study of Islamic culture in modern Malay culture will be launched in 1973, and also an inquiry on contemporary trends in Malay society,

As regards Oceanic cultures, emphasis will be laid on oral traditions, music and dance. Local institutions will be helped to develop into centres of cultural research, conservation and popularization. Unesco will encourage the organization of seminars and workshops promoting traditional arts, and will prepare a travelling exhibition of the Oceanic arts and a series of long playing records of Oceanic music.

The project on contemporary Asian cultures will have two aspects: first, the extension to other countries of the preliminary study started by the Asian Cultural Centre in Japan on the attitudes of young people to their traditions and of a series of studies in certain Asian countries; and second, an inquiry invol-

ving Asian universities, research centres and international organizations will investigate present trends in Oriental studies and assess their present status in Asia itself.

On contemporary Arab culture, two works of reference will appear in 1973: a bibliography of current research and an analytical and critical inventory of translations. In addition, an inquiry will be begun on the trends and prospects of research in Arab culture as a whole.

Lastly, a new quarterly periodical *Cultures: an International Journal*, on the same lines as the former *Journal of world History*, will be published in English and French. It will deal with the theory and methods of cultural studies, regional and national cultures, problems of contemporary cultural life, cultural development, the elaboration of cultural policies, cultural relations between peoples and nations, and the history and culture of Africa. (*Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XVIII, No. 7.)

13—4—72: The Tamil New Year Day was marked by the installation, with due pomp and ceremony, of the statue of the Tamil Emperor Raja Raja Chola, in the lands belonging to the Big Temple at Thanjavur which was built by him. Shri M. Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, unveiled the statue. (*Cultural news from India*, Volume 13, Number 3, May 1972).

June 1972: Culture is an art of living, a factor in the quality of life, a human right, a fundamental requirement for human progress, a communication need, a way of behaving towards oneself, towards others and towards nature: these definitions were all heard at a European ministerial level meeting on cultural policies held in Helsinki last 19 to 28 June. The conference, convened by Unesco, made clear what a break has been made with the 19th century identification of culture with the fine arts and literature, a notion still widely accepted not so long ago.

The Helsinki meeting, in sum, showed how swiftly ideas about culture have evolved as societies, and especially those of the Old World, are being transformed. And especially how, with population increases and a new generation holding jobs, values have been

modified with quality of life taking precedence over other considerations. For ten days, some 300 delegates from 29 European countries and Canada, including 26 ministers, met under the chairmanship of Finland's education minister, Mr. Pentti Holappa, to examine present trends in European cultural policies and topics such as the problems arising from increased access to culture, the new communications media, the environment, the role and place of the artist in contemporary society, training cultural promoters, indicators of cultural development, and finally, the outlook for cultural co-operation in Europe. (*Unesco Features*, 626/27).

August 1972: A geologist drilling for minerals near Mount Villany in southern Hungary has brought up a piece of sandstone bearing eight footprints 250,000,000 year old. The prints were made by a type of amphibian creature, amphibeus stegocephales, now long extinct. The rock was found at a depth of 1,200 metres (about 4,000 feet.) (*Unesco Features*, No. 626/627).

September 1972: To seek better ways of protecting art objects from theft, Unesco and the Belgian government are holding a three-day meeting beginning 13 September in Brussels. It will be attended by officials of Interpol (International Police Organization), the Council of Europe, Lloyd's (the London Insurance group) and from organizations representing museums, customs officials, and art critics and dealers. (*Unesco Features*, No. 626/627).

September 1972: An international symposium on human aggressiveness, sponsored by Unesco and the Belgian government, takes place in Brussels this 11–15 September. Fifteen specialists, including anthropologists, ethnologists, soiologists and psychologists, are taking part to discuss what new knowledge in the field has developed since a similar meeting was held in Paris in 1970. (*Unesco Features*, No. 626/627).

20—9—72: New York is well known as the largest city in America and one of the world's great cities. It is also a major arts center. An addition to the artistic attractions of New

York City is expected to be a temple for Lord Ganesh, a popular Hindu God - "dispeller of all worries".

Plans to construct the Ganesh temple in New York City have made significant headway with the acquisition of a $50,000 building site at Flushing in the Borough of Queens, where a sizable Indian population lives.

The Hindu Temple Society of North America of which Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, Chef de Cabinet to the U. N. Secretary General, is president, has finalized the purchase of the 10,000-squarefoot site.

The temple will have a modern auxiliary annex which will serve as an interfaith cultural center. The annex will also have an auditorium, a library, and a lobby in which will be installed sculptures representing the various gods of the Hindu pantheon.

The Ganesh temple will have *gopuram* (tower) in the traditional Indian pattern. The promoters of the temple project explained that they decided on a Ganesh temple as "Ganesh is considered to represent universality." (*American Reporter*, 20—9—72).

SECTION VII: REVIEWS

A Concise History of Science in India: Published by the Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi. 1. 1971 (pp. 689-VII, Price Rs. 50/-).

A large number of books have been written both by Westerners and Indians about the "Glory that was Ind.", but these related mostly to its philosophies and religions. Stray publications about the attainments of India in the exact sciences did appear, but it would seem that only now a single authentic publication of the full History of Sciences in India has been attempted in the book under notice, thanks to the Indian National Science Academy. It has always been taken for granted that all the exact sciences now taught in the schools and colleges (technical and non-technical) were Western in origin and, that they had no bases in India and India had no contribution to make to their development.

The publication under review will open the eyes of many to the fact that India, even in ancient days had a knowledge of the materialistic sciences which could equal, if not excel, that in other countries. The subjects dealt with in the volume are not many. They are Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Chemical practices, Alchemy, Agriculture, Botany, Zoology and concepts of the physical world. Architectural Sciences (especially of temples in the post-Vedic and mediaeval period, Textile designing, colour paintings of permanence as in Ajanta, Śittaṇṇavāśal etc.) do not find a place in this book. However, a History of Western Science in India has been included and an excellent resume of the contents of the books forms a fitting end to it.

The Book makes highly interesting reading. It is heartening to find from the Book that the Harappans knew the use of minerals for ornamental, cosmetic and medicinal purposes, had a

high degree of sanitation and hygiene, knew spinning and weaving, that there are 260 names of animals and 16 types of poisonous insects in Vedic literature, and that during the post-Vedic period our Ayurvedic texts listed over 395 plant substances, 177 drugs of animal origin and 64 mineral composition. In the field of surgery there were more than 120 instruments and Indian surgery then could ligate blood vessels, cauterise, perform craniotomy and anal fistual operations, as well as laparotomy, lithotomy and plastic operations. In fact Indian Medical knowledge spread to Greece and Rome. In production of glassware and Iron implements India held its own.

In the classical age and later, upto 1200 A.D. Rasa Cikhitsā, Siddha and alchemical practices developed and attained new heights. The book under review unfortunately includes the Siddha system of medicine under alchemy and has not dealt with the Siddha system as elaborately as it deserves. It is also interesting to learn that a reputed Tamilian alchemist Ramadeva visited Arabia under the assumed name of Yakub, and taught *Muppu*-based alchemy. During this period the rust-proof Iron pillar of Delhi and the Copper statue of Buddha and Sultanganj were erected providing eloquent testimony to Indian metalsmithy.

The Book is a mine of information and it is hoped that future writers of Books on material sciences intended for schools and colleges in India, will include the very valuable material given in the Book to instil in the minds of the students that even in these Sciences India could well be proud of its contributions.

It is not clear why this book published in 1971 stops with information upto 1900 only; it could have been brought down to 1970 so as to include the achievements of Indian Scientists and Mathematicians like S. S. Bhatnagar, C. V. Raman, K. S. Krlshnan, Srinivasa Ramanujam, H. J. Bhabha, Vikram Sarabhai, Meghnad Saha and others. The printing and get up of the Book are good.

S. B. SUNDARAM.

All India Seminar on Comparative Study of Political Theories 2nd Jane 1970 - Report, Essay and Review: (Published by Gopalrao G. Arole, Vice-Chairman of the Seminar, 273, Sada Shiv Peth, Poona 30, pp. VI-158 - Price Rs. 10/-).

The Seminar referred to above was conducted with a view to elicit views on the political theories that form the bases of Government with special reference to the theories as expounded by *Rājanīti*. A lengthy and excellently drafted working paper was prepared and circulated as a basis. In all six issues formed the basis of discussion arising out of this working paper. The speakers were given ample time to present their views and opportunities were afforded to the speakers to clarify their views with reference to doubts, raised by the audience.

The Seminar discussed the following issues:

(1) Sovereign State Vs. State with limited powers.

(2) Secular Vs. Non-secular State

(3) Structure and organisation of Political authority

(4) Powers of State *vis a vis* the citizens.

(5) Can there be a value-free common life? Can value be absolute and uniform for all communities?

(6) If values be changing, can they be synthesized to form uniform set of values?

It is quite clear that the issues are such that there are bound to be as many view-points as there are men and hence it is not a surprise that all Western-educated participants held divergent views and no concensus as such could be achieved. It is reported that some learned Pandits who participated in the Seminar arrived at a fairly uniform concensus on these issues. But it is extremely doubtful that in a world where human society is dynamic, economic factors play an important part and, political awareness is increasing, any political theories applicable to the society some centuries back could be made to apply now.

All the same, the Report of the Seminar makes an interesting study and is highly educative. There is also a clear and concise summary of the proceedings of the Seminar in the Report. But all may not be in full agreement with the views expressed in the General Review at the end of the Report

S. B. SUNDARAM.

The Aryan Ecliptic Cycle By H. S. Spencer. pp. 44 Published by H. P. Vasuani, I. Rajkamal, 795/3 Padmajee Park Poona-2.

The author who has shown much zeal for the subject has made an enthusiastic and careful study of the Vendidad and the corresponding ancient Indian religious books. He has arranged the great kings and prophets of old in a list according to the age they lived in, as revealed by the position of the vernal equinox in the Indian Nakshatra Cycle. He has brought in a good deal of mystic, mythological and occult references to the study of the subject. The only astronomical method that he has employed is the rate of precession of the equinoxes, at about 72 years per degree of the ecliptic. According to him the age of Yima Vivanghao (Yama, the son of Vaivasvata Manu) is about 10000 B.C. Some Indian Scholars have worked out the date of Manu by a number of astronomical methods and have fixed it at Nov. 8576 B.C. The difference in these dates is due to the fact that the learned author of the AEC has taken the rate of precession as 72 years per degree, while it has been slowly changing from 75 years at the time of Vaivasvata Manu to the present rate of about 72 years per degree. The author has shown the change of vernal equinox from Shravishta (Avestic-Sarosh) in the days of Crage Merethan (or Kaiomanz) to Purva Phalguni (Avestic-Vayam) in the days of Yima Vivanghao; but he has adopted the now discarded theory of the "Arctic Home of the Vedas", which was thrown out by Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak as a challenge to the Western scholars, who wrote many differing theories about the Cradle of Man. If the Aryans had lived in the Arctic region at the time of Shravishta Vasanta (vernal equinox) they could not have seen one half of the ecliptic from Shravishta to Megha; and after a

1000 years they would have seen Shravishta permanently setting and one more Nakshatra emerging on the opposite side. To recognize the full arc of the ecliptic, they would have taken at least 13500 years i.e. to the time of Vaivasvata Manu.

In the Polar region there are only two seasons while in Central Asia there are four seasons. It is only in Bharat we have three seasons, seasons of heat, rain and dew., divided into six rithus. (The Rig Veda never mentions any other system of dividing the year except into the six rithus). Again the Rigveda asserts in a number of places that man was first born only in the region of river Saraswati and it was from here he spread all over the world.

During the early ages according to the Vedic tradition, Agastya explored the whole of the Indian Ocean; sage Vasishta carried the torch of culture into Western Asia, and Dīrgatamas went into Central Asia and beyond, to civilize the wild tribes there. He went perhaps as for as the north polar region and has described the polar sky. (He is the only Rig Vedic poet who has sung of the polar region).

The author quotes many Rik verses about Jyeshta as indicating the time of Indra and that it was seen in the North Polar regions. It would appear, however, that Antares or Jyeshta is a southern star and would not be seen in the North Polar region. Max Muller has translated these Rik verses differently by introducing Maruts, but the author, instead, makes the latter into Arora Borealis, not recognizing that Jyeshta the star of Indra cannot be seen in the North Polar regions. There is absolutely no indication in Vedic literature or tradition that the Aryan race had its original habitat in the Polar regions, "during the ten thousand years preceeding the Glaciation, which drove them from their original home in the North Polar regions".

Finally the Avesta itself says that Zoroaster had to leave Bharat because of the oppression of the kings of Bharat, and he went westwards and found many of his followers slowly deserting

him. He weeps and prays to Ahuramazda to show him the way to the promised land, or Aryana Veejo. He crosses the Hindukush with very few followers and settles down in Bactria.

The author fixes the date of Zaroaster at Circa 7189 B. C. Most modern scholars do not take him beyond 1000 B.C. The very high antiquity given to the prophet will *ipso facto* push back the begining of the Vedic era to round about 10000 B. C., clearly a difficult proposition to accept. The earliest date for the Rig Veda do not go back beyond 5000 B.C., even according to those Indologists, who have escaped the set theories of an "Aryan invasion of India" about 1500 B. C., propagated by Western scholars.

A. KALYANARAMAN.