

TAMIL

—A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

Dr. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN

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—A Bird's-eye View

“ யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர் ”

All villages are my villages

All men are my kinsmen

(Kaniyan Puunkunran.

Puranaanuuru

—2nd cent. A.D.)

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MAKKAL NALVAALVU MANRAM
MADURAI

1976

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FOREWORD

I was born on the 8th of January 1901 and I am thus a man of the 20th century, a significant and interesting period in the history of India, full of hopes and achievements, frustrations and failures, failures which are slowly disappearing in the present period of Emergency.

It looked as though I was living in two different worlds, the world of scholarship and the actual day-to-day world of the developing Indian Society. The former revealed to me the glory of the ancient India and Tamil Land, a glory which also indicated the future possibilities. This revelation led me to participate in the freedom movement, perhaps as the squirrel in the anecdote is said to have helped in building Rama's bridge to Lanka.

This involvement necessitated my scholarship becoming relevant to modern times especially when I was called upon to play a part in the organisation work going on in new departments and new advanced centres for study and new Universities.

I shall be completing, three-fourths of a century in a few days and a few friends of mine have suggested that the three essays contained herein may be published on this occasion in a book form. Such requests I have always considered to be commands from a higher sphere, and, thus alone I came to occupy posts of responsibilities, which, left to myself, I would not have dared to occupy.

The first essay written in 1974-75, on the cool Nandi Hills while undergoing a teachers' training course in Transcendental Meditation, gives the picture of the history of Tamil Literature as I see its salient features today. The Tamil words are transliterated as we pronounce them today. The second essay attempts to give a picture of the spread of the Tamil culture. This was written for the World Tamil Conference held in Paris in 1970 and the phonemic transliteration has been followed. (*Vide* Proceedings of the Third International Conference—Seminar—Paris, 1970). The third essay gives a short history of the Tamil language. The Tamil words are, therefore, transliterated here also phonemically.

(*Vide* A History of Tamil Literature by J. M. Somasundaram Pillai—1967).

Because Dr. Filiozat dealt in the conference with the relationship of Tamil and Sanskrit, I had to confine myself to the other cultures. The last two essays were written in the midst of my work of organising the new Madurai University as its first Vice-Chancellor.

All the three are thus bound to show deficiencies such as want of elaboration which any academician can easily notice. Perhaps even that may be an advantage from the point of view of a general reader who may be prompted to pursue the matter further. That is why the book is called "Tamil—a bird's-eye view" giving a glimpse of the discovered land and horizon seen now at this distance with a failing eye-sight.

My thanks are due to Professor A. S. Gnanasambandan, Thiru G. M. Alagarwamy, B.A., B.L., of the Chennai Kamban Kazhagam, Dr. R. Shunmugam and Thiru A. A. Manavalan, M.A. I am also thankful to Thiru V. Sethuram, Hoe & Co., for the excellent co-operation in bringing out this book in such a fine form and at such a short notice.

1-1-1976

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN

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TAMIL

1

THE LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE

The Tamil language is one of the National Languages of India mentioned in Schedule VIII to the Constitution of India. It belongs to the southern branch of the Dravidian family which in spite of or because of the various but unsuccessful attempts to affiliate it with families outside India remains for the present, *the* Indian family of language. UNESCO, publishing its 'COURIER' only in the international languages, issues it as such in Tamil as well. Tamil is the language in India of the people of Tamilnadu, whose regional language it is, though this language is spoken also in Karnataka, Kerala and Andhra and also in Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad and Delhi. It is one of the two languages of Ceylon, one of the three languages of Singapore and Malaysia not to speak of the various Tamil groups in Burma, Thailand, Honkong, Mauritius, East and South Africa and Fuji.

In India according to the 1971 census there were 375,922,794 who recorded Tamil as their mother tongue. In 1961, the figure was 305,627,026 of whom 28,011,099 belonged to Tamil land, 854,227 to Karnataka, 527,613 to Kerala, 1,072,502 being distributed all over the other States of India. (The corresponding figures for 1971 are not yet available.)

THE SANGAM POETRY

Among the Dravidian languages Tamil has preserved its earlier literature even before the Christian era. The cave inscriptions of the extreme South, going back to the second century, if not the third, before Christ, are in Tamil language. There is a tradition that there were three Tamil literary academies one after the other. The earliest literature available is attributed to the third academy or Sangam, probably beginning before the Christian era and continuing upto the end of the third century A.D.

The earliest Tamil grammar now *extant* is Tolkaappiyam which has also a chapter on poetics and literary conventions. Riddles, fables, proverbs, aphorisms on various subjects, old ballads, new narrative poems and literary compositions consisting of verse and prose or of colloquial dialects are referred to therein but none of them have come down to us except for those found within the Sangam poems.

The Sangam poetry consists of eight anthologies of short verses and one other anthology of ten long verses, the shortest of which contains more than a hundred lines. Sangam poetry is divided into two categories—*aham*, the interior and *puram*, the exterior. *Aham* treats of love. This has seven aspects of which the two, *viz.*, one-sided love or unrequited love and aberrations of violent sexual passion, are later considered not truly *aham*. *Aham*, par excellence, consists therefore of the remaining five aspects of *aham*—the poetry of the noumenon, especially as it comes to be conceived by its exponents like *Nakkiirar*. The love of *aham*, though compared to the Gandharva marriage, is something idealized. It is something divine or something in unison with the scheme of Nature—the love which continues through many births. There is a communion of two lives or souls—man's and woman's. As one poet puts it, like the fabulous bird with two heads but one body, the lovers have one life but two bodies. Their hearts beat in unison, their minds think alike; their bodies suffer and

die alike and at the same time. This love works for the good of the common weal in ever expanding circles till the *Summum Bonum* is covered and realised. As one poet sings through his heroine, "This love is deeper than the deepest waters; wider than the earth, and taller than the heavens". This is the story of bliss. The fundamental basis is 'anbu' the idealised love or inner truth, or the noumenon. The inner experiences cannot be described but only suggested and explained in terms of the known, which then has to be purified to become the ideal. The poetry of ordinary love it is, what is known to us. *Aham* is a personal experience but it is also universal, being the fundamental basis of all life. Ordinary personality is transcended and, therefore, that ultimate experience is not anything limited or personal. Therefore, it is not described in terms of any one individual, mentioning his personal name. The unconscious becomes the conscious in *aham* and there is no more tension, to speak in the language of Jung. Of course, it starts with an individual man and woman; but, since the ultimate experience here is transcendental, the mention of any personal name will run against this basic truth. This conception of love is important because it runs through all Tamil poetry from ancient to modern times. It is something in a way innate or natural, destined or pre-determined, and therefore not fruition of a marriage; it is in that sense premarital. The lovers' meeting for the first time in this birth is merely the occasion for the inner love to blossom forth. Marriage does follow in terms of the social customs and rituals but the *kaḷavu*, the hidden, i.e., premarital is opposed to the other kinds of sexual attachment which blossoms at marriage. This idealised love in the Bhakti period comes to be identified with the love which the souls feel for God in terms of erotic mysticism.

The loving couple are so perfect in all aspects that they need aspire for nothing other than their ideal love which is verily their own soul. In that way this love is pure and not adulterated or diluted with any other desire. It is in consonance with the scheme of nature.

The union of the love takes place in the mysterious solitude of a mountain region and within the covering of darkness of an after-winter midnight. This aspect of the love story is called *kurinji* which is the name of the mountain region and also this communion.

There are other aspects of this experience of love. There is a separation or a feeling of separation giving us all the gradations of that separation. Absolute break up or failure does not arise, but despair and anxiety are not ruled out and this is *neytal*. The feeling of despair is heightened by the natural surroundings, of all endless black and bleak sea and the white and desolate beach and that too, in the last part of the day with the slowly descending sun. There is again the feeling of a distance, even if not physical, with a certain amount of doubt though not always of envy, when two souls come together suddenly in this world of love from really two different worlds of circumstances and, therefore not feeling a complete identity of conditions as well. This sometimes goes to the extent of suspecting the love of extra-marital relationship. This feeling may be called *bouderie*. The hero may be near and yet there is the feeling of separation. The last part of the night when the lover returns sometimes under suspicious circumstances, usually encourages this *bouderie*. The city of the agricultural civilisation, so notorious for the institution of the prostitutes, is the fitting region. This is called *marudam*. There is also the feeling of real separation when the lover goes to distant lands for reasons of State and family, education and wealth, war and peace. There is the thought of the shadeless desert infested with famishing wild animals, which he has to pass through in the suffocating summer in the burning heat of the midday sun, all of which makes the feeling of separation miserable and acute, however much she may be reconciled to the higher cause for which he goes. There are two other occasions; one is when they elope and, here, the lady-love, though by his side, experiences a feeling of separation, a separation from her natural surroundings and also a fear of any threatened separation from him, if pursued by her parents; the other is when after the first unexpected union, they wake up to the realities of the situation with all the doubts about the unknown future, especially when the moment comes for the lovers to part for the nonce. This feeling of separation is *paalai*. Then there is the region in the spectrum of *vipralamba srīngaara*, where, though there is confidence and certainty, as far as she is concerned, of the lover's return at the appointed time, there is still the revolting heart or the subconscious mind, unable to bear the separation. There is the certainty of his love in thus staying at home on the part of the

beloved whilst the lover is hurrying back home to meet her. This certainty of love may be also experienced when the couple stay at home with a loving heart performing their duties. The loving expectation or realisation, full of the vision of an eternal embrace for the peace and progress of the family and the world is kindled or heightened by the rainy season and by the approach of the evening when the whole world of loving couples of animals and birds go back to their rendezvous, with happy thoughts of perfect union, in that simple pastoral region. This region and this aspect of staying at home are both called *mullai*.

Thus there are the five aspects of idealised love with their respective and appropriate regions, seasons and times of the day. There are for each allotted geographical region the particular aspect of God, flora and fauna, men and women of higher and lower status, with their occupations, food and customs, music and dance with their respective seasons of the year, times of the day, making these characteristic features the ideal ones, for each one of the regions. The hero and heroine with their story of their love form the basic theme of poetry—that which belongs to poetry itself—*uripporul*. The land and the season and the time of the day forming a space, time continuum are the bases on which the drama unfolds—the *mutarporul*. This is the background. The details like flora, etc., enumerated, form the blooming totality of the world, the living background—the *karupporul*. These characterise the regions and the aspects of love, and become in that way their respective symbols. Therefore, looked at from this point of view, Sangam poets are not slaves of conventions. One need not go behind these idealised patterns, in quest of their origin; for, these traditions of an earlier time relating to the various regions, have been taken by the Sangam poets as a myth, a poetic motif and a symbol to enrich their poetry, more so because a mere hint to any one of these details, becomes a suggestive symbol of that particular aspect of love-treated, thus leading to the great economy of words. The ideal has been in early ages, at least for a period of time, to reduce the verse to its minimum dimensions, reminding us of Poe's ideal of literary composition. Metaphor, or simile, compressed to a phrase becomes so much the very life of the verse, that people, forgetting the names of the poets, some times rename them after these arresting phrases. There is also the allegory, where every detail of the description of nature stands

for the details of the love story giving the same as if in a flash-back. There are also the poetic suggestions—*ipaicci*—not so mechanically worked out as in the allegorical descriptions—*ullurai*.

The Sangam poetry consists of dramatic monologues most often addressed to others, sometimes as asides, though in a few instances to be overheard by others. But no narrative poem or drama of that age is available. Dramatic monologue thus characterises Sangam poetry. In non-*aham* or *puram* or the poetry of the phenomenon, also consisting of dramatic monologues, the poets often make their characters speak, though in a few cases, the royal and moral poems may be speeches of kings and moralists. Glorious ideals are expressed in addition to the natural descriptions of the lives of the various people of that age, so charming, so life-like, so realistic and natural and yet revealing the beauties of man and nature in unexpected quarters.

The main division of all literatures of the world from the Tamilian point of view will be into (1) unconnected verses, each standing by itself, (2) connected verses. When books are compiled one has an anthology of the former—*tohai-nilai* and in the case of the latter, a series of verses connected by subject-matter or story as in narrative poetry, or connected by merely words, where the same phrase is repeated or where the ending of a verse becomes the beginning of the next—i.e., *andaadi*. This is the picture Dandin of the Tamil Pallava court gives in the seventh century A.D. in his *Kaavyaadarsa*. Sangam poetry consists of unconnected verses, though sometimes connected by words or by common aspects of love when arranged in the anthologies. The *puram* verses are chosen and collected together in two anthologies of non-long verses. One is the *Puranaanūru*, the Puram Four Hundred by poets, chieftains and kings. Even as *aham* has five plus two aspects, *puram*, has corresponding five plus two aspects; *kurinji* the mountain region of darkness and secrecy, symbolises also the preliminary unexpected skirmishes of war, mainly consisting of cattle lifting in those days, either in defence or offence, all on account of the love towards the cattle to be saved; *mullai* the pastoral region symbolises the offensive and defensive military expedition for which that region is fit enough with sufficient shade and water for the army; *marudam* or the urban region naturally symbolises the siege and its counter attack; the desolate sea-board which in *aham* symbolises the despair

and readiness for self-sacrifice if love does not succeed, symbolises in *puram* the face to face encounter of two competing hordes in a pitched battle, with a determination on everyone's part for self-sacrifice for the cause they hold dear to their heart; *Paalai* or the desert region symbolises in the same way the unique victory of the individual, in war for the warriors but also in every aspect of life for all, thus standing head and shoulders over others, in that way separated from all others.

Besides these, there are also the other two—*kaikkilai* or one-sided love and *peruntinai* the mere volcanic eruption without love on either side, the force of death or libido rather than the force of life or Eros ending blindly in suicidal death or in despicable rape and murder. Corresponding to the one-sided love is *padaṇ* poems of patronage, where the desire of the poet is for the reward, whilst that of the patron is for fame, both of them never having the same end in view. Corresponding to the loveless passion or the death instinct is *kaanji* the evanescence of life and the world—the message of death and change.

This is according to the theory of *Tolkaappiyam*. But a strong school, later, repudiating this correspondence between *aham* and *puram*, speaks of the twelve aspects of *puram*. Each of the first three aspects of *puram*, each divided further into the offensive and the defensive become six. The pitched battle and victory become the seventh, and the eighth. The poetry of patronage is the ninth. *Kaikkilai* and *peruntinai* where the names of the lovers are mentioned form the tenth and the eleventh. The twelfth is the miscellaneous poetry such as on all sorts of gambling and impermanence. Though there is a difference in the way in which theories are enunciated both cover the same kind of subject matter, All these are beautifully illustrated in *Puranaṇṇuuru*.

The other *puram* anthology consisting of poems on ten Chera princes, each poem in its turn consisting of ten verses refer probably to two or three generations of princes belonging to the two branches—*ceerals* and *irumporais*. Their lands and mountains, rivers and cities, their munificence and victories are described. The anthology is called the Ten Tens, of which the first and last are at present missing.

There are two anthologies, one bringing together collected verses in *kali* metre which treat of love, and another in the *paripaḍal* metre sung to music, dealing with either *aham* or *puram*.

Perhaps these are later developments. Of these the former is earlier compared with the latter which refers to an open conflict between an older Tamil idealisation of pre-marital love and the vedic conception of marital love. Here in these anthologies we have dialogues reported inside the monologues. Here we have sometimes more of realistic love than the idealised one. The metrical development leads ultimately to later metres of epics and musical compositions, sweeter, richer and more captivating by their variety of rhythm. Here one sees also the development from the monologue stage to what comes to be called epic drama, *naadaga kaappiyam* where the story is narrated and speeches reported. Traces of the development of religious mythology are also clear in these two anthologies.

The *aham* anthologies in the older forms of verse—*aasiriyam*—are four in number. The shorter five hundred consists of ten tens of verses on each one of the five-fold aspects of love, the verses being connected verbally or as *andaadies* or as repeating certain phrases, or connected by subject-matter. Perhaps we have here some patterns of folk songs of those times.

The other three anthologies have been organised on the basis of the number of lines of the verses, as though the length is an intrinsic dimension of poetry, as suggested above. The four hundred which have eight and less of lines form—the *kurundohai* the short anthology. The four hundred verses with more than eight lines but not above twelve form the *naṭṭiṇai*, the Good *Tiṇai*. (*Tiṇai* is any one of the five-fold aspects of love and good means that which does not go, as in Aristotle's ethics, to the extremes.) The four hundred verses whose lines are above twelve but not above thirty two, form the Long Anthology of *Nedundohai* also known as *Ahanaanuuru*, the Aham Four Hundred.

The anthologies give the names of the poets or authors and the particular aspect of love treated. These are given by those who collected the verses for the anthology. Later, perhaps by way of a first attempt at commentary, the description of the context for the monologue is given identifying the speaker. In the monologue, only a particular situation at the dramatic moment gets poetic expression; and, sometimes, it may fit into two or more contexts, suggesting an open ended story, if we were to speak in terms of a story, in which the authors themselves are not so much interested, as in the dramatic and poetic glimpse of the vision of

love, from the poet's coign of vantage, at that significant moment made eternal, by the poet.

These are the eight anthologies of short verses. The longer verses of more than a minimum of hundred lines are known as *paattu* or song perhaps sung by the bards necessarily with all the elaborations required for singing the glory of the kings and chieftains or the poet's ideals. Here we have a development of the poetry of patronage known as *aatruppadai* that which puts one on the proper road, that is, in short the Guide. The dancers, singers and other artistes, suffering with their family from poverty, are shown the way to prosperity, by another artiste, who returns laden with presents from the patron king or chieftain, and describes the route to the patron's city, a description reminding us of the five-fold rather the four-fold geographical regions omitting the desert, the description of the patron's country, which all take the colour of the virtue, love and peace, characterising the patron. In this way this development is related to the basic myth of the regions. The patron's heritage is hinted and his victories and other acts of greatness are enumerated reminding us of the later day preface to the royal inscriptions. There is the detailed description of a woman from foot to head, reminding us of the convention of the epic poets of later times describing the beautiful woman. There is another development; the greatness of a country lies in not merely having all the five geographical sources of production and natural wealth but in having them so juxtaposed and even admixed, that all the products are available as though in one place. This is called *tinai-mayakkam*, in later day epic tradition. One of the ancient communities specialising in singing and playing on the *yaal*, a stringed instrument is that of *paan*. The older instrument has seven strings and those who play on them are called *ciru paan*, the little *paan* in derision of their conservatism. The more recent *yaal* has fourteen strings and those who play on it are *perum paan* or the great *paan*. This shows a development in music. These *paan* feast on calves and hence in the age of Buddhism and Jainism come to occupy the lowest strata of the social hierarchy. But as the custodians of folk music and dance they have their place in any court or village festivities. The dancers among them are called *kuuttars*. They are also the *porunars* who imitate by their make-up, the different characters of a story. These are the four kinds of ancient artistes of the soil, after whom the four

aaṭruppadais are respectively named. Here we have a society where the chieftains have come to power with the weakening of the authority of the three great kings of Tamil land—the Cheras of the West, the Pandyas of the South and the Cholas of the North, always fighting with each other.

In the history of Tamil literature, every *genre* soon becomes religious, being sung on God rather than on chieftains. Traces of this is found in this anthology; for one of the *aaṭruppadais* is showing the way to God—the God *Muruga* identified with *Subrahmanya*. Since the seekers of God are the whole of humanity, the poem is not named after such pilgrims or travellers but after the universal patron sought after—*Murugaaṭruppadaḥ*, ‘showing the way to God’, leading to God, harmonising therein all kinds of worship, on the fundamental basis of the transcendental mystic experience, beyond the various rituals and mythologies, and taking us as it were all round the world and coming back to the starting point after seeking God in every place of worship in all the mountains and elsewhere.

There is the longest poem *Madurai-k-kaanji* describing Madurai, the Pandya capital as it is in the day and night of a festival, and also its king, his court, his palace, his people, his ancestors, his victory and greatness. *Kaanji* is the poem of impermanence; but this is curiously enough not preaching a world negating philosophy. The impermanence emphasises rather the need to do the right thing at the right time for the people and to enjoy the fruits and joys of life in peace, avoiding the extremes.

Four other songs remain. One deals with *paalai* or separation. The hero is about to depart; but he feels the heroine cannot bear separation. “Even if I were to get the great capital of the Chola, *Tiru maa vaḷavan*, I shall not leave her, to undergo, the experience, in the desert more cruel and deadly than the unfailing spear, hurled by that king on his adversaries.” Here one has the description of the city, the great Kaveri emporium mentioned by the Greeks. Here is another development. *Aham* poetry mentions no name of the lover; but this *aham* is made into a poetry of patronage where the mention of the patron is made, though not mentioning the name of the lovers whose love blooms in the city of the patron. That is how in later times all *aham* poems come to be named after the patron—God or Prince.

One has *kurinji* or union in love in *kurinji-p-paattu*—the song of the mountain. This is by the great poet *Kapilar*. The story is that there was an Aryan King who did not understand the message of *aham* poetry which was also known as Tamil itself. To make him realise the significance of this message, the poet composes this poem. In a mountainous region, the girls gather ninety-nine kinds of flowers and weave a beautiful garland for themselves. A hero rescues a beautiful damsel amongst them from danger, touching her in that act of saving her from the floods. The damsel and the hero at first sight become lovers; the touch, which according to the old Tamilian ideal is allowed only between lovers, is the occasion for the age-long in-born love to blossom forth, in this birth. They drink the water, according to the custom, vowing thereby that they shall be true to each other and help the people of the world coming to them in their house which will be kept ever open, and to eat only, what remains after others have had their fill. This happening is narrated to the mother by the lady companion, for the parents to agree to this marriage of love and destiny. We find the Aryan King perhaps listening to this poem has himself come to preach this gospel of love by writing an *aham* poem found in *kurundohai*.

Mullai-p-paattu, the song of the pastoral regions beautifully represents how the hero on the battle-field and the heroine at home expecting his return, think alike, how there is heroine's pining heart, in spite of the certainty of the hero's return and this certainty becoming realised as the joy of the boisterous coming home of the victorious hero resounds in her expecting inner ear. The conventions of *aham* poetry and its message must have spread to distant lands and into languages all over India, especially the Prakrit and Sanskrit. The *Satta Saayi*, the Prakrit work probably of the Andhra country consisting of unconnected love poems and *Rtu Samhara* of Kalidasa seem to suggest this. The real meaning of *mullai* is seen in these works, true to the description in *mullai-p-paattu*, where there is this kind of pining, whereas the orthodox theorists like the Tamil Commentator *Naccinaarkkiniyar*, will hold that there should be no trace of this suffering in *mullai*.

The fourth of the *aham* poem is *nedunal vadaai*—the long drawn but good North Wind. The hero is on the battle-field and the heroine on her bed. The battle is not over; the hero perhaps after a battle of great suffering, goes about in midnight

drizzle, caressing not only the wounded soldiers but also the suffering animals, full of his reverence for living—a sight which, we readers feel, encourages any one according to *aham* traditions, to believe that in the final encounter the next morning, the loving soldiers will attack with all their vigour and spirit against probably a mercenary army, all ultimately to bring happiness to the suffering land symbolised by the lady whose love, reflected in the hero, reminds one of the Buddha's love for the suffering millions, though in the poem, the fate is still unknown suggesting her desperate desolation of *neydal*. It is significant that *marudam* connected in older times with the hero's extra-marital relationship, is not found in *pattu-p-paṭṭu*.

THIRUVALLUVAR'S THIRUKKURAL

The influence of Buddhism and Jainism was responsible for the ethical trend in Tamil literature which becomes prominent after the Sangam age; but the old Sangam tradition continues to be responsible for making the ethical outlook, as a whole, being world-affirming rather than world-negating. The Hindu conception of the four *purushaarthaas* spread all over India, but the Jains speak of the *trivarga*. Dharma is here taken in a wider sense to include even *moksha dharma* perhaps as referred to by Tolkaappiyar and *puram* writers. This is also the spirit of *Tiruvalluvar*, the author of *Tirukkural*, the Tamil Bible, as it were. Except for mythological stories, nothing is known about the author. The book gives the universal principles of good life, so as to be acceptable, as far as possible, to all. *Dharma*, *artha* and *kaama* are the three-fold divisions of this work. The work consists of 1330 couplets called *kural*s each being an epigram, simple, forcible and at the same time captivating. Everywhere the ideal is described but always in terms of the practical life, common sense and humanism. He leaves out the accidental aspects of life which change from time to time, and country to country, affecting only the outward show. He states and concentrates on the intrinsic and universal essentials of humanity.

Kaama in the best tradition of *aham* poetry describes the ideal in a series of dramatic monologues each not more than 7 feet or 7 to 10 words, giving however, no place for prostitutes in his scheme of love, in spite of the pan-Indian situation where *kaama-sastras* are describing sexual passion under the blind influence of libido. The *kaamattu-p-paal* is the third and the last part of the book.

The second part deals with *artha*—the society, the State and the government. Sovereignty resides in their head and representative, the king who in keeping with the pan-Indian tradition, is spoken of as the *udaiyaan* or swami or the Lord who possesses the other six limbs of State viz., (1) the military force, (2) the citizens, (3) the wealth or treasury, enriched by taxes, internal and external,

production, etc., (4) the administration including the spies and ambassadors, (5) the fortification, well-equipped with men and materials, and (6) allies or foreign policy in general. (1) King is not a limb but the embodiment of other limbs. This is, however, only to emphasize the unity of the State, rather than to make him an autocrat. The king and his qualifications are not described as in other *arthasastras*, not from the point of state craft, but from that of the King being essentially a man, so much so these apply to every leader, or great man. (2) In administration, he emphasises the importance of wise men whatever be their other status. In war and peace he believes as others in firmness of action but what is unique here is the author's insistence on the purity of action. Therefore, end does not justify the means. He does not believe in *aapaddharma*. Man's honour—his ideal is greater than his life. Thus moral perfection is the basis of this theory of State. (3) Heroism in war is certainly praised and here, true to the Sangam tradition, some of the couplets are dramatic monologues. (4) He has a knowledge of other theories of foreign policy, for, a State has to be preserved against Machiavellian strategies, and, therefore, he speaks of lurking enemies among whom he mentions the inner enemies, including gambling, prostitution and evil influence of legal wives as well. But his treatment of the allies is based on the intrinsic but ordinary conception of friendship, as between man and man, so much so one forgets when reading these chapters, one is studying diplomacy. That is the human approach he follows all through his book, emphasising the basically desirable human characteristics required in everyday life, and, here in the context of the State. (5) In a similar way he describes wealth. (6) The fortification is described in terms of their general and universal aspects. The emphasis on man and production is significant. There is a chapter on *naadu* or the country, to be read as a part of his elucidation of his theory of fortification. A country rich in natural resources, with people always industrious, wise and contented; without factions and warring groups is the strongest fortress, because that alone creates the right kind of victorious morale even in times of danger. (7) His greatest contribution is his conception that the glorious consummation of these aspects of State and their justification is the growth of the citizens, noble and saintly, cultured and civilised, moral and merciful, full of heroic spirit of self-sacrifice. The description

of the citizen reminds of great men. And against them, he recognises there are mean individuals who obey because of fear and award. Agriculture is praised as an independent occupation, helpful for all; and its secrets are hinted. Body is not to be neglected; it has to be kept whole by following simple rules of health, though medicine also has a place. The poor are to be helped; and the miseries of poverty are graphically and pathetically described. It is the constitution of the State that is ultimately responsible for this evil. The author exclaims in righteous indignation: "If one has to live by begging alone, may the makers of the constitution be destroyed."

The first part deals with *Dharma*. "*Dharma* is to be pure in mind; all else is mere pomp and show", "Whatever is done without selfish desire, jealousy, anger and harsh words is *Dharma*." *Tiruvalluvar* seems to speak in terms of an ever-expanding love of man, becoming progressively one with his wife, children, friends, neighbours of the village and country, through hospitality, gratitude, justice, forbearance, sweet words and good behaviour avoiding jealousy, idle talk, back-biting, evil deed, casting eyes on others' wives, and having no inordinate desire for wealth, till his sympathy makes him like the common reservoir storing water only for others, like the fruit-bearing tree inside a village, showering its fruits in time for all nearby, and like the medicinal plant yielding its every part to the good of others, near or far away, in a glorious spirit of self-sacrifice. Like the cloud from somewhere coming and raining for the benefit of those it does not know, one benefits all. This munificence is real fame, and through that, he lives for ever, though death may claim his mortal coils. In this process of expansion, the guiding principle is love or *anbu*, that over-flowing of the heart to all those who are related to him in various ways of the world. This becomes as already stated the universal sympathy in the life of the house-holder.

At this stage this love blossoms into charity or universal love—love and reverence for all the living things. The man of a family and a country becomes the brother of all living-beings. There is no more the dichotomy of "I" and 'the other', or "mine" and "other's". Bearing all sufferings but doing no injury to others in thought, word or deed—this is *tapas*. All pretensions, all secret hankering after things, and all anger disappear. Universal love blossoms into Truth. Impermanence of the world is realised.

"Yesterday he was; today he is not—that is the glory of this world." Real renunciation is not running away from the world; it is that natural development of the identity with all, when one loses the pride of speaking in terms of 'I' and 'mine'. The mystic truth dawns on him and he realises it. All attachments and hankering after, still remaining as a result of the earlier habits of life, lose their hold on him. No more the shackles of attachment or hatred or delusion; even their names disappear. He becomes perfect never more to descend therefrom. This part on *Dharma* ends with a chapter on fate or the causal chain which gives the hope probably of the certainty of redemption through this un-failing process of universalisation of love which alone transcends the magic circle of fate.

Tirukkural represents, as it were, the ideal of the Tamilians all through the ages kept alive and fresh by generations of poets. Perhaps each couplet is a monologue but the contexts are not clear except for those in *kaamattu-p-paal*. Even otherwise its poetic beauty and the peculiar rhythm of advice give us a picture of the grandeur of the moral life.

The Sangam works, at least a major portion, may be assigned to the first three centuries. *Thirukkural* is a post-Sangam work but the Sangam ideal of love is in full force there. The Buddhism and Jainism are against *aham* as the ultimate truth. The Vedic culture slowly spreading, prefers marital love to pre-marital love and this conflict begins as early as *paripadaḷ* probably the last of the Sangam works. But even in the succeeding age of ethical poetry, a number of minor works of ethical poetry come to be written to recapture the glory of the *aham* ideal. War poetry in *kaḷavaḷi* giving the heroes' ideal of victory also comes to remind us of the Sangam *puṇam* ideal. Works giving a series of morals as the sweetest things, or as medicines for moral health or as jewels for personality, works giving us the series of immoral acts as the most bitter, are produced. Here we have two outlooks, one perhaps due to Jainism, a pessimistic outlook, leading to the conception of morals as medicines—the other, an optimistic one, leading to the conception of morals as beauties of personality. There is another work—a garland of patterns of good behaviour, a Hindu work emphasising sometimes the external behaviour though even this is important for cultivating good habits; but the *smṛiti* influence here is at its highest.

In later times, we have ethical aphorisms mostly in single lines, and these have their origin in one of the eighteen early ethical works. The poem of the proverbs of impermanence therefore emphasizes the immediate necessity, as the *kural* and *madurai-k-kaanji* point out, for doing the righteous acts and states the morals of permanent value in proverb-like epigrams. There are two other works each of four hundred verses. Though by Jains, they represent a moral life in beautiful and impressive *venbaas*. One is called the 'proverbs' since each verse ends in a proverb, whose moral is concretely illustrated in the body of the verse. The other is a collection of ethical verses of four lines by a number of Jains. This is *naaladiyaar* and is very popular.

Most of the works are in *venbaa* metre which occurs independently only in the post-Sangam works, probably as befitting ethical epigrams. These probably extend upto the Hindu revival of the Pallava period, probably coming down to the Seventh Century of the Christian era. Books, however in this line have been produced upto modern times.

TWIN EPICS

Silappadikaaram

The epic age begins with the period immediately following the Sangam age and the age of *Kural*. The first known Tamil epic is *Silappadikaaram* by *Ilango*, according to tradition, a Chera prince. The story is told in thirty different monologues, some of them by on-lookers, many of them being full of dialogues, with the result, we have an epic of the dramatic pattern, as it is termed, in Tamil. It is significant that unlike in other epics of the world, the hero and the heroine are common citizens, though belonging to a family of rich merchants whilst the kings become the background, along with their kingdoms. The society is rich, because of the extensive sea-borne trade, in spite of its dangers. It is a civilised society with the hierarchy of caste, occupations and also wealth, with seven-storied buildings and with a developed culture of poetry, music and dance. But it is a society, which makes the aristocratic and cultured prostitutes the custodians of music and dance; and this leads to the tragedy of the story. *Koovalan*, the son of a merchant-prince marries *Kannahi*, the daughter of another; but after a few years of blissful married life, *Koovalan*, attending a dance performance by *Maadavi*, falls in love with her, who reciprocates with all depth and sincerity. He has a daughter by her—*Manimeehalai*. But *Koovalan* is jealous for no reason other than the fact that others also appreciate and love her dances. His wealth is all there, in her house. On a festival day, they both go to the beach and sing in turn, *aham* songs to the accompaniment of *yaal*, a stringed instrument. His song is the song of love of a man for a beautiful but young girl, perhaps the suppressed love for his *Kannahi* coming out in that shape from his sub-conscious mind. As misfortune would have it, *Maadavi* over-worked by jealousy, misinterprets it as the story of another of his love-affairs and sings in her turn as though in retort, a song of her pretended love for a young man. The jealous *Koovalan* now feels certain that she is

true to her community of prostitutes, which probably he never forgets; leaves her abruptly, and goes to the house of *Kannahi* who has been stoically bearing his desertion. *Koovalan* repents and feels miserable that he has nothing of his wealth with him. *Kannahi* offers a pair of precious anklets still left with her. *Koovalan* wants to go away from his city to trade in a different country; and leaves his *Puhaar*, the famous port-capital of the Cholas, at dead of midnight with *Kannahi* following him, forgetting the dream which foretold her of a misfortune in a foreign country. They are, however, fortunate enough to get the company of a Jain nun, on their way to Madurai, the Pandya capital. This travel reveals their deep love for each other and their upright Jain life, their human sympathy and reverence for living beings, even to the hypercritical eyes of the nun, who, therefore, develops a maternal love towards them. His presence makes *Kannahi* forget all the physical stress and strain. This travel gives scope for the development of the old geographical poetic motif. They reach the outskirts of Madurai. *Koovalan* has a dream of a premonition of the coming danger, hearing of which, the nun entrusts the couple to an innocent shepherdess. In the latter's house, *Kannahi* herself prepares his food, unknown to such work in her rich family, and serves him with all her love, the last meal. *Koovalan* is moved and regrets his past especially his neglect of *Kannahi*. Her misery, that she tells him, is that she could not perform the duties of householder in helping others, and that, even though she put on a cheerful appearance, lest his parents who are all kindness to her, should suffer for their son's fault, they have always felt more miserable, because of her attempt to thus screen her husband, being capable as they were of feeling her heart behind her outward appearances. He takes leave of her, with one of the anklets. A bad omen occurs, but still he goes on to the chief of the guild of goldsmith who is coming on the road and shows him the anklet for sale. The goldsmith has stolen the anklet of the Pandyan Queen—an anklet almost like that of *Kannahi* and therefore he sees here his opportunity. Requesting *Koovalan* to stay behind under the pretext of bringing a purchaser, he rushes to the King to report that he has found the thief. The King is in a hurry to go and appease the anger of the Queen at his passionate engrossment in a dance and the danseuse; and, therefore, in a hurry, orders the servants to kill the person if found with the jewel, killing being then the punishment for theft.

Those servants, however, when they look at *Koovalan's* innocent but majestic face, refuse to believe the goldsmith's story, in spite of all his persuasions; but one of them fully drunk, all of a sudden, strikes *Koovalan* dead. The news spreads and the shepherdess performs the ritualistic dance of *Bala Krishna* and the *gopis* to avoid any evil effect. *Kannahi* scents the fate which has befallen *Koovalan* and cries in despair through the streets of Madurai; but nobody can speak and console this widow of a condemned thief, according to the laws of those times, though they feel that some injustice has been done. Finally, she sees *Koovalan's* body rising up and embracing her, only to fall down again, after bidding her to stay behind. With righteous indignation, she goes to the court of the Pandya, announcing herself as the citizen of the Chola country, great for its justice, but now the unfortunate wife of *Koovalan* who has been unjustly murdered in Madurai. When the King replies that it is but just to kill a thief, she demands the anklet to be brought to the court; and when brought, she dashes it on the ground for being broken. Then, a ruby of the Cholas instead of the pearl of the Pandyas rises up and hits the King's mouth. The King realises his mistake, curses himself as a thief and a murderer and drops down dead, then and there. The Queen, by his side, true to the conception of Tamil love, also dies at the self-same moment. But *Kannahi*, with anger clouding her eye-sight, not realising this, exclaims to the queen that she will burn the city of Madurai. She does so by tearing away her left breast and hurling it away on the corrupt city. At her behest, the fire-god burns away on the sinners. The Goddess of Madurai coming behind the angry woman, tells her that these are predetermined, thanks to the happenings of their previous birth. This takes the wind out of the sail of *Kannahi's* anger. She becomes humble; and passes out of the city, breaking and throwing away her bangles as a sign of her widowhood. She passes on to the Chera country; and there a divine *Vimaana* descends down and takes her to *Koovalan* and the Heavens.

The tragedy should have ended here. But, the mountain lasses witnessing this ascension, report the miracle to the Chera King. At the instance of his Queen, he resolves to worship *Kannahi* and decides to bring from the Himalayas the stone out of which the image has to be sculptured. He marches north and conquers the enemies obstructing him, on whose heads he places the stone

to be brought to his capital. The Chola and the Pandya decry his action and the Chera tries to invade their country but the all-knowing *Maadalan*, the friend of all pacifies him. Finally the temple is built and the image installed. *Kannahi*, without any trace of anger, but full of love even towards the Pandya whom she now calls her father, comes in a beautiful vision adorned with the anklet to accept the King's dedication of the temple. *Gajabaahu*, the King of Ceylon and other kings are present at the dedicative ceremony and beg of *Kannahai* as the Goddess of Chastity to receive worship in their respective lands. Since from the Ceylonese sources one knows that *Gajabaahu* belongs to the Second Century A.D. it is argued that the Chera, his contemporary, must also belong to that century. It is not however clear whether the epic may not have been written later. The author has made use of folk-lore and in that way, his epic is nearer to the common man. The later day developments of Tamil metre have their origin here especially in its parts reminding us of the folk songs.

Manimeehalai

This epic must have become very popular and the later epic *Manimeehalai* by *Saattanaar* pretends to be a continuation of the old story, in describing the spiritual development of *Maadavi's* daughter *Manimeehalai*. *Maadavi* refuses to permit *Manimeehalai*, to become a danseuse, in spite of her own mother's schemes, and dedicates her to Buddhism. A son of the Chola sets his passionate eyes on *Manimeehalai* who, however, escapes from clutches with the help of the family deity—*Manimeehalai* the guardian angel of the eastern seas, after whom she was herself named. She feels her heart, against her reasons, going to the prince, because they were man and woman in their previous births. But she gets the power to assume any form, to be without food, to become invisible if necessary. To escape from the prince she takes the form of a *vidyaadhara* woman but the prince suspecting her change pursues her. The husband of the *vidyaadhara* woman, without knowing this, unfortunately comes at that moment and kills the prince as pursuing his wife. The queen, wreaking her vengeance on *Manimeehalai*, imprisons the latter; and a rowdy is set upon to rape her. Thanks to her powers she escapes from these dangers. She is finally released. She gets, as foretold, a magic bowl *amudasurabi*; a chaste woman fills it with food—the woman

whose husband, washed ashore, thanks to his knowledge of their language, converts the king of the Cannibals, to Buddhism. The bowl, which once belonged to *aaputtiran* who fought against caste pretensions and cruel *yaagas* of the Brahmins, becomes inexhaustible, and she feeds the poor and the needy, in times of famine. Prison becomes a house of charity; and human nature is saved from debasement. When rain comes she moves to other lands. She listens to the exposition of the various religions of her days; and finally becomes a disciple of the great Buddhist, the all-knowing *Aravana adiga!*, who is identified by some with *Dhammapala*, who explains to her the Buddhist logic as expounded as one finds by *Dingnaaga*. She does tapas, preaches the Buddhist religion and becomes great to be finally released from the cycle of births. This is the story of a woman, who, though born among prostitutes, becomes the saviour of men.

The author is a scholar. No longer have we the monologues. The story is told in a captivating way. But the author can never forget his religious bigotry and his very low opinion of other religions especially Jainism and Brahminism. Here we have religious discussions becoming part of the epic, which leads to the development of a new kind of epics.

THE JAIN EPICS

Another great epic is *Perumkatai* an adaptation in Tamil of the popular Prakrit story of *Gunaadya*. The story of the king *Udayana's* love for *Vassavadattai* is told in the true traditions of *aham* poetry. The king marries another under the impression that the first was burnt away in an accident. The real hero is the minister *Yougandaraayanan* in whose victorious chess board of politics and statecraft, everybody becomes a chess piece, moving according to his almost magical directions. One has a picture of the sports and pastimes of the women of the age. The story of the son of *Udayanan*, *Nara Vaanan* is also told as a continuation. Unfortunately only portions of this great epic are available though sufficient enough to reveal the greatness of the author as a poet and a story-teller. This is the oldest epic giving us a non-Tamil story from other sources. One learns of a Buddhist Bimbisara Kaappiyam, the epic story of the father of Asoka but unfortunately it has not been preserved.

The Jain stories of the *Cakrawarttis* or emperors, the *tiirth-ankaras*, the *vaasudeevaas* and their enemies, the *prativaasudeevas*, as told in their *aadi puraana*, come to be popular among the Jains, and amongst others, since Jains have established schools and written grammatical treatises thus influencing the educated. These Jain epics belong to the end of the Pallava period, and some to the beginning of the Chola age. Others of no merit continued to be produced in later times as well.

The story of one of the emperors of the Jain tradition *Jiivaka* has attracted the attention of many writers in Sanskrit and Tamil in the South. *Tiruttakk-teevar* writes the Tamil epic *Cintaamani*. *Cintaamani* is the heavenly precious stone which will give whatever one thinks of. *Cintaamani* is, however, the endearing term, used by *Jiivakaa's* mother, whilst addressing him, when leaving him as a new-born baby in the burning ghat; that has become the name of the epic. But some hold that this refers to the characteristic features of this many-sided epic.

The tragic story of *Jiivakaa's* father is that he having made his minister his representative or regent, whilst he himself wants to enjoy a life of love with his wife, is attacked by that treacherous minister and killed. The queen is sent away when the siege begins in a mechanical plane, before the tragedy; and she descends on a burning ghat where she gives birth to a child and leaves it there to be taken by one loyal to the King. She becomes a nun. The epic is a story of marriages of *Jiivakaa*. Even his education, in the beginning, and later his victories, in war, his coronation and his salvation being described in terms of his marriages metaphorically, with *naamaka!*, the goddess of learning; *manmaka!*, the goddess of earth *puumaka!*, the goddess of wealth and royalty and *mukti*, the lady of salvation. The epic is therefore called the book of marriages. True to the *puram* tradition of Tamil land, his war with the traitor begins with the recovery of the cattle lifted away, and he wins thereby the hand of the daughter of a shepherd-king, by putting to flight the cattle-lifters without killing any one of them, true to his Jain faith; the epic thus giving us a picture of an ideal Jain king of non-violence. But this shepherd girl is given in marriage to a friend of his. This shows the working of the caste system. *Jiivaka* marries a number of wives who finally turn out to be of political importance, helping him to win the love of the people and of other Kings, gaining that way wealth, military power and popularity. Each marriage gives us a different pattern of love-making. The epic is thus full of passionate descriptions of woman, making the reader wonder how a monk comes to write such stories in such a passionate language. The epic is thus very loosely knit. The king has to drink the joy of life in a healthy and moral way to the last dregs and then only renunciation comes as a natural development. Perhaps the author belongs according to tradition to the age of *Satyavak*, *Poyyaamoli*, of the ninth century.

The next Jain epic of importance is *Cuulaamani* by *Toolaamoli-t-teevar*. It is one of the stories of the brothers the two *Vaasudeevas* and their enemy the *prativaasudeevas*. It starts with the story of the marriage of their father *Payaapati* and describes the glories of these two sons the *Vaasudeevas*, the eldest of whom *Tiviṭṭan* marries a princess sent to this world from the world of *Vidyaadharas*. His lifting up of the mountain reminds us of the story of *Krishna*, the Hindu *Vaasudeeva*. It is the story of the exploits of *Tiviṭṭan* killing a lion and the *prativaasudeeva* in war, reducing

to nothing the magical powers of his enemy. *Tivittan* in one place is described as *Cuulaamani*, the crest jewel of humanity. But the poet probably describes the life history of the father who is blessed with the heroic children and other aspects of good life. In the end he renounces the world and shines, as the poet says, as the crest jewel of the world. It is probably because of this description of the King, the book has come to be known as *Cuulaamani*. The poet is a master of versification. There is a continuous flow of sweet rhythm not so very patent in *cintaamani*. But as a storyteller he is a great failure especially when compared with *Tiruttakka-t-teevār*. The other Jain kavyas are not of any importance.

It is important to note that *Kundalakeesi* alleged to be a *Kaavya* but not available is the story of a Buddhist nun of that name, vanquishing in debate the exponents of other faiths and establishing her Buddhist philosophy. This is a development of a trend found in *Maṇimeehalai*. A Jain work of a similar kind, *Nilakeesi* gives the story of the victory of the Jain nun *Nilakeesi*. We have other works of this kind named after the victorious, religious women.

THE BHAKTI POETRY

Saivites

The Pallava period sees the rise of the *Bhakti* movement which soon becomes pan-Indian. The *Padma Purana* refers to the beautiful girl of *Bhakti*, born on the banks of the *Kaveri* or the *Tamraparani* in the south, coming to age in the North, and growing old in Gujarat. That is the period of the growth of a pan-Indian culture, a commingling of the South and the North. *Bhakti* poetry, thus, is something original in Tamil literature. Tantrik mode of worship and life is the result of the coming together of the aryan and non-aryan conceptions and practices of philosophy and religion. *Bhakti* or love of God as the Father and Mother with its temple worship—common and social worship—avoiding the Vedic sacrifices but emphasising God in the beauty of the images as well as in man is a kind of emotional and natural approach, a transmutation or spiritualisation of passions rather than their renunciation. The earliest Tantrik work of great poetic value is *Tirumantiram* of *Tirumuular*. *Saint Sundarar* of the early eighth century refers to *Tirumuular* and therefore the latter must be earlier. It identifies love with God—but note, not God with love—for one has to proceed from the known *aham* poetry to the unknown God. Thus the mystic significance of *aham* poetry is clearly brought out and the *Bhakti* poets sing of their love to God in terms of *aham* poetry. Thus there is a continuity of the *aham* tradition gaining greater and greater depth.

Cariya, *Kriya*, *Yoga* and *Jnana* are the four-fold paths of *Tantra*. Temple worship and idols of beautiful forms and artistic poses, reminding us of the dramatic moments of Sangam poetry, become symbolic, revealing God's concern for men and, as mythologies show, the concern for all living beings. Beginning with *Simha vishnu* and the *Vicitra citta* as Mahendra Varma calls himself, establishing cave temples, the temple-building in stone, instead of in wood or bricks as of old, develops into a great art in the reign

of Rajasimha. This is made necessary by the popular demand coming, as it does, as a result of the *Bhakti* poets—the Saivite *Naayanmaars* and Vaishnavite *Aalwaars* going from village to village and singing songs of music, explaining in simple language, the message of God's love. God, according to them, resides for saving us all, in every village.

The earliest of the Saivite saints is *Kaarai-k-kaal ammaiyaar* who is represented as being ghost-like with her bony frame. Mystics revel in horrid forms of God, wherein also they see love. She speaks of God dancing at dead of night on the burning ghat surrounded by dancing ghosts all lighted up by the flames of the funeral pyre, who for all that is the God of great love. The dance of destruction is really a dance of joy over the death and burning away of the lower selves, the dance of universal bliss. Her mystic poetry is of great philosophical significance.

The most important of the Saivite saints are the youthful *St. Sambandar*, and *St. Appar* who lives up to his ripe old age, both of the seventh century, and *St. Sundarar* who revels in singing their songs and preaching their message, at the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries in the reign of Rajasimha Pallava. *Sambandar* converts the Pandya King *Neḍumaaran*. He sings in various tunes as he is followed always by a *paṇa* who, then and there, sets the songs to music on his *yaaḷ*. Tamil metre makes a great advance thanks to the music revival under *Mahendra*. *Sambandar's* very first song as a monologue of a lady-love, identifies God as the great love, the robber of the soul, for whose embrace, the lady-love pines away. His poetry gives consolation for all. God is with his consort, the great woman, the mother, and therefore one can live happily in this world, in that certainty, enjoying the beautiful feast of natural sceneries. His poems, at least half of them, are therefore descriptions of Nature, since Nature is a projection of the Mother. Nature thus assumes a new significance in Tamil poetry. Mother's love is all powerful; so the lullaby sung by a poor tribal *Kuratti* brings down the temple from the heavens. Unfortunate days and times, evil omens too, are all fortunate and good for the real servants of God.

Appar converts Mahendra Varma. *Appar* suffers persecution but because he is full of the love of God, he is not aware of the sufferings. The five elements, the sun, the moon, and the soil are the eight forms of God. In spite of his describing the miseries

of the world, his poetry is full of love and hope. "We are subject to none, we do not fear death; we shall not suffer in hell; we know no disease, no pain, we are His—the bliss-maker,"—he sings. He also sings of the mystic love. He labels God *dayaa muula tattuvan*—the reality which is the very root of mercy. He speaks of his being cured of his chronic stomach ache. His long drawn verses called *Taandakam* are very appealing. He is also the master of the shorter verse reminding us of *Tirumantiram*. His *tiruviruttam* has a majestic grandeur. His *neerisai* which later becomes popular in epic poetry has a yearning melody of its own.

Both in *Sambandar* and *Appar*, there are frequent remarks against the Jains and the Buddhists, perhaps of those who attack them. In one place, *Sambandar* speaks of the good amongst them, who preach Dharma whilst the bad ones indulge in insults. It is probably the latter that are spoken against, a group of pretenders and fanatics, found in every religion.

St. *Sundarar* realises in every thing, including his relationship with his wives, the divine experience. He surrenders and lays himself in the hands of God looking upon everything as occurring as directed by God. He advocates the poets and others to beg, if they should for any thing, to God, rather than at the hands of the worldly great; and, therefore, he himself prays to God for everything. He speaks of our relationship with God as some thing of a written contract for eternity, perhaps in terms of the political life of his times. God is everything to us—our mother and father and our love. Our salvation is certain. He gives a list of the Saints of Tamil land of all castes, sex and ages and status, each great in one's own way, and saved because of their having one ideal whatever it be, of serving God in man, giving up their life if they cannot live up to their ideal. The ideal may be any thing—giving a loin cloth, a pot, or washing the clothes of others. As *Tirumuular* has said there is the immobile God of the temple but the mobile God in Man is more important and what is offered to the latter accrues to the benefit of the former as well.

Maanikka vaasahar comes later in the ninth century, with his bone-melting songs of *Tiruvaasaham*, giving expression to his mystic experience, his sufferings in the world of sex and power, rather exaggerated naturally when looked back after enlightenment—the appearance of the master and the sudden storm of

Divine bliss overpowering him—the waking up again into the world and its miseries becoming all the more bitter after bliss—the slow acclimatisation to this change of experience—the self-renunciation and complete surrender to God—seeing Him, His love and mercy everywhere—the joyful play with Him—the complete identification with Him when there is nothing but the great light and love and bliss, everything slowly melting away into that great great whole—and the wonder and joy and dance, all beautifully expressed in songs of exquisite sweetness. The poems are simple and many of them are sung in the folk-song metres of folk dance and play, often condemned by the learned as mean and lowly; these often express the love of the playful girls for God true to *aham* tradition. There are other Saivite poets, whose works have been collected and grouped along with those of the Saints mentioned into eleven *tirumūrais* in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Vaishnavites

The Vaishnavites have their wonderful saints of love, the story of Krishna giving scope for poetry at all levels. The first three *aalvars*—the earliest—singing in the *venbaa* metre of the ethical age, speak of their vision or realisation of God as the light of love of the world and their heart. All the forms of gods are only the forms of *Vishnu*, the one God. That is their vision of harmony. *Tirumālisai* is a philosopher poet, often enjoying the beauties of the philosophical conceptions merely referred to in terms of numbers of their classification. His joy expresses itself in the dancing music of his *tiruccanda visuttan*. God is one whole. He cannot be that whole without us. That explains God's concern for us. Fanaticism crops up in his poetry based on mythological stories. *Tirumangai* becomes probably the teacher of a pallava. He is a chieftain to begin with but surrenders everything unto God. He has composed thousand verses, as a poet and scholar. All the characteristics of the Bhakti poetry referred to, are found in him. He has sung in various metres including folk-songs. His *aham* poems are so captivating in bringing out the beauty and love of God. However fallen we be, God's grace can save us.

The great Chera emperor Kulasekharar, dreams over of Sri Rangam, and becomes a Bhakta captivated by the story of Rama. He also sings dramatic monologues—the lullaby as sung

by the mother of Rama, the dying song of *Dasaratha* the father of *Rama*, the mourning of the mother of Krishna at her loss of the joys of motherhood, the loss for example of that great eternal joy of seeing his stealing butter, his repentant weeping in all humility and dependence and, lastly the song of a Gopi, suffering from the love escapades of Krishna. Nothing is greater than even the menial service if that gives the chance of being near him or his holy place. God is every kind of relationship to us.

Periyaalvaar is the poet who sings of God as the child; Krishna's childhood, as enjoyed by his foster mother in all its growing aspects of beauty and play, is described in *Yasoodai's* dramatic monologues. The poems are so full of love and sweetness, so natural and captivating. This leads to the development of a new *genre*—the poetry of the child—*pillai-t-tamil*. He becomes the teacher of a Pandya of the eighth century. He finds a female child in his garden, who growing up refuses to think of any man, except God, as her lover. She, like the Gopis of yore, getting up early morning before day-break, waking up other Gopis, all to wake up ultimately Krishna, their leader in the *Paavai* bath and fast, sings this old *paavai* song but coming with all dramatic reality and sincerity from her God-yearning heart. She has also other songs of her pining heart—the prayer to Manmatha, the dream of her wedding to Krishna, the songs of desperate love addressed to the clouds, birds and flowers. Other *aalvaars* have imagined themselves to be lady-loves, but this poetess *Aanḍaal* is herself the lady and therefore her poetry is naturally and deeply sincere.

Nammaalvaar is described as the embodiment of all the *aalvaars*. He is the saint of Tamraparni. His verses are like those of *Maanikkavaasakar*, though the latter is later. He has sung, apart from others, thousand verses connected as *andaadi*. This is *Tiruvaaymoli* sung to music and therefore compared to *Sama Veda*. It is a biography of his mystic or spiritual development. God feeling for the waywardness of the world is all joy when this *aalvaar* turns to Him. *Aalvaar* has the realisation of bliss but God turns aside as it were. When he wakes up again into the world, he becomes desperate at this separation. He speaks to himself, gives advice to the world and pines for the Lord, sometimes as his lady-love. Again there is the vision, realisation and joy. This alternating experiences go on in the cause of the redemption of the suffering humanity. He sings of all the temples of Vishnu.

of his days. He uses terms peculiar to the dialect of the place he visits, such being his love for and identification with the common man. He identifies with the mythology he refers to, and he is lost in that love of God. The stories may be ancient history; but he finds its eternal relevance, as a kind of assurance by God to man. Last comes the dance of joy of his entrance into the Bliss. His passion for service to humanity makes him exclaim that he is the servant of the servant of the servant of the servant of God, thus recognising that His devotees are of greater significance to us than God Himself.

Nammaalvaar is considered also the acharya or Guru. *Madurakavi* is his disciple, to whom the very name of *Nammaalvaar* is sweeter than the sweetest name of God. There is another *aalvaar* waking up God. The untouchable bard of an *aalvaar* sings ten songs describing the beauty of God's form from foot to head.

The Saivite poems of the Saints *Sambandar*, *Appar* and *Sundarar* are called *Teevaaram*, while the poems of the Vaishnavite Saints as collected together come to be known as *Naalaayira-p-prabandam*. These poems remain scattered almost on the point of extinction. They are then collected, as far as possible, by the saints *Nambi-aanḍaar nambi* and *Naatamuni* perhaps in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The aagas soon recognise the already prevalent practice of reciting in temples these Tamil verses of these Saints, as a part of the prescribed daily ritual in Temples. These poems come to be looked upon as the source of philosophy and religion.

Later

(a) *The movement*

As already stated *Nammaalvaar* is also a teacher and a guru and his *Tiruvaaymoli* thus becomes their Gospel; and its commentary from the Vaishnavite point of view has been handed over verbally till *Ramanuja* instructs one of his disciples to write a Tamil commentary. This is elaborated by *Nampillai*, as taken down by his disciples, the approved version being that of *Vaḍakku--t-tiruviidi-p-pillai* of the thirteenth century. *Periya-aaccan pillai* another disciple writes the commentary on the whole of *Naalaayiram*. The statements in the Upanishads and the Puranas are interpreted in terms of *Tiruvaaymoli* and *Tiruvaaymoli* in terms

of the Upanishads; and for establishing this equation the commentaries contain the Sanskrit phrases of the texts and the Tamil phrases of *aalvaars*, giving us a mixture of Tamil and Sanskrit, in what is called the *maṇipravaala* style, mani or gem and *pravaala* or coral representing the two languages. This style continues for a long time. The Vaishnavites carry the propaganda of the *Bhakti* cult; and *Ramanand* of the North comes in this spiritual lineage of *Ramanuja*, the Northern School of *Bhakti* and through it all the *Bhakti* schools elsewhere, being thus ultimately traceable to the Tamil land.

Vedanta Desikar born in the thirteenth century and continuing to live in the fourteenth century as well, is a great philosopher and poet in Sanskrit and Tamil. His Tamil poems are simple but full of *Bhakti*. Apart from explanations of philosophical points, he has also written a commentary on the untouchable *Tiruppaanaalvaar*, all in *maṇipravaala*. He is great as the leader of the *Vaḍakalai* sect of Vaishnavites.

(b) The Sanskritists' attack

Pillailoogaacaariyar and *Alahiya maṇavaala naayanaar* are the sons of *Vaḍakkuttiruvīdi-p-pillai*, the former writing in *maṇipravaala*, the essence of Sri Vaishnavism and the beauty of God. Those are times when Sanskrit learning suffers an eclipse and the Sanskritists, afraid of the popularity of the Tamil poems and *maṇipravaala* commentaries as against the neglect of Sanskrit Texts begin to assert that the spiritual knowledge should be obtained only through the Sanskrit, in which the Upanishads have been written. They also assert that nothing is equal to the Vedas and that however great one be in realising God, if he is not a Brahmin, he cannot become an acharya; thus attacking the prestige and popularity of the non-brahman *Nammaalvaar*. *Maṇavaala Naayanaar* mentioned above, a Brahmin himself, writes his *Aacaarya Hirudayam*—"the heart of the master viz., *Nammaalvaar*," vehemently criticizing in sutra style the views of these opponents and claiming the superiority of Tamil and *aalvaar's* poems even over the Sanskrit works and finally explaining the meaninglessness of caste as also the essence of *Nammaalvaar's* poems. This illustrates the attack on Tamil of this period and hence the details have been given. In the fifteenth century, *Maṇavaala maamuni* or *Varavara muni* as he is known in the North is great as the leader

of *Sri Vaishnavism*—the *tenkalai* or the Southern group, which places the major emphasis on Tamil *aalwaars*, and its repudiation of caste considerations in religion. He is a poet, great for summarising works, and a great *manipravaala* writer. He gathers round him a number of disciples, scholars and debaters. Thanks to him, *Tenkalai* Vaishnavism, spreads all over India. For the sake of continuity of the story of the spread of the *Bhakti* cult, we have traced this upto this important point from a pan-Indian point of view.

KAMBAN

The Pallava age sees also the Hindu Revival, not only in Bhakti songs, but also in other kinds of literature. The early inscriptions of the Pandyas tell us of the translation of *Mahabharatha*. There is also an adaptation of the *Ramayana* in Tamil. But except for a few quotations, these are no longer available. References to the story of Rama are in Sangam works, in *Silappadikaaram* and in the poems of the Bhakti saints, giving anecdotes either different from that of Valmiki or entirely new.

The greatest of the Tamil works is the epic story of Rama, by the poet *Kamban*. Even grammarians giving illustrations speak of *Kamban* as great in learning, at least from the 11th century. He is considered the emperor of poetry. Because of his Bhakti, the later age called him an *aalvaar*. He concludes his *Ramayana* with the coronation of Rama. He does not write the *Uttara Kaṇṭam*. He names his epic *Iraamaavataaram* "the descent of Rama". By this time, Rama has been accepted as God Vishnu. God is omnipotent; and His story cannot be the subject-matter of an epic, kindling tragic feelings, and appealing as such to man. In *Kamban's* story, Rama is recognized as God by the great, but Rama himself having come down as man, to show as it were, how man can reach his height, is not at all conscious of his own divinity. He weeps, plays and acts, always as a man—powerful, intelligent and wise—a true leader of man. This is a new approach and a difficult one, but *Kamban* has succeeded in giving us a humanistic epic without hurting the feelings of the orthodox people. Rama's country of birth is sufficiently advanced for nurturing a man into perfection, but it is not yet perfect; there is the hunch-back schemer of a woman, driving him out of his native land. The hero grows and develops in the story to perfection. The brother of *Raavana*, namely, *Vibīḍana* exclaims in one place "Man has vanquished all other species". Thus the story becomes the story of Man and his greatness.

The story is also planned as the story of growing universal brotherhood and of a federation of Kingdoms of love and justice, ruled by ideal brothers without any distinction of caste, etc. *Guha*, the king of the uncivilised boatmen, is accepted by Rama as his younger brother but as the elder brother of his own three blood brothers. Rama's mother, overcome by the love and devotion of *Guha* and his people, exclaims that Rama's father has more children now than when he left the world and prays that all the five brothers including *Guha*, may rule the world as one man. Rama, proceeding south, finds in *Sugriiva*, the leader of monkeys, another brother. *Vibiḍana* coming from Lanka is hailed as the last brother. There is no land inhabited, further south. *Sugriiva* and *Vibiḍana*, Rama crowns as Kings; and requests all of them to look after their citizens.

The story in Tamil, true to the Tamil land of *Silappadikaaram*, is a story of the greatness of chastity. The story of *ahalyaa* is not the story of a woman enamoured of Indra but the chaste wife of Ṛṣi, who, however, accepts the embrace of *Indra* because he comes in the form of the Ṛṣi, her husband. *Taaraa*, the wife of *Vali*—who has taken *Sugriiva's* wife to his bed—becomes in *Valmiki* the bed-mate of *Sugriiva* after *Vali's* death. If Rama's ideal is to kill, according to *Kamban*, those who spoil woman, this story has to be altered; and *Kamban's taaraa* becomes the chaste widow reminding *Lakshmana*, Rama's brother, of their own widowed mothers suffering in *ayodhya*.

Greatness of *Ravana* is sufficiently hinted—his knowledge of Vedas, his Siva-bhakti, his great tapas, his unique mastery of music, his chaste and beautiful wife, his heroic sons, his victory over the three worlds, his concern for his people; but the one great mortal flaw is his illegal love for Sita. The very first time we meet him, this weakness is made clear and as a result, the great warrior thinks of Sita's abduction through a false stratagem rather than through a heroic act. The fall is so beautifully suggested in that first scene itself.

Kamban, like others, describes the geographical regions of Sangam tradition, but he takes the opportunity to describe an ideal land and kingdom, with citizens, rich and industrious, learned and cultured. There is no munificence because there is no poverty. There is no one to be called specially educated because there is no one wanting in education. The citizens lead an upright life

with redemption assured at the end. Here is socialism within a monarchy—King serving the purpose of a body for the enjoyment of the soul—the citizens. This is in accordance with *Tiruvalluvar* where the State exists for the perfection of the citizens.

Kamban describes the State of *Kosala*, the State of *Guha*, the state of *Sugriiva* and that of *Vibidana*, the last two kingdoms being transformed, after having been under *Vali* and *Ravana*; whilst the first has to undergo the suffering caused by the exile of Rama the second becomes from a state of might into a state of love and self-sacrifice. In none of these, to start with, before the influence of Rama is felt. In *Kosala*, the father of Rama has many wives and palace scheming banishes Rama. *Vali* takes his brother's wife to bed, whilst *Ravana* tries to force women against their will. Rama, however, on the first night itself promises *Sita* that he will not even touch any other woman. When love and justice are established in all these kingdoms, *Ramarajya* is born.

The influence of the *Bhakti* movement is clear. A gandharva who by a curse had become a Rakshasa, *Viraata* attains salvation when killed by Rama and he thereafter sings in praise of Rama as God the Absolute. Here *Kamban* can easily be compared with the mystic *aalvaars*. Though acknowledging the tradition that Rama is Vishnu, *Kamban's* universal vision sees God in every religion and he sings equally in praise of Siva with whose dance as *Nataraja*, the rising sun is compared. Perhaps he sees God every where in that age of the Trimurti cult. The only patron of his, he mentions, is *Sadaiyappa* of *venndi*, whom he praises in every thousandth verse.

One of the verses in praise of this work gives the date of its composition as 885 A.D. and the style and other evidences confirm this, though a few scholars will bring him down to the end of the twelfth century.

PRABANDA

The Pallava age sees also the beginning of *Prabandas*—miscellaneous forms of poetic literature. *Pillai-t-tamil* is the *genre* describing the child's growth as perceived and stated in monologues of the mother and others addressed to the child. *Periyaal̥yaar* has started this but it is soon systematised and applied to patrons as in *Kuloottunga Coolan pillai-t-tamil* by *Oṭṭakkuuttar* of the 12th century. *Ulaa* or procession is the *genre* where the love of women in their seven stages from childhood to middle age is described, in relation to God going in procession in the beginning as in *Tirukailaaya Ulaa* of *St. Cheramaan* of the eighth century, or to the Kings and others in later times as in *Oṭṭakkuuttar* of the 12th century. *Koovai* is the collection of *aham* monologues arranged in terms of the chronological sequence of the love story, the earliest example being that on *Neḍumaaran*, the Pandya of the seventh century. *Andaadi* is a collection of hundred verses on God where the ending of one verse becomes the beginning of the next verse and the ending of the last verse, the beginning of the first verse. There are many folk *genres*—the pestle and mortar song; the song on the *Paana*, the pimp and the bard; the song of the gypsy reading the palm; the song of the untouchable farm labourers; the song expressing love towards girls selling flowers or curds; the song of the heroism of the hunter refusing to give his daughter in marriage to the king; the song on the various seasons expressing the proper love aspect related to them; the song of the drunkard; the song of siddhi and magic; and the song in praise of the achievements of the strong shoulders of a hero. *Kalambaham* is an *andaadi* of various kinds of verses on many topics, including the various folk songs, all around the name of a patron or the king, the earliest and the best being *Nandikkalambaham* on the Pallava King Nandi III of the early ninth century. *Meykkiirti* is the poetic introduction to a royal inscription. More kinds of *genre* developed as court poems—the poem waking up the king; the poem glorifying the birth of a prince; and the poem describing the

ten symbolic limbs of the State such as river, flag, drum, etc. These go on developing, so that by the seventeenth century, people begin to speak of the traditional ninety-six kinds of *prabandaa* in Tamil.

The great wars fought by the Cholas lead to the development of the literary *genre* of war song *paraṇi*. The bard invites the people of the harem to open their gates to listen to the song of the victory of their loving heroes. The desert and the temple of *Kaali* surrounded by the ghosts are appropriately described. There is some entertainment story-telling or magic performance. The famished ghosts cry for food; information about the war and slaughter is brought. *Kaali* narrates the story of the predecessors of the hero and the hero himself. The story of the origin of the war, the invasion and the victory are narrated. The ghosts rush to the battle field and prepare the feast of the corpses of men and animals, in terms of cooking and serving, with a veiled satire on many types of people, through the description of the ghosts. Many of these *paraṇis* have disappeared. Fortunately one of them has come down to us, the best of its kind. *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi* by *Jayankondaan* describing the victory of *Kuloottunga* I and his chieftain over the Kalinga country. The metre chosen befits this kind of war song, with numerous variations to suit the story and action.

The greatest scholarly court poet of the Cholas is *Oṭṭakuṭṭar* of the 12th century, who sings on four successive kings. He is famous as the *Kavi Raakshasa*, i.e. the Giant of Poetry, *Gauḍa-p-pulavar*—the poet of the *Gauḍa* style, a style which lays emphasis on words and artificiality and exaggerations. He writes many *pirabandas* on the Kings and chieftains. He is the author of two *paraṇis*, one in the age of *Kuloottunga* on *Vikrama* the prince which, however, is not available and the other *Takkayaaha-p-paraṇi* on the vanquishment of *Dakṣha*. The poet finding the exaggeration and the majestic style required for *paraṇi* becoming ridiculous if over-worked in the description of the heroism of ordinary kings, considers this *genre* as being appropriate only for describing the wars of divine forces, for instance, that involved in the destruction of the egotistic *Dakṣha*, who is the father of *Parvati*, in one of her *avatars* and who insults Siva, her husband. Grand style becomes more majestic and supernatural as it were, full of high-sounding Sanskrit phrases in their raw form without being Tamilised to suit the genius of Tamil.

PERIYA PURAANAM

Naturally a reaction starts in his own time and within the royal court. We have *Seekkilaar*, an important minister of the Chola, writing the detailed stories of the Saiva Saints of Tamil land in a comparatively simple and straight-forward style avoiding Sanskrit phrases and using Sanskrit words only in their Tamilised form, even then only when they are absolutely necessary. He is so devoted to them that he does not have the heart to refer directly to their murder or death. The Saints, irrespective of caste, education, sex or avowed religion, are great as following the respective ideals they have chosen, laying down their lives the moment they feel it impossible to live up to that ideal, however low, or high, simple or complex it be, all however, in the service of God in Man, a service which is more blissful and therefore greater than even their selfish individual salvation. These saints are all Tamilians and in that sense, this epic is a national epic of the Tamilians appealing to all and sundry as giving the message of God's love.

The unconnected stories get their unity by being narrated as forming part of the story of *Sundarar* and his spiritual development. In that sense it is the epic story of that saint whose story is qualified to become an epic, a story full of inborn love, earthly pomp, divine grace, sweet poetry and the final ascension to the *Heavensions*, the Saint going round Tamil land to every temple and singing of temples of other lands, giving thus opportunity for the description of Nature in terms of the geographical regions of the old Tamil tradition. The saint rushes one day to worship God in the temple without worshipping the Bhaktas outside. One of the Bhaktas is angry with God for honouring *Sundarar*. God inspires the Saint to sing of them. The truth is suggested that it is his diffidence and feeling of unworthiness rather than his indifference and neglect that are responsible for his not singing about them. He prays to God and it is said that God Himself gives him the initial phrase of his hymn. This suggests that God reveals to him the importance of their lives and their message as though in an inner vision, seeing

which the poet sings the *Tiruttondattohai*, the sacred list of saints of Tamil land, to which honoured congregation of all times, the present group, before him also belongs, in which are included the important contemporaries of *Sundarar*. From a worshipper of God, he becomes the great humanist worshipping God in man, God in these Bhaktas. This glorious vision marks a turning point—a conversion—in the life of St. *Sundarar*; and it is indeed of great importance in his life. It is this that *Seekkilaar* brings through the series of stories of all these Saints, all so varied as life and the world, ultimately becoming one with the absolute truth of love and light. St. *Sundarar* as interpreted by *Seekkilaar*, after enumerating the saints of Tamil land at whose feet and at the feet of the servants of servants of these saints, and falling down in all humility and love, as a convert to the spirit of their ideals, he proceeds to fall at the feet of all those who live in the service of God not only in Tamil land but also elsewhere, all through the extensive and infinite space, living not only contemporaneously with him, but also those who have lived at any time previous to him and even those, and this is important, living hereafter at any time in the never-ending future, thus seeing before him, in his divine vision, a universal and democratic family of divine love and service in and beyond the space-time continuum. In this sense, the epic becomes the universal epic of humanism. This epic has been appealing to the Tamilians, especially the Saivites. The Virasaivites, in Tamil land and outside, in Andhra and Karnataka, have taken these stories as those of their greatmen of the past, showing the divine path, Kannada and Andhra literatures have enjoyed telling and retelling these stories in various genres of literature. From this point of view, these stories are important as wielding an influence outside Tamil land.

LATER MEDIAEVAL POETRY

GENERAL

Veṇḇaa: To go back to the Pallava period for tracing a continuity, we find that in addition to the earlier translations of Mahabharatha now lost, in the ninth century in the reign of the great Pallava King Nandi III, the poet *Perundeevanaar* writes Mahabharatha story in *Veṇḇaa* metre, only portions of which are now available. It is interspersed with prose explaining the context and the continuity of the story whilst the poetic and dramatic moments in the story as conceived by the poet are alone given in verse. In *Silappadikaaram* also, earlier, such a thing happens but the prose there is rhythmic and often capable of being scanned into lines of verses, but yet it is not considered poetry, and this is important. In *Perundeevanaar's* Bharatham the prose is full of Sanskrit words. This kind of mixture of prose and verse as in *Silappadikaaram*, is also found in *Ariccandira Veṇḇaa* whose author is unknown. It is clear, it follows *Perundeevanaar*. Harischandra's story has been developed by a great Kannada poet and it is this which is found here. This work has been eclipsed by *Ariccandira Puraanam* by *Viirai aasukavi* of the 16th century. Narrative poetry continues in *veṇḇaa* metre but not with great success except for *Nalaveṇḇaa* giving the story of Naḷa, by *Puhaleendi*, perhaps in the 13th century. It creates a new rhythm in *veṇḇaa* suitable for such narrative poetry. It is a popular work, simple and flowing, symmetrical and captivating to the end contrasted with *Naidadam*, an adaptation in the 16th century by *Adiviira raama Pandya* of the Sanskrit work. In *Nalaveṇḇaa* there are no prose passages.

Religion: The various stories from folk-lore, history, religion and Sanskrit *mahaa puraanas* and *Periya puraanam*, get collected around various temples; and what are called the *Sihala puraanas* of the various places of worship arise from the 13th century as a new kind of literature. The stories of the Saivite saints come to be of philosophical importance as may be seen by the mystic poem

Tirukkali truppadiyaar. Saiva Siddhanta comes to be explained not in a straightforward way, but in terms of advice to the seekers of mystical experience, in a poetical vein, as for instance, in *Tirvundiyaar* and *Tiruvaruṭ payan*. This trend is found in other religions as well. Even in philosophical works, there are poetic passages as in *Sivagnaana Sittiyaar* of the 14th century. The founder of the Tamil Saiva Siddhanta, *Meykandaar* of the 14th century relies on his mystic experience.

Villi: Malik Kafoor deals a death blow to the independence of Tamil land. But spiritual outlook develops. Saiva Siddhanta matts come to nurture literature and religion. The fourteenth century, however, gives rise to a popular version of the Bharatha story by *Villiputtuuraar* or *Villi* for short, under a patron. The metre and rhythm change according to action and the author is a good story-teller. It is curious that though Rama's story is popular because of the literary beauties of *Kamban's* great work, the common folk are more interested in the Mahabharatha stories which in a peculiar way develops through folk-lore in Tamil, with emphasis on Krishna the *deus ex mechi na*, *Arjuna*, the lover of many princesses of various lands, *Draupadi* the divine woman, and *Karna* the munificent. Apart from this creative folk-lore, various ballad-like songs for women are sung like *Alliarasaṇi maalai*, etc. *Villi's*, however, is popular as a literary work read and commented upon every summer, when villagers are free, in every village.

Kandapuraṇam is an adaptation of a portion of Sanskrit *Skandapurana*—that part dealing with the story of Subrahmanya, the Tamil *Muruga* by *Kacciyaṇṇar*, a Saivite priest of Conjeevaram of the fourteenth century. Apart from references to aagamic cult and Saiva Siddhanta, he proceeds to narrate the story, as far as possible, in terms of the scheme of Rama's expedition, as described by *Kamban*. The lamentation of *Rati* on losing her husband *Manmatha* is very pathetic. *Muruga* kills the asura *Suurapanman* whose wife dies the moment she hears of his death, reminding us of the Tamil ideal. *Suurapanman* himself realises the greatness and divinity of *Skanda* and everything suggests the advisability of his surrender at *Skanda's* feet. But his sense of honour makes him decide to fight and die at the hands of this enemy—a new significance to Tamilian conception of Honour. The poet also describes the story of *Valli* and her marriage with *Muruga* in the most charming way. It is difficult to make the puraana an epic and the length

itself oftentimes bores the ordinary reader. That is why in the next century almost in the next generation this story in a shorter form but following in the main *Kacciappar*, comes to be written by *Sambandan Saranaalayar*. Some of the cantos are loosely knit, for instance, the *Takka Kaantam* which must be an independent story.

Tiruppuhal: The Vijayanagar Kingdom comes to stem the tide of the foreigners against their onslaught on Hinduism and the Kings who, extending their sway over Tamil land, are naturally patrons of Tamil poets and lovers of Tamil poetry especially the *Bhakti* poetry. In the reign of Prabuda Devaraya II of the fifteenth century, who is referred to in *Tiruppuhal*, *Arunagiri naatar* goes about Tamil land to the temples and praises Muruga in a new kind of development of verses, called *Tiruppuhal*—hymns in the form of musical compositions important for the exposition of the various kinds of *taalaas* suggested by the varying rhythms of the verses themselves.

SPECIAL

(a) The Siddhas

Siddhas: The poems of *Siddhas* are very popular. *Siddhas* are those who have attained Siddhi or powers through their Yoga. *Tirumuular* is considered to be the earliest known *Siddha* of Tamil land. *Siva Vaakkiyar* is mentioned by *Pattinattu-p-pillaiyaar* of the ninth or tenth century. There is a work called *Siva-vaakkiyar paadal* but perhaps many additions come to be made to this in the course of ages. *Naathapanth* of *Goraksha* and *Matsyendra* also come to be known in the South along with *Saktism* and later, *sufism*. A later *Pattinattaar* and his disciple *Pattirahiriyaar* (probably from the name Bhadra Hari) are also among the *Siddhas*; *Avvaiyaar* is the author of *avvaikkural* and *vinaayahar ahaval* referring to Yoga of six *chakras* and *kundalini*. Some of the *Siddhas*, singing in *Sindu* of folk song metre, come to be known after the phrases they repeat in their respective poems as *akappeeyicittar*, etc. Others singing like a shepherd or a man making the serpent dance are known as *idaikkaatttu-c-cittar*, *paambaattti-c-cittar*, etc. These naturally have a popular appeal. Their poetry is simple and powerful at the surface level, though the other layers of mystic significance depend on the *Sandha bhasha* or intentional

or symbolic language not easily understood. They believe in making life immortal through Yoga of serpent power or other kinds of yoga and through medicine. There is some intimate connection between alchemy, and the Siddha system of medicine on the one hand, and this kind of mysticism. Apart from these characteristics, they attack the dead rituals, the blind customs, the meaningless caste-systems, the pernicious superstitions, the danger of wealth and life and the unnecessary fetters on man. They always emphasise the essentials.

Taayumaanavar: The line of Siddhas from the time of *Tirumuular* flows on and some of the Saiva Siddhantis of the mutts come out of the orthodox circle, to be treated as belonging to the Siddha lineage. Monism is their trend. In the 17th century comes *Taayumaanavar*, for a time serving in the court of the Nayaks, renounces and becomes a disciple of a *maunaguru* coming in the line of *Tirumuular*. His verses are expressions of his mystic experience, full of Bhakti and easy exposition of the abstruse points of philosophy, in spite of the profuse use of Sanskrit words, so attractive as a lyrical out-pouring of his heart. He curiously enough prays for further births to serve the suffering humanity. He also sings in the folk song metres, with a striking force. His long-drawn verses bear everywhere the stamp of his experience. *Gunanguḍi mastaan*, a Muslim Sufi poet, sings in the self-same long-drawn verses, but in a colloquial vein.

Later : *Ramalinga* of the 19th century is himself a Siddhar and a mystic poet, always singing in sweet language. *Subramaniya Bharathi*, the Tamil national poet of the twentieth century sings like a Siddha and refers to a few other Siddhas with whom he has come into contact.

(b) Aasu Kavis

Poets who compose *impromptu* verses form a separate class according to Tamil tradition. These compose in praise of their patrons and decry in a satirical verse, the pretenders and the stingy lords. They can compose verses to order, when challenged, fulfilling even the ridiculous requirements stipulated—*slesha*, suggesting unity of any two or more unconnected things in the world, completing a verse with even an absurd phrase given, but making the verse, in spite of the phrase, sensible; when a name is given, splitting it

into parts not according to its original etymology and raising a number of questions in answer to which, the parts come in order and make up the name; composing verses without any labial consonants and rounded vowels; composing verses without long vowels; verses without *e* and *ee*, *o* and *oo*, verses with syllables containing all through only one kind of consonant, etc. The greatest of them is *Kaalameeham* of the fifteenth century in the court of a Vijayanagar chieftain. These poets have composed the other kinds of literature as well.

(c) Sankara Vedanta

Sankara Vedanta has its own poets. The earliest work now available is *Paramaārtha Tarisanam* by *Pattar*, an adaptation of Bhagavad Gita according to Sankara's commentary. This perhaps belongs to the thirteenth century. Its importance is that one of the great *Kannassa* poets of *Kerala* translated this work into Malayalam—a literal translation which however is considered to be great in Malayalam literature. The greatest of the Vedantic poets is *Tattuvāraayar* or *Tattuva-p-pirakaasar* probably of the early part of the fifteenth century. He has composed in the classical genre and these are collected together as his *adanganmurai*. He has also sung in all kinds of folk song metres of various occupations and games and these are collected together as *paaduturai*. Both are in praise of his guru, giving expression to his mystic experience, introducing phrases from the earlier saints, Saivites and Vaishnavites. His guru and himself have prepared anthologies of philosophical, religious and mystical verses from various works most of which are no longer available in their entirety; and many of which should be referring to Vedanta. The Saiva Siddhantins who have been considered to be outside the pale of the orthodox Saiva Siddhanta because of the monistic leanings are very popular among the Vedantins. *Kannudaiya Vallalaar* and *Sivgnaana Vallalaar* are such. In the seventeenth century, *Prabhoda Chandrodaya*, a Vedanta drama in Sanskrit has been adopted and adapted into a Tamil epic by *Vaidyanatha Desikar*. This *Pirabooda Sandiroodayam* is an allegory. Some of the Virasaivite mutts try to show in their poetry that there is no difference between Saiva Siddhanta and Vedanta whilst giving expression to their own mystic experience. *Sivappirakaasar* adapted the *Kannada Vedantaa Suudaamani* of

Nijagunayogi in Tamil. He belongs to the seventeenth century. *Santalīga*, his brother-in-law in his *avirooda untīyaar* explains this identity in his own way in folk song metre. Amongst the expositions of Vedānta, *Kaivalyanavanīitam* by *Taandava* is the most popular, reading like a drama. It is popular even in Kerala. It was translated into Sanskrit in the eighteenth century by one *Sanku Kavi* and therefore it must be earlier.

NEW TRENDS

Folk Lore

There begins in the sixteenth century a new trend which becomes popular in the subsequent centuries. A person going to a prostitute, takes to thieving to get her money and eventually is caught and punished by having his leg amputated, but fortunately by the favour of God, as advised by a patron or a religious person, he regains his former leg. The erstwhile thief himself comes and sings his story in his *Sinḍu* metre. This comes to be called the *Nonḍi-c-cinḍu*—the metre of the lame man. This *genre* is called *nonḍi naadaham*—a drama perhaps a solo acting. The earliest known is on the muslim patron *Siidakkaadi*. The introduction of the prostitute and the thief makes the story interesting perhaps as a caricature. Later on a number of *Nonḍi Naadahams* come to be written in honour of various deities.

The other *kind* of literary *genre* is *Pallu*, describing the rain fall, irrigation, cultivation by *Pallas*, the untouchable bondsmen of their landlords. Here there are two strata, one, the love towards God on a higher plane and the other the love and jealousy of the wives of the chief *Palla*. The high caste manager of the farm casts his covetous eyes on the *Palla* women. The details of the life of *Pallas* are vividly given. The life of polygamy though ostensibly of the *Pallas*, is a subtle satire on the higher caste patrons as well, though such attacks could not have been made directly on them. These are also composed in relation to each temple. The best is the *mukkuuḍal pallu* and this comes to be acted as *mukkuuḍal pallu naadaham* with addition.

A gypsy-like woman called *kuratti*, a particular tribe, comes for food to a maiden loving God and suffering the pangs of such love, reads her face and hand after an improvised ritual of a worship, and foretells the happy marriage, identifying her lover as God. This is the theme of the *genre Kuram*. Another theme is the wanderings of the man and the woman of this tribe—the

Singan and the *Singi*, the woman going round the cities and getting presents in the form of ornaments for reading the palms of love-sick ladies, and the man going a hunting through forests and their ultimate suspicion and joy of reunion. Both these themes are combined and a musical drama has been evolved probably by *Tirukkudaraasappa Kaviraayar* in the eighteenth century, making the story revolve round the Lord or deity of *Tirukkuṭraalam*. He has composed a *puraṇam* of some beauty and also other poems, but he is famous for this *Tirukkuṭraala-k-kuravanji*, which is full of poetic beauty, and homely descriptions of the mountains, the lady-love, God and the gypsy pair and also full of humour especially when the gypsy man mistakes the ornaments for serpents and lizards. The author makes the *Singan* speak in his dialect and this is an important development in Tamil literature. This new *genre* becomes popular and comes to be composed by poets in honour of patrons and deities of temples.

The *Sindus* have been sung to music but soon the *Kiirttanais* are evolved with *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *caranams*. Stories in the form of dramas come to be composed in *kiirttanais*, each *kiirttanai* representing a verse or song. The first of the greatest of its kind as known to us is *Raama naadaha kiirttanai*. This is by *Aruṇasala kaviraayar* who, though author of a *sthala puraṇam* and a *pillai-tamil*, is rightly famous because of this *kiirttanai naadaham* in the 19th century. Many of this kind follow.

The recital of the puranic stories by great musicians as a kind of combination of religious discourse and songs, full of humour and moral preachings develops into the art of *kaalaksheepam* in the south and these *kiirttanais* as *carittirakkiirttanais* come in handy for such *kaalaksheepams*. The most important and popular of these *carittirakkiirttanais* is that on the Harijan Saivite Saint *Nandanaar* by Gopaalakrishna Bharati. The music, the rhythm of the verses, and even the language are chosen everywhere to suit the occasion, action and character. This is full of Bhakti and devotion, irony and satire, wit and humour. One sees here the literature of colloquial language. The story does not follow *Periyapuraṇam* but that of the Kannada version.

The folk songs and ballads from early times come to be composed on puranic themes, on village deities; on heroic love beyond the pale of caste system; on popular historical figures or a kind of freedom-fighters who unfortunately have a tragic end, and

as Marudhu brothers revealing the mind of the common folk. Some of these are being sung orally perhaps to start with and recited by *pujaaris* to the accompaniment of *udukkai*, *silambu* and *pambai*, and still later written down and published. In the southern districts first those who perform worship at the temples of village deities, and later others compose and sing *villu-p-paattu* to the accompaniment of the *villu*, a musical instrument with strings, cymbals, pot drum, etc.

Gandhi mahaan katai by Kottamangalam Subbu is a twentieth century colloquial narrative in the various folk song rhythms of the ballads sung and recited by the author many a time all over South India.

Drama

There are also the *teru-kuutu* the street dramas, comparable to the Telugu *Yaksha gaana* and Kannada *ayal aattam*, a combination of music, dance and poetry interspersed with prose, and enacted in the open streets during night, especially in summer and on festivals, with characteristic dresses and adornments, differing according to the type of the character in the play, the *koomaali* or the *vidu-shaka* therein making often comments on contemporary events and personalities. This is a part of the popular art, a part of the folk lore. Several of the old texts and new compositions of old lines are revised and printed. The stories of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha*, *Sakuntala*, *Harischandra*, *Daksha Yagna*, *Hiranya* and *Savitri* have been enacted. Christians and Muslims also compose and enact their stories.

These old dramas, as improved and altered to suit the modern developments, have been re-written with songs by *Sankaradas Swamigal* and others, in the twentieth century, with greater emphasis on music and dialogues. Shakespeare dramas have come to be translated from the nineteenth century. Professor *Sundaram Pillai* writes his *Manoonmaniyam*, a drama in *ahaval* comparable to blank verse, with many passages often quoted. Though great when read, it is a failure on the stage. Drama comes to be respectable with *Sambanda Mudaliar*, a lawyer who in the beginning of the 20th century, starts the *Suguna Vilasa Sabha*, writes a number of dramas original and adaptation with emphasis on prose; and acts along with educated friends of his. Several amateur dramatic clubs have been started but drama continues to be a success because of the professional actors and musicians who act and because of the scenes

and other technical developments. There are dramatic troupes of boys performing various dramas. During the days of freedom fight, *T. K. Paavalar* has written his popular dramas emphasising the message of khadi, freedom from foreign rule, evils of drink and horse race, generally on nationalism and constructive work on Gandhian lines. *Annadurai*, the leader of the *Dravida Munnetra Kalaham* comes with his dramas, ridiculing superstitions and Brahmins' intrigues, the dramas in which he himself acts. In the cinema the great actors have come only from the boys' companies, at least in the beginning. It looks as though the cinema has displaced the drama. Attempts are being made to resuscitate drama by the *Seva* stage, etc., putting on board new dramas. Cinema has to be looked upon as a kind of literature, as a powerful mass media speaking in addition through the universal language of moving pictures. And this in modern times seems to have a political significance. Music still plays an important part though neither classical music nor folk-song tunes occur. *Kaṇṇadaasan's* songs are the best in this field. Radio, with its techniques, emphasises the spoken word and brevity. Radio talks and dramas are developing new characteristics in Tamil oratory and drama, for Radio drama is a distinct species.

Muslim Poetry

Having traced the popular literary arts, one may go back to trace the history of other literatures. The Muslims slowly come to Tamilise their culture and religion unlike in the North. *Nondi naadaham* and Sufis have already been mentioned. The first and most important major Muslim literary work *Siraappuraṇam* by *Umaruppulavar* follows the familiar puranic pattern, in giving the story of the Prophet. Other purāṇams like *Mohaidin purāṇam*, etc., follow. Poems have been written in all the usual literary genre. *Pulavar aatrappadaḷ* by *Gulaam Kaadar Raavuttar* in the early part of this century shows how great Muslims have become even in modern times as traditional scholars by being completely Tamilised.

Christian Poetry

The Christians, at first the foreign missionaries confine themselves in the beginning to prose catechisms, and essays but in the eigh-

teenth century, Father Besche writes the first Christian Tamil epic the *Teembaavani*, adapting the Portuguese epic on St. Joseph but completely Tamilising it with echoes from *Cintaamani* and *Kamban*. *Veedanaayaham Pillai* of the 19th century writes some heart-felt songs on Mary. He is a man of universal vision as is clearly seen from his *Sarva Samaya-k-kiirtanaas*. *Krishna Pillai* at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century is a bigoted Christian but a born poet. He compares the Christ's crucifixion to the *madaleerutal* or the sacrifice of the lover in the cause of his love, in the best traditions of *aham* poetry. In spite of his virulent attack on Hinduism, his poems, in imitation of the ancient Bhakti literature, are full of devotion and love to Jesus and God. His *Rakshaniya Yaattirigam*, an adaptation of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress is an allegorical epic.

Later Hindu Poetry

Coming to Hinduism, in the sixteenth century *Dharmapuram* and *Tiruvaaduturai* mutts become patrons of Saivism and Tamil, apart from producing books on philosophy, mystics and *sthalapuraanas*. In the seventeenth century one has to mention *Kumara guruparar*, a disciple of the Dharmapuram mutt and the founder of the Kaasi mutt at Banaras with its head-quarters at *Tiruppanandaal*. His *pillai-t-tamil*—child poetry—is famous especially *Miinaatci ammai-p-pillai-t-tamil* where we feel that the Goddess as a child is before our eyes. His poems are majestic, sweet and powerful, full of interesting details about Saiva Siddhanta. *Sivappirahasar* is the next great poet. His poem on the Saivite saints is famous. His Tamil version of the Viira Saivite Kannada Kavya *Prabhu linga liila* reads like an original Tamil work.

There is also the decadent poetry of Sex—the *virali vidu toodu* and *kuḷappa naayakkan kaadal*. It is a pity that a man like *Suppira deepakkaviraayar*, with all his superb mastery over description and versification, should waste his genius on such poetry, thus reminding us of the depth of the fall of Tamil culture. But perhaps as a revolt against this continues the poetry of religion and philosophy but at a superficial level by the disciples of the mutts. The greatest name is *Sivagnaana Swamigaḷ* the poet, grammarian and philosopher and his disciples with their emphasis on Saiva Siddhanta. *Kaanci-p-puraanam* written by his disciple *Kacciappar* and himself is a book

of learning. *Kacciyappar* like *Oṭṭakkuuttar* is a *Kavi raakshasā*. He has also written many puranas, the most important being *Tanikāip-puraṇam*, wherein he gives the story of Skanda's war according to the *puram* tradition of the Sangam age, the story of *Valli*, according to the *aham* tradition of the Sangam age, in a series of dramatic monologues, an exposition of Saiva Siddhanta and an adaptation of the aagamic work *Sivadharmottaram*. He uses phrases and metaphors from the Sangam works and *cintaamani* as suggestive allusions enriching his poetry and revivifying the atmosphere of ancient times.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century, old *genres of literature* continue to be produced, the greatest name being that of *Miinakshi-Sundaram Pillai* writing puranas and minor prabandas.

Ramalinga: The outstanding figure in the nineteenth century, when one looks back, is Saint Ramalinga. He is a master of the lucid and popular but literary and artistic style both in prose and poetry. The outpourings of his heart to God and in the common man are infectious. He is a poet, a Siddha, a mystic, a yogin, a philosopher, a teacher, an organiser and a powerful prose-writer wielding his pen to suit the needs of the hour. He preaches the harmony of religion condemning all that divides man from man—caste or dogma. He is the Saint of *Karunai* or mercy. God is this great love and the best way to worship and become one with Him is through love and reverence for all life. He looks upon all the religious and philosophical works as speaking in symbolic language. According to him, as for Aurobindo later, the time has come to speak in a much more direct language that may mislead people no more. He is responsible for the Temple of Light for all, built at *Vadalur*, also the *Dharmasaalai* for feeding the needy, from everywhere, which continues to this day. He has emphasised in the school he founded, the study of Tamil, Sanskrit and English. Perhaps the first non-Christian journal is also his. His universal religion of harmony, love and light is preached through his sweetest and most heart-melting verses. Like other Siddhas, he sings songs in folk song metre and in *kiirthanais* which even now make people weep and dance in joy. His message is becoming clearer and more relevant as time passes on.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Tradition: In the twentieth century, there comes the poet and philosopher Paampan Swamigal who has composed 6,000 and more verses on God Muruga. He has given us the story of Muruga without any sex or other such demeaning appeals. There are also the other poets like *Maraimalai adigal* giving his best translation of *Saakuntalam*, *Raghavayyengar* giving his *paari venbaa* and Vellakkal Subramaniya Mudaliar, his *ahaligai venbaa*.

Bharathi: But the greater poets are those who are relevant to the age with a new vision of India's freedom and her mission in the world. *Subramaniya Bharathi* is the national poet. His national songs giving us the glory of India and Tamil land, their mountains and rivers, their green fields and the blue seas, their chaste women and wise men, their heroes and architects. Tamil language is the sweet honey but there is a new born energy in its very breath. He holds up to ridicule the moderates and the ritualists. He sings of the future society of Bharat as one family for the good of all men, ready to destroy the world even if one person be dying of hunger. He curses the idle rich. Woman is the new power, no more the slave. Science and technology, he sees serving India.

The poet sings all this, mostly in the folk song metre whose variety and strength he explores with his knowledge of music. The language is the language of the common man, the language of democracy and socialism. He is a Siddha and a Bhakta. He is a vedantin but not of the wrong kind which runs away from the world. He sees God *Kaṇṇan* in all kinds of relationship with him—his lady-love, heroic lover, his servant, his master, his companion, his guru, his disciple, etc. *Kaṇṇan paṇṇu* also in the folk-song metre reminds us of the songs of *aalvaars*, in spite of its refreshing originality.

He has sung a narrative poem, in the self-same metre giving us the story of *Paandavas* losing *Draupadi* in gambling, when, therefore, *Duriyodana* makes her to be brought to the royal court for being derobed. The invisible divine hand saves her and she declares

her vow in public not to knot her tresses till Duriyodana is killed in war. The story is told with epic grandeur. Readers easily see the enslaved India in the figure of *Paancaali* and also the then English rulers in Duriyodhana and others. On account of this underlying suggestion, the poem has been an astounding success.

The third *kavya* is his *Kuyil paattu*, reading like a fairy tale, where the poet is the prince and lover, Kuyil is the princess, and his enemies the rival princes, all being transformed as in a fairy tale. The enemy princes come as monkey and bull to mislead the poet. Finally comes the resolution and happy embrace of the true lovers. This is a fairy tale to the children; a romance to the adults; an allegory to the learned; a mystic poem with symbols to the Saints.

He has always been believing in universal love and therefore boldly goes to the elephant now grown a rogue, in spite of protests, only to be picked up but thrown aside by it fortunately as a result of the intervention by his friend. But he soon succumbs to the internal injuries and passes away before he has reached the heights of his poetry.

Bharathi Daasan as the name itself suggests is a poet who belongs to *Bharathiaar's* school. But soon, more than political freedom, the freedom from age-long social fetters of caste and superstition become important to him. He comes under the influence of the self-respect movement and as a result, there is vituperation here and there and sometimes there is also oratory rather than poetry. But he is a great poet if we forget his necessary weakness. In his poem *puraticikkavi*, an adaptation of *Bilhana*, there is the poet condemned by the king to death, for the sin of reciprocating the love of the princess, appeals to the public at large against the caste-ridden and status-ridden obstruction to true love, preaches equality, liberty and freedom, and brings out a revolution where people become the real rulers in the new democracy and he also weds his beloved erstwhile princess. This poem has given him the title of *puratci-k-kavi*, the poet of revolution. He is a scholar, and one can hear echoes from the classics and hence his love and admiration for *Kumaraguruparar*. He has composed many narrative poems bringing out the greatness and heroism of ordinary Tamil men and women, exposing the intrigues and the pretensions of priesthood, and the dangers of superstitions. His stories end in the establishment of a kingdom of peace and equality, love and learning, freedom and liberty, often with a belief in that one

great God—intelligence incarnate. His description of the simple beauties of Nature is, to use his phrases, the joyful smile of beauty itself. His *Kuḍumba Viḷakku* "The lamp of a family" describes the shining glory of the happy and contented, loving and industrious, educated and cultured, simple and healthy, Tamil family. The love of the couple when they have grown old and decrepit is the crowning glory of this work.

Dee. Vi. or *Desika Vinaayaham Pillai* is great as a translator. His *Omarkhayyam* reads like an original Tamil work. So do his translations from *Gitanjali*, 'Light of Asia' and Blake. He has himself a few glorious children poems. He is a nationalist and he sings on khadi, Gandhi and Bharathi. His *Marumakkaḷ taayam* humorously gives a picture of the matriarchal society as it has existed among the Tamils of Nagarcoil, bringing out its defects.

Others: There are others who have followed these poets, explaining the possibilities of the successful old verses and varieties of possibilities in the *sindu* metre and of rhythm in combination with music, writing description and stories with emphasis on the various political prejudices of theirs.

Kavi-arangam: A new development has taken place when *Kaviarangams* or poetic platforms come to be organised in connection with literary or other conferences and festivals, where various poets read out their respective verses composed for the occasion on connected subjects, as it were, in a symposium. Since all kinds of people are in the crowded audience, the verses have to be crystal clear and topical with humour and other poetic sentiments not to be escaped even when heard in haste—in short have to form an entertainment so that the listeners may not get bored. These are collected and published as, for instance, that of the present Chief Minister of Tamilnadu *Kalaigñar Karuṇanidhi* whose lamentations on the death of Annadurai, his leader is very appealing.

Free Verse: Another development is the free verse as a revolt against those writers whose verses have nothing but their old prosody. First the rhythm of the old verses with many breaches of the rules come. Later more and more freedom is sought after, till the rhythm of the prose alone is the guiding force, the lines being divided according to the phrases of thought as conceived by the poet. Like the *Digambara* poets of Andhra Desh and also old tantrik poets, even obscene language is not avoided by certain poets. These are lyrics.

PROSE LITERATURE

Commentaries: Literature is for a long time almost in verses. *Tolkaappiyam*, however, refers to other compositions which come nearer to verses without being scanned into lines and therefore these can be taken to be rhythmic prose, even with dialectic words and to be straight forward prose, all of which have not come down to us. In *Silappadikaaram* the first Tamil epic and later in other Champu Kavyas, there are prose passages more rhythmic than not, coming to explain the context, etc. The contexts given in a summary way under each one of the Sangam verses are probably the first attempts at commentaries. The first known commentary is by Nakkiirar handed down by word of mouth till it is written down at the end of the tenth century or so. It is a commentary on *Iraiyanar ahapporul*, an exposition of *aham* theory, with interesting purple patches of rhythmic prose. The commentaries on grammar and literature contain passages which may be considered short essays. The commentaries on philosophical works contain longer expository passages in Sivappiragaasar's of the fifteenth century, *Velliyambala-t-Tambiraan's* of the seventeenth century, Sivagnaana Swami's of the eighteenth century, especially the latter's has Bhashyam on *Swagnaanapootam*.

Sri Puranam: The *manipravala* commentaries and philosophical guides have already been mentioned. The Jains have been writing stories in Tamil prose. The most important is the *Srii Puraanam* by *Mandala purudoottaman* during the reigns of *Krishna Devaraja*. It is in *manipravala* style with interspersed verses—*ahavals* like blank verse and it is really a great prose literature.

Foreigners: Contact with the Christians, though begun earlier, comes to be felt strongly from the fifteenth century. They lay emphasis on education and Bible study even by the lowest strata of society. Simpler and even more colloquial Tamil begins to be written with an eye on children's education. The earliest catechism belongs to the sixteenth century though written in Roman letters and printed in Europe. St. Xavier is said to have translated

passages into Tamil but what has been printed as such, must have been revised in later times. By the end of the sixteenth century, books containing the Christian stories come to be written and printed in India. *Anricus* is important in this way. In the seventeenth century, Father De Nobili comes to write in Tamil, books on Christian philosophy and religious criticism. Tamil comes to boast of a Tamil exposition of the Themistic philosophy. In the eighteenth century Father Beschi has written a number of works in Tamil but what will live amongst them is his *Paramaartta Guru Kataikal*, the adventures of a foolish Guru and his four idiotic students, ridiculing the various schools of Puritans; but nobody recognises this today, though enjoying the humour as we do Cervantes, if small things can be compared to great things. Here we have the beginnings of modern fiction.

A Diary: Contact with the West in the confused political conditions of India in the eighteenth century throws up to power some great Indians who become attached to the Governors of East India Company, helping them in their trade and administration. They go under the name of *Dubash*. *Aananda Rangam Pillai*, the great *dubash* of Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, is a great administrator and patron of learning. Fortunately his diaries written in Tamil are available. He writes in the colloquial language which must have been then, an admixture of the Sanskrit, the Urdu, the Persian and the French and the English with Tamil. It is so very vivid powerfully expressing the political strategy, the commercial practices and the religious conditions of these times. Its value as a piece of colloquial literature of the times is indeed very great.

Naavalalar: In the nineteenth century, prose comes to its own. *Aarumuha naavalalar* of Ceylon, who after helping the Christians in their translation of the Bible, breaks away from them, but benefited by the contact, realises the necessity for educating the children in their own religion and Tamil through graded text books. He composes graded readers for Tamil and Saivam. This is the beginning in a way of children's literature. He has also given us a simple prose version of *periyapuraanam* and *Tiruvilaiyaadal puraanam*. There may have been earlier version of the *itihisas* in prose, but it is in the nineteenth century, a prose version of *Kambaraamaayanam* giving some literary flourish comes to be published and later Mahabharatha and Puranas also come to be translated. Stories

like that of the twelve ministers and Vikkīramaadittīyan also appear in prose and become very popular.

St. Ramalinga is one of the great writers of Tamil prose to be ranked with great literatures. Apart from his talks which have been reduced to writing by his disciples and his commentaries, his version of the story of *Manuccoolan* is of great literary merit and importance, though full of long drawn yet not complicated sentences. His essay on love and reverence to living-beings is also significant as showing a new approach. His letters also have a literary value, the first of its kind to be prescribed in Tamil.

FICTION AND OTHER WRITINGS

Novels

Early Novels Prose: The contact with the west through English literature is also responsible for the development of novels and short stories in Tamil. *Vedanayaham Pillai* in the nineteenth century, a Munsiff under the British legal structure, writes the first romance in prose—*Pradaapa Mudaliyaar Sarittiram* with digressions and lectures on morals. The first novel technically to be so called comes to be written by a graduate of the Madras University *Rajam Aiyar*. It is a social novel, portraying the life of a Brahmin family and the surroundings of those times in the Madurai District. The dialogues are true to the dialects of the characters. It introduces an element of the criminal novel, perhaps a weakness. It also describes the spiritual and psychological development of the hero and the heroine. The next great novelist is *Maadava Aiya* emphasising social reform. There are also others. There are attempts at translating or adapting novels of Reynolds and others. Detective novels also come into vogue as translations and adaptations, though original stories also come to be written successfully later.

Kalki in his novels and short stories reminds the stories of the previous age, with his own remarks here and there and portrays the rich, middle class life where he idealises some of his characters. Elements of crime stories also come in. His historical novels are popular, making us proud of the past and from that point of view, they are still a great success. But the stories are not true to those times represented. Writers of historical novels like *Aru Ramanathan*, etc., unfortunately follow his idealisation and the mysteries of criminal novels. The political history is there but the social history is all often wrong. In his non-historical novels also *Akilan* follows *Kalki* but in recent times, he has come to deal with the life of the labour world and he speaks of his Gandhian realism. *Dr. Varadarajan* as a Professor of Tamil has made novel respectable

in the eyes of Tamil scholars by writing a series of novels introducing various techniques, but subject to the inhibitions of the older tradition, though in the end he tries to go beyond them. He has a following of his students also writing like him. In Tamil land the purist movement is strong as started by *Maraimalai Adigal* and *Dr. Varadarajan's* characters have Tamil names which have become so popular that children are named after them. There are groups of writers starting journals for introducing new techniques for explaining the forms and contents of fictions, protesting against other popular novels and writing fictions which they consider original and technically correct.

New Trends: A new kind of novels full of regional colour and another full of the social and regional dialects are becoming popular. The successful ventures of *Jayakaandan*, finding scope for some of the trends of the western novels, in the developing society of Tamil land describing the mental conflicts arising on account of the rapidly changing culture with a realism, using the techniques of stream of consciousness and others, when necessary, for reminding us of the working of the minds of the characters, are a great success wielding as he does a powerful style. There are ladies like Rajam Krishnan writing family novels some times introducing as background the life of the tribes or political movements here and elsewhere.

The Short Story

The short story to be technically so called has its birth in the stories of *V. V. S. Aiyar* in the twentieth century. Kalki is also popular for short story but he never forgets himself. The Journal *Manikkodi* starts a new tradition and so does various other trends each trying to go a step further than its predecessors. *Pudumai-pittan* starting with adaptations at first writes later successful original short stories. He is a powerful writer, his style changing to suit the subject-matter of the stories. His realism, the mastery of the spoken-word, his allusive adjectives create the necessary atmosphere.

Politics plays an important part, the writers having important political messages to deliver. One has the Congress writers like Rajaji with his sympathy and humour, bringing out the hopes and sorrows of the rural life and expressing the evils of drink and

untouchability, as a great story-teller. The non-brahmin movement becoming the self-respect movement develops as a political one under Annadurai, gives us not only novels but also short stories from the pen of Annadurai and others. *Jayakaandan* starts as a communist and a short story writer but soon reveals with sympathy, the beauties and sufferings of all kinds of life from the social and psychological point of view. The life of poor platform dwellers has been realistically revealed in all its depth by his sympathetic imagination. Short story has been a greater success than any other *genre* in modern Tamil.

Other writings

Tamil prose develops its powers of expressing modern ideas, in various fields as proved by the Tamil Encyclopaedia. It becomes pliable enough for the modern mass media. *Subramanya Bharathi* and others have created a politically strong language. An outlandish hybrid style gives place under *Tiru-vi-ka* a poet, journalist, labour leader, a philosopher, a great prose writer and orator, to become a beautiful and forceful, dignified and enjoyable style. His Tamil has become a great model for the youths of his generation. *Maraimalai Adigal*, a poet, a novelist, a commentator and a philosopher starts the purist movement which is still a power though not as strong. He is a master of a simple and sweet style, imitated by a number of writers. *R. P. Sethu Pillai* a literary critic has a style of his own full of assonance and humour with broken quotations. *Dr. Varadarajan* as a writer of poetic and literary critic wields a facile pen. *T. P. M.* as a literary critic, though reminding a commentator, has his own unadorned style, often appearing difficult because of depth. *Annadurai* and *Karunanidhi* have developed a new style with assonance and beauty with such inversions that give a life to words. Their oratory has a rhythm of its own, captivating the attention and admiration of many youths who pay their homage, by imitating their inimitable style. *T.K.C.'s* style is simple but yet has the power of revealing as a touchstone, the unfathomable depths, and beauties of all great poetry which appeals to him, though he has his prejudices limiting thus the poetry he admires. *Rajaji*, a great administrator is not only a great short story writer but also a born teacher explaining in simple Tamil the

messages of Ramakrishna, *Tirumuular*, *Tiruvalluvar*, *Sri Krishna*, *Nammaalvaar*, *Valmiki*, *Vyasa* and *Upanishads*, not to speak of Socrates and Marcus-Aurelius.

Popular science, auto-biographies, travelogues have also their best writers in Tamil. Children's literature is also developing with Ti. Ja. Ra. and others. *Valliappa* is their poet. Childrens' Encyclopaedia shows this kind of greatness in Tamil.

Tamil thus comparing with the classical languages from ancient times, is fast trying to compete with the modern languages of the world.

TAMIL AND OTHER CULTURES

Importance of Cultural History

History is no longer looked upon merely as a story of wars and conquests. It is of greater interest and significance when it narrates the progress of society and culture. Intercultural relationship or cultural diffusion emphasizes international solidarity, as against the old world parochial conception of cultural borrowing. Except when institutions cease to exist, there is bound to be a give and take amongst them. Whenever there are rains, floods inevitably carry everything along with them; but soon everything settles down in its own place and what is of permanent value remains. The same thing happens when the so called dominant culture overpowers a recessive one. It is the lasting results of cultural diffusion that deserve a scientific study in our progress. "Dominant" merely means the useful. A dominant culture from one point of view may be recessive from another. When the Whites and Red Indians met, potato and tobacco of the latter had a dominant influence on the former. In cultural diffusion there is always a give and take.

Languages in Contact

The contact with the speakers of other languages through the ages has its traces left in the form of a number of words which have become part of current Tamil usage. Similarly Tamil words have entered into the vocabulary of those languages. A rough idea of this kind of mutual influence has been given in my *History of Tamil Language* under the heading, "The External History of Tamil Language". A study of the foreign words has been made by one of my students, Tiru T. S. Manickam of the Osmania

University revealing the influence of the Greeks, Romans, Persians, Arabs, Jews, Portuguese, Dutch, French, English, Singalese, Malayans and the Chinese, not to speak of the Malayalis, Kannadiggas, the Telugus, the Mahrattas, the Urdu and other North Indian speakers. Except for studies like that of Dr. Subba Rao of Andhra University on the Indian words in English the study of Tamil words in other languages has yet to be taken up in depth because it requires the study of Tamil by the people of other languages on the one hand and the study of all the other languages by the students of Tamil on the other.

Tamil, the Dravidian

But what we are after is not merely evidence of such contact; for what we know even now is enough to prove the contact of Tamil speakers with speakers of almost all the important languages of the world. Tamil is an international language in the sense that it is the mother tongue of a number of groups in many independent States all over the world—India, Ceylon, Malaysia, Singapore, Fiji, South Africa, East Africa, not to speak of the educated Tamilians studying or serving in Europe, Australia and America.

The Deeper Level

But what is of greater interest is the diffusion of cultures at a deeper level, the influence of literature, religion and philosophy.

Influence of other Cultures of India

Tamil language belongs to the Dravidian family of languages. The majority opinion at present seems to hold that the language of the Indus valley inscriptions was one form of a protodravidian. The Dravidians taken as referring not to a separate race but to the speakers of Dravidian languages must have naturally influenced the other peoples and cultures of this great land of India, even as they in turn should have been influenced by others. As the story of the influence of Sanskrit on the Tamil is dealt with by

Dr. Filliozat, one may rest content here with pointing out how, thanks to the Dravidian, the phonology of the languages of India converged to have the cerebrals, how more or less a pan-Indian syntax developed where the predicate generally comes in time to occupy the final position in the sentences.

The Importance of the region of Origin

Amongst the Dravidian languages, Tamil developed an excellent literature from the beginning of the Christian era and its writing system unlike the systems of other Dravidian languages still preserves the unique Dravidian features whilst the alphabet system of others is completely modelled on the Sanskrit. As a result people were misled into arguing that these Dravidian languages were Prākṛts or corruptions of the Indo-Aryan Sanskrit. Therefore, it is easier to start from Tamil, in studying this diffusion, especially for recognizing the Dravidian elements, provided one does not forget that there must have been diffusion into the Tamil culture as well. It must also be remembered that because a work is in Sanskrit it should not be assumed that it represents purely an Aryan culture; for people of all regions used Sanskrit as their *lingua franca*. A book in English written by a Tamilian has to be taken as representing, to a certain extent, the culture of the writer in the Tamil country. Śaṅkara belongs to Kerala when it did not separate itself from the world of Tamil and according to the tradition relating to *Saundarya Lahari* he refers therein to the sweet flowing verses of St. TiruñāNacampantar, one of the Tamil Tēvāram hymnologists. Rāmānuja born near Madras at Śrī Perumpūtūr in Tamil land, gave in his Sanskrit works according to tradition the message of the Tamil poets and saints of Vaiṣṇavism. The vaiṣṇavism of Maṇavālā MāmuNi and others is aggressively Tamilian. Similarly *Śaiva Siddhānta*, as uniquely interpreted by St. Meykaṇṭār and his line, though influenced by other śaivite philosophers of the North, represents the culture and message of the Tamil saints. There are works which do not claim any author except as coming from Rṣi Śuka, for instance like the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; and one has then to find its place of origin. It is therefore, of great interest to learn that according to many a scholar the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* had its origin

in southern India. Similarly the largest recension of the *Mahābhārata* is the southern version and, therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the extra verses in the southern version are the contributions of the southern Indian culture. Except for these basic generalizations, it is not intended to evaluate or summarize these contributions in this paper.

BHAKTI CULT SPREADS FROM TAMIL LAND

General Trends

The purāṇas—the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Bhaviṣyat*—speak of the Bhakti being born as a young girl in the Drāviḍa or the Tamil country (more specifically in some versions on the banks of Kāvēre and Tāmparaparṇi) and going all over south India until she becomes aged in Gujarāt. This is certainly a reference to the Bhakti cult being a contribution of the Tamils through their Śaivite NāyaNmār and the vaiṣṇavite Ālvār. There are various trends in this Bhakti movement of Tamil land and when one speaks of its diffusion all over India, it is only a few aspects of this, that are found here and there in the various regions of India. A general or composite picture is given here so as to trace the origin of the trends in the Tamil world: and, even there, it must not be assumed that all these trends are found in one author.

(a) *Service*: The Bhakti movement in its early stages in Tamil land is not given to emotional outburst; nor is its intellectual aspect forgotten. The common emphasis is on seeing God in man. Social service is divine service. *Kai-t-tonṭu* or manual work in such service is made holy.

(b) *No World Negation*: Though non-attachment is preached, all these saints do not plead for renunciation. Some of them are married and their wives are equally great. There are women saints like the Śaivite Kāraikkal Ammaiyār and the Vaiṣṇavite Āṇṭāl. These are saints and mystics and their poems assure us of their experience of God. The world, the play of the Lord, the concrete form of His Grace, the best school instituted by the Lord for our regeneration, is full of beauty as one great incarnation of God. "One can live well in the world because God is with the Lady of His Grace" sings St. TiruññāNacampantar

and he enjoys the beauties of Nature surrounding the shrines of the Lord, from this point of view. Children are divine symbols and he sings in a poetic vein, of the Heaven of Temple (*Tiruvilimilalai*) coming down enchanted by the simple music of a lullaby sung by a young rustic mother living in a mountain.

(c) *Music*: The poems of these Bhaktas were generally musical compositions. St. TiruññāNacampantar speaks of the music which purges all the passions out of the heart which then blossoms forth in purity and reveals the pure light of God.

(d) *One Community*: The servants of God form one community of love and service. They do not believe in the caste system or its hierarchy. Harijans like NantaNār are wanted by God and some like Nilakaṇṭha YāLppāṇa are taken by the saints like Campantar to the place of the sacred fire or to the sanctum sanctorum as TiruppaṇāLvār was done.

St. Tirumūlar asserts that there is only one God and only one community. Vaiṣṇavites speak of *Toṇṭakkulam*, the community of servants of God. Rāmānuja is said to have thrown open the gates of the temple at Mēlkote in Mysore to all, including Harijans, and even to this day, this temple is kept open for Harijans for only a month every year, probably due to the caste rules and untouchability once again asserting themselves after the days of Rāmānuja, till in our age, law has abolished untouchability, it is hoped, once for all.

(e) *Love and Mysticism*: The Bhaktas use the language of love, premarital and postmarital love. But they do not descend to the level of mere eroticism. As the mystic experience cannot be described except in terms of symbols, the story of love to God comes in handy. St. Tirumūlar has boldly equated Love with God. The *Caṅkam poetry* of the noumenon (*aka-p-pāṭṭu*) took love alone as the fundamental universal inner reality whose various aspects are sung in terms of a lover and his lady-love. The emphasis is on the universal rather than on the particular which can be dated. It is the ideal love which is spoken of by the ĀLvārs and saints following Tirumūlar's identification of love with God. The saints and ĀLvārs sing of their love for God. There is thus a continuity in love poetry from the Sangam age to Bhārathi, the Tamil National Poet of modern times.

(f) *Meaningless Ritualism*: At least Siddhas especially Śivavākkīyar who may have lived in the Tenth century, condemned

the meaningless rituals which are repeated without their symbolic significance being understood. When the idol is not recognised as a symbol and is mistaken for the reality, it becomes a fetish. Without reference to the inner presence of God, the worship of the idol is absolutely futile, according to Śivavāṁkiyar. To those who do not realise divine presence everywhere, the rituals of a bath in the holy rivers and similar blind superstitions are useless even according to St. Appar. But there is not a clear cut distinction made between *Nirguṇa* worship and *Saguṇa* worship. These poets and saints easily pass from one to the other. Even the *advaitins* do not condemn *Saguṇa* worship though they have not accepted it as the final end. *Sakala* and *Niskala* forms of worship are also spoken of. When one realises God's presence everywhere, the beautiful forms according to Rāmānuja are in one way a special incarnation of God's *Sundara* (Beauty) aspect. This theory of Beauty should not be taken as justifying the worship of the fetish.

(g) *Politics and Religion*: There has not been always a conflict between politics and religion. But the divine writer thinks of the presence of God in the ruling king looked upon therefore as a representative of Viṣṇu. There is also the practice of raising a temple on the remains after the cremation of kings, called *Pallippaṭai-k-koyil*, though this does not reach the perfection of the *Devarāja* cult found on the Eastern Seas. But when the Śaivites and the Vaiṣṇavites came to revolt against the world negating principles of some Buddhists and Jains at later times, these later probably used their political influence with monarchs against this new onslaught on their power. The Pallava King Mahendra VarmaN and the Pāṇḍya King NeṭumāraN were ardent followers of Jainism. St. TiruñāNacampantar succeeded in converting the Pāṇḍya king to Śaivism. St. Appar had to suffer the consequences of the enmity against him of the Jains who were patronised by Mahendra Varma Pallava according to the traditions; and in one of his songs Appar sings, "We are not the slaves of any one; we are not even afraid of hell as long as Śankara protects us. We are not here to follow the dictates of kings, parading on the elephants richly clothed in their silk dress".—This attitude is glorified in the poems of the National Poet Bhārathi of the Twentieth century. There are also statements found here and there, for instance, Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram* says that when Bhaktas are not well cared for the country goes

to ruins. This reminds us of Guru Nānak's protest against Babar and his condemnation of human slaughter by kings.

Aspects in Bhakti Cult found elsewhere

All these various trends though sometimes of minor importance are enumerated here to show that the trends which developed in the Bhakti cult elsewhere in India had their starting point in South India itself. The ethical emphasis, the intellectual certitude, the emotional glow of pure intelligence looking upon social services as divine service, the neglect of caste and other differences so as to glorify the saints of the so called lower caste as found in Māhārāṣṭra, Āndhra, Karnāṭaka and North India, may also be found in Tamil land and Tamil culture.

Contact

There were the TAMILIAN contacts with Āndhra and Karnāṭaka. The Tamil influence could have spread to Māhārāṣṭra through Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa empires. Later when the Maharatta Kingdom had its branch at Tanjore there was a more direct influence as a result of which the Śaivites stories and Vaiṣṇavite stories of South India flowed into the Marathi literature produced at Tanjore.

Cosmopolitanism.

There is a cosmopolitan outlook and emphasis on the one world idea, though in later times a certain intolerance and narrow nationalism began to assert at times as a reaction against the foreign influence of the aggressive missionary religions. Others have also emphasized the fundamental unity of India. In the Tamil country over and above this fundamental unity of India, there was also cosmopolitanism. The Cankam poet PūṅkuNRaṇsang "Every village is my native village and everyone is my kith and kin". St. Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of this cosmopolitanism as the fruit of education. "Any village becomes our native village, any land our native land. Why then a man does not educate

himself till death?" St. Tirumūlar asserts "There is but one God" implying that he is the father and exclaims "There is but one community, a family of human beings". Avvaiyār, the idealised woman saint expressing the folk idea, states that there are but two castes in this world; the caste of the munificent and the great and that of the miser and the mean. St. Cuntarar enumerates the names of the great ones of Tamil land who irrespective of the caste, creed, sex and age become great in the eye of the Lord when they choose any one kind of service to Man as their way of divine worship, and live upto it giving up their lives and relatives if that ideal could not be lived upto. This enumeration is for encouraging with the promise of Divine Blessings the crestfallen and the depressed Tamil land of his times. But he is anxious that he should not be taken as parochial and therefore speaks of the divine Democracy of Love and Service belonging to all lands beyond the Tamil country, and living not only in his age but also in the ages which went before his and which will succeed his, forming thus the Universe of Man of all times and climes. He falls at the feet of all of them. The beautiful phrase *appālum aṭi cārntār* "those who beyond the Here and Now took refuge in the feet of the Lord" has been interpreted thus by St. CēkkiLār who came to describe the stories of the Tamil saints in the Kāvya style. This CēkkiLār uses the word *ulaku ellām* "all the world" at the beginning, at the centre and at the end of his great Kāvya. There is a tradition that he was divinely inspired to use this phrase *ulaku ellām* implying the great message, we have been trying to explain. St. Aruṇagirinātar of the Vijayanagar Kingdom speaks of His Lord inhabiting every temple in existence all round the world. St. Rāmaliṅga the saint of 'Samarasa Sanmārga, the path of Truth which is the common and basic experience everywhere speaks, like Tirumūlar, of God as the Father and the whole humanity as His children knit together by *ānma neya orumaipātu* "the unity of the love amongst the souls."

Wandering Saints

The saints of India practised this cosmopolitanism travelling not only all over India but also through other lands. It is indeed a wonder how in those far-off times, without any quick means of

travel, the ideas spread through the length and breadth of India and beyond, thanks to those wandering servants of God. St. TiruññāNacampantar and St. Cundarar must have gone to Ceylon, to the Himalayas and to the distant Kedar. St. Tirumañkai ĀLvār must have gone to the northern seats of Vaiṣṇavite worship—Naimisāraṇya & Badrināth. Sankara travelled all over India; Rāmānuja, Maṇavāḷa MāmuNi and other Vaiṣṇavite saints and scholars succeeded in spreading the message of the ĀLvār so much so not only *Viśiṣṭādvaita* has become an all India philosophy like Advaita but their followers outside Tamil land also have transcribed the poems of the ĀLvār in the scripts of their mother tongue in Telugu, in Kannada, in Hindi, in Gujarati and lately in Bengali. This wandering tribe of God is responsible for carrying the Bhakti cult to other parts of Northern and Southern India. Probably this is the result of the older influence of the world religion of the Buddha. South Indian influence is found not only in India but also in Ceylon and the Eastern seas.

Tradition of the spread

It is this which gives credence to the stories of the connection between the Rāmānuja school and Rāmānand and of the connection between Kambar's *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Tulasi Rāmāyaṇam*. Saints of the North like Guru Nānak and Tulasi have travelled to the South and to this day the cosmopolitanism is being kept alive by this tribe of wandering fakirs, Siddhas, Vairāgis and other servants of God. What has to be emphasized here is that this trend was very noticeable in the Bhakti movement of Tamil land.

Siddha Creeds

That truth was beyond creeds, discussions, dogmas and caste distinctions, was also clearly stated in no uncertain terms by the Tamil saints. God is the god of all. Their approach is not the negative way like that of Guru Nānak, "There is no Musulman, there is no Hindu" but in the positive way "He is all and he is everywhere and that everyone is His" NammāLvār speaks of even Hell being God. There has developed especially amongst

the common folk the reverence for all religions, thanks to the followers of *Nātha pant*, sūfis, the fakirs and saints of all religions of South India, as against the intolerance of the learned few. These even now flock to the doors of the mosque, the church and the temple to be blessed by the pure in heart. The works of the sūfis like Pir Muhamad are found in the collection of Tamil poems of the Siddhas and the names of the *Nātha* of the *Natha pant* like Gorakha and Matsyendra are also found therein.

Common intellectual climate

Mention has been made of the Siddhas of Tamil who were often iconoclastic. *Vacanagaḷus* of the vīraśaiva Saints in Kannaḍa and the *Padyas* or verses of Vēmana of Telugu country may appear to the Tamilians as echoes of the verse of their Siddhas. Here is probably an evidence of a common intellectual climate rather than any direct borrowing.

RAMAYANA OF KAMPAN

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is being claimed as their own by all the peoples of India and the Far East, with versions in each one of the languages of this extensive region. There had been a translation of this epic in Tamil in an earlier age; but the most popular and famous one is that by KampaN variously dated from the Ninth to the Thirteenth century of the Christian era. It is also spoken of as a dramatic epic explaining that story as the incarnation of God as Man. There is no other literary work in Tamil as great as this. Christians and Muslims—not to speak of the Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites, praise this as the greatest poetic work in Tamil. People often get the whole epic by heart and it has been going round by word of mouth, so much so there are innumerable readings of the text. Since its birth up to the present times, its popularity has always been growing wherever Tamil is spoken.

(a) *In Kannaḍa and Kerala*: The wonder is, it was equally popular in the Kannaḍa and the Kerala countries. A Kannaḍa inscription of the fourteenth century speaks of the exposition of KampaN's *Rāmāyaṇa* in a temple in the Kannaḍa country. The

Kerala people deified KampaN and that shows the high esteem they had for him and his work. According to a tradition before the *Rāmāyaṇa* war started in Laṅka, the kingdom of Rāvaṇa, Śiva ordered Durgā who was guarding the city of Rāvaṇa, to leave her place and go away so that Rāma could have to that extent a free entry. Durgā, the goddess of war and in a way the consort of Śiva, pleaded with Him that she should not be deprived of witnessing the greatest of the wars—the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Śiva promised that she would see this war in a much more interesting way, for poetry in which He intended to tell the story is more truthful and more interesting than the facts whose implications are not clear to the participants and sight-seers of the drama of real life. Śiva, according to this promise, came to be born as KampaN and wrote the dramatic epic of *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the Śiva temples of Kerala, especially in the North Kerala, during festivals, one has the *Rāmāyaṇa* enacted as a marionette play, the figures being cut out of leather. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of KampaN had been thus made into 32 marionette plays or shadow plays. Men sing the verses behind the screen and conversations in Malayālam are elaborated as beautiful and humorous commentaries on the *Kamparāmāyaṇa* verses, with slight changes making the verses into dramatic speeches of characters. The idea is that these 32 dramas were intended for fulfilling the promise of Śiva to Durga. In the South Kerala Temples as the late lamented poet and scholar Tiru Tesika Vināyakam Piḷḷai once told me there are endowments for reading and expanding the *Kamparāmāyaṇa* as evidenced by the inscriptions of these temples. All these evidences go only to prove the prominent position of *Kamparāmāyaṇa* in Kerala. It is however curious that *Kamparāmāyaṇa* is not so well known in the Telugu country.

(b) *Influence on Tulasi*: The influence of *Kamparāmāyaṇa*, some claim, is found in Northern India in the great *Rāma Carita-mānasa* of Tulasi Dās. According to the Śiva mutts of *Dharma-puram* and *TiruppaNantāl* of Tanjore, their follower Kumarakuruparar went to Banaras, preached *Kampa Rāmāyaṇa* in Hindi and established his mutt on the banks of the Ganges. It was assumed by some Tamil scholars that Tulasi Dās should have heard the Tamil version through such Hindi lectures. But unfortunately Tulasi Dās wrote his *Rāmāyaṇa* long before Kumarakuruparar could have come to Banaras. Tulasi Dās however had

been to the south up to Rāmeśvaram in the Tamil country and it is not impossible that he might have heard the story as told by KampaN. Tulasi himself states that he has brought in stories as told in other places. KampaN's Sitā and Rāma see each other and begin to love each other from that time, even before the *Svayamvara* of the bow takes place the next day. This premarital love is according to the best traditions spoken of in early Tamil poetry called the Caṅkam poetry. It is important to note that Tulasi also introduced this premarital love—Sitā sees Rāma when she goes to offer Puja. My friend Dr. Shankar Raj of the Madras University has worked out this thesis of Tulasi's dependence on KampaN at great length. One need not argue at any length on the dependence of even *Kamparāmāyaṇa* or Vālmiki but it must be added that KampaN in addition had followed and developed the stories of Rāma as found in the poems of ĀLvārs—stories which must have been popular in the folk stories and songs of Tamil land. But one has to mention the influence of the story of *Mahirāvaṇa* probably belonging to Bengal and their poet Kṛāttivasa; *Mayilrāvaṇa* *N Katai* is a narrative Tamil poem of later times, popular among the women folk of Tamil land. The influence of the Caitanya school probably brought this story to Tamil land.

TAMIL AND KERALA

(a) *Kerala Tamil Poets*: In ancient times it was Tamil literature that was accepted as their own by the Keralites. The great Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram* is considered to have been born in Kerala. CērāmāN Perumāḷ, the Śaivite Tamil poet and *NāyaNmār* was a Kerala King; so was the Tamil poet and Vaiṣṇavite ĀLvār Kulaśekara-p-Perumāḷ. Venāṭṭaṭikaḷ was a Śaivite poet of Kerala. It was only later than the Tenth century, that Malayāḷam literature was born with the writing of *Rāmacarita*, though some would claim that it is also in Tamil. But later literature especially the one developed by the Nambudiris in the *Maṇipravāḷa* style was in Malayāḷam or Kerala Tamil.

(b) *Malayāḷam becomes a Literary Language*: This is not to deny the existence of Malayāḷam as a language of that country from very early times. Even when Malayāḷam became important as a language of literature it was known as *Keraḷa-tamiḷ* as distinguished

from the *Cen Tamil* of the Pāṇḍya and the CōLa countries. *Lila Tilakam* perhaps for the first time boldly came forward to write the grammar of this Malayāḷam in Sanskrit with copious Malayāḷam illustrations, after a deep study of this language; but this shows also an intimate and deep knowledge of *Cen-Tamil*.

(c) *Kaṇṇassa and Tamil literature*: The Kaṇṇassa poets have an important place in the history of Malayāḷam literature. One of them translated *Bhagawad Gītā* and in a paper submitted to the Oriental Conference I pointed out that this was an adaptation or translation of the Tamil version of the *Bhagawad Gītā* by Bhaṭṭar, who explained the *Bhagavad Gītā* in Tamil in terms of Śaṅkara's commentary. Tiru Unnikīḍa, my then colleague at the Presidency College and now Professor of Malayāḷam in the Government Arts College, Madras, has prepared a work confirming my thesis after an exhaustive comparative study of the Tamil work and the Malayāḷam one.

(d) *Later Times*: Even as late as the Nineteenth century many of the records of the Travancore Kingdom were kept in Tamil. The story of the *TiruvilaiyāṭaRpurāṇam* describing the merciful *līlā* or miraculous plays of Śiva of Madurai especially *Valaiviciya Tiruvilaiyatal* the story of God coming to fish with a fishing net was so very popular that a Malayāḷam translation from Tamil was made and it is now available. A Vedānta work very popular in the South is the Tamil *Kaivalya Navanītam* and this used to be recited in Tamil itself by the Kerala sanyāsins; but there is also a Malayāḷam translation of the work. Even Tamil dramas like *MiNāksi Parīṇayam* in Tamil had been transcribed and printed in Malayāḷam script in the Nineteenth century. This shows the influence of Tamil as late as the last century.

TAMIL AND KANNADA

General: Sixty-three saivite saints

(a) *Importance*: In describing the Bhakti cult of Tamil land the importance of Śaivite NāyaNmārs was pointed out, with their emphasis on the life—for an ideal—any kind of service to man as a form of divine worship. St. Cuntarar gives us the list of these

ancient saints in his famous hymn called *Tiru-t-toṇṭa-t-tokai*. He gives both a list of the groups of saints and a list of individual saints. The later generation especially in the Kannaḍa country began to speak of sixty-three ancient men *Trisaṣṭi puruṣās* as a parallel to the sixty-three *puruṣās* of the jain *purāṇas* consisting there of the twelve *cakravartis*, twenty four *Tirthankaras*, nine Vasudevas, nine Baladevas and nine *prativāsu devas*. Some of the groups mentioned by St. Cuntarar are omitted, some misunderstood and added to make up the sixty-three individual saints. The names of Cuntarar himself, his father CaṭayaNār and his mother *IcaināNiyār*, are added to the sixty mentioned by Cuntarar making up the required number of sixty-three. *Aruvattumūvar* (the sixty-three saints) is a term well known not only in the Karnāṭaka and the Āndhra country but also in Tamil where this Kannaḍa influence came to be felt in later times.

(b) *Various versions—Developments* : After St. Cuntarar, Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi probably in the early part of the ninth century gathered the available tradition about these saints and in a summary manner sang one verse on each one of the saints. This is called *Tiru-t-toṇṭar-tiru-v-antāti* and is found in the Eleventh *TirumuRai* or volume of Śaivite hymns consisting in all of Twelve volumes. CēkkiLār of the Twelfth century wrote his famous *Kāvya Periya-purāṇam* giving the stories of these saints. It is really the story of St. Cuntarar but there in a vision St. Cuntarar sees all these saints with messages of their lives made clearer. In that way the lives of the saints are described within the story of Cuntarar himself. It is in the Twelfth century that the CōLa king, Rāja Rāja II built his famous temple now known as Dārāsūram (really Rājarājapuram) near Kumbakonam in the Tanjore District. The important fact is that in this temple we get the story of each one of the saints represented in a panel running round the middle of the wall of the temple. CēkkiLār was a minister of the CōLa empire and had access to all the available records relating to the stories of these saints. He probably made a personal tour round the country for this purpose. He is naturally much more reliable especially when he describes the villages which were the birth places of those saints, the journeys which the saints undertook, etc. But there must have been many folk stories about these saints circulating and growing from time to time, ever since Cuntarar gave his list. One sees the difference between the version implied

by the sculptures of Dārāsuram and that of *Periyapurāṇam*. There must have been many more stories circulating amidst the common-folk full of folk-psychology and folk-etymology and with any amount of corruptions in the names of the saints. There are also versions in Sanskrit. The *Upamanya Bhaktavilāsa* claiming to be an original work is only a translation of CēkkiLār's work; the work attributed to Agastya is another; *Skandapurāṇa* gives its own versions probably based on the folk stories. The *sthala-purāṇas*, local traditions of the various temples, connected with the lives of the saints, give other versions naturally based on these local traditions.

(c) *Harihara*: The Virāṣaivites took these sixty-three saints as their ancient saints—the purāṇanapurusaś, their messages forming as it were the bedrock of *Virasaivism*. All their various works are full of references to those stories. The great Harihara of the Twelfth century has given the stories of these saints in the poetic form called *ragale* in Kannaḍa. When one reads his *NambiannaN Ragalai* and others one is convinced of the truth of the tradition that Harihara went round the Tamil country to the places of the birth of these saints, for learning more about these saints. *NambiannaN Ragalai* gives a true local colouring to the story even going to the extent of transcribing a piece of Tamil speech of Tiruvārūr. Therefore his *Ragai* must be taken to be giving the tradition as he heard them from the mouth of the local residents of Tamil land of those times. It is thus clear there was a wide-spread interest in the stories of these saints in the Twelfth century both in the Tamil and the Karnāṭaka countries.

(d) *Various versions*: Dr. Dorairangaswamy (Professor of Tamil, Madurai University) in his work on *Cuntarar Tēvāram* has made a detailed and comparative study of the three versions—the version of the *Skandapurāṇa*, the version of the *Periyapurāṇam* and the version of the Dārāsuram sculptures. A comparative study of the version as found in Harihara and other Kannaḍa writers and the version as found in Telugu literature along with the versions already studied inclusive of the sculptures found in places other than Dārāsuram for instance those in Tiruppanāṭal temple has to be yet made. How deep the influence of the stories of the sixty-three saints of Tamil land had become may be seen by enumerating the works—important works at that—in Kannaḍa especially the works of these Virasaivites.

In Kannada Specifically

(a) *A comparative study: Popular trends:* Saints, great classical poets, and other poets popular among the common people have written in Kannaḍa about these saints of Tamil land. This is sufficient evidence to prove the deep-rooted influence of this kind of Tamil culture. The corrupted forms of the names of the saints show wherefrom the original came, viz., the common man.

(b) *Studies:* The learned and authoritative edition of the Kannaḍa poet Suraṅgama's *Trisāṣṭi purātanapurusa caritram*, produced by my friend Dr. Hiremath, Professor and Head of the Department of Kannaḍa of the Karnāṭaka University has been of great help in preparing this part of the essay, since his valuable introduction compares the various Kannaḍa versions with that found in the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*. The lists of books and the dates for a few of them are taken from that important work.

(c) *Works dealing directly with the sixty-three saints:*

Author	Name of the Work
Harihara	Purātana regaḷagaḷu—twelfth century
Suraṅga	Triṣaṣṭi purātana caritram—fifteenth century
Virabhadra	Aruvattumūvaru purātana caritra
Śivayoga Somēśvara	Aruvattumūvaru Sāṅgatya
Nijaguṇayōgi	Purātana trividhi
Kalale nambirāja	Aruvattumūvaru trividhi
Unknown	Purātana Deviyara trividhi
Unknown	Aruvattumūvaru purātana caritra
Unknown	Prāktanagna Kathāvali
Unknown	Purātana prakaraṇagaḷu
Kumāra cenna Basava	Purātana carite
Bhadravīra suta	Purātana purāṇa samkṣēpa vilāsa
Unknown	Sarvapurātanara purāṇa
Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍēsa	Śivatattva Cintāmaṇi (a few chapters)
Virūpākṣa paṇḍita	Cenna Basava purāṇa (Chapters)
	(1584)

(d) *Works referring to the sixty-three saints:*

The following are the Kannaḍa books which while dealing with other subjects refer to these saints.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Name of the Work</i>
Bommarasa	Saundara Purāṇa (1450 A.D.)
Aṇṇāji	Saundara Vilāsa (1600)
Unknown	Saundaresana Aruvattumūvarulilā
Unknown	Saundaresana Yakṣagāna
Cēramāṅga	Cērama Kāvya (1562)
Mahādēva	Siriyā/a Seṭṭiya sāṅgatyā (1650)
Unknown	Siriyā/asetṭiya ragaḷe
Unknown	Siriyā/a Seṭṭiya Vardhiga
Sāntakavi	Siriyā/a Satva Vardhiga Parikṣa
Mahānta Dēsika	Siriyā/ana caritra
Jayarama Cārya	Siriyā/a Rāja
Liṅga	CōLa Rāja Sāṅgatyā (PugaLcōLa) (1530)
Tribhuvana tata	PugaLCōLa ragaḷe
Unknown	Kaṇṇapparava Ragaḷe
Unknown	NakkanāyaNāru Susilayara caritra

(e) *Corruption of Names, etc.*: The following are given as samples of the corruption of the Tamil names transmitted from Tamil through word of mouth and suffering transformation when pronounced by Kannaḍigas.

(1) *Meypporuḷ NāyaNār*: *Meypporuḷ NāyaNār* is known in Kannaḍa after his kingdom as Cēdirāja; the part round Kōvalūr in the South Arcot District in Tamil land was known as the *Cēdi* Kingdom.

Mūrti NāyaNār is known in Kannaḍa as *Olagāṇṭa Mūrti*. St. Cuntarar describes him as *Mummaiṇyāl Ulakāṇṭa Mūrti*. "Mūrti who ruled the world with the three, viz., *Rudrākṣa Vibhūti* and *Jatā*" and therefore the Kannaḍa tradition must have known Cuntarar's line. In the Tamil version this NāyaNār becomes a king after the rule of the Kannaḍigas at Madurai, but in the Kannaḍa version he is not a ruler. *Olagāṇṭa* "Who ruled the world" becomes meaningless in that tradition, but without understanding the meaning that Tamil attribute was continued as a part of the name in the Kannaḍa tradition.

(2) *Tirunāvukkaracu* is known in Kannaḍa by the corresponding Sanskrit name “Vāḡisa” which is also known in the Tamil country.

(3) *MūrkkānāyaNār* is known as Acyuta probably a proper name current in some traditions.

(4) *Cēraṁaṁ Perumāl NāyaNār*, which is the name prevalent both in the Kerala and the Tamil country, occurs in the colloquial Kannaḍa form as *Cērama*.

(5) *Śakti NāyaNār* is known as Kālacittia perhaps through folk etymology.

(6) *NeṭṭumāRaN*, the Pāṇḍya, is known as *Saundarapāṇḍya* probably because his hunchback became beautiful and straight after having been cured by St. TiruññāNacampantar.

(7) *IṭankaLi NāyaNār* is known as *Edagelava*, colloquial Kannaḍa form.

(8) *Mankayarkkaraci* appears as *Mangayakkarasi* and *Kāraikkāl* as *Karikāl*.

(9) *Taṇṭi NāyaNār* is known in Kannaḍa as *Nāṭyamigu Daṇḍisa*. This saint was blind but later was blessed with eyesight and therefore St. Cuntarar described him in his list as *Nāṭṭamiku Taṇṭi* (*nāṭṭam*—eye). Therefore the Kannaḍa tradition knows Cuntarar's work but because the people in the Kannaḍa country could not understand the meaning of the Tamil attribute, they have made it “*nāṭyamigu*” (*nāṭya*=dance) according to folk etymology.

(10) *IṭaiyāNkuṭi MāRaN* is known in Kannaḍa as *Elayāṇḍagudi MāRaṇ*. *IṭaiyāNkuṭi*, a village in Ramnad, was the native place of this *MāRa NāyaNār*. It means the residential place named after one *IṭaiyāN*. For purposes of meter St. Cuntarar in his song describes it as “*IṭaiyāNRankuṭi*” (the *kuṭi* or village of *IṭaiyāN*). This R pronounced now as a double r, as pointed out by me elsewhere, was pronounced in ancient times as an alveolar plosive and in the absence of this alveolar, the Kannaḍigas equated it with their retroflex plosive and hence the form *Ilayāṇḍa*. This again shows that the Kannaḍa tradition knew the verse of St. Cuntarar.

(11) *Others: KulacciRai, Kalikkāmar, KaLaRcinkaN* and *KōccenkanaN* are all wrongly written respectively as *Kalaceva, Kalacenga, and Kalacenga Perumāl*. This we can detect from looking into the stories described under these heads.

KūRRuva NāyaNār occurs as *Vēlkōta*. According to *Periyapurāṇam*, he belongs to the tribe of *Irunkōvēḷ*. *Kōta* is a corruption of *KūRRuva* or *KūRRa* which may become *Kutta* or *Kōta*.

IyaRpakai appears as *Ihappagai*. Bhimakavi Sadakṣara dēva and Gubbiya Mallaṇārya give this name as *Sindu Ballala*. We shall explain this when dealing with the Āndhra influence.

Variations in the Story

One may now turn to the variations in the stories. The variations show that they came not from the classical Tamil literature like *Periyapurāṇam* but from the traditions popular among the common people of the various localities. Though the Kannaḍa poets knew the classical versions, their inspiration came from the common folk of Tamil land. Confusion of the stories also points to the same conclusion.

(a) *IlayāNkuḍi* and *Appūti*: The following will illustrate the point. At the end of the story of *IlayāNkuḍi MāRa NāyaNār*, the ending of the story of *Appūti Aṭikaḷ* where the son is asked to go and cut a plantain leaf and where he dies bitten by a serpent whilst cutting, is added to the ending of the story of *Cirut-toṇṭar* where the saint and his wife are commanded to hail their son back and where the dead son comes alive through the streets in response to that call.

(b) *Avvai* and *CēramāN*: Some of the stories were probably current as alternative versions or had come back as changed from the Kannaḍa country itself. In the *CēramāN Perumaḷ* story, the story of *Avvai*, coming to *Kailāsa* even before *CēramāN* and *Cuntarar* reach their place, is introduced. In the Tamil country itself there is a verse in which she sings that the *kātam* or a particular distance is the same to the king and to the old woman. It is also stated that she composed the *akaval* beginning with the words *Citakkaḷapaccēntāmarai* as a request to *Gaṇesa* to take her to *Kailāsa*, though there is nothing of any such request in that poem itself.

Influence of Kannada on Tamil

(a) *Sixty-three saints* :

(1) *Tirunīlakaṇṭa*: In the story of *Tirunīlakaṇṭa*, this saint according to *Periyapurāṇam* does go astray once and his wife

refuses to touch him thereafter. In the Kannaḍa version he is faultless. A dancing girl unwittingly throws out into the street refuse water which falls on the saint whilst walking along the street and the repentant dancing girl makes amends for this, by inviting him to her house, giving him a bath, adorning him and feeding him. It is these respectful signs that his wife mistakes and refuses to touch him. This version is given in *Citamparanātapurāṇam* which was written in Tamil at the end of the last century.

(2) *NantaNār*: The story of the Harijan Saint *Tirunālai-pōvār* was very popular in the nineteenth and in the early part of the twentieth century in Tamil land and the Āndhra desa. Gopalakṛṣṇa Bhārati, a great musical composer of the nineteenth century (who was also to recite the story with an admixture of prose to the accompaniment of musical instruments, the whole thing being called "*Kāḷakṣepam*" an institution which had come into vogue in the nineteenth century) has composed the *NantaNār Carittira-k-KirttaNai* and it is this version that is popular everywhere. In this story the author brings in a Brāhmin landlord, describing him with great dramatic interest as a caste-ridden Brāhmin landlord of the Tanjore District of his times. Śiva helps NantaNār to harvest 1000 *veli* of land in one night and thus fulfil the command of the Brāhmin. The author also describes truthfully the society of the Harijans and their faith in caste restrictions. It is the Kannaḍa version which first introduced the Brāhmin for commanding NantaNār to harvest the lands if he were to go to Cidambaram. Therefore we see clearly the influence of the Kannaḍa culture on Tamil literature.

(b) *Other than the sixty-three saints*:

(1) *Hariscandra Caritram*: One may note another influence from Kannaḍa. *Hariscandra's story* is very popular all over India. It had undergone a great development from the time of the *Upanisads*. There is the conflict between Vasiṣṭha and Visvāmitra. Vasiṣṭha praised in Indra's Court Hariscandra, and Visvāmitra staked his all for proving that the king was not what Vasiṣṭha made of him. Hariscandra was made to go through many a crisis in his life. But he remained so spotless that when he, as the servant of the executioner was about to execute the sentence of death on his own wife who had come to cremate their dead son, spurned the redemption offered with the condition that

he should leave the path of righteousness, Visvāmitra himself blessed him. The series of critical moments created by Visvāmitra make the story full of tension almost reminding us of the melodramatic stories of modern films. This plot construction has been attributed to Rāghavāṅka, the great Kannaḍa poet of the thirteenth century. The *Mahābhārata* version as found today agrees with his story and it is suspected that it was his version that was later interpolated into the *Mahābhārata* version of the south. This is the conclusion to which the learned editor of this work comes to (N. Basavāradhya). If this is so, The *Hariscandra Purāṇam* in Tamil of a later date should have followed the Kannaḍa story. There is an earlier work called *Hariscandra Venpā* in Tamil and though the author of *Hariscandra purāṇam* in Tamil refers to this *Venpā*, unfortunately the whole of this *Venpā* is not available. It is possible that it was also for the first time influenced by Rāghavāṅka at the time of the Hoysāḷa intervention in Tamil history. In this way Kannaḍa literature has influenced Tamil.

(2) *Kannaḍiga Tamil Poets*: A few words more about this kind of influence may not be out of place here. The poet *Civa-pirakācar* was a Kannaḍiga and a *Virasaivite*. He has enriched Tamil not only by his original compositions but also by his translations. He translated the *Kannaḍa Prabhulinga Lilā* of Chāmarasa (1422) so beautifully that no reader suspects that it is a translation. He translated *Tarkabhāsā* a book by Nijaguṇayōgi into Tamil prose and *Yōgi's Vivēkacintamaṇi* into Tamil verse. He and his brothers rendered the *Kālahasti Māhātmyam* into Tamil, naturally with greater borrowings from Tamil works and Tamil tradition. Later many *Virasaivite* works like that of *Basava Purāṇam* came to be translated into Tamil.

(3) *Virasaivite Mutts*: The *Virasaivites* came into the Tamil country. A note in a Tamil manuscript of the fifteenth century complains that the *Virasaivites* had become heads of many Tamil śaiva mutts. This means they had become a great influence in the philosophical world of the Tamil land. Civañāna Pālaya Svami, a mystic saint, founded a mutt at Bommayappālayam near Pondicherry and he was the spiritual guru of Civaprakācar. The aggressive nature of *Virasaivism* was not necessary in the Tamil country and *Virasaivites* became therefore eclectic, trying to harmonize conflicting philosophies on the basis of the mystic experience of all religious saints, which was more or less common.

ĀRumuka Cuvāmi of the *Tiru-p-pā-p-puliyūr* mutt which started as a *Virasaiva mutt*, wrote a book of experience called *NiṣṭāNupūti*. Civappirakācar's brother-in-law Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmi wrote his *Avirōta Untiyār* in the folk song meter used by girls in their folk games. There he, as the name of the work (*avirodha*) implies, harmonises all the philosophies especially Śaivism and Advaita Vedānta, pointing out that there was really no conflict between them. A disciple of Cāntaliṅka, Kumāra Tēvar was the author of *Makārāca TuRavu*. Citampara Svāmi, who came in his spiritual lineage, had written a commentary on the works of Cāntaliṅka elucidating the philosophical points raised there. This commentator was also a *bhakti* poet. He founded the mutt at Tiruppōrūr in Chingleput District and this mutt and other such mutts have produced many Tamil scholars and poets. Similarly many Tamilians went and settled in the Kannaḍa country to enrich Kannaḍa literature in modern times—writers like the late lamented Kailāsam author of many plays, and others who are happily with us like Guṇḍappa, Masti Srinivasa Iyengar, etc.

South Indian History facilitated this Contact

This mutual influence was made easier because the Tamil country and Kannaḍa country are neighbours. Mysore was probably the ancient "Erumainātu" the "buffalo country" of the Caṅkam age. The Gangas, Calukyas and Hoysaḷas were connected with Tamil rulers by marriage alliance. Tamil and Kannaḍa Jains in the Pallava age and earlier moved easily from one country to another. The *Śravaṇabelgōḷa* inscription refers to the books, viz., *Cintāmaṇi* and *Cūḷāmaṇi* written by Jain authors and these are considered to be the ancient Tamil classics of those names. There is "*Jiva sambōdhana*" in Tamil and Kannaḍa. In the Hoysaḷa period the Hoysaḷa king came to be described as *māmadi*, the revered father-in-law of both the Pāṇḍiya and the CōLas. Kaṇṇanūr near Śrīraṅgam came to be the capital of the Tamil half of the Hoysaḷa kingdom. Both the countries came under the influence of the Vijayanagar Empire and laterly under the British Empire. It is only in recent times people quarrel about the border villages, though for a long time the Malayāḷis, the Kannaḍikas, the Āndhras, the Tamils and the Mahrattas

lived together in the Madras Presidency in the British Indian Empire. There is more of politics than culture involved in the present border troubles of these five great southern peoples.

TELUGU AND TAMIL

(a) *Studies* : The thesis on *Śaivism in the South* of Śrīmati Ādilakṣmī submitted to the Madras University and the thesis submitted by Dr. Salla Radhakrishna Sharma to the same University are important for our study of the Tamil influence on Telugu.

(b) *Contact through the ages* : The stories of the sixty-three saints were equally popular among the *Virasaivites* of Āndhradesa. The contact with Āndhra starts from the *Caṅkam* age. *Pulli*, the *Caṅkam* verses state, ruled *Tiruppati*. The Pallavas, who came to rule over *Kānci*, originally had their headquarters in the Āndhra country. The CōLas went to rule over a portion of the Southern Āndhra as natives of that part the *Pottappi CōLas* and the *Rēnāḍu CōLas*. Nanna Coḍa, a CōLa wrote the Telugu Kāvya *Kumārasambhava*. The imperial CōLa like RājaRāja and Rājendra had marital relationship with the Eastern Cālukyās. Rājarāja Narendra, the patron of Nannayya of Telugu *Bhārata* fame was the daughter's son of RājaRāja, the great CōLa. Rāja Rāja Narendra married the daughter of the CōLa Rājendra and her son succeeded to the CōLa throne as Kulōttuṅka. Kulōttuṅka and his son led an expedition into *Kalinga*. Tamil inscriptions are therefore found in Nellore and other parts of the Telugu country as far as Vijayavāḍa in the North.

(c) *Mutual Influence* : On account of the clear contact between the Tamils and Telugus during the time of Pallavas, the imperial CōLas, the Vijayanagar kings and Britishers, mutual influence may be expected in spite of the fact that the Telugu language belongs in certain aspects to the Central Dravidian family whilst Tamil belongs to the South Dravidian.

(d) *Tamil Prosody and Telugu* : Nannayya was the earliest classical writer who began to compose the *Mahābhāratha* in Telugu in the reign of Rāja Rāja Narendra as stated above. He adopted the Sanskrit *Viruttās* or metres, but following the earlier Tamil poets who even when adopting Sanskrit metres like *Daṇḍaka* adapted them to suit the genius of Tamil poetry and rhythm, he

also introduced the Dravidian *yati* or what is known in Tamil *mōNai* (alliteration) and *prāsa* or Tamil *etukai* (the initial rhyme, if it may be so called, where the initial syllable has the same length in all the four lines and the second syllable which has optionally more syllables, is the same in all the four lines). Even Sanskrit writers of the Tamil land of the Mūkapañcādasi, etc. have introduced *yati* and *prāsa*. Dr. Sharma has pointed out that the *akkala pātu* is in what is called Tamil *akaval* metre. Tamil has *nēr*, a long syllable, and *nirai*, a composition of two juxtaposed short syllables. The permutations and combinations of these two give us the Tamil feet. It has been pointed out that the various versifications in Telugu like *Sisapadya*, *dvipada*, *utsaha* and folk songs like *ēla jōli lāli mēlкотupu mangalam*, etc., follow this *cīr* pattern and may be explained as complex patterns of the *akaval* metre.

(e) *Tradition of the four kinds of poets*: Dr. Sharma also points out that the Tamil tradition found in the works called *Pāṭṭiyāl* dealing with the various kinds of poetic compositions in Tamil divides the poets into *acu*, *madhura*, *vistara* and *citra kavi*. The verses are continuous or occasional individual verses. The continuous series of verses are *vistara*. The occasional verses may be composed impromptu on the spur of the moment, fulfilling any restrictions suggested. This is *āsu kavi*. Or it may be composed leisurely aiming at perfection. These can be full of *sabda citra*, beautiful arrangement of syllables or letters in patterns, when they will be *citrakavi*; or full of rhythm, music and other poetic beauties, when those will be known as *Madhura-kavi*. Since one of the ĀLvārs, a worshipper of NammāLvār was called *Madhurakavi*, this tradition should be older than the *Pāṭṭiyals*. According to Dr. Sharma this tradition is not found elsewhere; the Telugu who also speak of this classification, therefore must have got it from the Tamils.

(f) *Tamil Vaisnavism in Andhra* :

(i) *ĀLvārs in Telugu* : The influence of the ĀLvārs spread through Rāmānuja and his followers both in the Kannaḍa and the Āndhra countries especially through later *ācāryas* like the *Kandāṭai*, *Tirumalai*, *NallaN*, etc. The *Dāsa* literature in Kannaḍa may be indirectly traced to Tamil. The importance of music and the compositions in the regional languages have been emphasised by the Tamil *Bhaktas*. Musical composition had its natural

development in Tamil through *Tēvara hymns*, *Tiru-p-pukal* sung in various *tālas* or time patterns—*cintus* and *kīrttaNais*. Muttut-tāṇṭava, Māria-ppa-piḷḷai, Aruṇācala-k-kavi, Rāmaliṅga, etc., are some of the poets. In the Āndhradesa, the Vaiṣṇavites had very influential seats of their religion at Tiruppati and other places. The *Tallapāka Annamācārya's Kīrtanas* in Telugu have become now famous. But the influence of Purandaia Dāsa and others may be seen in Tyagaraja's *kīrtanas* in Telugu. Tyagarajar belongs to Tiruvārūr in Tamil Nadu but he composed in his mother tongue and his disciples who were Tamils and Saurāṣṭras continue his tradition to modern time.

(2) *Kṛṣṇadevarāya*: The influence of Tamil *ĀLvārs* on Telugu literature can be easily seen in the great work of the most famous of the Vijayanagar Emperors, Sri Kṛṣṇadevaraya viz. *Amukta Mālyadā* which describes the story of St. Āṇṭaḷ. The title of this epic is a translation of her Tamil name *Cūti-k-koṭutta nācciyār*.

(3) Others: The stories of the *ĀLvārs* are popular in the Āndhra country. The story of *Toṇṭaraṭi-p-poṭi ĀLvār* had been rendered as a play for the common man of Āndhradeṣa. Nearly twelve plays are available under the names of *Paramayogi vilāsa*, *Vaijayanti Vilāsa*, *Vipranārayaṇa Carita*, *Bhaktāṅghri Reṇu Caritram* and *Toṇṭaraṭip-p-oṭi*. This *āLvār's* love for a dancing girl gives scope for dramatic treatment which will appeal to the common man. The *āLvār* next popular in the then dramatic literature of the Āndhras, is *Kulasēkhara*. (See *Parama Yogi Vilāsam*, *Kulasekhara Mahipāla caritam*, etc.).

(4) *Tamil poems and Ālvār poems*: The poems of the *āLvārs* have been translated into Telugu, from time to time, not to speak of the Tamil poems and Tamil commentaries in the *Maṇipravālā* style, written and later printed in the Telugu script.

(g) *Śaivism in Telugu*:

(1) *Kannaḍa and Telugu*: Some of the early Kannaḍa writers came from the Āndhra country and some of the Āndhra writers knew Kannaḍa. Some like Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha wrote and introduced Tamil verses and Tamil lines into their Telugu works. See *Paṇḍitāradhya Carita* and *Vṛṣādhiṣa Śāṭaka*, both by Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha. This will explain the common glory of the Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu cultures.

(2) Sixty-three saints—books on them all: For the story of the sixty-three Śaiva saints, there was the *Śiva-tatva Sāramu* of

Mallikarjuna Pandita, who lived four decades before Palkuriki Somanatha. The latter has written in Telugu the story of the Vira Śaivite Brahman Panditaradhya. In this *Panditaradhya Caritram* in the chapter *Mahimaprakaranam* along with the *Pramatha ganas*, *rudra ganas*, *yogacaryas*, *Dharmacaryas* he refers to the *Aruvattumuvar* especially to *Tirunalai-p-povar*, *Campantar*, *Cuntarar*, *Tirulocana Pallava* and *Cheladi* (the spider). Palkuriki Somanatha has also written a *Basavapurana*. It is important to note that the Tamil version, though it is said to be a translation of the Basava Purana of Bhimakavi, refers also to Palkuriki Somanatha. There was another translation in Telugu by Piduparti Somanatha (1500). Srinatha, the great Telugu poet, gives the stories of the saints in the first two cantos of his *Hara Vilasa*. There is another *Basavapurana* written in 1708 by Mahadeva Kavi.

(3) Individual saints:

Ciruttonda: The stories of some of the saints were so popular that separate works on individual saints came to be written. *Ciruttonda* or *Dabhra Bhakta* was the most popular saint with the Telugu writers. Garekkapati Tammayya composed in 1600 *Siriyala Caritra*. Vanavilla Gangadhara wrote *Siriyala Caritra*. Vale Kottaya wrote *Siruttonda Bhaktakatha*, a *yaksagana* or drama.

Cuntarar: St. Cuntarar as already seen was known as *Nampi*. *Udayavar* means Svami. "Lord" *Udaya*, the relative participle form followed by the name *Nampi* means "Nampi who is our lord". In Tamil he is known as *Alutaya nampi*; and *utayanampi* which becomes in Telugu *Odayanampi* in its shortened form. Apart from the books which narrate the stories of all the saints, one has Apparapu Perayalinga Kavi's separate *Āavya* on this subject. There is also the *yaksagana* by Rajalinga Nimmanatha.

Tirunilakanta: *Tirunilakantar's* story is known to the Telugus from very early times. Nannayya Choda in his *Kumara Sambhava* refers by way of comparison to this saint as the old man when the poet states that Siva made the burnt Manmatha alive to trouble Parvati even as Siva caused *Viraha avastha* to the old man by dipping him in the pool. Amarapurapu Samnyasi Kavi has composed a *Kavya* on this saint in the eighteenth century.

Kannappa: Kannappa's story was also very popular. *Kalahasti Mahatmiyam* of Durjati gives the story. According to *Periypuranam* Kannappa belonged to the village of Uduppur whose Telugu form is Udummuru, the village of the Udumbu, "Iguana".

But not knowing this, the term *Udummuru Kannappa* in *Basava-purana* was a puzzle to many Telugu readers. It will be seen that in Telugu, the stories of the saint often in the manner of *Puranas* refer to the previous birth of the people coming in the stories. The question for instance is raised. "How can Siva eat flesh?" One is here told of the story of Sibi who offered his flesh in the previous birth; Siva then asked him to be born as the animals which Kannappar killed to feed *Siva*. This story of Kannappa is the subject matter of Kanchiraju Suraya's *Kannappa Caritra* as well.

Pillai NayaNar: St. TirunnaNacampantar is *Pillaiyar* (the young saint). This means a son and *Basava Puranam* speaks of this saint as *PillainayaNar* and asserts that he is an *amsa* of Kumarasvami. It is this probably that we get in the Tamil poems of Arunagirinatha of the fourteenth century and also in Ottakkuttar who belongs to the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. We get something new when we read in the *Basavapurana* that this saint brought Kulottunga CoLa back into the fold of Saivism along with two thousand Buddhists. This is in addition to his converting the *Gunapandya*. In *Panditaradhy Caritra*, there is an additional story of his restoring the hands of a woman, which were cut off by her husband. Piduparti Basavanna, we learn, wrote a separate work on this saint.

NantaNar: Variations

The story of NantaNar or *Tirunālai-p-pōvār* is narrated, in Somanatha's *Panditaradhy Carita*, by a woman devotee to prove that caste is of no avail. There are the following books on this individual saint: Sri Chelakamurti Laksmi-Narasimha wrote the story in prose in the last century. Devagupta Samnyasi Raja wrote the story in verse. There are two dramas in verse by Vedam Venkatakaryalu and another. Reference had been made to the Kannada version coming back and being elaborated in Tamil by Gopalakrishna Bharathi in the last century. It is the latter story that is dramatized in Telugu also.

(4) *Mahapurana trend*:

Cirutontar: Palkuriki Somanatha and Srinatha along with others who follow them try to make the stories of the saints read like the puranas. With reference to St. Cuntarar *Periyapuranam* itself speaks of his original place in *Kailasa* from where he was sent down to this world because he fell in love with two

damsels. In the story of CiruttontaN, the same thing happens in the Telugu versions. Durvasa was feeding his deer and unaware of this, the musician of the Heavens, viz., Tumburu, snapped his fingers which naturally distracted the deer. Durvasa cursed Tumburu who had therefore to be born as CiruttontaN. Further dramatic situations in the same manner were introduced. When the saint had to carry a large bundle of sugar cane, Siva came to help him. As a result of this, Parvati found Siva in Kailasa perspiring, though he was witnessing at that time a dance. Parvati mistook His intention; but Siva explained the real reason. Siva came as an old man, with Parvati as his young wife. Siva as an old man informed the son of CiruttontaN of the latter's evil intention. Parvati similarly wanted to mislead the wife of CiruttontaN. But in both the places, they failed. Other developments to increase the tension in the story are found in the works which followed.

Pittavva: In the *Basava Purana*, the stories of Siva putting down the pride of even saints are referred to. The story of the conflict between St. Cuntarar and Miralminda is given. Siva tells Miralminda how He Himself worked very hard as a labourer on behalf of Pittavva. The Tamil tradition in *Tiruvilaiyatal Puranam* and elsewhere speaks of St. Manikkavacakar, the author of *Tiruvacakam* being punished by the Pandya king. Thereupon the river Vaikai as ordered by Siva rose in floods and the Pandya ordered each family in Madurai to fill up particular portions of the dam allotted to them. There was an old woman who had no relative and who lived by selling *pittu* "a rice preparation". Siva himself came as a labourer to work on her behalf in return for *pittu* which was broken to bits. This labourer however went to sleep and the Pandya caned him for dereliction of duty. But the strokes of the cane fell on everyone and on the Pandya himself. Everybody realised then that the labourer, who disappeared by that time, was none other than Siva Himself. The story of Manikkavacakar is given as the story of CokkanayaNar in *Basava Purana*. Whenever a dam is mentioned, the Telugu always think only of the Kaveri dam constructed by Karikala CoLa. There is the story popular in the Andhra country where Karikala ordered, as he did others, *Trilocana Pallava* or the *Mukkanti Katuvetti* or the Pallava with the three eyes to help him in the construction of the Kaveri dam. But the Pallava did not pay any heed. Karikala

drew the portrait of the Pallava and removed the third eye from the portrait. The story goes that as a result of this the Pallava really lost his third eye. Pittavva story is narrated in Andhradesa in connection with the construction of the Kaveri dam. Unfortunately, this story of Karikala and Pittavva or of Karikala and Trilocana Pallava is not known in the Tamil country.

(5) *Other Changes:*

Again, instead of *CoLa KoccenkanaN*, this story of Karikala is given. The CoLa is also called *Anapaya* which is the name of the CoLa who was the patron of CekkiLar. In Telugu, the name "*Kanampullai*" appears as *Dipadakal*, *IyaRpakai* as *Elpaghi*, *Kalikkampa* as *Kaliyambi*, *itankaLi*, as *Idigudi*, etc. This proves the same point which we mentioned with reference to the corruption of the names in Kannada.

Karikala also is given as the name of the king who ruled at the time of Cuntarar. Siva as an old man demanded Cuntarar as his son and this dispute was taken before Karikala. It is also said that Cuntarar felt the presence of the *Linga* in the breast of his wife Paravanacci. According to a Telugu poet, *achanta* was the scene of this action. When the CoLa queen of Karikala died, the guru of the CoLas advised that the remains instead of being taken to Gaya should be taken to the house of Paravanacci. The remains were accordingly taken there as ordered and the *Pitrus* came and received the offerings. Thus was glorified and deified the love of Cuntarar to Paravanacciyr.

Saints as Officers: The Vaisnavite ALvars are often described in later times as the incarnations of God's weapons, ornaments, etc. Vedanta Desika was considered to be the incarnation of the bell in *Vaikuntha*. The people who made the stories of the sixty-three saints more and more resemble the ancient, *Puranas*, developed some such trend as well. Palkuriki Somanatha takes Siva as a king and the sixty-three saints are therefore described by him as the various officers of Siva's court, and Siva's household such as chief minister, commander-in-chief, bard, doctor, musician, poet, etc.

(6) *Changes due to Virasaivism:* There are other changes which may be suspected to have been introduced because of the Virasaivite tenets of the poets. Because the Virasaivites were against *yajna*, Palkuriki Somanatha omits that part of the story in Tirunalai-p-povar's where the saint goes through the sacrificial

yajna fire and rises purified. As the Virasaivites were not enamoured of the recitals of the Vedas, etc., in the story of the *Rudrapasupati* the recitation of Sri Rudra by this saint is omitted, and a new development reminding us of Kulasekhara ALvar's story takes place. When this saint was listening to the story of the churning of the ocean of milk, the narrator mentions that Siva swallowed the poison. At once the saint jumped into a tank and Siva Himself had to come and open His mouth to show that the poison had not gone lower than His throat.

(7) *An influence from Gujarat:*

In the story of IyaRpakai nayaNar, the nayaNar in short gives away his newly married bride to a *jangama* and prevented at the sword's end his relatives interfering with it. It was pointed out that some of the Kannada writers gave the name of this nayaNar as *Sindhu Ballala*. *Panditaradhya Caritramu* gives the story of *Sindhu Ballana*. There are in Telugu *Padya Kavyas*, *dvipadas*, *yaksaganas*, *gevas*, *dandakas* and prose works describing this story, clearly showing the popularity of this story. Ballanna was a king of Sindhu Kataka in Gujarat and perhaps the story came from that country. Siva, it is said, came dressed like a *Vita* or libertine but with the usual signs of a *jangama*. Getting the promise from the king that the *jangama* would receive whatever he wanted, the latter asked for the queen. Ballanna ordered his wife to go but the visitor turned himself into a child. Because of the similarity in the first half of the story, IyaRpakai had been described as *Sindhu Ballala*.

Into Tamil: Arunacala Puranam in Tamil, dealing with the temple at Tiruvannamalai where the Hoysalas stayed for some-time, gives this story as that of *Vallala*. Ballala is the name of of the Hoysala kings who were fond of Tiruvannamalai. Ballana was confused with Ballala. One of the Ballalas, Ballala III married Cikkayi of the Alupas, who followed the matriarchal system. Perhaps in derision, a few spoke of Alupa polyandry, trying to attribute it without any reason to this Cikkayi. This must have led to the confusion in names. When the Hoysalas, who were so much attached to Tiruvannamalai temple, which they beautified, disappeared from history, a grateful later generation wrongly thinking that the Ballalas went without Heirs for performing *sraddhas* for them, organised annual festival where God himself who had become the child in that story, performed the *sraddha*.

This story is the best illustration for stories getting mixed up and changed, inspired by various motives, good and bad.

(8) *Other Traditions:*

The Telugus also wrote books on the sixty-three saints following other traditions, viz., Sanskrit and Tamil. *Harabhakta Vilasamu* of Attaluri Papakavi (1750) is an adaptation of the *Skanda Purana*. *Sivabhakti Vilasamu* by Nanjaraja (1800) is a translation of *Agastya Samhita*. Tamil *Periyapuranam* was translated by J.O.V. Dorasamaiah into Telugu Prose (1900) as *Bhakta Lilamrutam*.

(9) *Popular Telugu:*

One has to notice the "Jana Telugu" of the Virasaivite Telugu poets like Palkuriki Somanatha. Jana Telugu means the Telugu of the common man as against the classical and Sanskritised Telugu. Tamil has always been trying to be true to its genius. There was a danger to this in the age of St. TirunnaNacampantar and he condemned the hybrid language of the Jains which was neither good Sanskrit nor good Tamil. He also very much criticised the corruption of Sanskrit words (*Sankata pankam*). In the age of Ottakkuttar, the majestic and unwordly style used very high sounding Sanskrit words. The language was saved for the use of the common man and living literature by CekkiLar, the author of *Periyapuranam* the purana of the sixty-three saints, if it may be so called.

(h) *Those other than the sixty-three saints:*

Nakkirar:

The Andhras also were fully acquainted with the story of the Cankam poet Nakkirar. It is curious to note that according to the Telugu tradition, Nakkirar knew to start with Telugu and Sanskrit, and not Tamil which he had to learn later from Agastya. This story is given in the *Kalahasti Mahatmiyam* of Durjati.

(i) *Tamil in Telugu works:* Thanks to the Vaisnava tradition, many Tamil terms entered Telugu domestic usage and literature. In the Telugu *yaksaganas* especially those which were popular in the south, conversations in Tamil were also introduced.

(j) *Telugu literature in the Tamil land:* Thanks to chieftains of Andhradesa coming down to the south settling down and ruling there, Telugu works came to be produced in Tamil Nadu. During Acyuta Devaraya's time before 1600, Bhadrakavi dedicated his work to the king of Padaividu at Devangapura. The *Halasya Mahatmya* or the story of Siva's miracles at Madurai came to be

written in Telugu. Pachakarupa Tiruvenkata Kavi (note that the name is Tamil) during the age of Praudha Deva Raya, wrote the *Chokkanatha Carittira* which he dedicated to Pedda Ramanna of Tiruppattur in Ramnad District. Kundurti Venkatacala Kavi, in the reign of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha of Madurai, wrote *Karttika Mahatmyam* of *Skandapurana* and dedicated it to Venkatacala Reddy (1706–1732) of Turaiyur. Tirumala Kavi wrote the story of Cidambaram called *Chitrakuta Mahatmyam*. The Tondaiman King, Raghunatha Tondaiman of Pudukkottai (1769–1789), was the author of *Parvati Parinayam* in Telugu. His court poet Venkanna also wrote another *Parvathia Parinayamu* which he dedicated to *Minaksi Sundaresvara* the God of Madurai.

Halasya Mahatmyam: Satguri Tamma Bhupa (1513–1569) of Sivasamudram wrote the *Rajendra CoLa Carita* in Telugu. It is thus seen that Tamil stories got into Telugu literature. This also shows how there were Tamil people who could appreciate Telugu works. *Halasya Mahatmyam* was written in prose. Mallanpalli Buchikavi had written it in verse. There was another *Halasya Mahatmyam* by Tirumala Chetti Jagannadha Kavi. Gari-
 kapat Tammayya Kavi wrote his *Srivala Caritra* dedicating it to his patron at Kancipuram. Amalapuram Samnyasi Kavi's (1800–1860) *Kummari Gundayya* which tells the story of Tirunilakanta belongs to the south. Many of the *yaksaganas* relating to Tontarati-p-poti alvar were written at the Tanjore court. *TirukkuRal* and *Kamparamayanam* have been translated into Telugu in modern times.

(k) *Catakam literature in Tamil*: The *Satakam* literature influenced Tamil and many *Catakams* giving ethical maxims combining them with names of temples came to be written in Tamil, for instance *Arappalliccure Catakam*, *Tantalavar Catakam*, *Arunacala Catakam*, etc. *Sumati Catakam* itself had been translated into Tamil.

(l) *Translations*: Other important Telugu works came to be translated into Tamil. *Vasu Caritam* of Ramaraja Bhushanadu was translated by Ampalattatum Ayyan, but this had not been printed though found in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library. Vemana's verses have been translated many a time. In recent times Telugu stories, novels and dramas are being translated into Tamil.

(m) *Mahrattas*: We may in conclusion refer to the Tamil Kannada and Andhra influence passing on to the Maharatta

country. Reference had been made to the influence of the Tamil Bhakti movement affecting the Bhakti movement of that country. Palkuriki Somanatha wrote an *arya* verse probably related to the Mahratti language of his times. Poona Peshwas called St. Cirutonta *Siruvata Maharaja* and his annual feasts used to be held. This must have been due to the contact of the Pallavas with Vatapi. When Mahrattas came to rule over Tanjore, the Tamil influence spread further and further. In the age of Sahji (1684-1717) *Vallikalyanam* a *yaksaganam* in Telugu was written.

(n) *Conclusion*: We have thus far seen the influence of Tamil literature on other regions within India. We have seen new developments taking place in the regions which Tamil stories influenced. We have also seen the influence of other languages on Tamil.

CEYLON

One may now pass on to countries outside India. Tamil is the mother tongue of an influential minority in Ceylon from early times. The Tamils and the Sinhalese have lived together for more than two thousand years. Politics always poisoned the relationship but the cultural relation is more fundamental. The Buddhists of Southern India had always been in contact with those of Ceylon. There is a Ceylonese Tamil poet in the Tamil Cankam viz. *Ilattu-p-puta Nar*. The Ceylon Tamils, produced *Raghuvamsa* and *Daksina Kailasa Puranam* during the Middle Ages. The influence of Arumuka Navalar, Vipulananta and others in modern times on Tamil prose and Tamil studies has to be gratefully acknowledged. A number of Tamil words has become part of Sinhalese. The story of Kannaki has become the story of *Patni Teyyo* of the Sinhalese. There are in Ceylon, Sinhalese and Tamil versions of folk songs about this *Teyyo*. Sinhalese metres also remind us of the Tamil metres. One may with this knowledge look further east.

THE FAR EAST

1. *Rulers*: The contact with the Far East is of greater interest from this point of view. The boat seems to have been the carrier

of Tamil culture abroad. There was trade between the Tamilians and the islands of the Far East. People had gone from here to Ceylon and to distant *Campa* to found kingdoms, but as already stated these are not of deeper significance.

2. *Kataram*: *Cankam* poetry speaks of imports from Ceylon and *Kalakam* (the Ke'da) in Malaysia *Kalakam* appears in the form of *Kataram* probably connected with iron vessels, etc., as suggested by Fr. Thani Nayagam. *Kataram Kontan* "the conqueror of *Kataram*" is the title of Rajendra who led a naval expedition up to Ke'da and also of the great Sundara PandyaN after whom a village is named in the Pandya country. The names of places mentioned as lying on the route of the naval expedition, occurred as the names of species and other materials in Tamil land, as explained by our early commentators like Atiyarkkunallar. This is more important for present purpose.

3. *Tamil Kings and the Far East*: St. Cuntarar in listing the saints of Tamil land speaks in the present tense of one *cinkaN* with the victor's anklet who was then protecting the lands surrounded by the seas. Amongst the Pallavas, there were two *cinkaNs*—one Narasimha or Mamalla and the other Rajasimha and we know Rajasimha had some kind of jurisdiction over the islands in the Eastern seas. The fact that a few bore the names of the kings of the Tamil country (Mahendra, the predecessor of Narasimha, and Sundara, the king who came later) shows some kind of dependence on the Tamil power as pointed out by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. We have Tamil inscriptions in Burma and we learn that the merchant guilds which traded with distant parts made gifts, for instance in the name of their king *Avani Narayana* which is the title of Nandivarman III.

4. *Manimekalai*: *Manimekalai* known to the Buddhist tradition was the guardian angel of the eastern seas and thus became the family deity of the traders on the eastern seas like the ancestors of KovalaN, the hero of *Cilappatikaram* who, we learn, had named his daughter 'Manimekalai' and this is the name of the famous Buddhist epic in Tamil dealing with her story.

5. *Sugarcane*: The commentator on *PuRanaNuRu* speaks of a tradition which attributes the famous act of bringing in sugarcane from the eastern seas to Tamil land to the ancestors of *AtikamaN*—a name identified by Dr. Burrow with Satiyaputras, mentioned in the Asokan edicts along with the Colas, Pandyas

and Keralaputras of the Tamil land. Thus one gets a picture of the economic and cultural interrelationship.

6. *Conversion*: There is in the epic *Manimekalai*, the interesting story of a ship-wrecked merchant CatuvaN being brought before a cannibal chief of the Nagas, and the merchant converting this chief and his tribe to Buddhism.

7. *Philosophical influence*: This leads us to expect more of such philosophical and religious influences. Hinduism and Buddhism had been spreading all over these lands of the eastern seas, thanks to Indians going from Bengal, Andhra, Kalinga and Tamil Nadu. But some of the architectural remains remind us even now of Mahabalipuram. The inscriptions there speak of Sankaracarya of Kancipuram thus definitely establishing the relationship of those lands with the Tamil country in the religious and philosophical fields.

8. *Panturanka and Dr. Filliozat*: Dr. Filliozat has brought to notice one other Tamil influence on the South East. *Kalittokai* one of the Cankam anthologies refers to *Panturanka* dance of Siva: the dance of Victory in the battle field when the fortresses of the enemies had been reduced to ashes. He danced though according to the true pattern measured out simultaneously by his consort but yet with such violent joy that the ashes covered him so fully as to make Him white and as to deserve the name of White dance. Siva therefore came to be known as *PanturankaN* a name which went to the Far East. There Visnu with the figure of Siva at the top came to be called *Panturanka*. In the Mahratta country Visnu or Vittal is known as *Panturanka Vittal*—a name which has ultimately to be traced to the Tamil sources though certainly through the changes that had taken place in the Far East. The whole story when described by future research, establishing completely every step of the march to the East and the West of Tamil land, will indeed be a fascinating episode in the history of culture.

9. *Ceremonies and national festivals*: The court ceremonies and national festivals of the countries like Siam or Thailand have been studied in detail by Quaritch Wales and others. The national festival of the Thais is a swing festival and the Bengali authors have been claiming this as the swing festival for Krsna observed in Bengal, from where it has spread in recent times to even distant South India, thanks to the influence of the followers of Caitanya.

But as I was able to point out in the fifties, at one of our Tamil festivals of literature and culture, this festival has two names, one in the Thai language and another in some other language. This later name though not easily understandable is “Tiruvempavai Tiruppavai”—which any Tamilian can easily identify as a colloquial form in that country of “*Tiruvempavai Tiruppavai*”. *Tiruvempavai* is the saivite hymn sung by the saivite St. Manikkavacakar whilst *Tiruppavai* is the hymn by the Vaisnavite saint *Antal*, the *Mirabai* of the South. This combination of these two names reminds us of the ecumenical movement started by Sri Sankaracariar of Kamakotipitam of Kancipuram wherein every Hindu temple organises, *Tiruppavai Tiruvempavai* conferences. This gives us a clue to some such attempt made in an earlier age by the Vaisnavites and Saivites who went and settled down among the natives of Thailand and other places.

(a) *Pavai in Thailand*: Both these hymns are based on the older folk song *pavai*—the image of the earth worshipped on the banks of rivers or ponds in which the virgins bathed in the month of *MargaLi* (December—January) and prayed for rains for their country and good husbands for themselves. The festival in Thailand is a rain festival. Around the original Thai festival the Tamilian religious encrustation had grown and as pointed out elsewhere these Tamil poems had been explained in a peculiar way in these distant lands so as to weld together the distinct cultures of Tamil Nadu and Thailand.

(b) *New light on Thai culture*: At the request of the present Sri Sankaracariar of Kamakoti I wrote a book on this subject and later I had the opportunity of going to Bangkok and seeing the open land where the festival used to be celebrated and also the three Hindu temples dedicated to Siva, Ganesa and Visnu. Before I had been to the National Library for learning more about the manuscripts dealing with rituals and the mantras recited therein, Dr. Thani Nayagam had on his visit to Bangkok for studying the Tamil mantras used found the first two verses of *Tiruvempavai* recited as mantras. When I went later, the Librarian in charge, who was also then teaching Sanskrit, explained to me that in addition to the verses from *Tiruvacakam* there were also hymns from *Tevaram*. He remembered the words ‘*KuRRayi NavaRu*’ which begins the first hymn of St. Appar. This was called ‘The opening of the gates of Kailasa’. ‘The opening

of the gates' will be in Tamil '*Katai-t-tirappu*' whilst closing the gates will be '*Katai-k-kappu*'. St. Appar according to the tradition prevalent in the Tamil land opened the gates which remained closed for a long time in the temple at TirumalaRaikattu and the same tradition tells us that St. TirumalaNacampantar sang a hymn to close these doors as of old. In Tamil Nadu the hymns of St. TirumalaNacampantar are known as '*Tiru-k-katai-t-tirappu*'. But this later name is not current in the Tamil land, though as stated earlier, it is found translated as 'The opening of the gates of Kailasa' in Thailand.

(c) *Further lights*: The Library was kind enough to send me a micro-film copy of their manuscript and this is now at the Annamalai University. Thiru Singaravelu of the Malayan University had tape recorded the hymns as recited by the Brahmins at Bangkok and we had occasion to listen to those songs when the first Tamil World Seminar Conference was held at Kuala Lumpur in 1966. In a shorter version of *Tevaram* prepared for daily recital in use in southern India, the first hymns sung respectively by St. TirumalaNacampantar, St. Appar and St. Cuntarar occupy the first place, and as though confirming this usage, these three hymns were sung there at Bangkok. But it was not clear why there was no song from the Vaisnavite *Tiru-p-pavai*. For one thing in spite of Visnu being called *Sukhodaya Perumal* there were no orthodox Vaisnavites there at Bangkok. *Sukhodaya* is the name of Thailand and *Perumal* is the Tamil Word for Visnu who has thus become the National Deity there. The Brahmins there have become one with the Malaysians by intermarriage; but still they are honoured as *Rajagurus*. Their names like *Vamadeva* reminds us of the influence of Saivite Agamas. Dr. Marr of the London School of Oriental and African studies, trying to decipher the manuscripts had found a line from *Tiruppavai* "*narayaNan namakke paRai taruvan*" and he mentioned this to me when he came last year to Madurai. This discovery is important for proving that *Tiruppavai* was also sung at their national festival in olden days.

(d) *Brahmins*: It is true a few Tamils coming from Siam to Tamil Nadu have told us that Tamil verses were sung as *mantras* in Siam but now we have detailed information about this, especially bringing to light the full significance of the alternate name of the Thai national festival, '*Tiruppavai-Tiruvembavai*'. The Brahmins

there claim to have come to Bangkok from the Ramnad District and their manuscript is ascribed to a period not later than the twelfth century on palaeographical grounds. These Tamil verses were recited at the Corporation and other court functions apart from the recital at the national festival. This shows how the Tamil influence has become basic in the culture of the elite and the common people of these lands. This festival is learnt to have been celebrated in other places as well on the eastern seas.

(e) *Conclusion*: It is thus seen that the Bhakti School of Tamil land, the Bhakti cult of the Saivite saints like St. TirunnaNacampantar, St. Appar and St. Manikka Vacakar and that of the Vaisnavite ALvars like Antal of *Tiru-p-pavai* fame had spread not only all throughout India but also all across the eastern seas. Going from place to place, the emphasis went on changing and in the Far East these became mantras to unite together the Buddhists, the Hindus, the natives and the Tamils into one cultural nation. A detailed study of these changes is thus called for.

CONTACT WITH OTHER CULTURES

The contact with other cultures cannot be described in depth except in terms of some of the people coming from outside settling down in the Tamil land and becoming Tamilians or in terms of a few exports and imports or in terms of the translations of a few Tamil works especially the book of ethical epigrams, the great *KuRal* or in terms of the Tamil studies carried on in other countries. This last is covered by another survey paper. But it is hoped that at a later date research will reveal the depth of the Tamil influence on other cultures.

TAMIL LANGUAGE

The Dravidian

Tamil language occupies a place of importance in the Dravidian family of languages. Though attempts have been made to connect the Dravidian family of languages with other families of Indian languages, such attempts have not been successful to satisfy a majority of linguists. From that point of view, one can say that Dravidian languages are perhaps to be considered as "The Indian Language" that has no established connection outside this country. There are scholars who think this language came from outside India; and there are others who assert that this was the oldest language spoken in the old continent now lost in the Indian ocean and that it spread from there throughout India. A recent attempt has been made to identify the Dravidians with the people who used iron implements as found at Brahmagiri along with the Aśokan remains; this iron users probably came not earlier than the 8th century B.C. But it has been argued that these need not necessarily be the Dravidians.

Scholars like Caldwell, Gundert, Kittel and others even in the nineteenth century traced to the Dravidian source some of the old Sanskrit words which had not their proto type in the Indo-European and which could not be scientifically traced to the Indo-European. In the twentieth century, Sanskrit scholars like Dr. Burrow, Dr. Emeneau and Sir Ralph Turner failing to explain certain etymons in Sanskrit as belonging to the Indo-European source, achieved success when they attempted to explain them as coming from the Dravidian or the Munda—the languages with which the speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages came into contact in this land of India. Dr. Burrow has found these Dravidian words in the Vedas themselves, but he points out, the borrowings were almost negligible thereafter till a later period when once again the borrowings increase in number. All these studies lead to only one conclusion that the Dravidians were in India before the advent of the speakers of the Aryan languages.

It is only, in the South, the great Dravidian languages have developed into cultural languages with literatures of their own.

Among these, Tamil has the oldest literature now extant. Next comes Kannada; third comes Telugu; Malayalam which might have been existing only as an independent spoken language was however identifying itself with the culture and literature of the Tamils till the tenth or the twelfth centuries. These four languages occupy the coastal and inland regions of southern India. But what are now called uncultured languages tried to escape this kind of development, because the speakers of those languages receded into the forests and mountains.

The Dravidian languages can be divided into three major groups viz., (1) the Northern Dravidian represented now by Brahui spoken in Baluchistan now in Pakistan, *Kudux* spoken in Madhya Pradesh and Malto spoken on the borders of Orissa and Bengal, (2) the Central Dravidian consisting of a number of languages like Kolami, Parji, Naiki, Konda, Gondi, Kui, Kuwi, Gadaba, and the recently discovered Pengo, (3) the Southern Dravidian consisting of Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, Toda, Badaga, Tulu, Kodagu, Irula etc. Telugu stands more attached to the Central group. The Central Dravidian is found in the Madhya Pradesh, in the Vindhya and in the south in the Deccan now represented by Andhra Pradesh. There are found in Telugu some of the aspects of the Southern Dravidian as well such as palatalisation of the initial velar. The Southern Dravidian should be divided into two groups (1) those coming from the proto Kannada and (2) those from the proto Tamil-Malayalam.

The North Dravidian for example is characterised by the velar plosive remaining as such when followed by *ĩ* whilst elsewhere it becomes a velar fricative whilst Tamil is characterised by the velar becoming palatalised when followed by *ĩ* or *ẽ* and when not followed by a retroflex. The Central Dravidian is characterised often by metathesis like *avanru* > *vāḍu* and by the loss of the final nasal in the pronouns and by including human feminine singular in the Non-human singular whilst including Human feminine plural in Human plural. The Southern Dravidian is characterised by the past tense forms with the dental also as the tense signs. It is also characterised by the development of the five-fold gender distinction viz., masculine singular, feminine singular, human plural, non-human singular and non-human plural. The Tamil is characterised by the palatalisation already referred to and also by some ancient relic forms. It is distinguished from modern Malayalam by the

preservation or development of the gender suffixes in the finite verb forms which are not found in Malayalam.

The Tamil like Malayalam is also characterised by the conversion of /e/ and /o/ in the initial syllable when not followed by a high vowel into /i/ and /u/ respectively.

The speakers of the Aryan languages and the Dravidian languages should have come into contact with each other from the Vedic age. The conclusive evidence for the knowledge of the Aryans about South India comes to us only later; for instance, the Pandyas and Cholas are referred to only by Vararuci who has attempted to fill up the lacunae in the descriptive grammar of Sanskrit by Pāṇini of the sixth century B.C. According to the majority view, Vararuci is not earlier than the fourth century. Patañjali who is not later than the second century B.C. mentions the great southern city of Kāñchi. The Aśokan inscriptions are aware of the Tamil Kingdoms. The three Southern kingdoms were Cola, Cera and Pandya. They also mention the fourth kingdom of the Satiyaputras which thanks to the loss of the initial palatal has been identified with Adiyamāṇ family by Dr. Burrow. The fact that Aśoka mentions the form Kēralaputra shows according to Dr. Burrow that the palatalisation of the initial velar has not become thoroughly established in his age.

We have inscriptions in the caves of southern districts of Tamil land written in a script which along with the Aśokan script can be traced to a common source probably that of Moheñjodaro. But the language has now been proved to be Tamil, where alone exist the peculiar sounds- /ɽ/, /ɳ/, and /l/.

PHONOLOGY

The Proto-Dravidian had the following contrasting sounds.

Vowels:

i	ī	u	ū
e	ē	o	ō
a	ā		

Consonants:

k-	c-			t-	p-
-k-	-c-	t-	-t-	-t-	
-kk-	-cc-	-tt-	-tt-	-tt-	-pp-
-ñk-	-ñc-	-ñt-	-nt-	-nt-	-mp-
	ñ	-ñ-; -ṇ	-n-		m
y					v
		-l-; -l		-r-	-vv-
		-l-; -l	-l-; -l		
		-ll-	-ll-		

When we come to Tamil and examine the earliest literary records viz., Caṅkam literature which may not be later than the second century A.D., we find that certain changes have occurred from the point of view of Tamil. There are contrasts between the dental /ṇ/ and the alveolar /n/. ñ is preserved only in Tamil and Malayalam though even here Tamil has lost ñ in many places where Malayalam still preserves it. In the medial position /-p-/ has become /-v-/ in other languages and even in later Tamil. But the ancient Tamil preserves the medial /-p-/ in the forms like /tapu/. What has become a trill or a dental or a retroflex in other languages remained as an alveolar plosive in the early Tamil. The voiced retroflex groove fricative -l- is found in Tamil and in ancient Kannada and Telugu.

The earliest Tamil inscriptions which can be dated on paleographical grounds are found in the old Pandya country in the caves which were occupied by the Jain or Buddhist monks during their winter retreats. The earlier of these inscriptions do not distinguish between long and short consonants probably they could not be distinguished by the foreign scribes. Inscriptions are small dotive tablets. /l/ written like the modern /g/ in English writing bears similarity to the modern /l/. Tolkāppiyar speaks of retroflexion while describing the alveolar plosive and the nasal. The alveolar nasal in these inscriptions show a bend which may denote this retroflexion. The alveolar plosive is a combination of the retroflex /t/ and the dental /t/ suggesting that it is pronounced midway between these. The diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are absent; /ḍh/ and /ṭh/ are found in two Prakrit loan words only. The phonemes are as in the ancient Tamil and Proto Dravidian as

described earlier. Amongst the plosives /k/, /c/, /t/, /p/ alone occur initially though they occur inter-vocally and after their homorganic nasals. The palatal nasal occurs only medially before the palatal /c/. Plosives never occur finally. True to the statement of Tolkāppiyam the glide is absent in many cases and we have vowel clusters. There are no consonantal clusters initially or finally. The forms like *ceytāṇ* are found.

One may summarise the morphological principles of these inscriptions for a better understanding of their language.

Dravidian languages continue to be the suffixing languages and being what are called the agglutinative languages, the different elements in the word remain as though unattached to one another so that their morphological and grammatical systems remain transparent. One can also assert that the distinction between noun and verb could not have been there at an early stage.

The inscriptions being short, there are no occurrences of conjunctive participles but there are relative participle forms like /*piṛanta*/. To the relative participle forms are added the pronominal suffixes /*aṇ*/, /*ār*/ or /*ōr*/. e.g. *koṭṭiōr* The last is probably the conjugated noun. We have two conjugations: (1) where the past tense form shows /-*tt*-/ or /-*nt*-/ as past tense sign. (2) Those roots ending in *kurriyalukaram* add /-*i*-/ as the past tense sign. There is a distinction between the non-causal and the causal. The causal suffix is /-*pi*-/. Ex. *koṭṭupitor* < *koṭṭuppittōr* which corresponds to modern *koṭṭuvittōr*. Note the medial /-*p*-/. We may note a number of stages in Tamil. (1) /-*p*-/ remaining /-*p*-/; (2) /-*p*-/ > /-*v*-/ after vowels and semi-vowels; (3) /-*p*-/ > /-*b*-/ after the nasal; (4) /-*p*-/ > /-*m*-/ after /*m*/. The cave inscriptions belong to the first stage.

The words are divided into human and non-human with singular and plural in each. The inflexional /-*tt*-/ is found in words like *nikamattōr*. There is concord or cross reference between the subject and the predicate in gender, number and person. Ex: *nikamattōr koṭṭiyōr*. The sentences are substantive sentences with a topic and a comment. Title and proper names are juxtaposed and their juxtaposition shows that they are put in apposition with each other or the first is an attribute to the second the head. True to Tolkāppiyam the titles precede the proper names. The form *yāy*, *nāy* and *tāy* of the Caṅkam age lead us to identify the form *āy* without the initial *t*-etc. This would suggest in kinship terms like

tantai, etc., which begins with a /t-/, the real or inferred forms which should begin with /a/ etc. True to this conclusion Mr. Iravadam Mahadevan has explained forms like *aṇtai* occurring in these inscriptions as meaning "father". Place names and personal names known to the Caṅkam age are found in these inscriptions. Among those inscriptions of a later period we have long consonants. Consonant with a dot appear later not only in the inscriptions but also in the coins of Sathakarnis where the Tamil word *tiru* corresponds to Sanskrit *Śri*.

Traces of an earlier stage where singular and plural alone were denoted by the final-/n/and-/m/respectively and the existence of a third person pronoun *tāṇ* corresponding to I person *yāṇ*, II person *ni*, may be safely asserted from what we know of early Tamil. So also one can say that the Proto Dravidian distinguishes between only masculine and the non-masculine.

Tolkāppiyam in its nucleus form belongs to the pre-Christian era especially the eḷuttatikāram though even here there are elaborations of a later date. There is a chapter on articulatory phonetics but even here certain sutras are missing. The contrast is between *ottutal* meaning "perfect contact" of stops and *varuṭal* meaning "imperfect or intermittent contact." Tolkāppiyar has taken /av/ as /au/ but the assonance in Caṅkam poetry will show that this is wrong and the diphthong /au/ has no place in Tamil. He speaks of /ai/ but even according to him a+i>/ai/ and in the final position the /i/ therein alternates with /y/. There is a contrast not only between the short vowels and long vowels but also between the short consonants and long consonants. But /r/ and /l/ never occur as long in Tamil. The velar nasal cannot be a phoneme if we restrict our attention to the materials available. The palatal nasal contrasts with the dental nasal in the initial position. They do not contrast in the medial position except as long consonants in compounds. The palatal nasal occurs in the final position only in one word and the dental nasal only in two words. Thus they have a low functional yield and later /ṇ/ merges with /ṅ/. As for alveolar and dental nasals they later fall together. Only the written convention differentiates them, at a later period, by using the script form of the dental /ṇ/ in the initial position and before /t/ and using the alveolar /n/ in the medial and final positions and before /t/. It is also very difficult to argue for a /y/ phoneme which often occurs as an alternant to /i/; initial /yā/ is really /iā/>/iā/.

Tolkāppiyar explains the restrictions about the occurrence of initial consonants coming only with certain vowels. /y/ does not occur initially except when followed by /ä/. Palatals /y/ /c/ and /ñ/ do not occur with /a/. In such cases /a/ is palatalised into /e/. Ex. cā>cettāṇ; yāṇ>eṇ; The labio dental /v/ does not occur in the initial syllable followed by labials /u/, /ū/ and /o/, /ō/. Tolkāppiyar speaks of certain usages where the glide does not occur. He also speaks of vowel clusters especially ālapetai. When two vowels occur (1) there will be a glottal stop in between them or (2) they become diphthongs. Ex. pira+i>pirai>piray or (3) they get a glide in between them. We have āi>āy, etc., which when glide occurs becomes āvi, etc.

Tamilians were aware of the conception of the phonemes though they never defined it anywhere. Tolkāppiyar defines the basic sounds in his articulatory phonetics; they have to be taken as phonons. Tolkāppiyar describes their combinatorial variants which he calls cārpeḷuttu. /u/ becomes unrounded /ω/ when occurring final in the canonical forms (C) V(C) Cω or (C) V(C) CVC(C) ω. /i/ becomes centralised and shortened in the suffix-miyā and also when /i/ is a variant of the unrounded /ω/ whenever followed by /y/. In some places the long plosives become their fricatives according to one interpretation. The long fricatives are denoted by the respective plosives preceded by āytam or three dots. Gradually the forms with long plosives and the long fricatives came to be differentiated with meaning and it is this stage which is represented by Tolkāppiyam.

According to Tolkāppiyam the short monosyllabic word ending in /v/ or /l/ or /ḷ/ and followed by a word beginning with a plosive gives rise to the existence of its long plosive. It is here that these long fricatives come as alternants. The final /v/ becomes assimilated to the next plosive and where /l/ or /ḷ/ is followed by the dental plosive both the dental and the lateral become assimilated reciprocally and become /tt/ and /ṭṭ/ respectively.

Ex: av+kaṭiya>akkaṭiya “those are hard”
kal+ṭitu>kattitu “the stone is bad”
mul+ṭitu>muṭṭitu “the thorn is bad”

These rules help us to trace more roots ending in /v/ than the four enumerated by Tolkāppiyar such as /vav/, /kav/, /pav/ etc.

There is another combinatorial variant where the nasal /m/ when followed by /v/ becomes shortened. Perhaps it is here a labio-dental nasal. It also gets shortened occurring immediately after the alveolar /n/. Ex. pōnm. The sutras referring to these must be later additions because Tolkāppiyar does not include them under combinatorial variants.

The chapter on prosody in Tolkāppiyam speaks of kuṛṛiyalukaram followed by consonants occurring in verses perhaps as in *vikkul*. According to *eḷuttatikāram*, *kuṛṛiyalukaram* occurs only in utterance final. According to the reading accepted by Iḷampūraṇar, *kuṛṛiyalukaram* should have been therefore occurring elsewhere also in a later age. /nm/ and /ṇm/ occur as word-final in the Caṅkam age. Again see *aḱtai~akutai*. This means āyтам behaves like a consonant in some places and like a syllable in other places.

In the Pallava age the vowel phonemes continue as usual. The diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ especially the latter are found predominantly in the Sanskrit words borrowed. Because of the absence of vowel clusters /e/ and /o/ do not occur as word finals. In this age dental /ṇ/ and velar, /ṅ/ are merely allophones of the alveolar /n/ and the bilabial /m/. In the Chola age /ṇ/ also ceases to be a phoneme. In the learned dialect all the Sanskrit consonants occur. But they have not attained the status of phonemes. /r/ and /l/ occur as initials in the colloquial language and also in many dialects. See *oṭṭakkūṭar*. But the literary dialect soon went back to the older usage. The alveolar and dental nasals fall together. So do /l/ and /ḷ/. The alveolar plosive and /r/ fall together.

The shortening of long vowels especially before clusters is frequent in the Pallava and the subsequent ages. There is a tendency to pronounce sounds at a rapid rate. The commentators state that the quantity of the consonant dissolves in the quantity of the vowel following it. The consonant does not disappear and therefore the quantity of the vowel only is diminished. This leads often to the disappearance of the vowel especially in between plosives and r/l. The syllable is kept alive as an onset type with a loose transition of consonants. There is also the old tendency to avoid this consonantal cluster by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel which at this stage is often different from the original vowels e.g. *kuḷir>kuḷr>kuḷur*. The front vowels develop into diphthongs with a final /y/. /i/ and /u/ in the initial syllable become /e/ and /o/

respectively probably because of the spread of the tendency in other Dravidian languages at the northern border of Tamil speech. This first started with reference to Sanskrit words but from the eleventh century onwards /u/ > /o/ even in Tamil words. There is the palatalisation of the final /u/ to /i/ after the palatal /c/ e.g. *añci*. The dental /t/ preceded by its homorganic nasal become palatalised when both are preceded by /i/ or /y/. e.g. *aintu* > *anci*. /a/ when followed by a palatal is palatalised into /ai/. Ex. *aracar* > *araicar*. It continues even in the literary usage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries /ai/ > /a/ as in *aintu* > *añci*. Elsewhere /ai/ > /e/ Ex. *araicar* > *arecar*; *cinai* > *cine*. Therefore finally /e/ in this way begins to occur in this age. In the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries front vowels develop an onglide /y/ in the initial position. /a/ preceded by a labial becomes /o/. e.g. *puravari* > *puṛovari*. Palatals in the Cola age become dentals. e.g. *ñāyīru* > *nāyīru*; *Caṇḍēsvara* > *taṇḍēsvara*. The voicing of the intervocal plosives and the plosives after the nasals started in the Pallava age but it was not well established. The Sanskrit transliteration of Tamil names proves that the plosives continue to be voiceless. But by the ninth century their voicing is well established. The falling together of the alveolar /n/ and the dental /ṇ/ begins in the Pallava age but becomes pronounced only later. The falling together of the alveolar /t/ and /r/ starts only in the tenth century first in clusters and then in the eleventh century in the intervocal position. There is first of all the confusion between /l/ and /ḷ/ in the dialects of the north where we have *kēḷvi* for *kēḷvi*; *āḷvar* for *ālvar*. But the important change is that of /l/ > /ḷ/ in the southern districts, from the eighth century. /y/ ending disappears. e.g. *vāykkāl* > *vākkāl* in the Cola period. But in some cases /y/ is pronounced as /yi/ e.g. *cey* ~ *ceyyi*. In the Pallava age the medial /y/ or /ḷ/ is considered by the prosodists as non-existent for the purpose of rhyme and syllabification. /r/ uniformly disappears in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries before /n/, /m/, /v/, /ṇt/, long plosives or a pause. e.g. *kārttikai* > *kāttikai* etc. Intervocal /k/ or /c/ becomes /y/. e.g. *vaikāci* > *vaiyāci*; *icaitta* > *iyaitta*. From the Pallava period, not only plosives but also other consonants tend to end with an enunciative /u/. e.g. *maṇ* ~ *maṇṇu*; *mān* > *mānu*.

The *āytam* also becomes voiced e.g. *ālaruṇa*. In many places it disappears. By the time of *Tirukkuraḷ* it assumes the value of /y/. In *Peruṅkatai* and *Nammālvar*, *āytam* rhymes with /y/. e.g.

kakcu~kaycu. And the grammar Avinayam specifically states a+āytam=ai. Vēlvikkūṭi grant has three variant forms viz. iṭu~iḱtu~itu. This āytam occurs also in the eleventh century. e.g. tiruvekkā. Later it disappears from the colloquial speech.

In the Vijayanagar period the vowels change in quality and quantity to a still greater extent. kurriyalukaram occurs medially also. In the final position it sounds nearer to (i). (ai) is pronounced as (ey) and (e). In the early period ya>e: e.g. yaman>eman. In this period the initial /y/ is lost. yār>ār. Some grantha letters along with their pronunciations /j/, /ṣ/, /ḡ/, /s/, /h/, /kṣ/, /ḡri/ were introduced to pronounce the Sanskrit borrowings. More or less a fashion was established when adopting Sanskrit words into Tamil as stated in Naṇṇūl; but later other changes followed. /kṣ/>/c/; /ṣṭ/>/st/; final /am/>/ai/. e.g.: māṭam>maṭṭai. hy/>/ñk/ Ex: asahya>aciṅkam.

The foreign writers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries write the long plosives as the voiceless short plosives whilst the short plosive is always written as a voiced one. The palatal plosive had two pronunciations initially. One is the voiceless /tch/ as noted by De Nobili. In other dialects it becomes a sibilant /s/ both initially and intervocally. The old alveolar plosive is written by the foreigners as /rr/; when it follows a nasal it is transcribed as d/dr. The long alveolar is written as a long dental. But in the learned pronunciation it is transcribed as /ṭr/. The alveolar nasal followed by its plosive becomes a long retroflex nasal. oṇru>oṇṇu. The retroflex or alveolar plosive when followed by a plosive becomes assimilated to the latter. The nasals other than /m/ also are lost or become changed into the homorganic nasal of the following plosive, veṇ cāmarai>veṇ cā marai There is a rare free variation of /r/ and /l/: Ex: araṭṭi~alaṭṭi.

In the twentieth century the dialectic variations are carefully observed by the dramatists and the screen-play writers. In Vellore we have kītu for irukku t u. The various transformations of the old /l/ characterise the various Tamil dialects. In Madras paḷam>payam; ilu>isu in North Arcot; tiruvilā>tiruvīsā in Chidambaram; paḷam>paḷam in southern districts and Ceylon. The word avarkaḷ is pronounced as avāl in the Brahmin dialect; avaṅka in Madras, avuṅga in North Arcot; avuḥa in Nanjilnādu; aviya in Tinnevely and Coimbatore. sāmān>jāmān in Madurai. eṇpaṭu>emḷaḍu in Tanjore. In Erode /l/ and, /l/ are falling together. /ñ/ becomes

a phoneme in Nanjilnadu where *aṇṇanam* “in that way” contrasts with *aṇkanam* “the drainage”. In *Kāyalpaṭṭinam* *vāṇki* > *vēṇki* “having bought” contrasts with *vēṇkai* “tiger”. In the dialect of college students /f/ and /p/ contrast in *coffee* and *copy*. In the Muslim dialect /z/ and /j/ contrast. e.g. *zāmin* and *jāmūn*. Further e > o after labials; *peṇ* > *poṇṇu*; *miḍā* > *meḍa* > *moḍa*. We noticed the initial /i/ having an onglide /y/. The back vowels as pointed out by Dr. Caldwell in the initial position have always an onglide /v/ or /w/. Before the other initial vowels in many dialects there is a glottal stop as an onglide.

The next great development is of nasal vowels. e.g. *maram* > *marō* etc.

vantēṇ > *vaṇṭe* I Person singular
vaṇṭē II person singular
vaṇṭān > *vaṇṭā* III Person masculine
vaṇṭāl > *vaṇṭā* „ feminine

Thus the nasal phonemes become important in morphology.

The voiced plosives; thanks to the number of foreign words become phonemes. e.g. *pāvam* “sin” *bhāvam* “the inner idea” The clusters avoided in the earlier age occur frequently in the allegro pronunciation and in borrowed words, e.g. *ḍabbā*, *tin* “can” *vaḍḍi*, “interest” *kaṭṭil* > *kaṭṭu* “cot” We have also clusters of three consonants but there is a loose transition from the first two consonants to the third perhaps with a juncture e.g. *pala* “many” *palle* “tooth” (accusative); *pal+le* “in the tooth”. Restrictions on the occurrence of the consonants initially also disappear. e.g. *rāman*.

A two-way distinction among consonants is established as front and back relatively.

/k/ /c/; /t/ /t/; /l/ /l/; /y/ /s/; /ṇ/ /n/; /r/ /r/.

MORPHOLOGY

The sentences in ancient Tamil originally must have been substantives rather than verbal. The form *ceyyum* occurs and forms like *ceyyunar* gives *ceyyuṇ* also, probably they represented the

plural and the singular respectively. We have *uṅku-uṅkum*; *cenru-cenrum*. There is reason to conclude that *uṅku* and *cenru* were originally *uṅkun* and *cenrun* in singular. Though these are preserved only in first person, they must have been common to all the persons as shown by Kannada. In Malayalam the finite verbs do not have gender suffixes and they are therefore similar to the conjunctive participles. *uṇarṇṭicin* in ancient Tamil is the form without any gender suffix. Here there are double suffixes */ṇṭ/* and */icin/*. In *kaṇṭāṅku* etc., we have the conjunctive-participle-like-finite verb *kaṇṭu*. What are called *viyankōl* contain only one suffix */-a/lor/-a/* which are also suffixes of verbal nouns or infinites. These old predicates though common verbs are preserved only in the implied command or *viyankōl*.

Tolkāppiyam divides words into nouns and verbs but syntax alone could help us to identify them. The subject word will be the noun and the predicate the verb. There is no copula in the Tamil sentences. Tolkāppiyar from the point of morphology divides *uriccol* "semantemes" and *itaiccol* "morphemes" to use these technical terms in the sense in which the Europeans use them. But according to modern American usage *uriccol* are the root-morphemes and *itaiccol* are the non-root morphemes.

If we understand the agglutinative nature of Tamil we could appreciate Tolkāppiyar terming all these as words. It is because of this that he gives the morpheme in the canonical forms (C)V(C) or (C)V(C) CV. */tt/* is therefore mentioned as */attu/*. The non-root morphemes include the following: (1) Tense signs (2) case signs (3) particles of comparison (4) enclitics—*acai* (5) sound fillers, - *icai nīrai* (6) suggestive particles (7) *cāriyai* or empty morphemes which were probably inflexional increments. The predicate can be an expression of an action taking explicitly or implicitly in the past, future or the present or an affirmation of existence or non-existence, an interrogative word, an implied command or assertion of a quality or a noun. This shows the kind of sentences which Tolkāppiyar analysed. The verbs, understood as above, are non-finite or finite. (1) *Cāttan vaṇṭān* and *cāttan pōṇān* can be transformed in two ways. *vaṇṭa cāttan pōṇān* where the finite verb or predicate *vaṇṭān* is transformed into *vaṇṭa*, a *peyar eccam* or a noun adjunct since it is an attribute of *cāttan*, a noun. (2) The sentence can be transformed also into *cāttan vaṇṭu ponan* where *vantan* has been transformed into a conjunctive

participle *vaṇtu* which has to go with *pōṇān* for completing the sentence. This is called *viṇai eccam*. *peyar eccam* may explicitly denote either the past or the non-past e.g. *ceyta* or *ceyyum*. This shows really speaking, that there are only two tenses in ancient Tamil. The present is included in the non-past. The tenses are relative especially in the conjunctive participles. The action of the participle, taking place before the action of the finite verb, whatever may be the tense of the finite verb, is the past; otherwise it is non-past. Ex. *vaṇtu pōṇān*; *vaṇtu pōvān*. There is the implied relative participle—a nominal root + *a*. *cāttan ṇallavan* is nominalised as *ṇalla Cāttan* where *nalla* is a *peyar eccam*. In the explicit *peyar eccam* which denotes explicitly the tense we have the conjunctive participle with /*a*/. *vaṇtu + a > vaṇta*. It has already been noted that the predicates were originally substantives and therefore we can think of these taking a genitive case sign /-*ā*/ and thus becoming an attribute of a noun. We find that the roots of the so-called verbs like *cey* take other case signs as well. e.g. *ceyiṇ*, *ceyaṛku*. These have been classed as *viṇai-y-eccam* because they can be substituted by *viṇai-y-eccam*. (1) *Ceyaṛku* “for the purpose of doing” (2) *ceyiṇ* “if one were to do”. The other verbal participles are (3) *ceytu*, (4) *ceyyū* [*cey + t + u > ceyyū* through the loss of -*t*]; these denote the past. (5) *ceypu* denotes the non-past. (6) *ceyteṇa* is really a compound word *ceytu + eṇa* “therefore”. As the existence of *ceytu* as a predicate has been forgotten, *ceyteṇa* has been taken as one word meaning “this was done therefore i.e., because of what was done” We referred to *viyaṅkōḷ* or implied commands which were originally verbal nouns coming as predicates. This was also used as a non-finite verb requiring another finite verb to complete it. (7) *ceya* (8) *ceyyiya* and (9) *ceyyiyar* patterns are *viyaṅkōḷ* and probably verbal nouns like *ceya* and these are also used as verbal participles denoting the future. *Tolkāppiyar* speaks also of conjunctive participles ending in *pin*, *mun*, *kāl*, *kaṭai*, etc., which are really locatives. These are preceded by forms like that of a relative participle. The relative participle and the locative become one word and have the force of a verbal participle. If the phrase means “in that period of time which one had stated” it will continue to be a relative participle going with a locative. If, however, it means “if were to happen” it has ceased to be a phrase and has become a verbal participle.

In the non-past *ceypu*, /-*p*-/ is the sign of the non-past. In

ceytu /t/ is the sign of the past. /i/ is also a past tense sign which ordinarily occurs with roots ending in a *kuṛṛiya-lukaram*. There are words like *arul*, *col*, etc., which also take this /i/. The literary language of *Tolkāppiyam* shows that there was a time or a dialect in which most of the roots took /i/ as the past sign, as happens for instance, in *Telugu* root. (but the *Telugu* roots uniformly take a formative-*cu*.) e.g. *uṭii*, *keḷii*, etc., (*uṭu+i*, *keḷu+i* by the morpho-phonemic rule $V_1V_2 > V_2V_2$ -become *uṭii*, etc. In the finite verbs we have /in/ (*i+n*). In *āna*, *pōna* the past tense is only /n/. /icin/ which is found as a past tense sign in *Koṇḍā* occurs as an expletive in *ninṇicin*, etc.

Finite verb is formed by adding the gender suffix to the relative participle. One can add the suffix directly to the root. For instance *nal+aḷ* > *nallaḷ* or one can add *aḷ* to the relative participle and get *nallāḷ* which becomes later *nallavaḷ*. There is another form *nallōḷ* which is a conjugated noun or *viṇaiyāl aṇaiyum peyar*. The root is elsewhere inflected and the gender suffix added (e.g.) *malai+in+an* > *malaiyanan*. When *in* occurs as past tense sign, then also the gender suffix is added immediately after that. e.g. *oṭuṅkinān*. In the non-past *ceypu* which may be taken also as a verbal noun, the gender suffix is directly added. *ceyvāṇ* (-p- intervocally > -v-). There is also the form *ceyvāṇ* (*ceyva+an*) where one gets *ceyva* the old non-past relative particle—existing in *Kannada* as *geyba* but which had been lost in *Tamil*.

The following are the pronouns in the age of *Tolkāppiyam* and in the *Caṅkam* age.

	Singular	Plural
I Person		
Nominative:	yān (192)	yām(182)/nām(188)
Oblique:	en (192)	em/nam (190)
II Person		
Nominative:	ṇi (179)	ṇiyir(659)/ṇivir(628)
Oblique:	ṇin (179)	ṇum (162)
III Person		
Nominative:	tān (192)	tām (188)
Oblique	tan (973)	tam (111)

tam, *nam*, and *num* are used also as *cāriyai* (191); *tan* (1012) and *tām* (2) as *emphatics*.

There are two declensions—nominative declension and genitive declension. The case signs in the former are added directly to the nominative form. In the latter it is added to an oblique form which itself has the force of ‘a genitive-locative’ or in other words of an attribute. The inflexional increments are the ancient {-a; t~t~t; -an/am; ~in; -ku; -an.} When the force of an older inflexion is lost, or is changed, another increment is added. -ku has also the genitive force as is still preserved in words denoting kinship relation; *avanukku makan* “his son”; -ku originally had also the locative significance as preserved in directional words like *vaṭakku*, etc., and in old usages like *maṇarṅku inṇa muḷai* and in time words *āṭikku*, *nā laikku* where the grammarians take the -ku as cāriyai or an empty morpheme, because -ku has become restricted to the dative. See -kaṇ a locative case which is -ku+a-ṇ another locative case sign. see *naṭu-v-aṇ. ān* meant a place; it occurred as a locative: e.g. *paraṇi-yār koṇṭān* “he captured on the paraṇi day”; later it was restricted to the instrumental. *ān* and *oṭu* occurred as instrument and social case signs in ancient times, though by the time of Tolkāppiyar, they became restricted more or less as instrumental and social case signs respectively. *atu* is a combination of the ancient -a+tu. In *enakku* “to me” we have -akku a combination of -a and -ku. Though Tolkāppiyar speaks of -atu as the genitive, it has not become frequent even in the medeival period.

The original fifth case in Tamil was really a case of comparison and it is only in the medeival period a real ablative of motion developed, but even then it is the verb of motion which followed, that gave that meaning. The oblique -am has the alternant -ai (cf: *-paṇai+kāy=paṇam kāy*) and this -ai was later—even in Tolkāppiyam—restricted to the accusative. One may generalise that what was originally the attribute or oblique case later on developed into the various cases.

The following are the usages special to the age of Tolkāppiyar:

- (1) The use of *viyaṅkōḷ* or implied command occurs only in the third person.
- (2) Comparison is divided into four kinds; comparison of colour, comparison of shape, comparison of action and comparison of effects. Specific particles of comparison are assigned to each one of them.

- (3) The roots *cel* 'to go' and *koṭu* 'to give' were used only with reference to third person and *vā* 'come' and *tā* 'give' only with reference to first person and second person.

In the Caṅkam poetry these restrictions are no longer valid.

In the Caṅkam age the passive voice was slowly finding a place for itself in Tamil. The distinction between *Piṟavinai* and *tanvinai*, ergative and non-ergative, is found. As in Kannada, there are instances where the distinction is not developed or lost. But the distinction between causal and non-causal is found in all the verbs. In the non-human, singular and plural come less and less to be distinguished even in the finite forms. *ellām* 'all' is not restricted to the non-human; it does not occur as the I person plural. *kaḷ* suffix is for the non-human; and in Tirukkuraḷ, it was used for the human as well.

In other forms, conjugation slowly followed the pattern of the more frequent fourth and eleventh conjugations as described in Tamil Lexicon.

In the Pallava age a new particle *kil* 'to be able' arises and it is conjugated as a separate root *kiṟ pan unṇavē* "I am able to eat alone" as in Tiruvācakam. The most important change in this period is the development of the present tense sign *kiṇru*. There was also a *vinai* *eccam* of the pattern *ceykinru*; but this disappeared by the end of the Pallava age. The relative construction with a relative clause following the relative pronoun slowly comes into Tamil. *uyarvara uyar-ṇalam uṭaiyavan evan avan* (Nammālvār). *-an* becomes the first person singular suffix. *Kuṟṟāla-k-kuṟavañci* has the form *ceyyunum*, probably on the Telugu pattern *cēyunu* 'they will do'. More and more roots get the formative suffix *-ku*. The tendency to insert at the end of the root an enunciative vowel spreads. e.g. *palku* becomes *paluku* and then we get the verbal noun *palukku* 'multiplying'; the locative *il*, is added to such forms. For instance, *kuḷikkil* is 'whilst bathing' and not 'if one were to bathe'. Even as *-āl* was added to the past and future conjunctive participles to denote conditional. e.g. *vantāl*, etc., *āl* is added to the medieval present conjunctive participle form *ceykinru*. See *āṭukinrāl*, etc. *Ceytālum* that is *-alum* added to the conditional *ceyṭāl* means 'even though it were done'.

The comparison was denoted by the periphrastic form *ataip-*

pārkkilum or *ataikkāṭṭilum* 'better than that'.

There is now an analytical tendency as against the synthetic tendency. For instance, the negative finite verb *ceyyān* 'he, will/does/did not do' which as synthetic form is more and more replaced by *avan ceyya illai*, where the agent, action and negation are denoted by three different words. The case signs are also replaced by independent words, which however in course of time became *Collurupu* or quasi case signs. The case *avanukku* is replaced by *avanporuṭṭu* or *avanukkāka*.

The demonstrative base *u* also slowly disappears.

Tolkāppiyar does not mention the first person *nān* but on the analogy of *nām* the first person inclusive plural, *nān* develops as the corresponding singular and in the modern period completely replaces *yām* but only in the nominative form. The second person oblique plural *num* leads to the development of the analogic form *nun* in the Pallava age; but in the modern period both are replaced by *un* and *um* 'you'.

Suffixes like *cāli* e.g. *putticāli* 'one who is wise', *kāran* e.g. *catikāran* 'one who plots', etc. become frequent in literature which is now developed for common people. Conversational style comes to be used and in modern times from the nineteenth century, the dialectal forms are used to denote the region of the particular character in the drama. The final suffix with the long vowel has given way to that with the short vowel, e.g. *vantān* replaces *vantaṇṇ*.

If we look at the verbs in Tamil, except a few forms like *koṇṭā* 'he took', etc., the second, sixth, eleventh or twelfth conjugation and the seventh become rare; we get then only two conjugations. In the first there is the dental past tense sign becoming long retroflex, e.g. *niṇṇān*, *kēṭṭan* when the final is *tu* in the pattern of roots CVCV, where the last V which is *u* is lost and also, in the roots ending in *!* in the past tense, whilst remaining the long dental elsewhere e.g. *pārttān*. In the roots ending in *i* or *y*, the long dental becomes a long palatal e.g. *ciriccān*. The second class takes the allomorphs *n* or *in* or *n* or *i*; these occur only when the verb root final *n* or *nu* is taken to be lost or in the case of roots ending in the unrounded *u*. In the present tense conjugation, where the infinitive form is formed by adding *-a*, the present tense is *rr* and in the rest *krr*. The root final *l/l*, is being lost. The future is generally *v* in all the conjugations, the roots taking an enunciative *-u*.

On account of nasalisation, we get a new set of contrasting suffixes.

<i>ava</i>		' he '
<i>ava</i>		' she '
<i>vande</i>		' I came '
<i>vandē</i>	;	' you came '
<i>a</i>		' yes '
<i>ā</i>		' interjection '
<i>ū (kāṭṭū)</i>		' a ghost or something frightening child, a nursery word '
<i>u</i>		' interjection used when listening to a story to show that one is listening. '
<i>o</i>		' yes '
<i>ō</i>		' interjection '
<i>kumbo</i>		' pot '
<i>kambō</i>		' is it a stick ? '
<i>ī</i>		' fly '
<i>ī</i>		' expression for cringing with lips extended as in pronouncing i '.

vanduvelaiyaiccey ' come and do the work '

vanduvelaiyaiccey ' come and do your work '

There is also a significant rise in the frequent use of honorific suffixes, especially during the age of Poligars with high sounding titles with a series of social gradations. For instance, the second person ' you ' has in certain dialects four gradations:- *ni*, *nīm*, *nīr* and *ninkaḷ*. The imperative has the gradations *naṭa*, *naṭavum*, *naṭavunkaḷ*, *natanṭaruḷum*. Even when one makes a statement, the finite verb implies a hierarchy. We have *ēṭā* 'hullo'; 'O man'; *ēṭi* is the feminine; *ayyā* becomes *ōy* in masculine; *-ammā* is feminine; *-appā* is masculine. *unkaḷ* the second person oblique plural becomes *ungō* and this is added as the suffix, when a statement is addressed to an important personality. A statement like *vanṭāṇ* 'he came' if the addressee is an inferior man, becomes *vanṭāṇḍā*; *vanṭāṇḍi* if an inferior woman; *vanḍāyyā* if an equal; *vanḍāmmā* if to a younger sister or woman; *vanḍāmpā* to men including youngsters of higher status; *vanḍāngō* to very important people.

If the Indo-European languages try to suggest various meanings

with the help of prefixes, the Dravidian languages do the same with the help of the auxiliaries, e.g. *paṭu*, *aruḷ*, *koḷ*, *koṭu*, *iṭu*, *viṭu*, *peru pō*, *vā*, *iru*, *koṇḍiru*, *aḷu*, *tolai*. These are used for forming the reflexive, passive and various prephrastic tenses and also for expressing certain emotions. *ā*, *āḱku*, *paṇ*, etc., are used for verbalising the nouns. *māṭṭā*; *māṭṭār*, etc., are used as negative auxiliary. *aṭṭum* a suffix meaning 'one can' or 'one is permitted to' has become very frequent e.g. *varaṭṭum*, etc.

These are some of the developments of the modern period. More and more words are coined for expressing new concepts of modern times. New constructions are also absorbed. It is very difficult to foresee the future of a growing language like Tamil in the modern world of science and technology.

*Synchronic Description***I. THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE**

Language is mainly the spoken word. Written records are secondary. Language depends on the sound system which by permutations and combinations of sounds gives various meaningful symbols viz., morphemes and words. The sounds in themselves have no meaning. Words have two aspects: form and meaning. Recently, the statistical approach has revealed frequency as the third aspect. Words are combined into sentences or phrases. The meaning may be of two kinds viz., grammatical and lexical. Language thus has a phonological structure wherein we analyse the phonemes, their combination and distribution. It has a grammatical structure consisting of combinations of morphemes to bring out various grammatical meanings. This grammatical structure also includes syntax. Words form the vocabulary of the language with new words coming in and old words going out of use. This gives us the lexicological structure of language with the varying frequencies of words. Finally, we have the semantic structure where each language has its unique way of expressing human experience. In addition, there is the history of language, which reveals the changes in these various structures. There is also its distribution through space into vertical or social dialects and horizontal or regional dialects.

Written Tamil goes back to the third century B.C. and Tamil classical literature is at least as old as the Christian era, with a continuous stream of original poetry and prose flowing through our own times. The Bhakti cult spread from the south from Tamil land; so did the philosophy of Sankara and Ramanuja. India is treated by Prof. Emeneau and others as a linguistic area and the growth of the retroflex sounds, the conjunctive participle construction (tvānta's) etc., are traced to the Dravidian influence which can also be seen in the Indian vocabulary.

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLITERATION

This system of transliteration has been observed with regard to this section. The pronunciation here given is an approximation.

Letter

ð	u	in 'but'	p	p	in 'spin'
a	a	in 'father'	b	b	in 'bean'
i	i	in 'pin'	m	m	in 'man'
u	oo	in 'book'	r	r	in 'rat'
e	e	in 'step'	rr		as Scotch trill
o	o	in 'mot' (Fr.)	h	h	in 'hat'
æ	a	in 'bat'	c	ch	in 'chin'
ɔ	o	in 'pot'	j	j	in 'job'
k	k	in 'skin'	y	y	in 'yard'
g	g	in 'good'	v	w	in 'win'
n	ng	in 'sing'	s	s	in 'sin'
t	t̥	in 'tout' (Fr.)	s	sh	with tongue-tip curled back.
d	d	in 'dame' (Fr.)	—		above a vowel shows that the vowel is long.
n	n	in 'Nice' (Fr.)	ɲ		over a vowel shows that the vowel is nasalised.
		(Becomes dental ɲ before a dental)			
l	l	in 'lip'			
t	t	in 'step'			
d	d	in 'do'	u		an unrounded u as i in 'tis'; or French u in du
t̥	t̥	} with tongue-tip curled back.	l		g in 'rouge' but pronounced as a continuant.
d̥	d̥				
ɲ	ɲ		h		overlaps with the x or ɣ as allophones of k & g.
l̥	l̥				

Given below is an overall pattern of the vowel structure and the consonant structure taking into account all the Tamil dialects.

The Vowel System

The following is the vowel system.

	Front	Central	Back	
	unrounded	unrounded	unrounded	rounded
High	i		u	u
Higher Mid	e			o
Mean Mid		ə		
Higher Low	ɔə			
Low		a	a	

There are also nasal vowels and long vowels corresponding to these, thus giving us 27 vowel phonemes; No dialect however has more than 22 vowels.

The Consonantal System

Articulation

	Labial	Dental	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Class	VI*.Vd*.	VI. Vd.	VI. Vd.	VI. Vd.	VI. Vd.	VI. Vd.	VI. Vd.	VI. Vd.
Stops	p b	t̪ d		t d		t̠ d̠	k g	
					c j			
Fricatives		s	f v	r	ʃ y	ʂ ɻ	x	h
Nasals	m			ɳ	ɲ	ɳ̠	ŋ	
Laterals.		l				ɭ		

VI*=voiceless. Vd.*=voiced.

Voiced fricatives are more of continuants except *r* which often is trilled. *f* is found in the dialect of the English educated (*caṣṭi*); *s* and *ś* in the dialect of the Sanskrit educated. *ṁ* is not a phoneme in many dialects except those which contrast *aṁṁane*—"that way" with *aṅgaṇam*—"the waste water drain." *ḷ* and *ḻ* have become one in the Tirunelveli dialect. *ñ* does not occur except in a few words like *nāyiru*—"sun" which becomes *nāyiru* in the other dialects like that of Salem. C(affricate) initially is pronounced as *s* except in a few dialects like that of the Harijans. *ḷ* and *ḻ* are becoming one in a few dialects. *exxu* "steel" contrasts with *ekku* "to raise up the neck to see beyond".

The Syllabic System

There is syllabic writing as in the Indian languages but we do not have *samyuktāksara* except *ks*, *sr*, etc., borrowed from Grantha. The syllabic writing represents correctly the Tamil syllabification. The syllable is generally of the pattern (C) V (C). If there are two consonants coming juxtaposed the first will go to the preceding syllable and the second to the succeeding syllable. CV alone will be written as a syllabic letter; in CVC the last C will be written as a separate consonant. (C=Consonant; V=Vowel, (C)=Consonant is optional).

Distribution of Phonemes

Except *r*, *ḷ*, *ḻ* all can occur as geminated but sometimes the trilled *r* in some dialects can be taken as *rr* as contrasted with ordinary *r*. The plosives in some dialects become fricatives (sometimes voiced and sometimes voiceless) in the intervocal position. *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, *n*, *m*, *y*, *v*, begin a word but in modern times *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *r* and *l* also begin a few words. The plosives do not end any word; nor do consonantal clusters. Vowel endings are preferred in modern times.

Except (1) the geminated consonants and (2) the nasals with their homorganic plosives, (3) the semivowels coming before (1) and (2), other clusters are avoided; but if they are found in hurried pronunciation initially and medially, there is then a vowel release or a loose transition between the consonants. The initial *i* or *ī* is often pronounced with an *y*; and *u*, *ū*, *o* or *ō* is pronounced with an initial *v*.

The Script

The present script bears relationship to the Southern variety of the Asōkan script which itself has to be traced to the Mohenjodaro script. Tamil has scripts for a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō and ai and au* though the latter two are often written as ay and av respectively. There are scripts for the consonants k, ṅ, c, in, ṭ, ṇ, ṭ, ṇ, p, m, y, r, l, v, ḷ, ḷ, rr, n**. f is written as .ṇ p in modern times. / t, n, e, o, u and .ṇ are unique, in Tamil.

Tamil land has developed the Grantha script for writing Sanskrit and from this script (ஹ) h, (ஜ) j, ஶ, ஷ, s and ks have been borrowed into the Tamil script during the last two or three centuries.

Defects

The unrounded u was denoted in earlier times with a dot over the syllabic letter with u, but not now. We have now no scripts for distinguishing the voiced and voiceless plosives except c and j in modern Tamil.

* [அ, ஆ, இ, ஈ, உ, ஊ, எ, ஏ, ஒ, ஓ, ஐ(அய்) ஓள(அவ்)].

** (க், ங், ச், ஞ், ட், ண், த், ந், ப், ம், ய், ர், ல், வ், ழ், ள், ற், ன்).

II THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

MORPHOLOGY

Tamil like other languages of the Dravidian family is an *agglutinative* language. The words are easily split into morphemes or minimal meaningful units which seem to be glued to each other to be easily identified and isolated.

There are two kinds of morphemes viz., the root morphemes and the non-root morphemes or suffixes. Tamil is a *suffixing* language. The root occurs first in a word and the suffixes are added at the end of the root according to an established order for bringing out grammatical relations.

The root may consist of a base and a formative with a grammatical function which except in a few cases cannot be now identified. The roots or bases may end in a semi-vowel or vowel or plosive (probably a glottal stop) or nasal. But this nasal often disappears except in the past tense conjugation and the plosive is not found except when it gets assimilated to the initial of the suffix coming after it.

Ergatives and Causals

Tamil surface grammar differentiates between ergatives (*piravinai*) and non-ergatives (*tan vinai*) e.g., *ōlu*—"to run" (non-ergative); *ōllu*—"to make another run or to drive away" (ergative). In the ergative form a plosive in addition comes after the base or the root replacing a nasal, if any there be, and often after the roots it is patent only when it gets assimilated with the following plosive. e.g., *muṭintān*—"he ended himself"; *muṭittān*—"he finished something". There is also the distinction between the non-causal and the causal where in the latter *vi* or *pi* is found added to the non-causal root. *Cey*—"do"; *ceyvi*—"to make another person to do." The ergative strictly in theory will apply to non-humans, though even in other cases it could be used figuratively. All the roots have causal forms but only a few of the verbs have corresponding ergative forms.

Suffixes—Tense signs

The base or root of a verb is followed by the tense sign. -t ʃ tu is the past tense sign which becomes sometimes assimilated

to the preceding plosive in roots. When the word ends in an unrounded *u*, the past tense sign is -iſin; *kiru* or *kinru* is the present tense sign. -p- is the future tense sign. But this -p->-v after a vowel or semivowel. Ex. *cey-t-ān*—"He did", *ceyvān*—"He will do." *cey kir-ān*—"He does".

Negative verbs are unique in the Dravidian. In the negative voice, in the place of the tense sign, there is an *ā* which gets assimilated with the next vowel so that one can say the absence of tense sign in a verb shows that it is negative. *Cey-ān*—"He will not do." To the tense signs is added a ſān and this gives us the relative participle except in the future. *Cey-t-a*—"who did", *cey-kir-a* "he who does." The pattern *ceyyum* (root+*um* with a *k* after the root in some verbs) gives the future relative participle. (This is the future finite verb and it becomes a qualifier by merely being placed before the noun). The form with the past tense sign alone is called conjunctive participle, e.g., *ceytu*—"having done".

Other forms of the verb

āl is added to this and we get the conditional, e.g., *ceytāl*—"if one were to do". If *um* is added to this, one gets the negative conditional, e.g., *ceytālum*—"even if one were to do".

The Infinitive

The infinitive which is important is formed by adding—*a* to the root. It has the force of the (1) purposive or (2) resultive or (3) co-occurrence. The infinitive often has (4) the force of a noun.

e.g., *cey-a*—"to do".

- (1) *maḷai¹ peyya² nel³ viḷaintatu⁴*

"Because² the rain¹ poured in², the paddy³ grew.⁴"

- (2) *nel¹ vilaiya² maḷai³ peytatu.⁴*

"The rain³ poured in⁴ so that² the paddy¹ may grow.²"

- (3) *koli¹ kūva²-p-polutu³ pularntatu⁴*

"The cock¹ crew and at the same time² the day³ dawned⁴".

- (4) *ceya vēṇṭum*

"doing is desirable"

There is a verb form called the *viyankōḷ* described by Dr. Pope as honorific imperative. Blessings, curses, prayers and above all laws are expressed in this form which is common to all persons and numbers.

itai ellārum ceyka—"Let this be done by all"

The Finite verb

Personal suffixes are added either to the conjunctive participle or to the relative participle. *ceytu+ān>ceytān*; *ceyta+an>ceytavan*. (-v- like -y- elsewhere is a glide). These are the finite verbs but the latter form is used as a participial noun. It will be thus seen that the finite verb is really substantive in nature, because it means the person who had done an action.

Humans and Non-humans

From early times the grammarians have realised that Tamil distinguishes between humans (*uyartiṇai*) and non-humans (*akṛiṇai*). Humans are divided into singular and plural even as the non-humans. But the human singular is further divided into masculine and feminine, a distinction which is not made grammatically (though it can be made lexically) in the human plural nor in the non-human singular or plural. It is often idiomatic not to pluralise the non-human. This gives a five-fold division in the III person. In the I or II person we have only the distinction between the singular and the plural. In the first person plural there is a difference between the inclusive plural which includes the II person also, whilst the exclusive plural excludes the II person. But this distinction is not found in the predicate or the verb. The following table will illustrate all these.

(n shows singular; m *ṣ* nkaḷ shows plural in I and II person)

I person

Singular	Finite verb	Plural.
<i>nān</i>	<i>ceytēn</i> —"I did"	<i>nām/ceytōm</i> (Inclusive) "we did" <i>nānkaḷ ceytōm</i> (Exclusive) "we did"

II person

<i>nī</i>	<i>ceytāy</i> —"you did"	<i>nīnkaḷ ceytīr</i> —"you did"
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ceytān "he did" "one who had done" can be declined as a noun.
ceytanāi¹-p-pār²—"look² at the man who had done¹".

N;V; NV; A; EA; NAV roots

The roots themselves sometimes show the original state of non-distinction.

One may now divide the roots as (1) Noun roots: *kal*—"stone"; (2) Verb roots: *cey* "do" (3) Noun-Verb roots; *kāy* "non ripe fruit" "to yield non ripe fruits". (4) Adjectivals: *tan* "cold". These A's come only in their bound form in abstract nouns etc. There is no distinction between adjectives and nouns, for, any noun coming before another noun becomes a qualifier but one may still speak of adjectivals when the roots etc., are used with the force of adjectives especially in their bound forms. *cirmai* comes as an adjective e.g., *ciruvan*—"the young boy". *ciruttān*—"he became smaller or weak"

The noun-adjectival verb roots—form the fifth division of roots

katu-mai—"harsh-ness" (A)

katukkiratu—"it is paining" (V)

katu—"bitter poison" (N)

Verbal nouns are formed by adding suffixes like—*tal* etc., Ex. *cey* "do" *cey—tal* "doing".

The abstract nouns are formed ordinarily by adding the, suffix—*mai* etc.

ciru—"small"

ciru=mai—"smallness"

The indeclinables like *nani* 'great' 'greatly' as they stand now, form the sixth group.

Declension

The nouns and pronouns with necessary differences due to Tamil idiom are declined more often following the Sanskrit order which speaks of eight cases. The Noun itself, without any special case sign, stands for the nominative. The accusative case or the objective or the second case, as it is called, is formed by adding *ai* to the declinable stem. This case sign is idiomatically omitted with non-humans. The third case really consists now of (a) the social, for which the case sign is *otu* or *uṭan*

equal to the Sanskrit *saha* and (b) the instrumental or the agent's case, for both of which the case sign is *āl*. The fourth case has the force of the dative or the indirect object and also of direction or relationship. In the latter case it is equal to the genitive. The case sign is *ku*. This case sign when added to a noun denoting time has the force of a locative—at or on or in or per. The fifth case was once really a case of comparison or contrast with the case sign *in*. But the comparison is now shown by the accusative *ai+kāṭṭilum*. This ablative of motion is shown by the case sign—*il iruntu*. But this may be identical with the locative, the only difference being that one has a verb of motion in the former and a verb of rest in the latter. The locative is called the seventh case and the ordinary case sign is *il ſitattil ſantai* etc. The sixth case is the genitive and the case sign is *atu* or *utaiya* often idiomatically omitted.

There are two declensions, the nominative declension and the genitive or oblique declension. In the former the declinable stem is the nominative form itself especially in the case of humans. In the latter the oblique form, which has the force of a genitive, forms this stem which ordinarily consists of the noun+an inflectional increment (*ku in tt in ttu or tu*) The first person singular becomes *en* and the plural becomes *nam* or *enka!* for taking the case signs. The II person becomes *un* in singular and *um* or *unka!* in plural.

Indeclinables

There are certain indeclinables and enclitics which have various meanings. Ex. enclitic *ē* showing emphasis, *um* showing the force of a conjunction etc., e.g. *avanē* “he alone”; *avanum ivanum* “that man and this man.”

Morphotactics

The morphotactics or the order of morphemes in a word is as follows (+ = Compulsory ± = optional)

+ base¹ ± ergative² ± formative³ ± Causal suffix⁴ ± tense sign⁵ ± negative⁵ ± relative participle suffix⁶ ± gender and number suffix⁷ ± inflectional increment⁸ ± case sign⁹ ± enclitics.¹⁰

Ex: *otu¹—k²—ku³—vi⁴—t—t⁵—a⁶—t⁷—ar⁸—k⁹—e¹⁰*

“only¹⁰ for^{8.9} having⁵ made⁴ (one)⁶⁻⁷ restrained^{1.2-3}”

(The phonological changes or sandhi like—*t*—are not relevant.)

Nominal Declension	Oblique Declension	Finite Verb
I. Nominative: <i>avan</i> —"he"		<i>vantan</i> —"came"
II. Accusative: <i>avanai-p</i>	<i>maram</i> —"tree"	<i>valarntatu</i> —"grew"
	<i>marat-t-ai</i>	<i>par</i> —"see him"
	<i>maram</i>	
III. (a) Social: <i>avan-oṭu</i>	— <i>maratt-ēḍu</i>	<i>vettinan</i> —"he cut the tree"
(b) Agent: <i>avan-al</i>		<i>vantan</i> —"he came with him or with a tree"
(c) Instrumental:	<i>maratt-al</i>	<i>etuta-p-pattatu</i> —"it was written by him"
IV. (a) Direction: <i>vittu-k-ku</i>		<i>ceytan</i> —"he made it with wood"
(b) Kinship: <i>avan-u-k-ku</i>		<i>vatakk</i> —"north of the house"
(c) Dative: <i>avan-u-k-k-u</i>		<i>makan</i> —"his son"
	<i>maratt-u-k-ku</i>	<i>koḍuttan</i> —"he gave him"
V. (a) Comparison or Contrast: <i>avan-il</i>		<i>nirurrinam</i> —"he watered for the tree"
(b) Ablative of motion: <i>vitt-il-iruntu</i>		<i>ivan periyān</i> —"This man elder than that man"
VI. Genitive: <i>avan-atu</i>		<i>pōnān</i> —"he went away from the home"
	<i>maratt-in-udaiya</i>	<i>puttakam</i> —"his book"
VII. Locative: <i>avan-itam</i>		<i>kilāi</i> —"the branch of the tree"
	<i>maratt-il</i>	<i>irukkīratu</i> —"it is in his possession."
VIII. Vocative: <i>manitan-ē</i>		<i>irukkīratu</i> —"it in the tree"
	<i>maram-ē</i>	"O Man"
		"O tree"

Syntax

Except for exclamations, certain proverb forms and other such minor forms of sentences, ordinarily a sentence in Tamil divides itself into two immediate constituents or constitutes—the subject and the predicate. The predicate, as already explained, contains the suffix which denotes the actor or agent or the subject. Often therefore the subject is omitted in speech except when it is necessary to avoid any confusion. The word predicate is used as in

logic and not as in English grammar, because Tamil has no copula—the verb *be*. It is a tree=*atu maram* “It tree” where *it* is the subject and *tree* is the predicate. In this way we get nouns occurring as predicates. As already explained a finite verb in Tamil is substantial in nature. When the subject is present, there is concordance between the subject and the predicate with reference to person, gender and number. But there is no such concordance or agreement between the adjectival and the noun.

The subject and all other words which are declined explicitly by adding case signs or implicitly by the force of the context which gives them the meaning of the case signs even when such case signs are absent (the words being in their nominative form or in their oblique form) are syntactically nouns.

Co-ordinate construction

These nouns can consist of a series of nouns in co-ordinate construction with the conjunction explicit or implicit (as in conjunctive compounds and in enumeration.).

Subordinate construction

Each one of these nouns can have an attribute in subordinate construction. The root of these attribute words or often the whole attribute itself can have in its turn another attribute. A noun placed before another noun by the very fact of such pre juxtaposition becomes an attribute. All relative clauses in other languages occur as relative participles which are in Tamil attributes to the noun. A subject and a predicate of a simple or kernel sentence are nominalised when the predicate becomes the relative participle and the subject the head: *manitan¹ vaṇṭān²*—“man¹ came²” is nominalised as *vaṇṭa² manitan²*—“man² who came¹”. The word order is important. It is one of the fundamental principles of Tamil syntax that the attribute, a qualifier of a noun or a modifier of a verb, always precedes the head which will be a noun or a verb or a predicate. The noun therefore can be a single noun, a compound or a phrase. It may take a relative participle (derived from a verbal root or any root meaning a quality), a noun with the significance of a genitive (Rāma's book), directional (its noth), relational (his father) or social

case (Rāma accompanied by) all of which are attributes of noun.

Predicate

The predicate similarly will occur all alone or preceded by its attribute i.e., a modifier. Except in rhetorical inversions, the predicate always comes at the end of a sentence. This is preceded by the adverbial (indeclinables or verbal participles) or by the various declined nouns which form an immediate constitute with the verb or predicate and which do not go with another noun. Therefore in a sentence, apart from the subject spot, there are the following which form part of the extended predicates spot viz., the object spot in active voice sentences (II case), the agent's spot, the instrument spot, the cause spot, or the manner spot (all belonging to III case), the indirect object spot (IV case), the location spot, (V and VII case depending on whether the verb is a verb of motion or rest respectively) and the time spot (VII case). These spots are filled in by the forms mentioned then and there. Therefore all these precede the predicate in Tamil, unlike for instance in English.

Transformation

The transformation giving us a noun qualifier has been explained. Two sentences stating respectively a cause and an effect or an effect and its cause or stating respectively two co-occurrences can be combined into one sentence by converting the predicate of the first sentence into an infinitive of the pattern *ceya*, with a few more changes if necessary. See the infinitives above mentioned. Two sentences stating respectively the condition of an occurrence and a conditioned occurrence can be combined into one sentence by converting the predicate of the first sentence into a conditional verbal participle of the *ceyīn* or *ceyīl* pattern. *avan varuvān ∫ varavēntum*—"he will or should come" + *appōtutān ivan pōvān*—"then only this man will go" > *avan vaṇṭāl ivan pōvān* "if that man comes this man will go."

Two indicative sentences can be combined into one sentence by converting the predicate of the first sentence into a conjunctive verbal participle of the *ceytu* pattern which means "did and". *avan vaṇṭān*—"He came" + *avan pōnān*—"He went" > *avan vantū pōnān* "He came and went".

Perephrastic construction

Various shades of tenses, such as perfect etc. are idiomatically expressed by the various verbal participles which are past, or future or present, only with reference to the verb or predicate with which the verbal participle forms an immediate constitute; that is, their tense is not independent as in the case of the tense of the finite verbs. The past tense of the verbal participle is relative to the act denoted by the finite verb. Past verbal participle + past predicate = perfect etc. Past verbal participle coming with a future verb will denote future perfect.

In modern times perephrastic constructions consisting of verbal participle + conjugated auxiliary verbs are used not only for showing the complex tenses (e.g., *ceytu viṭṭān*—"he had done it"; perfect; *ceytukoṇṭirukkīrān*—"he is going on doing it": present continuous) but also the reflexives, the honorific etc. *kuṭṭik-koṇṭān*—"he pierced himself"; *kaṭavuḷ paṭaittaṟuḷinār*—"graciously created by God.

The Tamil idiom avoids the passive voice but when the latter has to be specified, the constitute consisting of the infinitive of the verb (*eluta*) and conjugated form of the auxiliary *patu* is used (*paṭukīratu*). *puttakam eluta-p-patukīratu*—"The book is being written."

III. THE LEXICAL STRUCTURE

Vocabulary

The Tamil Lexicon published by the Madras University gives 1,24,405 words. The frequency of their use has not been assessed and it has to be done by future research. Lexicology as a result of future research has to discover the key words in various periods so as to reveal their characteristic features.

Polarisation

Tamil vocabulary has drawn from various languages with which it has come into contact. The lexical treasure of any language is found to have two poles, one pole consisting of the basic core and the other pole consisting more of cultural words. The basic core words are mainly from the native source which are with great difficulty, and only over a very long period, replaced in small parts, whereas the cultural vocabulary undergoes all sorts of changes thanks to the influence of other cultures.

Borrowings from the Munda

Among the Dravidian family of languages, Tamil is unique in having a smaller number of borrowed words. But as any living language, it has had to borrow from very early times. Words like *tavakkāy*—"frog", *ṭvalutunai*—"brinjal", *mtcai*—"moustache", (*iḷa*) *nīr*—"the tender coconut" etc., are from the Austric languages to which belongs the Muṇḍa family of languages of India.

From Sanskrit

The greatest influence naturally came from the Sanskrit with its religious, philosophical, political and literary influence. The earlier borrowings came from the Prakrit and Pāli; of the Buddhists and Jains such as *kaṇṇaṇ* for *kṛṣṇa*, *cetti* for *srēṣṭi*, *vittai* for *vidyā*. In the Pallava age Tamil land became the centre of Sanskrit learning. *sabha* then becomes *avai*, *gaṇa* becomes *kaṇam* in the socio-political field. *iṣwara* becomes *iṭṭuraṇ*, *Viṣṇu* becomes *Vittuṇu* etc. The arts even of the South are expounded in Sanskrit, the lingua franca of the day. Kings assume high sounding Sanskrit

names. Philosophical terms are also introduced in Tamil from the Sanskrit. The Maṇipravāla style with alternating strings of Sanskrit and Tamil phrases becomes the vehicle for higher thought in the middle ages. A regular pattern or fashion of Tamilising foreign sounds has become well established. (See Nannūl)

Other borrowings

The Tamilians were a sea-faring nation. There is a tradition that *murunkai*—"drumsticks" came from Sinhalese and *karumpu* from the eastern countries. The word *billi* "sorcery" is a later borrowing from Sinhalese. *Cavvarici* "sago" and *kitanku*—"godown" are from the Malayan *sāgu* and *gedang*. *pīnkān* is from the Chinese. Even in the Cankam works we find words like *curunkai*—"underground passage", *kannal* "hourglass" which are relics of the contact with the Greeks and Romans. The Arabs who cooperated with the Tamilians as sailors from ancient times have given us words like *kocuru* from *kasar*. But more words from the Arabic and Persian came through Urdu when Muslim political influence spread in the Tamil country. *Ursu* means a festival in honour of a saint. Apart from religion, political terms like *ilākā* "department", *ism* "the individual right" etc., also came into the language. Words like *Dafēdār* etc., are from Persian. Many revenue terms are also from this source. When the Vijayanagar kingdom ruled over the south, Telugu words like *caḷippu* "cold", *katappārai* "crow bar", *rāyacam* "writer" etc., and words from Kannada like *kempu* ruby came into Tamil. Malayalam words like *aviyal* etc., are also to be found. The Maratthas have also established their kingdom at Tanjore giving us many words relating to food and music like *kiccati* "a kind of food" and *lāvaṇi* "a kind of music."

From the West

When the Portuguese came to India they gave to Tamil the names for imported goods along with the goods themselves: *aṇṇāci*—"pineapple" and terms for Catholic ritual: *pātiri*—"the bishop" etc. The Dutch have given us the words *kakkūcu*—"latrine" etc. The French have given the words like *pōttal*—"bottle"; and a number of words from English, like technical terms, are becoming popular.

IV THE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE

The structure of the various lexical fields has not been studied except in the case of Kinship terms and colour terms. See for instance the grouping of the relatives into two groups; the one group can potentially marry from the other group e.g.:—the sister's daughter belongs to the group from whom the Ego or Male proposer can marry. When war was a necessity the perfect man *cāṇrōn* meant a warrior and *maram* meant valour; but when we come to the later period of Buddhist and Jain influence *cāṇrōn* is one who is perfect in love or *ahimsa*, social service, munificence and sacrifice; *maram* comes to mean a sin. This shows how the words clustering into various semantic fields change their meaning as a whole. This study also has to be carried out in the future.

DIACHRONIC DESCRIPTION

1. During the Historical period

Language, as with other human institutions, undergoes change in all its structures though speakers are not conscious of it. With the help of the historical documents available from the Cave inscriptions of the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. and their descriptive analyses of the various stages of the language, one can construct a history of the Tamil language.

Phonology

One can, for instance, give the history of the vowel system. The old vowel systems consisted only of 5 vowels: i, e, a, o, u with length as a phoneme; *u* was an allphoneme of *u*. There was a time when there were vowel clusters in the language but soon the language avoided the vowel clusters and *ia* > *vya* and finally *i* > *y*. *ai* or *ay*, later, becomes *e* except in the initial syllable; and in modern times in the medial position it also becomes *i*; examples are *inṛaikki* > *inṛekki* > *innikki*. The vowels except in the root have a tendency to become neutralised and vary thereafter according to the environment. The long vowels in those positions become short. Ex : *tiruvēṭkaḷam* > *tiruvakkūḷam*—"a name of a place". Vowels followed by a nasal especially *m* in the final position get nasalised and the *m* is lost Ex. *maram* > *marō*. The consonantal system consisted of *p, c, ṭ, t, ṭ, c, k, m, ṇ, ṇ, n, y, r, l, v, l, ḷ*; *ṇ* is an allophone of *m*. ... denoted the spirantalisation of the plosive written after it. In the later age *k, c, ṭ, p, ṇ, n, m, y, v* can alone begin a word; a word can never end in a plosive: (1) Geminated *k, c, p, t, ṭ, t* (2) plosives with their homorganic nasals and (3) 1 and 2 preceded by *r, l* or *y* were the only possible clusters and even that only in the middle of a word.

Originally we had only the voiceless plosives which became later voiced in the intervocal position *pakal* > *pagal* "daytime" and still later even after nasals *paṇṇu* > *pambu*—"quality". But these voiced plosives were only variants due to the environment. Gradually due to certain borrowings and internal changes, voiced and voiceless plosives have become contrasting phonemes in the

modern language. These voiced plosives in some dialects have become voice-less or voiced fricatives: *pagal* > *paxal* / *paval*. The geminated plosives, except when following a short vowel, have become single voiceless plosives. In course of time we find that the dental and the alveolar have fallen together though they contrasted in an earlier language. Similarly the *r* and the alveolar plosive fell together in the intervocal position and also when followed by a plosive. But the geminated alveolar is pronounced as *ṭr* and the alveolar preceded by its homorganic nasal is pronounced *ṇḍr*. In the colloquial language the geminated alveolar has become a geminated dental. The alveolar nasal + the alveolar plosive become assimilated into geminated alveolar nasal or geminated retroflex nasal. *Puttu* > *puṭru* > *puttu*; *kaṇṇu* > *kaṇṇu*.

ḷ and *ḷ* have fallen together in Southern dialects becoming *ḷ*. *ṇ* and *ṇ* have fallen together as *n* except for a few words in some dialects. *tt* or *ṇt* when following an *i* or *y* become dentalised, whereafter the *u* as an ending becomes also an *i*. *aṇintu* > *aṇiñci*—"having worn"; *vaittu* > *vacci* "having placed". The final *y* often disappeared, more so in phrases and compounds where even the final *r* or *l* disappeared. Ex: *pāy* > *pā*. Even the semi vowel endings and nasal endings take an euphonic *u*. Words ending in *m* often lose their nasal in modern times and previous vowel is nasalised. *pāl* > *pālu* "milk"; *maṇ* / *maṇṇu* "earth"; *maram* / *maro* "tree". In the result all the words end in oral vowels or nasal vowels. The tendency to slur the vowels creates certain clusters which were not possible in the early language. *avan* > *avn* There is here a loose transition from one consonant to another. *r* and *l* and *t* have come to begin a word.

Morphology and Syntax

Passive voice construction and relative construction spread in the medieval Tamil and in modern times; thanks to the English translations in our journals, even the copula *be* is being used profusely. Perephrastic constructions replace analytic forms in declensions and conjugations. Synthetic forms are replaced sometimes by analytic forms: Ex: *vārān*—"he will not come" is replaced by *avan*—"he"; *inru*—"today"; *vara*—"coming"; *illai*—"no"; etc. The auxiliaries are used to bring out various

nuances of meaning which are initially brought out by the prefix in Sanskrit. To avoid monotony, certain inversions in sentences are often repeated so as to avoid the predicate coming at the end. Masculine and feminine words are pluralised with the suffix *kal* and in this way the colloquial language has developed a masculine plural and a feminine plural in addition to the common plural. Though the finite verb itself can be used as a noun and also declined, a special participial noun form has become well established within the last 500 years.

The external history has been described under Vocabulary.

Other structures

The changes in the lexical and semantic structures have already been outlined.

2. Before the Historical Period

Comparative method

Man is curious to go beyond the historical period and know the earlier nature of language. The comparative method has been refined for this purpose. By taking into consideration various words similar in form and meaning in different languages, one arrives at the conception of related languages and cognate words. After establishing the correspondence of the various sounds in the cognate words, the phonemic structure and the morphemic structure of the proto language are inferred. Ellis of the East India Company in the XIX century established the fact that Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam belonged to the same family of languages. Caldwell wrote in 1856 really a *Comparative Grammar of the South Dravidian*, including therein notes on other languages of the Dravidian family. The Linguistic Survey of India in our century has brought to the notice of the public about ten Dravidian languages and dialects. Prof. M. B. Emeneau and Prof. T. Burrow have collected the cognate forms in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. From the proto Dravidian which probably in its phonemic structure resembled the early Tamil described above, branched off (1) the North Dravidian including the Brahui spoken in Baluchistan now in Pakistan, Kūdux and Malto of Madhya Pradesh, (2) the Central Dravi-

dian including the Kolami, the Gondi, the Parji etc., spoken on the border of Andhra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and (3) the South Dravidian including Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada etc.

Characteristics

The north Dravidian is characterised by the *k*, when not followed by *i* or *ī* becoming spirantalised. The central Dravidian is characterised by the loss of the final nasal in the oblique forms of pronouns. The Southern Dravidian is characterised by the tendency to lose the initial palatal and by the five-fold system of genders. The Tamil-Malayalam form one group as against the other South Dravidian. Here *k* followed by the front vowel *i* or *e* and when not followed by the retroflex becomes *c*.

Tamil is distinguished from Malayalam by the preservation or development of the final gender and number, and suffixes in the finite verbs.

Tamil Dialects

Regional

Language may be considered as extending across space and showing changes synchronically. There have been dialects from early times to the present day. There is the Ceylon dialect with the unrounded *u* in the initial syllable and with its initial accent. In the Tamil country we have the following dialects : the Madras Chingleput dialect, the North Arcot dialect, the Chidambaram dialect, the Tanjore=Tiruchi dialect, the Chettinad dialect, the Madurai=Ramnad dialect, the Coimbatore dialect, the Erode dialect, the Tinnevely dialect and the Kanyakumari dialect. *l* has a tendency to be softened into *y* in Northern Arcot dialect; it becomes *ṣ* in Chidambaram dialect and *ḷ* in Southern dialects. *eṇpatu*>*embḷatu* in the Tanjore dialect. The initial *s* > *j* often in the Madurai dialect. *avarkaḷ*>*aviya* in the Tirunelveli dialect. The greater frequency of the auxiliary *pōṭu* and the honorific form with *unka* characterises the Coimbatore dialect. In the North Arcot dialect *irukkīraru*>*kītu* at least among the lower strata. *l* and *ḷ* tend to be neutralised in the Erode dialect. *pandal* "thatched shed" means only a funeral shed in the Chettinad dialect.

Social

There are also social and religious dialects, viz., the Brahmin dialect, the Muslim dialect, the Christian dialect, the Harijan dialect and the non-Brahmin dialect. The Harijans pronounce the initial *c* as *c* as against *s* by others. The Brahmins pronounce *avarkaḷ* as *avā*. Muslims have *vāpā* for father. Christians use words like *annani* for non-Christians. But in the absense of a detailed survey it is difficult to give a clear picture of these regional and social dialects.

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