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ABOUT THE JOURNAL

In this number there are seven articles in English and one in Tamil.

Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan points out some of the similarities in his comparative study of Sattasai and the Sangam Classics. In the course of his study, he pinpoints the unique tradition of the Sangam literature.

Dr. Kamil V. Zvelebil's translation of the second chapter in *Collatikaram* of Tolkappiyam forms the second place in this volume. Copious notes and critical observations of the translator to the *Cuttirams* enhance the value of this translation.

Dr. S. Pathmanathan is working in the Dept. of History, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka is a scholar both in History and Tamil.

A psycho-analytical study of the strong woman in T. Janakiraman novels has been made by Mrs. Indra Viswanathan Peterson in her paper: The theme of the study is a novel attempt in Tamil.

Dr. A. Pandurangan, an outstanding scholar in the study of Kamba Ramayana gives a comprehensive view of the various versions of Ramayana in Tamil, in his paper on the topic.

A sociological survey of the role of caste system among the Tamils during the 19th Century is made by Dr. P. Subramanian in his thought provoking paper.

Dr. A. Pitchai in his paper on the "Sanskritic influence on the Tamil Metrics" attempts to explain his views on Tamil Metrics.

Dr. R. Kumaraswamy, a veteran scholar and physician of Siddha Medicine has made an extensive study of the herb *Pāṭṭaṇṇai* and attempts to correlate this herb with the well-known medicinal herb used in Modern times.

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Contact Between Māhārāṣṭrī Prakṛt and Tamil with Reference to Hāla's Sattasai and The Tamil Sangam Classics

Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan

Radha Govind Basak (1971) in his Introduction to his translated version of Hāla's Sattasai in English assigns a period ranging from 230 B.C. to 130 A.D. to the rule of Andhras over certain areas between the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā in the south and west and assigns the first half of the first century A.D. as the period of King Hāla, the 17th ruler in the line of Sātavāhana kings. He further states that the culture and civilisation reflected in the verses of Hāla's collection may be regarded as belonging to the rural folk that lived between 2nd cent. B.C. and 2nd cent. A.D. taking into account scarce reference to Buddhism and that not edifying (IV. 8), reference to purāṇic episodes about Kṛṣṇā (II. 14 etc) and treatment of Erotics that would point to the Pre-Gupta period not far removed from Vātsyāyana, the author of Kāmasūtra.

The close parallels between the Sattasai and the Tamil Sangam classics in regard to the type of composition viz. *muktakas* or self contained single verses, absence of any reference by name to the characters that figure in the verses, types of speakers like hero (*Talaivan*) heroine (*Talaivi*), female assistant (*Tōli*) foster mother (*cevilittāy*) etc., indirect reference to heroes and heroines by adopting the convention of *uḷḷurai uvamam* (Tolk. Akat. 48), reference to Spatial (*nilam*) and temporal (*kālam*) environment or *mutal poru!* (Tolk. Akat. 4) of the incident described, separation of the lover from the lady for acquiring wealth in a different land, common imageries and mode of expression - all these point to a common poetic convention that was shared by the poets of the Tamil classics produced in the south and their kindred folk in the Godavari region also speaking a Dravidian dialect but adopting Prakṛt for literary purposes on account of the prestige it enjoyed.

When we examine the type of composition we find *Kuruntokai* for instance is a compilation attributed to one *Pūrikkō* in the same way as the Sattasai is a compilation attributed to Hāla, the Sātavāhana ruler.

In both we find a rural setting, depiction of the life of common man, quite unlike the courtlife described in classical Sanskrit poetry. No doubt the situation is a bit idealised in accordance with the prevailing poetic convention that had attained some degree of rigidity even at that early period. The language employed in both the types of compositions under notice is of the literary kind that naturally differed from the spoken form of the time through closely related to it.

Type of Composition

The poems of the early Sangam period such as *Akanānūru* and *Kuṟuntokai* are what may be called 'dramatic monologues' in which one character either the heroine or hero or the female assistant or the mother of the heroine or the foster mother is the speaker giving utterance to some aspect of the love of the hero or the heroine for the other.

In *Akam* poetry no character shall be identified by his or her personal name '*Makkaḷ nutaliya akanaintiṇaiyum cuṣṣi oruvar peyar koḷappērār*', says *Tolkāppiyar* (Tolk. Porul. Akat. 54). This is a unique feature, an established convention of the *Akam* poetry of the Sangam era. *The same convention is adopted in Hāla's Sattasai.*

The me of Composition

In *Kuṟuntokai* (v. 115) a maid, a friend of the heroine addresses the hero, urges him to end the coolness and be more positive in supporting his love, for elopement is a traumatic affair. In a verse attributed to the poet Devarāja (III. 19), the female friend of the lady in love (*Proṣitabharṭṛkā*) whose husband is gone off in search probably of wealth suggests to the latter to return forthwith and put an end to the agony of separation of the lady as the Spring season is round the corner.

In both of the above illustrations we find reference to the appropriate landscape, the flora and the fauna (*karupporul*) viz. the hillside and deer in *Kuṟuntokai* and the spring season marked by the blooming *kuravaka* flower in *Sattasai* which is an excitant of love in union but causes gloom in the minds of separated lovers as in the present context. In both the verses we find the maid addressing the hero to bring about a happy union of the lover and the beloved. In both we find the symbolic imagery such as the deer and the *kuravaka* flower. In *Kuṟuntokai* the reference is to the mountain region (*kuṟiñci*) while in *Sattasai* the reference is to the Spring season (*iḷavēṇil*) both coming under the *mutarporul* or basic environmental background, the one is spatial (*nilam*) and the other temporal (*kāḷam*).

We find almost a near parallelism in the thematic content between two verses, one in *Kuruntokai* (v. 121) attributed to Maduraip Peruñ-kollan and the other an anonymous one in the *Sattasaī* (II. 25) that appears to suggest a close link between the poets though separated by land and the medium of language employed. In the former, the heroine asks her female friend to convey to the hero the news that in the forest adjoining the sloping hills which he frequents to meet her is no longer safe because in the dark night the tiger which was foiled in its attempt to kill the elephant turned its rage on the red dog. She further asks her friend to convey to him that her mother had asked her to guard the farm during the day. It is suggested in this poem that the heroine thus dissuaded her lover from undertaking the rash adventure of meeting her at dead of night and that he would do well to meet her at daylight in the farm when she would be alone tending the crops.

The latter is the famous verse discussed by Abhinavagupta in *Dhvanyāloka* citing it as a first class *dhvanikāvya* that suggests the opposite of what is expressed in the verse. The primary meaning expressed by the verse is - 'O holy man, do move about free from anxiety. That dog (which was a source of fear for you) has been killed this day by that haughty lion dwelling in that frightful bower on the bank of Godavari. The message she intends to suggest by *dhvani* is that the holy man should not move anywhere near her rendezvous fixed for meeting her lover and be a nuisance. This message has indeed been effectively conveyed to him when she told him that a more ferocious animal, the lion is on the wait.

In the *Kuruntokai* verse cited above the hero is advised in positive terms not to frequent her place at night as the tiger is at large whereas in the *Sattasaī* a holy man is apparently told that he could visit her place to cull flowers as the dog has been killed, the sense suggested being the opposite one as a lion the killer of the dog is stated to be at large. The location of the theme is the forest region adjoining the hill in the former and river Godavari in the latter. The latter of course is a little more specific in indicating the location and on that account may be taken as of a date later than the Tamil verse indicating the setting in of laxity in the observance of the Tamil convention.

George L. Hart commenting similar poems in *Sattasaī* that it uses popular language free from the conservatism of classical Sanskrit. The conventions and techniques used reveal the Deccani Dravidian culture. They are both suggestive and descriptive.

The other technique of making no reference at all to the lovers but only to certain features of the flora and fauna associated with a particular region or season, suggesting by implication the feelings and behaviour of lovers is found in common between the verses of Hāla's collection and the Tamil collection.

Aiñkuruñṟu (v. 65) refers to the natural phenomenon of a bee drinking the honey of the lotus that is grown accidentally in a sugarcane farm. This is cited as an instance of *uḷṟurai uvamai* because the idea of the object compared namely the lover is suppressed and is left to the imagination of the 'sahṛdaya', the reader with an artistic temperament. Such a person is aware of the poetic convention of comparing a lover to a bee, the flower to a lady and the bee sucking the honey to the lover's experience of happiness in the company of his beloved. Here the sugarcane, every part of which is sweet represents the house-wife, who is every inch sweet on account of her all absorbing love to her husband; the tender and beautiful lotus stands for the harlot who is sweet in speech with no real warmth in her heart. The co-existence of the adventitious lotus along with the sugarcane in the farm nurtured by the landlord indicates the type of society in the ancient Tamil land that tolerated the co-living of the housewife and the concubine under one roof.

We find an echo of the above imagery in a verse attributed to poet *Anurāga* in Hāla's collection (II. 39). The heroine replying to the remark of her friend about the hero being a libertine sharing his love with more than one lady on different occasions says with immense self-confidence that 'the bee delights in drinking honey of all other flowers is due to the fault of flowers lacking in juice and never to that of the bee'. The bee impliedly stands for the lover and the flowers to the ladies of love and the heroine places herself in the position of a flower dugging with honey that is bound to keep the hero tied up with herself.

A verse attributed to *Vāḱpatirāja* (I. 95) is put in the mouth of a lady in love when her lover while taking leave of her before departure to a distant land tells her that he will always remember her. Pat comes the retort from the lady. 'When you say you will remember me it means that there will be occasion to forget me because remembrance presupposes forgetfulness'. This again has its parallel in the work of *Tiruvalluvar* (V. 1316) under the head *Pulavi Nuṟukkam*.

Several of the verses in *Sattasaī* overstep the bounds of decorum in describing the physical aspect of love and illicit love eg. I.54, 57, 79, etc. This feature is absent in the Tamil classics.

Linguistics Features

Turning to the linguistic aspects of interrelationship between the two works, one can notice certain common phrases and words in the two works. The Prakṛt employed in the Dravidian area around Godavari can naturally be expected to betray the influence of the Dravidian language that was the means of daily communication among the people including the elites like the poets. Words like 'attā' (I.8) and 'māmi' (I. 93) in the sense of 'śvaśrū' and 'mātulāni' respectively and sippi (I. 62) in the sense of *Sukti* are instance of Dravidian words that had gained entry into the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakṛt in Sattasaī.

The word *mahilā* (I. 48) is a loan word from Dravidian found in both Prakṛt and Sanskrit cf. *makoḷ* in Tamil. Similarly the word *Kuḍi* in *pāṇa* (k) *uḍi* in (III. 27) is a loan in Prakṛt and Sanskrit alike from Dravidian Kuṭi meaning 'hut' 'Kuḍi' in Prakṛt resembles the spoken form 'kuḍi' in Tamil. The word 'paḷḷi' in the verse 'appāhei maramto...' is also a loan word from the Dravidian cf. Tam. paḷḷi, Kan. haḷḷi etc.

A number of phonetic changes noticeable in Prakṛts including Mahārāṣṭrī can be explained as those caused by the Dravidian impact. This is but natural as the speakers of Aryan languages numerically inferior lived amidst larger number of people speaking Dravidian dialects since the Pre-Vedic period in vast areas of North, Central and South India. One can notice almost similar phonemes particularly in the spoken form of Dravidian dialects and the Prakṛts. To cite only a few words 'kuḍumba' (I. 59) 'dīḍha' (I. 74), 'aggi' (I. 70), 'masi' (II. 17) and dīṭṭhi (II. 48). They sound and mean alike in both the Prakṛt and Tamil. It is well nigh possible that these changes in the phonemic structure in Prakṛt as distinguished from the corresponding Sanskrit forms 'kuṭumba', dīḍha, agni, maṣi and dīṣṭi were brought about by the Dravidian speakers amidst whom the Aryans lived and imbibed the new forms gradually, for 'linguistically geographically and culturally. Mahārāṣṭra is situated on the border between the southern Indo-Aryan region and the northern Dravidian region, and historically is a region of overlap of these two systems.'¹

That Mahārāṣṭrī enjoyed the status of a language of prestige in the 7th century is evident from the encomium paid to it by no less a poet than Daṇḍin who adorned the court of the Pallava ruler at Kāñci in the 7th cent. A.D. He declares Mahārāṣṭrī to be foremost among the Prakṛts of his time and the reason is not far to seek because it was the one which was the favourite language among the playwrights to adopt along with Sanskrit. This perhaps was the case even a few centuries

earlier when Hāla made his collection of seven hundred verses attributed to over three hundred and eighty four authors according to a commentator of this text, Bhuvanapāla. If we understand that the territory of Hāla, the Sātavāhana ruler extended over the southwestern region of Hyderabad of modern Andhra Pradesh and extended westwards to the Mahārāṣṭra region around the origin of river Godāvarī, we can safely agree with the statement of Southworth that 'the agreement between Western Indo-Aryan and Dravidian in the relative frequencies of retroflex and dental consonants is striking, and suggests that if we are willing to think in terms of *substratum influence*, the possibility of a Dravidian substratum in the west (in the present Marathi, Gujarati and Western Punjabi speaking areas) must be considered. This area was in all probability inhabited by speakers of a Dravidian language which naturally influenced the local Indo-Aryan viz. Maharāṣṭrī. This is supported by the fact that the text frequency of retroflex consonants vis-à-vis the dentals is greater in the western Indo-Aryan languages viz. Marathi, Gujarati etc., than in the Gangetic region.' Thus we find *nadī* 'river' > *ṇai* (I. 37), *vaṣaṭhānam*, 'banyan grove' > *vaṣaṭṭānam* (I. 94) *māna* 'pride' > *māṇa* (II. 29) *kena* 'by whom' > *keṇa* (4.69) etc.

Assimilation of consonant clusters is a predominantly Dravidian trait that is found reflected in the Middle Indo-Aryan and it is safe to assume, apart from the natural evolution of language that results in the decay of sound caused by economy of effort in the production of sound, that the inherent Dravidian feature accelerated this phenomenon.

e.g. *agni* (fire) *aggi* cf. Tam. *akki*, *dakṣiṇa* (southern) *dakkhiṇa* (I. 97) cf. *tukkiṇa* (Tam), *matsara* (envy) *maccharam* cf. Tam. '*māccariyam*' Initial consonant cluster is reduced to a single consonant, e.g. *Kṣāṇam* 'moment' *khaṇam* cf. Tam. '*kaṇam*' (Tamil has no aspirate sound, hence 'k'). Similarly medial consonant cluster in *dukkham* 'grief' *dukkam* (IV. 42) which in Tam. is deaspirated and the spoken form is *dukkam*.

Dravidian did not have consonant cluster initially in a word. This trait affected the Middle Indo-Aryan. Thus the word *priya* (III. 22) *pīa* (delightful) cf. *piriyam* (Tam). *grāma* (II.) 60 *gāma* (village) cf. *kirāmaṃ* (Tam). It may be seen that though the consonant cluster is reduced to a single consonant in both the prakrit and Tamil, the latter shows *anaptyxis*, a feature that is in accordance with the speech habit of the Tamil Speaker.

The dropping of the initial dental sibilant is yet another. Common feature between the Prākṛt and Tamil in our texts. *Smaramaḥ*, 'recollect', *bhartmo* (IV. 68) cf. *miruti* in Tam. (Smṛti). *Sthāṇavaḥ* 'tree'

trunk', *thūṇuā* (III. 32) cf. *tāṇu* in Tam. In some other places anapty is operates in the same cluster in Tamil eg. *Sneha* > *sinēha* (in the spoken form) though there is an alternant in Tam. in *nēya*. In II.13 we find a similar form (Tam). *S'neha* and in II.14 *Salāhaṇa* (Tam. *ciṭāki*) used in Sattasaī without dropping the initial sibilant. Anaptyxis plays a greater role in Tam. than in the Prakṛt. eg. *pramāṇa* > *pamāṇa* (II. 53), *piramāṇam* (Tam), *varga* > *vagga* (II. 72), *varukkam* (Tam.) *grāmaṇi* > *gāmaṇ* (IV. 70), *kirāmaṇi* (Tam.) etc. This phenomenon however got into use in MIA and Hemacandra frames a rule to provide for such, forms in the sutra- 'aḥ kṣmāślaghayoḥ' (Prākṛtaprakāśa III. 62) and in Śrīhṛī .. (III. 61) providing for 'a' and 'i' as vowel increment in *salāhā*, *sirī* etc

The linguistic diffusion that have been noticed above such as the retroflexes are indeed pan - indic in character but yet in relevant in the comparative study of isoglosses of the Mahārāṣṭrī and Tamil under notice. To this class of Pan-Indic isoglosses nonfinite verb forms also belong. The verbal participles come into greater use in the place of finite verbs eg. *nekhanta* in the sense of *niṣeakrāma*. (I. 11). The *Atmane-pada* and *parasmaipada* distinctions are given the go by, the latter taking the function of both eg. *kriyamāṇā* > *kiranti* (III. 72), *tapyante* > *tāvijjanti* (I. 6). *lajjāmahe* > *lajjamaḥ* (III. 67). The dual number is replaced by the plural. These are possibly due to Dravidian impact. Thus we have *spṛṣataḥ* in dual replaced by *chivanti* (II. 67), *mānavatoḥ* by *māṇaillāṇam* (I. 27) etc.

Syntax is a field in which the Dravidian has profoundly influenced the Aryan languages right through their long history. A comparison of the syntactical structure of the Indo-European languages other than Sanskrit like English on the one hand and Sanskrit and allied Indo-Aryan languages and Dravidian will bear this out. This being an obvious Pan Indic phenomenon no illustration is needed from the literary works of Mahārāṣṭrī and early Tamil.

The following conclusions emerge from the above discussion :

1. Sattasaī written in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakṛt and the early Tamil classics like *Kuruntokai* and *Akanāṇūru* share a common literary tradition defined by Tolkappiyar in regard to *Akam* poetry. They contain *muktakā* or single self contained verses.
2. Both have for their theme the domestic life of village folk regarding 'love' though the treatment of the same is more refined in Tamil than in the Mahārāṣṭrī lyrical work which was exposed to the Aryan influence as reflected in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and as such betrays lack of sobriety in certain places.

3. The *Mahārāṣṭri*, the language of prestige since the early Christian era, the archetype *Prākṛt* of Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* like the other MIA languages betrays features of the Dravidian languages in the fields of phonology, morphology and syntax.

NOTES

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Tolkappiyam Collatikaram

Part II

Morphology-Syntax

Kamil V. Zvelebil

CHAPTER II : *On Case*

62. They say that cases are indeed seven.¹
63. It amounts to eight if vocative formed when one is addressed is included.²
64. They are
peyar (nominative), *-ai* (accusative), *-oṭu* (sociative), *-ku* (dative) *iṇ* (ablative), *-atu* (genitive), *-kaṇ* (locative) and finally vocative (*viḷi*).³
65. Among them
the nominative case is used to denote the subject of an action.⁴
66. Pointing out the 'existence of a subject'⁵,
denoting wish or order,
indicating the action of the subject,
expressing a question,
denoting the quality,
denoting the noun -
these are the predicates of a subject.⁶
67. There are also compounds made up of nouns;
they too are in the same category.⁷
68. It is correct, they say, that every noun
be explicitly mentioned in such positions.⁸
69. The case-markers mentioned above are suffixed
to the end of nouns without any modification of form.⁹
70. Nouns never denote tense,
except those which are formed on verbs - i.e. verb-nouns.
71. The second
is the case which is named *-ai*;
whenever it occurs, it has verbs¹⁰, or appellatives¹¹
as predicates occurring with objects.¹²

72. They say that the accusative case denotes the direct object expressed as things which are protected, compared, ridden, made, scared away, praised, despised, acquired, lost, loved, scorned; destroyed, appreciated, learned, cut, decreased, collected, separated, weighed, measured, counted, manufactured, depended upon, reached, hated, seen, feared, shattered, etc.¹³
73. The third is the case which is named *-oṭu*. It denotes the agent or instrument of action.¹⁴
74. They say that the case denotes the object that serves as material cause, the object that serves as an appropriate cause, that by which something is done, that by which something happens, that by which something is obtained, that with which something is mixed, that which acts with another in company, that which does not act with another in company, that to which something unsuitable is compared, that which has *-iṇ* and *-āṇ* to denote cause, and other similar things.¹⁵
75. The fourth is the case which is named *-ku*. Whatever substance it may be, it [denotes] receiving.¹⁶
76. They say that the case denotes the object for which an action is done, that to which one subjects himself, that to which something is apportioned, that which is transformed, that which is suitable to something, that for which something is done, and to express friendship, enmity, love and greatness and so on.¹⁷
77. The fifth is the case which is named *-iṇ*. It denotes the nature of a thing in relation to another.¹⁸

78. They say that the case denotes
 colour, shape, measure, taste,
 coolness, hotness, fear,
 goodness, badness, smallness, largeness,
 hardness, softness, ferocity,
 agedness, youth, superiority, inferiority,
 newness, oldness, source,
 absence, presence, smell, separation,
 many-ness, few-ness, absence of attachment
 and other similar [qualities].¹⁹
79. The sixth
 is the case which is named *-atu*.
 It denotes the relation (*kiḷamai*) between things
 [which are] either inseperable or separable.²⁰
80. Scholars say that the sixth case denotes
 the nature, possession, kinship, relationship,
 action, maturity, occupation,
 instrument, association, document, capital,
 limb, group, composition,
 state, residence, and such others
 that come under the category of the species of relation.²¹
81. The seventh
 is the case which is named *-kaṇ*.
 It appears to denote place and time
 when an action takes place.²²
82. They say that
kaṇ 'in, at', *kāl* 'near, at', *puṇam* 'outside', *akam* 'inside', *uḷ*
 'inside', *uḷai* 'near, next to', *kiḷ* 'under, below', *māl* 'upon, on', *pīṇ*
 'behind/after', *cār* 'through, near, at the side of', *ayal* 'near, next
 to', *puḷai* 'outside, away from', *tēyakai* 'at the place of', *muṇ* 'in front
 of/before', *iṭai* 'in the middle of', *kaṭai* 'at the end of', *talai*
 'in the beginning of, in front of', *valam* 'to the right of', *iḷam* 'to the
 left of' and such other [words] belong to that [case].²³
83. When one wants to expand the meanings of the cases
 it is said that all words which are synonymous
 with the words found in the collection (*tokai*) at the end
 have to be added to the list of words found in each of them.²⁴

NOTES

1. It is noteworthy that in *Elut-tatikāram* 115 one reads that *vērrumaiyurupu*. i. e. case-suffixes, are *six* in number. What is the explanation of the discrepancy? Sloppiness on the part of Tolkappiyar? Different authorship? None of these. According to my opinion, in *Elut.* 115 the author spoke of case-suffixes (i.e. markers), and they indeed are six in his theory (i.e. without any nominative-suffix). In *Col.* 62 he speaks of *sesca* (i.e. morphosyntactic relationship), and they indeed are seven according to his grammatical thinking (vocative 'case' not being included, see comment).

*[This reveals the wrong notion and misunderstanding of the translator. Tolkappiyar refers only to the sixth case in this *Cūttiram* (Edr.).]

2. The author of *Tolk.* had a correct intuition about vocative: the status of vocative as 'case' is labile; we should rather speak of 'vocative sentences' rather than vocative 'case'. On the other hand, there may be a mode of grammatical thinking which regards vocative as a case because of the presence of certain recurrent markers; hence Tolkappiyar adds *sūtra* 63 as a kind of gentle after-thought.
3. A better term than 'vocative' for the Tamil *vili* would probably be 'allocutive'. - Cēṇavaraiyar says that along with *-oṭu* one may use *-ān* as suffix, and along with *-atu* one may use *-a*. Tolkappiyar indeed adds *-ān* as a case-marker (97, 108) without assigning it to any case. Also, he himself uses *-ōṭu* but does refer to it in his grammar. The usage of *-ōṭu* in free variation with *-oṭu* is attested from the oldest texts of Tamil.

The usage *-ān* for instrumental occurs, too, in ancient texts.

All commentators add *-a* as a genitive ('sixth') case marker, but Tolkappiyar does not mention it. Naccinārkkiniyar also adds *-ātu* to the genitive, and Teyvaccilaiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar add *āl* to the instrumental. Whereas *-a* probably belongs to the most ancient strata of the language, *-ātu* and *-āl* are almost certainly later developments.

4. I am well aware of the fact that the *nūrpā* may have widely different interpretations. The commentators, too, are at a loss how precisely to understand it. Among modern scholars, P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri translates "is used to denote the doer or the subject of the active verb", whereas S. Ilakkuvaranar translates "will have the noun unchanged." I am rather inclined to accept Subrahmanya Sastri's and M. Israel's interpretative translation, in the light of the terms *peyar-p payaṇilai* occurring in the next *sūtra*.
5. *Porvṇmai* may be translated as 'being of a thing' or 'existence of the subject', or even 'the meaning of a thing or subject'. What I believe is meant is 'the statement of the existence of a subject in an utterance'.
6. Examples given by Iṭampūraṇar: 1. *ā uṇṇu*, ["There] is (i.e. exists) a cow" or "Cow is"; 2. *ā celka* "Let the cow go, May the cow go"; 3. *ā kiṇantutu* "The cow lay down"; 4. *ā evaṇ* "What is a cow?"; 5. *ā karitu* "The cow is black"; *ā pala* "Cows are many" or "[There are] many cows". From the last instance quoted

it would seem that the final function of the predicate is to express such categories as number, and perhaps, by inference, class, order etc.

7. I.e. Not only (simple) nouns (*peyar*) but also compounds (*tokai*) made up of nouns (*peyorin ākiya*) can occur as subjects in the nominative. An instance is given by P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri quoting *Tirumurukārruppaṭai: Palamutir-ōlaimalaikkilavōn* 'the owner of the hill called The Grove of Ripe Fruits'.
8. I.e. when they take predicates. A stylistic rule, rather.
9. The *sūtra* is clear, and all commentators agree. It clearly and explicitly states that Tamil is a suffixing language, and that the case markers = case *suffixes* remain unchanged in the process of suffixing.
10. Ta. *viṇai*, i.e. finite verb.
11. Ta. *viṇaikkuṟippu*, i.e. appellative verb.
12. There is some disagreement as to the exact interpretation of this aphorism.
13. The one interesting thing about this aphorism is the occurrence of the word *celavu* 'going' in this *sūtra* which suggest that in Tolkāppiyar's language this verb-root was transitive: one could apparently *avan uraiṭ celum* 'he goes to town', like in old Indo-European languages. The commentators and P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri give long lists of instances for the various actions expressed by the predicative verb with a direct object.
14. Examples: *aivarōṣu ciṇai iraim-patiṇmārum porutu kalattoliya* *Puram* 2 in allusion to the *Mahābhārata* "so that the hundred (lit. 'twice-fifty') may die in battle being treated with anger by the five": agent; *perunāvāy kaṭunkaloṣu*

karai cēra (*Matura kṛpāci* 78) "the big ship reaching the shore on account of the strong wind": instrument; *nin irum-pōrokkaloṣu tiṇṇ* (*Puram* 150) "eat along with your large retinue": association. It is obvious that the marker *-oṣu* was used, in Old Tamil, to denote three semantic-syntactic relationships: agent-instrument and association. -Though Tolkāppiyar has mentioned only *-oṣu* in this *sūtra* (as well as in *Elut.* 114) he also mentions *-ān* in aphorisms 97 and 108 as a case marker though he does not assign it to any case. From textual instances, and the commentators, it must obviously be assigned to the third case. Tolkāppiyar uses *-ōṣu* as an alternant of *-oṣu* but does not refer to it. The next aphorism (74), is taken by some commentators and editors as one with No 73.

15. Different commentators and translators quote instances for all these semantic distinction. material cause: *ponṇāṇ iyanṇa paṭṭam* (*Puram* 3 comm.) 'frontlet [of elephant] made of gold'; appropriate cause; *palyānaiyum ampoṣu tulaṅki* (*Puram* 63) "many elephants shattered with arrows"; agent of action: see ftn. 14; that by which something happens: *kalaviṇṇāl ākiyavākkam* (*Tirukkural* 283) "property originated by theft"; that by which something is obtained: *ilanku-tālaruviyōṭ-apikoṇṭa nin malai* (*Kalittokai* 46) "your mountain beautified by the shining, flowing stream"; that by which something is mixed: *pāloṣu kalanta tēṇ* "honey mixed with milk" that which acts in company; with another: see ftn. 14; that which cannot act in company with another: *malai-*

yoṣu poruta malyānai "the big elephant which fought with the mountain" (since an elephant is unable to fight with a mountain); the object of unsuitable comparison: *Tirukkural* 550; that which has -*in* and -*ān* denoting cause: e.g. *valimiku vekuliya; vāḷurra maṇarai* (*Kāḷittokai* 46) "the kings who had grasped [their] swords on account of their anger increased with [their] might". For the last case, I have adopted the interpretation of Cāṇṭavaraiyar (*ētu* 'cause' denoted both by the suffixes -*in* and -*ān*), supported by Naccinārkkinīyar. As an instance of -*in* denoting cause one may quote Teyvaccilaiyārs *pukaiyupmaiyaṇ neruppuṇmaiyaṇika* "know the presence of fire on account of the presence of smoke".

16. There is variety in the interpretation of this *sūtra*. I accept the interpretation of *Iḷam-pūraṇar* and P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Instances of dative: *nelli tinnani .emakku ttaṇaiyē* (*Puṇam* 91) "You gave me the sweet fruit of nelli"; *tāykkuk kātalan* (*Iḷam.*) "he is the one who loves mother". The term 'dative' does not exhaust all semantic possibilities and the whole range of meaning of the Tamil dative, but it is retained for the sake of convenience. The (statistically most prevalent) 'chief' meaning of dative-relationship is, though, even according to Tolkappiyar, that of the recipient (*kaḷḷum*). The marker is -*ku* in alternation with -*kku* after vowels, semi-vowels and -*r*. Personal pronouns take the increment -*a* before the marker -*ku*.

17. Instances of these meanings: the object for which action is done: *karumpirku vēli* (*Iḷam.*) "fence for sugar-cane [field]"; that to which one subjects

himself: *cānrōr kolaikkū uṣam-paṣṣār* (P.S.S. Sastri) "the great fell victims to slaughter"; that to which something is apportioned: *oru niyāyinaḷ... nīr periccinōrkkē* (*Puṇam* 125) "you have become the only resort for those who came to you"; that which is transformed: *vilaikkuppon vāṅku* (P.S.S. Sastri) "buy gold for bracelet" that which is suitable: *kaikkīyappuṣaiyatu kaṇakam* (*Iḷam.*) "bracelet is fit for the hand"; that for which something is done: *kūḷukkuk kurrēval ceyyum* (*Iḷam.*) "doing menial service for pap"; friendship: *keṣṣārkkū naṣṣārīl* (*Tirukkural* 1293) "there are no friends to those who have become poor"; enmity: *makkāṣku pakai pāmpu* (*Iḷam.*) "snakes are enemies of men"; love: *tāykkukātalan* (*Iḷam.*) "he is the one that loves mother"; greatness: *yām numakkuc ciraṇaṇam* (*Kāḷittokai* 5) "we are superior to you."

18. A broad enough definition (*in* *Ta.* original, *itaṇinir[ū]itu-v-eṇṇum atuvē*) to account for a broad range of semantic possibilities covered by a case which is only very approximately termed 'ablative'. According to the commentators (except Teyvaccilaiyār), the basic relationship this case expresses are the following four (*Iḷam.*: *aintām vēṇṇumai nāṅku poruḷ uṣaittu*): comparison (*porūporuḷ*), separation (*nikkam*), limitation (*ellai*) and cause (*ētu*). The *poru* (comparison) is twofold, of similarity, and of contrast.

19. Here the master enumerates a number of meanings, operating either on the level of contrast (e.g. newness : oldness) or simple enumeration colour, shape...taste .. smell...). The commentators give instances for these various meanings,

e.g. "*kalam-* fruit is blacker than the crow" (*līam*) for *vaṇṇam* ('colour'), *arppu-eḷu kaḷaiṇum perivū* (*Puṇam* 81) 'the noise was bigger than [the roar] of all the seven seas' for *perumai* ('greatness'), *malarinūm melitu kāmam* (*Tirukkural* 1286) 'love-passion is more tender than even blossoms'.

20. The relation between two members of an utterance is defined as either inseparable (*taṇ-kilamai*)- i.e. a relation between something and its part (the 'something' can of course also be someone), or separable (*piritiṇ kilamai*)- i.e. a relation between two separable things (or persons). From this definition and the instances quoted we may agree with the term 'genitive' used to denote this sixth or *-atu* case. To illustrate: *cāt-āṇ-atukai* 'Cāttag's hand' is *taṇkilamai*; *cāttanatu viṣu* 'Cāttag's house' is *piritiṇ kilamai*. All commentators add *-a* as the plural genitive marker (e.g. *Cāttāṇa yānakaḷ* 'Cāttāṇ's elephants'). Naccinārkkinīyar considers *-ātu*, too, as the genitive marker. *Tolk.* itself neither mentions nor makes use of either *-ā* or *-ātu*: thus they seem later developments (see, however, Comment).

21. Some of these semantic relationships are well comprehensible and quite clear to us, some are odd. The first four, e.g., are very clear: 'nature' (*Cāttanatu iyarkai* 'Cāttāṇ's nature'), 'possession' (*Cāttanatu viṣu* 'Cāttāṇ's house'), 'kinship' or 'relationship' (*āvinatu kaṇṇu* 'a cow's calf'), 'relation, connection' (*Cāttanatu kilamai* 'Cāttāṇ's [family] relation'); those which sound odd cease to be so when we read the instances, e.g. 'habitation': *yānaiyatu kāṇu* 'the forest of elephants' (i.e. 'where

elephants live'), or 'composition': *Kapilaratu pāṣṭu* 'Kapilar's poem.'

22. We are faced with several problems. First, the statistically most frequent in Tolkappiyar's time) marker of the seventh case, *-kaṇ*. Two etymologies suggest themselves: to take *kaṇ* as a root which, indeed, means 'place, site' (TL 683, e.g. *ir-ā-kaṇ mā ṇālam*, *Kural* 1058), or, with Jules Bloch (*The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages*, Poona, 1954, p.21), as a composite form analysable into *-k/lu + aṇ, caṇ* meaning 'in the midst of, place'. Another problem is the phrasing of the *sūtra*: why *kurippiṇ iōṇṇum*? I believe it alludes to the very broad semantic range of the locative (for that is how the seventh case may be termed in Western terminology) and especially the vague inclusion of many postpositions under this case - relationship; the suffixes, of which *Tolkappiyam* enumerates nineteen, have to be chosen according to the context, connotation, stylistic considerations, wish of the speaker etc. The expression *vinai ce - j- iṭṭin iṭṭiṇ kōlat-iṇ* I interpret with Teyvaccilaiyār as 'the place [and] time where (or when) an action takes place'.
23. The English meanings of these postpositions do not exhaust their whole semantic range. The *annapiṇavum* 'and other like [that]' may refer to such postpositions as *vayin* 'place, at' *vali* 'by way of', *il* 'in' (?) etc. *Tēvvakai* is probably *deṣa > tēyam > tēm + vakai* (P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri).
24. This is a very difficult stanza, and neither the commentators nor the translators (including the present translator) have

yet unraveled its mystery. The meaning given above is that given by Civaññamuniyar and P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Almost all the commentators consider this *sūtra* to deal with compounds of the *tapuruṣa* and/or *bahuvrīhi* type. If so, it would have no place at all in this otherwise perfectly structured chapter on cases. *Tokai*,

of course, means 'compound' most often in grammatical terminology. Here, however, it may indeed refer to the 'collection' of case suffixes and postpositions, found 'finally', i.e. in *sūtras* 72, 74, 76, 78, 80 and 82 (as opposed to, e.g., *sūtras* 81, or 79 which are 'initial').

Comment on Chapter 2

The *Tolkāppiyam* discusses cases in three chapters of the *Collatikāram*: in *Vērrumaiyāl* he deals with the case-markers and the seven cases, with the basic and secondary meanings of the cases, in *Vērrumaimayan-kiyāl* with the functional syncretism of cases, and in *Viḷimarapu* with the vocative. Whereas he includes the nominative under *vērrumai* since it denotes a definite relationship of the actor or the subject of the verb in a sentence, he does not include the vocative in the main treatment of cases reserving a special chapter for it (mentioning, though, in s. 63 that it may be enumerated as 'case') because the vocative does not denote any relation between a noun and a verb.

The term used for 'case' is *vērrumai* (< DED 4564 Ta. *vēru*), lit. 'difference; characteristic mark distinguishing in individual or species.' Thus, 'case' is that which differentiates one form of the noun from another form to express a syntactic relationship.

Verse 64 is of course of crucial importance, for it gives us the forms of the case markers current in the standard literary language of *Tolkāppiyam*: zero-marker for nominative (termed *peyar*, viz. 'noun [without any modification or addition]'); *-ai* for accusative ('direct object') *-oṭu* for the case of association and instrument; *-ku* for dative; *iṇ* for ablative and related functions; *-kaṇ* for locative. Vocative, mentioned in s. 63, is again noticed here as 'the last'. It seems that this usage - i.e. the naming of case-relationships after their markers - was current before *Tolkāppiyar*; while adopting it, *Tolkāppiyar* innovated (on the model of Sanskrit usage) by arranging the cases and naming them according to their number ('first, second, third'...etc., case, cf. *Sūtras* 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81).

Sūtras 65-70 deal broadly speaking with the nominative. From s. 65 we infer that the 'first case' (nominative) is also denoted as *eḷuvāy vērrumai*, i.e. 'subject case', and this shows that *Tolkāppiyar* attempts

(in s. 66) to define it semantico-syntactically. As M. Israel very correctly observes, "with a view to make it more clear, i.e., that the subjects cannot exist without predicates", Tolkappiyar at once proceeds to enumerate the types of predicates which the subject takes. s. 66 may be misplaced here, but in fact shows a very deep philosophical insight of Tolkappiyār: there is no subject (*eḷuvāy*) without a predicate (*payanḷlai*); subject may exist only as something which is being "predicated about".

The following two aphorisms (71 and 72) deal with the case of direct object, termed the *-ai* or 'second' case by Tolkappiyar. For convenience's sake we may use the term accusative. According to the opinion of the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* (Cuppiramaṇiya Tācikar, 17th - 18th Cent.), the designation of cases by numerals is an imitation of the Sanskrit usage (cf. *dvitīya vibhakti* etc.). We agree. In a former aphorism (*Eḷut.* 157), we were told that the marker *-ai* was obligatory with rational and common nouns, and optional with non-rational nouns. In further *sūtras* (108, 109) we shall be told that in poetry *-a* may be appended to *-ai* with rational nouns (see discussion with the respective aphorisms). A separate aphorism is dedicated by Tolkappiyar to different shades of meaning in which accusative occurs. This we find superfluous and unnecessary.

The next two *sūtras* (73 and 74) deal with the sociative-instrumental. Here, semantic considerations are necessary, and Tolkappiyar discusses different shades of meaning of the third case by enumerating their varieties in *sūtras* 74. Tolkappiyar gives the suffix *oḷu* as the standard suffix of the instrumental-sociative case, though he himself uses *-ōḷu* in his text (without listing it), and though he quotes *-āṇ* as a case-marker (aphorisms 97 and 108). Thus it is apparent that at the time of Tolkappiyar, *-oḷu*, *-ōḷu* and *-āṇ* were in free variation in old literary Tamil though *-oḷu* might have been considered as the standard norm. Numerous examples from the texts show that *oḷu*/*-ōḷu* and *-āṇ* were used both in the instrumental (i.e. agent and instrument) and sociative meanings: *nīroḷu nīṟainta kaṇ* (*Puṇam* 164) "eyes filled with tears" is semantically certainly different from *irum pērokkaloḷu tiṇṇ* (*Puṇam* 150) "eat with a wide circle of relatives"; the first *oḷu* denotes rather an instrument whereas the second denotes clearly association. Similarly, *tiyīṇāṇ cuṭṭa puṇ* (*Tirukkuraḷ* 129) "wound caused by fire" is semantically different from *tūṅkukaiyāṇ ḍāṅku naṭaiya* (*Puṇam* 22) "those walking haughtily with [their] waving hands". In the time of the commentators, the semantic differentiation was already in force; they use *-oḷu*/*-ōḷu* mainly in the sociative meaning, and *-āṇ* in the instrumental meaning. Cāṇāvaraiyar says clearly: "The suffix *-oḷu* is not now used except rarely to denote agent (*vinaimutal*) or instrument (*karuvi*)".

An unconnected but interesting point is raised by Caṇavaraiyar; defending Tolkāppiyar, he says that the *aintiranūlār* have counted vocative as the eighth case, and that *āciriyaṛ* (i.e. Tolkāppiyar) has followed their usage; and Caṇavaraiyar adds, "this point is supported by the statement, in the Preface (to *Tolkāppiyam*), *aintira nirainta tolkāppiyaṇ*."

Aphorisms 75-76 deal with the fourth case which is the case of the recipient and, for convenience's sake, is termed by us 'dative'. Its marker is *-ku/-kku*. The term dative does not exhaust all semantic possibilities expressed by the marker. Tolkāppiyar in 76 describes some of them. For a detailed study of Old Tamil dative cf. my paper 'Dative in Early Old Tamil', *Indo-Iranian Journal* II (1958) 1, 54-65.

Aphorisms 77-78 deal with the fifth case which seems to have originally been the case of comparison; at least of the instances in early commentators indicate this, and also the usage found in *Tol.* itself and the early poetry points in this direction. Tolkāppiyar formulates it with beautiful abstraction: the fifth case denotes the nature of an object *in relation* to another. All commentators (except one) say that the *-in* case denotes comparison of similarity and contrast, separation, limitation and cause.

The sixth or *-atu* case denotes, too, the *relation* between two elements in the sentence; there is, however, a difference. Whereas the *-in* case was based on a relationship of "comparing" the qualities of two objects, the *-atu* case is based on a relationship of "belonging"; thus, whereas the *-in* case, indeed can be termed a "case of comparison" or a "than" case, the *-atu* case can be termed "genitive" or an "of" case. The semantic details are then *in part* dealt with in the subsequent *sūtras*. The further specification of the "relationship of belonging" into "inseparable" and "separable" is ingenious: one describes an "internal" or "organic" relationship, as of an object and its parts, or a person and his/her qualities, whereas the other describes an "external" relationship as of a master and his servant or a proprietor and his property etc.

The *-a* which is mentioned by the commentators as plural genitive marker is found in early poetry, e.g. *Puṇam* 15 *kaḷiṟu avara kāppuṭaiya kayam paṭiyinai* "you have enabled the elephants to plunge into their (avar-a) well-guarded (*kāpp-uṭai-y-a*) tanks". Cf. in somewhat later language, *Tirukkural* 1299 *tām-uṭai-y-a neṇcam* 'their hearts', i.e. 'the heart(s) which they possess', lit 'they-possession-gen. -a'.

Aphorisms 81-82 are dedicated to the *-kaṇ* or seventh case: locative in our terminology. It denotes place and time of action. Tolkāppiyar, in

82. deviates from his usual procedure to enumerate the meanings (semantic relationships) of the case, and instead enumerates a list of nineteen postpositions (including *-kaṇ*, in the first place) which are used to express the locative significations. These nineteen locative case-markers-many of them may be designated with Hockett as 'impure markers'-are *kaṇ*, *kāl*, *puṇam*, *akam*, *uḷ*, *uḷai*, *kīl*, *mēl*, *piṇ*, *cār*, *aval*, *puḷai*, *tēvakai*, *muṇ*, *talai*, *iḷai*, *kaḷai*, *valam*, *iḷam*. Many of them are full-fledged free nouns; many of them are no more productive in the Language.

The Strong Woman in the Novels of T. Janakiraman

(A New Conception of Feminine in Contemporary Tamil literature)

Mrs. Indra Viswanathan Peterson

In the year 1879, in the preface to the first novel written in Tamil the author, Samuel Vedanayakam Pillai, wrote :

The principal personages who play important parts in this novel are the hero's mother, Sundara Anny, and his wife Gnanambal both being ladies of high birth and fortune, with every accomplishment both personal and mental, and endowed with every estimable quality that could adorn the female sex...¹

The conception of woman characters in the Tamil novel has changed little since Vedanayakam Pillai. Upto the 1970's the main concern of Tamil novelists has been the family life of the South Indian middle class. Most of the women in their novels are modelled on Gnanambal and Sundara Anny: they appear either as the chaste, submissive wife / fiancée or as the equally gentle, self-sacrificing mother; their actions, aspirations and interests are completely subordinated to those of the men in their lives. They are ideal women *because* they are passive.² Dynamic and strong-willed women are rare in the Tamil novel; and these too are cast in stereotyped roles, the most common one being that of the wicked mother-in-law, who, through her aggressive and malevolent behaviour, destroys the peaceful life of the family. Thus we find a clear polarity set up between two stereotypes; the passive, gentle, benevolent woman vs. the dynamic, aggressive, malevolent woman.

The dichotomy above described arises from the traditional Hindu male view of feminine power. Recent studies on the subject have abundantly demonstrated that Hindu men conceive of sexuality as the source and essence of power in women and that they look upon this feminine power as a potentially dangerous force which must always be kept under control, the principal means for such control being the subjugation of women by men.³

The dual character of the Hindu female, based on her essential nature, her *śakti* (power) and *prakṛti* (Nature), provides a backdrop for understanding the rules, ideals, and role

models for women in South Asia. A major concern of the norms and guides for proper or ideal behaviour is the maintenance of control of women and their power by men.⁴

The role-model of the good wife demands absolute sexual fidelity and submission in respect to the husband; likewise, that of the good mother demands total self-sacrifice and submission of self-interest in respect to children, in particular to sons. Thus woman's actions are rendered completely other-directed, and her power is either suppressed or drawn away by men. It is only when woman puts—as does the wicked mother-in-law—her own interest above those of her husband / son that she can actively manifest her strength. But then she becomes 'out-of-control', aggressive; her power is dangerous, and her behaviour results in destruction. And in the stereotypes of the Tamil novel we see a reflex of this deep-rooted association of feminine strength with malevolence.

In recent years, however, a new type of strong woman has appeared in the Tamil novel, particularly in the works of 'progressive' writers such as P. V. Akhilandam, D. Jayakanthan and Indira Parthasarathi. These novelists deal with the themes of social change and women's rights, and they attempt to evolve a conception of feminine strength that is free of unpleasant connotations. The new strong woman is presented as a potentially 'good' character, the heroine of the novel. She does not fit into the traditional role-models, for she is single, educated and economically independent: a self-made, self-supporting woman. Her strength is manifested in her ability to be aggressive and to rebel against societal restrictions. For instance, Ganga in D. Jayakanthan's *Some times, some people* (*Cila Nēraṅkaḷil Cila Munīrarkaḷ*) and Bhānu in I. Parthasarathi's *The Helicopters Have Landed* (*Helikōṭṭarkaḷ Kīlē Iraṅki Viṣṭana*) initiate love-affairs with married men. By so doing they are rebelling against those laws of orthodox Hindu society which forbid sex to single women and dictate a passive role in courtship/sex to women in general. The novelist treats this rebellious attitude with sympathy, there by suggesting that independence and assertiveness may be positive strength in women as well as in men. However, many of these novels end on a note of ambiguity with regard to the positive character of this feminine strength. The love-affairs almost always end in disaster for all concerned, and the failure is only partly attributed to social reality. The married man is full of fears and his vacillation destroys the relationship; on the other hand, the novelist implies in subtle ways that there may be something intrinsically destructive about aggressive strength in women and that it is harmful to the women themselves as well as to their lovers. In ideal and

practical terms, a negative conception of feminine power seems to persist in the contemporary Tamil novel.

The novels of T. Janakiraman show a preponderance of strong women characters, and yet, few of them fall into the negative stereotypes described above. On the one hand, unlike the independent women of other contemporary novelists, the central female figures in Janakiraman's novels are neither single, nor educated, nor economically independent; in short, they do not function under the conditions that prompt and help the single women to assert their strength against societal control. On the other hand, though they are cast in the traditional role of wife/mother, they do not fit the 'virtuous and submissive' stereotype. They are not 'virtuous' in the traditional sense because they do not hesitate to violate the code of chastity; and yet the author presents them as completely positive and strong characters. Janakiraman's idea of feminine power seems to be quite different from that of his predecessors and contemporaries in Tamil literature. In this paper I have studied four of his novels with a view to understanding his conception of the strong woman.

I begin with a brief description of the four novels. *The Thorn of Passion (Mōgamuḷ)*⁶ is the story of the enduring passion of the hero, Bābu, for Yamunā, an elder by woman⁶ who is also socially inaccessible.⁷ The theme of *Mother (Ammā Vantaḷ)*⁸ is the slow and painful disillusionment of the young Vedic scholar Appu with his mother, Alaṅkāram. Appu finds out that his mother...whom he adores as a goddess, and who had sent him away to study the holy scriptures...is an adulteress, and his father, an obliging cuckold. In the process of this disillusionment he first tries to resist, then accepts, the affection and sexual advances of Indu, a beautiful widow who has been in love with him for many years. In *A Taste of Honey (Uyirttāṇ)*⁹ we have two men... Bhūvarāgaṇ and Paḷaṇi...attempting to come to terms with their powerful attraction to Seṅgammā, the wife of a small-town clerk. Finally, in *The China Rose (Cemparutti)*¹⁰ Caṭṭanāthaṇ (Caṭṭam), the hero, tries to understand the nature and meaning of his relationships with three women: his wife, Bhuvāṇā, and Kuṇjammā and Periyaṇṇi¹¹, the wives of his two elder brothers.

All four novels are concerned with the nature of the relationships that develop between men and women. A close examination reveals a definite pattern. The major women characters—Alaṅkāram, Indu (M), Yamuṅā (TP), Seṅgammā (TH) and Bhuvāṇā (CR)—lack formal education and economic independence. At the same time they are strong women

who exert a powerful influence on the men in their lives. They are portrayed as seen by these men, who fall into two categories: the passive, tolerant husband or Platonic friend, and the sensitive, restless lover. Daṇḍapaṇi, Alākaram's husband in *M* and Gane'sa Pillai, Seṅgammā's husband in *TH* are examples of the former type, while Bābu in *TP* and Paṇṇi in *TH* exemplify the latter. It is the second type of man who is the true protagonist of the novel, and he engages in an active, exploratory relationship with women like Seṅgammā. He finds such women attractive and desirable *because they are strong*. At its deepest level, each novel is a study of the process through which the hero tries to understand and come to terms with this strength in the women he loves. Janakiraman's men are intelligent, sensitive and extremely articulate. I shall let them speak for themselves about the strengths that they admire and respect in their women.

Intelligence is certainly one of the qualities which makes a woman strong in the eyes of Janakiraman's man. Here is Caṭṭam speaking of his wife Bhuvanā's intelligence. He marvels that :

She can listen to anything, understand everything, understand everything exactly as it was meant.¹⁸

He loved listening to her talk when they were in bed...he marvelled at the way she absorbed everything that he said, mind and senses drawn together in intense concentration. And he would say: 'sometimes I am jealous of you. How *do* you do this? Store every-thing away and bring forth from your store at just the right moment?'¹⁹

The feeling that emerges in this passage is one of wonder, of admiration for a keen intellect.

A razor-sharp intelligence is characteristic of Janakiraman's women - Seṅgammā in *TH* so impresses the men in the town of Ārukatti with intelligence that Bhūvarāgaṇ—the most influential of her admirers—persuades the towns people to elect her as head of the town committee, an office which is strictly the privilege of men in the villages of South India. Seṅgammā's intellect is of a refined sort. Consider the passage where she climbs up on the temple *gopuram* to look at its newly-executed friezes and sculptures. She comes down hours later, and speaks of the beauty and meaning she had felt in the sculpture as she stood alone at the top of the *gopuram*. The men—and none more than Bhūvarāgaṇ—are awed by the sensitivity with which she reveals cosmic dimensions in a sculpture which to them had seemed a simple represen-

tation of a familiar legend of the gods.¹⁴ *Seṅgammā* is strong not merely because she is as efficient in public office as any male, but because she has a special sensitivity to the world around her, rather similar to the quality that makes *Caṭṭam* envy *Bhuvagā* in *CR*.

The awe-inspiring tenor of women's intelligence is perhaps best brought out in the character of *Alaṅkāram* in *M*. *Alaṅkāram* and her husband *Daṇḍapāṇi* lie on the roof-terrace of their home on summer nights, gazing at the starry sky. *Alaṅkāram* is forever seeing exciting and wonderful shapes in the stars—people and events and beautiful apparitions. On one such occasion she describes to him, in minute detail, an elaborate picture she sees in a constellation: the figure of a mustachioed man with a sickle in his hand and a turban on his head. But *Daṇḍapāṇi* lacks the imagination to follow her soaring fancy. Try as he will, 'he could never see the turban or the moustache or the sword that she could see so clearly.'¹⁵ *Alaṅkāram* also has vivid dreams and visions, and when she tells *Daṇḍapāṇi* about them, he feels the gulf between her sensibility and his own.

Her dreams and imaginings were intriguing, filled with colour and sound, full of marvelous visions.

While his are forever grounded, limited to the things of this earth.

She had no book-learning of the sort he had. But her dreams did not center on eating or standing neck-deep in salt-pans, as his own did.¹⁶

Looking at her lying next to him, he often felt a pang of jealousy, and always an awe, of her. When she spoke in that vein, he felt too awed to touch her.¹⁷

It is the creativity of her intellect that staggers him. *Daṇḍapāṇi*, *Caṭṭam* and *Bhūvarāgaṇ* feel that their women possess something that they themselves lack: a combination of wisdom, common sense, competence and creative imagination that has nothing to do with formal education. It is significant that none of the women has had anything more than a rudimentary education, while *Daṇḍapāṇi* is a Sanskrit scholar, and *Caṭṭam* and *Bhūvarāgaṇ* are well-educated businessmen.¹⁸

A finely-tuned intellect is only one aspect of a complex of qualities in women that draws admiration from men like *Bhūvarāgaṇ*. Especially admirable in the eyes of these men is the ability the women have to love without reserve or inhibition. In *TH*, *Aṅṣuyā*, an educated woman friend of *Bhūvarāgaṇ*, says: 'I want to embrace the whole world and flow in a flood of love.'¹⁹ *Bhūvarāgaṇ* himself says something very similar about *Seṅgammā*:

Sengammā is a being who is above all the 'separate' nesses and pluralities of this world. This is her goal in life : that the whole world should smother her in love so that she might disintegrate into nothingness. Then alone will she be fulfilled... But the world doesnot oblige her. Rather it is envious of her. And so she overwhelms the world with *her* love that she may empty herself, lose her Self in this love.²⁰

Bhūvarāgaṇ not only admires and envies Sengammā's boundless ability to love, but wants to emulate her, to learn this skill from her :

I want to be like her. I want to be able to love humanity in the way she does; to love, and to melt like a lump of sugar in that love; to become nothing.²¹

Such an ego-destroying love overwhelms the man who receives it. In that poignant moment in *M* when the lovely widow Indu unreservedly and fearlessly offers her love to Appu, he is stunned :

What have I done to deserve this? That a human being should pour out such love for me? For a while he gasped for breath, over-welmed by the stream of pure and complete joy that was flowing all over him.²²

Again there is a definite sense of something lacking in the men, which renders them incapable of reaching the intensity with which the women give their love. Always at the receiving end, the men are denied the sense of total fulfillment which derives from such an ego-effacing act of giving, the feeling of "melting like a lump of sugar in that love." Janakiraman suggests that the women have a superior ability to love because of the sureness with which they approach human relationships. As we watch the development of the relationships between his men and women we find that the women is always dynamic and self-assured, while the man is passive and full of doubts.

Most often it is the woman who initiates the relationship, as does Indu in *M*. Her sense of certainty about her actions is clearly brought-out in the first two encounters she has with Appu. In an openly sensuous scene which is quite revolutionary for the Tamil novel²³, Indu embraces Appu and tells him that she loves him. Appu shrinks back in horror and rejects her advances, although deep in his heart he knows that he is in love with her. He is simply following orthodox Hindu morality, which would frown upon the union of a Vedic scholar with a widow.²⁴

I can't, Indu. No.

No to what?

I can't commit this sin. I am ashamed when I think of auntie. Must you think of auntie even now? Can't you think of me for a change? Why do you go on so about "sin"?

Yes, this *is* a sin.

I don't see anything sinful about it. What you say and do against your conscience—that alone is sinful. I have thought of no one but you, pined only for you, all these years. And all I did was to tell you the truth...Are you telling me not to tell the truth, not to act by what I know is true?"

Appu is firm in his rejection. Later, when Indu entreats him again, he says that he cannot desecrate his mother's trust in him by having an affair. At this point Indu reveals to him that Alaṅkāram is an adulteress. Appu will not believe her. Only after finding out that Indu's report is true does he open himself up to her love. Both Appu and Indu have always been aware of a strong physical and emotional attraction for each other. Throughout the relationship Appu is confused and hesitant. He does not want to commit himself; he understands neither Indu's point of view, nor the needs of his own sexuality, nor the complexities of his attitude towards women. Indu, on the other hand, is ever certain about all these things: her sexuality, her emotional commitment to Appu, her role in the relationship. She initiates the affair because she knows that Appu is unsure of himself. She is at peace with herself, and by unambiguously expressing her love for Appu she is standing up for the truth as she knows it. Her vision of the world is unclouded, calm. It is only at the end of the novel that Appu catches a glimpse of this vision, of what it means to be fulfilled in one's truth. When he does so, he feels a sense of release and of oneness with the world.

His heart was overflowing; he wanted to hug the whole world, to bury his face deep in the leaves and shoots in the garden, to rub against them. He felt like stroking the yellowing leaves of the weeds. But he was brimming over, and, at a loss for what to do, he just stood looking at the garden."

This self-assurance characterizes all the women who are truly admired by the men in Janakiraman's novels. This is how Bābu sees Yamuṇā at the end of *TP*:

He did not feel like looking at the scenery; he could not take his eyes off her face. The expression on her face was a

blend of wisdom and peace and an unshakeable sense of calm; and the same imperturbable serenity reigned over her every limb.²⁷

Bhūvarāgaṇ perceives the same certainty in Sengammā on the very first day of their acquaintance :

She moved about in their midst as though she were an old friend or relative. Sometimes she would come upto him to ask his opinion about something. Her voice rose, free and unhesitating, the voice of one who had known him for a long time.²⁸

Whence this self-assurance? Janakiraman tries to answer this question, sometimes as omniscient narrator, at others, in the voice of one of the men in his novels. We have observed that the men are attracted to the women physically, emotionally and intellectually. But since they are unable to reconcile these diverse aspects of their love satisfactorily, they are never quite able to fulfil their role in the relationship. The women are strong precisely where the men are weak. They not only understand their sexuality, but are able to accept it as part of their complex nature as human beings. We have already seen that this is the fundamental difference between Appu and Indu. To Indu, the physical and the emotional aspects of love are the two sides of a coin and therefore she sees no contradiction in accepting both. Appu, on the other hand, is caught in the traditional conception of uncontrolled female sexuality as a malevolent force. He seeks to sublimate his physical attraction for Indu by idealizing her as an unapproachable goddess—precisely as he idealizes his mother. In *TP* Bābu has the same problem with Yamuṇā. He sees her dichotomously—now as a goddess, now as an object of desire.

He looked at Yamuṇā's face, her eyes, her loveliness...she does have something indescribable, unique...a glow a wholeness that is quite beyond one's reach...But was she really not accessible? What did one do with this gorgeous, golden body?²⁹

But then he tries to erase all such thoughts about her.

Forgive me, Yamuṇā. You are a goddess to me, no ordinary human being. His conscience begged forgiveness, his heart muttered the prayer his father had taught him.³⁰

Eight years later, even after entering into a physical relationship with Yamuṇā, Bābu still sees her as 'the pure brazen image of a goddess'. He is still not comfortable in his heart about accepting her as a sexual being. Yamuṇā sees through his uncertainty and sadly tells him that

er response to his love can never be complete, fulfilling in every respect, until he has learned to see her not as two different entities, but as a woman and a complete human being, which is the only way in which she can rightly view herself. At the end of the novel, Bābu comes very close to the realization that true fulfilment in human relationships can come only from a totally-integrated view of humanity such as Yamuṇā's.

By contrasting the positive female characters in his novels with the negative ones Janakiraman points out that he sees feminine power as involving much more than unbridled sexuality, that the integrated attitude we have spoken of is essential to his idea of strength in women. Consider, for instance, the contrast between periyāṇṇi—the wife of Caṭṭam's elder brother, Gopālu—and the temple-dancer Āṇḍāḷu in *CR*. Periyāṇṇi is passionately aware of her sexuality : she is in love with her brother-in-law (Caṭṭam) and at the same time goes through an infatuation with an astrologer. But she is fiercely proud of her physical fidelity to her husband and will not act out the sexual aspect of her attraction to other men. Meanwhile, however, she torments her husband with her loveless attitude towards him and makes no secret of her frustrated passion for Caṭṭam. This drives Gopālu to seek a more fulfilling relationship with the temple dancer Āṇḍāḷu. This patient and generally passive man confesses his feelings to Caṭṭam in a rare outburst of anger at his wife's hypocrisy :

What difference does it make whether she (Periyāṇṇi) sleeps with other men in real life or only in her heart? What is the truth or treasure she is guarding in the name of 'chastity'?²¹

Must a woman brandish the truth in the air and wildly shout it out in the marketplace? She (Āṇḍāḷu) knows much more about the 'truth' than she (Periyāṇṇi) does. And she tells it softly, gently, but firmly. Here is a refined humanity, a femininity that comes closer than anything I know to what we are used to calling true 'manhood'.²²

In Gopālu's eyes Āṇḍāḷu is a strong woman and a better human being than Periyāṇṇi because she has the courage of her convictions and is able to act with sincerity, while Periyāṇṇi can neither come to terms with her physical passion nor enjoy the emotional aspect of human love, but wastes her energies in frustrating herself and the men with whom she deals.

This, then, is Janakiraman's ideal strong woman. She is dynamic and knows her own mind and has the serenity that is born of self-assurance. She is intelligent and outspoken without being aggressive or

belligerent - she does not shout the truth out in the marketplace. She is powerful because she has a total, not partial, acceptance of herself and the world around her. From this sure center of her personality she reaches out and gives uninhibitedly of her love; she does not feel threatened by men - or by any of her fellow-human beings - and so she can 'tell the truth gently but firmly'. Awesome as her power seems to men, our final impression of it is not one of malevolence but of sustaining, positive strength.

Our positive view of Janakiraman's conception of feminine strength is confirmed by the positive terms in which he presents the effect of the strength of women on the men in their lives. In practical terms, the relationships are successful. Appu gets over his idealistic, one-sided view of women and learns to relate to women as complete human beings by accepting Indu both physically and emotionally. Bhūvaragan proceeds from his understanding of Sengammā to a better understanding of human beings in general, while Palagi finds the most fulfilling experience of his life in his first - and last - private encounter with Sengammā. As we have seen, Bābu learns to resolve his dichotomous view of human nature through his relationship with Yamunā and Caṭṭam grows as a human being by confronting the different aspects of human strength he finds in the women who play significant roles in his life. With each of these men, the intimate relationship he has with a strong woman leads him to a better understanding of himself and humanity.

Janakiraman speaks of the voyage of discovery undertaken by his heroes in terms of the most profound experience in the Hindu worldview: ultimate union with Godhead, non-duality, Bliss.³³ The men find their encounters with feminine power in all its dimensions-physical, intellectual and emotional-to be transcendental experiences which can be spoken of only in religious terminology. The experience itself proceeds from the sensual to the sublimely spiritual. When Indu tells Appu of her love for him :

His face and arms broke out in goosebumps. A chill spread over his head and through his stomach and the soles of his feet... For a while he was gasping for breath, overwhelmed by this pure, total flood of happiness that was flowing all over him.. A shiver ran down his spine. How could he bear this? They say that God is Bliss. But how can one bear such bliss? How do men live on in the flesh to speak of something which is total Bliss?³⁴

Daṇḍapaṇi reflects on a unique sexual encounter with his wife :

He thought of Bhartṛhari's words : They who have never known the communion of merging with woman, it is they who go about speaking (in vain) of supreme Bliss. Surely, he thought, Bhartṛhari must have written that verse in the wake of a duality-effacing union such as this one that he, Daṇḍāpāṇi, had just experienced.⁵⁵

Bhūvarāgaṇ's most intense awareness of his attraction to Sengammā comes immediately after an actual religious experience.

He was lying on the floor, prostrated by his religious experience. When he opened his eyes he was aware of all the townsfolk in his living room, but then, among all those women he could see Sengammā alone, like a lone blossom. It was as though her presence filled the entire house.⁵⁶

Words fail him when he tries to describe the strength of this woman, the fulness of her love; language and imagery prove to be entirely inadequate in expressing his feelings.

The way Sengammā related to him and his family, with what could he compare it? Was it like a shower of blossoms? Like a stream of diamond-pins raining on one's head with the softness of down, the coldness of snow?⁵⁷

Paṇṇi, the second protagonist in *TH*, reacts to his encounter with Sengammā with the same intensity of feeling. After years of admiring Sengammā from a far, he gets to meet her alone when she comes to take over the town accounts and finances from him. For one long moment he holds her in his arms, and in that moment becomes a supremely happy man: many misunderstandings are cleared up in the brief but intense talk he has with her. He dies a fulfilled human being, free of the strife and bitterness which characterised him before his enlightening meeting with a truly compassionate woman. Paṇṇi writes a letter of farewell to Sengammā and her husband, and in it he tells them how much that meeting means to him :

When I think of that moment I was granted, I feel as though I have drunk a handful of pure honey. Honey is sweet as you swallow it, but for a long time after, it sears the walls of the heart like fire. It is this feeling that I have now, for I have drunk of all the fulness of life. It burns like fire, and I have burned my bundle of old rags in it...It is that fire which tastes sweet. It tastes sweet *because* it burns.⁵⁸

in the conclusion to Paḷaṇi's testament we find the essence of Janakiraman's view of feminine strength :

What a privilege! What a rare privilege it is to have met a real human being!⁸⁹

Strong women like Sengamma are able to express the admirable human feelings of compassion and love at their fullest; they are able to do this with calmness and grace. In this respect, such women are not just *relatively* good or strong-i.e. not strong merely in comparison to men-but are strong in an absolute sense, for they are *complete* human beings. Janakiraman is clearly saying that feminine power is positive and nourishing because men like Paḷaṇi and Bābu, why seek to understand it, can thereby become 'whole' as human beings.

CONCLUSION

In the four novels under consideration here, T. Janakiraman is expounding - often in a clearly didactic tone - several ideas about feminine power that are new to the Tamil novel. He defines feminine strength not in terms of negative concepts such as aggression and malevolence but in terms of the positive idea of self-assurance. In doing so, he is rejecting the dichotomous view of women that has hitherto dominated Tamil literature, the view that woman is either a passive sufferer or a powerful aggressor. In particular, by severing the association of female sexuality from malevolence, Janakiraman is able to portray women characters and their role in male-female relationships less defensively and somewhat more realistically than any other Tamil author of our time. He has given a new dimension, that of psychological depth, to the treatment of human sexuality in the Tamil novel. Furthermore, he dispenses with the notion that feminine strength is dependent on external circumstances such as economic independence, and that it can be regulated by societal control. He internalizes the source and locus of power in women: as he sees it, it lies in their ability to successfully integrate the diverse aspects of their complex nature as human beings.

Janakiraman writes in Tamil, a Dravidian language; he was brought up in the largely Sanskritic (Aryanized) Brahmin tradition of South India and he is well acquainted with the literary cultural traditions of the West. We can discern all these cultural influences at work in his treatment of women characters. His positive conception of female sexuality no doubt derives in part from the influence of Western, individualistic views of femininity. The view that woman—as an individual—has as much of a right as man to make her sexual choices and decisions is a

western idea; and under the present conditions of South Indian society, it is clearly an idealistic and unrealistic view. While standing up for equality and freedom for the sexes in emotional and sexual fulfilment, Janakiraman is operating in a social vacuum: we hear nothing, or very little, about the censure and turmoil that must necessarily arise in a Tamil village or small town over the kind of relationship that is portrayed as developing - in the open—between Sengammā and Bhūvaragan or Alaṅkaram and Śivasu. Even when social criticism is mentioned, as in the case of Indu and Appu, it remains at the hypothetical level and is ultimately disregarded. However, we cannot accusel Janakiraman of hypocrisy in this respect, since he makes no secret of the fact that he is painting an idealized picture of feminine strength.⁴⁰

For all its 'modernity', its Western emphasis on individualism and freedom of choice, in some important ways the author's ideal of femininity is drawn from some basic notions about femininity in the Hindu tradition. Janakiraman appears to hold that there is a feminine mystique, that women are naturally and inexplicably endowed with a mysterious kind of power that is not directly accessible to men. He speaks of this power in mystical terms and maintains that it is awesome and dynamic. Here he is drawing on an ancient indigenous idea of feminine strength: the concept of *Śakti*, feminine power as the dynamic principle of the universe, best articulated in the Tantric tradition of Hinduism.⁴¹ In common with the Śāktas and others in the Hindu tradition who believe in the 'feminine mysteries,' Janakiraman also believes in the "transformative character" of the feminine.⁴² Like *Śakti* the strong woman in his novels helps the inquiring man attain final release—*mukti*—from the 'narrow separatenesses and pluralities' of human existence.

In the final analysis, however, Janakiraman's view of feminine strength is too complex, too much a product of diverse cultural influences on a writer of great creative talent, to be neatly reduced to any one cultural - religious equation involving feminine power and human liberation. His views of *Śakti* and *mukti* are qualitatively different from those of the Hindu cults and systems of thought where they originated. In Hindu Tantra *Śakti* is a potentially violent energy: it can be destructive as well as creative. Janakiraman, on the other hand, emphasizes, the positive nature of *Śakti* and rejects its aggressive aspect. His ideal woman is strong, but she does not "shout the truth out in the market place". Again Hindu orthodox views release from

transmigratory existence as a total effacing of the ego through a final merging with Godhead. To Janakiraman, to be 'liberated' means to be strong, to become a more complete human being. He presents his strong women as people who have attained this end, and who reach out—from their strength—to others to help them attain it.

Janakiraman looks upon feminine power as praiseworthy not because it is *feminine* but because it is a *human* strength.⁴³ He suggests that though to begin with, it is naturally and clearly manifested in women, it need not be confined to them and that men can and must assimilate it. Janakiraman's conception of human strength is a normative one: it advocates the idea of a common humanity in which male-female differences will be merely biological and incidental. The strength of women as he perceives it—is his norm for human strength. While Janakiraman may or may not be justified in holding such a view of humanity, this must be said of his work: the treatment of women characters in his novels strikes a positive note in a literature which has long painted a grim and dismal picture of feminine power.

NOTES

1. From the preface to Vedanayakam Pillai's *Piratāpa Mutaliyār Carittiram*, as quoted in Clark, P. 185.
2. For instance, though Gnanambal performs heroic deeds in *Piratāpa Mutaliyār*, these are considered praiseworthy only because they are performed with her husband's interest in view, and because she acts under 'a fortuitous combination of circumstances over which she has no control'. Clark, P. 186 n.
3. Hart, 1973, is the pioneering work on this idea. See also: Babb, 1970; Roy, 1975 (Pp. 50, 94, 120 *et passim*); Yocum., 1976 and Wadley, 1976.
4. Wadley, 1976, 12. I am grateful to Ms. Wadley for permitting me to quote from the draft copy of her article. The words 'power' and 'nature' in parentheses are mine.
5. abbr. *TP*.
6. Relationships with elder by women are taboo in Hindu Brahmin society.
7. She is from a different caste; inter-caste marriages are not permitted.
8. abbr. *M*.
9. abbr. *TH*.
10. abbr. *CR*.
11. Periyaṇṇi = lit. 'elder brother's wife', sister-in-law.
12. *CR*. P. 295.
13. *CR*. Pp. 297-8.
14. *TH*. Pp. 113-14.
15. *M*. P. 84.
16. *M*. P. 86.
17. *M*. P. 87.
18. Janakiraman clearly states in his novels that there is no correlation between knowledge and formal education. Thus Sengammā in *TH* is respected for her intelligence no less than Anasūyā, her highly-educated counterpart.

19. *TH*. P. 267.
 20. *TH*. P. 153.
 21. *Ibid*. Pp. 156-7.
 22. *M*. P. 34.
 23. In spite of Kamil Zvelebil's contention that Janakiraman, "though brave enough to choose a delicate and explosive theme, is not courageous enough to be entirely frank-e.g. in dealing with Indu's sensuality, with sex in general." Zvelebil, P. 298.
 24. In orthodox Hindu society a woman's sexual life ends with the death of her husband. Indu is a victim of the institution of child-marriage, and was widowed before she reached womanhood.
 25. *M*. P. 47.
 26. *M*. P. 178. This scene is reminiscent of the description in D.H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* of Mrs. Morel in her moonlit garden (though the emotional context is rather different there). Lawrence, P. 24.
 27. *TP*. P. 806.
 28. *TH*. P. 46.
 29. *TP*. P. 294.
 30. *Ibid*. P. 295.
 31. *CR*. P. 436.
 32. *Ibid*. p. 438.
 33. Best expressed in the philosophy of *advaita* (non-dualistic) Vedanta.
 34. *MP*. 34.
 35. *Ibid*, P. 95.
 36. *TH*. P. 45.
 37. *Ibid*. P. 105.
 38. *Ibid*, P. 287.
 39. *Ibid*. P. 287.
 40. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that Janakiraman is praised for the fidelity with which he portrays the everyday life, the dialect and customs of the villages of Tanjavur, a district in Tamilnadu.
 41. See : Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*.
 42. Neumann, Pp. 24-38. "In the transformative character, the accent is on the dynamic element of the psyche, which, in contrast to the conservative tendency of the elementary character, drives toward motion, change, and in a word, transformation. *Ibid*, P. 23.
 43. "The message he has to convey is always a message of goodwill, an exhortation to more human humanity." Zvelebil, P. 300.
- N.B. All translations of passages from T. Janakiraman's novels are mine.

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South India and Sri Lanka, A. D. 1450-1650, Political, Commercial and Cultural Relations

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In the history of the relations between South India and Sri Lanka the period selected for the present study has been a most important one as it witnessed the development of an atmosphere of close cooperation in politics and commerce on an unprecedented scale. Sri Lanka and South India formed one trading unit and the trade of this whole region was largely in the hands of Muslim and other traders operating from the ports of Malabar, Coromandel and the Sri Lankan littoral, during the period of nearly three centuries preceding the Portuguese conquest of Maritime Sri Lanka. The pattern of this trade which had developed into a system was slightly altered after the establishment of Portuguese power in the region.

The thrust of Portuguese power in the sixteenth century and the threat it posed to the political and economic independence of the states in Sri Lanka and South India forced a pattern of close friendships and cooperation among imaginative rulers who sought to preserve their security and safeguard their economic interests. Sri Lankan rulers engaged in warfare against their local rivals and the Portuguese had to obtain mercenaries from the South Indian kingdoms. As in the past South Indian traders and artisans settled in the island in substantial numbers and their settlements made some impact on social and cultural life in the island.

Political Relations

There has been no major South Indian invasion directed against any Sinhalese kingdom after the reign of Devaraya II (1422-46) when Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka organized an expedition against the Sri Lankan kingdoms. The claim of 'having levied tribute from *Ilam*', *Ilam tirai-koṭṭa*, made conventionally in inscriptions, on behalf of the three successive Vijayanagara rulers, Krishnadeva Raya (1509-29), Achyuta Raya (1529-42) and Sadāsiva (1542-76) may be construed as one made with reference to the kingdom of Jaffna in the northern part of the island as that kingdom was considered as one falling within the orbit

of the tributary overlordship of the Vijayanagara rulers. How regularly and in what form that tribute was collected from the rulers of Jaffna could at present only be a matter of speculation.

The Ārya Cakravartti, Kanagasūriyan, who was dispossessed of his kingdom around A.D. 1450 by the armies of Parākramabahu VI (1412-1467) of Kotte, after a long sojourn in South India, regained possession of his kingdom around 1467 largely with the support of South Indian princes. His dependence on Tanjore for the periodical supply of mercenary troops may perhaps explain the overlordship claimed over the king of Jaffna by the Nayak of Tanjore since the mid sixteenth century. Portuguese presence in the island and the threats posed by their activities made the king of Jaffna increasingly dependent on Tanjore. The kings of Kandy and Sitawake also obtained periodically mercenary troops from Madura and Tanjore.

The Zamorin of Calicut, the principal ruler of Malabar who resisted Portuguese attempts to secure a hegemonic position on the Malabar coast provided military support to Sinhalese rulers during a period of twenty years since 1518. The Zamorin's support was sought and obtained by the Sinhalese monarch against the Portuguese and their allies. The Zamorin was perhaps the only South Indian ruler to have realized from the very beginning that the Portuguese presence represented a great threat to the security and economic independence of his state. He was therefore only too keen to assist any ruler in the region who opposed the Portuguese and the extension of their influence. Some of the Sri Lankan rulers discovered that the strength of the Portuguese lay in their superior fire power and sea power and realized that they could not combat the Portuguese without the support of a sea power. In the Zamorin they found a worthy ally whose fleet could on occasions match Portuguese naval power and provide relief in times of stress. The Zamorin found that the treaty of peace he had concluded with the Portuguese in 1513 during the Viceroyalty of Albuquerque could not be in force as the Portuguese were violating it and indulging in hostile acts and he decided on a vigorous anti-Portuguese policy once again.¹ Intervention in the local conflicts in the island from his point of view offered the prospects for the diversion of Portuguese war efforts beyond the confines of Malabar.

The first Sri Lankan ruler who is known to have sought and obtained assistance from the Zamorin against the Portuguese was Vijayabahu VI (1513-1521), the ruler of the kingdom of Kotte which comprised the western and south western parts of the island. The Portuguese who had

obtained permission to put up a factory in Colombo had constructed a fortress which caused annoyance to the ruler of Kotte and the local population. The local Muslim traders who saw in the Portuguese fortification a veritable threat to their interests convinced the ruler of Kotte that the continued existence of the Portuguese fort constituted an *infringement of his sovereignty*. Vijayabāhu, on his failure to have the fortress dismantled through persuasion, had recourse to force and in his attempt he was supported by a force sent by the Zamorin. In 1518 the ruler of Malabar had sent to the island eight galliots under the command of Pachi Marakkar. Once this Malabar force reached the island a concerted attack was launched against the Portuguese fort but its defenders inflicted heavy losses on their assailants. On the failure of this attempt Pachi Marakkar returned to Malabar after assuring the ruler of Sitawake that he would be back with a much larger force. In the meantime the Portuguese in India who had been informed of the events in the island had sent reinforcements from Cochin to Colombo. Antonio Miranda de Azevedo who was taking these re-inforcements encountered Pachi Marakkar on the Malabar Coast and destroyed three of his ships.² Vijayabāhu had to reconcile himself with the failure of his attempt to dismantle the Portuguese fortress. Some years later, in 1521 he lost his life in a rebellion organized by his three sons on the suspicion that they were threatened with disinheritance. The three princes divided the kingdom among themselves and the struggle between two of the three rulers of the divided kingdom provided opportunities for the Portuguese to gain a foothold and ultimately become its rulers towards the end of the sixteenth century. Bhuvanekabāhu, the eldest of the three brothers, who received the main portion of the kingdom of Kotte could not *maintain his position against his able, warlike and ambitious younger brother*, Mayadune, who was the ruler of the newly created kingdom of Sitawake. He was therefore inclined to lean towards the Portuguese from the beginning and in due course entered into an agreement with them by which the Portuguese were bound to provide military support to the king of Kotte while the king gave them substantial concessions with regard to commerce and Christian missionary enterprise.

The Zamorin, presumably with a view to prevent the new ruler succumbing to Portuguese pressures, sent to Bhuvanekabāhu one of his sea captains Ali Hassan, with four galliots and a promise of support against the Portuguese in case he commenced hostilities against them. Bhuvanekabāhu, not only declined this offer but took stern measures against the local Muslims who sought to promote an alliance between him and the Zamorin against the Portuguese.³

Consequently, the Muslims threw in their lot with Mayadune who received them and extended many favours in the hope of securing their support for his political designs. On the persuasion of the Muslims and the Malabars, he sent a mission to the Zamorin with many presents and offers of tribute and facilities for his ships in the ports of his kingdom. The mission sent by Mayadune was received with great enthusiasm at Calicut and the Zamorin who did not want to miss an opportunity of avenging the Portuguese for all the losses they inflicted on him decided to respond favourably to Mayadune's request for military aid. In 1535 he organized an expedition under the command of Pachi Marakkar who was provided with a force of 8,000 men. *Kuñcali* Marakkar and Ali Ibrahim were also instructed to join the expedition but eventually both of them excused themselves on grounds of illness. The expeditionary force assembled at Ponnani from where it set out in the direction of Sri Lanka. When Mayadune was informed of the Zamorin's preparations he put his armies on a warfooting and made preparations to invade the kingdom of his brother to whom he is said to have sent an ultimatum demanding that Bhuvanekabāhu should submit to his overlordship or else be prepared to face the consequences of an invasion. The king of Kotte who was naturally disturbed by the threats of Mayadune and the information regarding the movements of the Malabar fleet immediately applied to the Portuguese in India for support. In response to this appeal the Portuguese authorities sent Martin Affonso de Melo Juzarte and others with eight large sails, a galleon and two galliots towards Colombo. In the meanwhile Mayadune besieged Kotte with an army of 30,000 soldiers which was soon joined by the Malabar army under Pachi Marakkar. The Portuguese soldiers under Freyre, Captain of Colombo, fought with such valour and efficiency that Mayadune and his Malabar allies failed to carry the day. When they learnt of the arrival of Portuguese reinforcements from Goa, Mayadune and his allies decided to retreat. As Mayadune insisted that a stronger army had to be assembled for resuming the war Pachi Marakkar returned to Malabar with his force evading in the process Portuguese attempts to intercept his fleet.*

Despite the failure of this attempt to reduce Bhuvanekabāhu to a subordinate position, Mayadune did not give up hopes of achieving his objective and made further appeals to the Zamorin for support. In the following years Pachi Marakkar visited Mayadune on a few occasions and urged him to resume hostilities against the king of Kotte and assured him of the Zamorin's support in the event of war. Mayadune on his part corresponded with the Zamorin again requesting for military support. He also promised to pay the Zamorin the cost of the expedition

and the losses that might be incurred by his forces. The negotiations between Mayadune and the ruler of Calicut resulted in a resumption of the war in the island. In the beginning of October 1536, the Zamorin sent an expeditionary force of 4,000 men with 45 rowing ships under the command of Ali Ibrahim. When this force reached the island it was joined by that of Mayadune and the city of Kotte was soon besieged by the combined army. Having learnt of these developments Martin Affonso de Souza set out to Colombo from Cochin with 300 Portuguese soldiers and eleven ships.⁶ Mayadune and his Malabar allies, disheartened at the prospect of Portuguese re-inforcements reaching Colombo, raised the siege and made peace with Bhuvanekabahu. Apparently the allies did not want to risk an open confrontation with Portuguese garrison in the island which was strengthened with re-inforcements from India.

On the cessation of hostilities with the king of Kotte Ali Ibrahim left with his fleet to Malabar only to be pursued by the Portuguese fleet. He was forced into an encounter off Mangalore and in a bitterly fought battle with the Portuguese his fleet was defeated and virtually destroyed.⁷ Yet, this defeat did not deter the Zamorin from espousing further the cause of the Sinhalese monarch. Mayadune who was highly shaken by the news of the defeat of his ally sent a mission to the ruler of Calicut to convince him that the security of his kingdom depended on the continuation of the war.

As considerations of honour and strategy demanded the continuation of the war effort the Zamorin responded favourably to Mayadune's appeal and another large fleet was assembled and placed under the command of Pachi Marakkar, *Kun'cali* Marakkar and Ali Ibrahim. The fleet consisted of 47 ships manned with 8,000 men. Ali Ibrahim set out from Pudupattanam and joined Pachi Marakkar at Ponnani. They were joined by ten other ships which had set out from *Chale*. The combined fleet set out from Ponnani in the beginning of December 1537 and proceeded to attack all the Portuguese vessels they came across. In the meanwhile Mayadune repudiated his agreement with his brother, the king of Kotte, and threatened to invade his kingdom. The Portuguese were duly informed of the developments in Malabar and the island and Bhuvanekabahu made a fresh appeal for the supply of Portuguese troops to secure the defence of his kingdom. The Portuguese decided to forestall the war in the island by launching a major attack on the Zamorin's fleet before it could reach the island and provide support to Mayadune. On the 20th of February, 1538 the Zamorin's fleet suffered a catastrophic defeat and most of his ships were captured or burnt.⁸

Still, Mayadune lost no hopes of getting further aid from the ruler of Calicut. He maintained close contacts with the Zamorin and urged him to send another force to support him. The Zamorin had remained resolute inspite of the defeats suffered by his fleets at the hands of the Portuguese and by this time was not driven to desperation as he was in alliance with Cambay and was encouraged by the prospect of the arrival of the Turkish fleet under Sulaiman Pasha of Egypt with whom he was in friendly correspondence. Moreover, as Mayadune was in a position to mobilise a larger army than in previous years on account of his acquisition of the principality of Raygama on the death of its ruler the Zamorin was prompted to send out yet another expedition to support Mayadune in his wars against Bhuvanekabāhu and the Portuguese.

On the Zamorin's instructions Pachi Marakkar and his brother *Kuñcali* set out from Ponnani with sixteen ships and reached Puttalam on the west coast of the island where they disembarked. The Portuguese who had the advantage of receiving information about the movement of the Malabar fleet soon followed up with their vessels. While Pachi Marakkar and Kuñcali had moved inland with a part of their force their ships were unexpectedly attacked and destroyed by the Portuguese. The two generals fought in the armies of Mayadune but the war did not proceed according to Mayadune's expectations. The forces of Bhuvanekabāhu and his Portuguese auxiliaries advanced in the direction of Sitawake the fall of which seemed imminent. The invaders threatened to destroy his capital and take Mayadune prisoner unless he agreed to surrender the Malabars. Mayadune urged Pachi Marakkar and *Kuñcali* to go into hiding but by a curious circumstance the heads of the Malabar generals were delivered to Bhuvanekabāhu and his allies.⁸ Thus ended the career of two of the most remarkable sea captains who had served under the Zamorin. Their tragic fate also terminated the alliance between Mayadune and the ruler of Malabar. The ruler of Calicut who had suffered heavy losses in warfare which had interrupted commerce and had adversely affected the economic prosperity of his subjects was convinced of the futility of continuing the war against the Portuguese. Therefore by the beginning of 1539, he began to entertain proposals for a peace treaty which was signed after protracted negotiations in 1540.⁹

Although the Zamorin had sent out five expeditions to support the Sinhalese rulers against the Portuguese and their allies his armies could not claim any sensational victory in the island. The expeditions sent-out to Sri Lanka had been very costly affairs and on two occasions the Zamorin's fleets sent out to Sri Lanka were almost virtually destroyed

Such defeats indicated that he had lost mastery over the sea on the Malabar coast. The strategy of his naval commanders was to evade an open conflict with the Portuguese fleet which had the decisive advantage of superior fire power, and harass and damage Portuguese shipping on the Indian coasts. Pachi Marakkar and his colleagues who led the Zamorin's fleet to the island always adopted the same strategy. But, in their case, this strategy had a great disadvantage as the Portuguese based at Cochin were always kept promptly informed of the movements of the Zamorin's fleet and whenever it sailed in the direction of the Sri Lankan littoral the Portuguese were always in a position to send their ships to pursue the Malabar fleet and send re-inforcements to the Portuguese garrison in Colombo. Despite the failure of the expeditions he had sent to Sri Lanka and the enormous losses he suffered on their account it cannot be said that the Zamorin's efforts were altogether in vain. His measures amounted to an escalation of the conflict originally confined to Malabar. They created a diversion and may be said to have reduced in some measure the concentration of Portuguese military effort in Malabar. Mayadune, however, could not achieve his ambition even with the Zamorin's support. If there was any lesson which the Sri Lankan rulers could learn from the experience of their alliance with the Zamorin against their rivals supported by the Portuguese it was that the Portuguese could be faced and defeated in straight battles only with the support of an adequately strong naval power, a one much stronger than that the Zamorin could provide. The Zamorin had, however, proved to be a trustworthy ally and does not appear to have made any specific demands in return for the support he had provided, his primary aim being the curtailment of the expansion of Portuguese power in the region.

The Malabar fleet seems to have appeared on the Sri Lankan coast on two subsequent occasions, many years later, in an effort to oppose the Portuguese. In 1591, *Puvirāja Pandaram*, the king of Jaffna, launched an attack against the Portuguese fortifications at Mannar with the support of Kata Musa Marakkar of Malabar.¹⁰ Once again a small Malabar fleet appeared in the Gulf of Mannar, in March 1619. Dom Pedro Rodriguez, a cousin of the last *Kuñcali* admiral of Calicut appeared off Jaffna with five armed vessels, presumably at the request of Sankili, the last ruler of Jaffna, and was inflicting great damage on Portuguese shipping. When the Portuguese under the Captain of Mannar attacked the Malabar fleet they were badly defeated by Dom Pedro and lost three hundred men and twelve out of the eighteen boats they had engaged in the fighting.¹¹ Yet, Dom Pedros' victory did not provide any political

gain to him or the king of Jaffna who was soon defeated by the Portuguese and his kingdom was absorbed into what was then called *Portuguese Estado da India*.

With the decline of central authority in Vijayanagara and the emergence of the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura to a position of independence in the Tamil country the overlordship over the kingdom of Jaffna claimed earlier by the Vijayanagara rulers had devolved on the Nayak of Tanjore. In the mid sixteenth century when Bhuvanekabāhu VII of Kotte had sent a mission to the court of Jaffna demanding that his claim to suzerainty should be accepted by the ruler of Jaffna he was promptly informed that this demand could not be accepted as it would lead to hostilities with the ruler of Tanjore who was the suzerain.¹² Bhuvanekabāhu had to acquiesce with this reality. The Kings of Jaffna recruited most of their mercenary troops from South India and in the sixteenth century Tanjore provided most of such troops to Jaffna. The Hindu Tamils who inhabited the kingdom of Jaffna had close cultural and commercial ties with Tanjore and Madura. The conflicts with the Portuguese made the ruler of Jaffna lean heavily on Tanjore for support. The Nayak of Tanjore had supplied troops to Sankili (1519-1561) and all his successors in their wars against the Portuguese during the sixteenth century. In the last stages of the conflict between the Portuguese and the rulers of Jaffna, in the early seventeenth century, the Nayak of Tanjore became directly involved in the conflict. Raghunātha Nayak made a strong bid to defend the Kingdom of Jaffna from the Portuguese conquest.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Kingdom of Jaffna in Northern Sri Lanka had declined on account of internal dissensions in the form of succession disputes and factionalism among the landed aristocracy which held positions of authority and influence in the administration of the kingdom. The wars against the Portuguese had exhausted the limited resources of the ruler and by 1551 the Portuguese had established their claim to suzerainty by a treaty concluded with the ruler Ethirmannasingham, who had the throne name Pararajasekharan.¹³ In 1617 the regent Arasakesari and most of the members of the royal family were killed in an uprising led by Sankilikumaran who seized authority in the Kingdom and claimed the regency. The Portuguese acquiesced with the new situation and confirmed Sankili in the regency. He was soon ousted from power in a rebellion organized by Dom Philip and Dom Louis, two local chieftains who had been converted to Christianity, with the connivance of the Portuguese settled in the kingdom. Sankili fled to Mannar and requested the Portuguese Captain

posted there for help to recover his authority. The latter unwilling to support Sankili against a movement that was led by pro-Portuguese elements. Sankili therefore turned to the Nayak of Tanjore for support. Raghunātha Nayak espoused the cause of Sankili and sent a force of five thousand men under *Varuṇa Kulattāṇ*, the veteran leader of the maritime people of the Coromandel coast, with instructions to put down the uprising against Sankili. *Varuṇa Kulattāṇ* landed in Jaffna, crushed the rebellion and restored Sankili to authority, defeating the attempts of the rebels to invite a prince of Jaffna who was sojourning in Rameshwaram.¹⁵

The success of *Varuṇa Kulattāṇ* had, for the time being, reduced Jaffna to the position of a protectorate of Tanjore and thereafter Sankili's authority was dependent primarily on the Tanjore army. The Pro-Portuguese Christian minority in Jaffna did not reconcile itself with this situation nor was it acceptable to the Portuguese as the Nayak's successful intervention amounted to a challenge to their authority and was deemed very prejudicial to their political authority and military power in the region. Although the King of Portugal had instructed the Viceroy de Azevedo (1612-1617) earlier to conquer the Kingdom of Jaffna as it was a route for the supply of South Indian troops to the Kingdom of Kandy in the centre of the island the Viceroy found that he was not in a position to mobilise enough forces to accomplish it. The new Viceroy Dom Joao Coutinho and the Portuguese authorities in the island decided in 1618 that the conquest of Jaffna was by then an urgent need and a task that could be accomplished.¹⁶ The Captain General Constantine de Sa and his deputy Filipe de Oliveira invaded the Kingdom and occupied it in 1619. Sankili was captured while attempting to escape and was taken to Goa where he died later.¹⁷ Yet, it took some time and more effort by the Portuguese to consolidate their authority in the conquered kingdom.

The Hindus of Jaffna did not reconcile themselves immediately to Portuguese rule and could look forward to the Nayak of Tanjore for support. Even Dom Louis, a Christian convert who earlier led the revolt against Sankili soon found himself disillusioned, turned against the Portuguese and led the resistance against them. Dom Louis proceeded to Tanjore with two princesses who had been under his custody and urged the Nayak to intervene in the affairs of Jaffna and raise to authority the only surviving prince of the Jaffna royalty who was sojourning at Rameshwaram. Raghunātha acceded to the request of Dom Louis and organized an expedition to Jaffna. Dom Louis proceeded with a force of thousand men and landed at Talaimannar in

March 1620. As he proceeded to Jaffna his force grew in strength day by day in numbers and finally he attacked the Portuguese with a force of three thousand men at Nallur but was beaten by the Portuguese with the support of local Christians and re-inforcements sent from Colombo.¹⁸ Dom Louis escaped to Tanjore and appealed again to Raghunatha for aid.

Raghunatha sent a larger force again, under the leadership of *Varuṇa Kulattāṇ* who landed at Tondaimanaru on the 5th of December 1620 with an army of two thousand men and was welcomed by the local inhabitants. The encounter between the Tanjore army and the Portuguese proved to be indecisive at Nallur and the Portuguese retired to Jaffna to await re-inforcements. After the arrival of a relief force consisting of ninety Portuguese and one thousand Sinhalese lascarins on the 14th of January 1621 De Oliveria attacked and destroyed the Tanjore army at Jaffna and Kopay and *Varuṇa kulattāṇ* also was killed. Another force sent by the Nayak to re-inforce *Varuṇakulattāṇ's* army landed at Achchuvelly only to be ambushed and destroyed by the Portuguese on 11th, February 1621.²⁰ Thereafter Raghunatha sent no further expedition to Jaffna and the Portuguese were able to consolidate their power in that Kingdom.

Jaffna had close political, commercial and cultural contacts with Tanjore and it was decidedly in the interest of Tanjore to have it under her influence and even control. Yet, it would appear that religious sentiment was the prime consideration which prompted Raghunatha to send expeditionary forces to Jaffna. The establishment of Portuguese power represented a grave threat to traditional Hindu culture which was suppressed in Jaffna as soon as the Portuguese conquered that kingdom. Although Raghunātha's armies had enjoyed popular support they had three major disadvantages. They were not sufficiently strong in numbers and equipment to sustain a prolonged campaign and the Nayak who was pre-occupied with his struggles against powerful neighbours in South India was perhaps not in a position to send out an adequately strong force. Another serious drawback was that Tanjore, unlike the Zamorin, had no naval power and the Portuguese who had a decisive advantage on that score could send re-inforcements from Colombo and their bases in South India. The Tanjore army was by no means a match to the Portuguese in discipline and the use of fire power and the small and open plain of the Jaffna peninsula could be held under control without much difficulty by a small Portuguese garrison with its superior military technology and the support of sea-power. The consolidation of Portuguese power in Jaffna, however, did not by any means constitute a threat to the security of Tanjore.

South Indians migrated to Sri Lanka in substantial numbers during this period as in the preceding ones and were gradually assimilated into the local population in different parts of the island. Their absorption within the framework of the local societies tended to accentuate further the impact of South Indian influences on social and cultural institutions. Much of the available information relating to the settlement of South Indians in Sri Lanka concerns mercenaries, sea-faring communities, traders and Brahmins who came into contact with the administrative and religious establishments. Some of them had risen to positions of authority and influence within one or the other of the kingdoms that flourished in the island. In the fourteenth century two of the influential families which held positions of authority in the Gampola Kingdom, these of *Alakakkōṇārs* and *Senilakkādhikara*, were of Malayalam origin. The post of Chief Minister in that kingdom was for sometime confined to the *Alakakkōṇārs* family which had established ties of kinship with the ruling family. Two members of that family Virabāhu and *Vira Alakēśva* had assumed royal power. The ancestors of the *Alakakkōṇārs* were merchants who had gone to the island from *Vāñcipura* in South India.²¹ *Senilakkādhikara* who held the post of chief minister and his descendants who had titles which were of Tamil or Malayalam origin were *menavar* of Malabar origin.²²

Two Sinhalese texts, the *Mukkaru hatana* and the *Malala kathāva* seem to record in a confused manner traditions concerning communities of South Indian origin found in the Kotte Kingdom. They were presumably intended to serve as instruments of legitimation for the claims made to rank and social precedence of chiefs of communities of South Indian origin assimilated into a society based on the hierarchical scheme of social organization and administered by a government dependent on *raja-kāriya* or customary services for the discharge of its functions.

The migration of some maritime communities from the Coromandel and their settlement on the island's western littoral during the Kotte period is borne out by the following account of *Mukkara haṭana*.

When the monarch Parākramabāhu was ruling from the city of Kotte the Mukkaru established at Puttalam became hostile and fought a war against him. The King had consultations with his dignitaries as to how effectively he could deal with them and on their advice he sent messages to *Kāñcipuram*, *Kāverippaṭṭinam* and *Kiḷakkarai* with requests for the supply of mercenaries. In response to his appeal large numbers of warriors came from those localities and Parākramabāhu received

them and employed them against the Mukkaru of Puttalam. After eavy fighting that continued for several days and resulted in th e loss of hundreds of lives on either side the Mukkaru were defeated and their hortress was occupied.

As a reward for their services the mercenary soldiers were granted as hereditary possession lands in the villages of Madinnoruwa, Ānaulundava, Munnesvaram, Kammala, Periyamulla, Kolopiṭi and Mēgamuva. They were settled at Negombo and were given the privelege of trading at the ports of the Kingdom without the payment of taxes and port-dues.²³

Three important historical facts emerge from an examination of the account of the *Mukkaru haṭṭana* which records the traditions relating to the origins and settlement of the *Cūriṇa* clans of Negombo; The first is that King Parakramabāhu of Kotte had employed large numbers of South Indians, mainly from the Tamil country, in his armies. Secondly, some of these mercenaries were employed in his war against the chieftain of the principality of Puttalam. The third is that the South Indian mercenary troops employed by Parākramabāhu were settled at Negombo and several coastal villages where they were granted lands) presumably on life-tenure in return for military service. The reference to the war against the Mukkuvar of Puttalam in the account helps to identify King Parākramabāhu of Kotte as the sixth ruler of that name as he is known from the testimony of other sources to have fought and defeated the chieftain of the Mukkuvar.²⁴ It may be suggested that *Mukkaru haṭṭana* was written on the basis of some local tradition during the seventeenth century in order to authenticate the claims to land holdings, social status and administrative rank made by some of the maritime communities inhabiting the western littoral confined to the Kotte Kingdom. Inscriptions also testify to the employment of South Indians in the armies of the Kings of Kotte. For instance an epigraph of Vijayabāhu VI (1513-1521) mentions a person called *Veṇḍarasa koṇḍa perumā* who was a Captain of the King's body-guard.²⁵ This name suggests that he was of Tamil or Malayalam origin. The Kings of Kandy also employed South Indian troops in their attempts to build up their military power against the Portuguese. The Nayaks of Madura and Mylapore had sent contingents of Vadugai (Canarese and Telugu, troops to Vimaladharmasūriya, the King of Kandy out of political sympathies and because of the trade relations that existed between their territories and Kandy.²⁶

The *Malalakathāva*, another Sinhalese text which throws some light on the migrations of South indians to Sri Lanka, was written presumably

with the same motivation with which the *Mukkaru haṣana* was written. While the *Mukkaru haṣana* relates to the migrations of people from the Tamil country to the island the *Malala kathava* confines itself mainly to the social activities of people who had gone to the island from Malabar. It has as its main theme the description of the fortunes of the fortunes of mercenaries, and persons associated with the noosing and tethering of elephants. This text claims that the Malalas (people from *Malayāḷa*) came to the island in the reign of King Bhuvanekabāhu. It states: 'When prince Malala appeared before the King, the title of *Sinha Rājaguru* mudiyanse was conferred on him and lands were granted to him from the Siyana Korale, Udugampola, Kirawela, Mahara, Kandane, Wattala, Kelaraya, Nogoda, Bampane, Yatihena and Mudulupitiya'.²⁷ The text relates also about the assignment of soldiers to several Malayāḷa chiefs, one of whom was Panikki Rala who was made the chief the Veddās of the four Vannis (Hetigamana, Wenda Kaduwe, Māgalla and Olupukare). It also mentions that elephant hunts were conducted by the Malalas who were Commanders-in-chief of the *Vanni*s. King Parākramabāhu is said to have rewarded them for their skill in noosing and tethering elephants by conferring on them privileges and insignia of rank (*Camakaṭṭu*). It is also claimed that the four pattu of the *Vanni* were granted to the Malalas.²⁸ The names of the two kings Bhuvanekabāhu and Parākramabāhu are not easy of identification. Yet, as the *Malala kathava* refers to the association of the Kings with Chiefs of the Vanni involved in the elephant hunt and because the *Vanni*s were subjugated by Parākramabāhu VI after a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years when they had enjoyed independent status may suggest that the main events alluded to in the *Malala kathava* could be assigned to the Kotte period. The account of the *Malala kathava* may be construed as a confused version of some traditions concerning the employment of people from the *Malayāḷa* country as elephant hunters and soldiers some of whom in course of time rose to the positions of rank in the traditional scheme of administration and were granted lands in the outlying provinces of the Kotte Kingdom. Evidently the *Malayāḷi* origins of the people in whose interest the text was written and who were subsequently absorbed within the framework of Sinhalese society was not forgotten and was common knowledge in Society so that it could not be suppressed in an account which was primarily intended to authenticate claims to rank, property and social status. The employment of *Malayāḷis* and different capacities during the Kotte period is well attested by other and more reliable sources. Persons of Malayāḷi origin held positions of high rank in the administration and were even connected to

the royalty by ties of kinship. *Tiruvaraṅkam Perumāḷ* for instance, was the minister in charge of royal charters in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VII. According to the testimony of Portuguese chroniclers Sapumal otherwise called *Ceṇṇakapperumāḷ*, the adopted son of Parakramabāhu VI, who became King of Kotte with the throne name Bhuvanekabāhu, was the son of 'Panical', a soldier and horseman who had come from the hills of 'Tulunar' in Malabar. Sapumal's father, presumably, belonged to the stock of the Nair aristocracy.

The Paravans were one of the sea-faring communities who migrated to the island in considerable numbers during this period. Their migration to Mannar was effected under peculiar circumstances and in pursuance of a policy of colonization and settlement conceived as a means of securing Portuguese political and military power and the labours of missionary organizations. The activities of Francis Xavier had resulted in the conversion of large numbers of Paravans on the fishery coast of the Coromandel. The Christian converts were a source of support and strength to the Portuguese politically and economically as their political allegiance was transferred to the King of Portugal. Through the *Paravans* who were engaged in the pearl and chank fisheries the Portuguese sought to control the pearl and chank fisheries and monopolise the trade centred on the fisheries. The agents of the Nayak of Madura whose political and economic interests were threatened tended to retaliate against the Paravans by continual harassment. The Portuguese made vigorous efforts to settle the converted *Paravans* at the island of Mannar which they had conquered from the King of Jaffna in 1560. As a result of Portuguese efforts large numbers of Paravans left the fishery coast and proceeded to Mannar where they were settled and integrated with their kinsfolk who had been living in that island from earlier times.*⁹ Portuguese efforts to settle people from the fishery coast at Negombo and Chilaw did not meet with any success as the Paravans of the fishery coast could not be persuaded to migrate to such places in large numbers. They were able to settle only a few families of fishermen in like manner at Kalpitiya. The settlements of *Paravans* and other Tamil communities of seafarers that were found on the western littoral were the result of a gradual process spread over a long period of time and was linked with the commercial and seafaring activities of the people of the fishery coast in the period prior to the Portuguese conquest.

Another group of South Indians who migrated to Sri Lanka during this period were Brahmins. The development of littoral towns such as

Devinuvara where Hindu institutions flourished and the solicitude evinced by court circles were among the main attractions that induced some groups of adventurous Brahmins to leave their homes in India and settle down in the island. The Kudimirissa inscription of Parākramabāhu records the names of a number of Brahmins who received royal favours. Their names suggest that they were of Tamil or Telugu origin. *Vengadutturawaran, Taramalanadaran, Timmayaran, Savaiyan, Bala-chandra Paṇḍita, Subrahmaṇya bhaṭṭar, Tenuvarapperumāḷ, Ananda bhaṭṭar, Utakuḍaiya perumāḷ, Seṇpakapperumāḷ, Timma avadhānin, Srīrangarāyan* and *Tirumaṇikkāṣṭu mudaliyāran Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭar* are said to have been among the Brahmins who were granted the village of Koswinna in Siyane Korale.³⁰ There are several other references to the activities of Brahmins in inscriptions and literary texts belonging to this period.

Commercial Contacts

The Kingdoms of South India and Sri Lanka had very close trading connections during the whole of this period. All these Kingdoms had in fact formed one trading unit. The products of Sri Lanka which had a market in India were elephants, arecanuts, chanks and pearls and among them arecanuts and elephants were the two major items exported from the island. Almost the entire quantity of arecanuts exported from the island were consumed in South India which was the principal supplier of rice requirements in rice and cloth. It may not be inappropriate here to recall the following observations of S. Arasaratnam :

'But the trade which may be truly be termed the life-line of Ceylon's economy was that with Madura and the Coromandel coast. In fact, it may be said that Ceylon and South India formed one economic unit. The fertile and prosperous lands of Tanjore and Madura had always provided Ceylon with most of its necessities in food. Oxen were imported from there for the island's agriculture. These lands supplied the entire needs of Ceylon in clothing. In return Ceylon could give only arecanuts. But these nuts were consumed in large quantities all over South India that most of the imports could be paid off with this article. Owing to the small distance involved, this trade was in the hands of petty traders, scattered along the coasts of South India and Ceylon. For the greater part they were Muslims, but there was also a strong Hindu section, consisting of Chettiyars... These traders brought the cloth and such other goods as were needed and sold them wholesale to the middlemen who were chiefly Muslims from Ceylon. These

middlemen took the cloth into the villages and sold it to the villagers, collecting all the arecanuts in exchange. These nuts were brought back to the ports to be disposed to the Indian traders as they came. The trade has been carried for long and with such harmony, that there had grown up a community of interests between the people of Ceylon and the Indian traders... The coming of the Portuguese to Ceylon had not greatly changed the course of this trade.⁸¹

Sri Lanka which was more or less self sufficient in rice until the thirteenth century became deficient in food supplies after the abandonment of the major irrigation works in the north central plain. Thereafter there was a steep fall in rice production and large quantities of rice had to be imported to meet the requirements of the island's population. Sri Lanka was found to be dependent on Vijayanagara for its supplies of rice. Varthema for instance asserts: 'Rice does not grow in this country but it comes there from the mainland. The Kings of that country are tributaries to the Kings of Narsinga on that account.'⁸² Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most of the island's requirements in rice were obtained from the lands of Madura, Tanjore and Golconda. In 1589, for instance, the Qutb Shahi ruler of Golconda entered into a contract with the Portuguese authorities to supply each year 300 Candils of rice for provisioning the island.⁸³

Cloth was another important item which was imported into the island from South India where the textile industry had flourished from very early times. The lands of Madura, Tanjore and Golconda had large concentrations of weavers and painters of cloth of many varieties of fineness and quality. It was the cheap variety of coarse cotton cloth that was in great demand among the inhabitants of Kotte, Jaffna and Kandy. The main ports of all these Kingdoms had been flourishing centres of cloth trade during the whole of this period. The trade in cloth which was free and open to all on the payment of customary dues to the King's officials was handled by Muslim and Hindu traders operating from both sides of the Gulf of Mannar. The use of the word *redi* in Sinhalese to denote all types of cloth in general may also, perhaps, suggest that most of the cloth required within the island were obtained from South India.⁸⁴ *Redi* is believed to be a word of Dravidian origin having the primary meaning of coarse cotton cloth. The word *renda* which in Sinhalese is a name for lace, is also a word of Dravidian origin.⁸⁵ The possibility is that these words were introduced into Sinhalese usage by weavers brought from South India and assimilated into the Sinhalese population. Fabrics of fine texture and superior quality required for the royalty and the highest dignitaries of state were some-

times designed and produced by weavers brought from South India. Local traditions claim that some of the Kings of Jaffna had brought weavers and painters of cloth from the Tamil country during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with a view to promote the textile industry. In the seventeenth century the Dutch sought to promote the weaving and dyeing industries in Jaffnapatnam by settling South Indian weavers and painters of cloth.⁸⁶

Elephants were another important item of merchandise in the lucrative trade between South India and Sri Lanka. They roamed in herds of hundreds in the jungle covered tracts of the island and were to be found in all the three major kingdoms. They were caught and tamed in substantial numbers through an elaborate organization based on *raja-kariya* service. The elephants of Ceylon were considered to be of a superior breed and valued for their size, strength, intelligence and adaptability. There was a demand for them in India where they were used for dragging loads, in ceremonial processions, and in war. They were supplied to the Sultans of Delhi, the Moghul emperors, the rulers of Vijayanagara, Golconda, and the Bahmani Kingdom, and to the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madurai.⁸⁷ The catching and sale of elephants within the island was a royal monopoly but the trade outside the island was free and open to all. The great Telugu merchant Avachi *Tippaya Chetty* of Nellore who had commercial dealings with the courts of Bahmani, Vijayanagara and Golconda, in the fifteenth century, is said to have taken elephants from Ceylon to India.⁸⁸ In the early sixteenth century the chief market for Sri Lankan elephants seems to have been Tanjore but during the early seventeenth century elephants from the island were sold to Vijayanagara, Bijapur, Golconda, Tanjore and the Mughal empire. In 1633 the Portuguese negotiated a trade agreement with the Nayak of Madura to exchange Sri Lankan elephants for Saltpetre. In the agreement that was concluded it was agreed that the Nayak would sell saltpetre to the Portuguese at a price of twenty seven and half *Xerafims* a bahar in exchange for elephants delivered at Tuticorin prices averaging six hundred and sixty *Xerafims* each.⁸⁹

Cultural Impact

South Indian influences on the development of social and cultural institutions in the island were profound during this period and such influences operated chiefly through Hinduism. The settlement of many groups of people who had gone from Kerala and the Tamil country and their assimilation into the Sinhalese society in the western and south western parts of the island resulted in the incorporation of Hindu

religious beliefs and practices into the fold of Buddhism. A considerable number of Tamil or other Dravidian loan words crept into Sinhalese usage while some poetic forms and literary themes were adopted into Sinhalese from South Indian literature.

Two cults which became popular among the Sinhalese during this period were those of Skanda and Pattini. A temple dedicated to Skanda was constructed at Gampola in the reign of Vikramabāhu III.⁴⁰ Two other such shrines constructed in the 14th century were those of Madagama in Sabaragamuva and the Uggal Alutnuvara Devale.⁴¹ There was a shrine of Skanda just south of the City of Kotte. It was during this period that the shrine of Kataragama attained great fame and became a pilgrimage centre of national importance. Mention is made of that shrine in the *Jinakālamāli* composed in Siam in 1516.⁴² The great mystic and Tamil poet Arunagirinathar has composed verses in praise of the deity enshrined at Kataragama.

Skanda came to be considered as one of the national gods of the Sinhalese, and was referred to as one of the four guardian deities of Lanka in inscriptions and literature since the fourteenth century.⁴³ The popularity of the cult of Skanda in Sri Lanka since the fourteenth century was undoubtedly connected with the revival of Muruga worship in a pronouncedly Hindu setting in South India during the post-Čola period.

The goddess Pattini, whose worship formed such an important part of the religion of the Sinhalese up to modern times, is referred to for the first time in the reign of Parākramabāhu IV (1412-1467) who is said to have constructed a three-storied temple dedicated to her in the vicinity of his capital. Although there are many references in later sources to temples dedicated to Pattini at many localities in the island it is difficult to determine precisely the periods of their origins. Yet, it may reasonably be assumed that the Pattini cult was gaining ground in the fifteenth century. Rajasingha I of Sitawake is said to have been a great devotee of Pattini. It is said that he made a special thanksgiving ceremony to the Pattini devale at Medagoda on the eve of his accession to the throne. Besides, there were 48 Pattini devales erected during his reign.⁴⁴

The introductory stanzas in the *Kaṇṇaki vaḷakkurai kāviyam* in which the legends pertaining to the Kannaki cult as developed in Sri Lanka have been incorporated suggest that this text was written under the patronage of a King of Jaffna. An examination of the traditions recorded in the different versions of the *Kaṇṇaki Vaḷakkurai* suggests

that the cult was primarily confined to sea-faring and trading communities in its early stages of development in the island. It may be suggested that it was introduced into the island by mercantile or sea-faring communities of Kerala origin.

The popularity attained by some of the Hindu gods among Buddhist Sinhalese led to the assimilation of the cults associated with them into the Buddhist religious tradition. The provision made for subsidiary shrines dedicated to the worship of such gods and the iconographic representations of Hindu gods within the architectural scheme of Buddhist establishments is symptomatic of this process of assimilation. The temples of Lankatilaka and Gadalādeniya constructed by Dravidian or Hindu Craftsmen in the fourteenth century are the two most outstanding Buddhist establishments which are representative of this process of development.⁴⁶ At the Lankatilaka Shrine subsidiary shrines dedicated to Skanda and Ganesa also were constructed and endowments were made separately for conducting worship regularly at these shrines. At Gadalādeniya the figures of *Naṭaraja* and dancing Krishna were represented.⁴⁷ A notable feature of worship conducted at temples of gods meant for the use of Sinhalese Buddhists was the adoption of some practices that were to be found at Hindu temples.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Brahmin influence at court was strong. Parākramabāhu VI is known to have had as his Purohita a Telugu Brahmin named Avuḥuḷa Ojḡhalun who performed the funeral obsequies of that monarch.⁴⁸ As referred to earlier a land grant was made during the Kotte period to a number of Brahmins for settlement at Koswinne in the Siyane Korale. A large number of Tamil Brahmins were settled at Devinuwara where {they were engaged in conducting rituals and worship at many shrines which flourished in that city. It was chiefly through them that the Sinhalese court circles and literati became acquainted with new developments in Indian literature, in the fields of medicine, astrology and other branches of secular learning. Brahmins were employed for conducting worship at Sinhalese devales. In an earlier period, a Brahmin had taken the lead in establishing a shrine for Saman in Sabaragamuwa. The employment of Brahmins as officiating priests at some of the temples dedicated to the Sinhalese national gods had led to their transformation to those of Hinduism. The metamorphosis of Upulvan to Vishnu had taken place during the Kotte period. The increasing influence exerted by the Brahmins in the religion and culture of the Sinhalese was not left unnoticed by the Buddhist Sangha. Viḍagama's denunciation of Brahmins and their religious beliefs was, perhaps, part of an attempt made by the

community of Buddhists towards arresting that influence.⁴⁹ It does not seem to have been successful and until the Portuguese conquest of the Kotte Kingdom in the late sixteenth century the upper strata of Sinhalese society were fast becoming Hinduised. Hinduism and its institutions were supported in preference to Buddhism by Rajasinghe I of Sitawake who became a convert to Saivism. In the period of the struggles against the Portuguese there was a need to cultivate the heroic ideal and as Hinduism supplied this need in considerable measure its impact on society inevitably became more pronounced.

The ideas of Kingship and government came to be modified further during this period due to the impact of South Indian influences. A belief in the divinity of Kings was further stressed by the adoption of the title *Tribhuvana cakravartti* by Parākramabāhu VI in imitation of the practice followed by the *Cōla* and *Pāṇḍya* courts since the late eleventh century.⁵⁰ Another instance of South Indian influence on Kingship is recorded by the *Caracōtimālai*, an astrological work composed during the early fourteenth century. In that work it is said that while the King was praised as Dharma (Yudhistra), four puissant brother kings guarded the four quarters. As pointed out by Paranavitana this is evidently the *Pāṇḍya* practice of the joint exercise of sovereignty by five brothers, which in turn was modelled on the *Pāñca-pāṇḍava* tradition of the *Mahābhārata*. In conformity with this tradition is the praise of the King as Dharma, for Yudhistra the eldest of the five *Pāṇḍavas*, was a son of the incarnation of Dharma.⁵¹

The epigraphic documents of the Kotte period are reminiscent of South Indian influences. In drafting the texts of some of the Tamil inscriptions the court officials adhered to the *Pāṇḍya* practice, with respect to the manner of recording the regnal years. The *Naymmaṇa* inscription of Parākramabāhu VI mentions the regnal year in the following manner: *Yāntu 20 āvatukku etiravattu*, 'in the year opposite the 20th'. Such a manner of recording the regnal years, which is followed also in the Tamil inscription of Parākramabāhu VI from Jaffna, is undoubtedly an imitation of the *Pāṇḍya* way of recording regnal years.⁵²

The Sanskrit sloka that runs :

dāna pālanayormadhye danāt

Sreyonu pālanam I

dānāt svarggam avāpnōti pālanād

accutam padam II

and which occurs in the concluding portions of many Vijayanagara inscriptions⁵³ set up from the fourteenth century onwards is included

in the Oruvala Sannasa issued by one of the successors of Parākrama-bāhu VI. It may be assumed that such South Indian Influences on the epigraphy of Sri Lanka were in some measure due to the employment of South Indians as court officials in the Kotte period. In the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VII, for instance, the officer of royal charters was *Tiruvarank imperumā!*, a person of South Indian extraction. Tamil loan-words were adopted during this period for the designations of officials who served in the army and the administration. *Mudali, Vasala muduli, Arācci, mukha veṭṭi, bhaṇḍāra* are some of such designations which are referred to in inscriptions and literature of the Gampola and Kotte periods. The word *Pattu(wa)* which was widely used to designate territorial units in Sinhalese inscriptions and literature is undoubtedly the same as *parru* or *pattu* which had the same connotation in some of the major South Indian languages.

The strong impact of South Indian influences on the political, social and cultural institutions of the Sinhalese during this period presupposes the settlement of groups of South Indians in the western and south-western parts of the island. The epigraphic, archaeological and literary sources relating to this period bear testimony to the emergence of such settlements some of which were assimilated into the framework of Sinhalese society. Vijayanagara influence on the administrative and social institutions of Jaffna was still greater.⁵⁴

NOTES

1. K.M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, Bombay, 1929, Pp. 85-87.
2. *The Temporal on Spiritual conquest of Ceylon* by Fernao de Queyroz, trans. Fr. S. G. Perera Colombo, 1930. (Hereafter referred to as Queyroz) p.195.
3. Ibid., Pp. 207-210.
4. Ibid., Pp. 20-212.
5. Ibid., Pp. 213-214.
6. Ibid., p. 215.
7. Ibid., 218.
8. Ibid., Pp. 223, 227, 229.
9. *Malabar and the Portuguese*, Pp. 118-120.
10. Queyroz, p. 446.
11. Chandra Richard de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-1638*, Colombo, 1972, p. 45.
12. Queyroz, p. 283.
13. *The Portuguese in Ceylon*, p. 11.
14. Ibid., p. 42.
15. Ibid., Vrdhagirisan, *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, Pp. 76, 77, 80, 81, 91.
16. *The Portuguese in Ceylon*, p. 43
17. Ibid, Pp. 45-47.
18. Ibid., Pp. 48-50, Queyroz. p. 365.
19. *The Portuguese in Ceylon*, p. 51; Queyroz, Pp. 638-641.
20. *The Portuguese in Ceylon*, p. 51; Queyroz, Pp. 642-645.
21. *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon, (UCHC)* Vol. I, Pt. II, (Colombo 1960), Pp. 639-654.
22. Ibid, p. 640.

23. M. D. Raghavan, *The Karāva of Ceylon*, Colombo, pp. 16-17.
24. S. Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom of Jaffna*, Colombo, pp. 268-269; G. P. V. Somaratne, *Political History of the Kingdom of Kotte*, 1975, Colombo, pp. 123-124.
25. UCHC, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 728.
26. T. B. H. Abesinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon, 1594-1612*.
27. M. D. Raghavan, *India in Ceylonese History, Society and Culture*, London, 1964, p. 180.
28. Ibid.
29. Queyroz, p. 394. In 1631 one thousand Parava Christians were expected from the fishery. See also *The Portuguese Rule in Ceylon*, pp. 83-84, 128.
30. *Kudumirissa Rock Inscription, Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JRASCB)*, Vol. X, pp. 96-102.
31. S. Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687*, Djambatan Amsterdam, 1958, p. 148.
32. Varthem's claim is supported by the testimony of 'Ducare Barbosa who observes: 'of rice there is but little, they bring the more part, hither from Charamandel'. The Book of Francisco Rodrigues states: 'This land is well provided with everything except that there is a shortage of rice in the country'. See B. J. Perera 'The Foreign trade and commerce of Ancient Ceylon: II Ancient Ceylon and its trade with India', *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, January 1952, pp. 201-202.
33. *The Portuguese Rule in Ceylon*, p. 159.
34. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 202.
35. Ibid.
36. *Dutch power in Ceylon*, 1658-1687, p. 161.
37. *The Portuguese Rule in Ceylon*, p. 162, *The Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1612 - 1638*, p. 204, *Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687*, p. 151.
38. S.K. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, 1919, p. 57.
39. *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1612-1638*, p. 205.
40. *JRASCB*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 74, p. 45.
41. *JRASCB*, Vol. XXXII, No. 86, pp. 273, 279.
42. UCHC, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 764.
43. Ibid., p. 765.
44. Ibid., pp. 765-766.
45. C. S. Navaratnam, *A Short History of Hinduism in Ceylon*, Jaffna, 1964, p. 30.
46. These temples were constructed respectively by Sthapati-rayara and Gaṇesvara acārya.
47. UCHC, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 765.
48. Ibid., p. 767.
49. Ibid.
50. S. Pathmanathan, 'The Munnesvaram Tamil Inscription of Parākramabāhu VI', *JRASCB*, (New Series), Vol. XVIII, 1974, pp. 59-60.
51. UCHC, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 730.
52. A. Veluppillai, *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, pt. II, Peradeniya, 1972, p. 57. *Epigraphia Tamilica*, ed. K. Indrapala, pt. I, Jaffna, 1971, p. 31.
53. S. Pathmanathan, 'The Munnesvaram Tamil Inscription of Parākramabāhu VI', *JRASCB*, Vol. VIII 1974, p. 64.
54. S. Pathmanathan, 'The Kingdom of Jaffna: Administrative institutions,' IATR, 4th Conference Seminar, January 1974, Jaffna, Proceedings, Vol. II, pp. 1-21.

Ramayana Versions In Tamil

A. Pandurangan

The epic stories of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata have been adapted in almost all Indian languages from very early times. When they were retold in various Indian languages, the original works were not literally translated; they were freely handled by the various poets to meet the demands of their times in which the poets lived. Therefore, these adaptations contain a number of local traditions and new additions not found in the original.

The story of Rāmāyaṇa has been very popular in Tamil literature from early days. The poets of the *Caṅkam* have alluded to some of the events in Rāmāyaṇa. The Vaishnavite *Ālṅwār*s have sung Rāma's story in their sacred hymns. Even before the composition of *Kambaṇ*'s Rāmāyaṇa¹ there might have been some versions of Rāmāyaṇa as evidenced from the commentaries of *Nacṇārkkinṇiyar*². Even after *Kambaṇ*, the story continues to grow through folk dramas and folk tales. New additions have also been introduced through the other Indian languages.

The present paper proposes to discuss the various versions of Rāmāyaṇa and tries to point out the need for a detailed study on the subject. For the purpose of this paper, *Kambaṇ*'s work has been taken as the nucleus and the stories are divided into two categories viz., *Pre-Kambaṇ* and *Post-Kambaṇ*. The first category has been further sub-divided into viz., *Pre-Kambaṇ*-stories adapted by *Kambaṇ* and *Pre-Kambaṇ* stories not adapted by *Kambaṇ*. Similarly the second category, the *Post-Kambaṇ* stories have also been further classified into two, viz., *Post-Kambaṇ* with local tradition and *Post-Kambaṇ* which are suspected to be of non-Tamil origin.

Pre - Kambaṇ

Pre - Kambaṇ stories adapted by Kambaṇ

The episode of *Kūṇi*

Vālmiki did not attribute any personal motive to *Mantara*, the *Kūṇi* for seducing the mind of *Kaikāyī* to stop the coronation of Rāma and banish him to the forest.³ *Tirumaḷicai Ālṅwār* and *Nammāḷvar* refer to an incident in the boyhood of Rāma. He used to shoot arrows on the old woman's hunch-back using it as a target while he was learning archery.⁴ There is a folk version of the same story in Tamil. It narrates that

Rāmā used to shoot clay-balls while she was bringing water to the palace and one day she dropped the water pot. The playmates of Rāmā who assembled there laughed at her. The old woman's feelings were irreparably hurt and she was waiting for an opportunity. When she heard the news of his coronations, he managed to have Rāmā banished through her mistress *Kaikāyī*.⁶ It is interesting to note that a similar story is also current in Telugu folk literature.⁶

Kambaṇ follows this version very effectively. He sings that when *Kūṇi* heard of Rāmā's coronation, she was reminded of his mischief and got angry.⁷ *Kambaṇ* gives more effect to this new version by making his Rāmā feel sorry for what he has done to a poor woman. He admonishes *Sugriya* not to inflict any injury even on the lowliest because he has done some mischief to *Kūṇi* when he was a boy and she brought woe and misery to him.⁸

The Story of Akalyā

Vālmiki's treatment of the story is different from that of *Kambaṇ*. One day when the sage Gautama was out of his hermitage for ablutions in the early hours, Indra assumed the guise of her husband, sage Gautama and spoke her tempting words. *Akalyā* infers that he is not her husband but Indra; she already knew that Indra has an eye on her. As she was very proud of her beauty, she is rejoiced to see that even the king of gods has come to her as a supplicant. Therefore she completely surrenders herself to Indra and enjoys the immoral union with him. Then she warns Indra to leave the ashram immediately lest her husband would return and curse them both. As he is leaving the hermitage, the sage Gautama returns. He curses Indra to become impotent and *Akalyā* to sink in oblivion and lie waste on the ashes without food or drink until Rāmā visits there. *Vālmiki*'s version shows that his *Akalyā* was not an innocent woman but was in perfect complicity with Indra in degrading the moral values of wedded life.⁹

But *Kambaṇ* treats the entire story in a different strain; perhaps he would have taken his clue from *Paripāṭal*, a Caṅkam classic. One of the poems in *Paripāṭal* speaks of the frescos on the walls of the temple at *Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam*. They depict that Indra assumed the guise of a cat on seeing the sage; the sage cursed his wife to turn into a stone. People coming there point out, "He is Indra, seducer, she is *Akalyā*, the seduced and cursed".¹⁰

Kambaṇ closely follows the version contained in this Caṅkam classic. Surely *Kambaṇ* portrays his *Akalyā* as a sensual woman; but she is not aware that Indra has come in her husband's guise. She innocently falls

a prey to the tempting words of the disguised Indra and allows herself to be seduced by him. When she realises that she is sinning against her lord, she is too weak to control her sensual instincts and dares not to break the shameful deed. She has become a voluptuary. Hence, the sage rightly curses her to lie as a stone there until the sacred feet of Rāmā touches her.¹¹

The meeting of Haṇumāṇ and Sītā in Laṅkā

Haṇumāṇ meets Sītā in Laṅkā when she is about to commit suicide. To distract her, *Vālmiki* makes Haṇumāṇ to narrate the glory of Rāmā. On hearing the name of Rāmā, she looked at Haṇumāṇ and he said that he was coming from her Lord. *Vālmiki*'s Sītā did not suspect him as a *rākṣasā* in disguise.¹² But Kambaṇ's Sītā suspects him to be a demon. Guessing the perplexed state of mind of Sītā, Haṇumāṇ says that he is the accredited messenger from Rāmā and refers to three episodes known only to the husband and wife and presents her the signet ring of Rāmā.¹³ Kambaṇ has perhaps borrowed this theme of recognition from *Periyālvār*. In one of his '*Thirumolis*', the sacred hymns of ten, *Periyālvār* makes Haṇumāṇ speak to Sītā in a sequel of ten songs. To prove that he is be accredited messenger from her husband, Haṇumāṇ refers to a series of episodes known only to Rāmā and Sītā.¹⁴ *Periyālvār* might have taken this idea of recognition either from an earlier version or from the folk themes of Rāmāyaṇa which Kambaṇ artistically used in his epic structure.

The friendship between Rāmā and the tribal chief Gukā

The meeting between Gukā, the tribal chieftain on the banks of the river Ganges is typical between a monarch and feudatory as depicted by the poet *Vālmiki*. He meets Rāmā with presents and takes orders from him to cross the river next day.¹⁵ But the *Ālvārs* of Tamil Nadu treated the same situation with a different motif, the motif of bhakti. *Thirumaṅkai Ālvār* narrates a dramatic situation in which Rāmā proclaims Gukā as his younger brother. Gukā himself an elder brother of Lakshmaṇa and his spouse Sītā as his cousin-sister.¹⁶ Thus the *Ālvār* tries to demonstrate the all-embracing grace of the Lord who has incarnated Himself as the prince Rāmā to save the good from the evil.

Kambaṇ beautifully incorporates this new theme of bhakti in his epic plan of universal brotherhood. According to Kambaṇ everyone in Rāmā's family-his old mother Kausalyā, brother Lakshmaṇa, his wife Sītā even his minister *Sumantrā* recognise the status of Gukā as promised by Rāmā.¹⁷ Probably there might have been some dramatic versions of this kind before the *Ālvār* in Tamilnadu and he echoes the same feelings in his hymns.

The overwhelming grief of Daśarata

Kulacēkara Ālvār puts up a pathetic speech to Daśarata when Rāmā has left for the forest.¹⁸ The entire sequence of poems are so touching that an artist would not easily dismiss it. *Kambaṇ*, the great crafts-man as he was, utilises this technique in his epic with slight modification. *Kambaṇ* makes Daśarata give a heart rendering speech before Rāmā actually leaves for the forest.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that both the *Ālvār* and *Kambaṇ* make Daśarata give this speech in the absence of Rāmā whereas *Vālmiki* does not do so.²⁰

Pre-Kambaṇ but not found in Kambaṇ's epic

Rāmā's council at Tamil Country

Before waging war with Rāvaṇa, Rāmā held a council of his followers at the southern tip of the Tamil country under an old banyan tree. The birds perching on the top of the tree disturbed the council. Rāmā grew angry over them and raised his hand to control them. The birds became tongue tied and serene. This incident in Rāmā's story has been alluded to in one of the verses of *Purāṇānūru*.²¹ This is not found either in *Vālmiki* or in *Kambaṇ*. The *Caṅkam* poet perhaps has drawn allusion from an earlier version of Rāmāyaṇa.

Vāṇarās wearing the jewels of Sītā

While Rāvaṇa was on his way to Laṅkā with Sītā on the air, Sītā threw her ornaments over the regions of Kishkindā so that Rāmā might guess the course of Rāvaṇa. This is found in both *Vālmiki* and *Kambaṇ*.²² One of the *Caṅkam* poets refers to the same event with some more details. The ornaments so dropped by Sītā were collected by the she-monkeys and they began to wear them. Since they were not human beings they did not know how to wear them properly. For example, they wore the ear-rings on the nose, the anklets on the hands, the bracelets on the legs etc. It aroused laughter there.²³ This incident also might have been drawn from an earlier version of Rāmāyaṇa.

Sītā binding Rāmā with a garland

Vālmiki and *Kambaṇ* do not describe the conjugal life of Rāmā and Sītā, at Ayodhyā. There might have been some versions depicting this. *Periyālvār* gives a clue to infer that there was a version of Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil which narrated many love episodes between the newly wedded couple. *Periyālvār* makes *Haṇumāṇ* to narrate one such incident to Sītā when he was to convince her that he was messenger from her husband. The incident he narrates is that of Sītā binding Rāmā with a jasmine

garland while she was sporting with him.²⁴ This may be one among such sports narrated elaborately in an earlier version of Rāmayaṇa.

Rāmā and Haṇumān eating their food from one and the same leaf

Both Vālmiki and Kambaṇ say that while Rāmā was returning to Ayodhyā, Baradhwāja, a renowned seer gave a great feast to Rāmā and his vānarā retinue.²⁵ *Tirumaṅkai Ālvār* narrates one incident that happened during the feast. Rāmā did not consider seriously the humble birth of Haṇumān, the son of the Wind God, a monkey and an untouchable, but declared affectionately that he would share his food with Haṇumān.²⁶ The Ālvār tries to show the boundless grace of Viṣṇu who had incarnated Himself as Rāmā by this human action.

Ālvār's reference to the incident is found in a folk tale elaborately. When the seer had given Rāmā and his retinue a grand feast every one was served with food except Haṇumān, because there was no leaf. On seeing this Rāmā invited Haṇumān to eat with him from one and the same leaf. He drew a line on the leaf with his finger dividing it into two halves and ate from the one half. From that day onwards, the leaf which was a banana leaf got a stem on the middle dividing it into two parts.²⁷

A squirrel helping Rāmā in the construction of the bridge to Laṅkā

Vālmiki and Kambaṇ sing that the bridge on the sea between India and Laṅkā was built by the vānarās.²⁸ But there is a folk tale, current in Tamil which narrates how a squirrel helped Rāmā in the construction. On seeing the vānarās bringing big mountains and throwing them on the waters of the deep sea to construct the bridge, the squirrel wanted to help Rāmā in the noble task. So it bathed in the sea water, then rolled on the sandy beach and shook the grains of sand which were sticking to his wet body on the bridge. It repeated this act for a number of times, thus helping the building of the bridge in its own small way. On looking at the selfless devotion of this small creature, Rāmā was so much pleased that he took the animal in his hand and patted his fingers on its back affectionately. The touch of Rāmā's fingers left permanent marks on its back and that is why this animal has two thick white lines on it.²⁹ There is an evidence to show that the story was in vogue even before Kambaṇ. *Toṇṭar Aṣippoṭi Ālvār* refers to the same story in his *Tirumālai*, "the sacred garland" when he denounces himself saying that he is not even like the humble squirrel in self-less service.³⁰ The same story is found in Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam of Gōṇa Buddha Reddi in Telugu.³¹

Post-Kambaṇ stories with Tamil Traditions

Stories of this kind are found in a number of folk dramas (Kattu) which were very popular till recently. Many of these folk-dramas are printed in the name of a particular author. But there are reasons to believe that these are not his own 'creations' but are modified versions of the earlier stories transmitted to him.

Parasurāmā's fight with Rāmā

Vālmiki and *Kambaṇ* narrate that Parasurāmā challenged Rāmā to handle his bow. His argument was that the bow which Rāmā had broken was already half broken and therefore there was nothing heroic about Rāmā's breaking it.⁵²

This could not satisfy the popular imagination. The folk imagination gives its own explanation. According to one of the folk-dramas, Parasurāmā went to the court of Jaṇakā as a suitor to handle the bow and win the hand of Sītā in marriage. But he could not handle the mighty bow. Ashamed by this defeat, Parasurāmā went to the forest to gain the necessary powers through penance to handle the bow and win her hand. When he heard that Rāmā had broken the bow and won the hand of Sītā, he became angry and rushed to oppose Rāmā and reclaim Sītā from him.⁵³ This seems to be a peculiar development as it depicts Parasurāmā as a jealous warrior.

The episode of Vāli

While Vāli was fighting with his brother Sugrīvā, he was attacked by Rāmā from an ambush. The justification for this treacherous action is debated both in *Vālmiki* and *Kambaṇ*. In both of the works Rāmā tries to justify it.⁵⁴ But the common man is not convinced on these arguments and therefore he creates his own story. In one of the folk-dramas on the subject, Rāmā accepts that he has done a wrong thing and is prepared to give Vāli his life again, as he is the very God Himself who can give and take anybody's life. But Vāli refuses to live again on the plea that a monkey cannot live after receiving an injury on his body.⁵⁵

Stories which are suspected to be of non - Tamil origin

The political scene of the Tamilnadu was dominated by the rulers from the non-Tamil regions of South India. The Nāyaks, the Marāṭṭas, the Hōysalas and the Muslims established their rule over some parts of the Tamil country. There was a religious revival under the patronage of the Hindu kings. Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata and other Hindu literature gave fresh impetus to the common man. Purāṇas on the local deities were composed. Under such conditions the stories from one part might have spread to the other parts of India.

Sitā painting a portrait of Rāvaṇā

When Sitā returned to Ayōdhyā, the royal women in the palace wanted to know from Sitā how Rāvaṇā looked like. The innocent woman painted a picture of Rāvaṇā with ten heads and twenty arms and showed it to them. When Sitā was sleeping, one of the women stealthily took the painting and put it on the breast of Sitā and then coolly went and told Rāmā that his wife was still thinking of Rāvaṇā. She brought Rāmā to the bed room of Sitā and showed that Sitā was sleeping with Rāvaṇā's portrait. Rāmā got wild and sent Sitā to the forest.³⁸ K. V. Jaganathan has pointed out that this story has been the subject of a water-lifting song. He further points out that this story has been found in a Bengali version of Rāmāyaṇa written by the poetess called Cantravati.³⁹ The same is current in Telugu and Malayalam folk literature also.⁴⁰

Sitā the daughter of Rāvaṇā

Sitā was born to Rāvaṇā when the horoscope of the child was analysed, it was found that the city of Lāṅkā would be destroyed by her birth. To save the city of Lāṅkā from destruction, Rāvaṇā put the baby in a basket and threw it on the waters of the sea. The basket was found by the King Janakā and he took her to his palace, brought her up as his daughter.⁴¹ This story has been found in a Kannada prose work of the Jains.⁴² The same story is also found in Telugu as a folk-tale.⁴³

The story of Mayil Rāvaṇā or Mahi Rāvaṇā

This story is very popular in Tamilnadu as it forms a separate theme in a folk-drama.⁴⁴ This is available in print as a prose work also.⁴⁵ Mayil Rāvaṇā is depicted as a close relative of Rāvaṇā and an expert in black magic. When Rāvaṇā lost everything, he wanted the help of Mayil Rāvaṇā to destroy Rāmā. Mayil Rāvaṇā promises to carry away Rāmā and Lakshmaṇā to his capital and tries to sacrifice them to the Goddess Kālī. Sensing the evil designs of Mayil Rāvaṇā, Vibishaṇā and Hanumāṇ keep the brothers in a guarded fortrees built with Hanumāṇ's tail. When the night came, Mayil Rāvaṇā took them away to his city cheating Hanumāṇ in the guise of Vibishaṇā. Knowing his Hanumāṇ went to his city and killed the evil Rakshasā and returned to Lāṅkā before sun rise. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaranar is of the opinion that this story might have come from a certain Bangali version of Rāmāyaṇa.⁴⁶ The same story is also current in Malayalam as Pātāḷ Rāvaṇā; this story was rendered in Malayalam by a chieftain Vira-Kṛāja Varmā.⁴⁷

The story of Sulōchana

The story of Sulōchana is also very popular in Tamilnadu. This story is in current as a folk tale. It has been dramatised by the great dramatists of modern Tamil, Sankaradoss Swamikal and Pammal Sambanda Mudaliar.⁴⁶ The story identifies Lakshmana as Ādhisēṣha, the serpent bed of Viṣṇu. His daughter Sulōchana fell in love with Indrajit and the lovers were united by Gandarva marriage. Knowing this, the snake king got wild over his daughter and severed all his connections with her. They lived happily in Laṅkā until the terrible war. Lakshmana killed Indrajit and removed his head as a token of his victory. When she heard of the sad ending of her lord, she went to the battle field in search of his body. She could find the trunk only; knowing that the head was with Rama, she went to him and begged him to give the head to her husband so that she might die along with him in the pyre. But Rāma and others wanted to test her chastity and asked her whether she could call upon her husband's head to speak. She accepted the challenge and entreated her husband to utter comforting words to her. Immediately the trunk and the head joined together and spoke a few words to her. On seeing all these things Lakshmana regained the knowledge of his former birth as Ādhisēṣha. He felt sorry for having killed Indrajit, his son-in-law and widowed his daughter. He swooned there. Rāma and others felt pity for her and Sulōchana fell in the funeral pyre set up for her husband.⁴⁷

The present paper is only a preliminary note to a broader and better co-ordinated survey of all the Ramayana versions found in various Dravidian languages. The various folk-stories on Rāmāyaṇa as well as Mahābhārata are fast disappearing. Therukkūttu on these subjects are also disappearing from the rural areas of Tamilnadu.

A close analysis of the various versions of Rāmāyaṇa reveal certain similarities not found in Vālmiki's epic. For instance, the episodes relating Kūṇi, the squirrel, the relationship of Sītā with Ravana etc. suggest some common source for them. A thorough investigation on this subject may lead us to presume that there were two different traditions, not necessarily contradicting each other, one Dravidian and the other Aryan. The Dravidian traditions appear to treat Ravana and his men in sober fact as evidenced from Kamba Rāmāyaṇa and Kannada versions of Rāmāyaṇam. Incidentally this study may help us to determine the age of Kamba also.

NOTES

1. The date of Kamba Rāmāyaṇam is still debated. Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai has argued that Kamba lived and composed his epic in 12th Century A. D. (Tamiḻccuṭar Maṇikaḻ, Pari Nilayam, Madras, 1968), Pp. 127-149. Recently M. Arunachalam has demonstrated that Kamba lived and wrote his epic in 9th Century. (The date of Kambar, Kambaṇ Malar, Kambaṇ Kazakam, Madras, 1975), Tp: 81-100.
2. Naccinārkkkiṇiyar, Tolkappiyam, Ezuttatikāram (The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnelvely Ltd. 1923), p. 14. Naccinārkkkiṇiyar, *Maturaik Kanci Pattuppaṭṭu* (Dr. U. V. Saminathiar, Sri Thiagaraja Vilas Publication, Madras, 1956), Pp. 342-3.
3. *Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam*, Ayōdhyā kāṇḍam sarkkam, 7. *The Little Flower Company*, Madras, 1963).
4. Tirumaḻicai Āḷwār, Tiruccanta Viruttam, 30 and 49, Nammāḷwār, Tiruvāymoḻi, 1:5:5 (Nālayira Divya Pirapantam, Tiruvenkatattan Thirumanram, Madras, 1973).
5. The writer has witnessed the scene in a folk drama conducted in his native place T. Subbulapuram, Madurai Dist. a few years back. The story is also current in the district among the old generations.
6. Kodandaramiah, T., *The Rāmāyaṇa Theme in Telugu Literature*. Rāmāyaṇa Samikasa (Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, 1967), Pp. 41-2.
7. Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍam, *Maṇṭarai cūḻccip Paṭalam*, (Kambaṇ Kazakam, Madras, 1976), p. 49.
8. Ibid, *Kitkiṇḍū Kāṇḍam*, *Araciyaṇ Paṭalam*, 12.
9. *Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam*, Op. cit., Bāla Kāṇḍam, sarkkam, 48.
10. Paripāṭal, (Thirunelveli, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Madras, 1969), Verse 19: 50-52.
11. Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. Bala Kāṇḍam, Akalikaip Paṭalam, 17-23.
12. *Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam*, Op. Cit. *Suntara Kāṇḍam*, Sarkkas 30 and 31.
13. Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, Op. Cit. *Sundara Kāṇḍam*, *Urukkaṭṭu Paṭalam*, 60-62.
14. *Periyāzvar Tirumoḻi*, 3:10, (Nālayira Divya Pirapantam, Op. cit).
15. *Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam*, Op. Cit. *Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍam*, Sarkkams 50 & 52.
16. *Tirumaṅkai Āḷwār*, *Periya Tirumoḻi*, 5:8:1, (Nālayira Divya Pirapantam, Op. Cit).
17. Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. *Sundara Kāṇḍam*, *Kāṭcip Paṭalam*, 23.
18. *Kulaśekara Āḷwār*, *Perumāḻ Tirumoḻi*, 9, Op. cit.
19. Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. *Nakar Nāṅku Paṭalam*, 54-70.
20. Vālmiki puts forward two different pathetic speeches expressed by Daśarata after Rāma has left for the forest. *Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam*, Op. cit. *Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍam*, Sarkkas 42 and 59.
21. *Puṇaṇṇūru*, Dr. U. V. Saminathan, (Thiagaraja Vilasam Publication, Madras, 1971), Verse 378: 18-21.
22. *Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam*, Op. cit. *Sarkkam*, 54, Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. *Kiṭkintā Kāṇḍam*, *Kalaṇ Kāṇ Paṭalam*, 2-3.

23. Akanāṇṇūru (Tirunelveli The South India Saiva Siddhanta works Publishing Society, 1966) Verse: 70. 13-16.
24. Periyālvār Tirumōḷi, 9 : 10 : 2, Nālāyira Divya Pirapantam, Op. cit.
25. Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam, Op. Cit. Yuddha Kāṇḍam, Sarkkam, 127, Kamba Rāmāyaṇam Op. cit. Yuddha Kāṇḍam, Miṭṭip Paṭalam, 181-199.
26. Tirumaṅkai Ālvār, Periyā Tirumōḷi, 5 : 8 : 2, Nālāyira Divya Pirapantam, Op. cit.
27. This folk-tale is current in Madurai District among the older people.
28. Srimat vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. Yuddha Kāṇḍam, sarkkam, 22. Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. Yuddha Kāṇḍam, Sētu Pantāṇap Paṭalam.
29. This is also current in Madurai district among the elders.
30. *Toṇṭar Aṭippōṭi Ālvār, Tirumālai*, 27, Nālāyira Divya Pirapantam, Op. cit.
31. Radhakrishna Sarma, C. The Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu and Tamil - A comparative Study (Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Madras, 1967), p. 37.
32. Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. Bala Kāṇḍam, sarkkams 74-76. Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. Bala Kāṇḍam, Paracurāmap Paṭalam.
33. Sītā Kalyāṇam, alias Tāṭakai Sammāra Nāṭakam, (Rattina Nayakar Sons, Madras).
34. Srimat Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam, Op. cit. Kishkiṇḍa Kāṇḍam, sarkkams 17 & 18.
35. Vāli Mōṭṭa Nāṭakam, Rattina Nayakar Sons, Madras.
36. This folk-tale is also current in Madurai District.
37. K. V. Jaganathan, Mullaṭ Manam (Amuta Nilayam, Madras, 1959) p. 95.
38. Radha Krishna Sarma, C. Op. cit. Pp: 90-92. Krishna Chaitanya, A History of Malayalam Literature (Orient Longmans, 1971), Pp. 26.
39. This folk-tale is current in many parts of Tamilnadu. Recently this theme has been handled in Manohar's popular drama "Ilankeswaran". The same story is also narrated in Sri Purāṇam of the Jains in Tamil. Sri Puraṇam, Venkata-rajulu Reddiar (University of Madras, 1943), p. 372.
40. Subbarayachar, U. K., *The Rāmāyaṇa Theme in Kāṇḍa Literature* Rāmāyaṇa Samikṣa, Op. cit. P. 51.
41. Radhakrishna Sarma, C. Op. cit. p. 52.
42. Mayil Irāvaṇaṇ Cantai Nāṭakam, Rattina Nayakar Sons, Madras. Even today it is enacted puppet show troupes in the southern districts of Tamilnadu.
43. Periya Ezuttu Mayil Irāvaṇaṇ Katai, R. G. Pati Company, Madras.
44. T. P. Meenakshi sundaranar, Tamil and the Other Cultures, (Third Tamil International Conference, Paris, 1970).
45. Krishna Caitanya, A History of Malayalam Literature, Op. cit. Pp. 135-6.
46. This story has been dramatised by Pammal Sambanda Mudaliar as well as by Sankaradoss Swamikal. The latter is also available in book form.
47. The same story is narrated in detail in Reṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam of Telugu literature - Kodanda Ramaiah, Op. cit. Pp. 39-41.

Caste System Among The Tamils In The 19th Century

P. Subramanian

The caste system, the fundamental Hindu social institution, divides Hindu society into vertical and horizontal groups (endogamous and exogamous) and makes it into water-tight compartments. Regarding this powerful institution Vincent Smith writes: "caste, the characteristic of Brahmin institution.....dominates the whole of India and exercises no small influence over the powerful Muhammadan Minority." And again "Talk about the abolition or even the automatic extinction of caste is futile. The system grew up of itself in remote antiquity it suited India and will last for untold centuries because it still suits India on the whole in spite of its many inconveniences."¹ This is because caste is not merely a social institution, but a socio-religious system, a part of Hinduism. 'Caste is, in fact, the steel frame binding together the many beliefs massed together in Hinduism. So integral a part is it of Hinduism, that a Hindu without a caste is almost a contradiction in terms. The man who is a member of a caste is a Hindu, he who is not is not a Hindu.'² This is evident from contemporary observation also. Dubois and Buchanan who made extensive tours of the country expressed similar views. Dubois observes: "of all the provinces I lived in, the Dravidian or Tamil country is the one where the ramification of caste appeared to me most numerous."³

It is well known that the word 'caste' was taken from the Portuguese word 'casta' which means 'breed' or 'lineage'. The equivalent word for caste in Latin is *castus* meaning 'pure'. So the idea of 'pure lineage' or 'preservation of the purity of breed' has always been associated with it. Undoubtedly, the institution is older than the word 'casta'. The Indian word for caste is "Jati" or "kulam" which is different from Varna. There are only four varnas while innumerable castes exist. It is deemed that caste was devised and imposed upon an unwary people by "the scheming Āryans." But an institution of such dimensions, potentialities and ramifications cannot be the product of a group of people, however crafty and scheming they might be. The chances are that caste system of one kind or another existed in India even in pre-aryan days and the Āryans fitted their 'varna' jacket on to this community which thereafter partook of the characteristics of both

institutions. The vertical social frame work starting from the Brahmin and reaching down to the Sūdra was evidently the 'varna' system and the number of endogamous and exogamous considerations which divide society into many watertight compartments (non-intermarrying and non-interdining) are the caste part of it.⁴

Division of people horizontally according to professions was not peculiar to Indian society alone. We find this kind of divisions in other societies also. Linton in a review⁵ observes that in the Austronesian region there has been since palaeolithic times, 'a fundamental pattern of organisation on the basis of small endogamous groups' and that 'this pattern assumes various forms but is linked with a predominant importance of kinship as the basis for organising the reciprocal behaviour of the group's members'. He further says that this might have influenced the primitive tribal social organisation in South India in palaeolithic times; Hutton largely agrees with this view. In this connection it is to be noted that even two thousand years ago in the Tamil country people were divided into five major groups: 1) The *Kurinci* or the hunters (the hill tribes); 2) the *Mullai* or the pastoral people; 3) the *Marutam* or the agriculturists; 4) the *Neytal* the fisher-folk; 5) and the *Pālai* the *Kallars* and the *Maravas*. These groups were not influenced by the Āryans due to lack of communications in those days. Communal divisions based on professions already existed. When they came into contact with Āryans they probably might have adopted their Varna system over their communal systems.⁶

What is caste, then? It is "a group of families internally united by peculiar rules for the observance of ceremonial purity, especially in the matter of diet and marriage."⁷ It is essentially a kinship group; endogamy is its main feature; but in the case of Brahmins who all have gotras exogamy also functions; i.e. 'Svajati' marriage is prescribed and 'Sagotra' marriage is prohibited. Endogamy prevents external hybridization, while the (internal) exogamy prevents the possibility of another line arising within the old one by the isolation of any character not common to the whole line. Thus the society becomes a conglomeration of non-mixing cells which altogether function within the Hindu social frame work; the periphery is elastic and contains mechanisms for easy adjustments to changing circumstances and automatic modifications, but as you proceed towards the centre, it begins to harden till the core (i.e. the marriage custom) is found to be unbreakable. Ketkar, hence, said "Hindu society is a mechanical mixture while European society is a chemical compound".⁸

Features of the Caste system

There are many features of the caste system which make it quite a unique and special to India. It is based on birth. The doctrine of metaphysics (the Karmā doctrine) is a good support to the caste system. "You reap as you sow. Your present caste was determined at birth by your deeds in your past birth. The people had faith in the doctrine and carried on without questioning it. Percival Spear said: "The Brahmins achieved the wonderful feat of convincing those below them they ought to be inferior because of their sins in previous lives".⁹

Throughout the period under review the status of a person depended not on his wealth as in the classes or modern Europe but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he was born. A Brahmin lawyer, and a Śūdra lawyer, though of equal status in the Court belonged to different status groups in their private life, and there was no social intercourse between them on equal terms. Besides, every caste had its own vocation though trespassing them due to necessity was not a serious affair. For a Brahmin, it was his vocation to be a priest; for a chuckler to cure hides and prepare shoes. This was only generally true, for there were groups of occupations like trading, agriculture, labouring in the field and doing military service which were looked upon as anybody's and most castes were supposed to be eligible for any one of them. But at the same time, no caste allowed its members to take any calling which was either degrading, like toddy tapping and brewing, or impure, like scavenging or curing hides. It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one's caste-fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupation, but also the restriction put by other castes, which did not allow members other than those of their own castes to follow their vocations. One such restrictive regulation in practice was concerning the profession of priesthood. The priestly profession was monopolised by the Brahmins, leaving aside the ministrants of the aboriginal deities, while they were seen plying any trade which suited their tastes and which was not polluting.¹⁰ Thus throughout the 19th century though every caste had its own traditional calling, occasionally its members did transgress them out of necessity without degrading its other members. This elasticity has been the characteristic of Hinduism throughout the ages.

SOCIAL DISABILITIES

Pollution

The theory of *acārā* (pollution), is the root of the caste system. *Acārā* is the complex of rules of personal and social conduct. These

differ from time to time, place to place and caste to caste, and are called *Kāla ācārā*, *tēsa ācārā* and *Cāti ācārā* respectively. The very purpose of these *ācārās* is to keep the purity of caste intact. Regarding *ācārā*, Abbe Dubois, a contemporary eye witness observes, "There is no doubt that it was for the sake of health and cleanliness in the first instance that Hindu law givers inculcated these principles of defilement and purification".¹¹

The theory of *ācārā* that certain castes transmit pollution by a mere touch or by the mere shadow of an untouchable was more intense in the south than in the north. This is mainly because North India was the meeting place of various invasions and races. These new forces and races stirred the still waters of the north Indian society and hence the caste system was not intact there. Muslim and other invasions had left a deep mark on the social life of the north and considerable infiltration of Muslim way of life had taken place. In Bengal, for example the caste system suffered changes and its traditional rigours were relaxed. Due to forces of circumstances, the caste system yielded to pressures from outside and many Brahmins even became non-vegetarians. In the 19th century the maximum concentration of British administrative power was in Bengal which therefore became the area to be immediately affected by the reformist policies of Bentinck and others. Caste and the dharma were assailed. The society was at the cross roads. The upper classes, whose ideas have been liberalised by western education, have given up many *ācārās* regarding caste. They rarely punished a person who took prohibited food. Even cases of open violation of traditional rules were treated gently.¹² In the Tamil country such things did not happen and hence it had always been the centre of orthodox Hinduism. So the theory of *ācārā* was more intense in the south than in Bengal and other places of the north.

In the Tamil country, no Hindu of a decent caste would touch a pariah, an untouchable. He was forbidden to cross a Brahmin street. If he happened to enter a Brahmin street, he would be beaten severely by other people. According to *ācārā*, a Brahmin should not touch a pariah. Even the very presence of a pariah would defile a Brahmin. In some places, even their foot prints were deemed to defile the neighbourhood.¹³

This doctrine was further elaborated so that certain castes always kept a stated distance between themselves and the Brahmins. The *Cānārs* and other lower castes were deemed to pollute a Brahmin if they approached the latter within a specific distance.¹⁴ The pollution of

sight was also prevalent and perhaps the most extreme form of pollution. Hutton in the census of 1931 recorded that in the district of Tirunelveli there was a class of "unseeables" - a caste of washermen known as *pārāṭa vaṅṅāṇ*, who washed the clothes of untouchable castes and therefore doubly polluting. They had to work between midnight and daybreak and were not allowed to come out during the day time because the very sight of them was polluting.¹⁵

Even among the lower castes there were certain gradations. A washerman or a barber would not touch a pariah though he himself was very low in the social scale. These untouchables were denied drawing water from the village wells, for their very presence was deemed to pollute the place. The untouchables were not allowed to enter the court hall to give evidence. In sub-registry offices the higher caste peons, in fact christian and muslim peons too, would not take the thumb impression of untouchables though they were obliged to do so. Even a modern doctor when feeling the pulse of a Sūdra, first wraps up the patient's wrist with a small piece of silk so that he may not be defiled by touching his skin.¹⁶

Assisting a funeral ceremony also defiled a man. When the ceremony was over he should purify himself by taking bath. Even the news of the death of a relative, though it might happen a hundred miles away produced the same effect and every member of his family who received the news was under pollution.¹⁷ There were degrees of pollution. When death occurred some people were under pollution for 16 days, some for 12 days and some were cleansed by a mere bath depended upon the nearness of relation with the deceased. Similarly monthly period and after-effects of child-birth rendered woman for the time being unclean. During the period of pollution she was not allowed to touch vessels, furniture and even persons. After the period of pollution, she was given a ceremonial bath in order to purify herself. Likewise on attainment of maturity a girl was segregated for a prescribed period. The girl and her relatives would remain under pollution during this period. The period of pollution varied from caste to caste. Brahmins observed pollution for 10 days, Malayālis of Salem District for a month and Lingāyats none at all.¹⁸

The idea of pollution is a vast network of beliefs. Cooked food pollutes while raw vegetables and milk do not pollute. Regarding food there are certain "clean castes" and "unclean castes". A clean caste is a caste of respectable and non-polluting status from which a Brahmin readily accepts water. Men of higher castes in the Tamil country neither accepted water nor dined with the lower castes. Similarly in Bengal

also there were certain "clean castes" and "unclean castes". "Clean castes would not accept water from "unclean castes". The Brahmins and some higher caste Sūdras like Sat Sūdra group and Jalacharaniya Sūdras would not accept food or water from the Asprisyā-Sūdras. In the Tamil country, even if a Brahmin happened to give water to a lower caste, he added a few drops of butter-milk to it, so that the main store of the water remaining in the vessel at home was deemed to be not polluted by a part of it being given to a lower caste. He was supposed to be given only butter-milk and not water. Butter-milk like milk causes no pollution. Cotton clothes cause pollution while the medium of silk resists pollution. The barder who was also a medical man in the village used to apply a silk hand-kerchief to the fore-arms of the upper class patients before feeling their pulses. Even certain vessels were tabooed. Earthenware was tabooed by all higher castes. Brass and bronze vessels were easily polluted but not silver or gold. It looks as if these nice distinctions come under "emergency exemptions" or *apad dharma*, by which general rules are made elastic by special exceptions so that social life may not be seriously hampered.

Other disabilities

Every caste had its own quarters in villages. In a village of the Ramnad district, the main portion of the village was occupied by the Nāyars, shepherds, artisans and others, while the untouchables plied their trades in a corner of the village.¹⁹ These untouchables were segregated and made to live on the outskirts of the village. The higher castes would not touch them and sometimes even their very presence was deemed to pollute them. In Trichinopoly district the village had the houses arranged in streets. "The Brahmins, Sūdra, and Panchama quarters are separate and in the last of these the pallans, pariahans and chakkiliars live in separate streets."²⁰ Even in the Madras City the pallis lived in "separate quarters", distinctively known as "Palliteru". In villages certain castes were not allowed free access. A pariah was not allowed to enter the Brahmin quarters. At the same time the pariahs did not permit a Brahmin to pass through their street; if one happened to enter their quarters they used to greet him with cow-dung water.²¹

Tamil Muslims and Christians too were not an exception to this. It is interesting to note that the different classes of Muslims lived in different definite localities and had different houses of worship. For instance, in Kayalpatnam and other Muslim strongholds (in Tirunelveli District), the several sub-divisions among them were assigned separate

streets to live. In Dindigul and Madura, the Rāvuttans (a Section of Muslims) lived in a separate quarter, far off from other Muslims, with a mosque of their own.²²

Like the Tamil Muslims, Tamil Christians too retain the traditions of their Hindu fore-fathers. The higher caste Christians had their own churches and never permitted lower caste Christians to worship in them. Bishop Heber on enquiry found that the Christians were very particular about their castes and refused to inter-dine with other caste Christians. They had separate places in the Church and inter-marriage among them was unthinkable.²³ The Public and Revenue Consultations contain valuable information on caste system among the Christians. In 1834 when the Rev. Schreyvogel wanted to eradicate caste system, the Tamil Christian at Vepery (Madras) petitioned to the Right Hon'ble Governor in-Council that the Rev. Schreyvogel was unnecessarily and uselessly interfering with their affairs which they deemed necessary to maintain purity.²⁴ Even in schools and orphanages the caste Christian children refused to eat and sleep in the same dormitory with children of the lower castes.²⁵

Another disability of the lower castes was that they were prescribed what sort of houses they should build and what material they should employ in the construction of their houses. *Cānārs* were not allowed to build houses above one storey in height.²⁶ Even the houses of the lower castes were called by different names according to the occupant's castes; the people of inferior castes were not allowed to refer to their own homes in more flattering terms than as dung-heaps.²⁷

Besides, certain castes were forced to use certain garments and to wear certain ornaments and articles. The wearing of clothes above waist was a privilege of the higher castes and it was denied for the lower castes. The lower castes were prohibited to use gold and silver ornaments, umbrellas and even shoes. The untouchables were forbidden to wear gold ornaments and the women were not allowed to cover the upper portion of their bodies.²⁸ In 1931 when the untouchables violated it, their huts were set on fire, granaries and property were destroyed and their livestock was looted.²⁹

In addition to these restrictions on dress and ornaments, there were restrictions even on the language they used. In the Tanjore District, the *Paṭalyāls* (agricultural serfs) were compelled to call themselves before their masters at *aṭiyān* (your slave) and his food as *Kaṇci* or gruel. These restrictive measures made these poor untouchables very meek and submissive.

Restrictions on marriage

Most of the castes were further divided into a number of subcastes. These sub-castes endogamous and strictly forbade their members to marry persons from outside them. For all practical purposes these sub-castes were real castes.⁸⁰ Regarding these sub-castes and their functions, F.J. Richards observes: "It is an essential feature of the Hindu social that inter-marriage between these petty sub-divisions of each community organisation is prohibited. In other words, the unit of Hindu society is the endogamous group, or sub-caste as it may conveniently be called, the members of which may, except within the prohibited degrees of relationship, freely inter-marry; and the limits of each sub-caste are rigidly fixed by its *ius connubii*. The sub-caste itself (i.e. divided a number of smaller groups, which are governed by the law of exogamy, and which may conveniently be called clans. The members of a clan are theoretically descendents in the male line of a common ancestor, and are regarded as *tāyātis*; thus a marriage between two members of one clan would be looked on as within the prohibited degrees of relationship and therefore as incestuous."⁸¹ Thus these marriage restrictions made the Hindu society a closed society and prevented the free intercourse between members of different castes.

Like the Tamil Hindus, the Tamil Muslims too had certain restrictions regarding their marriage. The *Marakkāyars* (a section among the Muslims) divided among themselves according to their occupations such as merchants, blacksmiths, weavers, barbers, etc. These groups were endogamous and intermarriage between them was forbidden. Similarly among the *Rāvuttars* there were many territorial sub-divisions like the *Puliyāṅkuṣiāṇ*, the *Eḷaiyāṅkuṣiāṇ*, *Muciriyar*, etc., which were strictly endogamous.⁸² Likewise the Tamil Christians too followed their traditional caste restrictions of their Hindu forefathers. Thus the caste system, on the whole had divided the society into a number of separate and non-intermingling cells which to an outsider presented a sad spectacle.

Changes during the 19th century

The Hindu kings, traditionally upheld the institution of caste with the Brahmins at the apex of the social hierarchy. With the advent of the British, the political head of the Hindu society took a different turn. In the 19th century, the introduction of English education, the rule of law, the incoming of industrial organisation and the growth of industrial cities created a commotion which affected the entire Hindu body politic.

Though the British followed the policy of non-intervention in social and religious affairs, this did not protect the integrity of the fundamental Hindu institution, caste. The establishment of British courts the introduction of a uniform criminal law, removed from the purview of caste council many matters like assault, adultery, rape and the like and they were taken before the British courts for decision. As a result, the caste councils lost their former importance.

The enactment of many civil laws slowly set aside the authority of caste. The Charter Act of 1833 and the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 disturbed the integrity of caste. The charter Act of 1833 specifically provided that no Indian should be debarred from holding any office by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour. The Board of Directors followed this up with a dispatch pointing out that it meant that in future there should be "no governing caste" in British India and that Indians were to be admitted to places of trust as freely and fully as regard to the due discharge of the functions attached to them would allow. In other words, capacity and not caste was to be the criterion of eligibility for administrative offices. This was the major attack on caste. Likewise the caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 also affected the integrity of caste. It has radically altered the dharmasāstra applicable in the Court. It laid down that any law or usage which inflicted for forfeiture of rights or property, or which might be held to affect any right of inheritance, by reason of anyone being deprived of caste should no be enforceable in the Courts of law in British India. This Act was intended to protect converts either to Christianity or Islam from forfeiting rights in consequence of change of creed. It prevented any civil or legal disability being attached to those who lost their caste on conversion.⁸⁸ This had secured the equality of civil rights. These enactments slowly but steadily undermined the integrity of the caste system.

The growth of industrial cities and towns in the 19th century also caused the caste system to break up. The rise of hotels, restaurants, and the exigencies of office work forced city people to set aside their old ideas of purity. This enabled certain heterodox habits and practices to creep in. The use of Biscuits, artificial ice, Soda water and other aerated drinks had been accepted without question. Tinned food was not on a prohibited list. Caste rules were quietly ignored by patients who took medicines mixed by muslim and christian compounders; some even took beef tea if prescribed by a physician.

This adoption of westernism is shall-mark of all nations which are currently (and in the recent past have been) emerging into nationhood in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. But in the case of India the difference is, two conflicting value systems are juxtaposed: the private lives of the people being guided by one and their public life by another; the latter is eroding the former in all superficial areas of social life; the former is resisting the latter in the basic thoughts and actions of the people in their personal and family contexts.**

NOTES

1. Smith, Vincent, *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 42.
2. Barth, *The Religions of India*, 1882, Preface, p. XVIII.
3. Dubois, Abbe, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Third Edn., 1959, p. 15.
4. Subramanian, N. Caste system in the Tamil country in *Social History of India*, Edited by O.P. Bhatnagar, 1964, p. 137.
5. Journal of American Oriental Society, No.2, 1948.
6. The division of society into Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sadra had a peculiar effect in the Tamil country in the later period. When the census was taken in 1871 all castes claimed superiority over the other by inventing even mythological stories in praise of their own particular castes. They deemed it a honour in calling themselves Kshatriyas and Vaisyas though they were deemed to be Sudras by the Brahmins. This is a clear indication to prove that the Tamils attached more importance to Aryan varna system than their own communal system.
7. Smith, V. A., Op. cit. p. 61.
8. Ketkar, *The History of Caste in India*, 1909, Vol. I, P. 16.
9. Spear, Percival *India Pakistan and the West*, Third Edition. 1958.
10. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, 1932, p. 16.
11. Abbe Dubois, Op. cit. Pp. 186-187.
12. Census of Bengal, 1911, p. 451.
13. "This class (Pariahs) is the most numerous of all, and in conjunction with that of the chucklers, or cobblers, represents atleast a quarter of the population. The contempt and aversion with which the other castes-and particularly the Brahmins - regard these unfortunate people are carried to such an excess that in many places their presence, or even their foot-prints, are considered sufficient to defile the whole of neighbourhood. They are forbidden to cross a street in which Brahmins are living. Should they be so ill-advised as to do so, the latter would have the right, not to strike themselves, because they could not do so without defilement, or even touch them with the end of a long stick, but to order them to be severely beaten by other people. A pariah who had the audacity to enter a Brahmin's house might possibly be murdered on the spot. A revolting crime of this sort has been actually perpetuated in States under rule of native princes without a voice being raised in expostulation.* Abbe Dubois, Op. cit. Pp. 49-51.

14. Dubois, Op. cit. p. 50.
15. Report on the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, p. 483.
16. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol X, p. 491, Also Abbe Dubois, Op. cit p.182.
17. Abbe Dubois, Op. cit. p. 179.
18. Salem Gazetteer, p. 131.
19. Slater, Some South Indian Villages, Madras, 1918, P. 38.
20. Trichinopoly Gazetteer, 1907, Vol. I, P. 81.
21. Ghurye, Op. cit. P. 11.
22. Hussain, Quadir, In the Madras Christian College Magazine, Vol. 30, 1913, P. 408.
23. Bower, H. The Rev., *Essay on Hindu Caste*, Christian Tract Society, Calcutta, 1851.
24. Public Consultations, dated the 7th March, 1834, Vol. 619, Pp. 730-740.
25. Christian Missionary Society Diary, dt. 31st December, 1815.
26. Logan, Malabar, Madras, 1887, Vol. I, P. 85.
27. Ibid., P. 27.
28. Madras Census, 1891, P. 224.
29. Hutton, *Caste in India*, 1961, Third Edition, P. 205.
30. "It is the small endogamous sub-divisions which are for all social purposes the real castes". Madras Census, 1901, P. 128.
31. Salem Gazetteer, 1918, Pp. 123-124.
32. Madras Christian College Magazine, Vol. 30, 1913, Pp. 408, 409.
33. See Derrett, J.D.M., *Introduction to Modern Hindu Law*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1963, P. 619.
34. Subramanian, N., Op. cit.

Sanskritic Influence on Tamil Metrics

A. Pitchai

Introduction

Sanskrit which is enriched with Vedic and Classical literatures of high merit comparable to Tamil classics, has exerted greater influence over most of the Indian languages and literatures. Tamil too is not an exception to its influence. Tamil grammar as well as Tamil poetics has undergone changes due to its impact. This paper tries to trace the impact of Sanskrit prosody on Tamil versification.

Two Schools of thought

There exists a difference of opinions with regard to the influence of Sanskrit prosody on Tamil prosody. T. P. Meenakshisundaranar (1974 : 322) has noted Sanskrit influence over Tamil versification and points out that Sanskrit prosody also studied in Comparison with the prosody of Tamil. T. Virabhadra Mudaliyar (1939 : 4), Rajamanickam Pillai (1939-37 : 374) and N. V. Krishna Warriar (1977 : 11, 156) recognize Sanskrit influence. Contrary to this, S. Subramanian (1977 : 192-193, 447) opines that the influence of Sanskrit could not penetrate the main structure for a long period from the age of *Tolkāppiyam* to the present day and in no way Sanskrit Prosody is found mingled within the literatures of Tamil nor is dealt within the structure of Tamil Poetry at least in the earlier period. According to his opinion, the prosody of Tamil is pure in its nature. As a difference of opinions is found among Tamil scholars, this paper aims at finding out whether the Tamil prosody was subjected to Sanskrit influence or not.

Reference of Sanskrit and Prakrit Works

As a result of language contact and social acculturation of Tamil with Sanskrit scholars received royal patronage from the Pallava period and works of Sanskrit prosody were studied to apply for Tamil prosody. A host of Sanskrit and Prakrit prosodial treatises are referred to in the commentaries of Yāpparuṅkalam (1973 : 486, 523) and Yāpparuṅkalak-karikai. Piṅkalam, Maṅgalam, jeyadēvam, Nanācāriyam, Candrakōḍic-cāṅtam, Mayūṭiricāṅtam and Mēṭakaṭiricāṅtam are some of the works in Sanskrit on prosodies. References to these works implied that Sanskrit works on prosody were well known to medieval Tamil scholars who tried to explain Tamil prosody from the standpoint of Sanskrit prosody. Such

scholars were called “vaṭanūlvaṭi ṭamiṭcīriyār” (Tamil scholars who follow Sanskrit tradition) by the commentator of Yāpparuṅkalam (1973 : 48).

Borrowing of Sanskrit terms

Tamil prosodists have borrowed some metrical terms for which Tamil has already equivalents. For instance, *Tolkāppiyar* employs the word “māttirai” (T. N. 310, 311) for *alavu*, “ācīriyam” (T. N. : 321, 331 etc.) for *akaval*, “cūṭṭiram” for (T. N : 426) *pōkkiyal* or *aṭakkiyal*.

Similarly, *Kākkaiṭṭiṇiyār* who belongs to the Sanskrit school of Tamil metrics, translates *ṭṭalai* into “baṇḍam” (K. N. : 20) *ocai* into “caṇṭam” (K.N. : 55) *muraṇ* into “raṇam”, (K.N. : 35) *aṭi* into “pāṭam” (K.N. : 82). In addition to these, when she codifies and defines a new rhyme (Chain rhyme) which is not found in *Tolkāppiyam*, she derives a compound word “antati” (K. N. : 43) from Sanskrit lexicals. Both the native words and the equivalent borrowed terms have existed side by side, but few Sanskrit words dominated the usage at the expense of native words. Such are *māttirai*, *ācīriyam*, *curiṭakam*, *caṇṭam*, *āṇṭati* etc. However, words like *baṇḍam*, *pāṭam*, *raṇam* and so on have not rooted well in Tamil prosody because of the concepts of these elements which are peculiar to Tamil.

Impact of Sanskrit metrical theory

Syllable

Syllabification of Sanskrit fundamentally differs from that of Tamil even if both Sanskrit and Tamil metres belong to the quantitative metrical system, the basics which is the durational differences of short and long vowels. Tamil metrical syllable is more morphemic rather than phonemic or syllabic in the sense that a combination of two shorts or of one short and one long with or without consonants may constitute a metric syllable named *nirai* whereas short and long vowels are distinctively separate syllables in Sanskrit. But in Tamil either vowels are included under *nēr* syllable.

Keeping Sanskrit syllabism in mind, *Kākkaiṭṭiṇiyār* has reduced fourfold syllabification of *Tolkāppiyar* into two fold classification by leaving *nērupu* and *niraiṭpu* and calls *nēracai* as *ṭaniyacai* (K. N. : 5, 10, monosyllable) and *niraiyacai* as “*iṇaiyacai*” (K.N. 5, 6, 7, 10, bisyllable) *Puṭṭamiṭṭiṇanār* who adopted Sanskrit models to explain Tamil grammar and poetics has also included the concept of Sanskrit syllabification. (V. N. 130) but he never tries to incorporate and to equate both the distinct system. However, due to the influence of Sanskrit prosody

wherein generally letters themselves form syllables, he has enumerated letter as a constituent of metrical syllable (V. N. : 105). Besides, he disregards *ṭalai* which is a unique element of Tamil versification. As Sanskrit metrics does not deal with *ṭalai* and *pāvinams* do not require *ṭalai* restrictions, *Puttamittiraṇār* would have omitted in his description.

Following Sanskrit prosody which explains that each vowel is a unit and a syllable, *Avinayanār* classified *Tolkāppiyars* fourfold division in terms of units (Y. V. : 1973 : 47). According to him *nēr* has one unit, *nirai* two units, *nēru* three units and *niraipu* four units. The same explanation has also been found in *Iḷampūraṇar's* commentary on *Ceyyuliyal* (T. P. : 1974 : 422). But, such a classification does not hold good because *nēru* has only two units and *niraipu* three units. Hence, A. C. Chettiyar remarks that this sort of categorization is unreasonable (1977 : 16).

Sanskrit and Prakrit prosodists employ a system of prosodic notation to symbolize short vowel (lagu) as A and long vowel (guru) as U. A similar attempt has been made by a medieval metrician name *Mayēcurar* to denote fourfold classification of metrical syllables (Y. V. : 1973 : 48). He uses ८, ७, ६ and ५ symbols for *nēr*, *nirai*, *nēru* and *niraipu* respectively, but no metricist followed his notations. On the other hand, *Amitacākarar* (Y.K.N : 7) and *Puttamittiraṇar* (V. N. : 106) have formulated "foot schemes", (cīr vāypāṭukaḷ) such as *tēma*, *puḷimā* etc, to illustrate rhythmic or metrical structure of a line or verse. In this connection mention must be made about R. Srinivasaraghavachary Siromani who has attempted to symbolize *nēr* as *nirai* as U and also describes foot schemes in terms of these symbols (1957 : 117).

Foot

There is no adaptation regarding foot theory. However, in *pāṭṭiyal* works, we can find the introduction of astrology into prosody, thus, resulting classification of feet in terms of *Curiyakaṇam*, *Canṭirakaṇam* etc. (1970 : 25-30). Such a kind of naming feet is seen in Kannada and Telugu prosodial treatises and it seems to be an impact of Sanskrit prosody.

Line

In Tamil, a line is decided by the number of feet it contains while in Sanskrit number of letters in a line and fixed quantity of *mātra* in a foot is taken into account to differentiate lines or metres. At the outset, *Tolkāppiyar* divides lines in terms of feet from bimeter (*iruciraṭi*) to heptameter (*eḷuciraṭi*) and then, he takes tetra meter (*nārciraṭi*) alone to

subdivide into five kinds (T. N. : 334-348). In the secondary classification of lines based on number of letters would have been influenced by Sanskritic metrics may be proved with the following evidential explanations.

Tolkāppiyar prescribes the range of 4 to 6 letters for *kuṛalaṣi*, a range of 7 to 9 letters for *cinṭaṣi*, a range of 11 to 14 for *aḷavaṣi* and range of 18 to 20 letters for *kaḷiṇeṣilaṣi*. Five varieties are exclusively for tetrameter which is common to *āciriyaṇṇā*, *veṇṇā* and *kalippā*. Though *taḷai* is a unique element of Tamil prosody, *Tolkāppiyar* does not include it as one of the constituents of meter (T. N. : 310) but he gives some references about few kinds of *taḷai*. As *Tolkāppiyar* excludes *taḷai* which has no equivalent in Sanskrit meter, he tries to differentiate *āciriyaṇṇā*, *veṇṇā* and *kalippā* by allotting a particular quantity of letters to each metre. Accordingly, *veṇṇā* has *cinṭaṣi* and *aḷavaṣi*; *kalippā* has the last two varieties of tetrameter. If we say that the purpose of dividing tetrameter on the basis of letter to differentiate three metres (verses), he fails to do so because lines having, 13 and 14 letters are common to three metres (verses) and we could not differentiate by letters alone. *taḷai* is needed to make distinction among them. If *Tolkāppiyar* has attempted to classify three metres on the basis of the nature of *taḷais*, his secondary classification would be an indigineous one. In this regard, the concept of *kaṣṭaḷaiyaṣi* which literally means "prescriptive line" deserves mention here. Undoubtedly, this concept is foreign to Tamil.

Foot and linkage (*taḷai*) are very important components of Tamil metres. *Āciriyaṇṇā* and *vaṇṇippā* are considered to be the earliest and oldest metres of Tamils by Kamil Zvelebil (1973 : 120). These two metres can be differentiated by feet alone. There is no necessity of counting letters because *āciriyaṇṇā* may be composed of tetra metres and exceptionally, of trimeter, pentameter, hexameter and heptameter while *vaṇṇā*, generally, employs bimeter and rarely trimeter. Hence primary classification based on letters seems to be an influence of Sanskrit prosody.

Rhymes

Tamil Prosodists conventionally include rhymes (*toṭoikaḷ*) as a part of metrics while Sanskrit metrics consider rhymes as ornamental devices and hence speak of under rhetorics. Such a classification would have initiated *Puttamittiraṇār* to enlist *muraṇṭoṭai* (oxymoron) in rhetorics (V. N. : 171). The commentator of *Yāpparunkalakkārikai* says that Sanskrit *anuprasa* is nothing but *vaḷietukai* in Tamil (Y. K. : P. 191). N.V. Krishna Warriar states that Sanskrit *yaṭi* which means initial rhyme of

similar sound is also called *vaḍi* or *vaḷi* in Telugu prosody (1977 : 319). *Puttamittiraṇār* enumerates *anu* letters in detail (V. N. : 108) and also some anonymous sutras quoted in *Yāpparaṅkaḷam* also illustrates *anu* letters.

Imitation of stanzaic forms

As already said, *ācīriyam* and *vañci metres* are considered as the earliest metres when compared to *veṇṇā* and *kalippā* which are stanzaic in nature. According to Tolkāppiyar, the former set do not have sub-classification whereas *veṇṇā* is divided into two, viz., *kuṟuveṇṇāṭṭu* and *neṭuveṇṇāṭṭu* and *kalippā* into four, viz., *oṭṭaḷicai koccakam*, *uṟaḷkali* and *kaliveṇṇāṭṭu*. All these verselets except *kaliveṇṇāṭṭu* are so stanzaic that Tolkāppiyar elaborately illustrates the constituents of each verselet.

While explaining, Tolkāppiyar uses such Sanskrit words as *arākam*, *curitakam* and *ampōtaraṅkam*. T. P. Meenakshisundaranar points out that "arākam" a Sanskrit word derived from *rāga* is now pronounced as *iragam* (1965 : 176). There is a change in the use of prothetic vowel, *arāgam* meaning "a tune" is a part of verselet of *kalippā* and it consists of *nirai* syllables with two short vowels. Similarly, *curitakam* is concluding part of *kalippā*. T. P. Meenakshisundaranar derives the word *curitakam* from *svarita* which means "nālitaḷ" or "falling tone" and he explains that in Sanskrit, *svarita* is one of the three pitch accents (1974) 268-270). It is significant to note that as the word *curitakam* suggests the meaning of "descending rhythm", it has been aptly used to denote: the poetic closure of *kalippā*. *Ampōtaraṅkam* too is a part of *kalippā* and it signals a combination of two Sanskrit words. The stanzaic nature of *kali* verse represents Sanskrit influence on Tamil metres.

Tolkāppiyar mentions only two kinds of *veṇṇā*, viz., couplet form (*kuṟuveṇṇāṭṭu*) and sonnet form (*neṭuveṇṇāṭṭu*). But in Post Sangam works, we have a good deal of ethical literature in *veṇṇā* metre. According to N. V. Krishna Warriar, triplet and quartain forms in *veṇṇā* metre are new to Tamil prosody (1977 : 156). These two form would have been composed on the models of *Gayatri* and *Anuṣṭuph* metres belonging to *vedic* period. *veṇṇā* metre is mostly employed for sublime themes or ethical themes because of its quatrain structure and purity to remind Vedic hymns.

During medieval periods and also upto the beginning of 20th century *pāviṅams* (auxillary metres) have been used in the place of *pās* (principal metres). The classification of *pāviṅams* does not have a consistent basic criteria. There is no relation between particular *pā* and

pāvinam. As a pāvinam does not share commonness of pā and peculiarity of a category (say, taḷicai), three fold classification of pāvinams needs revision. In pāvinam, we could not include all the verses which can not be included under pās. Hence, threefold classification should be expanded so as to include all the forms. Kākkaipāṭiṇiyār and followers of her school made this defective classification. Where did she get this sort of division? It seems that the threefold classification might be an influence of Sanskrit. Sanskrit viruttam is classified into three viz., sama vṛtta, arṭta vṛtta and visama viruttam (Y. V. : 1973 : 486-487). On the model of classification of Sanskrit viruttam, the medieval metrists, particularly Kākkaipāṭiṇiyār attempted to classify pāvinams. Though both the classifications do not have one to one correspondence and coincide each other, three fold classification might be the basic for Kākkaipāṭiṇiyār who is said to be a Sanskritic Tamil scholar. She enumerates viruttam being the first category and tuṟai and taḷicai as the respective next categories. The last two words were taken from kalippā and thematics.

In bhakti literatures, We find viruttam and Tāṭṭakam which are classical sanskrit metres. Being quatrain in structure, Tamil viruttam resembles Sanskrit sloka. There is a difference of views in the derivation of viruttam. N. Krishna Warriar (1977-11) and others opine that it might have been derived from the Sanskrit word vṛtta. Conversely, S. V. Subramanian assigns a root 'viruntu' (one of the eight vanappus) to viruttam. Though his derivation is convincing, it is not acceptable because of the following reasons : (1) Kākkaipāṭiṇiyār who is a metrist belonging to the Sanskrit school of Tamil prosody uses the viruttam to classify pāvinams; In the previous explanations, it is shown how Kākkaipāṭiṇiyār uses Sanskrit terms and describes on the basis of Sanskrit metrical theory. (2) viruttam originally means kaṭṭalaikkalittuṟai which is a "prescriptive" or "strict" metre representing Sanskrit influence. For instance, tiruviruttam of Appar and Nammālvār are composed kaṭṭalaikkalittuṟai. Taking this reasons into consideration, it can be safely concluded that the word "viruttam" would have been derived from the Sanskrit word "vṛtta":

As seen in the derivation of viruttam, controversial issues regarding the origin of viruttam are found among Tamil Scholars. Commentators like perāciyar (T. P. : 1975 : 340 - 341) are of opinion that viruttam can be traced back to the integral parts of kalippā, particularly, A. C. Chettiyar and T. P. Meenakshisundaranar think of the same source, but Devaneyappavanar states that it might have originated from "maṇḍilayāppu" as regard to in Tolkāppiyam. Whatever may be the origin of viruttam metre, there seems to be some sort of imitation in composing

viruttam on the model of Sanskrit slokas during the bhakti period. That is why Puttamittiraṅār follows the classificatory system of Sanskrit. *chaṇḍas* elaborately in his prosodial treatise.

E. N. Tanikachala Mudaliyar (1939 : 9) says that various types viruttams are clearly and unmistakably imitation of Sanskrit viruttams. T. Virabhadra Mudaliyar (1939 : 4) divides viruttams into two class : (1) viruttams that are peculiar to Tamil (2) viruttams that are common to Tamil and Sanskrit. Eventhough the so called *viruttams* which are based on feet, are said to be indigineous metres *viruttams* that are composed on the basis of letters such as *kaṭṭalaikkalippā*, *kaṭṭalaikkalitturai*, *chanda kalitturai* and *viruttum* that are composed on the basis of *mātrās* of fixed quantity in a foot such as *chanda viruttams*, are certainly influenced by *akshara chaṇḍas* and *mātra chaṇḍas* of Sanskrit. Following Sanskrit prosody T. Virabhadra Mudaliyar explains those viruttams that are common to Tamil and Sanskrit names such as *toṭakam*, *Sragvini*, *mālini*, *maṭṭakokila*, *uṣāha vanamāyura*, *savagaṭā*. and so on to classify those metres.

The word *Tāṇṭakam* which is dealt with in *Pāṭṭiyal* works as genre (P. P. N. : 195) has been borrowed from Sanskrit *Tāṇṭaka*. In Malayalam and Sanskrit, it is referred to as a metre. Though Puttamittiraṅār explains that *Tāṇṭakam* consists of four lines having 27 letters or more in each line, it has been strictly followed in Tamil *Tāṇṭakams*. *Kuruntāṇṭakam* and *neṭuntāṇṭakam* of Tirumāṅkaiyālvār differed only in the number of feet they contain. The former consists of 6 feet and latter is composed of 8 feet. As Appar is known as *Tāṇṭakavēṇṭar* (king of *Tāṇṭakams*), he would have introduced it into Tamil. Singaravelan (1975: 73) considers that in no way Tamil *Tāṇṭakam* is in relation with Sanskrit *Tāṇṭakam*. Hence, only word was borrowed to name a new metre which was formed due to the influence of Sanskrit metre.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussions, we can infer that Sanskrit prosody has influenced Tamil metrical system to some extent. If we observe the influence of Sanskrit from a historical point of view, we will find that the degree of influence has become more and more. Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu were so influenced by Sanskrit that they followed Sanskrit prosodic approach to analyse their verses. Eventhough Tamil prosodists did not adopt metrical theory as such, they analysed Tamil verses bearing Sanskrit prosody in mind. Sanskrit prosody influenced Tolkāppiyar school of thought resulting in another school of thought.

led by Kākkaippāṭṇiyār. The influence of Sanskrit metrics is measurable and it can not be ignored when we study either the historical development of Tamil prosody or the comparative study of Dravidian metres. In short, Sanskrit prosody had acted as a positive catalyst to the change and development of Tamil metres.

Abbreviations

K. N	--- Kākkaippāṭṇiyam Nūrpā (Sūtra)
P. P. N.	... Panniru pāṭṭiyal Nūrpā
T. N.	... Tolkāppiyam Nūrpā
T. P.	... Tolkāppiyam poruḷatikāram
V. N.	--- Viracōliyam Nūrpā
Y. V.	... Yāpparuṅkala viruṭṭi
Y. N. N.	... Yāpparuṅkalakkārigai Nūrpā

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பாடாண்திணை-ஒரு மூலிகை மருந்தறிவியல் ஆய்வு

இரா. குமாரசுவாமி

ஆதவனின் ஒளியை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டவை மூலிகள். (மூல் உடையது மூலி; வேர் உடையது வேரி போல). மூலம் (மூல் + அம்) வழியாக நிலத்தில் காலூன்றி நிற்பவை மூலிகள். மூலமுடைய மரஞ்செடிகொடிகளைச் சார்ந்து வாழ்வது மன்பதை உலகம். தமிழ் மக்கள் தாம் மேற்கொள்ளும் அக ஒழுக்க முறைகளுக்கு முறையே குறிஞ்சி, மூல்லை, மருதம், நெய்தல், பாலை என்று மூலிகைப் பெயரிட்டனர். இதுபோன்று பூச்சுடிப் போர்புரியும் புறத்திணைகளுக்கும் வெட்சி, வஞ்சி, உழிஞை, தும்பை, வாகை, காஞ்சி, பாடாண் என்று மூலிகைப் பெயரிட்டதில் வியப்பில்லை. கைக்கிளை, பெருந்திணை நீங்கலாக பிற பன்னிரண்டு திணைகளுக்கும் ஒழுக்கம் நிகழ்கின்ற இடமுண்டு. எனவே இவ்விடங்களில் வளரும் மூலிகளும் இருந்தேயாக வேண்டும்.

இருப்பினும் தொல்காப்பியம், புறப்பொருள் வெண்பாமாலை போன்ற இலக்கண நூல்களின் உரை ஆசிரியர்கள் இறுதிப் புறத்திணையாகிய பாடாண்திணையை இந்நாள்வரையிலும் மூலிகைப்பெயர் அடிப்படையில் விளக்க முற்பட்டாரில்லை. பாடப்பெறும் ஆண்மகனின் வீரம், கொடை, தண்ணீர் குறித்த ஒழுக்கநிலை விளக்கும் திணையாகவே இவர்கள் இதனைப் பேசுகின்றனர்.

பாடாண் பகுதி கைக்கிளைப் புறனே

நாடுங்காலை நாவிரண்டு உடைத்தே

(தொல்: பொருள் : 80 இளம்; உரை)

ஆயின் பிற ஆறு புறத்திணைகளுக்கும் மூலிகைப்பெயர் அடிப்படை இருத்தலால் ஏழாவது புறத்திணையாகிய பாடாண்திணைக்கும் மூலிகைப் பெயர் அடிப்படை இருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்பது இக்கட்டுரை ஆசிரியரின் கருதுகோள். இந்நாள் வரை பழம்பெரும் உரை ஆசிரியர்கள் அறிவியலுக்குப் பொருத்தமான விளக்கத்தை, மூலிகையின் அடிப்படையில் காண எவ்வாறு தவறிவிட்டனர் என்பதை பாடாண் மரம் குறித்த பின்வரும் ஆய்வுகள் விளக்குகின்றன.

பாடாண்மரம்

பாடாண் என்ற சொல் இலக்கிய மூலிகை மருந்தறிவியல் (Letero herbal Pharmacognosy) அடிப்படையில் பாடு + ஆண் என்று பிரிந்து, பாடு என்ற உரிச்சொல் புறத்துப் பிறந்த ஆண் என்னும் பெயர்ச்சொல்லாக விளக்க

முறும். பாடு என்னும் சொல் பெருமை¹ கேடு² சாவு³ என்னும் பொருளுடைத்து. ஆண் என்னும் சொல் ஆண் தன்மையின் எல்லாச் சிறப்புகளும் (அழகு, தோற்றம், நிறம், மணம், இனப்பெருக்க விரியம், மருத்துவப் பயன், மந்திரப்பயன்) கொண்ட ஒரு மரக்கிளவியாகும். இதனால் பாடாண் என்ற சொல் மூலிகையியல் அடிப்படையில் பெருமைமிக்கதும் சாவைத் தவிர்ப்பது மான ஆண் மரம் என்று விளக்கம் பெறும். பாடு அவரை இவ்வாறு விளக்கம் பெறுவதை இவண் கொள்க. எனவே புறத்திணைகள் ஏழும் வரிசையாக வெட்சியில் தொடங்கி இறுதியில் பாடாண் என்ற மூலிகைப்பெயரில் முடிவதாகவே விளக்கம் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

தொல்காப்பியர் சொல்லும் ஆண் மரம்

ஆண் மரம் என்ற கிளவி தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடும் பல அரிய மூலிகளில் ஒன்றாகும்.

ஆண்மரக் கிளவி அரைமர இயற்றே

(தொல். எழுத். மர : 305)

ஆயின் தொல்காப்பியர் கூறும் ஆண் மரம் இன்று தமிழ்நாட்டில் இருக்கிறதா? இதற்குரிய அறிவியல் சான்றுகளைக் கண்டு அவ்வடிப்படையில் இதுவரை இம்மரத்தின் மூலிகையியல் தடயம் (Botanical Identity) கண்டறியப் பெறவில்லை. குறிப்பான கண்டறிவின்மையால் குழப்பமடைந்த நிகண்டாசிரியர்களும், அகராதி ஆசிரியர்களும் லெக்னிகன் தொகுப்பாளர்களும், கலைக்களஞ்சியம் உருவாக்கியவர்களும் இதனை ஐயம் திரிவுற்ற ஒருமரமாகக் குறிக்காமல் தெளிவற்ற பொதுப்பெயர்களிலும், தோராயமான சிறப்புப் பெயர்களிலும் குறித்துள்ளனர்.

பாடாண்மரப் பேதங்கள்

- (1) உள்வயிரமுள்ள மரப்பொது (உற்ற ஆண் மரம் உள்வயிரமுள்ள மரமாகும் - பிங்கலம்)⁴
- (2) கருங்காணி மரம் (சாம்பசிவம்)⁵
- (3) நஞ்சை முறிக்கும் ஆற்றலுள்ள சேரன்மரம் (பிங்கலம்)⁶
- (4) நஞ்சை முறிக்கும் ஆற்றலுள்ள அழிஞ்சில் மரம் (மலையகராதி)⁷
- (5) காய்க்காத கோளிமரங்கள்; ஆண்பனை போன்றவை(சாம்பசிவம்)⁸

மேற்குறித்த ஐவகை மரங்களுள் ஆண்மரத்தை மூலிகையியல் தடயத்துடன் இனம் கண்டு இவ்வாய்வில் அறியப் பெறுகிறது.

இவற்றில், முதல் தடயம் உள்வயிரமுள்ள தன்மை குறித்தது. இது வலிமையற்ற ஆய்வு அளவுகோலாகும். ஏனெனில் மரத்தின் பொது இலக்கணமே அதன் உள் வயிரம் (அகக்காழ்) உடைய தன்மை என்கிறார் தொல்காப்பியர்.

புறக்கா முனவே புல்லென மொழிப
அகக் காழனவே மரமென மொழிப

(தொல். மரபு : 640)

தமிழ்நாட்டில் அகக்காழ் உடைய மரங்கள் எண்ணற்றவை. அவை அனைத்தும் ஆண்மரமாகா.

இரண்டாம் தடயம் மருத்துவ அடிப்படையுடையது. மரத்தின் அனைத்து உறுப்புக்களும் நஞ்சை முறிக்கும் மருந்தாகப் பன்னெடுங்காலமாக மன்பதைக்கு பயன்படும் மருத்துவத் தன்மையுடைய மூலிகள் சில ஆண்மரமெனப் பெயர் பெறுகின்றன. சே மரமும் பெருமருந்தும் அழிஞ்சிலும் இவ்வகைப்படும்;

பெருமருந்து (Aristolochia Indica)

இஃது ஈசர மூலி எனப்பெறும். இது மணமிக்கதோர் பெருங்கொடி. பாம்பு, பூரான் போன்ற நஞ்சுகளுக்கும் இடுமருந்துகளுக்கும் நல்லமுறிவு. இது ஒரு மரமன்று.

சேங்கொட்டை (Semicarpus Travancorica Bed)

சேமரத்தின் கொட்டையிலுள்ள நெய் நஞ்சை முறிக்கும் இயல்புடையது. இது சித்தருண்ணும் கல்ப மூலிகை. தமிழ்நாட்டுக் காடுகளில் வளர்வது. மூலிகளுக்கு நிறமூட்டுவது. மூலிகளைக் கல்பமாக்கும் ஆற்றலுடையது.³ சில வகைப் புற்றுநோய்களைச் சாடுவதில் சர்வதேசப் புகழ்பெற்றது.¹⁰

அழிஞ்சில்

இதனைத் தமிழ் நிகண்டுகள் அங்கோலம் என்றும் வழங்கும்.¹¹ பல்வகையான செவிடங்களுக்கும் கடி நஞ்சுகளுக்கும் சிறந்த முறிமருந்து. கிரகணி மருந்துகளுள் சிறந்தது. மனவசியத்திற்கும் இந்திரசாலத்திற்கும் உரிய மரம். வரலாற்றுப் பெருமை உடையது. ஆயுள்வேத மருத்துவர்கள் அங்கோலத்தை நீண்ட ஆயுளுக்குரிய இரசாயனம் என்பர்.¹²

ஆண்பனை (Borassus Flabellifer Male)

காயக்காத இம்மரம் பனையில் ஆண் இனம். புல்லினத்தைச் சார்ந்தது. தாலப்புல் என்பார் இளங்கோவடிகள்.¹³ உள்வயிரமற்றது. புறக்காழ் உடையது. நஞ்சுகளை முறிப்பதில்லை.

கருங்காலி

காயத்திரி என்று வழுத்தப்பெறும் மறைத்திருமரம். கருஞ்சிவப்பு நிறமான உள்வயிரம் உண்டு. இதில் காசு கட்டியும் கத்த காம்பும் ஊறு நென்றன.¹⁴ நஞ்சுகளை முறிக்கும் ஆற்றல் அற்றது.

மேற்கூறிய ஐந்து மூலிகளிலும் ஆண் மரத்தின் உண்மையான மூலிகையியல் தடயத்தைப் பின்வருமாறு ஆய்வோம். முதற்கண் ஆண்மரத்தின் உள்வயிரம் கொண்ட தன்மையை ஆய்வோம்.

சேமரமும் பெருமருந்தும் உள்வயிரம் அற்றவை. பெருமருந்து கொடியாதலின் உள்வயிரமில்லை. சேரான் மரத்திற்கும் உள்வயிரமில்லை. மரமுழுவதும் மென்கட்டை கொண்டது.¹⁶

சே என் மரப்பெயர் ஒரு மர இயற்றே

(தொல். எழுத்து : 279)

இதன் கனிகளின் சிவப்பு நிறமும் எரிக்கும் தன்மையுமே இம்மரத்தின் சே என்ற பெயருக்கும் அடிப்படை. கடுமரத்தின் காய், கடுக்காய் என்று வழங்குதல்போல இதன் கொட்டையைச் சேங்கொட்டை என்பர்.¹⁸ இதன் கொட்டையில் நோய் ஆற்றும் கதிர்விச்சு பொட்டாசிய சத்தும், கருவங்க சத்தும் இருப்பதாக மேலைநாடுகளில் கண்டுள்ளனர்.¹⁷ சேங்கொட்டை மரம் செறிந்த ஊர் செங்கோட்டையென்றும் திருச்செங்கோடு என்றும் இன்றும் வழங்கப்பெறுகின்றன.

தொல்காப்பியரின் சேமரமும் ஆண்மரமும்

சேமரத்தையும் ஆண்மரத்தையும் வெவ்வேறான மரக்கிளவிகளாக எழுத்ததிகாரத்தில் தொல்காப்பியர் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.¹⁸ இதனால் நிகண்டுகள் குறித்தல் போன்று சேமரம் ஆண்மரமாகாது.

அடுத்து கருங்காலி மரத்துக்கு வலிமிக்க உள்வயிரமும் சிறந்த துவர்ப்புச் சத்தும் உண்டு. ஆனால் நஞ்சு முறிக்கும் தன்மையில்லை.¹⁹ எனவே இதுவும் ஆண்மரமாகாது.

இறுதியில் இந்த ஆய்வில் மிஞ்சி இருக்கும் மூலி அழிஞ்சில் ஒன்றுதான். வரலாற்றுத் தொன்மையும்²⁰ மருத்துவச்சிறப்பும்²¹ மாந்திரீக வழக்காறு முள்ள²² இம்மரமே தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் ஆண்மரம் என்று அறுதியிட்டுச் சொல்ல ஏராளமான அகச்சான்றுகளும் புறச்சான்றுகளும் இன்றுள்ளன. இச்சான்றுகள், ஆண்மரத்தின் அடையாளத் தடயங்களைக் காட்டுவதுடன், பாடாண்திணைக்கும் பக்கச் சான்றாக அமைந்து, புறத்திணைப் பிரிவுக்கும் ஒரு மூலிகை அடிப்படையை வழங்குகின்றன.

அழிவு தவிர்க்கும் அழிஞ்சில்

அழிஞ்சில் என்ற சொல் அழிவற்றது என்ற பொருள் உடைத்து. தமிழ் மொழியிலும் அதன் கிளைமொழியான மலையாளத்திலும் இன்றும் இதனை “அழிஞ்சில்” என்பர்.²³ மெல்லினம் மிகுந்து இச்சொல் தமிழில் அழிஞ்சில் என்று வழங்கப்பெறுகிறது. எளிதில் அழியாது பல்லாண்டு வாழும் ஆல் அரசு அத்தி இத்தி போன்ற கோளிமரங்களைவிட, ஆண் மரம் பல தலைமுறைகள் வேர்க் குருத்துக்கள் வழியாக நாற்றிசையும் நிலத்தின்கீழ் கிளைபரப்பிப் பங்கும் பண்புடையது.²⁴ ஆலமரம் நிலத்தின் மேல் வீழ்கள் ஊன்றிக் கிளைப்பது. ஒரு அழிஞ்சில் மரம் சில ஆண்டு அதைச் சுற்றிலும் விதைமுளையாது பல மரங்களை வேர் மொக்குகள் வழி உருவாக்கிவிடும். முடிவில் ஒரு அழிஞ்சில் காட்டையே தோற்றுவிக்கும் ஆற்றலுடையது. இதனை இன்றும் கொங்கணம், சேலம், தருமபுரி, ஆர்க்காடு, குறநாடு, கேரளம் போன்ற பகுதிகளில் காணலாம். அழிஞ்சில் காட்டை அதன் வறட்சி குறித்துப் பாலை நில

மென்பது மக்கள் மரபு.²⁵ எனவே ஆண்மரமான அழிஞ்சில் பாலைக்குரிய கருப்பொருள். அழிஞ்சிக்கோடு, ஆணங்கோடு, தெற்கு ஆணங்கோடு (திக்கணங்கோடு) போன்ற மூலிகை வழிப் பிறந்த ஊர்ப்பெயர்கள் இன்றும் குமரி மாவட்டத்தில் உண்டு. கூர்ச்சரத்தின் தானா என்ற ஊரிலுள்ள மருத்துவமனை வளவில் ஒரு மரம் 20 அடி சுற்றளவில் சுமார் 9 பெரும் அழிஞ்சில் மரங்களை வேர் வழியாக உருவாக்கி உள்ளது.²⁶ கல்கத்தா விலுள்ள அகன்ற ஆலம்பண்ணை போன்றது இது. இது அழிஞ்சிலின் அழி வற்ற தன்மைக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டு. சென்னை அரும்பாக்கம் அண்ணா மருத் துவமனை மூலிகைத் தோட்டத்திலும் இவ்வாறான சிறு பண்ணை ஒன்று உள்ளது.

உண்டவர் அழிவையும் தன் அழிவையும் தடுக்கும் ஆண்மையுள்ள மரம் அழிஞ்சில் என்ற உண்மையை அதன் தொல்காப்பியப் பெயரான ஆண்மரமும் தற்காலப் பெயரான அழிஞ்சிலும் வெளிப்படையாக விளக்குகின்றன. தன் இன அழிவைத் தவிர்த்தல் அதன் மூலிகையியல் மாண்பு. உண்டவர் அழிவைத் தவிர்த்தல் அதன் மருத்துவ மேன்மை.

அழிஞ்சிலின் விதையின்றி வேர்கிளைக்கும் விந்தை

அழிஞ்சில் மரம் பெரும்பாலும் தன் விதைகள் வழி இனம் பெருகுவ தில்லை என்பது வியப்பே. வீரியமான விதைகள் நிலத்தில் விழாமல் பழ முண்ணும் அணில், வவ்வால் போன்றவற்றின் செயற்பாட்டால் மரக்கொம்பு களில் ஒட்டிக்கொள்கின்றன. நிலத்தில் விழுந்த விதைகளோ முளைக்கும் வீரியமின்றிக் காணப்பெறும். அவற்றின் இலைபோன்ற பெரிய முளை சூழ்த் தசைகள் விதை உருவாகும்போதே நொறுங்கி விடுகின்றன.²⁷

கனிகள் உண்ணத்தகுந்தவை. இனிமையானவை. கருஞ்சிவப்புற்ற முடையவை. தடித்த மேல்த்தோலும் ஒட்டும் கோழைப்பொருளும் இனிப்பு, புளிப்பு, துவர்ப்புச் சுவையுமுள்ள சதைமிக்க நடுச்சுவரும், கட்டியான ஓடு கொண்ட கொட்டையும் உண்டு.²⁸ கனியை அணிலும் வவ்வால்களும் விரும்பி உண்ணும். - மக்களும் உண்பதுண்டு. ஆயினும் மக்கள் பலர் இம் மரத்தின் சித்துத் தன்மை குறித்து அஞ்சி இதை உண்பதில்லை.

ஏறு அழிஞ்சில்

இணையற்ற அழகுடன் பூத்துக் காய்க்கும் இக்கனிகளின் விதைகளைச் சூழ்ந்து ஒட்டும் தன்மையுடைய தசையுண்டு. எனவே, விலங்குகள் தின்று விழும் விதைகள் எளிதில் மரக் கொம்புகளில் ஒட்டிக்கொள்கின்றன. இது இக் கட்டுரை ஆசிரியரின் நேரிடை அனுபவம். பல்வாண்டு காலமாக இவ்வாறு விழுந்து ஒட்டியிருக்கும் பல விதைகள் மரத்தூரிலும் கொம்புகளிலும் புதைந்து இருத்தல் ஆண்மரத்திற்குரிய விந்தையாகும். இவ்வாறு விதைகள் கொம்பு களில் தங்கி விடுதலை, தரையில் விழுந்த விதைகள் தாமாகவே மரத்தில் ஏறி ஒட்டிக் கொள்வதாகப் பலர் கருதுகின்றனர்.²⁹ இதனால் இதை ஏறு அழிஞ்சி லென்பர்.³⁰

சிவானந்தலகிரியில் அழிஞ்சிலின் இவ்வியல்பு போற்றப்பெறுகிறது. "அங்கோலம் நிஜஜேசந்தி" என்பது மறைவாக்கு என்று கூறி, ஏறு அழிஞ்சில் விதை மரத்திலே தோன்றி, மரத்திலே ஏறிப் புதைந்து ஐக்கிய மாதவின் உட்பொருளை உன்னதமாக உணர்த்துகிறார் காஞ்சி காமகோடி பெரியவர்கள்.³¹

அழிஞ்சில் கனியின் சுவரிலுள்ள இனிமையும் புளித்துவர்ப்பும் கொண்ட கோழைப்பொருள் நிறைந்த தசை காரணமாக வவ்வாலும் அணிலும் இவற்றை விரும்பி உண்ணும். கனிகளைத் தின்ற பிறகு இக்கொட்டைகள் எளிதில் மரத்தில் ஒட்டிக்கொள்ளும் வாய்ப்புண்டு. அழிஞ்சில் விதைகளில் இருவகை இருப்பதைக் காணலாம். தாமரைக் கொட்டை போன்ற உருவமும் கடினமான ஓடும் வேற்கொள வடிவமும் கொண்டவை முதல்வகை. இவை எளிதில் நொறுங்காத நல்வித்துக்கள். இவை புழுத்துப்போவதில்லை. அரைக்கொள வடிவமும் எளிதில் நொறுங்கும் மெல்லிய தகடு போன்ற ஓடும் கொண்ட பதர் விதைகள் இரண்டாம் வகை. அவை பெரும்பாலும் புழுத்துக் காணப்படும்.

அழிஞ்சில் பூக்களில் சில்வண்டுகள் (Ciccada) இடும் முட்டைகளிலிருந்து பொரித்து விதைகளுடன் வளர்ந்து அவற்றின் பருப்பைப் பல நாட்களாக அரித்துத்தின்று வளர்ந்த புழுக்களே இவை. இப்புழுக்கள் வளர்ந்ததும் பதர் விதைகளில் துளையிட்டு வெளியேறி வண்டுகளாகிவிடும். புழுக்கள் வளரும் நிலையில் இவற்றை தின்ன எறும்புகள் உட்செல்லும். இப்புழுக்களைத் தின்ற பிறகு எறும்புகள் இவ்விதைக் கூட்டினுள் முட்டையிடுவதுண்டு. இதனால் நுனிக்கொம்பிலுள்ள புழுக்கொண்ட பதர் விதைகளை இவ் வெறும்புகள் கீழ்கொம்பிலுள்ள தம் உறைவிடத்திற்கு இழுத்துச் செல்வதுண்டு. மரத்தில் தங்காமல் நிலத்தில் விழுந்த பதர்க் கொட்டைகளைக்கூட எறும்புகள் சில சமயங்களில் இவ்வாறு மரத்தில் இழுத்து ஏற்றுவதைக் காணலாம். இதனால் இக்கொட்டைகள் மரக்கொம்புகளில் நத்தைக்கூடுகள் நகருதல் போன்று மெல்ல ஊர்தலைக் காணலாம். எறும்பு முட்டைகளைக் கொண்ட பதர் விதைகள் நூற்றுக்கணக்கில் மேற்கொம்புகளின் அடிப்புறத்தில் புதைந்திருக்கும் காட்சி அழிஞ்சிலுக்கே உரித்தான விந்தையாகும். இவை எறும்பாகப் பொரித்து வெளியேறும். மரத்தின் அடிக்கிளைகளில் இவ்வித வெறுங்கூடுகளை ஏராளமாகக் காணலாம். ஆனால் நுனிக்கிளைகளில் முட்டைகளுடன் புழுக்களுடனும் எறும்புகளுடனும் கூடிய உடையாத விதைக்கூடுகள் இருக்கும். இவ்வாறு புழுக்கும் விதைகள் வழியாக எறும்புகளைக் கவர்ந்து அவற்றிற்கு உணவும் உறைவிடமும் தந்து ஈர்க்கும் நிகழ்ச்சியை 'எறும்பு ஈர்ப்பு' (Myrmecophily) என்று மூலிகை இயலோர் (Herbologists) விளக்குவதுண்டு. இவ்வகை அமைப்பைக் குடைவேலமரத்தில் பெரிய கவட்டுமுட்டைகளில் காணலாம். மாமரத்தின் இலைகளில் கட்டும் முசுறு முட்டை எறும்பின் கூடுகளும் இவ்வகைத்தே.

பூக்களில் பூச்சிகள் முட்டையிட்டு இம்முட்டைகள் காயோடு வளர்ந்து கனிகளின் கொட்டைகளில் புழுவாகி, பருப்பை அரித்துத் தின்று, பூச்சியாக உருவாகிக் கொட்டையைத் துளைத்து வெளியேறும் அமைப்பை நாட்டு

அக்கரோட்டு மரத்தின் (Aleuritis Malaccana) மெழுகுவர்த்திக் கொட்டை மிலும் (Candle Nut) காண்கிறோம். புழுத்த கொட்டைகளைப் பிலிப் பைன்ஸ், மலேசியா போன்ற நாட்டு மக்கள் நின்றெரியும் மெழுகுவர்த்தியாக எரிப்பதுண்டு. இவற்றை வெயிலில் உலர்த்தும்போது உள்ளே இருக்கும் என்பிலதனை வெயில் காய்தலால் புழுக்கள் நெளியும். இதனால் இக் கொட்டைகள் துள்ளும். எனவே இவற்றைத் துள்ளும் கொட்டை என்பர் (Jumping Nut). ஆனால், அழிஞ்சில் கொட்டைகளை எறும்புகள் இழுத்துச் செல்லும். இவை மரத்தில் இவ்வாறு ஏற்றவும் இறக்கவும் பெறுகின்றன என்பது அனுபவ உண்மையாகும். அந்நிகழ்ச்சியை இயற்கை அறிவுமிக்க சங்கப்புவலர்கள் அழிஞ்சில் மரக்கொம்புகளில் வாழும் சில்வனடுகள்மூலம் நமக்கு உள்ளுறையாக உணர்த்தினர். போகர் போன்ற கித்தர்கள் கொட்டை யின் புழுக்கள்மூலம் கிருமித்துவம் என்ற பெயரால் உணர்த்தினர். காஞ்சிபீடம் சங்கராச்சாரியார் போன்ற சான்றோர்கள் சிவானந்தலகிரி மூலம் “அங்கோலம் நிஜபீஜசந்ததி” என்று சொல்கின்றனர். இருப்பினும் இவ்வுண்மையை நாம் அறிந்து கொள்ள நூற்றாண்டுகள் பல ஆகிவிட்டன. விலங்குகளின் ஆண் இனத்தை ஏற்றை, ஏறு என்று கூறுவது தொல்காப்பிய மரபு.³² இதுபோன்று அழிஞ்சிலில் ஏறு அல்லது ஆண் இன “ஏறுழிஞ்சில்” எனப் பெயர் பெறுகிறது என்பதே அறிவுக்கேற்ற உண்மை. நிலத்தில் விதை முளைக்கும் விரியத்தை - பெண்மை இயல்பை-அழிஞ்சில் பல்லாயிரம் ஆண்டு கட்டு முன்பே இழந்துவிட்டது. இதனால் கருவிளம், கூவிளம், மல்லிகை போன்ற முனிகைகளைப்போல் வேர்த்தண்டு இனப்பெருக்க விரியத்தை அதாவது தன் ஆண்மையை, சிறப்பாக்கிக் கொண்டதில் வியப்பில்லை.

ஏறாண் முல்லை

இவ்வாறு அழிவுறும்தோறும் வேர்க்குருத்துக்கள் வழி உயிர்த்தெழும் ஆண்மையுள்ள அழிஞ்சில் “ஏறு ஆண்” என்றும் பெயர் பெற்றது. இப்பெயர் ஈட்டை புறப்பொருள் வெண்பா மாலையில் காண்க.³³ தலைவனது வீரக் குடியின் ஆண்மையைப் புகழ்தல் ஏறாண் முல்லை என்னும் துறை. முல்லை மலர்போல நறுமணமும் எழில்த் தோற்றமும் உடைய ஏறாண் மலர்கள் ஏறாண் முல்லை என வழங்கப்பெற்றன. எனவே ஏறாண் பழந்தமிழ் இலக்கணப் பெயர். ஏறுழிஞ்சில் பிற்கால மருத்துவப் பெயர் என்று கொள்க.

ஆயுள்வேதரின் அங்கோலம் என்னும் ஆண்மரம்

தொல்காப்பியத்தில் அரிதாகக் குறிக்கப்பெற்ற ஆண் மரத்தின் இனப் பரப்பு இன்று வடக்கே சீனம் முதல் தெற்கு ஆஸ்திரேலியா வரையும் நீடித் திருப்பதாகத் தற்கால மூலிகையிலோர் அளவிட்டுள்ளனர்.³⁴ சங்க காலத்தில், குறிப்பாக ஆரியவர்த்தத்தில் ஆண் மரத்தை அதன் அழகு கம்பிரம் மருத்துவப் பயன் குறித்து “அங்கோலம்” என்ற பெயரில் வழங்குவதாக வடமொழி மருத்துவ நூல்கள் வழி அறிகின்றோம்.³⁵ இஃது ஆண்கோலம் (ஆண்மரக் கனி) என்ற சொல்லின் திரிபு ஆகும். கி. மு. ஆறாம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சார்ந்த சரசு சம்ஹிதை, கசிரு சம்ஹிதை, போன்ற ஆயுள்வேத மருத்துவ நூல்களில் அங்கோலம் அதன் குண அடிப்படையில் பல்வேறான பரிநாமப் பெயர்களால்

வழங்குதலைக் காணலாம்.⁸⁶ அங்கோலகம் (அழகிய உருண்டைக்கனி யுடையது) அங்கோடம் (அழகிய கொம்புடையது) அங்கோடகம் (குரங்கு களின் உறைவிடம்) அங்கோதகம் (முளைப்பது) சிரிங்கேயம் (சல்லாப்பப் பொருள்) சோதனம் (ஆத்ம சோதனைக்குரியது) போதம் (உணர்ச்சியூட்டு வது) பூஷிதம் (அலங்கார தோற்றமுடையது) தீர்க்ககீலம் (நீண்ட கொம்புடையது) தீர்த்த கண்டகம் (வன்மையான முள்ளுடையது) கந்தபுட்பம் (ஏறாண்மூல்லை நறுமணமுடையது) கலந்தம் (அணிலுடையது) குதபத்திரம் (குதநோய் இலை) குதவல்லிகம் (ஆசனவாய்க்கனி) குணதியாகம் (நற் குணங்கள் நிறைந்தது) குப்தசிநேகம் (இரகசியகாதல்-வசியம்) குப்த சுவேகம் (மறைவான வியர்வை) கங்கரோலம் (கங்களுடைய தலையணி-கங்கர் தலையிலணியும் சரளக்கனி) கங்கநோலம் (கங்கரின் நெற்றிச்சட்டி) கோலகம் (சரளக்கனி) லம்பகர்ணம் (தொங்கும் காதுகள் - இலைகள்) பித்தசாரம் (பித்தத்தைக் கூட்டும் சத்து) தாமிரபலம் (செம்பு நிறமுடைய கனி) விஷாக்னா (விடம்நீக்கி) விசாலதைலகருப்பம் (எண்ணெய் கொண்ட அகன்ற; வித்தியையுடையது) போன்ற பல பெயர்கள்⁸⁷ அங்கோலத்தின் மருத்துவ அடிப்படையில் பிறந்த பெயர்கள் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை.

கடைசங்க கால ஓமைமரம் ஒரு காலப்பு தீர்

இடைச்சங்ககால இலக்கணமான தொல்காப்பியத்தில் சொல்லப்பெறும் ஆண் மரம் என்ற சொல்லை, கடைச்சங்க இலக்கிய நூல் ஒன்றில்கூட காணக் கூடாமை ஒரு பெரும் புதிராகும். தொல்காப்பியம் குறிப்பிடும் பிற மூலிகளான யா, அரை, ஞெமை, தளவு, பிடவு, அதவு போன்ற மரங்கள் பற்றிய விரிவான செய்திகளைப் பத்துப்பாட்டு, எட்டுத்தொகை, பதினெண்கீழ்க் கணக்கு நூற்களில் பரக்கக் காண்கிறோம். ஆனால், ஆண்மரம் பற்றிய செய்தி ஒன்று கூடக் காண முடிவதில்லை. சங்ககாலத் தமிழகத்தில் ஆண்மர இனமே அழிந்தொழிந்துவிட்டதா? அல்லது அதன் தடயங்கள் மக்கள் வழக்காற்றில் மறைந்துவிட்டனவா? அன்றி இம்மரம் வேறு பெயரில் வழங்கப்பெற்றதா என்பது போன்ற ஐயங்கள் இந்த ஆய்வில் அடிப்படைத் தடயங்களாகும். இவை வழிக் கிடைக்கும் விடைகள் ஆண்மர ஆய்வை மேலும் வலுப்படுத்து கின்றன.

இன்று சங்க கால இலக்கிய மூலிகளில் பெரும்பாலும் பேசப்பெறுவதும் கண்டறியும் தடயங்கள் இன்றி இருப்பதுமான மூலி ஒன்றுண்டானால் அது ஓமை மரமாகும் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை

ஓமை மரத்தின் மூலிகைத் தடயங்களைக் கண்டறியும் அறிவியல் அளவு கோல்கள் சங்க இலக்கியப் பாடல்களிலேயே காணப்பெறுகின்றன. ஓமை ஒரு மரமென்றும், அது பாலை நிலத்திற்குரியது என்றும், வறண்ட பகுதிகளில் வளர்கிறதென்றும், முதுவேனில் காலத்தில் இலையுதிர்த்து நிற்குமென்றும், யா மரங்களுடன் பாலையில் வளர்வதென்றும், ஓமைநெற்றுக்கள் முதிர்ந்ததும் காய்களினுள் விதை உலர்ந்து ஒலியெழுப்புமென்றும் ஓமைமர வைரம் சதை சிவப்பு நிறமுடையதென்றும் அதன் தோல் முதலைத்தோல் போன்ற தென்றும் யானைகளால் உரித்து உண்ணப்பெறுமென்றும் ஓமைக்கனிகளுக் காக கேழல்கள் பாலையில் சுற்றித் திரிவதுண்டு என்றும், அவை எதிர்படும்

யானைகளுடன் பொருதலுண்டு என்றும் ஓமைக் கொம்புகளில் சிள்வீடு குடி யிருப்பதுண்டு என்றும் போன்ற செய்திகளை அகநானூறு, ஐங்குறுநூறு, நற்றிணை போன்ற நூல்களில் பரக்கக் காண்கிறோம்.

வெயிலின் கொடுமையி்க ஓமையங்காடு

பெருநீர்த் தடாகத்தைப்போல் பொய்த் தோற்றமளிக்கும் பேய் வெண் தேரினைக் காட்டிப் புத்திபேதவிக்கும் வறண்ட பாலைநிலம். இவண் மான் விரும்பும் மரல் செடிகள் கூட அல்கி அருமையாகும் அளவுக்கு வெப்பத்தின் கொடுமையுண்டு. புதுப்பானையில் திரளும் வெண்ணெய் போன்று மண்ணில் பூநீறு பூக்கும் உவர்நிலம் கொண்டது ஓமையங்காடு. இது ஒரு களர் வினையும் பூமி என்று காட்டுகிறது அகநானூறு.

பெருநீர் ஒப்பின் பேஏய் வெண்தேர்
மரனில் நீள்துடை மான்நசை உறுஉம்
சுடுமண் தகம்பின் மத்தம் தின்ற
பிறவா வெண்ணெய் உருப்புஇடந்தன்ன
உவர் எழு களரி ஓமையங்காட்டு

(அகம் 84 : 4-9)

இக்காட்சியை இன்றும் ஓமை மரங்கள் நிறைந்த சேலம், தருமபுரி மாவட்டப் பகுதிகளில் இன்றும் காணலாம். சேலத்தை அடுத்த ஓமை மரங்கள் செறிந்த ஊர் இன்றும் ஓமலூர் என்று அழைக்கப்படுகிறது.

ஓமை மரத்தை யானை உரித்தல்

பாலை மரங்கள் நிறைந்த அருவிநீர் வறண்ட பாறைப்பகுதிகளில் ஓமை களைக் காணலாம். இவற்றின் பட்டை முதலைத் தோலை ஒத்தவை. நீர் வேட்கையி்க யானைகள் மரத்தைக் குத்தி இப்பட்டையை உரித்து விருப்ப முடன் தின்னும் இயல்புடையவை.

இருங்கழி முதலை மே ஏந்தோல் அன்ன
கருங்கால் ஓமை காண்பு இன் பெருஞ்சினை (அகம். 1-2)

கானயானை தோல் நயந்துண்ட
பொரிதாள் ஓமை வளிபொரு நெடுஞ்சினை (குறுந். 79)

ஓமை குத்திய உயர்கோட்டு ஒருத்தல் (, 396)

முனிந்த ஓமை முதையர் அம்காட்டு (அகம். 5-8)

கயந்தலை மடப்பிடி உயங்குபசி களைஇயர்
பெருங்களிறு தொலைத்த முடத்தாள் ஓமை (, 137)

ஓமை தரும் நிழல் மிகவும் ஒல்கியது

பணைத்தூண் ஓமை படுசினை பயந்த
பொருந்தாப் புகர்நிழல் இருந்த னமாக (அகம். 319 : 2-3)

அருவி ஆன்ற நீர் இல் நீள் இடை
கயந்தலை மடப்பிடி உயங்குபசி களைஇயர்
பெருங்களிறு தொலைத்த முடத்தாள் ஓமை
அருஞ்சரம் செல்வோர்க்கு அல்குநிழல் ஆகும் (அகம். 137)

நிழல் இல் ஓமை நீரில் நீரிடை

(அகம். 223)

ஓமையங்காட்டில் பாலை, யா முதலிய மரங்கள் வளர்தல்

பிடி பிளந்திட்ட நார்தில் வெண்கோட்டு

கொடிறுபோல் காய வால் இணர் பாலை

(அகம். 107)

சேயின் உருஉம் மதவலி யா உயர்ந்து

ஓமை நீடிய கான்இடை அத்தம்

(அகம். 198)

ஓமைக்காய்கள் உலவையில் ஒலித்தல்

இலை உதிர்த்த ஓமைக் கொம்புகளில் காய்ந்து உலர்ந்த நெற்றுக்கள் உள்வீடு உடையவை. விதைகள் தனியே உள்ளீட்டில் பிரிந்து காணப்படும். ஆதலின் காற்றில் அருவிபோல் அவை ஒலிக்கின்றன.

செல்வனித் தூக்கலின் இலைதீர் நெற்றம்

கல் இழி அருவியின் ஒல்லென ஒலிக்கும்

புல் இலை ஓமைய; புலிவழங்கு அத்தம்

(அகம். 107)

ஓமைமரக் கொம்புகளில் சிள்வண்டு

உலவைக் காற்றில் ஓமை மரத்தின் பேயாட்டம் ஒல்கி மரக் கொம்புகளில் உள்ள சிள்வண்டுகள் பாடும் அமைதி நிலவும் பாலை நிலம்.

உலவை ஓமை ஒல்குநிலை ஒடுங்கி

சில்வீடு கறங்கும் சேய்நாட்டு அத்தம்

(அகம். 252)

ஓமைக்கனிகளைத் தின்னும் வாவலும் கேழலும்

வெளியில் பறக்கும் வவ்வாலும், நிலத்தில் திரியும் காட்டுப்பன்றியும் ஓமைக்கனிகளை விரும்பி உண்ணும் வேட்கை உடையவை. வைகறைப் பனியில் உழன்ற வவ்வால்களின் மயிரில் ஒட்டிய பனித்துளிகள் ஓமைக் கொம்புகளில் தொங்கும். நீர்த்திவலைகள் செறிந்த எண்ணெய்த் துணிகள் போல் எழிலுடன் மின்னுகின்றன.

வைகுபனி உழந்த வாவல் சினைதொறும்

நெய்தோய் திரியின் தன்சிதர் உறைப்ப

(அகம். 279 : 3-4)

ஓமைக்காட்டில் கேழலும் யானையும் பொருதல்

ஓமைப்பட்டையை உரித்துத் தின்னவரும் யானையுடன் பழக்கத்திற்காக அலையும் காட்டுப் பன்றிகள் பேரரிடுகின்றன. பன்றி யானையின் மரம் போன்ற கால்களை குத்திக் கிழித்துச் செவ்விரணம் செய்கின்றது. குருதி தோய்ந்த கசை வெளியே தெரியும். இக்காயமுற்ற கால்கள், யானைகளால் குத்திக் கிழிக்கப்பட்ட ஓமை மரக்கால்களை நிறத்தில் ஒத்துநிற்கின்றன. மூலிகையியல் அடிப்படையிலும் இன்று ஓமை மரப்பட்டை யானைத்தோல்

போன்று கருஞ்சாம்பல் நிறமுடனும் ஓமையின் வைரக்கட்டைக் குருதி வெளிப்படும் சதை போன்று குருதி சிவப்பு நிறத்துடனும் இருத்தலால் இவ்வுவமை சிறப்புறுகிறது. ஓமை மரத்தை இன்றும் மணமிக்க உள் கட்டையின் நிற அடிப்படையில் அங்கோல வாவன் என்று அழைக்கின்றனர். அங்கோலமே ஆண் மரம் என்பதற்கு உரிய அகச்சான்றுகள் இவை ஆகின்றன.

நாட்குரம் உழந்த வான்கேழ் ஏற்றையொடு

பொருத யானை புண்தாள் ஏய்ப்ப

பசிப்பிடி உதைத்த ஓமைச் செவ்வரை

(அகம். 279)

ஓமையின் செந்நிற வைரம் கண்டு பருந்துகள் ஏமாறுதல்

மேலும் கண்பார்வையை ஏய்க்கும் கடும் வேகமுள்ள காட்டுப் பன்றியின் ஆண் ஏறு குத்திப் பிளவு செய்த ஓமை மரப்பொளிவுகளில் தெரியும் செந்தசை போன்ற உள் வைரத்தைப் பார்த்துத் தசையென்று எண்ணி தூரத்திலுள்ள பருந்துகள் உண்ணும் எண்ணத்துடன் வந்திறங்கி யாமரங்களில் இருக்கை கொள்கின்றன என்று பேசுகிறது அகநானூறு.

கடும்பகட்டு ஓருத்தல் நடுங்கக் குத்தி

போழ்புண் படுத்த பொரிஅறை ஓமை

பெரும் பொளிச் சேயரை நோக்கி ஊன்செத்து

கருங்கால் யாத்து பருந்து வந்து இறுக்கும்

(அகம். 397)

அழிஞ்சில் வைரக் கட்டையின் செந்நிறம் எத்துணைத்தூரம் அறிஞர்களின் உள்ளங்களைக் கொள்ளை கொண்டுள்ளது என்பதற்கு இப்பாடல்கள் அருமையான சான்றுகள் ஆகின்றன. இதுபோலவே தற்கால விஞ்ஞானிகள் உள்ளங்களையும் கவர்ந்துள்ளது.

ஓமைக்காட்டில் பருந்துகள் விளித்தல்

பருந்துகள் நிறைந்தது ஓமையங்காடு

பருந்து இளைப்படுஉம் பாறுதலை ஓமை

(அகம். 21 : 15)

அத்த ஓமையம் கவட்டு இருந்த

இனம்தீர்பருந்தின் புலம்புகொள் தென்விளி

சுரம்செல் மாக்கட்கு உய்வு துணையாகும்

(குறுந். 207)

உறுதலைப் பருந்தின் உளிவாய்ப்பேடை

அலறுதலை ஓமையம் கவட்டு ஏறிப்

புலம்புகொள் விளிக்கும் நிலம்காய் கானத்து

(ஐங்குறு. 321)

ஊரும் நாடும் அழிந்து பிறந்த ஓமைப் பெருங்காடு

மூல்லை, குறிஞ்சி நில ஊர்களும் நாடுகளும் வெம்மையால் அழிந்து, இறுதியில் ஓமை மரங்களே மிஞ்சி நிற்கும் பெருங்காடுகளைக் கொண்ட பாவை.

உமணர் சேர்ந்து கழிந்த மருங்கின் அகன்தலை

ஊர்ப் பாழ்த்தன்ன ஓமையம் பெருங்காடு

(குறுந். 124)

கருங்கால் ஓமை ஏறி வெண்தலைப்

பருந்து பெடை பயிரும் பாழ்நாட்டு ஆங்கண் (அகம். 117 : 6-7)

ஓமையம் பெருங்காட்டு வரும் அம்பலர்க்கு (அகம். 21: 15)

ஓமை மரத்தின் பட்டை

சங்கப் பாடல்கள் பலவற்றில் ஓமையின் மரப்பட்டை கருஞ்சாம்பல் வண்ணமுடையது என்று சுட்டிக்காட்டும் பல சொற்களைக் காண்கிறோம். “கருங்கால் ஓமை வெண்தலைப்பருந்து”, “முதலை மேல் தோல் அன்ன கருங்கால் ஓமை” போன்ற சொல் தொடர்கள் மரப்பட்டையின் நிறத்தைக் குறிப்பவை. மூலிகையியல் செய்திகள் இவ்வுண்மையை உறுதி செய்கின்றன. ஓமை மரத்தின் இளந்தோல் இளம் மஞ்சள் நிறமாயினும், அவை முற்றிப் பட்டையாகும்போது கருஞ்சாம்பல் நிறமுள்ள தடிப்புகளைப் பெறுகின்றன. இதனைத் தற்கால மூலிகையியலோர் பலர் உறுதி செய்கின்றனர்.³⁸ அங்கோல பட்டை அற்புதமான கல்ப மருந்தாற்றல் கொண்டது.³⁹ கிரகணி திரவியங்களுள் தலைசிறந்தது. எனவே தேரன் போன்ற தேர்ந்தமதி சித்தர்கள் இதனை ‘அங்கோலை’ என்ற தனிப்பெயர் தந்து சிறப்புச் செய்துள்ளனர்.⁴⁰ அங்கோலமென்று பட்டையை அழைத்தல்போல அழிஞ்சில் என்று தனிப்பெயரால் வேரையும் அழைப்பதுண்டு.⁴¹ அங்கோல கட்டை எழிற்மிக்கது; நறுமணமுடையது என்று மூலிகையியலோர் கூறுகின்றனர்.⁴²

இருங்கழி முதலை போன்ற ஓமைப்பட்டை

இந்த நிலையில் இப்பட்டை இருங்கழி முதலையின், மேல்தோலை ஒத்துக் காணப்படுகின்றது. நில முதலைகளினின்று இவை வேறுபட்டவை; மிகவும் கொடியவை. தமிழ்நாட்டில் இவ்வகை நீர் முதலைகள் (Crocodylus Porosus) அருகிவிட்டன. இவற்றின் தோல், இளம் மஞ்சள் நிறமும் அதன்மேல் கறுப்புநிறத் தடிப்புகளும் கொண்டது. பார்ப்பதற்கு ஓமைத்தோல் போல் தோன்றும். இந்த முதலையினத்தை, வங்கத்தின் சுந்தர் வனக்காடுகளிலும் இலங்கைக் கடற்கரையிலும் இருப்பதாகவும் கழிந்த நூற்றாண்டுகளில் தமிழ் நாட்டுக் கழிகளில் ஏராளம் வாழ்ந்ததாகவும் ஆனால், தற்போது அவை அருகிவிட்டன என்றும், அண்மையில் நாகப்பட்டினம் அருகில் ஒன்று பிடிக்க பெற்றதாகவும் செய்திகள் உண்டு.⁴³ எனவே, சங்க காலத்தில் இந்தக் கொடிய நீர் முதலையினங்கள் நிறைய தமிழ்நாட்டில் இருந்தனவென்றும், இப்போது அருகிவிட்டன என்றும் இச்செய்திகள் வழி அறியலாம்.

உயிர் ஓம்பும் ஓமை மரம்

ஓமை இயற்பெயரா? காரணப்பெயரா? என்ற வினா இவண் ஓர்ந்துணரற்பாலது. தமிழ்மொழியின் உயிர்நாடியான ‘ஓம்’ என்ற பிரணவ ஒலி யெழுப்பும் சொல் அடிப்படையில் தோன்றியது ஓமை. ஓம் என்ற சொல் காத்தல் என்று பொருள்படும்.⁴⁴ படு என்ற சொல் படையாகவும், பாடு என்ற சொல் பாடையாகவும் உருவெடுத்தல் போன்று, உயிர் ஓம்பும் இயல்

புடைய மரம் (ஓம் + ஐ) ஓமை மரமாயிற்று. இதனால் சங்க கால அளவிலேயே ஓமையின் உயிர் காக்கும் சஞ்சீவினி போன்ற மருந்து ஆற்றலை, தமிழ் மக்கள் அறிந்தே காரணப் பெயரிட்டனர் என்று கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

யானை அழிஞ்சில்

பிற்கால நிகண்டுகளில் மருத்துவப் பரிமொழியிலும் அழிஞ்சில்பட்டையை யானை விரும்பி உண்ணும் அடிப்படையில் தொடர்புபடுத்தி அத்திக்கோலம் (அத்தி-யானை), கரிக்கோலம் (கரி-யானை) என்ற பெயர்களில் வழங்கலாயினர். இவ்வாறு கேழல்கள் இதன் கனியை விரும்பி உண்ணலால் இதனை 'கேழ்கனம்' என்றனர். அணில்கள் உண்ணும் அடிப்படையில் 'கலந்தகம்' என்றனர். குரங்குகளின் தொடர்பு சொல்லிக் 'கோடாம்' என்றனர். ஏறு அழிஞ்சிலும் இவ்வாறு ஏறும்புகளால் ஏற்பட்ட பெயரே; ஏறும்புகள் உறைவிடம் என்ற அடிப்படையில் 'கேடகமென்றும்', புழுக்கள் துளைக்கும் அடிப்படையில் 'கிருமித்துவம்' என்றும் கூறினர். இவ்வண்ணம் பல பரிமொழிப் பெயர்கள் விலங்குகளின் தொடர்பு அடிப்படையில் வழங்கும் ஒரே மரம், அழிஞ்சில் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை. இஃது இதன் விரிவான இலக்கிய வழக்கின் வளமைக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டு.

கங்கரின் சந்தனம்

தமிழ்நாட்டிற்குப்பாலுள்ள வடநாடுகளிலும், கொடுத்தமிழ் நாடுகளிலும் ஆண்மரம் பல புதுப்பெயர்களைப் பெற்று, காலப்போக்கில் திரிந்து வழங்குதலை வரலாற்றுச் சான்றுகள் விளக்கி நிற்கின்றன. வடமேற்கு திசை நாடான கங்கநாட்டிலும் வடகீழ் நாடுகளான வங்கம் கடாரம் போன்றவற்றிலும் இதன் உள்வயிரக் கட்டையின் நறுமணம் குறித்து இதனைக் 'கருப்பு அகிலாக' என்றும் பயன்படுத்தினர். இதனால் இது கிருட்டின அகரு என்றும் ⁴⁸ 'அகருகண்டம் என்றும்' ⁴⁹ முல்லைப் பூ நாறி அகில்' ⁵⁰ பல நறுமணப்பெயர்களில் வழங்கலாயிற்று. கங்கர்களும் மேலைச்சாளுக்கியரும் இதனை 'கங்கர் சந்தனம்' என வழங்கினர். இதன் உள் வயிரக்கட்டையை இதனால் தமிழ்மொழியில் அங்கோல வைராவன் என்று தனிப் பெயரிட்டழைத்தனர். சிலப்பதிகார காலத்தில் வழங்கிய காரகில், இதுவே என்பதற்கு மேற்குறித்த மக்கள் வழக்குகள் அடிப்படையாகின்றன ⁵¹

சஞ்சீவினி மரம்

இதன் காய்களை அரவு நஞ்சிலிருந்தும் அம்பு நஞ்சிலிருந்தும் உயிர்காக்கும் சஞ்சீவியாகக் கொண்டு கங்கநாட்டு மன்னர்களும், மக்களும் காப்புநாணாக நெற்றியிலும் கழுத்திலும் குடும் வழக்காறு உடையவர் என்று வரலாற்றுச் செய்திகள் கூறுகின்றன. ⁵² இதனால் இது கங்கநோலம் (கங்கரின் சரளக்கனி) என்றழைக்கப்பெற்றது. ⁵³ இதை கங்கநோலம் (சங்கர் தம் நெறிப்பட்டம்) என்றும் வழங்குவர். இவ்வடிப்படையில் மரங்கல்யம் என்றும் ⁵⁴ சஞ்சீவினி ⁵⁵ என்றும் பெயர்பெற்றது. இவ்வாறு காப்பு கட்டும் வழக்

கத்தை கங்கணம் கட்டுதல் என்பர். அரசர்கள் இவ்வாறு நாண் பூணுதலை 'சஞ்சீவினி ஃரணியம்' என்று வடமொழி நூலோர் குறித்துள்ளனர்.⁵⁵ கி. பி. ஆறாம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சார்ந்த கீழைச் சாளுக்கிய மன்னர்களில் 'சிம்மநந்தி' என்போன் சஞ்சீவினிஃரணி என்ற காயை தெற்றியில் சூடிப் பட்டம் ஏற்றதாக கர்னாடக வரலாறு கூறுகிறது.⁵⁶ மாபாரத இராமாயண இதிகாச நூல்களிலும் பேரூப் பிரபந்தத்திலும் சஞ்சீவினி என்ற மூலிகையின் உயிர்காக்கும் ஆற்றல் சொல்லப்பெறுகிறது. சம்போகினி என்ற மயக்கமுட்டும் மூலிகையின் முறியாக சஞ்சீவினி புத்தர்பிரஹ்ம கையாளப் பெற்றதாக இப்பழம்பெரும் நூல் கூறுகிறது.⁵⁷ சங்ககாலத்தில் ஒம்படைத் திரவியமாக அழிஞ்சில் பயன்பெற்ற பாங்கு மூலம் அழிஞ்சிலுக்கு சஞ்சீவினியின் தகுதி ஏற்படவழி வகுக்கிறது. அரவின் நஞ்சுக்கு அழிஞ்சிற்பட்டை அருமையான மருந்தாவதை இக்கால மருத்துவர் பலர் அனுபவ அடிப்படையில் உறுதி செய்தல் இவண் குறிப்பிடற்பாலது.

அங்கோல அழிஞ்சில்

தென்னாட்டில் இதே நூற்றாண்டைச் சார்ந்த சித்தர் போகரும், அவர் மாணாக்கர்களும் தமிழ்மொழியைப் போன்றே வடமொழியையும் கற்றுக் கரைகண்டவராகையால், அழிஞ்சில் என்ற தமிழ்ப்பெயரையும், அங்கோல மென்ற வடமொழிப் பெயரையும் வேற்றுமையின்றி மணிப்பிரவாள நடையில் பயன்படுத்தியுள்ளனர்.⁵⁸

இலைகளுடன் இருக்கும்போதும், இலைகளின்றி பூத்துக் குலுங்கும் போதும் கனிகள் மட்டும் தொங்கும்போதும் ஆண்மரம் கண்ணையும் கருத்தையும் ஈர்க்கும் எழில் கொண்டது. ஆண்மைக்குரிய அழகுத் தோற்றமும், தொங்கும் பசுந்தழையும் எங்கும் மணக்கும் மலர்க்கொத்தும், கண்கவரும் செங்கபில நிறக்கனியும் கொண்ட அழிஞ்சிலை அங்கோலமென்று (அழகிய கோலமுடையது) எல்லா இந்திய மொழிகளிலும் அழைப்பதில் வியப்பில்லை.⁵⁹ அங்கோலத்தின் வேர் அழிஞ்சில் என்ற தனிப்பெயராலும்⁶⁰ அதன் சத்து அங்கோல சாரம் என்றும்⁶¹ பட்டை அங்கோலை என்றும்⁶² விதை அங்கோலவித்து என்றும்⁶³ அதன் நெய் அங்கோல தைலமென்றும் மருத்துவத்தில் வழங்கப்படுகிறது.

திருமுலரின் சீடரான போகர், மூலிகை உலகின் மாமன்னர் ஆவர். தம் நிகண்டில் அழிஞ்சிலின் பரிபாடைப் பெயர்களைக் கூறும்போது இதனை ஆது என்றும் அங்கோல தூசினி என்றும் போதநல்வித்து உண்ணி என்றும் 'சீவினி' என்றும் இந்திரசாஸி கோலினி என்றும், தீர்க்கமும் என்றும் பித்தசாரம் என்றும் இவர் குறித்துள்ளார். இதுபோன்று சட்டமுனியும் தமது நிகண்டில் பேசுகிறார்⁶⁴ போகர். தமது 1200 பாடல்களிலும் பன்னூறு மூலிகைகளிலும் அழிஞ்சிலுக்கு மட்டும் ஆண்மை என்ற பண்பைப் பயன்படுத்துவதால், அழிஞ்சிலே ஆண் மரம் என்பதற்குரிய ஆதாரங்களில் ஒன்றாகும்⁶⁵ என்று கொள்ளலாம்.

அழிஞ்சி லென்ற பேரினுட ஆண்மை கேளு
 ஆதியாம் அங்கோல தரிசினி யாகும்
 பொழிஞ்சில் என்ற போகுநல் வீத்தா ணியாகும்
 புகழான சீவினி இந்திரசாவி
 கொழிஞ்சிலென்ற கோவினி நெஷ்டோவாகும்
 கூரான தீர்கமூல மாகும்
 பிழிஞ்சில் என்ற பித்த சத்தாம் பிரபலமாகும்
 பேசியதோர் அழிஞ்சலடே பேருமாமே

(போகர் நிகண்டு, 860)

போகர் நிகண்டில் ஒரு புதிர்

போகர் கருக்கடை நிகண்டில் 64 மூலிகைக்கடைச் சரக்குகளைக் கூறுகிறார். இதில் ஒருசில இன்றும் அடையாளம் தெரியாமல் உள்ளன. அவற்றில் ஒன்று கருப்பு அகரம். இதனை ஒருகாய் என்று மூலிகைகளின் சமுதாய குணத்தில் போகர் கூறுகிறார். இப்போது வழக்கில் இதனை நாம் அறிந்தோம் இல்லை. கருப்பு அகரு என்றும் கிருட்டின அகரு என்றும் சியாமநேமம் என்றும் நாற்சுகம் என்றும் கிருமித்துவம் என்றும் வாந்தோல் என்றும் திரிதோஷகுணநசி வா தகப அகரம் சுருதி நேத்திரம் குட்டநாசினி என்றும் போகர் பரிபாஷைப் பெயர்களில் குறிக்கிறார்.

கருப்பகரப் பேர்தனையே கருதக்கேளு
 கனத்த பிரவாந்தோலாங் கிருமத்துவாகும்
 குறிப்பு கிட்டினகரு சியாம நேமம் நாற்
 குணமாகும் கோவிசுவரூபம் தகரயோகம்
 மருப்புகு திரிதோஷணங்கள் நசிநித்தம்
 வா தகப அரமாகும் சுருதி நேத்திரம்
 நெருப்பு மாங்கல்யமாம் குட்டநாசினியாம்
 நாட்டியதோர் கருப்பினிட பேருமாமே

(போகர் நிகண்டு : 755)

கருப்பு அகரு என்ற சொல்லே, அம் சாரியை பெற்றுக் கருப்பகரமாக போகர் நிகண்டில் பேசப்படுகிறது என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை.

கிருட்டின அகரு

சங்க இலக்கிய காலத்தில் பெண்களின் கூந்தலை உலர்த்தப் பயன்பெற்ற வாசனக்கட்டை அகில். இது தமிழ்நாட்டிற்குரியது. அகரு என்பது அகிலினின்று வேறானது என்பதை, பட்டினப்பாலை வழி அறிகிறோம்.⁶⁴ அகரு கடாரதேசத்திலிருந்து தமிழ்நாட்டை வந்தடைந்த வாசனைப் பண்டம். இதனை ஈகிள்கட்டை (Eagle wood) என்று யவனரும் கிரேக்கரும் அழைத்தனர்.⁶⁵ இதேமாதிரி கருந்தவிட்டு வைரமும் நறுமணமும் நீரில் முழுகும் அளவு அதிகக் கனமும் உடைய கட்டையை கருப்பு அங்கோலம், கரி அங்கோலம், கரிகோலம், கருப்பு அழிஞ்சில் கருப்பு அகரு, கருப்பு அகரம்,

கிருட்டிண அகரு, சியாமதேமம், அகருகண்டம் என்ற மருத்துவ கலாச்சாரப் பயனுடைய காரணப்பெயர்களின் அடிப்படையில் வழங்குதல் உண்டு. அங்கோலத்தின் மணமுடைய கட்டை கருப்பு அழிஞ்சில் கட்டை (கருப்பு அசருக் கட்டை) என்று அறியப்பெறுகிறது என்பதை இது உறுதிசெய்கிறது. அங்கோலக்கனி உலர்ந்ததும் கபிலநிறம் மாறி கருப்பு நிறம் எய்துகிறது. இந்த அடிப்படையில் அழிஞ்சிலின் உலர்ந்த காயைக் கருப்பு அகரம் என்ற பெயரால் போகர் நிகண்டு குறிப்பிடுகிறது என்பது இக்கட்டுரை ஆசிரியரின் கொள்கையாகும்.

இந்த மூலிகை மருந்தறிவியல் கண்டு அறிதலை கருப்பு அகரத்தின் பல-மறுபெயர்களும் பின்வருமாறு உறுதி செய்கின்றன.

கிருமித்துவம்

கருப்பகரத்தைக் கிருமித்துவம் என்ற போகர் நிகண்டு பேசுகிறது. அழிஞ்சிலின் காய் கிருமி கொல்லும் இயல்புடையது என்பதைச் சென்ற நூற்றாண்டின் பல மருத்துவ அனுபவங்கள் உறுதி செய்கின்றன. அண்மையில் நடந்த ஆய்வுகளும் அழிஞ்சில் பட்டையின் புழுக்கொல்லும் ஆற்றலைப் புலப்படுத்துகின்றன.

தகரயோகம்

தகரவித்தைக்குப் பயன்படும் மந்திரச் சரக்கு; எனவே அழிஞ்சிலை தகரயோகம் என்ற பரிமொழிப் பெயரால் குறித்துள்ளனர். அழிஞ்சில் கட்டையை புகைத்து இறைவனை தகரத்தானத்தில் நிறுத்திச் செய்யும் தியான வித்தை; இதுவே தகரயோகம். இது செப்படி வேரைப்புகைத்துச் செய்யும் செபுடி வித்தை போன்றது.⁸⁷ தகரயோக முடிவில் இறைவன் தோன்றுவான்.⁸⁸ எனவே, இதனை கோவிசுவரூபமெனவும் கூறுவர். அழிஞ்சில் வேரையும் தைலத்தையும் இந்நிகாசாதி வித்தைக்குப் பயன்படுத்துவர் என்பதை ஏற்கனவே அழிஞ்சிலின் பயன்களில் கண்டோம்.⁸⁹ எனவே, அழிஞ்சிலே கருப்பு அகரம் என்பதற்குத் தகரயோக அடிப்படை மற்றொரு காரணமாகிறது.

மாங்கல்யம்

மங்கல நெருப்பின் முன் கட்டப்பெறும் மாங்கல்யமாக கருப்பகரம் பயன்பெறுவதால் இப்பெயர் அமைந்தது. இது சுருதி நேந்திரம் என்னும் மற்றொரு பரிமொழிப்பெயருடன் தொடர்புடையது; ஏற்கனவே, சாளுக்கியர்களும் கங்கர்களும் இதனை சந்தேவினி க்ஷணியம் என்னும் மங்கல நாணாக நெற்றியிலும் கழுத்திலும் அணிவதற்கு அமைந்த கங்கோலம் என்ற பெயர் அடிப்படையும் எரிக்கப்படுவதால் ஏற்பட்ட கங்கசந்தனம் என்ற பெயரையும் அழிஞ்சிலின் சாளுக்கியப் பெயர்களாகக் குறித்தோம். இப்பெயர்கள் மாங்கல்யம் என்னும் கருப்பகரப் பெயருக்கு அடிப்படையானவை.

குட்டநாசினி

கருப்பகரத்தை வாதுகப அமென்றும் திரீதோஷகுணநாசினியென்றும் கிருமித்துவமென்றும் போகர் நிகண்டு பேசுகிறது. அழிஞ்சில் வேருக்குக் கிருமி

கொல்லும் ஆற்றலும் குட்டநாச சக்தியும் உண்டு.⁷⁰ இதனைப் பல அண்மைக் கால சோதனைகள் நிரூபித்துள்ளன. கருப்பகரமே, அழிஞ்சில் என்பதற்கு இது மற்றொரு அடிப்படை. ஒரு மூலியின் வேர் ஒரு கடைச் சரக்காகவும், காய் மற்றொரு கடைச்சரக்காகவும் கொட்டை ஒரு மருந்தாகவும் வழங்குதல் மருத்துவ வழக்கு.⁷¹

வங்க நாட்டின் அங்கூரம்

அழிஞ்சிலின் காய் பன்னெடுங்காலமாக வடகிழக்கு நாடுகளில் (வங்கம், கடாரம், காமரூபம்) இன்றும் அங்கூரம் என்றபெயரால் அழைக்கப்படுகிறது. கருப்பு அங்கூரம் என்பது சிறப்புப்பெயர். 'காலா அங்கூரம்', 'காலி அங்கூரம்' 'கிருட்டின அங்கூரம்' போன்றவை இந்நாடுகளில் அழிஞ்சிலின் உலர்ந்த கனிப்பெயர்கள்.⁷² அங்கூரம் என்ற சொல் வடமொழிகளில் முளைத்தது என்று பொருள்படும்.⁷³ இவ்விதைகள் மரத்திலிருக்கும்போதே மிகப்பெரிய விதையிலைகளையும் முளைக்குருத்தையும் பெறுவதுடன் முடிவில் முளைக்கரு இலைகள் நொறுங்கப் பெறுவதால் பெரும்பாலும் விதைகள் நிலத்தில் முளைக்கும் வீரியத்தைப் இழந்துவிடுகின்றன.⁷⁴ இதனால் வேர்க்குருத்துக்கள் வழி முளைக்கும் வீரியத்தைப் பல்லாயிரம் ஆண்டுகட்கு முன்பே அழிஞ்சில் வளர்த்துக் கொண்டது. இம்மரத்தை விசால தைல கருப்பம் என்று பெயரிட்டுள்ளனர்.⁷⁵

காலாங்கி நாதரின் கரும்பூத விருட்சம்

'காலாங்கிநாதரின் மலைவளம் 500'' என்ற நூலில் கரும்பூதவிருட்சத்தின் அற்புத ஆற்றலும் அதனால் ஏற்படும் சிறந்த சித்திகளும் சொல்லப் பெறுகின்றன.⁷⁶ இம்மரம் 1'8 காயகல்ப மூலிகளில் ஒன்றாகக் கருதப்பெறுகிறது.⁷⁷ ஆனால், மூலிகைத் தடயம் தெரியவில்லை. கொல்லி மலையின் கோரக்கர் குகை அண்மையில் வளர்வதாகவும், பழுக்கும்போது இலை சிவக்கும் தழையும் நறுமலரும், செங்கபிலநிற நாவற்பழம் போன்ற கனியும், தாமரை விதை போன்ற கொட்டையும் கொண்டது என்று இம்மரம் விளக்கப் பெறுகிறது.⁷⁸

இதன் விதைகளின்னறு குழித்தைலம் செய்யும்முறை விரிவாகச் சொல்லப் பெறுகிறது. இக்குழித் தைலத்தையும் மரத்தின் வடக்கில் ஓடும் வேரையும் நறுமணப் பொருட்களைக் கலந்து அரைத்துச் செய்யும் சர்வ வசிய மை செய்யும் முறை சொல்லப்பெறுகிறது. அறிவியல் அடிப்படையில் இம்மரத்தின் தடயம் கருப்பு அழிஞ்சிலை ஒத்து வருகிறது. கொல்லிமலைப் பகுதிகளை ஆய்வுசெய்த அனுபவத்தால் இக்கட்டுரை ஆசிரியர் இம்மரத்தைக்கொல்லியின் கோரக்கர் குண்டம் பகுதிகளில் இன்றும் வளரும் இலையுதிரா வகையானதும் பெரிய கனிகளையுடையதும், முதிர்ந்த கருப்பு நிறப் பட்டைகளையுடையதும், பெரிய மெலிந்த கரும் எண்ணெய்க் கோளங்கள் பரக்கக்கொண்ட இலைகளும் கொண்ட கருப்பு அழிஞ்சில் வகையே (*Alangium salvifolium* var *hexapetalum* wang)⁷⁹ என்று தெரிவிக்கிறார்.

இறங்கழிஞ்சில்

தேரன் போன்ற பிற்கால சித்த புருடர்களும் கண்ணுசாமிப்பிள்ளை^{7*} போன்ற இந்த நூற்றாண்டின் சித்தமருத்துவர்களும் எழுதிய சித்த மருத்துவ நூல்களிலும் அகராதிகளிலும் தமிழ் லெக்னிகளிலும்^{8*} இறங்கழிஞ்சில் என்றொருவகை அழிஞ்சில் இனம் சொல்லப்பெறுகிறது. இது ஏறு அழிஞ்சிலின் இயல்பான இனமுரண்.

இறங்கழிஞ்சிலின் காய்கள் ஏறுழிஞ்சில் காய்களுக்கு மாறாக மரத்தினின்று சிதறி விழுந்த பிறகு திரும்பி மரத்தில் ஏறாத இயல்புடையன. நியூட்டனின் புவிஈர்ப்புத் தத்துவப்படி எல்லா மரக்காய்களுமே நிலத்தில் விழும் இயல்புடையவை. அவ்வாறாயின் ஒரு மர இனத்தை மட்டும் இறங்கழிஞ்சில் என்று மருத்துவர்கள் குறிப்பிடும் காரணங்களை ஆய்தல் அவசியம். இரு அழிஞ்சில் மரங்களின் பட்டை, சுட்டை, இலை, மலர், கனி இவைதம் உருவ ஒற்றுமையும் மூலிகை உறுப்புகளின் மருத்துவ குண ஒற்றுமைகளுமே இவ்வாறு தொடர்புடைய 'சக்களத்தி' அல்லது பதிலிப்பூண்டுகள் வழக்கில் ஏற்பட அடிப்படையாகும். எடுத்துக்காட்டாக பல்வகை தாளிச பத்திரி மரங்களையும் மருக்கொழுந்துகளையும் கூறலாம். இவ்வாறு அழிஞ்சிலின் சக்களத்தியாக மக்கள் வழக்கில் வழங்கும் பிறிதொருமரம் சடைச்சியின் ஒரு இனமாம் (*Grewia Excelsa*).^{9*} இதனையும் தமிழ்நாட்டில் அங்கோலம் என்று வழங்குகின்றனர்.^{10*} சடைச்சியின் பல்வேறு சிற்றினப் பிரிவுகள் இன்றும் மூலிகையிலோர் மூளையைக் குழப்பும் நிலையில் தாம் உள்ளன. இதன் அடிப்படையில் *Grewia Excelsa*; *Grewia Salvifolia*; *Grewia Asiatica*; *Grewia Taelifolia* அனைத்துமே நெருங்கிய தொடர்புடைய சடைசிகள். அழிஞ்சில் போன்ற தோற்றமும், பட்டையும், உள்வரைம்-இலை-கனி-மலர்களும், நஞ்சுமுறிக்கும் மருத்துவப் பயன்களும் உள்ள ஒரு கற்ப மூலிகை 'கப்புசடைச்சி' ஆகும்.

போகர் நிகண்டு^{11*} கருவூரார் வாத காவியம்^{12*} சட்டமுனி நிகண்டு^{13*} போன்ற சித்த மருத்துவ நூல்களில் குறிப்பிடப்பெறும் இம்மூலிகை இன்னவென்று இதுவரை அறியப்பெறவில்லை. இறங்கு அழிஞ்சிலின் பல்வேறு மூலிகைத் தடயங்களை ஆய்வு அளவுகோல்களாகக் கொண்டு நோக்குமிடத்து சிவந்த உள் வரைமும் இளம் மஞ்சள் நிறப்பட்டையும், சோசி இலைவடிவும் கொண்ட இலைகளும் கனகநிறமலர் மழைபொழிவதும் (கனக ஆவர்த்தினி) சரமாகத் தொங்கும் கனிகளும் (சரமாரங்கா) சிவப்பு நிறம் கலந்த கனிகளும் (ரத்த புஷ்டிபீசம்) உடைய மோன காய சித்தி மூலிகை கப்புசடைச்சியாகும். இது பாம்பு விடத்தை முறிக்கும் பயனுடையது (அரவினுடைய விஷத்துக்காதி). சூலை நோய் தீர்ப்பது என்றும், பல்வகைக் கடி விடங்களுக்கு மருந்து என்றும் அரிதாரபந்தினி என்றும், செந்தூரி என்றும் போகர் நிகண்டு பேசுகிறது.

கப்புசடைச்சியின் பேரைக் கருதக்கேளு
 கனக ஆவர்த்தினி சரமரங்கா
 கப்புசடை ரத்த புஷ்டிபீசமாகும்
 நலமான மோன காயசித்தி
 அப்புசடை அரவின் விஷத்துக்காதி
 அரிதார பந்தினி; செந்தூர ரியாகும்
 துப்புசடை சூலை கடிவிடங்கள் போக்கி
 சுயகப்பு சடைச்சியின் சூட்சுமாமே

(போகர் நிகண்டு. 1155)

மேற்கூறிய மூவிகைத் தடயங்கள் இறங்கு அழிஞ்சிலின் அமைப்புக்கு மிகவும் ஒத்து வருவதாலும், பிற மூவிகைகள் இந்நிலையில் இல்லையாதலாலும் மக்களால் இறங்கு அழிஞ்சில் என்று கருதப்பெறும் மரமே சித்தர்கள் சொல்லும் 'கப்பு சடைச்சி' எனக் கொள்ளலாம். மேலும் இதன் உள்வரம், மலரின் கேசரங்கள் கனி இவற்றன் சிகப்பு வண்ண அடிப்படையில் இது கிகப்பு சடைச்சி என்று சிறப்பாக வழங்கலாயிற்று; சிகப்பு என்ற சொல்லின் முதல் எழுத்தைக் குறைத்துச் சித்தர்கள் பரிபாடையில் கப்பு சடைச்சி ஆக்கினர் என்று கொள்ள இடமுண்டு. இதற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக கைகேசி இலையைக் கேசியென்றும்⁶⁶ பூனைக்காலியைக் காலியென்றும்⁶⁷ பரிபாஷையில் வழங்கு தலைஇவண் கூறலாம். சிகப்புசடைச்சி தோற்றத்தில் அழிஞ்சிலைப்போன்றது எனவே இஃது அழிஞ்சிலின் பட்டை கட்டை இலை போன்ற அமைப்புகளை உடையதும் தமிழ்நாட்டில் தற்காலத்தில் நல்உடுப்பை என்று அழைக்கப் பெறுவதுமான சடைச்சியாகும். (*Grewia Salvifoliace Syn Grewia Taelifolia vahl*). சிகப்புசடைச்சியின் கனிகளில் உள்ள 'நீடித்து வளரும் புல்லிகள்' அடிப்புறத்தில் காணப்படும். ஏறு அழிஞ்சில் போல் இவை மேற்புறத்தில் இல்லை. இப்புல்லிகளின் அமைப்பு இதனை இறங்கு அழிஞ்சில் என்று அழைக்கக் காரணம் எனலாம். சிகப்பு சடைச்சியின் பட்டை, அழிஞ்சி போல் இளம் மஞ்சள் நிறமானது. எரிக்கும் இனிக்கும் சுவை கலந்து காணப் பெறும். அழிஞ்சிலைப்போல் கிரகணிக்குமருந்து சுருமத் தடிப்புக்கு மருந்து. இதன் கட்டை வாந்தி உண்டாக்கும் தன்மையுடையது. இது அபின் விஷத்திற்கும் பிற கடிவிடங்களுக்கும் மாற்று மருந்து.⁶⁸

அழிஞ்சில் மருத்துவ வழக்காற்றில் மறைந்த வரலாறு

சிறப்பு மிகுந்த மருத்துவப் பயன்களும் மனோவசியப் பயன்களும் மிக்க அழிஞ்சில் இடைச்சங்க காலத்திலும் கடைச்சங்க நாட்களிலும் பிற்காலங்களிலும் ஆண்மரம், ஏறாண்மரம், ஓமை, அங்கோலம், அழிஞ்சில், அங்கூரம், கங்கரோலம், கங்கசந்தனம், அகருகண்டம், கருப்பகரம், தகருயோகம், கரிக் கோலம், அத்திக் கோலம், செம்மரம், கருப்பழிஞ்சில், கரும்பூதவிருட்சம், ஞெகினம், சுலந்தகம், கோடரம், குதபத்திரம், குதவல்லிகம், தீர்க்க கண்டகம், தீத்தலீலம், ரேசிகம், சியாமநேமம், மாங்கல்யம், நாற்குணம், கிரிமித்துவம், நல்லுடுப்பை, ஒடு, ஒரு போன்ற எழுபதுக்கு மேற்பட்ட காரணப் பெயர்களால் அழைக்கப்படுவதைக் காணலாம். கடுக்காய்க்கு அடுத்தபடி.

யாக ஏராளமான பரிநாமப் பெயர்கொண்ட மூலிகை அழிஞ்சில் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை. மக்கள் வழக்கிலும் மருத்துவ வழக்கிலும் மனித மூலிகை மட்டுமே இத்துணை அதிகமான பெயர்களைக் காலப்போக்கில் பெறமுடியும் என்பது மரபு மருத்துவ இயலார் துணிபு. இத்துணை மக்கள் வழக்குமிக்க இம்மூலிகை காலப்போக்கில் மருத்துவத்தில் அல்கிவிடக் காரணம் அழிஞ்சிலின் இன ஒடுக்கமாகும். விதைகள் மரத்தில் இருக்கும்போதே முளைக்கருமுற்றி வேர்தோன்றி முளை சூழ்தகை நொறுங்கிவிடுதலால் பெரும்பாலும் விதைகள் நிலத்தில் முளைப்பதில்லை. அழிஞ்சிலை இடைச்சங்க கால முதலே வேர் வழி இனம் பெருக்கும் மூலியாக மக்கள் அறிந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும். காலம் காலமாக வேர் வழி இனம் பரவும் வாழை போன்ற மரங்களின் விதைகள் முளைக்கும் விரியத்தை இழுத்தல் இயல்பு. வாழை கரும்பு முல்லை போன்றவற்றில் இனப்பெருக்கத்தை மாந்தரினம் பேணிப் பயிரிட்ட காரணத்தால் இவ்வினங்கள் இன்றும் நம்மிடையே பல்கிக் காணப்பெறுகின்றன. ஆனால் வேர்வழிப் பெருகும் அழிஞ்சிலைப் பேணிப்பயிரிடுவார் இல்லை. எனவே இதன் இனம் இன்று அல்கி வருதல் கண்கூடு. குறிப்பாக கருப் பழிஞ்சில் எனப்படும் காரகில் (ஏறு அழிஞ்சில்) (*Alangium Salvifolium* var *Hexapetalum* wang) கேரளப்பகுதிகளில் மட்டுமே இன்று காணப்பெறுகிறது. அழிஞ்சிலின் மருத்துவப் பயன் அடிப்படையில் இதனைப் பெரிய அளவில் பேணிப் பயிரிட்டால் ஒழிய இவ்வினத்தை எதிர்காலத்திற்காக ஒம்புதல் அரிதாகும். அழிஞ்சிலின் மருத்துவப் பயன் குறித்து அண்மைக்காலத்தில் நடந்த ஆய்வுகள் மிகச் சிலவே. ஆழ்ந்த அளவில் நடைபெற்றாக வேண்டும் என்பது எமது விருப்பம்.

ஆராய்ச்சியின் முடிவுகள்

1. மூலிகை அடிப்படையில் பாடாண் என்ற சொல் சாவைத் தடுக்கும் ஆண் மரமென்று பொருள் தந்து, இந்நாள்வரை தெரியாத மூலிகைப் பெயர் விளக்கமொன்றைப் பாடாண் திணைக்கு இவ்வாராய்ச்சி வாயிலாக வழங்குகிறது.
2. ஏறாண்முல்லை என்ற பெயரும் மூலிகை அடிப்படையில் பாடாண் மரத்தின் மணமிக்க மலர்ப் பெயரில் உருவான ஒரு துறை என்று பொருள் விளக்கம் பெறுகிறது.
3. தொல்காப்பியம் கூறும் சேமமும் ஆண்மாமும் வெவ்வேறானவை என்று உறுதி செய்யப்பெறுகின்றன.
4. சங்க கால ஓமை மரத்தின் உயிர் ஒம்பும் தன்மையின் அடிப்படையும் மூலிகைத் தடயமும் கண்டறியப்பெற்று இதுவே தற்கால அழிஞ்சில் என்று விண்டு உரைக்கப்பெறுகிறது.
5. போஜப்பிரபந்தம், இராமாயணம் போன்ற நூல்களில் அரவு நஞ்சிற்கு ஆதியாகப் போற்றப்பெறும் சஞ்சீவினியின் மூலிகைத் தடயங்கள் கண்டறியப் பெற்று சஞ்சீவினியை சங்ககால ஓமையென்றும் தொல்காப்பிய காலப் பாடாண் என்றும் விளக்கம் பெறுகின்றது.

6. போகர்நிகண்டில் கூறப்பெற்றுள்ள 64 கடைச்சரக்குகளில் இதுவரை இனம் தெரியாதிருந்த கருப்பகரத்தின் மூலிகைத் தடயம் ஆராயப்பெற்று இஃது அழிஞ்சிலின் உலர்ந்த தெற்று என்று உறுதி செய்யப்பெறுகிறது.
7. அழிஞ்சிலின் பல வடமொழிப் பெயர்களும் வரலாற்றுப் பெயர்களும் வழக்குகளும் விளக்கம் பெறுகின்றன.
8. ஏறு அழிஞ்சிலின் பெயர்க் காரணமும் இதில் ஏறும் விதைகளின் விஞ்ஞான அடிப்படையும் விரிவாக ஆராயப்பெற்றுள்ளன. இதன் மூலிகைப் பெயர் தற்கால அழிஞ்சில் (*Alaigium Salviifolium*) என்று விரித்துரைக்கப் பெறுகிறது.
9. அகத்தியர் பரிபூரணம் 400இல் கூறப்பெறும் கண்ணன் மூலி என்னும் வேர் வசியமைக்குதவும் கருப்பு அழிஞ்சிலின் வேர் என்று விளக்கம்பெறுகிறது.
10. காலங்கி நாதர் தம் கொல்லிமலை வளத்தில் எடுத்துரைக்கும் கரும்பூத மரம் கருப்பு அழிஞ்சிலே என்று உறுதி செய்யப்பெறுகிறது.
11. இறங்கழிஞ்சில் ஏறு அழிஞ்சில் இனத்தினின்று வேறானது என்றும் ஒத்த மருத்துவ இயல்பு காரணமாக அழிஞ்சில் என்று பெயர் வழங்கப்பெறுவதாகவும் விளக்கம் பெறுகிறது. இது போகர்நிகண்டில் கூறும் “கப்பு சடைச்சி” (*Grewia Excelsa* Syn *Grewia Salviifolia*) என்றும் அறியப் பெறுகிறது.
12. மஞ்சள்நிறமும் கருப்புத் தடிப்புகளும் கொண்ட அழிஞ்சில் பட்டை போன்ற மேல்தோல் கொண்ட கழிமுதலைகள் சங்க காலத்தில் ஏராளம் இருந்தன என்பதை ஓமையின் செய்திகள் மூலம் அறிகிறோம்.
13. ஆணங்கோடு, திக்கணங்கோடு, அழிஞ்சிக்கோடு போன்ற பெயர்கள் மூலிகை வழிப்பிறந்த இடப் பெயர்கள் என்று அறிகிறோம்.
14. முடிவில் அழிஞ்சிலின் இனப்பெருக்குத் தன்மை அழிந்த கால ஒழுங்கும், அதன் மருத்துவப் பயன்களும் விரித்துரைக்கப் பெறுகின்றன. அதன் பரிமொழிப் பெயர்களின் காலவரை படமும் தொல்காப்பிய ஆண்மரம் கடைச்சங்க கால ஓமையான எழுத்துத்தொடர் திரிபின் விளக்கமும் கால வரைபடங்கள் மூலம் விளக்கம் பெறுகின்றன.

இவ்வாராய்ச்சிக் குறிப்புகளை விவாதித்து வெட்டியும் ஒட்டியும் கருத்து வழங்கிய எனது அன்புகெழுமிய நண்பர்கள் பேராசிரியர் டாக்டர் தே. ஆண்டியப்பன் அவர்களுக்கும் பேராசிரியர் சேதுரகுநாதன் அவர்களுக்கும் டாக்டர் சி. சு. உத்தமராயன் அவர்களுக்கும் டாக்டர் ஆனந்தகுமார் அவர்களுக்கும் நன்றியைத் தெரிவிக்கும் கடப்பாடு உடையேன். இந்த ஆராய்ச்சியைச் செய்ய ஊக்கமும் ஆக்கமும் நல்கி, இக்கட்டுரையின் கையெழுத்து பிரதியை வாசித்து திருத்தங்களை வழங்கிய முத்தமிழ்க் காவலர் சித்த மருத்துவ சிரோன்மணி டாக்டர் கி. ஆ. பெ. விசுவநாதம் அவர்களுக்கும் அன்பார்ந்த நன்றியும் வணக்கமும் உரித்தாகுக.

பாடாண்மரம்

ஏறழிஞ்சில் காய்



ஏறண்முல்லை
மலர்

சஞ்சீவி



அழிஞ்சில்

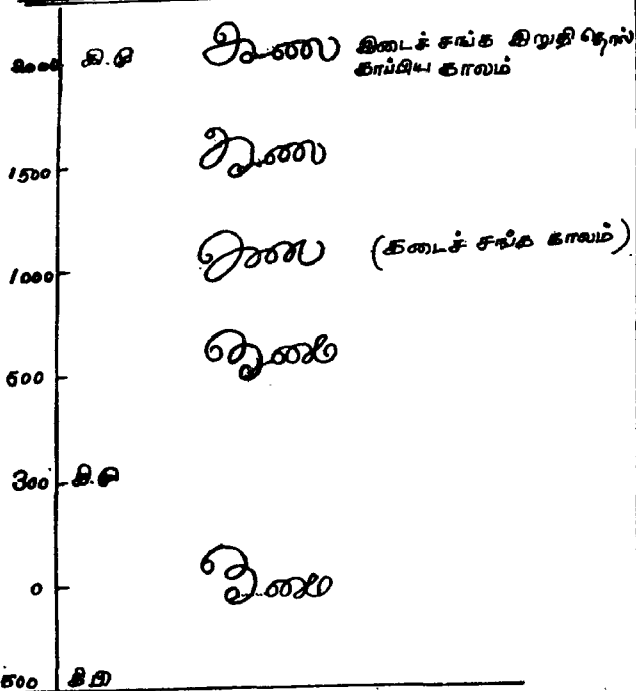


கருப்பு
அகரம்

ALANGIUM SALVIIFOLIUM
VAR HEXAPETALUM WANG

வடவட்ட மூத்துக்களின் சீண் - இமை
சொற்களின் 2. இமாற்ற எழுச்சி.

CHRONOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION OF THE WORD AAN IN TO ŌMAI



NOTES

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5. தமிழ் ஆங்கில மருத்துவ அகராதி : I : 345.
6. பிங்கலம் : 6.
7. மலையகராதி : 3.
8. மேகம் நீர் மோப்பக்குழையும் அவிச்சம் குறித்து யான் மேற்கொண்ட ஆய்வு அடிப்படையில் அறிவியல் ஆய்வுகோல்களை இங்கும் பயன்படுத்தியுள்ளேன்.
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ஆண்டு : 1981

பக்கம் : 68

விலை : ரூ. 3-75

இந்த ஆராய்ச்சி நூலின் வாயிலாகக் களப்பிரர் யார் என்பதைத் தெளிவு படுத்திக் காட்ட திரு. நடன காசிநாதன் முயல்கிறார். இதுவரை பலர் பலவிதமான கருத்துக்களைத் தருந்த ஆதரபலமின்றிக் கூறி வந்துள்ளனர். ஆகையினால் களப்பிரர் பற்றிய உண்மைகளை உறுதிப்படுத்த முடியவில்லை. களப்பிரருடைய காலத்தை இருண்ட காலம் என்றே கருதினர்.

இந்நூலாசிரியர் பல நூல்களைப் படித்ததுடன் கல்வெட்டு ஆதாரங் களையும் தேடிக் கண்டு தன் முடிவுகளைத் தந்துள்ளார். களவர், களப்பிரர், களப்பாளர் ஆகிய மூன்று சொற்களையும் நன்கு ஆய்ந்து விளக்கம் தந்துள்ள முறை அனைவரும் ஒப்புக் கொள்ளும் தரமாக அமைந்துள்ளது.

களப்பிரரின் ஒரு பிரிவினர் சிறுகச் சிறுகத் தெற்கு நோக்கி வந்து தங்களுடைய வெற்றியின் முதற்கட்டமாக மழபுலத்தை வென்றது நன்கு விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. (பக். 5). தமிழகக் கல்வெட்டுச் சான்றுகளுடன் கன்னட நாட்டுக் கல்வெட்டுச் சான்றுகளையும் நன்கு அறிந்து இந்த ஆய்வை ஆசிரியர் மேற்கொண்டுள்ளார். மேலும் கன்னட நாட்டில் வழங்கும் கதைகளும் இந்த ஆய்வுக்குத் துணை செய்திருக்கின்றன.

வேள்விக்குடிச் செப்பேடு, தளவாய்புரச் செப்பேடு போன்றவற்றை நன்றாகக் கண்டு அவற்றிலுள்ள கருத்துக்களை ஆழமாகச் சிந்தித்துக் களப்பிரர் பற்றிய கருத்துகளை முறைப்படுத்தித் தருவது உண்மை காண்பதற்கு உறு பயன் அளிப்பதாக உள்ளது. களப்பிரர் பல்லவ மன்னர்களோடு அடிக்கடி மோதியுள்ள ஒரு வலிமையான கூட்டம் என்பது நன்றாக விளக்கப் பட்டுள்ளது (பக். 15).

கூற்றுவநாயனாரின் களந்தை பாண்டிய நாட்டைச் சார்ந்ததுதான் என்பதற்குப் பல காரணங்கள் கூறப்படுகின்றன (பக். 19). இத்தகைய காரண காரிய விளக்கத்தால் முன்னர் பல அறிஞர்களால் கூறப்பட்டுள்ள கருத்துகள் தவறு என நிரூபிக்கப்படுகின்றன. திருமங்கையாழ்வார் களப் பிரராக இருக்க முடியுமா என்பது பற்றிய விரிவான ஆய்வு சிந்தனைக்கு உரியதாக அமைகிறது (பக். 25).

கள்வர், கள்வன் என்பவற்றின் பொருளை விளக்குவதுடன் களப்பிரரும் முத்தரையரும் ஒருவரான என்ற அரிய ஆய்வையும் மேற்கொண்டுள்ள ஆசிரியர் மிகவும் பொருத்தமான சில நல்ல கருத்துக்களை வெளியிடுகிறார். முடிவாக முத்தரையரும் களப்பிரரும் வேறுவேறானவர்கள் என்ற சரியான முடிவுக்கு வந்துவிடுகிறார். (பக். 29).

இரண்டாம் மூன்றாம் குலோத்துங்கச் சோழன் காலத்தில் உள்ள களப் பாராயன் என்ற அதிகாரி பற்றிய ஆய்வு மிகச் சிறப்பாக அமைந்துள்ளது (பக். 47-49). இருண்ட காலத்து உண்மைகளை வெளிக்கொணர ஆசிரியர் அரும்பாடு பட்டுள்ளார். இனி அக்காலம் ஒளி பெற்றுத் துலங்கும் என்ற அளவுக்கு இந்த ஆய்வுநூல் சிறந்து விளங்குகிறது. களப்பிரர் பற்றிய கருத்துக்களைக் காரண காரியத்துடன் சிறப்பாக விளக்கிய ஆசிரியர் திரு. நடன காசிநாதன் அவர்களும் இந்த நூலை வெளியிட்ட தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறையும் இன்னும் பல நல்ல ஆய்வுகளைச் செய்து சிறப்படையட்டும்.

டாக்டர் ஏ. என். பெருமாள்

தமிழர் தோற்கருவிகள்

ஆர். ஆளவந்தார்

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

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‘தமிழர் தோற்கருவிகள்’ என்ற இந்நூல் திரு. ஆர். ஆளவந்தாரால் உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தின் அரிய படைப்புக்களுள் ஒன்றாக வெளிவந்துள்ளது.

தமிழிசை தொன்மையானது. அதன் பெருமையை உணர்த்தும் பொருட்டு ‘இசைக் கலைக் களஞ்சியம்’ வெளியிட வேண்டும் என்னும் முயற்சியின் முதற்படியாக இந்நூல் அமைவதாக ஆசிரியர் குறித்துள்ளார். இத்துறையில் தொடர்ந்து நல்ல பல நூல்களை நாம் பெறப்போகிறோம் என்றறியும்போது மகிழ்கிறோம்.

‘சுருதி மாதா லயம் பிதா’ என்பர். இசைக்குச் சுருதி அன்னையெனில் தாளம் தந்தை என்பது இதன் பொருள். தாளம் தவறின் இசை கெடும். எனவே தாளமே இசையின் உயிர் போன்றது என்கிறார் ஆசிரியர்.

‘தோற்கருவிகள் ஓர் அறிமுகம்’ என்ற பகுதியில் அக்காலத்தில் நூற்றுக் கணக்கான மைல்களுக்கப்பால் உள்ள மக்களுக்குச் செய்திகளை அனுப்புவதற்கும், இறைவன் பவனி வருதலை அறிவித்ததற்கும், அரசன் ஆணைகளைப் பொதுமக்களுக்கு உணர்த்துவதற்கும், இக்கருவிகள் பயன்பட்ட முறையை விளக்குகின்றார். தமிழர்தம் பண்பாட்டின் உயர்வை அறிந்துகொள்ள இக்கருவிகள் துணையாதலையறிந்து இறும்பூதெய்துகிறோம்.

எண்பதுக்கும் மேற்பட்ட தோற்கருவிகளைப் பற்றி ஆசிரியர் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். அமுதகுண்டனி, கிரிக்கட்டி, தகுணித்தம், தவண்டை, தாசரிதப் பட்டை, பூமாடு வாத்தியம், பெல்லியக் கண்ணாடி மத்தளம், ஜமனிகா போன்ற கருவிகளின் பெயர்களே புதுமையாக உள்ளன.

அடுத்து ‘தோற்கருவிகளுக்கு ஏற்ற தோல்’ என்ற பகுதியில் அக்காலத் தமிழர் தம் தோற்கருவிகளுக்கு எத்தகைய தோலைப் போர்த்தினர், போர்த்திய பின் இறுக வலித்துக் கட்டுவதற்கு எத்தகைய வார்களைப் பயன்படுத்தினர், தோலைப்போர்த்திய முறை யாது என்பவைகளைச் சங்க இலக்கியச் சான்று கொண்டு சிறப்புற விளக்கியுள்ளார்.

தோற்கருவிகளுக்கு ஏற்ற மரங்களை விளக்கியபின் 'நாம் அறிவன' என்னும் பகுதியில் தோற்கருவிகள் பற்றிய பல சுவையான செய்திகளைத் தொகுத்துத் தந்துள்ளார். இறைவன் நடனமாடியபோது வாணாகரன் தன் ஆயிரங்கைகளால் இசைக்கருவிகளை முழக்கினான்; தோற்கருவிகளுள் தெய்வம் உறைவதாக நம்பினர்; வழிபாடு நடத்தினர்; குருதிப்பவியிட்டனர்; தம் பசுந்தலையை அரிந்து வைத்து வழிபட்டனர்; ஆயர் குலப்பெண்ணை மணப்பதற்காகக் காளையைத் தழுவும்போது ஏறு கோட்பறை என்னும் பறைகொட்டுவர்; தெருவில் ஆடவரும் மகளிரும் கலந்து குரவைக் கூத்து ஆடும்போது தொண்டகப்பறை கொட்டப்பட்டது; கிழங்குகளைப் பன்றியிட மிருந்து பாதுகாப்போர் கொட்டும் பறை பன்றிப்பறையாகும்; முரசு கண் கிழிதலும், கொடியற்று வீழ்தலும், தாமே முழங்கலும் தீச்சூனங்களாகக் கருதப்பட்டன போன்ற செய்திகளை இலக்கியங்களின் துணை கொண்டு ஆராய்ந்து கூறியுள்ளார்.

பஞ்ச மரபில் இசை, முழவு, தாளம், கூத்து, அவிநயம் என்பவைகளைப் பற்றி அறிவனார் கூறுவனவற்றைத் தொகுத்துரைத்த பின், அகர வரிசையில் 86 கருவிகளைப் பற்றி விளக்கக் குறிப்புக்களைத் தொகுத்துள்ளார்.

'தமிழ் நூல்களில் தோற்கருவிகள் ஆட்சி' எனும் பகுதியில் ஒவ்வொரு கருவி குறித்தும் கூறும் இலக்கியங்கள் யாவை என்பதன் அரிய பட்டியலைப் பார்க்கிறோம். குறிப்பாக 'முரசம்' குறித்து 583 இலக்கியக் குறிப்புக்களும் முழவம் குறித்து 318 இலக்கியக் குறிப்புக்களும் உள்ளன என்றறிய வியப்படைகின்றோம்.

சென்னைப் பல்கலைக்கழகத் தமிழ் அகராதியிலிருந்து தொகுத்த கலைச் சொற்களும், பேராசிரியர் பி. சாம்பமூர்த்தி அவர்களின் இசை அகராதியிலிருந்து தொகுத்த ஆங்கில கலைச்சொற்களும் பின் இணைப்புக்களாகத் தரப்பட்டுள்ளன.

செயற்கரிய செய்த ஆசிரியரையும், தூண்டுகோலாக இருந்த இயக்குநர் அவர்களையும் எத்துணை பாராட்டினாலும் தரும்.

இவ்வரிசையில் ஆசிரியர் தொடர்ந்து எழுதப்போகும் நூல்கள் இசைத் துறை ஆய்வாளர்களுக்குப் பெருந்துணையாக அமையும் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை.

கு. நம்பி ஆருண்

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இ ... i

உ ... u

எ ... e

ஓ ... o

நெடில்—Long

ஆ ... ā

ஈ ... ī

ஊ ... ū

ஏ ... ē

ஔ ... ō

ஐ ... ai

ஒள ... au

ஃ ... k

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க் ... k

ச் ... c

ட் ... t

த் ... t

ப் ... p

ற் ... r

மெல்லினம்...Soft

ங் ... ṅ

ஞ் ... ṇ

ண் ... ṇ

ந் ... n

ம் ... m

ன் ... ṇ

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