



Studies in Tamil Civilization

FOUNT of CULTURE

Editor

Sharda Narayanan

Infinity Foundation India



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Proceedings of Swadeshi Indology Conference Series

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International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST)

a	अ	ā	आ	i	इ	ī	ई
u	उ	ū	ऊ	ṛ	ऋ	ṝ	ॠ
lṛ	लृ						
e	ए	ai	ऐ	o	ओ	au	औ
m̐	ॠ	ḥ	:				

k	क्	kh	ख्	g	ग्	gh	घ्	ṅ	ङ्
c	च्	ch	छ्	j	ज्	jh	झ्	ñ	ञ्
ṭ	ट्	ṭh	ठ्	ḍ	ड्	ḍh	ढ्	ṇ	ण्
t	त्	th	थ्	d	द्	dh	ध्	n	न्
p	प्	ph	फ्	b	ब्	bh	भ्	m	म्

y	य्	r	र्	l	ल्	v	व्
ś	श्	ṣ	ष्	s	स्	h	ह्
kṣa	क्ष	jña	ज्ञ				

Shown in **bold** in this chart are letters that require diacritics, and the few that are confusibles (owing to popular spelling).

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About Infinity Foundation India



॥ इच्छन्ति देवाः सुन्वन्तं
न स्वप्नाय स्पृहयन्ति ॥

“The *deva*-s love the performer of *yajña*,
not the one who slumbers” — *Rgveda* 8.2.18

Infinity Foundation (IF), USA, has more than a 25-year track record of mapping the Kurukshetra in the field of Indology and producing game-changing original research using the Indian lens to study India and the world.

One of the goals of **Infinity Foundation India (IFI)**, an offspring of IF, in organising Swadeshi Indology Conference Series is to develop, fund, and groom scholars who can methodically respond to the Western worldview of Indology.

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We have begun to build a team of young scholars with swadeshi drishti. Our mission is to build a home team of 108 scholars who will form the basis for developing a civilizational grand narrative of India.

Our Key Partners

The organisers of the conference are indebted to the various institutions and individuals for the invaluable help rendered by them, without which this work would just not have been possible. It is a pleasure to thank them heartily for the same.

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IFI Team

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Introduction - No Racism in Vedic Tradition

– Sharda Narayanan

1 Migrations in the Ancient World

Since the dawn of civilization it appears that there were many pockets of human habitation, interspersed with vast tracts of dense forest in India. In the days when people were still nomadic, it is easy to imagine that different groups moving in different directions would cover great distances within a few generations so that by the time they found advantage in a more settled life with cultivated fields and livestock, settlements may have come up quite independently in many places at around the same time. Human migration in and out of the Indian subcontinent seems to go far back to prehistoric times and was a gradual but continuous process that did not merit special historical observation in those times.

On the western side of the subcontinent, the current understanding accepted is that the Harappan civilization may be called the cradle of culture on the Saraswati river basin (Danino 2010). In the Mohenjodaro and Harappan settlements we have found well-developed urban organization, coins, statues and pictures on clay pots of Paśupati and Nandī corresponding to the Rgvedic civilization. In the archeological evidence that we have, fire altars are also said to be found. Considering that most fire altars for Vedic yajña were freshly constructed according to various measurements required for specific ritual, they were more temporary in nature and it is no wonder that large permanent structures have not been found.

The excavations at Adichanallur in Tamil Nadu date from 1000 BC to 500 BC, far earlier to the Sangam era. Items similar to those at Adichanallur such as Vel, gold pieces and head bands used in Muruga worship have been found at Cypress, Palestine and Gaza, which have been assigned a date of 1200 to 2000 BCE. So, as K. K. Pillay writes, we do know that trade relations existed between Tamil Nadu and Asia Minor even in those early times. In fact, tools found at Attirampakkam (near Chennai), a site in Tamil Nadu, have been luminescence dated to be 385,000 years old. (<https://www.nature.com/articles/nature25444>)

Existing models of Ancient migration out of Africa and into India are questionable to say the least. Modern findings like those at Atirampakkam suggest alternate directions for migration and the spread of humans.¹

On the eastern side, it is well-known that India and South East Asia had close ties in racial, linguistic and cultural aspects since prehistoric times. These associations and meeting of different cultures must have occurred through migration and transportation of people over land or sea routes. In fact, the sea was more an accessible highway than a barrier to Andamanese islanders who had canoes for dugong fishing (Mahapatra 2003:1).

Further, Coedes seeks to differentiate the colonization of America by the Europeans from the influx of Indians in Southeast Asia, as “in this part of the world the newcomers (Indians) were not strangers, discovering new lands. At some time... the sporadic influx of traders and immigrants became a steady flow that resulted in the founding of Indian kingdoms practicing the arts, customs and religions of India and using Sanskrit as their sacred language.” Coedes conceives of this process of Indianization of Further India as “the continuation, overseas of a “Brahmanization” that had its earliest focus in Northwestern India... and in fact, the most ancient Sanskrit inscriptions of Further India are not much later than the first Sanskrit inscriptions of India itself.” (Mahapatra 2003: 4)

2 Demography of Ancient India

We can see that in its earliest history, India has seen an active and continuous mixing of different groups of peoples. We do not have any record of when these migrations took place in Tamil Nadu. None of

the Sangam works indicate when the Aryan or Vedic people entered Tamiḷaham or who formed the first groups.

“Tolkappiyam, the ancient Tamil Grammar, precedes the Ettuttogai and the Pattuppattu. It contains no traces of Jainism and Buddhism and hence it might have been composed either in the 4th century B.C. or prior to it.” (Pillay 1979: 191)

The earliest Tamil literary works are from the Sangam period; the word “Sangam” itself derives from the Sanskrit word referring to the period of sangam-s or vihāra-s, i.e. the scholarly academies. Pāṇini, who lived in the 6th century BCE does not mention the kingdoms of the south; Kalinga is the farthest that he mentions. On the other hand, Kātyāyana specifies the Chola kingdom. This is the earliest reference to the extreme south. K.K.Pillay writes that from the Brāhmī inscriptions from all over the country we understand that in all probability the Buddhists and Jains came into South India in the 4th century BCE (Pillay 1979: 175). We also know from history that both Mahāvīra and Buddha were born in aristocratic families of the kṣatriya class of Vedic society.

It is an undeniable fact that Vedic thought has been absorbed into the Tamil region from the Sangam period itself. It forms a harmonious component of the local ethos and can in no way be viewed as a foreign import or even from North India. The Vedic and Purāṇic deities both find prominence in the Sangam works. Indra, festivals held in his honour and Mount Meru are all mentioned. Mahāviṣṇu is mentioned as the supreme god in Paripāḍal and Tolkāppiyam. All the other gods, the sun and moon, the *asura*-s and the fire elements are said to arise from Him and He is said to recline on Ādiśeṣa. Even the *avatāra*-s are mentioned in the Sangam classics, as also the Ramāyaṇa and Mahābhārata.

There is much reason to believe that a more or less similar culture existed all over India even in Vedic times, allowing for regional variations. Modern writers, lead by Western scholarship, tend to view “Vedic” and “Dravidian” cultures in opposition, but in reality, India had many systems of thought developing in parallel: Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Bauddha, Jaina, Śaiva, Śākta etc are only a few noteworthy ones among the myriad schools of thought that have survived down to our times. A large number of smaller schools of thought merged into the major ones as time wore on but evidence of their mutual influences

is undeniable. Study of philosophical texts such as Nyāyamañjarī or Śloka-vārtika can amply illustrate this fact. So even accepting that “Vedic” indicates a specific school of thought or culture, the non-Vedic cultures were many; therefore the word “Dravidian” to indicate the non-Vedic is a misnomer used by many writers.

“Those Vedic Gods, the etymology of whose names is not patent and who have no analogies in other Indo-Germanic dialects, must have been originally Dravidian deities.” (Pillay 1979: 191)

Under the influence of Jainism and Buddhism, animal sacrifice in temples and yajña became less prevalent in Tamil Nadu. Although these religions were very widely followed, they were so only in the urban centres; the peasant populations continued with their traditional, local forms of worship. Buddhism and Jainism held sway for many centuries, Kanchipuram being a great centre of learning, producing such stalwarts as Dinnāga and Dharmapāla. But both faiths declined after some time for several reasons. Jainism is said to have very stringent and austere standards that were difficult for the common man to follow and the Jainas were also not fanatical about converting others into their faith. Buddhism is said to have declined due to excessive corruption, immoral behavior and elaborate ritualism in Mahāyāna practices that earned them disfavor among the masses. Also, when the Brāhmaṇical religion lost popularity, it underwent reformation so that the people, who did not reject Vedic thought but only its ritualism, came back into its fold (Chaurasia 2008: 65).

“.. It was during the time of the Pallavas that the revival of Sanskrit and Hinduism took place. Many of the Pallava inscriptions are bilingual, in Sanskrit and Tamil.....the Pallava King, Mahendravarman was himself a Sanskrit scholar and poet.” (Sundaram 1999:1)

“It can be said in conclusion that Buddhism was not a new religion but just a reform movement within Hinduism. According to Dr. V.A. Smith: “Buddha may have justly been regarded as having been originally a Hindu reformer. He did not give any holy scripture to his disciples nor did he condemn any fundamental principles of Brahmanism. He himself was a kshatriya prince and inspired by the Upanishads. He only gave his teachings in the common language of the people.”

“Reforms in Hindu religion. The people left Brahmanism and accepted Buddhism not because they had lost faith in the basic principles of Brahmanism but because they condemned outward rituals and

ceremonies. When the Brahmanas openly saw revolt against them they reformed their shortcomings with the result that the people came back into their fold again.” (Chaurasia 2008: 63-70)

“...Buddhism flourished in Tamil Nadu with unabated vigour for several centuries and as a result this land has produced important and valuable treatises in Sanskrit and Pali. Kancipuram, the great cultural centre of Tamil Nadu had long association with Buddhism.” (Sundaram 1999: 1)

Southern India was considered a region of great scholarship right from very ancient times. Kātyāyana, the Vārtikakāra who wrote addendums on Pāṇini’s grammar, was well-known as a Southerner. Patanjali, who wrote the Yoga sūtra-s was also a South Indian, associated with worship of Lord Naṭarāja at Tillai (Cidambaram) (Natarajan 1994: 145). There is an interesting account of the history of Sanskrit grammar that forms the concluding portion of the Vākyakāṇḍa of Bhartrhari’s Vākyapadīya (V.P. II. 496), dating from about 450 CE. It says that Vyākaraṇa (grammar) studies suffered near obliteration, even texts were lost, and found in book form only in South India, was thereafter resurrected. This indicates that in the dim period of history in the early centuries, Sanskrit scholarship had greatly advanced in the South and in fact helped preserve some aspects of the tradition when it suffered decline in the North.

3 Varṇa & Caste

It is generally given to believe by modern Indology, that the Vedic culture was racist, upholding the superior lineage of Brahmins, rigidly enforcing the caste divide in society. Under the influence of the Aryan Invasion Theory, the so-called “upper castes”, corresponding to Brahmins, are blamed for propagating social hierarchy based on birth, which is cited as the sole reason for all of India’s woes. (But even these votaries of the Vedas’ foreign origins do not say that the caste system was a foreign ideal) We shall examine if careful analysis does indeed point to racism in the texts.

We now look at how social amalgamations took place in Vedic period. One was through migrations which accelerated after the Saraswati River began to dry up. The other was through battles for material gain and plunder. Shortly after people began living in well-established villages it appears that battles between tribes broke out for material

gain and territorial rights. It appears that people of interior regions had cattle and gold while the Ṛgvedic people had chariots and horses.

When these groups amalgamated either through war or through peaceful means, we would expect that socially similar strata would combine. That is, the priests or higher social categories would join the ranks of the priestly class in the new hierarchy and labourers would join the lower level. But this was clearly not the case. Often the priests and warriors of the Vedic people were reduced to labourers and the priests of the so-called Dravidian tribes actually retained their status as the Brahmins. There seems to be complete absorption of the conqueror and the conquered in these Vedic battles. Some of the conquered chiefs obtained positions of power in the new society, participating in religious ceremonies and giving gifts to the Brahmin priests. They were well-regarded as eminent donors in society and some were said to join Indra, the King of the Vedic gods (Sharma 1958). These cultural confluences have been conceived and promoted as racial rivalry by colonial historians; unfortunately majority of the public, especially among Indians, believe these false theories that have no evidence to support them, to be true.

Another frequent accusation on the Brahmin is that the Veda-s censure those who do not give gifts freely to the priests, but these seem to be directed more towards individuals within their own society, so as to prevent gross disparity in wealth, which would lead to jealousy and hatred. The wealthy man was goaded to share his riches through feasts and gifts to the community – the priests constituted only a small fraction of the beneficiaries.

“Of the passages which describe the Panis as niggards and condemn illiberal people in general, some may have been inspired by greedy priests eager for gifts, but on the whole they seem to reflect the tendency among certain Aryans to accumulate wealth at the cost of their fellow tribesman, who naturally expected some share in the acquisitions through sacrifices made to Indra and other gods, thus providing frequent occasions for the common feasts of the community. Failure to check the process was bound to give rise to economic and social inequalities.” (Sharma 1958: 20)

“In essence, the Rigvedic society was characterized by the absence of sharp class divisions amongst its members, a feature which is found usually in early tribal societies. It was possible to have different ranks but not social classes.” (Sharma 1958: 10)

Western Indologists use the references to the Aryans' conquest of Dasyus, extolled in the Vedic literature, as evidence of a racial strife, but that is based on misinterpretation. Manogna Sastry and Megh Kalyanasundaram have made a detailed analysis of this problem from the academic, literary and linguistic standpoints (Sastry and Kalyanasundaram 2019). While the word "Ārya" refers to a society that aspires to a Vedic way of life, "Dasyu" refers to those individuals who cause anarchy, disruption and are retrograde to social and moral progress. The word derives from "das" or "tas" *dhātu* which in Panini's grammar refers to "cause harm." If there were a racial connotation, it would have surely been explained. It does not even refer to a clan or family group but only those with evil characteristics; the word is *guṇa-vācaka*, not *jāti-vācaka*, as Sāyaṇācārya clearly explains in his notes on the R̥g Veda.

The verb root "tas" and "das *upakṣaye*" from *divādi sūtra* are derived according to Pāṇini grammar as *tasyati* and *dasyati*, to mean "to harass" or "to harm." "Dasyu" is "one who causes harm in society." Consider the following examples from the R̥gveda.

From the Vaiśvānara Sūkta: *Vaiśvānaro dasyuṃ Agniḥ jaghanvān* | I. 59. 6 On this Sayanacharya comments, "Dasyu = *Rasānām karmanām vā upakṣayitāram*; *jaghanvān* = *hatavān*."

Rākṣasānām vikroṣantyaḥ yasya rāṣṭrāt hriyante dasyubhiḥprajāḥ | II. 12. 10 Here also, *dasyu* is explained as one who causes harm to others in civic society.

The Dharmaśāstra-s may be considered the authority in interpreting these issues of law and criminality. Here too, we find *dasyu* explained as those with criminal misdemeanor. E.g. *Dasyor hantā sajanāsa Indraḥ*|(Manu Smṛti VII.143). The explanation given is *Upakṣayituḥ śatroḥ hantā ghātakaḥ* | Evidently there is no racial connotation in the instances where the word "dasyu" is used in Sanskrit texts and is misinterpreted as such by modern or western Indologists either deliberately or by a failure to understand correctly.

From Purāṇic accounts of the ancient history of the people of India in different parts, it is clear that there was no racial connotation. We have no account of any exotic group bringing the Vedas into this land. A society that followed a cultured administrative structure, with due regard for *dharma*, was considered "Āryan" and literature endorses a

constant endeavor of society to attain a more refined way of life by keeping the baser tendencies of human nature under check.

The inhabitants of this ancient land are said to be native to the country as far back as human memory goes. There is no whiff of any migration from outside or a “superior” race of people having founded the Vedic civilization. On the contrary, we find in Purāṇic accounts that clans descended from lowly people actually became noble aristocratic rulers by their superior conduct whereas some tribes descended from so-called “upper caste” such as Brahmins were actually relegated to the position of asura-s and rākṣasa-s by their base behavior.

David Frawley makes careful study of the Purāṇic lore that gives an account of the five main clans from which the ancient Indian kingdoms sprang, to understand where the ideas on caste could have begun and concludes that the varṇa system had no basis in race.

“Hence three of the original five Vedic peoples had Asuric blood in them through their mother. Puru, whose group ultimately predominated, had Asuric blood, whereas the Yadus, who were most criticized in Vedic and Puranic literature, had no Asuric blood but rather that of the Brahmins. In this story we see that both groups of people – thought by the Aryan invasion theory to be the invading Aryans and the indigenous people – had the same religion and ancestry.

These five peoples were styled either Arya or Dasyu, which means something like good or bad, holy or unholy according to their behavior. These designations can shift quickly. The descendant of an Aryan king can be called Dasyu or its equivalent (Rakshasa, Dasa, Asura, etc.) if their behavior changes.” (David Frawley (2001): *The Myth of Aryan Invasion of India*, p 21)

We have much evidence that inter-marriage was common. There is no mention of Brahmin-s or Kṣatriya-s being racially different to others in society, in the Purāṇa-s, Veda-s, Śāstra-s or poetic literature. King Harsha’s biographer Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in the 8th century CE speaks of a large number of groups differing in habits and persuasions, living harmoniously in society, supported and protected equally by the ruler (Kane 1918: 28).

Many societies around the world had a class hierarchy where some were born privileged and others less so; it is unreasonable to regard it as a peculiar Vedic problem. Ancient Indian society should be studied in relation to other ancient cultures in a corresponding epoch and

not by modern societal norms. It appears that the Indian system was perhaps more assertive of the privileges and welfare of the weaker sections who were better off than most of their counterparts in other parts of the world. Megasthenes is said to have reported that there were no slaves in India (Sharma 1958) which, perhaps an exaggeration, still indicates that slaves were treated humanely. The Dharmaśāstra-s speak of the circumstances wherein a citizen (from any of the four varṇa-s) would enter slavery, the obligations of the master towards his welfare, and the terms under which he may gain freedom. Slavery appears to result more from economic duress of the individual, not capture of foreign populations after war, unlike in the western world from Afghanistan to Turkey to Europe.

“...In other words, wealthy people might be considered as good kṣatriyas and brahmanas. If enterprising individuals from the lower classes rose to the throne on a wave of reaction against the ruling class, or on account of their growing wealth, the brāhmaṇical ideologues were prudent enough assimilateMuch has been made of the Roman virtue of maintaining the basic social structure by admitting into the fold of the ruling class the leading members from the underprivileged classes and keeping out the rest. The virtue, it would seem, was cultivated in no small measure by the ruling class of ancient India. (Sharma 1959: 237)²

In India we know that the Islamic community has many divisions according to the origin of the groups. Perhaps not much is known about the importance given to ethnicity and racial stock by the rulers and trend-setting aristocracy of India after the Islamic invasions, which may have influenced Hindu society as a whole.

Though the division among Muslims appear to be too simplistic to outsiders, more so due to the religious overtone of equalitarianism, the actual situation reveals a most complex set-up neither resembling the Hindu caste system nor the western class pattern, yet drawing clear boundaries through diversified ethnicity and differing religious ideologies (Rizvi and Roy 1984).³

This aspect of hierarchy in society by accident of birth originated in ancient times in most parts of the old world, as attested by *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (online) which speaks of ancient Persian society, a cradle of civilization in the Middle East.

Class system in medieval Islamic Persia- Proponents of inequality in medieval Islam.⁴

Advocates of inequality viewed social differentiation as inevitable or even desirable because they considered it necessary for the survival of society as a whole (functional model), because of the unequal distribution of inherited intelligence (biohereditary perspective), or because of inherited or acquired wealth.

While the original Tamil society did not have the four varṇa-s that Vedic culture speaks of, works of the Sangam period do mention around ten different groups of people based on occupation and region within South India where they hailed from. Groups called Kuruvār, Vellalar, Maravar, Pradavar etc are mentioned in Purāṇānuru. Brahmins and their high position is also mentioned. Gradually these groups became endogamous.

“In this connection, it is well worth noticing the occurrence of terms like ‘Melor’, ‘Uyārndor’ and ‘Arivar’ which occur in Tolkappiyam, the celebrated grammar. The term ‘Melor’ seems to have specified all persons of high character.....Purananuru(183) show that ‘Melor’ or men of character could be members of the higher castes.” (Sharma 1958: 177)⁵

“As regards the ‘Arivar’ the interpretations suggested are illuminating. Tolkappiyar does not identify Parppar (Brahmin) exclusively with Arivar.....Thus ‘Arivar’ in the original sense used by Tolkappiyar, applied to learned men among the people. No exclusive reference to class or community is implied by the term. This suggests that a certain measure of fluidity existed in the in the caste system in respect of the Arivar.” (Sharma: 178)

“Caste is the development of thousands of years, from the association of many different social and other groups in a single cultural system....early literature paid scant attention to it, but it is certain that caste did not originate from the four varṇas” (Basham 1963: 145)

The caste issue is a much-maligned issue – let us look at what made it continue for so long. In earlier times, perhaps till recently, the economy being unstable and unpredictable, the caste provided social security⁶ after the joint family, helping destitute members and providing for widows and orphans (Basham 1963: 149). It was also the first umbrella outside the immediate family for activities connected with the occupation and livelihood – training in skills, procuring economic opportunities, production of goods, marketing and investment in capital. Caste was more significant as community, defined by life-style which was governed by occupation. In fact,

endogamy was preferred as way of keeping property and wealth within the community. With constant migration and entry of new groups in every occupation, there was much competition for economic activity and livelihood.

To this day, caste politics revolve around economic rivalry and the Brahmin, who is much removed from all this, is conveniently blamed! In this regard, Tamil Nadu seems to have been even more caste-conscious than Vedic society. The four varṇa-s and the different castes have never been truly harmonized in ideology. Somehow after British rule began in India, British scholars and administrators have deftly laid the blame on Brahmin and Vedic outlook.

4 Brāhmaṇical Oppression in Modern Writing

The trend of modern studies by westerners and even many Indians, is to articulate rather inordinately, on the oppression wreaked by Brahmins on the rest of society. We examine if this is justified.

In medieval Europe, we know that Kings were generally illiterate and signed their orders with seals and signet rings. It is well known that the Roman Catholic Church was very powerful in Europe, with the Pope interfering in all political and economic issues as well. Only after the invention of printing press did common people became aware of events at various levels and this increase of information ultimately lead to the Reformation followed by Counter-Reformation of the Church. We know that England turned to Protestant religion coming out of the clutches of the Pope when King Henry VIII wanted to divorce or behead several of his wives. Perhaps all this background influences the English-speaking scholar into reading too much ambition and greed in the Brahmin priesthood.

In our country on the other hand, from the earliest times, the kings and administrators were expected to be well-educated. The priests and rulers knew what their expectations and limits were. The priesthood constituted a minority in a population consisting of farmers, soldiers, craftsmen, artisans, traders, administrators, musicians, performers and rulers. Brahmin priests do not go out to conquer new lands and convert the people, but rather follow other groups in a natural search for livelihood. We do not come across a

single war in ancient India waged to propagate religious belief; they were always fought for military supremacy and material gain or for defending one's faith.

The Vedic society speaks of varṇa based on occupation. The Nāṭyaśāstra may be considered as having come down to us from the early centuries BCE (Subrahmanyam 1997: 35) and echoes the Vedic social order. In a society where the community functioned as training institute, workshop and trade market and occupations were most efficiently transmitted in a hereditary manner, the performing arts have from their inception been explicitly open to all people. This stems from the understanding that creativity and artistic ability are available to all people. With greater imagination of the practical realities of ancient society, modern researchers can understand the policies of ancient India better and need not always read discrimination and oppression into every aspect.

Traditionally, Brahmins always represented the teachers of society, preserving ancient wisdom for future generations. That they were held in high esteem, regarded as the intellectual capital of the country and spared the atrocities of war only indicate the high position Indian tradition placed on the Veda-s and learning in general. Modern writing that censure the role of Brahmins does much harm, throwing the baby out with the bath water. Westerners and foreigners will not easily tell us this, for they have little to gain from it. On the other hand, they have much to gain by our internal bickering. Within the country also, our leaders practice vote-bank politics to the hilt with little integrity guiding their ideology. Their only view seems to be towards what they have to gain, at the expense of the people and the country. As we can see, caste politics play a huge role, even leaving the Brahmins completely out of the picture. To distract attention from the real issues and avoid punishment for those who are responsible for these social and economic crimes, the Brahmins are blamed for their so-called ideology by politicians and academicians who are influenced by those in power. Unfortunately, with weak governance and internal bickering, we as a society become victims to foreign manipulation, losing our own identity and glorious heritage.

5 The Holistic Appeal of Vedic thought

Modern criticism of the spread of Brāhmaṇical (Vedic) religion seem to ignore its merits and fail to grasp the deep appeal it has to people. In its essence the Upaniṣadic philosophy teaches against superstition and speaks of every individual being's connection to the cosmos. Its philosophical or religious hierarchy does not centre about any particular race, geographical location or individual prophet. It teaches the equality of all living creatures and advocates respect for God's creation. Its ethics and morals are based on universal principles such as honesty, justice, selflessness and detachment from vices. It advocates the importance of ethical behaviour as the basis of the *Karma* theory.

At a practical level it advocates sacrifice to the Gods as an expression of prayer and thanksgiving. Such religious rituals were also social and cultural in nature, as is normal in any wholesome society. Over the centuries, beginning in Vedic times, devotion or *bhakti* and temple worship have also found a firm place alongside Vedic rituals in the practice of religion. The colourful stories of the Purāṇa-s serve to illustrate many Vedic and Āgamic ideals in an interesting manner to the common people. The Indian ideal of simple living and high thinking is very attractive to those of refined thinking.

What is stated by L.K. Mahapatra in the context of the spread of Vedic culture to Indonesia may be considered relevant within the country too –

“(Coedes 1968: 24) The Indians brought the native chiefs not only a complete administration but an administrative technique capable of being adapted to new conditions in foreign countries”. He credits the Brahmana scholars and priests with the crucial role in adapting the Indian traditions and norms to the local indigenous cultural base.”
(Mahapatra 2003: 4)

It is no exaggeration to observe that for any system of thought to stand the test of time, its tenets have to be brought in synchronization with Vedic thought. In the history of India this has happened time and again. In today's world, the appropriation of traditional Indian concepts such as Yoga, cosmology and monism by Western faiths and philosophy is the digestion that Rajiv Malhotra speaks about (Malhotra 2011: 223). Evangelism in India leaves no stone unturned

in adopting Hindu practices and Vedic concepts under garb of cultural assimilation.

6 Swadeshi Indology

While the Western Indologists may require methods based on a framework familiar to themselves in order to understand a foreign culture, we need to understand traditional methods in order to gain Swadeshi perspective which can lead to deeper insights. In today's scenario in Western academia, Philology has reached such high levels of sophistication that modern studies are far removed from relevant interpretation of Indian classical texts, rather exposing the shortcomings and unfamiliarity of the research scholar with Indian culture. It has become essential for honest scholarship to examine and rectify the methods of modern Indological studies.

Rajiv Malhotra explains why Swadeshi Indology is important and speaks of 5 waves of Indology in his lecture at IGNC, New Delhi (video available online). They are as follows:

- 1) Marxism which is all about Leftist ideas and how they should be adopted at the expense of all else.
- 2) Post-colonialism is a technique to understand the mind of the colonizer according to the colonizer himself to understand events in history.
- 3) Subalternism – where to champion the cause of the underclass, the downtrodden and the so-called oppressed people is fashionable; history is viewed from their perspective so that everybody looks like a loser.
- 4) Post-modernism – every aspect of Indian life is deconstructed and labeled with disdain using western cultural constructs. The original meanings are deliberately distorted and mangled to suit the Western hegemonic agenda and reduced to political oppressor – oppressed, master – slave and similar extreme barriers. India is studied as an oppressor country.
- 5) Neo – Orientalism uses our own traditional source books to malign us.

The papers presented in this volume display careful analysis of the issues relevant to Tamil Nadu today, as, meticulous academic research should lead public discourse in a progressive society. In India, the public at large and the youth in particular, are often unaware of the facts of many controversial issues; much conflict and wasted energy ensues in public discourse, leading to further disharmony and dissatisfaction, expressed through the media and in private conversation. The importance of liberal-minded and progressive people equipping themselves with the right information cannot be over-emphasized.

Papers in Tamil

It is evident that Tamil culture cannot be viewed as separate from Indian culture although it has distinct features that give it its uniqueness. To regard it as discrete, in isolation is unreal perception. Discretization and polarization of culture are modern trends driven by agenda, which harm both cultures, individually and collectively and bring the citizens no good. Dr Sankaresvari's paper makes a comparative study of Tolkāppiyam and Aṣṭādhyāyī, the two landmark grammars of Tamil and Sanskrit respectively. While Tolkāppiyam retains the unique features of Tamil influences, it also imbibes some of the features of Aṣṭādhyāyī that are worth emulating. This picture is fairly representative of Tamil culture in the backdrop of pan-Indian history.

Chitra Rao's paper explores the descriptions of marriage ceremonies, bridal jewellery and attire for married women in texts ranging from Tolkāppiyam, Akanānūru, Pattupāṭṭu and other works of the Sangam era to later works such as Silappadikāram and Ainkural to understand the popular South Indian tradition of married women wearing the maṅgalasūtra (tāli), the sacred thread around the neck that is a symbol of marriage. Some people hold that this tradition, followed in several states in India, did not exist in Tamil Nadu until the Aryan influences came, while others hold that it is indeed an ancient (perhaps original) Tamil tradition.

We find that a sacred thread being tied around the bride's neck as part of sacred ceremonies sanctifying marriage are found in many parts of India, ranging from Kashmir in the North to Kerala and Tamil Nadu in the South; in many cases these are used for a brief duration during the days of ceremonies and later discarded. But in the Southern states

of Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Kerala, the practice seems to have stronger presence, where the cotton thread is replaced by an ornament of gold and beads to form a more permanent ornament. Contrary to popular understanding, men also wear external marks of their married status, originating in the wedding ceremony itself but this is not so apparent in Indian society today where modern dress is adopted in normal life more by men than by women.

Papers in English

Tirunāvukkarasar (Appar) sings that Lord Śiva became both Sanskrit and Tamil – *āriyankaṇṭāy tamilaṇkaṇṭāy*, 6.46.10; He became the three varieties of Tamil and four Veda-s – *muttamīlum nānmaraiyumanankaṇṭāy*, 6.23.9. Tirumūlar also says that Lord Śiva imparted Sanskrit and Tamil at once. *āriyamum tamīlum uṭane colli* (Verse 65). Saraswati Sainath establishes the harmony between Śaiva Siddhānta and Vedic thought by showcasing the many references to Lord Śiva as a Vedic god and upholding Vedic traditions in the Tevāram-s of Appar. There is no doubt that the Tevāram reflect the faith of the Tamil people from ancient times. A keen scholar of classical Tamil and Sanskrit, she has examined hundreds of verses to reveal how much is in harmony with the Veda-s.

Proselytization takes many routes; in addition to emotional, social and monetary exploitation, a problem most people are not aware of is cultural appropriation of India's ancient traditions. Our laws on these issues are neither adequate nor clear perhaps because our founding fathers never envisaged a problem of this magnitude; most people assume that any protest is a result of narrow-mindedness or partisan outlook. It is essential that the facts of the matter are understood, as these are usually glossed over by the media, perhaps due to larger problems taking precedence. While India remains as secular, tolerant, friendly and peace-loving as ever, in today's scenario there is a real possibility of the country's demography being altered due to foreign investments on this front. The fact that India does not have a Uniform Civil Code in its Constitution for all its citizens in this modern age should cause great concern among liberal-minded people.

A.V. Gopalakrishnan's paper explains systematically how the bedrock of Tamil culture, Tirukkural, has been portrayed variously as a Christian or Jaina work in order to put down indigenous culture and

make conversion attractive to the common people, mostly unlettered, ostensibly by misleading them to believe that they are not breaking away from the faith of their forefathers.

The next two papers discuss linguistics and the parallel development of Sanskrit and Tamil. Even when Pāṇini composed his grammar in the 5th or 6th century BCE, from the many references to earlier grammarians, regional variations and preferences in verbs and optional forms for many words, it is evident that classical Sanskrit was a well-established language for at least several hundred years prior to it. Language is the true window into the working of the mind – the structure of language is the structure of thought process, the very consciousness, which Bhartrhari aptly termed, “*śabdatattva*.”

V. Yamuna Devi studies the structural similarities and differences between Sanskrit and Tamil and makes a comparison of the two works on grammar, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Tolkāppiyam*. T.N. Sudarshan and T.N. Madhusudan present a comprehensive account of Comparative Linguistics, developed by Western methodology to study Sanskrit in the backdrop of its relation to other languages. They explain the biases and fallacies of Western linguistics, which ignore the holistic analysis of language in the Indic tradition. Why is it, they ask, that Pāṇini, Patañjali and other Indian grammarians do not even find mention in the World Atlas of Language Structure?

The Aryan Invasion Theory and the Aryan Migration Theory are fairly well-known and yet not so well understood. Most people such as politicians, journalists and even academicians often regard these dubious theories as well accepted facts while the truth is that they are now obsolete notions. The next three papers explain the Aryan-Dravidian issue lucidly to the reader, from three different perspectives. Shivshankar Sastry presents the compulsions for propagating such a theory on the part of European scholars, to suit their requirements and agenda. Nilesh Oak presents the evidence summoned for the AIT/AMT from historical, archeological, linguistic and geological standpoint and shows that it is scant, proven wrong and therefore it is high time the notion was discarded. Subhodeep Mukhopadhyaya presents a lucid response to the issue by three saints – Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and Sri Sri Ravi Shankar who counter the invasion theory with the wisdom of our traditional learning and scriptural evidence.

In today's media of news networks and published literature, many conflicting views regarding interpretation of ancient and sacred texts are apparent, leaving the average reader quite dismayed. Sensationalism and novelty in interpretation are highly regarded, but novelty does not always imply artistic creativity – true genius is in originality, not distortion of acclaimed works of artistic endeavor, be it in painting, sculpture or literature. In this confusing scenario, Parthasarathy Desikan presents a systematic analysis of modern interpretations of the Rāmāyaṇa.

In most nations of the world, history and cultural studies of the country form a part of the mainstream education of its citizens in schools and colleges while India continues for the most part to follow the curriculum pattern set by the erstwhile British rulers. And yet, traditional learning in Sanskrit studies, classical dance and music continue in the living tradition of guru-śiṣya-paramparā that the formal education system may not know of. India's performing arts traditions are witnessing a huge revival, with more and more experts undertaking research and resurrecting waning art forms.

Much work is yet to be done, as the arts are not fully understood in their full glory in different epochs as yet. For the past few hundred years, Sanskrit scholars were not usually acquainted with the fine arts and artistes were not familiar with Sanskrit, causing a rift between theory and practice. Dancer and writer Dr. Padmaja Venkatesh says that one of the effects of Sanskrit receding to the background was that the dancers lost in-depth understanding even though the art was rooted in the Āgama-s (Venkatesh 2018). Now the gap is being bridged, with more and more dancers and musicians delving into the treatises and interpreting the theory as only practitioners of the arts can.

As part of modernization, classical music and dance are often used for purposes other than what they were designed for, sometimes inadvertently and sometimes deliberately by vested interests. Senior dancer and scholar Prakruti Prativadi who has been teaching Bharatanāṭyam for many years in the U.S., explains this issue clearly with the authority of the original treatise on the subject, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

A brief table of commonly used words with different form in Tamil and Sanskrit with English equivalent is given below.

Tamil	Sanskrit	English Equivalents Commonly Used
Akattiyar, Agattiyar	Agastya	Agasthya
Akanānūru		Ahananuru, Agananuru
Ālvār		Alvar, Azhvar
āriyar	ārya	arya
Cambandar, Campantar	Sambandhar	Sambandar
Caṅkam	Saṅgam	Sangam
Cāttira	Śāstra	Sastra
Cekkilār		Sekkilar, Sekkizhar
Cilappatikāram	Śilapadhikāram	Silapadikaram
Civan	Śiva	Siva, Shiva
Coḷa	Cola	Cola, Chola, Cozha
Cuntarar	Sundara	Sundarar
Cuppiramaṇiya	Subrahmanya	Subrahmanya
Cuvāmināta	Swāminātha	Swaminatha
drāviḍa	drāviḍa	dravida, dravidian
Kandan	Skanda	Skanda
Kaḷagam		kazhagam
Kaṇṇaki		Kannagi
Kāppiyam	Kāvya	
Mantiram	mantra	mantra
Māṇikkavācagar	Māṇikyavācaka	Manikkavasagar, Manickavacagar
Māyoṇ	Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa	Vishnu, Krishna
Māl, Tirumāl	Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa	Vishnu, Krishna
Marai	Veda	
Murukan	(Kumara)	Muruga, Murugan
Nānmarai	Four Vedas	
Parapakka	Pūrvapakṣa	Purvapaksha

Pārpannar	Brāhmaṇa	Brahmin
Pūṇūl, Pūṇal	yajñopavīta	sacred thread
Siththāntham	Siddhānta	Siddhanta
Silappatikāram		Silapadikaram
Sūttiram	Sūtra	Sutra
Tamiḷ	Tamil	Tamizh, Tamil
Tamiḷakam		Tamizhagam, Tamilaham
Tēvāram	Deva-aram	Tevaram, Devaram
Tīru, Thīru	Śrī	Tīru, Thīru
Tirumoli		Tirumozhi, Thirumoli
Tiruñānacampantar	Tirujñānasambandar	Tirugnanasambandar, Gnanasambandar
Tiruppāvai		Tirupavai, Thirupavai
Tīṭcitar	Dīkṣita	Dikshita, Dixita
Tottiram	Stotra	Stotra
Vaittīyanathan	Vaidyanāthan	
Vaṇigar	Vaṇij	merchant
Veda-cāram	Veda-sāram	
Velvi	yajña	

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Notes

¹This finding is in fact totally uncontested and disproves any migration story into South India - https://www.google.com/search?q=attirampakkam&rlz=1C1AOHY_enIN722IN728&oq=at9rampakkam&aqs=chrome.1.69i57j0l5.3871j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

²“From post-Mauryan times onwards the way for the exaltation of the rich foreign rulers or the wealthy members of the lower castes to higher social states may easily have been paved by the importance of wealth existing in the consciousness of the people. It was stated in the *Pañcatantra* (arthena balavānsarve’apyarthād bhavati paṇḍitaḥ | yasyārthaḥ sa pumāmloke yasyārthaḥ sa hipaṇḍitaḥ ||) that it is wealth which makes a person powerful or learned. In other words, wealthy people might be considered as good *kṣatriyas* and *brahmaṇas*. If enterprising individuals from the lower classes rose to the throne on a wave of reaction against the ruling class, or on account of their growing wealth, the *brāhmaṇical* ideologues were prudent enough assimilate them to the *kṣatriya* caste by recasting the genealogical legends and thus causing the least dislocation in the existing social system. The process is going on even in recent times [D.D.Kosambi, “Ancient Kosala and Magadha”, *JBBRAS*, xxvii (1952), p 184.]. Much has been made of the Roman virtue of maintaining the basic social structure by admitting into the fold of the ruling class the leading members from the underprivileged classes and keeping out the rest. The virtue, it would seem, was cultivated in no small measure by the ruling class of ancient India. (Sharma 1959: 237)

³Class system in medieval Islamic Persia

Egalitarian and meritocratic ideas became, during the first centuries of Islam, the ideology of protest movements among underprivileged groups contending for political power, especially the aristocratic Persian Šo'ūbiya, the democratic Kharijites, and the radical Shi'ite (golāt) movements. Later, however, egalitarian ideas lost much of their revolutionary potential and were incorporated gradually into the ethics of the established order, according to which egalitarianism, asceticism, and consideration for the poor were admired at the same time that hierarchy and inequality were endorsed in society.

Proponents of inequality in medieval Islam:

Advocates of inequality viewed social differentiation as inevitable or even desirable because they considered it necessary for the survival of society as a whole (functional model), because of the unequal distribution of inherited intelligence (biohereditary perspective), or because of inherited or acquired wealth.

The biohereditary perspective. The most common explanation of social inequality in medieval Islam was that nobility was inherited. In pre-Islamic Persia, members of dominant strata, no matter what social functions they performed, were considered men of rank with noble status; they boasted about the value of their hereditary rank and lineage and were forbidden to associate with commoners (Nāma-ye Tansar, pp. 57-59, 64-65, 69-70). Among the Arabs "knowledge of the common descent of certain groups [and] the glory of a tribe," as Ignaz Goldziher noted (I, P. 45), stood "at the center of Arab social consciousness." The term ḥasab connoted the accumulation of the famous deeds of one's ancestors, the ancestors themselves, and one's own contributions. These ideas and practices were common during the Islamic era...

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/class-system-iv>Encyclopaedia Iranica

⁴Though the division among Muslims appear to be too simplistic to outsiders, more so due to the religious overtone of equalitarianism, the actual situation reveals a most complex set-up neither resembling the Hindu caste system nor the western class pattern, yet drawing clear boundaries through diversified ethnicity and differing religious ideologies (Rizvi and Roy 1984). The Muslims in India do not belong to a single ethnic or cultural group. The Arabs, Afghans, Persians and Turks came to this country one after another, and those Muslims who claim foreign descent trace their origin from these ethnic groups.

http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/84507/5/05_chapter%202.pdf

⁵"In this connection, it is well worth noticing the occurrence of terms like 'Melor', 'Uyarndor' and 'Arivar' which occur in Tolkappiyam, the celebrated grammar. The term 'Melor' seems to have specified all persons of high character. From Karpial 3, Tolkappiyam, it would appear that it included the first three classes under this designation. There is a slight difference in the denotation of the term as interpreted by the commentators of Tolkappiyam. Ilampuranar interpreted 'Melor' as the devas or celestial beings, Nachchinarkaniyar provides a very wide interpretation to the term. He states that the norms of conduct prescribed for Vanigar or traders in respect of earning wealth is applicable to Brahmins (antanar), arasar (kings) and all those comprised under Velalar. According to him, therefore 'Melor' denoted those members who followed a high standard of conduct. If that were so, it is a notably democratic

conception. References in Tolkappiyam (Tol Karpial 3) and Purananuru (183) show that 'Melor' or men of character could be members of the higher castes." (Sharma 1958: 177)

⁶Even today Jāti is the primary means of social capital. Research of economic clusters in India over past few decades is indicative of this. <https://www.epw.in/journal/2014/10/perspectives/caste-social-capital.html> Ground breaking work by Prof. Kanagasabapathy (a keynote speaker at the SI 3 conference), R. Vaidyanathan and their team reiterates the "knowledge on the street" about socio-economic factors. It s the social groups and dynamic fluidity in availability of capital and structures of trust that are critical in India's unique style of capitalism. <https://www.amazon.in/Indian-Models-Economy-Business-Management/dp/812033888X><https://www.amazon.in/India-Uninc-Prof-R-Vaidyanathan/dp/9383260564><https://www.amazon.in/Caste-as-Social-Capital-Vaidyanathan/dp/9388689119/>

Chapter 1

Comparative Study in Aṣṭādhyāyī and Tolkāppiyam

– *B. Sankareswari*

Synopsis

Tolkāppiyar and Pāṇini in their respective grammars described the articulatory process of various sounds and speak of eight physical organs which are involved in the production of speech sounds. Each school excels in its own way in giving even the minute phonetic details which can only be explained with the advent of scientific knowledge and technology. We conclude that the two schools are fundamentally different.

Phonetics is the scientific study of speech sounds. Among the Indian languages Tamil and Sanskrit are ancient and have the earliest extant grammars, dealing with the phonetic aspects not only in detail but also in the most sophisticated way. Indian phoneticians talked about the phonetics of the respective language for which they wrote the grammars. So we can only reconstruct theory of general phonetics from the description for the sounds of individual languages.

Comparison

- Tolkāppiyar gives separate description for vowels and consonants whereas Pāṇini gives the same description for the vowels and consonants which are homorganic.
- Tolkāppiyar makes a distinction between active and passive articulators. From his statement one can conclude that the articulators make different kinds of configurations in the orator cavity. But from Pāṇini's statement we can know only the place of articulation.
- Tolkāppiyar's description for the production of later as sounds which are produced by the swelling of the side edge of the tongue allowing the breath air to pass only through the sides is considered to be a very astute observation particularly when we consider the ancient time period of the description.
- Pāṇini talks about the secondary articulation and dependent sounds. The secondary articulation due to one of the five factors is responsible for discriminating speech sounds. Pitch and secondary features are not clearly described by Tolkāppiyar. We may conclude that the two schools of phonetics, that of Tolkāppiyar and Pāṇini, are different.
- The language structure of Tamil and Sanskrit being basically different, the grammar rules are also arranged accordingly, in every topic, such as nouns, verbs, prefixes and suffixes, as shown in the tables.
- While both grammars address their respective languages in a well-developed, mature form not expected to change from the classic structure, the purpose of writing the two treatises appears to be quite different.
- The Tolkāppiyam appears to be composed primarily for non-Tamil (presumably Sanskrit) speakers to easily learn Tamil by presenting the phonetics in a form similar to the Aṣṭādhyāyī for more familiarity, according to experts in the field.
- There is some debate among scholars as to whether the Tolkāppiyam was composed by a single author or several.

தொல்காப்பியமும் பாணினியமும்

பா. சங்கரேஸ்வரி,

உலகின் செவ்வியல் மொழிகளாகவும் தொன்மை மொழிகளாகவும் கிரீக், இலத்தீன், சீனம், எபிரேயம், தமிழ், சமஸ்கிருதம் ஆகியன கருதப்படுகின்றன. இவற்றுள் தமிழும் - சமஸ்கிருதமும் இந்தியத்துணைக்கண்டத்தில் செழித்துவளர்ந்தவை. இவ்விருமொழிகளும் இலக்கண வளம் பெற்றவையாகத் திகழ்வதுடன் இந்தியத்துணைக்கண்டத்தின் பல்வேறுமொழிகளுக்கு மூலமொழிகளாகவும் விளங்குகின்றன. இரு தொன்மையான மொழிகளும் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று தொடர்புகொண்டிருந்தாலும் இவர்களின் இலக்கண மரபு என்பது வேறாகத்தான் இருக்கிறது. ஒருமொழியில் இலக்கணம் தோன்றுவதற்குப் பலவிதமான காரணங்கள் கூறப்படுகின்றன.

சமூக அரசியல் தளங்களில் செவ்வாக்குப் பெற்றுத்திகழும் ஒருமொழியின் இலக்கணமரபு மற்றொருமொழியின் இலக்கணமரபிற்கு மாதிரியாக விளங்குகின்றனவா? தமிழ் மொழிக்கு முதலில் கிடைத்த நூல் தொல்காப்பியம். சமஸ்கிருத மொழியில் முதலில் தோன்றியது அஷ்டாத்தியாயி இந்த இரு நூல்களும் இலக்கணத்தை எவ்வாறு அமைத்து விதிகளை உருவாக்கியுள்ளார்கள் என்பதை இனிக்காண்போம்.

பாணினியின் காலம்:

பாணினி என்பவர் ஸாலாதூர என்ற இடத்தில் பிறந்தவர். இவருடைய தந்தையின் பெயர் தாக்ஷீ புத்திரன். எனவே இவரை தாக்ஷீ என்று அடைத்தனர். இவருடைய காலம் கி.மு 3ம் நூற்றாண்டாக இருக்கலாம் எனக்கூறப்படுகிறது. இந்தோ ஆரிய மொழியின் தொடக்ககால நிலையில் அமைந்திருந்த மொழியின் இலக்கணமே அஷ்டாத்தாயி. இம்மொழியை பாணினி பாஷா என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார். ஸம்ஸ்கிருதம் என்ற சொல்லை பாணினி எந்த இடத்திலும்

குறிப்பிடவில்லை. முதன் முதலாக ஸம்ஸ்கிருதம் என்ற சொல் இராமாயணத்தில் காணப்படுகின்றது. அஷ்டாத்யாயிக்கும் முன்னும் பல இலக்கண நூல்கள் இருந்தது என்பதை பாணினி அந்தந்த ஆசிரியர்களை மேற்கோள்காட்டுகிறார்.

ஆபிஸலி (6.1.91) கஸ்யப (1.2.15: 8.4.67) கார்க்ய (7.3.99) காலவ (6.3.61; 7.1.74) பாரத்வாஜ (7.2.63) ஸாகடாயன (3.4.111: 8.3:4:50) ஸாகல்ய (1.1016: 6.1.27) இவர்களுடைய நூல்கள் ஒன்றுகூட தற்போது கிடைக்கவில்லை.

அஷ்டாத்யாயியின் அமைப்பு:

4,000 சூத்திரங்களை உள்ளடக்கிய எட்டு அத்தியாயங்களைக் கொண்டது.

- அத்தியாயம் ஒன்று: ஸம்க்ஞாவிதி, (கலைச்சொல், (உதாத்தம், அனுதாத்தம், ஆத்மனேபதம், பரஸ்-மைபதம், ஸ்வரிதம்)
- அத்தியாயம் இரண்டு: காரகங்கள் பற்றிய விதிகள் தொகை, வேற்றுமை உருபு, தாதுக்கள், எண், பால்
- அத்தியாயம் மூன்று: வினைகள் தொடர்பான விதிகள்
- அத்தியாயம் நான்கு, ஐந்து: வேற்றுமையுருபுகள், பெண்பால் ஒட்டுக்கள்
- அத்தியாயம் ஆறு, ஏழு: இரட்டித்தல், ஸந்தி, ஒலியனியல் தொடர்பான விதிகள், ஒட்டுக்கள் ஆகமங்களில் செயற்பாங்கு பற்றிய விதிகள்.
- அத்தியாயம் எட்டு: சொற்களின் இரட்டிப்பு, சொல் தொடர்பான விதிகள்.

பாணினி சூத்திரங்களைப் புரிந்துகொள்ள 7 துணை நூல்களும் உள்ளன. இதுபாணினியால் எழுதப்பட்டதா? அல்லது வேறுயாரேனும் எழுதினார்களா? என்ற கருத்துநிலவுகிறது.

1. சிவசூத்திரம்: 14 மாகேஸ்வரசூத்திரம், பிரத்யாஹாரம் என்று பெயர். (44) சிவசூத்திரங்களைப் பயன்படுத்தி பிரத்யாஹார சூத்திரங்களைப் படைத்துள்ளார்.
2. தாது பாடம்: 1970 தாதுக்களைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்
3. கணபாடம்: பெயர்ச்சொல்
4. உணாதி சூத்திரம்: தாதுக்களுடன் ஒட்டுக்களைச் சேர்ப்பது
5. பிட்சூத்திரம்: பெயரடிச் சொற்களின் ஒலியன்வடிவம்
6. லிங்காணு சாசனம்: பும்லிங்கம், ஸ்திரீலிங்கம், நபும்ஸலிங்கம்..
7. சிக்ஷா: ஒலியனியல்

இவை ஏழும்பாணினி சூத்திரங்களைப் புரிந்து கொள்வதற்குப் பயன்படுகிறது. பாணினியின் இலக்கணக் கொள்கைகள்:

1. அ, இ, உ (ண்)
2. ரு, ல், ரு, (ங்)
3. ஏ, ஓ (ங்)
4. ஐ, ஒள (ச்)
5. ஹ, ய, வ, ர, (ட்)
6. ல (ண்)
7. ஞ, ம, ங, ண, ந, (ம்)
8. ஜ, ப, (ஞ்)
9. கடத (ஷ்)
10. ஜ, ப, க, ட, த (ஸ்)

11. க, ப, ச, ட, த, ச, ட, த (வ்)

12. கப (ய்)

13. ஸ, ஷ, ஸ (ர்)

14. ஹ (ல்) (41 பிரத்யாஹாரம்)

(எ. கா)

அல் - எல்லாஎழுத்தும்

அச் - உயிரெழுத்துக்கள்

ஹ - மெய்யெழுத்துக்கள்

பாணினி பொதுவான விதிகளை அமைத்து அவைகளைச் சார்ந்த சிலபுறனடை விதிகளை (அபவாதம்) அமைத்துள்ளார். உத்ஸர்கவிதி (பொதுவிதி) விரிவான செயல் எல்லை கொண்டதாகக் காணப்படுகிறது. இரண்டையுமே ஒரு சூழ்நிலையில் பயன்படுத்த நேர்ந்தால் அபவாதவிதி தான்பலம் பொருந்தியது.

மேலும் ஒலியழுத்தத்தைப் பற்றியும் கூறுகிறார். தாதுக்கள், ஒட்டுக்கள், பதங்கள் ஆகியவைகளின் சுரங்களை குறிப்பிட்டுவிட்டு, எந்தெந்த சூழல்களில் மாற்றம் ஏற்படுகிறது என்பதையும் கூறுகிறார்.

பதம் - அனுதாத்தம்

தாது - இறுதியசையில் உதாத்தம்

ஒட்டு - உதாத்தசுரம்

இவைத் தவிர தொகைச் சொற்களின் இறுதியிலும் ஒலியசைகளைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.

வேற்றுமையுருபுகள்:

	ஒருமை	இருமை	பன்மை
1.	ஸீ (ராம):	ஒள (ராமௌ)	ஜஸ் (ராமா)
2.	அம் (ராமம்)	ஒளட் (ராமான்)	ஸஸ்
3.	டா (ராமே- ணை)	ப்யாம் (ராமாப்- யாம்)	பிஸ் (ராமை)
4.	ங் (ராமாய)	ப்யாம் (ராமாப்- யாம்)	ப்யஸ் (ரா- மேப்ய:)
5.	நுஸி (ராமாத்)	ப்யாம் (ராமாப்- யாம்)	ப்யஸ் (ரா- மேப்ய:)
6.	ஙஸ் (ராமஸ்ய)	ஒஸ் (ராமயோ)	ஆம் (ராமா- ணாம்)
7.	நி (ரமே)	ஒஸ் (ராமயோ:)	ஸீப் (ராமேஷ்)

மூவிடப்பெயரொட்டுக்கள்

இடம்	பரஸ்மைபதம்			ஆத்மனேபதம்		
	ஒருமை	இருமை	பன்மை	ஒருமை	இருமை	பன்மை
படர்க்கை	திப்	தஸ்	ஜி	து	ஆதாம்	ஜ
முன்னிலை	ஸிப்	தஸ்	த	தாஸ்	ஆதாம்	த்வம்
தன்மை	மிப்	வஸ்	மஸ்	இட்	வஹி	மஹிங்

பாணினியின் அஷ்டாத்யாயீ பேச்சுமொழியையும், வேத மொழியையும் உள்வைத்து எழுதப்பட்டது. மேலும் இந்தோ ஆரிய மொழி பிராக்கிருத மொழிக்கூறுகள் எதுவுமின்றி சுத்தமாக இருக்கவேண்டும் என்பதற்காக உருவாக்கப்பட்டது அஷ்டாத்யாயீ.

தொல்காப்பிய அமைப்பு:

தொல்காப்பிய இலக்கணம் பேச்சுமொழி, செய்யுள்-மொழி இரண்டிற்கும் உரியவை. தொல்காப்பியம் மூன்று அதிகாரங்களையும் ஒன்பது இயல்களையும் கொண்டு அமைந்துள்ளன. தொல்காப்பியம் அன்றையவழக்கு

மொழிக்கும் செய்யுள் மொழிக்கும் என உருவாக்கப்பட்ட இலக்கணம்ஆகும்.

தமிழ் எழுத்துக்களின் வடிவத்தைப் பற்றிக்கூறும் போதுபுள்ளி எந்த இடத்தில் நிற்க வேண்டுமென்று கூறுகிறார். மெய்யெழுத்துக்கள் புள்ளியோடுதான் வரும் (15) உயிர்மெய்யெழுத்திற்குப் புள்ளி கிடையாது. அதனால் அந்த எழுத்து 'அ'வுடன் சேர்ந்து ஒலிக்கும் (17) மெய்யை ஈறாகக் கொண்டவைகள் புள்ளியொடு முடியும் (16) எழுத்துக்களின் வைப்புமுறையிலும் இரண்டு மொழிக்கும் பொதுவான எழுத்துக்களை முதலில் கூறிவிட்டு, அந்த மொழியிலில்லாத, தமிழின் சிறப்பெழுத்துக்களான ழ, ள, ற, ன இவைகளை இறுதியில் வைக்கிறார்.

வேற்றுமொழி பேசும் மக்களுடைய மொழியில் எந்தெந்த எழுத்துக்கள் இருக்கின்றனவோ, அவைகளோடு உருவத்திலோ உச்சரிப்பிலோ ஒருபுதிய மொழியின் எழுத்துக்களை ஒப்பிட்டுக்காட்டி மொழியை பயிற்றுவித்தால், அம்மொழியைப் பயில்வது மற்றவர்களுக்கு எளிது. இதைநன்றாக உணர்ந்து கொண்ட தொல்காப்பியர். இம்முறையில் தொல்காப்பியத்தை உருவாக்கியிருக்கிறார். வரலாற்றுப் பின்னணியில் இந்நூலை ஆராயும் போது வேற்று மொழியாளர்களுக்காகத்தான் இந்நூல் எழுதப்பட்டிருக்கும் என்றும்னாட்சி குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.

ஒரு மொழியின் இலக்கணம் என்பது பேச்சு மொழிக்கும் கவிதை மொழிக்கும் உரிய ஒரு இலக்கணமாக இருத்தல் வேண்டும். என்பது தொல்காப்பியரின் ஒருங்கிணைந்த இலக்கணக் கொள்கையாகும். வளரும் மொழிக்காக ஆக்கப்படாமல் அப்படியே இருக்கவேண்டும் என்ற ஒருநிலையில் ஆக்கப்பட்டது இவ்விலக்கணம்.

தொல்காப்பியம் பல்வேறு மாற்றங்களைப் புதிதாகப் பெற்றுவளரும் மொழியாக இருத்தல் வேண்டும் என்ற நிலையில் தான் பல்வேறு புறநடைச் சூத்திரங்களையும்

உருவாக்குகின்றது. தொல்காப்பிய எழுத்த்திகாரம் (482,483) சொல்லதிகாரம் (946) காணப்படும் சூத்திரங்கள் மேலே சொன்ன செய்திகளை வலியுறுத்துகின்றன.

“செய்யுள் மருங்கினும் வழக்கியல் மருங்கினும்”

போன்ற சூத்திரங்கள் அவரது மொழி பற்றிய கொள்கையை சுட்டிக்காட்டும.; செய்யுள் என்ற சொல்லும் தொல்காப்பியர் எண்ணத்தின் படி வெறும் கவிதை என்ற பொருளில் அமையவில்லை.

செய்யுள்

அடிவரையறையுள்ளது

அடிவரையறையில்லாதது

பாட்டு	நாட்டுப்புறவியல்சார்ந்தவை	மற்றவை
1. பிசி	1. உரை	
2. முதுசொல்	2. நூல்	
3. அங்கதம்		
4. வாய்மொழி		

வரிசைஎண்	தொல்காப்பியம்	பாணனீ
1.	எழுத்துக்கள்உயிர் - 12 மெய்எழுத்துக்கள் - 18 சார்பெழுத்துக்கள் - 03 சார்பெழுத்துக்கள் - 3	உயிர்எழுத்துக்கள் - 9 மெய்எழுத்துக்கள் - 33 ---- 42 ---- 5 உயிர் ஓசை அயோ- கவாகம் அனுஸ்- வார, விசர்க, ஜிஹ்- வமூலிய, உபத்மா- னீய, யமா:

2.	ஒருமை, பன்மை	ஒருமை, இருமை, பன்மை
3.	உயர்திணை அஃ- றிணை பாகுபாடு உண்டு ஆண்பால், பெண்பால் (பொ- ருள்)	பாகுபாடு இல்லை. ஆண்பால், பெண்- பால், அலிப்பால். (சொல்வகைகளைக் குறித்தது)
4.	வேற்றுமை உருபு- கள் உயர்திணைக்- கும் அஃறிணைக்கும் ஒன்றே	வேற்றுமை உரு- பு மாறுபடுகின்றது. ஒருமை, இருமை, பன்மை, ராம: ரா- மௌராமா:
5.	பிறப்புறுப்புகள் - 8	சிரஷ், கண்டாஹ், உரஹ், நாசிகா, தந்- தா, ஜிஜ்வா மூலம், தந்தா, ஸ்தௌசாடலு
6.	ஆய்தம்	ஆஹ - என்ற உச்சரிப்பில்பயன்ப- டுத்துகின்றனர்
7.	ஐந்திரம்நி றைந்த தொல்காப்பியம்	இந்திரனால் செய்- யப்பட்ட வியாகர- ணம்
8.	‘தொல்காப்பியன் எனத்தன் பெயர் தோற்றி’	தோன்றி -தன்வினை தோன்றி-பிறவினை. இது வடமொழியில் மொழி எனப்படும்
9.	கண் இமை மாத்திரை	மாத்திரை என்ற சொல் ‘மாத்திரை’என்று தற்பவமாக்கிப் பயன் படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது
10.	ல, ளிஃகான், ணன- கான் என்பது	இரண்டெழுத்திற்கு ஒரு காரப்பிரத்- தியயம் கொடுத்து ‘தலகாரம்’என்பர்
11.	குன்றிசை மொழிவ- யின்(தொ. எ. 411)	புலுதச்சந்தியை ஒத்- துவந்துள்ளது
12.	அகர இகரம் ஐகாரம் (தொ. எ. 54)	சந்தியஷரம் - உயிர்ப்புணர்ச்சி

13.	‘உப்பகாரம் ஒன்று என மொழிப’ தபு என்ற சொல்கெடு எனவும், கெடுவி எனவும்வரும்.	அந்தர் பாவிதணிச்
14.	சுட்டுச்சினை நீ- டியமென் தொடர் மொழியும் (தொ. எ. 159) ஆங்குக் கொண்- டான்	சுட்டுச்சினை அவ்- வியயத்திதன் என வழங்கப்படும்
15.	முகரம் உகரம் நீ- ட்டன் உடைத்தே கரம் வருதல் ஆவ- யினான. (தொல். எ. 261) (எ.கா) பழுஉப்பல்	வடநூலார் குறில் நின்ற இடத்தில் பு- லுதம்வரும் என்பர்.
16.	‘மன்னம் சின்னும் (தொல். எ. 333) இடைச்சொல்	அவ்வியயத்திதன்
17.	மூன்றன் உருபாகிய ‘ஒடு சொல்லை ‘ஆசிரியனொ- டுமாணவன் வந்தான் எனத் தொல்காப்பி- யர் கூறுகிறார்	பாணினீ ஒடு என்- னும் உருபு ஏற்- றசொல்லை அப்- பிரதானம் என்றும், வந்தான் என்னும் வினையொடு முடிந்த சொல்லைப் பிரதா- னம் என்றும்கூறுவர்.

தமிழ் மற்றும் சமஸ்கிருத மொழிகளுக்குப் (தொல்-
காப்பியத்திற்கும், அஷ்டாத்தியாயிக்கும்) பொதுவான,
இலக்கணக் கூறுகளை இரண்டு நூல்களும் எவ்வாறு
விளக்குகின்றன என்பதை இதுகாறும் விளக்கினோம்.
இப்பொழுது இரு நூல்களும் இலக்கணத்தை எவ்வாறு
அமைத்து விதிகளை உருவாக்கியுள்ளார்கள் என்பதனை
ஒவ்வொரு இலக்கண நூலாகச் சுருக்கமாகக் காணலாம்.

தொல்காப்பியம்-விதி அமைப்புமுறை:

1. தொல்காப்பியர் தலைப்புவாரியாகப் பொருளை அடுக்கிவைத்துள்ளார்.
2. தொல்காப்பியவிதிகள் சூத்திர நடையில் இல்லாது நூற்பா என்ற வகையில் மிக நீண்டதாக அமைகின்றன.
3. முழுமையான எண், விளக்கமான வழக்கு பற்றிய குறிப்பு, பிறப்பு எனத் தமிழ் ஒலிகளை விளக்குகின்றன. எழுத்து அதிகாரம் ஒரு முழுப் பகுதியாக உள்ளது.
4. தொல்காப்பியர் பல்வேறு வகையான வாக்கிய அமைப்புக்கள், வாக்கிய வகைகள், வாக்கியங்களின் வழாநிலை, வழுவமைதி ஆகியவற்றை விரிவாக விளக்குகிறார். இத்துடன் சிலவழக்குகள் செய்யுளுக்கே உரியவை என்றும் அவை அன்றாட வழக்கிற்கு உடையவையல்ல என்றும் விளக்குகிறது.
5. இலக்கியத்திற்கே உரிய இடம்பெறும் சொற்கள் என இயற்சொல், திசைச்சொல், எனச் சொற்களை குறிப்பிடுகிறது.
6. தொல்காப்பிய செய்யுளின் (கரு) பாடுபொருள், யாப்பு, அணி என்று ஒரு தனிப்பகுதியை செய்யுளுக்காக இலக்கணத்தில் கொண்டு விளக்குகிறது.
7. தொல்காப்பியத்தில் விதிகள் பொதுவானவை, புறனடை எனப் பகுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. அஷ்டாத்தியாயியில் தொல்காப்பியத்தைப் போல பொதுவாக விதிகள் ஒன்றோடு ஒன்று இணைக்கப் படவில்லை. சில விதிகள் மட்டுமே மாற்றேற்று விதிகளாக உள்ளன.

அஷ்டாத்யாயி -;-விதி அமைப்பு முறை:

1. பாணினியின் அமைப்பு முறையில் பாடுபொருள்-கள் தலைப்பு வாரியாக அமைக்கப்படவில்லை. அவர்விதிகளை சில ஒட்டுக்களின் அடிப்படையில் n அமைத்துள்ளார்.
2. பாணினியின் இலக்கணம் பல்வேறு வகையான வி-திகளைக் கொண்டது. பெரும்பாலும் அவை ஒன்-றோடு ஒன்று உறவுடையவை. இவ்வாறாகவிதி-கள் உத்ஸர்கா,, apavāda, antaraṅga- bahiraṅga, pratiṣedha என ஒன்றோடு ஒன்று உறவுடையதால் இவற்றை ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட வைப்பு முறையில்தான் பயன்-படுத்தப் படவேண்டும். பல பரிபாஸா விதிகள் என்ற கருத்து எதுவர வேண்டும் என்று விளக்-கும். ஆகையால் விதிகளை வைப்பு முறையை பின்பற்றியே சரியானவற்றை உருவாக்கவேண்டும்.
3. பாணினியின் விதிகள் சூத்திரநடையில் உருவாக்-கப்பட்டுள்ளன. அவை சுருக்கமாகவும் செறிவாக்-வும் அல் ஐ Pப்ராசூ த்திரங்களைப் போல இருக்-கும். இந்த நடை ஆசிரியரை விதிகளைச் சு-ருக்கமாக ஆக்கத்துணை புரிந்தாலும், அவற்றைப் புரிந்து கொள்ளவும், விளக்கவும் சில உதவிகள் தேவைப்படும். அவையும் அந்த சூத்திரங்களில் இடம்பெறுமாறு பல உபாயங்களை உள்ளே வைத்-துப் படைத்துள்ளார்.
4. பெரும்பான்மையான பாணினியின் விதிகள் சரி-யான சொற்களை ஆக்கிக்கொள்வது தொடர்பான-வையாகவே உள்ளன. அதற்கேற்ப அவருடைய விளக்கம் சொற்களை ஆக்குவதற்குரிய பல்வேறு உறுப்புக்களை குறித்ததாகவே உள்ளன. பாணினி பல்வேறு அலகுகளையும் அவற்றை இணைத்துச் சரியான வார்த்தைகளை உருவாக்குவதும் குறித்-தும், அப்போது அவை அடையும் மாற்றங்கள் குறித்தும், அப்போது சந்தி விதிகள் குறித்தும் பே-சுகிறார். பாணினி சில சொற்கள் எப்படி ஆக்-

கப்பட்டன என்று விளக்க முடியாத வடிவங்களை (ñīp yavayeyē) ஆங்காங்கே விளக்குகிறார்.

அமைப்பு வேறு பாட்டிற்கான காரணங்கள்

இந்த இரண்டு இலக்கண நூல்களையும் ஒட்டுமொத்தமாக ஒப்பிடும்போது ஒற்றுமைகளைவிட வேறுபாடுகளே நிறைய உள்ளன என்பது தெரியும். ஆகையால் வேறுபாட்டிற்கான காரணங்களும் ஒன்றல்ல பல என்பது புரியும்.

1. இந்த இரண்டு மொழிகளுக்கும் இடயில் உள்ள அமைப்பு வேறுபாடே அவை வெவ்வேறு அணுகுமுறையில் எழுதகாரணமாக அமைந்தன
2. இரண்டு இலக்கண ஆசிரியர்களும் அவர்கள் இலக்கணம் எழுதக் காரணமாயிருந்த தாக்கமும் காரணமும் வேறு வேறாக இருந்ததும் ஒரு காரணம்ஆகும்.
3. தொல்காப்பியத்தை எழுதியதுயார் என்பது குறித்து வேறுபட்ட கருத்து நிலவுகிறது.
 - (a) தொல்காப்பியம் ஒருவராலே எழுதமுடியாது. அதாவது தொல்காப்பியர் மூன்று அதிகாரங்களும் ஒருவரே எழுதியவை என்பது.
 - (b) முதல் இரண்டு அதிகாரங்களும் எழுதியவர் ஒருவர். மூன்றாவது அதிகாரத்தை எழுதியவர் (பொருள்) வேறு ஒருவர் என்றும், பின்னர் எழுதிச் சேர்க்கப்பட்டது. இன்னொரு கருத்து பொருளதிகாரத்தில் இடைச் செருகல்கள் உள்ளன என்பதாகும். (zvlabil (1973): T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram (1974) etr. தொல்காப்பியம் பலரால் எழுதப்பட்டது என்பதை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டால் எழுத்ததிகாரத்தை எழுதுவதற்கு ஒருநோக்கமும் அதாவது தொடக்க நிலையில் உள்ள

வேற்றுமொழியாளர்கள் கற்பதற்கு எழுதப்பட்டது. அந்த இயலில் எழுத்துக்களின் எண்ணிக்கை, எழுத்துக்களை எப்படி உச்சரிக்க வேண்டும் என்பதும், பேச்சொலிகளின் வழக்காறுகள், மற்று எளிய விளக்கமான சந்தி விதிகள் இயங்கும் முறைகள் எல்லாம் இடம்பெற்றுள்ளன.

தொல்காப்பியம் சொல்லதிகாரத்தில் பெரும்பான்மையான இயல்கள் (கிளவியாக்கம்தவிர) அதையே காட்டுகிறது. கிளவியாக்கம் வாக்கியங்களின் வழா நிலையையும், வழுவையும், வழுவமைதியையும் பேசுகின்றன. இது மொழியில் முன்னறிவு பெற்றிருக்க வேண்டும் என்பதை உணர்த்துகிறது. அதிகாரத்தின முதல் இயலாக அமைந்திருப்பதே இதற்குக் காரணமாகும். எழுத்ததிகாரம் படித்தப்பின் அமைவதால் எளிமையாக புரிவதற்கு வழிவகுக்கிறது.

தொல்காப்பியம் பொருளதிகாரம் தொடக்க நிலையில் (புதியவர்கள்) உள்ளவர்களுக்கு அல்ல. அந்த இயல்செய்யுளை எப்படி எழுதுவது என்று கூறுகிறது.

ஒன்றுக்கு மேற்பட்டவர்கள் எழுதியது தொல்காப்பியம் என்று கூறுவோர் முதல் இரண்டு அதிகாரங்கள் காலத்தை கி.மு 3. என்றும், மூன்றாவது அதிகாரம் பிற்காலத்தில் எழுதப்பட்டது என்பர்.

தொல்காப்பியத்தை எழுதியவர் ஒருவரே என்பவர்கள் ஒரே காலத்தையே கூறுகிறார்கள். இருந்தாலும் கூறும் காலத்தில் வேறுபாடுகள் உள்ளன. தொல்காப்பியம் - சங்க இலக்கியங்களின் காலம்

தொல்காப்பியம் சங்க இலக்கியங்களுக்கு முந்தியதா அல்லது பிந்தியதா என்பதே இங்கு எழும் முதல்வினா ஆகும். இது மற்றொரு வினாவுக்கு வழிவகுக்கும். தொல்காப்பியம் முதலில் தோன்றிய தமிழ் நூலாயிருந்தால் அதுசங்க இலக்கியத்துக்கு முந்தியதாகும். முதல் தமிழ் இலக்கணமாயிருப்பின் அது சங்க இலக்கியங்களுக்குப் பிந்தியதாகும்.

சங்க இலக்கியம், தொல்காப்பியம் இரண்டின் காலத்தை ஒப்பிடுவதில் அறிஞர்கள் வேறுபடுகின்றனர்.

1. அகத்தியம் என்பதே பழைய இலக்கணம் கி.பி.9 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு என்று கருதப்பட்டது. அண்மையில் தொல்காப்பியமே பழமையான இலக்கணம் அகத்தியம் அல்ல என்று நிறுவப்பட்டுள்ளது. (சிவத்தம்பி 1986: 35)
2. தொல்காப்பியம் பழைய தமிழ் இலக்கணம் மட்டும் அல்ல. இதுசங்க இலக்கியங்களுக்கு முந்தியது.

சமஸ்கிருத இலக்கணத்தின் தோற்றம் வேதங்களின் மொழி புரியாததாகப் போன நிலையில்தான் தொடங்கியது எனப் பொதுவாக நம்பப்படுகிறது. வேதச்சடங்குகளை வேதங்கள் புரிந்து கொண்டு யாகங்களில் பலியிடுதல் என்ற வாய்பாடுகளை புரிந்துகொள்ள, வேதமொழியை விளக்குதல் ஒரு தேவை இருந்தது. இதுவே *prāṭisākhya* போன்ற இலக்கியங்களை எழுதுவதற்குக் காரணமாய் அமைந்தது. இதுவே பாணினி அவருடைய இலக்கணமான அஷ்டாத்யாயியை எழுதுவதற்கு நோக்கமாய் அமைந்தது. அகச்சான்றுகள் இதைக் காட்டவில்லை. அஷ்டாத்யாயியின் பெரும்பான்மையான விதிகள் *bhāṣā* யை விளக்குவதாகவே உள்ளன. *bhāṣā* என்பது, இந்தியாவின் வடமேற்குப் பகுதியில் வாழ்ந்த மனிதர்கள் பேசும் மொழியாகும். மேலும், அஷ்டாத்யாயியில் உள்ள நாலாயிரம் சூத்திரங்களில் ஐநூறு சூத்திரங்களே வேதங்கள் குறித்தவை. இவையும் கூட *bhāṣā* வின் ஒலித்திரிபுகள் பற்றியே பேசுகின்றன. ஆகையால் பாணினி வேதமொழியைக் காக்கும் நோக்கத்தில் இலக்கணத்தை எழுதினார் என்பது சரியாகத் தோன்றவில்லை. ஏனெனில்

1) அவருடைய மொழி பற்றிய விளக்கம் *prāṭisākhya*-s போலில்லாமல், பேச்சு ஒலிகளின் உச்சரிப்ப, அவற்றை விளக்குதல் என்று அமையவில்லை.

2) அவர் Yāska செய்ததைப் போல சொற்களின் சொற்பிறப்பை; பற்றி விளக்க முடியவில்லை..

பாணினி அவருடைய அவருடைய தனிமனித பேச்சு வழக்கை விளக்குவதற்கு முயன்றதாகத்; தோன்றுகிறது. இந்தமுறையை அவர் மேற்கொண்டதற்கு ஒரு காரணம் பிறமொழிக் குடும்பங்களின் கூறுகள் உட்புகுந்து விடும் என்பதனாலேயேயாம். இதற்குச் சில சான்றுகள் உள்ளன. இந்தோ இரானியின் மொழிக் குடும்பத்தின் தாக்கம் சமஸ்கிருத்தில் உள்ளன. இதனைப் பாணினியின் விதியொன்றில் காணலாம். (1983). பிராஹுயி என்ற வட திராவிட மொழி பிராக்ரித் முதலியவற்றின் தாக்கம் உள்ளது. இருந்தாலும் பாணினியின் காலத்துப் பெரியமனிதர்களின் இந்தோ-ஆரிய மொழியில் இத்தகைய தாக்கம் எந்த நிலையிலும் இருந்ததாகக் கூற முடியாது. பாணினி மனிதர்களின் பேச்சு மொழியின் தூய்மையை காக்க விரும்பினார். அவருடைய சூத்திரநடை அந்தக்காலத்து அறிஞர்களால் ஏற்றுகொள்ளப்பட்ட நடை அந்தக்காலத்து எளிதில் புரிந்துகொள்ள முடியாததாகவும் அதற்கு பாஸ்யாவ்ருத்தி போன்றவை தேவைபடுவதாக இருந்தன. உயர்ந்த தொழில்நுட்பம் வாய்ந்தாக அமைந்த பாணினியின் இலக்கணம் சரியாகப் புரிந்துகொள்வது அறிவுசால் பெரியோர்களுக்கு மட்டுமே இயலும் என்ற நிலையில் அவை எழுதும் முறையை அறிமுகப்படுத்துவதற்கு ஒருகாரணமாக அமைந்தது. காந்தாரப் பகுதிகளில் பாணினியின் காலத்தில் தோன்றிய கரோடி எழுத்து அக்காலத்தில் எழுதும் முறை பரவலாகியிருந்ததைக் காட்டுகிறது.

இவ்வாறு அஷ்டாத்தியாயியை எழுதுவதற்கான காரணம் மற்ற மொழிகளின் தாக்கம் இந்தோ ஆரிய மொழிகளில் ஏற்பட்டதே ஆகும். அதன் தூய்மையைக் காக்கும் நோக்கத்துடனே பாணினி இலக்கணம் எழுதினார்.

இவ்வாறு இரண்டு இலக்கண நூல்களும் வேறு சூழலில் வேறுவேறு நோக்கத்தோடு எழுதப்பட்டவை என்பது சுட்டிக் காட்டப்பட்டன. அதனால் இரண்டு இலக்க-

ணங்களுக்கும் இடையில் ஒற்றுமையை விட வேற்றுமையே அதிகம் இருக்கும். முன்னரே குறிப்பிட்டவாறு (Burnell 1875) தொல்காப்பியத்திற்கும் சமஸ்கிருதங்களான prātiśākhya's கச்சாயனாரின் பாலி இலக்கணம் இவற்றிற்கிடையே சில ஒற்றுமைகளைக் கண்டார்.

தமிழும் சமஸ்கிருதமும் மொழிக் குடும்ப அமைப்பில் தொடர்பே இல்லாத மொழிகளாம். அவை தம் தம் மொழிக்குடும்பத்திற்கே உரிய சில குறிப்பிட்ட கூறுகளைக் கொண்டு விளக்குகின்றன. அவர்கள் அவரவருடைய மொழியின் அமைப்பை அப்படியே ஏற்றுக்கொண்டு அவரவர் இலக்கணங்களைப் படைத்துள்ளனர். எனவே நாம் தமிழ் சமஸ்கிருதம் ஆகியத் தம் கூறுகளையும் பலதனித்த கூறுகளையும் அடையாளம் காணலாம். மேலே கொடுக்கப்பட்ட தொகுப்புரை இவ்விரு இலக்கணங்களுக்கும் இடையில் சில ஒற்றுமைகளையும் சில வேறுபாடுகளையும் காட்டுகின்றன.

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Chapter 2

Mangala-sūtra and Wedding Attire in the Sangam Age

– *K. Chitra Rao*

Abstract

There are dichotomous views as to whether there was the practice of tying mangala-sūtra (tāli) for women or not in the Sangam period. Tamil / Dravidian scholars hold that the custom of mangala-sūtra (tāli) existed in Tamil Nadu since ancient times, whereas others say that it was not there. Those who moot the Aryan-Dravidian divide hold that the custom came in only after the so-called Aryan influences and the description of eight forms of marriage as mentioned in the Dharmaśāstra-s. To understand this, we have to investigate what kind of relationships existed between men and women as recorded in the ancient Tamil literature.

Tolkāppiyam speaks of two types of relationships known as Kalaviyal and Karpiyal. The first was clandestine, while Karpiyal was the love-relationship known to the society. Since clandestine wooing and illicit relationships led to many occasions where the man claimed that he did not know who the woman was and this resulted in the woman being deceived and jilted, certain customs were introduced, keeping Karpu as a high virtue.

Karpu was solemnized by the parents of the young couple and the wedding celebrated with festivities that included many groups of people. This type of marriage was held in high esteem in society, with alliances formalized between families of similar social and economic background. Sometimes, it was also the practice for young people to woo and fall in love and subsequently have their marriage solemnized by parents and elders in society, respecting their sentiments and relationship.

In general, whatever was relevant to antanar-s, arasar-s and vanigar-s were applicable to other classes in society. Sometimes, the man in a relationship, whether tiring of the companion or hesitant to take on the responsibility, tried to abandon his partner after sharing physical intimacy. The ayyar-s (elderly persons/ priests) in society brought in measures to control this, to safeguard the interests of the concerned women.

Marriage festivities, ceremonies, bridal ornaments, attire and other arrangements are described vividly in Akanānūru, Silappadikāram, Perungathai and other texts. Did married women dress differently to unmarried or widowed women? Was their standing in society different according to their marital status? Is the tāli an external identity of the married state? Many texts describe the various ornaments along with the tāli worn by married ladies, especially as part of the wedding ceremonies in Pattupāṭṭu, Tolkāppiyam, Tirukkural, Aingurunuru etc.

A debate whether Tāli existed in Sangam period was raised in 19th and 20th centuries CE. Based on the Aryan-Dravidian race theory, Tamil Nationalists had maintained that such practices did not exist. However, Tamil scholars point out that there existed ornaments such as ikaiyariya ilai and that these ornaments were removed when their husbands died and they observed the rite of widowhood called kaimmai nōṇpu. In this research paper this problem is analyzed on the basis of literary and archaeological evidences. It is proved that tāli / Mangala-sūtra existed and the practice of tying the tāli during marriage also existed.

“சங்க” இலக்கியத்தில் மங்கள அணி அல்லது தாலி
இருந்ததா, இல்லையா - சரித்திர நோக்கில் ஒரு
நுண்ணிய ஆய்வு

கே. சித்ரா ராவ்,

ஆய்வாளர், பாரதிய இதிகாச சங்கலன சமிதி,
சென்னை.

முன்னுரை: ராபர்ட் கால்டுவெல்லின் “மொழியியல் தி-
ராவிடம்”, இனரீதியல் திரிபுவாதத்திற்கு உட்பட்டப் பி-
றகு, தமிழர், “திராவிடர்,” என்றே வழங்கலாயிற்று.
“தனித்தமிழ் இயக்கம்” திராவிடர்களை, ஆரியர்களிட-
மிருந்து வேறுபடுத்திக் காட்டும் முயற்சிகளும் நடந்-
தன. மறைமலை அடிகள் இவ்விசயத்தில், தீவிர-
மாக செயல்பட்டு, “தமிழர் திருமணாமுறை” தனித்தது
போன்ற கருத்துருவாக்கத்தை உண்டாக்கினார்¹. ஆனால்,
தேவநேயன் போன்றோர், தாலி கட்டும் முறையெல்-
லாம் தமிழருடையதே என்று எடுத்துக் காட்டினர்². சங்க
இலக்கியத்தில் தாலி கட்டும் பழக்கம் இருந்தது பற்-
றி, இருந்தது மற்றும் இல்லை என்று இரு மாறுபட்ட
கருத்துகள், இதனால் உண்டாயின. ஆனால், இவ்விரு
கருத்துகளும் சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் உள்ள சான்றுகளை
வைத்து, அதற்கான பிற்காலத்தில் எழுதப்பட்ட உரை
மற்றும் விளக்கங்களை வைத்துக் கொண்டு தான் வா-
தங்கள் இருந்து வந்துள்ளன. தாலி கட்டும் பழக்கம்
இல்லை என்பவர், “ஆரிய-திராவிட” இனவாத சர்ச்-
சையை வைத்து, முதலில் திராவிடர்களிடம் அத்தகைய
பழக்கம் இல்லை, ஆனால், பிறகு ஆரியர்கள் வந்தேறி,
எட்டுவகையான திருமணம், சடங்குகள், சம்பிரதாயங்-
கள் முதலியவற்றை திணித்தபோது ஏற்பட்டது என்று
வாதிடுவர்³. அடுத்த வாதமும், “ஆரிய-திராவிட” இன-
வாத கோட்பாட்டை ஒப்புக் கொண்டாலும், தமிழரி-
டையே தாலி கட்டும் பழக்கம் இருந்தது என்று இலக்-
கிய சான்றுகள் மூலம் மெய்ப்பிப்பர்⁴. இந்நிலையில்,
இப்பிரச்சினை அறிய, பழந்தமிழர் ஆண்-பெண் உற-

வுகள் எப்படியிருந்தன என்பதனை கூர்மையாக ஆராய வேண்டியுள்ளது.

களவியல் மற்றும் கற்பியல்: கிடைத்துள்ள மிகத்தொன்மையான தமிழ் இலக்கண நூல் என்று கருதப் படக் கூடிய தொல்காப்பியம், களவியல் மற்றும் கற்பியல் என்ற இருவகை ஆண்-பெண் உறவுமுறைகளை எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறது⁵. களவியல் என்பது ஆண்-பெண் விருப்பப்பட்டு, ஆனால், மற்றவர்களுக்குத் தெரியாமல் உறவு வைத்துக் கொள்ளும் முறை. கற்பியல் என்பது ஆண்-பெண் விருப்பப்பட்டு, ஆனால், மற்றவர்களுக்குத் தெரிந்து உறவு வைத்துக் கொள்ளும் முறை. முந்தைய முறையில் ஆண் ஏமாற்றிய நிலை உண்டானதால், “பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர் ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணம்” என்றபடி, கரணம், அதாவது சடங்குகள் அறிமுகப்படுத்தப்பட்டன. தமிழரிடையே கற்பு உயர்வான நிலையில் வைக்கப் பட்டு, அது சிறந்த குணமாக, மேன்மை தன்மையாக மற்றும் சீரிய பெண்மையாகக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது. ஆனால், தேவநேயன் போன்றோர், “பொது மனைவியர்” இருந்தனர் என்ற கருத்தையும் பதிவு செய்துள்ளனர்⁶.

அகத்திணை என்ற முறையில், கைக்கிளை, ஐந்திணை மற்றும் பெருந்திணை என்ற பிரிவுகள் எடுத்துக் காட்டப்படுகின்றன. கைக்கிளை அல்லது ஒருதலை காமம் என்ற முறையில் மூன்று பிரிவுகள் உள்ளன. ஐந்திணை என்பது, குறிஞ்சி, முல்லை, மருதம், நெய்தல் மற்றும் பாலை என்ற ஐந்து நிலப்பிரிவுகளுக்கு உரியதாகக் கொள்ளப்பட்டன. பெருந்திணை என்பது சரிசமம் இல்லாத, ஒவ்வாத, சேர்க்கைக்குரியதல்லாத முறைகள் கொண்டதாகவும், அவற்றால் தீய விளைவுகள் உண்டாகும் என்றும் விளக்கப்பட்டது. பெருந்திணையில், மடலேறுதல் (பனையோலையால் பின்னப்பட்ட குதிரையின் மீது உட்கார்ந்து சவாரி செய்து வருத்திக் கொள்வது) மற்றும் வரைப்பாய்தல் (உயிரை மாய்த்துக்

கொள்வது) போன்ற தீவிரமான வகைகளும் விவரிக்கப் பட்டன.

கற்பியல் என்ற ஆண்-பெண் இணையும் முறை பெற்றோர்களால் நிச்சயிக்கப் பட்டு, ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டு, சடங்குகளுடன் செய்யப்படும் இணைப்பு-திருமண முறையாகும். களவியலில் ஏற்பட்ட தகாத உறவுகளைத் தடுக்க, தீமைகளை மாற்றி, ஆண்-பெண் இணைப்பை முறைப்படுத்த, கற்பியல் ஏற்படுத்தப் பட்டது என்பது தெரிகிறது. சடங்குகளுடன் கூடிய மணம் சமூகப் பிணைப்பு மற்றும் சேர்ந்து வாழும் முறையை மேன்மைப் படுத்தியாக அறியப்படுகிறது. “பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர் ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணம்” என்ற தொல்காப்பிய சூத்திரத்திலிருந்து இது உறுதியாகின்றது.

கற்பியல், கற்பு, கரணம், கற்பு மணம் என்பன⁷: தொல்காப்பியத்தில் இவை தெளிவாக விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

‘கற்பெனப் படுவது கரணமொடு புணரக்
கொளற்குரிய மரபிற் கிழவன் கிழத்தியைக்
கொடைக்குரி மரபினோர் கொடுப்பக்கொள்வதுமே’

என்று தொல்காப்பியர் விளக்கியுள்ளார். பெற்றோர் தமது பெண்ணைக் கொடுக்கக்கூடிய மரபுள்ள பெற்றோரின் மகனுக்கு, அவனுக்கு ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளும் தகுதியுடன், விவரங்கள் அறிந்து, கரணம் முடிய சடங்குகளுடன் திருமணம் செய்து கொடுப்பதே கற்பு எனப்படும் என்றாகிறது.

கொடுப்போர் இன்றியும் கரணம் உண்டே
புணர்ந்து போகிய காலையான.

ஒருவேளை பெற்றோர் அவ்வாறு முறையாக விசாரித்து, கொடுக்க முடியாத நேரத்திலும்-சந்தர்ப்பத்திலும், பெண் ஒரு ஆணோடு சென்றுவிட்டால், அறிந்த பின்னர் முறைப்படி சடங்குகளுடன் திருமணம் செய்து கொடுக்கும் வழக்கமும் இருந்தது.

மேலோர் மூவர்க்கும் புணர்ந்த கரணம்
கீழோர்க்கு ஆகிய காலமுன் உண்டே.

அந்தணர், அரசர், வணிகர் முதலியோருக்கு இருந்த சடங்குமுறைகள், அடுத்தவருக்கும் உண்டு என்ற நிலை ஏற்படுத்தப் பட்ட காலமும் உண்டு. அதாவது சடங்கு முறைகள் எல்லோருக்கும் இருந்தன, ஆனால், மேலோர்-கீழோர் என்ற பாகுபாடு ஏற்பட்டபோது, அவர்கள் மறுத்ததால், பிறகு, அவர்களுக்கும் ஏற்புடையதாக மாற்றப்பட்டது.

**பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணம் என்ப,**

ஆண்-பெண் காதலால் ஒன்றாக பழகி விட்டு, ஏதோ காரணங்களினால், அவளை எனக்குத் தெரியாது என்று ஆண் மகன் பொய் கூறிய காலத்தில், பழகி உடலுறவு கொண்டு, வழுவாகிய நிலையில், அவளை யானறியேன் என்று விலகும் காலத்திலும், அத்தகைய மீறல்களைக் கட்டுப்படுத்த, பந்தங்களை ஒழுங்கப் படுத்த, ஐயர் - சமூகத்தின் மேலோர், சான்றோர், பெரியோர் கரணம் என்ற சடங்கு முறைகளை அறிமுகப் படுத்தி சீரமைத்தனர். இனி கரணம், கரணத்தின் சடங்குகள் முதலியவற்றில் என்ன இருந்தன, எப்படி நடத்தப் பட்டன, முதலியவை மற்ற சங்கப்பாடல்கள் வரும் விவரங்களிலிருந்து அறியப்படுகின்றன.

**சங்க இலக்கியம் விவரிக்கும் வதுவை நன்மணம் விவ-
ரங்கள்:** திருமணம் அல்லது கல்யாணம் என்ற சொல், கடி, வதுவை, மன்றல் மற்றும் வரை என்ற வார்த்தைப் பிரயோகங்களில் சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் காணப்படுகின்றது⁸. அகநானூறு பாடல்கள் 86 மற்றும் 136 கீழ்க்கண்ட விவரங்களைக் கொடுக்கின்றன. திருமணம் செய்து கொண்ட வாழ்க்கை நிலையை கற்பு என்று அகத்திணையில் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. மணப்பென் மற்றும் மணமகன் பெற்றோர்கள் திருமணத்திற்கு ஒப்புக்கொள்கின்றனர். ரோஹினி நட்சத்திரம் சந்திரனும் கூடிய நன்னாளில், நல்லநேரத்தில் திருமணம் நடத்தப்படும். நேரம் விடியற்காலையாக இருக்கும். வீட்டிற்கு முன்னர், வெண்ணிற மணல் பரப்பப்பட்டு, பந்தல் அமைக்கப்படும். அப்பந்தல் பூமாலைகளால் அலங்கரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும்.

மேளங்கள் முழங்க, விளக்குகள் ஏற்றப்பட்டு, தெய்வங்கள் வணங்கப்படும். மங்கள மகளிரால் நீராட்டப்பட்டு, அலங்கரிக்கப்பட்டு, மணப்பெண் அழைத்து வரப்படுவாள். திருமணத்திற்கு முன்பாக, சிலம்புகழி நோன்பும் கடைப்பிடிக்கப்படும். ஆனால், மணமான பெண்களும் சிலம்பு அணிந்திருந்தது கண்ணகி, கோப்பெருந்தேவி போன்ற உதாரணங்களிலிருந்து அறியலாம். நான்கு வயதான, புதல்வர்களைப் பெற்ற மங்கள மகளிரால் தங்கள் தலையீது, புனிதநீர் கொண்டு வரப்படும். மணப்பெண்ணின் தலையில் நெல், பூக்கள் முதலியவை சொரியப்பட்டு, நீராட்டப்படுவாள். இந்த நீராட்டு வைபவம் “வதுவை” என்றழைக்கப்படும். அச்சமயம், “கற்பிற்சிறந்த வாழ்க்கைத்துணையாகி, நின் கணவனை விரும்பும் பெண்ணாக” என்று மங்கல வார்த்தை சொல்லி சொரிவர்⁹. பெற்றோர்களும் வாழ்த்துவர், வந்தவர்களுக்கு விருந்துணவு அளிக்கப்படும். பிறகு, மணமக்கள் தனியான அறைக்கு அனுப்பப்படுவர். பெண் முகம் மூடிய நிலையில், இருக்கும் போது, மணமகன், முகத்திரையை விலக்க, அவள் பெருமூச்சு விடுவாள். அவ்வுடையை “முருங்காக் கலிங்கம்” அதாவது, வளையாத புதிய ஆடை என்றும் விவரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது¹⁰. மேலும், இரவு கழிந்த பின்னர், அவ்வாடை சுருங்கி விடும், களைந்து விடும் என்பதும் தொக்கிச் சொல்லப்பட்டது.

சங்ககாலத்திற்குப் பிறகு விவரிக்கப்பட்ட திருமணம்: சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் கோவலன் கண்ணகி திருமணம் விவரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. வணிககுலத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களது திருமணம் சிறப்பாக கோவலனுக்கு வயது பதினாறு மற்றும் கண்ணகிக்கு பன்னிரெண்டு என்ற போது விமரிசியாக பெற்றோர் நிச்சயத்தபடி நன்னாளில் நடத்தப்பட்டது. அணியிழை அணிந்த மங்கல மங்கலிர் (அணியிழையார்) யானையின் மீது உட்காரவைத்து வரவழைக்கப்பட்டனர். மங்கள அணியும் யானைமீது ஊர்வலமாக எடுத்துவரப்பட்டது¹¹. ஊர்வலம் வாத்தியங்கள் ஒலிக்க, சங்கநாதம் முழங்க, கொடை-

கள் சகிதம் அரச ராஜிய ஊர்வலம் போல நடத்தப்பட்டது. மண்டபம் பூமாலைகள், பட்டுத் துணிகள், முத்துகள் என்று அலங்காரம் செய்யப்பட்டிருந்தது. சந்திரன் ரோகினியுடன் கூடிய நன்னாளில், சுப-முகூர்த்தத்தில், கண்ணகி அருந்ததியைப் போன்று சிறப்பாக இருந்தாள். வயது முதிர்ந்த அந்தணன் வேதநூல் முறைப்படி திருமணச் சடங்குகளை [மாமுது பரப்பான் மறைவழி காட்டிடத் தீவலம் செய்வது] செய்வித்தான். மணமக்கள் தீவலம் வந்தனர். நான்காம் காதையில், “மங்கள அணி” தவிர வேறெந்த அணிகலனையும் கண்ணகி விரும்பவில்லை என்றுள்ளது¹². “மங்கல வணியிற் பிறிதணி மகிழாள்” என்று பிறகும் சொல்லப்பட்டுள்ளது¹³. கண்ணகி 21 ம் காதையில், “விளங்கிழையாள்” அதாவது, விலையுயர்ந்த, மிகவுயர்ந்த, சிறப்பான இழையணிந்தவள் என்று வர்ணிக்கப்படுகிறாள்¹⁴. அதாவது, திருமணத்திற்கு முன்பாக, மங்கள அணி யானைமீது ஊர்வலமாக எடுத்துவரப்பட்டது, பிறகு, “மங்கள அணி” தவிர வேறெந்த அணிகலனையும் கண்ணகி விரும்பவில்லை என்றாகி, அதற்கும் பிறகு, “விளங்கிழையாள்” என்றதால், அது அவளது கழுத்தில் அணியப்பட்டது என்றாகிறது. ஆக, அந்த விளங்கிழை, மங்கள அணியாக இருந்த பட்சத்தில், அதை தாலி என்று கொள்ளலாம். மேலும், வேதநூல் முறைப்படி திருமணச் சடங்குகள் நடந்து, தீயை வலம் வந்தனர் என்ற பட்சத்தில், அது அவளது கழுத்தில் அணிவிக்கப்பட்டது என்றாகிறது. அது கட்டாமல், அவளது கழுத்தில் ஏறியிருக்காது. அதை அவளாகவே அணிந்து கொண்டால் என்றால், அதனை மங்கள அணி அல்லது வியங்கிழை என்றும் சொல்லவேண்டிய அவசியம் இல்லை. பெருங்கதையிலும், அந்தணன் தீவளர்க்க, மணமகன், மணமகளின் கைப்பற்றி வலம் வந்தான் என்றுள்ளது¹⁵. ஆகையால், இந்த குறிப்புகளிலிருந்து, சங்ககாலத்திற்குப் பிறகு தாலி கட்டும் பழக்கம் இருந்தது என்று தெரிகிறது.

திருமணமாகாதவர் மற்றும் திருமணமானவர் என்று இருபிரிவினர்களுக்கும் தனித்தனியான அணிகலன்கள் இருந்தனவா?: பழங்கால-சங்ககால பெண்டிர் சங்கு, கல், தீயினால் சுட்ட மண், கண்ணாடி, வெள்ளி, தங்கம் முதலியவற்றால் தயாரிக்கப் பட்ட அணிகலன்கள், கழுத்தணிகள், மாலைகள் முதலியவற்றை அணிந்தனர் என்று தெரிகிறது. இதைத்தவிர (கழுத்தணிகள்) வலையங்கள், கம்மல், மூக்குத்தி, நெற்றிச்சுட்டி, காலணி, இடுப்பணி என்று பல அணிகலன்களை அணிந்திருந்தனர். “புலிப்பல்தாலி” என்பது கழுத்தைச் சுற்றி, மார்பை தொடும் அளவிற்கு இருந்தது என்றுள்ளது¹⁶. வாலிழை, ஆயிழை, அணியிழை, ஒளியிழை, மணியிழை, இலங்கிழை, சேயிழை, பாசிழை, விரலிழை, தெரியிழை, நேரிழை, திருந்திழை, புனையிழை, மின்னிழை, வீங்கிழை, புலையிழை, அவிரிழை, வயங்கிழை, சுடரிழை, நுணங்கிழை என்று பற்பல அணிகலன்களை அணிந்துள்ளதாக விவரிக்கப்படுகின்றது. இங்கு “இழை” என்ற சொல் மற்ற உரிச்சொற்களுடன் சேர்த்து, சொற்றோடர்களாக உபயோகப்படுத்தப் பட்டுள்ளன. சிலம்பைப் பொறுத்த வரையில், “சிலம்பு கழி நோன்பு” என்ற சடங்குள்ளதாகத் தெரிகிறது. குழந்தை பருவத்தில் அணிவிக்கப்பட்டு, வயது வந்ததும் அல்லது திருமணத்தின் போது, அது அவிழ்க்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், கண்ணகி, பெருங்கோதை போன்ற திருமணமான பெண்களும் சிலம்பு அணிந்துள்ளதாக இருப்பதனால், திருமணமாகாதவர் மற்றும் திருமணமானவர் என்று இருபிரிவினர்களுக்கும் தனித்தனியான சிலம்புகள் இருந்துள்ளனவா என்று கவனிக்க வேண்டும். அதே போல “இழை” என்ற சொல்லின் முக்கியத்துவத்தையும் அவசவேண்டியுள்ளது.

இழை பற்றிய அவசல்: இழை என்ற சொல் சங்க இலக்கியங்களில் எங்கெல்லாம் மற்ற சொற்களுடன் சேர்ந்து, சொற்றோடராக, ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட அணிகலனைக் குறிப்பதற்கு, அவை, கீழ்க்கண்டவாறு அட்டவணையில் குறிக்கப் படுகின்றன:

எண்	இழை-பிரயோகம்	பொருள் / விளக்கம்	குறிப்பு
1	வாலிழை	இளமையான, தூய்மையான, வெண்மையான அணிகலன்	பதிற்றுப்பத்து. 5:15, குறுந். 386.3; 45:2; கலித். 119:14.
2	அணியிழை	பல இழை/அடுக்குக் கொண்ட, அழகான, பெருமையான	ஐங். 359:3
3	ஆயிழை	மூக்கியமான, தேர்ந்தெடுத்த அணிகலன்; பெண்	நற்றிணை.75.8; புறம். 34.
4	ஒள்ளிழை	பிரகாசமான, நல்ல, சிறப்பான	கலி. 122;16,17
5	மணியிழை	உயர்ந்த, மேன்மையான, சிறப்பான	புறம்.78:8-12
6	இளங்கிழை	இளமையான, நீண்ட	
7	சேயிழை	அணிகலன்களை அணிந்த பெண்	ஏழாம் பத்து 65.9-10
8	பாசிழை	பச்சைநிற அணிகலனை அணிந்தவள்	பதிற்றுப்பத்து. 73:5,10. மதுரைக்காஞ்சி.580
9	விரலிழை	மிகுபயர்ந்த ஆபரணம்	ஐங்கு.235.3;
10	தெரியிழை	அணிகலன்களை அணிந்த பெண்	கலி.14.53; 49.1
11	நேரிழை	அணிகலன்களை அணிந்த பெண்	நற்றிணை 40.3-4
12	திருந்திழை	மிகுபயர்ந்த, மேன்மையான	கலி.131:1-2.
13	புனையிழை	அலங்கரிக்கப் பட்ட ஆபரணம்; அணிகலன்களை அணிந்த பெண்	குறுந்தொகை.21:2

14	மின்னிழை	மின்னுகின்றன, ஒளிர்கின்ற அணி- கலன்	ஐங்.455.3; பரி.வையை.135
15	வீங்கிழை	அடர்ந்த, அடர்த்தி- யான,	கலி.139.11; அகம்.251.3.
16	புலையிழை	மெல்லிய	ஐங்.382.5
17	அவிரிழை	ஒளிர்கின்ற	மதுரை காஞ்- சி.443-446.
18	வயங்கிழை	ஒளிர்கின்ற அணி- கலன்; சிலம்பு	இரண்டாம் பத்- து. 12.22-24
19	சுடரிழை	சுடர் போன்ற ஒளிர்கின்ற அணி- கலன்; மின்ன- லை உமிழ்ந்- தாற் போன்ற ஒளிதிகழும் அணிகளையுடைய ¹⁷	கலி.138.10
20	நுணங்கிழை	மெல்லிய, நுண்- ணிய, மிக்க வேலைப்பாடு கொண்ட; நுண்- ணிய வேலைப்பா- டமைந்த இழை.	ஐங்குறுநூறு : 258.3; பரிபாடல்: 228.38.

இழை என்பது என்ன - எதைக் குறிக்கும்?: “இழை” என்ற சொல் மற்றும் அதன் பொருள் என்ன என்று மேலே பட்டியல் இடப்பட்டது. இனி அவற்றின் பொருள் என்ன என்பதனை, உபயோகப் படுத்தப் பட்டுள்ள பாடல், வரி முதலியவற்றிலுள்ள “இடம், பொருள், ஏவல்” ரீதியில் ஆராய்ந்து அர்த்தம் கொள்ளப்படுகிறது.

நூலாக் கலிங்கம் வால் அரைக் கொளீஇ;
வணர் இருங் கதுப்பின், வாங்கு அமை மென் தோள்,
வசை இல் மகளிர் வயங்குஇழை அணிய; இரண்டாம் பத்து. 12.22-24

குற்றமற்ற பாண்மகளிர் எல்லோரும் ஒளி விளங்கும் அணிகலங்களையும் அணிந்திருப்பார் ஆயினர்.

ஒள் இழை மகளிரொடு மள்ளர் மேன; இரண்டாம் பத்து. 13.21

வான் உறை மகளிர், நலன், இகல் கொள்ளும்;
வயங்கு இழை கரந்த, வண்டு படு கதுப்பின்;
ஒடுங்கு ஈர் ஒதிக் கொடுங்குழை கணவ! இரண்டாம் பத்து. 14. 13-15

ஒளி பொறுந்திய அணிகலங்களை

நாடுடன் விளங்கும் நாடா நல்லிசைத்
திருந்திய இயல் மொழித் திருந்திழை கணவ! மூன்றாம் பத்து. 24.11

காமர் கடவுளும் ஆளும் கற்பின்,
சேண் நாறு நறு நுதல், சேயிழை கணவ! ஏழாம் பத்து 65.9-10

வால் இழை கழித்த நறும் பல் பெண்டிர் பதிற்றுப்பத்து. 5:15,

தங்களது கணவரை இழந்தபோது, வாலிழையை (இள-மையான, தூய்மையான, வெண்மையான இழையை) அகற்றினர் என்றுள்ளது.

பூ வாட் கோவலர் பூவுடன் உதிரக்
கொய்து கட்டுஅழித்த வேங்கையின்
மெல்லியல் மகளிரும் இழை களைந்தனரே (புறம்.224: 15-17).

பூக்கள் உதிரும் வண்ணம், மென்மையான இயல்புடைய மகளிர் இழை களைந்தனர்.

ஈகை அரிய இழையணி மகளிரொடு (புறம்.127:6) = பிறருக்கு அளிக்க இயலாத/ கொடுக்க முடியாத இழையணி - மங்கல அணிகலன்கள் மட்டுமே அணிந்த மகளிர். அதாவது அத்தகைய இழையணி, தாலி போன்றது தான் என்று தெரிகிறது.

கொய்ம்மழித் தலையொடு கைம்மையுறக் கலங்கிய
கழிகலம் மகடீஉப் போல
புள்ளன் றனையால், பல்அணி இழந்தே. (261. 17-20)

விளக்கம்: கணவன் [காரியாதி] இறந்ததால், மனைவி கைம்மைக் கோலத்துடன் மயிர் மழித்த மொட்டைத்தலையோடு, அணிகலன்கள் அனைத்தையும் களைந்துவிட்ட கோலத்தில் புல்லென்று அற்பமானது போல, காணப்பட்டாள். இங்கு “கைம்மை” மற்றும் “கழிகலமகடு” நிச்சயமாக விதவைத் தன்மையினையும், தாலி போன்ற அணிகலனை அகற்றிய நிலையையும் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறது.

பழங்கன்று கறித்த பயம்பமல் அறுகைத்
தழங்குசூரல் வானின் தலைப்பெயற்கு ஈன்ற
மண்ணுமணி அன்ன மாஇதழ்ப் பாவைத்
தண்நறு முகையொடு வெந்நூல் சூட்டித்,
தூஉடைப் பொலிந்து மேவரத் துவன்றி, 15
மழைபட் டன்ன மணன்மலி பந்தர்,
.....மணன்மலி பந்தர்,
இழைஅணி சிறப்பின் பெயர்வியர்ப்பு ஆற்றித்
தமர்நமக்கு ஈத்த தலைநாள் இரவின்,.....
(அகநானூறு. 136: 11-18).

திருமணம் ஆன இரவன்று பணப்பெண், புத்தாடையு-
டுத்தி,...இரவில் தலைவினிடம் செல்கிறாள். இது முன்-
னமே விளக்கப்பட்டது.

பெரும்பாண் காவல் பூண்டென, ஒரு சார்,
திருந்துஇழை மகளிர் விரிச்சி நிற்ப, (நற்றிணை 40.3-4)

வால் இழைக் குறுமகள் (நற்றிணை 76.5) தூய கலன்களை
யணிந்த இளமடந்தை

வேய் மருள் பணைத் தோள் விறல் இழை
நெகிழவும்,.... (நற்றிணை 85.2-3)

மூங்கிலை யொத்த பருத்த தோளிலணிந்த ஏனைய
கலன்களை வெற்றி கொள்ளும் வளை நெகிழ்ந்து
விழவும்.....

காவலுக்கு நிற்கும் மகளிர் திருந்திய அணிகளை
அணிந்திருந்தனர். மகனை ஈன்றேடுத்த தாயைக்
காக்கும் பெண்டிர் திருந்திய கலனணிந்திருந்தனர்.

ஒள் இழை மாதர் மகளிரோடு அமைந்து, [கலித்தொகை 122.16]

பெரும் கடல் தெய்வம் நீர் நோக்கித் தெளித்து, என் திருந்திழை மென் தோள் மணந்தவன் செய்த [கலித்தொகை 131.1-2]

செயிர்தீர் கற்பின் சேயிழை கணவ! [புறநானூறு 3.6]

மாண்இழை மகளிர் கருச்சிதைத் தோர்க்கும், [புறநானூறு 34.2]

.....

அறம் பாடின்றே ஆயிழை கணவ! [புறநானூறு 34.6]

புல்லென் கண்ணர்; புறத்திற் பெயர,
ஈண்டுஅவர் அடுதலும் ஒல்லான்; ஆண்டுஅவர்
மாண்இழை மகளிர் நாணினர் கழியத்
தந்தை தம்மார் ஆங்கண்,
தென்கிணை கறங்கச்சென்று, ஆண்டு அட்டனனே.
[புறநானூறு 78.8-12]

“அருவி தாழ்ந்த பெருவரை போல
ஆரமொடு பொலிந்த மார்பின் தண்டாக்,
கடவுள் சான்ற, கற்பின் சேயிழை
மடவோள் பயந்த மணிமருள் அவ்வாய்க்
கிண்கிணிப் புதல்வர் பொலிக!” என்று ஏத்தி
(புறநானூறு.198: 1-5)

கற்பின் சேயிழை மடவோள் என்பது கற்புடன் கொண்ட சிறந்த அணிகலனை அணிந்த பெண் என்பதால், அவ்வணி முக்கியமானது, மங்களகரமானது, “ஈகையரிய இழை” பொன்றது என்றாகிறது.

நாள்மகிழ் இருக்கை காண்மார் பூணொடு
தெள்ளரிப் பொற்சிலம் பொலிப்ப வொள்ளமூல்
தாவற விளங்கிய வாய்பொன் னவிரிழை
அணங்குவீழ் வன்ன பூந்தொடி மகளிர். மதுரை
காஞ்சி.443-446.

திருமணம், இழை மற்றும் திருக்குறள்: திருக்குறள் சங்கம் மருவிய காலம் என்று கருதப்பட்டு, இப்பொழுது 7-9 நூற்றாண்டுகளை சேர்ந்தது என்றெல்லாம் சில

ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகின்றனர். திருக்குறள் ஒருவனுக்கு-ஒருத்தி என்ற சமுதாய ஏற்புடமை மற்றும் கற்பின் மேன்மை முதலியவற்றைப் போற்றுகிறது. காமத்துப் பால் என்ற இறுதிப் பிரிவில், தொல்காப்பியத்தின் களவு-கற்பு நிலைகளை எற்றுக்கொண்டதும் புலப்படுகிறது. வள்ளுவர் எல்லாவற்றையும், ஒரே இடத்தில் குறிப்பிடவில்லை என்றாலும், அவற்றை மற்ற இடங்களில் உட்பொதிந்த வகையில் வெளிப்படுத்தியுள்ளார். அதேபோல, ஒரே கருத்தை, திரும்ப-திரும்ப சொல்வது போல காணப்பட்டாலும், அவர் அதையே திரும்பச் சொல்லவில்லை, ஆனால், வேறொரு பொருள் பொதிந்த கருத்தை உணர்த்துகிறார். இவ்வாழ்க்கை, பிறனில் விழையாமை, பெண்வழிசேரல், வரைவின் மகளிர் போன்ற அத்தியாயங்களில் களவு மற்றும் கற்பு நிலைகளை விளக்கியுள்ளார். மணமான பெண்ணை “வரையில்”, ஆணை “மணந்தர்”, மற்றும் மணநாளை “மணந்த நாள்” என்று குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். இழை என்ற சொல்லை கீழ்க்கண்டவாறு பிரயோகித்துள்ளார்.

எண்	சொற்றொடர்	பொருள் / விளக்கம்
1	மணியிழை	மிகமேன்மைப் பொறுந்திய, மங்களகரமான அணிகலனை அணிந்த பெண்
2	அணியிழை	அணியைண்ணிகலனை, நகையை அணிந்த பெண்
3	சேயிழை	உயர்ந்த, சிறந்த, போற்றக்கூடிய அணிகலனை அணிந்த பெண்
4	ஆயிழை	ஒலிப்பொறுந்திய, பிரகாசமான அணிகலனை அணிந்த பெண்
5	ஒலியிழை	தேர்ந்தெடுத்த, முக்கியமான அணிகலனை அணிந்த பெண்

வள்ளுவர், “வரைவின் மகளிரையும்” அதாவது திருமண பந்தத்தில் வரமுடியாத பரத்தையரையும், “மணியிழையாள்” என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார். அதாவது, அத்தகைய மகளிரும், அணிந்தனர் என்றால், பாதுகாப்புக் கருதி அல்லது சமூகத்தில் தானும், மணமானவள் என்று காட்டிக் கொள்ள அணிந்தாள் என்றாகிறது. இருவகை மகளிருக்கும் உள்ள வேறுபாட்டை, “நலம்புனைந்துரைத்தல்” என்ற அத்தியாயத்தில் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார். இங்கும் “மணியிழை” அணிந்தவள் இருக்கிறாள், ஆனால், “கற்பியல்” கீழ் வரும் பெண்ணாக இருக்கிறாள். அம்மகளிரோ “வரைவின் மகளிர்” வகையறாவில் வருகிறாள். மணமகன், மணமகளை சேர்ந்த பின்னர், “சேயிழை” என்றும், அவளது மிகச்சிறந்த காதலை போற்றும்போது “ஆயிழை” என்றும், மணமகள் தனது சேர்ந்த பந்தத்தை தனது தோழியிடம் அறிவிக்கும் போது, “ஒலியிழை” என்றும் வள்ளுவர் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். ஆகவே, வள்ளுவர் “இழை” என்பதை மணமான பெண்களுக்கு, மங்கள அணி போன்றே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார் என்றாகிறது.

“ஐயர்” யார்- பிராமணரா, ஆரியரா?: “பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர் ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணம்” என்ற தொல்காப்பிய சூத்திரத்தில் குறிப்பிடப் பட்ட “ஐயர்” யார் என்று அடையாளம் கொள்வதில் தான் தமிழ் பண்டிதர்கள், ஆய்வாளர்கள் 20ம் நூற்றாண்டில் அதிக அளவில் வேறுபட்டனர். “ஆரிய-திராவிட” கருதுகோள் மற்றும் கோட்பாடுகளின் தாக்கங்களில் மூழ்கியிருந்தபோது, அவற்றை உறுதிபடுத்துவதாகவே இச்சொற்பிரயோகம் இருந்ததாக கொண்டனர். ஆனால், மற்ற குழு தந்தை, தமையர், பெரியவர், உயர்ந்தவர் என்பதைக் குறிப்பதாகக் கொண்டனர். சில உதாரணங்கள், கீழே அட்டவணையில் கொடுக்கப் படுகிறது:

புலவர் / ஆய்வாளர்	காலம் / குறிப்பிட்ட புத்தகம் முதலியன	ஐயர் என்ற சொல்லுக்கான அர்த்தம், விளக்கம்
நச்சினார்க்கு இனியர்	14 / 15 ம் நூற்றாண்டு	இருடிகள், ரிஷிகள், அதனால் ஆரிய ரிஷிக்கள்
மு. ராகவ ஐயங்கார்	Tamil Studies	ஆரிய பிராமணர்
பி.எஸ். சுப்பிரமணிய சாஸ்திரி	An Enquiry into the Relationship of Sanskrit and Tamil, University of Travancore, 1946.	ஆரிய பிராமணர் “தத்பவம்” ரீதியில் பிராமணர், சத்தியர், வைசியர் என்று குறித்தாலும், பிராமாணைக் குறிக்கிறது.
கே. ஏ.நீலகண்ட சாஸ்திரி	A History of South India, Oxford University Press, 1996, p.130.	ஆரியர்
மயிலை சீனி. வேங்கடசாமி	ஆய்வுக் களஞ்சியம் - 4, பண்டைத் தமிழகம் வணிகம் - நகரங்கள் மற்றும் பண்பாடு, பதிப்பு வீ. அரசு, இளங்கணி பதிப்பகம், சென்னை - 600 017.	சத்திரியன் (ஐயன் ஆரிதனார், ஐயடிகள் காடவர்கோன் ¹⁸ , ஐயன் என்கின்ற தம்பி உதயன் ¹⁹)
கே. ஏ.நீலகண்ட சாஸ்திரி ²⁰	இலங்கை கல்வெட்டுகள்	பௌத்த பிக்குகள் (மஹா அய/ஐய, திஸ்ஸா அய/ஐய)
கல்வெட்டுகள்	ஐனார் மயிடவோலு மட்டபாட்	அய, ஐயா, அய்யர், ஐயர், அஜ, அஜம், அய்யர் ²¹ முதலியன .

ஆக, “ஐயர்” என்பது பிராமணரை ஆரியரைக் குறிக்கும் சொல் என்று உறுதியாக சொல்லமுடியாது. மேலும், இடைக்காலத்து இலக்கியம் மற்றும் நிகண்டுகளை வைத்துப் பார்க்கும் போது²², பார்ப்பர், அறுதொழிலா-

ளர், எரி வளர்ப்போர், வேள்வியர், மேற்குலத்தோர், வேதப்பாரகர், முத்தீமரபினர், தருப்பையர், ஆய்ந்தோர், உயந்தோர், அறவோர், அந்தணர், ஆதிவருணர், மறையோர், முற்குலத்தோர், முப்பிரிநூலோர். கமலத்தாரினர், முஞ்சியர், மெய்யர், பூசுரர், இரு பிறாப்பாளர், வேதியர், விப்பிரர், ஐயர், தொழுகுலர், வேதக்கொடியோர், சமித்தினர், முனிவர், சிகைவர் என்று பற்பல பெயர்கள், சொல்லாடல்கள் முதலியவை உபயோகப்படுத்தப் பட்டு வந்துள்ளன. இவையெல்லாமே “பிராமணரா” என்ற கேள்வியும் எழுகின்றது. ஏனெனில், சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் பிராமணர், திராவிடர் போன்ற சொற்கள் இல்லை. ஆனால், ஆரிய, ஆரியர் என்ற சொற்பிரயோகம் உண்டு. ஐயர் என்ற வார்த்தை கீழ்க்கண்ட இடங்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன:

தொல்காப்பியம் (III-143-2, 144-29)	பரிபாடல் திரட்டு (2-63)
திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை (107)	கலித்தொகை (39-17, 21, 130-9)
குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டு (17)	அகநானூறு (226-7, 259-16, 302-9)
நற்றிணை (122-1, 127-5)	புறநானூறு (337-16, 350-8)
குறுந்தொகை (272-4)	சிலப்பதிகாரம் (7-17-1, 7-19-1, 10-160, 12-14-1, 12-15-1, 12-10-1)
ஐங்குறுநூறு (365-1)	திணைமாலை நூற்றைம்பது (22-2)
பதிற்றுப்பத்து (70-19)	களவியல் (28-1)

தாலி - வெளிப்புற அடையாள சின்னமாகுமா?:
எட்டுத்தொகை-பத்துப்பாட்டு (சங்க இலக்கியம்), ஐம்பெருங்காப்பியங்கள், தொல்காப்பியம், திருக்குறள் முதலியவற்றை, கோர்வையாக படிக்கும் போது, மணம், திருமணத்துடனான சடங்குகள் மற்றும்

சம்பந்தப்பட்ட சின்னங்கள்-அணிகலன்கள் முதலியவை, எவ்வாறு படிப்படியாக பரிமணித்தன, வளர்ந்தன, ஏற்புடையதாகின என்று அறிந்து கொள்ளலாம். எட்டுத்தொகை-பத்துப்பாட்டு நூல்கள் பல காலங்களில், பல புலவர்கள் பாடப்பட்டவற்றை தொகுத்ததால், அக்காலத்தை 500 BCE - 100 CE, 500 BCE - 300 CE, 300 BCE - 300 CE, 300 BCE - 100 CE என்று பலவாறு குறிக்கப்படுகின்றன. இது இந்திய சரித்திர காலத்துடன் ஒத்துப் போகிறது. “பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர் ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணம்” என்ற நிலையில், சடங்குகளுடன், ஈகையரிய இழை போன்ற அணிகள் அணிவிக்கப் பட்டது, அப்பெண் மணமானவள் என்பதைக் காட்டக் கூடிய புறச்சின்னமாக இருந்தது என்று கொள்ளலாம். சிலம்பு அணிவிக்கப்படும் சடங்கு இருந்தது எனும்போது, அது புறச்சின்னமாகவே இருந்தது. அதுபோல, தாலி என்ற பெயர் சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் குறிப்பிடப்படாமல் இருந்தாலும், அத்தகைய அணி அணிவிக்கப்பட்டது என்று சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் குறிப்பிடப்படும் “மங்கல அணி” எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறது. எனவே, மங்கள அணி என்பது அந்நிலையில் 100 BCE - 100 CE புறச்சின்னமாக ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது என்றாகிறது. “ஈகையரிய இழை”, கயிறு, தாலிக்கொடியாடி என்றிருக்கும் போது, அத்தகைய பந்தத்தை உண்டாக்க புறச்சின்னம் சங்க காலத்திலேயே c.500/300 BCE - 100 CE இருந்தது என்றாகிறது.

அகழ்வாய்வு ஆதாரங்கள்: தொல்லியல் அகழ்வாய்வுகளில் உலோகம், இயற்கை கற்கள் மற்றும் சுட்டமண் பொருட்கள் என்று பலவகைகளில் இழை, இழைகள் (கோர்க்கப் பட்டவை) கிடைத்துள்ளன. அவை, இழை என்ற வழக்கமான சொற்பிரயோகத்துடன் ஒத்துப் போகின்றன. இழை என்பதற்கு பல அர்த்தங்கள் வழங்கி வருகின்றன:

1. இழை - நூல், அணிகலன் (நேரிழை, முற்றிழை), இழைவாங்கி (ஊசி), மூன்றிழை, நாலிழை (நெசவு)

2. இழை (வினைச்சொல்) - தேய், உடலுறவு கொள் (பாம்பு போல), சேர்ந்திரு, பிணை, மூச்சிறுகு, மனம் பொருந்து.
3. இழை - பதி, சீவு, கல, உரை, முடை, சூழ் (கல்லிழை, நூலிழை, இழைப்புளி, இழைக்கூடு, தீங்கிழை)

ஆக, இழை அல்ணிகலனாக, மனம் பொருந்த, ஆண்-பெண் சேரும் அடையாளமான, ஆனால், கரணங்கள் கூடிய நடத்தப்பட்ட கட்டாயமான சடங்குடன் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது என்று தெரிகிறது. ஆகவே, தாலி, மாங்கல்யம், தாலிக்கயிறு பொட்டு என்று எவ்வாறு வழங்கப் பெற்றாலும், அது இருந்தது புலனாகிறது. இலங்கையில் சிகிரியா என்ற கற்கோட்டையில் உள்ள சுவர் சித்திரங்களில் மணமான பெண்கள் நெற்றியில் குங்கும், கழுத்தில் தாலி முதலியவற்றுடன் இருப்பதை எடுத்துக் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது²³. தமிழகத்தில் அத்தகைய ஆய்வுகளை மேற்கொள்ளவில்லை என்றே தோன்றுகிறது. ஏனெனில், சங்க காலத்தில் தாலி இருந்தது என்றால், திராவிட அரசு அல்லது திராவிட ஆட்சியாளர்கள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ள மாட்டார்கள். அதனால் தான் போலும், 2007ல் சென்னை அருங்காட்சியகம், “தாலி சம்பந்தப்பட்ட தென்னிந்திய சடங்குமுறைகள்” என்ற அறிக்கை வெளியிட்டபோது, தாலி போன்றவை கிடைத்தன என்றாலும், சங்ககாலத்தைப் பற்றிய விவரங்கள் விவரங்கள் கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை²⁴. இருப்பினும் இழை மற்ற இழை வகைகள் தாலியாக இருக்கக் கூடும் என்று எடுத்துக் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது²⁵.

சப்தபதிக்கு பதிலாக தாலிகட்டுவதை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டது (1967): சுயமரியாதை திருமணங்கள் சட்டரீதியாக செல்லாத என்ற நிலை வந்தபோது, 1967ல் முதலமைச்சர் அண்ணாதுரை முதல்வராக இருந்த காலத்தில் தமிழக அரசு இந்து திருமணங்கள் சட்டத்தில் திருத்தத்தை எடுத்து வந்தது. அது “இந்துத்

திருமணங்கள் (சென்னைத் திருத்தம்) சட்டம் 1967” மசோதா ஆகும். இந்தச் சட்டம் இந்து திருமணச் சட்டத்தின் 7-வது பிரிவிற்கு பின் 7-ஏ என்ற புதிய பிரிவைப் புகுத்தியது²⁶. இதன்படி சுயமரியாதை அல்லது சீர்த்திருத்த திருமணத்தில் புரோகிதர் மந்திரம் ஒதுதல், மணமக்கள் ஹோமத்தை ஏழு அடி எடுத்து, நடந்து தீயை வைத்து வலம் வரல் ஆகியவை நடைபெற வேண்டும் என்பதற்கு, பதிலாக, மணமக்கள் ஒருவரை ஒருவர் பார்த்து மற்றவர்களுக்குப் புரியும் மொழியில் கணவனாக அல்லது மனைவியாக மற்றவரை ஏற்றுக் கொள்வதாகச் சொல்ல வேண்டும். மணமக்கள் மாலை அல்லது மோதிரம் மாற்றிக் கொள்வதோ அல்லது தாலி கட்டும் சடங்கைச் செய்து கொள்வதோ மேற்கொள்ளலாம். அது சட்டரீதியாகியது. இது தமிழ்நாட்டிற்கு மட்டுமே உரியது. அதாவது, அப்படி தடாலடியாக செய்து வைத்த திருமணங்கள் எல்லாம் செல்லாது,என்றெல்லாம் நீதிமன்றங்களில் தீர்ப்புகள் வந்தபோது அதிர்ந்து விட்டனர் பகுத்தறிவி ஜீவிகள்! அதாவது இந்து திருமண சட்டத்தில் தான்[2] அந்த “சுய மரியாதை” அடங்கிவிடுகிறது! அனால், இன்றும், இப்படி பொய்களை பேசியே வாழ்க்கையை நடத்துகின்றனர். இந்துமதத்தை ஆபாசமாக வர்ணித்த பகுத்தறிவு பகலவன் பாதையில் திருமணம் செய்து கொண்டவர்கள், திராவிடர்கள் “இந்துக்களாகி” தமது மானத்தைக் காப்பாற்றிக் கொண்டனர். இதில் முக்கியமான பகுதி என்னவென்றால் ‘சப்தபதி’ என்ற சடங்கிற்கு பதிலாக தாலிகட்டுவதை ஒப்புக்கொண்டது ஆகும். அதாவது எரிவளர்க்கும் தமிழர் பாரம்பரியத்தை மறைத்தாலும், மறுத்தாலும், தாலியை, கட்டுவது திராவிட அரசு, சட்டரீதியாக ஏற்றுக் கொண்டது.

முடிவுரை: மேற்கண்ட விவரங்கள், ஆதாரங்கள், விலக்கங்கள் முதலியவற்றை வைத்து, கீழ்க்காணும் முடிவுகள் பெறப்படுகின்றன:

1. **சங்க காலத்தில் தாலி இருந்ததா, இல்லையா?:** சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் தாலி இருந்ததா, இல்லையா என்ற சர்ச்சை, 19-20 நூற்றாண்டுகளில் எழுப்பப்பட்டது. ஆரிய-திராவிட இனசித்தாந்த ரீதியில், அத்தகைய வழக்கம் இல்லை என்று பொதுவாக தமிழ் தேசியவாதிகள் மறுத்து வந்தனர். சமீபத்தில் தொ. பரமசிவன் என்பவர், கீழ்காணும் பிரச்சினைகளை எழுப்பியிருந்தார்²⁷. இருப்பினும். “ஈகையரிய இழை” போன்ற அணிகலன்கள் இருந்தன, அவை “கைம்மை” நோன்பு கடைபிடுக்கும் போது, களையப்பட்டன என்ற குறிப்புகளை தமிழ் பண்டிதர்கள் எடுத்துக் காட்டியுள்ளனர். அவற்றிற்கு பதிலாக, மேற் குறிப்பிடப்பட்ட விவரங்களிலிருந்து பதில் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. இனி எழுப்பப் பட்ட பிரச்சினைகளுக்கு, மேற்கொண்ட ஆராய்ச்சி மூலம் பதில் அளிக்க படுகிறது:
2. **தாலி - என்ற சொல்லின் வேர்ச்சொல்லை இனங்காண முடியவில்லை:** “தாலி” என்ற பிரயோகம், காலத்தில் இருந்தது. ‘ஐம்படைத் தாலி’ என்ற பெயரில் சிறுவருக்குப் பெற்றோர் அணிவிக்கும் பயன்பாடு புறநானூறு 77ம் பாட்டின் 7 ஆம் வரியிலும் [புலிப் பற்றாலிப் புற்றலைச் சிறா அர்...], அகநானூறு 54 ஆம் பாட்டின் 18 ஆம் வரியிலும் [பொன்னுடைத் தாலி என்மகன் ஒற்றி], திணைமாலை நூற்றியைம்பதின் 66 ஆம் பாட்டில் 3வது வரியிலும், மணிமேகலையின் மூன்றாம் காதையில் 138 ஆம் வரியிலும், கலிங்கத்துப் பரணியின் 240 ஆம் பாட்டிலும் கூறப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. சிறுமிகளுக்கு சிலம்பு கழீ நோன்பு இருந்திருக்கிறது. நாளடைவில் அவை தாலி, மெட்டி என்று மாறியிருக்கலாம். இழை என்பதற்கான அர்த்தங்கள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டன. தாலி என்பது தொங்கும் அணிகலன் என்றால், இழையும், அது போன்றதே. தாலி எவ்வுருவில் இருந்தாலும், கழுத்தில் அணியப்பட்டன, தொங்கின என்பது தெரிகிறது.

3. நமக்கு கிடைக்கும் தொல்லிலக்கியச் சான்றுகளிலிருந்து (சங்க இலக்கியம், சிலப்பதிகாரம்) அக்காலத்தில் தாலி கட்டும் பழக்கம் இருந்ததில்லை என்றே தோன்றுகிறது: சங்க இலக்கிய சான்றுகளிலிருந்து, இழை தான் தாலி என்பது பல இலக்கிய சான்றுகளுடன் மேலே எடுத்துக் காட்டப்பட்டது²⁸. அவை சங்க காலத்திலிருந்தே (c.500/300 BCE to 100 CE) இருந்தது என்பதற்காக அகழ்வாய்வு ஆதாரங்களும் கொடுக்கப் பட்டன. ஆயிரக் கணக்கான மணிகள், பல அகழ்வாய்வுகளில் கிடைத்துள்ளன. அவையெல்லாம், இழையணியாக உபயோகப் படுத்தியிருக்கலாம்.. இலங்கையில் சிகிரியா என்ற கற்கோட்டையில் உள்ள சுவர் சித்திரங்களில் மணமான பெண்கள் நெற்றியில் குங்கும், கழுத்தில் தாலி முதலியவற்றுடன் இருப்பதை மேலே எடுத்துக் காட்டப்பட்டது. தமிழகத்தில் இதுவரை கிடைக்கவில்லை. கீழடி போன்று ஆய்வுகள் மேற்கொள்ளும் போது கிடைக்கலாம்.

4. சிலப்பதிகாரமும், மங்க அணியும், தாலியும்: தமிழர் திருமணத்தில் தாலி உண்டா இல்லையா என்று தமிழறிஞர்களுக்கு மத்தியில் 1954-ல் ஒரு பெரிய விவாதமே நடந்தது. இதைத் தொடங்கி வைத்தவர் கண்ணதாசன். தாலி தமிழர்களின் தொல் அடையாளம்தான் என வாதிட்ட ஒரே ஒருவர் ம.பொ.சி மட்டுமே! மபொசி அப்பொழுதே, சிலப்பதிகார உதாரணங்களைக் குறிப்பிட்டு விளக்கினார்.

மறுஇல் மங்கல அணியே அன்றியும்
பிறிதுஅணி அணியப் பெற்றதை எவன்கொல்?

சாலியொருமீன் தகையானைக் கோவலன்
மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறைவழிக் காட்டிடத்
தீவலம் செய்வது காண்பார்.....

ஆனால், திராவிடத்துவவாதிகள் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளவில்லை. மாறாக சிலப்பதிகாரத்தின் காலத்தையும் பின்னோக்கி தள்ள முயற்சிகள் ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டன²⁹.

5. 10 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு CE வரை தமிழ்நாட்டில் தாலிப் பேச்சே கிடையாது: '10 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு CE வரை தமிழ்நாட்டில் தாலிப் பேச்சே கிடையாது' - கே. அப்பாத்துரையார். தேவநேயன் தாலி கட்டும் வழக்கம் இருந்தது என்றது மேலே சுட்டிக் காட்டப்பட்டது. அவர்களது பாரபட்சம் வெளிப்படுகிறது. 'பழந்தமிழர்களிடத்தில் தாலி வழக்கு இல்லவே இல்லை' என்று மா. இராசமாணிக்கனார் வாதிட்டார். தமிழாய்வாளர்கள் முழுமையான ஆராய்ச்சி செய்வதில்லை என்பது தெரிகிறது, அதாவது, "ஆரிய-திராவிட" சித்தாந்தங்களில் கட்டுப்பட்டு கிடப்பதினால், அவர்கள், தொடர்ந்த என்ன ஆராய்ச்சிகள் நடக்கின்றன, அவற்றின் விளைவு, முடிவு, தாக்கம் என்ன என்பதனை ஆய்ந்து பார்ப்பதில்லை. 7-ம் நூற்றாண்டில் CE திருமண சடங்குகளை ஒவ்வொன்றாகப் பாடுகின்ற ஆண்டாளின் பாடல்களில் தாலி பேச்சே கிடையாது. ஆனால், சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் ஈகையறிய இழை...முதலியவை தெரியாதது வியப்பாக இருக்கிறது.
6. தாலிக்கான அகழ்வாய்வு ஆதாரங்கள்: தமிழ்நாட்டில் பல்வேறு இடங்களில் தோண்டி எடுக்கப்பட்ட புதைபொருள்களில் இதுவரை தாலி எதுவும் கிடைக்கவில்லை என்ற பிரச்சினை ஒரு கருதுகோள் ரீதியில் எழுப்பப்பட்டுள்ளது.. அகழ்வாய்வு ஆதாரங்கள் - இழை, அவை பற்றிய நிலை எடுத்துக் காட்டப்பட்டன. 10ம் நூற்றாண்டிற்கு CE பிறகே தமிழகத்தில் பெண்ணின் கழுத்துத்தாலி புனிதப் பொருளாகக் கருதப்பட்டு வந்துள்ளதாக கொள்ளலாம் என்று வாதிடும் போது, சங்காலத்து, "ஈகையறிய இழை.....," முதலியவை என்னவாயிற்று என்று ஓசிக்க வேண்டும். சிலப்பதிகார மகல அணி மறைந்து விட்டதா அல்லது தொடர்ந்ததா என்று அலசப்பட வேண்டும். ஆகவே, சிலப்பதிகாரம் (இலக்கியம்), சிகிரியா (சுவர் சித்திரங்கள்) மற்றும் இழை (அகழ்வாய்வு) முதலிய-

வை இதை பொய்யாக்குகிறது. அரிக்கமேடு, கீழடி ஆய்வுகளின் ஆதாரங்கள், முடிவுகள் முதலியவற்றையும், எடுத்துக் கொண்டு ஆராய வேண்டும். 11-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் கச்சியப்பரால் இயற்றப்பட்ட கந்தபுராணத்தில் தான் திருமணத்தின்போது தாலி கட்டப்பட்டதாகக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. சங்க இலக்கியம் (c.500/300 BCE), சிகிரியா சுவர் சித்திரங்கள் (6th-7th cent CE) மற்றும் இழை (அகழ்வாய்வு, c.500-300 BCE) முதலியவை இதை பொய்யாக்குகிறது.

7. சுயமரியாதை திருமணம் 1969 லிருந்து தான், இந்து திருமண சட்டத்தில் இடம் பெற்று மரியாதை பெற்றது: இந்திய சிந்தனையாளர்களில் பெரியார்தான் முதன்முதலில் தாலியை நிராகரித்துப் பேசவும், எழுதவும் துவங்கினார். அவரது தலைமையில் தாலி இல்லாத திருமணங்கள் நடைபெறத் தொடங்கின, என்றெல்லாம் ஒரு பக்கம், திராவிட சித்தாந்திகள் வாதிக்கலாம். ஆனால், அவை சட்டவிரோதமாகி, கணவன் மனைவி பந்தங்கள், பிறந்த குழந்தைகள் சட்டப் படி நடக்கவில்லை என்று பிரச்சினையாகியது. நீதிமன்றங்களுக்குச் சென்றபோது தான், உண்மை அவர்களுக்கு விளங்கியது. தாலி கட்டினாலும்-கட்டா விட்டாலும், தீயைச் சுற்றினாலும்-சுற்றாவிட்டாலும், சில சடங்குகள் நடக்க வேண்டும் என்ற கட்டாயம் ஏற்பட்டது. ஆகவே, அத்தகைய விருப்பங்களுடன், தாலி கட்டும் திருமணம் தான் சட்டரீதியாக்க, சட்டத் திருத்தம் செய்யப் பட்டதும், பெரியார் அப்பொழுது உயிரோடு இருந்ததும் தெரிந்த விசயமே. அதாவது, இந்து திருமண சட்டத்தில் தம் தாலியில்லா திருமணத்தை நுழைக்காதே என்று சொல்லவில்லை! மேலே விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. பின்னர், 1969-ல் அண்ணா காலத்தில் நிறைவேற்றப்பட்ட சுயமரியாதைத் திருமணச் சட்டம் தாலி இல்லா திருமணத்தைச் சட்டபூர்வமாக அங்கீகரித்தது. அதிலும், இந்து திருமண சட்டத்தில் தான் புகுந்து, கௌரவமாக்கப் பட்டது என்பது கவனிக்கத் தக்கது.

ஆகவே, தாலி இருந்தது, அது இழையாக இருந்தது. அதனால், “இழை” என்ற வார்த்தை “தாலி” என்ற பொருளில் உபயோகப்படுத்தப் பட்டது என்பதை, வாலிழை, அணியிழை, ஆயிழை, ஒள்ளிழை, மணியிழை, இளங்கிழை, சேயிழை, பாசிழை, விரலிழை, தெரியிழை, நேரிழை, திருந்திழை, புனையிழை, மின்னிழை, வீங்கிழை, புலையிழை, அவிரிழை, வயங்கிழை, சுடரிழை, நுணங்கிழை போன்ற சொல்லாடல்களில் உள்ளன என்பதை எடுத்துக் காட்டப் பட்டது. அகழ்வாய்வுளில் அத்தகைய அணிகலன்கள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப் பட்டுள்ளன, ஆனால், அவ்வாறே அடையாளங் காணப்படவில்லை. அவை இழைகள் தாம், இழைகள் உலோகமாக இல்லாமல் இருந்தால், மணிகள் முதலியன தனியாக சிதறியிருக்கலாம். அரிக்கமேடு, கீழடி முதலிய இடங்களில் கிடைத்தவை அவ்வாறே கொண்டால், அவை அட்டாட்சியாகின்றன. இந்த ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரையில், இலக்கியம் மற்றும் அகழ்வாய்வு ஆதாரங்களுடன், இப்பிரச்சினை அலசப்பட்டு, “தாலி” இருந்தது மற்றும் திருமணத்தில் கட்டப்பட்ட பழக்கம் இருந்தது என்று எடுத்துக் காட்டப் பட்டது.

Notes

¹In 1939, Adigal was invited to preside at a conference devoted to examining and establishing a consensus on Tamil marriage rites and rituals entitled Tamilar Tirumana Manadu (Tamilian Marriage Conference). Adigal had published a few years earlier his English pamphlet entitled The Tamilian and Aman Forms of Marriage.

²ஞா. தேவநேயன், **தமிழர் திருமணம்**, திருவள்ளூர் தவச்சாலை, திருச்சி, திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி, 1956, 82-83

³“திருமணச் சடங்குகளில், தலைமையானதாகத் தாலியணிவதும், மஞ்சள் தோய்த்த நாணைக் கழுத்திற் கட்டுவதும் போன்ற சில அனாரிய வழக்கங்கள், தெற்கத்துப் பிராமணப் பெண்டிர்க்கு அருமையாக உள்ளன”, P. T. Srinivasan Iyengar, **History of the Tamils**, AEA reprint, p.57.

“இது (தாலியணிவது) கிருகிய சூத்திரங்களிலேயே சொல்லப்படாத ஒரு தூய தமிழ் வழக்கம். கையைப் பிடிக்கும் பாணிக் கிரகணத்தையும் ஏழடியிடும் சப்தபதியையுமே, திருமணச் சடங்கின் உயிர்நாடிப் பகுதிகளாகக் கிருகிய சூத்திரங்கள் கொள்கின்றன” மேற்படி, அடிக்குறிப்பு.

⁴ ஞா.தேவநேயன், **தமிழர் திருமணம்**, மேலே குறிப்பிட்டது.

⁵தொல்காப்பியத்தின் காலம் பாரம்பரிய தமிழ் பண்டிதர்கள் c.1000 BCE வரையில் என்று கொண்டனர். சங்ககாலத்திற்கு [c.500/300 BCE to 100 CE] முன்பு என்றும் கணித்தனர். ஆனால், இப்பொழுது, இடைசெருகல்களை ஆய்ந்து அதன் காலத்தை 7-9 ம் நூற்றாண்டு CE வரை வைக்க முயல்கின்றனர்.

⁶முதற்காலத்தில், மக்கள் குடும்பப்பிரிவின்றிக் குலங்குலமாய் அல்லது தொகுதிதொகுதியாய் வாழ்ந்துவந்த நிலையில், ஒரு குலத்துப் பெண்டிர்,பெரும்பாலும் குலத்தலைவன் மனைவியர் நீங்கலாக, அக் குலத்து ஆடவர் அனைவர்க்கும் பொது மனைவியராகவே இருந்து வந்தனர். பின்பு நாகரிகத் தோன்றித் தனிமனைவியர் ஏற்பட்டபின், ஒருவன் தன் மனைவியை அல்லது மனைவியரை வேறாகப் பிரித்து வைத்தற்கு, தாலிகட்டும் வழக்கம் ஏற்பட்டது. ஞா.தேவநேயன், **தமிழர் திருமணம்**, திருவள்ளூர் தவச்சாலை, திருச்சி, 1997, பக்கம்.14

⁷தொல்காப்பியம்: கற்பியல்.முதல் நான்கு சூத்திரங்கள்.

‘கொண்டானிற் சிறந்த தெய்வம் இன்றெனவும், அவனை இன்னவாறே வழிபடுகவெனவும் இருமுது குரவர் கற்பித்தலானும் ‘அந்தணர் திறத்துஞ் சான்றோர்தே எத்தும்’, ‘ஐயர் பாங்கினும் அமரர்ச்சட்டியும் ஒழுகும் ஒழுக்கம் தலைமகன் கற்பித்தலானும் கற்பாயிற்று’ என்றும் ‘கற்றல்’ என்ற பொருளிலேயே கற்பு என்ற சொல் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரையில் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது.

⁸கடி - அகநானூறு. 136; வதுவை - அகநானூறு.166; வதுவை நன்மணம் - 86.17; கடிமகள் - அகநானூறு.244.5; மன்றல் - தொல்காப்பியம் - களவியல்.120.

⁹உ.வே.சாமிநாத ஐயர், **அகநானூறு - களிற்றியானைநிரை - மூலமும்**, உரையும், மகாமகோபாத்தியாய டாக்டர் உ.வே.சாமிநாதையர் நூல் நிலையம், 1990, சென்னை, பக்கம்.264.

¹⁰அக்காலத்திலேயே பசை போட்டு, அத்தகைய புத்தாடை சுருங்காமல் நீண்டிருக்க வழிமுறைகள் இருந்தது போலும்.

¹¹மங்கள அணி - சிலப்பதிகாரம் - மதுரை காண்டம்- 21:46 மற்றும் 4:20.

¹²மறுவில் மங்கல வணியே அன்றியும் பிறிதணி அணியப் பெற்றதை எவன்கொல்! 2. மனையறம் படுத்த காதை - 64-65

¹³ அந்திமாலைச் சிறாப்புச்செய் காதை.50

¹⁴விளங்கிழையாள் - சிலப்பதிகாரம் - மதுரை காண்டம்- 21:46.

¹⁵பெருங்கதை - 2.3; 9-14; 108-119.

¹⁶P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, **History of Tamils**, Madras, 1929, p.225.

¹⁷சுடரியழையினையு முடைய ஆயமகளிர் எனச் சிறப்பித்தவர், அரச மாதேவி அத்தகைய பூ வொன்றும் அணிந்து கொள்ளாது

பிரிவுத் துயருற்றிருந்தமை தோன்ற, ஒன்றும் கூறாராயினார். மகிழ்ந்தென்பதற்கு, “விரும்பிச் சூடியென்றவா” நென்றும், “மின்னுமிழ்ந்தன்ன சுடரிழை யென்றது, மேகம் மின்களை உமிழ்ந்தாற் போன்ற சுடர்களையுடைய இழையென்றவா” நென்றும் பழையவுரைகாரர் கூறுவர்.

¹⁸ ஐயடிகள் என்பது ஐயனடிகள் என்பதன் மருவாகும். Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol.II, p.61.

¹⁹ Mahavamsa. XXII, Vol.II, p.82; Epigraphica Zeylanica, Vol.VII.

²⁰ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has interpreted ‘Ayamani’ as “aryadeva”, Journal of Oriental Research, X-13, 96, ff.

²¹ Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol.IV, No.18, p.103.

²² திவாகரம், சூடாமணி, ஆசிரியர் (தொகுப்பு) முதலிய நிகண்டுகள். சங்கத்தமிழ் அகராதி, தமிழ் பல்கலைக்கழகம், தஞ்சாவூர்.

²³ In his paper on the Sigiriya Frescoes, M.D. Raghavan says: “It is remarkable that almost every figure has first a necklet, a string on which is strung three beads-One central bead escorted by one rather smaller bead on either side. This is the typical form of the tali, the marriage symbol of all Hindu women. The tali is single beaded, the shape of which varies according to the caste and the religion. The commonest form is the circular oval bead with two smaller beads, one on either side. Certain Hindu castes in Tinnevely, use a flattened form with star shaped golden bead on either side, the whole necklet being tenned. chirakum taliyum or the wings and the tali. With some castes the tali takes a leaf pattern. The tali is worn on a cotton strand sometimes on a double strand, as we notice in some of the Sigiriya figures. In only two of the Sigiriya figures including the figure of the dark coloured maid, we do find this necklet. The tali is the unfailing symbol of a Sumangali, living with her husband. If the beads were meant to serve a purely ornamental purpose, a full string of beads would obviously have graced the neck, as seen in the Ajanta frescoes, and not first three beads or a single one or double. The presence of what looks unmistakably like a tali, would raise a number of interesting side issues, such as the survival of the tali, in Ceylon, a distinctly Hindu trait. The presence of the tali as a marriage symbol in Ceylon, would indeed seem to be strongly indicated by the custom in the wedding ceremonies of the Sinhalese, which goes by the name of tali pili andavina or the traditional custom of the bridegroom tying the tali on the necklace round the neck of the bride. followed by the exchange of pressure wedding apparel. The simple tali would thus seem to have evolved in course of time in to a more showy necklace.

The big gem set pendant in the necklace. and the gem set crown, are well matched by the solid broad bmclets set with big stones, which embellish the wrist in all the figures Bracelets. As a decoration of the ladies symbolised the married status of the women and indicative of a sumangali.” M.D. Raghavan, **Sigiri Frescoes**, quoted by C. J. Jayadev, see below.

²⁴ C. J. Jayadev, **The Tali in Relation to South Indian Initiation Rites**, Bulletin of Madras Government Museum, New Series – General Section – Vol.XIII, No.2, Madras, 2007.

²⁵ K. V. Ramakrishna Rao, **Tali System in Sangam Age**, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Vol. 52 (1991), p. 192.

²⁶ Tamil Nadu Act No.21 of 1967 – The Hindu Marriage (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act, 1967, dated 28.11.1967.

(1) After section 7, insert the following section, namely:—

2. Mangala-sūtra and Wedding Attire in the Sangam Age 83

(a) by each party to the marriage declaring in any language understood by the parties that each takes the other to be his wife or, as the case may be, her husband; or

(b) by each party to the marriage garlanding the other or putting a ring upon any finger of the other; or

(c) by the tying of the thali.

(2) (a) Notwithstanding anything contained in section 7, but subject to the other provisions of this Act, all marriages to which the section applies solemnised after the commencement of the Hindu Marriage (Madras Amendment) Act, 1967, shall be good and valid in law.

Notwithstanding anything contained in section 7 or in any text, rule or interpretation of Hindu law or any custom or usage as part of that law in force immediately before the commencement of the Hindu Marriage (Madras Amendment) Act, 1967, or in any other law in force immediately before such commencement or in any judgment, decree or order of any court, but subject to sub-section (3) all marriages to which this section applies solemnised at any time, before such commencement shall be deemed to have been, with effect on and from the date of the solemnisation of each such marriage, respectively, good and valid in law.

(3) Nothing contained in this section shall be deemed to—

(a) render valid any marriage referred to in clause (b) of sub-section (2), if before the commencement of the Hindu Marriage (Madras Amendment) Act, 1967,—

.....

(4) Any child of the parties to a marriage referred to in clause (b) of sub-section (2) born of such marriage shall be deemed to be their legitimate child:

Provided that in a case falling under sub-clause (i) or sub-clause (ii) of clause (a) of sub-section (3), such child was begotten before the date of the dissolution of the marriage or, as the case may be, before the date of the second of the marriages referred to in the said sub-clause (ii).” [Vide Tamil Nadu Act 21 of 1967, sec. 2 (w.e.f. 20-1-1968).]

²⁷தொ. பரமசிவன், தாலியின் சரித்திரம், உண்மை, மார்ச் 16-31, 2014;

<http://www.unmaionline.com/index.php/2014-magazine/93-%E0%AE%AE%E0%AE%BE%E0%AE%B0%E0%AF%8D%E0%AE%9A%E0%AF%8D-16-31/1939-%E0%AE%A4%E0%AE%BE%E0%AE%B2%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%AF%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%A9%E0%AF%8D-%E0%AE%9A%E0%AE%B0%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%A4%E0%AF%8D%E0%AE%A4%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%B0%E0%AE%AE%E0%AF%8D-%E0%AE%AA%E0%AF%87%E0%AE%B0%E0%AE%BE%E0%AE%9A%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%B0%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%AF%E0%AE%B0%E0%AF%8D-%E0%AE%AE%E0%AF%81%E0%AE%A9%E0%AF%88%E0%AE%B5%E0%AE%B0%E0%AF%8D-%E0%AE%A4%E0%AF%8A-%E0%AE%AA%E0%AE%B0%E0%AE%AE%E0%AE%9A%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%B5%E0%AE%A9%E0%AF%8D.html>

²⁸In his paper on the Sigiriya Frescoes, M.D. Raghavan says: “It is remarkable that almost every figure has first a necklet, a string on which is strung three beads-One central bead escorted by one rather smaller bead on either side. This is the typical form of the tali, the marriage symbol of all Hindu women. The tali is single beaded, the shape of which varies according to the caste

and the religion. The commonest form is the circular oval bead with two smaller beads, one on either side. Certain Hindu castes in Tinnevely, use a flattened form with star shaped golden bead on either side, the whole necklet being tenned. *chirakum taliyum* or the wings and the tali. With some castes the tali takes a leaf pattern. The tali is worn on a cotton strand sometimes on a double strand, as we notice in some of the Sigiriya figures. In only two of the Sigiriya figures including the figure of the dark coloured maid, we do find this necklet. The tali is the unfailing symbol of a Sumangali, living with her husband. If the beads were meant to serve a purely ornamental purpose, a full string of beads would obviously have graced the neck, as seen in the Ajanta frescoes, and not first three beads or a single one or double. The presence of what looks unmistakably like a tali, would raise a number of interesting side issues, such as the survival of the tali, in Ceylon, a distinctly Hindu trait. The presence of the tali as a marriage symbol in Ceylon, would indeed seem to be strongly indicated by the custom in the wedding ceremonies of the Sinhalese, which goes by the name of *tali pili andavina* or the traditional custom of the bridegroom tying the tali on the necklace round the neck of the bride, followed by the exchange of pressure wedding apparel. The simple tali would thus seem to have evolved in course of time into a more showy necklace.

The big gem set pendant in the necklace. and the gem set crown, are well matched by the solid broad bangles set with big stones, which embellish the wrist in all the figures. Bracelets. As a decoration of the ladies symbolised the married status of the women and indicative of a *sumangali*." M.D. Raghavan, *Sigiri Frescoes*, quoted by C. J. Jayadev, see below.

²⁹கோவலனும் கண்ணகியும் காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினத்தை விட்டுப் புறப்பட்ட காலம் பற்றியும், மதுரை எரியுண்ட காலம் பற்றியும் வரும் சோதிடக் குறிப்புகள் கொண்டு நோக்கின் 756 CE [c.8th cent.CE] ஆகிய ஓராண்டே நன்கு பொருந்தும் என்பது L. D. சுவாமிக்கண்ணப்பிள்ளை அவர்கள் கருத்து (An Indian Ephemeris, Vol-1, pt-1, app.iii).

Chapter 3

A Study of Vedic References in the Sixth *Tirumurai* of Appar's *Tēvāram*

– R. Saraswati Sainath

Abstract

Tirumurai-s are set of hymns in praise of Lord Śiva in Tamil. These Tirumurai-s were composed by many saints, popularly called the Nāyanār-s. Tirunāvukkaracar or Appar, as he is known, is an important Nāyanār. He forms part of the group of four important saints called *nālvar* along with Tiruñānacampantar, Cuntarar and Māṇikkavācakar. Appar's hymns occupy the fourth, fifth and sixth books of the Tirumurai-s. His hymns are called as *patikam*-s which are usually a set of ten hymns. Some *patikam*-s, however, consist of more than ten hymns. The fourth *Tirumurai* consists of 113 *patikam*-s, the fifth 100, and the sixth 99. In this paper, though, I will confine myself to the sixth. This paper studies the Vedic references and culture that are represented by Appar in these hymns. The sixth *Tirumurai* begins with the description of Śiva as one who is present in the hearts of the Brahmins. Likewise, while praising the Śiva of Tiruviṭaimarutūr, Appar makes specific reference to the Aṣṭasahasram group of Tamil *smārta* brahmins. It is noteworthy that when he was tied to a stone and cast into the ocean to drown, Appar addresses Śiva as one who recites the Veda-s. This shows his reverence towards the Veda-s even in the most dangerous situation in his life. Thus, it is evident that a study

of the Vedic references in the sixth *Tirumurai* will enable us to get a good picture of the importance of Vedic culture in the Tamil speaking South at the times of the Nāyaṇār-s and will also enable us to study the development of Śaivism as a Vedic religion in South India.

The Nāyanmār: The sixty-three Nāyaṇār-s were responsible for propagating *Śiva-bhakti* in Tamil Nāṭu. Of these sixty-three saints, twenty-seven have composed hymns praising Śiva. These are called *Tirumurai*-s (“the sacred books”). Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi, a Śaiva scholar (860-907 C.E), has classified these hymns in eleven sections (Vaittiyanathan 1995:12). The content of these can be described as follows: the first, second and third *Tirumurai*-s contain the hymns of Tiruñānacampantar; the fourth, fifth and sixth, those of Appar or Tirunāvu-kkaracar; the seventh, those of Cuntarar; the eighth, those of Māṇikkavācakar; the ninth, those of Cēṇtanār, Karuvūrttēvar, Pūntu-ruttiNampi, Kaṇṭarātittar, Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ, Tiruvāliyamutaṇār, Puruṭōt-tama Nampi, Cētirāyar and Cētanār; the tenth, those of Tirumūlar, which are called the *Tirumantiram*; and the eleventh, those of TiruālavāyUṭayār, KāraikkālAmmayār, IyaṭikaḷKāṭavarkōṇ, CēramāṇPerumāl, Nakkiratēvar, Kallāṭatēvar, Paraṇatēvar, IḷamperumāṇAṭikaḷ, Atirāvaṭikaḷ, PaṭṭiṇattupPiḷaiyār and Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi. The twelfth section is Cēkkīlar’s hagiographies of the Nāyaṇār-s, a text that is called *Tiruttonṭarpurāṇam*, or *Periyapurāṇam* (Vaittiyanathan 1995:36). These hymns total about 18,497 verses in all (Vaittiyanathan 1995: 7-8).

The hymns of Tiruñānacampantar are called as *Tirukkāṭaikkāppu*, those of Appar, as *Tēvāram* and those of Cuntarar as *Tiruppāṭṭu* (Vaittiyanathan 1995:14). However, the hymns of the *mūvar* (Tiruñānacampantar, Appar and Cuntarar), are popularly referred to as *Tēvāram*. This reveals the greatness of Appar.

The Nāyaṇār-s visited various Śiva temples and composed hymns on Śiva, describing His exploits and physical beauty. They set these hymns to musicaltunes called *paṇ*, equivalent to *raga*-s of South Indian classical music (Vaittiyanathan 1995:18-20). The temples where these saints worshipped, especially *mūvar*, came to be called *pāṭalperṛastalaṅkaḷ* (Sanskrit *sthala*). There are 276 of these *sthala*-s.

Appar: Appar was the earliest of the *mūvar*. Scholars have established that he lived from the second half of the sixth century C.E to the middle of the seventh. Of the *mūvar*, Appar may be considered

the most important, as, of the three, only Appar lacked a divine element. Tiruñānacampantar owed his poetic skill to the milk of Goddess Pārvatī, which he drank at the age of three. Cuntarar was Śiva's banished attendant from Kailāsa. Appar, therefore, could be the perfect model of devotion and service for his fellow human beings.

Life of Appar

Appar's Birth and Early Life: According to Cēkṇilār's hagiography in the *Periyapurāṇam*, Appar was born in Tiruvāmūr, in the Śaivavēḷāḷa—an agricultural caste—the son of Pukaḷaṇār and Mātiṇi. They belonged to the family of Kurukkaiyar-s. Appar's parents named him Maruṇṇikkiyār. Appar had an elder sister by name Tilakavati (Mudaliyar 1975: 1277, 1280-83). At the age of twelve, Tilakavati was betrothed to Kalippakayār, a member of the king's army. Maruṇṇikkiyār's parents passed away. In the meanwhile, Kalippakayār was killed in a battle. Hearing the news of Kalippakayār's death, Tilakavati decided to commit *sati*, but consented to live for the sake of Maruṇṇikkiyār, and led an ascetic life. As Maruṇṇikkiyār grew up, he devoted himself to acts of charity such as donating food and money to the needy, erecting water sheds for the travellers and rendering hospitality to guests who visited his house. Realizing the impermanence of life, Maruṇṇikkiyār left for Pāṭaliputra (Tiruppāṭalipuliyūr near modern Cuddalore) to become a Jain. He became well versed in Jain scriptures and took a new name Tarumacēṇār (Sanskrit "Dharmasena"). In the *Periyapurāṇam*, Cēkṇilār writes that in those times, Śaivism was in great danger especially from Jainism and in order to safeguard the faith and restore its importance, Appar approached the Jain academies to understand their philosophy (Vanmikanathan 1985: 275).

Appar's return to Śaivism and its consequences: Tilakavati who was staying at TiruvatikaiVīraṭṭāṇam was rendering services to the Śiva temple, such as cleaning the temple premises and making flower garlands for the deity. Upset by her brother's conversion, Tilakavati prayed to Śiva for his return to Śaivism. Śiva appeared in her dream and promised to grace her brother (*āṭkoḷḷutaḷ*). Accordingly, Śiva gave Tarumacēṇār a stomach-ache. Finding no effective remedy from the Jains, Maruṇṇikkiyār returned to Tilakavati. She took him to the Śiva temple, gave him the sacred ash, and chanted the five-syllable

mantra. Śiva cured him and gave him a new name: Tirunāvukkaracar (Tiru “respectful” nāvukkaracar “lord of speech”). He became a great devotee of Śiva. He wore the symbols of Śaivism such as the sacred ash and *rudrākṣa* beads and rendered service to the Śiva temple by cleaning the temple premises of grass and weeds with a hoe. He expressed his intense devotion to Śiva by composing many Śaiva hymns.

Unable to withstand his reconversion to Śaivism, the Jains with the support of the king, tortured Tirunāvukkaracar in many ways. These included shutting him in a lime kiln, poisoning him, making the royal elephant trample him, and binding him to a rock and drowning him in the sea. Tirunāvukkaracar escaped all these challenges by the grace of Śiva which he acquired by composing hymns appropriate to the situation. Realizing his greatness, the king apologized for his mistake and converted to Śaivism. He destroyed the Jain monasteries and built a temple for Śiva at Guṇaparaviṁccaram (Mudaliyar 1975: 1411).

Tirunāvukkaracar’s pilgrimage: Tirunāvukkaracar then started on a pilgrimage to many Śiva temples. These include Tiruveṇṇainallūr, Tiruāmattūr, Tirukkōvalūr, Tiruppeṇṇākaṭam and so on. In all these places he continued his services to Śiva. At Tiruppeṇṇākaṭam, he requested Śiva to mark the emblems of trident and bull on his shoulders to show his surrender to Śiva, and also to cleanse himself of the defect that arose due to the association with the Jains. A goblin of Śiva unnoticed by anyone fulfilled the request of Tirunāvukkaracar. Overjoyed by the appreciation, Tirunāvukkaracar continued his pilgrimage to other Śiva temples. At Tiṅkaḷūr he visited Appūti Aṭikaḷ, his devotee, and accepted his invitation for lunch. Appūti Aṭikaḷ’s son died of a snake bite and Appar restored him back to life by singing a hymn on Śiva.

Tirunāvukkaracar and Tiruñānacampantar: Tirunāvukkaracar joined Tiruñānacampantar at Cirkālī. On another occasion, while Tirunāvukkaracar showed his respect to the young Campantar by being one of his palanquin bearers, Campantar in turn showed his respect for Tirunāvukkaracar by respectfully calling him Appar (Appaṇ “father” with the honorific suffix “r”). Together they visited many temples and sang hymns in those places. They also conducted miracles. Two of those miracles—related to Tirvīḷimīḷalai and Tirumaṇaiikkāṭu—require mention. At Tirvīḷimīḷalai these two devotees eradicated the famine by getting gold coins from Śiva. It is

interesting to note that while the gold coins given to Appar were of higher quality, those of Campantar's were slightly inferior in quality. At Tirumaṟaikkāṭu both the saints sang hymns to open and close the temple door which was locked for many years.

Appar's journey and his liberation: Parting from Campantar, Appar continued his pilgrimage. Despite his ill health, Appar was determined to continue his journey to Kailāsa. Appreciating his determination, Śiva gave him a fresh body and miraculously transported him to Tiruvaiyāru, where Appar had a vision of Śiva as he is in Kailāsa. To reveal the greatness of Appar to the world, Śiva presented before him precious gems and heavenly nymphs. But Appar, the ascetic, overcame all these temptations. Finally, at Tiruppukalūr Appar attained union with Śiva (Ramachandran 1995: 16-25).

Hymns of Appar: Appar's hymns are called *patikam*-s. Most have ten stanzas. Sometimes, however, a *patikam* has more than ten stanzas. His fourth *Tirumuṟai* contains 113 *patikam*-s, the fifth 100 *patikam*-s, and the sixth 99. Some *patikam*-s praise particular temples; others praise all of them. This paper, however, shall confine itself to the sixth *Tirumuṟai* which is set in *tāṇṭaka* meter known for its exceptional musical quality, lucidity and simplicity. Appar is praised as the king of *tāṇṭaka* composers (Nagaswamy 1989: 37).

Vedic References: References to Vedic terms are found throughout the hymns of Appar. This paper scans hundreds of verses in the sixth *Tirumuṟai*. It is observed that almost every *patikam* of Appar has at least one reference to the Veda-s. Appar describes Śiva as the very embodiment of Veda-s. It is Śiva who appears as the Veda-s consisting of the six auxiliaries of *śikṣā*, *vyākaraṇa*, *kalpa*, *jyotiṣa*, *chandas* and *nirukta*. It is Śiva who appears as *mantra* and the meaning of the Veda-s. Śiva is of the nature of *Om̐kāra* that is expounded in the Veda-s. Śiva himself is the brahmin and performs the Vedic sacrifice. Wearing the sacred thread is one of the characteristic features of Śiva. Śiva is worshipped by the sacred Aṣṭasahasram sect of Tamiḷ *smārta* brahmins (*ennāyirattār*).

Several instances of Vedic references in the sixth *Tirumuṟai* of Appar's *Tēvāram* are provided in the table below. The continuous numbering for the *Tirumuṟai* has been followed and the *patikam*-wise numbering for the sixth *Tirumuṟai* are given within brackets.

<i>Patikam No.</i>	<i>Tirumurai Reference</i>	<i>Text</i>
6.1 <i>KōilPeriyaTirut-tāṇṭakam</i>	6244 (6.1.1)	<i>antaṇartamcintaiyānai</i> (Śiva is contemplated upon by the brahmins).
		<i>arumaṛaiyinakattānai</i> (He is the meaning of the Veda-s).
	6249 (6.1.6)	<i>arumaṛaiyōṭāraṇkamā-yinānai</i> (He became the Veda-s with the six limbs).
6.2 <i>Kōil Pukka Tirut-tāṇṭakam</i>	6255 (6.2.2)	<i>vētamumvēlvippukai-yumōvāvirinīrmīlalai-eḷunāḷtaṇki</i> (Śiva resides in Virinīrmīlalai which is filled with Vedic chants and sacrifices).
	6256 (6.2.3)	<i>mantiramumtantira-mumtāmēpōlum araṇkāṭṭiyan-taṇarkaṇṛālanīlalaṛa-marūlicceytaaraṇār</i> (Hara became the both <i>mantra</i> and <i>tantra</i> and he preached <i>dharma</i> to the brahmins under the shade of the banyan tree).
	6262 (6.2.9)	<i>veṇṇūṇmārpar</i> (He wears the white sacred thread on his chest).

	6264 (6.2.11)	<i>veṇṇūluṇṭēōtuvatum- vētamē</i> (He wears the sacred thread and he chants the Veda-s).
6.3 <i>Tiruatikaivīraṭṭāṇam- ēlāittiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6268 (6.3.4)	<i>mantiramummaṛai- poruḷumāṇāṇṭaṇṇai</i> (He became the <i>mantra</i> -s and the meaning of the Veda-s).
	6273 (6.3.9)	<i>maṛaiyāṇai</i> (Śiva is of the nature of Veda-s).
6.4 <i>Tiruatikaivīraṭṭā- ṇam-aṭaiyāḷatti- ruttāṇṭakam</i>	6276 (6.4.1)	<i>cāmaṇvētakantaruvam- virumpumē</i> (He likes the <i>Sāma Veda</i> and music).
	6280 (6.4.5)	<i>pāṭumēoliyāmēnālvēta- mum</i> (He ceaselessly sings all the four Veda-s).
	6284 (6.4.9)	<i>nāṇmaṛaikaḷtoḷaniṇṛāṇē</i> (He is worshipped by the four Veda-s).
6.5 <i>Tiruatikaivīra- ṭṭāṇam-pōṛṛitti- ruttāṇṭakam</i>	6294 (6.5.8)	<i>nāṇmaṛaiyōṭāraṇkamā- naiṭpōṛṛi</i> (Praise to Him who became the four Veda-s with the six limbs).
6.6 <i>Tiruatikaivīraṭṭāṇam- Tiruvaṭṭittiruttāṇ- ṭakam</i>	6297 (6.6.1)	<i>arumaṛaiyāṇceṇṇikka- ṇiyāmaṭi</i> (Śiva's feet adorns the head of Brahmā who chants the four Veda-s).

	6634 (6.6.8)	<i>mantiramumtantira- mumāyavaṭi</i> (The feet of Śiva became the <i>mantra</i> -s and <i>tantra</i> -s).
6.11. <i>Tiruppaṅkūrum- Tirunīṭūrum- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6355 (6.11.6)	<i>pūṇalāppūṇāṇai</i> (He wears the serpent as the sacred thread which nobody wears).
6.12 <i>Tirukkalippālai- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6364 (6.12.5)	<i>Vētattāi</i> (He became the Veda-s).
6.16 <i>Tiruvīṭaimarutūr- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6402 (6.16.1)	<i>mantiramumtantira- mumāṇārpōlum</i> (He became the <i>mantras</i> and the Āgama-s which are called as Tantra-s).
	6404 (6.16.3)	<i>vētaṅkaḷvēḷvipayantār- pōlum</i> (He authored the Veda-s and the sacrifices prescribed in the Vedas).
	6405 (6.16.4)	<i>eṅkuṇattāreṇṇāyiravar- pōlum</i> (Śiva is worshipped by the group of Brahmins consisting of 8000 who are popularly called as Aṣṭasahasram; He is infinite).

	6407 (6.16.6)	<i>arumūnrumānārpōlum</i> (He became the eighteen branches of knowledge: four Veda-s , six Vedāṅgas, Purāṇa-s, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Smṛti, Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaśāstra).
6.17 <i>Tiruvīṭaimarutūr-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6416 (6.17.5)	<i>tūyamaṛaimoliyar</i> (Śiva is the speaker of the pure Vedic language).
	6417 (6.17.6)	<i>pulittōlarponkaravar-pūṇanūlaraṭiyārkuṭi-yāvarantaṇālarākuti-yinmantirattār</i> (He wears the tiger skin and wears the serpent as the sacred thread and he is the <i>mantra</i> and the sacrificial offering offered by the brahmins).
6.19 <i>Tiruvālavāi-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6437 (6.19.5)	<i>arumaṛaiyālnāṇmuka-nummālumpōrrumcī-rāṇai</i> (Brahmā and Viṣṇu praise him through Veda-s).
6.23 <i>Tirumaṛaikkāṭu-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6479 (6.23.5)	<i>āriyaṇkaṇṭāytamiḷaṇ-kaṇṭay</i> (Śiva is Ārya and Tamil).

	6481 (6.23.7)	<i>pālnaycērānañcumāṭi-kaṇṭāy</i> (Śiva delights in the <i>abhiṣeka</i> of <i>pañcagavya</i> consisting of milk and ghee).
	6483 (6.23.9)	<i>muttamīlumnāṇmaṇai-yumāṇāṇkaṇṭāy</i> (Śiva became the Tamil in the form of literature, music and drama and also the four Veda-s). <i>ālīṅkiṇṇālvarkkaṇ-tāṇkaṇṭāy</i> (Śiva instructed <i>dharma</i> to the four under the banyan tree).
6.25 Tiruvārūr-Tiruttāṇṭakam	6502 (6.25.8)	<i>aḷavirkunrāaviyaṭuvā-rarumayōraṇintēnu-ṇṇai</i> (The brahmins offer the right amount of sacrificial offering to Śiva).
6.26 Tiruvārūr-Tiruttāṇṭakam	6507 (6.26.2)	<i>ōtātēvetamuṇarntāṇta-ṇṇai</i> (Śiva has mastered the Veda-s without learning them).
	6510 (6.26.5)	<i>periyavētattunṭattiltu-ṇiporulai</i> (Śiva is mentioned as the meaning of the meters of the Veda-s).

6.28 <i>Tiruvārūr-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6527 (6.28.6)	<i>collāki</i> corp <u>o</u> ru <u>ḷ</u> āini <u>n</u> rār- <i>pōlum</i> (He became the word and the meaning of the word). <i>nāmanaiy</i> umvēt <u>a</u> t- <i>tārtāmē</i> pō <u>ḷ</u> um (He is the personification of the Veda-s that are recited by the tongue).
	6529 (6.28.8)	<i>mantirattai</i> maṇ <u>a</u> ttu <u>ḷḷ</u> ē- <i>vaittār</i> pō <u>ḷ</u> um (He keeps the <i>Namaśivāya</i> <i>mantra</i> in the minds of his devotees).
6.33 <i>Tiruvārūr-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6575 (6.33.3)	<i>vētiya</i> nai <u>a</u> ta <u>n</u> ṇaiyār- <i>kkeliyā</i> n <u>a</u> ta <u>n</u> ṇai(Śiva is the brahmin who has mastered the Veda-s and one who is easily accessible to his devotees).
	6576 (6.33.4)	<i>antaṇa</i> nai <u>a</u> ra <u>n</u> eriyi <u>ḷ</u> a- <i>ppaṇ</i> ta <u>n</u> ṇai(Śiva is the brahmin who is the father of <i>dharma</i>).
6.37 <i>Tiruvārūr-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6615 (6.37.3)	<i>nāvalarka</i> ḷnāṇma <u>ṇ</u> aiyē (He is the Veda-s of the learned).
6.43 <i>Tiruppūnturutti-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6675 (6.43.5)	<i>nakkā</i> nai <u>n</u> ā <u>ḷ</u> ma <u>ṇ</u> ai <u>ḷ</u> - <i>pāṭiṇānai (He chanted the four Veda-s).</i>
6.44 <i>Tirucōrrutturai-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6683 (6.44.3)	<i>ō</i> tu <u>m</u> vēta <u>ṇ</u> ka <u>r</u> rā <u>n</u> ē (He learned the Veda-s).

	6684 (6.44.4)	<i>vētanāivētamvirittittānē</i> (He arranged the Veda-s).
	6685 (6.44.5)	<i>nampanēnāṇmaṛaika- lāyinānē</i> (He became the four Veda-s).
6.45 <i>Tiruvorriyūr- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6692 (6.45.2)	<i>ōmattālnāṇmaṛaikaḷō- talōvā</i> (He lives in the city where the four Veda-s are chanted at the time of the sacred fire).
6.46 <i>Tiruāvaṭuturai- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6701(6.46.1)	<i>nampanāinālvētaṇ- kaṛaikaṇṭāṇai</i> (I hail him who is an expert in the four Veda-s).
	6703 (6.46.3)	<i>colluvārcorporuḷintōrra- māki</i> (He became the meaning of the words).
	6710 (6.46.10)	<i>centamiḷōṭāriyanaiccīri- yānaittirumārpiḷpuri- veṇṇūltikaḷappūṇṭaan- taṇaṇai</i> (I hail the one who became the classical Tamiḷ and Sanskrit and the brahmin who wears the sacred thread on his chest).
6.48 <i>Tiruvalivalam- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6722 (6.48.1)	<i>nallāṇkāṇnāṇmaṛai- kaḷāyiṇāṇkāṇ</i> (Behold the one who became the four Veda-s).

	6730 (6.48.9)	<i>nītiyaṅkāṇvētiyaṅkāṇ</i> (Behold the lord of justice and the expert in Veda-s).
6.50 <i>Tiruvīlimīlalai-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6745 (6.50.4)	<i>cantōkacāmamōtumvā-yāṇai</i> (I bow down to the one who chants the <i>ChandogaSāma Veda</i>) <i>mantarippār-maṇattulānai</i> (He resides on the minds of those who chant the <i>mantra</i> -s).
6.51 <i>Tiruvīlimīlalai-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6753 (6.51.2)	<i>pūṇanūlār</i> (He wears the sacred thread). <i>vētikūṭiyuḷḷār</i> (He lives in Vētikūṭi).
	6754 (6.51.3)	<i>antaṇarkaḷmāṭakkōil</i> (He is worshipped in the mind temple of brahmins).
	6755 (6.51.4)	<i>vētanāvār</i> (He chants the Veda-s).
	6756 (6.51.5)	<i>puṭaicūḷntapūtaṅkaḷ-vētaṃpāṭa</i> (He is surrounded by the goblins who sing the Veda-s).
6.53 <i>Tiruvīlimīlalai-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6776 (6.53.4)	<i>aivēlviārāṅkamāṇār-pōlum</i> (He became of the form of five- fold sacrifices and the six auxiliaries of the Veda-s).

	6778 (6.53.6)	<i>nālāyamaṛaikkīraiva-rāṇārpōlum</i> (He became the lord of the four Veda-s).
6.54 <i>Tiruppuḷḷirukkuvēlūr-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6787 (6.54.4)	<i>āraṅkamnālvetatta-ppālñinraporuḷānai</i> (He is beyond the four Veda-s and the six auxiliaries).
	6790 (6.54.7)	<i>vētiyanaivētavittai</i> (The one who is the brahmin and the seer of the Veda-s).
	6791 (6.54.8)	<i>mantiramumtantira-mummaruntumāki</i> (He became the <i>mantra</i> -s, <i>Tantra</i> -s and medicine).
	6792 (6.54.9)	<i>nāṇmaṛaiyiṇnarporuḷai</i> (He became the meaning of the four Veda-s).
6.56 <i>Tirukkayilāyam-Pōṛṇittiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6805 (6.56.1)	<i>maṛaiyuṭayavētamviri-ttāypōṛri</i> (Praise to you who explained the Veda-s that have secret meaning).
6.57 <i>Tirukkayilāyam-Pōṛṇittiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6819 (6.57.5)	<i>mantiramumtantira-mumāṇāypōṛri</i> (Praise to you who became the <i>mantra</i> -s and <i>Tantra</i> -s).

6.60 <i>Tirukkarkuṭi-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6849 (6.60.6)	<i>vētiyanaivētattin̄kitam-pāṭumpaṇṇavaṇai</i> (Behold the one who is the brahmin and chants the tune of the Veda-s).
6.62 <i>Tiruvāṇaikkā-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6867 (6.62.5)	<i>vemmāṇamatakariyī-nurivaippōrttavētiyaṇē</i> (The brahmin who is wearing the skin of the elephant).
	6871 (6.62.9)	<i>vin̄ṇārumpunālpoti-ceñcataiyāyvētaneriyāṇē</i> (Śiva follows the path laid down in the Veda-s and has divine river in his matted hair).
6.63 <i>Tiruvāṇaikkā-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6875 (6.63.3)	<i>ōmkārattutporuḷai</i> (Śiva is the inner meaning of Omkāra).
	6876 (6.63.4)	<i>teivanāṇmaṇaikalpūṇ-tatērāṇait</i> (He rode the chariot yoked by the four Veda-s).
	6879 (6.63.7)	<i>malarkkoṇraittol̄nūl-pūṇṭavētiyaṇai</i> (behold the brahmin who is wearing the <i>koṇrai</i> flowers on his head and the sacred thread on his chest).
	6881'(6.63.9)	<i>nacaiyāṇainālvētatta-ppālāṇai</i> (He is beyond the four Veda-s).

6.64 <i>Tiruvēkampam</i> - <i>Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6892 (6.64.10)	<i>vētattinporulāṅkāṇ</i> (Behold the one who is the meaning of the four Veda-s).
6.68 <i>Tirumutukun- ram-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6929 (6.68.6)	<i>vilavuoliyumviṇṇoli- yumāṇāṇṭaṇṇai</i> (He became the festive sound and sound in the space).
6.69 <i>Tiruppalliṇmu- kkūṭal-Tiruttāṇ- ṭakam</i>	6935 (6.69.2)	<i>vētiyaṇaiventīṅkaḷcū- tuṇceṇṇiccaṭaiyāṇāi- cāmampōlkaṇṭattāṇāi</i> (I bow down to the brahmin who wears the white moon on his matted hair and who chants the <i>Sāma</i> <i>Veda</i>).
6.74 <i>Tirunāraiṇyūr- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	6985 (6.74.9)	<i>mēlāyavētiyarkkuvēl- viyākivēlviiyīṇṇipaya- ṇāyavimalaṇṭaṇṇai- nālāyamaṇṇaikaiva- ṇāyīṇāṇai.</i> <i>nāraiṇyūrnaṇṇakar- iṇṇaṇṭēṇṇāṇē</i> (Ibehold the pure one who became the Vedic sacrifices, the result of those Vedic sacrifices and the lord of the Veda-s in the holy city of Nāraiṇyūr).

6.75 <i>Tirukkuṭantai-kīl-kōṭṭam- Tiruttāṇ-ṭakam</i>	6987 (6.75.1)	<i>coṇmalintamaṛaināṇ-kāraṇkamākiccorpo-ruṇkaṭantacutarccōti-pōlum</i> (He became the four Veda-s and six auxiliaries, and he is of the nature of effulgent light that is beyond word and meaning).
	6990 (6.75.4)	<i>mikkatīralmaṛaiyavarālviḷaṇkuvēlvi mikupukaipōyvinṇoli-yakkaḷaṇiyellāṇ</i> (The smoke arising the sacrifices performed by the brahmins touch the sky and spread over all the fields).
6.81 <i>Tirukkōṭikā-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	7055 (6.81.8)	<i>nāṇmaṛaiyinporuḷkaṇ-ṭāynātāṇkaṇṭāy</i> (Behold the Lord, the meaning of the four Veda-s).
6.85 <i>Tirumuṇṭiccaram-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	7090 (6.85.5)	<i>maṛaināṇkumāyiṇāṇ-kāṇ</i> (Behold the one who became the four Veda-s).
6.86 <i>Tiruvalampolil-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	7097 (6.86.3)	<i>ōmkārameypporuḷai</i> (I salute the meaning of the Oṃkāra).
	7100 (6.86.6)	<i>vētavittai</i> (I salute the one who is the seed of the Veda-s).

6.87 <i>Tiruccivapuram- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	7104 (6.87.1)	<i>vaṭamoliyunteṇṭami- lummaraikaḷṇāṇku- māṇavaṇkāṇ</i> (Śiva became Sanskrit, Tamil and the four Veda-s).
	7111 (6.87.8)	<i>kalayārunūlaṇkamāyi- ṇāṇkāṇ</i> (Behold the one who became the Veda-s with arts and the six auxiliaries).
6.89 <i>Tiruvīṇṇampar- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	7121 (6.89.1)	<i>collumarumaraikaḷ- tāmēpōlum</i> (He is the personification of the Veda-s).
	7126 (6.89.6)	<i>vētaṇṇorūḷāyviḷaivār- pōlum</i> (He is the meaning of the Veda-s).
6.92 <i>Tirukkaḷukunram- Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	7152 (6.92.2)	<i>collōṭuporulaṇaittu- māṇāṇṭaṇṇai...ālinkīli- runtāṇai</i> (He became the words and the meanings ... he was under the shade of the banyan tree).
6.94 <i>Ninratirut- tāṇṭakam</i>	7165 (6.94.3)	<i>collākicollukkōrporu- lumāki</i> (He became the words and the meanings of the words).
	7168 (6.94.6)	<i>aṇkamāyātiyāyvēta- māki</i> (He became the six auxiliaries, four Veda-s and the rare mantra-s).

	7170 (6.94.8)	<i>nātaṇāyivētattiṇuḷḷōṇāki</i> (He is the lord of sound and resides in Veda-s).
6.95 <i>Taṇittrut-tāṇṭakam</i>	7176 (6.95.4)	<i>nalaṇcuṭarēṇālvētatta-ppālṇinra</i> (Śiva is the effulgent one and one who is beyond the four Veda-s).
	7179 (6.95.7)	<i>maṛaiṇāṇkumāṇāyā-ṛaṇkamāṇāy</i> (Śiva became the four Veda-s and six auxiliaries).
6.96 <i>Taṇittiruttāṇṭakam</i>	7184 (6.96.2)	<i>muppurinūlvaraimār-piṇmuḷankakkōṇṭār</i> (He wears the three stranded sacred thread on his chest).
	7187 (6.96.5)	<i>arumaṛaiyaitērkuti-raiākkikkōṇṭār</i> (He has the four Veda-s as the horses of his chariot).
6.99 <i>Tiruppukalūr-Tiruttāṇṭakam-Tiruttāṇṭakam</i>	7218 (6.99.4)	<i>ātiyāyivētamāki</i> (Śiva became the primordial one and he became the Veda-s).
	7220 (6.99.6)	<i>viricaṭayāyivētiyanē-vētakitā</i> (Śiva is the brahmin who has a wide matted hair and one who sings the Veda-s).

The above cited Vedic references clearly mention the importance given by Appar to the Vedic aspect of Śaivism in his hymns. It can be clearly seen that almost every *patikam* refers to Śiva as the follower of Vedic path. The image that emerges from these *patikam*-s is that Śiva is meditated upon by the brahmins; he is the meaning of the Veda-s; he became the Veda-s with the six limbs; he wears the white sacred thread on his chest; Hara became the both *mantra* and Tantra and he preached *dharma* to the brahmins under the shade of the banyan tree; Śiva is of the nature of Veda-s; he likes the *Sāma Veda* and music; he sings all the four Veda-s; he is worshipped by the four Veda-s; Śiva is worshipped by the sect of Brahmins consisting of 8000 who are popularly called as Aṣṭasahasram; he became the eighteen branches of knowledge: four Veda-s, six Vedāṅga-s, Purāṇa-s, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Smṛti, Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaśāstra; Śiva is the speaker of the pure Vedic language; he wears the tiger skin and wears the serpent as the sacred thread and he is the *mantra* and the sacrificial offering offered by the brahmins; he has the divine qualities mentioned in the four Veda-s which he has mastered; the brahmins offer the right amount of sacrificial offering to Śiva; Brahmā and Viṣṇu worship him through Vedic chants; Śiva transcends the four Veda-s and he is of the nature of *Oṃkāra*.

From the above cited references, we get a clear picture that Śiva as addressed by Appar is a Vedic deity. When speaking of the Vedic nature of Śaivism one cannot forget the importance of the *Śatarudrīya* hymn. It is undisputable that the *Śatarudrīya* hymn in the *Yajur Veda* occupies a very important place in the development of Śaivism. Śiva worship is never complete without the chanting of the *Śatarudrīya*. *Śatarudrīya* is chanted when *abhiṣeka* is performed over the *Śivaliṅga*. Scholars who study the hymns of Appar point out that the *namaccivāyapatikam*, which is recorded in the Fourth *Tirumurai* is the essence of the *Śatarudrīya*. It may be mentioned that this *namaccivāyapatikam* was sung by Appar when he was tied to a stone and cast to die in the sea. From this it is clear that even in the most dangerous situations to his life, Appar envisioned Śiva as a Vedic deity. G. V. Narayana Iyer writes regarding *Śatarudrīya*, that the fact that the Gods themselves are described as wearing the sacred thread of *yajña* (*yajñopavīta*) indicates the importance that sacrificial rituals were given by that society.

“From the Śatarudrīya hymn, we can get a glimpse of the country in the period of Yajur Veda. Verse 17 addresses Rudra as the wearer of the “sacrificial cord” (*Upavitine*) which shows that the formalities of the sacrificial rituals had assumed importance. Sacrifices are usually performed by mortals for gaining their desires. The *mantras* uttered during sacrifices are addressed to deities who grant the desires of the sacrifice. The cord is to be woven by the sacrificer, but when Rudra himself was the god, whose favour was sought, what necessity could there be for the god to wear the cord? He was not a sacrificer, but a deity to whom the sacrifice had to be offered. How then is the epithet *Upavitine* to be explained? The only answer that seems possible is that since, in the eyes of the worshipper, the man most worthy of the respect was the person who performed the largest number of sacrifices, he gave the form of the sacrificer to Rudra also..... This is reflected in the verses of the hymn where the king’s attributes are applied to Rudra. Rudra is called “the leader of the armies” “the lord of regions” “the innoxious charioteer.” (Narayana Iyer 1974: 5,6)

Similarly, R. Nagaswamy in his book *Śivabhakti* while mentioning the Vedic Nature of Appar’s Śaivism mentions the following:

“Such references to Siva as the embodiment of *Vedas*, *Vedānta* and *Vedavelvi* and that the Vedic chants were used in Śiva worship, clearly indicate that Appar followed the Vaidika Śaiva system, also known as *Siddhāntamārga*.

Mention has been made of the fact that by the time of Appar (7th Century), Śiva was adored as the embodiment of the four *Vedas* and the six *aṅgas*. It is also said that the *Vedas* praise Śiva’s real nature. Naturally Appar’s *Tevārams* reflect the ideas enshrined in the *Vedas*. Among the four *Vedas* the ‘*Satarudrīya*’ also called *Rudram*, a part of the *Krishnayajurveda* is held to be the hymn par excellence, on Siva. “The *Satarudrīya* is in eleven *anuvākas*. In the eighth *anuvāka*, occurs the words *Namassivāya ca Sivatarāya ca*. This is considered the most significant and almost the one mystic line in the whole of *Yajurveda*...In fact most of the concepts connected with Saivite faith can be traced to the *Satarudrīya*. Among the 63 Saivite Saints, Rudrapasupati Nāyanār, as his name itself indicates, was the one who constantly recited the ‘*Rudra*’ (another name for ‘*Satarudrīya*’ and attained liberation.

Some of Appar’s references could undoubtedly be traced to *Rudra*. For example the *Satarudrīya* refers to Śiva as a child with limbs still undeveloped, ‘*apagalbhāya*’ interpreted ‘*aprarūdhendryabālah*’. This is a rare expression. Appar describes Śiva, exactly with the same epithet ‘*bālānāyṣṭarntilāpānmaiyāne*’. Similarly, another interesting epithet,

applied to Śiva, in the ‘*Rudra*’ is that he is present in the swift current of streams *Sibyāya ca* (p.67). Appar echoes the same concept when he sings *Sulāvāhi Sulāvukkōr Sūlālāhi*. Similarly Appar’s reference to Śiva as “The lake full of water- *Eri niraintanaya Selvan* is clearly the term *Sarasyāya ca* of the *Satarudriya*.” (Nagaswamy 1989: 70-71).

However, as we look through the origin of Śaivism, scholars point out diversified development of Śaivism over the centuries. The Rudra of the Brāhmaṇa-s emerges as the Śiva of the Upaniṣad-s. There are numerous schools of Śaivism and not all of them agree with the Veda-s and some schools of Śaivism are non-Vedic. In this connection K. C. Pandey writes that Vedic philosophy reached a happy blend with Saivism practised in most parts of the country.

“Whatever may have been the Brahmanic antagonism towards Śaivism in the early Vedic period, as some hold on the basis of reference to its followers as “Phallus worshippers”, etc., this antagonism died out with the passage of time; and Brahmanism and Śaivism became more and more reconciled, as testified by the inclusion of the hundred names of Śiva in the Śukla and the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, numerous references to him in the Atharvaveda and change in the conception of the god from “terrific” under the name “Rudra” to “the protector of the cattle” under the name “Paśupati”. Towards the end of the Vedic period, in the tenth book of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, we find the five Mantras, on which the Lakulīśa Pāśupata system is based...a careful study of the works on the various Śaiva systems shows that the attitude of the Śaiva Philosophy as a whole towards the Veda was not that of condemnation...nor that of opposition. It was rather like that of a step-daughter, whose agreements and differences with the father are those which the mother has with him.

Thus Śaivism owes its allegiance to and acknowledges the authority of the Veda only in so far as the Veda agrees with the Śaivāgamas, some of which assert that the Śaivāgama is the essence of the Veda (*Vedasāraḥ Śivāgamaḥ*). It may, however, be noted here that some systems of the Śaiva Philosophy agree with the Veda more than the others.” (Pandey 1986: 5-6)

Such a dualistic approach of Śaivism towards the Veda-s is explicitly evident in the case of Pāśupata which is classified into Vaidika Pāśupata and Tāntrika Pāśupata (Nagaswamy 2006: 24). In fact, while commenting on the *Brahmasūtra Patyurasamañjasyāt* (2.2.7.37), Ādi Śaṅkarācārya mentions that there are many branches of Śaivism and some of them are against the Veda-s.

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Chapter 4

Thirukkural and its Affiliation to Sanātana Dharma

– *A.V. Gopala Krishnan (Devapriyaji)*

Abstract

Tamil with an unbroken literary history of over two millennia, has produced many a literary gem and the foremost among them is Thirukkural (Sacred Couplets), attributed to Thiruvalluvar.

Valluvar was considered a Brahmin when a picture was requested for Stamp release by Central Govt in 1963.

Christian Church made generous funding to claim Thirukkural as a Christian work – this was later examined and more reputed Christian Scholars have rejected the 100% Church funded Doctorates.

Speculation that Thirukural was a Jain work mainly started in the 19th century, but is still repeated by many scholars mostly aligned with Communist or Dravidian ideologies. This is repeated in several literary meets and Universities.

This paper analyses Thirukkural completely and finds that there is not one verse in support of these claims. It finds Kural teachings concerning ascetics are totally against Jain *Yati Dharma* for monks.

Valluvar mostly uses only titles of attributes to God and not names in First Chapter; references in Tamil Thesaurus (*Nigandu-s*) most of them

belonging to end of 10th century or later, to Jain Tirthankara-s, have been extensively relied upon to make the above claim. However a few of these titles for Vedic Gods have been used much earlier in Sangam literature and also by 7th century CE Śaiva poet Gnanasambanthar, for Lord Shiva.

We also analyze Valluvar's teaching for a just reign and unjust reign by the king for the glory of Vedas.

While Kuṛaḷ is life-affirming, Jainism is life-denying. Valluvar talks of God Almighty the creator God, not Gurus or Tirthankara-s of Jainism, who do not accept Creator God. Valluvar used names of twenty-five Hindu Gods in various Kurals.

Thiruvalluvar's work is not a religious treatise, but a book to teach virtues and from analyzing various verses throughout 1330 verses, any honest person would accept that Kural is very close to *Sanātana Dharma* and *Dharma Śāstra*-s.

1 Thirukkural - an Introduction:

Tamil with an unbroken literary history of over two millennia, has produced many a literary gem and the foremost among them is Thirukkural (Sacred Couplets), attributed to Thiruvalluvar.

Thirukkural, on its poetical merit, ethical values and overwhelming popularity, continues to attract the attention of scholars to write commentaries and produce new translations in different languages. The holistic nature of the work meant that it has attracted the attention of all scholars irrespective of their religious affiliations. A concerted attempt to call it a Jaina work is analyzed here.

Thirukkural was originally called Muppāl (3 Sections) with 133 Chapters having 10 verses in each, totalling 1330 verses. The three sections are as given below.

- 1) Dharma (Aram) - 38 Chapters
- 2) Artha (Porutpal) - 70 Chapters
- 3) Kāma - 25 Chapters

The overall organization of the Kural text is based on seven ideals prescribed for a commoner, besides observations on love. The division of topics may be understood as follows.

- 40 couplets on God, rain, ascetics, and virtue
- 200 couplets on domestic virtue
- 140 couplets on higher yet most fundamental virtue based on grace, benevolence and compassion
- 250 couplets on royalty
- 100 couplets on ministers of state
- 220 couplets on essential requirements of administration
- 130 couplets on morality, both positive and negative
- 250 couplets on human love and passion

Thirukkural follows the pattern of Dharma- Artha- Kāma of Vedic tradition, leaving Mokṣa which is the goal of every chapter- he says in his first Chapter (last Kural 10) - “where none can swim the great sea of birth but those who are united with the feet of God”.

Thirukkural is dated around the latter part of 3rd or early 4th century CE by scholars based on use of words which belong to later than Sangam literature and also on other references. The Tamil epic *Silapathikāram* and the Grammar treatise *Tholkāppiyam* are later than this. Thirukkural, in the history of Tamil Literature, has been regarded as teaching the righteousness, *dharma*, dealing with the everyday virtues of an individual as explained in Veda-s and Smṛti-s.

2 Thiruvalluvar - Author of Thirukkural

Thirukkural does not have its author’s name, and its dating is based on later works only. **Thiruvalluva Malai**¹ is a collection of songs praising and giving details of Thirukkural. Written by 55 poets, most of the authors named are similar to those of Sangam Literature, but research

indicates that some songs belong to late First Millienium and some to the 16/17th century CE.

Many stories and details about Valluvar's life have been created much later and no reliable information is available. Christian missionaries² have contributed many tales which have no historical value, to confuse the public.

A collection of a few later songs say that Valluvar was born in a lower caste of the fourth varṇa - but clearly the use of language and style in these songs proves Christian³ hand in these allusions.

Tirukkural and Valluvar in Tamil Society

Thirukkural has been called in various names as follows.

முப்பால் (*Muppāl*) – “The three-sectioned” or “The three-fold path”
(Original name given by Valluvar)

பொய்யாமொழி (*Poyyāmolī*) – “Statements devoid of untruth”

உத்தரவேதம் (*Uttaravedam*) – “Highest Veda”[14]

வாயுறை வாழ்த்து (*Vāyurai Vālttu*) – “Truthful utterances”

தெய்வநூல் (*Teyvanūl*) – “The holy book”

பொதுமறை (*Potumarai*) – “The universal Veda” or “Book for all”

தமிழ்மறை (*Tamiḷ Maṛai*) – “The Tamil Veda”

முப்பானூல் (*Muppānūl*) – “The three-sectioned book”

ஈரடி நூல் (*Iradi nūl*) – “The two-lined book”

வள்ளுவம் (*Valluvam*) – “Valluvarism” or “The work of Valluvar”
and held high in Tamilnadu.

Earliest missionaries who came to Tamilnadu were advised to read Kural, along with other books such as Ramāyaṇa etc., which shows that Tamil society held Kural as an important work that teaches Vedic principles.

Earliest references to Kural all speak of it as the Tamil manifestation of Vedas. Both Silappathikāram and Maṇimekalai use the reference, but do not say that it follows Jainism or Buddhism. Śaiva Siddhānta has been claiming Kural as their book for more than 700 years and a Śaiva

temple for Valluvar exists in Mylapur⁴ dating from the 14th century CE.

There are a few more works in the name of Poet Valluvar, but literary research based on the words used indicates that they are from different authors⁵ and belong to 16th Century or later.

Thiruvalluvar Coin & Stamp

The Government of India released a Stamp and Coin to commemorate Tiruvalluvar in 1963.⁶

Thirukkural – General Opinion

Written for the purpose of teaching ethics, Thirukkural expounds a universal moral and practical attitude towards life. Thirukkural refrains from talking of hopes and promises of the other-worldly life. Rather it speaks of the ways of cultivating one's mind to achieve the other-worldly bliss in the present life itself. By occasionally referring to bliss beyond the worldly life, Valluvar equates what can be achieved in human life with what may be attained thereafter.

As Valluvar did not use any direct names for God in the first chapter “In Praise of God” it is more easily accepted by believers of all faiths and many Tamil organisations want Thirukkural to be declared as “Universal Scripture” (Ulagap pothumarai).

3 Thirukkural as a Christian Work - forgery that went to Court

G.U. Pope in his Translation of Kural to English, says in his Introduction that Kural would not have been written without the knowledge of Christian Bible, and that Valluvar lived in Mylapur on the coast, would have had connection with Christian travellers by sea. He also speaks of another possibility of St. Thomas, disciple of Jesus preaching in Chennai, meeting Valluvar. Earliest to record all this is Ishwar Charan⁷ “The Myth of Saint Thomas and the Mylapore Shiva Temple” 1991 and revised edition in 2010 and also Vedaprakash in Tamil “இந்தியாவில் செயின்ட் தாமஸ் கட்டுக் கதை”

This concept was developed by a tie-up of Roman Catholic San Thome Church with Protestant Madras Christian College⁸, a First Book published in 1969- "*Thiruvalluvar Christhuvaraa*" with a foreword from then Chief Minister M. Karunanithi⁹. The book made extremely new claims as explained below.

Page 31¹⁰ – "No Tamil would like to say that Valluvar copied his work from other sources, but if a researcher at the end of his true research without favour or pre-opinion should reveal the truth." (translated from Tamil)

Page 73¹¹ – "From the Mountain called Christianity – the stone of Dharma was taken and after dipping it in Ganges of Tamil came Thirukkural the Speaking Sculpture. From the Gospel of Dharma from St.Thomas – Valluvar who was a minister in Politics with his political knowledge and his rich family life brought "The three-sectioned"." (translated from Tamil)

It faced little resistance. Then several small books on various virtues which were advocated by Valluvar, but not in agreement with Bible, appeared, misinterpreting the verses using 20th century commentaries of various followers of Dravidian ideology.

Church became so confident that Thiruvalluvar could be called Christian and Kural as Christian book that it arranged a Forger to make "Fake Ancient Manuscripts for Kural with Christian meanings" and One Acharya Paul Ganesh Iyer¹² was given money in several Lakh Rupees and taken on an international trip including a 20-minutes session with Pope. The Church realized being caught filed a case and after conviction¹³ – made an out of court compromise allowing the person to retain his immovable properties.

Church still proceeded in academic activities – **created 100% funded "Tamil Christian Department"** in Madras University¹⁴ which is still working and **several Doctorates**¹⁵ **have been awarded for development of Thoma vazhi Christianity** which meant "Hinduism is an offshoot of Thomas Christianity".

The main work "Viviliyam – Thirukkural – Śaiva Siththantham- a comparison"¹⁶ in the name of Dr. M. Deivanayagam, says very clearly "in all my works I am indebted to Santhome Church Archbishop Dr. Arulappa for Monetary and Literary assistance."

Impartial Christian Scholars Deny Thirukkural Being a Christian Book

Valluvar describes Human Life as Sea of births and the purpose of education as

356 கற்றீண்டு மெய்ப்பொருள் கண்டார் தலைப்படுவர்
மற்றீண்டு வாரா நெறி “Who learn, and here the knowledge of
the true obtain, Shall find the path that **hither cometh not again.**”
Christianity does not believe in repeated births and Valluvar says it is
like sleeping and waking up we are born again and again. (Kural 339)

Scholars sponsored by the Church changed the meaning of Kural and misused verses of the Bible.

Madurai Kamarajar University’s Kural Peedam established by Mu.Varadarajanar selected **Lecturer Selvi. Kamatchi Sinivasan**, who was born in a Saivite family in Srilanka, came to India and had served in various colleges before joining the Kural Peedam. She had **converted to Christianity** also. She was of highest repute for integrity and Peedam asked her to bring out a number of books; two had titles **“Thirukkural and Bible”** and **“Religion of Thirukkural”**. Her books were published posthumously by the Peedam, her views represented by a team of experts who prepared the final edition.

The Author was selected for her strict integrity, being a Christian Convert. Finally looking at the methods adopted by M. Deivanayagam, the learned author says¹⁷ – **“from the works of Deivanayagam, it is doubtful whether he understood Thirukkural or for that matter Deivanayagam’s credentials in understanding the history of Christianity is doubtful.”**

Rev. **S.J. Rajamanikam** was the Head of Tamil Dept., Loyala College¹⁸, and he was asked to present a Paper on – Presence of Christianity in ThiruKural in 1974, at Venkateshwara University – Tirupathi in Tamil; here Learned Scholar explains the ideals of Valluvar and how it varies with the important ideals of Christianity-stated in a paper that the methods used in Deivanayagam’s method are dubious and not convincing and he does not find Christian ethics in Kural. He also referred to the fact that Tiruvalluvar used names of Hindu Gods in more than twenty occasions in various Kurals but not a single Christian one.

Trichy **Bishop Heeber College Head of Department of Tamil - Dr.P.S. Jesudasan** wrote a book titled **“Thirukuralum Thiruviliyamum”**¹⁹ (2000) and he says ethics in Thirukkural can be compared with Old Testament Ethical teachings but nothing to do with Old Testament and it would be futile to say Valluvar got his teachings from Christian source.

It is clear that Christian Scholars of repute do not agree to anything of Church-funded Deivanayagam works. Yet Tamilnadu Christian Churches continue to propagate this idea, with many subsequent Ph.D. Degrees awarded to such false claims.

4 Valluvar being Secular and Jain

Thirukkural and Valluvar were said to be Jain by many scholars from mid 19th century and by writing dubious commentaries, even as Athiest, or Secular by yet many others. If we analyze Jain claims all this would fall flat.

Christian Missionaries were the main source behind calling Thirukkural as Jain work and the earliest was F.W. Ellis – who was instrumental in bringing the Oriental research to South from Asiatic Society, Calcutta by Serampore Mission with William Carey to teach British civil officers serving in India about Indian Languages and to cash in on differences to “Divide and Plunder“. They employed several Pundits who were also used for Translation of Bible. The works of Pundits were published in the name of Mercenary Missionaries.

This Oriental research was the basis for bringing the hypothesis that Tamil is independent of Sanskrit and can function separately. F.W. Ellis wrote commentary for Kural and also said that he must have been Jain. F.W.Ellis also released a coin²⁰ for Valluvar.

Missionaries in south used this Oriental research on Linguistics to bring race theory of Dravidian etc., and this still works in this part of India. As Thiruvalluvar has not used any names of Hindu gods, but only titles of attributes in first chapter “In praise of God” it became easy - but till date it survives and we need to verify this and explain why we say so.

Thirukkural as Jain Work – The False Claims

Two major reasons put forth to say that Thirukkural was a Jain work are

- 1) Thiruvalluvar **uses only titles based on attributes in his first chapter “In praise of God”** and not names of deities. Tamil thesaurus (Nigandu) of 10th century CE or later mainly gives these attributes/ titles to Jain Thīrthankara.
- 2) Thiruvalluvar’s emphasis on non-violence and not eating of meat is emphasis on “Not killing” that is repeated.

Main assumptions that help this thesis are the bogus commentaries of 20th century, most of which were written with the assumption of Aryan Invasion theories, which have been disproved.

- 3) Valluvar is against Vedic rituals and against Varna system.

Valluvar and Yajña

Let us analyze this in the two Kurals which are usually wrongly interpreted by most scholars.

259. **Better than a thousand burnt Yajña offerings²¹ Is one life un-killed, un-eaten.** (Abstinence from Flesh)

Meaning Not to kill and eat (the flesh of) an animal, is better than the pouring forth of ghee etc., doing a thousand yajña-s.

Valluvar has given this Kural in abstinence from flesh- now what he means here- You people do yajña-s to attain God - but if you eat flesh then you do not get any benefit once you eat flesh.

The next Kural says “All creatures will join their hands together, and worship him who has never taken away life, nor eaten flesh.” - You yourself will be worshipped like God if you stop eating flesh.

This Kural is actually in support of Yajña-s and against flesh eating. All Valluvar says is that if one keeps on eating flesh there is no use in Yajña-s, which is the way to attain God. **Valluvar holds Yajña-s positively.**

Interestingly, Manu who promulgated animal sacrifice says in another place that one who abstains from meat obtains the same reward as one

who does hundred years of horse-sacrifice (Manu Smṛti, V.53). This is similar to what Valluvar said.

So it is wrong to say that **Valluavar was against Vedic Yajña as that would contradict what is said in Kural.**

False Claim - “Thiruvalluvar was against Brahmins by Birth”

²²**30 Ascetics** are called men of virtue for they assume the role of mercy to all that live. (30)

Meaning - The virtuous are truly called Anthanar (Valluvar uses “Anthanar” here) because in their conduct towards all creatures they are clothed in kindness.

This chapter is “The Greatness of Ascetics” and here he refers Ascetics and nothing to do with Brahmins. Actually God, Sages are also called Anthanar in Sangam Literature and **hence here Valluvar talks about Sages and not Brahmins.**

972. All human beings agree as regards their birth but differ as regards their characteristics, because of the different qualities of their actions.²³

Now people are classified according to the nature of work they do- this indicates that Valluvar agrees with Varṇāśrama²⁴. But people stop with the first line alone while discussing this issue.

Valluvar clearly agrees – Varṇa by birth

134. Scriptures that are forgotten can be recapitulated; Bad conduct debases a Brahmin and his birth.²⁵ - in chapter ஒழுக்கமுடைமை.- The Possession of Decorum

A Brahmin though he forgets the Veda-s may recover it; but, if he fails in propriety of conduct even his high birth will be destroyed.

120 As thriving trader is the trader known,²⁶

Who guards another’s interests as his own. (நடுவு நிலைமை.- Impartiality)- **Here he refers to Vyśya-s as those who undertake trading.**

951.²⁷ Consistency (of thought, word and deed) and fear (of sin) are conjointly natural only to the high-born. - குடிமை (nobility, civility citizenship)

952 ²⁸The high-born will never deviate from these three; good manners, truthfulness and modesty.

கடியமை (Inferiority, baseness, despicableness)

1075²⁹ (The principle of) behavior in the mean is chiefly fear; if not, hope of gain, to some extent.

1078³⁰ The great bestow (their alms) as soon as they are informed; (but) the mean, like the sugar-cane, only when they are tortured to death.

1079³¹ The mean will bring an evil (accusation) against others, as soon as he sees them (enjoying) good food and clothing.

Basic Tenets of Jainism

Life is spirit, not physical matter. Jainism is life-affirming, but world-denying. Jains reject a materialistic lifestyle.

Jainism is a religion which preaches Ascetics and all others to follow renunciation of Life, and important preachings of Jainism (Sannyāsi Dharma) compel seven rituals.

1) Kesa-lonch or Ulosam- While Taking Sanyāsam- need to pull all hairs individually and become bare-headed. Valluvar is against bare head and also too much growth. (Kural -280)

2) Thihambaram (Digambara) - To Renounce clothing and Walking Nakedly. KURAL-1012 & 788 tells us the importance of Dressing.

3) Asnāna- (Not taking Bath)

Valluvar, even for Thurviyal, says in Kural 298 the importance of bathing, and that Sanyāsin-s should take bath in Kural 278.

4) Bhūshayan - Sleep on hard ground.

Valluvar never says anything about sleeping on bare floor and at least he refers to soft bed in Kural 1191.

5) Adantdhavan – Not to wash teeth.

In Kural 1121, when Valluvar refers clean mouth- certainly he is for brushing teeth regularly.

6) Sthiti-bhojan (Eat while standing) –

We do not find this in any of the Kurals at all.

7) Ekapuktham (ekabhuktam) - Eating only once in a day.

Valluvar has not said this anywhere, whereas he says that one must eat again after the earlier food has been digested i.e., within six hours.

Valluvar's way of Sanyāsa is not according to Jainism as he has not agreed with any of the above "Yati dharma"

Valluvar and Ahimsā

Two Chapters 25 "Abstinence of flesh" and 33 "Avoidance of killing" is under "Thuravaraviyal(Asceticism)", but this is been excessively used to say that Valluvar's main idea is this. Now on classification under Thuravaraviyal- as these researchers in their hypothesis say are not made by Valluvar but by later day copiers, but we can verify to whom Valluvar intended to say this

258³² **The wise, who have freed themselves from mental delusion,** will not eat the flesh which has been severed from an animal.

325³³ Of all those who, **fearing the permanence of earthly births, have abandoned desire**, he is the chief who, fearing (the guilt of) murder, considers how he may avoid the destruction of life.

328³⁴ The advantage which might flow from destroying life in sacrifice, **is dishonourable to the wise (who renounced the world)**, although it should be said to be productive of great good.

These kurals clearly say that abstaining from flesh and killing are mainly advised for Ascetics.

Valluvar uses certain parables to illustrate his point.

Valluvar refers Fishing and Cooking meat as Parables

931: Don't gamble even if you win for it draws you in **Like fishes drawn to shining baits.**

Fish drawn in Bait- that is he refers to fishing for food for common man.

1260. Is it possible for **those whose hearts melt like Mutton fat in the fire** to say they can feign a strong dislike and remain so?

Valluvar compares / explains the cooking of fat with the heart melting.

Agriculture & Jainism

Jainism is against agriculture as ploughing kills insects during agriculture, but Valluvar says that the farmer alone is the one really living independently and even ascetics depend on them.

1031³⁵ Agriculture, though laborious, is the most excellent (form of labour); for people, though they go about (in search of various employments), have at last to resort to the farmer.

1033³⁶ They alone live who live by agriculture; all others lead a cringing, dependent life.

1036³⁷ If the farmer's hands are slackened, **even the ascetic state will fail.**

Thiruvalluvar and Family Life.

In general, Jainism is a study in extremes: extreme atheism; extreme ahimsā; extreme asceticism

Jainism predominantly teaches to live as ascetics and renounce this life.

Women cannot achieve Mokṣa or liberation in this Life unless they do penance and born again as male in Jainism. Valluvar emphasis is on family life and says that family man is more important.

Thiruvalluvar's emphasis for Family life and Good Wife can be understood by separate chapters 5 & 6.

6. The Good Wife's Help

54.³⁸ What is more excellent than a wife, if she possess the stability of chastity?

Chapter 5. Family Life

46.³⁹ What will he who lives virtuously in the domestic state gain by going into the other, (ascetic) state?

In Kural 50⁴⁰ **He who on earth has lived in the conjugal state as he should live, will be placed among the Gods who dwell in heaven.**

Chapter - **Wealth That Benefits None**

1007⁴¹ The wealth of him who never bestows anything on the destitute is like a woman of beauty growing old without a husband.

Life of ascetism is even criticised as a beautiful woman wasting life without marrying and having no family life. Jainism predominantly teaches detachment and abstinence from this worldly pleasures and Valluvar writes for earthly life with good virtues. Jains reject materialistic lifestyle.

5 Names of God in First Chapter

Thirukkural belongs to the period of late 3rd or early 4th century and we see the nature of literature composed was more didactic compared to that of Sangam period, which was more lively; the land was ruled by Kalappirar who were mostly Jains and perhaps Valluvar had to adapt his style due to this reason.

The titles used are as follows.

ஆதி பகவன் (First Creator god)

Saiva Saint Thirugnana Sambandhar uses similar term in *Devaram* 1:88:5

வாலறிவன் (Pure intelligence)

Saiva Saint Thirugnana Sambandar uses similar epithet in *Devaram* 1:69:3

மலர்மிசை ஏகினான் (One who walked on flowers)

Saiva Saint Thirugnana Sambandar uses similar meaning of title in *Devaram* 1:21:5

வேண்டுதல் வேண்டாமைஇலான் (One who is beyond likes and dislikes)

இறைவன் (God)

ஐந்தவித்தான் (One who controlled five senses) 3:319:7

தனக்குவமை இல்லாதான் (One beyond compare) 2:198:3

அறவாழி அந்தனன் (One with sea or wheel of virtue) 1:9:2, 2:199:11

எண் குணத்தான் (One with 8 attributes)

இறைவன் (God)

Thiruvalluvar refers to Lord Almighty Creator of Universe - and not a Saintly man when he says - One beyond compare, One who is beyond likes and dislikes, Lord & First Creator God. Few of the other titles could appear as it refers to a ascetic - but one can be certain Valluvar was talking about Creator God and not any Human Ascetic as it appears. Most of this has been used by Devarams of 7th century for Śiva- which was much earlier to Tamil Nigandus mostly written by Jains.

Calling God as Vedic is never in practice in Jainism in First Millennium, whereas it can be seen in Paripāḍal for Lord Brahma and⁴² Lord Shiva in Kalithogai.

Valluvar has given more importance to Family life- he allocated 22 Chapters over Asceticism for which he allocates 15 Chapters. The Virtues for Asceticism for Jain monks have all been negated by Valluvar as can be seen above.

We began this elaborate exercise to find answers to the following questions:

- If the morals taught by Valluvar in Kuṛal are based on Sanātana Dharma, most of which could be common with other religions but Valluvar goes against Jainism clearly
- If the Deity praised by Valluvar in his first chapter is the Creator God then it is not acceptable to Jainism.

We compared the principal teachings of Valluvar to the then philosophical traditions that prevailed during the times of Valluvar. Then we compared the contents of the Kuṛal with some ethical treatises in Brahminic Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. We also looked at Valluvar's references to "God and gods" in light of the concept of god in Jainism. And finally, we made a detailed investigation of every couplet of the first chapter and tried to relate the names and attributes employed by Valluvar to deities in Buddhism, Christianity, Jainism, Vaishnavism and Saivism.

One cannot reject or accept the claims of religious affiliation of a book based on the mere presence of one or two verses in support or against a particular faith. Evidences have to be rather consistent and distributed throughout the work. No doubt the Kuṛaḷ has many references to Hinduism, Jaina, and Buddhist beliefs. However, such passing references cannot be taken as indication of the author's affiliation or inclination to any particular faith because such references have been found across literary works of known affiliation to all the three religious systems of Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism.

However Valluvar's idea of Creator God and positive (materialistic) life on Earth are totally against Jainism.

Valluvar and Vedic Dharma Śāstra-s

Valluvar teaches in his section on Politics as to how a King must rule a land

543.⁴³ **The sceptre of the king is the firm support of the Vedas of the Brahmin**, and of all virtues therein described. **(Just Reign)**

Now this can be clearly understood when you compare with Silapathikaram⁴⁴ in which a Brahmin wife who killed mongoose and on her plea her husband wrote the penance methods and gifts to be given, on a sheet; **Kovalan the Vyśya read that Sanskrit sūtra-s** and helped the Brahmin woman to achieve the penance.

Unjust Reign

560⁴⁵ If the guardian (of the country) neglects to guard it, the produce of the cows will fail, and the men of six duties viz., the Brahmins will forget the Veda-s.

In the Chapter 2- **Importance of Rain**, Valluvar says

18. If the heaven dry up, neither yearly festivals, nor daily worship will be offered in this world, to the celestials.

Now, what if a King is not good:-

559.⁴⁶ **If the king acts contrary to justice, rain will become unseasonal, and the heavens will withhold their showers.**

In the previous verses Valluvar says that if the king acts contrary to justice, rain will become unseasonal, and the heavens

will withhold their showers. This indicates that for Valluvar, Brahmins forgetting Veda-s is much worse than the rains being withheld by the heavens.

⁴⁷28. The hidden words of the men whose words are full of effect (Vedas), will show their greatness to the world.

The Veda-s are called Śruti meant heard and not to be written, and in Tamil it is so called “MARAI” means hidden or un-written.

Valluvar calls Veda-s by another name “ஒத்து” this word is very special. Veda-s are always passed on by Guru Paramparā and said jointly - in Tamil “ஒது” means read but as Veda-s are recited verbally only; mostly simultaneously recited (ஒத்து) in a meter

(Chandas) so it is “ஒத்து”

Valluvar has used many Sanskrit verses From *Manusmṛti*, *Dharma Śāstra-s* *Mahābhārata* etc., and also from Buddhistic and Jain *Sāstra-s*.

Valluvar in his chapter 4 on Domestic Life

43. ⁴⁸ A householder’s main duty is to serve these five: Ancestors, God, guests, kindred, and himself.

This is also said in *Mahābhārata* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

There are five great sacrifices, namely, the great ritual sacrifices: The sacrifice to all beings, sacrifice to me, sacrifice to the ancestors, sacrifice to the gods, sacrifice to Brahman. (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11.5.6.1)

This order is very important.

Ancestors first, next God, the worship of Piṭṛ-s or ancestors takes importance over God, during every New Moon day People do Tarpaṇa and annual Śrāddha and Mahālaya Amāvāsyā etc. During these days the couple performing ceremony to ancestors should not visit temple or undertake pūja-s also. For one year from the death of close ancestor the orthodox do not visit temple or celebrate any festivals. Piṭṛ Yajña is most important over even God.

Valluvar and the Family Man

41.⁴⁹ A householder is a steadfast friend to the other three orders in their virtuous paths.

Here Valluvar says the Family Man (Gṛhastha) should take care of other three- Brahmācārin-s, Vanaprastha-s and Sanyāsin-s.

Valluvar uses names of Gods in many Kurals and few are as below.

Lord Vishnu and Lakshmi in - 84, 167, 179, 519, 617, 920, 1103

Bhoomidevi-1040

Srashta Devi or Elder of Lakshmi- 167, 617, 936

Indra -25,899

Lord Brahma – 1062

Manmatha -1197

Yama: 269, 326, 765, 894, 1050, 1083, 1085

Like Lajja in நானெனும் நல்லாள் (924) and Thara நிலமெனும் நல்லாள் (1040)

And many “See Lord Shiva Drinking Poison” is referred in Kural 355

When the Indian Government wanted to release commemorative Stamp and Coin in Honour of Thiruvalluvar and asked for image of Valluvar, as per the Speech on 2011 for Thiruvalluvar day awards on 16th January by the then Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi⁵⁰ many Scholars felt that Thiruvalluvar was a Brahmin as he has adopted many Sanskrit verses and translated them in Tamil and hence the picture of Valluvar must have Sacred Pūṇal (sacred thread). Then came the idea of a shawl covering the body.

Valluvar has extensively used Sanskrit verses from Manusmṛti, Mahābhāratha, Bhagavad Gītā and also from Jain *Suktham* and *Dhamma padam* of Buddhists.

Valluvar's Thirukkural is not a religious work – but is meant to teach virtues. His ideas on ascetism are against those of Jainism; Valluvar asks us to follow Creator God and pursue positive earthly life – these are the tenets of Sanātana Dharma.

Notes

¹Book analyses various stories about Valluvar: - Sundaram, Dr.Shanmuga (1985) *ValluvarkaL*. Bengaluru: Kaavya Publishers

²Blackburn, Stuart (2000) "Corruption and Redemption: The Legend of Valluvar and Tamil Literary History". *Modern Asian Studies*. 34(02).April 2000. Pp. 449-482.

³As above

⁴https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thiruvalluvar_Temple as viewed on 09.01.2017

⁵<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thiruvalluvar> as viewed on 09.01.2017



⁶<https://ishwarsharan.wordpress.com/>

⁷<https://ta.wikisource.org/s/42n1>



⁸“வள்ளுவர் காப்பியடித்தார் எனக் கூற எந்தத் தமிழனும் முன் வர மாட்டான். ஆனால் விறுப்பு, வெறுப்பின்றி ஆய்பவர்கள் தங்கள் ஆய்வின் முடிவில் வரும் கருத்துக்களை வெளியிடப் பின் வாங்கினால் அவர்கள் உண்மை ஆய்வாளர் அல்லர். -Page31 “திருவள்ளுவர் கிறித்தவரா?”

⁹“கிறித்தவமாகிய மலையிலிருந்து எடுக்கப்பட்ட அறமாகிய கருங்கல், தமிழாகிய கங்கையில் நீராட்டப்பட்டு திருக்குறளாம் பேசும் சிற்பம் தோன்றியது. தோமையரின் மூலம் பெற்ற நற்செய்தியாம் அறத்தை தன் அரசியல் பணியிலிருந்து பெற்ற அரசியலறிவாம் பொருளுடன்,

தன் இல்வாழ்வின் அடித்தளத்தில் விளங்கிய இன்பத்தோடு சேர்த்துத் தமிழ்ச் சூழலில் முப்பாலாக மொழிந்துள்ளார். Page- 73 - “திருவள்ளுவர் கிறித்தவரா?”

¹² Archbishop Arulappa Sends His Document Forger To Jail – Ganesh Iyer & K.P. Sunil <https://ishwarsharan.wordpress.com/parts-2-to-9/archbishop-arulappa-sends-his-document-forger-to-jail-ganesh-iyer-k-p-sunil/>

¹³ Archbishop Arulappa's History Project Goes Terribly Wrong – K.P. Sunil <https://ishwarsharan.wordpress.com/parts-2-to-9/archbishop-arulappas-history-project-goes-terribly-wrong-k-p-sunil/>

¹⁴ http://www.unom.ac.in/uploads/miscellaneous/schools/religious/christian_studies.pdf

¹⁵ பி.எச்.டி. வாங்கலியோ பி.எச்.டி.! சாந்தோம் சர்ச் <https://saintthomasfables.wordpress.com/2010/05/24/santhome-p-hd/>

¹⁶ விவிலியம் திருக்குறள் சைவசித்தாந்தம் ஓர் ஒப்பாய்வு

¹⁷ “மு.தெய்வநாயகத்தின் நூல்களைப் படிக்கும்போது அவர் திருக்குறளைச் சரியாக புரிந்து கொண்டாரா என்பதனுடன் கிறிஸ்தவ சமய வரலாற்றையும் எவ்வளவு கற்றறிந்தார் என்ற ஐயமே ஏற்படுகிறது. – குறள் கூறும் சமயம்// குறள் கூறும் சமயம் Page -216

¹⁸ திருக்குறளில் கிறித்தவம்-மெய்த்திரு (டாக்டர்) எஸ். இராசமாணிக்கம், S.J. கத்தோலிக்க லயோலா கல்லூரித் தமிழ்த்துறை தலைவர் “நிற்க. தற்போது ‘தெய்வநாயகம்’ என்ற புலவர் ‘திருவள்ளுவர் கிறித்தவர்’ என்று கூறி, கிறித்தவத்துக்கு முரணாகத் தென்படும் பல குறளுக்குப் புதிய விளக்கம் கூறி வருகிறார். மேலும், 1. ‘திருவள்ளுவர் கிறித்தவரா? 2. ஐந்தவித்தான் யார்? 3. வான் 4. நீத்தார் யார்? 5. சான்றோர் யார்? 6. எழு பிறப்பு 7. மூவர் யார்? 8. அருட்செல்வம் யாது? என்ற பல நூல்களை வெளியிட்டிருக்கிறார். அவற்றுள் சிலவற்றை ஊன்றிப் படித்தும், அவர் வலியுறுத்தும் கருத்தை நம்மால் ஒப்புக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லை. ‘திருவள்ளுவர் மறுபிறப்பை ஏற்கவில்லை’ என்றும், ‘ஐந்தவித்தான் என்பான் கிறித்து’ என்றும், ‘வான் என்பது பரிசுத்த ஆவி’ என்றும், நித்தார் என்பவர் கிறித்து பெடுமானார்’ என்றும், ‘சான்றோர் என்பது கிறித்தவர்களைச் சுட்டுகின்றது’ என்றும் பல சான்றுகளால் அவர் எடுத்துரைக்கின்றார்.

இக்கருத்துக்களோ, அவற்றை மெய்ப்பிக்க அவர் கையாளும் பலச் சான்றுகளோ, நமக்கு மனநிறைவு அளிக்கவில்லை. கிறித்துவ மதத்துக்குரிய தனிச்சிறப்பான கொள்கை ஒன்றும் திருக்குறளில் காணப்படவில்லை. pages92-93- from திருக்குறள் கருத்தரங்கு மலர்-1974,(Thirukural Karuththarangu Malar-1974) Edited by Dr.N.Subbu Reddiyar

¹⁹ ப.ச.ஏசுதாசன், முன்னாள் திருச்சி பிஷப். ஹீபர் கல்லூரி துணை முதல்வரும், தமிழ்த் துறைத் தலைவர்-பேராசிரியர் எழுதியதைப் பாருங்கள்.

“திருவிவிலியக் கருத்துக்களைத்தான் திருக்குறள் கூறியுள்ளது என்று

நிறவும் முயற்சியில் நான் ஈடுபடவில்லை. அது தேவையற்ற, பயனற்ற ஒன்று. அதனாலே அழுக்காறு தான் தோன்றும். ஒத்த சிந்தனைகள், நன்னெறிக் கருத்துக்கள் நற்சிந்தனையாளர்களிடையே நாடு கடந்தும், மொழி கடந்தும், இனம் கடந்தும், சமயம் கடந்தும் தோன்றுவது இயல்பே. எனவே இதிலிருந்து தான் இது தோன்றியது என வாதிடுவது நல்லதல்ல. ஒரு மொழியில் தோன்றிய ஒரு நூலின் செல்வாக்கு, பதிவு, அம்மொழியில் தோன்றும், பிற இலக்கியங்களிடையே இடம் பெறப் பல நூற்றாண்டுகள் ஆகும். அவ்வாறாயின், தகவல் சாதனங்கள் வளர்ச்சி பெற்றிறாத, போக்குவரத்து சாதனங்கள் பெரிதும் அற்ற காலத்தில் இனத்தாலும், மொழியாலும் சமய நிலையாலும் வேறான திரு விவிலியமும், பொது மறையாம் ஒன்றையொன்று தழுவின எனக் கூறல் ஏற்புடையதன்று.” பக்கம்-5,6. திருக்குறளும் திரு விவிலியமும்-P.S..இயேசுதாசன்

முடிவாக - “திரு விவிலியத்தின் பழைய ஏற்பாட்டுப் பகுதியோடு தான் திருக்குறள் செய்திகளைப் பெரிதும் ஒப்பிட முடிகிறது.” பக்கம் -167திருக்குறளும் திரு விவிலியமும்-P.S..இயேசுதாசன்



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²¹259; அவிசொரிந்து ஆயிரம் வேட்டலின் ஒன்றன் உயிர்செகுத்து உண்ணாமை நன்று.

²²30. அந்தணர் என்போர் அறவோர்மற் றெவ்வுயிர்க்கும் செந்தண்மை பூண்டொழுக லான். Kural-30

²³பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் சிறப்பொவ்வா செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான்.

²⁴வள்ளுவரும் சாதியும்- ஓர் உரையாடல்

<http://www.jeyamohan.in/20607#.WakrOfMjHIU>.

²⁵மறப்பினும் ஒத்துக் கொளல் ஆகும் பார்ப்பான் பிறப்பொழுக்கம் குன்றக் கெடும்

²⁶வாணிகம் செய்வார்க்கு வாணிகம் பேணிப் பிறவும் தம்போல் செயின் (குறள் - 120)

²⁷95 - இற்பிறந்தார் கண்அல்ல தில்லை இயல்பாகச் செப்பமும் நாணும் ஒருங்கு. (951)

²⁸ஒழுக்கமும் வாய்மையும் நாணும் இம் மூன்றும் இழுக்கார் குடிப்பிறந்

தார். (952)

²⁹1075 அச்சமே கீழ்களது ஆசாரம் எச்சம் அவாவுண்டேல் உண்டாம் சிறிது

³⁰சொல்லப் பயன்படுவர் சான்றோர் கரும்புபோல் கொல்லப் பயன்படும் கீழ் 1078

³¹உடுப்பதூஉம் உண்பதூஉம் காணின் பிறர்மேல் வடுக்காண வற்றாகும் கீழ் 1079

³²258: செயிரின் தலைப்பிரிந்த காட்சியார் உண்ணார் உயிரின் தலைப்பிரிந்த ஊன்.

³³325:நிலைஅஞ்சி நீத்தாருள் எல்லாம் கொலைஅஞ்சிக் கொல்லாமை சூழ்வான் தலை.

³⁴328:.. நன்றாகும் ஆக்கம் பெரிதெனினும் சான்றோர்க்குக் கொன்றாகும் ஆக்கங் கடை.

³⁵சுழற்றும்ஏர்ப் பின்ன துலகம் அதனால் உழந்தும் உழவே தலை(குறள் - 1031)

³⁶உழுதுண்டு வாழ்வாரே வாழ்வார்மற் நெல்லாம் தொழுதுண்டு பின்செல் பவர் (குறள் - 1033)

³⁷1036: உழவினார் கைம்மடங்கின் இல்லை விழைவதூஉம் விட்டேம்என் பார்க்கும் நிலை.

³⁸பெண்ணின் பெருந்தக்க யாவுள கற்பென்னும் திண்மைஉண் டாகப் பெறின்.

³⁹அறத்தாற்றின் இல்வாழ்க்கை ஆற்றின் புறத்தாற்றில் போலய்ப் பெறுவ தெவன்.

⁴⁰வையத்துள் வாழ்வாங்கு வாழ்பவன் வான்உறையும் தெய்வத்துள் வைக்கப் படும்.

⁴¹1007 அற்றார்க்கொன்று ஆற்றாதான் செல்வம் மிகநலம் பெற்றாள் தமியள்மூத் தற்று

⁴²ஆதி அந்தணன் அறிந்து பரி கொளுவ - பரி 5/22
இமைய வில் வாங்கிய ஈர்ம் சடை அந்தணன்/உமை அமர்ந்து உயர் மலை இருந்தனன் ஆக - கலி 38/1,2
மலர்மிசை முதல்வனும், மற்று அவனிடைத் தோன்றி பரி 8:3

⁴³543:..அந்தணர் நூற்கும் அறத்திற்கும் ஆதியாய் நின்றது மன்னவன் கோல்.

⁴⁴சிலப்பதிகாரம் அடைக்கலக் காதை
“கடவது அன்றுநின் கைத் தூஉண் வாழ்க்கை;
வடமொழி வாசகம் செய்த நல்லேடு
கடனறி மாந்தர் கைநீர் கொடுக்க” என.....” (அடைக்கலக் காதை)

⁴⁵560:ஆபயன் குன்றும் அறுதொழிலோர் நூல்மறப்பர் காவலன் காவான் எனின்.

⁴⁶முறைகோடி மன்னவன் செய்யின் உறைகோடி ஒல்லாது வானம் பெயல்.

⁴⁷28.நிறைமொழி மாந்தர் பெருமை நிலத்து மறைமொழி காட்டி விடும்.

⁴⁸தென்புலத்தார் தெய்வம் விருந்தொக்கல் தானென்றாங்கு ஐம்புலத்தாறு ஓம்பல் தலை. (43)

⁴⁹இல்வாழ்வான் என்பான் இயல்புடைய மூவர்க்கும் நல்லாற்றின் நின்ற துணை. (41)

⁵⁰50 http://www.dinamalar.com/news_detail.asp?Id=167478&Print=1 - சிலருக்கு குறை இருந்தது.வள்ளுவர் பிராமணராக இருந்ததால் தான் அவரால் இத்தகைய திருக்குறளை இயற்ற முடிந்தது. அவர் சாதாரணமாக இருந்திருக்க முடியாது என, சிலர் பேசிக் கொண்டனர். திருவள்ளுவர் உடலில் பூணூல் இருக்க வேண்டுமென அவர்கள் கேட்டுக் கொண்டனர். இதனால், பிரச்னை ஏற்படாமல் இருக்க, ஓவியர் வேணுகோபால் சர்மா, திருவள்ளுவர் சால்வையை போர்த்தியிருப்பது போல, வள்ளுவர் படத்தை வரைந்து கொடுத்தார்.

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Chapter 5

Unique Aspects of Tamil Grammar in Comparison with Sanskrit Grammar – A Bird’s Eye View

– V. Yamuna Devi

Abstract

Effective communication is the prime aim of any language. Tamil and Sanskrit being ancient languages have special features which attract attention of philologists. A comparative study throws much light on the influences of the two languages on each other. For example words like *mīna*, *mukha* etc, are found in both languages by their mutual borrowing and enrichment. Verbs of Tamil not only indicate the tense and person but also the gender as in *paḍittān* – he read, *paḍittāl* – she read. With regard to nouns too Tamil case suffixes are distinct and clear where in some of the Sanskrit nouns are ambiguous as in *harau* – which is nominative dual of *hara* as well as locative singular of *hari* which is understood only in relation to syntax. Sanskrit language has special aspects such as dual number, extensive compounds and *taddhita* derivations.

A study of such differences and parallels in both these languages reveal their contribution to philology and their unique beauty.

Introduction

Effective communication is the primary aim of any language. Language is the autobiography of the human race and the words employed in them are its character; hence it is rightly called 'fossil poetry' and a linguistic study, reveals the cultural and social aspects of a society.

Every language, ancient or modern, has its own charm and beauty with some special features quite different from those of others. Each language is special; but ascribing superiority to one over the other is ignorance, due to lack of knowledge of other languages.

Tamil is a language spoken by about eleven crore people of the world population and of which six crore are Indians alone as recent survey claims. (Wikipedia - <https://g.co/kgs/RvMeMy>) This language has a rich cultural heritage and is very ancient. Sanskrit, once a spoken language of a large population in ancient times is now a language spoken by a much smaller number. Yet Sanskrit language is still growing in its literary world with many modern writers and poets adding to its treasure. In ancient times Sanskrit was probably a common official language in many parts of India.

The uniqueness of Tamil is that it continues to be a spoken language and is also a source for thousands of people to write poems and prose even now. A language exists as long as it is used by the people in the literary world and any language is kept intact by its grammar.

The South Indian languages have been termed as Dravidian languages of which Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are the major ones. Dravidian theories have been proposed by scholars with various views. All the theories and studies led to the conclusion that the Dravidians are native to this land.

Both these languages Sanskrit and Tamil, existing in the same land has influenced one another. Not only do these languages have mutual influences but Tamil has influenced all languages in South India and Sanskrit is regarded as the mother of the languages of North India.

A comparative study of these mother languages help in understanding them better and to appreciate their unique features. This further aids in understanding the languages and culture of other parts of India. Their special aspects attract the attention of philologists who can

evolve the overall overlap among these languages. In understanding a language, grammatical traditions play a vital role.

Tamil Grammatical Tradition

A brief survey of the grammatical texts in Tamil are mentioned below¹:

- 1) Tradition holds that Agastya formulated the first grammatical text of Tamil and imparted it to his 12 disciples:(Subrahmanya Sastri 1997: 1-15)

1. Tolkāppiyaṇār	7. Paṇampāraṇ
2. Ataṇkottācāṇ	8. Kalārampaṇ
3. Turāliṇkaṇ	9. Avinayaṇ
4. Cempūṭcey	10. Kākaipaṭiṇiyaṇ
5. Vaiyāpikaṇ	11. Narrattaṇ
6. Vāyppiyaṇ	12. Vāmaṇaṇ

- 2) Iḷampūraṇar also known as Uraiyaṇḍiriyar is the earliest known commentator on *Tolkāppiyam* (10th C.A.D.)
- 3) Puttamittiraṇar author of *Vīracolīyam* (11. C.A.D.)
- 4) Peruntevaṇār commentator on *Vīracolīyam*(11th or 12 C.A.D.)
- 5) Kuṇavīraṇṭitar wrote *Nīminātam* (13th C.A.D.)
- 6) Pavaṇanti composed *Naṇṇūl* (13th C.A.D.)
- 7) Mayilainātar earliest commentator on *Naṇṇūl* (14th C.A.D.)
- 8) Ceṇāvaraiyar, Teyavaccilaiyār and Naccinārkkīṇiyar – commentators on *Tolkāppiyam*
- 9) Cuppiramaṇiya – tiṭṭitar author of *Pirayokaviekaṁ* (17th C.A.D.)
- 10) Vaittianāta – tecikar wrote *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* - (17th C.A.D.)
- 11) Cuvāmināta – tecikar author of *Ilakkaṇakottu* - (17th C.A.D.)
- 12) Caḷkaranamaccivāyappulavar commentator on *Naṇṇūl* - (17th C.A.D.)
- 13) Rev. C.J.Beschi author of *Toṇṇūlvilakkam* - (18th C.A.D.)

- 14) Civañāṇamuṇivar wrote *Tolkāppiyamutaṟ-Cūttiravirutti* and *Ilakkaṇa-vilakka- c- cūṟvḷi*.
- 15) A few other commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṇṇūl*.

A brief note on the Tamil grammatical works

- 1) *Tolkāppiyam* contains 1600 *sūtra-s* in three *atikāram-s*. *Eluttatikāram* deals with phonology in nine chapters called *iyals*. First three chapters deal with sounds and the last six with *sandhi*. The second is the *Collatikāram* pertaining to the syntax and morphology of Tamil language compiled in nine chapters. The third *Poruḷatikāram* deals with science of poetics in nine chapters.
- 2) The author of *Vīracolīyam* improves upon *Tolkāppiyam* citing a few references from literature of his times which were not in the time of *Tolkāppiyam*.
- 3) Incorporating all the concepts contained in the above two (*Tolkāppiyam* and *Vīracolīyam*) the author of *Naṇṇūl* adds a few more in a concise manner. But he differs from *Tolkāppiyam* in not following the general principle that one *sūtra* should have only one *vidheya* or logical predicate with reference to one *uddeśya* or logical subject.
- 4) *Ilakkaṇavilakkam* is a critical study of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṇṇūl* and hence is more like a commentary than an independent work.
- 5) *Prayokavivekam* is a treatise modelled on Sanskrit grammar.
- 6) *Ilakkaṇakkottu* acts as a compendium of Tamil grammatical works.

Sanskrit grammatical tradition

The *Prātiśākhya-s* and *Nirukta* of Yāska who predated Pāṇini, have the grammatical rules and etymology for Vedic words. The first extant systemic grammatical treatise in Sanskrit is the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. In eight *adhyāya-s* consisting of about 4000 *sūtra-s*, the whole of grammar is dealt with. It belongs to about 6th to 4th century BCE. These *sūtra-s* were supplemented, modified and corrected by Kātyāyana with his *Vārttika-s* to suit the language of his times by about 5th century BCE. Patañjali wrote the commentary called the *Mahābhāṣya* for the *sūtra-s* of Pāṇini by the 2nd century BCE.

Other schools of grammar in Sanskrit also developed, such as the Kātantra, Cāndra, Aindra, and so on. Yet the Pāṇinian system is the most popular and widely followed school of Sanskrit grammar.

It is opined by many scholars and philologists that Tolkāppiyaṇār composed the *Tolkāppiyam* on the model of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. Another school claims *Tolkāppiyam* to be independent, devoid of any influence from other texts. Yet a comparative study of the two grammars reveals aspects of similarities and dissimilarities. Some of these are presented here in brief.

Phonology

The Alphabets:

There are thirty primary sounds in Tamil. The vowel is aptly called *uyireluttu*- a life (breath) letter and the consonant without a vowel is body without soul and hence termed as *meyeluttu*. In Sanskrit the vowels are called *svara*-s – existing independently and *vyañjana*-s – those dependent. Thus the Tamil Grammarians have shown their deep understanding in naming of the vowels and consonants as *uyir* and *mey*, unique to Tamil Language.

The Tamil terminologies for the letters are more expressive than that of Sanskrit.

According to Tolkāppiyaṇār² the primary sounds are thirty in number consisting of 12 vowels and 18 consonants and he excludes *kurriyalikaram* and *kurriyalukaram*. Except the author of *Vīraccoliyam* who adds *āytam* between vowels and consonants and takes the primary sounds to thirty one, others follow Tolkāppiyaṇār.

	TAMIL - 30	SANSKRIT
Simple vowels	Five - <i>a i u e o</i>	Five - <i>a i u ṛ ̣l</i>
Long Simple Vowel sounds	Five - <i>ā ī ū ê ô</i>	Eight - <i>ā ī ū ṛ e ai o au</i>
	Ordinary Diphthong sounds <i>ai</i> and <i>au</i>	<i>ayogavāhau</i> - <i>am</i> and <i>au</i>

Consonants	18 K ṇ c ṇṭṭ t n p m y r l v <u>ll</u> <u>r</u> and <u>ṇ</u>	33 K kh g ghṇ c ch j jhṇṭṭṭṭṭṭṭṭ t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v śṣ s h
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The secondary classification of the letters are more elaborate in both the languages with unique feature of classification.

Later grammarians divided the speech sounds in Tamil as *mutaleḷuttu*-primary and *cārpeḷuttu* secondary. *Nannūl*. 59-61 –

uyirum uṭampumā muppattu mutale.

Uyir mey āytam uyiraḷapu orṛalapu

A.: kiya i-u ai-au ma:kāṇ

Taṇi-nilai pattuṇ cārpeḷut t-ākum

Thus till the 12th century CE the Tamil sounds existed as they were. Before *Nannūlār* it seems that the pronunciation of the secondary sounds of *i* shortened *u* and.: had changed; for *Tolkāppiyānār* states that their pronunciation varies according to the nature of their neighboring sounds and hence their organs of production are not the same. But on the other hand, *Nannūlār* has mentioned that the organ of articulation of *i* is that of 'i', that of shortened 'u' is *u* and that of.: is head.

The *āytam* which was pronounced in six ways as a guttural, palatal, alveolar, dental, labial and cerebral sound began to have only one sound – the guttural in later Tamil.

Note:

- 1) The comparative study of the two languages also reveal that the Tamil pronunciation of 'a' may have influenced the South Indians to pronounce the Sanskrit 'a' as open vowel at the end of words such as – *naya*, *vada*, *paṭha*, etc., though it is a close one according to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (VIII.4.68) and pronounced by the north Indians in that form.
- 2) It should be noted at this point that the letters *e* and *o* are diphthongs in Sanskrit while they are always simple sounds in Tamil. For in Tamil *a + i = a-v-ias* in *a-v-viṭam*

$\bar{a} + i = \bar{a}-y-ias$ in $\bar{a}-y-irutiṇai$

$a + u = a-v-u$ as in $pala-v-uṇṭu$

- 3) Tolkāppiyāṇār says that *ai* may be split into *a* and *i* (Tol. E. 54) – *akaraikara m-aikāram- ākum*.

He also adds that *ay* may be used instead of *ai* (Tol. E. 56) –

Akara-t- t-imparyakara-p pulliyum

Ai-y-e neṭuñ-ciṇaimēy-pera-t tonrum

Considering the above P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri³ opines that the way in which Tamil *ai* was, and is pronounced, may have influenced the pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* in the pre - Christian era.

After the time of Naṇṇūlār more sounds were added among Tamil consonants –

k – began to be pronounced *ask*, *g* and *h* in different places as in *kaṭṭu*, *taṅgai* and *akam*.

c – was pronounced as *c*, *j* and *ś* viz. *taccantaṇṇai* and *śaṭṭi*

ṭ – began to be pronounced as *ṭ* and *ḍ* - *tattān*, *paṇḍam* and *aḍai*

t – was to be pronounced as *t* and *d* as in *attai*, *tandai* and *pudai*.

p – began to be pronounced as *p* and *b* like *appam*, *pambaram*.

It is clear from the above that though seven sounds were newly introduced no new symbol was incorporated to represent them independently. This made the Tamil script un-phonetic.

By the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil a few of the following letters are also incorporated from Grantha script to Tamil. They are – *jaśaṇasaha* ஜ், ஞ், ஸ், ண், ஹ். But some Tamil scholars do not acknowledge the use of such letters.

Dissimilarities between Tamil and Sanskrit phonology

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- 1) As already stated the *e* and *o* are simple sonants in Tamil while they are diphthongs in Sanskrit.

- 2) In Tamil language, *sandhi* is effected between two words only if the meaning is known which is not necessary in Sanskrit. The sandhi in Tamil language is divided into case related sandhi and non-case related sandhi. But with regard to Sandhi of words in Sanskrit, several aspects of internal sandhi (sandhi within a word) differ from external sandhi (sandhi between words). This plays a vital role in proving that the two languages are fundamentally different.
- 3) Normally, in Tamil language words do not begin with conjunct consonants. Example

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Kṛṣṭa</i>	<i>kṛṣṭa</i>
<i>Prathamā</i>	<i>Piratamai</i>
<i>Kriyā</i>	<i>Kiriyai</i>

Morphology

The word or *Col*⁴ in Tamil Language is defined by grammarians⁵ as that which conveys sense unlike Sanskrit in which a word is defined as that which has a suffix *suptiñantam padam* (Pā.I.IV.14).

More importantly the gender in Tamil language is in accordance with the natural gender where as in Sanskrit the grammatical gender is recognized as a category distinct from natural gender.

Broadly *Col* is *peyar* and *vinai* and secondarily *iṭai* and *uri-c-col*. This is similar to Yāska's (*Nirukta* VIII.8) *nāma-ākhyāta-upasarga-nipāta*.

The genders of words in Tamil are simple. The masculine nouns are gods and men; feminine gender for goddesses and women and all inanimate in neuter gender.

Tamil has only the singular and the plural.

The case suffixes are thus 16 in all (8 cases in singular and plural) and do not undergo much transformation. The philologists have identified Tamil as an agglutinating language in which any number of affixes are glued on to the root element in order to express the idea.

I Case	-	<i>makaṇ</i>
II Case	<i>ai</i>	<i>makaṇai</i>
III Case	<i>oṭu, āl, ān</i>	<i>makaṇoṭu etc.</i>
IV Case	<i>ku</i>	<i>makaṇukku</i>
V Case	<i>in, il</i>	<i>makaṇil</i>
VI Case	<i>atu</i>	<i>makaṇatu</i>
VII Case	<i>il, etc.</i>	<i>makaṇil</i>

Sanskrit is an inflectional language where the root and affixes may be modified in sound and shape. Hence in Sanskrit every word ending differently is declined variously. *Hari, pati* though both are in masculine gender and ending with *i* have different forms in various cases. In many instances verbs are also completely unidentifiable. Also the word *harau* in Sanskrit exists in the locative singular of the word *hari* and in the nominative and accusative of the word *hara*. These are identified in syntax alone or with the context. Thus Tamil is simpler than Sanskrit.

Morphologically both nouns and verbs in Tamil are classified into rational and irrational. Rational words are those which denote rational beings and irrational words are those which denote all other than rational beings. Tamil names them as *Uyar-tiṇai*.

Uyartiṇai Y-eṇmaṇārmakkaṭ-cuṭṭe
A.:riṇai y-enmanār-avaralapirave
ā-y-irutiṇaiyi-n-icaikkumanacolle (Tol.col -1).

Rational words are classified under three heads –

That denoting a single male – *āṭūvaṇicol* or *āṇpāl*,

Those that denote a single female – *makaṭūvaṇicol* or *penpāl*

Those that denote a male and female or males or females or both – *palloraṇiyuñcol* or *palarpāl*.

A.:riṇai is divided into two *pals* – *oṇrāṇpāl* and *palaviṇpāl*.

Irrational words are classified under two heads those that denote one irrational being – *oṇraṇicolor* *oṇrāṇpāl* and those that denote more than one irrational beings – *palavaricol* or *palavinpāl*.

Hence in Tamil language gender and number are not taken as separate entities and the *pāl* or the gender and number are determined more from their meaning than their ending. Example – *peṇmakal* – is feminine singular, *makkaḷ* – epicene plural and so on. Hence the oblique cases are formed by adding the case- suffixes to the forms *alavan* and *makkaḷ*. But, in Sanskrit, nouns which do not end in *a*, consonant or ‘i’ generally denote their grammatical gender only through their suffix.

In pronouns like *avaṇai*, *avaḷai*, *avarai* gender, number and case are NOT denoted by 3 separate suffixes but only by 2 suffixes of which one denotes both gender and number, the other – case.

Sanskrit resembles Tamil in having two suffixes denoting the three – gender, number and case in the oblique cases of nouns and differs from it in having one suffix denoting gender alone and another denoting both number and case. Eg. *Devasya* ‘a’ of Deva denotes masculine gender and ‘sya’ denotes singular number and genitive case. In Tamil the word *Tevanai*, *n* denotes masculine singular and *ai* denotes accusative case. *Tavarai*, *r* denotes epicene plural and *ai* denotes accusative case. On this basis P.S.S Sastri opines⁶ that it is safer to include the Dravidian languages among the amalgamating inflectional languages.

Old Tamil may have the same form in *a:riṇai* nouns both in singular and plural: for instance the word *māṭu* may mean both ox and oxen. In the sentence *māṭuvantatu*, it is a singular because it takes a singular verb and in the sentence *māṭuvantana*, it is plural since it takes a plural verb. Similarly it is singular if it is qualified by the word *oru*, as in *orumāṭu* and it is plural if it is qualified by words which mean more than one, as in *iraṇṭumāṭu* or *irumāṭu* etc.

The use of *cāriyai* – flexion increments between the stem and the case-suffix which is found in Tamil is not easily recognizable in Sanskrit, except the *n* which is inserted between the stem ending vowel and the genitive plural suffix (*rāmāṇām*) and the instrumental singular suffix (*rāmeṇa*), through similarity with the corresponding cases of stems ending in *n* (*guṇinām* and *guṇinā*).

Verb morphology in Tamil differs from that of Sanskrit

The terminations *n*, *l*, *r*, *tū* and *a* invariably denote masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural, neuter singular and neuter plural; for instance the Tamil words *ceytān*, *ceytāl* and *ceytatu* respectively mean, “he did, she did”, and “it did” respectively and *ceytār* and *Ceytana* respectively mean ‘they humans and non-humans did.’ But in Sanskrit a single termination denotes the masculine singular, feminine singular and neuter singular and another denotes masculine plural, feminine plural and neuter plural; for instance the Sanskrit word *akorot* means ‘he did’ ‘she did’ and ‘it does’ and the word ‘*akurvan*’ means ‘they did’.

The element *t* in the Tamil word *ceytān* is considered to denote the past tense, while the initial *a* in *akorot* is considered to denote the same.

The Tamil verbal system is much simpler than the Sanskrit verbal system.

In Tamil language there are only three moods -

i) Indicative	Has different forms in the three persons, two numbers and three tenses (past, present and future)
ii) Optative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Same form both in singular and plural 2. Used only in the third person in Old Tamil <p>Extended to all persons in later Tamil</p>

iii) Infinitive	<p><i>PeyarEccam</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Qualifies noun 2. Same form in all persons and numbers 3. In old Tamil same form was used both in the present and the future tenses and different from in past tense. But in later Tamil the old form was restricted to denote the future and a new form is introduced to denote present. <p><i>Vinai-y-eccam</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Governs a verb and hence termed so. 2. Has same form in all tenses, persons and numbers though it has different forms to denote different kinds of infinitive action.
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These are illustrated below:

Indicative mood – Past tense

	Singular	Plural
I person	<i>ceytēṇ</i> (I did)	<i>ceytōm</i> (we did)
II person	<i>ceytāy</i> (you did)	<i>ceytīr</i> (you did)
III person	<i>ceytān</i> (he did)	<i>ceytār</i> (the human beings did)
	<i>ceytāl</i> (She did)	
	<i>ceytatū</i> (it did)	<i>ceytaṇa</i> (the non human beings did)

Present tense – old Tamil

	Singular	Plural
III person	<i>avañceyyum</i> (he does)	
	<i>avaļceyyum</i> (she does)	
	<i>atuceyyum</i> (it does)	<i>avaiceyyum</i> ⁷ (they – non – human beings- do)

Modern Tamil

I person	<i>ceykirēṇ</i> (I do)	<i>ceykirōm</i> (we do)
II person	<i>ceykirāy</i> (you do)	<i>ceykirir</i> (you do)
III person	<i>ceykirāṇ</i> (he does)	<i>ceykirār</i> (They –human beings do)
	<i>ceykirāl</i> (She does)	
	<i>ceykiratu</i> (it does)	<i>ceykiṇraṇa</i> (they non- human beings do)

Future tense – Modern Tamil

I person	<i>ceyvēṇ</i> (I shall do)	<i>cevōm</i> (we shall do)
II person	<i>ceyvāy</i> (you will do)	<i>ceyvīr</i> (you will do)
III person	<i>ceyvāṇ</i> (he will do)	<i>ceyvār</i> - (they- human beings will do)
	<i>ceyvāl</i> (she will do)	
	<i>ceyyum</i> (it will do)	<i>ceyyum</i> - they non human beings – will do

Optative mood – old Tamil

III person	<i>avañceyka</i> (let him do)	<i>avarceyka</i> - (let them - human beings do)
	<i>avaļceyka</i> (let her do)	
	<i>atuceyka</i> (let it do)	<i>avaiceyka</i> (let them-non human beings –do)

Modern Tamil

I Person	<i>nāñceyka</i>	<i>nāmceyka</i>
II Person	<i>nīceyka</i>	<i>nīrceyka</i>
III Person	<i>avañceyka</i>	<i>avarceyka</i>
	<i>avaļceyka</i>	
	<i>atuceyka</i>	<i>avaiceyka</i>

Infinitive mood – Peyar – eccam or relative participle

Old Tamil

Present and future relative participle – *ceyyum*

Past relative participle– *ceyta*

Modern Tamil

Past relative participle – *ceyta*

Present relative participle - *ceykinra*

Future relative participle - *ceyyum*

Vinai-y-eccam

Old Tamil – *ceytu*, *Ceypu*, *ceyiñ*, *ceya*, *ceyaṛku* etc., *ceyteṇa*, *ceyyiya*

Modern Tamil– *ceytu*, *ceyyā*, *ceytāl*, *ceya* etc.

The negative forms of verbs are interesting in Tamil. Though in Sanskrit the negative *na* 'not' is added before the verb, an inflexive verb is exclusive to Tamil language as –

paṭiyen, *paṭyāy*, *paṭiyān*, *paṭiyāl*, *paṭiyātu*
paṭiyom, *paṭyūr*, *paṭiyīrgal*, *paṭiyār*, *paṭiyārgal*, *paṭyā*
naṭaven, *naṭavāy*, *naṭavān*, *naṭavāl*, *naṭavātu*
naṭavom, *naṭavīr*, *naṭavīrgal*, *naṭavār*, *naṭavārgal*, *naṭavā*

These negative forms are pure negative tense as above, negative present, negative past tense, negative imperative and negative verbal participle, negative relative participle and negative participial nouns.

The verbal system in Sanskrit is very complicated with more moods – indicative, imperative, subjunctive, benedictive, injunctive etc.; Tenses are three, with further details as perfect, imperfect and aorist in past tense; and first and second futures. The verbs have two

terminations as *parasmaipadi* and *ātmanepadi*. Passive voice is the specialty of Sanskrit language.

The *peyar-eccam* in Tamil is in Sanskrit, declinable like nouns which take different forms according to the gender, number and case of the nouns which they qualify.

There is no negative voice in Sanskrit.

Regarding the causal verbs Tamil language has the capacity to form verbs in the second move, third move etc. as *kāṭṭinān*, *kāṭṭivittān*, *kāṭṭivippitān*, *kāṭṭivippivittān* while in Sanskrit language there is only one move causal form.

This double and triple causal forms are also later developments in Tamil Language such as –

Uḷapikkum - Uḷapikkuñ cūtu (Kural. 938)

āṭṭuvittāl - āṭṭuvittālār oruvar āṭātāre (Tevāram.1229 stanza.3)

Vīraccoliyam (V. Tāt.6) says that *āṭṭu ārru* are causals or *kāritam* and if *vi* and *pi* are added twice after them as in *āṭṭuvippān* it would be triple causal or *kāritak-kāritak-kāritam*.

Syntax

Connecting two or more finite verbs by copulative particle *ca* is one aspect of Sanskrit language as - *rāmaḥ vanam agamat tatra uvāsa ca* such a usage is not permitted in Tamil language.

Tamil has a special usage wherein the verb is in plural when the gender of person is unknown as *oruvarvantār*, *avanoavaḷovantār*. Such usage is ungrammatical in Sanskrit as the singular verb has same form for masculine and feminine genders.

With regard to Absolutes, Tamil has usages as – *katiravan tonra nām cenrom* (Sun rising, we went) while such usage is absent in Sanskrit which otherwise has genitive and locative absolutes as –

Paśyataḥ guroḥ māṇavakāḥ śabdāṃ kurvanti |
Rāme vanam gate daśarathaḥ pañcatvam avāpa |

The declension of nouns in Tamil is much easier than in Sanskrit.

Tamil case suffixes are distinct and clear where as some of the Sanskrit nouns are ambiguous as in *harau-* which is nominative dual of *hara* as well as locative singular of *hari* which is understood only in relation to syntax.

Third case in the sense of association is used in Sanskrit with a special purpose of denoting the noun of lesser importance. *Rāmaḥ lakṣmaṇena vanam gataḥ*. Here Rāma is the principal noun and Lakṣmaṇa the secondary hence the latter is in third case. This was the reverse in old tamil (Tol. Col. 91) – *oruvanai -y-oṭu-c-col -uyar-pin vaḷitte*. But in later Tamil this was indiscriminately used.

Vocabulary

In the scientific study of a language, phonology, accidence, syntax and vocabulary are like the four legs of a chair. Words are the current coins of a language. Just as the value of a coin differs from time to time and also goes out of circulation, words also undergo change in structure, sense and sometimes even become obsolete.

The *Tolkāppiyam* in the *Poruḷatikāram* which deals with science of poetics and classifies words into four categories – *iyarcol* indigenous words, *tiricol* – indigenous words which have changed their form having been used in poetry or by passing of time, *ticai-c-col* – words borrowed from Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and other languages spoken in the neighbouring states and *vaṭacol* – borrowed from Sanskrit.

The *tiricol* words give an idea as to how the words have changed their meaning over a period of time. In old Tamil *peṇḍāṭṭi* denoted a woman while in later days it denotes a wife. *Kombu* originally denoted the branch of a tree while later it meant a musical instrument made of tree branch. *Olai* referred to a palm or coconut leaf in early times while later it meant an ear ornament.

Thus a diachronic study of semantics also throws much light on how the modes of expression and in turn the culture of the society has been changing.

Also the grammarians had seen that the close association of other languages had compelled people and poets to adopt words from other languages. While adopting them to Tamil certain linguistic transformation in words was also observed like the *tatsama* or *tadbhava*. For example words like *jala* (water) from Sanskrit were used

as it is *tatsama* by just adding *m* – *jalam* and also as *tadbhava* or Tamilised as *calam*.

The *Vīracoliyam* (Tat.8.) mentions the following rule for the Tamilisation of Sanskrit words –

Kūṭṭeluttin- pinya-ra la-k-kaṭonriṭirkūṭṭitaiye.
Oṭṭeluttāka-p-perum-or-ikāram

Some examples are

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>pathya</i>	<i>pattiya</i>
<i>lakṣya</i>	<i>ilakkiya</i>
<i>śukla</i>	<i>sukkila</i>
<i>pattra</i>	<i>pattira</i>

It may also be observed that in the process of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* the meaning is sometimes retained as in words like *mīna*, *mukha* etc., While many a times the sense also changes as in the following –

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>nija</i> (own)	<i>nijam</i> (Truth)
<i>avasara</i> (opportunity)	<i>avasara</i> (haste)
<i>pramāda</i> (mistake or haste)	<i>pramāda</i> (excellence)
<i>lābha</i> (acquisition)	<i>ilābha</i> (profit)
<i>balavanta</i> (strong person)	<i>balavantam</i> (by force/pressure)
<i>lakṣmaṇa</i>	<i>ilakkumanan</i>

A comparative study of these languages throws much light on the influences of both languages on each other. Both the languages by their mutual borrowing have been enriched. Verbs of Tamil not only indicate the tense and person but also the gender as in *paḍittān* – he read, *paḍittāl* – she read. Sanskrit language also has some special aspects of dual number, extensive compounds and *taddhita* derivations.

As seen above in many aspects Tamil is much simpler. There are minimum number of alphabets. Agglutinative nature of Tamil language makes it easier than Sanskrit language. In Sanskrit language, the identification of number and gender becomes terse or impossible in cases like *te* which is a plural of masculine, dual of feminine and dual of neuter too of the root word *tad*. Similar are words like *Harau* and so on. The ten forms of verbs with different tenses and moods and two voices in Sanskrit make the verb forms too complicated.

With simple cases, tenses and moods Tamil has a felicity of expression that is easier than Sanskrit. Also Tamil has influenced other Dravidian languages like Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. The languages of North India have also been greatly drawn from Sanskrit. Thus these two source languages have mutually influenced the languages of our country and in turn form the base of Indian culture.

The differences that existed between old Tamil and ancient Sanskrit shows the independent development of these languages. It is also clear that Tamil was not allied to Indo-European language but independent.

A study of such differences and parallels in both these languages reveal their contribution to philology and their unique beauty. Each has enriched the other by adding to and also adopting certain aspects from the other language. They have mutually contributed to the literary and linguistic growth.

As Daṇḍin rightly remarks⁸- there is vast difference in the sweetness of sugarcane, milk, jaggery and others and that even Goddess Sarasvatī would be short of words to express it. This holds good in case of languages too- their beauty, specialities and socio-cultural contributions are unique, distinct, each evolving as a mode of expression based on the evolution of social milieu. A study of the evolution of languages cannot be restricted to a particular time-frame as language is dynamic and undergoes continuous change to adapt itself to the ever-changing world that includes social, cultural, economic, scientific, political and philosophical change.

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Notes

¹History of Grammatical theories in Tamil and their relation to the grammatical literature in Sanskrit, The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Chennai, 1997, p.1-15.

²Eluttēna-p-paṭupapa

Akaramutal

ṇakara-v-iruvāymuppa:. teṇpa

Cārntu-varaṇ maraṇiṇ mūṇṇalaṇi kaṭaiye Tol. E. 1

Aukāra-v-iruvāy-p

paṇṇi r-eluttu m-uyir-ena mōḷipa Tol. E. 8

ṇakara v-iruvāy p

paṭiṇeṇ-e ḷuttu mey-yena mōḷipa Tol. E. 9

³History of Grammatical theories in Tamil and their relation to the grammatical literature in Sanskrit, p.31.

⁴*Ellā collum poru l̥ kurit tanave. (Tol. Col. 155)*

⁵Except the author of *Viraccoliyam* who follows Pāṇini in defining the word as *suptiñāntam padam*, where *sup-anta* is noun and *tiñ-anta* - a verb.

⁶*Comparative grammar of the Tamil Language*, Tiruvadi, Tanjore, 1947, p.13.

⁷*c* is pronounced as *c* in Tinnevely region and as *ç* in Tanjavur and Trichy districts.

⁸*ikṣukṣīraguḍādīnāṃ mādhyasyāntaram mahat |
tathāpi tadākhyātum sarasvatyāpi na śakyate || (Kāvyaḍarśa I. 102)*

Chapter 6

The Science and Nescience of Comparative Linguistics

Examining the nature and veracity of *Comparative Linguistics* with
implications to Aryan-Dravidian hypotheses

– Sudarshan T.N. & Madhusudan T.N.

Abstract

The two-century-old “field” of study of Comparative (*Historical*) Linguistics (henceforth CL) is critically examined along various dimensions - primarily its evolutionary drivers, the nature of its methods, the supposedly scientific nature of its theories, the assumptions underlying its theories and its socio-political agenda. What are the kinds of questions that Comparative Linguistics tries to ask and provide answers to? Are there alternative approaches and models to engage with these questions? Given the poorly formulated basis of language and its understanding in the West compared to the traditional Indian approaches to language and meaning, are there scientific models of language and language evolution that this field of study is based on? What would the future of Comparative (historical/diachronic) Linguistics look like if this field is given a basis in computational models and frameworks instead of wordlists and theses based on morphology and phonology? What is the traditional Indian perspective on such approaches to theorising about language

evolution? As an illustrative case-study (using data) of the larger issues that plague CL, the nature of the Indo-European and Dravidian as language classifications is explicated. Are these language families even valid classifications? We examine many of these issues critically and lay out a comprehensive agenda for a bias-free, scientific and modern Comparative Linguistics.

Introduction

Western approaches to understanding the nature of language via linguistics studies and related scholarship over the past few centuries have been without doubt deeply influenced by CL and Philology in its modern avatar - also known as Diachronic Linguistics. The particularly polemic nature of the two century old scholastic pursuit - dozens of Journals, hundreds of books, thousands of linguists, tens of thousands of papers - as attested¹ recently by scholars with backgrounds in the STEM disciplines - is primarily driven by the rhetorical methods of the humanities. From the Introductory article in the new (since 2016) Journal of Language Evolution:

Almost exactly 150 years ago, the *Société de Linguistique de Paris* **famously banned the study of the origin of language** in the second article of its charter:

La Société n'admet aucune communication concernant, soit l'origine du langage, soit la création d'une langue universelle. (The Society does not accept any contribution concerning either the origin of language or the creation of a universal language [translation ours].)(Dediu 2016:1) (emphasis ours)

To those engaging with the body of work and scholarship produced by this clique of scholars and also to other interested readers of CL scholarship/papers/arguments - it very much has a veneer of the “scientific” (claims of “proof”, vocabulary – such as trees, genetic relations, clades, comparative method etc). By today’s scientific standards these could at best be classified as superficial pseudo-science methods. Much of the verbal arguments and inferential logic on display in most of these books, handbooks, journals etc. are positioned as deep applications of the “scientific method”. The marked lack of the empirical sensibility, the notions of experiment

or of cogent methods of proof is apparent - especially to those from disciplines with more rigour.

We briefly examine the problem of language evolution in general, the origins of this “scholarly” discipline - its motivations and methods. We then illustrate with a few examples fundamental methodological flaws in the techniques used and the dogmas that have evolved as a consequence. The next few sections help develop a narrative - we discuss approaches to the problems addressed by CL, how these problems can be addressed using different paradigms. Approaches which treat Language Evolution as a measurable scientific problem, Computational Modelling, empirical analysis and others are briefly addressed and pointers to a few others are also given. The traditional Indian approach to language and the approaches to linguistics is also discussed.

With this background we then address head-on, the classification of Indo-European and Dravidian as language families. Using insights gleaned from the earlier sections, a balanced critique of CL is presented and pertinent questions raised; the implications to the Dravidian narrative are also discussed. Finally, based on the aforesaid meta-narrative, future directions of research are discussed.

Foundations

Language has been deeply studied and explored since earliest times - this much is known. The earliest structured research on language and its origins has been seen in the Vedic / dhārmic traditions. The wide array of analysis and the hoary tradition of language (primarily oral) - the depth of the traditions of *śikṣā* (phonology), *nirukta* (etymology), *chandas* (prosody), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar) is astounding and incomparable and as yet not completely fathomed to this day. This body of knowledge, it is to be understood, is not comprised of theoretical structures to be intellectually engaged with, but is scientifically documented, descriptive and prescriptive guidelines to the oral/chanting traditions of the *Veda*. The explicit influence of the “practical” underlies all of the Indic traditions - and language is no exception. The descriptive nature of the language (Sanskrit primarily and also others like Prakrit, Tamil etc) has been captured in efficient (generative) algebraic forms by the earliest scholarship.

There is - it is to be noted - no axiomatic basis for language in the Indian tradition. Everything harks back to the *apauruṣeyatva* nature of language deriving from the primordial Veda. There are Greek, Mesopotamian, Babylonian and Chinese linguistics too - but none (to our knowledge) are as sophisticated as the Vedic explanations and related descriptive frameworks. Modern linguistics (particularly in a Western sense) has its origins in the well known Discourse to the Asiatic Society by William Jones in 1786. His understanding of Sanskrit and suggestions its commonality with European languages sparked off a feeding frenzy - generations of Western scholars ploughing into Pāṇini and the Indian linguistic traditions and “digesting” them into various linguistic theories, methods and frameworks. The famed “philologist” passage is cited below

“The *Sanscrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the *Celtic*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanscrit*; and the old *Persian* might be added to the same family.” (Burrow Thomas 1973: 6)

It is to be noted that there was nothing of note (grammar-wise) in the Western traditions till that time - No systematic grammar, no formal understanding of language despite the so-called Renaissance that had occurred a few centuries earlier. It was the nature of Sanskrit and the advanced understanding of language that sparked off this comparative journey. Despite thousands of years of studying Greek and Latin and centuries of study of European languages, the knowledge of Arabic and other languages, it wasn't until the European colonizer encountered Pāṇini - that the scavenging instincts of the European intellectual collective took over and the feeding frenzy begun.

Why was it that the Europeans could not find similar structures in European languages themselves? Why did they need to “compare” it to Sanskrit and other “Indo” languages? Why was there a sudden need to classify European languages?

The politics of the era, the predatory nature of Colonialism, the European sensibility conditioned by centuries of Abrahamic polemics are definite reasons. The need to justify the horrors and excesses of colonial behaviour required that the knowledge and traditions of the colonised be shown to be “inferior” or having origins elsewhere - all of this “psychology” is well known and has been addressed elsewhere too. It is being alluded to here simply because it has to be realised that almost all of modern academic discourse and almost all of “scholarship” is still governed by this Eurocentric (western) bias - both in the sciences and in the non-sciences (humanities, social-sciences etc.).

What had passed off as linguistics in Europe was Philology - which has been well analysed and understood as nothing more than tools for socio-political manipulation and rhetoric - flawed manipulative methods masquerading as a science. Philology’s origins in organised religion and socio-political motivations are well understood. For a history of Philology in the West see (Turner 2015). Modern linguistics discourse has nearly succeeded in “digesting” much of the Sanskrit tradition; so much so that there is almost no sign of “Sanskrit” in the modern linguistics discourse. The World Atlas of Language Structures does not even have an entry for Sanskrit.

The World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) is a large database of structural (phonological, grammatical, lexical) properties of languages gathered from descriptive materials (such as reference grammars) by a team of 55 authors. (2017, wals.info)

Even taking a non-traditional stance - ignoring the notion of *apauruṣeyatva* - the origins of language are still unknown and are mostly speculative in nature. The origins of speech both from a cognitive and physiological dimension are unknown. The origins of writing systems are pretty much unknown too. Coulmas (2008) in his book addresses the evolution of writing systems in detail. It is to be noted that there are *Vedic* hymns which mention writing both directly and indirectly - so the notion of writing as a later development is largely speculative. The *Yajur Veda* (*Taittirīya samhitā*) has references to numbers, fractions. Such intricacies are not possible without the corresponding written symbols. There are references to writing and symbols in the *Atharva Veda* too. The origins of the domains of discourse on language - that of meaning and semantics - are also pretty much speculative. How does meaning evolve? What are the

forces that underlie the creation of structures in language which correspond to meaning? None of these is known and almost all of our (western) knowledge on these core fundamentals is speculative at best. Given the extremely shaky foundations of almost all of the key issues underlying language - it is interesting to know that modern (Western) linguistics and most notably CL has successfully orchestrated theories of human migration, human behaviour and continues to influence supposedly scientific fields like Population Genetics, Cognitive Science and more. Biological, physiological, social, socio-psychological dimensions to these questions also need to be addressed. None of these can be answered without proper modelling and simulation studies. The nature of methods used by CL scholarship - fragile (low dimensional) methods using morphology and phonology - word list comparisons, speculations on phonetic evolutionary paths which comprise the Comparative method has been critiqued by many (Niyogi P. 1995, 1998, 2002, 2009) (Subrahmanya, K. 2008) (Dediu, D. & Boer, B.D. 2016) from different standpoints - each of them coming at CL theories from varying backgrounds; we shall briefly discuss these critiques in later sections.

Motivations of Comparative Linguistics

The origins of CL are well understood and documented. There is lots of historical material detailing its evolution in the past two centuries (Brugger 2003) (Clackson 2009) (Hope & Joseph 2014) (Lehmann & Winfred 2010) and much more. Lehmann's work (in our opinion) is sufficiently detailed (historical perspectives) and has a relatively low polemic factor.

The well known origins are alluded to; it is to be noted that parallel interests were also present among German scholars.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal, at whose meetings its founder, Sir William Jones (1746–94), delivered his influential lectures, was established in the aim of pursuing those investigations. At the same time the Romantic Movement, especially in Germany, **devoted considerable attention to the study of earlier periods, at least in part on the grounds that knowledge of simpler eras would assist an understanding of the culture of their own time.** (Lehmann 2010:13) (emphasis ours)

The possibility of a “family” of languages was intriguing - simply because the new language (with associated works of grammar and descriptive theories) was from a “non-European” area and by non-European peoples (**Why was there no scholarship/interest in studying commonalities in languages (comparative linguistics), before discovering Panini?**); the predatory nature of colonial European scholarship was kindled - and techniques and methods to “digest” the body of knowledge were developed over the next centuries.

Such motives led to one of the most fruitful intellectual pursuits of the nineteenth century - the **investigation of the numerous languages of the Indo-European language family and determination of their background, ultimately also of the language of a preliterate period now referred to as Proto-Indo-European.** (Lehmann 2010:13) (emphasis ours)

The Colonial nature of the times and the racist motivations of Colonisation (exploitative commerce, mindless loot, proselytization) as expected did affect the motivations of study. Colonisation was being justified in the guise of “civilising” efforts - the well known “white-man’s burden”- so it was essential that “cultures” of the others be studied; (as we know now) primarily to help in the efforts of whitewashing history. Edward Said’s body of work is very well illustrative of this. The initial aims (as in many scholarly pursuits) were lofty; after the initial efforts, much of the “deep” and fundamental aims were cast aside - and the aims became far narrower.

The principal aim of Indo-Europeanists throughout the nineteenth century then came to be far narrower than that of the founders of the field. It was directed largely at the languages. Descriptions of the individual languages, and comparative studies with statements on interrelationships among them, as well as on their groupings, were not only the chief aims of Indo-European studies, but also the primary contributions of the century. (Lehmann 2010:14) (emphasis ours)

Much of the initial work was abandoned - new definitions were proposed. (It is noted that this is after a few decades of study of Pāṇini in Europe - the general scholarship began to understand the approach and the genius of the Indian grammarians). It is interesting to note that the “historical” dimension was actually abandoned,

That attitude led to **restatement of the phonology, the grammar, and the lexicon, with ever greater restriction of aims; extensive**

monographs were now published that dealt with specific sets of forms, such as the perfect (Osthoff 1884). Profiting by this achievement, the generation after Bopp's death set out to treat the original language much like languages spoken today, applying methods that they considered as reliable as those of the physical sciences. (Lehmann 2010: 18) (emphasis ours)

The pseudo-scientific approach - and the search for universal laws had begun. The issues in applying "current" laws to historical conditions were glossed over by later scholarship and the scholarly community in general.

... they sought to deal with language much as their colleagues in the natural sciences dealt with their selected topics. In their day the faculty of philosophy had not only developed much more widely than had the other three traditional faculties — law, medicine, theology — but it also came to be fragmented. Its major components were labeled "the natural sciences," which **treat those areas where universally valid laws apply**, and "the historical sciences," where generalizations apply differently in different periods and differing societies; (Lehmann 2010: 19) (emphasis ours)

Whatever were the changes in the first few decades - the deeper "orientalism" did not change much.

Besides directing attention to spoken language, Brugmann set as one of the goals of linguistic study the **"attainment of a deeper understanding of the mental activity of human beings in general and of the individual Indo-European peoples"** (Lehmann 2010:22) (emphasis ours)

That is to say, for Brugmann at this time **actual contemporary speech, not abstract or classical patterns, is to be investigated to achieve an understanding of language**. And since language has a twofold aspect — mental as well as physical — such study increases our understanding of its speakers. Moreover, in his view **linguistic study contributes to an understanding of society and groups within it**. (Lehmann 2010:22) (emphasis ours)

The Neo-Grammarians (so called because of their axiomatic (assumptions based) approach to grammar) slowly started having influence in the humanities too - little of the scientific approach was seen.

While the two important principles of the neo-grammarians are irreproachable, and while he recommended attention to contemporary languages, there is **no denying that Brugmann and his colleagues**

devoted themselves almost entirely to the study of languages of the past. Even works like Paul's German grammar treat the language in its historical development. But it should also be clear from Brugmann's statement of principles that the **aims of the neo-grammarians as he stated them are almost ideal for pursuing study in the humanities.** (Lehmann 2010:23) (emphasis ours)

Early twentieth century saw some important *cultural* interpretations based on CL methods which even in those biased times was found to be inappropriate. The language based theories of culture, migration and prehistoric theories were loose and speculative.

.. the work of **the late nineteenth-century prehistorians came to be more and more rejected.** The large work dealing with many facets of culture, including such practices as music, that was assembled to celebrate the seventieth birthday of Hermann Hirt (1936) may be occasionally mentioned still, but is today not accorded much credence. (Lehmann 2010:35) (emphasis ours)

In short, **the aim to determine the culture of the Proto-Indo-European community was vigorously pursued for some time, but the conclusions were held to resemble fiction more than fact.** As a further result, they did not contribute to solving the problem of the homeland. **Greater assurance came to be expected from the rapidly developing field of archaeology.** (Lehmann 2010:35) (emphasis ours)

Though the culture and origins of PIE people, anthropological claims of PIE etc. were dismissed by scholars (at the turn of the twentieth century) - lot of it has resurfaced in the mid and late twentieth century and is pretty heavily in use by scholars and pseudo-scholars who make a living of Indian socio-political churnings. The last few decades has seen lots of pseudo-scholars both of Indian origin and others have been resurrecting these theories of Aryan homeland, Aryan origins, Aryan Invasion/Migration theories, Dravidian origins of India and much of the deeply flawed discourse in popular mainstream media channels. Both of the so-called left and right voices indulge in these laborious theorising and exercises in pontification based on these pseudo-theories. Breathless quoting and re-quoting by linguists/scholars have kept much of these speculations alive.

A sober analysis of the field will highlight that much of the methods and conclusions are driven by selective data, arbitrary methods and flawed interpretations. We shall discuss some aspects of this in the next sections.

While the **handbooks of Brugmann, Delbrück and Meillet among others can scarcely be surpassed as sources for data and their interpretation at the time each of these works was published, the new data coupled with expanded methodological procedures require revised interpretations and updated handbooks for the dialects at the early period and for the proto-language itself.** The aims of Indo-European linguistics today then parallel those of the beginnings of its study, **but extend over many more facets of the language and the culture thanks to vastly increased information and the impressive results of virtually two centuries of study.** (Lehmann 2010:44) (emphasis ours)

Methods of Comparative Linguistics

We now examine the approaches used and methods of doing CL. We track the historical evolution and motives and how they have influenced the methods over the years. The Proto-language reconstruction was one of the principal preoccupations. Sanskrit could not be the “influencer” of European languages. It had to be something else. This was the primary axiom. We quote from Gamkrelidze and Ivanov’s well appreciated and recognised tome on Indo European linguistics.

Among the favorite themes and **main tasks of linguistics from the last century to the early years of this one were questions of the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European**, and in the world’s universities the chief, and usually the only, linguistics department was a department of comparative Indo-European linguistics. It was **that epoch whose efforts are summed up in the classic handbooks, efforts directed at revealing the diverse particulars of the common proto language** underlying the genetically related members of what is known as the Indo-European linguistic family. (Gamkrelidze et.al 1995:xix) (Foreword by Roman Jakobson) (emphasis ours)

This book is considered to be a wide ranging interdisciplinary work. In the field, its erudition is considered to be unsurpassed. Many of the views are also deemed to be controversial (their proposal to place the **Urheimat** of the IE people south of Caucasus for example) within the field.

The approaches to particular problems of **Proto-Indo-European linguistic antiquity taken by researchers from around the world are brought to bear here, and an appealing answer is given to**

the various theses that entered scientific currency at the turn of the century. This work stands out not only for its unusual answers to old questions, but in the very way it poses questions and the unprecedented breadth of its thematic horizon. (Gamkrelidze et.al1995:xx) (Foreword by Roman Jakobson) (emphasis ours)

The preoccupation of the theories to identify culture of the speakers of the fictitious PIE - the PIE people underlies all of Indo-European CL.

Consistent with the **dialectic removal of the dichotomy of synchrony and diachrony and with the parallel inclusion of spatial diffusion among internal linguistic factors, the book naturally transforms the time-honoured, spatially and temporally uniform view of Proto-Indo-European and creates a model of dynamic synchrony which fully comprehends the foundations of the proto-language, its evolutionary shifts, its internal, regional differentiation, and its recurrent intersections with neighbouring linguistic areas.** It is the questions of mutual interactions among the dialects of Proto-Indo-European and the relations of the protolanguage to neighbouring protolanguages **that have given rise to the authors' richly promising work on the geographical definition of the (Southwest Asian) Indo-European homeland and the early migratory routes followed by the various branches of Proto-Indo-European.** (Gamkrelidze et al1995:xix) (Foreword by Roman Jakobson) (emphasis ours)

The principal method or “algorithm” in the arsenal of the CL scholar is the Comparative method and Reconstruction. This is also noted in Saussure’s classic “Course of General Linguistics”

The sole means of reconstructing is by comparing, and the only aim of comparison is a reconstruction. **Our procedure is sterile unless we view the relations of several forms from the perspective of time and succeed in re-establishing a single form.**

Ferdinand de Saussure, Cours de linguistique generale
(transl. Wade Baskin)(Gamkrelidze et.al1995:5) (emphasis ours)

Once language “features” are compared and if absent, reconstructed (entire languages are reconstructed), the method that follows is that of typology, the classification of languages according to structural and functional features.

Typological verification raises the probability of reconstructed phonemic and morphological patterns, and permits changing the reconstruction from a mere numerical catalogue into a **more realistic portrayal of the linguistic system.**

Roman Jakobson, Typological studies and their contribution to historical comparative linguistics (Gamkrelidze et.al 1995:5) (emphasis ours)

The book captures the inner workings of the mind of the CL scholar. What are called facts are actually “assumptions”. Recreating structures of fictitious languages that connect to existing languages (by some typological reasoning) are driven by pre-existing motives.

... the book presents the results of linguistic analysis - phonological, morphological, syntactic, and areal-dialectological - of Proto-Indo-European. This does not mean that the analysis should be viewed as a systematic survey of the various branches of comparative Indo-European grammar, as is done in the standard handbooks. Rather, the first part is a **study of key questions of Proto-Indo-European structure, involving a wide range of facts and yielding a relatively complete picture of this language in its dynamic development and its typological links to other language systems.** (Gamkrelidze et.al 1995:vii) (emphasis ours)

Much of the field was influenced by developments in Science at that time. Much of the vocabulary and methodology were influenced by the efforts in the Physical sciences, primarily ideas from biological classification. The evolution of the methods in CL is described by Lehmann (Lehmann 2010:8), a theoretical evolution with very little evidence from actual language “instances”. Without data, proof or empirical evidence, primarily based on verbal rhetoric the methods of CL propound theories of PIE. We had earlier indicated that the Reconstruction and typology methods are amenable to back fitting any structural change in any direction to fit any evolutionary theory.

Example: Did short **e** become long **e** or was it the other way round or did both happen/exist in parallel? Was there a normal ‘e’? Was there a high pitch **e** or low pitch **e**? What about combinations in pitch and stress? The reconstruction methods of CL assume whatever fits into the larger theory that the scholar wants to create - this is how all of the theories and evolution trees are “generated”. Ideally there should be some amount of probabilistic modeling of the evolutionary paths and there would be some amount of math behind these assumptions.

Sadly - the entire field of CL is math-free and model-free.

Say X_a, X_b, X_c are three samples of linguistic data - where X is a language feature, and a, b, c are 3 different existing languages

Comparative Method is brought to play where existing data from different languages (at least 3) are compared, their differences are duly noted: Xa, Xb and Xc are now known to be different in some ways (say phonologically or morphologically or whatever)

The second-step is **Internal reconstruction**. Depending on which direction one has pre-decided the “evolution” one assumes the evolution in that direction. If one wants to “show” Xa and Xb came from Xc or from some fictitious Xx then internal reconstruction is used to show evolution in that direction. The “steps” in the reconstruction may not be real, as seen in the “e” example.

Typological reconstruction is used across these languages (both real and fictitious) to “create” families: Classes of features and feature values are “combined” in convenient ways to form language families.

Entire fictitious languages can be created and the cultures of their speakers also “reconstructed”!

In sum, historical linguists have at their disposal three methods: CM, IR and glottochronology. Of these CM is most highly regarded and most widely used; but it can be applied only when data in three or more related languages are available. IR has been applied with impressive results, but the data needed for its use in a language are often unavailable. Glottochronology has severe limitations. Besides these methods, historical linguists make use of the findings of typological study, both to identify patterns that provide possibilities for explanation and patterns that lend credence to conclusions that have been advanced through application of the three methods. Linguists have always examined their conclusions with reference to patterns in other languages; but the patterns so used have often been atypical, taken from languages that the individual happened to know. The findings of typological study are based on examination of all languages for which data have been secured; accordingly, they provide much more secure bases for such purposes. (Lehmann 2010:74) (emphasis ours)

The flaky nature of the principal methods that underlie CL have been hinted at. We recommend serious readers to “walk-through” some of these handbooks to understand the “free-for-all” that passes for “method”.

Phonology-based classification in CL has been influenced by the “root” theory from Panini’s descriptive grammar via Saussurean grammar

discourse. The notion of Paninian ‘Guna’ digested and recast as “Grade” becomes a critical dimension on which Phonology based classification happens (ablaut, umlaut are notable examples). Use of Internal reconstruction, typology fitting and choices of arbitrary evolution direction are blatantly apparent. The ablaut phenomenon is a classic example of all these “dubious” methods in action in Phonology. See (Lehmann 2010:147,151,178,179).

Similar “modus” is seen in the use of **Morphology** features. The partially digested “*kāraka*” is seen in action in various half baked forms and used to classify morphological features. Verb derivation, verb suffixes, verb affixes, tense, categories of person etc. are also considered to be morphological features of interest. See (Lehmann 2010:215,242).

Once the basic features of Phonology and Morphology are *taken care of* by CM and IR - what remains is **language syntax**. This set of features (both in a diachronic and synchronic sense) is in reality a “dynamic” feature. With regard to spoken language, the various accents and dialects of a language are primarily variances of syntax. Features of Syntax are critical when it comes to analysis of “written” language. We show in a later section that much of the assumptions of sentence order (possibly the most important syntax feature) is also a “weak” feature from an evolutionary perspective and cannot be used as a dependable marker. Analysis of the Lexicon - the dictionary of words in a language forms the largest set of “data” - introduces the semantic dimension to CL. Again Lehmann acknowledges the influence of Sanskrit -though we do not see this in the standard handbooks. Nouns, Noun forms, Kinship terms (Szemerényi’s research), Social organisation, Numerals, Compounds and the use of Onomastic Indexes are also used as targets for application of the methods. Lexicons especially are liberally interpreted in the PIE speculations.

.. noted that examination of the words used in daily affairs permits identification of subclassifications in the lexicon. Forms of such everyday words are often inflected in accordance with procedures that have been superseded, as in Proto-Indo-European by the thematic inflection. Examination of the lexicon then assists us in singling out words that may reveal an earlier form of the language and through reconstruction of it insights into the culture and society of the speakers at an earlier time. Analysis of the lexicon in this way provides one of the three bases for determining that

culture, and for further inferences, such as the likely homeland of the speakers. Combined with data provided by archaeological discoveries, and by scrutiny of early texts, the lexicon has been examined for more than a century for evidence it contains to determine the culture of the Indo-European peoples and their early location. (Lehmann 2010:380) (emphasis ours)

The Nescience of Comparative Linguistics

We examine the premises and principles that underlie diachronic linguistics. The key exercise of “*reconstruction*” that scholars perform along various dimensions is largely, the fantastical science in CL. The “Scholarship” is discussed under 5 principal types of reconstruction (Gamkrelidze et.al 1995). The typological verification of reconstruction, reconstruction of sound, reconstruction of semantics, entire reconstructed systems and finally the reconstruction of original language and original territories.

Typological verification is used as a tool to classify families. The fundamental aspects of feature design and directionality of evolution are not considered to be “verifiable” artefacts. It is only the “classification” and groupings of features that is to be verified. The only check in the reconstruction process is actual language data. In their absence a free-for-all results and the resulting inference is arbitrary. In the case of the Dravidian Family tree there are actually multiple layers of reconstructed language families. The so-called check by universals is sufficiently “lax”. The universals themselves are based on European languages and the already pre-assumed nature of language and its structures. Much hubris can be seen in the discussion on diachronic transformations (i.e arbitrary evolution of a language feature in time and space), they are compared to be as powerful as generative grammar just because they derive from some theoretical construct. As we indicated above - the theoretical “basis” is already created based on European perspective of language. See (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995:75,76,77) for examples of the overall circular dependencies of Typological verification of language reconstructions. Methods for phonological (**sound**) reconstruction have a few assumptions. Again there is nothing to indicate that this is the ideal formulation of the problem space - we had suggested probabilistic models previously. Again, we can see pseudo-

scientific reasoning underlies the sound reconstruction paradigms. (Gamkrelidze et.al 1995:79). Similar observations apply for **semantic** reconstructions too, mostly composing of verbiage; no models, no math underlie any of the formulations. See (Gamkrelidze et.al 1995:83). While discussing entire **reconstructed systems**, the overall flakiness and the pseudo-scientific nature become very obviously apparent.

A reconstructed linguistic model reflects a protolinguistic system which once existed, and the time frame within which it existed and changed must be reconstructed, as must the geographical aspects of its spread. If a protolanguage is regarded as a system which existed in space and time and had a history, then the dynamics of its evolution must be studied and account must be taken of its earliest scientifically recoverable stages and its history up to its breakup into could be syllabic or not depending on context, will be defined as [+ syllabic, + nonsyllabic]: daughter dialects and their formation as independent linguistic units. Many structural properties of Proto-Indo-European which are reconstructed in classical Indo-European studies as static schemas can be broken down into chronological stages. Features which are reconstructed for an undifferentiated source system often do not belong to the late period of its development and dialectal differentiation but reflect an earlier stage. This explains the frequent debates in Indo-European comparative grammar over linguistic structures that appear mutually exclusive; an example is the discussion of the number of laryngeals in Indo-European, where each of the several incompatible solutions has good evidence in its favor. In such instances the various solutions can be associated with different developmental stages of PIE, which permits us to regard many of the proposed structures as chronologically complementary and datable to different stages. (Gamkrelidze et al 1995:84) (emphasis ours)

The motionless, static PIE scheme must be replaced with a chronologically dynamic system, one which, like any attested language, had its history and evolutionary dynamics. That history presupposes both internal evolution of the system and areal associations with other systems, reflected in contacts and interference. In this respect we can speak of linguistic borrowings into PIE from other languages and from PIE into other languages which were in contact with it.. (Gamkrelidze et al 1995:84) (emphasis ours)

The primary motives of CL, the need to locate **origins of people** from whom Europeans possibly descended have its own set of assumptions driving the PIE homeland theories. Assumptions of single origin for

language, similar to single origin hypothesis for human evolution underlie much of PIE theorising and forms the *apex* of the nescience of CL.

A group of related languages is formed when an original linguistic system disintegrates due to disruption of contacts between speakers of individual dialects; the languages are spread to their historically attested territories by migrations of the speakers. **This means that the original range of the common source linguistic system lay in a particular area, an area more compact than the range of the daughter languages, from which the out-migrations originated.** (Gamkrelidze et al 1995:86) (emphasis ours)

Discussion

The preceding section highlighted the peculiarly idiosyncratic nature of the methods of CL. (Niyogi 1995:200) explicitly identifies this problem in his work on models of language evolution. The assumptions implicit in the derivations based on language features drive the evolution trajectory and the resulting language family classification.

In the previous sections we have detailed the methods underlying the linguistic scholarship over the past two centuries. Using Gamkrelidze and Ivanov's seminal book as basis - we have examined some core issue in methodology and approach. The lack of an empirical basis or even a basic model which captures some sort of evolutionary dynamics is lacking. The complete reliance on verbal argumentation and the lack of any sort of formalism - is from a scientist's perspective - a serious flaw in the approaches pursued in this area of study. Almost all areas of non-trivial scholarship have evolved to have basis in at least some (mathematical or otherwise) models. For a large scale, complex, nonlinear dynamic phenomena like language evolution - reliance on 18th century polemicised verbal-style reasoning is something truly astonishing. A more detailed (empirical) analysis of the "descriptive" approaches used by linguists is provided in a separate section where we discuss the data provided by the World Atlas of Language Structures.

It is indeed surprising that this has not been called out by honest incisive scholarship. Given the multidisciplinary nature of the problems being addressed and the momentum of two centuries of

scholarship, it is definitely not easy. A recent journal that specifically addresses these issues - Journal of Language Evolution (first issue in January 2016) - does indeed recognise this. In the journal's opening article -

We believe that probably the most important development in the field of language evolution of the last decades has been **the full recognition that we need to base our theorizing on actual data (or to formulate it more negatively, that speculation unfounded in data is no longer acceptable) and the realization that we can in fact collect such data in a controlled and principled manner. Moreover, there has been great progress in tools to analyze the complex kind of data that we need to deal with.** (Dediu 2016: 2) (emphasis ours)

Unless, there is verifiable proof for theories posited which are based on non-trivial models (statistical or otherwise) it is difficult to accept verbal arguments - that have been the basis of linguistics scholarship for centuries.

We believe that a **proper understanding of such present-day data is the only valid path toward a science of language evolution**, and it is this belief that justifies the contents of the first issue of this journal featuring an introduction to linguistic diversity, a debate on the effects of climate on current linguistic diversity, and an introduction to cutting-edge statistical analysis of experimental results from living humans. (Dediu 2016:2) (emphasis ours)

The attempt in this section has been to examine the core assumptions that directionalize the field of Comparative Linguistics. The principles and assumptions that govern the methodologies that drive the scholarship - those that have resulted in two centuries worth of theorising have been highlighted. Attempts have been made to identify not only the glaring internal inconsistencies of these assumptions but also the nescience of the overall "humanities-driven" rhetorical approaches. The current approaches in CL provide minimal checks on the endlessly dizzying assumptions that scholars have been making; one theory after the other - all based on "imagination". Yes, hypothesising and imaginative leaps of faith are part of the scientific process but they need to be backed by experiments and models which have the ability to explain and predict - none of these "scientific" features are present in CL - they are not even discussed.

Alternate approaches to Language and its Evolution

Swadeshi Perspectives

As seen in the preceding section, many principal assumptions and methodologies that underlie Indo European classification; their methods and motivations drive primarily from Panini's work -the concepts of *guṇa* (forms/grades), *vr̥ddhi*, *dhātu-s* (stems/ roots), *kāraṇas* and much more. None of these constructs nor anything close to techniques similar to the methodology of Panini was even present in "western scholarship" until that time. Carried away by the imperialist motives and the prevalent feeding frenzy (of Panini) - basic ideas were mangled, modified and new theories constructed around them - all the while the motivations being to show that the European "peoples" and languages had nothing to do with either the language of Sanskrit or the peoples who spoke them - hence the "pursuit" of homeland theories and theories of migration (which actually have nothing to do with language evolution in a scientific sense). Two unrelated fields of study were juxtaposed - to serve the (Abrahamic) European civilizational need of **conquest** and **othering** - driven by the motives of the deeply racist societies of the times. The crown-jewel of these theorisations - the proto language formulations - is probably the epitome of these vacuous theories. It is critical for the Proto-IE-language theorising that the so-called *Vedic Sanskrit* be dated as 1500 BCE; the clade/ family of languages that Indo-European is supposed to comprise will not allow for earlier dates. Figuratively speaking - ***the entire house-of-cards will come crashing down.***

We now present a novel formulation, to help understand the CL "***kurukṣetra.***" The entire CL enterprise over the past two centuries and more has been theory building - with the following three principal classes of motives:

- 1) Theories to make Sanskrit as distant (in the tree model of languages) as possible from European languages
- 2) Theories to "speculate" and "manufacture" a common (common to Sanskrit and European languages) ancestor language

- 3) Theories to speculate and manufacture the origins of the peoples of this “ancestor” language to be in Europe (preferably Western Europe).

Class 1 can be seen if one were to examine the methodologies and vocabulary of CL. Almost all of the techniques are “digested” from work of Panini and the Sanskrit grammarians - they have been given different names and methods mangled and the Sanskrit origins removed from the discourse. Other than some of the handbooks - almost all of the literature on languages ignore “Sanskrit” as being the source of linguistic ideas. See (Subrahmanya 2008) and (Jha 2010) for the Sanskrit tradition. See (Saussure 2013) for a “excellent sample” of digestion in action. All the formal paradigms of Modern linguistics (which are heavily influenced by Sanskrit), chose to ignore the work of the various Indian grammarians and any discussion even of Panini, Patanjali or Bhartrhari.

Class 2 can be seen in scholarship pertaining to the comparative method and the proto-language theories; the entire 2nd volume of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov’s seminal book comprises this - details of proto Indo-European language, the culture of the speakers and their lifestyle etc. An unknown/unspoken language and fictitious people are explained in excruciating detail. This piece of scholarship very much represents and demonstrates the deep seated collective ego of the “Western Universalist” narratives that is mainstream today. This narrative has hardly been challenged. Even the voices in the West (new journals, computer scientists, geneticists etc.) which oppose these theories do so only tangentially - they do not address the origins of these theories or their history and their hegemonic nature. The result is carry-over vocabulary and implicit assumptions - case in point; it is very much apparent in much of population genetics research, names of language families and speculations with basis in CL carried over to form basis of the structural and geographic vocabulary over which findings and new theories (based on gene data) are posited. That the underlying assumptions are themselves erroneous and representative of western hegemony - is something that will not be acknowledged unless addressed directly (a task for Swadeshi Indology). The need to continue with the hegemonic truths is civilizational, deep-seated and will require serious challenge from alternative worldviews (Swadeshi perspectives for example). This

peculiar sort of theorising and whitewashing of history is also seen in the West-centric historiography of the sciences and mathematics - so - the historiography of linguistics and languages is not a unique case. Groundbreaking scholarship by Rajiv Malhotra (Being Different 2013) and others have highlighted this in detailed terms and provoked fundamental shifts in perspective.

Class 3 Scholarship is the entire range of theories speculating on the population origins and peopling of India. (Invasion and migrations theories of various sorts are an ever popular genre of scholarship). That such a culture (Indian) (superior in every known dimension) could be present in the world (Sanskrit being representative of this “superiority”) at a time when European collective ego had to be supreme - was not possible. Spectacular theories were offered as part of nineteenth century scholarship - both in the humanities and sciences and continue mostly unchallenged, to this day. The effects are seen today; scholarship in many areas like population genetics wherein the famed Sforza paper (Cavalli-Sforza, 1988, 1997) has been influenced by this discourse and it in turn continues to influence Class 3 scholarship.

Western Linguistics

Western (linguistics) scholarship does indeed acknowledge the limitations of these descriptive approaches. **Kees Versteegh** one of the editors, is quoted in his contributory piece “*The study of non-Western traditions*” in Volume 3, *History of Language Sciences* and makes the case for going back to the traditions. Why do we study Linguistics in India (origins and evolution our own languages) using methods invented with European languages at the core? The strange pursuit of “Comparative Linguistics”, is also acknowledged not to be part of any tradition, including that of the classical European, but grew out of the societal needs of 19th century Europe. The nature of the global discourse has deeply affected linguistics scholarship worldwide. So much so, that the term *linguistics* is even considered to apply only for the peculiar 19th century European enterprise. The roots of CL in this enterprise have been discussed in previous sections. There is nothing universal or globally applicable in much of the scholarship that underlies CL. The Linguistics traditions throughout the world - had their own approaches - local to their needs and specific to their

cultures - and the generalisation of theories happened with their tradition at the core. Comparing languages was a peculiar European exercise - acknowledged here. This is the case in Indian Linguistics too. The “linguistic” traditions in Sanskrit and the other languages of the subcontinent traditionally had their own forms and methodologies. (Auroux 2000:2792)

The Indo-European family classification and Dravidian families are “products” of this Western hegemony - they are not the traditional perspective, nor are they based on universal principles, nor are they scientific. Caldwell’s “Dravidian” work is very much of the “missionary grammar” genre as alluded to below.

As a result of **the hegemony of Western European culture, Greco-Latin grammar eventually became the canonical model for the description of the world’s languages. Thus, most of these languages were described by an exogenous model that had originally been elaborated for a different language.** Most attempts to describe a language with the help of a foreign model aimed at creating a contrastive grammar for learning purposes. The use of an exogenous model in itself does not preclude an accurate analysis of the linguistic data. **This is particularly clear in the case of the missionary grammars that described the ‘exotic’ languages with which Europeans came in contact.** (Auroux 2000:2794) (emphasis ours)

The primary reasons for the thrall of Western models of linguistics in Indian Universities and in mainstream discourse is the lack of promotion or recognition of the traditional perspectives (not to mention general *tamas* and incompetence). The colonised University Education system of independent India has not helped either. Almost all (dozens of them) Linguistics departments in the country operate using these western models - When will they wake up?

The Indian tradition of linguistics is rich and varied and has its own models, motivations and goals. These perspectives ought to aid the linguistic studies in India. If Indians don’t do Indian linguistics the Indian way, who will? The search for universals and interpretation of the World’s languages ought to happen based on the basis of a core Indian tradition. When is this going to happen? Does Indian scholarship even realise the deep issues that remain to be identified - leave alone addressed. Actual Linguistics aside - even the history of linguistic study and languages does not have a “swadeshi” *dṛṣṭi* in Indian academia and scholarship - and is under free interpretation

by Western Linguists and Indologists. So - How do we address these fundamental issues? To begin with - by at least recognizing that we are doing linguistics using (colonized) imported models. Sadly, other than Professor Korada's phenomenal work (Subrahmanya 2008) there is very little of note from Indian scholarship either to counter the thrall of the West or correct the *dr̥ṣṭi* by engaging with western models rooted in Indian linguistic traditions. The Indian linguistic tradition is rooted in Dharma (good language leads to *Dharma*). The aim of language is to help dhārmic living.

We see this fundamentally “*swadeshi*” notion expressed by the Sanskrit Grammarians.

Katyayana and Patanjali vociferously express this view at the outset of mahabhasya - *siddhe śābdarthasambandhe lokato rthaprayukte śābdprayoge śāstreṇa dharmaniyamah* - **Vyakarana can be written when sabda, artha and their relation follow a standard, and the task of Sastra is to notify/prescribe that a certain form of a sabda, which is already used in a particular artha by people, if employed, would render dharma (implying that the opposite would give adharma).** (Subrahmanya 2008:3) (emphasis ours)

Grammar (Sanskrit grammar particularly) has dual purpose in the tradition - elucidation of meaning and dharma.

One can compile a व्याकरणम्, if and only if the शब्द, अर्थ and their सम्बन्ध are immutable / eternal. Unlike in other languages संस्कृतम् has got two purposes - अर्थप्रत्यायनम् and धर्म। (Private Email with Prof. Korada Subrahmanya)

The Grammar of the Tamil language has hoary history too. There have been many Tamil grammars. See (S. Subrahmanya Sastry 1997) for fascinating history of the Tamil Grammatical tradition. Scholars are asked to juxtapose this with the CL driven Dravidian history of Tamil language from (Subrahmanya Sastri P.S. 2008). The contrast is stark. Mainstream discussion of Tamil and the language is always coloured by the CL theories and speculations - but nothing could be further from the truth. The “power” of the CL narratives has been on display during much of the years of the Dravidian movement. The interpretive power provided by Caldwell's theses and the seemingly powerful explanatory power of CL methodology has deeply buried - both from academic scholarship and Tamil discourse - the traditionally known history of the Tamil language.

Almost all of the Tamil grammarians (there are around 15 major Tamil grammarians listed by Subrahmanya Sastri) have their unique imprints in documenting the historical evolution of Tamil language through grammar. They date from pre-Common Era right up to the 18th century CE. None of them use any of the methods of CL or of any of the theories of CL. The influence of the Sanskrit Grammarians can be seen - not only in the style of compilation but also in the use of grammatical theories. The earliest known - the Tolkāppiyam - definitely shows influence of the models of the *Prātiśākhya*-s, Yaska's *Nirukta*, Panini's *Śikṣā* and *Vyākaraṇa* and even some of those of Panini's predecessors.

All of this only suggests the shallow nature of the methodology and claims of CL and as a result - the classification of Dravidian and Indo-European. The false divide between Indian languages was purely a colonial exercise in divide-and-rule and something which has been continuing even 70 years after Independence. Modern Indian linguistics scholarship has not addressed these issues head-on. What could be the reasons? There seems to be no motivation to have any sort of "swadeshi" *dṛṣṭi*. The thrall of the coloniser and his models of analysis and interpretation still looms large - especially so in the humanities and linguistics departments.

Much of these "swadeshi" perspectives, goals and aims are totally alien to Western linguistic thought as yet. The notion of *dharma* at the core of language theory is intrinsic to the "swadeshi"/*sanātana* nature / *dṛṣṭi* and is something that cannot be replaced by western notions of language. There are other dimensions to language namely the psychological, the energy (vibrational) dimensions seen and experienced in the transformative powers of chants, *śloka*-s, *mantra*-s which form the principal basis of the Veda - Āgama tradition.

These are areas of analysis and study which cannot even be attempted if we were to base linguistic study on Western universals. Neuro-biological analysis (instrumented measurement and statistical studies) is one way to empirically assess the experiential claims of the tradition. There are no models - either of a mathematical or theoretical (verbal) nature to explain or even describe these phenomena (vocabulary, ontology, descriptive models etc.) to make them amenable available for scientific validation approaches. Design and development of hypotheses and novel experiments based on a

deep understanding of the traditional models of mind is one possible way forward, before one could attempt any sort of theorising.

Scientific Approaches to Language Evolution

Previous sections hinted at the weakness of the science behind much of CL - its methods, approaches and inferences. The key problem that CL aims to solve is the dynamic nature of language evolution. What would a scientific approach look like? Partha Niyogi's research suggests many alternatives. (Unfortunately he could not continue his research as he passed away in 2010.) Language evolution is a dynamic non-linear phenomenon. Techniques from Learning theory, statistical and computational modelling are brought to bear upon this problem of language evolution. Specific evolution "phenomena" are modelled and the validity of the modelling approach is illustrated. The rationale for a computational modelling approach is provided by Niyogi. (Niyogi 2002:1) and (Dediu 2016:3) discuss this in fairly comprehensive terms.

So, what are these models? There are many already in use now and many new ones need to be developed.

There are **many examples of excellent computational models to select from**, and we can illustrate the width of approaches with just a few: there is of course Lieberman and Crelin's (1971) classic computational study of Neanderthal *vocal abilities*, which has engendered a literature of its own, the latest instalment probably being Badin et al. (2014). A different computational tradition uses agent-based models to study how language emerges in societies of artificial agents, including the influential *iterated learning* (e.g., Smith, Kirby, and Brighton 2003) and Steels' (1995), *language game* models. **There are also models of a more mathematical nature, such as those inspired by theoretical biology proposed by Nowak and his students (e.g., Nowak 2006). Yet another class is exemplified by Dunn et al.'s (2011) use of Bayesian phylogenetic models inspired from evolutionary biology to investigate language change.** (Dediu 2016:3) (emphasis ours)

Language evolution - as we have tried to show, is a complicated problem space. The number of factors governing it and the dimensionality being addressed is large. Simplistic low dimensional assumptions and manual verbal reasoning (comparative method, internal reconstruction etc) trivialise the problem. These arcane methods should be abandoned for any true scientific pursuit of CL.

Inquiries into language origins and evolution have always drawn upon several disciplines at once, but the last few decades have seen an explosion in the breadth and depth of such collaborations between disciplines. The discovery of *FOXP2* and the continued exploration of its functions, evolution, and relevance for language and speech can serve as an example. **It involves molecular genetics, evolutionary genetics, bird song biology, language and speech pathology, cognitive neuroscience, linguistics, archaeology, paleoanthropology, and paleoecology, not to mention sophisticated computer models required for analysis.** (Dediu 2016:3) (emphasis ours)

This field is truly multi-disciplinary and requires the brightest from all fields to engage in constructively without resorting to the tiring old polemics. There are deeper issues in this space; Journals and the momentum of two centuries of scholarship and current practitioners of these “old” methods, cannot be wished away. They exist and need to be engaged with “scientifically”. Prone as they are as a community to vociferous polemics and averse to anything that resembles “math” or “science”- this real-world aspect cannot be ignored. The future of Language Evolution research is indeed interesting. See (Dediu2016) for a detailed analysis.

The IE and Dravidian Classification

The previous sections discussed CL and its methods and a preliminary critique was presented. More analytical critiques will be offered in the Appendix on WALS data. A “swadeshi” perspective to the problems and recommendations for a “swadeshi” *dṛṣṭi* was offered. It is with this background that one should approach the Dravidian language family classification too. The existence of Journals of Dravidian Linguistics, the state funded Dravidian University, the state funded Central Institute of Classical Tamil and the numerous departments of Dravidian languages and linguistics in Indian universities exemplify this - the intellectual colonization is extremely deep.

We recommend study of Appendix - 1 of (Subrahmanyam, 2008:295.. 334) for a reader on the evolution of the Dravidian formulation. Whyte Ellis’s speculation of a “South Indian” family in the Introduction to a 1816 book on Telugu Grammar by Alexander Duncan Campbell and its christening as “Dravidian” by Robert Caldwell in 1856 mark the beginnings. The “migration” theories, Aryan migration/invasion and

anti-Brahmin rhetoric is ever-present - but all of that is well known. Much of Caldwell's book uses methods made popular by the German comparative-linguists of that era. There is also speculation using data from Greek geographers and merchants (place names, mountains etc.). Caldwell speculates on everything - Tolkappiyam, Thirukkural, Tamil inscriptions, Telugu, Malayalam, Canarese (Kannada) - he had something to say on most south Indian linguistic artefacts known during his time. Given his background as a man of the Church - his motives to find division in society was through the varṇa and jāti identifiers. North India was already sufficiently divided using religion as a wedge - So how were North and South Indians to be divided? How were South Indians to be divided amongst themselves? Enter the "Dravidian".

The Aryan and Dravidian language family was convenient in many ways, to the political needs of the Empire, the needs of the men of the Gospel, to European ethnographers and historians who needed a ***cultural source for Europe older than the Assyrian*** and to the various European Nationalisms.

The hypothesis of the existence of a remote original affinity between the Dravidian languages and the Sanscrit, or rather between those languages and the Indo-European family of tongues, inclusive of the Sanscrit, of such a nature as to allow us to give the Dravidian languages a place in the Indo-European group, is altogether different from the notion of the direct derivation of those languages from the Sanscrit. The hypothesis of a remote original affinity is favoured by some interesting analogies both in the grammar and in the vocabulary, which will be noticed in their place. (Caldwell 1856:29)(emphasis ours)

The seeds for contemporary Dravidian identity politics and the continuing socio-political upheaval since the last century in the Tamil land were sown by Caldwell's speculations.

In Tamil, on the contrary, few Brahmans have written anything worthy of preservation. The language has been cultivated and developed with immense zeal and success by native Tamilian Sudras; and the highest rank in Tamil literature which has been reached by a Brahman is that of a commentator. (Caldwell 1856:34) (emphasis ours)

Much of Caldwell's book is organised around methods used by linguists in Indo European works, Phonology, Morphology, Inflexion analysis,

pronoun analysis, Case analysis etc. As much linguistics work continued after Caldwell, in order to fit in inconsistencies and various data the standard methods of creating new intermediate languages was adopted. The Dravidian Family of languages has its own elaborate Proto-language tree - Proto-Dravidian, Proto-South Dravidian, Proto South-Central Dravidian, Proto-Tamil-Kannada, Proto-Telugu, Proto-Tamil-Toda, Proto-Kannada, Proto-Tamil-Kodagu, Proto-Tamil-Malayalam, Proto-Tamil. This proto-tree is the result of decades of application of the CL methods. See (Krishnamurti 2006: 21) for a family tree of the Dravidian languages. Dravidian linguistics scholarship has speculation that goes the other direction too - the influence of the Dravidian on Indo-Aryan.

Thus the Dravidian grammatical impact on Indo-Aryan has been far greater than the Indo-Aryan grammatical impact on Dravidian - a point that specialists on Indian linguistic history seem not to have appreciated. How can we account for this pattern? **Even after three millennia or more of Indo-Aryan-Dravidian contact the Dravidian languages have changed relatively little in their grammatical structure, whereas Indo-Aryan has undergone major grammatical restructure.** (Sjoberg 1992:524) (emphasis ours)

All the critiques that apply to the Indo-European linguistics also apply to the Dravidian linguistics. The methods used are the same - the comparative method, internal reconstruction and speculative evolutionary paths. The methods are deeply flawed and the conclusions are hardly scientific, there are no models nor are there any predictions. All the issues that we have seen apply to CL in general also apply to Dravidian in particular. In short - the IE classification is flawed and so is the Dravidian.

All the critiques on the methodologies and foundations apart - Are these two so called different families really that different? We present (in the Appendix) an analysis of data of these two families in the to highlight flaws, using the “expert” data provided by the linguists themselves.

Discussion and Perspectives - Looking ahead

In the preceding sections we have made the case for analysing Comparative Linguistics from its sources; What were the origins?,

What was its evolution, its goals, motivations?, What were the methods used?. A deep understanding of these led to a appreciation of the problem space of CL - what is now also known as “Language Evolution”. The models and assumptions of CL are peculiar to 19th Century Europe. Modern scholarship (including those of western linguistics) appreciates the limitations of the approaches. The vocabulary and linguistic family classifications still influence current research in linguistics and also in other fields like population and evolutionary genetics. The momentum of centuries of research and the hegemonic nature of the discourse is not easy to counter. Language and Linguistics has to be rid of these classifications, vocabulary and has to adopt scientific approaches which are tighter and verifiable. Scholarship from other fields have to understand and appreciate the genesis, the nature of CL and refrain from using these CL “inferences” and vocabularies as frameworks to base their favorite migration or evolution theses. Much of this has been seen in recent decades in evolution and population research based on genetic data.

The evangelical and colonial basis of the “Dravidian” classification and its continuing usage in polity both in Tamil Nadu and in the larger “*Breaking India*” machinations is understood but does not have popular awareness - mostly, because of the manipulative “education” content and the sheer will and momentum of those in power. The Schools, Colleges and Universities across Tamil Nadu primarily subscribe to the theories and ideologies of those in power and play a major role in the perpetration and sustaining of these divisive identities. They are very much part of the problem themselves and should preferably not be looked at for solutions.

The Dravidian classification and the related linguistic theories are based on the methods developed in Indo European linguistics. Much of these methods are flawed and can be considered minimally scientific (if at all). The theories and inferences arrived at using these methods are questionable and should be ignored in any future scholarship.

The traditional Indian approach to linguistics is (as is known) much different. Neither “Language evolution” nor the existence of different languages was considered a “problem”. No theories were needed to explain it. These were considered to be local cultural artefacts that mostly evolved **in-situ**. India’s spectacular linguistic heritage attests to this. The Sanskrit and Tamil grammar traditions have

each co-evolved and should continue to do so using modern tools and techniques. It is indeed distressing that not much of note has happened either in Tamil or in Sanskrit grammar-wise in the past two centuries to counter the CL discourse. The synthetic approach of Indian knowledge systems does not allow for the reductionist/comparative approaches to language just for the sake of it - there has to be a dhārmic (*prayojana*) reason.

Empirically speaking (at high resolutions) every person's grammar (spoken and written) is different. It is only on this basis only that we are able to identify "signatures" based on voice and text data. These are techniques used in advanced security and surveillance systems. Just because grammars are different or unique does not mean it is to be "separated" and "classified" and made into families - not to mention the search for who influenced whom and where they all come from.

As is seen, even in preliminary computational models using data from the recent few centuries (data from English and French) - even the principal "markers" of a language (according to CL) such as sentence order (SOV or SVO,...), features of phonology and morphology change drastically within a few generations of speakers and **the "directionality" of change is purely arbitrary**. These are "deep" CL notions essential for the theorising of evolution and the "generation" of complicated family trees. The inferences from these computational models strike at the root of the assumptions of CL. The evolutionary directions are nothing more than wishful thinking. Pick any arbitrary direction of change (phonological) for a vowel or consonant or even morphological - we have different evolutionary trees. See (Niyogi 1995) for the example using *French* and (Niyogi 2002) for the example using *English*. The directionality is sufficiently arbitrary and has serious implications to the entire pursuit of Proto-language design. Even based on an initial analysis - we feel that almost all of the proto language theorisations are simply arbitrary.

A more detailed critique of the arguments and disassembly of the handbooks (the mainstays of the theories) in CL need to be done - and obviously more research and scholars are needed. This preliminary (but fundamental) analysis should - we hope spark interest in more "*pūrva pakṣa*". More scholars with multidisciplinary skills (computer science, programming, linguistics, math at the least) are essential. Much of CL handbook data (laboriously crafted over the past two

centuries) once made available in “machine readable” formats will make research much easier and amenable to the application of data-science methods. These can be used to analyse the “rigor” of the CL theories and also can help in the design of the computational models of language evolution. Existing problems can be framed within these models and hypotheses tested based on actual data - instead of depending on “*hand-waving* vigour” methods of “scholarship”. As an illustrative example of this approach, preliminary analysis of data from WALS is provided in the Appendix.

Concluding Remarks

This paper is a preliminary attempt by us to highlight the deep issues arising out of accepting in good faith - theories of the Colonisers - in this particular case - those of Comparative Linguistics. True de-colonisation will happen only when we question and deconstruct the assault on identity. Sadly, intellectual colonisation is still deep rooted. The linguistic classification of Indo-European and Dravidian has been mostly unquestioned. Little of note has been forthcoming from traditional scholarship in this area of comparative linguistics. The relentless colonisation of University resources and the onslaught of western universalism, not to mention the impact of the “Dravidian” movement have caused much of Indian and in this particular case Tamil society to accept blindly - categories and classification thrust on them by invaders and foreigners. This is pretty much to script (as also seen in the in different continents that have been assaulted by Colonisation) - the frontal attack of Colonisation is the attack on identity.

The very essence of being Indian is actually being questioned in much of Tamil society. The Dravidian movement and its leaders have effectively used these theories for usurping power and for self-aggrandisement. The Dravidian movement having its origins in the Justice Party (anti-India, anti-North, anti-Gandhi, anti-Brahmin ideologies) being at its core, carries much of the divisive seeds of dissent, sown during the colonial period. This has also enabled the evangelical and proselytising forces to operate with impunity and with success in much of Tamil Nadu.

It is pretty much acknowledged that the seeds of these “separatist” tendencies lie in the notion of a linguistic identity (Dravidian) that is decidedly separate from the rest of India. This has led to socio-cultural fissures in Tamil society. The need to examine the roots of this “linguistic” dimension, led us to study the nature of *Comparative Linguistics*. We have, we believe shown that almost all of the theories and methods underlying CL are questionable and mostly unscientific. The theory that is the result of these methods - the classification of Dravidian as also the formulation of Indo-European language families has been examined and is found to be severely flawed. To allow such theories to flourish and influence (the millennia old) Tamil society is truly deplorable. We hope that this initial effort encourages future empirical scholarship in language evolution.

Appendix - WALS Data Analysis

Background²

- The currently known Global Data Sources for language

There are currently two global-scale continually maintained inventories of the (signed and spoken) languages of the world:

Ethnologue (18ed): <http://www.ethnologue.com> contains speaker numbers, detailed locations, and other metadata

Glottolog (2.6): <http://www.glottolog.org> contains sources of data on languages and a more principled

- The currently known Global Data Sources for language evolution

The following is a selection of databases of worldwide scope which are publically available and accessible and cover the domains of phonology, lexicon, and grammar respectively:

PHOIBLE <http://phoible.org>:

PHOIBLE Online is a repository of cross-linguistic phonological inventory data, which have been extracted from descriptive sources. The 2014 edition includes 2, 155 inventories covering 1, 672 distinct languages.

ASJP <http://asjp.c1ld.org/>:

The Automated Similarity Judgment Program (ASJP) has a database of 40-item word lists of basic vocabulary for 6895 varieties covering 4,401 distinct languages. The word lists are transcribed in a simplified but uniform transcription system.

WALS <http://wals.info>:

The World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) has 192 multistate grammatical features sparsely filled in for 2,679 languages. A subset of 200 languages is densely filled in. The features were individually designed by experts on the respective domain of grammar (and binned into maximally six feature values owing to the original publication as an atlas with no more than six colors on a map).

Analysis

Data from the WALS source is analysed and some results presented. We present only a few preliminary observations here.

- 1) **Total number of languages:** 2679 (language Nandi, row number-1666 does not have wals code)
- 2) **Total number of families:** 256 families (unique family names)
- 3) **Total number of unique values for genus:** 544

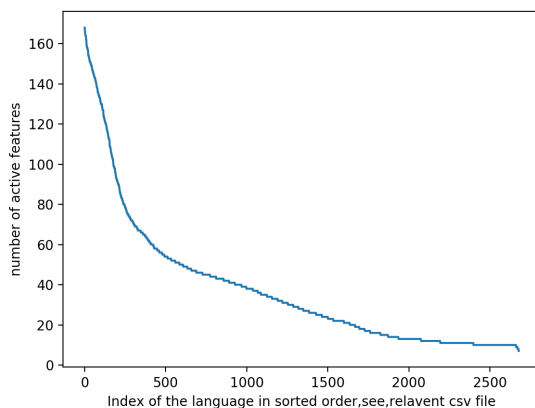
1. Feature Analysis

- **Total number of features:** 192 (202 columns, out of which, 10 are not features)
- **Feature type:** Categorical
- **Possible values that the features can take are given at this** <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1HCdjZoyIjX9k9JH5mJUSXXnEiVeTDzagyyzo6aMPySA/edit?usp=sharing>:

- **Distance measure:**

- **Issues Faced**

Distance between two vectors X and Y is given by $\sum(|X_i - Y_i|)$ where i denotes the feature 'i'th. How do we deal with a NaN? Assuming that a NaN (**Not a Number**) occurs when the that particular question is not relevant to the language, two languages having a NaN for a field can be taken as zero, what about the case where one is NaN and the other is not?



- **Approach taken**

Assign integral values to NaN categories 1, 2, 3 etc. when doing detailed analysis. All attributes can be taken to be equally important in the initial iteration of the analysis.

- **List of number of languages per family can be found here:** <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0By1QhePejHuGYjZxMEhQOXD2eEk/view?usp=sharing>
- **List of number of non-NaN features per language:** <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0By1QhePejHuGMjZsQk85dkVhZFU/view?usp=sharing>

WALS classifies the features into the following (<http://wals.info/feature>):

See area column on the link in the subheading, click the drop down to get various options

- Phonological - 20 features, Sign languages - 2 features, Others - 2 features, Morphology - 12 features, Nominal categories - 29 features, Nominal syntax - 8 features, Verbal categories - 17 features, Word order - 56 features, Simple clauses - 26 features, Complex sentences - 7 features, Lexicon - 113 features

Illustrating Data Sparsity (weak basis for models for Comparative Studies)

Dark value in the matrix plot below indicate a feature with a non null value. If the entire feature set were present for each language one would have a completely black rectangular matrix.

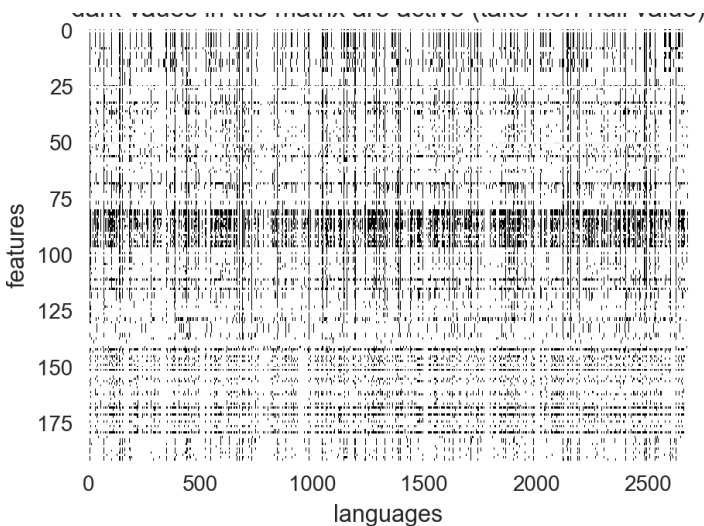


Figure 1: Plot of Language features and language

The number of cells in the matrix = features x number of languages = $192 \times 2679 = 514368$. Number of empty cells = 437903. **85.13 %** of the cells are empty.

What does this sparsity indicate?

It can indicate two things.

- 1) Feature data not available for language X
- 2) Feature not present for language X

If it is the former, then we need to wait for updation of the database. More likely it is the latter. The sparsity (approx 15% filled) indicates something about the quality of feature design. Ideally a feature should be something that is common across all sample classes. One should be able to compare “similar” instances and show difference in “values” of that feature. Not the presence or absence of that feature.

Example: If one were to compare and classify “fruits” a feature would be **COLOR** - so Apple has color=red, Orange has color=orange would be feature values. One would generally not design features like “Redness” or “color same as name”. Such feature designs (features which are unique only to one or very few classes) generally lead to sparseness of feature data.

Language classification is done on the basis of these features. The sparse nature of the “comprehensive” WALS data glaringly indicates the overall lack-of-robustness / feasibility of the features designed and used in language classification.

2. Examining Indo-European and Dravidian Families

Observation:

In the PCA (*Principal Component Analysis i.e. the principal components, the most influential features which enable classification*) plot, the first two features account for only 60% of the variance in data. Generally, it is much higher. We are not sure of the inferences we can derive from PCA on this data.

There are some languages across the three families, which are close. But overall, there seems to be distinction between Niger-Congo vs Indo-European and Dravidian families, but the difference is not clear between the Indo-European and Dravidian families. Comparing IE and Dravidian languages, one feature at a time, only some of the word order based features showed statistical similarity. (Only those features

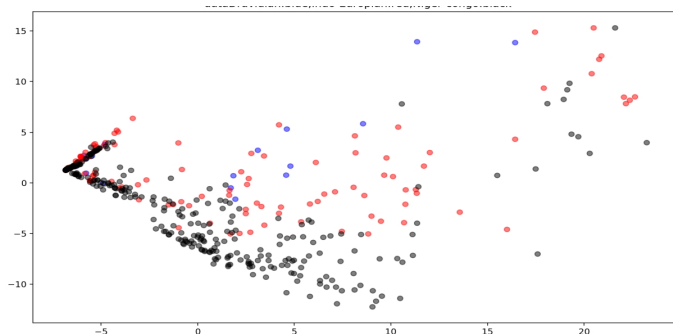


Figure 2: PCA plot of first two features of WALS. Dravidian (blue), IE (Red) and Niger-Congo (black)

that had a probability of having non-null value in at-least 35% of languages in both the families were considered). More Plots (across all features) are being worked on and shall be made publicly available.

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Notes

¹The Journal of Language Evolution - <https://academic.oup.com/jole/article-lookup/doi/10.1093/jole/lzv001>

²Data sources also summarised at <https://academic.oup.com/jole/article/1/1/19/2281898/Linguistic-diversity-and-language-evolution#48861184>

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Chapter 7

A Taste of Their Own Medicine: AIT and the Evidence

– *Shivshankar Sastry*

Abstract

The so called “Aryan Invasion (or Migration) theory” was constructed out of mistranslations and misinterpretations of Sanskrit texts and used to promote a racist nineteenth and early twentieth century agenda. Once the theory was established as “mainstream knowledge,” evidence was either produced or concocted to fit in with the theory. This paper is in three parts. Part 1 argues that Aryans and Dravidian never existed, that they were concoctions of racist European philologists and provides the evidence to support this view. Part 2 explores the reason why it became vitally important for European scholars to lay claim on the Sanskrit language and try and find a route for the language to have come from somewhere closer to Europe than anywhere else. Part 3 deals with the utility, or lack of utility of genetics in figuring out the language that people spoke and the actual age of the Indian genome compared with the Aryan migration theory.

Part 1: Race

Peoples and nations recall their past in various ways. Very old civilizations may have oral narratives like the Indian purāṇa-s, or the

narratives of Red Indians and Australian aborigines. Later civilizations maintained written documents such as the Greek historians. In other instances the past can be surmised and guessed from archaeological remains. Accounts of contemporary travelers such as Xuanzang (Hiuen Tsang), Al Beruni and Marco Polo add to our knowledge of the past. Sometimes archaeological findings have an unexpected correlation with existing texts – like the Assyrian ruins of the Levant being recalled in Biblical texts.

But India must be the only country on earth to have its history invented and told to us by linguists – specifically historical linguists or “philologists” who simply studied translations of Indian works taken out of their cultural context in far away European libraries and interpreted and wrote Indian history for us based on their interpretations.

About 200 years ago, no Indian thought of himself as Aryan or Dravidian. Within the last two centuries, an entire nation of people has been taught to believe that there existed two groups of people called ‘Aryans’ and ‘Dravidians’. Some Indians now believe that they are descendants of Aryans while others believe that they are descendants of Dravidians, or like to call themselves as Dravidian. Aryans are, by misinformed popular belief, believed to be tall and fair skinned, speaking “Aryan or Indo-European languages” like Hindi, Bengali or Gujarati, while Dravidians are supposed to be dark-skinned south Indians speaking Dravidian languages like Tamizh. Indians, who like to be thought of as being of Aryan descent, believe themselves to be rooted in the soil of India, while the political choice made by some people claiming Dravidian affinity is to accuse Aryans of being outsiders, who came from a foreign land. It is necessary to unravel how these beliefs became established among Indians and then try to look at whether Aryans or Dravidians really exist as separate groups of people bearing their stereotypical physical characteristics.

Whether an Indian thinks he is Aryan or Dravidian or neither – everyone accepts that Indian history goes back at least 3,500 years to 1500 BC (or earlier by many accounts). Among Indians there was no awareness of Aryan or Dravidian till about 200 years ago. So how did a nation of hundreds of millions of people, with 3,000 plus years of history, suddenly divide themselves up into people of Aryan or Dravidian descent?

The statement that “*Aryans migrated to India bringing Indo-European languages with them*” is a remarkable semantic construct. It conveys three items of information:

- 1) There were people who were called “Aryans.”
- 2) They brought with them a language that was Sanskrit, or later became Sanskrit.
- 3) They came to India from somewhere outside the ancient boundaries of India.

Let us first start with the question, “Were there any people called Aryans”?

The word “Aryan” does not occur at all in any ancient Indian text. The word that does occur is “*Ārya*” - or “noble or respectable person.” *Ārya* is an adjective. It describes the quality of a person. It is not a noun (a name).

Here is an analogy:

“*Sundarī*” means “beautiful woman”. There is no such thing as “Sundarian”.

“*Ārya*” means “respectable person”. There is no such thing as “Aryan”.

Aryan is a name that was originally coined by Max Muller (Sayce, 1889:38), but was quickly adopted by racist European philologists and Indologists in the nineteenth century to describe an imaginary race of people who had superior characteristics over other races (including Indians) and spoke an imaginary superior language – a language that was supposed to be the mother of Sanskrit. An “Aryan race” did not exist and does not exist.

What is the evidence available for this statement?

In 2006 Professor Eckhart Frahm of Yale University in the US published a paper called “*Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*” (Frahm, 2006:74-94). In this paper he noted that that for European scholars in the nineteenth century, history came from two sources. One was the Bible and the other was classical Greece with names like Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates and other names considered iconic in European history. These cozy visions of European history were badly shattered by the archaeological findings in Assyria (Turkey and Northern Iraq)

which indicated a very old Assyrian empire, older than Greece and the Bible, with tremendous cities and statues, as well as inscriptions in languages that were later deciphered to reveal stories older than the Bible, calling into question many assumptions based on the Bible. There was even an Assyrian inscription that spoke of an ancient flood, a story that struck at the heart of Biblical mythology by being reminiscent of the story of Noah and the flood.

The Biblical character Noah had an important role in the way Europeans saw themselves. Noah was said to have had three sons, Ham, Shem and Japheth. Ham was cursed by his father Noah when he saw his father naked. Ham's children were cursed to be slaves. Nineteenth century Europeans assumed that black Africans were "Hamites" or descendants of the accursed Ham, destined to be an inferior race of slaves. The descendants of Shem became the Semites (or Shemites), who included the Jews, hated in Europe and who spoke the Semitic languages of the Bible. That left the white Europeans as the descendants of Japheth. It had been assumed that European languages had somehow descended from the biblical languages. Anti-Semitism in Europe demanded that the people of Europe were the race favored by God as the leading race of people. These illusions were destroyed by the archaeological findings of the Assyrian empire. Europe needed something to reclaim its superior position in history.

The "discovery" of Sanskrit in India and its obvious antiquity that extended to a period earlier than Assyria could not have come at a better time for European scholars and historians. The great development of Sanskrit as a language and its brilliant grammar combined with its surprising links to European languages came as a breath of fresh air that blew away the despondency of Europeans finding Assyrian history and archaeology that had threatened to topple them from their exalted position as God's favoured people. No longer did the European descendants of Japheth have to remain beholden to the speakers of Semitic languages. Indo-European languages were a separate superior family of languages with the impressive credentials that Sanskrit had provided as the most ancient and most developed language. And the speakers of those languages, the descendants of Japheth were the Aryans.

Eckhart Frahm writes of how the discovery of the Vedic words, gods and references in the Mitanni texts of Assyria caused European

scholars who were searching for European superiority over the Semites to declare the findings as proof that Semitic Assyrian greatness could only have come about because of an infusion of superior “Aryans” from Europe speaking an Aryan language.

One problem remained. If the Aryans were a superior European race, how was their language to be found in its most perfect and developed form in India, and how was it that dark skinned people who were racially thought to be Hamites or other inferior races could be found speaking the tongue of the superior race with a shiny new name “Aryan race”? These troubling questions were addressed by linguists and scholars from nineteenth and twentieth century Europe.

In 1853, a man called Arthur de Gobineau (Gobineau 1915:151) wrote an essay entitled “An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races”. Gobineau believed in the inherent superiority of light skinned people. He wrote “...the peoples who are not of white blood approach beauty, but do not attain it. Those who are most akin to us come nearest to beauty; such are the degenerate Aryan stocks of India and Persia, and the Semitic peoples who are least infected by contact with the black race. As these races recede from the white type, their features and limbs become incorrect in form.”

The British, who cultivated a reputation among Indians of being wise and just as removers of prejudice were no less racist in their attitudes as they too joined the European bandwagon. A.H. Sayce, a British linguist and Assyriologist in 1889 endorsed the views of the racist scholar Dr. Penka. Dr. Penka is quoted as saying (Godwin 1996:43): “the purest blood is found in Scandinavia among the fair-haired, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic Swedes. The pure Aryans, he maintains, are represented only by the North Germans and Scandinavians, a most prolific race, of great stature, muscular strength, energy, and courage, whose splendid natural endowments enabled it to conquer the feebler races to the East, the South, and the West, and to impose its language on the subject peoples.”

Thomas Huxley, a British biologist wrote in 1890 (Huxley 1890:5), “So far as India is concerned, the internal evidence of the old literature sufficiently proves that the Aryan invaders were “white” men. It is hardly to be doubted that they intermixed with the dark Dravidian aborigines; and that the high-caste Hindoos are what they are in virtue of the Aryan blood which they have inherited, and of the selective influence of their surroundings operating on the mixture.”

In other words Huxley was using scientific journals of his day to propagate a racist theory in which white people could lay claim to Sanskrit and the knowledge of the Vedas by three clever, but fake arguments. The first was that there was “internal evidence” in Sanskrit literature that there were Aryan invaders who were white men. Sanskrit texts have no such references. The second lie/falsehood is that “high-caste Hindoos” had Aryan blood. The third lie propagated as science was that “Aryan blood” in India got intermixed with that of dark, Dravidian aborigines and this admixture along with the effects of sunshine and the hot weather in India made Aryans dark skinned in India. This racist theory was widely accepted and digested among Europeans long before the name Nazi was invented. There is in fact, no such thing as “Aryan blood” or even Aryan genes although a large number of people now believe both to be true. Such is the effect of a century and a half of racist theories passed off as scholarship.

The Europeans found it necessary to invent a dark skinned race called Dravidians to explain why speakers of Sanskrit, an “Aryan language” of white skinned invaders were found to have dark skins in India. It was because the Aryans mixed with the dark skinned people who were different, and of a lower sub-human type according to the racial theories of that age. The “Dravidians” and their language was the language of the inferior people defeated by white man and unconnected (it was imagined) with the “Aryans” and their language. These racist European scholars were willing to admit fair complexioned Indians into their club of Aryans because that would allow them to claim the origins of Sanskrit, which was the oldest and best developed Indo-European language. However dark skinned Indians were inconvenient for this theory. They had to be explained away by some means and so dark skinned Indians became Dravidians, a race invented by racist scholars to classify Indians who spoke languages that could not be linked with Indo-European languages. As for those dark skinned Indians who spoke Indo-European languages such as Bengali, they were explained away as corrupted Aryans caused by admixture with inferior races. (Huxley 1890: 5; Johnston 1902: 263)

Figure 1 is a scan of a passage (Johnston 1902: 263) (author’s personal copy) showing the racist theory about Aryans and “Dravido-Kolarians” that was current in the era that the grandfather of the author of this article purchased the book.

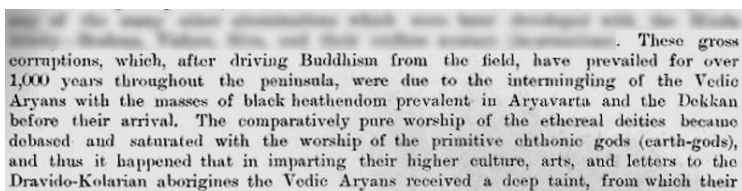


Figure 1

In conclusion, it can be said that there is no such thing as an Aryan race. Consequently there are no “Dravidians” either, as a separate “race” of people. These ideas were a fabrication that was necessary to construct a supremacist history in nineteenth century Europe.

Unfortunately this was the “knowledge” imparted to Indian schoolchildren as Indians started getting recruited by the British to work for British India. Aryans and Dravidians, who did not previously exist in the history or narrative of India, gradually became part of the Indian narrative and is now “accepted fact” among a large number of Indians as well as accepted scholarly wisdom in the west. It will be a very long time before this unfortunate lie can be wiped clean from the minds of misinformed Indians.

Part 2: Language

We will next look at the theory that Sanskrit, or a precursor language to Sanskrit was brought to India from somewhere outside India. As we have seen earlier, the “Aryan race” was an imaginary entity that was cooked up in order to claim that the language (Sanskrit, or a precursor of Sanskrit) was brought to India by an imagined people called Aryans. What is the evidence offered by linguists, historians and archaeologists to support this idea of “movement of language to India from somewhere outside?”

It will be seen that all the efforts to create a story in which language comes to India from outside revolve around linking individual words or passages from the Vedas to events or archaeological finds outside India. Mysteriously, very few scholars have attempted to link words from texts to findings within India. The need to link Sanskrit to an outside source has dominated the discourse.

In order to explain this curious anomaly one must know why Sanskrit became such an important language for Europeans; so important in fact that they wanted to claim some kind of connection with Sanskrit and went through all the trouble to make up theories of how the language appeared in India.

When European scholars studied Sanskrit texts, they were surprised to discover the similarity of Sanskrit to European languages like Latin, French, German and English. Even more significant was the discovery by Europeans of Sanskrit grammar. Until then, European linguists knew that their own languages in Europe were somewhat similar, but it was the revelation of Sanskrit grammar that made them aware of how and why European languages were related.

Max Müller wrote:

‘The world had known Latin and Greek for centuries, and it was felt, no doubt, that there was some kind of similarity between the two. But how was that similarity to be explained? [...] But how such a likeness between these languages came to be, and how, what is far more difficult to explain, such striking differences too between these languages came to be, remained a mystery..[...] As soon, however, as Sanskrit stepped into the midst of these languages, there came light and warmth and mutual recognition.’ (Müller 1883:15)

Initially European “philologists” thought that Sanskrit may be the mother language of European languages (Huxley 1890). Translations of Sanskrit works into European languages threw up the word “Arya” or “Noble people” European scholars did not find it necessary to include the idea that “Arya” referred to noble people who strictly followed the traditions of Hindu Dharma. To European philologists “Arya” simply indicated a superior race members of which were dubbed “Aryans”. And that superior race could not be coffee or chocolate coloured Indians. From this was born the idea that “Aryans” came from the west, bringing a superior language and grammar to India where it had to be protected from the degradations that it was exposed to by the black Dravidians.

An imaginary history was written for Indians that the caste system was created by the migrant fair-skinned Aryans from Europe to protect their knowledge from dark skinned natives. Despite that, over centuries the superior Aryans in India interbred with the black people producing the “degraded” modern races of India (Huxley 1890:

5; Johnston 1902: 263). So the story grew that great white races from Europe came to India, defeated Dravidians and sent them south and settled in India but gradually degenerated into current day Indians who were not equal to white skinned Aryans. These theories, over time, came to be accepted as true and filled up scholarly textbooks making superior “Aryans”, the speakers of “Indo-Aryan languages” and dark skinned “Dravidians”, speakers of “Dravidian languages” an accepted “scientific” fact.

The finding of Sanskrit proper names and Vedic deities in Syria in the form of the Mitanni treaty tablets dating from 1700 BC was grabbed eagerly by German Assyriologists as proof that the Sanskrit language, on its way from Europe to India with victorious Aryan armies had stopped over briefly in Syria. The Semitic people of Assyria could not possibly have ruled their empire without the involvement of the superior Aryans from Europe (Frahm 2006: 85), who later made their way to India.

Despite all these constructions of “proof” for the story in which a mother language travels from Europe to India it turns out that there is no linguistic proof available from the points of origin either in Europe or Eurasia. The theory is all about language and people who spoke a language, but none of the starting points of migration have offered any proof of the language spoken when people started their journey towards India. Their language is simply assumed to be a precursor of Sanskrit. Sanskrit existed in India as a language handed down orally, with no written texts and there were no European written texts of adequate antiquity for comparison. In every instance individual mistranslated words and verses from the Vedas (Vidyarthi 1893:17-28) have been used to make a connection with archaeological finds (Anthony 2007:409) in places where there is no proof of the ancient language that was spoken in that remote past era. That language has simply been imagined to have been spoken by the people in the area in that pre-historic era, and later “reconstructed” by linguists.

Because all efforts to try and find a “route of spread” of languages have centered around archaeological finds in the imagined “point of origin” of language in Europe or Eurasia and linking those finds to words from Sanskrit texts as the end point in India, the dates for the Ṛg Veda are frozen around the 1500 to 1000 BC period. This is simply because the relevant archaeological finds in Europe or Eurasia happen to be from

around 2000 to 3000 BC and a 1000 year time gap is “allowed” for people to migrate to India where Sanskrit, the most developed Indo-European language, was “finally found.”

These dates can be falsified by an emergent new evidence – some of which point to dates as remote as 8000 BC, but the 1500 BC dates fixed by early philologists like Müller and contemporary anthropologist-historians like David Anthony (Anthony 2007: 82) have entered the mainstream body of knowledge along with the myth of an invasion or migration of “Aryans”. No one seems to want to “rock the boat” by looking at other, possibly older dates for the Vedas which are increasingly becoming likely from the work of a large body of new Indology researchers in India (Oak 2011; Sastry 2017). Older dates for the Vedas will require a complete re-thinking of the theory of language spread and would result in a revolutionary upsetting of fossilized 200 year old dogmatic claims about the origins of Indo-European languages. Once again parochial considerations among historians, linguists and scholars has led to the dismissal of new Indology studies as being motivated by Hindu revivalism or revisionism. Such accusations are reminiscent of the manner in which the medieval Catholic Church in Europe looked at any new information that threatened the dominance of the church narrative.

Part 3: Genetics

There is a fundamental flaw in the search for genetic evidence of migration because many genetics papers start off with a tacit acceptance of the 1500 to 1000 BC dates for the language of the Vedas, assuming that it was brought to India by migrating Aryans. Consequently many researchers go about looking for migrations around those dates as possible evidence of the Aryan Migration Theory. This is an unfortunate consequence of the “Aryan Migration” theory having achieved mainstream status despite its sordid origins.

Genetic findings conclusively prove that there have been numerous migrations into India. There is no denying that. But genetics also shows migrations out of India. There have been migrations into India over 60,000 years ago, also over 12,000 years ago, and even 4,000 years ago and later. But linguists and historians are obsessed with the ‘4,000 ybp’ date because it fits in with their theory of victorious

horse riding Aryans coming to India. Even contemporary scholars who reject the racist term “Aryan”, such as David Anthony who are stuck with linguistic “horse evidence” from mistranslations of the Vedas (Vidyarthi 1893: 17-28, Kashyap 2012: 55) finally narrow down on these relatively recent dates.

Migrations that may have occurred 12,000 years ago are too early for the language migration theory; 3000 years ago is too late. This is the only reason for attempting to zero in on genetic evidence of migrations into India in the 1500 to 1000 BC period. However genes do not provide any evidence of the language people spoke. There are no “language genes” just like there are no “Aryan genes”. Genetics alone can never provide direct proof of language and will not make any difference to the existing hurdles in the dating of languages. The Vedas have no dates – so all links are speculative.

Two seminal genetics papers (Reich 2009: 489–494; Tamang 2012: 911–919) threw an academic bombshell on migration theories focusing on the 1500 BC era. This study showed that all Indians in the subcontinent, starting from Kashmiri Pandits to tribals of Orissa, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu have a remarkably constant mix of unique “Indian” genes which have been given the name “Ancestral North Indian” (ASI) and “Ancestral South Indian” (ASI). Included in this study were Sindhis from Pakistan and Pathans from the Afghanistan-Pakistan region – who also carry the ANI+ASI gene mix like all Indians. Both the ASI and ANI components are very ancient genetic signatures. A migration out of Africa along the coast 65,000 years ago brought in the Ancestral South Indian genes, and a later migration 45,000 years ago were a set of genes among people who migrated out of Africa towards the Middle East, from where a branch went off to Europe and another branch came to India as “Ancestral North Indian” genes. (Fig 2)

Every Indian carries a thorough mix of ASI and ANI genes and this gene mixture is unique to Indians. Indo-European language speakers (e.g.: Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati) carry about 45 to 60 % ANI genes. South Indian language (“Dravidian language”) speakers carry 43 to 55% ANI genes. The balance is ASI genes in each case. All in all, every Indian, whether forward caste, backward caste, Indo-European speaker or Dravidian language speaker carries approximately equal proportions of Ancestral North Indian and Ancestral South Indian genes. Even the

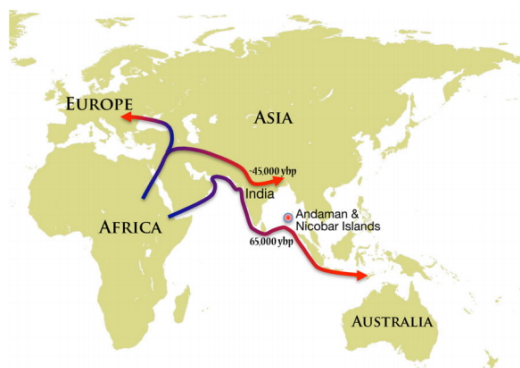


Figure 2: Image from (Tamang, Rakesh., Lalji Singh and Kumarasamy Thangaraj 2012: 911-919)

only “outliers,” Pathans and Kashmiri Pandits carry 70% ANI and 30% ASI markers.

These findings throw great doubt on the theory that people carrying an Indo-European language migrated to India, driving Dravidians south and creating an upper caste that avoided mixing with lower castes to preserve the knowledge. Even Pathans and Kashmiri Pandits have 30% Ancestral South Indian genes otherwise found among tribals of South India such as Chenchu and Onge. And those tribal groups show a greater than 40% component “Ancestral North Indian” genes - genes which they should not have at all according to the Aryan migration/invasion theory. All other Indians show an approximate 60: 40 (or vice versa) mix of the two gene sets. Another paper (Metspalu 2011:731-744) showed that the ANI genes among Indians are older than would be expected if they represented a migration from Europe or Eurasia in the last 4000 years. In fact the paper concludes that the genes carrying the ANI component entered India more than 12,500 years ago.

It would be a valid question to ask how, if at all, is the above information in conflict with the Aryan invasion/migration theory (AIT/AMT)?

First, the papers negate the idea that Indo-European speakers created a system (caste system) that avoided interbreeding with “Dravidians”

to help maintain the purity of an Aryan race. The thorough and complete admixture of ASI and ANI genes among all Indians of all castes and language groups makes this claim unsupportable.

Secondly, linguists and historians have tried to place the AIT/AMT story in the 1500 BC period because that era fits in with other theories that have been created to link Sanskrit with European languages via archaeology. But the genetic signatures of migrations into India are far older than the 1500 BC date postulated in current language migration theories.

It must be emphasized that while there is clear genetic evidence of many migrations into India, some as far back as the last ice age that ended 10,000 years ago and some as late as 4000 years ago, none of these migrations carry any proof of what language the migrants spoke either in their country of origin or upon arrival in India. There is no reason to reject an earlier migration date as less relevant than the later date in the absence of any proof of the language that migrants spoke at their point of origin. The genetic evidence so far points to migrations into India that pre-date the 1500 BC era by several thousand years. In fact the thorough mixing of ASI and ANI genes among Indians would favour a more remote date of migration rather than a more recent one. But a date of migration that is earlier than 4000 years ago would negate all current theories of spread of Indo-European languages – because that date has been carefully selected to fit in with archaeological findings of horses and wheels in Eurasia and linking them to words for horse, chariot and wheel in the Vedas. If the language in India was shown to be older the language migration theory would collapse.

It would be absurd to imagine that the people who painted the images of the Bhimbetka cave paintings in modern day Madhya Pradesh as long as 30,000 years ago had no language. Looking at Figure 2 which shows likely migrations 45,000 years ago which took people both towards Europe and towards India, it would not be hard to imagine that the first origins of Indo-European languages came from those people over 40,000 years ago rather than the imagined Aryans 3500 years ago. And the people with the new language mixed with an even older group of people speaking the precursor to Dravidian languages. The Vedas can be dated by various means that are all out of context for this paper other than to point out that all reasonable dates for the Vedas turn out to be prior to 5000 BC, or 7000 years before the present.

The need to fix language at a relatively recent date appears to be a kind of mental hurdle in depicting the history of human languages by linking it to an imaginary migration of imaginary people.

European philologists who were intent on trying to link up Indo-European languages with Sanskrit simply discarded Dravidian languages as an outside group while they imagined dates for migration of people speaking those Indo-European languages. While they did not have the genetic information we have today, they also failed to notice that a large percentage of words in Telugu, Kannada, Tamizh and Malayalam are Sanskritic in origin. The mixing of languages is as complete as the mixing of genes. The only idea that does not fit the available facts is the Aryan Invasion/Migration theory which needs to be discarded and wiped out from academic circles.

Conclusions

- 1) There were no Aryans who migrated to India.
- 2) Consequently there were no Dravidians for Aryans to defeat or chase away.
- 3) “Aryan” and “Dravidian” were terms coined by racist 19th century philologists to suit their vision of European supremacist history.
- 4) All current theories of migration of Indo-European languages are stuck on a date of about 1500 B.C.E. for the Vedas because of reasons extraneous to ancient Indian history.
- 5) Genes do not indicate language spoken. No matter what migrations are shown by genetics, the language cannot be linked to genes.
- 6) Genetics has shown that the genetic signature among Indo-European language speakers in India is far older than the 1500 BC date suggested by the Aryan migration theory.
- 7) Theories about the spread of Indo-European languages will require radical revision based on findings in India rather than current theories based on archaeology outside India.

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Chapter 8

What falsifies Aryan Invasion Theory (AIT)?

– *Nilesh Nilkanth Oak*

Abstract

Aryan invasion theory was not a theory but a dogma. This is and was the reality of AIT from the time it was conceived in late 18th century CE. While it came out the desire to solve the problem of similarity between European languages and Sanskrit, it developed into a racial theory that sought to differentiate not only Europeans from Indians, but also claim racial differences within Indian population. The dogmatic character of AIT can be understood if it is tested against the basic framework of scientific method. The four key elements of AIT are outlined and employed it build specific testable statements, if objectively validated, would falsify AIT.

The paper mentions contributions of researchers from linguistics and archaeology that falsifies AIT and then decisively falsifies AIT, with the original work of author from astronomy combined with evidence from varied fields of hydrology, geology, geophysics, climatology, oceanography, climatology, relative chronology of Ṛgveda and genealogies of kings and sages of Ṛgveda and Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.

The falsification of AIT and its comprehension by Indic population is critical in its fight against 'breaking India' forces. AIT is falsified;

however, there is a need to communicate these findings in a language lay people can comprehend and communicate to others.

1. Pūrvapakṣa - Aryan Invasion Theory (AIT)

While there are numerous individuals who will employ the word AIT, very few are willing to explain what it is. This hesitation is due to good reasons. AIT is based on lot of conjectures but with zero evidence. In fact, all newfound evidence has forced the believers of AIT to modify it into Aryan Migration theory (AMT) or Indo-Aryan Migration theory.

1.1 Theories are proposed to solve problems

What was the problem AIT trying to solve?

Dr. Shiv Shastry writes (2017a)

When European scholars came to India along with the British, they were surprised to discover the similarity between Sanskrit and European languages like Latin, French, German and English. Even more significant was the discovery by Europeans of Sanskrit grammar. Until then, European linguists knew that their own languages in Europe were somewhat similar, but it was the revelation of Sanskrit grammar that made them aware of how and why European languages were related.

Beginning with this desire to solve the problem of similarity between European languages and Sanskrit, how AIT turned into a racist theory which in turn added 'breaking India' elements by speculating Aryan vs Dravidian races within India is a story by itself. How this conjecture of AIT became a mainstream theory in Indology studies, despite characteristic lack of any evidence is also a story worth recollecting. Fortunately, Dr. Shiv Shastry (2017a, 2017b) narrates these developments well. Having said that, a criticism of a theory should focus on the methods and the results of examining it logically and not how various assertions of a theory were conceived.

It is possible to enumerate the steps used to test a scientific theory.

- 1) Logical comparison of the conclusions, of a theory, among themselves. This allows testing of internal consistency of a theory.

- 2) Investigation of the logical form of the theory. This allows to examine whether the theory has the character of an empirical or scientific theory, or whether it is, purely tautological.
- 3) This step would include comparison to the theory with other theories to determine if the theory would constitute a scientific advance, assuming it survives various other tests.
- 4) Testing of the theory by making predictions based on it and then comparing them against the actual evidence.

Unfortunately, AIT is formulated and discussed by its proponents in a non-scientific fashion and thus, the testing of it via these four steps becomes impossible. This can be illustrated with the logic of scientific method. For example, a specific theory leads to various predictions and one of the predictions includes the solution to the problem it is intended to solve.

1.2 AIT as dogma

Let's evaluate AIT in the context of five elements of scientific method described in Figure 1.

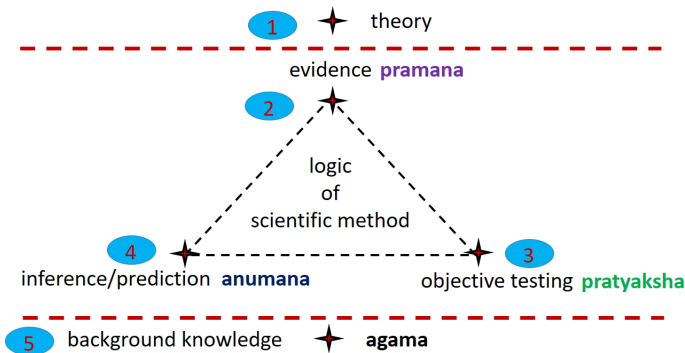


Figure 1

- 1) The people who called themselves 'Āryan' came from some unknown location 'outside India' into 'the greater India' sometime

between 2000 BCE and 1500 BCE, and they brought the Sanskrit language or a precursor to Sanskrit language.

While this is taken as the statement of Aryan invasion theory, it does not fit the criteria of what is expected of a scientific theory. The statement of a scientific theory is expected to be general in nature in the context of its background assumptions that allows multiple predictions. For example, the general theory could have been stated as 'people do migrate from one geographical region to another and when they do it, they tend to take their language, culture, belief systems, science and technology along with them'. No such thought had gone into formulating the statement of 'Aryan invasion' theory or assuming such background assumptions, rather the evolution of background assumptions as well as additional predictions was an afterthought.

- 2) What a scientific theory would consider an explanation of a phenomenon, i.e. one of the consequences (predictions) of the theory, i.e. the solution to the problem the theory was designed to solve, was the core statement of the theory itself. We would repeat the statement in (1) as the desired element of scientific method, expected in (2). The explanation (pramāṇa) is that the similarity between European languages and Sanskrit can be explained due to this fact of 'Aryans' bringing either Sanskrit or precursor to Sanskrit to greater India.
- 3) This corner of 'pratyakṣa', of the pratyakṣa-anumāna-pramāṇa triangle must remain empty, since there was nothing to test objectively and nothing was tested.
- 4) This corner of 'anumāna', of the pratyakṣa-anumāna-pramāṇa triangle must also remain empty, since all the inferences (four features underlined in (1)) were assumed in the formulation of the statement of theory (1) and its explanation (2).
- 5) As explained in (1), various background assumptions viz. Aryans as a race, elements of horses, chariots, features attributed to Aryans, location of their origin were simply inserted as afterthoughts.

The lack of scientific logic in the formulation of AIT is the reason why it should be understood as a dogma and not a scientific theory. AIT or AMT should be termed as Aryan invasion dogma (AID) or Aryan migration dogma (AMD).

1.3 Features of AIT

While the theory does not make new predictions, the formulation of the theory has placed constraints on various features of the theory. This paper discusses four specific features of AIT and constraints imposed on them. These constraints will be used to decisively falsify AIT. The first two features of AIT include the location and the timing of this claimed invasion as shown in Figure 2.

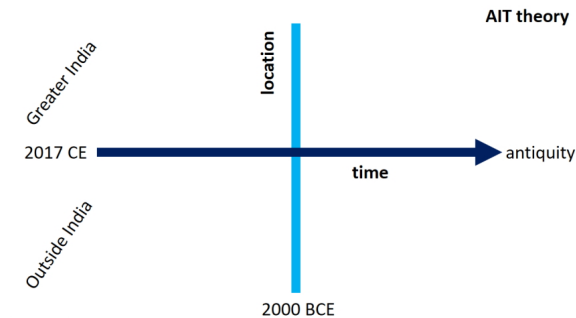


Figure 2

The vertical axis of location passes through the point of 2000 BCE on the horizontal time axis. This is indeed the upper constraint on the timing of AIT. Notice that time axis begins with our times on the left and goes backward in time to infinity. All AIT proponents agree that the so called ‘Aryan’ invaders came from ‘outside India’ into ‘greater India’, however, there is total disagreement when it comes to fixing the location within ‘outside India’ from where these so called ‘Aryan’ arrived into ‘greater India’.

The greater India, for this paper, is defined as approximate geographical area that constitutes modern countries of Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Burma & Thailand. It is also possible to visualize ‘greater India’ with parts of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Laos, Cambodia & Indonesia, in addition to all countries mentioned in the previous list. All the countries mentioned in the context of ‘greater India’ are shown in Figure 3.

The additional two features came into India, per AIT theory, when people who called themselves ‘Aryan’ came from somewhere ‘outside



Figure 3

India' into 'greater India' sometime between 2000 BCE and 1500 BCE. These 'Aryans' brought with them, per AIT theory, Sanskrit language or the precursor to Sanskrit language. The four features of AIT theory can be summarized as follows:

The people who called themselves '**Aryan**' came **from some unknown location 'outside India' into 'the greater India'** sometime **between 2000 BCE and 1500 BCE, and they brought the Sanskrit language or a precursor to Sanskrit language**. These four features of AIT along with their constraints are summarized in Figure 4.

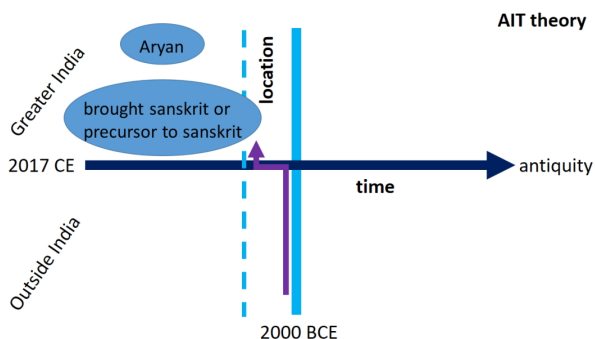


Figure 4

1.4 Rationale for constraints on AIT

There is no specific rationale as to why Sanskrit language or precursor to Sanskrit language must have its origin outside India. It is just that AIT proponents are vehement in their claim that the origin of Sanskrit language or its precursor is to found outside India. The same absence of logic or rationale exists when it comes to the so called 'āryan' race. AIT proponents have specified constraints on the timing of AIT, both upper and lower limits. These constraints vary from 1000 BCE to 2000 BCE and they are all based on fancy linguistics arguments.

2 Uttarapakṣa - Aryan Invasion Theory (AIT)

Since dogma of Aryan invasion does not result in clear statements for five elements of the scientific method, this paper would focus on four specific feature and corresponding constraints - geographical, linguistic, denominational and chronological – to falsify AIT.

Thus, AIT would be considered falsified if,

- 1) It can be shown that there is no evidence for 'Aryan' anywhere in the world, of course, prior to formulation of AIT
- 2) It can be shown that 'Sanskrit' language or 'precursor to Sanskrit language existed in India, long before 2000 BCE
- 3) It can be shown that the word 'Aryan' itself was a confused derivation of a similar word that existed in India, long before 2000 BCE
- 4) It can be shown that Ṛgveda – the oldest available text of humanity, existed in India, long before 2000 BCE
- 5) It can be shown that 'Sanskrit' language based culture existed in India, long before 2000 BCE

2.1 Let's kill 'Aryan' of Aryan invasion theory

The so called Aryan invasion theory was formulated, at least first version of it, sometime at the end of 18th century CE. The word 'Aryan' is not found inside 'greater India' or outside India any time before 18th century CE leading all the way to 2000 BCE, supposedly the upper limit

on the timing of AIT. The word 'Aryan' is not found inside 'greater India' or outside India any time before 2000 BCE, either.

2.2 Researches in Linguistics

AIT was formulated to solve the problem of similarity between European languages and Sanskrit. This theory should have been put to test by asking question such as 'if language (Sanskrit or precursor to Sanskrit) was brought by some people from point A to point B, what is the evidence that the language existed at point A?'. The dogmatic proponents of AIT see no need for such rational questions and seeking for their answers. Of course, the problems of AIT run deeper than the question of location and evidence for existence of a specific language (or its precursor) at a specific location. The upper constraint of 1500 BCE on the timing of AIT is very much due to the necessity of language existence outside India (but its absence within India), before 1500 BCE.

In words of Talageri (2008:162):

The AIT is built up on a number of extra-Indian factors, which necessarily require that the Vedic Aryans should be brought into India *no earlier than 1500 BCE*.

and Talageri (2008:163):

The linguistic case *for the AIT* consists almost entirely of circular arguments and invasionist dogmas.

The entire discipline of linguistics, - philology and 'historical linguistics' were built on dogmatic principles.

In a series of books published over 15 years, Shri Shrikant Talageri (1993, 2000, 2008) demonstrated, by employing the same techniques of AIT proponents, that language flow, if at all it occurred, occurred in the opposite direction to what is claimed by AIT proponents and is shown in Figure 5.

Talageri (2008:224) summarizes the entire linguistic argument of AIT:

Therefore, to sum up, there is no linguistic case at all, worth the name, against the OIT case presented by us in our earlier books, and presented again with much more detail in this present book, especially in this chapter. The Indian homeland case presented by us answers all the linguistic requirements perfectly, while the AIT completely fails to answer any of them.

Naturally, AIT proponents have become silent on ‘linguistics’.

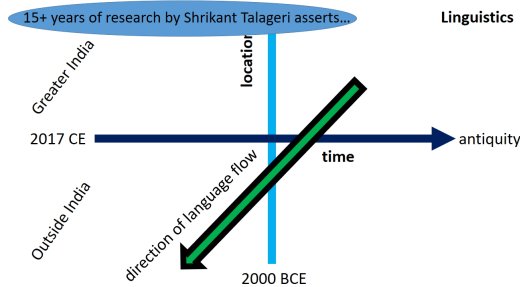


Figure 5

2.3 Researches in Archaeology

Talageri (2008:225) writes:

From the very beginning, i.e. from the first moment that the academic search for the Indo-European homeland began, there have been three broad academic disciplines involved in this field of study: linguistics, textual analysis, and archaeology.

Enormous research, in the context of Sindhu-Sarasvati civilization has taken place over the last few decades and inferences from these studies have decisively falsified whatever stray arguments put forth in buttressing the dogma of AIT. Lal (2002, 2009) shows, with the help of archaeology evidence, that continuous civilization existed in India, in the areas of Sindhu and, now extinct, Sarasvati rivers for over a period of at least last 9000 years and is represented in Figure 6.

Not surprisingly, AIT proponents have also become silent about archaeology evidence.

2.4 Researches in Genetics

Having lost the fight in the areas of linguistics and archaeology, AIT proponents are clinging to ‘genetics’ with the same hope as a drowning man clutches at the straws. It is reasonable to expect lot more justifications for AIT by AIT proponents in the garb of genetics and hence ‘scientific sounding’ inferences. Such claims would increase in

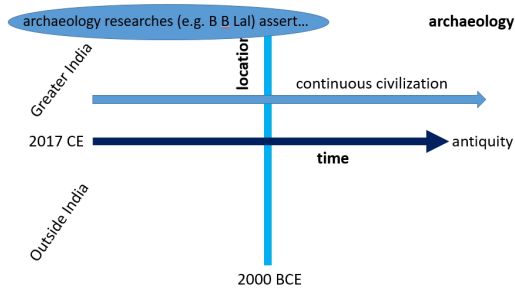


Figure 6

numbers as the science of genetics progresses. Let's understand why this is already happening and why it would only become more intense with the advances in science and technology of genetics research.

Existing genetics research shows that there were migrations in and out of greater India over the period of last 100,000 years. The first detectable migration(s), based on genetics evidence, into greater India possibly occurred 80 to 100 thousand years ago from Africa. There is impressive genetics evidence for multiple migrations, out of greater India to rest of the world over last 80 thousand years. India has also seen migrations from outside India in the last two thousand years. These recent migrations are documents in historical records and can also be validated with the help of genetics. The most common scenario is that of the migration of human beings out of India, post 80 thousand years ago, into rest of the world and is represented in Figure 7.

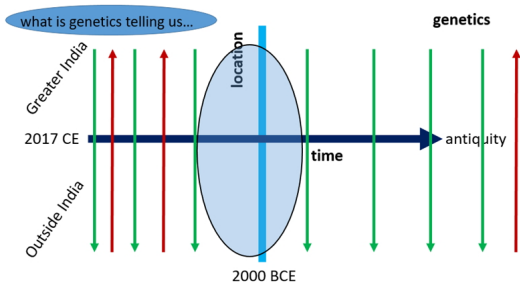


Figure 7

Red lines represent migration into greater India and green lines represent migration from greater India to the rest of the world. The time interval from 2500 BCE through 1000 BCE is highlighted by an oval and shows no migrations, in or out of India. This is because no reliable data exists for desired level of resolution for this time interval. This is the time interval claimed by AIT proponents for the timing of AIT. We will revisit this time interval soon.

Genetics is capable of detecting direction of gene flow, both on maternal side of the gene (matrilineal) and on paternal side of the gene (patrilineal). The summary research of matrilineal gene tells us that predominantly there was an outflow of 'mother' gene from India, after its initial introduction in India some 80 thousand years ago, into rest of the world and is represented in Figure 8 (Metspalu, 2004).

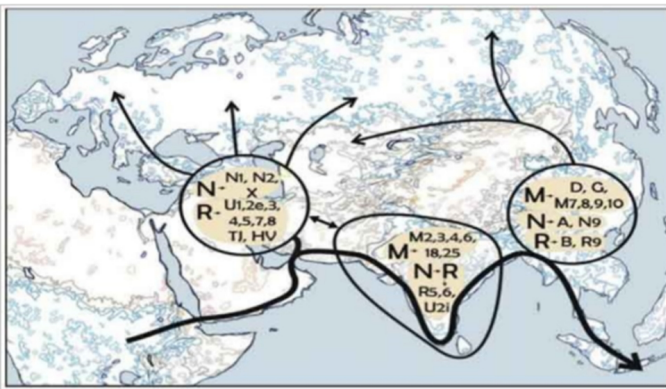


Figure 8

The patrilineal gene tells the identical story. After its initial introduction in India some 80 thousand years ago, predominant story of patrilineal gene shows evidence of its going out of India, through multiple outward migrations, into rest of the world and is represented in Figure 9.

It is indeed worthwhile to study spread of patrilineal gene from greater Indian homeland into rest of the world and is pictorially represented in Figure 10.

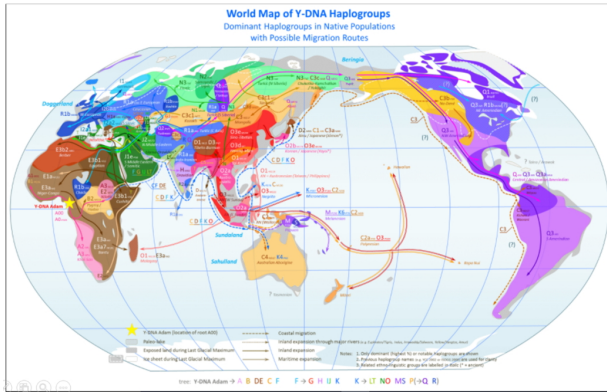


Figure 9

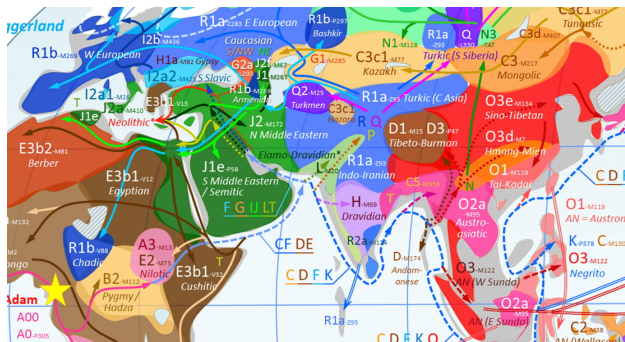


Figure 10

While this outward gene flow of matrilineal or patrilineal genes may not tell us if their status as migrants was that of nomads or hunter gatherers, pastoralists or agriculture settlers, the outward gene flow of domestic mouse provides us with evidence to assert that some of these outward migrations carried with them agriculture and civilization. The outward gene flow of domestic mouse, going back to a period of 20 to 30 thousand years ago, provides a critical evidence in constructing the picture of ancient migrations, and is represented in Figure 11 (Bonhomme, 2007).

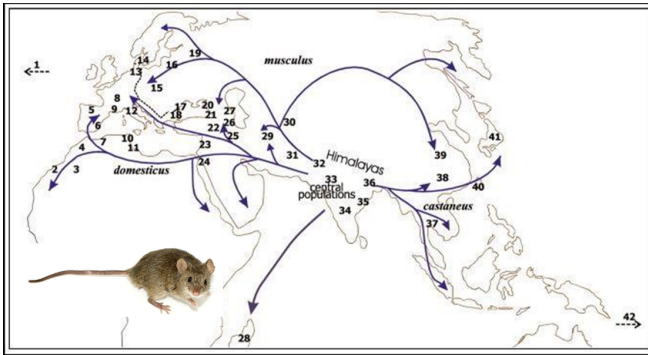


Figure 11

It is well to keep in mind that none of this would deter AIT proponents who are wedded to dogma of someone bringing Sanskrit or precursor to Sanskrit, from somewhere outside India, into greater India. And for this very reason, it is also important to understand the limitations of three disciplines of studies discussed so far: linguistics, archaeology & genetics.

2.5 Limitations of linguistics, archaeology & genetics

It is not possible to set chronology to changes in languages and existing attempts are at best crude approximations. Genes don't carry known markers of languages and archaeology has to do its own guesswork regarding the culture and the language in the absence of epigraphic evidence.

To comprehend limitations of these three disciplines of studies, in the context of AIT, it is useful to analyze what happens when evidence from two of these three disciplines is combined. For example, archaeology evidence is incapable of telling us about the language(s) spoken by a specific civilization and at specific time, unless we have epigraphic evidence and we can decipher what is written in such evidence. As of now, we do not have any epigraphic archaeological evidence in India that is been convincingly deciphered and can be dated to beyond 500 BCE.

Genes don't encode the language information however this scientific principle is being ignored in majority of genetics studies, especially in the context of India and those who claim to draw inferences about AIT, based on genetics evidence. In fact, combining genetics evidence with dogmatic conjectures of AIT has become a pastime of many and playground of great many imposters.

Archaeology can interact with genetics when human skeletons are found in archaeological excavations and if their DNA (ancient DNA) can be extracted. Recently human skeletons were found at certain excavations in Sindhu-Sarasvati civilization and results from tests of ancient DNA are awaited. Let's imagine two possible scenarios for this outcome. Suppose the DNA identified with well-known haplogroup already identified on Indian subcontinent, it will turn out to be no news. On the other hand, if the DNA identified happens to match with one of the youngest branch of, say R1a (haplogroup) which is also present in Europe and central Asia, all hell will break loose, and expect AIT proponents to flood the social media and peers reviewed journals touting such an occurrence as evidence of AIT. On the other hand, a serious researcher of genetics would not be surprised by such a finding. After all, there is evidence of people migration in and out of India over thousands of years and as science of genetics progresses and as resolution improves, one should indeed expect to detect additional migration instances, both, in and out of greater India, for various timelines and that would also fall between the claimed interval of 2000 BCE –1500 BCE by AIT proponents.

2.6 Scientific Poison Pills (SPP)

Linguistics work of Shri Talageri and archaeology findings of Sindhu-Sarasvati region have decisively falsified AIT. The reaction of AIT proponents have been to ignore the work of Shri Talageri on linguistics and to minimize the claimed importance of archaeology evidence (by these very proponents of AIT) for the survival of AIT and to hope that younger haplogroups show up in ancient DNA of Indian archaeology samples, for specific time intervals claimed by AIT, whose parent gene is already present in either Europe or central Asia shows up in ancient DNA on Indian soil.

Numerous new developments have taken place in the context of chronology of Indian history. Majority of these chronology markers are based on empirical and objectively testable evidence where inferences are drawn with deductive logic and thus have withstood some of the toughest demands expected of a scientific theory, testing and inferences. Each one of them act as deadly poison pill for AIT. In the remainder of the paper we will enumerate few poison pills.

2.6.1 Astronomy evidence from the epics (Mahābhārata & Rāmāyaṇa)

There are more than 130 claims for the chronology of Mahābhārata war and more than 15 claims for the chronology of Rāmāyaṇa. Unfortunately, majority of them are plagued with poor comprehension of evidence or total ignorance of the logic of scientific method.

Oak (2011) revolutionized the chronology research of Mahābhārata by demonstrating for the first time an objectively testable solution to the problem of Arundhatī Vasiṣṭha (AV) observation. This led to a well-defined interval of about 6500 years (11091 BCE – 4508 BCE) for the year of Mahābhārata war. This discovery led to the prediction for the duration of Bhishma on the bed of arrows to be equal to 98 days. What is fascinating is that further investigation of Mahābhārata evidence showed that the text indeed has evidence for duration of Bhishma on the bed of arrows to be more than 92/95 days. This discovery in turn led to next prediction of the lunar month of the war to be that of Mārgaśīrṣa and the timing of the war to be that of early Śarad season. Again, the evidence from the pages of Mahābhārata text showed that the war indeed took place during the lunar month of Mārgaśīrṣa and that the timing of the war was that of the early part of Śarad season. Total of more than 200 astronomy and chronology evidence of Mahābhārata text was tested in this prediction-testing-validation pattern to arrive at 5561 BCE as the year of Mahābhārata war.

Oak (2014) employed identical methodology in determining chronology of Rāmāyaṇa. Four independent astronomy observations from four different kāṇḍa of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and their objective testing led to the prediction of broad time interval [10,000 BCE – 17500 BCE] for the plausible timing of Rāmāyaṇa. Unique evidence of comet near

nakṣatra Mūla led to a conjecture for the year of Rāma-Rāvaṇayuddha, within this time interval, which in turn was corroborated by more than 300 astronomy and chronology observations of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. The chronology for 30-year period of Rama's life thus obtained led to various predictions of seasons for the specific events of Rāmāyaṇa. More than 200 additional descriptions of seasons from Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa provided corroboration for these predictions. Thus, more than 500 specific observations and their objective testing led to 12209 BCE as the year of Rāma-Rāvaṇayuddha.

No one should accept above claims at a face value and all curious individuals should test them, each one of them (more than 800 specific astronomy and chronology observations), against the toughest standards set by the logic of scientific method. How one can go about testing each of these observations, one at a time, in an objective fashion is illustrated in Figure 12.

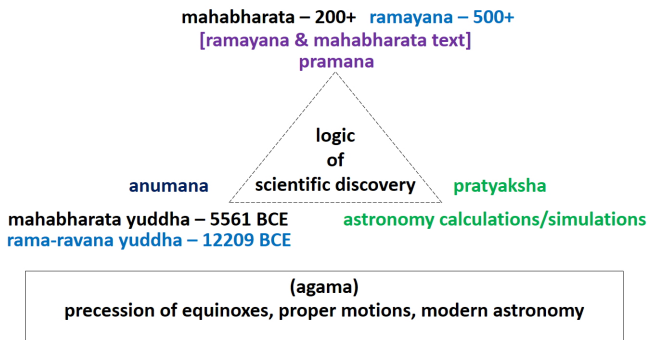


Figure 12

The culture depicted in both Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa has Sanskrit language at its core and both epics allude to existence of Ṛgveda long before the events described in them. Thus, presence of Sanskrit language and Sanskrit language based culture can be shown to have existed, in abundance, within India during 6th millennium BCE (Mahābhārata) and 13th millennium BCE (Rāmāyaṇa) and is depicted in Figure 13.

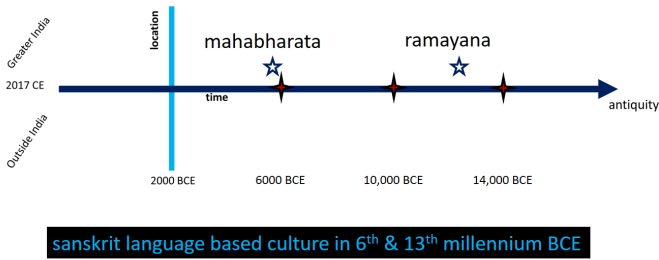


Figure 13

2.6.1.1 Tāmasic skepticism of astronomy evidence

What shocks many a researcher of these astronomy studies are the timelines arrived at due to scientific testing of astronomy evidence from these epics. A number of researchers who have learnt to produce their research to fit the existing paradigm for antiquity of human civilizations are flabbergasted by claims of such deep antiquity. This is all to be expected. All revolutionary discoveries have this effect of rousing sleepy researchers from their slumber. This should lead them to investigate and test these claims. Unfortunately, the reaction of many is emotional, and instead of focusing their efforts on comprehending these claims and then critiquing them – brutally and rationally, these researchers criticize these claims with any irrational means they can find at their disposal. The reasons for such ignorance could be many and may be a subject of separate research effort.

It would be useful for these researchers to realize that a typical measure of scientific success is the ability of a scientific theory to deliver novel predictions, which – if experimentally proved – might constitute an important advance for our scientific knowledge, in general, and an important advance for our knowledge of ancient Indian history, in this specific case.

A recurring and false accusation, from all and sundry, claims that these claims were arrived at based on one or two isolated astronomy observations. This is far from the truth. In fact, investigation of Mahābhārata astronomy evidence presented (Oak, 2011) is the first and only comprehensive investigation that considers all astronomy

evidence of the Mahābhārata text and objectively tests it within the scientific framework. The second investigation (Oak, 2014) is also the first and only comprehensive investigation that considers all astronomy evidence of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa text and objectively tests it within the scientific framework.

Another recurring objection refers to lack of any additional astronomy evidence that also points to such deep antiquity. This is again an unjustified and unfounded objection. The reality is enormous evidence is already being found and much new evidence is on its way, purely from the field of astronomy that leads to event horizon into further antiquity that already established by the timeline for the epics. Only by way of illustration, few events along the last 17,000-year long timeline are presented.

2.6.1.2 Updates in Sūrya Siddhānta

Sūrya Siddhānta is an ancient Indian text. Like many other classical Indian works, it is written in verse form and in Sanskrit language. The text covers cosmology, planetary motions, eclipses, conjunctions, star positions, rising/settings, mathematics, geography, instrumentation and model-making. It is not a conventional textbook. It is too succinct and somewhat cryptic for a rank beginner. It is rather meant as a concise aid to instruction for the experienced teacher. The texts like Sūrya Siddhānta have been highly revered books since ancient times and ancient Indian astronomers would be hesitant to make any substantial changes unless the mistake was glaring. The variables such as equation of the sun, latitudes, obliquity of the earth's axis will have only small changes over thousands of years and are likely to be left alone.

Excellent work of Shri Anil Narayanan (2010, 2011) leads to identification of three specific updates to Sūrya Siddhānta. All the star longitudes in the Sūrya Siddhānta match with actual star longitudes of around 570 CE. Thus, there is the strong possibility that the last update to the longitudes were done at that time, plus or minus a hundred years.

Chapter 8 of the Sūrya Siddhānta gives the latitudes and longitudes of several stars. Now while star latitudes change very slowly,

longitudes change quickly due to precession, about 1 degree every 70 years. Narayanan (2010) made an intriguing discovery and further investigation with the help of computer simulation that involved stellar proper motions, ecliptic-obliquity variation, ecliptic node location variation and ecliptic sink variation for latitudinal data resulted in identification of another instance of update around 7300 BCE-7800 BCE.

Narayanan (2011) found that when compared to the current value of the equation of the Sun, the value given in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* is quite off the mark. But as one goes back in time, the *Sūrya Siddhānta* value comes closer and closer to the actual equation of the Sun, and around 5300 BC, the error is less than 1 minute of arc. Thus, assuming the equation of the Sun was measured accurately by the ancient Indian astronomers, and the fact that the error in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* value drops to 1 minute of arc in 5300 BC, we can surmise that the *Sūrya Siddhānta* data for the equation of the Sun was last updated around 5300 BCE (5000 BCE – 5500 BCE).

Bhaty & Oak (2017) identified another update event in *Sūrya Siddhānta* around 12000 BCE which is been corroborated not only by modern astronomy but also by corroborative evidence of *Rāmāyaṇa*. These four updates in *Sūrya Siddhānta* are summarized, and superimposed on the chronology of the epics in Figure 14.

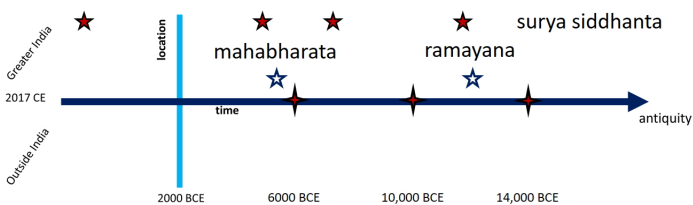


Figure 14

2.6.1.3 Update in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*

This phenomenon of updates is not a sporadic phenomenon and rather a norm for all *smṛti* literature of India. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refer

Finally, let's consider a scenario where memory of an ancient event is preserved in the text. The Mahābhārata text preserves a memory of an ancient event that can be estimated to have occurred sometime in 15th millennium BCE, the famous reference to fall of Abhijit. Oak (2011) describes the objective testing of this astronomy observation that leads to a timing interval of 14600 BCE through 14900 BCE. Both epics refer to the incident of sage Viśwāmित्रa creating Prati-sṛṣṭi by assigning first place to nakṣatra Śravaṇa and that this was the time of king Triṣaṅku. When these astronomy references are interpreted in the context of Rāmāyaṇa timeline and fall of Abhijit, it naturally leads us to the timing of 13, 000 BCE. These events are summarized in Figure 16.

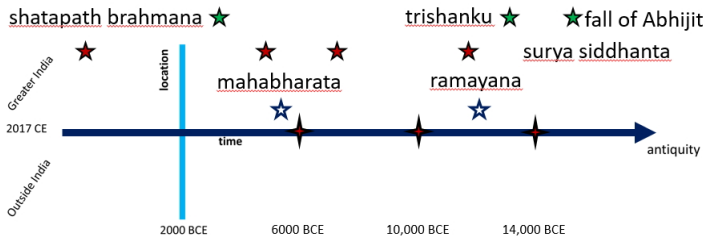


Figure 16

2.6.1.5 Why limit to only astronomy evidence

It is not unusual to hear of another objection which takes the form of, “Why limit to only astronomy evidence?”. The very objection smacks of much ignorance of how scientific research works. No sensible researcher would advocate or insist on one specific discipline of science and related evidence as the only choice or even a preferred choice. The availability of evidence determines the discipline of science employed in exploring and testing such evidence. Thus, the question, ‘why limit to only astronomy’ evidence is redundant.

Having said that, there is much about the superiority of astronomy evidence, when it is indeed available, and fortunately, it can be exposed to severe objective tests. And while there are no guarantees in what any piece of evidence and its testing would reveal, astronomy evidence is the only evidence that can predict the chronology of ancient events precisely, down to the year, month and day. This also allows brutal, factual and objective criticism of claims that are due to result of astronomy evidence.

These claims, based on astronomy, evidence should be compared and challenged by evidence from other disciplines of science. This has been accomplished in the rest of this paper, as follows.

2.6.2 Oceanography evidence for flooding & destruction of Dwarka

Oak (2011) tested more than 200 astronomy observations to arrive at 5561 BCE as the year of Mahābhārata war. Mahābhārata text refers to flooding and destruction of Dwarka, 36 years after the war. Thus, the predicted year for flooding and destruction of Dwarka is 5525 BCE (36 years after 5561 BCE).

Since Dwarka was assumed to be situated on the west coast of India, the evidence for its flooding can be searched among the records of oceanography evidence. It is important to remember that a specific coastal location may have evidence for numerous floods, Tsunamis or earthquakes and thus such evidence is only useful if the claim for flooding and/or destruction is being made via evidence from other discipline(s) of science. Thus, the question we ought to ask is, “is there compelling evidence for flooding or sudden rise of sea levels at postulated location of ancient Dwarka, in the year 5525 BCE?”. The answer to that question is resounding ‘yes!’.

Enormous evidence exists that refers to sudden rise of sea levels, around the world, in 6th millennium BCE. Let’s look at some of the key evidence from around the world.

Blanchon et al (1995) presented evidence of sudden significant rise, termed by them as CRE (critical rise event) in the sea level of about 6.5 m (+/- 2.5 m) around 7600 BP (5600 BCE +/- 140 years)) as far as Caribbean-Atlantic region. Ryan et al (1997) refer to abrupt drowning of Black Sea shelf due to inflow of Mediterranean water into the Black sea region during 7550 calendar years BP, which is about 5550 BCE. Ryan & Pitman (1998) demonstrated the timing of the event of Black sea to be that of 5525 BCE. The calendar ages of relevant samples were 7500, 7580, 7510, 7510, 7470 calendar years with one sigma error of only 35 to 50 years, thus providing impressive corroboration for predicted year of 5525 BCE.

Before someone wonders what the significance of presenting these studies far from the west coast of India is, let me present two studies from the region of west coast of India. Zarins (1992) shows evidence of significant rise in the sea level of about 20 m within, in the Arabian Sea during 6th millennium BCE. The picture is worth thousand words and this is indeed true in this composite graph shown in Figure 17 (Zarins,

1992), based on seven independent studies, which should remove all remaining doubts. The X axis scale is the time scale with years read from the left (numbers at the top) in BCE until the scale reaches zero. Further right to the zero the scale continues in CE years. Bhonde et al (2011) have also shown a break during early Holocene (6th millennium BCE), on the west coast of India (Gujarat region), representing the low sea level stand.

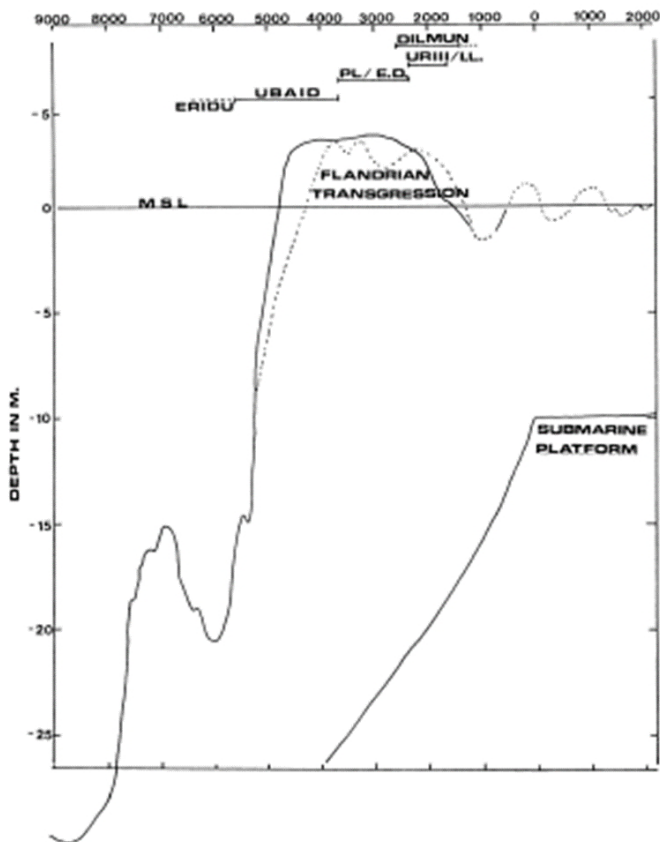


Fig. 4. Arabo-Persian Gulf Sea-level Fluctuations 9000–1000 B.C.
(Based on Kessler 1973: fig. 9; Asfend 1982: fig. 7.1; Larsen, per. com.; Sarin and Purohit 1986: 25; Sarin 1971: fig. 20; Nitzel 1975: fig. 1; Fehrer et al. 1978: table 7)

In conclusion, oceanography evidence, around the world, including the relevant area of plausible location of Dwarka (Mūl Dwārakā, Gulf of Cambay) demonstrate significant evidence of sudden and catastrophic sea level rise during 6th millennium BCE and specifically for the timing of 5525 BCE. This is a strong corroborative evidence for the claim of flooding and destruction of Dwarka for the year 5525 BCE, a claim based on astronomy evidence internal to the Mahābhārata text after testing more than 200 astronomy observations.

2.6.3 Seismology evidence for flooding & destruction of Dwarka

While many of us have visited Dwarka near Porbandar in Gujarat, India, very few of us know of a small place called ‘Mūl Dwārakā’ that is located south of Somanath. The current temple of Krishna in Dwarka is about 900 years old.

Let’s begin with the conjecture that the small town of ‘Mūl Dwarka (translated as ‘original Dwarka) is a proxy for the original Dwarka of Krishna as it points to the area of original Dwarka that is now underwater. The location of ‘Mūl Dwārakā’ is along the coast, in the modern state of Gujrat in western India as shown in Figure 18.

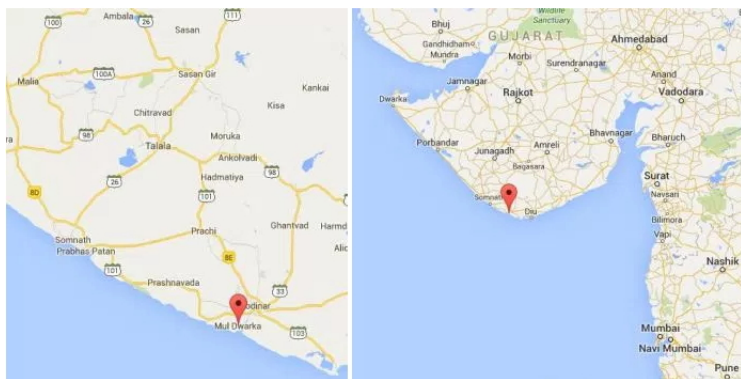


Figure 18

The area is active seismic zone. Several earthquakes have affected this area in the past few centuries, including the recent 8+ Richter scale earthquake on 26 January 2001 CE. On 16 January 1819 CE, an 8.3 magnitude earthquake affected this area.

It is critical to note that these earthquakes lead to lot of subsidence (land going down/sinking) and elevation at other places. This seismic activity leads to changes in the height of sea floors and not just land. These factors must be considered, along with sea level changes while researching ancient historical events. Various surveys, around the gulf of Cambay have picked up fault zones with elevation and depression of as much as 30 m. The gulf of Cambay was formed by a major rift.

Dr. Rajendran of National Center for Earth Science Studies, Trivenrum (now working at IISc, Bangalore) commissioned 'paleo-seismic' studies in this area. His excellent work led to identification and dating of ancient seismic events in this region. The major earthquakes events identified in this region belong to 7540 BP (+/- 130), 3983 BP (+/- 150) and 2780 BP (+/- 150). The evidence of 7540 BP, i.e. about 5540 BCE (+/-130 years) provides a corroborative event for the claim of flooding and destruction of Dwarka in 5525 BCE. Updated chronology scenario validated via various disciplines of science, for ancient Indian civilization is summarized in Figure 19.

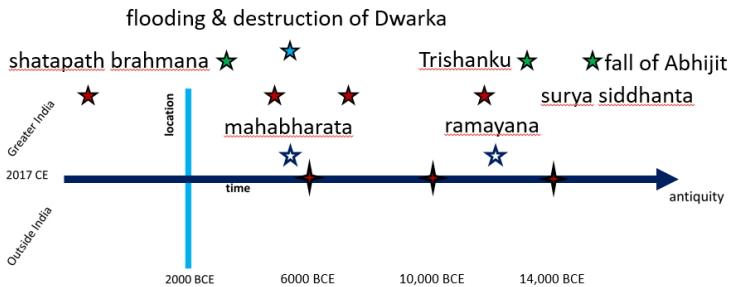


Figure 19

2.6.4 River Sarasvati evidence: nightmare of AIT proponents

Aryan invasion theory claims that Sanskrit or precursor to Sanskrit language did not exist in India prior to 2000 BCE and thus Ṛgveda or any Sanskrit based culture could not have existed in India, prior to 2000 BCE. No wonder, evidence of not only Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa but also Ṛgveda and presence of Sarasvati river in India,

prior to 2000 BCE, send shivers through the spine of AIT proponents and their heart palpitations increase!

In this section, impressive corroboration of descriptions of river Sarasvati from Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Ṛgveda with hydrology, geology, geophysics, genealogy evidence which in turn is corroboration of absolute chronology of epics and relative chronology of Ṛgveda is presented.

Figure 20 (Hector, 2017) shows broad paleochannel of river Sarasvati in the middle (Ghaggar-Hakra). North-west corner shows current path of river Satluj (Shutudri) and while eastern portion shows current path of river Yamuna. Multiple paleo-courses of river Shutudri could be seen between current path of river Shutudri and paleochannel of extinct river Sarasvati. Paleo-courses of river Yamuna could also be seen between current path of river Yamuna and paleochannel of river Sarasvati.

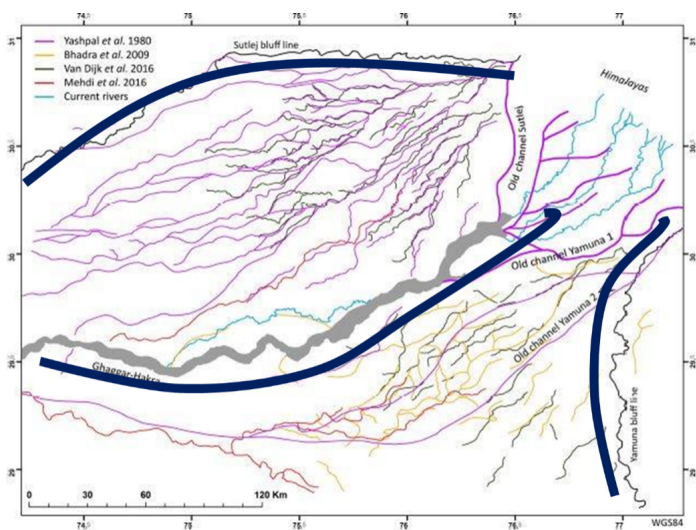


Figure 20

2.6.4.1 River Sarasvati: evidence from Mahābhārata & Rāmāyaṇa

Oak (2011) has summarized descriptions of river Sarasvati from the Mahābhārata text. The river is described as flowing with plenty water in many places. On the other hand, the river is described as disappeared under the sand at many other places. The river had numerous holy places on its bank and Balarāma did pilgrimage of river Sarasvati while Mahābhārata war was taking place.

Oak (2014) has enumerated descriptions of river Sarasvati from the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa text. The river is no longer the grand river of Ṛgveda; river Yamuna has already separated from river Sarasvati and has merged with river Ganga. River Shutudri has already turned sharp west and thus no longer feeding its waters into river Sarasvati.

2.6.4.2 River Sarasvati: hydrology, climatology and geology/geophysics evidence

Significant hydrology and geology research has taken place in the context of river Sarasvati and its paleo-tributaries. Clift and his research team (2012) showed that river Yamuna separated from river Sarasvati as early as 50,000 BCE and no later than 9000 BCE. Francfort and his research team (1992) reached the same conclusion more than 30 years ago when they asserted that the paleo-courses of river Sarasvati were dry from early Holocene or even earlier. Danino (2010) refers to numerous studies that indicate intensification of monsoon in India's northwest sometime after 9000 BCE that went back to current levels around 4000 BCE. His work also sites other studies that asset the complete drying up of river Sarasvati by about 2000 BCE.

This evidence from various disciplines of science – hydrology, climatology, geology and geophysics corroborates well with textual descriptions of the Mahābhārata and Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa text and with chronology of these epics arrived via internal astronomy evidence. This triangulation of scientific evidence with textual and chronology evidence is represented in Figure 21 and the summary of their corroboration is presented in Figure 22.

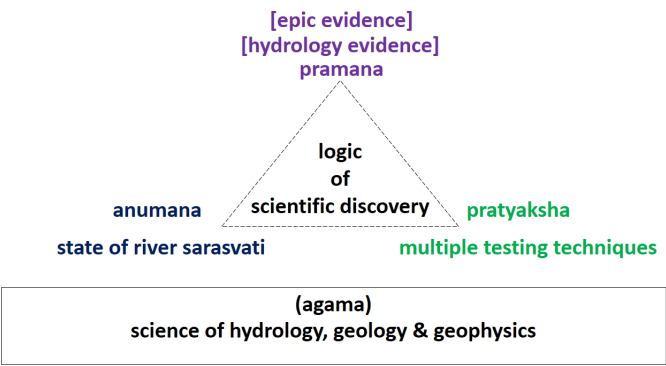


Figure 21

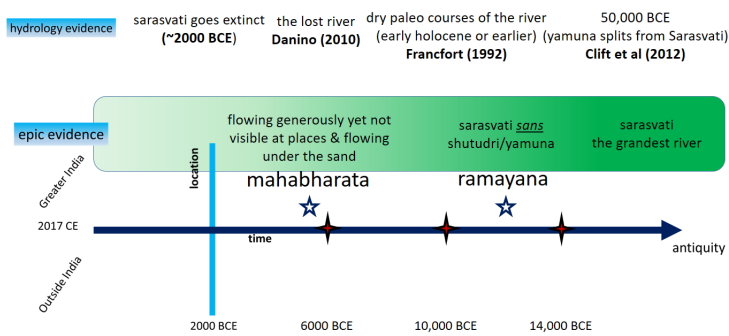


Figure 22

2.6.4.3 River Sarasvati: Ṛgveda – Relative Chronology & Hydrology Evidence

Ṛgveda is the oldest extant text of humanity, it has 10 maṇḍala-s, and it is indeed difficult to determine when its earliest portions were composed. The text was not inspired/conceived/composed at one time and Talageri (2000) did an impressive research to determine the relative chronology of its 10 maṇḍala-s by employing multiple internal elements of Ṛgveda text. Per this chronology, Maṇḍala-s 6,3, 7 are the oldest maṇḍala-s, followed by 4 and 2, respectively. Then come

Maṇḍala-s 5, 8 and 9. Maṇḍala 10 is the youngest maṇḍala and there is a significant gap, of unknown duration, between maṇḍala 9, last of the previous maṇḍala-s and maṇḍala 10. Sūkta-s of maṇḍala one can be divided into three broad categories that align with early, middle and the last maṇḍala-s of Ṛgveda.

What is fascinating is to note that all the references to grand Sarasvati, the biggest river among the rivers, the river that originates into the mountains and that reaches to the sea and more, occur in the earliest maṇḍalas of Ṛgveda (6:61:2, 8, 10, 3:23:8, 7:95.1-2, 2:41.16). On the other hand, by the time we read the descriptions of rivers in the last maṇḍala (maṇḍala 10) of Ṛgveda, Sarasvati is no longer the grandest river, although it is still flowing and revered, but now it appears, that river Sindhu seems to have occupied that status (10.75.5-6).

Recall that descriptions of river Sarasvati from the epics have indeed drawn this picture of river Sarasvati that matches with not only astronomy evidence based chronology of the epics but also hydrology, geology and climatology evidence based chronology for the state of river Sarasvati.

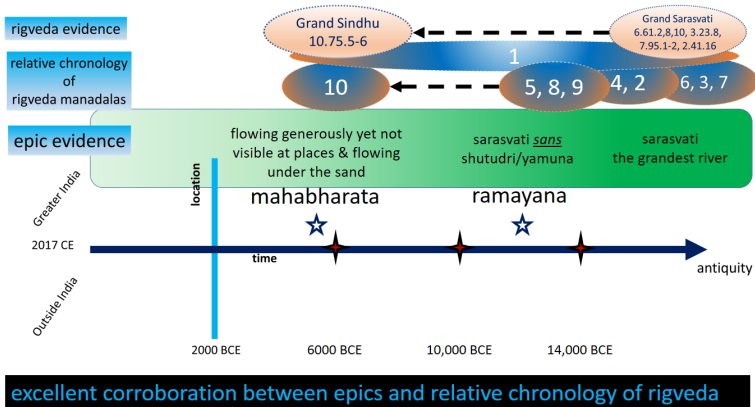


Figure 23

2.6.4.4 River Sarasvati: Ṛgveda, Rāmāyaṇa & Mahābhārata – Genealogy evidence

A question may be raised, “This is all impressive; however, what could be our rational for aligning oldest maṇḍala-s of Ṛgveda to a time earlier to Rāmāyaṇa, middle maṇḍala-s with the Rāmāyaṇa time and the last maṇḍala (maṇḍala 10) with the Mahābhārata time. To answer this question, we will have look at genealogy evidence of Ṛgveda.

The oldest maṇḍala-s of Ṛgveda (6.3. 7) are predominantly composed by sages of Vasishtha and Vishwamitra lineages who were most active prior to and during Rāmāyaṇa times. The 10th and last maṇḍala of Ṛgveda contains sūktas that mention Rama, Veṇa and Pṛthu of Ikṣvāku lineage (10:93) and Śantanu and Devapi of Kuru lineage (10.93). King Śantanu was father of Bhīṣma and one may wonder how this information became part of the Ṛgveda. The answer is rather easy. Mahābhārata text tells us that Maharṣi VedaVyāsa did edit Vedas (Mahābhārata text critical edition: Adi 57:72-75) and thus we can infer that the last (10th) Maṇḍala was edited during Mahābhārata times. This is our justification for aligning 10th maṇḍala of Ṛgveda with the period of Mahābhārata.

Absolute chronologies of Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata corroborate exceedingly well with hydrology evidence of river Sarasvati, relative chronology of Ṛgveda Maṇḍalas and with historical personalities mentioned in Ṛgveda. Thus, chronology proposal of 6th millennium BCE for Mahābhārata and 13th millennium BCE for Rāmāyaṇa corroborate well with relative chronology of Ṛgveda, historical personalities of Ṛgveda, Rāmāyaṇa & Mahābhārata and hydrology evidence of river Sarasvati. These researches also assert chronology of Ṛgveda to be prior to 13th millennium BCE and timing of 6th millennium BCE for the final editing of Ṛgveda. These are summarized in Figure 24.

Conclusions

No evidence for ‘Aryan’ inside or outside India, prior to formulation of AIT in 18th century CE is found. Sanskrit language and Sanskrit language based culture existed in India that can be validated scientific evidence with high degree of testability. Such evidence pours in from multiple branches of science – astronomy, hydrology, climatology,

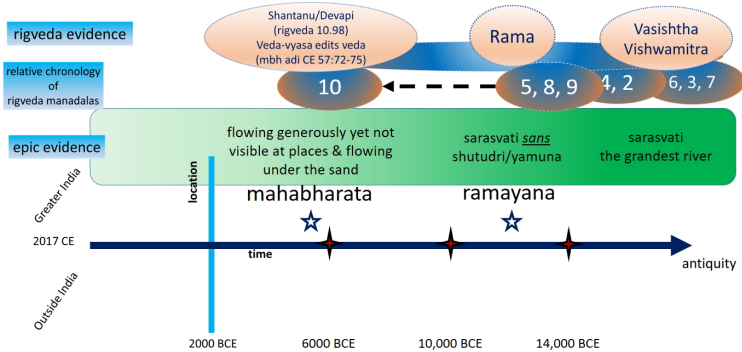


Figure 24

geology, geophysics, genealogies of kings and sages of R̥gveda. Linguistics claims of AIT were not only falsified via linguistics by work of Shri Talageri but also his work decisively showed that the language flow, if it did occur, occurred from India to outside India. Archaeology evidence showed continuous civilization in India for at least last 9000 years and genetics evidence shows out of India matrilineal and patrilineal gene flow over last 40,000+ years.

The word “ārya” was an honorific word meaning righteous and noble, very much of Indian and Sanskrit origin and the word was found nowhere outside greater India prior to direct contact of Europeans with India. India had Sanskrit language based continuous civilization for more than 17,000 years and its key chronology landmarks can be traced with the help of objectively testable evidence with the logic of scientific method.

Aryan invasion theory or its new incarnation – Aryan migration theory, is already being falsified. However, there is need to educate Indian population in a language they can comprehend and communicate to others.

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Chapter 9

Yogic Perceptions of Aryan-Dravidian Controversy

– *Subhodeep Mukhopadhyay*

Abstract

The epistemology of Nyāya accepts four *pramāṇa*-s or valid means of knowledge, *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upamāna* (comparison and analogy) and *śabda* (testimony of an authority figure). Traditionally in India, the testimony of an authority figure or *āpta* has been held in high esteem. In this paper we apply a *nyāya* framework to the vexed issue of the Aryan-Dravidian controversy using the *śabdapramāṇa* in relation to the utterances of three authority figures, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, and Sri Sri Ravi Shankar. Each of these three people have been very influential individuals, having directly or indirectly impacted the lives of numerous people and have considerable pan-India as well as international following and may be considered *āpta* based on the traditional pre-conditions, of right knowledge, desire to share knowledge and the ability to communicate effectively. This paper examines the key ideological foundations of the Dravidian movement and the Aryan-Dravidian divide. It is then demonstrated that all these three *āpta*-s have been highly critical of the racial connotations of the Aryan-Dravidian divide, its social and cultural ramifications and have categorically rejected the Aryan invasion/ migration theory. This

paper therefore critically examines the doctrinal basis of the Aryan-Dravidian controversy from the standpoint of dharma using a *nyāya* framework and Indic categories, and concludes that colonial racist theories are invalid and have to be discarded.

Introduction

Prior to the advent of European Indology, the words *Ārya* and *Draviḍa* traditionally had cultural and geographical connotations only. The racial and linguistic interpretation of the terms were provided by Max Müller and Bishop Caldwell, and this shift in meaning led to the rise of Indology as a discipline and the so called Aryan-Dravidian divide (Danino 2007:2). There are two parts to this issue. The first is the popularization of the Aryan Invasion theory which posits that around 3500-4000 years ago, barbarians from outside Indian subcontinent, the Aryans, invaded India and overran the indigenous Dravidians. Sanskrit, the language of the invading Aryans thus became a rival of Tamil. According to Colonial Indologists, these invading Aryans who shared common ancestry with Europeans brought civilization to India. Under the influence of 20th century German identity-need and with the popularization of European race science, what started out as a linguistic hypothesis, morphed into the notion of an Aryan race (Malhotra and Neelakandan 2011:14). The second part of this issue is strengthening of the victimhood narrative of the supposed autochthonous Dravidians who were allegedly forced to migrate from northwest to south India in order to escape the marauding Aryan invaders. In this narrative north Indians and other upper caste Indians became the descendants of the invading Aryans who had overran the ancestors of the native Dravidian Tamils (Danino 2001:148). Over and above that, British colonial administrators and the Anglican Church, popularized the linguistic separation of Tamil from other Indian languages, the notion of an original non-Aryan aboriginal “Tamulian” race and the alleged role of “cunning Aryan Brahmins” in subduing native Dravidians (Malhotra and Neelakandan 2011:62). The conflation of the four streams, traditional, cultural, racial and linguistic gave rise to tragic consequences like a north-south divide, rise of Dravidian nationalism in the 1920s, perception of Brahmin domination and anti-Brahmin protests and attacks, anti-Hindi agitations and Tamil identity politics. E.V. Ramasamy, who founded the Draviḍar Kazhagam,

believed that Tamilians were the ruler of the land prior to the advent of nomadic barbarians. The movement was based on the premise that Tamilians could re-emerge as a superior race if they give up their Indian and Hindu identity. Moreover since Sanskrit was associated with Aryans and Hindus, hence an anti-Sanskrit attitude was a key component of their movement.

“Aryans were nomads in different places and picked up different dialects. And what they call today their Sanskrit language is actually a combination of these dialects and languages spoken at different places in different ages. The Sanskrit language has nothing noble in it and the Brahmins spoke high about Sanskrit only to make themselves superior and to humiliate other languages.” (From the collection “The Great Falsehood”, Viduthalai, 31-July-2014).(Neelakandan 2015)

There is not much confusion with regards to the traditional cultural and geographical connotations of the terms *Ārya* and *Drāviḍa*, and it is also accepted that the Indo-Aryan language family is distinct from the Dravidian language family. However the conflation of tradition, race, culture and linguistics and the ideological basis of the Dravidian-Aryan divide have been challenged by a large number of scholars. Shrikant Talageri in (Talageri 2000) and (Talageri 2008) has systematically challenged the Aryan invasion scenario on various ground and has demonstrated that an indigenous Aryan model better explains the Indo-European spread linguistic problem and points to migrations out of India rather than invasions of India. On the Dravidian question, numerous scholars such as Ramachandran Nagaswamy in (Nagaswamy 2016) or Michel Danino in (Danino 2001) have demonstrated with evidence, affinity of Tamil culture with the north rather than perceived animosity. Rajiv Malhotra and Aravindan Neelakandan in their book *Breaking India* focus on the intervention by foreign churches, academics, think-tanks, foundations, government and human rights groups in engendering Dravidian and Dalit separatism, encouraging Dravidian Christianity movement and exploiting various social and political fault lines (Malhotra and Neelakandan 2011). Outside the field of academics, many prominent gurus and leaders from different parts of India over the last century, have questioned the Aryan-Dravidian issue and rejected the ideological foundations of the perceived north-south or invader-victim narrative.

This paper is neither an examination nor a rebuttal of the political Dravidian movement which was started by E.V. Ramasamy. In Indic traditions, a great deal of importance is given to the words of an *Āpta*, a term which can be roughly translated as a trustworthy authority. Spiritual gurus and leaders, provided they adhere to certain moral conditions are considered as *Āpta*-s (Phillips 2011). Therefore in this paper we are focused on understanding the utterances of a few prominent gurus and thinkers (*Āpta*-s) like Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and Sri Sri Ravi Shankar, on the ideological foundations of the Aryan-Dravidian divide. We have examined primary first hand sources like their speeches, transcripts of *satsangs*, discourses and writings, and additionally also examined secondary sources wherever available.

Nyāya epistemology and śabdapramāṇa

All schools of Indian thought regard ignorance as the root cause of all sufferings and true knowledge is required to overcome sufferings. Epistemology is the study of knowledge and deals with two fundamental questions, the nature of knowledge and the extent of knowledge. It tries to address issues like determining what is known and what is not, the limits of what can be known and the various valid means through which such knowledge can be gained. Indian knowledge systems rely on a variety of sources of valid means of knowledge. Nyāya is one of the six āstika schools of Indian philosophy and provides a methodology to systematically conduct investigations of objects and subjects of human knowledge. Vatsyayana defines *nyāya* as “a critical examination of the objects of knowledge by means of the canons of logical proof” (Bernard 2003:35). *Nyāya* is closely related to *hetu vidyā* (science of causes), *Ānvīkṣikī* (science of inquiry), *pramāṇa śāstra* (epistemology), *tattvaśāstra* (science of categories) and *tarka vidyā* (science of reasoning) (Vidyabhushana 1913:i). The *nyāya* system relies on four valid means of knowledge i.e., *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upamāna* (comparison and analogy) and *śabda* (testimony of authority figures).

Śabda or word is defined as the instructive assertion of a reliable person. Vidyabhushana gives the following illustration:

“Suppose a young man coming to the side of a river cannot ascertain whether the river is fordable or not, and immediately an old experienced man of the locality, who has no enmity against him, comes and tells him that the river is easily fordable: the word of the old man is to be accepted as a means of right knowledge called verbal testimony.”(Vidyabhushana 1913:4)

Śabda pertains to two kinds of assertions. One is about matters which can be seen and actually verified. The traditional example is a physician’s assertion that one gains physical strength by consuming butter. The other pertains that which is not seen, and that which we cannot verify but must ascertain by means of inference. The traditional example is the assertion of a religious teacher that a person obtains heaven by performing horse-*yajña* (Ibid.)

Śabda is accepted as a valid means of knowledge by most of the Indian philosophical schools except by the Jains, Buddhists, *Cārvāka* and *Vaiśeṣika* schools. The *Vaiśeṣika*-s however accept verbal testimony as inference provided it is the utterance of an infallible person. Discussions on *śabda* were an important component of historical philosophical debates in old India. In fact *śabda* as a *pramāṇa* is a key feature of the *Mīmāṃsā* School.

“Śabda (word) as a *pramāṇa* means the knowledge that we get about things (not within the purview of our perception) from relevant sentences by understanding the meaning of the words of which they are made up. These sentences may be of two kinds, viz. those uttered by men and those which belong to the Vedas. The first becomes a valid means of knowledge when it is not uttered by untrustworthy persons and the second is valid in itself.”(Dasgupta 2012: 395)

Āpta and Āpta Vacana

According to the *nyāya* system, there are two kinds of testimony, viz. *vaidika* and *laukika*. *Vaidika* testimony is associated with the transcendental realm while *laukika* is associated with the real world. As far as *laukika* testimony is concerned, only that which comes from a trustworthy person is valid.

“*vākyaṃ dvividhaṃ/vaidikaṃ laukikaṃ ca /vaidikamiśvaroktatvātsarvameva pramāṇam /laukikaṃ tvāptoktaṃ pramāṇam /anyadapramāṇam /*”

In the *nyāya* system, *śabda* is defined as correct knowledge derived from the utterances of one who is reliable and truthful, and such a person is known as an *Āpta*.

“*āptopadeśaḥ śabdah*” Gautama’s *Nyāya sūtra* 1.1.7

A reliable person may be a *ṛṣi* (seer), an *ārya* (countryman) or even a *mleccha* (foreigner or barbarian) provided that as an expert on a certain matter he is willing to share the same with others (Vidyabhushana 1913:4). Such a person is characterized by three qualities, viz. (1) he has direct and right knowledge of a given subject, (2) he is compassionate and wants to share the knowledge with others and (3) he has the ability to communicate such knowledge effectively.

“*āptaḥ khalu sāṅsātṛtadarmāyathādrṣṭasyārthasya. cikhyāpayiṣayā prayukta upadeṣṭā*” Vātsyāyana-bhāṣhya on Gautama’s *Nyāya sūtra*

An *Āpta* who is a *ṛṣi* or seer is able to “see” or cognize higher truths, and this has been corroborated repeatedly in the Vedic corpus. A technical term commonly used is *mantradrāṣṭā* or seer of the mantra. Swami Vivekananda says in this regard:

“Rishi-state is not limited by time or place, by sex or race. Vātsyāyana boldly declares that this Rishihood is the common property of the descendants of the sage, of the Aryan, of the non-Aryan, of even the Mlechchha.” (Swami Vivekananda 2008)

Such higher states of consciousness are a natural outcome of Yogic practices and there are numerous accounts of spiritual masters performing supernormal activities or attaining siddhis. It should be noted that the biographies of spiritual gurus have mostly been recorded by their spiritual disciples or by people who are in some way related to their spiritual movement. Most academicians in order to highlight the apparent “subjective” component of such accounts, prefer to use the term hagiography rather than biography. Dorthe Refslund Christensen says:

“Hagiographies are not “objective” historical accounts put forward in a narrative style meant to reproduce all the highlights of the person’s life. On the contrary, hagiographies are social and textual constructions produced with the particular aim of informing the recipient about specific paradigmatic events and actions connected to the founder or originator of a religion.” (Christensen 2005:233)

As far as gurus are concerned, an average Hindu sees no dichotomy between biography and hagiography, and would tend to treat them as the same. In fact in India traditions, the holiness of a guru is assessed based on many signs and symbolisms, like time of birth, planetary alignments, special powers and rare capabilities exhibited from very early on. The lens used to view the stories of our gurus is a lens of śraddhā or trust and reverence. In their interpretation of Mahābhārata, Adluri and Bagchee refer to this as the hermeneutics of respect which more than establishing historicity aims to assess the underlying philosophical implications of such texts and understanding through the stories about ourselves in relation to the cosmos (Banerjee 2017). In a similar way lives of saints and gurus are usually studied by Hindus using a hermeneutics of respect as opposed to a hermeneutics of suspicion.

Having said that, there are studies which suggest that these higher “Rishi States” or so-called “mystical powers” are a natural progression of humans beyond adulthood, and are not momentary or unverifiable, but rather “a developmental level of subtlety and comprehensiveness that goes beyond the level which can be readily appreciated within the boundaries of ordinary adult thought. (Alexander, and Alexander 1987). Another study has shown positive correlation between Transcendental Meditation program of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and higher states of consciousness during sleep (Mason et al. 1997). Hence it may not be unreasonable to say that an *Āpta* may make use of higher cognitive powers to garner insights which a non-*Āpta* may not readily perceive either through direct perception, or inference or comparison. Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and Sri Sri Ravi Shankar are all *Āpta*-s, given their proven track record of being knowledgeable, their willingness to share such knowledge and their ability to communicate such knowledge in a form that non-experts can comprehend without much difficulty.

Swami Vivekananda

Swami Vivekananda (1863 – 1902) was an Indian Hindu monk and mystic who brought Hinduism to the status of a major world religion during the late 19th century. He was the founder of Ramakrishna Math and the Ramakrishna Mission. As a student he excelled in music, gymnastics and studies, and had a strong understanding of

both Western and Indian philosophy and history. He was born with a yogic temperament, and would practice meditation even from his boyhood. While he is considered a great scholar and an extraordinary intellectual, he was also a mystic, and a number of accounts of his mystical or higher powers are available from his disciples both within and outside India. (Nandy 2014) based on accounts of a French opera singer, an American national and Indian disciples and devotees, touches upon Swami Vivekananda's advanced yogic capabilities.

Swami Vivekananda accepted the Aryan and Dravidian language families as distinct language families but viewed entire India as one people and did not accept the view that Aryans invaded India and subjugated the native Dravidians. He understood the serious implications of the Aryan-Dravidian divide for the unity of India and especially for Tamil Nadu, and opposed it in various public platforms. In his "Lectures from Colombo to Almora" in 1897 he says:

"...I want to discuss one question which it has a particular bearing with regard to Madras. There is a theory that there was a race of mankind in Southern India called Dravidians, entirely differing from another race in Northern India called the Aryans, and that the Southern India Brâhmins are the only Aryans that came from the North, the other men of Southern India belong to an entirely different caste and race to those of Southern India Brahmins. Now I beg your pardon, Mr. Philologist, this is entirely unfounded. The only proof of it is that there is a difference of language between the North and the South. I do not see any other difference." (Swami Vivekananda 2008: 221)

He rejected the "Aryan theory and all its vicious corollaries" and insisted that all Indians, especially those of the south needed a "gentle yet clear brushing off of the cobwebs" of the theory. He accepted the traditional definition of the term *Ārya* and insists that the whole of India is Aryan. He says in this regard:

"We stick, in spite of Western theories, to that definition of the word "Arya" which we find in our sacred books, and which includes only the multitude we now call Hindus. This Aryan race, itself a mixture of two great races, Sanskrit-speaking and Tamil-speaking, applies to all Hindus alike." (Swami Vivekananda 2009)

Many Indologists of his times ascribed the term "dasyu" to native aborigines of India, and equated them with a Dravidians race, a notion which Swami Vivekananda categorically rejects. He says:

“Whatever may be the import of the philological terms “Aryan” and “Tamilian”, even taking for granted that both these grand sub-divisions of Indian humanity came from outside the Western frontier, the dividing line had been, from the most ancient times, one of language and not of blood. Not one of the epithets expressive of contempt for the ugly physical features of the Dasyus of the Vedas would apply to the great Tamilian race; in fact if there be a toss for good looks between the Aryans and Tamilians, no sensible man would dare prognosticate the result.”(Swami Vivekananda 2009)

He not only saw a unifying theme in India, but also firmly believed that for the nation to progress, the Aryan-Dravidian divide and Brahmin-non-Brahmin divide had to be dissolved, and had given a warning that if not resolved at the earliest, these disagreements could potentially transform into schisms.

“And the more you go on fighting and quarrelling about all trivialities such as “Dravidian” and “Aryan”, and the question of Brahmins and non-Brahmins and all that, the further you are off from that accumulation of energy and power which is going to make the future India. For mark you, the future India depends entirely upon that.”(Swami Vivekananda 2008:230)

Sri Aurobindo

Sri Aurobindo(1872 – 1950) was a philosopher, yogi, mystic and spiritual guru who developed the philosophy of Integral Yoga and human evolution. As a polyglot he was fluent in Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, English, French, German, Greek and Latin. Having studied and grown up in England prior to coming back to India, he was conversant with both Western philosophies and the Hindu philosophy of Veda-s, Upaniṣad-s, Tantra and Bhagavad Gītā, and his own philosophical position was solidly grounded in the Vedic tradition. After his return to India in 1893, he had a number of intense spiritual experiences such as being engulfed in a vast calm for many months, vision of Godhead springing forth to save his life, experience of a living presence of Goddess Kali in a temple on the banks of Narmada River and vision of the Infinite in an ancient Shankaracharya Temple in Srinagar in Kashmir (Sri Aurobindo 2006:110). M. P. Pandit says:

“Sri Aurobindo does not think or build in vacuum. His philosophy...is based on the solid foundations of his spiritual experience ripening into realization. He takes care to verify this experience with reference to past spiritual realizations and see how far they corroborate his line of experience and the vision that he sees, *darshana*. ...Sri Aurobindo is at one with the perception of the Rishis of the Upanishad that man is essentially divine.... It is in this sense that his philosophy is called realistic *advaita*.”(Pandit 2014)

Sri Aurobindo understood the Aryan-Dravidian identity issue and all its nuances. He was extremely critical of the Aryan Invasion theory where “barbarous Aryan invaders” supposedly invaded, conquered and subjugated the “civilized Dravidians” after coming through the Punjab and he wondered if the whole theory was not simply a “myth of the philologists. (Sri Aurobindo 2012:6)

“...the indications in the Veda on which this theory of a recent Aryan invasion is built, are very scanty in quantity and uncertain in their significance. There is no actual mention of any such invasion. The distinction between Aryan and un-Aryan on which so much has been built, seems on the mass of the evidence to indicate a cultural rather than a racial difference.”(Sri Aurobindo 2012:26)

In his study of the Vedas, based on which European Indologists had posited the invasion scenario, he concluded that not only was there no mention of any invasion, but also the differences between Aryans and others were of a cultural nature rather than being racial. He completely rejected the racial Indological thesis of fair-skinned barbarian Aryans overwhelming and subduing the original black-skinned dasyus who inhabited a civilized Dravidian peninsula.

“It is urged that the Dasyus are described as black of skin and noseless in opposition to the fair and high-nosed Aryans. But the former distinction is certainly applied to the Aryan Gods and the Dasa Powers in the sense of light and darkness, and the word *anāsah* does not mean noseless. Even if it did, it would be wholly inapplicable to the Dravidian races; for the southern nose can give as good an account of itself as any “Aryan” proboscis in the North.”(Sri Aurobindo 2012:26)

Sri Aurobindo during his stay in the south, while admitting a “general impression of a southern type”, found it difficult to pinpoint what it was that separated the supposedly Aryan northern Indians from the Dravidian south Indians and instead observed that behind all variations there remained a “a unity of physical as well as of cultural

type throughout India” and discarded the “sharp distinction between Aryan and Dravidian races created by the philologists”(Sri Aurobindo 2012:37-38). Based on his deep knowledge of numerous languages like Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Tamil, he came to the conclusion that at some point in history the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages were linked and originated from a common source. He says:

“For on examining the vocables of the Tamil language, in appearance so foreign to the Sanskrit form and character, I yet found myself continually guided by words or by families of words supposed to be pure Tamil in establishing new relations between Sanskrit and its distant sister, Latin, and occasionally, between the Greek and the Sanskrit. Sometimes the Tamil vocable not only suggested the connection, but proved the missing link in a family of connected words. And it was through this Dravidian language that I came first to perceive what seems to me now the true law, origins and, as it were, the embryology of the Aryan tongues. I was unable to pursue my examination far enough to establish any definite conclusion, but it certainly seems to me that the original connection between the Dravidian and Aryan tongues was far closer and more extensive than is usually supposed and the possibility suggests itself that they may even have been two divergent families derived from one lost primitive tongue.”(Sri Aurobindo 2012:38)

Sri Sri Ravi Shankar

Sri Sri Ravi Shankar is a modern day guru and spiritual leader belonging to the sampradāya of Swami Brahmananda Saraswati, Shankaracharya of Jyotirmath and is a disciple of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. He is the founder of the Art of Living Foundation, a nonprofit educational and humanitarian organization. Sri Sri Ravi Shankar was born on May 13th 1956 in Papanasam in Tamil Nadu on the day of Shankara Jayanti and he was given his birth name on the 11th day corresponding to Ramanuja Jayanti, both dates being considered very auspicious in Hindu tradition. As a child he was gifted, and by the age of four he was able to recite the Bhagavad Gītā and was adept in meditation techniques. According to his biography compiled and collated from his devotees, the Shankaracharya-s of Sringeri and Kanchi, as well, as the Shankaracharya of Shivaganga recognized the divinity within him. Avdeeff points out that these are signs of a young saint’s lives, something which Marine Carrin refers to as “exceptional maturity” displayed by saints in their childhood(Avdeeff 2004:322).

Another legend is that when he was an infant the hanging cradle on which he was rocking, crashed and the supporting metal chains instead of crushing him, fell outwards miraculously. Inga Bardsen Tollefsen says that there “is a plethora of stories from various sources concerning Shankar’s childhood, and in a hagiographical fashion most of them point to the guru he would become” (Tøllefsen 2012:39). In 1982, during a 10-day period of withdrawal and silence, he is said to have received the Sudarśan Kriyā technique, a central tenet of his teachings. Over the next few decades he and his students reintroduced this technique and trained numerous people globally (Avdeeff 2004:324-326). As per the official website today Art of Living is spread across 155 countries and has “touched the lives of over 370 million people” by teaching them “stress-elimination programs which include breathing techniques, meditation and yoga” which help “overcome stress, depression and violent tendencies.” (The Art of Living 2017)

Sri Sri Ravi Shankar says that “Aryans” did not come into India from somewhere outside and that Indian civilization has been there for thousands of years. He says that the idea of “Aryans” was developed without “taking into account available records of history, astrology and the books that are available” (Sri Sri Ravi Shankar 2008). He refers to the Aryan invasion theory as “complete falsehood” and laments the fact that textbooks still teach the theory (Sri Sri Ravi Shankar 2012). He insists that the term *Ārya* refers to individuals who are refined, cultured and educated and does not have any racial connotations. He sees the Aryan issue as part of a larger question of the origin of people. The prevalent theory is that people are born in one place and from that focal point they migrate to different places. According to Sri Sri Ravi Shankar this sort of linear thinking is erroneous and there is no reason why there should be a single origin, and the *Purāṇa*-s prefer an independent multiple origins model (Sri Sri Ravi Shankar 2011). In other words there is no requirement for an Aryans invasion theory where Aryans come from central Asia and displace the native Dravidians. According to him, scholars have attempted to highlight differences and create a north south divide in India using the Aryan-Dravidian framework.

“They made lot of distinction and tried to create a north south divide in India. They pumped up the Tamil by saying, you have been invaded by Aryans and they did complete injustice to you, so they raked the

issue and the Dravidian movement started in India which was opposed to north. They opposed Hindi, Sanskrit and anything in the north.” (Sri Sri Ravi Shankar 2008)

Conclusion

It is evident that all the three authorities we have considered have categorically rejected the racial basis of Aryan-Dravidian divide and spoken against the ideological foundations of the Dravidian program. Moreover, many Hindu spiritual gurus and their sampradāya-s reject the Aryan Invasion or migration theory, and firmly believe that Vedic teachings are Indian in origin. David Frawley points out that organizations like Self-Realization Fellowship (SRF), Ramanashram (of Ramana Maharshi’s lineage), and many members of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi’s Transcendental Meditation program do not accept the racial Aryan invasion/migration theory (Frawley 2014). Social reformer and independent India’s first Law Minister, Babasaheb Ambedkar (1891 – 1956) rejected the Aryan invasion theory and the racial connotations of the terms “*Ārya*” and “*Draviḍa*”. He considered *Ārya* to be a cultural term and not a race and agreed to Ketkar’s assertion that all the princes in India, whether Aryan or Dravidians were Aryas and that **“whether a tribe or a family was racially Aryan or Dravidian was a question which never troubled the people of India, until foreign scholars came in and began to draw the line.”** (Ambedkar 2014:21) (emphasis ours)

“The Aryans were not a race. The Aryans were a collection of people. The cement that held them together was their interest in the maintenance of a type of culture called Aryan culture. Anyone who accepted the Aryan culture was an Aryan. Not being a race there was no fixed type of colour and physiognomy which could be called Aryan.” (Ambedkar 2014:419)

Using *Nyāya* epistemology and *śabda pramāṇa* or verbal testimony as a means of valid knowledge, we have thus tried to examine the ideological foundations of Dravidian-Aryan divide from a truly indigenous Dhārmic perspective using Indic categories. Despite the small sample set, we can argue that based on the *śabda* of *āpta*-s, the colonial racist theories pertaining to Dravidian-Aryan schism are invalid and have to be discarded.

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Chapter 10

***Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*: Interaction with Tamil Literary and Cultural Traditions through the Ages**

– *Parthasarathy Desikan*

Abstract

The geography of Bharat took care long ago to see that several Prakrits should appear and develop among *Bhāratiya*-s north of the Vindhyas while a few Dravidian languages should similarly take root in the south. Sanskrit, refined from its earlier Vedic form, was eagerly learnt all over Bharat, and its grammar-basics helped to create grammatical rules for major languages in the regions, whenever they were ready. Tamil, one of the most ancient languages of the land, refers to Vedic practices in its oldest literature. The introduction of the two *itihāsa*-s well-known in Sanskrit helped in the healthy growth of *Viṣṇu bhakti* in the Tamil region, and with Tamil participation in the creation of healthy adaptations in both Tamil and Sanskrit, also in the rest of Bharat. These adaptations have been time tested. Recognition of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as *avatāra*-s of *Viṣṇu* became an essential prerequisite. The universal love that the two *avatāra*-s could inspire in people of their time, and in all of us as *mūrti*-s in temples and as *itihāsic* persona, their availability as guiding force on earth and as ultimate refuge, define them for the average *Bhāratiya*. This paper considers this phenomenon

as a test for defining adaptations of the epics as stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. A few examples of such adaptations and commentaries from western Indologists and similar-minded *Bhāratīya*-s are examined in some detail to show which of them fail to meet the specification and in what manner. It is hoped that the analysis would help both in discouraging the future generation from such writing and protecting *Bhāratīya*-s from the negative fallouts from what is already available.

Introduction

Some western Indologists and similar thinkers in India have a tendency to access literary spaces which we consider sacred and interpret them inappropriately. This was efficiently and critically examined in the previous meeting of this conference (Conference Report, Kannan 2017) and the prolific and not too responsible writings of one western Indologist were duly taken apart by more than one participant. The availability of recent casual retellings of our *itihāsa*-s and *purāṇa*-s on the one hand, and the highly motivated agenda of western Indology on the other, which lead to such misinterpretations, need not at all surprise us. The work of Rajiv Malhotra (*The Battle for Sanskrit*), the Swadeshi Indology deliberations and efforts of other ‘intellectual *kṣatriyas*’ must continue for quite a while to keep the invasion in check and weaken it. This paper first looks at a related but agreeably different phenomenon - our sacred spaces that has been working for at least two millennia, starting with the telling effects of the introduction of the two *itihāsa*-s, namely *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* in ancient Tamilnadu, all other regions of *Bhārata* and later beyond its frontiers too. The epics in their own form and their Tamil adaptations that did not compromise the original purpose have indeed been received as blissful gifts to the life and psyche of the Tamilians and in turn, all *Bhāratīya*-s. *Bhakti* in general and specifically *Viṣṇu Bhakti* had blossomed throughout *Bhārata*, helped along by the simultaneous use of Sanskrit, Prakrits and Tamil over a very long time. High proficiency in Sanskrit among Tamil scholars right through the centuries, dwindling only in recent times, was responsible for the appearance of good Tamil adaptations, which brought out the best present in the originals, while also adding some regional value. Excellent adaptations were also made in Sanskrit which emphasized the divinity in the characters of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. The stories of

Rāmāvatāra and *Kṛṣṇāvatāra* spread facilely throughout the Tamil land and were perpetuated in the *sthalapurāṇa*-s of the magnificent temples that dot its landscape. The main *mūrti*-s of many of these temples are Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, and festivities built round episodes of the epics have kept the devotees happy. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism took some time to learn to grow in stature together rather than in competition. The appearance of Sanskrit and Tamil works of local origin, including the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* helped the process along. A *Sanātanīc* specification for any adaptation of either *itihāsa*, which would seek to be recognized as another *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Kṛṣṇacarita* thus came into being. As against this, other adaptations of the epics as well as commentaries have appeared more recently, some of which could be appreciated as interesting cultural and literary variations and read or studied for pleasure and research. Many however, which did not reinforce the recognition of the two divine *avatāra*-s are unlikely to interest lay *Bhāratīya*-s including Tamils, who always remember the devotion of Hanumān to Rāma, the surrender of Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa to Rāma, the love that the simple *Gopī*-s felt for Kṛṣṇa and the inspiring messages of Kṛṣṇa's *Gīta* through Arjuna to all the world.

The Pūrvapakṣa

All Rāma stories are *Rāmāyaṇa*. All Kṛṣṇa stories are to be regarded as equal to Kṛṣṇa stories in *Mahābhārata* or the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.

This assertion is examined in the light of the eager assimilation of the *itihāsa*-s in Tamil regions well before the Common Era, and the adaptation of their basic stories through Tamil and Sanskrit works carrying the same message to the people.

How the region got ready

- The region originally known as *Tamizhagam* has shrunk in size in recent centuries ago due to the flowering of the related Malayalam language between the 12th and 16th centuries in the *Cera* region west of the Western Ghats (Santhosh 2014) and more recently when some revision of state borders with neighbours was negotiated in free India. The northern boundary of the Tamil region in ancient India was the *Venkaṭa* hill, according

to the Sangam era Tamil Grammar treatise *Tolkāppiyam* (Danino 2009). *Panambāranār* in his prefatory verse to this treatise, refers to Tamilnadu as “the fine land lying between Venkaṭa in the north and Kumari in the South, where Tamil is spoken.” (Raghavan 2016: 231). The hill temple is mentioned as part of Tamil land in *Śilappadikāram* (Dikshitar 1939: 173; Desikan 2007: 94-95). Bounded by hills and seas, the Tamil land could preserve Tamil language from undergoing significant changes over the years. The Eastern and Western Ghats created different Dravidian language cells, while Prākritic languages somewhat resembling one another developed north of the Vindhya. However, pilgrimage traditions and thirst for education kept *Bhāratiya-s* travelling *Ā-Setu-Himācala* (from Rameswaram to the Himalayas) frequently, resulting in regular interchange of literature and culture. ‘Sanskrit and Tamil, two of the oldest languages of India’ had indeed ‘grown together since the dawn of historical times (Raghavan 2016: 231).’ Archaeological evidence including recent finds at Adichanallur (Subramanian: 2005) and in Kizhaḍi (The Hindu Net Desk 2017) indicates that Brāhmī script had arrived among the Tamils well before the Common Era. Prof V. Raghavan also states that the earliest inscriptions of Tamilnadu are in Brāhmī script with an admixture of Prakrit words, the Devanāgarī script for Sanskrit having come in later. The pattern of epigraphy of Tamilnadu, the scholar noted, ‘became settled into bilingual texts comprising a poetic historical part in Sanskrit and a prose Tamil part giving the details of the endowments.’ The use of *maṇipravāla* (mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil expressions) (Govindaraju and Srirangaraj 2009: 126) has continued in Tamil Vaiṣṇavite ritualistic writing until now, with the *granthalipi* serving along with Tamil (*vattezhuthu* and modern) *lipi* to write both languages.

Effect on Sangam literature

- When did the *itihāsa-s* arrive among the Tamils? We cannot say, because the earliest literary works in Tamil available to us are only those of the Sangam era (2 to 3 centuries before and after the start of the Common Era). We learn from the *paripāḍal*

verses in *purāṇānūru* and the epic *Śilappadikāram* of that era that recitation of Vedas and study of Sanskrit *itihāsa-s* and *purāṇa-s* were already prevalent (Danino 2009). Prof. R. Nagaswamy (Nagaswamy 1980: 23) noted that there are more references in Sangam literature to Vedic practices and *itihāsa-purāṇa-s* than to temples. Prof. V. Raghavan observed that *Puranānūru* has an invocation song from “*Perumdevanār*, who sang the *Bhārata* in Tamil” and mentions a second *Perumdevanār*, who also wrote a *Bhārata* version (Raghavan 2016: 243).

The devotional works and the pilgrimage of the Āḷvār-s

- The same knowledge of the *itihāsa-s* and *purāṇas* also inspired the Āḷvār-s, the foremost devotees in the Tamil Vaishnavite tradition, (between the 6th and 9th centuries CE) to travel throughout the country and compose some 4000 hymns to Viṣṇu enshrined in 106 temples, which got named *divyadeśa-s* in consequence (Srivatsan, 1984, Part 2). Āḷvār-s added the celestial *Śrīvaikuntha* and *Kṣīrasāgara* mentioned in the *purāṇa-s* to the 106 *kṣetra-s* on earth, mostly in South India. They included a select few in the north, such as Ayodhya, Dwaraka, Mathura, Brindāvan, and Badrināth, nearly all associated with *Rāmāvatāra* and *Kṛṣṇāvatāra*. The poem-collection is known as *Divyaprabandham* (Srivatsan 1984, Parts 1&2). In some Southern shrines, the Viṣṇu icon was named after Rāma or Kṛṣṇa. Thus, you have *Valvili Rāma* in Pullambūdanguḍi, *Kolavilli Rāma* in Vellianguḍi, *Ayodhyā Rāma* posing as one of the eleven Rudra-s at Tiruvaṇpurushottamam, and Rāma reclining on *darbha* grass at Tiruppullāni. Rāmeswaram where Rāma and Vānara-s are believed to have offered worship to Śiva (*Rāmanāthaswāmī*), is nearby. You also have *Vijayarāghava* at Tirupputkuzhi and *Vīrarāghava* at Tiruevvulūr, popularly known as Tiruvallūr, apart from Rāma icons in the famous temples at Vaḍuvūr and Madurāntakam. Kṛṣṇa is encountered as Govindarāja both in Tirupati and in Chidambaram, as Rājagopala at Mannārgudi and Kṛṣṇa in other *Gopala* forms in the five *Kṛṣṇa-kṣetra-s* at Tirukkannanguḍi, Tirukkannapuram, Tirukkannamangai, Kapisthalam and Tirukkovalūr. Kṛṣṇa as *Gītācārya* with the names *Venkaṭakṛṣṇa* and *Pārthasārathi* graciously offers *sevā*

to us at Tiruvallikkēṇi. The Ālvār-s often chose to sing about Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in the Viṣṇu shrines they visited. An Ālvār for instance becomes Rāma's mother and sings a lullaby for him and another becomes a Gopi complaining to Yashoda about the pranks of the child Kṛṣṇa. Yet others become Kṛṣṇa's lovelorn Gopī playmates and pine for his company. The lone lady among the Ālvār-s, Āṇḍāl, falls in love with *Bhagavān* at Srivilliputtūr and merges with him at the Śrīraṅgam shrine. Her *Tiruppāvai* verses are recited by the devout early in the mornings of the days of the *Mārgazhi* month year after year. In these sweet verses, some Gopī-s who practise a special *vrata* go around Gokula and wake up others in their group and finally meet Kṛṣṇa. They forget their original intention of borrowing a musical instrument from him for their ritual and instead surrender before him and plead that he should be with them in all their future births as well. Assuming *Nāyakībhāva*, the male Ālvār Tirumangai Ālvār too pines for the Lord in several verses.

- Vaishnavite pilgrims make it a point to visit as many *divyadeśa*-s as possible. In the past two decades, the *Kinchitkāram* trust (<https://www.kinchit.org/>) of Velukkuḍi Krishnan, a great exponent of discourses on Vaishnavite subjects has been arranging Rāma-specific and Kṛṣṇa-specific *yātra*-s, and tours also to places visited by Ācārya Rāmānuja.

The effect on the rulers and the Ācāryas

- The *Divyaprabandham* poetry of the Ālvār-s inspired the Tamil Kings who ruled over the area (Coḷa-s, Cera-s, Pāndya-s, Pallava-s and others who followed them) to provide the old shrines with larger and better equipped structures of great artistry, functionality, and beauty, endow them with lands, and encourage scholars to study *sthalapurāna*-s, create *āgamas* for worship and provide for daily and seasonal rituals and festivals with public participation. Endowments are also known to have been made during and after the reign of the *Pallava*-s for the recital and exposition of the epics as well as *purāṇas* in temples. All Tamil Vaishnavite Ācārya-s were *ubhayavedānti*-s in that they were well versed in Vedic *samskāra*-s and religious Sanskrit literature apart from knowing Tamil Ālvār literature

thoroughly. Starting from Nāthamuni, Yāmunācārya and Rāmānuja, all of them wrote in Sanskrit and Tamil, and their writing included verses on Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu's other manifestations.

The Tamil adaptations of the epics

- *Kavi Cakravarti Kamban* is the famed author of *Kambarāmāyaṇam*, (called by him *Rāmāvatāram*, spelt in Tamil with a default I in front), containing well over 10,000 beautifully crafted verses in the *virutthappā* style of metre. He was a court poet during the reign of Kulottunga Coḷa the first, which was in the late 11th century and the beginning of the twelfth. Kamban's preface (*Rāmāvatāram*, *pāyiram*) acknowledges the Sanskrit original to *Vālmīki* (*tavan*) and to three rishis including *Vālmīki* (*moovar*) (Gnanasambandar and Gnanasundaram (2002). He has depended also on references in *Divyaprabandham* (the collected works of Āḷvār-s, which contain over 4,000 verses) and some of his own embellishments to advantage. *Saṭhakoparantādi*, in praise of the famous Āḷvār, Nammāḷvār is reputed to be *Kamban's* work. Kamban's conviction that Rāma was an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu can be inferred from his title for his epic poem. This paper will not speak about the great literary merit of the *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*. This Tamil epic is of course avidly researched by many Tamil scholars in India and abroad. But we are concerned with the fact that the story conveyed by it has firmly reinforced the lay Tamilian's devotion to Rāma as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. The Wikipedia entry on *Rāmāvatāram* notes, "This epic is read by many Hindus during prayers. In some households, the entire epic is read once during the Tamil calendar's month of Āḍi. It is also read in Hindu Temples and other religious associations. On many occasions, Kamban talks about surrendering to Rāma, who is a manifestation of Viṣṇu himself.
- Villiputtūrār, who had the privilege of writing the most famous Tamil adaptation of *Mahābhārata* wrote only 10 out of the 18 *parva*-s of the epic, feeling satisfied with ending his book with the end of the *Kurukṣetra* war and the *Pāṇḍava* brothers getting back to *Hastināpura*. This excellent rendering, also having over 10,000 verses, seems to have been made in the 14th century.

Other than providing elaborate narration of the epic *Kurukṣetra* war and the destiny of the *Pāṇḍava*-s and the *Kaurava*-s, this Tamil version of the *Mahābhārata* comprises of much devotional and philosophical content and also poetic beauty. An elegant poem in *Udyoga Parva* for instance describes the fluttering of the flags on the ramparts of Kṛṣṇa's palace, signalling a big 'No' to Duryodhana visiting Dwaraka to seek Kṛṣṇa's help during the war, as if to make it clear that there is no hope for him. Villi Bhāratam has also inspired the composition, by the great modern Tamil poet Subrahmanya Bhārati, of a long poem on Draupadi's vow, which truly maps the admiration that Tamils feel for the heroine of the epic (*Bhārati Poems* 1997). Villages all over Tamilnadu have shrines for Draupadi, and annual festivals are held in honour of this brave heroine of the Pāṇḍava princes. Bhārati too, like the Ālvār-s makes us fall in love with Kaṇṇan (Kṛṣṇa) in other poems, where we see Kṛṣṇa in many roles, as a male lover, then as a beloved girl and again as a lovable servant.

- There have been other scholarly adaptations and retellings, both large and small, of both the *itihāsa*-s in Tamil by several authors including India's first and only Indian Governor General, Shri C. Rajagopalachari. Literal translations in Tamil prose meant for *pārāyaṇa* purposes are also available. Books have been written about any given episode, *upakathā* or portion of the two epics too. For instance, there are books on *Sītā Svayamvaram*, *Rukminī Kalyāṇam* or *Naḷacaritra*, *Rāmapādukāprabhāva*, or *Sabari's* devotion, *Hariscandra*, *Subhadra Kalyāṇam*, or *Āṅguliyaḥpradānam*.

Bhāṣya-s of the Bhagavadgītā

- Following the traditions of Sanātanic schools of thought, both Śankara and Rāmānuja, who founded *advaita* and *viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophies, wrote *bhāṣya*-s in Sanskrit and Tamil, of the *Bhagavadgītā*, which is considered the very essence of the Vedas, and is revered as a scripture by all Hindus. The two *bhāṣya*-s are the sourcebooks for religious and philosophical discourses all over Tamilnadu. Śankara in his philosophical poem, *Bhaja Govindam*, calls upon all mortals to meditate on Govinda, and recite the *Gīta* and the *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma*. All Hindus remember

Mahābhārata more for these two philosophical and devotional gems occurring in it just before and after the account of the Kurukṣetra war, than for the entire description of the war.

How the stories reach the masses

- The *Bhagavadgītā* is discoursed upon every day in Tamilnadu. Not a day passes in Tamil cities like Chennai, Madurai or Tiruchi without religious discourses, Harikatha or Villuppattu, and the subject is more often *Rāma* or *Kṛṣṇa* than any other. Versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as now available in print are taken up for holy recitations (*pārāyaṇa*-s) and religious discourses (*Harikathā*-s and *kālakshēpa*-s) with enjoyment by the people of the land. The *Dvaitasampradāya* of Madhwācārya also has a good base in Tamilnadu. Udupi *Kṛṣṇa* and Mantrālaya *Rāma* are favourite deities for many Tamils. The Hare *Rāma* Hare *Kṛṣṇa* based *mahāmantra* from the *Kalisanṭaranopaniṣad* which has caught the imagination of the Hare *Kṛṣṇa* Movement has been used in *bhajans* in Tamil Nadu from very distant times. The ISKCON temples in Tamil Nadu are well attended by locals. A parallel to the ISKCON homage paid to *Bhagavān* *Kṛṣṇa*'s beloved devotee-consort *Rādhā* is the much older Tamil practice of *Rādhākalyāṇa Mahotsavam*, a celebration of the marriage of *Rādhā* with *Kṛṣṇa* (which did not take place in the *purāṇa*-s) during which middle aged and old men take roles of *Rādhā* and other Gopis and dance along with a devotee taking the role of *Kṛṣṇa*! The Tamils enjoy *bhajans* and have taken to *Satsang*-s organized by worshippers of Shirdi Sai and Puttaparthi Sathya Sai with great enthusiasm. Translations of the Marathi *Mahābhaktavijaya* are avidly read by Tamil devotees of *Pāṇḍuraṅga Viṭhala* in whom they see *Kṛṣṇa*. The Tamils also continue to name their children with the many names given to *Rāma* and *Kṛṣṇa* in the *itihāsa*-s and *purāṇa*-s.

What the Tamil ethos did to the *Rāmāyaṇa* story

- Tamilians were happy that *Kamban* skipped the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* where the story of banishment of *Sītā* is described by *Vālmiki*. The *Viśiṣṭādvaitic Ācārya Vedānta Deśika*'s *Raghuvīragadya* (written

in Sanskrit) goes through the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* rapidly indicating the poet's personal agony in writing about the separation of the divine couple. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, also in Sanskrit, in which the divinity of Sītā and Rāma is made explicit, unlike in *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, is a part of or add-on to *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. There is a reference in it to Rameswaram, a Tamil temple site where Śiva is worshipped by Rāma. The author makes Śiva tell the entire story to Pārvati, emphasizing that Rāma is the ultimate *Paraṃ brahma*. He also introduces Advaitic philosophical messages to distract himself and the readers from the grief of the banishment episode. These devices could suggest a South Indian author, or at the least a scholar trained by a Tamil Advaitin. Though the actual identity of the author of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* has not yet been determined, I go along with the view held by some experts that the author is *Swāmi Rāmānanda*. This *sant*'s tendency in reconciling the *nirguṇa* nature of *paraṃ brahman* with the *saguṇa* nature of Rāma is well known, as also his knowledge of Tamil language. *Swāmi Tapasyānanda* (2001), who has translated the work into English for Sri Ramakrishna Math at Mylapore, Chennai, says in his Introduction, 'We have translated only (these) six Kāṇḍa-s, excluding the seventh chapter called *Uttara Kāṇḍa*, as it seems to be extraneous in *Rāmāyaṇa* proper'. The *Swāmi* and the Chennai branch of Ramakrishna Mission must have felt the author's own reservations about the *Uttara Kāṇḍa*. *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* is believed in turn to have inspired *Tulsi Dās* to write his famous *Rām Charit Mānas*. The *Tulsi* book is brief in its allusion to the banishment of Sītā in its 7th Kāṇḍa. The *Sant*'s sensitivities can be understood when we learn that his *Acārya*, *Narahari Dās* had been one of the ten famous *śiṣya*-s, disciples of *Swāmi Rāmānanda*.

Temple practices and a *Sthalapurāṇa*

- Rāma telling his *Vānara* counsellors (Valmiki Ramayana 6.18.33), that he offers total protection to anyone who surrenders before him and begs refuge even once, from all living sources of danger and Kṛṣṇa's promise in the *Bhagavadgīta* (BG 18.66) of ridding a devotee totally of all his sins when he gives up all possessiveness of his *karma* and surrenders to His will,

have made deep impressions on Srivaishnavites in Tamilnadu. That Bharata became a regent of Rāma's sandals for fourteen years and ruled the kingdom on their behalf was given a heavier import through *Vedānta Desika's* *kāvya* of 1008 verses, *Sri Pādukāsahasram*, (Desikan 2010) extolling the merit of Rāma's *Pādukā-s*, identified by him as *Pādukā-s* worn by *arcāmūrtis* of Viṣṇu everywhere, and especially by *Ranganātha mūrti* at Srirangam. This icon, along with a *vimāna* shaped like the *praṇava* letter *Om*, is believed to have been placed in Srirangam by *Vibhīṣaṇa* during his return to Lanka after Rāma's coronation. This *mūrti* that had earlier been worshipped by all kings of the *Ikṣvāku* clan had been presented to *Vibhīṣaṇa* by Rāma, according to the *sthalapurāṇa* of Srirangam. The reference in the epic to *kuladhanam* obtained by *Vibhīṣaṇa* before he proceeded to Lanka (Valmiki Ramayana - 6.128.90) makes it the primary (if not clear) source for the story. All Viṣṇu temples have a likeness of the *utsavamūrti's* sandals fixed to a noble metal crown at the top, which goes by the name of *śaṭhakopam* or *śaṭhāri*. (the enemy of meanness). This is placed by the *arcaka* either doing *ārādhanā* to the *mūrti* in the shrine, or accompanying the *mūrti* outside the temple during festivals, on the bowed head of every devotee who approaches for *Sevā*.

We shall now look at the nature of some other adaptations, mostly of the Rāma story. It can easily be seen that most of them have been unlike *Rāmāvatāram*, *Bhāgavatam* or Rām Charit Mānas, in that they do not consider Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as incarnations of Viṣṇu.

Many Ramāyaṇas

- The book, *Many Rāmāyaṇas* edited by Paula Richman discusses some of them. In its Introduction, which is also the first chapter, Richman reports her finding that the television (Doordarshan) serial on *Rāmāyaṇa* which was aired every Sunday morning from January 1987 in India was extremely popular with a lot of people all over the country watching it with great involvement. Their devotion for the iconic Rāma in temples seemed to have transferred itself to the Rāma on the screens of the individual and shared television sets. "They bathed before watching,

garlanded the set like a shrine, and considered the viewing of Rāma to be a religious experience. The size, response, and nature of the television *Rāmāyaṇa*'s audience led Philip Lutgendorf a scholar of Hindi *Rāmāyaṇa* traditions, to comment:

‘The *Rāmāyaṇa* serial had become the most popular program ever shown on Indian television—and something more: an event, a phenomenon of such proportions that intellectuals and policy makers struggled to come to terms with its significance and long-range import. Never had such a large percentage of South Asia’s population been united in a single activity; never before had a single message instantaneously reached so enormous a regional audience.’ (Lutgendorf 1995: 127)

It would seem therefore, that *Rāmānand Sāgar*'s TV serial can indeed be considered a *Rāmāyaṇa* in the genre of the original *itihāsa* or *Kaṃbarāmāyaṇa*. It had to be, because Sāgar used episodes from Vālmiki, Kaṃban, Tulsidās and others, whose Rāma stories showed directly or indirectly that Rāma was an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The historian Romila Thapar was among the few in India, who were not happy with the broadcast and its huge response. She felt that it reflected the concerns only of “the middle class and other aspirants to the same status”. (Thapar 2014) She felt that “the homogenization of any narrative tradition results in cultural loss; other tellings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story might be irretrievably submerged or marginalized.” Richman, however had decided to consider the televised *Rāmāyaṇa* “not as heralding the demise of other tellings, but as affirming the creation of yet another rendition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the latest product of an ongoing process of telling and retelling the story of Rāma.”

- The second chapter of Richman's book is ‘Three hundred *Rāmāyaṇa*-s’ by A K Ramanujan, of retellings in various regions of India and in Southeast Asia. However, after mentioning that there are probably three hundred different *Rāmāyaṇa* retellings in India and abroad, Ramanujan chooses only five different *Rāmāyaṇa*-s for a close look: Vālmiki's Sanskrit poem; Kaṃban's (I)rāmāvatāram, a Tamil literary account that incorporates characteristically South Indian material; Jain tellings, which provide a non-Hindu perspective on familiar events; a Kannada folktale that reflects preoccupations with sexuality and childbearing; and the *Rāmākien*, produced for a Thai rather than an Indian audience. Ramanujan finds

them to be “the expression of an extraordinarily rich set of resources existing, throughout history, both within India and wherever Indian culture took root. Like the set of landscape conventions of classical Tamil poetry, the elements of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition have been a source on which poets can draw to produce a potentially infinite series of varied and sometimes contradictory tellings.” Ramanujan likens the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition “to a pool of signifiers that includes plot, characters, names, geography, incidents, and relations” seeing in each *Rāmāyaṇa* a ‘crystallization’. He expects both constraints and fluidity in the creation of *Rāmāyaṇa*-s and expects one of the factors to be “the beliefs of individual religious communities.”

- In another chapter, Reynolds holds that the Buddhist telling is older than Vālmiki’s and that both Hindu traditions and Buddhist values are reflected in the way the Thai *Rāmākien* has been created.
- Richman thinks that she really began her book, owing to her puzzlement about the reaction of the Tamil people to the writings of the founder of *Drāvidakazhagam*, E V Ramasamy, as she says in the preface of her book. For years, she had heard people refer to Ramasamy’s interpretations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in a mocking and dismissive way. When she analysed his story of Rāma, however, she found much of it strikingly compelling and coherent if viewed in the light of his anti-North Indian ideology. She writes

“E.V.R. singled out the *Rāmāyaṇa* to censure. For E.V.R., the *Rāmāyaṇa* story was a thinly disguised historical account of how North Indians, led by Rāma, subjugated South Indians, ruled by Rāvaṇa.” (Richman 1991)

Although his ideas were comparatively radical—and potentially disorienting—to a population of devout Hindus, she thinks many people responded enthusiastically. According to her, “his ‘North vs. South’ interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* matched the political context in which E.V.R. was operating.”

Wendy Doniger

- In her contribution entitled ‘The enduring *Rāmāyaṇa*’, for a feature examining the cultural geographies of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in an issue of the *Geo* magazine six years ago (2011), Doniger considers it a shame that Ramanujan’s essay in the Richman book about versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* “in which, Sita, Rama and Lakshmana act in ways that violate the squeaky-clean stereotypes of their characters”, became a subject for legal action from ‘the saffron brigade’, when it was included in the readings at the Delhi University. Earlier in the same contribution, Doniger says, “The living tradition is constantly enriched by written and oral performances, by storytellers from different historical periods and different parts of India, and from different castes and backgrounds and language groups,- from Valmiki to Nina Paley, via Bhavabhuti, Kamban, Krittibasa, Michael Dutta, and all the village and Bollywood and diaspora storytellers (as Paula Richman has richly documented in *Many Rāmāyaṇa-s* and *Questioning Rāmāyaṇa-s*), -”.
- Wendy Doniger gives us a good indication of the kind of *Rāmāyaṇa* that she herself would have written, by her references to *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* characters in her well-publicised book, *The Hindus, an alternate History*, in which she makes irreverent remarks about several of the main characters. She interprets a remark of Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma to mean that Lakṣmaṇa found his father Daśaratha very lustful. She remarks that Rāma spent a week or more in great sexual indulgence with Sītā, just before banishing her to the forest (Doniger 2009: 153).

Sheldon Pollock and his School

- Pollock’s *Rāmāyaṇa*, Book 2, *Ayodhya*, published in 1986 and 2005 is highly acclaimed. He had published an earlier work in 1984, also based on *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. Through these and other smaller articles, he framed *Rāmāyaṇa* as a socially irresponsible work. He considers *Rajyābhiṣeka* or the rites of crowning a King in ancient India, as described in *Rāmāyaṇa*, as a process of divinization of an otherwise normal human king, carried out by Vedic Brahmins to infuse divine qualities of invincibility

in him. The Brahmins simultaneously demonize some others whom they consider their enemy, so that the king is expected to challenge them and kill them. It is Pollock's contention that the same process of branding which decided that Rāvaṇa and other *asura*-s should be killed by Rāma, has been at work with the divinization of Hindu rulers subsequently as well. The Turk invaders of the 12th century and Muslims in general nowadays are considered the other by Hindus according to him, fit to be demonized and then attacked. The kings or the rulers of the Hindu state thus have absolute powers through projection from the *Rāmarājya* concept and are not bound by any constraints in this special *Rājdharmā*. He even finds a *śloka* in *Mahābhārata* conferring on the king the absolute rights of dictatorship over the subjects and connects it back to *Vālmīki*, as Rajiv Malhotra points out in his book, "The Battle for Sanskrit". Pollock also holds that Hindu *dharmaśāstra*-s had all been made in changeless forms and none of them were later contextual additions in the religious life of the Hindus. He insists that all of them had their origin and authority right in the epics. Malhotra (2016) quotes him paraphrasing the *Bhagavadgītā*, 16.23-24 in the following words: "Whoever abandons the injunctive rules of *śāstra* and proceeds according to his own, will never achieve success, or happiness, or final beatitude. Therefore, let *śāstra* be your guide in deciding what to do and what not to do. Once you determine what *śāstraic* regulation pronounces, you may proceed to action." After citing many such examples, Pollock concludes that knowledge of every variety from the transcendental to the social (by his inference including even historic) is "by and large viewed as permanently fixed in its dimensions; knowledge, along with the practices that depend on it, does not change or grow, but is frozen for all time in a given set of texts that are continually made available to human beings in whole or in part during the ever repeated cycles of cosmic creation," He points out that the dominant position in the West is just the opposite.

- Chicago Professors Lloyd and Susan Rudolph wrote in 1993, "How did it happen that the Bharatiya Janata Party was able to hijack Hinduism, replacing its diversity, multivocality and generativity with a monotheist Ram cult?" "In time, Ram

stories became consolidated”. “In January 1987, an eighteen-month-long serial of the Ramayana based on the (*Rām Carita Mānas*) began airing at 9-30 am prime time, on state run TV”. “Ten months after the *Rāmāyaṇa* megaseries, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council) called on Hindus throughout India to make holy bricks, inscribed with *Rāma*’s name for use at Ayodhya. There, at the site of *Rāma*’s birth, and on the place of the Babri Masjid, they would build a temple to *Rāma*.” Pollock and his school, Malhotra notes, thus “consider that the *Rāmāyaṇa* intrinsically encodes and supports violence.” (Malhotra 2016: 321)

The Uttarapakṣa

The epics reinforced the loving devotion with which ancient Tamils worshipped manifestations of the infinite, which were traditionally pointed out to them by their ancestors. In the *Sangam* epic, *Śilappadikāram* (2007), we notice references to only a few temples of Viṣṇu, none of them yet dedicated to *Rāma* or *Kṛṣṇa*. The three main temples referred to are the Venkata hill temple and the temples at Srirangam and Thiruvananthapuram. Anecdotes from the *itihāsa-s*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, however, are presented in detail in the Tamil epic, *Rāma* and *Kṛṣṇa* being already understood to be *avatāra-s* of Viṣṇu. Within a few centuries however, the temples for Viṣṇu had multiplied and the *Āḷvār-s* sang about the *Viṣṇumūrti* enshrined in over a hundred of them. Some of them had *Rāma* and *Kṛṣṇa* names, but the *Āḷvār-s* saw *Rāma* and *Kṛṣṇa* in most of them. For the devotees used to the earlier *avatāra-s* such as *Vāmana-Trivikrama*, *Varāha* and *Narasimha*, the two human manifestations of the divine who walked among the people of Bharat all along the Bharat became great favourites. Born in Ayodhya, *Rāma* crossed the Vindhya and passed through Tamil land to Lanka. *Kṛṣṇa* shifted his capital from Mathura to Dwaraka and rode his chariot to Assam to fight *Naraka*. It is possible that the extended South Indian lap in *Rāma*’s sylvan travails was an interpolation. It is similarly possible that most of the well-known *Kṛṣṇa* stories are based on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which has a South Indian origin, rather than on *Mahābhārata*. But the effect of the closeness of the Infinite in human form depicted in these ancient stories had been magically endearing to the Tamil devotees and their brethren all over Bharat. Therefore, we

should recognize only such adaptations and retellings of *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Mahābhārata* or the *purāṇa*-s, or commentaries on them that produce the same or similar effect on followers of our *Dharma*, as adaptations of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kṛṣṇa-carita*, not any other. The other narratives will of course be read for other purposes.

Many *Rāmāyaṇa*-s

- The enthusiasm with which the mega TV serial *Rāmāyaṇa* produced by Ramanand Sagar was watched all over the country in 1987, to which Richman and Lutgendorf refer with appropriate wonder, flowed from the devotion to the person and the story of Rāma, deeply entrenched for centuries in the hearts of all *Bhāratiya*-s, including of course the Tamils. The viewers included some men and women who were following at least some worship-rituals which had been passed on through centuries. It also included a larger majority whom the requirements of modern life had kept busy otherwise, but in whom there was latent devotion to *Bhagavān* Viṣṇu, happily identified with Rāma, thanks to stories heard from grandparents or read and viewed in *citrakathā*-s. The TV serial rekindled the devotion, and the few hours spent weekly approximated to a satisfying worship ritual. Whatever the level of its merit in the eyes of scholars, this serial helped to unite people across the length and breadth of *Bhārata*.
- It is not surprising that a historian with leftist leanings did not expect such spontaneity across all sections of the Hindus in welcoming the serial. Looking for a harmful effect in the phenomenon, Thapar (2014) finds that this wave could work against public support for versions of the Rāma story that do not see Rāma as an *avatāra*. Richman, who just enjoys great variety in the Rāma story tellings, without traditional or leftist bias, welcomes the TV serial as just another telling.
- A. K. Ramanujan's essay (1991) finds a prime spot in Richman's *Many Rāmāyaṇa*-s with his *Three hundred Rāmāyaṇas* for obvious reasons. Ramanujan selects five tellings and enjoys the variety in them. As a highly knowledgeable linguist, he feels fulfilled also with the variety introduced by different languages, and

his essay reflects his enjoyment. It is a pity that there was a temporary ban on its use by the History department of the Delhi University. The reference to Sītā being born to Rāvaṇa, especially through Rāvaṇa becoming pregnant and delivering the child, and subsequently desiring her to marry him seems to have offended the sensitivities of some members of the Academic Council. They did not see that Ramanujan was not the author of that specific narrative, but was abstracting it from a Kannada folk tale claiming to be a *Rāmāyaṇa*. Similar bad taste must have been felt in the reference to a small Buddhist story about a Rāma, prince of Vārāṇasī and son of a king named Daśaratha, who marries his own sibling, named Sītā. The Council members who felt offended could have comforted themselves that this story perhaps followed some foreign traditions, though it had some names common with Vālmiki's epic-personae. They did not. For us, it suffices to note, that the Kannada folk telling and the Buddhist Rāma story were neither talking about divine *avatāra*-s, nor could they be understood as aids to spread *Viṣṇu bhakti*.

- Frank E. Reynolds could be right about both the Buddhist Rāma story and Vālmiki's epic having influenced the Thai telling, called *Rāmākien* (Reynolds 1991). The names of the characters in *Rāmākien* sound rather Tamilized, suggesting that *Rāmākien* could have been created based on Kamban's Tamil narrative, as conveyed by South Indian traders and travellers from their own earlier reading experience. The story recognizes the divinity of Rāma and Sītā, and the storyline is close to the one by Vālmiki. The settings are Thai and their own *Ayutthaya* kingdom features in place of India's Ayodhya. The Thai audience who came heavily under the influence of Buddhism may not relate to Rāma as God, however, and there is probably no temple for Rāma in *Ayutthaya*. *Rāmākien* seems to be a beautifully created Thai story based on some Indian versions of *Rāmāyaṇa*, which will not harm the practice of Vaishnavism in India by devotees of Rāma. The brief Indian Buddhist story of Rāma, Prince of Vārāṇasī too could have been a part source for the Thai *Rāmākien*, but its dating as having preceded the Vālmiki story is purely a Western academic construct. It is unlikely to have been a source for the Vālmiki epic, as Reynolds contends. Most of the essential components of

the *Rāmāyaṇa* story are missing in it, such as the all-important Rāma-Rāvaṇa war. There is, in addition, no hint of a divine attribution to the Rāma character in it.

- Richman (1991) finds E V Ramasamy's version of *Rāmāyaṇa* compelling and interesting when viewed under the lens of his anti-North Indian ideology. This ideology took him to several anti-stances such as against Sanskrit, Hindi, what he called Brahminism, practice of *sanātana dharma* in any form, Indian *itihāsa-s* and *purāṇa-s*, Hindu sacred literature of any kind and Central rule over the Tamil region. Rāma and the *Rāmāyaṇa* came in for his harshest censure and insults. The DMK and the AIADMK which were politically successful offshoots of his party, the Dravida Kazhagam, have always paid lip service to him and honoured statues and institutions installed in his memory, but kept some distance respectfully from him, while he was alive. The DMK President, M. Karunanidhi was very recently involved in the production of a popular teleserial on the life of Rāmānuja (2016). Not so his 'mentor', E.V.Ramasamy. At different stages in his political career, his own concept of Buddhism, Islam, and Protestant Christianity got the seal of his approval, but *sanātana dharma*, not in any form. We cannot, naturally consider Ramasamy's version of the Rāma story as a *Rāmāyaṇa*.
- The present President of the Dravida Kazhagam Dr Veeramani and an active American chapter of Periyar's Self Respect Movement have been coordinating their activities for about two decades. Towards the end of July 2017 in Germany, the Cologne University's Department of South Asian and Tamil studies hosted a conference on Periyar's Self Respect Movement (2017) and invited Veeramani over. Shortly after, on Yajur Upakarma day, when Brahmin men in Tamil Nadu were changing their sacred threads and resuming Vedic studies during an annual ritual, some eight or so Dravida kazhagam enthusiasts in Chennai seem to have taken out a procession with some piglets wearing 'sacred' thread, and to have been quickly seized by the police.

The Western Nay Science

- Joydeep Bagchee and Vishwa Adluri, authors of 'The Nay Science (2017)', were interviewed by Eram Agha for News18.com on Aug 16, 2017. They admitted to having found German Indology being far from secular. Most German Indologists were theologically trained Protestants, they say. Several were pronounced anti-Semites as well, some of them being complicit in the cover-up of their colleagues' anti-Semitism. Often in these Indologists' writings, "Brahmans" was a code for "Jews."
- They told the interviewer, "Almost every leading German Indologist of the past two centuries authored an anti-Brahmanic polemic. Besides making explicit comparisons between "Brahmanic" Hinduism and Jewish tradition, the Indologists advocated a program of reform, entailing breaking the Brahmins' social status, taking away their authority, and transferring custody of Sanskrit texts to the new priesthood-professoriate. A prejudice against traditional hermeneutics and textual transmission was inscribed at every level of the method. Consequently, students graduating from their Indology programs emerged as critics of Brahmanism."

Wendy Doniger

- Quite a few of us would go along with Wendy Doniger when she rued the ban on Ramanujan's essay on the 'three hundred' *Rāmāyaṇas* by the Delhi University. But we need not agree with her blanket labelling of every story on Rāma and/or Sītā as *Rāmāyaṇa*. Michael Madhusudan Dutta's Meghnādbadh ballad talks about the might and repute of Rāvaṇa's son Meghanāda as a great warrior and how Lakṣmana had to kill him when he was unarmed and engaged in performing a *homa*, using inside information provided by Vibhīṣaṇa. As Vālmiki's treatment of the story too is similar, this fine Bengali literary effort can be taken as a *Rāmāyaṇa* episode. Killing Meghanāda was a necessary preliminary to defeating Rāvaṇa.
- Nina Paley's 2D animation film, 'Sita sings the Blues' won many awards for technical excellence as well as for its theme. It helped

the author to create a greater appreciation of her bad luck in having married badly and being rejected by her husband. While being generally confident of her narration, Nina Paley did admit to showing Rāma in a bad light, in her interview with India West. She was looking after promotion of her interests and did not bother about hurting devotees of Rāma. There would be similar less acclaimed accounts of the story of Sītā by other Indian and foreign authors. Those in which the divinity of Rāma and Sītā is not obvious cannot be considered *Rāmāyaṇa*.

- As to Doniger's own comments about the main characters in *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* it is possible to agree with Vishal Agarwal (2014) who finds this author of an alleged alternate history for Hinduism to have done scant preparation for the serious business, committed many factual errors and exhibited her biases without any restraint.

Sheldon Pollock and his School

- This paper began with a reference to the misinterpretation of our sacred spaces by some western Indologists, and on the attention paid by the previous meeting of the Swadeshi Conference on one author. In his report on the Conference, Prof. K.S. Kannan has this to say on that author: "The focus on Pollock (as with SI-1) was on grounds of his being the most influential scholar in academic circles (also through his students who are well placed in celebrated academia) firstly, and secondly, in his reach on the general public, especially Indian (by virtue of his editorship in leading publishing houses); but even more importantly on grounds of the complex and complicated intellectual maze he has conjured, aimed at confounding and bamboozling the reading public by an ostentation of scholarship: in width, depth, or impact, or even the novelty of ideas or interpretations – in short, in terms of the **Neo-orientalism** he has sought to bring about in a copiously camouflaged and convoluted language – he has added new negative dimensions to Indology (and hence totally incomparable to some of the earlier Orientalist Indologists, the damage caused by whom pales into the background in quality and quantity)."

- Bagchee and Adluri said more to News18.com. They see evidence of the work of German Indologists becoming anachronistic within the German university itself. They find their programs declining. From twenty-two and a half chairs in 1997, only sixteen survive, more closures being anticipated. They consider American Indology to be merely a stepchild of German Indology. Almost every leading American program at some point imported German expertise, in the form of either German professors, German-trained returnees or German models and ideals of study (almost every Sanskrit doctoral program in the US). Many principles of American Indology (a suspicion of traditional hermeneutics, criticism of the Brahmans, restricting works' meaning to their sociological context, historicism and a so-called critical philology) are borrowed from German Indology. Do these features ring a bell?
- Malhotra's "Battle for Sanskrit" (2016) takes on the entire Pollock challenge almost singlehandedly. I shall quote here just one thought from the book. He finds that "Pollock's involvement in the Ramayana has left a lasting imprint on the way the epic is being seen. His hegemonic discourse is visible in the way the Ramayana has become tainted in several English-speaking circles. Over the past 25 years, academic literature and journalistic writings have been filled with assertions resembling Pollock's spin, not only of the Ramayana, but also in the portrayal of Sanskrit as a carrier of social toxicity." This cannot be allowed unchecked.
- In an e mail communication, Shastry M points out that Pollock has a "proclivity to base ideas on a rather small subset of data but build upon them sweeping generalisations that address the largest of questions. Culture in his hands becomes equivalent to the set Language and to a narrower subset Literature – *kāvya*. He briefly mentions Power in context of *rājya*, only once at the very beginning of his magnum opus, 'The Language of Gods in the World of Men'. Afterwards, he does not look even once at *rājya* and Power through the lens of traditional paradigms, but keeps exploring the relationship through anachronistic socio-political models of legitimization, socialisation and communication." She sees this manipulative procedure repeated in all his work. Also, obvious to her are his

refusal to value *Pāramārthika*, and his blind assertion that *kāvya* in Sanskrit could have developed only after the writing tradition was ‘introduced’ into the oral Sanskrit tradition.

- Simply on a question of hermeneutics, we could dismiss the Pollock adaptation of/reflections on *Rāmāyaṇa* as non-*Rāmāyaṇa*.

Conclusion

Some Western Indologists and their Indian followers have been translating/ adapting as well as commenting on Rāma and Kṛṣṇa stories from our *itihāsa*-s inappropriately. This paper sets up a standard for any work of adaptation of our epics, based on the excellent performance of such work both in Tamil and in Sanskrit since the beginning of the Common Era in Tamil Nadu and checks out some of the provocative as well as neutral literature that has appeared in recent times on our *itihāsa*-s.

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Chapter 11

The Bharatanāṭyaṃ Yajña

– *Prakruti Prativadi*

Abstract

Bharatanāṭyaṃ (referred to in the past as Sadir, Dāsīāṭṭaṃ and Karnāṭakaṃ) was historically practiced, protected and nurtured in present day Tamil Nāḍu and Karnāṭaka. Bharatanāṭyaṃ is an embodied manifestation of Vedic philosophy and South Indian culture. Despite the ban on Devadāsi-s and the performance of Bharatanāṭyaṃ in temples due to colonial rulers, Bharatanāṭyaṃ has now achieved a pan-Indian and global popularity.

From the perspective of a practicing Hindu teacher and dancer, this paper discusses how Bharatanāṭyaṃ, regardless of where it is performed, is not merely art but a sacred Hindu *sādhana*, requiring *bhakti*, *śraddhā* and most significantly, *sattva* on the part of the dancer. We discuss how the performance is a Hindu ritual of *yajña* per the Nāṭyaśāstra. The purpose of this ancient art form is not only to produce an aesthetic effect but to transform the consciousness of the onlooker to experience the *Paramātmān* through *Rasa*. Classical dance derives from the four Veda-s and is thus *Nāṭyaveda*; the Vedic philosophy and world view, and Hindu rituals are inseparable from the dance.

The aesthetic theory of the Nāṭyaśāstra by Bharatamuni is the foundation of Bharatanāṭyaṃ. We discuss the specific requirements that

must be satisfied for a subject to qualify as a Bharatanāṭyaṃ dance. Furthermore, we examine two recent drifts in the Bharatanāṭyaṃ domain. The first is the removal of the intrinsic sacred Hindu rituals, symbols, themes, and philosophy from dances to re-fashion Bharatanāṭyaṃ as non-sacred. The second is the use of Christian imagery and ideology in Bharatanāṭyaṃ dances either alongside Hindu themes or by completely replacing Hindu themes. We analyze how these drifts do not meet the necessary requirements to qualify as Bharatanāṭyaṃ dance and are antithetical to its nature.

Introduction

In recent years, Bharatanāṭyaṃ has seen an extraordinary increase in popularity in India and the globe; it is danced by a diverse group of people from wide-ranging educational, linguistic, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. However, the understanding of the dance, and therefore its authentic practice, in many cases is diluted and abridged. Bharatanāṭyaṃ, once again stands at a turning point in its future; over a century ago, it was outright banned due to colonial bigotry, but now its very popularity has brought about erosion and drift from its authentic form. Bharatanāṭyaṃ has endured for millennia; however, to safeguard its future, guru-s and the classical dance community need to ensure that the fundamental purpose and nature of the art is correctly understood and practiced, without dilution and exploitation for material purposes.

Currently, Bharatanāṭyaṃ is most commonly seen through one of these lenses:

- 1) A pleasant entertaining dance form presenting some cultural customs and stories/epics of India.
- 2) A non-sacred art medium in which one can voice any narrow viewpoint or opinion.
- 3) A dance that can be used to inculturate Christian theology and doctrine for the purposes of evangelization.
- 4) The original lens of the Nāṭyaśāstra and other treatises wherein Bharatanāṭyaṃ is a *Yajña* and an offering to the Hindu Gods so the dancer and audience can come closer to Brahman and *Sat-Cit-Ānanda*.

Presently, many Bharatanāṭyaṃ dancers think that it is only an artistic medium. However, the ancient treatises, guru-s and exponents have defined Bharatanāṭyaṃ as the following:

- 1) A physical manifestation and embodiment of Vedic knowledge and philosophy (as explicitly stated in the foundational dance, music and drama treatise, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and further reiterated in the *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*).
- 2) An embodiment of Hindu metaphysics and is indivisible from it. Bharatanāṭyaṃ dances must have certain Hindu metaphysical prerequisites which are inextricable from its technical dance movements and dance numbers, that must be satisfied by the dancer.
- 3) A *sādhana* that requires the dancers to immerse themselves for many years with the utmost *Śraddhā* and *Bhakti*, and the performance of Hindu rituals and *pūjā* to Hindu Gods is an inseparable part of this *sādhana*.
- 4) As stated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bharatanāṭyaṃ must awaken the *Rasa* experience, *Rasa* experience is similar to the experience of *Brahman* (Pande 2009: xxii).

Hindu Worldview

Bharata wrote the *Nāṭyaśāstra* from his insider worldview, i.e. the Hindu Vedic worldview, therefore, it is only the Vedic worldview in which Bharatanāṭyaṃ can be understood and practiced. A person who has practiced Bharatanāṭyaṃ as a *sādhana* naturally understands it within this framework. His or her *anubhava* from this *sādhana* is invaluable in understanding the practical and theoretical facets of Bharatanāṭyaṃ. On the other hand, a person who dances Bharatanāṭyaṃ as merely a non-sacred art for entertainment lacks this intrinsic understanding. Here by *anubhava* we do not mean ‘experience’ as it is often mistranslated, but we mean the direct knowledge of the *ātmān*, *ātmānubhava* is direct self-knowledge (Swami Dayananda Saraswati 2007). This *ātmānubhava* comes from being immersed in Bharatanāṭyaṃ, its customs, philosophy, and rituals with full *Śraddha* and *Bhakti*, ultimately leading the *jīvātma* to become one with the *Paramātmā*, as with any Hindu *sādhana*. In effect, Bharatanāṭyaṃ is a form of embodied knowing (Malhotra 2011: 5-6).

The birth of Indian dance and Bharatanāṭyaṃ is within the Hindu world view. This is the lens in which the aesthetics and philosophy of Bharatanāṭyaṃ reside. The dances of Bharatanāṭyaṃ and its rituals make sense only when this view is espoused.

The Hindu world view contains the following metaphysics:

- 1) All living beings i.e. *jīvātman-s* have the *Paramātman* within them.
- 2) The *ātma* was never created and can never be destroyed and is changeless.
- 3) The *Paramātman* lives in every living being and pervades every space. They are inseparable.
- 4) The earth, nature, water, space, planets and animals are all sacred Hindu Gods, Goddesses, and *Devatā-s*. The earth is the Goddess Bhūmidevī, fire is the *Deva* Agni, water is Varuṇa, rain is Indra, wind is Vāyu, death, or the “ordained time” is revered as Yama. The directions are also *Devata-s*; all the elements are sacred. Thus, in the Hindu worldview there is nothing in conflict, nothing is intrinsically evil, and nothing needs to be conquered.
- 5) Humans (*jīvātman-s*) are limited (due to previous *karma-s*) and can overcome this limited state through *Brahman* realization through their own efforts without being shackled by dogma and doctrines.
- 6) *Brahman* is the true Self which is the goal of life and *mokṣa* gives Brahman knowledge. It is important to note that Brahman, *Paramātma*, or Īśvara, or Kṛṣṇa or any of the Hindu deities are not the same as the God defined in the Abrahamic traditions.
- 7) *Rasa*, *Bhāva* and *Sattva* are a means to unite with the *Paramātma*.

The above metaphysics guides the dances and customs of Bharatanāṭyaṃ. We sanctify the stage, perform a ritual *Namaste* to the earth (to Goddess Bhūmidevī) and in the dance itself we acknowledge all the directions. These deities are unique and cannot be replaced arbitrarily by others.

Many Sanskrit words have no accurate translation in English. This is crucial to understanding Bharatanāṭyaṃ in its own terms and in its own domain without erroneously mapping English words that do not convey the same meaning as the original. As we shall see in this paper, words such as *rasa*, *yajña*, *bhāva*, *abhinaya*, *sattva*, *bhakti*, *śraddhā*, *mudra*,

and *sahṛdaya* among others, do not have one-to-one translations in English. The propagation of these erroneous translations inhibit the understanding of these concepts in Bharatanāṭyaṃ.

Bharatanāṭyaṃ rituals and customs can now be understood within this world view. Some of the important mandatory rituals in a performance are:

- 1) A “*Namaste*” is performed to the *Paramātman* and also to *Bhūmidevī* since the dancer is dancing on this Goddess *Bhūmidevī* and seeks her forgiveness for touching her with the feet. This Bharatanāṭyaṃ *Namaste* must be done prior to and at the conclusion of a performance, a class and also daily practices.
- 2) Prior to *nāṭyāraṃbhaṃ* (start of learning Bharatanāṭyaṃ), a *pūjā* to Sarasvatī, Gaṇapati, Naṭarāja must be done. This Hindu *pūjā* is not for just seeking blessings but to offer (*samārpaṇam*) the dances and their *phala* to these Hindu Gods.
- 3) The stage must be made into a Hindu sacred space, by offering Hindu *pūjā* to Gods such as Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Naṭarāja, Viṣṇu and Gaṇapati. A *pratiṣṭhāpana* of these *mūrti*-s is performed on the stage and a *pūjā* and *ārati* performed with appropriate Hindu *mantra*-s.
- 4) *Namaste* to the *guru* and *guru paramparā*.
- 5) During Navaratri’s Sarasvati *pūjā* day, the dance bells and *naṭṭavāṅgaṃ* are placed before Sarasvati and *pūjā* done to them.
- 6) *Pūjā* to the dance bells and *naṭṭavāṅgaṃ* and *arcanā* in a Hindu temple is performed prior to any Bharatanāṭyaṃ performance.

As we shall see, in the next sections, there is a precedent for all these rituals in the Nāṭyaśāstra and they unify the entire Bharatanāṭyaṃ performance experience for both the dancer and the audience.

Origin of Indian Dance

As with any serious subject, the sincere and honest approach to accurately comprehend and practice Bharatanāṭyaṃ is to go back to its foundation which is the Nāṭyaśāstra and other later treatises like *Abhinavabhāratī*, and *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*. The importance of the Nāṭyaśāstra cannot be overstated. The Nāṭyaśāstra, written more

than 2500 years ago, by Bharata, is the oldest extant treatise on dramaturgy, dance and music and still is the authority today. The Nāṭyaśāstra explains the aesthetic philosophy and metaphysics of Indian dance. Bharata connects the art of movement of the body to the mind, intellect and most significantly, to the human consciousness. Bharata referenced earlier Hindu works on dance and drama to compile the Nāṭyaśāstra. The Nāṭyaśāstra contains not just the technical movements and other technical practical details but most importantly, explains the origin of the Nāṭyaveda and the reason Indian dance is practiced and performed. This informs and guides the practice of all Indian ancient dances including Bharatanāṭyaṃ for more than two millennia.

To a practitioner of Bharatanāṭyaṃ who has read and understood the Nāṭyaśāstra and Abhinavabhāratī and Saṅgīta Ratnākara, it is obvious that Bharatanāṭyaṃ derives from these. The *hastamudra*-s, stances, basic steps and movements of each body part such as the head, face, hands, arms, feet, legs, torso etc. described in the Nāṭyaśāstra are still practiced today and though the *aḍavu*-s and *jati*-s evolved from the *karana*-s and *aṅgahāra*-s, they are analogous. The technique and theory of *abhinaya* and their use in evoking *bhāva*-s and *rasa* are remarkably continuous since the days of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Indian dance, drama and music derived from the Veda-s and represent the thought system and knowledge of the Veda-s. In an extremely significant dialogue in the Nāṭyaśāstra, Brahmā is asked by the Ṛṣi-s to create an art that will contain all the knowledge of the Veda-s and be accessible to all people, of every *varṇa*. In order to do so, Brahmā performs *tapas* on the four Veda-s and then creates a fifth, the Nāṭyaveda which is for the benefit of all, conducive to *dharma*, containing the wisdom and guidance of the *śāstra*-s and comprised of *itihasa*-s (Nāṭyaśāstra I.15,16). Brahma took the *pāṭhya* (recitative) from the Rg Veda, *gīta* (music) from the Sāma Veda, *Abhinaya* from the Yajur Veda and *Rasa* from the Atharva Veda to create the Nāṭyaveda directly connected to the Veda-s and the Upaveda-s (Nāṭyaśāstra I: 17,18).

Brahma is also concerned that this new Veda should be practiced and passed on to those who will practice it authentically without deviation. After asking Indra to find suitable persons who are hardworking, knowledgeable, can fulfill *vrata* and are capable of protecting and

practicing the Nāṭyaveda, he decides to entrust the Nāṭyaveda to Bharata and his sons. (Nāṭyaśāstra I. 23-25)

Bharata explicitly states that Nāṭyaveda was created to nurture and uphold Dharma: (Nāṭya) teaches *dharma* to those who are against it, gives relief to those who are afflicted or fatigued, brings determination to the sorrowful, enlightens those with poor intellect, brings courage to the cowardly, gives enthusiasm to the heroic, teaches love to those who are eager for it, rebukes the ill-mannered, promotes will-power in the disciplined, gives diversion to the noble and brings happiness, good counsel and knowledge to all. (Nāṭyaśāstra 1:108-115)

After the first dance, the illustrious among the assembly gave gifts to the dancers, singers and actors. This is an ancient custom of India that was in practice for many years until recently. The rich people compensated the artists and the poorer classes could enjoy the performance free of charge. Nowadays this has been replaced by charging audiences prior to a performance. (Kumar 2006: 26)

The construction of the theater is very detailed and precise measurements for different types and sizes are given. *Devatā-s* are then placed in each part of the theater, for example, *Agni* on the stage, *Candra* in the main building, *Marut-s* the corners, *lokapāla-s* its sides, and *Yama* the door. *Brahmā* is seated in the middle of the stage, which is why flowers are offered there. (Nāṭyaśāstra 1:82-94) This shows that the theater itself is like a Hindu sacred space, much like a *Yāgaśāla*.

Nowhere in the Nāṭyaśāstra does it say that Nāṭya is just art in which any and all opinions and petty viewpoints can be propagated. By Bharata's explanation we see that Nāṭyaveda is a manifestation of the knowledge in the Veda-s and is a complete experience that involves more than just providing entertainment or a worldly diversion to the audience. Indian dance was created to give knowledge of Vedic principles and benefit everyone in society. Significantly, we see that Indian dance is not just for the elite or the rich, is for the enjoyment and advantage of everyone from all parts of society. The dance is a transformative experience, like all Hindu customs and rituals. The four *Puruśārtha-s* of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* are enacted during the dances. The *Puruśārtha-s* are of significance because *dharma* is the guiding and unifying factor for the attainment of *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. By viewing the *Puruśārtha-s*, the onlooker experiences *Bhava-s* and ultimately *Rasa*. Per the Nāṭyaśāstra and *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Rasa*

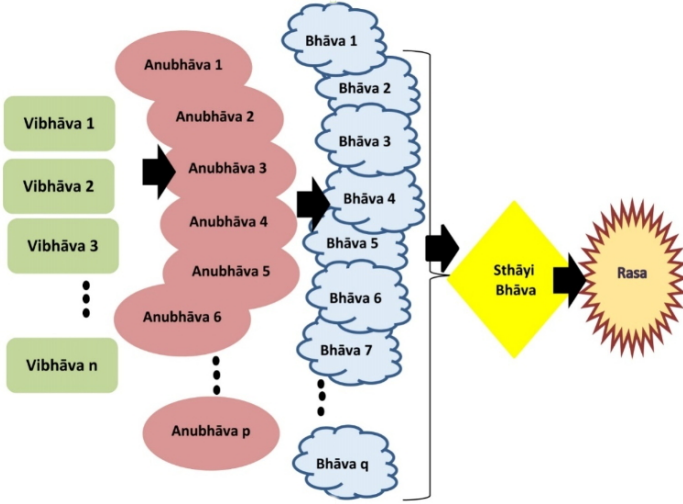
is the paramount aim of Indian dance, drama and music, because it is through this *Rasa* experience that the onlooker can experience something akin to Brahman.

Rasa

To understand the Hindu metaphysics embedded in the aesthetics of Bharatanāṭyaṃ we will need to examine *Rasa* and *Abhinaya*. A unique feature of Bharatanāṭyaṃ and Indian Aesthetics is *Rasa*. *Rasa* does not have a direct translation in English, in this context. In aesthetics, *Rasa* does not translate to feeling, or emotion or mood, or essence, or sentiment. *Rasa* is a supreme aesthetic experience that is similar to *Brahmānanda*. As Abhinavagupta states, *Rasānanda* is similar to *Brahmānanda* - the bliss of Brahman knowledge. *Rasa* is a consciousness-elevating state that can be experienced by a *sahṛdaya*. Remarkably, *Rasa* cannot be understood solely in the intellectual and emotional domains. *Rasa* involves the mind, intellect and the *jīvātman* (consciousness), and must be experienced. *Rasa* is paramount. *Rasa* is not guaranteed in any given artistic work and all stories or themes cannot generate the powerful *Bhāva-s*, *Vibhāva-s*, *Anubhāva-s*, and *Sthāyi bhāva-s* necessary to generate *Rasa*. It is something that must be carefully generated and is born only if meticulously chosen conditions arise in a dance performance.

Rasa does not exist in isolation, *Rasa-s* are the culmination of a complex process that involves the generation of varieties of *bhāva-s*, which are mental and emotional states that vary depending on the character and circumstance. There are forty-nine *bhāva-s* consisting of thirty-three *Vyabhicāri* (impermanent) *bhāva-s*, eight *Sāttvika bhāva-s* (with *Sattva*) and eight *Sthāyi* (permanent) *bhāva-s*. *Rasa* is born as result of all these *bhāva-s*- the *Vibhāva-s* (determinants), *Anubhāva-s* (consequent reactions), *Vyabhicāri*, *Sāttvika* and *Sthāyi bhāva-s* emerging first. The organic and natural coming together of these results in the *Rasa experience* of the spectator. It is not an afterthought or an automatic outcome. The following diagram summarizes the awakening of *Rasa* (Prativadi 2017:46).

The dancer must generate these *Bhāva-s* and *Vibhāva-s* in a genuine manner so that *Rasa* is born. The subject and themes she chooses to do this are of supreme importance. The limited-self disappears



to reveal the more pervading *Paramātmā*. *Rasa* is permanent; it touches and elevates the *jīvātman*. That is why Bharata emphasizes that a *sahṛdaya* is best suited to experience *Rasa*. *Rasa* is of such significance, that Bharata himself declared: “There can be no meaningful communication without *Rasa*.” The challenge to the artist is to be able to produce this *Rasa* experience for all members in their audience in their performances.

Per the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a dance, drama, or music performance that does not generate *Rasa*-s and is not offered to the Hindu Gods is not really art and is *nīca* (vulgar). This kind of performance will not benefit either the audience or the performers. *Rasa* is not limited to the stage or court; *Rasa* comes from a set of conditions the dancer creates. *Rasa* is born after the generation of many and varied *bhāva*-s (mental and emotional states) that differ, based on the character and circumstance.

The *Rasa* experience stays with the audience for some time even after the performance has concluded; the audience wants to experience it again. During the *Rasa* experience, the very consciousness is transformed to reflect the true inner Self. The concept of *Rasa* is ancient and found in the Veda-s and Upanishad-s. The *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* declares that: *Raso vai Saḥ*; *Rasa* (is) Him (Brahman).

Rasa is not isolated to dance, but also exists in poetry, music and drama. The dances of temples, performed by devadāsi-s and, in some cases, even temple priests, also have the same goal of generating *Rasa* in the onlooker because these dances are not just rituals, they generate *Bhāva*-s which result in *Rasa*; the devadāsi-s also offered their dances to the Hindu Gods, which is the same motive of the dance performed on the *raṅga* (stage) described in the Nāṭyaśāstra. There is no difference in purpose between the dance described in the Nāṭyaśāstra and the dance of the temples.

Thus, *Rasa* is neither trivial nor commonplace. Every single element of the dance, including the music *rāga*-s, *tāla*-s, *aḍavu*-s and even the dancer's costume, makeup and accessories all come together to generate the *Rasa* experience. Originally, *karāṇa*-s and *aṅgaḥāra*-s (analogous to *aḍavu*-s and *jati*-s of Bharatanāṭyam) produced *Rasa*. Thus, *Rasa*-s should be generated by every aspect of the dance, not just *Abhinaya* but also by *nṛtta* and *nṛtya*.

Abhinaya

Abhinaya is not just the ordinary enactment of stories and characters but the exalted, idealized and glorified re-enactment of stories and characters. *Abhinaya* has been often mistranslated into mime and pantomime and is neither of these. *Abhinaya* literally means to carry the performance to the audience. This re-enactment generates *bhāva*-s and *Rasa*-s which are readily received and experienced by the *sahṛdaya*. By watching the re-enactment of these stories and characters, which are carefully chosen and which enact the four *Puruṣārtha*-s of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, the audience is removed from their mundane day-to-day troubles and problems. The audience forgets the petty limited everyday world and experiences something greater, a limitless Self (*Paramātmān*) where the ego disappears and a permanent innate joy is experienced. The dancer must, in effect, disappear from the performance, her ego must not be apparent. For instance, a dancer cannot effectively embody Āṇḍāl or dance the *Vāriṇaṁ Āyiraṁ* without shedding her own persona. The dancer's petty egos, problems and grievances should not be visible in such a performance since, if they were, the performance would not be able to produce the desired *Rasa* experience in the onlooker. Indian dance has survived for millennia because of this unique characteristic. Indian aesthetic theory is unique

in that the *rasa* concept does not have parallels in aesthetic theories of other world cultures. *Abhinaya* requires *Sattva* and *Sāttvika* state of mind to successfully generate *bhāva*-s and *rasa*-s.

Abhinaya consists of four types:

Āṅgika Abhinaya: Using the body, including the arms, hands, feet, legs, torso, face, and head in dramatic representation.

Vācika Abhinaya: Dramatic portrayal through the use of speech, in Bharatanāṭyaṃ *Vācika Abhinaya* consists of the songs and compositions that are danced.

Āhārya Abhinaya: Consists of make-up, jewelry, flowers, props and accessories used by the dancer to aid in dramatic portrayal.

Sāttvika Abhinaya: Emoting and portrayal of characters and situations through *Sattva* (*Sattva* is a non-translatable.)

All these types of *Abhinaya* are essential to generate the *Bhāvas* and awaken *Rasa* in the audience. Amongst these, however, the more intangible and indefinable type is undoubtedly *Sāttvika Abhinaya*. *Sāttvika Abhinaya* is portrayal that is full of *Sattva*. This is a crucial ingredient, because it is required to genuinely embody the *Bhāvas* that will generate *Rasas*.

Bharata states that a successful performance is not one in which the dancers win awards or gain materially but one in which the *Rasa* experience was powerful and experienced by the audience. This is the measure of *siddhi* (success) that Bharata emphasizes.

Sattva

“One must take particular care of *Sattva*... for *Abhinaya* resides in *Sattva*” - *Nāṭyaśāstra Sāttvika Abhinaya*, as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* states is an intangible but vital element in generating the *Bhāva*-s and *Rasa*-s. Generating *Rasa* in the audience is not a simple task. The dancer must possess the technical skill, imagination, intellect and a certain state of mind to be able to embody the characters, stories, and movements that evoke *bhāva*-s and *rasa*. According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Śaṅgīta Ratnākara*, in order to evoke *Rasa* in the audience, the dancer’s mind and consciousness must be in a state of *Sattva*.

“*Sattva can only be accomplished by a tranquil, peaceful and concentrated mind*” -Nāṭyaśāstra Bharata and Abhinavagupta emphasize that a performance without *Sattva* will not move the audience and will not produce *bhāva-s* and *rasa-s*, and thus, will be unsuccessful and meaningless.

Sattva is a Sanskrit word that has no direct translation in English or non-Indian languages. Interestingly, even Indologists such as A.B. Keith agreed that “*Sattva*” has no translation. *Sattva Guṇa* is one that is bright, pure, luminous, buoyant, happy and stainless. Under the influence of *Sattva*, the mind is calm, never agitated, filled with *Śraddhā*, steady, and reflects the Self (Brahman). A person with a *Sāttvic* mind renounces the results of his or her actions; in other words, actions motivated by *Sattva* are offered to the Supreme. As the Nāṭyaśāstra makes clear in the very first chapters, Nāṭya, which consists of Indian classical dance, drama and music, whether performed on a stage or in a temple must be an offering to the Hindu Gods, Goddesses and *Devata-s*. *Rajas* is agitation, activity, pain, egotistic, seeking sense-pleasures, and *Tamas*, is dark, inert, lazy, indifferent and exhibits low passions and tendencies. Our actions are controlled and directed by the mind which exhibits a combination of these three *guṇa-s*.

When the mind is purified, *Rajas* and *Tamas* are not present and the mind is *Sāttvic* and in a state of *Śānti* and *Ānanda* and is able to reflect the Self (Brahman). The *Rasa* experience itself, is likened to the bliss of Brahman knowledge. *Sattva* modifies the consciousness to bring out *Rasa*. In the Nāṭyaśāstra, Bharata describes eight *Sāttvika bhāva-s* which are: paralysis, sweating, goose-bumps, change in voice, trembling, pallor, weeping and fainting. According to Bharata, these *Sāttvika bhāva-s* give genuineness and realism to the dance and make the audience to become one with the performance, hence generating *bhāva-s* and *Rasa*. Bharata states that in order to embody the *Sāttvika bhāva-s*, the dancer’s mind must be in a state of *Sattva* – purified of the *Rājasic* and *Tāmasic* attributes. It is important to note that the dancer’s mind must be in a state of *Sattva* even when the dancer is portraying characters or *bhāva-s* that are not *Sāttvic*. The dancers themselves are not experiencing the *bhāva-s*, however, in order for their portrayal to be realistic and to convey the *bhāva-s* and generate *Rasa* in the spectator, the dancer’s mind would have to be in a state of *Sattva*.

Thus, a prerequisite to an outstanding dance performance is that the dancer must accomplish a state of *Sattva* before the performance and maintain this state of mind during the performance to generate *Rasa*. How does the dancer go about preparing the mind to be *Sāttvic*? It is not just a matter of motivating oneself through pep talks or having a few minutes of quiet solitude before the performance. These, of course, can help and all Bharatanāṭyaṃ dancers, to some extent, will use these techniques. But to have the mind in a state of *Sattva* prior to and during the performance, the dancer would need more than just motivational techniques, and Bharata addresses this in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Yajña

The third chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra is dedicated to explaining, in detail, a series of *pūjā*-s and a *homa* that the dancer and musicians should perform. In these instructions, Bharata clearly states that these *pūjā*-s and *homa* are the equivalent of performing a *Yajña* and will help the dancer achieve a calm mental and conscious state necessary for a successful performance. *Siddhi* or success in a performance, per Abhinavagupta and Bharata, does not mean winning banners (prizes) or material objects, but *Siddhi* of the performance occurs if the audience witness compelling *Bhāvas* and experience the different *Rasas*.

Therefore, these *pūjā*-s and *homa* are not robotic superstitious ritualistic acts; they are a science of connecting the *jīvātman* to the *Paramātman*. They are an offering and a means for the artistes to transform and purify their inner-selves to be *Sāttvic*. In these pre-performance Hindu sacred activities, Bharata details how the *raṅga* (stage) must be constructed according precise measurements depending on the type of *Nāṭya* to be performed. Significantly, the *Vedī* (altar) of a *Yajña* must also be constructed in a precise shape with exact measurements depending on the type of *Yajña* performed. Bharata then specifies how the dancer must sanctify this stage, and even the entire theatre where that audience will be seated, the dancer should then do a *Pratiśṭhāpana* (sacred installation) of the Hindu Gods on the stage, and do a *pūjā* to each one of these deities in a certain order and with particular sacred *mantra*-s. The dancer must sprinkle sanctified water on each limb to purify the body and must partake of the *pūjā* and

homa with the utmost *śraddhā* and *bhakti* in order to bring his or her mind into a state of *Sattva*. These actions along with their subtle effects will give *siddhi* by preparing the dancer to be capable of a performance that is rich in *bhāva*-s and *rasa*-s. These performances are a few hours long and in some classical dances, like Kathakali and Yakṣagāna, last through the night, so the dancer needs to muster tremendous energy, enthusiasm and concentration. The musicians too must perform a *pūjā* to their instruments. In effect, the stage and entire theater (where the audience are seated) become a temple, with the consecration of deities and *pūjā*-s and finally with the performance of the *homa*. Bharata instructs that the point of doing the *pūjā*-s and *homa* are to offer the performance (dance) itself to the *Devatā*-s. Not performing the *pūjā*-s to Hindu deities with a *Sāttvika* mind will result in not only failure of the performance, but and accrue bad *karma*. This is perhaps vital in understanding that Indian *Nāṭya* is indeed a *Yajña*, and is meaningless otherwise.

A few samples from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* Chapter III that illustrate this view are as following –

*padmopaviṣṭaṃ brahmāṇaṃ tasya madhye niveśayet |
āḍau niveśyo bhagavānsārdhaṃ bhūtagaṇaiḥ śivaḥ || 24||
naaraayaṇo mahendraśca skandaḥ sūryo'śvinau śaśi |
sarasvatī ca lakṣmīśca śraddhā medhā ca pūrvataḥ || 25 ||*

(Once the stage and auditorium/theatre hall is constructed, all the gods are to be invoked and placed reverently with due procedure and location.) “In the middle is to be established *Brahmā* seated on the lotus after establishing *Bhagavān Śiva* along with his hordes of *Bhūtas* (24). Towards the eastern direction should be placed *Nārāyaṇa*, *Mahendra*, *Skanda*, *Sūrya*, *Aśvin*-s, the Moon, *Sarasvatī*, *Lakṣmī*, *Śraddhā* and *Medhā* (25).”

*na tathā pravahatyagniḥ prabhañjanamīritah |
yathā hyaprogastu prayukto vahati kṣaṇāt || 101||
śāstrajñeṇa vinītena śucinā dīkṣitena ca |
nāṭyācāryeṇa śāntena kartavyaṃ raṅgapūjānam || 102||*

“Fire fanned by the breeze does not burn as fiercely as a performance without proper procedure would immediately.(101) The stage worship

should be performed by a nāṭyācārya (guru or stage director), who is endowed with learning, humility, pure in heart and behavior, pious, of peaceful temperament and initiated in the śāstras and vows (dikṣā). (Nāṭyaśāstra III. 102)”

Among these preliminary activities, the *homa* (similar to a *Yajña*) is of distinct interest and serves a special purpose. *Yajña*-s are ancient Vedic practices that are transformative and have subtle effects on the consciousness of the performer. *Homa* derives from and is an adaptation of a *Yajña*, but a *homa* is performed in *pūjā*-s to specific Gods. Both feature a specifically constructed altar, sacred fire and sacred materials. *Yajña* comes from the root word *Yaj* which means offering, reverence, adoration and bestowing. A *Yajña* and *homa*, are *tyāga* (offering) of *dravya* (special sacred Sattvic material) to the *Devatā*-s. They are complex activities that have subtle and powerful effects. Every offering during the *Yajña* and *homa* results in *apūrva Śakti*, which is a subtle effect and hidden power of an action (*karma*-s) on the person who is the beneficiary of the offering. Thus, *Yajñas* and *homa*-s have an effect on the one who performed it in a subtle manner, by affecting the *Śakti*-s of that person. Thus, these actions are *karma*-s that produce *Śakti*-s which will produce a result (Swami Harshananda, 2001b:1-6). The dancer and musicians are transformed by the *homa*; they exhibit *Sattva* and subtle *Śakti*-s as a result.

It is no coincidence that the Nāṭyaveda directly derived from the four primary Vedas contain Vedic ceremonies. Furthermore, Bharata states that performing these *pūjās* and *homa* is the same as performing a *Yajña* and the same benefits will be received. Here we see the beautiful connection between the preliminary activities of the performance and the performance itself because the Bharatanāṭyaṃ performance is also a *Yajña*. The *Yajña* conducted prior to the performance is a transformative experience for the dancer and musicians, and the *Yajña* of the dance performance itself is a transformative experience for the audience because they will experience *Rasānanda*. Thus, Indian classical dances are themselves a *Yajña* conducted by the dancer on a specially built *raṅga* (stage) and offered (*tyāga*) to the Hindu Gods, Goddesses and *Devatā*-s with love, *Śraddhā* and *Bhakti*. In this case, the *dravya*, or sacred material, is the dance which is offered to the *Devatā*-s. The ones who enjoy the fruits (*Rasānanda*) of the *Yajña* are the *Sahṛdaya*-s.

Some of the above *pūjā*-s are done even to this day. Today's dancers sanctify the stage and consecrate *mūrti*-s on the stage and perform a *pūjā* offering the performance to the Gods. The *pūjā*-s are offered to Gaṇapati and Naṭarāja and Sarasvati and Viṣṇu. The *Ārati* is done, the sacred dance anklets (*gejje* or *śalangai*) are sanctified, the musicians also do *pūjā* to their instruments. This ritual is one in which the dancer, Naṭavanār and musicians come together to conduct the *pūjā* with *Śraddhā* and *Bhakti* and offer the performance to Hindu Gods. Dancer's look forward to performing this *pūjā*, taking it seriously, performing it with the utmost *Śraddhā* because it brings them inner *Śānti*, happiness and connects them to the Gods, in effect – makes their mind *Sāttvic*, which is then reflected in the dance. After the *pūjā*, the artists remain in this state of mind, now fully immersed in the art, centered, calm and ready for a rigorous and demanding Bharatanāṭyaṃ performance.

Bhakti

Therefore, Bharatanāṭyaṃ (and other Indian classical dances) are not practiced by merely perfecting techniques and movements, facial expressions or time and rhythm. Traditional practitioners of Bharatanāṭyaṃ know that they require total immersion into the art and its philosophy, must have *Bhakti* and humility and reverence to dance successfully. A person who may know the technical movements of Bharatanāṭyaṃ but lacks these *Sāttvic* attributes such as *Śraddhā* and *Bhakti* is not qualified to do the dance. Śārṅgadeva states that only one who is pure in mind (*Sāttvic*) can be a dancer. The *devadāsi*-s had this intrinsic *Śraddhā*, and they understood *Rasa*-s and *Bhāva*-s. The same is true for the *Araiyaṛ* priests who dance to the *Divyaprabandhaṃ*-s in Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples. Theirs is not a mechanical dance devoid of *Rasa*. The great exponent dancer Bala Saraswati, a *devadāsi*, emphasized the importance of *Bhakti* as an integral requirement for Bharatanāṭyaṃ:

“Bharatanāṭyaṃ is grounded in bhakti.... In fact bhakti is at the center of all arts of India. Our music and dance are two offerings to God...This experience may only occur once in a while but when it does for that little duration, its grandeur enters the soul not transiently but with a sense of eternity. As one gets involved in the art, with greater and greater dedication, one can continuously experience throughout the few hours of the dance, the unending joy, this complete well-being, especially when

music and dance mingle indistinguishably.” – Bala Saraswati (Knight 2010)

The ancient dance treatises have noted that a person best fit to dance is one who learns with *Śraddhā* and *Bhakti*. Many expert Bharatanāṭyaṃ dancers and *Nāṭyācārya*-s have observed that if a student does not have *Bhakti*, their dance is not genuine and has a mundane quality to it and few, if any, *Bhāva*-s are produced. For example, if the dancer does not have *Bhakti* for Śrī Kṛṣṇa, how can they embody the episode in which Yaśoda saw the entire universe in his mouth, and was overcome with awe and emotion? How will the non-believing dancer produce the *Bhāva*-s that are required to generate the *Rasa* in the audience? *Abhinaya* is not a mere enactment, it is an exalted, lofty, glorified reenactment that will produce *Bhāva*-s and the *Rasa* experience. If the dancer interjects her personal opinions and portrays characters such as Sītā and Rāma through a non-Dhārmic lens, the result will not be *Sāttvic* but a pale imitation, a counterfeit, and will not have any lasting effect on the onlooker and the *Yajña* of Bharatanāṭyaṃ will be a failure. The dancer must be in total sympathy with the character's viewpoint and beliefs to embody that character authentically. This does not imply that these dances are somber and boring. Quite the contrary, Bharata states that a successful performance brings about happiness, entertainment, diversion and knowledge to the onlooker and should generate all of the *Rasa*-s (*Śṛṅgāra*, *Hāsyā*, *Karuna*, *Vīra*, *Bhayānaka*, *Bībhatsa*, *Raudhra*, *Adbhuta* and *Śānta*). To do justice to the complex songs and poems that are danced, the dancer should know the language it is composed in and do a serious study of the different philosophies of Hinduism. This understanding needs to be deeper than a superficial knowledge of the main features of Hinduism.

De-sacralization of Bharatanāṭyaṃ

Many may wonder why the Bharatanāṭyaṃ dancer projects the Vedic metaphysics and Hindu worldview? After all, Bharatanāṭyaṃ is an art, and art has no religion. Certainly, a paintbrush and paint have no religion. But Bharatanāṭyaṃ is not a lifeless instrument like a paintbrush. Bharatanāṭyaṃ, and all Indian Nāṭya, is a vibrant systematized practice, a sincere *sādhana* that generates karma-s in the dancer. It is not a mere vessel in which to voice any capricious view. Bharatanāṭyaṃ is a manifestation of the thought and knowledge of

the four Veda-s, and therefore, the dance intrinsically carries that world view. Syncretically, fitting personal viewpoints, incompatible theories and politics into the Bharatanāṭyaṃ repertoire only results in a short-lived forgettable experience, with no *Rasa* to sustain it.

This brings us to the first drift of two prominent drifts occurring in the Bharatanāṭyaṃ realm. This drift is the removal of all Hindu sacred elements in the dance to make the dance non-sacred. As we discussed in detail, in previous sections, Bharatanāṭyaṃ itself is a Hindu ritual, a *Yajña*, and removal of the sacred Hindu elements is obviously contrary to this *sādhana*. The use of Bharatanāṭyaṃ to voice petty personal views and express opinions also runs contrary to the aesthetic philosophy of this sacred dance. The purpose of Bharatanāṭyaṃ is to transcend the mundane, gross world and realize the divine *Paramātman* within. The limited viewpoint is transcended to reveal an unbounded unlimited view.

The ego of the limited individual should not be prominent in the dance. In fact, the very purpose of the dance is to elevate oneself and the audience above this. For the dance performance, the dancer should effectively disappear from the dance (Srinivas P.N. 2003:34-35). The dancer's ego and personality should not be prominent. *Bhava*-s and *Rasa*-s cannot be generated from a small, narrow ego-driven narrative. The Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata and the character of Sītā, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are powerful and timeless, they have allowed audiences separated by generational, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic barriers to feel the bliss of *Rasānanda*. Re-interpretations of classics and characters like Sītā and Draupadi and Rāma and Rāvaṇa with a restricted viewpoint or from constricted, time-bound thought systems like feminism, or post-modernism will not give rise to the sublime *Rasa* experience. These re-interpretations with the lens of 19th and 20th century movements are limited and bounded by time and society. These movements themselves are ever-changing. The classic epics and characters of Sītā, Rāma, and Hanuman have lasted millennia after millennia because of their sacred, transcendental, and timeless quality. Because they can move us *jīvātman*-s, the limited selves, to become something greater and realize the true Self – *Paramātman*. They generate deep and lasting *Bhāva*-s and *Rasa*-s like no other stories and characters can, time and time again, lasting through the ages. The Rāmāyaṇa, which seems to be the target of many re-interpreters, is cross-cultural and timeless. It is performed in India, Southeast

Asia and Japan. They cannot be re-interpreted capriciously to satisfy someone's ego or personal opinions. The sacred Hindu metaphysics are one with Bharatanāṭyaṃ and are the reason for its existence, thus cannot be removed.

Does this mean that the dancer is somehow limited in their artistic expression? No, since the literally innumerable permutations and combinations of facial, arm, hand, leg and body movements included in the Nāṭyaśāstra along with forty-nine *Bhāva*-s and nine *Rasa*-s provide for countless variety and diversity of thought and ideas that can be portrayed by an innovative and imaginative artist, all while keeping the ultimate purpose of this great art in mind.

Thus, Bharatanāṭyaṃ is not just an art for art's sake, nor is it a vehicle in which the artist expresses constrained and personal opinions.

Christian themes in Bharatanāṭyaṃ

The second drift in the realm of Bharatanāṭyaṃ is the use of Christian symbols, stories and theology in Bharatanāṭyaṃ dances. Sometimes these are juxtaposed with the Hindu deities and stories in the dance repertoire; in many cases the Christian imagery completely removes all Hindu elements including the Bharatanāṭyaṃ Namaste, the Hindu *mūrti*-s, and Hindu stories and themes form the dances. Some Christians have gone so far as to call the latter Christianatyam. We analyze if this drift is true to the nature of Bharatanāṭyaṃ. First, it is important to note that Hinduism is the most tolerant among the major religions of the world, going even further than tolerance by respecting other religions and recognizing that people are free to follow whatever religion they choose. However, sacred Hindu rituals like Bharatanāṭyaṃ have strict technical rules and requirements and cannot be exploited for various agendas. Thus, it is incumbent on the Bharatanāṭyaṃ community to do a serious technical analysis of this Christian drift of Bharatanāṭyaṃ and determine if it meets the requirements of authentic Bharatanāṭyaṃ dance. Removing the Hindu metaphysics and Hindu symbols and rituals of Bharatanāṭyaṃ and replacing them with Christian symbols is cultural appropriation. Since even the United Nations is considering declaring cultural appropriation as illegal, the appropriation and cultural digestion of Bharatanāṭyaṃ is a very relevant topic in current times and should concern the Bharatanāṭyaṃ community.

We have explained that Bharatanāṭyaṃ is a Hindu *Yajña* in the previous sections and the dance performance is the offering in the *Yajña*. Only *Sāttvic* offerings should be made in *Yajña*, as we discussed. Thus, dances that elevate and portray non-Vedic views and with ulterior motives are not *Sāttvic* and do not qualify as offerings in the *Yajña* of Bharatanāṭyaṃ. The Christian church has a history of using native customs and rituals to inculturate, evangelize and eventually convert native populations (Van Rheehan, 1984:247-250). However, missionaries to India such as E. Stanley Jones to the current Christian church warn that the native customs must be contextualized to adhere to Christian doctrine (Raj, 2008:137-139). The term “contextualization” is one the Christian church uses to mean that the original non-Christian symbolism and meaning must be removed from the custom and redefined to fit the Christian doctrine. The church has warned that Bharatanāṭyaṃ must be contextualized and even goes so far as to analyze the Hindu rituals within Bharatanāṭyaṃ to determine what is acceptable and what should be removed and replaced (Raj 2008:138). According to the Christian church, the Hindu Gods, Goddesses and *Devatā-s* must be removed and no Hindu ritual should be done (Raj, 2008:139). As we mentioned, Bharatanāṭyaṃ dance itself is a Hindu ritual, a *Yajña*, and contains mandatory Hindu *pūjā-s*, *mūrti-s* and *mantra-s* and dances embodying Hindu metaphysics and thus, the removal of these is not permitted and is contrary to the requirements of the *Nāṭyaveda*.

Many prominent Hindu dancers are also using Christian deities, stories and theology in their dances alongside the traditional Hindu ones. As we explained, in detail, in the previous sections, the purpose of Indian *Nāṭya* and hence Bharatanāṭyaṃ is to embody and manifest the Vedic knowledge and metaphysics. This means that every single element in the dance from the costume (*ĀhāryaAbhinaya*), *tilakam*, *mehendi*, *Namaste*, the *mudra-s*, stories, and characters must intrinsically manifest the Vedic worldview. The *Rasa* experience itself is akin to becoming one with *Brahman*. So, does Christian doctrine satisfy this requirement? Does it embody Vedic metaphysics and philosophy?

To answer this question, we need to examine Christian doctrine. Christian doctrine holds that the Christian God is exclusive, meaning their God is the only God and the Gods of other religions are false. This exclusivity is mandatory in the Christian belief system. (Raj 2008:58)In

Christianity, the Nicene Creed is paramount. The Nicene creed holds that:

- 1) Jesus is the only son of a male Mono-God, born of a Virgin
- 2) Humans are born sinners and can attain salvation only by accepting Jesus
- 3) Acceptance of Jesus as the only son of God and rejection of all other Gods (which they call false gods) is the only way to go to a place they call Heaven, which is filled with material comforts (all others are condemned to a fiery place called Hell.) (Encyclopedia Britannica 2017)

Thus, we see that Christian doctrine is diametrically opposite to Vedic metaphysics and is not capable of embodying the knowledge of the Veda-s. The Veda-s hold that we (including animals) are divine and Brahman resides in all of us; we can unite with and become Brahman not by blind belief but by our own *sādhana* and effort. Thus, inclusion of any Christian theme, symbol or character in Bharatanāṭyaṃ is syncretic and antithetical to the nature of Bharatanāṭyaṃ. Bharatanāṭyaṃ itself is an exercise in unifying with Brahman and gaining knowledge of Brahman. Contradictory themes will take away from this quest and should not be included in classical Indian dances.

The themes, stories characters that are portrayed in dances in Bharatanāṭyaṃ rigorously affirm the Veda-s and Hindu worldview, which is natural since Bharatanāṭyaṃ was created for that very purpose. These Hindu themes therefore awaken the *Rasa* in the spectator allowing him or her to experience something close to *Brahmānanda*. Themes that run contrary to this purpose obviously do not qualify as suitable subjects for Bharatanāṭyaṃ dances.

Some dancers say that they do not accept the Christian doctrine, they are just doing a dance about Jesus or Mary. However, Jesus and Mary are representations, mascots as it were, of Christian doctrine and tied inextricably to Christian dogma, just as Bharatanāṭyaṃ is inextricably tied to the Veda-s. The two are not compatible. Inclusion of incompatible elements in a Bharatanāṭyaṃ performance trivializes this sacred art and takes away from powerful Bhava-s that are supposed to be generated and will result in no *Rasa* experience.

The resulting performance will be confusing and purposeless. When faced with the above facts, some people irately declare: no one owns Bharatanāṭyaṃ. Our response to this statement is: no one should abuse Bharatanāṭyaṃ either, by exploiting it for their own agendas or inflating their own egos.

Mudra-s

A unique aspect of Bharatanāṭyaṃ is the extensive use of *Hastamudra-s*, both in *Nṛtta* and *Nritya* (*Abhinaya*). The knowledge of using these *mudra-s* correctly and effectively is a subject in and of itself. (Iyengar, 2013: Chapter 1). The *Hastamudra-s* are often shared among Yoga and Hindu rituals. Indeed, the *mudra-s* used in Indian dance are like no other hand movements in other cultures, and the cultures of southeast Asia where *mudra-s* are used were influenced by Indian dance. The *Hastamudra-s* are not mere gestures or sign language to communicate ideas as most books ascribe them to be, just as *Abhinaya* is not mime. Similar to the *mudra-s* of Yoga and some *Tāntrika* rituals, the dance *Hastamudra-s* are ways to awaken and channelise inner *Śakti-s*. *Śakti-s* are Goddesses in Hinduism. As the *Hathayoga Pradīpika* states:

The Goddess *Īśvarī* sleeping at the entrance of the *Brahmadvāra* (*cakra*) should be repeatedly awakened by performing *mudra-s* thoroughly (Swami Satyananda Sarasvati 2009:431).

Thus, we see that *mudra-s* are not arbitrary symbols that were invented on a whim to represent external objects or ideas alone. The five fingers of the hands are each linked to the five earth elements and can channel the inner *Śakti* Goddess, *Īśvarī*. Thus, rearranging and ‘creating’ new *mudra-s* to represent other deities and religious dogmas is not acceptable since it trivializes the Bharatanāṭyaṃ dance and furthermore, works against the *prāṇa Śakti-s* in the dancer’s body (Iyengar 2013: Chapters 1-11).

Those who use Christian themes in Bharatanāṭyaṃ and use it in evangelization have claimed to have invented “new” *mudra-s* to represent solely Christian doctrine. A close observation of these *mudra-s*, however, shows that many are, in fact, a reuse of already existing Hindu *mudra-s* and therefore, cannot be ‘reassigned’ to mean something different at the wish of the dancer. Furthermore, the *mudra-s* embody the Vedic philosophy and worldview, they are an

aid to the dancer achieving *Sāttvika Abhinaya* and generating the *Rasa* experience in the audience. *Mudra-s* are Hindu rituals and invoke the Hindu Goddess Īśvari. Thus, these *Hastamudra-s* are a Hindu ritual and embodied practice. They are directly connected with awakening the Goddess Īśvari – who cannot be substituted by other entities such as Jesus or Mary.

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“From the earliest times, the law of the Tamil people, called the Tamil culture, is part of the all-India culture and not an isolated one. All this is supported by literary evidence. The whole of India, right from Afghanistan and Baluchistan etc., right up to Thailand, Java and Sumatra, followed the same *dharmā* practiced in the two great epics Ramayana and Mahabharata. We have written records to show this.”

Padmabbushan Dr. R. Nagaswamy

(former Director, Tamil Nadu Department of Archeology.)

“Tamil culture is very much part of the national ethos and no region can be studied as a discrete entity, least of all Tamil Nadu with its rich heritage and culture. The discretization and polarization brought about by Dravidianists and evangelists are motivated by agenda are detrimental to not only Tamil culture but India as a whole. We have the phenomenon of evangelism that is trying to hijack the Tamil identity; this is discussed by Devapriyaji. He has been writing about it for nearly two decades, with carefully compiled references.”

Dr. Kanagaraj Easwaran

(Professor of Social Work, Department of Social Sciences, Mizoram University.)

“Several Indian and non-Indian Bharatanāṭyam dancers have almost obliterated Hindu deities; often the unique gestures are even modified for various themes, sometimes distorting the purpose of the Tāntric energy inherent in them. Disowning the origins for international acceptance seems unnecessary; the basic element of Prāṇapratisthā cannot become mere display. This dance is by its nature beautifying and uplifting; bringing it down to crude entertainment is an injustice to the great sage Bharata and to the aim of Sanātana dharma.”

Dr. Padmaja Venkatesh.

(Director, Aatmalaya Academy of Art & Culture, Bengaluru.)

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