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Ph.D. 1958

(Tamil)

காந்தள்

குறிஞ்சிக் கருப்பொருள்

GLORIOSA SUPERBA

(Liliaceae)

THE EIGHT TAMIL ANTHOLOGIES
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO
PURANĀNŪRU AND PATIRRUPPATTU

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by

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Thesis Presented for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The University of London

School of Oriental and African Studies,

University of London

July 1958

Viḷampi va., Āṇi mā.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a survey of early Tamil court poetry collectively known as Ĕṭṭuttŏkai.

Special reference is made to the two anthologies of Bardic Poetry, Puranānūru and Patirruppattu. These are discussed in Chapters III to VIII.

The tradition about the Caṅkam, a literary 'academy' at Maturai, is examined in the Introduction. Chapter II deals with the subject-matter of these poems, and the conventions observed both in love poetry and bardic poetry. Reference is also made to the other sections of Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷatikāram, and a general assessment of the extent of the influence of Sanskrit literary theory on that of Tamil as set out by Tŏlkāppiyanār is made.

While accepting the general conclusions of Sivaraja Pillai as to the dating of the events described in Puranānūru and Patirruppattu, it is felt that his Chronological Tables are somewhat rigid, and the need for a more tentative approach to any dating of the rulers mentioned in these poems is stressed.

A similar conclusion is drawn concerning the Ceral kings who figure in Patirruppattu, discussed in Chapters VI to VIII. It is suggested that much of the material that has been used by Sesha Aiyar and others to construct a chronology

for these kings must be regarded as secondary, consisting as it does of Patikams, metrical introductions to the decade-poems of Patirruppattu, and similar ancillary material for Cilappatikāram.

The five anthologies of love poetry are described in Chapter IX, which concludes with a discussion of Paripāṭal, anomalous among these anthologies in including devotional poetry.

The metre of these poems is discussed in Chapter X.

Many of the detailed conclusions of this thesis are contained in the chapters on Puranānūru and Patirruppattu, and the last chapter consists of general conclusions about this literature.

PREFACE

This thesis is a study of the Ĕṭṭuttŏkai, the eight Anthologies, and an attempt to assess their value both as historical material and as literature.

To this end, special attention has been paid to the two anthologies among the Ĕṭṭuttŏkai that consist of poems addressed to various kings and chieftains of the Tamil area. These are entitled Puṟanāṉūṟu and Patiṟṟuppattu. Many of the conclusions of modern writers in regard to the events mentioned in these poems have been based on secondary material associated with Puṟanāṉūṟu and Patiṟṟuppattu such as colophons and patikams, which are probably of later authorship, Such material has, accordingly, been separated in this study, and, in the case of the patikams to the decades of Patiṟṟuppattu, is discussed in a separate chapter. It is felt that, in the absence of contemporary epigraphical material, it is not possible to be dogmatic about the dating of events described in Puṟanāṉūṟu and Patiṟṟuppattu or of the poems that mention them.

For the sake of clarity, the poetic conventions observed in bardic and love poetry of this period are discussed first. Discussion of Metre is, however, held over until Chapter X, since it is not of first importance to the study of the subject-matter of these poems. It is suggested that Tamil metre had close association with musical time, and that Ictus may be observed, especially in the metre called Akaval.

It seems fairly clear that, while preserving much that is unique to the Tamil area such as the conventions about the subject-matter of bardic poetry called Purattiṇai, these poems show that the synthesis between Tamil culture and what may loosely be termed Aryan culture was already far advanced. Evidence of this in the two anthologies under special reference has been duly noted throughout, and one of the three Appendices is a list of loan-words from Indo-Iranian found in the poems of Puranānūru and Patirruppattu.

List of Abbreviations.

ADP	Auvai Turaicāmi Piḷḷai.
A.I.	Ancient India, Mc Crindle.
Aiṅkuru.	Aiṅkurunūru.
Akam.	Akanānūru, (in appendices & index, A.)
Akat.	Akattiṇaiyiyal (Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.)
A.Nagar	Annamalainagar, S.Arcot Distt.
ASTP	Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody, A.C.Chettiar.
Aṭiyār.	Aṭiyārkkunallār.
Bh.NS.	Bharata: Nāṭyaśāstra.
B.I.	British India.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London.
Cĕyyuḷ.	Cĕyyuḷiyal (Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.)
CET	Chronology of the Early Tamils, K.N.Sivaraja Pillai.
Cil.	Cilappatikāram.
CK	Cēra Kings of the Śangam Period, K.G.Sesha Aiyar.
col.	colophon. In lexical contexts, column.
Cŏl.	Cŏllatikāram (Tŏl.)
cū.	cūttiram.
Distt.	District.
ed.	editor, edited, according to context.
edn.	edition.
Ĕluttu.	Ĕlutt'atikāram (Tŏl.)
ESV	E.S.Varadaraja Aiyar.
fl.	flower.
HCIP	History and Culture of the Indian People, Majumdar.

HP	Heroic Poetry, C.M.Bowra.
IA	Iraiyanār Akappŏruḷ.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
I.I.	Indo-Iranian.
Iḷam.	Iḷampūraṇar.
I.V.	Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam.
JORM	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
K.	Kannaḍa.
Kaik.	Kaikkiḷai (Akat. & Purat.)
Kaḷavu.	Kaḷav'iyal (Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.)
Kali.	Kalittŏkai.
KAN	K.A.Nilakanta Sastri.
Kāñcip., etc.	Kāñcippaṭalam (PPVM, q.v.)
Karan.	Karantai (Purat.)
Karpu.	Karp'iyal (Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.)
Karu.	Karuppŏruḷ.
KD	Kāvyādarśa, Daṇḍin.
KMM	Kiruti Maṇimālai.
Kumāra.	Kumārasaṃbhava.
Kurun.	Kuruntŏkai.
M.	Malayāḷam.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
Mod.	Modern.
Mutal.	Mutarpŏruḷ.
Nacc.	Naccinārkk'iniyar.
Nan.	Nannūl.
Nar.	Narriṇai, (in appendices, N.)

nr.	near.
Pannirupāṭṭ'iyal.	Pannirupāṭṭ'iyal.
Pari.	Paripāṭal.
Parimel.	Parimelalakar.
Patirru.	Patirruppattu, (in appendices, P.)
Pattu.	Pattuppāṭṭu.
Per.	Perāciriyar.
Pĕriya.	Pĕriyapurāṇam, Cekkilār.
Pĕrun.	Pĕruntiṇai (Akat. & Purat.)
Pĕruntev.Pāratam	Pĕruntevanār Pāratam.
Pŏtuy.	Pŏtuviyal (Purat.)
Pŏrul.	Pŏruḷatikāram (Tŏl.)
Pŏruḷ.Pŏruḷ.	Pŏruḷ.Pŏruḷiyal (Tŏl.)
Pŏrunar.	Pŏrunarārruppaṭai.
PPVM	Purappŏruḷ Vĕṇpāmālai, Aiyanāritanār.
PSS	P.S.Subrahmanya Sastri.
Puram.	Puranānūru, (in appendices, -)
Purat.	Purattiṇaiyiyal (Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.)
Samājam	Caṅka Ilakkiyam, Samājam Edn.
śl.	śloka.
sp.	botanical species.
sū.	sūtra.
Ta.	Tamil.
tab.	table.
Taṇṭi.	Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram.
TC	Tamil Cŏŏrpŏlivukaḷ.
Te.	Telugu.

Tev.	Tevāram.
The P.	The Pattuppāṭṭu, S.Vithianandan.
Tiruñāna.	Tiruñānacampantar.
Tiruvālavāy.	Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār.
Tiruviḷai.	Tiruviḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam.
Tiv.	Tivākaram.
T.Nagar.	Tyāgarayanagar, Madras.
Tŏl.	Tŏlkāppiyam, Tŏlkāppiyanār, according to context.
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society, London.
Trichy.	Tiruccirāppaḷḷi.
TSS	Tirunĕlveli Caiva Cittānta Book Publishing Co.
Uri.	urippŏruḷ.
Uvamai., Uvamam.	Uvamaiy/Uvamaviyal (Tŏl.)
Vāts.KS	Vātsyāyana: Kāmasūtra.
UVS	U.V.Cāminät'aiyar.
VRRD	V.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar.
w̄	with (in footnotes).
Yāppu.	Yāpp'aruṅkalam.
Y.Kārikai.	Yāpp'aruṅkalakārikai.

For special abbreviations used in connexion with Lists and Charts, please see pp.91 & 92, footnotes and the notes appended to the charts on pp.127 and 221.

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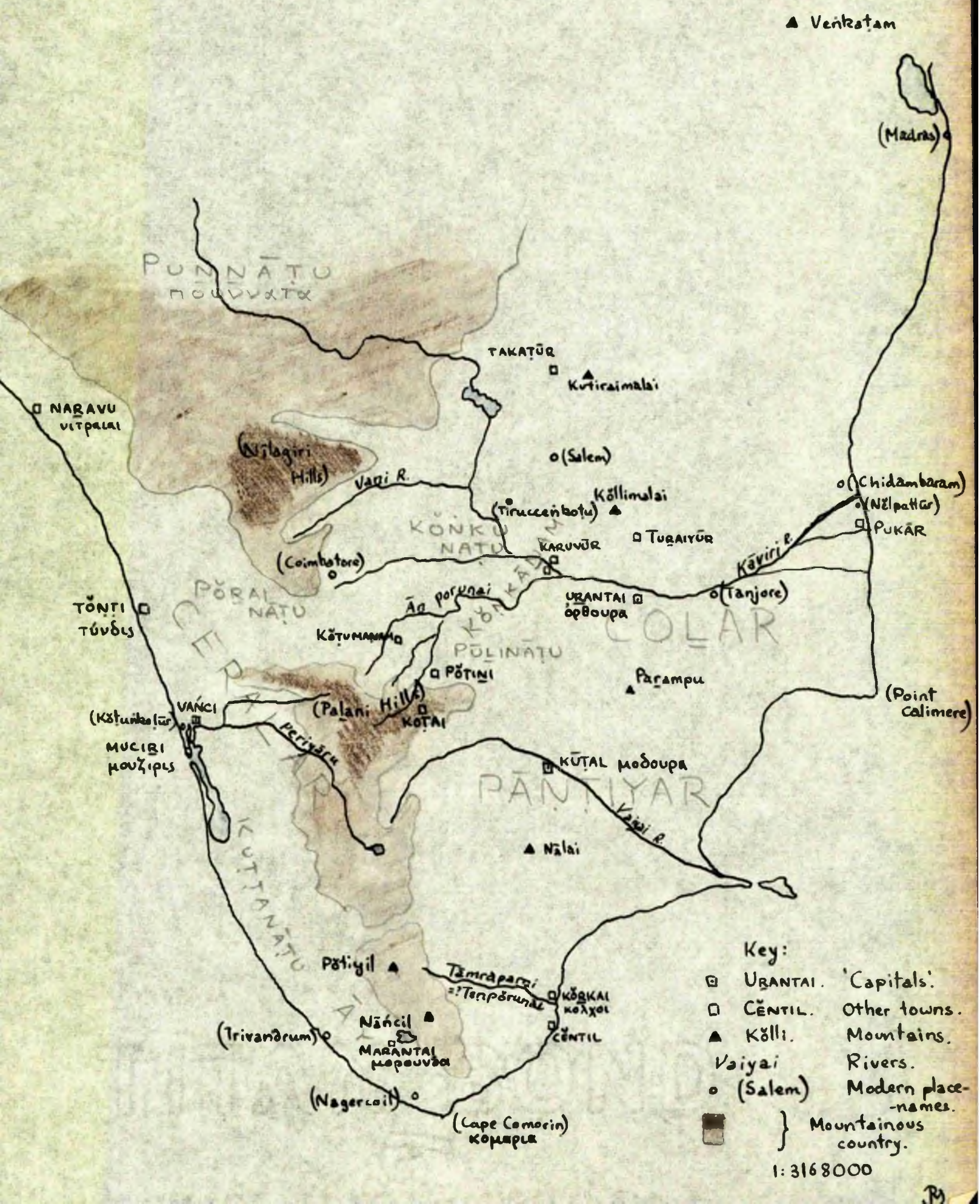
* These were included by Professor A.L. Basham in 'Wonder that was India', and we are much indebted to him for permission to use them here.
+ transl. by Kanakasabhai Pillai: The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, p. 99.

Note on the Transliteration

The transliteration herein used is based on that of the Royal Asiatic Society for Sanskrit. Accordingly, the Tamil long vowels ஏ and ஓ , corresponding to the two guṇa vowels in Sanskrit, are transliterated e and o. The Tamil short vowels எ and ஒ are therefore transliterated ĕ and ŏ.
The only change in the accepted diacritics for Sanskrit is the use of ´ to indicate the palatal nasal instead of the tilde, thus, ń. This avoids the use of two different diacritics in the case of ń and ś for what are in fact homorganic consonants. The three 'Tamil' letters ழ, ற and ன are all indicated in transliteration with _ , though it is realized that the retroflex l is not homorganic with the 'alveolar' r and n. The Tamil 'shortened u', Kurriyalukaram, is not indicated save in Chapter X, on Prosody, wherein it is shown as ŭ. Elision of this and of other vowels or consonants in sandhi is shown by '. The doubling of an initial plosive in Tamil to preserve the tense voiceless quality will be shown in transliteration by the doubled plosive appearing at the beginning of the word instead of one of the two plosives appearing at the end of the preceding word as is observed in Tamil orthography. This doubling will not be observed in the case of names, e.g. Piḷḷai. For indexing purposes, the following combined order for the letters of Tamil and Sanskrit has been adopted: a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ĕ e ai ŏ o au h. k kh g gh ṅ c ch j jh ń ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v l ḷ r n ś ṣ s ḥ (ḥ ṃ).


Veṅkaṭam
(Madras)
PUNNĀṬU
TAKAṬŪR
Kuṭiraimalai
NARAVU
(Nīlagiri Hills)
Vaigai R.
(Salem)
Kōllimalai
(Tiruccenkoṭu)
(Chidambaram)
(Nēlpattūr)
PUKĀR
KŌNKU NĀṬU
KARUVŪR
TURAIYŪR
Kāviri R.
(Coimbatore)
PŌRAL NĀṬU
Āṟu porunai
URANTAI
(Tanjore)
TŌṆṬI
KŌṬUMANAM
PŪLINĀṬU
COLAR
PŌTINI
Parampu
(Point Calimere)
VAŃCI
(Palani Hills)
KOṬAI
(Kōṭuṅkoḷūr)
MUCIRI
Periyāru
KŪṬAL
PĀṆṬIYAR
Vaigai R.
Nālai
KUṬṬANĀṬU
Pōtiyil
Tāmraparṇi
=? Tampōruṇai
KŌRKAI
CĒNTIL
Nāṅcil
(Trivandrum)
MARANTAI
(Nagercoil)
(Cape Comorin)
Key:
URANTAI. 'Capitals'.
CĒNTIL. Other towns.
Kōlli. Mountains.
Vaiyai Rivers.
(Salem) Modern place-names.
Mountainous country.
1:3168000

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the history of Tamil Literature, four main periods are discernable. While these periods overlap to some extent, and while the type of literature predominant in any one period may be found in the periods after or before it, each of the four is marked off from the others to a considerable degree.

The early period is that containing what are perhaps the oldest known literary works in Tamil, the Eight Anthologies and the Ten Songs. In it may also be grouped Tŏlkāppiyam, the Eighteen Minor Works and the Five Epics, which, as they include Civakacintāmaṇi, overlap into

The early medieval period. Unlike the foregoing, most Tamil literature of this period is religious and is inspired by puranic material or based on Sanskrit originals. This period may be said to commence with the composition in the 7th. century of the earlier Tevāram hymns and to close with the poetry composed under the patronage of kings in the 11th. and 12th. centuries.

The later medieval period is largely characterized by philosophical works formulating the Śaiva Siddhānta system, the composition in Tamil of sthalapurāṇas such as that of Maturai, Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam, the production in the form of commentaries of the earliest prose known in Tamil apart from inscriptions, and the grammatical and rhetorical treatises

such as Naṉṉūl, Vīracoḻiyam and Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram.

The recent period is noteworthy for the introduction of western elements into Tamil literature, such as the adoption in the late 19th. century of prose as a recognized medium of artistic expression. Prior to this, however, the Grammar of Beschi (1728) and his Tempāvaṇi, an epic about St. Joseph on the model of Cīvakacintāmaṇi, are evidence of an earlier contact between interested Europeans and Tamil.

The Anthologies which form the subject of this study belong to the first period enumerated above. As will be shown, however, one work among the Eight Anthologies, Paripāṭal, foreshadows the religious poetry of the medieval periods, inasmuch as it includes hymns in praise of Tirumāl (Viṣṇu) and Cĕvveḷ (Subrahmaṇya). As defined, the early period includes the following works:-

1. The Eight Anthologies (Ĕṭṭuttŏkai).

2. Tŏlkāppiyam.

3. The Ten Songs (Pattuppāṭṭu).

4. The Five Epics, i.e. Cilappatikāram, Maṇimekalai, Cīvakacintāmaṇi, Kuṇṭalakeci and Vaḷaiyāpati, our knowledge of the last two being fragmentary.

4. The Eighteen Minor Works (Patiṉĕṇkīḻkkaṇakku).

While the eight anthologies and ten songs are almost entirely secular, the epics and minor works show considerable

evidence of the influence of Buddhist and Jaina thought, which marks them off from the literature that preceded them.

To all these works the name Sangam (caṅkam) has been applied by various writers. While we may reserve judgement on the validity of this term, it may be convenient to use the term Sangam literature to denote the eight anthologies and Tŏlkāppiyam only for reasons shortly to be discussed.[1] At this stage, a brief examination of the term caṅkam and its meaning may be made.

Strong tradition in the Tamil country says that the poets who 'contributed' to the eight anthologies, and the authors of Pattuppāṭṭu and Tŏlkāppiyam lived in an age of one or more literary academies, centred latterly on Maturai, the capital of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom.[2] The main sources for the tradition of the caṅkam are the Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam of Paraṅcotimuṉivar[3] and the commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār Akappŏruḷ. It may be convenient to consider the latter first.

The author of Akappŏruḷ, Iṟaiyaṉār, is traditionally the god Śiva, and the work consists of sixty cūttirams on the conventions to be observed in writing love poetry. As it

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1. v.i., p.7,8.2. For a resume of the caṅkam story see M.S.Pūrṇaliṅgampiḷḷai: Tamil Literature, p.15, and A.L.Basham: The Wonder that was India, p.462.
3. This work was written in the 12th.century A.D. according to Dr. U.V.Cāminātа Aiyar in his introduction to it, Another purāṇam of the same name was composed by Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār.

has come down, these rules are accompanied by a commentary attributed to Nakkīrar which consists both of prose and 325 example-verses and of quotations from known works[1].

The tradition regarding the authorship seems to rest on little but the name of the author, Iṟaiyaṉār. Iṟaiyaṉār is also reputed as the author of a verse in Kuṟuntŏkai, one of the eight anthologies. This poem too is said to be the work of Śiva. Iṟaiyaṉ, with the honorific suffix -ar added is connected with iṟai[2], either in the sense of head, supreme god, king (in regard to his excelling others)[3], or, seat, duty, tax.[4]

It may be suggested that a poet of the name Iṟaiyaṉ did exist and write the verse in Kuṟuntŏkai and perhaps the Iṟaiyaṉārakappŏruḷ also, and that in medieval times the legend of the divine authorship of both developed. Alternatively it may be assumed that the authorship of neither work was known, but, in medieval times for reasons no longer apparent, both were ascribed to Śiva under the name Iṟaiyaṉār in the sense of god. The inclusion of Iṟaiyaṉār's poem in Kuṟuntŏkai shows that whoever compiled the Anthology considered the poem to belong to the early period of Tamil literature.

To the same period belongs Nakkīrar, whether or no he

1.Recently edited by the TSS (1953). The example-verses are known as the Pāṇṭikkovai. They refer to a Pāṇṭiya king called Niṉṟacīr Nĕṭumāṟaṉ. In discussion, T.P.Minakṣisundaram was of the opinion that this ruler was a contemporary of the 7th.cent. hymnist Tiruṅāṉacampantar, and that Pāṇṭikkovai was the work of one author. If accepted, this shows that the illustrative verses were not earlier than 7th.cent. in composition. The prose commentary may have been written even later, but hardly

was the same person as Maturai Kkaṇakkāyaṉār makaṉār Nakkīraṉār as is generally supposed[1]. The latter name need not be considered here[2]. Nakkīrar or Nakkīraṉār is credited with the authorship of a large number of poems in three of the eight anthologies[3]. He is also said to have written the commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār Akappŏruḷ. One of the chief sources for this tradition is Parańcoti's Tiruviḷai., paṭalams 54 and 56 of which tell how Śiva desired Kīraṉ to write the commentary on his work on poetics; Kīraṉ studied the art under Agastya[4] in order to do this, and later wrote his commentary on Śiva's work, which had been discovered under the god's shrine in the temple at Maturai[5].

There are many objections to the tradition regarding the author of this commentary. Had it been written by a poet of the caṅkam one would have to account for the disappearance of all other Tamil prose apart from inscriptions between that period and the 12th. century commentaries of Aṭiyārkkunallār and others. Furthermore, one would have to suggest that a poet

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continuation of footnotes from previous page:-
earlier, cf. Vithiananthan: Pattu. p.8.
2. Ta.Lex.p.365, cols. i & ii.
3. From the root iṟa, cross over, excel. Cf. Kan. Ĕṟaya, master.
4. Cf. the root iṟu, halt, stay. Cf. Ma. iṟa; mod.Ta., iṟaivaṉ, king, as one to whom taxes are due.

This page. 1. Cf. Samājam edn. pp.694ff., wherein poems of both (?) poets are given as the work of Nakkīrar.
2. He was the author of Puṟam.56 & 189, Pattu. I & VII, etc.
3. See Appendix, list of Puṟam. poets. 4. Tiruviḷai. 54, v.26.
5. IA, comm., TSS edn. pp 6 and 7.

of the Caṅkam had employed one language for his poetry and another, different both in structure and vocabulary, for his prose. This commentary uses a large number of loanwords from Sanskrit or Prākrit which do not occur in Sangam literature at all[1], and is similar in structure and vocabulary to the authenticated medieval commentaries. Moreover, the Pāṇṭikkovai that is included in it is in Kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai, a metre found neither in the anthologies nor in the Cĕyyuḷiyal, the section of Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷatikāram, that treats of prosody.

It is said that Nīlakaṇṭaṉ of Muciṟi had the commentary transmitted to him orally through ten generations of disciples, that it was he who set the commentary down in the eighth century A.D.[2] This tradition may provide evidence regarding the actual author of this commentary on Akappŏruḷ and the date of its composition. Such a date has been accepted by a number of scholars[3]. As for Akappŏruḷ itself, K.N.Sivaraja Pillai has shown[4] that there is similarity between a number of verses in Tŏlkāppiyam and Akappŏruḷ. While this does not prove his point that the author of Akappŏruḷ copied Tŏlkāppiyam[4] it suggests that the two works were contemporaneous, and drew upon common material in the form of poetic definitions current at the time.

In this commentary then, the authorship and date of

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1. e.g., TSS edn. p.6: citṭar (śiṣya); p.7: piramaṇaṉ (brāhmaṇa); p.8: karaṇikaṉ (karaṇika), kumaracuvāmi (kumārasvāmi); p.10: mūttira puṟīṭam (mūtrapurīṣa). 2.CET p.19 & P p.3.
3. e.g. Pillai, CET, ibid., & A.C.Chettiyar in discussions.
4. CET ibid., & app.II, pp.222-3. 5. ibid., p.223.

which are problematical, occurs the first account extant of the three caṅkams[1], their provenance and the works produced in them. The durations given for each caṅkam are in themselves a source of scepticism[2], and there is no evidence that either a Maturai or a Kapāṭapuram, where were located the first and second caṅkam, existed and were swallowed up by the sea. It may also be observed that Agastya, Śiva who burnt Tripura, and Murukaveḷ upon his mountain are included among first caṅkam poets. None of the works mentioned as having been composed in the first caṅkam are extant[3], but the mention of Tŏlkāppiyam as a work of the second caṅkam has been accepted by some. However, it should be noted that a Paripāṭal is listed as a first caṅkam work and also as a work of the third caṅkam. Nobody has asserted, however, that the extant Paripāṭal is anything other than a third caṅkam work. Tŏlkāppiyam, too, is listed among the compositions of the third caṅkam or academy.[4]

The list of works of the third caṅkam, which was located in the Pāṇṭiya capital Maturai, contains a number of titles of works that are extant, and it may be convenient to apply the name Sangam literature to these. It should be stressed at the outset that the poems in these works supply no internal evidence of having been written to conform with the rules of

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1. TSS edn., pp5-6. 2. I, 4440 yrs., II, 3700 yrs., III, 1850 yrs. 3. That a 'grammar' called Akattiyam existed is suggested by extant fragments attributed to it; a work of this name is included in all three caṅkams. 4. Peraciriyar on

the type of literary academy envisaged by the commentary on Akappŏruḷ or by Parańcotimuṉivar. The titles are:-

Nĕṭuntŏkainānūṟu, Kuṟuntŏkainānūṟu, Naṟṟiṇainānūṟu, Puṟanānūṟu, Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, Patiṟṟuppattu, Nūṟṟ'aimpatu Kali, Ĕḻupatu Paripāṭal and Tŏlkāppiyam[1].

The existence of the titles to nine extant works among a list of fourteen[2] suggests that the other five once existed but have disappeared.

Neither the Ten Songs (Pattuppāṭṭu)[3], the eighteen minor works or the five epics are mentioned in this list of Caṅkam works and it is for this reason that the term Sangam literature is used in this thesis to denote the nine works listed above only. The first eight of them form what are generally called the Eight Anthologies (Ĕṭṭuttŏkai), the ninth being Tŏlkāppiyam.

Mention of these Ĕṭṭuttŏkai, albeit individually, in the commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār Akappŏruḷ shows that they (and perhaps Tŏlkāppiyam wholly or in part) existed in something analogous to their present form by the time this commentary was written. There is no reason to suppose that the poems of

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footnote continued from previous page:-
Tŏl.Pŏruḷ v.549 states that Tolkāppiyam belonged both to the second and the third caṅkam; vide TSS edn., iii p.481.

this page. 1. IA comm. p.6. 2. Ibid. The non-extant works are:- Kūttu, Vari, Ciṟṟicai, Pericai and Akattiyam. Though some cūttirams of this latter survive, it is impossible to agree with Vithianantan that these belong to the Akattiyam of the first caṅkam rather than the third; vide P p.6. 3. The term is first used in Mayilai. on Naṉ., UVS edn.(1918)p.265; cf. P p.9.

the anthologies had not been gathered into anthology form possibly even as early as the 8th. century A.D. They existed in this form by the 14th. century, for Naccinārkk'iniyar quotes from the anthologies by name, besides commenting on Kalittŏkai itself, and 20 verses from Kuruntŏkai. But what is equally clear is that the poems themselves show no signs internally of having been written either as a contribution to an academy at Maturai or to a collection or anthology of any sort. Lack of such evidence has been noted by Pillai[1], and is regarded by him as disproving the existence of a caṅkam:-

"The primitive historical conditions of the Tamil land, as evidenced by the literature of the Naturalistic period"(his term for Sangam literature), "could not have favoured any such institution as coming into existence. The various poems in this collection of works have one and all been composed by different poets, living in different parts of the country, on many different occasions. The literary motive behind this production was by no means the composition of a perfect work of art to stand the scrutiny of a conclave of critics at the top. The hard lot of the poets of that period ..... seems to have driven them on to attaching themselves to some king or other, some chieftain or other, and play the part of singers of their glories and achievements".

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1. CET p.18.

Vithiananthan[1] and other modern writers do not give their reasons for regarding Pattuppāṭṭu as a caṅkam work. The only reason for considering it as a work of the caṅkam would seem to be the fact that most of the patrons of the Pattuppāṭṭu and some of its poets figure in the eight anthologies. It may be observed, however, that inclusion of Pattuppāṭṭu among caṅkam works is no more sanctioned by tradition as embodied in the IA commentary than is inclusion of the epics or minor works.

Before considering the eight anthologies it remains but to notice that the Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam, based on the Skandapurāṇa, includes many further legends concerning the caṅkam.[2] The only one that need be noticed here is another about Śiva with whom Iṟaiyaṉār is identified and Nakkīrar. The purāṇam states that Kīraṉ[3] challenged the veracity of a verse which the god had vouchsafed to a poor brahman called Tarumi. For his blasphemy Kīraṉ is smitten with a disease. This story also occurs in Kallāṭam[4] and Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam of Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār[5] in both of which the poem given to Tarumi is stated to be that which begins with the words:-

"Kŏṅku ter vāḻkkai .... "

Such a poem is found in Kuṟuntŏkai[6], and the colophon to it states that it is by Iṟaiyaṉār. It is clear therefore

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1. cf the Pattu. pp6-8. 2. cf paṭalams 52-54 incl.
3. Doubtless the same as Nakkīrar, 'the good Kīrar'. 4. v.l.
5. Tiruvālavāy.Tiruviḷai., XVI, 10. 6. Kuṟun. v.2.

that the authors of the two Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇams and also Kallāṭaṉār and the writer of the Kuṟuntŏkai colophon all subscribed to a common tradition, there being no evidence for or against the view that any one of them was indebted to any other.

As already seen[1] Paraṅcotimuṉivar was acquainted with the story of Nakkīrar and his commentary on IA[2] and, in this latter case, Tiruviḷai. may well be drawing on that commentary[3] since it may well have been written in the 8th. century, four centuries prior to the composition of Tiruviḷai.

The commentary on IA provides the earliest documentary evidence extant both for the caṅkam story and for the connexion with the third caṅkam of nine works which exist at the present time. That the first eight in the commentator's list did denote the eight anthologies need not be doubted. Whether mention of them in the commentary postdates their formation as anthologies and the application to such anthologies of the titles is a question that cannot be answered in the present state of the evidence. The eight titles suggest features of the Ĕṭṭuttŏkai as extant in almost every case, as will now be shown.

1. Nĕṭuntŏkainānūṟu. Four hundred (poems) in the form

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1. v.s. p.5. 2. Tiruviḷai. paṭalam 54. 3. Although Tiruviḷai. mentions one academy only, cf. paṭalam 55. Cp. Cekkiḻār: Pĕriya. Mūrtti. v.7:- "ĕmmai ppāvantīrppavar ccaṅkam iruntatu".

of a collection of long poems. The work generally known as Akanāṉūṟu, four hundred love (poems) comprises poems of from 13 to 37 lines in length.

2. Kuṟuntŏkainānūṟu, a collection of four hundred short (poems). The extant Kuṟuntŏkai consists of love poems of from 4 to 8 lines[1].

3. Naṟṟiṇainānūṟu, four hundred (poems depicting) the fine Tiṇai[2]. The collection usually known as Naṟṟiṇai consists of four hundred love poems of length intermediate between those of Akanāṉūṟu and Kuṟuntŏkai, namely 9 to 12 lines length.

These three anthologies form a natural group, being distinct from each other in one criterion only, that of verse-length. Analogous to them in containing four hundred poems, but different in subject is

4. Puṟanāṉūṟu, which consists of poems in praise of kings and chieftains and their courts. The title, the same in form as that of the extant work means four hundred (poems) on Puṟam[3]. There are no particular restrictions as to verse-length.

The remaining anthologies all contain varying numbers of poems. Distinct from Puṟanāṉūṟu by reason of its arrangement and subject, which latter it shares with Akam. (Akanāṉūṟu),

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1. Kuṟun. v.307 has 9 lines, but it is significant that the extant Kuṟuntŏkai contains 401 poems. V.307 may well be an interpolation. 2. For a definition of the term Tiṇai, see Chapter II, p. 20. 3. The distinction between Akam and Puṟam is discussed in Ch.II, pp.19f. Puṟanāṉūṟu is discussed in Chapters III (introductory), IV (Coḷa, Pāṇṭiya and Ceral heroes), and V (Chieftain heroes and miscellaneous poems).

Kuṟun. (Kuṟuntŏkai) and Naṟ. (Naṟṟiṇai) is

5. Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, five Centuries (śataka) of short (love poems). Each Century is devoted to one of the five Tiṇai.[1]

The only anthology apart from Puṟam. (Puranāṉūṟu) that treats of royal patrons is

6. Patiṟṟuppattu, the Ten Decades. This consisted of a hundred poems of varying length in praise of ten Ceral kings, each of whom is the hero of a decade and a Patikam, a poem that accompanies each decade. As Patiṟṟu. now stands, it consists of 80 poems in 8 decades, two decades being missing[2].

7. Nūṟṟ'aimpatu Kali, 150 (poems in) Kali (metre). The anthology known as Kalittŏkai comprises an invocatory poem and 149 love poems allotted unequally between the five Tiṇai.[1]

Last in the commentary list and different in many respects from the foregoing is

8. Ĕlupatu Paripāṭal, 70 (poems) of devotion and intercession[3]. The extant anthology Paripāṭal is fragmentary, containing only 22 of the original 70 poems. These are numbered 1 to 22, but there is no evidence that they occupied this position in the complete work. The extant poems are in praise

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1. v.i. Ch.II, p. 20. 2. Which two is discussed in Ch.VII. p.294. Patiṟṟu. is considered in Ch.VI (introductory), VII (Patikams), and VIII (Text). 3. Pari + āṭal. Cf. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. v.430 & Per. thereon, TSS edn. iii p.297. Contra, E.S.V.Aiyar who, in discussions analysed paripāṭal as paripu + āṭal, from id. + āṭal.

of Tirumāl (Viṣṇu), Cĕvveḷ (Skanda) and the Vaiyai (Vaikai) river.[1]

Vithiananthan perhaps confuses the issue when he asserts that, in the commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār Akappŏruḷ

"The works are mentioned individually and are not denoted by the collective terms Ĕṭṭuttŏkai and Pattuppāṭṭu. The arrangement of the stanzas into collections must, therefore, have been made later than this period"[2].

While the collective term Ĕṭṭuttŏkai is indeed not mentioned, there is no reason to suppose that this term means an eightfold anthology rather than eight anthologies. The verses were arranged into such anthologies before the IA commentary was written. That each work was regarded as an individual anthology rather than a part of an eightfold anthology is suggested by the inclusion of the word Tŏkai, collection, in the titles Nĕṭuntŏkai and Kuṟuntŏkai. Moreover, neither the term Pattuppāṭṭu nor any of the poems that comprise it is mentioned in the IA commentary, as has already been noted[3].

The order of enumeration followed in the IA commentary is quite logical, having regard to the fact that the first four

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1. For a discussion of this anthology and the anthologies of love poetry see Ch. IX.
2. P p.9.
3. v.s. p.8.

anthologies are of 400 verses each, that anthologies 5 to 7 differ from each other in length and form, 5 and 7 being linked by subject, and that anthologies 1 to 6 are all in Akaval metre[1]. Anomalous in the group is the eighth mentioned, Paripāṭal, including as it does a number of religious poems[2].

Perhaps for reasons of its metre, the order of the eight anthologies is rearranged in a verse of unknown date and authorship in which the term Ĕṭṭuttokai is used. Whether this verse embodies the first instance of the use of the term it is impossible to say:-

"Narriṇai nalla Kuruntŏkai Aiṅkurunūr'
ŏtta Patirruppatt' oṅku Paripāṭal
karrarintār ettuṅ Kaliye AkamPuram ĕnr'
ittiraṭṭ' Ĕṭṭuttŏkai".

There is a certain amount of material regarding the compilation of each of these anthologies which will be considered in discussing them individually[3].

The commentary of Taruṇavācaspati on Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa includes what is probably a Sanskrit notice of the eight Tamil anthologies. Commenting on Kāvyādarśa I, 13[4] he states:-

"Saṅghātaḥ ekārthaviṣayaḥ, ekakartṛkaḥ, padyasaṅghātaḥ, śaratsaṅghātadramiḍasaṅghātādivat".[5]

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1. See Ch. X, pp.438f. 2. After abstracting Puram. and Patirru. the remaining six anthologies will be considered in the above order. 3. See Chs. III, VI, IX. 5. KD I,13 comm.
4. śl.13: "Muktakaṃ kulakaṃ koṣaḥ saṅghāta iti tadṛśaḥ".

That the extant Tamil anthologies could be considered saṅghātas was felt by the commentator on Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram, the Tamil version of Kāvyādarśa. In the commentary on Taṇṭi. v.5[1] wherein Tŏkai is used for Saṅghāta, examples are given of the types of anthology made according to different criteria. As an anthology including the work of many poets is cited Akam., as one wherein the poems treat of a common subject is cited Puṟam., as one wherein all the poems are in similar form Kali. is suggested, and Kuṟun. is quoted as an instance of an anthology made on the basis of verse-length[2].

It has been suggested that medieval writers, familiar with the literary assemblies of the courts of their own day and with Buddhist and Jaina saṅghas postulated such assemblies for the period of Sangam literature and that, in fact, caṅkam is no more than a synonym of the Sanskrit word saṅghāta, denoting a collection of poems arranged artificially and analogous to the Vedic saṃhitās.[3]

While the suggestion regarding commentators having postulated for the period of the eight anthologies academies on the model of the medieval courts or Buddhist and Jaina saṅghas is more plausible, the hypothesis about the meaning of the word caṅkam is hard to sustain. Were caṅkam to correspond in meaning

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1. v.5, which does not correspond to a particular śloka in KD, elaborates the third type of work, Tŏkai; the four are listed in v.2. as Muttakam, Kuḷakam, Tŏkai & Tŏṭarnilai, corresponding to muktaka, kulaka & saṅghāta, kośa being unrepresented. Tŏṭarnilai signifies a long poem with one subject such as Kamparāmāyaṇam.
2. Taṇṭi.comm. TSS edn. 3. V.Raghavan in discussion and

to tŏkai, saṅghāta or saṃhitā, one would ask why Tŏlkāppiyam and other 'grammars' were listed as caṅkam works.

<u>continuation of footnote from previous page</u>:-
V.Narayana Aiyar in JORM (1928) pp.149 ff.

CHAPTER II

POETICS

The subject of Tamil poetics will be discussed with relevance to the Eight Anthologies. At the same time will be given an outline of the treatment of this subject in Tŏlkāppiyam and later treatises such as Purappŏruḷ Vĕṇpāmālai (PPVM).[1]

The term Poetics will be used for those matters denoted by the Tamil words Akam and Puram as relating to Love poetry and Bardic poetry respectively. The term Rhetoric will be used to cover Alaṃkāra, both śabda and artha, inasmuch as they figure in certain portions of Tŏlkāppiyam. The subjects of Rasa and the Bhāvas will be termed Dramatic Theory. Like Poetics and Rhetoric, Dramatic Theory figures in Poruḷatikāram, the third section or Iyal of Tŏlkāppiyam.[2]

The subject of Poetics is discussed in the first five sections of Pŏruḷatikāram (Pŏruḷ.). These are:

Akattiṇaiyiyal, treating of Akam.

Purattiṇaiyiyal " " Puram.

Kaḷaviyal, which concerns secret love.

Karpiyal, " " open wedded love.

Pŏruḷiyal, supplementary to iyals 1, 3 and 4.

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1. A work of uncertain but perhaps early medieval date. It is on the poetics of Puram poetry, and is by Aiyanāritanār.
2. That drama was involved is confirmed both by the opening cūttiram (249) of Pŏruḷ., Mĕyppāṭṭiyal, and by Perāciriyar's commentary thereon, TSS edn. iii, pp 1-2.

Dramatic theory is considered in the sixth section, Měyppāṭṭiyal, the iyal relating to the bhāvas. The seventh section, Uvamaviyal, discusses Simile or Uvamam[1].

As will be shown hereafter, the first two sections of Pŏruḷatikāram appear to embody many features peculiar to the literature of Tamil. While they elaborate on these, sections 3 to 5 include much material that may be found in Sanskrit treatises. Sections 6 and 7 may be later additions or interpolations in Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷatikāram, treating as they do of aspects of dramatic theory and Simile according to Sanskrit criteria.

In considering the poetics of the eight anthologies it is the first two iyals of Pŏruḷ. that are of the greatest importance. They discuss the subject matter of formal love poetry and bardic poetry and the ways in which it was classified.

First the two ideas of what is Inner (akam) and what is Outer (puṟam) were opposed. As these terms related to the emotions, they came to denote love poetry and what will here be called bardic poetry. While nearly all verse classified under Akam is love poetry, that classified under Puṟam does not necessarily relate to war, but includes much of what may be described as Praśasti or panegyric.

In Tŏlkāppiyam, the subject of Akam is treated first,

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1. To be connected with Upamā.

in the Akattiṇaiyiyal (Akat.)[1]. In "Chronology of the Early Tamils," K.N.Sivaraja Pillai has suggested that historically puṟam poetry was earlier, preceding the more introspective love poetry[2].

The section is called Akattiṇaiyiyal because, like puṟam, akam topics are described under seven headings. These are the Tiṇai, a word originally meaning land or region. As will be seen, five different aspects of love were poetically associated with five geographical areas of the Tamil country[3]. Thereafter the term Tiṇai came to denote conventional situations pertaining to love in the five aspects envisaged. It is proposed to use the term Poetic Situation for Tiṇai in the context both of Akam and Puṟam.

As Tŏlkāppiyaṉār notes[4], five of the seven Akattiṇai are connected with geographical regions[5]. The first, Kaikkiḷai, and the last, Pĕruntiṇai, are not. Moreover the five names for the geographical areas, mullai, kuṟiṅci, pālai, marutam and nĕytal are in fact the names of five plants which grow in the forest, mountains, desert, cultivated lands and sea-coast respectively. It would seem reasonable to suggest that the words were the names of plants first of all[6], and were then

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1. Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. cū. 1-55. 2. CET, pp.43-44.
3. The other two aspects being related to Tiṇai without such geographical association. 4. Akat., cū. 1&2. 5. v.i. p.21.
6. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.5, Iḷam., PSS Akat., p.8; contra, Nacc. on the same cū., TSS edn., i, p.14.

applied to the regions in which these plants grow. For example, kuṟiṅci came to mean the mountain region because the kuṟiṅci (Strobilanthes) is a conspicuous plant in the Nīlagiris and Paḻanis, especially in view of its infrequent but profuse flowering[1]. The words then came to denote the aspects of love with which each region was associated. Similar are the seven Puṟattiṇai, the names of which are the names of plants worn at seven different stages of battle. These plant-names came to denote those stages of battle themselves.

Naccinārkk'iṉiyar objected to the view that the five tinai (aintiṇai) names were originally the names of plants, stating that literature showed them to mean different aspects of love such as Union and Quarrel, and he gave examples of these[2]. But it should be observed that no tiṇai-name exhibits relationship with any other Tamil or Dravidian word with meaning related to the ideas of union, separation, waiting, anguish and quarrelling[3]. On the other hand several of the tiṇai-names have cognates in other Dravidian languages meaning flowers or trees[4]. It is impossible to agree with Naccinārkkiṉiyar that each tiṇai-name means primarily the love aspect. His

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1. The plants are: Mullai, Jasminum sambac; Kuṟiṅci, Strobilanthes sp.; Marutam, Terminalia sp.; Nĕytal, Nymphaea lotus alba; Pālai, Mesua sp. 2. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.5, Nacc.TSS i, p.14. 3. For the poetic association of these with the five regions, v.i. p. 24. 4. Pālai; cf. K. pāle, Mimusops sp. Nĕytal; cf. K. nĕydal, Nymphaea. Mullai; cf. M. mulla, K. mŏlle, Te. mŏlla, Jasminum sambac. Similarly, the puṟattiṇai flower-names have Dravidian cognates, v.i. p.41, fn. 2.

further objection that other flowers are found in the five regions is hardly of importance. One may presume that those flowers which were taken as typical of each region were felt to be peculiar to those regions in one way or another. The ubiquitous waterlilies in tanks and irrigation channels in the coastal areas of South Arcot and Tanjore cannot escape one's notice, and none of the five plants is in any way a rarity. It is suggested therefore that the five words denoted plants, the region in which they grew, the aspects of love which poets associated with these regions and finally the emotions pertaining to those aspects of love.

One of these areas, the desert (pālai) is regarded by Tŏlkāppiyaṉār as shared among the other four tiṇai that have geographical significance[1]. Later writers however give pālai a status equal to that of the other four, and this latter view is reflected in the arrangement of poems in some of the Akam anthologies[2].

Each of the five geographical akattiṇai was regarded as having certain Karuppŏruḷ associated with it. It is proposed to translate this term as Distinctive Attribute. These Attributes include a variety of matters such as the presiding deity of a region, the occupation and food of its inhabitants and the flora and fauna of the region[3].

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1. Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.2. It must be understood that desert is an inexact translation of pālai, there being no areas of complete desert in S.India. There are areas of waste or barren lands. 2. e.g. Kalittŏkai and Aiṅkuṟunūṟu. 3. vide Akat. PSSedn. p.19, and Iḷam. on Akat. cū.5.

In Akattiṇaiyiyal the general statement of what constitutes Karuppŏruḷ is found in cūttiram 18, while the presiding deities, though included in karuppŏruḷ, are listed in cū.5. It is possible that cū.5 is an interpolation or is misplaced, since the fact that Distinctive Attribute includes the presiding god is not explained until cū.18. These deities are: Māyoṉ, generally taken to be Viṣṇu (forest region or mullai), Ceyoṉ or Murukaṉ (mountain region or kuṟiñci), Ventaṉ the king, taken to be Indra (cultivated lands or marutam) and Varuṇaṉ (seashore or nĕytal).[1]

This shows that at the time when Tolkappiyam was compiled, brahmanical deities were already known to the Tamils. Murukaṉ was the god of hilltops and storms in the Tamil land, and was identified with Skanda. Whether this identification was felt at this time is hardly relevant here. It may be suggested however that Subrahmanya Sastri is too categorical when he says that

"A study of the Tirumuruk'āṟṟuppaṭai, and the Paripāṭal ..... the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa ..... has made me doubt the veracity of the statement that Murukaṉ is a Dravidian god"[2]. The Tamil works he cites are anomalous members of the Ten Songs

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1. Tŏl.Pŏrul.Akat. cu.5 &comm. TSS edn. i, pp.11-15. Pālai was not regarded by Tŏl. as a separate tiṇai so no god is assigned to it. Some karuppŏruḷ are assigned to it by Nacc. ibid. i, p.46. Later texts suggest Bhagavatī and Āditya as presiding deities for pālai, cf. IA comm., TSS edn. p.21. 2. PSS Akat. p.5.

and Eight Anthologies respectively. There are parallels for the survival of earlier cults in mountainous areas[1].

Other matters connected with each tiṇai were classified under Mutarpŏruḷ and Urippŏruḷ[2]. The mutarpŏruḷ are the times (cirupŏlutu) and seasons (pĕrumpŏlutu) appropriate to each tiṇai and, as is the case with karuppŏruḷ, are listed in the form of substantives. In practice, both seasons and times and the Distinctive Attributes may overlap[3].

Urippŏruḷ are the aspects of love associated with each of the above five tiṇai that have geographical significance, the names of which came to stand for their urippŏruḷ. They are:

1. Puṇartal, union		kuriṅci, mountains. 2.
2. Pirital, separation		pālai, desert. 3.
3. Iruttal, awaiting	and their causes, associated with	mullai, forest. 1.
4. Iraṅkal, wailing		neytal, seashore. 5.
5. Ūṭal, quarrel		marutam, fields. 4.[4]

It will be noted that the order of these aspects does not correspond to the order in which Tolkāppiyaṉār lists the five regions.[5] As Subrahmanya Sastri suggests[6] the order of these aspects of love is a natural one.

Some examples of the five urippŏruḷ and the way in which they were associated with each tiṇai will now be noted.

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1. Such as druidism in Roman Britain. 2. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.3.
3. Ibid. cū.13. The times and seasons are given in cū.6 to 10 of the TSS edn. 4. Nacc. on cū.14, TSS i, p.37.
5. See Tŏl. ibid. cū.2 & 5. 6. PSS Akat. p.16.

1. Puṇartal, union. The colophon to Kuṟuntŏkai v.3 explains that the companion persuades the beloved (talaivi) to state her real feelings towards her lover (talaivaṉ) who, meanwhile, overhears what she says from a hiding-place nearby:

"My love for the lord of this land where wonderful honey is obtained from the black-stemmed strobilanthes on the mountain slopes is greater than the earth, vaster than the sky and deeper than the ocean"[1].

The colophon to Kuṟun.62 states that the lover ponders upon the sweetness of love:

"Sweet is it to embrace this maiden soft as a tender shoot. Fragrant is she as a lovely garland compounded of scented waterlilies, drooping jessamine and the blooms of gloriosa"[2].

Uniting and the reasons for it are evident in these two examples. Karuppŏruḷ include kuṟiṅci itself in Kuṟun.3 and Koṭal, gloriosa, in Kuṟun.62[3]. The mention of jasmine, mullai, in the latter verse may be taken as an instance of Tiṇaimayakkam, mixture of tiṇai and associated karuppŏruḷ, stated to occur by Tolkāppiyaṉār[4].

2. Pirital, separation.

"Since the rains have failed, the wild bison is eating

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1. Kuṟun.3 (Tevakulattār). 2. Kuṟun.62 (Ciṟukuṭiy Āṇṭaiyār); this is quoted by Nacc. in his comm. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.14, i.p.38.
3. Gloriosa is given as a Distinctive Attribute of kuṟiṅci in Nacc. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.18, i. p.46; cp. IA comm. p.20.
4. Tŏl. ibid., cū.12 & 13, Iḷam. on latter.

hemp. Those who travel in difficult places on the steep mountain paths under beetling crags are transfixed by the embossed arrows of wicked robbers and writhe in pain. Their inner waters dry up since they do not receive water; great is their discomfort and only their tears wet the tongues that cleave to their mouths. Such a cruel and barren place it is!

You seem to have taken no account of me! It is not really like you, O great one, to plot to deprive me of your love. There will be no joy for me except in planning to be of help to you on that troublesome road".[1]

The colophon to Kuṟun.12 states that the heroine frets about the dangers of the barren road. She speaks to her companion (toḻi):

"They say that on the track my lord has taken are crossroads where hunters sharpen their arrows, climbing the rocks hot as an anvil which are strewn about the tracks like anthills. This gossiping town will not heed my sorrow at his departure, since it ever chatters about trifles!"[2]

3. Iruttal, waiting. The heroine pines for the return of her beloved in the rainy season:

"Friend, my eyes have quitted sleep on account of the lord in whose forested land the teeth-like buds of tender

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1. Kalittŏkai, Pālaikkali 6. 2. Kuṟun.12 (Otalāntaiyār).

jessamine are forming. The rain clouds commingle with the lightning"[1].

In another poem, Ŏkkūr Mācātti puts these words into the mouth of the beloved as she talks to her companion in the rainy season:

"Friend, see how he who went off seeking wealth returns not in the evening, the time when bees are active. Even the wild cat smiles because, in the forest region filled with fragrant flowers and fresh shoots, the jessamine is blooming. In the uplands the buck grazed on fields of young millet nurtured by last season's rains, leaving only fields of stubble! "[2]

In both these examples mullai is mentioned, both as the Poetic Situation for patience in separation or waiting and as a karuppŏruḷ of it[3]. Mutaṟpŏruḷ associated with mullai are the rainy season (as a pĕrumpŏḻutu) and evening (as ciṟupŏḻutu) according to Tŏlkāppiyaṉār[4]. Both figure in these two examples[5].

4. Iraṅkal, wailing. Kayamaṉār puts these words into the mouth of a companion speaking of her mistress:

"She is like a mother and is pale of complexion. Her form resembles an unworn blossom placed alone in a box with a

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1. Kuṟun.186 (Ŏkkūr Mācātti). 2. Kuṟun.220 (Ŏkkūr Mācātti).
3. Mullai: Kuṟun.186, l.2; 220, l.3. 4. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.6, l.1.
5. Kār: Kuṟun.186, l.1; mālai: 220, l.6.

bejewelled lid. Shamed before me, she is hiding the fickleness of the lord of the cool fair land where the tall-stemmed waterlily blossoms above its leaves. It resembles the eyes of maidens who bathe in pools which are always re-stocked with fish when the tide comes in ".[1]

The mother of a lovesick girl is addressed as follows:

"Hail, lady! See! It is the chariot of the lord of the coast that will remove the sorrow of your daughter whose flower-like eyes lap the collyrium. Along the path where the chariot comes grow tangled waterlilies, and it rolls over the creeping green leaves of the Aṭumpu[2]". [3]

Nĕytal, the waterlily, from which the tiṇai associated with grief in separation was named, is mentioned as a karuppŏruḷ in both these poems. Nacc.[4] lists a number of names for the hero (talaivaṉ) of the maritime tract and two of these, Tuṟaivaṉ[5] and Kŏṇkaṉ[6] appear in these poems as further Nĕytaṟṟiṇaikkaruppŏruḷ.

5. Ūṭal, quarrelling, associated with the cultivated tract (marutam). A disillusioned lover exclaims:

"What is she to me, she whose hair is dark and thick

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1. Kuṟun.9 (Kayamaṉār). 2. Ipomea biloba, common on coastal sand dunes; mod.colloq. kutiraikkuḷampu. 3. Aiṅkuṟu. 101 (Ammūvaṉār). 4. Comm. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.20. TSS edn.i,p48. 5. Kuṟun.9, l.7. 6. Aiṅkuṟu.101, l.5. For Tuṟaivaṉ & Kŏṇkaṉ, which signify lord of the harbour and one who possesses, see also IA comm. TSS edn. p.20.

and fragrant as the jessamine that scrambles over the tree in the garden? Grieve, O mind, if you will, bereft like the harpists made poor through Ĕvvi's death, whose heads are no longer adorned with flowers."[1]

In Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, the beloved complains in allegory of[2] her lover's behaviour. She addresses his charioteer (Pāṅkaṉ):

"Above the bushes flutters the white flower of the rush, resembling a stork flying in the sky. Since the lord of the cultivated land is seeking fresh furrows, my childlike heart is becoming withered".[3]

A mean plant in itself, the rush looks fine when compared with the stunted bushes among which it grows. It signifies the courtezan with whom the lover has been associating when compared to others of her profession. In this latter poem the lover is called Ūraṉ, one of the names of a hero of the cultivated tract according to Naccinārkk'iṉiyar[4].

These are some instances of the way in which the aintiṇai that have regions associated with them figure in akam poetry.

Kaikkiḷai and Pĕruntiṇai, the two remaining akattiṇai, are described by Tŏlkāppiyaṉār in Pŏruḷ. Akat. cūttiram 50 and 51. They signify respectively Unrequited Love and Forced Love. How, in poetics, the term kaikkiḷai came to mean unrequited love

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1. Kuṟun.19 (Paraṇar). 2. Allegory, Uḷḷuṟai.
3. Aiṅkuṟu.17 (Orampokiyār). 4. Comm. on Tŏl.pŏruḷ. cū.18; TSS edn. i, p.46. Cp. IA comm. p.22.

and fragrant as the teasing that scamples over the tree in
street, grieve o mind if you will, beneath the heliate
moon through evil's death, where hearts are no longer
[illegible] with flowers."[1]

See Emperor's [illegible] also with

In Amaranth, the beloved complains in allegory of her lover's behaviour. She addresses his character (Ranken):

"Above the bonnie flutters the white flower of the
dawn, resembling a stark flying in the sky. Since the lord
of the cultivated land is seeking fresh pursuit, my children
heart increasingly wither."[2]

A mean plant in itself, the rush looks fine when
compared with the stunted bushes among which it grows. It
signifies the countrymen with whom the lover has been associated
when compared to others of her profession. In this latter poem
the lover is called Tree, one of the names of a hero of the
cultivated tract according to Mecquenem's lily[3].

These are some instances of the way in which the
ancient Egyptians have regions associated with their lovers in
Arabian poetry.

Quickly and Permanently, the two remaining abstract
are described by Mecquenem in full. Fate, certainly not
[illegible]. They signify respectively Pure Love and Forced Love.
Now, in poetics, the term familiar came to mean unrequited la

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1. Sonn. Ia (Permer). 2. Allegory, Nigger.
3. Allegro.17 (Permerlyer). 4. Comm. on Egyptl. poetl. cf. Lab
108 cmp. i, p. 6. Cf. Ix comm. n.8.

is not clear, and the commentaries offer no explanation. Kai, hand, has obviously connected meanings such as side or faction. Kiḷai as a verb denotes 1. remove, wash off, and 2. branch out, throng, appear. As a noun kiḷai has meanings connected with the second set of verbal meanings just noted, and means sprout, kindred, division, class. The term could possibly refer, then, to the class of love existing on one hand only.

Similarly, the connexion between the term Pĕruntiṇai and forced love has not been explained. Pĕru is a common word for great, and the term means great or large tiṇai. Whether this suggests that the poetic situation of forced love was regarded as of special importance it is impossible to say.

It is clear that those who compiled the Akam anthologies, perhaps influenced by Kaikkiḷai and Pĕruntiṇai lying outside the range of the tiṇai of normal love[1], either omitted poems descriptive of these two situations or else classified them under one of the five tiṇai of normal love. Thus, Nacc.[2] cites Kalittŏkai 53 as an instance of Kaikkiḷai. The poems of this collection are all grouped under one of the five tiṇai of normal love, and Kali.53 occurs in Kuṟińcikkali, ascribed to Kapilar:

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1. Cp. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. Kaḷavu., cū.92.
2. Comm. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.50, TSS edn. i, p.116.

"Listen, you who have gone away, little realizing that you hold in thrall my precious heart. Well-combed is your hair that has been dressed in five ways. Soft are your shoulders and curved your arms. Your kohl-bedecked eyes are as beautiful flowers, your glance is sweet as that of the doe. Your body is tender as new shoots in the rainy season, and your bright brow is lovely. Even are your teeth and your waist is as slender as the creeper whose white buds resemble ivory. Anklets chime upon your feet and there are many bracelets on your wrists.

Consuming my soul with insupportable desire so young are you that you realize it not! No fault is it of yours. O say that it is not wrong that you have excelled in loveliness those around you who are conscious of your beauty that makes lovesick the very one who would avoid it.

Every day your poise has afflicted me with love, but too childlike are you to realize this. No fault is it of yours, but say if you can that it is no fault either that you have made jealous of their looks those around you who have perceived your loveliness and the slenderness of your waist.

You do not realize how even your speech has smitten me with love so that pain has afflicted my heart. No fault is it of yours, but can you not say that it is no fault of your handmaidens that they are ashamed of their own beauty when

they see your loveliness that has consumed my soul?

If I rebuke your handmaidens I can then bear this pain of love that is without limit, O maiden whose earrings are of gold! If you remonstrate with me I shall seemingly stop you by riding the horse made of palmyra leaves in the meeting place of this town that objects to my conduct"[1].

Naccinārkk'iniyar states[2] that where the lover only threatens to ride the hobby-horse of palmyra leaves (maṭal) in order to proclaim his love this is to be considered appropriate to kaikkiḷai, the actual act of so doing belonging to pĕruntiṇai[3].

As an example of forced love or pĕruntiṇai Nacc. quotes Kalittŏkai 139, a poem included in the Nĕytarkali:

"Good people, may you prosper! Good people, who always know how to lessen the burden of the sorrow of others by treating it as their own and who understand the virtue of so doing, since this is the duty of all good folk, I want you to realize something. Like lightning amidst the rain a girl appeared and showed me her comeliness to comfort me, But then she did not follow the desire of my heart, and because of this have I been sorrowing. I have put on the fine chaplet woven of ĕrukku[4] flowers with those of a jewel-like cassia. I have

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1. Kali.58, an Ŏttālicaikkali; v.i.Chap.X, p.468 & fn.9.
2. Comm. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.50, i, pp.116-7. 3. Cf. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.51. Such a threat is also alluded to in Tŏl. Kaḷavu. cū.102.
4. Calotropis sp. Lex.

mounted the tall dark hobby-horse of palmyra leaves so that its jewels rattled. As I 'rein in' the prancing hobby-horse I shall sing of the woman who was to assuage my affliction and to satiate my love-sickness so that it was in fact never assuaged'!

Night and day waves of anguish beat upon me. I thought that if I mounted the hobby-horse it would at least be a raft upon those waves. But I was drowned in love's ocean because of that woman with her honeyed words!

This hobby-horse is a remedy for the confusion into which she has plunged me and will make unavoidable love-sickness avoidable.

The forces under the command of the god of love, in the form of this bejewelled woman's beauty, came and destroyed the defences of my manliness. They saw my confusion and ridiculed it.

This hobby-horse has been sent me by she of the fair brow since I have lost my fierce battle against the love god.

My mind is captivated by the loveliness of that girl whose sweet smile shows teeth white as pretty jessamine buds. Because of the pangs of love what remains of my blissful life is as burning embers within me.

This hobby-horse is a remedy against the one whose ornaments are fine; it will shield me from the flames of the fire of love.

Though you know all this you are still good people. Yours is the way whereby I may relieve my sufferings. Like the king[1] who did penance in the way of renunciation and left the world to attain Svarga, so may I do."[2]

Here again is a poem portraying one of the two tiṇai of 'abnormal' love. It is yet included in one of the aintiṇai by the compiler of Kalittŏkai. A further instance is Kuṟun.17, considered to be a kuṟiṅci poem:

"Thinking it to be a real horse he will ride the palmyra leaf; thinking it a fine flower he will put on the ĕrukkam with its clustered flowers as a chaplet. He will suffer derision in the street, and other things, since love has smitten him".[3]

The custom whereby a frustrated lover rode a hobby-horse made of the fan-shaped leaves of the palmyra palm[4] seems to have no parallel in other Indian literatures. The palm-leaves were woven into the shape of a horse, and a jewel or jewels adorned its neck. The lover garlanded himself, usually with the ĕrukkam (calotropis). Holding in his hand a painting depicting himself and his beloved, he mounted the hobby-horse for everyone to see. As he came, people would realize the state of affairs between the lover and the girl and revile him. On

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1. Yayāti, son of Nahuṣa, comm.
2. Kali.139, an example of Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu. See Chap.X, p.445.
3. Kuṟun. 17 (Perĕyil Muṟuvalār). 4. Borassus flabellifer.

though you know all this you are still good people.

Yours in [illegible] I believe my sufferings. Like the King[1] who did penance in the way of renunciation and left the world to attain Svarga, so may I do."

Here again is a poem portraying one of the two things of 'abnormal' love. It is yet included in one of the sinhini by the compiler of Sahitoki. A further instance is Kurma.IV; considered to be a sinhini poem:

"Thinking it to be a real horse he will ride the palmyra leaf; thinking it a little flower he will put on the ear; then with the clustered flowers as a chaplet. He will enter devision in the street, and other things, since love has shitten him".

The custom merely a frustrated lover took a lobby-horse made of the ten-shaped leaves of the palmyra palm seems to have no parallel in other India literatures. The palm-leaves were woven into the shape of a horse, and a jewel or towels adorned its neck. The lover gratifaded himself, usually with the [illegible] (salutogis). holding in his hand a painting depicting himself and his beloved, he mounted the hobby-horse for everyone to see. As he came, people would realize the state of affairs between the lover and the girl and revile him. On

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1. Yayati, son of Nahuṣa, king.
2. Kali.123, an example of Sillyempoyin. See the ..., p.4de.
3. Kurma. IV (Periyil Muruvalar). A. Kottegan, Chenthilnathan.

occasion the hero would smear himself with ashes. From the fact that this practice figures in the Tiviya ppirapantam it may be assumed that it also had a religious significance. This may have been a later development.

Only the lover was permitted to exhibit himself in this way[1], though in Paṉṉirupāṭṭ'iyal it is stated[2] that a woman may do so when her lover is a god. This takes note of the references to the practice in religious poetry.

The types of verse suited to all the akattiṇai are given in Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷ. cū.53:

"The wise affirm that for dramatic usage, worldly usage and literary usage the most fitting verse-forms are those of Kali and Paripāṭṭu".

This cūttiram is most significant, since it singles out Paripāṭṭu and Kali as fitting for Akam poetry. It must be observed that four of the six akam anthologies are in Akaval metre, and only Paripāṭal and Kalittŏkai include verses of the forms noted here by Tŏlkāppiyaṉār. It is tempting to conjecture that it was these two collections to which he was referring. This cūttiram is passed over by Subrahmaṇya Sastri[3] without comment, and he does not seem to have emphasized the three types

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1. PSS Akat. p.35. 2. Paṉṉiru. cū.147, TSS edn.p.83.
3. Vide Akat.p.35.

of literary tradition mentioned, nāṭakam, drama, ulak'iyal, popular literature and pulanĕṟi, poetic diction.

E.S.V.Aiyar[1] seems to follow Nacc.[2] closely when he regards nāṭakavaḻakku as dramatic usage or diction in poetry rather than drama itself. If he is correct, it is hard to see how this differs greatly from pulanĕṟi vaḻakkam, which is poetic diction as opposed to popular diction according to Nacc. It would seem preferable to suggest that three types of literature connected with love are referred to here, drama, popular verse and poetry. There is a strong tradition that there was Tamil drama at this period, though none has survived. It is also possible that there were popular ballads in Tamil similar to those in other languages, such as Hīr Rańja in Punjābi.

Tŏlkāppiyaṉār only describes the types of situation likely to arise as a result of pirital or separation[3], the burning pangs of which are poetically compared to the desert's heat. Separation, therefore, is associated with pālai[4]. Sastri points out[5] that the cause for all the urippŏruḷ (aspects of love) save that of separation is self-evident. However, Tŏl. gives some description of the 'abnormal' love aspects kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai.[6] It is possible that cūttirams on the causes

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Vol.I,i(AUTS Vol.IX) p.79. 2.Comm. TSS i. p.120.
3. Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.25-45. 4. Ibid. cū.45.
5. PSS akat. p.22. 6. Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.50 & 51.

of the other four 'normal' aspects of love have been lost.

Tŏlkāppiyaṉār gives three of the reasons for separation as study, warfare and embassy[1]. Subsequent cūttirams list the sort of people who are likely to be engaged in these pursuits. Cūttiram 33 suggests that the search for wealth is likely to be another reason for separation of lover from beloved.

Cūttirams 36 to 43 list those qualified to speak in conventional situations likely to arise during separation or as causes thereof. These occasions are analogous to the Tuṟai or Poetic Themes that are associated with each tiṇai in Puṟam poetry[2]. Nacc. gives a large number of instances from the eight anthologies and elsewhere of each of the topics raised. As an example, cūttiram 39 of Pŏruḷ. may be noticed. This describes the various situations during which the handmaid or Toḻi will speak. She may tell of the grief of the heroine left behind by her lover, connive at their eloping together, beg the lover to protect the beloved travelling with him, describe the distress of the girl's parents at her absence, dissuade the parents from trying to bring back the heroine and console the heroine's mother in her loss by telling her that the love between the elopers is true.

As an instance of the first of these six occasions, Nacc.[3] quotes Aiṅkuṟu.306, wherein the handmaid addresses the

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1. Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.25. 2. v.i. p.40. 3. Comm. TSS edn.i.p.78

lover:

"O lord undefeated in battle! If you take to that broad road she will sob like the flute. Your beloved one's tresses will lose their lustre! "

Cūttirams 54 and 55 of Pŏruḷ. Akattiṇai. state that in poetry relating to the five (geographically associated) tiṇai the names of people may not be mentioned, but that in puṟam literature personal names may be mentioned. Names may also occur in kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai according to Nacc.[1], who quotes an instance from Kalittŏkai, poem 101. He regards it as a mixture of akam and puṟam, and it is significant that kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai were associated with puṟam by some writers, possibly to the exclusion of them from akam altogether.[2]

In ordinary akam usage, the hero is known by his occupation within one particular tiṇai, or by a name that refers specifically to the hero of one particular tract, as already seen[3].

Before considering Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, the second section of Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷ. it may be well to trace further Tŏlkāppiyaṉār's treatment of akam, and see to what extent the third and subsequent sections of Pŏruḷ. depend upon the first that has just been considered.

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1. Comm. TSS i, p.127. 2. E.g. Aiyaṉāritaṉār in PPVM, q.v.
3. v.s. p.28. See also Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.20 & Nacc. TSS i, p.48.

It was observed at the beginning of this chapter that sections 3 and 4, Kaḷav'iyal and Kaṟp'iyal depend to a considerable extent on Akattiṇaiyiyal, though they embody much new material that seems to be of Sanskrit origin. These sections treat of secret love and wedded love respectively.

A large part of both the sections is given over to listing the occasions upon which the various characters of the conventional love situations speak. In this respect, they may be regarded as supplementary to Akat.cū.36 to 43 noted above. In this connexion may be noted Kaḷavu. cū.101 to 103. 107 and 111 to 116 and Kaṟpu. cū.146 to 170.[1]

Section 5, Pŏruḷiyal, is supplementary to the four preceding sections, especially to those treating of Akam. It contains a number of miscellaneous matters connected with the aspects of love, the qualities of women, and finally Uḷḷuṟai or suggested meaning[2]. These three iyals will be noted further in discussing the extent of Sanskrit influence on these portions of Tŏlkāppiyam[3].

Section 2 of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. entitled Puṟattiṇaiyiyal is, as extant, complete in itself, and has no supplementary sections as has Akat. It may be noted in passing that for obvious reasons Perāciriyar in his commentary on Uvamaviyal[4], the section

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1. Vide, e.g. PSS edn. pp.67-70, 72, 74-84 & 92-110.
2. Cū.242; an example of uḷḷuṟai was noted above, p.29.
3. v.i. p.66. 4. Uvamaviyal: Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.276-312; TSS edn. iii, pp.57-111.

treating of Simile, draws examples both from Akam and Puram poetry.

The section on Puram runs from cūttiram 56 to 91 of Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. with Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary. The opening cūttiram makes it clear that consideration of puram was to follow upon that of akam.[1]

Unlike akam puram is concerned with that which lies 'outside' the poet. As applied to poetry, puram has been translated Objective[2]. It is proposed to define puram poetry as Bardic, and to speak here of Puram poetry as bardic poetry, since verse classified under it deals almost entirely with the valour of kings in war, the splendour of their courts, their liberality and similar matters relevant to Panegyric or Praśasti.

Like akam puram is divided into seven Tiṇai or poetic situations. Like the five 'geographical' tiṇai of akam, six of the purattiṇai names are in fact the names of plants. Garlands were fashioned out of these and worn at different stages of battle, and the names came to represent these stages.

Unlike the akattiṇai[3], the seven purattiṇai do not have karuppŏruḷ, mutarpŏruḷ and urippŏruḷ associated with them. Each tiṇai in puram has a number of Turai grouped under it. It

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1. Cū.56. 2. As opposed to akam, Subjective. The two terms have even been translated External Emotion and Internal Emotion.
3. Except for kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai.

is proposed to translate this term Poetic Theme.

According to Tŏlkāppiyaṉār, the seven puṟattiṇai are: Vĕṭci, Vañci, Uḷiṅai, Tumpai, Vākai, Kāṅci and Pāṭāṉ.[1] All but the last, Pāṭāṉ, are the names of plants. Here, Nacc. is in no doubt as to the puṟattiṇai being named after the plants. For instance he states that it was customary to wear vĕṭci flowers during cattle-stealing[2].

The opening cūttiram of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. Puṟat., then, gives vĕṭci as the first of the puṟattiṇai. According to Subrahmanya Sastri[3] this verse should be reconstructed to name the first and last tiṇai, just as the first cūttiram of Akat. listed the first and last tiṇai of akam.

Tŏlkāppiyaṉār arranges a poetic correspondence between the seven puṟattiṇai and the seven akattiṇai. In cūttiram 56 vĕṭci is given as the puṟattiṇai corresponding to the akattiṇai kuṟiṅci. The commentary explains this by the similarity of cattle-stealing by night to the abducting of a girl and the union between her and her lover in the mountain tract kuṟiṅci.[4]

Such equations would seem to be somewhat forced. In puṟam, vĕṭci signifies the actual stealing of cattle since

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1. Pŏruḷ.Puṟat. cū.56, 61, 64, 69, 73, 77 and 80.
2. There is some difference of opinion as to the identity of some plants, but the Lex. gives the following: Vĕṭci, Ixora coccinea; Vañci, Calamus rotang; Uḷiṅai, Cardiospermum halicacabum; tumpai, Leucas aspera; Vākai, Albizzia lebbek; Kāṅci, Hibiscus populnea. Cognates in Dravidian include: uḷiṅai, cp. M. uliṅṅa, cardiospermum; tumpai, cp. Te. Tumma, K. tumpĕ, leucas; vākai, cp. M. vāka, K.,Tu. bāgĕ, albizzia. For vĕṭci, cf. Nacc. i,p.129.
3. PSS Puṟat. p.38; cp. Poruḷ.Akat. cū.1. 4. Comm. ibid. p.129.

is proposed to inoculate cattle with Zootic Plague.

According to Col's figures, the seven questionnaires which, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible].[1] All are the last, either, are the names of [illegible], [illegible], etc., is in no order as the questionnaires were used after the [illegible]. You [illegible] in stress that it is [illegible] to wear veil [illegible] during cattle-[illegible].

The concluding criterion of [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], gives veil on the first of the questionnaires. According to [illegible] [illegible] this were [illegible] be reconstructed to make the [illegible] and last time, that is the [illegible] of [illegible]. Hence the [illegible] and last [illegible].

[illegible] arrangement [illegible] correspondence between the [illegible] and the seven questionnaires. [illegible] veil is [illegible] the questionnaires corresponding to the [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] explains the [illegible] identity of [illegible] to the [illegible] of [illegible] and the [illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible].

Such conditions would seem to be [illegible] forced. In [illegible], veil [illegible] the actual [illegible] of cattle [illegible]

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1. [illegible] Portal. op. cit., [illegible], [illegible], 77 and 80.

garlands of ixora were worn during this stage of battle. In akam, kuṟiṅci was the mountain region in which the actual union of lovers took place, not the abduction, though this was a necessary preliminary. As for the common habitat of vĕṭci and kuṟiṅci mentioned by Sastri[1], this would not seem to be a point sustained by reference to floras[2].

Cūttiram 57 of Puṟat. explains the significance of vĕṭci, which is the abduction and safe-keeping of the enemies' cattle without their knowledge.

Tŏl. regards this tiṇai as comprising 35 tuṟai or poetic themes and these appear in cū. 58 and 60. Sastri observes that "passages illustrating the above" (fourteen tuṟai listed in cū.58) " may be seen in Puṟanāṉūṟu, Patiṟṟuppattu, Puṟappŏruḷ Vĕṇpāmālai etc."[3] This statement is not entirely sustained by reference to the texts and colophons of Puṟam. and Patiṟṟu.[4] Only one tuṟai of vĕṭci, Uṇṭāṭṭu, appears in the Puṟam. colophons[5] and none of these fourteen in Patiṟṟu. The statement is true for PPVM however, though it may be stressed that this is a treatise on puṟam poetics and not a literary work as such. The commentary to Cū.58 gives examples from this latter work, and also from Pĕrumpŏruḷviḷakkam, Takaṭūr Yāttirai and other medieval

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1. Puṟat. p.38. 2. Cf. Flora of B.I. III, p.145 for ixora & ibid. IV, p.429 & ff. for strobilanthes. 3. Puṟat. p.39.
4. See Appendix; list of Tuṟai in Puṟam. & Patiṟṟu., pp.481-88.
5. To Puṟam. vv.257, 258, 262, 269 & 297.

texts.[1] Puṟam.262 is quoted in support of Uṇṭāṭṭu:[2]

"Press out the toddy juice, slaughter the bulls, spread fresh river sand over the floor of the bower woven of green branches and supported by slender props. Breaking through the van of the foe, our flanking troops brought the cattle that were behind to my lord, and are now wearied."[3]

It should be noted that three of the tuṟai given under the tiṇai Karantai[4] in the Puṟam. colophons and PPVM show a relationship to the second list of vĕṭcittuṟai which Tŏl. gives in cūttiram 60[5].

As Sastri notes[6] Nacc., commenting on cū.58 regards the 14 poetic themes listed therein as 28, inasmuch as they are valid both for the stealing and for the recovery of stolen cattle. That Tŏlkāppiyaṉār himself did not so regard them is suggested by cūttiram 60, wherein he specifically states that some of the further 21 turai he lists there belong to Karantai.[7] Had he held this view in regard to the tuṟai in cū.58, one feels that he would have made a similar observation there also.

The list of a further 21 tuṟai in cū.60 is likewise not

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1. Comm. i, pp.132-140. 2. Ibid. p.137. 3. Puṟam.262 (Maturai Pperālavāyār). 4. For this tiṇai, v.i. pp.60,61.
5. 1. Cĕrumalaital (Puṟam.259) is cited by Iḷam. in his comm. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.60 (giving vĕṭcittuṟai), as is 2. Vettiyal (Puṟam.286, 291), cf. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.60, l.12: "Cīrcāl ventaṉ ciṟapp'ĕṭutt' uraittalum"; 3. Nīṉmŏḻi (Puṟam.287) presumably similar to Nĕṭumŏḻi (Puṟam.298), cf. Tŏl. ibid. l.13: "Talai ta'ṉĕṭumŏḻi taṉṉŏṭu puṇarttalum". These three tuṟai are in PPVM II, vv.25, 34 & 32 respectively. 6. PSS Puṟat. p.39 and Comm. i, p.131.
7. Pŏruḷ. cū.60, l.14. Karantai, signifying Recovery of cattle, is a separate tiṇai according to later writers; v.i. p.60..

exemplified by Patiṟṟu.[1] and in Puṟam. some tuṟai analogous to these are assigned to the tiṇai Karantai according to the Puṟam. colophons.[2] Nacc. however gives several examples from Puṟam. for these tuṟai[3] and also quotes from akam works.[4] He further regards seven of these tuṟai as faults common to all the puṟattiṇai since they deal with subjects of a king and not with kings.[5] Puṟam.56 is cited by Nacc. as illustrative of Tŏlkāppiyaṉār's vĕṭcittuṟai "Māyoṉ meya ..... pūvainilaiyum"[6]. In its colophon however the tiṇai is given as Pāṭāṇ and the tuṟai is Pūvainilai.[7]

References in Puṟam.[8] show that Vĕṭci was a plant of forests rather than of mountains. Kuṟiṅci on the other hand is mentioned in connexion with mountains.[9] As will be seen, the artificial pairing of the puṟattiṇai and akattiṇai as observed in the case of vĕṭci and kuṟiṅci is carried out for the other puṟattiṇai also.

The second puṟattiṇai, Vañci, is described in Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.61 and 62. Vañci, generally taken to signify the common rattan, Calamus rotang[10], symbolized the fight of two kings over

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1. The tuṟai Kāṭcivāḷttu of Patiṟṟu.41, 54, 61, 64, 82 & 90 has no connexion with Tŏl.'s vĕṭcittuṟai "Kāṭcivāḷttu," which relates to the finding of a hero-stone (Vīrakkal). Cf. cū.60, l.19.
2. Vide fn.5 on previous p. 3. Comm. TSS i, pp.147-157.
4. Akam.22 and Kalit.15. 5. Comm. ibid. pp.142 ff.
6. Pŏruḷ.Puṟat. cū.60, ll.9-10 & Nacc. i, p.147.
7. For a translation of most of this poem see Ch.IV, p.165.
8. Cf. Puṟam.100,l.5 &202,l.1. 9. Puṟam.374,l.8.
10. It also means Bassia or mohwa; Puṟam.384,l.2 clearly refers to a tree.

disputed lands and the attack of one king versus another. Tŏl. compares vaṅci to the akattiṇai mullai. The commentary explains this by comparing the separation of warriors from their wives during an attack with the separation of lovers.[1] Further, water, shade, and food are necessary for one army to attack another, and these are found in mullai, the forest region.[2] The latter point seems particularly far-fetched. As for the former argument, the urippŏruḷ of mullai is iruttal, waiting (as a result of separation) and not pirital, separation, which occurs as urippŏruḷ of pālai, the desert.

Thirteen poetic themes appropriate to vaṅci are mentioned in cū.63 by Tŏl. Some of these are exemplified both in Puṟam. and Patiṟṟu.[3] Nacc. quotes Patiṟṟu.15[4] as an example of Tŏl.'s vaṅcitturai "Aṭutt'ūrnt'aṭṭa Kŏṟṟattāṉum"[5]:

"For a year you stayed in the place that you wished to destroy, and with unapproachable ire spread abroad fire and sword. At the onset of the rains you destroyed their chief walls and the protecting forest. With elephants in serried ranks, the flood of your army poured forth and destroyed the followers of the king who had played at dice. Wafted by the breeze, the aromatic smoke streamed forth like banners. Through their own

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1. PSS Puṟat. p.43. 2. Comm. TSS Edn. i, p.160.
3. Ibid. i, pp.161-173. 4. ll.1-18. Tŏl. ibid. p.164.
5. Tŏl.Puṟat. cū.63, l.4.

destruction burnt as if set on fire the broad places whose ancient loveliness was destroyed.

I came here to see the land of your foes who opposed your attack in their ignorance. Your deeds have scattered the huts roofed with palmyra that belonged to the hospitable Maravar whose bows are bloodstained. In that place the scarlet gloriosa's roots have withered in channels bereft of water. The sponge-gourd is rampant everywhere, and the calabash runs riot along with the white-flowered Vailay.

In your good land there is wealth from the sea, from the mountains, from rivers and from other (lands, comm.). There is abundant fertility. Festivities know no end. In the old town wherein sound the drums, in the street of the sellers of gold, beneath many banners throbs the drum telling of your joyful attainment of victory."[1]

In Patirruppattu, the colophon to the above poem states that the turai is Cĕnturaippāṭāṇpāṭṭu, suggesting that turai included in the tiṇai Pāṭāṇ.[2]

The colophon to Puram.7 states that the tiṇai and turai appropriate to that poem are vańci and Kŏrravaḷḷai[3] respectively:

"Your foot that goads on the elephant bears the mark

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1. Patirru.15, ll.1-18 (Kumaṭṭūr Kkaṇṇaṇār).
2. Cp. PPVM (Pāṭāṇpaṭalam) v.189. 3. Kŏrravaḷḷai: Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. Purat. cū.63, l.11, & PPVM (Vańcip.) v.43.

destruction, when it set on fire the proud Jiccaqua ancient labyrinths ... destroyed.

I come here to ease the land of your foes who oppose you, dwell in their lighthouse. Long we have sacrificed the people with primitive rites belonging to the Jolliffe, forever whose bows are bloodstained. In that place the royal fortifications, moats have vitiated in cleanliness the city of water, where dark-gore is present everywhere, and the diamond rose pink along the white-floorsed valley.

[illegible] Dame there is wealthy from the sea, from the [illegible] and from other [illegible], come... There is [illegible] [illegible] to me. In the old town [illegible], in the street of the sailors of old, [illegible] there those [illegible] tallies of your [illegible] statement of victory.

In Petimpertu, the colophon to the above poem states that the poem is [illegible], suggesting that [illegible] included in the [illegible].

The colophon to Fugum, states that the tigri and [illegible] appertains to that poem are [illegible] and Kirp valley respectively.

You [illegible] that made on the [illegible] [illegible]

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1. [illegible] II.2-18 (Good [illegible] [illegible]).
2. Op. Pyyn (Petimpertian) v.182. [illegible] Fri.[illegible] [illegible] ed. 8, I.11, [illegible] Vrech. [illegible].

x cf. [illegible] p. 78

Gnie. Gnie. [illegible] 31 as example which says the gomps either gets [illegible] or [illegible]

where the hero's anklet chafes it. With your liberal hand armed with arrows you string the bow fair to behold. Your ornamented breast is never quitted by Lakṣmi. Strong enough to drive off elephants, you burnt by night and day the villages of countless foes so that there was distress and the din of anguish and the desire to plunder. Bereft were they, O king of the fine chariot! There are yet other broad lands full of fresh spoil, where fish crowd in the floods from cool streams."[1]

In some cases, as for instance Patiṟṟu.33, there are further discrepancies between the colophons to the puṟam texts and Nacc.'s commentary. The tuṟai given in the colophon to Patiṟṟu.33, Vañcituṟaippāṭāṇpāṭṭu, signifies a song of praise (pāṭāṇ) suitable to the tiṇai Vañci. Nacc. however cites the poem as an instance of Tŏl.'s "Iyaṅkupaṭaiy aravam"[2], the clash of opposing armies.[3]

Cūttiram 64 of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. states that the puṟattiṇai Uḷiṅai was comparable to the akattiṇai marutam. The commentator states[4] that this was because forts are situated in the cultivated tract, marutam, and because daybreak was suitable both for attack on the fort and for the akattiṇai marutam. The ensuing cuttiram explains that uḷiṅai signified attack on the enemy fort.

Cūttiram 67 lists eight poetic themes appropriate to

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1. Puṟam.7 (Karuṅkuḷalātaṉār), 2. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.63, l.1.
3. Comm. i, p.162. 4. Ibid. p.173. Cf.Tŏl.Akat. cū.8.

uḷiṅai, and a further twelve tuṟai are listed in cū.68. Sastri does not explain why he thinks that the latter list represents the views of predecessors of Tŏl.[1] and nothing in Nacc.'s commentary supports him. (He follows Iraiy.)

The commentary of Naccinārkk'iṉiyar gives examples from Puṟam. and from medieval texts in support of these twenty tuṟai appropriate to uḷiṅai. Here again there are discrepancies between the colophons in Puṟam. and the commentary. For instance, Puṟam.36 is cited as exemplifying the uḷiṅaittuṟai "Uḷḷiyatu muṭikkum ventaṉatu ciṟappum"[2], the fame of a general who carries out his king's commands.[3] The colophon to this verse, however, states that the tiṇai for the poem is vaṅci and the tuṟai Tuṇaivaṅci, a theme that does not appear in Tŏlkāppiyam at all, but which is cited in other Puṟam. colophons.[4] Nacc. quotes Puṟam.109 as an instance of another of Tŏl.'s tuṟai for uḷiṅai, "Akattoṉ cĕlvam(um)".[5] In this Nacc. was doubtless influenced by the mention of the wealth of Pāri's kingdom in Puṟam.109[6]. Nevertheless, the colophon to the poem gives the tiṇai as Nŏcci and the tuṟai as Makaṇmaṟuttal.[7] The writer of the colophons was evidently thinking of the besieged[8] rather than the attackers, and of Pāri's refusal to give up his

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1. PSS Puṟat. p.48.
2. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Puṟat. cū.67, l.2.
3. Comm. TSS i, p.177.
4. To Puṟam. vv.45-47, 57 & 213.
5. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.67, l.4.
6. Comm. ibid. p.179. For a résumé of Puṟam.109, see Chap. IV, pp. 210,1.
7. PPVM (Nŏccip.) v.94.
8. For a consideration of the puṟattiṇai Nŏcci, signifying defence of the fort, v.i. p. 62.

daughters to the enemy.

Cūttirams 69 and 70 state that the fourth puṟattiṇai, Tumpai, the white 'deadnettle'[1] signified the open warfare of two well-matched kings, and that it could be compared to the akattiṇai nĕytal, the seashore, appropriate to prostrate grief as the result of lovers' separation. Nacc. observes[2] that the opposing armies garlanded themselves for battle in open sandy areas such as those found near the seashore, and that it was therefore justifiable to compare nĕytal with the puṟattiṇai Tumpai. It may be added that tumpai is a very common plant in sandy waste places, both near the sea and inland. There is perhaps a slightly greater measure of justification for the poetic correspondence between nĕytal and tumpai than was the case for the others previously noted.

Twelve tuṟai appropriate to tumpai are given in Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. cū.72. The commentary exemplifies these from Puṟam., Pattuppāṭṭu and medieval works. Once again, there are discrepancies between Nacc.'s comments and the Puṟam. colophons. For instance, Puṟam.274 is cited by Nacc. as exemplifying Tŏl.'s tumpaittuṟai "Paṭaiyaṟuttu ppaḷi kŏḷḷum emattāṉum"[3], success in a hand to hand fight without weapons.[4] The tuṟai for Puṟam. 274 is given in the colophon to that verse as Ĕrumai maṟam, buffalo valour. It should be noted, however, that in both sources the poem is

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1. Leucas aspera, Spreng. Tumpai is still the T.colloq. term.
2. Comm. TSS edn. i, p.191. 3.Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.72, ll.7,8.
4. Comm. TSS i, pp.201-2.

classified under the tiṇai tumpai. Puṟam.80 is another poem for which tumpai and the tuṟai Ĕrumai maṟam are prescribed in the colophon. It describes the hand to hand fight between the Coḻa Porvaikkoppĕrunaṟkiḷḷi and Maḷḷaṉ:

" In the town of Āmūr where the toddy is sweet and frothing he overcame the great strength of the strong-armed Maḷḷaṉ. Anticipating a counterstroke, he knelt with one leg on the other's chest and pinned him down with the other leg. Let Tittaṉ who conquers in hard-fought battles approve or not as he wills! Like the elephant rending the green bamboo he has confronted Maḷḷaṉ who had entered into the fight and has beaten him with head and legs".[1]

The colophon to Puṟam. 88 gives the tiṇai and tuṟai for the poem as tumpai and Tāṉaimaṟam respectively:

"Whoever you are, do not talk about collecting your scouts and flanking troops before you have seen my lord of the drumlike shoulders. His warfare is good and is celebrated with festivals. On his beautiful and mighty chest he wears finely wrought ornaments. These flash in the light. He is a renowned scion of the vigorous Maḻavar whose glittering, scintillating spears are long."[2]

The preceding four tinai of puṟam are compared to the four distinct 'geographical' tinai of akam, the desert, according to his treatment, being shared by these four.[3] In

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1. Puṟam.80 (Cāttantaiyār). 2. Puṟam.88 (Auvaiyār); for the tuṟai Tāṉaimaṟam see PPVM (Tumpaip.) vv.129-131.
3. Tŏl.Akat. cū.2; also Nacc. on Tŏl.Puṟat. cū.73, i, p.206.

his comparisons, Tŏlkāppiyaṉār has altered the order of the Akattiṇai that he previously observed[1].

The remaining three puṟattiṇai are poetically compared to pālai, the desert, and to the 'abnormal' akattiṇai of kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai. It is of interest to note that , in connexion with these remaining puṟattiṇai, themes occur that may be regarded as embodying ideas of brahmanical origin.

Vākai, the Śirīṣa[2], symbolized praise of the spotless, and corresponded to pālai, states Tŏl. in cū.73 and 74. The similarity lies in one's ability to praise any person irrespective of caste or creed and the ability to become separated from one's beloved in any of the four separate regional tiṇai. Such is the view of Subrahmanya Sastri[3]. Nacc. however states that the similarity lies in the fact that praise may occur at any stage of battle just as separation may occur during any of the aspects of normal love[4]. His view seems more reasonable, although the whole comparison is perhaps rather artificial.

Before the themes appropriate to Vākai are listed, there occurs a cūttiram[5] giving the special features of vākai[6]. These include such matters as the six duties of Brahmans, the

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1. 1.Vĕṭci - Kuṟiṅci (2), Vaṅci - Mullai (1), Uḷiṅai - Marutam (3) and Tumpai - Nĕytal (4). 2. Albizzia lebbek.
3. PSS Puṟat. p.50. 4. Comm. TSS edn. i, p.206.
5. Cū.75. 6. Nacc. thereon, TSS i, p.207: "itu vākaittiṇaikku ppŏtuviḷakkaṇaṅ kūṟiṉar ..."

five duties of kings and the obligations of recluses and warriors.[1]

Cū.76 lists eighteen themes appropriate to vākai, the first nine of which refer to warfare and the second nine to matters of conduct. It may be suggested that both these latter nine turai and the characteristics listed in cū.75 are extraneous to the main subject of puram as followed so far. They owe much to the influence of brahmanism and are, perhaps, a later interpolation. It is significant that, of the four purattiṇai preceding vākai, tumpai alone is given a verse[2] describing its characteristics (ilakkaṇam). In the case of the other three, vĕṭci, vańci and uliṅai, the turai appropriate to them are listed immediately after the tiṇai-function has been stated.[3]

Examples of the characteristics of vākai listed in cu.75 and the eighteen vākaitturai that appear in cū.76 are given in the commentary. Nacc. cites both Puram. and Patirru. as well as Kural, Nālaṭiyār and other Minor works from the set of eighteen such treatises that are mainly on dharma (Aram).[4]

Among the examples given by Nacc. in his commentary on the characteristics of vākai is Patirru.13, which he gives as an instance of Tŏl.'s "Aivakai marapin aracar pakkamum"[5],

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1. Cū.75, ll.1,2,6 & 3 respectively. Nacc.quotes Patirru.24, 6-8: "Since Brahmans who perform the six duties of recitation, sacrificing, recitation & sacrifice for others, almsgiving and receiving alms salute you ... " 2. Cū.71. 4. TSS i, pp.209-221, 222-234. 5. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Purat. cū.75, l.2; Nacc. i, p.214. (f.n.3: see next page).

the five duties of kings:

"Sand-eels leap in the flooded fields where herds graze, and, where the pigs tussle, seed comes up without ploughing. The white waterlily blooms (where once fields were) bounded by bamboo clumps. Other fields are a hindrance to the herd of buffalo that have large eyes. Where the girls joyfully dance, their elbows slapping their sides, young heifers with curving necks feed on the waterlilies. There are both luxuriant coconut palms and the marutam-trees (wherein birds, comm.) chatter. It is a land of wealthy towns famed in song, where are flower-dotted ponds along by the irrigation channels. As its beauty grew less, fear struck the hearts (of its people, comm.). Like a dead corpse, at your wrath the shore-villages lost their importance. Waste are the fields of flowering sugarcane; these have become blackened together with the babul tree that has fruit of twisted shape. The thorny battlefield where the dishevelled demoness rides the kite was ash-strewn and dusty, and the village meeting place no longer echoes to chatter. The minds of the populace are numb with fright, and their strength

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f.n.3 of previous p. The arrangement of cuttirams is as follows:

	vĕtci	vańci	uliṅai	tumpai	vākai
name & function	56,57 59	61,62	64-66	69,70	73,74
Turai:	58,60	63	67,68	72	76
Special char: (? interpolated)	-	-	-	71	75

is melted away, and all is desolation.

Yours are the forests beloved of the gods, where the jessamine sprouts. Heroes dwell there together with women who wear bright ornaments. Apart from this, on the way there are hawkers of grain who cherish their families. Cultivators perform their duties. Though the planet Venus does not go into the region occupied by Mars, the rain falls on the land that needs it. You have driven out hunger and disease. Is not the land you protect fertile, O great one?"[1]

Among the vākaitturai exemplified by Nacc. is Tŏl.'s "Pĕrumpakai taṅkum velinālum"[2], the valour of the spear against the enemy. Nacc. includes in his examples of this turai Puram. 309, a poem by Maturaiy Iḷaṅkaṇṇi Kocikanār according to its colophon:[3]

"It is all very well for other heroes to have conquered in fierce battle the enemy, and to have routed their iron-tipped spears and their swords. My hero whose bravery is renowned has the brilliant distinction of having entered the camp of his cruel foes, like a death-dealing bull inside the stockade or a snake inside an anthill".

According to its colophon, Puram. 82 is to be regarded

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1. Patirru.13 (Kumaṭṭūr Kkaṇṇanār). 2. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.76, l.7.
3. The colophon gives the tiṇai and turai as tumpai and Nūlilāṭṭu, for these cf. PPVM (Tumpaip.) v.142

as an example of the tiṇai vākai, with the turai aracavākai[1]:

"The fierce assault of the one with the chaplet of lovely bauhinia against the warrior who had come to sieze his town is quicker than the darting needle in the hands of the cobbler who stitches the drum-stand at sunset when the rain is falling. He is distracted with thoughts of his wife in the state of childbirth and of the imminent festival."[2]

The sixth purattiṇai, Kāṅci, signified the transitory nature of the world, and was comparable to pĕruntiṇai[3] inasmuch as it stood apart from the other five purattiṇai just as pĕruntiṇai was distict from the five situations of normal love.[4] Both the definition of the tiṇai Kāṅci itself and the list of twenty poetic themes which follows in cū.79[5] show evidence of the infiltration of brahmanical ideas, which it was presumably felt necessary to incorporate into the puram structure.

As an instance of this, we may quote Puram.357, the colophon to which gives Piramaṉār as the author of the poem and kāṅci and Marakkāṅci as the tiṇai and turai. The turai Marakkāṅci is described by Aiyaṉāritaṉar[6] as befitting

"A noble king garlanded with fresh leaves who has reached the limits of his valour and so has stopped fighting". Nacc. interprets as Marakkāṅci Tŏl.'s third turai of kāṅci,

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1. Aracavākai: PPVM (Vākaip.) v.157. 2. Puram.82 (Cāttantaiyār).
3. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.77 & 78. 4. PSS Purat. p.54.
5. For an instance of the ninth of these, signifying refusal of a king to betroth his daughter, cf. Puram.337, which is transl. in Chap.V, p.277. 6. PPVM IV (Kāṅcip.) v.74.

"Paṇp'uṟavarūum pakuti nokki ppuṇkiḻittu muṭiyum maṟattiṉāṉum"[1]. This, states Nacc. is fitting for a warrior who, disgusted with his wounds, kills himself by tearing them open.[2]

Piramaṉār is not known by any other poem save Puṟam.357 and his name is doubtless to be connected with brahman or possibly brāhmaṇa, the retroflex -ṇ- in the latter not being observed in the Tamil. His poem says:

"The days are numbered of those who rule without the thought that this land, though ruled by three kings, is one inasmuch as in it small hills commingle with mountains. The wealth such persons have acquired will be of no avail, and only their virtuous acts will help them, when they attain the next life. At the time when death siezes one's life it is the righteous who are able to leave this shore and cross to the other side with virtue's help. For the wrongdoer to attain that other world is most difficult."

It would be hard to reconcile these sentiments with either of the views regarding the tuṟai Maṟakkāṅci noted above. This poem is perhaps a little closer to Maṟakkāṅci as defined in PPVM insofar as it deals with the moment of death.

The fact that these ideas stand apart from the more general themes of warfare and court life found in puṟam verse may account for their being placed in the puṟattiṇai kāṅci,

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.79, ll.3 & 4. 2. Comm. TSS edn. i, pp.238,239.

"Deep preservation against moral pusillanimity motivum meretricum".[1] This, states Race, is fitting for a warrior who, disguised with his wounds, kills himself by tearing them open.

Wisemanly is not known by any other poem save Burns. But this theme is doubtless to be connected with Freiman or Wisemanly Freiman, the refrofler -n- in the letter not being observed in the Tamil. His poem says:

"The days are numbered of those who live without the thought that this land, thoroughly ruled by three kings, in one innumerous is in it small hills commingle with mountains. The wealth such persons have acquired will be of no avail, but only their virtuous acts will help them, when they attain the next life. At the time when death closes one's life it is the righteous who are able to leave this above and cross to the other side with virtue's help. For the wrongdoer to attain that other world is most difficult."

It would be hard to reconcile these sentiments with either of the views regarding the Tamil Wisemanfrei noted above. This poem is perhaps a little closer to Wisemanfrei as defined in TPVW inasmuch as it deals with the moment of death.

The fact that these ideas stand apart from the more general themes of warfare and court life found in puram verses may account for their being placed in the puranitiai section.

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1. Nol.Kurul. op.cit., II.5 ff. Tr. Tamil. This meen. i. pp.[illegible]

which is compared to the akattiṇai pĕruntiṇai, which stood apart from the 'normal' akattiṇai. A similar phenomenon will be noticed in connexion with the seventh puṟattiṇai, Pāṭāṇ.

The name of this alone among the puṟattiṇai does not signify a plant or tree. In Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Puṟat. cū.80 Pāṭāṇ is stated to be the puṟattiṇai corresponding to kaikkiḷai. It is nowhere stated precisely what pāṭāṇ signified, and it is possible that a cūttiram or cūttirams are missing from the text as extant. Cū.80 further says that pāṭāṇ is of eight kinds, and these eight are explained by Nacc.[1] as praise of heroes in connexion with the two types of vĕṭci (stealing and recovery of cattle), Pŏtuviyal, vańci, uḷiṅai, tumpai, vākai and kāńci. The commentator is following the views he expressed at cū.58[2]; his mention of Pŏtuviyal along with the puṟattiṇai is of interest as other texts on puṟam poetics such as PPVM regard Pŏtuviyal as a separate puṟattiṇai, as will be noted hereafter[3]. Furthermore, the secondary function of vĕṭci, recovery of stolen cattle, was also a separate tiṇai in that text and was called Karantai.[4] There is thus some evidence of similarity of view on the treatment of puṟam between Nacc. and Aiyaṉāritaṉār. It is of course possible that verses dealing with Pŏtuviyal as a separate tiṇai have been lost from Tŏl.'s Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, but this is hardly likely, since at the beginning of Puṟat. Tŏl.

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1. Comm. TSS i, p.252. 2. v.s. p.43. 3. v.i. p.63.
4. PPVM II (Karantaippaṭalam). v.i. p.61.

gives the puṟattiṇai as seven, and seven are in fact described. Another possibility is that Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. contained a separate section entitled Pŏtuviyal, which was perhaps supplementary to Puṟat. in the same way that Pŏruḷiyal is supplementary to Akat.

Sastri states[1] that the eight kinds of Pāṭāṇ are, in Iḷampūraṇar's view: praise to God and to kings, praise of auspicious occasions, advice, directing poet to patron, the kinds of reward to poets, references to kaikkiḷai and censure. As for Tŏl.'s comparison of Pāṭāṇ with kaikkiḷai[2], Nacc. says[3] that in pāṭāṇ the object of the hero is praise and that of the poet reward. The two are no more related inter se than are the lover and beloved in kaikkiḷai. This seems particularly far-fetched.

There ensue some verses connected with love-poetry which may be out of place as they intervene between the cūttiram on pāṭāṇ (cū.80) and those on its tuṟai (cū.90 and 91). In these twenty themes are given, and while most are patently connected with praise of the king after his victory, some mention the imparting to him of counsel in the path of virtue, Cĕviyaṟivuṟūu, and his purificatory bath after capturing the fort, maṇṇumaṅkalam. These may indicate the impact of brahmanical ideas.

As may be seen from their colophons, a large proportion

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1. PSS Puṟat. p.58. 2. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.80.
3. Nacc. comm., TSS edn. vol.i, p.252.

of the poems in Patirru. and Puram. are classified under one or other of the turai of this tiṇai pāṭāṇ. Instances given by Nacc. include Puram.107, illustrative of Tŏl.'s "Kŏṭuppor etti kkoṭar ppalittalum"[1]. Cĕviyarivurūu as a turai of pāṭāṇ is attested by Tŏl. and by the PPVM and by Puram. colophons. Among poems for which this turai is prescribed is Puram.5 in praise of Ceramān Karuvūr eriya Oḷvāṭkoppĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai:

" O great one! Are you not the lord of that mighty forest-land where there are elephants to be seen as frequently as oxen along the paths by boulders black as buffaloes? Since you are so great, I desire to tell you something. Rarely can one tell of receiving such gracious protection from a mind that cherishes as if they were children those who deserve endless hell since they have relinquished compassion and friendship."[2]

Noteworthy is the fact that the colophons to Puram. refer to tiṇai other than those considered so far, but which figure in the PPVM. In the order in which these additional tiṇai first appear in the puram. colophons they are: Pŏtuviyal, Kaikkiḷai, Pĕruntiṇai, Karantai and Nŏcci. None of these is mentioned as a separate tiṇai by Tŏlkāppiyanār, though he does allude to Karantai in connexion with some vĕṭcitturai[3]. Twelve tiṇai are however enumerated by Aiyanāritanār in the PPVM. This is a work of uncertain date; it is anterior to Nacc. since he quotes extensively from it in his commentary on Tŏl. In PPVM, the

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.90, l.1. For Puram.107 see Chap.V, p.210.
2. Puram.5 (Narivĕrūuttalaiyār). 3. v.s. p.43 & fn.7.

twelve tiṇai are each accorded one section, called paṭalam. Set against the seven puṟattiṇai of Tŏl. the twelve are:

PPVM	Puṟat. (Tŏlkāppiyam)	Akat.
I Vĕṭci	1. Vĕṭci	- kuṟiṅci 3.
II Karantai [1]		
III Vaṅci	2. Vaṅci	- mullai 2.
IV Kāṅci	6. Kāṅci	- pĕruntiṇai 7.
V Nŏcci [2]		
VI Uliṅai	3. Uliṅai	- marutam 5.
VII Tumpai	4. Tumpai	- nĕytal 6.
VIII Vākai	5. Vākai	- pālai 4.
IX Pāṭāṇ	7. Pāṭāṇ	- kaikkiḷai 1.
X Pŏtuviyal		
XI Kaikkiḷai		
XII Pĕruntiṇai		

It will be seen that, apart from the inclusion of five puṟattiṇai not considered by Tŏl., the order of enumeration of tiṇai in PPVM is different from that in Tŏl.Puṟat.

Karantai, the subject of the second Paṭalam of PPVM, symbolizes the recovery of stolen cattle. As already seen, it covers the second of the two functions of vĕṭci as envisaged by Nacc. and, to a lesser degree, by Tŏl. himself.[3] Following the usual sequence of the PPVM, the opening verse of Paṭalam II

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1. Karantai, Ocimum basilicum. 2. Vitex negundo, the chaste tree.
3. v.s. p.43.

describes the function of Karantaittiṇai, and ensuing verses describe the poetic themes listed under it. These are fourteen in number. Several of them bear the same names as turai listed under vĕṭci by Tŏl., such as Piḷḷaiyāṭṭu, the dance of the victorious prince.[1] Moreover, there is mention of karantai by Tŏl. himself,[2] as already observed. In the course of enumerating his second list of vĕṭcitturai, he observes: "Karantai is traditionally associated with these".[3] He does not make it clear with which turai karantai is associated, and karantai was not included in the purattiṇai enumerated by him, despite the traditional wearing of karantai flowers for recovery of cattle mentioned in Puram. itself[4]. Commenting on this mention of karantai by Tŏl. Nacc. says[5] that the seven turai beginning with Āramaroṭṭal, the chase of the foe in battle, belong to karantai which, he says, is like Vĕṭcittiṇai, inasmuch as it signifies the garlanding with flowers and recovery of stolen cattle.

The tiṇai karantai appears in the colophons to a number of Puram. poems[6]. Some of the karantaitturai that appear there are not listed by Tŏl. at all, even under vĕṭci, but figure in PPVM. Examples of these poetic themes are Vettiyal[7] and Kuṭinilaiyuraittal.[8]

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.60, l.18 & PPVM II, v.30. 2. Tŏl.ibid. l.14.
3. ibid. 4. Puram.261, ll.13-15 & 269, ll.9-10; v.i.,Ch.V,p.273.
5. These 7 turai appear in Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.60, ll.11-13 & 15-17; for two of them, nĕṭumŏli & piḷḷaiyāṭṭu, cp. PPVM II, vv.32, 30.
6. Puram.vv.259-261,263-265,270,286,287,290,291 & 298. For transl. of Puram.259 & 261 see Chap.V, p.272,273.
7. Puram.286 col. & PPVM II, v.34. 8. Puram.290 col. & PPVM v.35.

Nŏcci, the fifth tiṇai of puṟam in PPVM, signifies the defence of the fort, during which, states Nacc.[1], garlands of the chaste tree were worn. It is opposed to Uḷiṅai in the same way that karantai was opposed to vĕṭci. The word nŏcci figures in one of Tŏl.'s uḷiṅaitturai, "Akattoṉ vīḷnta nŏcci"[2], defence of the fort by the besieged. Nacc. however does not suggest that nŏcci could be regarded as a separate puṟattiṇai as he did in the case of karantai in commenting on cū.60.

Nŏccittiṇai appears in the colophons to Puṟam. verses 109-111, 271, 272 and 299. Tuṟai prescribed for these verses are: Makaṇmaṟuttal (109-111), Cĕruviṭaivīḷtal (271,272) and Kutiraimaṟam (299). Neither of the first two is mentioned even under uḷiṅai by Tol. but Kutiraimaṟam, prowess of the war-horse, is suggested in Pŏruḷ. cū.72 as a tuṟai of tumpai. All three themes appear in PPVM[3], the first two under nŏcci, the third, as in the case of Tŏl., under tumpai. The colophon to Puṟam.299 is thus at variance both with Tŏl. and the author of PPVM at this juncture.

Puṟam.272 will serve as an example of Nŏccittiṇai. The tuṟai prescribed is Cĕruviṭaivīḷtal. This literally means "fallen in battle" and is explained in PPVM[4] as being suitable for celebrating the heroic death of defending warriors. Moci Cāttaṉār, none of whose other poems has survived, says in 272:

"He has won the right to wear upon his noble brow the

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1. Comm. TSS edn., i, p.185. 2. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Puṟat. cū.68, l.5.
3. PPVM, vv.94, 89 & 133 resp. 4. Ibid. v.89.

chaplet, for he prevented the town being captured by the foe who came to take it. He stood upon the ramparts of the fort so that the fair women of the town whose hips are broad and who wear bangles may sleep in peace. Of all the trees that bear flowers it was you that he chose, O Chaste Tree of the dark clusters resembling clusters of jewels."

Pŏtuviyal is described in the tenth paṭalam of PPVM, and twelve tuṟai are allocated to it. These cover a number of different topics, and Pŏtuviyal finds frequent mention in the colophons of Puṟam.[1] Here again in many cases the tuṟai given are not to be found in Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. but occur in PPVM. An example is Mutumŏḻikkāñci, the tuṟai prescribed in its colophon for Puṟam.18, and which figures in PPVM, verse 269. It has already been noted that Nacc. mentions pŏtuviyal in connexion with Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. cū.80 which describes Pāṭāṇ.[2] He does not specify whether he regarded it as a tiṇai or not, and it would be difficult to find a place for it in Tŏl.'s scheme without increasing the specified number of seven puṟattiṇai.

Kaikkiḷai as a tiṇai of puṟam is described in PPVM paṭalam 11. Ten tuṟai are given it. It figures in the colophons to Puṟam.vv. 83-85 together with the tuṟai Paḻiccutal. Meaning extolling, this is not given among the kaikkiḷaittuṟai in PPVM. The three poems in Puṟam. are ascribed to a poetess Nakkaṇṇaiyār

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1. e.g. those to Puṟam.18,65,112-120 & 182,183.
2. Comm. i, p.252; v.s. p.57.

and praise the Coḻa king Porvaikkoppĕrunaṟkiḷḷi.[1] It is to be noted that the akattiṇai kaikkiḷai denotes unrequited love, and the tuṟai prescribed for kaikkiḷai in PPVM suggest various situations in which the beloved bewails the absence or indifference of her lover. In puṟam, therefore, unrequited love is seen from the side of the girl, whereas in akam the man does not have his feelings returned. Inclusion both of kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai in a work on puṟam is striking. It would seem to be artificial from the point of view of Tŏl. who matches the puṟattiṇai pāṭāṇ and kāṅci with kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai respectively. It can only be assumed that Aiyaṉāritaṉār did not feel his puṟattiṇai to be matched with akattiṇai; doubtless he preferred to consider unrequited and forced love as outside the akam field altogether, and to be reckoned as puṟam.

As an example of a puṟam verse in kaikkiḷai we may quote Puṟam.83 by Nakkaṇṇaiyār:

" My bangles are slipping down for I waste away with love for the young stalwart with the dark beard and closely-fitting anklets. I have my mother to fear; I have to fear the assembly because I caressed his death-dealing shoulders! May this city of confusion be stricken with great distress like me, ever smitten not from one side but from two.!".

Pĕruntiṇai, forced love, is described in PPVM, paṭalam 12, and is mentioned as a tiṇai in the colophons to Puṟam.

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1. For a discussion of these poems, see Chap.IV, pp.142,143.

verses 143-147. These are all in praise of the chieftain Pekan. Four separate poets censure him for consorting with a courtezan rather than his wife, who is named in the colophons as Kaṇṇaki. The writer of the colophons evidently regarded association with courtezans as coming under pĕruntiṇai.[1] The turai prescribed for these verses, Kuṟuṅkali is mentioned in PPVM, verse 342, as a theme suitable for occasions upon which a hero has to rid himself of clandestine associations.

It will thus be clear that a strong affinity exists between the colophons to Puranānūru and the PPVM and, to a lesser extent, Nacc.'s commentary on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Purattiṇai. A point of special interest is the inclusion among the purattiṇai of kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai, which seem to keep a meaning similar to that which they possess as akattiṇai. They are accorded puram treatment however in the sense that they are given turai, poetic themes. The akattiṇai are not so treated, at least as far as Tŏl.Akat. and Nacc.'s commentary upon it are concerned. It was already seen that the verses in Akat. that list the occasions for characters to speak during separation are reminiscent of the verses in Purat. that give the turai for the purattiṇai.[2]

It may be suggested that the Puram. colophons, the PPVM and Nacc.'s commentary upon Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. were fairly close to one another in point of time and that all three, or at least the

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1. For a consideration of these poems, see Chap.V, pp.220-223. Puram.144 is translated ibid., p.222. 2. v.s., p.37.

first two, were written by critics of the same 'school.' They differ considerably from the treatment afforded puram by Tŏl. in his Purattiṇaiyiyal.

The extent of Sanskrit influence discernable in Tŏl. Pŏruḷ., both in the five sections already discussed and in the sixth and seventh sections, Mĕyppāṭṭiyal and Uvamaviyal will now be considered.

It was already suggested[1] that, while showing signs of the intermingling of Sanskrit poetic ideas, the Akat. and Purat. embody much material that is completely indigenous to Tamil as far as present evidence permits us to say. The chief instance of this in akam poetry is the association with different regions of the aspects of love and the information offered in Akat. on the flora, fauna and other Attributes (karuppŏruḷ) of these regions.

It has already been stated[2] that iyals 3 and 4, treating of secret love and wedded love elaborate further the subject of akam. This remark applies also to section 5, which elaborates sections 3 and 4. The most noticeable feature about these iyals, however, is that the original aintiṇai are completely forgotten in the treatment of secret and wedded love. It will be recalled that kuriṅci, the mountain region, was suggested as the place suitable for puṇartal, union of lovers.[3] Yet this finds no place in Kaḷaviyal itself, apart from the opening verse, wherein it is stated merely that union is one of the topics depending on the

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1. v.s. p.19. 2. v.s. p.39. 3. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat. cū.14; v.s.p.24

five tiṇai of reciprocal love. On the other hand, this same cūttiram[1] says that union is a source of inpam (kāma), poruḷ, (artha) and aran (dharma), and is one of the eight types of marriage mentioned in the vedas.[2] The usual list of these types of marriage is given by Nacc. and Gāndharva, the fifth type, corresponds to kaḷavu.[3]

Subsequent cūttirams describe those between whom love may arise, and the signs whereby the lover recognizes the feelings of the beloved. Cū.93 says that the lovers may be from the same place or from different places.[4] E.S.V.Aiyar has tried to read the five regions of the aintiṇai into this, but he is supported neither by the cūttiram or the commentary, which uses the word iṭam, place, in this context, and not tiṇai. Tŏl. goes on to say in cū.95 that the wearing of flowers and ornaments by the beloved is a sign of love, and in cū.100 he gives nine stages (marapu) of secret love; Sastri renders this term as avasthā[5]. These are: desire, singlemindedness, emaciation, telling of one's sleeplessness, immodesty, seeing the beloved in natural objects, forgetfulness, swooning and 'death'. Both this cūttiram and cū.95 are strongly reminiscent of the Nāṭyaśāstra[6]. The nine marapu of Tŏl.Pŏrul.Kaḷavu. cū.100 are also reminiscent

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.92. 2. This is Nacc.'s interpretation of cū.92, followed by PSS. An alternative would be "among the eight followed in the land of the brahmans". 3. Tŏl. TSS edn.ii, pp2-3.
4. Comm. ibid. p.5. 5. PSS Kaḷaviyal, p.66.
6. marapu: cp. anubhāvas in BH.NS.VI, Nirṇ.(1943) p.76.

of the ten stages of desire listed by Vātsyāyana.[1]

Then follow the occasions upon which various people may speak, as already noted.[2] In cū.105 the seven types of marriage other than Gāndharvam are allotted between the tiṇai kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai as an obvious attempt at synthesis. Āsuram, Paiśācam and Rākṣasam are considered as belonging to kaikkiḷai and Brāhmam, Prājapatyam, Ārṣam and Daiva are considered under Pĕruntiṇai.

These are but some of the instances of the occurrence in Tŏl.Kaḷavu. of ideas originating in Sanskrit treatises. A similar trend may be seen in the fourth section of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ., Karpiyal. The opening cūttiram states[3] that the bride is given in marriage by the ceremony of Karaṇam; this is explained as sacrificial rite by the commentator[4]. Sastri suggests[5] that this was agnau karaṇam, homa performed in fire. Once again, no connexion between this topic and the aintiṇai is established, but, as E.S.V.Aiyar points out[6], where karpu follows on from the stage of kaḷavu as a 'regularizing' process, "Kaḷavu and Karpu pertain solely to the Akattiṇai contemplated by the four tiṇais stated above". It has already been noted that the other seven types of marriage were felt to lack spontaneity in some way or other by the author of cū.105, and were allocated to the 'abnormal'

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1. Kāmasūtra, V,i,v.5: Cakṣuḥprītir Manaḥsaṅgaḥ Saṃkalpotpattir Nidrācchedas Tanutā Viṣayebhyovyāvṛttir lajjāprāṇāsa Unmādo Mūrchā Maraṇam iti teṣām liṅgāni. 2. v.s. p.39. 3. Cū.142. 4. Comm. TSS ii, p.163. 5. PSS karpiyal, p.91. 6. ESV Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. ii, p.233.

situations of kaikkiḷai and pĕruntiṇai.

Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Karpu. 144 states that the karaṇam enjoined upon 'the three highest' came to be adopted by inferior castes also. 'Three highest' is taken by Nacc. as referring to brāhmaṇas kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, and he adds that the veḷāḷar and others adopted these ceremonies from the brāhmaṇas together with tantras and mantras.[1]

Most of the ensuing cūttirams deal with situations arising in karpu when various characters may speak. After some verses[2] prescribing the times when the hero may absent himself for fulfilling various duties, cūttiram 192 states that a householder and his wife who have performed their household duties properly may enter upon the state of saṃnyāsa and attain vīṭu (mokṣa).

The fifth section of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ., Pŏruḷiyal, contains a number of miscellaneous items supplementary to the other sections that deal with love poetics. It contains further situations that may arise during both kaḷavu and karpu and the conventional remarks to be exchanged upon such occasions. Some cūttirams on love-quarrels[3] are reminiscent of the section on Kalaha, love-quarrels, in the Kāmasūtra.[4] Cūttiram 224 states that those love-quarrels on account of the lover's mistress occur among all the four varṇas.

Tŏlkāppiyam shows evidence of being compiled by more

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1. Comm. TSS edn.ii,p.166. 2.Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Karpu., cū.188-190.
3. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Pŏruḷ., cū.234 ff. 4. Vāts.KS II, 40 ff.

than one hand, especially in the Pŏruḷatikāram. The different contributors may have lived at the same time, or contributions may have been made over a considerable period. The above sections 3 to 5 show evidence of interpolation in an attempt to reconcile the ideas contained in the Akattiṇai. with ideas in such works as the Nāṭyaśāstra and Kāmasūtra. It is strange that all these sections should elaborate on the theme of Akam and that similar elaborations on puṟam do not occur in Tŏl. as extant.

The next two sections of Tŏlkāppiyam, treating of Bhāva and Upamā may well be regarded as interpolations. They are in no way foreshadowed by the treatment of love situations in the Akat. They may well be entities in themselves, as they exhibit some internal sequence of ideas, and are not disjointed as are sections 3 to 5. They may briefly be considered here in order to complete the survey of the extent of Sanskrit influence in this portion of Tŏlkāppiyam.

The sixth section of Tŏl.[1] is entitled Mĕyppāṭṭiyal, since it treats of Mĕyppāṭu, that which arises in or afflicts the body. As will be shown, this term is an equivalent of the Skt. Bhāva, and this whole iyal would seem to depend upon Sanskrit dramatic theory. From the point of view of Tamil it is an accretion, and may well have been added later to Tŏl. Moreover, though the bhāvas include emotions other than love, this section in Tŏl. elaborates only that which pertains to Love, Uvakai. In

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1. Pŏrulatikāram.

this respect, Měyppāṭṭiyal is a further elaboration of love as subject matter for poetry.

The equivalent of the Skt. term Rasa, Cuvai, does not appear in this section, though the application of the idea of 'taste' to poetic sentiments is fully discussed in Perāciriyar's commentary to cū.249, the opening cūttiram of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Měy.[1] This cū. states that "Thirty-two are the things experienced by those who see actresses performing; they are manifest as four times four." This is interpreted by Per. as meaning thirty-two matters relevant to those who act, particularly with reference to love-scenes.[2] He says that the nine cuvai (rasas) are reduced to eight by omitting Uruttiram (corresponding to Krodha), and that the figure of 32 is comprised of eight Cuvaippŏruḷ, eight Cuvaiyuṇarvu, eight Maṉakkuṟippu and eight Viṟal or Cattuvam.[3] Cuvaippŏruḷ are the causes of Sentiment or Rasa, and correspond to the Vibhāvas, Determinants. Cuvaiyuṇarvu are the signs or indications of Sentiment and correspond to the Anubhāvas, the Consequents. Maṉakkuṟippu are the mental States,[4] the Sthāyibhāvas. Viṟal or Cattuvam are the Sāttvikabhāvas, the Temperamental States. All these 32 are specifically referred to as Měyppāṭu by Per. in his commentary on the next cūttiram, 250[5], from which it is clear that Per. regarded měyppāṭu as the equivalent of the

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1. TSS edn.iii, p.2. 2.Ibid. p.1. 3. Comm. on cu.249, iii, p.2.
4. Otherwise, Dominant States. 5. Comm. ibid. iii, p.3.

Sanskrit term bhāva. The 32 are reduced to sixteen, firstly by identifying Cuvaippŏruḷ, Determinant, with its Consequent, Cuvaiyuṇarvu.[1] This leaves the Dominant States, Maṉakkuṟippu, and the Temperamental States, Cattuvam or Viṟal.[2]

The following cūttiram, 250, states that these sixteen are likewise reduced to eight. Per. explains this[3] by saying that since the Cattuvam are but variants of the other eight (Maṉakkuṟippu), this set of sixteen mĕyppāṭu may be reduced to eight also.[4] These eight are enumerated in the next cūttiram, cū.251, wherein for the first time Tŏl. himself uses the term mĕyppāṭu. Taking the commentary on cū.249-251 and Tŏl.'s cū.251, it is clear that mĕyppāṭu is used for bhāva in general by Per. until Tŏl. limits its meaning to sthāyibhāva in cū.251, wherein they are arranged in a different order from that of Bharata, presumably for reasons of metre.[5]

Per.'s explanation for the compression of 32 mĕyppāṭu into sixteen, two sets of eight, may be summed up as follows:

8 cuvaippŏruḷ	become 8, +	8 maṉakkuṟippu	become 8, =16.
8 cuvaiyuṇarvu		8 cattuvam	

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1. i.e. vibhāva with anubhāva. Per. takes the analogy of taste; bitterness is inseparable from its cause, similarly, an emotion is inseparable from its cause. Thus these 16 may be considered 8.
2. i.e. sthāyi- and sāttvikābhava. 3. Comm. TSS edn.iii, p.4.
4. i.e. sāttvika- are merged with sthāyibhāvas.
5. Nakai, laughter; Aḷukai, sorrow; Ilivaral, disgust; Marutkai, amazement; Accam, terror; Pĕrumitam, bravery; Vĕkuḷi, anger and Uvakai, love.

Neither cuvaippŏruḷ nor cuvaiyuṇarvu are enumerated in detail, by Tŏl. or Per. They are not defined individually by Bharata either:

"Vibhāvānubhāvau lokaprasiddhau. Lokasvabhāvānugatatvāc ca tayorlakṣaṇaṃ nocyete ...."[1]

They are evidently to be understood in conjunction with one of the eight sthāyibhāvas, manakkurippu, or eight rasas.

Tŏl.'s list of sthāyibhāvas follows that of Bharata and other early authorities in Sanskrit in listing eight only. In his commentary to cū.249, however, Perāciriyar mentions that there are nine cuvai (rasas), and that, to arrive at the figure eight, Uruttiram (Krodha) is to be omitted.[2] He repeats this in his comments on cū.250 when he states that the eight (kurippu, with viral merged in them) are: Vīram, heroism; Accam, terror; Viyappu, amazement; Ilipu, disgust; Kāmam, love; Avalam, sorrow; Nakai, laughter and Naṭuvunilai, tranquillity (corresponding to Śānti).[3] This suggests that the fact that Śānti was added later to the list of eight that included Krodha had been overlooked by Per., since he includes Naṭuvunilai (śānti) but excludes Uruttiram (krodha) without comment. However, Tŏl., in cū.251, gives the usual list of eight mĕyppāṭu, sthāyibhāvas, that includes Vĕkuḷi, anger, but does not mention tranquillity. Here, the commentator says that certain authorities on dramatic theory add a ninth mĕyppāṭu, Camanilai (corresponding to Śānti), to the

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1. NS VII, 5 ff. 2. Comm. iii, p.1. 3. Comm. ibid. p.4.

list of eight as given in cū.251 by Tŏl.[1] This seems to be at variance with the comments Per. made in connexion with Tŏl. Pŏruḷ.Mĕy. cū.249 and 250 when he arrived at a list of eight by including Tranquillity but excluding Anger. It may be suggested that this commentary on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Mĕy. is the work of more than one authority, and it may be noted that camanilai appears as the ninth mĕyppāṭu in comments on cū.251, whereas naṭuvunilai is used for śānti in the comments on cū.250. There are other variations in terms between the commentaries on cū.250 and cū.251, and, seen synoptically with the mĕyppāṭu of Tŏl. himself and the sthāyi-bhāvas of Bharata, the different lists are as follows:

	Cū.251	Comm.251	Comm.250		NS.VI.28		(Tanti.v.70	
1. laughter	nakai	cirippu	nakai	7	hāsa	2	nakai	8
2. sorrow	aḻukai	avalam	avalam	6	śoka	3	avalam	6
3. disgust	iḷivaral	iḻipu	iḻipu	4	jugupsā	8	iḻippu	3
4. surprise	maruṭkai	viyappu	viyappu	3	vismaya	7	viyappu	4
5. terror	accam	payam	accam	2	bhaya	6	accam	2
6. bravery	pĕrumitam	vīram[2]	vīram	1	utsāha	5	vīram	1
7. anger	vĕkuḷi	uruttiram	-		krodha	4	uruttiram	7
8. love	uvakai	kāmam	kāmam	5	rati	1	kāmam	5
		(camanilai)	naṭuvu nilai	8			-for comparison)	

Cūttirams 252 to 259 give the sources of each of the

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1. Comm. TSS iii, p.5.
2. Vīram and Uruttiram: cp. the names of the corresponding rasas, vīra and raudra; vide Bh.NS, VI,26.

eight měyppāṭu in turn. These sources are fourfold in each case.[1] As the order followed is that in which the měyppāṭu are listed in cū.251 uvakai, love, is mentioned last along with its sources, and the rest of this iyal of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. depends upon it.

Sastri[2] is of the opinion that these 32 sources are vibhāva or anubhāva, and that the 32 items in Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.260 are of the nature of Sańcāribhāvas.[3] On examination this is true as a general statement, as may be seen from a tabulation of the items in cū.260 along with the vyabhicāribhāvas in the NS.[4] The correspondences between them and the items[5] in Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.260 is in some cases inexact; the item in Tŏl.'s list in some cases only corresponds to one aspect of a vyabhicāribhāva as mentioned by Bharata, or to a vibhāva or anubhāva connected with it. In the case of items 29 and 32 of Tŏl.'s list, the similarity is to sāttvikabhāva rather than to vyabhicāribhāva. This list in cū.260 is reminiscent of the list of nine stages (marapu) of secret love that Tŏl. listed in Pŏruḷ.Kaḷavu. cū.100.[6] As will be seen from the table, a number of vyabhicāribhāvas are not paralleled in any way by items in Tŏl.'s list in cū.260. Conversely, a number of these seem to have no corresponding vyabhicāribhāva.

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1. See list on p.76. 2. PPSS Měy. p.6. Per. uses the term unarttutal in connexion with them (vide TSS iii, pp.6,8,11,14,15, 16 & 17); this suggests that he regarded them as cuvaiyuṇarvu, anubhāvas. He uses kuṟippu, sthāyibhāva, to qualify Nakai (iii, p. p.6) and cuvai, rasa, to qualify aḷukai (iii, p.8), but the other 6 are unqualified by Per. or Tŏl. 3. PSS, Měy. ibid. 4. See table on pp.77,78. 5. Called měyppāṭu by Per., iii, p.19. 6. v.s. p.67 & fn.6, p.68, fn.1.

Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.cū:		Mĕyppāṭu	Sources	& meaning.
hāsa)	252	Nakai	ĕḷḷal	mockery
			iḷamai	childishness
			peṭaimai	ignorance
			maṭaṉ	credulity
śoka)	253	Aḻukai	iḻivu	ignominy
			iḻavu	loss
			acaivu	loss of position
			vaṟumai	poverty
jugupsā)	254	Iḷivaral	mūppu	old age
			piṇi	disease
			vaṟuttam	pain
			mĕṉmai	inferiority
vismaya)	255	Maruṭkai	putumai	newness
			pĕrumai	greatness
			ciṟumai	smallness
			ākkam	transformation[1]
bhaya)	256	Accam	aṇaṅku	demon
			vilaṅku	wild animal
			kaḷvar	thieves
			iṟai	one's king[2]
utsāha)	257	Pĕrumitam	kalvi	scholarship
			taṟukaṉ	valour
			pukaḻmai	fame
			kŏṭai	liberality
krodha)	258	Vĕkuḷi	urupp'aṟai	destruction of limbs
			kuṭikoḷ	loss of family
			aḷai	oppression[3]
			kŏlai	loss of reputation[4]
rati)	259	Uvakai	cĕlvam	enjoyment[5]
			puḷaṉ	sense-pleasures
			puṇarvu	sexual intercourse
			viḷai	play

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1. Per.comm. TSS edn. iii, p.11. 2. Per. ibid. p.14.
3. Per. ibid. p.16. 4. Per. ibid. p.16. 5. Per. ibid. p.17.
For opinions regarding thse items see previous p. & fn.2.

Pŏruḷ.260 &	meaning	NS.VI,19ff. (vyabhicāri)	Other similarities
uṭaimai	ownership, wealth	-	
inpural	contentment	cf.dhṛti	12
naṭuvunilai	tranquillity[1]	-	
aruḷal	showing grace	-	
tanmai	restraint[2]	-	
aṭakkam	self-control	-	
varaital	righteous conduct	-	
anpu	friendship	cf.harṣa	15
kaimmikal	lack of restraint[3]	-	
nalital	cruelty	ugratā	27
cūlcci	agitation	āvega	16
valttal	wishing well	-	
nāṇutal	modesty	vrīḍa	13
tuńcal	sleeping	nidrā	21
ararru	babbling	cf.unmāda	30
kanavu	dreaming	supta	23
munital	discouragement	nirveda	1
ninaital	recalling	cf.smṛti	11
vĕrūutal	feeling indignant	amarṣa	25
maṭimai	indolence	ālasya	7
karutal	recollecting	smṛti	111
ārāycci	deliberation	vitarka	33

1. The same as Camanilai, one of the nine cuvai (rasas), says Per. See Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.260 comm. iii, p.19. Sastri says it is out of place, PSS Mĕy. p.6. 2. i.e. keeping to one's proper place. 3. i.e. not keeping to one's proper place.

Pŏruḷ.260 &	meaning	NS.VI,19ff. (vvabhicāri)		Other similarities
viraivu	hastiness	autsukya	20	
uyirppu	longing, sighing	cf.cintā	9	cf.manaḥsaṅga (KS.V,i,5)
kaiyāṟu	despair	viṣāda	19	
iṭukkaṇ	depression	dainya	8	
pŏccāppu	inconstancy	capalatā	14	
pŏṟāmai	envy	asūyā	4	
viyarttal	perspiration	-		sveda (sāttvika) (NS.VI,23)
aiyam	doubt	cf.śaṅkā	3	
mikai	arrogance	garva	18	
naṭukkam	trembling	vepathu		vepathu (sā.bh:) (NS.VI,23)

Perāciriyar remarks[1] that the list of 32 mĕyppāṭu in cū.260 of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Mĕy. relate to both akam and puṟam "like the 32 previously mentioned." He therefore suggests that the criteria of the sthāyi- and sattvikabhāvas may be applied to the subject of akam and puṟam also. In the case of puṟam, he quotes examples from Puṟanāṉūṟu in his commentary on cū.252-259 which, as noted[2] give the sources of the eight mĕyppāṭu envisaged by Tŏl. He does not quote any poems to exemplify his views on the set of 32 items in cū.260 to which he also applies the term mĕyppāṭu.

Ensuing cūttirams of Mĕy. give six symptoms of love[3], each of which is fourfold. Again, Sastri[4] terms these avasthā.

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1. Comm. iii, p.21: "Ivai muppattiraṇṭum meṟkuṟiya muppattiraṇṭum pola akattiṟkum puṟattiṟkum pŏtuvāki nikaḷum mĕyppāṭ'ĕṉa..."
2. v.s. pp.74-5 & table on p.76. 3. cū.261-266. 4. PSS Mĕy.p6.

Most of the symptoms are appropriate to the beloved rather than to her lover, though at cū.264 Per. says[1] that they are found in the lover also. There is no exact correspondence between these love-symptoms and the treatment of śṛṅgāra in the Nāṭyaśāstra. Sāstri quotes Iḷam. as saying that these six symptoms are experienced by the beloved before actual union with her lover.[2] They have a general resemblance to the symptoms of love exhibited by a girl according to Vātsyāyana.[3]

It is hard to see why Per. should opine at cū.261[4] that this and the following verses relate both to akam and puṟam. He himself cites examples from akam works only, and uvakai, rati, would appear to fall in the category of akam. The only grounds for regarding it as appropriate to puṟam would be the inclusion in uvakai of ideas of forced or unrequited love which, as has been seen[5], were considered to come under puṟam by some writers, though not by Tŏl. himself. That uvakai did not include such ideas is suggested by the view of Iḷam. just noted, which was that the uvakai-symptoms preceded actual union. This would rule out kaikkiḷai at least.

The remaining cūttirams of Mĕy. give various reasons for a marriage taking place, and the criteria to be observed in determining whether a lover and his beloved are suitably matched or not.[6]

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1. Comm.iii, p.28. 2. PSS Mĕy.p.8. 3. KS III,3 vv.24ff.
4. Comm.ibid.p.22. 5. v.s. p.64. 6. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Mĕy. cū.273

The seventh section of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. is entitled Uvamaviyal, and, like the Mĕyppāṭṭiyal that precedes it, suggests contact with Sanskrit to a considerable degree. It is fairly clearly an attempt to apply one of the aspects of rhetoric in Sanskrit, namely Upamā, to Tamil. Uvamaviyal treats, then, of Simile.

Both uvamam and uvamai are to be connected with the Skt. upamā. Per. has the reading uvamam, and hence the title of the section is Uvamaviyal; Sastri follows Iḷam. in reading uvamai and Uvamaiyiyal as the section's title. This form of the word is used in later rhetorical works in Tamil such as Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram.

The opening cūttiram, 276, states that Simile is based on four kinds of resemblance: action, result, form and colour. Examples of each are given in Per.'s commentary; these criteria are clearly the same as observed in Sanskrit. For example, "The girl's waist is slender as the hourglass-drum"[1] is a Simile of form, while "He has a golden body"[2] is a simile of colour. These may be compared with the Similes of Quality, specified or implied, in the Kāvyādarśa.[3]

The following cūttiram, 277, states that, of the above four points of resemblance, two or even three may be mingled in simile.

Cūttiram 278 says that the object with which the comparison is made should be superior to the object compared.

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1. Per. TSS edn. iii, p. 58. 2. Comm. ibid. 3. KD II, 15 & 16; dharmopamā and vastupamā.

From the wording of this cūttiram it is clear that uvamam means both upamāna and upamaya.[1] Uvamam is to be used to denote the superiority, beauty, love or bravery on the part of the upamāna, or a fifth quality, inferiority.[2] Ensuing cūttirams elaborate the points of resemblance sanctioned by tradition between the upameya and upamāna. Cūttiram 284 suggests that the upameya and upamāna, pŏruḷ, may be reversed. This is comparable to the Anyonyopamā, Reversed Simile, of Daṇḍī.[3]

Cūttirams 286ff. list the particles used to introduce a comparison.[4] 286 gives a list of 36 such words, which may be used in any of the four types of comparison envisaged in cū.276. 287 details eight words of comparison to be employed where the simile is one of action, and ensuing cūttirams list groups of eight from the original list which are suitable for the other three types of simile.[5] Examples of all of these are given in Per.'s commentary, and cū.292 states that these words are to be given their traditional meanings.

Cū.293 states that the four types of simile may be elaborated into eight. Per. interprets this on the basis of simile expressed and implied, giving four pairs of types of simile.[6] Sastri notes[7] that Iḷam. interprets this cūttiram as dividing Action simile into Action and Nominal-verb Action, vinaikkurippu, Result simile into good and bad result, Shape

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1. cf. PSS Uvamai. p.14. 2. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Uvamam. cū.279.
3. KD.II,18. 4. cp. list of 35 in Taṇṭi.II,35. 5. cū.289-291.
6. Comm.iii, p.81; cp. dharmopamā & vastūpamā. 7. PSS Uvamai.p.18

simile into form and extent and Colour simile into colour and quality.[1]

Cūttirams 294 to 298 consider the aesthetic experience and usage of uvamam. In his commentary on cū.298 Per. makes the distinction between the four types of simile under discussion and Ullurāiyuvamam, implied meaning.[2] He follows Tŏl.[3] in using the term Enāiyuvamam for an explicit comparison, and regards as such the four types of uvamam listed in Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Uvamam. cū.276. In this connexion it may be noted that ullurāi is detailed at the close of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Pŏruḷ.[4] It is of five kinds: Uṭanurāi, Uvamam, Cuṭṭu, Nakai and Cirappu.[5] From this it may be inferred that, to Tŏlkāppiyanar, the term uḷḷurāi was one of wider meaning than that with which Per. invests it in his commentary[6] wherein he seems to regard it as analogous to Rūpaka, Metaphor.

Ensuing cūttirams show how Uvamappoli, mentioned in 299, is to be handled by the poet in writing love-poetry.[7] This term is translated Pseudo-simile by Sastri[8], and Per. considers it to be the same as uḷḷurāi.[9] It is of five kinds, action, result, shape, colour and origin.[10] The first four are the same as for uvamam itself. It is hard to see why Per. equates with Uvamappoli the uḷḷurāi when the latter is described previously

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1. PSS ibid. 2. Regarded as metaphor by Per. see comm. iii,p.88. 3. cf. Akat. cū.46. 4. cū.242. 5. Equated by PSS with vastu-, upamā-, arthāntaranyāsa- and bhāvadhvani (like hāsa) respectively; he does not equate cirappu with a dhvani. 6. Comm.iii, p.88. 7. cū. 301 to 307. 8. PSS Uvamai.p.20. 9. Comm. pp.89,93. 10. Cū.299 & 300.

gialle into form and extent one colour-mille into colour and quality.[1]

Cultivated to 400 consider the aesthetic experience and usage of uyamem. In his commentary on v.[illegible] Per. makes the distinction between the four types of gimile under discussion and ulpadiyavamem, implied meaning. He follows Tol. in using the term ilaiyavamem for an explicit comparison, and reserves mem for the four types of uyamem listed in Tol. Porul. uyamem. cf. 99. In this connection it may be noted that ulpuri is detailed at the close of Tol. Porul. iyal 7. It is of five kinds: ulpuri, uyamem, ulpu, mekai and ciyamem. From this it may be inferred that, to Tolkappiyanar, the term ulpuri was one of wider secondary than that with which Per. invests it in his commentary wherein he seems to regard it as analogous to uyamem. Nachinar.

Dealing with cultivated flow by Vaimpodi, mentioned in v.[illegible], is to be included by Tol. in writing love-poetry.[7] This term is translated "sense-simile" by Ar[illegible]. Nachinar. considers it to be the same as ulpuri. It is of five kinds, action, wealth, colour, colour and origin.[10] The final term is the same as uyamem itself. It is hard to see why Per. contrasts with Vaimpodi the ulpuri when the latter is described previously

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1. Pusbidid. 2. Referred as mekaiyo by Per. cf. comm. 111, 9. Ant. cf. Nn. 4. cf. 41. 5. Illustrated by Per. with vinu-mem-, arikkamem-mem- and ilaiyavamem (like idam, respectively he does not associate ciyamem with a uyamem). cf. Comm. 111, 7. cf. 201 to 207. 8. Per. Uyamem. 9. cf. Comm. 99, 9. 10. Nn. 223 & 300.

See p. 474

in Tŏlkāppiyam[1] as being of five kinds: uṭanurai, meaning implied by reference to features of a tract of land; uvamam, simile; cuṭṭu, implication as to meaning other than by the preceding or by nakai or cirappu; nakai, the mention of laughter as an indication of what is being thought; cirappu, use of the karuppŏruḷ as an aid to meaning.[2]

Closing cūttirams of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Uvamam.[3] describe some unusual varieties of uvamam.

The influence of Sanskrit is most obvious, then, in the Mĕyppāṭṭiyal and Uvamaviyal, indeed these may be regarded as being wholly dependent on Sanskrit models in the respective fields of dramatic theory and rhetoric. The three sections of Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷatikāram that elaborate the subject of love poetics also embody much that is to be found in Sanskrit treatises such as Kāmasūtra. Nevertheless, some attempt is made to relate such matters to the akattiṇai set out in the first section, Akattiṇaiyiyal. Standing apart from sections 3 to 7 of Pŏruḷatikāram are the first two, Akattiṇaiyiyal and Purattiṇaiyiyal, making as they do a distinctively Tamil contribution to the poetics of Indian literatures as a whole. The next six chapters of this study will consider the two Anthologies whose subject matter was considered to come under the purattiṇai, namely, Puranānūru and Patirruppattu.

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Pŏruḷ. cū.242. 2. Nacc. on cū.242, ii, p.332; see also fn.5 on the previous page, p.83. 3. cū.303 to 312.

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CHAPTER III

PURANĀNŪRU: INTRODUCTION

As the name states, the Anthology known as Puranānūru consists of four hundred puram verses. We have already seen[1] that the term puram is used to describe bardic or martial poetry as opposed to that termed akam or love poetry.

Inasmuch as it contains four hundred discontinuous poems, this anthology is similar in type to the three akam anthologies Kuruntŏkai[2], Narriṇai and Akanānūru. Unlike them, however, it contains poems of considerable variation in length, poems of as few as five lines and as many as 25 being not infrequent.

Puranānūru was first edited by Dr. U.V.Cāmināta Aiyar in 1894 together with its old commentary and introduction and notes by the editor. Second and third editions of this work appeared in 1923 and 1935. The same scholar reedited the text alone in 1938. A modern editor of several of the Tamil anthologies, Avvai Turaicāmi Piḷḷai, edited Puram. in two volumes which were published in 1947 and 1950 respectively. He utilizes the old commentary as far as it is extant, but does not clearly indicate which is the old commentary and which is his own, such as by using a different fount for each. As UVS showed[3] in the preface to his first edition of Puram. the old commentary

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1. v.s. Ch.II, p.19. 2. Contains 401 poems. 3. Puram. UVS 2nd. edn. (in which his preface to the 1st. edn. was reprinted), pp.12 - 13.

is available for Puram. vv.1-266 only, there being but one MS available to him that carried the old commentary for vv.262-266[1], and only two carrying that for Puram. 261. Altogether UVS used eleven manuscripts containing portions of the old commentary and five of the text alone.

This anthology has not as yet been translated in its entirety into English or any other language, although isolated examples have been published in translation from time to time.[2]

As is the case with most other anthologies, the verses of Puram. are in the metre called Āciriyappā or Akaval, wherein lines commonly contain four feet, but occasionally three. Whatever the length of the verse, the rule which is valid for Akaval metre is observed, namely that the penultimate line should contain three feet.[3]

In common with other anthologies of this group, Puram. is prefaced by a Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu or invocatory poem in praise of a god.[4] Such verses differ considerably in subject-matter from the anthologies they preface. The question arises as to whether these verses were composed later than the verses that make up the anthologies. It is not without significance that five of these prefatory invocations are ascribed in their prose colophons to one poet, Pāratam pāṭiya Pĕruntevanār, Pĕruntevan who sang the Bhārata. These five are prefixed to Kurun., Nar.,

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1. An MS belonging to Ālakiya Cirrampalakkavirāyar of Mitilaippaṭṭi.
2. Firstly by Pope in I.A. Vols.XXIX (1900) & XXVIII (1899).
3. For this metre, see Ch.X, pp.438f.4. That prefacing Patirru. is lost, though there is one extant that is said to belong to that anthology. See Ch.VI, pp. 288.

is available for verses vv.1-365 only, there being but one 23 [illegible] which contains the old commentary for vv.236-365 and only two containing text for verses 321. Altogether we need eleven manuscripts containing portions of the old commentary and five of the text alone.

The anthology has not as yet been translated in its entirety into English or any other language, although isolated examples have been published in translation from time to time. As is the case with most other anthologies, the verses of Bhartṛhari are in the metre called Śārdūlavikrīḍita or Mṛgī, whereas these commonly contain four lines, but occasionally three. Whatever the length of the verse, the rule which is valid for Mṛgī metre is observed, namely that the penultimate line should contain three feet.

In common with other anthologies of this group, Bhartṛhari is preceded by a laudatory verse or invocatory poem in praise of a god. Such verses differ considerably in subject-matter from the anthologies they precede. The question arises as to whether these verses were composed later than the verses that make up the anthologies. It is not without significance that of these invocatory introductory verses contained in their proper colophons to one poet, the one [illegible], particularly in being the shortest. These five are addressed to Bhagavan, Śaṃ-

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1. An MS belonging to [illegible] contains [illegible] verses [illegible]
2. Mainly by Jogendra in [illegible] Vol. [illegible] (1890).
3. For this metre, see Op. cit., p. [illegible]. [illegible] metrical [illegible] text, though there is one extant text in verse belonging to the anthology, see Op. cit., p. [illegible].

Akam. and Aiṅkuṟu. Part of the Pāratam (Pāratavĕṇpā) composed by Pĕruntevaṉār survives,[1] and in it is mentioned the success of Pallava Nandivarman against his enemies at Tĕḷḷāṟu.[2] Since the Pallavas find no place in the anthologies themselves, it may tentatively be suggested that the poems were composed before the time of the Pallavas. Moreover the five invocatory poems mentioned may well have been composed by a poet of the Pallava period as their colophons indicate, and are therefore later in composition than the anthology-poems they preface. There seems little reason to call in question the colophons ascribing these Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu to Pĕruntevaṉār.

An additional feature that distinguishes these verses from the main body of the anthologies is their subject-matter. Neither Śiva nor Viṣṇu figures prominently in the five anthologies to which Pĕruntevaṉār's Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu are prefixed, Murukaṉ, later identified with Skanda, being of greater importance. Yet two of the five invocations praise Śiva[3], two praise Viṣṇu[4], while that prefacing Kuṟun. alone praises Murukaṉ.

The terms in which these deities are hymned recall the Tevāram and Nālāyirappirapantam closely. None of those Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite hymns can reliably be dated to any period prior to the 7th. century A.D. The invocation to Śiva at the beginning of Puṟam. addresses him as follows:

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1. Fragments comprising the Udyoga-, Bhīṣma-, and Droṇa parvans were published in 1925 by A.G.Aiyar. That closing portion called Makāvintam was published by the TSML in 1950. 2. Ibid. p.vi. 3. Those prefatory to Akam. and Puṟam. 4. Prefixed to Naṟ.& Aiṅ.

"He is the one with the fragrant chaplet of cassia, whose breast is likewise adorned with those blossoms. He rides on the white bull, and this white bull figures on his banner. His throat is stained blue, and this sapphire stain is hymned by brahmans. He has Devī as one half of himself and in her he has hidden all that should be hidden. The moon rests on his brow, and this crescent moon is acclaimed by his eighteen hosts."[1]

In similar terms Śiva is praised throughout the Tevāram and other Śaivite works.[2] The mention of cassia[3] as being sacred to him, and of his aspect as Ardhanārīśvara may especially be noted. Neither of these features is mentioned by the poems of Puṟam. itself, which is in any case secular poetry like all the anthologies save Paripāṭal. There are passing references to Śiva however.[4]

The invocatory poems prefatory to the anthologies are supernumerary to the body of the collections save in the case of Puṟam. and Kalittŏkai, wherein the invocation forms the first poem. In Puṟam. therefore, the Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu is the first of four hundred poems, but it has nothing in common with the other 399 save metre. There seems no reason why it should have been reckoned as part of the body of the anthology to which it is not

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1. Puṟam. 1 (Pĕruṉtevaṉār). 2. Cp. Tirunāvukkaracu: Tev. Tiru. VI: Crescent moon in Śiva's hair: i,3,l.2; iv,1,l.1; chaplet of cassia: iv,4,l.2; viii,2,l.4; Śiva's bull: ix,5,ll.1-2; x,9,l.1; the blue throat: v,2,l.3; xii,2,l.3; Ardhanārīśvara: iv,10,l.2; xiv,4,l.1. 3. Kŏṉṟai: Cassia fistula. 4. e.g. Puṟam. 56,l.2; 91,l.6; 6,l.18.

He is the one with the frequent cine lot of cassia, whose breast is likewise adorned with those blossoms. He rides on the white bull, and this white bull sleeps in his chamber. His throat is stained blue, and this symbolic stain is shared by Dionysus. He has been as the bell of himself and it has been hidden all that should be hidden. The moon rests on his crown, and this crescent moon is confirmed by his eighteen locks.[1]

In similar terms Siva is praised throughout the Tevaram and other devotional works. The mention of cassia, as being sacred to him, and of the crescent as adornment are especially to be noted. Neither of these features is mentioned by the poets of the Sangam, which is in any case another point in the anthologies have just been. Here are speaking references to Siva moreover.

The introductory poems prefixed to the anthologies are supplementary to the body of the collections here in the case of Tirum. and Nattrinai, wherein the invocation forms the first poem. In Tirum. therefore, the natural valetta is the first of four hundred poems, but it has nothing in common with the other and have metre. There is no reason why it should have been reckoned as part of the body of the anthology to which it is

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1. Tirum. I (Pattuppattu). 2. Op. Kumbhavarakan: Tev.Hym. Va
Crescent moon in Siva's helm: i,5,1.: iv,1,1. In chaplet of
cassia: iv,4,1.2: viii,4,4: Siva's cull: ix,1,11.1-2: x,5,1.1
the blue throat: v,1,8: xii,1,3: Kumbhamuni versary: 10,1.2
xiv,4,1.1. 3. Kongu: Cassia Tinkala. 4. e.g. Tirum.60,1.2:
71,1.6: 6,1.1.

linked by subject. It may be suggested that the Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu to Puṟam. was in fact composed specifically for it, or that the anthology was made after these Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu were composed, and that, in either case, it was therefore included in the round number of four hundred. Basing the argument on the above assumption and on the Puṟam. Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu having indeed been composed by Pĕruntevaṉār who was either contemporaneous with or later than the 9th. century Pallava Nandivarman[1], it may be suggested that Puṟam. did not assume the form in which it has come down to us until the 9th. century. It may have been formed at that time by Pĕruntevaṉār himself or a contemporary, or at a subsequent time. Unlike some of the anthologies, there is no tradition as to the person who collected the Puṟam. poems together or the person who patronized the work.[2]

It may finally be noted in connexion with the Puṟam. Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu that the colophon to it does not prescribe any Poetic Situation, Tiṇai, to it or a Poetic Theme, Tuṟai, unlike all subsequent Puṟam. colophons extant. This particular invocation is of thirteen lines.

It has already been noted that Puṟam. is a collection of individual poems and is not arranged in any formal pattern as is Patiṟṟu. A certain tendency to group the poems according to the hero praised in them is however apparent from the MSS, and this has been followed in the printed editions. Running counter to

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1. Pĕruntev.Pārātam, TSML edn.p.vi. 2. See Chap.IX, pp.350 & ff.

this is a grouping according to turai or tiṇai. These latter groupings recur frequently, and no one group exhausts the poems in a given situation or theme, with one or two exceptions.[1]

Puram.1-85 inclusive are all in praise of the Mūventar, kings of the Cola Pāṇṭiya or Ceral 'dynasties'. Puram.87-181 are in praise of minor chieftains. Puram.182-243 form a mixed group wherein both mūventar and chieftains are praised. A similar group is Puram.367-400. Most of the remainder have defective colophons or none at all, making it impossible in most cases to deduce the hero of the poem. Mixed with such poems are some in praise of mūventar or chieftains.[2] In all groups, many heroes reappear more than once. Within the four broad groupings just noted, certain sub-groups may be observed, wherein a whole batch of poems praises a particular king or chieftain. For example, Puram.23-26 praise the Pāṇṭiya Talaiyālaṅkānattu ccĕruvĕnra Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan, while Puram.105-120 praise the chieftain Pāri. Other instances of such groupings may be seen from the Table.[1] Instances of counter-grouping according to Tiṇai are seen in Puram.19—23, Vākai, or Puram.105-108, Pāṭāṇṭiṇai, and according to Turai in Puram.19-23, Aracavākai, or Puram.112-120, Kaiyarunilai.

Each poem of Puranānūru is accompanied by a colophon giving certain information about it. It gives the tiṇai and turai appropriate to the poem, the hero of the poem and its author. An example of a colophon is:

"Tiṇai: pāṭāṇṭiṇai. Turai: Paricirrurai. Malaiyamān

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1. See Table at end of this Chapter. 2. vv.245-7,266,282,315, (355),359,360.

Tirumuṭikkāriyai Mārokkattu Nappacalaiyār pāṭiyatu."[1]

Where a subsequent poem's colophon refers to the same tiṇai turai hero or poet as indicated in preceding colophons, the terms or names are not repeated, but are replaced by pronouns:

"Tiṇaiyum turaiyum avai. Avanaiy avar pāṭiyatu."[2]

The four items usually appearing in Puram. colophons had already appeared, the tiṇai pāṭāṇṭiṇai in the colophon to v.126, the turai Iyanmoli in col.129, while col.127 gave the hero and poet as Āy and Eṇicceri Muṭamociyār respectively.

It was already observed that a number of Puram. verses are accompanied by colophons that are either fragmentary or defective, making it impossible to deduce the poet or hero. In many such cases only the hero's name is absent.[3] In some instances especially where the text of the poem itself is fragmentary, other parts of the colophon are missing.[4] These latter lacunae are due to the state of the extant MSS. It may be noted that, in his edition of Puram. the TSS editor, Avvai Turaicāmi Piḷḷai, has confused the matter by printing the hero's name at the head of each poem, and, where this is missing from the colophon, printing the poet's name instead, or even the turai, without using a different type-face or otherwise commenting on the change.[5] It is perfectly clear from the structure of the colophon who is hero and who is poet.

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1. Col. to Puram.126. 2. Col.131 & 132. 3. e.g. cols.336, 337, 338,341. 4. e.g. col.282,323. 5. TSS edn., e.g. vv.323 and 324, and the headings thereto.

Supplement to Chapter III

Table of Contents of Puranānūru

Pur.	Tiṇai	Turai	Hero
1	-	-	Śiva (Kaṭavuḷ vālttu).
2	pāṭāṇ.	Cĕviyarivurūu	Ce. Pĕruṅcorr'utiyaṅceralātan
3	"	"	P. Karuṅkāy Oḷvāṭpĕrumpĕyar V.
4	vaṅci	Kŏrravaḷḷai	C. Uruvappahrer Iḷaṅceṭcĕnni
5	pāṭāṇ.	Cĕviyarivurūu	Ce. Karuvūr e. Oḷvāṭkoppĕruṅceral I.
6	"	"	P. Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Pĕru V.
7	vaṅci	Kŏrravaḷḷai	C. Karikārpĕruvaḷattān
8	pāṭāṇ.	Iyanmŏli	Ce. Kaṭuṅkov Āliyātan
9	"	"	P. Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Pĕru V.
10	"	"	C. Nĕytalaṅkānal Iḷaṅceṭcenni
11	"	Paricirkaṭānilai	Ce. Pālai pāṭiya Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko
12	"	Iyanmŏli	P. Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Pĕru V.
13	"	Vāltt'iyal	C. Muṭittalaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi
14	"	Iyanmŏli	Ce. Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan
15	"	"	P. Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Pĕru V.
16	vaṅci	Malapulavaṅci	C. Irācacūyam veṭṭa Pĕrunarkiḷḷi
17	vākai	Aracavākai	Ce. Yānaikkaṭcey Māntaraṅceral I.
18	pŏtuv.	Mutumŏlikkāṅci	P. Talaiy. cĕruvĕnra Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan
19	vākai	Aracavākai	" " "
20	"	"	Ce. Yānaikkaṭcey Māntaraṅceral I.

Abbreviations: C., Cola; P., Pāntiya; Ce., Ceral; V., Valuti; I., Irumpŏrai. e., eriya (who colonized); t., tuṅciya (who died at); Talaiy., Talaiyālaṅkānattu.

Pur.	Tiṇai	Turai	Hero
21	vākai	Aracavākai	P. Kānapperĕyilkaṭanta Ukkirappĕru V
22	"	"	Ce. Yānaikkaṭcey Māntarańceral I.
23	"	"	P. Talaiy. cĕruvĕnra Nĕṭuńcĕliyan
24	pŏtuv.	Pŏruṇmŏlikkāńci	" " "
25	vākai	Aracavākai	" " "
26	"	"	" " "
27	pŏtuv.	Mutumŏlikkāńci	C. Nalaṅkiḷḷi
28	"	Iyanmŏli vālttu	"
29	"	" "	"
30	pāṭāṇ.	Iyaṅmŏli	"
31	vākai	Aracavākai	"
32	pāṭāṇ.	Iyanmŏli	"
33	vākai	Aracavākai	"
34	pāṭāṇ.	Iyanmŏli	C. Kuḷamurrattu t. Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan
35	"	Cĕviyarivurūu	" " " "
36	vańci	Tuṇai vańci	" " " "
37	vākai	Aracavākai	" " " "
38	pāṭāṇ.	Iyanmŏli	" " " "
39	"	"	" " " "
40	"	Cĕviyarivurūu	" " " "
41	vańci	Kŏrravaḷḷai	" " " "
42	vākai	Aracavākai	" " " "
43	"	"	C. Māvaḷattān
44	"	"	C. Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi
45	vańci	Tuṇai vańci	C. Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi & C. Nalaṅkiḷḷi
46	"	" "	C. Kuḷamurrattu t. Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan
47	"	" "	C. Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi
48	pāṭāṇ.	Pulavarārruppaṭai	Ce. Kokkotai Mārpan
49	"	"	" "
50	"	Iyanmŏli	Ce. Takaṭūr ĕ. Pĕrunceral I.
51	vākai	Aracavākai	P. Kūṭakārattu t. Māran V.
52	"	"	" " "
53	"	"	Ce. Māntarańceral I.
54	"	"	Ce. Kuṭṭuvan Kotai

ĕ. ĕrinta (who destroyed).

Pur.	Tiṇai	Turai	Hero
55	pāṭāṇ.	Cĕviyarivurūu	P. Ilavantikaippaḷḷi t. Nanmāran
56	"	Pūvainilai	" " "
57	vańci	Tuṇaivańci	" " "
58	pāṭāṇ.	Uṭanilai	C. Kurāppaḷḷi t. Pĕruntirumā v.[1] P. Vĕḷḷiyampalattu t. Pĕru V.
59	"	Pūvainilai	P. Cittiramāṭattu t. Nanmāran
60	"	Kuṭai maṅkalam	C. Kurāppaḷḷi t. Pĕruntirumāvaḷavan
61	vākai	Aracavākai	C. Ilavantikaippaḷḷi t. Nalaṅkiḷḷi[C][2]
62	tumpai	Tŏkainilai	Ce. Kuṭakko Nĕṭuńceralātan C. Verpahraṭakkai Ppĕruvirarkiḷḷi
63	"	"	" " " "
64	pāṭāṇ.	Viraliyārruppaṭai	P. Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Pĕru V.
65	pŏtuv.	Kaiyarunilai	Ce. Pĕruńceralātan
66	vākai	Aracavākai	C. Karikārpĕruvaḷattān
67	pāṭāṇ.	Iyanmŏli	Koppĕruńcolan
68	"	Pāṇārruppaṭai	C. Nalaṅkiḷḷi
69	"	"	C. Kuḷamurrattu t. Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan
70	"	"	" " " "
71	kāńci	Vańcinakkāńci	Ŏllaiyūr tanta Pūtappāṇṭiyan
72	"	"	P. Talaiy. cĕruvĕnra Nĕṭuńcĕliyan
73	"	"	C. Nalaṅkiḷḷi
74	pŏtuv.	Mutumŏlikkāńci	Ce. Kaṇaikkāl I.
75	"	Pŏtumŏlikkāńci	C. Nalaṅkiḷḷi
76 -79	vākai	Aracavākai	P. Talaiy. cĕruvĕnra Nĕṭuńcĕliyan
80	tumpai	Ĕrumai maram	C. Porvaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi
81	vākai	Aracavākai	"
82	"	"	"
83 -85	kaik.	Paliccutal	"

1. v., vaḷavan. 2. C., Ceṭcĕnni

Pur. Tiṇai	Turai	Hero
86 vākai	Erāṇ mullai	(Kāvarpĕṇṭu)[1]
87 tumpai -90	Tāṉai maṟam	Atiyamāṉ Nĕṭumāṉ Aṅci
91 pāṭāṇ.	Vāltt'iyal	" " "
92 "	Iyaṉmŏli	" " "
93 vākai	Aracavākai	" " "
94 "	"	" " "
95 pāṭāṇ.	Vāṇ maṅkalam	" " "
96 "	Iyaṉmŏli	(Avaṉ makaṉ) Pŏkuṭṭĕliṉi
97 "	"	Atiyamāṉ Nĕṭumāṉ Aṅci
98 vākai -100	Aracavākai	" " "
101 pāṭāṇ.	Paricirkaṭānilai	" " "
102 "	Iyaṉmŏli	(Avaṉ makaṉ) Pŏkuṭṭĕliṉi
103 "	Viraliyārruppaṭai	Atiyamāṉ Nĕṭumāṉ Aṅci
104 vākai	Aracavākai	" " "
105 pāṭāṇ.	Viraliyārruppaṭai	Veḷ Pāri
106 " -108	Iyaṉmŏli	" "
109 nŏcci -111	Makaṇ maṟuttal	" "
112 pŏtuv. -120	Kaiyaṟunilai	" "
121 "	Pŏruṉmŏlikkāṅci	Malaiyamāṉ Tirumuṭikkāri
122 pāṭāṇ. -124	Iyaṉmŏli	" " "
125 vākai	Aracavākai	" " "
126 pāṭāṇ.	Paricirrurai	" " "
127 "	Kaṭainilai	Āy
128 "	Valttu	"
129 " -132	Iyaṉmŏli	"
133 "	Viraliyārruppaṭai	"
134 "	Iyaṉmŏli	"
135 "	Paricirrurai	"
136 "	Paricirkaṭānilai	"
137 "	Iyaṉmŏli	Nāṅcil Vaḷḷuvaṉ
138 "	Pāṇārruppaṭai	" "
139 "	Paricirkaṭānilai	" "
140 "	Paricilviṭai	" "

1. The authoress, ait TSS ed., i, p.213

Pur.	Tinai	Turai	Hero
141	pāṭāṇ.	Pāṇārruppaṭai	Vaiyāvikkoppĕrumpekan
142	"	Iyanmŏli	" " "
143 -147	pĕrun.	Kuruṅkali	" " "
148	pāṭāṇ.	Paricirrurai	Kaṇṭīrakkoppĕru Naḷḷi
149	"	Iyanmŏli	" " "
150	"	"	" " "
151	"	"	Iḷaviccikko
152	"	Paricilviṭai	Valvil Ori
153	"	Iyanmŏli	" "
154	"	Paricirrurai	Kŏṇkāṇaṅkilān
155	"	Pāṇārruppaṭai	" "
156		Iyanmŏli	" "
157	"	"	Eraikkon
158	"	Vāltt'iyal	Kumaṇan
159	"	Paricirkaṭānilai	"
160	"	"	"
161	"	Paricirrurai	"
162	"	Paricilviṭai	Iḷavĕḷimān
163	"	Paricil	Kumaṇan
164	"	Paricirkaṭānilai	"
165	"	Paricilviṭai	"
166	vākai	Parppaṇavākai	Kauṇiyan Viṇṇantāyan
167	"	Aracavākai	Enāti Tirukkiḷḷi
168	pāṭāṇ.	Paricirrurai	Piṭṭaṅkŏrran
169	"	Paricirkaṭānilai	"
170	vākai	Vallānmullai	"
171	pāṭāṇ.	Iyanmŏli	"
172	"	"	"
173	"	"	Cirukuṭikilān Paṇṇan
174	vākai	Aracavākai	Malaiyamān Coliyav enāti Tirukkaṇṇan
175	pāṭāṇ.	Iyanmŏli	Ātanuṅkan
176	"	"	Oymān Nalliyakkoṭan
177	"	"	Malli kilān Kāriyāti

Pur.	Tiṇai	Turai	Hero (where stated in col.)
178	vākai	Vallāṇmullai	Pāṇṭiyan Kīrańcāttan
179	"	"	Nālai kilavan Nākan
180	"	"	Īrntūr kilān Toyanmāran
181	"	"	Vallār kilān Paṇṇan
182	pŏtuv.	Pŏruṇmŏlikkāńci	(Kaṭaluḷ māynta Iḷampĕru V.)[1]
183	"	"	(P.Āriyappaṭai kaṭanta Nĕṭuńcĕliyan)
184	pāṭāṇ.	Cĕviyarivurūu	P. Arivuṭai Nampi
185	pŏtuv.	Pŏruṇmŏlikkāńci	(Tŏṇṭaimān Iḷantiraiyan)
186	"	"	-
187	"	"	-
188	"	"	(P. Arivuṭai Nampi)
189	"	"	-
190	"	"	(C. Nalluruttiran)
191	"	"	(Picirāntaiyār)
192	"	"	-
193	"	"	-
194	"	Pĕruṅkāńci	-
195	"	Pŏruṇmŏlikkāńci	-
196	pāṭāṇ.	Paricirkaṭānilai	P. Ilavantikaippaḷḷi t. Nanmāran
197	"	" "	C.Kurāppaḷḷi t.Pĕruntirumāvaḷavan
198	"	" "	P. Ilavantikaippaḷḷi t. Nanmāran
199	"	" "	-
200	"	Paricirrurai	Viccikko
201	pāṭāṇ.	"	Iruṅkoveḷ
202	"	"	"
203	"	"	C.Pāmaḷūr ĕ. Nĕytalaṅkānal IḷańC.
204	"	"	Valvil Ori

() On this page: author.

Pur.	Tiṇai	Turai	Hero (where stated in col.)
205	pāṭāṇ.	Paricirrurai	Kaṭiyanĕṭuveṭṭuvan
206	"	"	Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Aṅci
207	"	"	Iḷavĕḷimān
208	"	"	Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Aṅci
209	"	Paricirkaṭānilai	Mūvan
210	"	"	Ce. Kuṭakkocceral I.
211	"	"	" " "
212	"	Iyanmŏli	Koppĕruṅcolan
213	vañci	Tuṇaivañci	"
214	pŏtuv.	Pŏruṇmŏlikkāṅci	"
215	pāṭāṇ.	Iyanmŏli	"
216	"	"	"
217	pŏtuv.	Kaiyarunilai	Picirāntaiyār
218	"	"	"
219 -223	"	"	Koppĕruṅcolan
224	"	"	C. Karikārpĕruvaḷattān
225	"	"	C. Nalaṅkiḷḷi
226	"	"	C. Kuḷamurrattu t. Kiḷḷivaḷavan
227	"	"	" " "
228	"	Ānantappaiyuḷ	" " "
229	"	"	Kocce. Yānaikkaṭcey Māntarañceral I.
230	"	Kaiyarunilai	Atiyamān Ĕlini
231	"	"	Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Aṅci
232	"	"	" " "
233	"	"	Veḷ Ĕvvi
234	"	"	" "
235	"	"	Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Aṅci
236	"	"	Veḷ Pāri
237	"	"	Iḷavĕḷimān
238	"	"	Vĕḷimān

Pur.	Tiṇai	Turai	Hero (where stated in col.)
239	Pŏtuv.	Kaiyarunilai	Nampi Neṭuńcĕliyan
240	"	"	Āy Aṇṭiran
241	"	"	" "
242	"	"	Ŏllaiyūr kilān makan Pĕruńcāttan
243	"	"	" " " "
244	"	"	-
245	"	"	Ce. Koṭṭampalattu t. Mākkotai
246	"	Ānantappaiyuḷ	Pūtapāṇṭiyan revi Pĕruṅkoppĕṇṭu
247	"	"	" " "
248 -250	"	Tāpatanilai	-
251	vākai	Tāpatavakai	-
252	"	"	-
253 -256	pŏtuv.	Mutupālai	-
257	vĕṭci	Uṇṭāṭṭu	-
258	"	"	-
259	karan.	Cĕrumalaital	-
260	"	Kaiyarunilai	-
261	"	"	-
262	vĕṭci	Uṇṭāṭṭu	-
263 -265	karan.	Kaiyarunilai	-
266	pāṭāṇ.	Paricirkaṭānilai	C. Uruvappahrer Iḷańceṭcĕnni
- 1 -			
269	vĕṭci	Uṇṭāṭṭu	-
270	karan.	Kaiyarunilai	-
271	nŏcci	Cĕruviṭai vīḷtal	-
272	"	" "	-

1. No MS extant contains Puram. 267 or 268.

Pur.	Tiṇai	Turai	Hero (where stated in col.)
273	tumpai	Kutirai maram	-
274	"	Ĕrumai maram	-
275	"	" "	-
276	"	Tānai nilai	-
277	"	Uvakaikkalulcci	-
278	"	"	-
279	vākai	Mūtinmullai	-
280	pŏtuv.	Ānantappaiyuḷ	-
281	kāṅci	Tŏṭākkāṅci	-
282	-	-	(Ce. Pālaipāṭiya Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko)
283	tumpai	Pāṇpāṭṭu	-
284	"	"	-
285	vākai	Cālpumullai	-
286	karan.	Vettiyal	-
287	"	Nīṇmoli	-
288	tumpai	Mūtinmullai	-
289	-	-	-
290	karan.	Kuṭinilaiy uraittal	-
291	"	Vettiyal	-
292	vaṅci	Pĕruṅcorrunilai	-
293	kāṅci	Pūkkoṭkāṅci	-
294	tumpai	Tānai maram	-
295	"	Uvakaikkalulcci	-
296	vākai	Erāṇmullai	-
297	vĕṭci	Uṇṭāṭṭu	-
298	karan.	Nĕṭumŏli	-
299	nŏcci	Kutirai maram	-
300	tumpai	Tānai Maram	-
301	"	" "	-
302 -304	"	Kutirai maram	-

Pur.	Tinai	Turai	Hero (where stated in col.)
305	vākai	Pārppaṉavākai	-
306	"	Mūtiṉmullai	-
307	tumpai	Kaḷirruṭaṉilai	-
308	vākai	Mūtiṉmullai	-
309	tumpai	Nūḷilāṭṭu	-
310	"	"	-
311	"	Pāṉpāṭṭu	-
312	vākai	Mūtiṉmullai	-
313	"	Vallāṉmullai	-
314	"	"	-
315	"	"	Nĕṭumāṉ Aṅci
316	"	"	-
-325			
326	"	Mūtiṉmullai	-
-335			
336	kāṅci	Makaṭpārkāṅci	-
-354			
355	"	"	Kaṭumāṉ Kiḷḷi (in text)
356	"	"	-
357	"	Marakkāṅci	-
358	"	Maṉaiyaram turavaram	-
359	"	Pĕruṅkāṅci	-
360	"	"	-
361	-	-	-
362	pŏtuv.	Pĕruṅkāṅci	(The person addressed in v.361)
363	"	"	-
364	"	"	(The person addressed in v.363)
365	kāṅci	Pĕruṅkāṅci	-
366	"	"	-
367	pāṭāṉ.	Vāḷtt'iyal	Ce. Māvaṉko P. Kāṉapper tanta Ukkirappĕru V. C. Irācacūyam veṭṭa Pĕrunarkiḷḷi
368	vākai	Marakkaḷavaḷi	Ce. Kuṭakko Nĕṭuṅceralātaṉ
369	"	"	Ce. Kaṭaloṭṭiya Velkĕḷukuṭṭuvaṉ
370	"	"	C.Cĕruppāḷiy ĕrinta Iḷaṅceṭcĕṉṉi
371	"	"	Talaiy. cĕruvĕṉra Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṉ
372	vākai	Marakkaḷaveḷvi	" " "
373	"	Marakkaḷavaḷi	

Pur.	Tiṇai	Turai	Hero (where stated in col.)
373	vākai	Marakkaḷavaḷi	C. Kuḷamurrattu t. Kiḷḷivaḷavan
374	pāṭāṇ.	Pūvainilai	Āy Aṇṭiran
375	"	Vāḷtt'iyal	" "
376	"	Iyanmŏḷi	Oymān Nalliyakkoṭan
377	"	Vāḷtt'iyal	C. Irācacūyam veṭṭa Pĕrunarkiḷḷi
378	"	Iyanmŏḷi	C. Cĕruppāḷiy ĕrinta Iḷańceṭcĕnni
379	"	Paricirrurai	Oymān Villiyātan
380	"	Iyanmŏḷi	Nāńcil Vaḷḷuvan
381	"	"	Karumpanūr kiḷān
382	"	Kaṭainilai	C. Nalaṅkiḷḷi
383	"	"	-
384	"	"	Karumpanūr kiḷān
385	"	Vāḷtt'iyal	Ampar kiḷān Aruvantai
386	"	"	C. Kuḷamurrattu t. Kiḷḷivaḷavan
387	"	"	Ce. Cikkarpaḷḷi t. Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Ā:
388	"	Iyanmŏḷi	Cirukuṭi kiḷān Paṇṇan
389	"	"	Naller Mutiyan
390	"	"	Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Ańci
391	"	Kaṭainilai	Pŏraiyārrukkiḷān
392	"	"	Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Ańci
393	"	"	C. Kuḷamurrattu t. Kiḷḷivaḷavan
394	"	"	Coliyav Enāti Tirukkuṭṭuvan
395	"	"	C. nāṭṭupiṭavūrkiḷārmakanpĕruńcāttan
396	"	"	Vāṭṭārr' Ĕliniyātan
397	"	Paricilviṭai	C. Kuḷamurrattu t. Kiḷḷivaḷavan
398	"	Kaṭainilai	Ce. Vańcan
399	"	Paricilviṭai	Tāmān Tonrikkon
400	"	Iyanmŏḷi	C. Nalaṅkiḷḷi .

CHAPTER IV

PURANĀNŪRU: KINGS

a) Introduction & Colas.

All save one of the four hundred individual poems of Puranānūru are in praise, direct or implied, of various patrons and their achievements. The exception is the Kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu, which was considered in the last chapter.[1] The patrons of these poems were mostly rulers of different areas of the Tamil country. Those featured in this anthology are not confined to any one of the Mūventar. These are the three 'dynasties' of Tamil kings, called Coḷa, Pāṇṭiya and Ceral.[2] The poems are about equally divided between those that praise one or other of the Mūventar,[3] those that praise Cirraracar, chieftains, and those with defective colophons whose patrons cannot be ascertained. 138 poems honour a Coḷa Pāṇṭiya or Ceral hero, 141 poems laud a chieftain, while the names of the heroes of 121 poems are lacking. This gives a total of four hundred, a figure arrived at since in four cases[4] poems praise two or three patrons simultaneously. As against this, however, two verses, Puram. 267 and 268, are missing altogether from the text as extant. There are therefore 397 poems in Puram. that praise patrons, known or unknown.

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1. v.s., pp. 85-88. 2. The reasons for calling the last Ceral rather than the usually accepted Cera are discussed in Chap. VI pp. 284. 3. Mūventar, three kings, from mūnru, three, +. An alternative is Mūvar, the three. For ventar, vide Kurun. 328, l. 6; Patirru. Pat. IX, l. 4. For mūvar, vide Puram. 109, l. 2, 122, l. 5. 4. Puram. 58, 62, 63 and 367.

The poems in Puṟam. are non-religious in character, though references to gods and religious ceremonies abound, as will be noted hereafter. Partaking of the nature of Praśastis, Panegyrics, they describe the courts and kingdoms of the munificent patrons to whom they are addressed. While much may be exaggeration, there is in these poems information on courtly customs and on warfare. Despite the fact that it is court poetry, Puṟam. also tells much of the inhabitants of the Tamil country, unaffected as they were by the dynastic feuds and quarrels that seem to have abounded. There are also references to the flora and fauna of the countryside.

It is proposed to consider these poems on the basis of the heroes they praise as given in their accompanying colophons, taking in this chapter the poems that praise the Mūventar. Those that praise chieftains and those with defective colophons are considered in the next chapter.

Poems in praise of Coḷa kings outnumber those in praise of the other two dynasties as featured in this anthology. They number 74 altogether, and thus more than half of the 138 poems on the mūventar are devoted to Coḷa rulers.[1]

It must again be stressed that in most cases the referring of the exploits described in any given poem to any particular ruler turns upon acceptance of the colophon that accompanies that poem. But, as K.N.Sivarāja Piḷḷai observes:

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1. See list on p.104 of Puṟam. poems devoted to Coḷas.

Cola kings who figure in Puranānūru.

Cola as given in Col.	Puram.no(s).	Poets.
1.Uruvappahrer Ilańceṭcĕnni	4	Paraṇar
	266	Pĕruṅkunrur kilār.
Nĕytalaṅkānal Ilańceṭcĕnni	10	Unpŏtipacuṅkuṭaiyār
Ce.Pāmaḷūr ĕ.Nĕy: "	203	" "
Cĕruppāli ĕ. "	370,378.	" "
2.Karikārpĕruvaḷattān	7, 224	Karuṅkulalātanār
	66.	Vĕṇṇi Kuyattiyār
	224.	
3.Muṭittalaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi	13.	U.E.Muṭamociyār
4.Irācacūyam veṭṭa Pĕrunarkiḷḷi	16	Pāntaraṅkaṇṇanār
	(367)[1]	Auvaiyār
	377.	Uloccanār
5.Nalaṅkiḷḷi	27-30	U.Mutu: Cāttanār
	31-3(45),68, 382 & 400	Kovūr kilār
	225	Ālattūr kilār
Ilavantikaippaḷḷi t.	73,75	Colan Nalaṅkiḷḷi
Nalaṅkiḷḷi Ceṭcĕnni	61.	Ko.Ē.Māṭ:M.Kumaran:
6.Kuḷamurrattu t.Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan	34,36,69	Ālattūr kilār
	35	Vĕḷḷaikkuṭinākanār
	37,39,226	Mār: Nappacalaiyār
	38,40	Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār
	41,46,70,386	Kovūr kilār
	42	Iṭaikkāṭanār
	227	Āvaṭu: Mācāttanār
	228	Aiyūr Muṭavanār
	393	Nalliraiyanār
	397	Ĕru: Tāyaṅkaṇṇanār
Kurāppaḷḷi t. " "	373.	Kovūr kilār
7.Māvaḷattān	43.	Tāmappalkaṇṇanār
8.Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi	44,(45),47.	Kovūr kilār
9.Kurāppaḷḷi t.	(58)	K.Kārikkaṇṇanār
Pĕruntirumāvaḷavan	60	U.Mar: Tāmotaranār
	197.	Ko.Ē.Māṭ:M.Kumaran:
10.Velpahraṭakkai Ppĕruvirarkiḷḷi	(62), (66)	Kalāttalaiyār
	(63).	Paraṇar

1. ( ) Shared with another hero or other heroes. For abbreviations in names of kings, see list of poems, p.91. For those in poets' names, see Appendix: List of poets in Puram. & Patirru.

Cola as given in Col.	Puram. no(s).	Poets.
11. Koppĕruńcolan	67, 212 213 214-216 219 220-223.	Picirāntaiyār P. Ĕyirriyanār Koppĕruńcolan Pūtanākanār Pŏttiyār
12. Por(a)vaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi	80-82 83-85.	Cāttantaiyār Nakkaṇṇaiyār
13. Colan Nalluruttiran	190.	Colan Nalluruttiran

"In the absence of any other contemporary writing by which we can check the references in these poems, these notes must remain the only source of information about the persons and events alluded to in the pieces." [1]

It will accordingly be found that these 74 poems in Puram. feature thirteen Cola rulers altogether, and it may be convenient to take them, with certain exceptions, in the order in which they appear in the text. All are mentioned in the above list, and it will suffice here to notice poems that are other than formal panegyrics unless these contain points of special interest or importance.

The first Cola is Uruvappahrer Iḷańceṭcĕnni, praised in Puram. 4 and 266. This king is mentioned in Pŏrunarārruppaṭai, one of the Pattuppāṭṭu as Uruvappahrer the father of Karikālan.[2] Puram. 4, by Paraṇar, praises the king in his chariot, bright as the sun, and extols the prowess of the four sections of his army, the footsoldiers, cavalry, men mounted on elephants and those who

1. CET, p. 47. 2. Pŏrunar. l. 130.

Cojo as given in Col.	Poem. role(s).	Poets.
11. Correspondence	97, 212 215 214-215 219 220-230.	Wolfram-eight F. Wyatt-eight Correspondence Chandler Pottiyte
12. Por(s)vaikkopunerati[1]	80-88 83-85	Cattanaiyar Sekkipuliyar
13. Colan Nallurattiran	180	Colan Nallurattiran

In the absence of any other contemporary writing by which we can [illegible] correct? correlate these notes, these notes must remain the only source of information about the persons and events alluded to in the verses.

It will accordingly be found that there is in Poem. Feature Eighteen Cojo rules altogether, and it was convenient to take them, with certain exceptions, in the order in which they appear in the text. All are mentioned in the above list, and it will suffice here to notice those that are other than formal genealogies unless these contain points of special interest or importance.

The first Cojo is Uruvappuhmer Ilanceiccenni, praised in Poem. 4 and 208. This king is mentioned in Poem. Eighteen, 1, of the Pattuppattu as Uruvappuhmer the father of Nalliyam. Poem. 4, by Kalkatti, praises the king in his chariot, bright as the sun, and extols his prowess on the lower sections of his army, the footsoldiers, cavalry, men mounted on elephants and those

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1. CET, p.47. 2. Poem. 1.180.

fight from chariots. In Puṟam.266, the last poem in the anthology for which the old commentary is extant, Pĕruṅkuṉṟūr kiḻār has the courage to tell the king, whom he addresses as Cĕṉṉi, of his financial plight and need for reward.

K.N.S.Piḷḷai[1] and other writers[2] are of the opinion that this ruler is the same as Nĕytalaṅkāṉal Iḷanceṭcĕṉṉi who ruled the fair maritime tract, praised in Puṟam.10, and who destroyed Pāmaḷūr[3] and Cĕruppāḷi[4]. There seems little reason to dispute this. Iḷanceṭcĕṉṉi may be regarded as the king's pesonal name, to which were prefixed various honorific titles. For example, Uruvappaṟṟer means "one possessed of fine chariots".

In Puṟam.10 Ūṉpŏti Pacuṅkuṭaiyār addresses the king as Lord of Nĕytalaṅkāṉam, and tells him that he has come to praise him. The king is able to assess the good and evil in those who come before him and reward or punish them accordingly. He feasts those who come with pleasantly cooked food. The colophon to Puṟam.203 states that Pāmaḷūr, conquered by Iḷanceṭcĕṉṉi, belonged to the Ceral[5], and that this panegyric also was composed by Ūṉpŏti Pacuṅkuṭaiyār. By the same poet are Puṟam.370 and 378 which celebrate Iḷanceṭcĕṉṉi as the conqueror of the hostile Pāḷi, stated by the TSS editor to be in Tŏṇṭaimaṇṭalam.[6] The former poem is a praśasti, but in the latter it is stated that the king laid low the Paratavar in the south and the Vaṭukar in

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1. CET Synchronistic Table, passim. 2. Puṟam.TSS edn.i,p.29; the editor states that Nĕytalaṅkāṉal was the king's birthplace. 3. Puṟam.203 col. 4. Puṟam.370,378 cols. 5. TSS edn.ii, p.9. 6. ibid. ii, p.349.

the north.[1]

Vaṭukar were the inhabitants of the area to the north of the Tamil country, and the term may be taken as referring to the Telugus. Since the word vaṭukaṉ is connected with vaṭakku, north, however, it is possible that the conquest of Vaṭukar refers to the victory at Pāḷi in Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam, which lay to the north of the Coḷa's domains. The Paratavar were inhabitants of the sea coast who seem to have built up a power of their own.[2] It is generally accepted that the name is to be connected with the Skt. bharata[3], though no reason has been offered for this. The word paratavaṉ means also trader, and it should be noted that there is a Kannaḍa word, paradu, meaning trade, merchant.[4] Assuming that the Tamil words for fisherman and trader are in fact one and the same word, it might be questioned as to whether paratavaṉ is connected with bharata, since there is a Kannaḍa word for trader showing a strong affinity to the Tamil word paratavaṉ.

The most interesting point about Puṟam.378 is that it contains a reference to the Rāma story. The smiles of those rewarded by Iḷanceṭcĕṉṉi are compared to

"The smiling of the female monkeys, bedecked with the ornaments that Sītā, carried away from Rāma by the mighty Rākṣasa, had let fall and which had been seen by the Monkey."[5]

Such a reference shows that the details of the Rāma story were known to Tamil writers at that time, and shows the

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1. Puṟam.378,ll.1,2. 2. Cp. Cil.V,25 & Maturaik., l.144.
3. Tam.Lex.p.2496,i. 4. Kittel,p.943,1. 5. Puṟam.378, ll.18 ff.

extent to which non-Tamil literature was current. The TSS editor merely observes that this reference shows that, at the time when Puṟam. 378 was composed, the Rāma-Rāvaṇa antagonism was not, albeit falsely, regarded as a contest between northern and southern Indians. It is difficult to see how such a conclusion can be reached from this evidence, one way or the other.

There are thus six poems in Puṟam. that praise the Coḷa Iḷańceṭcĕṉṉi. The first two, 4 and 266, are by different poets, but both praise him whose title Uruvappaḫṟer is given in the colophons. Poems 10, 203, 370 and 378 are all by one poet, and praise Iḷańceṭcĕṉṉi under three further titles. It is these titles alone, mentioned in the colophons, that give the place where the king was born, or possibly a special area over which he reigned, and the names of two places that he conquered.

The next Coḷa to appear in Puṟam. is Karikāṟpĕruvaḷattāṉ who is praised in Puṟam. 7, 66 and 224 by Karuṅkuḷalātaṉār, Vĕṇṇi Kuyattiyār and Karuṅkuḷavātaṉār respectively. There is some difference of opinion about the last-named poet. Both UVS and the editors of Caṅka Ilakkiyam regard Puṟam. 7 and 224 as the work of Karuṅkuḷalātaṉār and do not even mention a variant reading in the colophon to Puṟam. 224. The TSS editor, on the other hand,[1] states that Puṟam. 224 is the work of Karuṅkuḷavātaṉār presumably on the basis of a MS reading, though he does not say so. He cites a reference from a medieval inscription to the effect that the village of Karuṅkuḷam belonged to Karikāṟcoḷaṉ.

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1. TSS ii, p. 55; he cites ARE (Madras) No. 269 of 1928.

But unless he bases his argument upon a variant reading in the text also, it is hard to see why he has not made the same suggestion regarding the author of Puram. 7.

Both Pillai and Vithianandan are of the opinion that there were two kings of the name Kārikāl in the Caṅkam period.[1] Pillai's argument, which is followed by Vithianandan, is that there were two kings of this name, probably grandfather and grandson. Iḷanceṭcĕnni would be the son of Karikārpĕruvaḷattān or Karikāl I. The Karikālan (II) who is praised in two of the Pattuppāṭṭu, Pŏrunarārruppaṭai and Paṭṭinappālai, is not mentioned by Paraṇar, who on the other hand mentions a Karikāl who lived before his time. The victories of Karikārpĕruvaḷattān are not mentioned in the Pattu. among the victories of Karikālan. Paraṇar's contemporary Kapilar speaks of the poet Kalāttalaiyār as having preceded him.[2] Kalāttalaiyār wrote Puram. 65, which, according to its colophon, tells of Pĕruṅceralātan's fast unto death after defeat at the hands of Karikārpĕruvaḷattān at the battle of Vĕṇṇi. On the other hand, Karikāl (II) also fought a battle at Vĕṇṇi.

None of these points is particularly convincing, though, if taken together, they add up to a certain amount of evidence supporting the view that there were two Karikāls in the Caṅkam period. The argument from the silence of Pattu. regarding the victories of Karikāl (I, according to Pillai) is not conclusive; furthermore, a battle of Vĕṇṇi is mentioned in the Pattu., in

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1. CET pp. 91 ff; The P, p. 60. 2. Both cite Puram. 202, l. 12 in support of this view.

Pŏrunar. lines 143-8, among the victories of the Karikāl lauded in that poem; he is stated to have defeated the Ceral and Pāṇṭiya. It is presumably this to which Paraṇar referred when he wrote:

"Perumpĕyar Karikāl
ārkali naravin Vĕṇṇi vāyil
cīrkĕlu mannar maraliya ńāṭpin
imilicai muracam pŏru kalatt'ŏliya
ppatinŏru veliroṭu ventar cāya..." [1]

"On the plain of Vĕṇṇi where fine toddy is produced, the great Karikāl met in combat the famous kings; on the field of battle he destroyed their sounding drum and put down the (two) kings and eleven Velir chiefs."

In the light of this it would seem far-fetched to postulate that it was a Karikāl II, referred to in terms almost identical to those above, who was the hero of Pŏrunar., and that it was at a second battle of Vĕṇṇi at which he defeated the two kings. To achieve this, Pillai has had to make the second Karikāl live after Paraṇar.[2]

Paṭṭinappālai does not refer to this battle, but the same writers have not argued from this fact that yet another Karikāl is celebrated in that poem.

Assuming that Puram. 202 line 12 does imply that the poet Kalāttalaiyār lived earlier than Paraṇar's contemporary

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1. Akam. 246, ll. 8-12. 2. Textual references for this battle apart from Akam. 246 are: Akam. 55, ll. 10 &11, where Karikāl Valavan's foe is given as Ceralātan. Puram. 66, ll. 3-8; Nar. 390, l. 3, wherein the Cola is called Killi.

Kapilar, it must still be noted that it is only in the colophon to Puṟam.65 that Karikāṟpĕruvaḷattāṉ is named as the foe of Pĕruṅceralātaṉ. That the battle was at Vĕṇṇi is mentioned in neither text nor colophon, and since Kaḷāttalaiyār wrote no other poem extant that mentions Karikāl or Vĕṇṇi it is hard to see of what use his name is in assessing whether there were two Karikāls or not or whether either of them fought a battle of Vĕṇṇi against a Ceral.

While it may be suggested that there were in fact two kings who were called Karikāl, it would seem difficult to be as categorical as Piḷḷai on this point in the absence of any epigraphical evidence and of even attempted chronological writing in the extant literary sources.

It may finally be noted that the editors of Caṅka Ilakkiyam took the view that it was Karikāṟpĕruvaḷattāṉ, that is Piḷḷai's Karikāl I, who was praised in the two poems of Pattu.

As already seen, three poems of Puṟam. praise this king. In the absence of any special reason for following the TSS editor, it is proposed to follow UVS and others in taking both Puṟam.7 and 224 to be the work of the poet Karuṅkuḷalātaṉār.

Puṟam.224 includes an interesting note on vedic ritual: "The vedic sacrifice was completed at the place of the Yūpa which is a joy to kites, in the place of sacrifice surrounded by a ring of weapons." [1]

Poem 66 is by Vĕṇṇi Kkuyattiyār according to its

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1. Puṟam.224, ll.7-9.

colophon. In it the king's name appears in the vocative as Karikāl Vaḷava.[1] This poem contains the reference to the battle of Veṇṇi alluded to earlier.[2] It states that the Coḷa's foe, who is not named, won fame by sitting facing north through shame at receiving a wound in his back.[3] The enemy king is taken to be Pěruṅceralātaṉ and the deed is celebrated in the previous poem, Puṟam.65. But there is only the authority of the colophon to 65 for saying that the king was Pěruṅceralātaṉ. Veṇṇi is not mentioned in Puṟam.65 at all, nor in its colophon. All that can definitely be stated is that in two adjacent poems of Puṟam. the feat of a king who sat facing the north through shame at receiving a wound in his back is mentioned, that this king is the hero of Puṟam.65 and is the foe of Karikāl Vaḷavaṉ, as mentioned in 66. The only source for the information that the king who was ashamed of his wound was Ceralatan is, as far as texts are concerned, Māmulanār's poem that is numbered Akam.55. All modern writers agree that this practice entailed a fast unto death while sitting facing the north.[4]

These three poems are the only ones in Puṟam. to treat of a king the colophons call Karikārpěruvaḷattāṉ. It only remains to note that both Piḷḷai and Vithianandan, following upon their view that there were two Karikāls, have held that Karikāl II is represented in Puṟam. under the name of Kurāppaḷḷi ttuṅciya Pěruntirumāvaḷavaṉ.[5] Though he is not the next ruler to appear in

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1. l.3; cp.Akam.55. 2. v.s. p.110,fn.2. 3. Puṟam.66, ll.6-9. 4. e.g. CET, p.92, where Piḷḷai states that the practice is called in Skt. Sallekhana. 5. CET, p.131; the P., p.63, quoting Paṭṭiṉap. l.299 wherein Karikāl is called Tirumāvaḷavaṉ.

Puṟam. and first appears in poem 58, it may be well now to examine the poems that treat of this ruler. He figures in Puṟam. 58, 60 and 197, composed, say their colophons, by Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāviripūmpaṭṭiṉam, the physician Tāmotaranār of Uṟaiyūr, and Maturaikkumaranār, son of Māṭalaṉ of Ĕṟiccilūr in the Coḷa land.

Poem 58 is patently addressed jointly to a Pāṇṭiya and a Coḷa, one being spoken of as a scion of the Pañcavar[1], one of the Pāṇṭiya families, the other being addressed as lord of the cool Kāviri,[2] and of Uṟantai[3] (Uṟaiyūr). They stand allied to each other like two gods holding sway over their fertile domains, and the poet exhorts them to continue in that friendship. Only the colophon gives any clue as to the identity of the two kings; the Pāṇṭiya is Pĕruvaḷuti who died at Vĕḷḷiyampalam and the Coḷa is Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ who died at Kurāppaḷḷi.

Puṟam. 60 refers to the king as Vaḷavaṉ in line 10. It depicts the poet as journeying over hills and stony paths to the king's court. The troupe of dancing girls with him resemble peacocks when they see the moon. The king is bowed down by his duties like a beast of burden, yet his sword is unerring.

None of the three poems tells of any event at variance with the known information regarding Karikāṟpĕruvaḷattāṉ. They neither confirm nor deny that the person they extol was: a) a different person altogether from Karikāl of Puṟam. 7, 66 and 224, b) the same as the Karikāl II proposed by Piḷḷai, or c) different again from Karikāl II. The name Vaḷavaṉ may well have been used

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1. Puṟam. 58, l. 8. 2. ibid., l. 1. 3. ibid., l. 9.

of several Cola kings. The TSS editor[1], however, suggests that this king is the same as Karikārpĕruvaḷattān, addressed as Vaḷavan in Puram.66. This is a more reasonable idea than that of Piḷḷai and others who identify him with their Karikāl II who does not definitely figure in the Puram. at all as a separate person.

The third king to appear in Puram. is Muṭittalaikko Ppĕrunarkiḷḷi, who figures only in Puram.13, composed, states its colophon, by Muṭamociyār of Eṇicceri near Uraiyūr. This colophon further states that the poet composed this poem while standing with the Ceral king Antuvańceral Irumpŏrai on the roof of the Veḷ's palace.[2] This is a most interesting statement, as it suggests the contemporaneity of the particular Cola and Ceral rulers named.

Puram.13 describes the approach of the Cola upon his elephant, presumably on an official visit. The poet is plainly fretting at the predicament of his lord, whose mount seems to have got out of control:

"Like the ship amid great seas or the moon amid many stars, surrounded by swordsmen and seemingly coated with filth, the elephant does not seem to know those who approach him! May the king meet with no mishap! "[3]

The next Cola to figure in Puram. is named in the col. to Puram.16 as Irācacūyam veṭṭa Pĕrunarkiḷḷi, and the poet's name is given as Pāntarańkaṇṇānar. Pĕrunarkiḷḷi who performed the Rājasūya sacrifice figures in two other Puram. poems. In 367,

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1. TSS edn.i, p.441. 2. For this Veḷ, v.i. pp.185,215-6.
3. Puram.13,ll.5-9.

by the poetess Auvaiyār, he is praised jointly with the Ceral Māvaṅko and the Pāṇṭiya Kāṉapper tanta (or kaṭanta) Ukkirappĕru Vaḷuti. Puṟam.377 is stated in its colophon to be by Uloccaṉār. In the case of all three colophons UVS gives the form Irācacūyam, and does not note a variant reading. The TSS editor, however, gives that form in the case of 16, but the form Irāyacūyam in the case of 367 and 377.

In a note on the name of the author of Puṟam.16, the TSS editor suggests that Pāṇṭaraṉ was the name of the father of the poet Kaṇṇaṉār. This would involve a change in the place of articulation of the final 'alveolar' nasal -ṉ to that of the velar -ṅ- before the plosive k-. The final -ṉ is not normally subject to such a change,[1] while on the other hand the change of final -m to a nasal homorganic with a succeeding plosive is quite regular, as seen in the name of the author of Akam.54, Kŏṟṟaṅ Kŏṟṟaṉār. If the surmise of the TSS editor regarding Pāṇṭaraṅ Kaṇṇaṉār's name is correct, one must suggest a scribe's error in MSS. A variant noticed by the Lexicon, however, would connect the name with the dance of Śiva called pāṇṭaraṅkam. It is given as Pāṇṭaraṅkaṉār.[2]

In poem 367, the poetess Auvaiyār praises the three kings who were on one occasion all together in one place, says the colophon. She praises the fact that, though they quarrel among themselves, the Ceral Coḷa and Pāṇṭiya kings unite when threatened from outside. This poem contains a reference to the

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1. e.g. Maturaiy Iḷampālāciriyaṉ Centaṉ Kūttaṉār, author of Akam.102. 2. Ta.Lex. p.2596, col.ii.

brahmans as "twice born", irupirappāḷar,[1] and to the three sacrificial fires, muttī,[2] with which the three kings are compared. On the basis of the colophon to this poem, most modern writers assert the contemporaneity of Pĕrunaṟkiḷḷi, the Pāṇṭiya Ukkirappĕruvaḻuti and the Ceral Māvaṇko.[3] None of these rulers is mentioned by name in this poem, nor is Pĕrunaṟkiḷḷi addressed by name in Puṟam.16 or 377. But if this colophon is followed, it shows that the Coḻas Pāṇṭiyas and Māvaṇko were in a state of amity at that time. It may be suggested that Māvaṇko was one of the Ceralar at Vañci, since the colophon to Puṟam.125 states that Irācacūyam veṭṭa Pĕrunaṟkiḷḷi aided by Tervaṇmalaiyaṉ fought against Māntarañceral Irumpŏṟai.

The Coḻa Nalaṅkiḷḷi is the next to appear according to the Puṟam. colophons. He figures fairly prominently in this anthology, and is honoured in twelve poems.[4] Moreover, Puṟam.61 lauds a king called Ilavantikaippaḷḷi ttuñciya Nalaṅkiḷḷi Ceṭcĕṉṉi, and there seems little reason to dispute the view that this is the same Nalaṅkiḷḷi as appears in the twelve poems.[4] It may further be noted that, according to their respective colophons, Puṟam.73 and 75 were written by this king. These poems will be considered also in connexion with Nalaṅkiḷḷi. Excluding these two, the thirteen poems on Nalaṅkiḷḷi are the work of four poets according to the colophons.[4]

Poem 27 is of importance, since the name of the king

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1. Puṟam.367, l.12. 2. ibid., l.13. 3. e.g. Vithianandan, the P, p.61. 4. See list of Coḻas, p.104.

is attested by the text itself. In the colophon his name appears simply as Nalaṅkiḷḷi, but in line 10 of Cāttaṉār's poem he is referred to as Ceṭcĕṉṉi Nalaṅkiḷḷi. This may especially be noted in conjunction with the colophon to 61, which gives the name as Nalaṅkiḷḷi Ceṭcĕṉṉi. This confirms the view that the hero of 61 is the same as the Nalaṅkiḷḷi of the other poems, especially as both the author of 61 and Kovūr kiḷār, the author of many of the Nalaṅkiḷḷi poems have also written on another Coḷa ruler, Kurāppaḷḷi ttuṅciya Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ.[1] It is perhaps unlikely that two Nalaṅkiḷḷis flourished at the same time.

In line 15 of Puṟam.28, three of the puruṣārthas, aṟam, dharma, pŏruḷ, artha, and iṉpam, kāma, are mentioned in the course of a poem giving the king advice. An instance of the tendency to classify occurs in the same poem. In lines 1 to 3 are listed the eight congenital deformities, ĕṇper ĕccam.[2]

There is another reference to the puruṣārthas in Puṟam. 31 by Kovūr kiḷār, who says that just as artha and kāma attend upon dharma, so the Pāṇṭiya and Ceral kings wait upon the Coḷa Nalaṅkiḷḷi.[3] The poet also says that the king's horses range from the eastern to the western seaboard.[4] The ensuing poem calls the king conqueror of Vaṅci, the Ceral capital, and of Maturai, the city of the Pāṇṭiyas.[5]

The last poem of this first group on Nalaṅkiḷḷi contains a reference to his destruction of seven fortified places in the southern country,[6] presumably that of the Pāṇṭiyas.

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1. Puṟam.197 & 373 respectively. 2. Blindness, aborted embryo, dwarfness, dumbness, deafness, animal shape, congenital [illegible]

According to colophons accompanying Puṟam.44 and ensuing poems, Nalaṅkiḷḷi twice besieged another Coḷa prince, Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi, at Āvūr and at Uṟaiyūr. This will further be noted in discussing the poems on Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi, but poem 45 is addressed by Kovūr kiḷār to both the contestants. The poet points out the futility of the internecine strife between the two Coḷa princes:

"He does not wear the chaplet of white palmyra-flowers, nor does he wear the chaplet woven of dark-stemmed margosa. Your crown is of bauhinia and so is his ".[1]

This alludes to the emblematic plants worn by the Ceral, Pāṇṭiya and Coḷa kings respectively. There is no point in the quarrel since neither contestant wears the emblem of the sometime hostile Ceral or Pāṇṭiya, but both wear the family emblem of the Coḷar.

Poem 68 is an instance of Āṟṟuppaṭai, and is addressed to another bard. It tells of Nalaṅkiḷḷi's munificence as a patron. In poem 382 the poet Kovūr kiḷār mentions the name of the king, Nalaṅkiḷḷi. The poem tells how the poet meets some warriors who are full of the praises of Nalaṅkiḷḷi, but who have fallen upon hard times. The poet exhorts them to go to the king's court, where they will be well looked after. The last poem of Puṟam., 400, is also on Nalaṅkiḷḷi by Kovūr kiḷār. It is in an incomplete state owing to the poor condition of MSS at two points.[2] It too is a panegyric. Puṟam.225 is by Ālattūr kiḷār, who, like Kovūr kiḷār, has also written poems on Kuḷamuṟṟattu

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1. Puṟam.45, ll.1-4. 2. TSS edn.ii, p.469; the gaps are after lines 11 and 18.

ttuṅciya Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ, regarded by some as Nalaṅkiḷḷi's successor at Uṟaiyūr.[1] In this poem also the king is addressed as Ceṭcĕṉṉi Nalaṅkiḷḷi.[2]

Puṟam.73 and 75 are ascribed by their colophons to Nalaṅkiḷḷi himself. The former poem is regarded by the TSS editor[3] as composed in connexion with the quarrel with Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi to whom it is addressed presumably as a warning. The king says that he will do anything for someone who approaches and seeks a favour. But if someone opposes his will "like a blind man stumbling over a tiger sleeping in the open"[4], he shall scarcely escape with his life. If he does not trample upon his enemies, vows the king, let his garland be crushed by the embraces of courtezans.[5] Poem 75 is a meditation on kingship and the inevitability of death for king and commoner alike.

It will be seen that the Coḷa king Nalaṅkiḷḷi is fairly prominent in Puṟam., although very little concrete information about his rule is contained in the poems themselves.

The next Coḷa to figure in Puṟanāṉūṟu is called Kuḷamuṟṟattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ in the colophons. Pope[6] suggested that this king was the same as Kurāppaḷḷi ttuṅciya Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ, and regarded Kurāppaḷḷi as the same as Kuḷamuṟṟam, that is, pavilion by the tank. This point is perhaps confirmed by the information in the colophons that Kovūr kiḷār wrote poems both on Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam and on

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1. e.g. Kanakasabhai Piḷḷai: "Tamils 1800 years ago," p.75.
2. Puṟam.225, l.9. 3.i,p.132. 4. Puṟam.73, l.7. 5. ibid., 13,14.
6. I.A. Vol.XXIX p.250, fn.2.

Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ who died at Kurāppaḷḷi.[1] If these were one and the same person, it only remains to prove that Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ was the same person as Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ[2] of Puṟam. 58, 60 and 197 to confirm the rest of Pope's contention.

None of the poets mentioned as having praised Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ is credited with a poem on Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ, but it is worth noting that Āvūr Mūlaṅkiḻār, who wrote Puṟam. 38 and 40 on Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ, also composed Puṟam. 196 on the Pāṇṭiya Naṉmāraṉ, who is praised in Puṟam. 57 by Kārikkaṇṇaṉār, one of the panegyrists of Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ.[3] This suggests at least the contemporaneity if not identity of the last-named Coḻa with Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ. But the identity is not proven, and since Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ has been identified with Karikāl II by Piḷḷai, the poems in his honour have already been considered.[4]

There are nineteen poems in Puṟam. that praise Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ if we regard Kuḷamurram as synonymous with Kurāppaḷḷi.[5]

Puram. 34, 36 and 69 are attributed by their colophons to Ālattūr kiḻār who has already been mentioned as the author of Puṟam. 225 in praise of Nalaṅkiḷḷi. In 34 the king is addressed as Vaḷavaṉ in a praśasti. There is a reference to the sin of cutting the udders of cattle and that of abortion.[6] Puṟam. 36, according to its colophon, was addressed to Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ as he besieged Karuvūr, the Ceral city. Poem 69 is in the Āṟṟuppaṭai form, an address to a fellow-bard recommending to him one's patron. It

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1. Vide col.'s to Puṟam. 41, 46; 373, (UVS edn. p. 494). 2. Who, as already seen, has been identified with Karikāl II; v.s. p. 112. 3. Puṟam. 58. 4. v.s. p. 113. 5. See list, p. 104. 6. ll. 1 & 2.

mentions the king's name as Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ and also speaks of Uṟantai, the Coḷa capital.[1]

Puṟam.37,39 and 226 in praise of Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ are by Mārokkattu Nappacalaiyār according to their colophons. What is generally taken to be a reference to the Śibi story occurs in line 6 of Puṟam.37, wherein the king is addressed as "descendant of that Cĕmpiyaṉ who saved the dove from woe." The Lexicon[2] connects Cĕmpiyaṉ with Śaibya. That the Coḷas claimed descent from Śibi is comparable to the Pāṇṭiyas connecting their name with the five Pāṇḍavas. Both claims are perhaps hyperbole, and provide evidence of the way in which stories originating in Sanskrit epic were adopted in the Tamil land.

The same poem also contains an allusion to the "five-hooded nāga with its white teeth abounding in venom."[3] The poem describes the wrath of the king besieging a city. This poem may celebrate the siege of Karuvūr; it will be recalled that the colophon to Puṟam.36 mentions a siege of that place by Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ. In poem 39 there is a further reference to "the king who, by entering the scales, saved the dove ....(you are his descendant".[4] The same poem confirms that it was the Ceralar against whom the king waged war:

"Harrying the celestial one with the large chariot, you destroyed Vañci the indestructable."[5]

Both in this poem and in 226 the poet addresses his patron as Vaḷavaṉ.

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1. 1.12. 2. Tam.Lex.p.1594. 3. Puṟam.37,11.1 & 2. 4. 11.1,3. 5. 39,11.16,17; v.i.,p.317 & ff. for Vañci.

[illegible] the King's [illegible] or Hillivayan and also [illegible] of Dravid, the Cola capital.

Pgam.27, 39 and 92 in praise of Hillivayan are by [illegible] to Tondaiyar according to the in cola [illegible]. What is probably taken to be a reference to the [illegible] story occurs in line 3 of Pgam. 27, where in the line is addressed as "[illegible] or the Tondaiyar who saved the dove from [illegible]." The Lexicon[2] connects [illegible] with [illegible]. That the [illegible] clearly important is compatible to the Tondaiyar connection [illegible] with the Tondaiyar. Both claims are [illegible] properly, and provide evidence of the way in which stories originating in Sangam [illegible] were [illegible] in the Tamil land.

The same poem also contains a [illegible] of the "Tiruvalloor [illegible] with its [illegible] making in venom." The poem describes the [illegible] of the king [illegible]. [illegible] celebrate the [illegible] of [illegible] it will be [illegible] [illegible] colophon [illegible]. [illegible] mention a [illegible] of [illegible] by Hillivayan. In [illegible] 39 there is a further reference to the King who, by entering the [illegible], saved the dove .... (you are the [illegible]). The same [illegible] confirms that it was the [illegible] against whom the King waged war.

Surviving the [illegible] one with the Tiruvalloor, you mentioned Vanci the [illegible].

[illegible] in the poem and in the [illegible] addressed [illegible] as Valavan.

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1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]

Puṟam.35 is by Veḷḷaikkuṭi Nākaṉār, and is his only poem to find a place in Puṟam. Two of his verses figure in Naṟ.[1] There seems no justification for Pope's statement[2] that this poem is by the same poet as Puṟam.34 which, as just noted, is by Ālattūr kiḻār. The poem alludes to the pleasant Tamil land, protected by the three kings[3] and refers to the Kāviri river.[4]

Āvūr Mūlaṅkiḻār has a number of poems included in Puṟam. according to the colophons. Two are in praise of Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam. Puṟam.38, one of a number tranlated by Pope[5], is a praśasti. It is hard to agree with him that Indra is mentioned in the poem, though there is indeed a reference to paradise. The text says that "those who do good dwell in the garden of golden fruits."[6] In this connexion, Pope has a footnote to the effect that Vaḷavaṉ signifies Indra.[7] There is no mention in the text of the name Vaḷavaṉ, and no record of the Ta. vaḷavaṉ being a name of Indra, even were one to accept the doubtful suggestion of the Lexicon[8] that vaḷavaṉ is connected with the Sanskrit vallabha. Ta. vaḷam, with cognates in Telugu and Malayāḷam means fertility. Ta. vaḷavaṉ means either the king of a fertile land (here, the Coḷa), or cultivator.

Poem 40 contains a reference to siege, perhaps that of Vañci or Karuvūr already noted:[9]

"It was you who thought nothing of the mighty ramparts of the foe; you scaled them, and fashioned the gold of his crown

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1. Naṟ.158,196. 2. I.A. Vol.XXIX(1900)p.251. 3. Puṟam.35,ll.3,4. 4. ibid.,l.8. 5. I.A.ibid.,p.253. 6. ll.12,13. 7. I.A.,ibid. 8. Tam.Lex.p.3354, col.i. 9. v.s. p.121.

into anklets for your feet." [1]

This clearly indicates that the Colas foe was a king, one of the mūventar, since the crown, muṭi, is mentioned.

The poet Kovūr kilār, already noted as a panegyrist of Nalaṅkiḷḷi[2], has also written a number of verses in praise of Kiḷḷivaḷavan, namely, Puram. 41, 46, 70 and 386. Moreover, Puram. 373, written by him, praises Kurāppaḷḷi ttuṅciya Kiḷḷivaḷavan, and for reasons already noted[3] it seems probable that this was the same person as Kuḷamurrattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷivaḷavan.

Puram. 41 describes the terror that strikes the inhabitants of a country invaded by the Cola, and tells of the omens preceding that event:

"You conquer just when you please, O king, and even Kālan (Yama) pays no attention to his appointed hour." [4]

The colophon to 46 states that Kovūr kilār interceded for the children of Malaiyamān who, at the king's behest, were about to be trampled underfoot by elephants. He obtained their release. The king is addressed in the poem as the "descendant of the king who relieved the distress of the dove, and many other ills."[5] That these children were connected with Malaiyamān is in no way indicated by the text itself. If the colophon is correct, it would seem that Vaḷavan behaved in a curious way towards the members of a family who had helped Pĕrunarkiḷḷi[6] and Vaḷavan himself[7], since Nappacalaiyār records that Vaḷavan was hidden in

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1. Puram. 40, ll. 1-4. 2. v.s. p. 117. 3. p. 119; this is UVS reading the TSS ed. states it is an error in some MSS. 4. ll. 1 & 2. 5. 46, ll. 1 & 2. 6. Col. to 125. 7. 174, text & colophon. v.i., Chap. V, pp. 213 & 243-4.

Mullūr and then restored to his throne by Malaiyamāṉ Coḻiyav Eṉāti Tirukkaṇṇaṉ who, far from being Vaḷavaṉ's foe,[1] extolled his glory.[2]

In poem 70, Kovūr kiḻār addresses the king as Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ. In this poem there is a reference to Paṇṇaṉ Ciṟukuṭi.[3] Paṇṇaṉ was probably a Coḻa vassal who owned Ciṟukuṭi, and there are numerous references to him in the anthologies.[4] In his text, the TSS editor has the reading Paṇṇaṉ, as has UVS, but in his commentary he follows the old commentary in reading pāṇaṉ, bard, thus suggesting the other reading, pāṇaṉ, mentioned in UVS' edition.[5] Both this variant and pāṇaṉ in the old commentary may be errors for Paṇṇaṉ. The fact that in two collocations Paṇṇaṉ qualifies Ciṟukuṭi and that Ciṟukuṭi is mentioned a number of other times points to there having been a place of that name belonging to Paṇṇaṉ, and inclines one to favour Paṇṇaṉ Ciṟukuṭi in Puṟam.70 also. Despite his following the old commentary and reading pāṇaṉ, the TSS editor in his gloss on Puṟam.70 suggests that Paṇṇaṉ is in fact referred to here.[6]

Puṟam.373 is in a fragmentary state, portions of lines 9, 13, 14, and 18 being absent. It is largely a panegyric, but lines 23 and 26 contain a mention of the siege of Vañci and the war against the Kuṭanāṭu, the western land, which was one of the regions belonging to the Ceralar.

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1. The TSS ed. states that Malaiyamāṉ was the foe of Vaḷavaṉ, without comment. See i, p.128. He does not explain how, if that were so, Vaḷavaṉ was restored to power by Malaiyamāṉ as recorded by Puṟam.174; see also i, p.389. 2. ll.14-16. 3. line 13; v.i. pp.240-1, for discussion of Paṇṇaṉ. 4. e.g. Paṇṇaṉ Ciṟu: Akam.54, Puṟam.388; see also Naṟ.340,367. 5. p.144, fn. 6. i, p.184.

This is further proof that Kurāppaḷḷi, mentioned in the colophon to 373 as the place of Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ's death, is none other than Kuḷamurram mentioned in all the other colophons. The siege if the Ceral capital is the principal achievement of Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ according to these poems also.

Poem 386 gives some idea of the feasting at court:

"From fried meat drips the fat, like raindrops falling upon a broad lake. Dried meat is roasted and eaten. From bowls they drink cows' milk ..." [1]

Rather effective is the closing portion of this poem, describing the extent of the king's sway:

"Let her travel from west to east, let her voyage from east to west, let her go from south to north, let her even stay in the north; wherever the planet Veḷḷi (Venus) chooses to rest, there rests the foot of my lord!" [2]

Poem 228 on the same king is by Aiyūr Muṭavaṉār, states its colophon. It is a lament for the king "who has departed for the kingdom of the gods, tevarulakam." [3] The potter is requested to make an urn for the remains of Vaḷavaṉ descended from Śibi.[4] The commentary takes the "great mountain needed to provide clay for the pot" [5] to mean Mt. Meru, though there is no particular reason for such an interpretation.

The last two Puram. poems on Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ are 393 and 397. Puram. 393 is the sole extant poem by Nalliraiyaṉār. It is a praśasti on the part of a poor bard who has come from lands far

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1. ll.1-6. 2. ll.20-25. 3. l.11. 4. ll.9,10. 5. l.14.

away to praise the king "Vaḷavaṉ, the hero of the good land wherein flows the Kāviri."[1] Contrary to Pope's statement[2] that the author of Puṟam.397, Ĕrukkāṭṭūr Ttāyaṅkaṇṇaṉār is unknown save for this poem, he is credited with a number of other verses including Puṟam.356. The king is called Vaḷavaṉ in line 22 of 397 which describes the dawn, when the king is invited to inspect the splendour of his armies. There is a reference to "the six works performed by brahmans."[3]

This is the last poem on Kuḷamuṟṟattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷi Vaḷavaṉ in Puṟam. The main theme that runs through the poems written in his honour is that of his hostility to the Ceralar. Indeed, if the colophons as well as Puṟam.39 are taken into consideration, there is clear reference to his capture of the Ceral capital. By contrast, there is no mention in Puṟam. of his relations with his southern neighbours, the Pāṇṭiyas. His capital is given as Uṟantai in several places, but Kāviripūmpaṭṭiṉam, the city of Karikāl[4], is not mentioned. He is usually regarded as having died at Kuḷamuṟṟam, and this appears in all the relevant Puṟam. colophons save one, that to 373, which, in some MSS gives his place of demise as Kurāppaḷḷi. However, there seems little reason to doubt that the two names refer to one place; the name Kurāppaḷḷi may even be a scholiast's error.

The next Coḷa king to appear in Puṟam. is Māvaḷattāṉ, celebrated in one poem only, Puṟam.43, by the poet Tāmaṟpal Kaṇṇaṉār. The colophon states that Māvaḷattāṉ[5] was younger brother

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1. Puṟam.393,ll.23,24. 2. I.A.ibid.pp.282. 3. line 20.
4. Cp. Paṭṭiṉappālai, passim. 5. See chart, p.127.

Chart of Contemporaries A

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(41,46,70,373)                          (44,47)  (45)(31-3)
Kulamurrattu t.--KOVŪR K.-------Nĕṭunkilli & Nalaṅkilli Māvalattan
Killivalavan
 ""      ""     --ĀLATTŪR K.-----------------  "    "   -------*
(34,36,69)                                     (225) (61)
 ""      ""     --ĀVŪRMŪLAṄ K.--P.Ilavantikaippalli
                                 t.Nanmāran              ----------**
                 Akam.224        (196)          (57)
                   col.
                 PĔRUNTALAICCĀTTANĀR---------(Kumanan)
                                              (164,165)

*----------------K.Ĕ.M.M.KUMARANĀR---Kurāppalli t.
                                     Pĕruntirumāvalavan
                                     (197)
**---------------KĀRIKKAṆṆANĀR-------{ ""    ""    "    &
                                     {P.Vĕlliyampalattu
                                     t.Pĕruvaluti
                                     (58)
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Conventional signs, applicable also to subsequent charts:

——— brother. | son. ------ praised (by)

(100) Puram.v. col. colophon. ĀVŪR K. Poet's name.

Killi.King's name. (Kumaṇan). Chief's name. K. Kilār.

* , ** , continued (laterally, but) in section below.

(100)(200) verses on same hero by two poets; relate numbers to dotted lines leading left and right respectively.
(100,200) verses on hero by same poet.

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to Nalaṅkilli, who has already been considered. Both UVS and the TSS editor[1] are of the opinion that the poet was a brahman. The TSS editor says that Palkaṇṇan, the many-eyed, was a name of Indra, and that this is one reason for asserting that the bearer of that name was a brahman. This is hard to follow, since the use both of Sanskrit names and Tamil names referring to vedic and brahmanic deities has not been confined to brahmans in the

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1. TSS i, p.122; UVS p.39.

Tamil area.[1] More valid is his second point in favour of the poet being a brahman; this will be noted in considering the poem itself. The colophon states that Māvaḷattāṉ, the younger brother of Naḷaṅkiḷḷi, and Tāmaṟpalkaṇṇaṉār were playing dice. The prince grew angry and threw a piece at him. The poet rebuked him and made him feel ashamed. What the king actually did is nowhere mentioned in the poem. The poet addresses the king as younger brother of Kiḷḷi[2], saying that he is surprised that one descended from the king who saved the dove from the hawk should behave badly. His ancestors were always friendly towards seers, pārppār,[3] The king acknowledges that he is at fault and prays that the poet may live long by the Kāviri's banks.

The term pārppāṉ is always taken to mean brahman, and is connected by commentators with the Skt. brāhmaṇa.[4] The reference to these people in Puṟam.43 could mean that the king's forebears were kind to brahmans (of whom the poet was one), or that the king's forebears were kind to brahmans, a statement regarding one of the qualities of the royal house without any implications as to the poem's author.

The next Coḷa to figure in Puṟam. is given in the colophons to 44, 45 and 47 as Neṭuṅkiḷḷi. Poem 45 has already been discussed[5], as its colophon states that it was addressed jointly to Neṭuṅkiḷḷi and Naḷaṅkiḷḷi while they were engaged in civil war. Like 45, 44 and 47 are attributed to Kovūr kiḷār. Poem

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1. e.g. Kammāḷar or Paṅcāḷar, smiths who claim descent from Viśvakarman; see Hutton: "Caste in India" p.10. 2. 43, l.10. 3. ibid., l.14. 4. Tam.Lex.p.2617,col.i. Neither pārppāṉ nor the alternative pārppaṉaṉ show the -ṇ- of brahmaṇa. 5. p.118.

44, according to its colophon, was addressed to Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi on the occasion of Nalaṅkiḷḷi besieging him in Āvūr. It describes the privations of the besieged and begs the king to admit defeat and so cause the siege to be raised. The colophon to Puṟam.47 says that Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi died at Kāriyāṟu. It states that the poem was composed when Nĕṭuṅkiḷḷi was besieged at Uṟaiyūr and was about to have a poet called Iḷantattaṉ killed, thinking that he was a spy sent by Nalaṅkiḷḷi. The poem well describes the life of a poet, visiting one court after another seeking patronage.

Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ, said to have died at Kurāppaḷḷi, is lauded in poems 58, 60 and 197. He is the ninth Coḷa to appear in Puṟam., but since he is frequently identified with Karikāl poems in his honour have already been considered.[1] He has also been identified by Pope with Kuḷamuṟṟattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ, largely on the basis of the synonymity of Kurāppaḷḷi and Kuḷamuṟṟam.[2] However, K.A.N.Sāstri rejects the identification[3]; he is presumably following P.T.S.Aiyangar, since he quotes the latter's footnote,[4] but neither writer gives any reason for his view. Negative evidence is provided by the Puṟam. colophons; none of the panegyrists of Karikāl is recorded as having praised any other king, while poets who praised Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ have praised Nalaṅkiḷḷi and others.[5]

Poems 62, 63 and 368 of Puṟam. mention the Coḷa king Velpaṟṟaṭakkai Ppĕruviṟaṟkiḷḷi together with Nĕṭuṅceralātaṉ, king

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1. v.s. p.113. 2. v.s. p.119. 3. Coḷas, p.61. 4. P.T.S.Aiyangar "History of the Tamils" p.367 fn. 5. See List of Coḷas in Puṟam., supra p.104, also Chart on p.127.

of the Kuṭanāṭu.[1] The colophons further state that Pĕruvirarkilli was killed battling against Nĕṭuṅceralātan. Dr.K.A.N.Sastri does not put forward any conjecture regarding this king, but Pillai[2] identifies him with Imaiyavarampan Nĕṭuṅceralātan, hero of decade II of Patirruppattu. If the colophon to Puram.63 is accepted, Paraṇar wrote on this encounter. Paraṇar is also credited with writing the fifth decade of Patirru. in praise of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan, son of Nĕṭuṅceralātan by the Cola princess Maṇakkilli. This would tend to support the identification put forward by Pillai; at that time Paraṇar was a court poet of the Ceralar, and praised both father and son. The latter, however, does not appear immediately to have succeeded his father.[3] There seems no good reason for following Pillai's suggestion that Puram.63 was not written by Paraṇar but by an earlier poet.[4]

Puram.62 is by Kalāttalaiyār according to its colophon which also states that it was composed on the occasion of the death on the battlefield of the above-mentioned Cola and his foe Nĕṭuṅceralātan. The poem itself describes the carnage of battle upon which the she-devils and kites will feast, and refers to the fallen kings, though not by name. They have won the praise of the world and have departed for that land where (the gods) eat spiced foods, where flowers never fade, and (gods) do not blink.[5]

Puram.368 refers to the loss by the poet of all that

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1. Col. to 62. 2. CET Tables. 3. Patirru.Pat. III,IV,V and prose, though the durations of reigns given therein make it improbable that Cĕṅkuttuvan could have lived long enough to succeed his uncle and elder brother. 4. CET p.203, fn.
5. Puram.62, ll.16,17.

Nĕṭuṅceralātaṉ had given him save the garland round his own neck which Kaḷāttalaiyār received, a garland "like a serpent".[1] This poem, states its colophon, celebrates the giving of the garland by the king as he lay on the battlefield where he had fought with the Coḷa Pĕruviṟaṟkiḷḷi. It makes it quite clear that the poet Kaḷāttalaiyār was a bard of the Ceral rather than Coḷa court.

Puṟam.63, by Paraṇar, also treats of the battle between these two kings. Its colophon refers back to that for 62. It describes the battlefield and mentions the two kings as having fallen, "their breasts pierced by the spear."[2]

There is ground for suggesting that the Coḷa king Pĕruviṟaṟkiḷḷi was commemorated in the colophons to these verses only because he was the enemy of Nĕṭuṅceralātaṉ. The three poems all describe a battlefield on which two kings fell, and there is complete agreement among the colophons as to who the rivals were. Both Kaḷāttalaiyār and Paraṇar emerge as champions of the Ceral cause in the affair.

The next king to appear in the poems of Puṟanāṉūṟu is given in various colophons as Koppĕruṅcoḷaṉ.[3] The first two poems about him are by Picirāntaiyār according to their colophons. They are Puṟam.67 and 212. Poems 220 to 223 are by Pŏttiyār, while the king himself is credited with Puṟam.214 to 216. Poem 213 is by Ĕyiṟṟiyaṉār of Pallāṟṟūr, while 219 is by Pūtanākaṉār. According to the colophons, there seems to have been close amity between the king and the two first-named poets. The colophons to

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1. Puṟam.368, l.18. 2. l.9. 3. See Coḷa list, supra p.104.

Puṟam. 215 and 216 speak of the king desiring to see Picirāntai. The colophon to 217 states that Pŏttiyār wrote it on seeing Picirāntaiyār after the king had gone to the north. This journey to the north is mentioned in several colophons[1], and that to 218 suggests that Picirāntaiyār accompanied the king there, while that to 223 hints that Pŏttiyār went also. Pope has suggested[2] that the king went as an ascetic, perhaps to the banks of the Ganges. It is not clear from the poems themselves that the king actually made a journey to the north.

Puṟam. 67, addressed to a male goose, bids it linger awhile in the Coḷa land on its flight northward from the Kumari river, the southern limit of the Tamil country.[3] It may be conjectured that the writers of the colophons saw in this an allegorical mention of the king's trip to the north. We would prefer to regard it as a poetic device reminiscent of that which Kālidāsa employed in the Meghadūta. It doubtless arose from observation of migrating birds. This poem is noteworthy inasmuch as it contains the name of the poet Picirāntaiyār, less the honorific suffix -ār:

" Pĕruṅko Kkiḷḷi keṭkav irumpicir
āntaiy aṭiyuṟai ĕniṉe ... "[4]

" Say only that you dwell at the feet of the Owl of Picir when the great Kiḷḷi asks (who you are)."

Whether Owl of Picir (Picir was a village near Maturai) was the actual name or a nickname of the poet, or whether the

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1. Cols. to 191, 214, 216, 217, 219, 220. 2. I.A. XXVIII(1899)p.29.
3. 67, ll.7,8. 4. ibid., ll.11,12.

phrase "picir āntai" with the addition of the honorific suffix -ār was adopted by scholiasts as a name for the poet in default of his real name cannot now be ascertained. Cases of such 'phrase-names' are not uncommon in the anthologies.[1]

Both poem 67 and 212 employ the word Koḷi as a name for the Coḷa capital Uṟantai, or Uṟaiyūr as it is called in the colophons. This may represent an earlier form of the word from which was derived the name Coḷa, with the earlier velar replaced by a palatal in the same way that the Skt. Kerala doubtless represents Drav. *Keral, which appears even in the anthologies as Ceral.[2] It should be noted that the form Coḷiya for Coḷa is also found.[3] If this suggestion connecting Koḷi with Coḷa is correct, the story in Cilappatikāram that Uṟaiyūr was called Koḷi, cock, because of the defeat there of an elephant by a cockerel may be dismissed as folk etymology designed to explain a name whose significance had by then been forgotten.[4]

King Koppĕruṅcoḷaṉ is referred to as Pĕruṅko Kiḷḷi in line 11 of poem 67 and as Koppĕruṅcoḷaṉ in line 8 of poem 212. This poem contains a clear reference to the friendship of the king for the poet Pŏttiyār that was mentioned above:

"Pŏtti' naṉpiṟ Pŏttiyoṭu kĕḷīi ..." [5]

"Friendly with Pŏtti whose affection is flawless."

There is a play on the poet's name, Pŏtti, and pŏtt'il, faultless. The poet may have been named after the town Pŏtti

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1. e.g. author of Naṟ.71, Vaṉṉappuṟakkantarattaṉār; line 8 of 71: "vaṉṉa ppuṟavin̄ cĕṅkāl cĕvāl", the red feet of the richly coloured cock pigeon. 2. cf. Burrow, BSOAS(1943)p.126. 3. e.g. Tŏl.Cŏl.cū.167. 4. Cil.X,ll.277-8 & comm. 5. 212,l.9. Further on

which belonged to the Colas. He is credited with four poems on Koppĕruṅcolan, Puram. 220-223. Moreover, the colophon to 217 says that Pŏttiyār wrote it on his fellow-bard Picirāntaiyār. This poem will also be considered here.

The colophon to 220 states that Pŏttiyār wrote it when, sorrowing, he returned to Uraiyūr after going to the north with the king. The poet compares Uraiyūr without its king to an elephant-stall without its elephant, and says that the king Kiḷḷi has gone.[1] Both Pope[2] and the TSS editor[3] take this as meaning that he died, the latter stating that pokiya, gone, is used instead of a word meaning dying as that would have been inauspicious. It is possible however that the poet literally meant what he said, and that he was sorrowing because the king had left Uraiyūr. In that case "pokiya" would be taken with "pericai mūtūr" which follows it at the beginning of line 7.

Puram. 221, however, contains clear reference to the king's death. The poet says that death took no heed of the king's greatness and chivalry, but carried off his sweet soul. The poet's fellow-bards should join him in reviling death.[4] In 222 Pŏttiyār upbraids the king for asking him to go away until his, Pŏttiyār's, son was born. The poet displays his affection for the king if only by the way he censures him, and it seems impossible to agree with Pope that they were not words of love.[5] The colophon to 223 states that it was written while the poet also was in the north, and tells of the amity between poet

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1. l.6: "Tervaṇkiḷḷi pokiya .." 2. I.A. XXVIII(1899)p.32.
3. ii, p.48. 4. 221, ll.7-10. 5. Pope, I.A., ibid.

which belonged to the Duke. He is credited with four poems on Cupid's mischief, [illegible]. Moreover, the colophon to all seven that Pottinger wrote it on his yellow-cured Richmond[illegible]. This poem will also be considered here.

The colophon to the sixteen that Pottinger wrote it when, sorrowing, he returned to Bright after going to the north with the king. The poet compares Bright without his king to a [illegible]-small without its elephant, and says that the king will be gone. Both [illegible] the Pottinger take this as meaning that he died; the latter states that Pottinger, [illegible] used instead of a word meaning dying so that would have been inappropriate. It is possible however that the poet literally meant what he said, and that he was sorrowing because the king had left Bright. In that case "Pottinger" would be taken with "poetical mistr" which follows it at the beginning of line 2. Lyrical, however, contains clear reference to the king's death. The poet says that death took no heed of the king's greatness and chivalry, but carried off his sweet soul. The poet's yellow-cured should join him in reviling death. The Pottinger made the king's remaining kin to keep away until the king, Pottinger's son was born. The poet displays his affection for the king in spite of the way he conducted himself, and it seems impossible to argue with him that they were not lovers of love. The colophon to 255 states that it was written while the poet was in the north, and tells of the enmity between poet

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1. L.c. "Pottinger[illegible] mistr ..." 2. L.c. XXVIII(1889), 25. 3. [illegible]. 4. 251. III.7-10. 5. Pope, L.c., 1[illegible]

and king.

Puṟam. 217 was written by Pŏttiyār when he saw the poet Picirāntaiyār join the king in the north. The poet marvels at Picirāntaiyār daring to make the journey to foreign parts for the sake of his friendship for the Coḷa king.

Individual poems on Koppĕruṅcoḷaṉ are 213 and 219, by Ĕyiṟṟiyaṉār and Pūtanākaṉār respectively. In both cases, these poems are the only work of their authors to survive. The col. to 213 states that it was addressed to the king going out to fight against his own sons. The poem itself confirms this; it begs the king to desist from attacking his own sons since, if he defeats them, he will have no-one to succeed him. The colophon to 219 says that it too was addressed to the king while he was in the north.

Poems. 214 to 216 will also be discussed here, as Koppĕruṅcoḷaṉ is stated by their colophons to have composed them. That to 214 says that it was composed by the king while in the north. The poem praises asceticism and says that men may attain bliss in some future birth. If, however, there is no future birth as some assert, let a man at least be as famous as the Himālaya and die with unblemished body.[1] This poem shows that the early Tamils were aware of speculation regarding Saṃsāra. The colophon to 215 states that when people around Koppĕruṅcoḷaṉ said that Picirāntaiyār would not come to him, he refuted them:[2]

"He stood by me when I was wealthy, will he not do so

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1. Puṟam. 214, lines 10 ff. 2. Puṟam. 215, lines 8,9.

when I am in need?"

In the same poem, the poet is referred to as "he of Picir in the good land belonging to the southern king".[1]

Puram. 216 is in similar strain. When asked his name, says the king, Picirāntaiyār would call himself "the foolish Cola".[2] Pope seems to have misunderstood this passage; he has:

"He was wont to call me, by virtue of his intimacy, the silly Côran."[3]

The difficulty arises owing to the sequence of reflexive and personal pronouns in the passage:

"Tanpĕyar kiḷakkuṅ kālaiy ĕn pĕyar
petaiccolan ĕnnun ..."[4]

The poet may indeed have been a court buffoon or jester similar to those at European courts in the middle ages or to Tĕnāli Rāmuḍu at the court of Vijayanagara.

It remains but to notice two more poems in connexion with Koppĕruṅcolan. Poem 191 of Puram. was written by Picirāntai, says the colophon, when asked by those at court why he was not grey-haired although old. This was after the king had travelled to the north and had been joined there by the poet. The poet says that he is youthful in appearance because he has a good wife and children, worthy servants, and a king who does no wrong and who protects him.[5] Puram. 218 is by Kaṇṇākanār according to its colophon, which also says that the poet composed it on

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1. 215, ll.6,7. 2. 216, ll.7,8. 3. I.A. XXVIII(1899)p.30.
4. 216, ibid. 5. 191, ll.3 to 5.

seeing Picirāntaiyār. The poem itself displays no obvious sign of this occurrence. The theme is that just as gold, coral, pearls and precious stones can be strung harmoniously into a single necklace, so the famous exist together, as do the infamous.

This set of poems connected with Koppĕruṅcolan forms a distinct group that is rather more closely-knit than poems on most kings appearing in this anthology. The king is called Kiḷḷi in two of them, each by a different author, while in 212 his full name as it appears in colophons is included in the poem itself. To the author of 67 and 212, then, he was known as Kiḷḷi and Koppĕruṅcolan, provided one accepts the general view that they tell of one and the same person. Poem 67 contains the name of its author, while 212 mentions the friendship of the king for another poet, Pŏttiyār. Little is said about the king's activities, but the colophons consistently refer to a northward trip on his part. The writers of the colophons may have seen a figurative reference to this in 67, addressed to the goose as it flies north. On the other hand poem 220 suggests that the king left his capital, if only in the sense that he died, while 215, attributed to the king himself, shows that at some stage he became poor. Taken into account with his own speculations in 214, this may suggest that he had a reason for going into exile, and was possibly an ascetic. He was joined by his poets Pŏttiyār and Picirāntaiyār. Nothing is told of the king's political activities save the strife with his sons, which may have been a reason for exile. Nothing emerges to

place Koppĕruṅcolan in the general framework of this period of the Colas save statements that he was a Kiḷḷi and ruled at Uraiyūr. This latter is attested by one poet only, Picirāntaiyār in Puram. 67 and 212.

Lastly, nothing is said about this king in other anthologies or in Pattu., nor does anything emerge from the picture of him in Puram. that can be substantiated by reference to other anthologies. Of the poets who speak of him? Picirāntai alone finds a place among other anthologies[1] and alone is said to laud another king, Pāṇṭiyan Arivuṭai Nampi.[2] This ruler is likewise hard to place in the Pāṇṭiya line, and it is possible that both he and Koppĕruṅcolan were either later than the main group of rulers treated in the anthologies, or were feudatories or members of a rival clan.

Colan Porvaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi will now be discussed.[3] He is celebrated in one group of poems only, Puram. 80 to 85. These are the work of two poets, Cāttantaiyār and Nakkaṇṇaiyār, daughter of Pĕruṅkoli Nāykan according to the colophons.

The old commentary to Puram. 80 says that the Tittan mentioned therein[4] was the father of Pĕrunarkiḷḷi. This person is identified by modern writers with Vīrai Veṇmān Vĕḷiyan Tittan who figures in Nar. 58.[5] There is nothing in Puram. to support such an identification. Furthermore, the identification of Porvaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi with Tittan Vĕḷiyan, also accepted by modern writers,[6] is nowhere attested by the text of Puram.

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1. Author of Akam. 305 & Nar. 91. 2. Puram. 184. 3. Another reading is Poravaikko. 4. 1.6; comm. UVS p. 160. 5. CET p. 73. 6. Ibid. p. 75.

K.G.Sesha Aiyar, furthermore[1], has identified Porvaikko Ppĕrunarkiḷḷi with Vĕḷiyan Veṇmān, who was the father-in-law of Nĕṭuṅceralātan according to Patikam II of Patirru. It may be well here to discuss the whole question of these identifications, and to begin by listing the persons involved:

Vĕḷiyan Veṇmān (Patirru.Pat.II & prob. Akam208)

Nallini, his daughter "

Vĕḷiyan Veṇmān Āay Ĕyinan "

Vīrai Veṇmān Vĕḷiyan Tittan (Nar.58)

Tittan Vĕḷiyan (Akam.152 & 226)

Tittan (Puram.80,352,395; Akam.6,122)

Aiyai, his daughter (Akam.6)

Porvaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi (Colophons to Puram.80 to 85)

Of these eight names, the first four are nowhere in the texts connected with the Colar or their capital Urantai. On the other hand, the names of all of them include the element veṇmān, a person of the Veḷir clan, and the fourth name includes the element Vīrai. Akam.206, line 13, states that this was a place belonging to the Veḷs. It seems safe to suggest that these four persons were members of the Veḷir and to follow the suggestion of the TSS editor of Akam., N.M.Veṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭar,[2] that Āay Ĕyinan was the son of Vĕḷiyan Veṇmān. We may therefore suggest that he was the brother of Nallini, and therefore uncle of Nĕṭuṅceralātan, and draw up a table as follows:

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1. "Cēra Kings of the Śangam Period", p.10. Aiyar follows Piḷḷai, CET pp.78-9, who quotes Akam.208. 2. Akam.TSS edn.ii, p.174.

Veḷiyaṉ Veṇmāṉ

Āay Ĕyiṉaṉ — Nalliṉi=Utiyaṅceral

Neṭuṅceralātaṉ

In the second group of four names, both Tittaṉ Veḷiyaṉ and Tittaṉ are mentioned as lord of Uṟantai.[1] It seems safe to regard them as one and the same person. There seems no reason to follow the suggestion that Tittaṉ Veḷiyaṉ is to be regarded as the son of Veḷiyaṉ Tittaṉ, the Veḷ lord of Vīrai, because the two elements in the latter's name are seen transposed in that of Tittaṉ Veḷiyaṉ.[2]

It may well be that it was Tittaṉ (Veḷiyaṉ) who is referred to in Puṟam. 80, and that Porvaikkoppĕrunaṟkiḷḷi was his son, and not the son of Veḷiyaṉ Tittaṉ, lord of Vīrai, as modern writers contend.[3] But the text itself does not say so, and it is only in the old commentary that says that Tittaṉ was Kiḷḷi's father.[4] If this surmise is correct, then Aiyai was Kiḷḷi's sister:

Tittaṉ (Veḷiyaṉ) lord of Uṟantai

Porvaikkoppĕrunaṟkiḷḷi (Comm. on Puṟam. 80) — Aiyai (Akam. 6)

It is just possible that the elements common to the various names listed above allow us tentatively to interrelate the two groups as follows:

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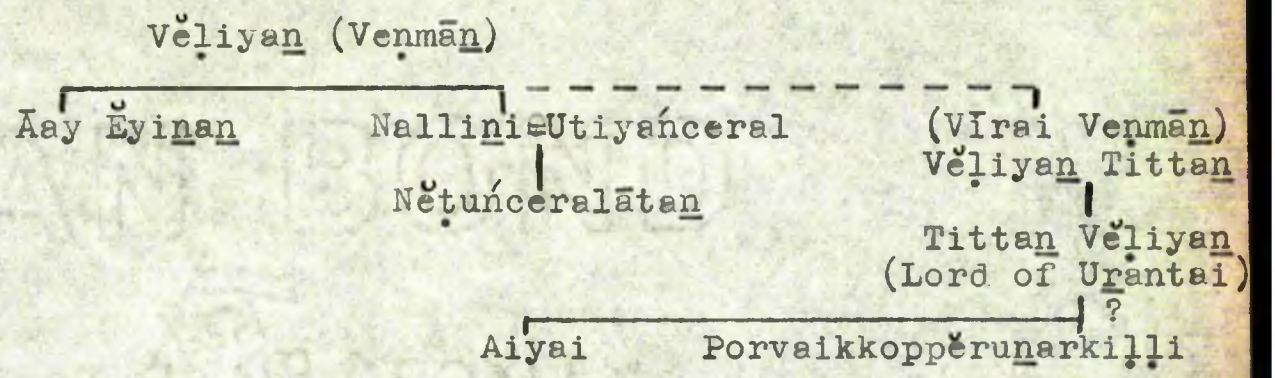
1. By Paraṇar: Tittaṉ Veḷiyaṉ, Akam. 226; Tittaṉ, Puṟam. 352, 395, Akam. 6 & 122. 2. Who was named after his grandfather, cf. Vithianandan, the P., p. 27. 3. e.g. Pillai: CET p. 75. 4. Puṟam. comm., UVS edn. p. 160.



It must be stressed that, where the above is constructed purely on the basis of the names, the connecting line is dotted. In the case of Vĕḷiyaṉ Tittaṉ, the name would be regarded as a possessive compound wherein the genitive of vĕḷiyaṉ is not expressed, and we have to postulate the omission of the element veṉmāṉ as not being a personal name of Vĕḷiyaṉ Tittaṉ's 'father' but an appellation common to several Veḷir. The same structure would apply in the case of Tittaṉ Vĕḷiyaṉ, uncomplicated by there being any general appellation added to his father's name.

Only on the basis of relating the Veḷirs discussed to the Coḷas can any interrelationship between the latter and Nĕṭuńceralātaṉ be suggested.

Pillai and others regard Porvaikkoppĕruṉaṟkiḷḷi as one of the earliest Coḷas to rule at Uṟantai. Such a view is based on the assumption that he was the son of the Tittaṉ who is said to have captured Uṟantai from a ruler of Ārkkāṭu (Arcot) called Centaṉ. This latter assumption is based on a variant reading of a single line in Kuṟun., favoured neither by UVS nor the Samājam editors. Kuṟun. 258, line 4, is: "Entu koṭṭiyāṉai Ccentaṉ ṟantai", "The father of Centaṉ who possesses elephants with uplifted tusks." This is presumably Aḷici, who is mentioned as ruler of

Ārkkāṭu and father of Centan.[1] The variant reading in the Kurun. line is " ... Centan Urantai", which would mean "Urantai that belongs to Centan." As already seen, this reading has not met with universal favour; it is noted by UVS who follows the other reading.

A point against reading "Centan Urantai" in Kurun.258 is that it would occur in a Paraṇar poem, and that poet says in Akam.122 that Tittan ruled Urantai. If the colophons ascribing these two poems to Paraṇar are accepted, it would seem unlikely that in one case he should say that Urantai belonged to one family and in another to a second, unless he lived through the period in which such a change of ownership took place, in which case he would presumably have made more than passing reference to it. Since Paraṇar praised both Velpahraṭakkai Ppĕruvirarkiḷḷi in Puram.63 and his successor Uruvappahrer Iḷańceṭcĕnni in Puram.4, both of whom may be presumed to have come later in the Cola line than Tittan, he was doubtless referring to an earlier period when speaking of Tittan, and it would have been pointless to refer in similar terms to Centan. The view of Pillai[2] and others as to the capture of Urantai by the Colas may accordingly be set aside.

As already noted,[3] one of the panegyrists of Porvaikko Ppĕrunarkiḷḷi was Cāttantaiyār, and their colophons attribute Puram.80 to 82 to him. In 80, the writer exhorts Tittan to see how his hero has beaten Mallan of Āmūr at wrestling. It is

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1. Nar.190, l.4. 2. CET pp.67 ff. 3. v.s. p.138.

impossible to say whether this was in fact a personal combat, or whether the poet is alluding to a battle, and playing upon the name of the foe, Mallan, wrestler. A third possibility is that, while it was a personal combat, the name of the adversary is not present in the phrase "Maint'uṭai mallan"[1], which is to be translated "The mighty wrestler". The general opinion, however, is that Mallan is a personal name. In this connexion it may be noted that Malla was the name of several Pallavas.

Tittan is begged "whether he will or no"[2] to see the feat of Porvaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi. This suggests that there was some animosity between Tittan and the hero of the poem, and writers such as Pillai have read into this a quarrel between father and son.[3]

Puram. 81 and 82 both allude to the chaplet of ār, bauhinia, a flower of special significance to the Colas.[4]

Poems 83 to 85 are ascribed by their colophons to the poetess Nakkaṇṇaiyār, and 83 leaves little doubt that she was in love with the king. In it she describes her fear, both of her mother and of the assembly, because she has caressed the shoulders of the king.[5]

The only Cola remaining to be discussed in connexion with Puram. is Colan Nalluruttiran, who is given as the author of Puram. 190. The TSS editor[6] is of the opinion that this king came after the main group of Colas praised in these poems, and

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1. Puram. 80, l. 2. 2. Ibid., l. 5. 3. CET pp. 74-5; For transl. of Puram. 80, v.s. Chap. II, p. 50. 4. 81, l. 3; 82, l. 6.
5. For transl. v.s. Chap. II, p. 64. 6. TSS i, p. 427.

gives the name Nalluruttiran as a reason for his view. He does not elaborate on this, but he presumably refers to the fact that Ta. Uruttiran is to be connected with the Skt. Rudra. But it will be seen shortly[1] that two names of Pāṇṭiya kings , namely Ukkirappĕruvaluti and Pūtappāṇṭiyan are to be connected with Skt. words also. Nalluruttiran's poem contains reflections upon friendship, and tells nothing of his life or deeds.

This concludes a survey of the Colas as they appear in the text and colophons of Puranānūru. As stated earlier, there are 74 poems in this anthology which praise Cola kings. From the point of view of this text, the most important are Killivalavan who died at Kulamurram and Koppĕruṅcolan. The latter is of special interest, as he does not seem to be commemorated outside this collection. On the other hand, Karikāl, who figures considerably both in Pattu. and in other works, is not prominent in the poems of Puram.

b) The Pāṇṭiyar are praised in 37 poems in this anthology.[2] Twelve Pāṇṭiya rulers and one queen are featured in these poems, according to the accompanying colophons, and the verses are the work of 23 poets. None of the poems is anonymous. In three cases[2] Pāṇṭiya rulers and a Pāṇṭiya queen are credited with authorship of poems. In two poems, 58 and 367, Pāṇṭiya rulers are praised jointly with Colas.

The first Pāṇṭiya to appear in Puram. is given in the colophon to Puram.3 as Karuṅkaiy Olvāṭpĕrumpĕyar Valuti. This

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1. v.i.,p.162. 2. See list of Pāṇṭiyar in Puram. p.145.

Pāṇṭiya kings who figure in Puranānūru.

Pāṇṭiya as given in Col.	Puram.no(s).	Poets.
1. Karuṅkaiy Ŏḷvāṭpĕrumpĕyar V.	3.	Irumpiṭarttalaiyār
2. Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Pĕruvaluti	6 9,12,15 64.	Kāri kilār. Nĕṭṭimaiyār Nĕṭumpalliyattanār
3. Talaiyālaṅkānattuccĕruvĕnra Nĕṭuńcĕliyan	18,19 23,25,371 24,26,372 72 76-79.	Kutapulaviyanār Kallāṭanār Māṅkuti kilār T.c.Nĕṭuńcĕliyan Iṭaikkunrūrkilār
4. Kānapperĕyil kaṭanta Ukkirappĕruvaluti	21 (367).	Aiyūr Mūlaṅkilār Auvaiyār
5. Kūṭakārattu t.Māran Valuti	51 52.	Aiyūr Muṭavanār Marutaniḷanākanār
6. Ilavantikaippalli t.Nanmāran	55 56 57 196 198.	Maturai " " M.Kaṇakkāyanār m.N. K.Kārikkaṇṇanār Avūr Mūlaṅkilār V.V.Pericāttanār
7. Vĕḷḷiyampalattu t.Pĕruvaluti	(58).	K.Kārikkaṇṇanār
8. Cittiramāṭattu t.Nanmāran	59.	Cīttalai Ccāttanār
9. Ŏllaiyūr tanta Pūtappāṇṭiyan	71,	Ŏ.t.Pūtappāṇṭiyan
Pūtapāṇṭiyanrevi Pĕruṅkoppĕṇṭu	246 247.	P.Tevi Pĕruṅkoppĕṇ: M.Perālavāyār
10. Kaṭaluḷ māynta Iḷampĕru V.	182.	K.mā.Iḷampĕru V.
11. Āriyappaṭai kaṭanta Nĕṭuńcĕliyan	183.	Ā.k.Nĕṭuńcĕliyan
12. Arivuṭai Nampi	184 188.	Picirāntaiyār Arivuṭai Nampi.

ruler is identified by Pillai[1] both with Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Pĕruvaluti, celebrated in Puram.6, 9, 12, 15 and 64, and with Vĕḷḷiyampalattu ttuńciya Pĕruvaluti, celebrated with the Cola

1. CET pp.132-133.

Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ in poem 58.[1] Pillai does not explain why he identifies the hero of Puṟam.3 with these two rulers, but the identification of these two with each other he explains thus:

"I am inclined to identify this Veḷḷiyambalattu tuñciya Peruvaḷudi with Palyāgasālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi on the ground that there could be only one Pāṇḍiya king to come between Neḍuñceḷiyaṉ II and Neḍuñceḷiyaṉ III in the Tables."[2]

Pillai is once again using his own Synchronistic Tables which, carefully contrived as they are, are hardly proven, as evidence to support his theories, and it is hard to follow such reasoning.

It is true that all three names include the element Vaḷuti. It would seem permissible to regard this as a family name of perhaps tribal origin. Five such names occur in Pāṇṭiya nomenclature, Vaḷuti, Māraṉ, Cĕḷiyaṉ, Pāṇṭiyaṉ and Kavuriyaṉ. Attempts have been made[3] to connect the last two names with the Skt. Pāṇḍava and Kaurava respectively, without satisfactorily expaining the change of the -ava of the Skt. patronymic Pāṇḍava into Ta. -iya(ṉ). There is no reason seriously to suggest any connexion between the rival factions in the Mahābhārata war and a Tamil kingdom. However, it is just possible that the kings of Maturai adopted these two names as grandiloquent titles.[4] In the same way, the name Pañcavaṉ, anothe name used by Pāṇṭiyar, has been connected[5] with the Skt. pañca, as alluding to the five

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1. v.s. p.113. 2. CET pp.131-2. 3. e.g. M.Raghava Aiyangar in Cĕntamiḷ VIII, p.10. 4. Cp. The Royal Scots, known as Pontius Pilate's Bodyguard. 5. Pañcavar: Puṟam.58,l.8: see Dorairangasami, p.113.

family names just noticed. On the other hand, this name could be connected with Ta. paṅcu, cotton, for which the Maturai country has been famous since Kauṭilya.[1] In the state of our knowledge, however, it must be admitted that none of these family names is capable of certain derivation.

Two other Pāṇṭiya rulers figuring in Puṟam. are given the name Vaḻuti,[2] and in one case at least these family names are not mutually exclusive. The hero of Puṟam. 51 and 52 is given as Māṟaṉ Vaḻuti who died at Kūṭakāram. There seems no reason to identify with each other any of the five kings who are called Vaḻuti, and they will be discussed separately.

The personal name of the poet who wrote Puṟam. 3 in honour of Karuṅkaiy Oḷvāṭpĕrumpĕyar Vaḻuti has not survived. He is known in the colophon by the phrase-name 'Irumpiṭar Ttalaiyār' after a phrase in Puṟam. 3, line 11:

"Pĕruṅkai yāṉaiy irumpiṭar ttalaiy iruntu ..."

"The elephant on which you sit has a large trunk[3] and a huge neck." This line evidently struck the redactor of these poems as forceful enough to provide a nickname for the poet who composed it. Whether such phrase-naming was a regular academic practice[4] or was only done where the poet's real name was not known it is impossible to decide.

The Pāṇṭiya is addressed as "Scion of the Kavuriyar"[5] and also as Vaḻuti.[6] No events are referred to, the poem being

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1. Artha. Ch. II: mādhuram. Vide K.A.N.S. "Pandyan Kingdom", p.14 fn.
2. Cols. to Puṟam. 21, 51. 3. Pĕruṅkai; cp. Skt. hastin.
4. Cp. names given to bards in the Eisteddfodd. 5. 3, l.5.
6. ibid., l.13.

straightforward flattery, but there is an interesting passage about burial:

"You are famous for assuaging greed of those who come, their cupidity writ large upon their faces. As beggars they have come to you along the road that passes the tree of omen, hard of access, wherein dwells the kite with hooked beak and fine plumage. In that place is a new cairn of stones for those who fell before the arrows of cruel-eyed warriors, whose gleaming shafts go not astray, when they are on the watch from their place of observation, their eyes shaded with their hands. Such places are uninhabited and are far away; without water they are difficult to dwell in." [1]

The Pāṇṭiya whose name is given in the colophons as Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Peruvaluti is praised by three poets.[2]

Poem 6, attributed to Kāri kilār, opens with a fairly conventional definition of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom's boundaries, with the addition of what lies above and below:

"Northward lies the tall mountain range wrapped in mist, southward is the rich flowing Kumari river, to the east, mountainous seas, and to the west the ancient ocean. Beneath is the place whence the waters arise according to the old ordnance whereby there are three joined (i.e. earth, air and heaven). Above, is there not the paradise for cattle?"[3]

The king's foes will no longer be able to avoid capture inevitable as Yama's snare.[4] The king has taken many forts

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1. 3, ll.17-26. 2. See List of Pāṇṭiyas in Puram., supra p.145.
3. 6, ll.1-7. 4. ibid., ll.9,10.

surrounded by green fields.[1] Let those who would circumambulate the temple of the three-eyed god (presumably Śiva) make their obeisance to the king.[2] There is a reference to "the four hidden things", nāṉmaṟai, in line 20. This term is generally understood to refer to the four vedas, and such an interpretation seems most likely, especially when, as here, nāṉmaṟai occurs in collocations with muṉivar, sages.[3] It is to be presumed that, by this time, the Atharva was ranked with the three other vedas, in the Tamil mind at least. Purnalingam Pillai suggests in his "History of Tamil Literature" that the term Nāṉmaṟai alludes to upaniṣads, and not to the saṃhitās.

In a panegyric, Neṭṭimaiyār in Puṟam.9 describes the king as protector of seers, brahmans whose nature is as gentle as that of cows, women and the sick.[4] He also prays that the king's diadem may last as long as the sands of the Paḥruḷi,[5] a legendary river south of the Kumari, which was thought to have been swallowed up by the seas.

Much has been made of these lines by modern writers:

"Eṅko vāḻiya kuṭumi, taṅko
cennīr ppacumpoṉ vayiriyarkk'īṭṭa
munnīr viḻavi' neṭiyo'
naṉṉīr Ppaḥruḷi maṇaliṉum palave." [6]

"May our king live long, like the sands of the Paḥruḷi of the fine water, belonging to the mighty one who celebrated the festival of the three waters, giving much fine gold to his

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1. 6, l.14. 2. ibid.,l.17,18. 3. Connected with Skt. muni, id.
4. 9, ll.1,2. 5. ibid., l.11. 6. ibid., ll.8-11.

minstrels."

The old commentary, included by the TSS editor, sees in nĕṭiyon, line 10, a proper name and implies that Nĕṭiyon actually constructed the river: "Nĕṭiyonāl ulatākappaṭṭa nalla nīraiyuṭaiya Pahruḷi ...". This would perhaps have been a justifiable assumption were we to take nĕṭiyon as meaning the god Viṣṇu, in which sense the word is used in Cil.[1] But Pillai sees in this Nĕṭiyon a predecessor of Nĕṭṭimaiyār's patron, and one who actually constructed the river. Such an episode may be no less mythical than the river itself, and the text offers no justification for such an interpretation. It merely suggests that Pahruḷi belonged to the nĕṭiyon, god or man.

In support of his belief that Nĕṭiyon was a Pāṇṭiya, Pillai quotes Maturaikkāñci, lines 759 to 763, which refer to Palcālai Mutukuṭumi by name:

"Palcālai Mutukuṭumiyi'
nalveḷvi tturai pokiya
tollāṉai nallāciriyar
puṉar kūṭṭ'uṇṭa pukal cāl cirappi'
nilantara tiruvi' nĕṭiyon pola ..."

"Like the renowned one whose wealth was in lands and who was of high fame, higher than that of the wise men of authority who went to the place where Mutukuṭumi made fine sacrifices."

Even were it conceded that nĕṭiyon was here a personal name, there is nothing in this passage to show what relationship he or Mutukuṭumi had towards Nĕṭuñceliyan, hero of Maturaik. Yet

1. Cil., VIII, line 1.

Pillai asserts that they were grandfather and father respectively of Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan. Since Pillai is at pains to identify this Nĕṭiyon with Nĕṭiyon in Puram.9, it would imply that Mutukuṭumi's father had constructed the Pahruḷi river. It is impossible to see any validity in these contentions about the word nĕṭiyon. It might be argued that, in the passage from Maturaik. just quoted, nĕṭiyon means Viṣṇu and tiru means Lakṣmi, and translate: "Like Viṣṇu, whose consort gives one wealth in land."

There is nothing in the passage to show that nĕṭiyon was the name of a Pāṇṭiya king, or that "nilantaru tiruvin" was a Pāṇṭiya's title. Yet Pillai and Vithianandan talk freely of a Nilantaru Tiruvil Pāṇṭiyan.[1] A similar phrase occurs in conjunction with the word nĕṭiyon earlier in the poem:

"Nilantanta perutavi
ppŏlantār mārpi' nĕṭiyon umpal ..."[2]

"The descendants of the famous one who had the bright garland on his chest, who was a great helper who gave lands."

In short, nĕṭiyon may or may not have been a proper name, and it may have been that of a Pāṇṭiya. Even were that so, there is no evidence from Maturaik. or Puram. that he was related to Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan or Mutukuṭumi. There is a possibility that these three passages refer to a mythical ancestor of the family. If so, there is still nothing in Puram.9 to justify the assertion that he constructed the Pahruḷi river.

In Puram.15, the poet marvels at the valour of the king,

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1. e.g. CET, pp.120, 121. 2. Maturaik. ll.60,61.

and the vedic sacrifices he performed. This poem may provide a clue to the title given him in all colophons, Palyākacālai, a title appearing nowhere in the extant texts:

"You have completed many renowned sacrifices which, together with oblations of ghee and spices in the sacrificial fire the smoke of which ascends to heaven, have been ordained in the four vedas and in treatises (on dharma, comm.). Many are the broad places of sacrifice in which you have erected yūpas." [1]

Poem 64, by Nĕṭumpalliyattaṉār, is likewise a praśasti. In line 6 appears the phrase "Kuṭumi kkomāṉ", the king with the diadem. Like the use of the word kuṭumi, crown, diadem, in Puṟam. 6, 9 and 12, this may account for the king's title Mutukuṭumi that appears in the colophons. In no case does the word occur as a Munnilai, Vocative, so that it is difficult to decide whether kuṭumi is a name or not. It was evidently so taken by the writer of the colophons who, unless he was a contemporary or had to hand material now lost, can have had little indication from these poems as to which Pāṇṭiya king they were about.

The next Pāṇṭiya to appear in Puṟam. is given as Talaiyālaṅkāṉattu ccĕruvĕṉṟa Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṉ. Of the Pāṇṭiyas who figure in Puṟam. he occupies the most prominent place; thirteen poems are in his honour.[2] Moreover, he is the Pāṇṭiya to whom the longest poem in Pattu., Maturaikkāñci, is dedicated.

Pillai is of the opinion that there were three Pāṇṭiya kings to bear the name Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṉ and that, of these, the hero of Talaiyālaṅkāṉam was the third.[3] On examining the texts on

1. 15, ll.17-21. 2. See List, p.145. 3. CET passim.

he bases this view, it appears hard to be so dogmatic. Pillai takes his evidence from Akam., and Akam.296, states Pillai,[1] refers to Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan I :

"Pericai Kkŏrkai ppŏrunan vĕnvel
kaṭumpakaṭṭu yānai nĕṭunter Cĕliyan ... "

"Cĕliyan of the high chariot, who has many fierce elephants, who has the conquering spear, and who is lord of the famous Kŏrkai (the port at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇi)."

According to its colophon, this poem is by Maturai Pperālavāyār, who is also credited with a poem on Pūtappāṇṭiyan's wife, which will shortly be noticed.[2] For his other reference to Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan I, Pillai cites a passage in Paraṇar's Akam.116:

"Maiyaṇi yānai marappor Ccĕliyan
pŏyyā vilavin Kūṭar parantalai
uṭaniyaint'ĕlunta iru pĕru ventar
kaṭal maruḷ pĕrumpaṭai kalaṅka ttākki ..." [3]

"Cĕliyan, strong in war, whose elephants are decorated with kohl, routed on the plains of Kūṭal (Maturai), where festivities never end, the armies great as the ocean of the two great kings that had clashed (with him)."

These passages may or may not refer specifically to Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan and, in the case of the passage in Akam.296, the TSS editor of Akam. says that it does refer to him.[4] But nĕṭu, high, tall, qualifies ter, chariot, in that passage, and not Cĕliyan. If the passages refer to Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan, there is no reason to suppose that it was a different one from the victor at

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1. CET Tables. 2. Puram.247; v.i.p.172. 3. ll.13-6. 4. ii,p.354.

Talaiyālaṅkānam. As for the passages that according to Pillai refer to a Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan II, we find that they do not include even the element Cĕliyan, but refer to a Pacumpūṭpāṇṭiyan, a name that does not figure in Puram. colophons.

On textual evidence, then, there is no reason to suppose there was more than one Pāṇṭiya called Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan. These texts may refer to the hero of Talaiyālaṅkānam or to some other holder of the Pāṇṭiya 'family' name Cĕliyan.

No reference to the victory at Talaiyālaṅkānam occurs in the colophons to Puram. 18 and 19, wherein the king is called Pāṇṭiyan Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan. But there is no reason to dispute the view of UVS and the TSS editor that Puram. 18 and 19 praise the same Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan as do poems 23, 25 and others. Pillai suggests that[1] Talaiyālaṅkānam was near Nīṭāmaṅkalam in Tanjore District. There is no need to contest this suggestion. Poems on this king are the work of five poets according to the colophons.[2] One of them, 72, is stated to be the work of the king himself. None of the panegyrists of Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan save Kallāṭanār is credited with the praise of any other king or chief. He is the author of Puram. 385 and 391 on Ampar kilān Aruvantai and Pŏraiyārrukkilān. As neither of these chiefs found praise at the hands of another poet, neither their names nor Kallāṭanār's help in linking Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan as a contemporary with any other king or chief.

The only poem that hints as to Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan's contemporaries is Akam. 36, by Maturai Nakkīrar, in which the

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1. CET p. 144. 2. See List, supra p. 145.

enemies of the Pāṇṭiya at (Talai) Ālaṅkāṉam are given as Ceral and Cĕmpiyaṉ, Titiyaṉ, Ĕḷiṉi and Ĕrumaiyūraṉ.[1] The mention of Titiyaṉ is of special interest since from Akam.126[2] he seems to have been the son of Veḷ Ĕvvi who was also defeated by Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṉ[3], making father and son foes of the Pāṇṭiya. Ĕḷiṉi is doubtless Atiyamāṉ Pŏkuṭṭ'ĕḷiṉi, son of Aṅci, the patron of Auvaiyār.[4] This would make Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṉ an elder contemporary of Coḷaṉ Kuḷamurrattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ and Pāṇṭiyaṉ Ilavantikai ppaḷḷi ttuṅciya Naṉmāraṉ.[5] As will be seen, the son of Māṅkuṭi kiḷar, Maturai Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉār, praised Naṉmāraṉ, making him a younger contemporary of Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṉ, who is lauded by Māṅkuṭi kiḷar in Puṟam.24, 26 and 372.

The first two poems on Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṉ are attributed to Kuṭapulaviyaṉār and represent the only extant work of this poet. They are numbered 18 and 19 in Puṟam. In both the king is called Cĕḷiyaṉ. In poem 18 the poet tells the king about a drought in part of his kingdom. Poem 19 is important as it praises the king for his triumph at Talaiyālaṅkāṉam.[6] Despite this, he is not called Talaiyālaṅkāṉattuccĕruvĕṉṟa in the colophon.

The poet Kallāṭaṉār is credited by colophons with Puṟam.23, 25 and 371. 23 praises the king for his victory and contains a reference to the kaṭimaram, the emblem tree, of the enemy, the uprooting of which was taken as a sign of defeat on the part of those who possessed it. Poem 25 describes how the

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1. Akam.36,ll.14-17. 2. ll.13-16. 3. Puṟam.24,ll.18ff. 4. For Ĕḷiṉi and Aṅci vide Chap.V, pp.202 ff. 5. For reasons vide Chap.V and Chart on p.158.. Ĕrumaiyūraṉ seems to have been a Vaṭukaṉ; cf.Akam.255,ll.18,19. He is not a Puṟam.hero. 6. l.2.

widows of kings and chiefs killed in battle by the Pāṇṭiya tore their hair and beat their breasts in anguish at their widowhood; in this poem the king is addressed as Cĕḻiyaṉ. In 371, Kallāṭaṉār praises the king for his victories in battle. This might refer to his more famous victory at Talaiyālaṅkāṉam or to the battle near Maturai against a Coḻa and a Ceral.[1]

Māṅkuṭi kiḻār is credited with Puṟam. 24, 26 and 372 in praise of Nĕṭuṅcĕḻiyaṉ. Three other poems in Puṟam. are stated to be by this poet[2], but, as their colophons are defective, the subject of praise cannot be determined. Two other poems by this poet also survive, Kuṟun. 302 and Naṟ. 120. Māṅkuṭi kiḻār, the lord or squire of Māṅkuṭi, is generally identified with Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉār, the author of Maturaikkāñci.[3] It should be noted that the two names exist side by side in Kuṟun., Kuṟun. 164 appearing as the work of Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉ. It is curious that one poet should go under two names in one anthology as, to judge from UVS' preface, each extant MS of text alone contains the whole work. One must presume that these MSS were copied from older, fragmentary ones, made perhaps by various scribes. A further complication is that three poems, Kuṟun. 173, Naṟ. 123 and Akam. 89 are, according to their colophons, by Maturaikkāñcippulavar. There seems even less reason why Kuṟun. 173 should be ascribed to 'the author of Maturaikkāñci' when Kuṟun. 164 is attributed to Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉ by name. However, there is no reason to doubt that these two are one and the same person. With regard to Māṅkuṭi kiḻar some reservation may be made. While there is a

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1. Akam.$_{116}$, v.s. p.153. 2. 313,335,396. 3. cf. Samājam, passim.

probability that he was in fact Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉ, it is possible that the two names were stressed by redactors in order to distinguish from each other two panegyrists of Nĕṭuṅcĕḻiyaṉ.

Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉār is generally taken to have been the son of the poet just noted;[1] he is the author of the section of Kali. entitled Marutakkali and of a number of poems in Akam. He is further credited with the authorship of five poems in Puṟam. The colophons to two of these, 55 and 349, give his name as Maturai Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉār, while those to 52, 138 and 139 give it as Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉār. The question arises as to whether this discrepancy is deliberate or not. The general opinion is that the two names refer to one person; therefore Puṟam. 52, which lauds Pāṇṭiyaṉ Kūṭakārattu ttuṅciya Māṟaṉ Vaḻuti, was written by the same poet who praised Ilavantikaippaḷḷi ttuṅciya Naṉmāṟaṉ in Puṟam. 55. These Pāṇṭiyas should therefore have succeeded each other or have been collateral princes. If Iḷanākaṉār was in fact the son of Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉ, then these two Pāṇṭiyas should closely have succeeded Nĕṭuṅcĕḻiyaṉ. The difficulty arises in deciding whether the element Maturai in the name of the author of Puṟam. 55 and 349 was intended to distinguish one Iḷanākaṉār, son of Marutaṉ, from another, or whether it was meant to distinguish one Marutaṉ(ār) from another. If Maturai qualifies the whole compound, then there is no reason to suppose that that Iḷanākaṉār was not the son of Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉār; his own provenance being that of Maturai. But if the compound has the more usual pattern whereby the first member would govern the

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1. CET p.147, followed by Vithianandan, The P. p.46.

Chart of Contemporaries B

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                                  (367)*
          AIYŪRMŪLAṄ.K.-----Kāṉapperĕyil kaṭ.---AUVAIYĀR-------*
                            Ukkirappĕruvaḷuti              --(Aṅci)
2 Chiefs--KALLĀṬAṆĀR--------   ""      ""                     |
(385,391)                   (23,25,371)                        |

          MĀṄKUṬI (K.)      (24,26,372)
             MARUTAṆĀR------Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṉ ⚔(Ĕrumaiyūraṉ)+(Ĕḷiṉi)+
                            (Maturaik.)
                |                                          ┌──────*
(Nāṅcil----M.MAR.IḷANĀKAṆĀR--I.paḷḷi t.Naṉmāraṉ--V.V.PERICĀTTAṆ.
 Vaḷḷuvaṉ)                  (55)         (198)
 (138,139)                     "     "     "     --K.KĀRIKKAṆṆAṆ.-‡
                                              (57)
                          --Kūṭakārattu t.------AIYŪR MUṬAVAṆ.-‡
                            Māraṉ Valuti                        *
                            (52)      (51)

*----------------Ce.Māvanko
                C.Irācacūyam----------ULOCCAṆĀR
                vetta Pĕrunarkiḷḷi
                (367)*       (377)
 (Veḷ Ĕvvi)
     |
+(Tiṭiyaṉ)
            Vaṭama Vaṇṇakkaṉ
*           |
 ┌──────────────────────────┐
                        (172)
              V.V.TĀMOTARAṆ--(Piṭṭaṅkŏrraṉ)
*{-------------------------------  "      "    --}
 {--C.Kurāppaḷḷi t.              (169,171)(170)  }U.M.TĀMOTARAṆ.
   Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ-------------------------}
   (58)          (60)            (31-33)
*---C.Kuḷamurrattu t.--KOVŪR K.---C.Naḷaṅkilli
*  Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ-------M.NAPPAC:--(Malaiyamāṉ Tirumuṭikkāri)
   (228)(37,39)                  (126)
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For conventional signs, v.s. p.127.

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second, the Iḷanākaṉār must be taken as the son of Marutaṉ of Maturai, with perhaps an implied antithesis to 'the other Marutaṉ' of Māṅkuṭi. Represented schematically, the two patterns are: A qualifies (B+C); and (A+B) qualifies C.

The argument as to: a) whether there was one Iḷanākaṉār

or two and b) whether he (or one of them) was the son of Māṅkuṭi Marutanār is of importance in determining whether: a) Māran Valuti who died at Kūṭakāram was contemporaneous with Nanmāran who died at Ilavantikaippaḷḷi, or b) either of these Pāṇṭiyas was contemporary with Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan or succeeded him.[1]

In Puram. 24 and 26, Māṅkuṭi kilār addresses his patron as Cĕliyan.[2] Poem 24 contains a direct reference to the capture of two Veḷir areas by Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan, Milalai belonging to Ĕvvi[3] and Muttūru. According to the old commentary,[4] both these names refer to areas around the two towns named rather than just to the towns themselves. UVS notes that both places are mentioned in copper-plate grants of a later period from Tiruppūvaṇam.[5] The first is doubtless the modern Tiruvīlimilalai in Tanjore Distt. Both Veḷs probably held these lands as Cola fiefs. The poet prays that the birth-star of the king may shine steadily and that the star of the enemy may set.[6] In 26, the poet states that Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan, surrounded by those versed in the four vedas, had performed many sacrifices.[7] Puram. 372 says that he performed the sacrifice on the battlefield "where the arrows fell like rain":[8]

"In a hearth fashioned from the heads cut from your stubborn foes the rows of bael-wood faggots glowed. Ladles of Prosopis-wood were poked into the holes in the skulls, and gruel was cooked by the childless demonesses. This, rejected by men, is offered by the devils' cook to the goddess of Victory."[9]

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1. See Chart, p.158. 2. 24,l.23; 26,l.11. 3. v.s.,p.155 & Chart on p.158. 4. Area: kūrram; UVS p.60. 5. Ibid., p.606,fn. 6. 24, ll.24,25. 7. 26, ll.13-15. 8. l.4. 9. ll.2 ff.

Puram.72 is attributed to Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan himself. In it, he tells of his anger at hearing other kings taunt him for his youth,[1] and how he scattered them in battle.[2] He also mentions the friedship of poets, the chief of whom was Māṅkuṭi Marutan.[3] This supports the identification of Māṅkuṭi Marutanār with the Māṅkuṭi kilār of the colophons.

The last group of poems in praise of Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan is formed by Puram.76 to 79. Iṭaikkunrūr kilār is given as the author. These four poems are his only extant work. In 76, it is stated that, doubtless at Talaiyālaṅkānam, the Pāṇṭiya fought alone against a confederacy of seven.[4] The old commentary says this consisted of the two other kings and five Veḷ chiefs.[5] The TSS editor states that these five were Titiyan, Ĕlini, Ĕrumaiyūran, Iruṅkoveḷ and Pŏrunan,[6] but does not give his source for this.[7] The king is referred to in line 9 as "Nāṭu kĕlu tiruvir pacumpūṭ Cĕliyan", Cĕliyan of the gold ornament, whose wealth is in land. This is of interest as the poem is on Talaiyālaṅkānattu ccĕruvĕnra Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan according to its colophon. As already seen,[8] Pillai contends that there were three Nĕṭuṅcĕliyans, and that Nilantaru tiruvi' nĕṭiyon of Maturaik. line 763 was a title of his Nĕṭuncĕliyan II.[9] Moreover, there are a number of references to a Pacumpūṭpāṇṭiyan which Pillai again takes as alluding to his Nĕṭuncĕliyan II.[10] With regard to the "Nāṭu kĕlu

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1. 11.2 ff. 2. 1.8. 3. 11.14 ff. 4. 11.1,12. 5. UVS p.155. 6. TSS i,p.199. 7. The first three chiefs and the two kings are mentioned in Akam.36 as N's foes at Alaṅkānam. 8. v.s.,pp.152 ff. 9. CET Tables. 10. Kurun.393; Akam.162,l.21; 253, and 266,ll. 10 to 14.

tiruvir pacumpūṭ Cĕliyan" of Puram.76 he has apparently paraphrased it as Pannāṭu tanta Pāṇṭiyan and appropriated the whole passage for his Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan II,[1] despite the accompanying colophon. There is perhaps justification for taking pacumpūṇ as a title of Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan who conquered at Talaiyālaṅkānam, and so taking the references in Kurun. and Akam.[2] as referring to him rather than creating another Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan (II) for them as Pillai seems to do. Again, the close parallel of "Nāṭu kĕlu tiruvir.." of Puram.76 with "Nilantaru tiruvir.." of Maturaik., line 763, allotted by Pillai to Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan II should be noted.

In poem 76, Iṭaikkunrūr kilār describes the king as garlanded with margosa and balloon-vine in the fight,[3] and, in similar terms in Puram.77 he marvels at the young king on the battlefield and prays that his chaplet of margosa and balloon-vine may not fade.[4] Poem 78 is similar; the poet notes how hostile kings have taunted Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan for his youth.[5] In 79, the poet tells how the king has gone to war garlanded with margosa, after bathing in a pool in his ancient city.[6] His foes are many and, as daylight is brief, some may escape.[7]

It will be seen from the foregoing that the name of Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan, at least in the form of Cĕliyan, is well attested in these poems, and that references to his hostilities against Cola and Ceral and victory over them at Talaiyālaṅkānam and his annexation of lands in the Cola country are quite clear.

The next Pāṇṭiya to appear in Puram. is given in the

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1. CET Tables, ibid. 2. v.s. p.160, fn.10. 3. ll.4,5. vempu & ulinai, Azadirachta indica & Cardiospermum resp. 4. ll.2,3,6. 5. ll.6,7. 6. ll.1-4. 7. ibid., ll.5,6.

colophon to Puṟam.21 as Kāṉappereyil kaṭanta Ukkirappĕruvaḷuti. He figures in this poem and in 367 only. In the latter he is praised jointly with the Cera Māvaṇko (Mārivaṇko in some MSS) and the Coḷa Pĕrunaṟkiḷḷi.[1]

Pillai observes[2] that this king is the only Pāṇṭiya with a name of Sanskrit origin to appear in his Tables. There is a slight variation in the name between the two colophons; in that to 367, it appears as Kāṉapper tanta Ukkirappĕruvaḷuti, with a variant reading Kāṉapper kaṭanta ...[3]

This king is credited with composing Akam.26, the col. to which gives his name as Kāṉappĕreyil tanta Ukkirappĕruvaḷuti. Naṟ.98 is likewise attributed to him under the name Ukkirappĕru Vaḷuti. There is no reason not to identify these as one king.

Puṟam.21, the only poem of Aiyūr Mūlaṅkilār to survive, mentions the capture of Kāṉappĕreyil from the chieftain Veṅkai Mārpaṉ.[4] The TSS editor says that the place was in the Pāṇṭiya country and is the modern Kāḷaiyār Koyil.[5]

Pillai states that it was this king whom the poet Kaṭuvaṉiḷamaḷḷaṉār praised in Naṟ.150:[6]

"Araṇ pala kaṭanta muraṇkŏḷ tāṉai
Vaḷuti vāḷiya ..."

"Long live Vaḷuti of the army which devastated and overthrew many forts."

It is hard to see in this a definite reference to the Forest Fort, Kāṉappĕreyil, which the Samājam editors, and

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1. For this poem, v.s. p.115. 2. CET p.152,fn. 3. UVS p.482 fn. 4. ll.6 & 9. 5. TSS i.p.63. 6. CET p.152.

seemingly Pillai himself,[1] regard as a proper name, that of the seat of Veṅkai Mārpaṉ. The editor of Naṟ., A.Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, interprets Vaḷuti as Māṟaṉ Vaḷuti,[2] in which case it might refer to the next Pāṇṭiya to be discussed. It is perhaps best to suggest that the Naṟ. passage is too vague to be taken as referring to one Vaḷuti rather than another. Were the writer of the colophon to Puṟam.21 to have made up the title Kāṉapperĕyil kaṭanta, one would ask why he should have gone to Naṟṟiṇai for the basis for it rather than Puṟam.21.

The next Pāṇṭiya to appear in Puṟam. is the hero of Puṟam.51 and 52, whose name appears in their colophons as Kūṭakārattu ttuṅciya Māṟaṉ Vaḷuti. This king has been noted[3] as a possible contemporary of Ilavantikaippaḷḷi ttuṅciya Naṉmāṟaṉ, as both were lauded by Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉār, Pillai adopts this view, and does not discuss the fact that 'Maturai' is prefixed to the poet's name in the case of Puṟam.55, lauding Naṉmāṟaṉ, while it is absent in the case of the author of Puṟam.52.[4] The other poem on Māṟaṉ Vaḷuti is by Aiyūr Muṭavaṉār, and a variant reading gives Aiyūr kiḷār. He has also written Puṟam.228 on Coḷaṉ Kuḷamuṟṟattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ.[5] Both in 51 and 52, the king is addressed as Vaḷuti, and 52 says that he was at war with rulers to the north of his kingdom, perhaps Coḷas or their fiefs.

The sixth Pāṇṭiya to appear in Puṟam. is given in the colophons[6] as Ilavantikaippaḷḷi ttuṅciya Naṉmāṟaṉ. The first poem in his honour is Puṟam.55, by Maturai Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉār. The

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1. CET p.152. 2. Naṟ. TSS edn.p.172. 3. v.s. p.159. 4. For a discussion of the nn.,v.s. pp.157-8. 5. v.s. p.125. 6. See List supra. p.145.

identification of this poet with the author of 52 has just been noted. If the two refer to one poet, the approximate contemporaneity of Nanmāran and Māran Valuti is established. The names, with and without the prefix 'Maturai' exist side by side in the colophons of Puram., Nar. and Akam.[1] There is a pleasing simile in poem 55, lines 5 and 6, wherein Māran, preeminent among the three kings, is compared to the third eye showing upon the forehead of "the lord with the dark-stained throat", Karai miṭarr'aṉṉal. At the end of the poem, the poet prays: "May you live as long as the sand-dunes piled up by the breeze at the fair port belonging to great Murukan, Cĕntil, where the waves beat."[2]

According to its colophon, Puram. 56 is by Nakkīranār, son of Maturaikkaṇakkāyanār. There arises here a problem similar to that noticed in connexion with Māṅkuṭi Marutanār and his son. The author of poem 56 is generally identified with: a) the author of Puram. 395, Akam. 36 and 78, Maturai Nakkīranār,[3] and b) Nakkīrar or Nakkīranār, author of a large number of verses in Akam. and of a number in Kurun. and Nar.[4] In this instance, all three names exist side by side in the Akam. colophons; a) exists along with Nakkīranār, son of Maturaikkaṇakkāyanār, in colophons in Puram. while this last-named exists side by side with b) in the colophons of Akam. and Kurun.

It may be suggested that the author of Puram. 56 was designated the son of Kaṇakkāyanār to distinguish him from the Nakkīrar whose work is not found in Puram. but is well featured

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1. v.s. p.157. See App. Poet List. 2. ll.17-21. 3. Or Nakkīrar.
4. e.g. Samājam edn. wherein all are grouped under Nakkīrar.

in Akam., Kurun. and Nar. It is less likely perhaps that Maturai Nakkīranār was yet a third person. As he is given the name of Maturai as a prefix he may well have been the same as the author of Puram.56, his name distinguished in this way from 'the other Nakkīrar.'

The author of Puram.56 is perhaps better known as the author of two of the Pāttuppāṭṭu, Neṭunalvāṭai and Tirumuruk' ārruppaṭai. In an appendix, Pillai[1] has suggested that this latter poem was later than the other Pattu. He bases his argument on the way the term Ārruppaṭai is used in the title, though there is no evidence that Nakkīrar himself gave his poem this title. More cogent perhaps is the argument from the subject-matter of the poem. It is a devotional poem in praise of Skanda and thus occupies in the Pattu. a position similar to that occupied by Pari. in the eight anthologies. The same poet is credited with Puram.189 and Akam.93 and, if we assume his identity with Maturai Nakkīranār, with Puram.395, Akam.36, 78.

The king is addressed as Māran in 56. He is compared to four gods in the following terms:

"In days gone by there were four who protected the earth; he who mounted the bull and whose locks like fire shine, who is armed with the axe hard to oppose and whose throat is blue, he whose banner is the palmyra, who is armed with the plough and whose body is white as the conch that grows in the sea, he whose body is blue as the sapphire produced in the earth, who brilliant rides upon the kite that flies in the sky, and he whose banner

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1. CET App.XIV, pp.257 ff.

flaunts the peacock emblem, who is difficult to oppose, the bright one whose chariot is the peacock. You are hard to conquer, like Death, you are of great strength like Vāliyon, you are famous as he who destroys his enemies and, for completing what you commence, you are like Murukan." [1]

The first portion of this clearly refers to Śiva, Balarāma, Viṣṇu and Skanda respectively. If we follow the old commentary, the second portion does not quite balance the first and the list is: Yama, Balarāma, Viṣṇu and Skanda. While kūrru, death, usually refers to Yama, it might be suggested that it here referred to Śiva in his destructive aspect.[2] Lines 18 ff. of this poem refer to honey and gold brought by the Yavanas.

The author of Puram. 57 is Kāviripppūmpaṭṭinattu Kkārikkaṇṇanār, and Pillai[3] regards him as being probably the grandson of the poet of the same name who wrote Puram. 58 in honour of Pĕruntirumāvaḷavan and Pĕruvaluti. He produces little evidence for such an assumption; his argument hinges on the assumption that Māṅkuṭi (kilār) Marutanār was the father of Marutan Iḷanākanār. As may be seen[4] this does not rule out, but rather increases, the possibility that the Kārikkaṇṇanār who wrote on Pĕruntirumāvaḷavan was the same person as wrote Puram. 57 on Nanmāran. This assumption of Pillai is largely dictated by his having allotted an arbitrary 25 years for each successive ruler in his Tables; Pĕruvaluti, praised in 58, preceded Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan who preceded Nanmāran. This makes a total of 75

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1. 56, ll.1-14; 56 is cited by Nacc. as illustrative of one of Tol.'s Vĕṭcitturai, v.s. p.44. 2. Cp. Nānmaṇi.84: "allavai cĕyvarkk'aran kūrram". 3. CET pp.146,149. 4. See Chart, p.158.

years during which Pillai supposes that the three Pāṇṭiyas ruled. It would be impossible for the same poet to have praised the first and the third of them. He ignores the possibility that they were collateral princes, and his tables do not cater for the contingency of any one ruler having lived for a much shorter period. It is proposed to reject Pillai's contention regarding a second Kārikkaṇṇaṉār, and to agree with the TSS editor that those about whom he sang lived during his lifetime or just before it.[1]

Puṟam.198 is the last of the group on Naṉmāraṉ. It is ascribed to Vaṭama Vaṇṇakkaṉ Pericattaṉār, most of whose extant work is to be found in Akam. and Naṟ.The name of this poet is of interest; it may be assumed that his personal name was Pericāttaṉ and that he was the son of Vaṭama Vaṇṇakkaṉ. There is another poet, Vaṭama Vaṇṇakkaṉ Tāmotaraṉ who wrote Puṟam.172 praising the chieftain Piṭṭaṅkŏṟṟaṉ. It may be suggested that these two poets were brothers. This suggestion is strengthened by the colophons to Puṟam.169 and 171, which say that Piṭṭaṅkŏṟṟaṉ was praised by Kārikkaṇṇaṉār, who composed Puṟam.57 on Naṉmāraṉ, as just seen. From this one may conclude that Piṭṭaṅkŏṟṟaṉ and Naṉmāraṉ were contemporaries. Since Tāmotaraṉ has lauded the former and Pericattaṉār the latter one may conclude that they were contemporaries of each other. Taken with the fact that both their names are preceded by 'Vaṭama Vaṇṇakkaṉ', it seems quite reasonable to suggest that they were brothers.[2]

Pericattaṉar's poem in praise of Naṉmāraṉ is couched in similar terms to those of Puṟam.196 by Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār. The king

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1. TSS i, p.154. 2. See Chart B p.158; v.i. Chap.V, p.240.

is compared to "Āl amar kaṭavuḷ," the god seated under the banyan. This is Viṣṇu, says the old commentary.[1] But both UVS and the TSS editor[2] suggest amending this to mean Śiva, in the form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. This would seem to be more acceptable.

These poems in praise of Ilavantikaippaḷḷi ttuṅciya Naṉmāraṉ do not give much information about him, but they do contain a number of interesting references to puranic deities, and the colophons to 57 and 198, read in conjunction with other poems attributed to the authors, establish a fair synchronism for this Pāṇṭiya and the chieftain Piṭṭaṅkŏrraṉ.

The remaining six Pāṇṭiyas to figure in Puṟam. are honoured with but one poem each, save in the case of Aṟivuṭai Nampi, who figures in two. They will be considered in a group, without in any way implying that they were contemporaries. With Pūtappāṇṭiyaṉ, lauded in Puṟam.71, will be considered his queen, who figures in Puṟam.246 and 247.

The colophon to Puṟam.58 states that Kāviripppūmpaṭṭiṉattu Kkārikkaṇṇaṉār addressed it jointly to Pĕruvaḷuti who died at Veḷḷiyampalam and the Coḷa Pĕruntirumāvaḷavaṉ. In the poem, the two are hailed as lord of the Paṅcavar and ruler of the Kāviri respectively, and their capitals of Maturai and Uṟantai are referred to.[3] Sitting together, the two kings are likened to "the god with the palmyra banner who is white as milk, and the blue-coloured god with the cakra."[4]

Poem 59 is by Maturakkūlavāṇikaṉ Cittalai Ccattaṉār, in

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1. UVS p.309. 2. Ibid.p.310, TSS i,p.447. Cp.Tam.Lex.p.247,col.i
3. v.s. pp.113 & 146. 4. 58, ll.14-15.

praise of Cittiramāṭattu ttuṅciya Naṉmāraṉ. The poem tells us nothing about this person; in it, he is called Vaḷuti. In spite of this, the colophon fails to include this element in his name. Such a discrepancy is not seen in the case of colophons to other poems wherein the hero is addressed as Vaḷuti.[1]

There has been speculation as to whether the author of 59 [2] was the same person who wrote Maṇimekalai. In the patikam to that work the author is given as Kūlavāṇikaṉ Cāttaṉ. Pillai[3] thought that they were two separate persons, and this seems most likely when we consider the great difference in style and diction between the anthology poems and that epic. As Pillai points out, Dr.S.Krishnaswamy Aiyangar erred in giving "Kūlavāṇikaṉ Cīttalai Cāttaṉ" on the title-page of his translation of Maṇi. as the author's name, as it is unwarranted by the text. In his anxiety to argue the point, however, Pillai erred when he stated that:

"I have not yet been able to alight on this particular individual in any of the early works, commentators' stories apart. They give us Cīttalai Cāttaṉ and Kulavāṇikaṉ Cāttaṉ, but nowhere in them do we come across the mixed individual 'Kūlavāṇikan Cīttalai Cāttan." [4]

This point is disproved by a reference to the colophons to Puṟam.59, Akam.229, 306 and 320, in all of which the poet's name is given as Maturaikkūlavāṇikaṉ Cīttalai Ccāttaṉār; the inclusion of the element Maturai is not the point at issue. Colophons to other anthology poems by him give the name as

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1. e.g. cols. to 3,51,52. 2. & Akam.vv. 3.CET p.189fn. 4. Ibid.

Cittalaiccāttanār. The inclusion of the element Kūlavāṇikan need not in any way have troubled Pillai, and the problem may be resolved as follows.

Cāttanār was the personal name both of the author whose poems figure in anthologies and of the writer of Maṇi. Cittalai was the village to which the author of the anthology verses belonged, as Pillai and the TSS editor suggest.[1] Cāttanār was perhaps a grain merchant himself or was the son of a grain merchant from Maturai. The colophon to Kurun.154 suggests that Cittalai was in fact near Maturai: "Maturaiccittalai Ccāttanār.." The author of Maṇi. was sufficiently well-known from his work to need no reference to his father or native place, and was therefore known just as Kūlavāṇikan Cāttan, the grain-merchant Cāttan. The possibility that he too was the son of a grain-merchant need not be overlooked; such an ellipse of the genitive case-ending is extremely common. But, in this case, one would expect some name to qualify Kūlavāṇikan, giving either the name or native place of the merchant. Free of such qualification, Kūlavāṇikan in the case of the author of Maṇi. may be said to be in apposition to Cāttan.

The only poem about Ŏllaiyūr tanta Pūtappāṇṭiyan in Puram. is a composition ascribed to the king himself, Puram.71. There seems no cause to dispute the general view[2] that the queen who figures in Puram.246 and 247 was his wife. Pūtappāṇṭiyan's poem takes the form of a vow by the king to do his best in a war against his foes. He will have to be separated from his queen whose eyes are painted with kohl[3], but he has many friends who

1. CET ibid. TSS i,p.161. 2. e.g. TSS i.p.189, CET p.112. 3. l.6.

are of help to him,[1] Māvan, lord of Maiyal, Āntai, Antuvaṅcāttan, Ātan Alici and Iyakkan the wrathful.[2] With them he will leave his quarters by the Vaiyai river[3] that flows near Maturai. None of these petty chiefs figures as a hero of a Puram. poem and little can be said regarding them. No town of the name Maiyal figures in any other anthology poem, and it may be asked whether the old commentary erred in interpreting "Maiyarkomān Māvan.." in this way. Giving the word maiyal its usual meaning of wrath, confusion,[4] we might translate the phrase "the angry lord Māvan." Similarly, the old commentary, followed by the TSS editor,[5] takes ĕyil, fortress, in 71 line 12: "Mann ĕyil Āntai ..." as a proper name and takes the phrase to mean "Āntai, of the well-established town of Ĕyil." No place of this name occurs in any anthology poem, and we may suggest giving ĕyil its ordinary meaning here and translating: "Āntai, whose fort is well-built."

Another possible contemporary of Pūtappāṇṭiyan may be noticed here though he is mentioned outside Puram. He is Titiyan and Pūtappāṇṭiyan mentions him as lord of Pŏtiyil in his other extant poem, Akam. 25. Pillai justifiably suggests[6] that his being called "Pŏtiyircĕlvan" by the king[7] points to Titiyan as being an important person at that time. If Titiyan was alive when Pūtappāṇṭiyan wrote this poem, it shows that the latter was contemporaneous with Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan, who defeated Titiyan and others at Talaiyālaṅkānam.[8] But the king may have been referring to a famous Titiyan long dead or to another holder of that name.

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1. l.15. 2. ll.10-14. 3. l.10. 4. Cp. Puram. 83, l.6: "immaiyal ūre..". 5. TSS i, p.188. 6. CET p.115. 7. Akam. 25, l.20. 8. v.s. p.155 & Chart B, p.158.

The colophon to Puṟam. 246 states that the poem was composed by Pūtapāṇṭiyaṉṟevi Ppĕruṅkoppĕṇṭu "about to commit satī," "tīppāyvāḷ." It is worth noting that the tuṟai prescribed for this poem, Ānantappaiyuḷ, is one of the few tuṟai-names to be built up of loanwords. Paiyuḷ, suggests the Lexicon,[1] is connected with the Pkt. payyāula, and means distress, disease. This tuṟai expresses the lamenting of a wife for her dead husband.[2] That its use was not so limited is suggested by the colophon to Puṟam. 228, which, as already seen, is a lament for the departed Coḷa by a poet, Aiyūr Muṭavaṉār.[3]

The queen upbraids those who would hinder her from departing this life,[4] and says that she will not remain among those distressed women who are bereft of their husbands.[5] She prefers the "bed of the corpse, built up of black firewood."[6]

Puṟam. 247, by Maturai Pperālavāyār, is similarly a description of the queen's grief for her dead husband:

"Were she to remain alone in that vast palace even for a little while, her sweet life would waste away and her youth depart."[7]

The tenth Pāṇṭiya to appear in Puṟam. is given as the author of poem 182, Kaṭaluḷ māynta Iḷampĕruvaḷuti. The TSS editor[8] explains the name as a reference to the seafaring prowess of the Pāṇṭiyar. Nothing can be gathered from this poem about the king in question; it consists of reflections upon the conduct of those who are never angered by others.

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1. Tam. Lex. p. 2908, col. i. 2. vide PPVM X, 13. 3. v.s. p. 125. 4. 246, ll. 1-3. 5. l. 10. 6. l. 11. 7. 247, ll. 9, 10. 8. TSS i, p. 410.

Puram.183 is also the work of a Pāṇṭiya according to its colophon, which gives the name as Āriyappaṭai kaṭanta Neṭuṅceḷiyan. The TSS editor reasonaby suggests that he was called Neṭuṅceḷiyan who defeated an army of Āryas to distinguish him from other holders of the name. But nothing is known of this king apart from this poem, and there is no way of knowing what army it was that was overrun by his troops. The poem contains a clear reference to the four varṇas.[1] A wise man, even of low birth, can be a leader, and must be obeyed by those of higher varṇa.[2]

Puram.184 and 188 feature the Pāṇṭiya Arivuṭai Nampi. Poem 184 is in the form of advice to the king by Picirāntaiyār, and contains nothing worthy of special note. The phrase in line 5: "Arivuṭai ventan" may have given rise to the king's title as it appears in the colophon. Nothing in the poem can be taken to refer to one Pāṇṭiya rather than another. The king himself is given as the author of 188, a moralistic poem.

This concludes a survey of the poems of Puranānūru which, according to their colophons, treat of Pāṇṭiya kings. The most notable are Mutukuṭumi Peruvaluti, Neṭuṅceḷiyan and Ukkirapperuvaluti. These poems contain little to support Pillai's scheme of allotting 25 years' reign per king, and the resultant necessity of postulating two poets called Kārikkaṇṇanār to laud Veḷḷiyampalattu ttuṅciya Peruvaluti and Nanmāran. The poems on Neṭuṅceḷiyan, read in conjunction with poems in other anthologies, do not justify Pillai's hypothesis that there were three rulers of

1. l.8; contra,TSS ed., who says it refers to Tiṇai, i,p.413.
2. ll.7-10.

that name.

c) Ceralar.

Of the Tamil kings who find praise in Puranānūru, the least represented are the Ceral kings. While, in point of number, more Ceralar kings are named than either Cola or Pāṇṭiya, most of them have only one or two poems in their honour. Altogether, eighteen Ceral kings are praised by eighteen poets if we include among the latter the two kings who have themselves written poems, Puram.74 and 245. But the actual number of verses in praise of Ceralar is only 27, ten fewer than praise Pāṇṭiyar.[1]

Of the Ceralar in Puram., four are also heroes of four decades in Patirruppattu.[2] One more, Kuṭakko Nĕṭuṅceralātan, has been identified by Pillai with Imaiyavarampan Nĕṭuṅceralātan, hero of decade II of Patirru. This identification will be discussed when the verses on this king are studied.[3] In the case of one king, Ceramān Antuvaṅceral Irumpŏrai, he is mentioned in the colophon only to Puram.13, and is not actually that poem's hero. It tells of Colan Muṭittalaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi.[4]

The first Ceral to figure in Puram. is given in the colophon to Puram.2, the only extant verse of Muraṅciyūr Muṭinākaṉār, as Ceramān Pĕruṅcorr'utiyan Ceralātan. There is little reason to doubt that he was the same Ceral who is mentioned in patikam II of Patirru. as the father of Nĕṭuṅceralātan, and in pat.III of Patirru. as the father of Palyānai Ccĕlkĕlukuṭṭuvan.[5] Mention of Utiyaṅceral in the anthologies is so infrequent that

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1. See List, infra, p.175. 2. Of dec.V, VII, VIII, IX. 3. v.i. p.297 ff
4. v.s. p.114. 5. Pat.II, l.2; pat.III, l.1.

Ceral kings who figure in Puranānūru.

Ceral as given in Col.	Puram. no(s).	Poets.
1. Ceramān Pĕruńcorr'utiyan Ceralātan	2.	Murańci. Muṭinākanār
2. Karuvūr e. Ŏḷvāṭkoppĕruńceral	5.	Nariverūuttalaiyār
3. Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan	8, 14.	Kapilar
4. Pālai pāṭiya Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko	11.	Pĕymakaḷ Iḷavĕyini
(5. Antuvańceral Irumpŏrai	13 col.)	
6. Yānaikkaṭcey Māntarańceral I.	17, 20, 22 53 229.	Kuruṅkoliyūr kilār Pŏruntililaṅkīranār Kūṭalūr kilār
7. Kokkotai Mārpan	48, 49.	Pŏykaiyār
8. Takaṭūr ĕ. Pĕruńceral I.	50.	Moci Kīranār
9. Kuṭṭuvan Kotai	54.	Ko. Ĕ. Māṭ. M. Kumaran:
10. Kuṭakko Nĕṭuńceralātan	(62), (368) (63).	Kalāttalaiyār Paraṇar
11. Pĕruńceralātan (Pĕruntoḷā:)	65.	Kalāttalaiyār
12. Kaṇaikkāl Irumpŏrai	(74).	Kaṇaikkāl Irumpŏrai
13. Kuṭakko Cceral Irumpŏrai	210, 211.	Pĕruṅkunrūr kilār
14. Koṭṭampalattu t. Mākkotai	245.	Koṭṭampala. t. Mākko:
15. Mārivaṇko (or Māvaṇko)	(367).	Auvaiyār
16. Kaṭal oṭṭiya Velkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan	369.	Paraṇar
17. Cikkarpalli t. Cĕlvakkaṭuṅko Āliyatan	387.	Kunrukaṭpāliyātanār
18. Vańcan	398.	Tiruttāmanār.

the other poems in which he is mentioned will be noted here.

Utiyańceral is addressed as Vānavarampan in line 12 of Puram. 2. This recalls the grandiloquent 'Imaiyavarampan' given to his son Nĕṭuńceralātan in Patirru. patikam II.

Puram. 2 continues:

"You gave without stint a great feast of cooked food to the twice-fifty when they had left the field of war, garlanded with tumpai,[1] after taking the land for their own and fighting with the five whose horses' manes were wind-tossed." [2]

This battle between the twice-fifty and the five has been taken by the old commentary[3] to refer to the Mahābhārata war, and there is no doubt that it was this the poet had in mind. It was doubtless this passage that earned for Utiyańceral the title Pĕruńcorru-, he who gave a great feast. There seems however no reason to take the hyperbole seriously enough even to try and refute it, as does Pillai.[4] It is reminiscent of the titular name Kavuriyar applied to the Pāṇṭiyar. It has been suggested that Utiyańceral's title refers to a celebrated feasting of actors after a performance of a drama depicting the struggle between the hundred Kauravas and the five Pāṇḍavas. One recalls the annual Veḷakkali dance performed in front of the Padmanābha temple in Trivandrum; it reenacts this struggle. Another suggestion is that the Ceral made some kind of propitiatory offering to the spirits of the contestants in that war from whom the Ceralar claimed descent, and that this offering was commemorated by the title Pĕruńcorru-.[5]

This feasting is noted also in Akam. references to this king. Koṭṭampalattu ttuńciya Ceramān says in Akam. 168:

"The kitchens of the bounteous Utiyan whose mind knew no

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1. Leucas aspera. (Lab.) 2. ll.13-16. 3. UVS edn. p.6. 4. CET p.1 p.104. 5. Sesha Aiyar: CK p.7.

guile were at Kulumūr." [1]

In Akam. 233, Māmūlanār says:

"Just as the famous Utiyańceral who revered the forefathers gave a great feast so that hordes of black devils might eat ...". [2]

This passage strengthens Sesha Aiyar's theory that the feast was some kind of propitiatory rite. Mamūlanār notes in Akam. 65 that suppliants used to laud Utiyańceral who had extended his kingdom. [3]

There is a clear reference in Puram. 2 to pańcabhūta, the five elements. These are detailed as follows:

"The earth thick with dust, the sky rising over the earth, the wind racing through the sky, fire fanned by that wind and water that puts out the fire." [4]

The king's might is compared to the powers of these different elements. Poem 2 further states:

"In your range of mountains, the dark-eyed doe with her tiny-headed fawn lies down to sleep near the lamp with three flames lit in the evening by the brahman as a penance. She might rest in the same way in the Himālayas with their gilded crests or upon the top of Pŏtiyil." [5]

This would seem a clear reference to the three sacrificial fires, Garhapatya, Ahavanīya and Dakṣiṇāgni, which, as pertaining to the Twice-born, are also referred to in line 13 of Puram. 367 by Auvaiyār.

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1. Akam. 168, ll. 6,7. 2. Akam. 233, ll. 8,9. 3. Akam. 65, ll. 5,6. That feasting was (& is) part of patronage is clear from Puram. 261, ll. 2,3. 4. ll. 1-3. 5. ll. 21-24.

The next Ceral king to appear in Puram. is the hero of poem 5, whose name is given as Karuvūr eṟiya Oḷvāṭkoppĕruṅceral Irumpŏṟai. This name cannot be confirmed by reference to the text of 5, and this Ceral is not mentioned in any other anthology poem. The name Irumpŏṟai connects him with the heroes of decades VIII & IX of Patiṟṟu., the names of whom are Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏṟai and Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏṟai. The colophon states that he settled at Karuvūr. Karuvūr is generally identified with Vaṅci, the Ceral capital.[1] Such identification should not, perhaps, be taken for granted. It is significant that Karuvūr is not mentioned in Patiṟṟu., and is mentioned only once in the anthologies, in Akam. 93, wherein it is said to be on the banks of the Āṉ Pŏrunai river. Vaṅci is stated in Puram. 11 to be near "the cool Pŏrunai", but there is no reason why the river should have had but one port or town on it.

There arises also the question as to whether Āṉ Pŏrunai and Pŏrunai (or Taṇpŏrunai) refer to one and the same river. In his commentary on Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. 191 Nacc. gives a list of rivers that includes Kāviri, Taṇpŏrunai, Āṉ Pŏrunai and Vaiyai.[2] The compilers of the Lexicon[3] regarded Taṇpŏrunai as meaning either Tāmraparṇi (which flows into the gulf of Manaar) or the river Āṉ Pŏruntam or Amarāvati, a tributary of the Kāviri that flows near Dhārāpuram in Coimbatore District, the ancient Kŏṅkunāṭu. This complicates the issue as Āṉ Pŏruntam, according to the Piṅkaḷanikaṇṭu meant the Āṉ Pŏrunai. If this is so, then Taṇpŏrunai in the sense of Aṉ Pŏruntam would mean the Aṉ Pŏrunai,

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1. UVS, comm. p. 29; CET p. 232, 2. TSS edn. ii, p. 274. 3. p. 1738, ii. contra CK pp. 80 ff.

The next Gerel line to appear is Gurem. In the lore of Gurem E, whose name is given as Ashur-ahiya, Ayatkonderet Ironderel. This name cannot be confirmed by reference to the text of E, and this Gerel is not mentioned in any other authority even. The name Ironderel connects us with the period of decades VIIIs IX of writing, the names of Ashur-ayatkonderel Ironderel and Ilmaserel Ironderel. The gold bon ornaments that he wrote at Ashur. Ironderel is generally identified with Yamel, the father of Ashur. Such identification should, perhaps, be taken tentatively. It is significant that Gurem is not mentioned in writing, and is mentioned only once in the antiqlogies, in Ashur. Moreover it is said to be on the same of the En Gerel which is stated in Tukulti to be Ter the son of Ashur. It is there in no reason why the rivers should have had but one port on lowering it.

There arises also the question as to whether En Gerel and Gerel (or Ianderel) refer to the same the same river. In a commentary on Tukulti, we have given a list of rivers that includes Nirit, Ianderel, En Gerel and Veitu. The commission of the Lexicon regards Ianderel as meaning either Ianderel (which flows into the gulf of Nineveh) or the River En Gerel (on Nineveh), a tributary of the Levir) that flows near Dur Sharrukin in Gilmeteres district, the modern Khorsabad. This commission has issued En Gerel, according to the Kalaqian it meant the En Gerel. If this is so, then Ianderel in the sense of En Gerel would mean the En Gerel.

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1. CVS. Cuma. n. 20; Cat. 1. 98. 2. ICN com.12, p. 73. 3. p.1700, in. Gurem 22 on. 60 ff.

and one is left wondering why Nacc. should have troubled to separate them.

As stated, Karuvūr is mentioned once in anthology poems, Pŏrunai is mentioned twice and Ān Pŏrunai twice. Karuvūr is, in addition, mentioned four times in colophons. Puram. col. 5 has just been noted. Puram. col. 13 states that Karuvūr was visited by the Cola Muṭittalaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi. The colophon to Puram. 36 says that Karuvūr was besieged by the Cola Kiḷḷivalavan, and that to 373 says it was destroyed by the Cola Kurāppaḷḷittuṅciya Killivaḷavan.[1] Nowhere, therefore, does the name Karuvūr occur in qualification of Vañci or as a synonym for it.

As regards the river on which Vañci was situated, it is called "Taṇpŏrunaippunal", the cool river Pŏrunai, in Puram. 11, and "Kallĕnporunai", Pŏrunai that makes the sound 'kal' (as it flows), in Puram. 387. As already seen, Ān Pŏrunai occurs in conjunction with Karuvūr in Akam. 93; the second reference to Ān Pŏrunai is in Puram. 36, wherein the Cola Kiḷḷivaḷavan is said to have "scattered its sands". The colophon to this poem sees in this a reference to an attack on Karuvūr, which is not mentioned by name in the poem.

This evidence, albeit slender, suggests that Vañci lay on the (Taṇ)Pŏrunai and Karuvūr, attacked by the Cola, was on the Ān Pŏrunai, and that the rivers were two different ones as Nacc. states. If this is so, then Vañci and Karuvūr were two separate places. It has been suggested that Vañci's river was called Taṇpŏrunai.[2] It should be noted, however, that both in

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1. The same Cola as in col. 36. 2. T.V.S. Paṇṭārattar: TC. VI, p. 134

Puram. 36 and Akam. 93 the epithet taṉ, cool, is applied to the Āṉ Pŏrunai. One is indined to take Vaṅci's river as simply Pŏrunai, despite Nacc., and to regard as erroneous both the identification of Vaṅci with Karuvūr and, therefore, identifying one with another the rivers Pŏrunai and Āṉ Pŏrunai.

As Sesha Aiyar intimates, the colophon to Puṟam. 5 suggests that Irumpŏṟai went from the Ceral capital to colonize Karuvūr, which would preclude the latter's being that capital.

The situation of Karuvūr has been much discussed. R. Raghava Aiyangar[1] identified it with the modern Kārūr in Trichy. District, and this seems the most plausible suggestion. Kārūr is on the Amarāvati, and, as just seen, this river has been called in Tamil both Āṉ Pŏrunai and Āṉ Pŏruntam. Apart from being on the river that is mentioned in Akam. 93 in connexion with Karuvūr, Kārūr's very name is clearly to be connected with Karuvūr. If this view is correct, it provides a ready solution for the attack and capture of Karuvūr by Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ as stated in the two Puṟam. colophons noted above. The town was in the Kŏṅku country and therefore in an area adjacent to that ruled by the Coḷas from Uṟantai, near Trichy. The Kŏṅku country was at various times attacked by one or other of the mūventar.[2] At the same time, R. Raghava Aiyangar perhaps erred in identifying with this place Vaṅci, the Ceral capital.[1]

It must be noted, however, that Ptolemy[3] speaks of "Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothros" in the course of listing

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1. "Vaṅcimāṉakar." 3. ed. J.W. McCrindle (1885) p. 180.
2. By Ceralar: Patiṟṟu. 22, 88, 90; by Pāṇṭiyar, Akam. 253.

Puram.55 and Adam.56 the violent tin, coal, is applied to the Pormnel, and is indices to Lake Tanoli's river as firmly Pormnel, despite Dec., and to remard as enemons both the identification of Nuci with Lavyr-nu. Therefore, identifying one with another the Pore Pormnel and Ly-pormnel.

As Deep Lyer indicates, the colonion to Puram.5 suggests that Ilmpurna went from the Deral crylel to colonise Lyer. Which would ground the Ilsen's claim that Lyer[1].

The situation of Ammiyanna does much discussed.

Ammiya Ajanna identified it with the modern Ifrin in Pirhy District, are this seems the most plausible suggestion. Ifrin is on the Ramyavti, [illegible] Lake Lyer has been called in local tradition Ammi Nur. Adam from [illegible] on the river that is mentioned in Adam.25 in connection with Ammiya. Ifrin's very name itself seems to be connected with Ammiya. In this way, Ammiya, is proved by [illegible] or the attack and capture of Lyer by Hilliyar, [illegible] in the two [illegible] conditions noted above. The town was in the Ramin country, the thereafter on area adjacent to Ghetalan or the Ingilsrion Dynasty, more precisely. The town country was at various times attacked by one or other of the Ilsen. At the same time, Ilsen's Aryan neighbors served in identifying with their place Ward, the Deral capital.

It must be noted, however, that [illegible] of Aryans, the [illegible] of Lyer [illegible] the course of living

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1. "Lyer Dokan." [illegible], [illegible] (1909) p.180.
2. Ramayana. [illegible] 25,85,30; or Pentiyar, Adam.28a.

inland cities of Limyrike between the Pseudostomos and the Baris. It would seem that he had Karuvūr in mind, but there then arises the difficulty of explaining his statement that it was the Ceral royal city (there seems no need to question the identity of Kerobothros with Keralaputra). It was perhaps this that has led some writers to confuse Vañci with Karuvūr.

It would seem that, when Ptolemy wrote, the Ceralar were in Karuvūr, and this assumption would mean that the area under their sway was considerable, extending inland from the west coast to the Coḷa 'border.' This seems far-fetched, and one is tempted to look elsewhere for a Ceral town the name of which Ptolemy knew as Karoura. The clue has perhaps been noted by Sesha Aiyar,[1] who notes a modern Karūr paṭaṇam just north of Kŏḍuṅkoḷūr (Cranganore). As will be discussed[2], there are grounds for regarding Kŏḍuṅkoḷūr as the site of the ancient Vañci, and there may well have been a Karuvūr near here that has given its name to the town mentioned by Aiyar. It may have been the place colonized by Irumpŏṟai (Puṟam.col.5), and its nearness to Vañci may have led to the confusion between the two. This Ceral Karuvūr on the coast may have been confused by Ptolemy with the inland Karuvūr, which at the time of the anthologies seems to have been ruled by a Veḷ.[3]

The episode of the colonization of the coastal Karuvūr by Koppĕruṅceral Irumpŏṟai would, as Pillai suggests, have taken place early in the development of Vañci, and this king may well have preceded the Ceralar lauded in Patiṟṟu.

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1. CK p.88. 2. v.i. p. 317. 3. Puṟam.col.13; v.s. p.114.

[illegible] citizens of Lunyrile between the Pendergrass and the Dartle. It would seem that he had Kenyon in mind, but there then arises the difficulty of explaining his statement that it was near Lerel royal city (there seems no need to question the identity of Kenyonstone with Kerlenmtre). It was perhaps this that led some writers to confuse Vendel with Kerlen.

It would seem that, when Ptolemy wrote, the Cenbior were in Kenyon, and this supposition would mean that the area under their sway was considerable, extending inland from the west coast to the Coir 'corner.' While Lerem Ier-Tuelen, and the Ie temple to Joor Ierenhrs are a Lerel town timeline of [illegible] may be Kenyon, the city has perhaps been noted by [illegible] who notes a modern Kerlen pattern that north of Lunyrile (Lerem-more). As will be discussed, there are grounds for regarding Lunyrile as the site of the ancient Vendel, and there Kenyon will have been a Kenyon near here that has given it name to the town mentioned by Alyth. It may have been the [illegible] Lerem-col.Ier, and the [illegible] to Lerem may have led to the confusion between the two. This Lerel Kenyon on the coast may have been confused by Ptolemy with the inland Kenyon, which at the time of the anthologies seems to have been ruled by a Vel.

The episode of the colonization of the coastal Kenyon by Lunyrmental immigrant would, by Pillat suggest, have taken place in the development of Vendel. In this sense, may well have preceded the Cenbior issues in Pellemm.

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1. Cf. [illegible] Lerem-col.Ier [illegible].

Puram.5 itself is without special interest; the poet tells of the way the king cherishes those who perhaps do not deserve it. The colophon gives the poet's name as Narivĕrūuttalaiyār. This is undoubtedly a phrase-name, but in this case the phrase from which the name was taken is lost. It appears to refer to "a place where a jackal was frightened." [1]

The third Ceral to appear in Puram. is given in the colophon to Puram.14 as Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan. Kaṭuṅkov Āliyātan is given as the hero of Puram.8, and doubtless both poems refer to the same king. The poems are ascribed to Kapilar, the author of decade VII in Patirru. that lauds the same king. It is proposed also to consider here the king praised in Puram. 387; his name is given in its colophon as Cikkarpaḷḷi ttuṅciya Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan. There is no reason to disagree with Pillai's suggestion that this is the same king as Kapilar's hero.

The name of this Ceral is generally given as Vāliyātan, which is meaningless unless taken as a scholiast's creation based on Patirru.63, line 21:

"Vāliy Āta! vāliya palave! " which may be rendered:
"Hail O Ātan! All hail! "

But this notion would seem to be disproved by Puram.387, in line 30 of which the king is addressed as Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan. Another reason for the suggested 'Vāliyātan' must be sought. There is no instance of a name being formed by qualifying a noun with a verbal optative, as would be the case in vāli + Atan. The Vinaittŏkai, verbal compound, consists of the verb root

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1. i.e. nari + vĕruvu + talai.

prefixed to a noun, and a vinaittŏkai formed with the root of vāltal, prosper, would give vāl +. Vāli as a noun does not exist. On the other hand, Āli is a noun meaning cakra, the symbol of rule.[1] Āliyātan is perfectly acceptable, meaning Ātan who wields the cakra of kingship. The -v- glide after 'ko' in the Puram. colophons, Patirru.pat.VII and Puram.387 would be the regular occurrence between a final back vowel and an initial vowel.

This surmise cannot be proved beyond doubt, as in no case does Āliyātan occur in any context without 'ko' prefixed to it. Nor does 'Vāliy Ātan' save in the instance quoted. Not even the sense of the optative is possible in Puram.387, wherein it is a clear case of the king's name in the nominative case. Pillai alone[2] takes the name as Āliyātan, but gives no reason.

Neither of Kapilar's poems calls for special mention. The colophon to 14 says the poem represents the thoughts of Kapilar upon being told by the Ceral how soft his hands were. The poet replies that the king's hands are strong through using the goad upon the elephant[3] in order that it should smash down the wooden bars that lock the gates of the enemy fort.

Puram.387, the colophon to which says that the king died at Cikkarpaḷḷi, is a fragmentary poem by Kunrukaṭpāliyātanār. In line 28, the king is called the lord of Pūlināṭu. This poem contains a mention of Vańci and its river Pŏrunai alluded to earlier.[4] "Pullilai Vańci ppuramatil" suggests that the town was named after the plant of that name. UVS pointed out in a footnote

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1. cf. Tiruvāy.VII.4,1; Kampar.Taila.70. 2. CET p.152 etc.
3. cp. Kālidāsa: Kumāra.III,22: "airāvatāsphālanakarkaśena hastena ..." 4. v.s. p.179.

that[1] small leaves were a characteristic of the vańci tree. This suggests that this important plant was the Mohwa, Bassia malabarica, and not the creeping Calamus rotang, as is usually suggested for the word vańci.[2]

The next Ceral to appear in Puṟam. is given on the col. to poem 11 as Pālai pāṭiya Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko. There is no reason to dispute the widely-held view[3] that this was the person whose love poetry depicting the Akattiṇai Pālai, separation, figures prominently in Akam., Kuṟun., and Naṟ., and who is credited withe the authorship of Kali., Pālaikkali.

The author of Puṟam.11 is given in the colophon as Peymakaḷ Iḷavĕyiṉi, the she-devil Iḷavĕyiṉi. The old commentary states[4] that a demoness appeared to the king in human form and took the name of Iḷavĕyiṉi.

The tuṟai for this poem is given as Paricirkaṭānilai. This poetic theme is not specifically mentioned by Tŏl. or the author of PPVM, but in Tŏl. there is a tuṟai Paricirkaṭaiiya nilai,[5] which Nacc. explains[6] as signifying the poet's search for reward by praising the king. He quotes Puṟam.164 as an example of Paricirkaṭānilai. This agrees with the colophon to that verse, and shows that such a theme was envisaged by Tŏl. Kaṭā and kaṭaiiya are both connected with words meaning 'solicit' such as kaṭavu and kaṭāvu- . Paricirkaṭānilai exactly reflects the mood of poem 11. The demoness complains that dancers and singers have praised the king's victory in battle, but that she

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1. UVS p.517: "Vańciyĕṉṉum maraviceṭattirku uriya 'pullilai'..." 2. v.s.Chap.II,p.44. 3. TSS i,p.32. 4. UVS p.29; a fn.gives a vr. as Iḷaviṉi. v.s. Chap.V,p.229 . 5.Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.cū.91. 6. TSS i,p.289.

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has received nothing so far.

The fifth Ceral king to appear in Puram. is but mentioned in the colophon to poem 13 which describes how the Cola Muṭittalaikkoppĕrunaṟkilli's elephant seemed out of control as he rode into Karuvūr.[1] The colophon states that the author of the poem, Muṭamociyār, was standing with the Ceral Antuvaṅceral Irumpŏrai upon the roof of the Veḷ's palace, "Veṇmāṭattu mel.." and witnessed the Cola's entry.

If this statement is true, it affords valuable evidence for the contemporaneity of the Ceral and Cola mentioned. The statement about the poet and Ceral standing on the Veḷ's palace roof seems to have been missed by modern writers. The general opinion[2] has been that Karuvūr here meant the Ceral capital, and that the poet, standing with the Ceral on the latter's own palace roof, was reassuring him about the peaceful intentions of his royal visitor. There is nothing in the poem to suggest this. Writers have missed the word veḷ in the colophon and, taken in conjunction with what has already been said about a Karuvūr on the Ān Pŏrunai in Kŏṅku nāṭu,[3] it seems that the place was ruled by a Veḷir chief. This is in no way improbable, and mention of the Veḷ here strengthens one's belief that it was the Kŏṅku nāṭu Karuvūr that was being visited by the Cola. This is very likely; there is no reason why Cola and Ceral should not have held a meeting in a town whose lands were contiguous to both their territories.

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1. v.s. p.114. 2. e.g. Pillai: CET p.87. He concludes that "the Irumporais were well established in that capital (K.) ever since the time of Antuvanceral." -p.83. 3. v.s. p.180.

In no other place in the anthologies is there any mention of Antuvaṅceral Irumpŏrai. But in Patirru, pat.VII, there is mention of an Antuvan as the father of the hero of decade VII Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan. We know from Patirru. pat.VIII that Āliyātan's successor was Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai, and it may be concluded that Āliyātan was himself an Irumpŏrai. This makes it likely that the Antuvan referred to in pat.VII as his father was an Irumpŏrai too, and may well have been Antuvaṅceral Irumpŏrai referred to in the colophon to Puram.13.[1]

Muṭamociyār's other extant poems are in praise of Vel Āy Aṇtiran. The TSS editor[2] notes that Eṇicceri was his native place but that Uraiyūr was prefixed thereto as the poet lived there. This seems an unjustified assumption from the poet's full name, Uraiyūr Eṇicceri Muṭamociyār. Uraiyūr may well have been prefixed to Eṇicceri either because the latter was very near Uraiyūr, or to distinguish that Eṇicceri from another village of the same name.

The next Ceramān to figure in Puram. is given in the colophons as Yānaikkaṭcey Māntaraṅceral Irumpŏrai.[3] In the case of the colophon to Puram.229, Ko is prefixed to Ceramān, the normal form under which the name for this 'dynasty' of kings appears in the Puram. colophons.[4] In the colophon to Puram.53 this king's name appears as Ceran Māntaraṅceral Irumpŏrai. This Ceral king has the most poems in his honour of any Ceral king to appear in this anthology.

There is no evidence whatever from the anthologies to

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1. v.i. Chap.VII p.301. 2. i,p.37. 3. See List, p.175. 4. i.e. Ceral + man (=makan). cp. Keralaputra.

support V.Kanakasabhai's statement[1] that Māntarańceral 'of the elephant look' was the son of Cěṅkuṭṭuvan. Neither he nor his predecessors bore the name Irumpŏrai which connects Māntarańceral with Antuvańceral and his successors who figure in decades VII to IX of Patirru. Sesha Aiyar opined that Māntarańceral was the hero of "the missing tenth Patirrupattu".[2] There is no evidence for or against this as the patikams in Patirru. do not anticipate subsequent decades or patikams in their treatment, and so nothing of decade 10 can be learnt from pat.IX.[3]

Kuruṅkoliyūr kilār is credited in Puram.colophons with lauding Māntarańceral in verses 17, 20 and 22, and these are his only extant work. It has been suggested that this poet's home, Kuruṅkoliyūr, was so called to distinguish it from (Pěruṅ)koli, that is, Urantai, the Cola capital. Poem 17 was written, says its colophon, on the occasion of the Ceral's escape from confinement at the hands of Pāṇṭiyan Talaiyālaṅkānattu Ccěruvěnra Něṭuṅ-cěliyan. It opens with a good example of the standard way of describing the extent of a Tamil kingdom:[4]

"Mountainous and forested is your kingdom, the limits of which are the Kumari in the south, the great mountain (literally, stone,) in the north, and the seas to east and west." The high mountains to the north are generally taken in this and similar contexts to refer to the Himālayas, and, if indeed these were meant, the hyperbole is as obvious as that by which Māntaran's kingdom is said to extend from the western to the eastern sea.

The king is praised as lord of Tŏṇṭi in line 13. This

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1. "Tamils 1800 years ago" pp.88,98. 2. CK,p.62. 3. v.i.Chap.VII for discussion of this. 4. Puram.17, ll.1-3.

place is mentioned twelve times in Sangam literature, and ten stanzas of Aiṅkuṟunūṟu are devoted to it.[1] By contrast, the paucity of references to Vañci is surprising, and one is tempted to wonder to wahat extent Tŏṇṭi was a place of importance earlier in Ceral history than was Vañci. There seems no reason to doubt that Tŏṇṭi was the Tyndis in the Periplus:

"Tyndis is of the Kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea."[2] This recalls

"Lord of the people of Tŏṇṭi, where roar the waves of the sea that produces conch-shells."[3]

This refers to Iḷañceral Irumpŏṟai, hero of Patiṟṟu. decade IX. It is presumaby on this and similar statements that that writers have regarded Tŏṇṭi as the city or town from which the Irumpŏṟai branch of the Ceralar ruled.[4] But it should be noted that Aṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātaṉ is credited in Patiṟṟu.pat.VI with having dedicated cows to brahmans in this town. Moreover, in Puṟam.48, Kōkkotai Mārpaṉ is praised as lord of Tŏṇṭi by Pŏykaiyār. This king may have been the same as the Pŏṟaiyaṉ he lauds in similar terms in Naṟ.

Lines 20 ff. of poem 17 tell of Māntarañceral's capture and escape. The name of the captor is not mentioned, and the colophon alone supplies the information that a Pāṇṭiya took him.

Puṟam.20 asserts that Māntarañceral's land is invincible by stating that "except for pregnant women desiring to eat your earth, nobody (hostile) comes to eat it."[5] This is perhaps an

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1. Aiṅkuṟu.171-180 (Ammūvaṉār). 2. Periplus 54; Schoff tr., p.44. 3. Patiṟṟu.IX,88,l.21. 4. e.g. CET p.157, CK p.69; see Naṟ.18, Akam.60,Kuṟun.128 for 'Pŏṟaiyaṉ' as lord of Tŏṇṭi. Pŏṟaiyaṉ prob. = Irumpŏṟai, cf.Puṟam.53. 5. ll.14,15.

allusion to a custom of eating the enemy's soil as a sign of victory. The same poem says that the bad omen of well-known birds departing to be replaced by fresh ones has no meaning for this Ceral's kingdom.

The king's title of Yāṉaikkaṭcey, "Cey of the elephant look" is suggested twice in poem 22,[1] and on the second occasion the name Cey is included:

"Veḷa nokkiṉ viṟal veṉ Ceĕy ...", while the remainder of the king's name is found in line 34 of the same poem:

"Māntarańceral Irumpŏṟaiy ompiya nāṭe."

Line 28 of poem 22 addresses the king as lord of the people of Kŏlli. This is taken as referring to a range of hills in the modern Trichy. District by the TSS editor.[2] It is clear from Puṟam. and Akam. that Kŏlli was at one time ruled by the chieftain Valvil Ori,[3] who was slain by Kāri, chief of Muḷḷūr, who gave it to the Ceralar.[4] It may be assumed therefore that this episode occurred before the time of Māntarańceral. It must have happened at the time Paraṇar and Kapilar lived, or before their time, as both Kāri and Ori are referred to by both poets. Puṟam. 53, moreover, makes it clear that Kapilar lived before the time of Māntarańceral:

"It would indeed be good if Kapilaṉ of bright fame, amazing wisdom and golden tongue were still alive."[5]

This poem is by Pŏruntil Iḷaṅkīraṉār. No other poem in Puṟam. is ascribed to him, but two Akam. verses are attributed to

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1. ll.1-4, l.29. 2. TSS i.p.330. 3. Puṟam.158, l.5.
4. Akam.209, ll.12ff; v.i. Chap.V p.228. 5. Puṟam.53, ll.12,13.

him.[1] He addresses Māntarañceral as Pŏraiyan in Puram. 53.[2]

Kūṭalūr kilār's poem on this Ceral is numbered 229 in Puram., and the colophon states that it was composed at the place where the king died. It commences with an evil portent related by the poet. Kanakasabhai Pillai translates as follows:[3]

"On the day of Kuddam (Karttika) when the sun was in the sign of Adu (Mesha) at midnight when the asterisms from the first star of Mudappanai (Anuradha) to the last star of Kulam (Punarvasu)[4] were visible in the sky, and while the asterism which is in the zenith during the first half of the month of Pankuni (Phalgunī) was declining from the zenith, the eighth asterism before it was setting and the eighth asterism after it was rising, a brilliant meteor which illumined the whole sky fell towards the north-east .... "[5]

Kanakasabhai Pillai was hardly justified in the statement that this passage "shows that the Tamils studied Astronomy independently of the Brahmans and that Tamil names were in common use for the lunar asterisms and the signs of the solar Zodiac." In the passage quoted the name of the month Paṅkuṉi is doubtless connected with the Skt. phalgunī. Pēci, east, is to be related to the Skt. prācī, east, and ūci, north, is connected with the Skt. udīcī. But it is true that there appears in Muṭappaṉai, 'bent pamyra', an apparently independent name for Anuṣa (Anurādhā), the seventeenth nakṣatra (part of Scorpio.).

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1. Akam.19, 351. 2. l.3; v.s. fn.p.188. 3. "The Tamils 1800 years ago" p.99. 4. Puṉarpucam, the 7th. nakṣatra ait comm., UVS edn. p.348. 5. Puram.229, ll.1-12.

According to the old commentary,[1] the asterism at its zenith in the first half of Paṅkuṉi is Uttaram, the twelfth nakṣatra (which contains Denebola or β Leonis), the eighth after it is Mūlam, the 19th. nakṣatra, and the eighth before it is the fifth nakṣatra, Mirukacīriṭam (Mṛgaśīrṣa).

This passage affords evidence that the Tamils at the time the anthology poems were written were already familiar with the system of solar months commencing with Cittirai (in mid-April), and with the lunar asterisms or nakṣatras, though they seem to have had some independent names for these. The rāśis or signs of the zodiac were also familiar. It might be argued that the Tamils obtained their ideas on astronomy independently from middle eastern sources, but such a statement would have to be qualified in view of the use they seem to have made of the nakṣatras.

The poet states that, upon seeing this omen, he and the other poets prayed that the king might come to no harm, but, as feared, the king died after seven days.[2] Sesha Aiyar states[3] that the astronomical data "cannot help us to discover the date of his (Māntaraṅceral's) demise."

It may be noted that Māntaraṅceral is mentioned in the colophon to Puṟam.125 as an opponent of Coḻaṉ Irāyacūyam veṭṭa Pĕrunaṟkiḷḷi and Tervaṇmalaiyaṉ, as stated earlier.[4]

The TSS editor suggests that the Māntaram Pŏṟaiyan mentioned by Paraṇar in Akam.142 refers to this king.[4] This may seem unlikely, since Paraṇar's contemporary, Kapilar, was dead

1. UVS p.348. 2. 229, ll.13-18. 3. CK p.66. 4. v.s. p.116.

by Māntaraṅceral's time, as already noted.[1] But Paraṇar may have been younger than Kapilar and may have lived until this king's time. It should be observed that in Patirru. Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏrai is addressed as "Māntaraṉ viraṉ maruka", mighty scion of Māntaraṉ.[2] But, in view of the occurrence of the homorganic nasal before Ceral and Pŏraiyaṉ in Māntaraṅceral and Māntaram Pŏraiyaṉ as against the -ṉ of Patirru. we may suggest that the latter spelling is a scribe's error, and that Māntaram was a place belonging to the Irumpŏrai Cerals, or perhaps even a family name, like Ceralar, as the TSS editor suggests.[3] This would make it uncertain that Paraṇar was referring in Akam.142 to Yāṉaikkaṭcey Māntaraṅceral Irumpŏrai.

Kokkotai Mārpaṉ is the hero of Puram.48 and 49 by Pŏykaiyār, who is also said to be the author of Kaḷavaḷinārpatu, one of the eighteen minor works, written to honour the victory of the Coḷa Ceṅkaṇāṉ over the Ceral Kaṇaikkāl Irumpŏrai, author of Puram.74, shortly to be noticed.[4]

The king's name appears in both of Pŏykaiyar's poems in Puram. In 48, "he is called Kotai because his chest is garlanded."[5] He is the lord of Tŏṇṭi, and of the nĕytal or coast region.[6] Apart from its coastline, this Ceral's kingdom includes forest and cultivated land, as can be gathered from the fact that Kokkotai Mārpaṉ is referred to as Nāṭaṉ and Ūraṉ.[7]

Kotai Mārpaṉ is referred to in Akam.346, wherein Nakkīrar says that "to the great joy of Kotai Mārpaṉ, Kiḷḷi

1. v.s. p.189. 2. Patirru.IX,90,l.13. 3. TSS i,p.143. 4. v.i. p.197. 5. l.l. 6. ll.4,3. 7. 49,l.l; v.s. Chap.II, p.28 fn.4. Heroes of the regions had distinctive names.

Valavan with swarms of soldiery destroyed Palaiyan Māran at Kūtal (Maturai), captured the town and many horses and elephants."[1]

This king is not discussed by Pillai at all. Sesha Aiyar, without giving his reasons, regards him as successor to Yānaikkaṭcey Māntarańceral Irumpŏrai. It should be noted that, in Patirru.VIII,79, Pĕrunceral Irumpŏrai is addressed as "Kotai Mārpan."[2] Sesha Aiyar suggests[3] that Kōkkotai Mārpan "apparently took his name Kodai Mārban from his great ancestor Perum-Ceral Irumporai."

It may be suggested that Kōkkotai Mārpan was in fact Pĕrunceral Irumpŏrai; the name under which the king goes in the colophons to poems 48 and 49 may even be a scholiasts' creation based on those poems. Pĕrunceral is called Kotai Mārpan in Patirru., and it may be noted that the next Puram. poem, 50, is in his honour. Kokkotai Mārpan ruled at Tŏṇṭi, and so was probably an Irumpŏrai. We have just seen that Palaiyan Māran was a great enemy of this Ceral according to Akam. The son of Pĕrunceral, Iḷańceral, hero of decade IX of Patirru. is said in pat.IX therein to have conquered Iḷampalaiyan Māran. He may well have been called 'the younger Palaiyan Māran' to distinguish him from Pĕrunceral's foe

If this surmise is correct, Colan Kiḷḷivaḷavan destroyed Palaiyan Māran to the joy of Kōtai Mārpan, otherwise Pĕrunceral Irumpŏrai, and the latter's successor, Iḷańceral, defeated Palaiyan Māran the younger. Sesha Aiyar[4] has apparently not noticed iḷam- prefixed to Māran's name in Patirru.pat.IX. He has

1. Akam.346, ll.19-25. 2. 1.7. 3. CK p.67. 4. CK ibid.

Malvan with swarms of soldiery destroyed Italian Gifan [illegible] Kuwal (Sabura), captured the town and many horses and elephants.

This fact is not discussed by Tilly at all. Lenhe [illegible] however, without giving his reasons, regards this as proof to [illegible] Ethiopian Imperial Imperial. It should be noted that, in fact, Tilly, Ethiopian Imperial Imperial is referred as "Total [illegible]". Lenhe also suggests that Lorenzo Ergon apparently took his name Lenhe's [illegible] from his great-ancestor Ethiopian Imperial.

It may be suggested that Lorenzo Ergon was in fact [illegible] Ethiopian Imperial the name under which the King was in the [illegible] to Lenhe. It also may be [illegible] 'conflicts' creation based on those reasons. Ethiopian Imperial is called Kotal Ergon in Petitum, and it may be noted that the next Ergon, Lo, is in Ethiopian. Lorenzo Ergon ruled at Tonti, and so was probably an Imperial. We have just seen that Malvan Ergon was [illegible] many of this Gerd according to Alem. The son of Ethiopian Imperial, Ethiopian, here or reads Ix of Pitium, is said in pet.Iv that in to have commanded Ethiopian Ergon. He was well have been called 'Ethiopian Ergon' to distinguish him from Ethiopian's [illegible]

It is [illegible] correct [illegible] destroyed Ergon [illegible] to the [illegible] of total [illegible] Ethiopian Imperial, and the Lenhe's ancestor, Ethiopian. Lenhe's Malvan Ergon the younger. Lenhe Alyer' has apparently [illegible] noticed Ilem- [illegible] to Ergon's name in Petitum.pet.Iv. [illegible]

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1. Alem. [illegible], II.19-21. 2. I.T. [illegible]. 3. Ibid.

therefore asserted that that Palaiyan Māran was the same one as Kiḷḷivaḷavan killed to Kotai Mārpan's joy. By the same token, Kotai Mārpan must have followed upon Iḷańceral and could not be identified with Iḷańceral's predecessor Pĕrunceral.

The next Ceral king to figure in Puram. is given in the colophon to verse 50 as Takaṭūr ĕrinta Pĕrunceral Irumpŏrai. This king is undoubtedly the hero of Takaṭūr praised in decade VIII of Patirru. by Aricil kilār. It has just been suggested that he was the same person as Pŏykaiyār praised in Puram. 48 and 49 under the title of Kokkotai Mārpan. The colophon to poem 50 states that the poet Moci Kīranār unwittingly lay down to rest in the king's drum-room and that the king fanned him until he awoke. The poem begins with a description of the royal drum:

"Thirsty for blood-offerings is the shapely drum that is strung faultlessly. Its body is black, it is painted with a peacock-feather design and its cords are blue like sapphire. It is garlanded with the yellow sprigs of balloon-vine (ulinai)."[1]

The poet had not realized that the place where he lay down to sleep before bathing was the flower-bedecked 'bedroom' of the drum.[2] He doubts whether his fine knowledge of Tamil will avail him against the sword of his angry master, so he is amazed to awake and find the king fanning him instead.[3]

This poem suggests that the war-drum was a cult-object and that the poet defiled its place of honour both by sleeping there and by being in an unwashed state. The old commentary notes that it was a custom among the inhabitants of the Ceral

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1. 50, ll.1-5. 2. ll.6-8. 3. ll.9-13.

country to garland the regal drum with balloon-vine.

Puram. 54 lauds Kuṭṭuvan Kotai. Sesha Aiyar[1] identifies this Ceral with the son of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan, Kuṭṭuvan Ceral who, he says, succeeded Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan at Vañci. There is no way of proving this identification. All that is said in Patirru. about Kuṭṭuvan Ceral is that he was entrusted by his father to the poet Paraṇar after the poet had composed decade V in Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's honour.[2]

Pillai[3] identifies with Kuṭṭuvan Kotai the Kotai who ruled Vañci mentioned by Karuvūr Kaṇṇampāḷanār in Akam. 263. Both writers therefore regard Kuṭṭuvan Kotai as a ruler of Vañci rather than one of the Irumpŏrais at Tŏṇṭi.

Poem 54 itself is without special interest; the king is hailed as Kaṭumān Kotai in line 8. Perhaps this led Sesha Aiyar also to identify this king with Koṭṭampalattu ttuṅciya Mākkotai, author of Puram. 245.

It may be Kuṭṭuvan Kotai who is referred to in Puram. 172, line 10 as Kotai, patron of the chief Piṭṭaṅkŏrran. This surmise is strengthened by those colophons which state that another panegyrist of Piṭṭankŏrraṇ, Kārikkaṇṇanār, also wrote on Colan Pĕruntirumāvaḷavan. This Cola was also praised by the author of Puram. 54 on Kuṭṭuvan Kotai, Konāṭṭu Ĕriccilūr Māṭalan Maturaikkumaraṇār. That Piṭṭaṅkŏrran and Pĕruntirumāvaḷavan were contemporaries is confirmed by those colophons which state that both were praised by Uraiyūr Maruttuvan Tāmotaran.[4]

Kuṭakko Nĕṭuṅceralātan is praised in Puram. 62 and 368 by Kalattalaiyar and in 63 by Paraṇar. Colophons to all three

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1. CK pp. 53-4. 2. Patirru. pat. V prose. 3. Tables. 4. See Chart, p. 158.

poems further state that this Ceral was at war with the Colan Velpahraṭakkai Ppĕruvirarkiḷḷi, and that he fell in battle. Pillai's identification of this Ceral with Imaiyavarampan Nĕṭuńceralātan has already been noticed[1] and it seems reasonable. The contents of these three poems have already been discussed.[2]

According to its colophon, Puram.65 was written by Kalāttalaiyār when Pĕruńceralātan sat facing north after being wounded in the back by Colan Karikārpĕruvaḷattān. In some MSS the Ceral's name appears as Pĕruntoḷātan.[3] As already seen, this shame on the part of a foe of Karikāl is mentioned in Puram.66, but, therein the enemy of Karikāl is not named, and it is only the colophon to 65 that names him as Pĕrunceralātan.[4]

Poem 65 itself does not mention either adversary's name, but the description of the king's shame is as clear as in poem 66, and there seems no reason to doubt that Kalattalaiyār and Vĕṇṇi Kkuyattiyār were referring to the same humiliation.

From these two poems and their colophons it would seem that these two poets lived at a time when there was considerable conflict between Ceralar and Colar. Kalāttalaiyār alludes both to the antagonism of Karikāl and Pĕruńceralātan and the fight between Pĕruvirarkiḷḷi and Nĕṭuńceralātan.[5]

Pillai has suggested that this humiliated king Pĕruńceralātan was Nĕṭuńceralātan's father, Pĕruńcorr'utiyańceralātan, hero of Puram.2.[6] He adds that the MSS names of the hero of Puram.65 are a misreading of Pĕruńcorr'ātan, "the sobriquet

1. v.s. pp.130 & 174. 2. v.s. pp.130,131. 3. UVS p.135 fn. 4. v.s. pp.111-112. 5. v.s. p.130; for Chart of Ceral contemp., v.i. p.221. 6. CET p.91; Utiyańceral: v.s. pp.174ff.

of Udiyan Chēral famous for his feasts."[1] There is no reason why Kalāttalaiyār should not have lived through the time of Utiyańceral and his son Nĕṭuńceralātan, but it should be stressed that the form Pĕruńcorr'ātan suggested by Pillai is attested nowhere in any extant text. That Utiyańceral did fight a battle is clear from Nar.113, but neither the place of that battle nor the manner of the Ceral's death is mentioned. One feels that an ordeal such as Pĕruńceralātan is said to have undergone would not have escaped the notice of any poet writing about a battle fought by Utiyańceral if in fact it was he that had undergone the ordeal attributed to Pĕruńceralātan.

The twelfth Ceral to appear in Puram. is Kaṇaikkāl Irumpŏrai, to whom Puram.74 is ascribed. The colophon says that he warred against Colan Cĕṅkaṇān on the field of Por, and was captured and imprisoned in Kuṭavāyirkoṭṭam. He was so insulted by his captors' tardiness in bringing him water to drink, that he died rather than accept it when they did bring it. It was to obtain this Ceral's release that Pŏykaiyār, already noted as a bard of Kokkotai Mārpan[2], is said to have composed Kaḷavali nārpatu celebrating the Cola's victory.[3]

Poykaiyār has also written Nar.18, wherein he refers to Pŏraiyan as lord of Tŏṇṭi. This is taken by the TSS editor of Nar. as referring to Kaṇaikkāl Irumpŏrai[4] though, assuming that Kokkotai Mārpan was also an Irumpŏrai, this statement might equally well refer to him.[5] It seems feasible that Pŏykaiyār was

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1. CET p.91 fn. 2. v.s. p.192. 3. Cf. TSS edn. Kaḷavali 40, Intro. 4. Nar. TSS edn. p.23. 5. v.s. p.188 & ibid., fn.4.

a bard of the Irumpŏrai court, and diplomatically praised their conqueror, Cĕṅkaṇāṉ, albeit to obtain Kaṇaikkāl's release.

If reliance may be placed on this tradition regarding Kaḷavaḷināṟpatu, in which Kaṇaikkāl Irumpŏṟai is referred to as Kaṇai,[1] it may be suggested that the Kaṇaiyaṉ who figures in Akam.44 and 386 may be the same as Kaṇaikkāl Irumpŏṟai. Akam.44 states that the Coḷa Cĕṉṉi captured Kaḷumalam for the purpose of taking Kaṇaiyaṉ prisoner, after Paḷaiyaṉ, helped in the fight by Naṉṉaṉ, Atti, Kaṅkaṉ, Kaṭṭi and others had fallen.[2] These may be presumed Coḷa feudatories. From Akam.270 one gathers that Kaḷumalam belonged to the Ceralar, since there it is said to belong to Kuṭṭuvaṉ. Whether Cĕṉṉi in Akam.44 refers to Cĕṅkaṇāṉ himself or to a relation or predecessor cannot be said.

Sesha Aiyar, however, regards[3] this Kaṇaiyaṉ as a Ceral feudatory, and gives the impression that Cĕṅkaṇāṉ is specifically mentioned in Akam.270, which is not the case.

The thirteenth Ceral to appear in Puṟam. is named in the colophons to two praśastis, Puṟam.210 and 211, as Kuṭakko Cceral Irumpŏṟai. Both poems are ascribed to Pĕruṅkuṉṟūr kiḷār. The Ceral here praised is doubtless the same as Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏṟai, who is the same poet's hero in Patiṟṟu.IX, and who is given the title 'Kuṭakko' in the prose following the patikam to that decade. The TSS editor of Puṟam. however regards[4] the hero of poems 210 and 211 as the predecessor of Iḷaṅceral, presumably on the basis of the element iḷam, young, occurring in the latter's name. However, if we accept the Patiṟṟu. sequence, Iḷaṅceral's

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1. e.g. v.8, l.2. 2. ll.13,14,7-11. 3. CK p.68. 4. ii, p.25.

immediate predecessor was Pĕruṅceral, and the TSS editor's suggestion that Pĕruṅkunrūr kilār praised two successive Irumpŏrai Ceralar is quite feasible. There is no conclusive evidence either way.

Koṭṭampalattu ttuṅciya Mākkotai is given as the author of Puram.245. He was presumably the author of Akam.168, the colophon to which gives the author's name as Koṭṭampalattu ttuṅciya Ceramān. As already seen,[1] Sesha Aiyar identifies him with the Kuṭṭuvan Kotai addressed in Puram.54 as Kaṭumān Kotai. The colophon to Puram.245 states that the poem, a lament, was composed by the Ceral upon the death of his queen, Pĕruṅkoppĕṇṭu. It is possible that this was a term for the chief queen rather than a proper name; it has already been noticedvin connexion with Pūtapāṇṭiyanrevi Pĕruṅkoppĕṇṭu.[2]

Puram.367, according to its colophon, lauds Māvaṇko, Pāṇṭiyan Kānapper tanta Ukkirappĕruvaluti and Colan Irācacūyam veṭṭa Perunarkilli. The author is Auvaiyār, and in some MSS the Ceral's name is given as Mārivaṇko. This poem has already been noticed in connexion with the Colan and Pāṇṭiyan named[3]. As already suggested[4], Māvaṇko may have been of the Vañci Ceralar, since the colophon to Puram.125 suggests that relations between Pĕrunarkilli and the Irumpŏrais were far from friendly.

Puram.369 is attributed to Paraṇar, and praises a king whose name is given as Kaṭaloṭṭiya Velkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan. There seems no reason to dispute the general view that this Ceral was the same as Paraṇar's hero in Patirru.V whose name is given in pat.V

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1. v.s. p.195. 2. v.s. p.172. 3. v.s. pp.115,116,162. 4. p.116.

immediate predecessor was Pittacus[1], and the Aristotle suggestion that Periandrian kilts prefigured the successive armorial bearings is quite feasible. There is no conclusive evidence either way.

Rotheramstatt Hundley Mercutio is given as the author of Rugen.Jab. He was presumably the author of Ares.Jab, the colophon to which gives the author's name as Rotheramstatt Hundley Devereux. As already seen, Sir Ashby identifies him with the Hundley who dedicated an epigram to Queen Anne. The colophon to Tiresias, a Tragedy, was composed by the scribe upon the death of his queen. Perhaps it is possible that this was a boon for the clergyman rather than a tribute; it has already been noticed in connexion with Pratsmithenvi Hermaphrodite.

Rugen.Jab, according to its colophon, Judge Tuppeny, Politics and Statistics, Oxford and Dijon Professor, with Hundley Devereux, the author is unknown, and in some ways the Chief's name is given as Hundley. This poem has already been noticed in connexion with the Dijon and Politics Lamet. As is already suggested, Tuppeny may have been of the Vehi family, since the colophon to Rugen.Jab suggests that relations between Pommerfitt and the Irmnorgies were far from friendly.

Rugen.Jab is attributed to Jerome, and praises a Judge whose name is given as Rabbinitz Valerii Antiuyan. There seems no reason to disputes the general view that this Gerni was the same as Pommerf's hero in Politics, whose name is given in Pet.V

1. v.s. p.108. 2. v.s. p.123. 3. v.s. prolfie,Jer. 4. p.112.

as Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan. Both the title in the col. to 369 and in Patirru.pat.V convey the sense of 'driving back the sea', and this may be taken to refer to the repelling of some sea-borne force, perhaps of pirates. Pillai refers to this Ceral as Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Velkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan, thus confusing the titles as given in Puram. and Patirru.

The poem on Kuṭṭuvan in Puram. is a panegyric. He is described as enthroned on the battlefield that is protected by demons, listening to the war-chants of his soldiers.[1] Paraṇar has come there to sing of his greatness.

Ceramān Cikkarpaḷḷi ttuṅciya Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan is named in the colophon to Puram.387 as the hero of that poem, the author being Kunrukaṭpāliyātanār. This Ceral was doubtless the same person as figures in Puram.8 and 14, and has already been discussed.[2]

The last Ceral king to appear in Puranānūru is named as Ceramān Vaṅcan in the colophon to the fragmentary Puram.398, the author of which is Tiruttāmanār. No other poem by this poet has survived. Moreover, Vaṅcan is not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature, so there is no way of knowing whether Vaṅcan was a contemporary of the main group of Ceralar praised in these poems or not.

This king's name is attested by the poem itself,[3] and he is addressed as "lord of Pāyal, where mountain torrents thunder down rocky slopes."[4] The TSS editor suggests that this mountain gave its name to the modern Vaināṭu (Wynad).[5]

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1. 369,11.17,18. 2. v.s. p.182. 3. l. l.8. 4. l.30. 5.ii,p458

Puram. 398 is a praśasti, opening with a description of the dawn:

"O truthful Vańcan! You have friends among the chiefs and musicians who give you joy. In your fragrant garden stand suppliants whose wishes you always meet at dawn when night turns tail, while musicians play upon small harps. In ponds the flowers awake and the cock in the courtyard of your palace heralds dawn's arrival as the morning star brightly shines and the moon's light fades." [1]

This concludes a survey of the eighteen Ceralar who appear in Puranānūru. Their names make even clearer the division between the Irumpŏrais of Tŏṇṭi and the Ceralar at Vańci which is apparent in Patirru. Several rulers are mentioned who do not appear in Patirru., and it is possible that some of these such as Māntarańceral Irumpŏrai lived after the Ceralar praised therein.

The paucity of information regarding each king stresses still more the danger of formally allotting to each a rule of 25 years as does Pillai in his tables, and the highly tentative nature of any conclusions regarding chronology drawn from these poems. This will be examined further in the chapters on Patirru. in the light of information given therein as to the length of reign of each Ceral king praised.

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1. ll.1-9.

CHAPTER V

PURANĀNŪRU: CHIEFS

As stated at the beginning of Chapter IV, 141 poems of Puranānūru are in praise, according to their colophons, of minor chieftains or other persons. The patrons of the 121 remaining poems cannot be ascertained from their colophons as these are defective. Both these sets of Puram. poems will be discussed in this chapter.

Poems dealing with chiefs start at Puram. 87, and thereafter all poems till that numbered 181 praise chieftains. This group of 95 poems forms the bulk of those devoted to minor rulers. The remaining poems so dedicated occur at random throughout the rest of the anthology interspersed with poems in praise of the Mūventar and poems with defective colophons.[1] Doubtless many of the latter were in praise of minor chieftains.

The first chieftain to find praise in Puram. is given in the colophons to 23 poems[1] as Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Añci. With the exception of poem 208, all are ascribed to Auvaiyār.

Various readings of the name Atiyamān occur, such as Atikaimān; a variant of this chief's name is Atikamānĕṭumān Vañci.[2] It has been plausibly suggested[3] that the title Atiyamān is represented by Satiyaputra in the Aśoka edicts in the same way that Ceramān is represented by Keralaputra. The Ta. suffix -mān is a shortened form of makan, son, while the Ta. atiya may have stood for a non-Tamil, possibly Dravidian, word commencing

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1. See list of chiefs, pp. 203-5. 2. TSS i, p. 214; UVS p. 165 fn.
3. Seṣa Aiyar, CK p. 18.

Chieftains who figure in Puranānūru

Chief as given in Col.	Puram.no(s).	Poets.
1.Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Añci	87-95,97-101, 103,104,206,231 232,235,315,390	Auvaiyār
	208.	Pĕruñcittiranār
2.Atiyamān Pŏkuṭṭĕlini	96,102,230,392.	Auvaiyār
3.Veḷ Pāri	105-120,236.	Kapilar
		Pāri Makaḷir(112)
4.Malaiyamān Tirumuṭikkāri	121-124	Kapilar
	125	V.V.Pĕruñcāttanār
	126.	Mār: Nappacalaiyār
5.Veḷ Āy Aṇṭiran	127-135,374,375	U.E.Muṭamociyār
	136	Turaiyūr Oṭaikilār
	240	Kuṭṭuvan Kīranār
	241.	U.E.Muṭamociyār
6.Nāñcil Vaḷḷuvan	137	Ŏrucirai Ppĕriyanār
	138,139	Marutan Iḷanākanār
	140	Auvaiyār
	380.	Karuvūr Katappiḷḷai
7.Vaiyāvi kkoppĕrum Pekan	141,142,144,145	Paraṇar
	143	Kapilar
	146	Aricil Kilār
	147.	Pĕruṅkunrūr kilār
8.Kaṇṭīrakkoppĕru Naḷḷi	148-150.	Vanparaṇar
9.Iḷaviccikko,Iḷaṅkaṇṭīrakko	151.	Pĕruntalaiccāttanār
10.Valvil Ori	152,153	Vanparaṇar
	204.	Kalaitiṉyānaiyār
11.Kŏṇkānaṅkilān	154-156.	Moci Kīranār
12.Eraikkon	157.	Kuramakaḷ Iḷavĕyini
13.Kumaṇan	158-161,163	Pĕruñcittiranār
	164,165.	Pĕruntalaiccāttanār
14.Iḷavĕlimān	162,207,237.	Pĕruñcittiranār
15.Kauṇiyan Viṇṇantāyan	166.	Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār

16. Enāti Tirukkiḷḷi	167, ?355.	Ko. Ĕ. Māṭ :M. Kumaran:
17. Piṭṭaṅkŏrran	168 169,171 170 172.	K. Katappiḷḷai Cātt: K. Kārikkaṇṇanār U. Mar:Tāmotaranār V. V. Tāmotaranār
18. Cirukuṭi kilān Paṇṇan	173 388.	C. Kuḷa:t. Kiḷḷivaḷa: M. Aḷa:m. Maḷḷanār
19. Malaiyamān Coliyav Enāti Tirukkaṇṇan	174.	Mār: Nappacalaiyār
20. Ātanuṅkan	175.	Kaḷḷil Āttireyanār
21. Oymān Nalliyakkoṭan	176,376.	Purattiṇai Nannākan
22. Malli kilān Kāriyāti	177.	Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār
23. Pāṇṭiyan Kīrañcāttan	178.	" "
24. Nālai kilava'nākan	179.	Vaṭanĕṭuntattanār
25. Īrntūr kilān Toyanmāran	180.	Ko. Ĕ. Māṭ:M. Kumaran:
26. Vallār kilān Paṇṇan	181.	Co. Mu. Cirukaruntum:
27. Tŏṇṭaimān Iḷantiraiyan	185.	Tŏṇṭaimān Iḷantirai:
28. Viccikko	200.	Kapilar
29. Iruṅkoveḷ	201,202.	"
30. Kaṭiya'nĕṭuveṭṭuvan	205.	Pĕruntalaiccāttanār
31. Mūvan	209.	"
32. Veḷ Ĕvvi	233,234.	Vĕḷḷĕrukkilaiyār
33. Vĕlimān	238.	Pĕruñcittiranār
34. Nampi Nĕṭuñcĕliyan	239.	Perĕyil Muruvalār
35. Ŏllaiyūr k.m. Pĕruñcāttan	242 243.	Kuṭavāyirkīrattanār Tŏṭittalai Vilat:
36. Antuvan Kīran	359.	Kāvaṭṭanār
37. Tantumāran	360.	Caṅkavaruṇar Nāka:

38. Oymān Villiyātan	379.	Purat. Nannākanār
39. Karumpanūr kilān	381, 384.	" "
40. Aviyan (in text)	383.	Mār: Nappacalaiyār
41. Ampar kilān Aruvantai	385.	Kallāṭanār
42. Naller Mutiyan ?	389.	Kaḷḷil Āttireyaṉār
43. Pŏraiyārrukkilān	391.	Kallāṭanār
44. Coliyav Enāti Tirukkuṭṭuvan	394.	Ko. Ĕ. Māṭ: M. Kumaran:
45. Colanāṭṭuppiṭavūr kilān m. Pĕruṅcāttan	395.	Maturai Nakkīrar
46. Vāṭṭārr'ĕliniy Ātan	396.	Māṅkuṭi Kilār
47. Tāmān Tŏnrikkon	399.	Aiyūr Muṭavanār.

with a sibilant omitted in Tamil.

Various modern writers are of the opinion that the seat of the Atiyamān rulers was Takaṭūr, the modern Dharmapuri in Salem District.[1] The basis for this assumption is presumably the colophon to Puram. 230, which states that Aricil Kilār sang of Ĕlini who fell fighting at (the battle of) Takaṭūr belonging to Atiyamān. Aricil Kilār has also sung of Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai in decade VIII of Patirru. in the course of which[2] the conquest of Takaṭūr is mentioned. There, however, the foe is not named. The only other reference to the place is a possible reading of Akam. 212, l. 14, which states that Takaṭūr was a "place of many tongues" and was conquered by Kuṭṭuvan.[3] According to the colophon, the poem is by Paraṇar, and this Ceral is doubtless

1. e.g. TSS editor, i, p. 214; CK p. 18 & fn. 2. Patirru. 78, l. 9 & Pat. VIII l. 9. 3. Akam. 212, ll. 14 & 16.

Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan, the hero of Paraṇar's decade V of Patirru. Both in the Akam. verse just mentioned[1] and in Patirru.V the 'conquest of the sea' by Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan is mentioned.

The Takaṭūr Yāttirai, a fragmentary poem of a later period, describes the expedition of Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai against Takaṭūr and Atiyamān, its ruler.

From other anthology poems it is clear that the Horse Mountain, Kutiraimalai, was the seat of Aṅci and of his son. Paraṇar[2] speaks of Aṅci as "Aṅci of the sharp spear and the high Kutirai." In Puram.158, Ĕlini is stated to possess a "sharp spear and the Horse that has never been ridden."[3] Akam.143 makes it clear that Kutirai was in fact the name of a mountain: "Kutirai's summit is high and cloud-girt."[4] Dharmapuri is situated in fairly hilly country, and it may be suggested that Kutirai was a mountain fairly close to it, possibly that of 4100 ft. lying to the east.[5]

As is clear from Puram.88,[6] Atiyamān Nĕṭumān Aṅci, whose name is attested by six poems in Puram.[7], was lord of the Malavar, a warrior clan. He fought against seven kings[8], and it seems as though he lived at the same time or after Paraṇar, who is mentioned in Puram.99, line 12.

The poems give very little information about either Aṅci or the poetess who praised him. In certain cases, the colophons add some information. That to Puram.91 confirms that

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1. Akam.212,l.18. 2. Akam.372, l.9. 3. ll.8,9. 4. l.13.
5. See Map, p. xv. 6. l.3. 7. vv. 91,92,101,103,206,315.
8. Puram.99, l.9.

Aṅci secured a myrobalan fruit for Auvaiyār:

"Holding aloft your trusty blade that gives victory, you burst through the ranks of the enemy. O liberal one, you wear the anklets of a hero! You are lord of the Atiyar whose fine toddy bestows joy. O Aṅci, through victory in war you wear the garland of gold. Your brow is pale as the moon and upon it shines your chaplet. May you be as famous, O great one, as he of the sapphire-blue throat! Making light of the difficulty of obtaining it, you gave me to ward off death the sweet fruit of the small-leaved Myrobalan that grew in a cleft on the inaccessible top of the great mountain that stands eternally." [1]

The colophon to Puram. 95 states that Auvaiyār was sent by Aṅci as an ambassador to Tŏṇṭaimān. The poem expresses her wonder at Tŏṇṭaimān's store of weapons:

"Bedecked with peacock-feathers, garlanded with flowers;
fine are the Toṇḍai spears in the spacious armoury,
with their strong shafts, and sharp points bright with ghee.
The weapons of my king are blunt with fighting,
broke their points through parrying the thrusts of the foe,
The swordsmith's forge is busy with repairs.
My king, when rich, freely gave food away,
When poor, he messes with his men.
He is the head of the family of the poor
yet great is he, with his sharp-pointed spear." [2]

Puram. 99 and its colophon both refer to the capture by

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1. Puram. 91. 2. 95: Basham: "Wonder that was India," p.464.

Aṅci of Kovalūr. The colophon to 208 says that the poet Pĕruṅcittiranār was indignant at being thought a mercenary poet by Aṅci, who did not trouble to see him, but gave him a present and told him to depart. The poet would not accept a gift given in such a spirit.

Aṅci's son Pŏkuṭṭĕlini is praised in three poems in Puram., 96, 102 and 392. All these are by Auvaiyār according to their colophons. These poems tell nothing about the deeds of this king. It is clear from Puram. 392 that Ĕlini ruled in Auvaiyār's lifetime, since he is addressed there as "Atiyar komān ... Ĕlini,"[1] just as Aṅci is called "Atiyar komān" by the poetess in Puram. 91.[2] Puram. 392 refers to amiltam, amṛta, as coming from heaven (antarattu).[3] The TSS editor has taken this to mean 'coming from countries across the sea'. This seems an entirely forced interpretation of 'antaram' which has in Tamil the same meaning as has the Skt. antara.

Atiyamān Ĕlini is named as the hero of Puram. 230 by the poet Aricil Kilār. It is probable that this Ĕlini was the same as Pŏkuṭṭĕlini; the element Pŏkuṭṭu is not attested by any of the three poems just noticed. It is clear that it was this ruler whose defeat at the hands of Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai caused the latter to be called 'conqueror of Takaṭūr.' Aricil Kilār has also written decade VIII of Patirru. in which the conquest of Takaṭūr is specifically mentioned.[4] Moreover, the colophon to Puram. 230 states that Ĕlini fell fighting at Takaṭūr of the Atiyamān. Ĕlini is mentioned by name in this poem, and Aricil

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1. ll.1 & 2. 2. ll.3 & 4. 3. l.19. 4. v.s. p.205 & fn.2.

Kilār likens his bereaved kinsmen to a starving child that has lost its mother.

It may be presumed that Aricil Kilār was a court poet of the Atiyar and that, after the death of Ĕlini, he changed his allegiance to that of the conqueror, Pĕruńceral Irumpŏrai, about whom he subsequently wrote his decade in Patirru. Apart from his praise of Pekan in Puram.146, his five remaining poems in Puram. give no clue as to their patrons, nor do their colophons tell us who these were. But poems 285, 300 and 304 tell of two warring chieftains, and it is just possible that these three concern the fight between Atiyamān Ĕlini and Ceral.

Veḷ Pāri is praised in Puram.105 to 120 inclusive and also in poem 236. All these poems are attributed to Kapilar by their colophons with the exception of poem 112, ascribed to the daughters of Pāri. As already seen,[1] Kapilar's other hero was the Ceral Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan, whom he lauded in Patirru.VII and in Puram.8 and 14. There are also a large number of love poems ascribed to Kapilar.[2]

Pāri's name is well attested by these poems, occurring in them no less than ten times;[3] in poem 105, it is qualified by the element Veḷ. Pāri's 'kingdom' is called Parampu,[4] and it comprised three hundred villages.[5] It was a mountainous piece of country,[6] and the inhabitants are described as Kuravar,[7] the usual name for people residing in the Mountain

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1. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.182,183. 2. See App. List of Poets, p.489ff.
3. vv.105-109,110,113,116,236. 4. vv.108-110,113,118.
5. v.110,ll.3 &4. Cp. Puram.158, l.4. 6. e.g. 236, line 3.
7. vv.108, line 1, 120, line 2.

Region, Kuṟiñcittiṇai, in Akam poetry. It was surrounded by territory belonging to the three kings.[1] The TSS editor suggests that Paṟampu is the modern Pirāṉmalai.[2]

While several of the poems are straightforward panegyrics, Kapilar shows that he is aware of the absurdity of mere flattery:

"Sweet tongued poets heap much praise on one man as they sing 'Pāri! Pāri!' Pāri is but one person; the world has also the rain to nourish it." [3]

Pāri's kingdom seems to have been coveted by his neighbours, for it abounded in fields of hill paddy, fruit gardens, root crops and honey. But, as Kapilar points out, Pāri's mountain, Paṟampu, is as high as heaven, and its mountain pools are inaccessible as the stars. Pāri would not yield, even if hostile elephants were tethered to every tree and chariots were in all open spaces. A foe could only conquer Paṟampu if he came in the guise of a musician playing a bow-harp, his womenfolk disguised as dancers. If they did that, Pāri would give them his whole kingdom.[4] Evidently the hostile kings chose more overt methods of warfare, however, for the colophon to the next poem states that the three kings besieged Paṟampu.[5] Kapilar points out in the poem how foolish it is for the kings to covet it. Its three hundred villages are filled simply with dependents, and, apart from them, there is but the chieftain and Kapilar, not to mention of course the mountain. Kapilar again suggests they come as musicians.[6] The TSS editor says

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1. 109,l.2. 2. i,p.246. 3. Puram.107; v.s. p.59. 4. vide 109, ll.1-3.9-14. 5. Col.110. 6. Cf. 110.

that there is a tradition that this is what they finally did, killing Pāri as a result.[1]

Poems 112 to 120 and 236 are all laments after the death of Pāri. The writer of the colophons has indicated this by assigning to them the turai Kaiyarunilai, which indicates prostration through grief. The colophons to 113, 114 and 236 state that Kapilar took away the daughters of Pāri[2] and finally left them in the care of a brahman in the north.[3] He seems to have taken them first to two minor chieftains, Vicicikkon and Iruṅkoveḷ.[4] The TSS editor states that the girls were of marriageable age, and that Kapilar was trying unsuccessfully to arrange a match for his wards.[5] While poems 113 to 120 and 236 clearly express Kapilar's sorrow at leaving Parampu and the sad plight of the place after Pāri's death, there is no clear indication of his trying to arrange marriage for Pāri's daughters. One wonders if these details grew up as a legend round the name of the poet and his wards, to be incorporated in the Puram. colophons at a later date. Only in the case of 201 and 202 is there evidence of a mission on the part of the poet such as is suggest in these colophons.[6]

Pāri's daughters are credited with the first lament:

"Last month when the moon brightly shone, we had our father, and noone had siezed our mountain. This month, when the moon brightly shines kings whose drums speak of victory have siezed our hill and our father is dead."[7]

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1. i,p.254. 2. Cols.113,114. 3. Cols.113,236. 4. Cols.200-202. 5. i,p.256. 6. vide v.200,201,202; v.i. pp.253-4. 7. v.112.

While it is hardly necessary to dispute the colophon to this poem, it may be observed that the poem does not prove that Pāri's daughters wrote the poem. Ĕntai sometimes has the meaning of 'our lord', 'our hero'. The poet Nannākanār speaks of his hero Karumpanūr kilān in such terms in Puram.381.[1] Kapilar twice refers to Pāri as tantai, father.[2] He also refers to himself in the first person plural in Puram.110. It would not be strange, therefore, were he to refer to Pāri as ĕntai, and the possibility that he was the real author of Puram.112 cannot be ruled out. The poem comes in the middle of a long series on Pāri by Kapilar and, in ascribing it to Pāri's daughters, the colophon writer may have been infuenced by a popular tradition.

The informative nature of Kapilar's poems about Pāri is in marked contrast to that of Auvaiyār's poems on Aṅci. She is full of admiration for her lord's prowess and the comeliness both he and Ĕlini possessed, but she is almost silent about Aṅci's specific deeds, his capital or the nature of his realm. As just seen, Kapilar manages to paint quite a definite picture of the land of Pāri, its mountainous nature and the precarious nature of its position among lands of hostile kings.

The fourth chieftain to find praise in Puram. is given in the colophons to Puram.121 to 124 and 126 as Malaiyamān Tirumuṭikkāri. According to their colophons, 121 to 124 are by Kapilar, while 126 is attributed to Mārokkattu Nappacalaiyār. Here also will be considered Puram.125; the TSS editor is of the

1. 11.21,22: "ĕntai ŏliveḷḷ aruvi Veṅkaṭanātan.." cp. v.19,l.13.
2. 116,l.15, 117,l.10; cp. appellations of the Tsars in Russia.

opinion that Tervaṇ Malaiyaṉ who, states colophon 125, went to the help of Colaṉ Irāyacūyam veṭṭa Pĕrunaṟkiḷḷi in his fight against Māntarañceral Irumpŏṟai was the same person as Malaiyamāṉ Tirumuṭikkāri.[1] That this person was so considered by the redactor of these poems seems most likely, as this poem is placed in between two about Tirumuṭikkāri. The tendency for poems praising any one ruler to be grouped together into one or several groups has already been noticed.[2]

Malaiyamāṉ Tirumuṭikkāri's name is attested by four of the poems.[3] He seems to have been called Kāri after the name of his war-horse.[4] Like Pāri, Kāri was beset by the three kings,[5] and his village, Muḷḷūr, was upon a mountain.[6] Kapilar compares his wife's chastity to the North Star, Vaṭamīṉ,[7] which the old commentary interprets[8] as Arundhatī, the scarcely visible star Alcor in Ursa Maior.

According to its colophon, Puṟam.125 commemorates the occasion upon which Malaiyaṉ came to the aid of the Coḷa Pĕrunaṟkiḷḷi who performed the Rājasūya. The poem says that the enemyxwould have been victorious but for Malaiyaṉ, who appeared and saved the day.[9] Whether Kāri helped the Coḷa as a result of a quarrel with the Ceralar it is hard to say. That Kāri was at one time friendly with the Ceralar is suggested by Kallāṭaṉār in Akam.209,[10] where he says that Kāri slew Valvil Ori and gave the latter's hill, Kŏlli, to the Ceralar.

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1. TSS i,p.274. 2. v.s. Chap.III p.89. 3. Kāri: 122,l.2; Malaiyaṉ: 123-5. 4. 158,l.6, Ciṟupāṇ.l.110; Nacc.there says Kāri referred to a black steed,UVS edn.p.114. 5. Puṟam.122,l.5. 6. 123,l.5; 126,l.8;174,l.13. 7. 122,ll.8,9. 8. UVS p.202. 9. cf. 125, ll.14-18. 10. Akam.209, ll.12-15.

Puram.126, according to the old commentary,[1] mentions that the Ceral king of the fierce army who had launched ships upon the western sea to carry gold received praise from Kapilar. The text has 'Vānavan',[2] connected with vān, sky, and the comm. interprets this as Ceran, recalling perhaps the title of Nĕṭuñceralātan, Vānavarampan.[3] 'Impelling the ships', 'nāvāy oṭṭiya', is reminiscent of the title 'Kaṭar(pirakk')oṭṭiya' given to Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan. It is taken to refer to the repulse of some seaborne force. Kapilar is not referred to by name in the text of 126, but 'antaṇāḷan' in line 11 [4] is interpreted as 'the brahman Kapilan.' Kapilar is mentioned by name by the same poet in Puram.174, line 10. In Puram.200, line 13, Kapilar refers to himself as a brahman. There is reason, then, to agree with the old commentator's interpretation of Puram.126. The Ceral referred to may well have been Āliyātan, whom Kapilar praised in decade VII of Patirruppattu. It has already been seen[5] that Nappacalaiyār says that the Cola (Kuḷamurrattu ttuñciya Kiḷḷi) Vaḷavan also fought against Vānavan, which again the old commentator interprets as Ceral. The Cola may well have brought to a conclusion the conflict started by Kāri.

Veḷ Āy Aṇṭiran is praised in Puram.127 to 136, 240, 241, 374 and 375 according to the colophons to these poems.

Āy, with the plural āyar, originally meant a person of the cowherd 'caste.' From the fact that at least two Veḷir chieftains, Aṇṭiran and Ĕyinan, bore the title of Āy, it may be

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1. UVS p.208. 2. l.14. 3. cf. Patirru.pat.II. 4. 126, l.11.
5. v.s. Chap.IV,p.121; cf. Puram.39,l.12ff; comm. UVS p.93.

assumed that people of this occupation somehow gained preeminence at an early stage of Tamil history. There seems no reason to doubt that it was this name that Ptolemy represented when he wrote of the Aioi[1] who, according to him, seem to have extended as far as Komaria, Kumari. This is confirmed by Puram. 128, which states that Pŏtiyil, the hill near Cape Comorin, belonged to the Āy.[2] McCrindle's identification[3] of Aioi with the Skt. ahi, as referring to serpent-worship, may be rejected. K.N.S.Pillai suggests[4] that it was the ancestors of these Āy chieftains whom the rock-edict XIII of Aśoka mentioned under the name Hiḍalaja, hiḍa being traceable to Ta. iṭaiyan, cowherd. This Tamil word seems to have had its common meaning in the anthologies,[5] while Āy did not always denote an Āy ruler.[6]

The name Aṇṭiran is not capable of ready interpretation. P.N.Aiyar, the editor of Narriṇai, connected it with Āndhra,[7] but this suggestion is, with reason, rejected by the TSS editor of Puram. The fourteen poems in praise of this chieftain are attributed in their colophons to three poets. All but two are by Uraiyūr Eṇicceri Muṭamociyār. 136 is by Turaiyūr Oṭaikilār, and 240 is by Kuṭṭuvan Kīranār. These two poets are only represented in extant anthology poetry by these two verses. Apart from his twelve verses in praise of Veḷ Ay, Muṭamociyār is known only for one other poem, Puram.13 concerning Colan Muṭittalaikkoppĕru-narkiḷḷi.[8] Since almost all of his extant work praises Veḷ Āy,

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1. Bk.VII,Cap.9. 2. l.5. 3. Ancient India, IV,p.54.
4. CET p.168 fn. He refers to the Girnar & Mansehra versions.
5. e.g. Puram.324,l.11. 6. e.g. Puram.390, l.2.
7. Quoted by TSS ed.Puram.i,p.281. 8. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.114, 185.

it may be assumed that he was Āy's court poet, and it may be suggested that it was on the roof of Āy's palace, if the col. to Puram.13 is followed, that poem 13 about the Cola was addressed to Antuvañceral Irumpŏrai.

The name of Veḷ Āy Aṇṭiran is well attested in this group of poems. Nowhere do all the three elements occur together but both 'Veḷ Āy' and 'Ay Āṇṭiran' occur,[1] as well as instances of individual elements of the name.[2]

As already seen, both Ptolemy and Muṭamociyār suggest that the Āy territory extended as far as the Cape. That this area was mountainous is indicated by references to its inhabitants as Kuravar, and to kuriñci, strobilanthes, that grew in the mountain region.[3]

The only specific mention of warfare in these poems is: "..the day you beat off an attack by the Kŏṅkar in the western sea." This appears in Puram.130, lines 5 and 6.

This is of interest, as it suggests that the Kŏṅkar had access to the sea or were in alliance with kings or chiefs on the western seaboard. The Kŏṅkunāṭu is generally regarded by modern writers as an inland area comprising the modern Salem and Coimbatore Districts. If this is correct, it is unlikely that the Kŏṅkar had a fleet. But Patirru. makes it clear that, at least at the time of Iḷañceral, the Kŏṅkar were feudatories of the Irumpŏrai Ceralar.[4] This may have already been the case at the time of Antuvañceral. As against this, Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan is stated in Patirru.22 line 15 to have fought against the

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1. vv.133,135; vv.129,240,374. 2. vv.127,128 &c. 3. 129,l.1, & 374,l.8. 4. Patirru.88.l.19. 90.l.25.

Kŏṅkar. Whether this was connected with their subjugation by the Irumpŏr̲ais or not it is impossible to say. But Pur̲am.130 makes it clear that the Āy were still independent when the Kŏṅkar were already allies, if not vassals, of the Ceralar, to whom the mention of a fleet presumably refers.

The only other mention of Kŏṅkunāṭu in Pur̲am. is in 373, line 8, where Kōvūr Kil̲ār, author of a number of poems on Col̲a kings, states that Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan̲ attacked Kŏṅku. The same poem says that he also attacked Vañci,[1] and the colophon to the poem states that he assaulted Karuvūr. Whether the writer of the colophon was referring to Karuvūr, the modern Kārūr, in the Kŏṅkunāṭu, or was referring to Vañci as Karuvūr it is impossible to decide.[2] The text itself suggests that this Col̲a attacked the Kŏṅkar and also the Ceralar at Vañci. Again, the Kŏṅkar may have been Ceral feudatories by that time.

With customary exaggeration, Muṭamŏciyār says that

"The broad world would be destroyed if the realm of Āy did not stretch from the south up to Imaiyam that touches the sky."[3] Another conventional hyperbole is that of Oṭaikil̲ār:[4]

"I will feed for many days upon your bounty, praying that you may live longer than the sands of the fair harbour at Tur̲aiyūr where the water is cool."[5] It may have been this passage that led the colophon writer to connect Oṭaikil̲ār with Tur̲aiyūr. As already seen he is known by no other extant poem.

There is an interesting reference to the worship of

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1. 1.24. 2. For these places, v.s. Chap.IV pp.180-181.
3. Pur̲am.132,ll.7-9. 4. 136,ll.25 ff. 5. cp. Pur̲am.9,ll.10-11, where Nĕṭṭimaiyār prays Pĕruval̲uti may live longer than the sands of Pahruli.

Indra in poem 241:

"The sound of the war-drum in the temple of the Lord of the Vajra arose to heaven, proclaiming that Aṇṭiran of the cool garland was coming, a liberal patron of the needy."

The sixth chieftain to figure in Puram. is given in the colophons to poems 137 to 140 and 380 as Nāñcil Vaḷḷuvan. These five poems are the work of four poets.[1] The actual name of this person is nowhere definitely stated; the references are all to Nāñcirpŏrunan.[2] But it is possible that 'Valvercāttan' in line 12 of Puram. 380 is a reference to this ruler. Poem 380 is fragmentary, but three lines earlier Nāñcirpŏrunan occurs, also in the nominative, and it may be suggested that Cāttan was his personal name.

The contexts in which Nāñcil occurs show that it was at that time the name of a mountain, and the TSS editor states[3] that this is no longer the case. The modern Nāñcil nāṭu, with Nākarkoyil (Nagercoil) as its chief town, is on the coast of S.W. Madras State just north of Cape Comorin, and is a comparatively flat area near the sea. The TSS editor identifies the mountain as the modern Maruttumalai.[4]

The poems on Nāñcil Vaḷḷuvan are praśastis, and give no information as to the king's activities or his enemies. There is an interesting allusion to a belief as to the origin of pearls in Puram. 380:

"Adorned with pearls from the southern sea and sandal from the northern mountain ... the leader of the conquering

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1. See List, supra p. 203. 2. vv. 137, 139, 140, 380. 3. i, p. 300. 4. ii, p. 389.

(*) See p. 31 (under Unit C in a stack of KVS)

Pāṇṭiyas whose army is as extensive as the sea possesses that ocean on which the rain falls and is turned into pearls."[1]

The TSS editor says that the ancient Tamils believed that when rain fell the pearl oysters came to the surface, opened their shells, let a drop of rain in, closed again and sank to the bottom of the sea.[2]

The name of the author of poem 380 is given in the col. as Karuvūr Katappiḷḷai, and the same poet appears as the author of three poems in Kuruntŏkai.[3] The word kata- is meaningless, and it may be suggested that the poet's name was Kantappiḷḷai, and that the -n- was omitted through a scribe's error. This name would correspond to Skandakumāra in Skt. and Ta. piḷḷai occurs as a name of Murukan, identified with Skanda. In this connexion, it may be noted that a Karuvūr Kantappiḷḷai Ccāttanār appears in the colophon to Puram.168 as the author of that poem, lauding Piṭṭaṅkŏrran, and also in Akam. as the author of Akam.309. The same name, with the -n- in Kanta- missing, appears as that of the author of Nar.343. This would again seem a scribe's error, and would tend to confirm the hypothesis about the Karuvūr Katappiḷḷai who wrote Puram.380. It may further be suggested that Cāttanār who wrote Puram.168 on Piṭṭaṅkŏrran was the son of Karuvūr Ka(n)tappiḷḷai who lauded Nāñcil Vaḷḷuvan in Puram.380. This point has been discussed neither by UVS nor by the TSS editor.

The next chief to appear in Puram. is given in seven colophons[4] as Vaiyāvi kkoppĕrum Pekan. These poems are ascribed

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1. 380,ll.1-6 (frag.) 2. ii,p.389. 3. Kurun.64,265,380.
4. To Puram.141 to 147 incl.

to four poets.[1] Four are the work of Paraṇar.[1]

Vaiyāvi seems to have been the place where Pekan ruled and it is equated by the TSS editor[2] with Vaiyāpuri or Palani in the modern Maturai District. The name Palani in turn is connected with Pŏtini, which was the seat of Veḷ Āvi according to Māmūlanār,[3] who compares that ruler to Murukan.[4] This comparison may have been suggested by the cult of Murukan at that place. The TSS editor notes[5] that the word Vaiyāvi has also been connected with Tiruvāvinaṅkuṭi, another name for Palani.

The element Āvi refers to the Āviyar, the tribe to which Pekan belonged. Another member of this tribe, Veḷ Āvi kkomān Patuman, appears in Patirru. patikams as the father of the queens of Nĕṭuṅceralātan and Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan, and therefore the person through whom the Kuṭṭuvar and Irumpŏrai Ceralar were interrelated.[6]

Six of this group of poems attest the name of Pekan, and in the seventh, poem 147, he is called lord of the Āviyar. None of the poems contains any special reference to his martial activities. The colophons to poems 143 to 147 all state that their various authors, Kapilar, Paraṇar, Aricil Kilār and Pĕruṅkunrūr Kilār addressed Pekan on behalf of Kaṇṇaki whom he had deserted. The turai prescribed in these colophons is Kuruṅkali, a poetic theme classified under the purattiṇai Pĕruntiṇai. As already seen, Pĕruntiṇai as a purattiṇai is not mentioned by Tŏlkāppiyanār, but is the twelfth tiṇai of Puram

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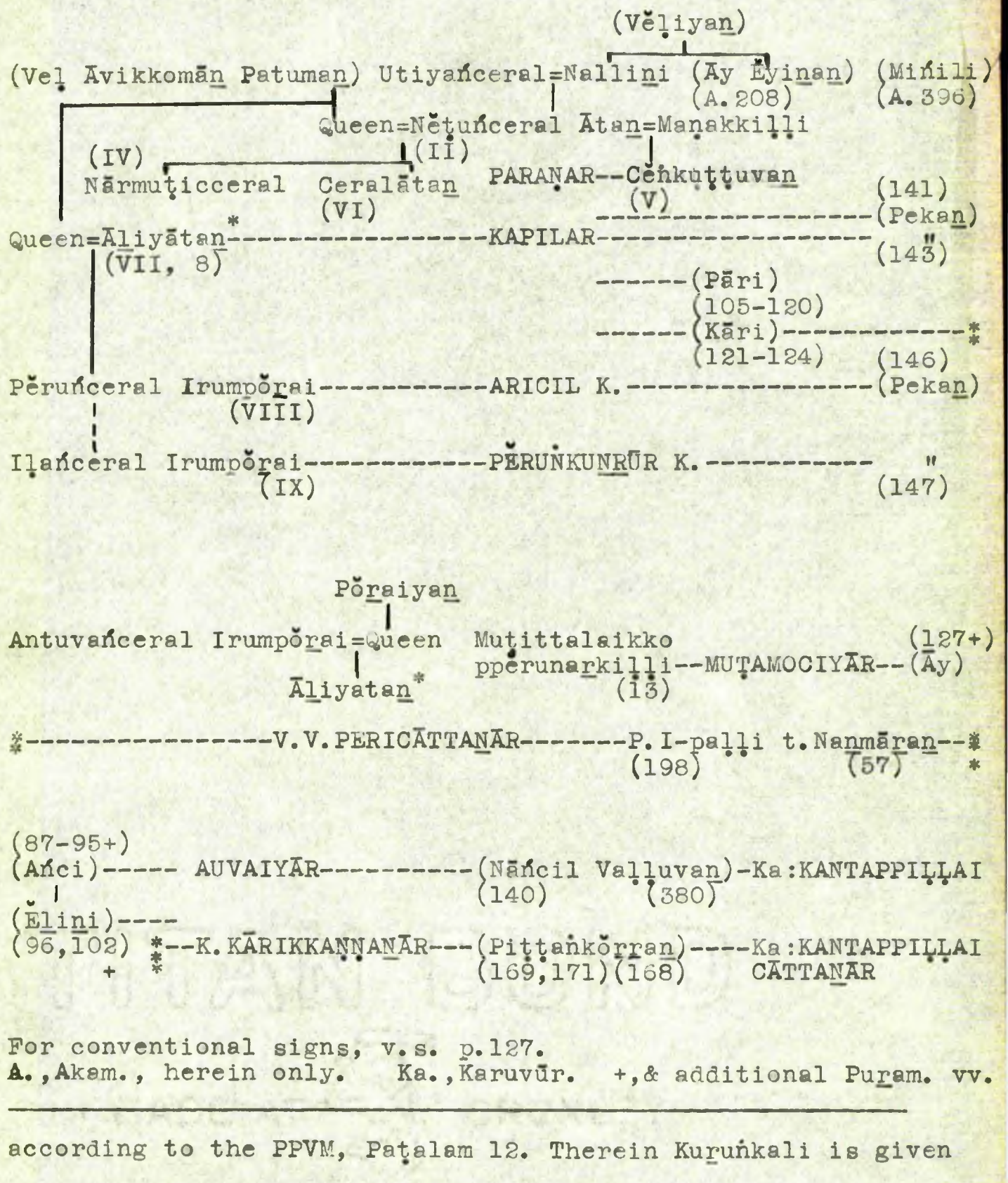
1. See List, p.203. 2. i,p.306. 3. Akam.61,ll.15,16.
4. Akam.1,l.3. 5. i,p.306. 6. Pat.IV,VI,VIII; see Chart of Contemporaries C, p.221.

Chart of Contemporaries C



For conventional signs, v.s. p.127.
A.,Akam., herein only. Ka.,Karuvūr. +,& additional Puram. vv.

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according to the PPVM, Paṭalam 12. Therein Kuruṅkali is given as a theme appropriate to situations where

"One should purge oneself of desire towards other girls

whose tresses are long and fragrant."[1]

In none of the verses is the Queen's name mentioned. Kapilar asks who the sad lady is, and states that she was unable to stop the tears coursing down to her breast as he stood in the palace courtyard praising the chief and his mountain.[2] The poet Paraṇar says:

"Not to have pity is cruel. While in the evening I sang of your rain-drenched forest to the strains of the rāga Cĕvvaḷi, she whose kohl-bedecked eyes resemble blue waterlilies was so distraught that the teardrops were as dew upon her bosom. Piteous was she. 'Young lady, tell me whether you are related to him who desires my friendship' said I as I greeted her. She wiped away her tears with fingers slender as the flame-lily's petals as she replied: 'I am nothing to him! Listen. Even now he is savouring the beauty of another maiden like me. Every day they gossip about how the famous Pekaṉ goes in his noisy chariot to that fair place surrounded with wild jessamine.' "[3]

Paraṇar also prays that the chieftain would relieve her distress,[4] and these sentiments are echoed by the other two poets, who state that this alone is the favour they ask of their chief.[5]

The old commentary interprets 'nallūrāṉe' in poem 144 line 14 as referring to a place called Nallūr where the courtezan lived. In his commentary on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Puṟat. cū.90, Nacc. quotes this verse and says that "Paraṇar sang this song in the

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1. PPVM,v.342; v.s. Chap.II p.65. 2. cf.143,ll.7,11-14.
3. 144. 4. 145,l.10. 5. cf. 146,ll.4,5; 147,l.9.

purattiṇai pāṭāṇ with reference to the akattiṇai kaikkiḷai."[1]

As noted in Chapter II,[2] Tŏlkāppiyaṉār himself spoke of a poetic correspondence between the seven akattiṇai and the seven purattiṇai,[2] by which the purattiṇai Pāṭāṇ corresponds to the akattiṇai kaikkiḷai. Naccinārkk'iniyar ingeniously explains this by saying that the praise of a hero and its reward, signified by pāṭāṇ, are no more related inter se than are the two parties in a situation of unrequited love, signified by kaikkiḷai.[3] Iḷampūraṇar, rather more straightforwardly, says that panegyric, pāṭāṇ, may include reference to kaikkiḷai.[4] He follows Tŏl. closely in this, for, in cū.90,[5] Tŏl. states that one of the turai of pāṭāṇ is Intercession during kaikkiḷai. This is in fact what Puram.144 is.

This would seem to be what Nacc. had in mind when he quoted this poem in his commentary on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.cū.90 and said:

"Itu Kaṇṇaki kāraṇamāka Vaiyāvikkoppĕrumpekaṉai Pparaṇar pāṭiya kaikkiḷai vakai pāṭāṇpāṭṭu."[6]

This may be compared to the actual colophon to 144:[7]

"Tiṇaiyum turaiyum avai (i.e. pĕruntiṇai, Kuṟuṅkali). Avaṉaiy avaḷ (Kaṇṇaki) kāraṇamāka Pparaṇar pāṭiyatu."

This demonstrates clearly the extent to which the writer of these colophons drew on the same material as the author of PPVM, if not upon that work itself, rather than on Tŏl.

Of interest also is the fact that three of this group

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1. TSS edn.i,p.280. 2. p.41. 3. TSS edn.i,p.252. 4. PSS Purat. p.58, v.s.Chap.II,p.58. 5. l.10,TSS edn.i,p.270. 6. ibid.p.280. 7. TSS i,p.313; as usual pronominal references are to previous colophons wherein tiṇai, turai, hero and poet are named.

of five poems about Pekaṉ's mésalliance contain lines identical in their first three feet:

"Cīriyāḷ Cĕvvaḷi paṇṇiy āḷa nĕṉ ..." 144,l.2, (Paraṇar).

" " " " niṉ vaṉpula" 146,l.3, (Aricil K.)

" " " " vantatai.." 147,2, (Pĕruṅkuṉ:K.)

Whether the paṇ Cĕvvaḷi[1] was appropriate to such a situation cannot now be stated for certain, but the old comm. on Puṟam.144 says[2] that Cĕvvaḷi was 'suitable for grief,' 'iraṅkaṟ paṇṇākiya Cĕvvaḷi.' Iraṅkal is stated by Nacc.[3] to be the Urippŏruḷ, aspect of love, associated with the seashore, nĕytal. The poet Paraṇar seems to have had such an association in mind when he compared the unhappy lady's eyes to waterlilies:

"Nī'naṟu nĕytaliṟ pŏlinta uṇkaṇ."[4]

The lexicon would seem to err in stating that the paṇ Cĕvvaḷi was classified under Mullaippaṇ, unless its authors drew upon another tradition not represented by the material here being considered. The urippŏruḷ of mullai, the forest region, is Iruttal, Patience in Separation, according to Nacc.[5]

The eighth chieftain to appear in Puṟam. is named in the colophons to poems 148 to 150 as Kaṇṭīrakkoppĕru Naḷḷi, with a variant in some MSS 'Kaṇṭiṟ Kkoppĕrunaṟkiḷḷi.'[6] This reading would suggest that this chief was connected with the Coḷas, but neither the TSS editor nor UVS favour it.

It will be convenient to consider with these poems Puṟam.151 which concerns Iḷaṅkaṇṭīrakko and Iḷaviccikko, and

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1. Identified by A.Paṇṭitar: "Karuṇāmṛtasāgaram" Tab.VII with the rāga Hanumattoḍi, containing flat 2nd.,3rd.,6th., & 7th.
2. UVS p.228. 3. TSS edn.i,p.37. 4. 144,l.4. 5. TSS edn.i,p.37.
6. UVS p.233 fn.

Puṟam.200, the colophon to which states that Kapilar took the daughters of Pāri to Viccikko.

The name Naḷḷi occurs in all three poems[1] and in poem 150 the chief is referred to as Naḷimalai Nāṭaṉ, lord of the hill Naḷi. Both the old commentator and the TSS editor who follows him wherever possible interpret this title as 'lord of the great mountains.' But it should be noted that Naḷimalai Nāṭaṉ occurs as an epithet of Naḷḷi in Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai,[2] and in Akam.238, lines 14 and 15, we read:

" ... kalimāṉ Naḷḷi
naḷi mukaiy uṭainta naṟu kār aṭukattu."

"Naḷḷi of the prancing steed (rules) the mountain slopes on which sweet rains fall and whose peaks are close-set."

The use of the word naḷi, crowded, in three separate contexts connected with Naḷḷi suggests that Naḷi was perhaps a proper name also, and referred to his particular mountain. It is probable that these references in Pattu. and Akam. refer to the same Naḷḷi as praised in Puṟam.148 to 150. Ownership of a hilly territory is a common feature in the sources, and the title Naḷimalai Nāṭaṉ has been noted.[3] There are three other places in the anthologies where Naḷḷi is mentioned,[4] and one of them, Akam.152,[5] makes it clear that his land was mountainous. In Puṟam.158[6] he is mentioned as one of seven chieftains who fell before the three kings.

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1. 148,l.1; 149,l.1; 150,l.28. 2. l.107. 3. Cp. "Paṟampiṉ komāṉ Pāri" in Ciṟupāṇ.l.91 & Puṟam.158,l.4; "Kolliy āṇṭa Valvil Ori" in Puṟam.158,l.5. 4. Kuṟun.210,Akam.152,Puṟam.158. 5. ll.15,16. 6. l.16; the other six were: Pāri, Ori, Kāri, Eliṉi, Pekaṉ and Āy; vide ll.4,5,6,9,12,13.

Poems 148 to 150 are all by Vanparaṇar, state the colophons. As the TSS editor remarks,[1] the poet was doubtless so called to distinguish him from his more famous namesake, though whether by the colophon writer or not it is hard to say. All these verses are praśastis, and the only one of special interest is Puram.149:

"O Naḷḷi, may you flourish! Naḷḷi, because of your liberality, many musicians have forgotten the tradition of playing on the bow-harp the paṇ Cĕvvali in the morning and Marutam in the evening."

These paṇs are identified by Paṇṭitar[2] with the rāgas Hanumattoḍī and Harikāmbhojī respectively. This passage makes it clear that there was in early Tamil music a tradition of associating rāgas with particular times of the day, a feature that is in modern practice associated with North Indian rather than South Indian music.

The colophon to Puram.151 states that Pĕruntalaiccāttanār composed the poem when Iḷaṅkaṇṭīrakko and Iḷaviccikko were together in one place, and the poet was asked why he clung to Iḷaṅkaṇṭīrakko and ignored Iḷaviccikko. In the poem, Pĕruntalaiccāttanār replied that, even if Kaṇṭīrakkon were himself away, the women of his household distributed gifts to poets. But the other was the son (or descendant) of Nannan, so poets did not praise his mountains.[3] According to Paraṇar,[4] Nannan was noted for his slaughter of women, and it was perhaps for this reason that his descendants were shunned.

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1. i,p.321. 2. Karuṇāmṛta: Tab.VII. 3. cf.11.6-12. 4. Kurun.292.

That Nannan ruled over Kŏṇkāṉam, rich in gold, is stated by Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko.[1] If the colophon to Puṟam.151 is correct in identifying 'the son (or descendant) of Nannan' with Iḷaviccikko, then it might be suggested that, if marukan in line 8 means son, Iḷaviccikko was the son of Nannan who is to be identified with Viccikko, the subject of Puṟam.200.

As the TSS editor notes,[2] Iḷaṅkaṇṭīrakko was probably the son of Kaṇṭīrakkoppĕrunaḷḷi, the hero of Puṟam.148 to 150. It should be noted however that only the colophon refers to this person as Iḷaṅkaṇṭīrakko; in the poem itself he appears as Kaṇṭīrakkoṉ, and there is no special reason why this poem should not be taken to refer to Kaṇṭīrakkoppĕrunaḷḷi himself. In the same way, the Iḷaviccikko of the colophon to 151 may have been the son of Viccikko to whom Kapilar took the daughters of Pāri, as stated by the colophon to poem 200. But, as just seen, he is not mentioned by name in the text, which speaks of Nannan's son or descendant.

The name Vicci is explained by the TSS editor[3] as that of a mountain. He therefore, it may be supposed, does not view it as the personal name of the chieftain. The old commentary on the patikams of Patiṟṟu., however,[4] states that Vicci was the name of a chieftain defeated by Iḷañceral Irumpŏṟai. That Vicci was the name of a place or tribe is suggested by Kuṟun.328, which states that 'the scion of the Vicciyar fought with the king.'[5]

In Puṟam.200, Kapilar states that he, a brahman, has

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1. Naṟ.391,l.6. 2. i,p.327. 3. i,p.450. 4. UVS edn.p.156.
5. Kuṟun.328,ll.5,6 (Paraṇar).

come as a suppliant to the conquering Viccikko in the hope that he will take the daughters of Pāri, who had given them to Kapilar telling him to take his chariot.[1] This provides no clear evidence that they were of marriageable age, nor that Kapilar was trying to arrange a match for them.[2] They may have been little children whom Kapilar wished Viccikko to adopt and bring up in a manner befitting their station.

Valvil Ori is the tenth chieftain to appear in Puram. He is praised, state their colophons, in three poems.[3] These are attributed to two poets. Vanparaṇar is credited with 152 and 153, and Kalaitinyānaiyār with 204.

The information about Ori in these poems is meagre, though his name is attested by all three. Like Kāri, Ori seems to have been named after his horse.[4] In 153, Ori bears the additional name of Ātan, and in 152 he is addressed as 'lord of the high mount Kŏlli.'[5] This hill is generally identified with the southern part of the Shevaroys near Centamaṅkalam.[6] In none of the three poems is Ori referred to as Valvil Ori. However, he is so addressed in Puram.158,[7] and one is tempted to suggest that the colophon writer took the title from there.

Nothing is said in these poems about the hostility between Ori and Kāri which resulted in Ori being slain by Kāri, who gave Kŏlli to the Ceralar. This may be presumed to have occurred prior to or during the reign of Yānaikkaṭcey Māntaraṅ-

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1. cf.Puram.200,ll.8-17. 2. v.s. p.211. 3. vv.152,153,204. 4. Cirupāṇ.,l.111. Nacc. thereon says that Ori refer's to the horse's mane; vide UVS edn.p.114. 5. 152,l.31; cp.158,l.5: "Kŏlliy āṇṭa Valvil Ori". 6. e.g. TSS editor,i,p.330. See Map, p.xv. 7. 158 ibid.; cp. Akam.209,ll.13,14 (Kallāṭanār).

ceral Irumpŏrai, who is called 'lord of the people of Kŏlli.'[1]

The eleventh chief to find praise in Puram. is Kŏṇkāṇam kilār, praised by Moci Kīraṇār in Puram.154 to 156. Kŏṇkāṇam, according to the TSS editor, was known as Kŏṅkaṇam in a later period, and formed the eastern part of what is now Salem and Coimbatore. That it was rich in gold and was once ruled by Nannan is averred by Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko, as already seen.[2]

Kŏṇpĕruṅkāṇam is mentioned in all three poems.[3] The old commentary to verse 156 states that 'the great Kŏṇkāṇam' was a mountain. No other information about this chief emerges from these three praśastis.

Eraikkon is praised by the poetess Kuramakaḷ -Iḷavĕyini in Puram.157. It has been suggested by A.Nārāyaṇasvāmi Aiyar, the editor of Nar.,[4] that the personal name of this mountain girl was Ĕyini, and that the colophon to 157 prefixes Iḷa- to her name as she wrote this poem in her youth. He identified her with Kuramakaḷ Kuriyĕyini, the authoress of Nar.357, and was of the opinion that 'kuri' was a MS error for 'Kuripp'(ĕyini)', a name bestowed on her in virtue of line 1 of that poem, wherein the heroine says:

"Nin kuripp'ĕvano toliy ĕn kurippu
ĕnnoṭu nilaiyātāyinum ĕnrum ..."

"My friend, when my own longing (for my love) is unbearable, how can I bear your longing (for him)?"

The TSS editor of Puram. points out that youthful

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1. Puram.22,l.28; v.s. pp.189 & 213. 2. v.s. p.227 & fn.1.
3. 154,l.13; 155,l.7; 156,13. 4. Nar.TSS edn.p.38.

sentiments in Puram.157 are displayed in the lines:[1]

"Nummorkku ttakuvanav allav ĕmmon ...

pĕruṅka'nāṭanĕmm Eraikku ttakum." [2]

"Your heroes are not up to much! My hero, my Erai who rules the big mountain, is marvellous."

The feature that links the two poems is the treatment of the mountain tract, kuriṅci, that permeates Nar.357 and is also apparent in Puram.157.[2]

There is no conclusive evidence in support of this identification, however. Another poetess called Iḷavĕyini, Peymakaḷ Iḷavĕyini, appears in the colophon to Puram.11 as the panegyrist of Pālai pāṭiya Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko.[3] In this case, however, modern writers make no attempt to identify this poetess with the author of Puram.157, but explain the name as that taken by a she-devil in human form.[4]

Kumaṇan is praised in seven poems in this anthology.[5] His name is attested by most of them.[6] No indication of the tribe to which Kumaṇan belonged is given, but in two of them the hill he ruled over is called Mutiram.[7] The TSS editor says that this was one of the Palani hills near Uṭumalaippĕṭṭai (Udamalpet), and that there is a village at the foot of the Palanis called Kumaṇamaṅkalam.[8] He further asserts that it was at one time ruled by Pekan. There is no evidence for such an

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1. i,p.342. 2. ll.5,13; Kuriṅci is seen in l.7, which says that the chief wears a garland of flame-lily. The Lex. has 'white glory-lily' (i.e. gloriosa) for 'Koṭal', a botanical improbability. For koṭal the old comm. and the comm. on PPVM VIII,16 give kāntaḷ, G.superba. Koṭal might mean L.neilgherrens. 3. v.s. p.184. 4. Following the old comm.; UVS p.29,TSS i,p.33. 5. See List,p.203. 6. 158-60,163 & 4. 7. 158,163. 8. i, p.345.

assertion. If it is accepted that Vaiyāvi was the same as Palani and that Mutiram was near Udamalpet, a distance of 25 miles existed between the two places. There are a number of spurs of the Palani Hills in that region,[1] and there is no reason why the territories of the Āviyar and of Kumaṇan's forebears should have not been contiguous. Nowhere is Mutiram mentioned as the seat of Pekan.

That Pekan preceded both Pĕruṅcittiranār and his patron is clear from Puram.158, wherein the poet says that he came to Kumaṇan as the seven Veḷ chiefs had died and there was no-one to patronize poets. The names of the seven here listed have already been noted;[2] the complete passage tells of:

"Pāri, the lord of Parampu, Ori the strong of bow who ruled Kŏlli of the tall summit, the valorous Malaiyan whose munificence was as that of the rain and who mounted Kāri and rode to war, Ĕlini whose garland is curved, whose chaplet is of vilva leaves, whose spear is sharp and who rules the high Horse Mountain, a steed never ridden, Pekan, lord of the great hill whose peak is beloved of the invincible gods and where the dark clouds gather to cool the mountain slopes, Āy praised by Moci faultless in speech, ... and Naḷḷi."[3]

This passage also suggests that Moci preceded the poet and Kumaṇan. It may be assumed that it refers to Moci Kīranār, whose poems on Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai and Kŏṇkānaṅkilān have been noted.[4] This passage is interesting, as there is extant no poem

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1. See Map, p.xv. 2. v.s. p.225 fn.6. 3. Puram.158,ll.4-13, 16; v.s. pp.209,228,212,208,219-20,214 & 224 respectively. This passage may be compared with Cirupāṇ.ll.84-111.

by Moci that lauds Āy, presumably Veḷ Āy Aṇṭiraṉ.

Poems 159 to 161 and 163 may be passed over, as they are panegyrics. Of interest is the mention of the Ganges in 161.[1] This river is mentioned nine times in the anthologies and Pattuppāṭṭu.[2]

The colophons to poems 164 and 165 state that the younger brother of Kumaṇaṉ siezed the kingdom and imprisoned his brother in the forest. Moreover, colophon 165 says that Kumaṇaṉ told the poet Pĕruntalaiccāttaṉār to take his sword and show it to his brother Iḷankumaṇaṉ. Poem 164 does not confirm that the chieftain Kumaṇaṉ was treated thus, but in 165 the episode of the sword is described.[3]

It is interesting to note the scarcity of loanwords from Sanskrit or Prakrit in this group of seven poems. Alone among them, 161 contains four such words, and a mention of the Ganges, in 33 lines. 165 (fifteen lines) contains two loanwords. 158 (28 lines) contains one only. The rest, totalling 80 lines have none at all. This gives a total of eight such words in 156 lines of verse, an average of approximately one in every twenty lines. This analysis cuts across the authorship of the poems as stated in the colophons. Almost complete absence of loanwords is shared by Pĕruṅcittiraṉār's poems, 158 to 160 and 163 and one of the two by Pĕruntalaiccāttaṉār, 164. The other by him, 165, has two, and one by Pĕruṅcittiraṉār, 161, has four. With the exception of 165 and the chieftain list in 158, these poems are panegyrics. It may be wondered whether the colophons

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1. l.6. 2. See Index of place names. 3. ll.12-15.

are reliable in their statements as to authorship of the poems, or whether, as in the case of 161, the are grounds of vocabulary for suggesting that an author other than that of 158 to 160 and 163 wrote that poem.

The chieftain Iḷavĕḷimān is praised in Puram.162, 207 and 237 according to the colophons. All are ascribed to Pĕruṅcittiranār. 238, on Vĕḷimān according to its colophon, will be noted here also. It is another poem by Pĕruṅcittiranār.

No indication is given as to where Iḷavĕḷimān ruled. The colophon to 162 states that, when he was dying, he told his younger brother to distribute largesse. He gave rather stingily. The poet would not receive such mean gifts and told of the elephant given him by Kumaṇan which he had tied to the totem tree in Iḷavĕḷimān's village. The colophons to 207 and 237 tell how, after the death of Vĕḷimān, his younger brother Iḷavĕḷimān, who had been told to distribute presents, gave rather meanly, and what he did give was not accepted by the poet. The colophon to 238 states that the poet composed it after Vĕḷimān's death.

The name of neither brother is attested in these poems. Poem 162 is capable of the interpretation put upon it by its colophon. The poet points out the suppliants of the chief, and says that, to shame his tree, he has tied to it a fine elephant he had received as bounty, and he is now departing.[1] The other poems express similar dissatisfaction with the chief.

Scarcity of loanwords from non-Dravidian sources is again a feature of these poems by Pĕruṅcittiranār. There are

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1. cf. 162,ll.3 to 7.

none in 162 or 238, one in 207 and two in 237.

Puram.166 is one of the small number of Puram. verses in Vañci metre.[1] According to its colophon, it is by Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār, and praises a brahman of Pūñcārrūr in the Cola country called Kauṇiyan Viṇṇantāyan. The TSS editor states[2] that Pūñcārrūr is in Tanjore District. As UVS notes,[3] Kauṇiyan clearly is to be connected with Kauṇḍinya, and refers to the gotra of that name. Disregarding the fact that the nasal before -tāyan in Viṇṇantāyan is not the 'alveolar' -n- but the homorganic -n-, the TSS editor[4] states that Viṇṇan was the name of Tāyan's father. Tāyan was therefore the personal name of the brahaman addressed in 166. This can only be the case if the spelling of Viṇṇantāyan in the colophon is a scribe's error.

The colophon gives the turai for this poem as Pārppanavākai. The old commentary quotes[5] the cūttiram in PPVM describing this turai as "extolling the greatness of a (brahman) sacrificer who has attained preeminence through wisdom."[6]

The poem itself does not mention the brahman's name, but shows considerable acquaintance on the part of the poet with brahmanical ideas. There is "an ancient treatise comprising the six connected with the twice-two books that appeared from the mouth of the chief lord who possesses all knowledge and who has long matted locks."[7] This clearly refers to the six vedāṅgas as being connected with the four vedas, and the passage is so

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1. See Chap.X,p.432ff. 2. i,p.367. UVS says it is near Muṭikoṇṭān river. 3. p.265,fn. 4. i,p.367. Viṇṇan- may be connecteddwith Pkt. viṇṇa, Skt. vijña, or with Ta. viṇ, heaven. Viṇṇavan is found for celestial, e.g. Cil.X,l.189. Tāyan is conn.w. Skt.dāya. 5. PPVM,UVS edn.p.265. 6. PPVM VIII,163. 7. Puram.166,ll.1-4.

interpreted by the old commentary.[1] The poet praises the brahman as: "Son of a famous line of the learned gifted of speech who completed the thrice-seven rites without demeaning them and who were undeceived by the apparent truth of the lies told by those whose falsehoods appeared as truth, and who put down those who despised (the vedas and vedāṅgas)."[2]

The old commentary takes this to refer to the Buddhist and Jaina opposition to brahmanic pradices.[3] This passage is reminiscent of the polemics of the Tevāram hymnists[4] and Māṇikkavācakar against Buddhism and Jainism. 'Mūvel turai' in 166, line 8, is taken to allude to the twenty-one vedic sacrifices, seven types of Samayajña, seven Haviryajña and seven Pākayajña.[5] The old commentary suggests as an alternative that 'mūvel turai' refers to twenty-one tarka- or arthaśāstras. The poet continues in 166 as follows:

"Seeking to perform the sacrifice, you don the skin of a small-headed buck,[6] while upon your shoulder shines the sacred thread. She who is your helpmeet, whose thoughts reflect yours, whose tresses are long and who is a lady of few words whose brow is small and whose hips are large has put on the braid praised in works on dharma. She who has all the rare qualities of a good wife has set aside hard thoughts. Whether in the forest or in inhabited country, causes twice-seven will not hinder you."[7]

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1. UVS p.265. 2. 166,ll.5-9. 3. UVS p.266. 4. Cf. Appar: Tev. Tirumurai VI,3,vv.5,7, wherein Digambaras are referred to. 5. UVS p.266 & fn. which gives the full list. The word turai occurs thrice in Puram.: here, once in the sense of Poetic Theme and once with the common meaning. 6. Cp.Euripides: Bacch Bacchae,23,107,136. 7. Puram.166,ll.10-20.

The commentary takes this last clause: "Kāṭ'ĕnrā nāṭ' ĕnrānk' īrelin iṭa'muṭṭātu"[1] to refer to seven kinds of forest animals and seven kinds of domestic animals, and alternatively suggests seven days spent in the forest and seven in inhabited country,[2] perhaps in fulfilment of a vow or in waiting for an auspicious occasion for performing the sacrifice. The netting or braid, valai, which the wife of a brahman wore is called cālakam in the old commentary.[3] This word is to be connected with the Skt. jālaka, web or net, which is exactly the sense conveyed by Ta. valai in 166, line 14. Monier Williams notes[4] that net or braid was worn on the head by widows, but does not include among the meanings he gives any reference to the wearing of net by brāhmaṇīs at the sacrifice. As an alternative, the old commentary suggests that valai referred figuratively to the net of her marriage vows in which the brāhmaṇī was enmeshed.[5]

The poet goes on to marvel at the quantity of ghee used by this brahman both at the sacrifice and at the banquet after it. He says he will take the gift the brahman gave him and, in his own village on the Kāviri's bank, he will extol the giver.[6] He prays that the brahman may be as famous as the Himālaya.[7]

This poem is remarkable for the evidence it provides of the knowledge of brahmanical customs and vedic ritual on the part of Tamil poets who may not themselves have been brahmans. The TSS editor asserts[8] that Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār was a Veḷāḷa, but

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1. 166, ll.19,20. 2. UVS pp.266,267. 3. ibid, p.266. 4. Skt. Dict. p.346,col.i. 5. UVS p.267. 6. cf. 166, ll.21-26,28-30. 7. ll.33,34. 8. i,p.370.

does not give his reasons. He further says[1] that Āvūr Mūlam was the name of the poet's village. UVS, however, asserts that the poet was called Mūlam after his nakṣatra,[2] which might lend support to the view that the poet was himself a brahman. On the other hand, his son was called Cāttaṉār, and Cāttaṉ would be a somewhat unusual name for a brahman, especially in its usual sense of Aiyaṉār, village deity. But Cāttaṉ is to be connected with the Skt. śāstṛ, ruler, teacher, and may have had this meaning at the time these poems were composed.

The colophon to Puṟam.167 states that the poem is by Koṉāṭṭu Ĕṟiccilūr Māṭalaṉ Maturai Kkumaraṉār and praises Eṉāti Tirukkiḷḷi. UVS states that there is a village called Ĕṟiccilūr near Putukkoṭṭai, and this may have been the birthplace of the poet or his father. Eṉāti is connected with Skt. senāpati, with loss of the initial dental sibilant.[3] The name Kiḷḷi suggests that this army commander was a Coḷa feudatory.

The only point of interest in the poem is that the senāpati is referred to in line 10 as 'Kaṭumāṉ Kiḷḷi,' Kiḷḷi of the fierce steed. This may or may not have been Kiḷḷi's title, but this very term of address appears in the fragmentary Puṟam. verse 355. It may be suggested that Puṟam.355 also was in praise of Eṉāti Tirukkiḷḷi. The later portion of that poem, together with its colophon, is missing.[4] The poem reflects upon the deserted state of a city, perhaps ravaged by the Coḷa, and then says that[5] "Kiḷḷi of the fierce steed wears a fine bauhinia wreath"

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1. i,p.110. 2. Intro.p.17. 3. Dropping of initial sibilant: T.Burrow: BSOAS (1947) p.132. 4. UVS and the Samājam only printed the Ist. 3 lines of 355, the TSS ed. 2 more. 5. 1.5,TSS version.

does not give his reasons. He further says that Ali Ali was the name of the poet's village. UVA, however, suggests that the poet was called Mullah after his ancestors, which might lend support to the view that the poet was himself a Brahman. On the other hand, his son was called Chitamor, and Chitor would be a somewhat unusual name for a Brahman, especially in its usual sense of a Brahman, village deity. But Chitor is to be connected with Sanskrit citra, color, leopard, and may have had this meaning at the time these poems were composed.

The editor of the Pingalaḍ states that the poem is by Sangiya Bhoorji Mahlaṇ, son of Kumbhaṇ and grandson of Mallinathji. UVA states that there is a village called Bhoorji-ka-Mahlaṇ, which may have been the birthplace of the poet or his father. Mallinathji is connected with Ami. Somewhat, with Jaga of the initial dental aspirate. The name Mallinathji suggests that this army commander was a Dhillaṇ Rajput.

The only point of interest in the poem is that the Rajputs in referred to in line 10 as 'Kumbha-Mallinathji.' Mallinathji is the Rajput stage. This may or may not have been Mallinathji's title, but this was very long [illegible] in the Jodhpur Rajputs. [illegible] it seems [illegible] was in praise of Mallinathji. The latter position of these poems, together with the [illegible], is misleading. The poem is recited upon the deserted state of a city, perhaps revenged by his men, and then says that Mallinathji at the Rajput years [illegible].

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1. [illegible] p. [illegible]. 2. [illegible] of Mallinathji [illegible] Jodhpur: UVA (1) p. 1[illegible]. UVA cut the [illegible] [illegible] the Jat. [illegible] Tod ed. [illegible] p. [illegible] versions.

Neither UVS nor the TSS editor attempt to identify the Kaṭumāṉ Kiḷḷi of the fragmentary 355 with his namesake, the army commander praised in poem 167. It is tempting to do so, in view of the identical titles appearing in both poems, and the fact that 355 does not occur in a group of poems praising the mūvaracar.

Piṭṭaṅkŏrraṉ is lauded in five poems in Puraṉāṉūru, 168 to 172, the work of four poets.[1] As it appears in the cols. the name Piṭṭaṅkŏrraṉ, with the velar nasal -ṅ- preceding kŏrraṉ, is not found in these five poems. But the hero is twice called Kŏrraṉ and twice Piṭṭaṉ. The meaning of the latter is not clear, though the Lexicon lists piṭṭaṉ, connected with Skt. bhraṣṭa, with the meaning heretic.[2] There appears to be no Tamil word with which piṭṭaṉ might be connected. Piṭṭam, the final -m of which would give the homorganic nasal before an initial plosive means back (connected with Skt. pṛṣṭha), dough (connected with Skt. piṣṭa). It may be suggested that the col. writer made up the name Piṭṭaṅkŏrraṉ as a compound of the two elements Piṭṭaṉ and Kŏrraṉ, and that, if the names were compounded, they should give Piṭṭaṉkŏrraṉ.

In poem 168, Karuvūr Ka(n)tappiḷḷai Ccāttaṉār calls Kŏrraṉ "Lord of the Horse that is never ridden where people divide the huge leaves of the banana in the forecourt fragrant with hill-jessamine and the lovely morning glory. The yard is piled with logs of sandalwood."[3] This makes it clear that Kutirai malai is referred to, in terms similar to those which

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1. See List, p.204. 2. Ta.Lex. p.2651,col.i. 3. ll.11-14.

Pĕruńcittiranār used of it in Puram.158.[1] It may be surmised either that, after the defeat of Atiyamān Ĕlini, the mountain passed to Piṭṭaṅkŏrran as a Ceral vassal, or that Piṭṭaṅkŏrran was himself an Atiyan,[2] for which there is no textual evidence. "Mā vaḷ īkai Kkotaiyānum" in Puram.172 line 10 is taken by the old commentary to refer to a Ceral called Kotai who was Piṭṭan's overlord. This does not rule out the possibility that, as an Atiyan, he was allowed to be a fief of the victorious Ceralar and that he continued to occupy ancestral lands. It is more likely, perhaps, that he or his forebears helped Pĕruńceral defeat Ĕlini and were given Kutirai malai in return for help.

The relationship between the author of 168 and Karuvūr Ka(n)tappiḷḷai has already been discussed.[3] Most likely they were son and father, and this would suggest that Nāńcil Vaḷḷuvan belonged to an earlier generation than Piṭṭaṅkŏrran. It is of interest to note that the description of Kutirai malai by Karuvūr Ka(n)tappiḷḷai Ccāttanār is reminiscent of the description of the hill Nāńcil by his father:[4]

"Nāńcil, where grows the sweet jack-fruit ..and where the morning glory shines with the sweet petalled hill jasmine."

Kūtaḷam, here freely translated morning glory, seems to have been a convolvulaceous plant of the hills, possibly a Porana or Argyreia species. The word occurs but thrice in the anthologies, in the two contexts just noted and in Akam.255, by

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1. 158,ll.8,9; v.s. p.231. 2. Since Akam.372 suggests that Kutirai malai belonged to the Atiyar. 3. v.s. p.219.
4. Puram.380,ll.7-9 (frag.); cp. l.7: "nārital kkuḷaviyŏṭu kūtaḷaṅ kulaiya" with 168,l.12: "kūtaḷaṅ kavinīya kuḷavi munrir."

Iḷanākanār, wherein it is not used in conjunction with kuḷavi, hill jasmine, which likewise occurs in only one other anthology poem, Puram. 90, by Auvaiyār. In all contexts, mountain scenery is described, using some of the karuppŏruḷ of kuriñcittiṇai.[1]

Evidence for Kuṭṭuvan Kotai being the overlord of Piṭṭaṅkŏrran has already been noted. He is praised in Puram. 54 by Maturai Kkumaranār, a panegyrist of the Cola Pĕruntirumāvaḷavan who died at Kurāppaḷḷi.[2] He in turn is praised by Uraiyūr Maruttuvan Tāmotaranār and Kārikkaṇṇanār,[3] both of whom laud Piṭṭaṅkŏrran. Vaṭamavaṇṇakkan Tāmotaran mentions Kotai in Puram. 172 and the assumption that this poet was the brother of Vaṭamavaṇṇakkan Pericāttanār is partly based on the latter having praised the Pāṇṭiya Ilavantikaippaḷḷi ttuñciya Nanmāran who is also praised by Kārikkaṇṇanār,[4] panegyrist of Piṭṭaṅkŏrran. This makes Pericāttanār and Tāmotaran contemporaries at least.[5]

Piṭṭaṅkŏrran is the last chief to appear in Puram. as the hero of more than two poems. Of the remaining thirty chiefs and commanders, six or possibly seven[6] have two verses each, the remainder one only.

The name of Paṇṇan is attested by both Puram. 173 and 388; he is called Cirukuṭi kilān Paṇṇan in the colophons. That Cirukuṭi was his village is stated by Puram. 388, line 4, and in two other anthology poems.[7] Whether this was the same as the

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1. Other hill plants in 168 are the Sandal tree and Gloriosa, tubers of which are turned up by hogs rootling, 168, ll. 2-4. 2. v.s. Chap. IV p. 113. 3. v.s. ibid. 4. v.s. Chap. IV p. 167. 5. vide Chart B, p. 158 & p. 167; Ta. vaṇṇakkan may be connected w. Skt. varṇakā, coin tester; possibly the occupation of the poets' father. 6. vide List, pp. 204-5. 7. Puram. 70, l. 13 and Akam. 54, line 14.

Cirukuṭi owned by Vāṇan and Arumān it is hard to say. Cirukuṭi is mentioned in connexion with Vāṇan three times in anthology poems[1] and with Arumān once.[2] Apart from contexts including Cirukuṭi, Vāṇan is mentioned only once, in Pattuppāṭṭu.[3]

Apart from the contexts including Cirukuṭi, the name Paṇṇan likewise occurs but once in anthology poems. In Akam.177 Paṇṇan's abode is stated to be on the north bank of the Kāviri, and there is no reason to doubt that the place referred to as being there was Cirukuṭi.[4] Such a site would place Paṇṇan in the Cola country, perhaps as a vassal, and, according to its colophon, poem 173 in his honour is by the Cola Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan who died at Kuḷamurram according to its colophon. It has already been noted that[5] in his poem on this Cola, Kovūr Kilār mentions 'Paṇṇan Cirukuṭi', though there is a slight possibility of reading 'Pāṇan Cirukuṭi' there.[6] In 173, the Cola praises Paṇṇan from the standpoint of a suppliant bard.

Poem 388, which is fragmentary, is without special interest save for Paṇṇan being called 'Cirukuṭi kilān Paṇṇan' in line 4 as just seen. The poet seems to have been dissatisfied with bounty he received from the Pāṇṭiya, referred to simply as Valuti,[7] and to have gone as a suppliant to Paṇṇan instead.

Mārokkattu Nappacalaiyār is credited with Puram.174 which lauds Malaiyamān Coliyav Enāti Tirukkaṇṇan. The name

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1. Akam.117,118, Akam.204,l.12, Nar.340,l.9; 'Paṇṇan Cirukuṭi' is a variant for 'Vāṇan Cirukuṭi' in Akam.117 & 204; perhaps attempts by scribes to amend the texts so as to agree with Puram.70,388 & Akam.54. Alternatively, Vāṇan may be an error for Paṇṇan in all 3 cases. 2. Nar.367,l.6. 3. Maturai.l.203. 4. The TSS editor, ii,p.417 notes Cirukuṭi, a pāṭalperra talam nr. Tiruvīlimilalai. 5. v.s. pp.124. 6. 70,l.13. 7. ll.12 ff.

Malaiyamān indicates that Tirukkaṇṇan belonged to the same family as Tirumuṭikkāri,[1] the slayer of Valvil Ori.[2] Kāri's hill village Muḷḷūr is mentioned in this poem,[3] affording textual evidence of Tirukkaṇṇan's connexion with Kāri. The title Enāti shows that he was a commander, of the Cola army, and it has already been seen[4] that Kāri was credited with helping the Cola.

The name of this commander is not mentioned in 174 itself. The poem opens with a reference to the Asuras having hidden the sun during their war with the gods. To bring back light to the earth 'he whose body is dark as collyrium' brought the sun back.[5] The old commentary interprets[6] 'aṅcanavuruvan' as 'aṅcanam polum nirattaiyuṭaiya tirumeniyuṭaiya Kaṇṇan,' making it clear that Viṣṇu is meant by 'Kaṇṇan' and that, at least in this and similar contexts, Ta. Kaṇṇan is to be connected with Pkt. Kaṇha, the dark one.[7] It is possible that the colophon writer saw in this passage an allusion to the personal name of the Malaiyamān and that therefore, in the col., the chief's personal name appears as Kaṇṇan.[8] The poet goes on to address Tirukkaṇṇan as follows:

"it was you who heaped fresh honours upon that white regal parasol which you showed to Vaḷavan the mighty, who was in a place hard to find above the noble Muḷḷūr that saw the backs of retreating warriors who had thirsted for war. Its cloud-girt summit had been praised by Kapilan in flawless poetry. This you

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1. v.s. pp.212,213. 2. Nar.320,ll.5-6. 3. 174,l.13. 4. col. to 125; v.s. p.213. 5. 174,ll.1-5: 'Aṅcanavuruvan'(aṅcana+rūpa) l.5. 6. UVS p.280. 7. Attempts have been made to treat Kaṇṇan as a pure Ta. word connected with kaṇ, eye. 8. v.r.: Tirukkiḷḷi.

did in order to wipe away the sorrow of the good lands by the great Kāviri that swiftly runs, at a time when those lands were without a king, having lost him in a war with hostile kings."[1]

Nappacalaiyār clearly indicates that the Malaiyamān restored Vaḷavan to the throne, having hidden him in his own mountain fortress of Muḷḷūr. The allusion to Kapilar agrees with the extant poems by him which praise Kāri[2] and show that Muḷḷūr was a mountain village.[3] The events connected with the Cola must have happened after the time of Kapilar and Kāri. Nappacalaiyār has also praised Kāri[4] and therefore Tirukkaṇṇan may have been Kāri's son, as the old commentary suggests.[5] Since Nappacalaiyār has written three poems on Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan who died at Kuḷamurram[6] it may be suggested that it was he who was restored by Tirukkaṇṇan to the throne.

The poet remarks that Tirukkaṇṇan's predecessor, whom the old commentary takes to be his father, presumably Kāri, is enjoying in the world beyond the fruits of his good deed 'To the fort upon which is inscribed the tiger emblem.'[7] This may indeed indicate the help given to the Cola Pĕrunarkiḷḷi by Kāri as recorded in the colophon to Puram.125.[8] This evidence suggests that Pĕrunarkiḷḷi was the predecessor of Kuḷamurrattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan, and that the two Colar were contemporaries of Kāri and Tirukkaṇṇan respectively. It is impossible to agree with the Tables drawn up by Pillai in CET, wherein the two Cola

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1. 174,ll.6-16. 2. Puram.121-124. 3. 123,l.5. 4. 126.
5. UVS p.280. 6. Puram.37,39 and 226; v.s. Chap.IV p.121.
7. cf. 174,ll.17-19. 8. v.s. p.213.

rulers appear in the reverse order to that suggested here. If Pillai's Tables are followed, it makes nonsense of the way help was rendered to the two Colar by Kāri and his son or descendant.

How Vaḷavan came to threaten to have the children of a Malaiyamān trampled to death by elephants as stated in the colophon to Puram.46[1] is not clear. In the text of 46, neither the name Vaḷavan nor Malaiyamān appears, and the colophon may be in error in ascribing this episode to Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan. On the other hand, the Cola may indeed have been Vaḷavan but the children those of another chieftain, not Malaiyamān.

According to its colophon, Puram.175 lauds Ātanuṅkan and is by Kaḷḷil Āttireyanār. Along with this poem will be considered poem 389, in which, according to UVS, this poet also praises Ātanuṅkan. From internal evidence this seems doubtful.

Kaḷḷil, according to the TSS editor,[2] was in the Tōṇṭai country, and is attested by epigraphical evidence as well as by literary sources.[3] It is the modern Maṭaviḷākam. The name of the poet, Āttireyanār, shows him to have been a brahman of the Ātreya gotra. The name of Ātanuṅkan appears in line 1 of the poem, and Āttireyanār alludes to the Mauryas as follows:

"The Moriyar, their chariots beflagged and their banners touching the sky, were stopped by a narrow pass so that their shining cakra was brought low and had to turn back. Their broad kingdom was called Land of the Sun."[4]

The old commentary states that the mountain where the

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1. v.s. Chap.IV pp.123-4. 2. ii,p.420. 3. He quotes ARE 486 of 1926, ARE 490 of 1926; in the latter it is called Kaḷḷūr; also for Kaḷḷil, Tirujñāna: Tev.119,1. 4. 175,ll.6-9.

pass was was called Vĕḷḷimalai, and names the Maurya kingdom Ātittamaṇṭalam.[1] It is further suggested that Moriyar may refer to Vidyādharas or Nāgas, but the TSS editor sensibly rejects it.[2]

This passage is closely parallel in language and sense to two other passages in the anthologies which will be noted here. In Akam.69, Paraṅkŏrranār says:

"The Moriyar, with their fine chariots high as the mountain whose peaks touch the sky, went away since their gold cakra was brought low and turned back by the mountain path."[3]

In Akam.281, Māmūlanār states:

"Opposed by the valorous Vaṭukar, the Moriyar went through a mountain pass which brought low their royal cakra of the flashing rays. They were on their way to the southern land through the dew-soaked mountains that touch the sky."[4]

Another passage refers to the 'Vampa Moriyar' and it too is worthy of note. Māmūlanār says in Akam.251:

"The 'New Moriyar' were halted in the mountains where the clear streams dash; the grinding wheels of their chariots were stopped. They had come with their fine array to the field of war where Mokūr would not yield...to the Kocar."[5]

These passages are of interest for the way they embody a tradition about mountains, presumably in the S.E.Deccan, preventing the expansion southward of the Maurya Empire. Akam. 281 states further that they were opposed by Vaṭukar, and this may be taken to refer to Telugus, possibly of the Āndhra line.

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1. UVS p.282. 2. i,p.395. 3. Akam.69,ll.10-12. 4. Akam.281, ll.8-12. 5. Akam.251,ll.7,10-14.

[illegible]

The last passage could be taken as hyperbole were it to suggest that the Maurya kings helped the Kocar, a Tamil warrior tribe, against the petty chief of Mokūr, whose name is given as Palaiyan in Pattu.[1], and who is also said to have been the foe of the Ceral Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan.[2] The use of the name Moriyar is perhaps figurative, and this is suggested by Mamūlanār's use of the adjective vampa, new, to qualify the name, in spite of his inclusion of the whole tradition of the Mauryas being halted by the mountains. It cannot seriouly be maintained that Palaiyan, and therefore Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan, were contemporaries of the Mauryas. The TSS editor of Akam., while noting 'Vampa Moriyar' as 'Putiya Moriyar' does not offer any explanation for this, but states that traditionally the Moriyar came to the aid of the Kocar.[3] If Moriyar meant Vidyādharas or Nāgas in this context, as was suggested by the old commentary on the similar passage in Puram.174, one would want to know why it was necessary to embody in Akam.251 the tradition about their being stopped in the mountains, parallel references for which have been noted.

In the UVS edition, the colophon to Puram.389 gives Ātanuṅkan as the subject of that poem. The TSS editor, however, gives a colophon stating that Naller Muṭiyan was the hero of 389. The difficulty is caused by there being variant readings of lines 12 and 13. The UVS edition has:

"Cĕlvuliy ĕlāa Naller Mutiyan

Ātanuṅkan pola nīyum ..." while the TSS has:

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1. Maturai.,ll.508-9. The Kocar seem to have spoken 4 dialects & lived in 4 villages, cf. ibid. & Kurun.15,l.3. 2. Patirrn. 44,ll.14,15; 49,ll.7-9;pat.V,l.13. 3. Akam.,ii,p.259.

"Cĕlvuḷiy ĕḷāa Naller Mutiya

Ātaṉuṅkaṉ pola nīyum ..."

In the former reading Naller Mutiyaṉ is in the nominative and in apposition to Ātaṉuṅkaṉ, while in the latter Naller Mutiyaṉ is in the vocative and clearly anticipates 'nīyum' in the second line: "You too, Naller Mutiyaṉ, like Ātaṉuṅkaṉ ..." Were UVS reading adopted, however, it is still difficult to see how Ātaṉuṅkaṉ could be the person addressed, as his name is followed, as in the TSS reading, by the particle of comparison 'pola.' One would translate: "You too, who are like Naller Mutiyaṉ Ātaṉuṅkaṉ ..." The name of the person addressed does not appear in this reading at all. Naller Mutiyaṉ may be in apposition to Ātaṉuṅkaṉ in this reading, indicating that it is a title, or there may be an ellipse of the possessive suffix, in which case Naller Mutiyaṉ was the father of Ātaṉuṅkaṉ. A third possibility is that Naller Mutiyaṉ Ātaṉuṅkaṉ in UVS' reading is an instance of Ummaittŏkai, corresponding to Dvandvasamāsa in Skt. The comparison would then be both to Ātaṉuṅkaṉ and Naller Mutiyan. In either case, since Ātaṉuṅkaṉ is mentioned and the poet is Āttireyaṉār, author of 175 on that chief, the person here addressed may be presumed to have been a kinsman, possibly a son, of Ātaṉuṅkaṉ. He was plainly still a child or youth, for in line 5 of 389 the hero is addressed as "Lord, as yet but a child," "Piḷḷaiy ampŏruna ..." The TSS reading, which would admit of the same possibility, makes Naller Mutiyaṉ the hero in this poem, and is more satisfactory. If the UVS reading is followed, the colophon must be regarded as erroneous in giving Ātaṉuṅkaṉ

as the hero of Puram.389.[1]

Naller Mutiyan is stated to be the lord of Veṅkaṭam.[2] This is usually identified with Veṅkaṭācala, the hill of the Tiruppati shrine, and this hill was regarded as the northern limit of the Tamil country.[3]

The next chief to be lauded in Puram. is Oymān Nalliyakkoṭan, who is praised by Purattiṇai Nannākanār in 176 and 376.[4] It may be noted in passing that Oymānāṭṭu Nalliyakkoṭan was the chief to whom Nattattanār dedicated his poem Cirupāṇārruppaṭai according to its colophon.

The name Nalliyakkoṭan is attested by Puram.176, but the title Oymān appears only in the colophons. It is hard to see how modern writers[5] have arrived at Oymā as the name of the territory ruled by Nalliyakkoṭan. The form Oymānāṭṭu appears in the colophon to Cirupāṇ.[6] and this is the only other occurrence in Sangam literature of forms connected with Oymān. Were the name of the land Oymā, one would expect Oymā + nāṭu to give Oymānāṭu, with retention of the initial dental nasal in 'nāṭu.' But the fact that '-nāṭṭu' commences with the 'alveolar' n- shows that Oymānāṭṭu represents Oymān + nāṭu, and that the regular sandhi of final -n + initial n- has occurred. The title Oymān is comparable to Ceramān or Atiyamān, the element -mān standing for makan, scion or son, in all three cases. Oy would therefore be the name of the place or tribe of which Nalliya-

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1. The Samājam edn. follows UVS. 2. 389,l.11. 3. cf. Tŏl. pāyiram,ll.1-3: "Vaṭaveṅkaṭan tĕnkumari āyiṭai Tamil kūrum nall ulakattu ..." 4. UVS,p.499 fn, notes a v.r. in the col.to 376 that makes Oymān Villiyātan its hero. He is the hero of 379. The Samājam edn. follows this. 5. e.g. TSS ed.,i,p.395. 6. UVS,p.128

(+) Eugene Lyons

kkoṭan was chief. Oy would be synonymous with Oviyar, the tribe of which Nalliyakkoṭan was chief according to Nattattanār.[1]

The name of Nalliyakkoṭan's town is given as Ilaṅkai.[2] This name appears in three other places in Sangam literature.[3] In all three cases it is preceded by 'mā', great. In the Pattu. instances, Nacc. takes this to be in fact an adjective qualifying Ilaṅkai.[4] The old commentary on Puram., however, gives: "Pĕriya Māvilaṅkaiy ĕnnum ūrkku..." for "Pĕrumāvilaṅkai."[4] It is possible that this town was called Māvilaṅkai to distinguish it from the famous Ilaṅkai, Laṅkā.[5] Whether the town was so named for reasons of grandiloquence, or whether it is connected with the tendency for Skt. Laṅkā to refer to an area larger than that of the island of Ceylon[6] it is hard to say. The Piṅkalanikaṇṭu gives river-islet as a meaning of Ta. ilaṅkai,[7] and this suggests yet another possibility in regard to Nalliyakkoṭan's town. It may be that this is what Nannākanār had in mind when he said that he searched unsuccessfully for clear water in Pāri's hill Parampu.[8]

Malli kilān Kāriyāti is the hero of poem 177. Neither the town of Malli nor the name Kāriyāti are attested by the poem nor is either mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature. The TSS editor states[9] that there is a place called Malli near Cīvilliputtūr, which is south-west of Maturai, close to the western Ghats. If the colophon to 177 is correct in ascribing

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1. Pattu.Cirupāṇ.,l.122. 2. 176,l.6. 3. Puram.379; Cirupāṇ., ll.119,120; in l.119 it means Ceylon, after which Nalliyakkoṭan's town was called, vide Pattu. UVS edn.,p.115. 4. Puram.UVS edn., p.283. 5. Called Īlam in Paṭṭinap.,l.191. This word does not occur elsewhere in Sangam Lit. 6. cf. M.W.Skt.Dict.p.860, col.i. 7. cf.Ta.Lex.p.340,ii. 8. 176,ll.9,10. 9. i,p.399.

the poem to Avūr Mūlaṅkilār, it would make Kāriyāti a contemporary of the Cola Kuḷamurrattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan and the Pāṇṭiya Ilavantikaippaḷḷi ttuṅciya Nanmāran. Both are praised by this poet.[1]

Pāṇṭiyan Kīraṅcāttan is the twenty-third chief to be praised in Puram. according to the colophons. He is the hero of poem 178 by Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār. A variant reading of the colophon gives the name as Pāṇṭikkutiraiccākkaiyan[2] but both UVS and the TSS editor prefer the first reading. The latter suggests[3] that Kīraṅ- which must give kīran in isolation despite the place of the final nasal was the name of Cāttan's father. The name Cāttan appears in the poem itself,[4] and both Cāttan and his father were vassals of the Pāṇṭiyar, as the TSS editor notes.[3] This Cāttan does not appear elsewhere in the anthologies or Pattuppāṭṭu.

Vaṭanĕṭuntattanār's[5] sole extant poem is Puram.179, in praise of Nālaikilava'nākan, whose name is attested by the poem itself. Therein it is further stated that Nākan was a warrior of the Pāṇṭiya allegiance. The name of the Pāṇṭiya overlord is not given, but the epithet 'Tiruvīl nuṇpūṇ'[6] perhaps connects him with Pacumpūṭpāṇṭiyan, whose name appears in a number of places in these poems,[7] and who is identified by Pillai with at least two of the Pāṇṭiyar praised in Puram.[8] The TSS editor identifies Nālai with Nālūr, near Aruppukkoṭṭai in Pāṇṭināṭu.[9]

Īrntūr kilān Toyanmāran is praised in Puram.180.[10] It

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1. 38,40,196; v.s. pp.122,3. 2. UVS p.286 fn. 3. i,p.402.
4. 178,l.5. 5. v.r. Vaṭamanĕṭunattanār, UVS p.287 fn. 6. 179,l.5
7. e.g. Akam.253,l.6. 8. CET Tab.& pp.120-5; v.s. pp.160,161.
9. i,p.403. He quotes ARE 513 of 1921. Aruppukkoṭṭai: see Map, p.xv. 10. v.r. Īrntūr kilān Koyamān, UVS p.289,fn. Both he & TSS adopt the other reading, yet the TSS heads poem 'Koyamān.'

is clear from the poem itself[1] that the place was called Īrntai at that time. When the colophons were written, Īrntūr was the form in use, just as Urantai of the poems was later known as Uraiyūr.[2] Īrntaiyan is the only form of address to this chief used in this poem,[3] and Īrntai, like Nālai, is mentioned nowhere else in Sangam literature.

Similarly, Valāar is mentioned but once in these poems, in Puram.181,[4] which is by Ceṇāṭṭu Mukaiyalūr Ccirukaruntumpiyār according to the colophon. Therein, the name of the village appears as Vallār. The hero of the poem is Vallār kilān Paṇṇan, and the name Paṇṇan is mentioned in the poem itself.[5]

Poem 181 is the last of the main group of Puram. poems in praise of minor chieftains. As seen, all poems numbered from 87 to 181 laud 26 such persons, in whose praise are other verses scattered through the remainder of this anthology. Twenty further chieftains are commemorated in Puram. since one has already been noticed in discussing Ātanuṅkan,[6] Of the twenty, Viccikko was mentioned when considering Iḷaviccikko,[7] and Vĕḷimān when discussing Iḷavĕḷimān.[8]

Puram.185, a reflection upon kingship, is attributed in its colophon to Tŏṇṭaimān Iḷantiraiyan. It unfortunately adds nothing to the meagre information in Sangam literature about Tŏṇṭaimān. The full name as given in this colophon is not attested in any poem, but appears in the colophon to Pĕrumpāṇ. as the patron of that poem.[9] The two important elements in the

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1. 1.7. 2. cf. cols. to 45,47,220. 3. The TSS editor says this place is the mod. Īṅcūr in Kŏṅkunāṭu. 4. 1.6. 5. ibid. 6. v.s. p.246. 7. v.s. p.227. 8. v.s. p.233. 9. Pattu.UVS p.192.

name appear to be Tŏṇṭai and Tirai. Tŏṇṭai means Coccinea indica (Cucurbitaceae), a hedge creeper, and tirai is the common word for wave. The Tŏṇṭaiyar were the tribe or its rulers who had Coccinea as their emblem. As such, they are mentioned thrice in this literature.[1] Iḷantiraiyan is called 'Scion of the Tŏṇṭaiyar' in Pĕrumpāṇ.[2] and in Akam. it is stated that Veṅkaṭam belonged to the Tŏṇṭaiyar.[3] Tiraiyan, in the singular only, appears thrice; once in Pĕrumpāṇ.,[4] where doubtless it refers to the patron of that poem Iḷantiraiyan, and twice in Akam., wherein the town of Pavattiri is stated to belong to Tiraiyan[5] and Veṅkaṭam is stated to be his.[6] Whether the authors of the Akam. poems refer specifically to Iḷantiraiyan cannot be ascertained by means of available evidence. The two elements Tŏṇṭai and Tirai have been linked in the legend of the Nāga woman's child by a Cola king of Nākapaṭṭinam being washed ashore by the sea, a tŏṇṭai creeper tied around his waist as a means of identification.[7]

Vithianandan is doubtless correct in suggesting that the real origin of the name Tŏṇṭaiyar lies in the emblematic use of a creeper,[8] just as bauhinia was the Cola emblem.

There seems no reason to doubt that it was this creeper emblem belonging to the rulers of the area between the Cola country and Veṅkaṭam that was the origin of the name Pallava as applied to the dynasty which, whatever its origin,

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1. Kurun. 260, l. 6; Akam. 213, l. 1; Pĕrumpāṇ. l. 454. 2. Pĕrumpāṇ., ibid. 3. Akam. 213, ll. 1-3. 4. l. 37. 5. Akam. 340, ll. 6, 7. 6. Akam. 85, l. 9. 7. Maṇimekalai; retold by Nacc. in his comm. on Pĕrumpāṇ., l. 31, UVS edn. p. 153. For transl. of Nacc. version, see The P, p. 73. 8. Ibid., p. 74.

occupied the same area at a later period. That this was felt at the time of the Pallavas is shown by the epithet 'Tŏṇṭaiy antār (ventan)' being applied to Mahendravarman,[1] and by Cuntaramūrtti Nāyanār and Tirumaṅkaiy Ālvār referring to the Pallavas of their day as 'Tŏṇṭaimān,'[2] 'Tŏṇṭaiyar kon' and 'Tŏṇṭai mannavan.'[3] The use of the element Tirai, wave, survived in Pallava times also. In the Kacākkaṭi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla is mentioned a tank called Tiraiyaneri in the Tamil portion and Tiraḷaya taṭāka in the Sanskrit portion.[4]

Iruṅkoveḷ is addressed in Puram. 201 and 202, state the colophons. Both poems are by Kapilar, and the colophons say that he composed them when he took Pāri's daughters to this chief.[5] Both the poems make this quite clear:

"If you should ask who these people are, they are the daughters of Pāri of the huge steeds, the lord of Parampu where there is the bejewelled elephant. Famous was he. His chariot was bedecked with jessamine, and he was gracious to all, from whichever village they came. I am father and companion to them, and so they are my daughters also. I, a brahman poet, have brought them here. You are the Veḷ, descended from the forty-nine Veḷir who, with great liberality, ruled Tuvarai whose walls shone like the metal vessel in the sacrificial pit of the northern sage. O great Iruṅko! Your elephant is garlanded and you are mighty in war! O tiger-slayer of the well woven chaplet!

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1. Taḷavanūr Cave inscr., EI.XII p.225; cf. C.Minakshi: Pallavas p.12. 2. Vaṭa Tirumullaivāyil: v.10. 3. Pĕriyatirumŏḷi II8.10.1 & V8.9.1; cf. Vithianandan, THe P, p.74 fn. 4. SII II, part 3, pp.351 ff; cf. C.Minakshi, ibid., p.95. 5. v.s. p.211.

You are liberal to bards who are worthy. Please accept these children whom I am offering to you." [1]

This poem contains the clearest statement regarding Kapilar and his wards, and in it, Kapilar is considerably less vague than he is in the other poems he wrote after Pāri's death about the role he was thereafter to play.[2] It is assumed that he was offering Pāri's daughters in marriage to Iruṅkoveḷ, though there is no direct evidence for this save in other colophons.[3] There is even less evidence for S.K.Aiyangar's remark that:

"The poet Kapilar ... appealed to the chieftain to accept for his spouse one of the daughters of his friend, the patron Pāri, who died before marrying off the girl suitably." [4]

The daughters are always spoken of in the plural, and nowhere do we read that any attempt was made to marry them singly. Aiyangar is perhaps influenced by modern notions of monogamy.

The TSS editor points out the remarkable similarity between certain traditions mentioned in this poem and accounts of the legendary origin of the Hŏysaḷa kings of Mysore.[5] There is the mention of the northern sage, mention of Tuvarai,[6] and the title 'Tiger-slayer' as applied to the Veḷ.[7]

The name Hŏysaḷa is traditionally stated to have its origin in an injunction[8] on the part of an ascetic to a chief called Saḷa to kill a tiger that was about to molest him. This is said to have occurred in Śaśakapura, where the sage was about

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1. 201,ll.1-16. 2. v.s. pp.210-211 & Puram.112-120,236.
3. Cols.200-202 & TSS ed.,i,p.256. 4. HCIP V,p.226. 5. ii,pp.3,4.
6. 201,l.10. 7. l.15. 8. 'Hŏy, Saḷa'; Ka. hŏyyu, smite; cp. Ta. pŏytal, fell, smite.

to sacrifice to Devī Vāsantikā. The Hŏysaḷas claimed descent from the Yādavas.[1]

Tuvarai is given as Tuvārapati in the old commentary[2] on Puṟam. 201, and both words may be connected with Skt. Dvāravatī another name for Kṛṣṇa's capital Dvārakā, after which was named the Hŏysaḷa capital Dvārasamudra. It is clear, then, that Kapilar was attributing to Iruṅkoveḷ's forty-nine Veḷir ancestors the rule of a town named after Dvārakā, as was Dvārasamudra, and that he was indirectly claiming Yādava kinship for Iruṅkoveḷ also.

As in the case of the Hŏysaḷas, a town so named is stated to have been ruled by someone called Tiger-slayer, and the origins of this have nothing to da with Kṛṣṇa or Dvārakā. There is no evidence that 'Pulikaṭimāl' in the Tamil sources[3] is more than a mere title, as was Hŏysaḷa in the case of the Mysore

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1. EC V(1902) p.317, Arsikĕrĕ Taluq 71: "... tanagātaṃ namnanāgal Saḷanṟpanavanam noḍi sāmrājyamam mālpĕn ĕnuttam mohadindaṃ Śaśakapurada Vāsantikādeviyam puṇyanidhānam yuktapūjaparikaravidhiyim niścaḷam sādhipannaṃ. adan ĕttam vighnamaṃ māḍura bagĕ migĕ śārddūḷan ākāradiṃ pāyvudum āgaḷ yogi 'Nīṃ'pŏy Saḷa' yĕnĕ subhaṭaṃ niścalam bĕttadim pŏyvudum āyt'āpŏysaḷāṅkaṃ Yadunṟparĕḷe devīprasādodbhava śrīviditam śārddūḷadoḷ kūḍida sĕḷĕ piriduṃ cihmam andindam ittal." cp. EC ibid.,p.221 Belūr Taluq 171.

2. UVS p.314. 3. Puṟam. 201,l.15, 202,l.10.

rulers. There is no evidence that it was Iruṅkoveḷ who slew the tiger as S.K.Aiyangar asserts.[1]

The two possibilities would seem to be either that a legend about a prince slaying a tiger that was menacing a sage was appropriated for their legendary ancestor by both the Tamil Veḷir and the Hŏysaḷas, or that the latter had somehow heard of such a story current in Tamil areas contiguous to them, and had credited their own ancestor with such a feat.

The importance of this poem lies in the fact that it carries back to an earlier period in time than that of the Kannaḍa sources the story of a prince who slew a tiger and who was connected with a place named after Dvārakā.

The fact that Iruṅkoveḷ is addressed as the descendant of forty-nine Veḷir who ruled Tuvarai is no evidence for the statement of S.K.Aiyangar that: "Irungo Veḷ of Araiyam ... came forty-eight generations after the Mahābhārata War."[2]

Kapilar does not say that Iruṅkoveḷ was the forty-ninth or fiftieth such Veḷ, nor that the forty-nine followed one after the other and were not collateral. Nor does he say that Tuvarai was itself Dvārakā, and that the first of the forty-nine chiefs ruled in Dvārakā at the time of the Mahābhārata War.

A different question, one impossible to answer in the present state of knowledge is whether the Tamil Tuvarai was the same place as Dvārasamudra in Mysore.[3] If this were so, it could be suggested that the Hŏysaḷas and Iruṅkoveḷ had a common origin.

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1. HCIP V,p.226. 2. HCIP ibid., contra TSS ed. ii,p.1.
3. As the TSS ed. suggests, ii,p.1, following UVS p.313,fn.

It is hardly likely that Iruṅkoveḷ himself ruled in Mysore as S.K.Aiyangar implies.[1]

One would like to see more evidence for statements such as that of the TSS editor to the effect that the Veḷir came from Belgaum, which he connects with Veḷakatti, in the Gaṅga country, and travelled through the Kŏṅkunāṭu before reaching the area of the modern Putukoṭṭai, where they settled.[2] That they occupied a mountainous area at the time of Kapilar is clear from Puṟam.201, wherein Kapilar also addresses the chief as "Lord of the high, inaccessible mountains which produce gold." [3] The TSS editor quotes the Imperial Gazetteer for Coimbatore as stating that the Koṭaikkāṉal Hills were called Pŏnpaṭumālvarai.[4] This is hardly evidence in support of the mountains mentioned as gold-bearing in Puram.201 being the Koṭaikkāṉal Hills, but it is a location conveniently close to Putukoṭṭai, where the descendants of Iruṅkoveḷ who were later called Irukkuveḷir lived in the region of Kŏṭumpāḷūr.

Kapilar seems to have had little success in his efforts to bestow Pāri's daughters upon Iruṅkoveḷ, either as wards or in marriage, for in Puṟam.202, he sounds a note of despair and warning. A chief, wise like Iruṅkoveḷ, despised the word of the poet Kaḷāattalai and, as a result, his town of Araiyam which was divided into two parts, was destroyed. Pāri's daughters were of Ĕvvi's family, and since Iruṅkoveḷ was making light of Kapilar's plea, he was going to leave.[5]

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1. HCIP ibid. 2. cf. ii,p.4. 3. "Aruntiṟaṟ pŏṉpaṭu mālvarai kkiḷava" ll.17,18. 4. ii,p.1. 5. cf.202,ll.6-17.

Only the chief being addressed as 'Pulikaṭimāl'[1] connects this poem's subject with that of 201. Who the chief of Araiyam who despised Kaḷāttalaiyār was cannot now be ascertained. There is no reason to doubt the old commentary when it states that that poet was meant;[2] six of his poems are extant in Puṟam.[3] None of these fits the present context, not even the three of which the colophons give no information as to their hero.[4] That more was known regarding Araiyam at the time the old commentary was written is suggested by the fact that therein it is stated that the two parts of Araiyam were called Ciṟṟ'araiyam and Peraraiyam.[5] The name Araiyam, perhaps connected with the Skt. rājan,[6] does not appear elsewhere in Sangam literature. It must be noted, however, that in commenting upon the poem's mention of Pterocarpus flowering upon the mountain,[7] it is stated that the trees were flowering on Araimalai.[8] This was possibly the place where Araiyam was situated, and the allusion may have been intentional on Kapilar's part. A strain of sarcasm is present in the poem, as for example when Kapilar says he hopes the chief's spear will be victorious.[9]

The thirtieth chief to find praise in Puṟam. is called Kaṭiya'nĕṭuveṭṭuvaṉ in the colophon to Puṟam. 205, and the poet's name is given as Pĕruntalaiccāttaṉār.

The name Veṭṭuvaṉ is attested by the poem itself,[10] in which he is also praised as lord of Koṭai.[11] Interpreted by the

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1. 202,l.10. 2. Comm.UVS p.316. 3. vv.62,65,368,270,288,289. 4. i.e. vv.270,288,289. 5. UVS ibid. 6. cf. araiyaṉ, <rājan. 7. 202,ll.17,18: "aṭukatt' arumpaṟa malarnta karuṅkāl veṅkai". 8. UVS p.314. 9. 202,l.17; cf. TSS edn.ii,p.7. 10. 205,l.9. 11. 205, l.6.

old commentary as Koṭaimalai,[1] this is doubtless the modern Koṭaikkāṉal area of the Paḻani Hills. Koṭai is only once mentioned elsewhere in these poems, in Akam.13, also a poem by Pĕruntalaiccāttaṉār. It is to be noted that this poet has also lauded Kumaṇaṉ,[2] who ruled Mutiram,[3] a northern spur of the same range of mountains. The actual place of Veṭṭuvaṉ, Kaṭiyam, is only mentioned in the colophon, and does not occur in any anthology poem. As the TSS editor remarks,[4] it was the home of a later writer, Kaṭiya'ṉaṉṉiyār, whose work is quoted in Nacc.'s commentary on Tŏlkāppiyam, Pĕruḷatikāram.[5]

Mūvaṉ is the subject of poem 209, by the same poet. Neither the name Mūvaṉ nor any place or event is commemorated in the poem itself, so there is but the authority of the colophon for saying that Mūvaṉ is the subject. All that is known about Mūvaṉ is given by Pĕykaiyār in Naṟṟiṇai 18:

"Pĕṟaiyaṉ who possesses the conquering army and victorious spear and who rules Tŏṇṭi where there are fair forests pulled out the thorn-sharp teeth of the defeated Mūvaṉ and decorated the town gate with them."[6]

P.N.Aiyar, the commentator on Naṟ., was of the opinion that[7] the Pĕṟaiyaṉ in question was Kaṇaikkāl Irumpŏṟai, but there is no proof for this surmise. As it stands, the text could refer to any of the Irumpŏṟais who ruled Tŏṇṭi, and Pĕykaiyār in Puṟam.48 praises Kokkotai Mārpaṉ as lord of Tŏṇṭi.[8] This makes it

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1. UVS p.320. 2. In Puṟam.164,165. 3. Puṟam.158,163; v.s. p.230
4. TSS ii,p.13. 5. Cĕyyuḷ.TSS edn.,iii,p.332. 6. Naṟ.18,ll.2-5.
7. Naṟ.TSS edn.,p.23 (P.N.Aiyar, 1862-1914). 8. Puṟam.48,l.4: "Kāṉal antŏṇṭi" is the identical phrase Pĕykaiyār uses of Tŏṇṭi in Naṟ.18,l.4. v.s.Chap.IV pp.188 fn.4, 192 & 197.

possible that it was he who treated Mūvan in this barbarous fashion.

Veḷ Ĕvvi is praised in Puram. 233 and 234 according to the colophons, the author being given as Vĕḷḷĕrukkilaiyār. These two verses represent the sole extant work of this poet, of whom only a phrase-name, based on a line no longer extant that tells of Vĕḷḷĕrukku, the white Calotropis, is known.[1]

The name Ĕvvi is attested only by 233[2], a poem telling of the lack of peace of mind that afflicted the poet on hearing that Veḷ Ĕvvi had been wounded in battle. He hopes that the news will prove as false as the gold cakra of Akutai, that was said to render him invincible.[3] Further information about Ĕvvi is to be found in Akam. and Kurun., and it has already been seen that he was defeated by Nĕṭuñcĕliyan.[4] The TSS editor of Akam. is of the opinion that[5] this was the battle of Arimaṇavāyil Urattūr, which is mentioned in Akam. 266, wherein Paraṇar tells of the haughtiness of Ĕvvi, lord of Nīṭūr, put down by his foes whose ornaments were of gold.[6] Nīṭūr, in Tanjore District, is not far from Milalai, which belonged to Ĕvvi as already seen.[7] Which of these places was his chief town it is impossible to say.

The order of clauses in Akam. 126 suggests that Ĕvvi was the father of Titiyan, and not even the commentary suggests that Anni fought both Titiyan and Ĕvvi:

"Payaṅkĕlu vaippir palvel Ĕvvi

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1. Ĕrukku, Skt. arka, Calotropis gigantea (Asclepiadaceae). 2. 1.6. 3. Identified with Ahtai of Akam. 76 & 113 by UVS. Ruled over 'Kūṭal by the sea' ait Puram. 347,115,6. =? Cuddalore. Destroyed by Nannan. 4. Puram. 24,11.18,19. v.s. p.159. 5. ii, p.263. 6. Akam. 266,11.10-14. 7. Puram. 24; v.s. p.159.

nayam puri nanmŏliy aṭakkavum aṭaṅkan

pŏnniṇar narumpalar ppunnai vĕṅki

Ttitiyanŏṭu pŏruta Anni pola ..." [1]

"Like Anni fighting with Titiyan whose golden-flowered Punnai tree[2] shamed gold, who kept in check his senses, who spoke righteously (and who was son of) Ĕvvi of the many spears and rich villages."[3]

It is suggested that 'palvel Ĕvvi' has the function of a genitive though nominative in form. Such a construction is common in these collections.[4]

Nampi Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan is the subject of Puram.239. The poet is given as Perĕyil Muruvalār. As the TSS editor remarks, it was the custom for petty chiefs and commanders of the Cola, Pāṇṭiya and Ceral armies to take the names of their overlords. The Pāṇṭiya thus commemorated here would therefore have been Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan.[5] There is no means of confirming this for the poem mentions neither name nor place connected with the Pāṇṭiyas or their armies. This poem is in the Vaṅci metre, and the deeds of Nampi are enumerated in the fashion of a litany:

"He clasped the arms of girls who wear bangles, he garlanded himself with flowers from young trees and smeared himself with cool fragrant sandal. He prevented the onrush of the foe, he spoke up for his friends. He acknowledged no-one as his peer, he belittled no-one. He did not beg from anyone, and to those who begged he did not refuse anything. He fostered the

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1. Akam.126,ll.13-16. 2. Calophyllum inophyllum, Ta.Lex. 5. ii,p.85. 4. cp. 'Nannan nannāṭṭu', Nar.391,l.6; 'Anni kurukkai Akam.145,l.11. 3. Kurukkai is given as the site of battle,Akam.45

king's renown at court. He opposed an invading army, he did not trouble to chase out a retreating foe. At a thought could he urge on the swift steeds, he drove his chariot upon many a long road. He rode a huge elephant. He handed round the flowing bowl of mead. He assuaged the hunger of bards, his speech knew no guile. Since all his actions were such, let him with his sword strike or spare my head, come what may! "[1]

The TSS editor reads into this rather straightforward poem an exposition of the puruṣārthas, dharma, artha and kāma.[2]

Ŏllaiyūr kilān makan Pĕruṅcāttan is the hero of Puram. verses 242 and 243, and the latter is the sole extant poem of Tŏṭittalai Vilattaṇṭinār. The TSS editor says that Ŏllaiyūr was near the modern Putukoṭṭai. It will be recalled that Pūtappāṇṭiyan is stated to have captured it.[3] It is mentioned only once in this literature, in Puram. 242, a lament for Cāttan:[4]

"Young warriors will not garland themselves, young girls will not cull flowers. The bard will not bedeck his curved harp with blossoms, the singer will wear no ornaments. Since Cāttan of the conquering spear, whose valour was manifest to all, has been killed in battle, will even you, O jessamine flower, open in his land of Ŏllaiyūr?" [5]

After Puram. 247, there are only three verses of which the hero is given in the accompanying colophon[6] until the poem numbered 359, and thereafter all poems save 361 to 366 are accompanied by colophons wherein the patrons are mentioned. The

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1. Puram. 239. 2. ii, p. 87. 3. Col. to 71; v.s. Chap. IV, p. 170. 4. l. 6. 5. 242. 6. And 355, in the text of which Kaṭumān Kiḷḷi is mentioned.

old commentary is not extant for any poem after Puram. 266.[1]

Antuvan Kīran is the subject of Puram. 359 according to its colophon, and Kāvaṭṭanār[2] is given as the poet. The poem is without special importance, and gives neither the name of its hero nor any definite information about him. Antuvan Kīran is not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature.

The sole extant poem by Caṅkavaruṇar ĕnnum Nākaraiyar is poem 360, in praise of Tantumāran. This name is not attested by the poem itself. The TSS editor surmises that he was a fief of the Pāṇṭiyar.[3]

Oymān Villiyātan is the hero of poem 379, and the poet is given as Purattiṇai Nannākanār. It has already been observed that[4] a variant reading of the colophon to Puram. 376 makes this chief, rather than Nalliyakkoṭan, the hero of that poem also. The name Oymān has been discussed in connexion with Nalliyakkoṭan.[5] Puram. 379 states that Villiyātan was the ruler of Ilaṅkai;[6] and there is no reason to suppose that he and Nalliyakkoṭan were not closely related, especially since the same poet lauded both of them.

Karumpanūrkilān is the hero of Puram. 381 and 384 which, the colophons state, were also by Purattiṇai Nannākanār. These five poems[7] are his sole extant work.

Like Nalliyakkoṭan, Karumpanūr kilān's lands were in Tŏṇṭaimaṇṭalam, and were near Veṅkaṭam, as is clear from 381.[8]

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1. vide UVS Intro., p. 12. 2. v.r. Kāviṭṭanār, TSS ii, p. 317.
3. ii, p. 319. 4. v.s. p. 248, fn. 4. 5. v.s. pp. 248-9. 6. v.s. p. 249.
7. viz., vv. 176, 376, 379, 381, 384. 8. 381, l. 22.

The TSS editor says that Karumpanūr is the modern Karumpūr which is near Tiruppati.[1]

The name of the hero is given in both poems as Karumpanūran.[2] One wonders whether this means 'he who belongs to Karumpanūr' which is the sense in which the colophon writer took it, or whether the poet meant 'Karumpan, the lord of the village,' 'ūran' being in apposition to 'Karumpan.' Karumpan would mean a person belonging to Karumpu.[3] This word, joined with ūr, village, would give Karumpūr, which is the form by which the village near Tiruppati is known today. It is possible that the colophon writer created the name by misconstruing Karumpanūran.

The fortieth chieftain to appear as the hero of a Puram. poem is Aviyan, who is named in the text of the fragmentary 383.[4] The colophon is defective, giving only the information that the tiṇai and turai are those of preceding verses, that is, pāṭāṇ and Kaṭainilai, and that Mārokkattu Nappacalaiyār composed the poem. Aviyan is not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature, and the poem is without other special interest.

The next chief to appear is Ampar kilān Aruvantai, the hero of 385; the poet is Kallāṭanār. That Ampar was on or near the Kāviri is clear from the poem itself:

"Kāviriy aṇaiyun tālnīr ppaṭappai
nĕlviḷai kalaniy Ampar kilavon
nall Aruvantai ..."[5]

Neither Aruvantai nor his village Ampar are mentioned

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1. ii,p.360. 2. 381,l.26; 384,l.10. 3. 'Karumpanūr vānikan' in ARE 176 of 1932-3 could be explained in a similar way; 'a trader of Karumpan's village.' 4. l.24. 5. 385,ll.8-10.

elsewhere in Sangam literature. Tivākaram, possibly basing itself on this verse, mentions Ampar and the chief Aruvantai.[1]

The poet prays that the chief may live for more years than the number of raindrops that fall upon Veṅkaṭam, ruled by Pulli. That a chief called Pulli ruled Veṅkaṭam at one time is averred both by Kallāṭaṉār in this poem and in Akam.[2] and by Māmūlaṉār.[3] Māmūlaṉār also says that[4] the people who dwell on Pulli's mountain are Vaṭukar and speak a different language. This is clearly a reference to a language in an area contiguous to that of Tamil, perhaps a forerunner of Telugu.

Pŏṟaiyārrukkiḷāṉ is lauded in Puṟam.391 by Kallāṭaṉār. The poem is a praśasti and the poet mentions neither the chief's name nor Pŏṟaiyāṟu.[5] He says he has come as a suppliant to the chief after a hard time travelling in the country to the north of Veṅkaṭam.[6]

The subject of Puṟam.394 is Coḷiyav Eṉāti Tirukkuṭṭuvaṉ. As the TSS editor remarks,[7] this commander of the Coḷa army may have been connected with the Ceralar, either by family or service, since he bore the name Kuṭṭuvaṉ. This element of his name alone is attested by the poem,[8] and there is nothing in it to connect him specifically with the Coḷas. He is stated to have owned Vĕṇkuṭai, a place mentioned nowhere else in these poems identified by the TSS editor[9] with Vĕṇkŏṭi near Pālakkāṭu.

One wonders whether the colophon writer assumed that

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1. Tiv., ait TSS ed. ii,p.405. He further says that epigraphical evidence speaks of Ampararuvantai; ARE 175 of 1927-8.
2. Akam.83,209. 3. Akam.61,393. 4. Akam.295,ll.13-17.
5. Identified by TSS ed. w̄ Puṟantai of Akam.100. 6. 391,ll.7,8.
7. ii,p.439. 8. 394,l.3. 9. ii,p.439.

Kuṭṭuvan was in the service of the Colas since the author of 394 wrote several poems connected with the Colas.[1] It is possible that Kuṭṭuvan, whose village seems to have been in the west country, was unconnected with the Colas and may have been a Ceral fief.

Maturai Nakkīrar has written the poem in Vañci metre numbered 395 in Puram.; the hero is Colanāṭṭu Ppiṭavūr kilān makan Pĕruñcāttan. Both the name of the place Piṭavūr and Cāttan's name are attested by this poem, though not the statement of the colophon that 'Pĕruñcāttan (was) the son of Piṭavūr's lord:' "To the east of Urantai which belonged to Tittan whose tiny-eyed elephant was hard to capture lies Piṭavūr belonging to the liberal Veṇmān, the virtuous Cāttan."[2] This passage makes it clear that Cāttan belonged to the Veḷir. This poem, which is fragmentary, is without other special interest.[3]

Māñkuṭi Kilār is given as the author of poem 396, a fragmentary verse praising Vāṭṭ'ārr' Eliniyātan, whose name is attested in it.[4] Neither the chief nor Vāṭṭ'āru are mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature, and there is no means of gathering from internal evidence who this hero was. The Kocar are mentioned as being addicted to toddy drinking.[5]

The forty-seventh and last chief to appear in Puram. as the hero to whom a poem is dedicated is given as Tāmān Tonrikkon in the colophon accompanying the fragmentary Puram. 399, and Aiyūr Muṭavanār is given as the author.

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1. Puram. 61,167,197; but 54 is on Kuṭṭuvan Kotai; v.s. p.195. 2. 395,ll.18-21. 3. Piṭavūr is not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam Lit. 4. 396,l.13. 5. ll.7,8.

Neither the name of this person nor the place in which he ruled are mentioned in the poem. The TSS editor states[1] that Tonri was the name of a mountain, but he does not suggest where it was, nor is it mentioned elsewhere in Sangam Literature. The sole interest of Puram. 399 lies in the fact that in it Aiyūr Muṭavanār expresses his unwillingness to praise anyone or to visit anyone save "Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan of undying fame, the lord of the Kāviri."[2] This suggests that Aiyūr Muṭavanār may have composed other poems on Kuḷamurrattu ttuṅciya Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan besides his Puram. 228 which has come down to us.[3]

This concludes a survey of those poems in Puranānūru which, according to their colophons, laud minor chieftains. It has been seen that a number of these, such as Aṅci and Pāri, must have been as famous and perhaps as powerful as some of the Mūvantar. Many of these chieftains are attested in other anthologies. On the other hand, some chiefs praised in Puram. are not mentioned in other anthologies at all, and in many cases there is no way of knowing when they lived save by linking them in time to the period of the poet or poets who sang about them. Many of the chieftains, such as Piṭṭaṅkŏrran, form a valuable link to connect in time one or other of the Cola, Pāṇṭiya or Ceral kings.

A striking feature is the extent to which the names of minor chieftains appear in the poems about them when contrasted with those in praise of the Mūventar, in many of which the names of their heroes do not appear at all. In over half of the poems

1. ii, p.463. 2. 399, ll.12,13. 3. v.s. Chap. IV p.125.

praising chiefs their names appear; names are present in 79 out of 141 poems. But out of the 138 poems in praise of Mūventar, the kings' names appear in 45 poems, or in less than a third of the total number. Of the Mūventar, only the Pāṇṭiyar are named in a comparable proportion of the poems lauding them; they are named in 16 out of the 37 poems devoted to them, or slightly less than half. The Colar are only named in 20 out of the 74 poems honouring them, and the Ceralar in nine of the 27 poems that praise them. It may be suggested that it would have been thought disrespectful to refer by name to kings, while it was permissible to do so in the case of chiefs and lesser persons.

The final group of Puranāṉūru poems to be considered consists of those with defective colophons, or those the cols. to which omit the name of the hero.[1] Two with defective cols. have already been noted, as a chief's name appears in the text of each.[2]

There are 121 of these poems. The bulk of them occurs after Puram. 248, since there are only ten such poems prior to this.[1] Colophons to eleven of these poems[3] are so defective that not even the names of the poets who composed them can be deciphered. One poem, Puram. 86, is stated to be 'the song of the foster-mother', Kāvarpeṇṭin pāṭṭu. Whether or not this represents an actual name or pseudonym of a poetess cannot be ascertained, and the poem may therefore be treated as anonymous.

This leaves 109 poems of which the authors' names are

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1. See Table of Contents of Puram., supra, Chap. III suppl. pp. 91
2. 355 (Kaṭumān Killi), 383 (Aviyan); v.s. pp. 237 & 264.
3. vv. 244, 256, 257, 263, 297, 307, 323, 327, 328, 333, 339 (& 355, v.fn.)

given. This group of poems is the work of 81 poets.[1] Of these, 28 or possibly 29[2] poets are represented nowhere else in Sangam literature. 21 further poets have no other poem in Puram. save the one in this group; another poet, Kayamanār, has two poems in this group and none elsewhere in Puram. These 22 poets have verses included in other anthologies. Five poets have more than one poem in this group or are represented elsewhere in Puram. but do not figure in any other anthology.[3] The remaining 25 poets are represented elsewhere, both in Puram. and in other anthologies. The total figure for this group of 121 poems does not include Puram. 267 and 268, which are not found in any extant MS, as already noted.[4] Only those poems that raise special points of interest or difficulty will here be noted.

Poem 86 is described as Kāvarpĕṇṭin pāṭṭu, and the TSS editor and the Samājam editors have taken this to be the name or pseudonym of a poetess.[5] But this verse represents the proud thoughts a real-mother might easily have had about a warrior, and the colophon may imply that the poem is the 'song of a protective mother,' and may be anonymous:[6]

"If you lean against the pillar of my little house and ask the whereabouts of my son,

I reply 'I cannot tell you.'

Behold, like a tiger's cavern of rock, the womb that bore him! You will find him on the field of war.'

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1. See Table, supra, pp. 91ff. 2. Depending on whether the '...Kotamanār' of the col. to 366 refers to the author of Patirru. decade III, Pālaikkautamanār, as suggested by Samājam. 3. The authors of vv. 251, 265, 283, 287, 299. 4. v.s. Chap. IV, p. 102. 5. TSS i, p. 213. Samājam edn., p. 534. 6. Kāval, refuge.

The group of seven poems commencing with Puram.186 are, as their tiṇai and turai suggest,[1] poems of moralistic advice, and poem 192, ascribed in its colophon to Kaṇiyan Pūṅkunran,[2] may fairly be taken as an example:

"All villages are mine and everyone my friend; I receive wrongdoing as though it were good, and do not pay it back. Pain and relief from pain are as one. To die is not new, while not to rejoice because life is sweet is absurd. Poor is the mind that holds it wrong to seek after something. The cool drops of rain that fall with the lightning's flash are not the same as it is. Like the waters of the stream that rushes among rocks is sweet life, set down on the pre-ordained path. Since this has clearly been foreseen by the wise, it is foolish to extol the greatness of the great or to censure the lowly."

This often-quoted poem has been taken as evidence that the Tamils did not practise caste exclusiveness. While this may be overstating the case, it may certainly owe something to Jaina and Buddhist reaction against brahmanical ideas. At the same time it embodies a distinctly positive attitude to life.

Puram.195 contains a reference to Yama, armed with the axe, who comes to bind the dead.[3] This passage provides another instance of the use of 'ŏruvan' in the sense of 'the one' rather than the more usual sense of 'someone:'[4]

"When the cruel one armed with the axe comes to bind you!

The colophons to Puram.186 and the six ensuing moral

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1. Pōtuviyal, Pŏruṇmŏlikkāñci. 2. Also author of Nar.226(Pālai) 3. 195,ll.4,5. 4. cp. Puram.95,l.6, wherein Śiva is referred to as 'Nīlamaṇimiṭarr'ŏruvan.' 5. 'Kaṇicci kkūrmpaṭai...ŏruvan..'

poems and to 199 are not defective, and the poems do not seem to have been considered as being addressed to any particular patron. The next group of poems may have been addressed to heroes, but that part of their colophons relating to the patron addressed is defective. But the tiṇai and turai are given. These are the poems that occur between Puram. 244 and 288, and between 290 and 358, at intervals.[1]

There are numerous variant readings for the author of poem 249, Tumpicokinanār being that preferred by UVS; the TSS edition has Tumpaicokinanār.[2] The TSS editor is of the opinion that[3] Tumpai was the modern Tumpaiyūr in Tŏṇṭaimaṇṭalam. He does not state whether Tumpaicokinanār is an actual MS reading or a surmise based on Tumpicokinanār.

The poet Mārippittiyār twice uses the word caṭai in the sense of an ordinary mortal's matted hair, in Puram. 251 and 252,[4] and it is striking that in the latter poem he compares caṭai to fronds of the Tillai tree.[5] In later Tamil, Tillai came to be synonymous with Cidambaram, the shrine of Śiva as Naṭarāja, which was said originally to have stood in a grove of Excoecaria trees. Caṭai, even in Puram. itself,[6] is used of the matted hair of Śiva, and the word is used largely in this sense in later Tamil. One wonders whether the cult of Śiva of the matted locks was already connected with the Tillai tree at the time. Mārippittiyār wrote, and suggested the simile to him.

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1. See Table of Contents, pp. 98ff; the col. to 289 is defective as to tiṇai & turai. 2. Samājam groups under Tumpicerkīranār 249 & Kurun. 61 (v.r., id., Tumpicokinanār), Kurun. 315 (v.r., Tumpicerkīran Maturai Velāttan), Kurun. 316 (Tumpicerkīran), Kurun. 320 (id., Tumpicerkīran, Tumpimocikīran), Kurun. 392 (v.r. as 249) & Nar. 277 (Tumpicer 3. ii, p. 103. 4. l. 7; 252, l. 2. 5. Excoecaria agallocha. 6. cf. 56.

Puram. 259 is ascribed in its colophon to Koṭai pāṭiya Pĕrumpūtaṉār, and is his only extant poem. His title doubtless refers to some poem, no longer available, in which he sang of Koṭai or a chief of that mountain.[1] The tiṇai to this poem is given as Karantai, and the turai as Cĕrumalaital. Poetic themes appropriate to Karantai, basil, worn by warriors recovering cattle stolen by wearers of Vĕṭci, are listed in PPVM,[2] but as a separate tiṇai, karantai is not discussed by Tŏl., who mentions it in passing, under vĕṭci.[3] The turai Cĕrumalaital, garlanding in battle, corresponds to Pormalaital listed in PPVM[4] as descriptive of opposition to cattle-raiders garlanded with vĕṭci. The old commentary quotes PPVM as authority on this point.[5] The colophon writer doubtless considered this tiṇai and turai most suitable to describe the contents of the poem in which Pĕrumpūtaṉār saluted a warrior. His poem may be taken as an example of this group of verses concerning recovery of stolen cattle and classified under karantai by the colophon writer:[6]

"You have the anklets of a hero and a brightly gleaming sword. Like a lowly woman possessed by Murukaṉ's frenzy you leapt upon the herd of kine. You showed your mettle as you rushed onward, not heeding the strong bows of the warriors who had hidden the cattle in the large forest made gloomy by leafy trees. The herd, which included bulls, had gone away, and could not come back."[7]

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1. cp. 205; v.s. p. 259. 2. Paṭalam II. 3. Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. cū. 60, l. 14; v.s. Chap. II, pp. 43, 60, 61. 4. PPVM II, 25. 5. UVS p. 281. 6. viz. vv. 259-61, 263-65; 260 (Vĕṭci), 270. 7. 259. This & similar poems are reminiscent of the myth of Indra freeing the cattle that are symbolic of cloud or waters or dawn sunlight; cf. RV II, 12, 3 & I, 11, 5.

This poem and Puram. 260 are quoted by Nacc. in his commentary on Tŏlkāppiyanār's tenth turai of Vĕṭci, "Ā pĕyarttu ttarutalum," recovery of stolen cattle,[1] which he elaborates as: "Recovery of cattle, whether stolen by petty chieftains or by warriors living in the forest." As noted in Chapter II,[2] poem 261 by Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār is also of special interest in considering karantaittiṇai, for the poet says:

"Grieving in the absence of the king who had brought the cattle back and garlanded himself according to tradition with fragrant karantai fair as youthful breasts, whose memorial-stone had been set up ..."[3]

It is worth noting that, after enumerating the turai concerning stealing and recovery of cattle, Tŏlkāppiyanār, in Pŏruḷ. cūttiram 60, goes on to mention those relevant to the finding of the king's memorial stone and the consecration of it.[4] While he quotes this passage in connexion with karantai, Nacc. does not do so in connexion with Tŏl.'s turais concerning the memorial stone.[5]

Two poems,[6] the tiṇai for which is given as Nŏcci, follow this group of karantai poems. It has already been seen that Nŏcci is not found as a tiṇai in Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. Purattiṇai, but that it forms the subject of Paṭalam V of PPVM.[7]

Puram. 274 throws some light on the costume of warriors which, states Uloccanār, consisted of:

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1. Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. 60; Nacc., TSS edn. i, pp. 155-6. 2. p. 61, fn. 6.
3. 261, ll. 13-16. 4. ll. 19ff. 5. vide TSS edn. i, pp. 155, 157.
6. vv. 271, 272. 7. For transl. of Puram. 272, v.s. Chap. II p. 62.

"A blue belt, a garment fashioned out of flowers and a headdress made of peacock feathers." [1]

It is difficult to imagine of what flowers the warrior's garment, āṭai, could have been fashioned, or that it could have had much practical use.[2] The word āṭai[3] means any kind of garment and the TSS editor has not attempted to elucidate its exact meaning here. Perhaps the poet was referring to the warrior's garland, though āṭai in this sense would be unusual.

Maturai Kaḷḷir Kaṭaiyattan Vĕṇṇākanār is credited with a rather graphic poem about a drunken hero:

"Because his foe who owned the tiny-eyed elephant is dead, he is singing away about toddy, singing away about toddy. He will lie in a stupor all day long in an unswept courtyard full of rubbish! He is my lord and I his minstrel. He sheathed his ancient sword yesterday as he entertained those who came to feast with him. Here! Take this curved black harp as a pawn, and do not think he will be stingy! Put some fine ornaments on that songstress of yours; she's as slender as a creeper. If you want the joys of toddy and of money such as I've received, go to him, and when you're flushed come back again! " [4]

The tiṇai for this poem is given as vākai, and the turai as Vallāṇmullai. Vākai covers praise of a hero at any stage of the battle, and the turai Vallāṇmullai is explained by Aiyanāritanār[5] as 'the excitement of the many virtues by praise of someone or his family.' Vĕṇṇākanār has perhaps executed this

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1. Puram.274,ll.1,2. 2. One is reminded of featherwork raiment worn by Nahua warriors in Mexico; the feathers were stitched on cloth backing. 3. cf. Ta.Lex.p.220,i. 4. Puram.316. 5. PPVM v.1

in an unusual way in this poem.

The TSS editor explains[1] the name of this poet as Vĕṇṇākaṉār who lived in Maturai, son of Kaṭaiyattaṉ of Kaḷḷil. He states that Kaḷḷil was a village in Tŏṇṭaimaṇṭalam[2]. This interpretation would seem to be forced, in view of the order of the words making up the name, whereby the element Maturai seems to qualify all of what follows it, or at least the element next to it, Kaḷḷil, rather than the element at the end. It would, therefore, serve to distinguish this Kaḷḷil from the one in Tŏṇṭaimaṇṭalam. The whole name would mean Vĕṇṇākaṉār, (son of) Kaṭaiyattaṉ of Kaḷḷil near Maturai. Vĕṇṇākaṉār is known by one other poem only.[3]

Vīrai Vĕḷiyaṉār is given as the author of Puram.320, his sole extant poem. The poem is without special interest. But, as the TSS editor points out,[4] this poet may have been the fathe of Vīrai Vĕḷiyaṉ Tittaṉār, the author of Akam.188.[5] This in turn raises the question of whether this latter poet was the same as Vīrai Veṇmāṉ Vĕḷiyaṉ Tittaṉ, the Veḷ chief of Vīrai mentioned in Naṟriṇai.[6] Pillai considered him to be the father of Tittaṉ Vĕḷiyaṉ,[7] whom he identified with Colaṉ Porvaikkoppĕrunaṟkiḷḷi.[8]

Ālattūr Kiḷār is given as the author of Puṟam.324, for which the colophon prescribes vākai and Vallāṇmullai as tiṇai and tuṟai. But Nacc., in his commentary on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Puṟat.cū.5, quotes this poem as an instance for Tŏl.'s vĕṭcitturai "Ār amar

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1. ii,p.227. 2. Presumably on the evidence of the name of Kaḷḷil Attireyaṉār, author of 389 on Naller Mutiyaṉ & 175 on Ātaṉuṅkaṉ; v.s. pp.244-248. 3. Akam.170. 4. ii,p.234. 5. Which gives the thoughts of the Companion as she watches rain falling. 6. Naṟ.58,l.5; v.s.IV,pp.139-40. 7. CET p.75. 8. v.s.IV,p.140.

oṭṭal," and says that it tells of those who want to help the king.[1]

The colophon to Puṟam. 326 follows the usual formula for introducing a fresh tiṇai and tuṟai and states:

"Tiṇai: Vākai. Tuṟai: Mūtiṉmullai"

despite the fact that the fourteen poems preceding 326 have all been classified under vākai, albeit with a different tuṟai, Vallāṇmullai, twelve of the colophons referring back to the colophon to poem 312 and 313 in the usual way:

"Tiṇaiyun tuṟaiyum avai."

One would therefore expect the colophon to poem 326 to read:

"Tiṇai: atu. Tuṟai: Mūtiṉmullai."

None of the extant MSS begins with this poem, and one is tempted to conclude either that extant MSS were copied from one no longer extant that did begin at Puṟam. 326, or that a poem or poems stated by colophons to have been appropriate to a tiṇai other than vākai preceded 326 and are no longer extant.

The sole poem by Maturai Kkaṇakkāyaṉār to be included in Puṟam. is verse 330.[2] He was doubtless the father of Maturai kkaṇakkāyaṉār makaṉār Nakkīraṉār who wrote about Pāṇṭiyaṉ Naṉmāṟaṉ who died at Ilavantikai.[3]

The twenty poems of Puṟam. commencing with poem 336 are given the tiṇai kāñci and tuṟai Makaṭpārkāñci by the colophons. A tuṟai of this name appears in PPVM,[4] where it is said to signify the refusal on the part of a royal father, for reasons

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1. Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. TSS edn., i, pp. 149-50. 2. Their cols. state that he composed Akam. 27, 338, 342 & Naṟ. 23. 3. Puṟam. 56; see also 189, Akam. 93, Pattu. I & VII; v.s. Chap. IV, pp. 164-66.

of lineage, to bestow his daughters in marriage to another king. This is similar to the ninth kāñcitturai enumerated by Tŏl. in Purat.,[1] where he stresses that the suitor is an erstwhile foe.

Puram.337 is attributed to Kapilar, and may serve as an example of this group of poems. A small portion at the beginning was indecipherable to UVS owing to the state of the MSS, but the TSS editor has restored it as follows:

UVS:	TSS:
"Ārkaliy inane Coṇāṭṭ'aṇṇal	"Ārkaliy inane Coṇāṭṭ'aṇṇal
kavikai maṇṇāḷ cĕlvarāyinum	maṇṇāḷ cĕlvarāyinum ĕṇṇār
vāḷ valatt'ŏliya ppāṭi ccĕnrāar	kavikai vāḷvalatt'ŏliya pāṇari
vārŏ kamalara	pāṭi ccĕnrār vara'ror'akamalar
vītal ānā," etc.	ītal ānā," etc.[2]

"Bruited about is the fame of the lord of the Cola land. Though his is the power to rule the earth, they think nothing of it, but leave aside from their right arm the sword and come singing like bards! As they arrive, their hearts are joyful. But she is as difficult to catch sight of as the cool springs upon the mountain Parampu belonging to Pāri who did not readily yield. Her fine clothes drift around her like the fragrant smoke of eagle-wood. She whose brow is as lovely as the heavens is confined to the palace, and her perfume is wafted from there all through the dusty town. And now she is like this she is closely guarded. Tethered in every grove are elephants that feed upon balls of rice. Besides, the kings themselves dare not come. Her own kinsmen are quite prepared to strike terror into the

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1. Purat.cū.79:"nikarttu melvanta ventanŏṭu mutukuṭi makaṭpāṭ' añciya makaṭpālānum;" see also comm. to Panniru.v.129,TSS p.64.
2. 337,ll.1-5; see TSS ed. note,ii,p.274.

hearts of anyone who may approach with their fine invincible spears that were bathed in blood. And there is the king's valour to reckon with too. Who will ever be able to fondle her lovely young breasts that are as smooth as ivory and decorated with jewels and beauty-spots? "[1]

There are no indications as to the identity of the Cola king mentioned in the first line. None of Kapilar's extant poems for which the colophons are complete praise mūventar save Puram. 8 and Patirru. decade VII, both lauding Ceramān Cĕlva-kkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan. It is possible that, in the course of what is presumed his search for a husband for Pāri's daughters, he visited the Cola court. It is also possible that this poem was not composed by Kapilar, but by some other poet, and that the colophon writer took it to be Kapilar's on account of the allusion to Pāri's mountain, Parampu. None of the extant poems by any of the three other poets who mention Parampu as belonging to Pāri is in praise of a Cola king.[2] The colophon writer may have been led to ascribe the poem to Kapilar on account of the use of the word 'kapilam', dusty, dingy, in line 11. 'Kapilam' clearly is an adjective qualifying 'nĕṭu nakar', but it is just possible that the colophon writer took it to be an allusion, intentional or otherwise, to the name of the poet.

The poet Kunrūr Kilār Makanār alludes to a place called Pontai belonging to Nĕṭuvel Ātan in Puram. 338.[3] Whether this person was a particular Veḷ whose name was Ātan, or whether this

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1. Puram. 337. 2. Pĕruṅcittiranār, Puram. 158, l. 4; Purattinai Nannākanār, 176, l. 9; Nattattanār, Cirupāṇ., ll. 90, 91.
3. l. 4; The usual meaning of pontai is palmyra, e.g. Puram. 265,

refers to one of the several Veḷir who bore the name Ātaṉ,[1] it is impossible to say. The place Pontai is mentioned nowhere else in Sangam literature. The TSS editor says[2] it was in the Coḷa land, but does not give his reasons. He also identifies the author of this poem with Kuṉrūr Kiḷār makaṉār Kaṇṇattaṉār,[3] author of Naṉ.332. No poem by the father, Kuṉrūr Kiḷār, has survived.

Paraṇar mentions the port of Muciṉi in poem 343:

"The wealth of this girl is like that of Muciṉi, where the surf pounds like the sound of drumming. It belongs to Kuṭṭuvaṉ of the bright garland." [4]

Muciṉi is undoubtedly the Mouziris mentioned in classical sources,[5] and trade with Yavanas there is mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature.[6] The Kuṭṭuvaṉ of whom Paraṇar speaks here is probably Cĕṅkuṭṭuvaṉ, whom he lauds in Patiṉṉu. decade V.[7]

There has been speculation about the origin of the name Kaḷāttalaiyār, that of the poet who composed a number of poems in Puṉam. The name means 'unwashed head', and is presumably a phrase-name, based on a passage in one of his poems. But such a phrase does not occur in any of the verses ascribed to him that are extant.[8] It should be noted, however, that this phrase does occur in poem 345,[9] a poem attributed by its colophon to Aṇṭar Naṭuṅkalliṉār. Were it possible to dispute the colophon,

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1. e.g. Ori, called Ātaṉ Ori in 153,l.4; Ātaṉ Ĕliṉi, Akam.216, l.14; Ātanuṅkaṉ, 175,l.1; Villiyātaṉ, 379,l.7; Ātaṉ Aḷici, 71, l.13; Ātaṉ is also an element of Ceral nn. 2. ii,p.274. 3. ibid & Samājam,pp.599,600. 4. 343,ll.9,10. 5. Periplus, Sec.63; Ptolemy VII,i,8. 6. Akam.149,ll.7-11. 7. & 369; v.s. IV,p.199. 8. i.e. vv.62,65,270,288,289,368. 9. l.17: "See, the warriors with long spears are there, their hair unwashed and reeking of gore," "kuḷāaṅkŏṇṭa kurutiyam pulavŏṭu kaḷāattalaiyar karuṅkaṭa nĕṭuvel iṉṉa maṟavar..." -ll.16-18.

it might be suggested that Kalāttalaiyār wrote Puram. 345, and that his phrase-name[1] was taken from it.

In 351, the poet Maturai Paṭaimaṅka'Manniyār, unknown save for this poem, mentions Vākai, a place belonging to Ĕyinan

"Her father is unwilling to give in marriage this girl whose qualities are as fine as Vākai belonging to Ĕyinan."

This is the only reference in Puram. to Āy Ĕyinan, who is mentioned in a number of places in Akam. and Kurun. These references state that he was an Āy[2] and was the son of Vĕḷiyan,[3] and it has been noted therefore that he may have been the brother of Tittan.[4] He was the enemy of Miṅili,[5] and the town of Vākai is referred to in several places.[6]

One may agree with the TSS editor that Vānmīkiyār, the author of Puram. 358, was not the same as the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, and that, perhaps, this poet's father was so devoted to the work of Vālmīki that he named his son after him. It is worth noting that no less than four loanwords from I.I. appear in this short verse of seven lines.[7] Vānmīkiyār speaks of tavam to be connected with Skt. tapas. He is the only poet included in Puranānūru to do so, and is known for no other poem.

With the exception of 282, 315 and 355, none of the Puram. verses between 267 and 258 inclusive can be connected with a particular hero. There ensues a final group of poems of similar difficulty, poems 361 to 366.

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1. Known to Kapilar: "Pukalnta cĕyyuṭ Kalāattalaiyai...", 202, l.1
2. Akam. 148, l.8; 181, l.7; 208, l.5; 396, l.4. 3. Akam. 208, l.5.
4. Nar. 58, l.5; v.s. Chap. IV, p.141. 5. Akam. 148, l.8; 396, l.5.
6. Akam. 125, Kurun. 393. 7. Paruti & mā in l.1, and tavam (twice) in l.3.

The author of poem 366 is known as Kotamanār from the fragmentary colophon, which, in some MSS, states that the poem praises Tarumaputtiran.[1] The TSS editor argues reasonably that[2] Tarumaputtiran (to be connected with Dharmaputra) was suggested to the colophon writer by 'Aravon makane' in the text of the poem.[3] But it is perhaps hard to agree with his remark that[4] this poet was the same as Pālai Kkautamanār who wrote about Palyānai Ccĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan in Patirru. decade III, and that, therefore, Puram. 366 is in praise of that Ceral or some other ruler of the same 'dynasty.' There is no way of determining the identity of poet or hero in the case of this poem.

This concludes a survey of all the poems in Puranānūru. As seen, these poems fall into five groups, the first three of which were discussed in Chapter IV. Consideration of the final group, comprised of poems with defective colophons, underlines the fact that any discussion of them must depend a great deal upon the information their colophons supply, without which much of the poems' significance is lost. With a few exceptions,[5] no chief or king is mentioned in this group of poems, and thus there is no internal evidence by which we may assign them to any particular patron.

This group also includes a number of poems by authors whose names appear nowhere else in the anthologies. In some cases, such as those of Kotamanār, Piramanār, Mārkkaṇṭeyanār and Vānmīkiyār, the names are clearly of Sanskrit origin. Why

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1. UVS edn., p. 480. 2. ii, p. 336. 3. 366, l. 6. 4. TSS ii, p. 336. 5. e.g. 343, which may have been composed at Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's court, and so contain oblique flattery of his patron by Paraṇar.

work by these poets should appear in this part of Puram. alone cannot definitely be decided, but it may be suggested that these poems were not court poetry in the strict sense, and that they were included towards the end of Puram. for reasons no longer apparent. Piramanār's poem, Puram. 357, was noted in Chapter II,[1] wherein it was seen how little the contents of his poem fitted the tiṇai kāñci and turai Marakkāñci, and how forced, therefore, is the treatment of moralistic poetry according to the criteria envisaged by the Purattiṇai.

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v.s. Chap. II, pp. 55-56.

CHAPTER VI

PATIRRUPPATTU: INTRODUCTION

While Puranānūru is a collection of four hundred single and discontinuous poems, the anthology known as Patirruppattu, the Ten Decades,[1] is arranged according to a definite plan. It is unique in the extant early literature of Tamil in being set out as a chronicle of the early kings of Kerala. Moreover, no other anthology is exclusively concerned with any one 'dynasty' or area of the Tamil country.

The poems in Patirru. are arranged in a manner intended to present the rulers they praise in some historical sequence. While there are difficulties in the way of accepting the chronology envisaged in Patirru., this anthology provides some source material of both historical and sociological interest. This material is, however, uncorroborated by contemporary epigraphical material that might help to date it satisfactorily.

Patirruppattu was rediscovered in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts by the late MM Dr.U.V.Cāminātа Aiyar. With it survived a fragmentary medieval commentary, often extremely cryptic, and Patikams[2] accompanying each decade of poems. UVS edited this anthology and its medieval commentary in 1904, and a second edition appeared in 1920. In recent years, Vidvān Avvai Turaicāmi Piḷḷai, while at the Aṇṇāmalai University, has edited

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1. Literally, 'ten times ten.' 2. Patikam, verse introduction, is connected with Skt. pratīkā, the first part of a verse; vide Ta.Lex.,p.2473 Col.i. Another example of a patikam is that to Cilappatikāram.

Patirru. with his own full commentary and the medieval gloss on the patikams. This work was first published in 1950.

That this anthology comprised ten decades of poems is stated by the title, Patirruppattu. This is used by medieval commentators such as Naccinārkk'iniyar and Iḷampūraraṇar in quoting from the work.[1] Of the ten decades, two have not as yet been recovered. The collection consists therefore of eighty poems and eight patikams. It is generally believed that the decades missing are the first and the tenth,[2] and the extant decades are numbered from II to IX.

The 'dynasty' praised in Patirru. is that known in the Tamil anthologies as Ceral, with the plural Ceralar.[3] There seems no reason to doubt that the Skt. Kerala preserves an earl Dravidian form *Keral with an initial velar plosive.[4] The name Ceramān[5] and the shortened Ceran do not appear in the anthology poems themselves, but are found in colophons.[6] The earliest use of the form Ceran in a text seems to be that in Cil.[7] To speak of this dynasty as 'Cera' does not therefore appear to be valid in the context of the anthologies. Accordingly the name Ceral has been adopted throughout this study.

Each decade of Patirru. is in praise of a particular

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1. e.g. Nacc. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.cū.60, TSS edn.i,p.164, quotes Patirru.33 & says: "Iṉpatirruppattum atu." cp.Nacc., ibid., quoting Patirru.15: "ĕnnum Patirruppattum alivu kūriya iṭam appārpaṭum;" also Nacc., ibid., pp.168,170 etc. cp. Iḷam. on Tŏ Pŏruḷ.60, quoted by UVS: Patirru.Intro.,p.2. 2. cf. UVS,ibid., p.3; TSS edn.Intro,p.iii. 3. e.g. Akam.36,l.15;Akam.209,l.14. 4. cf. T.Burrow: BSOAS XI(1943)p.126. 5. =Keralaputra, makan being shortened to -mān; Burrow,ibid. 6. e.g.,Ceramān: Puram. Col.203; Ceran: Puram.Col.53 only. Ceran is presumaby a form comparable to Colan, Pāṇṭiyan. Ceramān, Ceral + mān, with the regular elision of final -l before succeeding nasal. 7. XXIX,2.

Ceral king. This dynasty of Tamil kings ruled the western part of the ancient Tamil country, in which Malayāḷam is now spoken. The patikam accompanying each decade gives the name of the king praised therein, some information about his lineage and details of exploits which often do not tally with those in the decade itself. There is also a prose passage at the end of each patikam. This lists the names of the poems in the accompanying decade, and gives the name of the author of the decade, the reward he or she received for praising the king and the duration of the king's reign.[1]

The patikams are generally accepted to be of different authorship than that of the decades. It is possible that they are of later composition, and came into being at the time when the decades were grouped together into their present arrangement. The writers of the patikams may have drawn on material not available to the poets who composed the poems or not used by them. This would account for the discrepancies between the patikams and the decade poems.

Each decade of Patirru. is in praise of a particular Ceral and was written by a different poet, and the list of kings and the poets who lauded them is as follows:

Decade II	Imaiyavarampan Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan,	Kumaṭṭūr Kkaṇṇanār
III	Palyānai Ccĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan,	Pālai Kkautamanār
IV	Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmuṭicceral,	Kāppiyārrukkāppiyanār
V	Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan,	Paraṇar
VI	Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan,	Kākkaipāṭiniyār Naccĕḷḷaiyār

1. The patikams are discussed in detail in Chapter VII.

VII	Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan,	Kapilar
VIII	Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai	Aricil Kilār
IX	Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏrai	Pĕruṅkunrur Kkilā

In the above list, the decades have been numbered from II to IX in conformity with the general view as to their order of occurrence. However, there is some ground for disputing this view, and this will be examined in the next chapter.[1]

The eight extant decades have survived with patikams and fragmentary commentary. No epexegetical material connected with the two missing decades has been discovered, but some verses, quoted by medieval commentators as examples from Patirru do not appear in the extant text, and it is possible that they belong to the missing decades.[2]

The patikams vary in length from 10 to 21 lines. The decade poems average 21 lines in length, a whole decade averaging 211 lines. The shortest poem in Patirru. is v.87, which is of five lines, while the longest is v.90, which is of 57 lines. It is the only poem in Patirru. of more than 50 lines. There are three poems of over 40 lines.[3]

As just observed, the prose passages at the end of each patikam give a name to each poem in the accompanying decade. Each name has been taken from the poem itself, and consists of a phrase which the redactor must have thought to have been the most striking in the poem or to have conveyed the poem's main idea. For example, Patirru.II,v.11 is called "Puṇṇumil kuruti."

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1. v.i. pp. 293-4. 2. vide TSS edn.,pp.457-8. 3. II,15; III,3 and IX,88.

This phrase, meaning 'gory wounds' occurs in line 8 of the poem

"ccĕvvāy ĕhkam vilaṅkunar aruppav

aruniran tiranta puṇṇumil kurutiyin

maṇinirav iruṅkali nīrniram pĕyarntu ..." [1]

The context describes how Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan hacked to pieces his opponents:

"You hacked to pieces those who opposed you, their swords red. The sapphire water of the inlets changed its hue because of the gore from the wounds you had opened in their chests which were well defended."

This passage evidently seemed to the redactor to be the one most worthy of note in the poem, and he signified this by taking the phrase "Puṇṇumil kuruti" and using it as a title for the whole poem. All the poems of Patirru. have been treated in this way, and it may suffice to note one more instance. In decade V, poem 42, entitled "Tacumpu tuḷaṅk'irukkai," extols the liberality of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan in conventional terms. In lines 9 and following, the poet expresses his unbounded admiration for the king's generosity:

"You pour forth liberality, like generous toddy of jewel hue pouring out of a pot that had been placed on a wobbly chair:"

" ..... tacumpu tuḷaṅk'irukkai

ttīṅceru viḷainta maṇinira maṭṭam

ompāv īkai(yin) ....." [2]

Colophons are appended to each decade poem. These give

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1. Patirru. II,11,11.7-9. 2. V,42,11.11-13.

the Turai, Vaṇṇam and Tūkku for each poem. As already seen,[1] Turai is the poetic theme appropriate to the action or sentiment described in the verse. Vaṇṇam is the rhythmic effect of a particular metre,[2] while Tūkku helped to determine that metre.[3] The Tūkku for all these poems is given as Cĕntūkku, and it is possible that, to the colophon-writer, this term was synonymous with Akaval, the name of the metre of these poems.[4]

At the end of each colophon to the decade poems appears the name of the verse. In all cases these names agree with the list given in the prose following upon the patikams.

As already noted,[5] it is generally held that, in accordance with its title, this anthology originally contained one hundred poems,[6] and that one of the missing decades is the first. This may be confirmed by the fact that the Kaṭavuḷ vāltu to Patirru. is also lost; it may be presumed that it disappeared together with the opening decade. But a Kaṭavuḷ vāltu quoted by Nacc.[7] is believed by modern scholars[8] to be that originally prefaced to Patirruppattu.

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1. v.s. pp.40,l.2. v.i. Chap.X, p.452. 3. v.i., p.451.
4. For this metre, v.i. ibid., pp.464 & seqq. 5. v.s. p.284.
6. In addition to using the title, Nacc. mentions that Patirru. contained 100 Pāṭāṇ verses: comm. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Purat.cū.80, TSS i,p.254. 7. In comm. on Tŏl.,ibid.,cū.81, TSS i, p.255. Cf. Patirru., TSS edn.(1950) ADP comm., p.3.

Supplement to Chapter VI

Table of Contents of Patirruppattu

Decade	Verse	Turai	Vaṇṇam
II (On Imaiyavarampan Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan, by Kumaṭṭūr Kkaṇṇanār)			
	11-13	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam
	14	" "	" , Cŏrcīrvaṇṇam
	15-17	" "	"
	18	Iyanmŏli vālttu	"
	19	Paricirrurai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	" "
	20	Iyanmŏli vālttu	" "
III (On Palyānai Ccĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan, by Pālai Kkautamanār)			
	21	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam
	22,23	Vañcitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	" , Cŏrcīrvaṇṇam
	23	" "	"
	24	Iyanmŏli vālttu	"
	25,26	Vañcitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	" "
	27	Cĕnturai ppātāṇpāṭṭu	"
	28	Nāṭu vālttu	"
	29	Vañcitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	30	Pĕruṅcorru nilai	"
IV (On Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmuṭicceral, by Kāppiyārrukkāppiyanār)			
	31,32	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam
	33	Vañcitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	34	Tumpaiy aravam	"
	35	Vākaitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	36	Kaḷavali	"
	37,38	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"

Decade	Verse	Turai	Vaṇṇam
(IV)	39	Vākai	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam
	40	Viraliyārruppaṭai	"
V (On Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan, by Paraṇar)			
	41	Kāṭci vālttu	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam
	42	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	43	Iyanmŏli vālttu	"
	44-47	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	48	Iyanmŏli vālttu	"
	49	Viraliyārruppaṭai	"
	50	Vañcitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	" , Cŏrcīrvaṇṇam
VI (On Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan, by Kākkaippāṭiniyār Naccĕḷḷaiyār)			
	51	Vañcitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam, Cŏrcīrvaṇṇam
	52,53	Kuravai nilai	"
	53	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	54	Kāṭci vālttu	"
	55	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	56	Ŏḷvāḷamalai	"
	57	Viraliyārruppaṭai	"
	58,59	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	60	Viraliyārruppaṭai	"
VII (On Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan, by Kapilar)			
	61	Kāṭci vālttu	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam
	62,63	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	64	Kāṭci vālttu	"
	65	Paricirrurai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"

Decade	Verse	Turai	Vaṇṇam
(VII)	66	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam
	67	Pāṇārruppaṭai	"
	68	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	69	Vañcitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	" , Cŏrcirvaṇṇam
	70	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
VIII (On Pĕruñceral Irumpŏrai, by Aricil Kilār)			
	71	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam, Cŏrcīrvaṇṇam
	72-76	" "	"
	77	Ulińaiy aravam	"
	78	Viraliyārruppaṭai	"
	79	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	80	Vañcitturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
IX (On Iḷañceral Irumpŏrai, by Pĕruṅkunrūr Kilār)			
	81	Mullai	Ŏlukuvaṇṇam
	82	Kāṭci vālttu	" , Cŏrcīrvaṇṇam
	83	Tumpaiy aravam	"
	84	Vākai	"
	85,86	Cĕnturai ppāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	87	Viraliyārruppaṭai	"
	88	Cĕnturaippāṭāṇpāṭṭu	"
	89	Kāvanmullai	"
	90	Kāṭci vālttu	" , Cŏrcīrvaṇṇam

CHAPTER VII

PATIRRUPPATTU: PATIKAMS

It has been seen that each decade of Patirruppattu is accompanied by a patikam that introduces it and supplements the information contained in it.[1] Unlike the colophons to each decade poem, these patikams are only to be found in those MSS that include the old commentary. There are grounds for regarding the patikams as being of different authorship from that of the text, and it is possible that they were intended purely as epexegetical material. That they were written before the time of the medieval commentator on Cilappatikāram, Aṭiyārkkunallār, is clear from the fact that he quotes from them.[2]

A similar pattern is followed in each patikam whereby the names of the father and mother of the Ceral about whom the accompanying decade is composed are given first. Then follow a number of his exploits and finally his name. The prose that follows every patikam commences with the name of the author of the decade, gives the names of the ten decade poems, the reward the poet received for praising the Ceral, repeats the Ceral's name,[3] and gives the length of his reign.

Save in the case of patikams II and VII, it will be

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1. v.s.,Chap.VI,p.285. 2. e.g. Aṭiyār. on Cil.XXVII,l.118, quotes Patirru.pat.V,ll.18-20 & on Cil.ibid.,l.124 quotes Patirr pat.V,ll.13,14: Cil.TSS edn.(1950)p.573; on Cil.XXIII,ll.63,64, Aṭiyār. quotes prose after Patirru.pat.III: Cil.TSS edn.,p.479. 3. Sometimes in a slightly different form, e.g. pat.VIII & prose pat.IX and prose.

found that a Ceral celebrated in a previous decade is named in one or more succeeding patikams, usually as the father of a Ceral about to be praised.

Nĕţuṅceral Ātan, hero of decade II, is mentioned in patikam III as the elder brother of decade III's hero, Palyānai Ccĕlkĕlu Kuţţuvan, in pat.IV as the father of Nārmuţicceral, in pat.V as the father of Cĕṅkuţţuvan and in pat.VI as the father of Āţukoţpāţţu Cceralātan.

Cĕlvakkaţuṅkov Āliyātan, hero of decade VII, is named in patikam VIII as the father of the hero of decade VIII, Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai. Kuţţuvan Irumpŏrai, probably the same as Pĕruṅceral, is named in pat.IX as the father of the hero of decade IX, Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏrai.

In patikams II and VII Nĕţuṅceral Ātan's father and Āliyātan's father are given as Utiyaṅceral and Antuvan respectively. Neither of these is the hero of an extant decade of Patirru., but Utiyaṅceral is mentioned in a few places in the anthologies.[1] It seems reasonable to suggest that it was Utiyaṅceral who was praised in the decade preceding the extant decade II, the pat. to which mentions him, and that, in fact, one of the missing decades is decade I.

Since, in their genealogical passages, these patikams do not anticipate the next decade or patikam, the name of the hero of the decade following upon the extant decade IX cannot be gathered from pat.IX. It has already been noted that the general

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1. Puram.2, Akam.65,168 & 233; v.s. Chap.IV, pp.174-177. Antuvan is mentioned in the col. to Puram.13 only; v.s. Chap.IV pp.114, 185-186.

assumption is that the other missing decade is decade X.[1] But it has been noticed that Antuvan is mentioned in patikam VII as the father of Āliyatan, but that no extant decade lauds him. Decades VII to IX laud his successors, just as decades II to VI praise various descendants of Utiyañceral, who may be presumed to have been praised in the missing decade I. By the same token, Antuvan may have been the hero of a decade now lost that preceded the one now numbered VII, the patikam to which mentions his name, just as the patikam to II mentions Utiyañceral. It seems possible, therefore, that the decade missing is not the tenth, but one that preceded the extant decade VII. The extant decades VII to IX may have actually formed decades VIII to X of the original complete Patirruppattu.

It will be apparent that a well-knit sequence is followed in the extant patikams and that, if these are to be relied upon, they provide quite a feasible genealogy of some of the early Ceral kings of the west coast of South India. There remains the doubt as to whether these patikams were written near enough in point of time to the period of these Ceralar for their information to be accepted at its face value.

The following information about the lineage of the Ceralar is given in the eight extant patikams:

II, lines 1 to 3: "To Utiyañceral ... was born a son by Nallini, the Veḷ princess, (daughter of) Vĕḷiyan."[2]

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1. v.s. Chap.VI,p.284 & fn.2. See also P.T.S.Iyengar: "History of the Tamils", p.495. Sesha Aiyar, CK p.66, thought that the hero of the missing decade '10' was Yānaikkaṭcey Māntarañceral Irumpŏrai. 2. This Vĕḷiyan has been noted as a possible father of Āy Eyinan; v.s. Chap.IV,pp.140-141 & Table on p.141.

III, lines 1 and 11: "Imaiyavarampan's younger brother (was) ... Palyănai Ccĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan."

IV, lines 1 to 3 and prose: "The queen, (daughter of) Patuman, the Veḷ prince of the Āvi(yar),[1] bore a son to Ceral Ātan ... Nārmuṭicceral."

V, lines 2 and 3 and prose: "To Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan, prince of the Kuṭavar[2], ... the daughter of the Cola, ?Maṇakkil bore a son ... Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan."

VI, lines 1, 2 and 11: "To Kuṭakko Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan the queen, (daughter of) the Veḷ prince of the Āvi(yar), bore a son ... Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan."

VII, lines 2, 3 and 12: "The great (=chief ?) queen, daughter of ?Ŏrutantai[3] Pŏraiyan, bore a son to Antuvan ... (called) Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan."

VIII, lines 1, 2 and 10: "To the truthful Cĕlvakkaṭuṅk (Āliyātan) the queen, (daughter of) Patuman, Veḷ chief of the Āvi(yar), bore a son ... Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai."

IX, lines 1, 2 and 17: "To Kuṭṭuvan Irumpŏrai the Veḷ princess Antuvaṅcĕḷḷai, (daughter of) the lord of Maiyūr, bore a son ... Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏrai."

With this information it is possible tentatively to construct a genealogical table.[4] Certain problems arise from the nature of the language used in the patikams and, in some instances, the conclusions here reached are different from

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1. For Āvi, Āviyar, v.s. Chap.V,p.220. 2. The inhabitants of the 'Western Country', the Ceranāṭu; vide Puram.17,l.10, Akam.393,l.16, Kurun.89,ll.4,5 and Pattu.Paṭṭinap.,l.276. 3. The old commentary suggests Orutantai was a name of her father, Pŏraiyan: TSS edn.p.456. 4. v.i. p.296; cp. Chart of Contemporaries C, supra p.221.

(Vĕḷiyan)
|
Nallini=Utiyañceral
|(Puram. 2)

Palyānai Ccĕlkĕḷu Kuṭṭuvan (III) 20 yrs.

?Maṇakkiḷḷi=Nĕṭuñceral Ātan=Queen

(Narcoṇai; Aṭiyār. on Cil.)

(II; Puram. 62, 63, 368) 50 yrs.

(Patuman)

Queen=*

Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan (V; Puram. 369) 50 yrs.

Nārmuṭicceral (IV) 20 yrs.

Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Ccerālatan (VI) 30 yrs.

?Ŏrutantai Pŏraiyan
|
Queen=Antuvan(ceral Irumpŏrai)
|(pat. VII; Puram. col. 13)

*=Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyatan (Maiyūr kilān)
|(VII; Puram. 8, 14)
|20 yrs.

Pĕruñceral Irumpŏrai=Antuvañcĕḷḷai
(alias Kuṭṭuvan I.)
(VIII; Puram. 50)
17 yrs.

Iḷañceral Irumpŏrai
(IX) 16 yrs.

00 yrs., length of reign according to prose following Patikams.
(For other conventional signs, v.s. p.127).

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those of most modern writers such as the TSS editor,[1] Sesha Aiyar,[2] M.Raghava Aiyangar[3] and S.S.Bharati.[4] The first three conclude that the Ceralar of the Sangam period followed a patrilinear system of succession, but S.S.Bharati tried to prov that a matrilinear system such as that obtaining in Kerala toda

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1. Patirru., TSS edn. (1950) Intro. 2. CK. 3. "Cerar Ventar Tāyavalakku." 4. "Cĕntamil," Vol. XXVII.

was followed. His view has not found general favour.

Where the genealogy here suggested differs from others that have been put forward is chiefly in the matter of the identity of the different queens mentioned in the patikams. It is felt that the various names with a masculine termination -an that precede the queens' names or the word 'tevi', queen, are patronymics, and that this itself suggests that a patrilinear succession was followed.

These queens will now be discussed in the order of their appearance in the patikams.

Vĕḷiyan Veṇmāḷ Nallini was queen to Utiyańceral, to whom she bore Nĕṭuńceral Ātan. Since Vĕḷiyan is masculine in form, it is suggested that this was the name of the queen's father, and that her own was Veṇmāḷ Nallini, Nallini of the Veḷ line.[1] Perhaps Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan was also her son, since no other queen is mentioned in patikam III, which merely states that Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan was Imaiyavarampan's younger brother. This interpretation is followed entirely by Sesha Aiyar.[2] Other writers do not dwell on this queen's name, and none stresses that Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan is called 'tampi', younger brother, of Imaiyavarampan (Nĕṭuńceral Ātan). Modern writers[3] are generally agreed that the Vĕḷiyan here mentioned was Tittan Vĕḷiyan, one of the early Cola rulers, identified with Porvaikkoppĕrunar Kiḷḷi. Difficulties in accepting this have already been discussed.[4]

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1. v.s. Chap.IV, pp.139-140. 2. CK, pp.10 & 14. 3. Such as Sesha Aiyar: CK, p.10; and Pillai; CET, p.85. 4. v.s. Chap.IV pp.140,141 & Table on p.141. It may be noted that pat.II does not connect Vĕḷiyan with the Colas in any way whatever.

Veḷ Āvikkomāṉ Patumaṉ Ṟevi is mentioned in patikam IV, and an identical name appears in patikam VIII. In pat.VI occurs the name Veḷ Āvikkomāṉ Ṟevi. Three interpretations of these are possible. Firstly, all three names refer to one and the same queen, and, if this were so, she would have had three husbands. Secondly, all three refer to different queens, in which case Nĕṭuṅceral Ātaṉ may have married two sisters. The last possibility is that the queens mentioned in patikams IV and VI as wedded to Neṭuṅceral Ātaṉ were in fact one and the same person, and that, for this reason the element 'Patumaṉ' is not repeated in patikam VI, but that the queen in patikam VIII was different. By reason of the patronymic she may be presumed to have been a sister of Nĕṭuṅceral's queen. All modern writers except V.R.R.Dikshitar[1] have assumed that the name of the queen in pat.IV was in fact Patumaṉ Ṟevi, and that this is not a patronymic. They have therefore not noted any connexion between her and the queen mentioned in pat.VIII. It is here maintained, however, that they were sisters and that, through them, the descendants of Utiyaṅceral and those of Antuvaṅceral Irumpŏṟai were related by marriage. Possibly by reason of the omission of 'Patumaṉ' in designating the queen mentioned in pat.VI as the mother of Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātaṉ, most writers have ignored the possibility of sagarbha relationship between that Ceral and Nārmuṭicceral, who, it is here maintained, were brothers.

By the same hypothesis, thse two Ceralar were cousins of Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏṟai, but V.R.R.Dikshitar alone takes this

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1. Cil. Intro.,p.13, table 3.

view.[1] If this hypothesis is accepted, it provides a useful synchronism between the various collateral descendants of Utiyañceral on the one hand and Antuvañceral's descendants on the other. Nĕṭuñceral was a contemporary of Āliyātan, and, late on, Cĕnkuṭṭuvan was a contemporary of Pĕruñceral Irumpŏrai. Patuman himself was perhaps a contemporary of Utiyañceral and Antuvañceral Irumpŏrai.

It is possible that it was this Patuman who is mentioned in Akam.1 and 61. The colophons to both these verses ascribe them to Māmūlanār, and it will be seen that[2] he refers elsewhere to Nĕṭuñceral Ātan, Patuman's son-in-law according to the evidence just examined. In Akam.1 and 61, Māmūlanār states that Veḷ Āvi owned the hill of Pŏtini,[3] and the TSS editor of Akam. identifies this with Palani.[4]

Colan Maṇakkiḷḷi is given in pat.V as Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's mother. It is here suggested that Colan is to be understood as a genitive, and that it is not in apposition to Maṇakkiḷḷi.[5] The name Kiḷḷi is one found among several Colas, and was perhap a family name. It is possible that this queen's personal name is not expressed here; there is no evidence of Kiḷḷi being used in conjunction with a girl's name. Maṇakkiḷḷi may simply mean 'sweet daughter of Kiḷḷi.'

It should be noted that, in his commentary on Cil.,

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1. Cil.Intro., ibid. 2. Akam.127; v.i. p.302. 3. Akam.1,l.4 Akam.61,ll.15,16. 4. Akam.i,p.148. 5. Contra V.R.R.Dikshitar who considered Colan Maṇakkiḷḷi the name of the father of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's mother, whose own name he took to be Narcoṇai, following Aṭiyārkkunallār on Cil.Patikam. See VRRD Cil.pp.23,24

Patikam, Aṭiyārkkunallār gives the name of the Colа mother of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan as Narcoṇai.[1] The text of the Cilappatikāram only states that Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's mother was a princess of the Colа family that claimed Solar lineage, and does not give her name.[2] All that may definitely be stated is that both pat.V of Patirru and a possible accretion to Cil. share the story of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan having a Colа mother.[3] The Patirru. patikam does not give her name at all, and only the commentary on Cil. says she was called Narcoṇai. As just noted, V.R.R.Dikshitar reconciled thes two sources by postulating Maṇakkiḷḷi as the name of Narcoṇai's father.[4] This cannot be supported by reference to the passage in Patirru. patikam V:

"Kuṭavar komā' Nĕṭuṅceral Ātarku
Ccolan Maṇakkiḷḷiy īnra makan ..."[5]

save by postulating omission of a phrase or line after 'Maṇakkiḷḷi' such as "īnra makaḷ."[6] Dikshitar's suggestion is sustained neither by these lines nor by the structure of simila passages in the other patikams.[7]

The mother of Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan is given in patikam VII as Ŏrutantaiy īnra makaḷ Pŏraiyan Pĕruntevi. The element Pŏraiyan may be taken to refer to the queen's father; it was one of the Ceral titles and is doubtless synonymous with Irumpŏrai.[8] It is hard to follow Sesha Aiyar's suggestion that Pŏraiyan is part of the queen's own name.[9] The meaning of the

1. Cil.UVS edn.(1927)p.12. 2. Cil.XXIX, Uraippāṭṭu,ll.2,3: TSS edn.p.610. 3. Other matters are shared also, v.i. pp.310-313 4. v.s. p.299,fn5. VRRD erred in stating that the Cil.Patikam gives the name Narcoṇai. 5. ll.2,3. 6. cp. pat.VII,l.3. 7. e.g. pat.VIII,I.2,IX,l.2. 8. cf. Puram.53, where Māntarañceral is called Pŏraiyan; cp. Patirru.84,86,87. 9. CK p.74.

element 'Ŏrutantai' is in some doubt. Sesha Aiyar,[1] following the old commentary on the patikams,[2] takes it to be the name of this queen's father. If this is adopted, it is just possible that, in view of the order of words in pat.VII:

"Nĕṭu nuṇ keḷviy Antuvar̲k' Ŏrutantai

Īn̲r̲a makaḷ Pŏr̲aiyan̲ pĕrunteviy Īn̲r̲a makan̲ ..."[3]

we may take Pŏr̲aiyan̲, while still in a genitive sense, to refer to the queen's husband Antuvan̲, and translate:

"The son (was) born to the great (=chief?) queen of the Irumpŏr̲ai, daughter of Ŏrutantai, (and) to Antuvan̲ who was of deep wisdom."

Such an interpretation would tend to confirm the assumption that the Antuvan̲ here mentioned was an Irumpŏr̲ai, to be identified with the Antuvañceral Irumpŏr̲ai mentioned in the colophon to Pur̲am.13.

The achievements of the eight Ceral rulers as given in the patikams will now be discussed.

In patikam II, Nĕṭuñceral Ātan̲ is said to have carved his bow-emblem upon the Himālaya and to have made the Āriyar submit. He also captured Mŭtūr. He siezed a booty of diamonds after tying behind their backs the hands (of captives) and pouring ghee upon their heads.

There are similar passages in anthology poems that refer to the Ceral carving his bow-emblem. Paraṇar states:

"The lord of Vañci bound captive kings whose ire was great. He carved his curved bow upon the ancient northern

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1. CK,p.74. 2. TSS,p.456. 3. ll.2,3.

mountain and thrust back in confusion the Āriyar."[1]

Māmūlanār may well have referred to Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan when he stated, in Akam.127:

"Ceral Ātan, whose drum proclaims victory, drove back the sea, cut down a Kadamba tree[2] and, like his predecessors, carved his curving bow on the Himālaya."[3]

All these references may be hyperbole, or may embody some tradition concerning the Ceralar. That they are hyperbole is suggested by the fact that the claim to have carved an emble on the Himālaya is also made for the Colar,[4] while it has been seen that poets mention these mountains as the northern limit of the Tamil country.[5] These poets doubtless knew of the Himālayas through their contact with Sanskrit and its literatur For a poet to mention the Himālaya in connexion with his patron was doubtless as flattering as to connect him with Śibi or with the Pāṇḍavas.[6] There seems, moreover, no reason to doubt that 'Imaiyam' does refer to the Himālayas, and not to mountains suc as the Nilagiris and Shevaroys which contain the Tamil area on its north and north-west flank. 'Imaiyam' appears in several contexts with Āriyar'[7] and with allusions to brahmans or sages.[8] Who the Āriyar were whom Nĕṭuṅceral defeated it is impossible t say. There is no reason not to connect Ta. āriyar with Skt. ārya especially in view of the contexts noted[7] which include referen

1. Akam.396,ll.16-19. 2. v.i.,p.308. 3. ll.3-5. 4. vide Cil.XV ll.1-5; Kaliṅkattup.208. 5. Puram.132; v.s. p.217. cp. Patirru. II,11 & V,43. 6. Puram.37; v.s. Chap.IV,p.121; v.s. pp.146, 176. 7. Patirru.II,11,l.23; cp. Akam.396,ll.16,17. 8. Puram.2; v.s. Chap.IV,p.177; Puram.166; v.s. Chap.V,p.236; Puram.214, v.s. Chap.IV,p.135. cp. Kali.38.

to the Himālayas as northern mountains. It is just possible that allusions such as these are poetic exaggerations, and that Imaiyam and Āriyar stand for the mountains to the north of the Ceral country and a non-Tamil foe of the Ceralar.

Mūtūr is not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature, and it may not have been a proper name, in which case it would signify 'an ancient town.'

The patikam does not specify who the people were whom Nĕţuńceral bound and from whom he siezed diamonds. But the old commentary says they were Yavanas[1] and this interpretation has been followed by modern writers.[2] What the pouring of ghee upon the heads of these captives signified it is impossible to say; the ghee may have been heated and employed as a torture.

In patikam III, Palyāṉai Ccĕlkĕḷu Kuţţuvaṉ is stated to have established his sway over the Umpal forest. He destroye the fort called Akappā, burning it by daylight. He stationed elephants in relays so that, in a single day, he might bathe ir both his seas. He celebrated the Ayirai mountain and, like Nĕţumpāratāyaṉār before him, left for the forests.

The Umpal forest is located by the TSS editor of Patiṟṟu.[3] on the south-west slopes of the Nilagiris. 'Umpal' has the meanings of teak, elephant;[4] either would be suitable for a forest in this area. Umpaṟkāţu is mentioned nowhere else in Sangam literature save in the prose portions to two other Patiṟṟu. patikams,[5] wherein is mentioned the allocation of

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1. 1. TSS edn., p.456. 2. e.g. Pillai: CET,p.117. 3. TSS edn. map preceding foreword; see Map, p.xv . 4. Ta.Lex., p.430, col.i. 5. pat.III prose, v.i. p.320; pat.V, prose, v.i. p.322..

lands in the Umpal forest to the poets Kumaṭṭūr Kkaṇṇanār and Paraṇar for their panegyrics addressed to the Ceralar.

There seems no reason for following the suggestion of N.M.Veṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār, the TSS editor of Cilappatikāram, that[1] 'Akappā' was not a proper name, but merely a word for 'fort'. This word occurs in Cil., and in two anthology poems (apart fro the patikam instance just noted). In Canto XXVIII of Cil., Iḷaṅko recalls the glorious achievements of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's predecessors, one of whom "With a fierce army drove off the foe and destroyed Akappā."[2] In Patirru.III,22, Pālai Kkautamanār states that Ccĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan "destroyed Akappā on the high peak".[3] In Nar.14, Māmūlanār says that "Akappā that belonged to the Kuṭṭuvan was destroyed by Cĕmpiyan, who set fire to it by day."[4] It is worth noting that the phrase 'pakar rī veṭṭu', 'setting fire (to it) by day', in Patirru.pat.III,l.3 is closel parallelled by 'pakar rī veṭṭa' in Nar.14, l.4.

It will be seen that, in all instances, Akappā appears in contexts connected with Ceralar; Cil. and the two texts in Patirru. record its capture by a Ceral, while Nar.14 states tha it was taken from a Ceral by the Cola. No other instances of the word occur in the anthologies and it is felt that, were akappā a general term for fort, there is no reason why its use should have been limited to a very few contexts that include mention of Ceralar. Whether by 'Kuṭṭuvan' in Nar.14 Māmūlanār

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1. Cil.TSS,p.602. A similar meaning for akappā is given by the Ta.Lex.,p.11,col.i. VRRD: Cil.,p.322 translates as 'hill-fort', perhaps recalling 'pĕruṅkoṭṭ'Akappā' of Patirru.22.
2. ll.143,144. 3. ll.25,26. 4. ll.3,4.

meant Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan it is impossible to say, as Kuṭṭuvan is used of several Ceral kings.[1] On the other hand, the passage in Cil. seems undoubtedly to allude to him, as it goes on to say that the Ceral "performed ablutions in the lovely Ayirai and bathed in the waters of both seas."[2] It will be noticed how this recalls Patirru.pat.III; it is even possible that 'Ayirai maṇṇi' in Cil. means the ritual washing of Kŏrravai's image that was upon that mountain.[3] In either case, there is no need to follow Dikshitar in taking this to refer to a different Ceral from the destroyer of Akappā.[4]

It may be suggested that the full title of this Ceral, PalyānaicCĕlkĕlu, refers to the stationing of elephants in relays by him mentioned in pat.III,[5] and is perhaps directly indebted to it. The old commentary says that his kingdom was by conquest extended from the western to the eastern seaboard.[6] This would not be mere hyperbole if taken as a reference to the vicinity of the Cape; the Ceral may have siezed some lands from the Pāṇṭiya.

The old commentary interprets 'Ayirai paraii',[7] spreading abroad (the fame of) the Ayirai (mountain), as a reference to the worship by the Ceral of Kŏrravai, the goddess of victory, as was his family's duty. It is clear from other sources that Ayirai was the name of a mountain,[8] and that it wa

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1. Nĕṭuṅceral: Patirru.II,22,23,29; Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan: V,42,43,46,47; Iḷaṅceral: IX,90. 2. Cil.XXVIII,ll.145-6. 3. Ait TSS ed. of Cil.,p.603. There is no clear allusion in S.Lit. to Ayirai as a river. VRRD takes Cil. to refer to river-bathing. 4. Cil.p.322. 5. l.6. 6. TSS,p.455. 7. pat.III,l.8. 8. e.g. Patirru.21, l.29; VII,70,l.26.

the seat of some cult.[1] The old commentary on Patirru. twice states that the deity who dwelt on the mountain Ayirai was the goddess Kŏrravai.[2] This mountain is identified by the Lexicon with Aivarmalai, nine miles west of Palani.[3]

According to the old commentary on the patikams,[4] Nĕṭumpāratāyanār was the purohita of Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan. It seems clear from pat.III and its commentary that, following the example of his priest, this Ceral became a hermit.

In patikam IV, Nārmuṭicceral is stated to have cherished the Pūlināṭu. He laid low Nannan of Kaṭampin Pĕruvāyi and hacked down an Albizzia that resembled gold.

The Pūlināṭu and its inhabitants are mentioned in a number of anthology poems as belonging to the Ceralar.[5] It was one of the places where Kŏṭuntamil was spoken, according to Cenāvaraiyar,[6] the 12th. century commentator on Tŏl. Cŏllatikāram. The TSS editor of Patirru. locates it in the region of the modern Pĕriyakuḷam, north-west of Maturai.[7]

Kaṭampin Pĕruvāyil was the name of Nannan's town according to the old commentary on pat.IV.[8] The phrase could mean 'the place of the Kaṭampu tree.' It is possible that this tree was the emblem of Nannan and his family, and that other references in Patirru. to Ceralar uprooting a kaṭampu tree[9] allude to warfare with him. Nannan is mentioned in a number of

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1. "Kaṭavuḷ Ayiraiyi'nilaii" Patirru.VIII,79,l.18. 2. Comm. on vv. 79 & 88: UVS edn.(1904)pp.134,150. 3. Ta.Lex.,p.112,col.i.
4. TSS p.455. 5. Patirru.III,21;VIII,73;IX,84 & 90; Puram.387.
6. Tŏl.Cŏl.,TSSedn.(1952)p.207; the TSS ed. objects that such an observation could only apply to Cenā.'s time, not to that of Tŏl.
7. Patirru., map. See Map, p.xv . 8. TSS,p.456. 9. II,11, lines 12,13; II,17,l.5. cp. Akam.347,ll.3,4.

anthology verses.[1] It has already been noted that he is said to have ruled over Kŏṇkāṉam, rich in gold.[2] He is also stated to have possessed Puṉṉāṭu,[3] and a town called Pāḷi[4] that seems to have been situated there.[5] He was a foe of Āy Ĕyiṉaṉ,[6] and this i consistent with his enmity with the Ceralar when it is recalled that he may well have been related by marriage to Nĕṭuṅceral.[7]

Naṉṉaṉ's possession of Kŏṇkāṉam, which denoted the area on the west coast to the north of the Ceral country that is now South Kanara,[8] lends support to the TSS editor of Patiṟṟu. who locates Puṉṉāṭu[9] north of the Ceral country and inland from the modern S.Kanara. Puṉṉāṭu has not been noted by the Tamil Lexicon and, while mention of it in Akam.396 is subject to a variant reading,[10] it may be observed that a place called Pounnata was listed by Ptolemy.[11] It is possible that he placed it too far south to agree with the anthology evidence; he placed it between the Pseudostomos, which may be identified with the Periyāṟu,[12] and which flowed into the sea near Mouziris or Muciṟi,[13] and the Baris, which McCrindle suggested[14] may have flowed into a back-water near Kŏllam (Quilon).

The possibility of Naṉṉaṉ's Puṉṉāṭu being in the area o the modern Mysore, and his rule over Kŏṇkāṉam are of importance

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1. e.g. Akam.44,97 & 199; Puṟam.151. 2. Naṟ.391; v.s. Chap.V, p.227. 3. Akam.396,l.2. 4. Akam.142,l.9. 5. Akam.396,ll.2,3. 6. Akam.148 & 396. 7. For interrelationship between Āy Ĕyiṉaṉ & Nĕṭuṅceral, v.s. Chap.IV,pp.139-141 & this Chap., pp.294 fn.2 & 297. 8. See Pillai: CET p.82 & fn.(1); the Ta.Lex, p.1142,col.i connects Kŏṇkāṉam with Koṅkaṇa. 9. Map preceding foreword. 10. v.r. 'Puḷḷunāṭu'; vide Akam.,TSS edn.iii,p.188 fn. Pillai mentions Puḷḷunāṭu (& not Puṉṉāṭu) and says it lay in the area of the modern Coimbatore Distt., but gives no ref. for his use o the name, CET p.78. 11. Ptolemy, VII.i,86; A.I.p.180. 12. See CET p.106. 13. McCrindle: A.I.p.52, confirmed by Akam.14 ll.8-11; Muciṟi: v.s. Chap.V,p.279. 14. A.I., p.53.

in connexion with the phrase 'Kaṭampin Pĕruvāyil'[1] and the allusions to uprooting a Kaṭampu tree noted earlier.[2] There seems justification for connecting Ta. kaṭampu with the Skt. kadamba,[3] and it has the same meaning, Anthocephalus cadamba. It would appear that Nārmuṭicceral and his father were engaged in warfare with Nannan and his family, whose emblem was the Kadamba tree, and who occupied an area in what is now Mysore and South Kanara.

The seat of power of the Kadamba dynasty was Vaijayanti (Banavāsi), and they had a secondary capital at Pālāsikā (Hālsi). They therefore occupied a region that is now that of Kanara and, according to Satyanatha Aiyar,[5] their founder, Mayūraśarma, ruled from about 340 to 370 A.D. It would seem possible to suggest that the name of this dynasty was connected with the use by an earlier Dravidian chieftain and his family of the kadamba tree as an emblem . It is possible that the name of the Kadamba dynasty has a similar origin to that already suggested for the Pallava dynasty.[6] From two of the Akanānūru references it appears that the predecessors of the Kadambas were pirates. Māmūlanār's statement in Akam.127 has already been noticed.[7] In Akam.347, the same poet states:

"Cāl pĕruntānai Cceral Ātan
māl kaṭal oṭṭi kkaṭamp'arutt'iyarriya
paṇṇ amai muracin kaṇṇ atirnt' anna ..." [8]

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1. pat.IV,l.7. 2. v.s. p.306,fn.9; cp. Patirru.88,l.6.
3. See Burrow: BSOAS XII(1948) p.369; he notes the cognates of Ta. kaṭampu: M. id., Ka. kaṭamba, kaṭara, Te. kaṭāmi. For another instance of a dental in Skt. for a Drav. retroflex, cp. Skt.kanda M. kaṇṭa, Te. gaḍḍa; see Burrow, ibid. 4. KANS: HSI, p.107.
5. In HCIP III,p.272. 6. v.s. p.252. 7. v.s. p.302. 8. ll.3-5

"Like the beating upon the face of the tuneful drum made from the kadamba tree hacked down by Ceral Ātan of the famous army when he drove back the sea."

This may also explain the allusions about driving back the sea that are made in respect of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan.[1]

Nannan seems finally to have been defeated by the hero of decade IV, Nārmuṭicceral, at a place called Vākai. The full name of the Ceral as it appears in pat.IV is given in Akam.199 by Kallāṭanār in mentioning the battle:

" ..... kuṭāatu
irumpŏn Vākai ppĕruntu<u>r</u>ai ccĕruvil
pŏlampŭṇ Nannan pŏrutu kaḷatt'ŏliya
valam paṭu kŏrram tanta vāyvāḷ
Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmuṭicceral
ilanta nāṭu tant'anna ..." [2]

"Like the lands captured and destroyed by Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmuṭicceral[3] of the trusty blade who gained victory on the battlefield, battling with Nannan whose ornament was of gold in a fight at the place of the Albizzia[4] that resembled gold that lay in the west."

It is probable that the cutting down of an albizzia mentioned in pat.IV[5] is an allusion to the same event. It may be suggested that 'Vākai ppĕruntu<u>r</u>ai' of Akam.199 is analogous to 'Kaṭampin pĕruvāyil' of pat.IV, and may allude to an albizzia that grew at a place subsequently named after it. It may have

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1. v.i. p.334-5. 2. ll.18-23. 3. This name seems to mean 'Ceral of the fragrant chaplet of fibre' but no satisfactory explanatio is offered. 4. Vākai, Albizzia lebbek(Mimosaceae). 5. l.9.

been the emblem of some chieftain, perhaps an ally of Nannan.[1]

The information about Nārmuṭicceral in pat.IV does not appear to be embodied in Cil. as was the case with pat.III.[2] There is an allusion to the destruction of a kadamba tree,[3] but this is attributed to the father of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan and clearly is to be referred to Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan.[4]

In patikam V, Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan is state to have searched for stone for (an image of) the goddess Pattin He broke the power of the Āriyar and bathed in the Ganges. He siezed the pick of the enemy's cattle and destroyed Viyalūr. Crossing to the other bank, he razed Kŏṭukūr to the ground. He uprooted the Margosa tree that protected Palaiyan. To do this, he tied to the tree a rope made from the tresses of Palaiyan's womenfolk which was attached to an elephant. At Vāyil he laid low nine princes of the Cola family.

Only in pat.V is there mention in Patirru. of the ques of Cĕnkuṭṭuvan for stone from which to carve a statue of Pattin Pattini is explained as Kaṇṇaki by the old commentary.[5] This exploit forms the subject of a whole canto in Cil., XXVI, calle Kālkoṭkātai, Fetching the Stone.[6] This describes Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's expedition to the north, and its object is mentioned at the end

"Pŏrkoṭṭ'Imayattu ppŏruvaru Pattini
kkarkāl kŏṇṭanan kāvalan āṅk'ĕn." [7]

"He brought a slab of stone from the Himālaya of the

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1. Both in Akam.199 and pat.IV vākai is compared to gold; this may allude to the young foliage, as Albizzia flowers are greenis white. 2. v.s. pp.304-5. 3. Cil.XXV,ll.1-3. 4. Cil. echoes pat.II (bow-carving) and Akam.127 (kadamba); v.s.pp.301,302. 5. TSS p.456. 6. VRRD tr. pp.292-303. 7. Cil.XXVI,ll.253-4.

gilded peaks to fashion an image of Pattiṉi."[1]

In Maṇimekalai it is stated that Cĕṅkuṭṭuvaṉ marched at the head of his army to the Ganges, crossed to its northern bank in boats and defeated many kings including Kanaka and Vijaya. He brought back a sacred stone on the heads of defeated kings.[2] Though the purpose of this stone is not mentioned, it may be observed that Pattiṉi's temple is referred to earlier in the same canto of Maṇi. The word 'tĕyva'[3] as applied to the stone the Ceral brought back is interpreted by at least one modern commentator on Maṇi. as referring to the stone for the image of the goddess.[4]

It is clear that pat.V of Patiṟṟu., Cil. and Maṇi. all share a tradition concerning the northward journey of the Ceral to fetch a stone out of which to carve Pattiṉi's image. This story is briefly told in pat.V and finds fullest elaboration in Cil. Whether the epics were indebted to pat.V for the story, or whether all three texts embody a common tradition it is hard to say. It may, however, be stressed that nowhere in the anthology poems do we find the story of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvaṉ's northern march or of his fetching a stone for an image of the goddess.

The siezure of cattle and destruction of Viyalūr, mentioned in pat.V as another deed of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvaṉ,[5] appears to be another episode in the struggle between the Ceralar and the Veḷ chieftain Naṉṉaṉ. Māmūlaṉār who, as already seen,[6] alludes to the uprooting of emblematic kadamba trees by Ceralar, states

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1. cp. Cil.XXVII,ll.1-3. 2. Maṇi.XXVI,ll.85-9; cp. Cil.ibid.,l.
3. l.89. 4. Maṇi.,TSS edn.(1951)p.396, N.M.V.Nāṭṭār comm.
5. pat.V,ll.8,10. 6. v.s. pp.302,306 fn.9.

in Akam.97 that Viyalūr belonged to the Veḷ Nannan.[1] This is th only other reference to Viyalūr in Sangam literature. Kŏṭukūr, mentioned in pat.V as being on the other bank of some river,[2] i not mentioned elsewhere in this literature. As it is alluded to in the same context as Viyalūr, we may suggest that it also was a town that belonged to Nannan. There is no means of determinin the identity of the river.

It has already been seen that[3] Pattu. gives the town of Palaiyan as Mokūr, and elsewhere in Patirru. it is stated that the chief of Mokūr had as his emblem the margosa tree.[4] There is therefore no reason to suppose that the Palaiyan whose protecting margosa tree was uprooted by Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan, as stated in Pat.V, was any other than the lord of Mokūr. This story is alluded to in Cil.[5]

Also present in Cil. is the story that Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan defeated nine Cola princes. The account in the epic is more explicit than the reference in pat.V:

"The nine princes heeded not the command of your (Cĕnkuṭṭuvan's) brother-in-law Vaḷavan Kiḷḷi that they should acknowledge the young prince. Since they threatened his fertile kingdom, in one day you destroyed their nine parasols."[6]

In the next canto in Cil., Iḷaṅko states:

"You won a victory at Nerivāyil over nine princes who were garlanded with bauhinia."[7]

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1. 11.12,13. 2. 11.11,12. 3. v.s. Chap.V,p.246. 4. Patirru.V 44,11.14,15. 5. Cil.XXVII,11.124,125. 6. Cil.ibid.,11.117-122. 7. Cil.XXVIII,11.116-7: "Ār punai teriyal ŏnpatu mannarai Nerivāyil nilai ccĕruvĕnru." For ār, bauhinia, as a distinctive badge of the Colar, v.s. Chap.IV,p.118; cf. Puram.45.

There is no way of determining who this Cola was whom Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan restored to his rightful inheritance. No anthology poem mentions the incident, not even those on Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan, though, as was seen, he was in exile for a time and was restor to the throne by Malaiyamān.[1] The commentary of Aṭiyārkkunallā on Cil. does not extend to these cantos, and the only informati given by the patavurai is that Nerivāyil, the place of battle, was to the south of Uraiyūr.[2]

The affinity between patikam V of Patirru. and variou statements about Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan in Cil., particularly in cantos XXVII and XXVIII is most striking; almost all the details in pat.V are to be found in the epic, and some of them are also included in Maṇimekalai.

In patikam VI, Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralatan is stated to have taken off to Tŏṇṭi sheep captured in Taṇṭāraṇiyam and to have had them bestowed to brahmans together with tawny cattle and a town in the Kuṭanāṭu.

There is no allusion elsewhere to this episode; all tl old commentary on this patikam says is that Taṇṭāraṇiyam was i the Aryan country.[3] It seems hardly likely that this exploit could serve to explain the Ceral's name as Sesha Aiyar suggest If there were such a connexion, one would prefer to suggest tha the name was put forward on the basis of the story rather than the other way about. A more likely explanation of this Ceral's name would be to connect it with passages that tell of his

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1. v.s. Chap.IV,p.123, Chap.V,pp.243-4. 2. Cil., UVS edn.,p.56
3. Patirru.,TSS edn.,p.456. 4. CK, p.28. Aṭu, sheep, goat; koḷ, catching.

dancing joyfully upon the field of battle,[1] as Pillai suggests

There is no reason not to connect Taṇṭāraṇiyam with the Skt. Daṇḍakāraṇya, and this is the only reference to the Daṇḍaka forest in Sangam literature. The siezure of cattle or sheep in this forest by Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan is not mentione either in Cil. or Maṇi., and the story may perhaps be a poetic fancy. Of interest is the mention of Tŏṇṭi in connexion with a Ceral who was not a descendant of Antuvañceral Irumpŏrai according to the evidence of the patikams. In the three other places where Tŏṇṭi is mentioned in the two puram anthologies,[3] it is in connexion with an Irumpŏrai Ceral king.

In patikam VII, Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan is stated to have granted (the revenues of) Ŏkantūr for the worship of Viṣṇ and to have amazed his purohita by his wisdom. This patikam contains no information of note with regard to this king.

In patikam VIII, it is stated that Pĕruñceral Irumpŏr defeated the two kings together with Atikamān on the heights near Mount Kŏlli. He destroyed Takaṭūr, scattering the Nŏcci flowers worn by the besieged.[4]

Both the battle near Kŏlli and the conquest of Takaṭū were directed against Atikamān; it has already been seen[5] that Takaṭūr, identified with the modern Dharmapuri, may be regarde as having belonged to the Atiyar, and that Kŏlli, at one time ruled by Valvil Ori[6] was not far from it.[7] Pĕruñceral's conque

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1. e.g. Patirru.VI,56,ll.4-8, 57,l.4. 2. CET pp.138-9.
3. Puram.17,l.13, Puram.48,l.4, Patirru.IX,88,l.21.
4. For the wearing of Nŏcci by the besieged, v.s. Chap.II,p.62
5. v.s. Chap.V,p.205 & fn.1. 6. cf. Puram.158,l.5. 7. It is said to have been nr. Centamaṅkalam, v.s. Chap.V,p.228

of Takaṭūr is attested by one of the poems of decade VIII,[1] by the colophon to Puṟam.50[2] and probably by Akam.212, wherein Paraṇar states that the Kuṭṭuvaṉ of the valorous army captured Takaṭūr.[3] It has been seen that the defender of Takaṭūr was most likely Atiyamāṉ Nĕṭumāṉ Añci's son, Ĕḷiṉi, whose death forms the subject of Aricil Kilār's poem Puṟam.230.[4] It was th poet who composed Patiṟṟu. decade VIII on Pĕruṅceral.

In patikam IX, Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏṟai is said to have destroyed five forts so that the two kings and Vicci were laid low. He conquered the great Coḷaṉ who ruled Pŏtti and Iḷampaḷai-yaṉ Māṟaṉ who ruled Vittai, and gave their riches to help the ancient town of Vañci. He considered that his minister, the lo of Maiyūr, was wiser than his purohita.[5] He established the cu of the Bhūta that dwells at the cross-roads.

There is no way of determining who the Coḷa and Pāṇṭi were whom Iḷaṅceral defeated together with Vicci. Vicci is taken by the old commentary on pat.IX[6] to be the name of a chi But it has already been seen that a Viccikko and Iḷaviccikko figure in Puṟam.[7] and that Iḷaviccikko seems to have been descended from Naṉṉaṉ.[8] The TSS editor of Puṟam. suggests that Vicci was the name of a mountain. Whether this is so, or whethe Vicci was a chief's name, this episode may be taken as a furthe step in the struggle between the family of Naṉṉaṉ and the Ceral kings already noticed.[10]

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1. VIII,78,l.9. 2. v.s. Chap.IV,p.194. 3. Akam.212,ll.14,16. There is a v.r. which would exclude the name Takaṭūr; cf. Akam. TSS edn.,ii,p.181. 4. v.s. Chap.V,pp.208-9. 5. pat.IX,ll.10,11; an obscure passage; this is S.K.Aiyangar's interpretation; see CV,p.119. 6. TSS,p.456. 7. v.s. pp.226-8. 8. Puṟam.151; v.s.p22 9. i,p.450. 10. v.s. pp.306-11.

There is no way of telling from the context whether 'Pĕruṅcolan' who ruled Pŏtti[1] was a proper name or merely mean 'the great Cola.' Sesha Aiyar[2] favours the former. The mention of Pŏtti in connexion with 'Pĕruṅcolan' is striking. It has bee seen that[3] the poet Pŏttiyār was one of the court poets of Kopperuṅcolan; he was probably named after the place Pŏtti, an his fellow-bard, Picirāntaiyār, refers to him as Pŏtti in poem 212 of Puram.[4] If we follow Sesha Aiyar's view and take Pĕruṅ-colan in pat.IX as a proper name, it might be argued that he w the same person as the Koppĕruṅcolan who figures in Puram. as patron of the bard who came from Pŏtti. It has already been suggested that[5] Koppĕruṅcolan may have lived later than the ma group of Colas lauded in Puram. and other anthologies. The identification of him with the foe of Iḷaṅceral would make him a contemporary of that Ceral, and it may be seen that he came later than the other Ceralar lauded in Patirru. at least.[6]

It is clear from the element 'Māran' in his name that the ruler of Vittai, Iḷampalaiyan Māran, was a feudatory of the Pāṇṭiya if not an actual Pāṇṭiya king himself. It has already been suggested that[7] he was the son of Palaiyan Māran whom Kokkotai Mārpan destroyed at Kūṭal. This is based on the assumption that Kokkotai Mārpan was the same person as Pĕruṅcer Irumpŏrai, the probable father of Iḷaṅceral. The place Vittai i not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam Literature.

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1. pat.IX,l.6. 2. CK,p.45. 3. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.131,134.
4. Puram.212,l.9; v.s. p.133. 5. v.s. Chap.IV,p.138.
6. See Chart C, supra, p.221 & Genealogical Table of Patirru. Ceralar, p.296. 7. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.193-194.

The mention of Vañci in pat.IX is the only allusion t this place in Patirru. Its occurrence here suggests that the Irumpŏrai Ceralar ruled it by this time or were friendly with its ruler. It is curious that, in an anthology devoted to the Ceralar, one of their chief towns should receive such scant notice, and that it is not mentioned at all in the decade poem themselves.

Vañci is mentioned five times in Puram. In poem 11 Pālai pāṭiya Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko is addressed as lord of Vañci.[1] In Puram.387, Āliyātan is exhorted to live longer than the number of grains of sand in the Pŏrunai river that flows outside Vañc The other three notices of Vañci in Puram. are in poems on Cola kings. Nalaṅkiḷḷi is flatteringly offered 'Vañci that doe not flower.'[3] It is twice stated that Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan destroyed Vañci.[4]

It has already been suggested that[5] Vañci was not the same place as the Karuvūr in Kŏnkunāṭu, and that Ptolemy may have confused the issue by referring to this latter place as "Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothros."[6] At the same time, is necessary to explain the persistence of medieval commentato in interpreting Vañci of the poems as Karuvūr.[7]

It has already been noted that[8] Sesha Aiyar mentions modern Karūr paṭaṇam just north of Kŏḍunkoḷūr (Cranganore). In this connexion it may be observed that, in listing the coastal

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1. 1.6. 2. 1.33; v.s. Chap.IV,pp.179,183-4. 3. Puram.32,1.2: 'Pūvā Vañci'; cp. the allusion to Kutiraimalai as 'Ūrā kkutira the unridden Horse, in Puram.168,1.14. 4. Puram.39 & 373; v.s Chap.IV,pp.121,124-5. 5. v.s. ibid.,pp.179-181. 6. In McCrind A.I.,p.180. 7. e.g. comm. on Puram.11,UVS p.29; on Puram.32, UVS p.75; on 39,UVS p.93. 8. v.s. Chap.IV,p.181.

towns of Limyrike between the mouths of the Pseudostomos and tl Baris, Ptolemy mentions a place called Koreoura.[1] It may be suggested that this represents Karuvūr, with which Vañci was identified. It was perhaps this place which was colonized by Koppĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai, according to col.5 of Puram.[2]

That confusion over the two places called Karuvūr and the identification with one of them of Vañci was already in being in the middle ages is clear from Aṭiyārkkunallār's commentary on Cil., patikam:

"Kunram, Kŏṭuṅkoḷūrkku ayalatākiya Cĕṅkunr'ĕnnu'malai. Atu Tiruccĕṅkoṭ'ĕnpavālĕnin, avar ariyār; ĕnnai? Attiruccĕṅkoṭu Vañcinakarkku vaṭakīlṭticaikkaṇṇatāy arupatin kātavār'uṇṭākalānum, aracanum urimaiyum malaikāṇkuvam ĕnru vantu kaṇṭa anre Vañci pukutalānum atu kūṭāmaiyinĕnka."[3]

"The Hill. There is a hill on the outskirts of Kŏṭuṅkoḷūr called Cĕṅkunru. Those who assert that it (the hill mentione in Cil.pat. line 3) is Tiruccĕṅkoṭu are ignorant. Why? That Tiruccĕṅkoṭu lies north-east of Vañci and is about sixty kātam[4] away. Therefore, it may be said that the king (Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan) and his spouse could not say 'Let us take a look at the mountain', go and see it and return the same day to Vañci."

The passage in Cil., pat., on which Aṭiyār. comments tells how the Hill-Kuravar came to Iḷanko's hermitage. It is clear that people in Aṭiyār.'s day considered Vañci to have been the Kārūr in Kŏṅkunāṭu; Tiruccĕṅkoṭu is about thirty miles nort

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1. McCrindle: A.I., p.49. 2. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.178,181.
3. Cil.UVS edn.,p.19. 4. Kātam, equivalent to about 10 miles; this is excessive, as Tiruccĕṅkoṭu is about 150 miles NE of Cranganore. See Map, p.xv .

towns of Ilmyrtie between the mouths of the Pennoatonos and the Sarie, Ptolemy mentions a place called Koreonne.[1] It may be suggested that this represents Kerwyn, with which Vanot was identified. It was certainly this place which was colonized by Copperhoarsel Immorpel, according to Col.b on Tuyne.

That confusion over the two places called Kerwyn and the identification with one of them of Vanot was already in being in the middle ages is clear from Ajivärkunsilär's commentary on Cil., petitum:

"Kanlem, kotunkolinkkn ayalatäkiy ookunuärnn'ärnn'kalal. Ata Tiruccenkot'enpavälärin, avat ayiyar: ennuli kittuccelkotin Vanolankärkku vatkilitticcirappatäy ayopatin kätavär'uttäkal-ennuvarkkarum uriyatum ooliyärkuvan ennum vanto kopte ente Vanol punnitärnn ayn ettunilinnum."

"Ne kill. There is a hill on the outskirts of Kottunkol-Tirucilli Conkum. Those who assert that the hill mentioned in Cil. pet., line 3, is Tiruccenkotu are ignorant. Since that Tiruccenkotu lies north-east of Vanot and is about sixty kattu away, therefore, it may be said that the king (Cellottuvan) and his spouse could not say 'Let us take a look at the mountain', go and see it and return the same day to Vanol."

The passage in Cil., pet., on which Ajiyar comments tells how the Hill-dwyer came to Ilanko's hermitage. It is clear that people in Ajiyar's day considered Vanot to have been the capital in Kottunkolu. Tiruccenkotu is about thirty miles north

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1. Schwindler A.K., p.49. 2. v.s. Chap.IV, pp.174,181.
3. Cil.LVI van., p.14. 4. Kattu, equivalent to about 10 miles; this is excessive, as Tiruccenkotu is about 150 miles NE of Vanamore. See Man. p.cv.

of that place. It is clear that Aṭiyār. considered Vañci to have been situated near Kŏṭuṅkoḷūr and, as just seen, Ptolemy' Koreoura and the modern Karūr paṭaṇam near Kŏṭuṅkoḷūr may be taken as evidence for an ancient Karuvūr near or on the west coast identified with Vañci.

It is clear from Pĕriyapurāṇam that, at the time of Cekkiḻār, a town near Kŏṭunkoḷūr called Tiruvañcaikkaḷam was the seat of the Pĕrumāls, and he speaks of it in connexion with Ceramāṉ Pĕrumāḷ,[1] the Śaiva devotee and friend of Cuntars It has been plausibly suggested by Sesha Aiyar[2] and the TSS editor of Puṟam.[3] that in the name of this place survives the ancient name of Vañci. Tiruvañcaikkaḷam is very close both to Kŏṭuṅkoḷūr and Karūr paṭaṇam.[4] All are on the backwaters now, and this may have been so in the case of Vañci at the time of the anthology poems, since, unlike Tŏṇṭi, Vañci is not mention in conjunction with the sea. S.Krishnaswamy Aiyangar has found some passages in Cil., however, which suggest the proximity to the sea of Vañci.[5]

Maiyūr is only mentioned in pat.IX, and nowhere else in Sangam literature. It was already seen[6] that Iḷañceral's grandfather on his mother's side is referred to as Maiyūr Kiḻā Later in this patikam, a Maiyūr Kiḻāṉ is said to have been Iḷañceral's minister. There is no way of locating Maiyūr, but would appear that chieftains of this place were closely connec

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1. Pĕriya.Vĕḷḷāṉai. vv28,32. 2. CK,pp.86-88. 3. Puṟam.,TSS,i p.94. 4. See Map, p. . 5. 'Ceraṉ Vañci',pp.34-37.
6. v.s. p.295.

with the Irumpŏrai family both by marriage and service in public life.

As already stated each patikam includes a portion in prose giving the name of the author of the decade, the phrase-names of the decade poems and certain additional information which will now be discussed.

Kumaṭṭūr Kkaṇṇanār is given as the author of decade II. He was rewarded for his panegyrics by a grant of five hundred villages in the Umpal forest free of assessment. The king moreover allotted him a share in the revenue of 'the southern parts' for 38 years. The king Imaiyavarampan Nĕṭuńceṉ Ātan ruled for 58 years.

No other poetry by Kumaṭṭūr Kkaṇṇanār has survived. From the fact that in the prose to pat.II the grant is referred to as 'Piramatāyam'[1] K.Govindan has reasonably surmised that this poet was a brahman.[2] There is a Kumaṭṭūr near Cittannavāsal and another near Tiṇṭivanam, and the latter is favoured as the poet's native place by the TSS editor of Patirru.[4] The Umpal forest has already been noticed.[5]

The prose to pat.III says that Pālai Kkautamanār composed the decade. The king offered him 'whatever he wished' he replied that both he and his brahman-wife desired svarga. The king listened to great ones among the brahmans and arranged for nine great sacrifices to be performed. During a tenth sacrifice, 'that brahman' (probably the poet) and his wife

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1. To be conn. w. brahmadāya. 2. CTPV,IV,p.98. 3. cf. P & T: 3rd.All I. Or.Conf.(1924)pp.296 et seqq. 4. Intro.p.22. 5. v.s. pp.303-304.

became lost to view. The younger brother of Imaiyavarampan, Palyānai Ccĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan, was on the throne for twenty year

It has already been stated that[1] Pālai Kkautamanār h been identified by the TSS editor of Puram. with Kotamanār, named in the fragmentary col. to poem 366 as its author. Ther is no proof for this especially since, in Sanskrit, Gotama is as admissable a form as Gautama.

The affinity between pat.III and Cil. has already be noted.[2] It is of interest that a similar affinity exists betw the prose to pat.III and Cil. Iḷanko says in canto XXVIII tha

"He (a certain Ceral) enabled one versed in the four vedas who had composed poems to reach the kingdom beyond."[3]

There seems no doubt that Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan is referr to here in a passage that refers to a number of exploits of Ceralar that figure in the patikams already discussed.[4] This shows that the prose passages in the patikams are also indebt for their information to the same tradition as is evident in Cil., for, in the present state of our knowledge, it can hardl be suggested either that Cil. was drawing upon the patikams ar prose of Patirru. or that the latter were indebted to Cil. As already noted,[5] the prose portions to the patikams were known the medieval commentator on Cil., for he quotes from them.

The prose to pat.IV states that Kāppiyārru Kkāppiyanā composed the decade. He was rewarded with a sum of four millio gold pieces and 'a share in the kingdom.' Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmu

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1. v.s. Chap.V,p.281. 2. v.s. pp.304-5. 3. Cil.XXVIII,ll.137-8
4. Cil. ibid.,ll.135-148. 5. v.s. p.292 & fn.2.

cceral ruled for twenty years.

No other poetry by Kāppiyārru Kkāppiyanār is extant, and no final explanation of his name has been given. The TSS editor of Patirru. suggests that[1] he may have come from Kāppi āmūr near Vilupuram. Another possibility is that he came from Kāppiyakkuṭi, a village near Cīkāli in Tanjore District as th commentator on Cil. states.[2]

The prose to pat.V states that Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan rewarded Paraṇar with the revenue of the Umpal forest and gave him his son, Kuṭṭuvan Ceral. The king reigned for fifty years.

The Umpal forest has already been noted,[3] and it was also seen that[4] Sesha Aiyar identified Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's son with the hero of Puram.54, Kuṭṭuvan Kotai. There is no way of prov this; Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's son is not mentioned elsewhere, and the information in the prose to pat.V does not appear in Cil.

The prose to pat.VI states that the king said to the poetess 'Come to the coffers', and gave her nine Kā of gold a also a lakh of gold coins called Kāṇam[5] and took her for hims Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan was on the throne for 38 years.

This poetess, Kākkaipāṭiniyār Naccĕḷḷaiyār, is known two other poems in anthologies, Puram.278 which tells of a mother's thoughts about her son, and Kurun.210. The Lexicon authors have connected the first element in her name with lin 6 of Kurun.210:[6]

"Viruntu vara kkarainta kākkaiyatu paliye",

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1. Patirru.Intro.,p.26. 2. Cil.XXX,l.83: comm.,TSS edn.,p.643. 3. v.s. p.303. 4. v.s. Chap.IV,p.195. 5. The value of a kāṇ is not known. Kā was a measure of weight, vide Tŏl.Ĕluttu.cū. 6. Ta.Lex.,p.842,col.i.

"The crow's caw foretells the arrival of guests."

The prose to pat.VII says that the king bestowed a l of kāṇam upon Kapilar saying 'It is but a small gift.'[1] He to him up the hill called Nanrā,[2] and gave him all the land the could see. Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan ruled for twenty years.

The prose to pat.VIII states that the king and queen vacated their palace and told the poet Aricil Kilār to take a that was in it. He was also to have the throne and nine lakhs kāṇam. But the poet begged the king to continue to rule, and made a minister instead. Pĕruṅceral Irumpŏrai who conquered Takaṭūr ruled for seventeen years.

The prose to pat.IX says that the king joyfully gave the poet Pĕruṅkunrūr Kilār sixty thousand kāṇam, saying that should be so generous as to confound even those of serene min He increased the prosperity of the poet's house and village without his knowledge and made secure the riches the poet gai from field and plough. He gave him title-deeds to land, and e a guard of honour. Kuṭakko Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏrai ruled for 16 y

None of these three prose passages calls for special mention. The three poets figure in other anthologies, but the is no way of verifying the information given about their rewa

It has been demonstrated that the verse portions of Patirru. patikams tell of the lineage and deeds of prowess of the several Ceralar, and that the prose at the end states the name of the poet, the names of the poems in the accompanying

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1. "'Cirupuram' ĕna." This is the only phrase in any prose prose portion of a patikam to figure in the old comm. thereon vide TSS p.456. 2. This hill is not mentioned elsewhere in S.

decade, the reward the poet received for his panegyrics and t duration of the king's reign. If the figures for this last it are accepted, it will be seen from the genealogical table dra up on the basis of the information given in the patikams[1] tha many of these Ceralar must have been collateral rulers. Save the case of Āliyātan and his successors, there is little evidence to support a simple order of succession.

It has been demonstrated that an affinity exists bet these patikams and the epics Cil. and Maṇi. This appears at i clearest in Cil. canto XXVIII, wherein the brahman Māṭalan te Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan of some of the deeds of Ceral kings. In his speec the deed of only one Irumpŏrai as given in Patirru. is mentio that of Iḷaṅceral when he established the cult of the Bhūta o the cross-roads.[3] On the other hand, two feats of Ceralar are mentioned that do not appear at all in the Patirru. patikams:

"Another commanded messengers of death not to take aw lives indiscriminately but only in a particular order; anothe Cēra penetrated the golden region of the high mountain in the fertile kingdom of the barbarous Yavanas."[4]

It may be suggested in conclusion that these two dee albeit legendary, may have appeared in the two Patirru. patik no longer extant, and that, therefore, they may have been fea performed by Utiyaṅceral and Antuvaṅceral.

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1. v.s. p.296. 2. Cil.XXVIII,ll.135-148. 3. v.s. p.315; men of this in Cil. underlines possibility of Cil. being a later source. From Patirru. Iḷaṅceral was later than Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan. 4. VRRD trans.,p.322.

CHAPTER VIII

PATIRRUPPATTU: DECADE POEMS

As each section of Patirruppattu is a decade, and each decade poem may contain thirty lines or more, it follows that the volume of material presented by these poems is considerably greater than that of the patikams considered in previous chapter. However, much of this material is praśasti, and it will not be necessary to examine all the poems in deta Many of these poems contain information of sociological and cultural interest that does not pertain to any particular Cer

With the exception of P.T.S.Aiyangar,[1] most modern writers attach equal importance to patikams and decade poems, or are silent about any distinction to be made between them.[3]

P.T.S.Aiyangar observes that:

"Modern writers have confused the text of the poems w the epilogues[4] and speak of the whole as Patirruppattu and attributed equal evidential value to the text and epilogue an also the commentary."[5]

Sesha Aiyar observes that:

"There is no doubt that the Patikam was added later b someone other than the author of the poem ... . There cannot, however, be any doubt about the antiquity of the patikams and the colophons."[6]

In his ensuing account, Sesha Aiyar quotes freely fr

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1. "History of the Tamils." 2. e.g. Sesha Aiyar: CK, & K.N.S. Pillai: CET. 3. e.g. TSS editor. 4. i.e. patikams. 5. "Hist of the Tamils", p.495. 6. CK p.3.

both patikams and decades without making any distinction other than that afforded by his textual references.

Decade II, by Kumaṭṭūr Kkaṇṇanār, is in praise of Imaiyavarampan Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan according to its patikam.

The title Imaiyavarampan, he whose boundary is set at the Himālaya, does not appear in any of the poems of decade II. It is possible that it was suggested to the patikam author by Patirru. II, poem 11, which states that: [1]

"In all the broad land from the famous Imayam where the Āriyar dwell down to the fair southern Kumari people praise you

The element Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan appears in full but once i this decade.[2] Elsewhere, the name Ceral Ātan occurs three times It will be seen, therefore, that in six of the ten poems of decade II[4] the Ceral is not alluded to by name at all, and only the fact that these poems have been placed in this particular decade tells us that they refer to Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan.

His conquest of the people who were protected by the Kadamba tree is mentioned in several places in this decade.[5] As has already been seen,[6] Māmūlanār probably refers to this Ceral in Akam. 127 when he speaks of a Ceral Ātan who cut down a Kadamba tree. A similar feat was seen to have been credited to another of the Patirru. Ceralar, Nārmuṭicceral, in patikam IV.[7] It is possible that these and other similar references allude to warfare between several Ceralar with people who perhaps were predecessors of the Kadamba dynasty.

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1. ll.23-25. 2. II,20,l.5. 3. II,11,l.16; 15,l.23; 18,l.12. 4. Poems 12-14,16,17,19. 5. II,11,ll.5,12-14; 12,ll.1-3; 17,l.5 20,l.4. 6. v.s. Chap.VII,p.302. 7. v.s. ibid., pp.306 ff.

It has already been suggested[1] that Māmūlanār implies both in Akam.127 and Akam.347 that those whose Kadamba tree was uprooted by Nĕṯuṅceral Ātan were pirates, since in both poems the Ceral 'drove back the sea.'[2] The suggestion that these people occupied the area to the north of that of the Ceralar, c what is now Mysore and S.Kanara[3] is then confirmed by Ptolemy, who says that the coastal region to the north of Limyrike containing such places as Mandagara and Nitraiai was 'that of the pirates, 'ἀνδρῶν πειρατῶν'.[4] There seems no reason to follow S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar[5] and Sesha Aiyar[6] when they state that Ptolemy described this area as 'Ariaka andron Peiraton.' Both were possibly following McCrindle[7] and may have been misled by the way he heads Section 7 in his translation: '(Ariakê) of the Pirates.' There seems no clear reason why McCrindle should have regarded 'ἀνδρῶν πειρατῶν' with which Ptolemy commenced Section 7 as dependent on the heading to the previous section, 'Ἀριακῆς Σαδηνῶν'. Renou is perhaps more straightforward in translating the headings to sections 6 and 7 as 'L'Ariakê des Sadênoi' and 'Chez les Peiratoi' respectively.[8] Sesha Aiyar moreover refers to another writer, whom he does not name,[9] as connecting with Andhra, but there seems no reason to suppose that this wor is not the Greek genitive that it appears to be, in apposition to πειρατῶν.

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1. v.s. Chap.VII,pp.308,309. 2. Akam.127,l.4; 347,l.4. 3. v.s ibid.,p.308. 4. Bk.VII,Chap.1,Sec.7; McCrindle, A.I.,p.45. 5. "Beginnings of S.Indian History",p.232. 6. CK,p.12. 7. A.I ibid. 8. "La Géographie de Ptolémée - L'Inde," pp.3 ff. 9. CK,p.12; he may well be referring to the view of Campbell, noted and justly rejected by McCrindle, A.I.p.46.

From Ptolemy then, it may be assumed that the area to the north of the Pirate Coast was Ariake. Pillai derives[1] this name from Ta. Āriyarakam, land of the Āryas, as opposed to Damirica, which he connects with Tamilakam. Another possibilit is that the name Ariake represents a Greek formation in -κος, -κη, built on ārya-. The Pirate Coast itself lay between Aria and Limyrike, and its southernmost place was Nitraiai,[2] plausi identified by Renou[3] with Naravu, and doubtless the same as the Naura of the Periplus.[4] This throws further doubt on any connexion between the Pirate Coast and Ariake, for Patirru.[5] mentions Naravu as a town of the Ceralar. No doubt they captur it from Nannan or some other chief of that area. This in turn suggests that the Patirru. poems relate to a later period than Ptolemy who, like Pliny,[6] speaks of it as belonging to pirates.

There is little else in decade II of possible value to a political historian, though much of what remains includes vivid description of the fertility of the Ceral country and the customs of its inhabitants.[7] There are four matters mentioned i general terms which may be noted before considering decade III.

In Patirru. II, poem 14, Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan is mentioned a being opposed by seven crowned kings.[8] This is also said of tw other Ceralar who figure in this anthology, Nārmuṭicceral and Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan.[9] Who the seven kings were, however, is not stated.

In poem 15, the king is reported to have invaded the

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1. CET, p.176. 2. Ptolemy: A.I.,p.45. 3. op.cit.,p.5. 4. Section 53. 5. VI,60,l.12; IX,85,l.8. 6. Ait McCrindle, A. p.48. 7. e.g. II,13; for transl., v.s. Chap.II,p.53-4; II,15; for transl. v.s. ibid.,pp.45-6. 8. II,14,ll.11 ff. 9. IV,40, lines 13 ff and V,45,l.6 respectively.

From [illegible] then, it may be assumed that the area to the north of the Pirate Coast was Africa. Pillet derives[1] this name from Ta. Afrikaka land of the Afri, as opposed to Banilica, which he connects with Tamilicam. Another possibility is that the name Africa represents a Greek formation in -ικη, built on ἀφρο-. The Pirate Coast itself lay between Africa and Himyarite, and its southernmost place was Aitrabi,[2] planning identified by Fenoy[3] with Marawa, and doubtless the same as the Naura of the Periplus.[4] This throws further doubt on any connexion between the Pirate Coast and Africa, for Pliny[5] mentions Marova as a town of the Garamer. No doubt they captured it from Nubian or some other tribal of that area. This in turn suggests that the Pirate poems relate to a later period than scholars who, like Pliny, speak of it as belonging to pirates.

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In poem 16, the king is reported to have ravaged the

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1. QET. p.lvi. 2. Ptolemy: A.I.,p.45. 3. op.cit.,p.x.
4. Section 8a. 5. VI,30,i.15;VI,31,i.8. 6. Air Geerlinde, A.I. p.46. 7. e.g. II,15; for transl., v.s. Chap.II,p.82-4; II,16; for transl., v.s. ibid.,pp.48-9. 8. IX,14,11.11 ff. 9. IV,20; lines 15 ff and V,25,i.6 respectively.

kingdom of a king who was fond of dicing.[1] His fortress is said to have been protected by natural forest as well as by its ramparts. A similar fort is mentioned as having been destroyed by Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan elsewhere in this decade.[2] Closely parallel as they are, it is possible that these passages refer to one particular operation.

In Patirru. II, poem 15[3] there is mention of trade with foreign lands according to the TSS editor's interpretation:[4]

"Kaṭalavuṅ kallavum yārravum piravum
vaḷam pola ..."

"There is much wealth from the sea, the mountains, the rivers and other (lands)."

Decade III, by Pālai Kkautamanār, is in praise of the Ceral Palyānai Ccĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan, whose name is found only in the patikam. In the decade itself, he is referred to only as Kuṭṭuvan thrice.[5]

The most noteworthy deed with which this Ceral is credited is the conquest of the Kŏṅku country. In poem 22, Pālai Kkautamanār says:

"Yours is the terrifying army well armed with spears that captured the land of the Kŏṅkar who are rich in kine."[6]

The Kŏṅku country comprised the modern Salem and Coimbatore districts and a part of Mysore. It is evident, therefore, that this ruler extended the Ceral dominions north-eastwards, perhaps passing through the gap in the Ghats near the

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1. II,15,l.8. 2. II,20,ll.11-21. 3. ll.15,16. 4. TSS p.33.
5. III,22,l.27; III,23,l.10; III,29,l.14. 6. II,22,ll.15-16.

modern Pālaikkāṭu (Palghat). It has already been seen that[1] the Kŏṅku nāṭu was attacked at various times by the mūventar. There is no evidence that it was permanently a part of the territory of the Pāṇṭiyar or Colar, but it is mentioned in several places as the possession of the Ceralar.[2] It was in this land that Karuvūr, the modern Kārūr, was situated, but as already stated,[3] it is perhaps unlikely that this was the Ceral capital, far removed as it was from their original home on the west coast.

Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan is also addressed as the lord of the Pūlināṭu.[4] This is placed by the TSS editor[5] to the south of the Kŏṅku nāṭu, and, according to the commentator on Tŏl., Cŏllatikāram,[6] was one of the twelve areas where Kŏṭuntamil, a term denoting dialect forms of Tamil, was spoken. The same poem also refers to this Ceral as lord of the mountains called Cĕruppu and Ayirai.[7] As already seen, the latter has been identified with the modern Aivarmalai, and was the seat of a cult of the goddess Kŏrravai.[8] The identification of Ayirai with Aivarmalai is not accepted by Sesha Aiyar,[9] who identifies it with Aiyitai malai, a mountain in central Travancore.

Poem 28 mentions the Periyāru river. This river, so named to this day, is only mentioned twice in Sangam Literature here and in Patirru. IX, poem 88. These two passages make it clea

1. v.s. Chap. IV, p.180. 2. Patirru. III, 22, l.15; VIII, 77, ll.10-1
IX, 88, l.19 & 90, l.25. 3. v.s. ibid., p.180. 4. III, 21, l.23.
5. TSS edn., Map. 6. Tŏl. Cŏl., cū.400, Cenā., TSS edn., p.207.
7. ll.23, 29. 8. v.s. Chap. VII, pp.305-6. 9. CK, p.15.

that the Ceral land included this river, which rises in the Travancore Ghats and flows north-westwards to reach the sea near the modern Pārūr.[1] Pillai[2] identifies with it the Pseudostomos mentioned by Ptolemy.[3] Near its mouth was Mouziris, which as already seen, may with certainty be identified with Muciṟi,[4] the port that belonged to the Kuṭṭuvaṉ.[5] Since this name is to be connected with Kuṭṭanāṭu,[6] the region from which so many Ceralar took their name, it follows that the Kuṭṭanāṭu was the region through which the Periyāṟu flowed. This may be taken as further evidence for the view that this was the Ceral 'homeland' and that Vañci, their capital, was situated in this area, and not far away beyond the ghats in the region of the modern Kārūr.

In confirmation of the information conveyed by patikam III,[7] poem 24 of this decade speaks of Cĕlkĕḷu Kuṭṭuvaṉ's renunciation of worldly life. He followed the precepts of those brahmans who performed their sixfold obligations.[8] He studied grammar, poetics,[9] astrology, the vedas and āgamas.[10] He performed oblations in the sacrificial fire.[11]

The fourth decade is noteworthy in Patiṟṟu. in being composed according to the structure known as Antāti.[12] In Antāti, the last word or phrase of one verse of the series forms the first word or phrase of the ensuing one. For example, the last

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1. See Map, p. . 2. CET, p.106. 3. Sec.8: A.I. p.49. 4. v.s. Chap.V, p.279. Ptolemy is perhaps confirmed in Akam.149, ll.7-11, wherein the river on which Muciṟi was is called "Cuḷḷiyam periyāṟṟu..." (l.8) The Samājam edn., however, does not regard 'periyāṟṟu' as a proper name here; the TSS editor of Akam., ii, p.59, says that Cuḷḷiyam and Periyāṟu were both names of Muciṟi's river. 5. Puṟam.343, ll.9,10. 6. Both being connected with Kuṭṭam, lake, backwater; cf. Ta.Lex., pp.960 & 962. 7. v.s. Chap. VII, p.303. 8. ll.5 ff. 9. Pŏruḷ ilakkaṇam: Old Comm.; UVS p.25. 10. 21, ll.1 ff. 11. 1,7. 12. Skt. anta+ādi.

words of the first poem of Patirru. decade IV are:

"Por miku kurici'nī māṇṭanai palave."[1]

The first line of the next poem is:

"Māṇṭanai palave por miku kuruci'nī"[2]

It will be noticed that the poet has included all the words of the final line of poem 31, reversing the order of the two halve of the line. The antāti, however, consists of the repetition of "māṇṭanai palave," and it will be seen that, in most cases, onl the last two words or two feet are repeated.[3] To accord wholly t with antāti structure, however, the last words or line of the final poem of this decade should be found at the beginning of the first poem. This is not the case.

The occurrence of such a structure in one decade alone of Patirru. is remarkable, and it may be suggested that this wa originally a separate work. It is perhaps incomplete as it now stands, as may be seen from the deviation from correct antāti structure just noted, which suggests that a poem or poems occur after the tenth and that one of them ended with the words found at the beginning of poem 31. It is possible that this compositio was reduced to ten poems by the compiler of this anthology to fi it into the scheme of ten decades.

Neither this structure nor the variation of it have received special notice from the TSS editor. Pillai notices it briefly,[4] but does not remark upon the deviation. He surmises fr the structure itself that:

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1. IV,31,l.36. 2. 32,l.1. 3. Whole-line repetition occurs between poems 34 & 35, 35 & 36, 38 & 39. CET, p.36.

"Some at least (belongs) to a little later period than the Akanāṉūṟu and Puṟanāṉūṟu collections. ... I am sure this device of a later versifying period did not exist at the time when the poets of the Akanāṉūṟu age extemporized their poems with little or no idea of the cut-and-dried formulae of the later prosodists." [1]

This fourth decade is in praise of Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmuṭicceral, and is by the poet Kāppiyāṟṟu Kkāppiyaṉār. The full name of the Ceral means "The Ceral who wears the fragrant fibre chaplet." Its significance can only be guessed at; the chaplet may have been woven of fragrant screwpine[2] fibre. This name is attested in full in the decade itself[3] and in Akam.[4] The king is twice addressed as 'Nārmuṭicceral'[5] and 'the chaplet cunningly fashioned' is mentioned in poem 38.[6] In the same poem the king is called 'lord of the Ceralar' and 'Vāṉavarampaṉ'.[7] This latter title is also used in Patiṟṟu. of Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātaṉ[8] and appears in Akam. 359, where the particular Ceral is not specified.

Much of this decade is panegyric, but two exploits are mentioned. In poem 32, line 10, Kāppiyaṉār says that the king destroyed the power of Nĕṭumiṭal with a host of elephants. The old commentary states[9] that Nĕṭumiṭal was of the Aṅci family, and this is followed by modern writers.[10] The TSS editor is of the view that Nĕṭumiṭal is referred to by name in Akam. 266 as a

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1. CET, p. 36. 2. Tāḻai: Pandanus odoratissimus. 3. IV, 38, l. 4. 4. Akam. 199, l. 22. 5. 39, l. 17; 40, l. 16. 6. l. 8: 'Cĕyal amai kaṇṇi...' 7. ibid. & l. 12 respectively. 8. Pat. VI, l. 6; VI, 58, l. 12. 9. UVS p. 47. 10. Sesha Aiyar: CK p. 17; TSS ed. p. 149.

contemporary of Ĕvvi, lord of Nĭṭŭr.[1] The TSS editor of Akam., however, does not see in the use of the phrase 'nĕṭumiṭal' in Akam. 266, line 12, anything more than the ordinary meaning of 'great valour.'[2]

In poem 40,[3] Kāppiyanār says that Nārmuṭicceral cut down the vākai, albizzia, that belonged to Nannan. It has been seen[4] that Akam. 199 refers to a battle at Vākai ppĕruntu<u>r</u>ai at which Nārmuṭicceral defeated Nannan, and this passage in Patirru. undoubtedly alludes to the same event. The cutting down of an albizzia by the Ceral is mentioned in pat. IV,[5] but it is not clearly stated therein that the tree, literally or figuratively taken, actually belonged to Nannan.

Poem 31 states that Nārmuṭicceral worshipped the feet of the Lord garlanded with basil.[6] This is taken by the old commentator[7] as referring to the cult of Viṣṇu in the form of Padmanābha at Trivandrum, a cult of great importance to this day

In decade V, composed by Paraṇar, the king praised is Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan, the glorious Kuṭṭuvan who drove back the sea. The significance of this title has already been discussed.[9] It was suggested that both Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan and Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan were engaged in warfare with pirates; that their emblem was the Kadamba tree is clear from Akam.[10] and it may be

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1. TSS edn., p. 149. 2. Akam., TSS edn., ii, p. 292. 3. ll. 14, 15. 4. v.s. Chap. VII, p. 309. 5. l. 9; v.s. ibid., pp. 306, 309. 6. Patirru. IV, 31, l. 8 ff. 7. UVS edn., p. 45. 8. He is the tutelary deity of the ruling house of Travancore. It should be noted, however, that there are other Vaiṣṇava shrines in Kerala of great importance, such as the temple of Kṛṣṇa at Guruvāyūr, which, though dating only to the 18th. cent., may well have been built on a much older cult-site. 9. v.s. Chap. VII, pp. 308-309. 10. Akam. 127 & 347; v.s. ibid., pp. 302, 308-309.

said that Nārmuṭicceral was also engaged in warfare against them, since he is reported to have defeated Nannan,[1] and the destruction of 'Kaṭampin pĕruvāyil' is mentioned in patikam IV.

The name of Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan as given with his title in the pat. to decade V does not appear in the decade, but is echoed by "Kaṭal oṭṭiya vĕl pukal Kuṭṭuvan", a phrase used of the king by Paraṇar in poem 46.[3] The element Kuṭṭuvan appears in three other places in the decade.[4]

In two places Paraṇar says[5] that Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan overthrew the lord of Mokūr. In poem 44, he says that Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan was abl to count on the friendship of Arukai though he was far off.[6] Th TSS editor says[7] in his commentary that both pat.V and Cil.XXVI lines 124-126 identify the lord of Mokūr as Palaiyan, whose protective tree, kāval maram, was the nīm or margosa. This is correct as far as the mention of Palaiyan is concerned. But in neither place is Palaiyan identified with the lord of Mokūr. In his translation of Cil., however, V.R.R.Dikshitar similarly identifies him.[8] The grounds for the identification subsist onl in Patirru.V, poem 44, wherein Paraṇar says that the lord of Mokūr was protected by a nīm tree.[9] This lord may or may not ha been called Palaiyan. But any member of the family of Palaiyan protected by the nīm could have been meant.

Neither the TSS editor nor other modern writers locate

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1. Patirru.IV,40. 2. l.7; v.s. Chap.VII,p.306. 3. ll.12-13.
4. V,42,l.8; 43,l.11; 49,l.18. 5. V,44,l.14; 49,ll.8-9.
6. ll.10-11. 7. TSS edn.,p.213. 8. VRRD: Cil.,p.309 fn.
9. line 15.

Mokūr, but Pillai identifies it with the Magour mentioned by Ptolemy.[1] Ptolemy says[2] that Magour was one of the inland citi of the Paralia of the Soretai. The last element may clearly be connected with Cola, and in the same list Ptolemy includes 'Orthoura, the royal city of Sornagos' which McCrindle[3] reasonably identifies as Uraiyūr. If Mokūr were indeed a town in the Cola country, this would explain the statement of Paraṇa that Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan's ally in his campaign against the lord of Mokūr was the far-off Arukai.

Like Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan,[4] Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan is said to have defeated seven kings and to have had their crowns fashioned int an ornament for his breast.[5]

The feat of driving back the sea, commemorated in this Ceral's title and already discussed,[6] is mentioned in three places in decade V.[7]

Decade VI, by the poetess Kākkaipāṭiniyār Naccĕḷḷaiyār, is in praise of Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan. It seems likely that this Ceral's title is to be connected with passages in decade V that tell of his dancing joyfully upon the battle-field.[8] The only other mode of address used of him is Vānavarampan.[9]

No specific conquests on the part of this king are mentioned by the poetess in her decade, but there is a definite allusion to sea-trade:

"Innicai ppuṇariy iraṅkum pauvattu

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1. CET pp.173-4. 2. Sec.91: A.I. p.184. 3. A.I. p.185; it is of interest to note that the Gk. Orthoura seems to be connected with Uraiyūr rather than Urantai, the name always used in the anthology poems. 4. v.s. p.328. 5. V,45,l.6. 6. v.s. pp.308-9 7. V,42,ll.21-3; 46,l.12, v.s. p.335; 48,l.4. 8. v.s. pp.313-4. 9. VI,58, line 12.

nan kala vĕrukkai tuṅcum pantar

kamalun tālai kkānal ampĕrunturai

ttaṇ kaṭar paṭappai nannāṭṭu ppŏruna! "[1]

"Lord of the pleasant coast of the sea where there is a fine harbour in which there are groves of overhanging trees wafting fragrance. There are to be seen storehouses full of merchandise that has arrived by sea."

It is in decade VI that the port of Naravu is mentioned for the first time in Patirru.[2] It is mentioned in one other place in this anthology, and nowhere else in Sangam literature.[3] As already noted,[4] it seems reasonable to connect with Naravu the Nitraiai of Ptolemy[5] and the Naura of the Periplus.[6] Both of these mention Nitraiai or Naura as being north of Tyndis, Tŏṇṭi, and in both the two towns are mentioned in juxtaposition. It is feasible to suggest that, by the time of Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan at least, Naravu had passed from the hands of pirates into Ceral possession, for both Pliny and Ptolemy state that Nitraiai was in pirate hands.[8] In the Periplus, however, Naura and Tyndis are called the first markets of Damirica[9]; this may merely confirm that Naravu belonged to a chieftain of southern India, but it may also indicate that it was then in Ceral hands. Ptolemy lists in different sections the pirate towns and those of Limurike.[10]

In his edition of the Periplus, Schoff[11] identifies

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1. VI,55,ll.3-6. 2. VI,60,l.12. 3. IX,85,l.8. 4. v.s. p.328. 5. Sec.7: A.I. p.45; McCrindle has Nitra. 6. Sec.53: Schoff,p.4 7. For the identification of Tyndis with Tŏṇṭi, v.s. Chap.IV, p.188. 8. v.s. Chap.VIII,p.328 & fn.6. 9. Periplus, ibid. 10. Of the Pirates: Sec.7; Limyrike, Sec.8. 11. Schoff: notes, p.204.

Naura with Cannanore and says that a more northerly location wa unlikely because of pirates. Pillai, however, prefers Yule's identification of Naura with Mangalore which is on the Netrāvat river.[1] In effect, Pillai suggests a connexion between the names Naura and Nitraiai in the classical sources and Netrāvatī and sees in Naravu a possible origin of the river's name. It is clear from classical sources that, whichever identification is accepted, this place lay to the north of Tyndis or Tŏṇṭi.

It remains but to notice that Sesha Aiyar[2] identifies with Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan the foe of Karikāl who is named as Pĕruńceralātan in the colophon to Puram.65. It has been seen[3] that Karikāl fought a battle at Vĕṇṇi and that, from the eviden of Puram. colophons[4] his foe seems to have been a Ceral. Sesha Aiyar bases his identification of this Ceral with the hero of Patirru. decade VI on the following:- 1). Karikāl was obviously the contemporary of his opponent at Vĕṇṇi, Pĕruńceralātan. 2). Paraṇar has also sung of Karikāl in Akam.246. 3). Paraṇar praises Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan, who, according to Patirru.[5] was a collatera Ceral with Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan and who may have been a younger ruler. Thus both Paraṇar and Karikāl must have been close in time to Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan and Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan.

Pillai does not support this identification since he postulates[6] two Karikāls, one before Paraṇar, the other after. Difficulties in accepting this hypothesis have already been discussed.[7] He asserts that the name Pĕruńceralātan in the col.

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1. CET p.137. 2. CK,p.29 & ff. 3. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.109-112. 4. Colophons 65 & 66; v.s. ibid.,p.196. 5. See Table of Ceralar, supra, p.296. 6. CET p.91. 7. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.109-111.

to Puram.65 is a misreading of Pĕruńcorr'ātan, another title, he says, of Pĕruńcorr'utiyan Ceralātan, hero of Puram.2.

The whole argument is inconclusive. Since it is a praśasti written in the king's lifetime, decade VI of Patirru. does not tell us about Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan's end, and therefor cannot be used to support or refute Sesha Aiyar's identificatior of him with the foe of the Cola Kārikāl. It has already been noted[1] that the title Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu as given in the patikam to thi decade seems to be connected with passages in the decade that describe his joyful dance upon the battlefield. Neither this title nor allusions to such a dance appear in any other anthology. On the other hand the element Ceralātan appears in a number of places, and is included in the name of the hero of decade II, Nĕṭuńceral Ātan.

Pillai, p.138

The remaining decades of Patirruppattu are in praise of Ceralar who were descended from Antuvan, who, like Utiyańceral, is only mentioned in Patirru. in a patikam. He appears in pat.VI as the father of Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan. The panegyrist of this Ceral is given as Kapilar.

The name of this king is fairly well attested by decade VII and its significance has already been discussed.[2] In poem 63 the king is called Cĕlvakko and also Ātan.[3] In poem 65 he is addressed as Cĕlvan, perhaps recalling his actual name, though the word may merely carry its usual meaning here. In poem 67, th hero is called Cĕlvakkomān.[4]

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1. v.s. p.336 & Chap.VII,pp.313-4. 2. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.182-3. 3. ll.16 & 21, the latter being the "vāliy Āta!vāliya palave." o which his name may have been based; v.s. p.182. 4. l.23.

Decade VII is no more informative regarding the deeds of this Ceral than is its patikam.[1] Poem 63 contains a reference to his victory over the two kings,[2] doubtless a Pāṇṭiya and a Colа or their vassals. No details at all are given.

Kŏṭumaṇam is mentioned in poem 67[3] as belonging to Āliyātan. Sesha Aiyar[4] identifies this with Kŏlumam, which is near Dhārāpuram in Coimbatore District. If his identification is correct, it suggests that the Irumpŏrai Ceralar ruled lands to the east of the Ghats at that time.[5]

Pĕruńceral Irumpŏrai, victor at Takaṭūr, is given in pat.VIII as the hero of the accompanying decade. His name does not appear in this form anywhere in the decade. He is twice addressed as Pŏraiyan.[6] In one place,[7] he is called Kotai Mārpai and it is possible that he was the same as the king lauded under this name in Puram.[8] There, Pŏykaiyār gives Kotai Mārpan's town as Tŏṇṭi,[9] which belonged to the Irumpŏrai.[10] Moreover, the same poet elsewhere refers to his patron as Pŏraiyan,[11] and it is not going too far to suggest that this refers to the same patron as he lauds in Puram. From the evidence of Pŏykaiyār's poems and Patirru., therefore, it is suggested that the names Pŏraiyan and Kotai Mārpan both refer to Pĕruńceral Irumpŏrai.

The destruction of the stronghold of the Atiyar[12] at Takaṭūr, mentioned in the patikam to decade VIII is referred to

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1. v.s. Chap.VII,p.314. 2. l.11. 3. l.1. 4. CK,p.41.
5. See Map, p.xv. 6. VIII,73,l.11; 75,l.3. 7. VIII,79,l.4.
8. Puram.vv.48 & 49 by Pŏykaiyār; v.s. Chap.IV,pp.192-194.
9. Puram.48,l.4. 10. cf. Puram.17,l.13 & Patirru.IX,88,l.21.
11. Nar.18,ll.4,5. 12. Puram. col.230; v.s. Chap.V,p.205.

Gesange VII is no more informative regarding the deeds of this Gerai than is its petition.[1] Poem 85 contains a reference to his victory over the two kings, commiserates a Tarqita and a Coia or their vassals. No details at all are given.

Kotmagam is mentioned in poem 87 as belonging to Airiten. Sesha Aiyer[2] identifies this with Kumaran, which is near Dharapuram in Coimbatore District. If his identification is correct, it suggests that the Immoyiri Gerai ruled lands to the east of the Ghats at that time.

Ceruncerai Irumpori, victor at Takadi, is given in mat.VIII[3] as the hero of the accompanying decade. His name does not appear in this form anywhere in the corpus. He is twice addressed as Irumpori.[4] In one place, he is called Kotai Marpan and it is possible that he was the same as the king ruling under this name in Tuvam.[5] There, Poykaiyan gives Kotai Marpan's town as Ilpi,[6] which belonged to the Irumpori.[7] Moreover, the same poet elsewhere refers to his patron as Poriyan,[8] and it is not going too far to suggest that this refers to the same person as the lords in Tuvam. From the evidence of Poykaiyar's poems and Ainkuru.,[9] therefore, it is suggested that the names Poriyan and Kotai Marpan both refer to Ceruncerai Irumpori.

The destruction of the stronghold of the Aliyar[10] as Tagadur, mentioned in the petition to Gesange VIII is referred to

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1. v.s. Gesange VII, p.214. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid. 4. Op. p.41.
5. See Kang. p.xv. 6. Gesange VIII, 1.17; VI, 1. 7. Op. VIII, 75, 1.1.
8. Puram.xv. 9. A.V.S. by Potaniyappillai. 10. Op. Gesange IX, pp.129-134.
11. Puram.65, l.4.; 12. cf. Puram.IX, 13; X Puram.IX, 88, l.21.
13. Ken.Ie, II.4.b. 14. Puram. col.400; V.S. Chap.V, p.206.

in the decade itself.[1] As noted in his edition of Puram.,[2] by Avvai Turaicāmi Pillai, there is now a place near Dharmapuri called Ataman Koṭṭai, fortreess of Ataman. This name is perhaps to be connected with Atiyamān.

In poem 71,[3] Pĕruṅceral is said to have reduced Kaluvuḷ to submission. Kaluvuḷ was rich in cattle[4] and his town was called Kāmūr.[5] He was also defeated by Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏrai.[5] The TSS editor, presumably on the basis of the reference to cattle in poem 71 of Patirru., follows the old commentary[6] in regarding Kaluvuḷ as an Iṭaiyar chief.[7]

Elsewhere in decade VIII, Pĕruṅceral is hailed as lord of the Pūlināṭu[8] and of Mt. Kŏlli.[9] in one hyperbole, he is even acclaimed as lord of Pukār, the Cola town.[10]

The last extant decade of Patirru. is, according to its patikam, in praise of Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏrai, and is the work of Pĕruṅkunrūr Kilār.

The title 'Iḷaṅceral' is not attested by the decade, but that of 'Irumpŏrai' is.[11] Like Pĕruṅceral before him, he is called Pŏraiyan[12] and lord of the people of the Pūlināṭu.[13] He is also called lord of the Kuṭṭuvar.[14] This is the only instance in the anthologies of this word occurring in the plural. In the singular, it occurs in a number of contexts, notably in Patirru. decade V as a title of its hero, Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan.[15]

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1. VIII,78,l.9. 2. Puram.,TSS edn.,ii,p.98. 3. l.17. 4. ibid. 5. Akam.135,113; Akam.365,l.12. 6. UVS,p.121. 7. Iṭaiyan, cow-herd. Pillai suggests, CET,p.168 & ff., that Ta. iṭaiyan is represented in Aśoka's Shahbazgarhi Edict, E.I.,II,p.471, by Hiḍa rāja. 8. 73,l.9. 9. 73,l.11. 10. 73,l.9. 11. IX,89,l.9. 12. IX,84,l.6;86,l.3;87,l.5. 13. 84,l.6;90,l.27. 14. 90,l.26. 15. e.g. 42,l.8 & 43,l.11.

Iḷañceral is said to have held court at Naravu,[1] a place that has already been discussed.[2] Two other towns on the west coast of S. India are also mentioned in decade IX, Tŏṇṭi and Marantai.[3] The latter is said to be by the sounding sea, and, in addition to this Patirru. reference, the place is said to belong to the Kuṭṭuvan according to two other anthology poems.[4]

It may be noted that Ptolemy[5] mentions Morounda as an inland town of the Aioi. McCrindle[6] states that Morounda has not been identified. Ptolemy's statement seems to conflict with Patirru. on two counts, but the similarity of Morounda and Marantai is striking. It is possible that the two discrepancies may be resolved as follows. Patirru. IX, 90, l. 28 says:

"Iraṅku nīr parappin Marantaiyor pŏruna,"

which the TSS editor[7] takes as meaning: "Lord of the people of Marantai that lies by the sounding sea." There is no reference in the text, however, to the sea, and the line could be taken as referring to a river or a backwater or lake. It has been noted that the place is twice said to belong to Kuṭṭuvan, and the connexion between this title and Ta. kuṭṭam, pond, lake, has been noted.[8] On this assumption, there would be no difficulty in stating that Marantai was in fact an inland town. As to its belonging to the Aioi as recorded by Ptolemy, it will be recalled that their territory bordered on that of the Ceralar, lying between their kingdom and Cape Comorin.[9] There is no reason why

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1. IX, 85, l. 8. 2. v.s. p. 337 & p. 328. 3. IX, 88, l. 21 & 90, l. 28 respectively. 4. Akam. 376, l. 16 & Kurun. 34, l. 6. 5. Ptolemy, VII 1, sec. 87; A.I. p. 180. 6. A.I. p. 182. 7. p. 447. 8. v.s. p. 331 fn. 6. 9. Ptolemy, ibid., sec. 8, 9, 86 & 87.

Marantai should not have changed hands in warfare between the Ceralar and the Āy chiefs.[1] The connexion between these chiefs and Iṭaiyar, cowherds, has been noticed[2], and it has just been observed that Iḷañceral defeated Kaḻuvuḷ, who is taken to have been one of the Iṭaiyar by the old commentary. He may, in fact, have been the ruler of Marantai. This would confirm the connexion between Morounda and the Aioi recorded by Ptolemy.

Iḷañceral was also lord of the Kŏṅkunāṭu[3] and is compared to the Vāṉi river 'down which float sandal logs.'[4] The TSS editor takes this to refer to a river that rises in the Nīlagiris,[5] and Sesha Aiyar[6] identifies Vāṉi with the Bhavāni which is a tributary of the Kāviri rising in the Nīlagiris and flowing to the north of Coimbatore.[7] This is the region of the Kŏṅkunāṭu, and it is reasonable to identify the Vāṉi with the modern Bhavāni.[8]

It is possible that Iḷañceral recruited troops from areas outside the Tamil land, as, in poem 90, Pĕruṅkuṉrūr Kiḻār says that many tongues are to be heard in the king's camp.[9]

It remains but to observe that there are a few verses not found in the text of Patiṟṟuppattu as extant, but which are quoted in the commentary to Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷatikāram, as being poems of Patiṟṟu. Neither Dr.U.V.Cāminātа Aiyar nor his successors have been able to locate these verses in the extant work.[10] It is possible that they belong to the two missing

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1. Āy: v.s. Chap.V,pp.214-215. 2. p.215. 3. IX,88,l.19 & 90, l.25. 4. 86,ll.12,13. 5. p.424. 6. CK,p.45. 7. See Map, p.xv. 8. It has also been identified with the Amarāvati, another tributary of the Kāviri; vide Ta.Lex.,p.3628,col.ii. In Sangam poems, however, this seems to be represented by Āṉ Pŏruna v.s. Chap.IV,pp.178 ff. 10. UVS p.2; TSS p.456. 19. 90,l.30.

decades. They are of no special interest, as they mention neith specific rulers nor any particular events.

From what has been said in this and the preceding chapter, it will be seen that there are not many instances in this anthology where the events connected with a particular Ceral are confirmed in the accompanying decade; correlation between patikam and decade is not marked. For clarity, the chie events narrated in patikams and decades have been summarized in the accompanying table.[1] It will be seen that only in three decades, II, V and VIII is there any real correlation between decade and patikam, and this is most marked in the case of VIII. The name of the king appearing in pat.IV is fully attested by decade IV, while that in pat.VI is not attested at all by the accompanying decade. All other patikam names are attested in par in the decades.

From the places mentioned in Patirru., it is possible t trace Ceral influence ranging from S.Kanara in the north to Travancore in the south, and eastwards from the coastal strip, through the Palghat Gap into the regions of the modern Coimbator and Salem Districts. There is some mention of trade, both by land and sea. In common with the other anthologies, Patirru. includes considerable mention of the flora and fauna of the area

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1. On p.345.

Table showing chief events commemorated in Patirruppattu.

II. Pat: Imaiyavarampan Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan.
Carved bow-sign on Himālaya, made Āriyar submit and siezed a booty of diamonds; punished captives.
Dec: Ceral Ātan, Nĕṭuṅceral Ātan.
Destroys Kadamba tree; opposed by seven kings. Trade with foreign lands. Destruction of woodland fort of king who was fond of dicing.

III. Pat: Palyānai Ccĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan.
Rule of the Umpal Forest. Siege and destruction of Akappā. Celebrated goddess on Ayirai Mt. Penance.
Dec: Kuṭṭuvan, Palyānai Kkuṭṭuvan.
Conquest of Kŏṅkunāṭu. Lord of Pūlināṭu. Study and practice of brahmanical ideas.

IV. Pat: Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmuṭicceral.
Cherished land of Pūli. Defeated Nannan at Kaṭampin Pĕruvāyil. Cut down Albizzia (vākai) tree.
Dec: Kaḷankāykkaṇṇi Nārmuṭicceral, Nārmuṭicceral, Vānavarampan.
Destroyed power of Nĕṭumiṭal (Aṅci). Destroyed Albiz belonging to Nannan.

V. Pat: Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan.
Sought stone for Pattini statue. Defeated Āriyar and bathed in Ganges. Destroyed Viyalūr and Kŏṭukūr. Uprooted Palaiyan's margosa tree. Defeated nine Colas
Dec: Drove back the (power of the) sea. Overthrew lord of Mokūr, destroying his margosa. Defeated seven kings. Kaṭal oṭṭiya vĕl pukal Kuṭṭuvan, Kuṭṭuvan.

VI. Pa

VI. Pat: Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralātan.
Captured sheep in Taṇṭāraṇiyam and took them to Tŏṇṭi Bestowed them and a town in Kuṭanāṭu to brahmans.
Dec: Vānavarampan, (Tuṇaṅkaiy āṭiya valam paṭu komān).
Sea trade.

VII. Pat: Cĕlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan.
Granted revenue of Ŏkantūr for Viṣṇu-worship.
Dec: Cĕlvakko, Ātan, Cĕlvakkomān.
Victory over the two kings.

VIII. Pat: (Takaṭūr ĕrinta)Pĕruṅceral Irumporai.
On Kŏlli's heights defeated two kings and Atikamān. Destroyed Takaṭūr.
Dec: Pŏraiyan, Kotai Mārpan.
Lord of Kŏlli. Destruction of Takaṭūr. Submission of Kaluvuḷ. Lord of the land of Pūli.

IX. Pat: (Kuṭakko) Iḷaṅceral Irumpŏrai.
Destroyed 5 forts, defeating two kings. Bhūta cult.
Dec: Pŏraiyan, Irumpŏrai, Māntaran, Kuṭṭuvar eru. (Nil.

CHAPTER IX

THE AKAM ANTHOLOGIES

It was observed in the Introduction that the old commentary on Iraiyanār Akappŏruḷ includes a list of fourteen titles of literary works belonging to the third caṅkam,[1] and that nine of these titles may be related to extant works, one of which is the 'grammar' Tŏlkāppiyam.

The other eight in the list refer to the eight anthologies, and, to recapitulate, the list is:

Nĕṭuntŏkainānūru, Kuruntŏkainānūru, Narriṇainanūru, Puranānūru, Aiṅkurunūru, Patirruppattu, Nūrr'aimpatu Kali, Ĕlupatu Paripāṭal.[2]

As already seen,[3] the order of enumeration is a natural one, the first four being similar in arrangement to each other. The second four are all dissimilar to the first four and to each other, but, save for Patirruppattu, are akin in subject-matter to the first three titles. Patirru. and Puram. alike treat of Puram and a detailed consideration of these two anthologies has been made in the preceding six chapters.

The six remaining all treat of Akam, and it will readil be seen that these works fall into two groups. In the first come Nĕṭuntŏkai (Akanānūru),[4] Kuruntŏkai and Narriṇai, and in the second Aiṅkurunūru, Nūrr'aimpatu Kali (Kalittŏkai),[5] and Ĕlupatu Paripāṭal (Paripāṭal).[5] In the latter group, Paripāṭal is an anomaly, inasmuch as, although classified like the other five as

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1. v.s. Chap.I,pp.7-8. 2. IA Comm.,TSS edn.,p.6. 3. v.s. ibid. pp.14-15. 4. v.s. ibid.,pp.11-12. 5. v.s. ibid.,p.13.

akam poetry, its extant poems are almost wholly devotional, and quite different from the secular love poetry of the other five akam anthologies.

The three anthologies in the first group bear a strong 'family likeness' to Puranānūru, and, like it, show little evidence of a formal structure. Only two criteria emerge as having governed the inclusion of any given poem in one or other of them. The first is that the poem should treat of akam in the sense of that term as noticed in chapter II.[1] The second is that the poem should be within certain limits as to length. Long poem are found in Akam., hence the alternative name Nĕṭuntŏkai. Poems of intermediate length are included in Narriṇai, while the shortest are found in Kuruntŏkai, hence its name. The exact limits have already been noted.[2]

Like Puram., these three anthologies are prefixed by Kaṭavuḷ vālttu, invocatory verses, ascribed to Pāratam pāṭiya Pĕruntevanār. The possible date of this poet has already been discussed,[3] and he may well have lived during the Pallava period. His invocations are similar in tone to portions of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava 'canons', and, as observed in connexion with Puram. his poems are in no way linked by subject with those that follow. The Kaṭavuḷ vālttu prefacing Akam. is in praise of Śiva.[4] That to Narriṇai lauds Viṣṇu:

"He wields the discus and banishes all faults. They aver that it was he who was the origin of the Veda and in himself hid all beginnings. Bright are his eyes like the pale-rayed moon;

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1. v.s. Chap.II,pp.19ff. 2. v.s. Chap.I,p.12. 3. v.s. Chap.III, p.86. 4. cp. that to Puram., transl. ibid.,p.87.

heaven is his body and the cardinal points his hands. The sea that has pure water containing many conches is his raiment and the earth forms his radiant feet."

The invocation at the beginning of Kurun. is in praise of Murukan, identified with Skanda:

"His lovely and bright feet resemble lotuses and his body is like coral. His garment is red as Crab's eye.[1] His is the long spear that split open the Kraunca mountain. May he whose banner carries the cock-emblem protect me and to the world be a daily refuge."

No poem belonging to the body of any of the anthologie save Paripāṭal will be found to express similar sentiments to these, though, as noted in the chapters on Puram., there are a number of incidental references to these deities and to Śiva. Such allusions to divine beings do not betray any special devotion to them on the part of the poets.

Unlike Puram., the invocatory verses prefixed to Akam., Narriṇai and Kurun. are supernumerary to the main body of the poems. It is possible that these invocations were added to these three anthologies at the time they were collected together or subsequently.

There are certain traditions as to the persons who made these anthologies and their patrons, and these will be note in considering them individually. Such information in connexion with Puram. is no longer available.

From the list of poets whose work is included in Puram.

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1. Kunri: Abrus precatorius; also a jewel resembling its seeds.

and Patirru.,[1] it will readily be noticed that work of these authors figures prominently in the three love-poem anthologies under discussion. Some poets whose poems are included in the akam anthologies do not, however, figure in Puram. or Patirru. at all and vice versa.[2]

It is to be expected that people and events commemorat in the puram collections should be mentioned, albeit incidentall in these akam poems. This is in fact the case, as has been seen in the chapters on the Puram. and Patirru. poems. Two notable instances are the battle of Vĕṇṇi fought by Karikāl[3] and the carving of the Ceral bow-emblem upon the Himālaya by Ceral Ātan[4] It may be stated that such references in the other akam anthologies Aiṅkurunūru, Kalittŏkai and especially Paripāṭal are most infrequent, and this is a further way in which these three anthologies are distinct from the other five, both akam and puram. It may have been this that helped Pillai to his conclusion[5] that these three were works of later origin than Puram., Akam., Nar., and Kurun. It must be noted, however, that he does not give reasons for his view.

Akanānūru is unique among the four anthologies of four hundred poems in that it is divided into three parts. These are entitled Kaḷirriyānai Nirai, containing verses 1 to 120, Maṇimiṭai Pavaḷam, containing verses 121 to 300 and lastly Nittilakkovai.[6] Whether these subdivisions were envisaged by the person

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1. See App., List of Poets, p.489 2. See ibid. 3. v.s. Chap.IV p.110. 4. v.s. Chap.VII,pp.301-2; see also Akam.347. Other instances have been noted passim; the name of the Ceral hero of Patirru.IV is fully attested in Akam.199,l.22; v.s. ibid.,p.309. 5. Vide CET,pp.28-29. 6. See old comm.on vv.giving tradition of compilation of Akam.,also compiler & patron: Akam.TSS,iii,pp.200

who compiled Akam. cannot be stated. That they were in existence by the time of Naccinārkk'iniyar is clear from the fact that he employs these names in quoting from Akam.[1]

No distinction is apparent between the poems of any of these subdivisions and any other, and it is impossible to say why, alone among the anthologies that contain four hundred discontinuous poems, Akam. should have been so treated. In discussions, Professor T.P.Minakshisundaram was of the opinion that forceful expression predominates in the poems in Kaḷirriyānai Nirai, the Rank of Bull Elephants. In Maṇimiṭai Pavaḷam, Rubies and Coral, sound and sense harmonize like the red of the ruby and the pink of coral. In Necklace of Pearls, Nittilakkovai the sound itself of the verses is musical. It is not always possible to observe such aesthetic differences between the poems of these different subdivisions, and they may merely serve to explain the names.

According to tradition, Akam. was compiled by Uruttira Canmar,[2] son of Maturai Uppūri Kilār,[3] under the patronage of Pāṇṭiyan Ukkira Ppĕruvaluti.[4] It is possible that this was the same person as Kānapperĕyil kaṭanta Ukkirappĕruvaluti lauded in Puram.21 and 367.[5] As already seen,[5] this king, with a similar title, is said by its colophon to have composed Akam.26, and, less the title referring to Kānapperĕyil, his name is given as the author of Narriṇai 98. This is not the sole case of a king who figures in Sangam literature being associated with the

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1. K.Nirai: Nacc.on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat.9,quoting Akam.97; M.Pavaḷam: on Tŏl.ibid.,12,quoting Akam.264,294,139. Used side by side with 'Akappāṭṭu';TSS edn.,i,pp.24-33. 2. Rudraśarman. 3. Akam.,TSS edn.,Intro. 4. CET,p.28. 5. v.s. p.162.

compilation of an anthology, for, as will further be noted, the Ceral Yāṉaikkaṭcey Māntarañceral Irumpŏṟai is traditionally regarded[1] as having patronized Kūṭalūr Kiḻār, compiler of Aiṅkuṟunūṟu. If such traditions are accepted, one is led to conclude that these anthologies were collected together during the period when these kings lived, and possibly even during the lifetime of many of the personages who figure in the poems of these three akam collections and Puṟam. One might even infer, from its 'family likeness' to these three akam collections, that Puṟam. also was compiled at that time; as already observed, nothing is known even traditionally as to its compiler and patron. But these conclusions are based on the flimsy evidence of tradition, and there is no concrete evidence to support or refute them.

There is an old commentary to Akam., of unknown authorship. It is not complete, and covers only the first ninety poems, and is of the brief type known as 'Kuṟipp'urai.' Portions of this anthology were first produced in a printed edition in 1920 by V. Irācakopāla Aiyaṅkār.

Like Puṟam., the verses of Akam. are accompanied by colophons that give certain information about them. The name of the poet is given, the Akattiṇai conveyed by the poem and a note about the occasion in the conventional love-scenes upon which the various characters spoke. For example, Akam. 26, attributed as just noted to the Pāṇṭiya Ukkirappĕruvaḻuti, is stated by its colophon to portray the tiṇai Marutam.[2] The colophon further

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1. v.i., p.369. 2. With Urippŏruḷ of Quarrelling; v.s. Chap. II, pp. 24 & 28-9.

says: "This is what the heroine said to her companion after the latter had been called to the door by the hero. As she was unable to go, he came through the door and peeped through a crack." This is what Ukkira Ppĕruvaluti makes the heroine say:

"Is it right for him to sulk, the lord of that rich village surrounded by paddy-fields, where playful maidens adorn themselves for the festival with blossoms fallen from the thorn-bush whose spines are bent and whose twigs are white as the bones of fish? My friend, sometimes he used to prevent me embracing him when I wanted to weep upon his breast. It is most confusing, as he has often praised those same eyes of mine that are lovely as an ornament fashioned from the iron tips on the tusks of my lord's elephant. It was those tusks that broke down the enemy gates.

Now, since I long to fall sobbing upon his fair chest scented with sandal paste, the milk in my soft breasts ornamente with beauty spots will not come for my child, who is therefore cross. Moreover, my lord is afraid lest my sweet milk should fal on his breast.

When I saw that his arms were now about me, I recalled how he would not embrace me before, looked at my baby in the arms of its foster-mother and said: 'You are quite good enough for your pretty mistress, and this child is good enough for me!' At that, my lord spoke lovingly to the baby and to me, came up behind me and embraced me." [1]

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1. Akam. 26.

Another example of the Akam. colophons is that to poem 36. This says that the author was Maturai Nakkīrar, and that th tiṇai is marutam. It contains the note:

"The heroine speaks sorrowfully to the hero who has just left the presence of the courtezan."

It is this poem which contains the reference to the foes of the Pāṇṭiya Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan at Talaiyālaṅkāṉam.[1] Nakkīrar makes his heroine speak to her lover as follows:

"O lord of the village![2] There, at dawn, the riotous flowers choke the ponds. There, like a bull fretting at the end of its tether, the striped male Murrel-fish,[3] its jaws gaping, will not yield to the pull of the fisherman's line. It threshes about so that the line becomes entangled in shoots of water-bindweed. It leaps from side to side, crushing the buds and opened flowers of the lotuses. It jumps onto the leaves of waterlilies, tearing them to shreds, for, in its cruel jaw is the hook that spells its death.

They say that you have been with your mistress who has small bangles and long fragrant locks in the grove where there are many blooms beneath tall Terminalia trees.[4] It is situated near the broad sands of the Vaiyai whose streams never dry up. Their idle talk is noisier than the cries upon the field of war of heroes being slain as they beheld the siezure of the war-drum and white parasol when, in one day, seven foes were defeated by Cĕliyan. Mounted upon his beflagged chariot, drawn by steeds,

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1. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.154-5. 2. Ūraṉ; one of the Attributes of Marutam; v.s. Chap.II,p.29. 3. Vārāl: Ophiocephalus marulius, Lex. 4. Marutam; another Attribute of Marutattiṇai.

their manes trimmed, he raged upon the field of Ālaṅkāṉam,[1] destroying the Ceral and the Cĕmpiyaṉ,[2] wrathful Titiyan, Ĕliṉi of the bright ornament and valorous war-elephant, Ĕrumaiyūraṉ from the place famous for sweet-smelling toddy, Iruṅko Veḷ whose chest was fragrant with sandal-paste, and Pŏrunaṉ of the fine chariot."[3]

All five of the tiṇai pertaining to normal love figure in Akam., but there is no instance of Kaikkiḷai or Pĕruntiṇai figuring in the colophons to these poems. It was already noted[4] that this is also the case in other anthologies, and that, where poems portray such 'abnormal' situations, they are yet included among poems depicting the five tiṇai of normal love.[5] In his commentary upon Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat., cūttirams 50 and 51, dealing with Kaikkiḷai and Pĕruntiṇai, Nacc. draws only upon Kalittŏkai, wherein all poems are allotted to one of the five tiṇai Pālai, Kuṟiñci, Marutam, Mullai and Nĕytal. But similar instances occur in other Akam anthologies, and an example from Kuṟun. has already been noted.[7] In the same way, in Akam., poems dealing with the 'abnormal' situations are classified under one of the five tiṇai of normal love. Such cases are extremely rare in this anthology. In Akam.322, classified as a kuṟiñci poem, the heroine tells of her insupportable love

"Like to the insatiable passion that leads people to cast themselves from the mountain crags."[8]

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1. Talaiyālaṅkāṉam: v.s. Chap.IV,pp.152,154-161. 2. Coḷa, as descended from Sibi: v.s. ibid.,p.121. 3. Akam.36. 4. v.s., Chap.II,p.30. 5. ibid.,& p.32. 6. viz.,for Kaikkiḷai: Kali.58 & 61 (Kuṟiñcikkali); for Pĕruntiṇai: Kali.139 (Nĕytaṟkali), 64 & 62 (Kuṟiñcikkali). See,Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat.,Comm.,TSS i,pp.115-119. 7. v.s. ibid.,p.34. 8. Akam.322,ll.3,4; see UVS Kuṟun.,p.46.

Ĕrukkam,[1] used by unrequited lovers as a garland when riding the hobby-horse made of palmyra,[2] is mentioned in passing in Akam.301.[3] There is, however, no mention of the riding of hobby-horses in Akam.

Poems depicting the five tiṇai follow one another in Akam. without any special sequence, and it is not possible to observe any tendency towards grouping together poems portraying any particular tiṇai. Similarly, there is no grouping together of poems ascribed to any of the 140 poets[4] who figure in this anthology. There is, in some cases, a definite association between a particular poet and poems depicting a particular tiṇai. The most notable instance is the alliterative association between Kapilar and poems about kuṟiñci. Almost all his extant love poems are about kuṟiñci subjects,[5] and every one of his poems included in Akam. is on kuṟiñci, save Akam.203, on pālai. The colophon to this poem says that a mother speaks of her daughter who is on the point of departure:

"Though she will be famished, though she will falter, these two will not heed a mother's words. For many days now I have had to endure the gossip of backbiting women, telling me how bad my heartless daughter is. I have paid no attention to their abuse of her as a shameless hussy. I have so much to hide that I had better leave this empty house.

I cannot say that the thought of my daughter leaving to keep her tryst in secret with this young fellow without her

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1. Arka: Calotropis sp.(Asclepiadaceae). 2. v.s. Chap.II,p.34. 3. l.11. 4. See old comm.on verses embodying traditions as to compilation of Akam.,TSS iii,p.200. 5. See List of Poets,p.489.

grandmother's knowledge is easy to contemplate. She is going to follow in the footsteps of this young man who has the anklets of a hero on his legs and a long spear bright as lightning. She will traverse many difficult mountain paths.

If it were not for my inability to go before them into those parched places along the little tracks in the mountains that wild beasts love, I would repair to that small village on the great mountain's slope and make ready for them a place to stay. Would that I might become a hostess for them in a house shaded by the swaying branches of chaste-trees.[1] "[2]

Certain poets are associated in Akam. with pālai especially, such as Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉattu Kkārikkaṇṇaṉār, whose three poems in Akam.[3] are all on pālai, and Ĕrukkāṭṭūr Ttāyaṅkaṇṇaṉār, six of whose seven Akam. poems[4] are about pālai with its urippŏruḷ of Separation.

The poet Iṭaikkāṭaṉār is credited with the authorship of six verses in Akam., and five of these are in the tiṇai mullai,[5] with its associated aspect of love, Awaiting. One of his poems is Akam.284, in the second portion of Akam., Maṇimiṭai Pavaḷam. The colophon says that the hero, having finished his undertaking, speaks to his charioteer. Alternatively, he is 'thinking aloud.' It will be recalled that the reasons for pālai separation, are given by Tŏl. as study, warfare and embassy.[6] 'Viṉai' in this colophon might refer to any of these, or even to the search for wealth, an additional cause for separation noted

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1. Nŏcci: Vitex negundo. 2. Akam.203. 3. Akam.107,123,285.
4. On pālai: 105,149,213,237,319,357; on kuṟiñci: 132.
5. On mullai: 194,274,284,304,374; on pālai: 139. 6. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. Akat.cū.25; v.s. Chap.II,p.37.

by Tŏl.[1] Iruttal, awaiting, is here depicted as afflicting the lover; the previous examples noticed[2] concerned the beloved. The hero speaks as follows:

"Round as the fruit of the small-leaved myrobalan are the staring eyes of short-furred hares that eat the seeds from the arched stems of millet. They nibble at the grain in the bent ears of corn, and then lie down to sleep among the stalks. Then they get up and go with their mates to drink from water-pots standing in the courtyards of houses in the many forest-villages that surround that hill. At its foot nestles the hamlet where warriors drink up their toddy before taking swift arrows and going out to hunt with the bow. That fair village is in the forest[3] where they cut up and eat the flesh of deer that dwell there. It is there that dwells my beloved, pale of complexion, and greatly do I long for her."[4]

It is possible that, especially in the case of the large number of kuṟiñci poems attributed to Kapilar, the actual authorship of them was not known to the person who wrote the colophons. They were accordingly attributed to a poet already noted in this and other collections for poetry on subjects connected with kuṟiñci.[5] Such allocations are not noticed in the case of all poets however; for example Paraṇar's poems do not, from their colophons, exhibit any bias to one tiṇai rather than to another.[6]

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akatt.cū.33. 2. v.s. Chap.II,p.27. 3. Mullai. 4. Akam.284. 5. Especially, perhaps, Kuṟiñcikkali, though doubts of a similar kind have been expressed about Kali.; vide Pillai: CET,pp.36-37. 6. There are none on Nĕytal in Akam. attributed to Paraṇar; of his 34, 12 are on marutam,15 on kuṟiñci, 4 on pālai, 1 on mullai.

by [1] Imrtal, swaiting, is here designated as afflicting the lover; the previous examples modern concerned the beloved. The more speaks as follows:

"Round as the irrit of the small-leaved wrydelan are the stirling eyes of short-tarred Dorse that set the sea afire the sronce stems of milfer. They nibble at the grain in the bent ears of corn, and then lie down to sleep among the stalks. When they get up and go on their rates to drink from water-rates standing in the countryrow of houses in the many forest-villages that surround that hill. At its foot nestles the hamlet where warriors drink up their toddy before taking swift errors and going out to hunt with the cow. Their fair village is in the forest where they cut up and eat the flesh of deer. They dwell there. It is there that dwells my believed, pale of complexion, and greatly do I long for her."

It is possible that, especially in the case of the large number of Ulster poems attributed to Ingilat, the actual authorship of them was not known to the person who wrote the colophon. They were accordingly attributed to a poet already noted in Irish and other collections for poetry on subjects connected with Ulster. Such allusions are not noticed in the case of all poets. However, for example Fergus O Conle do not, from their colophons, exhibit any bias to one tribal region than to another.

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1. Ed. Perm. Lect. on A. S. V.s. Oxon. 1. 6. 7. 8. Ballet. 2. Arm. 28. 1. Generally, perhaps, particularly, thinking of a similar kind have been expressed about Kail: vide Ballet: Ed. pp. 50-60. 6. There are more on Kayful in Arm. attributed to Ferguson of this 3. 12. are on Dorsum, 13 on mutual, 6 on Kail, 1 on mutler.

The next anthology according to the list in the comm. on Iraiyanār Akappŏruḷ is Kuruntŏkai. The origin of its name has already been noticed,[1] and in length its poems are at the other end of the scale from those of Akanānūru, otherwise called Nĕṭuntŏkai.

Alone among the anthologies containing four hundred poems, Kurun. exceeds that figure in containing 401.[2] It has already been suggested[3] that this may be due to the inclusion of Kurun. 307, which transgresses the limits of length of verses in this anthology in containing nine lines.

Kuruntŏkai is accompanied by a note giving the traditio as to its compiler.[4] This says that the anthology was made by Pūrikko,[5] that it includes the work of 205 poets, and that it comprises verses of from four to eight lines in length.

There is a tradition, embodied in two verses of unknown date and authorship,[6] that Naccinārkk'iniyar wrote a commentary on twenty poems of Kurun. As Dr. Cāmināta Aiyar remarks, this is no longer extant.[7] From a remark in Nacc.'s commentary on Tŏl., Akat.,[8] it may be inferred that Perāciriyar also commented upon part, if not all, of Kurun. This too is lost.

Kurun. was first printed in 1915 in the edition of T.C. Araṅkacāmi Ayyaṅkār, and it was edited with his own full commentary by Dr. Cāmināta Aiyar in 1937; this was reprinted in 1947, and is the standard edition at present.

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1. v.s. p.347. 2. Its Kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu is not numbered. 3. v.s. Chap. I, p.12, fn.1; Kurun. 391 also contains nine lines, and may be an accretion also. 4. Kurun., UVS(1947) p.784. 5. Pillai, CET, p.28 says that Pūrikko was the patron of the compiler, who is not known. This would be an unusual meaning of 'Ittŏkai muṭittān Pūrikko.' Muṭittal: finish, accomplish. 6. UVS Intro. pp.14,15. 7. Ibid., p.15. 8. TSS. i. p.112.

The poems of Kurun. are accompanied by colophons similar to those accompanying Akam. verses, giving the author's name and the occasion of the poem. For example, the colophon to Kurun. 20 says that Koppĕruṅcolan[1] composed the poem, and that the heroine speaks to her companion who is thinking about the departure of the hero:

"If sensible it be for him to forget tender affection and go away in search of wealth, then let him be sensible! Let me keep my foolish wish (not to be separated from him)."

Poems appropriate to all five tiṇai of normal love occur in Kurun., and examples have already been given.[2] As already seen,[3] poems that describe occasions connected with Kaikkiḷai and Pĕruntiṇai are considered under one or other of the five 'normal' tiṇai. No particular sequence is followed in this anthology, and no tendency to grouping the poems of any one poet together is noticeable. Poems appropriate to any one tiṇai are not grouped together. The same association between the name of the poet Kapilar and poems about kuriṅci that was seen[4] in connexion with Akam. is noticeable in Kurun.[5]

The third anthology of Akam. poems compiled on the basi of the number of lines contained in the poem is Narriṇai. Verses in it are intermediate in length between those of Akam. and thos of Kurun., and perhaps for this reason, the name of the antholog is not linked to this feature of verse length; it means 'The good (Akat)tiṇai.'

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1. For this Cola, v.s. Chap. IV, pp. 131-138. 2. v.s. Chap. II, pp. 25-29. 3. v.s. ibid., p. 34. 4. v.s. pp. 355, 357. 5. 28 of his 29 poems incl. in Kurun. are on kuriṅci. His Kurun. 246 is on nĕytal.

The extant text of Narriṇai does not include Nar. 234, and this is the anly other anthology among those containing 400 poems that is deficient in this way.[1] However, it has recently been suggested[2] that a poem cited in the commentary to IA, cūttiram 28, is the missing Nar. 234, though it is not so stated in that commentary.

The compiler of this anthology is not known. It is accompanied by a note[3] which says that the poems in it vary in length from nine to twelve lines, and that the patron of the compiler was Pannāṭu tanta Pāṇṭiyan Māran Valuti. Nothing is known of this king. He is identified by Pillai[4] with Pacumpūṇ Pāṇṭiyan, who, says Pillai[5] was 'Nĕṭuṅcĕliyan II.' Difficulties in accepting these identifications have already been discussed.[6] Pannāṭu tanta Pāṇṭiyan does not appear in any extant poem, and Pillai's statement[7] that this name occurs in Akam. 253 is quite erroneous. The relevant line, 5, is:

"Nāṭu pala tanta Pacumpūṇ Pāṇṭiyan."

All that can be said on the basis of this tradition is that, like Akam., compilation of Nar. seems to have been under the patronage of a king of Maturai.

No old commentary to Nar. is extant. The work has only been commented upon by one modern scholar, Pinnattūr A. Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, and his edition was first published in 1914. This was recently republished by the Śaiva Siddhāntam.[8]

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1. The other being Puram.; v.s. Chap. IV, p. 102. 2. Nar., TSS edn., Intro., p. 15. 3. Nar., TSS, p. 446. 4. CET, pp. 28, 120-1. 5. Ibid., p. 121. 6. v.s. Chap. IV, pp. 160 ff. 7. CET, ibid. 8. 1952, March.

Information about the authorship of each poem of Nar. and the occasions in conventional love situations upon which they were composed appears in colophons similar to those noted in connexion with Akam. and Kurun. Once again, there is no grouping of the poems according to author or tiṇai. The tendency for the name of Kapilar to be associated with poems about kuriñci is also to be observed in this anthology.[1]

One of Kapilar's kuriñci poems in this anthology is Nar.1, the colophon to which states that the poem represents the speech of the heroine to her companion who is thinking about the departure of the lover:

"He is a man of his word, and has long cherished me. Never would he leave these shoulders of mine. Just as the sweet honey is stored up at the top of the sandal tree[2] (by the bee), gathered as pollen from the lotus, so is increased my love for that fine man. Were it not for his presence I would be like the earth without rain. Could he, wanting me as he does, and fearing that my fair brow would become pallid (with grief), contemplate anything so mean?"

A poem expressing similar ideas is a kuriñci poem by the poetess Auvaiyār, who was noticed[3] in connexion with her verses in praise of her patron, Atiyamāṉ Nĕṭumān Añci. This poem is Nar.129, and its colophon says that the companion, thinking about the departure of the hero, comes before her mistress, and addresses her as follows:

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1. See List of Poets, p.489. 17 of Kapilar's 20 poems in Nar, are about kuriñci subjects; exceptions are Nar.59(mullai), 267 (nĕy:) 320 (marutam). 2. Sandal: an attribute of Kuriñci; Nacc., Tŏl. pŏr TSS i, p.45. 3. v.s. pp.202 ff.

"Friend, it is amusing to think that you will pine if your lover is away even for a single day! They say, O lady with the beautiful tresses, that he is going away and leaving us here. They say that he is going to finish his business by himself, and that we shall have to live in this house till he comes back. We shall have to listen alone to the growling of thunder as the rain falls at midnight[1] terrifying the snake and making its hood quiver."[2]

It is clear that there is no divergence between the three anthologies of love poems, Akam., Kuṟun. and Naṟ., and that, as their compilers envisaged, they are solely distinguishe by the length of the poems they contain. They cannot be considered individually, and together make up one distinct group of poems. None of them is an artistic whole, since there is no arrangement according to any preconceived plan, and every poem is to be considered individually. In this respect, and in the purely arbitrary total of four hundred poems contained by each, they are obviously similar to Puṟam,, though it has been seen[3] that in this latter some tendency to group together poems treating of a common subject is evident. But this is obscured by the recurrence of any given subject, and no symmetry is observed in the grouping of Puṟam. poems.

All four anthologies are accompanied by invocatory poem and by epexegetical material written most probably at a date different from that of the composition of the poems. Where

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1. Yāmam, one of the Mutaṟpŏruḷ (Time and Season) appropriate to Kuṟiñci; vide Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat.cū.6. Mention of the rains, suitable for mullai, explained as Mixture of Tiṇai; Tŏl.ibid.,12
2. Naṟ.129. 3. v.s. Chap.III,pp.88 ff.

available, tradition suggests that rulers of the period of composition of these anthology poems were the patrons of the compilers of the anthologies. A similar tradition in connexion with Aiṅkuṟunūṟu will shortly be noticed.[1]

Paripāṭal is similar to the anthologies just discussed in that its poems are discontinuous, and no special scheme has been followed in their arrangement in it. However, these poems are limited to three subjects, praise of Viṣṇu, Skanda and of the river Vaiyai. It is, moreover, in a very fragmentary state. For this reason, and especially in view of the devotional nature of most of the poems in it, it has been felt that Paripāṭal is to be set apart from the other anthologies, all of which are non-religious. It will accordingly be discussed last in this chapter.

Like Patiṟṟuppattu, the akam anthologies known as Aiṅkuṟunūṟu and Kalittŏkai are arranged according to a plan that shows considerable symmetry. Both are divided into five parts, one part in each case being devoted to poems about one of the five 'normal' akattiṇai, kuṟiñci, pālai, mullai, nĕytal and marutam. The sequence in which the portions treating of these five follow is different in each case. The five parts of Ainkuṟu. each contain one hundred verses, but those of Kali. are of unequal length.

Both anthologies are preceded by Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu; since both are addressed to Śiva it will be convenient to consider them together. The invocation preceding Aiṅkuṟu. is attributed to

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1. v.i., p.369.

available, tradition suggests that rulers of the period of composition of these anthology poems were the patrons of the compilers of the anthologies. A similar tradition in connection with Alburqurqu will shortly be noticed.

Ferrigal is similar to the anthologies that discussed in that the poems are discontinuous, and no effort seems has been followed in their arrangement in it. However, these poems are limited to three subjects, praise of Vigyan, Arunda and of the river Valyal. It is, moreover, in a very fragmentary state. For this reason, and especially in view of the devotional nature of most of the poems in it, it has been felt that perhaps it to be set apart from the other anthologies, all of which are non-religious. It will accordingly be discussed last in this chapter.

Like Jatirajapatin, the two anthologies known as Alburqurqu and Kalitokal are arranged according to a plan that shows considerable symmetry. Both are divided into five parts, one part in each case being devoted to poems about one of the five 'normal' meetings, marriage, social, mutual, defeat and mutiny. The sequence in which the various meetings of these five follow is different in each case. The five parts of Alburqurqu each contain one hundred verses, but those of Kalitokal are of unequal length.

Both anthologies are prefaced by fairly short verses which are addressed to Siva. It will be convenient to consider them together. The invocation preceding Alburqurqu is attributed to

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Pāratam pāṭiya Pĕruntevaṉār, already noticed as the author of the invocations prefixed to Puṟam., Akam., Kuṟun. and Naṟ. It is the shortest of them:

"All that has come into being in the three worlds is in the shadow of the two feet of him whose one half is the lady dark of hue and possessed of fine jewels."

The invocation prefixed to Kali. is considerably longer. It is set in the same verse-form as the rest of the anthology, and, like that to Puṟam., is included in the numbering of the poems. Thus, the anthology proper starts with Kali.2. In the Kali. invocation, reference is made to Śiva burning the three citadels,[1] and to his blue throat.[2] He danced the dance called Kŏṭukŏṭṭi while the drum throbbed.[3] Watched by Pārvatī, Śiva danced the Paṇṭaraṅkam.[4] He wandered as a beggar, Kāpāli, and he carried the skull as a begging-bowl.[5]

Of all the kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu that are prefixed to the anthologies, this shows the strongest affinity to the devotional literature connected with the Śiva cult typified by Tevāram. All the salient features present in it are to be found in Tevāram, in other portions of the Śaiva Tirumuṟai and in other literary sources.[6] The general theme of this invocation, in alluding to the dances of Śiva, suggests that he is being invoked in his

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1. Kali.1,l.2. 2. l.4. 3. l.6. 4. l.9. This and Kŏṭukŏṭṭi were two of the 11 dances Śiva performed when destroying Tripura and Asuras; cf.Cil.III,l.14 & comm.,UVS(1927)p.89, giving the 11: Alliyam,Kŏṭṭi,Kuṭai,Kuṭam,Pāṇṭaraṅkam,Mal,Tuṭi,Kaṭaiyam,Peṭu,Marakkāl,Pāvai,Vaḷai. 5. Kali.1,l.12. 6. Tripura: Tiruṅāna.: Tev.Tiru.II, Nākai.2,l.1; Nīlakaṇṭha: ibid.,Tiru.III,Koyil,3,l.1; Kāpāli: Appar: ibid.,Tiru.VI,Kāḷatti,passim. For further mention of Tripura Śiva's dances and Bhairavī, cf.Cil.VI,ll.39 & seqq. See also Paraṅcoti: Tiruviḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam,passim.

form of Naṭarāja, lord of the dance, the mūrti worshipped at Cidambaram.

The anthology called Aiṅkuṟunūṟu consists, as its name implies, of five hundred short poems. These are in the same metre as all the anthology poems discussed so far, namely, Akaval.[1] They vary in length from three to six lines. The work is divided into five centuries, each treating of one of the five tiṇai of reciprocal love. The order in which they occur is: Marutam, Nĕytal, Kuṟiñci, Pālai and Mullai. Thus, this order of treatment differs both from the order in which the akattiṇai are discussed in Tŏl. and in Kalittŏkai.[2]

Each century of Aiṅkuṟu. is subdivided into ten decades Each of these describes some subject connected with the tiṇai forming the subject of the century.[3] Broadly stated, the verses in any one decade are of equal length, though there are many exceptions to this.[3] In most cases, poems of each decade are connected in some way, often by recurrence of the same line in all ten poems, either as first or last line, as a refrain. For example, all the verses of decade 1 on Marutam have as first line

"Vāḻiy Ātaṉ, vāḻiy Aviṉi."

Repetition of half-line only is very common. For example, the first lines of the verses of decade 26, one of those treating of Kuṟiñci, all have 'Kuṉṟa kkuṟavaṉ' for their first two feet. Thu line 1 of verse 251, the first of decade 26 is:

"Kuṉṟa kkuṟavaṉ ārppiṉ ĕḻili,"

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1. For this, vide Chap. X, pp.464 & ff. 2. Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. Akat. cū. 5: mullai, kuṟiñci, (pālai), marutam, nĕytal; ibid., cū. 14 (urippŏruḷ) & Nacc.: kuṟiñci, pālai, mullai, nĕytal, marutam. Kali.: pālai, kuṟiñci marutam, mullai, nĕytal. 3. See p. 366.

Table of Contents of Aiṅkurunūru

Dec:	Name	Translation	Lines per verse
	Orampokiyār: MARUTAM		
1	Veṭkai ppattu	Decade (on) Desire	6
2	Veḷa ppattu	Decade (on) the Rush [1]	4,5
3	Kaḷvaṉ (pattu)	(Decade (on)) the Crab	4,5
4	Toḷikk'uraitta [2]	Utterance to the Friend	4,5
5	Pulavi	Sulks	4,5
6	Toḷi kūrru	The Companion's Speech	4,6
7	Kiḷatti kūrru	The Heroine's Speech	4,5
8	Puṉalāṭṭu-	Bathing in the Stream	4,5
9	Pulavi virāya	Reconciliation	4,5
10	Erumai	The Buffalo	4,5
	Ammūvaṉār: NĔYTAL		
11	Tāykk'uraitta	Utterance to the Mother	4,5
12	Tolikk'uraitta	" " " Friend	4,5
13	Kiḷavark'uraitta	" " " Hero	3
14	Pāṇark'uraitta	" " " Bard	3
15	Ñāḷar-	The Cassia [3]	3
16	Vĕḷḷāṅkuruku	The White Crane	4,5
17	Ciṟu vĕṇkākkai	The Grey-necked Crow	4,5
18	Tŏṇṭi	Tŏṇṭi [4]	4
19	Nĕytar-	The Waterlily [5]	4,5,6
20	Vaḷai	The Bracelet	4,5
	Kapilar: KURIŃCI		
21	Aṉṉāy vāḷi	May you prosper O Mother	4,5
22	Aṉṉāy	The Heroine	3-6
23	Vāḷi	Hail!	4,5
24	Tĕyyo	(A poetic expletive)	4,5
25	Vĕṟi	Fragrance	4,5,[6]
26	Kuṉrakkuṟavaṉ	The Mountain-Dweller	4,5,6
27.	Keḷar-	The Boar	4,5
28	Kurakku-	The Monkey	4,5,6
29,	Kiḷḷai	The Parrot	4,5
30	Maṅṅai	The Peacock	4,5,6
	Otalāntaiyār: PĀLAI		
31	Cĕlavaḷuṅkuvitta	Hindering Departure	4,5
32	Cĕlavu	Departure	4,5
33	Iṭaiccura-	The Path on the Way	4,5

1. v.s. Chap.II,p.29. 2. Pattu, decade, understood hereafter. 3. Nāḷal,pulinakakkŏṉrai: Cassia sophora, Lex. 4. The Ceral town as being by the sea; v.s.Chap.IV,p.188. 5. As karuppŏruḷ of Nĕytal. 6. The 6th.line of v.246 is illegible.

Dec:	Name	Translation	Lines per verse
34	Talaiviy iraṅku	The Heroine's Distress	4,5
35	Iḷavenil	Beginning of the Hot Weather[1]	3
36	Varav'uraitta	Telling of the Arrival	4,5
37	Munnilai	Confronting	4,5
38	Makaṭpokkiya vali ttāy iraṅku	The Mother's grief about the Path her daughter is to tread	4,5
39	Uṭanpokkin kaṇ iṭaiccuratt' uraitta	What is said about the Path they will tread together	4,5,6
40	Marutaravu	Bringing back	5,6
	Peyanār: MULLAI		
41	Cĕvili kūrru	Speech of the Foster-Mother	4,5
42	Kilavan paruvam pārāṭṭu	Praise by the Hero of the (early) Season	4,5
43	Viravu	Union	4
44	Puravaṇi	The Fine Hill-Tract	3
45	Pācarai	The Camp	4,5
46	Paruvaṅkaṇṭu kilattiy uraitta	Speech by the Heroine who sees the (earliness) of) the Season	4,5
47	Toli varpurutta	The Friend's Insistence	4,5
48	Pāṇan	The Bard	5
49	Ter viyaṅkŏṇṭa	Wonder at the Chariot	3,4,5
50	Varavu ccirapp'uraitta	Extolling the Arrival	3,4,5

while line 1 of the next verse, 252, is

"Kunra kkuravan pul vey kurampai."

In a few decades, the similarity between verses within the decade is carried further than one line. For example, in decade 44, all the verses have identical first lines, and all end with the word 'uṭaitte.' Thus, verse 431, the first of decade 44, is:

"Nanre kātalar cĕnra vāre
aṇi nirav irumpŏrai mīmicai
maṇi nirav uruv ina tokaiyum uṭaitte,"

1. No Mutarpŏruḷ is prescribed by Tŏl. for Pālai, but Venil, the Hot Weather, is mentioned in Comm. on IA: TSS edn., p.18.

and verse 432 is:

"Nanre kātalar cĕnrav āre
cuṭu pŏn anna kŏnrai cūṭi
kkaṭi puku vanar pon maḷḷarum uṭaitte."

At the end of each section of Aiṅkuru., the name of its author is given. As seen from the above table, these are, in order of appearance: Orampokiyār, Ammūvanār, Kapilar, Otalāntaiyār and Peyanār. Doubts have been expressed about the reliable nature of this information, notably by Pillai.[1] It is worthy of note that the name of Kapilar has again been associated with a large number of poems on kuriñci themes. He is the only one of the five whose work figures prominently in the other anthologies Of the others, Orampokiyār alone appears in the colophons to Puram., as the author of Puram. 284, the hero of which is not known. Eight of his poems appear in the three akam anthologies discussed already in this chapter.[2] Ammūvanār has 26 poems in them,[3] Otalāntaiyār has three[4] and Peyanār has five.[5]

It is possible that the writer of the colophons at the end of the several sections of Aiṅkuru. was in error in ascribing that on kuriñci to Kapilar, and that, in fact, it is of unknown authorship. The fact that three of these five poets are not represented in Puram. at all, and that one, Orampokiyār, appears but once, is striking. It suggests that Aiṅkuru. was composed by a 'school' of writers different from those who figure in Puram., or that it is a work of a later period. Its more formal

1. CET, pp. 29 & seqq. 2. Akam. 286; Kurun. 10, 70, 122, 127, 384; Nar. 20 360. 3. Akam. 10, 35, 140, 280, 370, 390; Kurun. 49, 125, 163, 303, 306, 318 327, 340, 351, 397, 401; Nar. 4, 35, 76, 138, 275, 307, 315, 327, 395, 397. 4. Kurun. 12, 21, 329. 5. Akam. 324; Kurun. 233, 339, 359, 400.

and artificial structure tend to support this view.

Against this, however, must be set the tradition about the compilation of this anthology. This is embodied in a col. at the end of the work,[1] and says that Aiṅkuṟu. was compiled by Pulatturai muṟṟiya Kūṭalūr Kilār at the behest of Yāṉaikkaṭcey Māntarańceral Irumpŏṟai. It has been seen[2] that this Ceral figures prominently among the Ceralar lauded in Puṟam., wherein he is praised by three poets.[3] One of these is Kūṭalūr Kilār who, in Puṟam.229,[4] tells of the king's death. It may be assumed that it was this poet who was the traditional compiler of the Aiṅkuṟu. As none of Māntarańceral's panegyrists are recorded as having praised any other king, it is difficult to suggest at what period he lived. The col. to Puṟam.17[5] gives as his contemporary Pāṇṭiyaṉ Talaiyālaṅkāṉattu ccĕruvĕṉṟa Nĕṭuńcĕliyaṉ. If the tradition about the compilation of Aiṅkuṟu. is followed, we are then led to the conclusion, albeit based on information in Puṟam. colophons, that it was compiled during the period of Nĕṭuńcĕliyaṉ, one of the most prominent figures in Sangam literature. On the other hand, it is possible that the real compiler is in fact not known, and that this tradition is but a fiction. The writer of the Aiṅkuṟu. colophons may have been led to connect its compilation with a prominent Ceral of the Irumpŏṟai line by reason of there being in Aiṅkuṟu. one decade on Tŏṇṭi[6], and by the address to 'Ātaṉ' of another. It has been seen that Ātaṉ is a name of several Ceralar.[7]

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1. UVS edn.(1949)p.205. 2. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.186-192. 3. v.s. ibid p.175: List of Ceralar in Puṟam. 4. For Transl.,v.s. ibid.,p.190 5. v.s. ibid.,p.187. 6. Decade 18. 7. Decade 1; for Ātaṉ, see Ceral Lists, supra,pp.175 & 289-291 & Chap.IV.VII.VIII passim.

Perhaps the most that can be said about the origin of Aiṅkuṟu. is that it is to be regarded, on textual evidence, as having been composed at the Ceral court, and that tradition associates its compilation with a Ceral prominent in Sangam Literature, Māntarañceral Irumpŏṟai. It may in fact have been composed at a later date, and the attributing to Kapilar of the century on kuṟiñci may be fictitious. All such conclusions must, from the nature of the evidence, be surmise.

As extant, the text of Aiṅkuṟu. is accompanied by an old commentary of unknown date or authorship, giving certain information about uḷḷuṟai, the implied meaning[1] of the poem, and other matters. As Dr. Cāminātа Aiyar remarks,[2] this commentary is neither a word for word interpretation, patavurai, nor a summary pŏḷipp'urai. For certain verses it is missing.[3] No extant MS of the text includes verses 129 and 130, and parts of verses 246, 416 and 490 are missing. Aiṅkuṟu. was first edited in 1903 by Dr. U. V. Cāminātа Aiyar; the fourth edition of this appeared in 1949. The first century, Marutam, has been edited by Avvai Turaicāmi Pillai also. This appeared in 1938.

The reason for the sequence of the centuries on each tiṇai is not apparent. It has already been seen that,[4] in view of the urippŏruḷ, aspects of love, associated with them, the most natural order for enumeration of the five akattiṇai is: kuṟiñci, pālai, mullai, nĕytal and marutam. It is only in cū. 14 of Akat. that such an order is envisaged by Tŏl., and, in his commentary

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1. v.s. Chap. II, pp. 29, 82. 2. Aiṅkuṟu. Intro., p. xi. 3. e.g. v. 469. 4. v.s. Chap. II, p. 24.

Perhaps the most that can be said about the origin of Alkuin, at present is to be referred, on textual evidence, to Northern Europe, supposed at the Carol court, and that tradition associates its composition with a Carol prominent in Langen literature, Hartmann von Aue. It may in fact have been composed at a later date, and the attributing to Englisc of the century on surely may be a tradition. All such conclusions must, from the nature of the evidence, be guesses.

As extant, the text of Alkuin is accompanied by an old commentary of unknown date or authorship, giving certain information about figures, the implied meanings of the poem, and other matters. As Dr. Schmidt-Wiegand remarks, this commentary is neither a word for word interpretation, a paraphrase, nor a summary, philologist. For certain verses it is absent. The extent of the text includes verses 125 and 170, and parts of verses 2, 16 and 90 are missing. Alkuin was first edited in 1908 by Dr. Schmidt-Wiegand the fourth edition of this appeared in 1952. The first century, however, has been edited by Alvar Ivarsson Hillaf also. This appeared in 1960.

The reason for the sequence of the conditions on each tigel is not apparent. It has already been seen that, in view of the uniqueness, species of love, associated with them, the most natural order for enumeration of the active sentiments is: mutual, belief, mutual, partial and mutual. It is not in ed. is or exact. that such an order is followed or not. Why, in his commentary

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1. v.s. Chap. II, pp. 22, 23. . . . Hungary. Lutro. . . . . .
4. . . . . .

on this cūttiram, Nacc. follows[1] the order in explaining the tiṇai to which the five urippŏruḷ listed by Tŏl. refer. This order is, however, followed in no other work, though it is approximated to in one of the Minor Works[2] and in the commentary on IA.[3] Two works are similar to Aiṅkuṟu. in listing marutam, with its associated love-aspect of quarrelling, first.[4]

Within each dentury of Aiṅkuṟu., the sequence of decades is, in many cases, quite logical. This is especially noticeable in Marutam, where Reconciliation, Pulavi virāya, comes near the end, and in Pālai, where Hindering, Cĕlavaḷuṅku-vitta, and the Departure, Cĕlavu, appear at the beginning, and Bringing Back, Maṟutaravu, occurs at the end.

The first decade contains the address in every verse to Ātaṉ; this is natural, since, whether he was the patron of the composition of the whole work or not, he was undoubtedly the person to whom Orampokiyār dedicated his century on Marutam. If Ātaṉ was in fact a Ceral, it is perhaps a little strange that the decade on Tŏṇṭi should not appear earlier in the work; it is the 18th. decade. On the other hand, it is clearly to be associated with Nĕytal, the sea-coast, since it was a port.[5]

Where the titles[6] of the decades do not describe the contents, in most cases they are taken from a word that recurs in the decade. This, in many cases, is a karuppŏruḷ of the tiṇai forming the subject of the whole century. Examples of this are

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat.,TSS,i,p.37. 2. Tiṇai Mālai Nūṟṟ'aimpatu. 3. IA,TSS edn.,pp.19 & seqq. 4. Maturaikkāñci & Pĕruṅkatai. 5. v.s. Chap.IV,p.188. 6. See Table of Contents of Aiṅkuṟu., supra,p.366,367.

Ĕrumai, Buffalo, appearing as the title of decade 10, and Nĕytal, Waterlily, as the title of decade 19. Ĕrumai is a karuppŏruḷ of marutam,[1] and recurs throughout the tenth decade.[2] Nĕytal is naturally a karuppŏruḷ of the tiṇai of the same name;[3] this word recurs throughout the nineteenth decade.[4] Other decades are named after words that recur in them which are not given as karuppŏruḷ in extant poetic texts or commentaries, but which may have been envisaged as such by the authors of Aiṅkuṟu. or by authorities on akattiṇai whose works are no longer extant. An example of this is kaḷvaṉ, crab. The third decade is entitled Kaḷvaṉ pattu from the recurrence of this word within it.[5] The association between crustaceans and the cultivated tract, marutam is to be explained by the occurrence in cultivated land of irrigation-channels. In many coastal areas, these are ultimately connected with river-estuaries and the sea. The 28th. decade is entitled Kurakkuppattu, Decade on the Monkey. Kuraṅku does not appear in extant sources as a karuppŏruḷ of kuṟiñci, but an association between this animal and the mountain-region with its forests is not far to seek.

As just noted, the first decade of Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, Veṭkai, is addressed to Ātaṉ,[6] who may well have been the Ceral patron of Orampokiyăr. The friend of the heroine says:

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1. Vide Nacc.on Tŏl.Akat.cū.18,TSS,i,p.46; Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam,cū. 391,l.6. 2. e.g. v.91,l.1: "Nĕṟi marupp'ĕrumai nīlav irump' ottu"; v.92,l.1: "Karuṅkoṭṭ'ĕrumai ccĕṅkaṭ puṉirrā;" v.97,l.2: karuntāḷ ĕrumai kkaṉṟu vĕrūum." 3. Vide Nacc.ibid. & IA comm. TSS edn.,p.20. 4. e.g. v.181,l.1: "Nĕytal uṇkaṇ er iṟai ppaṇai ttol"; v.185,l.1: "Alaṅk'itaḷ nĕytal Kŏṟkai muṉṟuṟai." 5. e.g. v.21,l.2: "Puḷḷi kkaḷvaṉ āmpal aṟukkum"; v.25,l.2: "vayalai ccĕṅ kŏṭi kaḷvaṉ aṟukkum." 6. Tŏl. states that persons should not be named in Akam poetry: Pŏruḷ.Akat.cū.54. For this reason it is felt that Ātaṉ may have been the poet's patron.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady desires that there should be a fine rice crop, and that gold may be plentiful. But I wish that the lord of the village where the kāṅci[1] is in bud, where the pools are well stocked with fish and where there is much fresh produce may flourish, together with his bard.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail Aviṉi! My lady desires that the fields should be filled and that suppliants may flock here. But I wish that her affection day by day should increase towards the lord of the village where in cool inlets the blue waterlily rivals the white.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady desires that the land should flow with milk and that the herds should be increased. But I pray that the home life may flourish of the lord of the village where flowers are profuse, and where cultivators set out the seedling rice plants.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady desires that the foe shall be put down, and that the brahmans shall perform their ritual. But I hope that the lord of the village where the paddy ripens in fields surrounded by sugar-cane in bloom will not let his breast become common property.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady desires that there shall be no famine, and that disease shall be kept far away. I long for the lord of the village where are cool inlets in which the male crocodile[2] eats his fill of fish to halt his chariot in front of our house.

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1. Hibiscus populnea; a karuppŏruḷ of marutam: vide Nacc.on Tŏl. Akat.cū.18,TSS i,p.46. 2. Mutalai, Nĕytal: karuppŏruḷ taken for marutam, an instance of 'Tiṇai mayakkam': see Tŏl.Akat.cū.13.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady desires that fierce warfare shall cease and that the king may live long. I hope that our father[1] will bestow her on the lord of the village where, in deep pools, the lotuses blossom, and that he will duly wed her.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady prays that right may prevail and that wrong may be suppressed. But I hope that her lord will go and make hers his village where cranes[2] perch in flocks upon the marutam trees.[3]

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady desires that the king's rule should be upheld, and that there should be no theft. But I want the lord of the village where in the mango tree the jewelled peacock[4] perches to keep his promises and marry her soon.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady desires that the good shall be exalted and that wickedness shall come to nothing. But I wish that gossip about the affection between her and the lord of the village where the crane[5] that eats fish dwells amid the paddy-stalks should cease.

"Hail, Ātaṉ! Hail, Aviṉi! My lady desires the rains to fall and fertility to be increased. But I long for the lord of the village[6] where the mango-trees are in flower and where there is the smell of fish to take her there with him! "[7]

This decade reveals the respective desires (veṭkai) on the part of the heroine and her companion as conveyed by the latter. Noble sentiments are seen to be fitting for the heroine,

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1. By so referring to the heroine's father, the companion betrays her fellow-feeling for the heroine; see UVS comm.,p.5. 2. kuruku, a karu. of marutam; I.V.cū.391,l.6. 3. Terminalia sp. 4. A karu. of kuṟiñci: Nacc. on Tŏl.Akat.18,TSS,i,p.45. This is another case of 'tiṇai mayakkam.' 5. Nārai. 6. Ūraṉ throughout. A name for the hero of the cultivated tract: IA comm.p.22. 7. Aiṅkuṟu.1-10.

while more mundane thoughts are expressed by her friend.

The century in Aiṅkuṟu. on nĕytal is attributed to Ammūvanăr. It will be recalled that the urippŏruḷ or aspect of love associated with nĕytal is Iraṅkal, wailing,[1] which arises as a result of separation of the beloved heroine from her lover. Decade 11, the first in Aiṅkuṟu., Nĕytal, is called Tāykk'uraitta pattu. It represents what the friend of the beloved said to her lady's foster-mother:[2]

"Please may you prosper, Mother![3] See, it is the chariot of the lord of the sea-coast[4] that comes bumping over the dunes where grows the Aṭumpu[5] entangling waterlilies.[6] It is a spectacle that will heal the love-sickness that afflicts the kohl-rimmed eyes of your child that resemble flowers.

"Please may you prosper, Mother! The jingling bells of his chariot that will cause her distress to vanish make a sound no less penetrating than the cries of sea-birds by the broad blue sea near our home.

"Please may you prosper, Mother! Radiant[7] is her face as a result of her union with the lord of the seashore[8] fair and cool where bloom the cassia and mastwood.

"Please may you prosper, Mother! That town belongs by right to the son of the lord of the sea-coast whose creaking chariot arrived when she was pining away while most in our home were asleep.

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1. v.s. Chap.II,p.24 & fn.4. 2. UVS comm.,p.49. 3. "Annai vāli veṇṭ'annai." cp. "Annāy vāli veṇṭ'annai": Aiṅkuṟu.vv.201-10,from which is taken the title of dec.21. 4. Kŏṇkan, a name for the nĕytal hero; see Nacc.onTŏl.Akat.cū.20,TSS i,p.48. 5. Ipomea biloba, a karu. of nĕytal; vide I.V.cū.392. 6. Nĕytal. 7. Māmai lit.,mango-colour; opposite of pacalai, greenish colour, fig. th wanness of love-sick girls. 8. Turaivan; see Nacc.,Tŏl.,ibid.

"Please may you prosper, Mother! Behold how her face shines more than does gold because of the arrival of the lord of the lovely cool shore on the gleaming sands of which pearls are washed by the waves of the roaring sea.

"Please may you prosper, Mother! When she thinks about him, behold how her face shines brighter than conch-shells at the cool sea's edge, where the web-footed goose rushes to its mate.[1]

"Please may you prosper, Mother! I grieve because my friend's bright brow has become wan. She is frail because of sorrow. When she hears the crash of the cool sea's waves she is unable to sleep.

"Please may you prosper, Mother! If the lord of the cool sea's shore[2] where flowers the thorn-bush gives up the shoulders of my lady,[3] who else will she be able to desire?[4]

"Please may you prosper, Mother! When the lord of the coast rich in flowers, where the waterlily stalks are stiff with the water inside them, leaves the shoulders of my lady,[3] who will there be then to tarry with her?[5]

"Please may you prosper, Mother! We say that he is our lord who is lord of the coast rich in flowers, where there is the gold tint of the mastwood trees, but this town has quite another idea! Let Fate be cursed if she wills it so! "[6]

Throughout these verses, the companion dwells on the effect her lover's return has upon the heroine, and her sorrow at

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1. Annam, goose; a karu. of nĕytal: Nacc. on Tŏl. Akat. 18, TSS i, p. 46 Their union symbolizes that of the heroine & her lover. 2. Cerppan. 3. "Ĕnto'ṭuranta"; she identifies herself w̄ heroine. 4,5. cited by Nacc. on Tŏl. kaḷavu. 114, TSS ii, p. 135. 6. Aiṅkuṟu. 101-110

his absence. In response to doubt about his intentions expressed by the foster-mother,[1] the companion points out how forlorn her lady would be without her hero. But, at the very end of the decade, she too seems to succumb to the doubts about the hero that affect the townsfolk.

In the same century on nĕytal is decade 18, entitled Tŏṇṭi ppattu, from the recurrence in it of the name of the port belonging to the Ceralar. According to the colophons to each verse, these represent what was said by three stock characters, the hero, his charioteer and the beloved's companion. It will be necessary, therefore, to give the colophons in translation along with that of the verses:

"The hero, leaving a spontaneous meeting with his beloved, sees her going with her friend and says:

'My mind is captivated by that maiden, whose bracelets are bright and whose shoulders are graceful as bamboo. She is as (wonderful as) Tŏṇṭi, where, in the streets, the sweet throbbing of drums is drowned in the sea's sonorous roar.'

The hero tells his charioteer that he cannot sleep, and asks him why that should be so:

'My mind is captivated by that maiden[2] and even at night I am restless as the beating waves of the sea's expanse near Tŏṇṭi's fine harbour, where the bees hum.'

As the hero is going to keep his tryst, his charioteer sees the heroine and says:

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1. Not in text, but mentioned in cols. to vv.108,109, which are closely paraphrased by Nacc., comm. on Tŏl. Kaḷavu. cū. 114, TSS ii, p.135. 2. Antāti-link between v.171 & 172: 171,l.4: "Ŏṇṭŏṭiy arivaiy ĕnnĕńcu kŏṇṭoḷe," 172,l.1: "Ŏṇṭŏṭiy arivai kŏṇṭaṇaḷ nĕńce.

'Let them feel the anguish (of love) like the poison of snakes that know not sweet sleep at night.[1] She whose dark plaits are more fragrant than waterlilies growing at Tŏṇṭi is the reason for their love-sickness.'

The charioteer has seen the beloved on her way to the place of assignation. When he tells the hero, the latter thinks about going there, and says to himself:

'She has told me the way to the garden, sweetly scented like Tŏṇṭi beloved of Kāma.[2] Of fine workmanship are her jewels, of wond'rous beauty is she. Her large eyes and her beauteous form fill me with longing.'

Leaving the company of his charioteer, the hero says to the heroine: 'Come yet further with your friend.'

'If you would please me still more, come softly on with your companion whose brow is fair and whose shoulders are soft as bamboo. Maid, may you prosper, for your qualities are as many as those of Tŏṇṭi.'[3]

As the hero is walking in the company of his beloved and her companion, he asks the latter: 'How is it that she has captivated me so?'

'Tell me for what fault of mine has she ensnared me, she whose body is slender as a tender shoot and whose lovely hips are rounded. Her bracelets are woven of fresh fragrant flowers grown at Tŏṇṭi. She has robbed me of sleep.'

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1. Antāti-link between vv.172 & 173: 172,l.4: "Iravinānun tuyil ariyene", 173,l.1: "Iravinānum inruyil ariyātu." 2. Tenuous antāti-link between vv.173 & 174: 173,l.4: "Pinn iruṅkūntal aṇaṅk'urrore", 174,l.1: "Aṇaṅk'uṭai ppanitturai Ttŏṇṭiy anna." Similar are links between vv.174 & 175,175 & 176,176 & 177 &c.
3. Quoted by Nacc.twice in comm.on Tŏl.Kalavu.cū.102.103.

When the heroine and her friend are together and the hero asks how it is that he has been filled with anguish by the beloved, her companion laughingly says:

'Be they without fault, those who are craving for her shoulders will always tremble! She is like Tŏṇṭi, where the fragrant thorn-bush flowers by the sand-dunes near the restless sea.'[1]

Dissatisfied, the hero entreats the companion:

'Is this the way to praise her shoulders and tresses? When I entreated you, you were content to give me a glance and say she is like Tŏṇṭi belonging to Kuṭṭuvan.[2]'

As he is leaving the trysting place where he has tarried with the beloved, the hero is urged by the friend of the beloved to marry her:

'Be pleased to wed her, lord of the shore where the waves leap high. Without your favour, she will be agonized like the fish in Tŏṇṭi's harbour attacked by the crab.'

When the hero contemplates putting off his marriage to the heroine, her friend approaches him and tells him to marry her quickly:

'Please take her in marriage with all speed. She is as fine as Tŏṇṭi, in the wealthy harbour of which the storks are so gorged upon fish caught in fishers' nets that they cannot fly.'"

The grief of the beloved, appropriate to nĕytal, is only brought in in the last two poems of this decade, and forms as it

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1. The old comm. to this verse explains its implication: the heroine is like the flowers of the thorn bush, sweet but unapproachable, see UVS edn., p.78. 2. Name of several Ceralar; v. Chap. IV, pp.174 & seqq.; Chap. VI-VIII passim. 3. Aiṅkuṟu. 171-180.

were a climax to it. It is dramatically contrasted with the sentiments of love presented in the earlier verses. UVS says[1] that the antāti-link between most of the verses[2] is intented to show that this decade is a continuous dialogue.

The concluding section of one hundred poems in Aiṅkuṟu is devoted to subjects connected with mullai, and it will be recalled that the aspect of love associated with this is iruttal, awaiting.[3] This century by Peyaṉār opens with a decade in which the foster-mother talks happily to the heroine of the happiness that exists between her, her lord and their child. The foster-mother says:

"It is so good to see your child lying between you both, like the fawn between the deer. It is hard to find in heaven or in earth surrounded by the calm blue sea anything so sweet as him lying there.[4]

"The mother is hugging her baby and her husband lovingly clasps her from behind. Sweet is this as the musician playing upon the strings of his instrument.

"The lord is even more pleased than his wedded wife when he sees his child who bears his renowned name smile happily as he toddles along, pushing a small cart.

"While the child of the lady whose brow is fair feeds upon her breast, it is good to see how her lord caresses the nape of her neck. He rules over a land of small hills on which are cool forests,[5] fragrant with flowers.[4]

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1. Comm.,p.80. 2. There is none between vv.179 & 180, & between 180 & 171. 3. v.s. Chap.II,p.24. 4. vv.401 & 404 are cited by Nacc.in comm.on Tŏl.Kaṟpu.cū.153; Tŏl.here states when foster-mother may advise heroine. 5. Puṟavu, alluding to the forest-region, mullai.

"She is the mother of the son of the lord whose land is forested and where many places are dotted with flowers when gentle rains fall; she is a radiance in the house like the flame within a bright lamp.

"While his son whose lovely eyes are kohl-rimmed plays, he is sweetly caressing his mistress, he who is lord of the forest land filled with flowers round which bees hum as they search for honey.[1]

"Embracing the mistress for whom he yearns, he hears the pleasant music played by the fingers of practised musicians. It is the lord of fertile places[2] who revels in such unions.

"While harpists play the paṇ Mullai,[3] the lady whose ornaments shine and whose brow is fair garlands herself with wild jessamine.[4] The great one is then content to hide his displeasure and appear with his child.

"The father is hugging his child and it is the mother of that sweetly prattling baby who embraces them both. Pleasant it is to see them resting thus; it is comparable to the great universe itself.[5]

"In the evening[6] in the forecourt of the house, the child with his mother's help crawls on all fours on the low couch. It is amusing to watch and the sweet playing of the harpist cannot compare with it."

It is clear that temporary absence only is hinted at in

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1. Cited by Nacc.,comm.on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Kaṟpu.cū.172 as describing what occurs at home while hero visits his mistress. 2. This seems a slighting allusion to a marutam-hero; the aspect of marutam being Quarrelling as a result of hero's infidelity; see UVS comm.p.176. 3,4. Karu.of muḷḷai; IA comm.p.22. 5. Cp. vv,40 402. 6. appropriate to muḷḷai, Tŏl.Akat.cū.6.

this decade, in verses 406 and 407. By the end of it, the hero and heroine are once more living together in harmony. UVS notes that[1] happiness in marriage on the part of the heroine was indicated by her garlanding herself with mullai, wild jasmine, as mentioned by the poet in verse 408. This is a departure from the association of mullai, both as tiṇai and karuppŏruḷ, with the urippŏruḷ of Iruttal, awaiting, with its undertone of grief on the beloved's part at the absence of her hero.[2] As UVS notes, such a variation of the implication of mullai appears in Pattu., Cirupāṇ., and Nacc.'s commentary upon it.[3] It is possible that this was a later elaboration of urippŏruḷ to include aspects of married love, karpu, as well as those of unmarried love, kaḷavu.

It has been demonstrated that Aiṅkurunūru is arranged according to a symmetrical structure in which an equal number of poems of roughly equal length describe each of the five tiṇai of reciprocal love. Such an arrangement is in marked contrast to the relatively haphazard way in which poems on any given tiṇai follow one another in Akam., Kurun. and Nar. It has further been seen that some decades of Aiṅkuru. are in the form of a connected dialogue, and that this feature is emphasized by the use of an antāti-link between the several verses of the decade. Neither of these features are apparent in any of the five anthologies previously discussed, with the exception of one instance of the antāti in Patirruppattu.[4] The use of such devices and the formal

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1. Comm., p.176. 2. For examples, v.s. Chap.II, pp.26-7.
3. Cirupāṇ., l.30: "Mullai cānra karpin mĕlliyan"; Nacc., Pattu., UVS edn.(1918), p.108. 4. Patirru. decade IV; v.s. Chap.VIII, pp.331 & seqq.

arrangement of Aiṅkuṟu. have helped Pillai to his conclusion[1] that it is a work of later origin than Akam., Kuṟun., Naṟ. and Puṟam. As has been noted,[2] this view is at variance with the tradition about its compilation and the authorship of portions of it.

The anthology called Kalittŏkai is distinct from all anthologies so far discussed in being composed in a different metre. This metre, called Kali, gives this anthology its name, and it also occurs in portions of Paripāṭal.[3]

Like Aiṅkuṟu., Kali. is subdivided into five sections, each treating of one of the five tiṇai, and entitled respectively, Pālaikkali, Kuṟiñcikkali, Marutakkali, Mullaikkali and Nĕytaṟkali. These sections are attributed in a vĕṇpā-verse of unknown authorship[4] to Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko, Kapilar, Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉ, Coḷaṉ Nalluruttiraṉ[5] and Nallantuvaṉ respectively. The sections are of unequal length, the 149 poems about the akattiṇai[6] being allotte as follows: Pālai, 35, Kuṟiñci, 29, Marutam, 35, Mullai, 17 and Nĕytal 33. All these poems vary in length. Within each section, the poems are discontinuous.

Each Kali. poem is accompanied by a colophon stating the occasion in conventional love episodes to which it refers. At the end of the anthology, there is a note giving the five akattiṇai, first in the order in which they are enumerated in Tŏl.,[7] and then in the order of appearance in Kali., and also

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1. v.s.,pp.369,370. 2. Ibid. 3. This metre is discussed in Chap.X; v.i. pp.468 & ff. 4. "Pĕruṅkaṭuṅkoṉ Pālai Kapilaṉ Kuṟiñci Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉ Marutam - aruñcoḷaṉ /Nalluruttiraṉ Mullai Nallantuva'Nĕytal /Kalvivalār kaṇṭa Kali." 5. A v.r. is Nalluttiraṉ; see Samājam edn.,p.1372. For Coḷaṉ Nalluruttiraṉ, v.s., pp.143,4. 6. The 150th.being KV. 7. Tŏl.Akat.cū.5 omitting pālai.

arrangement of Aldhelm have helped Milad to his conclusion that it is a work of later origin than Aldhelm's Riddles and Enigmas. As has been noted, this view is at variance with the tradition about its composition and the authorship of portions of it.

The anthology called Salitolai is distinct from all anthologies so far discussed in being composed in a different metre. This metre called Nail, gives this anthology its name, and it also occurs in portions of Pentateuch.

Like Aldhelm's Nail, it is subdivided into five sections, each dealing of one of the five tigni, and entitled respectively, Tuidinkell, Sentabkell, Mulfaidkell and Ratherkell. These sections are attributed in a verse-preface of uncertain authorship to Tuidinkeltuwo, Sentabo, Mentenlinnenn, Colan Mulfaidtitten and Ratherkell respectively. The sections are of unequal length, the last being allotted the shortest, being allotted as follows: Nail, 6a, Ratherkell, 2a, Sentabo, 3, Mulfaidkell, 17 and Tuidinkeltuwo, 22. All these poems vary in length. Within each section the poems are discontinuous.

Each Nail, which is accompanied by a colophon stating the occasion in conventional terms, refers to which it refers. At the end of the anthology, there is a note giving the five [illegible] tigni in the order in which they are enumerated in the [illegible] and also in the order of subsequence in Nail, and also

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1. v.s., pp.388, 390. 2. Ibid. 3. Also metre is discussed in Chap.X:v.1. pp.402 & 403. 4. Tuidinkeltuwo, Nail (writing mind) metrum Tiendsen Lorthem - [illegible] Mulfaidtitten Lufter Mulfaidtitten (Legal Analysis) Sentabo Nail. 5. v.s. Nail-[illegible] metrum: see Bambrum edn., p.1[illegible]. For poem Mulfaidtitten, v.s., pp.1[illegible]. 6. The Lorth.Leiche Av. 7. Tol.Lect. edn. of entire Nail.

the name of the compiler, Nallantuvaṉār.[1] Taken into consideration along with the vĕṇpā giving the traditional authorship of the five sections of Kali., this suggests that the author of the last section on nĕytal was also the compiler of the whole anthology.

The fact that, like Aiṅkuṟu., Kali. is an artistic whole has led some writers such as Pillai[2] to doubt the tradition about the authorship of the five sections. In his edition of Kali., the first to be printed,[3] Tāmotaram Pillai was of the opinion that the whole anthology was the work of Nallantuvaṉār. Such views must at present be treated as surmise, but it must be stressed that the name of Nallantuvaṉār is associated, albeit as compiler, with the whole of Kali. in a colophon to the work itself, while the tradition about the five poets each composing one section is embodied in a verse entirely separate from Kali. or the epexegetical material accompanying it.

The text of Kalittŏkai, including the introductory Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu, is accompanied by a medieval commentary. The Ciṟappu Pāyiram, Verse Introduction, to this states that it is the work of Naccinārkk'iṉiyar, a brahman of the Bhāradvāja gotra, well-endowed with knowledge of Tamil and the four vedas.[4] Kali. is therefore the only anthology to be accompanied in full by a commentary of Nacc.[5] It was first edited in printed form by Tāmotaram Pillai, and a number of editions of portions of it have since been made. The standard modern edition of the whole text

1. TSS edn.,p.480. 2. CET pp.34-36; he stresses the paucity of marutam-verses by Iḷanākaṉ in other anthologies. The attributing of the kuriñci-verses to Kapilar may again be a fiction. 3. 1887. 4. Kali.Uraicciṟappu.,ll.46-53. 5. For that on Kuṟun.,v.s. p.358.

the name of the compiler, Walther[1] von der Vogelweide, taken into consideration along with the verse giving the traditional authorship of the five sections of Kalila, this suggests that the author of the last section on Kalila was also the compiler of the whole anthology.

The fact that, like Kalila, Kalila is an artistic whole has led some writers such as Pillet[2] to doubt the tradition about the authorship of the five sections. In his edition of Kalila, the first to be printed, Theodorus Aufrecht was of the opinion that the whole anthology was the work of Walthervon der. Such views must at present be treated as surmise, but it must be stressed that the name of Walthervogel is associated, albeit as compiler, with the whole of Kalila. In a collection to the work itself, while the tradition about the five poets each composing one section is embodied in a verse entirely separate from Kalila or the conceptual material accompanying it.

The text of Kalila, including the introductory Latin verses, is accompanied by a medieval commentary. The original Latin verse introduction, in this states that it is the work of Vocalpaper Inlyer, a disciple of the Archpoet, a well-endowed with knowledge of Kamil and the four verses. Kalila is therefore the only anthology to be accompanied in Kalila by a commentary of these. It was first edited in printed form by Theodorus Pillet, and a number of editions of portions of it have since been made. The standard modern edition of the whole text

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1. Pfeffer, op. cit., p. 6-10; he discusses the usually accepted verses by Walther in other anthologies. The attributing of the Kalila-verses to Kalila may again be a fiction. 2. Pillet, op. cit., Introduction, p. 40-62. 3. For that on Kalila, v.s. p. 55.

and commentary is that published by Pākaṉeri V.P.P.M.Kācivicuvanātaṉ Cĕṭṭiyār and the TSS. This includes a foreword and explanation of the commentary by Iḷavaḷakaṉār. The fourth edition of this work appeared in 1949.

No reason can be given for the sequence in which the five akattiṇai are treated in Kali., or for the disparity in length between the different sections. With seventeen poems, Mullaikkali is approximately half the length of the other sections, and it is possible that a part of it is no longer extant.

The metre in which the poems of this anthology are composed is unique among the four types mentioned by Tŏl.,[1] Āciriyam, Vañci, Vĕṇpā and Kali,[2] in that poems composed in it have a definite sequence of parts.[3] Kali is of four kinds,[4] and that most commonly met with in Kalittŏkai, called Ŏttāḷicaikkali, is a poem of four parts. The first part, Taravu, may contain from four to twelve lines. The second, Tāḷicai, contains a number of stanzas; the number of lines in these should not exceed the number in the first part, Taravu.[5] The third part is the Taṉiccŏl, a single word forming the link between the foregoing Taravu and Tāḷicai and the fourth part, called Curitakam. This is usually shorter in length than the Tāḷicai-stanza.[6]

Two examples from Kali. have already been noted;[7] it was seen that, in addition to themes connected with the five tiṇai of

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1. Tŏl.Pŏrul.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.417. 2. These are discussed in Chap.X; v.i.,pp.443 & seqq. 3. Cp. the different parts of a Greek Chorus. 4. Ŏttāḷicai, Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu,Kŏccakam,Ural; Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ., cū.442; v.i. Chap.X,pp.468 ff. 5. Tŏl.ibid.,cū.446. 6. Tŏl.ibid. cū.448-9. 7. Kali.58 & 139; v.s. Chap.II,pp.31-34.

reciprocal love, Kaikkiḷai, Unrequited Love, and Pĕruntiṇai, Forced Love, also appear in the poems of Kali., albeit in poems included in one or other of the five sections named according to the five tiṇai of reciprocal love. Kali.58, cited by Nacc. as an example of Kaikkiḷai,[1] appears in Kuṟiñcikkali, and Kali.139, quoted by Nacc. in connexion with Pĕruntiṇai,[2] is a poem in the Nĕytaṟkali. The other examples from anthologies quoted by Nacc. in his commentary on Tŏl.'s cūttirams about Kaikkiḷai and Pĕruntiṇai are all from Kali., and therefore are included there in one or other of the five sections named after the five tiṇai.[3]

The first section of Kali., Pālaikkali, is devoted to poems describing the separation of lovers, the urippŏruḷ associated with the burning heat of the desert, pālai.[4] The colophon to Kali.10 states that the friend of the beloved tells her how she had warned the hero of the consequences to her of his impending departure in search of wealth:

"Like to a youth practising continence, its branches are withered; like the wealth of a niggard, it gives no relief to those who cluster in its shade; like the end of a man noted only for evil who has abandoned kindness, the tree withers to its roots through the scorching of the sun's rays. The tall tree beside the hot path is oppressed like the world in the shadow of an unrighteous king's rule, a king who is covetous of wealth and one with ministers not afraid to plunder.

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat.cū.50 Comm.; TSS i,p.116. 2. Tŏl.,ibid.,cū.51 comm.,TSS i,p.118. 3. Comm.on cū.50 (Kaikkiḷai): Kali.61, (kuṟiñci); on cū.51 (Pĕruntiṇai): Kali.94 (marutam) & 62 (kuṟiñci 4. v.s. Chap.II,pp.24 and 36.

"When she hears that you have set off on the road in search of riches her mind will be numbed and her beauty faded. As you sleep in comfort on your mattress, you do not realize how in her loneliness she is already grieving, though you have just left her side.

"When she hears that you have without fear gone in search of wealth, she will be tearful, sleepless, shot through with anguish, troubled in spirit. You may have loved this fair girl for a joke, but even a short absence on your part will be long for her in her plight.

"When she hears that you have qitted her in search of riches, her mind will be obsessed and keen will be her distress. The darkness of despair will be hers if destroyed be your tender glance of love, and broken will be her heart.

"O lady of the fine jewels! When I spoke to him thus, telling him how, if he pursued his course, your very life would be forfeit, he who is high in honour and whose spear is famous gave up his plan. May your bracelets remain in place![1]" [2]

In another poem in Pālaikkali, the companion dissuades the foster-mother from hindering the lovers' departure; the beloved is destined for her lover, and for no-one else:

"Save to the wearer of its scent
Of what use is the sandalwood tree
even to the mountains amid which it was born?
If you ponder the matter, it is so with your daughter.

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1. i.e. Her wrists will not become so emaciated with grief that her bangles slip off. 2. Kali.10 (Pĕruṅkaṭuṅko).

"Except to the wearer of it
of what avail is the highly priced white pearl
even to the sea in which it was reared?
If you ponder the matter, it is so with your daughter![1]

Nacc.'s colophon to Kali.51, a poem in Kuṟiñcikkali, states that the heroine speaks to her companion, and that this poem illustrates a couplet from cūttiram.107 of Tŏl.Pŏruḷ:

"Pukāa kkālai pukk'ĕtir ppaṭṭ'uḷi
pakāa viruntiṉ pakuti kkaṇ,"[2]

"He (the hero) is given hospitality in the heroine's house, even though he be met at an inopportune moment."

In Kali.51, a Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu wherein there are no separate parts,[3] the young girl tells her playmate:

"What bright bracelets you have! Do listen!
As I was playing in the road
He kicked over my mud castle with his foot,
and snatched the garland from my head,
and ran away with my striped ball.
How he teased me, the naughty boy!
Another day my mother and I
were together, when a voice called out:
'Whoever's at home, please give me some water!'
Mother said to me: 'My dear,
fill the gilded vessel, and give him water to drink!'

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1. Kali.9,ll.12-17: Basham: "Wonder That Was India," p.465.
2. Tŏl.Pŏrul.Kaḷavu.cū.107,ll.6,7; in his comm.on this cū., Nacc. quotes the same Kali.51. 3. For Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu, one of the four varieties of Kali-verse, v.i., Chap.X,pp.445 & ff. Some Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu have parts such as Taravu, cf. Kali.139.

I went out, not knowing who it was.

He caught my wrist, with the bangles on, and squeezed it;

and I was frightened, and cried out:

'Mother, just look what he's done!'

She was very upset, and hurried down,

but I told her he'd hiccups because of the water.

He looked at me as if he could kill me,

but then the rogue made friends with a smile."[1]

It has been seen that, while the subject-matter of the poems of Kali. is similar to that of other akam anthologies, it is handled in a more elaborate and artificial way. As a whole, Kali. shows a formal structure, comparable to that of Aiṅkuṟu. in being based on the five akattiṇai, but arranged less symmetrically. Both Kali. and Aiṅkuṟu. are singularly free from the historical allusions which abound in the three akam anthologies Akam., Kuṟun. and Naṟ.[2] This is also the case with Paripāṭal, which will now be discussed.

It was seen earlier that the commentary to Iṟaiyaṉār Akappŏruḷ says that Paripāṭal was of seventy verses,[3] and that, together with Kali, Paripāṭṭu was considered by Tŏl. to be the most suitable verse-form for akam poetry.[4] This may or may not be the case with regard to Kali, for it has just been seen that Kalittŏkai is a collection in kali-metre of poems about the five

1. Kali.51, in Basham: "Wonder That Was India," p.465.
2. v.s. p.349. There are one or two references to tribes, e.g. to Āyar: Kali.101,l.47; such references are permissable in Kaikkiḷai & represent a mixture of Puṟam w Akam, ait Nacc.,Tŏl.Akat.comm., TSS i,p.127. 3. v.s. Chap.I,p.13. 4. v.s. Chap.II,p.35, and Nacc. on Tŏl.Akat.cū.53: TSS i,p.120.

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akattiṇai, albeit the only such anthology extant. For the term akam to be used in connexion with Paripāṭal, however, represents a development in its meaning. Its scope is thereby extended to include praise of God, as Nacc. notes.[1]

A large proportion of Pari. as extant is devoted to religious poetry; of the 22 extant verses, six are in praise of Māyon (Viṣṇu),[2] and eight are hymns to Cĕvveḷ (Skanda).[3] The remaining eight poems are about the river Vaiyai, and in these, conventional love themes are introduced. These poems are discontinuous, and no scheme is apparent from their arrangement. The only group of any size is that formed by Pari.1 to 4, all of which are hymns in praise of Māyon.

A vĕṇpā of unknown date and authorship[4] gives data about the complete Pari., and from it it will be seen that the proportion of religious to secular poetry in this anthology was approximately the same as in the portion extant. Of the seventy poems in the original work, forty were hymns. Eight were in praise of Māyon, 31 in praise of Cĕvveḷ and one in praise of Kāṭukiḷāḷ (Durgā). Of the remaining thirty poems, 26 were on the Vaiyai and four on Maturai through which it flows.

In addition to the 22 extant poems in Pari., there are two Pari. quoted in commentaries on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Cĕyyuḷ., and nine fragments in commentaries and in the Purattiraṭṭu, a collection of poems on puram subjects taken from various anthologies.

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1. Comm.on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Akat.cū.53; TSS i,p.121. 2. Including the prefatory Kaṭavuḷ vāḷttu; this is numbered integrally, like that to Kali. & that to Puram. 3. See Table of Contents of Pari., page 392. 4. In Pari., UVS edn.,(1948) Intro.,p.viii, also Samājam, p.1373.

The poems of Pari. are accompanied by colophons that give information about the subject of the poem, its author, the composer of the music to which it was sung and the paṇ in which this music was set. A number of these colophons also include a note on the occasion in love situations upon which one or other of the conventional characters uttered the poem. Such notes appear with all but one of the poems about the Vaiyai,[1] and with one of the hymns to Cĕvveḷ.[2]

According to the colophons, the extant Pari. poems are the work of thirteen poets[3] while the music was composed by ten different composers.[3] No information about these latter is available; from the similarity of the name, Kaṇṇakaṉār, UVS[4] deduced that the composer of the music to Pari.21 was the same person as the author of Puṟam.218, a poem about his fellow-poet at Koppĕruṅcoḷaṉ's court, Picirāntaiyār.[5,6]

Of the thirteen poets named in the Pari. colophons, only two, Nallantuvaṉār and Iḷampĕruvaḷutiyār, figure in any other anthology. Nallantuvaṉār, given as the author of Pari.6, 8, 11 and 20, has just been noted as the author of Kali., Nĕytaṟkali, and is also credited with two other akam poems.[7] The author of Pari.15, Iḷampĕruvaḷutiyār, is identified with the author of Puṟam.182[8] by the Samājam editors.[8] The fact that no other Pari. author appears as author of any other anthology poem

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1. Pari.22. 2. Pari.14; it says that the friend intercedes with Murukaveḷ on behalf of her mistress; she prays that the lover may now come, as the season is suitable. 3. See Table of Contents of Pari., p.392. 4. Pari.Intro.,p.xxi. 5. v.s. Chap.IV,pp.136-7 6. And also of Naṟ.79; UVS,ibid., says it is uncertain whether the Naṉṉākaṉār who wrote the music for Pari.2 was the same as Puṟattiṇai N.,author of Puṟam.176,376,379,381,384. 7. Akam.43,Naṟ.88 also Kali.KV acc.Samājam,p.746. 8. v.s. p.172; Samājam,p.148.

Table of Contents of Paripāṭal

No.	Subject	Author	Composer
1	Tirumāl	-	- (Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu)
2		Kīrantaiyār	Nannākanār
3		Kaṭuvan Iḷavĕyinanār	Pĕṭṭa'nākanār
4		" "	" "
5	Cĕvveḷ	" "	Kaṇṇa'nākanār
6	Vaiyai	Nallantuvanār	Maruttuva'nallaccutanār
7		Maiyoṭa Kkovanār	Pittāmattar
8	Cĕvveḷ	Nallantuvanār	Maruttuva'nallaccutanār
9		Kunram Pūtanār	" "
10	Vaiyai	Karumpiḷḷai Ppūtanār	" "
11		Nallantuvanār	Nākanār
12		Nalvalutiyār	Nannākanār
13	Tirumāl	Nallĕluniyār	-
14	Cĕvveḷ	Kecavanār	The same (Kecavanār)
15	Tirumāl	Iḷampĕruvalutiyār	Maruttuva'nallaccutanār
16	Vaiyai	Nallaluciyār [1]	Nallaccutanār [2]
17	Cĕvveḷ	"	"
18		Kunram Pūtanār	"
19		Nappaṇṇanār	Maruttuva'nallaccutanār
20	Vaiyai	Nallantuvanār	Nallaccutanār
21	Cĕvveḷ	Nallaccutanār	Kaṇṇakanār
22	Vaiyai	-	-

The Paripāṭal Fragments

1 Tirumāl in Per. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.433;TSS iii, pp.301,2
2 Vaiyai in Iḷam. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.cū.430 (Cĕyyuḷ.cū.118)
3 & 4: two fragments in Per. & Nacc. on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Cĕyyuḷ.
5: fragment in Comm. on Nārkavirāca Nampiyakappŏruḷ.

6-11: On Maturai: fragments in Purattiraṭṭu: Nakar.

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1. v.r. Nallaliciyār, Samājam edn.,p.803. 2. Author of Pari.21, ait UVS Pari.Intro., p.xxi.

marks Pari. off from other anthologies, and lends support to the view of Pillai[1] that, like Kali., it was a work of later origin.

The Pari. colophons are unique among all colophons to anthology poems in giving the paṇ in which the music to which the poem was to be sung was set, and the name of the composer of the music. This, together with the religious nature of many of them, imparts to these poems a strong similarity to the Tevāram and other religious poems set to music.[2]

Three paṇ only are mentioned in the Pari. colophons. For Pari.2 to 12 the paṇ is given as Pālaiyāḻ. Notiṟam is given for Pari.13 to 17, and Kāntāram for Pari.18 to 21. Perhaps on the basis of these names, UVS asserted[3] that Pari. was sung in the same way as Tevāram. It is, however, possible that the way of interpreting any given paṇ varied from place to place, and that 'schools' of music existed as in our own day.[4] It is also possible that any lapse of time between the period of Pari. and that of Tevāram would bring about a change in the interpretation of paṇs.[5] On the basis of Nikaṇṭu evidence, Vipulānanta states[6] that Pālaiyāḻ was one of the four main paṇs and that Notiṟam and Kāntāram were tiṟam, minor paṇs comparable to the auḍava rāgas.[7]

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1. CET pp.41,42. 2. As noted by Vipulānanta: Yāḻ Nūl (1947)p.16. 3. Pari.Intro.,p.ix. 4. Centred round individual teachers. For the rāga Anandabhairavī, some assert that it should have one bhāṣāṅga-note ('accidental'), other teachers, three such notes. 5. Cp. the Karnatic rāga Rītigaula, at one time sung with flat 3rd.,6th. and 7th., now with natural 6th. save in one prayoga. 6. Yāḻ Nūl,pp.141 & seqq, 7. So-called 'pentatonic' rāgas that have five degrees within the octave; e.g.,equating Sa with C, Haṃsadhvani is C d e g b c, Mohanam is C d e g a c .

Certain Pari. colophons are defective; that to poem 1 states only that the verse is a Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu, while that to poem 13 omits the name of the composer. No colophons are extant for either of the two Pari. poems preserved in commentaries or for any of the fragments. The colophon to Pari.22, together with the last portion of the poem is missing; as UVS observes,[1] this is because the extant part of the original Pari., the first part breaks off in the middle of poem 22.[2]

Pari. is accompanied by an old commentary that is also fragmentary. This fact is especially noticeable in the comm. to poem 22, which is fragmentary throughout, and which is broken off at the point where the text is left incomplete. This commentary is attributed to Parimelaḻakar, more famous for his commentary on Tirukkuraḷ.[3] Evidence for the authorship of the Pari. commentary is only to be found in the Cirappu Pāyiram to it, and our information is thus based on similar evidence to that for the authorship of the Kali. commentary, attributed to Naccinārkk'iniyar.[4] Pari. was first edited by Dr.U.V.Cāminātə Aiyar in 1918; the third edition of this appeared in 1948. No other edition of this anthology has yet been printed.

Like the verses of Kali., those of Pari. are divided into a number of parts. These are discussed by Tŏl. in Pŏruḷ., Cĕyyuḷ., cūttirams 430 and following. In cū.432, Tŏl. says that Paripāṭal-poems may be composed in a number of metres. Examples in Perāciriyar's commentary on this cūttiram[5] show features of

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1. Pari.,p.224. 2. At line 48. 3. There are many editions; the 6th, TSS edn. appeared in 1948. 4. v.s. p.384. 5. TSS iii,p.299

Věṇpā and Āciriyappā metres.[1] Tŏl. states[2] that the four parts of a Paripāṭal poem are Kŏccakam, Arākam, Curitakam and Ĕruttu. The commentary explains that Kŏccakam is a part wherein short lines recur like pleats[3] in a garment.[4] Arākam is characterized by a rapid succession of short syllables.[5] Curitakam has the same function as in a Kali poem, and is the closing portion. Ĕruttu is the same as Taravu.[6] These four and other parts are noted in the course of Pari. 1 and in the Paripāṭal in praise of Tirumāl quoted by Perāciriyar in his commentary on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ. cū.433.[7] With them occur parts in Āciriyam or Akaval, the metre of most of the poems of the anthologies. In cū.474 of Pŏruḷ., Cĕyyuḷ., Tŏl. says that a Paripāṭṭu should be of from 25 to 400 lines in length.[8]

It has already been seen that, of the three subjects of the extant Pari. poems, two are deities, and that these poems may be regarded as hymns, comparable with those of the Tevāram or of the Āḻvārs, the Vaiṣṇava hymnists. Like the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava 'canons', the religious poems in Pari. incorporate many of the puranic legends about Viṣṇu and Skanda. Pari.3 may be taken as an example of the poems in praise of the former. Its colophon states that it is Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu,[9] that its author is Kaṭuvaṅ Iḷavĕyiṉaṉār, and that the music by Pĕṭṭa'ṉākaṉār was in the paṇ Pālaiyāḻ. Iḷavĕyiṉaṉār praises Viṣṇu as follows:

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1. For these metres, v.i. Chap.X, pp.443 & ff. 2. Cū.433. 3. Kŏccakam, lit., pleat. 4. Per.on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.433: TSS iii,p.300 5. Per., ibid. 6. Per., ibid. 7. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.,TSS iii,pp.301-2, Pari.,UVS edn.,pp.227-230. 8. Tŏl.,ibid.,cū.474. 9. This term appears in the colophons to all the hymns in Pari. The col. to Pari.1, however, states "Itu Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu", emphasizing that poem 1 is the usual hymn of divine praise to appear at the beginning of a work.

"O dark One! Dark One! Yours are the bright feet that unblemished stamp out rebirth. Glittering sapphire-hued are you, O dark One! Fire, wind, sky, earth, water, these five, sun and moon are you. Virtue are you. The five planets are you. The children of Titi[1], the sons of Brahma, the eight flawless Vasus, the eleven children of the sun, the heavenly twins, Death himself, the twenty-one worlds and all life, all, O dark One, have extolled you.

"A lotus bloomed in the stream of the Vedas that go not awry, and in that lotus was born Brahma, and you are his father. So say the Vedas that are in the hands of brahmans.

"Garuḍa it was who relieved the anguish of his mother by fetching ambrosia from the immortals whose jewels are lovely; Garuḍa, who relieved his mother's anguish,[2] is inscribed there upon your high unfurled banner!

"Who is there who does not bow before your radiant feet? You measured the seven worlds beneath. You are the brightness of fire, Death's agent, Death himself, the sun with a thousand spotless rays.

"We too would sing your praise, like the praise sung by the thirty-three crores of gods, telling how, as a fine boar, you lifted the world upon your tusks during the great deluge, and how you dried the wings of Garuḍa as the rain-clouds were swept from the great heaven.

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1. Diti, wife of Kaśyapa and mother of the Daityas.
2. Garuḍa's mother was Vinatā, another wife of Kaśyapa. She quarrelled with yet another of Kaśyapa's wives as to the colour of Indra's horse; Vinatā lost the argument and became the other's slave. Garuḍa released his mother by secretly obtaining amṛta for her oppressor; v. Pari.comm.,p.20.

"You stamped out the burning wrath of Keśi, so-called since he came in the guise of a horse[1]. Your very hands praise you. When you took the form of Mohinī and served the nectar, your hand did wrong in deviating from impartiality.[2]

"Māl are you with two hands, the sage with three hands, the lord with four, the great one with five, the majestic with six, the one with seven, he who eight hands holds aloft. With nine hands rule you the great earth, invincible are you with ten hands. With a hundred hands capable are you, O dark Warrior! a thousand broad hands are yours. You are the very fount-head of truth, ten thousand hands have you. With one hundred thousand hands it is you, Lord, who knows the six.[3] These are not the sum-total of your forms, for there are many others. Countless are your forms, beyond computing's limit. Since you are impossible to comprehend, who save you can comprehend you?

"Of the vedas that are without beginning, you are the source. To you is wisdom, deep, vast, total, and your beginning is unknowable even to intelligence most perfect in its power, in its knowledge and in its understanding.

"Radiant, cool and bright, waxing and waning in crescent-shape with twice-eight gentle rays is the jewel that is the moon, food of the immortals of whom you are the source.

"As you approached over the earth, some asuras were so conscious of their wickedness that they turned and fled far away, even leaping into the sea. Of them, and of the asuras who sinned

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1. Ta. Kūntal, keśi, alluding to its mane. The destruction of this asura is particularly attributed to Kṛṣṇa. 2. At the churning of the ocean, Viṣṇu in the form of Mohinī served amṛta to the gods, but not to Rāhu who had joined them. He was decapitated. 3. Vedāṅgas.

not, you are the source.

"Since such a nature is yours, how can any distinction between friend and foe be made among those who comprehend your nature? You caused the very occasion upon which the thousand-headed serpent, caught in the beak of Garuḍa who is your mount, cried out: 'O Māl! Brilliant-eyed One!'

"Well have we realized your qualities, since you are the essence of the Sāmaveda. Heat in fire are you. Fragrance in a flower are you. Gem in stone are you. Truth in speech are you. Mercy in justice are you. The strength in bravery are you. The secret in the Veda are you. The beginning in creation are you. Radiance in brilliant light are you. The coolness of the moon are you. You are all things, and of all things the essence. For you, there is neither resting nor resting's place. Unforgettable are you, for false are your attributes.

"Without birth, without those who give birth, born are you in the beginning, in the middle, in the end. The purple flower's hue is yours; you are the (sheltering) parasol of grace, the sceptre of right, in the shadow of which are the thrice-seven worlds, the sheltering of which is yours!

"You are Puruṣa, the five elements,[1] the five senses,[1] the sound of heaven, the sound and caress of the wind, the sound, feel and sight of fire, the noise, shock, sight and taste of water, the rumble, the touch, the sight, taste and smell of the earth.[2] You are these five senses and intellect, these six and

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1. See Parimel. on Pari. 3, l. 77: UVS p. 25. 2. It is necessary to expand the text here to include Parimel.'s comm. Each of the 5 elements partakes of successively 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, senses. Pari. 3. ll. 77 78 are, lit. "..the one, the two, the three, the four, the five."

ahaṃkāra, these seven and the principle of intellect,[1] these and the Mūlaprakṛti.[2] In all the four ages you have been renowned for this number of forms.[3]

"O red-eyed Kāri![4] O pale One with dark eyes![5] O golden-eyed Kāma![6] O green-eyed Māl![7] You danced with the herdsmen, you danced with the pot, O cowherd, O king. Unknowable is your origin, incomprehensible are you even to your devotees. Unshakeable are you, ruler of the world. Filled with knowledge from the beginning, finely do you play upon the harp. Bedecked are you with a garland fair, undefeated are you. Bright is your raiment,[8] O Vaṇṇan with the conch. Armed with the discus, a warrior are you. Lord of Lakṣmi are you, hero of great power.

"In the beginning, before the great earth appeared in the fullness of flood, you were, and the rule of your discus was, and in your navel flowered the lotus that was your son."

It is clear that in the above poem, the total image of Viṣṇu is in the mind of the poet, and that the various avatāras are not regarded separately. At the same time, the short passage clearly referring to Kṛṣṇa[9] is of interest, and matters connected especially with him figure elsewhere in the poem.[10] The consort is only mentioned once, in line 90, and the allusion is clearly to Lakṣmi, Tiru. There is no mention of Rādhā, or even of cowgirls in general, and in this respect, this Pari. hymn is in no way a departure from other Tamil sources for the Vaiṣṇava cult.

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1. Mān, conn.w̄ mahān; UVS'comm.,p.30, gives mahattattvam.
2. Parimel.on 1.79,UVS p.25. 3. i.e. the 25 tattvas, Parimel.ibi
4. Vāsudeva. 5. Saṃkarṣaṇa. 6. Pratyumna. 7. Aniruddha; these 4 are the Vyūhāvatāras; see Parimel.,UVS p.26. 8. i.e. Pītāmbara ait UVS,p.30. 9. Pari.3,l.83. 10. Destruction of Keśi, l.31; pītāmbara, l.88, cp. Dīkṣita: "Bālagopāla"l.11: KMM V,p.162.

Pari.5 may be taken as an example of the hymns in praise of Cĕvveḷ, Skanda, in this anthology. The colophon to it states that it is a hymn by Kaṭuvaṉ Iḷavĕyiṉaṉār, with music in the paṇ Pālaiyāḷ by Kaṇṇaṉākaṉār. Cĕvveḷ is praised as follows:

"To make war, you rode the towering Piṇimukam[1] into the broad expanse of the dark cool sea so that rocks submerged therein were smashed. The fire roared as you sent it forth and as it returned, Terror-stricken trembled the mango-tree that was Cūr[2] as you hacked it down at the roots.

"You are the destroying spear that spared none among the murderous asuras who thought nothing of killing and eating, for this were they notorious among a race puffed up with victory.

"In the wide spaces that are in the north of the cool land of Nāvalam,[3] you sundered the mountain called after the crane[4] and drove a way through that mountain, O six-headed One!

"O six-headed One, thrice four are your drumlike shoulders, you are of the hue of the fair sun and were born in the lotus. Son of Śiva the destroyer are you, O Cĕvveḷ.

"'Great One, Lord,' cry they in fearful festival when, armed with the spear, wildly you dance. But such for you is neither good nor ill, and since this universe is limitless, you are its head. Were you without fame, it would matter not to you. Everything is in your power, for some to be born noble, for others to be born ignoble.

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1. Skanda's elephant: Parimel.on Pari.5,l.2,UVS p.42; also his peacock, cf.Puṟam.56,l.8 & old comm.,Puṟam.,UVS edn.,p.120; v.s. Chap.IV,pp.165,6. 2. Sūrapadma. 3. Jambudvīpa. 4. Krauńca, lit., heron, curlew. Pari.5,l.9: "Kurukŏṭu pĕyar pĕṟṟa mālvarai.

"With the first Brahma to handle the steeds, steeds that were the vedas yoked to the earth that was his chariot, fo his bowstring he had the serpent (Vāsuki), for his bow the mountain. The three impregnable fortresses did he destroy with one blazing arrow that set on fire even the cardinal points. He accepted the offering in the immortals' sacrifice and he, the pale-eyed lord (Śiva) united in marital bliss with Umā. Insatiable was their union. Begging them to desist, he who was the lord of the celestials' sacrifice craved a boon of the god in whose forehead was the unwinking eye.[1] Since the latter was truthful, for him it was hard to go back on what he had already vouchsafed the lord who was bedecked with flashing gems.[2] But he took a bright hatchet and cut the embryo into pieces, changing its shape to confuse the world. But since they foresaw what would happen, the seven great sages in their wisdom took the embryo and hid it in the destroyed body of Ce. Those who were great in penance well recognized what it was that had been cut. Saying 'Let the fire hold it' they cast it in together with the oblation, since they realized it would be insupportable for the morsels to be given to their wives to make them conceive. The oblation fire blazed, and the threefold prancing flames protecte the pieces of embryo. Except for one[3] of the seven wives who in the north shine, save for she who was divinely chaste, the six others at that time ate the ashes from that fire. Of spotless chastity, the wives of the sages conceived you without deviating

1. That he should destroy the embryo already conceived by Umā: Parimel.on Pari.5,l.30,UVS p.45. 2. Śiva had promised Indra a captain of the heavenly host. 3. Arundhatī, wife of Vasiṣṭha.

from the path of right. It is said that, in the heights of the Himālaya, in the deep green lake, they gave you birth on a lotus raft. When they, O Murukan, gave birth to you, he who was held in supreme honour among the gods took up his fiery thunderbolt and in wrath came. When he hurled it, the six pieces became one person, and, O Cey, you it is who are that valorous one!

"Tender as your body still was, for you the business of war became a game you played with bare hands. Not without grief, Purandara separated from his body the cock of bright plumage and gave it to you. He who was the lord of heaven took from his own body a peacock of sapphire's hue and flashing plumage and gave it to you. Yama who holds the scales gave to you a fair white goat with large eyes. Then, those three and others gladly gave to you weapons, the goat, peacock and cock[1], a bow with dappled string, a log, a spear with a leaf-shaped tip, a sword, a hatchet, an axe, a sun that would destroy with burning rays, a noose, a jewel. In your various forms you wield in your twice-six hands. these weapons.

"Even then (as a babe) beside the spotted lotus seeds, you exceeded in renown the lord of the immortals who know not death. It is these who have tried to follow your example, those who are righteous, those endowed with good qualities and those who are great in austerity who are your devotees. Except for them they shall not reach the shade of your feet, neither the black in heart who prolong their anger, nor those unrighteous

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1. That the gifts already made by the gods were also regarded as weapons is clear also from Parimel.'s comm., see UVS edn.,p.47.

who are without nobleness of soul, nor those who have tired of penance and renounced austerity, nor those foolish ones who assert that there is no rebirth.

"But since the others will attain unto you, we entreat you, not for riches, gold and pleasure, but for your grace, love and right guidance, these three, O you who have the garland of kadamba flowers in round clusters."[1]

The main portion of this hymn is an account of the birth of Skanda that differs slightly from that in the Skanda-purāṇa, the Śivarahasya of which was adapted into Tamil by Kaccayappa Śivācārya as the Kantapurāṇam. There, Indra requests Śiva no more to unite with Umā, and the embryo already in her womb is removed by Indra and given to the seven sages. These gave it into the care of their wives, but Arundhatī refused to share in looking after it. It was cut into six and cast into fire and the six wives consumed the pieces. Each gave birth to one god. They were all on a lotus raft and the children were playing when Umā saw them. She joined them into one god, the six-faced Skanda.[2] In the fight between Indra and Skanda, the former is defeated.

It is clear from this Pari. hymn that at the time it was composed there was opposition to the belief in saṃsāra, since, in line 76,[3] the poet says that those who doubt it shall not attain the feet of Skanda.

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1. Pari.5. 2. A folk-etymology connects the name with skand, more usually, skandh, to collect, ait E.S.V.Aiyar in discussions.
3. "Maru pirapp'ill ĕnu'Maṭavoruṅ cerār."

It has already been seen[1] that the extant secular poems of Pari. are all descriptive of the river Vaiyai[2] and that there are eight of these. There is a tradition that there were 26 such poems in the original anthology[3] and that, in addition, there were four poems about Maturai, the Pāṇṭiya capital. Of these latter, however, only six fragments, totalling 31 lines, are extant.

Pari.7 may be taken as an instance of the Vaiyai poems. The usual colophon states that it is a poem by Maiyoṭa Kkovaṉār to music in the paṇ Pālaiyāḷ by Pittāmattaṟ. Like the other Vaiyai poems in Pari., poem 7 is accompanied by a note upon the occasion in the love-situation to which it refers. This states that the foster-mother was delighted to learn that the hero had been to bathe with the heroine in the river. She asks the companion to describe the beauty of the river, and the companion tells how they enjoyed the river scenery and other pleasures, and speaks of the love between the hero and heroine:[4]

"From crag to crag leap the onrushing silvery streams. Unheeded they pour by night and day through places difficult of access. To the roar of thunder have the clouds given birth to rain. The tanks can no longer contain their burden. The desire of dry places speeds straight towards the sea, dark with high waves. Like the onrush of the majestic serried ranks of the army of the southern king whose drum is victorious, the river spreads out, refreshed with the rains. Where the Vaiyai river flows, the

1. v.s. p.390. 2. Mod., Vaikai; see Map, p.xv.
3. v.s. p.390. 4. Pari.7,col., UVS edn., p.74.

land is enriched, the scenery beautified and fertility increased

"In dense groves where fragrant grasses spread is the bright-branched Veṅkai[1] with drooping clusters of flowers. Upon every hill bathed in mist and rain, trees, buffeted by the gale, are torn up by the roots leaving everywhere great pits.

"Like a girl who knows not dancing, capering to the throb of the drums of happy cultivators, like the exuberance of a maid who has never known a quarrel, the river rushes on whither it will, hitting against the banks that restrain it. The wond'rous stream wafts fragrance ever fresh, keeping within itself more usual scents, like sandal meant to be smeared on the body.

"Here, flowers blossoming in cool pools are broken by the river's onrush. There, shy little girls had made dolls in the sand; these are washed away and they cry. Here, drums warn of flooded grain-stores and flooding in the seed-beds. It seems that a village has been surrounded by the floods. They say that rainclouds in the sky are boundless, that the seashore village where singers live has been engulfed, that the hamlet where dwell the dancers has been overwhelmed.[2] People tell of flood-water pouring into fields, of fish being able to eat areca-nuts upon the tree, of silting in fields already sown.

"Hasty is the river, like one trying to be reconciled with a girl fair of brow who is unwilling to see reason. The river swells like a pregnant fish or the family of a cultivator of the rice-field. Like great hills are the river's twin banks,

1. E. Indian Kino tree, Pterocarpus marsupium, Lex.
2. Hamlet: Ceri. N. of mullai village: Tŏl. Akat. 18 Nacc., TSS i, p45

the foam upon the river recalls guards set upon hilltops. On it float flowers as it sweeps into gardens. Lovely maidens bathe hurriedly, blossoms set in their hair by youths whose chaplets are snatched away by the water. The river was able to sieze the girls' bangles, rings, the jewels in their hair, their clothes, girdles and belts, the bracelets on their arms. All was siezed, as when the southern king invades the land of his foes; the majesty of the Vaiyai is as the majesty of his armies.

"In the river of the king great in every way, girls were bathing. One of them chased the others, splashing water on them so that it went in their flower-like eyes. One girl covered her eyes with her hand;[1] in triumph, she whose shoulders were soft as bamboo bound her prisoner with the gold chain round her neck. But she who was golden and slender as a twig rushed to release the bonds of the other, taking pity on her.[2] The kohl from her two dark, lustrous eyes caused the fresh river water to lose its brightness; dark became the Vaiyai's flood.[3]

"Wet from the river she had sought, and wishing to remove the feeling of chill, she whose eyes resembled water-lilies took some strong toddy around which hummed the bees. As she took a great draught of the liquor that bestows joy, her eyes seemed like honey-sweet flowers. Seeing the loveliness of her eyes, he praised them; he sang her praises as though he were a bard. Not realizing the direction in which his interest lay, another maiden thought that what he sang was about herself, and was perplexed by it. He whose chest was broad grew afraid at this

1. As a sign of surrender. 2. She who took pity was the heroine see Parimel. on l.57, UVS p.72. 3. Parimel., UVS ibid., says that hereafter the poem tells of the hero & heroine.

and, sorrowfully wondering what would happen to him, approached his beloved. Because of the ridiculous misunderstanding, her eyes that were already red[1] grew still redder. Those pleasant girls who had come to bathe began squabbling among themselves; she became very cross and snatched the chaplets from their heads. Her lover, who had seen how beautiful she was while she bathed, prostrated his body smeared with sandal on the ground. But she would not stop quarrelling, and trod upon his head! Meanwhile, the others carried on bathing in the bright stream.[2]

"The song is attuned to the harp which produces on its seven strings the fine melody arising from the seven notes of the paṇ Pālai. There is an accompaniment of flute and drum. At the sound of the music, dancing-girls commence their dance.

"Still the river rushed on, its roar like that of the thunder or the drum. They enjoyed themselves by the river at Tirumarutamunrurai, saying: 'Let us put chaplets on our heads! We will chant your praises, O Vaiyai, and rejoice at the break of day. We will make sure of bathing in you always!' "[3]

The quarrel between the hero and his beloved is presented in the above poem in a most elaborate setting, preceded as it is by a long description of the Vaiyai river at the time of the monsoon. This is in marked contrast to poems connected with marutam, quarrelling, in Akam., Kurun. and Nar., wherein the length of the poem is circumscribed and so it is not possible to lead up to the episode and round off the poem in the way that

1. Through her drinking toddy, ait Parimel. See Comm.,UVS edn., p.73. 2. Parimel., UVS edn., ibid., says that the rest of this poem tells of their wish always to enjoy the river.
3. Pari.7 (Maiyoṭa Kkovanār).

Maiyoṭa Kkovaṉār has done in the above.

Though the poem plainly describes a love quarrel, it is written without any special regard for the conventions relating to the five tiṇai. There are general references to cultivation in connexion with the Vaiyai floods,[1] but there are also passages that describe the river's path through mountains.[2] Parimel.'s commentary on Pari.7, lines 1-10[3] wherein is described the river's journey has been interpreted as referring to the four tiṇai marutam, nĕytal, kuṟiñci and mullai.[3] There is thus no special emphasis on marutam, cultivated land, the tiṇai with which ūṭal, love-quarrelling, was associated. Neither the Veṅkai tree[4] nor the fish known as vāḷai[5] appear in texts or commentaries as karuppŏruḷ of marutam, nor do the distinctive karuppŏruḷ of marutam appear in this poem[6]. The hero is not given any of the names of a hero of the cultivated tract, but one of the names of its inhabitants, uḻavar,[7] appears twice.[8] It is possible that 'Tirumarutamuṉṟuṟai'[9] is in fact an allusion to marutattiṇai, but it is taken as a proper name by Parimel.,[10] and appears in two other Vaiyai poems in Pari.[11]

It may be stated that, in such a poem as the above, the theme of love is balanced fairly by the descriptive material built around it. Thus, this poetry occupies a position midway

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1. Pari.7,ll.27-35. 2. ll.4,5; aruvi, stream, (l.4) is a river of kuṟiñcittiṇai; see Nacc.on Tŏl.Akat.cū.18,TSS i,p.46.
3. UVS edn.,p.69: "Mĕṉpulaṅkaḷ aḻakupĕṟa vanpulaṅkaḷ viḷaiya..."
4. l.12. 5. l.34. 6. Save nĕl, rice, l.27 etc. (UVS comm.,p.75.
7. Acc. Nacc.on Tŏl.Akat.cū.20,TSS i,p.48. 8. ll.16 & 39.
9. Pari.7,l.83; lit. 'The fine harbour in the cultivated tract.'
10. UVS edn.,p.74. 11. Pari.11,l.30; Pari.22,l.45.

between the poetry of Akam. and similar anthologies, wherein the descriptive material serves to emphasize or allude to the love theme, and the Pattuppāṭṭu,[1] wherein the love theme is entirely subordinated to the descriptive material.[2]

It will be seen that Pari. poems such as the above are markedly different from hymns in the same anthology. Only the form, Paripāṭal or Paripāṭṭu is shared by each category, so that it is proper to speak of religious Paripāṭal and secular Paripāṭal.[3] This is the only instance in the Tamil anthologies of poetry on such divergent topics being placed together in an anthology on the basis of form, since it was seen that the poems of Kali., in addition to sharing a common metre, are also all love poems.[4]

It is possible that, in the secular poems of Pari., a tendency to depart from the rigid conventions of akam poetry may be seen. The religious poems suggest the beginnings of the division into Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva that has been prominent in the history of Hinduism in the Tamil country. While no poems to Śiva in Pari. are extant, and there is no tradition that there were any, it is apparent that the Śiva mythology was prominent in the mind of Skanda's hymnists.[5]

It has been demonstrated that the order in which the titles of the eight Tamil anthologies are given in the comm. on

1. This position is to some extent true in the matter of length; the longest Akam. poem has 37 ll., the shortest Pattu. (Mullai.) is of 103 ll. Extant Pari. range from 33 to 141 ll. 2. In Paṭṭiṉa., of 301 ll., the love theme appears in ll. 218-220 & 301 only. 3. As of religious and secular oratorios in western music. 4. v.s. pp. 383 & seqq. Kali.'s KV can hardly be considered an integral part of the anthology. 5. cf. Pari. 5, ll. 22-28, telling of tripurasaṃhāra; v.s. p. 401.

Iraiyanār Akappŏruḷ[1] is the most logical one for their treatment In the first four, Nĕṭuntŏkai (Akam.), Kuruntŏkai, Narriṇai and Puranānūru appear discontinuous poems only, four hundred in each. The first three are anthologies of love poems, but share a number of traditions with the fourth, in which are included bardic poems. The next two, Aiṅkurunūru and Patirruppattu, are similar to each other in containing a number of groups of poems; within each group is a connecting link of some kind, and any one group is on a single subject. Both these two and the preceding four anthologies are in the Akaval metre. The last two to appear among the titles of extant works are Nūrr'aimpatu Kali and Paripāṭal. Kali. resembles Aiṅkuru. and Patirru. in being subdivided into a number of sections, but it is in a different metre, and each of its poems contains a number of parts. This is also true of Pari., the poems of which are in a mixture of metres and contain several parts. The poems of Pari. are discontinuous, but are chiefly religious, and, where secular, are reminiscent of the Pattuppāṭṭu.[2] Poems in Kali. and Pari. are considerably longer than those in the other six anthologies.

It is tempting to see in this order of enumeration a chronological sequence, and to regard the earliest poems as being those in the first four anthologies.[3] There is, however, little evidence to support or refute this. At most it may be suggested that, by reason of their elaborate structure, the poems of Kali. and Pari. may have been of later origin.

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1. TSS edn., p.6. 2. Those to Skanda in Pari. may also be compared to Pattu.,Tirumuruk'ārruppaṭai. 3. As does Pillai: see CET pp.38 & seqq.

CHAPTER X

PROSODY IN THE EIGHT ANTHOLOGIES

The subject of Prosody will now be discussed with reference to the poetry of the Tamil anthologies. Also to be considered is that part of Alaṅkāram[1] which includes what is often loosely termed 'head-rhyming'.[2]

The principal Tamil terms for Prosody are Cĕyyuḷ and Yāppu. Connected with the root Cĕy, do, Cĕyyuḷ has the meanings of stanza, poetic composition.[3] Yāppu, connected with the root yā, tie, fasten, has the meaning of poetry.[4] However, the two medieval treatises on prosody of Amitacākarar,[5] Yāpp'aruṅkalam and Yāpp'aruṅkalakārikai both indicate that Yāppu also meant prosody.[6] On the other hand, that section of Tŏlkāppiyam which treats of prosody is called Cĕyyuḷiyal.[7] Therein, yāppu in the sense of 'prosody' is given as one of the 34 elements of cĕyyuḷ, poetic art.[8]

The term Pā may also be noted here, as its meanings include those of verse, poem, stanza.[9] In this discussion, however, Pā will be regarded as meaning 'metre'.[10]

For our purpose, the principal works on prosody are:

Tŏlkāppiyanār: Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷatikāram, Cĕyyuḷiyal,[11]

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1. cf. Daṇḍin: Kāvyādarśa I, Taṇṭi.I. 2. e.g. Vithianandan: The P, p.259. 3. Ta.Lex.,p.1602,col.ii; in the sense of 'a verse', cĕyyuḷ may be compared to Skt. chandas, both words also being use for 'metrical art.' 4. Ta.Lex.,p.3400,col.ii. 5. In discussion, Dr.A.C.Chettiar gave as his date 10th.or 11th.cent.,A.D.
6. Yāppu.,Pavāṉantam Piḷḷai edn.,(1916), v.1 & comm. The 7 element of prosody are given as: Ĕḷuttu, akṣara; Acai, metrical unit; Cīr foot; Taḷai, sequence of feet; Aṭi, line; Tŏṭai, alliteration; Tūkku, stanza. 7. In Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.,TSS iii(1951). 8. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ. cū.313,ll.2,14. 9. Ta.Lex.,p.2577. 10. Following Tŏl.,ibid.cū.417

Amitacākarar: Yāpp'aruṅkalam, and

Amitacākarar: Yāpp'aruṅkaḷakārikai.

All three treat of metre proper and of versification including the use of alliteration and similar devices. Verse-form is also discussed in other Tamil texts such as Pannirupāṭṭ'iyal, wherein it is considered in relation to the auspiciousness or otherwise of various types of foot, line and other metrical elements.[1] In the present consideration of Tamil prosody, it is intended to restrict discussion to the relevant portions of Tŏl., and only where necessary to refer to other metrical treatises.[2]

The seven elements of prosody as defined by Amitacākarar have already been noted.[3] These may be compared to those of Tŏl.'s 34 elements of poetry that are of relevance to the study of prosody:

Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. cū. 313.		Yāppu., v. l.		meaning.
2	ĕḷuttu	ĕḷuttu	1	akṣara
3	acai	acai	2	metrical unit[4]
4	cīr	cīr	3	foot
5	aṭi	aṭi	5	line
6	yāppu	taḷai[5]	4	yāppu: the use made of elements 1-5, i.e., Prosody.[6]
9	tŏṭai	tŏṭai	6	alliteration[7]
11	pā	tūkku	7	metre.

1. Other works on prosody are: Avināyanār: Avināyam; also the frag. Kākkaipāṭiniyam, quoted in comms. 2. In discussion, Dr. A. C. Chettiar opined that all Tam. poetry prior to 10 cent. should be scanned acc. to Tŏl.'s rules. 3. v. s. p. 411, fn. 6. 4. For this, v. i., p. 415 & ff. 5. lit., connexion, tie. The sequence of feet in any given metre. Rather more restricted than the general term prosody. 6. See Perāciriyar on Tŏl. Pŏruḷ. Cĕyyuḷ. cū. 390, TSS iii, p. 231. 7. Such as Anuprāsa and similar devices; v. i. pp.

Amitrochaeus: τέρπ'ἀνθρώπων, sua

amitrochaeus: τέρπ'ἀνθρώπων.

All three types of metre proper and of verse-section include the use of alliteration and similar devices. Prose-form is also discussed in these Tractatus upon the same principle, wherein it is considered in relation to the several idiomata or characteristics of various types of poetry, line and other metrical elements. In the present consideration of Tractatus prosody, it is intended to restrict discussion to the relevant chapters of Tractatus, and only where necessary to refer to other treatises of Aristotle.

The seven elements of prosody as defined by Aristotle have already been noted. These may be compared to those of Tractatus's elements of poetry that are of reference to the study of prosody:

Tract. Poet. cl. sim.	Tract. v.l.	meaning
1. ἀριθμός	ἀριθμός	sphere
2. μέτρον	μέτρον	metrical unit
4. εἶδος	εἶδος	foot
5. ἀρμονία	ἀρμ.	line
6. τέχνη	τέχνη	πόδων: the one metre of alliterative [illegible]
7. ἔθος	ἔθος	prosody.
11. ἐν	ἐν	metre.

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1. Other works on prosody are: Ἀριστόξενος: Ἀριθμοὶ καὶ μέτρα. Κλεονείδης, quoted in comm. 2. ἐν διαιρέσεσι, Dr.A.C. Chettiar points out that all Tam. poetry prior to 10 cent. should be assumed acc. to Tract. 'a-rupa. 3. v.s. ρυθμός. 4. ἐν τῷ ἔπει, v.l. ρυθμός & ἐν τῷ. 5. lit., connexion, the. the sequence of feet in any given metre, rather more restricted than the general term prosody. 6. See Periodicity on Tract. Poet. Devaul. cf. Tre III. p.181. 7. such as anapaes and similar devices; v.l. ἐν.

There are four other elements of poetry noted by Tŏl. that may be noticed in connexion with prosody. These are: māttirai, mātrā, tūkku, pause between one verse and the next, aḷavu, length of poem, and vaṇṇam, rhythm.[1]

After defining māttirai as "the length given to letters[2] when reciting poetry,"[3] the commentator on Tŏl.Pŏruḷ., cūttiram 313 passes on to a fuller discussion of ĕḻuttu, akṣara, both at cū.313 and cū.314. It is clear that Tamil prosodists from Tŏl. onwards did not regard mātrā as a prosodic unit for the purposes of Tamil poetry, and it may be suggested that they were clearly aware of it as a term borrowed from Sanskrit prosody. Tŏl. says[4] that māttirai and ĕḻuttu had already been discussed in the Ĕḻutt'atikāram,[5] and goes on to discuss acai. Māttirai is not mentioned as an element of prosody by Amitacākarar, nor in as late a source as Iḷakkaṇaviḷakkam.[6]

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1. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Cĕyyuḷ.,cū.313. These 4 appear in his list of 34 as 1st.,8th.,12th. & 26th. For the remaining 23, vide A.C.Chettiar: Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody, pp.17,18. Of these, the eight 'Vaṉappu' (adornments) may be contrasted w̄ the 10 Qualities of the Vaidarbha style, cf. KD,sū.41,42 & Taṇṭi,,cū.14. 2. In the sense of akṣara. 3. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.TSS iii,p.113. 4. Tŏl.ibid., cū. 314. 5. Māttirai: Tŏl.Eḻuttu.,cū.3-7, wherein the terms aḷapu & māttirai are used synonymously. In cū.7, Tŏl. defines māttirai as "(the time taken for) a wink of the eye or snap of the fingers." In cū.3, he says the duration of the short vowels a,i,u,ĕ,ŏ is one aḷapu; in cū.4, that that of long vowels (incl.diphthongs) ā,ī,ū,e,ai,o,au is two aḷapu. This agrees with the durations measured in mātrā in Skt.,cf.Atharvaprātiśākhya,i,vv.59,61. Tŏl. further states, in cū.11, that the duration of a consonant is ½ a mātra; the same applies to 'cārp'ĕḻuttu'(secondary letters): kuṟṟiyalikaram,ĭ,kuṟṟiyalukaram,ŭ and āytam,ḫ, vide cū.12. M after some consonants may be of ½ māttirai duration only, vide cū.13; Nacc.,Tŏl.Eḻuttu.,TSS,p.27, gives examples: e.g. poṉm. Conversely a vowel may be lengthened so as to be of 3 māttirai duration, by writing the character for the long vowel followed by that for the short, e.g. ūu. vide cū.6 & 41. This is aḷapĕṭai. Cp. pluta in Skt., e.g. in Pāṇini I,2,27. 6. In Y.Kārikai, Amitacākarar notes it under ĕḻuttu. Māttirai is mentioned in Naṉṉūl, in conn.w̄ ĕḻuttu, not prosody: Naṉ.cū.99-101.

It may be suggested that nothing analogous to the Mātrāchandas in Skt. poetry was envisaged by these writers on Tamil prosody, and that, from the silence of Tŏlkāppiyanār about ĕluttu in the context of prosody, Tamil metres analogous to the Akṣarachandas were not of significance in his day. Such metres are, however, found in later poetry from Tevāram onwards.[1]

Tŏl. discusses ĕluttu fully in Elutt'atikāram, and, as already seen,[2] ĕluttu appears in later works on prosody such as Yāppu. In Tŏl., the term is used in the broadest sense to mean both vowel (long or short), consonant,[3] cārp'ĕluttu[4] and syllable. In cūttiram 45 of Ĕluttu., Tŏl. says that a word may cosist of one, two or more than two ĕluttu, and it is clear that he means syllable here. The term ĕluttu thus closely resembles the Skt. akṣara, meaning letter, vowel[5] or syllable.[5] Tŏl.'s definition is closely followed by later writers on prosody. In Y.Kārikai., Amitacākarar adds to the cārp'ĕluttu a shortened ai, which he calls aikāra kurukkam.[6] Medieval writers also describe as ĕluttu aḷapĕṭai, prolonged vowels, such as āa, aii and auu. The term aḷapĕṭai is also applied to 'lengthened consonants' as distinct from consonants geminate intervocalically.[7] Examples cited by the commentator show that such lengthening could occur to any nasal and to y, l, v, ḷ and āytam (h) if followed by

1. Metres such as Kaṭṭaḷai kkalitturai. A.C.Chettiar, ASTP p.165, cites Tiruṅāna.Tev., patikam 118,v.1, wherein each line has 16 syllables. The quantities of some vary; in Chettiar's example,the 4 lines give: – – ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ . cp. the variations in the Skt. śloka. Other vv. in the same metre in Tev. have 15 or 16 syllables per line. 2. p.412. 3. Tŏl.Ĕluttu.cū.1. 4. cū.2. 5. Atharvaprātiśākhya I,93; see also Allen: Phonetics in Ancient India, pp.80 & seqq. 6. Y.Kārikai.,v.1,l.1 & comm.,pp.9,16. The comm.considers ăi to be of 1½ māttirai duration. 7. Y.Kārikai., ibid.,pp.16 & seqq.

another consonant, whether homorganic or not.[1]

Tŏl. and Amitacākarar agree in taking as the next element of prosody the Acai.[2] Acai has been translated syllable by some writers.[3] Since, as will shortly be seen, the acai may consist of two ĕlutu in the sense of syllable, acai will herein be translated Metrical Unit. The term 'Foot' will be used for Cīr.[4] The acai, a unit of one or two syllables, has no parallel in Sanskrit prosody.

The two types of acai are given by Tŏl.[5] and later writers[6] as Ner and Nirai. The Neracai is a single syllable, long or short, with or without a consonant after it.[7] The Niraiyacai consists of two short syllables or a short followed by a long syllable, in either case with or without a consonant following.[7] Per. gives four possibilities for Neracai as follows:

"Uḷ ḷār to li."[8]

Four possibilities for Niraiyacai Per. gives as follows:

"Vari varāl kalā valin."[9]

It is thus clear that the neracai may be quantitively long or short, and that, in the niraiyacai, the first syllable must be short. The nirai may thus be either a pyrrhic (˘ ˘) or an iambus (˘ –).[10] Tŏl. further notes[11] that, where the syllable of the ner or the disyllable of the nirai is followed by -u or by the

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1. e.g. maṅṅkalam, arummpu, cĕllka, kŏḷḷka, vĕyyyar: Y.Kārikai. comm.,TSS edn.,(1953)p.18. 2. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313; Yāppu.v.1; Y.Kārikai.,v.1. 3. Ta.Lex.,p.35 col.i; Chettiar: ASTP,p.21. 4. v.i. p. . 5. Cū.315. 6. Yāppu.v.5, Y.Kārikai.,v.5. 7. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.315. 8. Comm. on Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.315, TSS iii, p.124. i.e. vc, cvc, cv̄, cv. There are of course 4 more: v̄c, cvc, v & v̄. 9. Comm. ibid. These are: cvcv, cvcv̄c, cvcv̄ & cvcvc. The other 4 are vcv, vcv̄, vcvc, vcv̄c. 10. This second possibility seems to have been ignored by Vithianandan, who considers all nirai as pyrrhics: vide The P.,pp.264-8. 11. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.316.

kurriyalukaram, ŭ, ner and nirai become nerpu and niraipu respectively. He further notes an exception to this modification of the nèracai as nerpu;[1] where -u occurs in a word of two short syllables, such as karu, malu,[2] these are not considered to be nerpu, but nirai. Neracai and niraiyacai are called Iyalacai, normal acai, nerpu and niraipu are called Uriyacai, inasmuch as they are dependent on the first two.[3]

By these rules about the uriyacai, Tŏl. makes it clear that, in prosody, no distinction is to be made between the ordinary short final -u in words such as tĕḷivu and the final kurriyalukaram which, Tŏl. states in Ĕluttu.,[4] may occur in six ways. A disyllable may be either a nirai or, where its second syllable is a kurriyalukaram, a nerpu, and in niraipu we have the possibility of an acai of three syllables, the last of which, however, must be -u or -ŭ. It is clear that, in formulating this, Tŏl. was influenced by the fact that a large number of words in Tamil end in murriyalukaram, -u, or kurriyalukaram, -ŭ, and that many of the words ending in -ŭ are trisyllabic.[5] To scan these according to the iyalacai would necessitate splitting the words awkwardly, and unnatural splitting for the sake of acai is not sanctioned by Tŏl.[6] This relationship between word-entity in a line of verse and acai must be stressed. Later writers on Tamil prosody[7], in postulating only ner and nirai, were led to scan

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1. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.317. 2. Per. on Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.317: TSS iii,p. 128. The -u in these exx.is murriyalukaram. Final -ŭ in disyllabic words results from the 1st.syll.being long by nature, e.g. nāku, or position, e.g. tĕḷku. 3. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.318 & Per.comm.,ibid. 4. Tŏl.Eluttu.,cū.406; Nacc.exemplifies the 6 types by: nāku, varaku,tĕḷku,ĕḫku,Kŏkku,kuraṅku. 5. e.g. varaku, kuraṅku. 6. Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.319 & 321. 7. Amitacākarar: Yāppu.v.5, Y.Kārikai.v.5; Vaittiyanāta Tecikar: LV.,cū.713.

verses without regard for the words as entities, splitting them without reference to their sense or structure.[1]

Some instances of ner and nirai and their modifications may now be given. A stanza quoted in the commentary on Yāppu.[2] gives all the possibilities for the neracai:

"āli nan mān kŏl vall errai
- ˘ - - - - - -
nerner ner ner ner ner nerner

"potu cāntam pŏrpav enti
- ˘ - - - ˘ - ˘
nerner nerner nerner nerner

"āti nātar cervor
- ˘ - - - -
nerner nerner nerner

"coti vānan tunnuvore."
- ˘ - - - ˘ - -
nerner nerner nernernerner

A further stanza, quoted in the same commentary,[3] gives the possibilities for the metrical unit called nirai:

"kaṭiy ulāy nimirnta kayan kuṭai varāl
˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ -
nirai nirai nirai ner nirai nirai nirai

"aṇi nilal acok' amarnt' aru' ṇĕri naṭāttiya
˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘
nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirainirai

"maṇi tikal avir ŏḷi varatanai
˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ -
nirai nirai nirai nirai nirainirai

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1. cf. the ex. cited by Chettiar, op.cit.,p.22. The word kuruṅkoṭṭu would give nirai nerpu (˘---˘) acc. Tŏl.'s rules, but nirai ner ner acc. to later writers, splitting koṭṭu as 'Koṭ ṭu'.
2. Yāppu., Pavāntam Piḷḷai edn.(1916)p.49. 3. Comm.,ibid.,p.52.

"paṇipavar pava naṉi paric' aṟuppavare."

˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘ -

nirainirai nirai nirai nirai nirainirainer

The grouping of the syllables in the above in no way anticipates discussion of the Cīr, metrical feet,[1] and is only made according to the words as they occur in each line. It will be seen that, especially in the example showing niraiyacai, the words are, where, necessary, split according to their constituent parts, as in the case of 'varataṉai', vara + taṉai.[2] In one instance only, in the first line illustrating the nirai, is there an unusual splitting of a word; 'nimirnta' is scanned as nirai ner, giving nimirnt + a. However, it is possible to regard the Pĕyar Ĕccam, Relative Participle, as a form connected with the Viṉaiy Ĕccam, Verbal Participle in -ŭ, with elision of the final -ŭ before the -a suffix of the Pĕyar Ĕccam. Thus, nimirnta is in fact nimirntŭ + a, nimirnt'a, and to split this as nirai + ner is logical.

It will be observed that the preponderance of niraiy acai in the second stanza gives either a falling, iambic rhythm, or, as in the last line, an effect that might be described as 'sprung rhythm.'[3] Both are in marked contrast to the rhythm of the stanza giving the neracai, with its rising trochaic tendency. It is suggested that one of the functions of these metrical units was to suggest a falling or rising rhythm respectively as desired by the poet.

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1. v.i., p. 2. conn.w. Skt. varada. 3. Cp. such metres as mandākrāntā: - - - - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - - ˘ - - ˘ - - , or mahāmālikā: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ - - ˘ - - ˘ - - ˘ - - .

It is clear that no precise quantitive relationship between ner and nirai can be postulated, and that it would be erroneous to compare these units with the mātrā, wherein two short syllables are quantitively the same as one long syllable. This would only be valid for the nirai of two short syllables and the ner of one long syllable; the other possibilities for nirai and ner, ˘ - and ˘ would be left out of account. At the same time, as will shortly be seen, the acai is a metrical unit, since metrical feet, cīr, are reckoned in two or more acai.[1] Neither māttirai nor ĕḻuttu are used for this purpose; both are dismissed by Tŏl. in Cĕyyuḷ., and Amitacākarar concentrates on discussing ĕḻuttu according to aesthetic criteria and not as a unit of prosody.[2]

Before consideration of cīr, foot, some examples of the occurrence of acai in poetry may be given. In the following examples, syllables are grouped according to words only, and, since they are taken from anthology poems, the examples will also include the uriyacai, nerpu and niraipu.

Two instances in Akaval metre may be given. Patirru., patikam V, lines 1 and 2 are:

"Vaṭavar uṭkum vān roy vĕl koṭi
˘ ˘ ˘ - - - - ˘ ˘ ˘
nirainer nerner ner ner ner nirai

"kuṭavar komā' Nĕṭuṅceral Ātarkŭ..."
˘ ˘ - - - ˘ - - ˘ - - ˘
nirainer nerner nirainerner nernerpŭ

1. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.324. The implications of acai and its terminology will be discussed in connexion with cīr: v.i. pp.430 & seqq.
2. e.g. Yāppu.v.2 & comm.,pp.21-36; cp. such qualities as cĕrivu, ślisṭa, in Taṇṭi.I,cū.16, KD I,sū.43, & their comms.

The following is a passage from Puram.:[1]

"Ŏru talai ppatalai tūṅkav ŏru talai
˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘ - - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ -
nirainirai nirainer nerner nirainirai

"tūmpaka cciru mulā ttūṅka ttūkki
- ˘ - ˘ ˘ ˘ - - - - -
nernirai nirai nirai nerner nerner

"kavilnta maṇṭai malarkkŭnar yār ĕna
˘ - ˘ - - ˘ - ˘ - - ˘ ˘
nirai ner nerner niraipŭ ner ner nirai

"curan mutal irunta cil vaḷai virali
˘ - ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ ˘ ˘
nirai nirai nirainer ner nirai nirainer

"cĕlvaiyāyir ceṇon allan..."
- - - - - - - -2
ner nernerner nerner nerner

If the above seven lines, all in the same metre, are counted per line according to mātrā, the following figures are arrived at: 15, 19; 17, 15, 18, 20 and 16. If the same lines are analyzed according to the number of akṣaras in each, the figures are: 10, 12; 13, 11, 12, 13 and 8 akṣaras. It is clear then, that there is no possible connexion between these two units of metre and the metre of these poems. If the number of acai per line, however, are counted, it will be found that there are eight acai per line in every case save that of Patirru.pat.V, line 2; this may be regarded as an irregularity resulting from the use of the name Nĕṭuṅceral. At this stage, then, it may be stated that eight acai per line occur in the Akaval metre.

An example from Kalittŏkai will now be given; it has

1. Puram.103,ll.1-5 (Auvaiyār). 2. Marked 'long by position', since the next line begins w a consonant.

already been observed[1] that the metre of the poems of Kali., Kalippā, is different from that of the bulk of the anthology poems, Āciriyappā or Akaval.[2] Lines 1 to 4 of Kali.35 are:

"Maṭiyilāṉ Cĕlvam pol maraṉ nantav accĕlvam
˘ ˘ ˘ - - - - ˘ - - ˘ - - -
nirainirai nerner ner nirai nerner nernerner
"paṭiy uṇpār nukarcci pol pal ciṉai miṅiṟ' ārppa
˘ ˘ - - ˘ - ˘ - - ˘ - ˘ ˘ - ˘
nirai nerner nirainer ner ner nirai nirai nerner
"māyavaḷ meṉi pol taḷir īṉav ammeṉi
- ˘ - - ˘ - ˘ ˘ - ˘ - - ˘
nernirai nerner ner nirai nerner nernerner
"tāya cuṇaṅkŭ pol taḷir micai ttātuka ..."
- ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - - ˘ ˘
nerner niraipŭ ner nirai nirai nernirai

In the above, it will be seen that, not only are counts according to syllable and mātrā of no relevance, but that there is some variation in the number of acai per line. The first three lines quoted contain eleven acai, but the last line contains eight, the same number as for lines in akaval metre. But it may be said at this juncture that, in general, lines in kalippā contain more acai than do those in akaval.

It has already been noted[3] that Puṟam.239 is one of the few poems in that anthology that are in vañci metre. Lines 1 to 5 of this poem are as follows:

"Tŏṭiyuṭaiya toṇ maṇantaṉaṉ
˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ -
nirainirainer ner nirainirai

1. v.s. Chap.IX,p.383. 2. v.i. pp.464 & ff. 3. v.s. Chap.V, p.261.

"kaṭi kāvir pū ccūṭinan
˘ ˘ - - - - ˘ -
nirai nerner ner nernirai
"raṇ kamalum cāntŭ nīvinan
- ˘ ˘ - - ˘ - ˘ -
ner nirainer nerpŭ nernirai
"cĕrrorai vali taputtana'
- - - ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘
nernerner nirai nirainirai
"naṭṭoraiy uyarpŭ kūrinan ... "
- - - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ ˘
nernerner niraipŭ nernirai

It will be apparent from the above that lines in Vañci metre contain six acai.

To conclude these examples of the use of acai in metre, Paripāṭal, Kaṭavuḷ vālttu, lines 45 to 48 may be quoted:

"Nala' mulu talaiiya pukar aru kāṭci
˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - -
nirai nirai nirainirai nirai nirai nerner
"ppulamum pūvanum nārramu' nī
˘ ˘ - - ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘ -
nirai ner nernirai nernirai ner
"valan uyar ĕliliyu' māka vicumpum
˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘ - -
nirai nirai nirainirai nerner nirainer
"nilanu' nīṭiyav imayu' nī."
˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ -
nirainer nernirai nirainer ner

It will be seen that the above are couplets, with eight acai in the first line of each couplet and seven in the second.

The first and third lines are, in fact, identical in structure to lines in akaval metre, while the second and fourth differ only in being shorter by one acai. Such reduction in length of line is called ampotaraṅkam,[1] and also ĕṇ.[2] The colophon to this passage in Pari. states[3] that it is 'ārum per ĕṇ', a sixfold reduction of a long line; there are six couplets in the passage,[4] of which those quoted above are the last two. All agree in having eight acai in the first line and seven in the second.

The next element of prosody according to Tŏl. and Amitacākarar is Cīr.[5] Tŏl. says[6] that a cīr is made up of two or three acai, but that occasionally only one acai is needed to form a cīr.[7] Amitacākarar[8] mentions cīr composed of four acai. Tŏl. also states that a line of poetry, aṭi, is made up of cīr,[9] and that usually there are four cīr per line.[10] There seems no reason, then, for not translating cīr as Foot, following Chettiar and the authors of the Tamil Lexicon.[11]

Tŏl. states[12] that cīr composed of iyalacai, ner and nirai, are called iyarcīr, while those composed of uriyacai, nerpu and niraipu, are called Āciriyav uriccīr, (uric)cīr proper to Āciriyappā metre. It is clear from the commentary that Tŏl. is here speaking of feet composed of two acai only, and this is confirmed by Tŏl. himself when he says[13] that feet proper to vĕṇpā metre consist of iyarcīr with a neracai added, and that all

1. Y.Kārikai.v.31; the reduction is likened to waves receding. 2. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.457 & seqq. 3. Pari.,UVS p.5. 4. Pari.KV,ll.37-48. 5. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313; Yāppu.v.1. 6. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.324. 7. Ibid.cū.339,340. 8. Yāppu.v.13. 9. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313. 10. Ibid. cū.344. 11. Chettiar: ASTP p.24; Ta.Lex.p.1482,col.ii. P.S.S.Sastri in JORM,Vol.XXII(1954) Tolkāppiyam,Ceyyuliyal,p.31 leaves cīr untranslated, using foot for aṭi, line, translating literally. 12. Ibid. cū.325. 13. cū.331.

other three-acai feet are proper to Vañci metre.[1] Per. states[2] at this point that these latter three-acai feet are sixty in number, and include all three-acai feet that include the uriyacai nerpu and niraipu. Thus, the three-acai feet proper to věṇpā are four only.[3]

Since there are two iyalacai, ner and nirai, and two uriyacai, it follows that there are sixteen possibilities for feet composed of two acai; eight composed of iyalacai or uriyacai only:

ner ner	– ⏑̄ [4]	nerpu nerpu	– ⏑ – ⏑ [5]
nirai ner	⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑̄	niraipu nerpu	⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑ – ⏑
nirai nirai	⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑ ⏑̄	niraipu niraipu	⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑
ner nirai	– ⏑ ⏑̄	nerpu niraipu [6]	– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑ ,

and eight composed of mixtures of iyal- and uriyacai:

nerpu nirai	– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑̄	ner niraipu	– ⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑
niraipu nirai [7]	⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑̄	nirai niraipu	⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑
nerpu ner	– ⏑ ⏑̄	ner nerpu	– – ⏑
niraipu ner [8]	⏑ ⏑̄ ⏑ ⏑̄	nirai nerpu [9]	⏑ ⏑̄ – ⏑ .

As will shortly be seen, all such two-acai feet are considered permissible in Akaval metre.

Both these feet, and those composed of three or four acai, are given mnemonics, called vāypāṭu, according to the sequence of syllables within them. These vāypāṭu are employed as

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1. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.332. For Vañci metre, v.i., p434ff. 2. TSS iii, pp.156-7. 3. nerner + ner, nirainer + ner, nirainirai + ner & nernirai + ner. Per. on Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.331,TSS iii,p.154-5.
4. Since a disyllable commencing w a short syll. is usually treated as nirai, 1 acai, not 2. 5. Since 2 short syllables of which the second is -u is considered nirai, not nerpu; v.s. p416.
6. Per.on Tŏl.cū.325, TSS iii,p.143. 7. Per. on cū.326; p.145.
8. Per.on cū.327; p.146. 9. Per.on cū.328: p.147.

a means of classifying into groups the various cīr. It will not be necessary to give the mnemonics for all these cīr; those for the two-acai iyarcīr are as follows:

2-acai cīr	vāypāṭu, acc. Per. on Tŏl. Cĕyyuḷ. 325.	vāypāṭu, acc. comm. on Yāppu., v. 11.
ner ner	temā	temā
nirai ner	puḷimā	puḷimā
nirai nirai	kaṇaviṛi	kāruviḷam
ner nirai	pātiri	kūviḷam

According to the vāypāṭu in the commentary on Yāppu., the first two iyarcīr are classified as Māccīr, the second two as Viḷaccīr.[1]

It has just been seen that the commentary on Tŏl. recognizes 64 possible combinations of acai to form three-acai feet. It will not be necessary to give all of these, but those proper to Vĕṇpā, together with their mnemonics, are:

3-acai cīr		vāypāṭu, acc. Per. on Tŏl. ibid. 331	vāypāṭu, acc. Per., ibid. & Yāppu. comm.[3]
ner ner ner	– – ⏑̄ [2]	mācĕlvāy	temāṅkāy
nirai ner ner	˘ ⏑̄ – ⏑̄	pulicĕlvāy	puḷimāṅkāy
ner nirai ner	– ˘ ⏑̄ ⏑̄	māvaruvāy	kūviḷaṅkāy
nirai nirai ner	˘ ⏑̄ ˘ ⏑̄ ⏑̄	pulivaruvāy	karuviḷaṅkāy

According to the second set of mnemonics, these four Vĕṇpāvuriccīr are classified as Kāyccīr.

Since writers after Tŏl. did not recognize the modified ner, nerpu, and the modified nirai, niraipu, it follows that

1. Lit. 'mango-feet' & 'wood-apple-feet.'. 2. Since – ˘ ˘ or – ˘ – would be treated as ner nirai. 3. Yāppu., v. 12 comm., p. 62.

they recognized four other possible three-acai feet only:

ner ner nirai	– – ˘ ˘[1]	temāṅkaṉi
nirai ner nirai	˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘	puḷimāṅkaṉi
nirai nirai nirai	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	karuviḷaṅkaṉi
ner nirai nirai	– ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	kūviḷaṅkaṉi[2]

By a similar classification according to the mnemonic for their final acai, these feet are called kaṉiccīr. These kaṉiccīr are proper to Vañcippā, according to the author of Yāppu.[3] The same four are noted as four Vañciyuriccīr by Per.,[4] who notes twelve others ending in a nirai that include nerpu or niraipu, twelve that include nerpu and niraipu and end in a ner,[5] sixteen three-acai feet ending in a nerpu and sixteen ending in a niraipu.[6] This gives Per.'s total of sixty Vañciyuriccīr.[7]

Tŏl. does not discuss cīr composed of four acai, but the author of Yāppu. states[8] that there are sixteen of them. Since they are but of rare occurrence in the anthologies, it will not be necessary to note them in detail.

It will be seen from the above that the number of acai per foot is fixed at two, three or four, but that, by reason of the acai varying in length from one to two syllables, the number of syllables per foot varies. While the quantities of most syllables in any given foot are variable, that of the first is always fixed for any given acai; a ner occurring at the

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1. Since – ˘ ˘ ˘ would be nernirainer. 2. Yāppu.,v.12 comm., pp.62-63. 3. Yāppu.,v.12. 4. Comm.on Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.332, TSS iii,p.156. 5. Those 4 that end in ner & do not include nerpu or niraipu being the Vĕṇpāvuriccīr. 6. Per. ibid.,pp.156-157. 7. i.e. (4+12)+12+16+16. 8. Yāppu.,v.13.

beginning of any foot gives a long syllable and a nirai at the beginning of any foot gives a short syllable. On the other hand, the final syllable of any foot may always be long or short, whatever the acai. Elsewhere, quantities of syllables may be limited by the sequence or number of acai in a foot. A foot of three syllables occurring in Věṇpā must be – – ⏑̄, although in theory the second ner is ⏑̄, since – ⏑ ⏑̄ would be taken as ner nirai, a foot of two acai only, inadmissable in Věṇpā metre. The syllables of a foot consisting of ner ner nirai must be – – ⏑ ⏑̄, since – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑̄ would be ner nirai ner, a kāyccīr proper to věṇpā and not a kaniccīr found in vañci.

Some examples of the use of cīr in anthology poems may now be given. Since it has been noted that Tŏl. regards two-acai feet as proper to akaval metre,[1] and since it was seen from examples of akaval that each line contains eight acai,[2] it may be deduced that the akaval line contains four feet, which is the case.[3] Patirru.pat.V, lines 1 & 2, divided according to feet, are

	"Vaṭavar	uṭkum	vān roy	věl koṭi
	⏑ ⏑ ⏑	– ⏑̄	– –	– ⏑ ⏑
	nirainer	nerner	nerner	nernirai
vāypāṭu:	puḷimā	temā	temā	pātiri
	"kuṭavar	komā'	Nĕṭuṅceral	Ātarkŭ ..."
	⏑ ⏑̄ –	– –	⏑ – – ⏑	– – ⏑
	nirainer	nerner	nirainerner	nernerpŭ
	puḷimā	temā	pulicĕlvāy	porerु[4]

The other example of akaval already quoted is as follows,

1. v.s.,p.423; see also Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.325 & Per.comm.,TSS iii, p.143. 2. v.s. p.420. 3. Yāppu.,v.71; certain exceptions are noted in this and following cūttirams. For akaval, v.i. p.464ff. 4. Vāypāṭu for nernerpu: Per.on Tŏl.cū.328, TSS iii,p.147.

the lines divided according to cīr:[1]

"Ŏru talai	ppatalai	tūṅkav	ŏru talai
˘ ˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	- ˘	˘ ˘ ˘ -
nirainirai	nirainer	nerner	nirainirai
"tūmpaka	cciru mulā	ttūṅka	ttūkki
- ˘ -	˘ ˘ ˘ -	- -	- -
nernirai	nirainirai	nerner	nerner
"kkavilnta	maṇṭai	malarkkŭnar	yăr ĕna
˘ - ˘	- -	˘ - ˘ -	- ˘ ˘
nirainer	nerner	niraipŭner	nernirai
"curan mutal	irunta	cil vaḷai	virali
˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ - ˘	- ˘ -	˘ ˘ ˘
nirainirai	nirainer	nernirai	nirainer
"cĕlvaiyāyir	āyir	ceṇon	allan ... "
- -	- -	- -	- -
nerner	nerner	nerner	nerner

One final example of this metre may be given:[2]

"Puṇar puri	narampin	tīntŏṭai	paluniya
˘ - ˘ ˘	˘ - -	- ˘ -	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
nirainirai	nirainer	nernirai	nirainirai
"vaṇar amai	nal yāl	iḷaiyar	pŏruppa
˘ ˘ ˘ -	- -	˘ - -	˘ - -
nirainirai	nerner	nirainer	nirainer
"paṇṇ amai	mulavum	patalaiyum	piravum
- ˘ -	˘ ˘ -	˘ ˘ - -	˘ ˘ -
nernirai	nirainer	nirainerner[3]	nirainer
"kaṇṇ arutt'	iyarriya	tūmpŏṭŭ	curukki
- ˘ -	˘ - ˘ ˘	- ˘ ˘	˘ - -
nernirai	nirainirai	nernerpŭ	nirainer

1. v.s. p.420; the passage is Puram.103,ll.1-5. 2. Patirru.V, 41,ll.1-6. 3. Irregular 3-acai foot.

"kāvir	rakaitta	turai kūṭŭ	kalappaiyar
- -	˘ - ˘	˘ - - ˘	˘ - - -
nerner	nirainer	nirainerpŭ	nirainerner
"kai val	iḷaiyar	kaṭavuṭ	palicca ..."
- ˘	˘ - -	˘ ˘ -	˘ - ˘
nerner	nirainer	nirainer	nirainer

It will be seen from the above that, despite the uneven number of syllables per line and the occasional irregular feet[1], there is a strong impression of ictus. It is suggested that this is the implication of the term cīr, with its associated meaning of tāla, musical time.[2] Four beats per line are made, and it will be apparent that these usually fall upon the first syllable of each cīr. The exception to this is where the first acai of the cīr is a nirai that is an iambus and not a pyrrhic; such quantities tending to throw the beat onto the second syllable of the cīr. As a general rule, then, it may be said that the ictus always falls in the first acai of a cīr, and usually on its first syllable. The exceptions are four out of a total of twelve possibilities for the quantities of syllables in the cīr of akaval metre; it will be recalled that they usually consist of two acai only:

´ ˘ ˘ ˘	nirainirai	´ ˘ ˘	nirainer
´ ˘ ˘ -	nirainirai	´ ˘ -	nirainer
˘ ´ ˘ ˘	nirainirai	´ ˘ ˘	nernirai
˘ ´ ˘ -	nirainirai	´ ˘ -	nernirai
˘ ´ ˘	nirainer	´ ˘	nerner
˘ ´ -	nirainer	´ -	nerner .

1. Including, for this purpose, both 3-acai feet & those that contain nerpu & niraipu. 2. cf. Puram.24,l.6: 'taṇ kuravai ccīr.

A few of the akaval lines already given may be cited to show the ictus. It is at its clearest in a line consisting of eight long syllables only:

"cĕlvaiy ăyir ceṇon allan." [1]
´ - ´ - ´ - ´ -
nerner nerner nerner nerner

Another instance shows the ictus on an initial short syllable:

"Vaṭavar uṭkum văn roy vĕl koṭi." [2]
´ ˘ ˘ ´ - ´ - ´ ˘ ˘
nirainer nerner nerner nernirai

There are three similar instances in the following:

"Ŏru talai ppatalai tŭṅkav ŏru talai." [3]
´ ˘ ˘ - ´ ˘ - ´ ˘ ´ ˘ ˘ -
nirainirai nirainer nerner nirainirai

The following demonstrates ictus on the second syllable of a cīr:

"curan mutal irunta cil vaḷai virali." [4]
˘ ´ ˘ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘ ´ ˘ - ´ ˘ ˘
nirainirai nirainer nernirai nirainer

Another example of this phenomenon is:

"kai val iḷaiyar kaṭavuṭ palicca." [5]
´ ˘ ˘ ´ - ´ ˘ - ˘ ´ ˘
nerner nirainer nirainer nirainer

In this last example, three of the possibilities for nirainer follow one another in succession, and the 'attraction' to itself of ictus by the second long syllable in the second and fourth cīr is clearly seen.

In the light of this, the implications of the terms acai, ner and nirai may be discussed. Acai is connected with the

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1. Puram.103,l.5. 2. Patirru.pat.V,l.1. 3. Puram.103,l.1.
4. Ibid.,l.4. 5. Patirru.V,41,l.6.

verb-root acai-, move, lie in place, with associated piravinai acaittal, set to time.[1] As a substantive, acai may mean laghu as a unit of musical time.[2] It has just been seen that cīr may mean tāla, time-measure, and one of the constituents of this is laghu. It seems probable then, that the acai was thought of as a constituent of the cīr, and that cīr were composed of acai in a manner analogous to the composition of various tālas in music by means of laghu and other units of time.[3] That this is the case is clear from the evidence already adduced. Cīr proper to akaval consist of two acai, while those proper to vĕṇpā and vañcippā consist of three,[4] and writers later than Tŏl. mention cīr of four acai.[5] The cīr may, exceptionally, consist of one acai only.[6]

It has been seen that neracai is a single syllable, which may be long or short in quantity. The verb-root ner- means be complete, and the substantive ner has the meaning straightness.[7] It is possible that the ner was so called because its single syllable formed a complete acai. The verb-root nirai- means cluster, string together, with associated substantive nirai, row, succession, collection.[8] As an acai of two syllables, the nirai may thus have been considered as a collection or succession of syllables. These associations of

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1. PPVM VII,18. See also Ta.Lex.,pp.34 col.ii,35,col.i.
2. Cil.III,16,comm. Ta.Lex.p.35,col.i. 3. At the present time in South India, laghu in music consists of 4, 3, 5, 7, or 9 beats, the druta of 2, the anudruta of 1. Like many musical terms laghu was borrowed from Skt.prosody; a similar phenomenon may have occurred with these Tamil terms also. 4. v.s., pp.425,426.
5. Yāppu.v.13. 6. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.339,340. This has a musical parallel: a tāla may consist of a laghu only, such a tāla is called Eka in S.Indian music. 7. Ta.Lex.,p.2356. 8. Ibid.p.2272 col.i.

meaning are perhaps far-fetched, and both words may have been employed because, in fact, they represent some metrical features of ner and nirai respectively. The word ner is a single long syllable, nirai is a disyllable and an iambus.

It has been demonstrated that lines of akaval have a distinctive rhythm, and that four beats to the line may be observed. It will now be shown to what extent the rhythm of other important metres differs from this; the reason will again be traceable to the cīr used. In the light of this, the Tamil terms for the rhythms peculiar to the four main metres will be discussed.

It has already been seen that[1] both vañcippā and vĕṇpā metres include feet of three acai, and that the types of these to be used in the latter are limited.[2] Since it was observed[3] in exemplifying the use of acai in different metres that lines of vañcippā contain six acai, it follows that these lines contain two cīr only. This is normally the case,[4] though lines of vañci metre sometimes may be of three feet.[5] These feet may not contain less than three syllables,[6] and since they are of three acai, it follows that this minimum requirement will be in the form nernerner.

Puram. 239, already quoted in connexion with acai,[7] will again be given, the lines divided according to the cīr:

"Tŏṭiyuṭaiya toṇ maṇantanan
˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ -
nirainirainer nernirainirai

1. v.s. pp.425-6. 2. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.331. 3. v.s. p.422.
4. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.357. 5. Tŏl.,ibid.,cū.359. 6. Ibid.,cū.358.
7. v.s., pp.421-422.

"kaṭi kāvir pū ccūṭinan
˘ ˘ – – – – ˘ –
nirainerner nernernirai
"raṇ kamalum cāntŭ nīvinan
– ˘ ˘ – – ˘ – ˘ –
nernirainer nerpŭnernirai
"cĕrrorai vali taputtana'
– – – ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘
nernerner nirainirainirai
"naṭṭoraiy uyarpŭ kūrinan ..."
– – – ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘
nernerner niraipŭnernirai

The following is from an example of Vańcippā with lines containing three feet given in the commentary on Yāppu.:[1]

"kŏṭi vālana kuru nirattana kuruntāḷana
˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ – – ˘ ˘
nirainernirai nirainirainirai nirainernirai
"vaṭi vāl ĕyirr' alaluḷaiyana vaḷḷ ukirana
˘ ˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
nirainernirai nirainirainirai nernirainirai
"paṇaiy ĕruttin iṇaiy arimān iṇaiy eri ... "
˘ – ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – – ˘
nirainirainer nirainirainer nirainerner

If the example from Puram. be examined for evidence of ictus, it will be seen that this falls on the first syllable of each cīr, but that there is also a possibility of a 'secondary' ictus approximately half-way through each foot:

"Tŏṭiyuṭaiya toṇ maṇantanan
˘ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘ ´ ˘ ´ ˘ –
nirainirainer nernirainirai

1. Yāppu.,v.90; comm.,p.337.

"kaṭi kāvir pū ccūṭinan
´ ˘ ´ - ´ ´ ˘ -
nirainerner nernernirai
"raṇ kamalum cāntŭ nīṉinan ..."
´ ´ ˘ - ´ ˘ ´ ˘ -
nernirainer nerpŭnernirai

The rhythmic effect is one of a 3/4 time, so that it would be possible to set the above to rūpaka or tiśra eka tāla.[1]

The rhythm of the above is in marked contrast to that of the akaval examples. It is hard to find a reason for Tŏl.'s statement[2] that vañci arose as a variant of akaval, since it has been seen that the one has lines of two feet and feet of three acai, the other, lines of four feet and feet of two acai. Tŏl.'s statement is noted by Chettiar,[3] who does not attempt to explain it. Per. says[4] that the rhythm of vañci was produced by extending the feet of akaval and, by implication, halving the line. He condemns[5] those who, basing their argument on the fact that, like kalippā, the feet of vañci have three acai and that, accordingly, the vañci line is but a half-line of kalippā, assert that vañci was developed from kali.

Any explanation of vañci in terms of akaval-structure seems unconvincing, and it is here suggested that vañci arose in conjunction with akaval as a deliberate contrast to it. There are several instances of vañci lines occurring in akaval poetry, and it may be emphasized that vañci lines occur in such long akaval poems as Pattu., Maturai.[6] and Paṭṭiṉa.[7] They were perhaps

1. Rūpaka consists of six beats, 3+3, eka of 3 beats. 2. Tŏl. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.420. 3. ASTP,p.90. 4. Comm.on Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.420, TSS iii,p.286. 5. Per.,ibid. & on Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.542,p.424.
6. e.g. Maturai.ll.1-9,13-22,210-14. 7. e.g. ll.1-21,279-284.

introduced for the aesthetically pleasing effect that such a marked change of rhythm would produce in the course of a long recitation.[1] One example from Pattu. may suffice:[2]

"tŏḷḷ aruvāḷar tŏḷil keṭa
´ ˘ ˘ ´ - [3] ´ - ´ ˘
"vaṭavar vāṭa kkuṭavar kūmpa
´ ˘ - ´ - ´ ˘ - ´ -
"tĕṉṉavaṉ tiṟal kĕṭa ccīṟi maṉṉar
´ ˘ - ˘ ´ ˘ - ´ ˘ ´ -
"maṉṉ ĕyil katuvum ataṉuṭai noṉṟāḷ
´ ˘ - ´ ˘ - ´ ˘ ˘ - ´ -
"māttāṉai maṟa'moympiṟ
´ ´ - ´ ˘ ´ -
"cĕṅkaṇṇāṟ cĕyirttŭ nokki
´ ´ - ´ - ˘ ´ -
"ppuṉ pŏtuvar vaḷi pŏṉṟa
´ ´ ˘ - ´ ˘ ´ ˘
"Iruṅkoveḷ maruṅkŭ cāya
˘ ´ ´ - ˘ ´ ˘ ´ -
"kkāṭŭ kŏṉṟŭ nāṭ'ākki
´ ˘ ´ ˘ [4] ´ ´ -
"kkuḷan tŏṭṭŭ vaḷam pĕrukki
˘ ´ ´ ˘ [5] ˘ ´ ˘ ´ -
"ppiraṅkŭ nilai māṭatt' Uṟantai pokki ..."
˘ ´ ˘ ˘ - ´ - ˘ ´ - ´ -

The change from 4/4 to 3/4 and back is clearly to be discerned in the above.

There are also a number of passages in Puṟam. in vañci metre,[6] and three poems, Puṟam.4, 11 and 239 are almost entirely in this metre. Puṟam.239 has already been noticed as a vañci

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1. 1. cp. the use of different tālas during a kacceri or concert, & such devices as Tālamālikā. 2. Paṭṭina.,ll.275-285. 3. A cīr of 4 acai, as noted by Chettiar: ASTP p.93. 4. nerpunerpu. 5. nirainerpu. 6. e.g. Puṟam.7,ll.5,6; 38,ll.3-4.

introduced for the aesthetically observant, or that music
markedly change or rhythm would produce in the course of a long
[illegible]tion. One example from Pater, may suffice:

"Still revolving this key
- - - - - - - -
"always with lingering tone
- - - - - - - -
"Shadowy lines that cross and recross
- - - - - - - -
"from dull retreating recesses,
- - - - - - - -
"mingling, and multiplying
- - - - - - - -
"continually, obliterated midst
- - - - - - - -
"continuous delicate variations of one
- - - - - - - -
"fundamental theme, a tone
- - - - - - - -
"within tone, a rhythm within rhythm
- - - - - - - -
"[illegible] vague, [illegible]
- - - - - - - -
"[illegible] vague [illegible]
- - - - - - - -
"[illegible] vague [illegible] ...
- - - - - - - -

The change from [illegible] to [illegible] back is clearly to be
discovered in the music.

In the six [illegible] number of the same [illegible], in varied
[illegible], and three groups, [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] distinct entities
in the [illegible]. [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] been noticed [illegible] a varied

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1. [illegible] the [illegible] of different [illegible] [illegible] concert or concert,
such [illegible] as [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. A city
of [illegible], [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible].
[illegible] [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible].

example. It is possible that the four-acai feet that occur in these poems as noted by Chettiar[1] are the result of the mixture of this metre with āciriyam; such feet being in fact two feet of āciriyam or akaval. For example, Chettiar divides Puram.4, line 6, as follows:[2]

"Nilaikk' ŏrāav ilakkam ponrana,"

˘ - - - ˘˘ ˘ - - - ˘ ˘

nirainirainer nirainernernirai

and Puram.11, line 7, as follows:[3]

"Pāṭal cānra viral ventanumme."

- - - - ˘ - - ˘ - -

nernernerner nirainernirainer

He further says[4] that it is possible to regard these verses as having three-foot lines, according to Tŏl., Cĕyyuḷ.359, but he does not explain how seven acai in the first example and eight in the second would be apportioned among three feet without resulting in feet of one acai or two, both irregular in this metre, and it is clear that, in cū.359, Tŏl. was thinking of lines of nine acai or three vañciyuriccīr, an example of which has already been given.[5] In the next cūttiram, Tŏl. does mention the occurrence of a syllable as an additional foot in vañci, but no word in either line quoted by Chettiar consists of one syllable only, and it would be necessary to split up the words without regard for their formation.

It seems possible to regard both the abnormal vañci lines noted above as being mixtures of vañci and akaval metres. In the first example, we may divide the line as follows:

1. ASTP p.92. 2. Ibid.,p.92,fn.1. 3. Ibid.,fn.2. 4. Ibid.,fn.3
5. v.s., p.433.

"Nilaikk' ŏrāav ilakkam ponrana."
˘ ´ ˘ ´˘ ˘ ´ - ´ ˘ ˘
nirainirainer nirainer nernirai

The first three acai form a regular vañci foot of three acai, and the rest of the line is a half-line of akaval, both two-acai feet being perfectly regular for that metre. The change of rhythm in the course of the line will be apparent. The second irregular vañci line may be divided as follows:

"Pāṭal cānra viral ventanumme."
´ - ´ ˘ ˘ ´ - ˘ ´ -
nerner nerner nirainernirainer

The first two feet are a regular half-line of akaval, the third foot is one of four acai, such feet being mentioned by the author of Yāppu.[1] as Chettiar observes.[2] It would be possible to regard this line as being in akaval metre, were it not for the fact that to do so would entail splitting the word 'ventan' after its first syllable: '...viral ven tanumme.' This would not be permissible according to Tŏl.[3] It is however possible to impart to this line the rhythm of akaval, and the ictus has been marked accordingly.

The difference in rhythm between akaval and vañci has been demonstrated, and it has been seen that this is due both to the different lengths of their respective feet and to there being four feet per line in one and two in the other. Each metre thus has a distinctive rhythm. It may now be noted that there is mention in works on prosody of Ocai,[4] the rhythm peculiar to each of the four main metres of Tamil poetry.

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1. Yāppu.v.13: the vāypāṭu of this one is: puḷi mā narumpū.
2. ASTP p.92. 3. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.324. 4. Y.Kārikai.v.22; Ta.Lex.p.618.

The Ocai for Āciriyam metre is given as Akaval,[1] that for Vañcippā is Tūnkal,[2] that for Vĕṇpā is Cĕppal[3] and the ocai proper to Kalippā is Tuḷḷal.[4] The name for the ocai of Āciriyam, Akaval, is also commonly used for the metre itself by modern writers,[5] but a similar application of the other three ocai-names does not appear to be made.

The word akaval has the meaning calling, addressing, especially in a high tone, and is connected with the verb-root akavu-, sing, call.[6] Tūṅkal, connected with the verb-root tūṅku- sleep, swing, sway, has the meanings swinging, laziness, slow measure.[7] Cĕppal has the meanings saying, reciting, and is connected with the verb-root cĕppu-, say, tell.[8] Tuḷḷal has the meanings leaping, dancing, quick movement, and is connected with the verb-root tuḷḷu-, leap, frisk, trip along.[9] Since the ordinary meaning of ocai is sound, these terms were perhaps descriptive of the sound of each type of verse as it was recited. Āciriyam was likened to calling, and vañci to swinging since each of its lines contains but two feet. Kali produced a sound of tripping, while vĕṇpā was likened to ordinary speech.

It is of interest that the effect of calling or addressing was connected with the metre of so much bardic poetry addressed to patrons, and that that of ordinary speech was connected with vĕṇpā, the metre of a considerable amount of

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1. Y.kārikai.,v.22; Tŏl.Pŏruḷ.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.393. 2. Tŏl.ibid.,cū. 396. 3. Y.kārikai.,v.22; Tŏl.ibid.,cū.394 says the ocai of vĕṇpā is not akaval. 4. Tŏl.ibid.,cū.395. 5. e.g. Chettiar: ASTP,p.58. 6. Ta.Lex.,pp.14,15. 7. Ibid.,pp.2011-12. 8. Ibid., pp.1591; Te. cĕppuṭa, id. 9. Ibid.,pp.2000.

didactic poetry.[1] It is possible that the names for the ocai of the other two metres, vañci and kali, Tūṅkal and Tuḷḷal respectively, refer also to the function of poetry composed in those metres, and that the four ocai terms may be discussed at two levels:

Metre	Ocai	Descriptive	Functional
āciriyappā	akaval	calling	praśasti & court love poetry
vañcippā	tūṅkal	swinging	swing-song; cp. mod. ūñcalpāṭṭu
vĕṇpā	cĕppal	talking	discourse
kalippā	tuḷḷal	jumping	dance-drama

The suggestions contained in the last column are, it is realized, highly tentative. At the same time, it is clear from Puram.[2] that poets recited their compositions to musical accompaniment, and this in turn emphasizes the suggestions already made about the distinctive rhythms of metres, two of which, those of āciriyam and vañci, have already been exemplified as being in strong contrast one to another. There are also a number of anthology poems addressed to various types of dancer such as kūttar and Viraliyar. These latter, states Nacc.[3] exhibited the eight rasas by means of gesture, analogous no doubt to the mudras of dance performers of our own day. From such poems addressed to viraliyar[4] it is clear that poets were closely associated with these danseuses who perhaps performed in the course of recitation of poetry at court. It may be suggested that this was in mime illustrative of the poem being

1. e.g. Kuraḷ & Nālaṭiyār & other works among the Eighteen Minor works. 2. e.g. Puram.316; v.s. Chap.V,p.274. 3. Comm.on Tŏl. Pŏruḷ.Purat.cū.91,TSS i,p.282. 4. e.g. Puram.105; Patirru.V,49, VI,57,60,VIII,78,IX,87.

recited. Tuḷḷal may then refer to such dances performed during recitations of kali poems. It may be noted that, in Malayāḷam, both the terms Tuḷḷal and Kali are associated with well-known forms of dance-drama.[1]

Some examples of Kalippā may now be noted in connexion with cīr and the resultant ictus, and it will be seen to what extent the term tuḷḷal is descriptive of the rhythm of this type of verse.

Kali.35, lines 1 to 4, have already been noted[2] in connexion with acai, and these lines will now be given, divided according to the cīr:

"Maṭiyilān	cĕlvam pol	maran nantav	accĕlvam
˘ ˘ ˘ -	- - -	˘ - - ˘	- - -
nirainirai	nernerner	nirainerner	nernerner
"paṭiy uṇpār	nukarcci pol	pal cinai	Miṅir'ārppa
˘ ˘ - -	˘ - ˘ -	- ˘ -	˘ ˘ - ˘
nirainerner	nirainerner	nernirai	nirainerner
"māyavaḷ	meni pol	taḷir īnav	ammeni
- ˘ -	- ˘ -	˘ ˘ - ˘	- - ˘
nernirai	nernerner	nirainerner	nernerner
"tāya	cuṇaṅkŭ pol	taḷir micai	ttātuka ..."
- ˘	˘ - ˘ -	˘ - ˘ -	- ˘ ˘
nerner	niraipŭner	nirainirai	nernirai

It will be seen that, in the above, there are four cīr per line and that most cīr have three acai; these are two general rules for kalippā. The feet may end in ner or nirai, those that end in the former being in the majority in this example. It has already been seen[3] that three-acai feet ending in ner are

1. cf. Beryl de Zoete: The Other Mind, pp.90ff. 2. v.s. p.421.
3. v.s. pp.423 & 425 & Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.331.

considered peculiar to vĕṇpā metre, so that it is clear that this metre and vĕṇpā have features in common. Tŏl. says that[1] kalippā arose from vĕṇpā, and it will be found that the chief difference between the two is that the special rules regarding the sequence in which feet may occur in vĕṇpā[2] are not applied in kalippā. In both metres, lines commonly are of four feet and in both feet of two acai are also used.

The frequent occurrence of the feet ending in neraaai is striking, and in many cases these neracai are long syllables. These are often preceded by another long syllable, either a ner or the second syllable of an acai, so that the foot is notably 'heavier' in its latter portion. Such 'heavy' portions tend to alternate with pairs of short syllables, producing the tripping effect to which, as already seen,[3] the name tuḷḷalocai has been applied. It is possible that, as a result of the heavy endings to most of the feet of kalippā, the ictus was felt in the middle of each cīr rather than at the beginning:

"Vār uru	vaṇar aimpāl	vaṇaṅk'irai	nĕṭu men roḷ
´ ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ ´ -	˘ ´ ˘ -	˘ ˘ ´ -
nernirai	nirainerner	nirainirai	nirainerner
"perĕlin	malar uṇkaṇ	piṇaiy ĕlin	mā'nokkin
´ ˘ -	˘ ˘ ´ -	˘ ´ ˘ -	- ´ -
nernirai	nirainerner	nirainirai	nernerner
"kār ĕtir	taḷir meni	kkavin pĕru	cuṭar nutar
´ ˘ -	˘ - ´ -	˘ ´ ˘ ˘	˘ ´ ˘ -
nernirai	nirainerner	nirainirai	nirainirai
"kūr ĕyirrŭ	mukai vĕṇ par	kŏṭi puraiyu'	nukappināy ..."[4]
´ ˘ ´ ˘	˘ - ´ -	˘ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘	˘ ´ ˘ -

1. Cĕyyuḷ. cū. 420. 2. v.i. p.443. 3. v.s. p.438. 4. Kali. 58, ll. 1-4.

In the above, it will be seen that in many cases feet of both two and three acai commence with nirai, and therefore have one and often two short syllables at the beginning, alternating as observed with the heavier endings to the feet.[1] This is in marked contrast to vĕṇpā wherein, owing to the special rules governing the sequence of feet, the possibility of niraiyacai occurring at the beginning of a foot is limited. Consequently, most feet in vĕṇpā commence with a long syllable, since neracai is invariably long in this position.

It has already been seen[2] that these rules governing the sequence of feet, called Taḷai, are not among the 34 elements of prosody noted by Tŏl.,[3] who, after mentioning aṭi, line, lists Yāppu. This he explains[4] as the use made of the elements already noted from ĕḻuttu to aṭi.[5] It is therefore convenient to translate yāppu as prosody. It is significant that Tŏl. himself says that yāppu is the use of the elements listed beginning with ĕḻuttu, the second element in his list; he thus excludes from prosody māttirai, his first element,[6] which, as already seen, is in fact of no relevance to study of this Tamil poetry. From Per.'s commentary[7] on Tŏl. Cĕyyuḷ. cū. 390, it is clear that yāppu was taken as referring especially to the use made of the various types of cīr composed of the various acai and that made of lines of from two to four feet. There is,

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1. This is noted as Kalittaḷai in Yāppu., v. 20. 2. v.s. p. 412 & fn. 5. 3. In Cĕyyuḷ. cū. 313. 4. Ibid., cū. 390. 5. For these, v.s. p. 412, tab. 6. In Cĕyyuḷ. cū. 313. The exclusion of māttirai from discussion in connexion with yāppu is noted by Per., comm. on Tŏl. Cĕyyuḷ. cū. 390, TSS iii, p. 232. 7. On Tŏl. ibid., TSS iii, pp. 231-232.

however, no mention of the sequence of these feet within lines.

It is clear from Yāppu.[1] and Y.Kārikai.[2] that the most elaborate rules about Taḷai, sequence of feet, are those that concern vĕṇpā. Before discussing the use of cīr in this metre and its rhythm it will accordingly be useful to summarize these rules. Vĕṇṭaḷai, the sequence of feet in vĕṇpā, is divided into two, since there are separate rules to be followed when feet consist of two acai and of three. Since these feet are called respectively Iyarcīr and Vĕṇpāvuriccīr, the two types of sequence are termed Iyarcīr Vĕṇṭaḷai and Vĕṇcīr Vĕṇṭaḷai. After an Iyarcīr ending in a neracai (i.e. nerner or nirainer) the succeeding foot must commence with a niraiyacai. This is the only sequence in which a foot may so commence. In all other cases, a foot in vĕṇpā must commence with a neracai and therefore with a long syllable. The full set of possible sequences may be tabulated as follows:

Iyarcīr Vĕṇṭaḷai			Vĕṇcīr Vĕṇṭaḷai		
nerner		nirainer nirainirai	nernerner		nerner
nirainer	+	nirainerner nirainirainer	nirainerner nernirainer nirainirainer	+	nernirai nernerner nernirainer
nernirai		nerner ner nirai			
nirainirai	+	nernerner nernirainer			

It will be observed that there are 32 possible sequences of feet in vĕṇpā and that, of these, only eight permit the

1. Yāppu.vv.17-22. 2. Y.Kārikai.vv.10 & 11.

occurrence of a foot commencing with a nirai and therefore with a short syllable or two shorts. The only combination likely to entail a succession of such feet is the Iyarcīr Vĕṇṭaḷai one: nirainer + nirainer; as will readily be seen, this is 'self-perpetuating' and would result in what may loosely be called an anapaestic succession of feet.

Like those of kalippā, lines of vĕṇpā usually are of four feet, but the last line of a poem in this metre should be of three feet only, the last foot of the three to consist of but one acai.[1] As an illustration of this rule and of vĕṇṭaḷai and its resultant rhythm, Nālaṭi.180 may be quoted:

"Manattān	maruvilar	enun tāṅ	cerntav
˘ - -	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	- - -	- ˘
nirainer	nirainirai	nernerner	nerner
"inattāl	ikala	ppaṭuvar	punattŭ
˘ - -	˘ ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ -	˘ - ˘
nirainer	nirainer	nirainer	nirainer[2]
"vĕri kamal	cantanamum	veṅkaiyum	vemey
˘ ˘ ˘ -	- ˘ ˘ -	- - -	- -
nirainirai	nernirainer	nernerner	nerner
"ĕri punan	tīppaṭṭa	kkāl."	
˘ ˘ ˘ -	- - -	-	
nirainirai	nernerner	ner	

It will be seen that line 2 consists of a succession of nirainer feet for reasons of taḷai just noticed, and it may be suggested that ictus was felt on the first or second syllable of these iyarcīr as in akaval. Elsewhere, it may well have been made on the initial long syllables both of iyarcīr and vĕṇcīr.

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1. Yāppu.v.57. 2. Scanned according to Tŏl.'s rules, this is niraipu, and the verse therefore two couplets.

Vĕṇpā proper is of but little importance in the eight anthologies, since it occurs only in a few places in Pari.[1] It will be found, however, that a number of poems in Kali. satisfy all the requirements of vĕṇpā, differing from it only in respect of their length. According to Tŏl.,[2] a poem in vĕṇpā metre may be of from two to twelve lines in length. The Kali. poems that are composed in vĕṇpā metre wherein only vĕṇcīr and iyarcīr are used and strict Vĕṇṭaḷai is observed are, however, longer than twelve lines. For this reason, they are termed Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu. An example of these poems is Kali.51,[3] a poem of sixteen lines. The last line is of three feet as required in vĕṇpā, and its final foot is of one acai only:

"cĕytān a	kkaḷvan	makan."
- - -	- -	˘ -
nernerner	nerner	nirai

Lines 1 to 6 of this poem will be given as a further illustration of the vĕṇpā features already discussed. Vĕṇṭaḷai between the feet will be shown by the sign - indicating iyarcīr vĕṇṭaḷai and the sign = indicating vĕṇcīr vĕṇṭaḷai:

"Cuṭar ttŏṭĭi	keḷāy	tĕruvil nām	āṭum
˘ ´ ˘ -˘	´ -	´ ˘ - -	´ -
nirainirainer =	nerner -	nirainerner =	nerner -
"maṇar cirril	kālir	citaiyāv	aṭaicciya
˘ ´ - -	´ -	˘ ´ -	˘ ´ ˘ ˘
nirainerner =	nerner -	nirainer -	nirainirai -
"kotai parintŭ	parintŭ	vari ppantŭ	kŏṇṭ'oṭi
´ ˘	˘ ´ ˘	˘ ´ - ˘	´ - ˘
nerner -	nirainer-	nirainerner =	nernerner =

1. e.g. Pari.6. 2. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.420. 3. For translation of Kali.51, v.s. Chap.IX,p.388.

Vǫgsá proper is of but little importance in the eight mythologies, since it occurs only in a few places [illegible]. It will be found, however, that a number of poems in Hall. satisfy all the requirements of vǫgsá, differing from it only in respect of their length. According to Vol. [illegible] a poem in vǫgsá metre may be of from two to twelve lines in length. The Hall. poems that are composed in vǫgsá metre wherein only vengir and tvegir are used and strict vǫgsá is observed are, however, longer than twelve lines. For this reason, they are termed hálvǫgsáttr. An example of these poems is Hall. [illegible], poem of sixteen lines. The last line is of three feet as [illegible] in vǫgsá, and its line-foot is of one word only:

"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

- - - - - -

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Lines 1 to [illegible] of this poem will be given as a further illustration of the vǫgsá features already discussed. Vengir of three feet will be shown by the sign - [illegible] tvegir vengir and sér sign = [illegible]

"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

- - - - - -

[illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible]

- - - - - -

[illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible]

- - - - - -

[illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible]

- - - - - -

[illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible]

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1. e.g. Hall. [illegible]. Tól. [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible]. for transliteration of Hall. [illegible], v. [illegible] IX, p. [illegible].

"no takka	cĕyyuṅ	ciṟu paṭṭi	meḷ or nāḷ
´ - ˘	´ -	˘ ˘ ´ ˘	´ - ´
nernerner =	nerner -	nirainerner =	nernerner =
"aṉṉaiyum	yāṉum	iruntemo	illire
´ - -	´ -	˘ ´ - -	´ ˘ -
nernerner =	nerner -	nirainerner =	nernerner =
"uṇṇu'nīr	veṭṭeṉ	ĕṉa vantāṟk'	aṉṉai ..."
´ ˘ -	´ -	˘ ˘ ´ -	´ -
nernerner =	nerner -	nirainerner =	nerner - ...

It will be seen that, in the above, not only are the sequences of feet worked out according to vĕṇṭaḷai rules, but that there is a tendency for the same or a similar sequence of foot-patterns to be followed in each line. All the lines save line 3 have as their second foot nerner, and all save line 2 have the vĕṇcīr nirainerner as their third foot. Furthermore, the last three lines quoted have as their first foot nernerner.

It is possible that the irregularity of the rhythm of vĕṇpā led to the application to it of the ocai-term already noted, Cĕppalocai. At the same time, it may be noted that Tŏl. himself merely states[1] that "it (i.e. the ocai) is not that of vĕṇpā."[2] It is the commentator that explains this as referring to the previous cūttiram wherein the ocai of āciriyam is mentioned as being akaval.[3] It is he who gives to it the name cĕppalocai 'since it has the sound of two people conversing upon some matter in the ordinary way without calling out.'[4] It is possible then that the commentator gave the name cĕppalocai to that of

1. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.394. 2. "Aṉt'ānṟ'ĕṉpa vĕṇpā yāppe." 3. Per.comm., TSS iii,p.238. 4. "Akavi kkūṟṟātu ŏruvaṟk'ŏruvaṉ iyalpuvakaiyāṉe ŏru pŏrummai kaṭṭuraikkuṅkāl ĕḷum ocai Cĕppalocaiy ĕṉappaṭum." TSS iii,pp.238-9.

vĕṇpā to complete the set of four ocai, one each for the four main types of metre, since Tŏl. himself names the other three.[1]

It is clear that, in prosody of the period of the Tamil anthology poems, the cīr was the main unit of prosody and that the acai was the subsidiary unit. Three of the four main metres generally have lines of four cīr,[2] the type of cīr and sequence, taḷai, thereof determining the metre. The fourth metre, vañcippā, has lines of two cīr only. Not only is the cīr a unit of prosody but it is also of importance in the matter of ictus, especially in āciriyam and vañci metres, the metres with the most markedly contrasting rhythms.

Analogies between the terms acai and cīr and terms in Sanskrit prosody can hardly be made. Neither acai can be expressed in any one Sanskrit term since ner may be long or short, ga or la, and nirai a pyrrhic, lala, or an iambus, laga. Similarly, cīr, varying in the number of syllables they may include, cannot be compared to the gaṇas, the quantities of the three syllables of which are invariable. An analogy cannot be made even in the case of cīr of three syllables. For example, bhagaṇa, dactyl, (¯ ˘ ˘), and ragaṇa, cretic (¯ ˘ ¯), can both be expressed in terms of Tamil prosody as nernirai, an iyarcīr of two acai. Tagaṇa, antibacchic (¯ ¯ ˘), and magaṇa, molossus (¯ ¯ ¯), both can be considered in Tamil terms as the cīr of three acai nernerner.

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1. Akaval: Cĕyyuḷ.cū.393; Tuḷḷal: cū.395; Tūṅkal: cū.396.
2. As already noted, supra p.444, the last line of a poem of vĕṇpā is one of 3 feet. For exceptions in the case of āciriyam, v.i., p.464-467.

The fifth element of Tamil prosody according to Tŏl.[1] and Amitacākarar[2] is Aṭi. This term, like the Sanskrit Pāda, has the common meaning foot. Like it it is in prosody a recurring unit. But, unlike pāda, aṭi does not have implication of 'quarter verse' analogous to that of pāda in such metres as Anuṣṭubh. The only unit in the Tamil prosody under discussion commonly divided into four parts is aṭi, consisting as it does of four cīr, cīr being here translated foot.[3] Aṭi may be translated as line.[4] In vĕṇpā alone of the four main metres mentioned by Tŏl. do verses commonly consist of four lines, the final one being shorter than the others by one foot.[5]

Tŏl. says[6] that aṭi, line, is the largest unit of prosody. There is evidence that he graded lines according to the number of syllables they contain. This is the nearest approach to a syllabic count of lines or quarter-verses such as that made in the Akṣarachandas in Sanskrit prosody. It is possible that, in this sense alone, Tŏl. regarded aṭi as similar to pāda. However, he merely uses the number of syllables per line to determine its length and not its metre, for which, according to the criteria of Akṣarachandas, it would also be necessary to discuss the sequence of longs and shorts in any given number of syllables.[7]

Tŏl. states[8] that the short line, kuraḷaṭi, is one of

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1. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313. 2. Yāppu.v.1. 3. As already noted, the exception is the line of vañcippā and the final line of a vĕṇpā. 4. PSS Sastri translates aṭi as foot, and consequently translates Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.469 as "..ēciriyappā ranges from thousand to three feet." vide JORM XXIII(1954)p.55. We recall a mis-translation of Āyirakkāl Maṇṭapam, a hall in the Cidambaram temple. 5. Nericai vĕṇpā: Yāppu.v.60. In later T.prosody, metres such as viruttam have 4-line verses. 6. cū.346. 7. cf. Śikhariṇī & Mandākrāntā, pādas of which have 17 syll. 8. cū.348.

The fifth element of Tamil prosody according to Tol.[1] and Amitacaliyar is Ati. This term, like the generic pāda, has the common meaning foot. Like it is in prosody a recurring unit. But, unlike pāda, ati does not have implication of 'metrical verse' analogous to that of pāda in such metres as ātiyaṭi. The ati unit in the Tamil prosody under discussion commonly divides into four parts in ati, counting as itcōṟa of four eṟi, ati being more complicated foot. Ati may be translated as line.

In vōṟā alone or the four main metres mentioned by Tol. 20 verses commonly consist of four lines, the first one being shorter than the others by one foot.

Tol. says that ati, line, is the largest unit of prosody. There is evidence that the prakrit lines according to the number of syllables they contain. This is the nearest approach to a syllabic count of lines or quarter-verses such as that made in the Aṉṟaccōṟṟu in Sanskrit prosody. It is possible that, in this sense alone, Tol. regarded ati as similar to pāda. However, he merely uses the number of syllables per line to determine its length and not its metre, for which, according to the criteria of Aṉṟaccōṟṟu, it would also be necessary to discuss the sequence of longs and shorts in any given number of syllables.[2]

Tol. states[3] that the short line, kuṟaḷ, is one of

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1. Cōṟpaḷ.cū.318. 2. Yēpam.v.1. 3. As already noted, the exception is the line or vehicles and the final line of a verse. 4. Pēs sentri tāmpalinta eṟi as foot, and consequently tāmpalinta Tol.Cōṟpaḷ.cū.22. 5. Referring ranges from thousand to three feet. " vide Ṉāṉ XXIII(1924).80. We recall a mid-translation of Aṉṟaccōṟṟu, a built in the Gōṅkuṭaṟam temple. 6. Metrical Yāpp. Iṉam.v.6. In later prosody, metres such as vittam have 4-interstices. 7. op.cū. 8. op.cū. 9. op. Nikantiyā Kuṟaccāṟṟu of which Nav.Ā.Ā. 10. op.cū.

from four to six ĕlutu, syllables. The cint'aţi, 'dwarf' line, contains from seven to nine syllables, the standard line, aḷavaţi or neraţi is of from ten to fourteen syllables, the long line, nĕţilaţi is one of from fifteen to seventeen syllables, and the over-long line, kalinĕţilaţi contains from eighteen to twenty syllables.[1] Examples of all of these are given by Per.[2] It is of interest to note that the example of kuraḷaţi is printed as though aţi here meant half-line, for, as given, the printed line contains eight syllables, two more than kuraḷaţi may contain. In the examples of cint'aţi and longer lines, however, it is clear that aţi in fact means line, since in the examples of cint'aţi, for instance, there are eight syllables in two of the lines given and nine in the third. It is possible that the TSS editors or an MS copyist erred in giving as one line the kuraḷaţi examples.

Later prosodists follow the same fivefold classification of the line according to its length, but adopt as the determining factor the number of feet per line. Set alongside the length of line as defined by Tŏl., the later arrangement is:

	Tŏl. Cĕyyuḷ. 348-352.	e.g. Y. Kārikai. v. 12.
Kuraḷaţi	4-6 syllables	2 cīr
Cint'aţi	7-9 "	3 "
Aḷavaţi	10-14 "	4 "
Nĕţilaţi	15-17 "	5 "
Kalinĕţil:	18-20 "	more than 5 cīr.

It will be observed that the author of Y. Kārikai.

1. Tŏl. Cĕyyuḷ. cū. 349-352. 2. Comm., TSS iii, p. 178.

regards the standard line as one of four feet. This agrees with the view of Tŏl.[1] As noted by Dr.A.C.Chettiar,[2] none of the later Tamil prosodists adopted the number of syllables in a line as a criterion of its length. This further emphasizes the importance of the foot in Tamil prosody. It may be said that, as with metres in Greek and Latin poetry, Tamil metres were differentiated by the types of foot permitted in them and to some extent by the number of feet per line. It has been seen that three of the main metres have lines of four feet and that, in the case of two of these, vĕṇpā and āciriyam, there are regular exceptions to this.[3] Vañci metre is distinct from the other three inasmuch as its lines are normally of two feet. It alone of the four, then, does not include lines of standard length according to the view of Tŏl. and the author of Y.Kārikai.

It has been seen that the first five elements of prosody listed by Tŏl.,[4] māttirai, ĕḻuttu, acai, cīr and aṭi are in fact units of prosody mentioned by him in order of increasing length or duration. The first is dismissed by him and is clearly irrelevant to the study of Tamil prosody of this period.

The remaining elements of prosody relate either to verse-form or to subject-matter; many of these latter, such as tiṇai and mĕyppāṭu relate to what is herein called poetics and have already been discussed.[5]

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1. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.344. 2. ASTP p.30. 3. v.s. pp.444 & 447 fn.2. 4. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313. 5. Tiṇai: Tŏl.Akat. & Puṟat. passim; v.s. Chap.II,pp.20-70. Mĕyppāṭu: Tŏl.Mĕyppāṭṭiyal passim; v.s. Chap.II pp.70-79. These are discussed but cursorily in Cĕyyuḷ.: Tiṇai in cū.497 & seqq., Mĕyppāṭu in cū.516.

Tŏl.'s sixth element of prosody is Yăppu.[1] It has already been seen[2] that this is the use made of ĕluttu, acai, cīr and aṭi.[3] Tŏl. further says[4] that verse so produced in the land of the three kings is suitable for pāṭṭu, poetry, urai, commentary, nūl, treatise, vāymoli, orally-transmitted verse, pici, riddle, aṅkatam, lampoon and mutucŏl, proverb.

Yăppu is not found in the list of elements of prosody in Yăppu., where, in its place appears Taḷai which has already been discussed with reference to vĕṇpā.[5] Its use in other metres is less elaborate and will be noticed when they are under further discussion.[6]

Tūkku, the eighth element of prosody listed by Tŏl.[1], is defined as the pause made between one line or verse and the next that helps to determine the rhythm.[7] Tŏl. further says[8] that Tūkku is the same as ocai already described by him.[9] Commenting on this, Per. says that[10] such pauses may be made after every four or two cīr in akaval metre, but not after groups of three, and that the tūṅkalocai of vañci may be marked by pauses every two feet. As already noted,[11] the tūkku for all the extant poems in Patirru. is given in the colophons to those poems as Cĕntūkku. All these poems are in āciriyam or akaval metre, and it is possible that, to the writer of the colophons, tūkku meant metre, the meaning it clearly has to the commentator

1. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313. 2. v.s. pp.412 & 442. 3. cū.390. 4. cū.391. 5. v.s. pp.443-446. 6. v.i. pp.464. 7. Per. on cū.313, TSS iii,pp.114,119. 8. cū.399. 9. in cū.393-398. 10. Per.on cū. 399, TSS iii,pp.241-242. 11. v.s. Chap.VI,p.288.

on Yāppu.[1]

Tŏl.'s 26th. element of prosody, vaṇṇam, may next be noted as it, too, is of rhythmic significance. Per. says[2] that vaṇṇam concerns the ocai of a poem, and this is clear from Tŏl.'s definitions of some of the twenty types of vaṇṇam he lists.[3] For instance, Ŏlukuvaṇṇam, wherein the verse flows evenly, is given in the colophons to a number of Patirru. poems[4] as the vaṇṇam of those akaval-metre praśastis. Pāavaṇṇam, also called Cŏrcīrvaṇṇam, is the rhythmic effect produced by verse wherein feet coincide with words.[5] This also appears in the colophons to Patirru. poems,[6] always alongside Ŏlukuvaṇṇam which is mentioned most frequently. As an example of poetry said to produce both types of vaṇṇam, Patirru. II,19, lines 1 to 4 may be quoted:

"Kŏḷḷai	valci	kkavar kār	kūḷiyar
´ -	´ -	˘ ´ -	´ ˘ -
nerner	nerner	nirainer	nernirai
"kalluṭai	nĕṭu nĕri	polntŭ	curan aruppa
´ ˘ -	´ ˘ ˘ ˘	´ ˘	´ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘
nernirai	nirainirai	nerpŭ	nirainirainer[7]
"ŏṇ pŏri	kkalal kāl	mārā	vayavar
´ ˘ ˘	˘ ´ -	´ -	´ ˘ -
nernirai	nirainer	nerner	nirainer
"tiṇ piṇiy ĕhkam		puliy urai	kalippa ... "
´ ˘ ˘	´ -	´ ˘ ˘ -	˘ ´ ˘
nernirai	nerner	nirainirai	nirainer

Tūṅkalvaṇṇam is found in vañci poetry.[8] Here, the term is almost

1. p.17. Elements 1-6 are each considered in 1 section of the first part of Yāppu., but the 7th. in the whole of the second part, called Cĕyyuḷiyal. 2. TSS iii,p.116. 3. cū.525. 4. e.g. to Patirru.II,11,14; for Olukuv: see Tŏl.cū.538. 5. cū.526. 6. e.g. to II,14,19. 7. Irreg.,perhaps to keep foot-word coincidence. 8. cū.542.

synonymous with tūṅkalocai, since both terms refer to the effect of swinging conveyed by vañci poetry. A number of vaṇṇam are, however, suggested by the predominance of certain types of consonants or of long or short vowels. For example, Mĕllicai-vaṇṇam is one produced by verse that has an abundance of nasals.[1] The commentator Per. gives this example:[2]

Pŏnnin anna punnai nuṇṭātu.

Kuruñcīr vaṇṇam is produced by an abundance of short vowels:[3]

Kuraṅk'uḷai ppŏlinta koy cuvar puravi.[4]

It is clear that vaṇṇam is to be ascertained from the effect of the sound of verse as well as from its rhythm, and may be regarded as rhythmic effect rather than the rhythm itself. The predominance of any one consonant or type of consonant or of long or short vowels is condemned as a fault of Kauṭanĕri (Gauḍa style) by the commentator[5] on Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram, who, with the author of this text, thus follows Daṇḍin.[6] Tŏl. clearly takes the opposite view, since he does not qualify as faults any of the vaṇṇam listed by him.

Two other general elements of prosody listed by Tŏl.[7] may be noticed here before discussing verse-form in connexion with the four main types of metre. These are the tenth element, Nokku, and the ninth, Tŏṭai.

Nokku is defined by Tŏl.[8] as a device, kāraṇam, to draw the attention of the audience to the units of prosody

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1. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.529. 2. Tŏl.TSS iii,p.420. 3. cū.533. 4. Per.comm.,TSS iii,p.421. 5. Taṇṭi.,TSS edn.,pp.13,14,15-17: comm.on Taṇṭi.cū.16 which defines cĕrivu (ślisṭa) & cū.17, camanilai (samatā). 6. Exceptions are made in the case of Maṭakku, Yamaka, using only 1 cons. or vowel or class thereof; see Taṇṭi. cū.97 & comm. 7. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313. 8. cū.416.

already mentioned by him,[1] and to their use in poetic creation. P.S.S.Sastri[2] translates nokku as Grace, and says that "it is the nokku that distinguishes a poetic verse from a versified prose."[3] From Per.'s commentary on Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.416,[4] it is clear that he understood nokku as the arresting use of karuppŏruḷ, mutarpŏruḷ and other matters connected with the akattiṇai,[5] without which, by implication, poetry is not poetry. He quotes Akam.4, a poem wherein the companion points out to the heroine what season it is. The mention of mullai, jasmine, kār, the rains, and kāṉam, the forest, clearly show the hearer that not only is the companion talking of the rainy season that was poetically associated with mullai[6], but that the heroine is awaiting the return of her lover, since the urippŏruḷ of mullai is iruttal, awaiting.[7] She emphasizes the love the hero bears for the heroine by calling him 'lord of the hills'[8] and by mentioning the kāntaḷ, gloriosa, that grows in the hills.[9] She thereby hints that the desire of the hero is for puṇartal, union with the beloved.[10] She shows his impatience with the time his return journey is taking by speaking of the mane of his horse streaming in the wind as it eagerly returns homeward.[11]

It is clear that the use of the akattiṇai and their associated mutal-, karu- and urippŏruḷ such as that made in the Akam. poem quoted by Per., was essential if the hearer was to

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1. i.e. Māttirai to Aṭi incl. Mention of māttirai here is noteworthy, & was presumably for completeness' sake. 2. JORM XXII, (1954)p.44. 3. ibid.,p.45. 4. TSS iii,pp.279-80. 5. For these, v.s. Chap.II,pp.20-38. 6. Tŏl.Akat.cū.6: "Kāru'mālaiyu'mullai.." 7. Tŏl.Akat.cū.14 & Nacc.,TSS i,p.37; v.s. Chap.II,p.24. 8. Akam.4,l.13: 'Kurumpŏrai nāṭan.' 9. l.15. 10. The urippŏruḷ of Kuriṅci, hill-tract; Tŏl.Akat.cū.14 & Nacc.ibid. v.s. Chap.II, p.24. 11. Akam.4,l.8.

regard what he had listened to as truly a poem.[1] Such matters of subject were clearly complementary to the actual versification employing the units of prosody as defined by Tŏl., and drew the attention of the audience to the fact that it was a poem that they had heard. In the light of this, nokku is mentioned by Tŏl. as an element of prosody, and may be regarded as a device for turning verse into poetry according to the aesthetic criteria of this literature.

The ninth element of prosody listed by Tŏl.[2] is Tŏṭai. This concerns versification, and corresponds to the Sanskrit term Anuprāsa. Dr. A.C.Chettiar has translated Tŏṭai as Rhyming,[3] but it is proposed herein to translate tŏṭai as Alliteration, for it invdves the leading syllable or syllables of lines of verse as well as final ones.

Tŏṭai is regarded by Tŏl. as of eight kinds. The first four he lists[4] are Mon̲ai, Ĕtukai, Muraṇ and Iyaipu, and, as will shortly be seen, these are the most distinctive types. Tŏl. lists four other kinds of tŏṭai: Aḷapĕṭai,[5] Pŏl̲ippu, Ŏrūu and Cĕntŏṭai.[6] The first three of these latter may be regarded as varieties or special applications of Mon̲ai and Ĕtukai, and were so regarded by later prosodists. Cĕntŏṭai is defined by Tŏl.[7] as any tŏṭai that differs from the other seven kinds mentioned by him. In practice Cĕntŏṭai may imply the virtual absence of any tŏṭai[8] and, in this sense, may loosely be suggested by the term Blank

1. It may be suggested that this concept was also applied to use of the puṟattiṇai. 2. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313. 3. ASTP p.49. 4. cū. 400. 5. cū.401. 6. cū.402. 7. cū.412. 8. ef. the example of Cĕntŏṭai cited by Per., comm.on cū.412, TSS iii,p.271; it is Akam.270,ll.1-4,5-6. In these 6 lines, the first syllables of two pairs of feet only alliterate.

Verse. Tŏl. says[1] that tŏṭai of any kind may occur in successive lines of poetry or in successive feet. The former is called Niraṉiraittŏṭai, the latter Iraṭṭaittŏṭai.[2]

Moṉai is defined by Tŏl.[3] as the alliteration of the initial syllables of successive lines of verse. Per. gives the following example from Puṟam.[4]:

"KOTAI mārpiṟ KOTAIY āṉum
KOTAIYai ppuṇarntor KOTAIY ānum." [5]

From this it is clear that not only could initial syllables alliterate, but that whole words could be repeated in tŏṭai. Such repetition of words in tŏṭai will here be called chiming. The following is an instance of alliteration only in successive lines: "KAḷiṟu KAṭaiiya tāḷ
KAḻal urīiya tirunt'aṭi
KKAṇai pŏrutu KAvivaṇkaiyāṟ
KAṇṇ ŏḷir varūuṁ KAviṉ cāpattu ..." [6]

It will be seen that, as in the example of Moṉai cited by Per., this may occur at the half-line as well as at the commencement of each line. Prosodists after Tŏl. felt it necessary to subdivide Moṉai in order to take into account such special uses of it. Moṉai is therefore subdivided according to whether the first and second feet of each line alliterate, the first and third, the first and fourth, and so on, according to the following scheme. It is worked out for normal lines of four cīr, and those in which moṉai takes place are represented by A, the non-

1. cū.403. 2. Per.on cū.403: TSS iii,p.244. 3. cū.404. 4. Per. on cū.404: p.246. 5. Puram.48,ll.1-2. Here, & in all other exs. of tŏṭai, alliterating syllables or chimed words will be shown in caps. 6. Puṟam.7,ll.1-2.

alliterating cīr by x, y, z:[1]

cīr	cīr	cīr	cīr	Var. name
A	A	x	y	Iṇaimoṉai
A	x	A	y	pōlippumoṉai
A	x	y	A	ŏrūu- "
A	A	A	x	kūlai-
A	x	A	A	meṟkatu-
A	A	x	A	kīḷkkatu- [2]
A	A	A	A	muṟṟu.

The normal variety wherein successive lines have moṉai:

A	x	y	z
A	a	b	c

is herein not listed and, including it, the author of Y.kārikai. recognizes eight types of moṉai.

The second type of tŏṭai listed by Tŏl.[3] is Ĕtukai, and he defines it[4] as alliteration of syllables other than the first in successive lines or feet. Per. gives the following example:[5]

AṬAL Amar veṉokki niṉ mukaṅ kaṇṭey
uṬALUm irint'oṭum ūḷ malarum PĀrkkuṅ
kaṬALUṅ kaṉaiy iruḷum ămpalum PĀmpum
taṬA matiyam ăm ĕṉṟu tăm.

It will be seen that the second syllable in each line is ṭa, and that, in addition, there is ĕtukai in the third syllable, since in the first three lines the same consonant appears albeit followed by a different vowel.[6] Instances of moṉai also occur, between the fourth feet of lines two and three, and between the first and second feet of line three. This latter is an example of Iṇaimoṉai as noted in Y.kārikai.[2]

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1. Without implying that they too are alliterating or otherwise.
2. Y.kārikai.v.20 comm.,TSS edn.,p.52. 3. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.400.
4. cū.405. 5. Comm.on cū.403,TSS iii,p.245. 6. This is sanctioned by Tŏl. in cū.406 & by Per.,comm.thereon, TSS iii, pp.252-3.

Ĕtukai also is considered by later prosodists[1] as being of eight kinds, the normal variety as just illustrated and seven others. These are given the same seven varietal names as the seven varieties of monai just noticed. The scheme is identical to that of the monai possibilities, and need not be further illustrated.

Iyaipu may truly be called rhyming, as it is the term used for the repetition of the final syllable in successive lines or feet or of final feet in successive lines. An example given in the commentary to Tŏl. Cĕyyuḷ. cū. 408[2] illustrates the rhyming of a final syllable:

"Avaro vārār kār vant'anRE
kŏṭi taru mullaiyuṅ kaṭit'arump'ĭnRE."[3]

Another example in the same commentary[2] illustrates the rhyming of the final foot in two successive lines:

Paravai mākkaṭar rŏku tirai VARAVUM
paṇṭai ccĕytiy inr'ivaḷ VARAVUM.

Iyaiputtŏṭai is subdivided into eight varieties by the commentator on Y.kārikai.[4] The same set of names as already noticed in connexion with the monai varieties is used, and is applied as follows; Rh represents feet in which rhyming takes place, and others are represented here by x, y:

x	y	Rh	Rh	Iṇaiyiyaipu
x	Rh	y	Rh	pŏlippu- "
Rh	x	y	Rh	ŏrūu-
x	Rh	Rh	Rh	kūlai-
Rh	Rh	x	Rh	merkatu-
Rh	x	Rh	Rh	kīlkkatu-
Rh	Rh	Rh	Rh	murru-.

1. cf. Y.kārikai.v.20 & comm.,TSS p.53. 2. Tŏl.,TSS iii,p.261.
3. Kurun.221,acc.TSS ibid. 4. Y.kārikai.,comm.,p.52.

This scheme may be called a 'mirror image' of that already noted in connexion with monai. Similarly, it does not take into account the normal iyaipu between the final feet or syllables of successive lines:

x	y	z	Rh
a	b	c	Rh.

Before discussing Muraṇṭŏṭai, the fourth main type of tŏṭai listed by Tŏl.,[1] the four other types he defines may be noted, since they will be regarded as subordinate to monai and ĕtukai already described.

Aḷapĕṭaittŏṭai is the term for alliteration of over-long vowels appearing as the first syllable of successive lines.[2] Since such vowels are less common initially than after a consonant, and tŏṭai is considered to be valid even if such over-long vowels are different in each line, it may be possible to term this device chiming also. It is similar to monai, but is the chiming of the vowel instead of alliteration of the consonant. The commentary on Tŏl.cū.409 gives as an example:[3]

"PĀAL añcĕvi ppaṇai ttāṇ mā nirai
mĀAL yānaiyŏṭu maravar mayaṅki."[4]

Aḷapĕṭaittŏṭai is also considered by the commentator on Y.kārikai to be of eight kinds including the normal variety exemplified above. Similar varietal names as for monai and iyaipu are given,[5] and the example of one of these varieties, Murr'aḷapĕṭaittŏṭai, shows the chiming of dissimilar over-long vowels:

ĀAn ĀA nĪI' ṇĪIr.[6]

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1. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.400. 2. cū.409. 3. TSS iii,p.261.
4. Kali.5,11.1,2. 5. Y.kārikai.comm.,TSS pp.53-4. 6. Ibid.,p.54.

Pŏlippu and Ŏrūu are both defined as varieties of ĕtukai by Tŏl.[1] The former term relates to ĕtukai in alternate feet of the same line, the latter to ĕtukai in the first and last foot of a line, interrupted by two non-alliterating feet. It has been seen that these two terms were later used to describe but two of the seven varieties of ĕtukai occurring within a line[2] and that the same terms were used to describe parallel occurrences of monai[3] and aḷapĕṭaittŏṭai.[4] These terms are also used by the commentator on Y.kārikai.[5] to describe two varieties of Muraṇṭŏṭai, as will shortly be seen.

The last type of tŏṭai mentioned by Tŏl. is Cĕntŏṭai, which he defines as any tŏṭai that differs from the other seven he mentions.[6] It has already been suggested that Cĕntŏṭai may imply the virtual absence of any tŏṭai,[7] as is clear from the example quoted by Per.[8] In it, there is monai between the first syllables of the second feet of lines 1 and 2, and ĕtukai between the second syllables of the second and third feet in line 2:

"Iruṅkali MAlarnta vaḷḷ ital nīlam
pulāan MARUkir ciRU kuṭi ppākkatt'
inamīn veṭṭuvar ṅālalŏṭum ilaiyum
ĕllam pulampa nĕkilntana toḷe."

Among the four main tŏṭai listed by Tŏl.,[9] Muraṇ has been held over for consideration because it differs from all other types of tŏṭai Tŏl. or other writers envisage in that it involves subject-matter as well as words or syllables. Muraṇ is

1. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.410,411. 2. v.s. p.458. 3. v.s. p.457. 4. v.s. p.459. 5. Y.kārikai.,TSS p.53. 6. cū.412. 7. v.s. p.455. 8. Akam.270,ll.1-4; Per.comm.,Tŏl.TSS iii,p.271. 9. In cū.400.

defined by Tŏl.[1] as the Muraṇ, opposition or antithesis, of rhyming or alliterating syllables in lines of poetry wherein at the same time the ideas expressed may also be opposed. The commentary to Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.407[2] gives this fivefold scheme for Muraṇṭŏṭai:

word vs. word

idea vs. idea

word vs. idea vs. word

word vs. idea vs. idea

word vs. idea vs. word vs. idea.

Per. gives the following as an illustration of the first type of Muraṇ, opposition of words in an alliterative scheme:[3]

"CĔVVI văytta cĕmpăṭ ṭīrattu

VĔḶḶAI vĕṇmari mey pulatt'ŏḻiya."

He gives the following to illustrate opposed ideas:[3]

"NĪROR anna căyar

ṚĪYOR annav ĕnn uraṇ avitt'anre."[4]

Herein, the poet compares the tenderness of the beloved to water, and the valour of her lover to fire, with a clear antithesis of idea. At the same time, there is monai and ĕtukai of the first and second syllable, since N and T (Ṛ in sandhi after căyal) are of one varga and so are R and Y, and such alliteration is noted by Tŏl.[5] Per. gives[3] the following to illustrate the third type of muraṇ envisaged wherein there is antithesis both in word and idea:

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1. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.407. 2. Per.Comm.,TSS iii,pp.259-60.
3. Comm.,ibid.,p.260. 4. Kuṛun.95,ll.4,5. 5. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.406.

"TAṆṆIYAL arra tayaṅk'aral kāṉattu

VĔṆṆĪR ppŏru'ṇacaii munni ccĕṉrār."

Here, coolness is opposed to warmth and there is an antithetical monai and ĕtukai in the first two syllables of each line.

As was noted in the case of other tŏṭai, Muraṇ has been further elaborated by the commentator to Y.kārikai.,[1] who notices seven varieties that bear the names used for the varieties of monai and other tŏṭai already noticed.[2] There seems no attempt to stress antithesis of alliteration or rhyme, but only that of subject-matter. The scheme is as follows; here, contrasted ideas are represented by A, B, C, 'neutral' ones by x and y:

A	B	x	y	Iṇaimuraṇṭŏṭai
A	x	B	y	pŏlippu- "
A	x	y	B	ŏrūu-
A	B	C	x	kūlaṟ-
A	x	B	C	merkatu-
A	B	x	C	kīkkatu-
A	B	C and	D	murru-.

In the example of Iṇaimuraṇ:

CĪRAṬI PER AKAL alkul ŏlkupu,

the ideas in the first and second feet are opposed; cīraṭi, small feet, are opposed as a concept to per akal (alkul), large, broad hips. In the example given to show Murrumuraṇ:

TUVAR vāy TTIŃ cŏlum UVANT'ĕṉai MUṆIYātu,

-"From a sour mouth with words yet sweet, pleasing me without any annoyance",

the ideas in the first two feet are antithetical one to another, as are those in the third and fourth feet.

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1. Y.kārikai.,TSS edn.,p.53. 2. v.s. p.457, table.

To conclude this discussion of Tamil prosody as it concerns the anthology poems, verse-form will now be considered. The two elements of prosody listed by Tŏl.[1] that are of relevance to this subject are the eleventh, Pā, and the twelfth, Aḷavu, and Tŏl.[2] discusses them in Cĕyyuḷiyal in eighty cūttirams Aḷavu is the term for the length of any poem, and Tŏl. says[3] that this has to be considered in connexion with the various metres. It is clear then that not only are there four main metres, āciriyappā, vañcippā, vĕṇpā and kalippā, but that poems in these metres are required to conform to certain limits of length. This has already been observed[4] in the case of vĕṇpā, when it was seen that poems in this metre may be of from two to twelve lines. Tŏl. states[5] that a poem in āciriyam may be of from three to one thousand lines, and that[6] there is no limit for Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu and verses about the akattiṇai Kaikkiḷai.[7] The poems in a mixture of metres known as Paripāṭal[8] may be of from 25 to 400 lines in length.[9] Tŏl. does not prescribe any limits for poems in vañcippā.

As has already been seen, Pā means metre,[10] and this term has already been noticed since it is appended[11] to the names for the four main metres, Āciriyam, Vĕṇpā, Vañci and Kali. It is, however, proper to regard Pā as also meaning a poem in one or other of these metres.[12] In this sense the

1. In Cĕyyuḷ.cū.313. 2. Pā: cū.417-495; Aḷavu: cū.496. 3. cū.475, closely paralleled by cū.496. P.S.S.Sastri suggests that cū.475 is redundant: JORM XXIV(1955)p.57. 4. v.s. p.445. 5. cū.469. 6. cū.472. 7. For kaikkiḷai, v.s. Chap.II, pp.29-32. 8. cū.432; v.s. Chap.IX,p.394. 9. cū.474. 10. v.s. p.411. 11. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.417 & 419. 12. cf. Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam,cū.711.

various rules about Aḷavu just noted may be applied to Pā. These rules are relevant to any study of the verse-forms of poems in āciriyam and vĕṇpā metres and of poems in mixed metre called Paripāṭal.

The requirements as to the types of acai and feet in the four metres have already been discussed, as has taḷai, sequence of feet, in connexion with vĕṇpā.[1] It has also been seen that three of the main metres, āciriyam or akaval, vĕṇpā and kali commonly have lines of four feet, but that lines of two feet are the regular requirement of vañci poems. Doubtless it was for this reason that Tŏl. regarded[2] the normal line as one containing four feet. Certain variations of this, however, are found in the various metres, as has already been discussed in the case of vĕṇpā.[3]

In āciriyam, the metre of most of the anthology poems, it will be found that in most poems there are four feet in every line save the penultimate, in which there are three feet only. This applies whatever the length of the poem, and it may be suggested that this shortened line gave, in the course of oral recitation, the sign of the approaching end of the poem. Kuṟun. 3, a poem in akaval of four lines, may be cited as a poem typical of this form:

"Nilattiṉum pĕrite vāṉiṉum uyarnt'aṉṟŭ
˘ ´ ˘ – ´ ˘ – ´ ˘ ˘ ˘ ´ – ˘
nirainirai nirainer nernirai nirainerpŭ

"nīriṉum ār aḷav' iṉṟe cārar
´ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘ ˘ ´ – ´ –
nernirai nernirai nerner nerner

1. v.s. pp.442-3. 2. cū.344. 3. v.s. p.444.

"karuṅkor kuriṅci ppūkkŏṇṭŭ
˘ ´ - ˘ ´ - ´ - ˘
nirainer nirainer nernerpŭ
"pĕrunten ilaikku' nāṭanŏṭŭ naṭpe."
˘ ´ - ˘ ´ ˘ ´ ˘ ˘ ˘ ´ -
nirainer nirainer nerniraipŭ nerner

The last three lines of Pattu., Maturaikkāṅci, a poem of 782 lines, are as follows:

"Maṇankamal teran maṭuppa nāḷu'
makilnt'init' uraimati pĕruma
varaintŭ nī pĕrra nallūliyaiye."

In both these examples, it will be seen that the feet of the penultimate line are iyarcīr or uriccīr as for other akaval lines, and it may be stated that no special feet are introduced in these three-foot lines.

This, then, is the normal ending to a poem in āciriyam, and is the one described by Tŏl.[1] As Chettiar observes,[2] Tŏl. does not note any variant types of āciriyam poem. Later prosodists such as Amitacākarar, however, enumerate four types of poem in this metre.[3] These are:

Nericaiy āciriyappā: the normal type as noted above.

Iṇaikkuraḷ-: The first and last lines are of four feet, but the intervening lines may contain two, three or four feet.

Aṭimari maṇṭilav-: All lines contain four feet, and, since each line constitutes a separate sentence, the lines are interchangeable.

Nilaimaṇṭilav-: All lines contain four feet.

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1. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.380. 2. ASTP p.63. 3. e.g. Yāppu.v.70,vv.71-74.

Chettiar[1] has shown that in five of the anthologies a number of poems occur that may be called Nilaimaṇṭilam, although such a variety of āciriyappā is not noted by Tŏl. There is one such poem in Patirru.[2] and nineteen in Puram.[3] Chettiar demonstrates[4] in connexion with Aṭimarimaṇṭilavāciriyam that separate classification according to interchangeability of lines was not envisaged by Tŏl., and that this feature may be found in poems in metres other than āciriyam. There are a number of poems of the Iṇaikkuraḷ type in both Puram. and Patirru., and, while Tŏl. does not mention āciriyappā of this type, he does say that both vĕṇpāvuriccīr[5] and vañciyuriccīr[6] may occur in lines of āciriyam for the sake of sweetness. It has already been seen[7] that there are a number of vañci passages in akaval poetry, and it was suggested that such a change was introduced for aesthetic reasons. In some cases, however, the number of lines in vañci metre is so few or their structure is so irregular that the term vañcippā can hardly be applied to the poems that contain them. An example is Patirru.VII, 70. This poem of 27 lines begins with four two-foot lines while the remainder are regular lines of āciriyam. Three of the two-foot lines have as their second a foot of one acai only; the first feet of lines 1 and two are vañciyuriccīr, those of lines 3 and 4 are vĕṇpāvuriccīr. The second foot of line 4 is a two-foot āciriyavuriccīr, perhaps to ease the transition into regular akaval commencing with line 5. Chettiar regards this poem as an

1. ASTP p.77. 2. V,50. 3. e.g. Puram.138,147. 4. ASTP pp.81ff. 5. In cū.342; for these feet, v.s. p.425. 6. In cū.343; for these,v.s. p.426. 7. v.s. pp.434-437.

instance of iṇaikkuṟaḷ,[1] although it does not commence with a regular line of akaval metre. Lines 1 to 5 are as follows:

"Kaḷirŭ kaṭaiiya tāḷ
´ ˘ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘ ˘ ´
niraipŭnirainirai ner =vańciyuri + 1-acai

"māv uṭarriya vaṭimpŭ
´ ˘ ´ ˘ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘
nernirainirai niraipŭ " + "

"caman tatainta vel
˘ ´ ˘ ´ ˘ ´
nirainirainer ner =vĕṇpāvuri + "

"vill alaitta nal valattŭ "
´ ˘ ´ ˘ ´ ˘ ´ ˘
nernirainer nerniraipŭ " + 2-acai

"vaṇṭ'icai kaṭāvā ttaṇ paṇam pontai ..."
´ ˘ - ˘ ´ - ´ ˘ - ´ -
nernirai nirainer nernirai nerner

It will be seen that, despite their different structures in terms of acai, lines 2 and 4 exhibit an almost identical trochaic rhythm, alternating with the falling rhythm of lines 1 and 3.

Reference has already been made[2] to the poems in vańci metre in Puṟam.,[3] and it remains but to discuss their form. No limits for poems in this metre are envisaged by Tŏl. It will be found that all three poems end in akaval lines of four cīr.[4] As Chettiar observes[5], Tŏl. implies akaval endings to vańci poems when speaking of the Tūkku of vańcippā,[6] and Tŏl.'s statement is certainly interpreted in this way by Per.,[7] who quotes the

1. ASTP p.67. 2. v.s. p.435. 3. Puṟam.4,11,239. 4. Puṟam.4, ll.18,19; 11,l.16; 239,ll.19-21. 5. ASTP p.93. 6. in cū.383; for Tūkku,v.s. p.451. 7. Tŏl.,TSS iii,pp.225-6.

closing portion of Puṟam.4. It may also be noted that Puṟam.11 and 239 have, in addition, a Taṉiccŏl, a detached word of one cīr as a supernumerary foot towards the close of the poem.[1]

The limits of vĕṇpā poems have already been noted[2] as being two lines for the lower limit and twelve for the upper. Reference has also been made to the fact that the final lines of vĕṇpā poems are of three feet instead of the regular four; the final foot is of one acai only.[3] In this connexion it may be noted that nerpu and niraipu can occur in this position and were still regarded as of one acai only in this position by later prosodists.[4] Thus, there are four possible final feet in vĕṇpā: ner, nirai, nerpu and niraipu. These are given four special vāypāṭu, mnemonics:[5] nāḷ, malar, kācu and piṟappu. The rules for the extended vĕṇpā known as Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu are similar.[6]

It has already been seen that poems in Kalippā and those in mixed metre called Paripāṭal are divided into a number of sections.[7] Such poems are the most highly developed to be found in the anthologies.

Tŏl. says[8] that there are four types of kalippā, and two of these, Ŏttāḷicai and Kalivĕṇpāṭṭu, have already been noticed.[9] The third type is Kŏccakam, a term applied to any kali poem that differs in form from the normal ŏttāḷicai in being divided into fewer parts. For example, Kali.54 consists

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1. Puṟam.11,l.15; 239,l.18. Taṉiccŏl has been noted as an integral part of kalippā, v.s. Chap.IX,p.385; normally it is 'ĕnavāṅku.' 2. v.s. p.445. 3. v.s. p.444. 4. e.g. Yāppu.v.57 & comm.,p.213. They are otherwise scanned nerner & nirainer: v.s. pp.416-7 & 417 fnl. 5. Yāppu.comm.,ibid. 6. v.s. p.445; there are 4 in Kali.,vv.6,18,24,51. 7. v.s. Chap.IX,pp.385,394-5. 8. Tŏl.Cĕyyuḷ.cū.442. 9. v.s. pp.385 & 445.

of two Taravu, a Taniccŏl and Curitakam. Kali.85, on the other hand, consists of the stanzas called Tālicai only.[1] Both poems are classified as Kŏccakakkalippā.[2] The fourth type is called Ural; this, states Tŏl.,[3] should be in the form of a dialogue. In form, however, it could be classified as Kŏccakam, since it lacks the closing portion of the typical kali poem called Curitakam.[4]

The form of Paripāṭal or Paripāṭṭu has already been noticed, and it was seen that these poems include a Curitakam as their closing portion in common with poems in kalippā.[5] The opening portion is called Ĕruttu, and corresponds to the Taravu in kalippā. As Chettiar observes, Paripāṭal is not discussed by prosodists later than Tŏl.[6] It is purely a form of verse, since unlike the other four discussed, it has no metre proper to itself, but includes a number of metres.

These are the verse-forms and metres found in poems of the eight anthologies. It has been seen that akaval or āciriyam is of the greatest importance, but that the other main metres mentioned by Tŏl. figure in them to a lesser extent. Vĕṇpā does not appear at all, save in passages in Pari., and kali is confined to the anthology of poems in that metre called Kalittŏkai. Vańci occurs in a few poems in Puram., but vańci feet, together with those of vĕṇpā, occur in a number of poems that are regarded as a variety of akaval called Iṇaikkuraḷ.

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1. For these terms, v.s. Chap.IX,p.385. 2. Kali.,TSS edn.(1949) Nacc.on Kali.54, p.160, on Kali.85, p.251. 3. Cĕyyuḷ.cū.468. 4. e.g. Kali.87 & 91. All these types of Kalippā are described fully by Chettiar: ASTP pp.110-132, q.v. 5. v.s. p.395. 6. ASTP p.41.

What may be termed verse-form is only to be found in a developed stage in kalippā and paripāṭṭu. Certain rudimentary features of form in verse are suggested by the endings of poems in āciriyam and vañci.

Āciriyam, with its strong impression of ictus, is clearly a metre suited to verse of any length, and, as the metre par excellence of bardic poetry and court love poetry, may be compared to anuṣṭubh in Sanskrit and the hexameter in Greek and Latin. It was doubtless recited 'histrionically' before a king or other patron with musical and perhaps rhythmic accompaniment. Such a recitation is suggested by the ocai-term akaval that is applied to it.

In the light of what has been observed concerning āciriyam as the metre of six out of the eight anthologies, four of these being collections of love poetry, the remark of Tŏl.[1] that paripāṭal and kalippā are most suitable for giving expression to the akattiṇai is open to comment. It may have been an expression of opinion, implying that Tŏl. preferred the more ornate love poems found in what has come down as Kalittŏkai or in other works now lost. On the other hand, the inclusion of paripāṭal in the context of akam shows that this term was being extended to include religious devotion as well as worldly love. From this it is not far to the love imagery of later mystical poetry such as Tirukkovaiyār.

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1. Tŏl. Akat. cū. 53 & Nacc. comm., TSS i, pp. 120-121. v. s. Chap. II, pp. 35-36.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

a) Literary.

It has been demonstrated that the collections of early Tamil poems called Ĕṭṭuttŏkai, the Eight Anthologies, comprise what may in general be called Court Poetry. The reputed authors both of akam and of puram poems were patronized by kings and petty chieftains, and in many cases wrote both panegyrics and love poetry.[1] Where poets are said to have composed love poems only, there is no reason for in any way differentiating their work from similar poetry from bards such as Kapilar and Paraṇar who are known for both kinds of poetry.

It may be suggested further that the love poetry appearing in such anthologies as Akanānūru and Aiṅkurunūru was composed, in common with the puram panegyrics, for pleasure and approbation on the part of the poets' patrons and audience, and may in no way have been an expression or sublimation of the poets' own feelings. It would not be possible to regard as Romantic the poems of the akam anthologies. There is no personal address to the lover or beloved, nor should there be, says Tŏl.[2] On the other hand, as has been seen, the poems of Puranānūru and Patirruppattu contain numerous forms of address to kings and patrons. In one or two cases, poems appear to be expressions of personal feeling; an example is Puram.83.[3] It may be noted, however, that this poem was regarded by the writer of the Puram.

1. Cp. in Hindī the Ḍiṅgal bardic poetry in Vīra and Śṛṅgāra of 12th.-14th.cent. 2. Akat.cū.54. 3. v.s. Chap.IV,p.143; for transl., Chap.II,p.64.

as suggesting Kaikkiḷaittiṇai and not one of the five tiṇai of reciprocal or normal love.[1]

Both the metre of most of these poems, Akaval, and the forms of address in those on puṟam themes suggest that this poetry was recited or chanted aloud, presumably before the king and his courtiers. Sir C.M. Bowra has suggested[2] that heroic poetry is nearly always composed not in stanzas but in single lines, and that only one kind of line is used. This is true of most of the Tamil anthology poems, since they are in the akaval metre, wherein the only variation of line is the shortened penultimate one. It has been suggested that this was introduced to indicate to an audience the close of the poem.

As in other societies in which heroic or bardic poetry was produced, illiteracy may have predominated in Tamil society at the time the anthology poems were composed. Such conditions favour the production of a bardic literature. At the same time, as Bowra remarks,[3] such poetry can exist by the side of a written literature. It is possible that Kalittŏkai, with its complex form and more sophisticated metre, was originally written, and not in any way improvised at the time of composition.

The constant recurrence of stock-epithets[4] and the reiteration of half- or whole lines[5] suggests improvisation as a fundamental method of composition of this poetry.[6] It has been

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1. For kaikkiḷai, v.s. Chap.II, pp.29-30, 38, 62-4. 2. Bowra: Heroic Poetry, p.36 & fn.2. 3. Ibid., p.216. 4. e.g. "Tiṇṭer ppŏṟaiyaṉ Tŏṇṭi": Akam.60, l.7, Kuṟun.128, l.2 & Naṟ.8, l.9; all attributed to different poets. 5. e.g. "Nalkiṉum nalkāṉāyiṉum vĕl por ...": Puṟam.80, l.5 & 154, l.9; "Nĕṭuṅkŏṭiy uḷiṅai ppavarŏṭum iṭaintu," Puṟam.76, l.5 & 77, l.3 (with ..iḷaintu for iṭaintu) 6. cp. Bowra: HP p.216. These he calls Formulae: ibid., p.221.

seen that any one feat may be attributed to several patrons. This too is a feature of bardic poetry that originates in improvisation.

Unlike Sanskrit epics such as Mahābhārata and the Tamil epic Cilappatikāram, the gods do not play a part in the exploits of the heroes in the anthology poems; these may thus be compared to the Elder Edda.[1] At the same time, comparisons of heroes to the gods are freely made.[2] The only supernatural beings who show an obvious interest in the deeds of these Tamil heroes are demonesses who feed on the corpses provided by the carnage of battle.[3]

It is not possible to state precisely when these poems were first written down, since epigraphical or archaeological material is of little help. But, collected into the various anthologies, they were all known to commentators of the 11th. and 12th. centuries A.D., and the anthology-names were known to the commentator on Iraiyanār Akappŏruḷ. These together with the names of the three parts of Akam., the colophons to all the anthology poems and the Patirru. patikams are presumably associated with written rather than orally transmitted material. It may be said therefore that the anthology poems were committed to writing by the time of the commentator on IA, which may have been the 8th. century A.D.[4] Whether these poems survive in their original form is open to doubt. Many errors have probably crept

1. Bowra: HP, p.84. 2. e.g. in Puram.56 & 58. In 56, the Pāṇṭiya is compared to Śiva, Balarāma, Viṣṇu and Murukan; v.s. Chap.IV, pp.165-6. In 58, the Ceral and Pāṇṭiya are likened to Balarāma & Viṣṇu; v.s. Chap.IV,p.113. 3. Cf. Puram.372; v.s. Chap.IV,p.159. 4. v.s. Chap.I,pp.5,6.

in in the course of transcription from one MS to another down the centuries. The distinction made between the poems of Akam., Kurun., Nar. and Puram. is purely arbitrary and is based on length of poem and on subject.

It is the poem colophons that supply most of the evidence of authorship. As Bowra has shown,[1] heroic poets are not especially concerned with their own identity and it is left to others who write the poems down to state their authorship. It is quite possible that this has been done erroneously in many cases in the Ĕṭṭuttŏkai as, for example, in that of the kuriñci poems, many of which are ascribed to Kapilar.

As in other heroic literatures,[2] the poems of Puram. and Patirru. are but little concerned with outside events or with dates, and it is only in the Patirru. patikams that any sort of internal chronology is suggested.[3]

These poems are unique in the history of Indian poetics. The seven akattiṇai and purattiṇai have no parallel in Sanskrit poetics or in other literatures in the sub-continent, and there is no evidence that the poets of the Tamil anthologies borrowed consciously or otherwise from Sanskrit poetics. These have been introduced, it is true, into the Pŏruḷatikāram of Tŏlkāppiyam, and accordingly commentators on this have attempted to treat the anthology poems according to the theory of rasa and bhāva. The treatment of love in its aspects and the

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1. HP, pp.404 & seqq. 2. Cf. Bowra: HP,p.409. 3. This may be compared with the dating of the siege of Troy, of which Bowra, op.cit.,p.27 says: "Homer gives no indication of date for the Siege of Troy, and such dates as we have are the production of Greek chronographers who lived centuries after him."

allusions thereto, and of the different stages of war, together with the freshness and vividness of these poems, make them an outstanding product of Indian literary art.

b) General.

It has been demonstrated that neither in Puram. nor in Patirru. is there any mention of a literary academy or Caṅkam such as that to which the poets of the anthologies are said by the commentator on IA to have belonged. There is no mention of the caṅkam in the other anthologies either, and the whole story may well be regarded as legendary. What may indeed be said is that, at the various courts to which poets were attached, their compositions were open to approval or disapproval. There were probably contests between poets also. But it cannot be asserted that there was an overriding literary authority with its seat at Maturai under Pāṇṭiya patronage.

A degree of what may be termed Indo-Aryan penetration into Tamil society is clearly manifested by the numerous references in the anthologies to puranic gods and stories and to brahmanical customs. Moreover, poets such as Kapilar speak of themselves as brahmans. Doubtless that cultural synthesis of which much has been said by S.K.Chatterjee[1] was already far advanced in the Tamil area of S.India. It may also be said that this 'Aryanization' was as much the work of Hindus as of Jainas or Buddhists, for there is but a small amount of evidence of the beliefs of the latter in the eight anthologies.[2] There are no

1. e.g. XVII A-I.Oriental Congress, Allahabad, 1953, Presidential Address. 2. Puram.192 may be noted in this connexion; v.s., Chap.V, p.270.

references to them by name in these poems. It is impossible, therefore, to agree with Pillai when he says that[1]

"Hindu Aryans, in any force, were the last to come" (to South India) "and with their arrival was opened quite a new channel of activity, Religion, into which the whole of Dravidian life and thought have flowed since, the pioneer in this work being the great Saivite preacher and propagandist, Tiruñāna-sambandar of the seventh century A.D."

It is true that the poems of the anthologies are, with the exception of some Paripāṭal poems, secular, but, as has been observed, Hindu beliefs and customs were perfectly familiar to the anthology poets. It seems most likely that Hindu believers were in the Tamil area as early as Jainas and Buddhists, and some other cause for the increased preoccupation with religion from the time of Tevāram must be sought. There is not a great deal of evidence in the anthologies of what might be termed a purely Tamil religion, though it may be surmised that many of the elements of the Murukan cult were in fact indigenous to that area. But these seem already to have coalesced with the puranic elements of the cult of Skanda.

This Indo-Aryan penetration is further confirmed by the occurrence in the anthology poems of a number of loanwords.[2] These are not only technical terms, but also a large number of words of quite ordinary application.

From the silence of the anthology poems about the Pallavas, even in poems about the area called Tŏṇṭaimaṇṭalam, it

1. CET p.10; see p.9 also. 2. For List of these in Puram. and Patirru., v.i. pp.499-511.

may reasonably be assumed that these poems were composed before Pallava times when much of the religious literature in Tamil was written. The silence about the Pallavas may further be noted in connexion with the lack of evidence in the anthologies of trade with S.E. Asia. On the other hand, Yavanas are mentioned in a number of poems. Classical sources name several places that can be identified in the anthology poems. There is no reason to contest the view that these poems were composed at a time when trade between S.India and the Middle East and, by implication, with imperial Rome, was still flourishing before the Empire's decline and the rise of Islām.

More exact dating of the poems of Ĕṭṭuttŏkai cannot reasonably be attempted in the absence of reliable historical material. It was seen that the synchronism between Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu rests on secondary evidence in Tamil sources, the patikam to decade V of Patirru. and the prose Uraipĕrukaṭṭurai appended to the patikam to Cilappatikāram by an unknown early editor. The conclusions of writers[1] who have made much use of this synchronism must, accordingly, be treated with reserve.

Alone among the anthologies, parts of Pari. show close affinity to Tamil devotional poetry such as Tevāram, and it is possible that Pari. was a work of the same period as Tevāram or a little earlier.

As for the events described in the poems themselves, it is hard to accept as final the scheme of ten generations put forward by Pillai, with its arbitrary allocation of 25 years'

1. Such as V.R.R.Dikshitar: Cil.,Intro., p.14.

reign to each Cola king mentioned.[1] Many of his synchronisms rest on data supplied in colophons or in Patirru. patikams, which must be regarded as secondary evidence, as they may well have been of later composition. Similarly, Pillai's dating of the generations envisaged by him as occupying the period from 50 B.C to 200 A.D. cannot be sustained with certainty. Some date between 200 A.D. and 400 A.D. is possible as the lower limit both for the composition of these anthology poems and for the events they mention, but this suggestion must at present be but surmise.

The situation in the Tamil area during the period when these poems were composed seems fairly clear. In addition to the kingdoms ruled by the three kings, Ceral, Cola and Pāṇṭiya, there were the principalities of a number of petty chiefs. Many of these were little more than owners of a few score acres of land. A number of chiefs seem to have ruled over hill-tops, where they held out against the forces of the kingdoms in the plains centred on Vañci, Urantai and Kūṭal. In some instances, these hill-fortresses seem to have passed under the sway of one or other of the three kings during the period of composition of the anthologies. Such changes may well have been only temporary.

No complete domination by any one of these kings is suggested by these accounts, and the Tamil courts were ruled by kings and many chieftains endlessly quarrelling among themselves and forming alliances, now with one, now with another. No doubt the people themselves were no more implicated in these petty

1. CET p.166.

struggles than in the rise of the more powerful Pallavas or Colas in later history.

Underlying these differences, there is a sense of the unity of the Tamil people that occasionally finds expression when, perhaps, the bards have momentarily felt themselves free from allegiance to one chief or another. Piramanār says:[1]

"The days are numbered of those who rule without the thought that this land, though ruled by three kings, is one."

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1. Puram. 357, ll. 2-4. For full translation, v.s. Chap. II, p. 56. Cp. Puram. 192, for translation of which, v.s. Chap. V, p. 270.

APPENDICES

In the three Appendices that follow, all textual references to the Eight Anthologies are made in the following order: Puranānūru, Patirruppattu, Akanānūru, Kuruntŏkai, Narriṇai, Aiṅkurunūru, Kalittŏkai and Paripāṭal.

For reasons of space, the titles to the first five listed above are further abbreviated; a verse-number only indicates a verse in Puram., while single letters denote the other four:

Puram.	-
Patirru.	P
Akam.	A
Kurun.	K
Nar.	N .

Abbreviations for the other three anthologies are the same as used hitherto, viz., Aiṅkuru., Kali. and Pari.

References to Patirru. patikams will immediately follow those to anthologies proper, and will be indicated thus: P.II, P.III, &c., indicating Patirru., pat.II, pat.III &c.

Where necessary as, for example, in Appendix I, references to Tŏlkāppiyam, Pŏruḷatikāram, and to Purappŏruḷ Vĕṇpāmālai or other texts will occur after those to Ĕṭṭuttŏkai and Patirru. patikams. The same abbreviations as used hitherto are used.

In accordance with the convention adopted in the foregoing, Tŏl.'s Turai are given between quotation marks. e.g.:

"Iyaṅku paṭaiy aravam."

APPENDIX I

LIST OF TURAI IN PURANĀNŪRU AND PATIRRUPPATTU

Turai name	Meaning: Purpose. References to Puram. & Patirru. (Verse-nos. underlined refe to those transl. in Chapters II, IV, V. References to Tŏl., PPVM &c. Remarks.
Aracavākai	Eulogy of the king: extolling the impartiality of a king or chief. 17,19-23,25,26,31,33,37,42-44,51-54,61, 66,76-79,81,82,93,94,98-100,104,125,167 174. PPVM v.157.
Ānantappaiyuḷ	Distress at Death: Wife's lament at her bereavement. 228,229,246,247,280. cf. Tŏl.Purat.79. PPVM v.266. Tŏl.Purat.79 comm. says ānantam=death.
Iyanmŏli	Telling of Qualities: Glorifying hero and his ancestors. 8-10,12,14,15,30,32,34,38,39,50,67,92, 96,97,102,106,107,108,122-124,129-132, 134. Tŏl.Purat.90. PPVM vv.194,195. PPVM does not differentiate between this and
Iyanmŏlivālttu	Praise of Qualities: Glorifying hero and his ancestors. 28,29,137,142,149-151,153,156,157,171-3 175-177,212,215,216,376,378,380,381, 388-390,400. P: 18,20,24,43,48. Tŏl.Purat.90. PPVM vv.194,195.
Uṭanilai	Being Together: Singing in praise of two companions. 58.
Uṇṭāṭṭu	Feasting and Dancing: merrymaking of the victorious. 257,258,262,269,297. Tŏl.Purat.58. PPVM v.15.
Uvakaikkalulcci	Weeping with Joy: wife's tears of joy at seeing her husband wounded in battle. 277,278,295. PPVM v.151.

Uliṅaiyaravam — Noise of Siege: Siege of fort by soldiers wearing uliṅai flowers.
P77. Tŏl.Purat.65. PPVM v.95.
Element -aravam not in Tŏl. or PPVM.

Ĕrumaimaram — Buffalo's Valour: Hero takes a bold stand in battle.
80,274,275.
Tŏl.Purat.72, Nacc. PPVM v.139.
Nacc. cites 274 as ex. of Tumpaitturai "Paṭaiyaruttu ppali kŏḷḷum emattānum"; v.s. Chap.II,p.49.

Erkkaḷavuruvakam — The Threshing-Floor: Battlefield likened to a threshing-floor.
368-371, jointly with Marakkaḷavali, q.v
cf. Tŏl.Purat.76. PPVM v.159.

Erāṇmullai — High Valour: Eulogizing the martial valour of a warrior-family.
86,296. PPVM v.176.

Oḷvāḷamalai — Whistle of the Bright Blade: The sound of the sword being brandished by warriors wearing anklets.
P56. cf.Tŏl.Purat.72. PPVM v.147.
Cīvakacintāmaṇi 783.

Kaṭainilai — At the Gateway/Conclusion: Travel-weary bard rests & announces arrival.
127,382-384,391-396,398.
Tŏl.Purat.90.

Kaḷavali — Victory: The bard praises spoil of king victorious in battle.
P36. PPVM v.207 (Kaḷavalivālttu).

Kaḷirruṭanilai — Presence of the Elephant: Warrior is slain by the elephant he had pierced.
307. cf.Tŏl.Purat.72. PPVM v.146.

Kāṭcivālttu — Praise of a Spectacle:
P: 41,54,61,64,82,90.
None of these P vv. are quoted by Nacc. on Tŏl.Purat. Kāṭcivālttu is only listed by Tŏl.Purat.60 in connexion with seeing a hero-stone, not a patron.

Kāvanmullai — Victory of Rule: praising king's rule.
P89. cf.Tŏl.Purat.76. PPVM vv.178,9.

Kuṭinilai uraittal	Extolling the Family: Extolling fame o a warrior's family. 290. PPVM v.35.
Kuṭaimaṅkalam	Eulogy of the Parasol: Praise of the parasol of a victorious king. 60. cf.Tŏl.Purat.91. PPVM v.222. Tŏl.'s is "Kuṭai nilal marapu."
Kutiraimaram	The Horse's Valour: Celebrating prowes of war-horse. 273.299.302-304. cf.Tŏl.Purat.72. PPVM v.133.
Kuravainilai	Dance by women in a circle: id. P52,53. Tŏl.Purat.79 (Kuravai). PPVM vv.161, 162, for varieties of Kuravai itself.
Kuruṅkali	Short Kali-verses: Persuading hero to turn away from a courtezan. 143,144-147. PPVM v.342.
Kaiyarunilai	Description of Prostration: A hero's dependents are overcome at his death. 65,112-120,217-227,230-238,239-241,242-245,260,261. (Tiṇai: Pŏtuviyal). Tŏl.Purat.79 (he gives it as Kāṅcittura PPVM vv.31 (under Karantai),267,268 (under Pŏtuviyal).
Kŏrravaḷḷai	Song of Victory: Eulogy of king's valour, Tŏl.Purat.89; tribute paid by defeated king, Iḷam.on Tŏl.Purat.63. 4,7,41. Tŏl.Purat.63 & 89. PPVM,v.43.
Cālpumullai	Victory of the Excellent: Serenity of those who are noble-minded. 285. PPVM,v.185.
Cĕnturaippāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Song in praise of Hero's Fame: In prais of hero's fame, power & magnificence. P: 11-13,14,15-17,21,27,31,32,37,38,42, 44-46,55,58,59,62,63,66,68,70-76,79,85, 86,88. Tŏl.Purat.80. PPVM v.189. Conn.w. Pāṭāṇ. But Nacc. quotes P15 as ex. of Tŏl.'s Vaṅcitturai "Aṭutt'ūrnt' aṭṭa Kŏrrattānum"; v.s. Chap.II,pp.45-6 He quotes P71 as ex. Tŏl.'s Vaṅcitturai "Vĕnror viḷakkam" & P13,P74 as ex. Tŏl.' (Vākai) "Aivakai marapin aracar pakkam" for P13, v.s. Chap.II,pp.52-54.

Cĕrumalaital	Garlanding in Battle: id. 259. cf.Tŏl.Purat.60. cf. PPVM v.2
Cĕruviṭaivīltal	Fallen in Battle: Celebrating heroic death of defending warriors. 271,272. PPVM v.89.
Cĕviyarivurūu	Whispered Counsel: Instruction to king in the path of virtue. 2,3,5,6,35,40,55,184. Tŏl.Purat.90. PPVM v.221.
Tāpatanilai	Theme of Austerity: Describes the vows of austerity of a widow. 248-250. Tŏl.Purat.79. PPVM v.257.
Tāpatavākai	Eulogy of Austerity: Describes an ascetic's holy life. 251,252. PPVM v.168.
Tānainilai	Praise of the Army: Heroic stand of the army in battle, Tŏl.Purat.72; the heroism of a king rushing into battle, PPVM v.148. 276. Tŏl.Purat.72. PPVM v.148.
Tānaimaram	Valour of the Army: Mediation of warriors, their compassion for their foes & the king's heroism. 87,88-90,294,300,301. PPVM vv.129-131.
Tuṇaivańci	Succour after an Onslaught: A warrior is reconciled with his stricken foe. 36,45-47,57,213. Nacc. says that 36 exemplifies Ulińaitturai "Ulliyatu muṭikkum ventanatu cirappu," v.s. Chap.II,p.48.
Tumpaiyaravam	Bustle of War: Distribution of honours to troops by king after battle. P34 & 83. PPVM v.128.
Tŏkainilai	Honouring those assembled: A victorious king brings army together to honour it. 62,63. Tŏl.Purat.68.
Tŏṭākkāńci	Theme of Not Touching: A wife fears to touch her dead husband because of the demonesses. 281. Tŏl.Purat.79. PPVM v.79.

Nāṭuvālttu	Praise of the Country: Wishing prosperity on land of generous hero. P28. PPVM v.205.
Nīṇmŏli	Vow for a Period: Description of vow taken by a warrior. 287.
Nūlilāṭṭu	Killing in carnage: A warrior plucks the spear from his own body and attacks the foe. 309,310. cf. Tŏl.Purat.72. PPVM v.142.
Nĕṭumŏli	Praise, Vow: Vow, acc.Tŏl.Purat.60. 298. Tŏl.Purat.60. PPVM v.32.
Paricil	Largesse: id. 163. cf.Tŏl.Purat.91. cf.PPVM v.214. See also, Paricirrurai and
Paricilviṭai	Liberality: A king bestowing gifts on his panegyrists. 140,152,162,165,397,399. PPVM v.214.
Paricirkaṭānilai	Inquiry about Largesse: Soliciting bounty from a king who delays favour. 11,101,136,139,159,160,164,169,196-199, 209-211,266. Tŏl.Purat.91. cp. PPVM v.213 (Paricinilai)
Paricirrurai	Theme about Presents: Bards representing their needs to a patron. 126,135,148,154,161,168,200,201-8,379. cf. Tŏl.Purat.91. PPVM v.193.
Paricirruraippāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Praise of hero to obtain gifts: id. P19,P65. cf.Tŏl.Purat.80 & 91. PPVM v.193.
Paliccutal	Extolling: id. 83-85.
Pāṇārruppaṭai	Directing a minstrel: Directing a fellow-minstrel to one's munificent patron. 68-70,138,141,155. P67. Tŏl.Purat.91. PPVM v.216.
Pāṇpāṭṭu	Bardic song: Sung in praise of fallen warriors. 283-284,311. PPVM v.137.

Pārppaṉavākai	Eulogy of the Brahman: describing the greatness a brahman achieved through penance. 166,305. cf.Tŏl.Puṟat.75. PPVM v.163. Cil.XXIII,72.
Pulavarārruppaṭai	Directing a Poet: Directing a fellow-poet to one's munificent patron. 48,49. Tŏl.Puṟat.91. PPVM v.230.
Pūkkoṭkāṅci	Accepting the Flowers: Accepting vĕṭci and other flowers before battle. 293. PPVM v.70. Same as Pūkkoṇilai: 289,l.9; 341,l.9.
Pūvainilai	Praise of the 'Bilberry': Praise of the 'bilberry' as being of Viṣṇu's colour. 56,59,374, (Pāṭāṇṭiṇai). PPVM v.192. 56 is cited by Nacc. as ex. of Tŏl.'s Vĕṭcitturai "Māyoṉ meya...pūvainilai", v.s. Chap.II,p.56, Chap.IV,p.165.
Pĕruṅkāṅci	The great Kāṅci-theme: Wise teaching as to life's transitoriness, Tŏl.79comm. 194,359,360,362-364,365,366. Tŏl.Purat.79. PPVM v.66, which gives purpose as Exhibition of warriors' prowess in battle.
Pĕruṅcorrunilai	The Great Feast: The king gives a great feast to soldiers before battle. 292. P30. Tŏl.Puṟat.63. PPVM v.38.
Pŏtumŏlikkāṅci	General Counsel: id. 75.
Pŏruṇmŏlikkāṅci	Instruction by Truthful Sayings: Tells of principles of conduct leading to happiness. 24,121,182,183,185-192,193,195,214. PPVM v.271.
Makaṭpārkāṅci	Theme about the Daughter: Refusal of a person of ancient lineage to bestow his daughter on a king. 336,337-356. Tŏl.Puṟat.79 & comm. PPVM v.84.
Makaṇ maruttal	Refusing one's Daughter: Refusal of a chief to give daughter to hostile foe. 109-111. Nacc. cites 109 as ex. of Tŏl.'s Uliṅaitturai "Akattoṉ cĕlvam", v.s. p.48.

Malapulavañci	Advance to Malavar Country: Describes destruction of hostile country. 16. PPVM v.50.
Marakkaḷavali	Pathway through Battle: King described as ploughing through battlefield. 368-371, jointly w̄ Erkkaḷavuruvakam, q.v. cf. Tŏl.Purat.76. PPVM v.159.
Marakkaḷaveḷvi	Battle Sacrifice: A warrior killing his enemies. 373.
Marakkāñci	Strength in Defeat: Warrior tearing open his wounds and dying. 357. Tŏl.Purat.79 & comm. PPVM v.74.
Manaiyaram Turavaram	Domestic & Ascetic Dharma: id. 358.
Mutupālai	Utter Desolation: Lonely woman bewails loss of husband in the desert. 253-256. Tŏl.Purat.79. PPVM v.254.
Mutumŏlikkāñci	Instruction by Proverb: Wise men instructing in aram, pŏruḷ, inpam. 18,27,74. PPVM v.269.
Mullai	Victory (Puram): id. ?289 (...mullai, UVS edn.). P81. PPVM v.275.
Mūtinmullai	Victory in Ancient Families: Valour among women of warrior-tribes. 279,288,306,308,312,326-335. PPVM v.175.
Vañcitturaippāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Praise of Advancing heroes: The king decides to advance & praise of him. P: 22,23,25,26,29,33,50,51,69,80. Tŏl.Purat.62 (Vañci). PPVM v.36 (Vañci) P23 cited by Nacc. as ex. Tŏl.'s Pāṭāṇtiṇai TSS i, p.252-3. P33 cited by Nacc. as ex. Tŏl.'s Vañcitturai "Iyaṅkupaṭaiyaravam", v.s. Chap.II, p.47.
Vañcinakkāñci	Declaration on Oath: King decides he should be cursed if not victorious. 71-73. Tŏl.Purat.79. PPVM v.69.

Vallāṇmullai	Theme of Manly Valour: Exciting manly virtues by praise of his family. 170,178-181,313-315,316-325. PPVM v.177.
Vākai	Eulogy of conqueror (Tiṇai): id. P39,P84. Tŏl.Purat.74 (Vākai). PPVM v.155 (Vākai).
Vākaitturaippāṭāṇpāṭṭu	Eulogy of Hero: Conqueror wears vākai flowers & rejoices over foes. P35. Tŏl.Purat.74 (Vākai). PPVM v.155.
Vāṇmaṅkalam	Eulogy of the Sword: Ceremonial washing of victorious king's sword. 95. Tŏl.Purat.91. PPVM v.223.
Vāltt'iyal	Of the Nature of Praise: Describes praise bestowed on patron by bard. 13,91,158,375,377,385-387.
Vālttu	Praise: id. 128.
Viraliyārruppaṭai	Directing a Danseuse: Directing to one' munificent patron a danseuse. 64,103,105,133. P: 40,49,57,60,78,87. Tŏl.Purat.91. PPVM v.219.
Vettiyal	Kingly Nature: Warriors expatiating on nature of heroic kings. 286,291. PPVM v.34. PPVM v.34 cited by Iḷam. on Tŏl.Purat. cū.5: same as Vettiyanmalipu.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF POETS WHOSE WORK APPEARS IN PURANĀNŪRU AND PATIRRUPPATTU

In addition to the poems with which these poets are credited in the Puram. colophons and Patirru. patikams, this Appendix includes poems in the akam anthologies with which these poets are credited in the colophons.

Abbreviations & Symbols:

k. kilān (Lord of). m. makan(ār)(son of). v.r. variant.

()*, ()+, ()'. Elements of names in brackets appear in colophons to particular verses as indicated.

Unless otherwise indicated, references are to the UVS edn. of Puram., Kurun., Aiṅkuru. and Pari., and to the TSS edn. of Patirru., Akam., Nar. and Kali.

S. Caṅka Ilakkiyam, Samājam Edn. f. fragmentary poem.

Aṭainĕṭuṅkalliyār v.r. Aṇṭarnaṭuṅkallinār TSS Aṭainĕṭuṅkalviyār S	283f,344f,345.
Aṇṭar m.Kuruvalutiyār prob. son of Aṇṭarnaṭunkallinār, TSS ed., ii,p,292 note.	346f.A150,A228.K345.
Aricil Kilār	146,230,281,285f,300,304, 342.P decade VIII. K193.
Aḷḷūr Nanmullaiyār (340 anon. UVS,S)	306f,340f(TSS).A46.K32, K:67,68,93,96,140,157, K:202,237.
Ālaṅkuṭi Vaṅkanār	319.A106.K8,K45.N230, N330,N400.
Ālattūr Kilār	34,36,69,225,324.K112, K350.
Āliyar v.r. Āviyar TSS	298.
Āvaṭuturai Mācāttanār	227.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF LOAN-WORDS FROM INDO-IRANIAN IN PURANĀNŪRU AND PATIRRUPPATTU

In this Appendix are listed those loan-words from Sanskrit or Prakrit that occur in Puram. and Patirru. Some Tamil words borrowed by Sanskrit are also included, but the list of these latter is not exhaustive. The Indo-Iranian words in the second column are Skt. unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations and Symbols.

= (before I.I. word) denotes <, e.g. añcanam =añjana.

- (" " ") indicates possible connexion, e.g. tānai -senā.

= (after Tamil word) denotes Skt. borrowing from Dravidian, e.g. akil= agaru.

see: Āriyar. Refer to this item in the Index.

References to Texts: Since line-references are necessary in this Appendix, and also in the Index, each verse-number is followed by a number indicating the line, the two being separated by a comma. All such references are separated one from another by full-stops. E.g. 157,10.P81,15: Puram.157,1.10.Patirru.IX,81, 1.15. A maximum of ten such references is given, the total of the remaining occurrences in these two anthologies being shown at the end by a figure preced by + in brackets, e.g. (+5): five other occurrences.

Tamil word	Skt. or Pkt. word	Meaning of Ta.word	References
akil=	agaru	eaglewood Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.365. see: akil.	337,10.(Kapilar).
accu	=akṣa	axle	102,5.(Auvaiyār).
añcanam	=añjana	collyrium, kohl	174,5.(Nappacalaiyār)
attam	=adhvan	way, path, track	41,14.313,1.

antaṇan	-anta+	brahman	2,22.122,3.126,11. 201,7.361,4.362,8. 397,20.P24,8.P64,5
		see: antaṇan.	
	anta+Ta. aṇavu-, cleave to: "Antattai aṇavuvār antaṇar," Nacc. on Tirumuruku., l.96, Pattu.,UVS edn.,p.31.		
antaram	=antara	heaven	392,19.P51,16.
anti	=sandhi	twilight, morning/evening-	2,22.34,8.P35,7.
amar	=samara	war, battle.	93,2.99,10.230,16. 270,11.278,4. P:14,8.22,20.29,13 P:36,3.42,9. (+18)
	see: camam.		
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.133.		
amarakam	=samara+	battlefield	180,3.
amarar	=amara	immortals, gods	55,3.99,1.
amirtu	=amṛta	'ambrosia'	P16,12.
amiltam amiltu	=amṛta "	'ambrosia' "	182,2.392,20. 10,7,51,21.125,8. 150,14.361,19. 390,17.P17,11. P51,21.
amaiyam	=samaya	occasion, time	P22,34.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.133.		
ampaṇam	-ambaṇa Pkt.	a grain-measure	P66,8.P71,5.
ampi	-ambu, Ta.Lex.	small boat	343,2.(Paraṇar).
arakkam	=rakta	blood, vermilion	P30,27.
arakkan	=rakṣas	Rākṣasa	378,19.
aracan* aracu	=rājan	kingliness (35,5) king, royal (P79,P85).	35,5.P:42,16.43,8.* P:44,20.77,3.79,13. P85,9.P89,12.
araṇ	=śaraṇa	citadel, fortress	20,16.99,14.210,14. P:11,10.24,4.30,31. P:39,7.44,13.81,35.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-8)p.132.		
araṇam	= id.	id.	P:17,8.31,34.50,11. P:52,6.59,10.
aravam	-sarpa, Lex.	snake	260,20.
avalam	-abala, Lex.	distress	31,16.(Kovūr Kilār)

avi	=havis	oblation	377,5.
avuṇar	=asura, Burrow -hūṇa, Ta.Lex. Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.133.	Asura	P11,4.
avai avaiyam*	=sabhā Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-8)p.133.	court, assembly	39,8.71,7*.146,2. 157,4.239,10. 283,6.P85,9.
aṉantar aṉantal	-ānanda, Lex.	sleep, drowsiness	316,3. 62,5.(Kaḷāttalai:)
aṉṉam	=haṃsa	goose	67,1.128,4.
āniyam	=ahani (loc. ahan)	day, solar/lunar	P24,25.P69,14.
āy	-ābhīra, Lex.	cowherd see: Āy.	390,2.(Auvaiyār).
āyam	=āya	duty, obligation	258,3.P48,17.
āyiram	=sahasra Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-8)p.133.	a thousand	391,21.P21,38. P63,20.
āyuḷ	=āyus, Lex.	lifetime	43,21.
āram	=āra	spoke of wheel	256,2.
āram	=hāra	garland jewels, pearls*.	150,20.152,10. 198,2.343,7(bis)*. 365,4.368,18.398,1 P11,15.P48,2.
āriyar	=ārya	northerner, 'Aryan'	P11,23.II,7.V,6.
ālai	=ṣālā Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.132.	elephant stable	220,3.(Pŏttiyār).
āvaṇam	=āpaṇa	market, bazaar	P68,10.
āvam	-cāpa, Lex.	Bow quiver	323,5. 14,8.(Kapilar).
āvuti	=āhuti	oblation in sacred fire	15,19.99,1.P21,7,1
intirar	=Indra	gods, as inhabiting Indra's kingdom	182,1.
imayam * imaiyam*	=hima+maya, Lex.	the Himālaya, comm's. passim (cont.)	2,24.34,21.39,15. 132,7*.166,33. 214,11.369,24*.

(imaiyam, cont.)		see: Imaiyam.	P11,23.P:43,7.II,4
ilakkam	=lakṣa	target, aim	4,6.260,23.
ilaṅkai	=Laṅkā	N. of Nalliyakkoṭan's town, see: Ilaṅkai.	176,6.379,6.
uru	=rūpa	shape, form	50,5.174,5.202,6. 337,17.P21,5.P34,6 P:43,24.81,1. P88,12,28,33. (+1)
uruvam* urupu+ uruvu	id.	id.	3,1.21,4*.58,14,15 224,7.376,9.P19,6. P52,30+.P67,11.
ulakam ulaku	=loka	world	6,7.18,13.22,35. 24,35.107,4*.393,8 P:42,20*.63,18. P81,1.P88,3. (+59)
uvamam	=upamā	resemblance	337,10,11.P73,3.
uvā	=yuvā (yuvan)	elephant of 60 yrs.	P79,13.
ūci	=śūci	needle. sharpness*	82,4.100,4.P70,7*.
ĕntiram	=yantra	sugarcane press siege-engine	P19,23. P53,7.
emam	-kṣema	protection	3,3.16,17.39,15. 41,13.213,21.P11,4 P15,38.P16,6. P68,12.P90,2.(+5).
emam	=yāma	night	398,6.
aiyar	=ayya, Pkt.	the wise	P70,19.
kaṅkai	=Gaṅgā	The Ganges see: Kaṅkai.	161,6.P.V,7.
kaccai	=kaccha, Pkt. (kakṣyā)	girdle, belt	274,1.(Uloccanār).
kaccai	-kañcuka, Lex.	coat of mail	377,24.
kaṭakam	=kaṭaka	bracelet	150,21.
	prob. a re-borrowing from Skt., kaṭaka being conn. with Dravidian: Burrow BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.368.		
kaṭampu=	kadamba	Anthocephalos cadamba	23,3.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.369.		

kaṇam	=gaṇa	crowd, flock	35,23.64,3.90,3. 131,1.150,5.174,1. 205,8.362,6.390,7. P50,1.
kantāram	-kāntāra, Lex.	kind of liquor	258,2.(Uloccanār).
kantu	=skandha	post, stake	22,9.57,11.93,9. 178,1.217,5.
kapilam	=kapila	dusty, dingy.tawny*	337,11.P.VI,5*.
kampam	=khambam, Pkt.	pillar, post	260,23.(Vaṭamotaṅ k.
kammiyan	=kammiya, Pkt.	goldsmith	353,1.
karām	=grāhaka	crocodile	37,7.104,4.
karumam	=karman	action	104,5.(Auvaiyār).
kaliṅkam	=Kaliṅga	cloth, garment	383,12.392,15. 393,18.397,15. 398,18.400f,13. P12,21.P76,13.
kavacam	=kavaca	coat of mail	13,2.
	prob. a re-borrowing from Skt., kavaca being connected with Dravidian: Burrow: Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit, in TPS (1945), word No.11.		
kavari	=gavala	buffalo	132,4.P11,21.P43,1 P90,36.
kavaḷam=	kavala	ball of rice or other food for elephant	114,3.337,14.
	Burrow: Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit, in TPS(1945), word No.13.		
kavuḷ=	kapola	cheek, jaw, side	30,8.212,4.257,4.
	Burrow: Loanwords in Sanskrit, in TPS(1946)pp.1-30.		
kovalan, -ar*	=gopāla	cowherd	224,15*.265,4. 339,2.
kācu	-kāś-, cf. kāca	gem, jewel	353,2.
kāmam	=kāma	love, desire	33,18.212,3.P22,1.
kāmar	=kāma+ Ta. maruvu-, Lex.	beauty. desire*	KV,1.55,4,19.198,8 334,1.351,11.P27,1 P65,9.

kāyam	=(ā)kāśa	sky	30,4.
kāl* kālam	=kāla	time	41,1.56,9.101,5. 116,3.237,3.287,3. 331,13*.P30,14,15
kālan	=Kāla	Yama see: Kālan.	23,17.41,3.240,5. P39,8.
kālai	=kāla	time. morning*, sun+, when‡ (as a postposition).	116,9.139,10. 149,2*.178,10‡. 215,8,9.218,4. 232,1*.P19,24. P21,4+.P81,5.(+29
kuñcaram	=kuñjara	elephant	308,11.P:IV,10.V.1
kuṭṭam	-kuṇḍa, Lex.	region, expanse	229,1.(Kūṭalūr k.)
kuṇam	=guṇa	(good) quality	55,12.(Iḷanākanār)
kuppai	-gumpha, Lex.	collection, heap	171,9.
kumari	=kumārī	N. of river see: Kumari. youthful	6,2.17,1.67,6. P11,24.P43,8. 294,3.301,2.
kuvaḷai=	kuvalaya -kuvala, Lex.	(blue) waterlily	105,2.116,1.132,5. 153,7.P27,2.P52,22 P58,2.
kūlam	=kula, Lex.	grain	381,17.P13,23. P19,5.P89,7.
koṭṭam	=koṣṭha	enclosure, temple	299,6.(Pŏnmuṭiyār)
kovaḷan, -ar*	=gopāla	cowherd	224,15*.265,4. 339,2.
cakaṭam	=śakaṭa	cart	102,2.(Auvaiyār).
caṭai	=jaṭā	Śiva's tuft. tuft of hair	56,1.166,1. 251,7.252,2.
catukku	=catuṣka	cross-roads	P.IX,13.
cantam=	candana see: cāntu.	sandalwood logs	P87,2.
camam	-samara, Lex. see: amar.	war	39,11.72,8.93,14. 139,14.270,4.275,9 309,2.P30,41.P41,1 P76,1. (+15).

cākāṭu	=śakaṭa	cart, carriage	185,2.256,2.313,5. P27,14.
cānti	=śānti	ritual, worship	P.IX,15.
cāntam*= cāntu	candana	sandal (paste)	168,11*.374,12*. 380,2*.29,7.161,26 246,7.308,7.P42,11 P61,7.P86,12.(+6).
	see: cantam.		
	Burrow: Loanwords in Sanskrit, in TPS(1946)pp.1-30.		
cāpam=	cāpa	bow	14,9.77,4.P24,12.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-8)p.379.		P90,32.
cinti-	=cint-	think, consider	376,18.
cīr	-śrī, Lex.	prosperity. beauty*, goodness+, fame‡	11,13+.73,2.177,17. 233,3+.243,7*. 338,5*.395,17. P15,20.P24,24‡.
	see: tiru.		P28,11‡. (+3).
cīrtti	=kīrti	renown	15,18.P41,24.
cuma-	=kṣam-, Lex.	bear, lift. be heavy*	375,1*. 35,17.P31,3.P36,11. P:52,6.87,2.88:31.
cūr	-sura, Lex.	malignant deity	P67,20.(Kapilar).
cūr	=Śūra(padma)	demon killed by Skanda	23,4.P11,5.P31,35.
	see: Cūr.		
cūl	-chur, Lex.	pregnancy.	130,2.
		wateriness.	P11,2.
kamañcūl		cloud	P24,28.P45,20.P81,2
kuṭaiccūl		anklet	P57,11.P68,18.
cĕmpiyan	=Śaibya, Lex.	Cola title	37,6.228,9.
	see: Cĕmpiyan.		
cemam	=kṣema	safe, secure	102,5.(Auvaiyār).
	see: emam (1).		
ñamann	=Yama	Yama	6,9.(v.r. caman).
	see: Kālan.		
takaram=	tagara	Tabernaemontana coronaria.	132,6.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.379.		
taccan	=takṣa	carpenter	87,3.206,11.290,4. (all by Auvaiyār).

taṇṭam	=daṇḍa	punishment	10,6.
taṇṭāraṇiyam	=Daṇḍakāraṇya	Forest in the Āriyar country	P.VI,3.
tapu-tal	-dabh-	perish	294,6.
tapu-ttal	"	destroy	205,5.P65,3.P78,1 P88,20.
talai	-sthala	place	102,1.(Auvaiyār).
occurs at end of compounds:			250,8,9.230,8.
akanralai			98,20.P23,25.
aruntalai			211,2.
kaṭaittalai			387,7.
nanantalai			168,1.391,10.
parantalai			240,9.P35,6.
punralai			346,7.
malartalai			P73,4.P88,3.
varuntalai			206,9.
vĕṇṭalai			2,10. (+49).
tavam	=tapas	austerity, penance	358,3(bis).P74,26.
tātu	=dhātu	dust	33,11.13,17.
tāmarai	=tāmarasa	lotus	11,17.126,3.141,1. 319,15.361,12. 364,3.P19,20.P23.2 P48,1.P78,4.
tāyam	=dāya	inheritance. right*	17.22*.73,3.75,2. 99,7.135,18*.202,9 213,11.P44,20.P45,
tālam	=sthāla	bowl	120,15.(Kapilar).
tāvu-	=dhāv-	run, leap over	259,6.
tānai	-senā, Lex.	army	8,5.17,37.22,37. 156,5.169,2.388,14 P:IX,3.11,16.33,5. P63,12. (+45).
tiru	-śrī, Lex.	wealth. Lakṣmī*, fame+, beauty‡, Indra++, victory‡.	20,10++.73,12.91,4 122,4.179,5*.205,1 390,15‡.P14,11*. P28,1.P52,13. (+20
tūṇ tūṇam*	=sthūṇā	pillar see: Yūpam.	86,1.400,19*.

tūmam	=dhūma	smoke	117,1.(Kapilar).
tĕyvam	=daiva	god, deity	58,16.P51,13. P74,26.P82,1. P:88,24.IX,10.
teĕttam* teĕttu	=deśa	land	6,11.15,6.38,18. 179,8.P20,7,9. P21,28*.P32,16.
teyam	=deśa	(hill-) region	P88,4.
tevar (tevarulakam	=deva	gods	228,11.
	=devaloka	kingdom of the gods	228,11.)
tomaram	=tomara	large club	P54,14.
nakar=	nagara	house, palace. town*, temple+	95,3.247,8.377,3. 383,7.P31,28.148,4
	Burrow: Some Dravidian words in Sanskrit, in TPS(1945),word 31.		250,6*.P12,7*. P68,16*.6,18+.(+18
nākam	=nāga	nāga, mythical snake	37,2.367,1.
nāvāy	=nau, Lex.	ship	13,5.126,15.
niccam	=nicca, Pkt.	always, daily	360,13.(Caṅka-varuṇar)
niyamam	=nigama	street	P:15,19.30,12.75,1
nirayam	=niraya	hell	5,6.(Narivĕrūuttal ai:
nīl nīlam*	=nīl, Pkt. nīla	blue	58,15.91,6*. 111,3.144,4.274,1.
nukam	=yuga	yoke (of oxen)	179,9.
nemi	=nemi	wheel (of rule)	3,4.17,7.270,3.
ṗakaṭu	=bṛhat	large. ox, bull*, elephant+	13,3.35,32*.88,4. 90,1.152,10.307,9* 366,14*.383,4*. 385,2*.387,11+.
paṇayam	=paṇāyā, Lex.	pledge, pawn	316,7.
	Burrow suggests that Skt. words connected with paṇ-, paṇa, may be traced to a Drav. origin, see: Burrow: Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit, in TPS (1945) word No.33.		
paṇṭam	-bhāṇḍa, Lex.	stores, provisions	102,2.(Auvaiyār).

paṇṇiyam	=paṇya	provisions	P59,15.
	but see: Burrow: Some Dravidian words in Sanskrit, in TPS(1945), word No.33.		
payam payaṉ*	-?phala, Lex. phala is probably to be connected with Ta. paḻam: Burrow: Loanwords in Sanskrit, in TPS(1946)pp.1-30. payam is possibly an alternative for paḻam, stabilized with a different meaning. Cp. in Mod.Ta. realization of -ḻ- among certain communities.	profit, riches	P:13,9.22,6.30,26. P:64,18.69,13. P:71,17.P78,7*.
param	=bhara	weight, burden	30,11.
paruti	=paridhi	circumference. wheel*, the sun+	174,3.224,7*. 358,1+.P46,8*.
paruvam	=parvan	season, time	P24,29.
pali	=bali	offering	P71,23.
pācam	-piśāca, Lex.	demon	P71,23.
pāci	=prācī	east	229,9.
pātiri=	pāṭali	Stereospermum chelonoides	70,14.399,7.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.383.		
pāram	=bhāra	large family, retinue (as burden)	35,32.145,4.P13,24
pārppaṉaṉ* pārppāṉ	=brāhmaṇa, Lex.	brahman, seer	9,1*.43,14.305,2. P63,1.P.VI,4.
piṇimukam	=phanimukha, Lex.	N. of Skanda's elephant; his peacock.	56,8.(Nakkīraṉār).
piṇṭam	=piṇḍa	ball. foodstuff*, mass+, bali‡	184,9+.234,4*. 246,6.372,9*.P30,3
piracam	-prasrava, Lex.	honey	375,9.
puttel	-puttala, Lex.	god, deity	22,35.
pūtam	=bhūta	(5)elements, spirit*	2,4.(Muṭināākaṉār). 369,17*.P.IX,14*.
paiyul	-payyāula Pkt.	distress	P65,15.
pokam	=bhoga	support, largesse	8,2.(Kapilar).
pauvam	-pūrva, Lex.	ocean	P:42,21.46,11.51,1 55,3.

maṅkalam	=maṅgala	fortunate	332,5.
maṅṅai	-mayūra, Lex. see: mayil. Burrow: Loanwords in Sanskrit, in TPS(1946)pp.1-30.	peacock	13,10.141,11.
maṭam	=maṭha	place	142,5,6.
maṇi	=maṇi	jewel, gem. coral*, sapphire+, bell‡.	3,10.22,2.50,3+. 53,2.200,8,11. 229,27.198,4*. P16,15.P20,12‡. P31,11+. (+49).
maṇṭilam	=maṇḍala prob. a re-borrowing from Skt., maṇḍala being connected with Dravidian: Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.389.	circle. disc*.	30,2.367,2. 8,6*.175,9*.
mati	=mati	mind	5,7.377,12.
mantiram	=mantra	mantra, Veda	P30,33.P.IX,10.
mayil=	mayūra see: maṅṅai. Burrow: Loanwords in Sanskrit, in TPS(1946)pp.1-30.	peacock	116,10.120,6.145,1 146,8.373,10.
malai=	malaya	mountain	8,8.55,1.91,8. 218,2.390,7,24. P:25,10.48,13. (+30)P:50,1.51,12.80,2.
maḷḷan	-?malla, Lex.	warrior	89,6.219,2.251,3. 254,3.399,20.
maṉam	=manas	mind	183,4.310,3.
mā	=mahā	great, large	24,18.58,22.131,1. 135,10.176,6.358,1. P:20,14.24,28. P:41,10.84,23.(+9).
mā	-māyā, Lex.	black, darkness	P:30,2.37,8.40,5.
mākam	-mahākha, Lex.	sky. point of compass*	35,18.270,1.400,1. P88,37*.
māci	=Māgha	the 11th.month	P59,2.
mātiram	-mahādiśa,Lex.	point of compass	174,21.P12,8.P17,8. P:31,3.32,2.71,10. P72,11.
māttirai	=mātrā	time taken to wink	376,7.

māyam	=māyā	falseness. darkness*, illusion+	366,24.P62,6+. P.VII,8*.
mālai=	mālā	garland	22,12.95,1.141,2. 269,2.284,3.285,6. 291,7,8.371,23.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.390.		176,7.P48,11.(+6).
mānam	=māna	pride	P42,19.(Paraṇar).
mukam=	mukha	face. tip*, front+	3,25.6,24.12,5. 31,7.275,5*.299,3+ 369,1*.P40,1+.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.391.		P58,3.P67,14.(+22)
muttam muttu*	=muktā, Lex.	pearl,tear+	53,1.58,11.161,16*+ 170,11.218,1*. 377,17.380,1,6*. P:30,7.39,16.
	but see: Burrow: TPS(1946)pp1-30		P:67,4.74,6.
muttu	=mugdha	beauty	P32,3.
munivar	=muni+ Ta. suffix	sages	6,17,20.43,4. 201,8.
mai	-maṣi, Lex.	blackness, dark	50,2.117,1.147,6. 269,3.P31,11.
	But see Burrow: TPS(1946)pp.1-30		P52,5.P64,16.
moriyar	=Maurya	the Mauryas see: Moriyar.	175,6.(Āttireyanār
yavanar	=Yavana	'Ionians' see: Yavanar.	56,18.(Nakkīranār).
yāmam	=yāma	midnight-watch	33,18.37,9.186,3. 377,1.
vaṅkam	-vahya, Lex.	boat	368,9.P52,4.
vacciram	=vajra	thunderbolt	241,3.
vañci=	vañjula	Calamus rotang see: Vañci (2).	384,2.387,33.
	Burrow: BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.392.		
vaṇikan	=vaṇij	trader	134,2.
vaṇṇam	=varṇa	colour, coloured. character*	P:50,17.52,30*. P:62,8*.81,2.
vati-	=vas-	dwell, live	132,6.318,8.

vayiram	=vajra, Lex.	diamond	365,4.P16,16. P67,6.P.II,9.
valam=	bala	strength, power. victory*	4,1*274,5.330,2. 337,3.P41,12. P:51,30.54,14. P:57,4*.70,5,11*.
	see: Burrow: TPS (1946)pp.1-30		P80,11.
vaḷḷi=	vallī	creeper. stalk*	316,9.352,5*.
	see Burrow: TPS (1946)pp.1-30.		
vaṉappu	-vanas, Lex.	beauty	4,2.336,10.
vaṉṉi	=vahni	Prosopis spicigera	372,7.
vāṇikam	=vāṇika	profit	208,7.
vāy	-vāc, Lex.	mouth. lip*	298,5*.324,2,3. P.II,1.
vāraṇam	=vāraṇa	fowl	398,3.(Tiruttāmaṉ:
vicayam	=vijaya	victory	362,5.
viṭar	-vidṛ-	cleft, cave	209,8.
viṭai	=vṛṣa	bull	262,1.364,4.366,18
vekam	=vega	anger	37,2.(Nappacalai:)
vetam	=veda	the Vedas, vedic	2,18.15,17.224,9.
velam	=vela	garden	P39,12.
vaiyam	-vāhya	earth	8,1.225,4.261,6. 358,3.371,1.
vaiyakam	id.+	earth	201,17.230,5. 260,16.394,4. 398,26.P88,1.

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189 loanwords
from I.I.

GLOSSARY AND INDEX

INCLUDING PLACE-NAMES

The same system of references as for Appendix III is herein followed, and the text-references are given in the same order as for Appendix II. The word and its meaning are given in one or more lines as necessary, and both text-references and those to pages in this study appear on a succeeding line or lines.

Personal names of kings and chiefs are only given where these occur outside the relevant chapters, i.e. Chapters IV, V, VII and VIII. Thus, personal names of kings in Chapter IV are not indexed, and those of Ceral kings (other than Antuvan and Utiyan) in Chapters VII and VIII are not indexed. Names of chiefs in Chap.V are not indexed. The 'dynasty-names' in the relevant sections of Chap.IV are not indexed; for these, please see Table of Contents.

All poetic and metrical terms are fully indexed where given.

Abbreviations and symbols as for Appendices.

Word	Meaning, description	Text-References	Page-References
akam	one of the two divisions of Tamil poetics.		12,18-20,29,35,38-41,44,50 64,66,70,78,79,84,210,347, 349,363,368,389-91,409, 470,471.
	see: tiṇai		
Akappā	N. of place destroyed by Cĕlkĕlu Kuṭṭuvan.	P22,26.N14,4.P.III,3.	303-305.
akil	eaglewood, Aquilaria agallocha.	337,10.	
Akutai	A chief.	233,3.347,5.A76,3.A113,4. A208,18.	260.
	=Ahtai, ait UVS		
Akkuran	One of the seven chiefs.	P14,7.	
	cf. Akrūra, Lex.		

(akaval,cont.): 464,467,469,472.
akavalocai: see: ocai.

Āṭu Aries, sign of the Zodiac.
229,1. 190.

Āmūr place where Porvaikko fought Mallan.
80,1. 142.

āmpal waterlily, Nymphaea lotus.
P:13,6.19,20,23,24.27,3.
P63,19,P71,2.

Āy n. of several chiefs of the cowherd caste.
390,2.A148,7. 214-217.280,343,389 fn.2.
Aioi: Ptolemy. see: A.I.,IV,p.180.
Āy Ĕyinan
A:148,7.181,7.208,5.396,4. 139-141,221 chart C,280, 294 fn.2,307.
see: Veḷ Āy Aṇṭiran.

ār Bauhinia racemosa; emblem-flower of Colas.
81,3.82,6.344,8.338,6. 143,312 fn.7.
355f,5.

Āriyar 'aryans', people from N.India.
P11,23.P:II,7.V,6.A276,9. 301-303,310,326.
A:336,22.396,16,398,18.
K7,3.N170,6.
Āriyarakam: 328.
Ārya: 173,302,313,328,475,476.

Ārkkāṭu n. of place belonging to Alici, q.v.; Arcot.
K258,7.N190,6. 141,142.

Āviyar tribe to which Pekan belonged.
147,9. 220,231,295 & fn.1.
see: Veḷ Āvikkomān Patuman.

Ār'uṇarntav ŏru mutu nūl the 6 Vedāṅgas, as belonging to the 4 vedas.
166,3,4.
six Vedāṅgas: 234,235.

Ān Pŏrunai a river near Karuvūr.
36,5.A93,23. 178-180.185,343 fn.8.
Ān Pŏruntam: 178,180.
Amarāvati 178,180,343 fn.8.
see: Pŏrunai.

Indra: 122,127,217,272 fn.7,403.
Vaccira nĕṭiyon Indra, as armed with the thunderbolt.
241,3.

Urantai n. of the Cola 'capital' nr. Trichy.
39,8.58,9.69,12.352,10. 113,126,133,139,140-142,
395,19.A:6,5.93,5.122,21. 168,180,187,251,266,336 fn
A137,6.K258,4(dub.) 435,477.
Uraiyūr n. of Cola 'capital' as given in colophons.
113,114,118,119,129,133,
134,138,186,251,313,336.
Orthoura: Ptolemy. See: A.I. IV,p.184.

unnam n. of tree with small leaves & yellow fl. invoked for omens before battle.
P:23,1.40,17.61,6.

ūci =udīcī North.
229,9.

ūran hero of Marutam-tract.
49,1. 29,192.353 fn.2,374 & fn.6

ĕccam the eight deformities at birth, viz.: blindness, aborted embryo, hunchback, dwarfness, dumbness, deafness, animal shape and congenital idiocy.
28,1-3. 117.

ĕrukkam, ĕrukku* Calotropis gigantea, worn by lover who rides the hobby-horse of palmyra.
K17,2.Kali.139,8*. 32,34,260 & fn.1,355 & fn.1

Ĕrumaiyūran Lord of Ĕrumai, n. of a Vaṭukar chief in whose land flowed the Ayiri river.
A:36,17.115,5.253,19. 155,158 chart B,160,354.

ĕlu pŏri the seven signs of kingship.
99,7.

ĕluvar the seven, as comprising two 'crowned kings and 5 Veḷir.
76,12.

aintuṇai 5 aids: grammar, rhetoric, jyotiṣa, veda and āgama, ait comm.
P21,2.

aimpāl the five ways of dressing women's hair: kŏṇṭai,kulal,paniccai,muṭi,curuḷ (Tiv.)
P18,4.Kali.58,1.

aimpĕrumpūtam the five elements.
2,4.cp.P14,1,3.
pañcabhūta: 177.

Aiyai daughter of Tittan.
A6,3. 139-141.

kāntāram — a paṇ in Pari.: 393.

Kāri — the horse ridden by Malaiyamāṉ, q.v.
158,6. 213,231.

Kālaṉ — Yama, god of death.
23,17.41,1.240,5.P39,8. 123.
Ĕrumai — Yama, as riding on a buffalo.
Kali:101,25.103,43.Pari.8,86.
Kūrru — Death, the god Yama (? also Śiva).
56,11. 166.
Ṅamaṉṉ: 6,9 (v.r. Camaṉ).
see: Yama.

Kāviri — river in the Coḷa country; mod. Kāveri.
35,8.43,22.58,1.68,9. 113,122,126,128,168,178,
166,28.174,8.385,8.[illegible] 235,241,243,264,267,343.
P50,6.P73,8.P90,47.A186,16.
A177,16.A326,11.

kāṉapperĕyil — n. of fort taken by Pāṇṭiyaṉ Ukkirappĕru Valuti; mod. Kāḷaiyār Koyil, ait TSS ed.
21,6. 162,163.

Kiḷḷi — Coḷa name: 128,134 & fn.1,299.

kuṭakku — West.
17,2.126,14.130,6.177,12.
373,26.P22,32.P51,3,15.
P.VI,5.A115,3.

Kuṭavar — inhabitants of the Ceral country.
17,10.P55,9.A393,16.K89,5. 427,435.
P.V,2.
Kuṭanāṭu: 124,130,295 & fn.2,313.

Kuṭṭuvar — inhabitants of the Ceral country.
P90,26. 341.
Kuṭṭuvaṉ — n. of several Ceralar.
P:42,8,43,11,46,13,47,1. 220,265,304,305,315,331,
P49,17.K34,6.N14,3. 342,379 & fn.2.
see: Ceral.

kuṇakku — East.
17,2.376,8.395,19.P22,32.
P:50,5.51,15.59,6.

Kutirai — n. of mountain belonging to the Atiyar.
158,8.168,17.A143,13. 206,238,239.
A372,9.
Horse Mountain: 231.

Kumaṇaṉ — a chief: 127 chart A.

kūviḷam bael, vilva.
372,6.

Kaikkiḷai akattiṇai, signifying Unrequited Love.
20,29,32,36,38,40,fn.3,51,
57,58,60 tab.,64,68,69,
354 & fn.6,359,386 & fn.3,
463 & fn.7.
purattiṇai, with same significance.
59,60 tab.,63-5,79,223,472

kai mān cp. hastī elephant.
96,8.

Kŏṅkar people or rulers of Kŏṅkunāṭu.
130,5.P:22,15.77,10,88,19. 216,217,329.
P90,25.A253,4.N10,6.
Kŏṅkunāṭu area comprising mod. Salem & Coimbatore.
373,8. 178,185,216,217,317,318,
329,330,343.

Kŏṭukūr n. of town destroyed by Cĕṅkuṭṭuvan.
P.V,12. 310,312.

Kŏṭuntamil Tamil spoken 'dialect'.
306 & fn.6,330 & fn.6.

Kŏṭumaṇam n. of place belonging to the Irumpŏrai,
identified w mod. Kŏlumam by Sesha Aiyar.
P67,1.P74,5. 340.

kŏṅkan hero of seashore.
turaivan see: cerppan. 375.

Kŏṅkāṇam Kŏṅkaṇam, forming present E.part of Salem
& Coimbatore Distts. see Puram.,TSS i,p337.
154,13.155,7.156,3.N391,6. 227,229,307 & fn.8.

Kŏlli hills in mod. Trichy. Distt. S.Shevaroys.
22,28.152,31.158,5.P73,11. 189,213,228,229,231,314,
P81,24.P.VIII,3.A62,13. 341.
A:208,22.209,15.338,14.
K89,4.N185,7.N346,9.
see: Valvil Ori.

Kŏrkai port in Pāṇṭiya country.
A296,10.N23,6. 153.
Kolkhoi, Ptolemy; see: A.I.,IV,p.57,58.

Kŏrravai goddess of victory.
305,306,330.

kŏnrai Cassia fistula.
1,1.P67,13. 87.

(cont.)

Titiyan — a chief, son of Ĕvvi (cf. Akam. 126 ll. 13f.
A:25,20.36,15.45,9.126,16. 155,158 chart B,160,171,
A:145,11.196,11.262,10. 260,261,354.
A322,8.A331,12.

Tittan — a chief, ruler of Urantai.
80,6.352,9.395,18.A6,4. 50,139,140,142,143,266.
A122,21.

Tittan Vĕḷiyan — ? same as the above; both are identified with Porvaikkoppĕrunarkiḷḷi.
A152,5.A226,14. 138-41,275,297.
see also: Vĕḷiyan Tittan.

Tiru — Lakṣmī.
179,5.342,5.P14,11.P31,7. 47,151.
Lakṣmī: 399.

Tiraiyan — a chief, probably of Tŏṇṭaimaṇṭalam.
A85,9.A340,6. 252,253.

tillai — blinding tree, Excoecaria agallocha, Lex.
252,2. 271.

Tuṇaṅkai — kind of dance in which the arms, bent at the elbows, are made to strike the sides.
P:13,5.45,12.52,14.57,4.77,4.

tumpai — 'white dead-nettle' Leucas aspera Spreng.
96,1.283,13.P:14,8.39,3. 41 fn.2,49 & fn.1,176.
P:42,6.45,1.52,8.79,15.
P88,23.

Tumpai — purattiṇai; opposition of well-matched kings: 41,49-51 fn.1,52 & fn.3, 54 fn.3,57,60 tab.,62.

Tuvarai — identified with Dvārasamudra, mod. Haḷebiḍu, the Hŏysaḷa 'capital'; said to have been ruled by 49 veḷir.
201,10. 254-6.
Tuvarāpati, Dvāravatī, Dvārakā: 255.
Dvārasamudra, Mysore: 255,256.

turai — Poetic Theme in purattiṇai.
21,10. 37,42-50,52 & fn.3,54-56, 58,59,61-5,88-90,166,fn.2, 172,184,211,220,234,264, 270-7,288.

turai — Vedic sacrifice; of 21 kinds, comm., Puram UVS,p.266.
166,8. 235.
UVS himself says that there were 7 soma- 7 havir- and 7 pākayajña.

Nallini — wife of Utiyañceral.
P.II,3. — 139-41,221 chart C,294, 296 tab.,297.

Naravu — port on the W. coast.
P60,12.P85,8. — 328,337,338,342.
Naura: Periplus, Schoff tr.,p.44.
Nitraiai: Ptolemy, A.I.,IV,p.45.

Nannan — a Veḷir chief.
151,8.P40,14.A97,12.A142,9. A199,20,A208,14.A396,2. K292,5.K298,5.N391,6.P.IV,7. — 306-12,328,334,335.

nāga — mythical being.
121,245,246,252.

Nāñcil — mountain nr. Pŏtiyil, identified by TSS ed. of Puram. w. Maruttumalai.
137,12.139,8.140,1.380,9. — 218,239.

Nāñcil Vaḷḷuvan — a chief.
158 chart B.
(? 380,12: Cāttan).

nāṭan — hero of the forest tract in akam.
49,1. — 192.

Nālai — n. of place ruled by Nākan.
179,10. — 250.

nālvetam — the 4 Vedas.
2,18.
4 Vedas: — 234,235.
Veda: — 331.
Nānmarai — 'the 4 hidden things' i.e., vedas.
6,20.26,13.92,7.166,3.362,9. — 149.

nārpatt'ŏnpatu Veḷir — 49 Veḷir in lineage of Iruṅkoveḷ, q.v.
201,11,12.

nārpāl — the 4 varṇas.
183,8. — 173.

Nilamakaḷ — earth goddess, Bhūdevī.
365,10.

Nīṭūr — place ruled by Veḷ Ĕvvi.
A266,10. — 260,334.

Nĕṭumiṭal — a chief of Añci's clan (old comm.).
P32,10. — 333.

(cont.)

Peymakaḷ she-devil.
P13,15.P30,36.P67,11.

Periyāru river in the Ceral country.
P28,11.P88,25. 307,330,331.
Pseudostomos: Ptolemy, A.I.,IV,p.49.
see: Culliyam.

Pŏtiyil, Pŏtiyam* mountain nr. Cape Comorin, legendary abode of Agastya.
2,24*.128,5.A25,20. 171,177,215.
Bettigo: Ptolemy, A.I.,IV p.78.

Pŏtini mountain belonging to Āvi.
A1,4.A61,16. 220,299.
The TSS ed. of Akam., i,p.148 identifies Pŏtini with Palani.

Pŏtuviyal purattiṇai.
57,59,60 tab.,63,270 fn.1.

Pŏtti a place ruled by Pĕruṅcolan.
P.IX,6. 315,316.
Pŏtti(yār) a poet, panegyrist of Koppĕruṅcolan, q.v.
212,9.

Pŏrunai river on which stood Vañci, q.v.
11,5.387,34. 183,317,343 fn.8.
Taṇpŏrunai: 178-80.
see: Ān Pŏrunai.

pŏruḷ one of the puruṣārthas, artha.
28,15.31,1. 67,117,262.

Pŏraiyan Ceral title, possibly same as Irumpŏrai.
53,5.P:73,11.75,3.77,1. 188,340,341.
P:84,6.86,3.87,5.A60,7.
A62,13.A388,13.K89,4.K128,2.
N:8,9.18,5.185,6.346,8.P.VII,3.

Pŏraiyārrukkilān a chief. 154.

pontai palmyra, Borassus flabellifer.
265,3.297,10.338,6.P51,9. 278 fn.3.
P51,31.P70,6.
see: maṭal.

Pontai n. of place belonging to (Nĕṭuvel) Ātan.
338,4. 278,279.

Por place where Cĕṅkaṇān fought Kaṇaikkāl I.
A186,16.A326,12.(N10,7). 197.
identified by Pillai w Porvai.

mākkiṇai — large hour-glass drum.
70,3.392,5.

māttirai — length of time taken to wink.
376,7.
mātrā: 413 & fn.1,5,6,414 fn.6, 442 & fn.6,450,454 fn.1.
mātrā: 419-21.

Māyon — The Dark One, Viṣṇu.
57,2.229,27. 23,390.
Nĕṭiyon — Viṣṇu.
P15,39. 150,151.
Nemiyon — Viṣṇu, as armed with the cakra.
58,15.
see: Viṣṇu.

Māran — Pāṇṭiya 'family' name.
146,316.

Miṅili — a chief, foe of Āy Ĕyiṇaṇ, q.v.
A:142,11.148,8.208,7.396,5. 221 chart C,280.

Milalai — town in Cola country, seat of Ĕvvi. Prob mod. Tiruvīlimilalai.
24,19. 159,260.

Muciṟi — port on W. coast near mouth of Periyāṟu, identified w̄ Muyirikkoṭṭai.
343,10.A57,15.A149,11. 279,307,331.
Mouziris, Ptolemy: A.I., IV p.48.
Muziris, Periplus, Schoff tr., p.44.

Muṭappaṇai — 'Bent Palmyra', the 17th. nakṣatra, Anuṣam, part of Scorpio.
229,3. 190.

Mutarpŏruḷ — Times & Seasons as appropriate to the 5 akattiṇai: 24,27,40,362 fn.1,367 fn.1 454.

Mutiram — n. of mountain ruled by Kumaṇaṇ. The TSS ed.Puṟam.,i,p.345 says it is a spur of Paḷanis nr. Uṭumalaippeṭṭai, and that a village in that area is called K-maṅkalam
158,25.163,8. 230,231,259.

muttī — the 3 sacrificial fires.
2,23.367,13. 116.
Garhapatya, Ahavanīya, Dakṣiṇāgni: 177.

Muttūṟu — Veḷir place annexed by Nĕṭuṅcĕḷiyaṇ.
24,22. 159.

Tiruvañcaikkaḷam: 319.
Kŏṭuṅkoḷūr: 181,317,318,319.
Koreoura, Ptolemy: A.I., IV,p.49.
see: Karuvūr.

vañcippā one of the 4 main metre-types.
426,431-3,438,439 tab.,447
463,466,467.
vañci: 385,421,422,424 & fn.1,427
434-9,450-3,466 & fn.5,467
469,470.

vaṭakku, vaṭa- North.
17,1.122,8.132,7.380,2.391,7. 107.
P:24,24.31,16.43,7.68,13.P.V,1.
Vaṭamīn the star Arundhatī, Alcor, scarcely visible, in Ursa Major.
122,8. 213.

Vaṭukar inhabitants of the region to the N. of the Tamil country, perhaps Telugus.
A:253,18.281,8.295,15.K11,5. 106,107,155 fn.5,245,
265.

vaṇṇam rhythmic effect.
288,413 & fn.1,452,453.
tūṅkal vaṇṇam: see: tūṅkal, sub ocai.

Valvil Ori a chief, ruler of Kŏlli, q.v.
158,5.A208,21.A209,14. 189,314.
K199,3.N320,5.

Valuti Pāṇṭiya 'family' name.
388,15.A93,9.A204,2.N150,4. 146,147,241.

Vaḷavan n, of several Colar.
174,14. 113,114,120-2,125,126,242-

vākai Albizzia lebbek.
P:40,15.43,23.66,15.88,10. 41 fn.2,51,309 & fn.4,
310 fn.1,334.
see also: Nannan, whose kaṭimaram was vākai (P40,14,15).

Vākai purattiṇai; Praise of the Spotless.
41,51,52 & fn.3,54,55,57,
60 tab.,89,274-6.

Vākai n. of place (belonging to Nannan, q.v.)
351,6.A125,19.A199,19. 280,309,334.
K393,3.P.IV,9.

Vāṭṭāru place belonging to Ĕliniyātan.
396,13.

Věṇkuṭai place belonging to (Coliyav eṉāti) Tiru-
394,2. Kuṭṭuvaṉ.

Věṇṇi place where Ceral & Cola fought.
66,6.A55,10.A246,9.N390,3. 109-12.338,349.

věṇpā one of the 4 main types of metre.
385,395,423-5,427,431,432
438 & fn.3,439 fn.1 & tab.
441-8,450,451,463,464,466
& fn.5,468,469.

Věḷiyam n. of place belonging to Vāṉavarampaṉ.
A359,6.

Věḷiyaṉ Tittaṉ a chief, (? the author of A.188).
N58,5. 138-41,275,280.

Věḷiyaṉ Veṇmāṉ father-in-law of Utiyañceral, q.v.
P.II,3. 139-41,221 chart C,280,
294 & fn.2,296 tab.,297.

Věḷḷi the planet Venus.
35,7.117,2.384,20.388,1. 125.
P13,25.P24,24.P69,14.

Venkaṭam the Tiruppati hill, trad. the N. border of the Tamil country.
381,22.385,10.389,11. 248,252,263,265.
391,7.A61,13.A83,10.A85,9.
A:209,9.213,3.393,20.

veṅkai E.Indian kino tree, Pterocarpus marsupium
100,5.108,3.120,1.129,3. 258 & fn.7,405 & fn.1,408.
137,9.168,15.202,13.265,2.
336,8.P53,18.P88,34.

Veṅkai Mārpaṉ a chief to whom Kāṉapperěyil belonged.
21,9. 162,163.

Veda: see: nālvetam.
Vedāṅga: see: ār'uṇarntav ŏru mutu nūl.

vempu nīm, margosa, Azadirachta indica.
76,4.77,2.79,2.281,1.338,6. 161 fn.3.
389,2.P44,15.P49,16.A93,9.P.V,13.
margosa: 312,335.

Veḷir a clan of Tamil chieftains.
24,21.P:30,30.49,7.75,4. 114,139,141,159,160,181,18
P88,13.A206,13. 209,231,253-7,266,275,279,
294,311,312.
Veḷ Āy Aṇṭiraṉ:
158,13. 90,186. (cont.)

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