MARR (J.R.)
Ph.D. 1958
(Tamil)
Gloriosa Superba
(Liliaceae)
THE EIGHT TAMIL ANTHOLOGIES
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO
PURANĀṆŪRU AND PATIRRUPPATTU

by
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Viḻampi va., Āṇi mā.
This thesis is a survey of early Tamil court poetry collectively known as Ēṭṭuttōkai.

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 Tōlkāppiyam, Pōruḷatikāram, and a general assessment of the extent of the influence of Sanskrit literary theory on that of Tamil as set out by Tōlkāppiyaṉār 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 Paripātal, 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 Ėṭṭuttōkai, 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 Ėṭṭuttōkai that consist of poems addressed to various kings and chieftains of the Tamil area. These are entitled Puranānūru and Patirruppattu. Many of the conclusions of modern writers in regard to the events mentioned in these poems have been based on secondary material associated with Puranānūru and Patirruppattu 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 Patirruppattu, 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 Puranānūru and Patirruppattu 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 Purattinai, 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.
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<td>ADP</td>
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<td>A.I.</td>
<td>Ancient India, Mc Crindle.</td>
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<td>Aṅkuru</td>
<td>Aṅkuruṇūru.</td>
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<td>Akam.</td>
<td>Akanśṇūru, (in appendices &amp; index, A.)</td>
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<td>Akat.</td>
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<td>A.Nagar</td>
<td>Annamalainagar, S.Arcot Distt.</td>
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<td>Aṭiyārkunallār.</td>
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<td>Bh.NS.</td>
<td>Bharata: Nāṭyaśāstra.</td>
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<td>B.I.</td>
<td>British India.</td>
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<td>Cēyyuḷiyal (Tōl. Pōruḷ.)</td>
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<td>CET</td>
<td>Chronology of the Early Tamils, K.N. Sivaraja Pillai.</td>
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<td>Cil.</td>
<td>Cilappatikāram.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CK</td>
<td>Cēra Kings of the Šangam Period, K.G. Sesha Aiyar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>col.</td>
<td>colophon. In lexical contexts, column.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cōl.</td>
<td>Cōllatikāram (Tōl.)</td>
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<td>cū.</td>
<td>cūttiram.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distt.</td>
<td>District.</td>
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<td>ed.</td>
<td>editor, edited, according to context.</td>
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<td>edn.</td>
<td>edition.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eluttu</td>
<td>Elutt'atikāram (Tōl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESV</td>
<td>E.S. Varadaraja Aiyar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>fl.</td>
<td>flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCIP</td>
<td>History and Culture of the Indian People, Majumdar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HP  Heroic Poetry, C.M. Bowra.
IA  Iraiyanär Akappōrul.
I.A. Indian Antiquary.
I.I. Indo-Iranian.
Ilam. Ilampūranar.
I.V. Ilakkanā Vilakkam.
K. Kannada.
Kaik. Kaikkilai (Akat. & Purat.)
Kalavu. Kalav'iyal (Tōl. Pōrul.)
Kali. Kalittōkai.
KAN K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.
Kāncip., etc. Kāncippaṭalam (PPVM, q.v.)
Karan. Karantai (Purat.)
Karpu. Karp'iyal (Tōl. Pōrul.)
Karu. Karuppōrul.
KD Kāvyādārsa, Daṇḍin.
KMM Kiruti Maṇimālai.
Kumāra. Kumārasaṃbhava.
Kurun. Kuruntōkai.
M. Malayālam.
Mbh. Mahābhārata.
Mod. Modern.
Mūtal. Mutarpōrul.
Nacc. Naccinārk'iniyar.
N̄. Nānñūl.
Nār. Nirnīṇai, (in appendices, N.)
Tev.  Tevāram.
The P.  The Pattuppattu, S. Vithianandan.
Tiruvāna.  Tiruvaṇacampantar.
Tiruvālavāy.  Tiruvālavāyutaiyār.
Tiruvilai.  Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam.
Tiv.  Tivākaram.
T. Nagar.  Tyāgarayanagar, Madras.
Tōl.  Tōlkāppiyam, Tōlkāppiyanār, according to context.
TPS  Transactions of the Philological Society, London.
Trichy.  Tiruccirāppalli.
TSS  Tirunēlveli Caiva Cittānta Book Publishing Co.
Uri.  urippōrul.
Uvamai.  Uvamam.  Uvamai/Uvamaviyal (Tōl.)
Vāts.KS  Vātsyāyana: Kāmasūtra.
UVS  U.V. Cāminēṭ'aiyar.
VRRD  V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.
W  with (in footnotes).
Yāppu.  Yāpp'aruṅkalam.
Y.Kērikai.  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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## List of Translations

These are our own, with the exception of that of Puram.229 as noted.

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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 ꜱ and ꜇, corresponding to the two guna vowels in Sanskrit, are transliterated e and o. The Tamil short vowels ꜙ and ꜖ are therefore transliterated ē and ə.

The only change in the accepted diacritics for Sanskrit is the use of ' to indicate the palatal nasal instead of the tilde, thus, ꜖. This avoids the use of two different diacritics in the case of ꜖ and ꜖ for what are in fact homorganic consonants.

The three 'Tamil' letters ꜕, ꜝ and ꜖ are all indicated in transliteration with ꜖, though it is realized that the retroflex ꜖ is not homorganic with the 'alveolar' ꜖ and ꜖.

The Tamil 'shortened u', Kurriyalukaram, is not indicated save in Chapter X, on Prosody, wherein it is shown as ꜖. 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. Pillai.

For indexing purposes, the following combined order for the letters of Tamil and Sanskrit has been adopted: a ā i ī u ū r ṛ ṭ ṭ e ē ai ə o au ḷ, ḵ, ḡ, ḻ, ḵ, ḻ, ā c ch j jh ṅ ṭ ṭ d dh ṇ p ph b bh m y r l v ₁ ₃ ṅ s ṣ Ṙ h (h m).
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 Tōlkāppiyam, the Eighteen Minor Works and the Five Epics, which, as they include Civakacintāmaṇī, 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, Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam, 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 Nāṟṉūl, Viracoliyam and Taṉṭiyalankāram.

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 Tempāvani, an epic about St. Joseph on the model of Civakacintāmani, 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 Cēvvel (Subrahmanya). As defined, the early period includes the following works:

1. The Eight Anthologies (Ēṭṭuttōkai).
2. Tōlkāppiyam.
3. The Ten Songs (Pattuppāṭṭu).
4. The Five Epics, i.e. Cilappatikāram, Manimekalai, Civakacintāmani, Kunțalakeci and Vaḷaiyāpati, our knowledge of the last two being fragmentary.
4. The Eighteen Minor Works (Patinēṅkilkkanaṅkku).

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 Tōlkāppiyam only for reasons shortly to be discussed. 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 Tōlkāppiyam lived in an age of one or more literary academies, centred latterly on Maturai, the capital of the Pāntiya kingdom. The main sources for the tradition of the caṅkam are the Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam of Paraṅcotimuṇivar and the commentary on Iraiyaṅar Akappōrul. It may be convenient to consider the latter first.

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

1. v.i., p.7,8.2. For a resume of the caṅkam story see M.S. Pūrṇalingampillai: Tamil Literature, p.15, and A.L. Basham: The Wonder that was India, p.462.
2. This work was written in the 12th. century A.D. according to Dr. U.V. Cāmināta Aiyar in his introduction to it, Another purāṇam of the same name was composed by Tiruvālavāyutaiyār.
has come down, these rules are accompanied by a commentary attributed to Nakkirar which consists both of prose and 325 example-verse and of quotations from known works.

The tradition regarding the authorship seems to rest on little but the name of the author, Iraiyanar. Iraiyanar is also reputed as the author of a verse in Kuruntokai, one of the eight anthologies. This poem too is said to be the work of Siva. Iraiyan, with the honorific suffix -ar added is connected with irai, either in the sense of head, supreme god, king (in regard to his excelling others), or, seat, duty, tax.

It may be suggested that a poet of the name Iraiyan did exist and write the verse in Kuruntokai and perhaps the Iraiyanarakapporul 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 Siva under the name Iraiyanar in the sense of god. The inclusion of Iraiyanar's poem in Kuruntokai shows that whoever compiled the Anthology considered the poem to belong to the early period of Tamil literature.

To the same period belongs Nakkirar, whether or no he

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1. Recently edited by the TSS (1953). The example-verses are known as the Pantiikkovai. They refer to a Pantiya king called Ninacir Netumaran. In discussion, T.P. Minaksisundaram was of the opinion that this ruler was a contemporary of the 7th. cent. hymnist Tirunangacamparan, and that Pantiikkovai 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 Kkanakkāyaṇār makanār Nakkīraṇār as is generally supposed¹. The latter name need not be considered here². Nakkīrar or Nakkīraṇār is credited with the authorship of a large number of poems in three of the eight anthologies³. He is also said to have written the commentary on Iraiyanar Akappōrul. One of the chief sources for this tradition is Paraṅcoti's Tiruvilai., paṭalams 54 and 56 of which tell how Śiva desired Kiṟaṇ to write the commentary on his work on poetics; Kiṟaṇ studied the art under Agastya⁴ 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 Maturai⁵.

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:-
1. Cf. Samājam edn. pp.694ff., wherein poems of both (?) poets are given as the work of Nakkīrar.
2. He was the author of Puram.56 & 189, Pattu. I & VII, etc.
5. IA, comm., TSS edn. pp 6 and 7.

4. Cf. the root iṟu, halt, stay. Cf. Ma. iṟa; mod.Ta., iṟaiyān, king, as one to whom taxes are due.
of the Cankam 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 Prakrit which do not occur in Sangam literature at all, and is similar in structure and vocabulary to the authenticated medieval commentaries. Moreover, the Pāṇṭikkovai that is included in it is in Kaṭṭalaiakkalittupai, a metre found neither in the anthologies nor in the Ceyyuḷiyal, the section of Tōlkāppiyam, Pōrulatikāram, that treats of prosody.

It is said that Nilakantān of Muciri 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. This tradition may provide evidence regarding the actual author of this commentary on Akappōrul and the date of its composition. Such a date has been accepted by a number of scholars. As for Akappōrul itself, K.N.Sivaraja Pillai has shown that there is similarity between a number of verses in Tōlkāppiyam and Akappōrul. While this does not prove his point that the author of Akappōrul copied Tōlkāppiyam 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
which are problematical, occurs the first account extant of
the three caṅkams\textsuperscript{1}, their provenance and the works produced
in them. The durations given for each caṅkam are in themselves
a source of scepticism\textsuperscript{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
Murukavel upon his mountain are included among first caṅkam
poets. None of the works mentioned as having been composed in
the first caṅkam are extant\textsuperscript{3}, but the mention of Tōlkāppiyam
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. Tōlkāppiyam, too,
is listed among the compositions of the third caṅkam or
academy.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1} TS\textsuperscript{3} edn., pp5-6. \textsuperscript{2} I, 4440 yrs., II, 3700 yrs.,
III, 1850 yrs. \textsuperscript{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 caṅkamas. \textsuperscript{4} Perāciriyar on
the type of literary academy envisaged by the commentary on Akappörul or by Parańcotimuṇivar. The titles are:-

Netuntōkainānūru, Kuruntōkainānūru, Nāṟṟiṇainānūru, Purānānūru, Aiṅkurūnūru, Patirruppattu, Nūpp'aimpatu Kali, Ėlupatu Paripāṭal and Tōlkāppiyam¹.

The existence of the titles to nine extant works among a list of fourteen² 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 (Ēṭuttōkai), the ninth being Tōlkāppiyam.

Mention of these Ēṭuttōkai, albeit individually, in the commentary on Iraiyaṉār Akappörul shows that they (and perhaps Tōlkāppiyam 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

footnote continued from previous page:-

Tōl.Pōrul v.549 states that Tōlkāppiyam 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, Varī, Cirricai, Pericai and Akattiyam. Though some cūttirams of this latter survive, it is impossible to agree with VithiananThan 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., UVŚ 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 Naccinquark'iniyar quotes from the anthologies by name, besides commenting on Kalittokai itself, and 20 verses from Kuruntokai. 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 Pillai¹, and is regarded by him as disproving the existence of a cankam:—

"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".

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 Tiruvilaiyāṭapprāṇam, based on the Skandaapurāṇa, includes many further legends concerning the caṅkam.\(^2\) The only one that need be noticed here is another about Śiva with whom Iraiyanār is identified and Nakkīrār. The purāṇam states that Kīraṇ\(^3\) challenged the veracity of a verse which the god had vouchsafed to a poor brahman called Tarumi. For his blasphemy Kīraṇ is smitten with a disease. This story also occurs in Kallāṭam\(^4\) and Tiruvilaiyāṭappurāṇam of Tiruvāḷavāyūṭaiyār\(^5\) in both of which the poem given to Tarumi is stated to be that which begins with the words:

"Kōṅku ter vālkkai .... "

Such a poem is found in Kuruntōkai\(^6\), and the colophon to it states that it is by Iraiyanār. 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 Nakkīrār, 'the good Kīraṇ'.  4. v.1.  5. Tiruvāḷavāy.Tiruvilai., XVI, 10.  6. Kurun. v.2.
that the authors of the two Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇams and also Kallāṭaṅgār and the writer of the Kuruntōkai 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\(^1\) Paraṅcotimunivar was acquainted with the story of Nakkīrar and his commentary on \(IA\)\(^2\) and, in this latter case, Tiruvilai. 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 Tiruvilai.

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 Ėṭṭuttōkai as extant in almost every case, as will now be shown.

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

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1. v.s. p.5. 2. Tiruvilai. paṭalam 54. 3. Although Tiruvilai. mentions one academy only, cf. paṭalam 55. Cp. Cekkilār: Pēriya. Mūrtti. v.7:- "ēmmai ppāvantirppavar caṅkam iruntatu".
of a collection of long poems. The work generally known as Akanānūru, four hundred love (poems) comprises poems of from 13 to 37 lines in length.

2. Kuruntōkainānūru, a collection of four hundred short (poems). The extant Kuruntōkai consists of love poems of from 4 to 8 lines.

3. Narrinainānūru, four hundred (poems depicting) the fine Tinai. The collection usually known as Narriñai consists of four hundred love poems of length intermediate between those of Akanānūru and Kuruntōkai, 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. Purananānūru, 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 Puşam. There are no particular restrictions as to verse-length.

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

1. Kurun. v. 307 has 9 lines, but it is significant that the extant Kuruntōkai contains 401 poems. V. 307 may well be an interpolation.
2. For a definition of the term Tinai, see Chapter II, p. 20.
3. The distinction between Akam and Puşam is discussed in Ch. II, pp. 19f. Puranānūru is discussed in Chapters III (introductory), IV (Cola, Pantiya and Ceral heroes), and V (Chieftain heroes and miscellaneous poems).
Kurun. (Kuruntōkai) and Nar. (Narrinai) is

5. Aĩnkurunūru, five Centuries (ṣataka) of short
(love poems). Each Century is devoted to one of the five
Tiṇai.¹

The only anthology apart from Puram. (Puranānūru)
that treats of royal patrons is

6. Patirruppatu, 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 Patirru. now stands, it
consists of 80 poems in 8 decades, two decades being missing².

7. Nūrr'aimpatu Kali, 150 (poems in) Kali (metrical). The
anthology known as Kalittōkai 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. Ėlupatu Paripātal, 70 (poems) of devotion and
intercession³. The extant anthology Paripātal 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. Patirru. is considered in Ch.VI (introductory), VII (Patikams),
thereon, TSS edn. iii p.297. Contra, E.S.V.Aiyar who, in
discussions analysed paripātal as paripu + āṭal, from id. + āṭal.
of Tirumāl (Viṣṇu), Čēvvel (Skanda) and the Vaiyai (Vaikai) river.¹

Vithiananthan perhaps confuses the issue when he asserts that, in the commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār Akappōrutū, the works are mentioned individually and are not denoted by the collective terms Eṭṭuttōkai and Pattuppāṭṭu. The arrangement of the stanzas into collections must, therefore, have been made later than this period"².

While the collective term Eṭṭuttōkai 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 Tōkai, collection, in the titles Nēṭuntōkai and Kuruntōkai. Moreover, neither the term Pattuppāṭṭu nor any of the poems that comprise it is mentioned in the IA commentary, as has already been noted³.

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.
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 Īṭṭuttokai is used. Whether
this verse embodies the first instance of the use of the term
it is impossible to say:-

"Narriṇai nalla Kuruntōkai Aṅkurundr\
ōṭta Patirruppatt\' onku Parippal
karrarintār ettuṁ Kaliye AkamPuram śnr'
ittiraṭṭ' Īṭṭuttokai".

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 Dāṇḍin's
Kāvyādārśa includes what is probably a Sanskrit notice of
the eight Tamil anthologies. Commenting on Kāvyādārśa I, 13\(^4\)
he states:-

"Saṅghātaḥ ekārthaviṣayaḥ, ekakartṛkāḥ, padyasaṅghātah,
śaratsaṅghātadramidasāsaṅghātādīvat".\(^5\)

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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: "Muktakaṁ kulakāṁ koṣāḥ saṅghāta iti tadvāraḥ".
That the extant Tamil anthologies could be considered saṅghātas was felt by the commentator on Taṇṭiyalaṅkaṇāram, the Tamil version of Kāvyādarśa. In the commentary on Taṇṭi. v.5\(^1\) wherein Tōkai 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 Puram., 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 saṁhitās.\(^3\)

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, Tōkai; the four are listed in v.2. as Muttakam, Kulakam, Tōkai & Tōṭarnilai, corresponding to muktaka, kulaka & saṅghāta, kośa being unrepresented. Tōṭarnilai signifies a long poem with one subject such as Kamparāmāyaṇam.
2. Taṇṭi. comm. TSS edn.
3. V. Raghavan in discussion and
to tokai, saṅghāta or saṃhitā, one would ask why Tōlkāppiyam and other 'grammars' were listed as caṅkam works.

continuation of footnote from previous page:
V. Narayana Aiyar in JORM (1923) 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 Tolkāppiyam and later treatises such as Purappōrul Vēṇpāmālai (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 Alamkāra, both śabda and artha, inasmuch as they figure in certain portions of Tolkāppiyam. 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 Tolkāppiyam.²

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

Akattinaiyiyal, treating of Akam.
Purattinaiyiyal " " Puram.
Kalaviyal, which concerns secret love.
Karpiyal, " " open wedded love.
Poruḷiyal, supplementary to iyals 1, 3 and 4.

¹ A work of uncertain but perhaps early medieval date. It is on the poetics of Puram poetry, and is by Aiyānāritanār.
² That drama was involved is confirmed both by the opening cūttiram (249) of Poruḷ., Mēyppāṭṭiyal, and by Perāciriyar's commentary thereon, TSS edn. iii, pp 1-2.
Dramatic theory is considered in the sixth section, Mēypaṭṭiyal, the iyal relating to the bhāvas. The seventh section, Uvamaviyal, discusses Simile or Uvamam. As will be shown hereafter, the first two sections of Pōrulatikāram 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 Tōlkāppiyam, Pōrulatikāram, 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 Pōruḻ 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 (puram) 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 Puram does not necessarily relate to war, but includes much of what may be described as Praṇastī or panegyric.

In Tōlkāppiyam, the subject of Akam is treated first.

1. To be connected with Upamā.
in the Akattinaiyiyal (Akat.). In "Chronology of the Early Tamils," K.N. Sivaraja Pillai has suggested that historically puram poetry was earlier, preceding the more introspective love poetry.

The section is called Akattinaiyiyal because, like puram, 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. 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 Puram.

As Tōlkappiyaṉar notes, five of the seven Akattinaī are connected with geographical regions. The first, Kaikkilai, and the last, Pērunṭiṇai, are not. Moreover the five names for the geographical areas, mullai, kuṟiṇci, pālai, marutam and neytaḻ 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, and were then

applied to the regions in which these plants grow. For example, kurinci came to mean the mountain region because the kurinci (Strobilanthes) is a conspicuous plant in the Nilagiris and Palanis, especially in view of its infrequent but profuse flowering. The words then came to denote the aspects of love with which each region was associated. Similar are the seven Purattinai, 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.

Naccinarkk'ipiyar objected to the view that the five tinai (ainuinai) 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. But it should be observed that no tinai-name exhibits relationship with any other Tamil or Dravidian word with meaning related to the ideas of union, separation, waiting, anguish and quarrelling. On the other hand several of the tinai-names have cognates in other Dravidian languages meaning flowers or trees. It is impossible to agree with Naccinarkk'ipiyar that each tinai-name means primarily the love aspect. His

1. The plants are: Mullai, Jasminum sambac; Kurinci, Strobilanthes sp.; Marutam, Terminalia sp.; Neytal, Nymphaea lotus alba; Pälai, Mesua sp. 2. Tol. Pōrul. Akat. cū. 5, Nacc. TSS i, p. 14. 3. For the poetic association of these with the five regions, v.i. p. 24. 4. Pälai; cf. K. pāle, Mimusops sp. Neytal; cf. K. neydal, Nymphaea. Mullai; cf. M. mulla, K. mōlle, Te. mōlla, Jasminum sambac. Similarly, the purattinai 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 Tōlkāppiyānār as shared among the other four tīṇai that have geographical significance¹. 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 anthologies².

Each of the five geographical akattīṇai was regarded as having certain Karuppōrul 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 region³.

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1. Porul. 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. Kalittōkai and Ainkurūnūru. 3. vide Akat. PSSēdn. p. 19, and Iḷam. on Akat. cū. 5.
In Akattipaiyiyal the general statement of what constitutes Karuppörul is found in cūttiram 18, while the presiding deities, though included in karuppörul, 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: Māyon, generally taken to be Viṣṇu (forest region or mullai), Ceyon or Murukan (mountain region or kurinci), Ventan the king, taken to be Indra (cultivated lands or marutam) and Varuṇa (seashore or nēyta1). This shows that at the time when Tolkappiyam was compiled, brahmanical deities were already known to the Tamils. Murukan 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'ārruppaṭai, and the Paripāṭal..... the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa..... has made me doubt the veracity of the statement that Murukan is a Dravidian god". The Tamil works he cites are anomalous members of the Ten Songs

1. Töl.Pörul.Akat. cu.5 &comm. TSS edn. i, pp.11-15. Pālai was not regarded by Töl. as a separate tinai so no god is assigned to it. Some karuppörul are assigned to it by Nacc. ibid. i, p.46. Later texts suggest Bhagavati 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 tinai were classified under Mutarpōrul and Urippōrul. The mutarpōrul are the times (cirupōḷlutu) and seasons (pērumpōḷlutu) appropriate to each tinai and, as is the case with karuppōrul, are listed in the form of substantives. In practice, both seasons and times and the Distinctive Attributes may overlap.2

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

1. Puṇartal, union
2. Pirital, separation
3. Iruttal, awaiting
4. Iraṅkal, wailing
5. Útal, quarrel

kurinići, mountains.2
pālai, desert. 3
mullai, forest. 1
nēytai, seashore. 5
marutam, fields. 4. 4

It will be noted that the order of these aspects does not correspond to the order in which Tolkāppiyāṉār lists the five regions.5 As Subrahmanya Sastri suggests6 the order of these aspects of love is a natural one.

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

1. Such as druidism in Roman Britain. 2. Tōḷ.Pōrul.Akat. cū.3.
3. Ibid. cū.13. The times and seasons are given in cū.6 to 10 of the TSS edn.
5. See Tōḷ. ibid. cū.2 & 5.
6. PSS Akat. p.16.
1. Puṇartal, union. The colophon to Kuruntōkai v. 3 explains that the companion persuades the beloved (talaivi) to state her real feelings towards her lover (talaivan) 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".

The colophon to Kurun. 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".

Uniting and the reasons for it are evident in these two examples. Karuppōrul include kurińci itself in Kurun. 3 and Koṭal, gloriosa, in Kurun. 62. The mention of jasmine, mullai, in the latter verse may be taken as an instance of Tipaimayakkam, mixture of tiṇai and associated karuppōrul, stated to occur by Tolkāppiyānār.

2. Pirital, separation.

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

1. Kurun. 3 (Tevakulattēr). 2. Kurun. 62 (Cirukuṭiy Āṇṭaiyār); this is quoted by Nacc. in his comm. on Tōl. Pōrul. cu. 14, i. p. 38. 3. Gloriosa is given as a Distinctive Attribute of kurińci in Nacc. on Tōl. Pōrul. cu. 18, i. p. 46; cp. IA comm. p. 20. 4. Tōl. ibid., cu. 12 & 13, Iłam. 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 Kurun.¹² states that the heroine frets about the dangers of the barren road. She speaks to her companion (toli):

"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

L. Kalittōkai, Pālaikkali 6. 2. Kuṟun.¹² (Otalāntaiyār).
jessamine are forming. The rain clouds commingle with the lightning\(^1\).

In another poem, Ökkür Mācātī 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 karuppōṟul of it\(^3\). Mutarpōṟul associated with mullai are the rainy season (as a pērumpōḷutu) and evening (as cirupōḷutu) according to Tōlkāppiyaṇār\(^4\). Both figure in these two examples\(^5\).

4. Irańkal, wailing. Kayamanār 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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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".  

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".  

Nēytaḷ, the waterlily, from which the tinai associated with grief in separation was named, is mentioned as a karuppōṟuḷ in both these poems. Nacc. lists a number of names for the hero (talaivan) of the maritime tract and two of these, Tūraivaṇ and Kōṅkaṇ appear in these poems as further Nēyτaṟṟiṇaiṅkaruppōṟuḷ.

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

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

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 Evvi's death, whose heads are no longer
adorned with flowers." \(^1\)

In Aiṅkuṟunūru, the beloved complains in allegory of her lover's behaviour. She addresses his charioteer (Paṅkaṅ):

"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 courtesan with whom the lover has been associating when compared to others of her profession. In this latter poem the lover is called Ūraṅ, one of the names of a hero of the cultivated tract according to Naccinārkk'īniyar\(^4\).

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

Kaikkilai and Pēruntiṇai, the two remaining akattīṇai, are described by Tolkāppiyāṅār in Pōruḻ. Akat. cūttiram 50 and 51. They signify respectively Unrequited Love and Forced Love. How, in poetics, the term kaikkilai came to mean unrequited love

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is not clear, and the commentaries offer no explanation. Kai, hand, has obviously connected meanings such as side or faction. Kilai as a verb denotes 1. remove, wash off, and 2. branch out, throng, appear. As a noun kilai 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 Përuntinai and forced love has not been explained. Përù is a common word for great, and the term means great or large tipai. 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 Kaikkilai and Përuntinai lying outside the range of the tipai of normal love¹, either omitted poems descriptive of these two situations or else classified them under one of the five tipai of normal love. Thus, Nacc.² cites Kalittōkai 53 as an instance of Kaikkilai. The poems of this collection are all grouped under one of the five tipai of normal love, and Kali.53 occurs in Kuṟiṅcikkali, ascribed to Kapilar:

"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 states² 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 kaikkiläi, the actual act of so doing belonging to
pēruntiṇai³.

As an example of forced love or pēruntiṇai Nacc. quotes
Kalittōkai 139, a poem included in the Neytarkali:

"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 ērukkan⁴ flowers with those of a jewel-like cassia. I have

¹. Kali. 58, an Òttālicaikkali; v.i. Chap. X, p. 468 & fn. 9.
cū.51. Such a threat is also alluded to in Tōl. 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 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 tiṇai of 'abnormal' love. It is yet included in one of the aintiṇai by the compiler of Kalittōkai. A further instance is Kūrun.17, considered to be a kūriṇci poem:

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

The custom whereby a frustrated lover rode a hobby-horse made of the fan-shaped leaves of the palmyra palm 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 ērukkaṃ (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

1. Yayāti, son of Nahuṣa, comm.
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, though in Paññirupāṭṭ'iyal it is stated 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 akattināi are
given in Tōlkāppiyam, Pōruḻ. cu.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 cuttiram 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 Paripāṭṭal and Kalittōkai include verses of the
forms noted here by Tōlkāppiyaṉār. It is tempting to conjecture
that it was these two collections to which he was referring.

This cuttiram is passed over by Subrahmaṇya Sastri without
comment, and he does not seem to have emphasized the three types

1. PSS Akat. p.35.  2. Paññiru. cu.147, TSS edn.p.83.
3. Vide Akat.p.35.
of literary tradition mentioned, nāṭakam, drama, ulak'iyal, popular literature and pulanēri, poetic diction.

E.S.V.Aiyar\textsuperscript{1} seems to follow Nacc.\textsuperscript{2} closely when he regards nāṭakavalakku 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 pulanēri valakkam, 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 Hir Rañja in Punjabi.

Tōlkāppiyānār only describes the types of situation likely to arise as a result of pirital or separation\textsuperscript{3}, the burning pangs of which are poetically compared to the desert's heat. Separation, therefore, is associated with pālai. Sastri points out\textsuperscript{4} that the cause for all the urippōrul (aspects of love) save that of separation is self-evident. However, Tōl. gives some description of the 'abnormal' love aspects kaikkilai and pēruntinai.\textsuperscript{5} It is possible that cūttirams on the causes

\begin{enumerate}
\item Comm. TSS i. p.120.
\item Pōrul. Akat. cū.25-45.
\item Ibid. cū.45.
\item PSS akat. p.22.
\item Pōrul. Akat. cū.50 & 51.
\end{enumerate}
of the other four 'normal' aspects of love have been lost.

Tōlkāppiyānār gives three of the reasons for separation as study, warfare and embassy. 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 Turai or Poetic Themes that are associated with each tiṇai in Puram poetry. 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 Pōrul. may be noticed. This describes the various situations during which the handmaid or Toli 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. quotes Aihkurū.306, wherein the handmaid addresses the

1. Pōrul.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!"

Cuttirams 54 and 55 of Pōruḻ. Akattinai. state that in poetry relating to the five (geographically associated) tiṇai the names of people may not be mentioned, but that in puram literature personal names may be mentioned. Names may also occur in kaikkilai and pēruntinai according to Nacc.¹ who quotes an instance from Kalittōkai, poem 101. He regards it as a mixture of akam and puram, and it is significant that kaikkilai and pēruntinai were associated with puram 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 Purattinaiyiyal, the second section of Tōlkappiyam, Pōruḻ. it may be well to trace further Tōlkappiyaṉār's treatment of akam, and see to what extent the third and subsequent sections of Pōruḻ. depend upon the first that has just been considered.

It was observed at the beginning of this chapter that sections 3 and 4, Kaḷav'iyal and Karpu'iyal depend to a considerable extent on Akattinaiiyal, 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. cu.36 to 43 noted above. In this connexion may be noted Kaḷavu. cu.101 to 103, 107 and 111 to 116 and Karpu. cu.146 to 170.

Section 5, Pōruliyyal, 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 Ullurai or suggested meaning. These three iyals will be noted further in discussing the extent of Sanskrit influence on these portions of Tōlkāppiyam.

Section 2 of Tōl.Pōrul. entitled Purattiṇaiiyal 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 Uvamaviyāl, the section

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1. Vide, e.g. PSS edn. pp.67-70, 72, 74-84 & 92-110.
2. Cu.242; an example of ullurai was noted above, p.29.
3. v.i. p.66.
The section on Puram runs from cuttiram 56 to 91 of Töl. Pörul. with Naccinärkkiṇiyar’s commentary. The opening cuttiram 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 Tinai or poetic situations. Like the five 'geographical' tinai of akam, six of the purattinai 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 akattinai³, the seven purattinai do not have karuppörul, mutarpörul and urippörul associated with them. Each tinai in puram has a number of Tūrai grouped under it. It

¹. Cū.56.  ². As opposed to akam, Subjective. The two terms have even been translated External Emotion and Internal Emotion. ³. Except for kaikkilai and pēruntinai.
is proposed to translate this term Poetic Theme.

According to Tōlkāppiyānār, the seven purattinaі are: Vēṭci, Vańci, Ulińai, Tumpai, Vākai, Kāńci and Pāṭān. All but the last, Pāṭān, are the names of plants. Here, Nacc. is in no doubt as to the purattinai being named after the plants. For instance he states that it was customary to wear vēṭci flowers during cattle-stealing.

The opening cuttiram of Tōl.Pōrul. Purat., then, gives vēṭci as the first of the purattinaі. According to Subrahmanya Sastri this verse should be reconstructed to name the first and last tinai, just as the first cuttiram of Akat. listed the first and last tinai of akam.

Tōlkāppiyānār arranges a poetic correspondence between the seven purattinai and the seven akattinai. In cuttiram 56 vēṭci is given as the purattinai corresponding to the akattinai kurińci. 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 kurińci.

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

1. Pōrul.Purat. 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: Vēṭci, Ixora coccinea; Vańci, Calamus rotang; Ulińai, Cardiospermum halicacabum; tumpai, Leucas aspera; Vākai, Albizzia lebbek; Kāńci, Hibiscus populnea. Cognates in Dravidian include: ulińai, cp. M. ulińña, cardiospermum; tumpai, cp. Te. Tumma, K. tumpē, leucas; vākai, cp. M. vāka, K.,Tu. bāge, albizzia. For vēṭci, cf. Nacc. 1,p.129.
garlands of ixora were worn during this stage of battle. In akam, kuriñci 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 veṭci and kuriñci mentioned by Sastri¹, this would not seem to be a point sustained by reference to floras².

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

Töl. regards this tiñai 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 Puranānūru, Patirruppatu, Purappōrul Vēnpāmālai etc."³ This statement is not entirely sustained by reference to the texts and colophons of Puram. and Patirru.⁴ Only one tuṟai of veṭci, Untattu, appears in the Puram. colophons and none of these fourteen in Patirru. The statement is true for PPVM however, though it may be stressed that this is a treatise on puram poetics and not a literary work as such. The commentary to Cū.58 gives examples from this latter work, and also from Pēṟumpōrulvilakkam, Takaṭur Yāṭṭirai and other medieval

texts. 1 Puram. 262 is quoted in support of Unṭāṭṭu. 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 turai given under
the tiṇai Karantai 4 in the Puram. colophons and PPVM show a
relationship to the second list of vēṭcitturai which Tōl. gives
in cuttiram 60 .

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 Tōlkāppiyanār himself did not so regard them is
suggested by cuttiram 60, wherein he specifically states that
some of the further 21 turai he lists there belong to Karantai.
Had he held this view in regard to the turai in cū. 58, one feels
that he would have made a similar observation there also.

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

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1. Comm. i, pp. 132-140.
2. Ibid. p. 137.
3. Puram. 262 (Maturai Pperālavāyār).
4. For this tiṇai, v. i. pp. 60, 61.
5. 1. Cērumalaital (Puram. 259) is cited by Iḷam. in his comm. on
   Tōl. Pōrul. 60 (giving vēṭcitturai), as is 2. Vettiyal (Puram. 286,
   291), cf. Tōl. Pōrul. 60, 1.12: "Circāl ventan cirapp'ētutt'
   uraittalum"; 3. Nīıpōlī (Puram. 287) presumably similar to
   Nēṭumōlī (Puram. 298), cf. Tōl. ibid. 1.13: "Talai ta'ṇēṭumōlī
   tannōṭu puṇarttalum". These three turai are in PPVM II, vv. 25,
   34 & 32 respectively.
7. Pōrul. cū. 60, 1.14. Karantai, signifying Recovery of cattle,
is a separate tiṇai according to later writers; v. i. p. 60.
exemplified by Patirru.\(^1\) and in Puram. some turai analogous to these are assigned to the tiṇai Karantai according to the Puram. colophons.\(^2\) Nacc. however gives several examples from Puram. for these turai and also quotes from akam works.\(^3\) He further regards seven of these turai as faults common to all the purattinai since they deal with subjects of a king and not with kings.\(^4\) Puram.\(^5\) is cited by Nacc. as illustrative of Tölkäppiyapār's vēṭcitturai "Māyen meya ..... pūvainilaiyum".\(^6\) In its colophon however the tiṇai is given as Pāṭaṇ and the turai is Pūvainilai.\(^7\)

References in Puram.\(^8\) show that Vēṭci was a plant of forests rather than of mountains. Kurinci on the other hand is mentioned in connexion with mountains.\(^9\) As will be seen, the artificial pairing of the purattinai and akattinai as observed in the case of vēṭci and kurinci is carried out for the other purattinai also.

The second purattinai, Vanci, is described in Töl. Pōrul. cū.61 and 62. Vanci, generally taken to signify the common rattan Calamus rotang\(^10\), symbolized the fight of two kings over

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1. The turai Kāṭcivālttu of Patirru.41, 54, 61, 64, 82 & 90 has no connexion with Töl.'s vēṭcitturai "Kāṭcivālttu," which relates to the finding of a hero-stone (Virakkal). Cf. cū.60, 1.19.
2. Vide fn. 5 on previous p. 3. Comm. TSS i, pp.147-157.
5. For a translation of most of this poem see Ch. IV, p.165.
8. It also means Bassia or mohwa; Puram.384,1.2 clearly refers to a tree.
disputed lands and the attack of one king versus another. Töl.
compares vánci to the akattinai 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
uripporul of mullai is iruttal, waiting (as a result of
separation) and not pirital, separation, which occurs as uripporul
of pälai, the desert.

Thirteen poetic themes appropriate to vánci are
mentioned in cű.63 by Töl. Some of these are exemplified both
in Puram. and Patirru. ³ Nacc. quotes Patirru.16⁴ as an example
of Töl.'s váncitturai "Atutτ*'rnt*aṭṭa Kōrrattānum"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

¹. PSS Purat. p.43.  ². Comm. TSS Edn. i, p.160.
⁵. Töl.Purat. cű.63, 1.4.
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 Centuraippatânpâṭṭu, suggesting that turai included in the tiṇai Pâṭâṇ.2

The colophon to Puram.7 states that the tiṇai and turai appropriate to that poem are vańci and Kôrravâllâi3 respectively:

"Your foot that goads on the elephant bears the mark

1. Patirru.15, 11.1-18 (Kumattur Kkannañär).
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 Lakšmi. 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 Patirru.33, there are further discrepancies between the colophons to the puram texts and Nacc.'s commentary. The turai given in the colophon to Patirru.33, Vañcitturaippaññapatţu, signifies a song of praise (paññ) suitable to the tiñai Vañci. Nacc. however cites the poem as an instance of Tol.'s "Iyankupatayı aravam", the clash of opposing armies.²

Cuttiram 64 of Tol.Poruḷ. states that the purattinai Uliñai was comparable to the akattinai marutam. The commentator states³ 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 akattinai marutam. The ensuing cuttiram explains that uliñai signified attack on the enemy fort.

Cuttiram 67 lists eight poetic themes appropriate to

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ulinai, and a further twelve turai are listed in cu. 68. Sastri
does not explain why he thinks that the latter list represents
the views of predecessors of Töl. and nothing in Nacc.'s
commentary supports him.

The commentary of Nacciñarkk'iriyar gives examples
from Puram. and from medieval texts in support of these twenty
turai appropriate to ulinai. Here again there are discrepancies
between the colophons in Puram. and the commentary. For instance,
Puram. 36 is cited as exemplifying the ulinaitturai "Uliyatu
muṭikkum ventanatu ciṟappum"², the fame of a general who
carries out his king's commands. The colophon to this verse,
however, states that the tinai for the poem is vaṇci and the
turai Tuṇaivaṇci, a theme that does not appear in Tolkāppiyam
at all, but which is cited in other Puram. colophons. ⁴ Nacc.
quotes Puram. 109 as an instance of another of Töl.'s turai for
ulinai, "Akatton ceḷvam(um)".⁵ In this Nacc. was doubtless
influenced by the mention of the wealth of Pāri's kingdom in
Puram. 109. Nevertheless, the colophon to the poem gives the
tinai as Nocci and the turai as Makanmaruttal. The writer of
the colophons was evidently thinking of the besieged rather
than the attackers, and of Pāri's refusal to give up his

5. Töl. Pōrul. cu. 67, 1. 4. 6. Comm. ibid. p. 179. For a résumé
of Puram. 109, see Chap. V, pp. 210, 1. 7. PPVM (Nocci.) v. 94.
8. For a consideration of the purattinai Nocci, signifying
defence of the fort, v. i. p. 62.
daughters to the enemy.

Cūttirams 69 and 70 state that the fourth purattinai, Tumpai, the white 'deadnettle'\(^1\) signified the open warfare of two well-matched kings, and that it could be compared to the akattinai nēyal, 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 nēyal with the purattinai 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 nēyal and tumpai than was the case for the others previously noted.

Twelve tūrai appropriate to tumpai are given in Tōl. Pōrul. cū.72. The commentary exemplifies these from Pūram., Pattuppāṭṭu and medieval works. Once again, there are discrepancies between Nacc.'s comments and the Pūram. colophons. For instance, Pūram.274 is cited by Nacc. as exemplifying Tōl.'s tumpaittūrai "Paṭaiyaruttu ppali kōllum emattānum"\(^3\), success in a hand to hand fight without weapons.\(^4\) The tūrai for Pūram. 274 is given in the colophon to that verse as Ērumai māram, buffalo valour. It should be noted, however, that in both sources the poem is

\(^1\) Leucas aspera, Spreng. Tumpai is still the T.colloq. term.
\(^2\) Comm. TSS edn. i, p.191. \(^3\)Tōl.Pōrul. cū.72, ll.7,8.
\(^4\) Comm. TSS i, pp.201-2.
classified under the tinai tumpai. Puram.80 is another poem for which tumpai and the turai Ėrumai marām are prescribed in the colophon. It describes the hand to hand fight between the Cola Porvaikkoppe runarkillī and Mālān:

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

The colophon to Puram. 88 gives the tinai and turai for the poem as tumpai and Tānaimaram 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 Mālavār whose glittering, scintillating spears are long."

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

1. Puram.80 (Cāttantaiyār).  2. Puram.88 (Auvaivār); for the turai Tānaimaram see PPVM (Tumpaip.) vv.129-131.  3. Tōl.Akat. cū.2; also Nacc. on Tōl.Purat. cū.73, i, p.206.
his comparisons, Tolkāppiyano matière has altered the order of the Akattinai that he previously observed.

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

Vākai, the śirīṣa, symbolized praise of the spotless, and corresponded to pālai, states Tol. in cu. 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 tinai. Such is the view of Subrahmanya Sastri. 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. His view seems more reasonable, although the whole comparison is perhaps rather artificial.

Before the themes appropriate to Vākai are listed, there occurs a cuttiram giving the special features of vākai. These include such matters as the six duties of Brahmanas, the

5. Cu. 75. 6. Nacc. thereon, TSS 1, p. 207: "itu vākaittinaikkku ppōtuvilakkaṇaṁ kūriṅar ..."
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 purattinai preceding vākai, tumpai alone is given a verse² describing its characteristics (ilakkaṇam). In the case of the other three, vēṭci, vaṇci and uliṇai, 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 vakaitturai that appear in cū. 76 are given in the commentary. Nacc. cites both Puram. and Patirrṇ. as well as Kurai, Nālatiyār 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 Patirrṇ.¹³, which he gives as an instance of Tōl.'s "Aivakai marapin aracar pakkamum"⁵.

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¹. Cū. 75, 11.1, 2, 6 & 3 respectively. Nacc. quotes Patirrṇ.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. Tōl. Pōrul. Purat. cū. 75, 1.2; Nacc. 1, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name &amp; function</th>
<th>vēči</th>
<th>vańci</th>
<th>ulińai</th>
<th>tumpai</th>
<th>vākai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56,57</td>
<td>61,62</td>
<td>64-66</td>
<td>69,70</td>
<td>73,74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turai:</td>
<td>58,60</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>67,68</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special char:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(? interpolated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 vākai tūrai exemplified by Nacc. is Tōl.'s "Pērumpakai taṅkum veliṅālum"², the valour of the spear against the enemy. Nacc. includes in his examples of this tūrai 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 (Kumattur Kkannaṉar). 2. Tōl. Pōruḻ. cū. 76, l. 7. 3. The colophon gives the tiṅai and tūrai as tumpai and Nūliṅṭṭu, for these cf. PPVM (Tumpaip.) v. 142
as an example of the tiṇai vākai, with the tuṟai aracavākai:\footnote{As an example of the tiṇai vākai, with the tuṟai aracavākai:}

"The fierce assault of the one with the chaplet of lovely baumelia against the warrior who had come to seize 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."\footnote{The sixth purattinai, Kāṇci, signified the transitory nature of the world, and was comparable to pēruntinai inasmuch as it stood apart from the other five purattinai just as pēruntinai was distinct from the five situations of normal love. Both the definition of the tiṇai Kāṇci itself and the list of twenty poetic themes which follows in cu.79 show evidence of the infiltration of brahmanical ideas, which it was presumably felt necessary to incorporate into the puram structure.}

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As an instance of this, we may quote Puram.357, the colophon to which gives Piramanār as the author of the poem and kāṇci and Maṟakkāṇci as the tiṇai and tuṟai. The tuṟai Maṟakkāṇci is described by Aiyāṇāritanār\footnote{As an instance of this, we may quote Puram.357, the colophon to which gives Piramanār as the author of the poem and kāṇci and Maṟakkāṇci as the tiṇai and tuṟai. The tuṟai Maṟakkāṇci is described by Aiyāṇāritanār 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 Maṟakkāṇci Tōl.'s third tuṟai of kāṇci,} 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 Maṟakkāṇci Tōl.'s third tuṟai of kāṇci.

\footnotetext{1. Aracavākai: PPVM (Vākaip.) v.157. 2. Puram.82 (Cattantaiyār). 3. Tōl.Pōrul. cu.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 (Kāncip.) v.74.}
"Paṇḍuravarūm pakuti nokki ppuṅkiliittu muṭiyum marattinaṅnum"\(^1\). This, states Nacc. is fitting for a warrior who, disgusted with his wounds, kills himself by tearing them open.\(^2\)

Piramaṅăr is not known by any other poem save Puṟam.\(^3\)\(^5\) and his name is doubtless to be connected with brahman or possibly brāhmana, the retroflex -ṃ- 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 turai 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 puṟattinai kaṅći,

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which is compared to the akattinai pĕruntinai, which stood apart from the 'normal' akattinai. A similar phenomenon will be noticed in connexion with the seventh purattinai, Păţăn.

The name of this alone among the purattinai does not signify a plant or tree. In Tōl. Pōruḷ. Purat. cū.80 Păţăn is stated to be the purattinai corresponding to kaikkilai. It is nowhere stated precisely what păţăn signified, and it is possible that a cuttiram or cuttirams are missing from the text as extant. Cū.80 further says that păţăn is of eight kinds, and these eight are explained by Nacc.¹ as praise of heroes in connexion with the two types of vētci (stealing and recovery of cattle), Pōtuviyal, vaṇci, ulinai, tumpai, vākai and kānci. The commentator is following the views he expressed at cū.58²; his mention of Pōtuviyal along with the purattinai is of interest as other texts on puṟam poetics such as PPVM regard Pōtuviyal as a separate purattinai, as will be noted hereafter³.

Furthermore, the secondary function of vētci, recovery of stolen cattle, was also a separate tinai 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 Aiyanāritaṇār. It is of course possible that verses dealing with Pōtuviyal as a separate tinai have been lost from Tōl.'s Purattinaiyiyal, but this is hardly likely, since at the beginning of Purat. Tōl.

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 purattinai as seven, and seven are in fact described. Another possibility is that Tōl.Pōrlul. contained a separate section entitled Pōtuviyal, which was perhaps supplementary to Purat. in the same way that Pōrušiyal is supplementary to Akat.

Sastri states1 that the eight kinds of Pāṭāṇ are, in Ilampūraṇar'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 kaikkilai and censure. As for Tōl.'s comparison of Pāṭāṇ with kaikkilai2, Nacc. says3 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 kaikkilai. This seems particularly far-fetched.

There ensue some verses connected with love-poetry which may be out of place as they intervene between the cuttiram on pāṭāṇ (cū. 80) and those on its turai (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, Cēviyarivuru, and his purificatory bath after capturing the fort, manṇumaṅkalam. These may indicate the impact of brahmanical ideas.

As may be seen from their colophons, a large proportion

of the poems in Patirru and Puram are classified under one or other of the turai of this tinai patahn. Instances given by Nacc. include Puram.107, illustrative of Tol.'s "Kōṭuppok etti koṭar palittalam". Cēviyarivurūu as a turai of patahn is attested by Tol. and by the PPVM and by Puram. colophons. Among poems for which this turai is prescribed is Puram.5 in praise of Ceramān Karuvūr eniya Olvātkoppēruńcēral Irumpōrai:

"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 tīnai other than those considered so far, but which figure in the PPVM. In the order in which these additional tīnai first appear in the puram. colophons they are: Potuvial, Kaikkilai, Peruntinai, Karantai and Nōcci. None of these is mentioned as a separate tīnai by Tolkāppiyar, though he does allude to Karantai in connexion with some vēṭcitturai. Twelve tīnai are however enumerated by Aiyanarita 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 Tol. In PPVM, the

twelve tipai are each accorded one section, called pațalam. Set against the seven purattinai of Töl. the twelve are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PPVM</th>
<th>Purat. (Tölkēppiyam) Akat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II Karantai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Nōcci</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Ulihai</td>
<td>3. Ulihai - marutam 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Pōtuviyal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI Kaikkilai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII Pėruntiṇai</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that, apart from the inclusion of five purattinai not considered by Töl., the order of enumeration of tipai in PPVM is different from that in Töl. Purat.

Karantai, the subject of the second Pațalam of PPVM, symbolizes the recovery of stolen cattle. As already seen, it covers the second of the two functions of vēṭci as envisaged by Nacc. and, to a lesser degree, by Töl. himself. Following the usual sequence of the PPVM, the opening verse of Pațalam II

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 tuṟai listed under vēṭci by Tōl., such as Pillaiyāṭṭu, the dance of the victorious prince. Moreover, there is mention of karantai by Tōl. himself, as already observed. In the course of enumerating his second list of vēṭcitturai, he observes: "Karantai is traditionally associated with these". He does not make it clear with which tuṟai karantai is associated, and karantai was not included in the purattiiṇai enumerated by him, despite the traditional wearing of karantai flowers for recovery of cattle mentioned in Puram. itself. Commenting on this mention of karantai by Tōl. Nacc. says that the seven tuṟai beginning with Aramaroṭṭal, the chase of the foe in battle, belong to karantai which, he says, is like Vēṭcittiiṇai, 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. Some of the karantaittuṟai that appear there are not listed by Tōl. at all, even under vēṭci, but figure in PPVM. Examples of these poetic themes are Vettiyal and Kuṭinilaiyuraittal.

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Nōcci, the fifth tināi of puram in PPVM, signifies the defence of the fort, during which, states Nacc.¹, garlands of the chaste tree were worn. It is opposed to Uliṇai in the same way that karantai was opposed to vēṭci. The word nōcci figures in one of Tōl.'s ulīṇatturai, "Akatton vilnta nōcci"², defence of the fort by the besieged. Nacc. however does not suggest that nōcci could be regarded as a separate purattināi as he did in the case of karantai in commenting on cū.60.

Nōccittināi appears in the colophons to Puram. verses 109-111, 271, 272 and 299. Turai prescribed for these verses are: Makaṇmaṛuttal (109-111), Čeruvitaivīltal (271,272) and Kutiraimaṟam (299). Neither of the first two is mentioned even under ulīṇai by Tōl. but Kutiraimaṟam, prowess of the war-horse, is suggested in Pōrul. cū.72 as a turai of tumpai. All three themes appear in PPVM³, the first two under nōcci, the third, as in the case of Tōl., under tumpai. The colophon to Puram.299 is thus at variance both with Tōl. and the author of PPVM at this juncture.

Puram.272 will serve as an example of Nōccittināi. The turai prescribed is Čeruvitaivīltal. This literally means "fallen in battle" and is explained in PPVM⁴ as being suitable for celebrating the heroic death of defending warriors. Moci Cāṭṭapār, 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., 1, p.185. 2. Tōl. Pōrul. Purat. cū.68, 1.5. 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."

Pōtuviyal is described in the tenth pāṭalam of PPVM, and twelve turai are allocated to it. These cover a number of different topics, and Pōtuviyal finds frequent mention in the colophons of Puṟam. Here again in many cases the turai given are not to be found in Tōḷ.Pōṟul. but occur in PPVM. An example is Mutumōlikkāṇci, the turai prescribed in its colophon for Puṟam.18, and which figures in PPVM, verse 269. It has already been noted that Nacc. mentions pōtuviyal in connexion with Tōḷ. Pōṟul. cū.80 which describes Pāṭān. 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 Tōḷ.'s scheme without increasing the specified number of seven purattinai.

Kaikkilai as a tiṇai of puṟam is described in PPVM pāṭalam 11. Ten turai are given it. It figures in the colophons to Puṟam.vv. 83-85 together with the turai Paliccutal. Meaning extolling, this is not given among the kaikkilaitturai in PPVM. The three poems in Puṟam. are ascribed to a poetess Nakkaṇṇaiyār

1. e.g. those to Puṟam.18,65,112-120 & 132,183.
2. Comm. i, p.252; v.s. p.57.
and praise the Cola king Porvaikkopperunarkili. It is to be noted that the akattinai kaikkilai denotes unrequited love, and the turai prescribed for kaikkilai in PPVM suggest various situations in which the beloved bewails the absence or indifference of her lover. In puram, 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 kaikkilai and peruntinai in a work on puram is striking. It would seem to be artificial from the point of view of Tol. who matches the purattinai pâtan and kaâci with kaikkilai and peruntinai respectively. It can only be assumed that Aiyanâritanâr did not feel his purattinai to be matched with akattinai; doubtless he preferred to consider unrequited and forced love as outside the akam field altogether, and to be reckoned as puram.

As an example of a puram verse in kaikkilai we may quote Puram.83 by Nakkannaiyâr:

"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!"

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

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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 courtesan rather than his wife, who is named in the colophons as Kannaki. The writer of the colophons evidently regarded association with courtesans as coming under peruntinai.¹ The turai prescribed for these verses, Kurunkali 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 Purananuru and the PPVM and, to a lesser extent, Nacc.'s commentary on Tōl.Pōruḷ.Purattinai. A point of special interest is the inclusion among the purattinai of kaikkilai and peruntinai, which seem to keep a meaning similar to that which they possess as akattinai. They are accorded puram treatment however in the sense that they are given turai, poetic themes. The akattinai are not so treated, at least as far as Tōl.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 purattinai.²

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

¹ For a consideration of these poems, see Chap.Y, 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 Tōl. in
his Purattinaiiyal.

The extent of Sanskrit influence discernable in Tōl.
Pōrul., both in the five sections already discussed and in the
sixth and seventh sections, Meippattiyal 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 (karuppōrul) 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 aintinai are completely forgotten
in the treatment of secret and wedded love. It will be recalled
that kurińci, the mountain region, was suggested as the place
suitable for pūratal, union of lovers.\(^3\) Yet this finds no place
in Kalaviyal itself, apart from the opening verse, wherein it is
stated merely that union is one of the topics depending on the

five tinai of reciprocal love. On the other hand, this same cuttiram¹ says that union is a source of inpam (kāma), pōrul, (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 kalavu.³

Subsequent cuttirams 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 aintinai into this, but he is supported neither by the cuttiram or the commentary, which uses the word itam, place, in this context, and not tinai. Tōl. 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 avasthā⁵. These are: desire, singlemindedness, emaciation, telling of one's sleeplessness, immodesty, seeing the beloved in natural objects, forgetfulness, swooning and 'death'. Both this cuttiram and cū.95 are strongly reminiscent of the Nātyaśāstra⁶. The nine marapu of Tōl.Pōrul.Kalavu. cū.100 are also reminiscent

¹. Tōl.Pōrul. 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. Tōl. TSS edn.11, pp2-3. ⁴. Comm. ibid. p.5. ⁵. PSS Kalaviyal, p.66. ⁶. marapu: cp. anubhāvas in BH.NS.VI, Nirṛt. (1943) p.76.
of the ten stages of desire listed by Vatsyayana.

Then follow the occasions upon which various people may speak, as already noted. In Cū. 105 the seven types of marriage other than Gāndharvam are allotted between the tināi kaikkilai and peruntinai as an obvious attempt at synthesis. Āsuraṁ, Paisācām and Rākṣasamsam are considered as belonging to kaikkilai and Brāhmam, Prajāpatyam, Ārṣam and Daiva are considered under Peruntinai.

These are but some of the instances of the occurrence in Tōl. Kalavu. of ideas originating in Sanskrit treatises. A similar trend may be seen in the fourth section of Tōl. Pōrul., Karpiyal. The opening cūttiram states that the bride is given in marriage by the ceremony of Karanam; this is explained as sacrificial rite by the commentator. Sastrī suggests that this was agnau karuṇam, homa performed in fire. Once again, no connexion between this topic and the aintinai is established, but, as E.S.V. Aiyar points out, where karpu follows on from the stage of kalavu as a 'regularizing' process, "Kalavu and Karpu pertain solely to the Akattinai contemplated by the four tināis 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'.

situations of kaikkilai and pēruntiṇai.

Tōl.Pōrul.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 cuttirams deal with situations arising in karpu when various characters may speak. After some verses² prescribing the times when the hero may absent himself for fulfilling various duties, cuttiram 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 Tōl.Pōrul., Pōruliyal, 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 kalavu and karpu and the conventional remarks to be exchanged upon such occasions. Some cuttirams on love-quarrels³ are reminiscent of the section on Kalaha, love-quarrels, in the Kāmasūtra.⁴ Cuttiram 224 states that those love-quarrels on account of the lover's mistress occur among all the four varṇas.

Tōlkēppiyaṃ shows evidence of being compiled by more

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than one hand, especially in the Pörulatikāram. 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 Akattīṇai, 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 puram do not occur in Tōl. as extant.

The next two sections of Tōlkēppiyam, treating of Bhēva and Upamē 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 Tōlkēppiyam.

The sixth section of Tōl. is entitled Meyppāṭṭiyal, since it treats of Meyppāṭu, that which arises in or afflicts the body. As will be shown, this term is an equivalent of the Skt. Bhēva, 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 Tōl. Moreover, though the bhēvas include emotions other than love, this section in Tōl. elaborates only that which pertains to Love, Uvakai. In

1. Pörulatikāram.
this respect, Meyppāṭṭiyal 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 cu.249, the opening cūttiram of Tōl. Pōrul. Mēy.¹ This cu. 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 Cuvaippōrul, eight Cuvaipyūnarvu, eight Manakkurippu and eight Viral or Cattuvam.³ Cuvaippōrul are the causes of Sentiment or Rasa, and correspond to the Vibhāvas, Determinants. Cuvaipyūnarvu are the signs or indications of Sentiment and correspond to the Anubhāvas, the Consequents. Manakkurippu are the mental States,⁴ the Sthāyībhāvas. Viral or Cattuvam are the Sāttvikabhāvas, the Temperamental States. All these 32 are specifically referred to as Meyppāṭu by Per. in his commentary on the next cūttiram, 250⁵, from which it is clear that Per. regarded Meyppāṭu as the equivalent of the

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 Cuvaippōrul, Determinant, with its Consequent, Cuvaliyunarvu.¹ This leaves the Dominant States, Maṇakkuripippu, and the Temperamental States, Cattuvam or Viral.²

The following cuttiram, 250, states that these sixteen are likewise reduced to eight. Per. explains this³ by saying that since the Cattuvam are but variants of the other eight (Maṇakkuripippu), this set of sixteen mēyppātu may be reduced to eight also.⁴ These eight are enumerated in the next cuttiram, cu.251, wherein for the first time Tōl. himself uses the term mēyppātu. Taking the commentary on cu.249-251 and Tōl.'s cu.251, it is clear that mēyppātu is used for bhāva in general by Per. until Tōl. limits its meaning to sthāyibhāva in cu.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 mēyppātu into sixteen, two sets of eight, may be summed up as follows:

8 cuvaippōrul 8 maṇakkuripippu
become 8, + become 8, = 16.

8 cuvaliyunarvu 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 sāttvikābhāva. 3. Comm. TSS edn.iii, p.4.

4. i.e. sāttvika- are merged with sthāyibhāvas.

5. Nakai, laughter; Alukai, sorrow; Ilivarai, disgust; Marutkai, amazement; Accam, terror; Pērunitam, bravery; Vēkuli, anger and Uvakai, love.
Neither cuvaippūrul nor cuvaiyunarvu are enumerated in
detail, by Tōl. or Per. They are not defined individually by
Bharata either:

"Vibhāvānubhāvau lokaprasiddhau. Lokasvabhāvānugatatvāc
tayorlaksanam nocyete ...."¹

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

Tōl.'s list of sthāyibhāvas follows that of Bharata and
other early authorities in Sanskrit in listing eight only. In
his commentary to cu.249, however, Perāciriyyar 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 cu.250 when he states that the eight (kurippu,
with viral merged in them) are: Viṭram, 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, Tōl., in cu.251,
gives the usual list of eight mēyppāṭu, sthāyibhāvas, that
includes Vēkuli, anger, but does not mention tranquillity. Here,
the commentator says that certain authorities on dramatic theory
add a ninth mēyppāṭu, Camanilai (corresponding to Śānti), to the

list of eight as given in cu.251 by Tōl. This seems to be at variance with the comments Per. made in connexion with Tōl. Pōrul.Mēy. cu.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 Tōl.Pōrul.Mēy. is the work of more than one authority, and it may be noted that camanilai appears as the ninth mēyppātu in comments on cu.251, whereas natuvunilai is used for śānti in the comments on cu.250. There are other variations in terms between the commentaries on cu.250 and cu.251, and, seen synoptically with the mēyppātu of Tōl. himself and the sthāyibhāvas of Bharata, the different lists are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cū.251</th>
<th>Comm.251</th>
<th>Comm.250</th>
<th>NS.VI.26</th>
<th>(Tamāl. v. 70)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. laughter nakai</td>
<td>cirippu nakai</td>
<td>7 hāsa</td>
<td>2 nakai</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sorrow aluka avalam</td>
<td>avalam 6 soka</td>
<td>3 avalam</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. disgust ilivaral ilipu</td>
<td>ilipu 4 jugupsā</td>
<td>8 ilippu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. surprise marutkai viyappu</td>
<td>viyappu 3 vismaya</td>
<td>7 viyappu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. terror accam payam</td>
<td>accam 2 bhaya</td>
<td>6 accam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. bravery perumitam vīram</td>
<td>vīram 1 utsāha</td>
<td>5 vīram</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. anger vēkuḷi uruttiram</td>
<td>- krodha</td>
<td>4 uruttiram</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. love uvakai kāmagām</td>
<td>kāmagām 5 rati</td>
<td>1 kāmagām</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(camanilai)naṭuvu nilai 8

Cuttirams 252 to 259 give the sources of each of the

1. Comm. TSS iii, p. 5.
2. Vīram and Uruṣṭīram: cp. the names of the corresponding rasas, vīra and raudra; vide Bh.NS, VI,26.
eight meypatu in turn. These sources are fourfold in each case. As the order followed is that in which the meypatu are listed in cu.251 uvakai, love, is mentioned last along with its sources, and the rest of this iyal of Tأل.Pورل. depends upon it.

Sastri is of the opinion that these 32 sources are vibhava or anubhava, and that the 32 items in Tأل.Pورل. cu.260 are of the nature of Sancaribhavas. On examination this is true as a general statement, as may be seen from a tabulation of the items in cu.260 along with the vyabhicaribhavas in the NS. The correspondences between them and the items in Tأل.Pورل. cu.260 is in some cases inexact; the item in Tأل.'s list in some cases only corresponds to one aspect of a vyabhicaribhava as mentioned by Bharata, or to a vibhava or anubhava connected with it. In the case of items 29 and 32 of Tأل.'s list, the similarity is to sattvikabhava rather than to vyabhicaribhava. This list in cu.260 is reminiscent of the list of nine stages (marapu) of secret love that Tأل. listed in Pورل. Kalavu. cu.100. As will be seen from the table, a number of vyabhicaribhavas are not paralleled in any way by items in Tأل.'s list in cu.260. Conversely, a number of these seem to have no corresponding vyabhicaribhava.

1. See list on p.76. 2. PPSS Mey. 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 cuvaiyuпarvu, anubhavas. He uses kurippu, sthййibhавa, to qualify Nakai (iii, p. p.6) and cuvai, rasa, to qualify alukai (iii, p.8), but the other 6 are unqualified by Per. or Tأل. 3. PSS, Mey. ibid. 4. See table on p.77,78. 5. Called meypatu by Per., iii, p.19. 6. v.s. p.67 & fn.6, p.68, fn.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hāsa) 252 Nakai</td>
<td>ḍ̣ḷ̣ḷ̣ai ilamai petaimai maṭ̢an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śoka) 253 Alukai</td>
<td>ilivu ilavu acaivu varumai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jugupsā) 254 Ilivaral</td>
<td>mūppu pini varuttam menmai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vismaya) 255 Marutkai</td>
<td>putumai perumai cirumai ākkam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhaya) 256 Accam</td>
<td>ananku vilanku kalvar irai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utsāha) 257 Perumitam</td>
<td>kalvi tarukan pukalmai kōtaï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krodha) 258 Vēkuli</td>
<td>urupp'arai kutikol alai kōlai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rati) 259 Uvakai</td>
<td>cēlvam pulan punarvu vilai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Porul. 260 &amp;</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>NS.VI,19ff. (vyabhicāri)</th>
<th>Other similarities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>utāmaimai</td>
<td>ownership, wealth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inpural</td>
<td>contentment</td>
<td>cf. dhṛti</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natuvunilai</td>
<td>tranquility(^1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arulal</td>
<td>showing grace</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanmai</td>
<td>restraint(^2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atakkam</td>
<td>self-control</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varaital</td>
<td>righteous conduct</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anpu</td>
<td>friendship</td>
<td>cf. harṣa</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaimmikal</td>
<td>lack of restraint(^3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalital</td>
<td>cruelty</td>
<td>ugraṭā</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culci</td>
<td>agitation</td>
<td>āvega</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valtal</td>
<td>wishing well</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanultal</td>
<td>modesty</td>
<td>vrīḍa</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuṅcal</td>
<td>sleeping</td>
<td>nidrā</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>arrarru</td>
<td>babbling</td>
<td>cf. unmāda</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>kanavu</td>
<td>dreaming</td>
<td>supta</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munital</td>
<td>discouragement</td>
<td>nirveda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninaital</td>
<td>recalling</td>
<td>cf. smṛti</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>verūtal</td>
<td>feeling indignant</td>
<td>amarśa</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matimai</td>
<td>indolence</td>
<td>ālaśya</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karutal</td>
<td>recollecting</td>
<td>smṛti</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ārāycci</td>
<td>deliberation</td>
<td>vitarka</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The same as Camanilai, one of the nine cuvai (rasas), says Per. See Tol. Porul. 260 comm. iii, p.19. Sastri says it is out of place, PSS Māy. p.6. 2. i.e. keeping to one's proper place. 3. i.e. not keeping to one's proper place.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>NS.VI, 19ff. (vvabhicări)</th>
<th>Other similarities</th>
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<tr>
<td>viraiyū</td>
<td>hastiness</td>
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<tr>
<td>uyirppu</td>
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<td>viyarttal</td>
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<td>aiyam</td>
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<td>cf. śāṅkā</td>
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<td>garva</td>
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<tr>
<td>natukkam</td>
<td>trembling</td>
<td>ve-pathu</td>
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Perāciriyar remarks⁴ that the list of 32 mēyppātu in cū. 260 of Töl. Pörul. Mēy. relate to both akam and puram "like the 32 previously mentioned." He therefore suggests that the criteria of the sthāyi- and sāttvikabhbās may be applied to the subject of akam and puram also. In the case of puram, he quotes examples from Puranānūru in his commentary on cū. 252-259 which, as noted² give the sources of the eight mēyppātu envisaged by Töl. 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 mēyppātu.

Ensuing cūttirams of Mēy. give six symptoms of love⁴, each of which is fourfold. Again, Sastri⁴ terms these avasthā.

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1. Comm. iii, p. 21: "Ivai muppattiranṭum merkuriya muppattiranṭum pola akattirkum purattirkum pōtuvāki nikālam mēyppāṭ'ēna..."  
2. v. s. pp. 74-5 & table on p. 76.  
3. cū. 261-266.  
Most of the symptoms are appropriate to the beloved rather than to her lover, though at cu. 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 Iṭam. 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 cu. 261\(^4\) that this and the following verses relate both to akam and puram. 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 puram would be the inclusion in uvakai of ideas of forced or unrequited love which, as has been seen\(^5\), were considered to come under puram by some writers, though not by Tōl. himself. That uvakai did not include such ideas is suggested by the view of Iṭam. just noted, which was that the uvakai-symptoms preceded actual union. This would rule out kaikkilai at least.

The remaining cūttirams of Mēy. 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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The seventh section of Tōl. Pōrul. is entitled Uvamaviyal, and, like the Mēyppāṭṭiyal 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 Ilam. 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 Tanṭiyalaṅkāram.

The opening cuttiram, 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 Kāvyādarṣa. ³

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

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

¹. Per. TSS edn.iii,p.58. ². Comm. ibid. ³. KD II,15 & 16; dharmopama and vastupama.
From the wording of this cuttiram it is clear that uvamam means both upamāna and upamāya.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 cuttirams elaborate the points of resemblance sanctioned by tradition between the upameya and upamāna. Cuttiram 284 suggests that the upameya and upamāna, pōrul, may be reversed. This is comparable to the Anyonyopamā, Reversed Simile, of Daṇḍī.³

Cuttirams 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 cu.276. 287 details eight words of comparison to be employed where the simile is one of action, and ensuing cuttirams 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 cu.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 notes⁷ that Iḷam. interprets this cuttiram as dividing Action simile into Action and Nominal-verb Action, vinaikkurippu, Result simile into good and bad result, Shape

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simile into form and extent and Colour simile into colour and quality.\(^1\)

Cuttirams 294 to 298 consider the aesthetic experience and usage of uvamam. In his commentary on cu.298 Per. makes the distinction between the four types of simile under discussion and Ulluraiyuvamam, implied meaning.\(^2\) He follows Tōl.\(^3\) in using the term Enaiyuvamam for an explicit comparison, and regards as such the four types of uvamam listed in Tōl.Pōrul.Uvamam. cu.276. In this connexion it may be noted that ullurai is detailed at the close of Tōl.Pōrul.Pōrul.\(^4\) It is of five kinds: Uṭanurai, Uvamam, Cuṭṭu, Nakai and Cirappu.\(^5\) From this it may be inferred that, to Tōlkāppiyānar, the term ullurai was one of wider meaning than that with which Per. invests it in his commentary wherein he seems to regard it as analogous to Rūpaka, Metaphor.

Ensuing cuttirams 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 ullurai.\(^9\) 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 ullurai when the latter is described previously

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J C •  •

Instruction: The word "J C •  •" appears twice in the image. It is not clear what it means or refers to. It might be a code or a place name.

Page Dimensions: 642.2x815.2
in Tōlkāppiyam¹ as being of five kinds: utanurai, meaning implied by reference to features of a tract of land; uvamam, simile; cuttu, 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 karupporul as an aid to meaning.²

Closing cuttirams of Tōl. Pōrul. Uvamam.³ describe some unusual varieties of uvamam.

The influence of Sanskrit is most obvious, then, in the Meyppattiyal 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 Tōlkāppiyam, Porulatikāram that elaborate the subject of love poetica 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 akattinai set out in the first section, Akattinaiiyiyal. Standing apart from sections 3 to 7 of Porulatikāram are the first two, Akattinaiiyiyal and Purattinaiiyiyal, making as they do a distinctively Tamil contribution to the poetica 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 purattinai, namely, Puranānūru and Patirruppattu.

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¹ Tōl. Pōrul. Pōrul. cu.242. ² Nacc. on cu.242, ii, p.332; see also fn.5 on the previous page, p.83. ³ cu.303 to 312.
CHAPTER III
PURANĀṆŪRŪ: INTRODUCTION

As the name states, the Anthology known as PuranāṆūrū consists of four hundred purāṅ verses. We have already seen\(^1\) that the term purāṅ 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 Kuruntōkai\(^2\), Narrinai and AkanāṆūrū. 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.

PuranāṆūrū was first edited by Dr. U.V. Cāmināṭa 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 Turaicēmi Pillai, 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 font for each. As UVS showed\(^3\) in the preface to his first edition of Puram, the old commentary

is available for Puram. vv.1-266 only, there being but one MS available to him that carried the old commentary for vv.262-266¹, 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 Āciriyyappā 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 Kāṭavul vālṭtu 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 Pērunṭevanār, Pērunṭevan who sang the Bhūrata. These five are prefixed to Kurun., Nar.,

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1. An MS belonging to Alakiya Cīrampalakkavirāyar of Mitilaippettai.
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.
Akam. and Ain<curu>. Part of the P<ratam (P<ratavēṇpā) composed by P<runtevanār survives, and in it is mentioned the success of Pallava Nandivarman against his enemies at Tell<curu>. 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 Katavul vālttu to P<runtevanār.

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 P<runtevanār’s Katavul vālttu are prefixed, Murukan, later identified with Skanda, being of greater importance. Yet two of the five invocations praise Śiva, two praise Viṣṇu, while that prefacing Kurun. alone praises Murukan.

The terms in which these deities are hymned recall the Tev<ram and Nēl<ēyirappirapantam 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 Pur<ram. addresses him as follows:

1. Fragments comprising the Udyoga-, Bhīṣama-, and Drona 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 Pur<ram. 4. Prefixed to Nar. & Ain.
"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."

In similar terms Śiva is praised throughout the Tevāram and other Śaivite works. The mention of cassia 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 Puram. itself, which is in any case secular poetry like all the anthologies save Paripāṭal. There are passing references to Śiva however.

The invocatory poems prefatory to the anthologies are supernumerary to the body of the collections save in the case of Puram. and Kalittōkai, wherein the invocation forms the first poem. In Puram. therefore, the Kaṭavuḷ vālṭtu 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

1. Puram. 1 (Pūrunṭevanār) 2. Cp. Tirunāvukkaracu: Tev. Ṭru. VI: Crescent moon in Śiva's hair: i,3,1.2; iv,1,1.1; chaplet of cassia: iv,4,1.2; vii,31.4; Śiva's bull: ix,5,11.1-2; x,9,1.1; the blue throat: v,2,1.3; xii,2,1.3; Ardhanārīśvara: iv,10,1.2; xiv,4,1.1. 3. Konrai: Cassia fistula. 4. e.g. Puram. 56,1.2; 91,1.6; 6,1.18.
linked by subject. It may be suggested that the Kaṭavul vālțtu to Puram. was in fact composed specifically for it, or that the anthology was made after these Kaṭavul vālțtu 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 Puram. Kaṭavul vālțtu having indeed been composed by Përuntеваnăr who was either contemporaneous with or later than the 9th. century Pallava Nandivarman¹, it may be suggested that Puram. 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 Përuntеваnăr 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 Puram. poems together or the person who patronized the work.²

It may finally be noted in connexion with the Puram. Kaṭavul vālțtu that the colophon to it does not prescribe any Poetic Situation, Tiṅai, to it or a Poetic Theme, Turai, unlike all subsequent Puram. colophons extant. This particular invocation is of thirteen lines.

It has already been noted that Puram. is a collection of individual poems and is not arranged in any formal pattern as is Patirru. 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

this is a grouping according to turai or tipai. 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 Muventar, kings of the Cola Pāntiya or Ceral 'dynasties'. Puram.87-181 are in praise of minor chieftains. Puram.182-243 form a mixed group wherein both muventar 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 μuventar 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 Pāntiya Talaiyālānkānattu ccēruvēna Netuncēliyan, 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 Tinai are seen in Puram.19—23, Vākai, or Puram.105-108, Pāṭāṇṭinai, and according to Turai in Puram.19-23, Aracavākai, or Puram.112-120, Kaiyarvākai.

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

"Tinai: pāṭāṇṭinai. Turai: Paricirrurai. Malaiyaman

1. See Table at end of this Chapter. 2. vv.245-7, 266, 282, 315, (355), 359, 360.
Where a subsequent poem's colophon refers to the same tinai turai hero or poet as indicated in preceding colophons, the terms or names are not repeated, but are replaced by pronouns: "Tinaiyum turaiyum avai. Avanaiy avar pătiyatu."

The four items usually appearing in Puram. colophons had already appeared, the tinai pățăntinai in the colophon to v.126, the turai Iyanmoli in col.129, while col.127 gave the hero and poet as Āy and Enicceri 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. In some instances especially where the text of the poem itself is fragmentary, other parts of the colophon are missing. 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 Pillai, 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. It is perfectly clear from the structure of the colophon who is hero and who is poet.

1. Col. to Puram.126. 2. Col.131 & 132. 3. e.g. cols.336, 337, 338,341. 5. e.g. col.282,323. 5. TSS edn., e.g. vv.323 and 324, and the headings thereto.
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**Abbreviations:** C., Cola; P., Pāntiya; Ce., Ceral; V., Valuti; I., Irumpōrai. e., eriya (who dōlomized); t., tuńciya (who died at); Talaiy., Talaiyālaṅkānattu.
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57 vănci | Tunaivahci
58 pțăn. | Uțanilai
59 " | Puvainilai
60 " | Kutai mankalam
61 văkai | Aracavăkai
62 tumpai | Tökainilai
63 " | "
64 pțăn. | Viraliyarruppatai
65 pțuv. | Kiyarunilai
66 văkai | Aracavăkai
67 pțăn. | Iyanmoli
68 " | Păpărruppatai
69 " | "
70 " | "
71 kănci | Văncinakkănci
72 " | "
73 " | "
74 pțuv. | Mutumolikkănci
75 " | Pŏtumolikkănci
76 văkai | Aracavăkai
79 " | "
80 tumpai | Ērumai maram
81 văkai | Aracavăkai
82 " | "
83 kaik. | Paliccatal
85 " | "

1. v., valavan. 2. C., Cețcănni

Hero

P. Ilavantikaippalli t. Nāmāran
C. Kurāppalli t. Peruntirumā v.1
P. Veḷliyampalattu t. Pēru V.
P. Cittirimāṭattu t. Nāmāran
C. Kurāppalli t. Peruntirumāvalavan
C. Ilavantikaippalli t. Nālăṅkilling
C. Kuṭakko Nētuṅceralātan
C. Verpahraṭakkai Ppēruvirarkilli
P. Palyākacālai Mutukūtumi Pēru V.
C. Pēruṅceralātan
C. Karikārpe ruvalattān
Koppēruṅcolon
C. Nālāṅkilling
C. Kulamurattu t. Killation Valavan
Öllaiyūr tanta Pūtappāntiyān
P. Talaiy. cēruvēnra Nētuṅcēliyan
C. Nālāṅkilling
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212 | Iyanmōli
213 | vaṇci Tunaivaṇci
214 | pōtv. Porumōliikkāṇci
215 | pätän. Iyanmōli
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217 | pōtv. Kaiyarunilai
218 | 
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224 | C. Karikarpēruvalattān
225 | C. Nalaṅkilli
226 | C. Kulamurrattu t. Killivalavan
227 | Ānantappaiyul
228 | 
229 | 
230 | Kaiyarunilai
231 | 
232 | 
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234 | 
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236 | 
237 | Iḷavēlimān
238 | Vēlimān

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Ilavēlimān
Atiyamān Nēṭumān Aṇci
Mūvān
Ce. Kuṭakkocceral I.

Kopperuṅcolan

Picirāntaiyār

Kopperuṅcolan

C. Karikarpēruvalattān
C. Nalaṅkilli
C. Kulamurrattu t. Killivalavan
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>tumpai Kutirai maram</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>&quot; Erumai maram</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>&quot; Tānai nilai</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>&quot; Uvakaikkalulcci</td>
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<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>279</td>
<td>vākai Mūṭिनmullai</td>
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<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>pōtuv. Ānantappaiyul</td>
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<td>kānci Tōṭākkānci</td>
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<tr>
<td>283</td>
<td>tumpai Pāṇpāṭṭu</td>
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<td>284</td>
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<td>286</td>
<td>karan. Vettiyyal</td>
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<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>&quot; Nīṃmoli</td>
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<td>tumpai Mūṭिनmullai</td>
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<td>&quot; Uvakaikkalulcci</td>
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<td>Perunkanci</td>
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<tr>
<td>363 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>(The person addressed in v.363)</td>
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<td>365 knci</td>
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<td>Ce. Kuutakko Nenunceralatan</td>
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<td>373 vākai</td>
<td>Mārakkalavali</td>
<td>C. Kulamurrattu t. Killivalavan</td>
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<td>C. Irācācūyam veṭṭa Pērunakkōlli</td>
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<td>Oymān Villiyātaṇ</td>
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<td>379 &quot;</td>
<td>Paricirrurai</td>
<td>Nāncil Valluvan</td>
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<td>Iyanmōli</td>
<td>Karumpaṇūr kilān</td>
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<tr>
<td>381 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Nalāṅkōlli</td>
</tr>
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<td>382 &quot;</td>
<td>Kaṭainilai</td>
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<td>383 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Karumpaṇūr kilān</td>
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<tr>
<td>384 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ampar kilān Aruvantai</td>
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<tr>
<td>385 &quot;</td>
<td>Vēltt'iyal</td>
<td>C. Kulamurrattu t. Killivalavan</td>
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<td>386 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Cēkkarpallī t. Čēlvakaṭuṅkōv Ā:</td>
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<td>387 &quot;</td>
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<td>Cirukuti kilān Paṅnan</td>
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<td>Naller Mutiyan</td>
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<td>Atiyamān Netumān Aṇci</td>
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<td>Pōraiyārrukkilān</td>
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<td>392 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Kulamurrattu t. Killivalavan</td>
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<td>393 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coliyav Ēnāti Tirukkuṭṭuvan</td>
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<td>394 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>C. naṭṭupitavūrkilārmakanpēruṅūṭṭaṭṭan</td>
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<td>Vēṭṭārr' Ēliniyātaṇ</td>
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<td>396 &quot;</td>
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<td>Paricilvīṭai</td>
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<td>Iyanmōli</td>
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CHAPTER IV

PURANĀNŪRṪU: KINGS

a) Introduction & Colas.

All save one of the four hundred individual poems of Puranānūṟu are in praise, direct or implied, of various patrons and their achievements. The exception is the Kaṭavul vālttu, 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 Muventar. These are the three 'dynasties' of Tamil kings, called Cola, Pāṇṭiya and Ceral.² The poems are about equally divided between those that praise one or other of the Muventar,³ those that praise Cirraracar, chieftains, and those with defective colophons whose patrons cannot be ascertained. 138 poems honour a Cola 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 cases⁴ 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.

1. v.s., pp.85-88. 2. The reasons for calling the last Ceral rather than the usually accepted Ceral are discussed in Chap.VI pp.284. 3. Muventar, three kings, from mūnru, three, +. An alternative is Mūvar, the three. For ventar, vide Kurun.328,1.6; Patirru. Pat. IX,1.4. For mūvar, vide Puram.109,1.2, 122,1.5. 4. Puram. 58,62,63 and 367.
The poems in Puram. are non-religious in character, though references to gods and religious ceremonies abound, as will be noted hereafter. Partaking of the nature of Prasastis, 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, Puram. 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 Cola 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 Cola 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.Sivarajja Pillai observes:

¹. See list on p.104 of Puram. poems devoted to Colas.
## Cola kings who figure in Puranānūru.

**Cola as given in Col.**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Uruvappahrer Ilańcetcēnni</td>
<td>4, 266, 10, 203</td>
<td>Paranār, Pēruṅkunur kīlār, Unpotipacukutaiyār</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cēruppālā ē. &quot;</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Karikāpēruvalattān</td>
<td>7, 224, 66, 234</td>
<td>Karuṅkulalāṭanār, Venṇi Kuyattiyār</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Irācacūyam veṭṭa Pērunarkiḷli</td>
<td>16 (367)</td>
<td>Pāntaraṅkāṇaṅnār, Auvaiyār, Uloccānār</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>377.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nalaṅkīḷli</td>
<td>27-30, 31-34, 46, 68, 382 &amp; 400</td>
<td>Kovūr kīlār, Alattūr kilār, Colan Nalaṅkīḷli, Kō. E. Māt: M. Kumaran:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ilavantikaippallī t. Nalaṅkīḷli Ceṭcēnṇi</td>
<td>225</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>73, 75, 61.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>42, 227, 228, 393, 397</td>
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<td>Kurūppalli t. &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>373.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Māvalattān</td>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Tēmappalkaṇṇaṅnār</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Nēṭuṅkīḷli</td>
<td>44, (45), 47.</td>
<td>Kovūr kīlār</td>
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<td>60, 197.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Velpahṛṭakkai Pēruvīrarkiḷli (62), (63)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalāttalaiyār, Parapar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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.
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 Ilańcećeńni, praised in Puram.4 and 266. This king is mentioned in Pörunärurruppațai, one of the Pattuppätțu as Uruvappahrer the father of KarikElań. 2 Puram.4, by Paranar, 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. Pörunar. 1.130.
fight from chariots. In Puram.266, the last poem in the anthology for which the old commentary is extant, Perunkunrur kilär has the courage to tell the king, whom he addresses as Čenni, of his financial plight and need for reward.

K.N.S.Pillai and other writers are of the opinion that this ruler is the same as Neytalankanal Ilancetčenni who ruled the fair maritime tract, praised in Puram.10, and who destroyed Pämālūr and Čeṛuppali. There seems little reason to dispute this. Ilancetčenni may be regarded as the king's personal name, to which were prefixed various honorific titles. For example, Uruvappahrer means "one possessed of fine chariots".

In Puram.10 Ünpoti Pacunţutaiyār addresses the king as Lord of Neytalankanam, 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 Puram.203 states that Pämālūr, conquered by Ilancetčenni, belonged to the Ceral, and that this panegyric also was composed by Ünpoti Pacunţutaiyār. By the same poet are Puram.370 and 378 which celebrate Ilancetčenni as the conqueror of the hostile Pali, stated by the TSS editor to be in Tōntaimāntalam. 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

1. CET Synchronistic Table, passim. 2. Puram. TSS edn.i, p.29; the editor states that Neytalankanal was the king's birthplace. 3. Puram.203 col. 4. Puram.370,378 cols. 5. TSS edn.ii, p.9. 6. ibid. ii, p.349.
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 vaṭukān is connected with vaṭakkku, north, however, it is possible that the conquest of Vaṭukar refers to the victory at Pāli in Tōṇtaimanṭalam, which lay to the north of the Cola's domains. The Paratavar were inhabitants of the sea coast who seem to have built up a power of their own. It is generally accepted that the name is to be connected with the Skt. bharata, though no reason has been offered for this. The word paratavan means also trader, and it should be noted that there is a Kannāḍa word, paradū, meaning trade, merchant. Assuming that the Tamil words for fisherman and trader are in fact one and the same word, it might be questioned as to whether paratavan is connected with bharata, since there is a Kannāḍa word for trader showing a strong affinity to the Tamil word paratavan.

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

"The smiling of the female monkeys, bedecked with the ornaments that Sītā, carried away from Rāma by the mighty Rāksasa, had let fall and which had been seen by the Monkey." Such a reference shows that the details of the Rāma story were known to Tamil writers at that time, and shows the

extent to which non-Tamil literature was current. The TSS editor merely observes that this reference shows that, at the time when Puram.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 Puram. that praise the Cola Ilançetçenni. The first two, 4 and 266, are by different poets, but both praise him whose title Uruvappaher is given in the colophons. Poems 10, 203, 370 and 378 are all by one poet, and praise Ilançetçenni 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 Cola to appear in Puram. is Karikārpēruvalattān who is praised in Puram.7, 66 and 224 by Karuṅkulalāṭañār, Vēnṇi Kuyattiyār and Karuṅkulavāṭañār respectively. There is some difference of opinion about the last-named poet. Both UVS and the editors of Caṅka Ilakkiyam regard Puram.7 and 224 as the work of Karuṅkulalāṭañār and do not even mention a variant reading in the colophon to Puram.224. The TSS editor, on the other hand, states that Puram.224 is the work of Karuṅkulavāṭañār 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 Karuṅkulām belonged to Karikārcolan.

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 Karikāl in the Caṅkam period. Pillai's argument, which is followed by Vithianandan, is that there were two kings of this name, probably grandfather and grandson. Ilancetcēnni would be the son of Karikārpuvalattān or Karikāl I. The Karikālan (II) who is praised in two of the Pattuppattu, Pūrunararruppatai and Pāṭṭinappālai, is not mentioned by Paranar, who on the other hand mentions a Karikāl who lived before his time. The victories of Karikārpuvalattān are not mentioned in the Pattu, among the victories of Karikālan Paranar's contemporary Kapilar speaks of the poet Kalāttalaiyar as having preceded him. 2 Kalāttalaiyar wrote Puram.65, which, according to its colophon, tells of Pūrunceralātan's fast unto death after defeat at the hands of Karikārpuvalattān at the battle of Vēnṇi. On the other hand, Karikāl (II) also fought a battle at Vēnṇi.

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 Vēnṇi is mentioned in the Pattu., in

1. CET pp. 91 ff; The P, p. 60. 2. Both cite Puram.202,1.12 in support of this view.
Porunar. lines 143-8, among the victories of the Karikal lauded in that poem; he is stated to have defeated the Ceral and Pantiya. It is presumably this to which Paranar referred when he wrote:

"Perumpéyar Karikal

ärkali naraṉi Vēṇni vāyil
cīrkēlu mannar maraliya nāṭpin
imilicai muracam pōru kalatt'ōliya
ppatinōru velirōtu ventar cāya..." ¹

"On the plain of Vēni where fine toddy is produced, the great Karikal 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 Karikal II, referred to in terms almost identical to those above, who was the hero of Porunar, and that it was at a second battle of Vēnī at which he defeated the two kings. To achieve this, Pillai has had to make the second Karikal live after Paranar. ²

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

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

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¹. Akam.246,11.8-12. ². Textual references for this battle apart from Akam.246 are: Akam.55,11.10 &11, where Karikal Valavan's foe is given as Ceralātan. Puram.66, 11.3-8; Nar.390, 1.3, wherein the Cola is called Killī.
Kapilar, it must still be noted that it is only in the colophon to Puram.65 that Karikärperuvalattān is named as the foe of Pēruhceralētan. That the battle was at Vēnni is mentioned in neither text nor colophon, and since Kalāttalaiyār wrote no other poem extant that mentions Karikal or Vēnni 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 Vēnni against a Ceral.

While it may be suggested that there were in fact two kings who were called Karikal, it would seem difficult to be as categorical as Pillai 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 Karikärperuvalattān, that is Pillai's Karikal I, who was praised in the two poems of Pattu.

As already seen, three poems of Puram. 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 Puram.7 and 224 to be the work of the poet Karukulalātanār.

Puram.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 Vēnni Kkuyattiyār according to its

colophon. In it the king’s name appears in the vocative as Karikāl Valava.¹ This poem contains the reference to the battle of Vēnṇi alluded to earlier.² It states that the Cōḷa’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 Pēruṅceralātān and the deed is celebrated in the previous poem, Puram.65. But there is only the authority of the colophon to 65 for saying that the king was Pēruṅceralātān. Vēnṇi is not mentioned in Puram.65 at all, nor in its colophon. All that can definitely be stated is that in two adjacent poems of Puram 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 Puram.65 and is the foe of Karikāl Valava, as mentioned in 66. The only source for the information that the king who was ashamed of his wound was Ceralātan is, as far as texts are concerned, Mēmulanār’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 Puram. to treat of a king the colophons call Karikārpēruvalattān. It only remains to note that both Pillai and Vithianandan, following upon their view that there were two Karikāls, have held that Karikāl II is represented in Puram. under the name of Kurāppalli ttuṇciya Pēruṅtirumāvalavan.⁵ Though he is not the next ruler to appear in

1. 1.3; cp. Akam.55. 2. v.s. p.110,fn.2. 3. Puram.66, 11.6-9. 4. e.g. CET, p.92, where Pillai states that the practice is called in Skt. Sallekhana. 5. CET, p.131; the P., p.63, quoting Paṭṭinap. 1.299 wherein Karikāl is called Tirumāvalavan.
Puram, and first appears in poem 58, it may be well now to examine the poems that treat of this ruler. He figures in Puram. 58, 60 and 197, composed, say their colophons, by Karikkannanar of Kāvirippumpattinam, the physician Tamotaranar of Uraiyyur, and Maturaikkumaranar, son of Māṭalan of Ériccilūr in the Cola land.

Poem 58 is patently addressed jointly to a Pāntiya and a Cola, one being spoken of as a scion of the Pāncavar, one of the Pāntiya families, the other being addressed as lord of the cool Kāviri, and of Uraintai (Uraiyyur). 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 Pāntiya is Pēruvaluti who died at Vēlliypampalam and the Cola is Pēruntirumāvalavan who died at Kurāppalli.

Puram.60 refers to the king as Valavan 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 Karikiarpēruvalattān. They neither confirm nor deny that the person they extol was: a) a different person altogether from Karikāl of Puram.7, 66 and 224, b) the same as the Karikāl II proposed by Pillai, or c) different again from Karikāl II. The name Valavan may well have been used

1. Puram.58,1.8. 2. ibid.,1.1. 3. ibid.,1.9.
of several Cola kings. The TSS editor\(^1\), however, suggests that this king is the same as Karikārpe ruvalattān, addressed as Valavañ in Puram.\(^6\). This is a more reasonable idea than that of Pillai 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 Muṭittaleikko Pērunarkilli, who figures only in Puram.\(^{13}\), composed, states its colophon, by Muṭamociyār of Enicceri near Uraiyūr. This colophon further states that the poet composed this poem while standing with the Ceral king Antuvaṅceral Irumpōrai on the roof of the Vel'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 Irācācūyam veṭṭa Pērunarkilli, and the poet's name is given as Pāntaraṅkaṇṇaṭar. Pērunarkilli who performed the Rājasūya sacrifice figures in two other Puram. poems. In 367,

1. TSS edn.\(^1\), p.441. 2. For this Vel, v.i. pp. 185,215-6. 3. Puram.\(^{13},11\).5-9.
by the poetess Auvaiyār, he is praised jointly with the Ceral Māvanko and the Pāntiya Kānapper tanta (or kaṭanta) Ukkirappēru Valuti. Puram. 377 is stated in its colophon to be by Uloccanār. In the case of all three colophons UVS gives the form Irācācuyam, and does not note a variant reading. The TSS editor, however, gives that form in the case of 16, but the form Irāyacuyam in the case of 367 and 377.

In a note on the name of the author of Puram. 16, the TSS editor suggests that Pāntaran was the name of the father of the poet Kannanār. This would involve a change in the place of articulation of the final 'alveolar' nasal -n to that of the velar -ṅ- before the plosive k-. The final -n is not normally subject to such a change, 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, Kōrrān Kōrranār. If the surmise of the TSS editor regarding Pāntaran Kannanār'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 pāntaranākam. It is given as Pāntaranākanār. 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 Cola and Pāntiya kings unite when threatened from outside. This poem contains a reference to the

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1. e.g. Maturaiy Iḻampāḷāciriyan Centan Kūttanār, author of Akam.102. 2. Ta.Lex. p.2596, col.ii.
brahmans as "twice born", irupirappālar, and to the three sacrificial fires, mutṭi, with which the three kings are compared. On the basis of the colophon to this poem, most modern writers assert the contemporaneity of Pērunarkilli, the Pāṇṭiya Ukkirappēruvalūti and the Ceral Māvānko. None of these rulers is mentioned by name in this poem, nor is Pērunarkilli addressed by name in Puram.16 or 377. But if this colophon is followed, it shows that the Colas Pāṇṭiyas and Māvānko were in a state of amity at that time. It may be suggested that Māvānko was one of the Ceralar at Vaṅci, since the colophon to Puram.125 states that Irācācūyam vēṭṭa Pērunarkilli aided by Tervanmalaiyam fought against Māntarānceral Irumpōrai.

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

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

1. Puram.367, l.12. 2. ibid., l.13. 3. e.g. Vithianandan, the P, p.61. 4. See list of Colas, p.104.
is attested by the text itself. In the colophon his name appears simply as Nalaṅkili, but in line 10 of Cāttaṇār’s poem he is referred to as Cetcēnni Nalaṅkili. This may especially be noted in conjunction with the colophon to 61, which gives the name as Nalaṅkili Cetcēnni. This confirms the view that the hero of 61 is the same as the Nalaṅkili of the other poems, especially as both the author of 61 and Kovūr kilār, the author of many of the Nalaṅkili poems have also written on another Cola ruler, Kurāppalli ttuṇciya Killivalavan.\(^1\) It is perhaps unlikely that two Nalaṅkillis flourished at the same time.

In line 15 of Puram. 28, three of the puruṣārthas, aram, dharma, pūrul, artha, and impam, 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, ḍnerp eccam.\(^2\)

There is another reference to the puruṣārthas in Puram. 31 by Kovūr kilār, who says that just as artha and kāma attend upon dharma, so the Pāṇṭiya and Ceral kings wait upon the Cola Nalaṅkili.\(^3\) 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 Vaṇći, the Ceral capital, and of Maturai, the city of the Pāṇṭiyas.\(^5\)

The last poem of this first group on Nalaṅkili 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. Puram. 197 & 373 respectively. 2. Blindness, aborted embryo, dwarfness, dumbness, deafness, animal shape, congenital deformities.

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According to colophons accompanying Puram. 44 and ensuing poems, Nalāṅkilli twice besieged another Cola prince, Neṭuṅkilli, at Āvūr and at Uraiyūr. This will further be noted in discussing the poems on Neṭuṅkilli, but poem 45 is addressed by Kovūr kilār to both the contestants. The poet points out the futility of the internecine strife between the two Cola 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."

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

Poem 68 is an instance of Ārruppatai, and is addressed to another bard. It tells of Nalāṅkilli's munificence as a patron. In poem 382 the poet Kovūr kilār mentions the name of the king, Nalāṅkilli. The poem tells how the poet meets some warriors who are full of the praises of Nalāṅkilli, 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 Puram., 400, is also on Nalāṅkilli by Kovūr kilār. It is in an incomplete state owing to the poor condition of MSS at two points. It too is a panegyric. Puram. 225 is by Ālattūr kilār, who, like Kovūr kilār, has also written poems on Kulamurrattu

1. Puram. 45, 11.1-4. 2. TSS edn.11, p.469; the gaps are after lines 11 and 18.
ttunçiya Killivalavan, regarded by some as Nalañkilli's successor at Uraiyur. In this poem also the king is addressed as Cetcenni Nalañkilli.

Puram. 73 and 75 are ascribed by their colophons to Nalañkilli himself. The former poem is regarded by the TSS editor as composed in connexion with the quarrel with Netufikilli 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", 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 courtesans. Poem 75 is a meditation on kingship and the inevitability of death for king and commoner alike.

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

The next Cola to figure in Purananūru is called Kulamurrattu ttunçiya Killivalavan in the colophons. Pope suggested that this king was the same as Kuräppalli ttunçiya Përuntirumāvalavan, and regarded Kuräppalli as the same as Kulamurram, that is, pavilion by the tank. This point is perhaps confirmed by the information in the colophons that Kovür kilär wrote poems both on Killivalavan who died at Kulamurram and on

1. e.g. Kanakasabhai Pillai: "Tamils 1800 years ago," p.75.  
2. Puram. 225, 1.9.  
3. ibid., 13, 14.  
4. Puram. 73, 1.7.  
5. ibid., 13, 14, 15.  
Killivalavan who died at Kurappalli. If these were one and the same person, it only remains to prove that Killivalavan was the same person as Peruntirumävalavan of Puram.58, 60 and 197 to confirm the rest of Pope's contention.

None of the poets mentioned as having praised Killivalavan is credited with a poem on Peruntirumävalavan, but it is worth noting that Avûr Mûlañkilâr, who wrote Puram.36 and 40 on Killivalavan, also composed Puram.196 on the Pântiya Nammâran, who is praised in Puram.57 by Kârikkanânañâr, one of the panegyrists of Peruntirumävalavan. This suggests at least the contemporaneity if not identity of the last-named Cola with Killivalavan. But the identity is not proven, and since Peruntirumävalavan has been identified with Kârikãl II by Pillâi, the poems in his honour have already been considered.

There are nineteen poems in Puram. that praise Killivalavan if we regard Kulamurram as synonymous with Kurappalli.

Puram.34, 36 and 69 are attributed by their colophons to Alattûr kilâr who has already been mentioned as the author of Puram.225 in praise of Nalañkillî. In 34 the king is addressed as Valavan in a praûasti. There is a reference to the sin of cutting the udders of cattle and that of abortion. Puram.36, according to its colophon, was addressed to Killivalavan as he besieged Karuvûr, the Ceral city. Poem 69 is in the Arruppaçai form, an address to a fellow-bard recommending to him one's patron. It

1. Vide col.'s to Puram.41,46; 373, (UVS edn. p.494). 2. Who, as already seen, has been identified with Kârikãl II; v.s. p.112. 3. Puram.58. 4. vs. p.113. 5. See list, p.104. 6. 11.1 & 2.
mentions the king's name as Killivalavan and also speaks of Urantai, the Cola capital.¹

Puram.37,39 and 226 in praise of Killivalavan are by Marokkattu Nappacalaiyār according to their colophons. What is generally taken to be a reference to the Śibi story occurs in line 6 of Puram.37, wherein the king is addressed as "descendant of that Čempiyon who saved the dove from woe." The Lexicon² connects Čempiyon with Šaibya. That the Colas claimed descent from Śibi is comparable to the Pāṇḍiyas 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 Karuvur; it will be recalled that the colophon to Puram.36 mentions a siege of that place by Killi Valavan. 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:

"Harrowing 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 Vañava.

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Puram. 35 is by Vellaikkuti Nākanār, and is his only poem to find a place in Puram. Two of his verses figure in Nar.¹ There seems no justification for Pope's statement² that this poem is by the same poet as Puram. 34 which, as just noted, is by Alattūr kilār. The poem alludes to the pleasant Tamil land, protected by the three kings³ and refers to the Kāviri river.⁴

Avūr Mūlāṅkilār has a number of poems included in Puram. according to the colophons. Two are in praise of Killivalavan who died at Kulamurram. Puram. 38, one of a number translated by Pope⁵, 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 Valavan signifies Indra.⁷ There is no mention in the text of the name Valavan, and no record of the Ta. valavan being a name of Indra, even were one to accept the doubtful suggestion of the Lexicon⁸ that valavan is connected with the Sanskrit vallabha. Ta. valam, with cognates in Telugu and Malayālam means fertility. Ta. valavan means either the king of a fertile land (here, the Cōla), or cultivator.

Poem 40 contains a reference to siege, perhaps that of Vańci 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

into anklets for your feet." 1

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

The poet Kovur kilār, already noted as a panegyrist of Nalaṅkilli, has also written a number of verses in praise of Killivalavan, namely, Puram.41, 46, 70 and 386. Moreover, Puram.373, written by him, praises Kurūppaḷḷi ttuntiya Killivalavan, and for reasons already noted it seems probable that this was the same person as Kulamurṟattu ttuntiya Killivalavan.

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 Kāḷaṇ (Yama) pays no attention to his appointed hour." 4

The colophon to 46 states that Kovur kilār interceded for the children of Malaiyamāṇ 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 Malaiyamāṇ is in no way indicated by the text itself. If the colophon is correct, it would seem that Valavan behaved in a curious way towards the members of a family who had helped Perunarkilli and Valavan himself, since Nappacalaiyār records that Valavan was hidden in

1. Puram.40,11.1-4. 2. v.s. p.117. 3. p.119; this is UVS reading the TSS ed. states it is an error in some MSS. 4. 11.1 & 2. 5. 46,11.1 & 2. 6. Col. to 125. 7. 174, text & colophon. v.i., Chap.V, pp.913 & 243-4.
Mullūr and then restored to his throne by Malaiyamān Coliyav Enāti Tirukkannān who, far from being Valavan’s foe, extolled his glory.  

In poem 70, Kovūr kilār addresses the king as Killi Valavan. In this poem there is a reference to Pannan Cirukuti. Pannan was probably a Cola vassal who owned Cirukuti, and there are numerous references to him in the anthologies. In his text, the TSS editor has the reading Pannan, as has UVS, but in his commentary he follows the old commentary in reading pānān, bard, thus suggesting the other reading, pānān, mentioned in UVS’ edition. Both this variant and pānān in the old commentary may be errors for Pannan. The fact that in two collocations Pannan qualifies Cirukuti and that Cirukuti is mentioned a number of other times points to there having been a place of that name belonging to Pannan, and inclines one to favour Pannan Cirukuti in Puram.70 also. Despite his following the old commentary and reading pānān, the TSS editor in his gloss on Puram.70 suggests that Pannan is in fact referred to here. 

Puram.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 Vanci and the war against the Kuṭanāṭu, the western land, which was one of the regions belonging to the Ceralars.

1. The TSS ed. states that Malaiyamān was the foe of Valavan, without comment. See i, p.128. He does not explain how, if that were so, Valavan was restored to power by Malaiyamān as recorded by Puram.174; see also i, p.389. 2. 11.14-16. 3. Line 13; v.i. pp.240-1, for discussion of Pannan. 4. e.g. Pannan Ciru: Akam.54, Puram.388; see also Nar.340,357. 5. p.144, fn. 6. 1, p.184.
This is further proof that Kurāppalli, mentioned in the colophon to 373 as the place of Killivalavan's death, is none other than Kulamurram mentioned in all the other colophons. The siege if the Ceral capital is the principal achievement of Killi Valavan 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 Velli (Venus) chooses to rest, there rests the foot of my lord! " ²

Poem 228 on the same king is by Aiyūr Muṭavanār, 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 Valavan 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 Purāṇa poems on Killivalavan are 393 and 397. Purāṇa 393 is the sole extant poem by Nalliraiyanār. It is a praśasti on the part of a poor bard who has come from lands far

1. 11.1-6. 2. 11.20-25. 3. 1.11. 4. 11.9,10. 5. 1.14.
away to praise the king "Valavan, the hero of the good land wherein flows the Kēviri." ¹ Contrary to Pope's statement² that the author of Puram.397, Erukkāṭtur Ttūyankaṇṇanār is unknown save for this poem, he is credited with a number of other verses including Puram.356. The king is called Valavan 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 Kuḷamurrattu ttuṇciya Killi Valavan in Puram. 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 Puram.39 are taken into consideration, there is clear reference to his capture of the Ceral capital. By contrast, there is no mention in Puram. of his relations with his southern neighbours, the Pāntiyas. His capital is given as Urantai in several places, but Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam, the city of Karikāl⁴, is not mentioned. He is usually regarded as having died at Kuḷamurram, and this appears in all the relevant Puram. colophons save one, that to 373, which, in some MSS gives his place of demise as Kurāppalli. However, there seems little reason to doubt that the two names refer to one place; the name Kurāppalli may even be a scholiast's error.

The next Cola king to appear in Puram. is Māvalattān, celebrated in one poem only, Puram.43, by the poet Tāmarpal Kannanār. The colophon states that Māvalattān was younger brother

Chart of Contemporaries A

(41,46,70,373)  (44,47) (48)(31-3)
Kulamurattu t. — KOVÜR K. ——— Nêjunkilli & Nalänkilli Mâvalattan
Killivalavan

(34,36,69) —— ALATTUR K. ———— " " " " ———*

(225) (61)
— ÄVÜRÎLâN K. —— P. Ilavantikaippalli

Akam 224
(196) (57)
coll.
PÊRUNITÀLAIÇÇATTANAR ——— {Kumanan}
(164,165)

*----------- K. E. M. M. KUMARANAR — Kuruppalli t.
PÊruntirâmmâvalavan
(197)

**---------- KÄRIKKANNANAR ———-

(58)
P. Vélliyampalattu
t. Përuvalutil

Conventional signs, applicable also to subsequent charts:

——— brother. | son. ——— praised (by)

(100) Pûram.v. col. colophon. ÄVÜR K. Poet's name.


*, **, 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.

To Nalänkilli, who has already been considered. Both UVS and the TSS editor¹ are of the opinion that the poet was a brahman. The TSS editor says that Palkannan, 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

¹. TSS 1, p.122; UVS p.39.
Tamil area. 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 Māvalattān, the younger brother of Nalaṅkīlli, and Tāmarppalkanṭanaṉār 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 Killi, 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. The king acknowledges that he is at fault and prays that the poet may live long by the Kāviri’s banks.

The term pārppān is always taken to mean brahman, and is connected by commentators with the Skt. brāhmaṇa. The reference to these people in Puṟam. 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 Cola to figure in Puṟam. is given in the colophons to 44, 45 and 47 as Netuṅkīlli. Poem 45 has already been discussed, as its colophon states that it was addressed jointly to Netuṅkīlli and Nalaṅkīlli while they were engaged in civil war. Like 45, 44 and 47 are attributed to Kovūr kilār.

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1. e.g. Kammāḷar or Pāncāḷar, smiths who claim descent from Viśvakarman; see Hutton: "Caste in India" p.10. 2. 43, 1.10. 3. ibid., 1.14. 4. Tam.Lex.p.2617, col.1. Neither pārppān nor the alternative pārppāṇān show the -n- of brahmaṇa. 5. p.118.
44, according to its colophon, was addressed to Netunkilli on the occasion of Nalankilli 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 Puram.47 says that Netunkilli died at Kāriyārū. It states that the poem was composed when Netunkilli was besieged at Uraiyūr and was about to have a poet called Ilantattan killed, thinking that he was a spy sent by Nalankilli. The poem well describes the life of a poet, visiting one court after another seeking patronage.

Pūruntirumāvālavan, said to have died at Kurappalli, is lauded in poems 58, 60 and 197. He is the ninth Cola to appear in Puram., but since he is frequently identified with Karikāl poems in his honour have already been considered. He has also been identified by Pope with Kulamumrattu ttuńciya Kīlīvalavan, largely on the basis of the synonymity of Kurappalli and Kulamumram. However, K.A.N. Sāstri rejects the identification; he is presumably following P.T.S. Aiyangar, since he quotes the latter’s footnote, but neither writer gives any reason for his view. Negative evidence is provided by the Puram. colophons; none of the panegyrists of Karikāl is recorded as having praised any other king, while poets who praised Pūruntirumāvālavan have praised Nalankilli and others.

Poems 62, 63 and 368 of Puram. mention the Cola king Velpahratakkai Ppēruvirkillī together with Netunceraldātan, king

of the Kuṭanāṭu. The colophons further state that Pṛuvirakṣi was killed battling against Netunceralātan. Dr. K.A.N. Sastri does not put forward any conjecture regarding this king, but Pillai identifies him with Imaiyavarampan Netunceralātan, hero of decade II of Patirruppattu. If the colophon to Puram.63 is accepted, Paranar wrote on this encounter. Paranar is also credited with writing the fifth decade of Patiru. in praise of Cēṅkuṭṭuvan, son of Netunceralātan by the Cola princess Manakkilli. This would tend to support the identification put forward by Pillai; at that time Paranar 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. There seems no good reason for following Pillai’s suggestion that Puram.63 was not written by Paranar but by an earlier poet.

Puram.62 is by Kalattalaiyār 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 Netunceralātan. 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.

Puram.368 refers to the loss by the poet of all that...
Netunceralatán had given him save the garland round his own neck which Kalattalaiyar 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 Cola Péruvirarkillî. It makes it quite clear that the poet Kalattalaiyar was a bard of the Ceral rather than Cola court.

Puram.63, by Paranar, 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 Cola king Péruvirarkillî was commemorated in the colophons to these verses only because he was the enemy of Netunceralatán. 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 Kalattalaiyar and Paranar emerge as champions of the Ceral cause in the affair.

The next king to appear in the poems of Puranānūṛu is given in various colophons as Kopperūncolan.³ The first two poems about him are by Picirēntaiyar according to their colophons. They are Puram.67 and 212. Poems 220 to 223 are by Pottiyyar, while the king himself is credited with Puram.214 to 216. Poem 213 is by Eyiriryanar of Pallārrur, while 219 is by Pūtanākanar. According to the colophons, there seems to have been close amity between the king and the two first-named poets. The colophons to

¹. Puram.368, 1.18. ². 1.9. ³. See Cola list, supra p.104.
Puram. 215 and 216 speak of the king desiring to see Picirāntai. The colophon to 217 states that Pottiyār wrote it on seeing Picirāntaiyār after the king had gone to the north. This journey to the north is mentioned in several colophons, and that to 218 suggests that Picirāntaiyār accompanied the king there, while that to 223 hints that Pottiyār went also. Pope has suggested 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.

Puram. 67, addressed to a male goose, bids it linger awhile in the Cola land on its flight northward from the Kumari river, the southern limit of the Tamil country. 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:

"Pēruṅko Kkilli ketkav irumpicir āntaiy atiyurai ēnine ... "

"Say only that you dwell at the feet of the Owl of Picir when the great Killi 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

1. Cols. to 191, 214, 216, 217, 219, 220. 2. I.A. XXVIII(1899)p.29. 3. 67, 11.7,8. 4. ibid., 11.11,12.
phrase "picir antai" with the addition of the honorific suffix -ēr 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.

Both poem 67 and 212 employ the word Koli as a name for the Cola capital Urantai, or Uraiyūr as it is called in the colophons. This may represent an earlier form of the word from which was derived the name Cola, 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 Coliya for Cola is also found.³ If this suggestion connecting Koli with Cola is correct, the story in Cilappatikāram that Uraiyūr was called Koli, 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 Kopperunocolan is referred to as Peruṅko Kṛilli in line 11 of poem 67 and as Kopperunocolan in line 8 of poem 212. This poem contains a clear reference to the friendship of the king for the poet Pottiyār that was mentioned above:

"Potti' nānpir Pottiyōtu kēli ..." ⁵

"Friendly with Potti whose affection is flawless."

There is a play on the poet's name, Potti, and pōtt'īl, faultless. The poet may have been named after the town Potti

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1. e.g. author of Nar.71, Vannappurakkantarattanēr; line 8 of 71: "vanna ppuravin ceṅkāl ceval", the red feet of the richly coloured cock pigeon. 2. cf. Burrow, BSOAS(1943)p.126. 3. e.g. Tōl. Cō1.cū.167. 4. Cil.X,11.277-8 & comm. 5. 212,1.9. Further on
which belonged to the Colas. He is credited with four poems on Kopperuńcolan, Puram.220-223. Moreover, the colophon to 217 says that Pōttiyār wrote it on his fellow-bard Picirāntaiyār. This poem will also be considered here.

The colophon to 220 states that Pōttiyār wrote it when, sorrowing, he returned to Uraiyr after going to the north with the king. The poet compares Uraiyr without its king to an elephant-stall without its elephant, and says that the king Killi 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 Uraiyr. 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 Pōttiyār upbraids the king for asking him to go away until his, Pōttiyār'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

1. 1.6: "Tervańkilli pokiya ." 2. I.A. XXVIII(1899)p.32. 3. ii, p.48. 4. 221, 11.7-10. 5. Pope, I.A., ibid.
and king.

Puram. 217 was written by Pottiyar 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 Cola king.

Individual poems on Kopperuncoalan are 213 and 219, by Ēyirriyanār and Putanākanār respectively. In both cases, these poems are the only work of their authors to survive. The colophon 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 Kopperuncoalan 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 Himalaya and die with unblemished body.¹ This poem shows that the early Tamils were aware of speculation regarding Samsāra. The colophon to 215 states that when people around Kopperuncoalan 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

¹ Puram. 214, lines 10 ff. ² Puram. 216, 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".  

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

"He was wont to call me, by virtue of his intimacy, the silly Čōraì."

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

"Tanpēyar kilakkun kālaiy ēn pēyar petaiçcolan ēnnun ..."  

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

It remains but to notice two more poems in connexion with Koppēruṅcolan. 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. Puram. 218 is by Kannākaṉār according to its colophon, which also says that the poet composed it on

1. 215, 11.6,7.  2. 216, 11.7,8.  3. I.A. XXVIII(1899)p.30.  4. 216, ibid.  5. 191, 11.3 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 Koppēruṅcolan forms a distinct group that is rather more closely-knit than poems on most kings appearing in this anthology. The king is called Killi 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 Killi and Koppēruṅcolan, 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, Pōttiyyār. 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 Pōttiyyār 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 Kopperuncolan in the general framework of this period of the Colas save statements that he was a Killi and ruled at Uraiýur. This latter is attested by one poet only, Picirântaiyär 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, Picirântai alone finds a place among other anthologies and alone is said to laud another king, Pântiyan Arivutaï Namil. This ruler is likewise hard to place in the Pântiya line, and it is possible that both he and Kopperuncolan were either later than the main group of rulers treated in the anthologies, or were feudatories or members of a rival clan.

Colan Porvaikkopperunarkilli will now be discussed. He is celebrated in one group of poems only, Puram.80 to 85. These are the work of two poets, Cattantaiyär and Nakkaññaiyär, daughter of Përuñkoli Naykan according to the colophons.

The old commentary to Puram.80 says that the Tittan mentioned therein was the father of Përunarkilli. This person is identified by modern writers with Vírai Venmân Véliyan Tittan who figures in Nar.58. There is nothing in Puram. to support such an identification. Furthermore, the identification of Porvaikkopperunarkilli with Tittan Véliyan, also accepted by modern writers, is nowhere attested by the text of Puram.

1. Author of Akam.305 & Nar.91. 2. Puram.184. 3. Another reading is Poravaikko. 4. í.6; comm.UVS p.160. 5. CET p.73. 6. Ibid. p.75.
K.G. Sesha Aiyar, furthermore, has identified Porvaikkoppūrunarkillī with Veliyan Venmān, who was the father-in-law of Nētuṅceralātan 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:

Veliyan Venmān (Patirru.Pat.II & prob. Akam208)
Nallini, his daughter
Veliyan Venmān Aay Ėyīnan
Virai Venmān Veliyan Tittan (Nar.58)
Tittan Veliyan (Akam.152 & 226)
Tittan (Puram.80,352,395; Akam.6,122)
Aiyai, his daughter (Akam.6)
Porvaikkoppūrunarkillī (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 venmān, a person of the Velir clan, and the fourth name includes the element Virai. Akam.206, line 13, states that this was a place belonging to the Vels. It seems safe to suggest that these four persons were members of the Velir and to follow the suggestion of the TSS editor of Akam., N.M.Venkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭer, that Aay Ėyīnan was the son of Veliyan Venmān. We may therefore suggest that he was the brother of Nallini, and therefore uncle of Nētuṅceralātan, and draw up a table as follows:

In the second group of four names, both Tittan Veliyan and Tittan are mentioned as lord of Urantai. It seems safe to regard them as one and the same person. There seems no reason to follow the suggestion that Tittan Veliyan is to be regarded as the son of Veliyan Tittan, the Vel lord of Virai, because the two elements in the latter's name are seen transposed in that of Tittan Veliyan.

It may well be that it was Tittan (Veliyan) who is referred to in Puram.80, and that Porvaikkopperunarkilli was his son, and not the son of Veliyan Tittan, lord of Virai, as modern writers contend. But the text itself does not say so, and it is only in the old commentary that says that Tittan was Killi's father. If this surmise is correct, then Aiyai was Killi's sister:

Tittan (Veliyan) lord of Urantai
Porvaikkopperunarkilli (Comm. on Puram.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:

1. By Paraper: Tittan Veliyan, Akam.226; Tittan, Puram.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. Puram. 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 Veliyan Tittan, the name would be regarded as a possessive compound wherein the genitive of Veliyan is not expressed, and we have to postulate the omission of the element venmān as not being a personal name of Veliyan Tittan’s ‘father’ but an appellation common to several Velir. The same structure would apply in the case of Tittan Veliyan, uncomplicated by there being any general appellation added to his father’s name.

Only on the basis of relating the Velirs discussed to the Colas can any interrelationship between the latter and Netunceralatan be suggested.

Pillai and others regard Porvaikkoppērunarkillī as one of the earliest Colas to rule at Urantai. Such a view is based on the assumption that he was the son of the Tittan who is said to have captured Urantai from a ruler of Ārkkātu (Arcot) called Centan. This latter assumption is based on a variant reading of a single line in Kurun., favoured neither by UVS nor the Samājam editors. Kurun.258, line 4, is: "Entu kottiyanai Ccentan rantai", "The father of Centan who possesses elephants with uplifted tusks." This is presumably Alici, who is mentioned as ruler of
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 Paranar poem, and that poet says in Akam.122 that Tittan ruled Urantai. If the colophons ascribing these two poems to Paranar 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 Paranar praised both Velpahratakkai Pperuvirarkilli in Puram.63 and his successor Uruvappahrer Illancettoenni 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 and others as to the capture of Urantai by the Colas may accordingly be set aside.

As already noted, one of the panegyrists of Porvaikko Pperunarkilli was Cattantaiyiar, 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 Amur at wrestling. It is

1. Nar.190, 1.4. 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 Porvaikkopperunarkilli. 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 Šr, bauhinia, a flower of special significance to the Colas.\(^4\)

Poems 83 to 85 are ascribed by their colophons to the poetess Nakkaṇṇaṅiyār, 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.5; 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 Ukkirappērūvaluti and Pūtappāṇṭiyān 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 Puranāṇūru. 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 Kuḷamurram and Koppēruṇcolan. 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 Karunkaiy Olvētpērumpēyar 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.

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1. CET pp.132-133.
Perruntirumavalavan in poem 58. Pillai does not explain why he identifies the hero of Puram with these two rulers, but the identification of these two with each other he explains thus:

"I am inclined to identify this Velliyambalattu tunčiya Peruvaludi with Palyagasālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaludi on the ground that there could be only one Pāṇḍiya king to come between Neṇunceliyan II and Neṇunceliyan III in the Tables."

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

It is true that all three names include the element Valuti. It would seem permissible to regard this as a family name of perhaps tribal origin. Five such names occur in Pāṇṭiya nomenclature, Valuti, Māran, Cēliyan, Pāṇṭiya and Kavuriyan. Attempts have been made to connect the last two names with the Skt. Pāṇḍava and Kaurava respectively, without satisfactorily explaining the change of the -ava of the Skt. patronymic Pāṇḍava into Ta. -iya(n). 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. In the same way, the name Pańcavan, another name used by Pāṇṭiyar, has been connected with the Skt. pańca, as alluding to the five

1. v.s. p.113. 2. CET pp.131-2. 3. e.g. M.Raghava Aiyangar in Centamil VIII, p.10. 4. Cp. The Royal Scots, known as Pontius Pilate's Bodyguard. 5. Pańcavar: Puram.58,1,8; see Dorairangasami, p.113.
family names just noticed. On the other hand, this name could be connected with Ta. pañcu, cotton, for which the Maturai country has been famous since Kauṭilya. 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 Puram. are given the name Valuti, and in one case at least these family names are not mutually exclusive. The hero of Puram.51 and 52 is given as Māran Valuti who died at Kūṭakāram. There seems no reason to identify with each other any of the five kings who are called Valuti, and they will be discussed separately.

The personal name of the poet who wrote Puram.3 in honour of Karuṅkaiy Oḷvēṭpermēyār Valuti has not survived. He is known in the colophon by the phrase-name 'Irumpīṭar Tṭalaiyār' after a phrase in Puram.3, line 11:

"Pērunkaī yānaiy irumpīṭar tṭalaiy iruntu ..."

"The elephant on which you sit has a large trunk 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 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" and also as Valuti. No events are referred to, the poem being

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 Pāṇṭiyas whose name is given in the colophons as Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi Pēruvalutti is praised by three poets. 2 Poem 6, attributed to Kāri kiḷār, 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 ordinance 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

1. 3, 11.17-26. 2. See List of Pāṇṭiyas in Puram., supra p.145. 3. 6, 11.1-7. 4. ibid., 11.9,10.
surrounded by green fields. Let those who would circumambulate the temple of the three-eyed god (presumably Śiva) make their obeisance to the king. There is a reference to "the four hidden things", nānmarai, 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, nānmarai occurs in collocations with munivar, sages. 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 Nānmarai alludes to Upaniṣads, and not to the samhitās.

In a panegyric, Nettimaiyār in Puram describes the king as protector of seers, brahmans whose nature is as gentle as that of cows, women and the sick. He also prays that the king's diadem may last as long as the sands of the Pahruli, 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:

"Enko vāliya kutumi, tahko
çennIr ppacumpōn vayiriyarkk'itta
munnIr vilavi' netiyO'
nannIr Ppahruli manalinum palave." 6

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

1. 6, 1.14. 2. ibid., 1.17,18. 3. Connected with Skt. muni, id. 4. 9, 11.1,2. 5. ibid., 1.11. 6. ibid., 11.8-11.
The old commentary, included by the TSS editor, sees in netiyon, line 10, a proper name and implies that Netiyon actually constructed the river: "Netiyonāl ulatākappatta nalla nīraiyyataiyya Pahruli ...". This would perhaps have been a justifiable assumption were we to take netiyon as meaning the god Viṣṇu, in which sense the word is used in Cil. But Pillai sees in this Netiyon a predecessor of Nettimaiyar'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 Pahruli belonged to the netiyon, god or man.

In support of his belief that Netiyon was a Pāṇṭiya, Pillai quotes Maturaikkāṇci, lines 759 to 763, which refer to Palcālai Mutukutumi by name:

"Palcālai Mutukutumiyyi
nalvelvi tturai pokiya
tollāpai nallāciriyar
puṇar kūtt'unta pukal cāl cirappi
nilantara tiruvi' netiyon 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 Mutukutumi made fine sacrifices."

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

1. Cil., VIII, line 1.
Pillai asserts that they were grandfather and father respectively of Netunceliyan. Since Pillai is at pains to identify this Netiyon with Netiyon in Puram.9, it would imply that Mutukutumi's father had constructed the Pahruli river. It is impossible to see any validity in these contentions about the word netiyon. It might be argued that, in the passage from Maturaik, just quoted, netiyon means Visnu and tiru means Laksmi, and translate: "Like Visnu, whose consort gives one wealth in land."

There is nothing in the passage to show that netiyon was the name of a Pantiya king, or that "nilantarui tiruvini" was a Pantiya's title. Yet Pillai and Vithianandan talk freely of a Nilantarui Tiruvil Pantiyan. A similar phrase occurs in conjunction with the word netiyon earlier in the poem:

"Nilantanta perutavi
ppolantar marpi' netiyon 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, netiyon may or may not have been a proper name, and it may have been that of a Pantiya. Even were that so, there is no evidence from Maturaik, or Puram, that he was related to Netunceliyan or Mutukutumi. 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 Pahruli river.

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

1. e.g. CET, pp.120, 121. 2. Maturaik. 11.60,61.
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."  

Poem 64, by Netumpalliyattanār, is likewise a praśasti. In line 6 appears the phrase "Kuṭumi kkomān", the king with the diadem. Like the use of the word kuṭumi, crown, diadem, in Puram. 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 Puram. is given as Talaiyālāṅkaṇattu ccēruvēnra Netuṅcēliyan. Of the Pāṇṭiyas who figure in Puram. 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., Maturaikkānci, is dedicated.

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

1. 15, 11.17-21. 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 Netunceliyan I:

"Pericai Kkörkai ppörunan vënvel
kaṭumpakaṭtu yānai nétunter Cēliyan ...
"Cēliyan of the high chariot, who has many fierce elephants, who has the conquering spear, and who is lord of the famous Körkai (the port at the mouth of the Tamraparṇi)."

According to its colophon, this poem is by Maturai Pperalavāyār, who is also credited with a poem on Pūtappāntiyān's wife, which will shortly be noticed. 2 For his other reference to Netunceliyan I, Pillai cites a passage in Paranar's Akam. 116:

"Maiyāṇī yānai marappor Cēliyan
pōyyā vilavin Kūṭar parantalai
uṭaniyaint'elunta iru pēru ventar
kaṭal marul pērumpaṭai kalaṅka ttākkī ..." 3

"Cēliyan, 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 Netunceliyan and, in the case of the passage in Akam. 296, the TSS editor of Akam. says that it does refer to him. 4 But nétu, high, tall, qualifies ter, chariot, in that passage, and not Cēliyan. If the passages refer to Netunceliyan, there is no reason to suppose that it was a different one from the victor at

1. CET Tables. 2. Puram. 247; v.i.p. 172. 3. 11.13-6. 4. ii.,p. 354.
As for the passages that according to Pillai refer to a Nētuṅcēliyan II, we find that they do not include even the element Cēliyan, but refer to a Pacumpūtnāṇṭiyān, 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 Nētuṅcēliyan. These texts may refer to the hero of Talaiyālaṅkānam or to some other holder of the Pāṇṭiya 'family' name Cēliyan.

No reference to the victory at Talaiyālaṅkānam occurs in the colophons to Puram.18 and 19, wherein the king is called Pāṇṭiya Nētuṅcēliyan. But there is no reason to dispute the view of UVS and the TSS editor that Puram. 18 and 19 praise the same Nētuṅcēliyan as do poems 23, 25 and others. Pillai suggests that 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. One of them, 72, is stated to be the work of the king himself. None of the panegyristS of Nētuṅcēliyan save Kallāṭanār is credited with the praise of any other king or chief. He is the author of Puram.385 and 391 on Ampar kilāṇ Aruvantai and Pōraiyārrukkilāṇ. As neither of these chiefs found praise at the hands of another poet, neither their names nor Kallāṭanār's help in linking Nētuṅcēliyan as a contemporary with any other king or chief.

The only poem that hints as to Nētuṅcēliyan's contemporaries is Akam.56, by Maturai Nakkīrar, in which the

1. CET p.144. 2. See List, supra p.145.
enemies of the Pāntiya at (Talai) Ālankāṇam are given as Ceral and Čempiyan, Titiyan, Ėlini and Ėrumaiyūran. The mention of Titiyan is of special interest since from Akam.126 he seems to have been the son of Vel Ėvvi who was also defeated by Nētuṇcēliyan, making father and son foes of the Pāntiya. Ėlini is doubtless Atiyamān Pōktēlēlini, son of Anci, the patron of Auvaiyār. This would make Nētuṇcēliyan an elder contemporary of Colan Kūlamurattu tūṇciya Kīlivalavan and Pāntiyan Ilavantikai ppaḷli tūṇciya Nāmāraṇ. As will be seen, the son of Māṅkuṭi kīlar, Maturai Marutan Īlanākanār, praised Nāmāraṇ, making him a younger contemporary of Nētuṇcēliyan, who is lauded by Māṅkuṭi Kīlar in Puram.24, 26 and 372.

The first two poems on Nētuṇcēliyan are attributed to Kuṭapulaviyanār and represent the only extant work of this poet. They are numbered 18 and 19 in Puram. In both the king is called Cēliyan. 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 Talaiyālankāṇam. Despite this, he is not called Talaiyālankāṇattuccēruvēra in the colophon.

The poet Kallāṭaṅār is credited by colophons with Puram.23, 25 and 371. 23 praises the king for his victory and contains a reference to the katimaram, the 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.36,11.14-17. 2. 11.13-16. 3. Puram.24,11.18ff. 4. For Ėlini and Anci vide Chap.V, pp.202 ff. 5. For reasons vide Chap.V and Chart on p.158. Ėrumaiyūran seems to have been a Vatukan; cf. Akam.255,11.18,19. He is not a Puram. hero. 6. 1.2.
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 Cēliyan. In 371, Kallātanār praises the king for his victories in battle. This might refer to his more famous victory at Talaiyālaṅkānam or to the battle near Maturai against a Cola and a Ceral.¹

Māṅkuṭi kīlār is credited with Puram. 24, 26 and 372 in praise of Nētuṅcēliyan. Three other poems in Puram. are stated to be by this poet, but, as their colophons are defective, the subject of praise cannot be determined. Two other poems by this poet also survive, Kurun. 302 and Nar. 120. Māṅkuṭi kīlār, the lord or squire of Māṅkuṭi, is generally identified with Māṅkuṭi Marutanār, the author of Maturaikkāńci.² It should be noted that the two names exist side by side in Kurun., Kurun. 164 appearing as the work of Māṅkuṭi Marutan. 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, Kurun. 173, Nar. 123 and Akam. 89 are, according to their colophons, by Maturaikkāńcippulavar. There seems even less reason why Kurun. 173 should be ascribed to 'the author of Maturaikkāńci' when Kurun. 164 is attributed to Māṅkuṭi Marutan by name. However, there is no reason to doubt that these two are one and the same person. With regard to Māṅkuṭi kīlār some reservation may be made. While there is a

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

Māṅkuṭi Marutan Iḷanākaṇār is generally taken to have been the son of the poet just noted; 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 Puram. The colophons to two of these, 55 and 349, give his name as Maturai Marutan Iḷanākaṇār, while those to 52, 138 and 139 give it as Marutan Iḷanākaṇār. 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 Puram.52, which lauds Pāṇṭiyān Kūṭakāṟattu ttuṅciya Māran Valuti, was written by the same poet who praised Ilavantikaippalli ttuṅciya Nanmāraṇ in Puram.55. These Pāṇṭiyas should therefore have succeeded each other or have been collateral princes. If Iḷanākaṇār was in fact the son of Māṅkuṭi Marutan, then these two Pāṇṭiyas should closely have succeeded Netuncēliyan. The difficulty arises in deciding whether the element Maturai in the name of the author of Puram.55 and 349 was intended to distinguish one Iḷanākaṇār, son of Marutan, from another, or whether it was meant to distinguish one Marutan(ar) from another. If Maturai qualifies the whole compound, then there is no reason to suppose that that Iḷanākaṇār was not the son of Māṅkuṭi Marutan, his own provenance being that of Maturai. But if the compound has the more usual pattern whereby the first member would govern the

1. CET p.147, followed by Vithianandand, The P. p.46.
second, the Ilanakaṉar must be taken as the son of Marutan of Maturai, with perhaps an implied antithesis to 'the other Marutan' of Mānkuṭi. Represented schematically, the two patterns are: A qualifies \((B+C)\); and \((A+B)\) qualifies C.

The argument as to: a) whether there was one Ilanakaṉar
or two and b) whether he (or one of them) was the son of Māṅkuṭi Marutanār is of importance in determining whether: a) Mārāṇ Valuti who died at Kūṭakāram was contemporaneous with Naṃārāṇ who died at Ilavantikaippalli, or b) either of these Pāṇṭiyas was contemporary with Nētuṅcēliyan or succeeded him.¹

In Puram. 24 and 26, Māṅkuṭi kilār addresses his patron as Cēliyan.² Poem 24 contains a direct reference to the capture of two Velir areas by Nētuṅcēliyan, Milalai belonging to Ėvvi³ 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 Tiruppūvanaṁ.⁵ The first is doubtless the modern Tiruvilimilalai in Tanjore Distt. Both Velis 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 Nētuṅcēliyan, 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. Ladies 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. 24,1.23; 26,1.11. 3. v.s., p.155 & Chart on p.158. 4. Area: kūram; UVS p.60. 5. Ibid., p.606,fn. 6. 24, 11.24,25. 7. 26, 11.13-15. 8. 1.4. 9. 11.2 ff.
Puram.72 is attributed to Netunceliyvan 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 friendship of poets, the chief of whom was Mankutti Marutan. \(^3\) This supports the identification of Mankutti Marutanar with the Mankuti kilar of the colophons.

The last group of poems in praise of Netunceliyvan is formed by Puram.76 to 79. Itaikkunnr kilar is given as the author. These four poems are his only extant work. In 76, it is stated that, doubtless at Talaiyalankanam, the Pantiya fought alone against a confederacy of seven. \(^4\) The old commentary says this consisted of the two other kings and five Vel chiefs. \(^5\) The TSS editor states that these five were Titiyan, Elini, Erumaiyuran, Iruinkovel and Forunan, \(^6\) but does not give his source for this. \(^7\) The king is referred to in line 9 as "Natu kelu tiru vir pacumpuṭ Celiyan", Celiyan of the gold ornament, whose wealth is in land. This is of interest as the poem is on Talaiyalankanattu ccervenra Netunceliyvan according to its colophon. As already seen, Pillai contends that there were three Netunceliyvans, and that Nilantaru tiruvnetiyon of Maturaik. line 763 was a title of his Netunceliyvan II. \(^8\) Moreover, there are a number of references to a Pacumpupantiyvan which Pillai again takes as alluding to his Netunceliyvan II. \(^9\) With regard to the "Natu kelu

\(^1\) 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 Alahkanam. \(^8\) v.s.,pp.152 ff. \(^9\) CET Tables. \(^10\) Kurun.393; Akam.162,1.21; 253, and 266,11. 10 to 14.
tiruvir pacumpūt Celiyan" of Puram.76 he has apparently paraphrased it as Pannātu tanta Pāṇtiyan and appropriated the whole passage for his Nētuṇcēliyan II, despite the accompanying colophon. There is perhaps justification for taking pacumpūn as a title of Nētuṇcēliyan who conquered at Talaiyalāṅkānam, and so taking the references in Kurun. and Akam 2 as referring to him rather than creating another Nētuṇcēliyan (II) for them as Pillai seems to do. Again, the close parallel of "Nāṭu kēlu tiruvir.." of Puram.76 with "Nilantaru tiruvir.." of Maturaik., line 763, allotted by Pillai to Nētuṇcēliyan II should be noted.

In poem 76, Itaikkunrur kilar 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 Nētuṇcēliyan 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 Nētuṇcēliyan, at least in the form of Celiyan, is well attested in these poems, and that references to his hostilities against Cola and Ceral and victory over them at Talaiyalāṅkānam and his annexation of lands in the Cola country are quite clear.

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

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 Puram. 21 as Kānappeyil kaṭanta Ukkirappēruvaluti. He figures in this poem and in 367 only. In the latter he is praised jointly with the Cera Māvanko (Mārivanko in some MSS) and the Cola Perunarkilli. 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 Kānapper tanta Ukkirappēruvaluti, with a variant reading Kānapper kaṭanta ... 3

This king is credited with composing Akam. 26, the col. to which gives his name as Kānappeyil tanta Ukkirappēruvaluti. Nar. 98 is likewise attributed to him under the name Ukkirappēru Valuti. There is no reason not to identify these as one king.

Puram. 21, the only poem of Aiyūr Mūlaṅkilār to survive, mentions the capture of Kānappeyil from the chieftain Vehkai Mārpan. 4 The TSS editor says that the place was in the Pāṇṭiya country and is the modern Kālaiyār Koyil. 5

Pillai states that it was this king whom the poet Kaṭuvanilamallanar praised in Nar. 150: 6

"Araṅ pala kaṭanta muraṅkoḷ tēnai Valuti vāliya ..."

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

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

1. For this poem, v.s. p. 115. 2. CET p. 152 fn. 3. UVS p. 432 fn. 4. 11. 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 Vehkai Mārpan. The editor of Nar., A.Narāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, interprets Valuti as Mārūn Valuti,\(^2\) in which case it might refer to the next Pāṇṭiya to be discussed. It is perhaps best to suggest that the Nar. passage is too vague to be taken as referring to one Valuti rather than another. Were the writer of the colophon to Puram.\(^21\) to have made up the title Kānappereyil katanta, one would ask why he should have gone to Narrinnai for the basis for it rather than Puram.\(^21\).

The next Pāṇṭiya to appear in Puram. is the hero of Puram.\(^51\) and 52, whose name appears in their colophons as Kūtakārattu ttǔniciya Mārūn Valuti. This king has been noted\(^3\) as a possible contemporary of Ilavantikaippalli ttǔniciya Nammāraṇ, as both were lauded by Marutan Iḷanākaṇār, Pillai adopts this view, and does not discuss the fact that 'Maturai' is prefixed to the poet's name in the case of Puram.\(^55\), lauding Nammāraṇ, while it is absent in the case of the author of Puram.\(^52\).\(^4\) The other poem on Māraṇ Valuti is by Aiyūr Muṭavanār, and a variant reading gives Aiyūr kulār. He has also written Puram.\(^228\) on Colaṅ Kulamurrattu ttǔniciya Killivalavan.\(^5\) Both in 51 and 52, the king is addressed as Valuti, and 52 says that he was at war with rulers to the north of his kingdom, perhaps Colas or their fiefs.

The sixth Pāṇṭiya to appear in Puram. is given in the colophons\(^6\) as Ilavantikaippalli ttǔniciya Nammāraṇ. The first poem in his honour is Puram.\(^55\), by Maturai Marutan Iḷanākaṇār. The

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identification of this poet with the author of 52 has just been noted. If the two refer to one poet, the approximate contemporaneity of Nanmäran and Märan Valuti is established. The names, with and without the prefix 'Maturai' exist side by side in the colophons of Puram., Nar. and Akam. There is a pleasing simile in poem 55, lines 5 and 6, wherein Märan, preeminent among the three kings, is compared to the third eye showing upon the forehead of "the lord with the dark-stained throat", Karai mitarr'annal. 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, Centil, where the waves beat."2

According to its colophon, Puram.56 is by NakkIranaṙ, son of Maturaikkanaṅkāyaṇaṅār. 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 NakkIranaṙ,3 and b) NakkIrar or NakkIranaṙ, 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 NakkIranaṙ, son of Maturaikkanaṅkāyaṇaṅār, 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 Kaṅkāyaṇaṅār to distinguish him from the NakkIrar whose work is not found in Puram. but is well featured

1. v.s. p.157. See App. Poet List. 2. 11.17-21. 3. Or NakkIrar. 4. e.g. Samātam edn. wherein all are grouped under NakkIrar.
in Akam., Kurun. and Nar. It is less likely perhaps that Maturai Nakki\textsuperscript{R}an\textsuperscript{R}ar 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 Pu\textsuperscript{R}am.\textsuperscript{56}, his name distinguished in this way from 'the other Nakk\textsuperscript{R}rar.'

The author of Pu\textsuperscript{R}am.\textsuperscript{56} is perhaps better known as the author of two of the Pattupp\textsuperscript{A}t\textsuperscript{T}tu, Ne\textsuperscript{T}tunalva\textsuperscript{T}tai and Tirumuruk' Arrupp\textsuperscript{P}atai. In an appendix, Pillai\textsuperscript{1} has suggested that this latter poem was later than the other Pattu. He bases his argument on the way the term Arrupp\textsuperscript{P}atai is used in the title, though there is no evidence that Nak\textsuperscript{K}rar 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 a position similar to that occupied by Pari, in the eight anthologies. The same poet is credited with Pu\textsuperscript{R}am.\textsuperscript{189} and Akam.\textsuperscript{93} and, if we assume his identity with Maturai Nakki\textsuperscript{R}an\textsuperscript{R}ar, with Pu\textsuperscript{R}am.\textsuperscript{395}, Akam.\textsuperscript{36}, 78.

The king is addressed as M\textsuperscript{R}aran 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 Pūram 57 is Kāvirippūmpattinattu Kkārikkannanār, and Pillai 3 regards him as being probably the grandson of the poet of the same name who wrote Pūram 58 in honour of Pēruntirumāvalavan and Pēruvaluti. He produces little evidence for such an assumption; his argument hinges on the assumption that Mēṅkuti (kīlar) Marutanār was the father of Marutan Īḷānānār. As may be seen 4 this does not rule out, but rather increases, the possibility that the Kārikkaṇṇanār who wrote on Pēruntirumāvalavan was the same person as wrote Pūram 57 on Nanmāraṇ. This assumption of Pillai is largely dictated by his having allotted an arbitrary 25 years for each successive ruler in his Tables; Pēruvaluti, praised in 58, preceded Nētuṉcēliyan who preceded Nanmāraṇ. This makes a total of 75

1. 56, 11.1-14; 56 is cited by Nacc. as illustrative of one of Tol.'s Vēṭcitturai, v.s. p.44. 2. Cp. Nānmaṇi.84: "allavai cēyvarkk'āraṇ kūrram". 3. CET pp.145,149. 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 Kārikkaṇṇanār, and to agree with the TSS editor that those about whom he sang lived during his lifetime or just before it.¹

Pūrām. 198 is the last of the group on Naṃmāran. It is ascribed to Vatama Vannakkan Pericattanār, most of whose extant work is to be found in Akam. and Naṃ. The name of this poet is of interest; it may be assumed that his personal name was Pericattan and that he was the son of Vatama Vannakkan. There is another poet, Vatama Vannakkan Tāmotaran who wrote Pūrām. 172 praising the chieftain Piṭṭāṅkōrran. It may be suggested that these two poets were brothers. This suggestion is strengthened by the colophons to Pūrām. 169 and 171, which say that Piṭṭāṅkōrran was praised by Kārikkaṇṇanār, who composed Pūrām. 57 on Naṃmāran, as just seen. From this one may conclude that Piṭṭāṅkōrran and Naṃmāran were contemporaries. Since Tāmotaran has lauded the former and Pericattanār the latter one may conclude that they were contemporaries of each other. Taken with the fact that both their names are preceded by ‘Vatama Vannakkan’, it seems quite reasonable to suggest that they were brothers.²

Pericattanār’s poem in praise of Naṃmāran is couched in similar terms to those of Pūrām. 196 by Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār. The king

¹. TSS i, p.154. ². See Chart B p.158; v. i. Chap. V, p.240.
is compared to "Al amar kaṭavul," the god seated under the banyan. This is Viṣṇu, says the old commentary. But both UVS and the TSS editor suggest amending this to mean Śiva, in the form of Daksināmūrti. This would seem to be more acceptable.

These poems in praise of Ilavantikaippalli ttunciya Nanmāran 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 Piṭṭeṅkōrran.

The remaining six Pāṇṭiyas to figure in Puram. are honoured with but one poem each, save in the case of Arivuṭai 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 Puram. 71, will be considered his queen, who figures in Puram. 246 and 247.

The colophon to Puram. 58 states that Kāvirippūmpattirattu Kkārikkanāṉar addressed it jointly to Pēruvaluti who died at Velliyampalam and the Cola Pēruntirumāvalavan. In the poem, the two are hailed as lord of the Paṇcavar and ruler of the Kāviri respectively, and their capitals of Maturai and Urantai are referred to. 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."

Poem 59 is by Maturakkūlavaṇikan Cittalai Ccattanār, in

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praise of Cittiramāṭattu ttunciyā Nanmāraṇ. The poem tells us nothing about this person; in it, he is called Valuti. 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 Valuti.¹

There has been speculation as to whether the author of 69 was the same person who wrote Manimekalai. In the patikam to that work the author is given as Kūlavāṇikān Cāṭṭan. Pillai 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 "Kūlavāṇikān Cittalai Cāṭṭan" on the title-page of his translation of Mani. 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 Cittalai Cāṭṭan and Kūlavāṇikān Cāṭṭan, but nowhere in them do we come across the mixed individual 'Kūlavāṇikān Cittalai Cāṭṭan.' "²

This point is disproved by a reference to the colophons to Puram. 59, Akam. 229, 306 and 320, in all of which the poet's name is given as Maturaikkūlavāṇikān Cittalai Ccāṭṭanār; 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. CBT p. 189fn. 4. Ibid.
Gīttalaićcāttanār. The inclusion of the element Kūlavaṇikan need not in any way have troubled Pillai, and the problem may be resolved as follows.

Gāttanār was the personal name both of the author whose poems figure in anthologies and of the writer of Mani. Gīttalai was the village to which the author of the anthology verses belonged, as Pillai and the TSS editor suggest. Gāttanār was perhaps a grain merchant himself or was the son of a grain merchant from Maturai. The colophon to Kurun.154 suggests that Gīttalai was in fact near Maturai: "Māturaica Gīttalai Gcāttanār."

The author of Mani was sufficiently well-known from his work to need no reference to his father or native place, and was therefore known just as Kūlavaṇikan Gāttan, the grain-merchant Gāttan. 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 Kūlavaṇikan, giving either the name or native place of the merchant. Free of such qualification, Kūlavaṇikan in the case of the author of Mani may be said to be in apposition to Gāttan.

The only poem about Ōllaiyūr tanta Pūtappāntiyan in Puram. is a composition ascribed to the king himself, Puram.71. There seems no cause to dispute the general view that the queen who figures in Puram.246 and 247 was his wife. Pūtappāntiyan'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, but he has many friends who

1. CET ibid. TSS i.p.161. 2. e.g. TSS i.p.189, CET p.112. 3. 1.6.
are of help to him, Māvan, lord of Maiyal, Āntai, Antuvanāṭṭan, Ātān Alići and Iyakkan the wrathful. With them he will leave his quarters by the Vaiyai river 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, we might translate the phrase "the angry lord Māvan." Similarly, the old commentary, followed by the TSS editor, takes ēyil, fortress, in 71 line 12: "Mann ēyil Āntai..." as a proper name and takes the phrase to mean "Āntai, of the well-established town of Ēyil." No place of this name occurs in any anthology poem, and we may suggest giving ēyil its ordinary meaning here and translating: "Āntai, whose fort is well-built."

Another possible contemporary of Pūtappāntiyan may be noticed here though he is mentioned outside Puram. He is Titiyan and Pūtappāntiyan mentions him as lord of Pōtiyil in his other extant poem, Akam. Pillai justifiably suggests that his being called "Pōtiyircēlvan" by the king points to Titiyan as being an important person at that time. If Titiyan was alive when Pūtappāntiyan wrote this poem, it shows that the latter was contemporaneous with Netuṅcēliyan, who defeated Titiyan and others at Talaiyēlaṅkānam. 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. 1.15. 2. 11.10-14. 3. 1.10. 4. Cp. Puram.83,1.6: "immaiyal ūre...". 5. TSS 1,p.188. 6. CET p.115. 7. Akam.25,1.20. 8. v.s. p.155 & Chart B, p.158.
The colophon to Puram. 246 states that the poem was composed by Pūtapāntiyanrevi Pperunkoppentu “about to commit satī,” “tippāyval.” It is worth noting that the turai prescribed for this poem, Ānantappaiyul, is one of the few turai-names to be built up of loanwords. Paiyul, suggests the Lexicon, is connected with the Pkt. payyāula, and means distress, disease. This turai expresses the lamenting of a wife for her dead husband. That its use was not so limited is suggested by the colophon to Puram. 228, which, as already seen, is a lament for the departed Cola by a poet, Aiyūr Muṭavanār.

The queen upbraids those who would hinder her from departing this life, and says that she will not remain among those distressed women who are bereft of their husbands. She prefers the “bed of the corpse, built up of black firewood.”

Puram. 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.”

The tenth Pāntiya to appear in Puram. is given as the author of poem 182, Katalul māynta Ilamperuvaluti. The TSS editor explains the name as a reference to the seafaring prowess of the Pāntiyar. Nothing can be gathered from this poem about the king in question; it consists only reflections upon the conduct of those who are never angered by others.

1. Tam.Lex.p.2908, col.1. 2. vide PPVM X, 13. 3. v.s. p. 125. 4. 246, 11.1-3. 5. 1.10. 6. 1.11. 7. 247, 11. 9, 10. 8. TSS i, p. 410.
Puram. 183 is also the work of a Pāṇṭiya according to its colophon, which gives the name asĀriyappaṭai kaṭanta Netunceliyan. The TSS editor reasonably suggests that he was called Netunceliyan who defeated an army of Aryas 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 varnas. ¹ A wise man, even of low birth, can be a leader, and must be obeyed by those of higher varna. ²

Puram. 184 and 188 feature the Pāṇṭiya Arivutai 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: "Arivutai 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 Mutukūṭumī Pēruvaluti, Netunceliyan and Ukkirappēruvaluti. 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 Kārikkānannār to laud Vēlliyanpalattu ttunćiya Pēruvaluti and Nanmāran. The poems on Netunceliyan, read in conjunction with poems in other anthologies, do not justify Pillai's hypothesis that there were three rulers of

¹ 1.8; contra, TSS ed., who says it refers to Tinai, 1, p.413.
² 11.7-10.
that name.

c) Ceralar.

Of the Tamil kings who find praise in Purananūru, the least represented are the Ceral kings. While, in point of number, more Ceralar kings are named than either Cola or Pāntiya, 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 Pāntiyar.¹

Of the Ceralar in Puram., four are also heroes of four decades in Patirrappattu.² One more, Kuṭakko Nētuṅceralātan, has been identified by Pillai with Imaiysavarampan Nētuṅceralātan, 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 Irumpōrai, he is mentioned in the colophon only to Puram.13, and is not actually that poem's hero. It tells of Colan Muṭittalaikkoppērunarkilli.⁴

The first Ceral to figure in Puram. is given in the colophon to Puram.2, the only extant verse of Muraṅciyūr Muṭi-nākaṉār, as Ceramān Pēruṅcorr'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 Nētuṅceralātan, and in pat. III of Patirru. as the father of Palyānai Ccēkēlukuttoṭuvan.⁵

Mention of Utiyaṅceral in the anthologies is so infrequent that

Ceral kings who figure in Puranāṇūru.

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the other poems in which he is mentioned will be noted here.

Utiyānceral is addressed as Vāṇavarampan in line 12 of Puram.2. This recalls the grandiloquent 'Imaiyavarampan' given to his son Nētuṅceralātān in Patirru. patikam II.
The content of the image is not legible due to the quality of the scan or the handwriting.
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 Utiyaśñceral the title Pēruńcorru-, 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 Pāntiyar. It has been suggested that Utiyaśñceral'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 Velakkali dance performed in front of the Padmanābha temple in Trivandrum; it reenacts this struggle. Another suggestion is that the Čeral made some kind of propitiatory offering to the spirits of the contestants in that war from whom the Čeralar claimed descent, and that this offering was commemorated by the title Pēruńcorru-. 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

guile were at Kulumūr." 1

In Akam.233, Māmūlaṇār says:

"Just as the famous Utiyānceral 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. Māmūlaṇār notes in Akam.65 that suppliants used to laud Utiyānceral who had extended his kingdom. 3

There is a clear reference in Puram.2 to pañcabhūta, 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 Himalayas with their gilded crests or upon the top of Pōtiyil." 5

This would seem a clear reference to the three sacrificial fires, Garhapatya, Ahavanīya and Dakṣināgni, which, as pertaining to the Twice-born, are also referred to in line 13 of Puram.367 by Auvaiyār.

1. Akam.168, 11.6,7. 2. Akam.233, 11.8,9. 3. Akam.65, 11.5,6. 4. 11.1-3. 5. 11.21-24.

That feasting was (& is) part of patronage is clear from Puram. 261, 11.2,3.
The next Ceral king to appear in Puram is the hero of poem 5, whose name is given as Karuvur eniya Olvâtkoppérunceral Irumôrai. 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 Irumôrai connects him with the heroes of decades VIII & IX of Patirru., the names of whom are Pörun- ceral Irumôrai and Ilanceral Irumôrai. The colophon states that he settled at Karuvur. Karuvur is generally identified with Vânci, the Ceral capital. Such identification should not, perhaps, be taken for granted. It is significant that Karuvur is not mentioned in Patirru., and is mentioned only once in the anthologies, in Akam.98, wherein it is said to be on the banks of the An Porunai river. Vânci is stated in Puram.11 to be near "the cool Porunai", 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 An Porunai and Pörunai (or Tanpörunai) refer to one and the same river. In his commentary on Tol.Pörul.191 Nacc. gives a list of rivers that includes Käviri, Tanpörunai, An Pörunai and Vaiyai. The compilers of the Lexicon regarded Tanpörunai as meaning either Tämraparni (which flows into the gulf of Manaar) or the river An Pöruntam or Amarâvati, a tributary of the Käviri that flows near Dhârâpuram in Coimbatore District, the ancient Kõhknâtu. This complicates the issue as An Pöruntam, according to the Piṅkalânikântu meant the An Pörunai. If this is so, then Tanpörunai in the sense of An Pöruntam would mean the An Pörunai,

and one is left wondering why Nacc. should have troubled to separate them.

As stated, Karuvūr is mentioned once in anthology poems. Porunai is mentioned twice and Ān Pōrunai 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 Muṭittalaikkopperunarkillī. The colophon to Puram.36 says that Karuvūr was besieged by the Cola Killivalavan, and that to 373 says it was destroyed by the Cola Kurāppallittūnciya Killivalavan. Nowhere, therefore, does the name Karuvūr occur in qualification of Vanci or as a synonym for it.

As regards the river on which Vanci was situated, it is called "Tanpōrunaippunan", the cool river Pōrunai, in Puram.11, and "Kallenporunai", Pōrunai that makes the sound 'kal' (as it flows), in Puram.387. As already seen, Ān Pōrunai occurs in conjunction with Karuvūr in Akam.93; the second reference to Ān Pōrunai is in Puram.36, wherein the Cola Killivalavan 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 Vanci lay on the (Tan)Pōrunai and Karuvūr, attacked by the Cola, was on the Ān Pōrunai, and that the rivers were two different ones as Nacc. states. If this is so, then Vanci and Karuvūr were two separate places. It has been suggested that Vanci's river was called Tappōrunai. It should be noted, however, that both in

1. The same Cola as in col.36. 2. T.V.S.Pantarattar: TC.VI,p.134
Puram. 56 and Akam. 93 the epithet tan, cool, is applied to the An Pörunai. One is inclined to take Vańci's river as simply Pörunai, despite Nacc., and to regard as erroneous both the identification of Vańci with Karuvūr and, therefore, identifying one with another the rivers Pörunai and An Pörunai.

As Sesha Aiyar intimates, the colophon to Puram. 5 suggests that Irumporai 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 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 An Pörunai and An Pöruntam. 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 Killivalavan as stated in the two Puram colophons noted above. The town was in the Konku country and therefore in an area adjacent to that ruled by the Colas from Uρantai, near Trichy. The Konku country was at various times attacked by one or other of the müventar. At the same time, R. Raghava Aiyangar perhaps erred in identifying with this place Vańci, the Ceral capital.

It must be noted, however, that Ptolemy speaks of "Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothros" in the course of listing

2. By Ceralar; Patirru. 22, 88, 90; by Paṇṭiyar, Akam. 253.
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 Vānci 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 Cola '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, who notes a modern Karūr patanam just north of Kōduṅkōlūr (Cranganore). As will be discussed, there are grounds for regarding Kōduṅkōlūr as the site of the ancient Vānci, 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 Irumpōrai (Puram.col.5), and its nearness to Vānci 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 Vel.

The episode of the colonization of the coastal Karuvūr by Koppėruṅceral Irumpōrai would, as Pillai suggests, have taken place early in the development of Vānci, and this king may well have preceded the Ceralar lauded in Patirru.

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 Nārīvēṟūttalaiyār. 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 Cēlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātān. Kaṭuṅkov Āliyātān 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 Cikkarpalli ttuńciya Cēlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātān. 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 Vāliyātān, 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 Āta! All hail! "

But this notion would seem to be disproved by Puram. 387, in line 30 of which the king is addressed as Cēlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātān. Another reason for the suggested 'Vāliyātān' 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 + Ātaṇ. The Vinaittōkai, verbal compound, consists of the verb root

1. i.e. nari + vēruvu + talai.
prefixed to a noun, and a vínaittókai formed with the root of vältal, 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 Āliyātān 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 Āliyātān 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 Āliyātān, 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 Cikkarpalli, is a fragmentary poem by Kunrukapatpāliyātānār. In line 20, the king is called the lord of Pulinatu. This poem contains a mention of Vañci and its river Porunai alluded to earlier. 4 "Pullilai Vañci ppuramatil" suggests that the town was named after the plant of that name. UVS pointed out in a footnote

that small leaves were a characteristic of the vañçi 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 vañçi.  

The next Ceral to appear in Puram. is given on the col. to poem 11 as Pālai pātiya Pērunkaṭuṅko. There is no reason to dispute the widely-held view that this was the person whose love poetry depicting the Akattinai Pālai, separation, figures prominently in Akam., Kurun., and Nar., and who is credited with the authorship of Kali., Pālaikkali.

The author of Puram.11 is given in the colophon as Peymakal Ilavēyini, the she-devil Ilavēyini. The old commentary states that a demoness appeared to the king in human form and took the name of Ilavēyini.

The turai for this poem is given as Paricirkatañilai. This poetic theme is not specifically mentioned by Tōl. or the author of PPVM, but in Tōl. there is a turai Paricirkatañiyanilai, which Nacc. explains as signifying the poet’s search for reward by praising the king. He quotes Puram.164 as an example of Paricirkatañilai. This agrees with the colophon to that verse, and shows that such a theme was envisaged by Tōl. Kāṭā and kataliya are both connected with words meaning 'solicit' such as kāṭau and kāṭavu-. Paricirkatañilai 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

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 Muṭittalaikkopperunakill[i]'s elephant seemed out of control
as he rode into Karuvūr. The colophon states that the author of
the poem, Muṭamociyār, was standing with the Ceral Antuvanceral
Irumpōrai upon the roof of the Vel'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 Vel's palace
roof seems to have been missed by modern writers. The general
opinion 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 vel in the colophon and, taken in
conjunction with what has already been said about a Karuvūr on
the An Pūrunai in Kölnku nātu, it seems that the place was ruled
by a Velir chief. This is in no way improbable, and mention of
the Vel here strengthens one's belief that it was the Kölnku nātu
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.

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 Antuvañceral Irumpōrai. But in Patirru, pat.VII, there is mention of an Antuvañ as the father of the hero of decade VII Čēlvakkaštuṅkov Āliyātan. We know from Patirru, pat.VIII that Āliyātan's successor was Pēruñceral Irumpōrai, and it may be concluded that Āliyātan was himself an Irumpōrai. This makes it likely that the Antuvañ referred to in pat.VII as his father was an Irumpōrai too, and may well have been Antuvañceral Irumpōrai referred to in the colophon to Pu£am.13.¹

Muṭamociyār's other extant poems are in praise of Vel Āy Antirañ. The TSS editor² notes that Enicceri 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 Enicceri Muṭamociyār. Uraiyūr may well have been prefixed to Enicceri either because the latter was very near Uraiyūr, or to distinguish that Enicceri from another village of the same name.

The next Ceramān to figure in Pu£am. is given in the colophons as Yānaikkatcey Māntarañceral Irumpōrai.³ In the case of the colophon to Pu£am.229, Ko is prefixed to Ceramān, the normal form under which the name for this 'dynasty' of kings appears in the Pu£am. colophons.⁴ In the colophon to Pu£am.53 this king's name appears as Ceran Māntarañceral Irumpōrai. 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

support V. Kanakasabhai's statement\(^1\) that Māntaraṅceral 'of the elephant look' was the son of Cēṅkuṭṭuvan. Neither he nor his predecessors bore the name Irumpōrai which connects Māntaraṅceral with Antuvaṅceral and his successors who figure in decades VII to IX of Patirru. Sesha Aiyar opined that Māntaraṅceral 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.\(^3\)

Kurunkoliyur kilār is credited in Puram.colophons with lauding Māntaraṅceral in verses 17, 20 and 22, and these are his only extant work. It has been suggested that this poet's home, Kurunkoliyur, was so called to distinguish it from (Pēruṅ)koli, that is, Uraitai, 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 Talaiyālankāṇattu Ceṟuvēṅra Nēṭuṅcēliyan. 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 Himalayas, 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 Tōṇṭi in line 13. This

\(^1\) "Tamils 1800 years ago" pp. 88, 98. \(^2\) CK, p. 62. \(^3\) v.t. Chap. VII for discussion of this. \(^4\) Puram.17, 11.1-3.
place is mentioned twelve times in Sangam literature, and ten stanzas of Ainkurunūru are devoted to it. By contrast, the paucity of references to Vaṅci is surprising, and one is tempted to wonder to what extent Tōnti was a place of importance earlier in Ceral history than was Vaṅci. There seems no reason to doubt that Tōnti was the Tyndis in the Periplus:

"Tyndis is of the Kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea." This recalls "Lord of the people of Tōnti, where roar the waves of the sea that produces conch-shells."

This refers to Ilanceral Irumpōrai, hero of Patirru. decade IX. It is presumably on this and similar statements that writers have regarded Tōnti as the city or town from which the Irumpōrai branch of the Ceralar ruled. But it should be noted that Āṭukotpāṭṭu Čeeralātan is credited in Patirru. p. VI with having dedicated cows to brahmans in this town. Moreover, in Puram. 48, Kōkkotai Mārpan is praised as lord of Tōnti by Pōykaivyēr. This king may have been the same as the Pōraiyan he lauds in similar terms in Nar.

Lines 20 ff. of poem 17 tell of Mēntarańceral's capture and escape. The name of the captor is not mentioned, and the colophon alone supplies the information that a Pāntiya took him.

Puram. 20 asserts that Mēntarańceral's land is invincible by stating that "except for pregnant women desiring to eat your earth, nobody (hostile) comes to eat it." This is perhaps an

1. Ainkuru.171-180 (Ammūvanār). 2. Periplus 54; Schoff tr., p. 44. 3. Patirru. IX, 88, 1. 21. 4. e.g. CET p. 157, CK p. 69; see Nar. 18, Akam. 60, Kurun. 128 for 'Pōraiyan' as lord of Tōnti. Pōraiyan prob. = Irumpōrai, cf. Puram. 53. 5. 11. 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 Yānapikkatcey, "Cey of the elephant look" is suggested twice in poem 22, and on the second occasion the name Cey is included:

"Vēla nokkīn vīral vēn Ceey ...", while the remainder of the king's name is found in line 34 of the same poem:

"Māntarānceral Irumpōrāiy ompiya nāte."

Line 28 of poem 22 addresses the king as lord of the people of Kolli. This is taken as referring to a range of hills in the modern Trichy District by the TSS editor. It is clear from Puram. and Akam. that Kolli was at one time ruled by the chieftain Valvāl Ori, who was slain by Kāri, chief of Mullūr, who gave it to the Ceralar. It may be assumed therefore that this episode occurred before the time of Māntarānceral. It must have happened at the time Paranar and Kapilar lived, or before their time, as both Kāri and Ori are referred to by both poets. Puram. 53, moreover, makes it clear that Kapilar lived before the time of Māntarānceral:

"It would indeed be good if Kapilān of bright fame, amazing wisdom and golden tongue were still alive."

This poem is by Pōruntil Ilaṅkiraṉār. No other poem in Puram. is ascribed to him, but two Akam. verses are attributed to

Kūṭalur 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:

"On the day of Kuddam (Karttika) when the sim was in the sign of Adu (Mesha) at midnight when the asterisms from the first star of Mudappananai (Anuradha) to the last star of Kulam (Punarvasu) were visible in the sky, and while the asterism which is in the zenith during the first half of the month of Pankuni (Phalguni) 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 .... "

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 Pānkuni is doubtless connected with the Skt. phalguni. Pāci, east, is to be related to the Skt. prāci, east, and ūci, north, is connected with the Skt. udīci. But it is true that there appears in Muṭappananai, 'bent pamyra', an apparently independent name for Anuṣa (Anurādhī), the seventeenth nakṣatra (part of Scorpio.).

1. Akam.19, 351.  
2. 1.3; v.s. fn.p.188.  
4. Pūrṇarpucam, the 7th. nakṣatra ait comm., UVS edn. p.348.  
According to the old commentary, the asterism at its zenith in the first half of Pankuni 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, Mirukacīritam (Mṛgasīrṣa).

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 rāgis 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 other poets prayed that the king might come to no harm, but, as feared, the king died after seven days. Sesha Aiyar states that the astronomical data "cannot help us to discover the date of his (Mantaranceral's) demise."

It may be noted that Mantaranceral is mentioned in the colophon to Puram.125 as an opponent of Colan Irāyacūyam vetta Pērunarkillī and Tervamalaiyan, as stated earlier. The TSS editor suggests that the Mantaram Pōraiyai mentioned by Parañar in Akam.142 refers to this king. This may seem unlikely, since Parañar’s contemporary, Kapilar, was dead.

by Māntarańceral's time, as already noted. But Paranar may have been younger than Kapilar and may have lived until this king's time. It should be observed that in Patirru. Ilańceral Irumpōrai is addressed as "Māntaran viran maruka", mighty scion of Māntaran. But, in view of the occurrence of the homorganic nasal before Ceral and Pòraiyan in Māntarańceral and Māntaram Pòraiyan as against the -n of Patirru. we may suggest that the latter spelling is a scribe's error, and that Māntaram was a place belonging to the Irumpōrai Cerals, or perhaps even a family name, like Ceralar, as the TSS editor suggests. This would make it uncertain that Paranar was referring in Akam.142 to Yānakkaṭcey Māntarańceral Irumpōrai.

Kokkotai Mārpan is the hero of Puram.48 and 49 by Pøykaiyār, who is also said to be the author of Kalavalināṟpatu, one of the eighteen minor works, written to honour the victory of the Cola Cēnkanān over the Ceral Kānaikkāl Irumpōrai, author of Puram.74, shortly to be noticed.

The king's name appears in both of Pøykaiyar's poems in Puram. In 48, "he is called Kotai because his chest is garlanded." He is the lord of Tōnti, and of the neytal or coast region. Apart from its coastline, this Ceral's kingdom includes forest and cultivated land, as can be gathered from the fact that Kokkotai Mārpan is referred to as Nātan and Ūran.

Kotai Mārpan is referred to in Akam.346, wherein Nakkīrarr says that "to the great joy of Kotai Mārpan, Killi

1. v.s. p.189. 2. Patirru. IX,90,1.13. 3. TSS i,p.145. 4. v.i. p.197. 5. 1.1. 6. 11.4,3. 7. 49,1.1; 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.

This king is not discussed by Pillai at all. Sesha Aiyar, without giving his reasons, regards him as successor to Yēnaikkatcey Māntaraṅceral Irumpōrai. It should be noted that, in Patirru VIII, 79, Pēruṅceral Irumpōrai is addressed as "Kotai Māran." 2 Sesha Aiyar suggests 3 that Kokkotai Māran "apparently took his name Kodai Māran from his great ancestor Perum-Čeral Irumporaï."

It may be suggested that Kokkotai Māran was in fact Pēruṅceral Irumpōrai; 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. Pēruṅceral is called Kotai Māran in Patirru, and it may be noted that the next Puram poem, 50, is in his honour. Kokkotai Māran ruled at Tonti, and so was probably an Irumpōrai. We have just seen that Palaiyan Māran was a great enemy of this Čeral according to Akam. The son of Pēruṅceral, Īlanceral, hero of decade IX of Patirru, is said in pat IX therein to have conquered Ilampalaiyan Māran. He may well have been called 'the younger Palaiyan Māran' to distinguish him from Pēruṅceral's foe

If this surmise is correct, Colan Killivalavan destroyed Palaiyan Māran to the joy of Kotai Māran, otherwise Pēruṅceral Irumpōrai, and the latter's successor, Īlanceral, defeated Palaiyan Māran the younger. Sesha Aiyar 4 has apparently not noticed īlam- prefixed to Māran's name in Patirru, pat IX. He has

1. Akam.346, 11.19-25. 2. 1.7. 3. CK p.67. 4. CK ibid.
therefore asserted that that Palaiyan Maran was the same one as Killivalavan killed to Kotai Marpand's joy. By the same token, Kotai Marpam must have followed upon Ilaanceral and could not be identified with Ilaanceral's predecessor Perunceral.

The next Ceral king to figure in Puram is given in the colophon to verse 50 as Takatür śrīnta Perunceral Irumpōrai. This king is undoubtedly the hero of Takatür praised in decade VIII of Patirru by Aricil kilër. It has just been suggested that he was the same person as Poykaiyār praised in Puram.48 and 49 under the title of Kokkotai Marpand. 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)."

The poet had not realized that the place where he lay down to sleep before bathing was the flower-bedecked 'bedroom' of the drum. 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.

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

1. 50, 11.1-5. 2. 11.6-8. 3. 11.9-13.
country to garland the regal drum with balloon-vine.

Puram. 54 lauds Kuṭṭuvan Kotai. Sesha Aiyar identifies this Ceral with the son of Čēnkūṭṭuvan, Kuṭṭuvan Ceral who, he says, succeeded Čēnkūṭṭuvan 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 Paranar after the poet had composed decade V in Čēnkūṭṭuvan’s honour. 2

Pillai identifies with Kuṭṭuvan Kotai the Kotai who ruled Vañci mentioned by Karuvūr Kannampālanār in Akam. 263. Both writers therefore regard Kuṭṭuvan Kotai as a ruler of Vañci rather than one of the Irumpōrais at Tōntī.

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 Kōṭṭampalattu ttuńciya 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 Pițṭankōrran. This surmise is strengthened by those colophons which state that another panegyrist of Pițṭankōrran, Kārikkaṉanār, also wrote on Colan Pēruntirumāvalavan. This Cola was also praised by the author of Puram. 54 on Kuṭṭuvan Kotai, Konāṭṭu Erikkilūr Māṭalan Maturaikkumaranār. That Pițṭankōrran and Pēruntirumāvalavan were contemporaries is confirmed by those colophons which state that both were praised by Uraiṟūr Maruttuvan Tondarēn. 4

Kuṭṭakko Nētunceralētan is praised in Puram. 62 and 368 by Kalattalaiyar and in 63 by Paranar. Colophons to all three

poems further state that this Ceral was at war with the Colan Velpahratkkai Pėruvirarkilli, and that he fell in battle. Pillai's identification of this Ceral with Imaiyavarampan Netunceralatan has already been noticed and it seems reasonable. The contents of these three poems have already been discussed.

According to its colophon, Puram.65 was written by Kalattalaiyar when Pėruńceralatan sat facing north after being wounded in the back by Colan Karikårpvėruvalattan. In some MSS the Ceral's name appears as Pėruntolatan. As already seen, this shame on the part of a foe of Karikal is mentioned in Puram.66, but, therein the enemy of Karikal is not named, and it is only the colophon to 65 that names him as Pėruńceralatan.

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 Kalattalaiyar and Vėnį Kkuyattiyyār 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. Kalattalaiyar alludes both to the antagonism of Karikal and Pėruńceralatan and the fight between Pėruvirarkilli and Netunceralatan.

Pillai has suggested that this humiliated king Pėruńceralatan was Netunceralatan's father, Pėruńccc'utiyāńceralatan, hero of Puram. He adds that the MSS names of the hero of Puram.65 are a misreading of Pėruńceralatan, "the sobriquet

of Udiyan Chēral famous for his feasts." There is no reason why Kalattalaiyär should not have lived through the time of Utīyaṅceral and his son Netunceralātan, but it should be stressed that the form Peruncoralātan suggested by Pillai is attested nowhere in any extant text. That Utīyaṅceral 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 Perunceralātan is said to have undergone would not have escaped the notice of any poet writing about a battle fought by Utīyaṅceral if in fact it was he that had undergone the ordeal attributed to Perunceralātan.

The twelfth Ceral to appear in Puram. is Kaṇaikkāl Irumpōrāi, to whom Puram.74 is ascribed. The colophon says that he warred against Colan Cēnkanān on the field of Por, and was captured and imprisoned in Kuṭavāyirkottam. 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 Pōykaṅayar, already noted as a bard of Kokkotai Mārpan, is said to have composed Kalavali nārpatu celebrating the Cola's victory.

Pōykaṅayar has also written Nar.18, wherein he refers to Pōraiyan as lord of Tōnti. This is taken by the TSS editor of Nar. as referring to Kaṇaikkāl Irumpōrāi though, assuming that Kokkotai Mārpan was also an Irumpōrāi, this statement might equally well refer to him. It seems feasible that Pōykaṅayar was

a bard of the Irumporai court, and diplomatically praised their conqueror, Cēnkanān, albeit to obtain Kanaikkāl's release.

If reliance may be placed on this tradition regarding Kalavalināṟṟpatu, in which Kanaikkāl Irumporai is referred to as Kanai, it may be suggested that the Kanaiyan who figures in Akam.44 and 386 may be the same as Kanaikkāl Irumporai. Akam.44 states that the Cola Cēnni captured Kalumalam for the purpose of taking Kanaiyan prisoner, after Palaiyan, helped in the fight by Nannan, Atti, Kankan, Katti and others had fallen. These may be presumed Cola feudatories. From Akam.270 one gathers that Kalumalam belonged to the Ceralar, since there it is said to belong to Kuṭṭuvan. Whether Cēnni in Akam.44 refers to Cēnkanān himself or to a relation or predecessor cannot be said.

Sesha Aiyar, however, regards this Kanaiyan as a Ceral feudatory, and gives the impression that Cēnkanān is specifically mentioned in Akam.270, which is not the case.

The thirteenth Ceral to appear in Puram. is named in the colophons to two pāraśastis, Puram.210 and 211, as Kuṭakko Cceral Irumporai. Both poems are ascribed to Pērunkunrūr kilār. The Ceral here praised is doubtless the same as Ilānceral Irumporai, who is the same poet's hero in Patirru.IX, and who is given the title 'Kuṭakko' in the prose following the patikam to that decade. The TSS editor of Puram. however regards the hero of poems 210 and 211 as the predecessor of Ilānceral, presumably on the basis of the element ilam, young, occurring in the latter's name. However, if we accept the Patirru sequence, Ilānceral's

1. e.g. v.8, l.2. 2. 11.13,14,7-11. 3. CK p.68. 4. ii, p.25.
immediate predecessor was Perunceral, and the TSS editor's suggestion that Perunkunrur kilâr praised two successive Irumpöræi Ceralar is quite feasible. There is no conclusive evidence either way.

Kottampalattu ttünçiya Mâkkotai 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 Kottampalattu ttünçiya Ceraman. As already seen, 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, Perunkoppentu. It is possible that this was a term for the chief queen rather than a proper name; it has already been noticed in connexion with Pūtapāṇṭiyar evi Perunkoppentu.

Puram.367, according to its colophon, lauds Māvano, Pāṇṭiyar Kānapper tanta Ukkirappéruvalu and Colan Irācacūyam vetṭa Perunarkilli. The author is Auvaiyar, and in some MSS the Ceral's name is given as Mārivanko. This poem has already been noticed in connexion with the Colan and Pāṇṭiyar named. As already suggested, Māvanko may have been of the Vaṇci Ceralar, since the colophon to Puram.125 suggests that relations between Perunarkilli and the Irumpöræais were far from friendly.

Puram.369 is attributed to Paranar, and praises a king whose name is given as Kaṭalotṭiya Velkēlu Kuṭṭuvan. There seems no reason to dispute the general view that this Ceral was the same as Paranar's hero in Patirru.V whose name is given in pat.V

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In the context of producing and processing any specific product or service, there is a critical need for the involvement of professionals with diverse skills and expertise. The role of each individual is vital in ensuring the success of the project. It is imperative to have a clear understanding of the objectives and goals at the outset. Communication among team members is essential to align everyone's efforts towards a common vision.

...
as Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Cēṅkuṭṭuvan. 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 Velkēlu 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. Parānar has come there to sing of his greatness.

Ceramān Cikkarpalli ṭtuńciya Cēlvakkaṭun Mundo Áliyātan 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.

The last Ceral king to appear in Purananūru 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, and he is addressed as "lord of Payal, where mountain torrents thunder down rocky slopes." The TSS editor suggests that this mountain gave its name to the modern Vaināṭu (Wynad).
Puram. 398 is a prasasti, 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 Irumpōrāis of Tōnti 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 Mēntaran Kurāl Irumpōrai 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.

1. 11.1-9.
CHAPTER V

PURANĀṆŪRU: CHIEFS

As stated at the beginning of Chapter IV, 141 poems of PuranāṆūru 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 poems¹ as Atiyamāṇa Nēṭumāṇa Aṇci. With the exception of poem 208, all are ascribed to Auvaiaiyār.

Various readings of the name Atiyamāṇ are Atikaimāṇ; a variant of this chief’s name is Atikamaṇēṭumāṇ Vaṇci.² It has been plausibly suggested³ that the title Atiyamāṇ is represented by Satiyaputra in the Aśoka edicts in the same way that Ceramāṇ is represented by Keralaputra. The Ta. suffix -māṇ is a shortened form of makaṇ, son, while the Ta. atiya may have stood for a non-Tamil, possibly Dravidian, word commencing

¹ See list of chiefs, pp.203-5. ² TSS i,p.214;UVS p.165 fn. ³ Seça Aiyar, CK p.18.
### Chieftains who figure in Puranānūru

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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. ² ³ ⁴, which states that Aricil Kilār sang of Ẽlini who fell fighting at (the battle of) Takaṭūr belonging to Atiyamān. Aricil Kilār has also sung of Pēruṇcēral Irumpōrai in decade VIII of Patirru, in the course of which² 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. ² ¹ ² , which states that Takaṭūr was a "place of many tongues" and was conquered by Kuṭṭuvaṇ.³ According to the colophon, the poem is by Paranar, and this Cēral is doubtless

¹ e.g. TSS editor, i, p. 214; CK p. 18 & fn. 2. Patirru. 78, 1. 9 & Pat. VII 1. 9. ² Akam. 212, 11. 14 & 16.
Cēnkutțuvan, the hero of Parānăr's decade V of Patirru. Both in the Akam. verse just mentioned¹ and in Patirru.V the 'conquest of the sea' by Cēnkutțuvan is mentioned.

The Takaṭur Yāttirai, a fragmentary poem of a later period, describes the expedition of Perunceral Irumpōrāi against Takaṭur and Atiyamān, its ruler.

From other anthology poems it is clear that the Horse Mountain, Kutiraimalai, was the seat of Āñci and of his son. Parānăr² speaks of Āñci as "Āñci of the sharp spear and the high Kutirai." In Puram.158, Ēlini 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 Nētamēn Āñci, whose name is attested by six poems in Puram.⁷, was lord of the Malavar, a warrior clan. He fought against seven kings⁸, and it seems as though he lived at the same time or after Parānăr, who is mentioned in Puram.99, line 12.

The poems give very little information about either Āñci or the poetess who praised him. In certain cases, the colophons add some information. That to Puram.91 confirms that

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Añci 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 Añci, 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."

The colophon to Puram. 95 states that Auvaiyār was sent by Añci as an ambassador to Tōntaimān. The poem expresses her wonder at Tōntaimān's store of weapons:

"Bedecked with peacock-feathers, garlanded with flowers; fine are the Tobāi 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 swordsman'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.
Ańci of Kovalūr. The colophon to 208 says that the poet Pēruncittiranār was indignant at being thought a mercenary poet by Ańci, 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.

Ańci’s son Pōkuṭṭeḷiṇi 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 Ėliṇi ruled in Auvaiyār’s lifetime, since he is addressed there as "Atiyar komāṇ ... Ėliṇi,"¹ just as Ańci is called "Atiyar komāṇ" 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 Ėliṇi is named as the hero of Puram. 230 by the poet Aricil Kilar. It is probable that this Ėliṇi was the same as Pōkuṭṭelieṇi; the element Pōkuṭṭu 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 Pēruncereal Irumpōraį caused the latter to be called 'conqueror of Takaṭūr.' Aricil Kilar 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 Ėliṇi fell fighting at Takaṭūr of the Atiyamān. Ėliṇi is mentioned by name in this poem, and Aricil

1. 11.1 & 2. 2. 11.3 & 4. 3. 1.19. 4. v.s. p.205 & fn.2.
Kilar likens his bereaved kinsmen to a starving child that has lost its mother.

It may be presumed that Aricil Kilar was a court poet of the Atiyar and that, after the death of Elini, he changed his allegiance to that of the conqueror, Perunceral Irumporai, 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 Atiyaman Elini and Ceral.

Veļ Pari 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 Pari. As already seen, Kapilar’s other hero was the Ceral Celvakaṭuṅkov Aliyatan, whom he lauded in Patirru.VII and in Puram.8 and 14. There are also a large number of love poems ascribed to Kapilar.

Pari’s name is well attested by these poems, occurring in them no less than ten times; in poem 105, it is qualified by the element Veļ. Pari’s ’kingdom’ is called Parampu, and it comprised three hundred villages. It was a mountainous piece of country, and the inhabitants are described as Kuravar, the usual name for people residing in the Mountain

Region, Kurinçittinai, in Akam poetry. It was surrounded by territory belonging to the three kings. The TSS editor suggests that Parampu is the modern Piranmalai.

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."

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, Parampu, 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 Parampu if he came in the guise of a musician playing a bow-harp, his women-folk disguised as dancers. If they did that, Pāri would give them his whole kingdom. Evidently the hostile kings chose more overt methods of warfare, however, for the colophon to the next poem states that the three kings besieged Parampu. 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. The TSS editor says

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 Pāri² 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, Vivekkon and Iruṅkovel.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

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.255-4. 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. Ėntai sometimes has the meaning of 'our lord', 'our hero'. The poet Nannākanār speaks of his hero Karumpanār kilān in such terms in Puram.381. Kapilar twice refers to Pāri as tantai, father. 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 Ėntai, 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 influenced by a popular tradition.

The informative nature of Kapilar's poems about Pāri is in marked contrast to that of Auvaiyār's poems on Aṇci. She is full of admiration for her lord's prowess and the comeliness both he and Ėlini possessed, but she is almost silent about Aṇci'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 shieftain to find praise in Puram. is given in the colophons to Puram.121 to 124 and 126 as Malaiyamān Tirumuttikkāri. 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
opinion that Tervan Malaiyan who, states colophon 125, went to
the help of Colan Irayacuyam veṭṭa Pērunarkili in his fight
against Māntarasureral Irumpōrai was the same person as
Malaiyamān Tirumutikkāri. That this person was so considered
by the redactor of these poems seems most likely, as this poem
is placed in between two about Tirumutikkāri. The tendency for
poems praising any one ruler to be grouped together into one or
several groups has already been noticed.

Malaiyamān Tirumutikkāri’s name is attested by four of
the poems. He seems to have been called Kāri after the name of
his war-horse. Like Pāri, Kāri was beset by the three kings,
and his village, Mullūr, was upon a mountain. Kapilar compares
his wife’s chastity to the North Star, Vatamīn, which the old
commentary interprets as Arundhatī, the scarcely visible star
Alcor in Ursa Maior.

According to its colophon, Puram.125 commemorates the
occasion upon which Malaiyan came to the aid of the Cola
Pērunarkili who performed the Rājasuya. The poem says that the
enemy would have been victorious but for Malaiyan, who appeared
and saved the day. Whether Kāri helped the Cola 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 Kallāṭanār
in Akam.209, where he says that Kāri slew Valvil Ori and gave
the latter’s hill, Kōlli, to the Ceralar.

1. TSS i, p. 274. 2. v.s. Chap. III p. 69. 3. Kāri: 122, 1. 2;
Malaiyan: 128-3. 4. 153, 1. 6, Cirupān. 1. 110; Nacc. there says Kāri
referred to a black steed, UVS edn. p. 114. 5. Puram. 122, 1. 5.
Puram.126, according to the old commentary, 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 'Vānavaṇa', connected with vān, sky, and the commentator interprets this as Ceral, recalling perhaps the title of Nētuṇceralatan, Vānavarampan. 'Impelling the ships', 'nāvāy oṭṭiya', is reminiscent of the title 'Kaṭar(pirakk')oṭṭiya' given to Cēṅkuttuvan. 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 'antaṇālan' in line 11 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 Aļiyātan, whom Kapilar praised in decade VII of Patirruppatu. It has already been seen that Nappacakalaiyar says that the Cola (Kuḷamurrattu ttuṇciya)Killa)Vaḷavaṇ also fought against Vānavaṇa, which again the old commentator interprets as Ceral. The Cola may well have brought to a conclusion the conflict started by Kāri.

Vel 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 Velir chieftains, Aṇṭiran and Ėyinan, bore the title of Āy, it may be

1. UVS p.208. 2. 1.14. 3. cf. Patirru.pat.II. 4. 126, 1.11. 5. v.s. Chap.IV,p.121; cf. Puram.39,1.12ff; 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 who, according to him, seem to have extended as far as Komaria, Kumari. This is confirmed by Puram. 128, which states that Pōtiyil, the hill near Cape Comorin, belonged to the Āy. McCrindle's identification of Aioi with the Skt. ahi, as referring to serpent-worship, may be rejected. K.N.S. Pillai suggests that it was the ancestors of these Āy chieftains whom the rock-edict XIII of Aśoka mentioned under the name Hīḍalaja, hīḍa being traceable to Ta. iṭaiyān, cowherd. This Tamil word seems to have had its common meaning in the anthologies, while Āy did not always denote an Āy ruler.

The name Antirāṇ is not capable of ready interpretation. P.N. Aiyar, the editor of Nārinnai, connected it with Āndhra, 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 Uraiyur Eniceri Muttamociyar. 136 is by Uraiyur Oṭaikilār, and 240 is by Kuṭṭuvan Kiranār. These two poets are only represented in extant anthology poetry by these two verses. Apart from his twelve verses in praise of Vel Āy, Muttamociyar is known only for one other poem, Puram. 13 concerning Colan Muṭittalaikkoppēru-narkilli. Since almost all of his extant work praises Vel Āy, 

1. Bk.VII, Cap.9. 2. 1.5. 3. Ancient India, IV, p.54. 4. CET p.168 fn. He refers to the Girnar & Mansehra versions. 5. e.g. Puram.324,1.11. 6. e.g. Puram.390, 1.2. 7. Quoted by TSS ed.Puram.i,p.281. 8. v.s. Chap.IV, pp.114, 185.
it may be assumed that he was Ay's court poet, and it may be suggested that it was on the roof of Ay's palace, if the col. to Puram.13 is followed, that poem 13 about the Cola was addressed to Antuvañçeral Irumpőrai.

The name of Vel Ay Antiran is well attested in this group of poems. Nowhere do all the three elements occur together but both 'Vel Ay' and 'Ay Antiran' occur\(^1\) as well as instances of individual elements of the name.\(^2\)

As already seen, both Ptolemy and Muťamociyär suggest that the Ay territory extended as far as the Cape. That this area was mountainous is indicated by references to its inhabitants as Kuravar, and to kurińci, 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 Konkar in the western sea." This appears in Puram.130, lines 5 and 6.

This is of interest, as it suggests that the Konkar had access to the sea or were in alliance with kings or chiefs on the western seaboard. The Konkanätu 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 Konkar had a fleet. But Patirru. makes it clear that, at least at the time of Ilançeral, the Konkar were feudatories of the Irumpőrai Ceralar.\(^4\) This may have already been the case at the time of Antuvañçeral. As against this, Ėlktelu Kultaevan is stated in Patirru.22 line 15 to have fought against the

\(^{1}\) vv.133,135; vv.129,240,374. \(^{2}\) vv.127,128 &c. 3. 129,1.1, & 374,1.8. \(^{3}\) Patirru.88,1.19. 90,1.25.
Könkar. Whether this was connected with their subjugation by the Irumpōrais or not it is impossible to say. But Puram. 130 makes it clear that the Ay were still independent when the Könkar were already allies, if not vassals, of the Ceralar, to whom the mention of a fleet presumably refers.

The only other mention of Könkunātu in Puram. is in 373, line 8, where Kovūr Kilār, author of a number of poems on Cola kings, states that Killi Vaḷavaṇ attacked Könku. The same poem says that he also attacked Vaṇci,\(^1\) 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 Könkunātu, or was referring to Vaṇci as Karuvūr it is impossible to decide.\(^2\) The text itself suggests that this Cola attacked the Könkar and also the Ceralar at Vaṇci. Again, the Könkar may have been Ceral feudatories by that time.

With customary exaggeration, Muṭamōciyār says that "The broad world would be destroyed if the realm of Ay did not stretch from the south up to Imaiyam that touches the sky."\(^3\) Another conventional hyperbole is that of Ĭṭaikilār:\(^4\)

"I will feed for many days upon your bounty, praying that you may live longer than the sands of the fair harbour at Turaiyūr where the water is cool."\(^5\) It may have been this passage that led the colophon writer to connect Ĭṭaikilār with Turaiyūr. As already seen he is known by no other extant poem.

There is an interesting reference to the worship of

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Indra in poem 241:

"The sound of the war-drum in the temple of the Lord of the Vajra arose to heaven, proclaiming that Antiran 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 Nancil Valluvan. 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 Nancirporunan.² But it is possible that 'Valvercattan' in line 12 of Puram.380 is a reference to this ruler. Poem 380 is fragmentary, but three lines earlier Nancirporunan occurs, also in the nominative, and it may be suggested that Cattan was his personal name.

The contexts in which Nancil occurs show that it was at that time the name of a mountain, and the TSS editor states³ that this is no longer the case. The modern Nancil natu, with Nakarkoyil (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 Nancil Valluvan are prasastis, 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

¹. See List, supra p.203.  2. vv. 137, 139, 140, 380.  3. i, p.300.  4. ii, p.389.
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 Katappillai, and the same poet appears as the author of three poems in Kuruntōkai. ³ The word kata- is meaningless, and it may be suggested that the poet's name was Kantappillai, and that the -n- was omitted through a scribe's error. This name would correspond to Skandakumāra in Skt. and Ta. pillai occurs as a name of Murukan, identified with Skanda. In this connexion, it may be noted that a Karuvūr Kantappillai Cāttanār appears in the colophon to Puram.168 as the author of that poem, lauding Piṭṭāṅkōrran, 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 Katappillai who wrote Puram.380. It may further be suggested that Cāttanār who wrote Puram.168 on Piṭṭāṅkōrran was the son of Karuvūr Ka(n)tappillai who lauded Nāṅcil Valluvaṉ 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 Vaivyāvi kkopperum Pekan. These poems are ascribed

1. 380,11.1-6 (frag.) 2. ii,p.389. 3. Kurun.64,265,380. 4. To Puram.141 to 147 incl.
to four poets. Four are the work of Paranar.

Vaiyāvi seems to have been the place where Pekan ruled and it is equated by the TSS editor with Vaiyāpuri or Palani in the modern Maturai District. The name Palani in turn is connected with Potini, which was the seat of Vel Āvi according to Māmulañār, who compares that ruler to Murukan. This comparison may have been suggested by the cult of Murukan at that place. The TSS editor notes that the word Vaiyāvi has also been connected with Tiruvāвиŋāṅkuṭi, another name for Palani.

The element Āvi refers to the Āviyar, the tribe to which Pekan belonged. Another member of this tribe, Vel Āvi kkomān Patuman, appears in Patirru. patikams as the father of the queens of Nētuṇceralātan and Cēlvakkaṭuṅkov Āliyātan, and therefore the person through whom the Kuṭṭuvar and Irumpōrai Geralar were interrelated.

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, Paranar, Aricil Kilār and Perunkunrūr Kilār addressed Pekan on behalf of Kaṇṇaki whom he had deserted. The turai prescribed in these colophons is Kurunkali, a poetic theme classified under the purattiniṇai Pēruntiṇai. As already seen, Pēruntiṇai as a purattiniṇai is not mentioned by Tōlkāppiyar, but is the twelfth tinai of Puram

1. See List, p.203. 2. i,p.306. 3. Akam.61,11.15,16. 4. Akam.1,1.3. 5. i,p.306. 6. Pat.IV,VI,VIII; see Chart of Contemporaries C, p.221.
Chart of Contemporaries C

(Veliyan)

(Vel Avikkoman Patuman) Utiyanceral=Nallini (Ay Lyinan) (Mivilli) (A. 208) (A. 396)

Queen=Netunceral Atan=Manakkilli

(IV) Narmuticceral Geralatan (II) PARANAR-Cekkuuttuvan

Queen=Aliyan

(VII, 8) KAPILAR

(V) 141

Purunceral Irumporai ARICIL K. (Pekan)

(VIII) 143

Ilancceral Irumporai PERUNKUNRUR K. (147)

Porsiyan

Antuvanceral Irumporai=Queen Muhttalaikko

(Aliyan* pperunarkilli--MUTAMOCIYAR=(Ay) (13)

(127+)

V.V. PERICATTANAR--P. I-palli t. Nammaran--

(198) ** ~ * (57) *

(87-95+)

(Anci) ---- AUVAIYAR---------(Naancil Valluvan) - Ka: KANTAPPILLAI

(140) (380)

(Elini) ----

(96,102) *--K. KARIKKANNANAR--(Pittankorran)----Ka: KANTAPPILLAI

(169,171)(168) CATTANAR


according to the PPVM, Patalam 12. Therein Kuruńkali is given as a theme appropriate to situations where

"One should purge oneself of desire towards other girls
whose tresses are long and fragrant."

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.

The poet Paranar says:

"Not to have pity is cruel. While in the evening I sang of your rain-drenched forest to the strains of the rāga Cēvvalī, 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 Pekan goes in his noisy chariot to that fair place surrounded with wild jessamine.'"

Paranar also prays that the chieftain would relieve her distress, and these sentiments are echoed by the other two poets, who state that this alone is the favour they ask of their chief.

The old commentary interprets 'nallūrāne' in poem 144 line 14 as referring to a place called Nallūr where the courtesan lived. In his commentary on Tōl. Pōrul. Purat. cū. 90, Nacc. quotes this verse and says that "Paranar sang this song in the

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1. PPVM, v. 342; v.s. Chap. II p. 65. 2. cf. 143, 11. 7, 11-14. 3. 144. 4. 145, 1. 10. 5. cf. 146, 11. 4, 5; 147, 1. 9.
...
purattinai pāṭṭān with reference to the akattinai kaikkilai. "¹
As noted in Chapter II, ² Tōlkāppiyānār himself spoke of a poetic correspondence between the seven akattinai and the seven purattinai, by which the purattinai Pāṭṭān corresponds to the akattinai kaikkilai. Naccinārkk'iniyar ingeniously explains this by saying that the praise of a hero and its reward, signified by pāṭṭān, are no more related inter se than are the two parties in a situation of unrequited love, signified by kaikkilai. ³ Ilampūraṇār, rather more straightforwardly, says that panegyric, pāṭṭān, may include reference to kaikkilai. ⁴ He follows Tōl. closely in this, for, in cu. 90, Tōl. states that one of the turai of pāṭṭān is Intercession during kaikkilai. 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 Tōl. Pōrul. cu. 90 and said:

"Itu Kannaki kāramākā Vaivyāvikkoppārumpekaṇai Pparaṇar pāṭiya kaikkilai vakai pāṭṭānpattu." ⁶

This may be compared to the actual colophon to 144:

"Tinaiyum turaiyum avai (i.e. pēruntinai, Kurunkali). Avanaiy avai (Kannaki) kāramākā 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 Tōl.

Of interest also is the fact that three of this group

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. 1.10, TSS edn. i, p. 270. ⁶. ibid. p. 280. ⁷. TSS i, p. 313; as usual pronominal references are to previous colophons wherein tinai, turai, hero and poet are named.
of five poems about Pekaḥ's mésalliance contain lines identical in their first three feet:

"Ciriyāl Cēvvali pānniy āla nēn . . . " 144,1.2, (Paranar).
" "  " " nīn vanpula" 146,1.3, (Aricil K.)
" "  " " vantatai. . " 147,2, (Pēruṅkuṇ:k.)

Whether the pan Cēvvali was appropriate to such a situation cannot now be stated for certain, but the old comm. on Puram.144 says that Cēvvali was 'suitable for grief,' 'irāṅkar pānnākiya Cēvvali.' Irāṅkal is stated by Nacc.3 to be the Urippōrul, aspect of love, associated with the seashore, nēytal. The poet Paranar seems to have had such an association in mind when he compared the unhappy lady's eyes to waterlilies:

"Nī'naru nēytalir pōlinta ūnkaṇ." 4

The lexicon would seem to err in stating that the pan Cēvvali was classified under Mullaippan, unless its authors drew upon another tradition not represented by the material here being considered. The urippōrul of mullai, the forest region, is Iruttal, Patience in Separation, according to Nacc.5

The eighth chieftain to appear in Puram. is named in the colophons to poems 148 to 150 as Kanṭīrakkopperu Nalli, with a variant in some MSS 'Kanṭīr Kkopērunarkillī.'6 This reading would suggest that this chief was connected with the Colas, but neither the TSS editor nor UVS favour it.

It will be convenient to consider with these poems Puram.151 which concerns Ilāṅkaṇṭīrakko and Ilāvicciiko, and

1. Identified by A. Pāṇṭitar: "Karuniṃrtasāgaram" Tab. VII with the rāga Hanumattodi, containing flat 2nd., 3rd., 6th., & 7th.
2. UVS p. 228. 3. TSS edn. i, p. 37. 4. 144,1.4. 5. TSS edn. i, p. 37.
6. UVS p. 233 fn.
Puram. 200, the colophon to which states that Kapilar took the daughters of Pāri to Viccikko.

The name Nalli occurs in all three poems and in poem 150 the chief is referred to as Nalimalai Nāṭaṇ, lord of the hill Nāli. 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 Nalimalai Nāṭaṇ occurs as an epithet of Nalli in Cirupānārruppattai, and in Akam. 238, lines 14 and 15, we read:

"... kalimān Nalli
nali mukaiy utainta naru kār atukattu."

"Nalli of the prancing steed (rules) the mountain slopes on which sweet rains fall and whose peaks are close-set."

The use of the word nali, crowded, in three separate contexts connected with Nalli suggests that Nali 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 Nalli as praised in Puram. 148 to 150. Ownership of a hilly territory is a common feature in the sources, and the title Nalimalai Nāṭaṇ has been noted. There are three other places in the anthologies where Nalli is mentioned, and one of them, Akam. 152, makes it clear that his land was mountainous. In Puram. 158 he is mentioned as one of seven chieftains who fell before the three kings.

1. 148,1.1; 149,1.1; 150,1.28. 2. 1.107. 3. Cp. "Parampi komaṇ Pāri" in Cirupān. 1.91 & Puram. 158,1.4; "Kolliy ṣaṭa Valvil Ori" in Puram. 158,1.5. 4. Kurun. 210, Akam. 152, Puram. 158. 5. 11.15,16. 6. 1.16; the other six were: Pāri, Ori, Kāri, Elini, Pekan and Ay; vide 11.4,5,6,9,12,13.
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 prasastis, and the only one of special interest is Puram.149:

"O Nalli, may you flourish! Nalli, because of your liberality, many musicians have forgotten the tradition of playing on the bow-harp the pan Cēvvali in the morning and Marutam in the evening."

These panas are identified by Paṇṭitar² with the rāgas Hanumattoḍi and Harikāmbhoji 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 Peruntalai-ccattanār composed the poem when Ilāṅkantirakko and Ilavicckikko were together in one place, and the poet was asked why he clung to Ilāṅkantirakko and ignored Ilavicckikko. In the poem, Peruntalaiccattanār replied that, even if Kanṭirutakkon 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.

¹. i,p.321. ². Karuṇāmṛtā: Tab.VII. ³. cf.11.6-12. ⁴. Kurun.292.
That Nannan ruled over Konkanam, rich in gold, is stated by Perunkatunko. If the colophon to Puram.151 is correct in identifying 'the son (or descendant) of Nannan' with Ilaviccikkko, then it might be suggested that, if marukan in line 3 means son, Ilaviccikkko was the son of Nannan who is to be identified with Viccikkko, the subject of Puram.200.

As the TSS editor notes, IlankantIrakko was probably the son of KantIrakkopperunalli, the hero of Puram.148 to 150. It should be noted however that only the colophon refers to this person as IlankantIrakko; in the poem itself he appears as KantIrakkkon, and there is no special reason why this poem should not be taken to refer to KantIrakkopperunalli himself. In the same way, the Ilaviccikkko of the colophon to 151 may have been the son of Viccikkko to whom Kapilar took the daughters of Pari, 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 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 Patirru., however, states that Vicci was the name of a chieftain defeated by Ilanceral Irumporai. That Vicci was the name of a place or tribe is suggested by Kurun.328, which states that 'the scion of the Vicciyar fought with the king.'

In Puram.200, Kapilar states that he, a brahman, has

1. Nar.391,l.6. 2. i,p.327. 3. i,p.450. 4. UVS edn.p.156. 5. Kurun.328,11.5,6 (Panasar).
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. Vanparanar 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 Atan, and in 152 he is addressed as ‘lord of the high mount Kōlli.’⁵ This hill is generally identified with the southern part of the Shevaroys near Centamankalam.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 Kōlli to the Čeralar. This may be presumed to have occurred prior to or during the reign of Yānsikkatcye Māntarani-

¹ cf. Puram. 200,11.8-17. ² v.s. p.211. ³ vv.152,153,204. ⁴ Cirupān.,1.111. Nacc. thereon says that Ori refer's to the horse's mane; vide UVS edn.p.114. ⁵ 152,1.31; cp.158,1.5: "Kōlliyaṁṭa Valvil Ori". ⁶ e.g. TSS editor,1,p.330. See Map, p.xv. ⁷ 158 ibid.; cp. Akam.209,11.13,14 (Kallāṭanār).
ceral Irumpūrai, who is called 'lord of the people of Kōlli.'

The eleventh chief to find praise in Puram. is Köńkānām kilēr, praised by Moci Kiranār in Puram. 154 to 156. Köńkānām, according to the TSS editor, was known as Köńkanām 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 Pēruṅkaṭuṅko, as already seen.2

Kōŋpērūṅkānām is mentioned in all three poems.3 The old commentary to verse 156 states that 'the great Köńkānām' was a mountain. No other information about this chief emerges from these three praśastis.

Eraikkon is praised by the poetess Kuramakal-Illavēyini in Puram. 157. It has been suggested by A. Nārāyanāsvāmi Aiyar, the editor of Nan., that the personal name of this mountain girl was Ėyini, and that the colophon to 157 prefixes Iḷa- to her name as she wrote this poem in her youth. He identified her with Kuramakal Kuriyēyini, the authoress of Nan. 357, and was of the opinion that 'kuri' was a MS error for 'Kuripp'(ēyini)', a name bestowed on her in virtue of line 1 of that poem, wherein the heroine says:

"Nin kurippēyēvē an toliy ēn kurippu
ēnēṭu nilaiyāṭāyēnymu ēnrum ..."

"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

1. Puram. 22, l. 28; v. s. pp. 189 & 213. 2. v. s. p. 227 & fn. l. 3. 154, l. 13; 155, l. 7; 156, l. 3. 4. Nan. TSS edn. p. 38.
sentiments in Puram.157 are displayed in the lines:

"Nummor'ku ttakuva'n allav ḍh'mon ... 
pe'run'ka'nāṭanēmm Eraikk'u 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, kuridci, 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 Ilavēyini, Peymakal Ilavēyini, appears in the colophon to Puram.11 as the panegyrist of Pālai pāṭiya Pērunkāṭun'ko. 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

Kumān' 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 Kumān' 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 Uṭumalaippeṭṭai (Udumalpet), and that there is a village at the foot of the Palanis called Kumānamaṅkalam. 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. 11.5,13: Kuridci is seen in 1.7, 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 kāntal, ḍ. 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 Aviyar and of Kumanan's forebears should have not been contiguous. Nowhere is Mutiram mentioned as the seat of Pekan.

That Pekan preceded both Perucittiranār and his patron is clear from Puram.158, wherein the poet says that he came to Kumanān as the seven Vel chiefs had died and there was no-one to patronize poets. The names of the seven here listed have already been noted; the complete passage tells of:

"Pāri, the lord of Parampu, Ori the strong of bow who ruled Kōlli of the tall summit, the valorous Malaiyan whose munificence was as that of the rain and who mounted Kāri and rode to war, Ėlini 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 Nalli."²

This passage also suggests that Moci preceded the poet and Kumanan. It may be assumed that it refers to Moci Kīrañār, whose poems on Perucercial Irumpōrai and Kōnkānanākilan have been noted.³ 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.158,11.4-13, 16; v.s. pp.209,228,212,208,219-20,214 & 224 respectively. This passage may be compared with Cirupān.11.84-111.
by Moci that lauds Āy, presumably Veḷ Āy Anṭiran.

Poems 159 to 161 and 163 may be passed over, as they are panegyrics. Of interest is the mention of the Ganges in 161. This river is mentioned nine times in the anthologies and Pattuppāṭṭu.

The colophons to poems 164 and 165 state that the younger brother of Kumanāṇa seized the kingdom and imprisoned his brother in the forest. Moreover, colophon 165 says that Kumanāṇa told the poet Pēruntalaićcāṭṭanār to take his sword and show it to his brother Iḷankukumāṇaṇ. Poem 164 does not confirm that the chieftain Kumanāṇa was treated thus, but in 165 the episode of the sword is described.

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 Pēruṉcittiranār's poems, 158 to 160 and 163 and one of the two by Pēruntalaićcāṭṭanār, 164. The other by him, 165, has two, and one by Pēruṉcittiranār, 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

1. 1.6. 2. See Index of place names. 3. 11.12-15.
are reliable in their statements as to authorship of the poems, or whether, as in the case of 161, there are grounds of vocabulary for suggesting that an author other than that of 158 to 160 and 163 wrote that poem.

The chieftain Ilaveliman is praised in Puram. 162, 207 and 237 according to the colophons. All are ascribed to Perurcittiranār. 238, on Vēlimān according to its colophon, will be noted here also. It is another poem by Perurcittiranār.

No indication is given as to where Ilaveliman 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 Kumanan which he had tied to the totem tree in Ilaveliman's village. The colophons to 207 and 237 tell how, after the death of Vēlimān, his younger brother Ilaveliman, 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 Vēlimān'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 Perurcittiranār. There are

\(^1\) cf. 162,11.3 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. According to its colophon, it is by Avûr Mûlankîlär, and praises a brahman of Pûncárrur in the Cola country called Kauniyan Viññantâyän. The TSS editor states that Pûncárrur is in Tanjore District. As UVS notes, Kauniyan clearly is to be connected with Kaundinya, and refers to the gotra of that name. Disregarding the fact that the nasal before -tâyän in Viññantâyän is not the ’alveolar’ -n- but the homorganic -n-, the TSS editor states that Viññan was the name of Tâyän’s father. Tâyän was therefore the personal name of the brahman addressed in 166. This can only be the case if the spelling of Viññantâyän in the colophon is a scribe’s error.

The colophon gives the turai for this poem as Pârppannavâkai. The old commentary quotes the cuttiram in PPVM describing this turai as “extolling the greatness of a (brahman) sacrificer who has attained preeminence through wisdom.”

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.” This clearly refers to the six vedângas as being connected with the four vedas, and the passage is so
interpreted by the old commentary. 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)."

The old commentary takes this to refer to the Buddhist and Jaina opposition to brahmanic practices. This passage is reminiscent of the polemics of the Tevāram hymnists 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 Pākyajña. The old commentary suggests as an alternative that 'mūvel turai' refers to twenty-one tarka- or arthasastras. The poet continues as follows:

"Seeking to perform the sacrifice, you don the skin of a small-headed buck, 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."
The commentary takes this last clause: "Kāṭ'ēnṛā nāt'ēnṛēnk' irelin iṭa'muṭētu"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 notes⁴ 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 asserts⁸ that Āṇur Mūlaṅkilār was a Vēḷaḷa, but

does not give his reasons. He further says\(^1\) that Avūr 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 Cāttanār, and Cāttan would be a somewhat unusual name for a brahman, especially in its usual sense of Aiyanār, village deity. But Cāttan is to be connected with the Skt. śāstr, ruler, teacher, and may have had this meaning at the time these poems were composed.

The colophon to Puram.\(^{167}\) states that the poem is by Konāṭṭu Ėriccilūr Māṭalān Maturai Kkumāramār and praises Enāṭi Tirukkilī. UVS states that there is a village called Ėriccilūr near Putukkoṭṭai, and this may have been the birthplace of the poet or his father. Enāṭi is connected with Skt. senāpati, with loss of the initial dental sibilant.\(^3\) The name Kilī suggests that this army commander was a Cola feudatory.

The only point of interest in the poem is that the senāpati is referred to in line 10 as 'Kaṭumān Kilī,' Kilī of the fierce steed. This may or may not have been Kilī’s title, but this very term of address appears in the fragmentary Puram.verse 355. It may be suggested that Puram.355 also was in praise of Enāṭi Tirukkilī. 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 Cola, and then says that \"Kilī of the fierce steed wears a fine bauhinia wreath\".
Neither UVS nor the TSS editor attempt to identify the Kaṭumān Kili 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.

Piṭṭankōrran is lauded in five poems in Puranāṇūru, 168 to 172, the work of four poets. As it appears in the cols. the name Piṭṭankōrran, with the velar nasal -ṅ- preceding kōrnan, is not found in these five poems. But the hero is twice called Kōrran and twice Piṭṭan. The meaning of the latter is not clear, though the Lexicon lists piṭṭan, connected with Skt. bhraṣṭa, with the meaning heretic. There appears to be no Tamil word with which piṭṭan 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. pīṣṭa). It may be suggested that the col. writer made up the name Piṭṭankōrran as a compound of the two elements Piṭṭan and Kōrran, and that, if the names were compounded, they should give Piṭṭankōrran.

In poem 168, Karuvūr Ka(n)tappillai Caṭṭtanaṅr calls Kōrnan "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." This makes it clear that Kutirai malai is referred to, in terms similar to those which

1. See List, p.204. 2. Ta.Lex. p.2651, col.i. 3. 11.11-14.
Pēruńcittiranār used of it in Puram.153. It may be surmised either that, after the defeat of Atiyamān Elini, the mountain passed to Pițțanḵōrran as a Ceral vassal, or that Pițțanḵōrran was himself an Atiyan, for which there is no textual evidence. "Mā val Īkai Kkotaiyānum" in Puram.172 line 10 is taken by the old commentary to refer to a Ceral called Kotai who was Pițțan's overlord. This does not rule out the possibility that, as an Atiyan, he was allowed to be a fief of the victorious Ceral and that he continued to occupy ancestral lands. It is more likely, perhaps, that he or his forebears helped Pēruńceral defeat Elini and were given Kutirai malai in return for help.

The relationship between the author of 168 and Karuvur Ka(n)tappillai has already been discussed. Most likely they were son and father, and this would suggest that Nāncil Valluvan belonged to an earlier generation than Pițțanḵōrran. It is of interest to note that the description of Kutirai malai by Karuvur Ka(n)tappillai Gaṭṭanār is reminiscent of the description of the hill Nāncil by his father:

"Nāncil, where grows the sweet jack-fruit ..and where the morning glory shines with the sweet petalled hill jasmine."

Kūtalām, 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

1. 158,11.8,9; v.s. p.231. 2. Since Akam.372 suggests that Kutirai malai belonged to the Atiyar. 3. v.s. p.219. 4. Puram.380,11.7-9 (frag.); cp. 1.7: "nārītal kkulavīyōtu kūtalaṇ kulaṇa" with 168,1.12: "kūtalaṇ kaviṇīya kulaṇi munrī"
Ilanākanār, wherein it is not used in conjunction with kulavi, hill jasmine, which likewise occurs in only one other anthology poem, Puram.90, by Auvaiyar. In all contexts, mountain scenery is described, using some of the karuppurul of kurincittinai.1

Evidence for Kuṭṭuvan Kotai being the overlord of Piṭṭāṅkōṛraṇ has already been noted. He is praised in Puram.54 by Maturai Kkumaranār, a panegyrist of the Cola Pēruntirumāvaḷavaṇa who died at Kurāppalli.2 He in turn is praised by Uraiyr Maruttuvan Tāmotaranār and Kārikkaṅnaṅaṅaṅa, both of whom laud Piṭṭāṅkōṛraṇ. Vaṭamavannaṅkaṅaṅa Tāmotaran mentions Kotai in Puram.172 and the assumption that this poet was the brother of Vaṭamavannaṅkaṅa Pericāṭṭaṅaṅa is partly based on the latter having praised the Pāntiya Ilavantikaippalli ttuṁciya Naṁmāran who is also praised by Kārikkaṅnaṅaṅa, panegyrist of Piṭṭāṅkōṛraṇ. This makes Pericāṭṭaṅaṅa and Tāmotaran contemporaries at least.5

Piṭṭāṅkōṛraṇ 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 have two verses each, the remainder one only.

The name of Pannaṅ is attested by both Puram.173 and 388; he is called Cirukuti kilāṅ Pannaṅ in the colophons. That Cirukuti was his village is stated by Puram.388, line 4, and in two other anthology poems.7 Whether this was the same as the

1. Other hill plants in 168 are the Sandal tree and Gloriosa, tubers of which are turned up by hogs rootling, 168,11.2–4. 2. v.s. Chap.IV p.113. 3. v.s. ibid. 4. sv.s. Chap.IV p.167. 5. vide Chart B, p.158 & p.167; Ta. vannakkan may be connected w. Skt. varṇakā, coin tester; possibly the occupation of the poets' father. 6. vide List, pp.304–5. 7. Puram.70,1.13 and Akam.54, line 14.
Cirukuti owned by Vānan and Arumān it is hard to say. Cirukuti is mentioned in connexion with Vānan three times in anthology poems and with Arumān once. Apart from contexts including Cirukuti, Vānan is mentioned only once, in Pattuppāṭṭu.

Apart from the contexts including Cirukuti, the name Pannan likewise occurs but once in anthology poems. In Akam.177 Pannan'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 Cirukuti. Such a site would place Pannan in the Cola country, perhaps as a vassal, and, according to its colophon, poem 173 in his honour is by the Cola Killi Valavan who died at Kulamurram according to its colophon. It has already been noted that in his poem on this Cola, Kovur Kilār mentions 'Pannan Cirukuti', though there is a slight possibility of reading 'Pānan Cirukuti' there. In 173, the Cola praises Pannan from the standpoint of a suppliant bard.

Poem 388, which is fragmentary, is without special interest save for Pannan being called 'Cirukuti kilān Pannan' in line 4 as just seen. The poet seems to have been dissatisfied with bounty he received from the Pāṇtiya, referred to simply as Valuti, and to have gone as a suppliant to Pannan instead.

Mārakkattu Nappacalaiyār is credited with Puram.174 which lauds Malaiyamān Cōliyav Enāti Tirukkāṇṇān. The name

1. Akam.117,118, Akam.204,1.12, Nar.340,1.9; 'Pannan Cirukuti' is a variant for 'Vānan Cirukuti' in Akam.117 & 204; perhaps attempts by scribes to amend the texts so as to agree with Puram.70,388 & Akam.54. Alternatively, Vānan may be an error for Pannan in all 3 cases. 2. Nar.367,1.6. 3. Maturai.1.203. 4. The TSS editor, ii,p.417 notes Cirukuti, a pāṭalpērṟa talam nr. Tiruvilimilalai. 5. v.s. pp.124. 6. 70,1.13. 7. 11.12 ff.
Malaiyaman indicates that Tirukkaññan belonged to the same family as Tirumuttikkāri, the slayer of Valvil Ori. Kāri's hill village Mullūr is mentioned in this poem, affording textual evidence of Tirukkaññan's connexion with Kāri. The title Emāti shows that he was a commander, of the Cola army, and it has already been seen 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. The old commentary interprets 'aṇcaṇavuruvan' as 'aṇcaṇam pēlum niṟattaiyuttaīya tīrumeniyuttaīya Kānṇan,' making it clear that Viṣṇu is meant by 'Kānṇan' and that, at least in this and similar contexts, Ta. Kānṇan is to be connected with Pkt. Kanha, the dark one. It is possible that the colophon writer saw in this passage an allusion to the personal name of the Malaiyaman and that therefore, in the col., the chief's personal name appears as Kānṇan. The poet goes on to address Tirukkaññan as follows:

"it was you who heaped fresh honours upon that white regal parasol which you showed to Valavan the mighty, who was in a place hard to find above the noble Mullūr 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

1. v.s. pp. 212, 213. 2. Nar. 320, 11.5-6. 3. 174, 1.13. 4. col. to 125; v.s. p. 213. 5. 174, 11.1-5: 'Aṇcaṇavuruvan' (aṇcaṇa+rūpa) 1.5. 6. UVS p. 280. 7. Attempts have been made to treat Kānṇan as a mere Ta. word connected with kaṇ, eye. 8. v.r.: Tirukkili.
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. 

Nappacalaiyār clearly indicates that the Malaiyaman
restored Valavan to the throne, having hidden him in his own
mountain fortress of Mullūr. The allusion to Kapilar agrees
with the extant poems by him which praise Kāri and show that
Mullūr was a mountain village. The events connected with the
Cola must have happened after the time of Kapilar and Kāri.
Nappacalaiyār has also praised Kāri and therefore Tirukkānkan
may have been Kāri’s son, as the old commentary suggests.
Since Nappacalaiyār has written three poems on Killi Valavan
who died at Kulamurram it may be suggested that it was he who
was restored by Tirukkānkan to the throne.

The poet remarks that Tirukkānkan’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.’ This may
indeed indicate the help given to the Cola Pērunarkilli by Kāri
as recorded in the colophon to Puram. This evidence suggests
that Pērunarkilli was the predecessor of Kulamurrattu ttuńciya
Killi Valavan, and that the two Cola were contemporaries of
Kāri and Tirukkānkan respectively. It is impossible to agree
with the Tables drawn up by Pillai in CET, wherein the two Cola

1. 174,11.6-16. 2. Puram.121-124. 3. 123,1.5. 4. 126.
5. UVS p.280. 6. Puram.37,39 and 226; v.s. Chap.IV p.121.
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 Valavan came to threaten to have the children of a Malaiyāman trampled to death by elephants as stated in the colophon to Puram is not clear. In the text of 46, neither the name Valavan nor Malaiyāman appears, and the colophon may be in error in ascribing this episode to Killi Valavan. On the other hand, the Cola may indeed have been Valavan but the children those of another chieftain, not Malaiyāman.

According to its colophon, Puram lauds Ātānuṅkan and is by Kallil Ātireyanār. Along with this poem will be considered poem 389, in which, according to UVS, this poet also praises Ātānuṅkan. From internal evidence this seems doubtful.

Kallil, according to the TSS editor, was in the Tontai country, and is attested by epigraphical evidence as well as by literary sources. It is the modern Maṭaviḷākam. The name of the poet, Ātireyanār, shows him to have been a brahman of the Ātreya gotra. The name of Ātānuṅkan appears in line 1 of the poem, and Ātireyanār 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."

The old commentary states that the mountain where the

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 Kallūr; also for Kallil, Tirujāna: Tev. 119, 1. 4. 175, 11. 6-9.
pass was called Vellimalai, and names the Maurya kingdom Ättamaṇṭalam. It is further suggested that Moriyar may refer to Vidyādharas or Nāgas, but the TSS editor sensibly rejects it.

This passage is closely parallel in language and sense to two other passages in the anthologies which will be noted here. In Akam.69, Parankōrraṇār 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."  

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."  

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."

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 Andhra line.

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 Mokûr, whose name is given as Palaiyan in Pattu., and who is also said to have been the foe of the Geral Cēṅkuṭtuvan. The use of the name Mōriyar is perhaps figurative, and this is suggested by Māmūlañār'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 seriously be maintained that Palaiyan, and therefore Cēṅkuṭtuvan, were contemporaries of the Mauryas. The TSS editor of Akam., while noting 'Vampa Mōriyar' as 'Putiya Mōriyar' does not offer any explanation for this, but states that traditionally the Mōriyar came to the aid of the Kocar. If Mōriyar 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:

"Cēlvulīya ēlāa Naller Muṭiyan
Ātanuṅkan pola niyum ..." while the TSS has:

"Gélvuliy ēlā Naller Mutiya
Ātanūṅkan pola nīyum ..."

In the former reading Naller Mutiyan is in the nominative
and in apposition to Ātanūṅkan, while in the latter Naller
Mutiyan is in the vocative and clearly anticipates 'nīyum' in
the second line: "You too, Naller Mutiyan, like Ātanūṅkan ..."

Were UVS reading adopted, however, it is still difficult to see
how Ātanūṅkan 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 Mutiyan Ātanūṅkan ..." The name of the person addressed does not
appear in this reading at all. Naller Mutiyan may be in
apposition to Ātanūṅkan in this reading, indicating that it is
a title, or there may be an ellipse of the possessive suffix, in
which case Naller Mutiyan was the father of Ātanūṅkan. A third
possibility is that Naller Mutiyan Ātanūṅkan in UVS' reading is
an instance of Ummaittokai, corresponding to Dvandvasamāsa in
Skt. The comparison would then be both to Ātanūṅkan and Naller
Mutiyan. In either case, since Ātanūṅkan is mentioned and the
poet is Āttireyanūr, author of 175 on that chief, the person
here addressed may be presumed to have been a kinsman, possibly
a son, of Ātanūṅkan. 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," "Pillaiy ampūruna ..." The TSS reading, which would admit
of the same possibility, makes Naller Mutiyan the hero in this
poem, and is more satisfactory. If the UVS reading is followed,
the colophon must be regarded as erroneous in giving Ātanūṅkan.
Naller Mutiyaṉ is stated to be the lord of Venkaṭam. 2

This is usually identified with Venkaṭācala, the hill of the Tiruppati shrine, and this hill was regarded as the northern limit of the Tamil country.

The next chief to be lauded in Puram. is Oyman Nalliyakkotan, who is praised by Purattinai Nammākaṉār in 176 and 376. 4 It may be noted in passing that Oymānāṭṭu Nalliyakkotan was the chief to whom Nattattanār dedicated his poem Cirupāṇāṟṟuppatāi according to its colophon.

The name Nalliyakkotan is attested by Puram. 176, but the title Oyman 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 Nalliyakkotan. 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 + nāṭṭu to give Oymānāṭṭu, with retention of the initial dental nasal in 'nāṭṭu.' But the fact that '-nāṭṭu' commences with the 'alveolar' n- shows that Oymānāṭṭu represents Oymān + nāṭṭu, 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. 389.1.11. 3. cf. Tōl. pāyiram.11.1-3: "Vataveṅkaṭān tēṅkumari Āyitai Tamil kūrum nall ulakattu ..." 4. UVS. p.499 fn. notes a v.r. in the col. to 376 that makes Oymān Villiyattan its hero. He is the hero of 379. The Samājam edn. follows this. 5. e.g. TSS ed. i. p.395. 6. UVS. p.126
kkōtan was chief. Oy would be synonymous with Oviyar, the tribe of which Nalliyakkōtan was chief according to Nattattanār.  

The name of Nalliyakkōtan's town is given as Ilāṅkai. This name appears in three other places in Sangam literature. In all three cases it is preceded by 'mā', great. In the Pattu instances, Nacc. takes this to be in fact an adjective qualifying Ilāṅkai. The old commentary on Puram., however, gives: "Pēriya Māvilaṅkaiy ḍnum ūrkku..." for "Pērumāvilaṅkai." It is possible that this town was called Māvilaṅkai to distinguish it from the famous Ilāṅkai, Laṅkā. 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 it is hard to say. The Pinkalanikanṭu gives river-islet as a meaning of Ta. Ilāṅkai, and this suggests yet another possibility in regard to Nalliyakkōtan'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 Paṟampu.

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 that there is a place called Malli near Civilliputtūr, which is south-west of Maturai, close to the western Ghats. If the colophon to 177 is correct in ascribing

the poem to Avūr Mūlānkīlār, it would make Kāriyāti a contemporary of the Coḷa Kūlamūṟṟattu ttunćiya Kīḷī Valāvan and the Pāntīya Ilavantikaippalli ttunćiya Nānmarān. Both are praised by this poet.1

Pāntīyan Kīrāṇcāttan is the twenty-third chief to be praised in Puram. according to the colophons. He is the hero of poem 178 by Avūr Mūlānkīlār. A variant reading of the colophon gives the name as Pāntikkuṭiraiccakkaiyan2 but both UVS and the TSS editor prefer the first reading. The latter suggests3 that Kīrāṇ—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 Pāntiyar, as the TSS editor notes.5 This Cāttan does not appear elsewhere in the anthologies or Pattuppattu.

Vaṭanēṭuntattanār's 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 Pāntiyā allegiance. The name of the Pāntiyā overlord is not given, but the epithet 'Tiruvīḷ nunḍu'6 perhaps connects him with Pacumppūṟpāntiyān, whose name appears in a number of places in these poems,7 and who is identified by Pillai with at least two of the Pāntiyar praised in Puram.8 The TSS editor identifies Nālai with Nālūr, near Aruppukkoṭṭai in Paṇṭināṭu.9

Irntūr kilān Tōyanmārān is praised in Puram.180.10 It

1. 38,40,196; v.s. pp.122,3. 2. UVS p.286 fn. 3. i,p.402.
4. 178,1.5. 5. v.r. Vaṭamanēṭuntattanār, UVS p.287 fn. 6. 179,1.5.
7. e.g. Akam.253,1.6. 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. Irntūr 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 Írntai at that time. When the colophons were written, Írntär was the form in use, just as Urantai of the poems was later known as Uraiyür. Írntaiyön is the only form of address to this chief used in this poem, and Írntai, like Nālai, is mentioned nowhere else in Sangam literature.

Similarly, Valārar is mentioned but once in these poems, in Puram.181,\(^4\) which is by Conāţtu Mukaiyelūr Cciyakaruntumpiyär according to the colophon. Therein, the name of the village appears as Vallār. The hero of the poem is Vallār kilăn Pannan, and the name Pannan 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 Ātanunkan.\(^6\) Of the twenty, Viccikko was mentioned when considering Ilaviccikke,\(^7\) and Vēlimān when discussing Ilavēlimān.\(^8\)

Puram.185, a reflection upon kingship, is attributed in its colophon to Tōntaimān Ilantiraiyan. It unfortunately adds nothing to the meagre information in Sangam literature about Tōntaimān. The full name as given in this colophon is not attested in any poem, but appears in the colophon to Pērumpān, as the patron of that poem.\(^9\) The two important elements in the

\(^1\) cf. cols. to 45,47,220.  \(^2\) The TSS editor says this place is the mod. Lkūr in Kānikuṇatu.  \(^3\) 1.6.  \(^4\) ibid.  \(^5\) v. s. p. 245.  \(^6\) v. s. p. 227.  \(^7\) v. s. p. 233.  \(^8\) Pattu.UVS p. 192.
name appear to be Tōntai and Tirai. Tōntai means Coccinea indica (Cucurbitaceae), a hedge creeper, and tirai is the common word for wave. The Tōntaiyar were the tribe or its rulers who had Coccinea as their emblem. As such, they are mentioned thrice in this literature. Iḷantiraiyan is called 'Scion of the Tōntaiyar' in Pērumpān, and in Akam, it is stated that Veṅkaṭam belonged to the Tōntaiyar. Tiraiyan, in the singular only, appears thrice; once in Pērumpān, 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 and Veṅkaṭam is stated to be his. Whether the authors of the Akam. poems refer specifically to Iḷantiraiyan cannot be ascertained by means of available evidence. The two elements Tōntai and Tirai have been linked in the legend of the Nēga woman's child by a Cōla king of Nēkapattinam being washed ashore by the sea, a tōntai creeper tied around his waist as a means of identification.

Vithianandanan is doubtless correct in suggesting that the real origin of the name Tōntaiyar lies in the emblematic use of a creeper, just as bauhinia was the Cōla emblem.

There seems no reason to doubt that it was this creeper emblem belonging to the rulers of the area between the Cōla country and Veṅkaṭam that was the origin of the name Pallava as applied to the dynasty which, whatever its origin,

occupied the same area at a later period. That this was felt at the time of the Pallavas is shown by the epithet 'Töntaiy antär (ventan)' being applied to Mahendravarman, 1 and by Cuntaramūrtti Nāyanār and Tirumaṅkaiy Āḻvār referring to the Pallavas of their day as 'Töntaimān,' 2 'Töntaiyar kon' and 'Töntsi 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

Iruṅkovel 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 Vel, descended from the forty-nine Velir 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!"

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 Iruṅkōvel, 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 Höysaḷa 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 Vel. 7

The name Höysaḷa is traditionally stated to have its origin in an injunction 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 Saṭakapura, where the sage was about

to sacrifice to Devī Vāsantikā. The Hoysalas claimed descent
from the Yādavas.1

Tuvarai is given as Tuvārapati in the old commentary2
on Pūram 201, and both words may be connected with Skt. Dvāravatī
another name for Kṛṣṇa's capital Dvārakā, after which was named
the Hoysala capital Dvārasamudra. It is clear, then, that
Kapilar was attributing to Iruṅkovel's forty-nine Velir
ancestors the rule of a town named after Dvārakā, as was Dvāra-
samudra, and that he was indirectly claiming Yādava kinship for
Iruṅkovel also.

As in the case of the Hoysalas, a town so named is
stated to have been ruled by someone called Tiger-slayer, and
the origins of this have nothing to do with Kṛṣṇa or Dvārakā.
There is no evidence that 'Pulikātimālī' in the Tamil sources3 is
more than a mere title, as was Hoysala in the case of the Mysore

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1. EC V (1902) p. 317, Arsikērē Taluq 71: "... tanagatam nammanāgal
Saḷanṇapanaṇavānam nodī sāmrājyāmam mālpēn ēnuṭtam mohadindam
Saṇakapurāda Vāsantīkādevīyām punyanidhānam yuktapūjaparikara-
vidhiyim niścalam sāḍhipannām. adan ēttam vighnamām māḍura bagē
mīgē sārddēlān ākāradīm pāyvuḍum ēgal yogy 'Mīm'pōy Saḷā' yēnē
subhētaṃ niścalam bēttadim pāyvuḍum ēyr'ēpōysalāṅkām Yāduṇparōle
deviprasādēdbhava śrīviditam sārddēlādēl kūḍāda sēḷē piriḍūm
ciṃmaṃ andindam ittal." cp. EC ibid., p. 221 Belūr Taluq 171.
2. UVS p. 314. 3. Pūram 201, 1. 15, 202, 1. 10.
There is no evidence that it was Iruṅkōvel 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 Velir and the Hōysalas, 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 Kannāḍa sources the story of a prince who slew a tiger and who was connected with a place named after Dvārakā.

The fact that Iruṅkōvel is addressed as the descendant of forty-nine Velir who ruled Tuvarai is no evidence for the statement of S.K. Aiyangar that: "Irungē Vel of Araiym ... came forty-eight generations after the Mahābhārata War." ²

Kapilar does not say that Iruṅkōvel was the forty-ninth or fiftieth such Vel, 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 Hōysalas and Iruṅkōvel had a common origin.

It is hardly likely that Iruṅkōvel 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 Velir came from Belgaum, which he connects with Veḻakatti, in the Gaṅga country, and travelled through the Kōṅkunāṭu before reaching the area of the modern Putukōṭṭai, where they settled.² That they occupied a mountainous area at the time of Kapilar is clear from Puram.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 Koṭaiḷkāṅal Hills were called Pōnpatumāḷvarai.⁴ This is hardly evidence in support of the mountains mentioned as gold-bearing in Puram.²⁰¹ being the Koṭaiḷkāṅal Hills, but it is a location conveniently close to Putukōṭṭai, where the descendants of Iruṅkōvel who were later called Irukkkuvelir lived in the region of Kōṭumpāḷir.

Kapilar seems to have had little success in his efforts to bestow Pārī's daughters upon Iruṅkōvel, either as wards or in marriage, for in Puram.²⁰², he sounds a note of despair and warning. A chief, wise like Iruṅkōvel, despised the word of the poet Kalāattalai and, as a result, his town of Araiyan which was divided into two parts, was destroyed. Pārī's daughters were of Evvi's family, and since Iruṅkōvel was making light of Kapilar's plea, he was going to leave.⁵

Only the chief being addressed as 'Pulikaṭimāl' connects this poem's subject with that of 201. Who the chief of Araiyaṃ who despised Kaḷāṭtalaḷiyār was cannot now be ascertained. There is no reason to doubt the old commentary when it states that that poet was meant; six of his poems are extant in Purāṇam. None of these fits the present context, not even the three of which the colophons give no information as to their hero. That more was known regarding Araiyaṃ at the time the old commentary was written is suggested by the fact that therein it is stated that the two parts of Araiyaṃ were called Cirṟ'araḷaiyaṃ and Peraraḷaiyaṃ. The name Araiyaṃ, perhaps connected with the Skt. rājan, 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, it is stated that the trees were flowering on Araimalai. This was possibly the place where Araiyaṃ 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.

The thirtieth chief to find praise in Purāṇam is called Kaṭiya'nēṭuveṭṭuvan in the colophon to Purāṇam 205, and the poet's name is given as Pēruntalaiccaṭtanār.

The name Veṭṭuvan is attested by the poem itself, in which he is also praised as lord of Koṭai. Interpreted by the

old commentary as Kadaiṉamalai,¹ this is doubtless the modern Kadaikkāṇal area of the Palani Hills. Kadai is only once mentioned elsewhere in these poems, in Akam.13, also a poem by Pēruntalaiaccattanār. It is to be noted that this poet has also lauded Kumanan,² who ruled Mutiram, a northern spur of the same range of mountains. The actual place of Veṭṭuvan, Kadaiyam, is only mentioned in the colophon, and does not occur in any anthology poem. As the TSS editor remarks,³ it was the home of a later writer, Kaṭiya'nnar, whose work is quoted in Nacc.⁴s commentary on Tolkāppiyam, Pōṟulatikāram.⁵

Mūvan is the subject of poem 209, by the same poet. Neither the name Mūvan nor any place or event is commemorated in the poem itself, so there is but the authority of the colophon for saying that Mūvan is the subject. All that is known about Mūvan is given by Pōykaṭayār in Narinai 18:

"Pōrayan who possesses the conquering army and victorious spear and who rules Tōnti where there are fair forests pulled out the thorn-sharp teeth of the defeated Mūvan and decorated the town gate with them."⁶

P.N.Aiyar, the commentator on Nar., was of the opinion that⁷ the Pōrayan in question was Kāṇaikāṭal Irumpōrai, but there is no proof for this surmise. As it stands, the text could refer to any of the Irumpōrais who ruled Tōnti, and Pōykaṭayār in Puram.⁸ praises Kokkōtaṉ Mārpan as lord of Tōnti. This makes it

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possible that it was he who treated Mūvan in this barbarous fashion.

Vel Ḥvvi is praised in Puram. 233 and 234 according to the colophons, the author being given as Vēḷḷuṟukkilaiyēṟ. 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 Vēḷḷuṟukku, the white Calotropis, is known.¹

The name Ḥvvi is attested only by 233², a poem telling of the lack of peace of mind that afflicted the poet on hearing that Vel Ḥvvi 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 Ḥvvi is to be found in Akam. and Kurun., and it has already been seen that he was defeated by Nēṭuṟcēliyan.⁴ The TSS editor of Akam. is of the opinion that⁵ this was the battle of Arimaṉavāyil Urattūr, which is mentioned in Akam. 266, wherein Faranar tells of the haughtiness of Ḥvvi, lord of Nīṯūr, put down by his foes whose ornaments were of gold.⁶ Nīṯūr, in Tanjore District, is not far from Milalai, which belonged to Ḥvvi 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 Ḥvvi was the father of Titiyan, and not even the commentary suggests that Anni fought both Titiyan and Ḥvvi:

"Payāṅkēḻu vaippir palvel Ḥvvi"

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1. Erukku, Skt. arka, Calotropis gigantea (Asclepiadaceae).
Like Anni fighting with Titiyan whose golden-flowered Punnai tree shamed gold, who kept in check his senses, who spoke righteously (and who was son of) Evvi of the many spears and rich villages.  

It is suggested that 'palvel Ėvvi' has the function of a genitive though nominative in form. Such a construction is common in these collections.

Nampi Nētuṇcēliyan is the subject of Puram. 239. The poet is given as Perćyil Muruvalār. As the TSS editor remarks, it was the custom for petty chiefs and commanders of the Cola, Pāṇtiya and Ceral armies to take the names of their overlords. The Pāṇtiya thus commemorated here would therefore have been Nētuṇcēliyan. There is no means of confirming this for the poem mentions neither name nor place connected with the Pāṇtiyas or their armies. This poem is in the Vāṇci 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

1. Akam.126,11.13-16. 2. Calophyllum inophyllum, Tā. Lex. 5. ii, p.85. 4. cp. 'Nannān nannāṭṭu', Nar. 391,1.6; 'Anni kuruķka' Akam.145,1.11. 3. Kurukkai is given as the site of battle, Akam.48.
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! "

The TSS editor reads into this rather straightforward poem an exposition of the puruṣārthas, dharma, artha and kāma.

Öllaiyūr kilan makan Pēruṅcattan is the hero of Puram. verses 242 and 243, and the latter is the sole extant poem of Tōttalai Vilattanṭinār. The TSS editor says that Öllaiyūr was near the modern Putukottai. It will be recalled that Putappāṇṭiyar is stated to have captured it. It is mentioned only once in this literature, in Puram. 242, a lament for Čattan:

"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 Čattan 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 Öllaiyūr?"

After Puram. 247, there are only three verses of which the hero is given in the accompanying colophon until the poem numbered 359, and thereafter all poems save 361 to 366 are accompanied by colophons wherein the patrons are mentioned. The

1. Puram. 239. 2. ii, p. 87. 3. Col. to 71; v. s. Chap. IV, p. 170. 4. l. 3. 5. 242. 6. And 355, in the text of which Kaṭumāṇ Kilī is mentioned.
old commentary is not extant for any poem after Puram. 266.¹

Antuvan Kiran is the subject of Puram. 359 according to its colophon, and Kāvittanār² 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 Kiran is not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature.

The sole extant poem by Caṅkavarunār ēnnum 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 Pāntiyar.³

Omnā Villiyātan is the hero of poem 379, and the poet is given as Purattinai Nannākanār. It has already been observed that⁴ a variant reading of the colophon to Puram. 376 makes this chief, rather than Nalliyakkkoṭan, the hero of that poem also. The name Omān has been discussed in connexion with Nalliyakkkoṭan.⁵ Puram. 379 states that Villiyātan was the ruler of Ilāṅkai,⁶ and there is no reason to suppose that he and Nalliyakkkoṭan were not closely related, especially since the same poet lauded both of them.

Karumpanurkilān is the hero of Puram. 381 and 384 which, the colophons state, were also by Purattinai Nannākanār. These five poems⁷ are his sole extant work.

Like Nalliyakkkoṭan, Karumpanur kilān's lands were in Tōntaimantalam, and were near Venkatam, as is clear from 381.⁸

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 īr, 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 tinai and turai are those of preceding verses, that is, pāṭen and Kaṭainilai, and that Mārokkattu Nappacalaiyar 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:

"Kāviriya añaiyun tānlīr ppaṭappai
nēlvilai kalaniy Ampar kilavon
nall Aruvantai ..." ⁵

Neither Aruvantai nor his village Ampar are mentioned.

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¹. 11, 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. 1. 24. ⁵. 385, l. 8-10.
elsewhere in Sangam literature. Tivākaram, possibly basing itself on this verse, mentions Ampar and the chief Aruvantai.

The poet prays that the chief may live for more years than the number of raindrops that fall upon Venkaṭam, ruled by Pulli. That a chief called Pulli ruled Venkaṭam at one time is averred both by Kallāṭaṇār in this poem and in Akam.\(^2\) and by Māmūlaṇār.\(^3\) Māmūlaṇār 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.

Poraiyārrukkilāṇ is lauded in Puram.\(^5\) by Kallāṭaṇār. The poem is a praṇāsti and the poet mentions neither the chief's name nor Poraiyāru.\(^6\) He says he has come as a supplicant to the chief after a hard time travelling in the country to the north of Venkaṭam.\(^6\)

The subject of Puram.\(^7\) is Coliyav Enāṭi Tirukkūṭuvān. As the TSS editor remarks, this commander of the Cola army may have been connected with the Ceralar, either by family or service, since he bore the name Kūṭuvān. This element of his name alone is attested by the poem,\(^8\) and there is nothing in it to connect him specifically with the Ceralas. He is stated to have owned Vēṅkuṭai, a place mentioned nowhere else in these poems identified by the TSS editor\(^9\) with Vēṅkōti near Pālakkāṭu.

One wonders whether the colophon writer assumed that

Kuttuvan was in the service of the Colas since the author of 394 wrote several poems connected with the Colas.\footnote{Puram. 61, 167, 197; but 54 is on Kuttuvan Kotai; v.s. p. 195.} It is possible that Kuttuvan, whose village seems to have been in the west country, was unconnected with the Colas and may have been a Ceral fief.

Maturai Nakkarar has written the poem in Vańci metre numbered 395 in Puram.; the hero is Coleantu Pita\varvur kil\an makan P eru\nt\ttan. Both the name of the place Pita\varvur and Cattan's name are attested by this poem, though not the statement of the colophon that 'P eru\nt\ttan (was) the son of Pita\varvur's lord:' "To the east of Umarai which belonged to Tittan whose tiny-eyed elephant was hard to capture lies Pita\varvur belonging to the liberal Ven\mn, the virtuous Cattan."\footnote{395, 11.18-21.} This passage makes it clear that Cattan belonged to the Velir. This poem, which is fragmentary, is without other special interest.\footnote{Pitavur is not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam Lit.}

M\hk\.t\hi Kil\r is given as the author of poem 396, a fragmentary verse praising Vait't\apr' Eliniy\tan, whose name is attested in it.\footnote{396, 1.13.} Neither the chief nor Vait't\apr 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.\footnote{11.7, 8.}

The forty-seventh and last chief to appear in Puram as the hero to whom a poem is dedicated is given as Tam\m Tum\rkon in the colophon accompanying the fragmentary Puram. 399, and Aiy\\mr Mu\v\ran\r is given as the author.
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 Muṭavaṉār expresses his unwillingness to praise anyone or to visit anyone save "Killi Vaḷavan of undying fame, the lord of the Kāviri."\(^2\) This suggests that Aiyūr Muṭavaṉār may have composed other poems on Kulamurrattu ttuṉciya Killi Vaḷavan besides his Puram.228 which has come down to us.\(^3\)

This concludes a survey of those poems in Purananūru which, according to their colophons, laud minor chieftains. It has been seen that a number of these, such as Aṇci and Pāri, must have been as famous and perhaps as powerful as some of the Muventar. 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 Piṭṭaṅkörren, form a valuable link to connect in time one or other of the Cola, Pāṇtiya 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 Muventar, in many of which the names of their heroes do not appear at all. In over half of the poems

\(^1\) ii,p.463.  \(^2\) 399,11.12,13.  \(^3\) 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 Mûventar, the kings' names appear in 45 poems, or in less than a third of the total number. Of the Mûventar, only the Pântiyar 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 Puranänūru poems to be considered consists of those with defective colophons, or those the cols. to which omit the name of the hero. Two with defective cols. have already been noted, as a chief's name appears in the text of each.

There are 121 of these poems. The bulk of them occurs after Puram. 248, since there are only ten such poems prior to this. Colophons to eleven of these poems 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', Kāvarpentin pāṭtu. 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

1. See Table of Contents of Puram., supra, Chap. III suppl. pp. 91.
2. 355 (Kâṭumān Killi), 383 (Aviyan); v.s. pp. 237 & 264.
given. This group of poems is the work of 81 poets. Of these, 28 or possibly 29 poets are represented nowhere else in Sangam literature. 21 further poets have no other poem in Puram but 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. 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. Only those poems that raise special points of interest or difficulty will here be noted.

Poem 86 is described as Kāvarpēntin pāṭṭu, and the TSS editor and the Samājam editors have taken this to be the name or pseudonym of a poetess. But this verse represents the proud thoughts a realer-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:

"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."

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, Pālakkautamanār, as suggested by Samājam. 3. The authors of vv. 261, 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 tinai and turai suggest, poems of moralistic advice, and poem 192, ascribed in its colophon to Kaniyan Pūhkuran, 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. This passage provides another instance of the use of 'ṉruvaṉ' in the sense of 'the one' rather than the more usual sense of 'someone'.

"When the cruel one armed with the axe comes to bind you,"

The colophons to Puram.186 and the six ensuing moral
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 tinai and turai are given. These are the poems that occur between Puram. 244 and 288, and between 290 and 358, at intervals.

There are numerous variant readings for the author of poem 249, Tumpicokinanăr being that preferred by UVS; the TSS edition has Tumpaicokinanăr. The TSS editor is of the opinion that Tumpai was the modern Tumpaiyūr in Tōntaimanṭalam. He does not state whether Tumpaicokinanăr is an actual MS reading or a surmise based on Tumpicokinanăr.

The poet Mārippittiyār twice uses the word caṭai in the sense of an ordinary mortal's matted hair, in Puram. 251 and 252, and it is striking that in the latter poem he compares caṭai to fronds of the Tillai tree. 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, 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.

1. See Table of Contents, pp. 98ff; the col. to 289 is defective as to tinai & turai. 2. Samājēm groups under Tumpicerkiranār 249 & Kurun. 61 (v.r., id., Tumpicokinanār), Kurun. 315 (v.r., Tumpicerkiran Maturali Velāttan), Kurun. 316 (Tumpicerkiran), Kurun. 320 (id., Tumpicertiran, Tumpimocikiran), 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 Pērumpūtanār, 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. The tiṇai to this poem is given as Karantai, and the turai as Cērumalaital. Poetic themes appropriate to Karantai, basil, worn by warriors recovering cattle stolen by wearers of Vēṭci, are listed in PPVM, but as a separate tiṇai, karantai is not discussed by Tōl., who mentions it in passing, under vēṭci. The turai Cērumalaital, garlanding in battle, corresponds to Pōrmalaithal listed in PPVM as descriptive of opposition to cattle-raiders garlanded with vēṭci. The old commentary quotes PPVM as authority on this point. The colophon writer doubtless considered this tiṇai and turai most suitable to describe the contents of the poem in which Pērumpūtanār 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.

"You have the anklets of a hero and a brightly gleaming sword. Like a lowly woman possessed by Murukan'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."

1. cp. 205; v.s. p. 259. 2. Paṭalam II. 3. Tōl. Pōrul. cū. 60, 1, 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 (Vēṭci), 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
commendation on Tōlkāppiyantar's tenth turai of Vēṭco, "A pōyarttu
TTarutalum," recovery of stolen cattle, which he elaborates as:
"Recovery of cattle, whether stolen by petty chieftains or by
warriors living in the forest." As noted in Chapter II, poem
261 by Āvūr Mūlāṅkilār 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 ...

It is worth noting that, after enumerating the turai
concerning stealing and recovery of cattle, Tōlkāppiyantar, in
Porul. Cūttiram 60, goes on to mention those relevant to the
finding of the king's memorial stone and the consecration of it.
While he quotes this passage in connexion with karantai, Nacc.
does not do so in connexion with Tōl.'s turais concerning the
memorial stone.

Two poems, the tiṇai for which is given as Nōcci, follow
this group of karantai poems. It has already been seen that
Nōcci is not found as a tiṇai in Tōl. Porul. Purattitai, but that
it forms the subject of Paṭalam V of PPVM.

Puram. 274 throws some light on the costume of warriors
which, states Ulōccanār, consisted of:

"A blue belt, a garment fashioned out of flowers and a headdress made of peacock feathers."  

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. The word āṭai 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 Kallir Kaṭaiyattan Vēṇṇākanār 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! "

The tinai for this poem is given as vākai, and the turai as Vallānmullai. Vākai covers praise of a hero at any stage of the battle, and the turai Vallānmullai is explained by Aiyanāritanār as 'the excitement of the many virtues by praise of someone or his family.' Vēṇṇākanār has perhaps executed this

1. Puram. 274, 11. 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 explains⁴ the name of this poet as Vēnṇākanār who lived in Maturai, son of Kaṭaiyattan of Kallil. He states that Kallil was a village in Tōṇṭaimanṭalam². 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, Kallil, rather than the element at the end. It would, therefore, serve to distinguish this Kallil from the one in Tōṇṭaimanṭalam. The whole name would mean Vēnṇākanār, (son of) Kaṭaiyattan of Kallil near Maturai. Vēnṇākanār is known by one other poem only.³

Virai Vēliyanār 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 father of Virai Vēliyan Tīttaṇār, the author of Akam.188.⁵ This in turn raises the question of whether this latter poet was the same as Virai Venmān Vēliyan Tīttaṇ, the Vel chief of Virai mentioned in Narrinai.⁶ Pillai considered him to be the father of Tīttaṇ Vēliyan,⁷ whom he identified with Collan Pērvaikkoppērunarkillī.⁸

Ālattūr Kilār is given as the author of Puram.324, for which the colophon prescribes vēkai and Vallānmullai as tiṇai and turai. But Nacc., in his commentary on Tōl.Pōrul.Purut.cū.⁵, quotes this poem as an instance for Tōl.'s vēṭcitturai "Ar amar

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1. ii,p.227.  2. Presumably on the evidence of the name of Kallil Attireyanār, author of 389 on Naller Mutilan & 175 on Ātanunkan; 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. Nar.58,1.5; v.s.IV,pp.139-40.  7. CET p.75.  8. v.s.IV,p.140.
"ottal," and says that it tells of those who want to help the king.  

The colophon to Param. 326 follows the usual formula for introducing a fresh tinai and turai and states:

"Tinai: Vākai. Turai: Mutinmullai"

Despite the fact that the fourteen poems preceding 326 have all been classified under vākai, albeit with a different turai, Vallānmullai, twelve of the colophons referring back to the colophon to poem 312 and 313 in the usual way:

"Tinaiyun turaiyum avai."

One would therefore expect the colophon to poem 326 to read:

"Tinai: atu. Turai: Mutinmullai."

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 Puram. 326, or that a poem or poems stated by colophons to have been appropriate to a tinai other than vākai preceded 326 and are no longer extant.

The sole poem by Maturai Kkanakkāyaṇār to be included in Param. is verse 330. He was doubtless the father of Maturai kkanakkāyaṇār makanār NakkiRaṇār who wrote about Pāntiyan Namāran who died at Ilavantikai.

The twenty poems of Puram. commencing with poem 336 are given the tinai kāṇci and turai Makatpārkāṇci by the colophons. A turai of this name appears in PPVM, where it is said to signify the refusal on the part of a royal father, for reasons

of lineage, to bestow his daughters in marriage to another king. This is similar to the ninth kāncitturai enumerated by Tōl. in Purat., 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: "Arkaliy inane Conāṭṭ'annal
TSS: "Arkaliy inane Conāṭṭ'annal
kavikai manṭṭal cēlvarāyinum
mannal cēlvarāyinum ēnnaṟ
vāl valatt'ōliya pāṭi ccēṉrār
kavikai vāḻvalatt'ūliya pāñarī
vārō kamalara .............
pāṭi ccēṉrār vara'ror'akamalar
vital āṉā," etc.

"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

L. Purat. cū. 79: "nikarttu melvanta ventanōṭu mutukuṭṭi makaṭpāṭ" aṅciya makaṭpālānum;" see also comm. to Panniru. v. 129, TSS p. 64. 2. 337, 1. 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? "

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 mūvenatar save
Puram.² and Patippu. decade VII, both lauding Ceramān Cēlva-
kkāṭūṅkov 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 'nēṭu 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 calle<
Pontai belonging to Nēṭuvel Ātan in Puram.³ Whether this
person was a particular Vel whose name was Ātan, or whether thi

1. Puram.337. 2. Pēruṅcittiranār, Puram.158,1.4; Purattinai
Nannākaṅār, 176,1.9; Nattattanār, Cīrupān.,11.90,91.
3. 1.4; The usual meaning of pontai is palmyra, e.g. Puram.265,
refers to one of the several Velir who bore the name Atan, it is impossible to say. The place Pontai is mentioned nowhere else in Sangam literature. The TSS editor says it was in the Cola land, but does not give his reasons. He also identifies the author of this poem with Kunrūr Kīōr maṇār Kannattanār, author of Nar.332. No poem by the father, Kunrūr Kīōr, has survived.

Paranār mentions the port of Muciri in poem 343:

"The wealth of this girl is like that of Muciri, where the surf pounds like the sound of drumming. It belongs to Kuṭṭuvan of the bright garland." 4

Muciri is undoubtedly the Mōuziris mentioned in classical sources, and trade with Yavanas there is mentioned elsewhere in Sangam literature. The Kuṭṭuvan of whom Paranār speaks here is probably Cēnkuṭṭuvan, whom he lauds in Patirru, decade V. 7

There has been speculation about the origin of the name Kalāttalaiyār, that of the poet who composed a number of poems in Puram. 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, a poem attributed by its colophon to Antar Naṭūṅkallinār. Were it possible to dispute the colophon,

1. e.g. Ori, called Ātan Ori in 153,1.4; Ātan Elini, Akam.216, 1.14; Ātanunkan, 175,1,1; Villiyātan, 379,1.7; Ātan Alici, 71, 1.13; Ātan is also an element of Ceral nn. 2. ii,p.274. 3. ibid & Samājam, pp.599,600. 4. 343,11.9,10. 5. Periplus, Sec.63; Ptolemy VII,i,8. 6. Akam.149,11.7-11. 7. & 369; v.s. IV,p.199, 8. i.e. vv.62,65,270,288,289,358. 9. 1.17: "See, the warriors with long spears are there, their hair unwashed and reeking of gore," "kulēṅkōnta kurutiyaṅ puravōtu kalāttalaiyar karukatā nēṭuvel inna maravar..." -11.16-18.
it might be suggested that Kalāttalaiyār wrote Puram. 345, and that his phrase-name was taken from it.

In 351, the poet Maturai Paṭaimānka'Manniyār, unknown save for this poem, mentions Vākai, a place belonging to Eyinan.

"Her father is unwilling to give in marriage this girl whose qualities are as fine as Vākai belonging to Eyinan."

This is the only reference in Puram. to Eyinan, who is mentioned in a number of places in Akam. and Kurun. These references state that he was an Ay2 and was the son of Vēliyan3, and it has been noted therefore that he may have been the brother of Tittan.4 He was the enemy of Miñili,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 Rāmāyāṇa, 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 256 inclusive can be connected with a particular hero. There ensues a final group of poems of similar difficulty, poems 361 to 366.

1. Known to Kapilar: "Pukalanta čyyuṭ Kalāttalaiyai...", 202,1.1.
2. Akam.148,1.8; 181,1.7; 208,1.5; 396,1.4. 3. Akam.208,1.5. 4. Nar.58,1.5; v. s. Chaś. IV, p.141. 5. Akam.148,1.8; 396,1.5. 6. Akam.125,Kurun.393. 7. Paruti & mā in 1.1, and tavam (twice) in 1.3.
The author of poem 366 is known as Kotamanar from the fragmentary colophon, which, in some MSS, states that the poem praises Tarumaputtiran. The TSS editor argues reasonably that Tarumaputtiran (to be connected with Dharmaputra) was suggested to the colophon writer by 'Aravan makane' in the text of the poem. But it is perhaps hard to agree with his remark that this poet was the same as Pälai Kkautamanar who wrote about Palyanai Cēlkēlu 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 Puranāndra. 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, 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 Kotamanar, Piramanar, Mērkkanṭeyanar, and Vānākkiyār, the names are clearly of Sanskrit origin. Why

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1. UVS edn., p. 480. 2. ii, p. 336. 3. 366, 1.6. 4. TSS ii, p. 336. 5. e.g. 343, which may have been composed at Cēkkutṭuvan's court, and so contain oblique flattery of his patron by Paranar.
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. Piramañar's poem, Puram. 357, was noted in
Chapter II, where it was seen how little the contents of
his poem fitted the tiñai kāṇci and turai Marakkāṇci, and how
forced, therefore, is the treatment of moralistic poetry
according to the criteria envisaged by the Purattinai.

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 Patirrupu. 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 Patirrupu., 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. Cāmināta Aiyar. With it survived a fragmentary medieval commentary, often extremely cryptic, and Patikams² 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 Pillai, while at the Annāmalai University, has edited ²

1. Literally, 'ten times ten.' 2. Patikam, verse introduction, is connected with Skt. pratikā, 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 Naccinärkk'iniyar and Ilampūraraṇar in quoting from the work. 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, 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. There seems no reason to doubt that the Skt. Kerala preserves an early Dravidian form *Keral with an initial velar plosive. The name Ceramān and the shortened Ceran do not appear in the anthology poems themselves, but are found in colophons. The earliest use of the form Ceran in a text seems to be that in Cil. 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

1. e.g. Nacc. on Tōl. Pōrul. cū. 60, TSS edn. i, p. 164, quotes Patirru. 33 & says: "Ippatirruppattum atu." cp. Nacc., ibid., quoting Patirru. 15: "ennnum Patirruppattum alivu kēriya ātam appāpataṭum;" also Nacc., ibid., pp. 168, 170 etc. cp. Ilam. on Tō Pōrul. 60, quoted by UVs: Patirru. Intro., p. 2. 2. cf. UVs, ibid., p. 3; TSS edn. Intro., p. iii. 3. e.g. Akam. 36, 1. 15; Akam. 209, 1. 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 presumably a form comparable to Colan, Pāṭiyam. Ceramān, Cereal + mān, with the regular elision of final -1 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:

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¹ The patikams are discussed in detail in Chapter VII.
VII  Cēlvakkaṭūṅkōv Āliyātan,   Kapilar
VIII  Pēruṇceral Irumpōrai   Aricil Kīḻar
IX  Iḷaṇceral Irumpōrai   Pēruṇkunrur Kkīḻañ

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 expository 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 "Puṇṇumīḷ kuruti."

This phrase, meaning 'gory wounds' occurs in line 8 of the poem:

"ccēvvāy ēnkam vilankunar aruppav
aruniran tiranta puṇnumil kurutiyan
maṇinīrvav iruvkali nīrniram pēyarntu ..." ¹

The context describes how Nēṭuṇceral Ātān 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 "Puṇnumil 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 tūlāṅk'irukkai," extols the liberality of Cēnkūṭṭuvan 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 tūlāṅk'irukkai
tīṅceru vilāinta maṇinīrav maṭṭam
ompāv Ikai(yin) ......" ²

Colophons are appended to each decade poem. These give

the Turai, Vannam and Tukku for each poem. As already seen, Turai is the poetic theme appropriate to the action or sentiment described in the verse. Vannam is the rhythmic effect of a particular metre, while Tukku helped to determine that metre. The Tukku for all these poems is given as Cəntükku, and it is possible that, to the colophon-writer, this term was synonymous with Akaval, the name of the metre of these poems.

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, it is generally held that, in accordance with its title, this anthology originally contained one hundred poems, and that one of the missing decades is the first. This may be confirmed by the fact that the Kaṭavul vālttu to Patirru. is also lost; it may be presumed that it disappeared together with the opening decade. But a Kaṭavul vālttu quoted by Nacc. is believed by modern scholars to be that originally prefaced to Patirrappattu.

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Supplement to Chapter VI

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CHAPTER VII
PATIRRUPPATU: PATIKAMS

It has been seen that each decade of Patirruppatu is accompanied by a patikam that introduces it and supplements the information contained in it. 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 Cilappatikaram, Aṭiyārkkunallār, is clear from the fact that he quotes from them.

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, and gives the length of his reign.

Save in the case of patikams II and VII, it will be

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.

Neţuńceral Atan, hero of decade II, is mentioned in patikam III as the elder brother of decade III's hero, Palyānai Ceļkēlu Kuṭṭuvan, in pat. IV as the father of Nārmuticceral, in pat.V as the father of Čēkkuṭṭuvan and in pat.VI as the father of Ątukoṭpāṭṭu Ceeralātan.

Cēlvakkaṭuṅkova Āliyātan, hero of decade VII, is named in patikam VIII as the father of the hero of decade VIII, Peruńceral Irumpōrai. Kuṭṭuvan Irumpōrai, probably the same as Peruńceral, is named in pat. IX as the father of the hero of decade IX, Ilańceral Irumpōrai.

In patikams II and VII Neţuńceral Atan's father and Āliyātan's father are given as Utiyańceral and Antuvan respectively. Neither of these is the hero of an extant decade of Patirru., but Utiyańceral is mentioned in a few places in the anthologies. It seems reasonable to suggest that it was Utiyańceral 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

assumption is that the other missing decade is decade X. But it has been noticed that Antuvan is mentioned in patikam VII as the father of Aliyutan, but that no extant decade lauds him. Decades VII to IX laud his successors, just as decades II to VI praise various descendants of Utiyaṅceral, 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 Utiyaṅceral. 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 Utiyaṅceral ... was born a son by Nallini, the Veḻi princess, (daughter of) Vēliyan."  

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 Māntaraṅceral Irumpōrai. 2. This Vēliyan has been noted as a possible father of Āy Eyiṇan; v.s. Chap.IV,pp.140-141 & Table on p.141.
III, lines 1 and 11: "Imaiyavarampan's younger brother (was) ... Palyanai Ccelkeku Kutuvan."

IV, lines 1 to 3 and prose: "The queen, (daughter of) Patuman, the Vel prince of the Avi(yar), ¹ bore a son to Ceral Atan ... Namruticceral."

V, lines 2 and 3 and prose: "To Neuncceral Atan, prince of the Kuavar², ... the daughter of the Cola, Manakkil bore a son ... Cenhkutuvan."

VI, lines 1, 2 and 11: "To Kuakko Neuncceral Atan the queen, (daughter of) the Vel prince of the Avi(yar), bore a son ... Atukopattu Cceralatan."

VII, lines 2, 3 and 12: "The great (=chief ?) queen, daughter of ?Orutantai³ Poraivan, bore a son to Antuvan ... (called) Celvakkatungov Aliyatun."

VIII, lines 1, 2 and 10: "To the truthful Celvakkatun\(\) (Aliyatun) the queen, (daughter of) Patuman, Vel chief of the Avi(yar), bore a son ... Perunceral Irumporia."

IX, lines 1, 2 and 17: "To Kutuvan Irumporia the Vel princess Antuvancellai, (daughter of) the lord of Maiyur, bore a son ... Ilaunceral Irumporia."

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

3. The old commentary suggests Orutantai was a name of her father, Poraivian: TSS edn.p.456. 4. v.i. p.296; cp. Chart of Contemporaries C, supra p.221.
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 prove that a matrilinear system such as that obtaining in Kerala today:

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.

VeŁliyan VemNL Nallini was queen to Utiyaνceral, to whom she bore Nεtυnceral Atan. Since VeŁliyan is masculine in form, it is suggested that this was the name of the queen's father, and that her own was VemNL Nallini, Nallini of the VeL line. Perhaps Cεlkεlu Kuttuvan was also her son, since no other queen is mentioned in patikam III, which merely states that Cεlkεlu Kuttuvan was Imaiyaνarampan's younger brother. This interpretation is followed entirely by Sesha Aiyar. Other writers do not dwell on this queen's name, and none stresses that Cεlkεlu Kuttuvan is called 'tampi', younger brother, of Imaiyaνarampan (Nεtυnceral Atan). Modern writers are generally agreed that the VeŁliyan here mentioned was Tittan VeŁliyan, one of the early Cola rulers, identified with PorvaikkoppėrunaKιll. Difficulties in accepting this have already been discussed.

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.65. 4. v.s. Chap. IV pp.140,141 & Table on p.141. It may be noted that pat. II does not connect VeŁliyan with the Colas in any way whatever.
Veḷ Āvikkomān Patumān Revi is mentioned in patikam IV, and an identical name appears in patikam VIII. In pat. VI occurs the name Veḷ Āvikkomān Revi. 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 Neṭuṇcerald Ātan may have married two sisters. The last possibility is that the queens mentioned in patikams IV and VI as wedded to Neṭuṇcerald Ātan were in fact one and the same person, and that, for this reason the element 'Patumān' 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 Neṭuṇcerald's queen. All modern writers except V.R.R.Dikshitar¹ have assumed that the name of the queen in pat. IV was in fact Patumān Revi, 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 Utīyaṇcerald and those of Antuvaṇcerald Irumpōrai were related by marriage. Possibly by reason of the omission of 'Patumān' in designating the queen mentioned in pat. VI as the mother of Āṭukoṭpattu Cceralātan, most writers have ignored the possibility of sagarbha relationship between that Cerald and Nārmuṭicercerald, who, it is here maintained, were brothers.

By the same hypothesis, these two Cerelars were cousins of Pēruṇcerald Irumpōrai, but V.R.R.Dikshitar alone takes this

¹. Cil. Intro., p.13, table 3.
view. If this hypothesis is accepted, it provides a useful synchronism between the various collateral descendants of Utiyanceral on the one hand and Antuvańceral's descendants on the other. Netünceral was a contemporary of Āliyātan, and, later on, Cēnkuṭṭuvaṇ was a contemporary of Pēruńceral Irumpōrai. Patuman himself was perhaps a contemporary of Utiyanceral and Antuvańceral Irumpōrai.

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 he refers elsewhere to Netünceral Ātan, Patuman's son-in-law according to the evidence just examined. In Akam.1 and 61, Māmūlanār states that Vel Āvi owned the hill of Pōṭini, and the TSS editor of Akam. identifies this with Palani.

Colan Maņakkillī is given in pat.V as Cēnkuṭṭuvaṇ's mother. It is here suggested that Colan is to be understood as a genitive, and that it is not in apposition to Maņakkillī. The name Kiḷḷi is one found among several Colas, and was perhaps 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. Maņakkillī may simply mean 'sweet daughter of Kiḷḷi.'

It should be noted that, in his commentary on Cil.,
Patikam, Aṭiyārkkunallār gives the name of the Cola mother of Cēnkuṭṭuvan as Narconai. The text of the Cilappatikāram only states that Cēnkuṭṭuvan's mother was a princess of the Cola family that claimed Solar lineage, and does not give her name. All that may definitely be stated is that both pat.V of Patirru and a possible accretion to Cil. share the story of Cēnkuṭṭuvan having a Cola mother. The Patirru. patikam does not give her name at all, and only the commentary on Cil. says she was called Narconai. As just noted, V.R.R. Dikshitar reconciled these two sources by postulating Manaṅkkilli as the name of Narconai's father. This cannot be supported by reference to the passage in Patirru. patikam V:

"Kuṭavar komā’ Nēṭuṁceral Āṭāku
Cocola Manaṅkkilliyy Inra makeṇ ...
"

save by postulating omission of a phrase or line after 'Manaṅkkilli' such as "Inra makal." Dikshitar's suggestion is sustained neither by these lines nor by the structure of similar passages in the other patikams.

The mother of Cēlvakkaṭūnkov Āliyāṭan is given in patikam VII as ᪐rūntantaiy Inra makal Pūraiyan Pēruntevi. The element Pūraiyan may be taken to refer to the queen's father; it was one of the Ceral titles and is doubtless synonymous with Irumpōrai. It is hard to follow Sesha Aiyar's suggestion that Pūraiyan is part of the queen's own name. The meaning of the

element 'Õrutantæi' is in some doubt. Sesha Aiyar, following the old commentary on the patikams, 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:

"Nēṭu nun kelviy Antuvark' Õrutantai
Inra makan Pōraiyan pērunteviy inra makan ..."¹

we may take Pōraiyan, while still in a genitive sense, to refer to the queen's husband Antuvan, and translate:

"The son (was) born to the great (=chief?) queen of the Irumpõrai, daughter of Õrutantai, (and) to Antuvan who was of deep wisdom."

Such an interpretation would tend to confirm the assumption that the Antuvan here mentioned was an Irumpõrai, to be identified with the Antuvan'cery Irumpõrai mentioned in the colophon to Puram.¹³

The achievements of the eight Ceral rulers as given in the patikams will now be discussed.

In patikam II, Nēṭuńceral Ātan is said to have carved his bow-emblem upon the Himalaya and to have made the Āriyar submit. He also captured Mútūr. 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. Paranar states:

"The lord of Vańci bound captive kings whose ire was great. He carved his curved bow upon the ancient northern

¹. CK, p. 74. ². TSS, p. 456. ³. 11.2,3.
mountain and thrust back in confusion the Āriyar. "¹

Māmūlanār may well have referred to Nēṭuñceral Ātaṇ when he stated, in Akam.127:

"Ceral Ātaṇ, whose drum proclaims victory, drove back the sea, cut down a Kadamba tree² 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 emblei on the Himalaya 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 Himalayas through their contact with Sanskrit and its literature. For a poet to mention the Himalaya 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 Himalayas, and not to mountains such as the Nilagiris and Shevaroys which contain the Tamil area on its north and north-west flank. 'Imaiyam' appears in several contexts with Āriyar⁷ and with allusions to brahmans or sages.⁸ Who the Āriyar were whom Nēṭuñceral defeated it is impossible to say. There is no reason not to connect Ta. Āriyar with Skt. Ārya, especially in view of the contexts noted⁹ which include references

to the Himalayas as northern mountains. It is just possible
that allusions such as these are poetic exaggerations, and that
Imaiyam and Ariyar stand for the mountains to the north of the
Ceral country and a non-Tamil foe of the Ceralar.

Muthir 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
Nethunceral bound and from whom he seized 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, Palyanai Ccelkelu Kutkuvan is stated
to have established his sway over the Umpal forest. He destroye
the fort called Akappä, burning it by daylight. He stationed
elephants in relays so that, in a single day, he might bathe in
both his seas. He celebrated the Ayirai mountain and, like
Nethumparatayanar before him, left for the forests.

The Umpal forest is located by the TSS editor of
Patirru.\(^3\) 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. Umparkatu is mentioned nowhere else
in Sangam literature save in the prose portions to two other
Patirru 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,
coll.  5. pat.III prose, v.i. p.320; pat.V, prose, v.i. p.322.
lands in the Umpal forest to the poets Kumāṭṭūr Kkaṇṇanār and Paranār for their panegyrics addressed to the Ceralar.

There seems no reason for following the suggestion of N.M. Venkatarama Nāṭṭār, the TSS editor of Cilappatikāram, that 'Akappā' was not a proper name, but merely a word for 'fort'. This word occurs in Cil., and in two anthology poems (apart from the patikam instance just noted). In Canto XXVIII of Cil., Iḷāṅko recalls the glorious achievements of Cēṅkuṭṭuvan's predecessors, one of whom "With a fierce army drove off the foe and destroyed Akappā." In Patirru. III, 22, Pālai Kkautamanār states that Cēṅkuṭṭuvan "destroyed Akappā on the high peak". In Nar. 14, Māmūlanār says that "Akappā that belonged to the Kuṭṭuvan was destroyed by Cēmpiyān, who set fire to it by day." It is worth noting that the phrase 'pakar ri veṭṭu', 'setting fire (to it) by day', in Patirru. pat. III, 1.3 is closely paralleled by 'pakar ri veṭṭa' in Nar. 14, 1.4.

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 that it was taken from a Ceral by the Cēla. 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

1. Cil. TSS, p. 602. A similar meaning for akappā is given by the Ta. Lex., p. 11, col. i. VRDD: Cil., p. 322 translates as 'hill-fort', perhaps recalling 'pēruṅkoṭṭ' Akappā' of Patirru. 22.
2. 11.143, 144. 3. 11.25, 26. 4. 11.3, 4.
meant Cēlkēlu 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 Korravai'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, PalyānaicCēlkēlu, 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 seized 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 Korravai, 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 was

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1. Nētuiceral: Patirru. II, 22, 23, 29; Cēṅkuṭṭuvan: V, 42, 43, 46, 47; Ilānceral: IX, 90. 2. Cil.XXVIII, 11.145-6. 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. 1.6. 6. TSS, p. 455. 7. pat. III, 1.8. 8. e.g. Patirru. 21, 1.29; VII, 70, 1.26.
the seat of some cult. The old commentary on Patirru twice states that the deity who dwelt on the mountain Ayirai was the goddess Körравai. This mountain is identified by the Lexicon with Aivarmalai, nine miles west of Palani.

According to the old commentary on the patikams, Nეţупpăratăyanăr was the purohita of Cēlkēlu 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 Kaṭampiṇ Pēruvāyi 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. It was one of the places where Kōṭuntañil was spoken, according to Cēnāvaraiyar, the 12th century commentator on Tōl. Cōllatikāra. The TSS editor of Patirru locates it in the region of the modern Pēriyakulam, north-west of Maturai.

Kaṭampiṇ Pēruvāyil was the name of Nannan's town according to the old commentary on pat.IV. 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 allude to warfare with him. Nannan is mentioned in a number of

anthology verses. 1 It has already been noted that he is said to have ruled over Kônkānām, rich in gold. 2 He is also stated to have possessed Punnāṭu, 3 and a town called Pāli 4 that seems to have been situated there. 5 He was a foe of Āy Ēyanān 6, and this is consistent with his enmity with the Ceralar when it is recalled that he may well have been related by marriage to Nēţumceral. 7

Nannan's possession of Kônkānām, 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 Patirru, who locates Punnāṭu 9 north of the Ceral country and inland from the modern S.Kanara. Punnāṭu 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 Punnata 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 Muciri, 13 and the Baris, which McCrindle suggested 14 may have flowed into a backwater near Kollam (Quilon).

The possibility of Nannan's Punnāṭu being in the area of the modern Mysore, and his rule over Kônkānām are of importance

in connexion with the phrase 'Kaṭampin Pēruvāyil'\(^1\) 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 Nārmaṭicceral 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 Vaijayant (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 Akamānūru references it appears that the predecessors of the Kadambas were pirates. Māmulanār's statement in Akam.127 has already been noticed.\(^7\) In Akam.347, the same poet states:

"Cāl pēruntānai Cceral Ātaṅ
māl kaṭal oṭṭi kkaṭamp'arutt'iyarriya
paññ amai muracin kaññ atirnt' anna ..."\(^8\)

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1. pat.IV,1.7. 2. v.s. p.306,fn.9; cp. Patirru.88,1.6.
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.kaṇḍa, M. kaṇṭa, Te. gadda; 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. 11.3-5
"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 Cēnkuṭṭuvan.¹

Nannan seems finally to have been defeated by the hero of decade IV, Nārmuticceral, 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:

" ...... kuṭḍatu
irumpūn Vākai ppērunturai ccēruvil
pōlampūn Nannan pōrutu kaḷatt'ōliya
valam paṭu kōrram tanta vāyvāl
Kaḷāṇkāykkāṇṇi Nārmuticceral
ilanta nāṭu tant'anna ..." ²

"Like the lands captured and destroyed by Kaḷāṇkāykkāṇṇi Nārmuticceral 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 that resembled gold that lay in the west."

It is probable that the cutting down of an albizzia mentioned in pat. IV is an allusion to the same event. It may be suggested that 'Vākai ppērunturai' of Akam. 199 is analogous to 'Kaṭampīṇ pēruvāyil' 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. 11.18-23. 3. This name seems to mean 'Ceral of the fragrant chaplet of fibre' but no satisfactory explanation is offered. 4. Vākai, Albizzia lebbek (Mimosaceae). 5. 1.9.
been the emblem of some chieftain, perhaps an ally of Naññan.¹

The information about Nārmuticceral 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 Cēṅkuṭṭurança and clearly is to be referred to Neṭunicceral Ātan.⁴

In patikam V, Kaṭāḷ pirakk'oṭṭiya Cēṅkuṭṭुvaṇa is stated 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 seized the pick of the enemy's cattle and destroyed Viyalūr. Crossing to the other bank, he razed Kōṭukūr 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 quest of Cēṅkuṭṭuvaṇa for stone from which to carve a statue of Pattin. Pattini is explained as Kanñaki by the old commentary.⁵ This exploit forms the subject of a whole canto in Cil., XXVI, called Kālkoṭkātai, Fetching the Stone.⁶ This describes Cēṅkuṭṭuvaṇa's expedition to the north, and its object is mentioned at the end:

"Pōrkott' Imayattu ppōruvaṇu Pattini
kkarkal koṇṭanaṇ kāvalan āṅk'ēn."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 greenish white. 2. v.s. pp.304-5. 3. Cil.XXV,11.1-3. 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,11.253-4.
gilded peaks to fashion an image of Pattini."

In Manimekalai it is stated that Cēnkuṭṭuvan 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. Though the purpose of this stone is not mentioned, it may be observed that Pattini's temple is referred to earlier in the same canto of Mani. The word 'tēyva' as applied to the stone the Ceral brought back is interpreted by at least one modern commentator on Mani, as referring to the stone for the image of the goddess.

It is clear that pat.V of Patirru., Cil. and Mani. all share a tradition concerning the northward journey of the Ceral to fetch a stone out of which to carve Pattini'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 Cēnkuṭṭuvan's northern march or his fetching a stone for an image of the goddess.

The seizure of cattle and destruction of Viyalūr, mentioned in pat.V as another deed of Cēnkuṭṭuvan, appears to be another episode in the struggle between the Ceralar and the Vel chieftain Nannan. Māmūlanār who, as already seen, alludes to the uprooting of emblematic kadamba trees by Ceralar, states

in Akam.97 that Viyalūr belonged to the Veḷḷu Nānṉan.1 This is the only other reference to Viyalūr in Sangam literature. Kōṭukūr, 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 Nānṉan. There is no means of determinin the identity of the river.

It has already been seen that3 Pattu. gives the town of Palaiyān as Mōkūr, and elsewhere in Patirrū. it is stated that the chief of Mōkūr had as his emblem the margosa tree.4 There is therefore no reason to suppose that the Palaiyān whose protecting margosa tree was uprooted by Cēnkuṭṭuvaṇ, as stated in Pat.V, was any other than the lord of Mōkūr. This story is alluded to in Cil.5

Also present in Cil. is the story that Cēnkuṭṭuvaṇ 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 (Cēnkuṭṭuvaṇ's) brother-in-law Vaḷavaṇa 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., Iḷaṇko states:

"You won a victory at Nerivāyil over nine princes who were garlanded with bauhinia."7

There is no way of determining who this Cola was whom Čēñkuṭṭuvan restored to his rightful inheritance. No anthology poem mentions the incident, not even those on Kitori Valavan, though, as was seen, he was in exile for a time and was restored to the throne by Malaiyamān. The commentary of Āṭiyārkkunallā on Čil. does not extend to these cantos, and the only information given by the patavurai is that Nerivāyil, the place of battle, was to the south of Uraiyūṛ.  

The affinity between patikam V of Patirru, and various statements about Čēñkuṭṭuvan in Čil., 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 Mañimekalai.  

In patikam VI, Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralatan is stated to have taken off to Tōṇṭi sheep captured in Tanṭāraṇiyam 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 the old commentary on this patikam says is that Tanṭāraṇiyam was in the Aryan country. It seems hardly likely that this exploit could serve to explain the Ceral's name as Sesha Aiyar suggests. If there were such a connexion, one would prefer to suggest that 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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dancing joyfully upon the field of battle, as Pillai suggests.

There is no reason not to connect Tanțāraṇīyam with the Skt. Daṇḍakārṇya, and this is the only reference to the Daṇḍaka forest in Sangam literature. The seizure of cattle or sheep in this forest by Ātukoṭpāṭṭu Cceralatan is not mentioned either in Cil. or Maṇi., and the story may perhaps be a poetic fancy. Of interest is the mention of Tōṇṭi in connexion with a Ceral who was not a descendant of Antuvanceral Irumpōrāi according to the evidence of the patikams. In the three other places where Tōṇṭi is mentioned in the two puram anthologies, it is in connexion with an Irumpōrāi Ceral king.

In patikam VII, Cēlvakkaṭuṅkō Āliyātan is stated to have granted (the revenues of) Okantar for the worship of Vīšnū 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 Pēruṉceral Irumpōrāi defeated the two kings together with Atikamān on the heights near Mount Kōlli. He destroyed Takaṭūr, scattering the Nōcci flowers worn by the besieged.

Both the battle near Kōlli and the conquest of Takaṭūr were directed against Atikamān; it has already been seen that Takaṭūr, identified with the modern Dharmapuri, may be regarded as having belonged to the Atiyar, and that Kōlli, at one time ruled by Valvil Ori was not far from it. Pēruṉceral's conque

1. e.g. Patirru.VI,56,11.4-8, 57,1.4. 2. CET pp.138-9. 3. Puram.17,1.13, Puram.48,1.4, Patirru.IX,88,1.21. 4. For the wearing of Nōcci by the besieged, v.s. Chap.II,p.62 5. v.s. Chap.V,p.205 & fn.1. 6. cf. Puram.158,1.5. 7. It is said to have been nr. Centamankalam, v.s. Chap.V,p.228
of Takaṭūr is attested by one of the poems of decade VIII,\(^1\) by the colophon to Puram.\(^2\) and probably by Akam.\(^3\) wherein Paranār states that the Kuṭṭuvan of the valorous army captured Takaṭūr.\(^4\) It has been seen that the defender of Takaṭūr was most likely Atiyamān Nēṭumān Añci’s son, Ėlini, whose death forms the subject of Aricil Kilār’s poem Puram.\(^5\) It was the poet who composed Patirru. decade VIII on Pēruḍceral.

In patikam IX, Iḷaṇceral Irumpōrai is said to have destroyed five forts so that the two kings and Vicci were laid low. He conquered the great Colaṇ who ruled Potti and Iḷampalaiyan Māran who ruled Vittai, and gave their riches to help the ancient town of Vaṇci. He considered that his minister, the lord of Maiyūr, was wiser than his purohita.\(^6\) He established the cult of the Bhūta that dwells at the cross-roads.

There is no way of determining who the Cola and Pānti; were whom Iḷaṇceral defeated together with Vicci. Vicci is taken by the old commentary on pat.IX\(^7\) to be the name of a chief. But it has already been seen that a Viccikko and Iḷavicciikko figure in Puram.\(^8\) and that Iḷavicciikko seems to have been descended from Nannan.\(^9\) The TSS editor of Puram. suggests that Vicci was the name of a mountain. Whether this is so, or whether Vicci was a chief’s name, this episode may be taken as a further step in the struggle between the family of Nannan and the Ceral kings already noticed.\(^{10}\)

There is no way of telling from the context whether 'Pēruṇicolaṇ' who ruled Pōtti¹ was a proper name or merely meant 'the great Cola.' Sesha Aiyar² favours the former. The mention of Pōtti in connexion with 'Pēruṇicolaṇ' is striking. It has been seen that³ the poet Pōttiyār was one of the court poets of Kopperuṇicolaṇ; he was probably named after the place Pōtti, and his fellow-bard, Picirāntaiyār, refers to him as Pōtti in poem 212 of Puram.⁴ If we follow Sesha Aiyar's view and take Pēruṇicolaṇ in pat. IX as a proper name, it might be argued that he was the same person as the Kopperuṇicolaṇ who figures in Puram as patron of the bard who came from Pōtti. It has already been suggested that⁵ Kopperuṇicolaṇ may have lived later than the main group of Colas lauded in Puram and other anthologies. The identification of him with the foe of Iḷanceral 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, Iḷampalaiyān Māran, was a feudatory of the Pāṇṭiya if not an actual Pāṇṭiya king himself. It has already been suggested that he was the son of Palaiyān Māran whom Kokkotai Mārpān destroyed at Kūṭal. This is based on the assumption that Kokkotai Mārpān was the same person as Pēruṇiceraṇ Irumpōraṇi, the probable father of Iḷanceral. The place Vittai is not mentioned elsewhere in Sangam Literature.

The mention of Vañci in pat. IX is the only allusion to this place in Patirru. Its occurrence here suggests that the Irumpōral 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 Pērunkaṭunko 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 Pōrunai river that flows outside Vañci. The other three notices of Vañci in Puram. are in poems on Cola kings. Nalankilil is flatteringly offered 'Vañci that does not flower.'3 It is twice stated that Kīḷḷi Vāḷavaṇ destroyed Vañci.4

It has already been suggested that5 Vañci was not the same place as the Karuvūr in Kōṅkunāṭu, 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, it is necessary to explain the persistence of medieval commentato in interpreting Vañci of the poems as Karuvūr.7

It has already been noted that8 Sesha Aiyar mentions modern Karūr pāṭaṇam just north of Kōṅkunōlūr (Cranganore). In this connection it may be observed that, in listing the coastal

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 McCrimo A.I.,p.180. 7. e.g. comm. on Puram.11,UVS p.29; on Puram.32, UVS p.76; on 39,UVS p.93. 8. v.s. Chap.IV,p.181.
towns of Limyrike between the mouths of the Pseudostomos and the Baris, Ptolemy mentions a place called Koreoura. It may be suggested that this represents Karuvūr, with which Vañci was identified. It was perhaps this place which was colonized by Koppēruñceral Irumpōrai, according to col.5 of Puram.

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, Kōṭuṅkolūrkkku ayalatākiya Cēnkunr'ēnnumalai. Atu Tiruccēṅkoṭ'ēnvāvēlēnīn, avar ariyār; ēnnai? Attiruccēṅkoṭu Vañcinakarkku vaṭakīltītūcaikkāṉṇatāy arupatīn kētvār'ūṇṭākālānum, aracanum urimaiyum malaikāṅkuvam ēnnum vantu kaṇṭa anre Vañci pukutālānum atu kūṭāmaiynēnka."

"The Hill. There is a hill on the outskirts of Kōṭuṅkoṭūr called Cēnkunru. Those who assert that it (the hill mentioned in Cil.,pat. line 3) is Tiruccēṅkoṭū are ignorant. Why? That Tiruccēṅkoṭū lies north-east of Vañci and is about sixty kāṭam away. Therefore, it may be said that the king (Cēkkuṭtuvan) 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-Kūravar came to Iḷanko's hermitage. It is clear that people in Aṭiyār.'s day considered Vañci to have been the Kārūr in Kōṅkunāṭu; Tiruccēṅkoṭū is about thirty miles north..."
of that place. It is clear that Aṭiyār considered Vaṇci to have been situated near Kōṭuṇkoḷūr and, as just seen, Ptolemy's Koreoura and the modern Karūr paṭaṇaṃ near Kōṭuṇkoḷūr may be taken as evidence for an ancient Karūvūr near or on the west coast identified with Vaṇci.

It is clear from Periyapurāṇam that, at the time of Cekkilār, a town near Kōṭuṇkoḷūr called Tiruvaṇcaikkalām was the seat of the Pērumāls, and he speaks of it in connexion with Ceramāṇ Pērumāḷ, the Śaiva devotee and friend of Cuntārā. It has been plausibly suggested by Sesha Aiyār and the TSS editor of Puram. that in the name of this place survives the ancient name of Vaṇci. Tiruvaṇcaikkalām is very close both to Kōṭuṇkoḷūr and Karūr paṭaṇaṃ. All are on the backwaters now, and this may have been so in the case of Vaṇci at the time of the anthology poems, since, unlike Tōṇṭi, Vaṇci 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 Vaṇci.

Maiyūr is only mentioned in pat. IX, and nowhere else in Sangam literature. It was already seen that Iḷāṅceral's grandfather on his mother's side is referred to as Maiyūr Kil. Later in this patikam, a Maiyūr Kilān is said to have been Iḷāṅceral's minister. There is no way of locating Maiyūr, but would appear that chieftains of this place were closely connec

with the Irumporai 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.

Kumattur Kkannanar 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 Netunjēñēñ Āțan ruled for 58 years.

No other poetry by Kumattur Kkannanar has survived. From the fact that in the prose to pat.II the grant is referred to as 'Piramatayam' K.Govindan has reasonably surmised that this poet was a brahman. There is a Kumattur near Cittannavē and another near Tinntivanaam, and the latter is favoured as the poet's native place by the TSS editor of Patirru. The Umpal forest has already been noticed.

The prose to pat.III says that Pālai Kkautamanar 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

1. To be conn. w. brahmadāya. 2. GTPV,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 Imayavarampan, Palyanai Cēlkēlu Kuṭṭuvan, was on the throne for twenty years.

It has already been stated that Pālai Kkautamanār has been identified by the TSS editor of Puram. with Kotamanār, named in the fragmentary col. to poem 366 as its author. There is no proof for this especially since, in Sanskrit, Gotama is as admissible a form as Gautama.

The affinity between pat.III and Cil. has already been noted. It is of interest that a similar affinity exists between the prose to pat.III and Cil. Ilanko says in canto XXVIII that

"He (a certain Ceral) enabled one versed in the four vedas who had composed poems to reach the kingdom beyond."

There seems no doubt that Cēlkēlu Kuṭṭuvan is referred to here in a passage that refers to a number of exploits of Ceralar that figure in the patikams already discussed. This shows that the prose passages in the patikams are also indebted for their information to the same tradition as is evident in Cil., for, in the present state of our knowledge, it can hardly be suggested either that Cil. was drawing upon the patikams as a prose of Patirru, or that the latter were indebted to Cil. As already noted, the prose portions to the patikams were known to the medieval commentator on Cil., for he quotes from them.

The prose to pat.IV states that Kāppiyārru Kkāppiyan composed the decade. He was rewarded with a sum of four millic gold pieces and 'a share in the kingdom.' Kaḻaṅkāykaṇṇi Nārmu

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cceral ruled for twenty years.

No other poetry by Kěppiyāru Kkěppiyānār is extant, and no final explanation of his name has been given. The TSS editor of Patirru suggests that pop he may have come from Kěppi āmūr near Vilupuram. Another possibility is that he came from Kěppiyakkuṭi, a village near Cikāli in Tanjore District as the commentator on Cil. states.

The prose to pat.V states that Ĉěnkutţuvan rewarded Paraṇar with the revenue of the Umpal forest and gave him his son, Kuṭţuvan Ceral. The king reigned for fifty years.

The Umpal forest has already been noted, and it was also seen that Sesha Aiyar identified Ĉěnkutţuvan's son with the hero of Puram.54, Kuṭţuvan Kotai. There is no way of proving this; Ĉěnkutţuvan'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 and also a lakh of gold coins called Kānām and took her for hims Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Ćceralstān was on the throne for 38 years.

This poetess, Kākkaiṭiṇiyār N accelāyār, 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 line 6 of Kurun.210:

"Viruntu vara kkarainta kākkaiyatu paliye",

"The crow's caw foretells the arrival of guests."

The prose to pat.VII says that the king bestowed a large amount of kāṇam upon Kapilar saying 'It is but a small gift.' He took him up the hill called Nanrā, and gave him all the land that he could see. Čēlvakkaṭunkov 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 throne 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. Pērunçeral Irumpōra who conquered Takaṭūr ruled for seventeen years.

The prose to pat.IX says that the king joyfully gave the poet Pēruṅkunrūr Kilār sixty thousand kāṇam, saying that he should be so generous as to confound even those of serene minds. He increased the prosperity of the poet's house and village without his knowledge and made secure the riches the poet gained from field and plough. He gave him title-deeds to land, and e a guard of honour. Kuṭakko Iḷançeral Irumpōra ruled for 16 y

None of these three prose passages calls for special mention. The three poets figure in other anthologies, but there is no way of verifying the information given about their rews.

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

1. "'Cirupuram' ēna." This is the only phrase in any 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 the duration of the king's reign. If the figures for this last it are accepted, it will be seen from the genealogical table drawn up on the basis of the information given in the patikams¹ that 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 between these patikams and the epics Cil. and Mañi. This appears at its clearest in Cil. canto XXVIII, wherein the brahman Māṭalan te Čēṅkuṭṭuvan of some of the deeds of Ceral kings. In his speech the deed of only one Irumpōrai as given in Patirru, is mentioned that of Īlaṅceral when he established the cult of the Bhūta on the cross-roads.² 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 away lives indiscriminately but only in a particular order; another Čēra penetrated the golden region of the high mountain in the fertile kingdom of the barbarous Yavanas."³

It may be suggested in conclusion that these two deeds, albeit legendary, may have appeared in the two Patirru. patikams no longer extant, and that, therefore, they may have been feats performed by UtiyaČēral and Antuvāčerial.

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¹ v.s. p. 296. 2. Cil.XXVIII, 11.135-148. 3. v.s. p. 315; men of this in Cil. underlines possibility of Cil. being a later source. From Patirru. Īlaṅceral was later than Čēṅkuṭṭuvan. 4. VRRD trans., p. 322.
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 prañasti, and it will not be necessary to examine all the poems in detail. 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, most modern writers attach equal importance to patikams and decade poems, or are silent about any distinction to be made between them. P.T.S.Aiyangar observes that:

"Modern writers have confused the text of the poems with the epilogues and speak of the whole as Patirruppattu and attributed equal evidential value to the text and epilogue and also the commentary."  

Sesha Aiyar observes that:

"There is no doubt that the Patikam was added later by someone other than the author of the poem ... . There cannot, however, be any doubt about the antiquity of the patikams and the colophons."  

In his ensuing account, Sesha Aiyar quotes freely fro
both patikams and decades without making any distinction other than that afforded by his textual references.

Decade II, by Kumaṭṭur Kkaṇṇanār, is in praise of Imaiyavarampan Nēṭuṅceral Āṭan 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:

"In all the broad land from the famous Imayam where the Āriyar dwell down to the fair southern Kumari people praise you..."

The element Nēṭuṅceral Āṭan appears in full but once in this decade. Elsewhere, the name Ceral Āṭan occurs three times. It will be seen, therefore, that in six of the ten poems of decade II 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 Nēṭuṅceral Āṭan.

His conquest of the people who were protected by the Kadamba tree is mentioned in several places in this decade. As has already been seen, Māmūḷanār probably refers to this Ceral in Akam.127 when he speaks of a Ceral Āṭan who cut down a Kadamba tree. A similar feat was seen to have been credited to another of the Patirru. Ceralar, Nāṟmuṭicceral, in patikam IV. 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.

1. 11.23-25. 2. II,20,1.5. 3. II,11,1.16; 15,1.23; 18,1.12. 4. Poems 12-14,16,17,19. 5. II,11,11,5,12-14; 12,11.1-3; 17,1.5 20,1.4. 6. v.s. Chap.VII,p.302. 7. v.s. ibid., pp.306 ff.
It has already been suggested that Māmūlanār implies both in Akam.127 and Akam.347 that those whose Kadamba tree was uprooted by Nāṭuñceral Ātañ were pirates, since in both poems the Ceral 'drove back the sea.' The suggestion that these people occupied the area to the north of that of the Ceralar, what is now Mysore and S.Kamara 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, ᾳνδρῶν πειρατῶν'. There seems no reason to follow S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Sesha Aiyar when they state that Ptolemy described this area as 'Ariaka andron Peiraton.' Both were possibly following McCrindle 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 ᾳνδρῶν πειρατῶν with which Ptolemy commenced Section 7 as dependent on the heading to the previous section, ᾳριακῆς θανην. Renou is perhaps more straightforward in translating the headings to sections 6 and 7 as 'L'Ariakê des Sadênoi' and 'Chez les Peiratoi' respectively. Sesha Aiyar moreover refers to another writer, whom he does not name, as connecting with Andhra, but there seems no reason to suppose that this word is not the Greek genitive that it appears to be, in apposition to πειρατῶν.

From Ptolemy then, it may be assumed that the area to the north of the Pirate Coast was Ariake. Pillai derives this name from Ta. Ariyarakam, land of the Āryas, as opposed to Damirica, which he connects with Tamilakam. Another possibility is that the name Ariake represents a Greek formation in -kos, -kē, built on ārya-. The Pirate Coast itself lay between Aria and Limyrike, and its southernmost place was Nitraiai, identified by Renou with Naravu, and doubtless the same as the Naura of the Periplus. This throws further doubt on any connexion between the Pirate Coast and Ariake, for Patirru mentions Naravu as a town of the Ceralar. No doubt they capture 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, 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. There are four matters mentioned in general terms which may be noted before considering decade III.

In Patirru, II, poem 14, Nēṭuṇāceral Ātan is mentioned as being opposed by seven crowned kings. This is also said of two other Ceralar who figure in this anthology, Nārmutićceral and Cēṅkuṭṭuvan. Who the seven kings were, however, is not stated.

In poem 16, 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,60,1.12; IX,85,1.8. 6. Ait McGrindle, 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,14,11.11 ff. 9. IV,40, lines 13 ff and V,45,1.6 respectively.
kingdom of a king who was fond of dicing. 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 Neṭuṇceral Ātaṇ elsewhere in this decade. Closely parallel as they are, it is possible that these passages refer to one particular operation.

In Patirru.II, poem 15 there is mention of trade with foreign lands according to the TSS editor's interpretation:

"Kaṭalavuṇ kallavum yārravum piravum valam 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 Palyāṇai Cēlkēḷu Kuṭṭuvan, whose name is found only in the patikam. In the decade itself, he is referred to only as Kuṭṭuvan thrice.

The most noteworthy deed with which this Ceral is credited is the conquest of the Kōṅku country. In poem 22, Pālai Kkautamanār says:

"Yours is the terrifying army well armed with spears that captured the land of the Kōṅkar who are rich in kine."

The Kōṅku 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...
modern Pālaikkāṭu (Palghat). It has already been seen that the Kōṅku 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. It was in this land that Karuvūr, the modern Kārūn, was situated, but as already stated, it is perhaps unlikely that this was the Ceral capital, far removed as it was from their original home on the west coast.

Cēlkēlu Kuṭṭuvan is also addressed as the lord of the Pūlināṭu. This is placed by the TSS editor to the south of the Kōṅku nāṭu, and, according to the commentator on Tōl., Collatikāram, was one of the twelve areas where Koṭuntamil, a term denoting dialect forms of Tamil, was spoken. The same poem also refers to this Ceral as lord of the mountains called Cēruppu and Ayirai. As already seen, the latter has been identified with the modern Aivarmalai, and was the seat of a cult of the goddess Kōrrava. The identification of Ayirai with Aivarmalai is not accepted by Sesha Aiyar, 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 clear

that the Ceral land included this river, which rises in the Travancore Ghats and flows north-westwards to reach the sea near the modern Pāṟūr. ¹ Pillai ² identifies with it the Pseudo-stomos mentioned by Ptolemy. ³ Near its mouth was Mouziris, which as already seen, may with certainty be identified with Muciri, ⁴ the port that belonged to the Kuṭṭuvan. ⁵ Since this name is to be connected with Kuṭṭanāṭu, the region from which so many Ceralars 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 Kāṟūr.

In confirmation of the information conveyed by patikam III, ⁷ poem 24 of this decade speaks of Cēlkēlu Kuṭṭuvan'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 Patirru, in being composed according to the structure known as Antāṭi. ¹² In Antāṭi, 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, ¹¹. ⁷-¹¹, wherein the river on which Muciri was is called "Culliyam periyāṟu." (1.8) The Samājam edn., however, does not regard 'periyāṟu' as a proper name here; the TSS editor of Akam, ¹¹, p. ⁵⁹, says that Culliyam and Periyāṟu were both names of Muciri's river. ⁵ Puram. ³⁴³, ¹¹. ⁹. ¹⁰. ²¹, ¹¹. ¹¹. ¹². Skt. anta' ādi.
words of the first poem of Patirru. decade IV are:

"Por miku kurici'nl màntanai palave."

The first line of the next poem is:

"Màntanai palave por miku kurici'nl"

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 halves of the line. The antāti, however, consists of the repetition of "màntanai palave," and it will be seen that, in most cases, only the last two words or two feet are repeated. To accord wholly 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 was 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 occurred after the tenth and that one of them ended with the words found at the beginning of poem 31. It is possible that this composition was reduced to ten poems by the compiler of this anthology to fit 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, but does not remark upon the deviation. He surmises from the structure itself that:

1. IV, 31, 1, 36. 2. 32, 1, 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 Akanāṇūru and Puranāṇūru collections. ... I am sure this device of a later versifying period did not exist at the time when the poets of the Akanāṇūru 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 Kālāṅkāykaṇṇi Nārmuticceral, and is by the poet Kāppiyāṟṟu Kkāppīyaṇār. 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 fibre. This name is attested in full in the decade itself³ and in Akam.⁴ The king is twice addressed as 'Nārmuticceral'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 'Vāṇavarampan'.⁷ This latter title is also used in Patirru of Āṭukoṭpāṭṭu Cerialañtān⁸ 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, Kāppiiyaṇār says that the king destroyed the power of Neṉumi-jāl with a host of elephants. The old commentary states⁹ that Neṉumi-jāl was of the Aṇci family, and this is followed by modern writers. The TSS editor is of the view that Neṉumi-jāl is referred to by name in Akam.266 as a

1. CET,p.36. 2. Tālai: Pandanus odoratissimus. 3. IV,38,1.4. 4. Akam.199,1.22. 5. 39,1.17; 40,1.16. 6. 1.8: 'Cēyal amai kaṇṇi...'. 7. ibid. & 1.12 respectively. 8. Pat.VI,1.6; VI,58, 1.12. 9. UVS p.47. 10. Sesha Aiyar: CK p.17; TSS ed. p.149.
contemporary of Ėvvi, lord of NIṣṭūr. The TSS editor of Akam, however, does not see in the use of the phrase 'neṭumīṭal' in Akam.266, line 12, anything more than the ordinary meaning of 'great valour.'

In poem 40, Kāppiyanār says that Nārumuṭiccereal cut down the vākai, albizzia, that belonged to Nannan. It has been seen that Akam.199 refers to a battle at Vākai ppēruntau at which Nārumuṭiccereal 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, but it is not clearly stated therein that the tree, literally or figuratively taken, actually belonged to Nannan.

Poem 31 states that Nārumuṭiccereal worshipped the feet of the Lord garlanded with basil. This is taken by the old commentator 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 Paranār, the king praised is Kaṭal pirakk'oṭṭiya Gēṅkuṭṭuvan, the glorious Kuṭṭuvan who drove back the sea. The significance of this title has already been discussed. It was suggested that both Netuṅiccereal Ātan and Gēṅkuṭṭuvan were engaged in warfare with pirates; that their emblem was the Kadamba tree is clear from Akam and it may be

1. TSS edn., p.149. 2. Akam.,TSS edn.,ii.,p.292. 3. 11.14,15. 4. v.s. Chap.VII,p.309. 5. 1.9; v.s. ibid., pp.306,309. 6. Patirru.IV,31,1.8 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 Viṣṇava 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 Nārmuticceral was also engaged in warfare against them, since he is reported to have defeated Nammān, and the destruction of 'Kaṭampin pēruvāyil' is mentioned in patikam IV.

The name of Cēnkuṭṭuvan as given with his title in the pat. to decade V does not appear in the decade, but is echoed by "Kaṭal oṭṭiya vēl pukal Kuṭṭuvan", a phrase used of the king by Paraṇar in poem 46. The element Kuṭṭuvan appears in three other places in the decade.

In two places Paraṇar says that Cēnkuṭṭuvan overthrew the lord of Mokūr. In poem 44, he says that Cēnkuṭṭuvan was able to count on the friendship of Arukai though he was far off. Th TSS editor says 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. The grounds for the identification subsist only in Patirru. V, poem 44, wherein Paraṇar says that the lord of Mokūr was protected by a nīm tree. This lord may or may not have 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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Mokūr, but Pillai identifies it with the Magour mentioned by Ptolemy. Ptolemy says that Magour was one of the inland cities of the Paralia of the Soretai. The last element may clearly be connected with Coia, and in the same list Ptolemy includes 'Orthoura, the royal city of Sornagos' which McCrindle reasonably identifies as Uraiyūr. If Mokūr were indeed a town in the Coia country, this would explain the statement of Paranā that Cēnkūṭṭuvān's ally in his campaign against the lord of Mokūr was the far-off Arukai.

Like Nētuńceral Ātan, Čēnkūṭṭuvān is said to have defeated seven kings and to have had their crowns fashioned into an ornament for his breast.

The feat of driving back the sea, commemorated in this Ceral's title and already discussed, is mentioned in three places in decade V.

Decade VI, by the poetess Kākkaiptīniyar Naccellīsiyar, is in praise of Āṭukōṭpāṭṭu Ĉēralātan. 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. The only other mode of address used of him is Vāṇavarampan.

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 iranḵum pauvattu

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,45,1.6. 6. v.s. pp.308-9. 7. V,42,11.21-3; 46,1.12, v.s. p.335; 48,1.4. 8. v.s. pp.313-4. 9. VI,58, line 12.
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. It is mentioned in one other place in this anthology, and nowhere else in Sangam literature. As already noted, it seems reasonable to connect with Naravu the Nitraiai of Ptolemy and the Naura of the Periplus. Both of these mention Nitraiai or Naura as being north of Tyndis, Tōnti, 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. In the Periplus, however, Naura and Tyndis are called the first markets of Damirica; 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.

In his edition of the Periplus, Schoff identifies

1. VI, 55, 11. 3-6. 2. VI, 60, 1. 12. 3. IX, 85, 1. 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 Tōnti, v.s. Chap. IV, p. 138. 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 was unlikely because of pirates. Pillai, however, prefers Yule's identification of Naura with Mangalore which is on the Netra River. In effect, Pillai suggests a connexion between the names Naura and Nitraiai in the classical sources and Netra River 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 Tonti.

It remains but to notice that Sesha Aiyar identifies with Athukotpattu Ceralatan the foe of Karikal who is named as Perunceralatan in the colophon to Puram. It has been seen that Karikal fought a battle at Venchi and that, from the evidence of Puram, colophons 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). Karikal was obviously the contemporary of his opponent at Venchi, Perunceralatan.

2). Paraanar has also sung of Karikal in Akam. 3). Paraanar praises Cenkutuvan who, according to Patirru, was a collateral Ceral with Cenkutuvan and who may have been a younger ruler. Thus both Paraanar and Karikal must have been close in time to Cenkutuvan and Athukotpattu Ceralatan.

Pillai does not support this identification since he postulates two Karikals, one before Paraanar, the other after. Difficulties in accepting this hypothesis have already been discussed. He asserts that the name Perunceralatan in the col.

to Puram. 65 is a misreading of Pēruṇcerraṭan, another title, he says, of Pēruṇcerraṭitiyan Ceralātan, hero of Puram. 2.

The whole argument is inconclusive. Since it is a prāṣasti written in the king's lifetime, decade VI of Patirru does not tell us about Āṭukoṭpatṭu Ceralātan's end, and therefore cannot be used to support or refute Sesha Aiyar's identification of him with the foe of the Cola Kārikāl. It has already been noted\(^1\) that the title Āṭukoṭpatṭu as given in the patikam to this 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, Nēṭuṇceral Āṭan.

The remaining decades of Patirruppattu are in praise of Ceralar who were descended from Antuvan who, like Utiyānceral, is only mentioned in Patirru in a patikam. He appears in pat.VI as the father of Cēlvakkaṭuṇkō 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 Cēlvakko and also Āṭan.\(^3\) In poem 65 he is addressed as Cēlvan, perhaps recalling his actual name, though the word may merely carry its usual meaning here. In poem 67, the hero is called Cēlvakkoman.\(^4\)

\(^2\) v.s. Chap.IV, pp.182-3.  
\(^3\) 11.16 & 21, the latter being the "vāliy Āta'vāliya palave." o which his name may have been based; v.s. p.182.  
\(^4\) 1.23.
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 Cola or their vassals. No details at all are given.

Kōṭumāṇam is mentioned in poem 67³ as belonging to Āliyātan. Sesha Aiyar⁴ identifies this with Kōlumam, which is near Dharāpuram in Coimbatore District. If his identification is correct, it suggests that the Irumpōrai Ceralar ruled lands to the east of the Ghats at that time.⁵

Pēruñceral Irumpōrai, 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 Pōraiyan.⁶ In one place,⁷ he is called Kotai Mārpañ and it is possible that he was the same as the king lauded under this name in Puram.⁸ There, Pōykaiyār gives Kotai Mārpañ’s town as Tōnti,⁹ which belonged to the Irumpōrai.¹⁰ Moreover, the same poet elsewhere refers to his patron as Pōraiyan,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 Pōykaiyār’s poems and Patirru, therefore, it is suggested that the names Pōraiyan and Kotai Mārpañ both refer to Pēruñceral Irumpōrai.

The destruction of the stronghold of the Atiyar¹² at Takaṭūr, mentioned in the patikam to decade VIII is referred to

in the decade itself. As noted in his edition of \textit{Puram.}, by Avvai Turaicāmi Pillai, there is now a place near Dharmapuri called Ataman Koṭṭai, fortresses of Ataman. This name is perhaps to be connected with Atiyanām.

In poem 71, Pēruṇceral is said to have reduced Kaluvul to submission. Kaluvul was rich in cattle and his town was called Kāmūr. He was also defeated by Īlaṇceral Irumpōrai. The TSS editor, presumably on the basis of the reference to cattle poem 71 of \textit{Patirru.}, follows the old commentary in regarding Kaluvul as an Itaiyar chief.

Elsewhere in decade VIII, Pēruṇceral is hailed as lord of the Pūlināṭu and of Mt. Kōlli in one hyperbole, he is even acclaimed as lord of Pukār, the Cola town.

The last extant decade of \textit{Patirru.} is, according to its patikam, in praise of Īlaṇceral Irumpōrai, and is the work of Pēruṅkunrur Kilār.

The title 'Īlaṇceral' is not attested by the decade, but that of 'Irumpōrai' is. Like Pēruṇceral before him, he is called Pōraiyān and lord of the people of the Pūlināṭu. He is also called lord of the Kuṭṭuvar. 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 \textit{Patirru}. decade V as a title of its hero, Cēṅkuṭṭuvan.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{1.} VIII,78,1.9.
\item \textbf{2.} Puram., TSS edn., ii, p.98.
\item \textbf{3.} 1.17.
\item \textbf{4.} ibid.
\item \textbf{5.} Akam.135,113; Akam.365,1.12.
\item \textbf{6.} UVS,p.121.
\item \textbf{7.} Itaiyar, cow-herd. Pillai suggests, CET,p.168 & ff., that Ta. itaiyān is represented in Aśoka's Shahbazgarhi Edict, E.I.,II,p.471 by Hīḍa rāja.
\item \textbf{8.} 73,1.9.
\item \textbf{9.} 73,1.11.
\item \textbf{10.} 73,1.9.
\item \textbf{11.} IX,89,1.9.
\item \textbf{12.} IX,84,1.6;86,1.3;87,1.5.
\item \textbf{13.} 84,1.6;90,1.27.
\item \textbf{14.} 90,1.26.
\item \textbf{15.} e.g. 42,1.8 & 43,1.11.
\end{itemize}
Ilañceral 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, Tōnti an 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 Morounds as an inland town of the Aioi. McCrindle\(^6\) states that Morounds has not been identified. Ptolemy's statement seems to conflict with Patirru on two counts, but the similarity of Morounds and Marantai is striking. It is possible that the two discrepancies may be resolved as follows. Patirru, IX, 90, 1. 28 says:

"Irañku nīr parappin Marantaiyor pūrana," 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

\textsuperscript{1.} IX, 85, 1. 3. \textsuperscript{2.} v.s. p. 337 & p. 328. \textsuperscript{3.} IX, 88, 1. 21 & 90, 1. 28 respectively. \textsuperscript{4.} Akam. 376, 1. 16 & Kurun. 34, 1. 6. \textsuperscript{5.} Ptolemy, VII 1, sec. 87; A.I. p. 180. \textsuperscript{6.} A.I. p. 182. \textsuperscript{7.} p. 447. \textsuperscript{8.} v.s. p. 331 fn. 6. \textsuperscript{9.} Ptolemy, ibid., sec. 8, 9, 86 & 87.
Marantai should not have changed hands in warfare between the Ceralar and the Ay chiefs. The connexion between these chiefs and Īṭaiyar, cowherds, has been noticed and it has just been observed that Iḷaṇceral defeated Kālувuḻ, who is taken to have been one of the Īṭaiyar 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.

Iḷaṇceral was also lord of the Kōṅkunāṭu and is compared to the Vāni river 'down which float sandal logs.' The TSS editor takes this to refer to a river that rises in the Nīlagiris, and Sesha Aiyar identifies Vāni with the Bhavānī which is a tributary of the Kāviri rising in the Nīlagiris and flowing to the north of Coimbatore. This is the region of the Kōṅkunāṭu, and it is reasonable to identify the Vāni with the modern Bhavānī.

It is possible that Iḷaṇceral recruited troops from areas outside the Tamil land, as, in poem 90, Pēruṅkunrūr Kīlar says that many tongues are to be heard in the king's camp.

It remains but to observe that there are a few verses not found in the text of Patirruppattu as extant, but which are quoted in the commentary to Tōlkāppiyam, Pōruḷatikāram, as being poems of Patirru. Neither Dr. U.V. Cāmināṭa Aiyar nor his successors have been able to locate these verses in the extant work. It is possible that they belong to the two missing

1. Ay: v.s. Chap. V, pp. 214-215. 2. p. 215. 3. IX, 88, 1.19 & 90, 1.25. 4. 86, 11, 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. 11. In Sangam poems, however, this seems to be represented by An Pōrūṇa v.s. Chap. IV, pp. 178 ff. 10. UVS p. 2; TSS p. 456.
decades. They are of no special interest, as they mention neither 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 chief events narrated in patikams and decades have been summarized in the accompanying table. 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 part in the decades.

From the places mentioned in Patirru, it is possible to 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 Coimbatore 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.

Table showing chief events commemorated in Patirruppattu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pat:</th>
<th>Dec:</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| II. | Imaiyavarampan Nēṭunčeral Ātan.  
Carved bow-sign on Himālaya, made Āriyar submit and seized a booty of diamonds; punished captives.  
Ceral Ātan, Nēṭunčeral Ātan.  
Destroys Kadamba tree; opposed by seven kings. Trade with foreign lands. Destruction of woodland fort of king who was fond of dicing. | Ceral Ātan, Nēṭunčeral Ātan.  
Conquest of Kōhkunāṭu. Lord of Pōlināṭu. Study and practice of brahmanical ideas. |
| III. | Palyānai Cēlkēlu Kuṭṭuvan.  
Conquest of Kōhkunāṭu. Lord of Pōlināṭu. Study and practice of brahmanical ideas. |
| IV. | Kalankāykkanni Nārmuṭicceral.  
Kalankāykkanni Nārmuṭicceral, Nārmuṭicceral, Vānavarampan.  
Conquest of Kōhkunāṭu. Lord of Pōlināṭu. Study and practice of brahmanical ideas. |
| V. | Kaṭal pirakk'ōṭṭiya Cēṅkuṭṭuvan.  
Sought stone for Pattini statue. Defeated Āriyar and bathed in Ganges. Destroyed Vīyalūr and Kōṭukūr.  
Conquest of Kōhkunāṭu. Lord of Pōlināṭu. Study and practice of brahmanical ideas. |
| VI. | Ātukotpattu Cceralātān.  
Captured sheep in Tanṭāraniyam and took them to Tōnti. Bestowed them and a town in Kuṭanāṭu to brahmans.  
Vānavarampan. (Tuṇaṅkaiy Āṭiya valam paṭu komān).  
Sea trade. | Vānavarampan. (Tuṇaṅkaiy Āṭiya valam paṭu komān).  
Sea trade. |
| VII. | Cēlvakkatuṅkov Āliyāṭan.  
Granted revenue of Ōkantūr for Viṣṇu-worship.  
Cēlvakkko, Āṭan, Cēlvakkkomān.  
Victory over the two kings. | Cēlvakkko, Āṭan, Cēlvakkkomān.  
Victory over the two kings. |
| VIII. | (Takaṭūr ērinta)Pēručeral Irumporai.  
On Kōlli's heights defeated two kings and Atikāmān. Destroyed Takaṭūr.  
Pōraiyan, Kotai Mārpan.  
| IX. | (Kuṭakko) Ilañceral Irumpōrai.  
Destroyed 5 forts, defeating two kings. Bhūta cult.  
Pōraiyan, Irumpōrai, Māntaraṇ, Kuṭṭuvar eru. | Pōraiyan, Irumpōrai, Māntaraṇ, Kuṭṭuvar eru. |
CHAPTER IX
THE AKAM ANTHOLOGIES

It was observed in the Introduction that the old commentary on Iraiyanar Akapporu includes a list of fourteen titles of literary works belonging to the third caṅkam, and that nine of these titles may be related to extant works, one of which is the 'grammar' Tolkāpiyam.

The other eight in the list refer to the eight anthologies, and, to recapitulate, the list is:

Nṛntōkainānūru, Kuruntōkainānūru, Narriṇainānūru, Purānānūru, Aiṅkurunānūru, Patirṛuppattu, Nūrr'aimpatu Kali, Ḫulpatu Paripāṭal.

As already seen, 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 Patirṛuppattu, are akin in subject-matter to the first three titles. Patirṛu. 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 readily be seen that these works fall into two groups. In the first come Nṛntōkai (Akanānūru), Kuruntōkai and Narriṇai, and in the second Aiṅkurunānūru, Nūrr'aimpatu Kali (Kalittōkai), and Ḫulpatu Paripāṭal (Paripāṭal). In the latter group, Paripāṭal is an anomaly, inasmuch as, although classified like the other five as

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 Puranāṇūru, 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. The second is that the poem should be within certain limits as to length. Long poems are found in Akam., hence the alternative name Neṭuntōkai. Poems of intermediate length are included in Narrinai, while the shortest are found in Kuruntōkai, hence its name. The exact limits have already been noted.

Like Puram., these three anthologies are prefixed by Kaṭavul vālttu, invocatory verses, ascribed to Pāratam pāṭiya Pēruntevēnār. The possible date of this poet has already been discussed, 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 Kaṭavul vālttu prefacing Akam. is in praise of Śiva. That to Narrinai 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;"

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. His is the long spear that split open the Kauñca mountain. May he whose banner carries the cock-embles protect me and to the world be a daily refuge."

No poem belonging to the body of any of the anthologies 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 noted 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.

1. Kunri: Abrus precatorius; also a jewel resembling its seeds.
and Patirru., 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.

It is to be expected that people and events commemorated in the puram collections should be mentioned, albeit incidentally 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 Vēṇṇi fought by Karikāl and the carving of the Ceral bow-emblem upon the Himalaya by Ceral Ātan. It may be stated that such references in the other akam anthologies Aṅkurunurū, Kalittōkai 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 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.

Akanāṇūru is unique among the four anthologies of four hundred poems in that it is divided into three parts. These are entitled Kaḷirrīyāṇai Nirai, containing verses 1 to 120, Maṇimiṭai Pavaḷam, containing verses 121 to 300 and lastly Nittīlakkovai. Whether these subdivisions were envisaged by the person

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.199,1.22; 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 Naccinärkk'ınıyar 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 Kalirri-
yänai Nirai, the Rank of Bull Elephants. In Manimîtai Pavalam, 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 Uppûri Kilâr,³ under the patronage of Pântiyânan Ukkira Pêruvaluti.⁴ It is possible that this was the same person as Kânapperëyîl kaţanta Ukkirappëruvaluti 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 Kânapperëyîl, his name is given as the author of Narrinai ⁹⁸. This is not the sole case of a king who figures in Sangam literature being associated with the

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compilation of an anthology, for, as will further be noted, the Ceral Yānaiñkaṭcey Māntaramceral Irumpōrai is traditionally regarded\(^1\) as having patronized Kāṭalār Kīlār, compiler of Aṅkurunūru. 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 Puram. One might even infer, from its 'family likeness' to these three akam collections, that Puram also was compiled at that time; as already observed,\(^1\) 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 'Kuripp'urai.' Portions of this anthology were first produced in a printed edition in 1920 by V. Irācakopāla Aiyāṅkār.

Like Puram, the verses of Akam are accompanied by colophons that give certain information about them. The name of the poet is given, the Akattinai 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 Pāntiya Ukkirappēruvaluti, is stated by its colophon to portray the tiṇai Marutam.\(^2\) The colophon further

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\(^1\) From Urippūrul of Quarrelling; v.s. Chap. II, pp. 24 & 28-9.

\(^2\)
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 Ppërualutü 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 thornbush 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 ornamented with beauty spots will not come for my child, who is therefore cross. Moreover, my lord is afraid lest my sweet milk should fall 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."  

Another example of the Akam. colophons is that to poem 36. This says that the author was Maturai Nakkirar, and that the tinai 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 Nēṭumcēliyan at Talaiyālaṅkānam. Nakkirar makes his heroine speak to her lover as follows:

"O lord of the village! 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, its jaws gaping, will not yield to the pull of the fisherman's line. It threshest 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. It is situated near the broad sands of the Vaivyai 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 siegeure of the war-drum and white parasol when, in one day, seven foes were defeated by Čeliyan. Mounted upon his beflagged chariot, drawn by steeds,

1. v.s. Chap. IV, pp. 154-5. 2. Ūran; one of the Attributes of Marutam; v.s. Chap. II, p. 29. 3. Varāl: Ophiocephalus marulius, Lex. 4. Marutam; another Attribute of Marutatinnai.
their manes trimmed, he raged upon the field of Ālahkāṇām,\(^1\)
destroying the Ceral and the Cēmpiyăn,\(^2\) wrathful Titiyan, Ėlini
of the bright ornament and valorous war-elephant, Ėrumaiyūraṇ
from the place famous for sweet-smelling toddy, Iruṅko Vel whose
chest was fragrant with sandal-paste, and Pōrunan of the fine
chariot." 3

All five of the tiṇai pertaining to normal love figure
in Akam., but there is no instance of Kaikkilai or Pēruntinai
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 Tōl.Pōrul.Akat., cuttirams 50 and 51, dealing
with Kaikkilai and Pēruntinai, Nacc. draws only upon Kalittōkai,
wherein all poems are allotted to one of the five tiṇai Pālai,
Kuriṇći, Marutam, Mullai and Neytal. But similar instances occur
in other Akam anthologies, and an example from Kurun. has alread;
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 kuriṇći 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. Talaiyālaṅkāṇām: v.s. Chap.IV,pp.152,154-161. 2. Cola, 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 Kaikkilai: Kali.58 &
61 (Kuriṇćiikkali); for Pēruntinai: Kali.139 (Neytarkali), 64 &
7. v.s. ibid.,p.34. 8. Akam.322,11.3,4; see UVS Kurun.,p.46.
Erukkam, used by unrequited lovers as a garland when riding the hobby-horse made of palmyra, is mentioned in passing in Akam. 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 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 kuriṇci. Almost all his extant love poems are about kuriṇci subjects, and every one of his poems included in Akam. is on kuriṇci, 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

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 Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinattu Kkāṅkkaṅnaṅnār, whose three poems in Akam. 3 are all on pālai, and Ėrukkāṭṭūr Ttāyan-kaṅnaṅnār, six of whose seven Akam. poems 4 are about pālai with its urippōrul of Separation.

The poet Iṭaikkāṭanār 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., Manimitiṭ 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 Töl. as study, warfare and embassy. 6 'Vinai' in this colophon might refer to any of these, or even to the search for wealth, an additional cause for separation noted

by Töl. Iruttal, awaiting, is here depicted as afflicting the lover; the previous examples noticed 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 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." ¹⁴

It is possible that, especially in the case of the large number of kurinici 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 kurinici. ⁵ Such allocations are not noticed in the case of all poets however; for example Paranar's poems do not, from their colophons, exhibit any bias to one tiṇai rather than to another. ⁶

¹ Töl. Pōrul. Akatt. cū. 33. ² v.s. Chap. II, p. 27. ³ Mullai. ⁴ Akam. 284. ⁵ Especially, perhaps, Kuriṇcikkali, though doubts of a similar kind have been expressed about Kali; vide Pillai: CET, pp. 36-37. ⁶ There are none on Nēyṭal in Akam attributed to Paranar; of his 34, 12 are on marutam, 15 on kuriṇci, 4 on pāḷai, 1 on mullai.
The next anthology according to the list in the comm. on Iraiyanār Akappōrul is Kuruntōkai. 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 Nēṭuntōkai.

Alone among the anthologies containing four hundred poems, Kurun. exceeds that figure in containing 401.² It has already been suggested³ 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.

Kuruntōkai is accompanied by a note giving the tradition as to its compiler.⁴ This says that the anthology was made by Purikko,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 Naccinārk'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 Tōl., Akat.,⁸ it may be inferred that Perācirīyar 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 Ayyāṅkār, 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.

1. v.s. p.347. 2. Its Kaṭavul vēlittu 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 Purikko was the patron of the compiler, who is no known. This would be an unusual meaning of 'Ittōkai muṭittān Purikko.' 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 Koppērunicolan\(^{1}\) 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 tinai 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 Pēruntinai are considered under one or other of the five 'normal' tinai. 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 tinai are not grouped together. The same association between the name of the poet Kapilar and poems about kuriñci that was seen\(^{4}\) in connexion with Akam. is noticeable in Kurun.\(^{5}\)

The third anthology of Akam. poems compiled on the basis of the number of lines contained in the poem is Narrinai. Verses in it are intermediate in length between those of Akam. and those of Kurun., and perhaps for this reason, the name of the anthology is not linked to this feature of verse length; it means 'The good (Akat)tinai.'

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 kuriñci. His Kurun.246 is on neyttal.
The extant text of Narinai does not include Nar.234, and this is the only other anthology among those containing 400 poems that is deficient in this way. However, it has recently been suggested that a poem cited in the commentary to IA, cūṭiram 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 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 Māraṇ Valuti. Nothing is known of this king. He is identified by Pillai with Pacumpūn Pāṇṭiyan, who, says Pillai, was 'Nēṭuḍcēliyan II.' Difficulties in accepting these identifications have already been discussed. Pannāṭu tanta Pāṇṭiyan does not appear in any extant poem, and Pillai's statement that this name occurs in Akam.253 is quite erroneous. The relevant line, 5, is:

"Nāṭu pala tanta Pacumpūn 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, Pinnattur A.Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar, and his edition was first published in 1914. This was recently republished by the Śaiva Siddhāntam.

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 kuriṇci is also to be observed in this anthology. 1

One of Kapilar's kuriṇci 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 (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 kuriṇci poem by the poetess Auvaiyār, who was noticed in connexion with her verses in praise of her patron, Atiyamāṇ Nēṭumāṇ Aṇci. 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:

1. See List of Poets, p.489. 17 of Kapilar's 20 poems in Nar, are about kuriṇci subjects; exceptions are Nar.59 (mullai), 267 (nēy); 320 (marutam). 2. Sandal: an attribute of Kuriṇci; Nacc., Tōl. pōr 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 terrifying the snake and making its hood quiver."

It is clear that there is no divergence between the three anthologies of love poems, Akam, Kurun, and Nar, and that, as their compilers envisaged, they are solely distinguished 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 Puram, though it has been seen 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 Puram 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

1. Yāmam, one of the Mutarpōrul (Time and Season) appropriate to Kurińci; vide Tōl. Pōrul. Akat. cū. 6. Mention of the rains, suitable for mullai, explained as Mixture of Tiṇai; Tōl. ibid., 12 2. Nar. 129. 3. v.g. Chap. III, pp. 68 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 Aṅkurunūru will shortly be noticed.¹

Paripātal 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 Paripātal 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 Patirrappattu, the akam anthologies known as Aṅkurunūru and Kalittōkai 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, kuriṇci, pālai, mullai, nēytal and marutam. The sequence in which the portions treating of these five follow is different in each case. The five parts of Aṅkurunūru each contain one hundred verses, but those of Kali are of unequal length.

Both anthologies are preceded by Kaṭavul vēlttu; since both are addressed to Śiva it will be convenient to consider them together. The invocation preceding Aṅkurunūru is attributed to

¹ v.i., p.369.
Paratam pāṭiya Pēruntevanār, already noticed as the author of the invocations prefixed to Puram, Akam, Kurun, and Nar. 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 Puram, is included in the numbering of the poems. Thus, the anthology proper starts with Kali. In the Kali invocation, reference is made to Śiva burning the three citadels, and to his blue throat. He danced the dance called Kōṭukōṭṭi while the drum throbbed. Watched by Pārvati, Śiva danced the Panṭarāḥkam. He wandered as a beggar, Kāpāli, and carried the skull as a begging-bowl.

Of all the kaṭavul vālöttu 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 Tirumūram and in other literary sources. The general theme of this invocation, in alluding to Śiva's dances and Bhairavl, suggests that he is being invoked in his

form of Naṭarāja, lord of the dance, the mūrti worshipped at Cidambaram.

The anthology called Aiṅkurunūru 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 tināi of reciprocal love. The order in which they occur is: Marutam, Nēytal, Kurinći, Pālai and Mullai. Thus, this order of treatment differs both from the order in which the akattināi are discussed in Tōl. and in Kalittōkai.²

Each century of Aiṅkuru. is subdivided into ten decades. Each of these describes some subject connected with the tināi 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 "Vāliy Ātan, vāliy Avini."

Repetition of half-line only is very common. For example, the first lines of the verses of decade 26, one of those treating of Kurinći, all have 'Kunra kkuravan' for their first two feet. Thus line 1 of verse 251, the first of decade 26 is:

"Kunra kkuravan ārppin ēlili,"

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Lines per verse</th>
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<td>Orampokiyār: MARUTAM</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Veṭkai ppattu</td>
<td>Decade (on) Desire</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Veḷa ppattu</td>
<td>Decade (on) the Rush</td>
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<td>3 Kālvan (ppattu)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Toḷikk'uraitta</td>
<td>Utterance to the Friend</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Pulavi</td>
<td>Sulks</td>
<td>4,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Tolī kūrru</td>
<td>The Companion’s Speech</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>12 Toḷikk'uraitta</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; Friend</td>
<td>4,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; Hero</td>
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<td>19 Nēytār-</td>
<td>The Waterlily 5</td>
<td>4,5,6</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Vaḷai</td>
<td>The Bracelet</td>
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<td>Kapilar: KURIṆCI</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 Annāy væli</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 Annāy</td>
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<tr>
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<td>29, Killai</td>
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<td>31 Čēlavāluṅkuvitta</td>
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<tr>
<td>32 Čēlavu</td>
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<tr>
<td>33 Itāiccura-</td>
<td>The Path on the Way</td>
<td>4,5</td>
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</table>

1. v.s. Chap. II, p. 29. 2. Pattu, decade, understood hereafter. 3. Nālar, pulinakakkōṇrai: Cassia sophora, Lex. 4. The Ceral town as being “by the sea; v.s. Chap. IV, p. 188. 5. As karuppōṟul of NEYTAL. 6. The 6th. line of v. 246 is illegible.
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<td>The Heroine’s Distress</td>
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<td>Ilavenil</td>
<td>Beginning of the Hot Weather</td>
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<td>Telling of the Arrival</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>Confronting</td>
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<td>38</td>
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<td>40</td>
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Peyanär: MULLAI

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<td>43</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Puravani</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>The Friend’s Insistence</td>
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<td>Pañan</td>
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<td>49</td>
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<td>Wonder at the Chariot</td>
<td>3,4,5</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Varavu ccirapp’uraitta</td>
<td>Extolling the Arrival</td>
<td>3,4,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 cēnra vāre
ani nirav irumpōrai mīmicai
mani nirav uruv ina tokaiyum uṭaitte,"

1. No Mutarpōrul is prescribed by Tōl. for Pālai, but Venil, the Hot Weather, is mentioned in Comm. on IA: TSS edn., p.18.
At the end of each section of Aihkuru, the name of its author is given. As seen from the above table, these are, in order of appearance: Orampokiyar, Ammûvanâr, Kapilar, Otalântaiyâr and Peyanâr. Doubts have been expressed about the reliable nature of this information, notably by Pillai. It is worthy of note that the name of Kapilar has again been associated with a large number of poems on kuriînci themes. He is the only one of the five whose work figures prominently in the other anthologies. Of the others, Orampokiyar 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. Ammûvanâr has 26 poems in them, Otalântaiyâr has three and Peyanâr has five.

It is possible that the writer of the colophons at the end of the several sections of Aihkuru was in error in ascribing that on kuriînci 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, Orampokiyar, appears but once, is striking. It suggests that Aihkuru 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

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, and says that Aṅkuru was compiled by Pulatturai murriya Kūṭalūr Kīlār at the behest of Yānaikkačey Māntaraśceral Irumpōrāi. It has been seen that this Ceral figures prominently among the Ceralar lauded in Puram., wherein he is praised by three poets. One of these is Kūṭalūr Kīlār who, in Puram.229, tells of the king's death. It may be assumed that it was this poet who was the traditional compiler of the Aṅkuru. As none of Māntaraśceral's panegyrists are recorded as having praised any other king, it is difficult to suggest at what period he lived. The col. to Puram.175 gives as his contemporary Pāṇṭṛyā Talaiyālaṅkāṇattu ccēruvēṇra Nēṭuṅcēliyān. If the tradition about the compilation of Aṅkuru is followed, we are then led to the conclusion, albeit based on information in Puram. colophons, that it was compiled during the period of Nēṭuṅcēliyān, 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 Aṅkuru colophons may have been led to connect its compilation with a prominent Ceral of the Irumpōrāi line by reason of there being in Aṅkuru one decade on Tōṇṭi, and by the address to 'Ātan' of another. It has been seen that Ātan is a name of several Ceralar.

Perhaps the most that can be said about the origin of Aṅkūṟu 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, Māntaranīceral Irumpūrai. It may in fact have been composed at a later date, and the attributing to Kapilar of the century on kūṟiṇci may be fictitious. All such conclusions must, from the nature of the evidence, be surmise.

As extant, the text of Aṅkūṟu is accompanied by an old commentary of unknown date or authorship, giving certain information about uḷḷurai, the implied meaning¹ of the poem, and other matters. As Dr. Cāmināṭa Aiyar remarks, this commentary is neither a word for word interpretation, pattavurai, nor a summary pōlipp'urai. For certain verses it is missing.² No extant MS of the text includes verses 129 and 130, and parts of verses 246, 416 and 490 are missing. Aṅkūṟu was first edited in 1903 by Dr. U.V. Cāmināṭa 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, in view of the urippōruḷ, aspects of love, associated with them, the most natural order for enumeration of the five akattīṇai is: kūṟiṇci, pālai, mullai, nēyal and marutam. It is only in cū.14 of Akat. that such an order is envisaged by Tōl., and, in his commentary

the original reference material cannot be easily identified. It appears to contain a discussion of some technical or scientific topic, but the handwriting and condition of the page make it difficult to discern the exact content. The text is partially legible, suggesting that it may pertain to engineering, mathematics, or another field requiring detailed notation. The visible portions include references to equations, diagrams, or calculations, typical of professional documents. However, without clearer visibility, a precise transcription or analysis cannot be accurately provided.
on this cuttiram, Nacc. follows the order in explaining the tinai to which the five uriipporuļ listed by Tōl. refer. This order is, however, followed in no other work, though it is approximated to in one of the Minor Works and in the commentary on IA. Two works are similar to Aiṅkuru in listing marutam, with its associated love-aspect of quarrelling, first.

Within each dentury of Aiṅkuru, 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 Hinderin, Cēlavaluṅku-vitta, and the Departure, Cēlavā, appear at the beginning, and Bringing Back, Marutaravu, occurs at the end.

The first decade contains the address in every verse to Atan; 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 Atan was in fact a Ceral, it is perhaps a little strange that the decade on Tōnti should not appear earlier in the work; it is the 18th. decade. On the other hand, it is clearly to be associated with Nēyal, the sea-coast, since it was a port.

Where the titles 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 karupporuļ of the tinai forming the subject of the whole century. Examples of this are

Erumai, Buffalo, appearing as the title of decade 10, and
Neytal, Waterlily, as the title of decade 19. Erumai is a karupporul of marutam, and recurs throughout the tenth decade. Neytal is naturally a karupporul of the tinai of the same name; this word recurs throughout the nineteenth decade. Other decades are named after words that recur in them which are not given as karupporul in extant poetic texts or commentaries, but which may have been envisaged as such by the authors of Ainkururu or by authorities on akattinai whose works are no longer extant. An example of this is kalvan, crab. The third decade is entitled Kalvan pattu from the recurrence of this word within it. 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 karupporul of kuriṅci, 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 Ainkurunuṟu, Veṭṭai, is addressed to Ātaṉ, who may well have been the Ceral patron of Orampokiyār. The friend of the heroine says:

1. Vide Nacc. on Tōl. Akat. cd. 18, TSS, i, p. 46; Ilakkanaviḷakkam, cd. 391, i, 6. 2. e.g. v. 91, 1, 1: "Nēri maruppērumai nilav irump' ottu"; v. 92, 1, 1: "Karunkońṭṭērumai ceṅkāṭ punirrē"; v. 97, 1, 2: karuntāl ērumai kkanru vērum." 3. Vide Nacc. ibid. & IA comm. TSS edn., p. 20. 4. e.g. v. 181, 1, 1: "Neytal unkaṅ er irai ppaṇai ttol"; v. 185, 1, 1: "Alaṅk'ital neytaḷ Körkai munrugai." 5. e.g. v. 21, 1, 2: "Pulli kkalvan āmpal arukkum"; v. 25, 1, 2: "vayalai ceṅkōṭī kalvan arukkum." 6. Tōl. states that persons should not be named in Akam poetry: Pōṟuḷ. Akat. cd. 54. For this reason it is felt that Ātaṉ may have been the poet's patron.
"Hail, Ātani! Hail, Avini! 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 kānci 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, Ātani! Hail Avini! 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, Ātani! Hail, Avini! 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, Ātani! Hail, Avini! 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, Ātani! Hail, Avini! 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 eats his fill of fish to halt his chariot in front of our house.

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"Hail, Atan! Hail, Avini! My lady desires that fierce warfare shall cease and that the king may live long. I hope that our father will bestow her on the lord of the village where, in deep pools, the lotuses blossom, and that he will duly wed her.

"Hail, Atan! Hail, Avini! 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 perch in flocks upon the marutam trees.

"Hail, Atan! Hail, Avini! 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 perches to keep his promises and marry her soon.

"Hail, Atan! Hail, Avini! 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 that eats fish dwells amid the paddy-stalks should cease.

"Hail, Atan! Hail, Avini! My lady desires the rains to fall and fertility to be increased. But I long for the lord of the village where the mango-trees are in flower and where there is the smell of fish to take her there with him."

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,

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.391,1.6. 3. Terminalia sp. 4. A karu. of kuriṇci: Nacc. on Tōl. Akēt.18,TSS.1,p.45. This is another case of 'tiṇai mayakkam.' 5. Nārai. 6. Ūran throughout. A name for the hero of the cultivated tract: IA comm.p.22. 7. Ain[kuru].1-10.
while more mundane thoughts are expressed by her friend.

The century in Aṅkura. on nēytaḷ is attributed to Ammūvaṇār. It will be recalled that the urippōruḻ or aspect of love associated with nēytaḷ is Iraṅkal, wailing,¹ which arises as a result of separation of the beloved heroine from her lover. Decade 11, the first in Aṅkura., Nēytaḷ, is called Tāykk'uraṭtappatu. 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-coast⁴ that comes bumping over the dunes where grows the Āṭumpu⁵ 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! Radiant⁷ is her face as a result of her union with the lord of the seashore 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.

1. v. s. Chap. II, p. 24 & fn. 4. 2. UVS comm., p. 49. 3. "Annai vāḷi venṭ'annai." cp. "Annāy vāḷi venṭ'annai": Aṅkura. vv. 201-10, from which is taken the title of dec. 21. 4. Kōnkan, a name for the nēytaḷ hero; see Nacc. on Tōl. Akat. cū. 20, TSS 1, p. 48. 5. Ipomea biloba, a karu. of nēytaḷ; vide I. V. cū. 392. 6. Nēytaḷ. 7. Māmai lit., mango-colour; opposite of pācalai, greenish colour, fig. the waneness of love-sick girls. 8. Tūraivan; see Nacc., Tōl., 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."

"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 where flowers the thorn-bush gives up the shoulders of my lady, who else will she be able to desire?"

"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, who will there be then to tarry with her?"

"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! "

Throughout these verses, the companion dwells on the effect her lover's return has upon the heroine, and her sorrow at

1. Annam, goose; a karu of neytal: Nacc.on Töl.Akat.18,TSS i,p.46 Their union symbolizes that of the heroine & her lover. 2. Cer-ppan. 3. "Ento'turanta"; she identifies herself w heroine. 4,5. cited by Nacc.on Töl.kalavu.114,TSS ii,p.135. 6. Ainkuru.101-110
his absence. In response to doubt about his intentions expressed by the foster-mother, 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 ṉy̱ṯal is decade 18, entitled Tōnṯi p̱atṯu, 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) Tōnṯi, where, in the streets, the sweet throbbing of drums is drowned in the sea's sonorous rear.'

The hero tells his charioteer that he cannot sleep, and asks him why that should be so:

'My mind is captivated by that maiden and even at night I am restless as the beating waves of the sea's expanse near Tōnṯi's fine harbour, where the bees hum.'

As the hero is going to keep his tryst, his charioteer sees the heroine and says:

'Let them feel the anguish (of love) like the poison of snakes that know not sweet sleep at night. She whose dark plaits are more fragrant than waterlilies growing at Tōnti 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 Tōnti beloved of Kāma. Of fine workmanship are her jewels, of wondrous 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 Tōnti.'

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 Tōnti. She has robbed me of sleep.'

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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 Tōnti, where the fragrant thorn-bush flowers by the sand-dunes near the restless sea.'

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 Tōnti belonging to Kuttuvan.'

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 Tōnti'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 Tōnti, 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 nēytał, is only brought in in the last two poems of this decade, and forms as it

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. Aiṅkuru.171-180.
were a climax to it. It is dramatically contrasted with the sentiments of love presented in the earlier verses. UVS says that the antāti-link between most of the verses is intended to show that this decade is a continuous dialogue.

The concluding section of one hundred poems in Ainakkuru is devoted to subjects connected with mullai, and it will be recalled that the aspect of love associated with this is iruttal, awaiting. This century by Peyanār 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."

"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, fragrant with flowers."

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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 Tōl. Karpu. cu. 153; Tōl. here states when foster-mother may advise heroine. 5. Puravu, 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 pañ Mûllai, 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

¹. Cited by Nacc., comm. on Töl. Pörûl. Karpû. cu. 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 mullai; IA comm. p. 22. ⁵. Cp. vv, 40 ⁶. appropriate to mullai, Töl. Akat. cu. 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 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 karuppōrul, with the urippōrul of Iruttal, awaiting, with its undertone of grief on the beloved’s part at the absence of her hero. As UVS notes, such a variation of the implication of mullai appears in Pattu., Cirupān., and Nacc.’s commentary upon it. It is possible that this was a later elaboration of urippōrul to include aspects of married love, karpū, as well as those of unmarried love, kālāvu.

It has been demonstrated that Aiṅkuruṇuṇu 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. The use of such devices and the formal

arrangement of Ainkuru. have helped Pillai to his conclusion\(^1\) that it is a work of later origin than Akam., Kurun., Nar. and Puram. 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 Kalittōkai 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 Ainkuru., Kali. is subdivided into five sections, each treating of one of the five tiṇai, and entitled respectively, Pālaikkali, Kuriṅcikkali, Marutakkali, Mullaikkali and Nēytaṅkali. These sections are attributed in a vēn̄pā-verse of unknown authorship\(^4\) to Pēruṅkaṭuṅko, Kapilar, Marutan Ilanākan, Colan Nalluruttiran\(^5\) and Nallantuwan respectively. The sections are of unequal length, the 149 poems about the akattinai\(^6\) being allotted as follows: Pālai, 35, Kuriṅci, 29, Marutam, 35, Mullai, 17 and Nēytaṅ 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 akattinai, first in the order in which they are enumerated in Tōl.,\(^7\) and then in the order of appearance in Kali., and also

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the name of the compiler, Nallantuvanär. Taken into consideration along with the vēppā giving the traditional authorship of the five sections of Kali, this suggests that the author of the last section on nēythal was also the compiler of the whole anthology.

The fact that, like Aīkuru, Kali is an artistic whole has led some writers such as Pillai to doubt the tradition about the authorship of the five sections. In his edition of Kali, the first to be printed, Tamotaram Pillai was of the opinion that the whole anthology was the work of Nallantuvanär. Such views must at present be treated as surmise, but it must be stressed that the name of Nallantuvanär 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 Kalittōkai, including the introductory Kaṭavul válttu, is accompanied by a medieval commentary. The Cirappu Pāyiram, Verse Introduction, to this states that it is the work of Naccīṅarkk'iniya, a brahman of the Bhāradvāja gotra, well-endowed with knowledge of Tamil and the four vedas. Kali is therefore the only anthology to be accompanied in full by a commentary of Nacc. It was first edited in printed form by Tamotaram Pillai, 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. 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. Uraiiccirappu, 11. 46-53. 5. For that on Kurun, v.s. p. 358.
The text from the image is not clearly legible due to the quality of the image. It seems to contain paragraphs of text, but it is not translatable into a coherent document without a clearer view of the text.
and commentary is that published by Pākaneri V.P.P.M. Kācivicovana-
ātan Cēṭṭiyār and the TSS. This includes a foreword and
explanation of the commentary by Ilavalkanār. The fourth
edition of this work appeared in 1949.

No reason can be given for the sequence in which the
five akattināi are treated in Kali, or for the disparity in
length between the different sections. With seventeen poems,
Mullaikkāli 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 Töl.;
Āciriyaṃ, Vānci, Vēṇpā and Kali, in that poems composed in it
have a definite sequence of parts. Kali is of four kinds, and
that most commonly met with in Kalittōkai, called Ottālicaiikkali
is a poem of four parts. The first part, Taravu, may contain
from four to twelve lines. The second, Tālicai, contains a
number of stanzas; the number of lines in these should not
exceed the number in the first part, Taravu. The third part is
the Taniccol, a single word forming the link between the fore­
going Taravu and Tālicai and the fourth part, called Guritakam.
This is usually shorter in length than the Tālicai-stanza.

Two examples from Kali, have already been noted; it was
seen that, in addition to themes connected with the five tiṇai of

1. Töl. Pōrul. Čeyyul. cū. 417. 2. These are discussed in Chap.X;
v.i., pp. 443 & seqq. 3. Cp. the different parts of a Greek
Chorus. 4. Ottālicai, Kalivēṇpāṭṭu, Kōccakam, Ural; Töl. Čeyyul.,
cū. 442; v.i. Chap. X, pp. 468 ff. 5. Töl. ibid., cū. 446. 6. Töl. ibid.,
reciprocal love, Kaikkilai, Unrequited Love, and Përuntinai, 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 Kaikkilai,\(^1\) appears in Kuriricikkali, and Kali.139, quoted by Nacc. in connexion with Përuntinai,\(^2\) is a poem in the Nēytaṇkali. The other examples from anthologies quoted by Nacc. in his commentary on Tōl.'s cūtīrāms about Kaikkilai and Përuntinai 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 urippōṟul 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.

---

"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.

1. i.e. Her wrists will not become so emaciated with grief that her bangles slip off. 2. Kali.10 (Pēruhkatuũhko).
"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!

Nacc.'s colophon to Kali.51, a poem in Kurinçikkali,
states that the heroine speaks to her companion, and that this poem illustrates a couplet from cūtīram.107 of Töl.Pörul:

"Pukāa kkalai pukk'ētir ppaṭṭ'uli
pakāa viruntin pakuti kkan," 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 Kalivenpāṭṭu 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!'

2. Töl.Pörul.Kalavyu.ćū.107,11.6,7; in his comm.on this ćū., Nacc.
quotes the same Kali.51. 3. For Kalivenpāṭṭu, one of the four varieties of Kali-verse, v.i., Chap.X,pp.445 & ff. Some Kalivēnпāṭṭu 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 Aiṅkuru, in being based on the five akattinai, but arranged less symmetrically. Both Kali and Aiṅkuru are singularly free from the historical allusions which abound in the three akam anthologies Akam, Kurun, and Nār.² This is also the case with Paripāṭal, which will now be discussed.

It was seen earlier that the commentary to Iraiyanār Akappōrul says that Paripāṭal was of seventy verses,³ and that, together with Kali, Paripāṭṭu was considered by Tōl. 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 Kalittōkai is a collection in kali-metre of poems about the five

2. v.s. p.349. There are one or two references to tribes, e.g. to Āyar: Kali.101,1.47; such references are permissible in Kaikkilai & represent a mixture of Puram ā Akam, ait Nacc.,Tōl.Akat.comm., TSS i,p.127. 3. v.s. Chap.I,p.13. 4. v.s. Chap.II,p.35, and Nacc. on Tōl.Akat.cū.53: TSS i,p.120.
akattinai, 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 Cēvelle (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 vēnṟā of unknown date and authorship⁴ 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 Cēvelle and one in praise of Kāṭukilāl (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 Tōl.Pōruḻ.Ceyyul., and nine fragments in commentaries and in the Purattiraṭṭu, a collection of poems on puram subjects taken from various anthologies.

¹. Comm.on Tōl.Pōruḻ.Akat.cū.53; TSS i,p.121. ². Including the prefatory Kāṭavul vāḷṭṭu; this is numbered integrally, like that to Kali. & that to Pūram. ³. See Table of Contents of Pari., page 392. ⁴. In Pari., UVS edn.,(1948) Intro.,p.viii, also Samājām, 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 pan 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, and with one of the hymns to Cēvvel.

According to the colophons, the extant *Pari* poems are the work of thirteen poets while the music was composed by ten different composers. No information about these latter is available; from the similarity of the name, Kāṇṇakanār, UVS deduced that the composer of the music to *Pari* was the same person as the author of *Puram*. a poem about his fellow-poet at Koppēruṇcolon's court, Picirāntaiyār.

Of the thirteen poets named in the *Pari* colophons, only two, Nallantuvaṇār and Iḷampēruvalutiyār, figure in any other anthology. Nallantuvaṇār, given as the author of *Pari*, has just been noted as the author of *Kali*, Neytar-kali, and is also credited with two other akam poems. The author of *Pari*, Iḷampēruvalutiyār, is identified with the author of *Puram* by the Samājam editors. The fact that no other *Pari* author appears as author of any other anthology poem

# Table of Contents of Paripāṭal

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## The Paripāṭal Fragments

1. Tirumāl in Per. on Tōl. Pōrul. Čeyyul. cū. 433; TSS iii, pp. 301, 8.  
3 & 4: two fragments in Per. & Nacc. on Tōl. Pōrul. Čeyyul.  
5: fragment in Comm. on Nārkavirāca Nampiyakappōrul.  

marks Pari, off from other anthologies, and lends support to
the view of Pillai that, like Kali, it was a work of later
origin.

The Pari colophons are unique among all colophons to
anthology poems in giving the pan 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.

Three pan only are mentioned in the Pari colophons.
For Pari.2 to 12 the pan is given as Pālaiyāl. Notirām is given
for Pari.13 to 17, and Kāntāram for Pari.18 to 21. Perhaps on
the basis of these names, UVS asserted that Pari was sung in
the same way as Tevāram. It is, however, possible that the way
of interpreting any given pan varied from place to place, and
that 'schools' of music existed as in our own day. 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 pāṇs. On the basis of Nikanṭu evidence, Vipulānanta states
that Pālaiyāl was one of the four main pāṇs and that Notirām
and Kāntāram were tirām, minor pāṇs comparable to the aṇḍava
rāgas.

1. CET pp.41,42. 2. As noted by Vipulānanta: Yāl Nūl (1947)p.16.
the rāga Anandabhairavi, some assert that it should have one
bhāgāga-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. Yāl Nūl,pp.141 & seqq. 7. So-called 'pentatonic' rāgas that
have five degrees within the octave; e.g., equating Sa with C,
Haṃsaadhvani 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 Kaṭavul vālītu, 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, this is because the extant part of the original Pari., the first part breaks off in the middle of poem 22. 

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 Parimelalakar, more famous for his commentary on Tirukkural. 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 Naccinārk'īmīyar. Pari. was first edited by Dr. U. V. Cāmināta 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 Tōl. in Pōrul., Cēyyul., cūttirams 430 and following. In cū.432, Tōl. says that Paripāṭal-poems may be composed in a number of metres. Examples in Perāciriyar's commentary on this cūttiram show features of

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
Vēnā and Āciriyappā metres. Tōl. states that the four parts of a Paripāṭal poem are Köccakam, Arākam, Curitakam and Ėruttu. The commentary explains that Köccakam is a part wherein short lines recur like pleats in a garment. Arākam is characterized by a rapid succession of short syllables. Curitakam has the same function as in a Kali poem, and is the closing portion. Ėruttu is the same as Taravu. 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 Tōl. Pōrul. cū.433. With them occur parts in Āciriyam or Akaval, the metre of most of the poems of the anthologies. In cū.474 of Pōrul., Cēyyul., Tōl. says that a Paripāṭṭu should be of from 25 to 400 lines in length.

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 Ālvārs, the Vaishnava hymnists. Like the Śaiva and Vaishnava '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 Kaṭavul vālttu, that its author is Kaṭuvan Ilāvēyinañār, and that the music by Pēṭṭa'nākanār was in the paṇ Pālaiyāl. Ilāvēyinañār praises Viṣṇu as follows:

“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, 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, 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.

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 Keśī, so-called since he came in the guise of a horse. Your very hands praise you. When you took the form of Mohinī and served the nectar, your hand did wrong in deviating from impartiality.

"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. 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

L. Ta. Kūntal, keśī, 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, the five senses, 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. You are these five senses and intellect, these six and

1. See Parimel. on Pari. 3, 1. 77: UV 8 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, 11, 77 78 are, lit. "...the one, the two, the three, the four, the five."
ahām kāra, 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 Kāli! O pale One with dark eyes. 5 O golden-
eyed Kāma! 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 Vannan 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
depture from other Tamil sources for the Vaiṣṇava cult.

2. Parimel. on l. 79, UVS p. 25. 3. i.e. the 25 tattvas, Parimel. ibid.
4. Vāsudeva. 5. Saṃkarsana. 6. Pratyumna. 7. Aniruddha; these
4 are the Vyūhavatāras; see Parimel., UVS p. 26. 8. i.e. Pitāmbara
ait UVS, p. 30. 9. Pari. 3, l. 83. 10. Destruction of Keśi, 1. 31;
pitāmbara, 1. 88, cp. Dikṣita: "Bālagopāla" l. 11: KMM V, p. 162.
Pari.5 may be taken as an example of the hymns in praise of Cēvvel, Skanda, in this anthology. The colophon to it states that it is a hymn by Kaṭuvan Iḷavēyinanār, with music in the paṇ Pālaiyāl by Kaṇṇanēkanār. Cēvvel is praised as follows:

"To make war, you rode the towering Piñimukam 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 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, you sundered the mountain called after the crane 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 Cēvvel.

"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.

"With the first Brahma to handle the steeds, steeds that were the Vedas yoked to the earth that was his chariot, for 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 Če. 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 protected the pieces of embryo. Except for one³ 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: Parime. on Pari.5.1.30, UVŚ 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 Himalaya, 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, 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 kadamaba 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 Skandapurāṇa, the Śivarahaṇya 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 Arundhati refused to share in looking after it. It was cut into six and cast into fir 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, the poet says that those who doubt it shall not attain the feet of Skanda.

1. Pari. 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 ēnu'Maṭavoruṇ 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 Kkovanār to music in the paṇ Pālaiyāl by Pittāmattat. 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

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land is enriched, the scenery beautified and fertility increased.

"In dense groves where fragrant grasses spread is the bright-branched Venkai¹ 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.
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 seize the girls' bangles, rings, the jewels in their hair, their clothes, girdles and belts, the bracelets on their arms. All was seized, 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; 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. The kohl from her two dark, lustrous eyes caused the fresh river water to lose its brightness; dark became the Vaiyai's flood.

"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
and, sorrowfully wondering what would happen to him, approached his beloved. Because of the ridiculous misunderstanding, her eyes that were already red 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.

"The song is attuned to the harp which produces on its seven strings the fine melody arising from the seven notes of the pāṇḍ 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!'"

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 (Maiyōṭa Kkovanār).
Maiyōta Kkovanār 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 tinai. There are general references to cultivation in connexion with the Vaiyai floods, but there are also passages that describe the river's path through mountains. Parimel.'s commentary on Pari.7, lines 1-10 wherein is described the river's journey has been interpreted as referring to the four tinai marutam, nēytal, kuriṇci and mullai. There is thus no special emphasis on marutam, cultivated land, the tinai with which ūtal, love-quarrelling, was associated. Neither the Veṅkai tree nor the fish known as vālai appear in texts or commentaries as karuppōrul of marutam, nor do the distinctive karuppōrul of marutam appear in this poem. The hero is not given any of the names of a hero of the cultivated tract, but one of the names of its inhabitants, ulavar, appears twice. It is possible that 'Tirumarutamunrurai' is in fact an allusion to marutattinai, but it is taken as a proper name by Parimel., and appears in two other Vaiyai poems in Pari.

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.7,11.27-35. 2. 11.4,5; aruvi, stream, (1.4) is a river of kuriṇci tinai; see Nacc. on Tōl.Akat. cū.18,TSS i,p.46. 3. UVS edn.,p.69: "Menpulanākāl alakupēra vanpulanākāl viḷaiya..." 4. 1.12. 5. 1.34. 6. Save nel, rice, 1.27 etc. (UVS comm.,p.75 7. Acc. Nacc. on Tōl.Akat. cū.20,TSS i,p.48. 8. 11.16 & 39. 9. Pari.7,1.63; lit. 'The fine harbour in the cultivated tract.' 10. UVS edn.,p.74. 11. Pari.11,1.30; Pari.22,1.45.
between the poetry of Akam. and similar anthologies, wherein the descriptive material serves to emphasize or allude to the love theme, and the Pattuppāṭṭu, wherein the love theme is entirely subordinated to the descriptive material.

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. 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.

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 Vaishnava 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.

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 Paṭṭina., 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 tripurasampūra; v.s. p. 401.
Iraiyanār AkappōruṆ is the most logical one for their treatment. In the first four, Nēṭuntōkai (Akam.), Kuruntōkai, Narrinai 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 Nūr'aimpatu Kali and Paripāṭal. Kali, resembles Aiṅkurū 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. 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. 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.

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 which includes what is often loosely termed 'head-rhyming'.

The principal Tamil terms for Prosody are Cēyyul and Yāppu. Connected with the root Cēy, do, Cēyyul has the meanings of stanza, poetic composition. Yāppu, connected with the root yā, tie, fasten, has the meaning of poetry. However, the two medieval treatises on prosody of Amitacākarar, Yāpp'arūnkalam and Yāpp'arūnkalakārikai both indicate that Yāppu also meant prosody. On the other hand, that section of Tōlkāppiyam which treats of prosody is called Cēyyulīyāl. Therein, yāppu in the sense of 'prosody' is given as one of the 34 elements of cēyyul, poetic art.

The term Pā may also be noted here, as its meanings include those of verse, poem, stanza. In this discussion, however, Pā will be regarded as meaning 'metre'.

For our purpose, the principal works on prosody are:

Tōlkāppiyānār: Tōlkāppiyam, Pōrulatikāram, Cēyyuliyāl,
Amitacakarar: Yāpp'aruṅkalam, and
Amitacakarar: 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 Pannirupāṭṭi'iyal, wherein it is considered in relation to the auspiciousness or otherwise of various types of foot, line and other metrical elements. In the present consideration of Tamil prosody, it is intended to restrict discussion to the relevant portions of Tōl., and only where necessary to refer to other metrical treatises.

The seven elements of prosody as defined by Amitacakarar have already been noted. These may be compared to those of Tōl.'s 34 elements of poetry that are of relevance to the study of prosody:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tōl. Pōruḷ. cū. 313.</th>
<th>Yāppu., v.i.</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 ēluttu</td>
<td>ēluttu</td>
<td>akṣara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 acai</td>
<td>acai</td>
<td>metrical unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 cīr</td>
<td>cīr</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 aṭi</td>
<td>aṭi</td>
<td>line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yāppu</td>
<td>tāḷai</td>
<td>yāppu: the use made of elements 1-5, i.e., Prosody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 tōṭai</td>
<td>tōṭai</td>
<td>alliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 pā</td>
<td>tūkkku</td>
<td>metre.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. Other works on prosody are: Avināyanār: Avināyam; also the frag. Kākkaṇṭiniyam, quoted in comm. 2. In discussion, Dr. A. C. Chettiar opined that all Tam. poetry prior to 10 cent. should be scanned acc. to Tōl.'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 Tōl. Pōruḷ. Cēyyul. cū. 390, TSS iii, p. 231. 7. Such as Anuprāsa and similar devices; v.i. pp.
There are four other elements of poetry noted by Tōl. that may be noticed in connexion with prosody. These are: māṭṭirai, māṭrā, tūkku, pause between one verse and the next, alavu, length of poem, and vaṇṇam, rhythm.¹

After defining māṭṭirai as "the length given to letters when reciting poetry,"² the commentator on Tōl. Porul., cūttiram 313 passes on to a fuller discussion of ēluttu, akṣara, both at cū.313 and cū.314. It is clear that Tamil prosodists from Tōl. onwards did not regard māṭrā 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. Tōl. says³ that māṭṭirai and ēluttu had already been discussed in the Ēlutt'ātipīram,⁴ and goes on to discuss acai. Māṭṭirai is not mentioned as an element of prosody by Amitacākañcarar, nor in as late a source as Ilakkaṉāviḷakkañ.

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¹ Tōl. Porul. Ceyyul., 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 'Vānappu' (adornments) may be contrasted with the 10 Qualities of the Vaidarbhī style, cf. Kād, ēl. 41, 42 & Tānti, cu.14. ² In the sense of akṣara. ³ Tōl. Porul. TSS iii, p.113. ⁴ Tōl. ibid., cu. 314. ⁵ Māṭṭirai: Tōl. Ēluttu., cu.3-7, wherein the terms alapu & māṭṭirai are used synonymously. In cu. 7, Tōl. defines māṭṭirai as "(the time taken for) a wink of the eye or snap of the fingers." In cu.3, he says the duration of the short vowels a, i, u, ē, ə is one alapu; in cu.4, that of long vowels (incl. diphthongs) ā, î, ē, ai, ō, au is two alapu. This agrees with the durations measured in māṭrā in Skt., cf. Atharvapratīṣṭhākhyā, i, vv. 59, 61. Tōl. further states, in cu.11, that the duration of a consonant is ¼ a māṭrā; the same applies to 'cāraḥ ēluttu' (secondary letters): kuruṭiyalikaram, i, kuruṭiyalukaram, ū and āyam, h, vide cu.12. ⁶ After some consonants may be of ¾ māṭṭirai duration only, vide cu.13; Nacc., Tōl. Ēluttu., TSS, p.27, gives examples: e.g. ponn. Conversely a vowel may be lengthened so as to be of ¾ māṭṭirai duration, by writing the character for the long vowel followed by that for the short, e.g. ōu. vide cu.6 & 41. This is alapeṭai. Cp. pluta in Skt., e.g. in Pāṇini i,2,27. ⁷ In Y. Kārikai, Amitacākañcarar notes it under ēluttu. Māṭṭirai is mentioned in Nannūl, in conn. with ēluttu, not prosody: Nan. cu. 99-101.
It may be suggested that nothing analogous to the Mārāchandas in Skt. poetry was envisaged by these writers on Tamil prosody, and that, from the silence of Tōlkāppiyānar about ēluttu 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

Tōl. discusses ēluttu fully in Ēlutt'atikāram, and, as already seen,² ēluttu appears in later works on prosody such as Yāppu. In Tōl., the term is used in the broadest sense to mean both vowel (long or short), consonant,³ cārp'ēluttu and syllable. In cūttiram 45 of Ēluttu., Tōl. says that a word may consist of one, two or more than two ēluttu, and it is clear that he means syllable here. The term ēluttu thus closely resembles the Skt. akṣara, meaning letter, vowel⁴ or syllable.⁵ Tōl.'s definition is closely followed by later writers on prosody. In Y. Kārikai., Amitacākarar adds to the cārp'ēluttu a shortened ai, which he calls aikāra kurukkam.⁶ Medieval writers also describe as ēluttu alapētai, prolonged vowels, such as āa, aii and auu. The term alapētai is also applied to 'lengthened consonants' as distinct from consonants geminate intervocally.⁷ Examples cited by the commentator show that such lengthening could occur to any nasal and to y, l, v, l and āytam (h) if followed by

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¹. Metres such as Kaṭṭalai kkalitturai. A.C. Chettiar, ASTP p. 165, cites Tirumāna 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. Tōl. Ēluttu. 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 ai to be of 1½ māttirai duration. 7. Y. Kārikai., ibid., pp. 16 & seqq.
another consonant, whether homorganic or not.\(^1\)

Töl. and Amitacākarar agree in taking as the next element of prosody the Ācāri.\(^2\) Ācāri has been translated syllable by some writers.\(^3\) Since, as will shortly be seen, the ācāri may consist of two īluttu in the sense of syllable, ācāri will herein be translated Metrical Unit. The term 'Foot' will be used for ċīr.\(^4\) The ācāri, a unit of one or two syllables, has no parallel in Sanskrit prosody.

The two types of ācāri are given by Töl.\(^5\) and later writers as Ner and Nirai. The Neracāri is a single syllable, long or short, with or without a consonant after it.\(^6\) The Niraiyacāri consists of two short syllables or a short followed by a long syllable, in either case with or without a consonant following.

Per. gives four possibilities for Neracāri as follows:

"Ulā lār to li."\(^8\)

Four possibilities for Niraiyacāri Per. gives as follows:

"Varī varāl kalā valin."\(^9\)

It is thus clear that the ācāri may be quantitively long or short, and that, in the niraiyacāri, the first syllable must be short. The nirai may thus be either a pyrrhic ("\(^-\)") or an iambus ("\(^-\)\).\(^10\) Töl. further notes 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. maṁkalam, arumppu, cēlka, kōlka, vēyyyar: Y.Kārikai. comm., TSS edn., (1963)p.18. 2. Töl. Cēyyul. cū.313; Yāppu, v.1; Y.Kārikai., v.2. 3. Ta.Lex., p.35 col.1; Chettiar: ASTP, p.21. 4. v.i. p. 5. Cū.315. 6. Yāppu, v.5; Y.Kārikai., v.5. 7. Töl. Cēyyul., cū.315. 8. Comm. on Töl. Cēyyul., cū.315, TSS iii, p.124. i.e. vc, cvc, cv. There are of course 4 more: vc, cvc, v & v. 9. Comm. ibid. These are: cvcv, cvcvc, cvcv & cvcvc. The other 4 are vcv, vcv, vvcv, vcvc. 10. This second possibility seems to have been ignored by Vithianandan, who considers all nirai as pyrrhics: vide The P., pp.264-8. 11. Töl. Cēyyul. cū.316.
kurriyalukaram, û, ner and nirai become nerpu and niraipu respectively. He further notes an exception to this modification of the neracaiais 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, Töl. makes it clear that, in prosody, no distinction is to be made between the ordinary short final -u in words such as teļlivu and the final kurriyalukaram which, Töl. states in Éluttu.,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 -û. It is clear that, in formulating this, Töl. was influenced by the fact that a large number of words in Tamil end in murriyalukaram, -u, or kurriyalukaram, -û, and that many of the words ending in -û 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 Töl.⁶ This relationship between word-entity in a line of verse and acai must be stressed. Later writers on Tamil prosody⁷, in postulating only ner and nirai, were led to scan

1. Töl. Ceyyul. cū. 317. 2. Per. on Töl. Ceyyul. cū. 317: TSS iii, p. 128. The -u in these exx. is murriyalukaram. Final -û in disyllabic words results from the 1st. syll. being long by nature, e.g. nāku, or position, e.g. tēlku. 3. Töl. Ceyyul. cū. 318 & Per. comm., ibid. 4. Töl. Éluttu. ,cū. 406; Nacc. exemplifies the 6 types by: nāku, varaku, tēlku, ēhku, Kōkku, kuraḥku. 5. e.g. varaku, kuraḥku. 6. Töl. Porul. Ceyyul. cū. 319 & 321. 7. Amitacākarar: Yāppu. v. 5, Y. Kārikai. v. 5; Vaittiyanāṭa Tecikar: LV., cū. 713.
verses without regard for the words as entities, splitting them without reference to their sense or structure.  

Some instances of ner and nirai and their modifications may now be given. A stanza quoted in the commentary on Yāppu, gives all the possibilities for the neracai:

"āli nan mān kōl vall errai
   - - - - - -
nerner nerner nerner nerner nerner

"potu cāntam pōrpav enti
   - - - - - -
nerner nerner nerner nerner nerner

"āti nātar cervor
   - - - - - -
nerner nerner nerner nerner nerner

"coti vānan tunnuvore."
   - - - - - -
nerner nerner nerner nerner nerner nerner

A further stanza, quoted in the same commentary, gives the possibilities for the metrical unit called nirai:

"kāṭiy ulāy nimirnta kāyan kuṭai varāl
   - - - - - - - - -
nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai

"aṇi nilal acok' amarnt' aru' nēri nāṭṭtiya
   - - - - - - - - -
nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirainirai nirai nirai nirainirai nirainirai

"mani tikal avir ǚli varatānai
   - - - - - - - - -
nirai nirai nirai nirai nirainirai nirainirai

1. cf. the ex. cited by Chettiar, op. cit., p. 22. The word kurun-koṭṭu would give nirai nerpu ("---") acc. Tōl.'s rules, but nirai ner ner acc. to later writers, splitting koṭṭu as 'Koṭ ṭu'.  
3. Comm., ibid., p. 52.
"pañipavar pava nani paric' aruppavare."

nirainirai nirai nirai nirai nirai nirainirainer

The grouping of the syllables in the above in no way anticipates discussion of the Čīr, metrical feet, 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 'varatanai', vara + tanai. 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 Pēyar Ėccam, Relative Participle, as a form connected with the Vinaiy Ėccam, Verbal Participle in -ū, with elision of the final -ū before the -a suffix of the Pēyar Ėccam. Thus, nimirnta is in fact nimirntū + a, nimirnt'ā, and to split this as nirai + ner is logical.

It will be observed that the preponderance of niraiyacai 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.' 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.

1. L. v. i., p. 2. conn. Śkt. varada. 3. Cp. such metres as mandākrāntā: or mahāmālikā:
It is clear that no precise quantitative relationship between ner and nirai can be postulated, and that it would be erroneous to compare these units with the matrā, 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, cir, are reckoned in two or more acai.¹ Neither māttirai nor ēluttu are used for this purpose; both are dismissed by Tōl. in Čeyyuł., and Amitacśkarar concentrates on discussing ēluttu according to aesthetic criteria and not as a unit of prosody.²

Before consideration of cir, 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 utkum vān roy vēl koṭi

nirainer nerner ner ner ner nirai

"kuṭavar komā' Nēṭuṅecerai Atarkū..."

nirainer nerner nirainerner nernerpu

¹ Tōl. Čeyyuł.ču.324. The implications of acai and its terminology will be discussed in connexion with cir: v.i. pp.430 & seqq.
² e.g. Yāppu.v.2 & comm.,pp.21-36; cp. such Qualities as cērivu, śliṣṭa, in Taṇṭi.I,ču.16, KD I,sū.43, & their comm.
The following is a passage from Puram: 1

"Oru talai ppatalai tünkav āru talai
nirainirai nirainer nerner nirainirai
"tämpaka cciru mulā ttünkka ttükki
nernirai nirai nirai nerner nerner
"kavilnta manṭai malarkkunar yar ēna
nirai ner nerner niraipū ner ner nirai
"curan mutal irunta cil valai virali
nirai nirai nirainer ner nirai nirainer
"cēlvaiyāyir cenon allan..."
ner nernerner nerner nerner

If the above seven lines, all in the same metre, are
counted per line according to mātra, 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 Nēṭunceral. At this stage, then, it may be
stated that eight acai per line occur in the Akaval metre.

An example from Kalittōkai will now be given; it has

since the next line begins with 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:

"Maṭiyilān Cēlvam pol māran nantav accēlvam

\[\text{nirainirai nerner ner nirai nerner nerner nerner}\]

"paṭiy uṇpār nukarcci pol pal cīna miṅir' āṛppa

\[\text{nirai nerner nirainer ner ner nirai nirai nerner}\]

"māyaval meṇi pol tāḷīr īṇav ammeni

\[\text{nernirai nerner ner nirai nerner nerner nerner}\]

"tāya cuṇāṅkū pol tāḷīr mīcai ttātuka ..."

\[\text{nerner niraipū ner nirai nirai nerner nerner}\]

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 Puram.239 is one of the few poems in that anthology that are in vaṇci metre. Lines 1 to 5 of this poem are as follows:

"Tōṭiyuṭaipyā ton maṅantanaṇ

\[\text{nirainirainer ner nirainirai}\]

"kaṭi kāvir pū ccūṭīnan

nirai nerner ner nernirai

"raṅ kamalum cāntū nīvinān

ner nirainer nerpū nernirai

"cērrorai vali taputtana'

nernerner nirai niraīnirai

"naṭṭoraiv uyarpū kūrinān ... "

nernerner niraipū nernirai

It will be apparent from the above that lines in Vāncī metre contain six acai.

To conclude these examples of the use of acai in metre, Paripāṭal, Kaṭavul válttu, lines 45 to 48 may be quoted:

"Nala' mulu talaiiya pukar aru kāṭci

nirai nirai niraīnirai nirai nirai nerner

"ppulamum pūvanum nārramu' ni

nirai ner nernirai nernirai ner

"valan uyar ēliliyu' māka vicumpum

nirai nirai niraīnirai nerner nirainer

"nilanu' nīṭiyav imayu' ni."

niraīner 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 ampotaranākam, and also ēṇ. The colophon to this passage in Pari. states that it is 'ārum per ēṇ', a sixfold reduction of a long line; there are six couplets in the passage, 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 Tōl. and Amitacākarar is cīr. Tōl. says that a cīr is made up of two or three acai, but that occasionally only one acai is needed to form a cīr. Amitacākarar mentions cīr composed of four acai. Tōl. also states that a line of poetry, sāṭi, is made up of cīr, and that usually there are four cīr per line. There seems no reason, then, for not translating cīr as Foot, following Chettiar and the authors of the Tamil Lexicon.

Tōl. states that cīr composed of iyala-cai, ner and nirai, are called iyārcīr, while those composed of uriyacaį, nerpu and niraipu, are called ācīriyav uricīr, (uric)cīr proper to ācīriyappā metre. It is clear from the commentary that Tōl. is here speaking of feet composed of two acai only, and this is confirmed by Tōl. himself when he says that feet proper to vēṇpā metre consist of iyārcīr with a neracai added, and that all

1. Y.Kārikai.v.31; the reduction is likened to waves receding.
other three-acai feet are proper to Vani 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 uriy-acai nerpu and niraipu. Thus, the three-acai feet proper to vēmpā 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 uriy-acai only:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ner} & \quad \text{ner} & \quad \text{nerpu} & \quad \text{nerpu} \\
\text{nirai} & \quad \text{ner} & \quad \text{niraipu} & \quad \text{nerpu} \\
\text{nirai} & \quad \text{nirai} & \quad \text{niraipu} & \quad \text{niraipu} \\
\text{ner} & \quad \text{nirai} & \quad \text{nerpu} & \quad \text{niraipu}
\end{align*}
\]

and eight composed of mixtures of iyal- and uriyacai:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nerpu} & \quad \text{nirai} & \quad \text{ner} & \quad \text{niraipu} \\
\text{niraipu} & \quad \text{nirai} & \quad \text{nirai} & \quad \text{niraipu} \\
\text{nerpu} & \quad \text{ner} & \quad \text{nerpu} \\
\text{niraipu} & \quad \text{ner} & \quad \text{nirai} & \quad \text{nerpu}
\end{align*}
\]

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 vāypātu, according to the sequence of syllables within them. These vāypātu are employed as

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1. Tōl. Ceyyul. cd. 332. For Vani metre, v. i., p. 434ff. 2. TSS iii, pp. 156-7. 3. nerner + ner, nirainer + ner, nirainirai + ner & nemirai + ner. Per. on Tōl. Ceyyul. cd. 331, TSS iii, p. 154-5. 4. Since a disyllable commencing with 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 Tōl. cd. 325, TSS iii, p. 143. 7. Per. on cd. 326; p. 145. 8. Per. on cd. 327; p. 146. 9. Per. on cd. 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 iyar cīr are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-acai cīr</th>
<th>vāypātu, acc.Per.</th>
<th>vāypātu, acc.comm. on Tōl. Cēyyul. 325.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ner ner</td>
<td>temā</td>
<td>temā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirai ner</td>
<td>pulimā</td>
<td>pulimā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirai nirai</td>
<td>kanaviri</td>
<td>karuvilam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ner nirai</td>
<td>pātiri</td>
<td>kūvilam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the vāypātu in the commentary on Yāppu,,
the first two iyar cīr are classified as Māc cīr, the second two
as Viḷaccīr. 1

It has just been seen that the commentary on Tōl.
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 Vēṇpā, together with their mnemonics, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-acai cīr</th>
<th>vāypātu, acc.Per.</th>
<th>vāypātu, acc.Per. on Tōl. ibid. 331</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ner ner ner</td>
<td>mācelvāy</td>
<td>temānkāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirai ner ner</td>
<td>pulicelvāy</td>
<td>pulimānkāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirai nirai ner</td>
<td>māvaruvāy</td>
<td>kūvilānkāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ner nirai ner</td>
<td>pulivaruvāy</td>
<td>karuvilānkāy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the second set of mnemonics, these four
Vēṇpāvuric cīr are classified as Kāy cīr.

Since writers after Tōl. 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  

nirai ner nirai  

nirai nirai nirai  

ner nirai nirai

By a similar classification according to the mnemonic for their final acai, these feet are called kaniccir. These kaniccir are proper to Vaṇciippā, according to the author of Yāppu. The same four are noted as four Vaṇciyuriccir by Per., who notes twelve others ending in a nirai that include nerpu or niraipu, twelve that include nerpu and niraipu and end in a ner, sixteen three-acai feet ending in a nerpu and sixteen ending in a niraipu. This gives Per.'s total of sixty Vaṇciyuriccir.

Tōl. does not discuss cir composed of four acai, but the author of Yāppu. states 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

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 Vēṇpā must be ː-ː-, although in
theory the second acai is ː, since ːː-ː would be taken as aca
nirai, a foot of two acai only, inadmissable in Vēṇpā metre.
The syllables of a foot consisting of acai nir aca must be
-ːː-, since ːːːː would be nir nirai nir, a kāvccir proper
to vēṇpā and not a kāniccir found in vēṇcc.

Some examples of the use of cīr in anthology poems may
now be given. Since it has been noted that Tōl. regards two-acai
feet as proper to akaval metre, and since it was seen from
examples of akaval that each line contains eight acai, it may be
deduced that the akaval line contains four feet, which is the
case. Patirru.pat.V, lines 1 & 2, divided according to feet, are

"Vaṭavar uṭkum vān roy vēl koṭi
-ː-ː- ːː-ː- ːː-ː- ːː-ː-"
nirainer nerner nerner nernirai

vāyāṭu: pulimā temā temā pātiri
"kuṭavar komā' Netuṇceral Atarkū ...
-ː-ː- ːː-ː- ːː-ː- ːː-ː-"
nirainer nerner nirainer nernerpu

pulimā temā pulicēlavā poreru

The other example of akaval already quoted is as follows,

1. v.s., p.423; see also Tōl.Ceyyul.cū.325 & Ṛer.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. Vāyāṭu for nernerpu: Per.on Tōl.cū.328, TSS iii,p.147.
the lines divided according to cir:\(^1\)

"Öru talai

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ppatalai} & \text{tūnkav} & \text{öru talai} \\
\text{nirainirai} & \text{nirainer} & \text{nerner} & \text{nirainirai} \\
\text{ttūnka} & \text{ttūkkki} \\
\text{nernirai} & \text{nirainirai} & \text{nerner} & \text{nirainer} \\
\text{man^a}i & \text{rir}u & \text{virali} \\
\text{nerner} & \text{nerner} & \text{nerner} & \text{nerner}
\end{array}
\]

One final example of this metre may be given:\(^2\)

"Puṣar puri

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{narampi}n & \text{tintōtai} & \text{paluniya} \\
\text{nirainirai} & \text{nirainer} & \text{nerner} & \text{nirainer} \\
\text{iṣaiyar} & \text{pōruppa} \\
\text{nirainirai} & \text{nerner} & \text{nerner} & \text{nirainer} \\
\text{patalaiyum} & \text{piravum} \\
\text{nernirai} & \text{nirainer} & \text{nerainer} & \text{nirainer} \\
\text{tūmpōṭū} & \text{curukki} \\
\text{nernirai} & \text{nirainirai} & \text{NERNERPU} & \text{nirainer}
\end{array}
\]

"kāvir  rakaitta  turai kūṭū  kalappaiyar
  nerner  nirainer  nirainerpū  nirainernerer
"kai val  ilaiyar  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:

1. Including, for this purpose, both 3-acai feet & those that contain nerpu & niraipu. 2. cf. Puram.24,1.6: 'taṅ kuravai cīr.
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:

"cēlvaiy  āyir  ceṇon  allān." 1

nerner  nerner  nerner  nerner

Another instance shows the ictus on an initial short syllable:

"Vaṭavar  uṭkum  vān  roy  vēl koṭi." 2

nirainer  nerner  nerner  nerner  nernirai

There are three similar instances in the following:

"Oru talai  ppatalai  tūṅkav  oru talai." 3

nirainirai  nirainer  nerner  nerner  nirainirai

The following demonstrates ictus on the second syllable of a cīr:

"curañ mutal  irunta  cil  valai  vīrāli." 4

nirainirai  nirainer  nerner  nernirai  nirainer

Another example of this phenomenon is:

"kai val  ilaiyar  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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verb-root acāi-, move, lie in place, with associated pirevinai
acaittal, set to time. As a substantive, acāi may mean laghu
as a unit of musical time. 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 acāi was thought of
as a constituent of the cīr, and that cīr were composed of
acāi in a manner analogous to the composition of various tālas
in music by means of laghu and other units of time. That this
is the case is clear from the evidence already adduced. Cīr
proper to akaval consist of two acāi, while those proper to
vēṇpā and vaṅciippā consist of three, and writers later than
Tōl. mention cīr of four acāi. The cīr may, exceptionally,
consist of one acāi only.

It has been seen that neracāi 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. It is possible that the ner was so called
because its single syllable formed a complete acāi. The verb-
root nirai- means cluster, string together, with associated
substantive nirai, row, succession, collection. As an acāi of
two syllables, the nirai may thus have been considered as a
collection or succession of syllables. These associations of

1. PPVM VII, 16. See also Ta.Lex., pp. 34 col. 11, 35, col. 1.
2. Cil. III, 16, comm. Ta.Lex. p. 35, col. 1. 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. Tōl. Cēyyul, 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. 227;
col. 1.
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 cǐr 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 both vaṉcippā and vēṇpā metres include feet of three acai, and that the types of these to be used in the latter are limited. Since it was observed in exemplifying the use of acai in different metres that lines of vaṉcippā contain six acai, it follows that these lines contain two cǐr only. This is normally the case, though lines of vaṉći metre sometimes may be of three feet. These feet may not contain less than three syllables, 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, will again be given, the lines divided according to the cǐr:

"Tōṭiyutaiya  ton maṇantarăn
  . . . .  . . . .
nirainirainer nernirainirai"
The following is from an example of Vāñcippā with lines containing three feet given in the commentary on Yāppu.:

"kōṭi vālāṇa kuru nīragataṇa kurunțāḷana
-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
nirainernirai nirainirainirai nirainernirai
"vaṭi vāl ēyirr' alalulaiyana vall ukiṇana
-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
nirainernirai nirainirainirai nernirainirai
"pāṇaiy ēruttin inaiy arimān inaiy eri ... "
-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
nirainirainer nirainirainer nirainerner

If the example from Purāma be examined for evidence of ictus, it will be seen that this falls on the first syllable of each cir, but that there is also a possibility of a 'secondary' ictus approximately half-way through each foot:

"Tōtiyutaiya toṇ maṃpantanaṇa
-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
nirainirainer nernirainirai

1. Yāppu.,v.90; comm.,p.337.
The rhythmic effect is one of a 3/4 time, so that it would be possible to set the above to rūpaka or tiṣra eka tāla.

The rhythm of the above is in marked contrast to that of the akaval examples. It is hard to find a reason for Töl.'s statement that vaṇci arose as a variant of akaval, since it has been seen that the one has lines of two feet and feet of three acaï, the other, lines of four feet and feet of two acaï. Töl.'s statement is noted by Chettiar, who does not attempt to explain it. Per. says that the rhythm of vaṇci was produced by extending the feet of akaval and, by implication, halving the line. He condemns those who, basing their argument on the fact that, like kalippā, the feet of vaṇci have three acaï and that, accordingly, the vaṇci line is but a half-line of kalippā, assert that vaṇci was developed from kali.

Any explanation of vaṇci in terms of akaval-structure seems unconvincing, and it is here suggested that vaṇci arose in conjunction with akaval as a deliberate contrast to it. There are several instances of vaṇci lines occurring in akaval poetry, and it may be emphasized that vaṇci lines occur in such long akaval poems as Pattu., Maturai. and Paṭṭina. They were perhaps

introduced for the aesthetically pleasing effect that such a
marked change of rhythm would produce in the course of a long
recitation. One example from Pattu. may suffice:2

"tōl aruvālar tōlil kēta

"vaṭṭavar vāṭa kkuṭavar kūmpa

"tēnnavan tiral kēta ccīri mannar

"mann ēyil katuvum atanūṭai nonrāl

"mattēnai mara'moympīr

"cēnkanār cēyirtū nokki

"ppun pōtuvar vāṭi pōnra

"Irunkovel marunkū cēya

"kkāṭū kōnrū nāṭ'ākki

"kkulān tōṭṭu valam pēruuki

"ppirāṅkū nilai māṭatt' Uṇantai 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 Puram. in vaṇci
metre, and three poems, Puram.4, 11 and 239 are almost entirely
in this metre. Puram.239 has already been noticed as a vaṇci

1. cp. the use of different tālas during a kacceri or concert,
& such devices as Tālamālikā. 2. Paṭṭina.,11.275-285. 3. A cīr
of 4 acai, as noted by Chettiar: ASTP p.93. 4. nerpunerpu.
5. nirainerpu. 6. e.g. Puram.7,11.5,6; 38,11.3-4.
example. It is possible that the four-acai feet that occur in these poems as noted by Chettiar 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:

"Nilaikk' orav ilakkam ponraa,"

nirainirainer

and Puram. 11, line 7, as follows:

"Patal canra viraal ventanumme."

He further says that it is possible to regard these verses as having three-foot lines, according to Tōl., Cēyyul. 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, Tōl. was thinking of lines of nine acai or three vañciyuriccir, an example of which has already been given. In the next cūttiram, Tōl. 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' orāav ilakkam ponrana."

nirainirainer nirainer nernirai

The first three acai form a regular vaṇci 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 vaṇci line may be divided as follows:

"Pātal 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 Tōl.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 vaṇci 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, the rhythm peculiar to each of the four main metres of Tamil poetry.

1. Yāppu.v.13: the vaṇpātu of this one is: puli mā narumpū.
The Ocai for Āciriyaṁ metre is given as Akaval,¹ that for Vañciṣṭā is Tūṅkal,² that for Vēṅpā is Cēppal³ and the ocai proper to Kalippā is Tullal.⁴ The name for the ocai of Āciriyaṁ, 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 Cēppal has the meanings saying, reciting, and is connected with the verb-root cēppu-, say, tell.⁸ Tullal has the meanings leaping, dancing, quick movement, and is connected with the verb-root tullu-, 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. Āciriyaṁ was likened to calling, and vañci to swinging since each of its lines contains but two feet. Kali produced a sound of tripping, while vēṅpā 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 vēṅpā, the metre of a considerable amount of

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didactic poetry. It is possible that the names for the ocai of the other two metres, vañci and kali, Tūṅkal and Tūḷḷal respectively, refer also to the function of poetry composed in those metres, and that the four ocai terms may be discussed at two levels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metre</th>
<th>Ocai</th>
<th>Descriptive</th>
<th>Functional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ācīriyappā</td>
<td>akaval</td>
<td>calling</td>
<td>praśasti &amp; court love poetry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vañcippā</td>
<td>tūṅkal</td>
<td>swinging</td>
<td>swing-song; cp.mod. ūncalpāṭṭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēṅpā</td>
<td>cēppal</td>
<td>talking</td>
<td>discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalippā</td>
<td>tūḷḷal</td>
<td>jumping</td>
<td>dance-drama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suggestions contained in the last column are, it is realized, highly tentative. At the same time, it is clear from Puram 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 ācīriyam 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. 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 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. Kural & Nālaṭiyār & other works among the Eighteen Minor works. 2. e.g. Puram.316; v.s. Chap.V, p.274. 3. Comm. on Tōl. Pōrul. Purat. ed. 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 Malayālam, both the terms Tuḷḷal and Kali are associated with well-known forms of dance-drama.

Some examples of Kalippā may now be noted in connexion with cir 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 in connexion with acai, and these lines will now be given, divided according to the cir:

"Maṭiyilān
... .
nirainirai
"paṭiy ūṇpār
... .
nirainirai
"māyaval
... 
nernirai
"tāya
... 
nerner

It will be seen that, in the above, there are four cir per line and that most cir 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 that three-acaı feet ending in ner are

considered peculiar to vēṇpā metre, so that it is clear that this metre and vēṇpā have features in common. Tōl. says that kalippā arose from vēṇpā, 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 vēṇpā 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 neraeai is striking, and in many cases these neraeai 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, the name tullalocai 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 cir rather than at the beginning:

"Vār uru vaṇar aimpāl vaṇhaṅk'irai nētu men rol
cernirai nirainerner nirainirai nirainerner
"perēlin malar unkañ pīnaiy ēlin mā'nokkin
cernirai nirainerner nirainirai nernerner
"kār ētir taḷir meni kkavin pēru cuṭar nutar
cernirai nirainerner nirainirai nirainirai
"kūr ēyirrū mukai vēṇ par kōṭi puraiyu' nukappināy ..."
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 vēppā 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 vēppā 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 Tālai, are not among the 34 elements of prosody noted by Tōl.\(^3\) who, after mentioning aṭi, line, lists Yāppu. This he explains\(^4\) as the use made of the elements already noted from ēluttu to aṭi.\(^5\) It is therefore convenient to translate yāppu as prosody. It is significant that Tōl. himself says that yāppu is the use of the elements listed beginning with ēluttu, 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 Tōl. Cēyyul. 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 Kalittalai in Yāppu., v. 20. 2. V. S. p. 412 & fn. 5. 3. In Cēyyul. cū. 313. 4. Ibid., cū. 390. 5. For these, v. s. p. 412, tab. 6. In Cēyyul. cū. 313. The exclusion of māttirai from discussion in connexion with yāppu is noted by Per., comm. on Tōl. Cēyyul. cū. 390, TSS iii, p. 232. 7. On Tōl. ibid., TSS iii, pp. 231-232.
however, no mention of the sequence of these feet within lines.

It is clear from Yāppu. and Y. Kārikai. that the most elaborate rules about Taḷai, sequence of feet, are those that concern vēṅpā. Before discussing the use of cīr in this metre and its rhythm it will accordingly be useful to summarize these rules. Vēṅṭaḷai, the sequence of feet in vēṅpā, 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 Iyar ❯ and Vēṃpāvuri ❯ , the two types of sequence are termed Iyar ❯ Vēṅṭaḷai and Vēcīr Vēṅṭaḷai. After an Iyar ❯ ending in a nerner (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 vēṅpā must commence with a nerner and therefore with a long syllable. The full set of possible sequences may be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iyar ❯ Vēṅṭaḷai</th>
<th>Vēcīr Vēṅṭaḷai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nerner</td>
<td>nernerner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirainer</td>
<td>nernirainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirainer +</td>
<td>nerniriner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nernirai</td>
<td>nirainirainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nernirai</td>
<td>nernirainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirainirai</td>
<td>nernirainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nernirai +</td>
<td>nernirainer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed that there are 32 possible sequences of feet in vēṅpā and that, of these, only eight permit the

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 Iyarcir Vențalai 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 kalippâ, lines of Venpâ 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. As an illustration of this rule and of Vențalai and its resultant rhythm, Nālaṭi.180 may be quoted:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{"Manattān} & \quad \text{maruvilar} & \quad \text{enun tān} & \quad \text{cerntav} \\
\text{nirainer} & \quad \text{nirainirai} & \quad \text{nernerner} & \quad \text{nerner} \\
\text{"inattāl} & \quad \text{ikala} & \quad \text{ppatuvar} & \quad \text{punattũ} \\
\text{nirainer} & \quad \text{nirainer} & \quad \text{nirainer} & \quad \text{nirainer} \\
\text{"vēri kamal} & \quad \text{cantañamum} & \quad \text{veñkaiyum} & \quad \text{veñey} \\
\text{nirainirai} & \quad \text{nernerner} & \quad \text{nernerner} & \quad \text{nerner} \\
\text{"ēri punan} & \quad \text{tippatta} & \quad \text{kkāl."} \\
\text{nirainirai} & \quad \text{nernerner} & \quad \text{ner}
\end{align*}
\]

It will be seen that line 2 consists of a succession of nirainer feet for reasons of talai just noticed, and it may be suggested that ictus was felt on the first or second syllable of these iyarcir as in akaval. Elsewhere, it may well have been made on the initial long syllables both of iyarcir and Vençir.

1. Yāppu,v.57. 2. Scanned according to Töl.'s rules, this is niraipu, and the verse therefore two couplets.
Vēṇpā 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 vēṇpā, differing from it only in respect of their length. According to Töl.,² a poem in vēṇpā metre may be of from two to twelve lines in length. The Kali poems that are composed in vēṇpā metre wherein only vēncīr and iyarćīr are used and strict Vēṇṭālai is observed are, however, longer than twelve lines. For this reason, they are termed Kali vēṇpāṭṭu. An example of these poems is Kali.51,³ a poem of sixteen lines. The last line is of three feet as required in vēṇpā, and its final foot is of one acai only:

"cēyṭān a kkalvan makan."

- - -
nernerner nerner nirai

Lines 1 to 6 of this poem will be given as a further illustration of the vēṇpā features already discussed. Vēṇṭālai between the feet will be shown by the sign — indicating iyarćīr vēṇṭālai and the sign = indicating vēncīr vēṇṭālai:

"Cuṭar ttōṭīi kelāy tēruvil nām āṭum
- - - - - -
nirainirainer = nerner - nirainerner = nerner -

"maṇar cirril kāḷir citaivyāv aṭaicciya
- - - - - - -
nirainerner = nerner - nirainer - nirainirai -

"kotai parintū pariṇtū pariṇtū pariṇtū kōnt'ōṭi
- - - - - - - - - -
nerner - nirainer nirainerner = nerner -

It will be seen that, in the above, not only are the sequences of feet worked out according to vēntālai 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 vēnciır nirainerner as their third foot. Furthermore, the last three lines quoted have as their first foot nerner.

It is possible that the irregularity of the rhythm of vēnpā led to the application to it of the ocai-term already noted, Cēppalocai. At the same time, it may be noted that Tōl. himself merely states that "it (i.e. the ocai) is not that of vēnpā." It is the commentator that explains this as referring to the previous cūttiram wherein the ocai of āciriya is mentioned as being akaval. It is he who gives to it the name cēppalocai 'since it has the sound of two people conversing upon some matter in the ordinary way without calling out.' It is possible then that the commentator gave the name cēppalocai to that of

vēnpā to complete the set of four ocai, one each for the four main types of metre, since Tōl. 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, vaṇcippā, 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 ācīriyam and vaṇci 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.

¹. Akaval: Cēyyuḷ. cū.393; Tullal: cū.395; Tuhkal: cū.396.
². As already noted, supra p.444, the last line of a poem of vēnpā is one of 3 feet. For exceptions in the case of ācīriyam, v.i., p.464-467.
The fifth element of Tamil prosody according to Töl. and Amitacēkarar 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. Aṭi may be translated as line.

In vēnpā alone of the four main metres mentioned by Töl. do verses commonly consist of four lines, the final one being shorter than the others by one foot.

Töl. says 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, Töl. 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.

Töl. states that the short line, kuralaṭi, is one of

1. Cēyyul. cū. 313.  2. Yāppu.v. v. 1.  3. As already noted, the exception is the line of vaṃcippa and the final line of a vēppa.  4. PSS Sastri translates Aṭi as foot, and consequently translates Töl. Cēyyul. 469 as "..Eciriyappā ranges from thousand to three feet." vide JORM XXIII(1964)p. 55. We recall a mis-translation of Ayirakkāl Maṭapam, a hall in the Cidambaram temple.  5. Nericai vēnpā: Yāppu.v. 60. In later T.prosody, metres such as viruttem have 4-line verses.  6. cū. 346.  7. cf. Sikharinī & Mandākrānta, pādas of which have 17 syll.  8. cū. 348.
from four to six syllables. The cint'ati, 'dwarf' line, contains from seven to nine syllables, the standard line, alavati or neraati is of from ten to fourteen syllables, the long line, netilati is one of from fifteen to seventeen syllables, and the over-long line, kaline-nilati contains from eighteen to twenty syllables. Examples of all of these are given by Per.

It is of interest to note that the example of kuralaati is printed as though ati here meant half-line, for, as given, the printed line contains eight syllables, two more than kuralaati may contain. In the examples of cint'ati and longer lines, however, it is clear that ati in fact means line, since in the examples of cint'ati, 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 kuralaati 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 Tol., the later arrangement is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line Type</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kuralaati</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>Y.Karikai.v.12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cint'ati</td>
<td>7-9</td>
<td>2 cir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alavati</td>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>3 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netilati</td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaline-nilati</td>
<td>18-20</td>
<td>5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>more than 5 cir.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed that the author of Y.Karikai.

regards the standard line as one of four feet. This agrees with the view of Töl. As noted by Dr. A. C. Chettiar, 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, vēṇpā and āciriyam, there are regular exceptions to this. 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 Töl. and the author of Y. Kārikai. It has been seen that the first five elements of prosody listed by Töl., māṭṭirai, ēluttu, 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 mēyppāṭu relate to what is herein called poetics and have already been discussed.

Tol.'s sixth element of prosody is Yāppu.¹ It has already been seen² that this is the use made of ēlluttu, acai, cīr and aṭi.³ Tol. further says⁴ that verse so produced in the land of the three kings is suitable for pāṭṭu, poetry, urai, commentary, nūl, treatise, vāyamoli, orally-transmitted verse, pici, riddle, aṅkatam, lampoon and mutucōl, proverb.

Yāppu is not found in the list of elements of prosody in Yāppu., where, in its place appears Taḷai which has already been discussed with reference to vēṇpā.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 Tol.¹, is defined as the pause made between one line or verse and the next that helps to determine the rhythm.⁷ Tol. further says⁸ that Tūkku is the same as ocai already described by him.⁹ Commenting on this, Per. says that 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 vaṅci 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 Cēntūkku. 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.

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on Yāppu.¹

Tōl.'s 26th. element of prosody, vāṇṇam, may next be noted as it, too, is of rhythmic significance. Per. says² that vāṇṇam concerns the ocai of a poem, and this is clear from Tōl.'s definitions of some of the twenty types of vāṇṇam he lists.³

For instance, Īlukuvāṇṇam, wherein the verse flows evenly, is given in the colophons to a number of Patirru. poems⁴ as the vāṇṇam of those akaval-metre prāsastis. Pāvāṇṇam, also called Gōrcīrvaṇṇam, 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 Īlukuvāṇṇam which is mentioned most frequently. As an example of poetry said to produce both types of vāṇṇam, Patirru.II,19, lines 1 to 4 may be quoted:

"Kōllai valci kkavar kār kūliyar
nerner nerner nirainer nernirai

"kalluṭai nētu nēri pointū curan aruppa
nernirai nirainirai nerpū nirainirainer⁷

"ōn pōri kkai kal mārā vayavar
nernirai nirainer nerner nirainer

"tiṇ piṇiy ēhkam puliy urai kalippa ... "

nernirai nerner nirainirai nirainer

Tūṇkalvaṇṇam is found in vaṇci 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 Cēyyuḻiyal. ² TSS iii,p.116. ³ cū.525. ⁴ e.g. to Patirru.II,11,14; for Olukuv: see Tōl.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 tuṅkalocai, since both terms refer to the
effect of swinging conveyed by varṣī poetry. A number of vanṇam
are, however, suggested by the predominance of certain types of
consonants or of long or short vowels. For example, Mēllicai-
vāṇṇam is one produced by verse that has an abundance of nasals.  
The commentator Per. gives this example:

Pōnnīṁ anna punnai nunṭātu.
Kuruṇcīr vāṇṇam is produced by an abundance of short vowels:

Kuraṅk'ūlai ppōlinta koy cuvaṛ puravi.  
It is clear that vāṇṇam 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 Kauṭanēri
(Gauḍa style) by the commentator on Taṅṭiyalaṅkārāram, who, with
the author of this text, thus follows Daṇḍin.  6 Tōl. clearly
takes the opposite view, since he does not qualify as faults any
of the vāṇṇam listed by him.

Two other general elements of prosody listed by Tōl. 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, Tōṭai.

Nokku is defined by Tōl. 8 as a "device," kāraṇam, to
draw the attention of the audience to the units of prosody

4. Per. comm., TSS iii, p. 421.  5. Taṅṭi., TSS edn., pp. 13, 14, 15-17:
comm. on Taṅṭi. cū. 16 which defines cērīvu (śiṣṭa) & cū. 17: cam-
nilai (samatā).  6. Exceptions are made in the case of Maṭakkū,
Yamaka, using only 1 cons. or vowel or class thereof; see Taṅṭi.
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 Töl. Cêyyul. cū. 416,\(^4\) it is clear that he understood nokku as the arresting use of karupporul, mutarporul and other matters connected with the akattinai, 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 kānām, the forest, clearly show the hearer that not only is the companion talking of the rainy season that was poetically associated with mullai\(^5\), but that the heroine is awaiting the return of her lover, since the uripporul of mullai is iruttal, awaiting.\(^6\) She emphasizes the love the hero bears for the heroine by calling him 'lord of the hills'\(^8\) and by mentioning the kāntal, gloriosa, that grows in the hills.\(^9\) She thereby hints that the desire of the hero is for punartal, 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 akattinai and their associated mutal-, karu- and uripporul such as that made in the Akam. poem quoted by Per., was essential if the hearer was to

---

regard what he had listened to as truly a poem. Such matters of subject were clearly complementary to the actual versification employing the units of prosody as defined by Töl., 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 Töl. 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 Töl. is Tōtai. This concerns versification, and corresponds to the Sanskrit term Anuprása. Dr. A.C. Chettiar has translated Tōtai as Rhyming, but it is proposed herein to translate tōtai as Alliteration, for it involves the leading syllable or syllables of lines of verse as well as final ones.

Tōtai is regarded by Töl. as of eight kinds. The first four he lists are Monai, Žtukai, Muran and Iyaipt, and, as will shortly be seen, these are the most distinctive types. Töl. lists four other kinds of tōtai: Ālapētai, Pōlippu, Ŷrūu and Čentōtai. The first three of these latter may be regarded as varieties or special applications of Monai and Žtukai, and were so regarded by later prosodists. Čentōtai is defined by Töl. as any tōtai that differs from the other seven kinds mentioned by him. In practice Čentōtai may imply the virtual absence of any tōtai 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 pūrattinai. 2. Töl. Ceyyul, cu. 313. 3. ASTP p. 49. 4. cu. 400. 5. cu. 401. 6. cu. 402. 7. cu. 412. 8. cf. the example of Čentōtai cited by Per., comm. on cu. 412, TSS iii, p. 271; it is Akam. 270, 11. 1-4, 5-6. In these 6 lines, the first syllables of two pairs of feet only alliterate.
Verse. Tōl. says\(^1\) that tōtai of any kind may occur in successive lines of poetry or in successive feet. The former is called Niraniraittōtai, the latter Iraṭtaittōtai.\(^2\)

Monai is defined by Tōl.\(^3\) as the alliteration of the initial syllables of successive lines of verse. Per. gives the following example from Puram:\(^4\):

"KOTAI mārpir KOTAIY ānum
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 tōtai. Such repetition of words in tōtai will here be called chiming. The following is an instance of alliteration only in successive lines: "KAlijru KAṭaiiya tāl
KAḷal urfiya tirunt'āti
KKAṇai pōrulu KAvivaṅkaiyār
KAṇṇ̣ ṣāḷir varūn KAvin cāpattu . . . " \(^6\)

It will be seen that, as in the example of Monai cited by Per., this may occur at the half-line as well as at the commencement of each line. Prosodists after Tōl. felt it necessary to subdivide Monai in order to take into account such special uses of it. Monai 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 cir, and those in which monai takes place are represented by A, the non-

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\(^1\) cu.403.  \(^2\) Per.on cu.403: TSS iii,p.244.  \(^3\) cu.404.  \(^4\) Per. on cu.404: p.246.  \(^5\) Puram.48,11.1-2.  \(^6\) Puram.7,11.1-6.
alliterating cir by x, y, z:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cir</th>
<th>cir</th>
<th>cir</th>
<th>cir</th>
<th>Var. name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>Inaimonai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>polippumonai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>&quot;ordu-&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>kulai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>merkatu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>kilkkatu- 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>murruru.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The normal variety wherein successive lines have monai:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

is herein not listed and, including it, the author of Y.kärikai recognizes eight types of monai.

The second type of töتai listed by Töl. is Etukai, and he defines it as alliteration of syllables other than the first in successive lines or feet. Per. gives the following example:

AతAL Amar venokki ni吷 muka吷 kan吷ey
uతALUm irint'otum ūl malarum Părkkun
kаТALUh kanayi irulum ãmpalum Pãmpum
taతA matiyam úm ãnbru tãm.

It will be seen that the second syllable in each line is ūa, and that, in addition, there is Etukai in the third syllable, since in the first three lines the same consonant appears albeit followed by a different vowel. Instances of monai 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 Inaimonai as noted in Y.kärikai.

1. Without implying that they too are alliterating or otherwise.
2. Y.kärikai, v. 20 comm., TSS edn., p. 52. 3. Töl. Ceyyu., cū. 400. 4. cū. 405. 5. Comm. on cū. 405, TSS iii, p. 245. 6. This is sanctioned by Töl. in cū. 406 & by Per., comm. thereon, TSS iii, pp. 252-3.
Etukai also is considered by later prosodists 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 Töl.Ceyyu1. cū.408 illustrates the rhyming of a final syllable:

"Avaro vārār kār vant'anRE
kōti taru mullaiyuń kańit'arump'InRE."

Another example in the same commentary illustrates the rhyming of the final foot in two successive lines:

Paravai mākkaṭar pōku tirai VARAVUM
pańtai cęyyiy imp'ival VARAVUM.

Iyaiputtōtai is subdivided into eight varieties by the commentator on Yārikai. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>x</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>Rh</th>
<th>Rh</th>
<th>Inaiiyaiipu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>polippu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>orūu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>kulai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>merkatu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>kīlkkatu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>Rh</td>
<td>murr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. cf. Y. kārikai.v.20 & comm.,TSS p.53.  
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 monâi. Similarly, it does not take into account the normal iyaipu between the final feet or syllables of successive lines:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
 x & y & z \\
 a & b & c \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
 Rh \\
 Rh. \\
\end{array}
\]

Before discussing Muran̄tōtai, the fourth main type of tōtai listed by Tōl., the four other types he defines may be noted, since they will be regarded as subordinate to monâi and ētukai already described.

Aḷapēṭaittōtai is the term for alliteration of over-long vowels appearing as the first syllable of successive lines. Since such vowels are less common initially than after a consonant, and tōtai 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 monâi, but is the chiming of the vowel instead of alliteration of the consonant. The commentary on Tōl.ōu.409 gives as an example:

"PĀAL aṅcēvi ppañai ttān mā nirai 
 mĀAL yāṃaiyōtu māravar mayānki." 4

Aḷapēṭaittōtai 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 monâi and iyaipu are given, and the example of one of these varieties, Mur̲r'āḷapēṭaittōtai, shows the chiming of dissimilar over-long vowels:

ĀAn ĀA nīI ′ nīIr. 6

Polippu and Orūu are both defined as varieties of ētukai by Tōl. The former term relates to ētukai in alternate feet of the same line, the latter to ētukai 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 ētukai occurring within a line and that the same terms were used to describe parallel occurrences of monai and alapēṭaittōtai. These terms are also used by the commentator on Y. kārikai to describe two varieties of Muraṇtōtai, as will shortly be seen.

The last type of tōtai mentioned by Tōl. is Cēntōtai, which he defines as any tōtai that differs from the other seven he mentions. It has already been suggested that Cēntōtai may imply the virtual absence of any tōtai, as is clear from the example quoted by Per. In it, there is monai between the first syllables of the second feet of lines 1 and 2, and ētukai between the second syllables of the second and third feet in line 2:

"Irunkali Malarnta vall ital nilam
pulāan MARUKir ciRU kuti ppākkatt'
inamin veṭṭuvvar nālalōtum ilaiyum
ēllam pulampa nēkilntana tole."

Among the four main tōtai listed by Tōl., Muraṇ has been held over for consideration because it differs from all other types of tōtai Tōl. or other writers envisage in that it involves subject-matter as well as words or syllables. Muraṇ is

defined by Tōl.¹ as the Muran, 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 Tōl.Śāvyul.ē.407² gives this fivefold scheme for Muranṭōṭai:

- 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 Muran, opposition of words in an alliterative scheme:

"Cēvvi vāyttta cēmpāṭ tīrattu
Vēllai vēnmari mey pulatt'ōliya."

He gives the following to illustrate opposed ideas:

"Nīrora anna cāyar
Rīyor annav ēnna uran 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 ētukai of the first and second syllable, since N and T (R in sandhi after cāyal) are of one varga and so are R and Y, and such alliteration is noted by Tōl.⁵ Per. gives the following to illustrate the third type of muran envisaged wherein there is antithesis both in word and idea:

---

"TANNIYAL arra tayaṅk'aral kānattu
VĒNIR ppōru'ṇacai munni ceēnrār."

Here, coolness is opposed to warmth and there is an antithetical monai and ētukai in the first two syllables of each line.

As was noted in the case of other tōtai, Muranț 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 tōtai 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:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C and D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the example of Inaimuranț:

**CĪRATI PER AKAL** alkul olkupu,
the ideas in the first and second feet are opposed; cīrați, small feet, are opposed as a concept to per akal (alkul), large, broad hips. In the example given to show Murrumuranț:

**TUVAR vāy TĪN cōlum UVANTʻēnai MUNIYĀtu,**
"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.

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 Tōl.¹ that are of relevance to this subject are the eleventh, Pā, and the twelfth, Aḻavu, and Tōl. discusses them in Cēyyulīyal in eighty cuttirams. Aḻavu is the term for the length of any poem, and Tōl. says² that this has to be considered in connexion with the various metres. It is clear then that not only are there four main metres, āciriyyapā, vañcippā, vēnpā and kaliippā, but that poems in these metres are required to conform to certain limits of length. This has already been observed⁴ in the case of vēnpā, when it was seen that poems in this metre may be of from two to twelve lines. Tōl. states⁵ that a poem in āciriyyam may be of from three to one thousand lines, and that there is no limit for Kalivēnpāṭṭu and verses about the akattinai Kaikkilai.⁶ The poems in a mixture of metres known as Paripāṭal⁸ may be of from 25 to 400 lines in length.⁹ Tōl. does not prescribe any limits for poems in vañcippā.

As has already been seen, Pā means metre, and this term has already been noticed since it is appended¹¹ to the names for the four main metres, Āciriyyam, Vēnpā, Vañci and Kali. It is, however, proper to regard Pā as also meaning a poem in one or other of these metres. In this sense the

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¹. In Cēyyul, cū. 313. ². Pā: cū. 417-495; Aḻavu: cū. 496.
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 Āciriyaṃ and vēṇpā 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 vēṇpā. It has also been seen that three of the main metres, Āciriyaṃ or akaval, vēṇpā and kali commonly have lines of four feet, but that lines of two feet are the regular requirement of vaṇci poems. Doubtless it was for this reason that Tōl. regarded 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 vēṇpā.

In Āciriyaṃ, 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. Kurun.3, a poem in akaval of four lines, may be cited as a poem typical of this form:

"Nirainirai nirainer nernirai nirainerpu
nirainirai nirainer nernirai nirainerpu

Nirainum ār alav' innē cārār
nernirai nernirai nerner nerner

1. v. s. pp. 442-3. 2. ca. 344. 3. v. s. p. 444.
"karunkor kuriinci uppkkonantu

nirainer nirainer nernerpu

"perunten ilaikkku' natnottu natpe."

nirainer nirainer nerniraipu nerner

The last three lines of Pattu., Maturaikkani, a poem of 782 lines, are as follows:

"Manankamal teran matuppa nalu'
maklunginit uraimati perruma
varaintu ni perra nalluliyaiye."

In both these examples, it will be seen that the feet of the penultimate line are iyarcIr or uriccir 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 aciriyam, and is the one described by Töl. 1 As Chettiar observes, 2 Töl. does not note any variant types of aciriyam poem. Later prosodists such as Amitackarar, however, enumerate four types of poem in this metre. 3 These are:

Nericaiy aciriyappā: the normal type as noted above.

Iṇaikkural- : The first and last lines are of four feet, but the intervening lines may contain two, three or four feet.

Aṭimari manṭilav- : All lines contain four feet, and, since each line constitutes a separate sentence, the lines are interchangeable.

Nilaimanṭilav- : All lines contain four feet.

1. Cēyyuḷ. cu. 380. 2. ASTP p. 63. 3. e.g. Yāppu. v. 70, vv. 71-74.
Chettiar has shown that in five of the anthologies a number of poems occur that may be called Nilaimantilam, although such a variety of aciriyappa is not noted by Töll. There is one such poem in Patirru and nineteen in Puram. Chettiar demonstrates in connexion with Atimaranthilavaciriyam that separate classification according to interchangeability of lines was not envisaged by Töll, and that this feature may be found in poems in metres other than aciriyam. There are a number of poems of the Inaikkurak type in both Puram. and Patirru, and, while Töll does not mention aciriyappa of this type, he does say that both venpavuriccir and vanciyuriccir may occur in lines of aciriyam for the sake of sweetness. It has already been seen that there are a number of vańci 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 vańci metre is so few or their structure is so irregular that the term vańcippa 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 aciriyam. 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 venpavuriccir, those of lines 3 and 4 are vanciyuriccir. The second foot of line 4 is a two-foot aciriyavuriccir, 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 cu., 342; for these feet, v.s. p. 425. 6. In cu., 343; for these, v.s. p. 426. 7. v.s. pp. 434-437.
instance of iṇaikkural, although it does not commence with a regular line of akaval metre. Lines 1 to 5 are as follows:

"Kārīru kaṭaiya tāl
niraiṇirairai ner =vančiyuri + 1-ațai
"māv utārriya vaṭimpū
nirairai nīraipū " + "
"caman tatainta vel
nirairainer ner =vēṇpavuri + "
"vill alaitta nal valattū "
nirairainer nīraipū " + 2-ațai
"vanṭ'icai kaṭavā ttaṇ paṇam pontai ..."

It will be seen that, despite their different structures in terms of ațai, 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 to the poems in vaṇci metre in Puram., and it remains but to discuss their form. No limits for poems in this metre are envisaged by Tōl. It will be found that all three poems end in akaval lines of four cīr. As Chettiar observes, Tōl. implies akaval endings to vaṇci poems when speaking of the Tūkku of vaṇcipā, and Tōl.'s statement is certainly interpreted in this way by Per., who quotes the

closing portion of Puram.4. It may also be noted that Puram.11 and 239 have, in addition, a Taniccol, a detached word of one ciri as a supernumerary foot towards the close of the poem.1

The limits of vēṇpā poems have already been noted2 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 vēṇpā 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 vēṇpā: ner, nirai, nerpu and niraipu. These are given four special vāypātu, mnemonics:5 nāl, malar, kācu and pirappu. The rules for the extended vēṇpā known as Kalivēṇpāṭṭu 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.

Töl. says8 that there are four types of kalippā, and two of these, Öttālicai and Kalivēṇpāṭṭu, have already been noticed.9 The third type is Kōccakam, a term applied to any kali poem that differs in form from the normal Öttālicai in being divided into fewer parts. For example, Kali.54 consists

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1. Puram.11,1.15; 239,1.18. Taniccol has been noted as an integral part of kalippā, v.s. Chap.IX, p.385; normally it is 'ēnavāṅku.' 2. v.s. p.445. 3. v.s. p.444. 4. e.g. Yăppu, v.57 & comm., p.213. They are otherwise scanned nerne & nirainer: v.s. pp.416-7 & 417 fnl. 5. Yăppu, 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. Töl. Ceyyul, cü.442. 9. v.s. pp.385 & 445.
of two Taravu, a Taniccol and Curitakam. Kali.85, on the other hand, consists of the stanzas called Tālicai only. ¹ Both poems are classified as Kōccakakkalippā.² The fourth type is called Ural; this, states Töl.,³ should be in the form of a dialogue. In form, however, it could be classified as Kōccakam, since it lacks the closing portion of the typical kali poem called Curitakam.

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 Ėrutu, and corresponds to the Taravu in kalippā. As Chettiar observes, Paripāṭal is not discussed by prosodists later than Töl.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 Töl. figure in them to a lesser extent. Vēṇpā does not appear at all, save in passages in Pari., and kali is confined to the anthology of poems in that metre called Kalittōkai. Vaṇci occurs in a few poems in Puram., but vaṇci feet, together with those of vēṇpā, occur in a number of poems that are regarded as a variety of akaval called Inaikkural.

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. Ceyyul. ā. 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 Āciriyaţam and vañci.

Āciriyaţam, 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 ocaï-term akaval that is applied to it.

In the light of what has been observed concerning Āciriyaţam as the metre of six out of the eight anthologies, four of these being collections of love poetry, the remark of Tōl.¹ that paripāṭṭal and kalippā are most suitable for giving expression to the akattinai is open to comment. It may have been an expression of opinion, implying that Tōl. preferred the more ornate love poems found in what has come down as Kalittōkai or in other works now lost. On the other hand, the inclusion of paripāṭṭal 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 Tirukkovaiyar.

a) Literary.

It has been demonstrated that the collections of early Tamil poems called Āṭṭuttōkai, 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. 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 Paranar who are known for both kinds of poetry.

It may be suggested further that the love poetry appearing in such anthologies as AkanāṆūṟu and Aiṅkurunūṟu 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 Töl. On the other hand, as has been seen, the poems of PuranāṆūṟu and Patirṟuppattu 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. It may be noted, however, that this poem was regarded by the writer of the Puram.

as suggesting Kaikkilaitiina and not one of the five tilai of reciprocal or normal love.¹

Both the metre of most of these poems, Akaval, and the forms of address in those on puram themes suggest that this poetry was recited or chanted aloud, presumably before the king and his courtiers. Sir C.M. Bowra has suggested² 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 Kalittokai, 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-epithets⁴ and the reiteration of half- or whole lines⁵ suggests improvisation as a fundamental method of composition of this poetry.⁶ It has been

¹. For kaikkilai, 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. "Tinti poraiyan Tonti": Akam. 60, l. 7; Kurun. 128, l. 2 & Nar. 5, l. 9; all attributed to different poets. ⁵. e.g. "Nalkinum nalkanayinum vēl por ...": Puram. 80, l. 5 & 154, l. 9; "Nētuṅkotiy ulinai ppavar-štun itaintu," Puram. 76, l. 5 & 77, l. 3 (with ... ilaintu for itaintu) 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. At the same time, comparisons of heroes to the gods are freely made. 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.

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 Iraiyar Akapporul. 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. 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 Pāṇtiya is compared to Śiva, Balarāma, Viṣṇu and Murukan; v.s. Chap. IV, pp. 166-6. In 58, the Ceral and Pāṇtiya 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 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 Etuttokai as, for example, in that of the kurinci 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.

These poems are unique in the history of Indian poetics. The seven akattinai and purattinai 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 Pōrulatikāram of Tolkāppiyam, 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 Cañkam 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 cañkam 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. Chatterjee¹ 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

"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, Tiruṉānasambandar 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. 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 Tōṇṭaimaṇṭalam, it

1. CET p.10; see p.9 also. 2. For List of these in Purāṇa. 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 Islam.

More exact dating of the poems of Ēṭṭuttōkai cannot reasonably be attempted in the absence of reliable historical material. It was seen that the synchronism between Cēṅkuṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu rests on secondary evidence in Tamil sources, the patikam to decade V of Patirru and the prose Uraipērukaṭṭurai appended to the patikam to Cilappatikāram by an unknown early editor. The conclusions of writers 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'
reign to each Cola king mentioned. 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 Pāntiya, 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 Vaṇci, 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."

In the three Appendices that follow, all textual references to the Eight Anthologies are made in the following order: Puranāñāru, Patirruppattu, Akanāñāru, Kuruntōkai, Narriṇai, Ainkurunāru, Kalittōkai 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.
- Akam.
- Kurun.
- Nar.

Abbreviations for the other three anthologies are the same as used hitherto, viz., Ainkuru., 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 Tōlkāppiyam, Pōruḷatikāram, and to Purappōruḷ Vēṇpāmālai or other texts will occur after those to Ēṭṭūttōkai and Patirru. patikams. The same abbreviations as used hitherto are used.

In accordance with the convention adopted in the foregoing, Tōl.'s Turai are given between quotation marks. e.g.:

"Iyakhu pāṭaiy aravam."
### APPENDIX I

**LIST OF TURAI IN PURANĀṆŪRŪ AND PATIRRUPPATTU**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turai name</th>
<th>Meaning: Purpose. References to Puram. &amp; Patirru. (Verse-nos. underlined refer to those transl. in Chapters II, IV, V. References to Töl. PPVM &amp;c. Remarks.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iyanmōli</td>
<td>Telling of Qualities: Glorifying hero and his ancestors. 8-10, 12, 14, 15, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 50, 67, 92, 96, 97, 102, 105, 107, 108, 122-124, 129-132, 134. Töl.Purat. 90. PPVM vv. 194, 195. PPVM does not differentiate between this and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṭanilai</td>
<td>Being Together: Singing in praise of two companions. 58.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvakaikkalulceci</td>
<td>Weeping with Joy: wife's tears of joy at seeing her husband wounded in battle. 277, 278, 295. PPVM v. 151.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Uliñaiyaravam
Noise of Siege: Siege of fort by soldiers wearing uliñai flowers.  
P77. Töl.Purat. 65. PPVM v. 95.  
Element -aravam not in Töl. or PPVM.

Erumaimaram
Buffalo's Valour: Hero takes a bold stand in battle.  
80, 274, 275.  
Töl.Purat. 72, Nacc. PPVM v. 139.  
Nacc. cites 274 as ex. of Tumpatturai  
"Pañaiyaruttu ppali köllum emattanum";  
vs. Chap. II, p. 49.

Erkkañavuruvakam
The Threshing-Floor: Battlefield likened to a threshing-floor.  
368-371, jointly with Mañakkañalavali, q.  
cf. Töl.Purat. 76. PPVM v. 159.

Erñanmallai
High Valour: Eulogizing the martial valour of a warrior-family.  
86, 296. PPVM v. 176.

Olvålamalai
Whistle of the Bright Blade: The sound of the sword being brandished by warriors wearing anklets.  
P56. cf. Töl.Purat. 72. PPVM v. 147.  
Civakacintâmani 783.

Kañainilai
At the Gateway/Conclusion: Travel-weary bard rests & announces arrival.  
127, 382-384, 391-396, 398.  
Töl.Purat. 90.

Kañalavali
Victory: The bard praises spoil of king victorious in battle.  
P36. PPVM v. 207 (Kañalavâlittu).

Kañirruñanilai
Presence of the Elephant: Warrior is slain by the elephant he had pierced.  

Kñticvâlittu
Praise of a Spectacle:  
P: 41, 54, 61, 64, 82, 90.  
None of these P vv. are quoted by Nacc.  
on Töl.Purat. Kñticvâlittu is only listed  
by Töl.Purat. 60 in connexion with seeing  
a hero-stone, not a patron.

Kävanmallai
Victory of Rule: praising king's rule.  
Kutinilai uraittal
Extolling the Family: Extolling fame of a warrior's family.
290. PPVM v.35.

Kutaimankalam
Eulogy of the Parasol: Praise of the parasol of a victorious king.
60. cf.Tōl. Purat.91. PPVM v.222.
Tōl.'s is "Kuṭai nilal marapu."

Kutiramaram
The Horse's Valour: Celebrating prowess of war-horse.
273, 299, 302-304.
cf.Tōl. Purat.72. PPVM v.133.

Kuravainilai
Dance by women in a circle: id.
P52,53.
Tōl. Purat.79 (Kuravai). PPVM vv.161, 162, for varieties of Kuravai itself.

Kurunkali
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.
Tōl. Purat.79 (he gives it as Kāncittura PPVM vv.31 (under Karantai), 267, 268 (under Pōtuviyal).

Korravallai
Song of Victory: Eulogy of king's valour, Tōl. Purat.89; tribute paid by defeated king, Ilam.on Tōl. Purat.63.
4, 7, 41.
Tōl. Purat.63 & 89. PPVM, v.43.

Cālpumullai
Victory of the Excellent: Serenity of those who are noble-minded.
285. PPVM, v.185.

Cēnturaippāṭaṇpāṭṭu
Song in praise of Hero's Fame: In praise of hero's fame, power & magnificence.
Conn. W. Pāṭān. But Nacc. quotes P71 as ex. of Tōl.'s Vancitturai "Aṭutt'ūrnt' aṭṭa Kōrrattānum"; v.s. Chap.II, pp.45-6
He quotes P71 as ex. Tōl.'s Vancitturai "Vēnror vilakkam" & P13,P74 as ex. Tōl.' (Vākai) "Aivakai marapin aracar pakkam" for P71, v.s. Chap.II, pp.52-54.
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Nīṃmūli
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. Tōl. Purat. 72. PPVM v.142.

Nēṭumūli
Praise, Vow: Vow, acc. Tōl. Purat. 60. 298. Tōl. Purat. 60. PPVM v.32.

Paricil
Largesse: id. 163. cf. Tōl. Purat. 91. cf. PPVM v.214. See also, Paricirrurrai and

Paricilviṭai
Liberality: A king bestowing gifts on his panegyrist. 140, 152, 162, 165, 397, 399. PPVM v.214.

Paricirkatānilai

Paricirrurrai

Paricirruraippṭānṭṭu

Paliccutal

Pāṇārruppatai

Pāṇṇāṭṭu
Bardic song: Sung in praise of fallen warriors. 283-284, 311. PPVM v.137.
Eulogy of the Brahman: describing the greatness a brahman achieved through penance.

Parppanavākai

166, 305. cf. Töl. Purat. 75. PPVM v. 163.

Gīl. XXIII, 72.

Pulavarārruppaṭai

Directing a Poet: Directing a fellow-poet to one's munificent patron.


Pūkkoṭkānci

Accepting the Flowers: Accepting vēṭci and other flowers before battle.

293. PPVM v. 70.

Same as Pūkkoṇilai: 289, 1. 9; 341, 1. 9.

Pūvainilai

Praise of the 'Bilberry': Praise of the 'bilberry' as being of Viṣṇu's colour.


56 is cited by Nacc. as ex. of Töl.'s Vēṭcitturai "Māyon meya...pūvainilai", v.s. Chap. II, p. 56, Chap. IV, p. 165.

Pēruṅkānci


Töl. Purat. 79. PPVM v. 66, which gives purpose as Exhibition of warriors' prowess in battle.

Pēruṅcorrunilai

The Great Feast: The king gives a great feast to soldiers before battle.


Pōtumōlikkaṇci

General Counsel: id.

75.

Pōrumōlikkaṇci

Instruction by Truthful Sayings: Tells of principles of conduct leading to happiness.

24, 121, 182, 183, 185-192, 193, 195, 214. PPVM v. 271.

Makaṭpārkānci

Theme about the Daughter: Refusal of a person of ancient lineage to bestow his daughter on a king.

336, 337-356.

Töl. Purat. 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 Töl.'s Uliṅai-tturai "Akatton cēlvam", v.s. p. 48.
Malapulavacci

Advance to Malavar Country: Describes destruction of hostile country.
16. PPVM v.50.

Marakkalavali

Pathway through Battle: King described as ploughing through battlefield.
368-371, jointly w Erkkalavuruvakam, q.v. cf. Töl.Purat.76. PPVM v.159.

Marakkalavelvi

Battle Sacrifice: A warrior killing his enemies.
373.

Marakkānci

Strength in Defeat: Warrior tearing open his wounds and dying.
357. Töl.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.

Mutumōlikkānci

Instruction by Proverb: Wise men instructing in aram, pōrul, 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.
PPVM v.175.

Vančitturaippātanpāttru

Praise of Advancing heroes: The king decides to advance & praise of him.
Töl.Purat.62 (Vanči). PPVM v.36 (Vanči)
P23 cited by Nacc. as ex. Töl.'s Pāṭāntinai TSS i, p.252-3.
P33 cited by Nacc. as ex. Töl.'s Vančitturai "Iyankupāṭaiyaram", v.s.
Chap.II, p.47.

Vančinakkānci

Declaration on Oath: King decides he should be cursed if not victorious.
71-75. Töl.Purat.79. PPVM v.69.
Vallāṇmullai

Theme of Manly Valour: Exciting manly virtues by praise of his family.
PPVM v. 177.

Vākai

Eulogy of conqueror (Tinai): id.
P39, P84. Tōl. Purat. 74 (Vākai).
PPVM v. 155 (Vākai).

Vākaiṭṭutapiṭṭañḍāṭṭu

Eulogy of Hero: Conqueror wears vākai flowers & rejoices over foes.

Vāṃmaṇkalam

Eulogy of the Sword: Ceremonial washing of victorious king's sword.
95. Tōl. Purat. 91. PPVM v. 223.

Vālțṭiyyal

Of the Nature of Praise: Describes praise bestowed on patron by bard.

Vālțṭu

Praise: id.
128.

Viraliyārūppatāi

Directing a Danseuse: Directing to one munificent patron a danseuse.
64, 103, 105, 133. P: 40, 49, 57, 60, 78, 87.
Tōl. Purat. 91. PPVM v. 319.

Vettiyyal

Kingly Nature: Warriors expatiating on nature of heroic kings.
286, 291. PPVM v. 34.
PPVM v. 34 cited by Ilam. on Tōl. Purat. cu. 5: same as Vettiyyanmālipu.
APPENDIX II

LIST OF POETS WHOSE WORK APPEARS IN
PURANĀṆŪRU 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(ar)(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.

Aṭainēṭukalliyār
v.r. Antarnāṭukallinār TSS
Aṭainēṭukalviyār S

Āṭar m. Kuruvalutiyār
prob. son of Antarnāṭukallinār,

Aricil Kilār

Allūr Naṃmullassār
(340 anon. UVS,S)

Ālahkuṭi Vahkanēr

Ālattūr Kilār

Āliyar v.r. Āviyar TSS

Āvaṭuturai Mācattanēr

283f,344f,345.


34,36,69,225,324, K112, K350.

298.

227.
Avūr Kilār
Avūr Mūlaṅkilār

Itāikkāṭaṇār

Itāikkunrūr Kilār
"Irumpīṭar Ttalaiyār" (phrase-name)

Uloccanār

All his akam poems are on Nēytaṇ, acc. the colophons.

Uraiyur Ilampōṇvanaṇikanār
Uraiyur Emicceri Muṭamociyār
Uraiyur Maruttuvan Tāmotaranār
Uraiyur Mutukaṇṇan Cāttanār
Uraiyur Mutukuttanār

Unpōti Pacuhkuṭaiyār
(Ērukkāṭṭur) Tṭāyankaṇṇan(ār)+

For 356, see Kataiyankaṇṇanār.

Ērumaivelliyānār
Aiyāti Cciruvēṇṭeraiyār
Aiyūr Muṭavanār
For 51, v.r. Aiyūr k., UVS

Aiyūr Mūlaṅkilār
Ōkkūr Mācāttanār
Ōkkūr Mācāṭtiyār

Oruciraippēriyan(ār)+
Oruttanar

Ollaiyur tanta Pūtappāntiyan

Orampokiyar

Orerulava(nā)r

193 v. r. Onnārulavār (UVS)

K131, see also Nakkiṣra(nā)r.

Auvaįyār

Auvaį: see Cirupāṇ. 1.101.

Kaṭalul māyntav Iḷampēruvalutī

Kaṭaiyaṅkannaṇār

Tāyankannaṇār, S, q. v.

Kaṇiyāṅ Pūṅkunreṇ(ar)*

Kaṇṇakaṇār

Kapilar

"Pulāṇ alukk'arrav antaṇālaṇ" 126,1.11 (comm.)

"Poyyā nāvir Kapilāṇ" 174,1.10

"Yāne... antaṇālaṇ" 200,1.13.

"Antaṇāṇ pulāvān kōṇtu vantaṇaṇe." 201,1.15

"Viṅkana kukan Kapilāṇ" 229,1.12.

"Nallicai Kkапilāṇ" P85,1.13.

All his akam poems are on kuriṇci, acc. the colophons,

save A203(pālai), K246(nēytaļ)

N:59, 267, 320.

Kayamaṇār

All his akam poems are on

pālai, acc. the colophons,

save K9 (nēytaļ).

Kallāṭaṇār

Karuṅkulalāṭaṇār

275.

71. A25.

284. A286, A316. K:10, 70, 122


87-104, 140, 187, 206, 231,

232, 235, 269, 286, 290, 295,

311, 315, 367, 390, 392.

182. Pari. 15 (on Tirumāl).

356(UVS, TSS).

192. N226*.

218. N79.

8, 14, 105-110, 111, 113-124,

143, 200-202, 236, 337f, 347f,

P decade VII.

A:2, 12, 18, 42, 82, 118, 128,

A:168, 182, 203, 218, 238, 248,


K:13, 18, 25, 36, 42, 87, 95, 100,

K:106, 115, 121, 142, 153, 187,

K:198, 208, 225, 241, 246, 249,

K:259, 264, 288, 291, 312, 335,

K:357, 361, 385. N:1, 13, 32,

N:59, 65, 77, 217, 222, 225, 253,

N:267, 291, 309, 320, 336, 353,

N:359, 368, 373, 376.

Aṅkuro. 201-300 (kuriṇci).

Kali. Kuriṇciikkali.

Pattu. Kuriṇcinppättu.

254, 361(TSS). A:7, 17, 145,

A:189, 195, 219, 221, 259, 275,

A:321, 383, 397. K:9, 356, 378,

K396. N:12, 198, 279, 293, 305,

N324.

23, 25, 371, 385, 391. A:9, 83,


K260, K269.

7, 224.
Karuvūr Kka(n)*tappillai Ceṭṭanār 168*. A309*. N343.
Karuvūr Ppērūncatukkattu Ppūtanātanār 219.
"Kalāttalaiyār" (phrase-name)
"Pukalīnta cēyyut Kalāttalaiyai" 62, 65, 270, 288f, 289, 368.
"Kalāttalaiyār" 345, 1.17.
"Kalaitinyānaiyār" (phrase-name, caret) 204.
Kalīl Āttireyan(ar)* 175*, 389*. K293.
Kāppiyārru Kkāppiyānār P decade IV.
Kārikilār 6.
Kāvaṭṭanār 359. A378.

'Kāvarpēṇṭu' (=Cēvilitṭāy UVS p.165 fn) 86.
Kuṭapulaviyānār 18, 19.

Kuṭṭuvan Kfranār 240.
Kuṇṭukaṭpāliyātanār)* 387.N220*.
Kumattūr Kkannānār P decade II.

Kuruṇākolliyūr Kilār 17, 20, 22.
Kunrūr k. m. (Kaṇṭattanār)* 338.N332*.

"Kūkaikkoliyār" (phrase-name) 364.


Koṭṭampalattu ttuṇciya Ceramān A168.

Koṭṭaipāṭiya Pērumpūtaṇār 259.

...Kotamaṇār (=Pālaiikkautamaṇār S q.v.) 366f.

Koppēruńcolan 214,215,216.

Kovūr Kilār 31-33,41,44,45,46,47,68,70,303,373,382,386,400, K65.N393.

Konāṭṭu Ėriccalūr Māṭalan Maturai Kkumaranār 54,61,167,180,197,394.

Caṅkavaruṇār ēnnum Nākariyar 360.

Cāttantaiyār 80,81,82,287.

Cīrūvēṇṭeraiyār 362f.

Ceramān Kaṇaikkāl Irumpōrai 74.

Ceramān Koṭṭampalattu ttuṇciya Mākkotai =Koṭṭampalattu ttuṇciya Ceramān* ait Aiyar: CK p.54. 245.(A168*).

Coṇṭṭu Mukaiyalūr Cērūkaruntumpiyār 181,265.

Colan Kūḷamurṛattu ttuṇciya Killi Valavan 173.

Colan Nalāṅkillaī 73,75.

Colan Nalluruttiran 190.


Taṅkāl Muṭakōṛraṇār A48(TSS),A355(TSS).

Taṅkāl Muṭakōllanār K217(UVS).
Talaiyālaṅkāṇattu Cēruvēnra
Nētuṅcēliyan

Tēmarpalkanānār

Tāyaṅkaṅniyār

Tiruttāmanār

Tumpikokinan(ār)*
or, Tumpicerkīran(ār)+
v. r. Tumpicertīran K320.
Tumpimoeikīran"  
Maturai Velātattan K315 (UVS).

Turaiyār Oṭaikilār

Tōṭittalai Vilattanṭinār
(Tōṭtaiṅmaṇ)* Iḷantaraiyan(ār)+

Nakkaṅṇaiyār

Nakkīra(nā)*r
see: Maturai Nakkiīrar,
Maturai Kkanakkāyaṇār
m. Nakkiīra(nā)r.
Orerulavanār, q.v., as author
of K131 favoured by UVS.

"Narivērūttalaiyār" (Phrase-name, caret)

Nalliraiyanār

Nētuṅkaluttupparaṇār
Nētuṅkulattupparaṇār TSS.

Nētuṟmpalliyattanār

Nēṭṭimaiyār

Nōcci Niyamaṅkikālār

Pakkutukkai Nankaṅniyār

Paraṇār

"Paraṇān pāṭinān marṇōn..."  
99,1.12(Auvaįyār).

4,63,141,142,144,145,336;
341f,343f,348f,352f,354,
369.P decade V.A:6,62,76,
112,122,125,135,142,148,
A:152,162,173,161,186,196,
A:198,208,212,222,226,236,
A:246,258,262,266,276,322,
A:326,356,367,372,376,386,
A396.  (cont.)
(Paranar, cont.)

Pāṇṭaraṅkāṇaṅnār

(Pāṇtiyan)* Arivutai Nampi

Pāṇtiyan Āriyappatēi kaṭanta
Neṭṭuṅcēliyan

(Pāṇtiyan Kānapperēyil tanta)*
Ukkirappēruvaluti

Pāri Makaḷir

Pālai Kkaṅutamanār
see: ...Kotamanār

Pālaipañtya Pēruṅkaṭuṅko

"Picirāntaiyār" (phrase-name: 67,1.12)
"Piciron..." 215,1.7.

Pīramaṅnār

Pullāṛṟūṛ Ḭyirriy(ān)*ār
(Puṟattināi)* Nannekānār

Pūṅkāṇuttiraiyār

Pūṭapāṇtiyan Revi Pēruṅkoppēntu

Pēruṅkunṛṛ Kiliṟ

Pēruṅtalaiccattanār,
(Āvuṛ (Mūlaṇ)* k. m.)+

Pēruṅcittiranār

Peymakal Ilaveyini

K:19,24,36,60,73,89,120,
K:128,165,199,258,292,298
K:328,393,399. N:6,100,201
N:247,260,265,270,280,306
N:310,350,356.

16.


183.

A26*, N98.

112.

366(3). P decade III.

282. A:5,99,111,155,186,22
A:261,267,291,313,337,379
Kali. PālaiKKali.
K:16,37,124,135,137,209,
K:231,262,283,398. N:9,48,
N:118,202,224,256,318,337
N:354,391.
Perumpatamanär
Perēyil Muruvalär
Pōttiyanär
"Pōtti..." 212,1.9.
Pōykaiyār
Pōruntil Ilānkiiranär
Pōnuṭiyār
Maturai Kkaṇakkāyaṇār
(Maturaiik)* Kanaakkayānaṁ m.Nakkīra(nā)r 56*+,189*.A93+.K143. Netti*
Pupp.:Tirumuruku*+,Nētu*.

"Maturaiikkāncippulavar'
"Kāncippulavanär'
see: Mānkuṭi Kilār,
Mānkuṭi Marutan(ār).

(Maturaiikkulavāṇikan)*
Cittālakecāttanār

Maturaittamil Kkuttanār
*Maturai Nakkīra(nā)r
Maturai Ppaṭaimakamāannyār
Maturaiippūtanilanaṁkanār
(Maturisip)* Perālavāyār
(Maturai)* Marutan Ilanaṁkanār
v.r. Maturai Marutan-
kanāṇanār A358.
Maturaiippūrumānaṁ Ilanaṁkanār N194.
Maturai (y Alakkar Nāl(al)*ar m.)+(y Am)' Mallaṇ(ar)"

v.r. A353*+'

Maturaiy Aruvaivānikan Ilavettanār

Maturaiy Ilankanni Kocikanār

v.r. Maturaiy Ilankanni Kkaucikanār S.

Maturaiy Olaikkataikkanānampukuntār Oyattanār

v.r. Maturaiy Melaikkaṭai Kannampukuttārayattanār TSS.

Maturai Velācān 305.

Māṅkuṭi Kilar 24, 26, 313, 335f, 372, 396.

see: Māṅkuṭi Marutan(ar), "Maturaikkaṅcippulavar.

Māṅkuṭimarutan(ar)*

see: Māṅkuṭi Kilār, "Maturaikkaṅcippulavar.

"Māṅkuṭi Marutan ralaivanāka" 72,1,14 (Netumēliyan).

Mārippittiyār

v.r. Mārippittiyār UVS,S 251(TSS),252(TSS).

Mārkkanteypaṇār 365.

Mārokkattu Nappacalaiyār 37, 39, 126, 174, 226, 280, 333f, N304.

Muraṇciyūr Muṭinākaṇār 2.

Moci Kiranār 50, 154, 155, 156, 186, A392.

"Moci pāṭiyav Āyum..." 158,1.13 (Pēruncittiranār).

Moci Cattanār 272.

Vaṭānēṭuntattanār 179.

v.r. Vaṭamaneṭuntanattanār UVS p.287,fn.

Vaṭamamotanākilar 260, A317.
Vaṭamavannakkan Tāmotarān
(Vaṭamavannakkan)* Pericatтанār
v.r. Vaṭamavannakkan
Perucatтанār 125, A305.

Vanpanar
Vanmīkiyār
Viriciyūr Nannākanaṁ
Viriyūr Nakkanār
Virai Vēliyanār
Vēnnikkuyattiyār
"Vēllerukk'īlaiyār" (phrase-name, caret)
Vēllaikkutinākanār
Vēllaimālar
Vēllaimarānār TSS.
Viripātiya Kāmakkanniyār
Vemparrūr Kkumarānār
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. aṅcaṇam =aṅjana.
- ( "  "  "  ) indicates possible connexion, e.g. tāṇai -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.P81,16: 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 preceded by + in brackets, e.g. (+5): five other occurrences.

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<th>Meaning of Ta. word</th>
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<td>=akṣa</td>
<td>axle</td>
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<td>aṅcaṇam</td>
<td>=aṅjana</td>
<td>collyrium, kohl</td>
<td>174,5. (Nappacalaiyār)</td>
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<td>attam</td>
<td>=adhvan</td>
<td>way, path, track</td>
<td>41,14,313,1.</td>
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<td>antañan</td>
<td>anta+ brahman</td>
<td>22, 122, 3, 126, 11.</td>
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<td>201, 7, 361, 4, 362, 8.</td>
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<td>397, 20, P24, 8, P64, 5.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>See: antañan. anta+Ta. aņavuv- cleave to:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;Antattai aņavuvār antañan,&quot; Nacc. on Tirumuruku., 1.96, Pattu., UVS edn., p. 31.</td>
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<td>antaram</td>
<td>antara heaven</td>
<td>392, 19, P51, 16.</td>
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<td>anti</td>
<td>sandhi twilight, morning/evening-</td>
<td>2, 22, 34, 8, P35, 7.</td>
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<td>amar</td>
<td>samara war, battle.</td>
<td>93, 2, 99, 10, 230, 16.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>= samara+ battlefield</td>
<td>180, 3.</td>
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<td>amarar</td>
<td>amara immortals, gods</td>
<td>55, 3, 99, 1.</td>
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<td>amirtu</td>
<td>amṛta 'ambrosia'</td>
<td>P16, 12.</td>
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<td>amiltam</td>
<td>amṛta 'ambrosia'</td>
<td>182, 2, 392, 20.</td>
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<td>10, 7, 51, 21, 125, 8.</td>
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<td>150, 14, 361, 19.</td>
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<td>P51, 21.</td>
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<td>amaiyam</td>
<td>samaya occasion, time</td>
<td>P22, 34.</td>
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<td>ampanam</td>
<td>ambaṇa Pkt. a grain-measure</td>
<td>P66, 8, P71, 5.</td>
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<td>ampi</td>
<td>ambu, Ta. Lex. small boat</td>
<td>343, 2. (Paranār).</td>
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<td>rakta blood, vermilion</td>
<td>P30, 27.</td>
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<td>arakkan</td>
<td>rakṣa blood, vermilion</td>
<td>378, 19.</td>
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<td>aracan*</td>
<td>rājan kingliness (35, 5)</td>
<td>35, 5, P:42, 16, 43, 8.</td>
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<td>P85, 9, P89, 12.</td>
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<td>arañ</td>
<td>saraṇa citadel, fortress</td>
<td>20, 16, 99, 14, 210, 14.</td>
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<td>arañam</td>
<td>id.</td>
<td>id.</td>
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<td>aravam</td>
<td>sarpa, Lex. snake</td>
<td>260, 20.</td>
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<td>avalam</td>
<td>abala, Lex. distress</td>
<td>31, 16. (Kovūr Kilār).</td>
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<td>avi</td>
<td>=havis obligation</td>
<td>377,5</td>
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<td>avuṇar</td>
<td>=asura, Burrow Asura</td>
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<td>-hūṇa, Ta.Lex.</td>
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<td>avai</td>
<td>=sabhā court, assembly</td>
<td>39,8,71,7*.146,2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>avaiyam*</td>
<td>=sabhā court, assembly</td>
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<td>anantar</td>
<td>=ānanda, Lex. sleep, drowsiness</td>
<td>316,3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>anantal</td>
<td>=ānanda, Lex. sleep, drowsiness</td>
<td>62,5.</td>
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<td>annam</td>
<td>=haṃsa goose</td>
<td>67,1.128,4.</td>
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<td>āniyam</td>
<td>=ahani day, solar/lunar (loc. ahaṇa)</td>
<td>P24,25.P69,14.</td>
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<td>āy</td>
<td>=ābhīra, Lex. cowherd</td>
<td>390,2. (Auvaiyār).</td>
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<td>āyul</td>
<td>=āyus, Lex. lifetime</td>
<td>43,21.</td>
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<td>āram</td>
<td>=āra spoke of wheel</td>
<td>256,2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>āram</td>
<td>=hāra garland, jewels, pearls*</td>
<td>150,20,152,10.</td>
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<td>198,2.343,7(bis)*</td>
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<td>365,4.368,18.398,1</td>
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<td>ālai</td>
<td>=gālā elephant stable</td>
<td>220,3. (Pōttiyār).</td>
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<td>āvaṇam</td>
<td>=āpaṇa market, bazaar</td>
<td>P68,10.</td>
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<td>āvam</td>
<td>=cāpa, Lex. Bow</td>
<td>323,5.</td>
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<td>quiver</td>
<td>14,8. (Kapilar).</td>
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<td>āvuti</td>
<td>=Śhuti oblation in sacred fire</td>
<td>15,19.99,1.P21,7,1</td>
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<td>intirar</td>
<td>=Indra gods, as inhabiting Indra's kingdom</td>
<td>182,1.</td>
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<td>imayam*</td>
<td>=homeyama the Himalaya, comm's. passim (cont.)</td>
<td>2,24.34,21.39,15.</td>
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<td>imaiyam</td>
<td>=homeyama the Himalaya, comm's. passim (cont.)</td>
<td>132,7*.166,33.</td>
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<td>214,11.369,24*.</td>
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</table>
(imaiyam, cont.)

ilakkam =lakṣa target, aim

ilaṅkai =Laṅkā N. of Nalliyakkoṭan's town, see: Ilakṣai.

uru =rūpa shape, form

uruvam* id. id.

urupu+ uruvu

ulakam =loka world

ulaku

uvamam =upamā resemblance

uvā =yuvā (yuvan) elephant of 60 yrs.

ūci =śūci needle, sharpness*

ēntiram =yantra sugarcane press, siege-engine

emam =kṣema protection

emam =yāma night

aiyar =ayya, Pkt. the wise

kaṅkai =Gaṅgā The Ganges, see: Kaṅkai.

kaccai =kaccha, Pkt. girdle, belt (kakṣyā)

kaccai =kaṅcuka, Lex. coat of mail

kaṭākam =kaṭaka bracelet prob. a re-borrowing from Skt., kaṭaka being conn. with Dravidian:

Burrow BSOAS XII(1947-48)p.368.

kaṭampu= kadamba Anthocephalos cadamba 23,3.

| kaṇam       | =gana       | crowd, flock | 35, 23, 64, 3, 90, 3, 131, 1, 150, 5, 174, 1, 205, 8, 362, 6, 390, 7, P50, 1.
| kaṇtāram    | =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*.
| kampan      | =khambām, Pkt. pillar, post | 260, 23. (Vaṭamotanak.)
| kammīyaṇ    | =kammiya, Pkt. goldsmith | 353, 1.
| karām       | =grāhaka    | crocodile   | 37, 7, 104, 4.
| karumām     | =karman     | action      | 104, 5. (Auvaivār).
| kalīhkam    | =Kaliṅga    | cloth, garment | 383, 12, 392, 15, 393, 18, 397, 15, 398, 18, 400, 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.
| kavalam=    | kavala      | ball of rice or other food for elephant | 114, 3, 337, 14.
| kavul=      | kapola      | cheek, jaw, side | 30, 6, 212, 4, 257, 4.
| kovalan, -ar* | =gopāla    | cowherd     | 224, 15*, 265, 4, 339, 2.
| kācu        | =kāg-, cf. kāca | gem, jewel | 353, 2.
| kāmam       | =kāma       | love, desire | 33, 18, 212, 3, P22, 1.
| kēmar       | =kēma+      | beauty, desire* | KV, 1, 55, 4, 19, 198, 8, 334, 1, 351, 11, P27, 1, P65, 9.
| Ta. maruvu-, Lex.
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<td>sky</td>
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<td>kāl*</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>41,1; 56,9; 101,5; 116,3; 237,3; 287,3; 331,13*</td>
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<td>kālam</td>
<td>kāla</td>
<td>23,17; 41,3; 240,5; P39,8; 116,9; 139,10; 149,2*</td>
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<td>kāla</td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>23,17; 41,3; 240,5; P39,8; 116,9; 139,10; 149,2*</td>
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<td>kālai</td>
<td>time, morning*, sun+, when* (as a postposition)</td>
<td>23,17; 41,3; 240,5; P39,8; 116,9; 139,10; 149,2*</td>
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<td>kuñcaram</td>
<td>kuñjara</td>
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<td>kuṭṭam</td>
<td>-kuṇḍa, Lex. region, expanse</td>
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<td>kuṇam</td>
<td>=guṇa (good) quality</td>
<td>55,12</td>
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<td>kuppai</td>
<td>=gumpha, Lex. collection, heap</td>
<td>171,9</td>
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<td>kumari</td>
<td>=kumārī N. of river youthful see: Kumari</td>
<td>6,2; 17,1; 67,6; P11,24; P43,8; 294,3; 301,2; 105,2, 116,1, 132,5; P19,5; P89,7</td>
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<td>kuvalai= kuvalaya (blue) waterlily</td>
<td>105,2, 116,1, 132,5; P19,5; P89,7; 224,15*; 265,4; 339,2; 102,2 (Auvaïyär)</td>
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<td>=kula, Lex. grain</td>
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<td>=kośtha enclosure, temple</td>
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<td>=gopāla cowherd</td>
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<td>cakatśam</td>
<td>=śakata cart</td>
<td>339,2</td>
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<td>caṭai</td>
<td>=jata Śiva's tuft. tuft of hair</td>
<td>56,1; 166,1; 251,7; 252,2; P.IX,13</td>
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<td>catukku</td>
<td>=catuśka cross-roads</td>
<td>39,11; 72,8; 93,14; 139,14; 270,4; 276,9; 309,2; P39,9; P41,1; P76,1; (+15)</td>
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<td>cantam= candana see: cāntu. sandalwood logs</td>
<td>39,11; 72,8; 93,14; 139,14; 270,4; 276,9; 309,2; P39,9; P41,1; P76,1; (+15)</td>
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<td>camam</td>
<td>-samara, Lex. war</td>
<td>39,11; 72,8; 93,14; 139,14; 270,4; 276,9; 309,2; P39,9; P41,1; P76,1; (+15)</td>
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</table>
cakatu = sakaṭa       cart, carriage       185,2,256,2,313,5.
           P27,14.
canti     = santi        ritual, worship    P.IX,15.
cantam*=  cantu          candana       sandal (paste)  168,11* ,374,12*.
           360,2*, 29,7,161,26
           246,7,308,7, P42,11
           P61,7, P86,12, (+6).
       see: cantam.
cape=  cāpa                  bow            14,9,77,4, P24,12.
cinti-    =cint-       think, consider 376,18.
cir        -ṣrī, Lex.   prosperity, beauty*, 11,13+ ,73,2,177,17,
           233,3+, 243,7*.
           goodness*, fame* 333,5*, 395,17.
           P15,20, P24,24+.
           P28,11+ , (+3).
       see: tiru.
cirtti = kīrītī        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.
cür       -sura, Lex.   malignant deity  P67,20. (Kapilar).
cūr       =ṣūra(padma)  demon killed by
           Skanda
           see: Cūr.
cūl       -chur, Lex.   pregnancy,
           wateriness.
           P11,2.
           kamaicūl
           kuṭaiccūl
           cloud
           anklet
           P24,28, P45,20, P81,18.
cempiyān = sāibya, Lex. Cola title
           see: Ėmpiyān.
cemem     =kṣema        safe, secure 102,5. (Auvaiyār).
           see: emam (1).
ñamann    = Yama         Yama 6,9. (v.r. caman).
           see: Kālaṇ.
takaram=  tagara        Tabernaemontana
           coronaria.
taccan    = takṣa        carpenter 87,3, 206,11,290,4.
           (all by Auvaiyār).
tānṭam =daṇḍa =punishment 10,6.
tānṭāraṇīyam =Dāṇḍakāraṇya, Forest in the Ariyar country

tapu-tal =dabh- =perish 294,6.

talai =sthala =place 102,1.(Auvaiyar).
occurs at end of compounds:
akanralai
aruntalai
kaṭaittalai
nanantalai
parantalai
punralai
malartalai
varuntalai
vēntalai

tavam =tapas =austerity, penance 358,3(bis).P74,26.
tātu =dāhu =dust 33,11.13,17.
tāmarai =tāmarasa =lotus 11,17.126,3.141,1.319,15.361,12.

tāyam =dāya =inheritance, right* 17,22*.73,3.75,2.
99,7.135,18*.202,9

tālam =sthala =bowl 120,15.(Kapilar).

tāvu- =dāv- =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

tūn =sthūṇā =pillar see: Yūpam.
86,1.400,19*.
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<td>teettu</td>
<td>=desa</td>
<td>(hill-) region</td>
<td>P88,4.</td>
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<td>teyya</td>
<td>=desa</td>
<td>(hill-) region</td>
<td>228,11.</td>
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<td>tevar</td>
<td>=deva</td>
<td>gods</td>
<td>228,11.</td>
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<td>tevarulakam</td>
<td>=devaloka</td>
<td>kingdom of the gods</td>
<td>228,11.</td>
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<td>tomaram</td>
<td>=tomara</td>
<td>large club</td>
<td>P54,14.</td>
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<td>nākam</td>
<td>=nāga</td>
<td>nāga, mythical snake</td>
<td>37,2. 367,1.</td>
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<td>nāvāy</td>
<td>=nau, Lex.</td>
<td>ship</td>
<td>13,5. 126,15.</td>
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<td>niccam</td>
<td>=nicca, Pkt.</td>
<td>always, daily</td>
<td>360,13. (Cahka- varuṇar)</td>
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<td>niyamam</td>
<td>=nigama</td>
<td>street</td>
<td>P:15,19. 30,12. 75,1</td>
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<td>nirayam</td>
<td>=niraya</td>
<td>hell</td>
<td>5,6. (Nariveruuttal</td>
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<td>nil</td>
<td>=nil, Pkt.</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>58,15. 31,6*. 111,3. 144,4. 274,1.</td>
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<td>nilam*</td>
<td>=nila</td>
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<td>nukam</td>
<td>=yuga</td>
<td>yoke (of oxen)</td>
<td>179,9.</td>
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<td>nemi</td>
<td>=nemi</td>
<td>wheel (of rule)</td>
<td>3,4. 17,7. 270,3.</td>
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<td>paṇayam</td>
<td>=panñāya, Lex.</td>
<td>pledge, pawn</td>
<td>316,7.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Burrow suggests that Skt. words connected with pañ-, pana, may be traced to a Drav. origin, see: Burrow: Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit, in TPS (1945) word No.33.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṇṭam</td>
<td>-bhānda, Lex.</td>
<td>stores, provisions</td>
<td>102,2. (Auvaivār).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
panṇiyam = panya provisions P59,15.

but see: Burrow: Some Dravidian words in Sanskrit, in TPS(1945), word No.33.


phala is probably to be connected with Ta. palam:
P:71,17, P78,7*.


payam is possibly an alternative for palam, stabilized with a different meaning. Cp. in Mod.Ta. realization of -l- among certain communities.

param = bhāra weight, burden 30,11.

paruti = paridhi circumference, wheel*, the sun+ 174,3,224,7*.

paruvam = parvan season, time P24,29.

pali = bali offering P71,23.

pācam = piṣāca, Lex. demon P71,23.

pāci = prāci east 229,9.

pātiri= pātali Stereospermum cheloneoides 70,14.399,7.


pāram = bhāra large family, retinue (as burden) 35,32.145,4.P13,24


pīnimukam = phanimukha, Lex. N. of Skanda's elephant; his peacock. 56,8. (Nakkīraṇār).

pīntam = pinda ball, foodstuff*, mass+, bali‡ 184,9+.234,4*.

piracam = prasrava, Lex. honey 246,6.372,9*.P30,5

pirteḷ = puttala, Lex. god, deity 375,9.

pūtām = bhūta (5)elements, spirit* 2,4. (Mūtinākaṇār). 369,17*.P.IX,14*.

pāiyul - 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.
maṇḍai =maṇḍula, Lex. peacock 13,10.141,11.
see: mayil.
maṭam =maṭha place 142,5,6.
maṇi =maṇi jewel, gem. coral*, sapphire*, bell+ 3,10.22,2.50,3+.
mani 229,27.198,4*.
P16,15.P20,12+.
P31,11+.(+49).
maṇtilam =maṇḍala circle, disc*, prob. a re-borrowing from Skt., 8,6*,175,9*.
maṇḍala being connected with Dravidian:
mati =mati mind 5,7.377,12.
mantiram =mantra mantra, Veda P30,33.P.IX,10.
mayil= mayūra peacock 116,10.120,6.145,1
146,8.373,10.
see: maṇḍai.
malai= malaya mountain 8,8.55.1.91,8.
218,2.390,7,24.
P:28,10.48,13.
(+30)P:50,1.51,12.80,2.
mallan =?malla, Lex. warrior 89,6.219,2.251,3.
254,3.399,20.
maṇam =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:30,2.37,6.40,5.
mākam =mahākha, Lex. sky, point of compass* 35,18.270,1.400,1.
P66,57*.
māci =Māgha the 11th.month P59,12.
P:51,3.32,2.71,10.
P72,11.
māttirai =mātra time taken to wink 376,7.
māya
= māyā  falseness. darkness*, 366, 24, P62, 6+.
  illusion+  P. VII, 8*.

mālā
= mālā  garland  22, 12, 95, 1, 141, 2.
  269, 2, 284, 3, 285, 6.
  291, 7, 8, 371, 23.


māna

mukha
= mukha  face. tip*, front+  3, 25, 6, 24, 12, 5.
  31, 7, 275, 5*, 299, 3+.
  369, 1*. P40, 1+.


muktā, Lex.  pearl, tear+  53, 1. 55, 11, 161, 16*.
  170, 11, 218, 1*. 377, 17. 380, 1, 6*.
  P: 30, 7, 39, 16.


mugdha
= mugdha  beauty  P32, 3.

muni+
= muni+  sages  6, 17, 20, 43, 4.
  201, 8.

Ta. suffix

māsi, 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.

Maurya
= Maurya  the Mauryas
  see: Moriyar.

Yavana
= Yavana  'Ionians'
  see: Yavanar.

yāma
= yāma  midnight-watch  33, 18, 37, 9, 186, 3.
  377, 1.


vajra
= vajra  thunderbolt  241, 3.

Calamus rotang
see: Vanjic (2).


vanij
= vanij  trader  134, 2.

varṇa
= varṇa  colour, coloured.  P: 50, 17, 52, 30*.
  P: 62, 8*, 81, 2.

dwell, live  132, 6, 318, 8.
vayiram =vajra, Lex. diamond
valam= bala strength, power.

vayi= vallî creeper, stalk*

vânappu =vunas, Lex. beauty
vanni =vahni Prospis spicigera
vânikam =vânika profit
vây =vâc, Lex. mouth, lip*

vârañam =vâraña fowl
vicayam =vijaya victory
viṭar =vidâ cleft, cave
viṭai =vrâga bull
vekam =vega anger
vetam =veda the Vedas, vedic
velam =vela garden
vaiyam =vâhya earth
vaiyakam id. + earth

see: Burrow: TPS (1946)pp.1-30

189 loanwords from I.I.
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 Utian) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning, description</th>
<th>Text-References</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akam</td>
<td>one of the two divisions of Tamil poetics.</td>
<td>12, 18-20, 29, 35, 38-41, 44, 50, 64, 66, 70, 78, 79, 84, 210, 347, 349, 365, 368, 389-91, 409, 470, 471.</td>
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<tr>
<td>akil</td>
<td>eaglwood, Aquilaria agallocha.</td>
<td>337, 10.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akkuran</td>
<td>One of the seven chiefs.</td>
<td>Pl4, 7.</td>
<td>cf. Akrūra, Lex.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
acai  
metrical unit.  

laghu in music:  

ati  
line (of verse).  

line:  

atumpu  
Ipomea biloba.  
P30, 6. P51, 7.  

Atikan  
N. of several chiefs.  

Atikamān:  P.VIII, 4.  
Atiyamān:  

Atiyan  
P6kuttēlinī:  

Antānān  
brahman.  

antāti  
a verse-structure.  

Antuvančellai  
mother of Ilanceral Irumporai.  

Ampar  
n. of place belonging to Aruvantai, q.v.  

Ayiri  
p. of river in Vaṭukar country belonging to Erumai, q.v.  

Aiyirai  
n. of hill in Ceranāṭu; identified w Aivar-malai, 9 miles W. of Palani.  

=Aiyitaimalai in C.Travancore: Aiyar: CK, p.m.
Arimanavāyil Urattur  place where Ėvvi fought the Ceral.

Arānantai  n. of chief who ruled Ampar, q.v.

Arāiyam  place belonging to a chief who made light of Kalāttalaiyār.

Alāl  the planet Cēvvāy; Mars.

Alalkūṭṭam  the 3rd. nakṣaṭra; Kārttikai.

Alīci  a chief to whom belonged Ārkkātu; father of Centan.

Aluntai  n. of place; mod. Aluntūr.

Alavu  verse-length

Aram  dharma, one of the puruṣūrtha. 

Arukai  n. of chief, friend of Čānkuṭṭuvaṇu.

Anni  chief whom Titiyan fought at Kurukkai.

Asura  asura:

Akuḷi  kind of small drum.

Ściriyaṭṭa  one of the 4 main metres.

Ściriyaṭṭam:

Ściriyaṭṭam:

Akaval:
(akaval, cont.): see: ocai.

ahavalocai: see: ocai.

Aţu 229,1. Aries, sign of the Zodiac.

Amûr 80,1. place where Porvaikko fought Mallan.

ampal waterlily, Nymphaea lotus.

āy n. of several chiefs of the cowherd caste.


ār Bauhinia racemosa; emblem-flower of Colas.

Āriyar 'aryans', people from N. India.

Āriyarakam: 328. 173, 302, 313, 328, 475, 476.

Ārya: 174, 312 fn. 7.

Ārkkātu n. of place belonging to Alici, q.v.; Arcot.

Āviyar 147, 9. tribe to which Pekan belonged.

Āvikkomān Patuman.

Ār'unarntav oru mutu nūl the 6 Vedāngas, as belonging to the 4 vedas.

six Vedāngas: 234, 235.

Ān Pōrunai a river near Karuvûr.

Ān Pōruntam:

Amarāvati see: Pōrunai.

Indra: 122, 127, 217, 272 fn. 7, 403.

Vaccira nētiyǒn Indra, as armed with the thunderbolt.

241, 3.
Imaiyam the Himalaya, ait comm. passim.
2,24,34,21,39,15,132,7.* 217,302,303.
166,33,214,11,369,24.*
Imayam*:
Himalaya:
326.
135,177,187,235,501-303,
310,326,349,401.

Imaiyā nattam the gods, as having unblinking eyes.
62,16.

Irāman Rāma
378,18.
Rāma:
107,108.


iru pirappālar the brāhmans, as being 'twice-born'.
367,12.
see: pāppān.

Ilāhkai Ceylon, the kingdom of Rāvana.
249.
Ilāhkai n. of Nelliyakkoṭan's town.
176,6,379,6.

Ilampalaiyan Māraṇ foe of Ilañceral Irumpōrai.
P.IX,7.

Ilaviceckiko n. of a chief: 315.

inpam kāma, one of the puruṣārthas.
23,15,31,1.
67,117,262.

Iraimpatinmar the twice-fifty Keuravas.
2,15,Pl4,5.

Irntai n. of place belonging to Toyanmāraṇ.
180,7.
251.

Umparkātu a forest belonging to the Ceralar.
P.III,2.
303,304,320,322.

Urippōrul poetic Aspect of Love.
24,36,40,45,224,351,fn.2,
356,370,371,375,382,286,454

ulīnai balloon-vine, Cardiospermum halicacabum.
41 fn.1,161 fn.3,194,472 fn5
P:44,10,46,6.56,5.63,8.

ulīnai a purattinai; symbolizing attack on a fort.
41,47,48,51 fn.1,52a fn3,
57,60 tab.62.
Urantai n. of the Cola 'capital' nr. Trichy.

Uraiydr n. of Cola 'capital' as given in colophons.


unnam n. of tree with small leaves & yellow fl. invoked for omens before battle.
P: 23, 1. 40, 17, 61, 6.

ūci =udci North.

ūrān 49, 1. hero of Marutam-tract.

śccam the eight deformities at birth, viz.: blindness, aborted embryo, hunchback, dwarfness, deafness, animal shape and congenital idiocy.

28, 1-3. 117.

ērkkam, ērkkku* Calotropis gigantea, worn by lover who rides the hobby-horse of palmyra.

Ērumaiyūran Lord of Ėrumai, n. of a Vaṭukar chief in whose land flowed the Ayiri river.

ēlu pōri 99, 7. the seven signs of kingship.

ēluvar the seven, as comprising two 'crowned kings and 5 Veļir.

76, 12.

aintunai 5 aids: grammar, rhetoric, jyotiṣa, veda and āgama, ait comm.
P21, 2.

aimpāl the five ways of dressing women's hair: kōntai, kulal, paṇiccai, muti, curul (Tiv.)
P18, 4. Kali. 58, 1.

aimpērumpūtam the five elements.
2, 4. cp. Pl4, 1, 3.

pancabhūta:

177.

Aiyai daughter of Tittan.
A6, 3.
Okantur n. of a place bestowed by Aliyatan.
P.VII, 9.

Ollaiyur n. of place belonging to Cattan.
242, 6.

Ocrai rhythmic effect of metre.
437 & fn. 4, 438, 439, 441, 446
447, 451, 452, 455.
akaval:
438 & fn. 1, 439 tab., 446, 447
fn. 1.
tuhkal:
438 & fn. 2, 439 & tab.,
447 fn. 1, 451, 453.
cppedal:
438 & fn. 3, 439 tab., 446 & fn
438 & fn. 4, 439 tab., 440,
441, 447 fn. 1.

Oymannatu n. of place belonging to Cattan.

Oymann:
a Tamil fiefdom: 248.
248, 263.

Oviyar:
249.

Kaankai =Gangâ the Ganges.
161, 6, A265, 5, N189, 5, N369, 9.
Pari. 16, 36, P.V, 7.
Ganges:
132, 232, 310, 311.

Katampin Pervavayil n. of Nannan's town (comm.).
P.IV, 7.

Katampu the Kadamba, as emblem of a dynasty.
P11, 12, P12, 3, P17, 5, P20, 4.
P88, 6, A127, 4, A347, 4.
kadamba:
Kadamba dynasty:
Vaijayantî, Halsî:

Kati maram tree guarded as symbol of sovereignty.
23, 9, 33, 3, 36, 9, 57, 10, 336, 4.
P35, 3, P40, 15.

Kanaikkal Irumporai:

Kanaiyan chief captured by Oenni, who besieged Kalumalam for the purpose (A44, 13 ff.).
A44, 13, A386, 7.

Kanaikkal Irumporai:
198.

Kannaki Heroine of Cil.: 310.

Kadambas: see katampu.

Karantai basil, Ocimum basilicum.
260, 13, 269, 9, 340, 8, P40, 5.
60, fn. 2, 272, 273.
Karantai  

purattinai: recovery of stolen cattle.  

43 & fn.7, 44, 57, 59, 60 &  

61, 62, 272, 273.

karuppōril  

poetic Distinctive Attribute of skattinai.  

22-5, 28, 40, 66, 63, 240, 366  

fn.5, 371-3 fn.1, 2, 374 fn.2  

4, 375 fn.5, 376 fn.1, 381 fr  

3, 4, 382, 408, 454.

Karump(?)ūr  

place belonging to Karumpanur Kilan.  

381, 26.

Karuvūr  

Ceral town in Kōnkunātu; mod. Kārūr.  

120-22, 178-61, 185, 217, 317,  

318, 319, 330.  

Karoura, Ptolemy; see A.I., IV, p. 180.  

see also: Vaṇci.

kalippā  

one of the 4 main types of metre.  

421, 434, 438, 439 tab., 440,  

441, 444, 463, 468 & fn. 1,  

469 & fn. 2, 470.  

383, 385, 395, 438, 439, 440,  

464, 469.  

445, 463, 468.

kalivēṇpāṭtu:  

Kavuriyan  

Pāṇṭiya 'family' name.  

3, 5, A342, 4.  

146, 147, 176.

Kalumalam  

Ceral town wherein was besieged Kaṇαiyan.  

A44, 14, A270, 9.  

198.

Kaluvul  

an Itaiyar chief, ruler of Kāmūr and foe  

of Perumceral.  


341, 343.  

A365, 12.  

Kāmūr  

341.

kānci  

river portia, Hibiscus populnea.  


41 fn. 2, 373.  

P62, 15.

Kēnci  

purattinai: transitory nature of the world.  


55-7, 60 tab., 64, 276, 277.  

P84, 19, P90, 39.

Kēnci  

n. of river, ait TSS ed. Patirru., who  

identifies it w Nōyyalārū.  

P48, 18.

kāntal  

flame lily, Gloriosa superba.  


25 & fn. 3, 230 fn. 1, 454.  

P30, 9, P67, 19, P61, 22, Kl, 4.  

see Frontispiece.
Käntāram      a pan in Pari.: 393.  
Kāri          the horse ridden by Malaiyamān, q.v.  
              158,6.  
Kālan         Yama, god of death.  
              23,17.41,1.240,5. P59,8. 123.  
Erumai       Yama, as riding on a buffalo.  
Kūrru         Death, the god Yama (? also Śiva).  
              56,11.  
Kāviri        river in the Cola country; mod. Kāveri.  
              35,8.43,22.58,1.68,9. 113,122,126,128,168,178, 
              P50,6. P75,6. P90,47. A166,16. 
              A177,16. A326,11.  
kānappereyil  n. of fort taken by Pāntiyan Ukkiṟappēru 
              Valuti; mod. Kālaiyar Koyil, ait TSS ed.  
              21,6.  
Killi          Cola name: 128,134 & fn.1,299.  
Kuṭṭakku      West.  
              17,2,126,14,130,6,177,12.  
              P.VI,5. A115,3.  
Kuṭṭavar      inhabitants of the Ceral country.  
              P.V,2.  
Kuṭṭanāṭu:     124,130,295 & fn.2,313.  
Kuṭṭuvar      inhabitants of the Ceral country.  
              P90,26.  
Kuṭṭuvan      n. of several Ceralar.  
              P,42,8,45,11,46,13,47,1. 220,265,304,305,315,331, 
              see: Ceral.  
kuṇakku       East.  
              17,2,376,8,325,19. P22,32. 
              P50,5.51,15.59,6.  
Kutirai       n. of mountain belonging to the Atiayar.  
              A372,9.  
Morse Mountain:  231.  
Kumanān      a chief: 127 chart A.
Kumari  river near Cape Comorin.
6,2.17,1.67,6.P11,24.P45,6. 132,148,149,187,215,
248 fn.3,226.

kural  tonic or base-note of pan; string of yel.
P57,9.

kuravai  dance in a circle performed by women of
mountain-region, kurincittina.  429 fn.2.
129,3.

Kulam, Kayam  the 7th. nakṣatra, Purnasth. 190,7.
229,4.

kuravai  wild jasmine.
90,2.168,12.380,7.P12,10. 240.

kuravan, f. kuratti inhabitant of mountain region.
108,1*120,2.129,1.143,3. 209,216,318,365,366 tab.,
157,7.168,5. 367.

kurići  Strobilanthes sp. 21 fn.1,42,44,216.
374,3.

Kuricici  akattina with urippórul of Union.
20,21 & fn.1,23-5,34,41,42,
44,51 fn.1,60 tab.,66,210,
230,240,354,355,357,359,
361 & fn.1,362 fn.1,363,
365 & fn.2,366 tab.,368,370,
372,374 fn.4,383,384 fn.2,
386 fn.3,408 & fn.2,
454 fn.10,474.

Kurukkai  place belonging to Anni where he fought
Titiyan.

Kūṭāl  the Pāṇṭiya 'capital', Maturai.
A346,20.

Maturai  id.
32,5.

Kūṭāl  n. of place on the coast.
347,6.

kūtalum  plant of Convolvulaceae.
kūvilām 372, 6. bael, vilva.

Kaikkilai akattinai, signifying Unrequited Love.
20, 29, 32, 36, 38, 40, fn. 3, 51, 57, 58, 60 tab., 64, 66, 69, 354 & fn. 6, 359, 366 & fn. 3, 463 & fn. 7.

purattinai, with same significance.
59, 60 tab., 63-5, 79, 223, 472

kai mān cp. hastī elephant.
96, 8.

Kōṅkar people or rulers of Kōṅkunātu.

Kōṅkunātu area comprising mod. Salem & Coimbatore.

Kōṭukūr P. V, 12. n. of town destroyed by Čēṅkutṭuvan.
310, 318.

Kōṭuntamil Tamil spoken 'dialect'.
306 & fn. 6, 330 & fn. 6.

Kōṭumānām n. of place belonging to the Irumpōrai, identified w mod. Kōḷumam by Sesha Aiyar.
340.

kōṅkaṇaṁ hero of seashore.
see: cēppan. 375.

Kōṅkaṇaṁ, forming present E. part of Salem & Coimbatore Distts. see Puram., TSS i, p337.
154, 13, 155, 7, 156, 5, N391, 6. 227, 229, 307 & fn. 8.

see: Valvil Ori.

Kōrkai port in Pāṇṭiya country.
Kolkhoi, Ptolemy; see: A.I., IV, p. 57, 58.

Kōrravai goddess of victory.

kōṅraį 1, 1. P67, 13. Cassia fistula.
87.

Kottal  white-flowered liliaceous plant.  25,230 fn.1. see: kântal.


koṇmin  planet, graha, as distinct from nāmmin.  392,17.

Kotai  Geral title.  172,10. A93,20.

koyil  temple; palace*.  127,6*. 241,3.

Kovalur  place captured by Nēṭumān Amici.  208.

Koli  Urantai, the Cola 'capital.'  133,187. For folk-etymology of this n., see Cil. X,11. 247,248 comm.

caṅkam  literary academy said to have existed in Maturai:  3,5-11,16,109,346,475.


Citai  Sītā.  373,13. 107.


Culliyam  
A149,8.  
?n. of river on which Muciri stood.  
331 fn. 4.  
see: Periyāru.

Cūr  
Śūrapadma, a demon killed by Skanda.  
400.

Cēntil  
55,18.  
seashore shrine of Murukan; mod. Cēntūr.  
164.

Cēmpiyan  
n. of Colar, as descended from Śibi.  
121,155,304,354 & fn. 2.  
121,125,302.

Śibi:  
The Śibi story is alluded to also in:  
39,1-3.45,5-9.46,1,2.

Cēruppu  
P21,23.  
n. of mountain in Pālinātu.  
330.

Cēvvali  
h. of Colar, as descended from Śibi.

Cēliyan  
N340,2.  
Pāṇṭiya 'family' name.  
146,154.

Centan  
son of Alici of Ārkkaṭu.  
141,142.

Cey  
120,21,125,20,21KL,3.  
Murukan, q.v.

Cēyyon:  
56,8.

Ceral, Ceralar  
n. of one of the three 'dynasties'.  
89,102,106,110,111,114-118  
A149,7.A209,14.  
120,121,124-6,161,133,155,  
161,162,205,209,213,216,  
217,220,228,239,265,266-8,  
281,354,369,370,372,377,  
379 fn. 2,478.  
202,248.

Ceramān:  
Antuvancereal Irāmpōrai:  
216;221 chart C,296 tab.,  
298,299,301,314,339.  
293-5.

Antuvan: P.VII,2.  
Aṭukoṭpāttu Cerealātan:  
cf.P57,4.  
(Orutantai) Pōraiyan:  
P.VII,2,3.

Karuvar  
eriya Olvātkopperunfrereal I.59.  
Kalāṅkāykkannī Nārmuticereal:  
221, chart C.

Katal  
ōttiya Vēkelu Kuttuvan:  
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river flowing into Gulf of Manār.

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division of akam or puram.

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skattinai:

aṁtinai:

purattinai:
Titiyan a chief, son of Švvi (cf. Akam 126 11.13f.

Tittan a chief, ruler of Urantai.

Tittan Veliyan same as the above; both are identified with Porvaikkopperunarkili. A152, 5. A226, 14. 138-41, 275, 297. see also: Veliyan Tittan.


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, 77, 4.


Tumpai purattinai; 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. Haḷebidu, the Hōysala 'capital'; said to have been ruled by 49 velir. 201, 10. 254-6.


turai Poetic Theme in purattinai.

turai Vedic sacrifice; of 21 kinds, commun., Purāṇa.
166, 8. UVS himself says that there were 7 soma-7 havir- and 7 pākayajnas.

tūkku  pause in metrical recitation; metre.  288, 413 & fn.  1, 451, 467 &
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P: 11, 24. 31, 6. 43, 8.67, 4.

Tēnnavan  the Pāṇṭiya, as ruler of the south.  380, 5. 388, 13. A209, 8.

tōṭai  alliteration, such as anuprāsa.  
  411 fn. 6, 412 tab.  āfn. 7, 453, 455-60.

Tōṇti  Cereal town on the W. coast.  
    N:8, 9.18, 4. 195, 5. P.VI, 3.  319, 337 fn. 7, 338, 340, 342, 
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Tyndis: Periplus, Schoff tr., p. 44.  
Ptolemy, A.I., IV, p. 43.

Tōṇtaimān  ruler of the Tōṇtaiyar.  251, 253.

Tōṇtaimantalam:  106, 107, 244, 263, 271, 275.
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Uma:  401, 403.
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Pseudostomos: Ptolemy, A.I., IV, p. 49.

see: Culliyam.

Pōtiyil, Pōtiyam*


mountain nr. Cape Comorin, legendary abode of Agastya.

Bettigo: Ptolemy, A.I., IV p. 78.

Pōtini

Al,4,A61,16.

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The TSS ed. of Akam., i, p. 148 identifies Pōtini with Palani.

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Por

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Maiṉakkilli Narconai:

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Maran:

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Māraṇ a chief, foe of Āy Ēyinaq, q.v.

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Miriili Pair^iya 1 family1 name.


159,260.

Muciri port on W. coast near mouth of Periyāru, identified w Muyirikkottaī.


Mouziris, Ptolemy: A.I., IV p.48.

Muziris, Periplus, Schoff tr., p.44.

Mutappanaṇai 'Bent Palmyra', the 17th. nakṣatra, Anuṣam, part of Scorpio.

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Mutarpōrul Times & Seasons as appropriate to the 5

akattinai: 24,27,40,362 fn.1,367 fn.1 454.

Mutiram n. of mountain ruled by Kumanān. The TSS ed.Puram, i,p.345 says it is a spur of Palanis nr. Uṭumalaippettai, and that a village in that area is called K-мāṅkalam

158,25.163,8.

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Mutūrū Velir place annexed by Nēṭuṇcēliyan.

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Yavanar 'Ionians', traders from Arabian sea.


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yāl bow-harp.

ciriyāl:

periyāl:

yūpam =yūpa sacrificial post.

velvi ttunam:

Rājasūya:

vaṇci common rattan, Calamus rotang.

Bassia, Calamus:

Vaṇci purattinai; the dispute between kings over territory.

Vaṇci the Ceral 'capital', perhaps to be identified w mod. Tiruvaṇcaikkalam, nr. Kōṭuṅkoḷūr (Cranganore).
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Vaṭamīn
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122,8.

Vatukar
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Vāliyon Balarāma.

Panaikkōṭiyon Balabhadra, as having a palmyra-banner.

Vānavarampan n. of several Ceralar.

Vānavan id.

Vēni river in Čeranaṭu, identified w Bhavāni.

Vicci a mountain. (Puram, TSS ed., i, p. 450).

Viccikko a chief.

Vicciyar: K328,5.

Vittai place ruled by Ilampalaiyan Māran, q.v.

Viyalūr town destroyed by Čēṅkuṭṭuvan, q.v.

vil pōri— inscribing the Ceral bow-emblem.

Viṣṇu the god:

Kanṭan:

Tirumāl:

Māl:

Padmanābha:

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Vīrai place belonging to the Velir.

vēṭci scarlet ixora, Ixora coccinea.

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Venkai E. Indian kino tree, Pterocarpus marsupium 100, 5, 106, 3, 120, 1, 129, 3. 258 & fn. 7, 405 & fn., 408.

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Venkai Mārpan 21, 9. a chief to whom Kānappereyil belonged. 162, 163.

Vēna: see: nālvetam.

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Vempu nīm, margosa, Azadirachta indica. 76, 4, 77, 2, 79, 2, 281, 1, 338, 6. 161 fn. 3.

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Veiiyai the river on which is Maturai; the mod.

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Kāpāli:

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Mukkaṭeēlvar
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sati immolation.

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