God Murugan riding a peacock  South Indian bronze
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THE SMILE OF MURUGAN
ON TAMIL LITERATURE OF SOUTH INDIA

BY

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

With 3 plates and a folding map

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1973
CAMARPANAM

DEDICATION

The great drums beat
As Asura warriors marched
Then burning rage cut asunder
Corpses scattered
Scorched with a spark
From your radiant smile
O leader of men
With leaf-edged spear
Lover of Valli the gypsy
O lord who resides on Tiruttani hills!

(Arunakiri, Tiruppuikal 571)
Transl. S. Kokilam

Somehow or other, Murugan, the youthful god of victorious war, is ubiquitous in Tamil writing and culture, he is present in the earliest classical poems of Tamil as well as in the splendid “Lay of the Anklet”, in the ruby-red and sea-blue and golden songs of Arunakiri as well as in the very recent prayers to Murugan by A.K. Ramanujan.

His wars are, of course, not only victorious, but just. He destroys evil, decay, death. His smile is the light of life and eternal youth. “His face shoots forth myriads of light, removing darkness from the world” (Tirumurukāṟṟuppati 91-92)
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

If "even a little book has large debts", what should I say about a large book? I am indeed very grateful to the many colleagues, students and friends at the Universities of Chicago, Rochester, Leiden and London, who discussed with me many points of the book, who suggested changes in the English of the text, in short, who made this book possible—to J A B van Buren, Milton Singer, Don Nelson, F B J Kuper and particularly to J R Marr.

In a very special way I am indebted to A K Ramanujan, whose views and whose penetrating understanding and interpretation of Tamil culture were most inspiring to me. I also thank him for his kind permission to use his translations.

I am grateful to Mrs Kokilam Subbiah for the English translation of some Tamil poems, and for her thought-provoking comments on the form and content of the text.

Finally, I acknowledge with profound thanks and deep respect the debt I owe to my Tamil guru, Mahavidvan M V Venugopala Pillai.

Leiden, Spring 1971

K Z
PREFACE

The Dravidians, and in particular the Tamils, have contributed a great deal to the cultural riches of the world. Pallava and Chola temple architecture, Chola bronze sculpture, the dance-form known as Bharatanatyam, the so-called Carnatic system of music. But probably the most significant contribution is that of Tamil literature, which still remains to be “discovered” and enjoyed by the non-Tamilians and adopted as an essential and remarkable part of universal heritage. If it is true that liberal education should “liberate” by demonstrating the cultural values and norms foreign to us, by revealing the relativity of our own values, then the “discovery” and enjoyment of Tamil literature, and even its teaching (as a critical part of the teaching of Indian literatures) should find its place in the systems of Western training and instruction in the humanities.

However, frankly speaking, I do not think that anybody is capable, at the present state of affairs, of bringing out a sufficiently formalized, detailed and exhaustive synthesis of Tamil literature comparable to such magnificent works as, say, Jan Rypka’s Persian Literature or Maurice Winternitz’s History of Indian Literature.

Much, much more detailed, analytic work must be performed and many monographs on various aspects, trends, literary works, writers and even entire periods have yet to be written and published before a synthetic and detailed treatment of Tamil literature can be attempted. There are still quite enormous blank spaces on the map of our knowledge of the subject, fundamental knowledge is lacking, e.g., with regard to the extremely interesting and even thrilling poetry of the ĉittar, who can say that he has mastered in a critical way the vast sphere of the Tamil purānas, or the much neglected Muslim contribution to Tamil writing? Not only that we must, at the same time, learn to enter sympathetically and with professional precision another culture, remote in space and time, we must learn to understand the function of literature in India, to appreciate and enjoy it in terms of cultural norms and literary taste which is not only different from our approach but often in direct contrast to it. And, last but not least, we must try to formulate the results of our
analysis in a manner which will be increasingly more formalized and explicit and less intuitive and informal.

'Since, then, as I believe, no accurate and systematic synthesis of the subject is as yet possible, it is obviously inevitable that a choice is made, a selection of topics and themes, which will necessarily be biased owing to one's own abilities and inabilities and one's own personal preferences and dislikes.

But apart from subjective motivations, there must be, and I believe there are, objective criteria of evaluation indicating which literary works are characteristic, typical, truly representative of national writing. My selection of works, authors and topics was fundamentally based on such criteria. I made a choice (it must be frankly admitted that this selection was made under the shadow of despan caused by a true *embarras du choix*) which is reflected in the twenty chapters where I have dealt with what I consider to be the most characteristic, pivotal and topical works and trends of Tamil literature. I can hear the indignant, offended and even enraged critics: why the Sarvite and not the Vaishnavite poets? No discussion of the brilliant *Civakacintāmanī*? Why has nothing been said about our greatest modern poet Bharati? Etc etc. I do not apologize I try to explain in the pertinent chapters. One of the reasons for this selective approach is that I believe in strict professionalism: I do not like to pretend and to speak about matters which I do not know only as an enthusiastic dilettante, and, unfortunately, dilettantism, however much it might have been motivated by passionate enthusiasm, is one of the maladies which have affected studies in Tamil literature to a dangerous extent.

The annotated bibliography, appended to this volume, though far from complete and very selective, may to some extent fill the gaps. The present volume is therefore emphatically not even an approximation to a complete historical treatment of Tamil literature. It is a fragmentary collection of essays on Tamil literature, intended to arouse interest and to provoke discussion.
### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aink</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ak</td>
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<td>Akalt</td>
<td>Akalimārvval</td>
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<td>anon</td>
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<td>CB</td>
<td>Cērapāṇāyāppatās</td>
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<td>Coll</td>
<td>Collathāram of Tolk</td>
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<td>comm</td>
<td>commentary</td>
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<td>DBFA</td>
<td>Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Iran (1962) by T Burrow and M B Emeneau</td>
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<td>DED</td>
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<td>Dravidian Etymological Dictionary - Supplement (1968)</td>
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<td>ed</td>
<td>edition, edited</td>
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<td>E I</td>
<td>Epigrapha Indica</td>
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<td>Elitti</td>
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<td>fn</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSI</td>
<td>A History of South India (1955) by K A Nilakanta Sastri</td>
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<td>HIL</td>
<td>A History of Tamil Literature (1965) by T P Meenakshisundaran</td>
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<td>HTLL</td>
<td>History of Tamil Language and Literature (1956) by S Jayaram Pillai</td>
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<td>IA</td>
<td>Iyaiyaḻaklı Akapporul</td>
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<td>ibid</td>
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<td>LFa</td>
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<td>OTa</td>
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<td>Pōṟṟiṭhāram of Tolk</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<td>Pur</td>
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<td>Tolk</td>
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<td>Tolk Col</td>
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<td>Tolk Porul</td>
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<td>trans</td>
<td>translator, translated by, translation</td>
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<td>Uvam</td>
<td>Uvamayyula</td>
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<td>vI</td>
<td>alternative reading</td>
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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION

The transcription used for Tamil words in this book is a strict transliteration, a system adopted by the Madras University Tamil Lexicon. The only exception are names of modern and contemporary Tamil writers where I follow mostly their own anglicized spelling. The following Roman letters are used for the Tamil characters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
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<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Lips</th>
<th>Teeth</th>
<th>Ridge behind</th>
<th>Hard</th>
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<td>Y</td>
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</table>

The Tamil long vowels are simply long vowels, unlike their English diphthongized counterparts. Final -ai is pronounced approximately like -ey.

Tamil has two series of consonants unfamiliar to English speakers: the dentals t, n and the retroflexes t, n, l, l. The dentals are pronounced with the tongue at the teeth, the retroflexes are produced by curling the tongue back towards the roof of the mouth (cf. American pronunciation of girl, sur).

In the middle of Tamil words, long consonants occur. In transliteration, they are indicated by double letters (cf. Nakkirar, pāṭtu). English has long consonants between words, cf. Mac Kinley, four roads, hot tea.
The Tamil r is flapped or trilled as in some European languages like Spanish, Italian or Czech. The l is somewhat like the American variety of r, r and r are not distinguished by most modern Tamil speakers, but long rr is pronounced like tr in English trap or tt in hot tea, nr is pronounced ndr as in laundry.

p, t, t, c, k are pronounced differently according to their positions initially, p, t, and k are pronounced as voiceless stops, t does not occur, and c is initially pronounced as s or sh. Between vowels, p, t, t are voiced into b, d, and d and pronounced as lax voiced stops, k and c are pronounced as gh or h and s or sh. After nasals, all stops are voiced into b, d, d, j, g.

Instances: akam is pronounced usually aham, cankam is pronounced sangam, kapilar is pronounced kabilar, kuruntokas is kurundohevy, narrinai as natriney or nattiney, tolkappiyam as tolhaapiyam.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY

Let me right at the beginning posit a problem: are we at all entitled to speak about Dravidian literatures (or even about South Indian literatures) as an entity separate from other literatures of India? In other words: is there a complex set of features which are characteristic for the literatures written in Dravidian languages and shared only by them and not by other Indian literatures?

The criteria, setting apart "Dravidian" literatures from the other literatures of India, are either linguistic or geopolitical.

"Dravidian literatures" means nothing more and nothing less than just literatures written in the formal style of the Dravidian languages. "South Indian literatures" means, by definition, literatures which originated and flourished in South India (including Sanskrit literary works, produced in the South).

The answer to this question whether there are some specific, unique features shared exclusively and contrastively by the literatures written in Dravidian languages is negative. There are no such features—apart from the incidental (for our purposes and from our point of view) fact that they are written in Dravidian languages. It is impossible to point out specific literary features of works composed, e.g., in classical Telugu, and designate them as Dravidian. It is equally impossible to select any particular feature which we could term Dravidian as such and would apply to all Dravidian literatures alike and only to them.

Conclusion: there are no "Dravidian" literatures per se.

It is, however, an entirely different matter if we consider carefully just one of the great literatures of the South: the Tamil literature. There, and only there, we are able to point out a whole complex set of features—so to say a bundle of diagnostic isoglosses—separating this Dravidian literature not only from other Indian literatures but from other Dravidian literatures as well. It is of course only the earliest period of the Tamil literature which shows these unique features. But the early Tamil poetry was rather unique not only by virtue of the fact that some of its features were so unlike everything else in India, but by virtue of its literary excellence, those

26,350
lines of poetry promote Tamil to the rank of one of the great classical
languages of the world—though the world at large only just about
begins to realise it.

All other Dravidian literatures—with the exception of Tamil—
begun by adopting a model—in subject-matter, themes, forms, in
prosody, poetics, metaphors etc.—only the language is different, in
spite of the attempts of some Indian scholars to prove that there
were—that there must have been—indigenous, "Dravidian",
pre-Aryan traditions, literary traditions, in the great languages of
the South, it is extremely hard to find traces of these traditions, and
such attempts are more speculative than strictly scientific. It is
of course quite natural that in all these great languages oral literatu-
re preceded written literature, and there is an immense wealth of
folk literature in all Dravidian literary as well as non-literary
languages.

But in Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam, the beginnings of
written literatures are beyond any dispute so intimately connected
with the Sanskrit models that the first literary output in these
languages is, strictly speaking, *imitative* and *derived*, the first
literary works in these languages being no doubt adaptations and/or
straight translations of Sanskrit models. The process of Sanskritiza-
tion, with all its implications, must have begun in these communities
before any attempt was made among the Telugu, Kannada and
Malayalam peoples to produce written literature, and probably even
before great oral literature was composed. ¹ About Kannada, Telugu
and Malayalam literatures we may say with K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
(*HSI*, 3rd ed. P. 340): "All these literatures owed a great deal to
Sanskrit, the magic wand of whose touch alone raised each of the
Dravidian languages (but here I would most definitely add with

¹ Incidentally, a community which has totally escaped the type of dif-
fusion that had been identified by the term "Sanskritization" (cf. the
writings of M. N. Srinivas and Milton Singer for the introduction and ela-
boration of this term), at least in South India, has yet to be found. As
M. B. Emeneau pointed out, one can enumerate a number of important
traits even in such isolated groups as the Todas and Kotas of the Nilgiris,
which may be called Sanskritic (even the Toda word *ton* "god" is ultimately
derived from Sanskrit, cf. *DBLA* 219 Skt *dāiva* "divine"—Pkt *devā*—
Kā *deva*, *deva* "demon" whence probably to *ton*, cf. "Toda Verbal Art
and Sanskritization", *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, XVI, 3-4,
March-June 1965) What is important for our problem is that, according to
Emeneau's opinion, these Sanskritic traits in the Nilgiris are very old, they
can hardly be considered as a recent acquisition.
the exception of Tamil, K Z ) from the level of a patois to that of a literary idiom". Whoever has written so far on the history of Kannada, Telugu, and Malayalam literatures take refuge in a formulation which is characteristic for speculative conclusions, of "the beginnings of Kannada literature are not clearly traceable, but a considerable volume of prose and poetry must have come into existence before the date of Nṛpatunga's Kavirājamārga (850 A D), the earliest extant work on rhetoric in Kannada", or "beyond doubt there must have existed much unwritten literature (in Telugu) of popular character" etc. The facts are different.

The beginnings of Kannada literature were almost totally misspmd by Jainism. The first extant work of narrative literature is Śravakōti's Vaddārādhane (cca 900 A D) on the lives of the Jana saints. The fundamental work on rhetoric in Kannada, and the first theoretical treatise of Kannada culture, is based on Dandmin's Kavyādarśa— that is Nṛpatunga's Kavirājamārga Pampa, the first great poet of Kannada literature—and one who is traditionally considered the most eminent among Kannada classical poets— is, again, indebted entirely to Sanskrit and Prakrit sources in his two compositions, in his version of the Mahābharata story, and in his Āṭīpurāṇa, dealing with the life of the first Jain Tūthankara. The beginnings of Kannada literature are, thus, anchored firmly in traditions which were originally alien to non-Aryan South India. Quite the same is true of Telugu literature. Telugu literature as we know it begins with Nammaya's translation of the Mahābhārata (11th Century). The vocabulary of Nammaya is completely dominated by Sanskrit. And again the first theoretical work in Telugu culture, fragments of which have recently been discovered, Janāṣrayachandras, an early work on prosody, is itself written in a language which is more Sanskrit than Telugu, it contains traces of metres peculiar to Telugu and unknown to Sanskrit, and only this fact indicates that there had probably existed some compositions previous to the overwhelming impact of Sanskritization. In Malayalam, too, the beginnings of literature are essentially and intrinsically connected with high Sanskrit literature; the Unnunili Sandeśam, an anonymous poem of the 14th Century, is based on the models of sandeśa or dūta poems (the best known representative of which is Kālidāsa's Meghadūta), its very language is a true manūpravālam which is defined, in the earliest Malayalam grammar (the Lilātilakam of the 15th Century), as bhāṣāsamskritayogam, i.e. the union of bhāṣā (the indigenous language, Malayalam) and Sanskrit.
An entirely different situation prevails in Tamil literature. The earliest literature in Tamil is a model unto itself—it is absolutely unique in the sense that, in subject-matter, thought-content, language and form, it is entirely and fully indigenous, that is, Tamil, or, if we want (though I dislike this term when talking about literature), Dravidian. And not only that: it is only the Tamil culture that has produced—uniquely so in India—an independent, indigenous literary theory of a very high standard, including metrics and prosody, poetics and rhetoric.

There is yet another important difference between Tamil and other Dravidian literary languages. The metalanguage of Tamil has always been Tamil, never Sanskrit. As A. K. Ramanujan says (in *Language and Modernization*, p. 31) “In most Indian languages, the technical gobbledygook is Sanskrit, in Tamil, the gobbledygook is ultra-Tamil.”

There is an obvious historical explanation of the fact: the earliest vigorous bloom of Tamil culture began before the Sanskritization of the South could have had any strong impact on Tamil society. It is now an admitted fact by scholars in historical Dravidian linguistics that the Proto-South Dravidian linguistic unity disintegrated sometime between the 8th–6th Cent. B.C., and it seems that Tamil began to be cultivated as a literary language sometime about the 4th or 3rd Cent. B.C. During this period, the development began of pre-literary Tamil (a stage of the development in the history of the language which may be rather precisely characterized by important and diagnostic phonological changes) into the next stage, Old Tamil, the first recorded stage of any Dravidian language. The final stages of the Tamil-Kannada split, and the beginnings of ancient Tamil literature, were accompanied by conscious efforts of grammarians and a body of bardic poets to set up a kind of norm,

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1 This may be illustrated by comparisons of grammatical or philosophical terms. In Pali, e.g., the gender categories of “higher” and “lower” classes are termed *manusya* and *antar* (Sanskrit), in Tamil, the corresponding terms are *vinni-kattu* and *agamam* (Sanskrit), which is pure Tamil. Most Indian languages use for “vowel” and “consonant,” the Sanskrit terms *vāna* and *vānijja* in Tamil the terms *vayi* (Ta. “breath”) and *mor* (Ta. “body”) have always been used (with the exception of a rather “pro-Sanskrit” “Aryan-oriented” Buddhist grammar, *Nirākīrtikāram* which introduced Sanskritized grammatical terminology into Tamil, but the usage has not spread at all). Even such philosophical terms as “meaning,” “form,” “soul,” “karma,” etc., have always been probably expressed in “pure” Tamil of resp. *pāṇi* *DED* 3711, *vini* *DED* 506, *mor* *DED* 554, *mor* or *mō* *DED* 4473. 2258
a literary standard, which was called ceyyul—or the refined, poetic language—or alternatively centamil—the elegant, polished, high Tamil. The final outcome of these events—the creation of a literature of very high standard and of a rich and refined linguistic medium—found expression in the excellent descriptive grammar Tolkāppiyam, one of the most brilliant achievements of human intellect in India.

Charts 1 and 2 give the data for the first extant literary works and epigraphic monuments of the four South Indian languages, and a kind of graph which shows a sharply rising curve indicating the tremendous time-gap between the beginnings of Tamil written literature on the one hand, and the other Dravidian literatures on the other hand. These data are self-explanatory and need no commentary.

The influence which the various South Indian literatures exercised on one another was, at certain periods, not inconsiderable thus, e.g., a certain very early school of Malayalam poetry was obviously strongly influenced by Tamil, or, to quote another example, Kampan’s Tamil Rāmāyana seems to have had an influence on some other South Indian Rāmāyanas. On the other hand, this mutual interaction has never been decisive or even very important. Apart from the earliest period of the development of Malayalam literature, South Indian literatures seem to have developed more or less independently of each other. There was one very good and simple reason for this: the one language which was almost equally spread over the South Indian territory as the language of highest learning and culture was Sanskrit. The intellectual exchange very probably took place through the medium of Sanskrit and the Prakrits. Sanskrit literature composed in the South was of a very high quality and of a considerable volume.

A fact which tends to be overlooked so many outstanding Sanskrit authors were Southerners—Tamil, Kanarese or Kerala Brahmins, who in many cases could not help but let themselves be enriched and influenced by indigenous traditions, conventions etc. A typical case is that of the great Rāmānuja, the founder of the Viṣistādvaita system. Though an exact and final proof of a direct connection between the Tamil Vaisnava Ālvārs and Śrī Rāmānuja is yet to be submitted, there is more than ample external evidence to show that the traditions and the emotional and intellectual background of Śrī Rāmānuja were identical with the environments which produced the great Tamil Vaisnava Ālvārs. Rāmānuja was a Tamil
Brahmin born at Śrīperumpūtīr near Madras in 1018, and had his early philosophical training at Kāñcipuram, but built up his philosophy of qualified monism in Śrīrankam, and travelled throughout India to propagate his ideas. The important fact is that Rāmānuja followed, in the evolution of his philosophy, Yamunācārya (b. 917) who was the grandson of Ranganāthamuni (824–924), the first of the great Ācāryas of Vaisnavism who followed directly the Tamil Ālvārs. Ranganāthamuni actually became the final redactor of the Vaisnava Tamil canon, and the grandson and direct spiritual inheritor of this man, Yamunācārya, who also went under his Tamil name Ālavantār, became the guru of Rāmānuja. Thus, a direct and uninterrupted line leads back from Rāmānuja to the greatest of Ālvārs and one of the greatest Tamil poets, Nammālvār, who was the guru of Ranganāthamuni.

Without going into details, it is proper at least to mention by name the most important Sanskrit poets, commentators, philosophers and Sanskrit literary works, intimately connected with the South. It is well-known that, under the patronage of early Viṣṇuvāsanagar kings, notably Bukka I, a large body of scholars headed by Śaṅkara undertook and completed the enormous task of producing a commentary upon the Samhitās of all the four Vedas, and many of the Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas.

It is not always stressed, however, that the Bhāgavata-purāṇa was composed somewhere in South India about the beginning of the 10th Cent., and that it summed up the outlooks and beliefs of typical South Indian bhakti. It is a fact that the Bhāgavata-purāṇa combines a simple emotional bhakti to Viṣṇu with the advaita of Śaṅkara in a manner that (to quote K. A. Nilakanta Sastrī) “has been considered possible only in the Tamil country of that period”.

Among the most interesting dramatic compositions coming from the Tamil South are the two unique farces (pāhasanas), Mattavilāśa and Bhaganādayyuka, written by that immensely attractive figure in South Indian history, the “curious-minded” Mahendravaiśman the First of Kāñci.

In the domain of Vedānta, all the three major schools had their origin in the South Śaṅkara (born in 788 at Kaladi in North Travancore) was a Kerala Brahmin. One may go on enumerating hundreds of Sanskrit works in the field of belles-lettres, rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, commentatorial literature, philosophy etc., all of them written in the South. This we will not do, naturally,
### CHART 1

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<td><strong>Inscriptions</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Early Tamil Brāhmi (&quot;Danuli&quot;) inscriptions, 3-1 Cent B.C. (Asokan / 272-232 B.C. / Brāhmi introduced ca. 250 B.C. into the Tamil country and adapted between 250-200 B.C. to Tamil)</td>
<td>1 the &quot;Urtext&quot; of the Tolkāp-piyam, i.e. the two first sections Ellulattkāram and Collatkāram minus later interpolations, ca. 100 B.C. 2 the earliest strata of bardic poetry in the so-called Cankamu anthologies, ca. 1 Cent B.C. - 2 Cent A.D.</td>
<td>beginnings ca. 450 A.D.</td>
<td>beginnings in the 6-7 Cent. A.D. (lost)</td>
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**INTRODUCTORY**
it is important, however, to appreciate the fact that Sanskrit literary works are an integral and intrinsic part of the literary heritage of the South and that Sanskrit was the language of learning and higher culture throughout South India, though, of course, to a different degree in different parts of the South, and in different periods.

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CHART 2
CHAPTER TWO

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF TAMIL LITERATURE

One may observe, through the entire development of Tamil literature and, for that matter, Tamil culture in general, a kind of inner tension which may be traced to two sources—one is the truly dialectic relationship between the general and the specific, another the conflict between tradition and modernity. The problem of the relation of specific and general in Tamil literature and culture is a very central, very basic problem which has its important aspects in all spheres of life and which penetrates or at least touches a great number of other questions (such as the bi-culturalism of some strata of the Tamil community, the language-loyalty, language policy etc.). By “general” I mean the generally, the universally Indian, by “specific” I mean the specifically, distinctively Tamil.

There is much talk today about the Indian linguistic area, after Emeneau applied the theory of a Sprachbund to India and so-to-say discovered India, in 1956, as a “linguistic area”, as an area in which genetically different languages show similar or even identical features, we should probably develop, along analogical lines of thinking, an Indian areal Literaturwissensschaft, with the same precision, with the same attention to detail, with the same rigour that Emeneau develops in his hypothesis of Indian linguistic area. There is no doubt that there are some “emic” features, typical for the pan-Indian Literaturbund. ¹ Hardly anybody can deny that there

¹ Features which are common to the entire Indian sub-continent but unique only for it, not confined to any particular region or bound by any particular linguistic unit or social community. Examples of such features (seen, naturally, in a somewhat “collapsed” form) are, e.g., high degree of conceptualization and categorizing science against low degree of fact-gathering and hypotheses-testing, the conception of time as circular rather than linear, etc. etc. In the field of literature, its function and appreciation such features are, to quote a few instances: higher regard for oral than for written transmission, emphasis on audience appreciation, the concept of “mood” (rasa in Sanskrit, meyppati in Tamil) and its overall importance—though the Tamil meyppati is not identical, but an important “alloform” of the overall category of “mood”, literature as rhetoric to move others to intensify the feelings of the rāṣṭha, composition is prescribed, there is therefore high degree of conventionalization, characters analyzed rather than by individual heroes, high degree of anonymity, a typical Indian
is a common Indianness in the literatures of India just as there are some common and distinctive features of Indian civilization and culture (though I have my doubts whether anybody has as yet successfully produced a classified list and a really deep and penetrating discussion of these features). These common features are of course results of a diverging evolution, or, one should probably say, and this seems to me to be rather important, of a synthesis not yet fully achieved—, actually far from achieved. The common Indianness, the "unity in diversity", should be regarded not as something static and finished, but as a dynamic process, as a truly dialectical process, not as a sum, but as a movement which alters in the historical evolution, a kind of striving after synthesis of oppositions and conflicts which are frequently rather antagonistic.

One of the basic—if not the basic—components of this dynamic process full of tensions and antagonsms is the striving after a Dravidian-Aryan synthesis. Tamil literature reflects this struggle, from its very beginnings in the text of the Tolkāppiyam until today's writings of such men as Annadurai, Kannadasan or other apostles of the Dravidian movement on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in the writings of the synthesis-oriented, "Sanskritized" Brahmin writers.

As mentioned above, it is very probable that the first bloom of Tamil culture and literature took place before that type of diffusion which had been termed "Sanskritization" could have had any massive effect and any structurally deep impact upon the indigenous, pre-Aryan culture of the South. This does not, however, mean that even the earliest strata of classical Tamil culture are without any traces of "Sanskritization". In fact, diffusion of at least some of the "Sanskritic" traits must have taken place as early as in the Proto-Tamil or pre-Tamil stage, since, as Emeneau pointed out, these traits are very ancient in Toda culture, possessed by the Todas probably when they first appeared in the Nilgiris. As Emeneau says, Sanskritic culture has, indeed, been all-pervasive in India.

The very earliest monument of Tamil literary language and Tamil culture as such, the Tolkāppiyam, supposed to have been composed by Agastya's pupil Tolkāppiyar, is to a great extent the product of an Aryan-Dravidian synthesis, and even in its Urtext, in its earliest layers, it shows beyond doubt the author's well-digested conception of authorship, originality and imitation, a particular conception of plot(s) etc. etc.
knowledge of such Sanskrit authors as Pāṇini and Patañjali. The earliest traces of another style of Tamil—a style probably rather near to the colloquial speech of those days—preserved in the most ancient inscriptions in Tamil in the Brāhmi script—are influenced to a considerable extent by the Prakrit of the Jains and the Pali of the Buddhists.

Hence it is clear that Tamil literature did not develop in a cultural vacuum, and that the evolution of the Tamil culture was not achieved either in isolation, or by simple cultural mutation. The very beginnings of Tamil literature manifest clear traces of Aryan influence—just as the very beginnings of the Indo-Aryan literature, the Rgvedic hymns, show traces of Dravidian influence. This, too, is today an undisputed fact.

On the other hand, there are some sharply contrasting features which are typical for Tamil classical culture alone, for the Tamil cultural and literary tradition as opposed to the non-Tamil tradition—and in this respect, the Tamil cultural tradition is independent, not derived, not imitative, it is pre-Sanskritic, and from this point of view Tamil alone stands apart when compared with all other major languages and literatures of India.

It is possible to express this fact briefly but precisely by saying that there exist in India only two great specific and independent classical and historically attested cultures—the Sanskrit culture and the Tamil culture.

Historically speaking, from the point of development of Indian literature as a single complex, Tamil literature possesses at least two unique features.

First, as has just been pointed out, it is the only Indian literature which is, at least in its beginnings and in its first and most vigorous bloom, almost entirely independent of Aryan and specifically Sanskrit influences. This primary independence of Tamil literary tradition has been, incidentally, the source of many conflicts.

Second, though being sometimes qualified as a neo-Indian literature, Tamil literature is the only Indian literature which is both classical and modern, while it shares antiquity with much of Sanskrit literature and is as classical, in the best sense of the word, as e.g. the ancient Greek poetry, it continues to be vigorously living modern writing of our days. This fact was expressed in a very happy formulation by A. K. Ramanujan in his excellent book The Interior Landscape (1967) "Tamil, one of the two classical languages of
India, is the only language of contemporary India which is recognizably continuous with a classical past”

This fact—the relation between tradition and modernity—has, too, been the source of constant tension. Contemporary Tamil literature has to carry the splendid but massive burden of an uninterrupted tradition and classical heritage, and sometimes the burden seems indeed too heavy to bear

The following are then the diagnostic, characteristic features of classical Tamil literature with regard to its subject-matter and thought-content. First of all, Tamil is probably the one ancient language of India that bears the reflection of the life of an entire people, that is, its heroes are idealized types derived from what we might even call “common folk”. Classical (i.e. the so-called Cankam) Tamil literature is not the literature of the barons, neither is it the literature of a monastic order, nor the literature of an élite, of a nāgarika, it is thus not the literature of a particular social class. One major type of Tamil classical poems reflects the life of ordinary though idealized men and women, not the life of a sacerdotal or ruling nobility, of a priestly class, of nuns, monks, or of any élite group or groups of society. The whole gamut of basic human experience is contained in what has been best in Tamil writing. In this sense, it is very different from all strata of Sanskrit literature—from the Vedic literature which is the literature of a sacerdotal class, from the great epics which are the literature of the ruling barons, from the classical literature which is par excellence the literature of the “man about town”, of the nāgarika, it is also different from the Buddhist and Jaina texts, since these are mostly the literature of monastic orders, of monks and nuns. However, this does not mean that it is, in its finished form, as we have it, “popular” literature or “folk” literature. Classical Tamil literature is literature about and of people but not a Volksliteratur. It is typically a Kunstdichtung

The poets, of both sexes, had no priestly function to perform. There are more than twenty women minstrels, responsible for about 140 poems of the earliest strata of Tamil poetry. The true diagnostic feature of these poets is the fact that they were a professional, vocational group, held generally in high esteem. They belonged, by birth, to all classes of society, quite a number of them were born as princes and chieftains, a great number were of peasant or merchant origin, however, the list of ancient poets includes potters, black-
smiths and carpenters—by birth, that is. Some of the names are revealing: e.g., Nampi Kuttuvan, Kur 243, belonged to the ruling dynasty of the Cēral kings; Maturai Eluttālaṇ, Kur 223, was probably a scribe at the royal court of Maturai, Uṟuyūr Mutukolraṇ, Kur 221, is the "old headman of Uṟuyūr", but Kilmankalan-kilār, Kur 152, was a peasant by caste, while e.g., Māmūlaṉāri, responsible for a number of poems, was a Brahmin scholar.

These early poets, recruited from many different communities, received bardic training—there were probably different schools and traditions of this training—and became professionals, the wandering minstrels and bards travelled about in groups, often rather poor, frequently, however, very influential, and sometimes rather affluent. When a poet in Pur 208 7-8 says "I am not singing for money" and "I am not a poet who barter his art", it implies the existence of "mercenary" singers. Some of the poems speak even of the duty, of the obligation (kutay, lit. "debt") towards the minstrels, which the ruling monarchs and chieftains have to perform (Pur 201 14, 203 II).

The learning of the minstrels was oral, acquired by imitation and practice, the basis of their knowledge was purely auditory. Cf. the term kēloṇ "learning" (specifically of the poets) primary meaning "hearing, sound" (<kēl), or kilavi "word, speech, language utterance" <kila "to speak", i.e. "to be heard" (DED 167; Burrow BSOAS 1043, 128). kilavi is used most frequently for "poetic utterance". All this points to the oral-auditory nature of early Tamil literature.

In this connection it is also interesting to note that the term for the most ancient Tamil metre, the metre in which almost the entire bardic poetry is sung, namely akavai, means "call, summon, song" (cf. DED 11 akavu "to utter a sound as a peacock, to sing, call, summon", akavar "bards who arouse the king in the morning"). Later the same metre was called ācēravam, derived from ācērya- "priest, teacher, author of any literary work, scholar", a very early loan from Skt ācārya- "a spiritual guide or teacher" (DBH item 30). That is, there was a semantic shift from "call, summon, song" to "teaching, sermon, explanation". The poetry acquired more and more the character of learned Kunstlichtung, and this also leads, as Kailasapathy rightly observes, to the next stage of gnomic, didactic poetry (under the increasing impact of Jain and Buddhist ideology).
But let us return to the bards there were probably six major types of these early poets the term which is used most frequently is pānar This is connected with pān “song, melody”, pānu “song, melody, music” and pānu “song”, most probably the underlying mono-syllabic morpheme is pān “music” There are cognates in Malayalam and Tulu It is interesting that the Pkt pāna- (most probably connected) means “a low caste” (DED 3351) The pānar were minstrels who sang their songs to the accompaniment of the vāl or lute In medieval times, they were regarded as a lower caste, and in such medieval texts as the Nantikkalampakam (anonymous, of the time of Pallava Nandivarman III, 846-869, historically a reliable text), the pānar are compared with pēv, “the devils, the demons”, and with nāv, “the dogs” kūttar were dancing minstrels, performers of choral dramas (a synonymous term is ātunar) Cf Greek choroi who sang as well as danced at the festivals This class of minstrels was degraded, too kūtti “danceuse” in later time means “prostitute” porunar a term which probably means “war-bards”, they were especially close to the chiefs and princes, the accompanying instrument in this case was the tatāri or kina “small drum” akavanar, akavalar or akavar <akavu “to utter a sound as a peacock, to sing, call, summon”, i.e “summoners, callers” Probably “heralds” We also come across the term akavay makalur “women heralds” vāraliyar these were female dancers and singers, originally highly respected—cf the case of Auvayār, who was a great and esteemed poetess and a danseuse In later times, however, mainly due to the puritanical attitude of Jainism and Buddhism, they became to be regarded as symbols of immorality, and the word was used first for concubines, later for harlots and prostitutes

The only term which survived in the meaning “poet” was pulavar This is the modern Standard Literary Tamil term (in de-Sanskritized Tamil) Original meaning is “wise men, the learned” And this itself is important the idea of wisdom, of knowledge, of learning connected with the person of the poet, it was a learned poetry It also shows the reverence for the poets in ancient times the pulavar are always highly respected—somewhat like in the Jewish tradition a scholar is the most respected man in the society It seems from certain data that poets have not only been always
associated with profound learning, but also with mantic wisdom, which was connected, again, with the cult of Murukai. Murukan is actually the patron-god of poets and scholars in the South, only much later this function (of the patron-god of wisdom and learning) is taken over by Ganapatī.

In a way, ancient Tamil poetry, especially the erotic poetry, is very "democratic." However, this democratism, I am afraid, was greatly exaggerated. The characters mentioned by name in the heroic poetry are almost exclusively aristocratic. On the other hand, in love-poetry, the personnel is anonymous—they are types, typified common people or rather people in general, without any determination of their social status, their occupation, etc. just a man and a woman, the woman's mother or girl-friend, the man's friend or his charoteer. However, there is evidence which shows that even these anonymous types belong, in most of the erotic poems, to the "leisure class." We may assume that, with a few exceptions, one and the same type of male is the hero of both—the war exploits and the erotic feats. The only difference is that when the poet describes his erotic achievements, he is discreetly anonymous, while anonymity in panegyric and heroic poetry would be quite unwanted, here, the hero is a concrete person. There is no personal love-poetry. The poet never speaks about his individual erotic experience, on the other hand, there is a lot of personal experience of the poet revealed in the poems from the other sphere—the sphere of public life.

The male hero, though an "aristocrat," cannot be compared with let us say a feudal baron of the Norman period. The Old Tamil hero was very close to the land, the economic basis of his existence, though he himself did probably no manual work in the fields, he did not live in huge castles, but in villages in big houses called maṇai, akam, il, and only occasionally in small fortresses. However, as Pūram 311 says,

"He wears spotless white clothes washed by the pūlāttī (washer-

1 I would now hesitate to use the term at all. It is true that, on the one hand, the akam genre of classical poetry has for its dramatis persona anonymous types representative of men and women an sich (irrespective, among other features, of caste or class) who undergo common and total human experience of love in all its phases and aspects, on the other hand, these idealized types represent cultured, well-matched and fit pairs, to the exclusion of uncultured, ignorant, unlit people, who, in later scholastic literature, are said explicitly to be servants and workers. The ideology of the pūlam (heroic) genre is definitely "clannish" and "aristocratic."
woman), who digs the salt land for water. He also wears a garland of flowers. He is always helpful to others. But he fights alone, unaided in battle. A hero and mighty hero, he is, who wields off with his single shield the weapons aimed at him by his foes". (K. Kailasapathy’s transl)

The bards did not indulge in moralizations concerning either the ethics of war or the problems of extramarital relationship or non-monogamous sexuality of the heroes (Kailasapathy, 79, 80). Only later—probably due to the impact of Jainism, Buddhism and later Brahmanism—there is some gnomic content in the poems—the central idea being the impermanence of life in the world. Tolkāppiyam calls this theme kāa, and Purapporul venpāmālai calls it vāka. They stand apart, probably as later additions. Whether they are later or not, all of them are to an extent pervaded by some conception of universal humanism and unity of mankind. The reasons for this humanism are not drawn from a monistic identity with the Primeval Being, but from the very nature of man, from the fundamental identity of all men, from a rational unity found in nature and in the cosmos, above all, from a stone-like, impassioned, unperturbable kind of acceptance of the facts of life. In these few stanzas, we see the poet-philosopher, or rather simply the “wise poet”, the pulavar, at his best, whether or not we regard these poems as a reflection of the progressive transformation of values, which were originally pertinent simply and purely to the heroic age, into more idealized values, interpreted from the moral standpoint. Whatever the process was, the outcome, represented e.g. by the well-known and often quoted poem beginning yātum ārē yūvāram kētra, Puram 192, played a very great role in subsequent ideological development, and is probably even more important today in its very contemporary political interpretations, and even misinterpretations. The whole context of the poem shows that we have to do rather with a stone-like, Montagnesque resignation and even a privileged recognition of the transience of life, than with any kind of egalitarianism and “universal brotherhood” which had been read into the opening line of this beautiful poem.

Any town out home-town, every man a kin-man
Evil and good are not things brought
by others, neither pain, nor relief of pain
Death is nothing new We do not rejoice
that living is sweet, not resent it
for not being so
Life's way is like the raft's
when the restless descending waters lash on the rocks
as lightening skies pour down the rains —
we know this very well
from the vision of the Open-eyed Ones
So we do not marvel at those
big with excellence, nor scorn
the little ones.

_Puram_ 192
Translation A K Ramanujan

The ideal of human life was to be achieved in this life, and it was the ideal of a wise man of human proportions and with human qualities. There is even a specific term for this ideal man, appearing again and again in many stanzas—in fact one of the key-words of Tamil poetry, if not the key-word of the best in Tamil culture. I have in mind the term _cāṟṟṟā_. This is a participial noun derived from the verb stem _cāṟṟ_ “to be abundant, full, suitable, filling, great, noble”, the noun _cāṟ_ means “fullness, abundance”, _cāṟṟu_ “excellence, nobility” (DED 2037 a). Hence _cāṟṟṟā_, pl _cāṟṟṟā_ means “a complete, a whole man, a perfect, noble man”.

Actually the medieval glossators and scholasts called consistently the most ancient poetry of the Tamils _cāṟṟṟā_ _ceyyul_ “poetry of the noble ones” K Kailasapathy adds the following very true statement about this term: “It is perhaps no great exaggeration to say that no other expression sums up the totality of the nature of the earliest Tamil poetry as does _cāṟṟṟā_ _ceyyul_ ‘poetry of the noble ones’.” The _TL_ in 1397 gives the following meanings of _cāṟṟṟā_ “the warrior, the great, the learned, the noble”, and “the poets of the _Cankam_ period”. In a book of essays, _Aṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟற_ _Venkataswamy_ discussed this word and its semantic field and tried to demonstrate that it originally connoted “warriors”. That may be true but in the bulk of so-called Sangam poetry, it means “great, noble men” (in the moral sense) A stanza, _Puram_ 182, maintains that the world exists as a livable place because such perfect men exist.

_This world lives because_
_some men do not eat alone, even the sweetest things_,
_nor even the food of the gods_
_earned by grace and penance_,

_they have no anger in them._
they do not fear evils that other men fear,
not sleep over them,

they give their lives for glory
but will not touch the gifts of the whole worlds
if it should be tainted,

they have no faintness in their hearts,
and strive not for themselves
but for others,

this world is,
because such men are

_Puram 182_
Translation A K Ramanujan

Again, in another stanza of the anthology, _Puram 191_, we may read the following lines

You ask me how it is
my hair is not gray
though I am full of years. Then listen
a wife's excellence, children fulfilled,
dear ones wishing me what I wish
for myself, a king who will do nothing
that isn't done, and in the town
where I live, several men
full of virtue, courtesy,
masters of their senses

_Puram 191_
Translation A K Ramanujan

The same idea reappears later in the _Tirukkural_ (e.g. in 571, 996),
_panputaiyär pattun tulakam, atiuntiriev
manpukku mayvatu man_ (996)

"The world exists because noble and cultured men exist, without them the world would vanish in dust"

The important fact is that this Tamil wise man, the _cāryaḥ_, is not an anchorite or a recluse, not an ascetic of any kind and shade, but a man of flesh and blood who should live fully his days of courtship and of married life, of fighting and love-making, rejoicing in the laughter and happiness with his children and friends and fully dedicated to his social and civic duties. And this humanistic tradition is very much alive in Tamil literature from its beginnings to its present short-story writing, and is found strongly expressed in the best works of Tamil literature in the earliest poetry which is
its source, in the pragmatic and empiric ethics of the *Tirukkural*, in the best of the *bhaktas*, in the conception of Kâmapât’s Ayodhyâ, and even in the medieval poets like Pukañthen and Arumakiri, in Râma-\(\text{\textit{linka Cuva\textcircled{\textit{n}}} and, much later, in the two probably greatest figures of new Tamil writing, in Pârâti (Bharati) and Putumappittan.}

Before discussing another general characteristic feature of Tamil writing as such, let me trace in some detail the other key-words, the other diagnostic concepts typical for the earlist and most independent era of Tamil literature and thought.

One of such terms is *nân* “sense of shame.” According to the most accurate and sensible commentator on early old Tamil literature, Ilampûranar, “what is meant by this word is a state of mind that leads to the actions contrary to the conduct of the noble ones, it cannot be explained” *Akam* 273 15 speaks about *pulavar* *pukañtha* *nân* “sense of shame prased by the bards.”

Another key-term, and probably even more important, is *pukal* and its many synonyms, all meaning “glory”, “fame.” According to *Pugam* 282, the ideal hero while alive lived in the battle ground to attain “glorie”, and after death he passed into the verses of the singers. To acquire fame and glory was the chief goal of his life. In *Pugam* 36 it is said that “for fame they would give their very lives, against blame even the entire world they would not have.” And again, *Pugam* 182 5 says *pukañthen uyur\text{\textit{n}} kotukkuvar “for fame they would give their very lives.” The synonyms for *pukal* are *urai, icai, perumpeyar, virthi*, all meaning, “praise, fame.” K. Kanisapathy examines in detail the contents and attributes of these items (231 ff.) The poems are saturated with constructions involving these terms. The warrior constantly endeavours to establish his reputation, he is full of courage, having utter disdain for death. One’s fame is more lasting than death itself, cf *Pugam* 165 2 etc *tampukal nir\text{\textit{ist tamm\textcircled{\textit{v\textcircled{\textit{y\textcircled{\textit{n}}t\textcircled{\textit{a\textcircled{\textit{n}}r}}}}}} “they died, having set up their fame on a firm basis.” Honour and fame could be achieved only by bravery in war and deeds of slaughter against the enemy. The true hero longs for battle. Cf *Akam* 154 3-4 “Having consumed plenty of strong palm-wine, the furious men long for battle.” Hence the hero’s pride in wounds received in battle, in *vulppun* “excellent wounds” (*Pugam* 180 4) which, according to the celebrated commentator of the *Tirukkural*, Paramê\(\text{\textit{clakar}} (\textit{Kural} 70 6), are “glorious wounds which one receives on one’s chest and face.”
Women were as brave and as thirsty for fame as men. cf. this amazing poem, Puram 86

You stand against the pillar of my hut and ask me
Where is your son?
I don’t really know
My womb is only a lair
for that tiger
You can see him now
only in battlefields

Translation A K Ramanujan

With the longing for battle and thirst for fame is naturally connected the earliest Tamil conception of heaven. It is a hero’s heaven, the world of great renown, the world of the noble ones, whereas the earth is peopled by heroes and non-heroes, the warrior’s heaven is inhabited only by renowned (perumpeyar) persons. They will enjoy the bliss of marriage with the spotless maidens in heaven (Puram 287 10-12) “Lucky are those who are killed by someone rather than just die” (Akam 61 1-2) Those who died a natural death were laid on a grass mat and cut asunder with a sword, so that they might die a warrior’s death. Even children did not escape this gruesome custom, cf Puram 74 1-2 “Whether it be a still-born child or a mere foetus, it is not spared but cloven asunder”

Leaving these gruesome aspects of early Tamil civilization behind, let me mention another and very typical and characteristic feature of the pre-Aryan Tamil literature—its predominantly secular inspiration, the absence of any “religious” sentiment. The earliest extant poetry is emphatically not ritualistic at all, even reflection and didactic features appear later. It was suspected and hinted at more than once, and probably quite conclusively proved by Kailasapathy, that the early poetry of the Tamils is founded on secular, oral bardic tradition—in sharp contrast to the Vedic poetry, and comparable rather with the Greek or Welsh bardic literature and, in some respects, with the early amorous lyric poetry of the trobadores of Languedoc and Provence.

The Tamil classical poetry is pre-eminently of this world, it makes almost no allusions to supernatural meddling in worldly affairs. When, quite marginally and exceptionally, it reflects some kind of religio, it is mostly the rites and ceremonies connected with the daily life of the people (such as marriage ceremonies), or, in bardic
war-poetry, reflections of tribal cults and their survivals (sacrifice of blood and flesh to the devils, etc.) The presence of Vedic religion, of Brahmanism, in early Tamil poetry may be traced only with difficulty as a very feeble, unimportant superstratum.

(The poetry only rarely reflects and speculates, where reflection and elements of speculation appear, they are often of very different quality from what we find in Aryan texts. In old Tamil literature, reflections and speculations are of a general, humanistic and "stoic" character, preoccupied mostly with the impermanence and transience of human affairs, with man's duties as a zoon politikon and as a social being, with the ability to live a full, happy life in this world.

This original secularism and the absence of almost any religious inspiration is the one feature that later disappears from Tamil literature, and Tamil becomes what has been called "the language of devotion" and of religious philosophy. But Tamil religiosity is undoubtedly of a different colour than any other Indian religiosity. It has specific and peculiar features, which will be discussed in detail when Tamil bhakti poetry, and the cititar texts, are analysed.

Apart from these more general typical features of Tamil literature—its so-called "democracy", humanism and secularism—we may of course characterize Tamil writing by its typical subject-matters, by its leading themes and motives. The traditional and in fact the only content of ancient Tamil poetry seems again to be something specific in India, and any attempt to bring it into direct relationship and one-to-one correspondence with the concepts of dharma or artha or kāma is bound to fail. To put it simply and somewhat crudely, the two topics of early Tamil poetry are mating and fighting. This fact finds its formal expression in the existence of two and only two genres. The genre of akam poetry, i.e., poetry of the "inner world", speaks of private life. This is the tender, intimate love-poetry, anonymous, stereotyped, including some of the greatest love poems ever composed in world literature—a poetry based on a concept definitely broader and deeper than the Sanskritic kāma. The second genre is that of puram, of the "outer world", poetry concerning individual heroes, about war, greatness, fame and duty, about public and political life, the result—magnificent bardic poetry, panegyrics and war lyrics. The genre comprises a great many aspects of the Sanskritic dharma and artha.

Finally, there is yet another feature which should be mentioned, a formal feature which is perhaps rather typical of the best achieve-
ments of Tamil literature as such, from the earliest exquisite lyrical stanzas to the quite contemporary prose-writings of such authors as L. S. Ramamirtham or the very contemporary *puhu kavitan*, "new poetry" school. It seems somehow that the thing which matters most in Tamil creative writing is a conscious effort after brevity and conciseness, a striving after powerful abbreviation, clarity and transparence, which is the result of much effort to exploit to the utmost the technique of suggestion, of allusion, of inference and word-play, of a complex and telling use of imagery, of multiple overtones. This effort may be seen in the earliest lyrical stanzas as well as in the intensely concise couplets of the *Tirukkural*, in the songs of *Cilappatikāram*, in various stanzas of Kamban's epic, in modern essays and short stories.

Hence, the two most typical and best developed forms of Tamil writing throughout the ages are *lyrical poetry* and *short story*, that is basically brief forms. Epic poetry appears later, and is almost always an imituation, even the greatest Tamil epic poetry—with the possible exception of *Cilappatikāram* and its majestic grandeur—is rather a series of miniature dramatic situations arranged like a chain of individual stanzas similar to beads on a string, stanzas which are finished, homogenous and perfect in themselves. And, frankly speaking, a *great* novel and a *great* drama has yet to appear in Tamil literature, whereas Tamil poetry abounds in exquisite lyrical pieces and Tamil prose abounds in excellent short stories and essays.
CHAPTER THREE

PROBLEMS OF DATING, RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

As a preliminary remark one fundamental difficulty should at least be mentioned: the manuscripts on palm-leaf leaves can hardly be dated earlier than the 18th Century. In the climatic conditions of South India, the palm-leaf manuscripts perish very quickly. Fortunately, photostat copies of Tamil works on cadjan leaves of the 12th Century AD were made, the manuscripts were preserved in the much more favourable climate of Tibet. But, so far, they do not seem to be available for study. The manuscripts which were preserved have been copied, and the natural question arises whether the reading one obtains from these copies is that of the age of the copyist or that of the original, and to what extent they differ. Textual criticism, as it is understood in the West, has not yet been adopted by the editors of Tamil classics. Even such an erudite scholar and editor as Dr U V Swaminatha Aiyar, *clarum et venerabile nomen* in the history of Tamil scholarship, did not strictly adhere to the principles of textual criticism. We know almost nothing about the manuscript traditions of the poems and anthologies, there are almost no specialized dictionaries, indexes and concordances, and not a single text has been critically and fully translated and interpreted finally, with the possible exception of the

1 One of the early Tamil editors, C. V. Tamilatam Pillai (1832-1901), describes, in the preface to his edition of *Kalittokai* (1887), the difficulties of his editorial work: "Only what has escaped fire and water and religious taboo remains, even of this, termites and the insect called Rāma's arrow take a portion, and the third element, earth, has its share, too. When you lift a palm-leaf manuscript, the edge breaks. When you untie the knot the leaf cracks. When you turn a leaf, it breaks in half. All old manuscripts are falling apart one after the other and there is no one to make new copies." According to M. C. Venkataraṇa (Pattinapatam nūraguntī tamil ilakkiyam 1800-1900, Madras, 1962, pp. 110-111), "unprinted texts in manuscripts were lost within one scholar's memory or became available only in portions, the strings untied and the other parts lost." Palm-leaf manuscripts are occasionally produced until this day, thus, e.g., I have in my possession a palm-leaf Ms. of *Mayāmatī Kātaik*, "The Story of the God of Love," dated Aug.-Sept. 1952.

Problems of Dating

Paripātal, edited and translated by F. Gros, at Pondichéry, 1968 (see Bibliography)

Also, there seems to have been a break in the traditional study of ancient literary works before they were rediscovered in the 19th Century. Many verses are missing even from those works which have come down to us. On the other hand, there was a tradition of interpolation—and this is very important for us when trying to reconstruct the original text of such works as the Tolkāppiyam. We know, e.g., that a nun by name of Kantivār is said to have included her verses in the Jain epic Civakacintāman (Naccinnārkkiniyar’s Commentary on Cintā 3145. Irākava Aiyankār’s ed. of Peruntokai 1549). Interpolations, elaborations of some episodes etc. have been probably added to the original texts. There are, e.g., critics who maintain that the Periyāpurāṇam and the Kamparamāyanam contain quite a number of interpolations. And it seems to us that the Tolkāppiyam, too, contains some later additions.

Those who tried to solve the chronological questions pertaining to ancient Tamil texts did not pay much attention to what one may call the various stages in the life of the text. It is absolutely imperative to distinguish between these stages, otherwise one gets entangled in a hopeless mess resulting from the unfortunate fact of mixing these various stages and trying to date a work in question as one homogeneous whole.

Generally speaking, we have to distinguish the following stages in the life of a text:

1. The creative act, that is the process of the actual composition of a text.
2. The period of oral transmission of the text.
3. The compilation of anthologies of texts.
4. The redaction (Germ ‘‘Redaktion’’), i.e., the editing and codification of the anthologies.
5. The stage of commenting upon the texts, the composition of commentaries and super-commentaries.
6. The critical edition or at least the preparation of a modern edition which is more or less in agreement with the principles of textual criticism.

1. The creative act Several authors, lastly K Kallasapathy (Tamil Heroic Poetry, 1968) have conclusively shown, that the earliest Tamil poetry was composed in agreement with the con-
A Tamil manuscript on palm-leaves. Property of the author.
ventions of an oral bardic tradition, and that, obviously, a great body of oral bardic literature preceded and was incorporated into the earliest corpus of Tamil literature (Though writing as such was known in the Tamil land during or immediately after the reign of Aśoka, and the Tamil-Brāhmī script was fully adapted to the language probably sometime in the 2nd Cent BC, it is highly probable that for a long time writing was used only for inscriptive purposes and, later, for grants, royal papers, letters written in royal chancelleries, only much later for literature as such. The creative act must have been purely oral, the early poems show unmistakable features of oral poetry, of oral composition, destined for audience appreciation and not visual “consumption” of literature.)

2 Thus the period of oral transmission was an unusually long one. As a random example we may give poems numbers 4 and 143, 144 and 145 of the Puram collection, ascribed to the well-known poet Paranar, who composed these songs probably sometime in the middle of the 2nd Cent AD. Perhaps as many as six centuries went by until a certain Peruntēvanār of 8th Cent AD compiled a number of bardic poems into one single anthology of four hundred of them, and provided this anthology with an invocatory stanza, thus anthology goes since then by the name of Puranāyāru or Puram.

3 The same man was very probably responsible for the anthologization of a great number of other early bardic poems (Akanāyāru, Ankurunāyāru, Kuruntokai and Narrinai) (We may say that the majority of the earliest texts were compiled into anthologies some time in the middle of the 8th Cent. if not later (some authors date Peruntēvanār into the 9th Cent.)

4 The next stage—that of the final redaction and codification of the various anthologies into greater corpora—is even later. The earliest Tamil poetry was compiled into two great anthologies, the Ettuttokai, “Eight collections”, and the Pattuppātu, “Ten Lays”, but the names themselves occur for the first time only in Pērāciroiyi’s commentary to Tolk Porul 362 and 392 where he speaks about pātu and tokai, that is in the 13th-14th Cent AD, and by Mayilarnāṭar, a commentator of the grammar Nanūl (also in the 13-14 Cent), he speaks about enperuttokai and pattuppātu (s v 387 amperunkāppiyam, enperuttokai, pattuppātu, patmenkikkkanakku). Before that, though the individual anthologies are mentioned and cited by various commentators, the two great anthologies of Ettuttokai and Pattuppātu never figure in these commentaries e.g
in the commentary on *Ittaiyapr̥ur̥a Akāppur̥ul* by Nakkīrār (8th Cent A D) or in Ilampūrānār the earliest commentator on Tolk, in the 12th Cent. Thus it seems that the final codification of the texts into the two great anthologies has not been made before 13-14 Cent A D.

5 The ancient literature, once it was anthologized, and especially after its final codification, was submitted to extensive comments, annotations and interpretations by medieval scholiasts, this period of great commentaries starts probably in the 8th Cent A D with Nakkīrār’s commentary on *Ittaiyapr̥ur̥a Akāppur̥ul* and Ilampūrānār’s commentary on *Tolkāppiyam*, and ends with Nacmārkkukku-uvār’s commentaries of the 14th Century. Later, a great number of miscellaneous lesser commentaries were written, and those of them that are available form a literature in themselves. Taking as an instance, again, the stanzas in *Purāṇam*, an ancient anonymous commentary is available up to stanza No. 266 of this collection, apart from that, there exists a modern super-commentary by Auvai S. Dornsaungwāl Pillai to the whole anthology.

6 Finally, beginning with late 19th Cent, the early poetry was being published in many editions of different kind and quality. Thus e.g. the anthology *Puranānūru* was published in 1894 by the great U. V. Swaminatha Auvai in what is an approximation to a critical edition.

Another problem which is involved in the general question of dating and chronology of the early works is the fact that a number of literary personalities occur under one and the same name, and very many writers and editors have committed the mistake of regarding persons bearing identical name as identical people. Thus we have e.g. Auvaiyār who comes in the pre-Pallava age of so-called *Cankam* literature, another Auvaiyār appears as a contemporary of Cuntara in the Pallava age, and a third Auvaiyār, the author of the popular didactic works, appears in the later Chola age as a contemporary of Ottakkuttai. There was also the habit of later writers assuming the names of great poets of a previous age—this may be the case of Kapilai. There are at least three poets going by this name—one who is sometimes called Tol-Kapilar or the “Old Kapilar” (cf. colophon to *Akam* 282 etc.), then Kapilar the Great—“the prince” of the so called *Cankam* poets, and finally the late Kapilar, the author of the late-medieval *Kapilarakavali*, an antibrahmimic outcry.
We have at least two Nakkīrars. The older Nakkīrar might have lived round about 250 A.D. and was the author of some very fine poems in the anthologies. A later Nakkīrar is the author of Tirumurukāvṟṟuppaṭai, and probably the same man composed the commentary to Iraivanār Akapporuḷ in the 8th Cent. A.D. Certain works elaborated by a series of scholars in a particular school of thought were sometimes named after their original teacher and guru—such may be the case of Tolkāppiyam, or rather its third portion, which is probably much later than the basic parts of the first two portions, but goes, too, under the name of Tolkāppiyar.

Finally, there is the problem of the language of the earliest literature. The uniformity of the language is part of the whole picture of the uniformity and homogeneity of the poetry itself, the linguistic matter of the early bardic poetry is a highly standardized, conventionalized language making use of stereotype formulae, it is a normalized, highly polished language of a high literary style. On the other hand, one should always bear in mind that this literature is a corpus of poems arranged, as pointed above, much later into collections and hyper-collections and that, consequently, these anthologies contain material of very different age and antiquity, ranging probably from the 2nd-1st Cent. B.C. to the 3rd or 4th Cent. A.D. The fact that not much linguistic development is detectable within the bulk of the earliest poems is due to the conventionalized, in some ways petrified, "frozen", linguistic norms.

One extreme case was to date these texts between the 9th-10th and the 13th Cent. A.D. These attempts are no more seriously considered nowadays, though in the earlier editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica or in the writings of the French scholar Julien Vinson this was the accepted dating. However, neither Vinson nor

1 The identity of these two Nakkīrars is still a disputed question. To be precise, there are actually more Nakkīrars than two in Tamil writing. Many bards bore the name of Kīrar (e.g., Kuttuvāḷ Kīrār, Maturār Nakkīrār, Vilankārār). Of the better known Nakkīrars, there may be three or four. 1 Nakkīrar the bard; the author of the lyrical pieces in the tokārs. 2 He is probably identical with Nakkīrar, the author of the beautiful lay "The Long Good Northern Wind" A.D. 215 (?). 3 Another Nakkīrar, the author of Tirumurukāvṟṟuppaṭai (C. 700-800 A.D.). 4 He may or may not be identical with Nakkīrar, the author of the commentary of Iyavanār's Kalavayal (that is with Maturār Kanakkāyār Makan Nakkīrār) C. 700-800 A.D.). 5 One or more Nakkīrars, author(s) of some of the poems which are included in the 11th Tirumurai (Saiva Canon).
Rost, the author of the pertinent lines in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, had access to the earliest texts, they were not aware of their existence (Vinson knew only one of the anthologies, *Kalittokai*, which is anyhow a later collection, Caldwell and Rost considered the *Tirukkural* to be the earliest Tamil literary work) This dating of the beginnings of Tamil literature can be thus dismissed without any further ado

Swamikannu Pillai’s is a much more serious attempt he dates the bulk of the earliest poetry into the 7th-8th Cent AD (his calculations are based on astronomical data and result in the date 756 AD for the epic poem *Cilappatikāram*, and 634 AD for *Paripālai*, one of the Eight Anthologies) He gives a few additional reasons, they need not be discussed in detail, since this dating in general goes against the evidence of the history of South India, against the internal linguistic evidence, and against some other considerations, e.g., of the prevalent religious situation (a period of absolute toleration for Buddhism and Jainism during and immediately after the earliest literary period as opposed to the intolerance typical for the age of the Pallavas, characteristic for the beginnings of militant Hinduism in the South)

The most plausible date for the bulk of early Tamil literature is the 2nd Cent AD This date, suggested by G.K. Seshaiyer on the astronomical computation of the great fire of Madurai in 171 AD, was taken up by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and S. Varavara Pillai who, I think, were the first to prove more or less conclusively, especially in *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol II, 1957, that the bulk of the earliest Tamil lyrical poetry was composed between 100-250 AD

Let us now examine in detail the external and internal evidence for this date, as presented by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, and as supported by the contemporary and rather conclusive testimony provided by the historical analysis of the early Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions and some other material

The earliest Tamil literature extant has been preserved in two great super-anthologies, the *Etuttokai* and the *Pattupāṭṭu*. Chart 3 gives the titles of the various eight anthologies of the great collection, and the names of the ten lays contained in the second great anthology, in their traditional order

It has been noted, and nowadays only the most stubborn of the traditional pandits would not admit this fact, that out of the eight
collections of the first great anthology, two, namely the Parīpālal and the Kalītlokāi are, in their entirety, later than the rest. As far as the second great anthology is concerned, at least one poem is undoubtedly of later origin than the rest, namely the Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai. Thus we are left with six anthologies of Ettuttokai and with nine pālīs or lays of Pattupāṭṭu

**CHART 3**

Ettuttokai “Eight Collections”
1. *Nānais* “(The anthology of poems about) the good tinai’s”
2. *Kuṟintokai* “The anthology of short (poems)”
3. *Āṇkuranūṟu* “The five hundred short (poems)”
4. *Pattupāṭṭitu* “The ten tens”
5. *Parīpālai* “(The composition in the) parīpālal metre”
7. *Akanṭinai* or *Netintokai* “The four hundred (stanzas) about akam” or “the anthology of long (poems)”
8. *Puyantinai* “The four hundred (stanzas) about puram”

Pattupāṭṭu “Ten Lays”
1. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* “The guide to Lord Muruka”
2. *Purinavaiṟṟuppaṭai* “The guide for the war-hands”
3. *Cinṟukkanūṟṟuppaṭai* “The guide for the hands with the small lute”
4. *Pettupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* “The guide for the hands with the large lute”
5. *Mollappāṭṭu* “The song about the forest (life)”
7. *Netunavaići* “The good long northern wind”
8. *Kurippāṭṭu* “The song about the hubs”
9. *Pattupāṭṭai* “(The poem about) separation (and about) the city”
10. *Malaspadikatām* “(The poem of the sound) kataṁ pertaining to the mountains”

It seems to me reasonable to assume that the earliest poetry began first to be fixed in writing, and later anthologized, as soon as it ceased to be part of a living tradition, in other words, as soon as it ceased to be a living, orally transmitted poetry for audience appreciation. With the cessation of a living bardic tradition, probably sometime in the so-called dark age of the Kalabhras round about the middle of the 1st millennium, this earliest poetry ceased to be created, sung, and orally transmitted, at this time or slightly later, it presumably became a kind of “frozen”, classical literature, which had definitely run out as a living literature during the first great wave of devotional poetry under the Pallavas. It gradually became a matter of interest only for the scholar, for the savant, for the erudite litterateur, it also became progressively more unintelligible, for the language changed as well as the conventions
and subject-matter of poetry. That was probably the period when, for the first time, a need was felt for commentaries and theoretical treatises dealing with this classical heritage. This heritage was ultimately preserved only and exclusively by the learned poets (not by the popular poets), and by the scholiasts and commentators. Even the scholiast and the commentator ceased to be interested during the late medieval times, until in fact this early poetry faded into oblivion and had to be rediscovered in almost modern times.

The "rediscovery" of ancient Tamil literature occurred in the transition period of the later 19th Cent. when—to employ the happy phrase of A. K. Ramanujan—"both paper and palm leaf were used." The two men most responsible for making possible this very transition were Damodaram Pillai (1832-1901) and U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar (1855-1942).

It has just been stressed that the anthologization is much later than the actual creation of the poetry, and that the final codification is very probably, again, much later than the anthologization. The name Peruntēvanār was mentioned before. Five of the six earlier collections of the Ettuttokai hyper-anthology are introduced by Peruntēvanār's invocatory verses Akanāyūru, Ainkurunāyūru, Kurntōkai, Narinai, and Puranāyūru. A certain Peruntēvanār is quoted as the author of a Tamil version of the Mahābhārata (this campā work has unfortunately reached us only as a fragment). A few verses of this Pārataam are quoted in the commentaries. It may probably be dated into the middle of the 8th Cent. These two persons are probably identical, since the Perutēvāgār who wrote these introductory verses to the ancient anthologies is referred to persistently as pārataam pāṭiya peruntēvanār, "The Peruntēvanār who sang the Bhārata." Whether this man was also the compiler of the anthologies is a problem. It is only a hypothesis, though a plausible one. One thing is clear: the anthologization of the poems seems to be much later than their actual composition and corroborative evidence may be drawn from the fact that even within the collections themselves poems of rather different antiquity may be found; thus, e.g., the majority of the poems collected in the Kurntōkai anthology belongs probably to the 1st Cent B.C.-2nd Cent.

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1 This work seems to have been composed in the venpā metre interspersed with prose. Cf. Nācippākkuṭiyar's comm. on Tolk. Puṟattanavveyal 17.21, and the commentaries to Viṛacūṭiyam, Porutpat 15 and Alankārapat 12, 18, 29.
31. மரி என மினி இராவியின் மகனான குரும் அத்லயும் இருந்து பிறந்தார். மினியின் கோஷ்஠ியினர், "மரி அதிகாரத்தில் அரசியலாளராக பிரம்பலாய வந்தார்; மரி இதை பெற்றோ விளக்கினைத்தை வெள்ளியரான செய்திப்பை போற்றிக் குறித்தார். அனைத்து முயற்சியும் என்று இலக்கியது" குரும் வழக்குத்தை விளக்கினைத்தும் வருகின்றன.

5 இல்லை பிரம்பாலய சிற்பம்

"ஆத்மந்தராஜ அசாத்ய விளைநிலைத்துடன் குரும் அமைந்தார்.

[மரி மற்றும் பிறளாயாளரை ஆயிரர். அசாத்ய - விளையிலைத்து

ஆத்மந்தராஜ. (க-ப) ஆத்மந்தராஜானது பாத்திரத்தில் மில்லி

மேலும்.

(ப-ப) 3 'அரசியாய்' 5 'விளையிலை' 6 'அரசியாய்'

(ம-ம) பாத்திரத்தில் பாத்திரால் விளையிலைத்து பாத்திரம்

போற்றிக் குறித்தார். மரி என மினி அதிகாரத்தில் தலைநிலைச்

செய்திகள் கொண்டார், மினி இதை பெற்றோ விளக்கினைத்தை

வெள்ளியரான செய்திப்பை போற்றிக் குறித்தார். மரி இதை

வெள்ளியரான செய்திப்பை போற்றிக் குறித்தார். மரி

வெள்ளியரான செய்திப்பை போற்றிக் குறித்தார். மரி

வெள்ளியரான செய்திப்பை போற்றிக் குறித்தார்.

(அ-அ) மரி என மினி அதிகாரத்தில் குரும் அமைந்தார்; மரி

வெள்ளியரான செய்திப்பை போற்றிக் குறித்தார்.
A D, but the same anthology contains a poem, *Kur* 2, ascribed to Irayanār, the author of *Akapporul*, probably of the 5th-6th Cent A D

It has already been stressed, too, that the final codification of the earhest extant poetry must have been later than the compilation of various anthologies. Of crucial importance for this hypothesis is the silence maintained by the famous commentary by Nakkarar on Irayanār’s *Akapporul*; Nakkarar speaks in detail about the early poetry, he gives a full account of the legend of the *Cankam* (Academy), but he never mentions the great anthologies. Though an *argumentum ex silentio*, it is rather persuasive

The work itself is very interesting. Composed some time in the 5th-6th Cent A D, it is probably the most ancient of the theoretical works on the *akam* and *puram* genres (probably older than the *Porulatikāram* of the Tolkāppiyam). The work has been attributed (by a credulous generation) to the God Śiva himself because the name of its author, Irayanār, can be interpreted as God or Śiva. There is also a poem, *Kur* 2, which is attributed to Irayanār. Another name of the treatise is *Irayanār Kalavuyal*. It deals exclusively with the *akam* genre—a lucid, continuous text, though much of it does not require a commentary, it obtained one, and this commentary is ascribed to one Nakkarar who is definitely different from the poet Nakkarar of the early anthologies, but also different from the author of *Netunalvātai*, one of the “Ten Lays”. However, he may be identical with the poet who composed *Tirumurukārrup-patai*, a very late poem of the “guide” genre. The date of this commentary is a matter of dispute. If the two Nakkarar’s are identical then the date could be anything between the 6th-7th and 8th Cent A D. If they were not identical, the commentary could be as late as the 10th-12th Cent. But I would be mellowed—for a number of reasons which I cannot go into here1—to regard the poet and

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1 The commentary on *Irayanār Akapporul* uses the similes taken from the description of pre-marital love as found in the *Perunkatam*, cf. *Irayanār Akapp sutra* 2 (ed 1939), p 38. *Perunkatam* I xxxi, 17 and 18. *Perunkatam* is earlier than the 10th Cent., but certainly not earlier than cca 700 AD. Durvinita’s *Bhikhatthā*, very likely the model of *Perunkatam*, was composed probably in the 1st half of the 7th Cent. For the upper limit of the fact that *Pāṇṭhikōvai* (by an unknown author) written probably in the 8th Cent. (since it is crammed with references to the victories of the Pandya kings of the 7th and 8th centuries), is a collection (kōvai) of poems of which about 250 have been preserved, and the majority portion of these are taken from the commentary on *Irayanār Kalavuyal (Akapporul)*
the commentator as one and the same man, and set the date of the commentary at about 750 A.D. A tradition maintains that the commentary was composed by the poet Nakikkir and was transmitted orally for eight generations until it was written down by a Nilakkantaṉ of Muṟṟi.

This tradition is not at all absurd. Lately we have come to regard such and similar traditions with more credulity than in the age of pure empirical positivism. It was after all found out that many persistent indigenous traditions (e.g. the one incorporating the famous Gajabāhu synchronism) may be on the whole trusted. While the commentary itself was very probably composed by a Nakkkir of the 8th Cent., it again very probably was transmitted orally until it was fixed as a written text by Nilakkantaṉ of Muṟṟi. This commentary of Nakkkir is actually one of the first specimen of Tamil prose, not bits of unmeasured verse as in Cīḷappattikārām, but pages and pages of genuine prose (ornate, poetic, alliterative, metaphorical, and full of similes).

I am dealing with this work and its commentary at this length because it will again and again be mentioned (especially while

Nakkkir’s commentary, though regarded by many as inferior to the text itself, has descriptive passages of literary beauty, with alliterations and assonances, and they can even be metrically scanned (see chapter 16 of this book, cf. also T. P. Meenakshisundaran, HTL 173).

1 This can be inferred e.g. ab intra from the manner in which the commentary itself proceeds, cf. utterances like urai natantu varāṇjyamai nokki, or urai urai natantu ṣollitum, or innam innam varukkuṟṟatu urai. The commentary is said to “proceed,” “to come down” to us, obviously through oral tradition. That the commentary very probably contains later interpolations was recognized already in 1938 by R. Narayanan of Jaffna, who describes it as a “commentary which has come down to us with innumerable alterations.” These interpolations are probably responsible for S. Vaiyapuri Pillai’s opinion expressed in Kāṇṭayaḷām pp. 215-216 where he tries to show that the commentary in its present form is clearly indebted to Catvācaṇīṭṭām (10th Cent.). On the other hand, there is a persistent and early tradition that Nakkkir was the author of the commentary, cf. Naccīṟukkuṇi’s comm. on Tolk Porul p. 808, and Porul Marapu 814. This commentary uses once the term eluthiy “he wrote (down),” cf. Innam inai yārōyaṉṟai maṭavor kanakayaṟṟai mahaṅṅīr nakkkiraveya urai yeluthiy (instead of the prevalent urai kantuṟṟai). V. S. C. Pillai is probably right when he says that Nakkkir composed the main outlines of his commentary, which was then orally transmitted probably for about 200-300 years, until sometime in the 10th Cent. it was written down by Nilakkantaṉ who also gave an introduction and supplied the commentary with additional and “modern” quotations. The date of the commentary was first set as 8th Cent. A.D. by V. Kanakasabbaṉ Pillai in The Tamils 1800 Years Ago (1904). Cf. also Chapter 16 of this book.
discussing the legend of the Cankam, and because it very probably is the first theoretical treatise on the poetic conventions of ancient Tamil) What one has especially to bear in mind is the distinction in date between the text itself and its commentary. Let me repeat the text was composed probably sometime between the 4th and 6th Cent AD. The commentary—round about 750 AD.

It has also been said that the earliest commentator on the Tolkāppiyam, Ilampūranar, who was given the distinguished title uravāciriyar, i.e. The Commentator (and he deserves this title), and who probably belonged to the 12th Cent, does not mention the anthologies. In the 13th-14th Cent, however, three commentators, Mavilamātar, Pērāciriyar, and Naccuṟkurkkīnīyar, mention by name the two great anthologies, hence we may assume that the final codification of the poems occurred sometime between the 12th and 13th Centuries.

Now we finally come to the problem of the external and internal evidence for the dating of the earliest literature of the Tamils.

Let us first consider the purely historical correlations. According to G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (The Pallavas, 1917, p. 10), the beginnings of the Pallava dynasty of Kānci is to be dated sometime in the first half of the 3rd Cent AD. In the 6th and 7th Cent AD the Pallavas were one of the most powerful and important South Indian dynasties. The first important Tamil Pallava inscription may be dated roughly in 550 AD. In the earliest Tamil poetry, there is not a single allusion to the Pallavas, they are not mentioned at all, though much of this poetry, especially in the Patiruppatatu and Puram collections, is of quasi-historical nature and mentions a number of Indian, particularly Tamil dynasties, dynastic names, events etc. True, this is an argumentum ex silente, yet one can hardly assume that such a powerful dynasty and state as that of the Pallavas would not have been mentioned at all in a corpus of more than 2000 poems! We may therefore safely assume that this earliest strata of literature is pre-Pallava, that is pre-3rd Cent AD. Now this conclusion fits well with other lines of evidence derived from other data on South Indian history. What are these other lines of evidence?

1. First of all, there are the data of Graeco-Roman authors. The Greek and Roman trade is well attested by the early Tamil texts.
themselves the poems speak of Yavanas and their ships, of their gold coins and Yavana wine etc., and these poems speak about the Western merchants and their trade with the South as a well-known, widely popular and contemporary fact, allusions to this foreign Western-oriented trade are of such nature that we must assume this Roman and Western trade to have been a simple fact of daily life of those who listened to these early poems. It was shown conclusively that the Greek and Roman trade could not have continued in any considerable extent after the 2nd-3rd Century.

1 There are about ten references to the Yavanas in the Cankam texts Mullai 61, 66, Perumpan 316, Patiriyap 11, Akam 57, 149, Netun al 31-5, 101-2, Puyam 56 and 353. The Yavanas served as body-guards to kings (Mullai 66) and as palace-guards during the night (ib 61). They were a drinking, freely-moving people, decorating themselves and walking along the city-streets during nights (Netun al 31-5). They were merchants, too, they brought lamps of fine workmanship, swan-shaped and woman-shaped (Netun al 101-2, Perumpan 316-19), they came with gold and wine in their ships and returned with pepper (Akam 149 Puy 56, 343), and one of the ports they most frequently visited was Mucchi (Akam 57, 149 Puy 343). Cf P. Meile, "Les Yavanas dans l'Inde tamoule", Journal Asiatique 323 (1940) 85-123, and K. Zvelebil, "The Yavanas in Old Tamil Literature", Charitaria Orientalia, Praha 1956, 401-409.

2 Cf. E. H. Warmington, The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India, Cambridge 1928, M. P. Charlesworth, Trade-routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire, Cambridge, 1926 Further Tamil Culture Vol 1, No 1, 286-295, also A. Asvapatan, "A Dakshina Taxila", The Hindu Madras, 23 (1941), L. Fauchefart, Une ville cité indienne près de Pondichéry, l'Ulampanam, Pondichéry 1945, P. Z. Pattabannum, Les fouilles d'Arikamedu (Puducherry), Pondicherry-Paris, 1946, but especially the exhaustive account by Sir R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh and Krishna Deva, "Arikamedu an Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India" Ancient India 2, July 1946, 17-123, further J. M. Casal, Fouilles de Vrampatnam-Arikamedu Rapport de l'Inde et de l'Ocident aux environs de l'ère chétienne, Paris, 1949. Also Alb. Lesky, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, 2 Aufl., Berlin (1963), p. 865. Tamil India as described in the so-called Cankam poetry was quite well-known to such Western authors as Pliny the Elder (75 A.D.) and Ptolemy (130 A.D.), and above all to the anonymous, champion author of the Periplus Maris Erythraei (cf W. H. Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, New York, 1912, cf. its new dating in ca 240 A.D. by J. Preene in J.A. 1961. Also K. A. Nalakanta Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India, Madras, 1939. The excavations in Vrampatnam-Arikamedu near Pondicherry point to an old Roman settlement. Proving that the Yavaga settlements referred to in the very early anthology Patiriyapattu (Pathram 2) are not figments of imagination, Roman imperial coins of gold and silver were imported in considerable quantities and circulated freely in the country, there were probably small copper coins bearing Roman devices and legends produced locally. In the Greek and Latin sources we have scores of Tamil and South Indian names both local and dynastic, which again and again occur in the earliest poetry of the Tamils (e.g. Tyndis-Tonti, Kolehati-Kowhat, Mucitii-Muciri Modoura-
2 This cumulative evidence of the early Tamil texts themselves, of the Greek and Roman authors, and of archeological data are fully supported by the internal evidence present in the texts themselves here I have in mind not the historical, but linguistic and philological evidence, derived from the state of development of the Tamil language, and from the considerations about the prosody of early poetry. This linguistic evidence tells us quite convincingly, first, that there are problems of relative chronology involved with respect to the age of the various texts themselves, and, second, that as a whole, the earliest poetry must be quite obviously much older than the first beginnings of the devotional bhakti literature of the 7th Cent. The language of the early poetry shows many decisively older forms, to give a few diagnostic examples the OTa yān “I” occurs in Appar’s songs (eg Patham 305 1-10) as nāy, undoubtedly a later form, OTa i “this” gives way to Middle and Modern Ta ima in Campantar (Pat 4 11), OTa has no double plural marker, whereas Tevāram, the anthology of bhakti hymns, abounds in it (eg Campantar, Pat 2, 9, 10), the Old and LTA antu “five” appears in Campantar 237 4, as anīcu, the present morph—kvur—which, in the OTa texts is very sporadic (a few instances), is rather frequent in Campantar, Pat 2, 3-4, Pat 235, 1, etc.

In short, the language of the Tevāram devotional hymns presents an entirely new and later stage of development in its morphology and lexis, and the prosody, too, is very different and shows much more influence of the Sanskrit mātrā-type of metrics. All this shows beyond doubt that the language of the early poetry must be at least a few centuries older than the language of the Śaiva and Vaisnava hymns, the first of which were composed in the 6th-7th Cent.

3 We shall discuss the relative chronology of the various texts later. Now we have to ask a very basic question: is there any positive, concrete datun which would serve as a point of departure for an absolute chronology of the earliest Tamil texts? I believe that there is such a date, though it is still hypothetical. This hypothesis, however, which has been strongly supported by two other kinds of data, by evidence derived from the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions, and by a bilingual coin, seems to me to be, to date, a rather firm sheet-anchor for the chronology of early Tamil India. In any

Maturai, Khaberis Emporion-Kāmippattiyam, etc. etc.), cf F B J Kuiper, “Two Problems of Old Tamil Phonology”, IIJ (1978), pp 219-221
case, it is not quite true what H W Schomerus wrote a few decades ago in his account of Tamil literature, namely, that the beginnings of Tamil literature are enshrouded in complete darkness ("die Anfange der Tamil-Literatur liegen vollig im Dunkeln").

In the well-known Tamil epic poem, The Lay of the Anklet, we may read, in the 30th Canto, 160, the following line kalačūli tāṅkark kayāvāku vēntaṁ. The whole passage reads "The monarch of the world circumambulated the shrine thrice and stood proferring his respects. In front of him the Arya kings released from prison, kings removed from the central jail, the Kongo ruler of the Kudagu, the king of Malva and Kayāvāku, the king of the sea-girt Ceylon, prayed reverently to the deity thus..." (Dikshitar’s transl., p 343).

According to Cilappattikāram, Gajabahu (the First) of Ceylon was contemporary with the hero of the 3rd Canto of the epic poem, the Chera king Cenkuttuvan. Hence this great Cēral monarch who according to Patuvrīppattu V ruled for 55 years, may be roughly assigned to 170-225 A.D. (S Vaiyapuri Pillai, HTLL, p 22).

This computation has been known as the Gajabahu Synchroinism and it has become a sheet-anchor of early Tamil history, and our basic point of departure for dating the earliest Tamil literature. Though it rests on slender foundations, it is obvious from the plentiful corroborative evidence "derived from the general possibilities of history in Northern and Southern India" (K A Nila-

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1 For the first time, the "Gajabahu synchronism" was made the centre of attention by V Kanakasabha Pillai, The Tamils 1800 Years Ago (1904), p 7, he however dates Gajabahu I in 113-125 A.D., which was proved incorrect.

2 In Ceylonese history, there were two kings by name of Gajabahu since the second ruled as late as in the 12th Cent., it must be the first who is meant here. Gajabahu I is mentioned in Mahāvamsa XXXV, pp 253-5 as follows: "After Vankanasikatissa’s death, his son Gajabahu kagāmam reigned twenty-two years" Dr Wilhelm Geiger, in his translation of the Mahāvamsa (Pali Text Society, 1912) gives a list of Ceylonese kings, in which Gajabahu I appears as the island’s 46th ruler, ruling between 171-193 A.D. Mahāvamsa is based on genuine tradition and may well be accepted as history except for its opening chapters. According to most scholars, Gajabahu I ruled either between 171-193 or 174-195 A.D. It was suggested (P T S Iyengar, History of the Tamils, pp 335-7) that there is an alternative reading for the word Kayāvāku, viz. Kāval. But according to V R Dikshitar, the illustrious editor of the epic poem, Dr U V Swaminatha Aiyyar, after carefully comparing 11 manuscripts of the text and 14 commentaries, accepts the reading Kayāvāku—i.e Gajabahu—as the only correct one, though he gives the vī lākāval vēntaṁ on p 585, ed 1950 For Gajabahu I, cf Epigrapha Zeylamea, III, No 1, p 9.
kanta Sastri) that the epic poem preserves elements of a correct historical tradition and that Cenkuttuvan the Cēral and Gajabāhu I of Ceylon were contemporaries, both living round 180 A.D. The opinion that the Gajabāhu synchronism is an expression of a genuine historical tradition is accepted by most scholars today, apart from K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, by Seshagiri Sastri, Kanakasabhai Pillai, Krishnaswami Aiyengar, K. Karasapathy etc. (cf. Vaiyapuri Pillai, HTLL, p. 22. "We may be reasonably certain that the chronological conclusion reached above is historically sound").

4. The procedure as to how to arrive, from the Gajabāhu synchronism, at an absolute dating of the bulk of so-called Cankam poetry, is as follows. The traditions, recorded in the colophons and epilogues of the poems of Patrurppattu ("The Ten Tens"—a bardic collection sunging about the Cēral kings), reflect no doubt quite reliably the history of the Cheras. 1 A careful study of the synchronism between the kings, chieframs and the poets suggested by the notes at the end of the poems (assigning to each generation about 25 years) indicates that the main body of early Tamil literature reflects events within a period of four or five continuous generations, a period of 120–150 years. Though the details remain to be worked out and there may be quite a number of points which need further discussion and clarification, the labours of R. Sewell and of S. K. Iyengar, R. Dikshitar, and above all, of K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, have brought as their results the rough outline of Chera and Chola kings between approximately 130 A.D. – 240 A.D. The majority of the so-called Cankam poetry, or early Tamil bardic literature, belongs thus to 100–250 A.D. This does not mean, though, that the corpora do not contain material which may be much older (actually, some poems are as old as the 1st Cent. B.C.) as well as much younger (some bardic poems may be as late as the 4th-6th Cent. A.D.).

5. The epic poem Cilappatikāram provides yet another clue. In Canto XXVI, II 149 and 163 we read about nāyyavalar kāmar. This name was identified with the dynastic name Sātabar, Sātabar, the Śālavāhānas or Andhāras. This powerful dynasty which followed the Mauryan rule in the Deccan, lasted for four and a half centuries.

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from about 230 B.C. By the beginning of the 3rd Cent., their empire had virtually ceased to exist. In the private collection of Dr N P Dikanara Rao, Hyderabad, is found a silver coin with a short bilingual inscription in Prakrit and Tamil. The Prakrit text reads (3) \textit{vasti putasa sri satakansara raano}. The script is Brāhmī. The meaning is "(The coin) of the king Sri Satakami (Śrī Śatakarmi) Vasitiputa (Vasisthuputrasya)." The Tamil text, also in Brāhmī, reads \textit{vaśiti-makayku tiru catakamuku aracanyku}. ¹ This king established himself on the Śālavāhana throne perhaps in 168 or 170 A.D. ² This short bilingual is only a slight corroboration of our dating, but it is a kind of evidence. First, it shows the use of Brāhmī for epigraphic Tamil in the 2nd Cent. A.D., second, it shows the use of Tamil as an important language side by side with Prakrit—probably a lingua-franca of the South of that time (the Śatakarmis were an Índhra, not a Tamil kula), third, it is a corroboration for the identification of the name \textit{mārvarkayyar} of the Calappathāram with the kula-name Śatakarmi-Śālavāhanas, and, finally, the palaeography and the grammar of this short inscription is identical with the other Brāhmī Tamil inscriptions and with a rule of the Tolkāppiyam (about the possessive dative), and so even this short bilingual on a Śālavāhana coin helps in the dating of the earliest Tamil texts.

6 The most important corrobative evidence which shows the reliability of the Gajabāhu synchronism on the one hand and of the colophons in the \textit{Pattuvappattu} collection on the other hand is found in the results of the splendid work performed by Iravatham Mahadevan and published in his "Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions", \textit{Seminar on Inscriptions}, Madras, 1966, pp 56-73, and in his papers "Chera Inscriptions of the Sangam Age", \textit{The Hindu}, March 14, 1965, "The Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Cankam Age", \textit{I International Conference—Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur}, 1966, "New Light on Dravidian Kinship Terms", \textit{II International Conference—Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras}, 1968 and "Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Cankam Age", \textit{ibid}. Thanks to the labours of K V S Ayyar, H K Sastri, K K Pillai, my own, ³

³ Cf H K Krishna Sastri, "The Caverns and Brāhmī Inscriptions of Southern India", \textit{Proceed and Trans of the I Oriental Conference, Poona}
and especially of I Mahadevan, we now know of the existence of 76 rock-inscriptions in the Tamil-Brāhmi script from 21 sites in the Tamil country. While these inscriptions are very short and the reading of some of them is still not quite clear, it is true that the importance of these texts for the study of early Tamil language, literature and history is out of proportion to their volume. Especially I Mahadevan's discovery of the rock inscriptions of the Cēral Irumporai dynasty at Pukalūr and of the Pändyas at Mangulam enables us to identify some of the kings and chieftains with the heroes of Cankam poems. This is of enormous importance for the dating of literary texts.

a) Thus Kō Āṭan Cellirumporai of the Pukalūr Inscription (dated ca. 200 A.D.) can be identified with Celvakkatunkō Valiyāta, the hero of the VII. decade of Patruṟṟappattu.

b) There are further identifications of Chera feudatories whose names occur in these epigraphs, with the heroes of poems from Patruṟṟappattu, Akam 77, 143, Puram 168-172 etc. Thus the Pukalūr Tamil-Brāhmi Inscription (dated with the help of the Arikamedu graffiti) became another sheet-anchor of the early Tamil chronology.

c) The two rock inscriptions of Netuṇceliyāṉ found at Mangulam near Madurai are the earliest known historical records in Tamilnad. The archaic palaeography and the linguistic features of these inscriptions indicate an earlier date than the Arikamedu graffiti. They can be dated towards the close of the 2nd Cent. B.C. Netuṇce-liyāṉ was probably the ruling king of the day (who should not be identified with his namesake of Cilappatikāram and other so-called Cankam works). The end of the 2nd Cent. B.C. seems to be the period—as we shall see later—when the original text of the Tolkāppiyam which I propose to call the Ur-Tolkāppiyam was composed.

Thus, the analysis of these earliest Tamil epigraphic records establishes a correlation between earliest inscriptive texts and earliest literary texts. A number of poems of the earliest anthologies appear in a new light, and happen to be dateable, thus correlation

has been established with *Akam* 77, 143, *Puram* 158 and 168, 169, 387, *Akam* 115 and 253. Taking into consideration the cumulative evidence of the linguistic, epigraphic, archaeological, numismatic and historical data, both internal and external, it is undoubtedly possible to arrive at the following final conclusion: *the earliest corpus of Tamil literature may be dated between 100 B.C. and 250 A.D.*

The question is which texts out of the corpus of the so-called *Cankam* literature belong to this earliest body of Tamil literary texts? Though a detailed relative chronology cannot be worked out yet with any appreciable degree of exactness and rigour, a tentative relative chronology of the earliest Tamil texts may be arrived at on the basis of labours performed by S. Vayapuri Pillai, M. Raghava Iyengar, K. A. Nilakanta Sastrī, John R. Marr, K. Karlasapathy and others. The results of this relative chronology may be seen in Chart 4.

1. The *Ur-Tolkappiyam* (that is, the two first books of this admirable grammar, the *Eluttattikāram* (Phonology) and *Collattikāram* (on Morphology, Semantics, Etymology, and Syntax) minus later interpolations, which may be dated roughly to 100 B.C.

2. The earliest poems of the following anthologies
   a. *Ainkurunārū*  
   b. *Kuruntokai*  
   c. *Nārinnai*  
   d. *Pattupattu*  
   e. *Akanāyūrū*  
   f. *Puranānārū*  

   The earliest poems of these anthologies form thus the nuclear corpus of the great anthology later called *Ettuttokai*.

3. The lays of the second great anthology, *Pattuppātu*, in this possible chronological order
   a. *Porunararruppatāl*  
   b. *Perumpānarruppatāl*  
   c. *Pattuppālai*  
   d. *Kurunāpattu*  
   e. *Malapathukalām*  
   f. *Netunallāri*  
   g. *Maturakkāṁci*  
   h. *Mullaippātu*  
   i. *Cērupānarruppatāl*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial number</th>
<th>Text</th>
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<th>Approx date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Early Tamil Brāhmi Inscriptions</td>
<td>The two rock-inscriptions of Netuniceṣyau at Mangulam Asoka’s Brāhmi introduced round ca. 250 BC into the Tamil country. Adapted between 250-220 to Tamil.</td>
<td>3rd-1st Cent B C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ur-Tolkāppiyam Eluttatkāram and Collatkāram minus later interpolations</td>
<td>First standardization of the Tamil language, the first literary norm of Maturai between ca. 200-50 BC, based on oral bairic literature, pre-literary traditions and “pre-Sangam” literature of ca. 250-150 BC.</td>
<td>2nd-1st Cent B C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The earliest strata of extant Tamil literature in the Anthologies early poems of Aiṅkuṇṭhāṟū, Kuruntokai and Nallairai, prob also of Purāṇāṉṟū and Akanāṉṟū</td>
<td>Earliest “Sangam” poets Ammavaṉ (Aṟk 10, 35, 140 etc., Aṅk 101-102, Kūṟ 49, 125, 163 etc., Nāṟṟ 4, 35 etc.), Òtalantai (Aṅk 301-400, Kūṟ 12, 21, 320), Òrampōki (Aṟk 286, 316, Aṅk 1-100, Kūṟ 10, 70, 122 etc., Nāṟṟ 20, 360, Pūṟ 284), Kapilai the Elder (Aṅk 201-300 etc.), Pēyaṉ (Aṅk 401-500 etc.)</td>
<td>1st Cent B C — 2nd A D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aiṅkameḻu graffiti and the related group of Tamil Brāhmi Inscriptions at Āṇamalai etc. The Sātvāhana bilingual coin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1st-2nd Cent A D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The earliest strata in the Pattippāṭṭu anthology Poruináţiṟṟippattai, Perunpāṇāţiṟṟippattai, Pattippāḷai, Kurñcerippattu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ca. 150-200 A D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kapilai the Elder, Mutattamakkam, Katrialūr Uṉuttiraṉ Kannaga</td>
<td>2nd-3rd Cent A D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The middle strata of the Anthologies Aiṅkuṇṭhāṟū, Kuruntokai, Nairai, Pattippattu, Akanāṉṟū, Purāṇāṉṟū Malarpatukatām, Maturakkāṇci, Netunūṟaitai</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd-4th Cent A D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E g. Paranaṅ (150-230 A D), Nakkīṟar the First, Māṅkutimarutāṅ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serial number</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Approx date</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Late Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions the Cēral inscriptions at Pukalū etc</td>
<td>Later inscriptions from Aracalūr Māmantū etc</td>
<td>3rd-4th Cent A D</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Later strata of the Anthologies Patiruippattu, Akanāyācu, Puyarānāyācu, Mullaippattu, Ciyupān-ārūppattai</td>
<td>E.g. Nappūtānu, Nallūr Nattattānu</td>
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<td>Transitional Tamil Brāhmī (Proto-vattu）Inscriptions at Pillaiārāppattī and Thunātarkūram</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Latest strata of the Anthologies e.g Ciyupānārūppattai (♀) Iriyānu’s Akapporu</td>
<td>4th-6th Cent A D</td>
<td></td>
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These are the most ancient texts in the Tamil language. The earliest poems contained in these texts belong roughly to 100 B.C.-250 A.D. The upper limit for these anthologies is the 5th-6th Cent A.D. Linguistically, this period is usually described as *Early Old Tamil*. At the beginning of this period, we have the *Urtext of the Tolkāppiyam*. At the end of this period, we have the earliest poetries of Tamil, the *Akapporu* of Iriyānu.

Cf. the following sources and bibliography for the quoted texts and problems:

- id., “Chera Inscriptions of the Sangam Age”, *The Hindu*, March 14, 1965
- Kamil Zvelebil, “The Brahmi Hybrid Tamil Inscriptions”, *Archiv Orientální* (1964) 547-575
Aṅkurunāṭu, ed by U V Swaminatha Aiyar, 1903 and 1920, preface
Purāṇāṅgūru, ed by U V Swaminatha Aiyar, 1894, 1923, 1935, 1936, preface
S Vaiyapuri Pillai, History of Tamil Language and Literature, Madras (1956)
K A Nilakanta Sastrī, A Comprehensive History of India, II, 1957
id., “From Proto-South Dravidian to Old Tamil and Malayalam”, II International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras, 1968
Marr, J R, The Eight Tamil Anthologies with special reference to Purāṇāṅgūru and Patuṟṟupattu, thesis approved for the degree of PhD at the University of London, 1958
K Kailasapathy, Tamil Heroic Poetry, Oxford University Press, 1968
CHAPTER FOUR

THE CANKAM LEGEND THE TEXTS

In the following chapters we shall mostly deal with the anatomy of the earliest Tamil bardic poetry, selected specimen of the two main genres, akam and puram, will be analysed, the thought-content and the form of these poems will be described, as well as their language and structure, the themes and cycles, the formulae, the metre and prosody, in short, the thematic and psychological as well as the formal aspects of these compositions. We shall also deal with the theory of poetics evolved by Tamil scholiasts approximately in the middle of the 1st millennium A.D.

First, however, we shall discuss some other questions pertinent to this early literature above all, the term and the notion of Cankam and Cankam literature, the legend of the Cankam, and the rationale behind this legend. Second, we must give a detailed account of various anthologies out of which we shall select our examples for analysis.

41 Cankam (pronounce Sangam) We hear this term again and again. Not only that it is current as the attribute of the literature of the earliest period—in most books and papers dealing with Tamil literature one encounters the term Cankam poetry or canka slakkyam on every page—but also it is used as an attribute of other phenomena, like language (cankattami), or even the whole epoch which is called the “Sangam Age.” The term Cankam poetry or Cankam literature or even Cankam Age means that, according to a persistent indigenous tradition, a literary cankam or Academy in Maturai shaped and controlled the literary, academic, cultural and linguistic life of ancient Tamilnad.

The legend about a learned body responsible for and critically controlling the literary output of early Tamil poets is rather late. It seems to occur for the first time in a line by Appar who uses the term cankam ¹ in Tiruppputtur Tāntakam, st 3,1 e in the 7th Cent.

¹ nāy pāṭuppulavanāndacankamēra/nāyaṅaṅkak kīḻtāramikku aruliyōg kān “Look at Him who was gracious enough to appear in the assembly (cankam) as a poet of fine poems and presented the purse of gold to Tarum.” For further references to Sangam, and to Maturai as the seat of Tamil
It has been fully developed in the commentary by Nakkirar (ca 650-750 A D) to *Irraivanar Akapporu* 1. It was much later repeated

1 The account by Nakkirar of the three "academies" runs verbatim as follows (Kalaviyal eeyum *Irraivanar* Akapporu mulaum, Nakkirayar *varaiyum*, ed K R Govindaaja Mudahanar and Vidvan M V Venugopala Pillai, 1930, pp 5-7). 

"talanakkanam, staccankam, kalaissenam eya muthinokap patru cankam virityur paniyarkal avurul talasanakkunndur akkittiyum, tiruparameritta viracalak chalavum, kugareynta muruka velum, maruneyyor munndaka rayaram, nitviru kalavuay eya titalakkallor avunetiyu naapattopapumay eya avaruruttu nallayiratru nayiru nayapathopapumay patruyur eya avarkalal patapapattagaa ethuvaay pariippaalum, muthiriyaayum, muthuvruukum, kalaisseniraiyum eya titalakkallar avur nallayrattu nayiru nayapathopumayu cankamunndur eya avar karalec cankam virityur kuyayyaal vaaluy mutalkal kutanukkuk yasaka eypallotopumay eya avurul kan arunekiruy euywar pantiyar eyaa avar cankam iruvu tamisayarumattu kalal kollapattu matalu eyaa avarunnu nul akkittiyum.

1 T G Atavamuthan, "The Oldest Account of the Tamil Academies", JORM 1930, 183-201 and 289-317, and K V Zvelebil, "The Earliest Account of the Tamil Academies", *III* (forthcoming, 1973) From this account it may be seen 1) that by the time Nakkirar wrote his commentary, the anthologization of the collections (including the rather late *Parippal* and *Kaliittokkal*) must have been already *fast accompli*, on the other hand, this account does not
and even more evolved in Perumpāṟṟap Puliyūr Nampi’s *Tiruvilar-yāḻalpurāṇam*, 15 (12th Cent A D)

According to Nakkirar’s account, there were three “academies” (*talaiccankam, naiccankam, katuiccankam*) The first Sangam, whose seat was Southern Maturai, now submerged into the sea (*katal kollappatu maturai*), lasted 4440 years, and 4449 poets took part in it, the members included gods and sages Śiva, Muruka, Kubera, and Agastya. Its grammar was *Akattiyam* (avarkku nūl akattiyam)

The second Sangam, situated in *Kapālapuram* (cf. Vālmiki’s *Rāmāyana*, Kīt 42 13), also submerged in the sea, lasted for 3700 years and included 3700 poets, it had five grammars as norms, among others *Akattiyam* and *Tolkāppiyam*.

The third Sangam, situated in today’s Maturai (*Uttara or Upper Maturai*) lasted for 1850 years under 49 kings beginning with the Lame Tiru Māṇaṅ (Mutattirumāṇ) and ending with Ukkiaperumalutī, its 449 poets formed a body presided by Nakkirar. The two normative grammars of this Academy were *Akattiyam* and *Tolkāppiyam*.

It is indeed difficult to say whether there is a *rationale* behind this rather late legend. It is of course not improbable that at the end of the classical epoch, when the early bardic poetry became slowly a matter of a classical past and ceased to be part of a live oral tradition, there existed a body of scholars and grammarians

mention either the (*Ettut*)kōra or the (*Pattip*)pātuv arrangement as such (not, as a matter of fact, any of the pātuv "lays"), 2) it mentions, for the first time, the *Tolkāppiyam* as a single grammatical work, 3) the language of this account shows that its author was definitely not identical with any of the older Nakkirais, there are some rather late forms which indicate that this commentary may be as late as the 8—9 Century (*avarkalai pāṭappattana, avarkalai, kai, etc.*)

Appar seems to be the first (in terms of time) to have used the term *cankam* in the sense we discuss it here. Or, probably, it was Nakkirai in his commentary. Previous to this, there are a few lines in the old, “Sangam” texts, which might be interpreted as referring to a body of poets and/or scholars and critics, however, this conclusion is purely speculative. The lines I have in mind are *Maturakkāḥ 761–763 tolānai nallāvuyya pumakatt tuṇa pukacal ciṟappūmilantaru tirunm netiyōg pōla In the Pāγyam to Tyk, we read milinantu tirunm pāṭiyay avayattu, where avai, with a rather “long” stretch of imagination (it is of course a loanword < Skt *saṅkham*) may be interpreted as *cankam*. Even in the very early texts, though, Maturai is connected specifically with Tamil, cf. *Puruṣa 32* 5 tentamēl naṉgoṭṭatī tuṭṭir maturai and *ib 58* 13 tamīl keṟu kōttal, Kalitt ninmattak kūṭalēr puṇḍu nāvul pūṟanta col. *Citrāṅ 66–67 tamīl nilavēṟṟa tāṅkaram marappu maṅkinnayā maṟukkī maturai* The *Citrāṅ* (l 29) plate says *makaṟṟālam tamillēṟṟuttum maturāṟṟic cankam vattum*
who used to decide whether a poem should be acknowledged as part of the classical heritage, written down, preserved and become part of the process of anthologization and codification. However, the earliest, pre-Pallava corpus of Tamil literature itself maintains a complete silence about any such body, though Maturai and Tamil literature are specifically connected (cf. e.g. Pur 58). The earliest Pandya inscriptions do not know anything about any Sangam in Maturai. Though an argumentum ex silendo, it is still pretty damaging, according to my opinion. On the other hand, there are some indications which show that there probably was a rational kernel to the legend, first, some of the names of the kings and poets mentioned in the legend are found in inscriptions and other authentic records (e.g. the poet Perunkurîr Kilâr). Second, and this is very interesting, according to Nakkirar, the number of poets of the 3rd Sangam was 449. Now, according to an edition of the early texts known as Canka Ilakkuyam (Samâjam, 1940), the total number of poets was 473 (+ 88 anonymous), but this number includes 35 poets named after some significant expression in their poems, if we disregard these 35 we get the number 438, and these two numbers, the Samâjam total (which must, at the present stage of our knowledge, be taken anyhow as an approximation) and Nakkirar’s traditional number, come rather near. Or, one may take 1 the Samâjam total (473) minus the authors of the later portions and poems, the Paṟṟâḷal, Kalitkakai, Murukkâṟṟuppatâi and the invocatory stanzas by Peruntēvaṉâr, and arrive at 459, which is still nearer to the traditional 449.

It seems that in 470 A.D., a Dravida Sangha was established in Maturai by a Jain named Vajranandi (the Prakrit term used is dāvida-sangho). It seems that this Jaina organisation took (among other activities) a great interest in the Tamil language and literature. 2 It is also true that, among the earliest poets, there occur Jain

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1 Cf. S Vaiyapuri Pillai HTLL, 38-39

"Pûyaḍā, also called Devanandi, belongs to the sixth or seventh century. One of his disciples, Vajranandi, is said to have founded a Tamil sangha in Madura." This does not say much. More important is the account given by Prof. Peterson in Journ Bombay Branch of RAS, Extra Number to Vol. 17 (1887-1889), p. 74, in A Second Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Circle, April 1883-March 1884. "In a Digambara Darsanasâra, lately obtained from Anuhâdâ Pâth, Devasena, who gives his own date as 909, (apparently, from his constant use of that era, Samvat 909 = A.D. 853), tells us that Vajranandi, the pupil of Śrī Pûyaḍâ,
names (such as Uloccana, Mafirtta, etc.), that Jaina cosmology and mythology is mentioned in the early corpus (e.g. Pur 175, Akam 59), as well as Jaina austenties (Akam 193), that Tolkappiyar very probably was a Jain, too. The Cunnamunur plates (10th Cent. A.D.) mention a Sangam at Maturai. All this seems to indicate that the cultural prestige of Maturai, the uniformity and fixity of the style and language of the earliest poetry, and the lively interest the Jains and their organisations always took in the Tamil language and culture, provided some basic rational elements for the "Legend of the Sangam". For the Jain character of the Sangam—and, at the same time, for the purely fictitious number of years traditionally given—there is one more evidence: observe that the number of years given is always a multiple of 37, 5 by 120, 37 by 100, 37 by 50. The typical passion of the Jains for numbers is well-known.

In conclusion one may agree with what K.A. Nilakanta Sastrī says in his A History of South India, 3rd ed., p. 116: "That a college (cankam) of Tamil poets flourished for a time under royal patronage in Madura may well be a fact. Some of the names of the kings and poets are found in inscriptions and other authentic records, showing that some facts have got mixed up with much fiction, so that no conclusions of value can be based on it."

4.2 Cankam literature. The term, strictly speaking, should not be used. The Jesudasans are right when they say (A History of Tamil literature, 8), "The title 'the Sangam Period' is misleading". And they admit that it is a name given only for the sake of convenience. Even worse is the term "Augustan" or "Augustus" era of literature (which, if I am not mistaken, was introduced by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar in Tamil Antiquity, No. 5, 1909).

If there is at all an appropriate term for this corpus of conventional literature, it is the term "Classical". First of all, the so-called Cankam poetry is regarded by the Tamils themselves, by the professional historiographers and critics, as well as by intellectual readers, as classical, in the same sense in which we regard some parts of our national literatures as classical. Second, it has been, since

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founded the Dravida Samgha in Maturai of the Deccan in the year 525 "after the death of Vikrama". I give the two passages (1) siripumja padosiō dāvidasamghassa kāruagvuttho nāmena vajjanamdi pāhudavedi mahasattho // pancavae chāvise vikkamarāyassā maianapattassa / dakkhina mahuājado dāvidasamgho mahāmohoh //"

1 Cf. X S Thani Nayagam, Ancient Tamil Poetry (xeroxed), 1964, p. 7
probably the 5th-7th Cent A.D., a finite, “frozen” corpus, a body of texts which had not been expanded since it ceased to be part of a live oral tradition. Since those times, it has become a part of the “classical” heritage as it were. Third, it is the expression of a linguistic, prosodic and stylistic perfection, it is a finished, consummate and immutable literary expression of an entire culture, and of the best in that culture, in this sense, it is truly a “classical” product, a classical literature.

At this point we shall give at least the most basic data concerning the fifteen texts which form the earliest literary corpus in Tamil. Without the knowledge of this basic information which includes the name of the anthology or poem, the number of stanzas or lines included, the name of the compiler, of the commentator(s), of the editor and a brief characterization of the text, any further discussion is meaningless. Sometimes these facts are by themselves rather revealing. The various anthologies and poems will be described here in chronological order.

1 Aṅkurunnāru

Traditionally the third among the anthologies “(The collection of) five hundred short (poems)”. It owes its name to the fact that it is divided into five groups of 100 short stanzas each, each group being concerned with one of the five basic “physiographic regions” (aṁtnai) in the following order: marutam “riverine”, neyal “littoral”, kūr vocab. “montane”, pāla “arid” and mullai “pastoral”. Each hundred is subdivided into tens or pāttu. The poems have three to six lines each. Stanzas 129 and 130 are not extant. Five poets are credited with the authorship of the work: the centum on marutam was composed by Īḻampōkī, on neyal by Ammūvaṅgī, on kūrspān by Kaplar the Elder, on pāla by Īṭalānṭrāv, on mullai by Pēya. Peruntēvaṅgī composed an invocatory song. The anthology is said to have been made by Pulatturā Muṟṟiya Kūṭalū Kīḷār on the direction of a Cēṟal king Yāṉarkat Cēy Māntarān Cēṟal Irumporai. The anonymous old commentary on this anthology is not a detailed

1 The arrangement into tens is found also in Patuṟṟuppattu “Ten Tens”, and the traditions of tens continues all through the history of Tamil literature: in the Tirukkūṟal, in the bhakti poetry, etc., it may be of Sanskritic origin, cf. the šataka arrangement. The tens in Aṅkurunnāru are named after the word or line repeated in each of the ten verses, such poems with recurring lines and phrases show the underlying bardic tradition.
one, but it is supplemented by a detailed commentary by U V Swaminatha Aiyar. A few lines of Aink appear in Paripātal, Cilappatikāram, Nālatiyār and other later works. There are not many Indo-Aryan loanwords in the text. In Aink 202 we hear (probably for the first time in Tamil texts) about the kulam "pig-tail" of Brahmin boys (pārppānak kurumaka kulum ṟūtāl). There are 17 allusions to historical incidents in this anthology. The work was first published in 1903 by U V Swaminatha Aiyar. There is a good edition in 3 vol. prepared by Auvar S Turmacami Pillai, publ. by the Annamalai University (1938).

2 Kuruntokai,

"The collection of short (poems)". Under the original scheme, the collection must have had 400 stanzas, though U V Swaminatha Aiyar's edition has 401 stanzas including the invocatory stanza by Peruntēvanār. It includes akam songs by 205 bards. 398 stanzas are indeed kuru, "short", i.e. from 4 to 8 lines. Poems 307 and 391 have 9 lines (and may have been "smuggled into it by careless copyists", N. Subrahmanian, Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, p. 6). The compiler was a certain Pērikkō (a king?) of whom we know nothing else. The colophon is silent about the patron who directed the compilation. Tradition says that Pērācimyar had written a commentary on all but 20 stanzas of this collection, and that another complete commentary was composed by Naccinārkkkūnīyar. Neither is extant now. U V Swaminatha Aiyar has published the text in 1937 with a fine and detailed commentary of his own. About 10 phrases occurring in Kuruntokai poems appear in later works, like the Tirukkural and Cilappatikāram. There are some interesting Skt. loanwords like amiltam (83, 201), yāmam (5), āttirai < yāttirai (293). About 30 poets have Aryan names (Uruttirai, Tēvakulattār etc.) T S Arangasami Ayyangar published Kuruntokai in 1915 for the first time. Kuruntokai contains 27 historical allusions.

3 Narpanai

is mentioned traditionally as the first among the eight collections. The name means "(The collection of poems) on excellent tinai" or "(The collection) of excellent (poems) on the tinai". The anthology contains 400 songs ranging from 8 to 13 lines. In the extant form, song 234 is missing (a poem quoted as an illustration by the scholast
on *Ivaiyanār Akapporul* has been included in the 2nd ed as the missing song 394), and poem 395 is fragmentary. The anthology was made under the patronage of the Pāṇḍya king Paṇṇāṭu tanta Pāṇṭiyān Māraṇ Valun, but the compiler is anonymous (The king was also the author of *Nar* 97 and 301, and of *Kur* 270.) There is a good commentary by P A Narayanaswami Aiyar. No ancient commentary is available. The anthology was published in 1914. It contains 59 historical allusions. Quite a number of lines or phrases reappear in *Tirukkural*. A few lines are found in *Puram* and *Acam* (e.g. 175), and are later quoted in *Cilappattikāram* and *Manimēkalai*. The allusion to the legend of a woman who tore off her breast (Kannaki?) occurs in *Nar* 312. There are not many Indo-Aryan loanwords in the poems of *Narvinai*.

4 *Patippattu*

Or "Ten Tens" is a collection of panegyric poems, consisting of ten sections, each ten has been sung by a poet or poetess in praise of a Chera king, each poem is supplemented by an unusually informative colophon, partly in verse and partly in prose. It is therefore a chronicle in verse, devoted exclusively to the Cērals, the ancient rulers of Kerala. Two decades, the first and the tenth, are lost. 39 lines of this work are found in the commentary to *Tolk* (4 stanzas) and in *Purattirattu*, a later anthology of war-poetry.

The epilogues or *patikams* furnish us with details about the author, the hero, his lineage, etc., they are most probably of later times (possibly added by the compiler), but they seem to have drawn on relatively dependable historical materials. Both the poems and the epilogues provide abundant sources of sociological interest (J R Marr, *op cit* 283, 328) Stylistically the poems are similar to the rest of the poetry in *akaval* (Kailasapathy, *op cit* 29), but a few peculiar regional expressions and usages do occur (M A Thagarsara, *The Cērānāṭu during the Cankam and the Post-Cankam Period*, pp 222 ff) The II decade by Kumattūrīr Kannaṇār, a Brahmin poet, is in praise of Imayavarampan Netuṅcēral Āṭaṇ (the son of Utiyaṅ Cēral and the father of the great Cenkuttuvan) This king is said to have beaten the Aryas and the Yavanas, and carved a bow-emblem on the Himalayas.

The III decade, by a Brahmin poet Pālaik Kautamaṇār, is dedicated to the younger brother of Imayavarampan, king Palyā-ṇaic Celkelu Kuttuvan.
The IV decade by Kāppiyarruk Kāppiyanaṉ is in praise of Kalankākkanni Nārmutuc Ăeral, one of the sons of Imayavarampaṁ.
The V decade, ascribed to the great Paranar, sings of the mighty Ăenkuttuvan, son of Imayavarampaṁ, and contemporary of Gaţabahu I of Ceylon (cca 180 A.D.)
The VI decade, composed by a poetess called Kâkkaţpiyåyår Naccellanyår, is dedicated to another son of Imayavarampaṁ, king Ătukõtpittuc Ăeralåtår.
The II-VI decades of the collection are dedicated, as we have just seen, to the Imayavarampaṁ-line of the Ăeral kings, and deal with 3 generations of rulers.
The VII decade composed by the well-known Kapilar is a panegyric on Ăcelvakkakatnko Vâljåtañ who belonged to the second line of the Ăeral, the one called Irumporak. The greatest king of this line was probably Perunçeṟal Irumporak, the victor of Takatår, praised in the VIII decade by Arncil Kilår.
The IX decade is dedicated to Iruncëral Irumporak, the son of Perunçeṟal and the grandson of Ăcelvakkakatnko. This decade was composed by a vēlåla poet called Perunkuṟur Kilår. This king, too, won victorious battles with the Cholas and Pândyas. Hence we see, that decades VII-IX deal with the Irumpörak line of the Ăerals, and again with 3 generations. Both Ăeral lines were connected through marriages.
The whole work has an old, brief commentary, which must be later than the 12th Cent. Patuṟṟuppatu was first printed in 1904, edited by U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar who also supplied a detailed commentary.
According to J. R. Marr (op cit 311), a number of data indicates an indebtedness to some common but unknown sources. some of the main themes are mentioned with variations in the decade poems, the epilogues, and the later epics, Cilappatikâram and Manimēkalai. Hence it is clear that these main themes were transmitted by (oral) tradition.

5 Akanânuṟu

or “The four hundred (poems) in the akam genre” also called Netuntokai or “The Anthology of Long (Poems)” is a collection of 400 stanzas on love plus an invocatory stanza on Śiva by Peruntēvaṉår. The number of verses in a stanza ranges from 13 to 31. The anthology was directed by the Pândyan king Ukkiraperuvalüt, and the name
of compiler is Uruttiracakman, the son of Maturai Uppuri Kutir Kilak. There is an old commentary for the first 90 stanzas, the next 70 stanzas have a commentary by the first editor, V. Rajagopalaiiyengar, a modern commentary to the entire collection was prepared by N. M. Venkataswamy Nattar and R. Venkatarama Pillai. The anthology was first published in 1920. The number of poets is 143 (+Peruntethar), 114, 117 and 165 are by anonymous authors. The stanzas are arranged according to a peculiar scheme: the stanzas bearing odd numbers belong to pailai (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, etc.) which means that half of the entire anthology is dedicated to pailai, poems bearing number 2, 8, 12, 18, 22, 28, etc belong to the kuru-citamai (80 in all), poems bearing number 4, 14, 24, 34, 44, etc are mullas (40 in all), poems with number 6, 16, 26, 36, etc are mariyam (total 40), and all stanzas having ten or its multiples (10, 20, 30, etc.) are nectal (total 40). In Narinai and Kuruviokai the "landscapes" (tirai) of the poems are not indicated and no scheme is adopted with regard to their arrangement, S. Varapathi Pillai sees in this fact an indication that Akananuru was collected later than Nar and Kuru (HTLL, p. 27).

The relatively long poems of this collection allowed scope to refer to heroic episodes, the total number of historical allusions is 288 (Kailasapathy, op. cit., 31). From the historical point of view, it is one of the most valuable collections. Some of the more interesting historical allusions are, e.g., in Ak 251 and 265 (by Mamulaapaar), the allusion to the Nandas, and in Ak 69, 281 and 375 to the Mauryas (Mritisurger). In about five poems there are echoes of purnam legends (Krishna, Rama, Parashurama etc.) There is quite a number of Indo-Aryan loans (e.g. vaivas, nita, cikaram, traman etc.) In Ak 148 the Yavanas are mentioned whose ships loaded with gold came to Kerala, casting anchor in the river Culthi, and returned heavy with pepper.

6 Purananaru

or "The four hundred (poems) in the genre puram", traditionally the last of the anthologies, historically probably the most valuable, and perhaps the latest of the collections, a careful study would no doubt show that it contains stanzas of different chronological levels, covering probably more than 2-3 centuries. It was considered by the redactors of the anthologies as the collection of heroic poetry par excellence, it is also simply called puram, or purappallu, the
heroic songs. Of the 400 poems, two, 266 and 268, are lost, some poems are fragmentary. There is an invocatory stanza on Śiva by Peruntēvaṇar, so that the anthology as it stands contains 397 pieces. The poets represented number 157. 14 poems are anonymous. An old anonymous commentary is available up to stanza 266. There is a modern popular commentary by Auvari S Turucāmi Pillai. The anthology was first published by U V Swammanatha Aiyar (the excellent introduction is dated September, 1894). 138 poems of the anthology praise 43 kings belonging to the three great dynasties (27 deal with the achievements of 18 Cēral kings. 74 poems praise 13 Cōla rulers, and 37 poems laud 12 Pāṇṭya kings). 141 poems are in praise of 48 chieftains, nine of them regarded prominent enough to be treated in more than 4 poems each (e.g. Atiyamān Netumān Aćci, Vēl, Pāri, Pēkaṇ, Kāri etc.) Some kings emerge strikingly as heroes of Puram poems, e.g. Karikālan the Chola or Kutakkō Netūncēralātaṇ the Chera, clusters of poems in which certain heroes emerge prominently are centred around certain incidents in the heroes’ lives (Kailasapathy, op. cit. 20). The redactors seem to have tried to group the poems on the basis of the kings or chieftains praised in them, but, at the same time, on the basis of many different themes. 121 poems have defective colophons, and owing to this fact their heroes are unknown. More than 100 poems beginning with 248 and ending with 357 have been classified into 30 themes by the colophon writer(s), the heroes are anonymous, this section of Puram may contain a very early strata of Tamil heroic poetry. Thus, e.g., there are poems about widowhood and its hardships (248-56), poems praising the prowess of the warhorse (273, 299, 302-4), elegies (260-1, 264-5, 270), apart from other elegies occurring earlier, all in all, there are 43 elegies in Puram, Kailasapathy, op. cit. p. 24), from 358 to the end of the anthology, the poems again refer to kings and chieftains. 141 poems in the anthology belong to straight panegyric poetry called pātan. As Kailasapathy rightly says, “modern attempts to read ethical and moral motivations into the words of the bards are particularly strained, if not irrevelant” (p. 81), at least as far as most of the poems are concerned. But there are a few poems with gnomic content, and there are a few lines in this anthology—probably under the influence of Jainism and Buddhism, and yet specifically Tamil in spirit—which may be regarded as showing elements of that pragmatic approach and practical and universal ethics which underlies the
Tirukkuṟaḷ There are also elements of reflexion, and some of the poems are fully reflexive, the central idea being mostly the impermanence of life in this world. These poems seem to be of later origin than the more ancient, straightforward war and panegyric songs.

7 Porunāṟṟuppatu

or “The guide for war-bards” (traditionally the 2nd of the Lays—very incorrectly called “idylls”!—) is probably the earliest among the poems collected later into Pattupāṭṭu anthology.

The genre āṟṟuppatu or “guide” is very productive. It is a poem in which bards are directed by their fellow professionals to famous heroes who are patrons of art. The genre is found in the heroic Anthologies—altogether 18 pieces in Puram and Pattupāṭṭu.

Five of the “Ten Songs” belong to the genre.

The Porunāṟṟuppatu sends a war-bard (porunar) to the famous Chola king Karikāl. The poem consists of 248 lines in the akaval metre (and a few vañci lines) and was sung by Mutattāmmakkānnyār. The poet gives biographical facts about the king (especially his great victory at the battle of Venni), and describes his prowess, conquests, his benign rule, the general wealth and fertility of his Chola country is dealt with, and there is a charming description of the beauties of the river Kāviri. There is also a delightful description of the virāḷi, the danseuse, whose charms are treated in minute detail. She has, e.g., varumunāy nāvum peryntaku čitatu “small feet of great beauty similar to the tongue of a panting hound”, she has “young fair breasts set so close that a mib could not part them” (īṛkkutai poḥā ēvālaya mulaṇ) and “her navel is like a water ripple”, while “her venus’ mound seems to be the seat of bees” (nīṟp peyar culṇaṛ nṛaṇta kōppūl vantu vṛuppu amṇa pal kāl alkuṇ). Finally, there is a very realistic description of a poor minstrel, whose clothes swarm with lice and mites, are soaked with sweat and much patched-up (79-80 īram pēnum vṛuntu vēkkūṭu | vērotu nāṟantu . )

The inhabitants of Čōlanāṭu are pictured as gay folk who likes to eat meat and drink liquor. First published in 1889.

8 Pernūṇpāṇnāṟṟuppatu

or “The guide for bards with the large lute” is another of the “guidance” poems, attributed to Uruttrankannār, who also sang the Pattuṇappāḷai. It has 500 lines in the akaval metre in praise.
of the chieftain Tontaiman Ilantirasyaw, the ruler of Kañci. The perumpānar are a class of minstrels (pānar) who obviously accompanied their singing or reciting of the songs by playing the pēriyal or large lute. One special feature of this lay is the detailed description of the five physiographical regions (tunai) and a mythical account about the origin of the Tontaiman dynasty. The city of Kañci is eulogized thus: "Among the great cities in this wide-placed earth, gilt by the sea that smells of fish, and canopied by the sky, this is the greatest. It is an old city of ancient might and fame, abounding in festivals in which many worship." (Kailasapathy's translation, op cit, p 44) In the lines 316-317, the Yavanar are mentioned. The poem describes also the life of the ulavar-peasants, and there is much material that is of sociological interest. Published in 1889.

9. Pattinappālai

The name is a compound of pathyam "maritime town" + pālai "a flower (Mimusops kauki), desert tract, one of the love divisions." It is a poem by Uruittirankannañār about the proposed separation of a lady from her lover who wants to go to Kāviriappattiṇam, the capital of the Cholas. It has 301 lines, some of them in the akaval, some in vañci metre, in praise of the great Chola king Karikāl. First there is a lengthy account of the city, then 5 lines dedicated to the love element proper, and the rest of the lines deal with the exploits of Karikāl the Great. The poem gives a vivid portrait of the life in the great harbour, about the big ships and the merchandise they bring, about the paratavar, fishermen, and the kurumpār and their feasts—e.g. the cock-fights and ram-fights, dancing and wine-drinking, but also about Buddhist and Jaina monasteries as well as about the worship of Murukan. It describes Karikāl's struggles to regain his rightful throne, his invasion of enemy lands, the slaves he captured, his activities during peace-times, and his patronage to bards and other artists.

As a lay glorifying a celebrated ancient Chola king, this poem was very popular with the court panegyrist of the later Chola empire (850-1200 A.D.). It is mentioned in inscriptions and literary works of the 11th and 12th Cent. Some of these works say that Karikāl gave 1,600,000 gold pieces (poiy) to the bard for his song—indeed a royal royalty! The name of the song was also Vañci netum pātī, "The Long Song in the vañci metre." Indeed there are 153 lines in vañci and 138 lines in akaval metre. According to J. R.
Marr (op cit 435) the *vaṇca* lines were introduced to effect a change of rhythm that would please the listeners. The short staccato *vaṇca* lines with their swinging movement were apparently more suited for cataloguing things besides serving as a deliberate contrast to the *akavāl* lines (Kailasapathy, op cit 39) Published in 1889.

10 *Kūṅkūṇappāṭṭu*,

meaning later "The song of the mountains", narrates the story of premarital love among the people living in the hilly regions. It is the love-poem *par excellence*, ascribed to the great Kaplar (also called *Perunkurivći*, "The large mountain song"). The story preserved in the colophon accompanying the commentary says that it was composed for the instruction of an Aryan king, called Pirakattan, cf. Skt *brhat* "great". This story and the fact that the poem contains a catalogue of 99 flowers typical for the *kūṅkūṇci* region, appear to substantiate the suggestion that the poem was composed as a "model".¹ This is roughly the content of the lay. A chieftain of the hill-tribe falls in love at first sight with a fair maiden. The love is reciprocated. The girl's foster-sister helps the lovers to meet and enjoy their love. But the parents find the change in their daughter strange and suspicious. In the belief that she is ill they invite magicians and exorcists, but the cleverness of the foster-sister overcomes all obstacles, and, finally, when the parents are told that the young man saved their daughter twice—once from the danger of...

¹ Cf. S. Viswanathan, *The Pattupattu—a historical, social and linguistic study*, PhD thesis, Univ of London, 1950, p. 20. The catalogues were usual features in ancient Tamil poetry. We do find catalogues of different items (e.g. the seven great donairs), and perhaps the longest catalogue is this one in the *Kūṅkūṇappāṭṭu*. In the midst of the description of a girl and her foster-sister the song bursts into a methodical enumeration of the flowers characteristic for the hilly region (ll. 61-95). The presence of this catalogue has, as Kailasapathy says (op cit p. 131), discomforted many modern critics. Chelliah who translated the "Ten Songs" says "this list seems an intrusion, and somewhat detracts from the high poetic level of the poem" (p. 105). But this attitude was rightly criticised by X S. Thami Nayagam (*Nature in Ancient Tamil Poetry, 1953*), and we may fully agree with Kailasapathy according to whom the presence of the catalogue need cause no surprise (p. 131). Bardic training included information pertinent to flora and fauna, among other types of information. And our poem was very probably meant to be an exercise in singmg the *kūṅkūṇci* theme, a model poem, illustrating a type, an informative poem on the *kūṅkūṇci* situation (M. Varadarajan, *The Treatment of Nature* p. 62). It should also be noted that the catalogue itself has a high phonetic quality, cf. *on en kāntal āmpal amīcam/ranjavak kuvalai kūṅkūṇci veṭer*  

(26)
drowning and another time from a rogue-elephant—they give their consent. The poem has 261 lines in the akaval metre. There has been some doubt about Kapilar's authorship (cf Sivaraja Pillai, Chronology of Early Tamils, 202, who has called the poem a near-forgery committed upon a famous bard, cf also J R Marr, op cit 357) Published in 1889.

II Malaiyapatukatām

The title is somewhat obscure, according to some authors, it means "the secretion oozing from the mountain", according to others, it means "the sound of katām which appears in the mountains". The title is taken from a line (348) of the poem itself (and must have been considered poetically very striking, this tendency to pick up "catch-words" or attractive phrases from the poems and give them as titles of poems, or names of authors, if the proper name of the author was lost, is well attested from a number of Anthology poems). The lay has yet another name, Kuttarāṟṟuppatai, i.e. "The guide of actors". The patron celebrated in the lay is Nāṇṇu (almost unknown from other sources), and the name of the poet Perunkuṟṟur Perunkaucikaṉār. The poem has 583 lines. Various aspects of the life of different communities in the hero's land are described, and the poem contains exquisite pictures of nature. Published in 1889.

12 Netunavāta

means literally "The Good Long North Wind", implying by metonymy the Cold Season, which is the background of this narrative, ascribed to the famous Nakkirar, and composed in the akaval, totalling 188 lines. The lay is a unique blend of love and heroic elements, and the pains of separation are its predominant features. It is artistically rather complex and subtle, so that it is often regarded, and probably rightly so, as the best or one of the best of the lays of the bardic corpus.

(In respect of language, diction, imagery and subject-matter it is of course—only naturally so—in no way different from the rest of the lays, but, in addition, it has some features that set it apart from the rest. It begins with the beautiful description of nature during the

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1 Cf P Kannappa Mudalhyar, Tamil-nil varam, 1962, p 109 The line runs malaiyapatukatām matrattu vyampa. Probably it is a comparison of an elephant to a mountain, the oozing stands for the sounds emanating from the mountainous region.
rainy season "The earth is cold. From chilly boughs hang coloured drops of rain. When sharp winds blow to chill the very hills."

One then travels across the country to the city, to the king's capital, Maturai. One sees details of the luxury life in the city, and enters the palace, the royal bedchamber, where, surrounded by her maids, the languishing queen has plunged into grief "with the tip / Of her rosy finger now and then she spills / The shining tear-drops that in heavy hds / collected, roll down fast" Her thoughts are far away—and suddenly one is taken to the king's winter-camp (?) at Tālavālakāṇam, where her lord (?) Netuñceliyaṉ, "at war with numberless foes", is fully absorbed in his stern duties In one of the most vivid scenes in the entire bardic poetry one sees the king inspecting at night the camp with wounded warriors The climax of the poem is a prayer to the Goddess of Victory, Kōrravaṅ (As Kālasapathy says (42), "the poem is indeed a tour de force, exhibiting the bard at his best") Published in 1884

13 Maturaiṅkāṅchi

is the longest of the lays, containing 782 lines in the akavai metre interspersed with a great number of vaṅci lines, ascribed to the bard Māṅkutti Marutaṅpār who was probably the chief court poet of Netuñceliyaṉ (whose fame the poem celebrates), and also the author of a number of stanzas in Purāṇaṅgaṅu A kāṅci is a later genre of "Sangam" poetry, it can be translated as a "hint" or "gentle hint", a kind of "moral epistle" (M S Purnahangam Pillai) based on the philosophy of the instability and perishability of world and life. The poet was probably well versed in this particular genre (cf his poems in Puram anthology) The title can be translated as "The good counsel (given to the king at the city) of Maturai" (according to an old commentator) The poem indeed contains some didactic matter, as do other stanzas composed by Māṅkuti Marutaṅpār or Māṅkuti Kīḷār There is a graphic description of city life the description begins with the morning market-place and makes a full circle of twenty-four hours (including some description of Buddhist monasteries and Jain shrines, of the various riches brought back by the king's warriors from raiding expeditions, a vivid portraiture of thieves etc.) The author was an exceptionally keen observer of men and manners he has captured successfully the sights and sounds of Maturai in the morning, in the afternoon, during dusk, midnight and dawn There is absolutely no love element in the poem The first
portion is dedicated to the valour and victories of the greatest hero of the Pândyas, Netunčelîyan. The poem ends with a “good council” to the king to be happy throughout the allotted portion of his life. There are relatively many Aryan loanwords Maturak looks like a later “lay”, Netunčelîyan might have been ruling in Maturai around 215 A.D. And, indeed, this lay might be dated well in the beginning of the 3rd Century. Published in 1889

14 Mullanppattu,
sung by Nappûtañâr, is the shortest and one of the most beautiful of the lays. It contains 103 lines in the akaval, out of which only 33 deal specifically with the love theme of wifely patience and self-control shown by a heroine while her warrior-husband (anonymous) is away on some military campaign. The remaining lines describe the expedition of the hero the temporary camp in the forest, the hero’s chamber, specially constructed by the Yavanas who are fierce-eyed (61) and clad in toga-like garments, mention is made of milēccar, (Skt. mlechea-), employed as the king’s body-guards, not knowing Tamil and speaking only with gestures (65-66). Interesting is also the mention made of unlearned youngsters (or servants) who are the mahouts of king’s elephants and who utter Northern words (or speak Northern speech).

Unlike the other poem on separation between lovers, Netunaḷvattai, this lay ends in a note of hope the triumphant hero is returning swiftly home. Published in 1889

15 Ciraṅpāṅāṛṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ130,150

“A guide of the minstrel playing the small lute”, has been sometimes acclaimed as the best of the “guidance” poems, though it is the shortest of them. It has 296 lines in the akaval metre. The chief honoured in this poem is Nalliyakkōṭan of the Øy tribe (cf. Pur 176) The poet’s name is Narraṭantañar. It is a typical “guide” poem, possessing all essential features of this genre. All the conventional scenery is described, as well as the valour and especially the munificence of the hero. The fact that the Seven Great Donors “are mentioned in a catalogue lends colour to the argument that the

₁ mahīntu vsu uruṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ TableCell

2 vatoṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟróbhājāvāppai (35-36), the phrase kallā slaiṇar occurs also in Pūrūnāṇ 100 (for attendants or servants of the king), and kallā itaiyai occurs in Ciraṅpāṅā 33
### CHART 5

**The Three "Academies"**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No of years</th>
<th>No of poets</th>
<th>Seat</th>
<th>Grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talaiccankam</td>
<td>4440</td>
<td>4449</td>
<td>Southern Maturai</td>
<td>Akattiyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itaiccankam</td>
<td>3700</td>
<td>3700</td>
<td>Kapāṭapuram</td>
<td>Akattiyam, Tolkāppiyam + 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalaiccankam</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>Upper Maturai</td>
<td>Akattiyam, Tolkāppiyam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Anthologies (tokai)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No of poems</th>
<th>Length of poems</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Commentaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avikurunūru</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>3-6 lines</td>
<td>Örampōki, Ammūvaŋār, Kapilar, Ötalāntai, Péyan</td>
<td>Old anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuṭuntu tokai</td>
<td>400 + 1</td>
<td>4-8 lines</td>
<td>205 poets</td>
<td>Modern by U V Swaminatha Aiyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāṟṟinai</td>
<td>400 + 1</td>
<td>8-13 lines</td>
<td>174 poets</td>
<td>U V Swaminatha Aiyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattrupppattu</td>
<td>Out of 10 decades, 8 decades available, + patiksams</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kumattūr, Kannacija (2), Pālaik Kautamaŋār (3), Kāppinyaṟṟuk Kāppiyaŋār (4), Paranar (5), Kākkapāṭuṟṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟu tamil (6), Kapilar (7), Aricil Kilār (8), Perunkuṟṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟu tamil (9)</td>
<td>Old anonymous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE CARKAM LEGEND**
**Akanāyūru**  
400 + 1  
13–31 lines  
143 poets

**Puranāyūru**  
400 (266 and 268 lost)  
varies  
157 poets

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**The Lays (pāṭṭu)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>No of lines</th>
<th>Metre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Ponunavaṟṟuppatra</em></td>
<td>Mutattāmakkamīyār</td>
<td>Karikāl</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>akavāl (+ vaṇci)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Perumpāṇāṟṟuppatra</em></td>
<td>Uruttiraṇ Kannāgār</td>
<td>Tontaimāṇ Ilanthiraiyāṇ</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>akavāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Perunappāḷai</em></td>
<td>Uruttiraṇ Kannāgār</td>
<td>Karikāl</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>vaṇci (153) and akavāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kurunīṟṟupattu</em></td>
<td>Kapilar</td>
<td>anonymous</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>akavāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Malaiṉpatukalām</em></td>
<td>PerunkuppuṆi</td>
<td>Nāṟṟiyāṇ</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>akavāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Netunakāḷai</em></td>
<td>NakkiraṆ</td>
<td>NetunacakīyāṆ</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>akavāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mattuṅkkaḷḷi</em></td>
<td>Māṅkuti MarutaiyāṆ</td>
<td>NetunacakīyāṆ</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>vaṇci (+ akavāl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mullaṟṟupattu</em></td>
<td>NappūtaṆi</td>
<td>anonymous</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>akavāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>CirupāṆāṟṟuppatra</em></td>
<td>NarraṭtaṆi</td>
<td>NalliyakkōtaṆ</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>akavāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE CANKAM LEGEND

poem contains later material” (Kailasapathy, 45) It indeed seems to be the last composed in the series of the Pattuppāṭṭu (HTLL by S. Varyapuri, 33 and CET by Pillai, p 202 imitation of the Perum-pān) “The fact that not only the seven minor chieftains, but also the Three Kings and some of their cities are mentioned in a retrospective manner and with remarkable objectivity strongly suggests a later date for the lay” (Kailasapathy, 46) Tamil and Maturai are associated in a special way, and, as Kailasapathy points out, in this lay the connexions between Tamil and the Pāntiya capital which became later legendary, may be seen in its evolution (p 46, cf. tamil nilaippērak maturai 66) Rather powerful is the poet’s description of his poverty the starved bitch laymg in the ruined kitchen near a cold hearth with her blind and helpless pups, refusing to suckle them, the wife of the bard cooks without salt (as she cannot afford it) some herbs which she gathered from refuge heaps Lines 14 to 40 contain one of the most detailed and meticulous descriptions—but also rather charming—of a woman’s body found in classical Tamil literature, this in a kind of antāts arrangement (the offset of a line repeated as the onset of the next line) including the simile known to us from Porunar the small feet similar to the tongues of panting dogs (16-17) Published in 1889

Such phrases and formulae, recurring again and again (cf. the construction kallā ilaiyar or ilaiñar, recurring e.g. in Porunar 100, Mullaṭṭār 35-36 and Čirupān 33) show how intimate and close was the connection between the various poems of the corpus, and how stereotyped and conventional is the language of this bardic poetry. We may indeed say that the 15 poems and collections of poems just described constitute one single corpus—in many ways unique in the literature of the world—stylized to such an extent that it is almost impossible to distinguish what belongs properly to each author.
CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSING CLASSICAL POETRY

The Metre

The entire corpus of earlier classical poetry is composed in two metres ¹ *akaval* and *vañci*

The basic metrical unit ² is the *acai*, ³ which is of two types the *nër* and the *nraî*. The *nër* is a simple metrical unit, long or short, which may or may not be followed by a consonant, that is (C) V (C). We designate it by —. The *nraî* is a compound metrical unit, made up of two short syllables, or a short followed by a long syllable, with or without a consonant following, i.e. (C) VCV (C). We symbolize the *nraî* by =. We see that the *nër* may be quantitatively long or short, whereas the first, initial syllable of a *nraî* is always short, in terms of Western notation, then, a *nër* is always — (a macron), while a *nraî* may be — (pyrrhic) or — (iambic) ⁴.

If either of these two are followed by -*u* or by the “overshort” -*u*, they become *nërpu* and *nraîpu*, i.e. modified *nër* and *nraî*. This does not apply to cases where the -*u* follows a single short syllable, whence it becomes not a *nërpu* but a *nraî* ⁵. The possible combinations of these four units (*nër, nërpu, nraî, nraîpu*) are sixteen. And all of them are permitted in the *akaval* metre. The most common combinations are — — or *têmâ*, = — or *pûlîmâ*, = = *kûvûlam* and = = *karuvûlâm*. These combinations form the next level in the metrical structure—the level of the *cîr* “feet”. The feet proper to the *akaval* are termed *iyarçîr* or “natural feet”, also *âcîrîyaccîr* or “feet proper to the *âcîrîyam* (= *akaval*) metre”.

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² Some writers translated *acai* as “syllable” which is incorrect (cf. the criticism of this term by J. R. Marr, *op cit* 273) *acai* is not a syllable, neither is it a mora. Vithanathan translates it as “quantitative unit of a movement” (*op cit* 273), Kailasapathy as “basic metrical unit” (*op cit* 140). I hesitated for some time between “prosodic” or “metrical syllable” and some kind of “unit”, and then, after discussing the matter with J. R. Marr, decided for “fundamental” or “basic metrical unit”.
³ Cf. *DED* 39 *acai* “to move, stir, etc”
⁴ Cf. J. R. Marr, *op cit* 415
⁵ E.g. in the words *karu* = and *mułu* =
The combination of feet constitutes a line of poetry, termed ati. The standard line consists of four feet. Although there are lines of two, five etc. feet, the ideal line is that of four feet and hence is called alavati or "measured line."

In the akavali or aciriyam metre, the standard line has four feet (= eight acais). Only the penultimate line consists of three feet. Elsewhere, a three-feet line is exceptional.

The vañci metre (which occasionally occurs with the akavali in the songs of the Pattuppattu anthology) has a somewhat different scheme. The vañci foot is made of three acais, e.g., — = — nērmraim-nēr. The possible combinations of the four acais are sixty for the vañciippā. The usual vañci line has two feet, so that it usually has six acais. The last line in a vañci stanza may be in akavali.

The next (and for our purposes the final) important concept to discuss is the totai, lit. "connexion, joining", "fastening, tying", "series, succession", i.e. the art of joining the lines of a poem in succession, making use of "rhyme", alliteration, assonance, contrast etc. The line is considered by indigenous theoreticians as the basic and self-contained unit, in fact, as the largest single unit in a poem. According to Pērācīrīyar, "the poet completes the intended meaning in each line, he does not need another line." Totai is precisely the art of stringing together lines so that they constitute a song. There are various kinds of totai. For our purposes, we shall mention just two etukai and mōnas. Etukai is the "consonance" in the coda of the first closed syllables in the feet, e.g., in āru (1st line) aru (2nd line), the -r- is the seat of etukai, in āthu (1st line) kōth (2nd line), the -t- is the seat of etukai. Mōnas is alliteration, like in māyōn mārpir or paranta pālir.

Specimen Analysis

The basic prosodic and rhetoric features of classical Tamil poetry will now be demonstrated through the analysis of three selected poems.

1 It was very probably rightly suggested by John R. Marr (op cit. 464) that the three-feet penultimate line in akavali might have indicated the approaching end of a song. Kailasapathy (op cit. 143-143) suggests an analogy of the penultimate line to the cadence in a musical composition.

2 The next constituent is nēshku "gaze, look, view", i.e., the cohesion of the various elements into one single whole. Kailasapathy says that it connects "the smooth flow of meaning" (op cit. 146).
Kuruntokai 119 (by Catti Nātaānṛ)

ceyvel laran yavarik kurula
kāya yānai yananki yān
kilaṟai mulavā levarṭal
valaiyulak kaiyalem mananki yōlē

In literal translation, this means

"little-white-snake of lovely-striped young-body
jungle elephant troubling like
the young-girl sprouts-brightness toothed-female
bangle(s) possessing hand(s)-female"

In A K Ramanujan’s charming translation

As a little white snake
with lovely stripes on its young body
troubles the jungle elephant
this slip of a girl
her teeth like sprouts of new rice
her wrists studded with bangles
troubles me

(The Interior Landscape, 1967)

The prosodic pattern is as follows

\[= -- / = -- / = = / = -- \]
\[= -- / = -- / = -- / = -- \]
\[= = / = = / = -- / = -- \]

We observe in this stanza four lines of four feet, the penultimate line has three feet, the metre contains only feet of two metrical units (acai) each, of the pattern = --, = =, = -- and = = , these feet are called ir acai cir "two-unit-feet" The metre is therefore akaval or ācīryam

As for the total, there is e g a etukai or "consonance" between the 3rd and 4th line (i/l/aiyal—val/l/ai), and there is, e g, a mōna or “alliteration” in the 2nd line /y/ānai /y/ananki /y/ān(ku)

Now for the phonaesthetic analysis almost all consonants belong to the nasal (so-called melliyam) or liquid (staiyam) series, the most favoured is the retroflex liquid l which occurs 8 times The occlusives are rare c occurs only once, there is no t, k as a tense stop occurs only 3 times This consonantal structure of the stanza results in a soft, mellifluous, liquid effect, like the murmur of a mountain stream The distribution of the sounds is also interesting, each line has its own specific phonic structure, resulting in a specific phonaesthetic impression
Observe the various patterns in consonantal sequences in terms of feet. Given enough space one could discern similar patterns with regard to the vowels. Every stanza—every line, to be precise, since the line is a finished and self-contained unit—has its own phonetic structure which is functional. The functional status of phonaesthetic properties, of "orchestration" (instrumentovka), is one of the very important and characteristic features of classical Tamil poetry. Much later, there comes a period in the development of Tamil literature when—like in most literatures—the purely formal qualities become the most important features of a poem (e.g. in medieval and late medieval devotional literature). Not so, however, in early old Tamil classical texts there, the formal side is most often—though not always—in perfect unity with the thought-content, and hence the purely formal aspect of the poems is fully functional.

Next the rhetoric analysis in terms of traditional Tamil poetic, i.e. in terms of the first and most ancient descriptions of these matters as preserved in Irawanar’s Akapporul and in the 3rd part of Tolkappiyam (Porulattkaram).

The two fundamental genres which were mentioned several times before are the akam "love" and puram "war". It is obvious that our poem belongs to akam poetry. Within the akam genre, the first dichotomy runs between well-matched love (akam proper) and ill-matched love. Our poem belongs to the genre of well-matched love (see detailed discussion later). Akam proper is subdivided into five erotic situations, five phases of love, which are matched with the physiographic regions, these are the five tinai. Our tinai is called kurinchi or "lovers union", appropriate to the mountainous region.

How can we tell?

In every classical Tamil poem, diagnostic features are present which, to an informed listener and reader, reveal immediately the type of tinai and theme in which the poem is composed. Sometimes they are abundant. Sometimes, they are only a few. They are conventional and traditional. There is great fixity, great stylization. The poet is obliged to abide by traditions. The bardic practice
—both in the *akam* and in the *puram* genres—is conditioned by traditional material. The inner tension, the very dynamism of classical Tamil poetry arises out of this relation between the traditional materia represented by conventions and formulae, and the poet’s art of improvisation. As Kailasapathy observes, simultaneous freedom and limitation constitute the dynamism of Tamil classical poetry. Now what is this traditional and conventionalized matter in our particular poem? What are the diagnostic features? First, there are some elements of the so-called *karuppurul* present here, i.e., of “things born” or “native” the strata of *karuppurul* is represented by the “snake” (*aravu*) and by the “jungle elephant” (*kāṇa yāṇai*), that is by the beasts typical for the mountainous region (*kuriṇci*). The word *kāṇam* “jungle, forest” also belongs to this strata. As far as the *uripporul* is concerned, or the strata which deals with human situations and feelings, the key-word is *ananku* “trouble”, “be troubled, afflicted, suffer pain”, “afflict”—a feeling typical again for the *kuriṇci* situation. The “troubles” or “sufferings of love” belong to the characteristic behavioural features of the “mountain-poetry” (union of lovers). There are no other elements of conventions present in the poem, but these four catch-words or key-items (snake, elephant, forest, and afflictions of love) are sufficient and diagnostic. This is the basic traditional and conventional material around which the poem has been built. The presence of representative features of all conventions is certainly not obligatory. But some must be present. This is the kind of limitation imposed on the poet first, the broadest frame—he may decide between love (*akam*) or war (*puram*) as his two main themes. Now, if he decides for love, he again has a binary choice—well-matched or ill-matched. Within *akam* proper, he has to make his choice among the five situations, and after he has chosen one, he is obliged to give clues in terms of *muīal* or “First things”, and/or *karu* or “Native things” and/or *uri* or “Appropriate human feelings” He is also expected to use the technique of direct and indirect comparison and suggestion (inference). Within this framework, he is relatively free.

As far as the last point is concerned in the poem under analysis, the comparison is rather explicit, actually, the whole poem is a wonderful simile (made explicit by the use of comparative particle *ānku* “similarly, of that nature, like, as”) the lover—a jungle elephant (*kāṇa yāṇai*), the sweetheart—a small young snake no
real danger for the mighty elephant, and yet—she troubles and
afflicts him, by her elusiveness, mockery, and who knows what.
There is also the technique of suggestion used here, or rather com-
parison by suggestion, which is not apparent at first sight and which
requires knowledge of some cultural traits the auvun "lovely
stripes" at the body of the snake hunt at the fair lines, stripes and/or
dots (vani) which were considered to be marks of beauty on the body
of a woman (particularly on her breasts and venus' mound).

Let us now analyse another poem, Kuṇuntokai 3, ascribed to
Tēvakulattār. First the original Tamil text again

milattum peṟiḻe vāṇiṇi muṟaiṟaitu
niṟṟu māraḷa nuṟṟē cāṟav
karun Kor kuṟiṅciṟ pūkktu
peṟutē milakkum nāḷagolē natē

'earth-than big(ger), sky-than high(er)
water-than hard(er)-to-fathom mountain-slope
black-stalk-kurinći-flower(s) taking
rich-honey-making-country's-lord-with love'

Bigger than earth, certainly,
higher than the sky,
more unfathomable than the waters
is this love for this man
of the mountain slopes
where bees make rich honey
from the flowers of the kurinći
that has such black stalks

(A. K. Ramanujan, The Interior Landscape, 1967)

Metric analysis will tell us that this is a poem of the same structure
as the one preceding four lines, each of four feet, the penultimate
line has three feet, feet of two and three metrical units are used.
This kind of stanza (which is technically known as nērcai ācimyapp-
pā) seems to have been the earliest type of stanza in the akāval
metre, and hence the earliest type of stanzaic structure extant in the
language. The metric patterns are

    = == / = -- / -- == / == --
    -- == / = -- / -- -- / -- --
    = -- / = -- / = -- --
    = -- / = -- / = == -- / -- --

Before we go into the rhetoric analysis, let us observe yet another
property which many or most of these early Tamil poems composed
as nērcai ācimyappās have: they are divided, from the point of
thought-content and form, into two parts: the first part, usually longer (purely quantitatively, in a 4-line stanza, the first 2 lines, sometimes part of the 3rd line), deals with the mutal and/or karuppornul, i.e., with the time-space continuum as basic background, and with the concrete representations of the five-fold physiographic regions in Kur 119, we have in those lines the snake and the elephant, in this stanza, we have in the first 2 lines the earth, the sky, the waters, the mountain-slopes, and the 3rd line, too, is filled with the karuppornul material the black-stalked kurvincci flowers. The second part, usually shorter (in a 4-line stanza it usually begins in the penultimate 3-feet line, or sometimes only in the very last line) contains the substance of the poem, its essence (urippornul), the ponte in Kur 119, the human element appears in the 3rd line, and the essential feeling (the trouble of love) as the last word of the 4th line, in Kur 3, the human element occurs only in the very last line (natan), and the ponte, the essential feeling, again as the very last word of the whole stanza (natpe "love")

This kind of structure gives to the classical Tamil stanzas a wonderful conciseness, terseness, pithiness and an inner tension which is resolved usually at the very end of the stanza. Sometimes, though, the procedure is exactly opposite, and the same effect is achieved by a reverse technique: the ponte, the essence of the poem is revealed in the very first line, it is a sort of direct attack on the listener, and what follows, is a kind of "decrescendo", an unfolding of the ponte. But always, in the best stanzas of the collections (loka1), in both genres, akam and puram, there is a very conscious striving after a perfect and extremely potent and effective form.

The genre of Kur 3 is akam or love, clearly well-matched love or akam proper, the basic theme—tina—is kurvincci or lover's union. The time-space continuum is not explicitly given in this poem, neither is it implicit in some suggestion or other. However, according to some interpretations, the main components of the place or milam subdivision of the mutal are earth, water, fire, wind and sky, and in this particular poem, three of them, earth, sky and water are actually mentioned, to stress the greatness and depth and intensity of the heroine's love. As far as the karuppornul or concrete representations of the physiographic regions are concerned, we have here no gods, but the term natan for the lover, this is a specific term used for the chief of the mountain-tribe, so that this in itself provides the clue for the tina, second, among the birds and beasts and insects,
we have, implicitly, the bees, in the sphere of flora we have the kurūńci flower, and honey which stands for the bees, being the typical conventional apparatus of the "mountain-poetry". The urṣpporul or the psychological essence is represented by the word nātpu "love". According to some commentaries, the attributes karunkhōl "black-stalked" and peruntēn "rich honey" belong to so-called rācchi or suggestion (or inference) in form of some additional material, as qualifier or adjunct to some basic concept: the kurūńci flowers with black stalks stand for the woman in love, the bees gathering honey from these flowers are supposed to stand for the man's action of gathering sweetness from the pleasure of the lover's union. As in the previous poem, the comparison is explicit, made overt by the use of the ablative plus -um "big(ger) than earth, high(er) than sky" etc. What is compared is the intensity, the depth and greatness of the herome's nātpu, love.

Finally, a third poem, from the same tokai, collection, Kuruntokai 68, ascribed to Allūr Naṉmullai. I abstain this time from quoting the original. Here is Ramanujan's lovely translation:

> The bare root of the bean is pink
> like the leg of a jungle hen,
> and herds of deer attack its overripe pods
> For the harshness of this early frost
> there is no cure
> but the breast of my man

*(The Interior Landscape, 1967)*

The genre is obviously akam, love, and akam proper, or well-matched love. The tina is a mixed one, and this is no chance, nor an error on the part of the poet. How do we know it is a mixed "poetic situation"? As far as the time-space continuum is concerned, the poem mentions explicitly "early frost" (this comes under kālam, time) "early dew" is typical for kurūńci or "lover's union". Now to the "things native" or "concrete representations" the bird mentioned is the jungle hen, typical for mullai or forest, appropriate to "patient waiting" in terms of the phases of love, the beast mentioned is the deer, again typical for mullai or the "patient waiting" situation. The "bean" also belongs to mullai. The urṣpporul or essential human feeling is defined as "memory and desire" that is, "memory of lovers' union" (kurūńci) and "desire of patient waiting" (mullai). The tina of this poem, the "situation" is thus kurūńci + mullai, a mixed tina, a mixed situation. There is,
again, an explicit comparison present (the pink root of the bean compared to the leg of the jungle hen). But there is also suggestion and inference in this stanza: the bare root of the bean, pink and attacked by herds of deer in the "season of early dew" is suggestive of the bare body and soul of the waiting, pining woman, attacked by memories of union and longing for embrace.

Random reader of *akam* and *puram* poems

*Kuruntokai* 119, by Catti Nātanār

As a little white snake  
with lovely stripes on its young body  
troubles the jungle elephant  
this slip of a girl  
her teeth like sprouts of new rice  
her wrists stacked with bangles  
troubles me

(A K Ramanujan, *The Interior Landscape, 1967*)

1  
2  
3  
3.1 *mutal*  
3.2 *karn* gods  

- nature human  
  - non-human animates: *snake, elephant*  
  - inanimate: *jungle, sprouts*

3.3 *ur* love—trouble

4  
comparison  
lover = jungle-elephant  
girl = little white snake

inference  
stripes on the snake's body  
(= stripes on the body of the girl)

*Kuruntokai* 3, by Tēvakulattār

Bigger than earth, certainly,  
higher than the sky,  
much unfathomable than the waters  
is this love for this man  
of the mountain slopes  
where bees make rich honey  
from the flowers of the *kuruṅci*  
that has such black stalks

(A K Ramanujan, *The Interior Landscape, 1967*)
1 akam
2 well-matched
3 tina₁ kuriṇci
   3₁ mutal kālam (time) ø
      nlam (place) earth, sky, water
   3₂ karu gods ø
      nature human nātan—mountain-chief
      non-human animate (bees, implicit)
      manimate kuriṇci flowers
      honey
      mountain-slopes

3.3 ur₁ love

4 comparison love great and deep like earth, sky, water
   vṛacca (suggestion) black-stalked flowers = woman
   honey-gathering = gathering of pleasure

Kūruntokai 68 by Allūr Naṃmulai

The bare root of the bean is pink
like the leg of a jungle hen,
and herds of deer attack its overripe pods.
For the harshness of this early frost
there is no cure
but the breast of my man


1 akam
2 well-matched
3 tina₃ mixed kuriṇci-mullai
   3₁ mutal kālam early dew (kuriṇci)
      nlam ø
   3₂ karu gods ø
      nature human ø
      non-human animate jungle-hen (mullai)
      deer (mullai)
      manimate bean (mullai)

3.3 ur₁ memory and desire

4 comparison explicit (root of the bean pink like leg of jungle
   hen), suggestion and inference bare root of the
   bean attacked by deer = bare body and soul of the
   woman attacked by memories and desire for union
**Kuruntokai 40**

What is my mother to yours?
How is my father related to your father?
And I and you
How did we two meet?
Like the waters of rain pouring down on red soil
The two loving hearts themselves
Blended with each other

**Author** Anonymous ("Cempulapeyalnīrār")
**Tina** Kurinči
**Transl** K Zvelebil

**Kuruntokai 2**

O bee, fair of wing, ever in search of flower-garlands,
Tell me not what I fam would hear, but what you really saw
Among all the flowers you know is any more fragrant
Than the tresses of my lady of the close-set teeth?
Graceful as the peacock she dwells, rich in love with me!

**Author** Ḫraiyānār
**Tina** kurinči
**Transl** J R Marr

**Kuruntokai 131**

My girl
has lovely shoulders
that sway like wide bamboo,
her eyes are large,
liquid, burn to kill
Her land is far
to reach,
the ways are hard
My heart aches
in frantic haste
to reach her
I am like the ploughman
with his single plough
in haste
to plough his vast vugm land
fresh with the rains

**Author** Anonymous ("Ōrērulavanār")
**Tina** kurinči - mulla
**Transl** S Kokilam

**Ainkuruntūru 409**

The father holds his son close,
the son's mother holds them both
in her arms
Such a state is beautiful
In its little space,
it is large enough
to hold the wide world
and all the lives in it

**Narrinai 284**
My heart says, "Go to her, unbind the thongs
of suffering from her soul"
She of the cool-eyed eyes,
whose outlines are dark kuvalai blossoms,
and long black tresses hanging low
My mind "A job undone will bring disgrace,
rush not"
My body bears the tension of these two —
a worn-out rope pulled from both ends
by elephants
with bright upswinging shiny tusks

**Kuruntokai 325**
Let me go, let me go,
he used to cry
Go then, I reproved,
anger aflame,
lke a child’s vicious play
But now, now
he is gone
Now my tears fall
in the hollow of my breast
Like the lake where cranes
with soft white wings
and black feet feed

**Kuruntokai 8**
You know he comes from
where the fresh-water shark in the pools
catch with their mouths
the mangoes as they fall, ripe
from the trees on the edge of the field
At our place,
he talked big
Now, back in his own,
when others raise their hands
and feet,
he will raise his too
like a doll
in the mirror
he will shadow
every last wish
of his son’s dear mother

Author  Ālankutī Vankaṉār
Tīnai  marulam
Transl  A K Ramanujan
(The Interior Landscape, 1967)

Kuruntokai 324
Man-eaters, male crocodiles with crooked legs,
cut off the traffic on these waterways
But you,
in your love, will come to her swimming
through the shoals of fish in the black salt marshes
And she,
she will suffer in her simpleness
And I,
what can I do but shudder in my heart
like a woman watching her poisoned twins?

Author  Kavamakān
Tīnai  neyta
Transl  A K Ramanujan
(The Interior Landscape)

Kuruntokai 24
Will it stay for my lord’s coming—
the blossom, new and glowing
of the dark vēmpu tree?
Now, that my lover’s gone
these cruel women’s tongues
are working on me,
grinding me to paste
like the one solitary fruit
of the white fig-tree rising on the shore,
trampled and mashed
by seven
crabs

Author  Paranar
Tīnai  neyta
Transl  K Zvelebil

Narrinai 149
Eyes askance,
hands cupped to mouth
the women (in small groups and not so small) 
at tattling on us My friend, 
fresh flowers from the grove 
could not be sweeter 
than the honey-colored mane 
of that steed, drawing the chariot, 
which my lord rides 
Shall I leave with him at midnight? 
Then to hell with these townsfolk and their gossip!

Author Ulôccaṉār
Tinañ neytal
Transl E Anamalai - H Schiffman

*Kuruntokai 17*

When love is ripe beyond bearing 
and goes to seed, 
men will ride even palmyra stems 
like horses, will wear on their heads 
the reeking cones of the erukkam bud 
like flowers, will draw to themselves 
the gossip of the streets, 
and will do worse

Author Pēreyrin Muruvalār
Tinañ peruntinañ
Transl A K Ramanujan

(The Interior Landscape 1967)

*Puranāṇūru 271*

The dark-clustered nocci trees blend with the land 
that knows no dryness, the colors on the leaves 
mob the eyes

We have seen that leaf 
on jewelled women, 
on their lovely wide-angled mounds 
of venus

Now, mixed with fearful blood, 
their looks changed, slashed 
noxcī-wreaths lie on the ground 
where the vulture thunks them raw meat 
and takes them in its beak to its heights

We have seen that too 
just because a young man 
in love with killing 
wore them for glory

Author Verîpâtiya Kāmakkanyār
Tinañ noxcī / vetcr
Transl A K Ramanujan
Puranāṇūru 279

May her grief come to an end!
Her courage is cruel
She is truly a woman
born of fighters

In the war sometime ago, her father
killed an elephant, fell and died
Recently, her husband fell in battle
trying to guard his great black herds
of cattle

Yet today, as she hears the drums of war
she is beside herself
with the ancient love of glory

She gives her son a spear to hold,
unfolds and wraps white cloth
around him,
combs his parched hair with oils—
this woman who would have no one
if she did not have this one son—
she turns his face
to the battlefront
and urges him
to go

Author Okkūr Mācāṭṭiyār
Tinaī vākaī
Transl A K Ramanujan

Puranāyanūru 82

The festival hour close at hand
his woman in labor
the sun setting behind pouring rains
the needle in the cobbler's hand
is in a frenzy of haste
stitching thongs
for the cot of a king

such was the swiftness
of the king's tackles,
an atti garland round his neck
as he wrestled with the enemy
come all the way
to take the land

Author Cāttántaṭiyār
Tinaī vākaī
Transl A K Ramanujan
Purāṇāṇūru 295

A heaving sea
the battlefield with its tents
In the battle,
pointing the forged and whetted tongues
of spears toward the enemy,
urging his troops forward
with himself at the head,
killing men with arrow and spear
in the skirmish, cleaving through
the over-whelming wave of foes,
forcing a clearing in that sea of men,
he had fallen,
his body hacked to pieces
She saw him there in his death
In love’s excess,
mother’s milk flowed again
in the withered dugs
of this mother
for her warrior-son
who had forsworn all retreat

Author  Auvaiyär
Tinai  tumpai
Transl  A K Ramanujan

Purāṇāṇūru 300

A shield, you say, a shield?
Yes, a shield and a stone to stave off the enemy,
and you may survive
The brother of the one you slew yesterday
is searching for you, his eyes jumping
like the crab’s eye seed, rolling around
on a white plate
His search is like that of a thirsty man
for a glass of wine
in an empty house

Author  Aricil Kijär
Tinai  tumpai
Transl  E Annamalai - H Schiffman

Purāṇāṇūru 88

Whoever you may be,
beware
before you even see
our lord
the chief of warriors
terrible and strong
with their long shining spears
His shoulders are like drums
beating the sound of battles and of feasts
and on his mighty well-formed chest
fine jewels glow and shine
Beware
before you say
the van and the tail
all
let's go and fight!

Puranānūru 349
The king scraped the sweat
off his brow
with the blade of his spear
and said terrible things
The girl's father spoke no less
and would not speak softly
This was their normal style
And after all, that lovely girl,
her teeth sharp, eyes cool, streaked
with red, skin the colour
of young mango leaf
like spark
sparked by firesticks,
she will devastate,

Puranānūru 223
The horse did not come back
His horse did not come back
All other horses have come back
The horse our little boy's father
rode, our little boy
with his small tuft of hair,
it did not come back
A great tree succumbing, root loosened
at the meeting-place of two floods,
his horse had fallen
under him
Puranāṇūru 256

Potter, O potter, maker of pitchers,
I've come with him
like a tiny white lizard
merging with the axle-tree
of a cart-wheel
through narrow places
Be kind to me
and make wide
the casket of clay
Make it wide enough,
O you who make pitchers
for this city,
this wide, old, city

Author          Anonymous
Tina           potunyal
Transl  A K Ramanujan

Puranāṇūru 389

Summers when the fruit of waterpalms dry and harden
when forest neems go to seed
waterpalms crack their beds
unadapting silverfish
swim south and leave behind
a fish famne,

dear young warrior,
put me among those you remember
on such days,
said my lord once
and gave me gifts, my lord of lasting glory
He is now where no one can reach him
yet if one could go, he is not the kind
who would be hard to see
He, old king Āṭaṅkanaṅ,
would tie up in his city
in public places
the young of jungle elephants
and make the soft-browed
mother beast grieve
Like him, O Nallērmutiya
of Vēṅkatam, rock and falling water, O you
who do not rise at once to run
wherever your heart goes,
you too must give
good things to hunger's households
and give till misery ends
May your women,
wide mounds of venus,
may they never hear
in the long yards of your house
the funeral drums of grief!

Author  Kallil Ātturaiyānāi
Tina  pālān
Transl  A K Ramanujan

Finally, I give four different translations of one and the same poem, Kuruntokai 25, ascribed to the great Kaplār (the poem belongs to the finest classical Tamil poems ever composed) to show the various problems, difficulties and solutions involved in translating Old Tamil poetry.

Tamil text

yārumillai lānē kalvai
lānu poyppu yānevaçeeykō
taugattā lagya cīrypacun kāla
olukuni rāral pārkkm
kuruku muntułāy mananta ṇāyē

Kuruntokai 25
Author  Kaplār
Tina  marutam
Theme  What she said to her girl-friend
on the spot where he took her

1 Prosodic pattern

5 lines, each of them four feet, the penultime three feet,

- - | - - - | - - | - -
- = | - - | - = | - -
= - | - - | = = | - -
= = | - - | - -
= - | - = | = = | - -

The metre is akaval (ācuyram)

2 Word-by-word translation

(a) Who-ever (was) not (there) only-he the thief
(b) he that if-demes I what shall-I-do
(c) millet-stalk-like small-green leg(s)-of
(d) running-water āral (fish) seeking
(e) heron was alone (he) took (me) day

Translation A

None else was there, but only he, the thief,
Should he be false, what should I do?
And when we met, there was in our sight
Only the stork, with leg as thin as a wisp of straw,
That into the gliding water peered for prey

(C and H Jesudasan, A History of Tamil Literature, 1961)

Translation B

There were no witnesses
when he embraced me
(If he leaves me now, what can I do?)
Only a heron stood by,
its thin gold legs like millet stalks,
eying the aaral-fish,
in the flowing water

(E Annamalai - H Schiffman, Mahfil IV, 3-4, 1968)

Translation C

Only the thief was there, no one else
And if he should die, what can I do?
There was only
a thin-legged heron standing
on legs yellow as millet stems
and looking
for lampreys
in the running water
when he took me

(A K Ramanujan, The Interior Landscape, 1967)

Translation D

None else was there but he, the thief
If he demes it, what shall I do?
Only a heron stood by,
its thin gold legs like millet stalks
eying the aaral-fish
in the gliding water
on the day
he took me

(K Zvelebil, 1967)
CHAPTER SIX

THE THEORY OF "INTERIOR LANDSCAPE"

In this chapter I shall deal in detail and in a more formalized manner with the remarkable and to a very great extent independent and original theory of literature, worked out some time at the beginning of our era and systematized and codified some time in the early half of the first millennium A.D. The pertinent material to be discussed is presented in form of charts and diagrams, and the text is a kind of commentary on these.

First, however, it is necessary to say a few words about the sources of this theory.

(There are three basic theoretical works in classical Tamil which deal with the earliest conventions of Tamil literature: Iraiyaṉār's Akapporul (IA) or Kalavivyal, the third part of Tolkāppiyam called Porulattākāram (TP), and Aiyaṉar Itaṉār's Purapporul venpā malai (PVM). These texts will be now discussed one by one, in their probable chronological order.)

Today, Iraiyaṉār Akapporul and its commentary by Nakkirar form an integral text, and for most Tamil scholiasts, the commentary is more important than the underlying book. However, there is probably a wide gap of time between the two. It seems that Iraiyaṉār's Akapporul is the first "grammar of love" in Tamil culture, older than TP, that it is the earliest attempt to systematize, classify and explain the bardic poetry and its conventions, themes and subject-matter as a "classical", that is a "closed", "frozen", "traditional" body of texts which ceased to be alive. Reasons...

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1 Some authors maintained that the rigid adherence to the conventions "crushed poetic freedom and originality" (M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, op cit p. 18). Some other authors would see in the classification, codification and explanation of the traditional conventions, given in the grammars, notably in TP, almost a whim of the grammarians and scholiasts, and they took a very negative stand towards such procedures (S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, HTLL he speaks about "the utterly artificial, or at best conventional character of the treatment", of "artificialities" which "had never any influence on the development of Tamil literature", which "today have no meaning except for the antiquarian", op cit pp. 69-70). For some critics, applying neo-romantic literary criteria to ancient oral and post-oral literature of the classical age, imitation is unbecoming of poets, imitative verses are necessarily of inferior...
First, the fact that, in *IA*, the literary theory, the poetics and rhetoric is much less elaborate and much more roughly and less delicately presented than in *Tolk Porul*, the commentary says explicitly, that *IA* is the first book (mutañūl) on akam.\(^1\) The quality (M. Varadarajan, *The Treatment of Nature*, pp 412 and elsewhere, Raja Manickam, *op cit* 204 ff.) These critics are indeed very incorrect in their conclusions. First of all, no so-called creative act is entirely free (even a titanist artist like Michelangelo was necessarily limited, e.g. by the demands of Pope Julius and the extent of the space in the Sistine Chapel). Old Tamil poets did emphatically _not_ sing "like birds" (as e.g. P. T. S. Iyengar says). On the contrary, the classical Tamil poet is, first of all, _par excellence_ an "objective" type (as in R. Wellek's sense of the term), open to the world, obliterating his concrete personality, with a very weak or almost nonexistent element of personal expression, like the poet of the Renaissance age, like the bard of chivalric romances. The poetry of the classical Tamil age is a sophisticated poetry full of conventional formulae, based on traditional subject-matter, fed on traditional similes, metaphors, allusions and suggestions. The material which was codified, classified and interpreted in the grammars was not a late ex-post ratiocination, or an anthology of the grammarians' whims, but, originally, while the bardic tradition was still alive, these were the useful guidelines for instruction and aid how to compose poetry, later, after the live bardic tradition died and became part of a classical past, these _sūtras_ came to be regarded as useful guidelines for the reader. They were based on actual usage of the poet for whom they had once formed a framework of references and limitations within which he was "free to sing", or rather free to prove how good his power of improvisation was. The original framework, the ancient prototypes of the formulae and themes, the basic original conventions must have been based ultimately upon reality. This was true of both genres: the conventions built up around love-poetry were ultimately based on real life, on erotic experience of the people living in the hills and forests, in the fields and on the seashore, allusions to heroic deeds which later became symbolic, allegoric, and part of the technique of suggestion, were based on actual historical events preserved in the memory of generations. That and only that had been the period when the first poets (not yet bards or minstrels of any status, but a kind of folk-singers) sang "like birds". But of this period we have absolutely no direct testimony. Of this "primeval", simple, "folk" poetry of the ancient Tamils nothing whatsoever has survived. What has survived, is a highly developed bardic poetry, composed in accordance with the rules and limitations imposed by tradition and formalized by the first theoreticians.

\(^1\) The episode is blended with myth and fiction, but may contain a grain of truth. Once upon a time a severe famine occurred in the Pandya land. Many people had to leave, and among them were bards and scholars patronized by the king. Many years later they returned, the king convened the bards and discovered that there was no book on poetics and rhetoric (porulātikāram), but only the two books on "letters" (ējulātikāram) and "words" (collatikāram). Since the king and the members of the "Academy" had no "grammar of the Matter" (porulisākkanam peritū, ed 1939, p 14), god Śiva (īṟaiyaṅgār) himself intervened and composed the *Akapporul*. Hence, *Īravangār Akapporul* is sometimes translated as "The Lord's Grammar of Love"
name of the author is Iraiyanar, and this has been explained by the commentary and by the tradition as “God”, i.e. Sri himself. There is a poem in Kur (No. 2) ascribed to one Iraiyanar. There is nothing to refute the hypothesis that the author of the late bardic poem and the author of the theoretical work were one and the same man. The commentary also says that the book was composed at the time of the third Cankam, during the reign of Ukkirap Peruvaluti. The legend referred to in fn. 1, p. 86 may indicate (although it is rather vague speculation) that at the time when IA was composed, the TP was not yet in existence. On the other hand, there is much in the body of the aphorisms (sutrās) that shows a relatively late origin of the book. The very first sūtra which gives the definition of kalavu or premarital love shows that the Brahminic influence (which has by that time surpassed the Jaina and Buddhist impact) was fully established. It says that kalavu is called that type of marriage among the eight (described by) the Vedic tradition of the Brahmins (antaricarumāra) which has been called the gandharva type (kantarumā) by the wise. Or, cf. s. 36, where it is maintained that for the “high-class people (uyarntōrkku)” two kinds of occupation are suitable: Ṛta (“reciting of the Vedas”) and kāval (“protection”). The commentary quite rightly explains uyarnțō as Brahmans and kings or ksatryaś. This again shows a firmly established Sanskritization and Brahminization of Tamilnad. However, quite naturally, the text contains much very ancient material, classified and described in the sūtras which are based, after all, on the early classical poetic texts, and on the tradition of bardic “handbooks.” It seems therefore that IA is the first treatise on the conventions of the earliest bardic poetry of the akam genre written down at a time when the late bardic oral tradition of that poetry was already moribund approximately between the 4th-6th Century A.D.† The text of the sūtras is lucid, continuous and brief. There are two parts in the grammar, one on kalavu (premarital or clandestine love), the other on karpu (conjugal love). There are 33 sūtras in the first portion and 27 in the second. More prominence is given to kalavu, and hence the work has also been called Kālavīyal. The entire text has thus 60 sūtras. The

† The age was now very different from the “bardic” age—Tamilnad went through a strong impact of Jaina and Buddhist moralizing, pessimistic trends, reflected in the didactic literature, and subsequently through the first impact of neo-Brahmanism reflected in early bākti texts like the Tirumurukāvṉuppattai and Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār’s poems.
THE THEORY OF "INTERIOR LANDSCAPE"

commentary is ascribed to Nakkirar, the son of the accountant of Maturai (Maturai kanakkāyānār makanār Nakkirar). It is the first and earliest of the great prose commentaries which occupy so prominent a place in the development of Tamil scholarship and prose. It begins with a lengthy and detailed account of the legend of the three Cankams, the story about Uruttura Cāman, and how the only true commentary to Iraiyaprā’s book was that of Nakkirar. It then relates how this urai was transmitted from Nakkirapār to his son Kirankorrapār etc. etc., until the ninth recipient of this oral transmission, a certain Muçiri Ācmyar Nilakantapār, put it into writing (innanam varukkāyatu urai) It would be very difficult, but probably possible to prove, that this Nakkirar and the Nakkirar who composed the very late lay “Guide to Lord Muruku”, were one and the same person. This hypothesis is supported by the analysis of the diction and style of this commentary, the prose is highly ornate and poetic, full of alliterations, similes and metaphors. The commentary contains many love poems (e.g. urai to ss 7, 9, 12) which it quotes as specimen, which have not survived in the anthologies. Both the text and the commentary contain an abundance of interesting sociological, psychological and physiological data (e.g. s 43, where the menstruation—pūppu—practices are discussed).

There are a number of Skt loans in the commentary (e.g. vārttīvā, pirāmanān, cuvarkkaṁ, caṇām, kaṇaracvāṁi, vācakām, kāraṇkāṇa etc.) Important is that the commentary quotes extensively (325 out of 350 stanzas) from a Pāntikkōvaī (author unknown), whose hero is Pāntiyṭaṉ Māraṇ (640-670 A.D.). These stanzas belong to the 7th-8th Cent., which shows that the lower limit for Nakkirar’s commentary is roughly 700 A.D. The upper limit would be perhaps 750-800. This does not refute the speculation that Nakkirar of TMK and Nakkirar the author of the commentary are identical.

Probably only slightly later than Iraiyaprār, the author of Kalavuyal, was the man responsible for the final version and reedition of the Tolkāppiyam (we very much doubt that it was “Tolkāppiyaprār” himself). It seems that the final and definitive version of the

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1 Cf. such passages as e.g. on s. 2 valum utar pisantu utar valarnu nir utar ut or utar perehu or utarātput pāl utar שלך utar pāl utarunm col utar karu palamattuvar pāyeyrun pānput pānput etc. This is very much the style of a late Tamil poet rather than of a medieval scholast who tended to be more simple and less verbose (cf. Ilampūrana’s style, who was, in “time-depth”, the very next commentator). The number of similes is staggering.
Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram occurred sometime during the second half of the 5th—first half of the 6th Century A.D.

The Porulatikāram deals with different literary compositions, their subject-matter and the conventions to be observed. The sūtras which form the basis of our present definitive text of the TP may have had once the function of a bardic grammar, "an aid to the instruction of young bards" (Kailasapathy), when bardic art was still alive. Later, when the bardic art was dead and became part of the classical heritage, Tolkāppiyam became the ultimate and essential authority since it "drew freely upon many predecessors whose works were probably widely in currency, and appears as a fully developed and definitive treatise" (Kailasapathy 49), different, in this respect, from the probably slightly earlier IA.

**CHART 6**

Porul  
(substance of poetry, subject-matter)

Akam or Akapporul  
Love

Puram or Purapporul  
Herosm

Well-matched  

Ill-matched  

Five Landscapes

peruntinas  
('The Major Type')  
mismatched

kakkkillos  
('The Base Relationship')  
unrequited

There are indications that the core-sūtras of the grammar were indeed intended for bardic instruction. So, e.g., the author refers to ten kinds of forbidden faults in literary compositions (TP 653 ff.) The very fact that TP contains material which at first sight might seem irrelevant to poetry (data on cosmoology, nature, flora, fauna etc., cf. with data on physiology, hygiene etc., in Iṟaṟaṟ's text), seems again to prove that the tradition contained in these sūtras was a teaching tradition bardic training stresses general knowledge, and has encyclopaedic character (Kailasapathy 51, Chadwick,
The classification and arrangement of the many poetic themes of love and heroism manifest unity and harmony, and in spite of some schematism, the author does not lose sight of the realities outside literature. This holds good even more of the Akapporul ascribed to Iraivanar.

*Purapporul venpā mālas*, "The garland of venpā (stanzas) on the subject-matter of heroism", is a grammatical treatise of uncertain date but obviously later than *TP*. It seems to be a derived work, probably an abridgement of the lost grammar called *Paparupalaiam* "The Book of Twelve Chapters". It is of utmost importance for the study of heroic poetry. It also seems to have preserved a tradition to some extent different from *Tolkāppiyam*. According to Kailasapathy (*op cit* p 53) it may reflect older traditions, going back to the time of the *TP* itself. It provides poems illustrating each theme, composed probably *ad hoc* for the treatise, but embodying early material. From this point of view, *PVM* is in some respects a literary work. Kailasapathy (*op cit* 53) quotes a few parallelisms between the illustrative stanzas in *PVM* and Puranāṇūru (*Pur* 290 = *PVM* v 19, *Pur* 292 = *PVM* v 32). The authorship is ascribed to Ayana Nirar of the royal Cerai family.

In conclusion it may be said that all the three works discussed are later than the erotic and heroic poems themselves, and evidently contain interpolations and later additions. However, "because they were committed to writing at relatively early date, and were perpetuated by a line of scholars who were also in possession of oral traditional material, they more often than not provide invaluable elucidations on the bardic poems, and have become in the course of time, part and parcel of the corpus itself" (Kailasapathy, *op cit* 54). It is especially the *Tolkāppiyam* which has become a kind of "universal grammar" for Tamil literature of all ages. The whole problem of *Tolkāppiyam*, its date, its structure etc will be discussed in detail later (cf. Chapter 9).

Now to the theory of literature as such. Chart No. 6 shows the basic division of the substance (*porul*) or subject-matter, of the content of poetry.

The entire subject-matter of poetry may be divided into two main genres: *akam* or *akapporul*, and *puram* or *purapporul*.

*akam* the meanings given in *DED* 8 are "inside, house, place, agricultural tract, breast, mind", it occurs in all SDr
languages + Tulu and Telugu This in itself should be rather relevant. In the cultural and literary spheres, it also means “inner life”, “private life” and, more specifically, “all aspects of love”, i.e. premarital, marital and extramarital love.

_puram_ in _DED_ 3554 we read “outside, exterior, that, which is foreign”, again, the conceit occurs in all SDr languages + Tulu and Telugu. In reference to literature it means “outward life, public life, political life” and more specifically “heroism, war”.

The fundamental features of the _akam_ genre, highly conventional poetry, the heroes should be and are fully _anonymous_¹ and _typified_, their number is limited to the hero, the heroine, the hero’s friend, usually his charioteer, the heroine’s friend, usually her foster-sister and/or maid, the heroine’s mother. Under _akam_ in its two basic divisions of _kalavu_ (pre-marital love) and _karpu_ (wedded and extramarital love), the classical Tamil poet succeeded to describe the _total erotic experience_ and the _total story of love of man as such_.

In contrast, the heroes of the _puram_ genre are frequently _individualized_ as _concrete, historical persons_ (kings, chieftains, the poet himself), the drama described is based often on a single, historical event. However, there is strict conventional framework for the heroic poems, too.

From the total corpus of classical Tamil poetry, about a quarter may be ascribed to _puram_, and about three quarters to the _akam_ genre.

_Love_ may be well-matched or ill-matched. Well-matched love is treated in poems describing a man’s and woman’s love-experience.

¹ According to _TP_, ss 54-5, in the five phases of _akam_, “no names of persons should be mentioned. Particular names are appropriate only in _puram_ poetry.” In this connection, cf W H Hudson, _An Introduction to the Study of Literature_, 2nd ed., London, 1946, p. 97: “The majority of world’s great lyrics owe their place in literature very largely to the fact that they embody what is typically human rather than what is merely individual and particular.” In this sense (and in a number of other features, e.g. the strict adherence to form, the elaborate system of conventions, the respect paid to the authority of literary precedent, etc.), “_Cankam_” poetry is directly opposed to Western romanticism, and should be rather judged and compared with the European Renaissance and the neo-classic (classicalist) ages. Cf M Manuel, “The Use of Literary Conventions in Tamil Classical Poetry”, _Proc of the 1 International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies_, Vol II 1969, 63-69.
against the background of the five basic physiographic regions, the
story of human love takes part in one of the five landscapes, known
technically as *aim* “five” + *tnai* “landscape” or *aimtnai*. To each
of these landscapes corresponds a particular phase of love

Ill-matched love is again of two basic kinds: unequal, inappropri-
ate or mismatched love or passion, technically known as *peruntnais* or
“The Major Type” (is it irony?) E.g., the poems under this head
deal with a man’s passion which has grown out of proportion, or
with a young man’s passion for a woman much older, or with
forced union due to unrestricted passion. It is the forced, loveless
relationship, partners come together for duty, convenience or lust.

The other major type of ill-matched love is one-sided, unre-
reciprocated passion, known as *kaikkilas*, i.e., “The Base Relation-
ship.” E.g., love between a man and a maid who, being too young and
unripe, does not know how to react to his feelings, his love becomes
unrequited.

These two types are common, vulgar, undignified or perverted
(though J. R. Marr thinks that these two aspects of love are put on
one side by the theorists “cavalierly,” *op cit* 1969), they are fit
only for servants. According to *TP* 25-26, and Ilampūranar’s
commentary, only free men can lead a happy life. Servants and
workmen are outside the five *akam*-types, for they cannot attain
wealth, virtue and happiness, they do not have the necessary
strength of character, they are moved only by passion and impulses.
Only the cultured and well-matched pair is capable of the full
range of love union before and after marriage, separation, anxiety
and patience, betrayal and forgiveness. The lovers should be well-
matched in lineage, conduct, will, age, beauty (or figure), passion,
humility, benevolence, intelligence, and wealth (*TP* 273).

The attitude of the theoreticians towards different types and
phases of love is neither purely descriptive nor fully normative
(prescriptive). It may be perhaps called “evaluative.”

According to some theoreticians, *akam* proper is divided along a
basic dichotomy between pre-marital union of lovers, termed
*kalavu*, lit “stealing, deceit”, and wedded, marital love, called
*karpur*, lit “chastity” (Chart 7). This binary division has been
elaborated especially in Irayanār’s *Akkapporu Kalavu*, pre-wedded
love, is treated in terms of the five landscapes, while the poems
coming under *karpur* describe marital and extramarital love,
including the separation (*pirvu*) of the husband and wife on
account of six different reasons pursuit of learning, pursuit of wealth, service of the king, being engaged in the protection of the country, being engaged in the diplomatic mission, especially in the appeasement of two unruly kings, and, finally, on account of indulging in harlotry. The author of Akapporul shows keen observation of human behaviour when describing what sort of men do leave their wedded wives; thus e.g. it is proper for the high-class men (according to the commentator, for the Brahmins and ksatriyas) to leave their wives because of the pursuit of learning (śal, learning and reciting the Vedas) and protecting the land (kāval), to serve the king and to gain wealth is proper for the merchants and peasants (vēḷālar), but to leave (temporarily of course) one's wife in order to indulge in harlotry is appropriate to all classes of men (IA s 40). Observe the fact that visiting harlots (parattai) comes only under the division of karpu or wedded love.

As Chart No. 8 shows, the universe is perceived (kāḷai) and conceived (karuttu) in terms of three basic categories—a space-time continuum which provides the basic background, the space and time coordinates of an event, this is termed mutal, lit “first, basic things”, fundamental aspect, the basic stratum. The time continuum is divided into perumpolutu or the major seasons of the year, and cirupolutu, lit “small time” i.e. the minor times of day and night. The space continuum, comprising the “five elements” of Indian
philosophy (earth, water, fire, wind and sky), is divided into the five physiographic regions, the five major landscapes in which the drama of love takes place. Each one of these landscapes corresponds to a phase of love: the hills are a proper setting for the union of lovers, the forest corresponds to patient waiting, the seashore to long and anxious waiting, the pasture lands provide a setting for treatment of infidelity, and the wasteland for a long separation.

The second major category is termed karu, lit “things born” or “native”, this provides a framework in terms of concrete representations of the five major themes (phases of love, physiographic regions). There is, first, the basic division into Gods and Nature. Nature is subdivided into Human and Non-human nature. Under human beings, the tribes and their chiefdoms are treated, and also the occupations, arts, ways of life, customs, musical instruments etc. Non-human nature is animate and manname the two main representatives of animate nature are birds and beasts, while under manname nature are described the typical trees, flowers, objects, forms of water (whether a mountain-rivulet, a broad river, the sea, ponds, waterfalls) etc.

Finally, the third major category is termed uru, lit the “proper, specific” aspect, that is the essence of poetry, this deals with the innermost psychological events, with the drama of human souls and hearts, this is the inner and external life, the behaviour of the heroes, their feelings, deeds and situations.

We will deal in some detail with the three categories of mutal, karu and uru. The first division of the space-time continuum, as just indicated, concerns the appropriate time of an event.

There are six seasons, six major times of the year

1 kār or the rainy season (approx August-September),
2 kūrū or Winter (October-November),
3 mūŋau or “early dew”, (December-January),
4 pūŋau or “late dew”, (February-March),
5 riavēnul or the season of “young warmth” (April-May),
6 muturēnul or the season of “ripe heat” (June-July).

There are also six minor times of day and night (six by four hours) dawn, sunrise, midday, sunset, midnight, dead of night. These categories provide for the space-time coordinates of an event of love. Chart 9 gives the phases of love corresponding to the six types of landscape union of lovers and immediate consummation corre-
sponds to the hills, domestic life and patient waiting of the wife is described under *mullai* or forest (and pastures), anxiety and impatient waiting under *neytal* or seashore, infidelity of the man under *marutam* or agricultural tracts, and elopement and separation under *pālai* or wasteland.

As we may see, considering both *kalavu* and *karpu*, pre-marital and wedded (plus extramarital) love, and both well-matched and ill-matched union, the theory provides for a minute description of the entire gamut of human erotic experience, for the total love-experience of man and woman. This I think is very unique and extremely interesting. A pertinent question may be asked at this point what about the corpus of the texts themselves? Did they really describe all these situations? The answer—probably surprisingly—is positive. Indeed they did.

There was probably an evolution in this literature. It seems that the oldest poems could be classed under *kurvēci* and *pālai*, i.e., dealing with the immediate erotic union and with the elopement of the girl, while the two *tinais* dealing with ill-matched union seem to be later additions not additions of the theoreticians, though, in search of pedantic completion, but the texts themselves, dealing with these aspects of human love, seem to be later, as we shall see.

The earliest, most comprehensive and elegant description of these concrete representations of the five *tinais* is given by Nakquirar in his Commentary on just two words of the 1st sûram of Iṟaiyāṇar’s *Akapporul* (*anṟu anţina* “the five situations of love”). He bases...
his *exposé* on tradition and on the *TP* which he quotes whenever necessary. After an engaging and charming discussion of what is *ānpu* "love" (ed 1939, pp 18-20), Nakkitar asks "What does *antinai* mean?" And his answer to this question is a brilliant treatment of the theory of the five physiographic regions and the five basic love-situations.

First he gives the five terms in the order *kuruṇci*, *neytal*, *pālar*, *mullai*, *marutam* (quoting *TP* 3), he adds at once that these five are discussed in terms of *mutal*, *karu* and *uru* *Mutarpam* is of two kinds place and time (*TP* 4). According to Nakkitar, however, *pālar* or the "separation" situation has no proper place (*mlam*) corresponding to it. Presenting the *mutal* once more schematically and in accordance with Nakkitar, we get the following charts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>pālar</em></th>
<th><em>antinai</em></th>
<th>the other four <em>tnais</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- &quot;place&quot;</td>
<td>+ &quot;place&quot;</td>
<td>+ &quot;time&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ &quot;time&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>tnai</em> &quot;situation&quot;</th>
<th><em>place</em></th>
<th><em>time</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pālar</em></td>
<td>noon, hot season, also &quot;late dew&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuruṇci</em></td>
<td>mountainous region</td>
<td>dead of night, cold season, also &quot;early dew&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>neytal</em></td>
<td>sea-shore</td>
<td>sunrise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mullai</em></td>
<td>forest</td>
<td>ṭainy season, evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>marutam</em></td>
<td>cultivated fields</td>
<td>dawn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For confirmation, Nakkitar quotes *TP* 5-10 and adds that all the six seasons of the year must be appropriate to *marutam* and *neytal*, since no particular seasons are mentioned.

Nakkitar gives then a detailed list of concrete natural representations (*karu*) *Karu*, he says (quoting *TP* 18 as authority), is "god, food, beast, tree, bird, drum, occupation, lyre and other items".

Ideally, the *kuruṇci* or mountainous region has Murukavel as its god, its food is the five varieties of paddy and millet, the beasts are the tiger (panther), wild hog and elephant, the trees eagle-wood, ebony, *Pterocarpus marsupium*, teak and the kino tree, typical birds are the parrot and the peacock, drums of three kinds *vessorāt-tuppārās* (drums used by Murukai’s priests), large drums (*tonikam*) and *kurava* (hunters’ drums). Typical activity of the inhabitants gathering honey, digging up edible roots, dancing and/or wandering about the hills, and driving away parrots from millet-fields. The
particular lyre (or harp), yāl, is called “mountain-lyre”. Under “other items”, Nakkirar understands the name of the hero,\(^1\) in our case cilampan, verpan, poruppan,\(^2\) the name of the heroine, kotucci or kuratti,\(^3\) the typical waters—water-falls and mountain springs, human settlements small hamlets and kurucci (“village”, DED 1534) Flowers conehead (kurunici, Strobilanthes), glory lily (Gloriosa superba), kino (Terminalia tomentosa) and water-lily (Pontederia), and, finally, the name of the people is kuravar, varular, kuravar\(^4\) In the sea-shore regions, neythal, Varuna is the patron-deity, for livelihood, people sell fish and salt, typical beasts are the shark and the crocodile, trees mast-wood and Cassia sophora, as birds, Nakkirar gives the swan, the aηuṟ (= cakrawāka) and makayrīl (? a water-bird), as drum, “the drum of fish-caught”, and “the boat-drum” The inhabitants are engaged in selling fish and salt, and in production of salt The lyre is called nilañ (?“youth”) The names of the hero are turavan, konkay, cēṟṟay,\(^5\) of the heroine, nulaссi and parattu,\(^6\) the characteristic waters are the sand-well and brackish marshes, the flowers white-petalled fragrant screwpine (Pandanus odoratissimus) and white water-lily (Nymphaea lotus alba), as the typical settlements, the commentary gives pattunam\(^7\) (“maritime town, harbour-town”) where “ships enter”, small hamlets and pākkam,\(^8\) the name of the people is parattar\(^9\) (fem parattiyar) and nulayyar (fem nulaссiyar)

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\(^1\) The literary hero is called kilavōn, hit “old man” (DED 1315), also “headman, chief” or talawav (DED 2529) “chief, headman, lord”, the heroine kilavon, kilavoli or talawvi

\(^2\) cilampan (? < Skt or Pkt) “hillman, chief of the hill tribe”, poruppan “chief of the hill-tribe”, verpan “id”

\(^3\) kotucci (? DED 1704) “woman of the hill-tribe”, kuratti (cf DED 1530 for Dr cognates) “woman of the hill-tribe, woman of the Kuvava tribe”

\(^4\) kuravar (DED 1530), kuravar (DED 1548) “hillmen, mountaineers”, varular (DED 442) “hill tribes”

\(^5\) turavan “he of the haiboun, lord of the harbour” (DED 2773), konkay hit “husband, man”, cēṟṟay (cf cēṟru “sea-coast”) “he of the sea-coast, chief of the sea-coast”

\(^6\) nulas “fishermen-tribe, fishermen-caste”, nulaссi “she of the fishermen-tribe”, parattu “id”

\(^7\) E.g Kāṉṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ-refreshingly

\(^8\) DED 3332 “seaside village, town, village” Preserved in the modern names of several quarters of Madras (Kilpākkam = Kilpauk, Nungambakkam etc.)

\(^9\) Cf DED 3263 ? Skt bharata- “barbarian” To this day, the fishermen of Madras sea-coast are called Paratar
Pālai, "waste-land" according to Tolk, there is no deity to pālai, "since there is no mlam (pālai is a 'situation', not a 'place')", but others give Bhagavati (Durgā) and Āditya (Sun-god) Food whatever was gained by high-way robbery and plundering Beasts emaciated elephant, panther, wild dog (Camis dukturasis), trees mahua (Bassia longfolia) and ēmav "the tooth-brush tree", birds vulture, kite and pigeon Occupation highway robbery, murder, stealing Melody type curam The term used for the hero nīka "warrior" (lit "the strong one, the valiant man, the fighter", used also for the God of Death), vītalai "young hero" (lit "young bull"), kālai "warrior" (or "bull, steer")? The heroine is called eynī "woman of the Eynī tribe" or pētai "the naive one" (lit "girl between 5 and 7 years of age", "simple woman") Flowers kurā (Verberia corymbosa), marā (Barringtonia acutangula or Anthocepha- lus cadamba), trumpet-flower (Stereospermum chelonoides, suaveolens, xylocarpum) Waters dry wells, dry ponds The name of the inhabi-tants is eynī (fem eynīayā) and marav (fem maravīayā) The villages are called kolkurumpu 2

The god of mullai "forest" is Vāsudeva, the food—common millet (varaku) and cāma (?), typical beasts—hare and small deer, trees kongrī ( Cassia fistula) and kuruntu (wild lime, Atalata), birds jungle-fowl, peacock, partridge Drums "bull-taking drum" and the muracu Activities of the people weeding of millet-fields, harvesting of millet, threshing of millet, grazing of cow-herds, "taking of bulls" The melody-type mullai The name of the hero is the "lord (or inhabitant) of the land of low hills" (kurumporani–tai) The name of the heroine—kīlattu (lit "mistress (of the house)"

and mavan "house-wife" Flower jasmine (Jasminum sambac, mullai) and Malabar glory lily (Gloriosa superba, tōrrī) Waters forest-river Settlements pāti "town, city, hamlet, pastoral village" (DED 3347) and cēri "town, village, hamlet" (DED 1669) The name of the people itavayā (fem itavāciyā) and āvar (fem āvcci-}

1 Connected for sure with DED 601 ey "to discharge arrows, n arrow", eynī "arrow-men, hunters" Maravār (cf DED 3000 māram "valour, anger, war, killing") "hunters, people of Marava caste", they were a rather prominent community in historical times in Tamilnad The caste exists until today, chiefly in South-East Tamilnad (Ramnad)

2 Connected prob with DED 1542 "stronghold, fort" or DED 1541 "battle, war", and with DED 1772 "killing"

3 Itayā (DED 382) "the herdsman caste" āyar DED 283, āy "the cowherd caste", ā "female of ox, sambur and buffalo"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Myanmar</th>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place Name</strong> (= name of region and poetic theme)</td>
<td>kuriye</td>
<td>mulla</td>
<td>marutam</td>
<td>neyal</td>
<td>pālai</td>
<td>wasteland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landscape</strong></td>
<td>mountains</td>
<td>forest, pasture</td>
<td>cultivated countryside</td>
<td>seashore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Season</strong></td>
<td>cold season, early frost</td>
<td>rainy season</td>
<td>all seasons</td>
<td>all seasons</td>
<td></td>
<td>summer, late dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td>night</td>
<td>evening</td>
<td>dawn</td>
<td>sunrise</td>
<td>mudday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hero</strong></td>
<td>poruppa, verpa</td>
<td>nāya</td>
<td>mākāṇ</td>
<td>viral</td>
<td>kālai, mili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Heroine</strong></td>
<td>kuriye, kōtice</td>
<td>māyana, kīlatt</td>
<td>kīlatt, māyana</td>
<td>mūla, pārati</td>
<td>ēri, māyana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>People</strong></td>
<td>kuriye, kāyvar</td>
<td>tātār, āyā</td>
<td>uḷavara, kātāray</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td>guarding millet fields, honey-gathering</td>
<td>pastoral occupation, fieldwork</td>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>drying fish, selling salt</td>
<td>wayfarers, robbery, fighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pastimes</strong></td>
<td>bathing in waterfalls</td>
<td>bull-fight, kurvān dance</td>
<td>bathing in ponds, festivals, aits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Settlements</strong></td>
<td>ceyrū, ceeykutty</td>
<td>ceyrū, pātī</td>
<td>pērū, mūlitā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waters</strong></td>
<td>water-fall, hill-pond</td>
<td>pond, rivulet</td>
<td>river, pool, well</td>
<td>well, sea, salt-marshes</td>
<td>waterless well, stagnant water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beasts</strong></td>
<td>monkey, tiger, bear, elephant</td>
<td>deer, hare</td>
<td>buffalo, freshwater fish, otter</td>
<td>crocodile, shark</td>
<td>wild dog, tiger, lizard, elephant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birds</strong></td>
<td>peacock, parrot</td>
<td>jungle hen, sparrow</td>
<td>heron, stork, swan</td>
<td>sea-gull, marine crow</td>
<td>dove, eagle, kite, hawk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trees</strong></td>
<td>teak, sandal, bamboo, jack</td>
<td>kárya, waterlily, rātā, kāntāl, pitaam</td>
<td>mango, lotus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food</strong></td>
<td>millet, mountain-rice</td>
<td>varāku, tīwārā</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>desert-lute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrument</strong></td>
<td>tontaka-drum, mountain-lute</td>
<td>ērī-drums, field-lute</td>
<td>manu-drum, kīnā, muniakam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Melody-type</strong></td>
<td>kuriye</td>
<td>caāri</td>
<td>marutappa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>God</strong></td>
<td>Murukan</td>
<td>Māyōg (Tirumāl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note** kuriye coneehead, Strobilanthes, various S and Barleria species, said to grow at an altitude of 6000 ft and flower only once in 12 years, flower is bluish mulla jasmine sambac, Arabian jasmine marutam, Terminalia tomentosa neyal white Indian water-lily, Nymphaea alba, blue nelumbo pālai silvery-leaved ape-flower, Mimusops kauki, grows in barren tracts, is evergreen, blossoms small, white
The god of marutam, cultivated fields, is Indra, for food, the people have rice (cultivating paddy of the two varieties, connel and vennel), typical beasts are the buffalo and the otter, trees rattan (Calamus rotang), strychnine tree (Strychnos nux vomica) and maruthu (Terminalia tomentosa) Birds duck, heron Drums are called manamulavu and nellat kinas. Occupation of the people cultivating paddy The lyre is called simply maruta lyre The names of the hero are úran (lit "villager, inhabitant of village, town") and makinray ("husband, chief of agricultural tract, lord", DED 3768) The heroine is called hilatti or mahavi "house-wife" Flowers Lotus and red water-lily Waters wells in the houses, ponds and rivers Settlements are termed pērū, lit "big village, big town" The name of the inhabitants katarivar (fem katasicciyar), ulavar (fem ulattiyar)

Chart 10 shows the various representations, the attributes of the five tinass, the elements of the karu-strata, how they are usually found in the texts

Nakkirar turns then his attention (pp 24-25 ed cit) to the uripporul, and, quoting TP 14, makes the following statement (cf Chart 9) sexual union (of lovers), punartial, is the kartvica-phase (situation), separation, pirital, is the pālai-phase, waiting, truttial, is the mullai-phase, anxiety, vrunkal, is the neytal-phase, sulking, ittal, is the marutam-phase

At the end of his discussion Nakkirar refutes the one-sided conception of tinai as either "region" (milam) or "situation" (olukkam, lit "conventional rules of conduct"), tinai is not "either or" but "both", Nakkirar says it quite explicitly tinai is both region and situation, "like the spot on which the light (cutar) of a vilakku "lamp" falls, is also called vilakku "light" (cf DED 4524 vilakku "lamp, light")

It is obvious that not all clues of the karu-strata occur in a poem They never occur in totality, they never could occur But at least some of these characteristic representations, of these typical, diagnostic attributes do always occur These clues are sometimes a part of the technique of "suggestion" called vraoci, and of the

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1 manamulavu, lit "marriage-drum", nellat kinas, lit prob "paddy-harvesting small drum"

2 DED 929 katarivar "men of the lowest caste or status", ulavar (DED 592 ulu "to plough") "ploughmen, agriculturalists"
“implied smile” or “implied metaphor”, termed *ulluras uvamam* (cf *TP 242 ff*)

*raccchi* (cf *TP 229*), occurring usually, but not always, in the utterances of the heroine and of the heroine’s friend is “suggestion”, “implication” through the description of a natural phenomenon or event Closely related but not identical is *ulluras uvamam* or “implied metaphor” objects of nature and their actions stand for the hero, the heroine and other humans and their actions Nature is described and the listener (reader) should understand the implications of such natural descriptions e.g. a buffalo treading on a lotus and feeding on tiny flowers implies the unfaithful lover who leaves the heroine and makes her suffer (“lotus”) while he “feeds” on harlots (“tiny flowers”) A heron eyeing the āral-fish, its prey (*Kur 25*), stands for the lover who “takes” the heroine The strongly erotic, even sexual imagery in *Kur 131* (the impatient hero = ploughman with his single plough “in haste to plough his vast virgn land fresh with the rams”, which symbolizes the woman) is quite obvious In *Kur 40* there is a sexual image which is a perfect *ulluras uvamam* “waters of rain pouring down on red soil” (the hot, parched red soil waiting for rams stands quite obviously for the woman, while pouring rain symbolizes the man)

For *raccchi* or “suggestion” cf e.g *Akam 360* therein, the hero comes to visit the woman frequently at daytime, and she requests him to come during nights she describes the front yard of the house, adorned by *punna* trees with fragrant blossoms, and by palmyras with the nest of *ayril (= cakravāka*) birds The “suggestion” according to the commentary is that at night the *ayril* birds, being close to the house, keep the woman awake by their heart-rending cries, and she longs for her lover’s company, a “secondary” suggestion is involved the urge on him to marry her as soon as possible

(’In terms of sociological and psychological observations, one should probably stress the following facts First of all, the heroes of these love-poems were by no means monogamous This was almost taken for granted Harlots, concubines and prostitutes play quite an important part in this literature the marutam theme abounds in harlotry Second it is interesting, that out of the

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five major themes, actually four deal in this or that form with waiting, the two *tinais* appropriate for waiting *par excellence* are *mular*—patient waiting—and *neyal*—long and anxious waiting for the hero to return. But *pūlār*, wasteland, also deals with waiting and separation (apart from elopement), and so does *marutam* here the wife is waiting till the debauchee returns from the harlot. Finally (the *kuriṇī* theme might be considered as an echo of the primitive, tribal, pre-nuptial promiscuity).

The second genre—*puram*—has, of course, its conventions, too. It also has its basic division into poetic situation and into *themes*. In dealing with the *akam* genre, we discussed the concepts of the *porul* or poetic content, *subject matter*, and the *tinais* which may probably be translated best as the poetic *situation*. In a detailed discussion of the *puram* genre, yet another term must be introduced *turas* or *themē*

It was stressed right at the beginning that all subject-matter of literature dealt either with emotional situations of love or with other situations than those of love, primarily with heroic situations. From chart 11 one sees clearly that there is an intimate connection between both genres, *akam* and *puram*, that, behind both, there is a *unified perception and conception of the universe*. I cannot agree with J. R. Marr's (*op cit* p. 44) and Kailasapathy's criticism (*op cit* p. 189) that the pairing of love and heroic situations appears artificial. Rather, I would tend to agree with the medieval commentators like Naccipārkkhuyar who seem to have intuitively felt that there had existed a basic homogeneous and uniform conceptual pattern behind the classification of human situations into the two basic genres. According to Naccipārkkhuyar (*TP* 56), *akam* and *puram* are like the inner palm of the hand and its back.

The heroic situations are, too, described under 5 *tinais*.

1 *vēṭci*(*tinaś*) is the prelude to war: this is the cattle-rand. The features which this situation has in common with its *akam*-counterpart, *kuriṇī*, are the time month, the place a mountain-forest, and the fact that it is a clandestine affair, just like *punartal* or sexual union of lovers before marriage.

2 *vaṇci* is the preparation for war and the beginning of the invasion. Common features with its *akam*-counterpart, *mular* both take place in the rainy season and in the forest, both describe the separation from loved ones, and wifely patience, *vrittal*.
## CHART II

*Akam*-Puram Correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akam</th>
<th>Uṛi</th>
<th>Puram</th>
<th>Uṛi</th>
<th>Features common to both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kurūci</td>
<td>vēcī</td>
<td>cattle-lifting,</td>
<td>nighttime, hillside, clandestine affair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(first) union of</td>
<td></td>
<td>prelude to war</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lovers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mūlai</td>
<td>vaṇci</td>
<td>preparation for</td>
<td>forest in the rainy season, separation from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>separation (patient</td>
<td></td>
<td>war</td>
<td>beloved ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waiting)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>marutam</td>
<td>uṭāṇai</td>
<td>siege</td>
<td>fertile area (village, town), at dawn,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>infidelity, conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>refusing entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>neytaḷ</td>
<td>tumpīṇai</td>
<td>battle</td>
<td>seashore in <em>akam</em> = open battleground in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>separation (anxious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>puram</em>, no particular season, evening, grief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waiting)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pāḷai</td>
<td>vākai</td>
<td>victory, an</td>
<td>praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elopement, search for</td>
<td></td>
<td>achievement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eloped girl, search</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for wealth and fame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pēruṁṇai</td>
<td>kāṇci</td>
<td>struggle for</td>
<td>no landscape, struggle, defeat, note of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mismatched love</td>
<td></td>
<td>excellence, endurance</td>
<td>sadness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kā́tikāḷai</td>
<td>pātāṇ</td>
<td>elegy, asking for</td>
<td>no landscape, one-sided relationship, note of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unrequited love</td>
<td></td>
<td>gifts, praise</td>
<td>sadness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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THE THEORY OF "INTERIOR LANDSCAPE"
3 *ulīṇai* describes the siege of a settlement or fortress, like *marutam*, it takes place in an inhabited, fertile area (city etc.) at dawn, the infidelity results in *akam* in *ūtal*, wifely sulking, and —both in love and war— in “refusing entry” (A. K. Ramanujan).

4 *tumpai* or pitched battle corresponds to *neytal* in *akam* in both, there is anxiety, separation of wives from the heroes, the *akam* situation is set on the open sea-shore, the heroic situation, in the open battleground, evening and grief (*vankal*) are common to both.

5 *vāka* describes victory, the ideals of achievement its counterpart in the *akam* genre is *pālai*, both have in common the achievement of the hero in one, the abduction and possession of the woman, or the search for wealth and fame, in the other, achieving wealth and fame in victory after long separation from the wife (*pintal*) in war.

In both categories, there are two situations which are not specifically related to any type of landscape, both are not supposed to be ideal topics for poets, both are considered to be so to say “abnormalities” in love-situation as well as in war-situation.

6 *kānci* in the *putam* genre describes struggle for excellence, endurance, but also the feeling of transience of the world and defeat, death, in the *akam* genre, this corresponds to the *perintinai*, struggle and defeat in the mismatched love.

7 *pālu* is praise, or elegy, as well as asking for gifts in the heroic genre, this corresponds to *kaikkilai*, unreciprocated love, in *akam*, both have in common e.g. a one-sided relationship, a note of sadness etc.

(Thus, for the old Tamil classical poet, there were fourteen basic human situations, suitable for poetic treatment, which were based on a unified conception of the universe, which comprised both the “numenon” and the “phenomenon”, and which, using the principle of economy and the technique of concentration, reflected the entire scale and spectre of human experience.

As may be seen from chart 12, the later “grammar of heroic poetry”, *Purapporulvenpāmalai*, follows a different and more elaborate scheme when compared to *Tolk Porul*. It enumerates twelve non-love situations in contrast to seven listed in *TP*. In this
THE THEORY OF "INTERIOR LANDSCAPE"

CHART 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of themes</th>
<th>Number of themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tolkāppiyam</strong> (tūrai)</td>
<td><strong>Pyapporul Venpā Mālai</strong> (tūrai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 vetā</td>
<td>20 vetā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 vetā</td>
<td>21 karantai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 vaṅci</td>
<td>21 vaṅci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 uṣīnai</td>
<td>8 uṣīnai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 uṣīnai</td>
<td>12 nocei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tumrāi</td>
<td>12 tumrāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 vāhāi</td>
<td>18 vāhāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kāṅci</td>
<td>20 kāṅci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 pātān</td>
<td>20 pātān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>48 potuvyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List are included the two abnormal love-situations, so that, essentially, there are to heroic situations according to PVM. The number of themes is also higher in PVM than in TP, as one would naturally expect.

The word for theme, tūrai, means lit “place, location, way, section, seaport, roadstead, frequented place” etc (DED 2773). According to Pērācchirayar’s commentary, porul or “general subject-matter” includes all subject-matter created by poets while tūrai has a limited range and scope, being part and a section of porul, according to Ilampūranar, the best commentator on Tolk (Porul s 510), the description in a poem of people, animals, birds, trees, land, water, fire, air etc., that is pertinent to the seven major situations of love (akam tūrai) and the seven major situations of heroism (puram tūrai) should be in harmony and never contrary to tradition and convention, a clear and excellent exposition of such matters in a poem is called tūrai. Naccmārkkmāryar says, using metaphor and analogy, that all sorts of matter become unified in the theme just like men, beasts and other beings drink water together from a river ghat (Tolk Porul s 56). According to Kailasapathy (op cit 192), tūrai is the thematic clarity and unity in a poem it should be specific and traditional - the definite theme in traditional
poetry And to the bards of the period, "the composition of a poem was equivalent to the composition of a theme" (192)

How does the "theme" work in the corpus of texts?²

Let us take, as an example, the very first poem of Puranāṇīru (designated as Pur 2 since Pur 1 is the invocatory stanza) The colophon says "tina (poetic situation) pāṭān "praise", turai (theme) ceemoryurūru "god counsel", vāltilvulamūm "or praise of qualities" sung by Mutimakañär of Muruñciyar about Cerad king Utiryan of Grand Feast" Now in all the collections of bardic heroic poems that have reached us, each poem has a colophon which gives the situation (tina) and theme (turai) The entire corpus of bardic poetry seems to have been composed on the basis of definite themes From the colophon quoted above we see that the tina, the "situation" gives the more general, the major category, in this case, of pāṭān or "praise", the turai or "theme" gives the minor, the more specific category in this case a bard "counselling" a king on good conduct There are eight poems treating the same turai, theme, by eight bards, in the collection of Puram Poems on love, akam, have, too, colophons with various degree of amount of information Thus e.g in Kuruntokai the first poem, which belongs to the kurvācittina, has the following colophon "tōr kasyurai maruttatu, 'the maid's rejection of a present' Tipputtōlār (name of the poet)" "The maid's rejection of a present" may be considered a theme, turai

This is not the place to give an exhaustive catalogue of all puram and akam themes But some of them may be mentioned, to show how variegated and detailed the scale of experience, treated in those poems, indeed was Here are some puram themes

nātu vālلت "blessing the country" in praise of the wealth and beauty of the land of the hero, e.g.; Patirrup 30

tumpāsvaravam "bustle of war" a king distributing rewards to his soldiers after a victorious battle, e.g Patirrup 34, 85

kālici vālلت "praise of a sight" describes the reaction of seeing a great hero and a hero-stone (vīakkal), e.g Patirrup 41, 54, 61, 82, 90

olvamāla warriors brandishing swords the king, swinging shining blade, is joined in dance by warriors wearing anklets, cf Patirrup 56
kuravar nilai  kuravas dance of women, women joining warriors, holding hands, celebrating hero’s victory by dance

paricīvitaś  “munificence” a king bestowing gifts on his bards, e.g. Pur 140, 152, 162, 397, 399

netumoli “vow” describes the vow of a warrior, cf Pur 298

ānantap pariyul theme describing the distress of a wife on her husband’s bereavement, e.g. Pur 228-9, 246-7, 280

Our choice of akam themes must of necessity be equally brief e.g.

“What the heroine said to her heart so that the companion heard it”, e.g. Kur 11

“What the heroine said to her friend who was distressed thinking that she (the heroine) will be unable to bear it” e.g. Kur 12, and its sub-theme

“What the heroine said to the friend who was in distress thinking that she will not endure the separation” (e.g Kur 4, 5)

“The promise of the friend to the heroine broken by the separation” (Kur 59)

“The speech of the hero to the friend” (e.g. Kur 136, 250)

“The fear of separation, expressed by the hero after sexual union” (e.g. Kur 137)

“The friend refuses entry to the hero” (Kur 258)

“The speech of the mother after the elopement of the daughter” (e.g. Kur 396)

One concluding remark on the technique of description: The two typical features of the descriptive technique employed by early Tamil classical poets are terseness and concentration. The descriptions are intensive, never extensive, acute, accurate and sharp, never elaborate and full, never “from head to foot”. This technique gives no room for exaggeration, so typical of Sanskrit kāvya poetry, and of later, medieval Tamil literature. The poets take their inspiration straight from nature and experience, in a way, they creatively copy nature and ḫā. This means that they do not

1 Cf. the medieval Tamil term kēcāt pāta varunayat “description from head to foot”
use foreign, borrowed imagery. The matter employed in descriptions is traditional and conventionalized (cf. next chapter for the detailed treatment of this feature). And, finally, there is usually a perfect harmony of content and its formal expression. M. Varadarajan quotes, ¹ as an example of a typical early classical description, Puram 334 2 a hare is pictured as tūmayrīk kuṟṟatā netuṇcevāk kuṟṟumuyāl “small (young) hare with pure fur, short legs and long ears.” The poet (Maturai Tamulakkuttaṉār) has succeeded, using three simple adjectives and three simple nouns, to convey the picture of a hare in terms of the animal’s most typical features (so to say the essence and idea of „hareness”), it is simple and perfect, in one word, classical.

The technique of allegory (ullurai uvamam) and especially the use of suggestion (iracći), comparable to the Skt. vyañjanā, vyangya- and termed utānurāi by Tolk (5 1188) has reached its perfection in a number of stanzas where in fact at least three layers of meaning may be distinguished by a true connoisseur of sophisticated poetry. Thus a charming and seemingly simple stanza (tanippal) beginning in Ta. ellā uṭukkān says

Look
there
my lord
near that lovely pond
with its broad green lotus leaves
the heron
motionless and without fear
stands shining
like a white and golden
conch

Thus stanza, a simple picture of a quiet scene, has three layers of meaning. The first “obvious” meaning “on the surface” (corporul) is the one given in the inadequate translation above. However, the meaning of the crucial phrase, “the heron, standing motionless and without fear”, expands and transcends the obvious, because the pivotal expression in the poem, tulakkamīl, “without agitation, fear and motion”, conveys a suggestion, an implication (kurippu) deriving from the “obvious” meaning “there are no people at that place, it is deserted” This kurippu, however, is the source of yet another expansion, into a further layer of meaning, an inference, a suggestion.

¹ in “Literary Theories in Early Tamil—Ettuttokai”, pp 52–53
(kurippu₂), a hint to the lover since the place is quiet and deserted, it is an ideal spot for love-making (punarcesi), so, let us go and make love. This, at least, is what the commentator and the scholast has to say about the text, and we are fully entitled to agree that the implication and inference is not "read into" the stanza ex post but fully intended by the poet, since it follows certain patterns of convention, and since there is a unanimous and traditional agreement in its interpretation.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THEMES, MOTIVES, FORMULAE

K Kailasapathy has shown, in his excellent book Tamil Heroic Poetry (1968), that the most important structural element in the Tamil classical (heroic and erotic) poem was the *formula*¹ The oral bard, reciting his themes, had to work rather fast in the midst of an enthusiastic, thrilled and demanding audience, he could hardly hold his audience in permanent attention. That is why the formulae had so great functional value for both the audience and the minstrels (Kailasapathy, *op cit* p 138)

Kailasapathy quotes a number of formulae occurring again and again in the classical corpus of the poems, e.g. *naṇantalar yulakam* (metric pattern = / = —) "wide-placed world", cf *Pur* 221 II, *Patr* 63 18, *Kālt* 6 3, *Mulasū* 1, or *cīvakanyāṇa* "the small-eyed elephant" (metric pattern = —/ — —), occurring in *Āk* 314 3, 327 2, 24 13, 179 4, *Nār* 232 1, *Pur* 6 13, 316 12, 395 18 etc.

Some formulae show absolutely identical structure and exponents, save for one "synonym" used for another, like in *aravu vekuntāṇṇa tēral* (*Pur* 376 14) *pāmpu vekuntāṇṇa tēral* (Cเยรุปān 237) "toddy that stupefies like (poison of) the snake"

¹ Apart from such formulae, occurring in the midst of the text, there are many set beginnings and endings of poems, e.g. "I laugh whenever I think of it" (*Nār* 110 1, 107 1) or *amma vāhi tōhi* "Listen, o friend" (*Kyr* 77 1, 134 1, 146 1 etc.)

To Kailasapathy’s rich material, contained on pp 147-170 of his book, I should like to add the following *akam* examples based on one collection of poems, the *Kuruntokai* (to show that Kailasapathy’s conclusions concerning the occurrence and function of formulae in Tamil bardic poetry are generally valid for the whole corpus, for the erotic genre as well as for the heroic) The formulae can be just simple attribute-head constructions, like e.g. *val vil* "mighty bow", in *Kyr* 100 5, *Aīnk* 373 5, 390 3, *Kālt* 7 6, 104 58, *Āk* 120 12, 152 15, 281 5, *Pur* 150 7, 152 6 etc., or *karunkāl vēnkai* "black-

¹ A recurrent element in narration or description, restricted by metrical considerations, as a rule an exact repetition "of a group of words expressing a given essential idea" (K Kailasapathy, M Parry)
stemmed vēnkai”, in Kur 26 i, 47 i, 343 5, Nar 151 8-9, 168 i, 257 5, Aink 219 1, or talayam yaikul “the venus’ mound, adorned by leaf-garment” in Kur 172 2, 195 2, 391 6, cf Tolk Kalavu 23. Naccipārkh comm, or netu mey panait tōl “large, soft, broad shoulders” in Kur 185 2, 268 6

Quite frequently such simple formulae reappear in slight variation either the order of the words is changed, or the exponents are substituted for each other, cf arunikan mukai (Kur 95 1-2), lit “waterfall(s)—rock(s)—cave” karṅmukai aruv (Pur 147 1), lit “rock(s)—cave(s)—waterfall(s)”

More or less elaborate similes enter very often into the stock of the formulae, like pāppōlūnkan “darkened eyes similar to blossoms” in Kur 101 4, Nar 20 6, 325 7, Aink 16 4, 101 4, Mulliap 23, cf malaiērnukan “id” in Kur 377 1. This utterance actually forms the first half of a verse (Kur 101 4) which is composed of a double formula (the prosodic shape of the line is — — / — — / — — / — — / — — ) pāppōlūnkan ponēr mēn, the second formula, which means “gold-like figure”, reappears in Kur 319 6 (ponēr mēn) and in Nar 10 2, Aink 230 4, Ak 212 1-2

The fact that the formulae are often metrically equivalent means that they are structurally interchangeable. Thus e.g. a formula like ulli nullam vēmek (Kur 102 1) “when (I) think (on it, my) heart burns”, can be readily substituted for ulli yūmmēy malκum (Kur 150 4) “when (I) think (on it), the heart-ache grows” both have identical prosodic pattern (— — / — — / — —)

The substitution of larger or smaller portions, or of entire formulae, and the variation which thus arises, play an all-important role in the bard’s skill of improvisation

K. Kailasapathy quotes a number of such cases, some formulae show absolutely identical structure and exponents save for one synonym used for another, like in Kailasapathy’s quoted example Pur 376 14 Cīrppān 237, cf a similar case from my maternal pacu ven tinkal (Kur 129 4) pacu ven m-learning (vb 359 2, Nar 196 2) “young/green/white moon”

Sometimes, though, the underlying formula is changed to such an extent that we should rather talk of variation, as in Kailasapathy’s examples “the ships come with gold and return with pepper” (Ak 149 10) and “the waves come with shrimps and recede with garlands” (Ak 123 12)

A formula may sometimes be followed through whole centuries of
literary texts of this nature is, for instance, a beautiful metaphor which has its origin probably in Kuruntokai 91.5 māri van kai “the strong hand of the monsoon-rain” may be recognized in Cīrūpani 124 peyān malai talaat kai “the strong hand of the great rain”, in Maturak 442 (vāya van kai), in citations in commentaries (Tolk Uvam 11 and 14, Pērācintyar’s comm, cf also Pur 54 6-7), and even in such medieval texts like Cīvakacintāmaṇi 2779 (malai talīya karyāy) Or, the formula ulhi yullam vēmē (Kur 102.1, and elsewhere) reappears in Tirukkurai 1207 ulūnu mullaṅ cutum and much later in Kampan’s Rām Tātakar 5 (karutiy vēm ullamum)

Some of the formulæ seem to be echoes of colloquial utterances, like yān evan ceykō “what should I do?” (Kur 25 2, 96 2, Āṅk 154 4) or utukkān “there, look” (Kur 191 1, 81 11 Āṅk 101, 453, Khāt 108 39, Pur 307 3) The utterance ulhi yullam vēmē (Kur 102.1 etc) may probably also be regarded as a colloquialism (Apart from purely formal structural properties (metrical pattern, other patterned prosodical features like alliteration, “rhyme” etc), every stanza is hierarchically organized in terms of form-meaning composites This hierarchy may be set up as follows

poetic situation (tínai)

| theme (tūrāi) |
| motive |
| formula |

The basic and least inclusive element in this structure is the formula (in its shortest shape composed of two exponents, e.g valvil, an Attribute-Head construction, “strong bow”), the most inclusive (since it encloses the whole stanza) is the tínai or poetic situation (there are hundreds and hundreds of formulæ but only fourteen basic poetic situations accord to Tolk Porul) To quote an instance in Kur 190, the poetic situation (tínai) can be characterized as mullaṅ “separation and patient waiting”, mixed with kurvici “desire” Next in the hierarchy comes the theme (tūrāi) (also enclosing the entire stanza, but, under each tínai there are several decades of themes)¹ which is, in our particular instance,

¹ Thus, e.g under the puram poetic situation called veltic “cattle-raid”, there come 14 themes, according to TP According to PVM, the 13 “heroic” situations comprise as many as 327 themes (see K Kailasapathy, op cit 194)
'what the herone, unable to bear separation, said to her girl-friend'. On the next lower level, there are several motives, e.g. the motive of the snake and the thunder, occurring quite frequently (thunder-storm as destroyer of snakes), e.g. in Kur. 158 i-2, Pātu 51 25-28, Āk 92 i, 323 i-11, Pur 17 38-9, 37 i-4, 58 6-7 126 19, 366 3. The motives are different from the formulae, motives are recurring reflexes of experience, not necessarily clad in identical or nearly identical linguistic material. 'Formulae, on the other hand, are structures which apart from a full or almost full semantic identity show a high degree of formal identity (including prosodic structure), such as, in our particular example, nevarunatakappu "tightened black tresses" which reappears in Āk 35 17 and 269 2 in identical structure and exponents, and in Kur 199 4 in the variation nevaratukkantă "tightly combed hair". A motive is as a rule more expanded and more inclusive than the formula; thus, e.g., it is a recurrent theme in both heroic and love poetry to describe the flourishing sea-port of Tonti (known well to Graeco-Roman sources as Tyndis), this theme "occurs at least twenty-two times in the Anthology poems". (Kailasapathy, op cit 212) It is a recurring motive in the love poems to compare Tonti with the herone (Āk 171 4, 173 3-4, 174 i-2, 175 4, 176 i-3, 177 1, 180 4, 60 7-8) The descriptions of Tonti are often recurrent formulae, e.g. "Tonti of seaside groves" (Pur 48 4, Nar 18 4, 195 5).

These basic hierarchically structured components—the poetic situation, the theme, the motive and the formula—are parts of given traditional material, the bardic practice is dependent upon this traditional material. As already said, a tension arises between this traditional materia and the bard's ability to improvise. The language of the poetry, is, too, stereotyped, conventionalized, traditional. Because of the traditional situations, themes, motives and formulae, and because of the language stereotype, there is an underlying unity of though-content, diction, style and form of the classical poetry.

This brings us to the problem of the individuality of the poet, and of his orignality, also, to the problem of imitation within the corpus. According to Tolkāppiyam and its commentator Ilampūranar, in a good poem, unity should prevail among the details of a theme, and

\[1\] As Kailasapathy rightly observes, "the itinerant life of the bards spread the bardic language. The evolution of standard Tamil was an inevitable concomitant of bardic literature."


the theme itself should be in harmony with tradition. In these traditional and greatly stylized poems it is almost impossible to point out individual authorship. The problem of an independent, original creative personality is alien to the bard, the bard is, consciously, "effectively traditional" (Kailasapathy), exploring all potentialities of the tradition. Therefore, the question of imitation does not at all arise, as there is no question of plagiarism or copyright (Bowra, cited by Kailasapathy, op. cit. p. 185).

However, there are a few distinct and strong personalities of poets who have been acclaimed as the best among the bards. Paranar, Kapilar and Nakkirar are probably the three classical Tamil poets who should be mentioned by name in this connection. Paranar is the one of the great trio who is probably the least "original". He is very disciplined and follows the conventions closely. However, some of his similes and metaphors are truly exquisite. Probably the most beautiful one is to be found in Kug. 399, where the pallor of the beloved is compared to the persistent moss on the surface of a pool, which "with every touch gives way and spreads back with each estrangement." It is significant that this picture is not part of any formula, and reappears only later in clear imitation (Kalid. 130.20-21).

The technique of suggestion was also exploited effectively by this great poet when trying e.g. to describe the behaviour and character of a faithless lover he says:

"To eat the silver fish, the stork, as though
Afraid its steps were audible,
Moves soft---
A burglar entering
A guarded house" (Akam 276)

Nakkirar is probably a stronger creative personality than Paranar. He is, above all, the author of one of the "Ten Layas", the Netunai-vātai, probably the best of them. In short lyrical poems, he seems to have preferred the pālaś situation. He seems to have been "the

1 Long before Kailasapathy made the theme and the formula subjects of an explicit analytic treatment, M. S. Purnalingam Pillai (in 1904) wrote: "The recurrence of certain ideas and images in some of these idyls by different authors bespeak the stock-in-trade and no literary theft. Broad streets are river-like, rice stalks finger-like, women's soft soles the gasping dog's tongue-like etc."

2 Švin kēnā vientiųgat tokka / pāla yacē pācēla kātalai / totvul bi totvul bi ninka / nina bi nina bi pāala laiū.
most conscious craftsman" among the great poets of the classical age cf e.g Kur 143 with the elaborate alliteration and assonance patterns, or the beautiful Kur 161 with a very intricate phonetic structure (listen to the music in the opening lines of his Kur 368 melliva löyé melliva löyé "O you whose nature is so gentle")

The tradition is unanimous in regarding Kapilar as the greatest of all classical Tamil poets. He is represented in all anthologies, being the author of 206 songs. His puram pieces throw some interesting light on his life. His Kurvēṟippāṭtu was written to instruct an Aryan prince in Tamil poetic conventions and may be regarded as a model creation. A whole one fifth of Ankurunāru is ascribed to him. In these poems we recognize in him a master of condensation and an original author of lovely images. Probably the most beautiful of his love-poems is Kur 25 (the one which begins with yārum ittait tāne kalvan).

"None else was there but he, the thief,
If he denies it, what shall I do?"
Only a heron stood by,
its thin gold legs like millet-stalks
eyeing the āṟal-fish
in the gliding water
on the day
he took me"

Kapilar’s interest and genius was concentrated on nature of the hills. His descriptions of nature and his comparisons and metaphors, apt and daring, have probably no match in the whole bardic corpus. Cf. Nār 13 “the vēṅkai scatters its blossoms like sparks of fire flying in the smithy” Or, from Ak 292

“A small stone
sped from the woodman’s catapult
shot like an arrow
scattering vēṅkai flowers,
and spilled the honey from the comb
before it reached
the sweet fruit of the jack”

Another question, connected with the problem of linguistic and stylistic stereotype, is the problem of relative internal chronology within the earliest corpus. Is it at all possible to discern among different chronological strata within the early anthologies? It is

1 C and H Jesudasan, op cit 32
basically true what Kallasapathy says on p. 47 of his book "to arrange them (the poems, KZ) in strict chronological order is to force on them a pattern of linear development which does not appear in the poems. The question of mutation is as incongruous as that of authorship in the context of an oral tradition."

No detailed and exact chronological stratification has as yet been performed with regard to this corpus. However, the answer to the question posed above may be, very probably, in principle positive, though a great deal of the results would be based on rather speculative procedure.

First of all, we may exclude from the earliest corpus Karittokai, Parpatal and Tirumurukarruppatai as compositions which are positively later in origin. Being left with the 15 remaining texts (6 Anthologies and 9 Lays) we may set up a few theoretical and methodological principles which can help us as guide-lines while investigating the corpus from the point of view of relative chronology.

a) Historical allusions within the poems themselves. The clustering of bardic songs round certain personages and certain events in their lives enables us to set up relative sequence of events, and, hence, relative sequence of texts about the events (though this inference is speculative and not too safe). The same is true about allusions concerning the lives of some of the poets. Thus e.g. it is very probable that the historical sequence of the three great poets mentioned above was Paranar — Kapilar — Nakkirar (e.g. Nakkirar mentions Kapilar as living in the past in Ak 78). The historical or near-historical (or even quasi-historical) data receive, in some cases, corroboration from external sources (inscriptions and the like).

b) A great deal of speculation as to the chronological order of the poems may be based on formal criteria.

1) The simpler the metre and other prosodic properties, the older the poem (since there exists undoubtedly a tendency of formal complexity to increase steadily with the passage of time).
2) Affinity with folk-songs and echoes of colloquial utterances may probably be also regarded as indications of relative antiquity.
3) It is probable that a relative chronology of motives and formulae could be set up within one and the same motive and formula, the movement is from a simpler to a more involved and complicated pattern.
c) Language.

1) in the development of linguistic forms, we may discern (though with difficulty) certain innovations vis-à-vis certain retentions,

2) the more Aryan loanwords, the younger (later) the text,

3) loanwords from Prakrit and Pali are very probably older than Sanskrit loanwords

d) There is a development in thought-content

1) poems showing traces of Jainism and Buddhism are probably earlier than poems showing Brahmanic influence,

2) straightforward descriptions of fighting, mating, nature etc are probably older than poems which bear traces or elements of reflection and philosophy,

3) didactic and philosophical poems with an undertone of pessimism are probably rather late,

4) certain situations and themes (like kānci and vākai in the puram genre and karkkilai and peruntinai in the akam genre) are probably later

It might be worthwhile to apply these general considerations to the earliest bardic corpus and try to establish a relative chronology of poems within the fifteen texts, however much speculative and slender they may seem

Finally, a remark on the intelligibility of early classical Tamil poetry is probably not out of place here, the early classical poetry is not intelligible to a modern Tamil speaker without special training and study. Formal Tamil of today is more conservative than the informal style and hence closer to earlier Tamil. But even an educated modern Tamil reader does not understand early classical texts unless he has made a special study of them (As A. K. Ramanujan says (in The Interior Landscape, p 98) "The development of verb- and noun-endings, losses and gains in vocabulary, and the influence of other languages like Sanskrit and English have widened the distance between ancient and modern Tamil"). But, though the gap between ancient Tamil poetry and its modern Tamil reader is very wide indeed, it does not matter much, it is more important that—as any classical literature—Tamil classical poetry belongs to the great literary heritage of the whole world.
CHAPTER EIGHT

LATE CLASSICAL POETRY

According to an ancient and persistent tradition, the Kalittokai and the Panṗtal belong to the original corpus of the tokai (anthology) texts, and the Tirumurukāṟṟuppati is quoted as the first of the lays (pāṭu) However great our respect for the tradition may be, we have to admit, after an unprejudiced and critical examination of these three texts, that they almost certainly do not belong to the earliest strata of the erotic and heroic poetry. The reasons for a later dating of these poems are both formal, and of a different and younger thought-content and ideology

Kalittokai, lit “the anthology in the kali metre” is a collection of lovely songs which try to capture all phases, types and details of love-experience, the anthology is an akam collection par excellence, and, in fact, it seems to have been composed after the first arrangement, systematization and classification of love-themes and love-situations had been worked out by some of the early scholastics the peruntinas and kaikkilai situations (mismatched and one-sided love-affairs) were added to complete the cycle of total love-experience of man. It also seems that some folkmotifs and “vulgar” (<vulgus) trends forced their way into the classical erotic poetry, with rudimentary humorous and dramatic situations, with elements of farce and buffoonery the poems, composed in this new tone, deal with affairs which are “common”, “abnormal”, “undignified”, fit only for “servants and workmen”, affairs which are fit for the ignorant, the uncultured. These poems were not accepted as akam proper by later theoreticians and compilers of the early anthologies, but were classed under the kaikkilai and peruntinas situations, the one-sided affair and the mismatched relationship

The anthology has 150 poems in the kali metre. The first poem is an invocation to Śiva, and the rest are love-poems divided into the five traditional divisions 35 stanzas about pāḷai, 29 about kurvīci, 33 songs on neytaḷ. ¹ The compiler of the anthology was a certain

¹ The peruntinas and kaikkilai situations are handled as additional to the five tinais
Nallantuvar, supposed to be the author of the neytal portion, and there exists a detailed and excellent commentary by Naccinarkkinayar (14th Cent)

The background of the poem is the same as in early classical poetry, but the tone is different. In a way, it is precisely the Kalittokai anthology which marks a definite break from the early classical tradition and conventions.

There are two fundamental problems to be dealt with in connection with this anthology: first, the problem of the dating, second, the question of authorship.

A very strong evidence points to the fact that the poems of Kalittokai should be dated considerably later than the other anthologies, roughly between the 5th-7th Cent A.D.

First, the form, the metre, the structure of the poems, when compared with the akaval and vañci stanzas of early classical poetry, display further development, the kali metre itself appears to have been a later development, the kali stanza seems to be a combination and a development of the acrityam and the venpā. It can hardly be denied that the kali-metre and the kali-stanza is later, historically younger than the akaval (and vañci).

There are new structural elements in the kali stanzas: dialogues which sometimes look like "a one-act play in miniature" (C and H Jesudasan, op cit 67). Thus we have dialogues between the heroine and her girl-friend (60), the heroine and the hero (64), the girl-friend and the hero (61) etc. The narrative pieces which may be considered as miniature tales are also new. Thus there is, apart from the still predominantly lyrical character of the poetry, a new, rudimentary but vigorous, dramatic and epic component in the Kalittokai. New dramatis personae appear, too, folk-types like kāmakklattī (67, 72, 73) "match-maker", kuŋi (94) "the hunchback woman" and kuralaŋ (ib) "the dwarf".

As already stressed, the tone is new and different: realistic attitude, coarseness, spicy and racy dialogues, absence of delicacy, broad jokes, crude humour, echoes of folk-songs. As a typical instance one may quote the magnificent, rude, bawdy, and yet strangely moving and poetic dialogue between the hunchback woman and the dwarf (Kalit 94, in the flawless translation of A K Ramanujan)
O hunchback woman,
gentle
and crooked as a reflection
in the water,
what great good deeds
did you do that I should want you so?
(O mother! she swore to herself) Some
auspicious moment made you dwarf,
so tiny you're almost invisible,
O whelp born to a man-faced bird,
how date you stop us to say
you want us? Would such midgets
ever get to touch such as us?

O lovely one,
curvaceous,
convex
as the blade of a plough,
you strike me with love
I cannot bear
I can live
only by your grace
(look at the way this creature walks!)
O dwarf, standing piece of timber,
you've yet to learn the right approach
to girls Humans do not copulate
at noon but you come now to hold
our hand and ask us to your place

Good woman,
your waist is higher
than your head, your face a skinned heron
with a dagger for a beak,
listen to me
If I take you in the front, your hunch
juts in my chest, if from the back
it'll tickle me in odd places
So, I'll not
even try it Yet come close and let's touch
side by side

Chi, you're wicked Get lost! You half-man!
As creepers hang on only to the crook of the tree
there are men who'd love to hold this hunch
of a body close, though nothing fits Yet, you lecher,
you ask for us sideways What's so wrong
with us, you ball, you bush of a man,
A gentle hunchback type is better far than a string
of black beans
(Look at the walk of this creature!) You stand
like a creepy turtle stood up by somebody,
hands flailing in your armpits
We've told you we're not for you Yet you hang around
(Look, he walks now like the Love-God!)
The root of this love is Kāma,
the love-god with arrows, brother to Shāma
Look, this is how the love-god walks!
(Look, look at this love-god!)

Come, let's find joy,
you in me, me in you, come, let's ask and talk
and agree which parts I touch
I swear
by the feet of my king, I'll mock you no more
Right, O gentle-breasted one I too will give up mockery
But I don't want this crowd in the temple
laughing at us, screaming when we do it,
'Look, look! Look at that dwarf and hunchback,
leaping like demon on demon!'

O shape
of unbeaten gold, let's get away from the temple
to the wild jasmine bush Come, let's go
You're now a gob of wax on a parchment
made out in a court full of wise men,
and stamped
to a seal, you're now flat, incomplete Come,
let's touch close and hug hard
and finish the unfinished
Let's go

On the other hand, the traditional antinai (i.e. "love proper")
situations continue in Kālittokai and even receive new possibilities
and new additions.

The language of Kālittokai manifests some features which are
undoubtedly to be considered as innovations, both lexical and
structural (e.g. the suffix -kāl in allākkāl 124, -ēl in kāllāyēl 144, the
form ānāl in 139, further cf. stanzas 84, 87, 90, 93, 130) A relatively
high number of Sanskrit loanwords (like kāman, kāranam, hunankal
with the pl. suff -kal, pīcācar, mēkalai, vaccivram) attests, too, a
later origin.

Earlier poems are often quoted, e.g. Kur 185 uyytavac curnu kāmamō pēriū "the endurance of my soul is small, but passion of
love is indeed great” reappears in Kali 137 2 pertē kāmameṃ nuyr-
tavac cērte
Throughout the entire collection, no name of any king is mention-
ed but of the Pāntaya in Maturai (55) No poets, cheftains, 
battles etc mentioned in the other tokai anthologies are alluded to 
in the Kālittokai. On the other hand, Kuruvikkali 24 mentions “the 
merciful men of Benares”, and in Marutakkali 29 there is an allusion 
to Kāma (also elsewhere, these are the first allusions to this relative-
ly late Aryan import into Tamil literature) Actually, the whole 
collection is permeated with allusions to Sanskritic Purānic legends 
the burning of the three cities by Śiva (1), the plans of Duryodhana 
to kill the Pāndavas (25), the battle between Murukan and Sūra-
padma (27), Rāvana lifting Mount Kailāsa (38), Bhima beating 
Duryodhana on the thigh (52), Kṛṣṇa killing Kamsa’s wrestlers 
(52, 134), Śiva thwarting Yama (101), Urvaśī and Tilottamā (109), 
the story of Yayāti (139), Śiva bearing Gangā in his locks (150), 
Kṛṣṇa killing the horse-demon (103), Kṛṣṇa hiding the sun with his 
cakra (104), etc
All these facts point rather conclusively to the post-early classical 
origin of Kālittokai
In many ways, the collection seems to be work of one author, the 
subject-matter, the style, the metre, the language — all indicates an 
individual authorship of the whole collection (granted even the 
over-all uniformity and homogeneity of the bardic poetry) On the 
other hand, a rather late venpā quatrain 1 exists which ascribes the 
five divisions of the anthology to five “Sangam” poets pālai to 
Perunkatunkōn, kurići to the great Kapilār, marutam to Marutan 
Ilanākaṇār, mullai to Cōlaṇ Nalluruttiran and neytal to Nallantuva-
ṇār the Compiler The venpā itself is not found in any manuscript of 
the text, and is unknown to the commentator, its veracity may be 
doubted Allmost all serious scholars (the first editor of the work, 
S V Damodaram Pillai, 1887, K N Sivaraja Pillai, Rajamanik-
kam, H W Schomerus) are inclined to regard Kālittokai as the 
work of one poet, who probably belonged to the Pāntiyaland
The problem is far from definitely solved But the work itself is 
great and deserves careful study, monographic treatment, and a 
congenial translation in toto
Parivātal is traditionally enumerated as the fifth of the collec-

1 Cf Vaiyāpuri Pillai, Itakkīya tipam (1952) 81
tions (tokai), it is an odd, hybrid work, partly traditional love-poetry and partly a work of bhakti. It is a collection of poems in the parispatal metre, which seems to be further development of the old classical metres. Of the seventy poems supposed to have been originally included in this work, only twenty four are extant in full (a few more are in fragments, and some (22, 24) may be found in a commentary on the Tolkappiyam, and in the medieval anthology Purattiyattu). Of the extant poems, seven are dedicated to Tirumāl, eight to Cēvēl (Murukan), and nine to the river Vaikāi. In the Vaikāi-portion, the love-theme is worked out along the traditional lines against the background of bathing festivities. The stanzas are ascribed to 13 poets, one of whom figures among the poets of other anthologies.

The most noticeable feature of this collection are the colophons to each stanza which, beside the name of the author, give as well the names of the composer who set it to music and of the tune to which it was set. The basic tunes (pan, icai) are pālai, yāl, tiram and kāntaram, the names of the composers are Kannakanār, Kaṇpanākapār, Kēcavanār Nallacutanār, Naṇṇākapār, Nakaṇār, Pittāmattar, Pēttanākaṇār, Maruttuvāp Nallacutapār. There is a detailed commentary available composed by Parimēlalakar. The work was published first in 1918 by U V Swaminatha Aiyar.

It seems that the poems were indeed composed as songs, intended to be sung. The work is relatively late. It seems to be separated at least by three centuries from the earlier collections. First of all, there are many Aryan loanwords, and their number and nature betray a late origin of the text, e.g. kavintai (6), mātuvam (11), cintikka (20), pōkam (5), kālam (2) etc. There are also some characteristic grammatical innovations like the present-tense suffix -kṣṇ-, and forms which are undoubtedly rather late in the history of the language, e.g. nāṇ (20 82) “I”, or āmām “emphatic affirmation.”

1 Parspātal is mentioned as a metre in Tolk Ceyyul 242. The number of lines is unlimited, it is on the whole a rather loose structure with verses ranging from one foot to four feet, exceptionally to five feet, and it provides for much variety. For the hybrid nature of the work, cf. e.g. the definition of its content in Vēpparumkāla vrttu. teyvanum kānamum porulāka varum “as the subject-matter, both devotion and love occur”. Out of the 70 original stanzas, 8 should have been dedicated to Tirumāl, 31 to Murukan, 1 to Kālukihal (Kovaiar), 26 to the river Vaikai, 4 to Maturai. All commentators, beginning with Ilampiranar, interpret the term parispātal as parivā patthu “running, speeding, rapid song”.
Second, there are references in the text to temples and shrines which must have been built in the post-classical period (Tiruvēnkatam, Tiruvānṟṟupuṟam etc.), and mural paintings on the walls of Tirupparankuṟram temple are mentioned depicting stars and planets. Many allusions to a number of Purāṇic stories betray, too, the relatively late origin of the poem; thus we hear of the churning of the ocean of milk (2 71-72, 3 33-4), of Prahlāda (4 12-21), of the birth of Murukan (5 27-49), of the destruction of the three cities (5 25) etc.

There is no great devotional fervour in the poems, and the lyrical quality of the text is not exactly outstanding. One can regard these poems as a form of transition—not very successful—between the classical, traditional love poetry, and the emerging, devotional, bhakti literature.

More interesting, and better poetry, is the first intensely devotional poem in Tamil literature, the Tisurarukāṟṟuppati. As the name suggests, it is a "guide" poem, not to any liberal patron of arts, however, but to different manifestations of god Murukan. The devotee, the bhakta, is directed by the poet to various shrines of the god. The "Guide to Lord Muruku" seems to have been considered by the reductor of the Pattippāṭṭu collection as the invocatory lay to the "Ten Songs" (in analogy with the invocatory stanzas prefixed to the Anthology collections).¹ The poem is held in very high esteem not only by Murukan worshippers for whom it is the most ancient and fundamental text, but by all Śaivites. It is an excellent poem in 312 akavai verses, and it is ascribed to Nakkirar (whom the tradition makes identical with the author of the early lyrical pieces, but who is very probably much younger than the "Sangam" Nakkirar, he may be identical with the author of the commentary to Iṟṟayānār Akapporul).

The poem is carefully planned out, according to a definite scheme which is based upon a very fundamental conception in South Indian Hinduism—the intimate connection between a particular place of worship and the god's "local" manifestation. The poem has six parts of unequal length; the first describes the beauty of Murukan, the killing of Sūrāpāḍma, the excellence of Māturai and Tirupparankumāram, in the second, the six faces of Murukan are described and their functions, as well as his twelve arms and their work, and the temple in Tiruccir, the third part deals with the shrine in Tiruvāvai-

¹ K Kailasapathy, op cit 35
nankuti, the fourth with the temple in Tiruvārakam, in the fifth the poet narrates the sports of the god in the hills, the sixth describes the shrine in Palamutirccolai.

The effects of contrast are exploited cleverly by the poet Murukāṇ, surrounded by lovely goddesses, is very different from the Murukāṇ in the battlefield. There the "she-devil (pēymakal) dances the tunankai dance .

dry-haired,
twisted and projecting teeth
in her gaping mouth,
rolling eye-balls,
greemsh eyes
with a fearful gaze,
ears that pam her heavy breasts
as the owl with bulging eyes
and the cruel snake
hang down from her ears
bothering her breasts
In her hands with shining bangles
she holds a black skull,
smelling rotten
With her cruel, sharp-nailed fingers
stirring blood
she had dug-out human eyeballs
and eaten them up
As she dances, shoulders heaving,
her mouth drips with fat" 1

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1 This is probably the occasion to say a few words about "the fantastic, gruesome and grotesque" (C and H Jesudasen, op cit 187) aspects in Tamil literature. In heroic poems of the early classical age, the gory aspect plays quite a prominent role, as in heroic poetry elsewhere, and in the feudal poetry of the Occident, the gory and gruesome face of killing is described with gusto and in detail. It is a part of the prowess and glory of the heroes—the "assertion of superior force" (K Kailasapathy, op cit 239). There are many instances of gruesome scenes in Tamil bardic poetry, with "trunks dancing", "vultures feeding upon carion", "elephants pierced with arrows" "spears soaked in blood" etc. As an instance, a few lines from Purāṇam 49 10-44 may be quoted (Kailasapathy, op cit 240) "The blood gushing out of the chests of the warriors of red hands who opposed you, flows and spreads on the ground like the reddish muddy water that flows on to the low lying lands on a rainy day. Terrible is the destruction you bring on the battlefield, where you pile up fallen corpses" Tolki has a poetic theme called attarāyātal (cf Ka atta "a headless trunk", Te atta "id", DED 90) "hero's body continuing to manifest heroic deeds even after dismemberment, as the quivering of a leech (attai, DED 80) after being cut into two". Slaughter of men and animals alike is described with great gusto. From
The whole poem seems to be aglow with red, the colour of Muru-
kañ, images of blood are frequent (e.g. "pure white rice mixed with
the blood of a fat strong ram with stout legs" is brought as an
offering to the god), Murukan's body glows like the sun rising from
the emerald sea—the peacock which the "red god" rides, celestial
damsels, blessing the cock-baner of the youthful god, have

"... bright, rosy, tender feet
thin garments purple like the Indragopa ...",

and the hills grow the kántal flowers red like fire, and across his
handsome wide chest run red lines (cempori).

Flames, blood, red garments, red lustre—we encounter these
images again and again, and probably the most frequent epithet is
"shining, lustrous" and "fire-like" (vāl in 8, 87, 90, ol in 28, 31, 54,
tkal in 40, cutar in 43, 46, min in 85, nakar in 86, vilaku in 87,
etc etc.)

There are also a few magnificent natural scenes, and the tech-

the gloire of a slayer of elephants, an entire genre developed in the middle
ages, the param, a war poem about a hero who has destroyed 700 elephants.
The greatest of the params is Kalinkkaluppam by Cayanakottar, the court-
poet of Kulottunga Cōla (1070-1122). In many ways, it is a great and marvel-
ous poem, probably the most colourful poem in the entire Tamil literature,
in which erotic experience and blood-thirstiness is painted in the same glowing
colours. But the fantastic and the gruesome have perhaps "not been treated
with more vividness elsewhere in Tamil literature" (C and H Jesudasan,
op cit 187). The poem is inhabited by blood-lusting devils, lean and famished
for want of human flesh. After the battle, the devils, with mouths watering,
rush in a wild stampede to the battle-field. The Brahmin devil gapes for the
tasty soup of stinking corpses, but the Jām devil (which does not take life
and eats only once a day) is to be given the strained soup—indeed an ad-
mirable sense of humour on the part of the poet! And the Buddhist devil,
going about wrapped in skins, is given the delicious brains of the dead (this,
too, is humour!)

An extremely relevant passage of the great medieval commentator
Naccinārkkīyai on TP gives much insight on the theme of sacrifice to the
devils (pēy. DED 3635 "demon, goblin, fiend, devil", To 510 "god of the
dead", in Gondi, Kui and Kuvi "god", which is very suggestive). A gruesome
ritual was performed in honour of Korrava, the goddess of war and victory,
and probably the old Dravidian mother-goddess (DED 1803 korrav "victory,
power, bravery") It consisted of the following features: 1) it was performed
at the end of a battle by the victors, 2) wholesale sacrifice of men, animals
and weapons took place, 3) some sort of ritual cooking was done, using
blood, 4) priests officiated at the ceremony.

It seems—though this needs further and careful investigation—that there
are references to the ritual of human sacrifice (and probably an echo of
cannibalism) in Puram 62, 356, 359, 369-71, Patanjali 13, 15, etc.
IQUE of contrast is cleverly employed
Listen to the first 20 lines
in a very inadequate translation

Like the sun seen in the sea,
the delight of the world
praised by men,
he is the dazzling light
visible from afar
even through eyes
which are closed

His feet are strong
They destroy ignorance
and support
his friends
His mighty arm
rivals
the thunderbolt
It has crushed
his fiends

He is the bridegroom
of the maid
whose front is fair
and who is
gently chaste

The forests,
cool and fragrant
after first showers,
pouring down
from gigantic clouds,
pregnant with waters
sucked up from the sea,
scattering heavy drops
upon the firmament
whose darkness is dispelled
by the sun and the moon

The forests,
darkened and overspread
by the dense leaves
of the red katampu tree
He has a garland
of its flowers
rolling on his chest

High on the mountains
towering into skies
unearthly maidens dance
They have
bright,
rosy;
tender feet
with tinkling anklets
Rounded shanks
and gently swaying
waist
Broad luscious shoulders
and thin garments red
like Indragopa’s wings
Their mounds of venus bear
brilliant girdles strung
with many shining gems
How lovely are they!
With a beauty made
not by the skill
of human hands
And they have jewels
set in jambū gold
and glowing,
gleaming bright
with flawless lustre
shooting beams afar

(Transl. KZ)

Murukan has two wives, the senior, Teyvayānai, is the daughter of Indra, the younger is “the beautiful daughter of the hunters, little Valli, with creeper-like slender waist” (101-102) ¹ The god’s priest is called vēlaṇ (100) “he who wears the spear”, and the men in the jungle drink in the god’s honour liquor prepared from honey matured in bamboo (nītamaṇi vilavanta tēkkaṭ tēral, 195) But, in his temples, there are also the dujas, the twice-born (vṛppirappālar, 182), wearing the sacred thread of three bands Elsewhere, the Vedas are mentioned (mantrām, 95), and the sages (muniwar, 137), and the whole poem shows in fact the fusion of the Brahmanic god Skanda with the pre-Aryan, South Indian Murukan The poem contains much old, traditional material (like the relationship of Murukan to Korraṇai, the old mother-goddess of the Tamils) It is typically a poem of transition, marking the end of an epoch, the

¹ According to later speculations, kārpu “chastity” is of two types the stern (maran) and the gentle (arami) Draupadi and Kannaki represent the former type, while Sitā and Teyvayānai represent “gentle chastity”
end of pre-Aryan Tamilnad, the end of the classical age, and the beginning of an entirely different age which is heralded by the rise of devotional literature. It is perhaps significant that the first truly religious, devotional poem in Tamil is dedicated to Murukan, the Tamil deity *par excellence*.

Apart from what was said about its subject matter, there are also other indications that the poem may hardly be older than about 550-600 AD, there are some very serious authors who place it around AD 800. There are some rather late forms and innovations in the language (*periyar 168, nalkumati 295 etc*), many of the Aryan loanwords (which are abundant) are rather late borrowings (*tilakam, nakaram, canpakam, ankucam etc*), earlier texts are cited (e.g. *Nar 62 TIRUMURUK 24*) There is also the fact that, according to U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, most of the *Pattupattu* manuscripts used by him for his edition do not contain the text of this poem.

The poem is very important for the development of South Indian *bhakti* in that it contains, in lines 60-66, the summary of its fundamental principles: salvation as the goal of existence, salvation means to take one's station at the feet of the Lord, to love the Lord, to attain this means to give up egoism, sense of separation (63, 64), the poem says literally "to reach the feet of Cey with elevated heart" (*cēey / cēvai pataruñ cemma lullamotu (61-62) This is pure *bhakti*.

No wonder that the poem found its way into the 11th *Tirumurai*, the corpus of Śaivite Canonical writings.

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1 S Vairapini Pillai, *HTLL* p 58 On p 113, he dates it "about AD 700".
CHAPTER NINE

TOLKÄPPIYAM

The Tolkäppiyam represents much more than just the most ancient Tamil grammar extant. It is not only one of the finest monuments of human intelligence and intellect preserved in the Indian tradition, it is also the first literary expression of the indigenous, pre-Aryan Indian civilization, it represents the essence and the summary of classical Tamil culture.

For the evaluation of Indian linguistic thought, it is probably as important and crucial as the grammar which goes under the name of Pāṇini. To the field of general linguistics, it would add, if sufficiently known, some new important insights on a number of phonetic, etymological, morphological and syntactic problems.

The Tolkäppiyam, as we have it today, consists of three books (āṭhāram) Each book has nine chapters (iyal), and

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1 The name Tolkäppiyam is an attribute-head construction which means "ancient (tol) book (käppiyam < Skt kavya)." However, this Indo-Aryan etymology (which is not absolutely water-proof) was unacceptable for some Tamil purists, and so we may read such curious statements as the following: "tol means ancient and ‘Käppiyam’ means Käppu iyaṟṟatu that which deals with protection. The main function of grammar is to protect the language from deterioration and the word käppiyam " etc (vide J M Somasundaram Pillai, A History of Tamil Literature, 1967, p 50) Whether the book gave the name to the author or vice-versa is a disputed question. The first alternative is of course the more plausible one. The attribute tol "ancient, old" (cf DED 2899, the word occurs in the oldest literature, cf Puyam 24 21, 32 7, 91 7, 203 2 etc) is used here with the connotation "aged, hoary, venerable".

2 Unfortunately, there exists no full, critical and exact translation of this extraordinary work into English (or, for that matter, into any Western language). The present writer is engaged in translating the text in full including the seven commentaries now available. As far as the overall atmosphere and the general context of Tolkäppiyam is concerned, I can hardly add anything to what M B Emeneau says about "Hindu higher culture" in his paper "India and Linguistics", Collected Papers, Annamalai Nagar (1967) 187-188 "Intellectual thoroughness and an urge toward rationalism, intellect, and learned classification for their own sakes should surely be recognized as characteristic of the Hindu higher culture"
the whole has 1612 sūtras of unequal length in 27 chapters.

Roughly speaking, the grammar deals with orthography and phonology, etymology and morphology, semantics, sentence structure, prosody, and with the subject-matter of literature.

In the nine chapters of the first section, Tolkāppiyam deals with the sounds of the language and their production, with combination of sounds (punarca, “Joining, copulation”), with orthography, and with some questions which we would today designate as graphemic and phonological problems. One may say that the first book “on eluttu” (this term may mean, in various contexts, “sound”, “phoneme” or “letter”) is dedicated to phonetics, phonology and graphemics of Old Literary Tamil. The treatment of the arrangement of consonants, and the description of the production of sounds is interesting.

The second section is called Collatākāram, “The book about words”, and deals with etymology, morphology, semantics and syntax. Among the exciting problems emerging from the study of this book are questions of word-classes, of compounds, semantic problems, and rich lexical data. The author (or authors) had also some idea about linguistic geography of the Tamil land. Standard Tamil was spoken in the centamāl land, and adjoining this area were the twelve dialectal regions.

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1 When we use the term sūtras here, it is not quite exact, the rules are actually composed in a metre which resembles the akaval and is called nūrpā (nūl + pā “the stanza/appropriate for/erudition literature”), it is functionally equivalent to the sūtra in Sanskrit culture Tamil nūl, like Sanskrit sūtra-, means 1) “thread, string, cord”, 2) “rule”, 3) “book”, especially “book of rules”, “eruditory book”.

2 There are nūrpās of one line only, but quite a number of stanzas have as many as 9 lines and more. Most nūrpās in the grammar have 2-3 verses. There are “nūl stanzas” which have as many as 46 lines. Like the akaval, a nūrpā is composed of 4 feet, but unlike akavāl, it may have only one or two lines, and some other properties, which make it a different metre altogether.

3 Highly interesting is the metaphor describing vowels as uvrir “life, life-breath”, consonants as mey “body” and the group consonant + vowel, in other words, the “most primitive”, open syllable, the basic unit of the syllabic script, as uvirme “life-endowed body”. There is a number of other engaging problems, concerning, e.g., the āyam, or the sandhi, but a discussion of these questions is indeed beyond the scope and purpose of this book.

4 These panning niḷam or “twelve regions” were the source of “dialectisms” (ticacol, tcau < prob Skt disā, mstr of dis “region, place”). The author or authors of Tolkāppiyam do not describe the dialectal regions in detail. The medieval commentators, though, tell us the names of the twelve regions, and denote the dialects by a common term, kotuntamil, lit “crude,
'Porulatikāram, or the book dealing with "subject-matter" is, in short, the prosody and rhetoric of classical Tamil. In addition, it contains a wealth of sociological and cultural material.

The first two chapters of this atikāram (the akattinai vyal and the purattinai vyal) contain a detailed treatment of literary conventions of both basic genres of classical literature, akam and puram. The next two vylas deal with the two kinds of love, pre-marital (kalavu) and marital (karpu) and with extramarital relations, and in the subsequent parts, prosody (yāppu) and rhetoric (ani) are treated in detail.

The whole book on poetics is planned as follows.

(i) Treating of mutual love
(ii) Treating of war and non-love themes
(iii) Treating of secret or premarital love.
(iv) Dealing with open wedded love
(v) Treating of further aspects of love situations
(vi) Dealing with dramaturgy
(vii) Dealing with smile
(viii) Dealing with prosody and the art of composition
(ix) Treating of tradition and literary usage

It may be seen from this outline, that the work, and, in particular, its third book, grew around a core which was intended as a bardic grammar, as a guide to bards as to how to compose their songs in accord with tradition and conventions.

In traditional terms, Tolkāppiyam deals with the total subject-matter of grammar (slakkanam)², with elutu (basic "signs" of vulgar Tamil). Also, the author of the prefatory stanza to the grammar was well aware of the stylistic distinction he speaks, as of two distinct styles of one language, of valakku "spoken, colloquial (style)" and ceyyul "poetic, literary (style)".

¹ Cf K Kailasapathy, Tamil Heroic Poetry (1968) 48 ff.
² "Grammar", slakkanam (< Skt laksana-) has a very broad sense here. The semantic field of the term slakkanam comprises the nucleus, which is "prescriptive rules about the use of (literary) language", further "description of the structure and function of the (literary) language", and still further "description of the structure and functioning of any cultural phenomenon". In this sense, one speaks of "the grammar of dance" as well as of "the grammar of war-poetry". Ultimately, slakkanam means treatment of the structure and function of any structured and conventionalized phenomenon. In this broadest sense, one speaks about "the grammar of love" (the patterned and conventionalized "reality" underlying love-poetry) or "the grammar of bhakti"
language, sounds and letters), *col* ("words"), *porul* (subject-matter of poetry), *yāppu* ("prosody"), and *ani* ("rhetoric")

No wonder that the grammar became enormously influential in the entire subsequent development of Tamil culture, its authority goes unquestioned to the present day

(*Tolkāppiyam* obviously contemplates a literature very much like that of the early classical (*Can<ki>am*) age. However, it also gives a picture of an earlier literature. There are, according to the "ancient book", two basic kinds of compositions: one which is governed by restrictions concerning lines and metres, the other which has no restrictions. The grammar seems to suggest also the existence of narrative poems. In these literary forms, six kinds of metres were employed: *venpā, ācāryam, kāli, vañci, marul* and *paripāl*.

Under the second type (compositions with no line restrictions), the grammar quotes grammatical treatises, commentaries on grammars, compositions intermixed with prose, fables, humorous hits, riddles, proverbs, magical incantations and "suggestive imaginative statements". It is obvious that much literature must have existed before the time of *Tolkāppiyam*, as we have it, and that the author(s) of the grammar made use of earlier grammatical works.

As a single integrated work, the *Tolkāppiyam* was first mentioned in Nakkirar's commentary on Iraiyanar's *Akapporul* (prob. 7th-8th Cent. AD).

Some of the *nāyakās* are ambiguous. Also, as already stressed, the authority of *Tolkāppiyam* has always been supreme. These facts lead to the existence of a number of commentaries on the "grammar of grammars", of which at least seven have been (partly) preserved.

1 The first, and probably the best commentary is that of Ilampūranar. He fully deserves the title of *urayācāryar*, i.e. "The Commentator". His commentary has fortunately reached us in full. He was probably a Jana scholar, living in the 11th or 12th Cent.

Ilampūranar's commentary shows a great deal of common sense and critical acumen. He obviously distrusted the tales connecting the mythical Akattiyar (Agastya) and the author of *Tolkāppiyam*. There might have been other, earlier, pre-Ilampūranar commentaries in existence (probably in oral grammatical tradition, cf. Ilampūranar's hints to this in his comm. to *Collatiyāram* 44, 57, 122, 421, 408,

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1 *Tolk Porul* 476
2 *Tolk Porul* 549-553
3 *Tolk Porul* 433, 450, 472
One of the most pleasing features of Ilampūranar’s commentary is its clear, simple, lucid prose, written in comparatively pure Tamil. Cēṇāvaraiyar’s commentary pertains only to Collatikāram. His name occurs in several epigraphs, and it seems that the one which is dateable in 1275 A.D. has in mind our author. The commentary is detailed and precise, and very learned. It is interesting that its author contests the views of Pavananti, and also questions some conclusions of Ilampūranar.

Pērācīriyar is heavily indebted to Naṟṟūl in his grammatical thought (besides quoting frequently from Tantiyalankāram and Yāpparunkalam, the first being the standard medieval rhetoric, the second the most detailed treatise on prosody in Tamil). It seems that he wrote his commentary—of which only the portion pertaining to the greater part of Porulatikāram is available—sometime at the end of the 12th or rather in the 13th Century, if not later.

Naccūnārkkūriyar’s commentary is available to the whole text of the first and second book, and to five chapters of the third book of the grammar. He quotes the three previous commentators, often refuting their views. This great commentator, who was equally learned in Tamil and Sanskrit, quotes, too, in some of his commentaries, his famous colleague Parimēlaṭakar, and this shows that he lived probably in the 14th, if not in the 15th-16th Century.

Teyvaccilaiyar composed his commentary to the second book on col “word.” He is later than the four previously mentioned commentators. It seems that he was a learned Brahmin, very well versed in Sanskrit and in Aryan traditions. His date is probably the 16th Century A.D.

Kallāṭar seems to be the latest of the available commentators. His work refers to the second book only, to Collatikāram. He belongs very probably to the 16th-17th Century A.D.

Apart from the six commentaries, there is yet another anonymous.

1 Which means “general of the army” ēṟṟai (Skt senā-) + araiyar (< Indo-Aryan rāya, rāa)
2 A place-name, Mārōkkam, occurs both in the commentary and in the inscription. For the dating of Cēṇāvaraiyar in the reign of Māravarman Kulaccēkara Pāṇiyar (1268-1311) cf. M. Raghava Aiyangar, Cāsayaṭ tamil-kkau caṟuṭam (Ramanad, 1947) 108-144.
3 According to tradition, Pavananti composed his Naṟṟūl, the standard medieval grammar of literary Tamil, on the model of Ilampūranar’s commentary. Pavananti lived in the first half of the 13th Century.
commentary to the three chapters of Collatikāram,¹ which seems to be more recent than any of the six commentaries mentioned above ²

After this brief description of the text and the available commentaries, three rather tangled problems must be discussed: the person of the author, the date of the work, and its integrity.

In the commentary to the preface of the grammar, Naccinārkkāniyar identifies the author of the grammar with Tiranatūmakkū, son of Camatakkū, a Brahmin ṛṣi. ³ The boy became one of the disciples of the sage Akattiyar (Agastya), and turned out to be a first-class grammarian. He wrote a grammar called Tolkāppiyam which, together with the work of his master, Akattiyam (now lost), is said to have been the grammar (nāl) of the “second Cankam.”

According to Pērācintiyar (ca 1250-1300 A D), some scholars held that Tolkāppiyāṉar composed his work on principles other than those of Akattiyam, following some grammars no longer extant. The commentator refutes this theory and maintains that Akattiyar was the founder of Tamil grammatical tradition, that Tolkāppiyāṉar was the most celebrated of the twelve pupils ⁴ of the great sage and that he followed Agastya’s teachings in his own grammar. According to K A Nilakanta Sastri, the opposite party which deemed Tolkāppiyāṉar’s indebtedness to Agastya “postulated hostility between teacher and pupil arising out of Agastya’s jealousy and hot temper.” The whole story is recorded by Naccinārkkāniyar. After Agastya left the Himalayas for the South, he sent his pupil Trinadhūmāṅgu (Tolkāppiyāṉar) to fetch his wife Lopāmudrā from the North. He, however, prescribed a certain distance to be maintained between the pupil and the lady during the journey (“four rods”). While crossing the river Vaikai, a rapid current threatened to drown Lopāmudrā, and Tolkāppiyāṉar approached too close, holding out

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¹ To kīlaviyakkam, veṭrumayiyal and veṭrumayamayankiyal
² The editors of an excellent and careful edition of Collatikāram, A Arulappan and V I Subramoniam (Tirunelveli-Palayankottai, 1963), designate this text as aracu (since they published it according to a manuscript obtained from the Aracanika nāl nilayam, “The Government Library”).
³ These names are of course Aryan Trinadhūmāṅgu, son of Jamadagni, a ṛṣi mentioned in the Rgveda, in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata.
⁴ According to tradition (found fixed, e.g., in the prefatory stanza to Putṭapporulkenpālai), Tolkāppiyāṉar and these fellow students of his were responsible for the production of another grammatical work, the Putṭapporul. This work on Putṭapporul is now lost but a few sūtras are preserved in Ilampūranar’s commentary to Tolkāppiyam.
to her a bamboo stick with the aid of which she was able to reach the shore safely. This displeased the master and Agastya cursed them saying that they would never enter heaven, to which Tolkāppiyāṉ replied with a similar curse on his master.

As K A Nilakanta Sastri says, "this silly legend represents the last phase of a controversy, longstanding, significant, and by no means near its end even in our time". However, the truth is that there is no mention of Agastya or Akattiyam in the Tolkāppiyam or in the preface to it by Paṇampāraṇāś. The earliest reference to the Akattiyam occurs only in the 8th or 9th Century AD.

As we shall see later, Tolkāppiyam, the core of which may be assigned to the pre-Christian era, consists perhaps of many layers, some of which may be much earlier than others. We do not know of any definite data concerning the original author or authors. It seems that Tolkāppiyāṉ was a Jaina scholar, well versed in a pre-Pāṇinian grammatical system called antrām, and that he lived in Southern Kerala sometime in the 3rd-1st Century BC.

A few data support the tradition which maintains that Tolkāppiyāṉ was a Jaina. First, the pāyiram (preface) uses the term paramārṣyaṇ which is derived from a Jaina Prakrit word and signifies a Jaina ascetic. There are further indications within the text corroborating this hypothesis—the classification of lives (jīva) and non-lives (ajīva) in Tolk Marapiyal 27-33 appears to agree fully with the Jaina classification. The description of a mātrā (prosodic unit) as being equivalent in duration to kanna'mmaṭṭal "closing and opening of the eyelid" and to kannaṭhi "snapping of the finger" is supposedly of Jaina origin, the allusion to muniṇṭh unarṇḍör (Elūt 7) in connection with that description is obviously to Jaina acāryas. According to the opinion of S Vaiyapuri Pillai, Tolkāppiyāṉ belonged to a heterodox Jaina grammatical tradition called antrām.

As for his South Travancorian origin, it was again S Vaiyapuri Pillai—probably the most critical of modern Tamil scholars—who has shown that Tolk Elūt 241, 287 and 378 quote grammatical forms which do not occur in literary Tamil texts, but which exist in

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1 A History of South India (3rd ed., 1966) 77
2 Cf S Vaiyapuri Pillai, Tamilsuṣṭa munhak (3rd ed., 1959, p 26), quoting Sinclair Stevenson's The Heart of Jainism
3 ib, pp 22-41
Malayalam ¹ This fact supports the tradition which makes Tolkāppiyam a native of Truvatāṅkōtu in today’s Kerala ²

The problem of the dating of Tolkāppiyam is an extremely difficult one. It has to be attacked, though, since we would like to have at least an approximate chronology of the work which manifests the first conceptual framework and the earliest noetic system of a culture which is part of the world’s great classical civilizations.

The basic issues of this problem may be formulated as the following points:

1. The relation of the language described in Tolkāppiyam (specifically in the Eluttatukāram), and of Tolkāppiyam’s metalinguage, to the graphemic and phonological system of the earliest Tamil inscriptions in Brāhmi.

2. Is Tolkāppiyam earlier or later than the bulk of the “Cankam” poems? Is it a “pre-Cankam” or a “post-Cankam” work?

3. The identity of the political and social background of the Tolkāppiyam and early Tamil classical poetry.

4. The references (if any), in the Tolkāppiyam, to a Patañjali, b Pāṇini, c Mānavadharmaśāstra, d Kautilya’s Arthashastra, e Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra, f Kāmasūtra.

5. Inconsistencies among the sūtras of the text.

Also, we have to start our investigation of this problem with a few presumptions, the most important of which are 1) the existence of a body of literature ³ before Tolkāppiyam, 2) relative (and an

¹ The forms in question manifest a morph, -attu, e.g. puvayattu, mālavyattu, veyilaattu, which does not occur with this distribution in literary Tamil of any period. S Vaiyapuri quotes Malayalam utterances like puvayattu pōkarute mālavyattu pōkarute. In Tamil, especially in Early Middle Tamil and subsequent stages, -attu occurs as a locative suffix with stems ending in -am in the nominative (this is an “impressionistic” statement). However, the extension of -attu to other types of bases, like Malayalam termattu (cf L V Ramaswami Aravind, Evolution of Malayalam Morphology, 1936, 12) is definitely a Malayalam development, and a “Malayalamism” in Tamil.

² There still exists a village by name of Atankōtu in South Travancore. The prefatory stanza says that the merits of the grammar were approved by Atankottacāda (atankōtu adda), i.e., “the teacher of Atankōtu”, a member of the learned assembly of king Nilantara Truvir Pāntiyāq, who this Pāntiyāq was we have no idea. The author of the prefatory stanza, Pānamparamparāpara, is probably identical with the grammarian whose work (Pānamparamparamparam) was preserved very fragmentarily in a few sutras in the commentaries to Yāpparumkalam and Nāyugil.

³ Needless to say that by “literature” we do not necessarily mean “written
attempted absolute) chronology of the linguistic evolution of the earliest stages of Tamil.

That some literature had existed before even the Urtext of the Tolkāppiyam was written is not only a reasonable assumption, but is supported by hints given in the text itself. As already mentioned, the grammar refers to earlier compositions of two basic types (e.g., Porul 476 et seq.) and from a great number of lines it is clear that earlier grammatical works have been made use of by Tolkāppiyam (he constantly refers to his predecessors in grammar and learning with utterances like enmanar “they-hononific say”, enpa, collupa, molupa, “they say” all this of course in the sense “it has been said, it is said” i.e. “it is the established scholarly tradition to say that ”). Before even the basic text of the grammar could at all have been composed, a period of development of a literary language (probably used in a body of bardic poetry) must have preceded the final stages of the standardization and normalization of early old Tamil. Never, in none but a very artificial situation, is literature preceded by grammar, it is always the other way round. First there is a body of texts, of literature (which, let me stress again, does not always mean written literature, recorded texts!), then a grammar 1

1 With regard to the Tolkāppiyam, this fact was stressed long ago by Robert Caldwell. “Whatever antiquity may be attributed to the Tolkāppiyam, it must have been preceded by many centuries of literary culture. It lays down rules for different kinds of poetical compositions which must have been deduced from the examples furnished by the best authors whose works were then in existence” (quoted by B. Kannappā Mudaliyā, Tamil nāl varalāru, 1962, p. 54). Tamil pandits have a saying which states the fact briefly and succinctly: ṣilakkanaṭhukku māy silakkiyam “Before grammar—literature” (personal communication, S. Kokkalam). In a more elegant form, the opinion that literature always precedes grammar, is expressed in the text of Akadhiyam ilakkī yattigum retuppati mlakkanaś “literature yields grammar”, cf. further Nayyūl 140 silakkiyan kantataq kilakkana msiyampal, “the utterance(s) of grammar are based on literature”. Tamil grammarians had also a clear conception of the principle of change in language, according to Tolk, usage sanctifies new words (katico illaiš kālattuppatne, Tolk s 935), and according to Nayyūl, it is in the order of things for the old to give place to the new palaivāya kārtalum putiyāya pukulalum /valiwal kāla
The linguistic situation in the extreme South of India, as it might have prevailed (simplified, of course, very considerably) sometime between the 4th-2nd Cent B.C., can be represented by the following diagram

PTa  
/    
Malayalam  Kod  Ko  To
/      
Irula  Inscr Ta  Lit Ta  STa  WTa

PTa = Proto-Tamil, Inscr Ta = Inscriptional Ta, Kod = Kodagu, Ko = Kota, To = Toda, STa = Spoken Ta, WTa = Written Tamil.

This was probably the period when the first bardic poetry was composed in the Tamil language. About 250 B.C. or slightly later, Asoka’s (272-232 B.C.) Southern Brāhmī script was adapted to the Tamil phonological system. And between 200-100 B.C., the earliest Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (about 50 m number) were produced by Jain and/or Buddhist monks living in natural caves of the Southern country.

In a somewhat different language, and in a very different style, the earliest bardic poetry, now developed, refined and transformed into bardic court-poetry, enjoyed and acclaimed, began to crystallize around certain nuclei which later became the core of the “Cankam” Anthologies (cca 100 B.C.-200 A.D.)

vakāyīṇ yōṇi (s 461) We cannot but admire these insightful utterances of the ancient savants.

1 I Mahadevan, Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions of the Sangam Age, preprint, II International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras, 1968. For the discussion of the two types of Old Tamil, cf also K Zvelebil “The Brahmī Hybrid Inscriptions”, Archiv Orientální (1964) 545-575, and id., From Proto-South Dravidian to Old Tamil and Malayalam, preprint, II International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras, 1968
The problem is how to fit, chronologically, the Tolkappiyam or its basic layer into this picture.

As far as the mutual relation of the language described in the Tolkappiyam, and the language of the early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, is concerned, one point is quite clear: the two represent two different types, two different "styles" of language (This is indicated on the diagram by the curved line cutting across the arrow-head lines representing the evolution of the two basic styles of Tamil, Written and Spoken.) According to I. Mahadevan, "the orthography of written Tamil was experimental during the first two centuries of its existence...the inscriptions emerge in simple, intelligible Tamil, not very different in its matrix (that is, the phonological, morphological and lexical structure) from the Tamil of the Southern period." In other words, the differences between the Tamil of the inscriptions (Prakritization of their vocabulary, some of which looks "archaic" and different from forms found in literary texts, etc.) and the Tamil of the ancient literature, almost contemporaneous with the inscriptions, may be accounted for by the fact that those inscriptions represent probably a spoken variety of Tamil used by the (most probably bilingual) Jain and/or Buddhist monks, while the bardic corpus represents a literary language, which was at that period in the stage of "crystallization" and standardization. Basically, then, the language of these epigraphs, and the language described by Tolkappiyam, are two styles, two varieties of one language—Old Tamil. Therefore, nothing prevents us from regarding them as contemporaneous or almost contemporaneous, just like, in our own days, the Tamil used by—let us say—an Iyengar Brahmin from Triplicane, Madras, discussing the arrangements for the day's dinner with his wife, represents a different style from that employed by the authors of the Tamil Encyclopaedia preparing an article on the use of contraceptives.

(A number of scholars (like R. Raghava Ayyangar, M. Raghava Ayyangar,1 V. Ventakarajulu Reddiar,2 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai,3 T. P. Meenakshisundaran 3 and others) have clearly pointed out that there are differences between the rules in Tolkappiyam, and

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1. E.g., R. Raghava Ayyangar, Tamil varalār̥u (Annamalai, 1941), 268-273; M. Raghava Ayyangar, Ārāyanci tokut, 396-9
2. Cf. Venkataramullu Rettiyar, Kapitāl, 104-105
the actual linguistic usage in the so-called Cankam texts. Since the type and style of the language are identical (standardized literary Tamil of bardic court-poetry), the Tolkāppiyam and the bardic poetry are, obviously, not quite of the same age. Was the grammar composed earlier than the bulk of "Cankam" poetry, or later?

Let us point out first some of the more striking differences.

Phonemic shapes, which may be considered earlier, occur in the grammar, the same words appear in what may be considered later phonemic shapes in the bardic poetry, e.g. Tolk viyar Porunar So vēr "sweat", Tolk yātu Pur 229 ātu "goat, sheep", Tolk yāru Netunāl 30 āru "river".

There is a restriction on the occurrence of the palatals in the Tolk, according to sūtras 62, 64, 65, the palatal Ē, Ī and Y cannot be followed by ā, but this restriction is no more valid for the bardic poems, in which a number of words occur with the palatals followed by ā (cf. Pur 14, 19, 50, 18, 74, 3 and elsewhere). Honorific plurals, allowed by Tolk Col 27 only in the spoken language, occur in the literary texts of the "Cankam" age (Aṅk 431-440). The restrictions on the use of the verb vā "to come" and tā "to give" (used only with the first two persons), cel "to go" and kotu "to give" (used only with the third person, cf. Tolk 512, 513) are no longer valid in the "Cankam" period. The usage of the particles of comparison, prescribed in Tolk, is relaxed in "Cankam" works. The restriction of the vīyankōl "implied command", to the third person, is not valid for bardic texts (Tolk 711). There had also been some semantic shift, e.g. tuṇcal in Tolk Porul 260 means "to sleep", while in Patir 72 it means "to die", kavaruvu "to desire" (Tolk Col 362) means "to eat" in Pattināp 22. According to Tolk Col 269, el means "light", in Malavatuk 416 it means "night".

These and other differences between the language, described in the Tolkāppiyam, and the language used by the bards in their heroic and erotic poems argue rather for an earlier date of the grammar, since a literature following a grammar may "add" its own "rules" (and it usually does so), while the reverse procedure is highly improbable. Since, however, the general political, social and

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1 Cf. items like catar (Pur 1), camam (Pur 14), cakatam (Pur 102), cavanāl (Perimplām 217), cālam (Mātūrāk 112), cantu (Mālappatuk 392), cavanātum (Pattināp 84), canam (Tirukkural 90), camay (ib 112), which show that the rule of Tolk Elūṭt 62 must have preceded these forms and, hence, these texts.
cultural conditions as reflected by the *Tolkāppiyam* and the classical bardic poetry are more or less the same, and—more important—the deep structure and the stage of evolution of the language of the bardic poetry and the metalanguage of *Tolkāppiyam* are, too, almost identical, there could hardly have been a wide gap of time between the two.

"Our first conclusion the earhest, original version of the *Tolkāppiyam* belongs to the "pre-Cankam" period, the oldest layer of the grammar is somewhat earlier in time than the majority of extant classical Tamil poems."  

The relations between Patañjali, an early Sanskrit grammarian, and the *Tolkāppiyam*, seems to be well established. It looks as if *Tolk Col* 419 is indeed indebted to Patañjali's classification of compounds into *pūrva-pāda-rtha*, *uttara-pāda-rtha*, *anu-pāda-rtha* and *ubhaya-pāda-rtha*. In fact, *Tolk Col* 419 seems to be almost a translation of Patañjali's Sanskrit text.

S Vaiyapuri Pillai also points to Tolkāppiyam using the term *lakkanam* < Pkt *lakhana*, Skt *laksana* in the sense of "grammar", thus, he says, was first introduced by Patañjali (cf *HTLL* p 49).

The date of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is given as approximately 150 B.C.

It also seems that Tolkāppiyam knew Pāṇini. S Vaiyapuri Pillai quotes a few instances of this. Thus, the "four-parts-of-speech" system of *Tolkāppiyam* (*Col* 158, 159 noun, verb, particle, qualifier) seems to correspond to the fourfold system of Pāṇini (nāma-"nouns", ākhyāta-"finite verb", upasarga-"dependent determina-"

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1 This is the Tamil version *avir tami* | *nimmoli nilaiyalum pumoli nilaiyalum* | *vimooli melem orunku ta* zero nilaiyalum | *anmol nilaiyathu anmol nilaiyalum* | *anmaa nai eppa porunali marapé* (*Col* 419)

2 Cf *Tolk Col* 27 Before Patañjali, only the term *vyākaraṇa* was used to denote "grammar". Cf also Tolkāppiyam's use of the loan-translation *hūga* "sign" (cf Skt *laksana* in the same meaning) to denote "grammar" in *Tolk Porul* 50. These points are discussed at length in Tamil by S Vaiyapuri in his *Tamiś priyar manikal* (ed. 1950) p 50

3 A B Keith *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p 5
tive word”, *nīpāta- “particle”), though Tolkāppiyar’s division is first and foremost based on the actual state of affairs in Tamil and agrees admirably with modern linguistics (the Tamil system is noun, adjective, verb, particle) We may probably also connect *Tolk Elutt* 83 with Pānmi 1

Granting the indebtedness to Pānmi, this would give us the 4th-5th Cent B.C as the lower limit for *Tolkāppiyam* Since, however, we consider the *Tolkāppiyam*, even in its original form anyhow much later than that date, this lower limit is not so very important 2

Much more important is the fact that some of the *nīrpaśas* of the Tamil grammar seem to have been directly influenced by much later Sanskrit texts

The possible agreement between *Mānavadharmāśāstra* III 46, 47 and *Tolk Porul* 185 would immediately raise our lower limit to about 200 A.D

A very possible agreement between the enumeration of the 32 *uktis* in Kautilya’s *Arthāśāstra* and Tolkāppiyar’s 32 *uttikal* would raise the lower limit further, to about 300 A.D 3 4

In *Tolk Porul* 251, the eight feelings (moods) and/or their physical manifestations are enumerated, and these, according to S. Vayapuri Pillai, clearly agree with the eight *rasas* or “moods” of Bharata’s *Nātyaśāstra* VI 15 I am very much convinced that in this point, *Tolk Porul* is indebted to the Sanskrit source (or sources) beyond any doubt whatsoever Bharata’s date is usually given as 4th Cent A.D, so that *Tolk Porulatikāram* would be later than the 4th Cent A.D, if the Tamil grammar indeed imitated the Sanskrit treatise 4

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1 *Tamil cutar manikai*, 3rd ed., 46-48 and *HTLL* p. 13
2 For the date of Pānmi, cf M. B. Emeneau, *Collected Papers*, p. 188, ftn 3 “Probably not earlier than the sixth century B.C nor later than the fourth (so Franklin Edgerton, *Word Study*, vol. xxvii/1952/, b. 3, p. 3), perhaps even to be pinned down to the fifth century B.C (M. Winternitz, op cit., p. 42), even to the middle of that century (V. S. Agraivala, *India as known to Pānmi* {Univ of Lucknow, 1953/}, p. 475)**
3 M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, 111, 523
4 P. R. Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiqury* 41 (1912) 158 The two texts in question run as follows

*sṛngāra hāṣya kāvunā raudra vīra bhāyānakāh*
*bībhatād bhūtā samjñāu cētya nātyeyāsāh smṛtāh*

(*Nātyaś* VI 15)

*nakarvē yaśūkar yilvavāg marutkāra*
The ten *avattai*, "states", described by Tolkāppiyam in *Porul* 100 correspond clearly to the *daśāvasthāh* of *Kāmasūtra* 5.1 This would, again, give us a later date than the 4th Cent. A D for *Tolk Porulatikāram*.

One can of course always object that, before all these cultural matters became fixed in dateable texts, they might have been and probably were current in the cultural traditions of the "Sanskritic" people, hence, allusions to them are no real help in dating. Also, lines containing these allusions might be considered as later interpolations.

According to S. Vaiyapuri, there is yet another additional proof for a rather late date of the grammar in the use of the word *ōrai*, which seems to be most probably a Greek word (*hōrā*) borrowed into Sanskrit astrological texts about the 3rd-4th Cent. A D (A B Keith).

Last but not least, *Tolk Porul* 53 shows familiarity with the dramatic idiom and the common usage portrayed in the rather late, "post-Cankam" texts of *Kalittokai* and *Parvātāl*

Before reaching a conclusion—or even before expressing our agreement (or disagreement) with S. Vaiyapuri Pillai's conclusion—we must, however, observe one fact: all the correspondences between later (post-Christian era) Sanskrit texts and the Tamil grammar occur in the *Porulatikāram*, in the third book of *Tolkāppiyam*. In other words, there are a few lines in the *Porulatikāram* which are almost certainly of very late origin, not earlier than the 5th Cent; A D. Ruling out a transfer of cultural materia through channels other than direct influence of Sanskrit texts, and ruling out later interpolations and additions of precisely these lines, this fact would give us approximately the 5th Cent. A D as the earliest possible date of *Porulatikāram*, and as the date of the final redaction.

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*yaccam perumtam vekuḷi yuvakaiyen
raḷḷā lettē meyppā lenpa*

(*Tolk Porul Meyp* 3)

The equivalents are, obviously, Ta *nakai* = Skt *ḥāṣya* "fun, laughter", Ta *aṅkai* = Skt *karunā* "compassion, weeping", Ta *ilwaral* = Skt *bībhatsa* "ridicule, disgust", Ta *marulkai* = Skt *ādbhuta* "wonder, confusion", Ta *accam* = Skt *bhaya* "fear", Ta *perumtam* = Skt *vīra* "concept, arrogance, heroism", Ta *vekuḷi* = Skt *raudra* "wrath, anger", Ta *uwakai* = Skt *śṛṅgāra* "pleasure"

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1 M. Winteritz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, III, 540
2 *māryantu oṉkkattu ṅravum nālum*, *Kalavyal* 45
3 *Tamil cutar manikal*, p 54
of the Tolkāppiyam. This is our second, but not our final conclusion.

The question is now: Should we accept S Vaiyapuri Pillai's conclusion that Tolkāppiyar "must have lived in the 5th Cent A.D."? Or, in other words, that the whole of Tolkāppiyam was written as late as the 5th Cent A.D.?

There is a certain amount of inconsistency between some of the sūtras of the grammar. It also seems that some of the sūtras have been "tampered with" and rearranged. This would suggest that certain sūtras are later interpolations. On the other hand, there are some gaps in the treatment of a few topics, which would suggest that the grammar has not reached us in absolute integrity.

It is suggested here, therefore, that the present text of the Tolkāppiyam, which underwent final editing and redaction sometime in the 5th Cent A.D. or later, is rather the work of a grammatical school than of an individual author. The school in question was probably called anttram, a pre-Pāṇiniā grammarical system ascribed to Indra. The term anttram (<aindr-) itself is post-Pāṇiniā, and Pāṇini does not mention it. This aindr system of grammar continued to exist, however, long after Pāṇini and was followed mainly by Jains (its representant being, e.g., Kātantra of the 3rd-4th Cent. A.D.). It is probable that the author(s) of the bulk of the grammatical sūtras which became known as Tolkāppiyam belonged to the group of Jaina scholars, following this aindr grammarical tradition. However, the organization of the grammar, and some other features of the text indicate that, apart from a possible number of authors involved there probably was a single master-mind who grasped with exceptional insight and intuition the deep grammatical structure of Tamil, who observed

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1 Cf. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, A History of Tamil Language (1965), pp. 51-52. E.g., in Tolkā 1503, 1510, 1573, the word pillai "young one" is said never to occur with reference to "human child", but in Tolkā 1106 the same word means "human child". Or, the last few sūtras in the last chapter of the 3rd book seem to be unnecessary repetitions of statements about nāl "book" made already in the previous chapters on prosody. Such sūtras may be considered later additions.

2 In the prefatory stanza, Paṇampāraṇār qualifies Tolkāppiyar as anttram niranta, i.e., "full of", "well-versed in" anttram.

3 Cf. Belvalker, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 11. "As for the diversity and extent of Indian grammatical work about twelve different schools of grammatical theory have been recognized in the Indian tradition (most, if not all, to some degree dependent on Pāṇini), and there are about a thousand separate grammatical works preserved" (J. Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, 1968, p. 19).
the emergence of Tamil as a full-fledged literary language, distinct from other closely related speeches like Kannada, who helped to institutionalize and standardize this vehicle of literature, and made explicit, in a highly formalized way, the rules of that language and its particular style. Thus, the nuclear portions of Tolkāppiyam were probably born sometime in the 2nd or 1st Cent B.C., but hardly before 150 B.C.

Later generations of grammarians and prosodists added to this core and developed its ideas from time to time, and it is not ruled out that the third part of the grammar, the one which deals with the subject-matter of poetry, is in toto (or in greater part) later than the first two parts. The final redaction of the Tolkāppiyam as we know it today did not very probably take place before the 5th Cent A.D., so that the ultimate shape of the sūtras as we have them before us is probably not earlier than the middle of the first millennium of our era.

The intellectual achievement of the author(s) of Tolkāppiyam—in spite of the lack of utmost brevity and economy—is indeed enormous. As already said, it is a vision of an entire civilization, highly formalized and made very explicit. All the three books show a mind of extraordinary depth, a rare modestness, a brilliant expository power, and an ability of crystal-clear formulation.

In general approach, Tolkāppiyam, like the work of Pāṇini, is a descriptive, strictly synchronic grammar, dealing with one style of the language, the Early Old Literary Tamil. Like Pāṇini, Tolkāppiyam gives much attention to phonetics, and to the internal structure of words. His statements seem to be based on observation and experiment. Though well organised, very consistent, and very exhaustive, the Tolkāppiyam has not surpassed or even reached the level of Pāṇini in economy, explicitness, consistency and terseness. On the other hand, the field of experience the Tolkāppiyam—as a total text in its final shape—describes, is much wider and even deeper than that of Pāṇini. To illustrate this point, let us analyse a few of the nātpās occurring at the beginning of Akattināṟiyal (the first chapter of the 3rd book of the grammar), since the reader is already familiar with the basic concepts occurring in this text from Chapter 6 (The Theory of "Interior Landscape"). However, while in the previous chapter the literary implications were considered,

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1 S. Valiyapillai Pillai, HTLL, p 71.
here we shall deal with the basic conceptual framework of Tolkāppiyam, with the gnoseological attitude of the first and most ancient of great Tamil intellects.

True to the characteristic intellectual thoroughness, and obeying a basic urge toward learned classification, the author of these lines observes the entire universe, all objects in the world which appears to him as perceived—kāṭci—and conceived—karuttu—in terms of three categories of entities (porul) mutal, karu and uri, Mutal, or mutarporu, or the basic, first entities, in terms of which the phenomenal world may be described, are TIME (polutu) and SPACE (nilam). That is, the time-space continuum, the dimensions of space and time, space and time are indispensable, everything must be perceived and conceived within its time-space coordinates Karu (lit “foetus, embryo, egg, germ”, of DED 1074) are things (porul) “born, native”, i.e., entities which appear as concrete, natural, “inborn”, “native” representations of the time-space coordinates Uri (lit “own, related, suitable, proper, essential”, DED 503) are “essential, appropriate” entities, i.e., human feelings and situations “proper, appropriate” to the various time-space divisions. Schematically

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perceived and conceived as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>space-time continuum — in concrete representations — and appropriate human feelings and actions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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For the subdivision of time (polutu, kālam), the reader may consult chapter 6. The space, the stage set for humans to “fight and mate”, was “perceived and conceived” by Tolkāppiyam in terms

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1 kāṭci, DED 1209 “sight, vision of a deity, view, appearance”, in this connection, “perception, vision”
2 karuttu, DED 1078 “design, purpoae, opinion, attention, desire, judgement, mind, will”, in this connection, “conception”
3 Tolk Porul Akat 3 mutalharu uripporu lega mūmē etc “the three (types of) entities the basic (or first), the germinal (or womb-like) [and] the proper (or own)”
4 ib 2 mutalēṇa patuwatu nilampoḷu tirantu ḫtyalp(u)
5 Accor to Porul Akat 18, “gods, food, beasts, trees, birds, drums, occupations, melody-types etc” and the commentator adds, under the “etc”, (tribal or generic) name of the hero and the heroine, the waters, the habitat, the flowers, and the (tribal) designation of the people
of the cultural regions, of the landscapes, of the physiographic divisions. These regions had their concrete manifestations in the karu paradigm, and, under the uri or “appropriate entities”, each of the landscapes had a corresponding human physical and psychological situation. Nature and man were conceived as different (nature under mutal-nilam, and man typically under uri), but, at the same time, as being in one-to-one correspondence, in striking parallelism, and, above all, in “harmony” and unity. Natural phenomena, behaviour of beasts and birds, and descriptions of natural scenery, were frequently used as symbolic, indicative and inferential for human feelings and actions. There was no strict division between “nature” and “art”, between “natural” as non-human, and “artificial”, “civilized”, “cultural” as human.

The very first nūrpā of Tolk Porul Akatt speaks about seven behaviour-patterns or tinai, it says that, beginning with “one-sided love” and ending with “excessive love”, there are seven tinai. The details have been discussed in Chapter 6. Here we would like to add one point in TP Akatt 5, Tolkāppiyam calls these regions ulakam (<Skt loka- “world”), i.e., “worlds”, since, indeed, these regions constituted miniature worlds with their own characteristic cultures. It is also significant that the same nūrpā enumerates only the four regions (pasture lands, mountains, agricultural tracts, littoral regions) which are constantly inhabited and “cultivated”, i.e., cultured, leaving pālas “wasteland, desert” unmentioned. The world is called characteristically nāmilam in classical Tamil, i.e., “four-fold region”. Nūrpā 14 of TP Akatt gives the five behaviour-patterns, the five psychosomatic situations punaril “sexual union”, purstial “separation”, irntial “patient waiting”, irrankal “pinning” and ātal “sulking”.

It can hardly be claimed that this “intellection” and classification of the world and of human beings was the “invention” of Tolkāppiyam. However, since Tolkāppiyam has given it its final shape, this categorization and these conventions went under its author’s name and, as pointed out above, exerted a lasting influence upon the Tamil mind.

1 This being what A K Ramanujan so happily termed “interior landscape.”

2 Which does not mean that there was no distinction between “beast” and “man”. On the contrary, the language, and its grammatical description, make a sharp distinction between rational (human and divine, uyartinas), and the ir-rational (animal, vegetative and inanimate, ahyatin).
APPENDIX

The translation of the beginning of the Tolkāppiyam (Eluttath-kāram) is given here so that the reader may have an idea of the highly technical nature of the work.

1. The eluttu are said to be
   thirty in number
   beginning with a
   [and] ending with u
   except the three the occurrence of which depends upon others

2. They [the three] are
   the over-short i, the over-short u,
   and the three dots
   called āyīlam, similar to a eluttu

3. Among them,
   the five sounds
   a, i, u, e, o
   have each one measure
   [and] are called short sounds

4. The seven sounds
   ā, Ī, āi, ē, ai, ò, au
   have two measures each
   [and] are called long sounds

5. One [single] sound has never three measures.

6. Learned men say that if lengthening is needed, the [sound]
   of that measure should be produced and added

7. According to the view of those who have
   understood accurately,
   one māttirai is the time taken by a wink of the eyes
   [or] a snap of the fingers

8. The twelve phonemes ending with au
   are called vowels.

9. The eighteen phonemes ending with u
   are called consonants.
10. The nature of vowels is not altered even when pronounced with consonants.

11. The measure of a consonant is said to be half [of a māttirav].

12. The other three also remain of that nature.

13. The sound m has [its] half measure shortened when pronounced with [another consonant]. Considered carefully, this is rare.

14. [Its] shape will be a dot obtained within.

15. The nature of the consonant is to be provided with a dot.
CHART 13

Structural build-up of Tolkāppiyam

1 Eluttattākāram ‘Phonology’

1 Nūnmarapu ‘Postulates of Phonology’ Ss 1-33

2 Molsmarapu ‘Rules [on the occurrence of phonemes] in words’ Ss 34-82

3 Pirappiyal ‘Chapter on generating [sounds]’ Ss 83-103

4 Punarinya ‘Chapter on combination [of sounds]’ Ss 104-143

5 Kurriyalukarappunarinya ‘Chapter on combination [of words ending in] overshort -a’ Ss 407-483

6 Urupiyal ‘Chapter on [morphophonemic] rules’ Ss 144-173

7 Uyirmayankiyyal ‘Chapter on exceptions [to rules concerning] vowels’ Ss 204-296

8 Pullumayankiyyal ‘Chapter on exceptions [to rules concerning consonants]’ Ss 297-406
CHART 13/2

2 Collatikāram 'Morphology'

1 Kilavuyākkam 'Formation of words and utterances' Ss 1-61

4 Vilimaraṇu 'The rules of the vocative'
Ss 118-154

'Utterance'

'Non-root morphemes [in declension]'

2 Vēṟṟumaiyai 'Chapter on noun-declension'
Ss 62-83

3 Vēṟṟumaiyamayankiyai 'Chapter on functional syncretism in declension' Ss 84-117

'Parts-of-speech system'

5 Peyarivai 'Chapter on nouns'
Ss 155-197

6 Vinaivai 'Chapter on verbs'
Ss 198-248

7 Itaiyai 'Chapter on particles'
Ss 249-296

8 Vaiyai 'Chapter on qualifiers'
Ss 297-396

9 Eccaivai 'Supplementary chapter'
Ss 397-463
(compounds, morphosyntactic matters etc)
CHART 13/3

3 Porulaiyāram 'Subject-Matter'
   'Totality of human experience'

1 Akattinaiyāl
   'Chapter on the erotic situations'
   Ss 1-55

2 Purattinaiyāl
   'Chapter on the heroic situations'
   Ss 56-91

   'Its reflection in literature'

3 Kalavu iyāl
   'Chapter on premarital love'
   Ss 92-141

4 Karpu iyāl
   'Chapter on wedded love'
   Ss 142-194

5 Porul iyāl
   'Chapter on Subject-Matter
   [of Literature]'
   Ss 195-248

6 Meyppāttu iyāl
   'Chapter on the exhibition of
   feelings'
   Ss 249-275

7 Uvamaiyāl
   'Chapter on comparison'
   Ss 276-312

8 Ceyyul iyāl
   'Chapter on prosody
   and rhetoric'
   Ss 313-555

9 Marapu iyāl
   'Chapter on rules [about usage
   of words]'
   Ss 556-665
CHAPTER TEN

THE BOOK OF LOFTY WISDOM

"there hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom" (A. Schweitzer, *Indian Thought and Its Development*, 1960, p. 199)

The facts about the *Tirukkular*, formulated as briefly as possible, are as follows. It is a comprehensive manual on ethics, polity and love, consisting of 1330 distichs divided into 133 sections of 10 distichs each, the first 38 on ethics (*aram*), the next 70 on political and economic matters (*porul*), and the rest on love (*kāmam*). The author was probably a learned Jain with eclectic leanings and intimate acquaintance with the early works of Tamil classical period, as well as with some knowledge of the Sanskrit legal and didactic texts. We have almost no authentic information on his life. As the best date of the *Kural* one may suggest 450-550 A.D.

This chapter will deal with the *Tirukkural* exclusively from the point of view of its structure, structure of content, structure of metre, structure of language. By structure we understand a set of interrelated items which have no validity independently of the relations which hold among them.

Thus, this chapter will not entirely ignore, but deal only with utmost brevity, with such problems as the author’s person, the date of the work, and its "ideology".

The *Tirukkural* has always been in the highest esteem among the Tamil people. This great reverence for the author and his work is reflected by the nine different names under which the book goes.

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1 In addition to these traditional names, three more titles occur (*Tiruvalluvarappayai* in *Yāpparunkalakārṇhakai* 40 urai, *Tamilmugunūl* in *Parimēlalakarai*, and *Tiruvalluvamālai*, cf. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Tamil cutar manikal* 101). According to S. Vaiyapuri, Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 8 are taken from *Tiruvalluvamālai*, a later eulogy, a collection of stanzas in praise of the poet and his work, ascribed to gods and poets of the Maturai academy. The name *Tamilmarai* is also based on ideas occurring in the eulogy, stanzas 24, 28, 37, 42. No. 7 occurs in Kallātār’s and Vellivittiyai’s stanzas. According to the same scholar (*Tamil cutar manikal* 101-102), the original name of the book, given by the author himself, had most probably been *Muppāl*, or (in

The historical problem of the date of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is rather complicated, and it has been thrashed out in a number of papers and books, published in Tamil as well as in Western languages. The internal evidence (the language of the work, allusions to earlier works, indebtedness of the *Kural* to some Sanskrit treatises, etc.) all points to a date which is considerably later than the early classical poetry (and in this respect the *Kural* does certainly not belong to the "Cankam" age), but earlier than the beginnings of *bhakti* in Tamilnad. The 5th Cent AD, probably sometime between 450-550 AD, is the best date that can be suggested.  

There are, as usual, a number of conflicting traditions about the author. One tradition says that he was an outcaste by birth, the issue of an union between a Brahmin and a Pariah woman. Some think that he was a weaver by caste, others say that he "must have been" a *vēḻāla* since he praised agriculture, the traditional occupation of the caste, so highly. A scholar equates *valluva* with *vallabha* and takes the term to mean a superintendent, an officer of the king. Another, and a more probable opinion was expressed by S Vaiyapuri Pillai (*HTLL*, p 80) that Valluvar was "the chief of the proclaiming boys analogous to a trumpet-major of an army".  

Almost every religious group in India has claimed the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* for itself, including the Christians. G U Pope sees the poet as an eclectic, who came, in Mayilāpur, into contact with Christian teachers (like Pantaenus of Alexandria), "imbibing Christian ideas, tinged with the peculiarities of the Alexandrian school, and day by day analogy with *Nālaiyāṟṟi* simply *Kural*. Though purely a speculative conclusion, it is not improbable.

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2 Cf Pope's translation, 1886, 1 "The weaver of Mayilāpur"
3 M Raghava Iyengar, *Āṟyecittokuttā*, 1964, 206-209
4 cf *DED* 4353 *Ta valluvan* a Pariah caste, the members of which are royal drummers, and priests for Parayars *Ma valluvan* a priest of the Parayars, a low-caste sage, a caste of slaves
day working them into his own wonderful Kurral". It is Pope who speaks of the book as an "echo of the 'Sermon on the Mount'". Pope, himself a Christian missionary, was rather overenthusiastic in discovering strong traces of Christianity in Tiruvalluvar's work. "I cannot feel any hesitation in saying that the Christian Scriptures were among the sources from which the poet derived his inspiration" (Introduction, iv). However, whatever may remind us of the Sermon on the Mount belongs rather to the sphere of "natural law", and the ethics of the Kurral is rather a reflection of the Jaina moral code than of Christian ethics (cf e.g Tiruk 251-260 on vegetarianism, Tiruk 321-333 on "not killing", kollamai).

"While the hypothesis of Christian influence is based on vague impressions, it is a fact that we find in the text several purely Jaina technical terms, and it seems that Tiruvalluvar had been "cognizant of the latest developments" of the Jaina system.

The Kurral's epithets for God are very much Jaina-like cf malarmcayekiyi (Tiruk 3) "he who walked upon the (lotus) flower", aravavayantan (ib 8) "the Brahmnam (who had) the wheel of dharma", enkunatthan (ib 9) "the one of eight-fold qualities" (kunam <Skt guna-) These epithets of God (besides âtiyakavan "the Primeval Lord", cf Manu I 6, and vaman "the King, the Monarch") are very well applicable to the Jaina Arhat (e.g. "standing on a lotus flower") and to none else, this even the orthodox Hindu commentator Parmâlaikalakar had to admit. Two of the other attributes, given by Valluvar to his God, have a strong ascetic flavour, and suggest, too, Jaina atmosphere. In Tiruk 4 we find vêtutul vêtumai sâny "he who has neither desire nor aversion", in 6 porvâyil anjavittân "he who has destroyed the gates of the five senses". So, if there is at all any reflection of a particular doctrine in the work, it is rather the Jaina terminology and the Jaina atmosphere (cf Tiruk 251-260, 321-330) which we find in the text.

Aram (dharma "virtue"), porul (artha "wealth") and kânam

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1 Pope began his missionary life in 1840 in Mayilâpur. The 19th Century Christian-oriented morality was responsible for the standpoint of early translators of the Kurral towards its third book on kânam "pleasure". Of this book Drew said that "it could not be translated into any European language without exposing the translator to infamy". And Pope adds "But this is only true in regard to certain of the commentaries upon it, which are simply detestable. Kâman is the Hindî Cupid. This prejudice kept me from reading the third part of the Kurral for some years" (Introd xi-xii)
(kāma “pleasure”) are dealt with in the work. There is no specific portion allotted to the fourth and “highest” objective of life, to vītu (mokṣa “deliverance”). It is not because Valluvar had left his work incomplete. Not because “he thought his people were not prepared for the higher teaching.” But simply because Valluvar’s moral code was eminently empirical, practical, pragmatic this world, man in his relation to this material world, to society and state, to his beloved, his children and family, and to his own inner life—that was what thrilled Valluvar, not “heaven” (vītu). That this interpretation is valid may also be seen from the schematic representation of the content-structure which shows that the progression, the movement is from the “imperfect,” “incomplete” married man, husband and lover, through subsequent steps of perfection, to the “perfect,” “complete” family-man, husband and lover, and not towards an ascetic, a recluse. God and virtue as such, and “disinterestedness” of those “who, way of both worlds weighed/ In this world take their stand, in virtue’s robe arrayed” (23), is common to all spheres and stages of life, just like rain (vāy, malai) falls upon all.

It seems that, as far as its language, formal structure and content-structure is concerned, the Kural is the work of a single author.

The very division into the three major parts—the arattuppāl (the part on virtue), porutpāl (the part on wealth) and kāmattuppāl (the part on pleasure)—may be and probably is the author’s. The name Muppāl, “(A work) of three parts”, and the fact that all commentators agree with this basic three-fold division, support this conclusion. However, any further division of the text beyond that seems to be later, since the commentators and scholiasts differ thus, the first book is divided, by Parimēḷājakar, into two parts, illaram (“domestic virtue”) and turavaram (“ascetic virtue”) plus four chapters as pāyram or “introduction”. But there are others who divide the first book into four portions. As far as the second book is concerned, there is even more variation. Parimēḷājakar divides it into three portions, other scholiasts into five or even six parts. It seems, though, that the poet himself was responsible for the basic structure of the book and for the sequence of individual couplets, the content seems to be organized dichotomously. Also,

1 That a wise and knowledgeable man like Pope could make such a judgment is hardly credible.
CHART 14

Structure of Content in the Tirukkural

God
\| 'Ram'
\| Disinterestedness
\| Virtue

Virtue (aram)
- Domestic (tilaram) man's relation to wife, children, friends, his life in the family circle
- Ascetic (ituravaram) man's relation to oneself

Wealth (porul)
- Royalty the duties and prerogatives of the ruler
- Subjects the duties, right conduct and skills of the subjects

Pleasure (kāmam)
- Premarital (kalavu) birth of love rejoicing in sexual union etc
- Marital (karpu) separation and grief patient and anxious waiting lovers' quarrel and reunion and after marriage

\[\text{man's progress from 'domestic life'}\]
\[\text{through right deeds and fulfillment of duty to possession of grace and perception of truth to perfection and as subject to the fullness of intimate, emotional experience before to the physically, morally, intellectually and emotionally 'perfect, complete' man, living the life of a husband and citizen}\]
there do not seem to be any later additions to the text. The *Tirukkural* is certainly not an anthology. It is the work of one poet, revealing a single structural plan. The structure of the content is given schematically on the pertinent Chart. The contents of the work in detail is as follows.

**Book I  Virtue (aram) *Agattuppāl***

**Introduction  Pāyram**

1  In praise of God (*pakay, iraway*)
2  The excellence of rain (*vašy, malai*)
3  The greatness of those who have renounced
4  Assertion of the strength of virtue

I  Domestic virtue (tilaram)

5  Domestic life (*vilālkhai*)
6  The goodness of wife (*= vālkkantunai* ‘the life’s help’)
7  The obtaining of sons (*pulaivar*)
8  The possession of affection (*arpu*)
9  Hospitality
10  Kindly speech
11  Gratitude
12  Impartiality
13  Self-control
14  Decorous conduct
15  Not coveting another’s wife
16  Forbearance
17  Absence of envy
18  Absence of covetousness
19  Not speaking evil of the absent
20  Not speaking senseless words
21  Dread of evil deeds
22  Recognition of duty
23  Giving
24  Fame (*pukal*)

II  Ascetic virtue (*tilavaram*)

25  Possession of grace (*arul*)
26  Abstinence from flesh (*vegetarianism*)
27  Penance (*tavam*)

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1 Mrs S Kokkalam makes me aware of the interesting fact that the number seven played obviously some role in the structural build-up of the book. Every *venpā* (couplet) has seven feet (4 + 3), the total number of couplets in the book is 1330, which, as $1 + 3 + 3 + 0$, equals 7. The number of graphemic units in the author’s name is also seven *ts-ru-va-lu-va-r*.

2 "the perfect and most elaborate work of one master" (Pope, Preface, iv)
28 Inconsistent conduct
29 Absence of fraud
30 Truthfulness
31 Absence of anger
32 Inflicting no pain
33 Not killing (kollamās)
34 Instability of earthly things
35 Renunciation (turāvu)
36 Perception of truth (mēy)
37 Extirpation of desire (avā)
38 Past deeds (ūl = karma)

Book II Wealth (porul) Porutpāl
(Royalty The qualities of the leader of men.)
39 The greatness of a king
40 Learning
41 Ignorance
42 Learning through hearing
43 Possession of knowledge
44 Correction of faults
45 Seeking the help of the great
46 Avoiding mean association
47 Acting after right consideration
48 Recognition of power
49 Recognition of opportunity
50 Recognition of place
51 Selection and confidence
52 Selection and employment
53 Cherishing one's kin
54 Unforgetfulness
55 The right sceptre
56 The cruel sceptre (tyranny)
57 Absence of tyranny
58 Benignity
59 Spies
60 Energy
61 Unsluggishness
62 Manly effort
63 Not despairing in trouble

(The subject vis-à-vis the ruler)

64 Ministry
65 Power in speech
67 Firmness in deeds
68 Method of action
69 The envoy
70 Conduct in the presence of king
71 Knowledge of signs
72 Knowledge in the council chamber
73 Not to fear the council

(Essential parts of state Shrewdness in public life)

74 The land
75 The fort
76 Way of accumulating wealth
77 Greatness of the army
78 Military spirit
79 Friendship
80 Scrutiny of friendship
81 Familiarity
82 Evil friendship
83 Faithless friendship
84 Folly
85 Ignorance
86 Hostility
87 The excellence of hate
88 Skill in the conduct of quarrels
89 Secret enmity
90 Not offending the great
91 Being led by women
92 Wanton women
93 Abstinence from liquor
94 Gaming
95 Medicine

(Reaching perfection in social life)

96 Nobility
97 Honour
98 Greatness
99 Perfect excellence
100 Courtesy
101 Useless wealth
102 Shame
103 How to sustain the family
104 Agriculture
105 Poverty
106 Mendicancy
107 The dread of mendicancy
108 Vileness

Book III Pleasure (kānam) Kāmattuppāl
1 Concealed love (kalavu)

109 Mental disturbance caused by the lady's beauty
110 Recognition of the signs
111 Rejoicing in the sexual union
2 Wedded love (karpum)

116 Separation is unendurable
117 Complainting of absence
118 Eyes concerned with grief
119 Grief's pallor
120 Solitary anguish
121 Sad memories
122 Visions of night
123 Laments at evening
124 Wasting away
125 Soliloquies
126 Reserve destroyed
127 Longing for return
128 Reading of the signs
129 Desire for reunion
130 Arguing with one's heart
131 Lovers' quarrel
132 Petty jealousies
133 Pleasures of temporary variance

'The content of the *Tirukkural* is undoubtedly patterned. In fact, it is structured very carefully, so that no "structural gaps" occur in the text. Every single couplet is indispensable for the structured whole. Every distich has, so to say, two kinds of meaning: if isolated and thus removed from the content-structure, the couplets lose a very important meaning-component—the "structural meaning". An isolated couplet may be charming and interesting in itself, but it is just a "wise saying", a moral maxim, a "literary proverb" in perfect form, possessing, in varying degree, the prosodic and rhetoric qualities of gnomic poetry. It acquires a "structural meaning" only in relation to other couplets, forming higher patterns, and, finally, in relation to the entire text, which forms a perfect total structure. This fact is in sharp contrast with the early classical poetry, where each stanza was a perfectly self-contained unit, various stanzas were gathered in anthologies, while, as already stressed, the *Tirukkural* is not an anthology.'

'In the totality of his relationships is the subject of the *Kural*. After a "cosmic" introduction, which praises God, rain, supermen and virtue, the author of the book turns towards man, whose..."
personality is gradually unfolded in “ever expanding concentric cycles” within the family with his wife and children, within the community with his friends, and within his country, in his relationship towards the ruler and the state. Man is shown not in a static state but in development, and the force that is behind this dynamism is sympathy, even love, manifesting itself through kind thought, sweet words, and right actions.) At the end of the first part, in Chapter 24, this stage of one’s development ends by attaining true fame (pukal). However, the gradual unfolding of man’s personality goes on on a higher level through benevolence, through the grace of universal love (arul, Chapter 25) Abstaining from all injury, fraud, anger, falsehood and, above all, from killing, the mind becomes pure, and the man becomes wise. He attains real knowledge and universal love, there is, for him, no distinction between “you” and “I”, he is free.

But man’s relationship to himself, to his own soul, and his private, intimate life, is only one aspect of human life on this earth. There is also man’s relationship towards society, towards the state, his place in the hierarchies and orders, his relationship towards the king, the material and social basis of his existence, his public life, in short—man, the zoön politikon.

It is in this second book on “Wealth” (porul) that the Tirukkural is not only a book of noble, “lofty” wisdom, but also a book of shrewd cunning. Here, the moral is very empirical, very pragmatic. It is true that Tiruvalluvar approaches even these worldly matters from the aspects of friendship, kindness, justice.

“Search out, to no one favour show, with heart that justice loves.
Consult, then act, this is the rule that right approves”

(Pope, 541)

It is true that the Tirukkural despises tyranny and that his

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1 E g 322 “Let those that need partake your meal, guard everything that lives / this is the chief and sum of lore that hoarded wisdom gives”

2 E g 352 “Darkness departs, and rapture springs to men who see / The mystic vision pure, from all delusion free”

3 E g 346 “Who kills conceit that utters “I” and “mine”, / Shall enter realms above the powers divine”

4 E g 365 “Men freed from bonds of strong desire are free, / None other share such perfect liberty”
monarchy has many features of "modern democracy" (if that is to be considered a compliment) But we also read such couplets as e.g.

"Make money! Foeman's insolence o'ergrown
To lop away no keener steel is known"  
(Pope, 759)

Or,

"Destroy the thorn, while tender point can work thee no offence
Matured by time, 'twill pierce the hand that plucks it thence"
(Pope, 879)

However, one should never contemplate the couplets in isolation We must again and again stress that they have true validity and meaning only in their patterned relations to other couplets, and to the whole. And when read and contemplated in this way, Tiruvalluvar's ethno is never that of a Cānakya or a Macchiavel. Even in single couplets, kindness and friendship will show as an unavoidable accompaniment of other qualities.

"Fierceness in hour of strife heroic greatness shows
Its edge is kindness to our suffering foes"
(Pope, 773)

What is, however, even more important is the fact that the public life of man, man as a political being, is discussed only after his inner, moral growth had been described, only a cultured, a civilized man, a man who is morally and spiritually ripe, is ready to enter public, political life. This is the basic "structural" meaning of the whole second part of the book.

(It is the third part of the work, the Kāmattuppāl, which contains some of the most "poetic" couplets. The reason is clear, it is in this part dealing with "pleasure" that the traditions of early classical literature, of the "Cankam" poetry, are still strong. Every couplet in the third part may be considered a "dramatic monologue of the akam variety." The man who has unfolded his personality in the moral and spiritual order and who is taking part in the social and political life, is also entitled to pleasure, and to strictly private life.)

In fact, only a meaningful relationship with woman, physical and emotional, makes him "whole." After spiritual treasures and moral

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1 Cf T P Meenakshisundaran, HTL, p 58. Cf e.g. 566 "The tyrant, harsh in speech and hard of eye, / His ample joy, swift fading, soon shall die."

2 Cf T P Meenakshisundaran, HTL, p 53
wealth, there is emotional riches, after exercising his intelligence and knowledge, there is the heart which must not be neglected. The hypertrophy of virtue, as well as the hypertrophy of skills and prowess, would be catastrophic. Beauty, leisure, feelings and emotions are indispensable parts of human life. And in the Kāmatulpāḷ, we have the lover and his sweetheart in physical and emotional rapture, described in about 250 charming couplets.

"Shall I draw back, or yield myself, or shall both mingled be, When he returns, my spouse, dear as these eyes to me?"  
(Pope, 1267)

"Withdraw, it burns, approach, it soothes the pain, Whence did the maid this wondrous fire obtain?"  
(Pope, 1104)

"A double witchery have glances of her liquid eyes, One glance is glance that brings me pain, the other heals again"  
(Pope, 1091)

If there is true poetry anywhere in the Tirukkūṟṟal, it is here, in the erotic couplets of the third book. Because here, the teacher, the preacher in Valluvar has stepped aside, and Valluvar speaks here almost the language of the superb love-poetry of the classical age.

As far as the prosodic form of the work is concerned, a perfect unity prevails throughout the entire text in that it employs one kind of metre which is eminently suitable to gnomic poetry. The venpā is the most difficult, and the most highly esteemed of stanzaic structures of classical Tamil literature. There are five different kinds of this stanza. The Tirukkūṟṟal uses just one of them, the kuralvenpā. Here are its structural properties:

a) Only feet of three or two metrical units may be employed.
b) The stanza must always end in a foot of the following type: −, =, −○, = ○
c) Strict rules of consonance of lines must be observed (so-called ventotai).
d) The number of feet is seven, the number of lines two: the first line contains four feet, the second three feet.

As an instance, a typical kuralvenpā (393) is quoted here:

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1 Tiruvalluvar’s Kāmatulpāḷ is utterly different from any of the Sanskrit Kāmasāstras. While Vātsyāyana’s work (and all later Sanskrit erotology) is śāstra, that is, objective and scientific analysis of sex, the third part of the Kural is a poetic picture of eros, of ideal love, of its dramatic situations.
kannutaya repayar karor mukattirantu
punnutayar kallal tavar

"The learned men alone are said to have eyes
the unlearned have but a pair of sores in their face"

Its metric structure is

\[- = - / - = / - - / - - - / - - - - / = - - / - - - - /

Observe, how the above-said rules are strictly adhered to: the
couplet has four feet in the first, three feet in the second line. The
feet are of two (\(- = , - - -\)) or three (\(- - = - , = - - -\)) metric
units only. The couplet ends with a foot of the so-called malar (=)
shape. The "rhyme" occurs in the coda of the first syllable kann-
punn-. Observe, too, how closely and intimately the formal prop-
ties and the content are connected kann "eye(s)" and punn "sore(s)"
are placed in the most prominent, most "functional" slots in the
lines, they bear the "rhyme" (etukas), because, semantically, these
two words express the contrast between learning ("having eyes")
and ignorance ("having sores instead of eyes")

No wonder that this perfect form, which is so closely connected
with the structural properties of the Tamil language, and which is a
marvel of brevity and condensation, has proved an insurmountable
obstacle for all translators of the work. What H A Popley said
about this problem is unfortunately very true "It is impossible in
any translation to do justice to the beauty and force of the origi-
nal".1

It is precisely this perfect form which—apart from the structural
properties and the "structural" meaning discussed above—adds to
the sometime rather banal sounding "sayings" the "beauty and
force" these couplets undoubtedly possess in the original. This
brings us to the discussion of another, rather delicate, matter.

The question posited by some (notably the old iconoclast K N
Subrahmanyan) whether the Tirukkural is at all poetry, is not so
senseless and unwise as some scholars have indicated.2 I would
not at all hesitate to raise the question, but I would certainly
hesitate to answer it positively without much thought. Is Tiruvallu-
var to be regarded as a (great) poet or not?3

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1 H A Popley, The Sacred Kural, Calcutta and London, 1931, p x
2 Cf T P Meenakshisundaran, HTL, p 59 "his work cannot be
denied the title of poetry"
Tirukkural is a great work, and its author must have been a great man, and a great genius, "the venerated sage and lawgiver of the Tamil people," as Pope says But only occasionally, only rarely is he a great poet True and great poetry appears in brief flashes here and there in the text (notably in the third book) in a few forceful metaphors and happy smiles The author's supreme skill in handling the metre is of course undeniable

However, quite obviously, the aesthetic function, the evoking of rasa, i.e. poetry, art as such and in itself, had not been the main aim of Tiruvalluvar

He was not a poet but a teacher, not art, but wisdom, justice, ethics is the basis of his work, his aims are gnomic, didactic, instructive And he is great precisely because in spite of these basic goals, he also attains perfection of form and he, too, occasionally appears as a great poet "That which above all is wonderful in the Kurral is the fact that its author addresses himself, without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs, to the whole community of mankind, the fact that he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason, that he proclaims in their very essence, in their eternal abstractedness, virtue and truth, that he presents, as it were, in one group the highest laws of domestic and social life" Tiruvalluvar is "the great 'Master of the Sentences'" (Pope) But this "bard of universal man" is emphatically not "the greatest poet of South India" as Pope calls him It is also not true that "Tiruvalluvar has made

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1 Cf such sweet and charming smiles as in 1121 "The dew on her white teeth, whose voice is soft and low, / Is as when milk and honey mangled slow" Or 1289 "Love is more tender than an opening flower" Or such striking comparisons as in 552 "As 'Give' the robber cries with lance uplift, / So kings with sceptred hand implore a gift" Or 1078 "The base, like sugar-cane, will profit those who bruise", or 80 "Bodies of loveless men are bony framework clad with skin" Cf metaphors like in 853 "the grievous plague of enmity", 1221 "thou art not evening, but a spear that does devour the soul of brides", 1166 "a happy love is a sea of joy", 1227 "This grief is a bud in the morning, all day an opening flower, a full-blown blossom in the evening", 1232 "eye wet with dew of tears" Or such pregnant and forceful lines as 1075 acaマン ki Vikings tacakam "Fear is the base man's virtue"

2 M Ariel, in a letter to E Burnouf, published in Journal Asiatique (Nov-Dec 1848), quoted by Pope (Intro I)

3 What of Kampan, and Ilankõvatikal, and the early classical poets like Kapilar and Paranar, and the great epic poets in Telugu and Kannada? According to Pope, "in value it (the Kurral) far outweighs the whole of the remaining Tamil literature" (Intro vii) We can naturally never agree with Pope on this point
every maxim a beautiful verse of wonderful poetry” 1 There are
couplets in the text which are just skilful *venpās* containing some
platitude or even banality, and not the slightest attempt has been
made by their author to even strive after poetic greatness 2

But, on the whole, taken as an integrated vision of man and his
development, one can understand why such reader of the Kural as
G U Pope composed a sonnet on the poet, and, *cum grano salis*,
one may agree with Pope when he says that Tiruvalluvar touched
“all things with poetic grace”

(Let it be said in conclusion that it is almost impossible to truly
appreciate the maxims of the Kural through a translation Tirukku-
ral must be read and re-read in Tamil This fact, too, reveals
something about the nature and degree of its “poetic excellence”)

APPENDIX

The language of Tirukkural

A number of important grammatical innovations occur in the
language of this text when compared with the early old Tamil of
the classical period the plural suffix -kal is used with both nouns of
the “higher” and “lower” class (cf 263 maravavarkal, 919
*pāṇiyarkal*), the conditional suffix -ēl occurs frequently (368
untēl, 655 ceyvēlēl, 556 vērēl et c.), negative forms in -āmal belong
to the innovations, too (101, 103 cēyyāmal, 1824 cūlāmal), there are
more of such features which show that, linguistically, the Tirukkural
cannot be contemporaneous with (or older than) the “Cankam”
poems, but later 3

There is definitely a higher percentage of Sanskrit loanwords in
the Tirukkural than in the Tolkāppiyam and in the “Cankam”
works A complete list is given in S Vayapuri Pillai’s Tamsileccutar-
manikal, pp 72-3 Since I have a comment to offer on these loans,
the list is reproduced here in toto

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1 T P Meenakshisundaran, *The Pageant of Tamil Literature* (1966) 19
2 Eg 582 “Each day, of every subject every deed, / ‘Tis duty of the king
to learn with speed’” Or 584 “His officers, his friends, his enemies, / All
these who watch are trusty spies” Or 616 “Effort brings fortune’s sure
increase, / Its absence brings to nothingness” (The original is equally banal
and poor as the translation, but for a pun upon the word *yomas* *muyarci
truvīngai yākkku / muyarcymmam yēyam pukuttu vētum*)
3 For a complete linguistic analysis of the text, cf J J Glazov, Morphemic
Analysis of the Language of Tirukkural, in *Introduction to the Historical
Grammar of the Tamil Language*, Moscow, 1967, 113-176
I akaram (1) 2 ankanam (720) 3 accu (475) 4 atri (636) 5 antam (563) 6 amar (814) 7 amarar (121) 8 amilam (11) 9 amraccu (387) 10 aranku (401) 11 aracar (381) 12 aran (381) 13 avam (266) 14 avalam (1072) 15 avi (259) 16 avai (323) 17 akulam (34) 18 acaram (1075) 19 acu (266) 20 anu (667) 21 an (1) 22 ayram (259) 23 icai (231) 24 intri-an (25) 25 imai (775) 26 ira (1168) 27 ilakam (627) 28 ury (261) 29 uryu (667) 30 ulku (756) 31 ulakam (11) 32 ulaku (1) 33 wamai (7) 34 ury (498) 35 emam (306) 36 ey (14) 37 kahec (1037) 38 kanam (29) 39 kancci (1259) 40 katam (130) 41 kantu (507) 42 kalukam (1173) 43 karan (969) 44 kavel (678) 45 kalapam (935) 46 kalam (1224) 47 kalan (730) 48 ka'am (1081) 49 kāmam (360) 50 kāmañ (1197) 51 kāram (270) 52 kāriñi (571) 53 kālam (102) 54 kāyam (772) 55 kutankar (890) 56 kuti (171) 57 kutam (1029) 58 kunam (29) 59 kulam (956) 60 kuvalai (1114) 61 kūr (599) 62 kokku (490) 63 koti (337) 64 kottam (119) 65 kotti (401) 66 kannam (118) 67 calam (660) 68 cwikai (37) 69 cutai (114) 70 cātai (932) 71 cātu (931) 72 takar (486) 73 tavam (19) 74 tāmarai (1103) 75 tīmam (54) 76 tiru (168) 77 tukil (1087) 78 tulai (986) 79 tūtu (681) 80 teyam (43) 81 tēyam (753) 82 tēvar (1073) 83 tōti (911) 84 tōtti (24) 85 tōni (1068) 86 tōl (149) 87 nattam (235) 88 nāyam (860) 89 nākam (763) 90 nākām (580) 91 nāmam (360) 92 nāvāy (496) 93 neccam (532) 94 nir (13) 95 nittuppi (1148) 96 pakkam (620) 97 pakuttai (111) 98 pātām (1087) 99 pātravattar (586) 100 pāntam (475) 101 pākavan (1) 102 pātam (548) 103 pāyan (2) 104 pārattai (1311) 105 pālāniku (706) 106 pālai (840) 107 pākam (108) pākkiyan (1142) 109 pāvan (146) 110 pīrkku (843) 111 pīlar (658) 112 pūruvam (1086) 113 pūccañi (18) 114 pūtankañ (271) 115 pētai (614) 116 pēyu (565) 117 mānkalam (60) 118 mātamañ (89) 119 mātalai (449) 120 mālu (636) 121 mantri (639) 122 mayir (964) 123 mayil (1081) 124 māyam (7) 125 mānu (1273) 126 māñ (68) 127 mālu (400) 128 māyam (384) 129 miy (931) 130 mukam (90) 131 yāmam (1136) 132 vañcam (271) 133 vannam (561) 134 vāli (1157) 135 valli (1304) 136 vittakar (235) 137 vēlai (1221)

Now from this list we have to exclude a number of items which were considered to be Aryan loanwords by S Vaiyapuri Pillai, but which have since been proved, mainly by the labours of Burrow and Emeneau, to be of Dravidian origin. The lexis of Tirukkuṟaḷ is thus not so heavily Sanskritized after all. The following items have to be regarded as Dravidian in origin: amar (DED 137), ury (DED 608),
ēmam (DED 760), ēr (DED 2313), kavari (DED 1115), kavul (DED 1124), kalakam (DED 1132), kalam, kalay (DED 116), kuri (DED 171), kūr (1578), kōttam (1709), takar (2430), tinmai (2634), tukul (2687), tōttu (2925), tōl (2940), nayam (2977), nīr (3057), pakuti (3154), pantam (3220), pālli (3309), pētu (3631), pēy (3635), matamai (3798), mayir (3854), mayul (3793), mā (3923), mīr (3999), mukam (4003), valai (4348), vali (4351), vēlai (4555). Some items are of uncertain etymology, thus e.g. uru, uruvu (DED 566) may or may not be a lw <Skt rūpa-

The Sanskrit vocabulary of Tirukkural shrinks considerably, from 137 items to about 102 items. And if a more intensive etymological work were done, it may still shrink (cf. the uncertain etymology of such items as kutankar, kalul, etc., which may ultimately prove to be Dravidian).

A few of the metaphors in the text seem to be loan-translations from Sanskrit, e.g. pyraṃp perum katal “the ocean of rebirths” Sanskrit samsārasāgara. Just as there is a not negligible influence of Sanskrit vocabulary on Tiruvalluvar’s lexis, the author of the Kural is undoubtedly to some extent indebted to Sanskrit sources like Mānavadharmasāstra, Kautilya’s work, etc. Thus Tirukkural 43 is almost a translation of Mānav III 72, Tirukkural 54 is a vague echo of Mānav IX 12, Tiruk 58 of Mānav v 155, Tiruk 396 about learning has a parallel in Mānav II 212, Tiruk 501 (the method of testing candidates for ministerial office) is based undoubtedly on Kautilya I 10 (upadhā- “the moral test”), Tiruk 385 mentions the same four kinds of acts of a kind as those stated in Mānav VII 99, 100 and Kāmāndaka I 20, etc. However, this is, in itself, of no great importance, it would be foolish to deny that Tiruvalluvar, a mind so universal, cultured, learned and eclectic, knew these basic Sanskrit sources on dharma and nīti. He was without doubt a part of one great Indian ethical, didactic tradition. It is more important that he was also a very integral part of the non-Sanskritic and pre-Sanskritic Tamil tradition, this fact is seen not only from his conception of “pleasure” which is so typically a reflexion of the akam genre, but also from the all-pervading pragmatic, thus-wordly, empirical and, to a great extent, humanistic and universalistic character of his particular conception of dharma and nīti.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE LAY OF THE ANKLET

According to Jules Bloch, Cilappatikāram or the “Lay of the Anklet” is one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult of all Tamil ancient poetical works. \(^1\) In spite of this, the poem was translated into English, \(^2\) French, \(^3\) Russian \(^4\) and Czech \(^5\) It is only the Czech version which renders prose by prose and verse by verse in exact agreement with the original text. All the other translations are more or less exact \(^6\) prosaic renderings of the poem and, though this is very sad, they lack almost totally the great poetic splendour and grace of the original.

What is the Cilappatikāram? According to Ātiyārkkunallār, the medieval commentator on the work, it is an vahicamātakapporul-totarnilaavceyyul, \(^7\) this somewhat lengthy compound means “a poetic work dealing with a story which has the elements of songs and dance (or, music and drama)”. This is not a bad definition of the main formal properties of the work, but it is hardly a satisfactory answer to the question about the essential character of the epos.

According to my opinion, Cilappatikāram is

1) a saga of the cult of Goddess Pattu, 2) the first literary expression and the first ripe fruit of the Aryan-Dravidian synthesis in Tamilnad, 3) the first consciously national work of Tamil literature, the literary evidence of the fact that the Tamils had by that time attained nationhood. \(^7\)

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\(^1\) In his Foreword to V. R Ramachandra Dikshitar’s translation (Madras, 1939)
\(^2\) C. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, The Silappadikaram or the Lay of the Anklet, Oxford Univ Press, Madras, 1939
\(^4\) by J. J. Glazov, Povest’ o braslete, Moskva, 1966
\(^5\) Piseń o klenotu—Silappadigaram, transl by Kamil Zvelebil, Praha, SNKL, 1965 It took me ten years to translate the text and reshape it in Czech verse
\(^6\) The most precise of them being probably the Russian version
\(^7\) C. vahicamātakapporul-totarnilaavceyyula avikal cevyvāka kālattu
(p 6 of the 1950 U. V. Summamatha Aiyar’s ed.)
The legend obviously existed in the indigenous tradition long before the great poem was born, and independent of it. An old poem, *Naraina* 216, and a probably even older poem, *Puram* 278, mention the motive, it occurs later in the *Vaisyapurāṇa*, in the commentary to *Yāpparunkalavruttī* we find a line which is part of the heroine's lament, but is not found in our versions of the great epic. According to Amitacākarar’s *Yāpparunkalam I 351*, there is a poem referred to as having been composed by Pattiri or Kannaki. The story of the “great chaste lady” is known even today in balladform as *Kovalakalai*, in “purāṇic” form as *Kannaki Purāṇam*. The heroes, however, became duly transformed. Kōvalā is a licensed profligate, Mātavi an avaricious prostitute, and Kannaki a terrible shrew. I heard myself illiterate workers in the textile mills of Maturai speak of “Kōvalom” and “Karni”, in their version, too, the classical Mātavi was transformed into Mākati, the corrupt daughter of a devadāsī by name of Vasantamālā.

The cult of Pattiri is alive in a few places in Kerala and Ceylon, as a minor cult connected with fertility rites and marriages. However, twelve or fifteen hundred years ago, the cult of Pattiri, the goddess of chastity, must have been rather important and widely-spread throughout today’s Tamilnad, Kerala and Ceylon.

The story must have been well and widely known, and this is the reason why the poet of *Cilappatikāram* “could afford to be irritatingly allusive and terse in important narrative passages and lingers lovingly over interesting descriptions” (Basham).

But Ilankōvatiṅkal’s great poem, although a version of the widely-spread and obviously very old legend, is primarily a story of human proportions, of human love and passion, jealousies, infidelity,

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1 *Nar* 216 ḍhi lāḷaṅ kavaḷaṅ kavaḷya orumulai orumulai orumulayittiyum *Puram* 278 or orumulavum orumulayittiyum v1 orumulayittiyum

2 T P Meenakshisundaram, *HTL*, p 43

3 In the original poem, Vacantāmalai is a servant-girl and companion of Mātavi


5 There exists a number of beautiful bronzes of Pattiri of Ceylonese *provenience* (probably the best known among them being the great statue of the standing goddess in the British Museum, 10th Cent., and a small but charming sitting Pattiri from Trincomalee, 10th Cent.) Cf also H. Neville (1887) (transl) “The Story of Kovalan Ceylon Tamil Version”, *Tamil Culture X* 2 (1963) 72-84
charity and forgiveness, so human in fact, that the *deus ex machina*
appears more or less casually and as a non-essential factor, or israther forced to appear by the logic of human passions and actions.It is Kannaki, the woman, the human heroine, who alone matters to the poet, it is Kannaki, who—backed by the sympathy of the entire people of Maturai—performs her duty and avenges the death of her husband, it is she who at one moment doubts the very existence of God, and who finally conquers and overthrows the law of *karma*, she who enforces gods and fate to capitulate.

And the fact that, in the third book of the poem, this extremely human and humane heroine, this woman who is transformed before our eyes from simple, quiet, patient maid into a passionate, admirable woman of the magnitude of a Greek heroine, becomes a goddess, as the logical and very Indian outcome of her inner growth and development,

Canto 30, lines 155-164, contain the "Gajabahu synchronism", discussed above. We came to the conclusion that the hero of the 3rd book, *Ceral* king Cenkuttuvan, was a contemporary of Gajabahu I (171-193 A D), king of Ceylon.

The Gajabahu Synchronism became at once an object of sharp criticism. The objections were well-founded first, if Cenkuttuvan, the *Ceral* and Gajabahu of Ceylon indeed met at the end of the 2nd Cent A D, and if, as the text and a persistent tradition maintain, Cenkuttuvan's younger brother, prince Ilankō, was the author of the poem, how to explain the striking differences between the language of the epic poem and that of the classical Tamil lyrics, which should be contemporaneous with the *Cilappatikāram*.?

How to account for the fact that the ideologies, beliefs, customs, manners, rites and cults, the entire social, religious and philosophical background of *Cilappatikāram* is strikingly different from the social, political and cultural world of the so-called Cankam poetry? The civilization portrayed in the epos reflects beyond any doubt a well-progressed synthesis of the pre-Aryan and the Aryan elements in all spheres of life and culture, thinking and social habits. *Cilappatikāram* quotes some didactic poems (e.g. *Tirukkural* 55 or *Palamolimanēru* 46) By no stretch of imagination is it possible to

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1 Cf Chapter 3, pp 37-8
2 The epicual poem contains such pronominal forms as *nīṇy* and *tām*, it contains twice the present-tense suffix, a later conditional form *unīdēl*, forms like *unīta*, and a number of lexical innovations, e.g *tamīp, kāṭal* etc.
consider the bulk of the classical Tamil bardic poetry and the epos—as we have it today—as contemporary literature.

But the defenders of the faith in the Gajabahú Synchronism supported their hypothesis by no less valid arguments, and they proved that Cenkuttuvaṉ's age must be assigned roughly to 100-250 A.D., not later. In other words Cenkuttuvaṉ and Gajabahú were contemporaries Atiyárkkunallār, the medieval commentator on Cilappātikāram, calculated the date of the departure of Kōvalan and Kannaki from Kāvmpattuṉam (computing on the basis of astronomical data) as 174 A.D.

The Gajabahú Synchronism was accepted by most of the serious scholars, since, to quote K. A. Nilakanta Sāstrī, 'it fits very well with all other lines of evidence derived from the general probabilities of history in North and South India from archeology, from Greek and Roman authors, and from early Tamil literary sources.'

On the other hand, Cilappātikāram, as we have it today, cannot have been composed before the 5th–6th Cent. A.D.

Somehow or other, the most simple solution, as it frequently happens, did not occur to scholars for a long time. And so the antagonists of the Gajabahú Synchronism, and those who rightly maintained that the work must be of later date, joined forces and proclaimed that the 3rd book of Cilappātikāram, which contains the Gajabahú Synchronism and the tradition of Ilankō's authorship, is not an integral part of the work, that it is, in toto, a later appendix. This was naturally a very serious statement to make. But the antagonists of the poem's integrity had some very impressive arguments. First of all, the structural argument—the first two books, they maintained, were self-sufficient, they formed a semantically and functionally closed structure, a single complete story. The story of the two lovers is finished and needs no continuation whatsoever. The third book is a non-functional appendix, an independent panegyric in the old bardic tradition, which has nothing to do with the story of Kōvalan and Kannaki.

It is true that, from the point of the story itself, the first two books form a perfectly closed cycle (at least if we apply the Western

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1 A Comprehensive History of India Vol. 2 (1957)
2 This argument, which sounds so strikingly non-Indian, originated interestingly enough with a Tamil scholar, P. T. Sundararajan (1929), and was later elaborated by another—Marxist-oriented—Tamil scholar, C. S. Nirmala, in books written in Tamil
aesthetic criteria), but, from the point of the subject-matter and thought-content of the poem, and in full agreement with the Indian tradition and the Indian aesthetic theories, it is only just that the heroine should ultimately become an object of deification, and that the epos should contain a panegyric on the ruling dynasty whose member very probably the poet had himself been.

But, even from the point of its form, of its structure, the epos must be viewed as patterned into its three books. First of all, in the traditions of classical Tamil poetry, Cilappatikāram celebrates both love and war, dealing with both akam and puram, and without the third book it would be incomplete. The first book, dedicated to the land of the Cholas, is like a stage set for the opening and development of the tragical story of human passions. The second book, describing the Pandya country, contains the climax of the human story, the culmination of the tragedy. And the third book, portraying the land of the Cheras—since times immemorial an integral part of the Tamil land—contains the typically Indian conclusion of the story the deification of Kannaki-Pattu. Thus, the poem has three dominant phases, it is like a three-fold classical music composition, each of the phases set in one of the capitals of the three Tamil kingdoms. The "Lay of the Anklet" is the first consciously national work of Tamil literature. It transcends the barriers of different "landscapes" since it deals with all of them, it ignores tribal and clannish divisions and loyalties. Ilankōvatikal has purposely set the stage for the tale in all three Tamil kingdoms, enshrining in his poem the whole of Tamil India.

There are two other valid reasons why the third book has to be regarded as an organic, indispensable and integral part of the poem. The unanimous consensus of the indigenous tradition, and the fact that the language of the entire work, its diction and style, are perfectly homogeneous.

Those who distrust the colophons to Patrruppattu, as well as those who tried to prove that the 3rd book of Cilappatikāram was almost a late forgery, have committed one very basic fallacy: they thought that late material was necessarily unauthentic, their utterly false contention was that the content of a work could not be older than its form. But, as K A Nilakanta Sastri says, the colophons to Patrruppattu as well as the Cilappatikāram "embody genuine history" and are exceptionally accurate and trustworthy, as is usually the case with traditional oral material. The synchronism
of Cenkuttuvan and Ga[jbāhu—a reliable date in itself—is not valid for the time of the origin of the poem as we have it today, it is not valid as the date of the literary work, but it is valid for the time when the historical Ga[jbāhu met with the historical Cenkuttuvan, that is, it is valid for the story which forms the content of the 3rd book of the poem

Cilappatikāram is primarily the story of Kannaki. Wedded when she was "not yet twelve", beautiful "as the goddess of Fortune" but "more shy than Arundhati", a sheltered and beloved maid, tender and silent.

The young couple, Kōvalan and Kannaki, keep, for some time, a quiet and happy home, spending "sweet, pleasure-filled days in close embrace" Kōvalan loves Kannaki tenderly and passionately.

"Flawless gold,
translucent pearl,
unblemished seed,
sweet sugar cane,
honey,
rare maid!" ¹

That is how he calls her. But the fore-taste of the tragedy is there, at the very beginning of the poem.

"Kovalan and Kannaki lay entwined
like two black serpents on their couch,
drank to its depth their cup of love,
already having felt, perhaps,
how transient is human joy." ²

Then Kōvalan abandons Kannaki for Mātavi, the dancing girl, who lives in grand style, lures her lover to the fashionable resorts of the time, and who is set marvellously into contrast with the patient, chaste wife. On account of a silly quarrel, Kōvalan and Mātavi part. So it seems at least—but the fact is that Kōvalan has lost faith in Mātavi, and he was probably overspent and exhausted by the kind of life he was leading as her lover. "Long-eyed Madhavi had patiently listened to all these sailor songs. But she felt they showed a change in Kovalan's feelings. Angry but pretending to be pleased, she took the harp." ³

¹ Transl S Kokila
² Transl A Damelou (1965)
³ Transl A Damelou (1965)
Kōvalan is back at home, which is sad and quiet, with Kannaki, chaste and faithful, waiting. She is prepared to follow him wherever he will go. Mātavi’s plea for reconciliation is rejected. Runed in his career, Kōvalan accepts his wife’s anklets—cilampu—to raise the money on which to build a new life. For this purpose they travel to Maturai, the Pândya’s capital. On their long and strenuous journey, Kavunti Atikal, a Jama nun, gives them much comfort and friendship. In Maturai, Kōvalan entrusts first his beloved to the care of poor and honest folk of the shepherd community, and then walks forth alone to seek out a jeweller who would help him sell Kannaki’s anklet.

Thus he meets his fate—a goldsmith, who “had the face of Death’s dread messenger”, who has stolen the queen’s anklet, sees a golden opportunity in Kōvalan’s coming. He accuses Kōvalan before the king, and the king says “Put the man to death and bring me the bracelet!” Since Kannaki’s anklet resembles the jewel of the queen, Kōvalan’s doom is sealed. He is murdered by a drunken soldier of the king. “Blood gushing from the wound fell upon the Earth, mother of men, and she shuddered with grief.”

When Kannaki arrives on the scene—now an entirely different being, no more the meek and silent girl we met in the first book—she proves her husband’s innocence by bursting open the other anklet—incidentally, a deeply symbolic act—revealing to the king the ruby inside instead of the pearls which were contained in the queen’s jewel. The shocked king is killed by remorse, and his queen dies a true sati. Kannaki’s wrath turns now on the capital city of Maturai, the seat of crime and profligacy, twisting off “her lovely breast” and hurling it on to the city, she sets fire to Maturai and the whole town goes up in flames. Only “Brahmins, good men, cows, truthful women, cripples, old men and children” are spared. Kannaki then turns west to the land of the Cheras where Kōvalan, in a divine chariot, meets her on a mountain and they are received into heaven.

A temple to Kannaki is built in Vañci, the Chera capital Cenkuttuvan, the powerful Cēral king, has the stone for carving her image brought down all the way from the Himalayas on the shoulders and heads of conquered arya kings. Kannaki comes back to grace the temple with her presence, now a full-blown deity.

The poet, Ilankōvatikal, who composed his masterpiece sometime between the 4th-6th Cent AD (this is how a historical linguist
would date the text) was, according to tradition, the younger brother of Cenkuttuvan, and the son of King Cēralātaka Imayava-rampānu. He renounced the throne which, according to the prophecy of a soothsayer, he should have had occupied. The vow of asceticism kept faithfully all his life earned for Ilankō which means simply "prince" or "younger brother of the king" the title Atikal or "saint".

It is not improvable that the author of the epos actually belonged to the Cēral royal family—though of course to a period much later than his famous forebear Cenkuttuvan. And it is not ruled out—as maintained in the introduction to the poem—that it was another poet, Cētalār (the author of the "twin-epic" Mammēkalai), a friend of Ilankō, who discussed one version of the Kannaki-Pattim legend with Ilankō, and this discussion inspired Ilankō to compose the poem. Or the poem, as we have it now, was composed by some unknown poet and ascribed to an Ilankō, a prince of the Cēral clan. Though an argument ex silentio, we should not forget the fact that ancient Tamil poetry which knows well king Cenkuttuvan (witness the panegyric bardic collection Patruṟṟappatu) does not at all, not once, mention any brother of his, a prince by name of Ilankō. Anyhow, the cult of Kannaki-Pattim must have been wide-spread and well-established in Chera nad, but, at the same time, Jainism and Buddhism were still flourishing in the South, which also shows that Ilankō composed his poem sometime between the end of the 4th and the end of the 6th Cent. A.D. He embodied a reliable historical tradition in his poem his royal ancestor Cenkuttuvan, victorious in battles with the ayiras, is conceived as a national Tamil hero, and Ilankō describes his march to the North and finally the erection of a shrine to Pattim, which was witnessed by a number of contemporary rulers, among them Gajabāhu I of Ceylon.

The only false statement Ilankō has made is that, at the very end of the poem, he brought himself into the story, as if he had personally witnessed the meeting of the kings in honour of Pattim. This kind of fraud is well-known from other literatures, and not only from India, and may be easily forgiven.

The driving forces of the story spring out of the hearts of the heroes, mainly of course of Kannaki, Kōvalan and Mātavi. One of the greatest merits of the work is the treatment of the problem of evil, the poet's conception of guilt. Who is to be blamed for the

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1 I remember having read years ago (1958) a discussion of this problem in a Tamil journal the name of which I unfortunately forgot. Its author was T.A. Chokkalengam.
tragedy? The hot-headed king? The weak Kóvalan? The attractive Mátavi? Or Fate itself?

Cilappatikāram is not a story of schematic shadowy figures, of faultless heroes and demoniac villains. If we ask who actually is the villain of the piece, we are unable to answer. Nobody is entirely to be blamed—and all of them are guilty. Not a single character in Cilappatikāram is thoroughly bad or thoroughly good—not even the pious Jana woman-ascetic, and probably not even Kannaki."

Certainly not the king, "the virtuous Pandya monarch, the noble Nedunjelijyan", who is not intrinsically unjust or evil—he is only hot-tempered and unbalanced. Wherein lies his guilt? Instead of calling for an inquiry, instead of saying "Bring him along with the anklet for being executed if found guilty", the king says "Put the man to death and bring me the bracelet!"

"Is Mátavi the immoral and vicious harlot as she appears in some folk versions of the same matter? Not at all. She is a charming character: sweet, clever, cultured, loving, passionate, trained to attract. Was it her fault that she was born in her caste and trained to become a courtesan?"

Is Kóvalan a bad character? He certainly is not. He is of that tribe of Indian literary heroes who are "courteous, kindly, generous, competent, gentle-spoken, popular, pure, eloquent, well-descended, stable, young, intelligent, energetic, with a fine memory, insightful, artistic, self-respecting, courageous, consistent, vigorous, learned in the sciences, and observant of the Dharma" (Dhanamjaya’s Daśarūpa, quoted by J A B van Buiten, 1968). However, this hero "is more often than not involved in amorous intrigue" (van Buiten), and he is no proof against the vices of society and the charms of an attractive courtesan.

The only figure that is clearly good from the beginning to the end, painted with one bright colour, is Kannaki. But she, too, is very human, she, too, is not fully perfect. In perfection there is, metaphysically, so to say, no change, once perfect, always perfect. Many of the heroines of classical Sanskrit erotic poetry and drama are predictable, they are stereotypes, they are of importance only in relation to the hero. Kannaki is very different. There is tremendous change in her. At the beginning of the story, she is an innocent, obedient and silent girl, almost a mere child. When Kóvalan returns to her, we would expect a passionate scene of reconciliation. There is no such thing. There are no recriminations, no explanations.
"I feel great shame", says Kōvalan, "at the dire poverty that I bring into this house today". Kannaki welcomes him "with a clear smile" and answers "Do not be anxious you still possess the gold circlets that weigh on my ankles".

But all this quiet beauty, this extreme patience merely shows the depth of emotion dedicated entirely to her husband With his unjust death, "that depth is lashed to a storm" ¹ of pathos and passion.

And yet all these people who are in fact not guilty, confess their guilt Mātavi, Kōvalan, the king, and even Kannaki. And this is what makes Cilappatikāram the supreme masterpiece of Tamil poetry tan titu ulal en titu enjē... "She did no wrong I alone am to blame", says Kōvalan when he reads a letter from Mātavi (Canto 13). But Mātavi confesses her guilt by the act of renunciation, she, who was so fond of the éclat of the king’s court, who loved gold and jewels and extravagant life above all—she atones for her guilt by becoming a nun and persuading the daughter she bore Kōvalan (Manmēkalai) to be a nun as well.

The king is shocked by his own deed and exclaims yāne hakvan ketuka en āyul "I am the robber Let me die!" And he is killed by remorse (Canto 20).

But Kannaki says in Canto 20 "I too am guilty of great sins", and, again (Canto 29) tennavan titilaṇ "The king of the South has not committed crime". And in Canto 23 "‘Alas, I am guilty of a great crime’.

Fate is of course everywhere in the poem. It occurs in all crucial moments, in Canto 7, when Kōvalan and Mātavi part "‘Inspired by fate, for whom the harp appeared a suitable pretext, he gradually withdrew his hand from her body’".

Before departure for Maturai, Kōvalan is "inspired by fate" to start at once, and again "they left, impelled by fate that had devised / for ages past their final destiny’.

But there seems to be an inner tension between the conception of Fate, of the karmic and dharmic interpretation of events, and between Kannaki’s actions. Out of the shock and pain which she has experienced when told about Kōvalan’s murder, an unforeseen, painful skeptic is born in her mind ("Is there no god? Is there no god in this country? Is there no god, no god?" in Canto 19). But, almost

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¹ C and H Jesudasan, op cit, 55
at once, there is a tremendous resolution first, to know the truth, then, to perform an act of justice And when this is accomplished, Kannaki goes on to fight that very Fate, to fight against the very basis of the philosophical and religious ideology which lies at the bottom of the work “I wish neither to sit nor sleep nor stop, until I see the husband dear to my heart” And she finally succeeds she compels the forces of karma to give up, and so Kōvalan and Kannaki are reunited

“Then heaven’s king, with all his angels, thought the time had come to proclaim the saintliness of this woman, whose name men shall ever recall He showered down a rain of never-fading flowers, then appeared and bowed at her feet” ¹

Let us once more return to the tragedy itself, to its roots and causes ‘is it true that Cilappattikāram is a social tragedy rather than a personal one? The fall of a society which cut in twain art and chastity, and family women, made custodians of charity and love, were set into contrast to public women—the custodians of art, leaving thereby no room for such men as Kōvalan, aspiring for both art and love? It is one possible explanation, suggested by T P Meenakshisundaran in his lectures on Tamil literature ² It finds support in the fact that Kannaki and Mātavi are set into a significant contrast by the poet Kannaki is unripe, naive, unsophisticated, reticent, whenever she speaks, she is an illustration of matamai, simplicity and narvetē, she is lovely, but not charming, after her unfolding and transformation, she becomes the illustration of marakkarpū, “stern, heroic chastity” In contrast, Mātavi speaks a lot, knows how to read and write, is literate and cultured, she sings, dances, plays on musical instruments, she is charming, sophisticated, witty, gay, even brilliant

The burning of Maturai is, according to this view of the epic, the symbol of the downfall of the society which splits womanhood

Another important matter to discuss is the anklet, the cilampu, which is so very important, so pivotal in the story and its symbolism that it gave the epic its name. cilampu + atkāram > Cilappattikāram “The Lay about the Anklet”.

In the beginning, when she was happy after her marriage, Kannaki was wearing her anklets, a pair of them. But once her husband

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¹ Transl A Danéelou (1965)
² T P Meenakshisundaran, HTL, p 40
deserted her and went to live with Mātavi, she no longer adorned herself. “No anklets adorned her shapely feet” (Canto 4)

It is the anklets which are offered by Kannaki to Kōvalan and he accepts them (Canto 9) to sell them in Maturai and start a new life there. Thus it is the anklets that “drive” them, so to say, to Maturai.

It is one of the two anklets which, in Canto 16, becomes the instrumental cause of Kōvalan’s death. It is the anklet which is broken open and thus proves Kōvalan’s innocence (Canto 20).

However, there seems to be still deeper meaning in the symbol of the anklets.

First of all, the breaking of the anklet in Canto 20 (“The ankle bracelet was brought and placed before the king Kannaki seized it and broke it open. A ruby sprang up into the king’s face. When he saw the stone, he faltered. He felt his parasol fallen, his sceptre bent”) is symbolic of the specific truth and of truth in general, truth which breaks through, which is, ultimately, always revealed. Does not, however, the round anklet and the breaking of it symbolize more than that? The circle of the story, of the plot, and of Fate, must be, and is completed, the cilampu, the anklet, comes to the Pāndya’s court, the circle is completed (Kōvalan murdered, the king and queen die, the Pāndya capital burnt) and the round anklet is broken, the human story tragically ends here. What follows is another story—a divine tale, the story of Kannaki’s apotheosis.

And there is yet another symbolism connected with the anklets in a way, the pair of them is symbolic of the married couple’s happiness. While she was happy with Kōvalan, Kannaki wore her bracelets, when he left her, she wore none, when he returned, she wore only one, because the marriage was no longer a perfectly happy and “whole” marriage. And it is very significant for this symbolism of the cilampu that, at the beginning of Canto 19, the remaining anklet which Kannaki holds in hand, is called “mate to the one she had given to Kōvalan.” At the very end of the poem, in Canto 29, Kannaki, united with Kōvalan in heaven, again wears both anklets. King Cenkuttuvan says “In the sky, a marvellous vision. A woman, slender as a lightning-flash! Gold circlets gleam at her ankles!”

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1 For anklets in contemporary ritual, cf T P Meenakshisundaran, HTL 42. “In the Tamil temples big anklets made of bronze are held in the hand and moved so that the sound of the rolling stones inside may keep time to
Apart from the fact that *Cilappatikāram* is a great masterpiece of narrative and lyrical poetry, it contains the essence of old Tamil culture, and, like other epics, it portrays whole civilization. It stands at the very end of its first bloom, gilded by the rays of the setting sun of that early era which was doomed to end soon after the poem was composed, with the tremendous changes that occurred in the Tamil land under the Pallavas.

The songs sung in praise of the deity. It is thus clear that there is an intimate connection between the symbol of the anklet and the story of Kannaki, the chaste woman.”
CHAPTER TWELVE

ŚAIVA BHAKTI—TWO APPROACHES

The literature of Tamil bhakti is an enormous complex of Śaivite and Vaisnavite texts which must be regarded not only as an amazing literary and musical achievement and the embodiment of the religious experience of the entire Tamil nation, but also as a tremendous moving force in the lives of the peoples of Tamilnad. Unlike the pre-bhakti poetry which had to be resuscitated and revitalized and which became only recently the topic of attention and interest, Śaivite and Vaisnavite hymns have played, since the very days they were composed until the present time, an immense, indispensable and often decisive role in the religious, cultural and social life of the entire Tamil people. To a great extent, the contemporary Tamil culture is still based on the bhakti movement, and it is only quite recently and among some strata of the present generation that the Tamils look at once farther back into the past of pre-bhakti days, and into the future, for inspiration and guidance.

It is probably impossible, at the present state of our knowledge, even to touch all aspects, forces, components and features of this vast literature, of this religious, philosophical and social movement. More than one large monograph would be needed to do so. In a series of essays the purpose of which is to introduce the reader to some of the most characteristic and crucial features of Tamil literature and culture, one has strictly to select an approach and to restrict the material rather drastically. If, therefore, the texts to be dealt with are restricted to the Śaiva texts there is absolutely no other reason for this than the present author's relative ignorance of the works of Vaisnava āḻvārs and the fact that some choice had to be made. Much of what can be said about Śaiva bhakti does apply to the Vaisnava component of the movement, on the other hand, there are some very specific features pertaining to the literature of the āḻvārs, and hopefully it will be dealt with one day by a more competent expert.

The immense dimensions of the Śaiva bhakti texts may be seen from Chart 15 which gives the names of the authors and their works as found in the twelve books of the Śaivite canon called Tirumuras.
This body of literature includes a great variety of texts, beginning with the mystic hymns of the great trio, Campantar, Appar and Cuntarar, followed by Mānkkavācakar’s Tiruvācakam and Tirukkōvaiyar, and ending with the “national epos of the Tamils”, the hagiographic Peryaṇpurānam of Cēkkilār. Thus, the three characteristic features of this body of literature are its enormity, its heterogeneity, and the fact that it covers a period of at least 600 years of religious, philosophical and literary development (the earliest texts being probably the songs of Kāraikkāl Ammāyār, round about 550 A.D., whereas the date of Cēkkilār is the 12th Century).

Nampī Āntār Nampī (see 11 on Chart 14) is said to be responsible for collecting the Tēvāram hymns (the first 7 books of Tirumuṟai) and classifying them, some time at the beginning of the 10th Cent. A.D., into the seven books (on the basis of musical tunes) ¹ As the eight book, Mānkkavācakar’s two great poems were added (they are not musical compositions) The 9th book of the canon consists of Tirucaruppā or musical compositions sung in the Chola temples in the 10th and 11th Centuries,² the term pāṭikam (<Sanskrit) means “ten”, it is a form (consisting of 10 or 11 stanzas) which became popular in the bhaṅk period. The 10th book of the canon is of a very different nature this is the Tirumantiram of Tirumāl, his date is a matter of speculation, but since he is mentioned by Cuntarar (7621), he must be earlier than this poet. His work is tantric and yogic in nature, a superb philosophical poem, which becomes the point of departure for the highly interesting, eclectic school of the Siddhars. The 11th book contains works of very different age and character, the period covered by this book may stretch form the 6th to the 10th Centuries. Among the most interesting texts are those composed by Kāraikkāl Ammāyār, probably the earliest of Tamil Śaiva saints and by Cēramān Perumāl a contemporary of Cuntarar, the Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai (from Pattupāṭtulu) by Nakkiratēvar, Pattinattar’s stanzas, and the two poems on Samaṭ Kannappar by Nakkirar and by Kallatar (narrating the well-known story of Kannappar the hunter who became mad

¹ The date of Nampī Āntār Nampī is fortunately rather well established. He speaks of the Chola king Āṭṭiṭaṅ (Āditya) as having brought gold from Konkaṇam and covered the temple hall at Chidambaram with that gold. He also mentions the death of this king Āṭṭiṭaṅ indeed conquered the Konku country, and he ruled between 870-907 A.D. (cf K A Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, III ed., 175)
² T P Meenakshisundaran, HTL p 131
after God at the sight of a lingam, and who, when he saw the eyes of
the lingam bleeding, plucked out his own eyes to replace them)
Finally, the 12th book is the “Great purānam” by Čekkīlār the
crown of Šaivite literature, “the story of a perfect spiritual demo-
cracy” (T P Meenakshisundaran) The ultimate kernel of this
tremendous epic, “national and democratic”, which had a universal
appeal and an enormous influence in the Tamil country and outside,
is Cuntarar’s vision of the sixty-two saints in his Tiruttontattokai,
sung at Tiruvārūr in the presence of the atiyār, “devotees”. He has
mentioned their names, sometimes with suggestive epithets,
including those of his father and mother. By adding Cuntaramūrtti
himself, we get the classic list of 63 nāyaṇmār Nampī Āntār
Nampī’s work is the next stage in elaborating the hagiographic
tradition Čekkīlār, as a minister of state, had probably access to
inscriptions, documents, court-records, and in his epic he narrates
the individual lives of the saints in separate purānas Their stories
are built around Cuntarar’s vision Cuntarar’s story is in fact the
unifying factor and the most general frame for the poem (or rather
chain of poems, since the structure of the epic is very loose)
However, the basic unity of the whole epic is not that of form, but
that of a message however poor, insignificant and helpless a
human being may be, nothing can prevent him from having an
ideal, the meanest of the mean can rise to the highest spiritual
level—in the life of service and love What is important is the fact
that, unlike the other epics of the same period, the sources of
Pertiya purānam are purely indigenous, purely Tamil, and that the
poem is “national and democratic not only in its theme and its
message but also in its language and its rhythm” 1

1 The following fourfold approach toward the Tamil bhakti poetry
seems to me to be the most fruitful

a) the historical and sociological approach to bhakti as a literature
of social and spiritual protest,

b) a synchronic segmental analysis of bhakti texts as religious
literature,

c) a comparative approach to bhakti as mystical poetry, in
comparison with other movements of Indian bhakti and mysticism.

1 T P Meenakshisundaran, HTL p 125
### CHART 15

The Śaivite Canon- *Tirumūrtai*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of book</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Name of the work</th>
<th>No of patikams</th>
<th>No of hymns or stanzas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Campanatī</td>
<td>Tevāram I (136)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4181 hymns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Campanatī</td>
<td>Tevāram II (122)</td>
<td>383 patikams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Campanatī</td>
<td>Tevāram III (125)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tirunāvukkaracai</td>
<td>Tevāram IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tirunāvukkaracar</td>
<td>Tevāram V</td>
<td>312 patikams</td>
<td>3066 hymns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tirunāvukkaracar</td>
<td>Tevāram VI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cuntarar</td>
<td>Tevāram VII</td>
<td>100 patikams</td>
<td>1026 hymns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Māṇikkāvācakar</td>
<td>Tiruvācakam</td>
<td>51 chapters</td>
<td>656 hymns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Māṇikkāvācakar</td>
<td>Tirukkōvaiyār</td>
<td></td>
<td>400 stanzas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>Tirumālaiattēvar</td>
<td>4 patikams in Tiruvcaippā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>Cēntaṟṟar</td>
<td>3 patikams in Tiruvcaippā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9c</td>
<td>Karuvūrattēvar</td>
<td>10 patikams in Tiruvcaippā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9d</td>
<td>Pūnturuttī Nampi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Kātava Nampi</td>
<td>2 patikams in Tiruvcaippā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Kantarāttītar</td>
<td>1 patikams in Tiruvcaippā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Vēnāttātkal</td>
<td>1 patikams in Tiruvcaippā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Tiruvālaiyamukṭār</td>
<td>4 patikams in Tiruvcaippā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Purūtottama Nampi</td>
<td>2 patikams in Tiruvcaippā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 10         | Cēttiriyai | 1 patikam in Tiruvcaippā and Tirupallāntī patikam in 8 stanzas |  | 301 stanzas in 9
| 11a        | Tirumūlar | Tirumāntrim | 9 tantrams |  | |
| 11b        | Tiruvalāvāyutaiyār | Tirumālākkāppāram | 24 stanzas | |
| 11c        | Kārakkipālamaiyār | Tiruvalāṅkātī mūṭa tirupatikam, Tiruvrattai mamālai, Ayputṭatturantāthi | 100 stanzas | |
| 11d        | Aiyatikal Kātavār Kōŋ | Ksetṭiratruvenpā | 30 stanzas | |
| 11e        | Cēramān Perumāl | Pōvannattantāthi | 394 lines | |
| 11f        | Tiruvāḷūr muṃmanikkōvai | Tirukkayulāya nāyavulā |  | |
Note *patikam* = a complex of ten or eleven stanzas
today, I think, most scholars would agree that bhakti was indeed "born on the banks of the Tamil land" wherefrom it spread to other India,¹ in a broader perspective, (Tamil bhakti may be profitably compared with other religions of grace (arul), and/or with the mystical poetry of the East and the West (sūfism, Catholic baroque poets such as Juan de la Cruz, or Protestant mystics such as J Bohme, etc).

        d) a structural and structuralistic approach to bhakti texts conceived purely as poetry

        In this essay I shall try to give a brief and simplified outline of the first two approaches—the sociological and historical analysis of the movement, and the synchronic segmental analysis of the texts

        Between 600 A D and 900 A D, Tamilnad was ruled by the Pallavas in the North, and the Pandyas in the South. There was a perpetual strife between the two. To the North of the Pallavas, the mighty Chalukyas of Badami were constant enemies of the Pallava kingdom. These three kingdoms were the first political units possessive of really large territories to have been formed in South India, and, as our data show, highly developed feudal relations prevailed in the social structure of these states.

        Constant war or at least unceasing skirmishes among these three big powers, their efforts to enlarge their territories, the struggle against disloyal and disruptive tendencies, and the enormous growth of administration and bureaucracy—all this needed constant influx of money, and the burden of the expenditure had to be borne by the masses of the people.

        This ever-growing feudal oppression of the masses aroused a protest, a mass-movement of popular dissatisfaction and opposition, which took the apparel of a religious drive. (S Vaiyapuri Pillai (HTLL, p 100) speaks of a "bloodless revolution" which took place in Tamil India between the 7th-10th Centuries A D.

        Thus, according to one conception of social history of Tamilnad, the bhakti movement is to be regarded as the ideological reaction against early forms of feudalism and the first establishment and

¹ Cf S K Iyengar, A History of Early Vaishnavism in South India, Madras University Series No 4, Oxford Univ Press, Madras, 1920, p 10, who quotes a poem which says that bhakti was born on the banks of the Tamil land, grew into womanhood in the Maharasra and in North India, and became old in Gujarat.
stabilization of class-society in South India, in the North of India, bhakti is regarded, by the same school of thought, as the expression of the struggle against a fully developed and centralized type of feudalism of the 14th-17th Centuries.

Among Tamil scholars, it was probably S Vayapuri Pillai who first formulated a socio-political conception of the Tamil bhakti (HTLL, p 100 ff, he speaks about “social equality of all” proclaimed by the religious revivalists, about bhakti becoming the “popular movement in the real sense of the word”, about “the language of the masses and their racy idiom” etc) Needless to say the socio-economic interpretation was worked out and refined chiefly by Soviet scholars (e.g. by Smirnova, Pyatigorsky) on the one hand, and by Marxist-oriented Tamil scholars and writers on the other hand (e.g. by Cāmi Cittamparār, C Rukunātan and others) In contrast, there are scholars, both Indian and Western, who regard

CHART 16

The build-up of Persiyapurānam

Cantarar’s vision of the Sixty-Two Saints
(Tiruttontattokai, Tēvāram VII, 7-8 Cent A D)

Nampi Āntār Nampi’s lives of the saints in Tiruttontar Tiruvantān, 11th book of the canon, beginning of the 10th Cent A D

oral traditions

inscriptions

court-records and documents

Cēkkilār’s ultimate version of Śaivite hagiography in Persiyapurānam (12th Cent), built into the story of Cantarar

the movement as a purely religious and ideological conflict, mostly as the reaction of a renascent Hinduism against Jainism and Buddhism.

Though I have a number of strong reservations about any vulgar socio-political interpretation of bhakti, it seems to me that its conception as a purely religious conflict is necessarily an oversimplification of the whole matter.
In what follows, the points made in favour of the socio-political interpretation of *bhakti*, and of the class-struggle-background-conception of the movement will be examined critically one by one.

First, there is the "class-origin" of the poet-saints. It was argued that most of the *bhaktas* or at least the most important of the earlier *bhaktas* belonged to the lower or depressed classes and castes of Tamilnad. The greatest number of the *bhaktas* were said to belong to the Śūdra *vellālar*, and there were practically no Ksatriyas among them, and, in the hagiographic legends, the Ksatriyas are said to be usually portrayed in an unflattering light.

Most of these statements, made by some Indian and Soviet scholars, are, however, quite obviously incorrect. A rough investigation of the caste-origin of a number of *bhakti* poets shows these approximate numbers:

- about 35% of Brahmin origin (e.g. Campantar, Cuntaran, Māṇikka-vācakar, Peryālvār),
- about 35% of Ksatriya origin (e.g. Cēramān Perumāl, Kulacēkara Ālvar, Tirumankai Ālvar),
- about 20% of *vellāla* (Śūdra) origin, e.g. Appar, Nammālvār,
- about 5% of low-caste origin, e.g. Tiruppānālvār,
- about 5% of unknown origin. Āntāl was found as a baby in her step-father's garden.

The argument is rather weak for yet another reason: high or low caste, it did not matter at all, the meaninglessness of caste in the eyes of the Lord is precisely one part of the message of the Nāyana-mārs and Ālvārs. In fact, if there is a class-conscious or caste-conscious standpoint discernible in these poems at all, it is (in contrast to the hero, warrior, aristocratic-oriented early bardic poetry) the Brāhmins whose importance and excellence becomes progressively clearly underscored, whereas kings and princes appear in an unsympathetic light. And what more, there are some episodes which, quite au contraire to the "egalitarian" and "democratic" spirit discovered by some Marxist-oriented critics in the *bhakti* movement, show that even some of the most important authors of the movement were very much caste-conscious. According to Nampi Āntār Nampi, an outcaste devotee (Tirunālāippōvār) destroys the disgrace of his low birth by entering the fire, according to Cēkkilār,
God Śiva demands that the poor outcaste enters the fire and is purified before he is admitted to the sacred presence! The poems ignore the masses of peasants and common folk as such. Naturally so, something else was in the centre of their interest—the individual relation of a bhakta to God, and the inner tensions and outer conflicts resulting from this relation.

The second point, one with which we may agree to a great extent, is that Tamil bhakta literature is full of the spirit of social negativism. A bhakta, as we saw, was usually a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or at least a vellāla (landlord-community), he thus belonged either to the very top, or at least to the upper middle strata of the social hierarchy of medieval Tamilnad. The life of the devotee or tontar was usually portrayed (in the canonical hagiographic literature) in the following way. After a rather stereotyped description of his birth and education, the great moment comes—the dramatic picture of the central episode: the conversion. This is inevitably preceded by a period of inner tension and by a sharp outer conflict. The important thing to note is that the nature of the conflict is usually social, and, invariably, in each episode the saint refuses to yield and becomes victorious (even if in death). E.g., when Vātavūrār alias Mānkkavācakar gets into conflict with the Pandya king whose minister he was, and also with the entire Brahmin community, or when Cuntarar publicly opposes the decision of the caste panchayat. Śiva takes the side of the devotee who protests against society or tradition—frequently, though, in the very last moment, when his future devotee is in danger of annihilation, physical or moral.

The victory against society and/or tradition, and the subsequent boon of poetic inspiration granted to the devotee by God as a gift of grace (arul) frequently do not lead to full denial of society, to asceticism and renunciation, there are, of course, vān tontar who sacrifice their families, children, their life, without care and con-

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1 The equivalent Tamil term is tontar, pl. tontar, “servant” or atiyāy “slave.” There are two kinds of saints: the “hard” servants (vayontontar), the ones whom ordinary men cannot follow (they are the truly a-social or probably even anti-social ones), and the “soft” servants (mentontar) who became a model for all to follow. A typical vayontontar is, e.g., the hunter Kannappan.
2 There is, in each episode, a dramatic plot, and an inner, psychological development of the hero. In this respect, the hagiographic stories are better than many modern Tamil short stories.
sideration whether their behaviour is just or unjust according to accepted social rules. But they can never be a model to be followed by others. Normally, the devotee goes on living within the society, but on a different, higher level, he is now independent of society, he is free of the society which is represented by two levels, the more general and higher level of the king and his court, and the more specific and lower level of the caste and the devotee’s family. The bhakta does not pay any attention to social matters, only two ties are now important for him: one between God and himself, another between himself and the other bhaktas.

Hence it is doubtful whether we are entitled to speak about the bhakta movement in terms of a positive social protest. Social negativism—yes, but an antisocial movement, or a revolutionary social protest—no. The utmost case of social negativism and perhaps the only one carried so far may be seen in the life story of Kārakkaḷ Ammayār (about 550 A.D.) She breaks step by step all ties with her family, with her caste, with the society as a whole, and ultimately with humanity itself, and identifies herself with the uncanny demons, ghosts, “devils” (pēy) who witness Śiva’s wild dancing in Tiruvālankātu.

The third point made for the socio-political interpretation of bhakta is that the texts disregard, transcend and deny all social privileges and all caste prejudices. This feature was called “democracy” or “egalitarianism.” T.P. Meenakshisundaran speaks about “perfect spiritual democracy” and “a spiritual democracy of love and service.” We may agree with the term as long as it is accompanied by the qualifier “spiritual.” Of social or political democracy, however, there are perhaps no traces in the texts. The equality and freedom refer to the bhaktas, to the devotees, and to them only. Just as there is no real social protest on behalf of the exploited masses of the common people but only individual social conflict of the devotees, there is no fight for freedom and equality on behalf of the oppressed. Only the devotees of Śiva are equal. Only they are filled with the feeling of wonderful freedom. They have one master alone—Śiva, they are “slaves” (at티யார்), “ser-

1 Even this is doubtful in case of some poet-saints, thus e.g. Cuntarar, as T.P. Meenakshisundaran says in op. cit. 74, “was a great political force in his times and sang the praise of the Pallavas”, cf. Tevāram 8240. His life seems to have been “a divine family life, a divine social and perhaps political life.”
vants’ (tontar) but also comrades and companions (tōlar) of Śiva. In an admirable hymn typical of this feeling of freedom, Appar sings nāmārkkum kuti yalōm namānai yańcōm “We are subjects to no one, we do not fear death. It’s joy for us through life, not pain!” Towards each other, they, too, are “slaves” and “servants” atiyārkkum atyēy, “I am the servants’ servant”, says Cuntarar. And a similar situation prevails among the Vaisnavites.

Before a man or woman becomes a devotee of Śiva, he or she has to give up all privileges, based on high social status or wealth. Thus Mānkkavācakar renounces completely all his worldly ambitions and his wealth, and again and again stresses the necessity of doing so, Cuntarar becomes, immediately before his marriage, the servant (tontar) of God, and after he gives up the privilege of belonging to the highest caste, he becomes the Lord’s comrade (tōlan). However, as already stressed, the spirit of freedom, equality and service pervades only the “brotherhood”, the “clan” of the devotees.

**Bhakti** is a personal and emotional approach to God, the individual character of such contact with the Divine means that it occurs outside of any corporation which has a specialized and privileged knowledge of sacred texts and ritual.

In Buddhism and Jainism, the liberation of the individual from the fetters of “human bondage” was achieved by total denial and renunciation. In bhakti, it is achieved by total devotion and worship. The liberation of the individual from the grip of social oppression was achieved, in Buddhism and Jainism, by his getting rid of society itself, society as such became an enemy of the individual. And these two religions—at least in their later “degenerate” forms in the South—were indeed strongly antisocial. In spite of the rivalry between each other, they were strong enough to be very probably a powerful antisocial factor in the Tamil society in the middle of the first millennium AD. That is one of the reasons why, in the second half of the 1st millennium, the society and in particular its rulers turned away from Jainism and Buddhism.

The excesses committed in the name of these religions provoked many individuals and whole social strata to resistance. The early poet-devotees speak about Buddhism and Jainism with genuine hatred, stressing the antisocial behaviour of the Buddhists and Jains.

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1. Peryāyār speaks about the devotees as tontakkulam, “the clan of servants”. For the “servant’s servant”, cf. one of the titles of the Roman pontiff servus servorum Dei.
The opposition towards Jainism is well seen in Appar's own life story. He had been a Jain himself, he led a life of vain mortification of the body, denying it even the simplest pleasure of a bath, moving around as a naked ascetic. This kind of religion built on a series of negations brought him only an unbearable inner tension (which manifested itself, incidentally, by a chronic stomach-ache). He became a convert to Śaivism, and found the omnipresent, omnipotent Lord, whom he could love and who would never fail him. Or consider Cuntarar's contempt of the Jains: he sneers at their names, their unclean and antihygienic habits, their ways of eating and living, and even at their shaven heads. According to persistent tradition, Cuntarar was responsible for the annihilation of 8000 Jains in Māturai. He went as far as to deny, very unjustly, the Jains their great merit of cultivating Tamil learning. Cuntarar, too, speaks of the Jains and Buddhists with contempt and ridicule. Thus, in his hymn 33 9, he mentions the "shameless Jains, jeering at everyone, who recite the (meaningless) sounds nāmanā nānana nāna nānam." Tontarātīyāvār, a Vaiṣṇava saint, condemns, too, the Buddhists and Jains and speaks of them as of "untouchables." Even the Peryāyāvār of whom it was said that "his poems show no hatred of other religions" (M S Pūrṇalīngam Pīḷai), cries out "Snatch the rice from the mouths of these who burden the earth! Stuff them with grass instead!"

We must of course allow for some amount of exaggeration but it is obvious that, by the middle of the first millennium A.D., Buddhism and Jainism must have lost practically all of their attraction, and the poet-saints became allies of the kings and the princes who, as already said, turned away from Jainism and Buddhism (many of the bhaktas, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, belonged themselves to the ruling classes, e.g., Kulacēkarāvār, the king of Kōlli, Konku, Kūtal and Köli, or Cēramān Perumāl, or Tīrumankai Ālāvār, the prince of Mankai in Tīruvalīmātē, etc.)

Politically, Jainism and Buddhism were, in the middle of the first millennium, connected with foreign, non-Tamil powers, chiefly the Cāḷūkya-s, and this probably induced the Pallava and Pandyā kings to reject Jainism and to adopt Śaivism.

Another very powerful factor was language. Though the Jains cultivated arduously literary Tamil since the earliest times, the

1 Nampi Āntār Nampi, Āisuttiya Pillayār Tivulōmāḷai, 59 and 74
2 Tīrumāḷai, 7
style of Tamil they fostered became, to a great extent, artificial and very much removed from the idiom of the masses. On the other hand, Buddhism and Jainsm were to some extent even linguistically alien. In contrast, the language of the masses reached the innermost texture of the literary idiom of the poet-saints; the masses understood well the new language of bhakti poetry, it sounded to them "at once direct, clear and forceful" (S Vayapuri Pillai). The Sanskrit diction of the ever more influential Brahmins added to the richness of the diction of bhakti poetry, and the melodies of the religious songs were obviously based on popular songs, on folk-tunes.

The anti-Buddhist and anti-Jain bhakti movement coincides in Tamilnad in time and content with the establishment and spread of a strong Tamil national feeling and with the political expression of this fact—the origin and spread of the powerful Tamil kingdom of the Pallavas under Mahendravarman I (580-630 A.D.) and his son Narasimhavarman I (630-668 A.D.). In the second half of the first millennium, Buddhism and Jainism are regarded as something alien, something which is mimical to this national self-identification of the Tamils.

However, the reaction against Buddhism and Jainsm had yet deeper roots. The purely intellectual ethical conceptions of the Jains were not and could not be popular among the masses, the Jaina cult was also somewhat too abstract and unattractive, and the excesses of Jaina asceticism were ridiculed by the folk as well as by some intellectuals. Art, literature and music were basically regarded as dangerous by Jains and Buddhists, and their attitude became later openly negative. The whole world was full of temptation and misery, even womanhood, motherhood and childhood lost their charms.

In contrast to this, early Śaivite saints glorified womanhood and motherhood (cf. Campantar, Tēvāram 1425). Nature became a form of sakti, indeed, God has no other form (Appar, Tēvāram 4552, 4560). The whole material world seems to dance and sing and play (vīlavyātu), this is a dance of worship of the Lord (Tēvāram 2703). Art and music became divine in temple worship.

The endless personal loyalty of a bhakta to a personal and very real God,

1 This may incidentally be one of the reasons why the Pallava and Pāṇḍya monarchs were converted to Śaivism. The endless loyalty to a personal God was used as a kind of model and projection for an unconditional loyalty of the subject to the king.
central motives and features of bhakti, including sexual love and eroticism, which is not a hindrance, but, on the contrary, frequently a precondition to divine love or, at least, its standard symbol. There is in fact a direct connection between the idealized and typified love of the akam genre in the early classical poetry, and the ecstasies of the eternal love between the soul and the Lord. The trend may be followed from the akam pieces through Tiruvalluvar’s Kāmattuppāl and Tirumūlar’s basic utterances like anpē cvam “God is love” to the relation between the human and the Divine as expressed in the great Śrīvite and Vaisnāvite poet-saints.

The relation to the object of the cult develops individually, but within the community, asceticism is not obligatory, frequently it is missing altogether (cf. the life-story of Cuntarar who married first a temple-girl at Tiruvārūr, Paravai, then a vēlāḷa girl, Cankū, at Tiruvorrīyūr, and these two women occupied a large portion of the life of this “licensed friend” of God) The bhakta brings, to his God, his economic and social position as sacrifice—but this sacrifice does not mean a denial of the society as a whole, only the acquisition of freedom from social ties. The devotee of the Lord remained living within the community and the society, in full enjoyment of all advantages provided by social life, but, at the same time, living on a higher level, ignoring any ties and restrictions which society imposed.

Finally, the cult of sacred places, a feature so typical for both Śrīvai and Vaisnava bhakti in the South, which was probably the most “popular” element of the movement, added much to its spread and attraction. The theology of bhakti was realistic to the extent that it did not accept the conception of the phenomenal world as an illusion, it was theistic. God was individualized and made completely real, so to say “solidified” in a very concrete form of the idol worshipped in the temple, at a given moment in time, God was dwelling in a concrete and near place, in a familiar local shrine. And what kind of God! Śiva took on a colourful, vital

1 It is usually the bhakta who turns into woman craving for the embrace of the Lord, i.e. the human soul is female, God male. Exceptionally, as in Mānukavāsakar’s Turukkōvavār, the soul is the male and the Lord the lady-love. Frequently, the bhakta is a slave, a servant of the God-king, sometimes, he is a child, and God his mother, he is the lotus-flower and God the sun, he is Yacōtai and God her child Kṛṣna, a woman devotee is the woman longing passionately for Kṛṣna’s embrace, or, as in the case of Kāraikkāḷ Ammaṉ, she is a mad demon (pēy), and the Lord is the dancing Śiva.
personality, absorbing much of the local *couleur*, and the attention of the people, and perhaps even more absorbing became the personality of Visnu—in the role of child, lover, and intimate companion of the devotees. So, in comparison with the decayed, deteriorated Southern Buddhism and Jainism we see in the Tamil Hindu revival the triumph of emotion over intellect, of the concrete over the abstract, of the acceptance of life over its ascetic denial, of something near and homely against something alien and distant, and, above all, the acceptance of positive love against cold morality or intellectually coloured compassion.

It was said at the beginning of this chapter, that there was another productive approach to Tamil *bhakti* literature—the structural analysis of the texts into segments. A few preliminary remarks are necessary.

The religiosity of a text includes basically two elements. The first element is that of the *function of the cult*—the composition, the uttering or chanting of the text, or the acceptance of a given text or its portion is directed to call forth or to sustain the connection with the object of the cult. The second element is that of the *information* pertinent to the relation of the subject of the cult to its object.

This information is classified into the following segments:

- $S_1$—the interior state of the subject of the cult,
- $S_2$—the external actions of the subject of the cult,
- $O_1$—the respective reaction of the object of the cult in relation to the subject,
- $O_2$—the state, qualities or actions of the object of the cult irrespective of the given relation to the subject, $O_2$ has usually the form of a synchronic projection of an event in diachrony.

As an example of a stanza which illustrates the complete pattern $S_1 S_2 O_1 O_2$ we may quote one of the earliest Śaiva *bhakti* poems, ascribed to Kārakkal Ammānīyar:

O heart! Praise always in the fullness of love
Him the Bestower of good, the Pure one with falling locks,
Him who likes to give shelter to hissing snakes in his hair,
Him who will redeem us when the day comes.

---

\[ S_1 = "O \text{ heart in the fullness of love},"
S_2 = "praise always",
O_1 = "who will redeem us when the day comes",
O_2 = \text{the rest}
\]

Indian religious literature may be divided into three kinds of texts: specific religious texts (hymns), narrative religious texts, and religious-philosophical texts. One and the same text may acquire or lose its specific religious function depending on its setting in the space and time coordinates. Reflective-religious, or religious-philosophical literature is that kind of literature in which \( O_2 \) plays the central part but is removed from its cult-relations and appears in an abstract and categorized shape. In ancient Indo-Aryan literature, the first kind of texts is represented by Vedic hymns, the second by the \textit{purāṇas}, and the third by the \textit{upamsads}, the \textit{sāstras} and the \textit{āgamas}.

The function of the text and its content, i.e., the information it gives, are independent of each other. We find, e.g., a number of texts in India which give no information related to cult and religion, and yet they have become indispensable for the cult as \textit{the} texts of the cult, depending upon their diachronic situation.

The segmentation of the information into \( S_1, S_2, O_1 \) and \( O_2 \) enables us to perform a series of internal and external comparisons. When, for instance, we compare the hymns of the Tamil Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saint-poets of the 7th-10th Cent AD with the Vedic hymns, we may observe a set of common features but also features which are sharply contrastive. One of the most important distinctions is the hypertrophy of \( S_1 \) in many Tamil hymns, and its almost complete absence in Vedic hymns.

The intimate side of worship is highly developed in the Tamil hymns (contrary to Vedic texts). The most important feature of the Tamil hymns is the relation \( S_2 O_1 \). What does the devotee ask for when addressing God, and what does God grant him?

The analysis of \( S_2 O_1 \) shows that in the Vedic hymns man demands from God maternal goods for himself, and denial of these goods to his enemies. Such demand is usually accompanied by a ritual in which one brings to the gods in small quantities the same which one wants from them in large amounts.

In the Tamil hymns, the devotee asks God to grant him knowledge of himself and knowledge of God, so that he can see him, love him and become one with him.
Both in Vedic and Tamil hymns we frequently encounter the phenomenon of substitution, the object of the cult is no more God himself but some of his attributes. Sometimes the substitution phenomenon is very simple (e.g., the simple *pars pro toto* relation), but it may also become more complicated. The devotee addresses a third object, a kind of "duplicate" of the original subject of the cult, which has some unique, specific relation to the sphere of $S_2O_1$ and serves as the ideal mediator between the subject and the object of the cult. In Vedic hymns, such substitute is usually an element of the material rite, e.g., *ghī*, in the Tamil hymns, it may be the heart, the mind, the soul of the *bhakta*.

The relation of the subject of the cult to its object has predominantly material character in Vedic hymns, and it lies outside the cult, *au contraire*, in the Tamil medieval hymns, the relation of the subject to the object of the cult remains fully within the sphere of the cult, and has predominantly spiritual and/or emotional character. Vedic hymns are, as to their function, a part of the cult, the part which reflects and assists the material ritual, the Tamil hymns are the centre and the basis of the cult, in relation to which the material ritual is only a facultative component of $S_2$.

There is yet another important difference: the object of the Vedic cult was conceived as existing in nature in general, and, at the same time, at any given place, in other words, the object of the cult was delimited only on the cosmic plane. In the Tamil hymns, however, God—Śiva or Viṣṇu—is considered to dwell, at a given moment in time, exclusively at a given place, in one of the great shrines of the South. This "here and now" attribute of God is part of the phenomenon which has been called *henoloctheism*.

The segment $O_2$ fills the greater part of Sanskrit *purāṇas* the personal story of the object of the cult. The object of the cult received, much later, his "second life" in the South of India. The important changes concerning this "second life" were connected with the cult as such and with its practical part, not with the conception of the object itself beyond the sphere of cult-relations.

In the Tamil hymns, the material of $O_2$ is usually telescoped into the epithets. There are two kinds of epithets in these hymns. One group entered Tamil literature from (or through) Sanskritic literature and has no relation to Tamil ritual practice, e.g., when Kṛṣṇa, as Viṣṇu's *avatār*, is described as "the one who had devour the entire universe", this is an allusion based on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*,
it had lost so to say the temporal coordinates of the *purānic* episode and was telescoped into the Tamil hymns as a “flattened” synchronic epithet.

Another kind of epithets has the henolocotheistic character, that is, it is connected with the particular place of abode of the deity, or with the intimate sphere of the devotee’s religious experience. This group of epithets has nothing in common with the Sanskritic tradition, it is completely indigenous.

The fact that $S_1$, $S_2$, $O_1$, $O_2$ were posited as segments of the information given in the hymns enables us to compare, from one convenient point of view, the saint-poets with one another. Here I shall give a very brief comparison of the hymns of the four great Śaiva nāyānmār, Appar, Campantar, Cuntarar and Māmikkavāca-kar.

Campantar’s poems contain all the elements of information which are typical for the whole complex of Śarva bhakti texts. However, there is in his songs a definite predominance of the segment $O_2$. The content of $S_2$ is mostly Campantar’s struggle with the Jñānas. On the other hand, the intimate, lyrical part of religious experience is relatively weakly developed in his work. He is less emotional than the other bhaktas, the greater part of his work is filled with material related to $O_2$, mostly in epithetic form. A favourite substitute for God is, in his poems, *turuniru*, “the sacred ash”, and also *patam*, “the foot”, *ats*, “the footstep” of the Lord. One of the diagnostic features of his poetry is also his preoccupation with Śiva’s abodes.

In his ears, he has the palm-leaf roll, riding a steer, crowned with the pure white crescent-moon, besmeared with ashes of the jungle burning ground, he is the thief who stole away my soul.
He wears a flower-garland, he, who in former days when praised and worshipped, showered grace and came to famous Brahmāpuram.
He is our mighty Lord!

In contrast to Campantar, the poems by Appar are almost exclusively emotional. There is rich material connected with the individual acts of worship and with the autobiography of the poet. Therefore, apart from $O_2$ which is also strongly developed in Appar’s poetry, there is a strong element of $S_1$ and $S_2$. One of the important
features of Appar's poetry is his antiritualism, this fact of the
worship being fully transferred into the spheres of emotion and
vision seems to anticipate the most typical features of the poetry
of the Cittar and of Tāyumāṉavar

One of his best-known poems begins with the line nāmārkum
kuṭiyallōm namaṇar yaṅcōm

To none are we subject!
Death we do not fear!
We do not grieve in hell
We never tremble
and we know no illness
We do not crouch and crawl
It's joy for us through life,
not pain!

In Cuntarar's poetry, there is again a strong preference for $S_1$, but
of a different kind than by Appar. Cuntarar's poetry is very near
to erotic lyrics, the material of his hymns is most intimately
connected with his innermost emotions, with the events of his life,
and even the epithets, forming the segment $O_2$, are connected with
the intimate aspect of worship, with the body of the Beloved

I was sold
and bought by you
I am no loan
I am your slave
of my own free will!
You made me blind
Why, Lord,
did you take away
my sight?
You are to blame!
If you will not restore
the sight of my other eye—
well, may you then live long!

Finally, there is Māmkkavācakar, whose work is usually consider-
ed to be the most typical and the ripest expression of Śaiva bhakti
in Tamil literature

The structure of his Tiruvācakam is rather complex. It has 51

\(^1\) Appar, Tēvāram, Kaḷacakam ed., 357
\(^2\) There is a popular saying in Tamil, attributed to Śiva himself "My
Appaṇ sung of myself, Campāntāṇ sung of himself, Cuntaraṇ sung of
women"
\(^3\) Cuntarar, Tēvāram, Pat. 95, 2
chapters, containing 656 hymns. After the *akaval* portion, which contains an entire inventory of Śiva's epithets, and the whole canon of accepted forms of Śaiva worship, follow the *pattrams*, divided usually into quatrains with refrains or catch-words. There is a clear hypertrophy of the segment *S₁*. Religious emotion achieves, in these poems, a strength and fullness hardly achieved anywhere else. The love of the devotee, which is the central and basic feature of his *religio*, is responded to by the object of worship with *arul*, divine grace. The segment *S₂* is almost entirely suppressed, since everything what happens on the side of the subject of worship happens within his heart and soul. Most of his hymns have the pattern *S₁ O₁* (*O₂*). The central and most important portion of his hymns concerns the relation *S₁ O₁*

*O kuyil* who calls from flower-filled groves  
listen  
He came as a Brahman and revealed  
his lovely rosy feet  
He is mine  
he said with infinite grace  
and made me all his own  
All glowing flames his form  
The Lord Supreme  
Go  
Call him once again  

*Çiruväçacakam, Kuyrpattu 10*  
(Transl by S. Kokilam)

Below an analysis is given of two quatrains from his *Çiruväçacakam* (in A. K. Ramanujan's translation)

I am the very last, but in your mercy you made me your own,  
O Lord of the Bull. But, look, now you give me up,  
O Lord, dressed in the fierce tiger's skin, O King everlasting of  
Uttarakōcamankai,  

O Lord of the matted locks I faint Support me, Lord, Our Own  
I refused your grace in my ignorance, O jewel!  
You loath me Look, you give me up Cut down  
this chain of acts and make me yours, O King of Uttarakōcamankai!  
Don't the great ones always bear with the lies of tiny puppies?  

Observe the fact that, in both poems, the segment *S₂*—in contrast to Campantar's and Cuntarar's hymns—equals zero, the segment *O₂* is developed, but not too strongly (in contrast, e.g., to Appar's or Campantar's poems). It is the segments *S₁* and *O₁* which are filled with material. The second hymn in particular has a neat pattern of *S₁ O₁* (*O₂*)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S₁</th>
<th>S₂</th>
<th>O₁</th>
<th>O₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is the very last of Śiva’s devotees</td>
<td>Made him his own through his mercy</td>
<td>Rides the bull</td>
<td>Is clad in tiger-skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fears to be forsaken by Śiva</td>
<td>Gives him up</td>
<td>King of Uttarak</td>
<td>Has matted locks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is tired and faints</td>
<td>(Supports him)</td>
<td>The Lord</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prays to be supported by Śiva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in ignorance</td>
<td>Loathes the devotee</td>
<td>Jewel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuses the grace</td>
<td>Gives him up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fears to be forsaken by Śiva</td>
<td>Destroys the devotee’s chain of actions</td>
<td>King of Uttarak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considers himself to be a miserable dog</td>
<td>Makes him his own</td>
<td>He who is great</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bears with the devotee’s hes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another typical feature of *Tiruvācakam* is the development of the system of the object—an elaboration and “universalization” of the object which results in the fact that the object engulfs as it were the whole phenomenal world including the subject of the cult. Thus, the hymn is, in part at least, transformed into a religious-philosophical treatise, and worship is accompanied by reflection:

He is the Ancient One, who creates the Creator of all,  
He is the God, who preserves the Preserver of things created,  
He is the God who destroys the Destroyer,  
But, thinking without thought, regards the things destroyed  
(Transl. G U Pope, *Tiruvācakam* III, 13-16)

The culmination of this development is reached in the *Civappurānam*. According to this poem, the only aim of the poet’s life, of his trials and efforts, is the complete liquidation of *karma*. To achieve this, one must be born as a human being, after passing through different births not only in the organic but also in the anorganic nature.

This cur  
in ugly existence  
to praise you  
knows no words  
As grass as weed  
as worm as tree  
as carnal beings  
as bird and as snake  
as rock as man  
as devil and as demon
as ascetic
as god
as being and non-being
all creations
I’ve lived and tired
My Lord
My cosmic eye has seen
your golden feet Today
I’ve reached my home

_Tiruvācakam, Civaṇurānam_ 24-32
(Transl by S' Kokilam)

Śiva gives the soul the privilege to be born in human form. Śiva grants the devotee the gift of love and true knowledge, and, finally, Śiva helps to annihilate completely the devotee’s _karma_. Thus _karma_ has lost its absolute character, it is no more the transcendental and eternal law. It is Śiva, the God, at once transcendental and personal, who is absolute in every sense of the term.

_Civaṇurānam_ has been called “The Tamil Upanisad.” Not only the _Civaṇurānam_, but the whole of _Tiruvācakam_ is the culmination of Śaiva bhakti hymnic literature, and, at the same time, the beginning of the specific system of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy. It has always played an enormously influential role in the entire spiritual culture of Tamilnad.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE IMPERIAL POET

In the standard German history of Indian literatures, revised in 1961, we do indeed come across the name of Kampan. The author has devoted to “the greatest epic poet of Tamil land” (T P Meenakshisundaran), to “the king of Tamil literature” who “represents the Tamil mind at its ripest and noblest” (C and H Jesudasana)—11 lines of small print, and these 11 lines abound in general statements. And yet, Kampan’s Irāmāvatārām is not just an epic poem, it is an entire literature and, as the Jesudasans say, “the Tamilian mind, one of the world’s wonders is its ignorance of him” (op cit 168) “The field of research in Kampan is vast as the sea”, and, as we have specialized “Dantists” or Shakespearean scholars, we are equally entitled to have specialized “Kampanologists”.

Hence, again, just like in the case of the bhakti literature, we have to make a choice, and select a few, particularly relevant, critical and interesting features of Kampan’s great work, and deal with these rather than try to give an over-all picture of the poem and its creator.

There are no reliable enough sources about the poet and his life. Even his name presents a problem. It is of course the name of Śiva in Kānci (Tēvāram 3240). There was also a Pallava king, Kampavarman (870-912). See K A N Sastrī, A History of South India, in fact the very last of the Pallava kings. According

2 such as “Beliebt ist Kambans Rāmayana vor allem wegen der Eleganz und des Wohlklangs seiner Sprache” or “Gross ist er in der Verwendung von Bildern und Gleichnissen und anderem schmuckenden Benefen”.
3 Incidentally, Kampan is sometimes called “the Homer of Tamil literature” or “the Shakespeare of Tamil literature”. Nothing is more misleading than these entirely empty metaphors. Homer is Homer, Shakespeare is Shakespeare, and Kampan is Kampan. They have nothing substantial in common. In the Tamil tradition, Kampan is called very often kaviccak-kravaritts, “the emperor of poets”, since he is so “supreme”. He is, though, not the only Ta poet to bear this title. Thus, e.g. Cayankontar (the author of Kalinthattuparam) is also “emperor of poets” (cf Kulötttenkay Pillattamari, 14, and Tanjore Saraswaṭ Mahal Library Catalogue Vol I, p 288). Another “emperor of poets” is Ottakkuttar (cf Takkayākapparam 813).
to one legend, the poet was born in the vicinity of a temple-pillar (kampam, stambha-), according to another story, he was the son of the king of Kampanātu, other stories associate his name with kampa, "millet", or kampam "pillar" or "stick", a well-known proverb says that in Kampan’s home even a post for tying cattle will compose verses 1

What we do know is that he was a native of Truvaluntur (Tanjore district), of the uvacca community (temple drummers, or according to others, pārās in Māriyamman’s temples), and that he was patronized by a chieftain called Cataiyappan or Cataiyan, to whom he thankfully refers in every thousandth verse of his poem

Another problem is Kampan’s date According to one stanza, the year of the composition of his work is 885 A D 2 An alternative interpretation of the same stanza puts Kampan in the 12th Cent 3 On the basis of another verse, and the frequent occurrence of the word uttaman, the work is assigned to the 10th Cent A D, to the reign of Uttama Chola According to T P Meenakshisundaran “this seems the most reasonable view” (op cit 102) Others, however, will interpret this verse as referring to 1185 in the reign of Kulottunkana III (1178-1216), and there is inscriptive evidence which shows that this Chola king was called Tyākavīyōtan to whom Kampan refers (in Yuttakāntam, Maruttumalarp 58) 4 There is a stanza attributed to Kampan in Tamilsāvalar cantaut in praise of a king of Varangal who belongs to the same period Once, in Kitikantam, Pilaaminkup 35, Kampan refers to Amalan who is identified with Chola Kulottunka II (1132-1150) praised by the Chola court-poet Ottakkuttan 5 Hence it seems to be true that Kampan was not prior to Kulottunka Chola II, and the upper limit is set by Periya Ācāry Pillai (first half of the 13th Cent ) who quotes from Kampan in his commentary to Tiivyapprapantam A probable, though by no means certain date for Kampan is, therefore, the 12th Cent A D As T P Meenakshisundaran says, “in any case all these dates fall within the period of the Imperial Cholas” (op cit 102) 6

1 kampana vittuk kattuttaiyam kavicollum
2 Cf V V S Ayar’s introduction to Pālakāntam (1917)
3 Centamil I, III, 171-81
4 Cf Es Vaiyāpuri Pillai, Tamilsccularmanikal, III ed, 1959 Also Centamil I, p 122
5 Kulottunkacolayudul 157
6 For a detailed discussion in Tamul of this problem cf Es Vaiyāpuri Pillai, Tamilsccularmanikal, III ed, 1959, pp 127-149
This is, then, the sum of our knowledge of the poet and his date
As far as the work itself is concerned, one can point out, as already
said, only to a handful of those features which one considers to be
most relevant and important, at our age and for the contemporary
understanding and appreciation of Tamil literature among non-
Tamil and non-Indian readers
First, it was definitely not Kampan who discovered Rāma's
story for the Tamils. The Rāmāyana story was actually known in
the Tamil South in the early classical age itself, at least one thousand
years before Kampan. In the very early texts, Akam 70 13-16 and
Puram 378 18-21, there are clear allusions to the story of Rāma.
In the Cilappattikāram, 14 46-48, Rāma is referred to as suffering
because of separation from his beloved, and ib. 13 64-66, the city of
Pukār, after Kōvala had left it, is compared to Ayodhya after
Rāma's departure. NaccinārkkīṇCAP's commentary on Tolk 1021
quotes stray venpās which may be from an earlier Tamil Rāmāyana
version
The Vaisnava bhakti hymns are of course full of Rāma as the
avatār of Visnu, T P Meenakshisundaran (op cit 104-105) quotes
several instances to prove that Kampan obviously knew and used
these poems. It is however, interesting to notice the fact that,
"while the Tamils have gone on attempting Mahābhārata, no man
has dared to attempt the Rāmāyana after Kampan",1 though
there were Rāmāyanas before him
Second. The Irāmāvalāram of Kampan is one of the few Tamil
literary works which were well-known outside Tamilnad. It was
rather popular in the Kannada country (a 14th Cent Kannada
inscription form Mysore refers to Kampadarāmāyana) According
to a Malayalam anecdote, Śiva was born as Kampan and composed
the Kamparāmāyanam "consisting of the thirty-two dramas
enacted even today as a part of the ritual during the annual festivals
in the temples of Śiva in the northern part of Kerala" (T P Meen-
akshisundaran, op cit 106) Rāmānuja (who died in 1137) is
praised by one of his disciples as famous for his interest in Rāmāyana
( Rāmānucar Nāyantālu 37) If Kampan belonged to an age earlier
than the 12th Cent, Rāmānuja might have known his great poem
The influence of the great Tamil philosopher travelled to North
India and spread through to Rāmānanda, whence a connection may

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1 The Jesudasans, op cit 183
be established with Kabir and Tulsidas. There is much speculation about the influence of the Tamil poem on the Northern versions of the Rama story.

Third One of the crucial points is, naturally, the relation between Valmiki and Kampan. That the Tamil epic is not a translation of Valmiki is quite clear, and one might point to a great number of major and minor differences between the great Sanskrit epic and the Tamil poem. On the other hand, in the main story Kampan follows the tradition rather closely without making any great changes. The plot and many of its details are taken from Valmiki. The division into books (kāntam) and the subdivision into cantos (patalam) is taken from Valmiki, too. The epic is basically modelled on the rhetoric of Sanskrit kavyas, not on the more indigenous Tamil epic tradition. And, above all, Kampan is a learned poet, and his great erudition in both Sanskrit and Tamil tradition, written and oral, is evident everywhere. On the other hand, the Tamil poet introduced significant changes into minor episodes, and some of these changes have been sufficiently commented upon (as, e.g., the premarital love of Rama and Sita which is not found in Valmiki).

Here, too, one has to make a choice and try to show what seems to be the most characteristic and the most easily illustrative points of difference between the ātitākamu (Valmiki) and Kampan’s Tamil work, and to focus on the “Tamilness” of the Tamil Irāmāvatāram.

Kampan’s ideal, the Rāmarājya, Rama’s rule, the heavenly kingdom to be established, is set into an ideal environment of country and city which, though it retains its original name, has a number of new, concrete and purely South Indian features. He has utilised the ideal descriptions of the aminas found in the early classical literature, the five ideal landscapes appear quite significantly in stanzas 23 ff. The fact is very obvious, e.g., in stanza 28:

Turning forest into slope,
field into wilderness,
seashore into fertile land,
changing boundaries, exchanging
landscapes,
the reckless waters
roared on like the pasts
that hurry close on the heels
of lives

(Transl. A K Ramanujan)

1 There is even a popular saying which reflects this kāvīyam pērīyava
kampan “Kampan is greatest in learning”
Not only that the entire opening passage on waters, taking many shapes and forms, is unique, characteristically Tamil, and none of this is in Vālmiki:

Caressing the lover’s hair,  
the lovers’ body, the lovers’ limbs  
concubines take away whole hills  
of wealth yet keep little  
in their spendthrift hands  
as they move on  
so the waters  
flow from the peaks to the valleys  
beginning high and reaching low  

(17)

Born of Himalayan stone  
and mingling with the seas,  
it spreads, ceaselessly various,  
one and many at once,  
like that Original Thing  
even the measureless Vedas  
cannot measure with words  

(30)

Through pollen-dripping groves  
clumps of champak  
lotus pools  
waterplaces with new sands  
flowering fields cross-fenced  
with creepers  
like a life filling and emptying  

(29)  
a variety of bodies  
the river flowed on.  
(Transl A K Ramanujan)

Like god, the rains and the floods take the form of many things, like god appearing so different in the beliefs of various sects, water takes many different forms according to the shapes men give it

Stealing milk and buttermilk,  
guzzling on warm ghee and butter  
straight from the pots on the ropes,  
leaning the marutam tree on the kuruntam,  
carrying away the clothes and bracelets  
of goatherd girls at watergames
Like Kṛṣṇa dancing
on the striped and spotted snake
the waters are naughty

(26)

(Transl A K Ramanujan)

The ideal city, Ayodhya, the seat of civilization, is governed by
the ideal of ātām (dharma), "rightness, righteousness, justice",
when Rāma is exiled, dharma goes weeping after him. In Rāma's
city, there are no poor, because there are no rich, there are no
learned ones, because there are no uneducated. In contrast, there
is Lankā, also a seat of civilization, equally rich, perhaps even
more so. However, while Ayodhya is a seat of love and divine
light, Lankā is governed by mārgam, by militant heroism, the seat of a
Titan, whom even the gods fear, and who has an utter disregard for
dharma, however cultured and refined he may be.¹

In the characterization of some figures, there are considerable
differences between Kampan’s work and its Sanskrit inspiration. I
shall give at least two instances of such changes introduced by
Kampan.

**IST THEME. THE EPISODE OF SUGRĪVA, VĀLI AND TĀRĀ**

**Vālmikī**

Tārā is the wife of the monkey
kung Vāli. After Vāli's death, the
victorious Sugrīva takes her as
his wife and his love is recipro-
cated by Tārā. Laksmana, enraged
at the ungratefulness of Sugrīva
(whom Rāma helped to kill Vāli
and regain his throne), is pacified
by Tārā.

**Kampan**

The moral justification for Vāli's
death is the fact that he has taken
forcibly Sugrīva's wife from him.
Tārā becomes a saintly widow
after the death of her husband,
and comes to pacify Laksmana,
who is remuned by her widow's
dress and ascetic behaviour of his
own mother, left as a widow in
Ayodhya.

¹ Here one should probably at least mention the fact that the Kampan-
rāmāyanam has become the target of attacks in rather recent days, mostly
by the protagonists of the "Dravidian movement". Some speakers of the
D K and D M K parties tried to discredit the poem by pointing to the
various moral failices of the hero (never on aesthetic grounds!), e.g. Rāma's
behaviour towards Sītā after she was rescued from Lankā, Rāma’s role in
the killing of Vāli etc., by interpreting Rāma’s war against Lankā as the
Aryans’ brutal conquest of the culturally much superior Dravidians,
by accepting Rāvana as the true hero of the story. The last point was made very
explicit by a contemporary Tamil scholar-poet (Kulantarai Pulavar) who composed
an "anti-epic", Itāvanay Kāppiyam, a "chanson de Rāvana". There were
other scholars who tried to point out an immense number of "interpolations"
and thus "reconstruct" the "original" Kampan in agreement with
the aims of the Dravidian movement.
2ND THEME  THE STORY OF AHALYĀ

Vālmiki

Ahalyā, the wife of the sage Gautama, willingly accepts Indra's embrace ("O Rāghava, though Ahalyā recognized Indra disguised as her lord, yet she acceded to his request") Whatmore, she enjoys it. "Then Ahalyā addressed Indra saying 'O Indra, I am highly gratified, now depart quickly, unobserved.'" She is purified into a chaste woman by the touch of the divine dust from Rāma's feet, after she has been turned into a stone by her husband Indra was deprived of his manhood by the curse of Gautama, but later the testicles of a ram were grafted on to him.

Kampan

Ahalyā is chaste, she is duped by Indra's impersonation, she knows she is sinning only in the act, but her mind does not take part in the sin. She repents ("Ahalyā stood stunned, bearing the shame of a deed that will not end in this endless world") Indra steals away in the shape of a cat, and Gautama curses him ("May you be covered by the vaginas of a thousand women!") Ahalyā is turned into a black rock Rāma's eyes fall on the rock, and as the dust of his feet blows on it, Ahalyā is revived.

The Ahalyā episode is handled more effectively and more dramatically by Kampan. The two innovations (Indra stealing away in the shape of a cat, and the thousand vaginas as a sign of shame on Indra's body) seem to be folklore motives (A K Ramanujan). But most important of all is the difference in the conception of Ahalyā's character, while, in Vālmiki, she-enjoys her extramarital adventure with the prince of gods, in Kampan she is in fact chaste. The episode is related organically to other episodes and to the basic motive of Kampan's epic—Rāma's incarnation in order to release all souls from the misery of this world, and the response of the souls through bhakti.

There are episodes in Vālmiki which, for Kampan, are obviously very important and he dwells on them in great length (Rāma's marriage is described by Kampan in five chapters) Sometimes Vālmiki has no more than one or two lines where Kampan elaborates an entire episode. There is also a tremendous difference between Vālmiki and Kampan in form, Kampan's poem is rather like a string of self-contained and individual stanzas, in contrast to Vālmiki's majestic epic flow of thousands of ślokas. In about 40,000 lines Kampan has used, with extreme skill, 90 different variations of kālī, vruttam and tūrāv metres.

The changes which Kampan introduced are not necessarily improvements. In fact, it might be argued that the more crude, the more straightforward, more heroic and dignified version of Vālmiki,
which has many a feature of a “morality tale”, of a Marchen and a chanson de geste, has not really much improved by Kampan’s delicate and sophisticated touches 1

After a macroscopic or telescopic, and probably rather over-simplified and impressionistic view of the epic we should now try and take a more proximate, a closer look at two or three small portions of the great work

Cūrppanakai, the sister of Irāvanaṇ, comes into Rāma’s presence “like a young peacock, with sweet words, like a swan, a flashing creeper, like poison, like the daughter of wickedness” Listen to the measure of her footfall

\[ \text{panciyolr vaṇcukulr pallavama nunka} \\
\text{ceṇevya kaṇcannaṁ ciratiya laṁ} \\
\text{aṅcolīla maṇṇayeye vaṇyaneye maṇṇum} \\
\text{vaṇcyeye naṇcaneva vaṇcamakal vanti} \]

(Āranyakāntam, Cūrppanakap 24)

The fascinating, regular metrical pattern is definitely suggestive of the triumphant, dance-like, wicked rhythm of her gait

\[ ------ / ------ / ------ / ------ / ------ \]

What is, however, so impressive, is the sound-symbolism of this stanza, by an extremely skillful use of high and front vowels and palatal consonants, plus the rhythm and the alliterations and consonance placed in the crucial slots, Kampan has achieved to convey the picture of that malevolent, demoniac and weird beauty

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{i} & \text{I} & \text{u} \\
\text{e} & 7 & 0 \\
\text{a} & 28 \\
\end{array}
\]

The front high i and the front e are very frequent (14 + 7, 1 e 21 in comparison with 28 a’s, a being the most frequent vowel in the overall system of Tamil sounds), among the consonants, the palatals give the predominant colour to the whole stanza. For the Tamil reader there is—apart from the direct acoustic effect of the sounds—a subconscious association between the palatal cluster -ṅc- and things which are bizarre, uncouth, dangerous, deadly, e.g. aṅcal

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1 There have always been voices strongly critical of Kampan, some of them taking the shape of crude folk-sayings like kampan-vampay “K - the bombastic talker”, or stanzas like the one ascribed to Kālamekam nāraṇyananai nāraṇyan emē kampay nēkā vāreṣyēl nareṃpyē vāleṣyēn valleṃpyē nareṃpyēl nareṃpyē “if K could say Nāraṇyan for (the correct) Nāraṇyan, then I shall say ver for vār . ” etc
"fear", kañcam “trick”, kṛṇi “crocodile”, nañcam “poison”, 
pañcam “famine”, piñcam “killing”, muñcal “dying”, vañcanam 
“trick”, vañcalam “serpent” etc. The sound-symbolism is found, 
in a different layout, in many parts of the poem, and in one and the 
same stanza (e.g. see the sequence of palatal, dentoalveolar and 
labial nasals in line 3 nañhāvyena apn̄ameya mūn̄um, or the 
contrast between these consonants and the codas of the last two 
feet of the stanza vañcamakal vanāl) 

Another example in a very different tune, grandeur is the 
"Lestmots" in these lines—the grandeur of Rāvana, with the grave 
and somber notes after his first “taste of defeat at Rāma’s hands”

vāranam porula mārpum varāyuyai yelutta tōlum 
nārata māyavark kērpa nayampala vuraulla nāvum 
tārān mauli patium cankaray kolutta vālum 
virānum hālattō pōttu verunkayō tilnākai pukkāy

(Yuttakkāntam, Kūmpakarunayṉaḷai p 1)

“The chest that withstood mammoths, 
the shoulders that lifted mountains, 
the tongue that spoke words fluent as Nārada’s, 
and all the ten garlanded crowns, 
the sword given by Sankara

and his valour

all thus he left on the battlefield 
and empty-handed 
entered Lankā”

Third instance Rāma, anxious and impatient, awaits Hanumān’s 
return from Lankā, where he went as Rāma’s scout to find out 
about Sītā. His very first words, when he appears before Rāma

kantāṇā karpinuk kamyak kankalāl 
tentarai yalaikata hilankait tegyakar 
antar nāyaka visturatlī yaṭyamum 
pantula tuyar meṛnnaṁyān panyuvān

“I saw 
the ornament of virtue 
with these eyes 
in Lankā, the Southern City, 
set in a swaying ocean of clear waves! 
O Lord of the gods!
Banish all doubt now 
and all past suffering!
So said Hanumān’
This stanza shows of what psychological depth Kampan is capable what is the very first word Hanumān utters as soon as he sees poor anxious Rāma?

_kantanaṇ “I saw”._

The most painful anxiety is dispelled by this one word Hanumān saw her But Rāma has doubts about Sitā’s chastity, is she unharmed and safe and faithful? To dispel these doubts, Hanumān utters the next words

_karpuyukku aniyar “the jewel of chastity”_

Now Rāma knows Sitā is alive and well, safe and chaste To stress his testimony, Hanumān adds now _kankalāl “with (my own) eyes”, and goes on, telling Rāma where he saw her in Lankā Now, when Rāma knows that Sitā lives and where she is, action should follow, after words, deeds And this is precisely what Hanumān says banish all doubt and pain In other words, who has no doubts, acts The form—that is, the metre, the rhythm, the phonetic structure and sound-symbolism of this stanza is in full unity with its content the two most frequent vowels are “manly”, open a and ā, the consonants are mostly alveolar, retroflex and velar, there are many occlusives, there are no “soft” paṭṭāl at all the phonaesthetic effect of this stanza is like the sound of a bugle call, like the beat of a drum, an invitation to battle

The greatness of a poet is sometimes revealed in apparently small matters, in unexpected flashes exposing a genius Two instances chosen at random from the vast text follow

In the wedding procession, a girl sits upon a she-elephant A male elephant raises its trunk to caress the she-elephant The damsel, seated on the female elephant, is scared and closes her eyes with the palms of her hands, but her eyes are so large because of her curiosity, that her hands will not hide them (पित्ता यानार पिनाके पित्स्यल काव् वास्तु वत्तु, _Pālakāntam, Eluccp_ 38) The naughty suggestion is obvious and fits well into the erotic atmosphere (wedding, animal-love, curiosity of the girl)

Another instance one single utterance from _Irāvanan cūlcco_ 13, but I wonder whether Sitā could characterize better her lord Rāma by saying anything else than _oru pakal pālakānāl uyra itvar “if one knows him but a single day, one would give his life (for him)”_

If, in one place (_Pālakāntam, Pāyram_ 2), Kampan says that it
was not easy for him to show the mysterious state of God, he has succeeded, I think, better than Vālmīki, to show Rāma as a man (and hence the title, *Iṛāmāvatāram*, “The Descent of Rāma”, lit “the Rāma’s becoming an *avatār*”). There is a phrase which sums up his conception of Rāma. *mānītam vēṇatānṝṇe* “truly, human nature has won!”

1 4 3 19 Cf T P Meenakshisundaran, *op cit* p 119
CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE CITRAR AN ENIGMA

"They are most popular works in Tamil and there is no pure Tamilian, educated or uneducated, who has not committed to memory at least a few stanzas from one or other of them" (M S Purnalingam Pillai)

Here and there one comes across stray poems in Tamil which have a number of features in common - a protest, sometimes expressed in very strong terms, against the formalities of life and religion, rough handling of priests and Brahmans in general, denial of the religious practices and beliefs of Brahmanism, and not only that - an opposition against the generally accepted pan-Indian social doctrine and religious practice, protest against the abuses of temple-rule, emphasis on the purity of character, claims made by the authors of these poems that they have achieved certain psychokinetic powers and other capabilities which belong to the sphere of parapsychological phenomena, use of imaginative and ambiguous language, rather puzzling, though strongly colloquial, no systematic doctrinal exposition Finally, all these poems are ascribed to a body of sages known as the cittar, the Siddhas

The writings of the citjar belong to the most perplexing and intricate pages in the history of Tamil literature and culture. It is a very provocative puzzle, the flashes of exceptional knowledge and deep wisdom, and the social and philosophical context of the writings of the citjar are so stimulating and exciting that one feels compelled to investigate the matter and to try to unravel its mysteries. Besides, some citjar poems are truly great poetry

Who were the citjar? What have they written and when did they write? At present, we are almost unable to answer even these fundamental questions with any appreciable degree of certainty

Why should it be so? There are at least three major causes for this highly unsatisfactory state of affairs. First, nobody has ever published the writings of the Tamil Siddhas in toto, and in a critical or even a near-to-critical manner. The first modern comprehensive - but by no means complete - edition of these poems appeared in
1947 and was reprinted in 1956. It is not even an approximation to a critical edition (though the editor is capable of preparing near-to-critical editions, as we know e.g. from his excellent edition of Itihasakāla Akappurul), it lacks the *apparatus criticus*, there is no commentary on the poems, no notes, reading variations are not given—in short, the book is rather a kind of "popular print" serving as an aid to memory for those who profess devotion to the cīttar. We must, nevertheless, be grateful to the editor for having collected the texts and for having them printed in one handy volume.

But why this neglect of the writings of the cīttar? It seems that the texts have been regarded, by the adherents of the cīttar move-

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2 The editor admits in the foreword that this is not a critical, but a "popular" edition. He has, however, appended a Tamil-Tamil glossary of difficult and unusual terms found in the texts. The edition has 816 pp. It includes the works of most of the traditionally quoted siddhar, the cīttakāl paṭiyenmār, "the 18 siddhāi", plus the works of Pottīngattā, who is usually not included among "The Eighteen", it further contains a number of anonymous works of similar kind, on the other hand, it does not contain the texts ascribed to some of the traditionally quoted cīttar like Pōkanātē, Pētakurē, Kōrakkar, Taṇvantīrī etc. There had been other editions earlier, e.g. a fairly comprehensive and good edition by Rāmalīnga Moodiyā, Periya nāyak kōvia, 1899, in 2 vols. The works of individual siddha poets were also published, e.g. Rajagopāla Pillai who in 1915 published a book entitled Tutavakālakēnum paṭṭiyattup pīḷalayār caritram purāṇam, hvripaṭṭalipallātum (British Museum Libr 14170 dd 60). A few years ago I performed a preliminary and informative digging in the library of the BM in London, the library contains a large number of manuscripts of cīttar works. The Mackenzie Collection (BM 620 g 34) contains a list of items connected directly or indirectly with the Siddha (e.g. Agastya's "autobiography" plus a list of 38 works ascribed to him, p. 228, LIII, or, on p. 251, Agastya Vyaśaṛana described as "a short grammar of the Tamil language attributed to the sage Agastya, but the genuine work is supposed not to be in existence"). It also seems that Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen contains under Cod Tamoul 10, 39, and 48 some cīttar texts (Rāmatēvar pētai, Akathya cīttiram, and Cīttarpētaihyavattu). The more interesting and promising items in the BM may be found under the following numbers: Oriental 1008 Magic, Orient 1048 Medical, Orient 5004, Orient 11726, and especially Orient 11727 (Civavākkīyar), Orient 11729 (Rāmatēvar), Orient 11736 (Civavakīkyār) further Or 11736 15 A C and Or 11727 15 A C. But I am sure there is much more. The obvious first prerequisite for any further serious work on the Tamil Siddhars seems to be, therefore, to unearth all published and especially unpublished (manuscript) texts collected in such libraries as the BM, Copenhagen's Royal Library, Lisbon, the Vatican, Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, etc., and, second, to prepare an annotated catalogue of these works. After the texts are gathered and classified, a critical edition at least of the basic cīttar works may be contemplated.
ment themselves, as esoteric teaching, hence almost no commentaries, no expository literature, and no handy editions. On the other hand, orthodox Hindus in Tamilnad have always had a deep-rooted prejudice against the Siddhas. They tended to ignore them, even to suppress them, the works of the Siddhas were uncared for, neglected, and even destroyed.

Another reason why the study of this fascinating body of literature has so far been unsuccessful derives probably from the fact that it has not been approached and discussed from the right angle: if mentioned and commented upon at all, this was done in isolation, and not in the context of very similar or almost identical philosophical, social and literary movements in other parts of India. The Siddhas in Tamilnad are certainly not an isolated and unique body of freethinkers, but part of a very general tradition, well-spread in space and time in medieval India—the tradition of the siddhāchāryas, who are, again, part of a larger āgamic, tantric and yogic tradition of India. Any further study of the Tamil citter should be performed against the background of and in relation to this pan-Indian siddhāchārya movement.

Probably the most important reason why Siddhar texts remain enigmatic to us has already been hinted at. Unlike e.g. the "Cankam" poetry or the Čilappatikāram, these texts are fully alive in the sense that they are until this day used and followed in daily yoga practice, but unlike the bhākta hymns, which are "open" texts, the citter texts are "closed" their only "true", authentic "esoteric" interpretation may be revealed by oral instruction, through a guru. In other words, it may be gathered from the citter themselves—and there are a number of Siddha teachers at large in Tamilnad even today. I am happy to say that some of my data in this chapter were graciously supplied by two Siddha yogis in Madras early in 1968.

We do not know when the citter tradition and the citter line begins in Tamilnad. As an undercurrent, it might have been there.

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1 Cf Mā Campāciva Pillai, Tiranāyinayaravakka ārāyōci 210 "cāvva cāmayattā tāppitā upakāritā cāvva cāmaya kuvarakkal kāppitā vāryāk kāppitātma cāmukūm cāvva makkalum citter nūlās nōkkaunam scawdātu orukālam scawyāy." Cf what Taylor has to say in his catalogue (under Śivavākkiyam): "I was told some years ago, that the ascetics (Pandārams) of the Saiva class seek after copies of this poem with avidity and uniformly destroy every copy they find. It is by consequence rather scarce and chiefly preserved by native Christians." Henrich Nau, in his very interesting Prolegomena (Zwackau, 1920), says "...die Werke der Siddhars (sind) von Śivaistischen Zeloten, besonders den Pandārams, systematisch verfälscht und besetzt worden."
since very early times Yoga and tantrism are truly archaic and pan-Indian. Whenever the 18 citter are enumerated traditionally in Tamilnad, one begins with Tirumūlar. Tirumūlar is undoubtedly one of the direct and most influential forerunners of the movement. At the other end of the line in time stands Tāyumāṉavar (1706-1744), a real giant of Tamil religious and philosophical poetry, who may be considered as a direct descendant of the Tamil citter.

Considering Civavākkīyār as the earliest of the great genuine Tamil Siddhas, we shall probably not be far from truth if we say that the most important exponents of the movement—or, shall we say, the greatest and most interesting poets among the Siddhas—this is, Civavākkīyār, Pāṭṭirakīyār, Pāṁpāṭṭi Cittar, Itaikkāttuc-cittar and Pattinattār, flourished between the 10th-15th Cent A D. However, a much broader and wider conception of the Siddha movement in Tamilnad is certainly possible, the only one really unifying and common element of the citter thus conceived would be their eclecticism, and their popularity with the masses. If we stretch our conception of the citter like this, then even the great Rāmalina Cuvāmi of the 19th Century belongs here (as he actually claims to). And even Subrahmanyā Bharati († 1921) who said

Among the citter, we have a few Muslim poets, e.g. Kunankutunmaṅgamsūr, the obscure mystic, who was under strong influence of sūfism. In Pattinattār’s poems, we find the Telugu pl suffix -lu and some other indications which seem to point out that the poet belonged to the Vijayānagar period. Some citter texts mention mūstāṁghī pūsas, “the Hindustani language”, and seem to be actually translations from some North Indian texts (e.g. the prose-passage—a commentary—of Cuvāyāñcāram mention pāṇcāpam, a guru Carantās, Nānak’s disciples, etc.) It is clear that even under a more specific and narrow conception of the Siddhar movement, we still have to do with works of very different nature and very different dates. The language of most of the citter texts is too modern to be older than the 15th cent. A D. Also, it is an established usage among the Siddhars to assume the names of the seers of ancient times “There is no end to the growth of such apocryphal works but this does not minimise their greatness and usefulness” (Simon Casie Chitty, The Tamil Plutarch, ed 1946) Cf. also L’Inde classique, II, 163. “Le classement dans ce groupe des Cittar d’auteurs légendaires pèle-mêle avec des personnalités qui ont des chances d’être historiques brouille toute chronologie et oblige pour le moment à rapporter en bloc au moyen âge l’élaboration des traités des Cittar, dans lesquels d’ailleurs des additions très tardives sont parfois manifestes.” An interesting assessment of the Siddhas may be read in M. Srinivasan Aiyangar’s Tamil Studies (1914) p. 226. “Most of them were plagiarists and impostors. Being eaters of opium and dwellers in the land of dreams, their concert knew no bounds.” Needless to say that we do not agree in the least.

2 And, in fact, M. V. Venugopala Pillai has included his Tiruvarasapā tivrathu into his anthology of citter poetry.
“I am one of the Siddhas of this land!” But this very wide and very nebulous conception of the cītār would not be of much use for our purposes—or for any purposes, in fact.

Traditionally, the Tamil Siddhas trace their origin to Agastya (Akattivan), and to various works on mysticism, worship, medicine and alchemy ascribed to him. In the Rgveda a brief reference occurs to Agastya’s miraculous birth from a pitcher (kumbha), but otherwise he seems to have been a historical person who composed hymns, a real Vedic rṣi. In the Mahābhārata we already have a developed story of Agastya, including his marriage with Lopāmudrā, a princess of Vidarbha, the motive of the two dātīya kings and Agastya’s search for wealth, Agastya’s drinking up the waters of the ocean, and his journey to the South when he prevailed upon the Vindhayas to stop growing until he returned—which, however, he never did. In the Rāmāyana, Agastya figures, too (he fights the asuras and rāksasas). But in the early Tamil works, there is no reference to Agastya the sage. It is only the Mammēhalai, a Buddhist epic, which knows of the miraculous birth of the sage and his relation to Vasistha. The first reference to Agastya as the “Father of Tamil” and the first Tamil grammarian is in Nakkirar’s commentary to Iraiyaṉar’s Akapporul (8th Cent.). Later, medieval commentators, Naccinarkkūṟṟar (14th Cent.) and Perācchiriyar (ca 1300 A.D.), narrate a number of Agastya-stories and make him the “Sage of Potiyil.” This Agastya, however, whether he existed or not, is a very different person (and legendary hero) from the Siddha Akattiyar. It is obvious that one or more Siddhas assumed the name of the ancient, legendary rṣi, and there exists a number of works on medicine and alchemy, but also poetic works, ascribed to an Akattiyar.

Some of the medical works contain fascinating details. Thus e.g. in

1 Edito M V Venugopala Pillai contains Akastiyar nāgam I-IV (pp 257 ff) and Akastiyar nāgam V (p 559).
2 Potiyil is the southernmost mountain of the Western Ghats, the Bettigo of Ptolemy.
3 Cf T P Meenakshisundaran (ed The Tamil Plutarch): “Agastya as a historical figure is no more than a will o’ the wisp but as a tradition he wields an influence which is felt in all walks of Tamilian life.”
4 That this Agastya was a very late author may be seen from two works ascribed to him, Irnaviṟṟum (a medical treatise) and Pūrāṇacākṣum (alchemy) in which he speaks about syphilis as pārāṇki pāsagam “Frankish disease”, and about quick-silver as pārāṇki pāsagam “Frankish remedy”
Akattiyar’s *Kurunāṭiccūṭhram*,¹ the author discusses seminal amalacules, discovered in Western medicine by Ludwig Hamm in 1677.² Akattiyar is also said to have performed the trephination of the skull.

This brings us to a brief discussion of the *cittavaiṭṭiyam* or the system of Siddha medicine in Tamilnad. It belongs here only marginally, since it is hardly a part of literature in the sense we are discussing it here. On the other hand, some of the Siddhas were both poets and physicians, and most if not all of the *cittar* were vitally interested—as we shall see—in human body and its health. All of them were undoubtedly yogis.

The medical system claims to be original, not derived from the Ayurvedic system, contrary to the Ayurveda medicinal practice which seems to have been concerned primarily with herbs and other organic drugs, the *cittavaiṭṭiyam*—though not adverse to herbs—makes much use of salts, metals, mineral poisons etc., in short of elements of anorganic nature. Sometimes it is said that the three basic methods of Siddha medicine are *mani, manthram*, and *maruntu*, i.e., astrology, reciting mantras and using drugs. However, according to some modern exponents of *cittavaiṭṭiyam*, the Siddha therapy consists of 1) *yoga āsanas*, *mudras* and *bandhas* (‘locks’), 2) *cūrya cikiccas* or ‘sun-baths’, and 3) of taking drugs (maruntu).

The great Tirumīlar himself spoke about a number of yogic āsanas (*Tirumantiram* 541, 543, 545) he recommends *pāṭṭiram* (‘leaf-pose’), *kōmuṇkam* (‘cow-pose’), *pāṇkayam* (‘lotus-pose’), *kēcarī* (‘lion-pose’), *cottiram* (= *svastikāsana*), *viṟam* (‘heroic pose’), *cukkātanam* (‘easy pose’), and *māmuṭu* for taking food, further the *kokku* (‘cock-pose’) and one or two other poses. According to later exponents of Siddha yoga, there are eighteen poses, used in the therapy (combined with the *bandhas* and *mudras*).³

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¹ Cf. Robert’s *Oriental Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures*, p. 281
³ The eighteen indispensable āsanas (Tam ācayam, ātayam) are 1 salutation (vaṇakkaṁ), 2 sun-worship (svurmamaṅkārām), 3 shoulder integral pose (carvāṅkācayam), 4 fish (mīnī), 5 crane (kokku), 6 bow (nīru), 7 topsi-turvy pose (vapiṅkācayam), 8 half-fish (pāṭī mīnī), 9 plough (kalappai), 10 serpent (pāṭī nīru), 11 yogic symbol pose (yōhakumārācayam), 12 half wheel (pāṭī cakkāram), 13 sitting crane (amarnta kokku), 14 locust (vittīl),
Breathing is of course a most important part of cittā yoga. Breath, prāna, is the vital energy, and death, marana, is defined by Rōma Rśi, one of the classical Siddha therapists, as complete loss of prāna. prānaś pōyvita nilai maranaṃ. On various practices of breathing, the Siddhas based their theory and practice of physical longevity and even immortality. According to Rōma rśi nāyam 13, a man who is one hundred years old breathes 21,600 times per day. That is, during one hour this healthy centenarian breathes 900 times, which will give 15 respirations per minute. The span of life is inversely proportional to the rate of breathing. If the respiration is 15/min and the length of life 100 years, then 18/min gives us approximately 83 1/3 years. But, the respiration 2/min gives us 100 × 15 = 750 years, the respiration 1/min = 1500 years, and if the respiration is 0/min, the span of life is 100 × 15 = 0 = ∞, i.e., infinity. If there is no respiration, leading to stoppage of breath, as in the so-called corāpa camātu, the yogi attains immortality, since the span of his life is infinity. Practical consequences, appearing in cittā yoga therapy, control your breathing, unnecessary talk, slp-shod panting and gasping, unnecessary respiratory muscle work is harmful.

Siddha medicine cannot be discussed at length here, since it is entirely outside the scope of this book, just as the preoccupation of the Siddhas with racavatām or alchemy. As M. Eliade (Yoga, 2nd ed., 1969, 281) rightly stresses, in this kind of alchemy we have no prechemistry, no pre-science, but a spiritual technique, operating on matter but seeking first to bring about deliverance and autonomy of spirit “Gold is immortality” (amrtam āyur hrvāryam, Mātrāyanī Samhitā II,2.2 and elsewhere)—it is the one perfect, solar, metal, the symbol of spiritual freedom and autonomy. Alchemy in the Siddha practice has soteriological function. Just as the cittā work on their body, so they also work on matter—to finish it, to make it mature, perfect, to change it into gold. There is an occult correspondence between matter and man’s psychophysical body. The vital interest of the cittā in medicine and alchemy.


1 ulakattāl māgrakkkām ānta nūṣe ām eṣe vrepattō rāyvattōtu / āru nūru cāvacam allō oru nālakkup pōm.

2 According to Western medicine, it is 18/min.
is no accident, it is closely connected with their religion and philosophy, as will be shown later.

Who is a Siddha? A Siddha is one who has attained siddha (Tamil citta), i.e. "power, prowess, strength, ability", then a special kind of psychic and supernatural, miraculous, occult power. There are eight kinds of this specific power.

1. animā (Skt animan) "shrinking", the faculty of reducing oneself to the size of an atom,
2. makāma (Skt mahimana) "ilemitability", the power of increasing one's size without limit,
3. lakāma (Skt laghman) "lightness",
4. piratt (Skt kāmāvasāyta) "fulfillment of desires", the power of attaining everything desired,
5. prakāmya (Skt prākāmya) "irresistible will", the power to overcome natural objects and go anywhere,
6. icattiwam (Skt īstva) "supremacy", dominion over animate and inanimate nature,
7. vacattiwam (Skt vaśtva) "dominion over the elements", the power of changing the course of nature and assuming any form,
8. karīma (Skt garima) "weight", the power of rendering the body immaterial and able to penetrate matter.

According to Vāyumkī śīlārā nāyam 3, "by purifying the mind and attaining perfection one becomes a cītān, he is indeed fit to be called Śiva." A classical definition of the Siddhas is given by the great Tirumālar: "Those who live in yoga and see the divine light (oli) and power (cakti) through yoga are the cittar" (Tirumantram 1490).

Tirumālar's Tirumantram is very probably the spring and source of all āgamic texts in Tamil. This is the other stream of religious and philosophical thought which ran parallel with the bhakti movement, only it was much less conspicuous and much more "esoteric". The poet, philosopher and yogi Tirumālar might have lived sometime in the 7th Century A.D., since he prays to Vināyaka in his invocatory stanza, and since he is mentioned by Cuntarar in Tiruttontattokai, st 5 (7621). The work became part of the Śiva canon (of its 10th Tirumūtras). In his yogic passages, Tirumālar is clearly indebted to Patañjalī's Yogasūtras and to the Māndūkyopanisad.

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1. cīrantu maṇat teivāhīc cērtnōg cītān/ovacwā avanavanen purakkā lāmē
Tirumantiram is the greatest treatment of yoga in Tamil literature, and more than that, the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy as such takes its origin from this marvellous text. In spite of the simple style, the text is often obscure, since it uses a wide variety of symbolism, especially numerical symbolism.

Tirumantiram contains very many features which are typical for Śaiva writings. Thus it attacks caste-system and the Brahmins, whom it calls foolish and gluttonous. Though the text contains stanzas which have devotional character (e.g. 712, 1651, 1816, 2104, 2958), much more accent is on yoga and knowledge. The body is valued as the temple of God, and as a fit instrument for the soul in its career of self-discipline and search of God (307, 724). Tirumālar is sharply opposed to the ultraemotional type of bhakti God, for him, is “light” and “insure” (cōti, cutar), he is omnipresent, omnipotent, creator of all, one, the divine potter (kucavan), the divine bull (nanti), above all sects, creeds and religious groups. Like in later Śaivas, and in contrast to bhakti, in Tirumantiram there is total absence of the local cult, of “henolocothemism”, there are almost no references to the worship of God through arccandis in temples. The Śaivas have not built up a unified system of philosophy. The same is true of Tirumantiram. However, this collection of more than 3000 quatrains in the kalvuruttam metre is the earliest work in Tamil to contain Śaiva āgamic matter, and though Tirumālar’s thought is not identical with later Śaiva Siddhānta, it is its source, as stressed above.

Tirumālar was a great poet-philosopher, one of the greatest poets of symbolism in Tamil literature. For those who follow the Śaiva teachings, he is “the most ancient of the Tamil yoga Śaivas”. To us, some parts of his Tirumantiram are “a masterpiece of mystic wisdom, robust philosophy and moving poetry”.

In what follows I shall discuss some of the features which are typical for all or almost all citter as a body of thinkers.

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1. Thus e.g. ānu “five” may mean, according to context, the five senses, or the five elements, or the five “sacred” letters, etc.
2. Cf. Tirumantiram 231, “The Brahmins are truly without truth and knowledge, without devotion, they are gluttonous and foolish”. Cf also orū kalamum oruvarē tēvayum “There is one humanity and one god”.
3. 1823, 1826, 2019, 2424, 3066 “The body is the temple of God”.
4. According to A V Subramania Iyars, Tirumālar was probably an Advaitic Vedantin (cf. 116, 1789, 2820), of the pratyabhijña school of Kashmir Śaivism. It is believed that he came to Tamilnad from Kashmir.
First, in sharp opposition to the bhakts tradition, they refuse to allow themselves be carried away by idol-worship in particular temples Of Cīvāvākkīyar at 126 tēvar kālum ēvarē “Should gods become stones?” Pattirattār in XI, 16, sings “I cannot exalt the polished stone or the moulded lime or the burnished brass, it is true that within my heart I have set his two feet similar to gold Now I do not need anything more”

The mind, the heart, is the temple of God, and God enters the heart in a mysterious way, like “coconut water into coconut shell” “The Lord came and made a temple of my heart here, entering it in the same way in which fresh water gets into the reddish young coconut” ¹

Second, in contrast to bhakts which emphasizes passionate devotion to God, to the sīstadevatā, the cītār emphasize knowledge (nānam), yoga practice, and character, moral behaviour, right conduct Anger (kōpan), lust (ācāri), egoism (akankāram) are the worst sins According to Akattiyaar 7,1, if the mind is in the right disposition, it is unnecessary to say prayers ²

Third, almost all Siddhas raise a protest against caste and castesm cāhi yāvat(u) ēli(u)atā “What is caste?” asks Cīvāvākkīyar in st 47 And Pattirakirī in his Lamentations 126 cries “O when will come the day when we shall live without caste-distinctions?”

We are primarily interested in the Siddhas’ conception of God, body and soul, karma and reincarnation, since these are the key-problems of Indian philosophy The whole atmosphere of the Siddha thinking is empirical and experimental Their writings are not in the nature of clear-cut formalized statements of any well-defined doctrine, hence it is difficult to extricate a philosophical system out of their writings, at least at the present state of our knowledge of their works, but it is possible to point out a few essential features, and one day, when their writings are better known, it should be possible to state their philosophy more explicitly

There is god, or rather godhead, deity, cīvaṃ, without limitation, who, by force of sheer custom, carries the name cīvaṇ, Śiva (almost all of them are Śaṅyītes but Cīvāvākkīyar—to quote just one

¹ Cīvāvākkīyar 31 Ceyya tenhi tōyulnir cēnta bēra nankalpōl jayay wantu keyunlam pukantu hōyil kontaṇ And again in 33 hōyil um magat-tūle, kulakal um magattu “temples are within your minds, temple-tanks are within your minds”

² manamatu cēmūnayōgā l manturam ceptika vēntā manamatu cēm-

mūnayōgā l manturaṇ cēmūniyōmē
example—glorifies also Visnu) The \textit{paramātmā} is identical with \textit{jīvātmā}, with \textit{uṣyṛ} “soul, life-force”; and \textit{uṣyṛ} does not exist apart from \textit{utal} “body”. just as body has no life without \textit{uṣyṛ} If body is destroyed, soul, life is destroyed. Hence it is necessary to protect and cherish the body. There is an important stanza in Tirumūlar which has become one of the corner-stones of cītta thinking

If body is destroyed, soul is destroyed,
and one will not attain true powerful knowledge
Having acquired the skill to foster the body,
I cherished the body, and I fostered the soul

Hence the obsession of the Siddhas with the dream of eternal youth and splendid health, or at least with the possibility to prolong individual life, and hence the preoccupation with medicine. The Siddhas professed that there was no incurable disease, and that it was possible to maintain eternal youth. It was possible, so they maintained, to get over the five limitations of \textit{narai}, “grey hair”, \textit{tirai}, “dim vision”, \textit{mūppu}, “old age”, \textit{nōy}, “disease”, and \textit{maranam}, “death.” Rōma Rūsi says explicitly in \textit{Ṇāṇam} 12 “If you ask what is the sign (\textit{atayālam}) of \textit{corūpa mutti} (= true liberation of body and spirit), it is the physical body (\textit{tūla tēkam}) aglow with the fire (of immortality)”

\textit{Karma} and re incarnation are simply and forcefully refuted. God, “the ancient one”, “the omnipotent”, “the divine potter”, is not directly engaged in the three actions of creation, preservation and destruction. Those who actually re-create and procreate, foster, preserve and destroy the world, including themselves, are men and women in their actions, one of which, and a very important one, is the sexual union.

The world is real, not illusory. It exists and endures because of the ignorance of the soul, of the spirit. \textit{Māyā}, cosmic illusion, endured by man as long as he is blinded by ignorance, makes possible the maintenance of the material world. Liberation (\textit{mutti}) —in contrast to \textit{bhakts}—is achieved through knowledge, it is a liberation from the idea of evil and pain. Suffering ceases as soon as one understands that it is exterior to Self. It is destroyed by ignoring it as suffering. This true knowledge is obtained in enstasis (\textit{samādhi}) which is achieved by practice, by physiological yogic techniques.

Poetry was not the primary concern of the Siddhas. They were ignorant of, or indifferent to, the complicated poetics of the post-
classical age The rhythm of their stanzas is simple, robust, unrefined, reminiscent of folk songs One of them, Pāmpattī Cittar, sings verses in the metre used by snake-charmers Itaikkāttu Cittar sings as if he were a shepherd They use many colloquial forms like aṅcu for aṅtu “five”, vaṅca for vaṅta “placed”, eṅkutu for enṅkratu “it says”, etc

They are not free from ambiguous and obscure passages, and some portions of their works are so obscure that Gover in his well-known book Folk-Songs of Southern Inda (1871) suggested that the obscure chharoscuro passages are mischievous interpolations intended to ridicule the cittar and weaken their impact on the people Indeed a naïve and ridiculous statement! Whenever the Siddhas use ambiguous language, it is on purpose, they are obscure because they want to be obscure Their obscure language is an important device by the means of which they can at the same time address both a casual listener as well as an adept of greater spiritual awareness who reads a deep mystic interpretation into their verses Thus the dancing pāmpu “snake” may be interpreted as one’s own heart or soul, the akappēy is the dāmonson in one’s own soul, or the devil of human mind, etc In fact, according to the living cittar tradition, the texts are a closed mystic treasure-box bound by the Lock of ignorance, and only a practising Siddha yogi is able to unlock the poems and reveal their true meaning

I will now discuss in some detail two of the Tamil Siddha poets, Cīvavākkīyar and Pattinattār. The first because he is typical, the second, because he is not

All in all, 527 stanzas are ascribed to Cīvavākkīyar, probably one of the earliest, if not the earliest of the great Tamil Siddha poets. In some respects, he is the greatest rebel against religious orthodoxy, sacerdotalism, and the Hindu “establishment”

“What does it mean - a Paraiya woman? What is it - a Brahmin woman?”

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1 The earlier Pattinattār of the 10th-11th Century refers to Cīvavākkīyar in his poem Tiruvatarmurīr mummanikkōvas 11 33 A strange story (in Kurupamparā pīrapāvam, ed K Kirusnamācāryar, 1999) maintains that Cīvavākkīyar the Siddha converted to Vaisnavism and became one of the greatest Vaisnava poets under the name Tirumalai Aįvār It is a fact that his poems are in tirucandī tiruttam metre just like the poems of the Vaisnava poet, even more curious is the fact that there is a number of stanzas ascribed to both poets which are nearly identical Were these two indeed one and the same person, or did the iconoclastic Saivite cittar copy the Vaisnava mystic?
Is there any difference in them
in flesh, skin or bones?
What is the difference if you sleep
with a Paraiya or a Brahmin woman?"

(38)

He also rejects the division between Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites
Again and again he speaks of Rāma but, at the same time, he
extolls Śiva and śaivism ¹ He denounces the Brahmanical way of
life, he repudiates the authority of the Vedas and condemns idol
worship in temples

"What are temples? What are bathing tanks?
Fools who worship in temples and tanks!
Temples are in the mind, Tanks are in the mind"

(33)

"You say that Śiva is in bricks and granite,
in the red-rubbed lingam, in copper and brass!
If you could learn to know yourself first,
the God in temple will dance and sing within you!"

(34)

Recalling the scheme $S_1 S_2 O_1 O_2$ which we used when structurally
analysing bhakti hymns, we observe in the poetry of the Siddhas
complete negation of $O_2$ One cannot say at all what is God, how
he is God is described almost exclusively in negative terms, in
what he is not This is in sharp contrast with the bhakti conception
of a personal, individualized God having so many attributes and
residing in a particular form in a particular shrine

"The lazy ones say: Far away, far away, far away (is God)
The parāparam (Supreme Being) is spread everywhere on earth and
in the skies
O you poor dumb ones, running through towns and country and
jungles, suffering in search,
Know well that Godhead is right there within you, and stand still!"

(14)

Observe how he describes God ap parāparam “that supreme
thing”, spread everywhere (enkuṇāy parāntia), and being within men
(ummul) In another stanza, Ciyavākkkiyar identifies cvam, the
Absolute, with ājñā, knowledge This is, of course, nothing new,
again we may point back to Tīrumūr who says “Those who say
that knowledge and cvam are two (different) things, are ignorant”

¹ entas rāma rāma rāma rāma vērya vērya, st 10, cvayam eṇa āicāram
cvay svukkum āicāram
This ārụṇu or nāgam\(^1\) is naturally not the discursive kind of knowledge found in the texts

"O you who proclaim yourselves the yogis of knowledge, who search after knowledge in books! You do not know your own hearts - there you should search after the light of knowledge! Knowing the unique Lord who is knowledge, there is nothing else than the truth we proclaimed!"

(453)

Elsewhere Civavākkīyar speaks of those who drag the burden of books and blabber lies True knowledge is empirical and experimental

One of the most powerful stanzas of all his poems is the one in which he plainly refutes the theory of transmigration, it deserves to be quoted fully

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{karaṇa pāḷ mulaṭṭpukā karaṇa venney mōṛpukā} \\
\text{utuṇu pōya cankaṭōcai yuṣvīkalum utaṛpukā} \\
\text{vṛntapā vutṛnta ḍāyum mṛntu pōy marampukā} \\
\text{vṛntavār ḍvṛppa tīlai yullayīlai yullayē}
\end{align*}
\]

(46)

"Milk does not return to the udder; nor butter to butter-milk Nor the life within the sea-shell, when it breaks, to its body The blown flower, the fallen fruit do not return to the tree The dead are not born, never, never, never!"

Civavākkīyar also ridicules many ritual and social customs and practices thus e.g. saliva, which is considered by the Hindus as something utterly unclean, he refuses to regard as unclean in itself In st 479 he says "Why should you be so fussy about eccl, about saliva? Why—honey is the bee's saliva, the beetle's spittle is on the flower, the cow's milk itself is mixed with the saliva of the calf"\(^2\) And he laughs at those who bathe for cleanliness' sake and yet are impure in their hearts (cf stanzas 207, 209 etc)

Civavākkīyar's poetry shows that there had been a school of thought in Tamilnad that repudiated caste and stood for absolute equality of all in the religious and social practices His great contribution to Tamil literature lies in the fact that he has used,

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\(^1\) A rather late highly philosophical Siddha text (Cvaṇanta pōlam) is a dispute in dialogue form between maṇam "mind" and ārụṇu "knowledge, wisdom" The interesting thing is that the ignorant mind speaks in prose, whereas the supreme knowledge speaks in verse

\(^2\) varca eccl tēy alō vantē eccl pūvalō / kaiccō tāvīl vastutay karaṇa pāḷum ecclē
probably for the first time in Tamil writing, the common idiom of
the people, both in syntax and lexis. On the whole, he is a powerful,
independent, crude and often striking poet, who is definitely worth
reading.

In the concluding remark on Civavākkīyar I cannot abstain from
quoting one of his stanzas which illustrates the “purposeful obscurity”
of the cittār diction (sl 221)

\begin{align*}
akāra kāra nattilē yapēka yēka rūpamāy 
ukāra kāra nattilē yurūta nittu mūrayē 
makāra kāra nattilē mayankukira vanyakam 
čikāra kāra nattilē telinta tēci vāyamē
\end{align*}

"Like so many forms he stands - through the sound a,

having dressed himself in shapes - through the sound u,

the world confused - through the sound ma,

it became clear as civāyam - through the sound ci""

This may indeed seem “closed by the lock of ignorance” However
the sound a (akāram) is the symbol of beginning, and of the
Primeval Lord (cf Pāmpātti Cittar 5 ātivēvan, also Tirukkuṟal 1) who is eternal and omnipresent, in many forms, the sound u
stands for uru, uruvu which means “shape, form”, ie material
shapes, the sound ma symbolizes mayakkam “bewilderment, con-
fusion”, also māyā “illusion of creation” (so important in yoga
philosophy), and ci is of course the first syllable of civāyam, ie
namacivāyam, the sacred “five letters”, the mystic formula of
Śaivism and Siddhism In other words, the quatrain contains a
whole theology God is the eternal and omnipresent Lord, clad
in material forms, dispelling the confusion and ignorance of the
world by the mystic doctrine of namacivāyam. Schematically.

\begin{align*}
a & = \text{Supreme God} 
 u & = \text{in many material forms} 
 m(a) & = \text{in real world existing because of ignorance} 
 ci & = \text{removed by the doctrine and practice of} 
 & \text{civāyam}
\end{align*}

Reading the first “letters” of the quatrain vertically, we get the
greatest and the most potent mantra $a + u + m + ci = aum$, ie ēm $ci$ (vāyanama)

The greatest poet among the Tamil Siddhas is undoubtedly
Pattinaṭṭār It is very probable that at least two poets hide under
this name, an earlier one (10th-11th Cent A.D.), whose five poems were included into the 11th book of the Śaivite canon (Tirumūrattai), and a later one, the true cīttar, probably of the Vijayanagara period, of the 14th Cent A.D. The earlier Pattinattār is a Śaiva nāyanmār, a bhakti poet writing in grand style of literary Tamil a poetry of charming descriptions and captivating similes, but, at the same time, picturing the ephemeral nature of physical pleasures and human sufferings in very dark colours (and this he has in common with the later Pattinattār).

However, here we are not concerned with the poems of this earlier Pattinattār. We shall discuss Pattinattār the Great, Pattinattār the Siddha, the author of the 632 stanzas and 207 lines going under the name Pattinattār Pāṭal, a poet who probably belonged to the 14th-15th Cent A.D. Together with Tāyumāṇavar and Rāmālmka Cuvāmī, he is the most popular religious poet of South Indian Śaivism. In this great poet, we have a yogic ascetic, a man of revolt against Brahmanic and ritualistic social order, as well as a saint with mellowed and sublimated outlook, a bard singing of sadness in this world, but also accepting this world with almost cheerful resignation.

The very first lines of his songs sound like blows of a hammer:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{prantana varakum \ varantana varakum} \\
& \text{tōruna marayum \ marantaga tōrum} \\
& \text{punantarana priryum \ prirntana punarum} \\
& \text{uvappana verupam \ verupana uvappam etc}
\end{align*}
\]

"Those who are born, die, the dead are born, those that appear, disappear, those who vanish, appear, who join, separate, those that separate, join. Joys become hateful, hatreds become joys."

Pattinattār, in most of his poems, is the great relativist and the great pessimist of Tamil literature. Life is a tragedy, an eternal interplay of contradictions and antinomies, a lie, "a tale told by an idiot."

"Uttering lies so much that your tongue cracks, Hoarding riches and wealth, You lie with women who know no good And bring forth children."

So rapidly, so readily.

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1 Köyil nāyanmālas, Tirukkaḷumāla mūmmanikkōvai, Tiruvantai marullīr mūmmanikkōvai, Tiru ekampamulaiyār tirumāṇa, Tiruvōrriyār orūpā orupā.
Like the poor white ants that come out when earth cracks!
You do not know how to foster them
You will not forsake them
You have put your foot into a hole
in the bole of a tree
Like the monkey that removed the wedge
You are caught to stay and suffer,
You are caught,
You!”

(Ii 65)

His language is cruel, fierce and direct in his treatment of woman
as the seat of filth and temptation, and of man as the seat of
vileness and egoism

“"I loved this mortal vessel stuffed with blabbering air,
this leather bag for rice, this torn sack wrapped in flesh,
this stinking body, cow-stable of lust,
and roamed about and begged,
o Ekampan of Kānci, Lord!”

(Ii 27)

“The fire says It is mine But the worm, too, says It’s mine
And this earth says Well, it’s mine But the kite says
It is mine And the jackal says It’s mine
And wants to devour it And the mean dog says It’s for me!
This stinking body I cherished with love
And what was the use?”

(Ii 26)

“The treasury of insolence, the granary of anger,
the palace from which ignorance does not depart,
the home of falsehood, this rag of a body,
full of lust and flirting, its towering weapon
swelling into skies!
How to attain wisdom
in worshipping you?”

(Ii 55)

Woman’s beauty is to him the most detestable thing on earth
In seventy lines he strips woman totally of her glamour "I shall
now teach something all those men / who have been enjoying
and loving and taking women in lust!" And he describes the female
body as a bag of filth The belly, compared by poets to a banana
leaf, is a shaking screen of dirt and dregs, the breasts, compared
to lotus-buds, are in fact two hanging dried-up pouches, parched
and full of inner heat, scratched by the finger-nails of lusty men
The neck is full of sweat and dust and filth, and out of the hellish
mouth spurts poison. And so on and so forth. As we see, there is a very notable difference between Pattinattar and the early cittal they liked their own body, they wanted to cherish and foster and preserve it, in order to use it for yogic techniques. Pattinattar, in this respect, is actually more of a 'classical' yogi than a Siddha according to Patañjali (Yogaśūtras II.40), physical purification produces disgust with one's own body, and cessation of contact with other bodies—a point in which 'classical' yoga and the 'magical', Siddha yoga differ significantly.

While the early cittal are full of confidence and self-respect, Pattinattar and his disciple, the poet Pattarakiriyar (Bhadragiri, who composed the heart-rending Moaning cry of true wisdom, Meynānappulampal) show a kind of spiritual frustration, a passionate longing for peace, even in death, for deliverance, for liberation. Their songs are pathetic outcries ending with passionate wails, personal God returns, not to the extent we know in classical bhakti, but indicating that we are on the road to Tāyumānavar and Rāmalinkar. In Pattinattar's and Pattarakiriyar's writings there is almost no trace of that self-confidence, of the proud and sure knowledge of a Tirumūlar or Čivāvākkiyar. Listen to Pattinattar XV.1: mūlam aviyēn mūtyu mātovariyēn 'I do not know the beginning, I do not know the ultimate end.' Or XV.5: 'The earth devoured me who desired earth, and the desire of gold and women (ponnācār pe vācār) do not want to leave me!'' XV.13: 'Fear and egoism refuse to go.' The notion of sin, the feeling of shame, of self-humiliation—these are new and unheard of notes in cittal creations.

In Pattinattar, there is almost always a mixture of cynicism and pathetic helplessness, of vile abuse—abuse of self, of women, of the sinners—and moving appeal. He has composed a number of beggary stanzas, too, with a particular charm of their own.

"For the cool mist
there are tights rags
There's rice in every house,
just beg and eat
And when you are aroused,
there are fine harlots roaming in the street
Why then grow weary of this world?
O heart! To be so sore each day!" (XI.15)

There are hardly more moving "beggary stanzas" in Tamil literature than the following.
"When cold wind blows
and the sun is gone,
there is an old abandoned dress—
just take it
and cover your body
All the world over
there's everywhere an outside porch
to lie down and to sleep
When hunger comes,
there's Siva to give
O heart!
There's indeed nothing which we lack!"

The cittar tradition—especially the Siddha vaidyā, the Siddha medicine—is fully alive. So are most of the cittar songs. One can hear them sung often by wandering religious mendicants. "To denounce today caste, worship in temples and religious and agamic rituals does not require much courage, but to have done so in the centuries in which the Tamil Siddhars lived required extraordinary heroism and strength of conviction".¹ A knowledge of the works of the cittar is absolutely necessary to have a correct perspective of the civilization of the Tamils, of their religious, social and literary history

¹ A V Subramania Iyar, The Poetry and the Philosophy of the Tamil Siddhars, Tirunelveli, 1957, p 82
CHAPTER FIFTEEN

ARUNAKIRI, THE GREAT MAGICIAN

Arunakiri¹ is the essence and condensation of a type probably the greatest language-tamer among Tamil poets, certainly one of the greatest formalists in Tamil literature. And that is also why some scholars would say of him and his work “As religion and as poetry his verses are not much. (they show) a revelling in the erotic element first and then a religious reaction against it. His other works are mere word-jugglery for the lover of literature”²

Why this judgement? Because this wizard of language and rhythm has indeed reached the dangerous brink between true poetry and mere formalistic skill. Some of his lines are indeed clever, sophisticated, expert bijoutry. But most of his poems are brilliant jewels, glittering and glowing with emeralds, rubies, amethysts and carbuncles, with gold and pearls.

At the same time, Arunakiri is the sum and substance of that type of Tamil poets who have achieved a complete and harmonious integration of two cultures: Sanskritic and Tamil. In this type, there is a total penetration of the Tamil structure by the Sanskrit structure, and the result is a happy and immensely rich blend. In Arunakiri, it is an ambrosial amalgam above all in the expression-side of his poetry, in language and prosody. Even in stanzas which are very heavily Sanskritized,³ the final effect is marvellous, e.g.

ëltalampukal kāvēryāl vilai
cōla mantala mitē maṇōkara
rāca kemētra nālāum nāyaka
vayalūrā

“O lord of the fields,
o prince who rules

¹ The name Arunakiri or Arunakirināṭai means “(The lord of) the Arunahill (of the fiery hill, or, mountain of light)”, i.e. of Arunācalam. The poet was born in Tiruvannāmalai, under the Arunācalam mountain, much later, in our century, the place became the site of the āśram founded by Śrī Ramana Mahārṣi.

² C and H. Jesudasan, op cit pp 212-213

³ Considered to be a grave sin by some critics “His poetry is heavily packed with Sanskrit words” C and H. Jesudasan, op cit p 212
above the vast and charming kingdom,  
the Cholamandalam, fertile by Kâvēśī  
famous for its seven shrines”

Here, the ratio is about 60% of Tamil words to 40% of Sanskrit.  
But in the next stanza:

\begin{align*}
\text{tēva} \quad \text{kuścara} \quad \text{pākā} \quad \text{namōnama} \\
\text{tiya} \quad \text{āmpala} \quad \text{tīlā} \quad \text{namōnama} \\
\text{tiya} \quad \text{mankala} \quad \text{cōlt} \quad \text{namōnama} \\
aruttāray
\end{align*}

there is less than 30% of Tamil items and more than 70% of  
Sanskrit loanwords. Observe the cantam, the rhythmic pattern  
\begin{align*}
\text{tāna} \quad \text{tānana} \quad \text{tānā} \quad \text{tānnana},
\end{align*}

this is maintained throughout the stanza, ending with tānnanā  
aruttāray

Two of the four main properties of Arunakīrī’s songs are revealed  
in this stanza: immensely rich vocabulary \(^1\) having as its source the  
treasures of Tamil as well as of Sanskrit, \(^2\) and cantam or regular  
rhythmic pattern.

The term and notion of cantam needs somewhat detailed discussion.  
Historically, it means an assault of Sanskritic, mātrā-type  
and syllabic-based (“syllabic” in our Western sense) metrics on the  
indigenous metrical system of Tamil which was not syllabic, but  
ačār-based (cf the beginning of Chapter 5) cantam is a rigidly set  
pattern of rhythm, based on syllabic quantity. The beginnings of  
its influence in Tamil prosody are naturally connected with the  
adoptions of fixed melody-types (pān) for poetry which is identified  
with (devotional) singing. Poetry as (devotional) song set to a  
fixed melody evolved in Śaiva and Vaisnava bhakti texts, and hence  
also the first poets who employed, on the Sanskritic models,  
quantitative prosody of the cantam (chandas) type, were Campantar  
and Tirumālīcar Āḻvār, two early Śaiva and Vaisnava bhaktas. \(^3\) The

\(^1\) “Words, marshalled with rhymes and alliterations interspersed, break  
from him in a deluge.” C and H Jesudasan, \textit{op cit} p 212

\(^2\) In a sense, Arunakīrī’s god is also a happy blend of the two cultures, and  
his two wives symbolize this fact. Teyvayāṇa, the daughter of Indra,  
stands for Sanskrit, Valli for Tamil. Murukaṇṭ himself has been always  
considered the prince of poets, cf Kumarakurupāra’s invocation “O  
Prince Bard of Cankam literature!”

\(^3\) The poets noted for skullful use of cantam were, after Tirumālīcar Āḻvār  
(8th Cent) who has probably been the one most responsible for its introduction  
into Tamil prosody (in his \textit{Tiruccantaviruttam}) Tirumankai Āḻvār,  
Patiṉattār the Eldei, Nampiyāntār Nampi, Ceyankontār, Ottakūttāṭ,  
Vilh, and, of course, Arunakīrī
influence of cantam grew steadily until it reached its peak in the poems of Arunakiri. This is part of the process whereby the connection between poetry and music becomes closer and closer, more and more intimate, until the kirttana is born—a form in which music is as indispensable as the text itself. And Arunakiri's Tiruppukal, singing the 'praise of the Lord', is one of the basic foundations of kirttana, only it has no refram yet, no pallavi (like kirttana)

In thought-content and themes, Arunakiri is one of the peaks in a particular line of bhakti poets, another poet of the same line—yet different because deeper, because more of a thinker and mystic than Arunakiri, and less of a poet, yet basically belonging to the same type—Tāyumāṅavar (1706-1744), admired and loved Arunakiri, and praised him more than once, e.g.

\[ \text{ayā arunakiri appā unappōla} \\
\text{meyyaka or col vilampīṇar yār} \]

"O sir, Arunakiri, friend, who ever uttered such true words as you?" And elsewhere he speaks about him as maturam poliyum arunakiri, "Arunakiri, who pours forth sweetness"

Typical is also the legend of the poet's life, it is a characteristically late bhakti legend. The hero leads a wretched life. Without his personal merit, and so to say in the last moment, God in his mercy intervenes, turning the scoundrel into a saint, into a bhakta and into a poet. And once more the deity is localized in a particular South Indian shrine, under the Arunācalam mountain.

Arunakiri was born in Tiruvannamalai and spent his young years as a noter, good-for-nothing brawler, drunkard and unbridled seducer of women. Everyone despaired of him. The most unhappy of all was his sister, who was the only one that kept a place for him in her heart, when all others turned their back on him because with progressing years his lack of self-control and his daring increased.

The poet describes in vivid colours this stage of his life, speaking about his kāmukaṇṭ akappattā ācār, "the passions of a lewd man",

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1 A poem in cantam has, in addition to other formal properties (prosodic pattern, totas, i.e. "rhymes", alliteration, assonance etc.), a rigidly set rhythmic pattern in terms of syllabic quantity. E.g. in Tiruppukal 4:18

\[ \text{tirumahaladūvum / tirupuyarvārī / tirumurukanāma / perumāl kāṇ, the cantam} \\
\text{is tāna tāna tānāna / tāna tāna tānāna / tāna tāna tānāna / tāna tānā, i.e.} \\
\text{00 0-0 0-0 / 00 0-0 0-0 / 00 0-0 / 00 = -} \]
about his *vilamātār kaṇivāyīl kannalivu vattta puttu* "blind mind
guided only by the senses inflamed by harlots."

After having ruined his health and reputation and having
become a real menace to society, he one day tried to commit
suicide, disgusted with life and with himself, and unable to bear
the pains of his ruined body. He threw himself into the abyss from
the northern tower of the famous Tiruvannāmalai temple to end
his wretched life.

However—he did not shatter his limbs by the terrible fall, but
landed softly in the arms of a holy man who just at that moment
appeared unexpectedly at the bottom of the gopura and who was
none else but the god Murukan himself. After having thus saved
Arunakiri’s life he expelled from his heart the threefold craving—
mannācār pongācār pennācār—the desire for earth, gold and women,
him touched with the point of his spear Arunakiri’s tongue and
exclaimed *ni pātuka! Sng! Naturally, Arunakiri was in no mood
to sing, not to mention the fact that he did not know how or what
to sing. And so Lord Murukan himself sang the first verse beginning
with the words *muttastaru pattithrunakai hurupara* "O my guru
with the lovely smile of your pearl-like teeth!"

The next moment Arunakiri was a new person. Even the physical
signs of his deterioration vanished from his depraved face and body,
and Arunakiri, young, handsome and pure, burst into streams of
beautiful songs, which amazed the crowds, led by his sister.

From that day Arunakiri became the most ardent devotee of
Murukan, wandering from temple to temple throughout Tamilnad,
praising life and God in verses which have no like in Tamil literature.

Thus far the legend.

About the real Arunakiri we know very little. He himself mentions
a ruler by name of Praudhadevaraya, who probably is no else than
the noted Deva Raya II, the Vijayanagara king known as Gajabētekāra
"Hunter of elephants." He was a great patron of poets and
a great builder, reigning from 1426 till 1446. On the other hand, a
Sanskrit poet, Rajendra Kavi, who lived in the 15th Cent., speaks
of a Sarvabhauma Dindima Kavi as of his father, and there is some
reason to identify this kavi with Arunakiri.

Arunakiri left behind a huge poetic work 1367 stanzas of *Tirup-
pukal,* praises of Murukan, the eternally young, the handsome lover

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\(^1\) According to one version, he suffered from a stomach (or duodenal)
ulcer, according to another version, from a venereal disease.
A South Indian wood-carving from Tamilnad. Property of the author.
and warnor, symbol of youth and strength, victory, of movement and change in life and nature, the patron of poets and god of travellers. Apart from Tiruppukal, Arunakiri is the author of many hundreds of other poems, forming several large collections (the chief among them being Kantarakalakāram of 102 stanzas and Kantaranupūta of 51 stanzas), imbued with tremendous knowledge of mythology and legends, and characterized by perfection of form and sovereign command of diction and prosody.

The work of Arunakiri may be described as religious, lyrical hymnody, interwoven with Śaiva Siddhānta philosophic doctrines, and fed profusely by Aryan and indigenous mythology. At the same time, however, his poetry has a vitality gushing from the poet’s own inner experience, the poet’s all-embracing and glowing love for all aspects of life, from the beauty of a pearl or an emerald through flowers, birds, beasts to men—especially women—and ultimately for God.

Several streams converge and merge in his work: the hymnic tradition of Śaiva and Vaisnava bhākta, the reflective stream of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy, the ancient inheritance of bardic poetry, both puram and akam, the vast resources of Aryan mythology, the deep wells of indigenous Tamil myths and legends connected with the cult of Murukan, and, last but not least, his own shattering life-experience.

There are basically poems of three types in Arunakiri’s work: lyrical poetry of personal experience with rich autobiographical material, reflective lyrical poetry with elements of philosophy, and straightforward hymns praising Lord Murukan.

If we apply the scheme of the segments $S_1S_2O_1O_2$ we see that all these segments are usually present, but the segments $S_2O_2$ are predominant. As an illustration, here is Tiruppukal 200. The first portion comprises segments $(S_1)S_2$

“I was ensnared and smitten with love of maids whose tresses are fragrant might, I was attached to mountain-like breasts of women arousing lust, fed by desirous hips of females skilled in Madana’s tricks!”

Next comes the segment $O_1$

“But you have never forgotten your friendship,
you have not left me alone
enmeshed in desire,
you have endured my sins
and you gave your grace
to live in the shade of your sacred feet
and grasp your eternal bliss!"

And, finally, O₂ which is quite developed

"O Guha, master of Śiva,
lover of Valli, your bride!
You dwell in Tiruvērakam
on Kāviri's northern shores
with fully-grown shady groves,
sweet child of Umai, Ganesa's brother,
great hero, destroyer of demonic pride!"

O₂ is of course based on both Sanskritic and Tamil mythology
Guha is Aryan—but the lover of Valli is Tamil, child of Umai, brother
of Ganesa, destroyer of the demons is probably Sanskritic, but he
who lives in Tiruvērakam on the shores of Kāviri is indigenous

"Those women
with swaying breasts
lovely red hands
filled with bangles
as they jingle
with dark cloud-like tresses
where bees sing
and soft beseeching words like the kuyil
lovely as the five-coloured parrots
their voices honey
fish-like eyes
veeng
warm with fear
then forehead a crescent moon
By them I was lured
in their magical ways
unto this sea of birth
Your slave am I
Help me reach the shore
of your brave noble feet
Conquer and bless me"

(Tiruppukal u, 26)
(Transl: S. Kokilam)

This motive appears again and again Arunakiri, the sinner and
Arunakiram, the saint, temptation and redemption. Though the
material and the form are very much alike, yet no two stanzas
repeat themselves in a dull and uninteresting manner.
"Two tusks of black elephants
are those mountainous breasts
sparkling with gold chams
Lovely forehead
lovelier than the crescent moon
Are they sharp spears
those beautiful eyes?
Like the dark nightfall
their tresses flow
They come these women
who trade for wealth
with sweet words
with soft caresses
These lewd women lured me
into their homes
into a life filled with karma
This wasted sinner
Give me the strength
to reach your noble feet
Give me the joy of enlightenment"

(Transl S Kokilam)

In the second type of Arunakīrī’s poetry—the philosophical stanzas with no autobiographical material—the segments \(O_1\) \(O_2\) are usually the only segments present. As an illustration, a perfectly beautiful quatrain form Kantaranupūṭī (51) may be quoted. First the music of the original

\[ uruvāy aruvāy utātāy utātāy \]
\[ maruvāy malarāy mamyāy olvyāyk \]
\[ karuvāy uyyrāy kahlīyāy vitryāyk \]
\[ karuvāy varuvāy aruvāy kukanē \]

"You who have form and who are formless,
you who are both being and non-being,
who are the fragrance and the blossom,
who are the jewel and its lustre,
who are the seed of life and life itself,
who are the mode and act of existence,
who are supreme guru, come
and bestow your grace, o Guha"

I suggest that this stanza is no "word-jugglery" but perfection itself—as far as philosophic poetry goes—both in thought-content and in form. A whole philosophy is expressed in three lines of poetry which sounds like music. This is Arunakīrī’s real greatness. He has reached extreme limits in his masterly use of the phonaesthetic qualities of Tamil, and such stanzas are therefore untranslatable
I mentioned two properties of his poetry: his exceptionally copious vocabulary, and the use of cantam, the other two properties are his supreme skill in vannam or 'colour of sounds', and in the ōcai or 'basic tone and rhythmic flow' of his stanzas.

Vannam (Skt varna) is the prevalent phonaesthetic quality of a stanza, determined by the quantitative relations and structural positions of vocoid and contoid phonemes. Arunakīrī is famous for this feature of his poems. The stanza from Kantarāṇṇapūti which was just quoted is an instance of a prevalent stāvīyā vannam or "sonant, liquid colour" (prevalence of y, r, l, v, l, l). The stanza is, however, carefully patterned from the point of its thought-content, too—the basic principle being that of positive-negative pairs and pairs of actor-action or result:

uru (vu) "form" aru (vu) "formlessness"  
ulatu "existence" ilatu "non-existence"  
malar "blossom" maru "fragrance"  
mam "jewel" oh "lustre"  
karu "seed" uyir "life"  
kats "mode" viti "act"

Some of his poems are a blend of reflection and prayer, like the following one (Tiruppukal VI 186):

"We need clothes to dress  
Rich drink to quench our thirst  
To be resplendent lovely attire  
water and perfumes  
To cure ills medicine  
A young wife for a home  
A cottage to rest  
as protector of kith and kin  
Life passes by  
as it withers aimless

So  
be merciful to me  
Give me the knowledge of realization  
Redeem me from this karma  
the swirling mountain of life  
Will there come a day when you will reach this slave?"

(Transl S Kokilam)

Finally, as an instance of the pure prayers, praises, hymns
addressed to Murukan, we have chosen one in which Arunakiri the bhakta points to himself as a maid of the Lord (Tiruppukal V 69):

"Lord with the spear
worshipped by
the spouse of the mountain kings’ daughter
the spouse of the daughter of learning
the spouse of the daughter of wealth
You
with the deer of the millet fields
with the deer of the heavenly groves
in love embraced
in your merciful arms
Rescue
this daughter of the earth
where great poets stray
with your golden-rayed spear
residing on the hills of Tiruttan
You redeem those lonely followers
all day mounted
on your beautiful peacock
O pride of prides!
Those bedecked women
with luring words
mingled with the sounds of horns
and the call of black kuyils from the shore
echo of the sea
merged with waves of thoughts
From the murderous arrows of Mañmatañ
rescue this woman with creeper-like waist
from being destroyed in sorrows
You adorned with the kura flower
grant me your garland of katappa blossoms
strung round your wide arms!"

(Transl S. Kokilam)

When two great poets meet, we may expect a happy outcome
This is in fact the case of a stanza of Arunakiri, translated into
English by Subrahmanya Bharati (1882-1921), and published in
his Agni and Other Poems

"Like a child unto the barren womb,
Like a mine of new-found treasures,
Like a floor of diamonds,
so be my songs
Like the wilful embrace of Love’s soft bosom,
Like a string of the purest gems,
Like a garden of fragrant blossoms,
Like the river that descends from heaven,
even so be my songs
Like the daughter of the ocean,
Like eyes unto poets,
Like a stream full to the brim easy to drink of,
Like the vase of the nectar of Thy beauty,
So be my wondrous songs of love,
by Thy grace, O Lord"

Lastly, there is one more feature of Arunakirin’s poetry that should be mentioned. His conception of Murukan True to the ancient, almost pre-historic tradition, Murukan and Tamil are one for Arunakirin Murukan, the “hon who presides over the famous bards of powerful speech” (Tirumurukāṭṭuppatai), is the supreme patron of poetry, and the god of the Tamil language

“The bridegroom of Valli
with tresses adorned with garlands
is ready to foster
even those who curse and abuse—
in threefold Tamil”

And, elsewhere, Arunakiri cries out, full of rapture, in verses in which Tamil and Sanskrit blend in resonant music

\begin{verbatim}
muttamil vittva
vinōtā1 kītā1
marravar oppulā
rūpā1 tāpā1
\end{verbatim}

“O beauty, o wisdom of three-fold Tamil!
O song!
Incomparable, unique Form!
O light!”
CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE PROSE OF THE COMMENTATORS

"Like the oil pressed out of sesamum-seed, so grammar derives from literature"

The primacy of literature before grammar was mentioned in our discussion of the Tolkāppiyam. Analogically, before there was a commentary, urai, there must have been the original text, mūlam. Although, according to Pērācēriyār (13th Cent A D), there had been a time when there were no commentaries, and literary works were easily understood by everyone, it seems nowadays almost unbelievable that there could have been such a golden age. We can hardly imagine a classical text without a commentary. And there are texts to which the commentaries are considered decidedly more important and relevant than the text itself.

Although there exists a limited number of commentaries in verse in Tamil, this is not typical. And yet, for the development of Tamil literature, it is important that some modern poets, notably Bharatidasan and Kannadasan, composed a few works as "commentaries" in verse upon ancient classical texts. But, generally speaking, it is the prose-commentaries one usually has in mind when discussing the important cultural phenomenon which is called urai.

I speak about a 'cultural phenomenon' on purpose. The existence of a live commentatorial tradition, and the origin and development of a rich commentatorial literature, presuppose a specific cultural atmosphere and a certain outlook which may be characterized in terms of a number of more or less well-defined, constituent elements like "return to classicism", "unquestioned authority of the original

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1 Tolk Marapiyal ss 98, 101, Pērācēriyār's comm
2 E g Nakkiṟar's celebrated commentary to Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporul alias Kalaviyal
3 Cf U Vē Cāmnātaiyār, Tiruvalluvarum trukkugalum, 8
4 Cf Pāṟatīṭaṟṟaṇ (Bharatidasan) Kavitaikaḷ, 2nd vol., containing a "verse-commentary" on some Kṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ reef poems, and Kannadasan's poetic comments upon Muttollātvaram
5 For the etymology of the two basic terms mūlam < Sanskr mūla- "root, base, fundament, basic, original text", urai (Dr ?) "word, speech, word of praise, comment, commentary, to say, speak, utter, comment"
text", "initiatory structure of learning", "urge toward ratiocination, intellection and learned classification for their own sake", "positive, appreciative criticism", and, basically, the concept of the division of the totality of recorded literature into underlying texts (mūlam) and comments upon them (urav). These conditions were prevalent in a high degree in Tamilnad between the 12th-16th centuries, but especially in the 13th-15th centuries, the "golden age" of the commentators. There was a definite "return to classicism" (to the great classical literature of the "Cankam" and post-"Cankam" epoch) in the works of such men as Parmēlājakar (14th Cent.), the authority of the original text went unquestioned, and hence the criticism of the commentator was always positive and appreciative: the commentator paraphrased, analysed, explained the meaning of the original text (quite often misunderstanding the original author), questioning or even refuting the views of other commentators, but never the views of the original author, for the entire recorded literature was divided into the mūlam, the original texts, "revealed" by sage-poets or by poets revered and respected because they were ancient and aged, and urav, the prosaic commentaries where disagreement and polemics were quite welcome, finally, there was the tendency to systematize, to be as exhaustive and as explicit as possible, reading became study.

The earliest commentaries, however, were obviously brief answers to students' questions concerning isolated items obscure, unintelligible words and difficult grammatical forms, technical terms, allusions to historical events, etc. Some of such old commentaries (or fragments of such commentaries) have actually been preserved, and later commentaries, modelled upon these, are in existence. They are characteristic for their brevity, terseness, economy of language and style. Sometimes such commentaries are hardly more than collections of annotations and remarks, as e.g. an old anonymous commentary to 90 poems of Akanāyāru. Such collections of annotations were appended to (and in modern times printed along with) the original text under the term kurippura or "annotations" (ht "note-commentaries").

1 It is significant that, in this respect, the bhakta hymns, especially Śaiva bhakta literature, were not considered "literature"; they were not supposed to be commented upon, there was a sort of tabu on any commenting upon these hymns.

2 Cf S Vaiyapuri Pillai, Tamiḻ e队伍建设, p 198.
Somewhat more explicit and detailed commentaries (like the old anonymous commentary to Puranānūru or Parmēḷaḷakār’s commentary on Parippūl) are called poluppurai or “abstracts”, “summaries”.

In course of time, commentaries became more involved and intricate, their form developed with the growth of ideas and the emergence of critical and polemic approach toward the opinions of former generations of scholars, and finally, after the texts were recorded in writing, much more complicated patterns evolved, including quotations of a number of examples, polemic passages, etc. These detailed, complicated commentaries are termed uṇṇurai or uṇṇitturai, “detailed commentaries, dissertations”, and vilakkurai, vilakkavurai, “exemplifying commentary”.

There can be hardly any doubt that, originally, commentaries were transmitted orally in the same way as the underlying literary texts. This fact is explicitly mentioned e.g., in the famous commentary of Nakkarar (8th Cent A D) to Iṟaiyaṅār Akaṇṇorul. It says mū uṇṇi natantu vantaṟṟu collatum “Now we shall reveal the way (āṟu) how the commentary came down [to us] (natantu vantaṟṟa)”, and it goes on to report how the commentary passed from Nakkarar to his son, etc., and how, finally, after having passed through eight generations of scholiasts, it was finally fixed by a Nilakantaṇ of Muṟṟi.

The origin of the commentaries may be sought in discourses between the teachers and the students, in other words, in the initiatory and personal structure of learning. There are many commentaries which still retain the character of vṛṛtī—“questions (and) answers”. In most commentaries, statements are interrupted with brief questions like ennai “what?” or atu ennaiṇam “How is that?” Many statements are introduced with phrases like aḷḷu ennaiṇam enṟu, lit “if you say how is that” or rucṟṟam enṟuṟṟuṟṟu (vṛṛtī “if you ask whether this is what this sūtra says”, which show that such statements are in fact answers to questions. Such phrases became established and recurrent formulae in course of time.

As time went by, the great classical commentaries became in part unintelligible. Thus a need arose to comment upon them, and the super-commentaries or commentaries on commentaries (urakkurai) were born. A typical case is, e.g., that of the great commentary of Parmēḷaḷakār on the “Sacred Kurai”. In the 17th Century, T. Irattina Kavirāyar composed a commentary to Parmēḷaḷakār’s
commentary (called Nunporul māḷai) Another super-commentary was written in 1869, and another in 1885 (by Murugesu Mudahar)

We have, in addition, five other modern commentaries which comment upon Paramēlalakar's classical work

'The function of a commentary should, ideally—according to the traditional view—be,

a) to split and dissect, analyze and examine the text word by word and to give, in paraphrase, the meaning of each item in the text,

b) to quote examples and illustrations, and parallel loci from other texts,

c) to discuss, in form of questions and answers, the merits and demerits of other opinions,

In actual practice, there are not many commentaries which attain such perfection 1 But, according to an old stanza, a commentary should be a tool as useful to the student as "a style is to the goldsmith", "a rod to the carpenter", and as sharp as "a diamond needle"

There are many kinds of commentaries, the classification based usually on the exhaustiveness and explicitness of the commentary, or on the various aspects on which this or that commentary concentrates. It seems that from the earliest times (i.e. from the age of the earliest extant recorded commentary, Nakkirar on Iraavyanār Kalavisyal, 8th Cent A.D.), four types of commentaries were distinguished

1 karutturai should reflect and explain the sense of the text (karuttu = "thought sense")

2 kannaliturai should split the utterances into constituent words and give the gloss for each word (kannalivu is the terminus technicus for the process of "dissolving" the sandhi—the syntactophonemic and morphophonemic rules—and splitting up a stretch of text into isolated words), also termed patavarai, lit "word-commentary",

3 polippurai, the abstract, the summary of the text (polippu, "compendium, digest, synopsis"), also termed muttipu, "summary")

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1 As illustration of a medieval commentary, the Appendix to this chapter gives a very brief segment of Atiyārkkunallār's classical commentary to the Cilappatikāram
4 akalavurai or akalam the detailed and elaborate exposition with examples and discussions (akalam, lit “breadth, width”)

The best commentaries usually combine all these aspects and procedures Thus eg U V Cuvāmināt’āiyar’s Commentary on Kuruntokai (1937) proceeds along the following scheme 1) varia lectiones (textual variations, piratpēlam, abbreviation p-m), 2) “word-commentary” (patavurai), 3) summary (mutipu), 4) basic sense, basic idea (karutu), 5) detailed exposition (vicētavurai) including parallelisms and concordances

Later, many sub-types of commentaries were added, so that eg the medieval grammar Viracōliyam (11th Cent A D) enumerates 14 kinds of commentaries

A special kind of commentary is the arumpatavurai or “glossary (of unusual, rare terms)”

There is another and very basic classification of the commentaries 1 or rather of the entire expository and exegetical literature into

a) kāntikas, which paraphrases the text, explains the meaning of the original (usually in form of questions and answers), and gives illustrations, and

b) vṛuttis, which, in addition to the functions mentioned above, critically evaluates other commentaries, engages in discussion, and supplements the text with its own dāta

The prefatory verses—pāyiram (or puravurai)—to a work can also be considered as a sort of commentary since they provide information (usually embodying current oral tradition) about the author’s name, origin, education and learning, about his patron, etc 2 There are two basic types of prefatory verses the potu pāyiram, “general preface”, and the ciraippu pāyiram, “specific preface” Later, however, there was some development in this genre, too, and the late medieval state of affairs may be symbolized by the following diagram

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1 Cf Naṭṭul, Potuppāyiram 21-22
2 It should also give the title of the book and explain it. Traditionally, a book should be entitled in either of the following five manners 1 according to its author, eg Akatthiyam (written by Agastya), 2 according to its patron (eg Illantiraiyam), 3 according to its size and/or the number of its parts (eg Panīyupatalam, lit “12 chapters”), 4 according to its content and importance (eg Kalavivāla “The Treatise on Secret Love”), 5 by an “arbitrary” or “primitive” descriptive term (eg Nikantu “Dictionary”)
11 —general preface (invocatory verses, in praise of a deity, in praise of Tamil, etc.), not dealing specifically with the work
12 —specific preface concerning the work
121 —subjective assessment of the work, expresses the attitude of the author toward the work and provides information about the author
122 —objective assessment of the work, dealing with the excellence of the work, usually in verse
21 —composed as a preface to the book by the commentator
22 —dealing with the excellence of the commentary and the praise of the commentator, usually in verse

By the time of the standard medieval Tamil grammar Naṭṭaḷ (lit. "The Good Book", beginning of 12th Cent.), a more or less fixed and rather elaborate conception how an expository book (nūl) should look like had developed, and is formulated by the author of the grammar, Pavananti

1) It must have two prefaces, the "general preface" and the "specific preface" (aphorisms 1-3)
2) It must have a place in one of the three orders of a literary work, the primary, original (mutal), the deductive, derived (valī), the supporting or supplemental (putai, cārpu) (5-8)
3) It must be advantageous for the reader in his quest after one or the other of the four grand objects—virtue, wealth, pleasure or deliverance (9)
4) It must agree with one or more of the 7 principles of authorship (10)
5) It must avoid the ten basic faults to say too little, to say too much, tautology, contradiction, employment of inappropriate terms, mystification, to begin with another subject, to introduce another subject, gradual loss of vigour and tone, useless verbosity (11)
6) It must possess the ten beauties: brevity, elucidative power, sweetness, juncture of well-chosen words, rhythm, comprehensiveness of language, orderly arrangement, congruity, usefullness, clarity (12)

7) It must possess the 32 niceties (ūṭṭi) (13)

8) It must be composed in terms of ottu (section), pātalam (chapter) and cūṭṭiram (sūtra, aphorism). An aphorism of expository literature must follow another aphorism in regular and natural order like the flow of a river, it must have “lion’s look” (i.e. “look” forward and backward), it must “leap with ease like a frog”, and it must grasp its subject as a hawk grasps its prey (15-18)

9) Finally, it is proper that it has commentaries (20-22)

From the point of view of this particular book, the main importance of the commentaries lies in the fact that they represent long stretches of prose-writing, reflecting the evolution of standard literary Tamil prose in the course of an entire millennium. However, apart from the tremendous role they played in the origin and development of Tamil prose, the commentaries are of paramount importance in many other ways.

We know of the existence of a number of Tamil literary works only from the data provided by commentaries. They have preserved names of writers and titles of works which have otherwise got lost. More important than that, the commentators, in giving illustrations and examples, have preserved a number of verses and lines of lost works, or stray individual poems (taniyāṭāl) which would have otherwise never reached us. Of particular interest and importance is the fact that they have conserved folklore material (tales, proverbs, even folksongs). A wealth of cultural and sociological material has also been amassed by the commentators.

The commentaries have also great value for the historical linguist, reflecting the development of the language of a particular type—the expository style of Standard Tamil—through almost ten centuries. And there is of course their primary function to comment upon the original texts.

The prose of the commentators has always been a powerful accumulator which could be utilized and resorted to by the “makers of modern Tamil”. There is, in fact, a direct connection between the great medieval commentators and the makers of modern Tamil.

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1 Here we should add of one particular style, the exegetic, expository style
Many of the prose writers of the 18th and 19th Centuries were, at the same time, scholars, editors, and commentators themselves and as direct heirs of the medieval commentatorial and scholastic tradition, they themselves wrote important commentaries foremost among those who were, on the one hand, responsible for the creation of modern Tamil prose—fiction and non-fiction—and, on the other hand, composed, themselves, valuable commentaries, based—in structure, language and style—on the classical medieval works, were Ārumuka Nāvalar of Jaffna (1822-1876), the great editor Dr U V Cuvāmmāt’ayyar (1855-1942), the great purist Maṟai Malai Atikal (1876-1950), and the many-sided Tiru Vi Kalyānacuntara Mutahyār (1883-1953).

The first full-fledged commentary which has come down to us is Nakkirar’s commentary on Iṟaiyaṟṟar’s Akapporul (alias Kalaviyal). It probably belongs to the 8th Cent A D, but its final shape may be later. It is so very important because it consists of pages and pages of prose, which seems to grow, quite organically, out of the most popular classical Tamil metre, the akavāl (ācīriyam). ‘‘One little verse of the grammarian is dragged out through a wilderness of ornate, at times, poetic prose . . . Simile and metaphor illuminate his style, but clarity and simplicity, essential features of good prose, are absent’’. ²

I am afraid I can hardly agree with this judgement. It is true that Nakkirar’s prose is ornate, ‘‘poetic’’, full of similes and metaphors. But it is also very plastic, colourful, lively, and not too involved, really. It is of course full of alliterations and assonances, and T P Meenakshisundaran calls it pāttunatai ‘‘singing, melodic prose’’. But this ‘‘melodiousness’’ and ‘‘ornateness’’ constitutes the excellence of the commentary, not its drawback. T P Meenakshisundaran obviously considers Nakkirar’s commentary an admirable piece of

¹ According to S Vairapuri Pillai, Kāvyakālam (1957), 215-16, in its present form the work is indebted to Civakacintāmanu, and hence could not have been prior to the 10th-11th Cent A D. The lower limit, in any case, is provided by the fact that the commentary quotes 325 poems from the Pāntikkōval, a work of probably late 7th Cent which praises the Pāntiyar king Netumāraṇ (640-670 A D). Hence, Nakkirar’s commentary cannot be earlier than that. On the other hand, it is older than Ilampūranan. Late 7th-8th Cent A D seems to be a reasonable estimate for the original text of the commentary, at least as far as our knowledge goes. Later careful investigation of the text can fix a more precise date. The final shape of the commentary may be later 10th-11th Cent A D.

² C and J Jesudasan, History of Tamil Literature, 196-7
prose, and I quite agree with his evaluation. It seems that Nakkirar, while composing his melodious, singing, ornate, alliterative utterances, actually heard the rhythm of akaval (a metre which he must have known extremely well) and listened attentively to the akaval ḍoṣan, the "narrative musical tone" of that metre. For this is precisely the rhythm of his prose M.V. Aravintap, the author of an excellent book in Tamil called Urayarviviryal, "Commentators" (Madras, 1968), gives an illustration which shows how very much is, in its structure, Nakkirar's prose "akaval-like".

One of the great qualities of this commentary is its liveliness, the fact that it is not at all pedantic, not at all dry, we do not find in it those endlessly involved complex sentences where we lose our breath in the search for a finite verb, stumbling across innumerable boulders of absolutives—constructions which are so cherished by some of the medieval commentators. On the contrary Nakkirar's utterances are comparatively short, well-built, balanced, and in a particularly effective way he knows how to use the combination of a finite verb form (at the end of an utterance) and an absolute or a participle (at the beginning of the next utterance). For all commentators, analogy is the most frequently used weapon. Nakkirar is no exception, and his prose abounds in similes, some of them striking, some of them extremely pleasing. He is a shrewd observer, he is open-minded, his eyes, too, are open and see clearly and sharply the real world around him. He quotes a number of classical poems, known to us from the anthologies. Sometimes, he quotes poems which we do not know from any other source.

If there is a difference between this commentary and all other later commentaries, it is in the fact that Nakkirar's work is not so much a piece of expository and erudite literature as rather a "poem in prose." It lacks the deep scholarship, the searching intellectualism, the argumentative, even polemic tone—and also the insolence, pedantism, and errors of later commentaries.

There are a few truly great pages and paragraphs in this commentary. One of them is e.g. in praise of anipu, "affection, love," the loving person's characteristic features are "to die with the

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1 He calls it oru esanta uravathayil, "an outstanding prose work" In Ninkalum cuvaraunakal (1954), 105-6

2 Nakkirar's commentary sūpul ceylār yāyō ong, māl vānas ānavyan mālakātal ālayaṇom pāl puras pacunakathī kulasattinkalārik kuryunnamyāka utam ajañāvīr cēṭ arunmayik katalv vil spaṭu (ed 1939, p 3)
dying, to suffer with the suffering, to give generously, to speak sweet and gentle words, to love ardently in union and to pine anxiously in separation.” The lover should be “wise, faithful, understanding and resolute”, the woman should be “modest, shy, timid and virtuous”. Or consider the following similes “like the sandaltree, standing scorched and fading in the summer-heat, when it sprouts again after it received rain” (cūṭras 3), or this striking one “she became pale and her heart melted and thawed like a wax-figure placed before glowing flame, like a dimmed, blurred reflection when one blows on the surface of a mirror.”

While the underlying text may be superior to the commentary 1 (though I doubt it), I think that Tamil was rather fortunate to have this magnificent piece of prose at the very source of its prosaic literary tradition sometime in the 8th Cent AD.

Ilampūranar wrote a commentary on the Tolkāppiyam some time in the 11th-12th Century His style was compared to a “quietly flowing deep river” 2 It is clear and simple The sentences are not too involved, comprising usually one, two, three clauses at most, the choice of words very well-balanced, and though he is not a purist, there are comparatively very few Sanskrit loanwords If I should point to a model for polished interpretative, expository style in Tamil, Ilampūranar would be undoubtedly the best choice Cēṅvarayar (13th Cent.), another commentator on the ancient grammar, is more elegant, more descriptive, his syntax is more involved and complicated, and he displays his Sanskrit knowledge.

Pēṟāciniray (13th Cent.) is one of the great masters of Tamil prose According to V V S Aiyar, 3 “his style is grammatical, graphic and simple This is the best specimen of elegant and simple prose”. T P Meenakshisundaran finds his style “dignified” I have to admire, above all, Pēṟāciniray’s ability to attune the style of his writing to the diction and style of the mūlam, of the underlying text he was commenting upon. In the commentary to Tolkāppiyam, his style is terse, elegant, sharp, well-chiselled, however, in the commentary to Mānakkavācakar’s Tirukkūravāyār, it is mellow, sweet, melodious, and at the same time, admirably simple.

Atuyārkkunallār’s commentary on the “Lay of the Anklet” is above all a mine of information and data, including some about

1 C and H Jesudasan, op cit p 196
2 M V Aravintan, Uravācinyaarkal (1968), p 50
3 Tamil—the Language and Literature, ed 1950, 4
a number of literary works now lost. However, his sentences are complex, long and broad, epic in character. His style is very high and learned. Occasionally, his commentary reads itself like a learned epic poem.

Parmēlālakar (2nd half of the 13th—1st half of the 14th Cent.), a Brahmin of Kāncipuram, is considered by many the “prince” of Tamil commentators. According to V V S Aiyar (op cit 42), “his prose is very terse and in some places too brief to be easily intelligible. Like the style of the great poet whose work he had taken to annotate, his style also is so much compressed in form that no word in a sentence can be removed or substituted without at the same time damaging compactness of the style. Not a single word he uses unnecessarily.” Parmēlālakar is, according to my opinion, very much indebted to Sanskrit sources, and sometimes he is entirely under the spell of ‘Sanskritization’ and ‘Brahmanization’. I would not go as far as to say that he “twisted the text” “to fit his Brahman prejudices”, but Brahmanic, Sanskrit sources certainly enriched and influenced his thinking, as well as his vocabulary and style. The one quality which is traditionally attributed to Parmēlālakar’s thinking and writing is tellu, telvu, tenmai, i.e. ‘clarity’. This quality gives him a great power of argumentation, one of the characteristic features of his commentaries.

There are, however, students of Tamil who prefer Naccinārkkānīyar (14th Cent.), who may probably be considered as the last of the great commentators, and I belong to them. He was accused of being “prone to looking for his own ideas in the verses” 1 This may be true, but it only shows his originality and boldness of thought. The same authors admit that “he does have a keen poetic sense and awareness of word values” Naccinārkkānīyar is, above all, a very vivid and vehement author. He is also very learned, sometimes tending to display his great learning, and very sophisticated. I think, though, that he honestly tries to be impartial, that his commentaries show minute and critical observation, a clear mind and a vast erudition. His commentaries may always be classified as virutte. According to V V S Aiyar (op cit p 41), “it may be said that good prose writing commences with” Naccinārkkānīyar.

The so-called manipravāla 2 style was accepted as legitimate by

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1 C and H Jesudasan, op cit p 216
2 The term means “(white) pearls + (red) coral”, the pearls usually symbolize Sanskrit, the coral Tamil. According to a Malayalam grammar,
the Sanskrit-oriented *Viracōliyam* (11th or 12th Cent A D), a very interesting grammar written by Puttiramittiran, a Buddhist. Though *manpravālam* must be evaluated, in an overall estimation and assessment of the history of Tamil language and literature, rather negatively, it was a very picturesque, colourful and plastic style which had its own charm. Characteristic for this hybrid jargon is of course the exceedingly high percentage of Sanskrit loans, between 30-50% of the total vocabulary in a text (according to a count by J. J. Glazov, 1964, the percentage of Sanskrit loans in Tamil varies from 18 to 25%). Commentaries were written in this language mainly on Vaisnava *bhakts* poems. To give an instance of this diction in a piece of *manpravāla* prose containing approximately 125 words, I counted more than 35 Sanskrit loans including such *tātsama* ("appropriation" phase) loan-words like *prahāṣikha*, *ātēpīte*, *kastīrī*, etc. Linguistically, there are three basic features of *manpravāla* style: 1) high number of Sanskrit loan-words, but this feature alone does not sufficiently characterize *manpravāla*, the loans must be, mostly, 2) unadapted to Tamil phonemic system, i.e. must be of the *tātsama* type, and 3) a great number of structural features of Sanskrit are translocated into Tamil (e.g. Sanskrit compounds are borrowed as such, there are many loan-translations, syntactic features of Sanskrit are found in Tamil constructions, etc.).

The commentatorial tradition has never been quite broken. When we speak about Naccipārkkimiyar as "the last great commentator" we should add "the last great medieval commentator." The particular cultural and spiritual atmosphere in which the commentaries thrived and flourished, has never really ceased to exist, not even today, in spite of so many clashes between "tradition" and "modernity." Above all, the initiatory structure of learning still persists, though in a much lesser degree than previously.

In the "period of transition", when the Tamil country passed

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*Lilātilakam, manpravāla* means bhāsāsamśkrta-yogam, i.e. "the union of the indigenous speech and Sanskrit."

1 I have had the honour and luck "to sit at the feet of a guṇu", Mahavidvan M V Venugopala Pillai (born 1896), one of the great teachers of the indigenous Tamil scholastic tradition. He is an outstanding editor and glossator, and an excellent and kind teacher. In this connection, I recall the words of M Elaide (Yoga Immortality and Freedom, 2nd ed. 1959, 5) "Strictly speaking, all traditional disciplines of crafts are, in India, taught by masters and are thus initiations, for millenniums they have been transmitted orally, 'from mouth to ear'". This fact is one of the most important components in the atmosphere which produced commentatorial literature.
gradually into Muslim and then English hands, and when Tamul as a literary language was sadly neglected, the tradition of the commentaries was still kept alive, and the greatest literary personality from the mutts, the monasteries, Civañãa Muniyar († 1785), was a great commentator—probably a greater commentator and prose-writer than a poet. It is especially his monumental commentary on Civañãapōtam which contains his best prose-passages.

And so we come to those “makers of modern Tamil”, already mentioned, who were directly indebted, in their prose-writings, to the commentators of past ages. There were many of them, but probably the most important of those who “bridged” medieval and modern prose, was the controversial Ārumuka Nāvalar (1822-1876). He was a very prolific writer, editor, translator, and commentator. Besides a great number of original prose-works (narrations of purānic stories in prose, polemic writings against Christian missionaries) and in addition to some translations (the Bible), he has written a number of commentaries, the chief of them a kāntikai urai to the standard grammar Nāṇṇul, and a commentary to Köyulpuruṇam. Although today we would probably describe his prose as dry, pedantic and monotonous, colourless and full of restraint, he deserves praise and gratitude for some of the great changes he introduced, and thus paved way for the writers of the “Tamil renaissance”. First of all, he “broke up” and “dissolved” some of the most rigid rules of sandhī, second, he “broke up” long complex sentences into brief, clear and simple sentences with finite verb forms (instead of using in abundance participles and absolutes). However, he was decisively against the use of colloquial, day-to-day forms and lexical items in written prose, and thus he was to a certain extent responsible for the affected, stilted, formal, stiff trends which are characteristic for a kind of Tamil prose even today.

But, in an over-all assessment of his work, one has to agree with the opinion of T P Meenakshisundaran who says “Ārumukanāvalar of the nineteenth century is the father of modern literary prose—the simple, elegant but grammatically correct prose”.

In the commentaries was thus incorporated a tremendous force of potentialities, a generator of syntactic and stylistic possibilities for a prose-fiction to arise and develop from within. And there is no doubt that modern Tamil prose is the result of a long devel-

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1 C and H Jesudasan, op cit p 176
opment which has some of its deep roots in the commentaries.

The basic change leading to the origin of modern prose-fiction occurred in the conceptual sphere so far, prose was primarily and almost exclusively reserved for eruditory and interpretative purposes (in short, for commentaries). In the 19th Century, under the impact of different forces (probably the most decisive among them Western influences), something else became the subject-matter of prose-writing. The purpose and the function of prose changed drastically.

APPENDIX 1

Cilappatikāram XVIII, 11.51

"'O, Sun of burning rays! Is my husband a thief?'
'He is not a thief, O woman with black fish-shaped eyes! Glowing fire will devour this town!' so said a voice"

Atiyārkkunallār's commentary on these lines

"Therefore, O Sun with rays, you must know whether my husband is a thief. So she said, and he declared standing (there) in a bodeless state. Your husband is not a thief, O woman, look (how) this town which proclaimed him a thief, will be devoured by fire.

ollerē = 'the fire which will listen to your command',
vvūr 'this town' = 'this town which said this'
unnunuvvūr 'will-eat this town' = vvūravyunnun 'will-eat this town-accusative suffix', a finite verb"

APPENDIX 2

As an example of those medieval invocatory stanzas in praise of god (kālavulvālttu) which usually introduce Tamil poetic works I give a very close translation of Peruntēvañār's introductory poem to Puranāṇur. Peruntēvañār's date was probably the 9th Cent

In praise of God. Sung by Peruntēvañār who composed the Pāratam

The perfect ascetic ¹
with abundant locks of falling hair
and with a jar which knows not want of water ²
He — the protector of all creatures alive
The kōturai-flower ³ which smells sweet after the rams
his chaplet
The kōturai-flower—a wreath of many flowers
on his chest
And the pure white bull ⁴
he rides
The pure white bull
a banner of excellence
Poison ⁵ beautifies his neck
Poison praised by the Veda-chanting Brahmans ⁶
One side of him shaped into a woman ⁷
He will hide and keep within himself
His forehead adorned with crescent moon ⁸
That crescent moon
praised by all
by everyone ⁹

₁ = Śiva, ₂ = Gangā, Śiva is Gangā-dhara, Bearer-of-the-Gangā,
₃ = Indian laburnum, Cassia fistula, red 1 1, C marginata (DED 1808); ⁴ = Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva (cf Mahābhārata 13 6401)
The bull also appears on Śiva’s banner as his emblem, Śiva is thus Vrsabha-dhvaja, “He whose banner is the bull”, ⁵ = Śiva is Nila-
kantha, “Blue-throated”, ⁶ = in Tamil, marainavil antinav (cf DED, DEDS 126, 3897), ⁷ = cf Manusmrut 1 32 “He divided his body into halves, one was male, the other female. The male in that female procreates the universe”. Hence he is called Ardhanarīśvara, “The Hermaphrodite”, ⁸ = Śiva bears on his head as a diadem the crescent of the fifth-day moon, ⁹ = the gods (sura), the anti-
gods (asura), the seers (muni), the heavenly musicians of Kubera (kinnara), the musicians of gods (kimpurusa), the half-vulture half-mān (garuda) the guardians of earthly treasures (yaksa), the demons (rāksasa), the celestial musicians (gandharva), the perfect ones (sūdāha), heavenly panegyrists (cārana), benevolent aereal spirits (vīyādhara), serpents (nāga), ghosts (bhūta), vampires (vetāla), hosts of stars (tārāgana), aerial beings (ākāśavāsi), in-
habitants of paradise (bhogabhūmi)

APPENDIX 3

As an instance of cirappuppāyiram, “The specific preface”, I give
here an English rendering of the famous and very important preface
to Tolkāppiyam by Pappampārāñār

In the beautiful world
which speaks Tamil
between
Northern Vēṅkatam ¹ and Southern Kumari ²
he explored
the sounds, the words, and the things, and he has fathomed
both the common speech and poetry, and inquired into the ancient books,
in the land stirred with Straight Tamil, and he designed a perfect plan
and gathered knowledge as in faultless words — he, the ascetic
established in ample fame, who revealed his name as Tolkāppiyān versed
in aṇṭirām surrounded by the surging waves,
and he has shown the system and the order which starts with sounds
in a clear and unbewildering course, and he dispelled the doubts
of the Teacher of Atankōtu, ripe in the wisdom of the four Vedas,
whose tongue resounded with dharma, in the assembly of Pāṇtiyān, glorious and land-bestowing

1) Ta vatavēṅkatam, i.e. probably the modern Tirupati north of Madras, a place which has been always considered the northern boundary of Tamīḷnāṭu. 2) Ta tenkumari, prob. Kumārimunai, Cape Comorin, but may also refer to the river Kumari. 3) Ta eluttu, col, porul, i.e. the three main subjects of the three books (aṭikāram) of the grammar, 4) Ta valakkū, the colloquial, spoken language, ceyyul, the poetry, the language of poetry, the literary language, 5) having inquired into (or having observed, having seen to) the ancient book or books, obviously an allusion to the predecessors of Tolkāppiyān in grammatical tradition, 6) lit “in the land stirred (incited, animated) naturally by Straight Tamil”, i.e. centamil “the correct, standard(?) literary(?) Tamil”. 7) This is not quite clear, lit “faultless word(s), speech, utterance”, according to some commentaries, “as in faultless speech, like in faultless utterances” (adverbially), according to Naccinārkkūyār, it means “in the utterances (of the grammar, of the book itself) which are faultless” 8) patmaṅyōn = (Jan) ascetic, 9) Naccinārkkūyār uses this occasion to give his account of the legend about Tolkāppiyān = Tiranatūmakkū, 10) aṇṭirām = the aṇḍra grammatical system, for some “Dravidian”-minded nationalists this sounds too “Aryan”, and so they read it as aṇṭirām, and interpret it as “five-fold skill” (i.e. eluttu, col, porul, yāppu, aṇṭ), amusing but false 11) Who this
was, we do not know, the word अचाय is identical in meaning with अच्छियाण "teacher, preceptor, guru" (epigraphic अच्छिकार, अस्त्रियका), but also with अरुकाण < Argha-1 It occurs frequently in Malayalam names (cf e.g. the well-known poet from Kerala, Kumāran Ācān) The commentator says Atankōṭṭācāriyar, "The teacher of A ", this is one of the data which point (vaguely) to a connection between the Tolkāppiyam and South Kerala, 12) nāṃmarai, 13) aram, 14) We do not know who this Pāntiyāṇ king was But it again seems to point to Southern Tamilnad or (today) South Kerala
CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

ORIGINS OF MODERN TAMIL PROSE
THE HISTORICAL AND THE THEORETICAL PROBLEM

The problem of the origin of modern Tamil prose—as seen from a necessarily simplified perspective—is a twofold one: first, purely historical, and second, theoretical.

The first part of the problem means to trace down and find out, to list, analyze, classify and explain the external causes and conditions accelerating or mitigating the origins and development of modern prose. The second part of the problem means to answer a basic theoretical question: is prose, as belles-lettres writing, as a form of creative literature, basically alien to Tamil (and Indian) culture, and could and did it arise and develop only under predominant foreign impact—or not?

I shall not at all attempt to answer these questions, to solve these problems. There are unfortunately almost no valid Vorarbeiten in this field, and only very recently Tamil scholars themselves have begun to search for answers to these questions.

In this chapter I shall try to arrange some facts reflecting the external and internal factors pertaining to the origins of modern Tamil prose, especially as far as printing and journalism in 19th Century Tamilnad is concerned.

Among the external historical factors we have to distinguish purely historical and political factors, external cultural factors, and external ideological factors.

The expansion of French and British rule from the coastal cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras etc., ultimately brought a kind of peace and order after decades of disorder, fighting and strife. It also brought new system of law, it codified indigenous law, it brought opportunity for new jobs etc., and there is no wonder that Indian intellectuals in general welcomed the new Pax Britannica.

The introduction of the then modern science, of the Western concep-

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1 The two books in Tamil that probably deserve to be mentioned in this connection are K Kailasapathy’s Tamiḻ nāval (“Tamil Novel”), Pāri Nilaiyam, Madras, 1968, and Mu Vai Aravintaṉ’s Uraiyāciviṟiyarkal (“The Commentators”), Madras, 1968
tion of humanistic studies, of ideas of "enlightenment" etc played an enormous role in the development of indigenous cultures. On the other hand, we must not forget the immense influence which the work of early Western Indologists had on the intellectual elite of India. Their editions and translations of ancient Indian texts were often a kind of revelation to the Indians themselves. They brought them better knowledge of their own cultural traditions, and the praise and admiration shown by Westerners aroused in Indians legitimate pride in their own heritage.

The most important of the external ideological factors was—in the 18th and early 19th Centuries—the confrontation with Christianity. Especially in the South of India there was massive missionary activity, both Catholic and Protestant. This confrontation meant, on the one hand, practical acceptance of parts of Christian doctrine and ethics,¹ but, at the same time, strong defence and resistance against it. The Hindus saw a model which they could adopt for methods and techniques of their own propaganda and education.

More specifically, in Tamil India (as elsewhere, e.g. in Bengal), there was great need felt by the British administrators to learn the "vernacular." The old Portuguese and Latin grammars were inaccessible, dated or incomprehensible, and indigenous grammars—anyhow not available yet in print—would be of no use for the beginners. So the first "modern" grammars of Tamil began to appear, written partly in Tamil prose, partly in English. Probably the first of these printed grammars for wider use was A Tamil Expositor by Teroovorcaudoo Subroya Mudaliar, printed at Madras A D 1811.²

In 1812, the College of Fort St. George was founded in Madras. In this institution (closed on July 21, 1854), Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada and Urdu were taught by indigenous teachers, the

¹ We have in Tamil such early Christian poets as Henry Albert Krishna Pillai (1827-1900), whose Christian hymns are formally based on the Tēvārām.
² The early British administrators, missionaries etc. were much impressed by Tamil culture. W. Taylor "(Tamil) is one of the most copious, refined and polished languages spoken by man" (quoted by G. E. Govei, The Folk-Songs of Southern India, Madras, 1871, viii-ix) P. Percival "Perhaps no language combines greater force with equal brevity, and it may be asserted that no human speech is more close and philosophic in its expression as an exponent of the mind" (quoted ib.) E. Hoole "God left not Himself without witness among the Tamil people. The acquisition of the language in which the remains of Tamil wisdom are preserved is no easy task. Aptitude, genius, industry, perseverance, are necessary to the Tamil scholar" (E. J. Robinson, Tamil Wisdom, With an Introduction by the late Rev. Elijah Hoole, London, 1873, ix-x).
munshis. First principals of this College were Englishmen, Ellis and Mackenzie, but later they also included Indians, like Muttusami Pillai, and this College was in fact the first centre of Western-oriented Tamil scholarship. The first influential Tamil scholars of the first half of the 19th Cent all taught or were in some way connected with the College Tandavaraya Mudaliyar, Muttusami Pillai and others.

Another important institution where the contacts of Western and Tamil culture took place daily was the office of the dubashis, the interpreters.

Among early French and British administrators, the need soon arose for various lists, inventories, catalogues, registers, accounts, chronicles etc., in Tamil, besides having them in French or English.

All these and similar factors had a definite trigger-effect accelerating the development of Tamil prose, adequate for such purposes.

As far as the classical and medieval Tamil texts were concerned, there was relative ignorance of them among the people. Only the traditional scholar, sometimes in private, sometimes in muttis, kept the knowledge alive. One of the reasons for this relative ignorance was the fact that all literary works were either in the manuscript form, or existing only in scholarly oral transmission, neither of these traditional channels accessible to the majority of common people. There were no really live centres of literary and cultural activities. For a few centuries, owing to political and religious reasons, Sanskrit, Urdu, Marathi and Telugu seem to have been more prestigious and important than Tamil even in Tamilnad. This is no speculation. We actually have records and accounts of the fact that Tamil as a literary language was neglected, while the other languages were decidedly preferred, of the complaints of Pattikkaça Pulavar, a bard of the 17th Cent, who made himself acquainted with this deplorable state of affairs during his wanderings all over the country.

In the monasteries or muttis, it was a scholastic, highflown type of compositions which were produced, under a very strong impact of Sanskrit, in the 18th Cent, one may observe slight beginnings of a reaction against the over-all Sanskritization upheld by such overbearing Sanskrit enthusiasts as Swamnatha Desikar.

One important factor in the origin of modern prose seems to be the fact that traditional forms of literary expression became inadequate to express new ideas and new emotions, but, above all,
to meet new demands and new needs, in fact, to express the entire process of the confrontation of the two cultures

However, the most important external factors, playing an almost all-decisive part in the origin of modern and popular prose in Tamilnad and in India, were printing and journalism.

The very beginnings of printing, sporadic both in time, space and output, were all connected with missionary activities. Here was the origin of Gonzalves' *Krivishvavavankam* (1577),¹ one of the first if not the first book printed in India. Philip de Melho’s *Tamil New Testament* printed in 1749 etc. The two most important early printing establishments in the South were founded at Ambalakkadu (since 1679) and in Tranquebar (1712-13). However, it was only the massive spread of printing, beginning in Tamil India roughly after 1835, which played such a decisive role in the origin and development of modern prose.

On August 3rd, 1835, a law was passed which abolished the previous acts of 1823, 1825 and 1827 concerning printing and publishing of books. Printing was brought under direct surveillance of magistrates and thus a kind of censorship was established (disobeying the law resulted in a fine of Rs 5000 and/or 2 years' imprisonment), on the other hand, this law institutionalized and legalized printing, and it gave an exactly defined obligatory form to everything which was to be published. The full text of the new law which formed article 11 of the 1835 Act was published in Fort St George Gazette in English, Tamil, and the other languages of Madras.

What was, however, most important was the fact that the law enabled Indians to own pressworks. Previously, almost all printing works were owned by Catholic and Protestant missions, and, apart from dictionaries, grammars and textbooks, they naturally printed their own kind of Christian propaganda material to the exclusion of everything else.

The fact that since 1835 Indian ownership of printing establishments was legalized had naturally a tremendous impact, and the results were to be seen very soon. First, old Tamil texts began to

be published and this rediscovery of ancient Tamil culture ultimately led to the “Tamil Renaissance”, second, the development of modern prose took a new and vigorously different turn.

It was of course a great novelty to have old venerated texts which had so far been known only to the elite either through oral transmission from guru to chela, or written on palm-leaves which were almost unavailable, printed and published in a great number of copies which were cheap and easy to obtain. It was such a novelty that many of the pandits who called this manner of treating old literary texts elutē eluttu, i.e. “unwritten script”, actually opposed it. One of the points which made tremendous difference between a palm-leaf manuscript copy of a text and its printed edition was the price. Thus e.g. according to John Murdoch, the Rev P Percival paid (sometime before 1835) for a palm-leaf manuscript-copy of Beschi’s Caturakarātīs 10 English pounds, when the same work was printed after 1835, its price fell down to 2½ shillings.

The “rediscovery” of ancient Tamil literature occurred in the transition period of the later 19th Century when—to use the happy phrase of A K Ramanujan—“both paper and palm leaf were used.” The man most responsible for making possible the transition was U V Swaminatha Aiyar (1855-1942), by editing and printing the most important and inaccessible of ancient manuscripts. The late medieval Śaivite and Vaishnavite scholars “apparently tabooed as irreligious all secular texts which included the earliest and the greatest of Tamil literary texts, they disallowed from study all Jain and Buddhist texts…” Under this intellectual taboo, a great scholar like Cāmpātāyār had to give his nights and days to second-rate religious and grammatical texts of the medieval period. He was entirely unaware even of the existence of the twin epics and the breath-taking poetic anthologies of Tamil literature, till he met a liberal-minded munsif named Rāmacuvāmi Mutahār. He records the date as 1880, October 21, a Thursday—and all students of Tamil literature should think of that date as ‘etched in red letters’.”

It was munsif Ramaswamy who made Swaminatha Aiyar aware of the existence of such texts as the Cīvakacintāmāni and the Cilappatikāram, and even gave him a handwritten manuscript to

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1 A K Ramanujan, Language and “Modernization” The Tamil Example, University of Chicago, 1968 Xeroxed, Private Distribution Only. By courtesy of the author.
take home and read, Swaminatha Aiyar devoted then the rest of his life to unearthing, editing and printing ancient Tamil literary texts.

However, it seems that we should go at least twenty years back for the true ‘rediscoverer’ of ancient Tamil literature. In 1868, Rev H Bower, an Englishman, published the first book of Ciyakacintāmami (Nāmakal Ilampakam) The Chintanam First Book Called Namagal Ilambagam, with the Commentary of Nachmarnkamin, and with analysis and notes in English, Tamil and English Indexes, and an English Introduction explaining the Jaina system on which the book is based, by Rev H Bower, with the assistance of E Multaiya Pillai. Printed by H W Laure, at the Christian Knowledge Society Press, No 18, Church Street, Vepery, 1868. Bower’s edition was of a surprisingly high standard.

Without trying in any way to detract from the great merits due to U V Swaminatha Aiyar, we have to justly admit that S V Damodaram Pillai (1823-1901) deserves equal admiration and gratitude for his editions of literary (e.g. Kalittokai, 1887) and especially grammatical texts (e.g. Viraçöiyam, 1881, Iraiyanär’s Akapporul, 1883, Tolkappiyam Porul, 1885). It was probably Damodaram Pillai more than anyone else who started the search after old manuscripts. Without doubt he was the one who was first engaged in the rediscovery of the earliest classical literature. Before him, probably nobody knew for sure about the existence of an anthology called Ettuttokai, pandits were not sure even of the famous epic, whether it was Cilappattikāram or Cittappattikāram. And worse than that, there were even doubts and suspicions as to the genuine nature and authenticity of the ancient texts, so much so that Damodaram Pillai had to write in a kind of self-defence. “Śrīmat Cāmātaryar is my witness, as I am a witness to him.” Perseverance and modesty were the two most characteristic features of this man, who was as great as Swaminatha Aiyar, but whose greatness and merits have never been truly acknowledged.

It is impossible to give a chronological or a complete list of printing works which published Tamil literature in the first half of the 19th Cent. But after 1835, there was an enormous growth of Indian-owned printing establishments in Madras and in Ceylon.

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1 U V Swaminatha Aiyar’s Autobiography (in Tamil), ed 1958, 326-43
2 Cf S Vairavpuri Pillai, Tamil selar manikal, 3rd ed 1959, 296
and foreign printers and the missions, too, began publishing Tamil literature. According to preliminary and incomplete data, in the first half of the 19th Cent, roughly until 1860, there were seventy printers in Madras and in Ceylon, publishing in Tamil.

The appearance of printing and paper, the availability of printing to Tamil editors, scholars and original authors after 1835, revolutionized the whole conception, the ways, methods and techniques of writing, and was no doubt one of the two most decisive external factors in the development of modern prose.

The second factor of utmost importance was the birth and growth of Tamil journalism. The 19th Century is the century of Tamil journalism.

At the beginning of the century, it were mission-owned and government establishments that began publishing Tamil weeklies and monthlies. The first, and at the same time typical of these Christian-oriented Tamil journals was Tamilpattirkai (alias Tamillital), established in 1831, a monthly, published by the Madras Religious Tract Society.

In 1840, a Christian-oriented journal for children was started in Nagarcoil, a quarterly under the name Pālatippikai (stopped publishing in 1852). In the same year, three other Tamil journals were founded in Madras: Missionary Glance in Nagarcoil, Friendly Instructor in Palamcottah, and Tarṇōtakam in the same place.

About six or more weeklies to monthlies to quarterlies were started between 1840-1855, in 1855, a very important weekly, the Tinavartlamam, appeared for the first time. It was published every Friday, and its founder and editor was Rev P Percival. Though Christian in orientation, this was the first full-blooded Tamil journal in its language, and in general atmosphere. It published news, pieces of ancient literature(‘), science, essays. It was supported with 200 Rs of government money per month. After Percival left, the editorship was taken over by Damodaram Pillai and later by Viswanatha Pillai.

The first period of Tamil journalism, typical for its Christian, missionary orientation,¹ and for the absence of dailies, came to an end after 1880 with the foundation of Cutēcamittirn (Swadeshamitrn), the excellent and well-known daily paper of Madras.

¹ An exception was the Lathwapōthi, founded in St Thome, Mylapore, in 1864 by the Madras Brahma Samaj, followed by Vīvēkāvilakkam, another journal of the Samaj, in 1865.
which, by its political outlook, language and cultural orientation set up an entirely different and much higher standard for Tamil journalism.

Between 1831-1880, that is in about fifty years, roughly 46 weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies were founded in Madras Presidency. Between 1880—1900, that is within twenty years alone, approximately 60 Tamil dailies to quarterlies were born. This number is rather impressive in itself. And starting with Cutēcamittirāṇi, there was place, in Tamil journalism, for regular news-editing, for political and social satire, for regular essays, and, most important of all, for the short story. Typical for the new type of periodical, devoted more to literature and culture than anything else was the monthly Nānapōthin, published since 1897 in Madras by M S Purnalingam Pillai, the author of the first history of Tamil literature. The joint editor of this—for its time quite outstanding—achievement was Suryanarayana Sastri (1871-1903), a noted poet, dramatist, journalist and scholar.

For any successful attack on the theoretical problem posed above—the origin and evolution of modern Tamil prose as such—we have to make a distinction between belles-lettres writing (prose-fiction) and all other types of prose, second, between direct influence and an accelerating impulse, a trigger-like effect.

Well-spread in time, for about seven to eight centuries, there had been a tremendous potential of Tamil prose in the writings of the commentators from the alliterative, highly ornamental prose of a Nakkirar to a comparatively simple descriptive style of Atiyārkakkunallār, there were short pieces of narrative prose as well as heavy, ornate and very learned passages of some commentaries. These sources were of course accessible only to a few individuals: traditional pandits, antiquarians, foreign scholars. But it is exactly these men who stand at the cradle of modern prose. Foreigners like Roberto de Nobili and C J Besch, traditional scholars like Minakshisundaram Pillai (1815-1876).

Mipātcicuntaram Pillai was an extremely prolific poet and translator from Sanskrit, but his poetry is now almost forgotten. His enormous importance lies in the fact that he gathered round himself a charmed circle of disciples—in the manner of a Samuel

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1 22 purānas, 10 pillaiḻamils, 11 antāts, 2 kalampakams, 7 mālaiks, 3 kōvais, 9 utās and 1 līlai.
Johnson—and some of the most distinguished scholars and prose-writers of Tamilnad owned their skill, enthusiasm and knowledge to this fascinating man—the most noted among them perhaps Thyagaraja Chettiar and U V Swaminatha Aiyar

For prose writing as such, however, a more important personality was Ārumuka Nāvalar (1822—1876) of Jaffna. The incentive for his literary activities seems to have been the religious zeal of Christian missionaries which provoked him to an attitude of fierce defence. Soon a stream of powerful Tamil prose gushed out of him, prose which was expressive, vigorous, and tolerably free of Sanskrit influence—though somewhat pedantic and dry. He established his own press in Jaffna and the books which he published—though containing perhaps childishly controversial matters—actually meant the origin of modern Tamil prose-style. His prose is very severe, spotlessly correct and very polished. He composed a Śaiva catechism, Cauvamāntai, formally based on current Roman Catholic catechisms. He was also the teacher of Percival, whom he actively helped with his translation of the Bible into Tamil. For the development of Tamil belles-lettres writing most important of his contribution is probably his very readable rendering of the Periyapurānam into prose.

Apart from these men, and a host of others who were their contemporaries and their successors, and who were nourished basically by two sources, by the medieval commentators and by early Christian missionary writings, there is yet another line of development of modern Tamil prose, entirely independent of the learned scholarly tradition.

This third line consists of prose which is a direct, simple and charmingly naive reflection of the spoken language of the 18th Century.

Anadarangam Pillai was born at Pirambūr near Madras in April 1709. His father’s brother-in-law, Nainiyappa Pillai, was a distinguished citizen of Pondichery, a wealthy merchant and a government official in the French colony. He invited Tiruvengada Pillai, the father of Anadarangam, to become his partner in business.

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1 A current saying about him was vastālam valuvinī vaivārye, “Even in abuse he would speak faultlessly.” Once, so the story goes, he went to the bazaar to buy some coconuts and asked about the price in the following manner: “Ammayē, nīvr tenkähāykalai māyal ennayamō?” Unfortunately this can be appreciated only by those who know at least some Tamil.
newcomer did very well, indeed so well that he became divan of Pondichéry. When he died, the divanship was for a short time in the hands of a Kanagaraya Mudahar, and when this man died, the French East India Company transferred the office on Anandarangam Pillai.

Under governor Joseph François Dupleix, Anandarangam acted as the Prime Minister of the French colony. He invested his money well—in textile industries, printing, and merchandise of different sort, he even owned a big ship by name of Anandappurav which carried his merchandise from European to Chinese ports. He was also a patron of literature, and we have at least three panegyric poems composed about him, one of these poems says that poets were awaiting him as peacocks await the coming of rain-clouds, as the cakravāka birds await the appearance of the moon, as the lotus awaits the rising of the sun. He was liberal not only to poets but also to temples, and founded a number of caravanserais and choultries. In 1760 the British invaded Pondichéry. Four days before this French-British war was over, on January 11, 1761, Anandarangam died.

He left behind a diary which he began writing on September 6, 1736, under the governorship of Dupleix, as the divan of Pondichéry and the governor's dubashi, interpreter. It is one of the most important documents ever written in the Tamil language from state secrets to small everyday trivia of family life, Anandarangam Pillai has captured, sometimes in details, sometimes in an almost shorthand style, the events of 25 years. Whatever he saw and heard, without adding much of his own imagination, but very lively, and obviously very truthfully the joys and sorrows of his own household, echoes of battles and policies in India and Europe, appointments and withdrawals of French officials, goings and comings of ships, festivals and ceremonies in temples and churches—it is as if one would watch a documentary movie showing the life of French Tamilnad in the middle of the 18th Century day by day.

As a historical source it is a fascinating mine of both trivial and important data. As a piece of prose it makes sometimes charming, sometimes boring reading. Some entries have dry, factological character.

"29th of April, 1745

A ship from China by name of Notre Dame de Sours. The captain's name is M. Feliçien de Sylva Medeiro. The ship brought sugar, ground-
nuts, candy, and other Chinese products. On the same day, a ship by
name of Lakshmana Prasad arrived from Tenasserim, bringing 13
elephants, the ship-master is Subha Singh

"5th of June, 1743
Today at four o’clock, they hanged, opposite the choultry, a thief who
was caught thieving in the house of a muslim in Miravell"

"3rd of Febr, 1743
In the morning at 10 o’clock a ship named Duc d’Orleans departed for
Europe. It carries bundles of washing sarees, one bunch of indigo silk
sarees, many sacks of ground nut, of kindan, of cotton cloth etc. M
Coulard also went to Europe aboard this ship"

But some of the entries read very well

"16th of Oct, 1745
Today in the evening, the Christians with their wives—the Pariahs,
Indians dressed in European garments, Whites and Tamils—all gathered
at the place where they usually come to hear their pūjā. K R Mudaliyar’s
son Asarappa Mudanhar with his wife Selvam also came to the place where
their religious ceremonies are held. The woman was all dressed in the
garments of their caste, she was heavily perfumed with many odours and
aromas, she had on a transparent muslin saree. When she approached the
honourable padre who was very near to the Swami, and as she was
kneeling deep in thought on the place where one hears the Christian
pūjā, as soon as that cloud of perfumes hit the nose of the padre, he
discarded the holy words and catching his nose he pricked her hair-knot
with a rattan cane and shouted ‘Are you a married woman? Or are you
a whore? Isn’t your husband ashamed of you? To come to church with
this muslin saree on—one can see your whole body, your breasts, and
even your hairy orifice! Get up and home with you, you virtuous one,
your mass is ended!’

All this is written in the most deliciously colloquial language
with a number of spelling errors which would offend any purist and
perfectionist, spontaneous, with a keen sense of minute observation,
here and there with a pinch of humour. A complete and good
translation of this book is badly needed.

Anandarangam Pillai’s Diary is entirely independent of the
traditional line of high Tamil prose, and it has most probably
nothing to do either with any direct impetus from French of
English literature. It seems that the only classical work of Tamil
literature the divan knew was the Tirukkural. Naturally, he knew
many languages besides Tamil, he knew Telugu, Urdu and French,
perhaps even English. But it seems that this knowledge was not
at all academic, but practical, day-to-day knowledge, and it is
almost certain that he did not know any of the literatures. His
Diary is a direct and spontaneous piece of prose-writing which had only one model: life itself. And so is its language: the written form of the day-to-day spoken Tamil of the 18th Century.

The reader was warned that an answer to the question pertaining to the origin of modern Tamil bellettristic prose would not be attempted. A few suggestions will nevertheless be made in conclusion of this chapter. As already stressed, potentially, Tamil prose has always been present in Tamil literature. Since Tamil literature starts with bardic creations, its first fruits were in form of poetry. All the world over bards sang songs, i.e.: composed poetry. But, at the same time, the syntax and the lexis of ordinary prose was developed in inscriptions. Even the Tolkāppiyam speaks of prose literature consisting of riddles and proverbs (§ 1429). Short narrative prose passages occurred in the Cilappatikāram. Narrative introductions to bardic songs were also in prose. Later, there is some Sanskritized prose in Peruntēvanār's Pārata (9th Cent.). And, finally, we come to a large, lengthy literary work in Tamil prose, the Śrīpurānam of Mantalapurutar (prob. 16th Cent.), a purāṇa of the sixty-three Jaina saints. All these facts show that there had always been in Tamil literature a perfectly adequate capacity to develop prose-writing, that there had always been a kind of accumulator of different prose-styles, narrative, descriptive, factographic and eruditory, which could generate prose if need arose.

The decisive impetus came with the tremendous impact of Europe upon India which should not be underestimated (or even rejected!). However, European influences were “more immediately effective in the social sphere” and “much less formative in the actual birth” of modern prose-fiction. If need arose, prose could be written easily—witness the eloquence of Anandarangam Pillai's Diary which is, truly enough, predominantly documentary, facto-

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1 E.g. the urapera kātturav is a piece of narrative prose. Another genuine piece of prose-fiction contained in the epic is the urappātthumata at the beginning of Canto 29, in Damielou's Engl. translation this part is found on pp. 187-189 (the syntax of this particular piece of prose is indeed awkward and cumbersome, the whole paragraph contains only one finite verb-form and an endless number of adverbial participles and infinitives).

2 E.g. the colophon to Puṣam 5

3 D. Zbavrtel, "The European impact and the chief changes in the function of literature in Asia", in The East Under Western Impact (Academia, Prague, 1967), 94-100.
graphic writing but which also contains elements of narrative prose and description in its anecdotic passages (and, what is also important, we do not know for sure that this is the only written document of that type, rather, we may hope that one day more of such "diaries" and similar documentary writings will be unearthed). When one reads, therefore, that modern Tamil prose-fiction arose and developed under decisive Western, European influence (and sometimes this implies that without such influence it would have never developed at all), one should bear in mind that this "influence" should be rather understood more generally and broadly as an "impact", for it was a diverse, far-reaching and long-term effect rather than individual, direct and absolutely decisive influence. On the other hand, it is significant, that—at least as far as we know at this stage of our knowledge—the strong "mainstream" out of which almost all if indeed not all modern Tamil prose developed was the one strong current of scholarly, commentary-like, severe, somewhat dry and pedantic prose of the savant, of the scholast, of the pundit and sage. This fact has very decisively left an imprint on almost everything written afterwards.

1 Usually, C. J. Beschi's Paramārta kurung kalai is quoted as the first work of modern Tamil prose-fiction. Constanzo Gioseffo Eusebio Beschi was born in Castiglione nelle Striviere (Venezia) on Nov 8, 1680. In 1707 he landed in Portuguese India as a member of the Society of Jesus, armed with the knowledge of Itahan, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Portuguese, Spanish, French and Persian. Soon he acquired a working knowledge of Urdu, Telugu and Sanskrit Tamil, however, became his great love. Until his death at Ambalakkadu on Febr 4, 1747, he wrote a number of grammars, dictionaries, a great and very excellent epic poem, and a small satire in prose mentioned above. The English translation appeared in London, 1822—The Adventures of Gooroo Paramartan. A tale in the Tamil language accompanied by a translation and vocabulary, together with an analysis of the first story. By Benjamin Babington.

2 D. Zbavitel, op cit
CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

TAMIL RENAISSANCE

In the second half of the 19th Century, one may discern two mainstreams in the development of Tamil bellettristic writing: one is the stream of pedantic, traditional, polished, severe scholastic writing, fed by commentatorial prose—the two greatest representatives of this style in prose are probably Ārumuka Nāvalar and somewhat later Dr U V Swaminatha Aiyar. The other—very thin, almost non-existent—is the line tending to identify written and spoken language; in the modern period, this stream begins perhaps with Arunācala Kavirāyar (1712–1779) and his Irāmanālakam, and it develops in two directions: on the one hand, in the "opera" Nanṭanār Caviṭutak Kirttana, about a poor Paraiya serf becoming a Śaiva saint, composed by Gopālakrama Pārati, and, on the other hand, in ballads like Kōvālanātasi, Rāja Tēcinku, Purānic ballads—in short, in a rich undergrowth of literature representing a charmingly naive, crude, often sentimental and silly way all spheres of life, political, social, religious—but always with sure strokes of convincing realism and in a language which is not far removed from the day-to-day spoken idiom of the Tamil masses. However, all these pieces are in verse, there is a mass of popular poetry at the beginnings of modern Tamil literature—often popular poetry which is derived from "classical" sources, but there is almost no popular prose.

Modern Tamil literature, specifically the prose, has rather tended to be nourished by scholastic food, and this high-style, academic stream became the mainstream of Tamil writing later, when it came under direct impact of English literature.

The scholastic, high-flown type of writing, is practised in the mutts, but "a slight relaxation of style, an accommodation of common speech and life, can also be traced in the pallus and the kuraṇcins", like Rājappa Kavirāyar's (1718) Kuvrālkkuravanc, or in the Mukkūltapallu. The sentiments expressed are coarse, and here and there we get a glimpse of the daily experience of genuine

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1 C and H Jesudasan, op cit p 248
folk—but the language is highly literary and even these pieces have to be considered "highbrow" literature.

It is one of the most characteristic features of modern Tamil prose that the informal, spoken, colloquial language has never become, not even in part, the language of literature. And vice versa, the formal literary language is not spoken as day-to-day informal speech by any Tamil speaker, not even by the intellectuals and highly educated who use it in writing. The diglossia—"two-language"—situation is perfectly clear-cut in Tamil. There is no analogy to the Bengali caṅsaḥbhasā, a language which is spoken and written simultaneously. There are only different types and styles and kinds of the Tamil equivalent—in the Bengali situation—to the saḍhubhasā—what is the formal, written, literary language. And then there are local and social dialects.

These two characteristic features of modern Tamil prose-writing—i.e., the fact that it was based on the model of scholastic, commentatorial literature, and the fact that it was composed in a highly formal, un-spoken language—prevailed in Tamil literature until the day of Bharati. The tremendous importance of Subrahmanya Bharati for the development of Tamil literature—both prose and poetry—lies, apart from other things, in the fact that he made an attempt to synthesize both main streams, the classical, the scholastic with the popular, the "realistic," and that he has succeeded, in the best of his writings, in having released Tamil literature from the fetters of the purāṇas and prabandhas and all those medieval genres which became inadequate to express modern consciousness and reality. But in language it is not so, Bharati's language remains—apart from a few isolated exceptions of several verb-forms—the formal, literary language, though his syntax and idioms, his choice of lexical items is almost always based on the live speech of the masses.

In the second half of the 19th Cent., the aesthetic function of literature—that is, basically, the creation of *rasa* or ‘mood’—lost its predominance, and was no longer first in the scale of values. The first function in the new hierarchy of literary values is now (once again) the didactic function. Literature should teach, inform, criticize, increase awareness, and, above all, foster the social reform.

Before Tamil writers started even to use their senses and discover and describe reality as it was around them, learning how to achieve that particular “artistic” reflection of reality in creative writing, they aspired at reforming and remaking that reality. Like in Bengal, they began their struggle against child-marriage, against the extremities of the caste-system, against decline in morality, against social oppression, for the widows’ right to remarry and, finally, against national oppression.

In 1879, the first attempt at a novel was made in Tamil writing, when Samuel Vedanayagam Pillai (1826-1889), a retired district munisif of Mayavaram, published his *Piratāpa Mutaliyār Cāntithram*. Direct stimulus for his writing the book was provided by his acquaintance with English and French literature. But—and this is very important—the experience, underlying his writing, was his own. The data, the raw material for his loosely-knit, naive and silly romance, was provided from his own rich knowledge of the facts of life. As a judge at a district court he had ample opportunity to come into touch with very real life. As far as the language and style of the book are concerned, the most important source of it is, again, the prose of the commentaries. Thus we have, in this single literary work, the three main sources of modern Tamil prose, reflected and typified, and what is true about *The Life and Adventures of Prathāpa Muddalayar* is generally true of all early modern Tamil fiction: the *subject* is provided by Indian, Tamil reality itself, and fed by the author’s own experience, the language and diction is basically that of the indigenous Tamil prose of the scholarly, academic tradition, and the direct stimulus to write, together with some minor plots and episodes, comes from the author’s Western education, provided by French and English models.

In the English preface to the 1885 edition of his novel Vedanayagam Pillai writes “My object in writing this work of fiction is to supply the want of prose works in Tamil, a want which is admitted and lamented by all.” In this preface, he also mentions the prose of the commentators. In chapter 42 of his novel we read “We have
to admit that it is a great want that Tamil does not have the *vacaya kāvīyankal*, the epics in prose, like English, French, and other languages*. He even makes the European novel responsible for the high achievements in culture and civilization of the Western nations, and he adds "Thus, as long as there will not appear prose-epics in our own languages, this country will definitely make no real progress." This is indeed not so naive as it may sound. The great novel of the 19th Century—English, French, Russian—was, in many ways, what the great epic was for feudal societies the mirror of the achievements of an entire national civilization. And one of the reasons why some ‘small’ nations were ‘small’ was the fact that they lacked this great cultural force, the national novel (this is, e.g., the view expressed several times by the sociologist, philosopher and politician, T. G. Masaryk, about the Czech community of the 19th Century) Vedanayagam Pillai was aware of this intrinsic connection between epos and novel on the one hand—cf his term *vacaya kāvīyam* “epic in prose”—and between the birth and development of the great novel and national destiny on the other hand.

His own work is rather loose in structure a string of narrations, loosely connected, or appended to the central character, who is hopelessly innocent and disarmingly naive, “a well-educated native gentleman of brilliant parts, wit and humour”. The story is told in the *Ich*-form. It is badly constructed and tedious. It is also crammed with anecdotes, and often tends to improbabilities. The didactic, preaching note is very predominant, the author makes a plea for a number of social and cultural reforms.

It is thus an approximation to a novel, a prose-epic which was written with a definite purpose in mind—“to supply the want of prose” in Tamil. In other words, Vedanayagam Pillai is not a creative writer driven by an irresistible urge to write, he writes because he wants to fill a gap in Tamil culture and society. Fortunately for Tamil writing, the stuff out of which this loose romance was made, was to a great extent real, and the eye which observed life as it was parading in the courtroom was a keen and critical eye”. The prose of Vedanayagam Pillai is not without the ornateness and stiffness characteristic for all writing of this period it is academic, pedantic, but the *suget* itself forced the writer’s hand to such extent that it is even today quite readable, “last but not least for its quaintness” (R. E. Asher) Vedanayagam Pillai was, how-
ever, more of a scholar, reformer and enthusiast than a creative writer.

An entirely different book in many respects is Rajam Iyer's Kamalāmpāḷ Caritram or "The Fatal Rumour". The story was appearing in a journal by the name of Vivēkacintāmaṇi between 1893-1895, and in 1896 it was first published as a book. Its author, Rajam Iyer, who was perhaps the greatest Tamil prose-writer of the 19th Century, was born in 1872 in Vattalakundu near Madurai. He began writing soon, and his interest in philosophy and journalism, as well as his broad, truly pan-Indian outlook, brought him into contact with Svami Vivekananda, who appointed him as editor of his Prabuddha Bhārata. Because of two articles written and published by him in the journal he was to be arrested, but when the police arrived to take him he was dead. He died two days earlier, in the 26th year of his life, in 1898.

The life was like a short brilliant flash. But his novel remains. It has all the features of a young literary genius on the threshold of true creative writing. It was not by chance that Vivekananda appointed this very young Tamil Brahmin as the first editor of his important journal Subrahmanya Bharati said that Rajam Iyer has achieved true greatness in the new field of Tamil prose, and N. Pichamurti, a well-known contemporary prose-writer and poet, says that Kamalāmpāḷ Caritram is one of the peaks of Tamil prose, the first real novel in the language.

The weak point of the novel is its plot and its solution, though there is plenty of exciting action (including robbery, arson and manslaughter). But the plot is not the most important feature of the work. What is important are the characters and the style. Rajam Iyer has—for the first time in Tamil prose-writing—created a number of characters which belong irrevocably to Tamil literature and will never disappear into oblivion. Kamalāmpāḷ, the heroine of the novel, and Ponnammāl, the lovely scandal-monger, Pēyānti Tēvañ, the robber, Amayappa Pillai, the teacher in the village school, Cuppu, the scandalous shrew who is unable to pronounce her r's correctly. A rare sense of humour pervades the book. From time to time, there are brief flashes of successful parody, biting irony and social satire. Rajam Iyer observes life as a realist, and often very critically, though, of course, he is not a "critical realist" in the strict technical sense of the term. His novel is primarily a romance, but, at the same time, there is hardly any work in Tamil
fiction which would reveal so much about life in rural India of the 19th Century. The village Brahmin community is portrayed with much precious detail and in vivid colours. Rajam Iyer’s eyes—and not only his eyes, but all his senses—are open, he sees, he listens, he even smells and touches things. And that is more than can be said about a number of modern Tamil writers.

His prose is basically rooted in the academic, commentatorial tradition, and it is profusely Sanskritized. The Sanskritization was inevitable in his case, and its absence would be unnatural, since he was writing primarily about Brahmins. On the other hand, he has introduced into his dialogues quite a number of colloquialisms and dialectisms. This mixture of highly Sanskritized language and colloquial-like, informal dialogues is quite functional in Rajam Iyer’s work, and has become the model for many modern Tamil Brahmin writers.

Let us now look somewhat closer at the work. This is Rajam Iyer’s portraiture of a village coquette. “Poṇṇammāl was a very ornamental woman. She knew well that when she walked, the whole world stood still and admired, without a twinkle of the eye, her beauty. Sometimes, as she went along, one could see how, suddenly, the following thought occurred to her. ‘Indeed, I am walking like a swan.’ At once a mixed feeling of insolence and shame was born in her, and she would walk as if treading upon fire-brands with her shapely feet, all transformed, all pretence and affectation, and people would observe her, how she stops, here and there, and then walks swiftly home.’ There is a great promise in such characterisation and description. Rajam Iyer, as pointed out above, was capable of surprising irony and sarcasm. E.g. “Muttucāmī Aiyar loved his wife passionately. He adored her. That’s why he beat her. He was unable to cope with the slightest fault in his beloved.”

His dialogues are extremely lively, they are frequently a true echo of rows between husband and wife, of village talk and gossiping at the well, and they include a great wealth of sayings, proverbs, bywords, adages, and abusive terms. “You donkey! You widow! You mirror of Yama! You buffalo! You Māṭēvi!” etc.

I think Rajam Iyer’s book, being a classic, is still the best novel ever written in the Tamil language. And it is indeed good tidings that this great book is going to be published soon in English.

1 According to personal communication by R. E. Asher (Summer, 1969), he and K. N. Subrahmanyan are currently working on a translation into English which will be published by the UNESCO.
The end of the 19th Century is characterized by a rich growth of different stylistic variants of one stylistic level—the formal, literary Tamil based ultimately upon the academic tradition which by now set definitely aside the other, non-academic line. The main stylistic variants of the formal literary language and diction have all been labelled, and they have definite characteristics. They have their origin in the last decades of the 19th Century, and in the first 15-20 years of the 20th Century, and they are all more or less alive, though deep and probably rather decisive changes have taken place in Tamil writing—both in prose and poetry—after approximately 1960, so that the general picture, painted some 80-60 years ago, now waxes and wanes and is transformed into something new (cf. Chapters 19 and 20 of this book). It seems that much that has occurred in Bengali or Marathi literature decades ago, is occurring in Tamil prose and poetry now, and that the end of this century will witness the emergence of truly creative forces in Tamil literature.

The various language-styles and styles of writing will now be discussed one by one.

The centamulnatai is the polished, strongly academic Tamil of essays and belles-lettres prose, which represents the most direct development of the medieval prose-commentaries of the pre-mangai period. This style of writing is closely connected with the establishment of the Fourth Maturai Tamil Cankam, Tamil Academy, which was founded in Madurai on Sept. 14, 1901. The greatest representant of this type of prose is undoubtedly Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, the scholar who, with Damodaram Pillai, was in the first place responsible for the rediscovery of old classical heritage, who bridged as it were the very ancient and the very new. Apart from his enormous work in the field of ancient classics, he wrote what can be probably called the foremost of Tamil biographies (about his teacher, Miivctucuntaram Pillai) and his own excellent autobiography 1 as well as some sketches and reminiscences, 2 all very engaging reading.

It was indeed a marvellous work which was done by U. V. S. Aiyar, D. Pillai, and their contemporaries and students. And yet one

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2 N<d? kanlatum kettalam, "What I saw and heard", Paflstatum putryatum, "The old and the new"
wonders if this rediscovery of the past (known as the "Tamil Renaissance"), coming as it did at a juncture when Tamil literary activities might have broken vitally with some of the aspects of this past, was—only from the point of view of the evolution of modern prose and poetry—quite fortunate. The past, however great it may be, must always be absorbed, digested, transformed and overcome. It is good to have tradition and modernity, it is bad to have only modernity and no tradition, but it is equally bad to have only tradition. For sixty years, the Tamils—with exceptions, of course—could only bow to that great, rediscovered and resuscitated, truly fascinating past, and in spite of the literary radicalism of the Thirties, signs of real change, of deep transformation and of emergence of things new are visible only now, in the decade 1960-1970.

Apart from Swaminatha Aiyar, a great number of prose-writers follow this stylistic line, the most notable among them probably Thiruvārūr Viruttācali Kāliyānacuntara Mutalhyār ("Thiru Vi Ka"), 1883-1953, Dr Somasundara Bharati, T K Chidambaranatha Mudaliar ("Tī Kē Cī"), S Vaiyapuri Pillai and K V Jagannathan. All these outstanding and important men of letters, though quite different in many aspects of their writings, have some fundamental features in common: they wrote in a more or less formal style (more formal in the case of Swaminatha Aiyar or "Thiru Vi Ka", less formal in the case of "Tī Kē Cī" or K V Jagannathan), they wrote rich, polished prose, using unhesitatingly Sanskrit and English loanwords whenever they felt it was necessary and appropriate. They were all "academic" people—most of them professionally so, all of them in outlook. Most of them were connected with the political and social life of Tamilnad. However, the most important feature common to all of them: none of these men was truly a creative writer of belles-lettres, none of them has ever produced a truly great, path-breaking piece of original, creative prose or poetry.

Love of Tamil took a strange and militant shape. Having neglected their language for four or five centuries (and preferring Sanskrit, Urdu, Telugu, Marathi and finally English to their own mother-tongue), the guilt-conscious Tamilians overdid their love of the language in a kind of jingoistic enthusiasm that has hardly any parallel in any other country. They became overconscious of the past. They found everything old good, and this tendency to exalt the old and "pure" has worked havoc in many fields—notably in the
field of the novel and the drama, but also in poetry. This brings us
to the second mainstream of modern Tamil prose-style, and
language-style, the *tāyalam* or *tāpptam* nata, i.e. the "pure",
read "purni" ("Tamil only", "Pure Tamil"), prose (and poetry) The
typical features of this style are, first, its linguistic purism—merciless
and total elimination, a real purge of Indo-Aryan, Sanskritic loan-
words, second, the removal of written Tamil from the spoken
language as far as possible, and the pretence that one day spoken
Tamil will "automatically" follow the frozen written style, third,
sterility as regards creative art, creative writing. This trend has
never produced any truly great master in the field of belletristic
prose.

As far as poetry is concerned, the situation is somewhat different,
the model which this *tāpptam* trend takes for its own to imitate
—that is the "purest" and hence most ancient poetic works of the
Tamil language—is, for certain kinds and genres of even modern
poetry, a "productive" model; that is why a man like Bharatidasan,
the most prominent exponent of "Tamil only" in poetry, was,
no doubt, a prominent poet but, even Bharatidasan—only a few
years after his death—sounds slogan-like, proclamative, flat, and
full of hollow rhetoric nowadays.

As far as this type of prose is concerned, the most influential
among the protagonists of this movement was *Marapammal Atikal*
(Svāmī Vēṭācalam Pillai, 1876–1950) "Purity should not be sacri-
ficed for the sake of effect. The free use of foreign words in a
language will ultimately lead to its degeneracy". After 1916,
Vedachalam "Tamilized" his name into Marapammal and proclaimed
himself a *svāmī* (atikal), the title of the journal he published—
*Naṇacūkaram* "Ocean of Knowledge"—was also changed, into
*Aṟṟonkkatāl* A number of Tamil scholars, writers and intellectuals
followed his example, and the "Pure Tamil Movement" gathered
strength day after day.¹

The reaction to this linguistic purism was the so-called *putumam-

¹ I would hate to be misunderstood Marapammal Atikal no doubt deserves
much gratitude for many good things he did in 1920 he founded one of the
most prolific publishing houses for Tamil classical and medieval literature,
the Thunelveli Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, in 1931 he
started a very important public library, he wanted inter-caste marriage to be
legalized, Tamil to be made one of the subjects for the B A Hons exami-
nation, etc. However, in the questions pertaining to language and literature,
his approach was, in many ways, narrow-minded, negative and sterile.
pravāla nātak, the "new manṭapravāla", a style so heavily Sanskritized that the result may be justly called a hybrid. In itself it is quite unimportant, naturally highly unpopular, and only a few Sanskrit-oriented pandits, mainly Vaisnava ācāryas, still write in this style.

The two main streams, the folk, popular tradition, and the academic, formal tradition, were, fortunately for Tamil, synthesized in the writings of Subrahmanya Bharati (1882-1921) who wrote in the first two decades of this century. In his prose and poems, we encounter the modern, the topical, the temporary and contemporary, as well as the "eternal". And it was chiefly Bharati who made Tamil adequate for all literary expression: modern journalism as well as bhakti-type lyrical poetry, short-story as well as patriotic songs, politically or philosophically oriented essay as well as epic poetry. This is his real greatness and his most important contribution. Probably he should not be regarded as the great light, the mahākāvī of modern Tamil literature, but as the great predecessor, the great path-breaker who makes ready the way for him (or them) who has (or have) yet to come. So far, there was none greater than Bharati in modern Tamil poetry, but some of the very contemporary young poets are more interesting. And Bharati—let us have the courage to admit it—does not belong to the greatest. He is not a Vyāsa, nor a Vālmīki, nor a Kampan, not even a Tagore. But he has saved Tamil from the clutches of the purānic and pedantic tradition, and to counterbalance the purist, the pedantic, the false harking back to the past, there has always been his ever-increasing influence which was felt much more strongly ten years after his death, in the Thirties, than when he was still alive.

Under his name, the true literary rinascimento in Tamil grew to important dimensions, and the marumalarcc nātak developed—the style of the renaissance. This is the only linguistic and literary trend which has produced truly creative literary personalities. The language they use is indeed formal, literary Tamil, but most of them try to come near to the phraseology, syntax and lex of the spoken, informal Tamil, as far as it is possible under the given political, social and cultural conditions.

The short story as such appeared first from the pen of V V S Aiyar (1881-1925). Among the stylists who demanded that "one

1 Manthayavakkharacryiv hātal, a collection of eight stories, written between 1910-1920
should write as one speaks” the best was probably V. Ramaswamy († 1951) The great short-story writer Putumaiippittan († 1948) should probably be not mentioned in one breath with the prolific writer of voluminous novels, R. Krishnamurti-Kalki (1899-1954) who was much more popular but no doubt much less of a true artist than Putumaiippittan. The two had however something in common: they both belonged to the marumalarcci natai line. There were tremendous differences among the writers of this group—in their subjects, ideology, political views, skills, importance and popularity, and even in their language and style. But all of them had one in common: vitality, promise, and the fact that they were writing modern fiction. And, basically, their language and diction, in spite of the differences among them and though formal and “literary”, was an echo of the spoken, live language of the people. By the Thirties, pedantic, scholarly writing was practically dead, and the purist trend was sterile.
CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE PROSE OF TODAY

The lack of literary criteria of any sort was—and to a great extent still is—one of the most striking characteristics of the modern Tamil literary scene. A true, strict, and severe literary criticism is still wanting, in spite of some very promising beginnings in this direction, as, e.g., T. M. C. Raghunathan’s evaluation of Putumappattan, his essays on literature, K. Kailasapathy’s work, a few articles by K. N. Subrahmanyan and, especially, the activities of C. S. Chellappa (b. 1912) and two groups of writers, one gathered round Chellappa’s review Eluttu, another the Kuruksêtram group.

1 Eluttu (Writing) was founded by C. S. Chellappa in 1959 as a critical review. It is to be regretted that it has ceased publishing. Chellappa also publishes books in his Eluttu Press in Madras. His is undoubtedly the most important singular attempt to introduce solid literary criticism into the Tamil scene, and, more important than that, Eluttu opened its columns to everything new, creative, experimental and fresh in Tamil writing. Its influence was decisive, but its impact was unfortunately very limited. It was read and discussed among writers and intellectuals, but it did not reach the general reader who is influenced rather by such mass-magazines as Ayantavkalan, Kalki or Kalamakal, though their literary face and taste are of immeasurably lower quality than that of Eluttu.

Also, a few publishers have made attempts at more ambitious undertakings. Apart from Chellappa’s Eluttu Press which was responsible for such extremely important publications as N. Picamul’s Kâttumpattu (Wild Duck), the excellent anthology of “New Poetry”, Putukkural (New Voices), and the highly interesting collection of interviews Etarkàka eluttuvan (why do I write), there is e.g. the experimental publishing house based on the principle of a reader’s club called Vâcaperlattam or Book venture, which has published such very interesting and outstanding books as Jânavârma’s novel Ammâ vantâl (Mother came), Ramamirtham’s novel Putra (Son), an anthology of contemporary Tamil prose and poetry, etc.

In 1968, a group of Tamil authors belonging to Trivandrum published a collection of essays, stories and poetry (including a “short novel” and a play) entitled Kuruksêtram. Most of these literary pieces are original Tamil writing, a few are translated from Malayalam. The editor of the anthology is Nakulan, himself a noted Tamil author. Some of the prose is of high quality (e.g. N. Padmanabhan’s story, and of course Maum’s stories), so are some of the essays, e.g. D. Satyanesan’s evaluation of Nacuvarikkuniyar. Probably the most important contribution to this volume are the 43 poems by Shanmuga Subbiah (Sanmukha Cuppayya) and the three poems by Hari Sreenuvasan. S. Subbiah’s poems are straightforward, powerful, witty comments on everyday life, some of them probably too simple, but a few at least have no
Apart from Chellappa’s established and influential review, there are a few other magazines which have more serious ambitions than just to entertain and make a profit. To these more serious journals belong some of the left and Marxist-oriented magazines (Tāmarai, Ārāyyca, Saraswathi) and such periodicals as Ilakkaikavattam, Tipam and Katur. A recent and very promising but short-lived addition to the number of modern-oriented, critical journals was the quarterly Natai (G Krishnaswamy, Salem), the eight or nine issues of which were of a high critical level, and the monthly of the “angry young men”, Kacatalatapara (Madras).

However, the best known and the most widely read is still accepted as the best, the immediately successful as the truly good. Hence, e.g., the novels of Akilan are recommended as outstanding literature, which they certainly are not—they just make entertaining, sometimes interesting though sentimental reading. On the other hand, any treatise on an old text like the Tirukkural or the Rāmāyana, any thin, dilute, and very familiar rhapsody on the Cilappatikāram or the bhaktas are considered, too, great literature.

In a vague sense, almost all Tamil writing of the pre-Independence period was in a way realistic, in that its subject-matter was just real life around, and humanistic, idealistic, and mildly progressive in its message. Also, it was most often rather sentimental, very domestic, and very middle-class type of writing. Compared to the neighbouring Kerala, there was practically no battle of ideologies, almost no group activity, no live ferment, no clash of ideas, methods and techniques of writing. Mutual reconciliation, full conformity and meek adaptability—these were the main features of Tamil writing, and they were considered virtues. Tamil writing itself was like a pool of stagnant, malodorous water. And the awesome exultation over the past glories of Tamil was common almost to all, and it progressively increased.

We may take as a typical instance of an immensely popular writer of mid-century R Krishnamurti, better known as Kalki.

equal in modern Tamil poetry in the forceful and yet graceful straightforwardness.

N Padmanabhan (Nilai Patmanāpan) who has a fine short story (Nāy, “1”) in the collection, published in June 1968 an ambitious novel, Talaimurukkai (Generations, 408 pp), a rather involved but truly realistic piece of prose, with a lot of local couleur, no doubt one of the most important contributions to Tamil prose in recent years.
(1899-1954). Even such fairly critical scholars as T. P. Meenakshi-
sundaran compare Kalki’s rather poor novel Alai Oca (“The Tumult
of Waves”) to Tolstoy’s supreme masterpiece “War and Peace”,
“though on a lower level” 1 And C and H Jesudasan (1961) speak
about Kalki very warmly, almost in superlatives, with almost no
really critical remarks on his very fundamental inadequacies.

Kalki was the most influential and prolific journalist of the day,
and he dominated the literary scene from the middle thirties to the
early fifties His fame and reputation rest on his voluminous
novels The best—or rather the most successful—of them are
historical romances like the Chola Ponniyum celvan or the Pallava
Cvakaamum capatam. Both these, and more so his writings based
on contemporary life like Alai Oca are just crammed with senti-
mentalism, melodrama, false romanticism, and tediously long
descriptions of love-birds in their love-nests It is all very sweet, or,
rather, sugared His characterisations are weak and shallow, his
dialogues lively but often naïve, the descriptions of sculptures or
dancing very detailed but very trivial His style is “fluent but
colourless, clear but has no individuality” 2 He was a great adaptor
in his humorous writings of his earlier period, Kalki based his
stuff on the works of Mark Twain, Jerome Klapka Jerome, and
other authors, almost unknown to the unsophisticated Tamil reader.
The situations and characters of his historical novels come mainly
from Alexander Dumas, Lord Lytton and Sir Walter Scott.

In spite of all this—or probably because of all this—he is the
masses of readers was extremely powerful Why? Because
the average Tamil reader, who was rather “weak-minded” (to
quote K N Subrahmaniam), was not prepared for anything else
The way in which Kalki plays upon the responsivenes to the
sensational and to seemingly well-built and complicated plots is
truly admirable No matter that some of his plots are quite unreal
or plainly impossible, he is always able to excite He also responds
masterfully to the sentimentality of his readers, chiefly frustrated

1 A History of Tamil Literature (1965) 182
2 Ka Naa Subramaniam, “What is wrong with the Tamil novel”, The
Sunday Standard, Nov 20, 1966 Compare his sevee but absolutely just
evaluation with the Jesudasans’ false statement (op cit p 266) “It is a
style with a distinct individuality It sparkles in the dialogues of his
characters It is quite probably the best part of his work” Contrary to this,
Subramaniam says very correctly “His style was certainly not the man in a
literary sense”
women. His social and historical fiction was written week after
week (in Anantavkatan, and later in his own journal Kalki) "with
just that element of mystery and suspense that are necessary for
the serial reader in Tamil" (K N Subrahmanyan)

To be just, in Kalki's writings there also are some praiseworthy
features, he almost always succeeds to work up an atmosphere
in his historical romances, so that the dead past comes back to life
in truly vivid colour. He never wrote a line without a careful study
of the history of the particular period with which he was dealing,
and often he went painstakingly directly to the sources, to in-
scriptions and ancient texts. His impersonal and colourless style is,
on the other hand, smooth and polished and reads well. It is easy
to read Kalki, even for a beginning student of Tamil. And, naturally,
the Tamil reader needs minimum effort to understand his writings.
This was in fact considered Kalki's greatest virtue, that he did not
burden and fatigue his readers. He also has a kind humour, which
is never loud or vulgar, his prose may be probably in one short
phrase evaluated as innocent entertainment, though, of course, its
innocence is questionable if one agrees (as I do) with Subrah-
manyan's strict pronouncement that "Kalki's Alai Oeau, the
Sahitya Akademi winning novel, is still unrivalled in the number of
words used to square inch of sentimentality on the human
scene." ¹

As far as the short story in Tamil is concerned, I must again quote
K N Subrahmanyan who is one of the few courageous and un-
compromising critics of modern Tamil writings. The short story
"continues in its sedate pattern, with the defined plot, the
leisurely narrative and the stock situations. Perhaps because
traditional thought in Tamil Nadu leans more towards a personal
philosophy than to psychology, we have in the Tamil short story
little of character probing or analysis of a situation."

The first to have written short stories in Tamil literature was
V V S Aiyar. Some of them were his inventions, some others just
adaptations, the result was the first notable collection of modern
short stories in Tamil called Mankayarkkaraciyiy kal, called thus
after its title story which is based on some events in Tamil Nadu
of Kulottunka Chola III. It is a lovely romance. Another story of

¹ Though probably some of Akila's writings ooze a greater amount of
sentiment and engender a heavier stream of words.
His is even based on modern life (*Kamalavijayam*). V V S Aiyar died in 1925—and with his and S Bharati’s attempts, the Tamil short story writing made quite a good start.

With *Putumaippittan* (1906-1948), between the thirties and the forties, the Tamil short story achieved a decided status. For a long time after him there was almost nothing which could be compared in standard to his writings.

Around the thirties, a group of writers gathered round a short-lived journal called *Manikkott*, under the leadership of a brilliant stylist, V Ramaswamy (Va Rāmacāmi Ayyankār, † 1951, “Va Rā’). *Putumaippittan* was one of them. Their achievement, in prose-writing as well as in poetry, must be considered as the peak of Tamil literary development between the two great wars. It is quite obvious, today more than ever, that almost everything which is truly creative and promising in modern Tamil belles-lettres has its roots in the short-lived (ca 1930-1940) but powerful *Manikkott* movement.

*Putumaippittan* has been recognized as a real force in Tamil writing. He was a strange and unbalanced man and writer. He probed with fearless and ruthless frankness into the failings of the society around him. The method of his writing is truly realistic and truly critical at the same time. “Innocent” and naïve romance of the Kalki type never did come his way, simply because there was no pure and naïve romance in the life which he so sharply saw, so powerfully described and so bitterly criticized. He also reinterprets mythological stories in modern light. There is humour and pathos, but more often biting satire and much distress and harshness in his prose. Of about two hundred short stories he wrote, about a dozen are indeed first class, they are the first fruits of modern Tamil fiction which one may compare with highly developed story-writing of world literature. On the other hand, there is a lot, especially among his early 1925-28 productions which is second and third-rate, imitated, even plagiarized (Maupassant, Chekhov etc.). In his late years he wrote things which leave behind nothing but bitterness, frustration, and even disgust.

Several anthologies of Tamil short stories were published more or less recently, in the original as well as in English translation, and one would expect them to be fairly representative. Let me critically evaluate the one collection which is probably the most
ambitious. It was published in 1963 under the name *The Plough and the Stars* (Asia, London), edited by K Swaminathan, Periaswami Thooran and M R Perumal Mudahar. It contains 26 short stories. However, the anthology is not a careful and truly representative one since it does not include some of the best short story writers like Maum, L S Ramamirtham or S Ramaswamy at all, it does not include any of the left-oriented realistic writers (with one exception) who were a real force between 1945-1960, like Raghunathan or Selva Raj, it does not include some of the other rather important writers like Vallikkannan, but it does include some very poor writers like Kumudmi or V S Subbiah, and it does not always include writers on the merit of their literary excellence or importance, or the fact that this or that writer would be typical for one or the other aspect of modern Tamil writing, but just because they are politically or otherwise influential (Rajagopalachari, K Santhanami).

However, even though not representative enough, this anthology may be used as a *point de départ* to discuss at least some features of contemporary Tamil prose-writing. In terms of themes, the majority of the stories deals in some way with children (one whole third of the total of the stories) the child appears in all those stories as emotionally and ethically superior to the adult, we have here a lame child, a blind child, a number of poor children, and motherless children. Also patriotic children versus their not-so-patriotic father. Child-and-father relationship occurs more frequently than child-and-mother relationship. I think that this preoccupation with children is an important and rather typical feature of modern Tamil prose-writing.

Four stories have a distinct social theme in terms “the rich” *contra* “the poor” (beggar, rikshawala, and a poor writer). No story, however, preaches revolt or revolution, though there are such stories in Tamil. The so typical and almost inevitable prostitute does, surprisingly so, not appear.

Another major group deals with problems of marriage and family-life, three stories deal with widowhood. There are no love

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1. There is a relatively very good collection of Tamil short stories, published by the Salitva Akademi in 1959 under the editorship of the late A Chudambiranatha Chettiar, entitled simply *Ciyukathal kalaiyiyam*. Why has not this short-story collection been translated in toto into English and published rather than *The Plough and the Stars*, is beyond my comprehension.
stories in the Western sense the relationship between man and woman develops either within marriage (if it at all develops1), or, if there is some attachment and affection outside marriage, the two will inevitably part. Another very typical and significant feature.

Apart from these major themes, there are some more or less interesting minor themes. Two or three stories teach some morale in one, it is "bad day-dreaming" versus "good reality", in another, patriotism is praised, in yet another, renunciation is extolled. There is a story with an anti-atheistic message. All of these "didactic" stories are very poor as belles-lettres in terms of aesthetic evaluation, and they are rather conservative in outlook.

Finally, there is a story about animals, quite a charming one. The focus of attention of the authors is thus mostly on children, on married couples, on a few socially degraded and economically poor individuals. As an exception, two swamsis (portrayed with humour and irony) figure in one of the stories.

In terms of characterization, I would classify as many as fifteen stories as poor. In two or three cases, I would say that the characterization is not bad, and in five cases it is good. In one case it is very good. The children are often better characterized than the adults.

As a rule, there is not much of a plot. A poor or a weak plot is found in about twelve stories. Four stories have no or almost no plot. In two stories, the plot is solved tragically, the central figure dies. Sometimes, the plot is rather forced and "romantic". In one or two cases, it is plainly silly. In most cases, it does not at all develop well. None of the plots is highly dramatic or striking, nothing really surprises us. Some of the plots are rather banal.

Style: first of all, the translation into English is mostly poor, and as I know from some instances (of the stories which I know in the Tamil original), it has often damaged whatever good there might have been in the original. However, even a bad translation cannot entirely kill a very good original. Four or five stories can be said to have good style, though with one or two exceptions nothing to be compared to a Ramamirtham or a Bhave. Thus we see that style seems to be the weakest point of these short stories. Some of the themes are interesting enough, some of the plots are at least promising, some of the characterizations is not bad, but in terms of style and diction, not even one fifth of the stories is really good.
Thus there are only three or at most four stories in this collection of twenty-six pieces which I would characterize as good in terms of all four features—theme, plot, characterization and style. Jeyakanthan’s “Staff of life”, Pichamurti’s “Blind girl”, probably Shankar Ram’s “Wound Can Heal Wound”, and maybe Janakiramman’s “Exultation”.

The three writers which were selected to be treated in detail in this chapter were chosen as typical, as characteristic for certain kinds of modern Tamil prose-writing. The fact that these three names were chosen as representative does not mean that these three authors represent the best in Tamil contemporary prose, or the whole gamut of modern Tamil prose-writing. Each typization presumes selection, and each representative selection means that, while a number of features or items is chosen as typical, as characteristic, a much greater number of features or items must necessarily be ignored. This is the reason why this chapter is not full of greater or lesser names and titles of books. It is a pity that it cannot be (naturally) quite anonymous.

Three authors were selected as typical of almost the whole range of modern Tamil prose—or rather, of that in contemporary Tamil prose which is valuable and full of promise for future development 1.

(The first one to be discussed is T Janakiramman. Most Tamil critics, and probably most readers, too, would agree that Janakiramman’s writings are good. That he is a good and interesting story teller. According to my opinion he is typically one of the best representatives of the prevalent, realistic, humanistic and mildly progressive trends of modern-day Tamil)

T Janakiramman was born on June 8, 1921 in Thevangudi near

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1 Since this is a delicate issue, let me repeat once more the fact that I have selected three authors for detailed discussion does not mean that there are no other good or even very good prose-writers in Tamil. Being well aware of the fact, I am inviting the wrath of many readers upon me (not to speak about the writers), yet I shall still boldly declare that I do not consider writers like Kalki, Aklaq or Vakkikannan as first-rate or even great writers. On the other hand, I have a great respect and admiration for such truly honest writers as N. Pichamurti, probably the most awe-inspiring and impressive single figure in Tamil writing today, both in the field of prose and poetry (see Chapter 20). I also admire writers and critics like C. S. Chellappa and K N Subrahmanyam, if for different reasons. I am also aware of the extremely promising younger writers and poets like Sundara Ramaswami (b. 1937), probably one of the most talented authors of the younger generation (cf his excellent short novel Oru puliyamarattu kattu. The Story of a Tamarind Tree, 1966).
Tanjavur. He is a Brahmin by caste and knows Sanskrit and English well. For years now he has been working in the All India Radio (Madras, Delhi), and has published a number of short stories, novelettes, novels, dramas and travelogues.

The best known short story collection is probably *Cwappunkā* “The Red Riksha” (1956). The two novels one should read are *Mōkamul* “The Thorn of Passions” (1961) and *Ammā vantāl* “Mother Came” (1965). A charming travelogue about Japan was published by Janakiraman in 1967 (*Uṭṭaya cūriyaṭ* “The Rising Sun”). One of his more engaging dramas is *Tāktaruṭku marantu* (1965) “The Medicine for the Doctor”.

Janakiraman is a calm and composed writer. His themes are taken from everyday life of the middle-class families in the towns of Tamil Nadu. His most progressive piece is probably a short drama called *Nāḷvwelinnalam* “Four velis of land”. But his short stories are usually not concerned with social reforms or social revolution. He speaks about social evil with mild disapproval, with a kind of dolorous smile and a sort of gentle reprimand: “This should not be done”, that is what he seems to say, “because it is sad, painful, and ugly.” But more often he is concerned with the family, with the relation between husbands and wives, between fathers and their children (a very strong motive). Beyond the family, the unit within which his characters live—and they usually do live—is the very near neighbourhood, a house with a common courtyard, a block of houses, a compound, one single narrow street of a small South Indian town, a railway compartment.

When asked why he writes he says “It is as if somebody asked me Why do you eat? For a number of reasons because I am hungry, because I enjoy it, because this or that tastes good, etc etc. I write for a number of reasons for fame, for fun, for money, a little for myself and a little for you, or just because I want to manifest the fact that I am here, and sometimes just for my own amusement—well, for a number of reasons, really, and, in fact, it is quite simple. Writing gives me much pleasure, it is composite pleasure—like the pleasure of love. There is the thrill of expectation, the pain of disappointment, the joy of union—but altogether it is a pleasure. And I write about matters I know. I never write about things I do not know.” This is the one great thing about Janakiraman and his writing: his honesty and the absence of any
kind of pretense. There is no affectation and no ostentation in him, no untruth.

His style is vivid, plastic, his language rich and colourful, though always temperate and subdued, he is not afraid to use, in the dialogues, a written reflection of the colloquial which usually happens to be the Brahmin colloquial with him.

†Mokamul (1961) “The Thorn of Passion” is a distinguished novel—one of the best ever published in Tamil. The plot, the theme, the story, even the style—almost everything in the book is really good. And yet it is not an excellent novel altogether. It suffers from the one fault that some of his writings display—verbosity and loquacity. “An otherwise good piece of fiction so thinly spun out that it runs to about 800 pages, it could have been more effective if it had been done in about a couple of hundred pages” (K N Subrahmanyam).

In this respect, Ammā vantāl (1965) “The Mother Came”, is definitely better. This is, in short, the plot. Appu, a Brahmin boy, is sent at the age of eight to a Sanskrit seminary (pālacālai) to learn the Vedas. He stays sixteen years, to master them, living on the banks of the Kāviri, in a beautiful, serene atmosphere. Appu alone does not know that his handsome, overbearing mother who appears to his mind’s eye as a luminous vision, is unfaithful to his father, in fact, she seeks vicarious atonement by turning her son to a Vedic scholar. After sixteen years Appu returns home to learn the devastating truth. Appu’s affectionate younger brothers and sisters turn out to be bastard half-brothers and half-sisters, his mother an adulteress. The short, explosive novel describes the reaction of the ardent, puritanical young Brahmin idealist to this emotional catastrophe. Seeing that his resigned, withdrawn and compassionate father ignores the aberration of his wife Appu rejects his home and goes back to the pāthaśālā whose founder and benefactoress on her death-bed makes him the joint heir to her property. Appu ends by living “in sin” with her widowed niece, a lovely and sensual woman by name of Indu.

The book’s theme is highly interesting, even great, the plot well conceived, the characterization of some figures excellent. Alankāram, the sinful mother, is indeed overwhelming. Some descriptions

†The Plough and the Stars (1963) includes Janaknaman’s story “Exultation”, pp. 76-87, and Mohphul (IV 3-4, 1968) has an English version of his story “The Temple Light”
are lovely—e.g. at the very beginning of the novel the description of the Kāviri. On the other hand, the novel has a few basic drawbacks: it has not quite escaped the curse of sentimentalism, its author, though brave enough to choose a delicate and explosive theme, is not courageous enough to be entirely frank—e.g. in dealing with Indu’s sensuality, with sex in general. There is almost no verbosity in this book, and there are some truly exciting passages, but there are also some flat and colourless parts, and some descriptions are not concrete enough. I give below the English translation of a passage which describes the first confrontation between Appu and Indu, before Appu goes back to Madras and learns the truth about his mother.

“‘She gripped his shoulders with both hands, the fingers digging into his flesh.

Her palms were hot, but the rounded, soft forearms cool on his shoulders and chest, like a tight-woven garland of chrysanthemums.

He was overwhelmed by a staggering feeling of astonishment.

Indu’s hair rubbed against his cheek, then her brows, her forehead, her lips.

A hazy chuckle from the wall. Appu stood abruptly up, pushing her aside. She got up, too, but held his shoulders tightly.

“No, Indu!”

“No to what?”

“No! No to this sin. When I think of your aunt, I feel ashamed.”

“Even now it is only aunt you can think of! Not me! Why do you keep bleating ‘sin’, ‘sin’?”

“Because this is sinful!”

“It doesn’t seem sinful to me. What is a sin? To do and say things against one’s conscience. It is you, you that I have been thinking of all these years, you that I’ve been living for! Now you know. Is it so wrong? Shouldn’t I have told you what I feel?”

“It doesn’t seem right to me, Indu. I think of you as I do of your aunt. When you touch me, I feel as if I was touching her.” Appu closed his eyes.

“You always think of her, how great she is. And you turn away from me in disgust as if you had trodden on a dead worm. If you could only realize that I am a human being too, but that you can’t!”

“I do not even think of my own sister at home as so near to me as you, Indu! I think of you as one born with me.”

“But don’t you realize now that this is not true?”

“No, I still think it is true. Nothing has changed.”

“Appu!”

“Appu!”

“Appu!”
"You talk and you don't understand, even now after I have told you all this I swear on the Vedas you study—without you, my life has no meaning at all."

He stood aghast, hurt, he could not bear this goading, this oath on the Vedas

"Never talk like this again, Indu."

"Why?"

"Don't drag in the Vedas They are like my mother to me. They are my god, my mother, they are like my mother who is god to me. Pure gold. I knew Parasu. Don't think he is dead. He is there, listening to all that you say. Doesn't it occur to you how his soul will squirm in agony hearing you? You don't think of him at all—and not only that, you dishonour him and degrade yourself, and I cannot bear to hear you babbling like this, ignoring him! And when you, in addition, swear on the Vedas, it is as if my mother had been dealt a blow, as if dust had been thrown in her face! Look here, Indu, I'd have left by now, but for your aunt. I am just waiting for her to say good-bye. You know, when I look at you, think of you, I feel happy—but I feel like crying, too. Don't be angry with me, Indu. When I go back to my mother, I should go clean in body, clean in mind. She must never think that I went to study the Vedas, but really smeared mud on my head. When you return after a bath in the Kaveri, you should not drop into a roadside tavern and drink _kallu_. I couldn't stagger in my mother's presence with a mud-stained face! When you look at me, it is as if she was looking at me! Send me home safe, Indu!"

He moved away from her and there he stood, afraid that she would follow and hold his shoulders.

Indu stood facing the wall, with the light of the lantern falling fully on her. She was not looking at the wall. She was not looking at anything. Her nose was shiny, the skin sagged beneath her eyes. She was standing there as if she was some dead body that had been stood up. Even on the face there was a deadly pallor, as if life and blood had been drained. She was like ashes.

For minutes the corpse-like apparition stood there, unmoving.

Then she knotted up her hair, and raised a finger to scratch her cheek and lip. With the look of utter blankness she crawled from one place to another, picked up the lantern, set it down by a pillar, and sitting beside another pillar, she buried her face between her knees.

Appu glanced at the door, and then went quickly up to her, she heard his footsteps and raised her head, but he did not look at her. He laid himself flat on the ground in front of her, in a full-stretch _namaskāram_. Then he rose and walked into the _pātacālar_. He spread his towel on the floor and laid down.

He was listening to suppressed sobs and moans and snivelings.

A gecko clucked from the darkness _kik-kik-kik_.

He closed his eyes and could see, in the shadows, the face of his mother."
Janakiraman is a well-established author, who has always something to say, who does not want merely to entertain or to please. The message he has to convey is always a message of goodwill, an exhortation to more humane humanity. There is a lot of misery in the world and in man's life. Do not multiply this misery. The world needs decency, charity, common sense and a lot of goodwill. This is the message of Janakiraman, a good, solid and enjoyable writer.

Jeyakanthan is quite different. A robust, energetic, and passionate man. So are his writings. Robust and passionate. An angry writer, when he began to write in the fifties. Only lately his style has mellowed and reached some stability. He was and still, to some extent, is the enfant terrible of Tamil literature, a writer whose purpose is to shock the readers—the shock being intended as a therapeutic device. He is definitely a man with a message. Things are bad and they should be changed, violently if necessary, without violence if possible.

He belongs to the young if not to the youngest generation of writers. He was born in Kadalur on May 2, 1934, and is a prolific writer who has published a large number of short stories and quite a number of novels—of very unequal quality.

Jeyakanthan seems to care much more about what he has to say than about how he says it, which does not mean that his style and language is disappointing. But he is, out of the three writers dealt with here, the least careful stylist, though some of his pages show that he is capable of formal excellence. He is always direct, quite simple and quite powerful. It is the topic, the theme, the plot, and the ideas, opinions, beliefs, the judgements which are important to him. In the best of his short stories, one feels a sure stroke of a stylist who has succeeded in getting rid of everything superfluous and redundant (quite opposite from Janakiraman). But sometimes his way of describing things is crude and raw.

He belongs to the line of critical realism symbolized by the names of Puthumanappittan and T M C Raghunathan. He does not hesitate to handle themes that were recognized as taboo, startling, even embarrassing his readers. In his early years as writer, there was much talk about his "immorality", which was, with him, nothing but absolute frankness, deadly serious, and crudely realistic, even naturalistic narration.

For the urge to write there is always some reason with Jeyakan-
than he is a rationalist who sees the chain of causes and results in
the whole sphere of life. The ultimate measure and reason of
everything is Man, even for nature, and more so for art. Art, for
him, is always full of purposes, it has always some meaning, some
sense, some message. In the story Illātatu etu ("What is lacking"),
he describes man, symbolized by a proud and successful scientist,
approached by God, who had given him too much and wants to take
back one of his senses. The man is free to choose which one he would
agree to lose. He thinks for a while and then proposes a bargain
"You can take back any sense you want, but you will give in return
something which I don't have." God—who intended to take away
the man's mind—is embarrassed. "If I take his mind, what can I
give him in return? Can I give anything? What if the thing I give
him turns out to be even more powerful? What is it that he doesn't
have? I should not have tried to talk with man in his language."
And he disappears. The man wins.

As the scientist says to God, God has no business with man, man
has work to do which may, in the end, touch God.

Life is a struggle. Especially the life of the working classes.
Jeyakanthan wants to take part in the struggle. He always enjoys
taking part in any fight.

Some of the truly Marxist ideas and methods of approach re-
maned in him from the period (about 1956-1962) when he was a
passionate and orthodox Marxist. He has lately left the camp of
Marxists and ultra-left rebels who as he says "show only the cēms" in
their writings. He is now refusing that kind of literature which
wallows in the morbid description of filth, misery, poverty and vice
to the exclusion of everything else under the pretense of being
realistic and revolutionary. According to Jeyakanthan of today
(though a decade ago he would have talked very differently, and
one can hardly predict how he will talk a decade later), these
writers who deny that there was a past in India, who see the past
as something false and absolutely rotten, are blinded fools and
perverts (kuruilarkal, acatarkal, vakkanttipppōṇavarakal). He rec-
ognizes the ideals of the past, "the pride of Indian wisdom and
the power of Indian soul. But the soul of India broke into
pieces. The life in India became an image of falsehood. In
cursing the life and pleasure while at the same time enjoying them,
the Indian became a hypocrite."
(Mauṇam oru pāsav, "Silence is a language") Thus he refuses to join the lines of those who see
only the past glories of India, for whom life is a thing of the past, and the present time means death and decay. For him, India lives, as he puts it, both in temples and in the cěrīs (low caste villages), the sanctity of the temple lives in the cěrī, and the filth of the cěrī lives in the temple (a truly dialectical approach). True literature should reflect the facts of all aspects of life in its fulness, here and now, what is important, is the present moment, the here and now of India in all its complexity. And, above all, doing away with all kinds of hypocrisy and pretence, revering the old high ideals just because they are old, and at the same time following, in practice, loose, derived, second-hand and diluted modern values. The future culture of India must reformulate ancient, traditional Indian values in the new context of social change.

Jeyakanthan prefers to think about himself as a truly critical realist, which he probably is, a fighter, not afraid of blows. Probably always sure of himself, always convinced that he is right, he most often is he always on the move. Figuratively he speaks about himself as a lover of Sarasvati, the Goddess of Art, and a son of the Goddess of Society. He has a very keen sense of future, including his own future as writer. He says about himself "I am a small drop in the great ocean which creates the world of tomorrow. My writing is just one wave in that ocean." It certainly is a powerful wave.

Contemporary Tamil prose—and I certainly do not enjoy writing this—is, on the whole, emasculated, flat, colourless, as if most of the writers were afraid of conveying their own experience of life, as if they were strangled by inhibitions when talking about matters like body and sex. Unfortunately one finds this flat, undimensional and castrated writing even when reading a description of nature, of a street, of a room, of a human being, of an event. As if these writers, as A K Ramanujan very happily put it during a private conversation, were devoid of the five senses of seeing, hearing, touch, smell and taste. One is indeed almost bound to ask if there is something wrong with the sensoric perceptions of these writers—or is it just utter lack of the pertinent vocabulary and stylistic skill?

Fortunately, there are exceptions. Some of the writings of

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1 However, the development is very uneven and full of potential dangers and pitfalls.
N. Pichamurti, K Alagiriswamy, R Shanmugasundaram, T. Janakiraman and a few others are plastic, vivid, multidimensional, sensitive to shapes, colours, sounds and smells. And a writer like Jeyakanthan is capable, in the best of his prose, to produce descriptions like the following: "He coughed again, having sat up, and then expectorated. You could really not say how old he was; he seemed ageless as eternity. His head was bare, his face silvery with unshaven hair, his forehead wrinkled. His grey eyebrows were so luxurious and drooping that they half-closed his eyes and only the pale whites were visible. His beard and the drooping flesh on his cheeks covered his face, so that one could not see where the deep wrinkles on either side of his nose began and where they ended. But his nose, broad and pointed, stood out prominently."

It is hardly possible to imagine two so different authors as Jeyakanthan, the robust fighter, and L. S. Ramamirtham, the shy, reticent Brahmin with the face of Sir Laurence Olivier. And yet both of them, like T. Janakiraman, and a number of others—C. S. Chellappa, K. N. Subrahmanyan, N. Pichamurti, K. Alagiriswamy, Chudambara Subramaniam, S. Ramaswamy, K. Ganeshalingam—have something fundamental in common apart from the fact that these writers, all of them, to a greater or lesser degree, possess, no doubt, a talent for creative writing, they mean it when they write. That is, writing for them is work, and, unlike so many contemporary Tamil "writers", they approach writing with a sense of responsibility, and with some definite intent and purport. (But whereas, e.g., Jeyakanthan is more attentive to what he says than to how he says it, and while Janakiraman probably tries to be equally careful about what he says and how, Ramamirtham, so it seems to me, is always or almost always much more on the look out for how he says it than what he says.) Hence, he is probably the best Tamil stylist of our days, also, some of his short stories—at least seemingly so—turn round banalities or trivialities. And reading Ramamirtham may become an intellectual exercise.

Both Jeyakanthan and Ramamirtham are each possessed by a particular kind of basic lunacy (I do not think Janakiraman is,

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he is too sensible and too well-balanced for that). Jeyakanthan is obsessed with the future of the world he believes he is helping to mould, more specifically, with the here and now of the India he sees and wants to change. Ramamirtham’s obsession is very different, it is the mystique of the word, in other words, he is always preoccupied with the problems of language, diction, style and writing techniques. Words, once spoken, have become cinder. But the Word that defies capture is the flame that purges. Oh, I can feel it, don’t I realise the ridiculousness of this attempt to pick out the Word from words—as ridiculous as trying to operate on the brain with a butcher’s knife or a rusty doornail? He who has been touched by the flame of the Word, he carries the fire in his heart. If you will have the Word as water, he has drunk from the Pool of Eternal Thirst. And he walks alone on his endless way—to the Word.”

In a personal interview, granted in January 1968 in Madras, he told me “I am obsessed with words. I listen to every word, contemplating its meaning and form, and the place it has in the web of life and the patterns of speech. Every word is like a precious stone. There are moments, just before the ideas, the thoughts take the final shape of words, which are like a shimmering on the brink of some explosion. I try to choose words which will bear repetition. Repeating them makes me happy. The reader should also read my sentences like that—repeating them, listening to them.”

L S Ramamirtham was born on October 30, 1916. He has a wide and deep English education. He began in fact writing in English, his English writings were recognized and published by Manjeri S. Iswaran. “I love English like a woman. I think I was happy to have read the right authors at the right moments. As far as Western writing is concerned, I might have been influenced by Tolstoy and Knut Hamsun and Hemingway.”

It was T J Ranganathan (b. 1901), one of the influential prose-writers of the older generation, who induced Ramamirtham to write in Tamil. “I have been writing for thirty-three years now. For the last ten to twelve years I have not been reading almost anything. All those three decades I was repeating myself. There is nothing new to tell.”

Ramamirtham has so far written more than one hundred short

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1 The Illustrated Weekly of India, Nov 20, 1966, p 27
2 Personal communication
THE PROSE OF TODAY

stories and two novels (Putra, 1st part 1965, Apitā, 1970). The collections of short stories comprise Jāram (1957), Italkal (1959, ‘Petals’), Paccakkanāvu (1961, ‘Green Dream’), Kankā (1962), Aṅcala (1963 ‘Gesture of Worship’) ‘Alalkal (1964 ‘Waves’) and Tayā (1966) He works in the Punjab National Bank in Madras He is very shy, very difficult to talk to The world of Ramamurtham’s stories—most of them describing the life of middle and lower classes—is often limited to just two persons: it may be husband and wife, parent and child, two friends, sometimes two people who just meet casually and a relationship develops between them—that is always of fundamental interest to Ramamurtham the relationship between two, rarely between more human beings Sometimes, he draws a whole family into the magic circle of his writing But the family seems to be the limit for him Only rarely does he deal with the relations of an individual or a group of individuals toward society, or with some total social problem; Where the problems of Jeyakanthan’s heroes are primarily social and political, arising from such phenomena as poverty, caste, social status, class struggle, occupational features, nationality, religion etc., the problems of Ramamurtham’s individual heroes are psychological, they arise from the depths of their hearts, from inner conflicts, suppressions, obsessions, passions and falsehoods The subconscious workings of the mind, the conflict within an individual—that is a frequent theme in Ramamurtham’s stories, which sometimes have only one single hero.

“What is my method? Introspection I seek for the truth in things, for the true nature of things, for the truth in myself”

In this respect, Ramamurtham’s method is very Indian indeed But then he says

“I do not believe in anything really—perhaps I am an atheist Yet, I believe—in the continuity of the race, the parents who begot me, my mother—she lives very much in me I do not identify myself with my characters They have a life of their own But at the same time, I write chiefly about myself I am very much occupied with myself Almost all my writing is in some sense autobiographical Yes, indeed, Putra is strongly autobiographical And I am writing very often about my mother She was a very unusual person Something of a queen and yet a subject Unapproachable”

The texture of his plots is really not very intricate but sometimes it is difficult to understand at once the full implications of
the interactions between the characters “Green Dream” (1961) describes, for instance, the complicated net of emotions evolving between a blind man and his wife. Parts of the story, thanks to the diction and style, have a dream-like quality of fantasy and illusion. But even single dialogues in this story have a unique force and charm.

“Other memories arose at the word “moon.” Memores of midnights when he had lain waiting on a camp cot on the veranda, in the moonlight—the awaited hand clasping his—the many times it had led him to that stagnant pond amidst the four hillocks, at the turning of the road—the dusty earth of the street sticking to the soles of his feet—the green dress fluttering against him in the wind—it was like this moment.

“Is moonlight green?”
“Green? Anyone would say it’s white, wouldn’t they?”
“Completely white?”
“Can you say whitewash is completely white? It’s a sort of whitish green.”
“Ah, I would say so.”

If it must be so, let it be whitish green. To give him the slightest occasion to imagine it completely green is enough. It was satisfying for him to imagine moonlight flowing down, green upon green, over the hillocks, the grassy fields, the lotusTank—like sap wrung from a leaf Immersed for a moment in the thought, he then asked—

“What is sunshine like?”

“Oh dear, why are you such a type today? Sunshine is white. Come inside.”

“Completely white?”
“Completely white.”

Yes, even as far as he could remember, sunshine was only white, and besides that, it burnt. If sunshine were only green!”

(Transl by Donald A. Nelson)

In “Ganga” (1962), the husband, out of disgust with everyday grey life, chases after a love-dream of childhood and adolescence. After a drastic disappointment, he returns to his wife who is the symbol and guarantee of security and sound reality. “Tarangini” (1963) describes a barren woman’s attempt to keep the affection of her husband, she loses his love at the very moment when she becomes pregnant. In “Talking Fingers” (1961) two people, a man and a woman, meet casually on a deserted road in the fields, he, a Telugu-speaking peddler selling bangles, she, a young and buxom Tamil peasant-woman, whose husband is a drinking ruffian. There and then an inner relationship arises between these two strangers—

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1 Malhotra IV 3-4 (1968) 55-62
nothing develops between them in the physical sense; only his fingers speak and a few bangles remain crushed in the dust of the road—but the story, five pages in all, is a masterpiece of Tamil prose. Who has ever seen a dusty road in India, with a hot sun in the zenith, and a strong and shapely peasant woman walking on the road in the hot dust, under that sun, will feel the immense tension pervading the story.

“Clay” (1961) describes the relationship between a family of low caste potters and the community they work for. The central idea behind the theme of “Stained Leaf” is the madness of poetry, the higher, super-realistic, trans-realistic vision of the poet against the earthy, fully realistic plane of the profane, of the vulgar. And of course the higher, ideal plane is destroyed by the vulgar. This is part of Ramamirtham’s “aristocratic” convictions and “idealistic”, Plotinus-like philosophy. The setting of the story is extra-traditionally Indian on purpose, the reality is transformed—to some extent even grotesquely (the bizarre is not strange to Ramamirtham)—into very traditional visions of the poet sun-scathed fields into moonlit pleasure-garden, stinking canal into lotus-pond, a Pariah woman into an apsarā etc. The plot is of course melodramatic, traditional, and, with a lesser writer, it could be disastrous. But here the climax and anticlimax technique is used very skilfully after a double murder, an old woman with a broom gathering rubbish for fuel, and the burning of the leaf, stained by blood. The irony of the whole event: the poet and the woman (both quite innocent) are killed with the poet’s own stylus (used for writing his verses) held in the hand of a vulgar ignoramus! Diction and style is, as always with Ramamirtham, the best feature of the story. The whole is based on contrast: the basic contrast is that of the dreamer-poet and the Pariah man of action (the poet dreams, writes down his visions, forgetting reality completely, the Pariah shouts and acts. “He came, he saw, he decided, and he killed”.) In the eyes of the Pariah, the poet is not a sensitive, innocent being, but a mad good-for-nothing idler, just squatting on the bank and grinning like a fool. The whole story is a series of flashes, how the world appears to different characters. For the Pariah woman, e.g., the world is made of sweat and sunshine and cooling, soothing water. The same reality, symbolized by the banyan leaf, appears

1 ib, 63-67.
2 ib, 52-54.
differently to the four actors: what is a piece of poetry to the dreamer and intellectual, is some four scribbles for the illiterate Pariah belle, and dry rubbish, a piece of fuel, for the old hag. And the style! The whole “physical history” of a leaf is contained in just one short sentence: “It withered in the heat, it was soaked by rain, it shivered in the wind, and became stiff with cold.” This is the description of the young woman, who “untied her sari, put down the bundle with rice, and slipped into the water... Her mind and body were entirely immersed in her bathing. In the frenzy and intoxication caused by fresh cool water crawling across her body, she beat the water with her hands and raised a curtain of ramblocks, hiding behind it, and laughing like mad, she thrust herself down upon her back into the water. Her hair untied, the flag spread and immersed in water, she flung open her arms, pressed her legs together and was floating like a cross. Her eyes twinkled, dazzled by the glare of the sun, her lips smiled, her body shone and darted beams of light like a black crystal.”

Ramamirtham’s language is extremely rich. He has at his disposal a great number of (so-called) synonyms e.g., in just four lines of “Stained Leaf”, the story just discussed, he uses four “synonyms” for “water” vellam, pūnal, tannir, jalam, each with slightly different connotation and function. Thus in itself need not be a sign of art, just of skill. Whenever necessary, he is able to use highly classical (and “pure”) Tamil words, e.g. tivalai for malai, “ramdrop, ram” (in the same story).

What is more important is the type of new and striking metaphors he employs. Two instances (as random illustrations) taken from the short story “Ganga” (1962) hearing the name of the girl Ganga in an unexpected and surprising context, thus is what the boy in the story feels kathiythil kattu cantittup poru pirantatu pōl ennul ētō nērntu vittatu (p 14) “Something happened in my heart, like the birth of a spark when a knife strikes another knife.” And a few lines further we may read avalsamiruntu enakkuk kanvkav oru vārtai varai atil kanavu alaku mērntu ennayum kanavākkhyatu “(and) when a tender word came to me from her, it was all aglow with the beauty of a dream and I, too, was made like a dream” (p 15) He is equally able to deal with the beauty of nature as well as with details of human portraiture, cf. the two following instances: “From the hair, arranged like two curved armlets on both sides of the middle parting, two loose locks parted and played
on the hillock of the forehead in the swift wind of the electric fan
A floating round mark, above the spot where the curves of her
irregular black brows began, melted in sweat, shedding its red
kunkum and casting a glow on the face” (Tayā, p 6) “Green
pastures On the grass-tips stood drops of dew A golden bow
sprouted and spread upon the mudgo above Silver laces of water
rose and descended up and down the grass-stalks, rolling about
and smoothing the bends” (Curult, p 34) Alliteration seems to
come naturally to him as well as a particular cadence and a powerful
rhythm—cf such utterances (taken at random from the novel
Putra I) as ār āram āva amara amuntu kulikka ötum yalam illavā
(p 33) ‘‘Isn’t there running water (for me) to bathe in, to be cooled
and refreshed and appeased, at the side of the village?’’, or mūla
ennattai ennun nērattukku pålavil pāṭta pāppol, ennattae paccati
nēcē naacalatu (p 45) ‘‘Like a flower, blossoming in the barren
soil, within the span of time necessary to produce this thought,
the heart melted, by the tender freshness of the thought”

When asked what are the sources of his rich, sometimes rather
profusely Sanskritized Tamil, he says “It was all in my family
It is my family heritage My grandfather was a Tamil pandit
And then, of course, experience richness of experience produces
wealth of language The nature and extent and depth of my in-
volvement, that is decisive for my diction My emotions
Sanskrit? But I do not really know Sanskrit I do not know it, but
I love the sound of it It is like heavy jewellery It has also been in
my family for ages

His writing is not very popular Sometimes he is rather difficult
to understand “Often, one gets lulled into a trance while going
through the verbal permutations he indulges in with magic effect
This seemingly undue dominance of verbal designs stands in the
way of communication when the reader is not familiar with the
technique Ramamirtham employs in expressing himself” ¹

¹ P P Sundararajan, “The Short Story in Tamil”, Indian Writing
Today, 4, p 61
obsession with the "word" drive Ramamirtham, from time to time, to the dangerous brink of pure formalism, and he is almost ready to sacrifice the subject, the theme, the meaning, on the altar of the form, ura. This has indeed happened to some extent in Putra, especially in the first half of Part I. In the prose-poetry passages he seems to have carried his experiments too far. The novel is the story of a curse, hurled by the mother upon her son.

"I am an utterance
Am I male? Or I female?
Am I she? Or he? Or it?
'Listen! To you, a son will never be born!
And even if he were, he would rot!"

This is, then, my lot, that is my destiny,
I am a curse.

I shall not be locked within one place I shall be everywhere.
I shall not be squeezed into one form, all shapes are my shape, my being
I am a WORD
the meaning of the word,
the action of the meaning,
the three merged and blended into
one trident." 1

Reading a story by Ramamirtham is always an experience, sometimes a harrowing experience, often the reader is left with painful and very disturbed feelings, sometimes he is lost, sometimes, he feels that there is a certain amount of affectation, of ostentation present in Ramamirtham's writings, he may wish that the author be more simple, more straightforward, and—more sincere.

However, Ramamirtham is a many-sided genius. He is capable, even within a single comparatively short novel as the first part of Putra, to evoke an entirely different picture.

"Blue, saffron, violet, deep yellow, green, black—she had a figure which agreed with any colour.
Aunt would open the long trunk which she used during the day as a board and take out one by one the different sauces. This was indeed their chance.

'Wear them—every day I shall only be pleased, looking at you. I can't I am beyond the age of wearing them. They cut into my flesh at the waist. You wear them—one by one. You may wear them as you

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1 At the time when this is being written and re-read (December 1969, Sept. 1972), we still wait impatiently for the second volume of this experimental and breath-taking novel.
wish—for some time to come, that is One day you will be like me’. While she was pointing out to her the beauty of a full-bodied saree, Aunt would say ‘The Goddess of Anaikkal’ And as she was showing the texture of another piece, she would say ‘Kamakshi of Kanchi’.

Uncle was sitting on the veranda, stroking his beard. She felt that he was watching her with his eyes like live embers hidden in the forest of his sloping brows. Nowadays he would not talk to her. His forehead was all in wrinkles. What was the trouble now? What new worries were vexing him? Was he putting her under a test? Or rather himself? What did he search for? What was his true intention among those thousands of thoughts hidden in his beard?"

I have yet to read another passage in modern Tamil writing like the one which follows, the sense of the passing of time is so urgent and perfect here.

"In November, a curtain of rain descending heavily upon the mango groves
Rain is streaming down everywhere, and clouds in crowds hurry across the sky
At dawns in December growing clusters of dew drops
In the soil of the earth, long tracks left by crawling snakes
Under the sacred fig-tree in the monastery, ant-hills grow daily out of its hollows
In the wells, in the spreading darkness of night, the waterlevel stands motionless and still, hiding its depths under a milky surface
Pungent unripe fruits hanging hidden in the midst of mango leaves
A flock of hawks, wings widely spread, floats in the dark blue skies,
Grating and scraping of coconuts, huge heaps of fibres under the scrapers growing day after day
The earth overgrown with green grass like a colour engraving
A white feather flashed on the green earth, fallen from the wings of a flying flock of cranes
The hissing descent of a falling star
The gentle sweet sound of the Evening Star, as she slips and falls down and springs up
Big bellies of calving cows
A solitary drop of life, oozing out of the udder and trickling down along the teat, as the eyes grow tender looking at the calves
A column of fire hot and fierce, filling to the brim the hollow of the center of a wild jumping and romping dance
The quivering and shivering heat of Summer"

My feeble attempts at alliteration cannot revoke Ramamurtham’s perfect sound magic (cf kanyu kantu kan kantu “the eye, growing tender at the sight of the calf”, or karu puralam pacwun perwayru, lit “big belly of a cow in which the embryo rolls”), observe also the technique of association, used in the passage with such skill
But reading Ramamirtham's prose is always a revelation. Among other things, a revelation of the possibilities of the Tamil language. It is Ramamirtham who has shown us what Tamil is capable of. According to the author himself, the writer and the reader, they both make the book, they both create the literary work. Ramamirtham—according to his own admission—does not write in the easy way. Sometimes—so he told me—he searches for the right mood, the right rasa, for a long time, it takes him often three, four months to finish a story.

But once you read one of his stories, you will never forget it, you want to re-read it, again and again. And that is something which can be said only about very few Tamil authors of our days.
CHAPTER TWENTY

THE "NEW POETRY"

The term New Poetry is used here in a limited and technical sense of the Tamil expression putuk kavitar or putiyak kavitar, i.e. for the works of a particular group of "new poets" who made their appearance approximately after 1958-59, and whose poems were collectively published for the first time in October 1962 in a slender yet path-breaking volume entitled Putukkuralkal "New Voices". It is therefore not used for post-Bharati Tamil poetry, not even for post-Bharatidasan Tamil poetry. I do not deal in this chapter with such influential modern poets as S D S Yogi, not even with some "young" contemporary poets like the "people's bard" Pattukkottai Kalyânacuntaram, or like the very popular Kannatácan. All these are modern poets, but not "new" poets in the sense of the term mentioned above. These modern poets may indulge in vers libre, or be fiercely politically oriented and proclaim themselves as ultra-red revolutionaries, but, in fact, there is nothing basically new, creative, and "revolutionary" about their writing. Their poetry is a sort of anaemic imitation of either Bharati or Bharatidasan or S D S Yogi.

What is meant by the term "new poetry" here is different both from the moribund orthodox pandit-like versification as well as from the sentimentally romantic outpourings of the hosts of "modern" but not "new" poets.

The "new poets" have, in fact, general features in common which distinguish their work from the rest.

1 Historically speaking, the "new poets" have a very definite line of descent which is indicated in the chart appended to this chapter and which includes, in succession, the four great names of S Bharati, Puthumaipittan, K P Rajagopalan and N Pichamurti. The other features of "new poetry" are

2 Radical break with the past and its traditions, though not a negation of the cultural heritage.

3 Disregard for traditional forms and prosodic structures, and a new utilization of basic prosodic properties of Tamil.
4 A great amount of experimentation with language and form of poetry, based on intellect, and at least some acquaintance with French, English, American etc modern poetry

5 Preoccupation with very contemporary matters and inclusion of new, hitherto ignored subjects. If traditional subjects are handled, they are treated from a new, non-traditional angle and point of view.

The beginnings of “new poetry”—if we disregard a somewhat similar intellectual and emotional milieu of some of the Siddhar poems—may be found in Subrahmanya Bharati’s (1882-1921) works, in his “prose-poetry” as well as in a few stray poems which are very striking from the point of view of form and content. Incidentally, Bharati considered himself to be a spiritual descendent of the cittar

“Siddhars many have been ere my time
I am another come to this land”

Bharati’s prose-poems and free-verse experiments opened new vistas and tried new techniques in Tamil poetry as early as during the decade of 1910-1920. Consider e.g. lines like these

Mind is the enemy within
And cuts our roots
Parasite Mind alone is the enemy
Let us peck at it
Let us tear it
Come, let us hunt it down.

One of the most amazing poems of Bharati is Ulakkuṭṭu or “The Dance of Doom” which I quote here in a good though not quite equivalent (partial) translation by Prema Nandakumar (op cit 86)

As the worlds mightily clash
And crash in resounding thunder,
As blood-dripping demon-spirits
Sing in glee amid the general rum,
To the beat and the tune
Leapest thou, Mother, in dance ecstatic
Dread Mahakali!
Chamundi! Gangah!
Mother, Mother,
Thou hast drawn me
To see thee dance!

When the demon-hosts clash

1 Transl. Prema Nandakumar, Subramania Bharati (1968) 116
CHART 17

S Bharati's
prose-poetry and poems like
Ülkkättu and Akkinnikkkuñcu

Puthumappitthan

K P Rajagopalan

N. Pichamurti

(T M C Raghunathan)

(S Vallikkannan)

C S Chellappa

(S Ramaswamy)

surrealistic
natural
description

Dharma
Sivaramu
etc

intellectual
and
metaphysical
poetry

T. K Turaiswamy
S Vatheeswaran
T S Venugopalan
etc.

C Mani
and other
experimental
poets

emotive, imagist,
symbolist trends

V Mah etc

irony, social
satire, caricature

S Vatheeswaran,
T S Venugopalan,
S Ramaswamy et al

The names are only representative of larger groups of authors
Hitting head against head,
When the knocking and breaking
Beat rhythmic time,
When the sparks from your eyes
Reach the ends of the earth,
Then is the doomed hour
Of universal death!

When Time and the three worlds,
Have been cast in a rumous heap,
When the frenzy has ceased
And a lone splendour has wakened,
Then auspicious Śiva appears
To quench thy terrible thirst
Now thou smilest and treadst with him
The blissful Dance of Life!

After Bharati, it was the versatile Putumāippitan (1906-1948) who deviated from traditional poetry, he did not live long enough to mature into a great poet, and Putumāippitan the short-story writer is no doubt more successful than Putumāippitan the poet. A direct line leads from him to T. M. C. Raghunathan who wrote a few very promising poems, but has been lately rather unproductive. K. P. Rajagopalan (1902-1944) died too young to exert any lasting influence on the present developments. There is, however, one great man who has carried on the fire of the Thirties to the post-war period. This man is N. Pichamurti (Piccamūrtti, b. 1900). He admits that he was drawn to modern poetic forms only after reading Walt Whitman. His best-known poem Kāṭṭuvāṭṭu ("Wild duck") was probably one of the decisive turning-points in the development of modern Tamil poetry.

The year 1959 may be considered as the real critical moment in these developments. In this year, C. S. Chellappa (b. 1912), himself a good prose-writer and poet, and probably the most unorthodox and modern-oriented literary critic, founded his review Elūttu, "Writing", which opened its pages for anything new and truly creative. The results of the new ferment were visible in a path-breaking and all-important slender collection entitled Putuk-kuralkal, "New Voices" (Ezhuththu Prachuram, Madras, 1962) which, besides five poems by Pichamurti and Rajagopalan, contains poems composed only between 1959-1962. This volume—apart from 63 poems by 24 poets (a selection made out of about 200 pieces published on the pages of Elūttu)—contains also a very important introduction written by C. S. Chellappa.
In addition to Pichamurti’s “Wild duck”, it is probably his *Pettukkatai Nāranan* (“Petty shopkeeper Nāranan”) which is Pichamurti’s best-known poem. It is a poem about the fall of modern man—about a mock-hero, even an anti-hero—and the disintegration of traditional values.

The stork
inside me
pecks,
I go
rashly open
a
ration shop

What is a ration shop
Set up to
Sell
Rice pure like stars
Like faultless pearls?
A sieve?
A winnowing field?
A rice-mill?
Or the woman
Who levels the floor?
There are
Three hundred people
Waiting
Before I even
Unpack
The sack
Where is the place to sift?
Where is the place to winnow?
Where is the time
To be generous and
Polite?

(Transl. K. Zvelebil)

C. S. Chellappa’s anthology contains Pichamurti’s poem *Pūkkāri* (“The flower-girl”) which shows a mature poet who has got rid of foreign influences. Below are given a few verses from parts 2 and 4 of this beautiful poem:

In the darkness of rain
In the streets
No bird

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1 Transl. S. Gopahe
Not even a fly
flying,
The clouds
Grew heavy,
The fish of rain
Jumped
Laughing lightning
Set clouds afire
Beautiful women,
Frightened and trembling,
Assembled near the fire
Embracing its warmth

The beginning of part 4 is a terrible vision of the modern, war-ridden world

The trident arose
And the universe shook
And all the world
Turned
Into a
Tent
Everywhere in the cities
Poisonous smoke
And all over the skies
Steel wings of weapons
Everywhere in the streets
Mountains of corpses

(Transl K Zvelebil)

The young authors whose poems were published in Chellappa’s anthology wanted to dissociate themselves from the stock phrases and the stock content, as well as from the “formulas” prescribing traditional forms. They refused the explicativeness and verbosisty of the old, especially medieval poetry (and in this respect, their “modernity” is a return to the unsurpassed and perfect terseness and brevity of the early classical poetry). Chellappa sees them as bearers of a revolt (purātes) of a new, different generation. If there is indeed a break with the past, if there is a clash between “tradition” and “modernity” in contemporary Tamil culture, it takes place in the writings of these “new poets.” The first of the “revolting” poems was probably Sundara Ramaswamy’s The nails of your hand:

Cut and throw off your nails—they gather dirt
Cut and throw off your nails—they gather dirt
The whole world outside is a heap of dirt
Why then should nail-corners be so fit for dirt?
"I may scratch, say I may, 
I may scratch—my enemy?"
You may scratch, you may tear apart 
In a soothing embrace 
The left arm 
Of the lovely-eyed
Will drip 
Blood

Cut and throw off the nails of your right hand 
Or else 
Forget the joys of married life 
Blood 
oozes out 
from the tender thighs 
of that darling child 
whom you lift and carry 
on your hip

Cut and throw off the nails of your left hand 
Or else 
Don’t ever more carry that child
Cut and throw off your nails—they gather dirt 
Cut and throw off your nails—they gather dirt 

"I may dig out, say I may, 
I may dig out the wax from my ears?"

You may dig out the dirt 
You may dig out the dirt 

There is a place for each and every filth 
The place may change 
And the filth move to the guts 
And go and mix with blood 
With your blood

Cut and throw off your nails—they gather dirt 
Cut and throw off your nails—they gather dirt

(Trans! K. Zvelebil)

According to Chellappa (New Voices, Introd p 10), the poem caused a furor among the readers. Most of them were shocked and disgusted.

Another important poem is C. Mami’s (Mami) Narakam (“Hell”), published first in Eluthu 43. It is a true milestone in modern Tami poetry. The minor theme—of the unfulfilled relationship between man and woman—is set within the major theme of corruption in the city (nakaram). Mami’s imagery is extremely effective, his
technique is influenced by T S Eliot. Hyperbolic abbreviation and powerful phantasy can do without much rhetoric, raw naturalism and surrealism blend in Mani's poetry. As Chellappa says, when reading the poem one gets the feeling of witnessing a movie, "a Panavision movie with stereophonic sound track". The poem has 334 lines.

"Like a dog poisoned by hunger/one roams about through endless streets" of the hellish city The city of Madras Mani describes the Marma, there are the women, whose "handfuls of tresses become stars in the southern wind, and the light of the eyes are all rainbows in the skies, and all their open lips become split hearts" There, "in the sand wounded by feet/and in the minds wounded by eyes/there are many scars"

Then follows (87-100) the well-known passage of Tamilnad of today

Tamilakam is neither in the East
Nor quite in the West
She placed the pan on the stove
But she refused to cook
Famne and loss
Are the result
She does not move foreward,
She does not go back
The present is hanging in the middle
Hardened tradition and
Settled believ
Locked from inside
Refuse to give a hand
To cut the knot
What should one do?"

(Transl K Zvelebil)

The poem's basic note is pessimistic, full of frustration, even cynical (152-161)

"One day
Unable to bear
Many-coloured sounds
Intonations of old tales
Sweet invitations of darkness
Age?
Twenty seven

---

1 S Gopalke, "New bearings in Tamil poetry", The Overseas Hindustan Times, July 26, 1960
Married?
Not yet
Whatever
I would add
Would it be
Any use?"

(Transl K Zvelebil)

The frustration and the unfulfilled man-woman relationship finds powerful expression in lines 285-300

"Anger raised at deaf eyes
With the hard pressure
Of a forefinger
He dragged
The weighted cart
Try harder bullock
He said
Stumbling Stuttering
Falling on the bed
When she
Sleep's beauty
Sulked away
In the blazing sun
Wriggling boneless
This way and that
Struggling dazed
As all women of the world
Turned witches
Feeding fury
Awakened to life
In the bewildered moment
Spent Arose Ahve
Hell
Vast Hell"

(Transl S Kokilam)

Dharmu Sivaramu from Ceylon with his surrealistic sensitivity and expression has a strong sense of form and an intimate feeling for nature. His poems are not as direct as Mani's, but his imagery is rather striking

Daybreak
On the skin of the Earth
Spreading freckles of beauty
Sun copulated
Spreading sperm
Breaking into beams
Blossoms unfold
Gangrenous worms
Gorge on wings of darkness
Birds bustle
In the wings of light

Lightning
The stretching beak
of the bird of skies
A look thrown
on the Earth by the Sun
Streams of nectar
pouring into oceans
Red sceptre
in god’s grip

Throwing stones
Why do waves
called yesterday and tomorrow
wallow and swell
in the pond of time?
Because drops of stones called today
are flung at it

Speech
Listen, beauty speaks
Tender fleshted lips
Sparkling of blood
Slyly inviting
Looks
Youth’s freshness like a
Drum
Beats at your ear-
drums
Against the walls
of flower-petals
Echoes of humming
bees die
Against the curtain of
Kisses
Speech dies
But blood speaks
Silence reverberates

(Transl. K. Zvelebil)

(Transl. S. Kokilam)
T K. Duraswami (Turaiśvāmi) is what Chellappa calles an intellectual poet. Here is one of his prose-poems, entitled 'There is nobody who would not know'.

"There is no one who would not know the house lizard which, clinging to the wall, like a dead crocodile, clad in dull brownish colour, will suddenly jump from its lurking-place without a sound at its prey.

There is no one who would not know the spider which has made its web from its spittle and, spreading its eight legs, watches motionless in the middle of the cobweb for the unfortunate butterflies and beetles which get entangled in the trap.

There is nobody who would not know that there are flies which swarm and buzz like those prophets of equality, not discriminating between cleanliness and filth, like those demons betraying knowledge, with small wings, warm-like bodies, purulent red heads, all covered with eyes.

We also know this heap of big black ants, who organize themselves in multitudes, bearing that preposterous dark red colour, and, like some hideous spreading pools, brush aside and choke those who stand in their way, hastening next minute to death."

(Transl K Zvelebil)

Probably the most talented and, at the same time, the most conscious craftsman of all the "new poets" is T. S. Venugopalan. However, according to some, S Vaitheeswaran is the best of all the lot.

S Vaitheeswaran's experimental trifle (published in Natai, 1969,4) is reproduced on the following page. The text says:

**DESIRE**

What a throbbing
rising and growing
along the
long
lo
ose
hair
reaching
the rounded back!

What follows is a short random reader of their poetry which hopefully needs no comment.

S Vaitheeswaran

**Fireflies**

In every nightly street
sprout trees of lights,
fruits of flames above
shredding milk on the ground
நந்த

முடிவு

நூற்றாண்டு

சரணம்

நூற்றாண்டு

இல்ல

நூற்றாண்டு

சுவாசனம்

செது செது
Furiously flapping
fireflies in futile strain
rise in the air and fail and fall

In demi-shadows
jasmin-mouths smell and wed,
hghtnings of teeth
and women's hair shine,
and with love's caprice
many pairs of eyes
barter and clash
and become
fireflies

(Transl. K. Zvelebil)

The same poet's "Nature" is, in the original, a very powerful poem,
I feel that the translation of this poem in particular is very difficult,
and that it does not do justice to the Tamil version

The Sun reached the sea
but
Time dragged it ashore
Fragment of a cloud
floated
as it wiped the body,
cold conquered
with spreading body
one eye winking and shut
Fire rained on Earth
as earth's skin caught
Fire

"Why a swing
for him who scorches the body?
Why a festival?
Why a golden gown
for him who tortures life?"
cursed the Earth

Suffering fell the Sun
"What can I do for nature?"
It trembled
With its hands
tore its heart
Knocked its head
against mountains
Shrieked out

"If body burns body
must soul hate soul?
If water abates fire
am I the sea's enemy?
See!” It said
as it dived into the sea

The sea enwrapped the fire

(Transl S Kokilam)

The next poem, one of the best ever written in modern Tamil poetry, was translated very well by S Gopalie

Thorn

"Shoe polish, repair",
shouted the boy
I flexed my leg
showed him
(the heel),
Scoundrel—He
Cut open my so(u)le
took out the thorn,
took to his heels,
not taking money
now,
my grief keeps raging
the thorn removed from the heel,
has moved into my soul
for good

Vatheeswaran is also capable of very short epigrammatic poetic jokes like the following two pieces.

Flesh-cart

In the flesh-cart
dragged by man
the tugging horse
said "Hi, hi, hi!"

Fear

In fear of darkness
I closed the door of my eye-lids
“Nruff!” said the
New darkness inside

T S Venugopalan is considered by some the most original and the most gifted of all ‘new poets’, the one who “has everything in him to become not only a great modern poet but a people’s poet as well” When reading his poems, one can feel how very carefully he writes—the detachment and impersonality of some of his poems remind the reader of the great achievements of classical Tamil
poetry of the 'Cankam' age Here is how he sees the Moon, a constant companion of poets in India

They call her Princess
I haven’t seen her
For many many days!
Now I met her
It was
When she fell
Pitifully
Into the well of your house
And you called out
To save her
And stretched out your hand
Then
Today in the night
In the good water well of my garden
Oh me!
Shipping out of her garments
She bent her body
And lured me
With her winking eyes
Shshshcocking!

Back with your outstretched hand!
Come back!
No Wait
Take a stone
And before Jesus comes
Throw and strike!
Let the hands of waves
Sweep away
That vile vicious glee
Off the Moon’s face

Cut off and throw away
The hands outstretched
To touch her and to lift
Her up
The leprosy of lust
Sticky and gluttonous
Will corrupt
Your form!

Shameless harlot
Look at her
The Moon

(Transl K Zvelebil)
In another poem, he addresses Śiva, the dancer of doom and destruction.

*What sense*

You burst  
With struggling curves  
Your belly turns  
Folding in  
Waves  
Why such burning fury?
What silent weight was  
Born  
In your soul and then  
Grew and crushed?  
Burning sighs

    Leapt across the larynx  
    And gurgled Why?  
    Through the corners of your mouth  
    Drips  
    The juice of the betel-leaf

And burns tender shoots  
And blackens the earth Why?  
Toothless hag’s abuse  
A little child’s hiccups  
Why did they become your speech?  

    A gopuram  
    And a few palaces  
    Shid scattered and died  
    And you  
    Though feeling the flow of time

What reason you give  
For burning poor huts  
Turning them  
Indo dust?  

    What sense has  
    Your  
    Demonic dance?

(Transl S Kokilam)

As an instance of his symbolic, “metaphysical” poetry, here is a piece called *Nāṇam* (“Enlightenment, Knowledge, Wisdom”)

The doors of the porch, frame,  
Wind breaks.
The dust of the streets
Adheres
To these
White ants
Build
Sand houses

That day
I cleaned,
Painted,
A new lock
I fixed

As of time
Turned ant
Even today
In my hand
A bucket of water,
Pail of paint,
Rags, broomstick,

Work of dharma
Service of charity
Never ends
If it ends
There is no world!  

(Transl S Kokilam)

Literary experience

Two ways
To be told
With thought
Without thinking!
A swirl or
A blind-fold

For both
The meaning
Is expressed by the poet!
Pictured by the artist!
The one who gazed
You and I only
(For shame)
Are the readers’ crowd!

(Transl S Kokilam)

Finally, a poem on sterility, in a very able translation into Engl
by S Gopale

I heard a cry
from the next door.
Sweets followed suit
The bride
in her maiden
nuptial night
grabbed her
lower abdomen.
Can you conquer time
tearing the calendar?
Why wish for ergot
without the wart
and pain attending upon it?
No use moping and mooning,
If you don’t care to see
the genuine from the fake
Not all that sprouts
is great

And an epigrammatic poem by T S Venugopalan, entitled

Old greatness
Curried mango-seed
Spoke of noble ancestry,
I planted and warted,
The vast tree
and its fruits
turned out a shadow!
Wriggled out
only
a worm!

(Transl S Kokilam)

While Vaitheeswaran is more emotional, more lyrical, more personal, more traditional, T S Venugopalan is more intellectual, more reflexive, impersonal, cooler, while Vaitheeswaran is more colourful, economical and yet rich in words, and more individual and self-centred, Venugopalan is more disciplined, sharper, less individual and more open towards society and contemporary problems. However, it is very difficult really to say—and probably it is quite unnecessary and even naive to try to—who is the better of the two. What is important is the fact that, unlike fifteen or even ten years ago, contemporary Tamil writing has at least two poets who are first-rate and full of growth and promise.

Doing away with traditional poetic forms, and trying their hand at vers libre, “prose-poetry” (vacaṇāk kavitaṁ) and other formal experiments was and still is part of the credo of the ‘new poets’; cf Elutu 61 where a “new poet” says
"A poem tied by prosody
is like the Kāviri tied by dams"

However, it seems\(^1\) that even the most “rebelhous” formal experiments of the “new poets” may somehow and to some extent be reconciled with the literary marapu or tradition. thus, e.g., the so-called centotai, i.e. verses without citkai “rhyme (initial)” and mōnas “alliteration”, may be considered a kind of vers libre, or, rather, the free-verse experiments are nothing but a kind of traditional centotai. On the other hand, the basic properties of classical and traditional poetry and prosody are used frequently even by the most “rebelhous” “new poets” simply because the features are inherently connected with the very structure and nature of Tamil phonology and syllabification, just like the notion of acaii “fundamental metric unit” is inherently connected with the very rhythm of Tamil speech. Thus, e.g., if we consider a poem like D Sivaramu’s Mūnkal (Lightning) we see a rather firm rhythmic structure in terms of the basic, “traditional” prosodic units, acaii and cir “feet” (the poem being limited to the use of the so-called iyarcir “natural feet” of two acaii each). We also unmistakenly hear the initial alliteration (mōnas) of (ka-) , placed most regularly at the beginning of each first feet of the four distichs

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kakāṇap paṟavai} & = - - - \\
\text{niṟṭum alaku} & = - - - \\
\text{kattroṇ nilattil} & = - - - \\
\text{eṟṟyum pāṟvai} & = - - - \\
\text{kattul valṟyum} & = - - - \\
\text{amṟṟil tāṟai} & = - - - \\
\text{katauḷ uṟṟum} & = - - - \\
\text{cenkōl} & - - - -
\end{align*}
\]

Even very daring instances like

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki} & \quad \text{in} \\
\text{yū} & \quad \text{the} \\
\text{vṅ} & \quad \text{que} \\
\text{lē} & \quad \text{ue} \\
\text{orē kūṭṭam} & \quad \text{one crowd} \\
\text{(Eluthu 91)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) Cf a very interesting essay on classical and modern prosody by Selvam (Celvam) in Natar, 3, April 1969
may be reconciled with tradition according to Mr Selvam, the author of the cited essay on prosody (see ft 1, 331), such formal device was well-known as a kind of citirakkam "picture-poem" (cf Tantryalankaram 68)

We are prepared to agree with this opinion to the extent that the "new poetry" is, indeed, reconcilable with Tamil tradition as far as the basic, "low-level" structural elements—i.e. the acai and the cir (foot), partly also the line (ati)—are concerned. The traditional stanzaic structures of higher levels (pā, inam) are, however, not adhered to by the "new poets". Indeed, there is one very fundamental "high-level" feature which means a definitive break with tradition as far as the "new poetry" is concerned. Since the early bardic poetry of the classical age up to the poems by Bharati, Tamil poetry has been sung or at least scanned in a sing-song manner. In some epochs and with some kinds of poetic composition, music and literature, singing and poetry became so intimately connected that the one does have hardly any existing without the other (as is the case, e.g., with the pātkams of the classical bhakti poets, or with Arunakiri's songs). The "new poetry", however, is meant to be read and/or recited, but not sung.

Another novelty of this modern and avantgarde poetry lies in the new, surprisingly effective and forcible use of the traditional material, in the new, and hence different, and most powerful, utilization and application of the basic prosodic and formal properties of Tamil poetry, not in denying and destroying them. Finally, the "new poets" strive seriously after an organic and intimate relation between form and meaning, after the unity of meaning (porul) and form (uru, uruvi, uruvam). The "new poets" are in their absolute majority no empty formalists 2. L'art pour l'artism is not their credo, though some of the very contemporary poets, like V. Mah, go rather far in their formal experiments.

To close this chapter, I shall quote a few poems by four very recent young poets, Hari Sreenivasan, Turai Seenisami, V. Mah and Shanmugam Subbiah. The choice is quite casual. The transla-

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1 We should not forget, though, that the striving after reconciliation with tradition (marapu) is a very typical pan-Indian tendency, and has been so for ages.

2 Tamil literature has known empty, unproductive and repetitive formalism for centuries. But perhaps none of the "new poets" is one of the sterile formalists.
tions are mine Let us say that these four stand for a number of other equally or probably even more important names, most of which indicate that modern Tamil literature has been finally lashed out of its lethargy, apathy and sterility

Hari Sreenivasan

Weep

Weep Weep Weep
Only if you weep you'll get milk
But
Don't forget
There's salt in tears
Beware
The milk
Will curdle

Turai Seensami

Unquenchable hunger

Like bodyless souls
Moving about
The overwhelming peace
Of pitch darkness
Makes me dazed

There is no moon
Upon the blue cake
Dots of stars are
Sugar-coated drops

I became hungry
Opening the mouth of sight
I gorged the whole night
But I am still hungry

V Mah

Question Answer?

For many days one could watch
hips and shins dancing
Everyone admired it with respect
One day one could see
thighs and nipples dance
Everyone rose in boiling wrath

She asked
How is it
that this
is
more obscene than
that?

Miri Age

Miri age is
born
Big
man's
might vanished
NOW it is
Miri peoples' time
Man I forgot
Miri men's deeds praised Hear
my crooked speech
My! When you ask how I k
NOW I am a
Miri poet

How's...?

Two sadhus were
talking
My god is a treasure!
He loves the poor and the rich alike
How's your god?

My god?
He is the Lord God of the Ecran
Who loves the screen-stars

(Transl K Zvelebil)

Sh Subbiah

To Westerners
We are not like you
who
on the one hand
wield a way to live
and on the other
dig out a grave to die
But we
we do not long for life
we do not dare to die
We are not
like you

---

1 A fine pun in the original *trvññat cattrññkal vurñpum / trvñppatik katavul tññ*
We are we—
lifelessly alive,
dying undying

(Transl. K. Zvelebil)

_Lullaby_

Why do you weep
when no one beat you?
Is it
because you hate me
that I tried
hard
that you should not be born?

Why do you laugh
when no one made you?
Is it
because you deceived me
by the joke of being born
forlorn?

(Transl. K. Zvelebil)

It is a decade now since the “new poets” began their conscious attempts to evolve a new Tamil idiom, to write, uninhibitedly, about unconventional or even prohibitive themes, to get rid of fashionable foreign influences and to create a truly modern Tamil poetry. They have not made any impact on the general public. They are almost unnoticed by the common reader, they are almost hated by the orthodox traditionalists, they are entirely ignored by most professors of Tamil and Tamil literature. And yet, as S. Gopalas rightly says,1 “compared to the growth in other branches in Tamil literature, modern Tamil poetry has taken giant strides in recent years and has come to stay”

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1 S Gopalas, “New bearings in Tamil poetry”, _The Overseas Hindustan Times_, July 26, 1969
CONCLUSION

Many unorthodox views were expressed on the preceding pages, and I am almost certain that they will meet with disapproval in some quarters. However, I strongly believe in the interpenetration of literary history and literary criticism. As Wellek and Warren rightly say, “There are simply no data in literary history which are completely neutral ‘facts.’ Value judgements are implied in the very choice of materials in the simple preliminary distinction between books and literature, in the mere allocation of space to this or that author.”¹ Let me in conclusion sum up some of the views expressed in this book, in order to facilitate the orientation of those who wish to contest them.

I have expressed the opinion that the Tolkāppiyam, as we have it today, is not an integral and untampered with text, a work of one single author, but rather the work of an entire scholastic group, with a number of additions and interpolations, the final redaction of which is comparatively late (middle of the 1st Millennium A.D.), and that, possibly, the whole third book (Porulaiśkāram) is later than the first two portions.

I disagree with the conception that early classical (Cankam) poetry was “democratic in spirit.” I believe that this poetry—the best which has ever been composed in the Tamil language—is basically aristocratic and early feudal in outlook and bardic and clannish in origin. Judging it purely aesthetically, I believe that it is fully commensurable in quality with the very peaks of world lyrical poetry, specifically of the “objective” and “professional” type.

I do not consider any of the didactic texts to be truly great literature—not even the Tirukkuṟaḻ. I believe that the “didactic heresy” was detrimental to both old Tamil poetry and the Tamil fiction of the 19th-20th Centuries.

Contrary to the opinion of traditional Tamil panditdom, I think that Ilankōvatikal’s “Lay of the Anklet” and not the Rāmāyana of the kavīcakravaṭṭa Kampāṇ is the greatest single poem in Tamil literature.

I cannot fully agree with the analysis of bhakti poetry as the

literary expression of social protest I also consider some of the cittar poets, particularly Tirumūlar and Pattinattār, as great creative poets.

I do not regard S. Bharathi as a great "world-poet" on a par with some other Indian authors such as Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, Ilāṅkō, Kampan, or even Tagore and Vāllathol.

I think that modern Tamil prose is still rather sterile, though there are a few exceptional authors and a great promise of future inventive and creative developments. For the benefit of those who want to read good modern prosateurs in Tamil I shall risk to give a list of names who I believe are truly representative of good, solid, serious, even exceptional modern Tamil writing. "Maum (the "Tirumūlar of short story writing" as Putumāppittan called him), N. Pichamurti, K. Alagriswamy, R. Shanmuga-sundaram, T. Janakiraman, S. Ramaswamy, L. S. Ramamurtiham, N. Padmanabhan.

I consider the putukkavittai movement the greatest achievement of modern Tamil poetry so far. The names which I would like to specifically mention in this connection are those of N. Pichamurti, C. Mani, S. Ramaswamy, D. Sivaramu, Vallikkannan, Harivar Sreenivasan, Shanmugam Subbiah, and, as truly outstanding, S. Vartheeswaran and T. S. Venugopalan.

I think that the critical approaches developed in Eluttu and Ilakkiya vattam by C. S. Chellappa and K. N. Subrahmanyam are basically sound and correct, though they tend to be, sometimes, too iconoclastic, too sophisticated, and too exclusive and clannish.

Finally, I think that the specific glory of Tamil literature, past and present, is in the "short form"—in lyrical poetry, short story, essay, while the novel, the drama, and great epos do not belong—owing to a complicated network of causes—to the great achievements of Tamil.

Above all I believe that the outstanding works of Tamil literature of the past, and the very interesting writings of the present times, should be translated, published and spread wide, they intrinsically belong to the literary heritage of the world and man's culture will be enriched by their general knowledge.

EPILOGUE

palar pukal naymoliy pulavarōrē
yarumperaṟu marapit perumpeyār muruka

22
"O hon
among poets with mellifluous speech
praised by many,
O Muruka, great glory,
goal of salvation so hard to reach
I came to you
seeking your feet!"
SELECT AND CRITICALLY ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON TAMIL LITERATURE IN
ENGLISH, GERMAN AND FRENCH

a General Works

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best which is available for a non-specialist

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formulations, but also a few superficial portions. Rather essayistic in parts
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than simply an inventory of items found in the book. Therefore, whenever
necessary and possible, the entries are glossed. The order of items is strictly
according to the order of the English alphabet. The unfortunately rather
frequent variation in the transcription of some names and titles is purposeful
since it reflects the actual state of affairs, and the reader should make
himself acquainted with the bewildering variety of transcriptions (and
transliterations). The principles outlined in the Note on Transliteration could
not have been adhered to strictly at this moment.

The Index comprises five parts: I Authors, II Persons other than authors,
III Titles of books (modern expository books are not included), IV Geog-
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