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Codifying beauty: on the differences of interpretation between traditional commentators concerning the last eight ‘Limbs of Poetry’ (செய்யுள் உறுப்பு) in the *Ceyyuliyal* of the *Tolkāppiyam**

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0. Introduction

This article will be devoted to a brief examination of a set of eight Tamil technical terms: {*ammai*, *aḷaku*, *tonmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyai*, *pulan*, *ilai*}, for which I am tempted to give as approximate set of English equivalents {prettiness, elegance, antiquity, shield, new-comer, agreement, clarity, reeling (as of a yarn)}, for reasons which I hope will have become clear at the end of this article. Those eight terms appear at the end of an enumeration of 34 terms which is found in the first sūtra of the *Ceyyuliyal*.¹ They are later explained in eight successive sūtra-s (see chart 2) found at the end of that same *Ceyyuliyal* (henceforth TPcey) which is the penultimate chapter among the 27 chapters (or *iyal*-s) of the *Tolkāppiyam* (henceforth T),² an ancient Tamil treatise, probably dating back to the first half of the first millenium. The T was meant to characterize both the Tamil language and its literature, and contains 1595 sūtra-s,³ when read accompanied by the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar (generally⁴ considered to belong to the 11th century), which is the most ancient preserved commentary of the T and the only one covering the whole text.⁵ Inside that commentary, the TPcey

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¹ I have presented the general organization of the *Ceyyuliyal* in Chevillard[2011] (Charts 2 and 3, p. 131) and shall take it for granted that the reader is familiar with that organization.

² The T contains three books: *Eḷuttu* (TE), *Col* (TC) and *Porul* (TP), each of them containing 9 *iyal*-s. The *Ceyyuliyal* is the 8th *iyal* of the TP.

³ Within the context of Tamil sāstric literature, a sūtra is a technical statement in verse form, but precisely understanding what is stated often requires one to remember what was stated in previous sūtra-s. See Chevillard [2009], section 13 (pp. 103-107): “The genesis of a rational universe: defining *nūl*, a sūtra style for Tamil”.

⁴ Zvelebil [1995] discusses a number of dates.

⁵ With the age of modern editing however, which can be said to start in 1847, as far as the T is concerned, a new form of “conflated” texts has progressively appeared, in which the count of sūtra-s is not based on a single traditional commentary, but on the personal “eclectic” choice of a modern editor, evaluating the (sometimes) contradictory readings of ancient commentators. This is seen for instance in the 1996 T edition which will be referred to here as TMPV (see bibliography), in

is divided into 235 sūtra-s, numbered TP310i to TP544i, and this can be contrasted with the fact that inside the commentaries of Pērācīriyar and Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar, who seem to belong respectively to the 13th and 14th centuries, the TPcey is divided into 243 sūtra-s, because eight of the textual entities which ḷampūraṅar considers as sūtra-s have been split into two by Pērācīriyar,⁶ followed by Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar.⁷ In addition to those differences in splitting, there are also differences in the interpretation of those sūtra-s (see section 4), and even in their reading, as we shall see (in sections 2 and 3) when examining the text of the eight sūtra-s devoted to the set {*ammai, aḷaku, ...*}, among which only ONE sūtra seems to have exactly the same wording in all three commentaries, namely the second one (TP537i, alias TP548p, alias TPcey236n), for which see (6a/6b). If we understand Pērācīriyar’s “reading” as a form of reinterpretative tampering with the original text, a very significant “editing” (or modification) of the “original” text done by him is seen in the first sūtra (of the group), namely TP547p, which has one more line than the corresponding sūtra in ḷampūraṅam (i.e. TP536i). That additional line (see 5b in section 2) contains the significant term *vaṅappu* “beauty”, which is placed here as a virtual hyperonym (or global designation) for all the eight terms in the set {*ammai, aḷaku, ...*}. This is not an “innovation” by Pērācīriyar, but rather a sign of the fact that he accepts, or ratifies, an existing point of view, already attested by the presence of the term *vaṅappu* (as part of an enumeration) in the fifth metrical foot of line 3 in the 43rd *kārikai* of the *Yāpparuṅkalak kārikai* (henceforth YK), a metrical compendium which seems to belong to the late 10th cent. That terse mention is expanded in the YK commentary, which might belong to the 11th century and which states:

- (1) *vaṅappu eṭṭu vakaippaṭum. ammai aḷaku toṅmai tōl viruntu iyaipu pulāṅ ilaipu eṇa.* “*Vaṅappu* ‘beauty’ is subdivided into eight, namely: *ammai, aḷaku, toṅmai, tōl, viruntu, iyaipu, pulāṅ* and *ilaipu*” (YK43, UVS[1968: 180])

This is followed by an exposition of the topic containing (a) the YK commentator’s own explanation of the eight technical terms, (b) the eight *Tolkāppiyam* sūtra-s, cited as authorities,⁸ (c) illustrations taken from existing literature, whenever deemed possible (see Chart 6 in section 4). The same phenomenon is also seen in the *Yāpparuṅkalam* (henceforth YA) and its commentary, the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti* (henceforth YV), which are probably slightly more ancient than the YK.⁹ We see indeed in the fifth line of the sūtra YA-95, the expression “*ammai mutaliya āyiru nāṅmaiyum*” [YV_1998: p. 397]), an expression to which I shall come back in the concluding section, and for which the immediate commentary is:

- (2) *ammai mutalākiya eṭṭu yāppalaṅkāramum* “the eight ornaments/embellishments (*alaṅkāram*) of metrical composition (*yāppu*), which start with *ammai*” [YV_1998: p. 397]

which we have a count of 1614 sūtra-s. Global numberings of T sūtra-s in this article are based on that TMPV edition, because of its being used in the 2000 *Index Verborum* referred to here as IVT (see bibliography).

⁶ Pērācīriyar has commented on chapters 24 to 27 of the T, and inside the editions of the T with his commentary, the TPcey sūtra-s are numbered from TP313p to TP555p. The TMPV edition (mentioned in the previous footnote) agrees five times with Pērācīriyar and three times with ḷampūraṅar, and contains therefore 240 sūtra-s. The first sūtra which is split by Pērācīriyar is ḷampūraṅar’s TP313i/T1266 (containing three lines), which corresponds to TP316p (two lines) and TP317p (one line). The seven other “split sūtra-s” are: TP349i (vs. TP353p/T1302 & TP354p/T1303); TP361i/T1315 (vs. TP366p & TP367p); TP378i (vs. TP384p/T1332 & TP385p/T1333); TP441i (vs. TP448p/T1396 & TP449p/T1397); TP446i (vs. TP454p/T1402 & TP455p/T1403); TP457i/T1414 (vs. TP466p & TP467p); TP484i (vs. TP494p/T1441 & TP495p/T1442).

⁷ We have Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar’s commentary for only part of the T, namely chapters 1 to 23 and chapter 26 (alias TPcey). Because of that discontinuity, references to his reading of the TPcey are numbered from TPcey1n to TPcey243n.

⁸ The form of the sūtra-s cited mostly fits the form found in ḷampūraṅar’s commentary.

⁹ The YK seems to be an abridgement of the YA and is attributed to the same author (Amitacākarar).

This is followed, later in the commentary by a five-page exposition [YV_1998: pp.418-422] of the topic, which contains the same fields (a), (b) and (c), already evoked for the YK commentary. A practical consequence is that a complete study of the textual variation seen in the eight T sūtra-s should be based on what appears as five independent textual sources, namely the TPI, YV, YK_com, TPs and TPn, enumerated here in an order which is not chronological but logical, because it seems unlikely that the 11th cent. commentator ḷampūraṇar has based his reading of the *Tolkāppiyam* on the 10th-11th cent. YV. However, before examining the eight sūtra-s (in section 2), it appears very necessary to start (in section 1) by a historical examination of the Tamil vocabulary for beauty, all the more since Modern Tamil partly stands as an obstacle for a clear perception: for instance, what was a less frequent term (*aḷaku*) has become today a common term, used by everyone, and what was a frequent term (*vaṇṇpu*) has become a rare literary term, these two terms being extracted from a rather extensive set of quasi-synonyms, painstakingly enumerated by traditional Tamil kōśa-s, which we shall explore briefly in section 1, and again in section 5. But before diving into that short lexicographic ex-cursus, we should also mention that the term *alaṅkāram* “embellishment /ornamentation”, seen in (2), can remind us that our set of the “Eight beauties” is, for Tamil technical literature, part of the prehistory of what will become *Aṇiyilakkaṇam* (“*alaṅkāra śāstra*, Poetics /Rhetorics, ...”), where it stands in company of other components such as the *Uvamaviyal* (25th chapter of the TP), the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* (24th chapter of the TP) and also the sub-section of the *Ceyyūḷiyal* which is devoted to the 26th “limb” of poetry, namely *vaṇṇam*, that sub-section (comprising 22 sūtras, from TP513i to TP535i) being located just before the section devoted to the set {*ammai*, *aḷaku*, ...}. Space does not permit me to do full justice to those topics, but that this should be part of a global perspective (the acquiring of which is the target of the current “work in progress”) must be mentioned.

1. The Tamil vocabulary for “beauty”

I shall start here with an examination of six sūtra-s taken from two traditional Tamil thesauri (alias *nikaṇṭu-s*, or *kōśa-s*), in order to clarify the difficulties one faces, while trying to keep a historical perspective, in the study of Classical texts, i.e. of texts which have somehow become part of a timeless and perfect “truth/reality” for the human beings who approach them. What is notoriously difficult is to cope with is the notion of “quasi-synonymy”,¹⁰ which is the First Organizing Principle of those thesauri, being pertinent for roughly 80% of their sūtra-s,¹¹ along with a Second Principle, “polysemy/homophony” (no distinction being made between the two), which is pertinent for 15% of their sūtra-s, i.e. for the greatest part of their final section.¹² The two oldest thesauri for Tamil are the *Tivākaram* and the *Piṅkalam*, dated by some in the first and the second halves of the 9th century, respectively.¹³ I shall illustrate quasi-synonymy here by means of three verses from the *Tivākaram*, found inside its 8th section, the *Paṇṇu paṇṇiya peyart tokuti* “Collection of nouns concerning ‘quality’ (*paṇṇu*)”. Those verses read (in sandhi-split form):

¹⁰ See Chevillard [2010] for a discussion of Tamil thesauri.

¹¹ Such a percentage is of course an approximation. In the *Tivākaram* (as per the 1990-1993 critical edition), we have almost 1900 sūtra-s enumerating quasi-synonymous items and divided into 10 chapters. They are followed by 382 sūtra-s dealing with polysemy/homophony, all found in chapter 11. There is finally a 12th chapter (see the following footnote).

¹² The remaining 5% in the inventory corresponds to a third type of sūtra-s, in which groups are enumerated, such as “the THREE fires”, “the NINE gems”, etc. In the *Tivākaram*, those are found in the 12th chapter.

¹³ This is of course very problematic. Zvelebil [1993, p. 562 and p.702] summarizes some of the debates.

- (3a) *ēr, vaṇappu, eḷil, yāṇar, māmai, taiyal, // kārikai, tōṭṭi, kaviṇē, viṭaṅkam, // vāmam, vakuppu, oppu, mañcu, porpu, // kāmar, aṇi ivai kaṭṭaḷaku ākum* “[The 17 words] *ēr, vaṇappu, [...], kāmar* and *aṇi*, are [synonymous with] *kaṭṭaḷaku*” (*Tivākaram*, 1397) [cf. TIV_1990, p. 461]
- (3b) *naviyē, antam, mai, pū, pai, polam, // tivi, oṇ, māṇṇu, patam, aḷaku eṇṇar* “They say that [the 10 words] *navi, antam, [...], māṇṇu* and *patam*, are [synonymous with] *aḷaku*” (*Tivākaram*, 1398) [cf. TIV_1990, p. 461]
- (3c) *vicittiram pēraḷaku* “[The word] *vicittiram* [is] great *aḷaku*” (*Tivākaram*, 1399) [cf. TIV_1990, p. 462]

It would probably be difficult to translate such statements.¹⁴ Before we try to understand what is the difference between *kaṭṭaḷaku* and *aḷaku*, which a Modern Tamil dictionary (Cre-A) explains as “shapeliness” and as “beauty”, it seems however appropriate to first provide the corresponding three verses from the *Piṅkalam*, found inside the “*mey-vakai*” subsection of its 7th chapter, the “*Paṇṇiṇceyalinṇ pakuṭivakai*”, which are:

- (4a) *ēr-um vaṇapp-um eḷil-um irāmam-um // kārikai-y-um mā-v-um ammai-y-um kaviṇ-um // ceḷumai-y-um pantam-um tēcikam-um nōkk-um // aṇi-y-um aṇaṅk-um i-yāṇar-um pāṇi-y-u(m) // mātar-u(m) māḷai-y-um cāyal-um vakupp-um // vaṇṇam-um vaḷam-um pū-v-um porp-um // cēṭ-um poṇ-ṇ-um cittiram-um pattiram-um // māmai-y-um taḷimam-u(m) mayam-u(m) mañc-u(m) // mataṇ-um pāṅk-um am-m-um cōkk-um // cuntaram-um tōṭṭi-y-um ai-y-um opp-um // antam-um oṇmai-y-um viṭaṅkam-um amalām-um kuḷar-um kōlam-um vāmam-um kānti-y-um aḷakiṇ peyar alaṅkāram-um ākum* “[The 48 words] *ēr, vaṇappu, [...], vāmam* and *kānti* are the names of *aḷaku*, and [they also mean] *alaṅkāram*”. [*Piṅkalam* 1941] (PI_1968, p. 270)
- (4b) *kommai-y-u(m) maṇṇōkaram-um cāru-v-um kūrupa* “[They also mention [the 3 words] *kommai, maṇṇōkaram* and *cāru*” [*Piṅkalam* 1942] (PI_1968, p. 271)
- (4c) *cittira(m) maṇṇōkaram cuntaram kaṭṭaḷaku* “[The 3 words] *cittiram, maṇṇōkaram* and *cuntaram*, are [synonymous with] *kaṭṭaḷaku*” [*Piṅkalam* 1943] (PI_1968, p. 271)

It is impossible within this short presentation to deal satisfactorily with so many items, although being aware of the order of magnitude of the task is important. I shall concentrate on those items which concern our core topic. Chart 1 separates the 66 distinct items into two main columns: those which are attested (according to IVT¹⁵) inside the *Tolkāppiyam* (on the right) and those which are not (on the left). Additionally, inside each column, a distinction is made between those items which are common to the *Tivākaram* (3a-3c) and the *Piṅkalam* (4a-4c) groups, and those items which are found in only one of them. Finally, inside the *Tolkāppiyam* column, a distinction is made (by means of cell-splitting) between the items (in sub-cells A, B, D & F) which “fall under” “beauty” (in a broad sense) and the items (in sub-cells C, E & G) which are not relevant for the current discussion.

66 items: (3a-3c) & (4a-4c) vocabulary	30 items found (as per IVT) in the <i>Tolkāppiyam</i> (location as per TMPV)	36 items not found in the <i>Tolkāppiyam</i>
4 head words	(A) <i>aḷaku</i> (T1263 :11, T1495 :2)	(H) <i>alaṅkāram, kaṭṭaḷaku, pēraḷaku</i>
17 items common to <i>Tivākaram</i> (3a-3c) and to <i>Piṅkalam</i>	(B) <i>aṇi</i> (T1097:32, T1211:2) ¹⁶ , <i>eḷil</i> (1196:2), <i>ēr</i> (1196:2), <i>oppu</i> (T1196, etc.), <i>kaviṇ</i> (T865), <i>porpu</i> (T819:1, T985:2), <i>yāṇar</i>	(I) <i>kārikai, tōṭṭi, mañcu, māmai, vakuppu, vāmam, viṭaṅkam</i>

¹⁴ One can however imitate them. A French equivalent would be: “Les mots ‘joli’, ‘mignon’, ‘élégant’, ‘magnifique’ [...] signifiant ‘beau’ ” and an English equivalent might be: “The words ‘pretty’, ‘nice’, ‘elegant’, ‘handsome’, ‘magnificent’ [...] mean ‘beautiful’ ”. Any native speaker of a language knows that such statements are at the same time true (in a sense) and false. And the native speaker will easily recognize a foreigner who misuses quasi-synonyms, although probably also understanding perfectly what the foreigner is trying to say while clumsily mistreating “semantic shibboleths”.

¹⁵ *Index Verborum* for the *Tolkāppiyam* prepared by Nākaracaṅ & Viṣṇukumāraṅ [2000].

¹⁶ These are attestations for the 3rd meaning (*aṅkalāṅ*) distinguished by Nākaracaṅ & Viṣṇukumāraṅ. The two other meanings distinguished by them (in T237 and T1096:28) are not relevant here.

(4a-4c)	(T863), <i>vaṅappu</i> (T862 + Pērā[T1494]) (C) <i>antam</i> ¹⁷ , <i>pū</i> ¹⁸	
11 items specific to <i>Tivākaram</i>	(D) <i>oṅ</i> (T997:4, T1452:1), <i>kāmar</i> (T1097:8), <i>māṅpu</i> (T1102:4, T1609:1) (E) <i>mai</i> ¹⁹	(J) <i>tivi, taiyal, navi, patam, pai, polam, vicittiram</i>
34 items specific to <i>Piṅkalam</i>	(F) <i>ammai</i> (T1263:11, T1494:2), <i>ai</i> (T869), ²⁰ <i>oṅmai</i> (1604:4), <i>cāyal</i> (T809, T1097, T1196), <i>cittiram</i> (T1472:6, T1481:1), <i>ceḷumai</i> (T836), <i>nōkku</i> , ²¹ <i>pāṅku</i> (T1028), <i>vaṅṅam</i> , ²² <i>vaḷam</i> (T1040:5) ²³ (G) <i>aṅaṅku</i> ²⁴ , <i>am</i> , ²⁵ <i>poṅ</i> , ²⁶ <i>mā</i> , ²⁷ <i>mātar</i> ²⁸	(K) <i>amalam, irāmam, kānti, kuḷaru, kommai, kōlam, cāru, cuntaram, cēṭu, cokku, taḷimam, tēcikam, pattiram, pantam, pāṅi, mataṅ, mayam, maṅōkaram, māḷai</i>

Chart 1: (Quasi-synonymous) items listed in *Tivākaram* (1397-1399) and *Piṅkalam* (1941-1943) under the head-words *aḷaku*, *alaṅkāram*, *kaṭṭaḷaku* and *pēraḷaku*

It is of course impossible to fully examine the 66 items appearing in the 11 cells of this chart (to which I shall refer as cell A to cell K) and I shall now return to the initial topic, starting with its low visibility inside chart 1.

2. *Ammai*, *aḷaku* and the other “styles”

We are now moving closer to examining the eight core items presented in the introduction, namely {*ammai*, *aḷaku*, *toṅmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaipu*, *pulaṅ*, *iḷaipu*}, which are, as already said, the **final** elements in an enumeration of 34 items found in the first sūtra of TPcey, where they are preceded by 26 **initial** “limbs of poetry” (*ceyyuḷ-uruppu*). A preliminary remark is that only two of these terms, namely *ammai* and *aḷaku*, are present in chart 1 (inside cells A and F) contrary to what we might have expected on the basis of the statement (1) [in section 0], which places the eight terms inside the field of *vaṅappu* ‘beauty’. An additional remark is that two of the 26 (initial) “limbs of poetry”, namely *vaṅṅam* and *nōkku*, are also seen in chart 1 (inside cell F). We might also further remark that the item *kānti* (in cell K of Chart 1), from Sanskrit *kānti* “loveliness” (alias *kāntam*) also belongs to the technical domain which we are examining, because it is the name of one of the 10 *guṇa*-s (or more precisely *pattu* āvi*) enumerated in verse 148 of the *Vīracōḷiyam* (henceforth VC), a verse

¹⁷ Inside the *Tolkāppiyam*, *antam* is used for referring to the ending of words (cf. T488:4). The meaning “beauty” (*aḷaku*) is listed inside VMTIP (p.102) as the 9th meaning of *antam* (among 25 meaning) with a citation taken from *Tēvāram* 2:66_(5): *ācai keṭuppatu nīru; antam-atu āvatu nīru*.

¹⁸ The item “*pū*” seems to be used in the T only for referring to a “flower” (*malar*). See IVT.

¹⁹ IVT mentions two meanings for *mai*, which are: *mēkam* “cloud” (T952:2) and *kurram* “fault” (T1067:2). The first one possibly evokes another designation for the cloud, i.e. *eḷili* “the beautiful one”.

²⁰ There are of course many more occurrences of *ai* in the T. See IVT, p. 99. The occurrence in T869 corresponds to the meaning *viyappu* “astonishment”.

²¹ IVT enumerates four meanings for *nōkku*: 1. *karuttu* (T578:3); 2. *kaṅpārvai* (T579:1); 3. the tenth limb of poetry (T1263:4 & T1364:2); 4. particle of comparison (T1236:2). It is unclear to me whether those meanings are relevant here.

²² The item “*vaṅṅam*” having too many occurrences in the T, it cannot possibly be examined here.

²³ The variant “*vaḷaṅ*” is found in T788:1, T836:1 and T1040:14 (to contrast with *vaḷam* in T1040:5 ?).

²⁴ The item found in T1205:1 (meaning “*pēy*”, according to IVT) is probably not relevant here.

²⁵ Unlike in the Sangam corpus, all the occurrences of “*am*” inside the T seem to pertain to the *ammuc cāriyai*, which is an “empty morph”, frequently seen in the designations of parts of plants, as in *puliyampaḷam* “tamarind fruit”. See Chevillard [2010b].

²⁶ The item *poṅ* “gold” is mentioned in T357 because of a (poetical) sandhi rule which declares it to also have the form *polam* (which is also found in our chart, in the right column, penultimate row).

²⁷ Not relevant here. See IVT, p. 267-268.

²⁸ According to IVT, the occurrences of *mātar* in T seem to have two possible meanings: “*kātal*” (in T812:1) & T1097:31) and “*peṅṅir*” (in T1452:1).

which would be a logical place for continuing²⁹ the T investigation conducted here. Before going deeper in the examination, however, I shall provide for easy reference, in chart form (see chart 2), the locations of the eight definition sūtra-s, inside the T commentaries and the commentaries to YA and YK. Those are as follows:

	TPi (Iḷampūraṇar)	TPp (Pērācīriyar)	TPn (Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar)	TMPV ³⁰	Commentary to YA-95, line 5 (YV_1998)	Comm. to YK-43 (UVS ed.) ³¹
<i>ammai</i>	TP536i	TP547p	TPcey235	T1494	p. 418	p.180
<i>aḷaku</i>	TP537i	TP548p	TPcey236	T1495	p.418-419	p.181
<i>toṇmai</i>	TP538i	TP549p	TPcey237	T1496	p.419	p.181
<i>tōl</i>	TP539i	TP550p	TPcey238	T1497	p.419-420	p.182
<i>viruntu</i>	TP540i	TP551p	TPcey239	T1498	p.420	p.182
<i>iyaiṇpu</i>	TP541i	TP552p	TPcey240	T1499	p.420	p.183
<i>pulaṇ</i>	TP542i	TP553p	TPcey241	T1500	p.420-421	p.183
<i>iḷaiṇpu</i>	TP543i	TP554p	TPcey242	T1501	p.421-422	p.184

Chart 2: Sūtra locations for the Eight “*vaṇappu-s*”, alias “*yāppalaṅkāram-s*”

The basic question which we are facing here is to try to find out what is common to those eight items and why they have been put together inside the T, at this place, as a sort of appendix. A preliminary translation for each of these terms is not attempted at this stage, but reserved for the time when we shall translate the corresponding sūtra-s. Regarding the form of these words, we are reminded here of the possible role played by **alliteration** in the terminological choices, which seems to be present in at least three pairs of terms, to which must be added the simple semantic contrast found in a fourth pair, between what is new (*viruntu*) and what is ancient (*tōl*)

- *ammai* & *aḷaku* [alliteration]
- *toṇmai* & *tōl* [alliteration]
- *iyaiṇpu* & *iḷaiṇpu* [alliteration]
- *viruntu* & *toṇmai* [simple semantic contrast]

I mention these elements before attempting any translation because alliteration is lost in translation and the iconic value of the choice of terms somehow precedes (or reinforces) their “rational” [argumentated] interpretation. Of course, when we read the T sūtra-s themselves, a number of additional oppositions will appear, and this is why it is now time to directly deal with them. I shall start with the first one, which characterizes *ammai*, and which comes in two forms, depending on whether we read that sūtra (in 5a) with Iḷampūraṇar, followed by the YA and YK commentators, and also by Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar, or whether we read it (in 5b) with Pērācīriyar. Those forms are:

(5a) *cil% mel% molīyāṇ cīr puṇaintu^ yāppin*³² // *ammai tāṇ-ē ~aṭi nimirvu* iṇru* -ē* (TP536i/YV)³³

²⁹ That investigation (which must be reserved for another article) would conduct us to a reading of the *Kāvyādarśaḥ* of Daṇḍin, on which the fifth section of the VC is based (as explicitly stated in VC149). It would also be the occasion for us to explore the 17th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NŚ), where the 10 *guṇa-s* appear (see Gosh [2007: XVII, 96-106]).

³⁰ The numbering given in this column refers to the continuous sūtra numbers given in the 1996 TMPV edition. In the small one-volume edition by Ca.Vē. CUPPIRAMAṆIYAṆ [2008], the numbering for those eight sūtra-s goes from T1491 to T1498.

³¹ In Pālraḷ [2007], the page references are respectively: p.283, p.283-284, p.284, p.284-285, p.285, p.285, p.285-286 and p.286-289.

³² YV: 1c & 1d: *cīritu nuvaliṇ*.

(5b) *vaṇappu* iyal* ^tāṇ -ē vakukkum^ kālai+ // cil% mel% molīyāṇ+ ^tāya paṇuvalōṭu* // ammai tāṇ-ē ~aṭi nimirvu* iṅru* -ē* (TP547p)

Before attempting any translation, I shall start by examining the vocabulary of these two fragments of text, paying due attention to the common elements and to the differences. The core statement in both version contains a subject “*ammai tāṇ-ē*” and a predicate “*aṭi nimirvu* iṅru* -ē*”. The statement predicated is the absence (*iṅru* = “there-is-no”) of “*aṭi nimirvu*” in the “[style called] *ammai*”, if we take as a temporary working hypothesis the global interpretation that {*ammai, aḷaku, toṇmai, tōl, viruntu, iyaiṇ, puḷaṇ, iḷaiṇ*} are the designations of eight possible “styles”³⁴. Concerning “*aṭi nimirvu*”, where *aṭi* is “metrical line” and *nimirvu* is “out-stretching”, all commentators seem to agree that it concerns the number of lines, which is modest in the case of *ammai*. This is the contrary of the (fourth) style, called *tōl*, which has *aṭi nimirntu* “out-stretched [in terms of] metrical lines” in one of its two possible characterization, as we shall see later (cf. 8a and 8b). It should be added that the opposition is probably not binary, and that we possibly have three options:

<i>aṭi nimirvu* iṅru</i>	<i>ammai</i>	short
<i>aṭi nimirntu</i>	<i>tōl-A</i> [type 1]	long
NOT SPECIFIED	other styles	normal length

Chart-3: (Polarity-1) *aṭi-nimirtal* “line-[count]-outstretching”³⁵

The core characterization, common to all commentators, is preceded by a specification, which introduces the first difference concerning specifically *ammai* between ḷampūraṇar and Pērācīriyar:

- ḷampūraṇar specifies *ammai* by a complex verbal predicate *puṇaintu^ yāttal* in the oblique form *puṇaintu^ yāppiṇ*, where *yāppu* is “act-of-composing-OBL” and the converb *puṇaintu* is “having adorned” or “having plaited”
- Pērācīriyar introduces the notion of *tāya paṇuval* “intermittent threaded-discourse” (here with the comitative case *-ōṭu*), where *paṇuval* (litt. “thread”) is a metaphorical designation for a composition, and *tāya* is the relative participle of *tāvutal* “to jump”, which is meant by Pērācīriyar to indicate that we do not deal here with single stanza composition.

Finally, these discordant segments are preceded by a noun phrase *cil% mel% molīyāṇ* (in the instrumental) and by an unmarked noun *cīr*, which are common to both commentators. The head noun *molī* “word” of the noun phrase is specified by two adjectives *cil* “few” and *mel* “soft”. The

³³ The meaning of the diacritics (“%” for nasalisation, “^” for assimilation, “*” for elision, “~” for glides, “+” for *mikutaḷ* and for *valittalvikāram*, etc.) used in the splitting of the sandhi for this citation (and others) is explained in details in Chevillard [1996: 18-19]. In this particular case, the underlying (metrically split) text for which the diacritical marks provide a phonetically reversible interpretation is: *cīṇmeṇ molīyāṇ cīrpuṇain tiyāppi // ṇammai tāṇē yaṭinimir viṇrē*.

³⁴ In Chevillard [2011: 131 (chart 3)], I have (prematurely, as it seems to me now) referred to them as the “Eight (minor) **genres**”, but given the fact that, all in all, the system seems to have been unsuccessful, if we compare it with the system found in the successive treatises of the *Pāṭṭiyal* type (see Chevillard [2014]), the designation “genre” may not be really appropriate. I shall however postpone such a discussion to the concluding section of this article.

³⁵ That parameter is also used in TP452i, which deals with *koccala v-oru-pōku* (a sub-group in the description of the *kali* meters), and in TP484i, which is the last inside a group of three *sūtra*-s dealing with *paṇṇatti*, for which an alternate designation is *aṭi nimir kiḷavi*.

noun phrase (*cil% mel% molijāṇ*) in the instrumental points to the material cause (“by using a few soft words”) and the unmarked noun *cīr* “metrical foot” points to the result of the action of poetical composition: words are transformed/plaited into those regular elements called metrical feet. The net result is that we can now translate ḷampūraṇar’s sūtra, previously given in (5a), as:

(5c) “The [style called] *ammai*, in the composition of which one plaits a few soft words into metrical feet, is without line-[count]-outstretching” (translation of 5a)

In order to translate (5b), we must however deal with one more line, namely *vaṇappu* iyal* ^tāṇ -ē vakukkum^ kālai*. The central expression is here *vaṇappu* iyal*, which seems intended as the designation of a (miniature/ embryonic) sub-section, and looks like a Tamilized form of *alaṅkāra*³⁶ *śāstra* “science of [literary] ornamentation”. While reading Pērācīriyar’s commentary for this sūtra, it appears that, unlike ḷampūraṇar who always gives as examples “individual verses” (*taṇic ceyyu!*), as we shall see later in chart 6 (section 4), Pērācīriyar thinks that the final 8 “limbs of poetry” are different from the initial 26 “limbs” because they are applicable to a type of poetry called *toṭarnilaicceyyu!* “compositions by sequence” in which many individual verses follow each other.³⁷ That sequential type possesses sub-types, named by him, and *tāya paṇuval* “intermittent threaded-discourse” is one of them.³⁸ Coming back to the question of defining *ammai*, the point which must be grasped in Pērācīriyar’s perspective is that the absence of “line-[count]-outstretching” now applies to the individual components of the *tāya paṇuval*, and not to the *tāya paṇuval* as a whole. This is my justification for translating thus:

(5d) When one establishes sub-divisions pertaining to the science of ornaments/beauty, along with [the other characteristics of an] intermittent threaded-discourse, [whose elementary constituents are made] by means of a few soft words, the [style called] *ammai*, is without line-[count]-outstretching” (translation of 5a)³⁹

We now proceed with an examination of *aḷaku*, which is the only one among the eight sūtra-s, on which both commentators agree on a reading. The text is:

(6a/6b) *ceyyu!% molijāṇ+ cīr puṇaintu^ yāppiṇ // av vakai tāṇ -ē ~aḷaku* eṇappaṭum -ē*
(TP537i/TP548p/YV)

There is however a difference in the interpretation because Pērācīriyar uses the presence of the words “*avvakai*” on line 2 for justifying his interpretation that this applies to anthologies (*tokainilaic ceyyu!*).⁴⁰ As far as the other elements are concerned, the only difference with the characterization of *ammai* comes from the presence of *ceyyu!% molī* “poetical words”, which probably indicates that

³⁶ I use the Sanskrit term *alaṅkāra* here because it was found in (2) and in (4a).

³⁷ Ganesh Iyer, who edited Pērācīriyar’s commentary in 1943 thinks that this is problematic because there is no definition of *toṭarnilaic ceyyu!* in the T. See his remarks in p. 203 (footnote 1) and p. 612 (footnote 2).

³⁸ While commenting on the following sūtra (TP548p), Pērācīriyar will mention another sub-type, called *tokainilaic ceyyu!* “anthology”.

³⁹ According to Pērācīriyar, this applies to each of the eighteen minor anthologies. See Chart 6.

⁴⁰ This seems to show that Pērācīriyar’s classificatory system is not identical with the one seen in the *Vīracōḷiyam*, where VC178 distinguishes *muttakam*, *kuḷakam*, *tokai nilai* and *kāppiyam*. A more detailed comparison is of course required.

the whole range of the four types of possible words is used, for which the detail was given in TC391i.⁴¹ Possible translations are therefore:

- (6c) “A subdivision, in the composition of which one plaits [all possible] poetical words into metrical feet, is fit to be called *aḷaku*” (translation of 5a)
- (6d) “Those subdivisions [accumulated in anthologies], in the composition of which one plaits [all possible] poetical words into metrical feet, are fit to be called *aḷaku*” (translation of 5b)

A possible counterpart to the *aḷaku* style-element, if we anticipate on what is to come, is the *pulaṅ* style-element/Polarity_2, which is the seventh in the list and for which I shall provide translation twins in (11cd), because of the difference of reading between ḷampūraṅar and Pērācīriyar. That provides us with two possible charts:

<i>ceyyu!% moḷiyāṅ</i>	<i>aḷaku</i>	sophisticated vocabulary
<i>terinta moḷiyāṅ</i>	<i>pulaṅ</i> -1 (ḷam.)	normally understandable vocabulary

Chart-4a (Polarity-2): “choice of words”
[as per ḷampūraṅar]

<i>ceyyu!% moḷiyāṅ</i>	<i>aḷaku</i>	sophisticated vocabulary
<i>cēri moḷiyāṅ</i>	<i>pulaṅ</i> -2 (Pērā.)	popular vocabulary

Chart-4b (Polarity-2): “choice of words”
[as per Pērācīriyar]

Here also, we can of course imagine a possible non-binary opposition, with three degrees (“popular”, “normal” and “refined”), but such a consideration is probably best left for the conclusion.

3. From *toṅmai* to *īḷaipu*

We have now reached the third element of the list and are again faced with a difference in reading, although not a consequential one. The text of the sūtra reads:

(7a) *toṅmai tāṅ -ē collum^ kālai // ~uraiyoṭu puṅarnta paḷaimai mēṛru* -ē* (TP538i/YV⁴²)

(7b) *toṅmai tāṅ -ē // ~uraiyoṭu puṅarnta paḷamai mēṛru* -ē* (TP549p)

The designation itself, *toṅmai* “antiquity”, is semantically transparent, referring to old narrations, if we are to believe the commentators, who seem to be unanimous in saying that *toṅmai* is exemplified by (re)-tellings of the Rāmāyaṇa (*irāma caritam*), of the Mahabharata (*pāṅṭava caritam*),

⁴¹ Those four types of words are: *iyarcol*, *tiricol*, *ticaiccol* and *vaṭacol*. Interestingly, the word-for-word commentary by Peracīriyār (as seen in the 1943 edition by Ganesh Iyer) starts with “*tiricol payilātu ...*”, with a footnote (by the editor) suggesting an emendation to “*tericol payilātu ...*”. That emendation is incorporated in the main text of the 2003 (*Tamiḷ man patippakam*) edition.

⁴² *toṅmai tāṅ -ē // ~uraiyoṭu puṅarnta paḷaimai mēṛru* -ē*.

or of other ancient stories (cf. Chart 6). In addition to that indication of content, there is however the presence of a more formal element, because of the presence of the word *urai*, which seems to point to the use of prose. My translations for 7a and 7b are as follows:

- (7c) When telling some “antique” (*toṅmai*), [let it be] about “ancient story” (*paḷaimai*) and combined⁴³ with “prose telling” (*urai*)
- (7d) The “antique” (*toṅmai*), [is] about “ancient story” (*paḷamai*) and combined with “prose telling” (*urai*)

Based on that, we might hesitate between two possible polarities in which to include the style-element *toṅmai*, one being based on the subject content,⁴⁴ which will most directly contrast it with the style-element *viruntu*, still to be examined (see, infra, 9a and 9b), and the second one being based on a formal criterion. I summarize those polar oppositions in the charts (5a) and (5b):

<i>paḷaimai mēṛru</i>	<i>toṅmai</i>	re-telling of antique stories
<i>putuvatu puṇainta yāppiṅ</i> OR <i>putuvatu kiḷanta yāppiṅ</i>	<i>viruntu</i>	new topic
<i>viḷumiyatu nuvaliṅum</i>	<i>tōl-A</i>	sublime topic

Chart-5a (Polarity-3a): “subject matter”
[OLD vs. NEW (vs. SUBLIME)]

<i>urayoṭu puṇarnta</i>	<i>toṅmai</i>	combined with prose
	<i>all the other style-elements</i>	pure verse

Chart-5b (Polarity-3b): “vehicle of expression”
[prose vs. verse]

We have now reached the fourth “style-element”, to which the T has given the enigmatic designation of *tōl*, which I shall discuss in a forthcoming ex-cursus (see section 5). I have already mentioned *tōl* while discussing *ammai* and included it in Chart 3, in order to illustrate “polarity-1”. The difference between the readings ḷampūraṇar and Pērācīriyar is small, being limited to the choice between attributing the characterization of “*tōl*” either to the *tol% neṛip pulavar* “traditional scholars/poets” (lit. “scholars/poets of the ancient path”) or to the *tol% moḷip pulavar*, “poets/scholars of yore” (lit. “poets/scholars whose words are ancient”) but I shall duplicate the text nevertheless, for the sake of clarity:

(8a) *iḷumeṅ moḷiyāṅ viḷumiyatu nuvaliṅum // paranta moḷiyāṅ aṭi nimirntu* oḷukiṅum // tōl eṅa moḷipa tol% ^neṛi+ pulavar* (TP539i)

(8b) *iḷumeṅ moḷiyāṅ viḷumiyatu nuvaliṅum // paranta moḷiyāṅ aṭi nimirntu* oḷukiṅum // tōl eṅa moḷipa tol% moḷi+ pulavar* (TP550p/YV)

⁴³ This can be compared with the quadruple characterization of *urai* in TP475i, which is provided because of the fact that *urai* is one of the seven subdivisions (more precisely *eḷu nilam* “seven loci”) of poetical composition (see TP384i).

⁴⁴ The concern for the subject matter also applies to *tōl-A*.

The important element to be noted here is that this characterization is TWOFOLD (as agreed by all commentators): a composition may fall under the style-label *tōl* either **(A)** because of the condition stated in line 1, or **(B)** because of the condition stated in line 2.

- In the first case, the subject matter which is expounded/uttered/desired (*nuvalutal*) will be “sublime” (*viḷumiyatu*) and the words (*moḷi*) used will have the quality of “being sweet/mellifluous” (*iḷum-eṇal*)
- In the second case, there will a flowing (*oḷukutal*) characterized by (metrical)-line-outstretching (*aṭi-nimirtal*) [caused] by spreading words (*paranta moḷi*).

When it comes to proposing an illustration, however, there are striking differences between the two commentators because ḷampūraṇar is satisfied with giving as illustration individual poems (see Chart 6) whereas Pērācīriyar expects more complex compositions, belonging to a type which he calls *poruṭoṭarnilai* (= *poruḷ* ^toṭar nilai*) “semantically sequential”,⁴⁵ the difference between (A) and (B) being explained by him as having to do with meter (see Chart 6). My translation will not try to go to that level of over-interpretation. It is as follows:

(8cd) (A) Whether one desires to expound a sublime topic with mellifluous words, or **(B)** whether there is a regular flow, outstretching line [after line], because of spreading words, scholars/poets of the ancient path (OR poets/scholars whose words are ancient) call that *tōl* (“shield”).⁴⁶

We have now reached the fifth style-element, called *viruntu* “new-comer, guest”, which has already been evoked while discussing *tonmai* (see chart 5a). The only difference between the commentators (if we except their constant difference of interpretation) is seen in the use of *puṇaital* (already seen in 5a) and *kiḷattal* “to utter”.

(9a) *viruntu* -ē tāṇ -um // putuvatu puṇainta yāppiṇ mērrē* (TP540i/YV)

(9b) *viruntu* -ē tāṇ -um // putuvatu kiḷanta yāppiṇ mērrē* (TP551p)

(9cd) The [designation] *viruntu* is applied to a poetic composition which is newly plaited (9a) [or “newly uttered” (9b)]

Three more items remain to be examined, among which the first and the last will be cryptic, and the middle one has been partly elucidated. What makes the first one cryptic (for an outsider) is that it presupposes a familiarity with the TE, alias *Eḷuttatikāram*, first book of the T, where we are told, in sūtra TE78i, that the only possible consonants in word-final position are: ṇ, ṇ, n, m, ṇ, y, r, l, v, ḷ and ḷ. If we put that list (where nasals stand together) in the normal Tamil alphabetical order, we can rewrite it as: ṇ, ṇ, n, m, y, r, l, v, ḷ and ṇ. That will make it clear why the variant reading chosen by Pērācīriyar (see 10b) does not differ in meaning from the reading preferred by ḷampūraṇar.

(10a) *ṇakāram* mutalā ṇakāram* ~ṛru+ // puḷḷi ~ṛuti ~iyaipu* eṇappaṭum -ē* (TP541i)

⁴⁵ Such a category is seen in the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (henceforth TA), where TA2 enumerates four subdivisions for *ceyyuḷ* (*muttakam, kuḷakam, tokainilai & toṭarnilai*), the fourth one (*toṭarnilai* “sequential”) being further subdivided (in TA6) into two: “semantically sequential poetry” (*poruṭoṭarnilaic ceyyuḷ*) and “sequential poetry with word-link” (*corroṭarnilaic ceyyuḷ*).

⁴⁶ See my justification given in section 5.

(10b) *ñakārai mutalā lakārai ~īru+ // puli ~iruti ~iyaipu* eṇappaṭum –ē* (TP552p/YV)

(10cd) That which has for its final (*iruti*) a dot-marked (vowel-less consonant) [from the list having] *ñ* as first and *ṇ* [10a] (OR / [10b]) as last is fit to be called *iyaiṇ* “agreement”

This is of course very cryptic but I shall wait until section 5 for providing a possible explanation. We now examine the penultimate item, *pulaṇ*,⁴⁷ already evoked, with its two variant readings (see chart 4a and 4b, supra). The sūtra is, in its two forms:

(11a) *terinta moliyāṇ+ cevviṇ+ kiḷantu // tērtal vēṇṭātu kuṛittatu tōṇriṇ+ // pulaṇ eṇa molīpa pulaṇ uṇarntōr –ē* (TP542i/YV)

(11b) *cēri moliyāṇ+ cevviṇ+ kiḷantu // tērtal vēṇṭātu kuṛittatu tōṇriṇ+ // pulaṇ eṇa molīpa pulaṇ uṇarntōr –ē* (TP553p)

As already explained, while discussing *aḷaku*, the difference of wording between *ḷampūraṇar* and *Pērācīriyar* is possibly consequential, because saying “*terinta moliyāṇ*” simply means that one will avoid (deliberate) ambiguity (which would result from the use of certain categories of “poetical words”)⁴⁸, whereas the use of *cēri-molī* seems to draw the expression towards a more popular “village style”.⁴⁹ A possible translation (including a variant) would be:

(11cd) If one speaks directly (*cevviṇ*) by means of unambiguous words (*terinta molī*) [11a] {{var. by means of words from the *cēri* “hamlet” [11b]}}, so that without selecting (*tērtal*) [between several possible meaning] what it intended (*kuṛittatu*) appears [in the mind], they call it *pulaṇ* “clear perception”, those who have understood clarity (*pulaṇ uṇarntōr*).

We still have one last item to examine, which is also cryptic. The “simple” commentators provide an illustration which seems *ad hoc* and *Pērācīriyar*’s explanation seems difficult to justify. I shall therefore simply provide a literal “working translation”, for the sake of completion, in order to be able to move to the next section.

(12a) *orroṭu puṇarnta valleḷuttu* aṭakkātu // kuṛaḷaṭi mutalā ~aintu* aṭi oppittu* // ṅṅkiya moliyāṇ āṅku avaṇ moliyiṇ // ilaiṇ ilakkaṇam iyaintatu* ākum* (TP543i)

(12b) *orroṭu puṇarnta valleḷuttu* aṭakkātu⁵⁰ // kuṛaḷaṭi mutalā ~aintu* aṭi oppittu* // ṅṅkiya moliyāṇ āṅkaṇam oḷukiṇ // ilaiṇ ilakkaṇam iyaintatu* ākum⁵¹* (TP554p)

(12c/d) If, without including plosive consonants in combination with vowel-less single consonants,⁵² comparing [oneself] successively with [the patterns of] the five types of metrical lines,⁵³ one

⁴⁷ It should be added that the designation *pulaṇ* has also been chosen in VC148 as the Tamil equivalent for Sanskrit *prasāda*, second of the ten *guṇa*-s. The (later) *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, however, does not use *pulaṇ* but *teḷivu*. See verse 17.

⁴⁸ They are the *tiricol*-s “recherché words”, as per my translation in Chevillard [2009: footnote 6]. They are defined in TC393i, and have already been mentioned here in footnote 41.

⁴⁹ The words *cēri* has of course many meaning (including the case of *pārppaṇac cēri*) but I cannot elaborate here.

⁵⁰ YV: 1d = aṭakkātu;

⁵¹ YV: 4c & 4d: iyaittatu* ākum.

⁵² That seems to exclude the use of (harsh?) clusters such as “kk”, “cc”, “ṭṭ”, ... (and possibly “ṅk”, “ṅc”, ...), but also “ṭk”, “ṭk”, “ṭc”, “ṭc”,

expresses thus oneself (*molīyīṅ*)⁵⁴ by means of lofty words (*ōṅkiya molīyāṅ*), that is in agreement (*iyaintatu*) with the grammar/characterisation (*ilakkaṇam*) of the [style-element called] *ilāipu* “to be reeled, as a yarn” [MTL325: ilai-tal].

4. Which illustrations for those styles (or genres)

I have now provided a translation of the eight sūtra-s, and discussed most of the technical terms which appear in them. One of the remaining tasks consists in explaining how those eight sūtra-s have been understood by the scholars who have handed down the T to us, starting with Iḷampūraṇar. As we shall see, there is quite a variety of interpretations. The same set of questions (“which verse or which Tamil literary work can be considered as an illustration for *ammai*, *aḷaku*, *toṅmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyāipu*, *pulaṅ* and *ilāipu*?”) is examined by each of the commentators. In the case of *toṅmai*, we almost have unanimity, but in other cases, opinions differ, the main reason being that Pērācīriyar always takes as examples composition belonging to “sequential poetry”, as already explained. Occasionally, we find an absence of answer for some of the “styles”. The following chart (Chart 6) tries to give the various answers. Those answers fall under several types, which can be combined.

- Citation (apparently complete)⁵⁵
- Incomplete citation (giving only the incipit)
- (Conventional/Traditional) Name of a composition (Poem, Complex composition, Anthology, Super-Anthology)
- Named Topic⁵⁶
- Mention of an author
- Description, giving specific details
- Absence of real answer

The last two types can be difficult to distinguish, but it is probable that an advice such as “*Vantavaḷik kāṅka*” (“see for yourself, in case you can find an example”) given by the commentator to his audience means that he did not have any specific example available. It is not always easy to decide whether something is a name or a description. Therefore, I explicitly mention under which category I place the reference. In the case of citations, I provide only the beginning, followed by “[...]”, with an indication of the number of lines between double brackets. Identifications (by an editor) which do not seem to be part of the commentary are put between brackets. I have tried to group together the commentaries which give similar answers. The information found is as follows:

	TPi (Iḷampūraṇar and YV and YK_com) ⁵⁷	TPp (all of Pērācīriyar’s examples are from “sequential poetry”)	TPn (Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar)
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⁵³ Since sūtra TP357i mentions that there are 625 possible patterns (cf. Chevillard[2013]), it is not excluded that what is hinted at (or prescribed?) here is a free-style improvisation exercise of the *prastāra* type (similar to what musicians who do *tāḷap prastāra* do). The standard example (starting with “*pēṅtu ceṅṅu ...*” or with “*pōṅtu pōṅtu ...*”) is probably just that: an elementary example!

⁵⁴ The Pērācīriyar variant is *oḷukīṅ* “if [the word-flow] flows”.

⁵⁵ I have not verified whether these were made “complete” by the editor.

⁵⁶ It is possibly an exaggeration to distinguish this case from the preceding one: see the line “*toṅmai*” in the column TPi for an example.

ammai	CITAT: “ <i>ariviṇāṇ</i> [...]” (<i>Kura!</i> 315)	NAME: “patineṇ kīlkaṇakku”, “kār nārpatu, kaḷavali nārpatu mutalāyiṇa”. CITAT: “poruḷkaruvi [...]” (<i>kuṇa!</i> 675) CITAT: “malarkāṇiṇ [...]” (<i>kuṇa!</i> 1112)	Similar to Tpp [but discusses <i>ācāraḥ kōvai</i> because of length]
aḷaku	CITAT: “tuṇiyirum parappakam [...]” ((7 lines)) ⁵⁸	NAME: “neṭuntokai mutalāyiṇa tokaiyeṭtu” AUTHOR: “iṭaicaṅkattārum kaṭaiccaṅkattārum”	Similar to Tpp
toṇmai	NAMED_TOPIC: “irāmacaritamum, pāṇṭava caritamum mutalākiyavarriṇ mēl varuṇ ceyyu!”	AUTHOR + NAME: “Peruntevaṇārār pāṭappaṭṭa pāratamum,” NAME: “takaṭūr yāttiraiyum”	Similar to Tpp (ADDITIONAL NAME “ cilappatikāram ”
tōl-A	CITAT: “pāyirum parappakam [...]” ((8 lines)) (Mārkaṇṭēyaṇār kāñci)	DESCRIPTION: “ <i>kocakak kaliyāṇum āciryattāṇum ceyyaṇ paṭuvaṇa</i> ” ⁵⁹	DESCRIPTION ⁶⁰ +NAME: “ cintāmaṇi mutaliyaṇa ”
tōl-B	INCIPIT: “tirumaḷai talaiiya iruḷniṇa vicumpu” + NAME: “Kūttarārṇruppaṭai”		
viruntu	DESCRIPTION (without examples but with remark on meter)	NAME: “muttoḷḷāyiramum,” AUTHOR+NAME: “poykaiyār mutalāyiṇōr ceyta antātic ceyyuḷum ”	Partly similar to Tpp: “muttoḷḷāyiramum, piṇṇuḷḷār pāṭṭiyaṇ marapiṇ kūrīya kalampakac ceyyuḷ! ”
iyaiṇu	NO_EXAMPLE: “Vantavaliḥ kāṅka”	AUTHOR+NAME (twice): “cīttalaic cāṭṭaṇārār ceyyappaṭṭa maṇimēkalaiyum koṅkuvēḷirār ceyyappaṭṭa toṭarnilaic ceyyuḷum pōlvāṇa ”	Partly similar to Tpp: “... maṇimēkalaiyum, utayaṇaṇ kataiyum” “ikkālattār kūṅum antātic corroṭaruṇ koḷka ”
pulaṇ	CITAT: “pārkaṭal mukanta [...]” ((8 lines))	NAME+DESCRIPTION: “viḷakkattār kūttu mutalākiya nāṭakac ceyyuḷākiya veṇṭuraic ceyyuḷ pōlvāṇa ”	Partly similar to Tpp: “viḷakkattār kūttu mutaliya veṇṭuraic ceyyuḷ! ”
iḷaiṇu	CITAT: “pērntu pērntu [...]” ((19 lines))	NAME+DESCRIPTION: “kaliyum pariṇṭāḷum pōlum icaippāṭṭākiya centuṇai mārkattāṇa ”	Partly similar to Tpp ⁶¹ REJECTS the inclusion of “miṇaikavi” under this sūtra.

Chart 6: literary illustrations provided by commentators

⁵⁷ I do not reproduce in this chart the illustration provided by the YV and the commentary to YK, because they are most of the time identical with the ones seen in Tpi. There are occasionally differences in wording, such as in the case of *toṇmai*, for which we have a wording with more precise titles: “*pāratamum, irāmāyaṇamum*”.

⁵⁸ Interestingly, this poem follows consistently the metrical constraint called *āciryat taḷai*. This is quite infrequent.

⁵⁹ Pērāciryar seems to say that specific examples are not available (unlike Naccīṇārkkīyār).

⁶⁰ It is impossible to summarize the discussion. I simply mention the additional name.

⁶¹ The discussion is too complex to be summarized.

5. *Tōl* as seen through the *Tivākaram* web

We are nearing the end of this exploration of a fragment of the Ceyyūḷiyal. Before drawing a few conclusions in the final section, this section will be devoted to the most cryptic among the eight items which we have examined, namely “*tōl*”. This will be conducive to a few additional explanations concerning the practice of Tamil poets, as we can see it reflected inside Tamil śāstric literature, and especially inside the thesauri. I have mentioned in section 1 that those thesauri were organized on the basis of two complementary notions, “quasi-synonymy” and “polysemy/homophony”, which are represented by TWO CATEGORIES of sūtra-s, placed in separate sections of those thesauri, as is the case for instance in the *Tivākaram*, where we have:

- FIRST-CATEGORY sūtra-s (“quasi-synonymy”) found in chapters 1 to 10
- SECOND-CATEGORY sūtra (“polysemy/homophony”) found in chapter 11

I have already provided in (3a-3c) and in (4a-4c) the text of six FIRST-CATEGORY sūtras extracted from the *Tivākaram* and from the *Piṅkalam*. I intend, in the present section to briefly illustrate how “polysemy/homophony” is handled, taking as an example the item “*tōl*” and its treatment inside the *Tivākaram*, which can be summarized by stating that:

- “*tōl*” appears in the FIRST-CATEGORY sūtra Tiv-527, where it is the head-word for 10 items⁶²
- “*tōl*” appears in the FIRST-CATEGORY sūtra Tiv-414, under the head-word “*yāṅṅai*”, as one among 38 items.⁶³
- “*tōl*” appears in the FIRST-CATEGORY sūtra Tiv-1177, under the head-word “*kēṭakam*” (unless “*palakai*” should be considered as the head-word) as one among 5 items.⁶⁴
- “*tōl*” appears in the FIRST-CATEGORY sūtra Tiv-1179, under the head-word “*paricai*”, as one among 3 items.⁶⁵
- “*tōl*” appears in the SECOND-CATEGORY sūtra Tiv-1923, where it is the head-word for 3 items {*tōṟ-palakai*, *yāṅṅai*, *vaṅṅappu*}⁶⁶

The most reasonable representation for all these elementary facts (and many others) would be a semantic graph, implemented by software, providing us with the possibility to navigate in real time (as do real poets) the web of “poetical words” as seen through the *Tivākaram* and we can certainly expect that the *Piṅkalam* (and other thesauri) would give us a different weaving resource. We shall however have to be satisfied with an ordinary “still image”, such as the one which follows (figure 1)

⁶² “*Vaṭakam, kiruttimam, carumam, tuvakku, // paccai, puṇai, urivai, uri, ataḷ, // (otta) turuttiyoṭu, pattum tōlē.*” (Tiv-527)

⁶³ “*Tumpi, kaṭivai, pukarmukam, tōl, kari // [...] // piṇṇavam paḷaikkaiyōṭu yāṅṅaip peyarē.*” (Tiv-414)

⁶⁴ “*Cēṭakam, vaṭṭam, tōlē, vētikai // kēṭakam, palakai ām eṇak kiḷappar.*” (Tiv-1177)

⁶⁵ “*Tōṟparam, tōṟpalakai, tōlē, paricai.*” (Tiv-1179)

⁶⁶ “*Tōlē yāṅṅaiyum vaṅṅappum tōṟpa lakaiyum.*” (Tiv-1923)

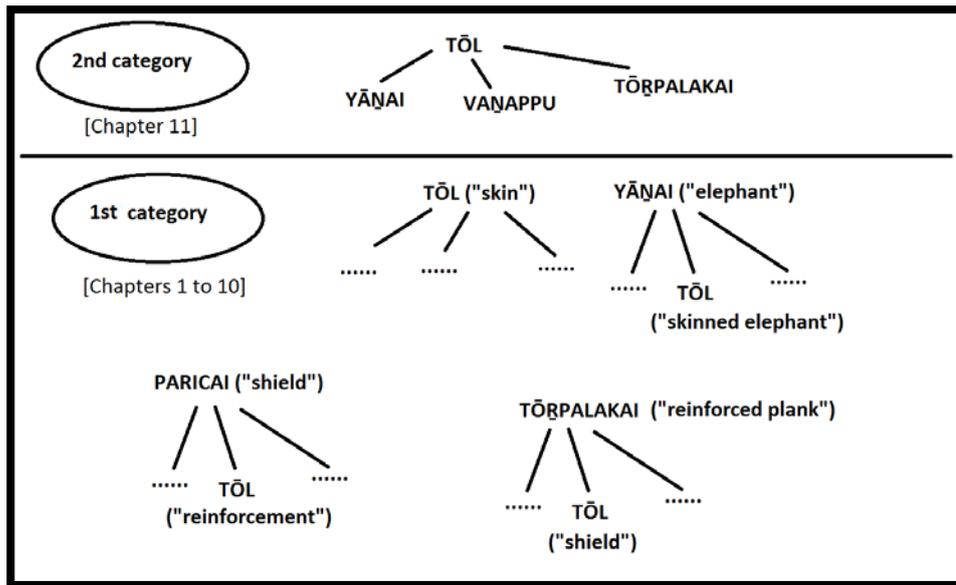


Figure 1

In short, the “ordinary” meaning of *tōl* is “skin” (as visible in Tiv-527), but the word has also been used in some stories (possibly connected with Śiva) for referring to the skin of an elephant. It is also used for referring to two types of shield (as seen in Tiv-1177 and Tiv-1179), for reasons which are probably rather obvious. The SECOND-category sūtra Tiv-1923 is useful for a student who is not yet familiar with this variety of uses, which it summarizes. To these usages is added a more abstract usage, when the sūtra Tiv-1923 states that *tōl* is also the name of a *vaṇappu* “[rhetorical] embellishment”. It seems to me that it is easier to imagine that a rhetorical device is metaphorically called “shield” (rather than “skin”). It should also be noted that the word *tōl* (meaning “shield”) appears prominently in one of the themes of *Purattiṇai*, falling under the *tiṇai* called “*uḷiṇai*”. That theme, called “*Tōlin perukkam*” is the 4th item listed in TP67n (Ganesh Iyer [1948], p.199 and p. 202), and it also appears in *Purapporuḷ veṇpā mālai* (PPVM 106), both in the section title (“*tōluḷiṇai*”) and in the illustrative verses (*koḷu* and *veṇpā*). All this is certainly sufficient reason for the term to have been selected as the name of one of the most complex “style-element”, without looking for other reasons.⁶⁷

6. In guise of a conclusion: a still-born theory

We have now reached the final section of this article and it is time to summarize and to ask a few more questions concerning the exact nature of the items {*ammai*, *aḷaku*, *tonmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaiḷu*, *pulaṅ*, *iḷaiḷu*} and the role which they play in the global economy of the *Ceyyul-iyal*, in addition to the 26 initial limbs of poetry. What is the difference between them and the others?⁶⁸ If we consider that theories grow by accretion, we are probably justified in perceiving this group of 8 as the most recently incorporated element, the preceding one being *vaṇṇam*, which although it appears as a

⁶⁷ Ca. Pālacuntaram [1991: 179] gives as etymology: *tonmait taṇmaiḷuṭaiyatu tōl. atu koḷ-kōḷ varutal pōṅratu* (“That which has the property of *tonmai* is called *tōl*. That [word-derivation by lengthening] is like [what is seen between] [the root] *koḷ* [and the verbal noun] *kōḷ*”). Such an etymological explanation seems unnecessary.

⁶⁸ As was explained in section 2, Pērāciriyaṅ has his own theory on the difference.

single item, is in reality the global name for 20 distinct items.⁶⁹ However, since no collective name such as *vaṇṇappu* was coined for {*ammai*, *aḷaku*, *toṇmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaiṇṇu*, *pulaṇ*, *iḷaiṇṇu*} until a later period, the count of the limbs of poetry went thanks to them from 26 to 34 and not from 26 to 27.

What are those items? According to the author of YV, commenting on YA, they can be referred to as *yāppalaṅkāramum* “the embellishment of metrical [compositions]” (see 2, in section 0). However, this is not the whole story, because the expression on which (2) is a comment is:

(13) *ammai mutaliya āy iru nāṇmai-y-um* (YA-95, line 5)

We now partly know what *ammai* is and we know that *X-mutaliya* means “of-which-the-beginning-is-X”, but what are the three items “āy”, “iru” and “nāṇmai”? They could be:

- *āy* “well-chosen, well-researched”, if we take this element as a verbal root, as in “*āy-mayil kol-lō*” (Kuraḷ-1081: “is this a choice peacock?”)
- *iru* “two”
- *nāṇmai* “tetrad, group-of-four”

We could hesitate between two groups of four and four pairs of polarities, remembering the oppositions which we evoked in chart 3, charts 4a/4b and charts 5a/5b. We also have the alliterative oppositions which we evoked first in section 2. It is not really clear whether we have an insufficient number of binary oppositions or too big a number. And we might also wonder whether some riddle is hidden in the word-play between *iyaiṇṇu* and *iḷaiṇṇu*, touching upon something of the nature of a *śabdālaṅkāram*. If *iḷaiṇṇu* is meant to evoke the “reeling of a yarn”, the **inside** making of a beautifully-textured cloth/garment/ornament (*iḷai*) and if *iyaiṇṇu*, a frequent term in the T,⁷⁰ is meant to evoke the **external** connecting of the various elements of a patchwork, then another polarity may be present in the couple *iḷaiṇṇu/iyaiṇṇu*.

Do I believe in the interpretations reproduced in the section 4? Probably not, especially those proposed by Pērācīriyar? It does not look like an efficient system of classification. A count of eight is clearly not enough. The *Pāṭṭiyal* system,⁷¹ as it was progressively constructed was more efficient, with its capacity to distinguish almost one hundred sub-genres.

If those eight elements are not the names of “genres” (or sub-genres), what are they? The reader will have seen me hesitating during the course of that presentation, using sometimes the expression “style” and sometimes the expression “style-element”. Do we have eight styles? Do we have two virtual/tendential styles represented by a collection of four mostly (non-binary) polarities? The vagueness of the system (which we might be tempted to call “still-born”) seems to point to a period preceding Daṇḍin (and his two emblematic styles). This small system looks like the germ (or beginning) of an answer to questions which people were asking themselves at that time (without having that convenient word, “style”, by which we can get rid of the question, before even

⁶⁹ These 20 items were even expanded into 100 by some, as pointed out by the commentator to TP535i, but that is another story.

⁷⁰ *iyaiṇṇu* is the name of “final rhyme” (TP401i), one of the four basic *toṭai*-s, after *etukai* and *mōṇai*, and *muraṇ*. But it also **iconically** gives its name to the *iyaiṇṇu-vaṇṇam*, in TP518i, which is characterized by the presence of a great number of *iṭaiyeḷuttu.*, such as *y*, *l* and others.

⁷¹ See the five treatises mentioned in Chevillard [2014: 163-164].

answering it). That group of eight sūtra-s (TP536i-543i) was, perhaps, simply “A SELF-REFERENT LITERARY EXERCISE IN LITERATURE THEORY”, a “mise en abîme”.

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TPi : see Kōpālaiyar [2003a]

TPn : see Kōpālaiyar [2003b]

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