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The “colourful” retrospective horizon of *Vīracōliyam*-143 at the advent of the Daṇḍin doctrine in Tamil Nadu (DRAFT 4j)^{*} (14,592 words)

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This small essay is an attempt at giving an “insider’s perspective” on the terminological dimension of the encounter, which took place in the eleventh century,¹ between Puttamittiraṇār, a Tamil-speaking admirer of Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyaḍarśa* (DK), who composed a text called *Vīracōliyam* (VC), and the Tamil scholarly tradition, an ever growing collection of Tamil śāstric texts (*ilakkaṇam*), cultivated by Tamil poets, of which the VC became a part. The fifth and final section of the VC, called *Alaṅkārap Paṭalam* (AP), is explicitly based on the DK. The VC was dutifully transmitted up to the present period and printed in book form for the first time in 1881 (VC1881). The Tamil scholarly tradition had been for at least eight centuries² at the time of the encounter the backbone of literary activities in Tamil Nadu, based on a special form of the language called *Centamiḷ* “perfect Tamil”³ within the “beautiful Tamil-speaking world” (*Tamiḷ kūru nal-l-ulakam*).⁴ Because the subject is potentially very vast, with many hundreds of Tamil technical expressions falling within its scope, I shall concentrate here on the small core vocabulary found in VC-143 and on that part of the wider vocabulary which is directly in contact with it, inside the graph of connected technical terms. I am trying to answer the following hypothetical question: “If we had only Tamil sources, in an imaginary situation where the original Sanskrit sources on Daṇḍin would have all been lost (or would have become unreadable or unintelligible⁵ in Tamil Nadu), what kind of image or profile would we obtain of the Daṇḍin episode and doctrine, seen from a Tamil perspective? How could we reconstruct a sequence of events and a logic? Would it be an orthodox “faithful” one or would it possess what the French language refers to as “couleur locale”? In this respect, among the questions examined here, a potentially important one might be the following: why did Puttamittiraṇār have to mention the traditional component called *vaṇṇam*⁶ in VC-143 (see section 1), when a later, more faithful adaption of the DK, in the twelfth century, by another author who composed the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (TA) and is now known as “Tamiḷ Taṇṭi”, left it out?

* This essay is dedicated to the memory of my teacher, T.V. Gopal Iyer (TVG) (1926-2007), one of the rare persons who could navigate with ease the totality of the terminological maze of Tamil śāstric literature. Among his many accomplishments, he published in 2005 an edition of the VC (VC2005), adding his own notes, to the traditional commentary by Peruntēvaṇār. He also compiled a magnificent *Tamiḷ Ilakkaṇap Pērakarāti*, in 17 volumes, thanks to which I have felt confident enough to try to give the beginning of an answer to the questions examined here.

¹ Zvelebil 1995: 772.

² See Chart 4 below.

³ The expression *Cen Tamiḷ* seems to correspond exactly to the expression *saṃskṛtā bhāṣā*, with *saṃskṛtā* replaced by *cem* “perfect” and *bhāṣā* replaced by *Tamiḷ*.

⁴ Paṇampāraṇār, “Special Preface” (*ciṅappup pāyiram*) to the *Tolkāppiyam* (T)--the most ancient component of the Tamil scholarly corpus.

⁵ My hypothetical question can nowadays almost sound realistic if we observe that the number of bilingual scholars, equally at ease in Sanskrit and in Classical Tamil, is not very high in Tamil Nadu and that a sincere Tamil student, who cannot receive help from his Tamil professors as far as Sanskrit sources are concerned, is not in a situation very different from the perspective considered in the first sentence of this essay.

⁶ In the T, *vaṇṇam* is the 26th limb of poetry, and comes in 20 varieties. See section 7.

1. A Tamil proof of the existence of Daṇḍin

The first (Tamil) proof of the existence of Daṇḍin, or rather Taṇṭi, viewed through Tamil sources, is the *kārikai*⁷ found at the beginning of the *Alaṅkārap paṭalam* (AP), the fifth section of the *Vīracōḷiyam* (=VC), an innovative and very dense Tamil “treatise”. That *kārikai* reads, in metrical form:

(1a) {urai-y-uṭa l-āka}^A {v-uyir-poru l-āka}^B {v-uraitta-vaṇṇa // nirai-nira m-ā}^C {naṭai y-ē-cela v-ā}^D {niṇṇa}^E {ceyyuṭka}-ān // tarai-mali māṇiṭar}^F {tam-m-alaiṅ kāraṅka}^G {taṇṭi-coṇṇa // karai-mali nūliṅ paṭi-y-ē}^H {y-uraippan}^I {kaṇaṅkuḷaiyē!}^J

Due to metrical constraints, the syntax of this verse looks complex until we perceive the set of five elementary identifications within five pairs of topics or entities. Those five identifications are, according to the VC commentator, constitutive of an instance of the figure called *uruvakam* (i.e. skt. *rūpaka*), and they are marked by several forms of the copula (which appears twice as *āka*, twice as *ā* and once as *ām*). See the following chart, which must be read vertically, column by column (with an inversion in column 2), with a preliminary English translation of the key terms, except for *vaṇṇam* which is better left untranslated at this stage:

A	B (inverted)	C	D	E, F	G	H, I, J
1. <i>urai</i> “speech”	4. <i>poru!</i> “value, topic, matters” <i>āka</i>	5. {v-uraitta} <i>vaṇṇa nirai</i> “series of <i>vaṇṇam</i> -s”	7. <i>naṭai</i> “gait/style” -y-ē	9. {niṇṇa} ^E { <i>ceyyuṭka!</i> “compositions ” -ām	<i>tam-m alaiṅ- kāraṅka!</i> “orna- ments”	11. <i>taṇṭi</i> (“Daṇḍin”) <i>coṇṇa</i> <i>karai mali</i> <i>nūliṅ paṭi-y-ē</i> <i>y-uraippan</i> <i>kaṇaṅkuḷaiyē</i>
2. <i>uṭal</i> “body” <i>āka</i>	3. <i>uyir</i> “soul”	6. <i>niraṅ</i> “colour” -ā	8. <i>celav(u)</i> “going” -ā	10. <i>tarai-mali</i> <i>māṇiṭar}</i> ^F		
see sections 2 and 3		section 7	section 3		section 4	all sections

Chart 1: Key terms in VC143
(and sections where they are further discussed)

(1b) “{O Lady with heavy jewelled earrings (*kaṇaṅkuḷai*)!}^J, {I shall expound (*uraippan*)}^I {in the very manner (*paṭi-y-ē*) of the treatise (*nūli*), [which is] [a life-saving] shore (*karai*) [for an] abundant (*mali*) [number of people]⁸ [and] which Daṇḍin⁹ uttered (*coṇṇa*)}^H [that TOPIC which is] **the equivalent¹⁰ of the ornaments (*alaṅkāram*)** }^F for {poems (*ceyyuṭka!*), when they are [identified with] the human beings (*māṇiṭar*) who are abundant (*mali*) on Earth (*tarai*) }^F. [In the identification, they stand (in parallel manner)]^E, {Speech (*urai*) being the body [*uṭal*]}^A, {[of which] the *uyir* (life/soul) is the topic/value (*poru!*) }^B, { the colours [*niraṅ*] are the ((previously explained)) series [*nirai*] of *vaṇṇam*}^C, {[and] the going [*celavu*] is indeed the style [*naṭai*] (litt. gait).”

Chart 2, which follows, tries to clarify the manner in which each of these technical terms will be further discussed inside the AP, for which this *kārikai* acts as a small table of contents:

⁷ All Tamil treatises are versified. The stanzas (referred to as *kārikai*-s) seen in the VC have four metrical lines of five feet each, and frequently contain a vocative addressed to a Lady. Additionally, in a given stanza, all the lines contain the same number of *aḱṣara*-s, which can be either 16 or 17, depending on the nature of the first syllable. This means that the length of one *kārikai* in the VC is almost exactly the length of two thirty-two syllable *śloka* elements in the KD.

⁸ Literally: “the treatise which abounds as a shore”, i.e., salvation (if I understand correctly).

⁹ Daṇḍin is not the only external source to be explicitly named in the VC. We also have a reference to Avinayaṅār in VC85 and to Akattiyar in VC76 (not to mention the reference to Avalōkitāṅ [and Akattiyāṅ] in the prefatory section).

¹⁰ In order to understand that verse, as per the intention of its author, one should probably pretend not to know before reading it that the word *alaṅkāram* can be applied to something other than ornaments used by human beings. The metaphor becomes thus a “métaphore vive”, and the verse fulfills its function, which consists in giving a new figurative meaning to the word *alaṅkāram*.

Verses	Content	Additional reference
VC143 (first verse in AP)	<i>alaṅkāram</i> , applied to <i>ceyyuḷ</i> , is metaphorically explained on the basis of <i>urai</i> , <i>poruḷ</i> , <i>naṭai</i> and <i>vaṇṇam</i> . ¹¹	See (1a) and (1b)
VC144–VC147	Which <i>urai</i> & <i>poruḷ</i> ¹² are acceptable limbs or souls (for <i>ceyyuḷ</i>)? Which are unacceptable? (metaphor continued)	
VC148-VC151	the 10 <i>āvi</i>	See chart 5, in section 3
VC152-VC177	the 35 <i>alaṅkāram</i> ¹³	See chart 7, in section 4
VC178	broad classification ¹⁴ of <i>ceyyuḷ</i> genres	
VC179	<i>yamaka</i> , etc.	In the TA, the <i>col-l-aṇi</i> (śabdālaṅkāra) section is much more developed
VC180 (beginning)	Other topics (<i>Tantra Yukti</i>)	
VC180 (cont.), VC181-183	Other types of literature	

Chart 2: Summary of the *Alaṅkārap paṭalam* (AP)

2. From a three-part grammar to a five-part grammar

As already indicated, the VC is an integral part of the corpus of Tamil śāstric texts and it is only by placing it within its wider Tamil context that we can hope to understand the role it played and the expectations that it fulfilled. That status was also the reason it was preserved by some sections of the larger group of Tamil poets, and thus the reason for us to be in a position to try to read it today. The most salient points usually noted are the fact that the VC is partly a “translation” (from Sanskrit) – a point which will be discussed in sections 3, 4 and 5, where I shall examine strategies (α, β and γ) for “translation”¹⁵– and that it is associated with the transition from a grammatical tradition based on three components to a model where there are five specialized components, whose names (inside the VC) can be seen in chart 3 below:

Sections ¹⁶ of the VC	Puttamittiraṅār (11 th c.): 183 <i>kārikai</i> -s		Peruntēvaṅār commentary (12 th c.): prose & citations	
	<i>kārikai</i> id-numbers	count	Numbering of cited illustrative verses ¹⁷	Numbering of cited (grammatical) <i>nūrpā</i> -s
0. <i>pāyiram</i> “preface”		2		
1. <i>eḷuttu</i> “letter/phone”	VC1 to VC28	28		
2. <i>col</i> “word” (morphology/syntax)	VC29 to VC85	57	M1 to M10	N1 to N6
3. <i>poruḷ</i> “[poetical] matter(s)”	VC86 to VC106	21	M11 to M25	N7 to N85
4. <i>yāppu</i> “[metrical] composition”	VC107 to VC142	36	M26 to M209	N86 to N132
5. <i>alaṅkāram</i> “ornament” (See Chart 2)	VC143 to VC183	41	M210 to M511	N133 to N256.

Chart 3: Content of Puttamittiraṅār’s *Vīracōḷiyam* (VC)
with additional information on Peruntēvaṅār’s commentary

We can see at once that the VC itself is a very short text. For instance, the length of its 5th section, the AP, which is our main concern here, is 41 *kārikai*-s: this is the equivalent in length of 82 śloka-s¹⁸ and makes it six times shorter

¹¹ *Vaṇṇam* has been explained in the previous chapter (*Yāppu*), in VC142.

¹² *Poruḷ* has already been discussed in the third large section of the VC, called *Poruḷatikāram*. In that discussion, 27 parameters (called *urai*), starting with *caṭṭakam* (which encompasses the metrical structure) have been examined.

¹³ In the TA, this would be the *poruḷ-aṇi* (*arthālaṅkāra*) section.

¹⁴ Other classifications are found in VC112 (in the *Yāppu* section).

¹⁵ The inverted commas indicate that strategy γ does not completely qualify as “translation”. See chart 5, chart 7 and chart 8.

¹⁶ If we except the second section (*col-l-atikāram*), which contains 6 *paṭalam* (“chapter”), all the other sections can be called either “book” (*atikāram*) or “chapter” (*paṭalam*) because they contain a single chapter.

¹⁷ The numbering for the illustrative verses and for the grammatical *nūrpā*-s is the one given by TVG in his 2005 edition of the VC. There are also unnumbered quotations.

¹⁸ For a justification, see the information given in footnote 7.

than the DK. We also should note that this short text has been transmitted as part of a commentary which is, at times, quite bulky, and which contains, on the one hand, many literary illustrations and, on the other hand, many grammatical citations (referred to in chart 3 as *nūrpās*) from earlier Tamil treatises. The AP, for instance, contains 124 such *nūrpās*.

At this stage, before continuing our examination of the AP and of its role inside the VC, it seems important to name explicitly (and to place in a chronological sequence) some textual components belonging to Tamil śāstric knowledge which Puttamittiraṇār and Peruntēvaṇār had in common with their (Tamil) audience. Observe Chart 4,, in which the top rows are more recent than the bottom rows, and in which Daṇḍin (the *Kāvyaḍarśa* author) sits somewhere (slightly artificially) between the seventh and the eighth centuries.

Centuries	Curriculum Grammar (<i>ilakkaṇam</i>) (leaving out <i>Nāṭakat tamiḷ</i> and <i>Icait tamiḷ</i>)					Applied Knowledge (every-day needs of poets)	
	1 Eḷuttu	2 Col	3 Poruḷ	4 Yāppu	5 Aṇi	5bis Pāṭṭiyal	lexicography (Kōśa-s, alias nikaṇṭu-s or uric col)
13 th c.	<i>Naṇṇūl</i>					<i>Navanītap pāṭṭiyal</i>	
12 th c.					<i>Tamiḷ Taṇṭi</i> 126 verses totalling 326 lines	<i>Veṇpāp pāṭṭiyal</i>	
	<i>Vīracōḷiyam</i> commentary (Peruntēvaṇār)						
11 th c.	<i>Vīracōḷiyam</i> (Puttamittiraṇār) (elementary initiation to Sanskrit śāstra-s in 183 verses)						
10 th c.				<i>Yāpparuṅkala- virutti</i> (YV) <i>Yāpparuṅkalam</i> (YA)		<i>Paṇṇiru Pāṭṭiyal</i>	<i>Piṅkalam</i>
9 th c.					<i>Aṇiyiyal</i> (lost)		<i>Tivākaram</i>
8 th c.							
Daṇḍin					<i>Kāvyaḍarśa</i>		
7 th c.							
6 th c.	<i>Avinayam</i> (lost but for 100+ fragments)						
3 rd – 5 th c.	<i>Tolkāppiyam</i> 3 books: TE, TC & TP		part of TP: <i>Ceyyūḷiyal</i>	part of TP: <i>Uvamaviyal</i> See also: marapiyal, ceyyūḷiyal (ettu vanappu , pukaḷ, vacai, aṅkatam)	part of TP: cf. Pāṭaṇ tiṇai (T) cf. marapiyal cf. ettu vanappu	Part of TC: <i>Uriyiyal</i>	

Chart 4: Fragmentary chronology and map of the Tamil scholarly tradition

3. What does it mean for the *Alaṅkārap Paṭalam* (AP) to be an (attempted) translation of the KD? (to be a partial translation from Skt into Tamil)¹⁹

Having set out the wider context, we can now return to an examination of the ramifications of the *kārikai* (VC143) given above. That *kārikai* (and the key terms which it contains) can be characterized as an allusive “table of contents” (TOC) for the AP, which at the same time connects it with the four previous sections. The term *poruḷ* (see

¹⁹ This echoes some of the questions which I have discussed, with respect to *tantra yukti-s*, in Chevillard [2009], concerning what it means in practice to adapt a technical vocabulary from Sanskrit into Tamil, although Puttamittiraṇār’s main concern may have been to go towards standardization. (EDITED)

chart 1) “value, meaning, topic, [poetical] matters,” is, for instance, the master term for (and the title of) the third section of the VC, the *Poruḷ-atikāram*, where the first *kārikai* (VC86) makes twin claims to two dimensions:

- the traditional realm of poetological topics, where Puttamittiraṅār expounds a four-fold scheme for *poruḷ* (*akam*, *puṛam*, *akap-puṛam*, *puṛap-puṛam*) which goes beyond the traditional two-fold scheme of the T—that is, the opposition between *akam* “inside” (love poetry) and *puṛam* “outside” (other types of poetry).²⁰
- the philosophical realm of *pramāṇa* (“means of knowledge”) theory, partly adapted to Tamil when VC86 states that discussing *poruḷ* also involves understanding *aḷappāṇ* (“measurer”), *aḷavai* (“measure”) and *piramēyam* (Sanskrit *prameya*).

However, traveling back and forth between the sections of the VC can be fraught with terminological difficulties. Thus while the use of *poruḷ* seems “commensurable” in VC86 and VC143, the same cannot be said of *urai*, which seems to be used meta-linguistically in VC89 for referring to the 27 topics²¹ which are part of [poetological] “explanation/commentary”, whereas *urai* seems to refer (as a normal linguistic item) in VC143 to the materiality of “speech” (see 1b), identified as a body (*uṭal*) of which the *poruḷ* “topic” will be the “soul/life”.

My general impression, while reading the VC, is that it is not a grammar for Tamil literature, as is sometimes said, but that it is a **normalizing**²² introduction (composed in Tamil) to some currents inside mainstream/dominant (or fashionable?) Indian thought (as reflected in Sanskrit technical literature current at that time (including the DK). It accomplishes this aim through three possible means of action when trying to express a concept which has been discussed in Sanskrit śāstra:

- **(α)** find a Tamil equivalent to the Sanskrit technical term (possibly skewing the original meaning of the Tamil term)
- **(β)** if there is an ancient loanword²³ (from Prakrit or from Sanskrit), use that term
- **(γ)** if no suitable term is found, use a Sanskrit term, adapted to Tamil phonology

It is however to be noted that, because of the extreme brevity of the VC, the whole process would result in totally cryptic lists if the VC text were not accompanied by Peruntēvaṅār’s commentary. In practice, the *Alaṅkārap Paṭalam* of the VC frequently appears as simply a Table of Contents, partly translated into Tamil (and often reordered), for Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyādarśa* (DK), where the bare lists of technical terms occasionally contain a few inserted words of explanation (or some inserted translation). As for illustrative verses, none are found in the AP²⁴ (unlike in DK); they are provided only by the commentator. Specifically, regarding the three strategies mentioned above, we have two occasions for examining them inside the AP:

- the first one is with the list of ten terms used in the AP for rendering the *gūṇa*-s of Daṇḍin, which are prominent in the discussion of the two styles/paths associated with the Vaidarbhas and the Gauḍas (although Puttamittiraṅār has his own way of dealing with them, as we shall see)
- the second one is with the list of 35 *alaṅkāra*-s (examined in [section 7](#)).

²⁰ Between those two schemes, we have the 3-fold scheme of Avināyaṅār (*akam*, *puṛam*, *akap-puṛam*), whose grammar is lost but which we know thanks to YV, who mentions it, while discussing the 4-fold scheme (*iṇi*, *oru cārār*, *akattiṇai*, *puṛattiṇai*, *akappuṛattiṇai eṇa mūṇṛāy aṭaṅkum*, *eṇpa. āmāru avinayattuṭ kāṅka*, YV1998, p. 608).

²¹ Among those 27 *urai*-s (explicitly enumerated in VC90 and VC91), the first one, *caṭṭakam* “[metrical] frame” is understood by commentators as encompassing *Yāppu* “meter” and the ninth one, *moḷi-vakai* “categories of words”, is certainly a bridge with the second section of the VC, namely *col* “word”.

²² For instance, in the second section of the VC, Puttamittiraṅār introduces the list of six *kāraka*-s used in Sanskrit grammars, although Tamil grammarians were in fact happy to have their own list of eight *kāraka*-s, which they called *toḷiṅmutanilai* (see T596: *viṇaiyē*, *ceyvatu*, ...), as can be seen from the fact that in the thirteenth century, the *Naṅṅūl* retained (in N320: *ceypavaṇ*, *karuvi*, ...) the core of the T list.

²³ An ancient loanword is a term such as *ētu* (*hetu*), already found in the *Tolkāppiyam* or in intermediate texts.

²⁴ An exception to my statement is the presence of the many vocatives, addressed to ladies (*makaṭū muṇṇilai*) in 67 of the 183 *kārikai*-s (cf. TVG [2005, pp. 724-726]). See the example “O Lady with heavy jewelled earrings (*kaṅkaṅkuḷai*)! in (1b).

In Chart 5 I compare the use of strategies (α , β and γ) by Puttamittiraṇār and by the Tamil Taṇṭi when handling the *guṇa*-s of Daṇḍin, which the former calls *āvi*-s [a Sanskrit doublet of *uyir* “soul, life”], while the latter uses *kuṇaṇ*²⁵ for *guṇa*). The numbering refers to the position of the items in each of the three authors’ lists (since they differ). The striking fact is that Puttamittiraṇār judged that only three terms out of ten could be explained to his audience in Tamil and decided to use the Tamilized form of seven Sanskrit terms, which does not look like a completely successful translation. In the TA, the proportion is inverted.

	Strategies	Daṇḍin (<i>guṇa</i> -s)	Puttamittiraṇār (<i>āvi</i> -s)	Taṇṭi (TA) (<i>kuṇaṇ</i>)	Remarks
A	$\alpha \alpha$ (Same Tamil term)	D4 <i>mādhuryaṃ</i>	V10 <i>iṅpam</i>	T4 <i>iṅpam</i> “pleasure”	
B	$\alpha_1 \alpha_2$ (different Tamil terms)	D2 <i>prasāda</i>	V4 <i>pulaṇ</i> “simplicity” (or “[lucid] knowledge”)	T2 <i>teḷivu</i> “clarity”	See T1497 (<i>pulaṇ</i>) ²⁶
		D6 <i>arthavyakti</i>	V7 <i>poruṭ-ṭeḷivu</i> (<i>poruṭ+^teḷivu</i>) “clarity of meaning”	T7 <i>uyttal-il-poruṇmai</i> “signification [obtained] without [complicated] deduction”	See T1610 (<i>uyttuk</i> <i>koṇṭ-uṇarttal</i>)
C	$\gamma \alpha$ (“Sanskrit” vs. Tamil)	D1 <i>śleṣa</i>	V1 <i>cilīṭṭam</i> ²⁷	T1 <i>ceṛivu</i> “tightness”	
		D5 <i>sukumāratā</i>	V9 <i>cukumāratāi</i>	T5 <i>oḷukicai</i> “flowing sound”	
		D8 <i>ojas</i>	V8 <i>ōcam</i>	T9 <i>vali</i> “strength”	
D	$\gamma \beta$ (Standard “Sanskrit” vs. adopted form)	D3 <i>samatā</i>	V5 <i>camatai</i>	T3 <i>camanilai</i> “neutrality”	See Kuṛaḷ ²⁸
E	$\gamma_1 \gamma_2$ (variety of learned borrowings)	D7 <i>udāratvaṃ</i>	V2 <i>utāratai</i>	T6 <i>utāram</i>	Not yet adopted in Modern Tamil ²⁹
		D9 <i>kānti</i>	V3 <i>kānti</i> ³⁰	T8 <i>kāntam</i>	
F	$\gamma \gamma$ (learned borrowing)	D10 <i>samādhi</i>	V6 <i>camāti</i>	T10 <i>camāti</i>	
	Sanskrit/Tamil proportion		Seven to Three	Three to Seven (or four to six) ³¹	

**chart 5: Two ways of applying three strategies (α , β and γ)
for explaining the *guṇa*-s of Daṇḍin to a Tamil (learned) audience.**

At this stage, before moving on to the discussion of the term *alaṅkāram*, we must remark that although the concept of “path/style” is evoked in VC143 by the presence of the word *naṭai* “gait, style”-- which is said to be to a poem (*ceyyu!*) what *celavu* (going) is to a human being-- and although the *vitarppar* and *kaṭṭar* are dutifully mentioned by Puttamittiraṇār in VC148 and VC151, he does not use the term *kuṇam* (unlike Tamil Taṇṭi)³² for referring to the *guṇas*

²⁵ The Tamil Taṇṭi says, nevertheless, (in verse 14) that those *kuṇaṇ* are like *uyir* “life” to the path called *Vaitaruppam*. TVG frequently refers to them (in the TIPA) as *kuṇa-v-aṇi* “qualitative ornaments” or as *potu-v-aṇi* “general ornaments”.

²⁶ [LINK with Codifying beauty](#). However, there is also the question of the relationship between *pulaṇ* and *pulavar*. A *pulavar* is an experienced field-knower (*kṣetra-jñā*). See also the characterization “*pulaṇ tokuttōṅ*” in the *cirappup pāyiram* of the T. And the use of *pulaṇ-koḷal* (= *aṛital*) in *Maṇimēkalai* XXVII-13.

²⁷ Puttamittiraṇār says in fact *ceṛiv-ār-cilīṭṭam* “*cilīṭṭam*, which is full of tightness/density”

²⁸ *camāṇ ceytu cīr tūkkum kōlpōl amaintu orupāl kōṭāmai cāṅṅōrkku aṇi* (Kuṛaḷ 118).

²⁹ The terms are of course found in the Madras Tamil Lexicon but an examination of the CreA dictionary for contemporary Tamil shows that those three terms never found their way into mainstream Tamil with the meaning intended in the DK, although other meanings are found such as “tomb” for *camāti*, “generosity” for *utāra-kuṇam* and “magnet” for *kāntam*.

³⁰ However, VC151 contains a Tamil explanation to *kānti*, when it says: *āṇā v-aḷakiṇaik kānti y-eṅkiṇratu* (“*Kānti* means “unceasing beauty”).

³¹ The difference depend on the manner of classifying *camanilai*. My perception is that β is closer to α as to γ .

³² The form *kuṇaṇ* alternates with the more frequent form *kuṇam* inside the TA.

of Daṇḍin, but refers to the ten items of Chart 5, which he first enumerates in VC 148, as *āvika!* (plural of *āvi* “life, soul”) and justifies himself in VC149 by invoking Daṇḍin for the second time.³³

4. The Tamil prehistory of *alaṅkāram* and the 28 *alaṅkāram*-s of the *Tivākaram*

After this brief exploration of the ramifications pertaining to the terms in columns A, B, D and E, of chart 1, which is as already said a tabular presentation of VC143, first verse and Table-of-Content (TOC) of the AP (*alaṅkārap paṭalam*), we shall now examine the term in column G, namely the all-important *alaṅkāraṅka!*, plural form of *alaṅkāram* “ornament”, which is the main element of the TOC and gives its name to the AP. That item is, as detailed in Chart 2, expanded slightly later inside the AP by means of a long sequence of 25 *kārikais*, starting with VC152 and ending with VC176. At the beginning of this long sequence, the first 4 *kārikai*-s (VC152-VC155) enumerate the 35 VC names of *alaṅkāram*-s. After that, most of the *alaṅkāram*-s are the object of more detailed explanations, which take up 21 *kārikai*-s (VC156-VC176). My main ambition in this article being to give an account, through an examination of the Tamil sources, of the place of the DK inside the development of Tamil technical literature, and of its impact on that development, I shall not immediately deal with the 35 VC names of *alaṅkārams*. These will be provided later, in [chart 8](#), inside [section 7](#), along with their equivalent terms in the TA. I shall nevertheless remark, by anticipation, that among those 35 names, 21 (i.e. 60%) are translations, while the remaining 14 (40%) are simply adaptations to Tamil phonology of the Sanskrit names seen in the DK. **This can be contrasted with the fact that the proportion of Sanskrit terms increases to more than 50% in the later TA, a change which is the reverse of the one seen in [Chart 5](#).**

What we shall do now, is to examine an earlier layer, which allows us to see the dynamics which goes from the VC to the TA **within the context of a larger time interval**. This will be accomplished by an examination of occurrences of the word *alaṅkāram* which predate the VC³⁴. It should indeed be brought to the attention of the readers of this article that **the word *alaṅkāram* itself was already familiar to the Tamil audience before which the VC was recited for the first time**, when Puttamittiraṅār had finished composing his very dense, all-encompassing treatise. The listeners had already heard the term when studying texts such as the *Yāpparuṅkalam*³⁵ (=YA), a tenth-century metrical treatise, and the two *Nikaṅṭu*-s or “thesauri”³⁶ called *Tivākaram* (Ti) and *Piṅkalam* (Pi), probably composed in the ninth and the tenth centuries.³⁷ These three texts chronologically precede the VC, and contain references to the general category of *alaṅkāram*, for instance in connection with the definition of *matura kavi* “sweet poem/poet”,³⁸ for which we have the following sūtra, identically found in the Ti and in the Pi:³⁹

(2a) *poruḷiṅ poliv-um, collīṅ celvam-um, // toṭai-y-um, toṭaiḱkaṅ vikaṅpam-um tutaintu, //uruvakam mutal-ām alaṅkāram uṭkoṅṭu // ōcaipoli v-uṭaitṭāy, uytt-uṅarvōr uḷaṅkaṅku // mā-kaṭal amiḷtam-pōl pāṭutal matura-kavi*

(2b) “A sweet poem (poet) is obtained in a singing (*pāṭutal*) which, being dense in grand topics, richness of words, rhyming/alliteration, variety of rhyming/alliteration, including **the ornamental figures (*alaṅkāram*), which start with**

³³ The commentator emphasizes, while commenting VC149, that there is no contradiction in this respect between Daṇḍin and Puttamittiraṅār, because it is thanks to the 10 *āvi* “soul/life” (starting with *cilīṭṭām*) that the *poru!* “topic/matter” can be a perfect *uyir* “soul/life” for its *uṭal* “body” (which must of course also be perfect). The perfection (and the possible imperfections) of the “limbs” (*uṅuppu*) of the “body” is discussed by Puttamittiraṅār himself in the two *kārikai*-s VC144 and VC145. The following two *kārikai*-s (VC146 & VC 147) discuss the “eminent soul” (*ciṅappuyir*) and the *āviyiṅ kuṅṅam* “faults of the soul”.

³⁴ This also means examining the (possible) earlier occurrences of some of the nouns and expressions which are the 35 names in *alaṅkāram*-s in the VC and the TA.

³⁵ See example (5) below.

³⁶ For an overview of the domain, see Chevillard[2019] inside *Cambridge World History of Lexicography* [BIB].

³⁷ See the chronology in [Chart 4](#).

³⁸ In Tamil, *kavi* can be used either for the poem or for the poet. Many will know that “sweet poetry” (sung by sweet poets) is one among four categories of poetry (sung by four types of poets). See Chevillard[2014]: “On four types of poets and four types of scholars: from *pulavar* to *kavi* in the changing intellectual landscape of Tamil Nadu”. Another category, the *cittirak kavi* (“extreme poetry / extreme poet”) should certainly be mentioned in connection with VC181. See also Ti2336, Pi368 and YA-96 [lines 1-14]. (this last one distinguishes several subgroups: *cittirap pā*, *vicittirap pā* and *miṅaikkaviṅ pāṭṭu*). (YV1998, p.560-561). (An additional reference is VC[2005: p.698]).

³⁹ A slightly modified form is found in YV (see YV_1998, pp. 586-587).

uruvakam (“metaphor”), possesses lofty sonorities, and is like the ambrosia from the great sea to the minds of those who are capable of deducting its meaning (*uytt-uṅarvōr*)” (Ti_2335 & Pi_367)

This mention in a ninth-century Tamil text of *alaṅkāram*, along with *uruvakam*, which is the form adapted to Tamil phonology of the Sanskrit technical term *rūpaka* “metaphor”, third item in the list of **ORNAMENTS** of Daṇḍin, **which was already known to the NŚ** (see 3d), might be the earliest we now have in the whole of Tamil literature. It is not isolated, because the same *Tivākaram* contains in its 2458th sūtra, which is found inside its 12th chapter, an explicit list of 28 *alaṅkāram*-s, in which the same *uruvakam* is the first item. I must add immediately however that, **as we shall see when comparing 3b and 3c**, there does not exist an absolute consensus on the manner in which the text of this sūtra must be split. This is why I shall proceed cautiously in my presentation, taking as my starting point the text as it was printed for the first time in 1840, by Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār **(BIB)**, reproduced here inside **Figure 1**.

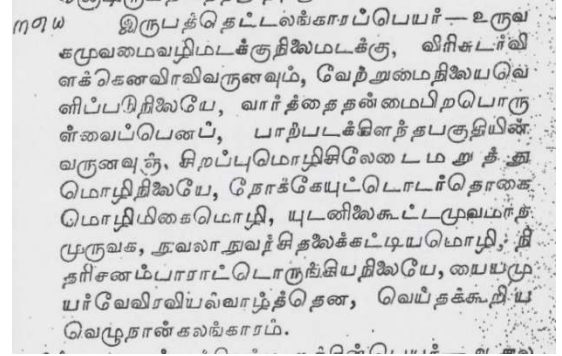


Figure 1: Extract from the 1840 edition of *Tivākaram*

As can be seen, the text of the sūtra is preceded by a title, which reads “*irupatteṭṭalaṅkārap peyar*”, i.e. “names of the 28 *alaṅkāram*-s”. That title is followed by an **Em-dash**. After that comes the text of the sūtra, which consists of 12 metrical lines separated by commas. Each line is printed in *scriptio continua*, without separation between the metrical feet. Later editions added more separations, as can be seen inside **Figure 2**, which contains an extract from the 1917 edition, in which it can be seen that each of the 12 lines now contains an n-dash as a middle separator. A closer look at the two texts reveals however that a few additional modifications⁴⁰ have silently been made to the original 1840 readings, even though the title page of the 1917 edition still mentions the name of Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār (d. 1850). Before however attempting a closer examination of the precise splitting of the content of those 12 metrical lines into a list of distinct items, I must first provide some information concerning the final count itself, which appears as *irupatteṭṭu* “twenty-eight” in the title and as *eḷu-nāṅku* “seven (times) four” in the twelfth line. The section where the sūtra Ti-2458 is found is the 12th (and last) chapter of the *Tivākaram*, its title being *Pal-poruṭ kūṭṭatt-oru-peyar tokuti* “Collection of the names of groups of entities”. That chapter occupies 5 per-cent of the *Tivākaram* and has 234 sūtra-s, going from Ti-2285 to Ti-2518. It contains elements of information concerning groups (of items) which are traditionally associated with numbers, and which can sometimes be used as substitute for them, as *bhūta saṃkhyā*-s.⁴¹ To give just a few well-known examples, the 28 *alaṅkāram*-s are preceded by the “7 iruṭi (Rishis)” in Ti-2397, the “8 types of marriage” in Ti-2431, the “9 gems” in Ti-2438, the “10 avatāram-s of Ari (Viṣṇu)” in Ti-2444, the “11 Uruttirar (i.e. Rudras)” in Ti-2446, ..., the “25 tattuvam-s” in Ti-2457, and are followed by the “33 Tēvar” in Ti-2460.

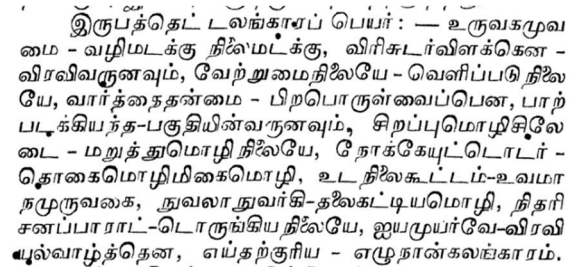


Figure 2: Extract from the 1917 edition of *Tivākaram*

If we move now to a recent edition which claims to be a critical edition (see bibliography), we can finally see a text (here shown in **Figure 3**) which has been split by its editors into an explicit

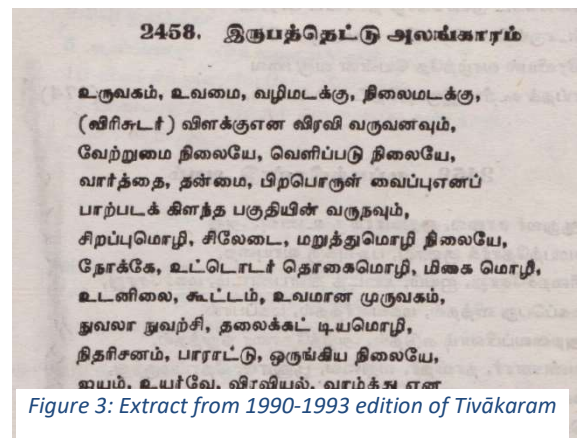


Figure 3: Extract from 1990-1993 edition of *Tivākaram*

⁴⁰ Line C has vēṛṛumainilaiyē against vēṛṛumainilaiya; Line E has pārpaṭakkiyanta vs. pārpaṭakkilanta; Line I has nitaricaṇap pārāṭṭu vs. nitaricaṇam pārāṭṭu; Line J has eytaṅkuriya vs. eytakkūriya.

⁴¹ See Pfloker, *Mathematics in India*, 47.

list of 28 items, although, as I shall make clear, other modern editors have sometimes made a different choice in the splitting. A transcription of that text is provided below, in (3a), and I shall remark immediately that one difference between that text and the text visible in Figure 1 and in Figure 2 is seen in the wording of the count of 28, which no longer appears as *eḷu-nāṅku* “seven (times) four” but is now *irupattettu* “twenty-eight”, although the 1990-1993 editors strangely do not signal the difference in their list of textual variants

(3a) [A] *uruvakam* (a1), *uvamai* (a2), *vaḷimaṭakku* (a3), *nilaimaṭakku* (a4), // [B] (*viricuṭar*) *viḷakku* (b1) *ena viravi varuvanavum*, // [C] *vērrumai nilaiyē* (c1), *veḷippaṭu nilaiyē* (c2), // [D] *vārttai* (d1), *taṇmai* (d2), *piṇaporuḷ vaippu* (d3) *enap* // [E] *pārpaṭak kilanta pakutiyyin varunavum*, // [F] *ciṇappumolī* (f1), *cilētai* (f2), *maṇuttumolī nilaiyē* (f3), // [X] *nōkkē* (x1), *uṭṭoṭar tokaimolī* (x2), *mikaimolī* (x3), // [G] *uṭaṇilaik* (g1a), *kūṭṭam* (g1b), *uvamāṇa muruvakam* (g2), // [H] *nuvalā nuvaṇci* (h1), *talaikkaṭ ṭiyamolī* (h2), // [I] *nitaricaṇam* (i1), *pārāṭṭu* (i2), *oruṅkiya nilaiyē* (i3), // [J] *aiyam* (j1), *uyarvē* (j2), *viraviyaḷ* (j3), *vāḷttu* (j4) *ena* // [K] *eytak kūriya irupattettu*⁴² *alaṅkāram* (Ti-2458)

As the reader can see, I have heavily annotated the transliterated text by

- inserting, between square brackets, twelve bold-face capital letters (A, B, C, D, E, F, X, G, H, I, J & K) in order to indicate the beginning of each of the 12 lines
- inserting, between brackets, twenty-eight bold-face lower-case letters (accompanied by numbers) after each expression which is the name of an *alaṅkāram*. The lower case letters and the capitals are iconically related.

I shall now provide a preliminary semi-translation, in order to show how the *Tivākaram* sūtra Ti-2458 is in fact divided into three sections, in the following manner.

(3b) “[K] The twenty-eight *alaṅkāram*-s obtain by enumerating (28 = 5 + 5 + 18): ((FIRST GROUP: 5 items)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms (*viravi varuvana*) ((namely)) [A] a1, a2, a3, a4, [B1] ((and)) b1 of expansive flame ((SECOND GROUP: 5 items)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions which are amenable (*pārpaṭak kilanta pakutiyyin varuna*) (to the previous ones) ((namely)) [C] c1, c2, [D] d1, d2 and d3 ((and THIRD GROUP: 18 items)) [F] f1, f2, f3, [X] x1, x2, x3, [G] g1a, g1b, g2, [H] h1, h2, [I] i1, i2, i3, [J] j1, j2, j3 ((and)) j4” (1990-1993 critical edition [University of Madras])

It is now time to explain the points of disagreement between the modern editors of that text, by providing a second translation, (3c), which will differ in two places from the preceding one. It is as follows:

(3c) “[K] The twenty-eight *alaṅkāram*-s obtain by enumerating (28 = 5 + 5 + 18): ((FIRST GROUP: 5 items)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms ((namely)) [A] a1, a2, a3, a4, [B1] ((and)) b1 of expansive flame ((SECOND GROUP: 5 items)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions which are amenable (to the previous ones) ((namely)) [C] c1, c2, [D] d1, d2 and d3 ((and THIRD GROUP: 18 items)) [F] f1, f2, f3, [X] x1, x2a, x2b, x3, [G] g1, g2, [H] h1, h2, [I] i1, i2, i3, [J] j1, j2, j3 ((and)) j4” (Santi Sadhana)

As should hopefully be visible at first glance, the two translations differ in two places, namely line X and line G, because, as far as line X is concerned

- One group of editors thinks that the expression x2, alias *uṭṭoṭar tokaimolī* contains *tokaimolī* as the name of an *alaṅkāram*, and *uṭṭoṭar* as a decorative epithete

⁴² The editio princeps (1840)(BIB) has “*eḷunāṅk-alaṅkāram*” [seven (times) four] instead of *irupattettu* [twenty-eight].

- Another group of editors (whose work is summarized in the Santi Sadhana trust 2000 Concordance [BIB]) thinks that the expression *uṭṭoṭar tokaimoḷi* must be split into two subexpressions, namely *uṭṭoṭar* (2a) and *tokaimoḷi* (2b), each of them being the name of a specific *alaṅkāram*

Symmetrically, as far as line G is concerned

- One group of editors thinks that the expressions *uṭṭoṭar* (g1a) and *kūṭṭam* (g1b) x2, are the names of two distinct *alaṅkāram*
- The Santi Sadhana group of editors thinks that those two expressions form a single name, for an *alaṅkāram* (g1) called *uṭṭoṭar kūṭṭam*

These remarks having been made, it is now time to try to make some progress in the task of explaining the content of Ti-2458, elaborating on the first section of what was given in (3b) and (3c), which corresponds to the content of lines A and B. Although that first section enumerates **five** items, for which the abbreviated designations (and names) are a1 (*uruvakam*), a2 (*uvamai*), a3 (*vaḷimaṭakku*), a4 (*nilaimaṭakku*) and b (*viḷakku*)⁴³, it has an unmistakable resemblance with an enumeration of four items which is found inside NŚ XVII.43, namely

(3d) Four figures of speech available in drama are: Simile (*upamā*), Metaphor (*rūpaka*), Condensed Expression (*dīpaka*, lit. lamp) and Yamaka. [NŚ XVII.43, English translation: Ghosh[2007] (reprint), p.308] [BIB]

Before elaborating further on the resemblance between (3d) and the initial section of (3a), (3b) and (3c), I must however introduce a special notation which will be convenient in the continuation of this article, because it will ease the notational burden which is inherent in the navigation between the Sanskrit and Tamil technical terminologies. The principle used in that notation is that

(3e) if “N” is a Sanskrit word,

P(N) is a notation for the result of a possible adaptation of N to Tamil phonology

T(N) denotes a possible translation of N into Tamil.

As an application of that notation, I shall now state that:

(3f) a1 (i.e. *uruvakam*) can be referred to as P(*rūpaka*)

(3g) a2 (i.e. *uvamai*) can be referred to as P(*upamā*)

(3h) The second component of a3 (i.e. *vaḷi-maṭakku*) and of a4 (i.e. *nilai-maṭakku*), which is *maṭakku*, can be referred to as T(*yamaka*)

(3i) b1 (*viḷakku*) can be referred to as T(*dīpaka*).

Although the statements in 3f and 3g can be considered as self-evident, some explanation must be given for 3h and for 3i. The latter statement (3i) is probably the easier for a reader to accept, thanks to the fact that both terms⁴⁴ correspond to English “lamp”. As for the former statement (3h), I shall only say here that both *yamaka* (as explained in NŚ XVII.61-85, which describes the ornament and its subtypes) and *maṭakku* (as present for instance in YA-76)⁴⁵ involve a repetition of some phonic sequence. And the fact that NŚ knows ten types of *yamaka* makes it easy not to be surprised by the fact that the Tamil list of figures has divided its Tamil correspondent into two types. As for the

⁴³ The term *viḷakku* is in fact preceded and reinforced by a decorative epithet which has an initial rhyme relationship with it, in *viri cuṭar viḷakku*.

⁴⁴ Of course, the fact that the same metaphore has been used in both cases does not tell us what the figure is, but it is not within the scope of this article to explain what the figures consist of. That would require a full book.

⁴⁵ This is the characterisation of *āciryat tuṭai*. It involves a repetition of the middle line (*naṭu-v-aṭi maṭakku*).

terminological choice, if one ask why the specifying prefixes chosen are *vaḷi* and *nilai*, in *vaḷimaṭakku* (a3) and in *nilaimaṭakku* (a4), the answer can be given by pointing to similar usages inside TE and TC.⁴⁶ I am therefore tempted to conclude that the first group in 3b and 3c is a slightly expanded enumeration of the four *alaṅkāram*-s known to the NŚ, where the *yamaka* has been given two slots. This is, after all, not so surprising.

If we now compare the content of that same enumeration of five terms, namely {a1, a2, a3, a4, b1} with the content of the VC and of the DK, as presented in Chart 2 (Section 1), we can say that

- the items contained inside the subset {a1, a2, b1} possess a corresponding element in the list of 35 *alaṅkāram* described in the VC in the section VC152-VC177
- the items in {a3, a4} have their corresponding element in the *yamaka* section in VC179

Making use of the functional notation presented in (3e) and making it more compact by referring to the 35 canonical *alaṅkāram*-s in the DK, by means of a set of abbreviations such {D1, D2, ..., D35}⁴⁷, we can now write:

(3j) a1 = P(D3); a2 = P(D2); b1 = T(D4)

5. What happened when moving from the Tivākaram to the Piṅkalam

Although our progress in elucidating the precise meaning of the *Tivākaram* quotation given in 3a (and in Figures 1 to 3) has been so far rather slow and limited, we must now examine data from another source, namely the *Piṅkalam*, because it throws light on the circumstances under which knowledge which exists at some point can become obscured, or skewed, by the vicissitudes of transmission. As in the case of *Tivākaram*, I shall start by providing, in image form (see Figure 4), the text of a verse, namely Pi1370, containing the word *alaṅkāram*, as it can be seen in the first edition of of the *Piṅkalam*, which came out in 1890.

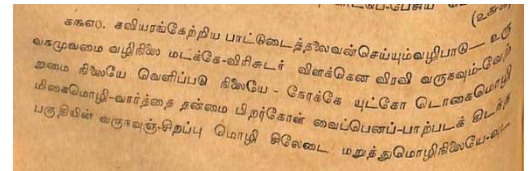


Figure 4: Piṅkalam [1890, p. 167, bottom]

After that, I shall provide, in (4), a transcription of the first twelve lines of that (long) 36-line stanza which explains in detail how a patron (*puravaḷaṅ*) should fulfil his duty (*kaṭaṅ*) and honor a professional poet on the occasion of the initial performance (*araṅkēṛram*) of a eulogy made to order, which is, in a manner of speaking, a piece of advertisement singing the eminent qualities of that patron who pays for it a poet competent on many counts, including the mastery of the twenty-eight *alaṅkāram*-s.

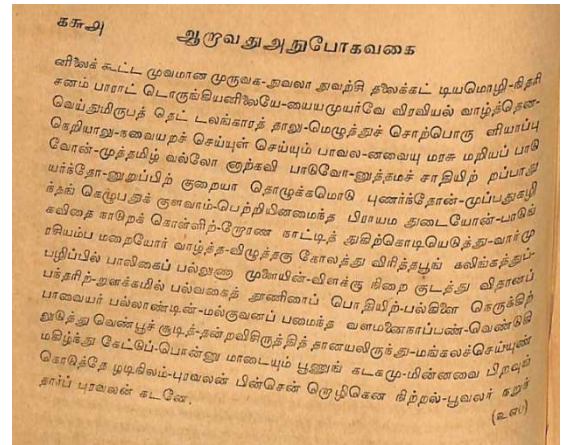


Figure 5: Piṅkama [1890, p. 168, top]

(4a) [A] *uruvaka* (a1) *muvamai* (a2) *vaḷinilai* (a3bis) *maṭakkē* (a4bis) // [B] *viricuṭar viḷakk-* (b1) *eṇa viravi varunavum* // [C] *vēṛrumai nilaiyē* (c1) *veḷippaṭu nilaiyē* (c2) // [X] *nōkkē* (x1) *yutkō* (x2aa) *ṭokaimoḷi* (x2b) *mikaimoḷi* (x3) // [D] *vārttai* (d1) *taṅmai* (d2) *piṛarkoḷi vaipp-* (d3bis) *eṇap* // [E] *pārpaṭak kiṭanta pakutiṅṅ varunavuṅṅ* // [F] *ciṛappumoḷi* (f1) *cilēṭai* (f2) *maṛuttumoḷi nilaiyē* (f3) // [G] *vuṭaṅṅilaik*

⁴⁶ In the description of sandhi phenomenon, involving two terms A and B, which join into AB, the first, initial, term A is called *nilai-moḷi*. As for *vaḷi*, it is used several time for specifying a term which follows another (cf “*uyarpiṅ-vaḷittu*” in TC91c)

⁴⁷ The full list of sanskrit names for the 35 *alaṅkāram*-s in the DK is: (D1) jāti, (D2) upamā, (D3) rūpaka, (D4) dīpaka, (D5) āvṛtti, (D6) ākṣepa, (D7) arthantaranyāsa, (D8) vyatireka, (D9) vibhāvana, (D10) samāsokti, (D11) atiśayavokti, (D12) utprekṣa, (D13) hetu, (D14) sūkṣma, (D15) leśa, (D16) yaṭhāsaṃkhyā, (D17) Preya, (D18) Rasavat, (D19) ūrjāsvi, (D20) paryāyoktam, (D21) samāhitam, (D22) udāttam, (D23) apahnuti, (D24) śliṣṭam, (D25) viśeṣokti, (D26) tulyayogitā, (DA27) savirodha, (D28) apastutaprasāmsā, (D29) vyājastuti, (D30) nidarśana, (D31) saḥokti, (D32) parivṛtti, (D33) āśih, (D34) saṃkiṛṇam, (D35) bhāvika.

kūṭṭa (g1) muvamāṇa muruvaka (g2) // [H] nuvalā nuvaṛci (h1) talaikkaṭ ṭiyamoli (h2) // [I] nitaricaṇam (i1) pārāt (i2) ṭoruṅkiya ṇilaiyē (i3) // [J] yaiya (j1) muyarvē (j2) viraviyal (j3) vāṭṭ- (j4) eṇa // [K] veytumiru pattēṭ ṭalaṅkārat tālum

(Pi-1370, lines 1-12, out of a total of 36 lines)⁴⁸

The reader who tries to make a detailed comparison of the *Piṅkalam* text which is provided in (4a) with the *Tivākaram* text which was reproduced in (3a) can see that the number of common points between the two texts far exceeds the number of differences, although that is partly masked by the fact that (4a) is a metrical text, whereas (3a) is a sandhi-split text.⁴⁹ My global perception is that (4a) results from an act of creative rewriting of (3a), in which one sees that:

- An independent statement of existence (“there exists 28 *alaṅkāram*-s, which are [...]”) has become an instrumental clause, which is part of the certification of the professional qualities of the Tamil poet (“[...] by means of the 28 *alaṅkāram*-s, which are [...]”)
- The position of the line X, which came after lines ABCDEF and before lines GHIJK inside (3a) has been modified because it now comes after lines ABC and before lines DEFGHIJK. The consequence is that the *alaṅkāram*-s from line X which were enumerated as falling inside the THIRD group, are now enumerated as falling under the SECOND group. Another consequence is that the respective sizes of the three sub-groups are altered.⁵⁰
- Additionally, the content of several lines is partly different. The lines concerned are
 - line A, in which both a_3 and a_4 have been modified, becoming a_{3bis} and a_{4bis}
 - line D, in which d_3 has been modified, becoming d_{3bis}
 - line X, in which we have a splitting into four elements (x_1 , x_{2aa} , x_{2b} & x_3) resembling what was seen in (3c), namely { x_1 , x_{2a} , x_{2b} & x_3 }, except for the item “uṭkō!” (x_{2aa}), which has been substituted to the item “uṭṭoṭar” (x_{2a})
 - line G, in which we have the same division into two elements, g_1 and g_2 , as that which was seen in (3c), as distinct from (3b)

Before commenting further, we can now produce a semi-translation, one the model of those given in the previous section. It reads thus:

(4b) “[K] ... by means of the twenty-eight *alaṅkāram*-s, which obtain by enumerating ($28 = 5 + 9 + 14$):
 ((**FIRST GROUP: 5 items**)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms ((namely)) [A] a_1 , a_2 , a_{3bis} , a_{4bis} , [B1] ((and)) b_1 of expansive flame
 ((**SECOND GROUP: 9 items**)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions which are amenable (to the previous ones)
 ((namely)) [C] c_1 , c_2 , [X] x_1 , x_{2aa} , x_{2b} , x_3 , [D] d_1 , d_2 and d_3
 ((and **THIRD GROUP: 14 items**)) [F] f_1 , f_2 , f_3 , [G] g_1 , g_2 , [H] h_1 , h_2 , [I] i_1 , i_2 , i_3 , [J] j_1 , j_2 , j_3 ((and)) j_4 ”

At this stage, I must provide additional information, although space will prevent me from making full use of it. I have indicated that the twelfth chapter of the *Tivākaram* had been printed for the first time in 1840⁵¹ and that the first edition of the *Piṅkalam* came out in 1890. There is however an important difference between those two editions concerning the manner in which they guide us in the reading the text of the sūtras. Whereas the 1840 edition of the *Tivākaram* contains only the source text, in unsplit metrical form, the 1890 edition of the *Piṅkalam* uses a facing pages format, where the source text (printed on the left page) is accompanied by a commentary (printed on the right page), which frequently replaces the sūtra items by modified formulations (see [Chart 7](#)). Even though the source text is provided in metrical form, we therefore always know how the editor splits it and what he thinks it means.

As a consequence of those observations, we must consider the possibility that the interpretation given to the *Tivākaram* sūtra Ti-2458 by the Santi Sadhana editors, with respect to the splitting of lines X and G, which was explained

⁴⁸ This is based on the 1968 edition of *Piṅkalam* (p.201).

⁴⁹ The reason for the difference is that (4a) transcribes [Figure 4](#) and [Figure 5](#), whereas (3a) transcribes [Figure 3](#).

⁵⁰ See the difference between the decompositions “($28 = 5 + 9 + 14$)” in 4b, and “($28 = 5 + 5 + 18$)” in 3b and 3c.

⁵¹ The first edition of the *Tivākaram* is dated 1839, but it contained only the first 10 chapters. A more complete edition came only the following year.

in (3c) is in fact influenced by the commentary of the Piṅkalam, and that the semi-translation given in (3b) is probably closer to the original intention of the compilers of the Tivākaram. There is of course an alternate possibility, which is that the commentary to the Piṅkalam has preserved the original splitting for lines X and G. Given the fact that we still have more texts to examine, it better to let those questions rest now.

Finally, I must mention here **another possible splitting** of the text which enumerates the elements of the list of *alaṅkāram*-s, in which the count of the elements of the first subgroup goes down from 5 to 4. Such a splitting would be based on a rejection of the commentator’s interpretation of the string *a*_{3bis} string which is found in (4a), namely *vaḷinilai*. According to that interpretation, the sequence “*vaḷinilai* (*a*_{3bis}) *maṭakkē* (*a*_{4bis})” would become “*vaḷinilai maṭakkē* (*a*_{4ter})” and would simply be a **factoring out** of the term *maṭakku*, performed on a base text which would be the “*vaḷimaṭakku* (*a*₃), *nilaimaṭakku* (*a*₄)”, as seen in (3a). That fragment then could be translated as

(4c) “*vaḷinilai maṭakkē* (*a*_{4ter})
 “*maṭakku*, which has the two types called *vaḷi*-(*maṭakku*) ‘follower yamaka’ and *nilai*-(*maṭakku*) ‘standing yamaka’ ” [Reinterpretation of a fragment of 4a, cf supra]

A practical consequence, in that case, is that, since we are constrained by the total of 28, which is explicitly specified in the text of 4a and which obtains as a result of the addition (**28 = 5 + 9 + 14**), one of the items in the second or in the third group would have to be duplicated. We could for instance have:

(4d) “[K] ... by means of the twenty-eight *alaṅkāram*-s, which obtain by enumerating (**28 = 4 + 9 + 15**):
 ((**FIRST GROUP: 4 items**)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms ((namely)) [A] *a*1, *a*2, *a*_{4ter}, [B1] ((and)) *b*1 of expansive flame
 ((**SECOND GROUP: 9 items**)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions which are amenable (to the previous ones)
 ((namely)) [C] *c*1, *c*2, [X] *x*1, *x*_{2aa}, *x*_{2b}, *x*3, [D] *d*1, *d*2 and *d*3
 ((and **THIRD GROUP: 15 items**)) [F] *f*1, *f*2, *f*3, [G] *g*_{1a}, *g*_{1b}, *g*2, [H] *h*1, *h*2, [I] *i*1, *i*2, *i*3, [J] *j*1, *j*2, *j*3 ((and)) *j*4”
 [Speculative reinterpretation of (4a)]

More speculations are of course possible, but we must now return to the examination of more textual data.

6. Investigating the YA and the YV, in search of the lost *Aṅiyiyal*

We shall now examine another text, which belongs to a different line of transmission, namely the tenth-century *Yāpparuṅkalam* (YA), a seminal metrical treatise. In order to do that, we shall also examine the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* (YV), an ancient commentary on the YA, which is very important for all historians of the Tamil śāstric tradition, notably because it contains quotations from many Tamil scholarly texts which are now lost.⁵² Starting with the YA, I shall first reproduce in (5) a set of two lines, which are the 15th and the 16th lines, extracted from a sequence of 29 lines in all, inside YA-96, the last *sūtra* in the *Yāpparuṅkalam*. In that extract from a *sūtra* which is a long enumeration of many topics, we see the following words concerning three distinct topics, signalled here by brackets (tagged A, B and C):

(5) ^A{*uruvaka m-āti viraviya l-īrā* // *varum-alaṅkāramum*}^A ^B{*vāḷttum*}^B ^C{*vacaiyum*}^C “... ^Aand the “ornaments” (*alaṅkāram*), [whose list contains] *uruvakam* as beginning (*āti*) and *viraviyal* as end (*īru*), ^Band the blessing (*vāḷttu*), ^Cand the curse (*vacai*), and ... (lines 15 & 16 inside YA-96, see Figure 6)

விரித்து முடித்த மிறைக்கவிப் பாட்டே
 வருவக மாதி விரவிய லீரு
 வருமலங் காரமும் வாழ்த்தும் வசையுங்
 கவியே கமகன் வாதி வாக்கியென்

Figure 6: extract from p. 492 in *editio princeps* for YV (vol. 2, 1917): lines 14-17 inside verse YA 96

‘உருவகமாதி விரவியலீரு வருமலங்காரமும்’ என்பது: உருவகமும், உவமையும், வழிமொழியும், மடக்கும், தீபகமும், வேற்றுமைகிலையும், வெளிப்படாநிலையும், நோக்கும், உட்கோளும், தொகைமொழியும், மிகைமொழியும், வார்த்தையும், தன்மையும், பிறப்பொருள்வைப்பும், சிறப்புமொழியும், சிலேடையும், † மறுமொழியும்,

* ‘கண்டர கண்டன்றன் கை’ என்பதும் பாடம்.
 † ‘மறுத்த மொழிசிலை’ என்பதும் பாடம்.

Figure 7: p. 511 (bottom) in *Editio Princeps* of YV (vol. 2, 1917)

⁵² For a survey of what we know about lost Tamil works, see MPTN. (BIB)

Turning now our attention to YV, which is the very detailed⁵³ commentary on YA, we can see inside Figure 7 that when the time comes for an explanation of the topic which is delimited by the ^A{ } braces inside citation (2), YV first of all cites the relevant passage (i.e. line 15 and the first half of line 16) and then immediately after that develops this Beginning-End elliptical reference to a list into an explicit enumeration of 27 items, which does indeed start with *uruvakam* but in which, **surprisingly**, *viraviyal* is in fact the penultimate item and not the last one, as was announced by the YA (see 5). The role

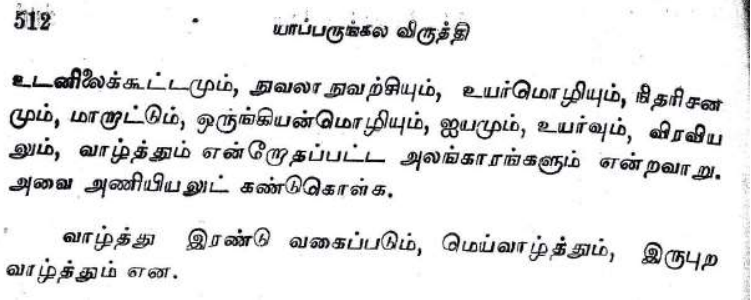


Figure 8: p. 512 (top) in Editio Princeps of YV (vol. 2, 1917)

of being the last item in the list falls, from the point of the YV on the item *vālttu*, a fact which is also at odd with the wording of the YA.⁵⁴ Additionally, we are told by the YV, after the enumeration of 27 items, that more information can be found inside a treatise called *Aṇi-yiyal* (which is unfortunately lost). The list (in prose), which obtains from (5) after insertion of many items between the first item (*uruvakam*) and the last item (*viraviyal*) and after addition of *vālttu*, will now be provided in (6a), and its pattern, which is **ABC XDF G*H*ZIJ**, will be indicated by methods which emulate those used in (3a) and (4a), although in the case of (6a) the capital letter do not indicate the beginning of metrical lines, because the content of the citation is in prose, except for the small citation from YA with which it begins:

(6a) “*uruvaka m-āti viraviya l-īrā // varum-alañ kāramum*” eṇṇatu [A] *uruvakam-um* (YV1 = a₁), *uvamai-y-um* (YV2 = a₂), *vaḷimolī-y-um* (YV3 = a_{3ter} [NEW = T(D5)]), (YV4 = a_{4bis} [MERGER of a3 & a4]) *maṭakk-um*, [B] *tīpakam-um* (YV5 = b_{1bis}), [C] *vērūmai nilai-y-um* (YV6 = c₁), *veḷippaṭai nilai-y-um* (YV7 = c_{2*}), [X] *nōkk-um* (YV8 = x₁), *uṭkōḷ-um*⁵⁵ (YV9 = x_{2aa} [NEW]), *tokai molī-y-um* (YV10 = x_{2b}), *mikai molī-y-um* (YV11 = x₃), [D] *vārttai-y-um* (YV12 = d₁), *taṇmai-y-um* (YV13 = d₂), *piṛa poruḷ vaipp-um* (YV14 = d₃[Ti]), [F] *ciṛappu molī-y-um* (YV15 = f₁), *cilēṭai-y-um* (YV16 = f₂), *maṛuttumolīnai-y-um* (YV17 = f₃), [G*] *uṭaṇilaik kūṭṭam-um* (YV18 = g₁) {g₂ vanishes}, [H*] *nuvalā nuvaṛci-y-um* (YV19 = h₁) {h₂ vanishes}, [Z] *uyar-molī-y-um* (YV20 = z₁ [NEW]), [I] *nitaricaṇam-um* (YV21 = i₁), *māṛāṭṭ-um* (YV22 = i_{2bis} [REPLACES i₂ by changing m to p and changing r to r] is NOW T(D27)), *oruṅkiyal molī-y-um* (YV23 = i_{3*}), [J] *aiyam-um* (YV24 = j₁), *uyarv-um* (YV25 = j₂), *viraviyal-um* (YV26 = j₃), *vāltt-um* (YV27 = j₄) eṇṇōtappaṭṭa alaṅkāraṅkaḷum eṇṇavāṛu. avai aṇiyiyaluṭ kaṇṭu koḷka. (YV_1998, p. 585)⁵⁶

(6b) «The [sūtra fragment] which reads “*uruvaka m-āti viraviya l-īrā // varum-alañ kāramum*”⁵⁷ refers to the (27) ornaments whose list is recited (ōtappaṭṭa) as “a₁ a₂ a_{3ter} a_{4bis} b_{1bis} c₁ c_{2*} x₁ x_{2aa} x_{2b} x₃ d₁ d₂ d₃ f₁ f₂ f₃ g₁ h₁ z₁ i₁ i_{2bis} i_{3*} j₁ j₂ j₃ j₄”. You can examine them in the *Aṇiyiyal*»

I imagine that at this stage the reader must be bewildered by this “avalanche” of symbols. It now time for me to try to summarize the (incomplete) information which has been gleaned by painstakingly trying to track contradictions and by extracting tokens of disagreements from a textual corpus where appearance of unanimity is probably usually preferred, in an academic community which frequently values the beauty of compromise. The following chart will hopefully contain all the symbols which have been used inside 3a, 3b, 3c, 4a, 4b, 4d, 6a and 6b.

⁵³ Its prolixity can be illustrated by the fact that in the 1998 edition of YA, the commentary concerning the 14 lines which precede the 2 lines cited in (2b) occupies 24 pages.

⁵⁴ That discrepancy, which must be due to the influence of *Tivākaram* (or of *Piṅkalam*), is confusing, and the reader might suspect a misprint, because *vālttu* is already present in YV96 as an independent element, signalled inside my citation (2a) by the ^B{ } braces, and followed on the same line 16 by item *vacai*, indicated in (2a) by the ^C{ } braces. Both *vālttu* and *vacai* are indeed the objects of two separate sets of explanations.

⁵⁵ MTL takes it to be an independant alaṅkāram in the basis of Pi.1370 (even though this contradicts our splitting in (3) and (4). MTL is followed by TIPA (Vol. 12, p. 78) referring to it as “L”.

⁵⁶ See also the same text (with footnotes) on p.550 in the 1973 edition.

⁵⁷ This was translated as «the ornaments, [whose list contains] *uruvakam* as beginning (*āti*) and *viraviyal* as end (*īru*)» in (5).

	#	Ti-2458 (3a)	Ti (alt)	Pi-1370 (4a)	Pi (alt)	YV Aniyiyal (6a)	YV#	Name	Pi gloss in chart 7	DK#	
A	1	a1		a1		a1	YV1	uruvakam	-		S
	2	a2		a2		a2	YV2	uvamai	-		S
	3	a3						vali-maṭakku			T
	4			a3bis				vali-nilai	-		T
	5					a3ter	YV3	vali-moḷi			T
	6	a4						nilai-maṭakku			T
	7			a4bis		a4bis	YV4	maṭakku	+		T
	8				a4ter			vali-nilai maṭakku			T
B	9	b1		b1				virī-ṭṭar viḷakku			T
	10					b1bis	YV5	ṭipakam	+		S
C	11	c1		c1		c1	YV6	vērṛumai-nilai	+		T
	12	c2		c2				velippaṭu-nilai	+		T
	13					c2*	YV7	velippaṭai-nilai			T
X	14			x1		x1	YV8	nōkku	+		T
	15			x2aa		x2aa	YV9	uṭ-kōḷ	+		T
	16			x2b		x2b	YV10	tokai-moḷi	+		T
	17			x3		x3	YV11	mikai-moḷi	+		T
D	18	d1		d1		d1	YV12	vārttai	+		S
	19	d2		d2		d2	YV13	taṇmai	-		T
	20	d3				d3	YV14	pira-poruḷ-vaippu			T
	21			d3bis				piṛar-kōḷ vaippu	+		T
F	22	f1		f1		f1	YV15	ciṛappu-moḷi	+		T
	23	f2		f2		f2	YV16	ciḷētai	-		S
	24	f3		f3		f3	YV17	maṛuttu-moḷi-nilai	+		T
X	25	x1						nōkku			T
	26	x2						uṭ-ṭṭar-tokai-moḷi			T
	27		x2a					uṭ-ṭṭar			T
	28		x2b					tokai-moḷi			T
	29	x3						mikai-moḷi			T
G	30	g1a						uṭaṇilai			T
	31	g1b						kūṭṭam			T
	32		g1	g1		g1	YV18	uṭaṇilai-k-kūṭṭam	-		T
	33	g2		g2				uvamāṇam-uruvakam	+		S
H	34	h1		h1		h1	YV19	nuvalā-nuvaṛci	+		T
	35	h2		h2				talai-k-kaṭṭiya-moḷi	+		T
Z	36					z1	YV20	uyar-moḷi			T
I	37	i1		i1		i1	YV21	nitaricaṇam	-		S
	38	i2		i2				pārāṭṭu	+		T
	39					i2bis	YV22	mārāṭṭu			T
	40	i3		i3				oruṅkiyaṇilai	+		T
	41					i3*	YV23	oruṅkiyal-moḷi			T
J	42	j1		j1		j1	YV24	aiyam	-		T
	43	j2		j2		j2	YV25	uyarvu	+		T
	44	j3		j3		j3	YV26	viraviyal	+		T
	45	j4		j4		j4	YV27	vāḷttu	-		T
	#	Ti-2458		Pi-1370		YV	YV#	Name			

Chart 6: Names of alaṅkāram-s in Ti-2458, Pi-1370 and YV

As can be seen, there is lot of variation, but an interesting fact is that we find Sanskrit words, indicated by an S in column 12 of **Chart 6**, only on seven of the 45 lines of that chart, namely lines 1 (*uruvakam*), 2 (*uvamai*), 10 (*tīpakam*), 18 (*vārttai*), 23 (*cilētai*), 33 (*uvamāṅam-uruvakam*) & 37 (*nitariṇam*). If we take the position that those 45 lines are simply the fluctuation surrounding a core list of 28 items, the 7 Sanskrit items can be seen as 25% of the total, although that percentage could go down to 21% if we chose the more frequent Tamil variant *viḷakku* (line 9) over the variant *tīpakam* (line 10). This certainly distinguishes the vocabulary of the *Aṇiyiyal*, if such is the name of a possible common source for our three lists, from the vocabulary of the VC (which has 40% of Sanskrit terms) and of the TA (which has 50%), at which we shall have a closer look in the coming section. Before continuing the discussion however, we must collect the additional information, which is contained in the 1890 Editio Princeps of the Piṅkalam (and repeated in the following editions), and whose existence was signalled by anticipation by the presence of a “+” sign in the 10th column of chart 6. That additional information is now provided below in Chart 7.

#	Ti-2458 (3a)	Pi-1370 (4a)	YV Aṇiyiyal (6a)	YV#	Name	Pi gloss (when it differs from the original text) ⁵⁸	DK#
1	a1	a1	a1	YV1	uruvakam	-	
2	a2	a2	a2	YV2	uvamai	-	
4		a3bis			vaḷi-nilai	-	
7		a4bis	a4bis	YV4	maṭakku	maṭaṅkutaṇavirci-y-aṇi	
9	b1	b1			viru-cuṭar viḷakku	tivaka-v-aṇi	
11	c1	c1	c1	YV6	vērṇumai-nilai	vērṇumai-y-aṇi	
12	c2	c2			velippaṭu-nilai	velippaṭai-y-aṇi	
14		x1	x1	YV8	nōkku	karuttuṭaiy-aṇi	
15		x2aa	x2aa	YV9	uṭ-kōḷ	kuṇippunilai-y-aṇi	
16		x2b	x2b	YV10	tokai-moḷi	curuṅkaccollal-aṇi	
17		x3	x3	YV11	mikai-moḷi	mikutiṇavirci-y-aṇi	
18	d1	d1	d1	YV12	vārttai	corpiṇvarunilai-y-aṇi	
19	d2	d2	d2	YV13	taṅmai	-	
21		d3bis			piṇar-kōḷ vaippu	vērṇumaipporuḷvaipp-aṇi	
22	f1	f1	f1	YV15	ciṇappu-moḷi	ciṇapp-aṇi	
23	f2	f2	f2	YV16	cilētai	-	
24	f3	f3	f3	YV17	maṇuttu-moḷi-nilai	etirmaṇuttal-aṇi	
32		g1	g1	YV18	uṭaṇilai-k-kūṭṭam	-	
33	g2	g2			uvamāṅam-uruvakam	uvamāṅa-v-uruvaka-v-aṇi	
34	h1	h1	h1	YV19	nuvalā-nuvarci	piṇitiṇavirci-y-aṇi	
35	h2	h2			talai-k-kaṭṭiya-moḷi	oppumaikkūṭṭa-v-aṇi	
37	i1	i1	i1	YV21	nitariṇam	-	
38	i2	i2			pārāṭṭu	pukaḷcci-y-aṇi	
40	i3	i3			oruṅkiyaṇilai	palaporuṭcorroṭarnilai-y-aṇi	
42	j1	j1	j1	YV24	aiyam	-	
43	j2	j2	j2	YV25	uyarvu	uyarvuṇavirci-y-aṇi	
44	j3	j3	j3	YV26	viraviyal	kalavai-y-aṇi	
45	j4	j4	j4	YV27	vālttu	-	

Chart 7: Glosses given for 18 out of 28 alankāram-s in Pi-1370 (as seen in 1890 Editio Princeps)

We are now facing a small ocean of names, in the form of two charts, Chart 6 and Chart 7. The first one, which is the central one, is an exposition of the textual variants, numbering 45, which have been found when exploring four texts, the Ti, the Pi, the YA and the YV, and the explicit enumerations which three of these texts contain, namely

- Ti, in which we have examined a list of 28 terms/expressions, with uncertain splitting: see (3a), (3b) and (3c)
- Pi, with its list of 28 terms or expressions, with a clearer splitting: see (4a) and (4b)

⁵⁸ In the case of the 10 items for which I have put a hyphen, the commentator has simply added the word *aṇi* at the end. For instance, *uruvakam* is explained as *uruvaka-v-aṇi* and *uvamai* is explained as *uvamai-y-aṇi*.

- YV (27 terms or expressions, clearly marked by the enumerative particle -um, attached to each item.

To these three explicit lists must be added two additional features:

- a name, *Aṇiyiyal*, which is mentioned along with the list of 27 elements: see (6a) and (6b)
- a virtual list, mentioned in (5), defined by its first element (*uruvakam*) and its last element (*viraviyal*), which may therefore have even been slightly shorter, going from YV1 to YV26.

The task which we are facing now, because we are nearing the time limit for what can reasonably be covered in one leg of an exploration, is to clearly state what are the possible next steps⁵⁹ and what is their order of magnitude. An obvious answer is that it would be very desirable to know what was the exact intended meaning of the terms contained in our lists, and that semi-translations, such as the ones given in 3b, 4b and 6b, cannot be considered as satisfactory. However, as will be clear to anyone who has studied such treatises, simply giving an English equivalent to a Tamil term is not enough, because one really understands the inner workings of a specific *alaṅkāram*, only when one has seen examples. We unfortunately do not have examples for the *Aṇiyiyal* because it is lost, and because the *Nikaṇṭu*-s which incorporated elements from its content inside their encyclopedic coverage did not provide us with examples either. To these problems of unclear meanings, must also be added problems of doubtful forms, and this was our reason for enumerating variants inside Chart 6. We must however be ready for two more questions:

- (Q1) if two forms are different, does it mean that what they signify is different?
- (Q2) if two forms are identical, does it mean that what they signify is the same?

As a concrete example of question Q1, Chart 6 contains on line 12 and 13 two items which are *velippaṭu nilai* (*c*₂, found in Ti and in Pi) and *velippaṭai nilai* (*c*_{2b}, found in YV). However, the consensus among scholars seems to be that both mean the same and that they are the original Tamil equivalent of Daṇḍin's *vibhāvana* (DA9), for which both Puttamittiraṇār and Tamiḷ Tāṇṭi have preferred to keep (*mutatis mutandis*) the "original" Sanskrit designation, because they both call it *vipāvaṇai* (see chart 8, in section 7, and see VC166).

As a concrete example of question Q2, we have seen that inside list A, the fourth item, has two variants: *nilaimaṭakku* (*a*_{4a}) and *maṭakku* (*a*_{4b}). The latter is found in the *Piṅkalam*, and its editors seem to think (see line with initial number 7 in chart 7) that in that case *maṭakku* means *maṭaṅkutaṇṇaviṇṇiyaṇi*, which is apparently (according to TVG, TIPA, vol.13, p.133) the equivalent of Sanskrit *vakrōkti*. Nevertheless, the more ordinary use of *maṭakku* in Tamil is to be the equivalent of Sanskrit *yamaka*. It is easy to be perplexed, while exploring such a complex environment.

As an additional example of the extreme difficulty frequently inherent in the task of determining the original intended meaning of even a single term, when the original context has disappeared, I shall take the term *vārttai*, found on line 18 of chart 6, which should probably be considered as an ancient borrowing because, although it does not occur in the *Tolkāppiyam*, it is found 6 times in the *Cilappatikāram*. According to chart 7, the editors/commentators think that its intended meaning is *corpiṇvarunilai-y-aṇi*,⁶⁰ and that explanation has found its way into the Madras Tamil Lexicon. Given the fact that the 5th *alaṅkāram* in the DK, namely *āvṛtti*, is called *mīṭci* by the VC and *piṇvarunilai* by the TA, this might mean that the term *vārttai* was the term originally used before *mīṭci* and *piṇvarunilai*.

However, it must also be noted that, inside the commentary to VC159, among a complementary list⁶¹ to the variant forms of *uvamai* "simile", we find a double trace of the term *vārttai*, one of them being the technical term *iṭa-*

⁵⁹ These future steps could be continued by me, alone or in collaboration with others. I would like to use this occasion for stating that I am grateful to Victor D'Avella for a number of stimulating exchanges which took place either during his seminar, at Hamburg University, during which some passages from the TA were read, or during my seminar, during which some passages from the YA and the YV were read. He recently suggested to me, that it would be profitable to compare what we have of the lost *Aṇiyiyal* with the content of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, a remark of which I have taken good note.

⁶⁰ See also *Col piṇ varu nilai aṇi* (TIPA, Vol.12, p.307).

⁶¹ See VC2005, p.591.

*vārttai*⁶² and the other one being the technical term *kāla-vārttai*,⁶³ each of them being provided with a poetical illustration. To this must be added that Peruntēvaṅār introduces the group of supernumerary elements as the opinion of a group of people whom he refers to as “orucārār”, probably implying that they belong to another school. And he even quotes a technical verse (nūrpā 204, in TVG’s numeration)⁶⁴ belonging to the teaching of that school. And given the fact that there is some overlap between the list of supplemental technical terms (contain *vārttai*) quoted in that circumstance and the list which we have been preparing here, of which the constituents are in Chart 6, that shows that there was a desire to maintain a continuity with already existing practices such as might have existed with the Aṅiyiyal, while introducing a new standard, namely the DK. I shall come back to that aspect in the conclusion.

7. How the 35 *alaṅkāram*-s are implemented in the VC and the TA

I shall now provide the reader with a chart similar to chart 5, where the names of the 35 *alaṅkāram* found in the VC and the TA will be “ventilated” into categories, on the basis of strategies (α , β and γ). The result is as follows:

count	Strategies	Daṅḍin#	Daṅḍin	Puttamittiraṅār	Taṅṭi
3 items	$\alpha \alpha$ (same Tamil translation)	DA1, DA16, DA18	<i>jāti</i> <i>yathāsamkhya</i> <i>Rasavat</i>	<i>taṅmai</i> , <i>niraṅṅai</i> , <i>cuvai</i>	
12 items	$\alpha_1 \alpha_2$ (two distinct Tamil translations)	DA5, DA6, DA7, DA10, DA12, DA14, DA17, DA19, DA26, DA28, DA29, DA31	<i>āvṛtti</i> <i>ākṣepa</i> <i>arthantaryāsa</i> <i>samāsokti</i> <i>utprekṣa</i> <i>sūkṣma</i> <i>Preya</i> <i>ūrjasvi</i> <i>tulyayogitā</i> <i>savirodha</i> <i>vyājastuti</i> <i>sahokti</i>	<i>mīṭci</i> , <i>taṅṭai molī</i> , <i>ṅira poruḷ vaippu</i> , <i>curukku</i> , <i>nōkku</i> , <i>nuṅukkam</i> , <i>makiḷcci</i> , <i>ūkkam</i> , <i>uṅṅaiḷai col</i> , <i>nuvalāc col</i> , <i>terivil pukaḷcci</i> , <i>oruṅkiyal</i>	<i>ṅiṅvarunilai</i> , <i>muṅṅa vilakku</i> , <i>vēṅṅup poruḷ vaippu</i> , <i>oṅṅu</i> , <i>taṅṅurippēṅṅam</i> , <i>nuṅṅam</i> , <i>ārva molī</i> , <i>taṅṅmēmpāṅṅurai</i> , <i>oppumaik kūṅṅam</i> , <i>māṅṅupaṅṅu pukaḷṅṅilai</i> , <i>pukaḷṅṅap pukaḷṅṅacci</i> , <i>puṅṅarunilai</i>
2 items	$\gamma \alpha$	DA8, DA33	<i>vyatireka</i> <i>āśiḅ</i>	<i>vitirēkam</i> , <i>āci</i>	<i>vēṅṅumai</i> , <i>vāḷṅṅu</i>
10 items	$\gamma \gamma$ (new borrowing)	DA3, DA9, DA11, DA20, DA23, DA24, DA35	<i>rūpaka</i> <i>vibhāvana</i> <i>atiśayavokti</i> <i>pariyāyoktam</i> <i>apahnuti</i> <i>śliṣṭam</i> <i>bhāvika</i>	<i>uruvakam</i> , <i>vipāvaṅṅai</i> , <i>aticayam</i> , <i>pariyāyam</i> , <i>avanuti</i> , <i>cilēṅṅai</i> , <i>pāvīkam</i>	
	$\gamma_1 \gamma_2$ (two variants)	DA15, DA21, DA22,	<i>leśa</i> <i>samāhitam</i> <i>udāttam</i>	<i>iḷecu</i> , <i>camāyitam</i> , <i>utāṅṅatai</i>	<i>iḷecam</i> , <i>camākitam</i> , <i>utāttam</i> ,
2 items	$\beta \beta$ (ancient borrowing)	DA2, DA13	<i>upamā</i> <i>hetu</i>	<i>uvamai</i> , <i>ēṅṅu</i>	
6 items	$\alpha \gamma$	DA4, DA25, DA27, DA30, DA32, DA34	<i>dīpaka</i> <i>viśeṣokti</i> <i>savirodha</i> <i>nidarśana</i> <i>parivṛtti</i> <i>saṅṅkīṅṅam</i>	<i>viḷakku</i> , <i>ciṅṅappu</i> , <i>muran</i> , <i>cuṅṅṅu</i> , <i>parimāṅṅṅam</i> , ⁶⁵ <i>virāvu</i>	<i>tīvakam</i> , <i>vicēṅṅam</i> , <i>virōtam</i> , <i>nitaricaṅṅam</i> , <i>parivaruttaṅṅai</i> , <i>caṅṅkīṅṅam</i>
		35 items		21 α, 2 β and 12 γ	17 α, 2 β and 16 γ

chart 8: Three strategies (α , β and γ) for explaining the *alaṅkāra*-s of Daṅḍin to a Tamil (learned) audience

It is of course difficult to compare things which are not of the same size. Nevertheless, I believe that it is justified to compare proportions. In the previous section we saw (Chart 7) that 77% of the vocabulary contained in the lists

⁶² See TIPA, vol.12, p.51.

⁶³ See TIPA, vol.12, p.219

⁶⁴ That nūrpā is on p. 591 inside TVG’s VC2005. See also my statistics inside Chart 3 (section 2) on the total number of such verses inside Peruntēvaṅār’s commentary.

⁶⁵ Cf. TIPA, Vol. 13, p.74: *parimāṅṅa aṅi* --> *parivaruttaṅṅam*, *parivaruttaṅṅai*, *māṅṅunilai aṅi*, *māṅṅāṅṅu aṅi*, ... (kuṅṅaḷ 1183), VC175,

derived from the lost *Aṅḡiyal* was Tamil. We see in this chart that in the AP, the percentage of Tamil vocabulary is 60%, and that it goes down to 48% in the text composed by the Tamil Taṅṡi. Paradoxically, the movement is the inverse of the movement seen in Chart 5, where the percentages of Tamil vocabulary for the guṇas were respectively 30% (in the AP) and 70% (in the text composed by the Tamil Taṅṡi). I shall come back to those figures in the concluding section, but it is now time to examine the topic of *vaṅṅam*, left untranslated until now, but which was one of the key terms constitutive of **the** *rūpaka* in VC143, which is where this essay began.

8. Why did Puttamittiraṅār mention *vaṅṅam*?

As previously indicated (see Chart 2 above), *vaṅṅam* is the topic of VC142, the last *kārikai* of the YP (*Yāppup paṭalam*), the fourth section of the VC, devoted to metrics. That *kārikai* VC142 is, however, a typical example of the cryptic terseness of Puttamittiraṅār, who is certainly not himself a practitioner of *arthavyakti*,⁶⁶ because VC142 is a totally borrowed and reordered list. This list would be incomprehensible without Peruntevaṅār, who himself does not bring any original contribution, but contents himself with borrowing, in the guise of a commentary, the slightly simplified text of the 20 *sūtras* from the *Tolkāppiyam* –totally surrendering to the most famous Tamil traditional source. More precisely, *kārikai* VC142 reads:

(7a) *mellicai yēnta loḷukuruṡ ṡeṅṅoru vēmuṡuku // valliyaḷ pāvakaḷ pāṡṡu nalivakaip pōṡiyaiyu // colliya cittiran tāvu puṡappāṡ ṡalaḷeṡaiyum // vallicai tūṅkal neṡuṅcīṡ kuṡuṅcī rivaivaṅṅamē.* (VC142 [metrical text])

I must first split this text in order to extract for the reader the twenty technical terms which are hidden in it, in the following manner, including additionally the twenty integers which go from 1 to 20, in an apparently random order:

(7b) **(4)** *mellicai* **(18)** *y-ēnta* **(13)** *oḷuk-* **(19)** *uruṡṡ-* **(15)** *eṅṅ-* **(14)** *oruvē* **(20)** *muṡuku // valliyaḷ* **(1)** *pā-v-* **(11)** *akappāṡṡu* **(10)** *naliv-* **(16)** *akaippōṡ-* **(5)** *iyaiyu // colliya* **(9)** *cittiran* **(2)** *tāvu* **(12)** *puṡappāṡṡ-* **(6)** *aḷapeṡaiyum //* **(3)** *vallicai* **(17)** *tūṅkal* **(7)** *neṡuṅcīṡ* **(8)** *kuṡuṅcī rivaivaṅṅamē.* (VC142 [sandhi-split text])

And the whole explanation given by Peruntevaṅār in order to explain (7) reads thus:

(8) *“(4) mellicai vaṅṅamāvatu, melleḷuttu mikuvatu. “soft-sound vaṅṅam abounds in soft phones” //*
**(18) ēnta vaṅṅamāvatu, coṅṅa collē ciṡantu varuvatu. “stretching vaṅṅam has predominance of a word said (repetively) //
**(13) oḷuku vaṅṅamāvatu, oḷaiyiṅoḷukuvatu. “regular vaṅṅam is regular in rhythm” //
**(19) uruṡṡu vaṅṅamāvatu, arākantotuḷappatu. “rolling vaṅṅam strings arākam⁶⁷ sequences” //
**(15) eṅṅu vaṅṅamāvatu, eṅ peyar mikku varuvatu. “counting vaṅṅam abounds in numbered names” //
**14) orūu vaṅṅamāvatu, aṡiyāṡitōṡum oṅṡāyt toṡaiyuṡaittāvatu. “avoiding vaṅṅam, line after line, unites in that (avoiding)⁶⁸ stringing” //
**(20) muṡuku vaṅṅamāvatu, aṡiyiṡṡatu aṡiyalākātāy, niṅṡa aṡṡitāy arākattōṡu kūṡi varuvatu. “hastening vaṅṅam, not recognizing (ordinary) line endings, in over-long lines comes with arākam sequences” //
**(1) pāvu vaṅṅamāvatu, nūṡpāp payila varuvatu. “the (special)-warp vaṅṅam is frequent in sūtra style” //
**(11) akappāṡṡu vaṅṅamāvatu, muṡiyātatu pōla muṡivatu. “the subordinated vaṅṅam ends as if not ending” //
**(10) nalivu vaṅṅamāvatu, āyṡtamuṡaittāy varuvatu. “the pining vaṅṅam has āyṡt (as characteristic element)” //
**(16) akaippu vaṅṅamāvatu, aṡuttaruttu oḷukuvatu. “the jerky vaṅṅam flows with repeated stops” //
**(5) iyaiyu vaṅṅamāvatu, iṡaiyeḷuttu mikuvatu. “agreeing vaṅṅam abounds in intermediate⁶⁹ phones” //
**(9) cittira vaṅṅamāvatu, kuṡṡeḷuttum neṡṡeḷuttum viravi varuvatu. “variegated vaṅṅam alternates between stretches with long phones and with short phones” //
**(2) tāvu vaṅṅamāvatu, iṡaiyiṡṡu vanta etukaittāvatu. “skipping vaṅṅam has intermittent line-initial rhymes” //
**(12) puṡappāṡṡu vaṅṅamāvatu, muṡintatu pōṅṡu muṡiyātatu. “the setting-forth vaṅṅam seemingly concluded is unconcluded” //
**(6) aḷapeṡai vaṅṅamāvatu, aḷapeṡaiyil varuvatu. “the protracted-(sound) vaṅṅam takes place in the protracting (of phones)” //
(3) vallicai vaṅṅamāvatu, valleḷuttu mikuvatu. “harsh-sound vaṅṅam abounds in harsh phones” //******************************

⁶⁶ Alias *poruṡṡeḷivu*, alias *uyttalilporuṅmai*: see chart 5 in section 3.

⁶⁷ An arākam sequence has a high-density of successive pairs of short syllables (iconically called *nirai*) and creates a sensation of fast movement. Example: “kaya leḷu tiya vima yaner ṡiyin, ...”

⁶⁸ This means that the rhyming feet are as far away as possible on the two ends of the same metrical line.

⁶⁹ The “intermediate phones” (y r l v ! l) are neither plosives, nor nasals. Other explanations might also be proposed.

(17) *tūṅkal vaṅṅamāvatu, vañci payila varuvatu. “balancing vaṅṅam has frequent vañci lines” //*

(7) *neṭuñcīr vaṅṅamāvatu, neṭṭeḷuttup payila varuvatu. “the vaṅṅam of long-(natured) feet, has predominance of long phones” //*

(8) *kuṟuñcīr vaṅṅamāvatu, kuṟṟeḷuttup payila varuvatu “the vaṅṅam of short-(natured) feet, has predominance of short phones”*

The numbers embedded by me inside that paragraph simply indicate that these short statements are in fact reformulations of the 20 individual *sūtras* which the *Tolkāppiyam* devotes to each of the 20 *vaṅṅam*, although the order has been changed to the sequence “4 18 13 19 15 14 20 1 11 10 16 5 9 2 12 6 3 17 7 8” in order to fulfil the constraints of the demanding meter used in the *kārikai*. It is of course impossible to do completely justice to this dense text, but I shall nevertheless try to explain why it must have seemed important to Puttamittiraṅār to include in his treatise an evocation of what may appear to many as a powerful (or magical) characterization of the phonetic essence of Tamil poetry—and especially of its multiple “**phonetic textures**”,⁷⁰ if we take this as a **tentative translation of *vaṅṅam***, although another meaning of *vaṅṅam* in the *Tolkāppiyam* is “colour.”⁷¹

The idea of having a list of 20 *vaṅṅam*-s as the last of the twenty-six major “limbs of poetry” (*ceyyuḷ uruppu*) in the *Ceyyūḷiyal* (itself the twenty-sixth chapter of the T) may have originated from a “rêverie” on a topic similar to the *śabda guṇas* discussed in Tubb [1985]⁷². However, the material for compiling this list of twenty was original and drawn from various parts of the *Tolkāppiyam* itself.⁷³ Given the fact that the elements of the list of *vaṅṅams* often come in pairs –although there are also some triplets, and some “singletons”– we can postulate that a list of twenty “phonetic textures” may have appeared more manageable to the author than a shorter list of 10. And we can also understand why a grammarian/metrician called Avinayaṅār, whose work is lost (but who was known to Puttamittiraṅār),⁷⁴ had expanded the count of possible *vaṅṅam*-s from 20 to 100 (see YV1998: 434 sqq).

However, for the sake of completion, I should add that, although this is what Puttamittiraṅār clearly (if cryptically) alludes to in VC142, the reference to the *Tolkāppiyam* (or to the *Avinayam*) may not have been the only topic evoked in the mind of his audience when hearing the word *vaṅṅam* in VC143. I shall briefly mention here two pieces of evidence, (E1) one extracted from the corpus of Tamil devotional poetry, (E2) the other extracted from the corpus of what I have called “Applied knowledge” inside chart 4.

(E1) in the Tēvāram, we come across references by the poets to the singing of compositions called *vaṅṅam*, as in:

(9) *vaṅṅaṅkaḷ tām pāṭi ... “singing melody-types with measures of time ...”*

(Tēvāram, 6-9, stanza 1, translation by V.M.Subramanya Ayyar)

(E2) in treatises of the genre called *pāṭṭiyal* “Art of making poems”, which fall under the category “applied knowledge” (latin “Artes”) and which enumerate in one of their divisions the possible forms (genres) and the constraints attached to them, we see a mention of *vaṅṅam* as a particular metrical form, in which some components are called *kalai*. This is the case for instance in the twelfth-century *Veṅṇāp pāṭṭiyal*, where verse 35 explains the formation of a genre called *oliyantāti*, in which the thirty constituent elements grouped together are parameterized in terms of *īr-eṅ kalai*-

⁷⁰ As in the title of Gary Tubb, 1985: “Abhinavagupta on Phonetic Texture” (JAOS, vol. 105, No. 3, pp. 567-578).

⁷¹ See TC416c : *vaṅṅattin, vaṅṅavin, alavin, cuvaiyin, “du fait de la couleur, de la forme, de la mesure, ou de la saveur ...”* (translation, Chevillard[1996, p. 499). This was my reason for choosing as the title of my (unpublished) 2009 Kyoto WSC presentation title the following: « On the phonetic texture or the “colour” (*vaṅṅam*) of poetry ».

⁷² See [note 44](#) above.

⁷³ For instance, the *pā vaṅṅam*, first item in the list, is characterized in T1470, and possesses a characteristic feature, *cor-cīr*, which consists in the use of very short lines. The technical term *cor-cīr* is mentioned in the list of possible components for a poem of the *paripāṭal* category in T1379 and explained in T1380. In other parts of the T, it seems to be known under another name, namely *cīrreṅ*, found in T1409, in the list of possible constituents in a poem of the *ampōtarāṅkam* type, which is a subcategory of the kali meter. Interestingly, Peruntēvaṅār, who uses the form *pāvū vaṅṅam*, reproduces in fact incompletely its characterization, and does not mention *cor-cīr*. Sic transit gloria mundi.

⁷⁴ See [footnote 9](#).

*vaṇṇam*⁷⁵ “vaṇṇams of sixteen kalai-s”. This agrees with the characterization found in the tenth-century *Paṇṇirupāṭṭiyal*, where the *oliyantāti* (item 267) is characterized as follows:

(10a) *tatta miṇatti loppumuṛai piṛalātu // nālaṭi yīreṅ kalaiyuru muppatu // kōliya toliyan tāti yākum* “an *oli-y-antāti* is that in which is made into a circle (*kōliyatu*) a group of thirty (*oru muppatu*) [stanzas having each] four lines (*nālaṭi*) of twice-eight kalai (*īr-eṅ kalai*) where there is no deviation (*piṛalātu*) [between the corresponding *kalai*-s in the various lines] in the comparable order in their own [phonetic] type (*tatta miṇatti loppumuṛai*). (*Paṇṇiru Pāṭṭiyal*, item 267, 1951, p. 40) (BIB)

Although the word *vaṇṇam* does not appear here, this description seems to fit what is nowadays known among Tamil poets as *vaṇṇap pāṭṭu*, of which the most well-known example nowadays is probably the *Tiruppukal*. Additionally, a sūtra shortly afterwards explains that:

(10b) *vaṇṇaka meṇpa toliyeṇap paṭumē* “that which is called *vaṇṇakam* can be called *oli*.” (*Paṇṇiru Pāṭṭiyal*, item 269, 1951, p. 40)⁷⁶

9. Popularity of explanations of *guṇas* based on *vaṇṇam* in later Tamil *alaṅkāra śāstra* literature

The high value attached to the performance of composing poems which follow all the difficult phonetic constraints defining *vaṇṇam* and the continued prestige of the *Tolkāppiyam* within the “beautiful Tamil-speaking world” probably explain the echoes of the *vaṇṇam* terminology which we find in later Tamil *Alaṅkāraśāstra* literature—specifically, with reference to the three *neṛi*-s “paths/styles” (i.e. *vaitaruppam/Vaidarbhī*, *kauṭam/Gauḍī*, and *pāñcālam/Pāñcālī*), in terms of *guṇas*.⁷⁷ Tamil scholars, making use of that terminology, have provided technical Tamil explanations for the tastes attributed to the poets belonging to the three *neṛi*-s.

We find for instance, in the commentary to *Māraṅgalaṅkāram* [MA] the following statements concerning respectively the illustrative verses 88, 89 and 90. These verses are reputed to illustrate the difference in taste between *vaitaruppam*, *kauṭam* and *pāñcālam* when it comes to the *guṇa* called *ceṛivu* by Taṇṭi-14 and by the MA, and which was called *cilīṭṭam* by VC148 (cf. TVG, p. 538), adapting the term from Daṇḍin’s *śliṣṭam*.

(11a) *Itu vaitaruppac ceṛivu. eṇṇa? melliṇamākiya eḷuttuc ceṛiya melliṇa vaṇṇam urru avveḷuttāṅ ākiya coṛkaḷ ceṛiyac ceṛittamaiyiṅ eṅka.* (MA p. 104)

«This (illustrates) “tightness” à la mode Vaidarbha. And if one asks why. Say that it is because, (nasal) phones of a soft-nature are densely present, *vaṇṇam* of soft-genre is being felt and the words which are made on the basis of those phones are therefore densely present.»

(11b) *ivvāru melliṇa vaṇṇattāṅ melleḷuttuc ceṛintu varutal virumpātu vallīṇa vaṇṇattāṅ valleḷuttuc ceṛinta collōṭum varkeṇat toṭuppatē vēṅṭuvar kauṭar* (MA p. 105)

«being unappreciative of the dense presence of soft (nasal) sounds which would result from (the use of) soft *vaṇṇam*, the *Gauḍa*-s require the stringing in a harsh manner of words made of tightly-packed arsh consonants, by the use of the *vaṇṇam* of harsh genre.»

⁷⁵ See p.32 in *Vaccaṅantimālai eṇṇum veṇpāp pāṭṭiyalum varaiyarutta pāṭṭiyalum*, (3rd ed.), 1951, kaḷakam, Chennai. The commentator glosses *vaṇṇam* by *palcantavakuppu*.

⁷⁶ For additional details concerning the frequent lack of distinction between *vaṇṇam* and *vaṇṇakam*, see the introduction to *Vaṇṇat tirāṭṭu* by Ti. Vē. Kōpālayyar (Taṅcai Carasvati Mahāl veliyīṭu 123, 1969). (BIB)

⁷⁷ See the remarks in TVG_1973, *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam, Aṇiyiyal*, p.64. See also: TVG_MA_2005:623 (*kauṭa iṅṅicai, kauṭa utāram*, etc.), TVG_MA_2005:627 (*pāñcāla iṅṅicai, pāñcāla utāram*, etc.), TVG_MA_2005:630-631 (*vaitaruppa iṅṅicai, vaitaruppa utāram*, etc.).

(11c) *itu pāñcālac ceṛivu. eṇṇai? iṭaiyiṇamākiya eḷuttu mikavum ceṛiya iyaipuvaṇṇam urru avveḷuttāñāya col ceṛiya vantamaiyāṇ eṇak koḷka.* (MA p. 106).

« This is “tightness” à la mode Pāñcāla. (If one asks) “why?”, (answer): This is because, the intermediate phones⁷⁸ being densely present, and the “agreeing vaṇṇam” being therefore felt, the words formed by means of those phones are densely present.»

By doing this, Tamil scholars were reconnecting with the first encounter between the Daṇḍin school and the world of Tamil literature after a possible theoretical interruption in the importance attributed to *vaṇṇam*. I am here referring to the fact that the more “orthodox” *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (TA), which is not a global five-fold treatise (dealing with *pañca vatikāram*), but is concerned only with a single branch (i.e. *Aṇi*), does not make use at all of the word *vaṇṇam*, probably because the original Daṇḍin does not contain a Sanskrit term of which *vaṇṇam* would be the Tamil translation.

10. A few conclusions

We are now reaching the end of this fragment of an exploration of the Tamil śāstric literature, in which the starting point was a kārikai from the *Vīracōḷiyam*. The main conclusion for me is that much remains to be done if one wants to really understand what took place in the evolution of that literature, but that we shall probably never be in a position to totally reconstruct some of the episodes.

Nevertheless, it seems that the early model for *alaṅkāram* in Tamil was not Daṇḍin; otherwise we would not have such a unanimity for lists containing twenty-eight elements. One suspects that Puttamittiraṇār tried to normalize what he must have perceived as “chaos” but that, at the same time, his commentator, Peruntēvaṇār, incorporated a lot of the early material in embedded *nūṛpā*-s. However, it is not such an easy task to understand and to translate the 124 *nūṛpā*-s which are embedded in the commentary, along with those of the illustrative verses which are associated with them.

After that, the task of the TA must have been to really stick to the orthodox pan-indian interpretation of the DK, and this must be the reason why the percentage of Tamil names for the 35 *alaṅkāra*-s went diminishing and became smaller than 50% (see end of section 7).

However, the TA school probably never became very influential with the traditional scholars, such as Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar who were the guardians of the older texts, such as the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Eṭṭut tokai*. He does not seem to make use of the TA terminology. He must not have been favourably impressed by those “young Turks,” who could not understand that everything useful was already there in the *Tolkāppiyam*. However, a term such as *vārttai*, which belongs to the terminology of the *Aṇiyiyal*, is found in his *Tolkāppiyam* commentary.⁷⁹

All those explicit *arthālaṅkāra* (*poruḷ-aṇi*) figures must have seemed clumsy to traditional scholars who were used to deal with everything in terms such as *kuṛippu*,⁸⁰ *muṇṇam*,⁸¹ or *icaiyeccam*. Who then needs *vakrōkti*, even if it is called *maṭaṅkal*^naviṛci* (or *maṭakku*), or indirect *uvamai* (*cuṭṭik kūrā-v-uvamai*), or understood as *iraicci* or *aṅkatam* (plus *vacai/vāḷttu*, *ceviyaṇivurūu*, etc.). They may have thought that it is enough to concentrate on form,

⁷⁸ Semi-vowels and liquids: y, r, l, v, ḷ and ḷ.

⁷⁹ *Vārttai* occurs in Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary on TP40n. See Ganesh Iyer p.100 and see TIPA, vol. 7, p.124, entry 416.

⁸⁰ See the *Kuṛaḷ* chapter: *kuṛippaṇṭal*; also the expression *kūrāmaṇṭ kuṛittataṇ-mēṭ cellum kaṭuṇ-kūḷi* in line 3 of the *Kaṭavuḷ Vāḷttu* of *Kalittokai*.

⁸¹ *muṇṇattiṇ uṇarum kiḷaviyūm uḷavē ..*

because any codification of poruḷ-aṇi will have “lourdeur.”⁸² Several possible starting points for the study of the connection between the Tolkāppiyam and the lost Aṇiyiyal are probably found in the Poruḷiyal.⁸³

Apart from traditional scholars such as Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar and distinct from those to whom I have referred as pan-indian, bilingual (Tamil-Sanskrit) scholars, we have also the group of all the practicing professional poets. Those poets were users of Nikaṇṭu-s and their universe appears to anyone who tries to completely read Section 6.8 of *Piṅkalam*, which is called *Anupōka vakai (Iyal vakai)*. Those poets were the creators and consumers of *Pāṭṭiyal* guides –[every-day] art of making poems [*pāṭṭu*]). They wanted to know how to achieve *poruttam*, for various, possibly magical purposes. Those poets are practicing poets who make a living by composing poems, just as astrologers live by their horoscopes. The art of *vacai* and *vāḷttu* also belong to their art of practical poets.

There are definitely TWO PATHS in the Tamil literary psyche. One is bilingual and panindian and follows the path of 35.⁸⁴ The other one is mostly monolingual, follows the path of 28⁸⁵ and is probably understudied. It likes *pāṭṭiyal*-s and *nikaṇṭu*-s. They both deserve to be known.

Returning to our starting point, we can conclude this series of observations on the “prehistory” of the use of the word *alaṅkāram* in Tamil sources by hypothesizing that when the author of the VC states that he will “expound in the very manner of the treatise which Daṇḍin uttered the ornaments of human beings who are abundant on earth”, he is emphasizing, in full awareness, the fact that his list of thirty-five *alaṅkāram* will be **very different**, both numerically and terminologically, from the earlier lists, which had only twenty-eight *alaṅkāram*, and may have been that of the old *Aṇiyiyal*, perhaps with roots in the NŚ.

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Piṅkalam (= Pi): *Piṅkalantai eṇṇum Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu* (Chennai :: TTSS, 1968).

TIPA : especially Vol. 12 & 13 (TVG)

⁸² In a similar line, a joke which must be explained is no longer a joke.

⁸³ An important entry point is the cūttiram TP242n: *uṭaṇṇurai yuvamañ cuṭṭunakai ciṇṇappēnak // keṭalaru marapi nuḷḷurai yaintē*.

⁸⁴ Interestingly, Beschi in his *Caturakarāti*, has enumerated 35 *alaṅkāram*-s.

⁸⁵ The Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu enumerates only 28 *alaṅkāram*-s.

Tivākaram (= Ti): *Tivākaram*, ed. Mu. Caṅmukam Piḷḷai and I. Cuntaramūrtti, 2 vols, (Chennai: Ceṅṅai Palkalaik Kaḷakam, 1990-3).

VC : *Vīracōḷiyam*

VC1881: poṅpaṅṅikāvalaṅ // puttamittiraṅār // iyaṅṅiya // vīracōḷiyam // iḷtu // peruntēvaṅāruraiyōṭu // yāḷppāṅam // ci. vai. tāmōtarampiḷḷaiyāl // palatēcappiratirūpaṅkaḷaikkōṅṅu // paricōtittu // [mēṅṅaṅ] ūr // ti. kumāracāmicceṅṅiyārāl // taṅcāvūr-catāvātāṅam // cuppiramaṅiya aiyaratu // vittiyāvarttani accukkūṅattil // patippikkappaṅṅatu. // ceṅṅappaṅṅaṅam // vicu [varuṅam] – cittirai [mātam] // Registered Copyright.

VC1942: pavāṅantar kaḷaka veḷiyīṅu, 3. // poṅpaṅṅikāvalar // puttamittiraṅār iyaṅṅiya // vīracōḷiyam // mūlamum // peruntēvaṅār iyaṅṅiya // uraiyum // patippāciriyaṅ: // kā. ra. kōvintarāja mutaliyār, // māḷit talaimait taṅḷāciriyaṅ, // paccaiyappaṅ kallūri uyarkalācālai, ceṅṅai. // pavāṅantar kaḷakam // vēppēri :: ceṅṅai // patippurimai] 1942 [vilai rūpā 3

VC2005: vīracōḷiyam of puttamittiraṅār. Ed. by T.V. Gopal Iyer [Ti. Vē. Kōpālaiyaṅ]. Śrīraṅkam: Śrīmat Āṅṅavan Ācciramam, 2005.

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YA: *Yāpparuṅkalam*

YV: *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* (commentary on YA): see Vēṅukōpāḷap Piḷḷai, Mē. Vī. (1998).

**Colophon: file sent by Jean-Luc from Müssen to David, as
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