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The Commentary Idioms of the Tamil Learned Traditions

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The Commentary Idioms of the Tamil Learned Traditions

Edited by
Suganya Anandakichenin and Victor B. D'Avella

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Preface

Almost thirteen years have gone by since that first workshop on the Tamil commentary tradition that was held at the Pondicherry centre of the EFEO in August 2006 and that resulted, in 2009, in the publication of a volume of articles in honour and commemoration of the by then late and lamented T.V. Gopal Iyer.[1] That volume gave a first layout of the nascent field of commentary studies, a field that in recent years has been a fruitful one for both Sanskrit and Tamil. Thanks to the generous funding of the European Union, the majority of the old 2006 participants, consisting of the core members of the Pondicherry Tamil team and the *Caṅkam* project—except for the ones that sadly have gone on to the other world, that is, after T.V. Gopal Iyer, who passed away in 2007, his younger brother T.S. Gangadharan, who followed him in 2009, and finally R. Varada Desikan, deceased in 2017—had the gratification and pleasure to see a new generation joining forces in the advance of available knowledge in this notoriously difficult area.

With the labour of Suganya Anandakichenin, Erin McCann and Jonas Buchholz, three new Tamil-related PhD dissertations have been defended, two in the domain of Vaiṣṇava studies, one for the *Kīḻkkaṇakku*. As a special achievement can be counted the close collaboration between Tamilists and Sanskritists, begun with the Cambridge workshop entitled *Bilingual Discourse and Cross-Cultural Fertilisation: Tamil and Sanskrit in Medieval India*, organised in summer 2009 by Whitney Cox and Vincenzo Vergiani.[2] This

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[1] *Between Preservation and Recreation: Tamil Traditions of Commentary. Proceedings of a Workshop in Honour of T.V. Gopal Iyer*. Ed. by Eva Wilden. EFEO-IFP, Collection Indologie 109, Pondichéry 2009.

[2] The result was the volume *Bilingual Discourse and Cross-Cultural Fertilisation: Tamil and Sanskrit in Medieval India*. Ed. by W. Cox and V. Vergiani, IFP-EFEO, Collection Indologie 121, Pondichéry 2013.

collaboration has been shedding new light on the parallels and differences between the two greater traditions and has helped open up the horizon so as to include other languages that have been shaped or even forged out of their interaction, here, besides Maṇipravāḷam, also Telugu.

It is thus with great pleasure and satisfaction that I see this volume coming to light as the first fruit of joint efforts in the framework of NETamil, as a landmark of the progress that has been achieved in the last five years.

Eva Wilden, Hamburg,
2. August 2019

Introduction

One of the greatest pleasures in humanistic inquiry is the communal reading and discussion of texts, line by line, word by word, and even letter by letter. In such a setting, every reader inevitably benefits from the insights—as well as the errors—of others and emerges from the experience with a richer understanding of the work at hand and the problems that it poses for interpretation and accurate exposition. Scholars of various traditions across the globe have the privilege of engaging with their texts in the company not only of their peers and students but also of those long departed who have left their thoughts in the form of commentaries. The textual traditions of South Asia are no exception except perhaps insofar as they often exceed others in their diversity, richness, and volume. The modern world is still very much in the process of receiving this vast commentarial literature given that so many commentaries remain unpublished and unread. Furthermore, scholarship that takes these commentaries as an object of study in their own right remains in its infancy, although there is a number of notable exceptions, both recent as well as further back in time, but the current trend looks favourable. We hope that the present volume of collected essays on the commentarial traditions from South India will help to maintain this momentum and encourage further research on, including the publication of, commentaries from India and beyond.

What constitutes a commentary and why we believe this to be a topic worthy of further inquiry requires some explanation at the outset. The answer to the first question can be infinitely complex, and we do not here wish to offer a definitive definition or an exhaustive catalogue of features. Nonetheless, we may paint in broad brushstrokes, with bits of detail here and there, the variety of commenting in South India and the types of texts that the contributing authors have written about. We may also specify at this point that the majority of essays focus on commentaries from the Tamil tradition, although we have also

included pieces based on Sanskrit, Telugu, and Maṇipravāḷam works, since none of these traditions existed in a vacuum and undoubtedly influenced one another. As a consequence, much of our opening remarks will focus on the act of commenting in Tamil, but before coming to specifics, let us speak more generally and theoretically about commentaries in India.

Every commentator inevitably wishes to explain the meaning of the commented-upon work: to reveal what appears hidden, to specify what is vague, and to supply what is assumed. The aim, however, can vary greatly, and the outcome of this process is not always a straightforward gloss of the original text focused on basic semantics and syntax but often a reflection of how the commentator believed the passage at hand fit within his own educational, religious, and cultural background. Similarly, even basic glosses usually follow a formulaic syntax, and semantic specifications often accord with what was found in the "dictionaries" of the time. Consequently, we should not read these commentaries solely as instruments for retrieving the intention or the meaning that the author of the root text had in mind. This is not to say that one should deny or not strive to understand authorial intent, nor that the commentators cannot help us to reach such a goal. Rather, if we only read commentaries with this particular goal, we will fail to learn what they can teach us about reading practices, methods of interpretation, and what had importance for people at various points in time and space. This attitude—that the ur-meaning should be the primary focus—has led at various times in Indological scholarship to neglect and misplaced criticism of commentators. We may, of course, disagree with or support a particular explanation of a passage in a commentary, just as we may argue against or buttress the theory of a contemporary scholar, but first and foremost we must understand what has been written and why. Furthermore, through understanding and studying these commentaries in their own right, we open up worlds of textual exegesis that inform us of how meaning and intention was established in the religious and literary communities that enjoyed,

preserved, and transmitted the root texts themselves. Although we might at times feel that we are being led astray by more discursive commentaries, along the way we can gain insight into cultural practices (idealized or not), mores, and the available or developing philological tools.

How exactly to define or even characterize a commentary from pre-modern South Asia is a task far beyond the scope of this introduction since methods varied over time, across genres, and between styles. We will also not attempt to describe the development and spread of the act of commenting, which is first recorded in Sanskrit and then only much later in Tamil and other languages of India. We may, instead, turn to the Tamil commentarial tradition and offer a few remarks thereon based on the essays of the present volume and building off of the research already carried out in Wilden (2009) and earlier publications.

Commentaries on Theoretical Treatises

Unfortunately, we are mostly in the dark about the beginnings of the Tamil commentarial tradition, and the commentary by Nakkīraṉ on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* (*Kaḷaviyal*), generally claimed to be the earliest extant in Tamil, is not securely dated to the 8th cent. nor does it show signs of being a first attempt at ornate prose.[1] In the centuries surrounding the turn of the second millennium, however, four major commentaries, all on grammatical works (in the wider Tamil sense that includes poetics and metrics),[2] have been preserved and employ, to a

[1] For a brief discussion of the uncertain dating, see Wilden (2009: 37f.).

[2] At some point, perhaps first attested in the introductory verses to the *Vīracōḻiyam*, Tamil grammar was considered to be fivefold, covering: *eḻuttu* "letters, sandhi, phonetics," *col* "words, morphology," *poruḷ* "poetic subject matter," *yāppu* "metrics," and *aṇi/alaṅkāram* "linguistic ornamentation, rhetorical figures." According to the table in Lehmann (2009: 68) the four earliest commentaries after that of Nakkīraṉ are: the anonymous commentary on the *Tamiḻ Neṟi Viḷakkam* (*poruḷ*, 9th cent.), the anonymous commentary (*virutti*) on the *Yāpparuṅkalam* (*yāppu*, 10th cent.), the commentary by Kuṇacākarar on the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* (*yāppu*, 10th cent.), and the commentary by Iḷampūraṇar on the entire *Tolkāppiyam* (11th cent.).

certain degree, a common idiom, a sign once again that we are perhaps not at the very beginning of a tradition. An investigation into the shared features of these commentaries remains a desideratum and would undoubtedly help to establish how cohesive or disparate the style of scholastic commentaries was in this period and the extent to which the authors may have modeled themselves on their predecessors. The similarities can also be attributed to the genre of root text upon which the commentaries are based. Theoretical texts in Tamil are written in verse with an eye toward conciseness of expression and with the assumption that an explanation, written or oral, would be offered to first time readers. The basic elements required for giving the meaning of a *cūttiram* or *kārikai*, "metrical aphorism," must have quickly become standardized, albeit possibly before our earliest available commentaries were written down, and the genre continued to grow in the following centuries often with additional elaboration and detail. In many regards these commentaries mimic the kind of dialogue that would have taken place between student and teacher with questions being posed and answered, quite similar to what we find in the earliest Sanskrit discursive commentaries (*bhāṣya*s) by Patañjali on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and by Śabara on Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*s. Nevertheless, we need not assume the commentaries are recordings of actual dialogues since once the conventions of the genre were in place they were likely perpetuated under the momentum of the tradition.

This early interest in writing down commentaries on grammars set the stage for a long string of similar works, especially on the *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṉṉūl*, which continues down to the present day in Tamil (as well as English) and helped to establish the canon of theoretical treatises for Tamil literature. Although these commentaries focused above all on explaining the meaning of the *cūttiram* or *kārikai*, since the target (*ilakkiyam*) of grammar (*ilakkaṇam*) was poetry, the commentators quoted profusely from the available literature, especially the Caṅkam corpus and its immediate offshoot, the *Kīḻkkaṇakku.* We may, therefore, link the continued (or revived) study of the Caṅkam

corpus with the advent of the commentarial tradition, in particular on the *Tolkāppiyam*,[3] and through it gain insight into how this body of literature corresponds to the normative rules. Just as important for the history of Tamil literature as the quotations from Caṅkam literature are the unidentified verses that abound in every extant commentary and which have yet to receive any systematic study. These play a particularly important role in the three rather early and quite large commentaries outside of the *Tolkāppiyam* tradition: the anonymous *virutti* ("running commentary") on the *Yāpparuṅkalam*, the commentary by Kuṇacākarar on the *Yāpparuṅkalak-kārikai* (an abridgment of the former), and the commentary by Peruntēvaṉār on the *Vīracōḻiyam*. Determining the content of these verses and in which later works they continue to be cited would further broaden the horizon of the Tamil literary tradition, no little portion of which has been lost.[4] Furthermore, these commentaries appear to depict a less Caṅkam-centric literary world and could help to confirm either a sort of renaissance in the early second millennium or more precisely define the Tamil literary cultures in existence at the time.

The commentaries we now possess on Tamil grammars (once again including metrics and poetics) form perhaps the largest body of commentarial literature on a specific, although very encompassing genre, and the earliest among them are undoubtedly the oldest now available. The medieval Tamil scholars shared with many others on the Indian subcontinent a deep interest in the analysis of their language and accordingly produced treatises that described, classified, and regulated it. The first text to dominate this field was the *Tolkāppiyam*, which was likely always in need of a commentary for its *cūttirams* to be comprehensible. From the perspective of exegetical activity, the

[3] The interpretation and presentation of the quotations in the commentarial literature is still rather incomplete, but Wilden (2014: 307–344) has made a significant contribution to the study of quotations from the Caṅkam corpus.

[4] Monius (2001) has given an initial impetus to the study of the anonymous Buddhist verses quoted in Peruntēvaṉar's commentary on the *Vīracōḻiyam.*

Collatikāram, "Chapter on Words," attracted the most attention over the centuries with a total of five commentaries by Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Teyvaccilaiyār, and Kallāṭar. Two of these commentators, Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar,[5] wrote a commentary on the entire grammar, and from Pērāciriyar a commentary on the final four sections (*ōttu*s) of the *Poruḷatikāram* has come down to us.[6] The other major player in the Tamil grammatical tradition is the *Naṉṉūl* by Pavaṇanti Muṉivar, a grammar that covers only *eḻuttu* and *col*, but appears to have become the standard textbook throughout the latter half of the second millennium with several extant commentaries[7] and served, in many ways, as a more comprehensible and updated grammar for Tamil. Despite the prestige and authority that these grammars claimed, several other Tamil grammars were composed beginning already in the first millennium with the *Avinayaṉam* by the Jain Avinayaṉār, unfortunately now lost but quoted by later commentators,[8] and then continuing into the medieval period with the *Vīracōḻiyam* (11th cent.) by the Buddhist Puttamittiraṉ[9] and the *Nēminātam* by the Jain Kuṇavīra Paṇṭitar, and culminating in the 17th and 18th centuries with the voluminous *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* by

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[5] Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary on the *Poruḷatikāram* is missing for the *Uvamaiyiyal* and the *Marapiyal*.

[6] I.e., *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, *Uvamaiyiyal*, *Ceyyuḷiyal*, and *Marapiyal.* The information found in Zvelebil (1995: 542) about Pērāciryar's commentary on the *poruḷatikāram* is incorrect.

[7] In connection with the *Naṉṉūl* we may mention the 14th cent. commentary by Mayilainātar and the anonymous *virutti*. On the later life of the work, note Beschi's words about the *Naṉṉūl* in his *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica*, Beschi (1917: xi): *Hujus operis* [*sc. Naṉṉūl*] *nomen omnium versatur ore*, *cum vix aliqui opus ipsum e limine salutaverint.* "The title of this work [sc. *Naṉṉūl*] is on everyone's lips, although hardly anyone does more than tip his hat to the work itself."

[8] The work appears to have been as comprehensive as the *Tolkāppiyam*, i.e., covering metrics and poetics as well as grammar in the narrower sense.

[9] The *Vīracōḻiyam* is the only work by a single author to cover all five sections of Tamil grammar, assuming that the *Aṇiyiyal* of the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* is by Vaittiyanāta Tēcikar's son, Catāciva Nāvalar. Cf. Zvelebil (1995: 247). The commentary on the *Vīracōḻiyam* by Pēruntēvaṉār is likely a century or two later than the root-text.

Vaitiyanāta Tēcikar as well as the highly Sanskritic *Pirayōkavivēkam* by Cuppiramaṇiya Tīkṣitar and the *Ilakkaṇakkottu* by Cuvāmināta Tēcikar. These last four works represent a shift in the commentarial process because the authors chose to write their own commentary. Works dedicated specifically to poetics (*poruḷ* and *aṇi*) also persisted alongside the *Tolkāppiyam*. As already noted, two early commentaries belong to treatises on *akapporuḷ* ("subject matter of love poetry"), the *Tamiḻ Neṟi Viḷakkam* and the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*. Also worthy of mention is the *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam* (13th cent.) in part because its author has also written the commentary and the work would become standard for the study of *akam* poetics in the following centuries. For *puṟapporuḷ* ("subject matter of war poetry"), we may mention the *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai* by Aiyaṉ Āritaṉār with a commentary, difficult to date, by Cāmuṇṭi Tēvanāyakar. Later works could be added, but those so far mentioned constitute the early basis of the commentarial tradition.

Into this vast ocean of commentarial literature on technical treatises we can, not surprisingly, do little more than dip our toes within the confines of the present volume, and a great deal of work is still needed, especially in drawing out the connections between the authors, tracing the development of grammatical and poetological theories, and situating these works within the larger history of grammatical/ poetological activity in Sanskrit and the other Dravidian languages. The three contributions to the present volume that take up the subject of grammar (Chevillard, D'Avella, Manuel, Rajeswari) all centre around the *Tolkāppiyam* and examine how commentators have explained the language of the *cūttiram*s and the exegetical strategies employed therein. Chevillard and Manuel have both targeted sections of the *Poruḷatikāram*, the *Ceyyuḷiyal* and *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, respectively, whereas D'Avella has investigated the development of the beginnings of the idiom in the earliest grammatical commentaries, in particular the *Iḷampūraṇam* on the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Virutti* on the *Yāpparuṅkalam*. These articles present several passages that have hitherto never been translated or analyzed in much detail.

Commentaries on Literary Works

As the commentaries on theoretical works were beginning to flourish, it seems that literature also became a suitable subject for written comment, albeit with quite a bit of variation in style. One can, however, speak of a proper commentarial *tradition* only with regard to but a few works because most pieces of literature have only a single, often incomplete, commentary. The exceptions are the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the *Nālaṭiyār*, and the *Cilappatikāram*,[10] the first two of which acquired an exceptional status early on in the Murukaṉ cult and Tamil literary culture,[11] respectively; they both count among the most commented upon works.[12] Despite the importance of the Caṅkam and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora for the grammatical treatises, as noted above, few of the anthologies have come down to us with a complete commentary (both the *Naṟṟiṇai* and *Kuṟuntokai* lack one entirely[13]) and the breadth and depth of what is available ranges quite widely from single word glosses to detailed rephrasings to discussions of poetic figures and points of culture or history. Three (excluding the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, and *Nālaṭiyār*) are ascribed to a specific author—two to the prolific Naccinārkkiṉiyar (14th cent.) on the *Kalittokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* and one to the renowned Parimēlaḷakar on the *Paripāṭal*—whereas the others are anonymous and generally less extensive. Although the old commentary on the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (available only up to

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[10] There are five available on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* by Maṇakkuṭavar, Paritiyār, Kaliṅkar, Kavipperumāl/Pariperumāl, and Parimēlaḷakar. See also Cutler (1992)

[11] The *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is quoted throughout the Tamil commentarial tradition, from the commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam* to the Buddhist *Vīracōḻiyam* and Śrīvaiṣṇava works.

[12] There are five commentaries available (of a reported 10) on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, three on the *Nālaṭiyār*, and two on the *Cilappatikāram.* See the table in Lehmann (2009: 68f.). The *taṉippāṭal* ("solitary stanza") mentioned in Culter (1992: 551, n. 7), which lists the ten commentaries that once existed on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, can be found in Aravintaṉ (1968: 272), but no hint is given as to where this verse occurs.

[13] Pērāciriyar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar are to have written (partial) commentaries on the *Kuṟuntokai.* Cf. Zvelebil (1995: 386) and Aravintaṉ (1968: 138 and 158). The latter quotes the anonymous verses that provide evidence for these lost commentaries.

and including poem 266) offers a more or less word by word paraphrase, those on the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* and *Akanāṟūṟu* can be quite brief, seemingly by design, and target only specific words or phrases, never offering a full gloss on an entire poem.[14] As for the *Kīḻkkaṇakku*, there are reportedly old commentaries (*paḻaiya poḻippurai*) for the entire corpus, with more than one on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār*, as already mentioned. The extent to which they have been transmitted and published varies from collection to collection; an investigation into these commentaries as a whole remains a desideratum.[15] Generally, though, they contain full paraphrases of each poem that clarify syntax as well as meaning by rearranging words, adding morphemes, and substituting synonyms much like the old *Puṟanāṉūṟu* commentary. The remaining literary works with premodern annotation are the three epics—one on the *Cilappatikāram* by Aṭiyārkkunallār (12th cent.) along with an anonymous gloss on difficult words, one on the the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, and one on the *Nīlakēci* by Camaya Tivākara Vāmaṉa Muṉivar (15th cent.)—as well as a single *kōvai*, on the *Tirukkōvaiyār* by Pērāciriyar (13th cent.). A somewhat late but still important pre-modern commentary is that by Mayilēṟum Perumāḷ Piḷḷai (17th cent.) on the *Kallāṭam*, a poem of the 11th cent. that depicts many legends about Śiva in Madurai.[16] Since the articles in this volume focus exclusively on the Caṅkam and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts, we will now dwell on their commentaries a bit longer.

What conclusions we draw about the tradition of Tamil literary commentaries on the basis of these facts will vary depending on how representative we believe our extant manuscripts to be. If, for example, we have not lost any other commentaries on the Caṅkam corpus, a tenable conclusion would be that there was a burst of interest in these

[14] See the contributions by Wilden and Lehmann in the present volume.

[15] See Buchholz in the present volume for more information on the commentaries on the *akam* collections in general and specifically on those of the *Tiṇaimālai nūṟṟaimpatu*, one of the collections of love poetry.

[16] This commentary is not listed in Lehmann (2009: 68f.). Cf. Zvelebil (1995: 313 and 434).

poems and a flurry of exegetical activity during the first few centuries of the second millennium, driven perhaps by towering intellectual figures like Naccinārkkiniyar and Pērāciriyar as well as a (renewed?) interest in the *Tolkāppiyam* and the literature it described. This picture would be further fleshed out were the anonymous commentaries, including those on the *Kīlkkaṇakku* corpus, securely datable to this same period, but there is simply very little evidence for locating them in time or space. The similarities in style between the *Kīlkkaṇakku* commentaries and the old commentary on the *Puranāṉūṟu*[17] is worthy of further investigation and will help to identify additional shared features among the commentarial idiom that would point towards a common intellectual milieu of production. One argument for lumping all of these commentaries into a fairly tight time span is that their literary importance appears to have waned as we progress into the latter half of the second millennium. Although such texts clearly continued to be copied and gained further annotation in their transmission, we have no evidence that a second Naccinārkkiniyar appeared on the scene, and the known or presumed loss of whole or parts of commentaries speaks rather to disinterest, but when exactly is unclear. We need not argue, however, only *ex nihilo* because, on the basis of quotations from later commentators on grammatical texts, it appears that fewer individuals (albeit not none) were familiar with the entire Caṅkam corpus and commentators more frequently copied the examples of their predecessors than proffered new ones.[18] Assuming, therefore, that our cache of literary commentaries is fairly representative of what once existed and the loss, though certainly significant, does not distort our view excessively, we may conclude that an important body of commentarial literature on the great poetical

[17] We may also note that the anonymous commentator on the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* provides very detailed paraphrases for many of the poems he quotes as examples.

[18] See Wilden (2014: 307–345) for a discussion and presentation of the quotations of Caṅkam works in later commentaries. There is good evidence that individuals knew the Caṅkam corpus and continued to quote from it well into the 17th cent. Yet we cannot be certain as to how widespread such knowledge and interest were.

works of the first millennium arose during 11th to 14th centuries, which continued to be studied and also partially reworked in the following centuries but no significant efforts were made to expand upon what had already been written. Based on the available material, there seems likely to have been a continued process of neglect but we cannot be certain when exactly losses occurred owing to the limited number of manuscripts and their relatively recent date.

We should also briefly think about the situation in reverse: for which literary texts are there no commentaries? The answer is, of course, everything else, i.e., virtually all of the literature from the second millennium, including the great Tamil classic, Kampaṉ's *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Irāmavatāram*) and such challenging works as Ativīrarāma Pāṇṭiyaṉ's *Naiṭatam* (16th cent.), for which commentaries first begin to appear in the 19th and 20th centuries.[19] Why this should be the case certainly has many answers. Beyond *argumenta ex nihilo* such as the assumption that we have lost once available commentaries, it should be noted that literary practices and perceptions likely played an important role insofar as the audience for these works did not need a commentary to understand them and if they did, they could discuss problems among themselves in a rather localized group within the defined Tamil-speaking community.[20] Furthermore, until the 19th cent. there is little

[19] The first commentary now known on the *Naiṭatam* was begun by the prolific publisher-commentators Tiruttaṇikai Vicākapperumāḷ Aiyar and Caravaṇap-perumāḷ Aiyar of the *Kalvi Viḷakka Accukkūṭam* Press, who produced a number of commentaries on Tamil classical literature. The commentary, however, was left unfinished upon Caravaṇapperumāḷ's death and completed by his son Kantacāmi Aiyar. Cf. Ebeling (2009: 306). [Shortly before the volume was sent to press, it came to light that there are two premodern commentaries on the *Naiṭatam* housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France: Indien 250 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510469p.r=Indien%20250?rk=42918;4; last accessed 29.6.2019) and Indien 251 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525104759.r=Indien%20251?rk=21459;2; last accessed 29.6.2019).]

[20] This is similar to the explanation in Ebeling (2009: 303) for the absence of commentaries on high 19th cent. Tamil literature, which was quite difficult: "Those very few connoisseurs amongst whom these works circulated did not need

evidence that *writing* commentaries on Tamil literature (oral commentaries and discussions certainly abounded) was taken to be a socially validated activity in the same manner that it came to be in Sanskrit. Still one should caution that very little work has been done on the available manuscripts for Tamil literature of the second millennium and the archives might well have many surprises in store.

In the present volume we offer four contributions[21] to the study of these literary commentaries with a skewed focus on *akam* works in the Caṅkam (*Akanāṉūṟu*, *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, and *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*) and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* (*Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu* and the other *akam* collections) corpora but exemplary for how further scholarship might continue on similar works. The aim of these articles has been to detail how a Tamil literary commentary functions, what its units are, what methods have been followed, and to give accurate, annotated translations. It is only through first knowing what precisely lies in a commentary that we can then develop a more general understanding and theorisation about the exegetical practices in vogue across the centuries and genres. For example, one important not yet well-documented aspect of the Tamil commentarial tradition is the reliance on, and references to, the philological tools that were developed in the domains of grammar, metrics, and lexicography. Among these, lexicographical inquiry will perhaps prove to be one of the most fruitful if we can determine that glosses are consistent with what we find in the *nikaṇṭu*s (synonymic and topic-ordered dictionaries on the model of Sanskrit *kośa*s) or that certain standard semantic equivalents had developed. Of similar importance is the identification of words whose meanings are known only on the basis of commentarial glosses. In the domain of grammar, we may hope to find further evidence of how the *Tolkāppiyam* was put

commentaries, since they were *pulavar*s themselves, and apart from them virtually no one else was interested." Both potential circulation of texts and the strength of a valued commentarial tradition seem to have played important roles as can be inferred from the frenzy of commentary-writing during the age of print not only in Tamil but also in other Dravidian languages such as Telugu.

[21] Summaries can be found at the end of the introduction.

into practice and perhaps even the *Naṉṉūl*'s impact on the analysis of Tamil. Commonalities and divergences could help to better locate the anonymous commentaries in time and literary milieu. Furthermore, three of the contributions (by Buchholz, Francis, and Wilden) have returned to manuscript evidence for the basis of their study and discussed features of how the original material was altered as it came into print (e.g., the removal of Grantha script in the spelling of Sanskrit words) and how commentaries can have come down to us in different versions or with meaningful variations (Francis and Buchholz), a feature also prominent in the Sanskrit tradition but mostly ignored or unknown at the time of printing (see Klebanov's contribution). The wealth of variability and material available in Francis's contribution contrast starkly with what lay at the disposal of the others and highlight how disproportionate the attention and importance given to certain texts could be judging from our material witnesses. Finally, all of the articles lay bare, whether explicitly or not, the reliance of later translators and annotators on these old commentaries and how in their absence many interpreters have gone astray (see in particular Buchholz). By gathering additional data from the remaining old commentaries—and we acknowledge there remains much to be done—we hope to further the work begun in this volume and present in due course a more complete picture of the Tamil literary commentaries.

Maṇipravāḷam

Although Tamil has had a smattering of Indo-Aryan loan words from the time of its earliest records and a small but steady increase has been documented within the later strata of the Caṅkam corpus, the beginning of the second millennium saw a massive influx of Sanskrit vocabulary in various domains of literature,[22] so much so that a new

[22] The language of the *Vīracōḻiyam* and its commentary is one of the first examples of Tamil with pervasive borrowings from Sanskrit, primarily in the domain of grammar.

term was applied to this highly Sanskritized idiom: *maṇipravāḷam*.[23] The most well-studied variety of this mixed language is found in the commentaries of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas,[24] who considered both Tamil and Sanskrit texts to be foundational to their religion. Although they had a tradition of writing commentaries since before the time of Rāmānuja,[25] who himself authored the *Gītābhāṣya* and the *Śrībhāṣya* (on the *Brahmasūtra*s), their language of composition was Sanskrit till Tirukurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ (around the 12th cent. CE[26]) wrote the first commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, also the very first work in Śrīvaiṣṇava Maṇipravāḷam.

Initially commentators focused on the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam* (henceforth NTP), as more commentaries were written on the *Tiruvāymoḻi* (hencerforth TVM), which received by far the highest number of them.[27] Later on, other works also began to interest the Ācāryas, e.g., Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, select verses of which received a commentary called *Rāmāyaṇa Taṉiślokam* by Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai, who wrote commentaries on the whole of the NTP; later on, the works of other Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas, e.g., those of Piḷḷai Lokācārya, were also commented upon by Maṇavāḷa Māmuni (15th cent.) and others. Although the period between the 12th and 15th centuries saw the birth as

[23] According to *Vīracōḻiyam* 182, the use of Sanskrit letters, presumably in a form of early Grantha, is a requisite of Maṇipravāḷam. As the use of Grantha fell out of favour, most editors have either fully Tamilised the orthography of Sanskrit words, employed *Devanāgarī* or added superscripted numbers to Tamil letters to indicate phonetic features such as voicing and aspiration which the Tamil script is unable to represent.

[24] We are, however, not aware of the label *maṇipravāḷam* being applied to the Śrīvaiṣṇava commentaries in premodern times.

[25] Yāmunācārya's succinct *Gītārthasaṅgraha* is for example considered a commentary by traditional Śrīvaiṣṇava scholars.

[26] Dates of these Ācāryas have not been firmly established: the best we can do is give the century in which they lived, and an idea of relative chronology (along mostly the *guru-śiṣya-paramparā*).

[27] See Suganya Anandakichenin and Erin McCann's article in this volume.

well as the surge of commentary-writing among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, the tradition has remained unbroken till today.[28]

Commentaries are of different types: while the *Aṟāyirappaṭi*, a *karuttu kuṟippurai*, succintly gives the theological import of each verse, the *Oṉpatiṉāyirappaṭi*, a *poḻippurai* ("A commentary which paraphrases a text or summarises its substance" [TL]), focuses on paraphrasing the text or summarising its gist; while the *Paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi*, a *patavurai* ("word-by-word explanation" [TL]), provides a word-by-word gloss, the *Muppattāṟāyirappaṭi*, an *akala urai* ("elaborate commentary" [TL]), expands on the content of the text, providing copious examples from various Sanskrit and Tamil sources. While their size and means of elucidation may vary, the aim of all these commentaries is the same: the explication of Śrīvaiṣṇava theological ideas.

Presumably these commentaries were or became at some point difficult to understand on their own: so they triggered the composition of paratexts that were dedicated to elucidating them. We can cite the

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[28] We can cite some of the following works in Maṇipravāḷam for each century, although we have no means of ascertaining the exactitude of the dates. We have listed here only sample works mainly based on Chari (1997: 34–35), and the list is therefore by no means exhaustive:

12th cent.—various commentaries on the TVM (*Aṟāyirappaṭi* by Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ, *Oṉpatiṉāyirappaṭi* by Nañcīyar, *Muppattāṟāyirappaṭi* by Nampiḷḷai or Vaṭakkutiruvīti Piḷḷai, *Irupattinālāyirappaṭi* by Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai

13th cent.—*Paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi* by Vādikesari Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar

14th cent.—commentaries on *Amalaṉ āti pirāṉ* from the NTP by Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār and Vedānta Deśika; subcommentary on the *Muppattāṟāyirappaṭi* by Āy Jananyācārya

15th cent.—commentaries on Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇam* and *Tattva-trayam* by Maṇavāḷa Māmuni; subcommentary on the *Muppattāṟāyirappaṭi* by Appiḷḷai

16th cent.—commentaries on the *taṉiyaṉ*s ("stray verse") and the *Irāmānuca Nūṟṟantāti* by Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar

17th cent.—*Patiṉeṇṇāyirappaṭi* on the TVM by Periya Parakāla Svāmi, who has written commentaries on the whole of the NTP (Chari 1997: 33)

18th cent.— *Irupattinālāyirappaṭi*, a subcommentary on the *Aṟāyirappaṭi*, by Vedānta Rāmānuja, also known as Sākṣātsvāmi

20th cent.—*Divyārthadīpikai* on the TVM by Prativādi-bhayaṅkaram Aṇṇaṅkarācārya; commentaries on the whole of the NTP by Uttamūr Vīrarāghavācārya

examples of two types of such writings: subcommentaries, especially on the *Muppattāṟāyirappaṭi*, but also on other works such as Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇam*; and *pramāṇattiraṭṭu*s, which give the source of quotations from a particular commentary, e.g., the *Muppattāṟāyirappaṭi*.

As far as the Śrīvaiṣṇava commentaries are concerned, despite being based on other works that they comment upon, they are still in more ways than one self-contained works in their own right. Their importance for the history of Śrīvaiṣṇava literature can be assessed by the importance they still hold[29] and by the influence that they exerted on the composition of *rahasya-grantha*s, autonomous sectarian works, which marked the logical continuation of their commentarial predecessors. The article by Anandakichenin and McCann gives a peek into the world of Śrīvaiṣṇava Maṇipravāḷam commentary, and describes the commentarial practices of elucidation, giving examples from a handful of medieval commentaries.

The prevalence of Maṇipravāḷam in the Śrīvaiṣṇava commentaries and the continuation of the tradition down to the present day has drawn the lion's share of scholarly attention, but a number of other texts composed in this variety of Tamil exists outside of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community—ranging from poetic compositions to scribal colophons—and has so far not experienced the same enthused reception.[30] The article by Ciotti and Sathyanarayanan gives a glimpse into another much more recent example of Maṇipravāḷam from an unpublished commentary on the *Amarakośa* that attests to the versatility and potential fluidity of the Tamil language (it is also occasionally mixed with Telugu). Beyond the mixed linguistic register, this article points toward the lively interaction Tamil had with Sanskrit and provides an

[29] Old commentaries are still being published and new ones written. Besides, these commentaries are read out and explained in traditional discourses that are held even today. As a matter of fact, every Śrīvaiṣṇava is supposed to have studied some of these commentaries in her/his lifetime under the guidance of a qualified teacher.

[30] Shulman (2016: 215–233) has helped to breathe new interest in some of these later Maṇipravāḷam texts, e.g., the *Virāṭa-parva-maṇipravāḷa-mañjarī*.

example of how works of one language were studied and explained through the medium of another.

Non-Tamil Voices

Although this volume has primarily been conceived as study of the Tamil commentarial traditions, we are very happy to have contributions from two other languages, Sanskrit and Telugu, mirroring, as it were, the reality that Tamil evolved within, and responded to, its polyglot environment. We are confident that future scholarship will continue, with even more vigour, to read commentarial literature not as single, isolated instances but as part of a larger cultural practice that spans language and region. Klebanov's article is an important step in understanding the realities of a Sanskrit commentary, i.e., that the content of the manuscripts that bear witness to a commentary may diverge in a manner that goes far beyond simple copying error or the occasional inclusion of marginalia. Furthermore, it can be shown that a commentary can evolve on that basis of the expansion or contraction of discreet structural units, a valuable analytic tool that not only helps to account for changes within a single commentary's evolution but also applicable to the composition of new commentaries, many of which are in part cobbled together from older versions. The contribution from S.L.P. Sharma and Anandakichenin takes a well-justified liberty with the notion of a commentary by seeing in the *Āṃdhramahābhāgavatamu*, the Telugu translation of the Sanskrit *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, an exegetical tool that informs us of interpretive decisions regarding the original text. A single verse is analyzed in detail from both texts, and the basis for the alterations in the process of translation are underscored as a subtle means for commenting. Furthermore, the authors reference available Sanskrit commentaries on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* that predate the author of the Telugu *Bhāgavata* to support the commentarial aspect of the Telugu translation.

Articles in the collection

I. Commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam*

In his article, "The Beginnings of the Tamil Commentarial Idiom," Victor D'Avella explores the development of a shared mode of expression in the early commentaries on Tamil grammars (*iḷakkaṇam*) with a focus on the *Iḷampūraṇam*, the first extant commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* and the anonymous *virutti*, "running commentary," on the *Yāpparuṅkalam*, a treatise on metrics. By identifying specific structural elements that serve primarily an introductory function, D'Avella has attempted to show that there existed a standard or set of expectations for how *cūttiram*s were to be presented to the reader. These commonalities point to a certain cohesion that may be the result of temporal and institutional proximity.

Indra Manuel in her "Salient Features of a Grammatical Commentary in Tamil" investigates the commentarial tradition on the grammatical treatises in Tamil taking the commentary of Pērāciriyar on the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* of the *Poruḷatikāram* as the main focus. The article gives an overview of the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* and then details how the grammatical treatises in Tamil define commentary in general, bringing out the two main types of commentary mentioned therein, namely, *virutti* and *kāṇṭikai.* It correlates these with Pērāciriyar's commentary giving examples for both from it. It brings out Pērāciriyar's preference for the elaborate style of commentary and deals in detail how this elaborate commentary is built up. This building up is achieved by the use of illustrative verses, the use of various commentarial techniques and the use of certain other modes unique to him, such as giving reasons for the order of *meyppāṭus*, referring to other variations and rejecting them, dealing with other aspects of *akam* theory in the course of his commentary and others.

In her article, "A Note on Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar's Commentary Techniques," T. Rajeswari deals with, as the title suggests, the commentarial techniques of an important Tamil commentator, paying

special attention to his work on *Kalittokai*. Among other things, the article clearly shows how Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar uses the *Tolkāppiyam* rules for supporting his comments and claims, thereby showing the place and importance of intertextuality.

In his article, "Codifying Beauty," Jean-Luc Chevillard tries to document the genesis, the multi-branched contradictory development and the final fall into oblivion of what we might call the "Bi-tetradic Beauty system," by combining the *Yāpparuṅkalam*'s and Pērāciriyar's terminological contributions (i.e., "*āy-iru-nāṉmai*" and "*vaṉappu*") for referring to what is originally in the *Ceyyuḷiyal* of the *Tolkāppiyam* a flat-structured, non-hierarchical list of eight terms, namely *ammai*, *aḻaku*, *toṉmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaipu*, *pulaṉ*, *iḻaipu.* That system could have developed into a full-fledged classificatory system for Tamil poetical compositions, if it had not been supplanted by a de facto growing standard pan-Indian system, such as were spread later through the indirect influence of the *Vīracōḻiyam* and the progressively dominant standard obtained by the twin dominant positions of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* and the *Pāṭṭiyal* systems, which end up as constituents of the final synthesis represented by the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam.*

II. Literary Commentaries

The old anonymous commentary (*paḻaiyavurai*) on the *Akanāṉūṟu* survives today in a single manuscript (UVSL 297), which apparently was already the source for the text printed in Vē. Rā. Rākavaiyaṅkār's two-volume *editio princeps*, reintegrated into a single volume in 1933/34. It covers the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, "salutation to the god,"and the poems AN 1-90, and it does not contain the full root text but only such bits and pieces of it that are glossed; sometimes even those are not quoted but simply paraphrased. In the article "*Akanāṉūṟu paḻaiyavurai:* The Subtle Growth of a Commentary," Eva Wilden discusses, on the one hand, the difference between the printed version and the manuscript, which together form the basis for the recent critical re-edition by the same

author. On the other hand, it distinguishes the types of glosses and the kinds of information provided by this commentary, ranging from mere semantic glosses on various types of cultural or historical background information to discussions of grammar *cum* poetics and graphs of syntax. It also pays attention to discursive phrases and vocabulary (and its Sanskrit share), as well as differences in length and structure between the pieces of commentary devoted to each poem, which may allow conclusions about the genesis of the commentary.

In the Tamil commentarial tradition, the literary commentaries contain a wide range of lexical, grammatical, literary, poetological, and other kinds of explanations of the respective text upon which they comment. An analysis of the old, anonymous commentary to the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* shows that fifteen different kinds of explanations are to be found. Thomas Lehmann's "The old, anonymous commentary of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* (*paḻaiya urai*),"a study of this commentary, exhibits not only the wide variety of commentarial explanations for a classical Tamil literary text but also highlights the predominant strategies of the commentator on the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* text.

In his article, "Showing the Way: The Metatextual Field of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*," Emmanuel Francis offers a synoptical view of the eight available commentaries on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, a devotional poem composed perhaps in the 7th century CE. The comparison is restricted to the first six lines of the poem and aims at showing the various strategies and perspectives adopted by the commentators, from the 13th century onwards. Besides published commentaries (by Parimēlaḻakar, Naccinārkkiniyar, Uraiyāciriyar, Kavipperumāḷ and Pariti), three other commentaries are taken into account (by Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācan, the anonymous author of an *urai* from the library of the Pērūr mutt, and the anonymous author of a *karutturai* ("gist, substance of a text" [TL]) from the UVS Library in Chennai), of which the first two were so far unknown.

Jonas Buchholz, in his "Commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* Works," investigates the commentaries, both old and modern, on the *Akam* works of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. It is shown that the series of anonymous old commentaries that exists on the texts has profoundly shaped the understanding of these texts, as modern commentaries heavily rely on the old commentaries, while extant translations, in turn, depend on the modern commentaries. An investigation into the textual transmission shows that that the old commentaries have been gradually reworked. Moreover, it can be shown that the presence or absence of the commentary had a profound influence on the texts themselves, as those parts of the texts for which the old commentary has been lost have become badly corrupted in the course of transmission.

III. The Maṇipravāḷam Commentaries

The first half of the second millennium saw a rise in the composition of commentaries on Tamil works. And one group of scholars who enriched this type of literature by their prolific contributions are the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas. Commenting upon mainly (but not only) the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam*, the early Ācāryas combined techniques used in both the Tamil and Sanskrit commentarial traditions and did so by adopting the hybrid language of Maṇipravāḷam. The article "Towards Understanding the Śrīvaiṣṇava Commentary on the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam*: The Blending of Two Worlds and Two Languages," by Suganya Anandakichenin and Erin McCann, is an introduction to this genre of commentary and seeks to give an overall view of the common commentarial practices of the early works, with a special focus on Nampiḷḷai's/Vaṭakku Tiruvīti Piḷḷai's *Muppattāṟāyirappaṭi* (also known as the *Īṭu*) and Vādikesari Aḷakiyamaṇavāḷa Cīyar's *Paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi.*

Manuscript RE22794 (currently held at the Institut Français de Pondichéry) allegedly contains the most articulated Tamil commentary to the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. This commentary, which strictly adheres to the well-known *pañca-lakṣaṇa* ("five explanations")

style, shows a rather sophisticated and original analysis of the text even when weighed against the work of other commentators. The uniqueness of RE22794 emerges also from its linguistic and graphic characteristics. Its commentary to the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* is composed using both Tamil, or rather a couple of its registers as we find both Sanskritised and colloquial forms, and, although more rarely, Telugu. Furthermore, all three languages found in the manuscript, namely Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telugu, are written in Grantha (or Tamilian Grantha) script, which is conventionally used to write only Sanskrit. An edition and English translation of the portion of the commentary under investigation are given in appendix.

IV. The Non-Tamil Commentaries

Pōtana's (15th cent.) *Āṃdhramahābhāgavatamu* is an important work in the history of Telugu literature, which is much more than a translation of the Sanskrit *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. In their article entitled "Reading Pōtana's *Mahābhāgavatamu* as a Commentary on the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*: A Case in Point," S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma and Suganya Anandakichenin see in this *kāvya* features of a good *vyākhyāna*, "detailed explanation." In order to test this claim, they take up verse 10.52.37 from the *Bhāgavata* (which corresponds to Rukmiṇi's message to Kṛṣṇa inviting Him to carry Her off), look at the corresponding passages from traditional Sanskrit *vyākhyāna*s and then compare the Telugu *kāvya*'s practice with the latter. The article includes a translation of selected verses from Pōtana's work.

In the article entitled "The Application of Structure Analysis to the Study of Sanskrit Commentaries on *mahākāvya*," Andrey Klebanov looks at several potentially rewarding strategies for employing a structural analysis to the study of Sanskrit commentaries on *mahākāvya*. The introductory section gives an overview of the actual methodology and touches upon general issues pertaining to the composition of the examined literary genre. Drawing primarily upon examples from Sanskrit commentaries on the *Kirātārjunīya* by Bhāravi

(6th cent.), the main body of the article considers practical applications of a structure analysis and discusses its implications for a text-historical enquiry into individual commentaries, as well as their comparative study.

A Note on Transliteration

The presentation of classical Tamil in the Roman script and—as a matter of fact—modern Tamil orthography poses a number of problems that are not easy to overcome and for which there is as yet no scholarly consensus. Difficulties arise not on account of representing a Tamil grapheme in Roman letters, but rather because in most instances transliteration also constitutes the division of words and the dissolution of sandhi, processes that are already well underway in the printed editions of classical Tamil in the Tamil script, be they in verse or in prose. Generally the later the edition, the more the editor strives to present Tamil texts so as to conform to modern conventions, although these conventions themselves are not entirely standardized.

We are sceptical about these practices for two basic reasons. On the one hand, this is simply not how the texts were written. On the other hand, simplifying a language because it does not conform to modern sensibilities or skills is not a justification for tampering with another's words. That said, there are certainly advantages for both pedagogy and clarity in presenting an altered, more familiar text from the vantage point of modern Tamil. The danger, however, is that as the availability of the original text diminishes, so too does information contained therein. This is particularly true for the removal of sandhi, which is not devoid of syntactic cues and which can be governed by different conventions at different points in time as well as according to genre. For such reasons, we have requested contributors to give longer passages of Tamil in the Tamil script following as closely as possible the original version of the text with correct sandhi and word divisions that do not distort the phonetic value of the original. For verse, we follow the relatively modern convention of dividing a poem into lines and the

lines into metrical feet (*cīr*). For prose, these conventions have not in all instances been maintained for the simple reason that many commentaries are not available with correct sandhi, although many of the early editions often give a more faithful text than later ones.

In the transliteration of Tamil passages, we have allowed the individual contributors somewhat more liberty because there is no widely accepted or employed standard (e.g., should one hyphenate compounds? remove doubling? where lies the boundary between a compound and an absent case ending? etc.), and scholars have developed different habits over the years.[31] We have simply encouraged consistency within the paper, knowing that reference to the original Tamil script will eliminate any doubts. We have, however, insisted on the very widely used standard for the transliteration itself as laid out in the Madras *Tamil Lexicon,* p. lxviii.

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[31] The same goes for the numbering of the subparts. We believe that each article is to be read as an independent piece of work.

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The Beginnings of the Tamil Commentarial Idiom

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I. Introduction[1]

The first centuries of the second millennium CE saw an efflorescence of commentary-writing, which, even given our incomplete record of literary activities in the prior centuries, was likely unprecedented.[2] The earliest among these works focus on explaining technical treatises composed in *cūttiram*s or *kārikai*s, metrical aphorisms that were written in a rather terse idiom with the expectation that additional explanation and exemplification would be supplied in the course of study. The most famous of these is the *Tolkāppiyam*, our oldest extant grammar[3] (*ilakkaṇam*) of Tamil and only one of two grammars for which there exist multiple commentaries, the other being the *Naṉṉūl*. The earliest of these commentaries is by Iḷampūraṇar, who commented on the entirety of the *Tolkāppiyam* sometime during the 11th cent. Around this same time several other still extant commentaries were written on metrical as well as poetological treatises, and in the following centuries we find a continuous string of commentaries on grammars of all sorts. The goal of the present essay will be to determine

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[1] I would like to express my thanks to all those who have helped to improve this article by offering their critical comments: Suganya Anandakichenin, Jonas Buchholz, Eva Wilden, and the two anonymous reviewers. All remaining errors are my own.

[2] To the best of my knowledge, we know of only a single grammatical commentary that may have predated those that are now extant. Mayilainātar ad *Naṉṉūl* 359m p. 189 instructs the reader to know the *pakarcci*, "statement," of one Irācapavittirap Pallavatarairaṉ on the treatise by Avinayaṉār, i.e., the *Avinayam*, a grammar likely composed in the latter half of the fist millennium and known to several medieval commentators. Cf. Zvelebil (1992: 490).

[3] In the context of Tamil, "grammar" often refers to all theoretical texts that define or prescribe linguistic usage. As such, this includes metrics and poetics.

what sort of uniformity existed between the idiom employed in these early works. Were there certain required elements and set phrases? How did these elements evolve overtime? Is it possible to pinpoint the origin of this style, i.e., which commentator was the earliest or are we entering *in medias res*? While exploring these questions, I will also have the opportunity to look closely at the grammar of the Tamil commentarial idiom and analyze particular structures that are often glossed over in translation and other discussions of the primary sources. Manuscript evidence will at times also be taken into consideration so that we may better understand how editors modified these texts as they came into print and occasionally obscured various features.

The texts that I will draw upon are primarily those believed to be the very earliest in the tradition, but the later commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam* will also play a role in establishing the (dis)continuity of the idiom. From time to time other commentaries will also be referenced for the sake of comparison and contrast. Fortunately, many of the texts I will discuss can be fairly well–dated, much better, at least, than Tamil literature of the first millennium, although great precision eludes us and even the relative chronology of the early commentaries is far from certain. In the following section I present the most important works for this study with notes about the accuracy and reasoning for their approximate dates. I have relied for the most part on the available secondary literature that deals with the history of south India and Tamil literature, especially Nilakanta Sastri (1955), Aravintaṉ (1968), Govindasamy (1977), Zvelebil (1995), Aruṇācalam (2005), and Lehmann (2009). Each of these works has its own advantages, but we are still in need of a comprehensive treatment of chronology for Tamil literature with the basic facts and existing bibliography clearly laid out.[4] Although citations from other works—which establish a *terminus post quem* or

[4] Zvelebil (1995) is particularly handy for its breadth, but scholars must remain circumspect by following up references and double-checking primary sources, for from time to time there are errors of no small importance. I have noted the more consequential of these.

ante quem—are often the driving data for arriving at the order of most commentaries, I have not always been able to give precise references because in the secondary literature they are not provided and not every edition is furnished with exhaustive indices.

1. The *Iḷampūraṇam* by Iḷampūraṇar on the entire *Tolkāppiyam*, ca. 11th cent.

For Iḷampūraṇar[5] a *terminus ante quem* comes from Aṭiyārkkunallār, who wrote a commentary on the *Cilappatikāram* and can possibly be dated to the reign of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (r. 1118–1141) on the basis of his patron Poppaṇṇa Kāṅkēyar, who served as the king's general.[6] Iḷampūraṇar is quoted and spoken of in high regard in this commentary.[7] The *terminus post quem* for Iḷampūraṇar seems to be the poet Auvaiyār, a poem of whose is quoted ad TP 483i (8.174).[8] Unfortunately, Auvaiyār's date is not precisely known, although the beginning of the second millennium seems appropriate.[9]

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[5] On Iḷampūraṇar in general, see Govindasamy (1977: 155–159), Aravintaṉ (1968: 87–101), and Zvelebil (1995: 248).

[6] Poppaṇṇa Kāṅkēyar is mentioned in the third line of Aṭiyārkkunnallār's *ciṟappuppāyiram* to the *Cilappatikāram*, p. 11. Cf. Govindasamy (1977: 159f.) and Zvelebil (1995: 81). Both authors refer to Gopinat(h)a Rao for the identification of Poppaṇṇa as a general under Viṣṇuvardhana, but no exact publication is provided, although the reference seems to be to an article by Gopinatha Rao from 1901, a publication also referenced in Aravamuthan (1930: 299, n. 5). The citation given is: "*ŚT.* [*Centamil*] (1901 Jun-Jl.) iv. 401–3."

[7] Where exactly is not noted in the secondary literature. Aravintaṉ (1968: 88), however, quotes the following words from Aṭiyārkkunallār's commentary at the beginning of the *Vēṉiṟ Kātai*: *uraiyāciriyarāṉa iḷampūraṇa aṭikaḷ* "The feet of Iḷampūraṇar, who is the Commentator." We can easily locate these words on p. 228 ad vv. 1–2 of the *Vēṉiṟ Kātai* in Cāminātaiyar's edition.

[8] Iḷampūraṇar cites the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* ("salutation to the deity") found at the beginning of the collection *Koṉṟai Vēntaṉ* but with a slightly different reading (*koṉṟai vēynta*). The false assertion that Iḷampūraṇar also cites *Mūturai* 4—Govindasamy (1977: 133), Zvelebil (1975: 170), Zvelebil (1995: 86)—goes back to Doraiswami Pillai [Turaicāmi Piḷḷai] (1958: 408), who appears to have mistaken Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary ad TP 8.72n for that of Iḷampūraṇar.

[9] The citation of the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* at the beginning of the collection *Koṉṟai Vēntaṉ* in both the *Iḷampūraṇam* and in the *virutti* ad YA 63 provides a *terminus ante quem*.

2. The anonymous *virutti* on the *Yāpparuṅkalam* ("The Rare Ornament of Metre") by Amitacākarar/Aḷapparuṅkaṭal, 12th cent. (?)

Amitacākarar's treatises on metrics,[10] the *Yāpparuṅkalam* (YA) and the abridgment *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* (YK)[11] seem datable to the 11th cent. on the basis of two inscriptions located on a Śiva temple in Nīṭūr (Nidur) north of Mayilāṭutuṟai (Mayiladuthurai) along the southern bank of the Kaveri river.[12] Text "A," as it is labeled by Subrahmanya Ayyar, the editor, dates from the 46th regnal year of Kulōttuṅka Cōḻa (r. 1070–1119),[13] i.e., 1116, and records that one Kaṇṭaṉ Mātavaṉ[14] provided for a temple (*kōyil*) to Coṉṉa-vāṟarivār (Gaṇeśa) and a walled pavilion (*puricai-māḷikai*), where Purāṇic texts (*purāṇa-nūl*) were explained (*virikkum*). Thanks to the various titles and attributes given to Kaṇṭaṉ Mātavaṉ, we learn that he was the chief (*maṉṉavaṉ*) of a town named Kārikaik-Kuḷattūr, where Amutacākaran (=Amitacākarar) was active. Regrettably the inscription has become illegible in the midst of the clause that describes Amitacākarar's undertakings in the village, and we can only read: *amutacākaran eṭutta ... tokutta kārikaikkuḷattūr*

[10] For overviews of Amitacākarar and his works, see Nilakanta Sastri (1955: 682), Govindasamy (1977: 97–102), Niklas (1993: I–V), and Zvelebil (1995: 32 and 779f.). The last is particularly riddled with errors.

[11] See Chevillard (2011: 139) and Chevillard (2013: 242, n. 5) for a discussion about the relationship between these two works.

[12] The inscriptions along with notes and a translation are published in Subrahmanya Ayyar (1925–26). Although often referenced in secondary literature, a proper understanding of these materials is more challenging than at first sight, and one could improve upon Subrahmanya Ayyar's translation, as I try to do below.

[13] Nilakanta Sastri (1955: 286–341) discusses Kulōttuṅka's reign.

[14] I do not have access to the original text (no plate is provided) and consequently do not know what exactly Subrahmanya Ayyar read because he appears not to transliterate the script but rather attempts to represent its (modern) pronunciation by adding voicing to intervocalic consonants and those in conjunction with a nasal, e.g., the name of the patron is rendered as "Kaṇḍaṉ Mādavan." In the following inscription his name is spelled with the alveolar *ṉ* ("Mādavaṉ") in the transliteration. *c* is consistently transliterated as *ś*, which reflects a Brahman pronunciation of Tamil, except in "Amudasāgaraṉ," where the Sanskrit dental sibilant appears to be inserted. I have taken the liberty of using standard Tamil transliteration.

maṉṉavaṉ, "the lord of Kuḷattūr of the *kārikai*, that Amitacākaraṉ has taken up ... and compiled."[15] The verb *tokuttal* is particularly intriguing because it may well be meant to describe the process by which Amitacākarar condensed his first work on metrics, the *Yāpparuṅkalam*, into the shorter *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* in the *kaṭṭaḷaik kalittuṟai* metre. The village itself appears to have acquired the byname *Kārikai* on account of this event.

The following inscription, labelled "B" by Subrahmanya Ayyar and dated to the 38th regnal year of Kulōttuṅka, i.e., 1108 and 8 years prior to A, likewise mentions both the village *Kārikai(k)-Kuḷattūr* and Amitacākarar but also provides us with a more precise temporal limit for the author's *floruit*. Once again, the phrase in which the name Amitacākarar appears is damaged, but we can still extract some valuable information. The same man, Kaṇṭaṉ Mātavaṉ, is the subject, and his name appears at the very end of the inscription. The relevant portion as printed by Subrahmanya Ayyar reads in standard transliteration:

> *[taṇ-ṭa]*[16] *miḻ-amitacākara-muṉiyai caṇkoṇṭacōḻa-maṇṭalattut taṇ-ciṟukuṉṟa-[nāṭṭu]*[17] *tirutti . . .*[18] *nūṟ-kārikai avaṉāṟ kaṇṭavaṉ marumāṉ kārikai-kuḷat[tūr]k-kāval-nilāvināṉ*

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[15] As the text stands, there is a slight grammatical difficulty if both relative participles *eṭutta* and *tokutta* are to modify *kārikai* and have *amutacākaran* as their agent because such a verbal form must immediately precede the head noun. It is possible that we should read *eṭuttu*, an absolutive, but the missing text makes any emendation highly speculative and *eṭutta* may well modify a now missing noun.

[16] Subrahmanya Ayyar (1925–1926: 69, n. 1) reports that the letters are much worn but would admit the printed reading.

[17] Subrahmanya Ayyar (1925–1926: 69, n. 2) remarks that "[*n*]*āṭṭu* has been filled in with reference to inscription A." A slightly different reading is found in YK p. xxi (ed. Kaliyāṇacuntara Aiyar): *nāṭṭakat tirutti* = *nāṭṭakatt' irutti* "after settling [Amitacākara-Muṉi] in Śiṟukuṉṟa Nāṭu." Although no justification is given for the variant, I find it to be an improvement over Subrahmanya Ayyar's text and adopt it in my translation. I thank Jean-Luc Chevillard for drawing my attention to this reference.

[18] Subrahmanya Ayyar (1925–1926: 69, n. 3) suggests filling the gap with *yāppu*, which would cement the identification of the Amitacākarar in the inscription with the

> [Kaṇṭaṉ Māṭavaṉ], the man who maintained the defense of Kārikai-Kuḷattūr, the nephew/son-in-law of the man who had the holy man Amitacākarar, whose Tamil is cool, settle in the cool Ciṟukuṉṟa county of the province of Cayaṅkoṇṭa Cōḻa[19] and saw [i.e., produced[20]] through him the verses [*kārikai*] of the book ...

Assuming that *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* is the work referred to in the inscription and if *marumāṉ* indicates a familial relation of only one generation removed, i.e., "nephew, son-in-law," then Amitacākarar must have lived in the later half of 11th cent. and possibly into the 12th. If *marumāṉ* simply means "descendant," then an even earlier date is possible. I should also note that Kuṇacākarar (see below) and the commentator on the *Vīracōḻiyam*, Peruntēvaṉār, quote *cūttiram*s from the YA. Peruntēvaṉār mentions Amitacākarar by name with the spelling "Amutacākaraṉār" ad VC 125 p. 166 in citing YA 93 and with the spelling "Amirtacākaraṉār" ad VC 179 (181) p. 278 in citing YA 96.

Turning now to the anonymous commentary on the YA, known simply as the *virutti* (Skt. *vṛtti* "running commentary"),[21] we are once again dependent on citations to determine a *terminus ante quem*, which in this case is to be the commentary by Kuṇacākarar on the YK, a work that I will discuss below. References can be found in that

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author of the YK. We must, however, live with the level of uncertainty that reality has given us.

[19] See Nilakanta Sastri (1955: 465) and Subbarayalu (1973) for an explanation of the administrative land-divisions. In ascending order of size, the units are: *ūr*, *kūṟṟam*/ *nāṭu*/ *kōṭṭaṃ*, *vaḷanāṭu*/ *nāṭu* and *maṇṭalam*.

[20] "To see a work through someone" appears to be the equivalent to "have the work produced by someone." Others have understood *kaṇṭavaṉ* in similar ways. Subrahmanya Ayyar (1925–1926: 69) translates it as "of him that caused ... to be composed..." Govindasamy (1977: 98) similarly insists that "[k]anda (*sic*) undoubtedly means who caused the work to be written." Zvelebil (1995: 780) renders the phrase: "The descendant of the king who established Amutacākarar in Ciṟukuṉṟanāṭu and arranged the composition of the *kārikai*." A client-patron relation seems likely.

[21] Further discussions about this commentator can be found in the literature quoted in n. 7 as well as Aravintaṉ (1968: 484–489). Zvelebil (1973: 251) discusses this type of commentary.

commentary, e.g., ad YK 24 and 31, where the reader is directed to the YAV for further examples.[22] A close relation between the two commentaries is also evident by the shared examples and other similarities in exposition. See below. Lastly, I note that the author of the *virutti* also knew the YK quite well and repeatedly refers to it in his commentary,[23] often with the expression: *ivaṟṟai/ikkārikaiyai virittu uraittuk koḷka* "explain and discuss these/this *kārikai* for yourself." The closest *terminus post quem* appears to be Auvaiyār, whose verse in salutation to the deity (*koṉṟai vēynta* as in the *Iḷampūraṇam*) is quoted ad YA 63.[24]

3. The *urai* by Kuṇacākarar on *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* by Amitacākarar, 12th cent (?).

Kuṇacākarar was familiar with the *virutti* on the YA,[25] as mentioned above. Owing to the similarities between the two works and the

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[22] Cf. Govindasamy (1977: 101). The passages are: ad YK 24 p. 168 [ed. Niklas] and ad YK 31 p. 244 *piṟavum yāpparuṅkala viruttiyuṭ kaṇka* "See other [examples] in the YAV." Aravintaṉ (1968: 485) cites two passages from the YKU ad YK 38 and 42 in which the words *yāpparuṅkala viruttiyuḷ*, "in the running commentary to the YA," should appear, but neither of the cited passage—*ampōtaraṅkam kuṟaiyātē vantavāṟu yāpparuṅkala viruttiyuḷ kaṇṭu koḷka* ad YK 38 and *ivaṟṟiṟku ilakkiyam yāpparuṅkala viruttiyuḷ kaṇtu koḷka* ad YK 42—occur in the commentary to the respective *sūtra*s in the editions available to me, but I note a similar remark at the end of the commentary ad YK 42 p. 360: *ivaṟṟiṟku ilakkiyam mēṟkāṭṭiyavaṟṟuḷḷum piṟavaṟṟuḷḷum kaṇṭu koḷka* "You may find examples for these both in what was presented above and in other [works]."

[23] I have noted 18 references to 17 *kārikai*s in the YAV. Since the titles of the works cited are not given in the index to the YA and there are occasional errors, the following list may be of use: YK 7 p. 74 [ed. by Venugopala Pillai], 8 p. 74, 10 p. 76, 11 p. 76, 16 p. 134, 17 p. 155, 18 p. 155, 19 p. 145, 20 p. 145, 21 p. 177, 24 p. 196, 25 p. 177, 26 p. 199, 27 p. 206, 30 p. 236, 32 p. 268, 38 p. 80.

[24] For a list of works cited, see the index to Venugopala Pillai's 1960 edition, p. 545. A list of authors cited by name is on the following page. One can, however, only locate these titles and names by searching the footnotes since the index of citations does not include identifications.

[25] In general, on Kuṇacākarar and his commentary on the YK, see the references in n. 10 as well as Zvelebil (1995: 377), who, however, mistakenly identifies the commentator with the person named Kuṇakaṭal (= Kuṇacākarar as explained in the *virutti*) mentioned in ln. 6 of the introductory verse (*pāyiram*) to the YA. He must

enormous number of shared examples (almost every example in the YKU is found in the YAV), some scholars have ascribed both commentaries to the Kuṇacākarar,[26] certainly a possible scenario but one for which we do not have any conclusive evidence. We can, therefore, offer no real *terminus ante quem* for either commentary. To the best of my knowledge, no later authors quote the YKU.

4. *Tamiḻneṟi Viḷakkam* with anonymous commentary, 10th cent.(?).

Very little is known about this text. See Zvelebil (1995: 643).

5. (Auto-)commentary on the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, early 12th cent.

Assuming that the commentary on the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* is by the same author as the root text or a disciple,[27] we can be fairly certain about the

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have been Amitacākarar's teacher based on the high respect paid to him and the statement that Amitacākarar did not "stray from his views" (*koḷkaiyiṉ vaḻāa*). For this reason, it is surmised the Kuṇacākarar was a pupil of Amitacākarar who took on his *paramaguru*'s ("teacher's teacher's") name, although this is never expressly stated in the commentary itself.

[26] Cf. Aravintaṉ (1968: 485f.) and Govindasamy (1977: 101).

[27] In support of the claim that Taṇṭi also wrote an auto-commentary to the TA, one finds in secondary literature (e.g., Nilakanta Sastri [1955: 684], Araviṉtaṉ [1968: 496], Zvelebil [1975: 193], Monius [2000: 11], etc.) a reference, most often via other references, to Cuppiramaṇiya Tīkṣitar's commentary ad *Pirayōkavivēkam* 3. I do not, however, believe that this passage refers to the Tamil Taṇṭi or to any Taṇṭi's/Daṇḍin's auto-commentary as becomes clear if one reads Cuppiramaṇiya Tīkṣitar's words. The passage ad PV 3 p. 20 runs: *vaṭanūlār tāmē patikamum uraiyuñ ceyvār. innūlum vaṭanūlait taṟpavamākac ceytalāṉ yāmum patikamum uraiyuñ ceytu utāraṇamuṅ kāṭṭiṉām. taṇṭiyāciriyar mūlōtāraṇaṅ kāṭṭiṉāṟ pōla yāmum urai yeḻutiyat' allatu mūlōtāraṇamuṅ kāṭṭiṉām.* "Northern [*scil.* Sanskrit] authors make both the preface (*patikam*) and the commentary (*urai*) themselves. Since this treatise as well makes a Northern treatise derivative [i.e., in Tamil], we too, after making the preface and the commentary, have also shown examples. Just like the teacher Taṇṭi [scil. Daṇḍin] has shown examples in his root-text, I too have shown examples in my root-text in addition to writing the commentary." To begin with, this passage says nothing about Taṇṭi writing an auto-commentary, only about the *mūlōtāraṇam* "examples in the root-text." This is a clear reference to Daṇḍin's practice in the *Kāvyādarśa* of including examples in the main body of the text after a poetic figure is defined. This is not the case in the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. Furthermore, Cuppiramaṇiya Tīkṣitar says he has imitated the teacher Taṇṭi on this specific point alone. For an example, see *Pirayōkavivēkam* 10 pp. 55f., the commentary to which

date of the early to mid 12th century. We have two important *termini ante quem* for the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, a reference to the work by Aṭiyārkkunnallār in his commentary on the *Cilappatikāram*[28] and the verses found in the commentary in praise of Anapāya Cōḻa, i.e., Kulōttuṅka II (r. 1133–1150).[29]

4. The auto-commentary on the *Nēminātam* by Kuṇavīrapaṇṭitar, late 12th cent.

The work is datable to the reign of Kulōttuṅka III, Cōḻa Tribhuvanadeva. Cf. Zvelebil (1995: 378).

Although we can hardly be very precise in the dating of these commentaries, we are fairly safe to assume that they were all composed during the first two centuries of the second millennium and that the *Iḷampūraṇam* was one of the earliest. Another feature of four of these commentaries, excluding the *Iḷampūraṇam*, is that they seem to have been written shortly after the root-text was composed and possibly by a student of the author, although, as noted, we have no direct evidence on this point. A similar commentary in this regard is the one on the *Vīracōḻiyam* by Peruntēvaṉār (12th/13th cent.).[30] I will incorporate this commentary later on as a point of contrast because it displays somewhat different features and does not follow the same pattern we find in the other commentaries.

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is: *iṉṟu aṟuvakaik kārakattiṟkum utākaraṇakkārikai* "this is an example-verse for the six types of *kāraka*." Furthermore, the comparison from the outset has been with Sanskrit authors, why would suddenly a Tamil author be introduced? Additional information on Taṇṭi and the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* can be found in Nilakanta Sastri (1955: 683f.), Araviṉtaṉ (1968: 496–503), Govindasamy (1977: 152f.), Zvelebil (1995: 653), and Monius (2000).

[28] Nilakanta Sastri (1955: 683). No specific citation is given.

[29] Cf. Nilakanta Sastri (1955: 348–350).

[30] See D'Avella (forthcoming).

II. Introducing a *cūttiram*

In this part of the essay, I will outline three features that appear at the beginning of a commentary on a section (*ōttu*)[31] and a *cūttiram*. Examples will first be presented from the *Iḷampūraṇam*, not necessarily because I believe that it is undoubtedly the earliest among the commentaries I will discuss, but because it is the text that I am most familiar with and has a good chance of being the earliest in my opinion. Afterwards we will see to what extent these features are present in other commentaries from around the same time period as well as later on, above all the later commentaries on the TC. I will focus on the following three main structural elements that appear when a commentator introduces a section or a *cūttiram* to the reader:

1) delimiting the *cūttiram.*
2) the title of a section (*ōttu*).
3) what a *cūttiram* is about (*nutalutal*).

Although these basic building blocks will perhaps seem trivial in the grander scheme of exegetical achievements, since very little has been written on the style and construction of commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam* and other grammars, it seems appropriate to start from square one. Furthermore, I believe that by taking these minor comments seriously, we can learn something about how the commentarial idiom developed over time and how we can best understand its syntax.

[31] When speaking about the divisions of an *atikāram*, commentators on the *Tolkāppiyam* (and other treatises) refer to these with the word *ōttu* in accordance with TP 470i. One also finds in secondary literature *iyal* as a general name for the subdivisions of an *atikāram*. This seems to be of a more recent development. Strictly speaking, *iyal*, "nature," can be part of the title of an *ōttu*, e.g., *Vēṟṟumaiyiyal*, "The Nature of the Cases," but is not a general term for the section itself. I will generally use "section" when referring to a subdivision of an *atikāram*.

II.1 "This is the *cūttiram.*"

After the initial *cūttiram* of a section, we often find the phrase *eṉpatu cūttiram*, "this [what was just cited][32] is the *cūttiram.*" In this context *eṉpatu* serves two roles; on the one hand, it marks off the end of a quote, in this case the *cūttiram*, while on the other hand it permits the quotation to enter into the syntax of the sentence as its subject. The predicate, *cūttiram*, designates what the preceding quote is. Iḷampūraṇar uses this exact phrase after the first *cūttiram* of almost every section in the TC not only according to the printed editions but also in UVSL 477 and, in abbreviated format, TVM 303.[33] For the *ōttu*s of the other two *atikāram*s, however, we cannot look to the printed editions to gain an accurate picture of how the text was transmitted, nor how it may have originally been written. In the earliest edition available to me of the *Iḷampūraṇam* on the TE (South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1955 [reprint: 1964]; hence *kaḻakam*),[34] the phrase *eṉpatu cūttiram* is completely absent, but upon inspecting two palm-leave MSS, I discovered that the phrase was in fact part of the transmitted *Iḷampūraṇam* and occurs after the first *cūttiram*

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[32] The verb *eṉṟal* (*eṉ-tal*), from which *eṉpatu*, a non-past neuter participial noun, is derived, serves a variety of functions in commentarial Tamil depending on its morphology and context. Owing to its brevity and the common but ultimately misleading emphasis on an equivalency with Sanskrit *iti*—the differences far outweigh the similarities—forms of *eṉṟal* are frequently left out of translations or translated with excessive verbiage that does not reflect the verb's function in the original Tamil. In the secondary literature, the two most extensive discussions of the verb are Beythan (1943: 203–206) and Chevillard (2008: 469–471). Of particular relevance for the present discussion is Beythan (1943: 206, §233) and Chevillard (2008: 469f.) along with n. 10.

[33] This MS is very badly damaged and available to me only in rather low resolution, color digital images. The leaves are out of order. Nevertheless, I clearly make out the abbreviation என after the initial *cūttiram*s to sections 3: TC 3 in 34r1, TC 8 in 84r4, and TC 9 in 95r1. A fuller version is found after the first *cūttiram* of TC 7: என . எது . சூ . ம . *eṉ . etu . cū . m .*

[34] The editors of the *Tamil Lexicon* list an undated edition on p. lxxxvi, the reference for which is: *ceṉṉai: intiyā accukkūṭam*. I have not identified this edition.

of each section save the third, the *Piṟappiyal*.[35] This absence in both MSS of the phrase for the same *ōttu* speaks to the likelihood that they were both derived from a common archetype and diminishes the probability that a scribe added these brief tags at any point in the recent past. Although I cannot be certain which MSS the *kaḻakam* editors had before them, it is quite likely that they decided to omit such a seemingly inconsequential phrase when the text was being drafted for publication, a hypothesis strengthened by other signs of the editorial hand. For example, a similar phrase, *eṉpatu pāyiram*, "this is the introduction," is missing after the *ciṟappup-pāyiram* in the *kaḻakam* edition, p. 1, whereas both MSS contain it,[36] and the presentation of the commentary on the initial *cūttiram*s of each section has been rearranged so that what must have appeared as introductory material to the section is printed above the *cūttiram*, whereas in the MSS it follows. Further differences will be pointed out below. Turning to the *ōttu*s of TP, I note that the phrase *eṉpatu cūttiram* occurs after the initial *cūttiram* of sections 3–8 in the *kaḻakam* edition. I have not yet looked into the MSS, but it stands to reason that there will likely be minor differences here as well.

This brief overview of where we find *eṉpatu cūttiram* in the *Iḷampūraṇam* helps us to understand the phrase's function in the commentary and why it may occasionally have disappeared as we move into print. Taking into consideration the format of a Tamil MS, which has little blank space or formatting beyond margins, and the writing habits of scribes, *scriptio continua* with little punctuation,[37] we can assign to this short phrase the function of delimiting the end of a *cūttiram* and the beginning of the commentary. We may tentatively conclude that *eṉpatu cūttiram* was perhaps the original signpost for its

[35] In ORIT 7180: 5v3, 14v6, 28v2, 37r9, 46r1f., 53r9f., 80r8, 107r2. In TVM 312: 3r11, 8r3, 14v8, 20r2f., 25v1, 29r2, 40v2, 53v2.

[36] ORIT 7180 1r7 and TVM 312 1r4.

[37] The serial number of a *cūttiram* within its *ōttu* is placed at the end of the commentary in MSS, so it to would not have served to demarcate a boundary between root-text and commentary.

start. The reason that this phrase only occurs after the initial *cūttiram* of a section and not throughout could have several explanations, although I think only two are likely. The more pessimistic scenario would be that every *cūttiram* ended with *eṉpatu cūttiram* and we have simply lost all of these phrases in transmission. The other explanation, which I tend to favour and will discuss more in the following section, is that after the opening *cūttiram* of a section a discussion usually takes place about the name of the *ōttu*, whereas for other *cūttiram*s we find a formulaic question and answer about the *cūttiram* itself that begins with *ic-cūttiram* "this *cūttiram*" or in the abbreviated form *eṉiṉ*. I will add more information about this formula below but suffice it to say at the moment that this would have taken over the demarcating function of *eṉpatu*.

By taking seriously the presence and function of *eṉpatu* in commentaries, I believe we can also apply this same syntactic analysis to another set of phrases that occurs after a root-text has been given. It is well known that many *Caṅkam* poems have a *kiḷavi* (often but incorrectly termed a *tuṟai*), the speech situation for the poem. In the early editions of *Caṅkam* poems, these brief contextualizing remarks are placed immediately after the poem and preceded by *eṉpatu* in the form of the abbreviation *e-tu*. As Wilden explains, the verbal forms of these speech situations are "*verbum dicendi*, in the form of an infinite verbal participle."[38] If we take the *kiḷavi* on its own, a small difficulty now arises because in classical Tamil non-finite forms are generally not used on their own and left dangling, so to speak. If, however, we understand the "verbal participle," what I would prefer to call a "verbal

[38] Wilden (2006: 160). The verbal form in question is built off the past stem with the personal ending of the neuter sing., *-atu*, e.g., *uraitt-atu*, *colliy-atu*, etc. Such forms correspond in function to the English gerund ("speaking"), and their syntax is also similar insofar as they do not (usually) take subjective and objective genitives. Though most of the verbal roots in the *kiḷavi* express a type of utterance, others can be found as well, as we will see the following example.

noun" or "gerund,"[39] as forming the predicate of a copulative sentence (verbless in Tamil), we arrive at a pukka syntactic construction and a justification for why the speech situations are placed after the poem with *eṉpatu*. To give a rather simple example, let us take the *kiḷavi* to KT 1. As printed in UVS's edition, p. 5, it reads:

> எ-து. தோழி கையுறை மறுத்தது.
>
> *e[ṉpa]tu tōḻi kaiyuṟai maṟuttatu.*
>
> this [i.e., the poem just quoted] is the friend having rejected[40] the gift.

This understanding of the *kiḷavi*'s syntax makes good sense because it gives a sort of equivalent phrasing of the poem's content just as a news anchor might sum up a video clip just shown with "and that was the president responding to reporters," a phrase that happens to mirror the Tamil *eṉpatu* (= "that") + *kiḷavi* with gerund (= "responding") quite closely.

As we have learned from the above investigation into the *Iḷampūraṇam*, these small words and phrases are subject to neglect and instability both in the MSS as well as the printed editions. The case is rather similar for the *eṉpatu* before the *kiḷavi*, and acquiring accurate information about the presence or absence of this word is difficult to come by since no edition of the *Kuṟuntokai* reports what our MSS actually have. Starting from the two most authoritative editions of the *Kuṟuntokai* by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar (an example from which has been given above) and Eva Wilden, we encounter two extremes. UVS has printed every *kiḷavi* **after** the poem with *eṉpatu* (abbreviated to *e-tu*), whereas Wilden has printed every *kiḷavi* **above** the poem and without *eṉpatu* or a record of whether *eṉpatu* occurs in the MSS or not. As for the manuscript material, we may first look at the only palm-leaf MS I

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[39] See, for example, the explanation and terminology (*Verbalnomen*, *Verbalsubstantiv*) in Lehmann (1994: 134f.) and Beythan (1943: 113).

[40] I translate with "having rejected" in order to bring out the use of past stem in *maṟuttatu*.

have had access to, UVSL 1075+1076.[41] On the initial leaves of this MS we obtain mixed results. For example, after KT 0 we have the following:

> UVSL 1076 1r8 லுலகெ - எது - கடவுளவழதது
>
> *l ulakē - e[ṉpa]tu - kaṭavuḷ vaḻttu*[42]

The abbreviated form of *eṉpatu* is clearly used to end the poem (as well as dashes) and happily construes with the following "salutation to god," i.e, "this [i.e., the poem just quoted] is the salutation to god." But subsequently *eṉpatu* is missing, e.g., after KT 2:

> UVSL 1075 1.2 நீயறியுமபுவெ இயறகைபபுணரசசி
>
> *nī aṟiyum puvē iyaṟkaippuṇarcci*

Here the *kiḷavi* starts without warning immediately after the conclusion of the poem, the only telling sign that we are moving on to the *kiḷavi* is the lack of sandhi between *puvē iyaṟ*. *eṉpatu* again makes a brief appearance after KT 8 (UVSL 1076 2.4) only to fade from view till KT 25 (UVSL 1075 5.9), after which *eṉpatu* appears to form a permanent part of the commentary, although I have not checked the entire MS but only sampled randomly from later sections. The paper MSS generally all have the abbreviation *e-tu* after each poem, but one MS, UVSL 183, exhibits an intriguing similarity to UVSL 1075. We find *e-tu* after the *kaṭavuḷ vaḻttu* (UVS 1075 1.7) but then not again till KT 8 (UVSL 1075 9.7), after which it is consistently present. The correspondence is unlikely due to chance, and we may hypothesize that *eṉpatu* was

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[41] For a description of the MS see Wilden (2010: 9).

[42] In quoting from MSS, I have tried my best to present the text as it there appears. This often includes the absence of *puḷḷi*s, only one variety of *o* and *e*, and a legless *r*. The last feature is not always possible to replicate owing to technological restrictions. In the transliteration I give my interpretation of the MS text. For specifying the folio, I use two systems depending on the type of manuscript. For those with a modern pagination on both recto and verso of a folio (usually in Roman numerals), I use that number followed by a period and then the line number, e.g., 1.4. For palm-leaf MSS that number only the leaf, i.e., not each side, I use this number followed by "r" or "v," for recto and verso, respectively, and then the line number, e.g., 1r8. Page numbers within square brackets mark the end of the given line.

missing and then present in both of the predecessors to these MSS.[43] The scribe of UVSL 1075 may well have continued to use *eṉpatu* after KT 8, not necessarily because it was in his original, but because he recognized its utility. Why *eṉpatu* would be missing in the first place is difficult to determine with any certainty but based on the evidence at hand, I favour UVS's decision to restore *eṉpatu* to the remainder of the poems and view it as an integral syntactic link between the poem itself and the following *kiḷavi.*

II.2 Naming a section

Each chapter (*atikāram*) and each section (*ōttu*) in the *Tolkāppiyam* has a particular title that describes its content. At the opening of each of these divisions the commentator seeks to justify and elucidate the received nomenclature so that the reader may gain insight into what is to follow and understand the reasoning behind the given title. As we will see, commentators developed a set formula for introducing and discussing this topic and take the opportunity to respond to the opinions of their predecessors (in the case of the *Tolkāppiyam*) and answer any potential doubts concerning the appropriateness of how the information has been arranged and compartmentalized. Remaining with the *Iḷampūraṇam* for the moment, let us look at his opening remarks on the TC that treat both the title of the chapter (*Collatikāram*) and then a bit later on that of the section (*Kiḷaviyākkam*) as well.

> Iḷam. ad TC 1.1i இவ்வதிகாரம் சொல்லிலக்கணம் உணர்த்தினமை காரணத்தாற் சொல்லதிகாரம் என்னும் பெயர்த்து. சொல் என்ப தெழுத்தொடு புணர்ந்து பொருள் அறிவுறுத்தும் ஓசை. அதிகாரம் என்பது முறைமை.[44]

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[43] According to Wilden (2010: 9) this MS represents a different line of transmission (see also the stemma on p. 19) so that the similar absence of *eṉpatu* in the early poems of both strands is quite striking.

[44] I give here the text with proper sandhi in Tamil script as it is found in the oldest MSS of the *Iḷampūraṇam.* Modern editors have taken the unwarranted liberty of tampering with how someone now long-gone has chosen to write their language by undoing sandhi, often justified as for the sake "clarity." This is a very slippery slope

> *i-atikāram col-ilakkaṇam uṇarttiṉamai kāraṇattāl collatikāram eṉṉum peyarttu. col eṉpatu eḻuttoṭu puṇarntu poruḷ aṟivuṟuttum ocai. atikāram eṉpatu muṟaimai.*
>
> This chapter has the name "Chapter on Words" because it makes known the definition of the word (*col*). "Word" is a sound that effects knowledge of a meaning in conjunction with letters. "Chapter" is an ordering principle.

Iḷampūraṇar then presents an overview of the properties and classificatory scheme for words in the *Collatikāram*: 2 classes (*tiṇai*), 5 genders *cum* number (*pāl*), 7 faults (*vaḻu*), 8 cases (*vēṟṟumai*), 6 types of compounds (*tokai*), 3 persons (*iṭam*), 3 tenses (*kālam*), and 2 modes of expression (*iṭam*).[45] Thereafter a justification for the title of the section is sought in what is (or will become) a formulaic expression throughout the remainder of the *Iḷampūraṇam* and other commentaries:

> இனி, இவ்வதிகாரத்து முதற்கண் ணோத் தென்ன பெயர்த்தோ வெனின், கிளவிகள் பொருண் மேலாமா றுணர்த்தினமையின் கிளவியாக்கம் என்னும் பெயர்த்து.
>
> *iṉi, i-atikārattu mutaṟkaṇ ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō eṉiṉ, kiḷavikaḷ poruḷ mēl ām āṟu uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ kiḷaviyākkam eṉṉum peyarttu.*
>
> Now, if one says, "What name does the section at the beginning of the chapter have?" [we respond that] it has the name *kiḷaviyākkam*, "Development of Linguistic Expression," because it has made known how expressions occur with their meanings/referents.[46]

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to go down. In Roman script I have given a version of the text (not a strict transliteration) with word divisions and reduced sandhi. Enclitic particles such as *-ē*, *-ō*, and *-um*, are separated from their dependent with a hyphen as are the preposed deictics *i-* and *a-*. In footnotes, where I do not give the text in Tamil script, I have transliterated more faithfully.

[45] The last *iṭam*, identical with "person" in Tamil, refers to *vaḻakkiṭam* "common mode" and *ceyyuḷiṭam* "verse mode," i.e., standard language vs. poetic language.

[46] Cēṉāvaraiyar repeats this explanation in his commentary ad TC 1.1c with approbation (*amaiyum*) but substitutes *coṟkaḷ*, "words," for *kiḷavikaḷ*, "expressions,"

The three clauses to this sentence:

1) *ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō* "what name does this section have?"

2) *uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ* "because it has made known."

3) *X eṉṉum peyarttu* "it has the name X."

are repeated at the beginning of almost every section and form the skeleton of these introductory remarks. Let us look at two further examples before coming to the exceptions.

> Iḷam. ad TC 80i (3.1) இவ்வோத் தென்ன பெயர்த்தோ வெனின், வேற்றுமை தம்மின் மயங்கினமை யுணர்த்தினமையின் வேற்றுமை மயங்கியல் என்னும் பெயர்த்து.
>
> *i-ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō veṉiṉ, vēṟṟumai tammiṉ mayaṅkiṉamai uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ vēṟṟumai mayaṅkiyal eṉṉum peyarttu.*
>
> If one says, "What name does this section have?" [we respond that] because it has made known that the cases mix with themselves, it has the name *Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal*, "The Nature of the Mixing of the Cases."
>
> Iḷam. ad TC 391i (9.1) இவ்வோத் தென்ன பெயர்த்தோ வெனின், எல்லா வோத்தினுள்ளும் எஞ்சிய பொருள்களை யுணர்த்தினமையின் எச்சவியல் என்னும் பெயர்த்து.
>
> *i-ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō eṉiṉ, ellā ōttiṉuḷ-um eñciya poruḷkaḷai uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ eccaviyal eṉṉum peyarttu.*
>
> If one says, "What name does this section have?" [we respond that] because it has made known the remaining topics, it has the name *Eccaviyal*, "The Nature of the Remainder."

As can be seen from the three examples so far given, the justification for the section titles are based on demonstrating that they make known, or inform us about, the topic that forms part of the title itself, a

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and without attributing it to the Uraiyāciriyar, as Iḷampūraṇar is usually called. See Chevillard (1996: 39 [7]) for a translation and n. 1.8 for a discussion of the word *ākkam*.

point emphasized by the reuse of an etymologically connected forms such as *mayaṅkiṉamai* and *eñciya*. Before looking at Iḷampūraṇar's style on this point in the other *atikāram*s, I would like to call attention to two deviations from this pattern in the TC, one minor and the other more puzzling.

The seventh section of the TC classifies and lists *iṭai*s, "particles," and as such is simply titled *Iṭai(ccol)-iyal*, much as the following section, the *Uriyiyal* on *uri*, "special nous." An explanation for the title of these two sections should, therefore, be relatively straightforward, and we expect something along the lines of "this section is so titled because it makes known the particles/special nouns." This is in fact what we find at the beginning of the *Uriyiyal*, the causal phrase being simply: *uriccol uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ* "because it has made known the words that are special nouns."[47] For the *Iṭaiyiyal*, however, a similar phrase is lacking, both in the printed editions as well as in the MSS I have so far cited in this article. An explanation for this anomaly may be that the phrase was omitted during the transmission of the commentary owing to the scribe skipping from one *iṭai* to the next:

> வெனின் இடைச்சொல் உணர்த்தினமையின் இடையியல்.*
>
> *eṉiṉ iṭai-col uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ iṭaiyiyal**

became:

> வெனின் இடையியல்.
>
> *eṉin iṭaiyiyal*

Given the parallel constructions and relative simplicity of the causal clause found at the beginning of the *Vēṟṟumaiyiyal* and *Uriyiyal*, I suspect that we are here dealing with an omission rather than a variation in the style.

The second deviation will require a different explanation as will become evident. The commentary on the 6th section, *Viṉaiyiyal*, begins

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[47] Cf. the explanation of the *Vēṟṟumaiyiyal.*

with an entirely different opening and with a text that is not entirely satisfactory:

> Iḷam. ad TC 196i (6.1) என் னுதலிற்றோ வெனின், நிறுத்த முறையானே வினைச்சொலாமா றுணர்த்திய யெடுத்துக் கொண்டான். அதனால் இவ்வோத்து வினையியல் என்னும் பெயர்த்தாயிற்று
>
> *eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ*,[48] *niṟutta muṟaiyāṉ-ē viṉai-col ām āṟu uṇarttiya eṭuttu koṇṭāṉ. ataṉāl i-ottu viṉaiyiyal eṉṉum peyarttu āyiṟṟu.*
>
> If one says, "What did it intend?" [we respond that] according to the established order, he has undertaken to explain how action-words [i.e., verbs] occur. Therefore, this section has received the name *Viṉaiyiyal*, "The Nature of Verbs."

This passage will immediately recall the commentary by Cēṉāvaraiyar on the present *cūttiram* (TC 198c [6.1])[49] but without the initial *eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ*. In fact, the entire *Iḷampūraṇam* ad TC 196i (6.1) is borrowed from the *Cēṉāvaraiyam*, and we have a clear instance of one commentary being taken over to supplant what was mostly likely lost at an early date. The MSS make no note of this, but Aṭikaḷāciriyar has a remark on this fact in his edition.[50] This absence is clearly connected to a much larger loss in the *Iḷampūraṇam* that starts at the beginning of the *Peyariyal* and for which portions of the *Cēṉāvaraiyam* have been substituted. Accordingly, the functional element with *nututal* is entirely missing throughout *Iḷampūraṇam* on the fifth section of TC,[51] and these irregularities can be removed with the result that Iḷampūraṇar did indeed have a very rigid formula for introducing a section.

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[48] The MSS have only the abbreviation எனனின. See UVSL 477 32v14 and TVM 303 5?r1 (the number is no longer entirely visible and the leaves are out of order) and my discussion in the following section.

[49] See Chevillard (1995: 303) for a translation.

[50] *Ilampūraṇam* on TC ed. Aṭikaḷāciriyar, p. 169.

[51] Cf. the annotations by Aṭikaḷāciriyar (ed), pp. 142f.

In bringing this section to a close, it will now be instructive to compare how Iḷampūraṇar has introduced the sections of the other two chapters of the *Tolkāppiyam*. This will help us to determine how consistent the commentator's style was throughout the years he must have spent on his *magnum opus*. As before, I have checked two MSS for the TE, but have had to rely on the printed editions of the TP out of consideration of time.

In the *Iḷampūraṇam* on the TE, each section receives an introductory remark about the name of the *ōttu* following more or less the structure as given above for the TC, but there are some more substantial differences. The same basic formula as described above occurs ad TE 1.1,[52] TE 85i (3.1), TE 174i (6.1), and TE 203i (7.1), including a statement about the title of the chapter itself.[53] In the other sections, however, we encounter a slightly different formulation in the response with but little alteration in the meaning. As an example, let us look at the commentary to the second *ōttu.*

> Iḷam. ad TE 34i (2.1) இவ்வோத் தென்ன பெயர்த்தோ வெனின், மொழிகளுக் கெழுததான் வரும் மர புணர்த்தினமையின் மொழிமர பெனப்பட்டது
>
> *i-ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō eṉiṉ, moḻikaḷukku eḻuttāṉ varum marapu uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ moḻimarapu* ***eṉa paṭṭatu.***

---

[52] The structure here is a bit more involved but all the basic elements are present. In The full the passage runs: ***ivvōtu*** *eṉ ṉutaliṟṟō veṉiṉ, atuvum ataṉpeyar uraippavē aṭaṅkum. ivvatikārattāṟ collappaṭum eḻuttilakkaṇattiṉai orāṟṟāl tokuttu* ***uṇarttutaliṉ****, nūṉmarapu* ***eṉṉumpeyarttu.*** "If one says, 'What did this section intend?' [we respond that] this too is included when explaining its name. Since it [the section] makes known, after uniformly condensing it, a definition of the letter, which is stated by this chapter [scil. TE], it [scil. the section] has the name *Nūṉmarapu* 'The Proper Characteristics of the Treatise'."

[53] Iḷam. ad TE 1.1i *atikāram eṉṉa peyarttō veṉiṉ, eḻuttatikāram eṉṉum peyarttu. eḻuttuṇarttiṉamai kāraṇattiṟ peṟṟa peyar eṉa eṇarka.* "If one says, 'what name does the chapter have?' [we respond that] it has the name *Eḻuttatikāram*, 'Chapter on Letters.' Understand that it is the name that [the chapter] has obtained on account of making known the letters." The justification for the name placed in a following sentence is typical of the TP, as I will describe below.

> If one says, "What name does this section have?" [we respond that] because it makes known the proper characteristics that occur for words through letters, it is called *Moḻimarapu*, "The Proper Characteristics of Words."

The introduction to the other sections, TC 4, TC 5, and TC 9, use the same predicate, *eṉappaṭṭatu*, in place of *peyarttu*.

In the *Iḷampūraṇam* on the TP we are given only a very brief discussion of the title for the first section, the *Akattiṇaiyiyal*, that does not conform to any formula occurring elsewhere,[54] but the title of the chapter itself, *Poruḷatikāram*,[55] is discussed in a formulaic manner in accordance with what we find in the subsequent sections. This formula differs slightly from what we have so far encountered. Let us look at two examples from the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* and the *Uvamaiyiyal*,

> Iḷam. ad TP 59i (2.1) இவ்வோத்து என்ன பெயர்த்தோ வெனின், புறத்திணையியல் என்னும் பெயர்த்து. இது புறப்பொருள் உணர்த்துதலாற் பெற்ற பெயர்.[56]
>
> *i-ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō eṉiṉ, puṟattiṇaiyiyal eṉṉum peyarttu. itu puṟapporuḷ uṇarttutalāl peṟṟa peyar.*
>
> If one says, "What name does this section have?" [we respond that] it has the name *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*, "The Nature of the Exterior Landscapes.[57]" This is the name that it has obtained because it makes known the subject matter of exterior [poetry].

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[54] Iḷam. ad TP 1.1i: *ivvatikārattuḷ immutaṟkaṇ ōttu akapporuḷ ilakkaṇam nutaliṟṟu.* "The section at the beginning of this chapter has the definition of interior [poetry] as its theme."

[55] Iḷam. ad TP 1.1i: *ivvatikāram eṉṉa peyarttō eṉiṉ, poruḷatikāram eṉṉum peyarttu. itu poruḷ uṇarttiṉamaiyāl peṟṟa peyar.* "If one says, 'what name does this chapter have? [we respond that] it has the name *Poruḷatikāram*, 'Chapter on Poetic Subject Matter.' This is the name that it has obtained because it makes known poetic subject matter."

[56] I give the text as it occurs in the printed edition with the exception of added space between words.

[57] I have retained the well-known translation "Landscape" for *tiṇai*, although it is particularly inaccurate in the case of the *puṟat-tiṇai*s, which are not associated with a landscape like their *akam* counterparts.

> Iḷam. ad TP 272i (7.1) இவ்வோத்து என்ன பெயர்த்தோ வெனின், உவமையியல் என்னும் பெயர்த்து. ஒருபுடை ஒப்புமைப் பற்றி பொயுவமை உணர்த்துதலாற் பெற்ற பெயர்.
>
> *i-ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō eṉiṉ, uvamaiyiyal eṉṉum peyarttu. orupuṭai oppumai paṟṟi uvamai uṇarttutalāṟ peṟṟa peyar.*
>
> If one says, "What name does this section have?" [we respond that] it has the name *Uvamaiyiyal*, "Nature of the Simile." [This] is the name that it has acquired because it makes known the simile based on partial similitude.

This series of three elements—question, response, justification with *uṇarttutalāl*—is repeated at the beginning of every *iyal* save the first, for which we may conjecture that it got short shrift owing to the already lengthy introduction to the chapter and the discussion of its name.

II.3 What a *cūttiram* is all about

We may now turn our investigation to an observation about how *cūttiram*s are initially presented to the reader. In the *Iḷampūraṇam* and other commentaries on grammars, a short statement is often made immediately after the *cūttiram* (or *kārikai*) that does not serve to gloss its content *per se* but rather provides information about the general topic of the rule under discussion. This occurs usually in the question-and-answer format, as will be evident from the examples below. The verb in this context, i.e., the predicate for what the *cūttiram* "does," as it were, is *nutal-tal*, "to denote, to express, to intend."[58] As we will see, this short statement can serve to order a rule into one of several categories and help the reader quickly determine its function. Let us first look at a few examples before delving into a deeper analysis.

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[58] Cf. the meanings given in Chevillard (2008: 177) s.v. *nutalutal*: "avoir pour thème, concerner, être destiné à, dénoter." That this is typical of Iḷampūraṇar's commentary is noted by Aṭikaḷāciriyar (ed.) in his comments ad TC 152i (5.1), p. 143.

For the following examples I continue to draw on the *Iḷampūraṇam* on the TC, but similar examples can be found in the other two chapters as well. I have selected these passages in order to give an overview of the possible syntactic constructions and categories of rule in these short phrases. After each example brief remarks are given that highlight important points.

> Iḷam. ad TC 64i (2.2): இச்சூத்திரம் என் னுதலிற்றோ வெனின், ஒழிந்த வேற்றுமை யுணர்த்துத னுதலிற்று.
>
> *i-cūttiram eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ, oḻinta vēṟṟumai uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu.*
>
> If one says, "What did this *cūttiram* intend?" [we reply that] it intended to make known the remaining case.

This is the most simple and typical form for an introductory remark: a short question is posed, closed off by the conditional *eṉiṉ*, "if one says," and receives an immediate answer also with *nutaliṟṟu* as the main predicate. The complement of the verb *nutalutal* is almost always a verbal noun in *-tal* and most frequently *uṇarttutal*, "making known, informing," which occurs 168 times in the *Iḷampūraṇam* on the TC or in over half of all occurrences of *nutaliṟṟu*.[59] I have noted only two unambiguous exceptions: *āṟu*, "the way, how," ad TC 214i (6.20)[60] and *amaintamai*, "suitability," which occurs ad TC 241i (6.47).[61] There are also three instances of a verbal noun in *-al*: *vilakkal* ad TC 122i (4.8), 140i (4.26), and 145i (4.31), but as we will discuss presently, the presentation of this formula in the modern editions relies on editorial decisions. About what the *cūttiram* informs us ranges depending on

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[59] The formulaic question occurs with 292 *cūttiram*s, although the answer does not in every instance have *nutaliṟṟu*. I will return to this absence later on.

[60] Iḷam. ad TC 214i (6.20): *virintatu tokuttavāṟu nutaliṟṟu* "[the *cūttiram*] has as its topic how what has become spread out is collected together." The objective of the *cūttiram* is to bring together the endings for the non-class (*aḵriṇai*) entities, spread out over the previous two *cūttiram*s.

[61] Iḷam. ad TC 241i (6.47) *ituvum oruvakai vaḻūuccol amaintamai nutaliṟṟu* "this [*cūttiram*] as well has as its topic the fact that a faulty word is sometimes acceptable."

the content, but one important object of *uṇarttutal* is *ilakkaṇam*, "definition," an indication that the *cūttiram* under examination relates the meaning of a technical term, somewhat akin to the *saṃjñā-sūtra*s of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. For example, the opening comment ad TC 78i (2.16) states the *cūttiram* "intended to make known a definition that is applicable to all cases."[62]

Given the frequency of this short expression and its formulaic nature, it is perhaps not surprising that in MSS we find abbreviations, although the first occurrence is often written out in full. In one of the older MSS of the *Iḷampūraṇam* on the TC, UVSL 477,[63] the scribe has given the first instance of the question and answer pair ad TC 1.1i as follows:

> UVSL 477 Iḷam. ad TC 1.1i இவவெததின றலைககட கிடநத சூததிர [1r30] மென னுதலிறறொ வெனின. சொலலும பொருளும வரைய [1r31] றுத துணரதத னுதலிறறு
>
> *i-ottiṉ talaikkaṭ kiṭanta cūttira[1r30]m eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ, collum poruḷum varaiya[1r30]ṟuttu uṇarttuta ṉutaliṟṟu.*
>
> If one says, "What did the *cūttiram* intend that is placed at the beginning of this section?" [we respond that] it intended to delimit and make known the words and meanings.

In the next occurrence ad TC 1.2i, however, we encounter the abbreviated format:

> UVSL 477 Iḷam. ad TC 1.2i எனனின மெற றினை கூறு செயதானத தி[3r6]னையுட பாலகூறு செயத னுதறறு.
>
> *eṉiṉ mēl tiṇai kūṟu ceytāṉ a-tiṇaiyuḷ pāl kūṟu ceytal nuta[li]ṟṟu.*
>
> If one says ... given that the division of the persons had been made above, it intended to make the gender divisions among those persons.

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[62] Iḷam ad TC 78i (2.16) *vēṟṟimaikku ellām kiṭantatōr ilakkaṇam uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu.*

[63] I cite the manuscript according to the Roman numeral at the top right-hand side of the page.

The entire question portion has been left out and only the conditional quotative *eṉiṉ* remains. Subject to further truncation is *uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu*, which becomes increasingly abbreviated in its next two occurrences ad TC 1.3i and 1.5i:

> [UVSL 477] 3r17 விரிததுணரததிறறு
>
> *virittu uṇarttiṟṟu*
>
> [UVSL 477] 3v2 [எ]ழுததுணரறறு
>
> *eḻuttu uṇaraṟṟu*

The final form, *uṇaraṟṟu*,[64] is retained throughout the remainder of the MS with few exceptions. Other verbs with *nutaliṟṟu* do not, however, appear to acquire an abbreviation. The only other case to my knowledge appears to be விலககிறறு *vilakkiṟṟu* ad TC 122i (4.8) 26r12f. and ad TC 140i (4.26) 26r19, and this is possibly what caused editors to print *vilakkal*—the only verbal noun with *nutaliṟṟu* not in *-tal* in the *Iḷampūraṇam* on the TC—at these particular places in their editions. One could also expand the abbreviated form as *vilakkuta ṉutaliṟṟu*.

With the form and basic function of this mini-phrase clear, we may now turn to a few more examples that signify more specifically what a *cūttiram* is all about. The *Tolkāppiyam* contains both *cūttiram*s that inform us about correct usage as well as *cūttiram*s that point out incorrect usage in an effort to help us avoid errors. When introducing the latter, Iḷampūraṇar signposts this in the following manner:

> Iḷam. ad TC 1.11i இச்சூத்திரம் என் னுதலிற்றோ வெனின், வழுக் காத்த னுதலிற்று.
>
> *i-cūttiram eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ*, *vaḻu kāttal nutaliṟṟu.*
>
> If one says, "What did this *cūttiram* intend?" [we respond that] it intended to protect against error.

[64] How to pronounce and transliterate the abbreviation is moot. What I give here is simply functional.

The phrase *vaḻ(ū)uk*[65] *kāttal* occurs 27 times with *nutaliṟṟu*, 19 of which are already in the *Kiḷaviyākkam*, the first section of the TC.

In the commentaries to texts that give a series of rules, we often learn how one rule relates to another, e.g., one rule forms an exception to another by applying within the domain of another rule, for if the more specific rule did not set aside the more general one, it would never have the opportunity to apply. In Sanskrit such rules are known as *utsarga*, "general rule," and *apavāda*, "exceptional rule." Iḷampūraṇar likewise seeks to make explicit the relation between rules in his opening question and answer, two instances of which we find in the following examples. In the first example there occurs the Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit *apavāda*, namely, *puṟanaṭai*.[66]

> Iḷam. ad TC 1.59i இச்சூத்திரம் என் னுதலிற்றோ வெனின், குடிமையாண்மை யென்பதற்குப் புறநடை கூறுத னுதலிற்று.
>
> *i-cūttiram eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ, kuṭimaiyāṇmai enpataṟkup puṟanaṭai*[67] *kūṟutal nutaliṟṟu.*
>
> If one says, "What did this *cūttiram* intend?" [we respond that] it intended to state an exception to TC 1.57i *kuṭimaiyāṇmai* [etc.].

TC 1.59i forms an exception to TC 1.57i insofar as it permits non-class (*aḵṟiṇai*) words listed there to be used with a predicate that has a high-class (*uyirtiṇai*) ending, e.g., *vēntu ceṅkōlaṉ* "[the man of] royalty has a just scepter."

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[65] The spelling with *aḷapeṭai*, "protracted," *ūu* is not consistently given in either the MSS or the printed editions.

[66] The Tamil term does not, however, exactly overlap with the semantics of *apavāda*. Another possible English translation would be "supplement" or "appendix." Cf. Chevillard (2013: 242, n. 5), where it is pointed out that the *kārikaṅ*s from the YK are referred to as *yāpparuṅkalap puṟanaṭai* in the *virutti* to the YA.

[67] Printed editions of the *Iḷampūraṇam* consistently give the spelling *puṟaṉaṭai* with alveolar *ṉ*, but in the oldest MSS at my disposal the spelling is consistently *puṟanaṭai* with dental *n*, e.g., UVSL 477 13v11. I have followed the MSS. The variant spellings are noted in the commentary ad *Ilakkaṇakkottu* 86 (18th cent.): *itu puṟanaṭai* ; *puṟaṉaṭai enpārum* "This [*cūttiram*] is an exception. There are also those who say '*puṟaṉaṭai*.'" Cf. Chevillard (2008: 200) s.v. *puṟaṉaṭai*.

> Iḷam. ad TC 1.12i இச்சூத்திரம் என் னுதலிற்றோ வெனின், எய்தியது விலக்குத னுதலிற்றோ.
>
> *i-cūttiram eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ, eytiyatu vilakkutal nutaliṟṟu.*
>
> If one says, "What did this *cūttiram* intend," [we respond that] it intended to expand what has been taken up [in the previous *cūttiram*].

TC 1.11i lays down the general rule for gender agreement between a subject and its finite verb.[68] The following *cūttiram* remains on the same topic but clarifies which grammatical gender a finite verb should take when its subject is a eunuch/transsexual[69] and therefore removes any doubts about this particular situation for which the preceding rule may have left room. A similar attribute is given to Pāṇinian *sūtra*s with the phrase: *pūrvasyaivāyaṃ prapañcaḥ* "The present [*sūtra*] is an elaboration of just the preceding [*sūtra*]."[70]

II.4 Preliminary Conclusions

Based on the preceding three sections, in which I have investigated three formulaic phrases originating from the *Iḷampūraṇam*, we can speak more confidently about what sort of style and linguistic habits Iḷampūraṇar is likely to have had and how they may have changed while he was composing his commentary to each of the three chapters of the *Tolkāppiyam*. I would argue that each of the three units I outlined above—*eṉpatu cūttiram*, the name of the *ōttu*, and *nutalutal*—fulfilled basic functional units within a Tamil commentary in the eyes of Iḷampūraṇar and perhaps also his audience. Evidence that these short notes were likely from his own stylus and not added over the course of time by later scholars or scribes derives from the absence of *eṉpatu cūttiram* at the beginning of the third section of the TE in two

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[68] For a complete translation, see Chevillard (1996: 55).

[69] See Chevillard (1996: 45f. and 58) for Cēṉāvaraiyar's explanation of the phrase *āṇmai tirinta*, which is also used in TC 1.4i.

[70] See, e.g., KV ad P. 2.1.33. Further references can be found in Abhyankar and Shukla (1986: 269) s.v. *prapañca*.

MSS, i.e., there is no attempt to create uniformity. Furthermore, we must conclude that although at some point additions to the received text were possible, as the intrusion of the *Cēṉāvaraiyam* into the entire fifth *ōttu* and part of the sixth indicates. By obtaining further details about the style and habits of our Tamil commentators, especially based on evidence from MSS, we can hope to weed out further interpolations and add to our understanding of the development of the Tamil commentarial idiom. In the following section I will endeavour down this latter path by casting my net over those commentaries that were likely written around the same time or shortly after Iḷampūraṇar.

III The Larger Milieu

We come now to the commentators who are likely to have been close contemporaries of Iḷampūraṇar or lived within a century or two of him, the grounds for which dating I have already discussed above. Although I do not at present believe that a stylistic study can help to pinpoint the dates of these works with greater accuracy—or even their relative chronology—I believe that it will shed light on the presence of commentarial standards.

III.1 The *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*

The *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti* is a behemoth among Tamil commentaries, stretching over 400 hundred pages in the edition of Venugopala Pillai and containing hundreds of valuable quotes from both literature as well as now lost treatises on grammar. One can only hope that this commentary will be taken up in a more rigorous study in the near future. For my examination of the text I have relied, above all, on the 1960 edition by M. V. Venugopala Pillai (hence VP) in consultation with the *editio princeps* by Rao Bahadur S. Bavanandam Pillai (hence BP), vol. I 1916 and vol. II 1929, and a MS stored in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Indien 202–203, available to me in grayscale digital images. Both printed editions appear to be very carefully edited but neither is critical insofar as they do not contain a critical apparatus

with variants in specific MSS.[71] The MS Indien 202–203, dated 1 August 1730,[72] is very well written but was evidently copied from a lacunose exemplar judging from the numerous blank spaces, especially in the initial leaves (35 on first 6), after which they become less frequent. As was seen above, the MS will supplement the printed editions by offering at least one independent source for how the text was transmitted and what modifications the editors may have made when publishing the work, neither of whom took into consideration the Paris MS.

All three functional elements in the *Iḷampūraṇam* that I discussed above are present in the YAV. We shall take them up in the same order as before beginning with the close of the *cūttiram* and the start of the commentary. Although the commentary to the first three *cūttiram*s, in either the editions or the MS, does not contain such forms like *eṉpatu* to signal their close, beginning with YA 4 we do find the same phrase that was discussed with reference to the initial *cūttiram* of a section of the *Iḷampūraṇam*, namely *eṉpatu cūttiram*, "this is the *cūttiram*." On this point there is a rather significant difference in detail between the MS and the editions, reflecting perhaps that the MSS for the editions likewise differed. Compare, for example, the *Virutti* ad YA 4 as it appears in these respective sources. The passage begins immediately after the *cūttiram*:

> Indien 39r4 *Virutti* ad YA 4 என சூததிரம இசசூததிரம
> *eṉ[patu*[73]*] cūttiram iccūttiram ...*

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[71] There appear to be minor differences from time to time. For example, in listing the elements of the first *cūttiram*, BP p. 17 replaces *tūkku* with *pā*, both "stanza," i.e., the largest metrical unit, whereas VP p. 11 retains *tūkku* from the verse. Indien 202 18r1 not only has *pā* in the commentary but has also replaced *tū* with *pā* in the verse itself (17v4), yielding the nonsensical பாககொடி, i.e., *pākkōṭi*. That the words are synonymous is pointed out later on with a reference to an authoritative statement by one Palkāyaṉār.

[72] See Indien 203 518v2. The year is *cātāraṇam*, the month, *āṭi*; and the day 32. I express my thanks to Giovanni Ciotti for his assistance in this matter.

[73] Either *tu* or *patu* appears to have as been left out.

> This [what was just cited] is the *cūttiram*. This *cūttiram ...*
>
> [Printed Editions] *Virutti* ad YA 4 இச்சூத்திரம் ...
>
> *i-cūttiram ...*
>
> This *cūttiram ...*

After subsequent *cūttiram*s, the MS employs an abbreviation for both words. Coupled with the additional abbreviation for the *nutaliṟṟu-ō* question (see below), the commentary begins:

> Indien 202 49r5 *Virutti* ad YA 6 - எது - சூம - எனின
>
> *- etu - cūm - eṉiṉ*

On the other hand, the printed editions expand the abbreviations into:

> *Virutti* ad YA 6 என்பது சூத்திரம். 'இஃது என் நுதலிற்றோ?'
>
> *eṉpatu cūttiram.* '*iḵtu eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō?*'

I have yet to find any occurrence of *iḵtu* in this position in the MS, and it may well represent a second mode of abbreviating the phrase found in other MSS. There is little need to dwell much longer on this topic, but I will note that in the Paris MS there is not complete consistency, e.g., there is no *eṉpatu cūttiram* or its abbreviation at the start of the commentary ad YA 70 (Indien 202 265r2), simply *iccūttiram*. Looking back on the use of *eṉpatu cūttiram* in *Iḷampūraṇam* with this additional evidence, we may wonder whether such a short phrase did once accompany every *cūttiram* as it (almost) does in the YAV.

Coming now to the second element laid out above, each *ōttu* in the YAV receives some discussion after the first *cūttiram* of the section is given. A typical example is the commentary to YA 5:

> *Virutti* ad YA 5 இவ்வோத் தென்ன பெயர்த்தோ வெனின் எழுத்தினான் அசை யாமா றுணர்த்திற் றாகலான், அசையோத் தென்னும் பெயர்த்து.
>
> *i-ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō eṉiṉ, eḷuttiṉāṉ acai ām āṟu uṇarttiṟṟu ākalāṉ acai ōttu eṉṉum peyarttu.*

> If one says, "What name does this section have?" [we respond that] it has the name *Acaiyōttu*, "Section on *Acai*," because it has made known how the *acai* occurs on the basis of the letter.

With one minor difference this formula repeats exactly what we have seen in the *Iḷampūraṇam*:

1) Question: "What name does this section have?"

2) A causal phrase with the verb *uṇarttutal*, "to make known."

3) Answer: "It has the name X."

The minor difference lies in the exact construction of the causal clause. In the *Iḷampūraṇam* we have *uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ*, whereas here there is the periphrastic formulation with the instrumental of the verbal noun *ākal* (i.e., *ākalāṉ*) and the neut. sing. past of *uṇarttutal* (i.e., *uṇarttiṟṟu*). The same phrase, *mutatis mutandis*, can be found following YA 17 (*Taḷaiyōttu*), YA 23 (*Aṭiyōttu*), YA 33 (*Toṭaiyōttu*), and YA 54 (*Ceyyuḷōttu*). The MS likewise contains all of these readings. One apparent aberration, however, is the third section, the *Cīrōttu*. In both printed editions (BP I p. 57, VP p. 45) the question (*i-ōttu eṉṉa peyarttu-ō eṉiṉ*) is lacking, and the discussion of the *ōttu* begins with *ivvōttu* followed by elements 2 and 3: *ivvōttu acaiyiṉāṟ* ... This state of affairs is partially reflected in the MS, where we read immediately after the conclusion of YA 10:

> Indien 202 57v3 இது - அசை ...
>
> *itu - acai ...*
>
> This – *acai ...*

For whatever reason—and this is singular in the MS—the scribe has employed what I believe to be an abbreviation as could be argued from the presence of the dash, although *itu*, "this," is certainly also possible. Since I do not know what the editors had before them in their MSS, I can only hazard a guess that it was something similar to what is in Indien 202 and that they felt at liberty to fill it out much as we have

seen with other abbreviations above. Before speculating as to why this abbreviation suddenly appears never to return, it is once again worth noting that scribes do not appear to have regularized these formulaic introductory remarks but copied what was before them, at least in the more recent transmission of the text to which we have access. Since the editors of our editions did not have access to the Paris MS, it stands to reason that the same anomaly was transmitted into different copies of the YAV.

In the above list I have left out two sections, the very first and the very last, the *Eḻuttōttu* and the *Oḻipiyal*, respectively, because neither of them is discussed where we would anticipate them. After the first *cūttiram* of the YA, the commentator delves immediately into the content of the rule itself. The reason is that the name of the *ōttu* had already been explained in the introduction to the work itself (BP p. 11, VP p. 7).[74] In this place, the *nutalutal* formula makes an appearance:

> BP p. 7 இனி இவ்வோத்து என நுதலிற்றோ எனின், அசைக்கு உறுப்பாம் எழுத்துக்களது பெயர் வேறுபாடு உணர்த்துதல் நுதலிற்று. அதனானே எழுத்தோத்து என்பதாயிற்று
>
> *iṉi ivvōttu eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ, acaikku uṟuppām eḻuttukkaḷatu peyar vēṟupāṭu uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu; ataṉāṉē eḻuttōttu eṉpatu āyiṟṟu.*
>
> Now, if one says, "What did this section intent?" [we respond that] it intended to make known the different names of the letters that form the *acai*. Therefore, [the name] *Eḻuttōttu*, "Section on Letters," has come about.

The difference in formulation may be chalked up to any number of special circumstances, e.g., its position within the preface, the fact that

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[74] After the commentary to the *pāyiram*, a verse is given that the commentator label a *cūttiram*, but the editors place different headings above it. BP p. 2: *teyva vaṇakkam* "salutation to the deity" and VP p. 1 *ciṟappup-pāyiram* "special introduction." The commentator calls it a *ciṟappup-pāyiram* later on (VP p. 7).

it is a comment on the very first *cūttiram*, etc. Nevertheless, I note that the familiar formula from the *Iḷampūraṇam* has reappeared in the *virutti*.

Before moving onto the last structural element, I would like to briefly mention a possible explanation for why the *Oḻipiyal*, the final section of the YA, has no remark about its name. Based on the MS at my disposal, the simple explanation seems to be that this is not a division known to the commentator. Neither at the end of the commentary ad YA 93, the final *cūttiram* before the *Oḻipiyal* in the printed editions, nor at the very end of the work, is there any statement to the effect that *Oḻipiyal* is beginning or ending. Furthermore, there is no colophon indicating the end of the *Ceyyuḷōttu* at the end of YA 93.[75] It will be instructive to examine other MSS on this point.

The YAV also makes use of the same formulaic question and answer with *nutalutal* in introducing a *cūttiram*, and with only one exception, *virakkutal* ad YA 16, the complement is *uṇarttutal*. A standard example is:

> *Virutti* ad YA 5 இச்சூத்திரம் என் னுதலிற்றோ வெனின், எழுத்தினான் ஆக்கப்பட்ட வசைகளது பெயர் வேறுபா டுணர்த்துத னுதலிற்று.
>
> *i-cūttiram eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō eṉiṉ, eḻuttiṉāṉ ākka paṭṭa acaikaḷatu peyar vēṟupāṭu uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu.*
>
> If one says, "What did this *cūttiram* intend?" [we respond that] it intended to make known the different sorts of names for the *acaiṡ* that are built upon the letter.

In accordance with what we saw in the MSS of the *Iḷampūraṇam*, abbreviations are common for the opening question[76] and the verbal complex *uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu*.[77] In the commentary to several *cūttiram*s,

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[75] See Indien 203 360r1, where YA 94 begins, and 518v2 where the text ends after the last quoted verse of the commentary with யாபபருங்கலவிருததி முறறும *yāpparuṅkala-virutti muṟṟum* "*The Yāpparuṅkala Virutti* is complete."

[76] E.g., Indien 202 17v5 - எனின - = *eṉiṉ*. The dashes often set off this abbreviation.

[77] E.g., Indien 12v2 டுணரறறு = *ṭ'uṇarṟṟu*.

however, the initial question ending in *eṉ nutaliṟṟu-ō* is entirely missing in the printed editions, e.g., from YA 64–68, although the Paris MS does have the abbreviation *eṉiṉ* indicating the longer phrase.[78] In some instances neither the printed editions nor the MS have an introductory question, e.g., ad YA 58. The overall thrust still points in the direction of sharing the same general idiom with the *Iḷampūraṇam*.

III.2 Further Evidence

The remaining commentaries I wish to incorporate into this study will not receive such a detailed analysis as the YA in part because I have not had access to MSS of these works, but also because the general variations and caveats are now well-known and another iteration of the same would not lead to further understanding but to tedium. In order to present the rest of my findings succinctly, I have listed those texts under the structural element they make use of. Additional notes are given as needed.

1. *eṉpatu cūttiram*:

   a) *Yapparuṅkalakkārikai* : *eṉpatu kārikai* ad YK 1 and 21, elsewhere *i-kai*, which is explained as an abbreviation for *itu kārikai* in Niklas.[79] MS evidence is needed.

   b) *Tamiḻneṟi Viḷakkam* : only *eṉpatu* on first *cūttiram*, then abbreviated to *e-tu* and consistently placed after each *cūttiram*.

   c) *Nēmiṉātam*: *eṉpatu cūttiram* given in full after the first *cūttiram*; abbreviated to *e-cū* after the first *cūttiram* of the remaining sections. Other *cūttiram*s have *e-ṉ*, which is possibly a combination of the abbreviation for *nutaliṟṟu-ō* question combined with a *eṉpatu*.

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[78] For example, the commentary ad YA 42, as printed in VP p. 134, begins without any introduction: *mōṉai mutalākiya aintai*, whereas the Indien 202 165v1 contains immediately after the *cūttiram* the common abbreviations: எது - சூம - எனின = *eṉpatu cūttiram [iccūttiram eṉ ṉutaliṟṟō v]eṉiṉ*.

[79] Niklas (1993: 14, n. 1).

d) *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*: *eṉpatu cūttiram* after the first *cūttiram* of the *potuviyal* and *poruḷiyal*, but missing entirely for the *collaṇiyiyal*. *eṉpatu* alone after other *cūttiram*s.

2) On the name of the *ōttu* :

a) *Yapparuṅkalakkārikai* : discussion of the name of the *iyal* ad YK 21 (*ceyyuḷiyal*) and ad YK 36 (*oḷipiyal*). Same question and answer format with the justification given with *uṇarttiṟṟātalāl* / *uṇarttiṉamaiyāl* "because it makes known."

b) *Tamiḻneṟi Viḷakkam*: the work lacks further divisions.

c) *Nēmiṉātam*: Discussions of the title of the two *atikāram*s[80] and each *ōttu* (only the *collatikāram* is so subdivided) following the standard question and answer format. A causal clause is missing.

d) *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*: Discussion of the title of each section in the standard question and answer format. The causal clause is given with *uṇarttiṉamaiyāl* (first two *iyal*s) and *uṇarttiṉamaiyiṉ* (third *iyal*).

3) What a *cūttiram* intended.

a) *Yapparuṅkalakkārikai* : For each *kārikai* a sentence ending with *uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu* is given, consistently with *uṇarttu-tal*, but without question except ad YK 21, where it is not at the beginning of the commentary. One wonders whether the abbreviations have been lost.

b) *Tamiḻneṟi Viḷakkam*: For each *cūttiram* a sentence ending with *uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu* is given, consistently with *uṇarttu-tal*, but no question.

c) *Nēminātaṉ*: First *cūttiram* of each section has the full question-and-answer format. Others have the abbreviation *e-ṉ*. The complement of *nutaliṟṟu* is *uṇarttutal*.

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[80] The title of the *Eḻuttatikāram* is discussed in the commentary to the *pāyiram* on p. 2.

d) *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*: First *cūttiram* of each section has the full question-and-answer format. Others have no questions but only *uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu.*

There can be little doubt that each of these elements was a standard part of a particular commentarial idiom for grammatical works. Although parts of each element may be missing, such as the opening question, it is possible that these have been abbreviated and then lost in transmission or in preparation for printing. Furthermore, I believe that we can narrow this idiom to a particular group of commentators during a specific period because other commentators, though certainly including many of these elements, differ in the details. For example, Cēṉāvaraiyar on the TC has no introductory question and answer with *nutaliṟṟu*, whereas Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar on the TC replaces *nutaliṟṟu* with *kūṟukiṉṟatu*, "[the *cūttiram*] says," in the majority of cases and sometimes also with *uṇarttukiṉṟatu* "[the *cūttiram*] makes known," much as Vaittiyanāta Tēcikār does in his auto-commentary on the *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* in the 17th cent. Teyvaccilaiyār (15th cent.), on the other hand, reverts back to the same formulaic language of Iḷampūraṇar. Another completely different style can be found in Peruntēvaṉār's commentary on the *Vīracōḻiyam*, about which I have written elsewhere. These differences in later or near contemporary commentaries highlight the unity that existed among those examined in this essay.

IV Conclusions

I have shown fairly conclusively that there exists in our earliest commentaries, all dating from roughly the first few centuries of the second millennium, a common idiom as far as the introductory remarks on a *cūttiram* or *kārikai* are concerned. How this idiom developed is unfortunately not known, but I suspect that the *magnum opus* by Iḷampūraṇar, his commentary on the entire *Tolkāppiyam*, may well have played a defining role. The great respect that later commentators pay to him and his title as *Uraiyāciriyar*, "the Commentator," point to

the influence that this work likely had on others when they undertook their own compositions. We may further see a close connection between Iḷampūraṇar and the YA and YK commentators as well as Kuṇavīrapaṇṭitar on account of their likely affiliation with the Jain religion, a factor that could indicate a shared working environment. Further research is needed into all of these commentaries, especially the available MSS, but I hope to have provided at least a first step and concrete evidence that the early Tamil commentaries on grammatical works shared a common idiom.

Abbreviations

BNF Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Iḷam. *Iḷampūraṇam.*

KT *Kuṟuntokai*

KV *Kāśikāvṛtti*

ORIT Sri Venkateshwara University Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati.

TC *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram.*

TE *Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttatikāram.*

TP *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram.*

TVM Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai Mutt Library.

UVSL U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar Library, Ceṉṉai.

YA *Yāpparuṅkalam.*

YAV *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti.*

YK *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai.*

YKU *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai Urai.*

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TVM 312 *Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttatikāram Iḷampūraṇam.*

UVSL 183 *Kuṟuntokai.*

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(2) See Niklas (1995).

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Salient Features of a Grammatical Commentary in Tamil

(With reference to *Pērāciriyar's* Commentary on *Meyppāṭṭiyal* of *Tolkāppiyam*)

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1. Introduction

Similar to its literary heritage, Tamil has a rich commentarial tradition. Starting with the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* commentary written around the 8th century, the grammatical commentaries are well-established with the *viruttiyurai* of *Yāpparuṅkalam*, the commentary on *Vīracōḻiyam* by Peruntēvaṉār, and the various commentaries of *Tolkāppiyam* spread over a period of about four centuries starting with Iḷampūraṇar's in the 11th century and culminating with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's in the 14th century. Literary commentaries were also well-known. The commentaries of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar on *Kalittokai*, *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, Aṭiyārkku Nallār's on *Cilappatikāram*, Pērāciriyar's on *Tirukkovaiyār* and Parimēlaḻakar's on *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Paripāṭal*, and the old commentaries on *Patiṟṟuppattu*, *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* are worth mentioning.

There are differences in the way the commentaries are written. Literary commentaries have their own modes while commentaries on the grammars have their own structure. Methods of commentary also vary according to the discipline taken such as *eḻuttu* (Phonology), *col* (Morphology), etc. Modes vary also within one such discipline. To cite an example, the commentarial procedure adopted by Pērāciriyar on *meyppāṭṭiyal* and *uvamaviyal* exhibit some common features as well as some unique features according to the different themes' demands.

This paper aims at presenting the commentarial tradition on the grammatical treatises in Tamil taking the commentary of Pērāciriyar on the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* of the *Poruḷatikāram* as the main focus.

1.1. An Overview of *Meyppāṭṭiyal*

Meyppāṭu is recognized as one among the 34 elements enumerated in the first *sūtra* of *Ceyyuḷiyal* of the *Poruḷatikāram* and thus given an important place in the structure of poetry. *Meyppāṭu* is a verbal noun from the complex verb base *mey+paṭu*. It literally means "experienced in the body" or "revealed through physical manifestations." It is defined in *Ceyyuḷiyal* as follows:

> உய்த்துணர் வின்றித் தலைவரு பொருண்மையான்
> மெய்ப்பட முடிப்பது மெய்ப்பா டாகும்.
>
> *uyttuṇar viṉṟit talaivaru poruṇmaiyāṉ*
> *meyppaṭa muṭippatu meyppāṭ' ākum*. (TP 505i)

Iḷampūraṇar interprets this as: "When the *meyppāṭu*/emotion expressed through the poem is discernible without much difficulty or introspection through the material given in the poem itself, it is called *meyppāṭu*."[1] The next *sūtra*, which says *eṇvakai iyaṉeṟi piḷaiyātāki muṉṉuṟak kiḷanta muṭiviṉatuvē* ("not deviating from the nature of eight types it has a conclusion as mentioned earlier"), links *meyppāṭu* with the eight *meyppāṭu*s given earlier, i.e., in the chapter on *Meyppāṭṭiyal*.

Meyppāṭṭiyal is placed after *Poruḷiyal*, as the sixth chapter in the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam.* The penultimate *sūtra* of the *Poruḷiyal* (TP 244i, TP 247n) enumerates certain characteristics which cannot be seen or understood by the naked eye but have to be implicitly comprehended (*kāṭṭalākāpporuḷa*). Pērāciriyar says that the mental states common to these and to the *akam* (related to the inner, here, love) behaviour detailed in the five chapters of the *Tolkāppiyam* are described in the *Meyppāṭṭiyal.*

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[1] Pērāciriyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar have a variant *poruḷāṉ* for *poruṇmaiyiṉ.* Even though this does not cause a major difference, their interpretation of this *sūtra* brings in certain other things elaborated upon in the *Meyppāṭṭiyal.* As this is not much relevant to the topic under discussion, I have chosen to give the simple interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar.

The material presented under *Meyppāṭṭiyal* can be classified under the following sections.

1.1.1. *Meyppāṭu*s common to *Akam* and *Puṟam*

1. The eight-fold classification of *meyppāṭu* and the four-fold contexts or causes governing each *meyppāṭu* giving rise to 32 such causes (TP 251–259p)[2].

2. The thirty-two additional *meyppāṭu*s listed in the *sūtra* starting with *āṅkavai* (TP 260p).

1.1.2. *Meyppāṭu*s particular to *Akam* alone

3. The twenty-four *meyppāṭu*s that come under the six stages of *kaḷavu* ("clandestine love") and related features (TP 261–269p)

4. The twenty *meyppāṭu*s common to *kaḷavu* ("clandestine love") and *kaṟpu* ("married life") (TP 270p)

5. The eight *meyppāṭu*s belonging to *aḻivil kūṭṭam* ("indestructible union") (TP 271p)

6. The eight *meyppāṭu*s following *aḻivil kūṭṭam* ("indestructible union") (TP 272p)

1.1.3. Characteristics of the ideal hero and heroine

7. Characteristics common to the ideal hero and the ideal heroine (TP 273p)

8. Characteristics forbidden in the ideal hero and the ideal heroine (TP 274p)

1.1.3. Certain General Features

9. The derivation of eight *meyppāṭu*s from the thirty-two, first reducing it to sixteen (TP 249–250p)

10. The qualities of one who could perceive the *meyppāṭu* (TP 275p)

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[2] References TP (Number) prefer both to the *sūtra* and also to the commentary, "p" here standing for Pērāciriyar, or, with TP(Number), "i" for Iḷampūraṇar.

1.2. Commentaries of *Meyppāṭṭiyal*

There are two major commentaries to *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, one by Iḷampūraṇar (11th century CE) and another by Pērāciriyar (13th century CE). Another modern commentary by Nāvalar Cōmacuntara Pāratiyār appeared in 1942.

1.2. The commentator Pērāciriyar

There are five persons known by the name Pērāciriyar in the Tamil commentarial tradition. The commentator on the *Tirukkōvaiyār*,[3] the one who wrote the *Potuppāyiram* of *Tolkāppiyam*, the one who is known as Mayēccurar in the *virutti* of *Yāpparuṅkalam* and the one whose commentary for the last four chapters of the *Tolkāppiyam* (under discussion here) is extant are fairly well-known. Another person by the name Pērāciriyar is supposed to have written a commentary on the *Kuṟuntokai*, which is not extant now. *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai*, refers to one Pērāciriyar Nēminātar in one song.[4]

The real name of Pērāciriyar is not known. Certain references in the commentary lead some people to the conclusion that he might have belonged to some Brahminical sect.

Even though only the commentary on the later four chapters of the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam* has survived, references such as "I have given reasons why it is not suitable in *Kaḷaviyal*" (*aṯtu ākāmaikkuk kāraṇam kaḷaviyaluṭ kūṟiṉām eṉpatu* – TP 266p), "I have mentioned it in *Akattiṇaiyiyal*" (*akattiṇaiyiyaluṭ kūṟiṉām*, TP 267p and 392p), "These were shown in *veṭci* and the other *tiṇai*s" (*avai veṭciyuḷḷum oḻinta tiṇaiyuḷḷum kāṭṭappaṭṭana*, TP 500p) occurring in the commentary reveal that Pērāciriyar should have written a commentary for the whole of *Poruḷatikāram*.

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[3] Written by Māṇikkavācakar in the 8th century CE, this is one of the important pieces of the *kōvai* literary variety.

[4] Aravindan (1978: 213–217).

2. Analysis of the Commentary of Pērāciriyar

2.1. Certain General Features of Pērāciriyar's Commentary

Let us deal with the special features discernible through the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* commentary.

1. Pērāciriyar has extensively quoted from the *Kalittokai* (46 references), *Akanāṉūṟu* (39), *Kuṟuntokai* (20) and *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (17). A few references from the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (3), *Nālaṭiyār* (2), *Aintiṇai Aimpatu* (1), *Naṟṟiṇai* (2) and *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* (1) also occur.

2. He quotes from *Ceyiṟṟiyam*, a treatise dealing with *meyppāṭu* (lost today), in a few places whereas Iḷampūraṇar quotes extensively from it.

3. He refers to an eight-fold classification of *meyppāṭu* which leaves out anger (*irauttiram*) but the other elements making it are not given. Also, he recognizes two types of "pity," one arising at one's own misfortune (*avalam*) and another one arising at other's misfortune (*karuṇai*) and says that these two, when added to the other seven, will give a nine-fold classification.

4. He consistently follows the theory that the first four of these *meyppāṭu*s can arise on account of the person himself (*taṉkaṇ tōṉṟal*) and also on account of others (*piṟaṉkaṇ tōṉṟal*).[5]

5. According to him, the primary function of *uvamam* and *meyppāṭu* is the elucidation of meaning or providing clarity to meaning (*poruḷ pulappāṭu*).

6. Dealing with the 32 additional *meyppāṭu*s listed in the *sūtra* beginning with *āṅkavai orupālāka* (TP 260p), he points out the differences with the eight primary *meyppāṭu*s wherever there seems to be similarity or overlapping.

7. He points out how the *meyppāṭu*s belonging to the six stages of love are appropriate mainly to the heroine and how they cannot be attributed to the hero.

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[5] Iḷampūraṇar also uses this concept but Pērāciriyar is more consistent.

8. Contrary to the view held by Iḷampūraṇar and accepted by many scholars, that *oppu* (similarity) denotes the characteristics of the ideal hero and the heroine, he holds that they belong to the heroine only.

9. He gives reasons for the order of the placement of the eight primary *meyppāṭu*s and for the order of some other *meyppāṭu*s also.

2.2. Types of Commentary employed by Pērāciriyar

2.2.1. Commentary Types dealt with in Grammars

Many grammars beginning with the *Tolkāppiyam* deal with the features of a commentary.

Nūl, one of the literary genres listed by *Tolkāppiyam*, is taken to be a kind of writing in a scientific manner. Grammatical treatises come under this. In the *Ceyyuḷiyal*, Tolkāppiyar gives the four elements it is made of: *cūttiram* (aphorism), *ōttu* (section dealing with a particular concept consisting of many *sūtra*s), *paṭalam* (many different sections dealing with a common major area, such as *Collatikāram*) and *piṇṭam* (a whole work consisting of the former three).[6]

Nūl is also defined as possessing the following characteristics: consistency, or not having any contradictory ideas (*mutalum muṭivum mārukōḷiṉmai*), dealing with various concepts using the techniques of *tokai* ("bringing things together") and *vakai* ("classification of concepts"), possessing the potential of being commented upon (*uṇṇiṉṟu akaṉṟa uraiyoṭu porunti*) and possessing subtlety (*nuṇṇitiṉ viḷakkal*).[7]

In the *Marapiyal*, the last chapter in the *Poruḷatikāram*, Tolkāppiyar deals with *nūl* in a different way. Here, he gives importance to the commentary of the treatise. The very phrase *uraipaṭunūl* can be interpreted either as that treatise which possesses the characteristics of a commentary or the treatise which is mentioned. He distinguishes

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[6] TP 469i, 470i.
[7] TP 468i.

between two types of *nūl*: *mutaṉūl*, primary treatise, that which is written afresh, in which original ideas of a particular writer are brought out, and *vaḻi nūl*, that which follows a *mutaṉūl*, in which the concepts put forth in a primary treatise are developed into another treatise using the four techniques of condensing, elaborating, resorting to condensing and elaborating together and translating into another language.[8]

Another kind of definition for *nūl* is given here. A treatise should have *sūtra*s; it should have commentary; it should be free from the ten types of faults and it should possess the 32 techniques of a composition.[9]

The next *sūtra* deals with two types of commentary: an elaborate commentary to the *sūtra* (*uraiyeṭuttu ataṉmuṉ yāttal*) and a simple elucidation of meaning for the *sūtra* (*cūttiram puraitapa uṭaṉpaṭak kāṇṭikai puṇarttal*). These are interpreted as the elaborate (*viruttiyurai* or *akalavurai*) and concise (*kāṇṭikai urai*) varieties of a commentary.[10]

The *Naṉṉūl* defines *kāṇṭikai urai* as dealing with the content of the *sūtra* and giving the basic meaning (*karuttu*), word meaning (*patapporuḷ*) and illustration (*kāṭṭu*) as well as making use of the technique of raising questions and answering them (*viṉā viṭai*).[11]

It also defines *virutti urai* as dealing with the content of the *sūtra* and elaborating on everything that is essential to it; it makes use of the components of *kāṇṭikai urai* and the commentator employs his own methods of elucidation as well as referring to other treatises.[12]

Pērāciriyar makes use of both these types in his commentarial process. The *sūtra*s TP 270p, 274p and 275p are given a simple *kāṇṭikai* type of commentary. All the other *sūtra*s are given an elaborate *akalam* or *virutti* type of commentary.

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[8] TP 640–643i.
[9] TP 644i.
[10] TP 645i.
[11] *Naṉṉūl*, *Pāyiraviyal*, *sūtra* 22.
[12] *Naṉṉūl*, *Pāyiraviyal*, *sūtra* 23.

2.2.2. Model for Simple *kāṇṭikai* type of Commentary

As a model for the *kāṇṭikaiurai*, the commentary of the *sūtra* TP 274p is analysed.

1. The *sūtra* is given first.

நிம்பிரி கொடுமை வியப்பொடு புறமொழி
வன்சொற் பொச்சாப்பு மடிமையொடு குடிமை
யின்புற லேழைமை மறப்போ டொப்புமை
யென்றிவை யின்மை யென்மனார் புலவர்.

nimpiri koṭumai viyappoṭu puṟamoḻi
vaṉcoṟ poccāppu maṭimaiyoṭu kuṭimai
yiṉpuṟal ēḻaimai maṟappōṭ' oppumai
yeṉṟivai yiṉmai yeṉmaṉār pulavar.

"Jealousy, malice, self-importance, backbiting,
Harsh words, wavering, sloth, leaning much
On the conceit of one's good birth,
Poverty of intellect, forgetfulness,
Misplaced love on account of likeness—
These should be avoided, say the scholars."

2. Next to this, is a statement defining the content of the *sūtra*.

இது காமக்குறிப்பாகாதன கூறுகின்றது.

itu kāmakkuṟippākātaṉa kūṟukiṉṟatu.

"This deals with those which cannot be conducive to love."

3. Then simple glosses for the terms in the *sūtra* are given in a single word or a phrase of a few words.

இதன் பொருள்: நிம்பிரி – பொறாமை தோன்றுங் குறிப்பும்; அவை இன்னாட் சிறிது பொறுத்தாய் என்றாற்போல்வன. கொடுமை – கேடுசூழ நினையும் தீவினை உள்ளமும்; வியப்பு – தலைமகள்பால் தெய்வத்தன்மை கண்டான் போல் வியந்தொழுகுதலும்; இனி குணத்தின் மேற்கொண்டு தன்னை வியத்தல் எனினும் அமையும். புறமொழி – புறங்கூற்றும்; வன்சொல் – கண்ணோட்டம் இன்றிச் சொல்லுஞ் சொற்களும்;

பொச்சாப்பு – கடைப்பிடியின்றி ஞெகிழ்ந்திருத்தலும்; மடிமை – சோம்புள்ளமும்; குடிமை – இவள் இழிந்த பிறப்பினளெனத் தன்னை நன்கு மதித்தொழுகுதலும்; இன்புறல் – ஒருவரொருவரிற் றாமே இன்புறுகின்றாராக நினைத்தலும்; ஏழைமை – நுழைந்த வுணர்வினர் அன்றி வரும் வெண்மையும்; மறப்பும் – மறவியும்; ஒப்புமை – இன்னாளை யொக்கும் இவளென்று அன்பு செய்தலும்; என்றிவை இன்மை என்மனார் புலவர் – இவை யெல்லாம் இன்றி வருந் தலைமகன்கண் நிகழும் மெய்ப்பாடென்று சொல்லுவர் புலவர் என்றவாறு.

itaṉ poruḷ: nimpiri - poṟāmai tōṉṟum kuṟippum; avai innāḷ ciṟitu poṟuttāy eṉṟārpōlvaṉa. koṭumai – kēṭu cūḻa niṉaiyum tīviṉai uḷḷamum; viyappu – talaimakaḷpāl teyvattaṉmai kaṇṭāṉpōl viyant'oḻukutalum; iṉi kuṇattiṉ mēṟkoṇṭu taṉṉai viyattal eṉiṉum amaiyum. puṟamoḻi – puṟaṅkūṟṟum; vaṉcol – kaṇṇōṭṭam iṉṟic collum coṟkaḷum; poccāppu – kaṭaippiṭi yiṉṟi ñekiḻnt'iruttalum; maṭimai – cōmpuḷḷamum; kuṭimai – ivaḷ iḻinta piṟappiṉaḷ eṉat taṉṉai naṉku matitt'oḻukutalum; iṉpuṟal – oruvar'oruvaril tāmē iṉpuṟukiṉṟārāka niṉaittalum; ēḻaimai – nuḻainta uṇarviṉar aṉṟi varum veṇmaiyum; maṟappum – maṟaviyum; oppumai – iṉṉāḷai yokkum ivaḷeṉṟu aṉpu ceytalum; eṉṟ'ivai iṉmai eṉmaṉār pulavar – ivaiyellām iṉṟi varun talaimakaṉkaṇ nikaḻum meyppāṭ' eṉṟu colluvar pulavar eṉṟavāṟu.

Its meaning: *nimpiri*—an indication that jealousy is appearing; it is as if they are saying, "Today you have delayed your coming a little bit, etc.;" *koṭumai*—a heart full of evil deeds that thinks of doing something bad [to others]; *viyappu*—behaving as if [he] has discovered god-like qualities in the heroine; it can also be taken as a quality/character and be interpreted as admiring himself; *puṟamoḻi*—talking behind one's back (backbiting); *vaṉcol*—words which are devoid of gentleness; *poccāppu*—exhibiting loose conduct without restraint/discipline; *maṭimai*—possessing a lazy heart; *kuṭimai*—having a behaviour [that consists in] highly valuing himself, thinking that she is of an inferior birth; *iṉpuṟal*—thinking that he/she him/herself is getting more pleasure than the other one; *ēḻaimai*—not having a sharp intellect but being dull/plain;

maṟappu—forgetfulness; *oppumai*—exhibiting love because the woman resembles such and such a woman; *eṉṟivai iṉmai eṉmaṉār pulavar*—without these will occur [the *meyppāṭu* which arises in the hero], so say the learned men.

4. Finally, certain other simple observations on the *sūtra* are given.

எனவே, அவை தம்மை வரையறுத்துக்கூறாது அவற்றுக்கு ஆகாதன வரையறுத்துக் கூறினான் என்பது. தலைமகட்குரிய மெய்ப்பாடாயின வரையறுத்துக் கூறினமையின் அவற்றிற்கு ஆகாதன கூறல் வேண்டுதன்றென்பது. ஆகாதவற்றுக்கு உதாரணங் காட்டலாவ தில்லை.

eṉavē, avai tammai varaiyaṟuttuk kūṟātu avaṟṟukku ākātaṉa varaiyaṟuttuk kūṟiṉāṉ eṉpatu. talaimakaṭkuriya meyppāṭ'āyiṉa varaiyaṟuttuk kūṟiṉamaiyiṉ avaṟṟiṟku ākātaṉa kūṟal vēṇṭu-vataṉṟ'eṉpatu. ākātavaṟṟukk'utāraṇam kāṭṭalāvat'illai.

So, he [the author] has not defined them [i.e., the qualities of the hero] but has defined those that are not befitting to them; it is said. As the *meyppāṭu* of the heroine have already been properly defined, there is no need to enumerate those that are not suitable for her. It is not possible to give illustrations to those that are not befitting.

2.2.2.1. Manner of explication in the *kāṇṭikai* type of commentary

The *Kāṇṭikai* type of commentary concentrates on giving the word meaning and small explanations. This can be illustrated by analyzing the commentarial procedure of *sūtra* TP 260p, which deals with the 32 additional *meyppāṭu*s.

The explanation takes the following form:

a) the *meyppāṭu* + *eṉpatu* + meaning in one word or a phrase consisting of many words;

b) then a further explanation about the *meyppāṭu* is added;

c) in some cases, a differentiation from another *meyppāṭu* is given;

d) in some other cases an additional explanation as to why it is included in these additional *meyppāṭu*s and not in the first eight *meyppāṭu*s is also added.

- ***meyppāṭu* + *eṉpatu* + meaning in one word**

  துஞ்சல் என்பது உறக்கம்

  tuñcal eṉpatu uṟakkam "slumber is sleeping."

- ***meyppāṭu* + *eṉpatu* + meaning in a phrase consisting of many words**

  நினைதல் என்பது விருப்புற்று நினைத்தல்.

  niṉaital eṉpatu viruppuṟṟu niṉaittal.

  "Thinking is remembering [something/somebody] with favour."

  அடக்கம் என்பது, உயர்ந்தோர்முன் அடங்கி யொழுகும் ஒழுக்கம்.

  aṭakkam eṉpatu, uyarntōrmuṉ aṭaṅkiyoḻukum oḻukkam--

  "Humility is the behaviour of restraining oneself in front of superiors."

  "Delimiting is the behaviour of preserving what should be preserved and discarding that which should be discarded."

- **Further explanations**

In the explanation for the *meyppāṭu aṭakkam*, the meaning is first given in a few words: *uyarntōrmuṉ aṭaṅkiyoḻukum oḻukkam* ("the behaviour of being humble in front of elders/superiors"). Then, this behaviour is further explained as *avai: paṇinta moḻiyun taṇinta naṭaiyun tāṉai maṭakkalum vāyputaittalum mutalāyiṉa.* "Those behaviours are: humble words, soft walk, wearing the dress in the appropriate manner and closing the mouth with the hand, etc."

In explicating another *meyppāṭu nalital*, the commentary runs like this: *nalital eṉpatu, piṟarkkiṉṉā ceytu neruṅkutal; atu tīviṉai mākkaṭkaṇ nikaḻum. avaraikkaṇṭu accam eḻuntatāyiṉ aḵtu accattiṉuḷ aṭaṅkumākaliṉ aḵtaṉṟu iḵteṉpatu.* "*nalital* is approaching others with a harmful intention; this will happen in people of bad acts. If fear appears

on seeing them, that will be included in *accam*, hence this [*nalital*] is not that [*accam*]."

After defining *nalital* as approaching others with a harmful intention, further explanation is given that such a *meyppāṭu* will arise in people of spurious acts. He further says that if fear arises on seeing them, it will be included under the *meyppāṭu* fear (*accam*) itself. Hence, this (*nalital*) is different from that (*accam*, one of the eight *meyppāṭu*s).[13]

2.2.2.2. The *Kāṇṭikai* manner of explication of TP 274p

The commentary of TP 274p, given as an illustration for the *kāṇṭikai* type, also follows a similar kind of commentarial procedure. This deals with some qualities that are forbidden in characters. The *Tolkāppiyam* does not specify any particular character and keeps it common to everybody, but Pērāciriyar attributes the non-possession of these characteristics to the hero alone. According to him, the main *meyppāṭu*s of the heroine have already been properly presented and hence, it is not necessary to list the negative characteristics.[14]

The method of explication here follows the same lines adopted in the TP 260p. All the explanations given to the words in the *sūtra* are connected by the enclitic -*um* (and).

Only one of these words is glossed with a single word: *maṟappu* ("forgetfulness") is glossed with another word of the same root, *maṟa*, *i.e.*, *maṟavi.* Another is glossed with a simple phrase: *puṟamoḻi*—*puṟaṅkūṟṟu* (literally, "back-word," i.e., "backbiting"). Here also, in the place of *puṟam* ("back") + *moḻi* ("word") in the text, *puṟam* +another Tamil word with the same meaning (*kūṟṟu*) is used in the commentary.

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[13] *Nalital* is the act of the bad people, and the resultant reaction of others constitutes this *meyppāṭu*, according to the commentator.

[14] *talaimakaṭkuriya meyppāṭāyiṉa varaiyaṟuttuk kūṟiṉamaiyiṉ avaṟṟiṟku ākātaṉa kūṟal vēṇṭuvataṉṟeṉpatu.* ("As the *meyppāṭu*s particular to the heroine have been defined clearly there is no need to enumerate what is not suitable for them, it is said.")

Many others are glossed with phrases of several words.

> *maṭimai*—சோம்புள்ளம், *cōmp' uḷḷam* ("heart of slothfulness").
>
> *vaṉcol*—கண்ணோட்ட மின்றிச்சொல்லும் சொற்கள், *kaṇṇōṭṭa miṉṟic collum coṟkaḷ* ("words devoid of kindness").
>
> *ēḻaimai*—நுழைந்த வுணர்வினரன்றி வரும் வெண்மை, *nuḻainta vuṇarviṉar aṉṟi varum veṇmai* ("emptiness in people devoid of sharp perception").

Rarely a further explanation is given, as in:

> நிம்பிரி—பொறாமை தோன்றும் குறிப்பும்; அவை இந்நாட் சிறிது பொறுத்தாய் என்றாற் போல்வன.
>
> *nimpiri—poṟāmai tōṉṟum kuṟippum; avai innāṭ ciṟitu poṟuttāy eṉṟāṟpōlvaṉa.*
>
> "*nimpiri*—an indication that jealousy is appearing; it is as if they are saying "today you have delayed your coming a little bit, etc."

Here, after defining *nimpiri* as the appearance of jealousy, he elaborates it as one of them saying words such as "today you are a bit late/have been delayed."

In only one place, an alternate meaning is given:

> வியப்பு—தலைமகள்பால் தெய்வத்தன்மை கண்டான்போல் வியந்து ஒழுகுதலும்; இனி குணத்தின்மேற்கொண்டு தன்னை வியத்தலெனினும் அமையும்.
>
> *viyappu—talaimakaḷpāl teyvattaṉmai kaṇṭāṉpōl viyantu oḻukutalum; iṉi kuṇattiṉ mēṟkoṇṭu taṉṉai viyattaleṉiṉum amaiyum.*
>
> "behaving as if [he] has discovered god-like qualities in the heroine; it can also be taken as a quality/character and be interpreted as admiring himself."

For these, the commentator has not given any illustrative poems. The commentator again says *ākātavaṟṟukku utāraṇam kāṭṭal āvatillai* ("for that which is not suitable, it is impossible to show examples").[15]

2.2.3. Model for the elaborate type of Commentary

As already stated, most of the *sūtra*s are given an elaborate *virutti* type of commentary. A simple model of this is illustrated through the commentary for *perumitam*, the sixth of the primary eightfold *meyppāṭu*s (TP 257p).

1. The *sūtra* is given first.

> கல்வி தறுகண் இசைமை கொடையெனச்
> சொல்லப் பட்ட பெருமிதம் நான்கே.
>
> *kalvi taṟukaṇ icaimai koṭaiyeṉac*
> *collap paṭṭa perumitam nāṉkē.*
>
> "Learning, bravery, fame, benevolence
> The mentioned grandiose themes are four."

2. Next to this, is a statement defining the content of the *sūtra*. If a group of *sūtra*s dealing with a particular concept such as the eightfold *meyppāṭu*s or the six *avattai*s of the *kaḷavu* union is involved, this statement includes the sequential number also.

> இஃது, ஆறாம் எண்ணுமுறைமைக்கண் நின்ற வீரம் உணர்த்துதல் நுதலிற்று.
>
> *iṉtu, āṟām eṇṇumuṟaimaikkaṇ niṉṟa vīram uṇarttutal nutaliṟṟu.*
>
> "This purports to deal with grandeur, which is enumerated as the sixth."

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[15] The implication is that in classical literature, only people of proper conduct will be the *personae*, and hence no instance of improper conduct will be found there to be given as illustration.

3. Then, a simple summing up of the meaning of the *sūtra* is given.

> இதன்பொருள்: கல்வியும் தறுகண்மையும் புகழும் கொடையு மென்னும் நான்கும்பற்றி வீரம் பிறக்கும் என்றவாறு.
>
> *itaṉ poruḷ: kalviyum taṟukaṇmaiyum pukaḻum koṭaiyum eṉṉum nāṉkum paṟṟi vīram piṟakkum eṉṟavāṟu.*
>
> "Meaning of this: Grandeur will be born of the four – learning, bravery, fame and benevolence, it is said."

4. Additional explanation about certain words in the *sūtra* is given.

> இச்சூத்திரத்துள் வீரத்தினைப் பெருமிதமென்றெண்ணி னான்; என்னை? எல்லாரொடும் ஒப்ப நில்லாது பேரெல்லை யாக நிற்றல் பெருமித மெனப்படும் என்றற்கென்பது.
>
> *iccūttirattuḷ vīrattiṉaip perumitam eṉṟ' eṇṇiṉāṉ, eṉṉai? ellāroṭum oppa nillātu pērellaiyāka niṟṟal perumitam eṉappaṭum eṉṟaṟk' eṉpatu.*
>
> "In this *sūtra* he has counted *vīram* as *perumitam*. Why? This is to bring out that *perumitam* does not stand in equality to all others but stands supreme to everyone else."

5. Then the words in the *sūtra* are described in an elaborate manner.

> கல்வியென்பது, தவமுதலாகிய விச்சை. தறுகணென்பது, அஞ்சுதக்கன கண்ட இடத்து அஞ்சாமை. இசைமை யென்பது, இன்பமும் பொருளும் இறப்பப் பயப்பினும் பழியொடு வருவன செய்யாமை. கொடையென்பது, உயிரும் உடம்பும் உறுப்பும் முதலாகிய எல்லாப் பொருளுங் கொடுத்தல்.
>
> *kalviyeṉpatu, tavamutalākiya viccai. taṟukaṇ eṉpatu, añcu takkaṉa kaṇṭa iṭattu añcāmai. icaimai yeṉpatu, iṉpamum poruḷum iṟappap payappiṉum paḻiyoṭu varuvaṉa ceyyāmai. koṭai yeṉpatu, uyirum uṭampum uṟuppum mutalākiya ellāpporuḷum koṭuttal.*
>
> "Education is the different branches of learning such as penance, etc. Valour is not being frightened when seeing things

that cause fear; fame is not doing things that will bring ill-repute even though they will bring immense pleasure and wealth; benevolence is giving up one's life, body, parts of the body and everything onbehalf of others."

6. Then illustrative songs for the bases of the *meyppāṭu* are given.

உதாரணம்:
வல்லார்முற் சொல்வல்லே னென்னைப் பிறர்முன்னர்க்
கல்லாமை காட்டி யவள்
என்பது, கல்விபற்றிய பெருமிதம்; என்னை? என்னையுங் கல்லாமை காட்டினாளெனத் தன் பெருமிதங் கூறினமை யின்.

utāraṇam (illustration):

vallārmuṟ colvallēṉ eṉṉaip piṟar muṉṉark
kallāmai kāṭṭi yavaḷ (*Kali.* 141:19–20)

eṉpatu, kalvi paṟṟiya perumitam; eṉṉai? eṉṉaiyum kallāmai kāṭṭiṉāḷ eṉat taṉ perumitam kūṟiṉamaiyiṉ.

Example:

"She who has made me look as if I am unlearned, me, who am eloquent in the company of people."

These lines depict grandeur on account of learning. Why is it so? Because the hero expresses his own grandeur when he says she made even him to look uneducated."

அடன்மாமே லாற்றுவே னென்னை மடன்மாமேன்
மன்றம் படர்வித் தவள்.
என்பது தறுகண்.

aṭaṉmāmēl āṟṟuvēṉ eṉṉai maṭaṉmāmēṉ
maṉṉram paṭarvit tavaḷ (*Kali.* 141:9–10)

eṉpatu taṟukaṇ.

"She has made me appear in the public place on a palmyra horse, me who can perform valiant deeds on a horse trained for

killing (in the war field)." [These lines] depict [grandeur on account of one's own] valour.

கழியக் காதல ராயினுஞ் சான்றோர்
பழியொடு வரூஉ மின்பம் வெஃகார்

kaḻiyak kātalar āyiṉum cāṉṟōr
paḻiyoṭu varūum iṉpam veḵkār. (*Akam.* 112)
eṉpatu pukaḻ.

"However desirous they may be of a thing [pleasure], righteous people will not desire pleasure which will bring disgrace too. [These lines] depict [grandeur on account of] fame."

வையம்,
புரவூக்கு முள்ளத்தே னென்னை யிரவூக்கு
மின்னா விடும்பைசெய் தாள்.

vaiyam,
puravūkkum uḷḷattēṉ eṉṉai yiravūkku
miṉṉā viṭumpai ceytāḷ. (*Kali.* 141:11–13) *eṉpatu koṭai.*

"She put me through the terrible hardship of begging [for the elders' favour for her sake], I who am capable of protecting the world" – [these lines] depict [grandeur on account of] bounty."

தன்னகம் புக்க குறுநடைப் புறவின்
றபுதிகண் டஞ்சிச் சீரை புக்க
வரையா வீகை யுரவோன் மருக

taṉṉakam pukka kuṟunaṭaip puṟaviṉ
ṟaputikaṇ ṭañcic cīrai pukka
varaiyā vīkai yuravōṉ maruka (*Puṟam.* 43: 6–8) *eṉpatum atu.*

"You, who are the offspring of the one possessing strength and of unlimited bounty, who put himself on the scales [to give the equivalent weight] fearing the death of the pigeon of short steps which took refuge in him!"—These lines [from *Puṟam* 43] also belong to that."

7. Finally, certain other aspects of the concept and examples and elaborations of it are given using certain phrases in the *sūtra.*

> சொல்லப்பட்ட பெருமிதம் என்றதனாற் காமம் பற்றியும் பெருமிதம் பிறக்குமென்று கொள்க.
>
> *collappaṭṭa perumitam eṉṟataṉāl kāmam paṟṟiyum perumitam piṟakkum eṉṟu koḷka.*
>
> "Let it be taken that grandeur arises on account of love/passion also, because it is said *collappaṭṭa perumitam* (the grandeur which is mentioned)."
>
> "பல்லிருங் கூந்தன் மகளி
> ரொல்லா முயக்கிடைக் குழைகவென் றாரே."
>
> என்பது காமம்பற்றிய பெருமிதம். பிறவும் வருவன உளவேற் கொள்க. இது, தன்கட்டோன்றிய பொருள்பற்றி வரும். என்னை? கல்வியும் தறுகண்மையும் இசைமையும் வேட்கையுங் கொடைத்தொழிலுந் தன்கண்ண வாகலின்.
>
> "*pall iruṅ kūntal makaḷir*
> *ollā muyakkiṭaik kuḻaikaveṉ ṟārē.*" (*Puṟam.* 73:13f.)
>
> *eṉpatu kāmamparṟiya perumitam. piṟavum varuvaṉa uḷavēṟ koḷka. itu, taṉkaṭṭōṉṟiya poruḷ paṟṟi varum. eṉṉai? kalviyum taṟukaṇmaiyum icaimaiyum vēṭkaiyum koṭaittoḻilum taṉkaṇṇa ākaliṉ.*
>
> "He said, 'Let my garland be smothered in the inappropriate embrace of the women having thick dark hair.'" [These lines] depict grandeur on account of passion. If others that suitable to this [definition] occur, take them also. This always occurs on one's own account. Why is it so? Because learning, valour, fame [desire for fame] and bountifulness, all result from one's own actions."

3. Building up of the Elaborate Commentary and its Elements

Pērāciriyar uses certain methods in the commentary so as to bring out the meaning of the aphorism in question, to relate it to the literature which is closer and also to reveal his analytical mind. Some such methods are described here.

3.1. Use of Illustrative Songs

In the explication of the eight-fold *meyppāṭu*s, the six stages of the initial union, the twenty *meyppāṭu*s belonging to *kaḷavu* and *kaṟpu* and the *meyppāṭu*s preceding and succeeding marriage, Pērāciriyar uses portions of poems from classical literature.

3.1.1. Providing Single Examples

In citing illustrations, the poem is given first, followed by a connecting word such as *eṉpuḻi* ("when [you] say that") or *eṉpatu* ("that") and then a clause explaining the *meyppāṭu* is given.

In many places, a *meyppāṭu* is illustrated with one example. For the base *eḷḷal* of *nakai* the following example is given:

> எள்ளி நகினும் வரூஉம் **என்பது** தன்கண் பிறந்த எள்ளல் பொருளாக நகைபிறந்தது,
>
> *eḷḷi nakiṉum varūum eṉpatu, taṉkaṇ nikaḻnta eḷḷal poruḷāka nakai piṟantatu.*

Here, the line illustrating the *meyppāṭu* is given (*eḷḷi nakiṉum varūum*) followed by a word *eṉpatu* ("which is") and a clause explaining the *meyppāṭu—taṉkaṇ nikaḻnta eḷḷal poruḷāka nakai piṟantatu* ("laughter arose here on account of the theme of deriding arising on account of oneself").

In the case of the *akam meyppāṭu*s another method is used. Following the elucidation of the *meyppāṭu*, the illustrative poem is introduced with the word *atu* and closed with the word *eṉa varum.*

This can be illustrated with the following portion from the commentary on TP 270p.

> உண்டியிற் குறைதலென்பது, பசியட நிற்றலேயன்றிச் சிறிது உண்டியூட்டியவழிப் பண்டுபோலாது கழியவுஞ் சிறிதுண்டல்.
>
> *uṇṭiyiṟ kuṟaital eṉpatu, paci aṭa niṟṟalē aṉṟic ciṟitu uṇṭiy ūṭṭiya vaḷip paṇṭupōlātu, kaḷiyavuñ ciṟit' uṇṭal.*
>
> "Diminishing in food is, in addition to refusing food when hungry, eating very little, even when some food is fed, unlike in earlier times."
>
> **அது**,
> தீம்பா லூட்டினும் வேம்பினுங் கைக்கும்
> வாரா யெனினு மார்வமொடு நோக்கு
> நின்னிற் சிறந்ததொன் றிலளே
> யென்னினும் படாம லென்னிதற் படலே.
> என வரும்.
>
> ***atu***,
> *tīmpāl ūṭṭiṉum vēmpiṉum kaikkum*
> *vārāy eṉiṉum ārvamoṭu nōkku*
> *niṉṉiṟ ciṟantat' oṉṟilaḷē*
> *eṉṉiṉum paṭāmal eṉṉitaṟ paṭalē.*
> ***eṉa varum.***
>
> **That**, "Even when we give her sweet milk it is as bitter as the margosa leaves [to her]. Even when you do not come, she eagerly looks for you. She holds nothing superior to you. Even without sharing things with me why is she doing this?" **will come like this.**

3.1.2. Additional Examples

Sometimes, additional examples are given. For the base, *iḷamai* ("youthfulness") of *nakai*, (the primary *meyppāṭu*, "laughter") two examples are given. In the first one, the line illustrating the *meyppāṭu* is given (நடுங்குதல் காண்மார் நகை குறித்தனரே, *naṭuṅkutal kāṇmār*

nakai kuṟittaṉarē, "he said that in jest [to see you] trembling") followed by the word *eṉpuḷi* ("when [you] say that") and a clause explaining the *meyppāṭu*—தன் இளமை பொருளாக நகை பிறந்தது, *taṉ iḷamai poruḷāka nakai piṟantatu* ("laughter arose due to one's own immaturity").

In the second example, the lines illustrating the *meyppāṭu* – திறனல்ல யாங்கழற யாரை நகுமிம் மகனல்லான் பெற்ற மகன், *tiṟaṉalla yāṅkaḷaṟa yārai nakumim makaṉallāṉ peṟṟa makaṉ* ("as we accuse him pointing out his [the hero's] imperfections, at whom is he laughing, the son who was born to him, who does not possess manly qualities?" *Kali.* 86.26f.)—are appended with two words: *eṉpatum atu* ("that also belongs to that").

3.1.3. Pointing out the Suitability of an Example

In many places, the commentator points out how the example is suitable to the *meyppāṭu.* Disgust (*iḷivaral*) is illustrated by the line யான்தன் அறிவல் தானறியலளே, *yāṉtaṉ aṟival tāṉaṟiyalaḷē* ("I know her, but she does not know me", *Kuṟu.* 337). After saying that this is a case of disgust arising on one's own distress, the commentator adds a further comment that it is taken in this way because it is the expression of the hero who is seeking the favour of the heroine.[16]

3.1.3. Pointing out the Unsuitability of an Example

When elucidating *tūtumuṉiviṉmai* ("not being averse to [sending/receiving] messages") in TP 271p, dealing with the *meyppāṭu*s prior to the indestructible union (*aḻivil kūṭṭam*), the commentator first gives the explanation, "seeking things like birds and clouds and requesting them to go as messengers to the hero in many ways" (புள்ளும் மேகமும் போல்வன கண்டு, சொல்லுமின் அவர்க்கென்று, தூதிரந்து பன்முறையானுஞ் சொல்லுதல், *puḷḷum mēkamum pōlvaṉa*

[16] The context of this poem is the hero's approach to the heroine's confidante (maid) to get her help for meeting the heroine. He says, "I know of her youthful beauty causing distress to me but she does not realize it (either his distress or her distress-causing beauty)." As the lines depict his inability to convey his distress to the heroine, this is considered as *iḷivaral*, "getting disgusted at himself."

kaṇṭu, *collumiṉ avarkk' eṉṟu*, *tūt' irantu paṉmuṟaiyāṉuñ collutal*) and then illustrates it with *Akam.* 170: 1–8, which portrays the heroine pleading with the crab to go as a messenger.

Then, he refers to *Kuṟu.* 106, which depicts the receiving of a message by the heroine and her desire to respond to it with the speed of ghee entering fire, and says that such a fast response to a message is impossible in *kaḷavu* and is only possible in *kaṟpu* and hence that example is not suitable here.

3.1.4. Single song illustrating all the *meyppāṭu*s of a stage in the initial union

In commenting upon the six stages of the initial union in *kaḷavu*, in addition to the usual practice of illustrating each *meyppāṭu* with lines from literature, the commentator, towards the end of his commentary on that particular *sūtra*, has a song illustrating the four *meyppāṭu*s of the particular stage. This might have been composed by him.

How the lines and phrases in this poem are suitable for the *meyppāṭu*s is then brought out by him. This portion consists of three levels: first, the *tuṟai*, the thematic context of the poem is given, then information as to which phrase is suitable for which *meyppāṭu* is provided and finally, how that phrase fits the particular *meyppāṭu* is illustrated.

For example, the following song illustrates the four *meyppāṭu*s of the fourth stage in the initial union.

ஒருநாள் வந்து பலநாள் வருத்து
நின்னையே போலுநின் றழையே யென்வயி
னிற்பா ராட்டியுஞ் சொற்கொள லின்றியும்
யாயெதிர் கழறலிற் பேரலர் நாணியு
மயல்கூர் மாதர்க்குத் துயர்மருந் தாயினு
நோய்செய் தன்றாற் றானே
நீதொடக் கரிதலி னோரிடத் தானே.

oru-nāḷ vantu pala-nāḷ varuttu
niṉṉaiyē pōlu-niṉ taḻaiyē eṉvayiṉ
niṟ-pā rāṭṭiyum coṟ-koḷal iṉṟiyum
yāy-etir kaḻaṟaliṟ pēr alar nāṇiyum
mayal kūr mātarkkut tuyar marunt-āyiṉum
nōy ceytaṉṟāl tāṉē
nī toṭak karitaliṉ ōriṭat tāṉē.

"Coming one day and causing misery many days
Like you who do so, your gift of leaf dress also—
Praising you, not accepting words,
Ashamed of the great gossip due to the chiding of the mother—
To the sickness of such distressed woman, though is a remedy
It caused [much] distress
Because it was withered by your touch."

In the explication following the song, the *tuṟai* of the song is stated as *kaiyuṟai maṟuttatu* ("refusing to accept the presents brought by the lover"). In the phrase *itaṉuḷ niṟpārāṭṭi eṉpatu pārāṭṭeṭuttal*, ***niṟpārāṭṭi*** ("praising you") is taken as referring to the praise of the heroine bestowed by the hero; as this is self-revelatory no further explanation is given.

In the lines *coṟkoḷaliṉṟi eṉpatu maṭantapa vuraittal; eṉṉai? koḷuttak koḷḷātuviṭiṉ atu maṭaṉākāmaiyiṉ*, ***coṟkoḷal iṉṟi***, "not accepting his words" is taken to represent***maṭaṉṉtapa uraittal*** ("saying words which are not befitting her quality of credulity [*maṭam*]"); this is followed by the question *eṉṉai* (why), which is followed by the reason *koḷuttakkoḷḷātu viṭiṉ atu maṭaṉākāmaiyiṉ* ("if she does not accept things that have been taught/intimated [by the hero] that will be a violation of her quality of credulity").

In '*yāy etirkaḻaṟaliṟ pēralar nāṇi' eṉpatu īramil kūṟṟa mēṟṟalar nāṇal*, ***yāyetir kaḻaṟaliṟ pēralar nāṇi*** ("being ashamed over the great gossip

because the mother chides her") is taken to represent the *meyppāṭu* ***īramil kūṟṟa mēṟṟalar nāṇal*** ("being ashamed owing to the gossip and accepting the loveless words").

In *tuyarmaruntāyiṉum eṉpatu koṭuppavai kōṭal*, ***tuyar maruntāyiṉum*** ("even though it will be a remedy to her distress") is taken to represent ***koṭuppavai kōṭal*** ("accepting his presents").

The commentator closes this explication with an additional statement as to how the poem is suitable to the *tuṟai kaiyuṟai maṟuttal*, which reveals his expertise in interpreting poems.

3.2. Use of various Techniques in the Commentary

Tamil grammars have given a number of techniques (*utti*) to be used in the formation of a commentary. Pērāciriyar has used many of them and has some of his own in the course of his commentary. Some of these are illustrated here.

3.2.1. Giving additional Points through the Use of the Term *mikai*

When an attribute is added to a word in a *sūtra*, the commentator uses it to include some other points related to the topic under discussion. For this he uses the term *mikai*[17]("superfluous /additional [word]").

While defining *aḻukai* (TP 258p), the phrase *viḷivil koḷkai* is used. As this is superfluous, the commentator chooses to include an additional point that similar to tears of distress there can also be tears of joy.

> விளிவில் கொள்கை—கேடில் கொள்கை, அங்ஙனம் கூறிய மிகையானே அழுகைக்கண்ணீர் போல உவகைக்கண்ணீர் வீழ்தலும் உண்டு; அதனையும் அழுகைப்பாற்சார்த்தி உணரப்படும்.
>
> *viḷivil koḷkai—kēṭil koḷkai, aṅṅaṉaṅ kūṟiya* ***mikaiyāṉē*** *aḻukaik kaṇṇīrpōla uvakaik kaṇṇīr vīḻtalum uṇṭu; ataṉaiyum aḻukaippāṟ cārtti uṇarappaṭum.*

---

[17] I am thankful to Victor D'Avella who pointed out that this is a common technique in Sanskrit also, and that such seemingly superfluous words are termed *jñāpaka*s.

> *viḷivil koḷkai* means indestructible principle. Due to this added phrase (*viḷivil koḷkai*), it can be taken that like tears of distress, tears of happiness are also shed. That will be accounted for by taking it under the sentiment *aḻukai.*

In *iḻivaral* ("disgust") also, the phrase *yāppuṟa vanta* ("that which came bound together") is considered to be a ***mikai*** by the commentator through which he introduces an additional concept that *iḷivaral* can arise on themes like valour also.[18]

Similarly, in the elucidation of the *meyppāṭu accam* ("fear"), through the additional word *cālā* the commentator introduces another point related to *accam*, i.e., *accam* can also arise due to sulking (*ūṭal*).[19]

3.2.2. Adding further points through the attributive words not using the word *mikai*

In the following examples also, additional points and concepts are given through the attributes given to the *meyppāṭu*s, but the use of the term *mikai* is missing even though this mode of explication is more or less similar to that.

In the following lines, through the attribute *piṇaṅkal cālā* of *accam*, the commentator derives an additional thought, namely, that *accam* cannot arise on account of oneself but will arise only on account of others.

---

[18] யாப்புற வந்த என்பது திட்பமுற வந்த என்றவாறு *yāppuṟa vanta eṉpatu tiṭpamuṟa vanta eṉṟavāṟu*, "That which came bound together means occurring with definiteness"; அங்ஙனங்கூறிய மிகையானே வீரமுதலாயினபற்றியும் இளிவரல் பிறக்கும் என்றவாறு *aṅṅaṉaṅ kūṟiya mikaiyāṉē vīramutalāyiṉapaṟṟiyum iḷivaral piṟakkum eṉṟavāṟu.* "because of the superfluous use of that word it is asserted that disgust can arise on things like bravery, it is said."

[19] பிணங்காத அச்சமென்னாது "சாலாஅச்சம்" என்ற மிகையானே இந்நான்குமே யன்றி ஊடன் முதலாயினவும் அச்சத்திற்குப் பொருளாமென்று கொள்க *piṇaṅkāta accameṉṉātu* "*cālā accam*" *eṉṟa mikaiyāṉ innāṉkumē yaṉṟi ūṭaṉ mutaliyaṉavum accattiṟkup poruḷāmeṉṟu koḷka .* (TP 256p).
"Instead of saying simply *piṇaṅkāta accam* (unmovable fear), *cālā accam* is superfluously added; so, it may be taken that not only these four but sulking, etc. can become the basis of fear."

> பிணங்கல் சாலா அச்சம் என்றதனான் முன்னைய போல இவை தன்கட்டோன்றலும் பிறன்கட்டோன்றலுமென்னுந் தடுமாற்ற மின்றிப் பிறிதுபொருள் பற்றியே வருமென்பது.
>
> *piṇaṅkal cālā accam eṉṟataṉāl muṉṉaiya pōla ivai taṉkaṇ tōṉṟalum piṟaṉkaṇ tōṉṟalum eṉṉun taṭumāṟṟam iṉṟip piṟituporuḷ paṟṟiyē varum eṉpatu.*
>
> "Because it is stated *piṇaṅkal cālā accam*, it is asserted thatthese [the bases of fear] will arise only on account of other things, unlike the earlier ones [i.e., laughter, distress, disgust and wonder] which wavered between arising on account of oneself and arising on account of others."

In the elucidation of the *meyppāṭu*, *nakai* (TP 252p), also, such an additional thought is included, through the use of the phrase *uḷḷappaṭṭa.*

> உள்ளப்பட்ட நகை நான்கு என்றதனான் உள்ளத்தோடு பிறவாத நகையுமுள; அவை வறிதகத்தெழுந்த வாயன் முறுவலள் என்றாற்போல வருவனவெனக் கொள்க. (அகம். 5)
>
> *uḷḷappaṭṭa nakai nāṉku eṉṟataṉāṉ uḷḷattōṭu piṟavāta nakaiyum uḷa; avai vaṟitakat teḷunta vāyaṉ muṟuvalaḷ eṉṟāṟ pōla varuvaṉa eṉak koḷka.* (*Akam.* 5.5)
>
> "As it is said, *uḷḷappaṭṭa nakai* ('laughter arising from the heart'), it obtains that there are instances of laughter that do not arise from the heart. Take it that they (such instances of laughter) are exemplified by the lines similar to 'one who has a fake smile arising from a vacant heart' [*vāyal*, "not true," *muṟuval* 'smile'] [i.e., to the sentiment expressed therein]."

The following passages also illustrate this point:

> சொல்லப்பட்ட பெருமிதம் என்றதனாற் **காமம்** பற்றியும் பெருமிதம் பிறக்குமென்று கொள்க.
>
> *collappaṭṭa perumitam eṉṟataṉāṟ kāmamparṟiyum perumitam piṟakkum eṉṟu koḷka.*

"Let it be taken that grandeur can also arise on account of love because it is said 'the grandeur which is mentioned'." (TP 257p)

வெறுப்பின் என்றதனான் ஊடற்கண் தோன்றும் வெகுளி முதலாயினவுங் கொள்க.

veṟuppiṉ eṉṟataṉāṉ ūṭaṟkaṇ tōṉṟum vekuḷi mutalāyiṉavuṅ koḷka.

"By the use of the word *veṟuppiṉ* ('of dislike'), let the anger which appears in a love quarrel and such other things also be accepted." (TP 258p)

அல்லல் நீத்த உவகை என்றதனாற் பிறர் துன்பங்கண்டு வரும் உவகையும் உவகை யெனப்படாதென்பது.

'*allal nītta uvakai*' *eṉṟataṉāṟ piṟar tuṉpaṅ kaṇṭu varum uvakaiyum uvakaiyeṉappaṭāt'eṉpatu.*

"As it has been specified 'it is pleasure devoid of distress,' the pleasure derived from seeing the distress of others will not be called (proper) pleasure, this is what is said." (TP 259p)

3.2.3. If suitable to many, link to the best one (*palporuṭkēṟpiṉ nallatu kōṭal*- பல்பொருட்கேற்பின்நல்லதுகோடல்)

While Discussing the possibility of the 24 *meyppāṭu*s belonging to the six stages of the initial union in *kaḷavu* as suitable for *kaṟpu* also in TP 267p, Pērāciriyar says that it is not necessary for all of them to occur in that order in *kaṟpu*.[20] He again raises the question as to how this conclusion could be reached and answers that it is taken by applying

[20] மற்றிவ்விருபத்துநான்கு மெய்ப்பாடுங் கற்பினுள் இம்முறையானே வரப்பெறாவோ வெனின் அதற்கு இம்முறையான் இவையனைத்தும் வரல் வேண்டுவதின்மையிற் களவிற்கே விதந்து கூறினானென்பது .

maṟṟivvirupattunāṉku meyppāṭuṅ kaṟpiṉuḷ immuṟaiyāṉē varappeṟāvō veṉiṉ, ataṟku immuṟaiyāṉ ivaiyaṉaittum varal vēṇṭuvatiṉmaiyiṟ kaḷaviṟkē vitantu kūṟiṉāṉeṉpatu.

"Again, if it is asked whether these twenty-four *meyppāṭu*s should come in this particular order in *kaṟpu*, he has specifically attributed them to *kaḷavu* as it is not necessary for *kaṟpu* for all these to come in this order." (TP 267p)

the technique of linking something to the best one if one is suitable to many things (*palporuṭkēṟpiṉ nallatu kōṭal*).[21]

3.2.4. Technique of citing others' concepts (*piṟaṉkōṭkūṟal* -பிறன்கோட்கூறல்)

When a particular concept is not prevalent in Tamil theory and appears to be adopted from some other tradition, it is called *piṟaṉkōṭ kūṟal* ("citing others' concepts"). The first two *sūtra*s of *Meyppāṭṭiyal* (TP 249p, 250p) are held by Pērāciriyar as belonging to this technique.[22] These two *sūtra*s put forth a concept of 32 elements[23] which arose in *paṇṇai*,[24] the play-place, getting reduced first to sixteen and then to eight. Pērāciriyar correlates these thirty-two to the theory of *meyppāṭu* by placing them against the eight primary *meyppāṭu*s, four aspects, *cuvaipporuḷ* (object of taste), *cuvai uṇarvu* (the sense of taste), *kuṟippu* ("the resulting inner emotion") and *viṟal* ("physical manifestations") thus making up the number 32.

Then he clubs together the object of taste and the sense of taste as taste (*cuvai*) itself; inner emotion and physical manifestation are clubbed together as physical manifestation (*viṟal*); then *cuvai* and *viṟal*

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[21] அஃதென்னை பெறுமாறெனின், "பல்பொருட்கேற்பின் நல்லதுகோடல்" என்னும் உத்திவகை.
aḵteṉṉai peṟumāṟeṉiṉ, '*palporuṭ kēṟpiṉ nallatu kōṭal*' *eṉṉum utti vakai.*
"If it is asked how we come to that conclusion, it is to be answered that this is according to the technique of composition called 'if one is suitable to many things, link [it] to the best one." (TP 267p)

[22] இச்சூத்திரம் "பிறன்கோட்கூறல்" என்னும் உத்திவகையாற் கூறி அதுதானே மரபாயிற்றென்க.
iccūttiram '*piṟaṉkōṭkūṟal*' *eṉṉum uttivakaiyāṟ kūṟi atutāṉē marapāyiṟṟeṉpatu.* (TP 249p).
"[The content of] this aphorism is included here by the technique [that is], citing others' concepts; later on, that itself became the tradition."
உம்மை இறந்தது தழீஇயிற்றாதலான் இவையும் பண்ணைத் தோன்றிய எண்ணான்கெனப் பட்டவற்றுப் பகுதியென இதுவும் பிறன்கோட் கூறியவா றாயிற்று.
ummai iṟantatu taḻīiṟṟātalāṉ ivaiyum paṇṇait tōṉṟiya eṇṇāṉkeṉappaṭṭavaṟṟup pakutiyeṉa ituvum piṟaṉkōṭkūṟiyavāṟāyiṟṟu. (TP 250p)
"As the *um* denotes 'embracing earlier statements', these also become part of those 32 which arose in the *paṇṇai*, "play-place," and hence this also belongs to the technique of citing others' concepts."

[23] The *sūtra* simply says 32 things (*poruḷ* - *paṇṇait tōṉṟiya eṇṇāṉku poruḷ* – the 32 aspects arising in the play place) and does not specify what *poruḷ* means.

[24] *paṇṇai* is taken to be a place where girls play together.

are juxtaposed against the eight *meyppāṭu*s; thus, the thirty-two are reduced to 16.

The second *sūtra* says that these are further reduced to eight (*nāliraṉṭākum pālumāruṇṭē*). For this, the physical manifestation (*viṟal*) is included in the taste (*cuvai*) itself and the corresponding eight *cuvai*s constitute the eight *meyppāṭu*s.

3.2.5. *Uraiyiṟkōṭal* (உரையிற்கோடல், Obtaining [something] through the Commentary)

Pērāciriyar uses the term *uraiyiṟkoḷka* in TP 271p; this is taken as referring to the technique *uraiyiṟkōṭal*.[25] The *Tamil Lexicon* defines this as making place, through the commentary, forthose concepts that are not mentioned in the text.[26]

T.V. Gopal Iyer[27] says that when matter not mentioned in the *sūtra* is accounted for through the commentary it is *uraiyiṟkōṭal* ("getting it from the commentary"). He points out how Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar use it in their commentaries on *Eḻuttatikāram* (TE 131i, 141i, 151i, 211i, 269i, 471i; TE 13n, 57n, 130n, 227n, 382n).

3.2.6. *Ilēcu* (இலேசு Implication-*kuṟippu*)

Ilēcu is defined as a technique used in the elucidation of grammatical treatises. T.V. Gopalaiyar describes itas a superfluous word in the *sūtra* through which the commentators add additional details.[28]

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[25] ஒழிந்தனவும் அவ்வாறே வரைவுகடாதற்கு ஏற்றவாறு உரையிற்கொள்க .
oḻintaṉavum avvāṟē varaivukaṭātaṟku ēṟṟavāṟu uraiyiṟkoḷka. (TP 271p)
"How the others are suitable to the theme of hastening up the marriage (*varaivu kaṭātal*) can be understood through the commentary."

[26] *Tamil Lexicon* p. 453.

[27] Gopal Iyer, T.V., *Tamiḻ Ilakkaṇap Pērakarāti*, vol. 1, p. 157.

[28] நூற்பாவுள் வரும் மிகையான சொல். அதனால் சில கருத்துக்களை வருவித்துரைப்பது உரையாசிரியர்தம் கொள்கை.
nūṟpāvuḷ varum mikaiyāṉa col. ataṉāl cila karuttukkaḷai varuvitturaippatu uraiyāciriyartam koḷkai.
"This refers to a superfluous word in the *sūtra.* It is the principle of the commentators to include some additional ideas through this superfluous word."
Gopal Iyer, T.V., *Tamiḻ Ilakkaṇap Pērakarāti*, vol. 16, p. 30.

As already explained in B1 and B2, additional points are introduced by Pērāciriyar either by using the word *mikai* or by referring to the additional word itself.

Pērāciriyar mentions *ilēcu* in three places (TP 254p, 258p and 263p). In two places he allows for the inclusion of certain facts; in one place he states that *ilēcu* cannot be used to account for a song under a particular *sūtra*.

Ilēcu is not defined anywhere and no reference to any additional word is made in either of these places but in the *sūtra* (TP 257p) on the *meyppāṭu* "anger." He includes the type of anger arising in the heroine due to her sulking, using the additional word *veṟuppiṉ*. After citing an example for this, he uses the words *iṉṉum avvilēcāṉē*[29] ("further by that *ilēcu*") and goes on to explain how this (*ilēcu*) **cannot** be used to account for a particular instance under the *meyppāṭu* of anger; even though the word *ciṉam* ("anger") is explicitly used there. Hence, according to Pērāciriyar, including facts through an additional word seems to be the criterion for *ilēcu* also.

3.2.7. The technique of including *Puṟaṉaṭai sutras*

Another technique used by grammarians to include things not dealt with in the treatise or allow for later modifications and developments is to include some *sūtras* which make room for such allowances. These are

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[29] இன்னும் அவ்விலேசானே, நெருப்புச் சினந்தணிந்த நிணந்தயங்கு கொழுங் குறை (புறம். 125) என்றாற்போலச் சினமில்லதனை உள்ளதுபோலக் கூறுவனவுங் கொள்ளாமோ வெனின், உணர்வுடையனவற்றுக்கல்லது சுவை தோன்றாமையின் வெகுளியென்று ஈண்டுக் கூறப்படாவென்பது.
iṉṉum avvilēcāṉē, "*neruppuc ciṉantaṇinta niṇantayaṅku koḻuṅkuṟai.*" (*Puṟam.* 125) *eṉrāṟpōlac ciṉamillataṉai uḷḷatupōlak kūṟuvaṉavuṅ koḷḷāmōveṉiṉ, uṇarvuṭai yaṉa vaṟṟukkallatu cuvai tōṉṟāmaiyiṉ vekuḷiyeṉṟu īṇṭuk kūṟappaṭāveṉpatu.*
"If it is asked whether by that *ilēcu*, 'can one account for the attribution of anger to things which cannot possess anger in poetry, as in the line, "the fat-covered large portion [of meat] which has lost the anger of fire [i.e., hotness]"?' it is to be understood that emotion can arise only in those things which possess feeling and hence, the anger mentioned in this line cannot be taken as belonging to the *meyppāṭu* anger."

known as *puṟaṉaṭai* ("rule of exception") *sūtra*s. In *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, the *sūtra*[30] (TP 267p) which succeeds the six *sūtra*s dealing with the six stages in the initial *kaḷavu* union is taken to be a *puṟaṉaṭai sūtra* by Pērāciriyar. This is used to account for many additional facts related to the *meyppāṭu*s given in the previous *sūtras*.

To take one instance, he refers to *nakaimokkuḷ* ("the budding of the smile") and says that it can be included under *nakunaya maṟaittal* ("hiding her smile of love") and should not be included under *nakai.* He refers to this earlier in TP 261p also, saying that *nakaimokkuḷ* is accounted for in TP 267p making use of the technique, *puraṉaṭai* while annotating upon the illustrative song, beginning with *yāṉtaṟkāṇṭoṟum* ("whenever I looked at her").

3.3. Other Important Modes of Elucidation

3.3.1. Giving Reasons for the order of *meyppāṭu*s

In TP 251p, Tolkāppiyar enumerates the eight primary *meyppāṭu*s.

> நகையே யழுகை யிளிவரன் மருட்கை
> யச்சம் பெருமிதம் வெகுளி யுவகையென்
> றப்பா லெட்டே மெய்ப்பா டென்ப.
>
> *nakaiyē aḻukai iḷivaral maruṭkai*
> *accam perumitam vekuḷi uvakai eṉṟ'*
> *tappāl eṭṭē meyppāṭ' eṉpa.*

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[30] அன்ன பிறவு மவற்றொடு சிவணி
மன்னிய வினைய நிமித்த மென்ப.
இது மேலனவற்றுக்கு ஓர் புறனடை.
aṉṉa piṟavu mavaṟṟoṭu civaṇi
maṉṉiya viṉaiya nimitta meṉpa.
itu, mēlaṉavaṟṟukku ōr puṟaṉaṭai.
"Others like them, along with those (the earlier mentioned ones) will constitute the means of the stable act, they say. This is a general permissive rule to the earlier [defined concepts]."

Laughter, distress, contempt, wonder,
Fear, grandeur, anger and pleasure.
These eight divisions are the emotions, they say.

Pērāciriyar gives certain reasons for the order in which these primary *meyppāṭu*s are given.

> மற்று நகையை முன்வைத்ததென்னையெனின், 'பண்ணைத் தோன்றிய வெண்ணான்கு பொருட்கும்' இவை என்னும் இயைபில்லனவல்ல என்றற்கு, விளையாட்டுப் பொருட் டாகிய நகையை முன்வைத்தானென்பது. அதற்கு மறுதலை யாகிய அழுகையை அதன்பின் வைத்தான், இளிவரல் அதன் பின் வைத்தான்; அழுகையும் இளிவரலோடு இயைபுடைமையின். தானிளிவந்து பிறிதோர் பொருளை வியக்குமாதலின் இளிவரலின்பின் வியப்பு அதன்பின் வைத்தான். வியப்புப்பற்றியும் அச்சம் பிறத்தலின் அச்சத்தை வைத்தான். அச்சத்திற்கு மறுதலையாகிய வீரத்தை அதன்பின் வைத்தான். அவ்வீரத்தின் பயனாகிப் பிறர்க்கு வரும் வெகுளியை அதன்பின்னே வைத்தான். வெகுளிக்கு மறுதலையாகலானும் எல்லாவற்றினும் ஈண்டு ஓதுதற்குச் சிறந்ததாகலானும் முதற்கணோதிய நகைக்கு இயைபுடைத் தாகலானும் உவகையை அவ்வீற்றுக்கண் வைத்தான் என்பது.
>
> *maṟṟu nakaiyai muṉvaittateṉṉaiyeṉiṉ, "paṇṇaittōṉṟiya veṇṇāṉku poruṭkum" ivai eṉṉum iyaip' illaṉa alla eṉṟaṟku, viḷaiyāṭṭup poruṭṭākiya nakaiyai muṉvaittāṉ eṉpatu. ataṟku maṟutalaiyākiya aḻukaiyai ataṉpiṉ vaittāṉ, iḷivaral ataṉpiṉ vaittāṉ; aḻukaiyum iḷivaralōṭu iyaipuṭaimaiyiṉ. tāṉiḷivantu piṟitōr poruḷai viyakkum ātaliṉ iḷivaraliṉpiṉ viyappu vaittāṉ. viyappuppaṟṟiyum accam piṟattaliṉ accattai ataṉpiṉ vaittāṉ. accattiṟku maṟutalaiyākiya vīrattai ataṉpiṉvaittāṉ. avvīrattiṉ payaṉākip piṟarkku varum vekuḷiyai ataṉpiṉṉē vaittāṉ. vekuḷikku maṟutalai yākalāṉum ellāvaṟṟiṉum īṇṭu ōtutaṟkuc ciṟanta tākalāṉum mutaṟkaṇ ōtiya nakaikku iyaipuṭaitt' ākalāṉum uvakaiyai avvīṟṟukkaṇ vaittāṉ eṉpatu.* (TP 251p).

> "Again, if it is asked why laughter is placed at the beginning, laughter, which is caused through play, he has placed first in order to bring out that these are not without any relationship or conformity to the thirty-two that have arisen in *paṇṇai*, the play-place. Distress,which is the opposite of this is placed next to it. Contempt is placed after that because distress is congruous with contempt. Wonder is placed after contempt because, by belittling oneself, one expresses wonder at another thing. As fear can be born out of wonder, it is placed after that. Bravery, the opposite of fear, is placed next. Anger, which can be the outcome of bravery [by making another angry] is kept after that. Pleasure is placed at the end because it is the opposite of anger, superior to all others dealt with here and has congruence with the laughter dealt with in the beginning."

He uses such reasoning while elucidating upon TP 264p, dealing with the *meyppāṭu*s of the fourth stage in the initial union in *kaḷavu.*

> புணர்ச்சிப்பின்னரல்லது பாராட்டுள்ளம் பிறவாமை யானும், அதன்பின்னர் அல்லது பிறரொடு கூற்று நிகழாமையானும், அக்கூற்றுக்கேட்டல்லது தமரான் ஈரமில் கூற்றங் கோட லின்மையானும், அவையெல்லாம் முடிந்தவழித் தலைவன் மேற்சென்ற உள்ளத்தாற் கொடுப்பவை கோடற்குறிப்பின ளாமாகலானும் அம்முறையான் வைத்தா னென்பது.
>
> *puṇarccippiṉṉar allatu pārāṭṭuḷḷam piṟavāmaiyāṉum, ataṉ piṉṉar allatu piṟaroṭu kūṟṟu nikaḻāmaiyāṉum, akkūṟṟuk kēṭṭallatu tamarāṉ īramil kūṟṟaṅ kōṭal iṉmaiyāṉum, avaiyellām muṭintavaḻit talaivaṉmēṟ ceṉṟa uḷḷattāṟ koṭuppavai kōṭaṟ kuṟippiṉaḷām ākalāṉum ammuṟaiyāṉ vaittāṉ eṉpatu.*
>
> "Uunless union has taken place, the heart won't be appreciative; until then speeches to others cannot be made; only after hearing such speeches will she acknowledge the loveless words of the relatives; and only after all these have been come to pass will

> she be of a mind [ready to] to receive what is given with a heart beset with the hero; for these reasons these are placed in that order."

3.3.2. Giving other variants and rejecting them

In some places, Pērāciriyar cites variants given by others and rejects them based on specific reasons. In the following lines, a variant *mutumai* for *putumai* (one of the bases of wonder) is cited and refuted.

> புதுமையை ஆக்கத்துளடக்கி முதுமையென்பது பாடமாகவும் உரைப்ப; அன்னதோர் வழக்கின்மையானும் புதுமை ஒன்று ஒன்றாய்த் திரியு மெனப்பட்டு அவ்வாக்கத்துள் அடங்காமை யானும் அஃதமையா தென்பது.
>
> *putumaiyai ākkattuḷ aṭakki mutumai yeṉpatu pāṭam ākavum uraippa; aṉṉatōr vaḻakkiṉmaiyāṉum putumai oṉṟu oṉṟāyt tiriyu meṉappaṭṭu avvākkattuḷ aṭaṅkāmaiyāṉum aḵtamaiyā teṉpatu.* (Comm. ad TP 255p)
>
> Some include *putumai* under *ākkam* and give another variant *mutumai* [in its place]; as there is no such usage and as *putumai* is not one thing transforming into another [which is the definition of *ākkam*] and hence cannot be contained in *ākkam*, that variant cannot be accepted.

He refers to people who prefer *mutumai* in place of *putumai*, one of the four bases of wonder. According to him, they are of the view that *putumai* can be accounted for in *ākkam*. He refutes this view on two grounds; one is that there is no such usage (*vaḻakku*); the second is that *ākkam* denotes one thing changing into another and *putumai*, which denotes newness, cannot be brought under this.

3.3.3. Defending his own View

In the six stages of initial union, the commentator postulates a view that these *meyppāṭu*s belong only to the heroine and are not suitable

for the hero and proceeds to justify that. This often takes the form of raising questions and answering them.

For example, while annotating *pukumukampurital* ("desiring the look of entry"), he says that the desire to be looked at belongs only to the heroine and not to the hero because such a desire does not befit his superiority. He will gaze upon the heroine but will not desire to be looked at by her (மற்றிது தலைமகற்குரித்தன்றோ எனின் அவன் தான் காண்ட லல்லது தற்காண்டலை நயவான் அது தலைமை யன்றாகலின், *maṟṟitu talaimakaṟku urittaṉṟō eṉiṉ avaṉ tāṉ kāṇṭalallatu taṟkāṉṭalai nayavāṉ, atu talaimaiyaṉṟākaliṉ*).

While annotating *poṟinutal viyarttal* ("sweat breaking out on the brow") also, he says that this *meyppāṭu* is not suitable for the hero because this arises due to the feminine qualities, fear and *nāṇ* ("shyness") inherent in the heroine. As these are not the qualities of the hero, this *meyppāṭu* also will not arise in him (இம்மெய்ப்பாடுந் தலைமகற் குரித்தன்று உட்கும் நாணும் அவற்கின்மையின், *immeyppāṭun talaimakaṟ kuritt' aṉṟu; uṭkum nāṇum avaṟkiṉmaiyiṉ*).

3.3.4. Taking unique cases of the portrayal of the *meyppāṭu* in literature and explicating them

In the following lines a kind of crying/lamenting is given. The commentator brings out clearly how it is not to be included in the *iḻavu* ("loss") type of *aḻukai* ("distress").

> இன்ன விறலு முளகொல் நமக்கென
> மூதிற் பெண்டிர் கசிந்தழ நாணிக்
> கூற்றுக்கண் ணோடிய வெருவரு பறந்தலை
>
> *iṉṉa viṟalum uḷa kol namakkeṉa*
> *mūtiṟ peṇṭir kacintaḻa nāṇik*
> *kūṟṟuk kaṇṇōṭiya veruvaru paṟantalai* (*Puṟam*. 19.14–16)
>
> "The old women of the warrior tribe shed tears [of joy on seeing the bodies of the fathers and sons of their families lying in] the

> fearsome battlefield wondering whether such valour could exist; on seeing this, even the death-god feels compassionate."

The commentator says that if the women had cried over the loss of their dear ones the death god would not have exhibited *kaṇṇōṭṭam* (compassion) and, therefore, their tears should be interpreted as tears of joy and hence this is *uvakaikkaluḻcci*, which may either mean that these are tears of joy or the scene befits the them *uvakaikkaluḻcci* of *tumpaittiṇai.*[31]

In *iḷivaral* (contempt) also, he cites the following lines,

> ஒருகை யுடைய தெறிவலோ யானு
> மிருகை சுமந்துவாழ் வேன்
>
> *orukai yuṭaiya teṟivalō yāṉu*
> *mirukai cumantuvāḻ vēṉ*
>
> "Shall I conquer the one with a single hand, I, who have two hands?"

and says that, here, also, the *meyppāṭu iḷivaral*, arises, not on the usual grounds, but on account of valour. He says that as this does not arise on account of oneself or on account of others it is accounted for through the technique *ilēcu.*

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[31] மூதிற்பெண்டிர் இழவுபற்றி அழுதாராயிற் கூற்றுக் கண்ணோடாதாகலின் அவர் உவந்தனர் என்பது பெற்றாம் .அதனானே அஃதுஉவகைக்கலுழ்ச்சியா மென்பது .
mūtiṟpeṇṭir iḻavupaṟṟi aḻutārāyiṟ kūṟṟukkaṇṇōṭātākaliṉ avar uvantaṉar eṉpatu peṟṟām. ataṉāṉē aḵtu uvakaikkaluḻcciyām eṉpatu. "If the women of the ancient tribe lamented over the loss [of their dear ones], the death would not have been [moved] with compassion; hence it is obtained that they rejoiced. Hence, it is called tears of joy."
Uvakaikkaluḻcci ("shedding of happy tears") is a sub-theme of the major theme, *tumpai* in the *Puṟam genre* (which deals with the aspects of war and other things). *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpā Mālai* defines this as "the kin (wife) shedding tears of [valiant] joy on seeing the scar-covered body of [her husband] cut with the sword" (வாள்வாய்த்திட்ட வடுவாழ்யாக்கைக் கேள்கண்டு கலுழ்ந்த வுவகைக்கலுழ்ச்சி, *vāḷvāyttiṭṭa vaṭuvāḻyākkaik kēḷkaṇṭu kaluḻnta vuvakaik-kaluḻcci*, *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpā Mālai* 7:11, Colophon 151).

3.3.5. Dealing with other Aspects of *Akam* theory in the Course of his Commentary

In TP 267p, Pērāciriyar attempts to connect some of these *meyppāṭu*s to *kaikkiḷai-peruntiṇai*[32] also. He cites a few lines from *Kali.* 104, which is considered as belonging to the theme of *kaikkiḷai* and recognizes in those lines, *pukumukam purital* ("desiring him to look at her"/ "desiring the look of entry"), a *meyppāṭu* of the first stage.

> இம்மெய்ப்பாட்டினுட் கைக்கிளை பெருந்திணைக்கு வருவன வருமாறு :
>
> "ஒருக்குநா மாடுங் குரவையு ணம்மை
> யருக்கினான் போனோக்கி யல்லனோய் செய்தல்
> குரூஉக்கட் கொலையேறு கொண்டேன் யானென்னுந்
> தருக்கன்றோ வாயர் மகன்." (கலி.104: 69–73)

எனப் புகுமுகம் புரிதல் கைக்கிளைக்கண் வந்தது.

> *immeyppāṭṭiṉuṭ kaikkiḷai peruntiṇaikku varuvaṉa varumāṟu:*
>
> "*orukkunā māṭuṅ kuravaiyu ṇammai*
> *yarukkiṉāṉ pōṉōkki yallaṉōy ceytal*
> *kurūukkaṭ kolaiyēṟu koṇṭēṉyā ṉeṉṉun*
> *tarukkaṉṟō vāyar makaṉ.*" (*Kali.* 104.69–73)

eṉap pukumukam purital kaikkiḷaikkaṇ vantatu.

> "[The lines of the *Kali.* 104 say] in the *kuravai* we dance together, he looks at us with passion and makes us feel desperate; isn't that due to the pride of the cowherd boy saying, 'I conquered the murderous bull with tinged eyes'? – here, *pukumukam purital* occurs in *kaikkiḷai.*"

He goes on to answer two questions related to this song (*Kali.* 104). One is why that song is classified as *kaikkiḷai.* For this, he cites the *Kaḷaviyal*

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[32] *kaikkiḷai* literally means "little relationship," (it is a reference to one-sided love); *peruntiṇai* literally means "big/large behaviour" (it is a reference to improper love), which are themes of love considered not proper.

sūtra which classifies the first three Aryan marriage types, *acuram*, *irākkatam* and *paicācam* as *kaikkiḷai.*

> "முன்னைய மூன்றும் கைக்கிளைக்குறிப்பே" என்பதனான் இது கைக்கிளை எனப்பட்டது.
>
> "*muṉṉaiya mūṉruṅ kaikkiḷaikkuṟippē.*" *eṉpataṉāṉ itu kaikkiḷai eṉappaṭṭatu.*
>
> "This is taken as *kaikkiḷai*, because of the *sūtra*, 'the first three indicate kaikkiḷai."[33]

The next question is: shouldn't the poem be classified in the theme of *mullai*, as it is placed in *Mullaikkali?* Pērāciriyar's reply is: "If it is asked whether this song belongs to *mullaittiṇai*, I have already explained in *Akattiṇaiyiyal* that it is considered as *mullai* because of the land [chosen as the background and not because of the theme it has]."[34]

3.3.6. Referring to his own Commentary elsewhere

As already stated, Pērāciriyar's commentary was on the whole of *Poruḷatikāram* even though only the portion on the latter four *iyal*s has survived. Pērāciriyar himself refers to his commentary on the earlier chapters at places.

How he refers to his commentary on *Akattiṉaiyiyal* in TP 267p while dealing with certain lines from *Kali.*104 has already been explained in the previous section. In his commentary ad TP 266p, he says that because the 24 *meyppāṭu*s in the six stages follow a hierarchical order some people arrange the *akam* expressions also in a hierarchical order[35]

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[33] Getting the girl in marriage by conquering the bull as in *ēṟu taḻuvutal* is considered equal to the events described under *acuram*.

[34] மற்றிது முல்லைத்திணைப்பாட்டன்றோ வெனின் அது நிலத்தான் முல்லையாயிற்றென்பது அகத்திணையியலுட் கூறினாம்.
maṟṟitu mullaittiṇaip pāṭṭaṉṟō veṉiṉ, atu nilattāṉ mullaiyāyiṟṟeṉpatu akattiṇai yiyaluṭ kūṟiṉām. "If it is asked whether this isn't a poem of the division *mullai*, I have already discussed that it is [included] in *mullai*, through [the depiction of] the land."

[35] This refers to the *Kōvai* literary genre, where the *akam* themes are arranged in a hierarchical order.

and make new literary pieces like *toṉmai* and *tōl*.[36] He further says that he has already refuted that point in *Kaḷaviyal*.[37]

3.3.7. Correlating *meyppāṭu* with Mental States

Again and again, Pērāciriyar reiterates the point that the material expounded in the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* is in some way related to some mental state and thus constitutes *meyppāṭu*. Here are some examples.

> மெய்ப்பாடென்பது பொருட்பாடு; அஃதாவது, உலகத்தார் உள்ள நிகழ்ச்சி ஆண்டு நிகழ்ந்தவாறே புறத்தார்க்குப் புலப்படுவதோராற்றான் வெளிப்படுதல்.
>
> *meyppāṭ' eṉpatu poruṭpāṭu; aḵtāvatu, ulakattār uḷḷa nikaḻcci āṇṭu nikaḻntavāṟē puṟattārkkup pulappaṭuvatōr āṟṟāṉ veḷippaṭutal.* (comm. ad TP 249p)
>
> "*Meyppāṭu* is explicating the theme. That is, the mental process of humans being brought out in a manner explicit to the other people as it occurred inside."
>
> மேலை ஓத்துகளுட் கூறப்படும் ஒழுகலாற்றிற்கும் "காட்டலாகாப்பொருள்" என்றவற்றிற்கும் எல்லாம் பொதுவாகிய மனக்குறிப்பு.
>
> *mēlai ōttukaḷuṭ kūṟappaṭum oḻukalāṟṟiṟkum "kāṭṭalākāpporuḷ"* (TP 247n) *eṉṟavaṟṟiṟkum ellām potuvākiya maṉakkuṟippu.* (TP 249p)

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[36] *Toṉmai* and *tōl* are two varieties mentioned under *vaṉappu* (supposed to be a classification of literary varieties) in the *Tolkāppiyam* (TP 549, 550p).

[37] இவை எல்லாம் முறையானே நிகழ்ந்தமை நோக்கி யாழோர் கூட்டத்தினைத் தொன்மையுந் தோலும் போலப் பொருட்டொடர் நிலையாக்கி உரைப்பாருமுளர். அஃது ஆகாமைக்குக் காரணங் களவியலுட் கூறினாமென்பது.
ivai ellām muṟaiyāṉē nikaḻntamai nōkki yāḷōr kūṭṭattiṉait toṉmaiyun tōlum pōlap poruṭṭoṭarnilaiyākki uraippārumuḷar. aḵtu ākāmaikkuk kāraṇaṅ kaḷaviyaluṭ kūṟiṉāmeṉpatu.
"There are people who consider [the depiction of] the union of *gandharva*s as [a literary genre of] continuation of theme [what is a literary genre of continuation of theme?] because all these occur in a particular order. I have already explained the reasons for the unsuitability of [such a view] in *kaḷaviyal*."

"These are the mental states which are common to the behavioural patterns discussed in the former chapters and the set of concepts enumerated under 'things which cannot be shown' [to the eye, i.e., those which are abstract]."

இவையெல்லாந் தத்த மனத்தினிகழ்ச்சியை வெளிப்படுப்பன வாகலின் மெய்ப்பாடெனப்பட்டன. இனி வருகின்றனவற்றிற்கும் இஃதொக்கும்.

ivaiyellān tatta maṉattiṉikaḻcciyai veḷippaṭuppaṉavākaliṉ meyppāṭeṉappaṭṭaṉa; iṉi varukiṉṟaṉavaṟṟiṟkum iḵtokkum. (TP 260p)

"As all these reveal the inner actions in the mind, they are called *meyppāṭu*. This criterion suits those which occur after this also."

சூழ்ச்சியென்பது, சுழற்சி; சூழ்வருவானைச் சுழல்வருமென்ப வாகலின்; அது வெளிப்படுவதோர் குறிப்பின் அவன்கட் டோன்றலின் அதுவும் மெய்ப்பாடு; அஃதாவது மனத் தடுமாற்றம்.

cūḻcciyeṉpatu, cuḻaṟci; cūḻvaruvāṉaic cuḻalvarum eṉpa ākaliṉ; atu veḷippaṭuvatōr kuṟippiṉ avaṉkaṭ ṭōṉṟaliṉ atuvum meyppāṭu; aḵtāvatu maṉattaṭumāṟṟam. (TP 260p)

"*cūḻcci* is spinning, because one who is swirling is said to be spinning; as this will occur in him in a way that is apparent to others also, this is considered a *meyppāṭtu*; that is, oscillation of the mind."

துஞ்சலென்பது உறக்கம்; அது நடந்து வருகின்றான் கண்ணும் விளங்கித்தோன்றுதலின் அதுவும் மெய்ப்பாடு எனப்பட்டது.

tuñcal eṉpatu uṟakkam; atu naṭantu varukiṉṟāṉkaṇṇum viḷaṅkat tōṉṟutaliṉ atuvum meyppāṭu eṉappaṭṭatu. (TP 260p)

"Slumber is drowsiness; as this can be seen even in a person who is walking it is also taken as a *meyppāṭu*."

மடந்தப வுரைத்தற்கு ஏதுவாகிய கருத்து ஈண்டு மெய்ப்பாடெனப்படும்.

maṭan tapa vuraittaṟku ētuvākiya karuttu īṇṭu meyppāṭ' eṉappaṭum. (TP 264p)

"The thought which results in expressing oneself after the removal of credulity is regardedhereas *meyppāṭu*."

கையறவு உரைத்தலென்றனான் இம்மெய்ப்பாடு மனத்தளவேயன்றி மாற்றத்தானும் பிறர்க்குப் புலனாக வெளிப்படுமென்பது கொள்க.

kaiyaṟavu uraittal eṉṟataṉāṉ immeyppāṭu maṉattaḷavē aṉṟi māṟṟattāṉum piṟarkkup pulaṉāka veḷippaṭum eṉpatu koḷka. (TP 266p)

"As it is described as expressing her helplessness, this *meyppāṭu*, besides being realized in the heart, will also be revealed explicitly to others in words."

இவ்வெண்ணப்பட்டனவெல்லாம் உள்ளத்து நிகழ்ந்தன வற்றை வெளிப்படுப்பவாகலான் மெய்ப்பாடென்னப்பட்டன.

ivveṇṇappaṭṭaṉavellām uḷḷattu nikaḻntaṉavaṟṟai veḷippaṭuppavākalāṉ meyppāṭeṉṉappaṭṭaṉa. (TP 270p)

"All these that have been enumerated are called *meyppāṭu* because they reveal what is happening inside the heart."

3.3.8. Explaining Grammatical Categories

At places, Pērāciriyar explains the grammatical categories of words and in a few cases the syntax also.

வினைய என்பதன் அகரம் ஆறாம் வேற்றுமைப் பன்மை உருபு.

viṉaiya eṉpataṉ akaram āṟām vēṟṟumaippaṉmai urupu. (TP 267p)

"The *a* in the word *viṉaiya'* is the sixth case [genitive] marker for plurals."

கலக்கமும் எனநின்ற உம்மை மேற்கூறிய பத்தொன்பதனையும் தழுவுதலின் இறந்தது தழீஇயிற்றாம்.

kalakkamum eṉa niṉṟa ummai mēṟkūṟiya pattoṉpāṉaiyum taḻuvutaliṉ iṟantatu taḻīiyiṟṟām. (TP 270p)

> "The *um* that occurs in *kalakkamum* ("confusion also") embraces all the *meyppāṭu*s enumerated earlier and hence its function is "embracing earlier mentioned matter."

Dealing with the syntax of TP 263p,

> அல்கு றைவர லணிந்தவை திருத்த
> லில்வலி யுறுத்த லிருகையு மெடுத்தலொடு
> சொல்லிய நான்கே மூன்றென மொழிப.
>
> *alkul taivaral aṇintavai tiruttal*
> *ilvali yuṟuttal irukaiyum eṭuttaloṭu*
> *colliya nāṉkē mūṉṟ' eṉa moḻipa.*
>
> "Touching her backside, resetting ornaments,
> Asserting strength that's not there, raising up both hands;
> The aforesaid four are the third stage, they say."

Pērāciriyar says that for the subject "the four", obtained by summing up through counting, "the three" [the third one] became the nominal predicate (எண்ணுநிலையான் தொகைபெற்ற நான்கென்னும் எழுவாய்க்கு மூன்றென்பது பெயர்ப்பயனிலையாய் வந்தது, *eṇṇunilaiyāl tokaipeṟṟa nāṉkeṉṉum eḻuvāykku mūṉṟeṉpatu peyarp payaṉilaiyāy vantatu*).[38]

3.3.9. Referring to other treatises for his mode of word analysis

In TP 273p, while dealing with the elements or bases of similarity, Tolkāppiyar just enumerates them and does not give a prescribed total. Both the commentators, Pērāciriyar and Iḷampūraṇar, take them to be ten. From *uruvu niṟutta kāma vāyil*, Pērāciriyar derives two bases of similarity, *uruvu* ("beauty") and *uruvu niṟutta kāma vāyil* ("the love resulting from her beauty").[39] So two ideas are taken from a single statement.

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[38] There are two sentences here. For the first sentence *colliya nāṉku* is the subject; *mūṉṟu* ([belong to] the third [stage]) is the predicate. *eṉa* is the linking word. By using the term *peyarppayaṉilai*, Pērāciriyar recognizes the noun-noun pattern. In the second sentence, the predicate is *moḻipa* and the subject has to be supplied (*pulavar*-learned people).

[39] Iḷampūraṇar takes *uruvu* and *niṟutta kāma vāyil* as the two.

As a parallel to this kind of analysis, he refers to *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 632, where, the total is given as five, and to get this, the phrase *kaṟṟaṟital* is interpreted as *kaṟṟal* ("learning") and *kaṟṟaṟital* ("knowledge through learning").

> "வன்கண் குடிகாத்தல் கற்றறித லாள்வினையோ
> டைந்துடன் மாண்ட தமைச்சு." (குறள். 632)

என்புழி, கற்றறிதலென்பதனை இரண்டாக்கி ஐந்தென்பவாகலின்.

> "*vaṉkaṇ kuṭikāttal kaṟṟaṟita lāḷviṉaiyō*
> *ṭaintuṭaṉ māṇṭa tamaiccu.*" (*Kuṟaḷ.* 632)[40]

eṉpuḷi, *kaṟṟaṟitaleṉpataṉai iraṇṭākki ainteṉpavākaliṉ.*

3.3.10. Use of Sanskrit words in the Commentary

Nearly 40 words are borrowed from Sanskrit with the original meaning or adopted in some way. They are: *karuṇai* ("compassion"), *aṟputam* ("bewilderment"), *uruttiram* ("anger"), *kāraṇam* ("reason"), *araṅku* ("stage"), *utti* ("technique"), *nāṭakam* ("drama"), *vikāram* ("change"), *aticayam* ("wonder"), *taṇṭam* ("punishment"), *cūttiram* ("aphorism"), *pati* ("place"), *tāram* ("wife"), *viccai* ("disciplines"), *pūtam* ("demon"), *cāti* ("caste"), *māttirai* ("measure"), *maturam* ("sweetness"), *ētu* ("cause"), *vayam* (*vacam* side), *pāṅki* ("female companion"), *kulam* ("lineage"), *maṉam* ("mind"), *vikaṟpam* ("anxiety"), *kāmam* ("desire"), *nimittam* ("reason, means"), *kantaruvam* (*gandharva*, one of the marriage types), *uvamai* ("simile"), *utāraṇam* ("example"), *tūtu* ("message"), *mēkam* ("cloud"), *teyvam* ("deity"), *āciriyar* ("teacher"), *tāpatar* ("ascetics"), *mantira viti* (scriptures), *putalvaṉ* (son), *pirāyam* ("age"), *puruṭar* ("men"), *tavam* ("penance"), *ēmam* ("protection, happiness"), *ētam* ("difficulty") and *kuṇam* ("quality, character").

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[40] This *kuṟaḷ* says that a minister [to a king] should excel in five qualities; *vaṉkaṇ*, fortitude, *kuṭikāttal*, protecting the subjects [of the kingdom], *kaṟṟu (kaṟṟal)*, learning, *aṟital*, knowledge [of what to do and what not to do] and *āḷviṉai*, enterprise. Here, *kaṟṟaṟital* could simply mean "knowing through learning." But to make up the total five it is split into two.

But worth noting is the non-use of the word *avattai* (*avasthā*, "state") which is used by Iḷampūraṇar to denote the six stages of the initial union. Pērāciriyar deliberately avoids this word.[41]

3.3.11. Sociological bias in the Commentary

While dealing with the *meyppāṭu avaṉṟamar uvattal* ("rejoicing at [seeing] his people") in TP 270p, the commentator illustrates it with the line, *ūraṉ ūraṉ pōlun*, *tērum pāṇaṉ teruvi ṉāṉē*, "the lord of the *marutam* land seems to be in the village; the bard is searching for him on the roads." He raises the question of whether this should not be considered as anger/disgust (*muṉivu*) rather than joy[42] and answers that it is to be understood that that is a kind of anger which looks as if the heroine is sulking with the hero but in reality it should be taken as a mental state which does not result in enmity. He concludes this with the cryptic statement *allākkāl*, *atu peṇṭaṉmai yaṉṟām ākaliṉ* "if not so, it will not be in tune with the feminine nature/virtues." The implication is that the heroine is not supposed to sulk. Apart from the question whether the lines truly represent the *meyppāṭu*, Pērāciriyar's remarks bring out the influence of the social etiquette that demands patience in the heroine in such circumstances of marital infidelity.

The commentary of Aṭiyārkku Nallār on the *Cilappatikāram*, on the lines giving the response of Kaṇṇaki to the words of Kōvalaṉ, who has returned disenchanted with Mātavi, is worth comparing here. The response runs like this: நலங்கேழ் முறுவல் நகைமுகங் காட்டிச் சிலம்புள கொண்ம் என, *nalaṅkēḻ muṟuval nakaimukam kāṭṭi cilampuḷa koṇm eṉa* "presenting a smiling countenance she said, 'These anklets are still there; take them.'"[43]

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[41] He uses words like *mūṉṟu pakutiyavām*, *iraṇṭām pakuti*, *nāṉkām pakuti*, *aintāṅkālattu meyppāṭu.* ("of three divisions are these", "the second division", the fourth division", the divisionof the fifth period")

[42] The poem is the heroine's response to the hero's extra-marital affair. Hence, the natural response should have been anger or disgust.

[43] *Cilappatikāram* (ed. U. Vē. Cā, 2013), *Kaṉāttiṟam uraitta kātai*, lines 72–73, commentary, p. 251.

There is the possibility of interpreting this as a recurring situation of Kōvalaṉ often coming back to Kaṇṇaki after a quarrel with Mātavi and getting ornaments from her, and, therefore, she could have said these words in an angry sulk; but the commentator deliberately says that Kaṇṇaki, on seeing the despondence of Kōvalaṉ—even though all the other ornaments are already gone and Kōvalaṉ might not be aware of the remaining anklets—thought about their availability and offered them to him. He also concludes with a biased statement depriving women of the right to sulk saying that sulking goes against the characteristic of chastity: புலந்து கூறினாளெனிற் கற்பின் தன்மை இன்றாம், *pulantu kūṟiṉāḷeṉiṟ kaṟpiṉ taṉmai iṉṟām*. "If it is taken that she spoke these words in a sulk, that is not appropriate to her quality of *kaṟpu*, chastity."

3.3.12. Supporting his remarks with Tolkāppiyam *sutras*

Often Pērāciriyar supports the views he puts forth with the evidence of *Tolkāppiyam sūtra*s. In the first stage of the initial union while annotating upon the fourth *meyppāṭu*, *citaivu piṟarkkiṉmai* ("loss of reserve not apparent to others") in TP 251p, he says this is not suitable for the hero because he does not suffer loss of reserve to the extent that he has to conceal it. He supports this by citing the *Tolkāppiyam sūtra*, *perumaiyum uraṉum āṭūu mēṉa*,[44] "the qualities of greatness and knowledge belong to the man (the hero)."

For the *meyppāṭu avaṉ puṉarvu maṟuttal* (TP 271p), he cites lines from *Akam*. 12.13f., *nalvarai nāṭa nī variṉ melliyal ōrun tāṉ vāḻalaḷē* ("You, the lord of the good mountain! If you come [for the night tryst] she won't live"). He further says that, here, the maid intimates the thought of the heroine and hence this will be taken as 'refusing him union.' He justifies this citing of an expression by the maid for a *meyppāṭu* of the heroine by quoting the line, *oṉṟittōṉṟum tōḻi mēṉa*[45] ("they belong to the maid who is one with the heroine") from an

[44] TP 95i.
[45] TP 39i.

Akattiṇaiyiyal sūtra which attributes a kind of oneness to the maid and the heroine.

4. Conclusion

Pērāciriyar is one of the greatest commentators in Tamil literary as well as commentarial tradition. His commentary on the *Poruḷatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* bears witness to this. While it is evident that he should have written a commentary on the whole of the third part, the *Poruḷatikāram*, only the portion on the latter four chapters are extant now. His commentarial expertise reveals that he was well versed in all the components of Tamil literary theory such as the *Akam* theme, prosody, simile or rhetoric as well as *meyppāṭu.*

As brought out earlier, of the two types of commentary normally used by the commentators, namely, *kāṇṭikai* and the *virutti*, Pērāciriyar uses the *kāṇṭikai* variety in some places. However, his preference is for the elaborate type as evidenced by his clear elucidations of the *sūtra*s and in the manner, he builds up his commentary to enlarge upon the ideas put forth in them.

One major technique he adopts for building his elaborate type of commentary is the use of illustrative songs. As opposed to the mode of Iḷampūraṇar whose use of illustrative songs and linking them up with the *meyppāṭu* in question is very limited, Pērāciriyar's use of illustrative songs is very elaborate. For the same *meyppāṭu*, he gives more than one illustration and shows how it suits that particular *meyppāṭu.* In addition, he takes certain literary passages and explains why they cannot be taken as suitable to a particular *meyppāṭu* giving strength to a premise that even though only the commentaries of Iḷampūraṇar and Pērāciriyar have come down to us there might have been other expositions on *Meyppāṭṭiyal* which might have quoted these as examples.

Pērāciriyar has adopted some techniques such as *ilēcu*, *palporuṭkēṭpiṉ nallatu kōṭal*, *puṟaṉaṭai*, etc. while commenting upon

the *sūtra*s. A special technique used by him and by the other commentators, Iḷampūraṇar and Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar in general, is to take some words or phrases from the *sūtra*s and through them introduce additional concepts. Pērāciriyar alone seems to use the term *mikai*, "superfluous," to denote this type of commentarial practice.

Finally, he has adopted certain other special modes. Giving reasons for the order in which the *meyppāṭu*s are placed, citing others' variants, refuting them and putting forth his own theories regarding certain *akam* concepts are some of them.

An analysis of the commentarial modes adopted by the other commentators and comparison with that of Pērāciriyar will throw more light on the special features of Pērāciriyar's interpretations and will bring out the special features of the commentarial tradition of the Tamil grammatical works.

Abbreviations

Akanān̲ūṟu – Akam.

Kalittokai – Kali.

Kuṟuntokai – Kuṟu.

Puṟanān̲ūṟu – Puṟam.

Tolkāppiyam, Eḷuttatikāram, Iḷampūraṇar's Commentary – TE...i

Tolkāppiyam, Eḷuttatikāram, Naccin̲ārkkinn̲iyar's Commentary – TE...n

Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷatikāram, Iḷampūraṇar's Commentary – TP...i

Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷatikāram, Pērāciriyar's Commentary – TP...p

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A Note on Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar's Commentary Techniques

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Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar (14th cent.), a scholar well-versed both in grammar and literature, has written commentaries on works from the early centuries of the first millennium: the grammatical treatise *Tolkāppiyam*, the two later Caṅkam anthologies, *Pattuppāṭṭu* ("Ten Songs") and *Kalittokai*, as well as the 10th-century *peruṅkāppiyam* (Skt. *mahākāvya-*) *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*.

The literature of a language reflects the culture of the people who speak it, while at the same time it attempts to reveal the aims of its composer. In Tamil, the poets aim at the highest ideals as put down in poetic theory, but sometimes these may not be visible on the surface. Never being satisfied with the superficial meaning, Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar dives deeper and succeeds in bringing out the impact of poetic expressions and the real intentions of the poets by adopting certain methods such as giving a commentary on the basis of the akam concept and always basing his analysis on the rules of the *Tolkāppiyam* by referring to its *cūttiram*s (*sūtra*s).

In this short article, we will see samples of texts that give the reader a glimpse of Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar's style and practices.

1. Word-order

Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar mostly does not give the meaning of a verse in the order in which the lines or words occur in the original work, but writes in such a way that lines or words are appropriately transposed to arrive at a proper meaning. In *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, for example, one can understand the meaning of the verse in the order of lines, but Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar still changes this order in some places.

2. Following the *Tolkāppiyam*

According to the *akam* concept, the hero and the heroine do not talk with each other, enquire about their life histories or make plans for their future together before their (clandestine) union. There is no incidence in Tamil literature in which there is a reference to a conversation between the lovers before their union.

However, the following lines are found in *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* 19–22, in which the heroine addresses her confidante.

> மாதரு மடனு மோராங்குத் தணப்ப
> நெடுந்தே ரெந்தை யருங்கடி நீவி
> இருவே மாய்ந்த மன்ற லிதுவென
> நாமறி வுறாலிற் பழியு முண்டோ?
>
> *mātarum maṭaṉum ōrāṅku taṇappa*
> *neṭum tēr entai arum kaṭi nīvi*
> *iruvēm āynta maṉṟal itu eṉa*
> *nām aṟivuṟāliṉ paḻiyum uṇṭō?*
>
> "As [my parents'] love [for me] and [my] modesty depart together,
> brushing past the close guard of my father with a tall chariot,
> this is the union chosen by the two of us"
> because of our informing [them] thus, will there be blame?

The commentary on these lines runs the following way:

> நெடிய தேரையுடைய என் தந்தையின் அரிய காவலைக் கடந்து, இருமுது குரவரும் தமக்கு இயைந்தோர்க்குக் கொடுப்பே மென்றிருக்கின்ற காதலும் மடனும் ஒருசேரப்போக, இந்த மணம் தலைவனும் யானும் பெருமையும் உரனும் அச்சமும் நாணமும் நுணுகிய நிலையாற் பிறந்த கந்தருவ மணமென்று நாம் யாய்க்கு அறிவுறுத்தலான் நமக்குப் புகழேயன்றி வருவதோர் பழியுண்டோ? அஃதில்லை.

neṭiya tēraiyuṭaiya en tantaiyin ariya kāvalaik kaṭantu, iru mutukuravarum tamakku iyaintōrkkuk koṭuppēm enr$_u$ irukkinra kātalum maṭanum orucērap pōka, inta maṇam talaivanum yānum perumaiyum uranum accamum nāṇamum nuṇukiya nilaiyār piranta kantaruva-maṇam enru nām yāykku arivuruttalān namakkup pukalēyanri varuvatōr paliyuṇṭō? aktillai.

Overcoming the close watch of my father who has a tall chariot, in such a way that the [parental] love—in which both [our] parents think, "We shall give [our child in marriage] to someone agreeable to us"—and [our] innocence leave together, besides [being] a glory for us, will there be blame, by our informing mother that this union, born out of the state in which greatness, self-control, fear and shame have shrunk in me and in the hero, is the *gandharva*[1]-union? It is not so.

iruvēm āynta manral itu mean that "this is the marriage that is chosen by the two of us," i.e., the heroine and the hero, after consideration. This usage of *āynta* shows a deviation from the *akam* concept. Naccinārkkiniyar tries to explain it by stating that when the greatness and the knowledge of the heroand the fear, shyness and modesty of the heroine diminish, they get married on their own. Instead of giving this direct meaning, he gives a forced one on the basis of a *Tolkāppiyam* rule:[2] the four words *ōytal*, *āytal*, *nilattal* and *cāay* refer to the 'diminishing nature of something from its previous state,' and therefore, Naccinārkkiniyar, with this *cūttiram* in mind, takes *āytal* to mean "minute" here. But this is not appropriate, as this line shows a

[1] One of the eight types of marriage, in which the will and desire of the concerned parties unite them.

[2] ஓய்தல் ஆய்தல் நிழத்தல் சாஅய், ஆவயின் நான்கும் உள்ளதன் நுணுக்கம். (தொ. சொ. 330) TC 330n *ōytal āytal nilattal cāay, āvayin nānkum ullatan nuṇukkam.* ("[the occurrences] of these words have as their meaning the diminishment of something that exists.")

hidden meaning, i.e., that both of the people have analysed and considered about their lives.

3. Explaining the *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* ("implied simile")

Naccinārkkiniyar is well-versed in explaining the *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*[3] in his commentary, e.g. in the following lines of *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* 187–194.

> பழுமிளகு உக்க பாறை நெடுஞ்சுனை
> முழுமுதற் கொக்கின் றீங்கனி யுதிர்ந்தெனப்
> புள்ளெறி பிரசமோடு ஈண்டிப் பலவின்
> நெகிழ்ந்துகு நறும்பழம் விளைந்த தேறல்
> நீர்செத் தயின்ற தோகை வியலூர்ச்
> சாறுகொள் ஆங்கண் விழவுக்களை நந்தி
> யரிக்கூட் டின்னியங் கறங்க வாடுமகள்
> கயிறூர் பாணியிற் றளருஞ் சாரல்.
>
> *paḻu miḷaku ukka pāṟai neṭum cuṉai*
> *muḷu mutal kokkiṉ tīm kaṉi utirnteṉa*
> *puḷ eṟi piracamōṭu īṇṭ$_u$ i- palaviṉ*
> *nekiḻnt$_u$ uku naṟum paḻam viḷainta tēṟal*
> *nīr cett$_u$ ayiṉṟa tōkai viyalūr*
> *cāṟu koḷ āṅkaṇ viḻavukkaḷa nanti*
> *arikkūṭṭ$_u$ iṉiyam kaṟaṅka vāṭumakaḷ*
> *kayiṟ$_u$ ūr pāṇiyiṉ taḷarum cāral.* (KT 187–194)
>
> "In the large mountain spring on the rock where the fully ripened pepper seeds are scattered widely, sweet mango fruits drop off from mango trees with thick trunks; honey pours out of the fragrant jackfruit and a clear combination of juices is formed by the mixing of mango and jackfruits. The peacock, which misunderstands the juice to be water, drinks it. Because of this,

[3] Indirect suggestion by which an author, who does not propose to explicitly state his idea, endeavours, however, to present it through the skillful employment of such telling comparisons as would help people to infer therefrom what he actually intended to convey.

> it cannot dance, growing weary like the rope-dancer [or the music rendered by a tuneful band] in the big village."

Naccinārkkiniyar explains the *uḷḷurai uvamam* as follows:

> பழுத்த மிளகு சிந்திக் கிடக்கின்ற கற்பாறையிடத்து நீண்டசுனையிலே பெரிய அடியினையுடைய மாவினுடைய இனிய பழங்கள் உதிர்ந்தனவாக அப்பழத்தாலும் பலவினுடைய விரிந்த தேன் பரக்கின்ற நறிய பழத்தாலும் உண்டான கட்டெளிவு நிரம்புதலால் தன்னை நுகர்கின்ற ஈயினைத் தள்ளி யுகுத்த தேனாலே வந்து திரளுகையினாலே தனக்கு எளிய நீராகக் கருதி அத்தேறலை உண்ட மயில் விழாக்கொள்ளுதலையுடைய களத்தே மிக்கு அரித்தெழுகின்ற ஓசையை கூட்டுதலையுடைய இனிய வாச்சியங்கள் ஒலிப்ப ஆடுகின்ற மகள் கழாய்க் கயிற்றிலே ஏறி ஆடுகின்ற தாளத்தினால் தான் ஆற்றாது தளருமாறுபோலத் தளருஞ் சாரலை உடைய குன்று.
>
> *paḻutta miḷaku cinti kiṭakkiṉṟa kal pāṟaiyiṭattu nīṇṭacuṉaiyilē periya aṭiyiṉaiyuṭaiya māviṉuṭaiya iṉiya paḻaṅkaḷ utirntaṉa-āka a- paḻattālum palaviṉuṭaiya virinta tēṉ parakkiṉṟa naṟiya paḻattālum uṇṭāṉa kaṭṭeḷivu niramputalāl taṉṉai nukarkiṉṟa īyiṉai taḷḷi ukutta tēṉālē vantu tiraḷukaiyiṉālē taṉakku eḷiya nīr-āka karuti a- tēṟalai uṇṭa mayil viḻākkoḷḷutalaiyuṭaiya kaḷattē mikku aritt$_u$ eḻukiṉṟa ōcaiyai kūṭṭutalaiyuṭaiya iṉiya vācciyaṅkaḷ olippa āṭukiṉṟa makaḷ kaḻāy kayiṟṟilē ēṟi āṭukiṉṟa tāḷattiṉāl tāṉ āṟṟātu taḷarumāṟupōla taḷarum cāralaiyuṭaiya kuṉṟu.*
>
> "*paḻu miḷak$_u$ ukka pāṟai neṭum cuṉaimuḻu mutal kokkiṉ tīm kaṉi utirnt$_u$ eṉa*[4] — when, in a large pond, the sweet fruits of the mango tree that had a thick trunk fell on a rock where ripened pepper lies scattered...

[4] The text of the original poem is repeated here in Tamil before the gloss, which follows the em dash. The poem is not quoted in the original text of the commentary.

puḷ eṟi piracamōṭ$_u$ īṇṭ$_u$ i- palaviṉ nekiḻnt$_u$ uku naṟum paḻam viḷainta tēṟal — also with the fragrant fruits from which the oozing juice of the jackfruit spreads

nīr cett$_u$ ayiṉṟa tōkai — the peacock that consumed that juice thinking it to be water that is of access to it"

The rock, where the ripened pepper is scattered widely refers to the people who live in the village; the mountain spring, to the hero's family; the toddy formed as the result of the [mixing of] mango and jackfruit juices, to the hero; honey/toddy, to the deeds of previous fate/karma that unite them; the peacock, which drinks the toddy, to the heroine; the pleasure obtained from [drinking] the toddy, to the pleasure derived through the clandestine union and the inability of the peacock to dance, to the distress of the heroine."

Thus, he clearly describes *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*.

4. Explaining the use of the singular

In verse 101 of the *Mullaikkali* (the *Mullai* section in the *Kalittokai*) the cowherds celebrate *ēṟu taḻuval* (literally, 'embracing the bull'), which means that the man who tames bulls can marry the girl to whom they belong. The girl prays that her lover should be able to tame them. At this time, her left eyelid throbs, which is a good omen for women, and therefore, she is happy that her lover will be able to succeed. The following passage occurs in *Kalittokai* 101: 45–46.

வேளாண்மை செய்தன கண்

vēḷāṇmai ceytaṉa kaṇ

The eyes augured favourable [fortune].

ceytaṉa is a plural predicate and kaṇ means "eye." Although a lower class word with no plural marker can be taken as being singular or (unmarked) plural, here *kaṇ* is supposed to be singular, as only the throbbing of the left eyelid forebodes good. But here, the poet uses a

plural predicate for a subject in singular, which is an error according to the rules of grammar.

But Naccinārkkiniyar removes what seems to be a mistake thanks to his interpretation: he says that *vēḷāṇmai ceytaṉa* means "they augured favourable [fortune]," i.e. the right eyelid does not throb, which otherwise would be a bad omen, while the left one does. In this way both her eyes indicate a good omen, the one by throbbing and the other by not doing so. Therefore, kaṇ according to him is plural and thereby justifies the predicate *ceytaṉa*.

4. Explaining *Kalittokai* verse 51

Naccinārkkiniyar gives the *kūṟṟu* ("speech situation") based on the *Tolkāppiyam*: when the hero enters the house at meal time pretending to be an unknown visitor, hoping that he will not be sent away, then also the heroine will speak. This verse is in the form of the heroine's address to the maid. The hero visits the heroine's place under the pretext of being a thirsty traveller asking for water. When her mother sends her with water, he catches her by her wrist so that she shouts. And when her mother comes enquiring what had happened, the heroine says that he had hiccoughs. The mother then rubs his back gently in sympathy, and meanwhile the hero keeps smiling at the heroine.

சுடர்த்தொடீஇ கேளாய் தெருவினா மாடு
மணற்சிற்றில் காலிற் சிதையா வடைச்சிய
கோதை பரிந்து வரிப்பந்து கொண்டோடி
நோதக்க செய்யுஞ் சிறுபட்டி மேலோர்நாள்
அன்னையும் யானு மிருந்தேமா வில்லிரே
உண்ணுநீர் வேட்டே னெனவந்தாற் கன்னை
அடர்பொற் சிரகத்தால் வாக்கிச் சுடரிழாய்
உண்ணுநீ ரூட்டிவா வென்றா ளெனயானுந்
தன்னை யறியாது சென்றேன்மற் றென்னை
வளைமுன்கை பற்றி நலியத் தெருமந்திட்டு

அன்னா யிவனொருவன் செய்ததுகா ணென்றேனா
அன்னை யலறிப் படர்தரத் தன்னையான்
உண்ணுநீர் விக்கினா னென்றேனா வன்னையுந்
தன்னைப் புறம்பழித்து நீவமற் றென்னைக்
கடைக்கணாற் கொல்வான்போ னோக்கி நகைக்கூட்டஞ்
செய்தானக் கள்வன் மகன்.

cuṭar toṭīi kēḷāy teruviṉ nāmāṭum
maṇal ciṟṟil kāliṉ citaiyā aṭaicciya
kōtai parintu varipantu koṇṭ$_u$ōṭi
nō takka ceyyum ciṟupaṭṭi mēl ōrnāḷ
aṉṉaiyum yāṉumiruntēm ā illirē
uṇṇu nīr vēṭṭēṉ eṉa vantāṟk$_u$ aṉṉai
aṭar poṉ cirakattāl vākkic cuṭar iḷāy
uṇṇu nīr ūṭṭi vā eṉṟāḷ eṉa yāṉum
taṉṉai aṟiyātu ceṉṟēṉ maṟṟ$_u$ eṉṉai
vaḷai muṉkai paṟṟi naliyat terumantiṭṭu
aṉṉāy ivaṉ oruvaṉ ceytatu kāṇ eṉṟēṉ ā
aṉṉai alaṟip paṭar-tarat taṉṉai yāṉ
uṇṇu nīr vikkiṉāṉ eṉṟēṉ ā aṉṉaiyum
taṉṉaip puṟamp$_u$ aḷittu nīva maṟṟ$_u$ eṉṉaik
kaṭaikkaṇāl kolvāṉ pōl nōkki nakaik kūṭṭam
ceytāṉ a- kaḷvaṉ makaṉ.

[You with] glowing bangles, listen: in the street,
the little boy who did hurtful things [to us]:
putting to waste the little houses in the sand we were playing with,
coveting the garlands [we] wore, running [away] with [our] striped ball,
on a later day,
as mother and me were [only] the two of us, when mother said on account of him
who had come asking "O you in the house, I would want water to drink":

"You with glowing bangles, come, pouring drinking water
from the water pot into a sheeted gold(cup) [and] serve [it to him]!" I too,
not knowing him, went. Then again, when he tormented me,
gripping [my] bangled forearm, as in confusion
I said: "Mother, look what this one is doing!",
[and] when mother set out shouting, as I said to her:
"He has a hiccough from the drinking water" (TP 8.153n),
[and] when mother too destructively(?) stroked him on the back,
he on his part looked at me, as if to kill [me] with a side glance,
[and] made union by smiling, that thieving lad.

Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar refers to *cūttiram* TP 107n (3.16) of the *Tolkāppiyam*, which mentions the visit of the heroine to the trysting place in the hope of seeing the hero and which also says that the hero too wants to see the heroine and comes to her house during meal-time (when people will not be rejected).[5] Here he seizes her by the hand, and since she hides it from her mother, she also had the intention of meeting (i.e. uniting/making love) with him. So the maid who hears this will get the idea that the heroine is interested in uniting/making love with him. Therefore, concludes the commentator, this *kaliveṇpāṭṭu* (a verse in the Kali-metre) gives another meaning[6] also. The phrase *nōtakka ceyyum cir̲upaṭṭi*, "the little boy who did hurtful things [to us]" indicates their familiarity with each other and their belonging to the same place. The phrase *kaṭaikkaṇāl kolvān̲pōn̲*, "as if he would kill with his sidelong glance" indicates that the eye is attributed with the act of killing, which is a variety of *vin̲aiyuvamam* "comparison based on an action."

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[5] TP 107n.6f.: *pukāak kālaip pukku etirppaṭṭul̲ip / pakāa viruntin̲ pakutikkaṇṇum* ("When entering [and] meeting [her] at a time of not entering in the situation of a meal when no one is sent off.")

[6] *vēr̲u oru poruḷ nutalir̲r̲u* ("Another meaning was uttered").

Naccinārkkiniyar also says that the maid gets the *meyppāṭu niṉaittal*,[7] which is analytical thinking. Finally, while he explains the verse form of the poem, referring to the *Ceyyuḷiyal cūttiram* TP 8.183n of the *Tolkāppiyam*, he does so by using the word *iyal* given in the *cūttiram*. It is accepted that there can be poems exceeding 12 lines, and this one has 16 of them expressing another indirect meaning. Thus, his commentary gives meanings from all aspects.

6. Dealing with Synonyms

A poem should be brief with every word in direct relation to the thing it portrays or the emotion it conveys. Unnecessary words or repetitions only dilute the poetic essence. When a poet employs two or more synonyms in a poem he should do it for a specific purpose. As it becomes the duty of the commentator to find out this purpose and explain it, Naccinārkkiniyar often brings out the subtle nuances of meaning between apparent synonyms.

For instance, the synonyms for beauty employed in literary works are *aḻaku*, *kaviṉ*, *kōlam*, *nalam*, *takai*, *vaṉappu*, *aṇi*, *eḻil*, *ēr*, etc. The beauty of the divine ladies on the mountain is described by Nakkīrar in *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* 17 thus:

> கைபுனைந் தியற்றாக் கவின்பெறு வனப்பு
>
> *kaipuṉaintu iyaṟṟāk kaviṉ peṟu vaṉappu*
>
> "a beauty that obtains beauty without the hand adorning [and] effecting [it]"

The meaning of *kaviṉ* and *vaṉappu* is "beauty." In this context, Naccinārkkiniyar distinguishes the two words *kaviṉ* and *vaṉappu*, since, according to him, *kaviṉ* is "artificial beauty" whereas *vaṉappu* is "natural beauty."

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[7] "Physical manifestation of emotions."

In *Kalittokai* 49.19, the heroine, after her separation from the hero, is described as losing her beauty by the words *kavin vāṭa* ("so that the beauty faded"), which means that she has no artificial make-up or beauty.

There is another example in *Kalittokai* 40.8: *āy nutal aṇi kūntal* "choice forehead [and] adorned tresses," which Naccinārkkiniyar explains as referring to the beautiful forehead and beautified locks of hair (*aliya nutalinaiyum alaku peruttukinra kulalinaiyum aliya mūṅkil*).

Here is another example: *in tīm kiḷaviyāy*, "O you with pleasing, sweet speech," is a phrase which occurs in *Kalittokai* 24.3. Here two words denoting sweetness occur, viz. in and tīm. According to Naccinārkkiniyar, *in kiḷavi* refers to speech that is sweet after it is heard because of the effect it produces, and *tīmkiḷavi* is speech that is sweet at the time of hearing the news itself.[8] There are many such examples in *Kalittokai*.

Similarly, there are three words in *Kalittokai* verse 2 (lines 11, 15, 19) to express the absence of prosperity:

a) *tolaivu*, "loss," which implies an earlier prosperous stage that has disappeared leaving one in poverty: *tolaivāki irantōrkku onru īyāmai ilivu* (*kali* 2.11)[9] "the lowly state of not giving anything to beggars, after there having been loss"(?)

b) *inmai*, "destitution," which implies no such change but continuous poverty: *illena irantōrkku onru īyāmai ilivu* (*kali*. 2.13)[10]

c) *iṭam inmai*, "the absence of a place [to turn to]," which implies not absolute poverty but the state in which one is not in a position to maintain a family completely: *iṭaninri irantōrkku onru īyāmai ilivu* (kali. 2.15).[11]

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[8] Naccinārkkiniyar on *Kalittokai* 24.3: *in kiḷavi, pinpu kāriyattil iniya kiḷavi; tīm kiḷavi, kēṭṭakālattil iniya kiḷavi.*

[9] *munpu uṇṭāna poruḷkaḷellām koṭuttut tolainta pinpu illaiyāy.*

[10] *ekkālamum emakkup poruḷillaiyenru.*

[11] *tammuṭaiya ilvālkkaikku vēṇṭum poruḷillaiyenru.*

Thus, Naccinārkkiniyar explains the nuances of several words from the same semantic field which occur in the same context.

7. Dealing with homonyms

In the following lines of *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* 113–114, the same word is used by the poet twice:

> மலையவு நிலத்தவுஞ் சினையவுஞ் சுனையவும்
> வண்ண வண்ணத்த மலராய்பு...
>
> *malaiyavum nilattavum ciṉaiyavum cuṉaiyavum vaṇṇam vaṇṇatta malarāypu*
>
> ... choosing blossoms of various forms/colours
> from the mountains, from the ground, from branches and
> from mountain pools

Here Kapilar expands on the description of the flower garland worn by the hero: in line 113 he gives the place from where the flowers were taken, and in the next line, he describes the nature of the flowers which are in the garland. To express it, he uses the same word twice, i.e. *vaṇṇa vaṇṇatta malarāypu*. The meaning of *vaṇṇam* is colour. It looks like a mere repetition of the same word, but *vaṇṇam* has different meanings. Naccinārkkiniyar explains it thus: the first *vaṇṇam* means 'flowers of many colours,' and the second refers to many sorts of flowers.[12] Thus he explains that there are many sorts of multi-coloured flowers in the hero's garland.

8. Conclusion

We can thus see that Naccinārkkiniyar is an accomplished commentator, whose knowledge is palpable throughout much of his writing. He uses many methods available to him to elucidate a text that

[12] Naccinārkkiniyar on *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* 114: *palaniṟaṅkaḷaiyumuṭaiya malar*, *pala cātikaḷaiyumuṭaiya malar*.

he takes up for commenting, and bases his commentary on authoritative sources like the *Tolkāppiyam*.

While not all his explanations are acceptable (and some of them are far-fetched, as we have seen), his commentary is very useful in deciphering difficult passages, which is the most important function of a commentary.

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Codifying Beauty: on the Differences of Interpretation between traditional Commentators concerning the last Eight "Limbs of Poetry" (செய்யுள் உறுப்பு) in the *Ceyyuḷiyal* of the *Tolkāppiyam*[*]

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0. Introduction

This article will be devoted to a brief examination of a set of eight Tamil technical terms: *ammai*, *aḻaku*, *toṉmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaipu*, *pulaṉ*, *iḻaipu*, for which I am tempted to give as an approximate set of English equivalents: "prettiness, elegance, antiquity, shield, new-comer, agreement, clarity, reeling (as of a yarn)", for reasons which I hope will have become clear at the end of this article. Those eight terms appear at the end of an enumeration of 34 terms which is found in the first *sūtra* of the *Ceyyuḷiyal*.[1] They are later explained in eight successive *sūtra*-s (see chart 2) found at the end of that same *Ceyyuḷiyal* (henceforth TPcey) which is the penultimate chapter among the 27

[*] This text is the final written version of an oral communication which was originally presented at the "Seminar on the Grammar and Poetics of Sangam Literature and Tolkappiyam" organized in Thiruvarur on 18th- 20th March 2014 by Professor K. Nachimuthu at the Central University of Tamil Nadu [CUTN] (Thiruvarur, India). I wish to express here my thanks to Professor K. Nachimuthu and to all those who attended my oral presentation, in March 2014, and asked stimulating questions. I also wish to express here my thanks to Giovanni Ciotti (CSMC, Hamburg), to my wife Eva Wilden (formerly EFEO and now University of Hamburg), to Suganya Anandakichenin (NETamil) and to Victor D'Avella (NETamil) for reading a preliminary version of this written version and making important suggestions. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers who read my article very carefully and helped me to improve it. All errors are of course mine.

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

chapters (or *iyal*-s) of the *Tolkāppiyam* (henceforth T),[2] an ancient Tamil treatise, probably dating back to the first half of the first millennium. The T was meant to characterize both the Tamil language and its literature, and contains 1595 *sūtra*-s,[3] when read accompanied by the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar (generally[4] considered to belong to the 11th century), which is the most ancient preserved commentary on the T and the only one covering the whole text.[5] Inside that commentary, the TPcey is divided into 235 *sūtra*-s, numbered TP 310i to TP 544i, and this can be contrasted with the fact that inside the commentaries of Pērāciriyar and Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar, who seem to belong respectively to the 13th and 14th centuries, the TPcey is divided into 243 *sūtra*-s, because eight of the textual entities which Iḷampūraṇar considers as *sūtra*-s have been split into two by Pērāciriyar,[6] whom

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[2] The T contains three books: *Eḻuttu* (TE), *Col* (TC) and *Poruḷ* (TP), each of them containing 9 *iyal*-s. The *Ceyyuḷiyal* is the 8th *iyal* of the TP.

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

[4] See Zvelebil (1995) for a summary of arguments.

[5] With the age of modern editing, however, which can be said to start in 1847, as far as the T is concerned, a new form of "conflated" texts has progressively appeared, in which the count of *sūtra*-s is not based on a single traditional commentary, but on the personal "eclectic" choice of a modern editor, evaluating the (sometimes) contradictory readings of ancient commentators. This is seen for instance in the 1996 T edition which will be referred to here as TMPV (see bibliography), in which we have a count of 1614 *sūtra*-s. Global numberings of T *sūtra*-s in this article are based on that TMPV edition, because of its being used in the 2000 *Index Verborum* referred to here as IVT (see bibliography).

[6] Pērāciriyar has commented on chapters 24 to 27 of the T, and inside the editions of the T with his commentary, the TPcey *sūtra*-s are numbered from TP 313p to TP 555p. The TMPV edition (mentioned in the previous footnote) agrees five times with Pērāciriyar and three times with Iḷampūraṇar, and contains therefore 240 *sūtra*-s. The first *sūtra* which is split by Pērāciriyar is Iḷampūraṇar's TP 313i**/T 1266** (containing three lines), which corresponds to TP 316p (two lines) and TP 317p (one line). The seven other "split *sūtra*-s" are: TP 349i (vs. TP 353p**/T 1302** and TP 354p**/T 1303**); TP 361i**/T 1315** (vs. TP 366p and TP 367p); TP 378i (vs. TP 384p**/T 1332** and TP 385p**/T 1333**); TP 441i (vs. TP 448p**/T 1396** and TP 449p**/T 1397**); TP 446i (vs.

Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar follows.[7] In addition to those differences in splitting, there are also differences in the interpretation of those *sūtra*-s (see section 4), and even in their reading, as we shall see (in sections 2 and 3) when examining the text of the eight *sūtra*-s devoted to the set *ammai*, *al̲aku*, ..., among which only ONE *sūtra* seems to have exactly the same wording in all three commentaries, namely the second one (TP 537i, alias TP 548p, alias TPcey 236n), for which see 6a/6b. We can often characterize the readings offered by Pērāciriyar as the result of an act of reinterpretative tampering with the original text. In that respect, an instance of significant modification of the original text done by him (and going beyond "editing") is seen in the first *sūtra* of the group, namely TP 547p, which has one more line than the corresponding *sūtra* in *Iḷampūraṇam* (i.e. TP 536i). That additional line (see 5b in section 2) contains the significant term *van̲appu* "beauty," which is placed here as a virtual hyperonym (or global designation) for all the eight terms in the set {*ammai*, *al̲aku*, ...}. This is not an innovation by Pērāciriyar, but rather a sign of the fact that he accepts, or ratifies, an existing point of view, already attested by the presence of the term *van̲appu* (as part of an enumeration) in the fifth metrical foot of line 3 in the 43rd *kārikai* of the *Yāpparuṅkalak Kārikai* (henceforth YK), a metrical compendium, which seems to belong to the late 10th c. That terse mention is expanded in the YK commentary, which might belong to the 11th c. and which states:

(1) *van̲appu eṭṭu vakaippaṭum. ammai al̲aku ton̲mai tōl viruntu iyaipu pulan̲ il̲aipu en̲a.*
Van̲appu ("beauty") is subdivided into eight, namely: *ammai*, *al̲aku*, *ton̲mai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaipu*, *pulan̲* and *il̲aipu* (YK 43[8])

TP 454p/**T 1402** and TP 455p/**T 1403**); TP 457i/**T 1414** (vs. TP 466p and TP 467p); TP 484i (vs. TP 494p/**T 1441** and TP 495p/**T 1442**).

[7] We have Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar's commentary for only part of the T, namely chapters 1 to 23 and chapter 26 (alias TPcey). Because of that discontinuity, references to his reading of the TPcey are numbered from TPcey 1n to TPcey 243n.

[8] UVS (1968: 180).

This is followed by an exposition of the topic containing (a) the YK commentator's own explanation of the eight technical terms, (b) the eight *Tolkāppiyam sūtra*-s, cited as authorities,[9] (c) illustrations taken from existing literature, whenever deemed possible (see Chart 6 in section 4). The same phenomenon is also seen in the *Yāpparuṅkalam* (henceforth YA) and its commentary, the *Yāpparuṅkala virutti* (henceforth YV), which are probably slightly more ancient than the YK.[10] We see indeed in the fifth line of the *sūtra* YA-95, the expression "*ammai mutaliya āyiru nāṉmaiyum*,"[11] an expression to which I shall come back in the concluding section, and for which the immediate commentary is:

(2) *ammai mutalākiya eṭṭu yāppalaṅkāramum*
The eight ornaments/embellishments (*alaṅkāram*) of a metrical composition (*yāppu*), that start with *ammai*[12]

This is followed later in the commentary by a five-page exposition[13] of the topic, which contains the same fields (a), (b) and (c), already evoked for the YK commentary. A practical consequence is that a complete study of the textual variation seen in the eight T *sūtra*-s should be based on what appears as five independent textual sources, namely the TPi, YV, YK_com (i.e. commentary on YK), TPp and TPn, enumerated here in an order which is not chronological but logical, because it seems unlikely that the 11th cent. commentator Iḷampūraṇar based his reading of the *Tolkāppiyam* on the 10th–11th cent. YV. However, before examining the eight *sūtra*-s (in section 2), it appears necessary to start (in section 1) with a historical examination of the Tamil vocabulary for

[9] The form of the *sūtra*-s cited mostly fits the form found in Iḷampūraṇar's commentary.
[10] The YK, which is attributed to the same author, Amitacākarar, seems to have first existed as a compendium or as an abridgement of the YA and was originally called *Yāpparuṅkalap Puṟaṉaṭai*. See Chevillard (2011: 139) and Chevillard (2013: 242, n. 5) for more details.
[11] YV (1998: 397).
[12] YV (1998: 397).
[13] YV (1998: 418–422).

beauty, all the more since Modern Tamil partly stands as an obstacle for a clear perception: for instance, what was a less frequent term (*aḻaku*) has become today a common term, used by everyone, and what was a frequent term (*vaṉappu*) has become a rare literary term. Both of these terms have been extracted from a rather extensive set of quasi-synonyms, painstakingly enumerated by traditional Tamil *kōśa*-s, which we shall explore briefly in section 1, and again in section 5. But before diving into that short lexicographic *excursus*, we should also mention that the term *alaṅkāram* ("embellishment /ornamentation"), seen in (2), can remind us that our set of "Eight beauties" is, for Tamil technical literature, part of the prehistory of what will become *Aṇiyilakkaṇam* ("*alaṅkāra śāstra*, poetics/rhetoric, ..."), where it stands in the company of other components such as the *Uvamaviyal* (25th chapter of the TP), the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* (24th chapter of the TP) and also the sub-section of the *Ceyyuḷiyal* that is devoted to the 26th "limb" of poetry, namely *vaṇṇam*. This *vaṇṇam* sub-section (comprising 22 *sūtra*-s, from TP 513i to TP 535i) is located just before the section devoted to the set {*ammai*, *aḻaku*, ...} which is our current topic. Space does not permit me to do full justice here to every topic, but it is necessary to mention that the current presentation must be viewed as part of a wider "work in progress" toward acquiring a global perspective.

1. The Tamil vocabulary for "beauty"

I shall start here with an examination of six *sūtra*-s taken from two traditional Tamil thesauri (alias *nikaṇṭu*-s, or *kōśa*-s), in order to exemplify the difficulties that one faces while trying to keep a historical perspective in the study of Classical texts, i.e. of texts which have somehow become part of a timeless and perfect "truth/reality" for the human beings who approach them. What is notoriously difficult to cope with is the notion of "quasi-synonymy,"[14] which is the first organizing principle of those thesauri and is pertinent for roughly 80% of their

[14] See Chevillard (2010) for a discussion of Tamil thesauri.

sūtra-s,[15] along with a second principle, "polysemy/homophony" (no distinction being made between the two), which is pertinent for 15% of their *sūtra*-s, i.e. for the greatest part of their final section.[16] The two oldest thesauri for Tamil are the *Tivākaram* and the *Piṅkalam*, dated by some in the first and the second halves of the 9th cent., respectively.[17] I shall illustrate quasi-synonymy here by means of three verses from the *Tivākaram*, found inside its 8th section, the *Paṇpu paṟṟiya peyart tokuti* ("Collection of nouns concerning 'quality' (*paṇpu*)"). Those verses read (in sandhi-split form):

(3a) *ēr*, *vaṉappu*, *eḷil*, *yāṇar*, *māmai*, *taiyal*, // *kārikai*, *tōṭṭi*, *kaviṉē*, *viṭaṅkam*, // *vāmam*, *vakuppu*, *oppu*, *mañcu*, *poṟpu*, // *kāmar*, *aṇi ivai kaṭṭaḷaku ākum*

[The 17 words] *ēr*, *vaṉappu*, [...], *kāmar* and *aṇi*, are [synonymous with] *kaṭṭaḷaku* (*Tivākaram*, 1397)[18]

(3b) *naviyē*, *antam*, *mai*, *pū*, *pai*, *polam*, // *tivi*, *oṇ*, *māṇpu*, *patam*, *aḷaku eṉpar*

They say that [the 10 words] *navi*, *antam*, [...], *māṇpu* and *patam*, are [synonymous with] *aḷaku* (*Tivākaram*, 1398)[19]

(3c) *vicittiram pēraḷaku*

[The word] *vicittiram* [is] great *aḷaku*" (*Tivākaram*, 1399)[20]

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

[16] The remaining 5% in the inventory corresponds to a third type of *sūtra*-s, in which groups are enumerated, such as "the **three** fires", "the **nine** gems", etc. In the *Tivākaram*, those are found in the 12th chapter.

[17] This is of course very problematic. Zvelebil (1993: 562, 702) summarizes some of the debates.

[18] cf. TIV (1990: 461).

[19] cf. TIV (1990: 461).

[20] cf. TIV (1990: 462).

It would probably be difficult to translate such statements.[21] Before we try to understand what the difference between *kaṭṭaḻaku* and *aḻaku* is, which a modern Tamil dictionary[22] explains as "shapeliness" and as "beauty," respectively, it seems however appropriate to first provide the corresponding three verses from the *Piṅkalam*, found inside the *mey-vakai* subsection of its 7th chapter, the *Paṇpiṟceyaliṉ pakutivakai*, which are:

(4a) *ēr-um vaṉapp-um eḻil-um irāmam-um // kārikai-y-um mā-v-um ammai-y-um kaviṉ-um // ceḻumai-y-um pantam-um tēcikam-um nōkk-um // aṇi-y-um aṇaṅk-um i-yāṇar-um pāṇi-y-u(m) // mātar-u(m) māḻai-y-um cāyal-um vakupp-um // vaṇṇam-um vaḷam-um pū-v-um poṟp-um // cēṭ-um poṉ-ṉ-um cittiram-umpattiram-um // māmai-y-um taḷimam-u(m) mayam-u(m) mañc-u(m) // mataṉ-um pāṅk-um am-m-um cokk-um // cuntaram-um tōṭṭi-y-um ai-y-um opp-um // antam-um oṇmai-y-um viṭaṅkam-um amalam-um kuḻar-um kōlam-um vāmam-um kānti-y-um aḻakiṉ peyar alaṅkāram-um ākum*

[The 48 words] *ēr*, *vaṉappu*, [...], *vāmam* and *kānti* are the names of *aḻaku*, and [they also mean] *alaṅkāram*.[23]

(4b) *kommai-y-u(m) maṉōkaram-um cāru-v-um kūṟupa*

[They also mention [the 3 words] *kommai*, *maṉōkaram* and *cāru*[24]

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

[22] Cre-A (2008: 314, 74)

[23] *Piṅkalam* 1941 (PI [1968: 270])

[24] *Piṅkalam* 1942 (PI [1968: 271])

(4c) *cittira(m) maṉōkaram cuntaram kaṭṭaḻaku* "[The 3 words] *cittiram*, *maṉōkaram* and *cuntaram*, are [synonymous with] *kaṭṭaḻaku*"[25]

It is impossible within this short presentation to deal satisfactorily with so many items, although being aware of the order of magnitude of the task is important. I shall concentrate on those items which concern our core topic. Chart 1 separates the 66 distinct items into two main columns: those which are attested (according to **IVT**[26]) inside the *Tolkāppiyam* (on the right) and those which are not (on the left). Additionally, inside each column, a distinction is made between those items which are common to the *Tivākaram* (3a-3c) and the *Piṅkalam* (4a–4c) groups, and those items which are found in only one of them. Finally, inside the *Tolkāppiyam* column, a distinction is made (by means of cell-splitting) between the items (in sub-cells A, B, D and F) which fall under "beauty" (in a broad sense) and the items (in sub-cells C, E and G) which are not relevant for the current discussion.

66 items: (3a–3c) & (4a–4c) vocabulary	30 items found (as per IVT) in the *Tolkāppiyam* (location as per TMPV)	36 items not found in the *Tolkāppiyam*
4 head words	**(A)***aḻaku* (T 1263:11, T 1495:2)	**(H)***alaṅkāram*, *kaṭṭaḻaku*, *pēraḻaku*
17 items common to *Tivākaram* (3a–3c) and to *Piṅkalam* (4a–4c)	**(B)***aṇi* (T 1097:32, T 1211:2),[27] *eḻil* (1196:2), *ēr* (1196:2), *oppu* (T 1196, etc.), *kaviṉ* (T 865), *poṟpu* (T 819:1, T 985:2), *yāṇar* (T 863), *vaṉappu* (T 862 + Pērā[T 1494])	**(I)***kārikai*, *tōṭṭi*, *mañcu*, *māmai*, *vakuppu*,

[25] *Piṅkalam* 1943 (PI [1968: 271])

[26] *Index Verborum* for the *Tolkāppiyam* prepared by Nākarācaṉ and Viṣṇukumāraṉ (2000).

[27] These are attestations for the 3rd meaning (*aṇikalaṉ*) distinguished by Nākaracaṉ and Viṣṇukumāraṉ. The two other meanings distinguished by them (in T 237 and T 1096: 28) are not relevant here.

	(C) *antam*,[28] *pū* [29]	*vāmam*, *viṭaṅkam*
11 items specific to *Tivākaram*	**(D)** *oṇ* (T 997:4, T 1452:1), *kāmar* (T 1097:8), *māṇpu* (T 1102:4, T 1609:1)	**(J)** *tivi*, *taiyal*, *navi*, *patam*, *pai*, *polam*, *vicittiram*
	(E) *mai* [30]	
34 items specific to *Piṅkalam*	**(F)** *ammai* (T 1263:11, T 1494:2), *ai* (T 869),[31] *oṇmai* (1604:4), *cāyal* (T 809, T 1097, T 1196), *cittiram* (T 1472:6, T 1481:1), *ceḻumai* (T 836), *nōkku*,[32] *pāṅku* (T 1028), *vaṇṇam*,[33] *vaḷam* (T 1040:5)[34]	**(K)** *amalam*, *irāmam*, *kānti*, *kuḻaru*, *kommai*, *kōlam*, *cāru*,

[28] Inside the *Tolkāppiyam*, *antam* is used for referring to the ending of words (cf. T 488:4). The meaning "beauty" (*aḻaku*) is listed inside VMTIP (p. 102) as the 9th meaning of *antam* (among 25 meaning) with a citation taken from *Tēvāram* 2:66_(5): *ācai keṭuppatu nīṟu; antam-atu āvatu nīṟu.* If we examine the translation provided by V.M. Subramanya Aiyar (see Digital Tēvāram) for this double statement ("Sacred ash destroys desires [to all who have done great penance]" and "Sacred ash grants bliss which is the ultimate goal of human beings") we can imagine why the compilers of the VMTIP thought this might be an appropriate justification for the presence of *antam* inside the list of words meaning "beauty" (or for the presence of "beauty" among the meanings of *antam*), although the link might appear to many as cryptic.

[29] The item "*pū*" seems to be used in the T only for referring to a "flower" (*malar*). See IVT.

[30] IVT mentions two meanings for *mai*, which are: *mēkam* "cloud" (T 952:2) and *kuṟṟam* "fault" (T 1067:2). The first one possibly evokes another designation for the cloud, i.e. *eḻili* "the beautiful one".

[31] There are of course many more occurrences of *ai* in the T. See IVT (2000: 99) The occurrence in T869 corresponds to the meaning *viyappu* "astonishment."

[32] IVT enumerates four meanings for *nōkku*: 1. *karuttu* (T 578:3); 2. *kaṇpārvai* (T 579:1); 3. the tenth limb of poetry (T 1263:4 and T 1364:2); 4. particle of comparison (T 1236:2). It is unclear to me whether those meanings are relevant here.

[33] Since the item *vaṇṇam* has too many occurrences in the T, it cannot possibly be examined here.

[34] The variant "*vaḷaṉ*" is found in T 788:1, T 836:1 and T 1040:14 (to contrast with *vaḷam* in T 1040:5?).

	(G)*aṇaṅku*,[35] *am*,[36] *poṉ*,[37] *mā*,[38] *mātar*[39]	*cuntaram*, *cēṭu*, *cokku*, *taḷimam*, *tēcikam*, *pattiram*, *pantam*, *pāṇi*, *mataṉ*, *mayam*, *maṉōkaram*, *māḷai*

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

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

2. *Ammai*, *aḷaku* and the other "styles"

We are now moving closer to examining the eight core items presented in the introduction, namely *ammai*, *aḷaku*, *toṉmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaipu*, *pulaṉ*, *iḷaipu*, which are, as already said, the **final** elements in an enumeration of 34 items found in the first *sūtra* of TPcey, where they are preceded by 26 **initial** "limbs of poetry" (*ceyyuḷ-uṟuppu*). A preliminary remark is that only two of these terms, namely *ammai* and

[35] The item found in T 1205:1 (meaning "*pēy*", according to IVT) is probably not relevant here.

[36] Unlike in the Sangam (Caṅkam) corpus, all the occurrences of *am* inside the T seem to pertain to the *ammuc cāriyai*, which is an "empty morph," frequently seen in the designations of parts of plants, as in *puḷiyampaḷam* ("tamarind fruit"). See Chevillard (2010b).

[37] The item *poṉ* "gold" is mentioned in T 357 because of a (poetical) sandhi rule which declares it to also have the form *polam* (which is also found in our chart, in the right column, penultimate row).

[38] Not relevant here. See IVT (2000: 267–268).

[39] According to IVT, the occurrences of *mātar* in T seem to have two possible meanings: "*kātal*" (in T 812:1 and T 1097:31) and "*peṇṭir*" (in T 1452:1).

aḻaku, are present in chart 1 (inside cells A and F) contrary to what we might have expected on the basis of the statement (1) in section 0, which places the eight terms inside the field of *vaṉappu* "beauty." An additional remark is that two of the 26 (initial) "limbs of poetry," namely *vaṇṇam* and *nōkku*, are also seen in chart 1 inside cell F. We might also further remark that the item *kānti* in cell K of Chart 1, from Sanskrit *kānti* ("loveliness" [alias *kāntam*]), also belongs to the technical domain which we are examining, because it is the name of one of the 10 *guṇa*-s (or more precisely *pattu *āvi*) enumerated in verse 148 of the *Vīracōḻiyam* (henceforth VC), a verse which would be a logical place for continuing the T investigation[40] conducted here. Before going deeper in the examination, however, I shall provide for easy reference, in chart form (see chart 2), the locations of the eight definition *sūtra*-s, inside the T commentaries and the commentaries to YA and YK. Those are as follows:

	TPi (Iḷampūra-ṇar)	TPp (Pērāciriyar)	TPn (Naccinārk-kiniyar)	TMPV[41]	Commentary to YA 95, line 5 (YV_1998)	Comm. to YA 43 (UVS ed.)[42]
ammai	TP 536i	TP 547p	TPcey 235	T 1494	p. 418	p. 180
aḻaku	TP 537i	TP 548p	TPcey 236	T 1495	p. 418-419	p. 181
toṉmai	TP 538i	TP 549p	TPcey 237	T 1496	p. 419	p. 181
tōl	TP 539i	TP 550p	TPcey 238	T 1497	p. 419-420	p. 182
viruntu	TP 540i	TP 551p	TPcey 239	T 1498	p. 420	p. 182

[40] That investigation (which must be reserved for another article) would conduct us to a reading of the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin (and specifically of KĀ 1.41), on which the fifth section of the VC is based (as explicitly stated in VC 149). It would also be the occasion for us to explore the 17th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NŚ), where the 10 *guṇa*-s appear. See Gosh (2007 [XVII]: 96–106).

[41] The numbering given in this column refers to the continuous *sūtra* numbers given in the 1996 TMPV edition. In the small one-volume edition by Ca.Vē. Cuppiramaṇiyaṉ (2008), the numbering for those eight *sūtra*-s goes from T 1491 to T 1498.

[42] In Pālrāj (2007), the page references are respectively: p. 283, pp. 283–284, p. 284, pp. 284–285, p. 285, p. 285, pp. 285–286 and pp. 286–289.

iyaipu	TP 541i	TP 552p	TPcey 240	T 1499	p. 420	p. 183
pulaṉ	TP 542i	TP 553p	TPcey 241	T 1500	p. 420-421	p. 183
iḻaipu	TP 543i	TP 554p	TPcey 242	T 1501	p. 421-422	p. 184

Chart 2: *Sūtra* locations for the Eight "*vaṉappu*-s," alias "*yāppalaṅkāram*-s"

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

- ***a**mmai* and ***aḻ**aku* [alliteration]
- ***toṉ**mai* and ***tōl*** [alliteration]
- ***iyai**pu* and ***iḻai**pu* [alliteration]
- *viruntu* and *toṉmai* [simple semantic contrast]

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

(5a) *cil% mel% moḻiyāṉ* ***cīr puṉaintu^ yāppiṉ***[43] *// ammai tāṉ-ē ~aṭi nimirvu* iṉṟu* -ē* (TP 536i/YV)[44]

(5b) *vaṉappu* iyal* ^tāṉ -ē vakukkum^ kālai+ // cil% mel% moḻiyāṉ+* ***^tāya paṉuvalōṭu**** *// ammai tāṉ-ē ~aṭi nimirvu* iṉṟu* -ē* (TP 547p)

Before attempting a translation (which will be provided a little later, in 5c and 5d), I shall first start by examining the vocabulary of these two fragments of text, paying due attention to the common elements and to the differences. The core statement in both version contains a subject *ammai tāṉ-ē* and a predicate *aṭi nimirvu* iṉṟu* -ē*. The statement predicated is the absence (*iṉṟu* = "there-is-no") of *aṭi nimirvu* in the "[style called] *ammai*," if we take as a temporary working hypothesis the global interpretation that {*ammai*, *aḻaku*, *toṉmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaipu*, *pulaṉ*, *iḻaipu*} are the designations of eight possible "styles."[45] Concerning *aṭi nimirvu*, where *aṭi* is "metrical line" and *nimirvu* is "out-stretching," all commentators seem to agree that it concerns the number of lines, which is modest in the case of *ammai*. This is the contrary of the (fourth) style, called *tōl*, which has *aṭi nimirntu* ("out-stretched [in terms of] metrical lines") in one of its two possible characterization, as we shall see later (cf. 8a and 8b). It should be added that the opposition is probably not binary, and that we possibly have three options:

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[43] YV: 1c and 1d: *cīritu nuvaliṉ*.

[44] The meaning of the diacritics ("%" for nasalization, "^" for assimilation, "*" for elision, "~" for glides, "+" for *mikutal* and for *valittalvikāram*, etc.) used in the splitting of the sandhi for this citation (and others) is explained in detail in Chevillard (1996: 18–19). In this particular case, the underlying (metrically split) text for which the diacritical marks provide a phonetically reversible interpretation is: *ciṉmeṉ moḻiyāṉ cīrpuṉain tiyāppi // ṉammai tāṉē yaṭinimir viṉṟē*.

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

aṭi nimirvu iṉṟu*	*ammai*	short
aṭi nimirntu	*tōl*-**A** [type 1]	long
not specified	other styles	normal length

Chart-3: (Polarity-1) *aṭi-nimirtal* ("line-[count]-outstretching"[46])

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

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

Finally, these discordant segments are preceded by a noun phrase *cil% mel% moḻiyāṉ* (in the instrumental) and by an unmarked noun *cīr*, which are common to both commentators. The head noun *moḻi* ("word") of the noun phrase is specified by two adjectives *cil* ("few") and *mel* ("soft"). The noun phrase (*cil% mel% moḻiyāṉ*) in the instrumental points to the material cause ("by using a few soft words") and the unmarked noun *cīr* ("metrical foot") points to the result of the action of poetical composition: words are transformed/plaited into those regular elements called metrical feet. The net result is that we can now translate Iḷampūraṇar's *sūtra*, previously given in (5a), as:

[46] That parameter is also used in TP 452i, which deals with *koccaka v-oru-pōku* (a sub-group in the description of the *kali* metres), and in TP 484i, which is the last inside a group of three *sūtra*-s dealing with *paṇṇatti*, for which an alternate designation is *aṭi nimir kiḷavi*.

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

In order to translate (5b), we must however deal with one more line, namely *vaṉappu* iyal* ^tāṉ -ē vakukkum^ kālai.* The central expression is here *vaṉappu* iyal*, which seems intended as the designation of a (miniature/ embryonic) sub-section, and looks like a Tamilized form of *alaṅkāra-śāstra*[47] ("science of [literary] ornamentation"). While reading Pērāciriyar's commentary for this *sūtra*, it appears that, unlike Iḷampūraṇar who always gives as examples "individual verses" (*taṉic ceyyuḷ*), as we shall see later in chart 6 (section 4), Pērāciriyar thinks that the final 8 "limbs of poetry" are different from the initial 26 "limbs" because they are applicable to a type of poetry called *toṭarnilaicceyyuḷ* ("compositions by sequence"), in which many individual verses follow each other.[48] That sequential type possesses sub-types, named by him, and *tāya paṉuval* ("intermittent threaded-discourse") is one of them.[49] Coming back to the question of defining *ammai*, the point which must be grasped in Pērāciriyar's perspective is that the absence of "line-[count]-outstretching" now applies to the individual components of the *tāya paṉuval*, and not to the *tāya paṉuval* as a whole. This is my justification for translating thus:

(5d) When one establishes sub-divisions pertaining to the science of ornaments/beauty, along with [the other characteristics of an] intermittent threaded-discourse, [whose elementary constituents are made] by means of a few soft words, the [style called] *ammai*, is without line-[count]-outstretching. (translation of 5b)[50]

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

[48] Ganesh Iyer, who edited Pērāciriyar's commentary in 1943 thinks that this is problematic because there is no definition of *toṭarnilaic ceyyuḷ* in the T. See his remarks in p. 203 (n. 1) and p. 612 (n. 2).

[49] While commenting on the following *sūtra* (TP 548p), Pērāciriyar will mention another sub-type, called *tokainilaic ceyyuḷ* "anthology."

[50] According to Pērāciriyar, this applies to each of the eighteen minor anthologies. See Chart 6.

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

(6a/6b) *ceyyuḷ% moḻiyāṉ+ cīr puṉaintu^ yāppiṉ // av vakai tāṉ -ē ~aḻaku* eṉappaṭum -ē* (TP 537i/TP 548p/YV)

There is however a difference in the interpretation because Pērāciriyar uses the presence of the words "*avvakai*" on line 2 for justifying his interpretation that this applies to anthologies (*tokainilaic ceyyuḷ*).[51] As far as the other elements are concerned, the only difference with the characterization of *ammai* comes from the presence of *ceyyuḷ% moḻi* ("poetical words"), which probably indicates that the whole range of the four types of possible words is used, for which the details were given in TC 391i.[52] Possible translations are therefore:

(6c) A subdivision, in the composition of which one plaits [all possible] poetical words into metrical feet, is fit to be called *aḻaku*. (translation of 6a)

(6d) Those subdivisions [accumulated in anthologies], in the composition of which one plaits [all possible] poetical words into metrical feet, are fit to be called *aḻaku*. (translation of 6b)

A possible counterpart to the *aḻaku* style-element, if we anticipate what is to come, is the *pulaṉ* style-element/Polarity_2, which is the seventh in the list and for which I shall provide twin translations in (11cd), because of the difference of reading between Iḷampūraṇar and Pērāciriyar. That provides us with two possible charts:

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[51] This seems to show that Pērāciriyar's classificatory system is not identical with the one seen in the *Vīracōḻiyam*, where VC 178 distinguishes *muttakam*, *kuḷakam*, *tokai nilai* and *kāppiyam*. A more detailed comparison is of course required.

[52] Those four types of words are: *iyaṟcol* "natural words", *tiricol* (lit. "metamorphosed words"), *ticaiccol* "regional words" and *vaṭacol* "Northern words." Interestingly, the word-for-word commentary by Pērāciriyar (as seen in the 1943 edition by Ganesh Iyer) starts with "*tiricol payilātu* ...," with a footnote (by the editor) suggesting an emendation to "*tericol payilātu* ...". That emendation is incorporated in the main text of the 2003 (*Tamiḻ maṇ patippakam*) edition.

ceyyuḷ% moḻiyāṉ	*aḻaku*	sophisticated vocabulary
terinta moḻiyāṉ	*pulaṉ*-1 (Iḷam.)	normally understandable vocabulary

Chart-4a (Polarity-2): "choice of words" [as per Iḷampūraṇar]

ceyyuḷ% moḻiyāṉ	*aḻaku*	sophisticated vocabulary
cēri moḻiyāṉ	*pulaṉ*-2 (Pērā.)	popular vocabulary

Chart-4b (Polarity-2): "choice of words" [as per Pērāciriyar]

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

3. From *toṉmai* to *iḻaipu*

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

(7a) *toṉmai tāṉ -ē* ***collum^ kālai*** *// ~uraiyoṭu puṇarnta* ***paḻaimai*** *mēṟṟu* -ē* (TP 538i/YV[53])

(7b) *toṉmai tāṉ -ē // ~uraiyoṭu puṇarnta* ***paḻamai*** *mēṟṟu* -ē* (TP 549p)

The designation itself, *toṉmai* ("antiquity"), is semantically transparent, referring to old narrations, if we are to believe the commentators, who seem to be unanimous in saying that *toṉmai* is exemplified by (re)-tellings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*irāma caritam*), of the *Mahābhārata* (*pāṇṭava caritam*), or of other ancient stories (cf. Chart 6). In addition to that indication of content, there is however the presence of a more formal element, because of the presence of the word *urai*,

[53] *toṉmai tāṉ -ē // ~uraiyoṭu puṇarnta paḻaimai mēṟṟu* -ē.*

which seems to point to the use of prose. My translations for 7a and 7b are as follows:

(7c) When telling about "antiquity" (*toṉmai*), [let it be] about "ancient story" (*paḻaimai*) and combined[54] with "prose-telling" (*urai*).

(7d) The "antiquity" (*toṉmai*), [is] about "ancient story" (*paḻamai*) and combined with "prose-telling" (*urai*).

Based on that, we might hesitate between two possible polarities in which to include the style-element *toṉmai*, one being based on the subject matter,[55] which will most directly contrast it with the style-element *viruntu*, still to be examined (see, *infra*, 9a and 9b), and the second one being based on a formal criterion. I summarize those polar oppositions in the charts (5a) and (5b):

paḻaimai mēṟṟu	*toṉmai*	re-telling of antique stories
putuvatu puṉainta yāppiṉ OR *putuvatu kiḷanta yāppiṉ*	*viruntu*	new topic
viḻumiyatu nuvaliṉum	*tōḷ*-A	sublime topic

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

uraiyoṭu puṇarnta	*toṉmai*	combined with prose
	all the other style-elements	pure verse

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

[54] This can be compared with the quadruple characterization of *urai* in TP 475i, which is provided because of the fact that *urai* is one of the seven subdivisions (more precisely *eḻu nilam* "seven *loci*") of poetical composition (see TP 384i).

[55] The concern for the subject matter also applies to *tōḷ*-A.

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

(8a) *iḻumeṉ moḻiyāṉ viḻumiyatu nuvaliṉum // paranta moḻiyāṉ aṭi nimirntu* oḻukiṉum // tōl eṉa moḻipa tol% ^**neṟi**+ pulavar* (TP 539i)

(8b) *iḻumeṉ moḻiyāṉ viḻumiyatu nuvaliṉum // paranta moḻiyāṉ aṭi nimirntu* oḻukiṉum // tōl eṉa moḻipa tol% **moḻi**+ pulavar* (TP 550p/YV)

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

- In the first case, the subject matter which is expounded/ uttered/desired (*nuvalutal*) will be "sublime" (*viḻumiyatu*) and the words (*moḻi*) used will have the quality of "being sweet/ mellifluous" (*iḻum-eṉal*).
- In the second case, there will be a flowing (*oḻukutal*) characterized by (metrical)-line-outstretching (*aṭi-nimirtal*) [caused] by spreading words (*paranta moḻi*).

When it comes to proposing an illustration, however, there are striking differences between the two commentators because Iḷampūraṇar is satisfied with giving individual poems as examples (see Chart 6)

whereas Pērāciriyar expects more complex compositions, belonging to a type which he calls *poruṭoṭarnilai* (= *poruḷ* ^*toṭar nilai*, "semantically sequential"),[56] the difference between (A) and (B) being explained by him as having to do with metre (see Chart 6). My translation will not try to go to that level of over-interpretation. It is as follows:

(8cd) **(A)** Whether one desires to expound a sublime topic with mellifluous words, or **(B)** whether there is a regular flow, outstretching line [after line], because of spreading words, scholars/poets of the ancient path (OR poets/scholars whose words are ancient) call that *tōl* ("shield").[57]

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

(9a) *viruntu* -ē tāṉ -um // putuvatu* ***puṉainta*** *yāppiṉ mēṟṟē* (TP 540i/YV)

(9b) *viruntu* -ē tāṉ -um // putuvatu* ***kiḷanta*** *yāppiṉ mēṟṟē* (TP 551p)

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

Three more items remain to be examined, among which the first and the last will be cryptic, and the middle one has been partly elucidated. What makes the first one cryptic (for an outsider) is that it presupposes a familiarity with the TE (*Eḻuttatikāram*), first book of the T, where we are told in *sūtra* TE 78i that the only possible consonants in word-final position are ñ, ṇ, n, m, ṉ, y, r, l, v, ḻ and ḷ. If we put that list (where

[56] Such a category is seen in the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (henceforth TA), where TA 2 enumerates four subdivisions for *ceyyuḷ* (*muttakam*, *kuḷakam*, *tokainilai* and *toṭarnilai*), the fourth one (*toṭarnilai* ["sequential"]) being further subdivided (in TA 6) into two: "semantically sequential poetry" (*poruṭoṭarnilaic ceyyuḷ*) and "sequential poetry with word-link" (*coṟṟoṭarnilaic ceyyuḷ*).

[57] See my justification given in section 5.

nasals stand together) in the normal Tamil alphabetical order, we can rewrite it as: ñ, ṇ, n, m, y, r, l, v, ḻ, ḷ and ṉ. That will make it clear why the variant reading chosen by Pērāciriyar (see 10b) does not differ in meaning from the reading preferred by Iḷampūraṇar.

(10a) ***ñakāram**** *mutalā* ***ṉakāram**** *~īṟṟu+ // puḷḷi ~iṟuti ~iyaipu** eṉappaṭum –ē* (TP 541i)

(10b) ***ñakārai*** *mutalā* ***ḷakārai*** *~īṟṟu+ // puḷḷi ~iṟuti ~iyaipu* eṉappaṭum –ē* (TP 552p/YV)

(10cd) That which has for its final (*iṟuti*) a dot-marked (vowel-less consonant) [from the list having] *ñ* as first and *ṉ* [10a] (OR *ḷ* [10b]) as last is fit to be called *iyaipu* "agreement"

This is of course very cryptic but I shall wait until section 5 for providing a possible explanation. We now examine the penultimate item, *pulaṉ*,[58] already evoked, with its two variant readings (see chart 4a and 4b, *supra*). The *sūtra* is, in its two forms:

(11a) ***terinta*** *moḻiyāṉ+ cevvitiṉ+ kiḷantu // tērtal vēṇṭātu kuṟittatu tōṉṟiṉ+ // pulaṉ eṉa moḻipa pulaṉ uṇarntōr –ē* (TP 542i/YV)

(11b) ***cēri*** *moḻiyāṉ+ cevvitiṉ+ kiḷantu // tērtal vēṇṭātu kuṟittatu tōṉṟiṉ+ // pulaṉ eṉa moḻipa pulaṉ uṇarntōr –ē* (TP 553p)

As already explained, while discussing *aḻaku*, the difference in wording between Iḷampūraṇar and Pērāciriyar is possibly consequential, because saying *terinta moḻiyāṉ* simply means that one will avoid deliberate ambiguity (which would result from the use of certain categories of "poetical words"),[59] whereas the use of *cēri-moḻi* seems to draw the

[58] It should be added that the designation *pulaṉ* has also been chosen in VC 148 as the Tamil equivalent for Sanskrit *prasāda*, second of the ten *guṇa*-s. The (later) *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, however, does not use *pulaṉ* but *teḷivu*. See verse 17.

[59] They are the *tiricol*-s ("recherché words"), as per my translation in Chevillard (2009: n. 6). They are defined in TC 393i, and have already been mentioned here in footnote 52.

expression towards a more popular "village style."[60] A possible translation (including a variant) would be:

(11cd) If one speaks directly (*cevvitiṉ*) by means of unambiguous words (*terinta moḻi*) [11a] {{var. by means of words from the *cēri* "hamlet" [11b]}}, so that without choosing (*tērtal*) [between several possible meanings] what was intended (*kuṟittatu*) appears [in the mind], they call it *pulaṉ* ("clear perception"), those who have understood clarity (*pulaṉ uṇarntōr*).

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

(12a) *oṟṟoṭu puṇarnta valleḻuttu* aṭaṅkātu // kuṟaḷaṭi mutalā ~aintu* aṭi oppittu* // ōṅkiya moḻiyāṉ* ***āṅku avaṇ moḻiyiṉ*** *// iḻaipiṉ ilakkaṇam iyaintatu* ākum* (TP 543i)

(12b) *oṟṟoṭu puṇarnta valleḻuttu* aṭaṅkātu*[61] *// kuṟaḷaṭi mutalā ~aintu* aṭi oppittu* // ōṅkiya moḻiyāṉ* ***āṅkaṉam oḻukiṉ*** *// iḻaipiṉ ilakkaṇam iyaintatu* ākum*[62] (TP 554p)

(12c/d) If, without including plosive consonants in combination with vowel-less single consonants,[63] equalling/fitting/ comparing/ aligning [one's mental recitation span][64] successively with [the

[60] The words *cēri* has of course many meanings (see for instance the discussion of the expression *pārppaṉac cēri* by Cēṉāvaraiyar under TC 49c) but I cannot elaborate on that here.

[61] YV: 1d = *aṭakkātu*.

[62] YV: 4c and 4d: *iyaittatu* ākum*.

[63] That seems to exclude the use of (harsh?) clusters such as *kk, cc, ṭṭ, ...* (and possibly *ṅk, ñc, ...*), but also *ṭk, ṟk*, "*ṭc*," "*ṟc*," ...

[64] This seems to describe some type of *prastāra*, such as what is practiced by Indian musicians, or, closer to European notions, something similar to the practice of "change ringing" described in the novel *The Nine Tailors* by Dorothy L. Sayers.

> patterns of] the five types of metrical lines,[65] one expresses thus oneself (*moḻiyiṉ*)[66] by means of lofty words (*ōṅkiya moḻiyāṉ*), that is in agreement (*iyaintatu*) with the grammar/characterisation (*ilakkaṇam*) of the [style-element called] *iḻaipu* ("to be reeled, as a yarn") [MTL325: *iḻai-tal*].

4. How styles (or genres) are illustrated

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

- Citation (apparently complete)[67]
- Incomplete citation (giving only the incipit)
- (Conventional/Traditional) Name of a composition (Poem, Complex composition, Anthology, Super-Anthology)

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[65] Since *sūtra* TP 357i mentions that there are 625 possible patterns (cf. Chevillard [2013]), it is not excluded that what is hinted at (or prescribed?) here is a free-style improvisation exercise of the *prastāra* type (similar to what musicians who do *tāḷap prastāra* do). The standard example (starting with "*pērntu ceṉṟu* ..." or with "*pōntu pōntu* ...") is probably just that: an elementary example.

[66] The Pērāciriyar variant is *oḻukiṉ* ("if [the word-flow] flows").

[67] I have not verified whether these were made "complete" by the editor.

- Named Topic[68]
- Mention of an author
- Description, giving specific details
- Absence of real answer

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

	TPi (Iḷampūraṇar and YV and YK_com)[69]	TPp (all of Pērāciriyar's examples are from "sequential poetry")	TPn (Naccinārkkiniyar)
ammai	CITAT: "*aṟiviṉāṉ* [...]" (*Kuṟaḷ* 315)	NAME: "*patineṇ kīḻkkaṇakku*," "*kār nāṟpatu*, *kaḷavaḻi nāṟpatu mutalāyiṉa*." CITAT: "*poruḷkaruvi* [...]" (*kuṟaḷ* 675) CITAT: "*malarkāṇiṉ* [...]" (*kuṟaḷ* 1112)	Similar to TPp [but discusses *ācārak kōvai* because of length]

[68] It is possibly an exaggeration to distinguish this case from the preceding one: see the line "*toṉmai*" in the column TPi for an example.

[69] I do not reproduce in this chart the illustrations provided by the YV and the commentary to YK, because they are almost always identical with the ones seen in TPi. There are occasionally differences in wording, such as in the case of *toṉmai*, for which we have a wording with more precise titles: "*pāratamum*, *irāmāyaṇamum*."

aḻaku	CITAT: "*tuṇiyirum parappakam* [...]" ((7 lines))[70]	NAME: "*neṭuntokai mutalāyiṉa tokaiyeṭṭu*" AUTHOR: "*iṭaicaṅkattārum kaṭaiccaṅkattārum*"	Similar to TPp
toṉmai	NAMED_TOPIC: "*irāmacaritamum, pāṇṭava caritamum mutalākiyavaṟriṉ mēl varuñ ceyyuḷ*"	AUTHOR + NAME: "*Peruntēvaṉārāṟ pāṭappaṭṭa pāratamum,*" NAME: "*takaṭūr yāttiraiyum*"	Similar to TPp (ADDITIONAL NAME "***cilappatikāram***"
tōl-A	CITAT: "*pāyirum parappakam* [...]" ((8 lines)) (*Mārkkaṇṭēyaṉār kāñci*)	DESCRIPTION: "*koccakak kaliyāṉum āciriyattāṉum ceyyap paṭuvaṉa*"[71]	DESCRIPTION[72] +NAME: "***cintāmaṇi*** *mutaliyaṉa*"
tōl-B	INCIPIT: "*tirumaḻai talaiiya iruḷniṟa vicumpu*" + NAME: "*Kūttarāṟṟuppaṭai*"		
viruntu	DESCRIPTION (without examples but with remark on meter)	NAME: "*muttoḷḷāyiramum,*" AUTHOR+NAME: "*poykaiyār mutalāyiṉōr ceyta* ***antātic ceyyuḷ****um*"	Partly similar to TPp: "*muttoḷḷāyiramum, piṉṉuḷḷār pāṭṭiyaṉ marapiṟ kūṟiya* ***kalampakac ceyyuḷ***"
iyaipu	NO_EXAMPLE: "*Vantavaḻik kāṇka*"	AUTHOR+NAME (twice): "*cīttalaic cāttaṉārāṟ ceyyappaṭṭa maṇimēkalaiyum koṅkuvēḷirāṟ ceyyappaṭṭa* ***toṭarnilaic ceyyuḷ****um pōlvaṉa*"	Partly similar to TPp: "*... maṇimēkalaiyum, utayaṇaṉ kataiyum*" "*ikkālattār kūṟum* ***antātic coṟṟoṭar****uṅ koḷka*"

[70] Interestingly, this poem follows consistently the metrical constraint called *āciriyat taḷai*. This is quite infrequent.

[71] Pērāciriyar seems to say that specific examples are not available (unlike Naccinārkkiniyar).

[72] It is impossible to summarize the discussion. I simply mention the additional name.

pulaṉ	CITAT: "*pāṟkaṭal mukanta* [...]" ((8 lines))	NAME+DESCRIPTION: "*viḷakkattār kūttu mutalākiya* ***nāṭakac ceyyuḷākiyaveṇṭuṟaic ceyyuḷ*** *pōlvaṉa*"	Partly similar to TPp: "*viḷakkattār kūttu mutaliya* ***veṇṭuṟaic ceyyuḷ***"
iḷaipu	CITAT: "*pērntu pērntu* [...]" ((19 lines))	NAME+DESCRIPTION: "*kaliyum paripāṭalum pōlum* ***icaippāṭṭākiya centuṟai mārkkattaṉa***"	Partly similar to TPp[73] REJECTS the inclusion of "*miṟaikkavi*" under this *sūtra*.

Chart 6: literary illustrations provided by commentators

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

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

- **first-category** *sūtra*-s ("quasi-synonymy") found in chapters 1 to 10
- **second-category** *sūtra* ("polysemy/homophony") found in chapter 11

I have already provided in (3a–3c) and in (4a–4c) the text of six **first category** *sūtra*-s extracted from the *Tivākaram* and from the *Piṅkalam*. I intend, in the present section to briefly illustrate how

[73] The discussion is too complex to be summarized here.

"polysemy/homophony" is handled, taking as an example the item *tōl* and its treatment inside the *Tivākaram*, which can be summarized by stating that:

- *tōl* appears in the first-category *sūtra* Tiv-527, where it is the head-word for 10 items, whose common trait is that they can all be used (at least occasionally) to point towards a semantic field which would be expressed in English by such words as "skin, leather, hide [of an animal], etc."[74]
- *tōl* appears in the first-category *sūtra* Tiv-414, under the head-word *yāṉai* "elephant", as one among 38 items.[75]
- *tōl* appears in the first-category *sūtra* Tiv-1177, under the head-word *kēṭakam* "shield", (unless *palakai* should be considered as the head-word) as one among 5 items.[76]
- *tōl* appears in the first-category *sūtra* Tiv-1179, under the head-word *paricai* "shield," as one among 3 items.[77]
- *tōl* appears in the second-category *sūtra* Tiv-1923, where it is the head-word for 3 items {*tōṟ-palakai*, *yāṉai*, *vaṉappu*}[78]

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

---

[74] *vaṭakam*, *kiruttimam*, *carumam*, *tuvakku*, // *paccai*, *puṟaṇi*, *urivai*, *uri*, *ataḷ*, // *(otta) turuttiyoṭu*, *pattum* ***tōlē***. (Tiv-527).

[75] *tumpi*, *kaṭivai*, *pukarmukam*, *tōl*, *kari* // *[...]* // *piṟavam paḷaikkaiyōṭu* ***yāṉaip peyar****ē* (Tiv-414). The natural interpretation seems to be that there are cases in literature where "skin" means "elephant skin."

[76] *cēṭakam*, *vaṭṭam*, *tōlē*, *vētikai* // *kēṭakam*, ***palakai*** *ām eṉak kiḷappar* (Tiv-1177).

[77] *tōṟparam*, *tōṟpalakai*, *tōlē*, ***paricai*** (Tiv-1179).

[78] *tōlē yāṉaiyum vaṉappum tōṟpa lakaiyum* (Tiv-1923).

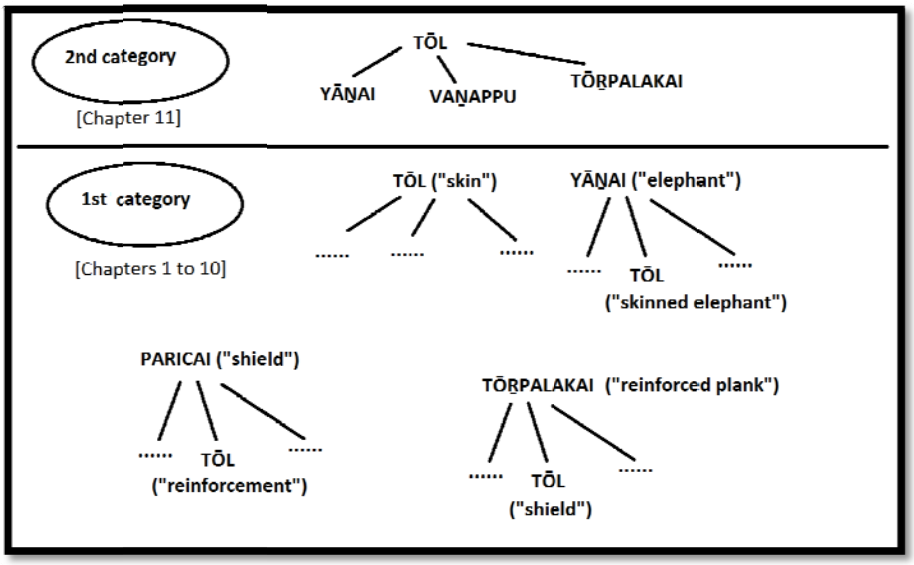

Figure 1

In short, the "ordinary" meaning of *tōl* is "skin" (as visible in Tiv-527), but the word has also been used in some stories (possibly connected with Śiva) for referring to the skin of an elephant. It is also used for referring to two types of shield (as seen in Tiv-1177 and Tiv-1179), for reasons which are probably rather obvious. The **second-category** *sūtra* Tiv-1923 is useful for a student who is not yet familiar with this variety of uses, which it summarizes. To these usages is added a more abstract usage, when the *sūtra* Tiv-1923 states that *tōl* is also the name of a *vaṉappu* ("[rhetorical] embellishment"). It seems to me that it is easier to imagine that a rhetorical device is metaphorically called "shield" (rather than "skin"). It should also be noted that the word *tōl* (meaning "shield") appears prominently in one of the themes of *Puṟattiṇai*, falling under the *tiṇai* called *uḷiñai*. That theme, called *Tōliṉ perukkam* is the 4th item listed in TP 67n (Ganesh Iyer [1948: 199; 202]), and it also appears in *Puṟapporuḷ veṇpā mālai* (PPVM 106), both in the section title (*tōluḷiñai*) and in the illustrative verses (*koḷu* and *veṇpā*). All this is certainly sufficient reason for the term to have been

selected as the name of one of the most complex "style-element," without looking for other reasons.[79]

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

We have now reached the final section of this article and it is time to summarize and to ask a few more questions concerning the exact nature of the items {*ammai*, *aḻaku*, *toṉmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaipu*, *pulaṉ*, *iḻaipu*} and the role which they play in the global economy of the *Ceyyuḷ-iyal*, in addition to the 26 initial limbs of poetry. What is the difference between them and the others?[80] If we consider that theories grow by accretion, we are probably justified in perceiving this group of 8 as the most recently incorporated element, the preceding one being *vaṇṇam*, which, although it appears as a single item, is in reality the global name for 20 distinct items.[81] However, since no collective name such as *vaṉappu* was coined for {*ammai*, *aḻaku*, *toṉmai*, *tōl*, *viruntu*, *iyaipu*, *pulaṉ*, *iḻaipu*} until a later period, the count of the limbs of poetry went thanks to them from 26 to 34 and not from 26 to 27.

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

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

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

---

[79] Ca. Pālacuntaram (1991: 179) gives as etymology: *toṉmait taṉmaiyuṭaiyatu tōl. atu koḷ-kōḷ varutal pōṉṟatu* ("That which has the property of *toṉmai* is called *tōl*. That [word-derivation by lengthening] is like [what is seen between] [the root] *koḷ* [and the verbal noun] *kōḷ*). Such an etymological explanation seems unnecessary.

[80] As was explained in section 2, Pērāciriyar has his own theory on the difference.

[81] These 20 items were even expanded into 100 by some, as pointed out by the commentator to TP 535i, but that is a different matter.

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

We could hesitate between two groups of four and four pairs of polarities, remembering the oppositions which we evoked in chart 3, charts 4a/4b and charts 5a/5b. We also have the alliterative oppositions which we evoked first in section 2. It is not really clear whether we have an insufficient number of binary oppositions or too big a number. And we might also wonder whether some riddle is hidden in the word-play between *iyaipu* and *iḻaipu*, touching upon something of the nature of a *śabdālaṅkāram*. If *iḻaipu* is meant to evoke the “reeling of a yarn,” the **inside** making of a beautifully-textured cloth/garment/ornament (*iḻai*) and if *iyaipu*, a frequent term in the T,[82] is meant to evoke the **external** connecting of the various elements of a patchwork, then another polarity may be present in the couple *iḻaipu/ iyaipu*.

Do I believe in the interpretations reproduced in the section 4? Probably not, especially those proposed by Pērāciriyar. It does not look like an efficient system of classification. A count of eight is clearly not enough. The *Pāṭṭiyal* system,[83] as it was progressively constructed, was more efficient, with its capacity to distinguish almost one hundred sub-genres.

If those eight elements are not the names of “genres” (or sub-genres), what are they? The reader will have seen me hesitating during the course of that presentation, using sometimes the expression “style” and sometimes the expression “style-element.” Do we have eight

[82] *Iyaipu* is the name of “final rhyme” (TP 401i), one of the four basic *toṭai*-s, after *etukai* and *mōṉai*, and *muraṇ*. But it also **iconically** gives its name to the *iyaipu-vaṇṇam*, in TP 518i, which is characterized by the presence of a great number of *iṭaiyeḻuttu*., such as *y*, *ḷ* and others.

[83] See the five treatises mentioned in Chevillard (2014: 163–164).

styles? Do we have two virtual/tendential styles represented by a collection of four mostly (non-binary) polarities? The vagueness of the system (which we might be tempted to call "still-born") seems to point to a period preceding Daṇḍin (and his two emblematic styles). This small system looks like the germ (or beginning) of an answer to questions which people were asking themselves at that time (without having that convenient word, "style," by which we can get rid of the question, before even answering it). That group of eight *sūtra*-s (TP 536i–543i) was, perhaps, simply **a self-referent literary exercise in literature theory**, a "mise en abîme."

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Akanāṉūṟu paḻaiyavurai : The Subtle Growth of a Commentary[1]

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uḷḷil arthattil iḷiya vēṇṭātē padaṅkaḷ cērnta cērttikaḷ pārkkavum vēṇṭātē, itu tāṉē ākarṣakamāyirukkiṟa tamiḻtoṭai pattum vallār ... perumāḷ tiruvaṭikaḷiṉ kīḻē anubhāvikka ... peṟuvarkaḷ.

"Those who master the whole decade of the Tamil garland, which is attractive by itself, without there being a need to descend into [its] inner meanings and without there being a need even to see the combinations that joined the words together, ... will get to enjoy [staying] under the sacred feet of Perumāḷ." (Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai on Kulacēkara Āḻvār's *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 1.11)

1. Introduction

The Tamil learned traditions gave rise to three basic types of commentary: literary, theoretical and theological. The first among them, believed to have first occurred by the end of the first millennium, are the theoretical commentaries from the domain of *ilakkaṇam* (grammar and poetics).[2] Literary and theological ones follow in the subsequent centuries. All appear to share a basic inventory of strategies and phrases most of which have counterparts in the wider Indian commentarial tradition.[3] Another typology is based on authorship; a commentary may be anonymous or have an author known by name.

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[1] In addition to the ongoing general discussions in the wider NETamil group, this article profited from close reading on the part of G. Vijayavenugopal, Victor D'Avella and Suganya Anandakichenin, for which I am grateful.

[2] For tables of the commentarial works from all the domains, see Lehmann (2009: 68f.); note that the anonymous commentaries for all the *Kīḻkkāṇakku* works are missing there.

[3] For the Sanskrit share in the basic terminology, see Wilden (2009: 48).

The present article shall deal with an early example for an anonymous literary commentary, the *paḻaiyavurai* on the *Akanāṉūṟu* (AN).

The current genetic model for this type is that comments as given by the teacher were gradually written down in the form of glosses and explanations from roughly the 12th century onwards, gradually accumulating and culminating in commentaries attributed to a specific author such as Naccinārkkiniyar in the 14th and 15th centuries. It is unclear how the chronology of such a model could be verified on the basis of palm-leaf manuscripts that do not exceed 300 years of age. Commentaries believed to be early are rare; for the *Caṅkam* corpus there are only four, namely, besides the one on AN KV-90, those on *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 1–266, on the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* and on the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. Whether the lot of anonymous commentaries on most of the 18 *Kīḻkaṇakku* (except for the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the *Nālaṭiyār*, which also have commentaries by specific authors) are as old is an open question. Scholarly interest in understanding the development has been meagre. While the early editions include them, most of the 20th-century Tamil scholars have been engaged in writing new, more elaborate and detailed commentaries on the whole corpus. This is all the more surprising since it is the glosses from the old anonymous commentaries on which many of our dictionary entries are based. The one on the AN has not been reprinted since the complete edition of Irākavaiyaṅkār/Kōpalāryaṉ in 1933.

Before going into the details it seems worth pointing out that the attitude of commentators is very different in the different domains. While grammatical commentaries were, in the first place, interested in grammar as a system and theological commentaries were motivated by the wish to elucidate the mythological background and to explore the salvific implications—as is vividly expressed in the quotation from Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai given above—the interest of the literary commentaries was, in the first place, to understand semantics and syntax, that is, both the meaning of the words and the way they are linked, although they were also often concerned with poetic figures, such as the *uḷḷuṟai* ("inset").

In the wake of my work on the critical edition of the AN I have also taken up the commentary. Three palm-leaf manuscripts are available, all from the UVSL, all looking old (which might, however, simply mean, neglected), none of them dated. UVSL 394 contains, on pp. 1–4,[4] glosses to random words from AN 3–155; from page 6 onwards it switches to glosses on the *Cintāmaṇi*. UVSL 292 begins on p. 1[5] with a commentary on AN 4 and ends on p. 20 with a commentary on AN 170. Since it is difficult to decipher and the quality of the images is not very good, it has not been transcribed yet, but it is evidently impossible to cover all the intervening poems within 21 pages. The third manuscript is UVSL 297 and this is clearly the basis for the *paḻaiyavurai* edited by Irākavaiyaṅkār. The secondary pagination with Arabic numbers is erroneous; it begins with two pages (~ 1 folio) on a different kind of leaf, younger in appearance, containing an incomplete word list of unclear origin and function, named *itaṉurai akarāti*, "alphabetical index of the commentary on this," on the title folio. Then the commentary on the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* and on AN 1+2 is found on p. 53f., while the end of the commentary on AN 2 up to the first part on AN 7 takes up pp. 51f. and 55f.; pp. 1–48 begin with the commentary on AN 7.12 and end with the colophon:

> நெடுந்தொகை ‡‡‡[தொ]ண்ணூறு பாட்டுக்குரை யெழுதி முடிந்தது≡
> உவீ ஸஹாயதீ≡

The colophon shows unequivocally that the commentary was meant to end with AN 90; if ever it covered more poems or even the whole text, the losses cannot have been recent—by script and outward appearance, as well as on the basis of a comparison with the representative of the second transmissional strand of the AN itself, which is dated to 1725, the manuscript may be judged to date back to the early 18th century.

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[4] I am not following here the old foliation which is in many places hard to decipher, but the secondary pagination undergone by so many palm-leaf manuscripts that have been part of an editing process.

[5] I use the abbreviation "p." for pages with those palm-leave manuscripts which have a pagination in Arabic numerals (often secondarily added by the first generation of editors and/or librarians).

2. The Edition of the Commentary

When the *paḻaiyavurai* was edited by Irākavaiyaṅkār (RK)—the *Kaḷiṟṟiyāṉainirai* (the first part of the AN) with the old commentary was first published in 1918—the manuscript must have been in a better condition; many half-leaves and pieces of margin have broken away since, leaving gaps compared to the text as it was printed. Despite a number of variations between the manuscript and the printed text, there is no conclusive reason to believe that the editor had further manuscript material at his disposal:[6]

- the ca. 15 lacunae indicated by RK with three dots [...] are places where the manuscript is perfectly legible but appears to reproduce incomplete or incoherent phrases.
- deviations between RK and the manuscripts can either be explained as corrections (for example, of a root text quotation that does not agree with its gloss) or as normalisations (such as *vēṇṭum* for *vēṇum*).
- the remarkably high share of Sanskrit words used for glossing or employed in the explanations were written in Grantha script in the manuscript and appear Tamilised in RK.

This was not an easy text to edit: the root text is not quoted in its totality, only the single words or phrases that are glossed, and even those sometimes are simply paraphrased without exact quotation. Irākavaiyaṅkār made the line grid referring back to the root text that allowed him to place a gloss within the poem. There is a fair number of cases where he follows a reading suggested by this manuscript over all other readings attested. But he also tampered with the wording, re-arranged the order, and altered readings when it suited him, sometimes based on the gloss itself which seemed to demand a

[6] A separate edition of the commentary, highlighting the differences between the manuscript and Irākavaiyaṅkār's edition and following as far as ever possible the former, is found in volume III of the critical edition Wilden (2018).

different *mūlam*, sometimes with no reason apparent to me, always without a note or argument.

The structure of the commentary itself is simple. It mostly, but not invariably begins with the first one or two metrical feet (*cīr*) of a poem, a feature deleted by the editor since in his printed version the commentary follows each poem. The length of the commentary, then, is extremely variable; it ranges from 4 to 46 lines (as counted in RK). The length is not directly related to poem length, which is between 12 and 31 lines per poem. Then follow glosses, usually preceded by a quotation from the root text, or paraphrases, usually not preceded by a quotation from the root text, just as is known, for example, from Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary on the *Kalittokai*, or, for that matter, from the early neo-commentaries such as the one by Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar on the *Naṟṟiṇai*. In between there may be suggestions concerning the syntactical links. The end is the place for poetic interpretations, either of speech situation and sub-theme or of *uḷḷuṟai* and *iṟaicci* ("indirect meaning"). Throughout the commentary alternative possibilities for semantics, construction and interpretation are discussed, grammatical and poetic explanations testify to thorough familiarity with a broad range of *ilakkaṇam* literature; there is an established phrasal inventory used to refer to certain phenomena. In order to be able to make use of the commentary the reader of the manuscript had to know the poem by heart, thus suggesting a period of composition when the *Caṅkam* texts were still part of a repertoire at the fingertips of scholars and/or poets. The modern reader has to use, and partly to improve upon, the line grid provided by the editor—this may be one reason why this commentary was not reprinted but dropped as soon as modern commentaries were available.

3. Types of Glosses

To start with the glosses, we may distinguish two basic types, namely lexical and morpho-syntactic glosses, the latter more conveniently called paraphrases. These simply add case suffixes, replace, say, archaic

verb endings by standard ones and eventually give longer grammatical explanations. They may be regarded as the germs of the full paraphrase which becomes the standard first part in modern commentaries and is seen, for example, in Parimēlaḻakar's commentary on the *Kuṟaḷ*.[7] In fact it is not easy to draw an exact line between a **gloss** and a **paraphrase**. We might consider calling a **gloss** only a comment with a punctual interest, an interest regarding the meaning of a word or a phrase in a given context in the root text. In the manuscript under scrutiny such a gloss is most often represented by a word (or phrase) pair consisting of a quote from the root text plus a lexical equivalent. A **paraphrase** is a concatenation of glosses and rather adds case suffixes to the words from the root text; word forms are changed and words are put into a sequence that does not necessarily correspond to that of the root text—the interest is in the relation of a word with other words, i.e., on syntax. Syntax, then, clearly is regarded by commentators on two different levels, namely the connections at the level of the line, i.e. horizontal syntax, and the connections between the different part of the poems, i.e. vertical syntax. The first level is dealt with by paraphrases. The latter is of particular salience in long poems like those of the AN where 30 lines may easily be covered by a single sentence. A separate strategy for dealing with this problem has been developed in the tradition, something I would like to call a **syntactic graph**, to be taken up in section 5.

The lexical glosses fall into two groups, namely standard glosses for words that are current and glosses for rare words. Standard glosses may give a synonym to indicate which one from the range of possible meanings of a word is to be activated in the context of the poem. A more extreme case of the same procedure is a synonym that is meant to serve as the disambiguation of homophones. Also morpho-syntactic glosses, as the building blocks of paraphrases, fall into the range of a

[7] For the theoretical texts this appears to have been standard from the earliest examples, that is, Nakkīraṉ on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* and Iḷampūraṇar on the *Tolkāppiyam*.

standard gloss. Significant glosses may simply give a semantic equivalent of a rare word, an identification of a plant, an animal, a proper noun or a place. This may entail further explanation, for example with respect to the cultural, historical or mythological background.

standard glosses	**significant glosses**
semantic synonym	meaning of a rare word
disambiguation of homophone	identification of plant/animal
morpho-syntactical gloss	identification of proper noun (place, person)
	cultural background
	historical background
	mythological background

a. Standard Glosses

a.1 Semantic synonym

Semantic synonyms tend to be one-to-one correspondences identical in word class and form. These glosses are highly selective and some poems, even long ones, receive no more than half a dozen. It is not always clear why a gloss would be needed, but often the gloss narrows the semantic range so as to be appropriate to the context. *aḻuvam*, for example, may refer to the intertwined thicket of a jungle or to a surface of moving water such as the sea, as is evoked by the gloss *parappu.* If a verb form is not glossed for its inflection but just for its lexical meaning the quotation form is the verbal noun in -*tal*; if the gloss is following a syntactic structure, the verb form of the root text may also be kept.

noun to noun: 9.8 ***iyavu*** – *vaḻi*, "way"

20.1 ***aḻuvam*** – *parappu*, "expanse"

adverb to adverb: 7.3 ***yāṅkaṇum*** – *evviṭattum*, "everywhere"

verb to verb:	4.4 ***teṟi**ttal* – *tuḷḷutal*, "to hop"
inf. to inf.:	8.16 ***putaiya*** – *maṟaiya*, "to be hidden"
pey. to *pey.*:	12.9 ***ūṉṟiya*** – *nāṭṭiya*, "that is set up"

The correspondence need not be one to one, but one word may be glossed by several or several words may be glossed by one, and phrases may be glossed by phrases:

one to one:	1.17 ***cūral*** – *cuḻittu aṭittal*, "to whirl [and] increase"
three to one:	0.5 ***mū-vāy vēl*** "three-mouthed spear" – *cūlam*, "trident"
phrase to phrase:	2.7 ***vī aṭukkam*** – *pūp paṭukkai*, "flower garden"
	4.12 ***kuṟum poṟai*** – *ciṟu malai*, "small height"

The correspondence may also be merely dependent on the context:

noun to phrase:	4.5 ***pulampu*** – *nīr peṟāta varuttam*, "suffering from not getting water"
	8.6 ***ēṟṟai*** – *puliyēṟu*, "male of the tiger"

Remarkable is the fact that a considerable share of noun-to-noun glosses give Sanskrit equivalents for Tamil words. The manuscript spells them fully in Grantha letters up to the Grantha final -*m*, except for those simple words that would "only" demand Grantha voiced consonants, thus testifying to the fact that the majority of them was still perceived as loans, even if many of them had become frequent in the post-*Caṅkam* period. RK, however, uses only the standard extensions of the Tamil alphabet (*ś*, *ṣ*, *s* and *h*), but Tamilises the rest. The full list seems be worth quoting (the full list of Sanskrit loans in the commentary is given in Appendix 4):[8]

[8] It is true that a number of these words by the time of the commentator have been loan words for so long that they might have been perceived as ordinary Tamil words, also the more since, if we regard the Tamil *nikaṇṭu*-s, such as the *Tivākaram*

32.18 ***iṟai*** – *cantu*, < *sandhi-* "joint"

84.5 ***ēmam*** – *rakṣai*, < *rakṣā-* "protection"

54.4 ***ōvam*** – *cittiram*, < *citra-* "image"

57.11 ***katir*** – *kiraṇam*, < *kiraṇa-* "ray"

86.6 ***kōḷ*** – *aśubhagraham*, "inauspicious planets"

72.8 ***cūr*** – *payam*, < *bhaya-* "fear"

61.3 ***tāḷ*** – *utsāham*, < *utsāha-* "effort"

53.2 ***tikiri*** – *ātittiyaṉ*, < āditya- "sun"

48.24 ***tēem*** – *tikku*, < *diś-* "direction"

86.14 ***naṉ-maṇam*** – *kalyāṇam*, < *kalyāṇa-* "marriage"

56.15 ***nōkki*** – *vicārittu*, < *vicār-* "inquiring"

58.12 ***paṇpu*** – *kuṇam*, < *guṇa-* "quality"

39.10 ***pāyal*** – *cayaṉam*, < *śayana-* "bed"

77.8 ***poṟi*** – *ilaicciṉai*, < *lāñchana-* "seal"

31.4 ***maṭital*** – *marittal*, < *mṛ* "to die"

82.8 ***maruṭal*** – *āccaryappaṭutal*, < *āścarya-* + *paṭutal* "to experience wonder"

62.6 ***maṟai*** – *rahasyam*, < *rahasya-* "secret"

KV.5 ***mūvāy vēl*** – *cūlam*, < *śūla-* "trident"

73.13 ***vaya-māṉ*** – *siṃham*, < *siṃha-* "lion"

4.6 ***vāṉam*** – *mēkam*, < *megha-* "cloud"

47.4 ***vilaṅku*** – *pakkam*, < *pakṣa-* "wing"

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and the *Piṅkalam*, about half of their vocabulary appears to be of Sanskrit origin. But the fact that the scribe uses Grantha script quite copiously shows that he at least perceived a difference between the languages, even if he may have mastered both. Any opinion as to the degree of amalgamation of the two will have to be postponed to a time when more manuscript evidence for semantic glosses will have been brought together and when the relation between the lexicographical and the exegetical tradition will have been explored at least in its outlines.

There is a single case where a Tamil word is explained as a Sanskrit derivation, testifying to the fact that a distinction between the two languages was still perceived although their lexicon mixed rather freely.

22.5 ***paṭiyōr*** – *piratiyōr eṉṉum vaṭamoḻit tirivu*
"a Sanskrit derivation that means opponents"

What puzzles here is that the derivation is not convincing because there is no obvious Sanskrit counterpart. While it is possible to analyse *paṭi-y-ōr* as a pronominal noun based on the indeclinable Skt. *prati*, "against," there is nevertheless a perfectly satisfactory Tamil etymology, namely as a negative verbal noun of *paṭital*, "to settle," i.e. "those who do not settle (in peace)."

a.2. Disambiguation of homophones

An important function of semantic glosses in a highly elaborate poetic language is the disambiguation of actual homophones, in which Tamil is rich already without Sanskrit and which later on will be multiplied by Tamilised Sanskrit words falling together in Tamil:

10.2 ***mīṉ*** – *vāṉa mīṉ*, "the *mīṉ* of the sky" ~ "star," not "fish"

4.4 ***kār*** – *paruvam*, "season" ~ "rainy season," not "cloud"

14.9 ***mēyal*** – *uṇavu*, "food" ~ "pasture," not "grazing" (abstract, not action noun)

5.21 ***pāvai*** – *kaṇṇiṉ pāvai*, "the *pāvai* of the eye" ~ "pupil," not "doll"

16.3 ***maṇi*** – *pavaḷam maṇi*, "coral gem"

a.3. Morpho-syntactic glosses will be taken up in section 4, Grammatical Discussion.

b. Significant Glosses

b.1. Rare words

Like the few other old anonymous *Caṅkam* commentaries, this one too is of enormous importance for lexicography. Fifty-nine instances have

already been identified where the glosses found here can be considered as the basis for the entries in the Tamil Lexicon, although they are not always marked as such. Certainty in such a question can only be gained once lists with glosses have been made of all the old commentaries. For the most part this concerns early and rare words, mostly nouns, but also some address forms and ideophones. The following examples are merely illustrative of the range; the full list can be seen in Appendix 1:

14.9 ***matavu*** – *vali*, "strength"

1.9 ***veṟukkai*** – *celvam*, "wealth"

0.5 ***kaṇicci*** – *kuntāli*, "battle axe"

38.16 ***ayam*** – *cuṉai*, "mountain spring"

12.3 ***ila*** – *ēṭṭī* (noun in voc.), familiar address to a female

11.7 ***kammeṉa*** – *viraiya*, "hastily"

Here it has to be noted, however, that very occasionally the *kiḷavi*-s contain additions of a more general, exegetical nature, usually beginning with the phrase *ippāṭṭiṉuḷ*, "in this song" (collected in an appendix to the critical edition of the *Kaḷiṟṟiyāṉainirai*). One of them contains a gloss for a rare word that is neglected by the commentator but without which a portion of the poem in question would have remained incomprehensible. This addition is transmitted in only one palm-leaf strand, added then, with some changes in the wording, to one collating paper manuscript, and subsequently changed further before being admitted into the *editio princeps* by Irākavaiyaṅkār. The poem in question is AN 101.

C2+3: *māypittaic ceṅkaṇ maṟavar vāyppakai kaṭiyum maṇṇeṉṟatu irumal tīrkkum maruntu.*

"What is called 'earth that chases away the enemy from the mouths of bold men with red eyes [and] hair tufts that hide' is a remedy that ends cough."

C7v: *ippāṭṭiṉuḷ vāyppakai kaṭiyum maṇṇeṉṟatu* (C7v: *maruntеṉṟatu*), *tirutta irumal tīrkkum maruntu.*

"In this song 'earth that chases away the enemy from the mouth' [is] a remedy that ends cough properly."

RK: *ippāṭṭiṉuḷ vāyppakai kaṭiyum maruntenṟatu irumal tīrkkum maruntu.*
"In this song what is named as 'the remedy that chases away the enemy from the mouth' [is] a remedy that ends cough."

The evolution of the sources here is clear enough. While the palm-leaf still quotes lines 5–6b from AN 101, including the word *maṇ* (ordinarily simply "earth"), and then gives an explanation that illuminates an otherwise enigmatic passage, the paper copy leaves out the poetic context and the edition even does away with the puzzling word. The *Tamil Lexicon* does not have a sub-entry for *maṇ* in the sense of a cough medicine, but the modern commentaries and translators have taken it up. It will be interesting to look for parallels.

Another issue to be taken into consideration is the quality of glosses. It does not take much of an effort to demonstrate that our anonymous commentator must have been learned and thoughtful, but even so it is possible to find glosses that are not very good because they do not fit the context. The following example comes from AN 8.9:

acumpu – *malaiyiṉ nīr aṟāta kuḻi*, "pit in the mountains where the water does not subside"

The noun *acumpu* is attested only four times in the *Caṅkam* corpus, one more time in AN 376.13, once in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 114.5 and once in *Paripāṭal* 8.128. Without wishing to enter into a semantic debate about a rare and complex word, it so happens that the context of AN 8 is surprisingly clear:

AN 8.8–12 *vaḻaiyoṭu*
vāḻai ōṅkiya tāḻ kaṇ ***acumpiṉ***
paṭu kaṭum kaḷiṟṟiṉ varuttam coliyap 10
piṭi aṭi murukkiya perum marap pūcal
viṇ tōy viṭar akatt' iyampum avar nāṭṭu
"in his land,

where inside the sky-touching caves resounds the noise
of big trees crushed by the foot of the elephant cow
in order to alleviate the suffering of the fierce elephant bull
that has fallen into a mud hole in a low spot
grown high with plantains and Gamboge"

Surely the elephant bull has not fallen into a well, but into a mud hole, *pollānilam*, as is another meaning ascribed to *acumpu* by *Tivākaram* 911. No doubt a full semantic discussion of the word would have to take into account not only all the literary passages and their commentaries, but also the *Nikaṇṭu* entries, but the point I wish to make here is simply that it will not do to rely on the authority of a commentary, but it is necessary to pay attention to the context in the full range of occurrences.

b.2. Identification of plants/animals

Often glosses identify specimens of flora or fauna, always welcome because names are numerous and many are rare. The following examples illustrate the range of possibilities:

34.12 ***ekiṉam*** – *aṉṉam*, "goose" (noun)

4.1 ***illam*** – *tēṟṟa-maram*, "clearing-nut tree" (compound)

31.9 ***kaṇaviram*** – *cevvalari*, "red oleander" (species and colour)

3.5 ***eruvai*** – *paruntil oru jāti*, "a type of kite" (sub-species)

b.3. Identification of proper nouns (place, person)

The difficulty of identifying proper nouns referring to persons and places is compounded by the fact that often the name components make semantic sense, which makes this type of gloss all the more precious, although at times we may wonder whether the commentator actually possessed information on a particular item or whether he proceeded from the hermeneutic maxim that what does not make semantic sense in the given context must be interpreted as a proper

noun. The brackets in the words to be glossed denote the variants between the edition of Irākavaiyaṅkār [] and the manuscript {}.

70.13 ***ka[vu]{vi}riyar*** – *pāṇṭiyar*, "Pāṇṭiyas" p.n. of the royal dynasty

15.11 ***[pā]{pa}ḻi*** – *ūr*, [name of a] "village"

35.14 ***kōval*** – *tirukkōvalūr*, "the holy town of Kōval"

47.16 ***ciṟumalai*** *eṉṉum peyariṉaiyuṭaiya vēṟpu*,
"the mountain that possesses the name Ciṟumalai"

While in most cases seen so far glosses were short, explanation tend to become longer in the following three types.

b.4. Cultural background

The details on what I have termed cultural background come from a variety of domains, professions, handicraft, instruments, local customs, etc.:

1.5 ***kārōtaṉ*** – *paṇaiyaṉ*, "whetstone maker"

9.22 ***piṉṉakam*** – *piṉṉiṉa mayir*, *muṟukki muṭitta koṇṭai*
"braided hair – a tuft by twisting" (h.l.)

82.5 ***tūmpu*** – *peruvaṅkiyam*, "long wind-instrument shaped like an elephant's trunk"

35.9 ***tōppikkaḷ*** – *nellāl ceyyum kaḷ*, "toddy made from paddy"

11.5 ***cuṭar neṭuṅkoṭi*** – *viḷakkiṉ oḻuṅku* – *eṉṟatu kārttikai viḷakkai*,
"glowing long banner – a line of lamps - as for that, the Kārttikai lamps"

b.5. Historical background

Expositions of the historical background are not a standard feature of an Akam commentary for the simple reason that "historical" events are never the main topic here but creep in occasionally with the similes:

44.7–18 ***naṉṉaṉ*** *mutalāyiṉār cēraṉ paṭaittalaivar* – 11 ***paruntu*** *palavum uṇṭākap paṇṇip pōr ceytu* – ***paḻaiyaṉ*** – *cōḻaṉ paṭaittalaivaṉ* – 13 ***kaṇaiyaṉ*** – *cēraṉ paṭaimutali* – *muṉcoṉṉavarkkup piratāṉi* – ***kaḻumalam*** – *ōr ūr* – 14 ***piṇaiyalaṅ kaṇṇi*** – *kaṭṭiṉa kaṇṇi* – ***alam*** – *cāriyai* – ***ceṉṉi*** 18 ***kuṭavāyil*** *eṉka* – 15 ***aḻumpil aṉṉa*** *eṉṟatē tuṭaṅkik* 18 ***kuṭavāyiṟ****kaṭai* – ***aḻumpil*** – *pāṇṭināṭṭ' ūr* –

"**Naṉṉaṉ** who is the first is the chief of the Cēra army; making war, causing many **kites** to be there; **Paḻaiyaṉ** – the chief of the Cōḻa army; **Kaṇaiyaṉ** – foremost in the Cēra army; minister of the aforementioned one; **Kaḻumalam** – a village; ***piṇaiyalam*** **Kaṇṇi** – Kaṇṇi who has tied on; ***alam*** – empty morph; **Kuṭavāyil** of **Ceṉṉi**, let us say. Beginning with '**like Aḻumpil**', **Aḻumpil** is the border of **Kuṭavāyil**, a village in the Pāṇṭiya land."

Although even longer and referring to whole passages, not to single words, the structure is still that of a concatenation of single glosses, and there is no overall syntagma. This is probably why it is natural to have a piece of grammatical glossing interspersed with the rest: the epithet *piṇaiyalam* given to Kaṇṇi is explained as a noun *piṇai* (self-evident and thus not expressly stated) combined with a empty morph *alam.*

b.6. Mythological background

The first and only narrative gloss is one that explains the background of what the commentator took to be a reference to the famous mythological episode when Kṛṣṇa had stolen the dresses from the bathing cowherd girls, again found in a simile:

AN 59.6 ***marañcela mititta māl****. āyarpeṇkaḷ kuḷiyāniṉṟārkaḷāka avar iṭṭuvaitta tukil ellām piṉṉai eṭuttukkoṇṭu – kuruntamaratt' ēriṉārāka avvaḷaviṉ nampimūttapirāṉ vantārāka avark korukālattē kūṭamaṟaitaṟku – maṟṟoru vaḻiyiṉmaiyiṉ*

ēriniṉṟa kuruntamarattuk kompait tāḻttuk koṭuttār
aṭaṟkuḷḷē aṭaṅki maṟaivārāka. avar pōmaḷavun tāṉaiyāka
uṭukkat tāḻttār eṉpārum uḷar –

"Māl who trampled down the tree so that it gave way"—As the cowherd women were bathing, when he then picked up all the dresses that they had put down [and] climbed a wild lime tree, [and] when at that moment Balarāma came, he conceded lowering the branch of the wild lime tree on which he stayed mounted, since there was no other way to hide their secret at the time, so that they [all] were hidden in it together. There are also some who say that he lowered [it] so that it clothed [them] (the girls) as an (piece of) cloth until he (Balarāma) went [away]."

The element of surprise here now is that the description of the myth does not seem to tie in entirely with the Akam passage in question:

AN 59.3d–6 *vaṭāatu*

vaḷ puṉal toḻuṉai vari maṇal akal tuṟai
aṇṭar makaḷir taṇ taḻai uṭīiyar
maram cela mititta māal pōla

"like Māl who trampled down the tree, for it to give way,
so that the cowherd women could put on the cool foliage,
on the wide ghat with lined sands of the Toḻuṉai with unfading floods, in the North."

The poem does not mention stolen dresses at all, but a young Māl who lowers the branches of an unnamed tree so that the cowherdesses can pluck the foliage, presumably to make the famous leaf skirts. One is rather reminded of village scenes such as the one described in *Kuṟuntokai* 214.3–5:

am cil ōti acai iyal koṭicci
tiruntu iḻai alkuṟku perum taḻai utavi
ceyalai muḻu mutal oḻiya

> "while the whole Aśoka stump stays behind
> which contributed [its] plentiful foliage for the hips, as a perfect decoration,
> of the creeper woman with swinging gait [and] pretty, thin hair"

Such frolicking might not have been within the commentator's horizon anymore, while he was well-versed in Vaiṣṇava mythology. Of course it is also possible that he is right and that the text simply alludes to yet another version of the same episode.

4. Grammatical Discussion

Treatment of grammar is frequent and sophisticated, but it makes use of minimal phraseology. The simplest form is the one adapted for the later paraphrase commentary (*patavurai*)[9] which consists in adding case suffixes to forms that were unmarked or minimally marked in the root text. As already noted above, the focus here is on syntax, no longer on semantics. As a syntagma such a commentary passage does not make sense, but it loosely follows the line or lines of the poem. Apart from case relation,[10] non-finite verbal forms are expanded, to begin with the ubiquitous verbal root, that is generally glossed as perfective or imperfective *peyareccam*. Absolutives are left as such, unless they are changing subject, in which case they are represented by an infinitive (*ceyya* type). An infinitive may remain or may be specified for its function, for example temporal. Finite verbs may be replaced by a modern form if perceived as archaic or ambiguous. A *muṟṟeccam* may be replaced by an absolutive or by an embedded construction (*āka*), the latter is also employed for appositions. To sum up, the commentator does not actually discuss but follows a procedure of replacement which appears fairly standardised, just as many of the semantic glosses are.

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[9] It is not clear to me where this designation appears for the first time and whether it at all predates the print era with its modern terminology.

[10] Twice we find a comment on the absence of case marking, once using the general *vēṟṟumai*, "case ending" (ad AN 46.14), the second referring to an absent dative by the Sanskrit term *caturtti*, "fourth [case]" (ad AN 86.20).

Discussions like the following are an exception, and the object here is a non-standard form:

38.18 *atu* – ***ataiyeṉṟīṟu tirintatu*** – *ataṉaiyeṉa viriyum*

"*atu* has been modified with an ending into *atai*; it expands into *ataṉai.*"

The following three examples illustrate the width of the discussion concerning absolutives and infinitives, the former two being a bit more explicit than the simple standard gloss about the procedure of changing, the latter giving a gloss for a subtype of final infinitive:

8.14 ***ciṟiya oṭuṅki*** – *metteṉa naṭantu* – *otuṅka eṉa tirikka*,

"'retreating a little' – walking gently; let us change it in into *otuṅka.*"

39.8 ***uṟāa*** – *uṟutti*, *uṟutta eṉka*,

"causing to have (neg. or pos.) – having caused to have, to cause to have (~ positive *viṉaiyeccam* of the causative, to be taken as an infinitive), let us say."

1.9 ***tarumār*** – *tāvēṇṭi,* "wanting to give"

Slightly less laconic is the treatment of multi-functional suffixes such as -*iṉ*—specified as comparative if not used for the oblique—or –*um*, often identified for its contextual use. The same is true for particles and empty morphs (*cāriyai*). All these functions are usually identified by a minimal reference to a treatise, in the first place the *Tolkāppiyam*, but apparently also the *Naṉṉūl*. Appendix 2 contains a full list of such glosses with the corresponding references to the treatises. Further elements to be discussed are noun types, especially if a noun is an *ākupeyar*, and the meaning of the rarer ideophones.

Frequently there are discussions of alternative interpretations (treated under 7. Discursive Phrases), and once there is something that looks like a criticism of the poem: 9.5 ***iṉ*** *alvaḷikkaṇ vantatu*, "*iṉ* has come in the wrong place."

Problematic from the point of view of both an editor and a simple reader are the numerous cases where semantic glosses are intermingled with syntactic ones. The reason is simple: a semantic gloss usually starts with a quotation from the root text, a syntactic gloss or paraphrase uses the words of the root text but adds grammatical mark-up such as case suffixes. If both are mixed, the commentator does not quote the root text anymore but gives synonyms for some words of the poem and at the same time sets them into a syntactic relation.

5. Syntactic Graph

What I call a syntactic graph is another standard feature of a Classical Tamil commentary, something that becomes all the more necessary in the longer poems. AN poems do not reach the size of *Kalittokai* or the *Pattuppāṭṭu* ones, but with 33 the number of lines can be sufficient to cast the reader into doubt, especially in the numerous cases where there is a single sentence. The technique is simply a connective enumeration of the subject and the main predicate plus all the non-finite clause-governing forms and eventually their subjects. This is where Irākavaiyaṅkār's line grid, that allows tracing the words quoted back to their proper places in the poem, comes in handy. Such summing up can be done several times for subunits in a poem or at the end for the overall syntax, as in the following example from AN 37:

> 2 ***uḻavar*** 5 ***āṭṭip*** 11 ***paruki*** 15 ***cuṟṟi*** *eṉka* – 11 ***paruki*** 14 *uṇṭa**piṉ** eṉka*
>
> "The ploughmen shaking, drinking, surrounding, let us say; drinking after having eaten, let us say."

6. Poetic Interpretation

The lion's share of actual text (in contradistinction to syntactic fragments) goes to poetic interpretation. It is in this context that we find the one longer literal quotation from the *Tolkāppiyam*, namely TP *marapu* 985 on AN 39.8:

muḷi pul *– ularnta vūkam pul – mūṅkilumām – eṉṉai 'puṟakkāḻaṉavē pulleṉap paṭumē' eṉṟārākaliṉ*,

"*muḷi pul* – dried broomstick grass and also bamboo; why? Because they say 'What is hard on the outside is called grass.'"

This is adduced as a reason why for a word denoting a kind of grass (*muḷi pul*) two referents are possible; it may be grass, but it may also refer to bamboo, which is a sort of grass (~ non-tree) with a hard outer casing.

The pertinent poetic topics can be divided into three, namely the phase in the love relationship (*kaikōḷ*)—interestingly distinguishing between *kaḷavu* and *varaivu*, with no mention of *kaṟpu*—plus the speech situations, in terminology closely following the *kiḷavi*-s, secondly imagery such as *uḷḷuṟai* and *iṟaicci* (often many lines long), and finally a very few references to the *tiṇai*-s. Exhaustive references are found in Appendix 3.

Here is just one example of such a discussion of the speech situation followed by one of an inset (*uḷḷuṟai*), from AN 2:

16 ***vēṅkaiyum virintaṉa*** *eṉṟatu – tiṉaippuṉam maṟuttu iṟceṟipp' uṇṭāḷ eṉṟavāṟu – eṉavē – pakaṟkuṟiyum maṟuttuk* 14 *kāvalar cōrpataṉ oṟṟi eṉavē iravukkuṟi arumai kūṟi*, *atuvum maṟuttut tōḻi varaivu kaṭāyiṉavāṟu–*

"'The kino trees have expanded' is a way of saying that she is confined in the house after the millet field has been harvested. When she says so, she refuses a day tryst, when she says 'making use of the dozing state of the watchmen,' the confidante speaks of the difficulty of a night tryst, refusing that too [and] urging for marriage."

itaṉuḷḷuṟai – kaṭuvaṉāṉatu – tēṉai aṟiyātu nukarntu piṉpu taṉatu toḻilākiya maram ēṟalum māṭṭātu, *vēṟ' ōr iṭattuc cellavum māṭṭātut taṉukk' ayalākiya cantaṉattiṉ naṟupūviṉ pūmēlē uṟaṅkukiṉṟāl pōla nīyum ikkaḷav' oḻukkamākiya iṉpam nukarntu*, *niṉatu toḻilā]kiya*

vaṟaneṟiyaiyum tappi ikkaḷaviṉai nīṅki varaiyavum māṭṭātu, ikkaḷav' oḻukkamākiya iṉpattilē mayaṅkā niṉṟāy eṉṟavāṟu.

"The inset in this [is]: this is a way of saying that like the/a monkey, which, after unwittingly enjoying the honey, slumbers on the flowers near the fragrant flowers of the sandal tree close to itself, unable to climb the tree that is its occupation, and unable to go to another place either, you too remain confused in the pleasure that is the conduct of this *kaḷavu*, failing the path of virtue that is your task, and being unable to marry giving up this [state of] *kaḷavu*."

7. Discursive Phrases

Under discursive phrases I understand the terminology developed by the commentator to describe the exegetical operations he executes, phrases because these expressions are not restricted to this commentary but are shared to a variable extent by the whole of the Tamil tradition and very often beyond. In many cases we can discern a direct Sanskrit counterpart, and one may expect the same to be true of other Indian traditions once their commentaries begin to be studied in detail. In what follows I shall give a list with references to the complete number of occurrences, just in order to allow the reader to get an idea of relative frequencies. In each case a translation and a brief description of the function is added to the Tamil word:

eṉṟatu, "what has been said" ~ "as for x" ~ quotative referring to the root text (2.15+16, 3.3+12, 4.1+14, 5.2, 6.3+15, 7.8+10, 10.8+p, 11.5, 13.14, 15.3, 18.14, 14.14, 17.18, 18.9, 19.9–14, 19.15, 21.25, 22.8+14, 24.5, 26.7+11, 30.13+15, 33.1+18, 37.1, 39.22, 44.6+15, 45.16, 50p, 51.14, 56.15, 61.1f., 62.5, 68.3, 71.8, 73.9, 78.16, 84.11, 86.9+17+30, 87.3, 90.4)

eṉpatu, "what is said" ~ "as for x..." ~ (2.8+p[11], 5.26, 8p, 108+p, 14.4, 29.23, 30.12, 48.7, 50.6, 51.14, 68p, 72.9, 85.3, 89.17)

[11] The use of "*p*" as an addition to a poem instead of a line number refers to the longer poetic discussions (for example of an inset) which often cannot be linked to an exact spot in the poem.

In this commentary, *eṉṟatu* and *eṉpatu* are both used in a quotative sense, to be rendered in English by "as for x", (it means...). The imperfective form, manifestly rarer, is mostly employed in the longer poetic interpretations, which may suggest a difference in layer, that is, a later addition to the commentary.

eṉṟapaṭi, "in order to say x" (38.4, 46.7, 50.1f., 71.7f.)

eṉṟavāṟu/kūṟiyavāṟu, "this is a way of saying" ~ comment-final phrase (KV.15+16, 2.15+16+p, 8.5, 10.8+p, 12.8, 19.15, 26.7, 30p, 31.1, 33.9f.+18, 34.15+p, 36p, 37.8, 44.6, 45.16, 46p, 48.25, 49.9, 55p, 62.10f., 64.3, 68.3, 70p, 71.8, 78p, 79.1, 84.11, 86.14, 88p, 90.4/7.10, 14.14, 38.13f., 70p)

eṉka, "let us say that" ~ an interpretation that appears plausible and perhaps even obvious (KV.11, 1.6, 3.11+13f., 4.3+11+13, 5.3+15, 6.13, 7.22+22+22, 9.5+17, 12.14, 13.11, 14.3f.+21, 15.8, 16.11, 17.21, 18.3, 19.9–14+16+18, 20.2f.+5f.+13, 21.7+9+17, 22.21, 24.7+12f.+18, 25.5, 26.5+13+26+p, 27.5+12, 29.3+12, 30.11, 31.12+15, 34.8+10, 35.11+18, 37.13+14, 38.15, 39.6f.+8+17f., 40.4, 41.12, 44.6+18, 47.12+14, 49.4+13+18, 50.12, 52.1f.+14, 53.14, 54.6+12, 55.17, 56.15, 57.8, 59.18, 62.7, 63.6, 65.9, 66.9f.+26, 67.9f.+11+15, 68.18, 69.13, 71.18, 73.3f.+8+14+15, 75.1–3+9+21, 77.9f., 82.1–8, 83.8+12, 85.7+15, 87.11, 89.17, 90.6+12)

koḷka/ēṟṟuka, "let us take it/accept it that" ~ an interpretation that may be debatable (56.5+5, 70p/62.5)

ākkuka, "let us make it" ~ an interpretation of a difficult or ambiguous passage that may imply a change in the wording (38.15, 48.18, 50p, 55.17, 60p, 89.17)

kūṭṭuka, *cērkka*, "let us link, join [syntactically]" (KV.15, 1.19, 2.13, 3.10+14, 8.5, 17.9f, 18.3+16, 19.19, 35.5–7, 39.16, 43.13, 65.9, 68.21, 73.11, 74.12, 87.12, 88.8, 90.10/15.9)

tirikka, "let us shift [the form to] ..." ~ reversal from a poetic to a standard form (8.14, 19.5, 39.7, 75.13)

(*poruḷ*) *uraikka*, "let us explain" ~ suggesting that there is a doubt to be settled (8.5+5, 13.14, 25.18, 67.11, 85.4)

ātalāl/ākaliṉ, "therefore/because" (KV.16, 7.5+22, 28.6, 45.16, 47.10, 53.14, 72.10, 77.14, 84.11, 85.3, 86.9, 90.12/2.17, 39.8)

[*iṉi* ~ Skt. *atha*, "now"; initiating a discussion (KV.2) KV][12]

Of special interest are the phrases for alternative interpretations, which are numerous and frequent. This fact raises the question as to whether the commentary mirrors lively debates that took place on account of the old poetry or whether it rather suggests that the commentary was made at a time when much of the poetic vocabulary was already obsolete or at least *recherché*:

-*um ām*, "there is also" ~ alternative meaning for a word or phrase (1.2, 8.13, 16.8, 19.5, 21.2, 26.12, 29.16, 38.13, 39.16, 43.14, 48.12, 58.3, 60.8, 69.15, 71.6, 78.7, 88.2)

eṉṟumām, "[this] also means: ..." (1.4, 2.17, 3.3, 5.3+5, 6.15+end, 12.5, 14.7, 16.12, 17.18, 21.7, 22.4, 23.6+10, 25.7, 28.10, 35.4, 37.9, 39.1, 48.9, 49.4, 62.7, 66.16–18, 67.6, 71.7, 75.4f.)

eṉṟalumām, "[this] also means: ..." (1.2)

eṉpārum uḷar, "there are also those who say..." (13.19, 46.15, 55.7, 59.6, 60.8)

uraippārum uḷar, "there also those who explain the meaning as..." (KV.2, 19p, 90.7)

cērpparum uḷar, "there are also those who join ..." (54.12)

mēlēṟṟuvārum uḷar, "there are also those who accept" (90.10)

While the simple -*umām* usually refers to another meaning of the same lexical item, *eṉṟumām* refers to a possible alternative for the interpretation of a phrase. In addition, there are the phrases ending in -*um uḷar*, for interpretations which have been given by others but are not shared by our commentator. There is not a single case where a name is put to another opinion, but this probably is not to be expected of an anonymous tradition; with the author commentaries we

[12] This standard introductory phrase of a new topic occurs only this once, and also otherwise the elaborate discussion of almost the whole poem suggests that the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* was not a part of the original commentary.

occasionally get clearer references, but probably only in the domain of *ilakkaṇam*. A few examples should be sufficient to make the point:

-umām

38.13 ***iṟutta*** – *muṟitta* – *keṭuttalumām*, "that is broken; it is also to be lost"

69.15 ***cilai*** – *ōcai* – *oru maramumām*, "sound; it also is a [kind of] tree"

78.7 ***tēm*** – *iṉimai* – *tēṉāl piḻinta naṟavumām*,

"sweetness; it also is honey squeezed from the honey comb"

eṉṟumām

1.4 ***aṟu kōṭu*** – *aṟuttut tiruttiṉa kōṭu* – *ciṅkattai veṉṟa eṉṟumām*,

"tusks broken [and] mended; it also means they [sc. the elephants] have vanquished lions"

21.7 ***maṉai*** *talaivi* – ***naka*** – *makiḻa* – *il viḷaṅka eṉṟumām*,

"So that the house, i.e., the heroine smiles—is delighted, it also means the house is bright."

eṉpārum uḷar

55.17 ***pulantu*** – *pulantēṉeṉat taṉmai viṉai ākkuka* – *uyiroṭu pulantu 7 aḻin[ta]t' eṉpārumuḷar.*

"*pulantu* (abs.) – Let us make it a [finite] verb of the kind *pulantēṉ*. There are also those who say 'being vexed with life, being desolate.'"

Finally, the most important testimony to the text-critical work done in the commentarial tradition are the few passages that actually discuss the existence of **variant readings and the strategies for dealing with them**. In the 91 poems covered by our commentary we find three phrases and a totality of five occurrences:

eṉṟum pāṭam, "there is also the reading x" (29.1)

eṉṉum pāṭattiṟku, "for the reading x" (13.17, 67.11, 90.7)

pāṭam ākki, "making the reading x" (79.1)

The terminology is simple. The term for variant reading is *pāṭam*, not *pāṭapētam* or *pāṭavēṟupāṭu* as in the later print tradition. It appears to be a Sanskrit derivation from *pāṭha-*, "recitation, reading." The three operations attested are, firstly, pointing out the existence of a variant and naming it, secondly, referring to an additional meaning that is based on a variant, and thirdly, changing the transmitted text into another reading. All three are done sparingly and do not suggest an amount of variability as is found in today's manuscripts. It seems worthwhile to have a look at all the five passages in question.

AN 29.1 *nōṉ tāḷ 3 puli eṉka; tāḷatu eṉṟum pāṭam*

"The tiger with sturdy feet, let us say. There is also the reading *tāḷatu*."

In the first case the commentary established a syntactical link between the tiger (*puli*) in line 3 of the poem and the feet (*tāḷ*) in line 1, and it simply reports the variant *tāḷatu* for *tāḷ*. Indeed, *tāḷatu*, pronominal noun n.sg. ("the tiger that is one with feet") is the reading attested in the second palm-leaf strand, although unfortunately, in combination with the formulaic attribute *nōṉ*, it makes the foot hypermetrical (*nōṉ-tāḷ-atu* = *nēr-nēr-nirai*).

AN 13.17 *iṉpuṟuppa eṉṉum pāṭattiṟkuk kuṟippuraiyākip poruḷ uraikka – atuvum iṉpuṟāmaik kaḷika eṉṉum poruḷaik koḷḷum.*

"For the reading 'while they have pleasure' let us state [that that is] the meaning corresponding to intention. It (the phrase) also takes a meaning (namely with the other attested reading) that says 'let them (i.e., the days) pass without having pleasure'."

The first of the three cases where a meaning is given for a variant is AN 13, one of the poems that have received a long commentary. I would suggest that the sequence of comments is relevant: normally the commentator starts at the beginning of the poem and picks up all the words and phrases he deems worthy of comment. Sometimes an interpretation or a syntactic graph are given in between, if they

concern a portion of the poem, but more frequently the main syntactic structure and the lengthy discussion of imagery are found at the end of the poem. Sometimes, however, and especially with the poems that anyhow have received a lot of attention, after the end of the poem had already been reached and discussed, additional comments on lines further up recommence, and the explanation at hand is that the copyists of anonymous commentaries worked in an accumulative way, adding new ideas and fresh interpretations at the end of the commentary as it stood. In another tradition, such as a codex culture, this might have been the material added interlineally and on the margins, but the format of the Tamil palm-leaf did not leave space for that.

Now, the main sentence of the poem, and the one on which the interpretation of the *kiḷavi* rests, is found in line 17: *kavav' iṉp' uṟāmaik kaḷika*, "let [the days; l. 24] pass by without [HER] having the pleasure of embracing". This is spoken by the confidante to the hero, as the commentary explains, in order to sway him from his intention to leave, that is, she speaks in order for HIM **not** to do as she says. Whether it was a feeling of unease with such a twisted message that brought an ingenious exegete to the idea of finding a minimally altered reading conveying the same message directly or whether such a reading was actually found somewhere, the commentary adduces it and changes the negative *uṟāmai* into a metrically identical positive *uṟuppa*. This reading is not confirmed by any other surviving manuscript.

AN 67.11 *vēṟṟumuṉai kaṭanteṉṉum pāṭattiṟku naṭukal iṭattavaṉ piṭitta karuvikaḷāy ūṉṟiyum cā*{l. 7}*rttiyum vaikkappaṭṭa vēlaiyum palakaiyaiyumuṭaiya vēṟṟumuṉai eṉka – ataṉaik kaṭanteṉṟ' uraikka.*

"For the reading *vēṟṟumuṉai kaṭantu*, let us say an enemy frontier possessing burial mounds and spears that have been put up by bringing together [the stones of the former] and leaning [the latter against them], there being the

shields that were gripped by him by the hero stone. Overcoming that, let us explain."

For this passage the commentary reports a variant reading that alters the syntax within a long subordinate construction, since an imperfective *peyareccam* (*kaṭukkum*) is replaced by an absolutive (*kaṭantu*). It is not necessary here to go into the details;[13] suffice it to say that in this case the reading is attested elsewhere, though not in any of the palm-leaf strands, but in one late paper manuscript that already is a compilation and as a variant in a quotation from Naccinārkkiniyar, so that we cannot be hundred percent certain that the reading does not go back to the commentary.

AN 90.6 *varut[tāḷeṉ]ṉum pāṭattiṟku* {l. 2} *varumulai varuttappaṇṇāḷ varuntum pakaṭṭu maṇṇaiyuṭaiya niṉṉeṉṟu cērtt' uraikka – varumulai terumaral uḷḷamoṭu varuttap paṇṇāḷ varuntum pa*{l. 3}*kaṭṭu mārpiṉ niṉṉeṉṟu pirittup poruḷuraippārum uḷar.*

"For the reading *varuttāḷ*, let us explain by joining 'of you who possess a high chest that suffers for her with growing breasts who did not make [you] suffer.' There are also those who split [and] say the meaning is 'of you with a high chest that suffers for her who did not make [you] suffer, with a tormented heart in [her] growing breast.'"

Here the variant solves a problem in the understanding of one sub-clause, but it is attested only in the commentary. Lines 6f. of the poem read:

varu mulai varuttā am pakaṭṭu mārpiṉ
terumaral uḷḷamoṭu varuntum niṉ-vayiṉ

"with respect to you, who suffer with an anxious heart in
[your] pretty high chest that made [her] coming breasts suffer"

[13] For the exact distribution of readings, see the apparatus to the critical edition, Wilden (2018, vol. II: 420).

The forms in question is *varuttā*, and it is difficult to read it as a negative *peyareccam*, because the context suggests an allusion to the love play enjoyed by the couple before mother became suspicious and confined the girl to the house (as the confidante informs the hero). The way out is to take it as a positive *peyareccam* as in the translation above, but the variant presents another solution, namely a negative participial noun feminine singular which can be taken as the object of *varuntum*, thus adding a reminder on the part of the confidante that the heroine is not at fault. In addition, the commentator refers to the existence of an alternative distribution of attributes within the clause—an interpretation not shared by him, presumably since it forces a violation of word order.

AN 79.1 *tōṭpayaṉ amaitta eṉṟu pāṭam ākkit tōṇṭukaimuṉpē nīraic corint' amaitta eṉṟavāṟu*

"Making the reading *tōḷ payaṉ amaitta*, it also means 'effecting (a watering) by pouring water before drawing water'."

The last and most daring passage is again one of the types where the discussion of the variant takes place as an afterthought (preceded by a couple of other additional remarks). The context of the poem is a slightly elliptical description of the labour of watering the cattle in a waterless desert found in the Pālai region. The regular commentary begins by explaining the difficult reading of the first line (in accordance with the second palm-leaf strand), where the phrase *tōḷ pataṉ amaitta* would refer to the fact that the men leading the cows have food provisions tied to their shoulders (*kaṭṭamutu*). The alternative explanation given at the end now does not simply relate an existing variant, but it suggests changing the text (*pāṭam ākki*) from *pataṉ* ("food") into *payaṉ* ("produce"), thereby altering the account of the work done by the men, who would not only make a well between or in the stones (l. 3: *kal aṟutt' iyaṟṟiya val uvarp paṭu*), but would moreover have carried the water there with their own arms, *payaṉ* here referring to the fruit of their labour, i.e., the water.

The point here is not to come to a judgment as to whether this is a plausible or even preferable interpretation, but to realise that such discussions existed and were part and parcel of a commentator's task. It will be worthwhile to bring together this type of material from the commentaries that have come down to us. If we want to understand how our texts were transmitted over the centuries and what might and might not have been done to them, it is of crucial importance to find out more about how the men worked and thought who actually have borne the labour of transmission.

8. Conclusions

To sum up, we have seen a number of rather sophisticated exegetical operations that demonstrate quite clearly the fact that this commentary does not stand at the beginning of a tradition. The situation might rather be that an existing tool box—perhaps developed in the domain of *ilakkaṇam*, perhaps going back to a tradition of oral explanation of poetry—was gradually being applied to a complicated poetic text, presumably still perceived as a canonical one. The commentator definitely is a man well-versed in his tradition, betraying familiarity with both the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Naṉṉūl*. What we would expect in addition, coming from the Sanskrit tradition of poetic commentary, is that he moreover was familiar with the *nikaṇṭu*-s, even though he does not appear to refer to them directly: it will be a task to find out how many of his semantic glosses (with their high share of Sanskrit vocabulary) can be retraced to works such as the *Tivākaram* and *Piṅkalam*.

From a structural point of view (for it is difficult to talk of syntax with respect to a commentary), glosses appear to be the building blocks, starting with simple one-to-one equations around which gradually further material accumulated, first probably by paying attention to the possible relations between those blocks, in other words, syntax, then also by looking for poetic messages on the basis of the speech situations as given in the *kiḷavi*-s and the more sophisticated

imagery described in the *Tolkāppiyam*. Moreover, all the glosses that have been termed "significant" (cf. p. 4) are, from the point of view of advancing the course of Old Tamil philology, the backbone of lexicographical work. Once exhaustive lists have been made for the few old commentaries that have come down to us we shall be in a better position to understand how our dictionaries have been made and eventually to improve them.

In short, the commentary is an invaluable testimony to early medieval philological work and lexicography. Its most immediate use is for the glosses, but we also find chains of syntactic links and interpretations of *uḷḷuṟai* and *iṟaicci*. What is more, it preserves a certain amount of polyphony in expressly discussing alternative word meanings or interpretations. It is also still possible to observe different hands at work when regarding the structure. The usual sequence begins with glosses, sometimes only a couple of them, sometimes for a good portion of the poem. It loosely follows syntagmas, giving the syntactic links for a first sentence before continuing with glosses for the next. At the end come the interpretations of speech situation, similes and the like. If after that there is a fresh start on glossing, we may be fairly certain that it has been added by a later copyist—a connoisseur or a teacher? What brought such an accumulation of exegetical material to a few chosen poems while others go virtually ignored? Were some used in teaching, but not others? Is there a link to the discussions that took place within the sphere of *Ilakkaṇam*? These are questions worth a detailed investigation.

Appendix 1 — List of Glosses for Rare Words

akal	*viḷakkakal*, "lamp" (19.17)
acumpu	*malaiyiṉ nīr aṟāta kuḷi*, "pit in the mountains in which the water does not subside" (8.9)
ayam	*cuṉai*, "mountain spring" (38.16)
ikuttal	*tāḻttal*, "to lower" (82.5)
itaḻ	*tōṭu*, "palm-leaf" (37.10)
iyavuḷ	*talaimai*, "leadership" (29.6)
illam	*tēṟṟamaram*, "clearing-nut tree" (4.1)
ila	*ēṭī*, "familiar address to a female" (12.3)
ūḻ	*muṟaimai*, "turn" (25.8)
ekiṉam	*aṉṉam*, "swan" (34.12)
eruvai	*paruntil oru jāti*, "a type of kite" (3.5)
oḻukai	*cakaṭam*, "cart" (20.6)
kaṭikai	*kāmpu*, "shaft, handle" (35.3)
kaṇaviram	*cevvalari*, "red oleander" (31.9)
kaṇicci	*kuntāli*, "pick-axe" (21.22)
kammeṉa	*viraiya*, "hastily" (11.7)
kalavu	*mūṭṭuvāy*, "joint" (3.9)
kārōtaṉ	*paṇaiyaṉ*, "whetstone maker" (1.5, 365.5)
kāḻiyar	*vaṇṇār*, "washermen" (89.7)
ka[vu]{vi}riyar	*pāṇṭiyar*, "Pāṇṭiyas" p.n. (70.13)
kuvai	*tiraṭci*, "rotundity" (40.5)
kōṭi	*tiruvaṇaikkarai*, p.n. (70.13)
kōval	*tirukōvalūr*, p.n. (35.14)
kōḷ	*vicāram*, "unbiased examination" (48.26)
	graham, "planet" (86.6)

citar	*vaṇṭu*, “bee” (25.9)
curiyal	*kuḻaṉṟa mayir*, “curly hair” (21.13)
cūḻi	*paṭām*, “cloth cover” (15.10)
ceṇ	*ceṇṇutal kaiceytal – ceṇṇutalāl – ceṇṇeṉṟu koṇṭaikkup peyar*, “coil” (59.14, h.l.)
naḻippu	*ceṟivu*, “denseness” (18.15)
nitikkiḻavaṉ	*aḷakēcuvaraṉ*, “Kubera” (66.17)
ñemal	*caruku*, “dried leaf” (39.7)
ñemi	*kaṭaippaṭṭa mūṅkil*, “bamboo that is churned” (39.6)
tā	*vali*, “strength” (37.3)
tūṇṭutal	*kuttutal*, “to pound” (9.12)
tūmpu	*peruvaṅkiyam*, “long wind-instrument shaped like an elephant’s trunk” (82.5)
teṟuppa	*kuvippa*, “while heaping” (54.1)
tōppikkaḷ	*nellāṟ ceyyuṅ kaḷ*, “rice toddy” (35.9)
naviral	*kulaital*, “to be dishevelled” (1.16)
naḻippu	*ceṟivu* “denseness” (18.15; h.l.)
paṭu	*kiṇaṟu*, “well” (79.3)
paṭiyōr	*piratiyōr eṉṉum vaṭamoḻit tirivu*, “a modified Sanskrit word for opponents” (22.5)
pāṭu	*kūṟu*, “piece ~ catch” (30.10)
pāṇi	*tāmata kālam*, “time of inactivity” (50.4)
[pā]{pa}ḻi	*ūr*, p.n. (15.11)
paṟantalai	*pāḻ*, “waste land” (29.15)
piṉṉakam	*piṉṉiṉa mayir*, *muṟukki muṭitta koṇṭai*, “braid” (9.22; h.l.)
puruvai	*iḷamai*, “youth” (88.4; h.l.)

poṅkaṭi	*yāṉai*, "elephant" (44.17; h.l.)
potiyil	*malai*, p.n. (25.20)
poṅkaḷi	*tūṟṟāpoli*, "grain heap which has not been winnowed" (TL) (37.3)
poḷi	*uritta uri*, "peeled bark" (83.6)
poṟi	*ilaicciṉai*, "seal" (77.8)
makuḷi	*ōcai*, "sound" (19.4)
maṭai	*mūṭṭuvāy*, "clasp" (40.15)
maṇṇai	*maḻumaṭṭaiyāṉa kōṭu*, "something blunt-edged" (24.12, h.l.)
matavu	*vali*, "strength" (14.9)
maṉṉuyir	*āṇṭu vāḻum makkaḷ*, "the people who live there" (31.4)
muntūḻ	*mūṅkil*, "bamboo" (78.8 + KT 239.6)
vaḻivaḻi	*mēṉmēlum*, "further and further" (47.1)
vaḷpu	*vāykkayiṟu*, "mouth rope ~ bridle" (64.3)
vāṉamvāḻtti	*vāṉam pāṭi puḷ*, "bird singing in the sky" (67.2)
viḷiviṭam	*uṟaṅkumiṭam muṭiviṭamām*, "place for sleep" or "end" (58.3)
vīḻ	*kuḻal*, "lock" (73.2)
veṟukkai	*celvam*, "wealth" (1.9)
veṟuppa	*mika*, "be much (inf.)" (33.1)

Appendix 2 — List of Grammatical Terminology

Particles/Suffixes

acai[nilai], "metrical filler": *āṅku* (44.9), *antil* (76.6), *āl* (39.13), *iṉ* (32.14), *ēkāram* (50.6), *ai* (32.8), *aikāram* (63.1), *orum* (12.14), *ō* (63.1, 73.5), *ōkāram* (43.14), *ōr* (86.22), *ciṉ* (7.5), *talai* (78.1), *til* (33.17), *maṟṟu* (26.10), *māḷa* (16.10), *yāḷa* (39.20)

anukaraṇam, "[sound] imitation" (~ onomatopoeic): *kam* (23.5), *potukkeṉa* (39.15), *ñerēreṉa* (39.16)

iṭaiccol, "clitic": *iṉtō/ itu* (26.19), *aikāram* (46.7)

-*iṉ* ***uvamam***, "simile" (i.e., not oblique, but also comparison suffix) (6.9, 49.5)

īṟṟacai, "final metrical filler": *ēkāram* (5.26, 7.12) {TC 252.2i, NN 421}

-*um* (coordinative enclitic)

-*ummai* ***acainilai***, "expletive -*um*" (70.7)

-*ummai* ***eccavummai***, "coordinative complement" (KV.6, 50.12, 66.17) {TC 250.1i, NN 426}

-*ummai* ***ciṟappu***, "-*um* of particularity" (14.12) {TC 250.1i, NN 424}

oḻiyicai, "suggestive": *ōkāram* (55.6) {TC 251.1i}

kaḻivu, "past [opportunity]" (~ irrealis): *maṉ* (8.5, 11.15, 17.5, 49.9, 70.7), *kaḻintatu*, ib.: *maṉ* (50.6) {TC 247.1i, NN 431}

kuṟippu, "focaliser" (43.15) *ōkāram acai – kuṟippumām*, "-*ō* is expletive; it is also focaliser" {TC 253.1i for *eṉa* not for *ō* (?)}

kuṟippumoḻi, "ideophone?" (39.15) *potukkeṉa* {TC 4.2.2}

cāriyai, "empty morph": *am* (1.17, 5.8, 15.3), *attu* (37.7, 59.11), *alam* (44.14), *alvaḻic cāriyai*, "wrong glide": *iṉ* (13.1)

pirinilai, "exclusion": *ēkāram* (33.12) {TC 252.1i, NN 421}

mikuti, "excess": *maṉ* (87.11) {NN 431}

viḻaivu, "desire": *til* (6.15) {TC 255i, NN 430}

viṉaimāṟṟu, "alternative verb" (~ subject change): *maṟṟu* (39.5) {TC 257.1i, NN 432}

Alternative Forms (regional or poetic variants):

iṭaikuṟaintatu, "shortening a word (with poetic licence)": *ōmeṉṉavum – oḻiyum iṭaikkuṟaintatu*, "although it says "*ōm*" it is a poetic shortening of *oḻiyum*" (26.9)

tirital, "to deviate, to be derived"*: uru uruva eṉa tirintatu*, "x deviates from y" (1.2)

- *atu – atai eṉṟ' īṟu tirintatu*, "x deviates from y in the ending" *ataṉai–eṉa viriyum* "[the standard form] expands into x" (38.18)
- *paṭiyōr eṉṟatu piratiyōr eṉṉum vaṭamoḻit tirivu*, "x is a derivation from the Sanskrit word y" (22.5)

niṟṟal, "to stand for": *pulakkaṭai – pulaṅkaṭaiyeṉa niṉṟatu*, "x stands as y" (31.2)

melital, "to soften": *talaiyiṟṟ' eṉpatu talaiyiṉṟeṉa melintatu* (54.3)

vikāram, "modification": *piṟaṅkukal piṟaṅkal eṉa* (8.13), *vēntu vētt' eṉavikāram* (27.15)

Nouns

ākupeyar, "metonymy" (3.9, 9.5, 13.19, 34.13, 37.9, 39.6, 43.8, 45.18, 46.15, 75.4)

toḻiṟpeyar, "verbal noun" (9.8)

peyar, "noun" (KV.2, 7.4, 49.1, 59.14)

vēṟṟumai, "case ending" (46.14) "*eṉ*" *eṉṟāḷ tāṉ avaḷeṉṉum vēṟṟumai iṉmaiyāl*, "she who has said '*eṉ*' is she herself, because of the absence of a case ending"

- ***caturtti***, 4th [case] ~ dative (86.20)
- ***viḷi***, "vocative" (3.13, 4.14, 7.10, 12.3, 54.17)

Verbs

[**abs. for inf.**] (1.11, 1.11, 8.14, 11.5, 14.2, 22.8, 37.12, 39.7+8, 43.5, 50.1, 53.4, 74.7, 77.1+5)

kuṟippu[viṉai] "verb by intention" ~ pronominal noun (72.9)

muṟṟuviṉai, "finite verb" (72.9) *mutalaiya eṉṉum muṟṟuviṉaik kuṟippoṭu muṭikka*, "Let us conclude *x* with *mutalaiya* as a verb by intention."

muṟṟu[viṉai] (23.13, 29.23, 43.12, 50.6, 85.3, 87.4)

[***muṟṟeccam***] (5.8, 16.8+14, 17.5, 20.10, 66.13)

Appendix 3 — List of poetological Terminology

1. *kaikōḷ* and speech situations

kaḷavoḻukkam/kaḷaviṉpam/kaḷavukkālattu/kaḷaviṉkaṇ, "the phase of secrecy" (2p, 7.9, 8p, 10p/8p/50.7/62.6)

varaivu, *varaital*, "marriage" (2.15, 42.4, 60p, 68p, 70.8, 72p, 88.8, 90.8)

alar, "gossip" (10p, 20p, 52p, 68p)

aṟattoṭu nilai, "revealing the secret" (8p, 60p)

iyaṟkaip p./puṇarcci, "natural union/union" (5.17, 66.24/39.23, 62.6, 90.4)

iravukkuṟi/pakaṟkuṟi, "night/day tryst" (2.16/2.16, 18.14, 30.13)

iṟceṟippu, "house arrest" (2.16)

celavaḻuṅkutal, "to refrain from going" (65.20, 81.10)
cēṭpaṭuttu varutal, "coming after having been kept at a distance" (58p)
tūtu, "messenger" (84.10)
varaivukaṭātal, "to urge for marriage" (2.14)
vāyiṉmaṟuttal, "to refuse the door/mediation" (56p)
talaivaṉ, "hero" (2.8, 2p, 15p, 16.8, 20.10, 35.18, 66.16, 72.9)
talaivi, "heroine" (14.14, 21.7, 38.4, 38.15, 51.13, 60.8)
tāy, "mother" (26.p, 46p, 55.9, 56.p)
tōḻi, "confidante" (2.14, 15p, 26.25f., 46p, 50p, 56p, 86p)
parattai, "other woman" (6.4+p, 26.19+p, 36p, 46p, 56p)
pāṇaṉ, "bard" (36p, 46p, 50p)

2. imagery

uvamam, "simile" (19p)
uvamai, "simile" (26.6, 42.1, 67.14)
karuttu, "intention" (5.3, 68p)
kuṟippiṉāl, "by implication" (56.4)
colleccam, "ellipsis" (8.14, 39.20)
payaṉ, "gist" (6p, 81.15, 88.8)
poruḷ, "meaning" (8px3, 10p, 15p, 62.2, 85.4)
uḷḷuṟai, "inset" (2p, 6p, 8px2, 26p, 30p, [36p], [46p], [52p], 82p)
iṟaicci, "indirect meaning" (8p, 10p, 15p)

3. setting (*tiṇai*)

marutanilam, "the ground of Marutam [*tiṇai*]" (40p)
mullai, "Mullai [*tiṇai*]" (14.7)

Appendix 4 — Sanskrit loan words in the commentary

avi	< Skt. *havis-* "offering" 78.18
aḷakam	< Skt. *alaka-* "hair" 39.21
aṉṉiyam	< Skt. *anya-* "other" 40(p)
aṉantaram	< Skt. *anantara-* "afterwards" 13.14
aṉukaraṇam	< Skt. *anukaraṇa-* "onomatopoeic" 23.5, 39.15
aṉupavi	< Skt. *anubhū-* "to enjoy" 37.18
aśubhagraha	< Skt. *aśubha graha-* "inauspicious planets" 86.6
ācrayi	< Skt. *āśri-* "to seek refuge with" 90.12
āccariyam	< Skt. *āścarya-* "wonder" 82.8
ātari	< Skt. *ādṛ-*? "to crave" 46(p)
irakaciyam	< Skt. *rahasya-* "secret" 62.6
ilacciṉai	< Skt. *lāñchana-* "seal" 77.8
utiram	< Skt. *ruddhira-* "blood" 34.11
upakāram	< Skt. *upakāra-* "help, assistance" 61.1f.
uṟcākam	< Skt. *utsāha-* "effort" 61.3
uṣṇam	< Skt. *uṣṇa-* "heat" 51.2
kalyāṇam	< Skt. *kalyāṇa-* "marriage" 86.7+9+14+17+26
kiraṇam	< Skt. *kiraṇa-* "ray" 57.11
kuṇam	< Skt. *guṇa-* "quality" 5.2, 12(p), 58.12, 83.14
kūṭam	< Skt. *gūḍha-* "secret" 59(p)
cantu	< Skt. *sandhi-* "joint" 32.18
cayaṉam	< Skt. *śayana-* "bed" 39.10
cāti	< Skt. *jāti-* "species" 3.5, 37.16
cittiram	< Skt. *citra-* "picture, beauty" 48.12, 54.4, 70.9
cūlam	< Skt. *śūla-* "trident" KV.5
cēṉai	< Skt. *senā-* "army" 84.16

tikku	< Skt. *diś-* "direction" 48.24, 84.4
tiyāṉam	< Skt. *dhyāna-* "meditation" KV.15
niccayi	< Skt. *niści-* 11. "to resolve" 35.11, 44.2, 74.14
pakkam	< Skt. *pakṣa-* "wing" 47.4
payam	< Skt. *bhaya-* "fear" 72.8
parikaram	< Skt. *parikara-* "retinue" 44.2, 70.15
pāram	< Skt. *bhāra-* "bearing" 38.13
piratāṉi	? *piratāṉam* < Skt. *pradāna-* "gift" 44.13
piratiyōr	< Skt. *prati-* opponents 22.5
pūcai	< Skt. *pūjā-* "Puja" 13.3
pūrvapakṣam	< Skt. *pūrvapakṣa-* "preliminary opinion" 86.5
mari	< Skt. *mṛ-* "to die" 31.4, 55.13, 61.2
marumam	< Skt. *marman-* "vital part" 57.17
mātam	< Skt. *māsa-* "month" 89.1
mātuḷam	< Skt. *mātuliṅga-* "pomegranate" 37.9
māṉam	< Skt. *māna-* "honour, dignity" 29.21
mēkam	< Skt. *megha-* "cloud" 4.6
yōkyam	(not TL) < Skt. *yogya-* "suitability?" 86.9
varukai	~ *varukkai* < Skt. *varga-* "division, class?" 88(p)
vaṉṉiyaṉ	pron. m. sg. on *vaṇṇi* < Skt. *varṇin-* "member of a class" 55(p)
vicāri	< Skt. *vicār-* "to inquire" 33.7, 48.26, 56.15, 70.15, 75.21, 77.3
vicēṭam	< Skt. *viśeṣa-* "characteristic attribute" KV.2
viṉōtam	< Skt. *vinoda-* "pastime" 39.5
visanam	< Skt. *vyasana-* "suffering" 39.1
strī	< Skt. *strī-* "woman" 39.1

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The Old, Anonymous Commentary of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* (*paḻaiyavurai*)

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1.0. Classification of literary commentaries

Of the eight + one Caṅkam anthologies, seven anthologies are transmitted with an old commentary. Whereas for the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the *Kalittokai* there is a commentary by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and for the *Paripāṭal* one by *Parimēḻakar*, the commentaries for the other four anthologies *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, *Akanāṉūṟu*, *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* and *Patiṟṟuppattu* are anonymous. Mu. Aruṇācalam (2005, vol. 7: 79-87) lists and shortly describes them in his multi-volume history of Tamil literature, and according to him, these old, anonymous commentaries were written in the span of time between the great grammatical *Tolkāppiyam* commentators, Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, i.e. between the 11th and 14th centuries.[1] Aruṇācalam does not present arguments for this dating, but it is obvious that he dates these four anonymous commentaries before the two great Caṅkam anthology commentaries by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar on the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the *Kalittokai* because these four commentaries are short, rudimentary and less systematical in comparison with the two great commentaries by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar.

A perusal of both old and modern commentaries available shows that on the basis of the commentarial strategies, techniques or methods employed by the commentators, Tamil commentaries (*urai*) in general can be classified into four types, which will be explained below. The following technical terms are used by modern Tamil commentators.

(i) the selective or annotative commentary (*kuṟippurai*)

(ii) the explanatory commentary (*viḷakkavurai*)

[1] Arunachalam 2005 (Vol.7): 79-87.

(iii-a) the word paraphrase commentary (*patavurai*)

(iii-b) the summarizing paraphrase commentary (*poḻippurai*)

2.0. The four types of literary commentaries

The tradition of the literary commentaries is the only Tamil commentarial tradition, in which all these four types are distinguished. Examples are:

anonymous (*paḻaiyavurai*)	*Puṟanāṉūṟu* (*poḻippurai*)
anonymous (*paḻaiyavurai*)	*Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* (*viḷakkavurai*)
anonymous (*paḻaiyavurai*)	*Akanāṉūṟu* (*kuṟippurai*)
Naccinārkkiniyar	*Pattuppāṭṭu* (*patavurai*)

The four types of literary commentaries can be described in the following way.

2.1. The selective or annotative commentary (*kuṟippurai*)

The selective or annotative commentary (*kuṟippu-urai*) gives only to a number of selected portions of the text—usually words and phrases—a short comment, note or explanation (*viḷakkam*) of various kinds (lexical, grammatical, poetological, literary, etc.) in the form of a list of annotations (*kuṟippu*).

This type of commentary is selective in the sense that it comments only on selected portions of the original text. Doing so, it provides, for example, only a gloss for a number of selected words, which the commentator may regard as archaic, rare or difficult, or simply as words in need of explanation. Thus, the earliest of the selective commentaries, the one on the epic *Cilappatikāram* displays even this feature in its title: *arum-pata-v-urai* "gloss of rare words." The selective commentary gives either a short explanation of a number of selected grammatical forms, which again the commentator regards as in need of explanation, or a short explanation of selected literary themes.

These selective commentaries are composed in the form of notes or annotations (*kuṟippu*) appended to the original texts and therefore traditionally called *kuṟippurai.* The annotative commentary provides the different kinds of comments not uniformly to all the verses of a literary text. For example, grammatical explanations of word forms and poetological explanations of the *tiṇai* ("poetical landscape") of a poem or those of the *uḷḷurai* ("allegorical image in a poem") are not provided for all the verses of a text but only for a selected number of verses of an anthology.

The first *kuṟippurai* is the above mentioned 12th century *arum-pata-v-urai* on the *Cilappatikāram*. Further annotative commentaries are the old, anonymous ones on the *Akanāṉūṟu* and the *Patiṟṟuppattu* of the 13th century.

2.2. The explanatory commentary (*viḷakkavurai*)

The explanatory commentary (*viḷakka-v-urai*) consists of one explanatory section (*viḷakkam*)—one or two paragraphs—on a given text, e.g. a poem, in which one or more lexical, grammatical, poetological, literary, etc. explanations are given. In comparison to the *kuṟippurai*, the *viḷakkavurai* gives fewer explanations to a given text but sometimes in more detail.

The old anonymous commentary to the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, dated to the 13th century, is an example of an explanatory commentary or *viḷakkavurai*. For most of the poems the commentary consists of one short paragraph of usually two or three lines only. In a few cases it consists, however, of several paragraphs.

With most poems of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* the commentary does not provide a lexical gloss or grammatical explanation. Instead it deals mainly with the figurative level of the poem and gives literary explanations, like the explanation of the *uḷḷurai* and/or it provides poetological explanations to the poem.

The various other kinds of commentarial explanations occur only with a few poems and to the exclusion of other types, that is, for a given poem only one kind of commentarial explanation is provided, such as a word gloss, but the other kinds, like explanations of grammatical forms, are not. These explanations follow that of the *uḷḷurai.*

2.3. The paraphrase commentary

This type of commentary provides a complete paraphrase of the whole verse or whole text. There are two variant types of paraphrasing or glossing in Tamil commentaries:

2.3-a. The word paraphrase commentary (*patavurai*)

The "word-paraphrase commentary" (*pata-v-urai* or *kaṇṇaḻitt'-urai*) splits the text of a verse into phrases and/or words (*pata*) and gives for each individual word or phrase a paraphrase or gloss.

2.3-b. The summarizing paraphrase commentary (*poḻippurai*)

The "summarizing paraphrase commentary" (*tokutt'-urai* or *poḻipp'-urai*) gives a complete, continuous and abridged, summarizing paraphrase or a gloss of the whole verse without repeating the original text.

In the *poḻippurai* a paraphrase is usually given for a number of lines of the text followed by an explanatory note to one or a few words of these lines. Then this is repeated for the next number of lines.

Both types of paraphrase commentary have in addition often a second section called *viḷakkam*, in which grammatical, literary and poetological explanations are given, similar to the ones in the explanatory commentary or *viḷakkavurai*. The paraphrase commentary, therefore, has often the form: *patavurai* or *poḻippurai* + *viḷakkam.*

3.0. The explanations in the literary commentaries

The four types of literary commentaries, apart from paraphrasing the text, provide a wide range of lexical, grammatical, literary, poetological, and other types of textual explanations of various kinds.

In the old, anonymous commentary on the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* 15 different kinds of explanations are to be found, which are listed below. The respective Tamil terms of these 15 explanations are given by the various modern commentators of different texts themselves, e.g. U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar, and they are also found in the theoretical literature about Tamil Caṅkam commentaries, e.g A. Catīṣ (2010):

- **lexical explanations of**
- [difficult] words ([*arum*] *col poruḷ viḷakkam*)
- [difficult] phrases ([*arum*] *toṭar poruḷ viḷakkam*)
- **grammatical explanations of**
- word forms (*col ilakkaṇa kuṟippu* "grammatical significance of words"), including the syntactic function of words through the expression of inflected word forms,
- syntactic relations, e.g. between the non-finite verbs and the finite verb (*viṉai muṭipu*), the subject and the predicate, or in general the syntactic structure of the text, that is a skeleton-like summary of the basic structure of the complex sentence construction of a poem (*muṭipu*).
- **literary explanations of**
- literary images, *uḷḷuṟai* and *iṟaicci* ("suggestive image") *viḷakkam*,
- suggestive meaning of a word, phrase or sentence (*kuṟippu poruḷ/kuṟippu viḷakkam*)
- figures of speech (*alaṅkāram*) / similes (*uvamai viḷakkam*)
- **poetological explanations of**
- the speech-situation (*kiḷavi viḷakkam*),
- the landscape (*tiṇai viḷakkam*), including mixing of *tiṇai*

- the theme of the poem (*karutturai*),
- the intention or expected result of the poem or utterance (*payaṉ viḷakkam*)
- **various other expalanations**
- explanations of the organizational structure of the text (*amaippu viḷakkam*)
- variant readings (*piratipētam / pāṭavēṟupāṭu*)
- quotation of grammatical/poetological text (*mēṟkōḷ*)
- cultural comments (historical, religious, astrological, etc.)

Explanations like the above occur also in other old commentaries of the Caṅkam anthologies and in all the four types of literary commentaries, either in the forms of annotations in the case of the *kuṟippurai*, or as the sole content of the *viḷakkavurai*, or in the *viḷakkam* section of the two types of paraphrase commentary. However, in a particular commentary section on a given poem or literary text, no matter whether it is a *kuṟippurai*, a *viḷakkavurai*, or the *viḷakkam* section of the paraphrase commentary, only a selected number of explanations are provided by the commentator. For example, in the *viḷakkavurai* on the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* a maximum of three different kinds of explanations or information for a particular poem are given. Sometimes, a particular kind of explanation or information is given for one particular poem only. Why the commentator gives this explanation for one particular poem only and not for other poems is not known.

4.0. The Old Anonymous commentary to the *Aiṅkuṟuṉūṟu* (*paḻaiyavurai*)

The *paḻaiyavurai* of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* was published for the first time in the first edition of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* by U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar in 1903. There is only one palm-leaf ms. of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* which contains the *paḻaiyavurai*, viz. the palm leaf manuscript serial number 173 from the U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar Library, Chennai. Based on this mss. U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar presented the *paḻaiyavurai* in his first edition of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*. In both the mss. and the first edition of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*,

out of its 498 poems, there is a commentary only on 196 poems in an almost even distribution over the five sections of 100 poems each:

1–7, 9–26, 29–30, 41, 43, 47, 55, 58, 81–82, 85–89, 91–92, 94–101, 103–106, 137, 142–148, 150–171, 173, 176–181, 183–184, 186–190, 192–193,195–196, 198, 208–210, 212–214, 216–221, 228, 233, 238–239, 242–243, 245–246, 248, 251–252, 260–280, 282–283, 285–287, 290, 292–301,304, 313, 315, 321, 327, 331, 334, 352, 355–357, 366–370, 373, 412, 421, 423, 441, 453, 455, 458, 461, 465, 467, 469.

An unanswered question is whether the commentary on the other 302 poems is missing and lost or whether a commentary on these poems was not written at all by the anonymous commentator.

The commentary on six poems is incomplete (i.e. 7, 26, 57, 465, 467 and 469). For example, the one on poems 465, 467 and 469 gives or quotes only the *mūlam* of the respective poem but does not give any explanation of the text as the commentaries for all the other poems do. This suggests that the respective explanatory contents of these three commentaries has been lost. This again could suggest that commentaries in general have been lost in the transmission and that in the case of the 302 poems for which there is no commentary extant today, commentaries may have been written as well but have now been lost.

In some cases, the commentary is very short. For example, the commentary on poem 458 consists of two words only—a lexical gloss: *citar—cintutal.* Here the commentator gives only one short lexical explanation, without explaining other aspects of the poem. In 35 other poems he gives two explanations of two different kinds (lexical, grammatical, literary, etc.) for each poem. This again could suggest that the commentator does not see the need to give each kind of explanation for a given poem or that he sometimes does not see the need to give an explanation to a poem at all, and that, therefore, a commentary was not written on every single poem.

The size of the commentary in terms of number of lines printed in the U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar edition varies between one to 13 lines, but mostly one to five lines.

If the commentary consists of a higher number of lines, that is 7, 8 or more lines, it usually contains three sentences and also three different kind of explanations. However, in 146 of the 196 commentaries, there is only one explanation.

5.0. The various kinds of explanations in the *paḻaiyavurai* to the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*

As mentioned above, in the old, anonymous commentary to the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* (*viḷakkavurai*) 15 different kinds of lexical, grammatical, literary, poetological and other explanations or commentarial services which the commentator provides can be distinguished.

The 15 different kinds of explanations found in the *paḻaiyavurai* on the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* will be illustrated in the following subparts. Each commentary section after the poem is marked in the U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar edition at the beginning of the commentary with the abbreviation (ப-ரை) which stands for *paḻaiyavurai.*

5.1. "Explanation of the meaning of [difficult] words" (*[arum] col poruḷ viḷakkam*)

In a number of comments, the commentator explains a selected word of the poem. This may be a word which he regards as rare, archaic or difficult. Or he wants to show that it is used in a specific sense.

In the comment on poem 458 he gives just a simple gloss of a word with a synonym:

(ப - ரை:) சிதர் – சிந்துதல் *(pa - rai:) citar – cintutal* "to scatter"

Both the verbs சிதர் and சிந்து mean "to scatter." The commentator may also give an elaborate gloss as in the comment on poem 245, in which he gives two lexical explanations: the first one with an elaborate

gloss and the second one with a one word gloss. In the following presentation of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* poems, first an explanation of the speech-context of the poem (*kiḷavi viḷakkam*) is given in round brackets (), which is followed by the *kiḷavi* (description of the speech-context of the poem) in square brackets [], with which the poems have been transmitted in the manuscripts. Then follows the text of the poem.

245.

(The mother of the *talaivi* [the heroine of the poem, the woman in love] has called the *vēlaṉ* [priest] to perform divination. Seeing these arrangements, the *tōḻi* [confidante of the *talaivi*] speaks to herself so that the *talaivaṉ* [hero of the poem, the man in love], who is nearby, hears her. Her intention is to urge the *talaivaṉ* to marry her friend soon.)

[தலைமகன் சிறைப்புறத்தானாக வெறியறிவுறீஇத் தோழி வரைவுகடாயது.
talaimakaṉ ciṟaippuṟattāṉāka veṟiyaṟivuṟīit tōḻi varaivukaṭāyatu.

When the *talaivaṉ* is in a hedge nearby, the *tōḻi*, having learned about the dance (under possession), urges (the *talaivaṉ*) to marry.]

பொய்யா மரபி னூர்முது வேலன்
கழங்குமெய்ப் படுத்துக் கன்னங் தூக்கி
முருகென மொழியு மாயிற்
கெழுதகை கொல்லிவ ளணங்கி யோற்கே.

poyyā marapiṉ ūr mutu vēlaṉ
kaḻaṅku meyppaṭuttu-k kaṉṉam tūkki
muruku eṉa moḻiyum āyiṉ
keḻutakai=kol ivaḷ aṇaṅkiyōṟk(*u*)*=ē*

If the elderly priest of [our] village,
who is from an unfailing tradition,
predicts the truth with [the help of] Molucca beans,
holds up the *Kaṉṉam* (image) and utters "Muruku,"
will this be rightful to the one, who caused her suffering?

(ப – ரை:) கன்னமென்பது நோய்தணித்தற்குப் பண்ணிக் கொடுக்கும் படிமம். கெழுதகையென்பது உரிமை; ... எ-று.

(pa - rai:) kaṉṉam eṉpatu nōytaṇittaṟkup paṇṇik koṭukkum paṭimam. keḻutakaiy eṉpatu urimai ; ... e-ṟu.

What is called a *kaṉṉam* is an image that is made to cure a disease. What is called *keḻutakai* is right of possession;

Here the practice of divination as described in the poem had gone out of use at the time of the commentator and the word *kaṉṉam* had probably lost the meaning it had earlier when the poem was composed. That is why the commentator thinks it is necessary to explain its meaning.

5.2. "Explanation of [difficult] phrases" (*[arum] toṭar poruḷ viḷakkam*)

Apart from single words, the commentator also explains selected phrases or clauses. In this case the commentator does not only give lexical but also grammatical information. The phrases explained are often phrases that contain an elliptical expression, e.g. the comment on poem 453:

453.

(The *talaivaṉ* had promised to return at the beginning of the rainy season. The *talaivi* sees the beginning of the rainy season and grieves since the *talaivaṉ* has not returned yet. When the *tōḻi* tries to console her, the *talaivi* speaks the following to her.)

[பருவங்கண்டு ஆற்றாளாகிய தலைமகள் தோழிக்குச் சொல்லியது.
paruvaṅkaṇṭu āṟṟāḷākiya talaimakaḷ tōḻikkuc colliyatu.

The *talaivi*, who sees the coming of the rainy season and cannot bear the separation from the *talaivaṉ*, speaks to the *tōḻi*.]

அவலுறுந் தேரை தெவிட்ட மிசைதொறும்
வெங்குரற் புள்ளின மொலிப்ப வுதுக்காண்
கார்தொடங் கின்றாற் காலை யதனா

னீர்தொடங் கினவா னெடுங்கணவர்
தேர்தொடங் கின்றா னம்வயி னானே.

aval uṟum tērai teviṭṭa micai toṟum
vem kural puḷḷiṉam olippa utukkāṇ
kār toṭaṅkiṉṟu-āl kālai ataṉāl
nīr toṭaṅkiṉa-v-āl neṭu-ṅ kaṇ avar
tēr toṭaṅku iṉṟ(u)-āl nam vayiṉāṉ=ē.

Look there,
as the frogs croak in all the low grounds,
and as the birds with pleasing voices sing
at all the elevated places,
the rainy season has begun.
Therefore, tears have begun [to come] into my eyes.
His chariot has not begun [to come] to us.

In this poem there are two elliptical phrases with the verb *toṭaṅku* "to begin." This verb requires an infinitive verb form as a complement. "The tears began." What did they begin to do? They began to flow or come down the eyes. This is not expressed in the poem. Likewise, the "chariot did not begin." What did it not begin to do? It did not begin to come or to move towards the place of the *talaivi* and the *tōḻi*. Both of these actions are not expressed in the poem. One of these two ellipses is explained by the commentator:

(ப - ரை:) "தேர் தொடங்கின்றால்" என்பது தேர் வரத் தொடங்குதல் இல்லையாயிற்று எ-று

(pa - rai:) "tēr toṭaṅkiṉṟāl" eṉpatu tēr varat toṭaṅkutal illaiyāyiṟṟu e-ṟu

"The chariot has not begun" is the way to say that the chariot has not begun to come [to us].

The elliptical expression in this phrase explained by the commentator is the verb வர "to come." Moreover, the commentator also explains the verb form *toṭaṅkiṉṟāl* as a negative verb form.

5.3. "Explaining the grammatical significance of word forms" (*col ilakkaṇak kuṟippu*)

For selected word forms the commentator explains their grammatical significance either by naming their grammatical category or by giving a variant inflected form showing the grammatical function of the respective word form. In the case of morphologically unmarked forms the commentator shows their grammatical function through the expression of an inflected word form.

In poem 86 the commentator, apart from explaining the *uḷḷuṟai* and the *karuttu* ("theme") of the poem, also focuses on grammar, i.e. he explains a nominal phrase as an *ākupeyar* ("metonomy").

86.

(The *talaivaṉ* stays with the *parattai* [concubine], where he gets informed that his young son is yearning for him. When the *parattai* hears this, she angrily and jealously addresses the *talaivaṉ* with the following speech.)

[புதல்வன் கூறிய மாற்றம் தலைமகட்குப் பாங்காயினார் கூறக் கேட்டான் என்பது ஆறிந்த பரத்தை அதற்குப் புலந்து தலைமகற்குச் சொல்லியது.

putalvaṉ kūṟiya māṟṟam talaimakaṭkup pāṅkāyiṉār kūṟak kēṭṭāṉ eṉpatu āṟinta parattai ataṟkup pulantu talaimakaṟkuc colliyatu.

The *talaivaṉ* hears that the confidantes (of his wife) tell him that his son has uttered words. The concubine comes to know about this, is displeased and says to the *talaivaṉ*.]

வெண்டலைக் குருகின் மென்பறை விளிக்குர
னீள்வய னண்ணி யிமிழு மூர
வெம்மிவ ணல்குத லரிது
நும்மனை மடந்தையொடு தலைப்பெய் தீமே.

veḷ talai-k kurukiṉ mel paṟai viḷi-k kural
nīḷ vayal naṇṇi imiḻum ūra

em ivaṇ nalkutal aritu
num maṉai maṭantaiyoṭu talaippeytīm=ē

O man of the village,
where the calling voice of the soft-winged [young] ones of the white-headed
heron reaches the vast fields and resounds,
it is difficult to show love to me here at this place.
Join your wife at your home.

(ப – ரை:) குருகின் பார்ப்பு அழைக்கும் குரல் வயல் நண்ணி இமிழுமூரன் என்றது நின் புதல்வன் கூறிவிடுத்தல் நீ கேட்டமை சேரியெல்லாம்அறிந்தது;

...

பார்ப்பினம் மெல்லிதாகப் பறத்தல் பற்றி மென் பறையென்று ஆகுபெயராற் கூறியதெனக் கொள்க.

(pa - rai:) kurukiṉ pārppu aḻaikkum kural vayal naṇṇi imiḻumūraṉ eṉṟatu niṉ putalvaṉ kūṟiviṭuttal nī kēṭṭamai cēriyellām aṟintatu;

...

pārppiṉam mellitākap paṟattal paṟṟi meṉ paṟaiy eṉṟu ākupeyarāṟ kūṟiyateṉak koḷka.

"The man from the village where the calling sound of the young ones of the heron reaches the fields and is resounding" means that the whole quarter [of the *parattai*-s] knows that you heard the crying voice of your son.

...

Understand that through the *ākupeyar* "soft wings" one speaks about the gentle flying of the flock of the young ones.

Here the commentator first explains the *uḷḷuṟai* in the sense that like the calling sound of the fledglings of the heron resounds in the fields so also does the crying voice of the son of the *talaivaṉ*, which is heard in

the quarter of the *parattai*-s. Then the commentator explains the noun phrase *meṉ paṟai* "soft wing" as an *ākupeyar* meaning "the ones with soft wings" (= the young ones of the heron).

In poem 356, for example, the commentator explains the complex subject noun phrase *uḷḷam vāṅka tanta niṉ kuṇaṉ*, "your virtues (you) gave to get (my) heart," in the following way.

> (ப - ரை:) "உள்ளம் வாங்க தந்த நின் குணன்" என்றது என்னுள்ளம் வாங்குற் பொருட்டு நீ தந்த குணங்கள் எ-று.
>
> (*pa - rai:*) "*uḷḷam vāṅka tanta niṉ kuṇaṉ*" *eṉṟatu eṉṉuḷḷam vāṅkutaṟporuṭṭu nī tanta kuṇaṅkaḷ e-ṟu.*
>
> "Your virtues (you) gave to get (my) heart" is the way to say "The virtues you gave in order to get my heart."

Here the commentator explains the infinitive form *vāṅka* as a purposive infinitive by giving the paraphrase *vāṅkutaṟporuṭṭu* which explicitly expresses purpose, and he explains the head noun phrase *kuṇaṉ* as a plural form by paraphrasing with the noun form *kuṇaṅkaḷ*, which is inflected for plural. In addition, he makes the pronominal subject *nī* of the relative clause *tanta niṉ kuṇaṉ* explicit, and he also specifies the pronominal genitive noun phrase *eṉ* of the head noun *uḷḷam.*

5.4. Construing the syntax of the text (*viṉaimuṭivu / muṭipu*)

The commentary explains in various ways how to construe the syntax of a sentence or a whole poem, that is, it gives a comment on the syntactic relations of some selected sentence elements. This may be realised by showing the subject and predicate of a sentence, the head of a construction (*col muṭipu*) or the finite verb which complements some non-finite verbs.

When sentence elements, which stand in a syntactic relation to another, like a noun modifier/noun attribute and nominal head, are not adjacent to another but separated from one another, the commentator

construes their syntactic relationship. This can be seen in the commentary on poem 104.

104.

(The *cevili tāy* [foster mother of the *talaivi*] visits the place of the *talaivaṉ* after the birth of his son. The *tōḻi* addresses her by praising the town with the following words.)

[புதல்வற் பெற்றுழித் தலைமகன் மனைக்கட் சென்ற செவிலிக்கு முன்பு அறத்தொடு நின்று வதுவை கூட்டிய தோழி அவனூர் நன்மை காட்டிச் சொல்லியது.

putalvaṟ peṟṟuḻit talaimakaṉ maṉaikkaṭ ceṉṟa cevilikku muṉpu aṟattoṭu niṉṟu vatuvai kūṭṭiya tōḻi avaṉūr naṉmai kāṭṭic colliyatu.

The foster mother goes to the house of the *talaivaṉ* after a son was born. The *tōḻi*, who had earlier revealed their secret love relationship and proposed marriage, tells her about the prosperity of his town.]

அன்னை வழிவேண் டன்னை நம்மூர்ப்
பலர்மடி பொழுதி னலமிகச் சாஅய்
நள்ளென வந்த வியறேர்ச்
செல்வக் கொண்கன் செல்வனஃ தூரே.

aṉṉai vaḻi vēṇṭu aṉṉai nam ūr-p
palar maṭi poḻutiṉ nalam mika.c cāay
naḷḷeṉa vanta iyal tēr.c
celva-k koṇkaṉ celvaṉaktu ūr=ē.

Mother, live long! Listen, mother!
This is the town of the son of the rich chieftain with the worthy chariot,
who came without much noise, having lost his beauty,
at the time when many were sleeping in our town.

(ப – ரை:) செல்வக் கொண்கன் செல்வன் என்றது, புதல்வனை; செல்வக்கொண்கன் செல்வனூரென்னும் எழுவாயின் முற்றுச்சொல் அஃதென்னும் பெயர்.

(pa - rai:) celvak koṇkaṉ celvaṉeṉṟatu, putalvaṉai; celvakkoṇkaṉ celvaṉūreṉṉum eḻuvāyiṉ muṟṟuccol aḵteṉṉum peyar.

"The wealthy one of the rich chieftain" denotes the son. The finite predicate of the subject *celva koṇkaṉ celvaṉ ūr* is the noun *aḵtu.*

The commentator gives first a lexical and then a syntactical explanation. In order to indicate the syntactic construction of the text, he rearranges the words of the original text.

In poem 269 he gives first a lexical explanation of a clause, then a short explanation of the *karuttu* ("theme of the message") and then a syntactic explanation.

269.

(When the *tōḻi* notices that the *talaivaṉ* meets the *talaivi* only after long intervals, she speaks to the *talaivi* at their next meeting so that the *talaivaṉ* can overhear it, with a view to criticize him.)

[குறைநயப்பக் கூறித் தலைமகளைக் கூட்டிய தோழி அவன் இடையிட்டு வந்து சிறைப்புறத்து நின்றுழித் தலைமகட்குச் சொல்லுவாளாய்ச் சொல்லியது.

kuṟainayappak kūṟit talaimakaḷaik kūṭṭiya tōḻi avaṉ iṭaiyiṭṭu vantu ciṟaippuṟattu niṉṟuḻit talaimakaṭkuc colluvāḷāyc colliyatu.

Making the *talaivi* consent, the *tōḻi* brings her to the place of the *talaivaṉ* and while he stands within earshot she speaks as if talking to her.]

கேழ லுழுதெனக் கிளர்ந்த வெருவை
விளைந்த செறுவிற் றோன்று நாடன்
வாரா தவணுறை நீடி னேர்வளை

யிணையீ ரோதி நீயழத்
துணைநனி யிழக்குவென் மடமை யானே.

kēḻaluḻuteṉa-k kiḷarnta eruvai
viḷainta ceṟuviṉ tōṉṟum nāṭaṉ
vārātu avaṇ uṟai nīṭiṉ nēr vaḷai
iṇai īr ōti nī aḻa-t
tuṇai naṉi iḻakkuveṉ maṭamaiyāṉ=ē.

O woman with tied, smooth hair and fine bangles,
if the man of the country,
where the sedge grass, which grew high due to the digging up by the
boars, appears like a ripened (paddy) field,
prolongs his stay at that place without coming back,
so that you weep,
I will lose your company due to my stupidity.

In poem 269, a consecutive or resultative infinitive clause in line 4, which is syntactically subordinated to a conditional clause in line 3 and therefore should occur before the conditional clause, has been postposed beyond the conditional clause so that it occurs after the conditional clause, that is in line 4. The commentator construes the syntax of the sentence by pointing out that the consecutive or resultative infinitive clause (*nī aḻa*) is subordinated to the conditional clause and, therefore, should be construed before conditional clause to which it is subordinated and not after it:

(ப – ரை:) ... நீ அழ வாராது அவணுறை நீடினெனக் கூட்டுக.

(pa - rai:) ... nī aḻa vārātu avaṇuṟai nīṭiṉeṉak kūṭṭuka.

conjoin like this:

நீ அழ வாராது அவண் உறை நீடின்.

nī aḻa vārātu avaṇuṟai nīṭiṉ.

5.5. Explanations of literary figures, eg. *uḷḷuṟai* and *iṟaicci*

As mentioned above, most commentaries in the *Aiṅk* (135 of 196) consist of or contain an explanation of the two types of images *uḷḷuṟai* or *iṟaicci* ("suggestive image"). In the explanations of the *uḷḷurai* the commentator presents first the image given in the poem, usually a relative clause to a head noun like *ūraṉ* "man of the village" or *nāṭaṉ* "man of the country," with a description of a scene in the landscape, and then he gives the allegorical meaning of that image. While presenting the image of the text (*mūlam*) three types of presentation can be distinguished:

(a) presentation of the image by giving a literal quotation of the text
(b) presentation of the image by giving a paraphrase of the text
(c) presentation of the image by giving the beginning and end words of the text

In most cases the commentator presents the image of the poem in the form of a paraphrase of the text. An example is poem 265.

> 265.
>
> (When the *talaivaṉ*, who lives with a *parattai*, sends some mediators to the *talaivi*, in order to pacify her, the *talaivi* answers as follows.)
>
> [பரத்தையிடத்தானாக ஒழுகுகின்ற தலைமகன் விடுத்த வாயின் மாக்கட்குத் தலைமகள் சொல்லியது.
>
> *parattaiyiṭattāṉāka oḻukukiṉṟa talaimakaṉ viṭutta vāyiṉ mākkaṭkut talaimakaḷ colliyatu.*
>
> The *talaivi* speaks to a mediator, whom the *talaivaṉ*, who lives with a concubine, has sent.]
>
> புலிகொல் பெண்பாற் பூவரிக் குருளை
> வளைவெண் மருப்பிற் கேழல் புரக்குங்
> குன்றுகெழு நாடன் மறந்தனன்
> பொன்போற் புதல்வனோ டென்னீத் தோனே.

puli kol peṇpāl pū vari-k kuruḷai
vaḷai veḷ maruppiṉ kēḻal purakkum
kuṉṟu keḻu nāṭaṉ maṟantaṉaṉ
poṉ pōl putalvaṉōṭu eṉ nīttōṉ=ē.

He of the land with hills,
where the boar with curved, white tusks protects
his flowerlike-striped small one
of his female, who was killed by a tiger,
has forgotten (me)
and left me together with the gold-like son.

The action of the boar described in the relative clause of the first two lines of this poem is interpreted as an *uḷḷuṟai* by the commentator in the following way:

(ப – ரை:) புலியாற் கொல்லப்பட்ட தன் பிணவின் குட்டியைத் தந்தையாகிய கேழல் புரக்கும் நாடனென்றது பரத்தையர் காரணமாக யான் இறந்தால் தன் புதல்வனைத் தானே வளர்க்க துணிந்து என்னை நீத்தானென்பதாம்.

(pa – rai:) puliyāṟ kollappaṭṭa taṉ piṇaviṉ kuṭṭiyait tantaiyākiya kēḻal purakkum nāṭaṉeṉṟatu parattaiyar kāraṇamāka yāṉ iṟantāl taṉ putalvaṉait tāṉē vaḷarkka tuṇintu eṉṉai nīttāṉeṉpatām.

Saying, "He of the land where the father boar protects the small one of his female, which was killed by a tiger" is [equal to] saying, "If I die [of worries] because of the concubine, he is determined to raise his son himself, and he leaves me [for her]."

In the same way that the boar tends to its cub when the mother has died after being killed by a tiger, so also the *talaivaṉ* will take care for his son after his wife's death due to her grief and sorrow from him leaving for the *parattai*.

In the following poem the commentator presents the image by giving the beginning and end words of the text.

21.

(After the *talaivaṉ* has given an assurance that he would not go after *parattai*-s anymore, the *tōḻi* speaks to *the talaivi*, telling her not to sulk anymore.)

[“புறத்தொழுக்கம் எனக்கு இனியில்லை” என்று தலைமகன் தெளிப்பவும் “அஃது உளது” என்று வேறுபடும் தலைமகட்குத் தோழி சொல்லியது.

“*puṟattoḻukkam eṉakku iṉiyillai*” *eṉṟu talaimakaṉ teḷippavum* “*aṯtu uḷatu*” *eṉṟu vēṟupaṭum talaimakaṭkut tōḻi colliyatu.*

Even though the *talaivaṉ* assures that he would not go anymore to concubines, the *talaivi* disagrees, saying that it still is (like this). The *tōḻi* replies to her.]

முள்ளி நீடிய முதுநீ ரடைகரைப்
புள்ளிக் கள்வ னாம்ப லறுக்குந்
தண்டுறை யூரன் றெளிப்பவு
முண்கண் பசப்ப தெவன்கொ லன்னாய்.

muḷḷi nīṭiya mutu nīr aṭaikarai-p
puḷḷi-k kaḷvaṉ āmpal aṟukkum
taṇ tuṟai ūraṉ teḷippa-v=um
uṇ kaṇ pacappatu evaṉ=kol aṉṉāy

While the man of the cool ghat,
    where the spotted crab
        on the ancient water shore, abounding with thorny plants,
    cuts off water lilies,
has given an assurance,
why is it that your coloured eyes have become dim—o sister?

(ப - ரை:) “முள்ளிநீடிய ... லறுக்குமூரன்” என்றது தனக்கு உரித்தாகிய இல்லின்கண் ஒழுகிப் பரத்தையரோடு தொடர்ச்சி அறுப்பான் எ-று.

(pa - rai:) “*muḷḷi nīṭiya ... laṟukkumūraṉ*” *eṉṟatu taṉakku urittākiya illiṉkaṇ oḻukip parattaiyarōṭu toṭarcci aṟuppāṉ e-ṟu.*

Saying, "The man [of the cool ghat, where the spotted crab on the ancient water shore ...] abounding with thorny plants, cuts off [water lilies]" means "He (*talaivaṉ*) will go to (?) act in (?) the house belonging to him and cut off his relationship with *parattai*-s."

In the following poem the commentator gives the explanation of an *iṟaicci*:

251.

(The *tōḻi* addresses the *talaivaṉ*, who enjoys secret meetings and postpones the marriage.)

[வரையாது வந்தொழுகும் தலைமகற்கு வரைவு வேட்ட தோழி கூறியது.

varaiyātu vantoḻukum talaimakaṟku varaivu vēṭṭa tōḻi kūṟiyatu.

The *tōḻi* speaks to the *talaivaṉ*, who without marrying entertains a secret love relationship, and urges him to marry.]

குன்றக் குறவ னார்ப்பி னெழிலி
நுண்ப லழிதுளி பொழியு நாட
நெடுவரைப் படப்பை நும்மூர்க்
கடுவர லருவி காணினு மழுமே.

kuṉṟa-k kuṟavaṉ ārppiṉ eḻili
nuṇ pal aḻi tuḷi poḻiyum nāṭa
neṭu varai-p paṭappai num ūr-k
kaṭu varal aruvi kāṇiṉum aḻum=ē.

O man of the country,
where the clouds pour down many fine drops,
if the tribesmen of the hills shout,
even if she sees the rapidly flowing waterfalls
of your town with gardens and high mountains,
she will weep.

(ப – ரை:) "நும்மூர்க் கடுவரல் அருவி காணினும் அழுமே" என்றது அது நின்மலையினின்றும் வீழ்கின்றவருவியென்று

அதுகொண்டு அதற்கு நின் கொடுமை கூறி இவள் அழுமே எ-று.

(pa - rai:) "*nummūrk kaṭuvaral aruvi kāṇiṉum aḻumē*" *eṉṟatu atu niṉmalaiyiṉiṉṟum vīḻkiṉṟavaruviy eṉṟu atu koṇṭu ataṟku niṉ koṭumai kūṟi ivaḷ aḻumē e-ṟu.*

Saying, "Even if she sees the rapidly flowing waterfalls, she will weep" means "Thinking that this is the waterfall that falls from your mountain, she therefore ascribes your cruelty to it and weeps".

The commentator interprets the *iṟaicci* as follows: when the *talaivi* sees the waterfall, she thinks it is a waterfall from the country of the *talaivaṉ*. Therefore, she is reminded of him, thinks how cruelly he behaved by postponing the marriage and weeps.

5.6. "Explanation of the suggestive meaning of a word or phrase" (*kuṟippu viḷakkam*)

A word or phrase in a poem may suggest a meaning beyond its literal meaning, that is, it may have an extended meaning. Sometimes the commentator explains this suggestive meaning, denotation or appellation of a word or a phrase, as in the case of poem 334:

334.

(When the *talaivaṉ* does not return at the time he had promised, the *talaivi*, unable to bear the separation, speaks to the *tōḻi*.)

[பிரிவு நீட ஆற்றாளாகிய தலைமகள் தோழிக்குச் சொல்லியது.

pirivu nīṭa āṟṟāḷākiya talaimakaḷ tōḻikkuc colliyatu.

The *tōḻi* speaks to the *talaivi*, who cannot bear it when the temporary absence (of the *talaivaṉ*) was prolonged.]

அம்ம வாழி தோழி சிறியிலை
நெல்லி நீடிய கல்காய் கடத்திடைப்
பேதை நெஞ்சம் பின்செலச் சென்றோர்

கல்லினும் வலியர் மன்ற
பல்லித ழுண்க ணழப்பிரிந் தோரே.

amma vāḻi tōḻi ciṟu ilai
nelli nīṭiya kal kāy kaṭattiṭai-p
pētai neñcam piṉ cela.c ceṉṟōr
kalliṉum valiyar maṉṟa
pal itaḻ uṇ kaṇ aḻa-p pirintōr=ē.

Look friend. Live long!
He, who had gone, so that my simple-minded heart followed [him] through the
forest, where the rocks burn and the *nelli* plants with small leaves grow high
he, who had left [me], so that my coloured eyes, resembling multi-petalled flowers,
weep,
is harder than a rock.

(ப - ரை:) "பல்லிதழுண்கண் அழப்பிரிந்தோர்" என்றது தாம் குறித்த எல்லைக்கண் வாராது நீட்டித்தாரென்பதாம்.

(pa - rai:) "pallitaḻuṇkaṇ aḻap pirintōr" eṉṟatu tām kuṟitta ellaikkaṇ vārātu nīṭṭittāreṉpatām.

Saying, "He, who had left [me], so that my coloured eyes, resembling multi-petalled flowers, weep" means "He prolonged [his stay], not coming within the [time] limits he had fixed."

The commentator states that the literal meaning of the phrase "her eyes weep" has also an extended meaning: she is crying because he has not returned at the time he had specified earlier. Through this statement the commentator explains that the quoted phrase has also a suggestive meaning, namely, that the *talaivaṉ* delays his return, by not returning at the appointed time.

A special case of *kuṟippu viḷakkam* is the explanation of the symbolism of flowers (*pūk kuṟippu*), that is, the meaning that is implied by mentioning a particular kind of flower.

An example is poem 301:

> 301.
>
> (When the *tōḻi* is informed by the *talaivaṉ* that he will go on a journey to earn money, she addresses him with the following words, telling him that this will cause great hardship for the *talaivi*.)
>
> [பிரிவு உணர்த்தப்பட்ட தோழி தலைமகற்குச் சொல்லியது.
>
> *pirivu uṇarttappaṭṭa tōḻi talaimakaṟkuc colliyatu.*
>
> The *tōḻi*, who was informed about the temporary absence (of the *talaivaṉ*), speaks to the *talaivi*.]
>
> மால்வெள் ளோத்திரத்து மையில் வாலிண
> ரருஞ்சுரஞ் செல்வோர் சென்னிக் கூட்டு
> மவ்வரை யிறக்குவை யாயின்
> மைவரை நாட வருந்துவள் பெரிதே.
>
> *māl veḷḷōttirattu mai il vāl iṇar*
> *aru-ñ curam celvōr ceṉṉi-k kūṭṭum*
> *a.v varai iṟakkuvai āyiṉ*
> *mai varai nāṭa varuntuvaḷ perit*(*u*)*=ē.*
>
> O man of the country with dark clouded hills,
> if you pass that hill,
> where those who go through the difficult barren countryside put stainless white flower bunches of the big *veḷḷōttiram* tree on their heads,
> she will suffer greatly.

This poem contains the description of people who cross a barren countryside and wear flower bunches of the *veḷḷōttiram* tree on their heads. The reader may wonder why those people wear this particular bunch of flowers and why the *talaivi* will suffer if she comes to know

that the *talaivaṉ* would travel through this countryside. The commentator deals in his comment only with these questions and gives an explanation for both. In particular, he explains the implication of the *veḷḷōttiram* tree:

> (ப – ரை:) வெள்ளிலோத்திரத்துக் குளிர்ச்சியையுடைய மலரை ஆற்றின் வெம்மை தீரச் செல்வோர் அணிந்து செல்வர் என்றுழி வெம்மை கூறியவாறு ஆயிற்று.
>
> *(pa - rai:) veḷḷilōttirattuk kuḷircciyaiyuṭaiya malarai āṟṟiṉ vemmai tīrac celvōr aṇintu celvar eṉṟuḻi vemmai kūṟiyavāṟu āyiṟṟu.*
>
> When one says that those who go adorn themselves with flowers which have the coolness of *veḷḷilōttiram* tree, so that the heat is reduced, if one wears [them], then this is the way to say [the concept of] heat.

Here the commentator explains the choice of flowers of the *veḷḷōttiram*- tree by mentioning the characteristic quality of its flowers, which is that they have a cooling effect and thus give relief while walking in the barren countryside. Moreover, he gives an explanation for the meaning of this description: the barren countryside is a place of severe heat, and for this reason the *talaivi* will suffer if she learns that the *talaivaṉ* travels through such a countryside.

5.7. Explanations of figures of speech (*alaṅkāram*) / similes (*uvamai viḷakkam*)

Apart from implicit or implied similes (*uḷḷurai uvamam*), in two cases the commentator explains also an explicit simile (*ēṉai uvamam*). In the commentary on poem 188, he explains both types of *uvamam*. First, he explains an explicit one and then an implicit one:

> 188.
>
> (When the *talaivaṉ* brings some guests home and sees that the *talaivi* receives them with great hospitality, he is happy and says the following.)

[விருந்து வாயிலாகப் புகுந்த தலைமகன் தலைவி இல்வாழ்க்கைச் சிறப்புக் கண்டு மகிழ்ந்து சொல்லியது.

viruntu vāyilākap pukunta talaimakaṉ talaivi ilvāḻkkaic ciṟappuk kaṇṭu makiḻntu colliyatu.

The *talaivaṉ*, who enters the house with guests, sees the excellence of the domestic behaviour of the *talaivi* and rejoices.]

இருங்கழிச் சேயிறா வினப்புள் ளாருங்
கொற்கைக் கோமான் கொற்கையம் பெருந்துறை
வைகறை மலரு நெய்தல் போலத்
தகைபெரி துடைய காதலி கண்ணே.

iru-ṅ kaḻi-c cēyiṟā iṉa-p puḷ ārum
koṟkai-k kōmāṉ koṟkai am peru-n tuṟai
vaikaṟai malarum neytal pōla.t
takai peritu uṭaiya kātali kaṇ-ṇ=ē.

The eyes of my beloved have a great beauty
like the *neytal* flowers that blossom at sunrise
on the beautiful big ghats of *Koṟkai* belonging to the king of *Koṟkai*,
where flocks of birds eat red shrimps in the vast backwaters.

(ப – ரை:) விடியற்காலை மலரும் நெய்தலைக் கண்ணிற்கு உவமையாகக் கூறிற்று, வந்தபொழுதே மலர்ந்த சிறப்பு நோக்கி எனக் கொள்க.

(pa - rai:) viṭiyaṟkālai malarum neytalaik kaṇṇiṟku uvamaiyākak kūṟiṟṟu, vantapoḻutē malarnta ciṟappu nōkki eṉak koḷka.

Understand that "the *neytal*-flower that blossoms in the early morning" is given as a comparison for the eye, due to the happiness with which the eyes bloom when [the guests] come.

The commentator explains the simile in the following way: just as the *neytal* flower blossoms in the morning at sunrise, so do the *talaivi*'s

eyes beam with joy at the sight of the guests. Then the commentator explains the *uḷḷuṟai:*

> "இருங் கழிச் சேயிறா இனப் புள் ஆரும்" என்றது விருந்தினர் நுகர்ச்சி கூறியவாறு எனக் கொள்க.
>
> "*iruṅ kaḻic cēyiṟā iṉap puḷ ārum*" *eṉṟatu viruntiṉar nukarcci kūṟiyavāṟu eṉak koḷka.*
>
> Take it that saying, "Flocks of birds eat red shrimps in the vast backwaters" is the way one says "All guests are eating" (which implies they are well-fed by the housewife [=*talaivi*]).

5.8. Explaining the speech-situation (*kiḷavi viḷakkam*)

Sometimes the commentary explains the *kiḷavi* or speech-context of the poem. An example is the one on poem 29, the context of which is as follows: the *talaivaṉ* goes to the family of the *talaivi* asking for marriage. When the family refuses this, the *tōḻi* reveals the truth about the love relationship to the foster mother of the *talaivi* by saying that the *talaivi* has already embraced the *talaivaṉ*, therefore she should also marry him.

> 29.
>
> (When the relatives do not accept the marriage and refuse it there, the *tōḻi* reveals to the *cevilitāy* the love relationship [=அறத்தொடுநின்றது].)
>
> [வரைவெதிர் கொள்ளார் தமர் அவண் மறுப்புழித் தோழி செவிலிக்கு அறத்தொடு நின்றது.
>
> *varaivetir koḷḷār tamar avaṇ maṟuppuḻit tōḻi cevilikku aṟattoṭu niṉṟatu.*
>
> When the relatives do not accept the marriage proposal (by the *talaivaṉ*), the *tōḻi* reveals the secret love relationship to the foster mother.]
>
> மாரி கடிகொளக் காவலர் கடுக
> வித்திய வெண்முளை கள்வ னறுக்குங்

கழனி யூரன் மார்புற மரீஇத்
திதலை யல்கு னின்மகள்
பசலை கொள்வ தெவன்கொ லன்னாய்.

māri kaṭi koḷa-k kāvalar kaṭuka
vittiya veḷ muḷai kaḷvaṉ aṟukkum
kaḻaṉi ūraṉ mārp uṟa marīi-t
titalai alkul ṉiṉ makaḷ
pacalai koḷvatu evaṉ=kol aṉṉāy.

Having embraced closely the chest of the man of the agricultural village,
where the crab cut off the sown white seedlings,
while the rain was heavy and the watchmen ran hurriedly,
why has your daughter, with a yellow spotted waist, turned pale?

In the commentary the commentator explains the technical term *aṟattoṭu nilai* of the *kiḷavi*.

இஃது உண்மை செப்பலென்னும் அறத்தொடு நிலை.

iḵtu uṇmaiceppaleṉṉum aṟattoṭu nilai.

This is the revelation of the love relationship, which is telling the truth [about the love relationship].

5.9. Explanation of the *tiṇai*

In some comments of the *viḷakkavurai* on the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, the commentator gives an explanation as to why the respective poem has a particular *tiṇai* (landscape), whether it is because of the times or seasons described in it or whether it is because of the *karu*, that is, the constitutional elements of the respective landscape of the poem.

423.

(During the raining season the *talaivaṉ* plans to go on a journey. The *tōḻi* addresses him, telling him that the *talaivi* cannot bear the separation and by saying so she prevents his departure.)

[கார்ப்பருவத்தே பிரியக் கருதிய தலைமகற்குத் தோழி தலைமகளது ஆற்றாமை கூறிச் செலவழுங்குவித்தது.

kārpparuvattē piriyak karutiya talaimakaṟkut tōḻi talaimakaḷatu āṟṟāmai kūṟic celavaḻuṅkuvittatu.

The *tōḻi* tells the *talaivaṉ*, who thought of departing during the rainy season, that the *talaivi* is unable to bear this and prevents him from going.]

மாமழை யிடியூஉத் தளிசொரிந் தன்றே
வாணுதல் பசப்பச் செலவயர்ந் தனையே
யாமே நிற்றுறந் தமையல
மாய்மல ருண்கணு நீர்நிறைந் தனவே.

mā maḻai iṭiyūu-t taḷi corintaṉṟ(u)=ē
vāḷ nutal pacappa.c celavu ayarntaṉai-y=ē
yām=ē niṉ tuṟantu amaiyalam
āy malar uṇ kaṇ=um nīr niṟaintaṉa-v=ē.

The black clouds thundered and poured down rain drops.
You have desired to go on a journey so that she with a bright forehead gets pale.
We are not content ourselves being left alone by you.
Her coloured eyes, resembling beautiful flowers, have been filled with tears.

Poem 423 contains in line one a reference to the rainy season ("the black clouds thundered and poured rain"), based on which the commentator gives the following comment:

(ப – ரை:) இது கார்பருபத்தே கூறுதலான் முல்லையாயிற்று.

(pa - rai:) itu kārparupattē kūṟutalāṉ mullaiyāyiṟṟu.

Because this [poem] declares the rainy season, it is *mullai*.

5.10. "Explanation of the *karuttu* or theme of the poem" (*karutturai*)

The term *karuttu* "theme" refers to the theme, basic idea or gist of the utterance in the poem, which is the main part or essential point of the speech. This poetological concept is explained in the commentary on poem 373:

> 373.
>
> (The mother of the *talaivi*, who has eloped with the *talaivaṉ*, wishes that the mother of the *talaivaṉ* should experience the same agony as she does.)
>
> [தலைமகளைத் தலைமகன் கொண்டு கழிந்த கொடுமை நினைந்து நற்றாய் சொல்லியது.
>
> *talaimakaḷait talaimakaṉ koṇṭu kaḻinta koṭumai niṉaintu naṟṟāy colliyatu.*
>
> The mother thinks about the cruelty that the *talaivaṉ* has taken the *talaivi* along.]
>
> நினைத்தொறுங் கலிழு மிடும்பை யெய்துக
> புலிக்கோட் பிழைத்த கவைக்கோட்டு முதுகலை
> மான்பிணை யணைதர வாண்குரல் விளிக்கும்
> வெஞ்சுர மென்மக ளுய்த்த
> வம்பமை வல்வில் விடலை தாயே.
>
> *niṉai-t-toṟum kaliḻum iṭumpai eytuka*
> *puli-k kōḷ piḻaitta kavai-k kōṭṭu mutu kalai*
> *māṉ piṇai aṇaitara āṇ kural viḷikkum*
> *vem curam eṉ makaḷ uytta*
> *ampu amai val vil viṭalai tāy=ē.*
>
> O mother of the young man with the strong bow made of bamboo,
> who guides my daughter through the hot desert,
> where the old stag with branched horns,
> which has escaped from the seizure of the tiger,

calls in a manly voice his female so that it joins [him],

may you have the suffering of weeping whenever you think [of your son].

The commentary on this poem gives just its theme or basic idea (*karuttu*) in a one-line statement:

(ப - ரை:) இவட்காக யான் பட்ட துயரம் அவன் தாயும்பட வேண்டும் எ-று

(pa - rai:) ivaṭkāka yāṉ paṭṭa tuyaram avaṉ tāyum paṭa vēṇṭum e-ṟu

It is said that his mother should also experience the suffering that I experienced on her account.

5.11. The intention or expected result of the poem or utterance (*payaṉ*)

The term *payaṉ* refers to the function of the speech or utterance in the poem, that, is the result in the *akam* context or the intention *(nōkkam)*, that the speaker wishes to achieve through his or her speech. In poem 214, the commentator explains the *payaṉ*:

214.

(When the *talaivaṉ* tells *the tōḻi* that he was ready to go home for sometime and stay there in order to avoid further gossip about the secret love relationship arising, the *toḻi* informs the *talaivi* about this within earshot of the *talaivaṉ* and indicates that the *talaivi* will suffer through this temporary absence.)

[தலைமகன் "ஒருவழித்தணப்பல்" என்று கூறியவதனை அவன் சிறைப்புறத்தானாகத் தலைமகட்குத் தோழி சொல்லியது.

talaimakaṉ "oruvaḻit taṇappal" eṉṟu kūṟiyavataṉai avaṉ ciṟaippuṟattāṉākat talaimakaṭkut tōḻi colliyatu.

The *tōḻi* tells the *talaivi* that the *talaivaṉ* had talked about being temporarily absent to avoid rumours, while he stands within earshot.]

சாரற் பலவின் கொழுந்துணர் நறும்பழ
மிருங்கல் விடரளை வீழ்ந்தென வெற்பிற்
பெருந்தே னிறாஅல் கீறு நாடன்
பேரமர் மழைக்கண் கலிழத்தன்
சீருடை நன்னாட்டுச் செல்லு மன்னாய்.

cāral palaviṉ koḻu-n tuṇar naṟum paḻam
iru-ṅ kal viṭar aḷai vīḻnteṉa veṟpil
peru-n tēṉ iṟāal kīṟum nāṭaṉ
pēr amar maḻai-k kaṇ kaliḻa-t taṉ
cīruṭai nal ṉāṭṭu-c cellum aṉṉāy.

O friend! The man of the country,
where a big honey comb on the hill gets scattered,
because a sweet fruit of a fat bunch of jackfruits on a slope
falls into a hole in a cleft of a big rock,
will go back to his good country full of prosperity,
so that the big, desiring, cool eyes will shed tears.

(ப – ரை:) ... இதுகேட்டுக் கடிதின் வரைவானாவது பயன்.

(pa - rai:) ... itu kēṭṭuk kaṭitiṉ varaivāṉāvatu payaṉ.

The *payaṉ* (intention of the speech) is that he (*talaivaṉ*) will hear this and marry [her] quickly.

Through her speech the *tōḻi* intends to summon the *talaivaṉ* to marry quickly.

5.12. Explanations of the organizational structure of the text (*amaippuviḷakkam*)

The *Aiṅk* has a highly formalized organizational structure: the anthology consists of five groups of 100 poems each; each group is again divided into ten sub-groups of ten poems each. The whole anthology consists thus of 50 decades. Each decade has a common theme, and, what is most important, all ten poems of a decade have various formal features, which mark them as a group of ten poems, as for example identical initial lines, initial phrases or words, etc. This

structural organization of the 500 poems invites a system of paratexts, for example headings that label the various structural units, like *tiṇai*-sections and decades, and which mark their beginning and ending.

In the 17th decade, called *toṇṭi pattu*, the ten poems are formally linked together by the occurrence of the word *toṇṭi*, the name of a seaport in the Cēra country, which is used as a comparison in each of the ten poems. The ten poems are also thematically linked by a narrative sequence expressed in the *kiḷavi*-s, starting with the *talaivaṉ*'s revealing his love to the *paṅkaṉ* (friend of the *talaivaṉ*) and ending with the *tōḻi* urging the *talaivaṉ* to marry the *talaivi* hurriedly.

In this final poem of the decade the commentator not only explains the *uḷḷuṟai* but also gives an explanatory remark regarding the linking structure of the decade.

> 180.
>
> (When the *talaivaṉ* delaying the marriage continues to have secret meetings, the *tōḻi* urges him to marry quickly.)
>
> [தாழ்த்து வரையக் கருதிய தலைமகனைத் தோழி நெருங்கிக் கடிதின் வரைய வேண்டும் எனச் சொல்லியது.
>
> *tāḻttu varaiyak karutiya talaimakaṉait tōḻi neruṅkik kaṭitiṉ varaiya vēṇṭum eṉac colliyatu.*
>
> The *tōḻi* approaches the *talaivaṉ*, who delays the marriage, and tells him that he should marry quickly.]
>
> சிறுநனி வரைந்தனை கொண்மோ பெருநீர்
> வலைவர் தந்த கொழுமீன் வல்சிப்
> பறைதபு முதுகுரு கிருக்குந்
> துறைகெழு தொண்டி யன்னவிவ ணலனே.
>
> *ciṟu naṉi varaintaṉai koṇmō perunīr*
> *valaivar tanta koḻu mīṉ valci-p*
> *paṟai tapu mutu kuruku irukkum*
> *tuṟai keḻu toṇṭi aṉṉa ivaḷ nalaṉ=ē.*

Marry [her] quickly and have [the virtue of her],
who is like *Toṇṭi* with the ghats,
where an old crane, unable to fly, waits for the food of a fat fish,
which fishermen give from the sea.

(ப - ரை:)... இவை பத்தும் சொல்வகையால் தொடர்ச்சி பெறுதலே யன்றிக் கிளவி வகையால் தொடர்ச்சி யுடைய வாறும் அறிக.

(pa - rai:) ...
ivai pattum colvakaiyāl toṭarcci peṟutalēyaṉṟik kiḷavi vakaiyāl toṭarcciyuṭaiyavāṟum aṟika.

Note the way that this decade, apart from getting a linkage through the way of a word (= *toṇṭī*), is one which has also a linkage by way of the *kiḷavi* ("speech-situation").

5.13. Variant readings (*piratipētam*)

In two poems the commentator also gives some variant readings. In the commentary on poem 20, for example, the commentator first gives the explanation of the *uḷḷuṟai* and then he presents a variant of a verbal phrase.

20.

(When the *tōḻi* tries to act as a mediator and pleads on behalf of the *talaivaṉ*, who had gone to a *parattai*, the *talaivi* answers the following.)

[தலைமகளை வாயில் நேர்வித்தற் பொருட்டாக, காதலர் கொடுமை செய்தார் ஆயினும் அவர் திறம் மறவாதொழியல் வேண்டும் என்று முகம் புகுகின்ற தோழிக்கு, "என் கைவளை நில்லாதாகின்றது அவரை நினைந்ததன் பயனன்றே; இனி அமையும்" எனத் தலைமகள் சொல்லியது.

talaimakaḷai vāyil nērvittaṟ poruṭṭāka, kātalar koṭumai ceytār āyiṉum avar tiṟam maṟavātoḻiyal vēṇṭum eṉṟu mukam

pukukiṉṟa tōḻikku, "eṉ kaivaḷai nillātākiṉṟatu avarai niṉaintataṉ payaṉaṉṟē; iṉi amaiyum" eṉat talaimakaḷ colliyatu.

To the *tōḻi*, who approached her for the sake of mediation and said that even if (your) lover acts cruely, you should not forget him; the *talaivi* says that her bangles are loosening and there is no use in thinking of him.]

அறுசில் கால வஞ்சிறைத் தும்பி
நூற்றிதழ்த் தாமரைப் பூச்சினை சீக்குங்
காம்புகண் டன்ன தூம்புடை வேழத்துத்
துறைநணி யூரனை யுள்ளியென்
னிறையே ரெல்வளை நெகிழ்போ டும்மே.

aṟu cil kāla vañciṟai-t tumpi
nūṟṟitaḻ-t tāmarai-p pū-c ciṉai cīkkum
kāmpu kaṇṭaṉṉa tūmpuṭai vēḻattu-t
tuṟai naṇi ūraṉai uḷḷi eṉ
iṟai ēr el vaḷai nekiḻpu ōṭum-m=ē.

Thinking about the man of the place near the ghat
with the reed, tubular in form as if one looks at bamboo,
which rubs away the egg
of the bee with six small legs and beautiful wings,
in the lotus flower with hundred petals,
the beautiful, bright bracelets on my wrist slip and come off.

First the commentator explains the *uḷḷuṟai* as follows:

(ப - ரை:) தாமரைப் பூவகத் துளதாகிய தும்பிச் சினையை வேழம் சீக்கும் என்றது தன்மாட்டு எம்புதல்வன் உறைதலையும் விலக்குவாராகிய பொதுமகளிரை யுடையான் எ-று.

(pa - rai:) tāmaraip pūvakattuḷatākiya tumpic ciṉaiyai vēḻam cīkkum eṉṟatu taṉmāṭṭu emputalvaṉ uṟaitalaiyum vilakkuvārākiya potumakaḷiraiyuṭaiyāṉ e-ṟu.

> Saying, that "The reed rubs away the egg of the bee that is in the lotus flower" means that "He [the *talaivaṉ*] is one who has prostitutes, who are the ones who prevent my [*talaivi*'s] son staying with him."

That is to say that in the same way that the reed destroys the egg which the bee has planted into the lotus flower, the prostitutes too destroy the opportunity for the *talaivaṉ* to be with his son and also with the *talaivi*. In this way the prostitutes destroy the love which the *talaivi* has planted into the heart of the *talaivaṉ*.

Then the commentator mentions that there is a variant reading of the phrase *ciṉai cīkkum* "[which] rubs away the egg" and explains its meaning:

> "சினைச்சேக்கும்" என்று பாடமோதுவார் தும்பிச்சினை வருந்த வேழம் தங்குமென்று பொருளுரைப்ப.
>
> "*ciṉaiccēkkum*" *eṉṟu pāṭamōtuvār tumpicciṉai varunta vēḻam taṅkum eṉṟu poruḷuraippa.*
>
> Those who recite give the variant *ciṉai cēkkum* and explain the meaning as "the reed stays so that the egg of the bee suffers."

The commentator shows that a simple lexical variant of an adjectival participle changes considerably the meaning of the sentence: "The act of rubbing away (= destroying) the egg of a bee" is not identical with "the state of being there so that the egg of the bee suffers."

5.14. Quotations (*mēṟkōḷ*)

There is one instance where the commentator quotes a *sūtra* from a poetological text.

> 85.
>
> (When the *talaivaṉ* has a relationship with a *parattai* and returns home one day, the *talaivi* admonishes him by saying the following.)

[தலைமகன் பரத்தையர் மேல் காதல்கூர்ந்து நெடித்துச் செல்வுழி மனையகம் புகுந்தானாகத் தலைவி கூறியது.

talaimakaṉ parattaiyar mēl kātalkūrntu neṭittuc celvuḷi maṉaiyakam pukuntāṉākat talaivi kūṟiyatu.

When the *talaivaṉ* with excessive love spends many days with a concubine and returns home, the *talaivi* speaks.]

வெண்ணுதற் கம்பு ளரிக்குரற் பேடை
தண்ணறும் பழனத்துக் கிளையோ டாலு
மறிவில் யாணர் மலிகே ழூரநீ
சிறுவரி னினைய செய்தி
நகாரோ பெருமநிற் கண்டிசி னோரே.

veḷ nutal kampuḷ ari-k kural pēṭai
taṇ naṟu-m paḷaṉattu-k kiḷaiyōṭu ālum
maṟi il yāṇar mali kēḻ ūra nī
ciṟuvariṉ iṉaiya ceyti
nakār=ō peruma niṉ kaṇṭiciṉōr=ē.

O man of the lustrous place, full of taintless fresh income,
where the soft-voiced hen of the water-fowl with white forehead
makes noise/rejoices with its flock.
You are doing such things like children.
Will those who see you—o great man—not laugh [at you]?

The purpose of this statement by the *talaivi* is that the husband should not become a public laughing stock. He is of noble birth and should not mingle with prostitutes.

The commentator first explains the *uḷḷuṟai*. By doing so he gives an additional interpretation of the original text: "When the hen rejoices with its flock, she is without the rooster":

(ப – ரை:) கம்புள் பேடை சேவல் ஒழியக் கிளையுடனே ஆலும் ஊர என்றது "கிளையுடனே வாழ்கின்ற எமக்கு நின்னின்

> நீங்கிய மெலிவு உளதாகக் கூறுகின்றேம் அல்லேம்; நின் குலத்தொழுகத்துக்குத் தகாது" என கழறியதாம்;
>
> *(pa - rai:) kampuḷ pēṭai cēval oḻiyak kiḷaiyuṭaṉē ālum ūra eṉṟatu* "*kiḷaiyuṭaṉē vāḻkiṉṟa emakku niṉṉiṉ nīṅkiya melivu uḷatākak kūṟukiṉṟēm allēm*; *niṉ kulattoḻukattukkut takātu*" *eṉa kaḷaṟiyatām;*
>
> Saying, "The man of the place where the hen rejoices with its flock without the cock" means "We don't say that we, who live with our family, have the pain of being separated from you. This does not befit the good conduct of your family."

After the explanation of the *uḷḷurai* the commentator gives an additional note to the theme of the poem by quoting from *sūtra* TP 171i (4.32):

> "தாய்போற் கழறித் தழீஇக் கோடல், ஆய்மனைக் கிழத்திக்கு உரித்து என மொழிப" என்றதூஉம் இத்திறனோக்கி எனக் கொள்க.
>
> "*tāypōṟ kaḷaṟit taḻīik kōṭal*, *āymaṉaik kiḻattikku urittu eṉa moḻipa*" *eṉṟatūum it tiṟaṉōkki eṉak koḷka.*
>
> Take it that it is regarding this conduct [of the wife] that it is said: "[When the husband/*talaivaṉ* is in a troubled condition, i.e. remorseful] they say that it is proper for the wife at home to be angry with him [admonish him/criticize him] like a mother and [afterwards to remove his distress, to console him and] hold him in embrace [like earlier].

The meaning of this *sūtra* is that the wife has the right to criticize the husband and then she should forgive him.

5.15. Cultural comments (historical, religious, astrological, etc.)

Comments giving historical explanations are mainly found in the anonymous *poḻippurai* on the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and the anonymous

kuṟippurai on the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. One single historical explanation with respect to the Cēra king is found on poem 1.

1.

(After marriage the *talaivaṉ* visits frequently a *parattai*. When he realises his mistake, he returns to the *talaivi*. One day he meets the *tōḻi* and asks her in retrospect what they were thinking about him, when he behaved wrongly by going to a *parattai*. The *tōḻi* answers the following.)

[புறத்தொழுக்கத்திலே நெடுநாளொழுகி, "இதுதகாது" எனத் தெளிந்த மனத்தனாய் மீண்டு தலைவியோடு கூடி ஒழுங்காநின்ற தலைமகன் தோழியோடு சொல்லாடி, "யான் அவ்வாறொழுக நீயிர் நினைத்த திறம் யாது?" என்றாற்குஅவள்சொல்லியது.

uṟattoḻukkattilē neṭunāḷoḻuki, "*itu takātu*" *eṉat teḷinta maṉattaṉāy mīṇṭu talaiviyōṭukūṭi oḻuṅkāniṉṟa talaimakaṉ tōḻiyōṭu collāṭi*, "*yāṉ avvāṟoḻuka nīyir niṉaitta tiṟam yātu?*" *eṉṟāṟku avaḷ colliyatu.*

The *talaivaṉ*, who had lived with a concubine for many days, realised that this was not proper and lived again with the *talaivi*, talks to the *tōḻi* and asks what they had thought when he was behaving in that way. To that she replies:]

வாழி யாதன் வாழி யவினி
நெற்பல பொலிக பொன்பெரிது சிறக்க
வெனவேட் டோளே யாயே யாமே
நனைய காஞ்சிச் சினைய சிறுமீன்
யாண ரூரன் வாழ்க
பாணனும் வாழ்க வெனவேட் டேமே.

vāḻi ātaṉ vāḻi aviṉi
nel pala polika poṉ peritu ciṟakka
eṉa vēṭṭōḷ=ē yāy=ē yām=ē
naṉaiya kāñci.c ciṉaiya ciṟu mīṉ
yāṇar ūraṉ vāḻka
pāṇaṉ=um vāḻka eṉa vēṭṭēm=ē.

> "May *Ātaṉ* live long, may *Aviṉi* live long!
> May the paddy flourish! Let gold be in big abundance!"
> so the mother (= *talaivi*) wished.
> We (= *tōḻi* and others) wished,
> "May the man from the fertile/wealthy town
> with budding Kāñci flowers and pregnant, small fish,
> live long and long live the bard, too!"

In this poem the *talaivi* did not express anger about the *talaivaṉ*. Instead, she wishes the best for the king and riches for the country. But the *tōḻi* is very much concerned about the *talaivaṉ* and wishes the best for him (so that he returns to his wife, the *talaivi*). The poet [Ōrampōkiyar] mentions the name of the king, that of a Cēra king. By doing so he expresses his loyalty to the Cēra kings. In the commentary on this poem, which is its largest commentary section, the commentator gives four kinds of explanations (*viḷakkam*): first, a paraphrase (*poḻippurai*) of the poem, then two lexical glosses of a single word, then an explanation of the *uḷḷurai*, and finally a historical explanation by identifying the two names of the kings in the poem with Cēra kings:

> ஆதனவினி யென்பான் சேரமான்களிற் பாட்டுடைத் தலைமகன்.
>
> *ātaṉaviṉiyeṉpāṉ cēramāṉkaḷiṟ pāṭṭuṭait talaimakaṉ.*
>
> "Among the Cēra kings is the one who is called *Ātaṉ* and *Aviṉi*, the hero of the poem."

6.0. Conclusion

In the old anonymous commentary to the *Aiṅkuṟuṉūṟu*, the commentator predominantly gives literary (and not lexical, grammatical, or poetological) explanations. By far the most explanations concern the *uḷḷuṟai* and the *iṟaicci*—in 135 of the 196 commentaries these two literary images are explained. Lexical, grammatical and poetological explanations are given in maximum 13

commentaries only. It seems, therefore, that the main concern of the commentator was to explain the metaphorical figures or images in the text—the *uḷḷuṟai* and the *iṟaicci.* Whether the old commentary on the *Aiṅkuṟuṉūṟu* has a number of distinctive features with respect to the 15 kinds of lexical, grammatical, literary, poetological, and other kinds of explanations of the poems it provides can only be ascertained if similar analyses of the commentaries of other Caṅkam texts are made available.

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Showing the Way:
The Metatextual Field of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*

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What I propose here is to have a glance at the variety of commentaries available upon a classical Tamil text, the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* ("Showing the way towards the glorious Muruku" or "The glorious guide towards Muruku"), a 317-line poem composed in the *akaval/āciriyappā* metre perhaps in the 7th cent. CE, attributed to Nakkīrar, and praising the god Muruku/Murukaṉ. This text has the peculiarity of belonging to two distinct corpora. It is traditionally considered as the first of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the anthology of ten long poems which is part of the so-called Caṅkam corpus. It is also found in the 11th of the 12 *Tirumuṟaṅ*s, which constitute the Tamil Śaiva devotional canon. As such, the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* has been the object of several commentaries, both of literary and/or devotional orientation. I also adopt here Genette's term "metatext" (1979: 87; 1992: 82) to name commentaries, in order to mark the difference with what Genette calls paratext.[2] These commentaries were composed from the 14th cent. to perhaps the 18th cent., spanning thus no less than half a millennium in the history of transmission and interpretation of one of the most popular Tamil texts. Manuscripts dating generally to the 19th

[1] I thank all the participants of the workshop who made useful comments and suggestions, some of which are included in this contribution, the editors of the volume for their careful reading and useful suggestions for improvement, and colleagues to whom I am indebted for information on number 84, namely, Jean-Luc Chevillard, Randy Kloetzli, Ruth Satinsky, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen and Christophe Vielle. Thanks also to Sascha Ebeling for having pondered with me about some unclear passages of the manuscripts.

[2] Genette (1992: 82): "Under transtextuality I also include—using the obligatory term *metatextuality*, modelled on *language/metalanguage*—the transtextual relationship that links a commentary to the text it comments on."

cent., sometimes to the 18th cent., are the oldest testimonies available. Some have revealed commentaries not yet noticed, as far as I know, which are dealt with here.

I will focus only on the first six metrical lines (*aṭṭ*s) of the poem due to lack of time and space (as you can judge from the extent of the present contribution, which does not deal with even 2% of the work). I will thus propose a very preliminary look in five steps.

Firstly, I will present the commentaries available to us, whether in print or in manuscript form, and discuss their dates.

Secondly, I will present an analysis of the six first lines (*aṭṭ*s) of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, with a partial critical apparatus and a translation. In my approach to these first six lines, I will consider all the possible interpretations of its words.

Thirdly, I will provide the text of all commentaries available to me on this portion of the poem, translate them, and, so that this long tradition endures, comment upon them. I will occasionally compare printed editions of commentaries against available manuscripts.

Fourthly, thanks to an examination of these commentaries, I will compare the hermeneutic techniques deployed therein. I will thus, from a general point of view of the history of commentaries in Tamil, try to answer a few basic questions. *How?* What are the different techniques for elucidating a passage: gloss, paraphrase? What kind of information is provided (alternative interpretations, grammatical point, mythological point, description of tropes, etc.). *Why?* Why were different commentaries composed for one and the same text? Is it because different ways of explaining were necessary on account of diverse audiences? What is the aim of each specific commentary?

Fifthly, returning to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (henceforth TMAP) itself, I will compare the interpretations offered by these commentaries on these first six lines, identifying agreements and points of divergences in them.

In the Appendices, I will present synoptic tables of the content of all the commentaries available on the first six lines of the poem (Appendix 1), I will collect elements of the Tamil commentarial metalanguage represented in the extracts of commentaries that I quote (Appendix 2) and a compilation of definitions of the TL based on the first six lines of the TMAP (Appendix 3).

1. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* Commentaries

The TMAP has been the object of a fairly important number of commentaries, with no less than five old commentaries having been published. Some have been published separately, but one can find them all in what I will call here the Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition (TMAP [1959]).

Besides old published commentaries, we also have printed commentaries by modern scholars. Among commendable ones, we may mention those by Āṟumukanāvalar (TMAP [1853]), U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar/U. V. Swaminatha Iyer (henceforth UVS) (*Pattuppāṭṭu* [1956a]), Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (TMAP [1946]; TMAP [2001: 108–118]), Jean Filliozat (TMAP [1973]), Po. Vē. Cōmacuntaraṉār (*Pattuppāṭṭu* [1956b]) and Civañāṉam (TMAP [2003, part II: 1–235]). I will not be concerned with these here and will mention again only Āṟumukanāvalar's commentary, because it is also found in manuscript form.

The successive programmes for collecting MSS by the EFEO, CSMC and NETamil have yielded only two among the five old commentaries (namely Parimēlaḻakar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar). The 54/56 different MSS of TMAP, which are available to me in digital form, provide 34 testimonies of the root-text (*mūlam*) and 28 testimonies of commentaries (*urai*).[3] The commentaries of TMAP are found in

[3] I cannot determine yet if there are 54 or 56 MSS, as the MS testimonies TT1 and TT2, which I could not physically examine, seem in fact to constitute one single manuscript. So is the case of the MS testimonies TU2 and TU3. For the sigla of MSS, see the list of manuscripts below. In quotations from MSS, I restore *ō*, *ē* and *puḷḷi* wherever they are not marked. The words MS/MSS henceforth designate either the physical object that a MS is, which might contain several texts, or the MS

different configurations in MSS. In general, we find just the commentary—itself including the *mūlam*, but quoted as segments interspersed within the commentary—either in single-text MSS or multiple-text MSS. But there are cases where we find first the entire continuous *mūlam* and then the *urai*.[4] The MSS TT1 and TT2, if they indeed constitute a single MS, would be a special case of a MS containing two different commentaries upon the TMAP one after another.

At least two more MSS kept in the National Library, Calcutta, are known to me, but I have not checked them yet. The MS Ca1 is apparently the only extant testimony of Uraiyāciriyar's commentary (see below) while the MS Ca2, much damaged, is also a commentary, but not identified in the catalogue.[5]

The systematic search for MSS has yielded two commentaries, not yet known or edited: one is attributed in one of the three available MSS to Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ and the other is anonymous. In total I thus have knowledge of at least nine different metatexts of TMAP. Let us review them in a tentative chronological order.

Parimēlaḻakar (13th cent.)

A commentary, printed several times,[6] is attributed to Parimēlaḻakar, known also for his commentaries on *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Paripāṭal*. This seems to show that he is more interested in moral and religious texts than in literature per se. Parimēlaḻakar is generally considered as a

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testimony of a text, which might in fact be found in a physical object which is a multiple-text MS.

[4] There are five such examples (MSS C7, C8, T2, G9, T7), to which a sixth one might be added (MSS TU2 and TU3, if in fact they happen to be a single mss).

[5] The MS Ca 2 is described in the catalogue as being "with a commentary; the leaves are very brittle"(*uraiyuṭaṉ kūṭiyatu. ēṭukaḷ mikavum citilam*).

[6] See TMAP (1885–1886?), an edition mentioned by Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (1943: xxiv), but not available to me; TMAP (1945?), the date of publication of which is uncertain; TMAP (1959: 115–149).

predecessor of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and is dated to the 13th cent.[7] The commentary on TMAP is however suspected to be the work of a different man with the same name or an apocrypha.[8] If so, its ascription to the 13th cent. becomes *de facto* disputable. Besides the printed editions, two manuscripts are available to me:

No. 1—Titled as such: C11, designated three times as *tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai parimēlaḷakar urai*.

No. 2—Anonymous: TT2 (dated to 1842), designated as *tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai urai*.

Both MSS include at the beginning a commentary on the *kāppu* to TMAP. Note also that the commentary in MS P1 is wrongly attributed to Parimēlaḷakiyar, but contains in fact Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary (see below).

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar (14th cent.)

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, generally dated to the 14th cent.,[9] commented upon the TMAP in his commentary on the whole *Pattuppāṭṭu*.[10] Other texts commented upon by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar are the *Tolkāppiyam*, the *Kalittokai*, the *Kuṟuntokai* and the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. An anonymous stanza enumerating the commentaries by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is our primary source of knowledge on the existence of his partial *Kuṟuntokai* commentary, which is lost. Cf. Wilden (2017). Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar thus clearly appears interested in literary texts. The number of manuscripts

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[7] See Zvelebil (1995: 527), who dates Parimēlaḷakar possibly to 13th cent. and mentions that Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar criticizes Parimēlaḷakar's interpretation of *Paripāṭal* II.57. Lehmann (2009: 68) also dates Parimēlaḷakar to the 13th cent.

[8] See Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (1943: xxiv) on UVS quoting this commentary as *vēṟurai* and not as *Parimēlaḷakar urai* in notes to his *Pattuppāṭṭu* edition, T.P. Meenakshisundaram in Chitty (1946: 77), Filliozat (1973: XXXVIII), Zvelebil (1995: 680).

[9] For the date of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, see Filliozat (1973: XXXVIII), Zvelebil (1995: 459), Lehmann (2009: 68). Arumugham (1981: 3) places him "some time after the 14th century A.D."

[10] See *Pattuppāṭṭu* (1956a: 32–79), TMAP (1959: 29–79) and TMAP (2003: 25–57).

available to me, 19 in total, unambiguously demonstrates the high esteem attached to his commentary on TMAP. These MSS are:

Nos. 1–15—Titled as such: C1, C5, C6, G2, G6, G8, I4 (seemingly dated to 1807), I5, P2 (dated to 1763 or 1823), SM3, SM4, T2 (dated to 1712), T3, T7, TT1.

Nos. 16–17—Anonymous: G10, SM1.

No. 18—Titled as Parimēlaḻakiyar's commentary but containing in fact Naccinārkkiniyar's: P1 (earlier than 1855), designated on its front title-page as *tirumurukārṟuppaṭaikkup parimēlaḻakiyar uraipāṭam*. This is an abridged version of Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary, as it retains the verse-by-verse paraphrase, but leaves out the explanations. This is also a rare case of user-friendly MS: on the page, the *mūlam* occupies the left side while the *urai* is on the right.[11]

No. 19—Anonymous: C7 (dated to 1848 most probably), designated as *tirumurukārṟuppaṭai uraipāṭam* in the heading and the final title-colophon. This is also an abridged/adapted version as it converts the paraphrase into word-by-word glosses. The entire continuous *mūlam* is provided first, after which the glosses come in columns.

Uraiyāciriyar (13th–15th cent.?)

Another metatext of the TMAP is known as the commentary by Uraiyāciriyar, "the master commentator."[12] I am aware of the existence of only one MS of it, kept in the National Library in Calcutta and not available to me:

No. 1—Described as "*kuṟippukaḷ: uraiyāciriyar uraiyuṭaṉ kūṭiyatu*" in the catalogue: Ca1. It is dated to 1819.

The description indicates that this is the MS used by Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (1943: xxiv–xxv), from whom we learn that it comes from Tirunelvēli and that Piḷḷai obtained a copy of it. It appears also that it is described as *uraiyāciriyarurai* in the MS paratexts. Piḷḷai adds that from its style, this commentary cannot be attributed to Iḷampūraṇar, who is also

[11] See Francis (2015), in which, misled by the title mentioned in the MS, I had not yet realised that the *urai* was that of Naccinārkkiniyar.

[12] See TMAP (s.d.), mentioned in Niklas (1990: 76), but not available to me; TMAP (1943); TMAP (1959: 80–114); TMAP (2001: 133–154).

referred to as Uraiyāciriyar (Zvelebil 1995: 248). Piḷḷai guesses that he may have belonged to the 15th cent.[13] while Lehmann (2009: 68) dates "Uraiyāciriyar (anonymous)" to the 13th cent.

Kavipperumāḷ & Pariti (11th–13th cent.?)

The Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition (TMAP 1959) provides two further commentaries, by Kavipperumāḷ and Pariti, which are presented as intertwined (that is, a quotation of a fragment of the *mūlam* is followed by Kavipperumāḷ's and Pariti's commentaries *ad locum*, and so on).[14] According to Zvelebil (1995: 185), we also have commentaries on *Tirukkuṟaḷ* by Pariti (alias Paritiyār) and by Kavipperumāḷ (alias Paripperumāḷ). Both Pariti and Kavipperumāḷ would thus have commented on the same works as Parimēlaḻakar. Their dates are not known for sure: Zvelebil (1995: 528) dates Paripperumāḷ to the 11th or 13th cent. with a question mark and Paritiyār to the 12th cent. In the same book (p. 185), Zvelebil provides a list of important Tamil commentators in chronological order, in which the commentators we are concerned with appear in the following order: Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Paritiyār, Paripperumāḷ (identified on the same page, next entry, as Kavipperumāḷ), and Parimēlaḻakar. Such inconsistencies in the dates ascribed to these two commentators by Zvelebil indicate how much uncertainty we have to navigate through. Zvelebil probably relies here on divergent opinions found in secondary literature in Tamil. Aruṇācalam (2005a: 94; 2005b: 60–62) dates Paripperumāḷ, the commentator of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, to the 11th cent. Lehmann (2009: 68) dates "Paritiyar," the commentator of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, to the 12th cent., and "Kavipperumāḷ/Pariperumāḷ," the commentator of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, as well as "Kavipperumāḷ?? (Paritiyar)," the commentator of TMAP, to the 13th cent. Only one manuscript copy for each of these two different

[13] Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai mentions that Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's and Uraiyāciriyar's commentaries are similar: for instance, ad *aṭi* 106, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar anonymously quotes a commentator that Uraiyāciriyar also follows.

[14] See TMAP (1959: 150–176).

TMAP commentaries is reported, of which none, unfortunately, is available to me.[15]

Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ (18th cent.)

Three manuscripts provide a commentary, unreported as far as I know. One of the MS ascribes it to Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ:

> **No. 1**—Titled as such: G11, designated as *{mallaiyū}rkkuḻantaikkavirācar tirumurukāṟ{ṟuppa}ṭ{ai}* (fcf2a1–2) and *mallaiyūrkkuḻantaikkavirācaṉ {ti}ru-murukāṟṟuppaṭai urai* (fcf3a1–2, from another hand?)
>
> **Nos. 2–3**—Anonymous: C8, TU3.

This commentary is attested in two versions: a longer one with word-by-word glosses and paraphrase (TU3, G11) and a shorter one that leaves out the word-by-word glosses (C8). Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ seems to be Kuḻantaik Kavirāyar, whom Zvelebil (1995: 371) describes as hailing from Mitilaippaṭṭi, Civakaṅkai, as (being) the son of Mallaiyūr Aḻakiya Ciṟṟampalak Kavirāyar, and as (being) the author of two works (*Māṉviṭutūtu*, a deer-messenger-poem, and *Tiṉakavitaip pustakam* on the god Murukaṉ of Kuṉṟakkuṭi in 5117 stanzas). Zvelebil dates Kuḻantaik Kavirāyar to the 18th cent. That he composed a poem on Murukaṉ might explain his interest in commenting upon the TMAP.

Āṟumukanāvalar (19th cent.)

Āṟumukanāvalar wrote a modern commentary on TMAP, derived from Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary.[16] I am just mentioning it *en passant*,

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[15] See TMAP (1959: ix–x): *kavipperumāḷurai tirucceṅkōṭu nallaiyaṉ kōyil periya pūcāriyār vīṭṭup pirati. paritiyurai, moñcaṉūrp pacupatipāḷaiyam tamiḻpperumpulavarāy viḷaṅkiya periyacāmik kavuṇṭar vīṭṭup pirati*, "The commentary by Kavipperumāḷ is (taken from) a copy from the house of the great Pūjāri (i.e. head priest) of the temple of Nallaiyaṉ at Tirucceṅkōṭu. The commentary by Pariti is (taken from) a copy from the house of Periyacāmi Kavuṇṭar, who shone as a great scholar of Tamil in Moñcaṉūr Pacupatipāḷaiyam."

[16] See TMAP (1853).

because this commentary, which first appeared in print, is also attested in two manuscripts:

No. 1—Titled as such (i.e. the title-page of the printed book is copied): I2 (dated to 1864 most probably).

No. 2—Anonymous: G9.

The first MS is a copy of the first edition of Āṟumukanāvalar's commentary, TMAP (1853). The second one might also be so, but it cannot be excluded that it was copied from a later edition. See Francis (2017).

Anonymous *urai* from Pērūr

Another so far unreported commentary on TMAP has surfaced recently in the library of the Pērūr Cāntaliṅka Aṭikaḷār Tirumaṭam in Coimbatore, thanks to the efforts of Babu N. Ramaswamy and S.A.S. Sarma in the frame of the NETamil systematic search for MSS of the Caṅkam corpus:

No. 1—Anonymous: Pe 1.

This commentary consists of a line-by-line paraphrase in a relatively modern colloquial Tamil.

Anonymous *karutturai*

An anonymous short metatext provides the syntactic structure of the TMAP. It quotes selected words rather than full *aṭi*s, with minimal paraphrase, and strings them together. This metatext is described as *karutturai* in the catalogue (catalogue C, vol. 1, p. 222) and I will refer to it as such. It is attested in a single manuscript and remains unprinted:

No. 1—Anonymous: C9.

Leaving out from the above list Āṟumukanāvalar's commentary (as it is a modern commentary, first printed and secondarily attested in manuscript form) and the unidentified commentary preserved in the National Library in Calcutta (Ca2), which is yet to be checked, we thus

have at least eight old metatexts on TMAP. We do not know much for sure about their dates. That Naccinārkkiniyar dates to the 14th cent. seems secure. Parimēlalakar is probably earlier, but, as the attribution of the TMAP commentary to him has been contested, the date of "his" commentary remains undetermined. Uraiyāciriyar's date is uncertain as are those of Kavipperumāḷ and Pariti. Kulantaik Kavirācan is dated to the 18th cent. The language of the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr, as the extract given below shows, seems to point towards a rather recent date. As for the anonymous *karutturai*, it is so succinct that it is difficult to date, but its segmentation and analysis of the *mūlam*, appears to derive from the earlier commentaries by Parimēlalakar and Naccinārkkiniyar. Although the relative chronology is thus still confused, it seems that we can distinguish between two groups: early old or medieval commentaries (Parimēlalakar, Naccinārkkiniyar, Uraiyāciriyar and possibly Kavipperumāḷ and Pariti) and late old or premodern commentaries (Mallaiyūrk Kulantaik Kavirācan, the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr, the anonymous *karutturai*).

Let us now, before looking at the texts of our commentaries, examine the first six lines of the *mūlam* that we have taken as sample for comparison.

2. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* 1–6: *Mūlam*

What follows is the text as well as translation of the first six *aṭi*s of TMAP, accompanied by a partial critical apparatus based on 25 manuscripts.[17] I provide, line by line, the metrical text in Tamil script, the text with *sandhi* split in Roman, the critical apparatus and a basic discussion on problematic words. Alternative translations are separated by slashes. These first six lines consist of a description of Murukan: his brightness (*aṭi*s 1–3), his feet (*aṭi* 4), his hands (*aṭi* 5), his being the husband of Devasenā (*aṭi* 6).

[17] C1, C2, C3, C4, C7, C8, C10, C12, C13, C14, G1, G3, G4, G5, G7, G12, G13, I1, I2, I3, P1, P3, T1, T2, T5.

{{1}} உலக முவப்ப வலனேர்பு திரிதரு

ulakam uvappa valaṉ ērpu tiri taru

1a: உலவ (G3).—1c: வலமின்பு (G3).—1cd missing in C1.

starting (*taru*) to rotate (*tiri*) and rising (*ērpu*) to the right side (*valaṉ*) so that/while the world (*ulakam*) rejoices (*uvappa*)

The phrase *valaṉ ērpu* denotes the circumambulation *pradakṣiṇa*-wise around Mount Meru according to most commentators. Filliozat (1973: 67–68) further notes a double meaning so far unnoticed, as *valaṉ* "en même temps que désignant la droite, représente aussi le sanskrit *balin* « puissant » et peut qualifier ici le Soleil."

{{2}} பலர்புகழ் ஞாயிறு கடற்கண் டாஅங்

palar pukaḻ ñāyiṟu kaṭal kaṇṭu āaṅku

2a: பலபுகள் (G3), பலற்புகழ் (I3).—2b: ஞாயறு (C3, P1).—2c: கடைற்கண் (C14), கடற்க்கண் (G1).—2d: டாங்கு (C1), டாங் (C14, G7, G12), டாங்க (G4).

as if (*āṅku*) seeing (*kaṇṭu*) (on) the sea (*kaṭal*) the sun (*ñāyiṟu*) praised (*pukaḻ*) by many (*palar*)

{{3}} கோவற விமைக்குஞ் சேண்விளங் கவிரொளி

ō/ōvu aṟa imaikkum cēṇ viḷaṅku avir oḷi

3a: கோவுவற (T5), கோவுவற் (G3).—3b: றிமைக்குஞ் (G3).—3c: சேண்விழங் (G4), சேணிளங் (G12).—3d: கதிரொளி (G1).

he is the glittering (*avir*) and shining (*viḷaṅku*) light (*oḷi*) in the sky/height/distance (*cēṇ*), which twinkles [or: in front of which one blinks] (*imaikkum*) unceasingly (*ō āṟa*)/without seeing (*ōvu aṟa*)

The phrase *ōvaṟa* is generally split into *ō aṟa*, "so that going and staying (*ō*) ,cuts off/is severed (*aṟa*)," i.e. "unceasingly." So does the TL s.v. *ō*[3], where the first definition is based precisely on this passage (see Appendix 3). An alternative split, as suggested to me by Eva Wilden, is *ōvu aṟa*, "so that the picture (*ōvu*) cuts off/is severed," i.e. the sun dazzles the viewer. Furthermore, as pointed out to me by Suganya Anandakichenin in a personal communication, *ōvu* could be an abbreviated form of *ōyvu*,

"cessation, ceasing, relinquishment, rest." In any case *aṟa* can be considered equivalent to *-il* ("without"): *ō*/*ōyvu aṟa* would mean "without ceasing, unceasingly" and *ōvu aṟa* "without picture," i.e. without seeing. The word *oḷi* can be analysed as a direct object to *uṟunar* (*aṭi* 4), i.e. "those longing for the light/brightness (that Murukaṉ is)" or as a qualifier/apposition to *kaṇavaṉ* (*aṭi* 6), i.e. "(Murukaṉ) the husband (who is) a light." The word *imaikkum* is a *peyareccam* to *oḷi*: "the light/brightness which twinkles" or "the light/brightness in front of which one blinks." Alternatively, it could be considered as a *peyareccam* to *uṟunar*, "those longing for the light/brightness, who blink (looking at it)."

{{4}} யுறுநர்த் தாங்கிய மதனுடை நோன்றாட்

uṟunar tāṅkiya mataṉ uṭai nōṉ tāḷ

4a: உறுநர்த் (C1, C2), யுறுணர்த் (C3), யுறுநற் (P1), வுறுநர்த் (G4), யுறுனர்த் (G7, G13).—4b: றாங்கிய (P1).—4c: மதனிடை (G7), மதனுட (G13).—4d: நோனாறாட் (C1), னோன்றாட் (C3), நோன்றாட்ச (G4), நோன்றாள் (G7), னோன்றோட் (G13).

he has strong (*nōṉ*) feet (*tāḷ*) destroying arrogance/ignorance [or: possessing strength/beauty] (*mataṉ uṭai*) in order to protect [or: which protect] (*tāṅkiya*) those who are devoted to [or: those who long for] (*uṟunar*) (him/the light, that he is) [or: while devotees (*uṟunar*) revere (*tāṅkiya*) (him/the light, that he is)]

The form *tāṅkiya* can be analysed as an infinitive,[18] with Murukaṉ as subject ("so that he protects") or *uṟunar* ("while devotees revere [him]"), or even as a *peyareccam* to *tāḷ* ("feet which protect"). The word *mataṉ* shows polysemy: "arrogance, strength, beauty, ignorance, etc." (see Appendix 3). As for *uṭai*, it could be understood as *uṭaital*, "to destroy" (*viṉaittokai* with *tāḷ*), or as *uṭaiya*, "possessing," adjectival form of *uṭaimai*, "possession, property." The phrase *mataṉuṭai nōṉṟāḷ* is a formula attested in *Puṟanāṉūru* 75.6 and 213.1, *Naṟṟiṇai* 7.8, *Paṭṭiṉappālai* 278. It is interpreted differently in its several occurrences (see Appendix 3). Naccinārkkiṉiyar does not say a word about it in his commentary ad *Paṭṭiṉappālai* 278 (*Pattuppāṭṭu* [1956a]).

[18] See Rajam (1992: 757), who mentions, among examples, *tāṅkiya* in *Akanāṉūṟu* 128.1.

{{5}} செறுநர்த் தேய்த்த செல்லுறழ் தடக்கை

ceṟunar tēytta cel uṟaḻ taṭam kai

5a: செறுனர்த் (C3, C7, G5, G13), செறுனர்[த்] (C4).—5b: தேத்தச் (G1).—5c: சொலுறழ்[XX] (C2), செல்லுறள் (C10) செல்லு[X]றத[X] (G3), செல்லுழி (G4, with illegible correction).

he has large (*taṭam*) hands (*kai*) resembling (*uṟaḻ*) a cloud/thunderbolt (*cel*), which has/have destroyed (*tēytta*) the enemies (*ceṟunar*).

The word *tēytta* is *peyareccam* to *kai* or to *cel*. According to Filliozat (1973: 68), this line alludes to the victories of Murukaṉ over *asura*s as narrated in the *Kantapurāṇam*.

{{6}} மறுவில் கற்பின் வாணுதல் கணவன்

maṟu il kaṟpiṉ vāṇ nutal kaṇavaṉ

6a: கமறுவில் (C3).—6b: கற்ப்பின் (G1).—6c: வானுதல் (G12).—6d: கணவன் (final ண் corrected into ன் by crossing out a *cuḷi*) (T1), கற்ப்பின் (G1).

he is the husband (*kaṇavaṉ*) of (she who has a) shining (*vāṇ*) forehead (*nutal*) with a devotion/fidelity (*kaṟpiṉ*) without (*il*) blemish (*maṟu*)

The one with a shining (*vāṇ*) forehead (*nutal*) is an *ākupeyar* ("metonymy," to make it simple) for Teyvayāṉai (Sanskrit Devasenā), the consort of Murukaṉ.

A continuous translation of these first six lines of the TMAP could be as follows.

> He (i.e. Murukaṉ) is the light glittering and shining in the distance, which unceasingly twinkles [or: in front of which one unceasingly winks] (*aṭi* 3), as if seeing (on) the sea the sun praised by many (*aṭi* 2), which starts turning and rising in circumambulation, so that/while the world rejoices (*aṭi* 1),

> he has robust feet which destroy arrogance [or: which possess strength/beauty] so as to protect his devotees [or: those who long for him] [or: while devotees revere (him)] (*aṭi* 4),
>
> he has large hands resembling a cloud/thunderbolt, which destroyed the enemies (*aṭi* 5),
>
> he is the husband of the one with the shining forehead and of unblemished devotion (*aṭi* 6)
>
> ... (is the one who) by right resides on the mountain (*aṭi* 77).

We thus face some uncertainties concerning the meaning of words (whether they show polysemy or are homonymic) and the syntax. For instance, *oḷi*, *tāḷ* and *kai* can be considered as attributes of *kaṇavaṉ* (as explicated below by some of our commentators), itself an apposition or attribute to *uriyaṉ* (*aṭi* 77, where the description of the first of the six abodes of Murukaṉ mentioned in the TMAP ends). But alternatively, *oḷi* could also be analysed as a direct object to *uṟunar* ("so as to protect those longing for the light [that Murukaṉ is]"). The overall meaning is however clear: Murukaṉ, the husband of Teyvayāṉai, is bright as the sun, protects the devotees with his feet (at which the devotees bow) and destroys the enemies with his hands. Now let us see how our commentators interpret these six lines.

3. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* 1–6: *Uraiṟ*

The texts of the commentaries below are given either after a printed edition or a manuscript. They are first given in Tamil characters. I have segmented the texts of the commentaries and numbered them for easy reference. In texts taken from a printed edition, the word-split by the editors is maintained, but not their punctuation. Note that in several editions, the editors split the *sandhi* of the *mūlam* quotations and remove the word *etu*/*eṉpatu*, which concludes a quotation of the *mūlam*. In texts taken from a manuscript, I have standardised the punctuation by systematically using the em dash, introduced *puḷḷiṟ*

(dots placed over a letter), word spacings, and differentiated long *ō* and *ē* from their short counterparts.

The text in Tamil characters is then followed by its Roman transliteration according to the *Tamil Lexicon*. In transliterating, I have removed the external *sandhi* and marked with hyphens the boundaries between constituents of a word. I have used bold characters to mark any quotation of the *mūlam*, whether it is a complete metrical line (*aṭi*), a word, or a phrase (understood here as more than one word but less than a line or a word). I have also added the metrical line number from which the quotation comes (**{{1}}** for instance).

The transliterations are followed by a translation. Quotations of the *mūlam* are not translated, as they appear above. The word-by-word glosses are separated one from the other by em dash and the translation comes immediately after each gloss (see **PM13** for instance).

In indented paragraphs are my notes.

Parimēlaḻakar ad TMAP 1–6[19]

PM1 •••••• உலக முவப்ப-மலைகிழ வோனே என முதலையு முடிவையுஞ் சொல்ல ஒருமை பெற்ற வுள்ளத்துடனே யொருகாற் பாடமோதிய தெனக்கொள்க **{{1–317}}** ***ulakam uvappa … malai-kiḻavōṉ-ē*** *eṉa mutalaiyum muṭivaiyum colla orumai peṟṟa uḷḷattuṭaṉē oru kāl pāṭam ōtiyatu eṉa koḷka* •••••• One should understand that the poem is recited (*ōtiyatu*) all at once (i.e. in one session, without interruption) with a single-minded heart[20] when one utters ***ulakam uvappa*** and ***malaikiḻavōṉē*** as the beginning and the end.

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[19] After the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* edition by Kō. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār, TMAP (1945: 5–8), who structures his commentary with editorial paratexts, making a distinction between a *patavurai* (word-by-word glosses) and a *vicēṣavurai*. The Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition, TMAP (1959), does not provide the word-by-word glosses but only the paraphrase. Some variants from the two MSS available to me (C11, TT2) are occasionally provided.

[20] Literally: "a heart which has got *orumai*."

The quotations *ulakam uvappa* and *malaikiḻavōṉē* constitutes the first two and last two *cīr*s of the poem. Note the shades of meaning of *orumai* ("oneness; uniqueness; concentration of mind; knowledge of God; decision, determination; truthfulness, veracity"). The two MSS available to me (C11, TT2) have *etu* (i.e. *eṉpatu*) instead of *eṉa*.

PM2 •••••• உலகம் உவப்ப என்பது முதல் கணவன் என்பது வரையும் ஒரு தொடர் {{1–6}} ***ulakam uvappa*** *eṉpatu mutal* ***kaṇavaṉ*** *eṉpatu varai-y-um oru toṭar* •••••• From the phrase ***ulakam uvappa*** up to the word ***kaṇavaṉ*** (it is) one clause.

The MSS C11 and TT2 have instead of **PM2** the following phrase, for the understanding of which I am indebted to Sascha Ebeling: இதனுடைய திருவுள்ளக் கருத்தைய் இயன்றதோர் தோத்திரஞ் சொல்லுவான் அதனதுவ் அந்தஞ் சொல்லுவான் *itaṉuṭaiya tiruuḷḷa karuttai iyaṉṟat ' ōr tōttiram colluvāṉ ataṉ-atu antam colluvāṉ* (the original reading of அந்தஞ் *antam* seems to be அத்தம் *attam*, but it is difficult to make sense of it), "so that those who have accepted/agreed (*iyaṉṟatōr*) (i.e. "who have understood") the beautiful (*tiruvuḷḷa*) content of it (i.e. the poem) utter (*colluvāṉ*, taken as particular form of infinitive as in middle Tamil and Malayāḷam) the praise (*tōttiram*) (of the reciter) and utter the end of that (i.e. explain the final meaning of the poem)." The Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition, TMAP (1959), has neither of these sentences.

PM3 •••••• உலகம் உவப்ப {{1}} ***ulakam uvappa***

PM4 •••••• உலகமென்ப துயர்ந்தோர்மாட்டாதலாலும் உயர்ந்தோராயுள்ள பரம விருடிகளாயுள்ளோர் விரும்ப ***ulakam*** *eṉpatu uyarntōr māṭṭātalālum uyarntōr-āyuḷḷa parama-v-iruṭikaḷ-āyuḷḷōr virumpa* •••••• Because the word *ulakam* stands also for the learned ones (the phrase means) "as great *ṛṣi*s who are learned desire (Murukaṉ)."

PM5 •••••• உயர்ந்தோர் விரும்ப எனினு மமையும் *uyarntōr virumpa eṉiṉum amaiyum* •••••• Even if one says "so that/while learned ones long for (Murukaṉ)," it is acceptable.

PM6 •••••• வலன் ஏர்பு திரிதரு {{1}} ***valaṉ ērpu tiri-taru***

PM7 •••••• வலமாகத் திரிந்தருளுகின்ற *valam-āka tirint-aruḷukiṉṟa* •••••• Which graciously turns clockwise (literally: so as to be at the right side).

PM8 •••••• ஒன்றைக் குறித்து வலம் வரவேண்டுதலால் அது மகாமேரு வெனக்கொள்க இதுவன்றி வெற்றியாலெழுந்து திரிதருகின்ற தென்பாரு முளர் அது பொருந்தாமை யறிக அஃதெங்ஙன மெனின் இம்மகாமேரு பூமிக்கு நடுவாதலானும் இதனுச்சியிற் பரமேச்சுர னெழுந்தருளி யிருத்தலானு மெனக்கொள்க இஃதன்றிப் பூமியை வலமாக வெனினுமமையும் *oṉṟai kuṟittu valam vara-vēṇṭutalāl atu makā-mēru eṉa koḷka itu aṉṟi veṟṟiyāl eḻuntu tiri-tarukiṉṟatu eṉpārum uḷar atu poruntāmai aṟika aḵtu eṅṅaṉam eṉiṉ i-m-makā-mēru pūmikku naṭuvu ātalāṉum itaṉ ucciyil paramēccuraṉ eḻunt-aruḷi iruttalāṉum eṉa koḷka iḵtu aṉṟi pūmiyai valam-āka eṉiṉum amaiyum* •••••• As it requires one to go around a thing, one should take that as (meaning) the great Meru. Besides this, there are also people who say that it turns rising victoriously. (About) that, one should know of its unsuitability. If you ask how it is so, one should understand (that it is so) because this great Meru is in the middle of the earth and because Parameśvara has graciously taken his abode on its peak. Besides that, even if one says (going round) the earth clockwise, this is acceptable.

> Parimēlaḻakar argues here that what is circumambulated is Mount Meru, which is in the middle of the earth. He further notes that others interpret *valam* not as "right side" but as "victory" (a possible meaning of that word), in which case there is no circumambulation. He adds that there is no consensus on that. For Parameśvara sitting on the Meru, see, for instance, the first verse of an eighth-century Pallava inscription edited by Hultzsch (1895) in which Śiva is described practising *yoga* on the Sumeru (*sumerugimū[r]ddhani* [i.e. *sumerugirimūrddhani*] *pravarayogabandhāsanaṃ ... namāmi*, "I bow to him who tightly sits in profound *yoga* on the top of Mount Sumeru.")

PM9 •••••• பலர் புகழ் ஞாயிறு கடல் கண்டு ஆங்கு {{2}} ***palar pukaḻ ñāyiṟu kaṭal kaṇṭu āṅku***

PM10 •••••• பலர் எல்லாச் சமயத்தாராலும் ***palar*** *ellām camayattārālum* by the people of all religions—புகழ் கொண்டாடப்பட்ட ***pukaḻ*** *koṇṭāṭa-p-paṭṭa*

who has been celebrated—ஞாயிறு ஆதித்தனைக் ***ñāyiṟu*** *ātittaṉai* the sun (*ātittaṉ*, personification of the sun)—கடல் கடலில் ***kaṭal*** *kaṭalil* on the sea—கண்டு ஆங்கு கண்டாற் போல ***kaṇṭu āṅku*** *kaṇṭāl pōla* •••••• like seeing.

Instead of these word-by-word glosses the MSS (C11 and TT2) and the Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition (TMAP 1959) have a paraphrase constituted by stringing the glosses together: எல்லாச் சமயத்தாராலும் கொண்டாடப்பட்ட ஆதித்தனைக் கடலில் கண்டாற் போல *ellām camayattārālum koṇṭāṭa-p-paṭṭa ātittaṉai kaṭalil kaṇṭāl pōla*, "Like seeing the sun (*ātittaṉ*, personification of the sun), who is celebrated by people of all religions, on the sea."

PM11 •••••• என்றதனால் உவமை ஆதித்த னுதிக்கின்ற பொழுதிற் செம்மையும் கடலிற் பசுமையும் பிள்ளையார் திருமேனியினையும் மயில் நிறத்தினையும் காட்டிற்று எனக் கொள்க *eṉṟataṉāl uvamai ātittaṉ utikkiṉṟa poḻut(iṉ/il) cemmaiyum kaṭaliṉ pacumaiyum piḷḷaiyār tirumēṉiyiṉaiyum mayil niṟattiṉaiyum kāṭṭiṟṟu eṉa koḷka* •••••• Because of saying (so), one should take it that the comparison shows that the redness at the time the sun rises and the greenness of the sea (refer to) to the lustrous/glorious body of the honourable son[21] and the colour of the peacock (respectively).

The MSS C11 and TT2 read சுப்பிரமணியன் *cuppiramaṇiyaṉ* instead of *piḷḷaiyār*.

PM12 •••••• ஓ அற இமைக்கும் சேண் விளங்கு அவிர் ஒளி {{3}} ***ō aṟa imaikkum cēṇ viḷaṅku avir oḷi***

PM13 •••••• ஓ அற ஒழிவற ***ō aṟa*** *oḻivu aṟa* so that ceasing ceases (i.e. unceasingly)—இமைக்கும் விட்டு விளங்கும் ***imaikkum*** *viṭṭu viḷaṅkum* which intermittantly shines—சேண் தூரம் ***cēṇ*** *tūram* distance—விளங்குதல் தோற்றம் ***viḷaṅku****tal tōṟṟam* appearance—அவிர் பாடஞ்செய்தல் ***avir*** *pāṭam ceytal* to shine—ஒளி நிறம் ***oḷi*** *niṟam* colour/complexion/lustre.

[21] Piḷḷaiyār, "honourable son," is nowadays a name used for referring to Gaṇeśa but applies here obviously to Murukaṉ, who is also a son of Śiva's. See TL s.v. *piḷḷaiyār*.

PM14 •••••• ஆகவே அதிதூரத்திலே தோன்றி ஒளிவிட்டு விளங்கிப் பாடஞ்செய்கின்ற திருநிறத்தினையு முடையனுமாய் எனக் கூட்டுக *ākavē atitūrattilē tōṉṟi oḷi viṭṭu viḷaṅki pāṭamceykiṉṟa tiru niṟattiṉaiyum uṭaiyaṉum-āy eṉa kūṭṭuka* •••••• Consequently, one should connect so as to say "being also one who possesses a lustrous colour which emits brilliance (*pāṭam ceykiṉṟa*) shining (*viḷaṅki*) (and) emitting (*viṭṭu*) light (*oḷi*), appearing in the far distance."

The Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition (TMAP 1959) also reads *oḷiviṭṭu.* The MSS C11 and TT2 in fact read ஒளிவற [*sic*] விட்டு விளங்கி *oḷivu* [*sic*, i.e *oḷivu*] *aṟa viṭṭu viḷaṅki* instead of *oḷiviṭṭu viḷaṅki.* Both editions (TMAP 1945 and TMAP 1959) should thus be corrected to *oḷivaṟa viṭṭu viḷaṅki*, "shining intensely and unceasingly."

PM15 •••••• இதுவன்றி இமைத்தல் நிறைதல் விட்டு விளங்கும் என்பாரு முளர் *itu aṉṟi* ***imai****ttal niṟaital viṭṭu viḷaṅkum eṉpārum uḷar* •••••• Besides, there are some who say (that) ***imai****ttal* (means) "which shines (*viḷaṅkum*) leaving (*viṭṭu*) being full (*niṟaital*) (i.e. not shining fully)."

The MSS C11 and TT2 insert after என்பாரு முளர் *eṉpārum uḷar* the words இனிப் பாடம் *iṉi pāṭam*, "Hereafter the text of the poem."

PM16 •••••• உறுநர்த் தாங்கிய மதன் உடை நோன்தாள் **{{4}}** ***uṟunar tāṅkiya mataṉ uṭai nōṉ tāḷ***

Note that for நோன்தாள் *nōṉtāḷ* in Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār's edition, we find, in the MSS C11 and TT2, நோன்றாள் *nōṉṟāḷ*, which is the form as found in the printed editions.

PM17 •••••• உறுநர் மெய்யடியார் ***uṟunar*** *meyaṭiyār* true devotees—தாங்குதல் காத்தல் ***tāṅk****utal kāttal* to protect—மதன் உடை அழகுடைய ***mataṉ uṭai*** *aḻak' uṭaiya* possessing beauty—நோன் தாள் வலிய தாளாகிய சீபாதம் ***nōṉ tāḷ*** *valiya tāḷākiya cīpātam* beautiful/glorious feet which are strong feet.

The MSS C11 and TT2 read பத்தசெனங்களை *patta-ceṉaṅkaḷai* (Sanskrit *bhaktajana*) instead of மெய்யடியார் *meyaṭiyār*, and respectively இலக்கித்தல் *ilakkittal* [*sic*] and இரக்கித்தல் *irakkittal* instead of காத்தல் *kāttal.*

PM18 •••••• எனவே மெய்யடியாரைக் காக்கின்ற வலியினையுடைத்தான சீபாதத்தை யுடையனும் ஆய் *eṉavē mey aṭiyārai kākkiṉṟa valiyiṉaiuṭaittāṉa cīpātattai uṭaiyaṉum-āy* •••••• Therefore "being also

one who possesses beautiful/glorious feet possessing strength, which protect(s) the true devotees."

The MSS C11 and TT2 read respectively பத்தசெனங்களை இலக்கிக்கின்ற *pattaceṉaṅkaḷai ilakkikkiṉṟa* [*sic*] and பத்தசெனங்களை இரக்கிக்கின்ற *pattaceṉaṅkaḷai irakkikkiṉṟa* instead of மெய்யடியாரைக் காக்கின்ற *meyaṭiyārai kākkiṉṟa*, and சிறிய பாதத்தை *ciṟiya pātattai* instead of சீபாதத்தை *cīpātattai*. The *peyareccam kākkiṉṟa* is, in a straightforward analysis, syntactically governed by *valiyiṉai*. Semantically it could also be governed by *cīpātattai*. Hence my translation "protect(s)."

PM19 •••••• செறுநர் தேய்த்த செல் உறழ் தடக்கை {{5}} ***ceṟunar tēytta cel uṟaḻ taṭam kai***

PM20 •••••• செறுநர் சத்துருக்கள் ***ceṟunar*** *catturukkaḷ* enemies—தேய்த்த கெடுத்த ***tēytta*** *keṭutta* which has destroyed—செல் மேகம் ***cel*** *mēkam* cloud—உறழ்தல் ஒத்தல் ***uṟaḻtal*** *ottal* resembling—தடக்கை பெரிய கை ***taṭam kai*** *periya kai* big hands.

PM21 •••••• எனவே சத்துருக்களைக் கெடுத்து மேகத்தினது செய்தியை யுடையவாய பெரிய கைகளை யுடையனுமாய் *eṉavē catturukkaḷai keṭuttu mēkattiṉatu ceytiyai uṭaiya-v-āya periya kaikaḷai uṭaiyaṉum-āy* •••••• That is to say "being also one who possesses large hands which possess the behaviour of the cloud having destroyed the enemies."

The MSS C11 and TT2 read சிறியத்தங்களை *ciṟi* [i.e. *ciriya*] *attaṅkaḷai* and சிறீயத்தங்களை *ciṟī* [i.e. *ciriya*] *attaṅkaḷai* ("small hands") instead of பெரிய கைகளை *periya kaikaḷai* respectively.

PM22 •••••• மறு இல் கற்பின் வாள் நுதல் கணவன் {{6}} ***maṟu il kaṟpiṉ vāḷnutal kaṇavaṉ***

PM23 •••••• மறு இல் குற்றம் இல்லாத ***maṟu il*** *kuṟṟam illāta* without blemish—கற்பின் பதிவிரதாபாவத்தினையுடைய ***kaṟp-iṉ*** *pativiratā-pāvattiṉai uṭaiya* possessing the condition of a devoted wife (Sanskrit *pativratā*)—வாள் ஒளி ***vāḷ*** *oḷi* brightness/lustre—நுதல் நெற்றி ***nutal*** *neṟṟi* forehead—கணவன் கொழுநன் ***kaṇavaṉ*** *koḻunaṉ* husband.

The MSS C11 and TT2 read பதிவிறுதாபாவத்தினையுடைய *pativiṟutā-pāvattiṉai uṭaiya*, a variant spelling of பதிவிரதாபாவத்தினையுடைய *pativiratā-*

pāvattiṉai uṭaiya, and பத்தர் *pattar* ("devotee," used here as an honorific) instead of *koḻuṉaṉ*.

PM24 •••••• எனவே குற்ற மில்லாத பதிவிரதா பாவத்தினையும் ஒளிதரு நெற்றியினையுமுடைய தெய்வயானைக்குக் கொழுநனுமாய் *eṉavē kuṟṟam illāta pativiratā-pāvattiṉaiyum oḷi taru neṟṟiyiṉaiyum uṭaiya teyvayāṉaikku koḻunaṉ-um-āy* •••••• That is to say "also being the husband of Teyvayāṉai, who possesses a shining forehead and the state of a Pativratā without defect."

The MSS C11 and TT2 read பதிவிறுதா *pativiṟutā* instead of பதிவிரதா *pativiratā* (with the same meaning) and வள்ளிநாச்சியார்க்குப்பத்தரவுமாய் - அதுவன்றித் தெய்வயானைய் என்பாருமுளர் - இனிப் பாடம் *vaḷḷinācciyārkku pattar-avum-āy* [*sic*, i.e. *pattar-um-āy*?] – *atu aṉṟi teyvayāṉai eṉpārum uḷar - iṉi pāṭam* ("also being devoted to Lady Vaḷḷi—alternatively, there are also some who say Teyvayāṉai; hereafter the text of the poem") instead of *teyvayāṉaikkuk koḻunaṉumāy*.

Naccinārkkiniyar ad TMAP 1–6[22]

NA1 •••••• உலகமென்பதுமுதற் கணவன் என்னுந்துணையும் ஒரு தொடர் **{{1–6}}** ***ulakam*** *eṉpatu mutal* ***kaṇavaṉ*** *eṉṉum tuṇaiyum oru toṭar* •••••• From the word ***ulakam*** up to the word ***kaṇavaṉ*** (there is) one clause.

NA2 •••••• உலகம் உவப்ப **{{1}}** ***ulakam uvappa***

NA3 •••••• சீவான்மாக்கள் உவப்ப *cīvāṉmākkaḷ uvappa* •••••• While the individual souls rejoice.

NA2-3 are not found in any of the complete MSS available to me.

NA4 •••••• உலகமென்பது பலபொருளொருசொல்லாய் நிலத்தையும் உயிர்களையும் ஒழுக்கத்தையும் உணர்த்திநிற்குமேனும் ஈண்டு உவப்பவென்றதனான் மண்ணிடத்துவாழும் சீவான்மாக்களை உணர்த்திற்று **{{1}}** ***ulakam*** *eṉpatu pala poruḷ oru col āy nilattaiyum uyirkaḷaiyum oḻukkattaiyum uṇartti niṟkumēṉum īṇṭu* ***uvappa*** *eṉṟataṉāl maṇṇiṭattu vāḻum cīvāṉmākkaḷai uṇarttiṟṟu* •••••• Even though the word ***ulakam***

[22] After the 5th edition of *Pattuppāṭṭu* by UVS, TMAP (1956a: 32–34).

("the world"), being one word with many meanings, occurs here denoting earth, living beings or good manner, here because of the word ***uvappa*** ("while they rejoice"), it denotes "individual souls living on (the place of) earth."

None of the manuscripts has சீவான்மாக்களை *cīvāṉmākkaḷai*. We find instead various possible ways of writing Sanskrit *jīvātman* in Tamil: சீவாற்மாக்களை *cīvāṟmākkaḷai*, சீவாத்துமாக்களை *cīvāttumākkaḷai*, சீவாற்றுமாக்களை *cīvāṟṟumākkaḷai*, சீவாற்மாக்களை *cīvāṟmākkaḷai*. Apparently UVS silently standardises the orthography in editing *cīvāṉmākkaḷai*. Naccinārkkiniyar argues here that several meanings are possible for *ulakam*, but that *uvappa* restricts the options as only sentient beings can rejoice.

NA5 •••••• [வலனேர்பு திரிதரு:] ஏர்பு வலன் திரிதரு {{1}} [***valaṉ ēṟpu tiritaru.***] ***ēṟpu valaṉ tiri-taru***

As Naccinārkkiniyar changes the order of the *mūlam* when quoting it, UVS adds the *mūlam* in the "right" order right before, between square brackets.

NA6 •••••• எழுந்து மகாமேருவை வலமாகத்திரி தலைச்செய்யும் *eḻuntu makā-mēruvai valam-āka tiri-talaiceyyum* •••••• Which grows (i.e. "rises") turning, having risen, so as be on the right of the great Meru.

This means that the sun turns around the Meru clockwise, *pradakṣiṇa*-wise. Most MSS have மகமேருவை *makamēruvai* instead of மகாமேருவை *makāmēruvai*.

NA7 •••••• பலர் புகழ் ஞாயிறு {{2}} ***palar pukaḻ ñāyiṟu***

NA8 •••••• எல்லாச்சமயத்தாரும் புகழும் ஞாயிற்றை *ellām camayattārum pukaḻum ñāyiṟṟai* •••••• The sun whom those of all religions praise.

Note the accusative mark in *ñāyiṟṟai*, which clarifies that it depends on *kaṇṭāl* in the next gloss. Most MSS have *camaiyattārum* instead of *camayattārum*.

NA9 •••••• கடற் கண்டாங்கு {{2}} ***kaṭaṟ kaṇṭu āṅku***

NA10 •••••• கடலிடத்தே கண்டாற்போல *kaṭaliṭattē kaṇṭāl pōla* •••••• As if seeing in the sea".

Naccinārkkiniyar clarifies here the syntactic structure by adding an explicit case-ending in *ñāyiṟṟai* (**NA8**, accusative) and *kaṭaliṭattē* (locative): the look is towards the sun on the ocean.

NA11 ••••• இது வினையெச்சவுவமம் விரவியும் வரூஉ மரபின வென்ப என்பதனால் தொழிலுவமமும் வண்ணவுவமமும் பற்றிவந்தது என்னை ஞாயிறு இருளைக்கெடுக்குமாறுபோலத் தன்னை மனத்தால் நோக்குவார்க்கு மாயையைக் கெடுத்தலிற் றோழிலுவமமும் [*sic*] நோக்குவார்க்குக் கடலிற் பசுமையும் ஞாயிற்றின் செம்மையும் போல மயிலிற் பசுமையும் திருமேனிச் செம்மையும் தோன்றலின் வண்ணவுவமமும் கொள்ளக்கிடந்தமை காண்க *itu viṉaiyecca-v-uvamam viraviyum varūu marapiṉa eṉpa eṉpataṉāl toḻil-uvamamum vaṇṇa-v-uvamamum paṟṟi vantatu eṉṉai ñāyiṟu iruḷai keṭukkum āṟu pōla taṉṉai maṉattāl nōkkuvārkku māyaiyai keṭuttalil tōḻil-uvamamum* [*sic*, emend to *toḻil-uvamamum*] *taṉṉai kaṭ-pulaṉāl nōkkuvārkku kaṭalil pacumaiyum ñāyiṟṟiṉ cemmaiyum pōla mayiliṉ pacumaiyum tirumēṉi cemmaiyum tōṉṟaliṉ vaṇṇa-v-uvamamum koḷḷakiṭantamai kāṇka* ••••• This is a comparison based on the absolutive (that is, *kaṇṭu* of the *mūlam*) (*viṉaiyeccavuvamam*). Because of the phrase "they say that what is known by tradition/usage come also mixed" (*viraviyum varūu marapiṉa veṉpa*, i.e. *viraviyum varum marapiṉa eṉpa*), there results a comparison based on colour (*vaṇṇa-v-uvamam*) and a comparison based on action (*toḻil-uvamamum*). How? One should consider it appropriate to understand (that there is a) comparison based on action with regard to the destruction of illusion for those who look at him (i.e. Murukaṉ) with their minds, like the way the sun destroys darkness, and a comparison based on colour with regard to the appearance of the greenness of the peacock and the redness of his lustrous/glorious body, like the greenness of the sea and the redness of the sun, for those who look at him with their sense of vision.

The phrase *viraviyum varūu marapiṉa veṉpa* is, as noticed by UVS, a quote from *Tolkāppiyam*, *Poruḷatikāram*, *Uvamaviyal* 2, i.e. *cūttiram* 273 (*Tolkāppiyam* [2010: 358]). This *cūttiram* explains that comparison—defined in the previous *cūttiram* as being of four kinds, i.e. based on action (*viṉai*), effect (*payaṉ*), form/body (*mey*) and colour (*uru*)—can also be a combination of several of these kinds. According to Naccinārkkiṉiyar, the bright Murukaṉ is thus compared twice with the sun: in action, he destroys illusion like the sun destroys darkness; in colour, he is red on

his green peacock like the rising sun is red above the green sea. See Arumugham (1981: 54–55, 68).

NA12 •••••• [ஓவற விமைக்குஞ் சேண்விளங் கவிரொளி:] ஓ அற இமைக்கும் அவிர் ஒளி {{3}} [*ōvaṟa vimaikkuñ cēṇviḷaṅ kaviroḷi*:] ***ō aṟa imaikkum avir oḷi***

Note that Naccinārkkiniyar provides here an incomplete quotation of the *mūlam*. The missing words are quoted below (**NA16**).

NA13 •••••• இருவகையிந்திரியங்களும் தாம் செல்லுதற்குரிய பொருள்கண்மேற் சென்று தங்குதல் இல்லையாக இமைத்துப் பார்த்தற்குக் காரணமாகும் விளங்குகின்ற ஒளி *iru vakai intiriyaṅkaḷum tām cellutaṟk' uriya poruḷkaḷ* [i.e. *poruṭkaḷ*] *mēl ceṉṟu taṅkutal illai āka imaittu pārttaṟku kāraṇam-ākum viḷaṅkukiṉṟa oḷi* •••••• The brightness which shines is the cause of blinking[23] so that the two types of senses do not go and rest on the objects fit for them to go to.

The phrase *ōvaṟa* is here clearly glossed by *taṅkutal illaiyāka*. The two types of senses are *maṉam* and *kaṭpulaṉ* mentioned in **NA11**.

NA14 •••••• ஓ என்பது ஓரெழுத்தொருமொழியாகிய தொழிற்பெயர் ***ō*** *eṉpatu ōr eḻuttu oru moḻi ākiya toḻiṟ-peyar* •••••• The word ***ō*** (is) a verbal noun which is a word of one letter (*eḻuttu*).

NA15 •••••• இமைத்தல்—கண்களின் இதழ்களிரண்டினையும் குவித்தல் அது நுதலதிமையா நாட்டம் என்பதனாலுணர்க ***imai****ttal—kaṇkaḷiṉ itaḻkaḷ iraṇṭiṉaiyum kuvittal atu nutal-atu imaiyā nāṭṭam eṉpataṉāl uṇarka* •••••• One should consider that that (word) (*atu*, i.e. ***imai****ttal*) (means) "to close both eyelids of the eyes" because of the phrase "the unblinking eye of the forehead" (*nutalatu imaiyā nāṭṭam*).

The phrase *nutalatu imaiyā nāṭṭam* is, as noticed by UVS, a quotation from the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* (line 4) of *Akanāṉūṟu*, invoking Śiva and referring to his third eye (see Wilden 2014: 154).

NA16 •••••• சேண் விளங்கு ஒளி—கட்புலனால் நோக்குவார் கண்ணிடங்களெல்லாவற்றினும் சென்று விளங்குகின்ற ஒளியினையும் ***cēṇ***

[23] Literally: "the cause of seeing and blinking."

viḷaṅku oḷi*—kaṭ-pulaṉāl nōkkuvār kaṇṇiṭaṅkaḷ ellāvaṟṟiṉum ceṉṟu viḷaṅkukiṉṟa oḷiyiṉaiyum* •••••• And a brightness which goes in all the eyes of those who see with their sense of sight and shines.

Note that *oḷiyiṉaiyum* is in the accusative case and is coordinated with *tāḷiṉaiyum* (**NA20**) and *kaiyiṉaiyum* (**NA22**). They are all governed by *uṭaiya* (**NA22**). Uraiyāciriyar makes the syntactic structure explicit in the same manner (**UR7**ff.).

NA17 •••••• உவப்ப எழுந்து திரியும் ஞாயிற்றைக் கடற்கண்டாங்கு அவிர்கின்ற ஒளி யெனத்தொழிலுவமம் கொள்ளுங்கால் வினைமுடிக்க **{{1–3}}** ***uvappa*** *eḻuntu* ***tiri****yum* ***ñāyiṟṟai kaṭal kaṇṭu āṅku avir****kiṉṟa* ***oḷi*** *eṉa toḻil-uvamam koḷḷum kāl viṉai muṭikka* •••••• When considering the comparison based on action, one should syntactically construe the action as "the light which glitters (i.e. the one which makes one blink) as if seeing (on) the sea the sun which turns/moves rising so as to rejoice."

NA18 •••••• உவப்ப எழுந்து திரியுஞாயிற்றைக் கடற்கண்டாங்குச் சேண்விளங்கொளியென வண்ணவுவமங் கொள்ளுங்கால் வினைமுடிக்க **{{1–3}}** ***uvappa*** *eḻuntu* ***tiri****yum* ***ñāyiṟṟai kaṭal kaṇṭu āṅku cēṇ viḷaṅku oḷi*** *eṉa vaṇṇa-v-uvamam koḷḷum kāl viṉai muṭikka* •••••• When considering the comparison based on colour, one should syntactically construe the action as "the light shining in the distance as if seeing (on) the sea the sun which rises and turns so as to rejoice."

Naccinārkkiṉiyar associates here two qualifiers of *oḷi*, each one with one of the two aspects of the double comparison. According to Filliozat (1973: 68), for Naccinārkkiṉiyar "la lumière qui fait cligner et celle qui brille au loin sont celles de la méditation intérieure, paupières closes, et celle de la vision extérieure."

NA19 •••••• **{{4}}** உறுநர் தாங்கிய மதன் உடை நோன்றாள் ***uṟunar tāṅkiya mataṉ uṭainōṉ tāḷ***

NA20 •••••• தன்னைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் தீவினையைப்போக்கி அவரைத் தாங்கிய அறியாமையை உடைத்தற்குக் காரணமாகிய வலியினையுடைய தாளினையும் *taṉṉai cērntavarkaḷ tī-viṉaiyai pōkki avarai tāṅkiya aṟiyāmaiyai uṭaittaṟku kāraṇam-ākiya valiyiṉai uṭaiya*

tāḷiṉaiyum •••••• And feet that possess strength and are the cause for the destruction of ignorance, (feet) which protected them (*avarai*, i.e. the devotees), who have joined him (*taṉṉai*, i.e. Murukaṉ), by dispelling their evil deeds.

NA21 •••••• செறுநர் தேய்த்த செல் உறழ் தட கை **{{5}}** ***ceṟunar tēytta cel uṟaḻ taṭam kai***

NA22 •••••• அழித்தற்குரியாரை அழித்த இடியைமாறுபட்ட பெருமையினையுடைய கையினையும் உடைய *aḻittal kuriyārai aḻitta iṭiyai māṟu-paṭṭa perumaiyiṉai uṭaiya kaiyiṉaiyum uṭaiya* •••••• Who has hands possessing largeness, which are different from thunder, which destroyed those deserving to be destroyed.

NA23 •••••• மறு இல் கற்பின் வாள் நுதல் கணவன் **{{6}}** ***maṟu il kaṟpiṉ vāḷ nutal kaṇavaṉ***

NA24 •••••• மறக்கற்பில்லாத அறக்கற்பினையும் ஒளிபொருந்திய நுதலினையுமுடைய இந்திரன் மகள் தெய்வயானையார் கணவன் *maṟam kaṟpu illāta aṟamkaṟpiṉaiyum oḷi poruntiya nutaliṉaiyum uṭaiya intiraṉ makaḷ teyvayāṉaiyār kaṇavaṉ* •••••• The husband of the honourable Teyvayāṉai, daughter of Indra, possessing virtuous devotion and who is devoid of wrathful devotion and a forehead where abides (*poruntiya*) brightness.

UVS mentions in note the variant *aruṭkaṟpu* ("gracious devotion") for *aṟakkaṟpiṉaiyum*. An example of wrathful devotion (*maṟakkaṟpu*) would be that of Kaṇṇaki, the heroine of the *Cilappatikāram*, which resulted in the burning of Maturai, the capital of the Pāṇḍya king who had his husband Kōvalaṉ, mistakenly accused of theft, executed.

NA25 •••••• இப்பெயரை முற்கூறினார் படைத்தற்கும் காத்தற்கும் உரிமை தோன்ற *i-p-peyarai muṉ kūṟiṉār paṭaittaṟkum kāttaṟkum urimai tōṉṟa* •••••• He (i.e. the poet) mentioned this noun (*kaṇavaṉ*) first (i.e. in the beginning of the poem) so that his (i.e. Murukaṉ's) disposition for creating and protecting appears.

NA26 •••••• மறுவில் கற்பின்வாணுதல் கணவனென்பது ஈண்டு முருகனென்னும் துணையாய் நின்றது **{{6}}** ***maṟu-v-il kaṟpiṉ vāṇutal***

kaṇavaṉ *eṉpatu īṇṭu murukaṉ eṉṉum tuṇai āy niṉṟatu* ••••• The phrase ***maṟuvil kaṟpiṉ vāṇutal kaṇavaṉ*** ("the husband of she with the bright forehead without blemish") is placed here in an association referring to (*eṉṉum*) Murukaṉ.

Naccinārkkiniyar argues here that the description of the spouse indicates that Murukaṉ is referred to here, not Indra, who also has a thunderbolt, but is not the husband of the one with the bright forehead.

NA27 ••••• ஒளியினையும் தாளினையும் கையினையும் உடைய கணவனென முடிக்க {{3}} ***oḷiyiṉaiyum*** {{4}} ***tāḷiṉaiyum*** {{5}} ***kaiyiṉaiyum*** *uṭaiya* {{6}} ***kaṇavaṉ*** *eṉa muṭikka* ••••• One should syntactically construe as "the husband possessing brightness, feet and hands."

Uraiyāciriyar ad TMAP 1–6[24]

UR1 ••••• உலகம் உவப்ப வலன் நேர்பு திரிதரு {{1}} ***ulakam uvappa valaṉ nērpu tiritaru***

Note the variant reading *nērpu* (instead of *ērpu*), about which see below.

UR2 ••••• உலகத்திலுள்ள பல்லுயிர்களும் மகிழ மேருவை வலமாக யாவர்க்கும் நேராகச் சுழலும் *ulakattil uḷḷa paluyirkaḷum makiḻa mēruvai valam-āka yāvarkkum nēr-āka cuḻalum* ••••• Which rotates straightly/directly (i.e. with impartiality?) for everyone clockwise round Mount Meru so that all the many living beings in the world rejoice.

UR3 ••••• பலர் புகழ் ஞாயிறு கடற் கண்டாஅங்கு {{2}} ***palar pukaḻ ñāyiṟu kaṭal kaṇṭu āaṅku***

UR4 ••••• தனது ஒளியாற் காட்சியின் பயன்கொள்வார் பலரும் புகழும் ஞாயிற்றைக் கடலிடத்துக் கண்டாற் போல *taṉatu oḷiyāl kāṭciyiṉ payaṉ koḷvār palarum pukaḻum ñāyiṟṟai kaṭaliṭattu kaṇṭāl pōla* ••••• As if seeing on the sea the sun which many—all those who obtain the fruits of their actions by this sight because of its brightness—praise.

[24] After the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* edition by Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai, TMAP (1943: 1).

UR5 •••••• கடலிற் பசுமையும் ஆதித்தன்திருமேனியும் போன்று மயிலிற் பசுமையும் பிள்ளையார்திருமேனியும் மனத்தாற் கருதுவோர்க்குப் புலப்படலால் இவ்வண்ணம் உவமைகூறப்பட்டது *kaṭaliṉ pacumaiyum ātittaṉ tirumēṉiyum pōṉṟu mayiliṉ pacumaiyum piḷḷaiyār tiru mēṉiyum maṉattāl karutuvōrkku pulappaṭalāl i-v-vaṇṇam uvamai kūṟa-p-paṭṭatu* •••••• Because those who meditate with their minds perceive the greenness of the peacock and the lustrous complexion of Piḷḷaiyār (Murukaṉ) (respectively) as the greenness of the sea and the lustrous body of the sun, this comparison based on colour is stated.

Instead of *pulappaṭalāl* one would expect the more standard *pulappaṭutalāl*.

UR6 •••••• ஓவற இமைக்கும் சேண் விளங்கு அவிர் ஒளி {{3}} ***ō aṟa imaikkum cēṇ viḷaṅku avir oḷi***

UR7 •••••• ஞாயிற்றின் ஒளி போலப் போதுசெய்யாமல் எக்காலமும் ஒழிவற விளங்குவதாகி மனவாக்கையும் கடந்த தூரத்திலே விட்டுவிளங்காநின்ற ஒளியினையும் *ñāyiṟṟiṉ oḷi pōla pōtu ceyyāmal e-k-kālamum oḻivu aṟa viḷaṅkuvat-āki maṉavākkaiyum kaṭanta tūrattilē viṭṭu viḷaṅkā-niṉṟa oḷiyiṉaiyum* •••••• And a brightness which keeps twinkling in the distance which has gone beyond (i.e. is beyond) the organ of speech (*vākkai*) and the mind (*maṉam*), being something that shines unceasingly (*oḻivu aṟa*[25]) all time, without making the daytime (*pōtu*) like the brightness of the sun does.

I understand that the light which is Murukaṉ, because it is permanent, is unlike that of the sun, the day-maker, which rises and sets. The word *oḷiyiṉaiyum* is coordinated with *tāḷiṉaiyum* (**UR10**) and *kaiyiṉaiyum* (**UR12**). They are all governed by *uṭaiya* (**UR12**). Naccinārkkiṉiyar makes the syntactic structure explicit in the same manner (**NA16**).

UR8 •••••• இதற்கு சோமசூரியாக்கினி யொளிசெல்லாமல் ஒழிவற இயல்பான ஒளியையுடைய தேவருலகத்திலே அகமும் புறமுமாகி விட்டு விளங்கா நின்ற ஒளியென்றுமாம் *itaṟku cōma-cūriyākkiṉi oḷi cellāmal oḻivu aṟa iyalpāṉa oḷiyai uṭaiya tēvar ulakattilē akamum puṟamum āki viṭṭu viḷaṅkā-niṉṟa oḷi eṉṟum ām* •••••• About this (i.e. this brightness),

[25] Literally: "so that ceasing ceases."

some say (that it is a) brightness which keeps twinkling being inside and outside (*akamum puṟamum āki*) in the world of the gods, which always has a natural brightness and does not disappear (*cellāmal*) (as does) the brightness of the moon, the sun and the fire.

UR9 •••••• உறுநர்த் தாங்கிய மதானுடை நோன் தாள் **{{4}}** ***uṟunar tāṅkiya matāṉ uṭai nōṉ tāḷ***

UR10 •••••• தன்னையடைவோரைத் தாங்கும் யான் எனது என்னுஞ் செருக்கைக் கெடுக்கும் வலிய தாளினையும் *taṉṉai aṭaivōrai tāṅkum yāṉ eṉatu eṉṉum cerukkai keṭukkum valiya tāḷiṉaiyum* •••••• And strong feet which destroy the arrogance which says "me, mine" (i.e. which represent the *ego*), which protect those who take refuge in him (i.e. Murukaṉ).

UR11 •••••• செறுநர்த் தேய்த்த செல் உறழ் தடக்கை **{{5}}** ***ceṟunar tēytta cel uṟaḻ taṭam kai***

UR12 •••••• தனது அருள்வழி நில்லாது மாறுபட்டோரை அழித்த இடியேறுபோன்ற பெரிய கையினையும் உடைய *taṉatu aruḷ vaḻi nillātu māṟu-paṭṭōrai aḻitta iṭi-y-ēṟu pōṉṟa periya kaiyiṉaiyum uṭaiya* •••••• Who has big hands which are like the thunderbolt, which destroyed those who opposed (him) (i.e. his enemies), not remaining in the path of his grace.

Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (1943: 1 n. 1) notes the variant *aḻittu* for *aḻitta*.

UR13 •••••• மறு இல் கற்பின் வாணுதல் கணவன் **{{6}}** ***maṟu il kaṟpiṉ vāṇutal kaṇavaṉ***

UR14 •••••• குற்றமில்லாத அ[ற]க்கற்பையுடைய இந்திரன்மகள் தெய்வயானையார்கணவன் *kuṟṟam illāta a[ṟa]mkaṟpai uṭaiya intiraṉ makaḷ teyvayāṉaiyār kaṇavaṉ* •••••• Husband of the honourable Teyvayāṉai, daughter of Indra, who has a virtuous love without blemish.

Kavipperumāḷ & Pariti ad TMAP 1–6[26]

உலக முவப்ப . . . . . வாணுதல் கணவன் **{{1–6}}** ***ulakam uvappa . . . . . vāṇutal kaṇavaṉ***

It is not clear from the Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition how the *mūlam* is quoted by these two commentators, as only the beginning and last words of the *mūlam* passage commented upon (from 3 to more than 10 *aṭi*s) are printed and as they are immediately followed, before the next *mūlam* passage that is commented upon, by both the *kavipperumāḷurai poḻippu* and the *paritiyurai kuṟippu* (in other words, this edition mingles the text of the two different commentaries, found in two different MSS).

கவிப்பெருமாளுரை பொழிப்பு *kavi-p-perumāḷ urai poḻippu* •••••• Kavipperumāḷ's commentary, explanation.

This appears to be an editorial paratext of the printed edition.

KAV1 •••••• உயர்ந்தோர் விரும்பும் படி எழுந்து மேருவை வலமாக வருகின்ற பலராலும் புகழப்பட்ட ஆதித்தன் கடலிடத்தே கண்டாலொத்த ஒழிவில்லாமல் விளங்குவதாய் நீண்ட தூரத்தில் சென்று விளங்குகின்ற ஒளியினையும் தன்னை அடைந்தோ ராகிய சீமாதவாசிரியரைப் பரிக்கின்ற (தாங்குகின்ற) செருக்கும் வலியும் உளவான சீர்பாதங்களையும் பகைவர்களை மாய்த்த மேகம் போன்ற வளவிய கையினையும் உடைய குற்றமில்லாத கற்பினையும் ஒளி செறிந்த நெற்றியினையும் உடைய தெய்வயானையார்க்குக் கணவனாயுள்ளவன் *uyarntōr virumpum paṭi eḻuntu mēruvai valam-āka varukiṉṟa palarālum pukaḻa-p-paṭṭa ātittaṉ kaṭaliṭattē kaṇṭāl otta oḻivu illāmal viḷaṅkuvat-āy nīṇṭa tūrattil ceṉṟu viḷaṅkukiṉṟa oḷiyiṉaiyum taṉṉai aṭaintōr-ākiya cīmātavāciriyarai parikkiṉṟa (tāṅkukiṉṟa)*[27] *cerukkum valiyum uḷav-āṉa cīrpātaṅkaḷaiyum pakaivarkaḷai māytta mēkam pōṉṟa aḷaviya kaiyiṉaiyum uṭaiya kuṟṟam illāta kaṟpiṉaiyum oḷi ceṟinta neṟṟiyiṉaiyum uṭaiya teyvayāṉaiyārkku kaṇavaṉ-āy uḷḷavaṉ* •••••• He who is the husband of the honourable Teyvayāṉai—possessing a forehead with abundant light[28] and a

[26] After Tiruppaṉantāḷ *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* edition TMAP (1959: 150).

[27] The parentheses appear as an editorial paratext, meaning that this word must be left out.

[28] Literally: "on which lustre tightly resides."

devotion without blemish—who has **(1)** a brightness/lustre which shines from a great distance, being something which unceasingly shines, which is like, when looking above the sea, the sun who is praised by many and which comes clockwise round Mount Meru having risen, in such a way that the learned long for/like, **(2)** beautiful/glorious feet which have intrepidity/courage/indulgence (*cerukku*)—which surrounds (*parikkiṉṟa*) (protects) (*tāṅkukiṉṟa*) the glorious masters of severe penance who have taken refuge in him—and strength, and **(3)** lengthy hands which are like the clouds that have killed the enemies.

On *cerukku*, see below. Jean-Luc Chevillard wonders where the story of a cloud killing the enemies is taken from. Is it a feat of Indra's?

விளக்கம் *viḷakkam* •••••• Clarification.

This appears to be an editorial paratext of the printed edition.

KAV2 •••••• இளைய பிள்ளையாரின் செந்நிற மேனிக்கு ஆதித்தனும் அவர் அமர்ந்திருக்கும் பச்சை மயிலுக்குக் கடலும் உவமையாம் *iḷaiya piḷḷaiyāriṉ cem niṟam mēṉikku ātittaṉum avar amarnt-irukkum paccai mayilukku kaṭalum uvamai ām* •••••• There is a comparison (of) the sun with the red-coloured body of the younger son (i.e. Murukaṉ, as younger brother of Gaṇeśa) and (of) the sea with the green peacock on which he is seated.

KAV3 •••••• ஏர்பு எழுந்து **{{1}}** ***ērpu*** *eḻuntu* •••••• having risen.

பரிதியுரைக் குறிப்பு *pariti urai kuṟippu* •••••• Pariti's commentary, summary.

This appears to be an editorial paratext of the printed edition.

PT1 •••••• உலகம் உலகின்கண்ணுள்ள எண்பத்து நான்கு இலட்சம் சீவ பேதங்களாகிய உயிர்த்தொகுதிகள் **{{1}}** ***ulakam*** *ulakiṉkaṇ uḷḷa eṇpattu nāṉku ilaṭcam cīva-pētaṅkaḷākiya uyir-tokutikaḷ* the classes of living beings which are the eighty-four *lakh*s of classes of living beings which are in the world.

The eighty-four *lakh*s (*eṇ pattu nāṉku ilaṭcam*) of classes of living beings are referred to for instance in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* Vulgate 3.3 (p. 102 for the text and p. 129 for the translation by van Buitenen: "The totality of beings which determined by three *guṇa*s, evolve from eighty-four lacs of wombs [*yoni*], constitute the variety of its [i.e. *bhūtātman*'s] forms."). See also *Garuḍapurāṇa* II.3.104 (total types of *yoni*s, "wombs"), II.12.2ff. (total types of *jantu*s, "living beings"), II.49.13 (total types of *śarīra*s, "bodies"); Satinsky (2015) for this number as lifespan (p. 4), total of *mahākappa*s to be passed before salvation (p. 9), and "sum total of conceivable birth situations (*yoni*)" (p. 10). The same number—obviously denoting totality—is mentioned in the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr but in connexion to *mākkaḷ.*

PT2 •••••• பலர் எல்லாச் சமயத்தாரும் **{{2}}** ***palar*** *ellām camayattārum* people of all religions—ஞாயிறு இளைய சூரியன் ***ñāyiṟu*** *iḷaiya cūriyaṉ* the young sun (i.e. the rising sun)—கண்டாஅங்கு உதயமானது போல ***kaṇṭu āaṅku*** *utayamāṉatu pōla* like the rising (of the sun).

PT3 •••••• ஓவுற (பாடபேதம்) பிரகாசம் பொருந்தி **{{3}}** ***ō uṟa*** (*pāṭapētam*[29]) *pirakācam porunti* (variant reading) brightness occurring—சேண் விளங்கு அவிரொளி ஆகாயத்திலும் விளங்கிய அழகையுடைய ஒளியான திருமேனி ***cēṇ viḷaṅku avir oḷi*** *ākāyattilum viḷaṅkiya aḻakai uṭaiya oḷi-y-āṉa tiru-mēṉi* lustrous body which is a brightness possessing beauty (i.e. which is beautifully bright), which shines even in the sky.

The variant ஓவுற *ō uṟa* would mean something like "so that *ō* occurs, remains." If we take *ō* in the meaning of "going and staying," we would have the exact contrary meaning to *ō aṟa.* The gloss of Pariti however seems to indicate that he takes *ō* in the sense of *oḷi*, "brightness."

PT4 •••••• செல் உறழ் இடிகளைப் போன்ற **{{5}}** ***cel uṟaḻ*** *iṭikaḷai pōṉṟa* which is like thunderbolts.

PT5 •••••• வாள் நுதல் பிறைச்சந்திரன் போன்ற நுதலையுடைய தெய்வயானை நாச்சியார் **{{6}}** ***vāḷ nutal*** *piṟai cantiraṉ pōṉṟa nutalai*

[29] This is an editorial paratext by the modern editor, who points out that the reading *ōvuṟa* is a *pāṭapētam* ("a variant reading") of *ōvaṟa.* This variant is reflected in the gloss itself (*pirakācam porunti*).

uṭaiya teyvayāṉai nācciyār the honourable lady/goddess Teyvayāṉai possessing a forehead which is like the crescent moon.

Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ ad TMAP 1–6[30]

MKK1 •••••• உலக முவப்ப வலனேர்பு திரிதரு பலர்புகழ் ஞாய[று] [*sic*] கடற்கண் டாஅங் கோவற விமைக்குஞ் சேண்விளங் கவிரொழி [*sic*]—எது— {{1}} ***ulakam uvappa valaṉ ērpu tiri-taru*** {{2}} ***palar pukaḻ ñāya[ṟu]*** [*sic*] ***kaṭal kaṇṭ' āaṅku*** {{3}} ***ō aṟa imaikkum cēṇ viḷaṅku avir oḻi*** [*sic*, i.e. *oḷi*]—*etu*—•••••• The phrase ... (means)

Note the variants *ñāyaṟu* for *ñāyiṟu* and *oḻi* for *oḷi* (also in **MKK2**). The two other MSS (C8, TU3) read *ñāyiṟu* and *oḷi*.

MKK2 •••••• உலகம் உயர்ந்தோர் {{1}} ***ulakam*** *uyarntōr* learned people—உவப்ப விரும்ப ***uvappa*** *virumpa* so that/while (they) rejoice—வலனேர்பு வலமே அழகு பெற ***valaṉ ērpu*** *valamē aḻaku peṟa* to the right (i.e. clockwise), beautifully—திரி பெயர்தல் ***tiri*** *peyartal* to move/rise/turn—தரு வருதல் ***taru*** *varutal* to come (possibly used here as auxiliary verb)—பலர் பழமையோர் {{2}} ***palar*** *paḻamaiyōr* those of olden times—புகழ் ஏத்து ***pukaḻ*** *ēttu* to praise—ஞா{ய}று ஆ[தி]த்தன் ***ñā{ya}ṟu*** *āt[i]ttaṉ* the sun—கடல் சமுத்திரங் ***kaṭal*** *camuttiram* the ocean—கண்டாஅங் [*sic*] கண்டா{ற்} போல ***kaṇṭu āaṅ*** [*sic*, i.e. ***āaṅku***] *kaṇṭā{l} pōla* as if seeing—ஓவற ஒழிவின்றிய் {{3}} ***ō aṟa*** *oḻivu iṉṟi* without ceasing/unceasingly—இமைப்பு நிறைவு ***imai****ppu niṟaivu* fullness—சேண் தூர{ம்} ***cēṇ*** *tūra{m}* distance—விளங்க விட்டு விளங்க ***viḷaṅk****aviṭṭu viḷaṅka* much shining/stopping and shining = twinkling—அவிர் அழகு ***avir*** *aḻaku* beauty—ஒழி [*sic*] வி[ளக்க]ம் ***oḻi*** [*sic*, i.e. *oḷi*] *vi[ḷakka]m* light.

These word-by-word glosses are given in *scriptio continua* (for instance உலகமுயர்ந்தோருவப்பவிரும்ப ***ulakam*** *uyarntōr* ***uvappa*** *virumpa*). I have introduced, for the sake of clarity, em dashes between the glosses, even to the point of splitting letters. Note the glossed ***viḷaṅk****a* while the *mūlam* has ***vilaṅk****(u).* The term

[30] After the MS G11 (f1r1–f2v7), which is in *script iocontinua* and with minimal punctuation. Some variants from the two other known MSS (C8, TU3) are occasionally provided.

taru is glossed *varutal* ("to come"). Both roots are auxiliaries: *tarutal* denotes an action outside the control of the speaker and *varutal* the starting of an action. The term ***palar*** is glossed by *paḻamaiyōr* ("those of olden times"), which however does not appear in the *poḻippu* ("abstract, summary") below. Note also the divergent gloss of ***imai****ppu* as *niṟaivu*, which is rendered in the *poḻippurai* as *niṟaintu*.

MKK3 •••••• இதன் பொழிப்பு—உயர்ந்த்[ஓ]ர் விரும்ப வலமே அழகு பெறப் பெயர்ந்[து] வருகின்ற பலரும் {ஏ}த்தப்ப[ட்]டவ் ஆதித்தனைச் சமுத்திரத்தின் கண்{ணே}ய் உதைய{கா}லத்திலே கண்டாப் [*sic*] போல{வ்} ஒழிவின்றி நிறைந்து அதிதூரத்திலே விட்டு விளங்க [*sic*] நின்ற அளகிய [*sic*] {விள}க்கம்[உ]டைத்தாயய் இருந்துள்ள திருமேனியையுடையவன் என்{றவ் ஆ}று *itaṉ poḻippu—uyarnt[ō]r virumpa valamē aḻaku peṟa peyarn[tu] varukiṉṟa palarum {ē}tta-p-pa[ṭ]ṭa ātittaṉai camuttirattiṉ kaṇ{ṇē} utaiya-{kā}lattilē kaṇṭā* [*sic*, i.e. *kaṇṭāl*] *pōla oḻivu iṉṟi niṟaintu atitūrattilē viṭṭu viḷaṅka-niṉṟa* [*sic*, i.e. *viḷaṅkā-niṉṟa*] *aḷakiya* [*sic*, i.e. *aḻakiya*] *{viḷa}kkam-[u]ṭaitt-āya irunt-uḷḷa tiru-mēṉiyai uṭaiyavaṉ eṉ{ṟa ā}ṟu* •••••• Explanation (*poḻippu*) of this—a way of saying "He who possesses a beautiful/lustrous body that permanently has (*uṭaitt-āya-y irunt-uḷḷa*[31]) brightness, which remains much shining in the distance, which is unceasingly pervading (*niṟaintu*), as if seeing the sun which many praise on the sea at the time of sunrise, which comes turning (i.e. which starts revolving, taking *varukiṉṟa* as an auxiliary verb), to the right side (i.e. clockwise), beautifully, so that/while the sages long for/like it."

Note that we have the spoken variant *kaṇṭāp pōlav* against *kaṇṭā{r} pōla* in the word-by-word glosses above (**MKK2**). For *viḷaṅka-niṉṟa*, *viḷaṅkā-niṉṟa* is expected. The spelling *aḷakiya* stands for *aḻakiya*. The confusion *ḷ*/*ḻ* is attested elsewhere in the MS G11, as seen above (**MKK1–2**), but in the reverse direction (*oḻi* for *oḷi*). The MS TU3 reads *viḷakka{m}uṭ{ai}ttāy* instead of *{viḷa}kkam[u]ṭaittāyay*.

MKK4 •••••• வலன் ஏற்றிய் எனினு{ம்} ஆம் **{1}}** ***valaṉ*** *ēṟṟi eṉiṉu{m} ām* •••••• One can even/also say "having raised strength/victory."

[31] Literally: "has remained possessing."

Compare with the alternative meaning mentioned by Parimēlaḻakar (**PM8**). The MS TU3 reads *valan* instead of *valaṉ*.

MKK5 •••••• ஞாயறு கடற்க் கண்[டா]ம் [*sic*] என்றவதனால் சமுத்திரத்தின் பசுமையும் பெருமையும் பிள்ளையார் ஏறியருளின மயில் வாகனமுஞ் சமுத்திரத்திலே யுதை[ய]ஞ் செய்கின்றவ் ஆதித்தன் மேனி பிள்ளை{யா}ர் திருமேனிப் பிறகாசமுமாகக் [க]ருதுவது **{{2}}** ***ñāyaṟu kaṭalkaṇṭu [ā]m*** [*sic*, i.e. ***āaṅku***] *eṉṟavataṉāl camuttirattiṉ pacumaiyum perumaiyum piḷḷaiyār ēṟi aruḷiṉa mayil vākaṉamum camuttirattilē utai[y-a]ñ ceykiṉṟa ātittaṉ mēṉi piḷḷai{y}ār tiru-mēṉi piṟakācamum-āka k[a]rutuvatu* •••••• By the phrase (*eṉṟav ataṉāl*) ***ñāyaṟu kaṭaṟk kaṇṭ[ā]m*** [i.e. ***kaṇṭāaṅk***(*u*)], it is to be taken (i.e. understood) that (*āka*) the greenness and the bigness/excellence of the sea (refer to) the peacock vehicle which Piḷḷaiyār graciously mounts and that the body/form of Āditya which rises on the sea (refers to) the brightness of the beautiful/lustrous body of Piḷḷaiyār.

The MS TU3 reads ஞாயறு கடற் கண்டாஅங்கென்றவதனால் ***ñāyaṟu kaṭal kaṇṭu āaṅku*** *eṉṟavataṉāl* and has just பசுமை *pacumai* instead of *pacumaiyum*. The MS TU3 lacks *piḷḷaiyār ēṟiyaruḷiṉa* while the MS C8 reads பிள்ளையார் ஏறியருளினவர் *piḷḷaiyār ēṟi-y-aruḷiṉavar*.

MKK6 •••••• ஓவற விமைக்கும் என்றவதனால் ஆதித்தன் மேனி ப்[ஒ]ழுது செ{ய்}யும் பிள்ளை{ய்}ஆர் திருமேனி செம்மை [மா]றுதல் இல்லைய் என்பது **{{3}}** ***ō aṟa imaikkum*** *eṉṟavataṉāl ātittaṉ mēṉi p[o]ḻutu ce{y}yum piḷḷai{y}ār tiru-mēṉi cemmai m[ā]ṟutal illai eṉpatu* •••••• By the phrase ***ōvaṟav imaikkum*** is meant that there is no difference (*māṟutal illai*) between the beauty of the beautiful body of Piḷḷaiyār who makes the time (and that of) the body of Āditya.

The MS TU3 reads போது *pōtu* instead of *p[o]ḻutu*. It is possible that Piḷḷaiyār (i.e. Murukaṉ) is here qualified by mistake as the one "who makes the time," a description better fitting Āditya as day-maker, as in Uraiyāciriyar's commentary (**UR7**). Alternatively, the designation of Piḷḷaiyār as time-maker can be a means to confer him a royal status.[32]

[32] On the king as responsible for the time, see Scheuer (1982: 110 and n. 57).

MKK7 •••••• உறுநர் றாங்கிய மதனுடை நோன்றாட்—எது **{{4}}** ***uṟunar tāṅkiya mataṉ uṭai nōṉ tāḷ****—etu—* •••••• The phrase ... (means)

MKK8 •••••• உறுநர் அடைந்தோர் ***uṟunar*** *aṭaintōr* those who have taken refuge in (him)/have experienced him—தாங்கியய் இரட்சித்[தி]ல் [*sic*] ***tāṅkiya*** *iraṭcitt[i]l* [*sic*, i.e. *iraṭcittal*] to protect—மதன் அழகு ***mataṉ*** *aḻaku* beauty—உடை உண்டாகிய ***uṭai*** *uṇṭ-ākiya* which occurs—நோன் வலி ***nōṉ*** *vali* strength—தாள் [பா]தம் ***tāḷ*** *[p]ātam* feet.

Note in the *mūlam* quotation the variants *uṟunar ṟāṅkiya* for *uṟunart tāṅkiya.*

MKK9 •••••• இதன் பொழிப்பு—அடைந்தோ[ரை]ய் இரச்சிக்கின்றவ் அழகி[னை]{யு}ம் பலவினையுமுடைய ஸ்ரீபாதங்களையுமுடையவன் எ[ன்ற]வ் ஆறு *itaṉ poḻippu—aṭaintōr[ai] iraccikkiṉṟa aḻaki[ṉ]ai{yu}m pala-viṉaiyum uṭaiya śrī pātaṅkaḷaiyum uṭaiyavaṉ e[ṉṟa] āṟu* •••••• Explanation of this—a way of saying "He who also possesses glorious feet that possess beauty and strength (*palam*), which protect(s) those attaining/taking refuge in (them)."

The MS TU3 reads வலியையுமுடைய *valiyaiyum uṭaiya* instead of *palaviṉaiyum uṭaiya*. The MS C8 reads சீர்பாதமுடையவன் *cīr pātam uṭaiyavaṉ* instead of *śrīpātaṅkaḷaiyumuṭaiyavaṉ*.

MKK10 •••••• செறுந[ர்]த் தேய்த்த செல்லுறழ்த் தடக்கை—யென்பது—**{{5}}** ***ceṟuna[r] tēytta cel uṟaḻ taṭam kai****—eṉpatu—* •••••• The phrase ... (means)

MKK11 •••••• செருநர் சத்துருக்களைத் ***cerunar*** *catturukkaḷai* the enemies—தேய்த்த மா[ய்]வித்த *tēytta mā[y]vitta* caused to be killed—செல் கூற்றம் ***cel*** *kūṟṟam* Yama—உறழ் ஒத்த ***uṟaḻ*** *otta* which resembles—தடக்கை பெரிய ஸ்ரீயத்த{ம்} ***taṭam kai*** *periya śrīatta{m}* great beautiful/glorious hands.

Note in the *mūlam* quotation the variant *celluṟalt* for *celluṟal.*

MKK12 •••••• {இ}தன் பொழிப்பு [—*] சத்துருக்களை மாய்வித்துக் கூற்றைய் ஒத்த பெரிய ஸ்ரீயத்தங்களையுடையவன் என்றவ் ஆறு *{i}taṉ poḻippu [—*] catturukkaḷai māyvittu kūṟṟai otta periya śrī attaṅkaḷai uṭaiyavaṉ eṉṟa āṟu* •••••• Explanation of this—a way of saying "He who possesses glorious/beautiful hands (*attam* < Sanskrit *hasta*), large, which

resembles Yama/Kāla (*kūṟṟu*) having destroyed (*māyvittu*) the enemies."

The MS TU3 reads கூற்றம் *kūṟṟam* instead of *kūṟṟaiy*, while the MS C8, as seen above, misses the paraphrase altogether. According to the TL, while *kūṟṟam* can be animate or inanimate, *kūṟṟu* is narrowly only animate, as it designates Yama, the god of death, or his assistant Kāla.

MKK13 •••••• செல்லுற[ழ்]த் தடக்[கை]ய் என்பதற்கு மேகத்தைப் போலே கொடுக்க[ப்]பட்ட கைய் எனினும் ஆம் ***cel uṟa[l] taṭam k[ai]*** *eṉpataṟku mēkattai pōlē koṭukka-[p]-paṭṭa kai eṉiṉum ām* •••••• For the phrase ***celluṟaḷt taṭakkai***, one can even say "hands which give like a cloud."

The verbal form *koṭukka[p]paṭṭa* is morphologically a passive form. The literal meaning of the phrase *kōṭukkappaṭṭa kai* is "hands by which it is given." The MSS C8 and TU3 read *pōlak* instead of *pōlē*.

MKK14 •••••• மறுவில் கற்பின் வாணுதல் கணவன்—எது—**{{6}}** ***maṟu-v-il kaṟpiṉ vāṇutal kaṇavaṉ***—*etu*— •••••• The phrase ... (means)

MKK15 •••••• [மறு] குற்றம் ***[maṟu]*** *kuṟṟam* defect—இல் இல்லாமை ***il*** *illāmai* without—கற்பின் கற்பு ***kaṟpiṉ*** *kaṟpu* devotion/fidelity—வாள் ஒழி [*sic*] ***vāḷ*** *oḷi* [*sic*, i.e. *oḷi*] brightness—[நு]தல் நெற்றி ***n[u]tal*** *neṟṟi*—forehead—கணவன் காந்தன் ***kaṇavaṉ*** *kāntaṉ* husband.

Again we find here *oḷi* for *oḷi* (see **MKK1–2**).

MKK16 •••••• இதன் பொழிப்பு—குற்றம் இல்லாத கற்பினையும் ஒளி நெற்றியையுமுடைய தெய்வயானைக்கிக் [*sic*] கணவனாயுள்ளவன் என்றவ் ஆறு *itaṉ poḷippu—kuṟṟam illāta kaṟpiṉaiyum oḷi neṟṟiyaiyum uṭaiya teyvayāṉaikki* [*sic*, i.e. *teyvayāṉai-kku*] *kaṇavaṉ-āy uḷḷavaṉ eṉṟa āṟu* •••••• Explanation of this—a way of saying "He who is the husband of Teyvayāṉai possessing a forehead of brilliance and a devotion without blemish."

Anonymous *Urai* from Pērūr ad TMAP 1–6[33]

PE1 •••••• உலக முவப்ப என்பது **{{1}}** ***ulakam uvappa*** *eṉpatu* •••••• The phrase ... (means)

PE2 •••••• லோகலோகங்களும் எண்பத்து நாலு லெட்சம் ஆற்று மாக்களுஞ் சந்தோ[வி]த்தைய் அடைந்து பிழைக்கும் படி *lōka-lōkaṅkaḷum eṇpattu nālu leṭcam āṟṟu mākkaḷum cantō-[vi]ttai aṭaintu piḻaikkum paṭi* •••••• The manner in which each and every world (*lōkalōkaṅkaḷum*) and the people (*mākkaḷ*) of the eighty-four *lakh*s varieties (*āṟṟu*) obtain salvation having reached knowledge of the poem/hymn.

The reduplication in *lōkalōkaṅkaḷum* seems to imply pervasion. The term *cantō[vi]ttai* appears to be the Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit *chando-vidyā*.

PE3 •••••• வலனேர்பு திரிதரு எ எது **{{1}}** ***valaṉ ērpu tiri-taru*** *எ etu* •••••• The phrase ... (means)

PE4 •••••• உலகத்தையும் மகமேருவையும் [*sic*] வலமாகத் திரியப்பட்ட *ulakattaiyum maka-mēruvaiyum* [i.e. *makā-mēruvaiyum*] *valam-āka tiriya-p-paṭṭa* •••••• Which turns (*tiriyappaṭṭa*) (round) the world and Mount Meru to the right side (i.e. which turns clockwise round the world and Mount Meru).

The verbal form *tiriyappaṭṭa* is morphologically a passive ("which is made turning (round) the world and the Meru"), but should be taken in an active sense, the more so since it rules two words in the accusative case.

PE5 •••••• **{{2}}** பலர்புகழ் ஞாயறு கடற்கண் டாஅங்—எது **{{2}}** ***palar pukaḻ ñāyaṟu kaṭal kaṇṭu āaṅ*** [*sic*, i.e. *āaṅku*, as the syllable *ku* appears at the beginning of the quotation of next verse in **PE7**]—*etu*— •••••• The phrase ... (means)

PE6 •••••• எல்லாச் சமையத்தாரும் புகழப்பட்டய் இளையசூறியன் சமுத்திரத்திலேய் உதையமானது போல *ellām camaiyattārum pukaḻa-p-paṭṭa iḷaiya-cūṟiyaṉ camuttirattilē utaiyam-āṉatu pōla* •••••• Like the young sun, whom people of all religions praise, rises above the sea.

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[33] After the MS Pe (1st batch, f1r1– f1v3).

Note, in the *mūlam* as quoted, the variant *ñāyaṟu* for *ñāyiṟu*. One would expect the instrumental *camaiyattārālum* instead of *camaiyattārum*, as agent of the passive *pukaḻappaṭṭa*.

PE7 •••••• கோவற [*sic*] விமைக்குஞ் சேண்விலங் {க}விரொளி—எது— **{{3}}** ***k' ōvaṟa*** [*sic*, i.e. ***ō aṟa***, as the syllable *ku* belongs to the preceding verse] ***imaikkum cēṇ vilaṅ{k' a}vir oḷi***—*etu*— •••••• The phrase ... (means)

PE8 •••••• எங்கும் பிறகாசம் பொருந்தி ஆகாசமும் விளங்கிய் அழகயுடைய [*sic*] ஒழியான [*sic*] திருமேநி *eṅkum piṟakācam porunti ākācamum viḷaṅki aḻakay uṭaiya* [*sic*, i.e. *aḻakai uṭaiya*] *oḻiy-āṉa* [*sic*, i.e. *oḻi-y-āṉa*] *tiru-mēni* •••••• A lustrous body which is bright, possessing beauty (i.e. which is beautifully bright), shining even in the sky, combining (it) with (i.e. emitting) brightness everywhere.

The word *oḻiyāṉa* stands for *oḻiyāṉa*. The phrase *aḻakayuṭaiya oḻiyāṉa* [*sic*] *tirumēni* is also found in **PT3** (*aḻakaiyuṭaiya oḻiyāṉa tirumēṉi*).

PE9 •••••• உறுநர்த் தாங்கிய மதனுடைத் நோன்னாள் [*sic*, i.e. நோன்றாள்]—எது— **{{4}}** ***uṟunar tāṅkiya mataṉ uṭai nōṉ tāḷ***—*etu*— •••••• The phrase ... (means)

PE10 •••••• தன்னைய் உடைந்த பேரைத் தாங்கிய் அ[ழ]கைப் பொருந்தி வலுவையுடைய பாதாரவிந்தம் *taṉṉai uṭainta pērai tāṅki a[ḻa]k-ai porunti valuvai uṭaiya pātāravintam* •••••• Lotus-feet possessing strength (*valu*), combining (it) with (i.e. shedding) beauty, protecting the person who has (*uṭainta*?) him (i.e. who worships him).

Note, in the *mūlam* quotation, the variant *nōṉṉāḷ* for *nōṉṟāṭ*. The word *uṭainta*, presumably from *uṭai-tal*, intr., "to break," is difficult to make sense of. It might be a verbal form freely derived from *uṭaimai*, "1. The state of possessing, having, owning." Alternatively, as suggested to me by Suganya Anandakichenin, this is most probably to be emended to *aṭainta* ("protecting the person who has attained him").

PE11 •••••• செறுநர்{த்} {தே}ய்த்த செல்லுறழ் தடக்கை—எது— **{{5}}** ***ceṟunar t{ē}ytta cel uṟaḻ taṭam kai***—*etu*— •••••• The phrase ... (means)

PE12 •••••• சத்துராதியளைச் செ[X/XX]கும் இடத்துய் இடியளைப் போன்ற அஸ்தங்கள் *catturātiyaḷai ce[X/XX]kum iṭattu iṭiyaḷai pōṉra astaṅkaḷ* •••••• Hands which are like thunderbolts at the place (*iṭattu*) ... (*ce[X/XX]kum*) the enemies.

Note that *-yaḷai* stands for *-kaḷai* (acc. pl.). The lacunose *ce[X/XX]kum iṭattu* seems to mean something like "at the place where he vanquishes/destroys/strikes." As suggested to me by Suganya Anandakichenin *ceyikkum* would do. In *astaṅkaḷ* note the use of Grantha *s*.

PE13 •••••• மறுவில் கற்{பி}[ன்] வாணுதல் கணவன்—எது— **{{6}}** ***maṟu-v-il kaṟ{p-i}[ṉ] vāṇutal kaṇavaṉ***—*etu*— •••••• The phrase ... (means)

PE14 •••••• மாசுமறுவ் இல்லாத கற்பினை{யு}டைத்தா[ய்] ஆரிை[C] போன்ற நுதலையுடைய தெய்வானை நா{ச்சி}யார் கணவன் *mācu-maṟu illāta kaṟpiṉai {u}ṭaitt-ā[y] āri[C]ai pōṉra nutalai uṭaiya teyvāṉai nā{cci}yār kaṇavaṉ* •••••• The husband of the honourable lady Teyvāṉai possessing a forehead which is like ... (*āri[C]ai*) and possessing a devotion without defect or blemish.

The letter *{yu}* in *{yu}ṭaittā[y]* is lost in a lacuna and restored here conjecturally.

Anonymous *Karutturai* ad TMAP 1–6[34]

KAR1 •••••• ஒளி—தாள்—கை—ஆக—மூன்றினையுமுடைய கணவன்—க— **{{3}}** ***oḷi***— **{{4}}** ***tāḷ***— **{{5}}** ***kai***—*āka*—*mūṉṟiṉaiyumuṭaiya* **{{6}}** ***kaṇavaṉ*** —*1*— •••••• The husband (***kaṇavaṉ***) possessing those three, namely (*āka*) brightness (***oḷi***), feet (***tāḷ***), hands (***kai***) —1 —

The number 1 at the end seems to means that these six first lines constitute a *toṭar* (cf. **PM2** and **NA1**). Other *toṭar*s are likewise implicitly delimited by numbers further in the MS and correspond more or less with the explicit *toṭar* segmentation proposed by Parimēlaḷakar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar, at least up to *aṭi* 61.

4. Comparing the Commentarial Techniques

Thus spoke our commentators. Let us now, as a first step, examine the different techniques they deployed to enlighten us about the *mūlam*, ignoring for the moment the fact that some of these commentaries are

[34] After the MS C9 (f1r1).

available to us in various versions (with or without word-by-word glosses, for instance), a phenomenon to which I will return in my conclusion.

Segmentation of the *Mūlam* Quotation

An expected feature of the *urai* in the case of a work as long as the TMAP (317 metrical lines) is the segmentation of the *mūlam*. The usual procedure is to quote one metrical line of the *mūlam* and to provide immediately after the quotation the relevant comments. This is an indication of the commentator's awareness of the metrical structure of the poem. It does sometimes happen that a word at the end of a line is split. For instance, the word *āṅku* is split between the *mūlam* quotations in **PE5** and **PE7**, but is paraphrased in **PE6**. This reflects the expected way of splitting verses.

There are cases, however, where this one-line segmentation procedure is not followed, whatever the reason. For instance, Parimēlaḻakar comments on *aṭi* 1 by quoting it in two steps and splitting it into two halves (**PM3** and **PM6**). It also happens that more than one line of the *mūlam* is quoted. For instance, Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ quotes consecutively *aṭi*s 1–3, considered as a syntactic/semantic unit (**MKK1**). The anonymous *urai* from Pērūr quotes the *mūlam* in segments of 1, 2 or 3 verses. It is even found that the *mūlam* quotation consists of portions of two or more consecutive lines, as in Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's *urai*, although not in the extract above, but see *Pattuppāṭṭu* (1956a: 38), for instance. As for Kavipperumāḷ and Pariti, the only printed edition available does not enable us to know how (and even if) they quote the *mūlam* (see above). The very brief anonymous *karutturai*, which provides the basic syntactic and semantic structure of the work, quotes only a few words of the *mūlam*. This *karutturai* occupies only one print line for the first six *aṭi*s (**KAR1**).

Segmentation of the *Mūlam* into *Toṭar*s

In addition to the above procedure, Parimēlaḻakar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar, even before quoting the *mūlam*, explicitly delimit a

toṭar, i.e. a "clause," spanning several metrical lines (**PM2** and **NA1**, where both delimit the same *toṭar* from *ulakam* to *kaṇavaṉ*; note however that **PM2** is missing in the two MSS available to me) and then comment upon it in smaller segments. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar even recapitulates, after the commentary on individual lines, the syntactic structure of the *toṭar* that he first delimits (**NA27**).

Reordering of *Mūlam* Quotation

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar sometimes reorders the *mūlam* (**NA5**: ***ērpu valaṉ tiritaru*** instead of ***valaṉ ērpu tiritaru***) and even quotes it incompletely at first (**NA12**: ***ō aṟa imaikkum avir oḷi*** instead of ***ōvaṟa vimaikkuñ cēṇviḷaṅ kaviroḷi***; and then, to complete the *aṭi*, **NA16**: ***cēṇ viḷaṅku oḷi***).[35] This means that he addresses a reader knowing the *mūlam* or having it before his eyes. This is a *caveat* to modern editors when using the *uraṅ*' MSS to establish the edition of a *mūlam*: changes, other than simple variant readings, might occur therein.

Glosses and Paraphrase

However long the quotation of the *mūlam*, it is followed by the commentary relevant to this segment of the work. This commentary proper consists of initial glosses or of a paraphrase of the entire quotation, or of both. I make here the distinction between initial glosses (which follow directly the *mūlam* quotation) and selected glosses (which come after the paraphrase, and as such belong to the further explanations). These initial glosses pertain either to a single word or a short phrase (shorter than the *mūlam* quotation).

Parimēlaḻakar generally provides both initial glosses and paraphrase, introducing the latter by the word *eṉavē*. As for Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ's commentary, it is attested in two versions: a longer one with initial glosses and paraphrase (MSS TU3, G11, where the

[35] This reordering of the *mūlam* is not done however in the MSS C7 and P1, which are, as we have seen, particular cases of abridgements of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary.

paraphrase is introduced by the phrase *itaṉ poḻippu*), and a shorter one with the paraphrase only (MS C8). Naccinārkkiṉiyar and Kavipperumāḷ do not offer initial glosses, but their further explanations sometimes comprise selected glosses. Pariti's commentary in fact mostly consists in selected glosses only. Filliozat (1973: XXXVIII) rightly describes it simply as "notes."

When the *mūlam* segment is entirely glossed after its quotation and followed by its paraphrase, the latter consists in stringing the preceding initial glosses together. The glosses, which are in the form of roots, are inflected when transferred into the paraphrase. Compare, for instance, *ettu* (**MKK2**) against *{e}ttappa[ṭ]ṭa* (**MKK3**) or *pāṭañ ceytal* (**PM13**) against *pāṭañ ceykiṉṟa* (**PM14**). Commentators also have recourse in their paraphrase or selected glosses to explicit locative for words unmarked as such in the *mūlam* (*kaṭalil* in **PM10;** forms ending in *iṭattē* in **NA10**, **UR4**, and **KAV1**).

There are also cases where the glossed word differs from the word as given in the *mūlam* quotation. See for instance ***tāṅkiya*** (**PM16**) against ***tāṅk****utal* (**PM17**), ***uṟaḻ*** (**PM19**) against ***uṟaḻ****tal* (**PM20**), or ***viḷaṅk****(u)* (**MKK1**) against ***viḷaṅk****a* (**MKK2**). Other examples evince a double inconsistency. Not only the glossed word differs from that in the *mūlam* quotation, but the gloss, when strung in the paraphrase, is also changed, as shown in table 1.

Table 1: words' change in *mūlam* quotation, gloss and paraphrase.

	Mūlam **Quotation**	**Glossed + Gloss**	**Paraphrase**
Example 1	***viḷaṅk****u* (**PM12**)	***viḷaṅku****tal tōṟṟam* (**PM13**)	*viḷaṅki* (**PM14**)
Example 2	***imaikkuñ*** (**MKK1**)	***imai****ppu niṟaivu* (**MKK2**)	*niṟaintu* (**MKK3**)

In example 1, the commentator provides a gloss for *viḷaṅku* but then uses in his paraphrase the original term of the *mūlam*. In example 2, the gloss, which is a noun, is converted into a verbal form in the paraphrase. For an example of the second inconsistency only, see the gloss *aḻakuṭaiya* (**PM17**), which does not appear very explicitly in the paraphrase (**PM18**). See also *kūṟṟam* (**MKK11**) and *kuṟṟai* (**MKK12**), although the latter reading appears only in one of the two MSS providing the paraphrase. Note also the cases of *peyareccam* in the *mūlam* that are glossed/interpreted as *viṉaiyeccam*, a usage pointed out to me by Professor Krishnaswamy Nachimuthu (see Appendix 1, ***imaikkum*** in *aṭi* 3 and ***tēytta*** in *aṭi* 5). This appears to be a way to indicate that the noun which governs the *peyareccam* is not immediately following it.

The above procedure results in that each paraphrase segment of the *urai* does not constitute a full-fledged sentence, as a true reflection of the makeup of the commented line(s). To obtain a full-fledged sentence or at least a meaningful phrase, one has thus to string together several paraphrases (excluding the *mūlam* quotations and further explanations, if any). The delimitation of *toṭar*s and elucidation of their syntactic structure is an aid to achieve this operation. A further aid to this stringing operation is the explicit inflection of words in the paraphrase (as opposed to its absence in the *mūlam*), as it clarifies the syntactic link between paraphrases. For instance, see how

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Uraiyāciriyar make explicit the coordination of the three accusatives *oḷiyiṉaiyum*, *tāḷiṉaiyum* and *kaiyiṉaiyum*, as well as their being governed by *uṭaiya*, itself governed by *kaṇavaṉ* in the paraphrase to *aṭi* 6 (**NA16**, **20**, **22**, **24**, **27**; **UR7**, **10**, **12**, **14**). Compare this with Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ's method: his parallel paraphrases end with the forms *tirumēṉiyaiyuṭaiyavaṉ* (**MKK3**), *śrīpātaṅkaḷaiyum uṭaiyavaṉ* (**MKK9**), *śrīyattaṅkaḷaiyuṭaiyavaṉ* (**MKK12**), *kaṇavaṉāy uḷḷavaṉ* (**MKK16**).

Further Explanations

Besides initial glosses (if any) and a paraphrase, more sophisticated *uraiś* provide further information: they propose *toṭar* segmentation of the *mūlam*, put forward alternative interpretations or arguments in favour of their own interpretation, point out tropes, add selected glosses, which sometimes amounts, in fact, to more than simply glossing as these can be quite long (for instance **NA15–16**). With regard to these passages, except for the selected glosses, one can speak of the prose of commentators, since, in contradistinction to the glosses and paraphrase, they constitute full-fledged sentences.

After his paraphrase Kavipperumāḷ sometimes, but rarely, provides further explanations, called *viḷakkam*, but not consistently, in the Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition (TMAP [1959: 150], according to an editor's paratext, it seems), such as a further explanation (**KAV2**) or a selected gloss (**KAV3**). But on the whole Kavipperumāḷ's *urai* mostly consists in long paraphrases. Uraiyāciriyar and Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ add further information in a modest scale, such as alternative interpretations (**MKK13**, **UR8**), further explanations (**MKK6**), the identification of tropes (**MKK5**, **UR5**). Parimēlaḻakar is a little more sophisticated as he delimits *toṭar*s (**PM2**), offers further explanations (**PM8**) and alternative interpretations (**PM5**, **8**, **15**), and points out tropes (**PM11**). He also introduces his commentary by a statement about the recitation of the poem (**PM1**). Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar offers the widest range (grammatical, literary) and the highest frequency of further

explanations. He delimits *toṭar*s (**NA1**). He quotes (even though anonymously) from other works such as *Tolkāppiyam* (**NA11**) and Caṅkam literature (**NA15**). In the extracts above he is the only one to do so. He makes the syntactic structure explicit (**NA17–18, 27**) and provides particularly elaborate selected glosses and explanations (**NA4, NA11, NA13–16, 25–26**).

The following table summarises the characteristics of these different commentaries, considering the aspects just discussed. Remember that the *mūlam* quotation is generally done metrical line by metrical line (but not always) and that further explanations include selected glosses (digits in italics in the table). Note also that the boundary between a gloss and a paraphrase is difficult to determine when a word or a phrase (shorter than one *aṭi*) is explained in a long phrase (for instance **PM4**, **NA6**), the more so if the commentary is not clearly twofold (i.e. containing systematic word-by-word initial glosses followed by a paraphrase) at the *locus* concerned.

Table 2: synoptic table of the commentaries.

	***Mūlam* Quotations**	**Initial Glosses**[36]	**Para-phrases**[37]	**Further Ex-planations**[38]	**Other**[39]
Parimēlaḻakar	PM3, 6, 9, 12, 16, 19, 22	PM4, 7, 10,[40] 13, 17, 20, 23	PM 14, 18, 21, 24	PM1, 2, 5, 8, 11, 15	
Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar	NA2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 19, 21, 23	NA3, 6, 8, 10	NA 13, 20, 22, 24	NA1, 4, 11, 14, *15–16*, 17–18, 25–27[41]	
Uraiyāciriyar	UR1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 13		UR2, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14	UR5, 8	
Kavipperumāḷ	?		KAV1	KAV2, *3*	
Pariti	?			PT *1–5*	
Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ	MKK1, 7, 10, 14	MKK2, 8, 11, 15[42]	MKK3, 9, 12, 16	MKK4–6, 13	
Anonymous *urai* from Pērūr	PE1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13		PE2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14		
Anonymous *karutturai*					Syntactic structure KAR1

[36] This part of commentary is rubricated *patavurai* in Kō. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār's edition of Parimēlaḻakar, TMAP (1945), *kuṟippu* in the Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition for Pariti.
[37] These word-by-word glosses (**PM10**) are replaced by a paraphrase stringing them in the MSS (C11 and TT2) and the Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition, TMAP (1959).
[38] This part of commentary is rubricated *vicēṣavurai* in Kō. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār's edition of Parimēlaḻakar, TMAP (1945), *viḷakkam* in the Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition for Pariti (**KAV2**).
[39] This type of commentary is called *karutturai* in the library catalogue to the MS C9 (vol. 1, p. 222).
[40] These further explanations are missing in MSS C7 and P1, which are of a particular type (see above).
[41] These further explanations are missing in MSS C7 and P1, which are of a particular type (see above).
[42] These sections of Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ's commentary miss in the MS C8.

5. Comparing the Content of Commentaries

Now that we have characterised the techniques employed by our commentators for our edification, we can look at the content of their respective metatexts and compare them. This content analysis of the commentaries logically reflects the formal analysis above: we again identify simpler and more complex commentaries, such as that by Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar, who, as we have seen, frequently quotes other works and is also the only one identifying a double comparison in the assimilation of Murukan̲ with the (rising) sun in the first two *aṭi*s (see below). By comparing commentaries, even for such as small share of the *mūlam*, we find besides overall agreement on certain points also divergent interpretations. Let us look at some of the more contentious words. To obtain a clearer idea of the variety of the available commentaries, I have presented in synoptic tables the content of all the commentaries available for the first six *aṭi*s (see Appendix 1).

ulakam (*aṭi* 1a)

There is no real consensus among our commentators about the referent to *ulakam*. We can say that there are two main approaches.

For Parimēlal̲akar, ***ulakam*** refers to "great *ṛṣi*s who are learned ones" (**PM4:** *uyarntōrāyul̲l̲a paramaviruṭikaḷāyul̲l̲ōr*). Kavipperumāḷ agrees in restricting the meaning to "learned people" (*uyarntōr*) (**KAV1**: *uyarntōr virumpum paṭi*). So does Mallaiyūrk Kul̲antaik Kavirācan̲ in his glosses and paraphrase (**MKK2**: ***ulakam*** *uyarntōr* "learned people"—***uvappa*** *virumpa* "while they long for/like;" **MKK3**: *uyarnt[ō]r virumpa*). We could say this is an "elitist" point of view.

Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar is less restrictive (**NA3–4**). Because ***ulakam*** is the subject of ***uvappa*** it can only be used here, he argues, in the sense of "living beings" (*uyirkaḷ*) and thus refers to "individual souls living on earth" (*maṇṇiṭattu vāl̲um cīvān̲mākkaḷ*), as we cannot say that the earth (*nilam*) or good conduct (*ol̲ukkam*), which are other possible meanings of *ulakam*, can rejoice (*uvattal*). For Uraiyāciriyar, the phrase

means "while/so that all the many living beings in the world rejoice" (**UR2**: *ulakattiluḷḷa palluyirkaḷum makiḻa*). Pariti and the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr follow; both mention a total of 84 *lakh*s, which implies totality. For Pariti, this is the number of the "classes of living beings which are in the world" (**PT1**: *ulakiṉ kaṇṇuḷḷa eṇpattu nāṉku ilaṭcam cīvapētaṅkaḷākiya uyirttokutikaḷ*). In the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr, there are people of eighty-four *lakh*s varieties (**PE2**: *lōkalōkaṅkaḷum eṇpattu nālu leṭcam āṟṟu mākkaḷuṅ*). Note that *mākkaḷ* ("people") is more restrictive than *cīvapētaṅkaḷ* or *uyirttokutikaḷ*.

valaṉ ērpu tiritaru (***aṭi*** 1cd)

Parimēlaḻakar glosses this half-line as *valamākat tirintaruḷukiṉṟa*, "which graciously turns clockwise," that is, in practice, ignoring ***ērpu*** and equating ***taru****tal* with *aruḷ(ḷu)tal* (**PM8**). He then argues that what is circumambulated is Mount Meru, mentions an alternative interpretation of *valaṉ* as *veṟṟiyāl* ("victoriously"), and finds acceptable the alternative that what is circumambulated is the earth (**PM9**). Naccinārkkiṉiyar's gloss of the phrase is *eḻuntu makāmēruvai valamākattiri talaicceyyum*, "which grows (i.e. rises) turning, having risen, clockwise round great Mount Meru" (**NA6**), in which *eḻuntu* clearly stands for ***ērpu***. Kavipperumāḷ agrees in his paraphrase (**KAV1**) and even, to make things clearer, glosses ***ērpu*** by *eḻuntu* (**KAV3**). Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ offers alternative glosses (**MKK2**: ***valaṉērpu*** *valamē aḻaku peṟa* to the right (i.e. clockwise), beautifully—***tiri*** *peyartal* "to move/rise/turn"—***taru*** *varutal* "to come," possibly used here as auxiliary verb) which results in an alternative paraphrase (**MKK3**: *valamē aḻaku peṟap peyarn[tu] varukiṉṟa*, "which comes turning"—i.e. which starts turning (?)," taking *varukiṉṟa* as an auxiliary verb—"so as to obtain beauty on the right side"). He further mentions an alternative interpretation (**MKK4**: ***valaṉ*** *ēṟṟiy eṉiṉu{m} ām*, "One could even/also say having raised strength/victory"), which agrees with that given by Parimēlaḻakar (**PM8**). The anonymous *urai* from Pērūr paraphrases the passage as

ulakattaiyum makamēruvaiyum valamākat tiriyappaṭṭa, "which turns so as to have the world and the Meru on the right side" (**PE4**). In accepting two elements that are circumambulated, it seems to follow Parimēlaḻakar (**PM8**). Such are the small divergences in commentaries quoting the *mūlam* as we have received it and as it has been printed since the 19th cent.

As for Uraiyāciriyar, importantly, he records a *mūlam* variant in his quotation ***valaṉ nērpu tiritaru*** (**UR1**), which he paraphrases as *ulakattiluḷḷa palluyirkaḷum makiḻa mēruvai valamāka yāvarkkum nērākac cuḻalum*, "which rotates straightly/directly/with impartiality for anyone, clockwise round Mount Meru while/so that all the many living beings in the world rejoice" (**UR2**). Uraiyāciriyar thus reads ***nērpu*** (instead of ***ērpu***) and glosses it as *nērāka* ("directly, straightforwardly") to be understood possibly as "with impartiality."

So, we can say that all the commentators, except Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ, agree that what is circumambulated is Mount Meru, and that some also accept that it is the earth (Parimēlaḻakar, anonymous *urai* from Pērūr). In fact, Mount Meru could be understood as standing in a relation of metonymy with the world. Uraiyāciriyar is unique in his reading ***nērpu***.

palar pukaḻ (*aṭi* 2a)

Who are the many (***palar***) praising the sun? Kavipperumāḷ does not tell us, keeping *palar* in his paraphrase (**KAV1**). For Parimēlaḻakar (**PM10**), Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar (**NA8**), Pariti (**PT2**) and the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr (**PE6**) these are "people of all religions" (*ellāc camayattārum*). Uraiyāciriyar defines them as "all those who obtain the fruits of their actions by this sight, because of its brightness" (**UR4**: *taṉatu oḷiyāṉ kāṭciyiṉ payaṉ koḷvār*).

Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ again shows his originality in glossing ***palar*** by *paḻamaiyōr*, "those of olden times" (**MKK2**), a gloss,

which he however does not make use of in his paraphrase, where *palar* surfaces again (**MKK3**).

ñāyiṟu (*aṭi* 2b)

Pariti (**PT2**) and the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr (**PE6**) render *ñāyiṟu* as *iḷaiyacūṟiyaṉ*, "the young sun," i.e. the rising sun, adding thus a precision on what might have been obvious for other commentators (because of *ērpu*, "rising") and sometimes made explicit by equating *taru* with *varu* (**MKK2**), an auxiliary verb denoting the start of an action, which clarifies that the time-setting is the dawn, when the sun begins to rise.

Comparison (*aṭi*s 1–2)

Parimēlaḻakar (**PM11**) identifies one comparison (*uvamai*): the lustrous/glorious body (*tirumēṉi*) of Murukaṉ on his green peacock mount evokes the redness of the rising sun over the green sea. Murukaṉ is indeed known as Cēyōṉ or Cevvēḷ, "the Red One." Kavipperumāḷ (**KAV2**) seems just to repeat Parimēlaḻakar but explicitly mentions the redness of Murukaṉ's body (*cenniṟamēṉi*). Uraiyāciriyar (**UR5**) too identifies a comparison (*uvamai*), but does not explicitly mention the red colour, only the lustrous body (*tirumēṉi*) of both Piḷḷaiyār and Āditya. He adds that this correspondence is perceptible only to "those who meditate with their mind" (*maṉattāṟ karutuvōrkku*). Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ (**MKK5**), who does not use the term *uvamai*, adds that, besides greenness (*pacumai*), the peacock and the sea have also bigness/excellence (*perumai*) in common—showing thus once again his originality. Like Uraiyāciriyar, he does not mention the redness, but just equals the beautiful/lustrous body of Piḷḷaiyār (*piḷḷai{y}ār tirumēṉi*) with the body of Āditya (*ātittaṉ mēṉi*).

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is by far the most elaborate on this trope (**NA11**ff.). While he agrees that there is a comparison based on action (*viṉaiyeccavuvamam*), he argues that there is in fact a double

comparison on the grounds of a *cūttiram* from the *Tolkāppiyam* that he quotes. The first comparison is defined by the technical term *toḻiluvamam*: Murukaṉ destroys illusion for those looking at him with their minds (*taṉṉai maṉattāl nōkkuvārkku*), like the sun destroys darkness. The second comparison is defined by the technical term *vaṇṇavuvamam*: the greenness of the peacock and the redness of Murukaṉ's body (*tirumēṉi*) are, from the point of view of those who look at him with their sense of vision (*taṉṉaik kaṭpulaṉāl nōkkuvārkku*), compared with the greenness of the sea and the redness of the sun. Note the use of a technical terminology, the quotation, and that, *contra* Uraiyāciriyar (**UR5**), the comparison perceptible to those looking with their mind is not the one based on colour, but the one based on action (**NA11**). Furthermore, dealing with *aṭi* 3, in which Murukaṉ is described as *oḷi* ("brightness/light"), Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar comes again to the matter of this comparison (**NA17–18**) in allotting, among two qualifiers of *oḷi*, one to each aspect of the comparison: *avir* ("glittering," i.e. making one blink) concerns the comparison based on the action (**NA17**), *cēṇ viḷaṅku* ("shining from far away") concerns the comparison based on the colour (**NA18**).

Is it possible to examine these different opinions to determine which commentary presupposes which? Is the fact that Parimēlaḻakar and Uraiyāciriyar describe only what Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar calls a *vaṇṇavuvamam* an argument to date them earlier than Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, as one would expect them to state their views about Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's suggestion of a *toḻiluvamam*? It is perilous to conclude this way, as the late old or premodern commentaries, do not refer to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's double comparison either.

ōvaṟa vimaikkuñ cēṇviḷaṅ kaviroḷi (*aṭi* 3)

Several difficulties in interpreting the different *uraiś* arise here. Firstly, the meaning of Parimēlaḻakar's commentary is not crystal clear, whence my failure to convert the beginning of his paraphrase (**PM14**) into word-by-word glosses in Appendix 1. Another difficulty is the gloss

viṭṭu viḷaṅkum. It is used by several of our commentators but concerns two different words of the *mūlam*—***imaikkum*** (**PM13, 15**) and ***viḷaṅk(u) avir*** (**UR7–8, MKK2–3**). Furthermore, it could have several meanings: "twinkling" (*viṭṭu viḷaṅki*, "leaving, i.e. stopping, and shining," i.e. "not shining and then shining, shining alternatively"), or "shining" (*viḷaṅki*) and "emitting" (*viṭṭu*) light (*oḷi*), or "shining much."[43]

Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar not only offers a particularly long paraphrase, explicating many implicit meanings (**NA13**), but goes further and explains that *ō* is a one-letter verbal noun (**NA14**) with an elaboration on ***imai**ttal* and ***cēṇ viḷaṅku*** (**NA15–16**). To substantiate his interpretation of ***imai**ttal*, he gives a quote from the *kaṭavuḷ vāl̲ttu* of *Akanān̲ūr̲u*.

ōvar̲a (*aṭi* 3a)

Our commentators can be divided into two groups when it comes to *ōvar̲a*.

Most of them agree that it means "unceasingly," glossing it *ol̲iv(u) ar̲a* (**PM13, UR7**), *taṅkutal illaiyāka* (**NA13**), *ol̲iv(u) illāmal* (**KAV1**) and *ol̲iv(u) in̲r̲i* (**MKK2–3**). The word of the *mūla mō/ōvu* is understood here as *ol̲ivu*. Note that the gloss *ol̲ivu ar̲a* by Parimēlal̲akar (**PM13**) does not appear clearly or at all in his paraphrase (**PM14**). Mallaiyūrk Kul̲antaik Kavirācan̲ further comments on ***ōvar̲a vimaikkum*** (**MKK6**), stating that it means that there is no difference between the beauty of Murukan̲ and that of Āditya, that is Murukan̲'s brightness is as glittering and pervading as the sun's brightness.

Other commentators however take ***ō*** or ***ōvu*** seemingly as *oḷ*, *oḷi*, *oḷivu*, "brightness." So does Pariti, even though he has a variant reading of the *mūlam* (**PT3:** ***ōvur̲a*** *pirakācam porunti*), as well as the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr (**PE8:** *eṅkum pir̲akācam porunti*), with a very similar wording.

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[43] See TL s.v. விட்டுவிளங்கு-தல் viṭṭu-viḷaṅku-, *v. intr.* < id. [i.e. விடு[1]] +. To shine with added lustre; நன்றாகப்பிரகாசித்தல்.

imaikkum (*aṭi* 3b)

The question here is about the subject of ***imaikkum***. Does the sun twinkle or do those looking at the sun blink?

Parimēlaḻakar seems to imply that the subject of ***imaikkum*** is the light (which Murukaṉ is) (**PM13**: ***imaikkum*** *viṭṭu viḷaṅkum*; **PM14**). He mentions an alternative interpretation (**PM15**), which is not clear to me. Other commentators seem to agree with Parimēlaḻakar, except Naccinārkkiṉiyar, for whom it is the viewer of that light who blinks (**NA13**).

viḷaṅk(u) avir (*aṭi* 3cd)

Some commentators (Naccinārkkiṉiyar, Uraiyāciriyar, and Kavipperumāḷ) apparently gloss the two words at once (**NA13**, **UR7–8**, **KAV1**). The others clearly gloss both words separately. Note the non-correspondence between **PM13** (*tōṟṟam*) and **PM14** (*viḷaṅki*). To reconcile the two different renderings of *avir* as *pāṭañ ceytal* ("to shine") (**PM13–14**) and *aḻakayuṭaiya* [*sic*] (**PE8**), *aḻakaiyuṭaiya* (**PT3**), *aḻaku* (**MKK2**), *aḷakiya* [*sic*] (**MKK3**), we have to admit that beauty is brightness or conversely.

oḷi (*aṭi* 3d)

All commentators equate ***oḷi*** with itself, but for Parimēlaḻakar (**PM13**: *niṟam*) and Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ (**MKK2–3**: *viḷakkam*). The three late commentators indicate that this is the brightness (*oḷi*) (**PT3**, **PE8**) or light/lustre (*viḷakkam*) (**MKK3**) of the body (*mēṉi*) of the god, appearing thus more explicit than their predecessors for whom it would be obvious.

tāṅkiya (*aṭi* 4b)

Most commentators disambiguate ***tāṅkiya*** in favour of the interpretation "feet protecting the devotees," analysing it as a *peyareccam*. The gloss by Naccinārkkiṉiyar (**NA20**) however remains

ambiguous and one can still understand that the phrase ***uṟunar tāṅkiya*** refers to the worship of Murukaṉ by his devotee.

mataṉ uṭai (*aṭi* 4c)

Commentators do not agree on the meaning of ***mataṉ***.

Some take it in the sense of beauty. So does Parimēlaḻakar in his word-by-word gloss (**PM17**), even though *aḻakuṭaiya*, his gloss for ***mataṉ uṭai***, does not appear explicitly in his paraphrase (**PM18**). For Parimēlaḻakar and those agreeing with his gloss (**MKK8–9**, **PE10**), the word ***uṭai*** which follows ***mataṉ*** means "possessing."

Naccinārkkiṉiyar and Uraiyāciriyar take ***mataṉ*** in the sense of ignorance (**NA20:** *aṟiyāmai*) and arrogance (**UR10**: *cerukku*), respectively. For them, the word ***uṭai*** means "breaking/destroying." This allows them to avoid the redundancy that would occur if interpreting ***mataṉuṭai nōṉṟāḷ*** in the *aṭi* 3 as "strong feet possessing strength." See Arumugham (1981: 90). Is it possible to imagine that Naccinārkkiṉiyar read and commented upon ***maṭaṉ*** rather than ***mataṉ***? In other words, does it mean that his commentary (whose *mūlam* quote could have been later, during the MSS transmission, changed to ***mataṉ***) records a variant ***maṭaṉ*** in the *mūlam*?[44] In this connexion, Eva Wilden suggested to me that the famous *Naṟṟiṇai* 34.11, in which *maṭam* is associated with Murukaṉ (*maṭavai maṉṟa vāḻiya murukē*, "Foolish indeed [are] you, may you live, Murukaṉ!"), might have been on Naccinārkkiṉiyar's mind when he proposed the gloss *aṟiyāmai*. The TL s.v. *mataṉ*, definition 7, follows Naccinārkkiṉiyar and interestingly defines it in Tamil as *maṭamai*, "ignorance," with which *maṭam* and *maṭaṉ* share their etymology (see Appendix 3).

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[44] See TL s.v. மடன்[1] maṭaṉ, *n.* <மடம்[1]. 1. Ignorance; அறியாமை. *இன்சொலார் தம் மடனொக்கு மடனுமுண்டோ* (*கம்பரா. உண்டாட்டு.* 10). 2. Credulity; proneness to accept another's opinion and holding fast to it; கொளுத்தக்கொண்டு கொண்டதுவிடாமை. *சாயலு நாணு மடனு மென்றா* (*தொல்.பொ.*247).

As for Kavipperumāḷ (**KAV1**), he takes ***uṭai*** as "possessing" and renders ***mataṉ*** as *cerukku*. Wondering how Murukaṉ could possess *cerukku*, Jean-Luc Chevillard suggested to me that our commentator in fact tries here to reconcile diverging commentaries, those for which *mataṉ* is positive, those for which it is not, like Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. In doing so, Kavipperumāḷ would have taken *cerukku* in a positive meaning in relation to Murukaṉ, that is "intrepidity, courage, indulgence" (see TL).

The above discrepancy between commentators is made possible by the polysemy of ***uṭai*** ("possessing" or "destroying"). If it is "destroying," a negative meaning is given to ***mataṉ***, i.e. "ignorance." This is what Murukaṉ's feet do. If it is "possessing," a positive meaning is given to ***mataṉ***, i.e. "beauty", "intrepidity, courage, indulgence." This is what Murukaṉ's feet have. Filliozat admits the double meaning (1973: 68).

As pointed out to me by Jean-Luc Chevillard, in the *Piṅkalanikaṇṭu*, dated to ca. 850–900 according to Zvelebil (1995: 562), *aḻaku* is one meaning of *mataṉ*, and vice versa (see *Piṅkalanikaṇṭu* 1968, Nos. 1941 and 3921). Did some of our commentators use the *Piṅkalanikaṇṭu*? Or, conversely, did the lexicographer know our commentaries?

cel uṟaḻ taṭakkai (*aṭi* 5cd)

Most commentators agree on the fact that the hands of Murukaṉ resemble something which destroyed the enemies. This is a cloud (*mēkam*) according to Parimēlaḻakar (**PM20–21**) and Kavipperumāḷ (**KAV1**). Parimēlaḻakar clarifies his gloss (*mēkam ottal*, "resembling cloud") in his paraphrase (**PM 21:** *mēkattiṉatu ceytiyaiy uṭaiyavāya*, "possessing the action of the cloud"), that is he makes explicit the common property, which is destroying the enemies. As a cloud destroys by means of thunder, we are not surprised to find Uraiyāciriyar (**UR12**), Pariti (**PT4**) and the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr (**PE12**) taking ***cel*** as such (*iṭi*). The cloud could be considered as standing in a relation of metonymy with thunderbolt. As pointed out to me by Jean-Luc

Chevillard, in the *Piṅkalanikaṇṭu* (1968: No. 3572), *cel* is defined as *iṭi*, *mēkam* or *citalai* ("termite"). Again, we can wonder. Did the lexicographer know our commentaries or is it the other way round?

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar (**NA22**) has also the thunderbolt in mind in his paraphrase (*iṭiyai māṟupaṭṭa*, "which are different from thunder"), but focuses on the difference. Is this another way of saying the same: his hands are not thunder, but do the same (as explicated in **PM 21**)? Or, as suggested by Jean-Luc Chevillard, do we have to understand that the hands of Murukaṉ differ from Indra's thunderbolt, in the sense that the former kills only the wicked and the latter kills indiscriminately?

Mallaiyūrk Kuḷantaik Kavirācaṉ is more original. The hands are like something which destroys/Yama/Kāla (**MKK11**: *kūṟṟam*; **MKK12**: *kūṟṟu*). And he admits also that they are like a cloud (*mēkam*), but interestingly, not for their power of destruction, but for their capacity as giver (**MKK13**), as the cloud showers rain.

maṟuvil kaṟpiṉ vāṇutal kaṇavaṉ (*aṭi* 6)

There is a general agreement between the commentators here. All mention the name of the consort of Murukaṉ. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar further adds that this mention in the beginning of the poem is to make clear to the reader that the work is about Murukaṉ as creator and protector (**NA25–26**).

Kavipperumāḷ (**KAV1**), Mallaiyūrk Kuḷantaik Kavirācaṉ (**MKK15–16**) and the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr (**PE14**) simply render ***kaṟpiṉ*** as *kaṟpu*, i.e. as itself, "devotion." Parimēlaḷakar explains that ***kaṟpu*** refers to the love of a Pativratā, a virtuous spouse (**PM23–24**). Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar glosses it as *aṟakkaṟpu*, which he contrasts with *maṟakkaṟpu*, i.e. his gloss on *maṟuvil*, which he alone understands in this meaning (**NA24**).

As for ***vāḷ*** in its relation to *nutal*, for most commentators it amounts to say "the bright forehead." Pariti as well as the anonymous *urai* from

Pērūr furthermore see there a comparison of the forehead with the crescent moon (**PT5**) and something lost in lacuna (**PE14**) respectively.

Note also that, while most of the commentators gloss/paraphrase *kaṇavaṉ* by itself, Parimēlaḷakar (**PM23–24**) and Mallaiyūrk Kuḷantaik Kavirācaṉ (**MKK15**) use *koḷunaṉ* and *kāntaṉ* respectively. Furthermore, the two MSS of Parimēlaḷakar's *urai* available to me (C11 and TT2) have *pattar* instead.

Typology of Commentarial Divergence

Based on this small sample of commentaries, we can now try to establish, from the cases when our commentators do not agree, a typology of divergence.

There are words showing polysemy, for which one meaning is favoured at the exclusion of others.

cel—This word is glossed "thunderbolt" (*iṭi*) or "cloud" (*mēkam*), which are in a relation of metonymy. Mallaiyūrk Kuḷantaik Kavirācaṉ alone glosses it as "that which destroys/Yama/Kāla" (**MKK11**: *kūṟṟam*; **MKK12**: *kūṟṟu*).

mataṉ—This word is interpreted as "beauty" (*aḷaku*), "ignorance" (*aṟiyāmai*) or "pride, arrogance; intrepidity, courage, indulgence" (*cerukku*), depending on the interpretation of the word *uṭai* that follows.

There are homonymic words diversely interpreted.

uṭai—This word is interpreted as "possessing" or "destroying."

ō/ōvu—Some commentators equate it with *oḻivu* ("ceasing"), others with *oḷivu* ("brightness").

ērpu—Most commentators equate it with "rising," but for Mallaiyūrk Kuḷantaik Kavirācaṉ it means "so as to obtain beauty" (**MKK2**).

There is a difference of opinion regarding the referent of a noun or the subject of a verb.

ulakam—Some commentators restrict its meaning to the "great *ṛṣiś*" (*paramaviruṭikaḷ*) and "learned people" (*uyarntōr*), while other are more inclusive as they consider it to refer to the "living beings" (*uyirkaḷ*, *uyirttokutikaḷ*) or "people" (*mākkaḷ*).

palar—Several commentators explain that this word designates "people from all creeds" (*ellāc camayattārum*), while for Uraiyāciriyar these are "those who obtain the fruits of their actions" (**UR4**) and for Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ "people of yore" (**MKK2**: *paḻamaiyōr*).

imaikkum—For most commentators the light glitters, while for Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar the viewer of that light blinks (**NA13**).

There are two cases of a different reading of the *mūlam*.

ērpu / ***nērpu***—Uraiyāciriyar (**UR1**) alone reads *nērpu* (rendered as *nērāka*, "directly, straightforwardly"), while all the other commentators read *ērpu* ("rising").

ōvaṟa / ***ōvuṟa***—Pariti (**PT3**) alone reads ***ōvuṟa*** ("so that brightness occurs/remains") while all the other commentators read ***ōvaṟa*** ("unceasingly"). From the semantic point of view, the difference is however minimal. Note that the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr (**PE7**) reads ***ōvaṟa***, but glosses it very similarly to Pariti, in fact even more emphatically (**PT3**: *pirakācam porunti*; **PE8**: *eṅkum piṟakācam porunti*).

There are also commentators who offer more explicit/detailed explanations for some words.

ñāyiṟu—It equals *iḷaiyacūṟiyaṉ* "the young sun," i.e. the rising sun, for Pariti (**PT2**) and the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr (**PE6**), rather than simply the sun for all the others.

oḷi—Some commentators make it explicit that this brightness refers to the "body/complexion" (*mēṉi*) of Murukaṉ.

kaṟpu—Naccinārkkiṉiyar contrasts this word with the preceding *maṟu* (**NA24**).

vāḷ—Pariti and also the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr explicit a comparison with crescent moon for the former (**PT5**), with something lost in a lacuna for the latter (**PE14**).

Other divergences are more complex and might involve several of the divergences pointed above.

valaṉ ērpu—While most of the commentators consider that it means "rising clockwise," that is the sun is described as circumambulating, what is circumambulated is generally designated as Mount Meru, but some add the earth, both of which can be considered to be in a relation of metonymy. Others mention the alternative "victoriously." Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ, who accepts this alternative (**MKK4**), favours however another interpretation (**MKK2**: "so as to obtain beauty, on the right side/so that the right side obtains beauty"). Uraiyāciriyar reads a different *mūlam* (**UR1**) and consequently offers still another interpretation (**UR2**: *nērāka*, "straightforwardly," i.e. "with impartiality").

The double comparison—Naccinārkkiṉiyar is the only one to point out that Murukaṉ is compared with the sun in two respects (in action and in colour) (**NA11**).

vilaṅk(u) avir—There are commentators for whom this phrase refers to the shining of the brightness (that Murukaṉ is) and others for whom it refers to its beauty.

We thus see that there are some disagreements, that I would qualify as real (whether based on the same *mūlam* or not), and others that might be called "show-off" disagreement, especially in the case of Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ, who seems to establish his status as commentator by proposing novel interpretations.

Conclusions

What can we conclude from this long survey of a brief portion of the commentaries on the TMAP from the point of view of the commentaries of the TMAP in particular and of the history of Tamil commentaries in general?

From a general point of view, we can wonder about the audience, types and *raison d'être* of commentaries. Leaving out the cases of texts, such as those consisting of *cūttiram*s (Sanskrit *sūtra*), which, due their conciseness, require a commentary (see Wilden [2004: 181, n. 18]), a first obvious reason why an *urai* is needed is that the *mūlam* is not understood anymore, because of the distance between its creation and the actual reader. Secondly, existing commentaries, such as Naccinārkkiniyar's, might be judged beyond the grasp of the average devotee, thus the need for a more accessible and simpler commentary. Thirdly, there might be emulation between literati: one has to write a commentary on a given text, deemed important, so as to be part of a literary coterie. In that case, it might be that what takes precedence is not to offer a "correct" interpretation of the text, but a brilliant, new, imaginative one. This emulation might account for diverging interpretations.

Lehmann (2009: 56) has proposed a threefold classification of Tamil commentaries: scientific or theoretical (on grammar and poetology), literary (on Caṅkam, post-Caṅkam didactic-ethical or epic works), religious (on Śrīvaiṣṇava and Caivacittānta texts). The commentaries on TMAP, as it is a Caṅkam work, would belong to the literary class. The literary value of TMAP certainly accounts for the interest of commentators. This is clearly the case for Naccinārkkiniyar, if one considers the other texts he commented upon and his way of commenting, full of references to Caṅkam poems and grammar. Only the most sophisticated, and mostly Naccinārkkiniyar's *urai*, thus clearly belong to this literary class of commentaries. The TMAP however is also a religious text praising the god Murukan and is part of the Śaiva

Tirumuṟai. The anonymous *urai* from Pērūr underlines the devotional and soteriological dimension of the poem when it states, explaining the phrase ***ulaka muvappa***, that the knowledge of the poem is a way to obtain salvation (**PE2**).

As Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary might be too much sophisticated for an audience interested only in having a broad idea of the content of the text, other commentaries, less sophisticated, were written providing only glosses and/or paraphrase. Such is the case of the anonymous commentary from Pērūr, which basically provides only a paraphrase of the *mūlam*, i.e. it aims at an audience interested only in the meaning. In fact, it even looks more like a translation in modern Tamil than a commentary proper. This would make it an hypotext rather than a metatext in Genette's theoretical frame. The commentary of Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ appears to belong to the same kind, but would furthermore be an example of new, original commentary, possibly serving to establish the status of its author.

Table 3 tentatively classifies the eight commentaries according to a typology differentiating primarily literary, devotional, structural or annotative commentaries; the latter three types aim at an audience interested only in the general meaning of the poem.

Table 3: typology of the commentaries to TMAP.

Literary	**Devotional**	**Annotative**	**Structural**
Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar	Parimēlaḻakar Uraiyāciriyar Kavipperumāḷ Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ Anonymous *urai* from Pērūr	Pariti	Anonymous *karutturai*

As for the relative chronology of the above commentaries, I am afraid that not much can be said based on such a short sample. Questions can be asked but definitive answers cannot be provided.

Does the fact that Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar sees a double simile corroborate the consensus that he is later than Parimēlaḻakar who sees only one? In fact, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is the only one to see this double comparison. As one could expect later commentators to take sides on this issue and as none does so, does it imply that Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is the most recent of all? This seems not to be so. Later commentators, aiming at a larger or different audience, could simply have skipped the issue.

Is Kavipperumāḷ later than Parimēlaḻakar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar as he seems to try to reconcile both about *mataṉuṭai* as suggested by Jean-Luc Chevillard?

When two commentators agree closely—for instance Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar[45] and Uraiyāciriyar in their paraphrase and syntactic linkage of *oḷiyiṉaiyum*, *tāḷiṉaiyum* and *kaiyiṉaiyum* (**NA16**, **20**, **22, 24**; **UR7**, **10**, **12**, **14**)—is it a clear indication that one knows the other? If so, who is the borrower? Is the anonymous *karutturai* derived either from Parimēlaḻakar's or Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentaries as its implicit delimitation of *toṭar*s (indicated by numbers) agrees with them (at least at the beginning, the full *karutturai* being yet to be checked)?

The same question can be asked about Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ's *urai* whose segmentation of the *mūlam* is very often consistent with the *toṭar*s and syntactic structure as delimited by Parimēlaḻakar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. But this might not be a relevant observation, as there are not many different ways of segmenting the *mūlam*. Some observations on language confirm, however, the relatively recent character of Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ's *urai* (see below). Does the hypothesis that Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ

[45] Compare also the close wordings of these two commentators: *maṉattāṟ karutuvōrkkup pulappaṭalāl* (**UR5**) against *maṉattāl nōkkuvārkku … kaṭpulaṉāl nōkkuvārkku* (**NA11**).

consciously offers different interpretations indicate that he could be later than the early old or medieval commentaries?

A definitive observation though is that the commentary by Pariti and the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr are very close in wording (see tables in Appendix 1). But which one is the source of the other is difficult to say.

From an impressionistic consideration of language and vocabulary, Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ's commentary as well as the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr appear more recent than the early old or medieval commentaries. See for instance the accusative plural *-yaḷai* for *-kaḷai* (**PE12**) and the use of Teyvāṉai (**PE14**), a colloquial form of Teyvayāṉai according to TL, which however are wordings that might not be original but appeared in the transmission process. Note also: the rendering of ***kaṭal*** by *camuttiram* (**MKK2–3**, **PE6**), while the other commentators keep *kaṭal*; the rendering of ***tāḷ*** by *pātam* (**KAV1**, **MKK8–9**) or *pātāravintam* (**PE10**), while others, except Parimēlaḻakar (**PM17–18**: *cīpātam*), keep *tāḷ*; the rendering of ***nōṉ*** by *palam* (**MKK9**) and *valuvu* (**PE10**), as opposed to *vali* for the other commentators; the rendering of ***kai*** by *attam* (**MKK11–12**) or *astam* (**PE12**), as opposed to *kai* for the other commentators; the occurrence of the words *iraṭcittil* and *iraccikkiṉṟa* (**MKK8–9**), *piṟakācam* (**PT3**, **PE8**), *illāmai*, which is a modern form used to gloss ***il*** (**MKK15**), *illāmal* (**KAV1**), *ākāyam* (**PT3**), *ākācam* (**PE8**). Of course, it is difficult to assign individually a date to the appearance of each of these wordings, many of which are Sanskrit loanwords, but one cannot help feeling that such a collection of linguistic features points towards Modern Tamil of a colloquial register, as far as the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr is concerned, which, in its case, provides a hint as to which kind of audience it aims at. Note also that the vocabulary of these apparently later commentaries is more Sanskritised (see for instance, besides the examples above-mentioned, *lōkalōkaṅkaḷum*, *leṭcam*, and *cantō[vi]ttai* in **PE2**). If these observations are confirmed by further investigations, one could consider that Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ's paraphrase as well as the anonymous

urai from Pērūr, which basically provides only a paraphrase of the *mūlam*, are in fact translations of the TMAP from Caṅkam Tamil into a relatively modern Tamil (colloquial for the anonymous *urai* from Pērūr) rather than commentaries proper. The fact that Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ provides further explanations would make it an annotated translation.

Finally, the above sample, however short, shows that commentaries have a complex history of transmission, as the same commentary might be attested in various forms today. For instance, Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācaṉ's commentary is attested in two versions: one containing word-by-word glosses and a paraphrase (TU3, G11), the other leaving out the word-by-word glosses and containing only the paraphrase (C8). Similarly, the editions of Parimēlaḻakar's commentary differ: while both editions available to me contain further explanations, one edition by Kō. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār (TMAP 1945), has word-by-word glosses and a paraphrase, and the other, the Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition (TMAP 1959), leaves the word-by-word glosses to keep only the paraphrase. The two MSS of Parimēlaḻakar's commentary available to me (C11, TT2) agree with Kō. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār's edition—except for **PM10**, for which we have either word-by word glosses (Kō. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār's edition) or a paraphrase (C11, TT2 and Tiruppaṉantāḷ edition). One can wonder if the original commentary was furnished with word-by-word glosses or not. In the affirmative, one would have to admit that the versions without the word-by-word glosses are abridgements; in the negative, that the versions with the word-by-word glosses are enlargements, necessitated by a further need for clarification. Another possible instance of abridgement, but very drastic, is the anonymous *Karutturai* (MS C9), that could be derived from Parimēlaḻakar's or Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary.

I have only offered but a few insights here, adding yet another layer of commentary. I showed, I hope, the way for future research. A lot of work remains, however, ahead of us. A rough calculation would be 50 times what is presented here. (to be continued)

Appendix 1: Synoptic Tables

These tables present for each of the six first metrical lines (*aṭi*s) of the TMAP the correspondence between the words of the *mūlam* and their rendering in the commentaries either in the glosses or in the paraphrase. Roman numerals refer to original glosses (initial or selected). Italic numerals refer to paraphrases and further explanations, which I have segmented into glosses. Some particularly long glosses and explanations are not cited *in extenso*. The asterisk marks alternative interpretation mentioned by the commentators, whether they endorse it or not.

{{1}} உலக முவப்ப வலனேர்பு திரிதரு *ulakam uvappa valaṉ ērpu tiri taru*

	ulakam	*uvappa*	*valaṉ*	*ērpu— nērpu* (UR)	*tiri taru*
PM4, 7	*... uyarntōrāyuḷḷa parama viruṭikaḷāyuḷḷōr*	*virumpa*	*valamākat tirintaruḷukiṉṟa*		
*PM5**	*uyarntōr*	*virumpa*			
NA3, 6	*cīvāṉmākkaḷ*	*uvappa*	*eḻuntu makāmēruvai valamākat tiri talaicceyyum*		
NA4	*maṇṇiṭattu vāḻum cīvāṉmākkaḷai*				
UR2	*ulakattiluḷḷa palluyirkaḷum*	*makiḻa*	*mēruvai valamāka*	*yāvarkkum nērākac*	*cuḻalum*
KAV1	*uyarntōr*	*virumpum paṭi*	*eḻuntu mēruvai valamāka varukiṉṟa*		
KAV3				*eḻuntu*	
PT1	*ulakiṉkaṇṇuḷḷa eṇ pattu nāṉku ilaṭcam cīva pētaṅkaḷākiya uyirttokutikaḷ*				
MKK 2	*uyarntōr*	*virumpa*	*valamē aḻaku peṟa*		*peyartal varutal*
MKK3	*uyarnt[ō]r*	*virumpa*	*valamē aḻaku peṟap*		*peyarn[tu] varukiṉṟa*
*MKK4**			*valaṉ ēṟṟiy*		
PE2, 4	*lōkalōkaṅkaḷum eṇpattu nālu leṭcam āṟṟu mākkaḷuñ cantō[vi]ttaiy aṭaintu piḻaikkum paṭi*		*ulakattaiyum makamēruvaiyum valamākat tiriyappaṭṭa*		

For further explanations see also **PM8.**

{{2}} பலர்புகழ் ஞாயிறு கடற்கண் டாஅங்*palar pukaḻ ñāyiṟu kaṭal kaṇṭu āaṅku*

	palar	***pukaḻ***	***ñāyiṟu***	***kaṭal***	***kaṇṭu āaṅku***
PM10	*ellāc camayattārālum*	*koṇṭāṭappaṭṭa*	*ātittaṉaik*	*kaṭalil*	*kaṇṭāṟ pōla*
NA8, 10	*ellāccamayattārum*	*pukaḻum*	*ñāyiṟṟai*	*kaṭaliṭattē*	*kaṇṭāṟ pōla*
UR4	*taṉatu oḷiyāṟ kāṭciyiṉ payaṉ koḷvār palarum*	*pukaḻum*	*ñāyiṟṟaik*	*kaṭaliṭattuk*	*kaṇṭāṟ pōla*
KAV1	*palarālum*	*pukaḻappaṭṭa*	*ātittaṉ*	*kaṭaliṭattē*	*kaṇṭāl otta*
PT2	*ellāc camayattārum*		*iḷaiya cūriyaṉ*		*utayamāṉatu pōla*
MKK2	*paḻamaiyōr*	*ēttu*	*āt[i]ttaṉ*	*camuttiraṅ*	*kaṇṭā{ṟ} pōla*
MKK3	*palarum*	*{ē}ttappa[ṭ]ṭav*	*ātittaṉaic*	*camuttirattiṉ*	*kaṇ{ṇē}y utaiya{kā}lattilē kaṇṭāp* [*sic*] *pōla*
PE6	*ellāc camaiyattārum*	*pukaḻappaṭṭay*	*iḷaiyacūṟiyaṉ*	*camuttirattilēy*	*utaiyamāṉatu pōla*

For further explanations see also **PM11**, **NA11**, **UR5**, **MKK5**.

{{3}} கோவற விமைக்குஞ் சேண்விளங் கவிரொளிō *aṟa imaikkum cēṇ viḷaṅku avir oḷi*

	ō/ōvu aṟa — ō uṟa (PT3)	*imaikkum*	*cēṇ*	*viḷaṅku*	*avir*	*oḷi*
PM13	*oḷivaṟa*	*viṭṭu viḷaṅkum*	*tūram*	*tōṟṟam*	*pāṭañ ceytal*	*niṟam*
PM14	*atitūrattilē tōṉṟi oḷi viṭṭu viḷaṅkip*				*pāṭañ ceykiṉṟa*	*tiruniṟattiṉaiyum-uṭaiyaṉum āy*
*PM15**		*niṟaital viṭṭu viḷaṅkum*				
NA13	*... taṅkutal illaiyāka*	*imaittu pārttaṟkuk kāraṇamākum*		*viḷaṅkukiṉṟa*		*oḷi*
NA15		*kaṇkaḷiṉ itaḷkaḷiraṇṭiṉaiyum kuvittal*				
NA16	*kaṭpulaṉāl nōkkuvār kaṇṇiṭaṅkaḷel lāvaṟṟiṉum ceṉṟu viḷaṅkukiṉṟa*					*oḷiyiṉaiyum*
UR7	*... ekkālamum oḷivaṟa*	*viḷaṅkuvatāki*	*maṉavākkaiyum kaṭanta tūrattilē*	*viṭṭu viḷaṅkā niṉṟa*		*oḷiyiṉaiyum*
*UR8**	*... oḷivaṟa iyalpāṉa*	*oḷiyaiyuṭaiya*	*tēvarulakattilē akamum puṟamumāki*	*viṭṭu viḷaṅkā niṉṟa*		*oḷiy*
KAV1	*oḷivillāmal*	*viḷaṅkuvatāy*	*nīṇṭa tūrattil ceṉṟu*	*viḷaṅkukiṉṟa*		*oḷiyiṉaiyum*
PT3	*pirakācam porunti*		*ākāyattilum*	*viḷaṅkiya*	*aḷakaiyuṭaiya*	*oḷiyāṉa tirumēṉi*
MKK2	*oḷiviṉṟiy*	*niṟaivu*	*tūra{m}*	*viṭṭu viḷaṅka*	*aḷaku*	*vi[ḷakka]m*

MKK3	*oḻiviṉṉi*	*niṟaintu*	*atitūrāttilē*	*viṭṭu viḷaṅka* [*sic*] *niṉṉa*	*aḷakiya* [*sic*]	*{viḷa}kkam[u]ṭaittāyay iruntuḷḷa tirumēṉiyaiyuṭaiyavaṉ*
PE8	*eṅkum piṟakācam*	*porunti*	*ākācamum*	*viḷaṅkiy*	*aḻakayuṭaiya* [*sic*]	*oḻiyāṉa* [*sic*] *tirumēni*

For further explanations see also **NA14.**

{{4}} யுறுநர்த் தாங்கிய மதனுடை நோன்றாட் *uṟunart tāṅkiya mataṉuṭai nōṉ tāḷ*

	uṟunar	*tāṅkiya*	*mataṉ*	*uṭai*	*nōṉ*	*tāḷ*
PM17	*meyyaṭiyār*	*kāttal*	*aḻakuṭaiya*		*valiya tāḷākiya cīpātam*	
PM18	*meyyaṭiyāraik*	*kākkiṉṟa*			*valiyiṉaiy uṭaittāṉa cīpātattai yuṭaiyaṉum āy*	
NA20	*taṉṉaic cērntavarkaḷ tīviṉaiyaip pōkki*	*avarait tāṅkiya*	*aṟiyāmaiyai*	*uṭaittaṟkuk kāraṇamākiya*	*valiyiṉaiyuṭaiya*	*tāḷiṉaiyum*
UR10	*taṉṉaiy aṭaivōrait*	*tāṅkum*	*yāṉ eṉatu eṉṉuñ cerukkaik*	*keṭukkum*	*valiya*	*tāḷiṉaiyum*
KAV1	*taṉṉai aṭaintōrākiya cīmātavāciriyaraip*	*parikkiṉṟa (tāṅkukiṉṟa)*	*cerukkum*		*valiyum*	*uḷavāṉa cīrpātaṅkaḷaiyum*
MKK8	*aṭaintōr*	*iraṭcittil*	*aḻaku*	*uṇṭākiya*	*vali*	*[p]ātam*
MKK9	*aṭaintōr[ai]y*	*iraccikkiṉṟav*	*aḻaki[ṉ]ai{yu}m*		*palaviṉaiyumuṭaiya*	*śrīpātaṅkaḷaiyum-uṭaiyavaṉ*
PE10	*taṉṉaiy uṭainta pērait*	*tāṅkiy*	*a[ḻa]kaip*	*porunti*	*valuvaiyuṭaiya*	*pātāravintam*

{{5}} செறுநர்த் தேய்த்த செல்லுறழ் தடக்கை *ceṟunar tēytta cel uṟaḻ taṭam kai*

	ceṟunar	***tēytta***	***cel***	***uṟaḻ***	***taṭakkai***
PM20	*catturukaḷ*	*keṭutta*	*mēkam*	*ottal*	*periya kai*
PM21	*catturukkaḷaik*	*keṭuttu*	*mēkattiṉatu*	*ceytiyaiy uṭaiyavāya*	*periya kaikaḷaiyuṭaiyaṉum āy*
NA22	*aḻittaṟkuriyārai*	*aḻitta*	*iṭiyai*	*māṟupaṭṭa*	*perumaiyiṉaiyuṭaiya kaiyiṉaiyum uṭaiya*
UR12	*taṉatu aruḷvaḻi nillātu māṟupaṭṭōrai*	*aḻitta* (var.: *aḻittu*)	*iṭiyēṟu*	*pōṉṟa*	*periya kaiyiṉaiyumuṭaiya*
KAV1	*pakaivarkaḷai*	*māytta*	*mēkam*	*pōṉṟav*	*aḷaviya kaiyiṉaiyum*
PT4			*iṭikaḷaip*	*pōṉṟa*	
MKK11	*catturukkaḷai*	*mā[y]vitta*	*kūṟṟam*	*otta*	*periya śrīyatta{m}*
MKK12	*catturukkaḷai*	*māyavittuk*	*kūṟṟaiy* (G10) *kūṟṟam* (TU3)	*otta*	*periya śrīyattaṅkaḷaiyuṭaiyavaṉ*
MKK13*			*mēkattaip*	*pōlē*	*koṭukka[p]paṭṭa kaiy*
PE12	*catturātiyaḷaic*	*ce[X/XX]kum iṭattuy*	*iṭiyaḷaip*	*pōṉṟa*	*astaṅkaḷ*

{{6}} மறுவில் கற்பின் வாணுதல் கணவன் *maṟu il kaṟpiṉ vāḷ nutal kaṇavaṉ*

	maṟu il	*kaṟpiṉ*	*vāḷ*	*nutal*	*kaṇavaṉ*
PM23	*kuṟṟam illāta*	*pativiratāpāvattiṉai-yuṭaiya*	*oḷi*	*neṟṟi*	*koḻunaṉ*
PM24	*kuṟṟam illāta*	*pativiratāpāvattiṉaiyum*	*oḷi taru*	*neṟṟiyiṉaiyumuṭaiya teyvayāṉaikkuk*	*koḻunaṉum āy*
NA24	*maṟakkaṟpil-lāta*	*aṟakkaṟpiṉaiyum*	*oḷi poruntiya*	*nutaliṉaiyumuṭaiya intiraṉ makaḷ teyvayāṉaiyār*	*kaṇavaṉ*
UR14	*kuṟṟam illāta*	*a[ṟa]kkaṟpaiyuṭaiya*		*intiraṉ makaḷ teyvayāṉaiyār*	*kaṇavaṉ*
KAV1	*kuṟṟam illāta*	*kaṟpiṉaiyum*	*oḷi ceṟinta*	*neṟṟiyiṉaiyum uṭaiya teyvayāṉaiyārkkuk*	*kaṇavaṉ āy uḷḷavaṉ*
PT5			*piṟaiccantiraṉ pōṉṟa*	*nutalaiyuṭaiya teyvayāṉai nācciyār*	
MKK15	*kuṟṟam illāmai*	*kaṟpu*	*oḷi* [*sic*]	*neṟṟi*	*kāntaṉ*
MKK16	*kuṟṟam illāta*	*kaṟpiṉaiyum*	*oḷi*	*neṟṟiyaiyumuṭaiya teyvayāṉaikkik*[*sic*]	*kaṇavaṉ āy uḷḷavaṉ*
PE14	*mācumaṟuv illāta*	*kaṟpiṉai*	*{yu}ṭaittā[y] āri[C]ai pōṉṟa*	*nutalaiyuṭaiya teyvāṉai nā{cci}yār*	*kaṉavaṉ*

For further explanations see also **NA25–26.**

Appendix 2: Some Elements of Tamil Commentarial Metalanguage.

For many of the present entries, see also Chevillard (2008), especially in the glossary (pp. 43ff.) and for the forms derived from *eṉal*, "to say," pp. 99 and 469.

amaiyum—"it is acceptable" (**PM5**, **8**). Validates an alternative interpretation. Comes after *eṉiṉum*.

ituvaṉṟi / *iktaṉṟi*—"this not being," i.e. "besides" (**PM8**, **15**). Introduces an alternative explanation.

iṉip pāṭam—"hereafter the text of the poem" (see MSS variants *ad* **PM15**, **PM24**). Indicates the quotation of the *mūlam* starts again.

eṉavē—"so as to say," i.e. "that is to say" (**PM18**, **21**, **24**). Introduces a paraphrase.

eṉiṉum—"even if one says" (**PM5**, **8**; **MKK4**, **13**). For an acceptable alternative explanation. Followed by *amaiyum* (**PM5**, **8**) or *ām* (**MKK4**, **13**).

eṉpatu—frequently abbreviated *etu*—"that which says," i.e. "the word, the phrase, the quotation, the sentence." Concludes a quotation from the *mūlam*.

eṉpārum uḷar—"there are also people who say" (**PM8**, **15**). For an alternative explanation (mentioned but not validated). Similar to *eṉṟum ām*.

eṉṟav āṟu—"a manner to say" (**MKK3**, **9**, **12**, **16**). Concludes a paraphrase.

eṉṟum ām—"there is also saying," i.e. "some also says, it also means according to others" (**UR8**). For alternative explanation (not validated). Similar to *eṉpārum uḷar*.

kūṭṭuka—"one should connect" (**PM14**). Makes the syntax/meaning explicit.

koḷka—"one should take," i.e. "one should understand that/as follows" (**PM1**, **8**, **11**). For an explanation.

muṭikka/(*viṉai*) *muṭikka*—"one should complete/conclude (the action)," i.e. "one should syntactically complete/construe (the action)" (**NA17**, **18**, **27**). Makes the syntax/meaning explicit.

Appendix 3: Quotations of TMAP 1–6 in the TL

There are six references/quotations to TMAP 1–6 in the TL (in bold in the entries below). Only one (definition 7 of *mataṉ* as *maṭamai*, "ignorance") is explicitly a reference to a commentary, which is unnamed but is evidently that of Naccinārkkiṉiyar, who alone understands the word as such (**NA20**: *aṟiyāmai*). But note that the reference to *aṭi* 7 (instead of *aṭi* 4) is incorrect. Note also that the definition of *uṟunaṉ* is based on TMAP only.

உலகம் ulakam, *n.* < *lōka.* 1. The earth; பூமி. (*பிங்.*) 2. Any world; புவனப்பொது. (*திவ். திருவாய்.*6, 10, 1.) 3. Country, territory, region; நிலப்பகுதி. *மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்* (*தொல். பொ.*5). 4. Sky, etherial regions; ஆகாயம். (*பிங்.*) 5. Point of the compass; திக்கு. (*திவா.*) 6. Inhabitants of the world, mankind in general; மக்கட்டொகுதி. (*தொல். சொல்.*57, *சேனா.*) 7. The excellent, the good; நன்மக்கள். *உலகம்புகழ்ந்த வோங்குயர் விழுச்சீர்* (*திருமுரு.* 124). 8. Created beings; சீவராசிகள். ***உலக முவப்ப வலனேர்பு திரிதரு* (*திருமுரு.* 1)**. 9. Lofty character; உயர்குணம். (*பிங்.*) 10. Usage, custom; வழக்கம். *ஒழுக்கநடையே யுலகமதாகும்* (*மாறன.* 320).

உவ-த்தல் uva-, *12 v. intr.* [M. *uva.*] 1. To be glad, to rejoice, to be delighted; மகிழ்தல். **(*திருமுரு.* 1.)** 2. To be pleasing, agreeable; பிரியமாதல். *அவருக் குவந்த செய்கை. Colloq.—tr.* To be pleased with, to approve of, like; விரும்புதல். *உறுவ துலகுவப்பச் செய்து* (*நாலடி.* 74).

உறுநன் uṟunaṉ, *n.* < id. +. Votary, he who seeks protection, follower; சேர்ந்தவன். ***உறுநர்த் தாங்கிய மதனுடை நோன்றாள்* (*திருமுரு.* 4)**.

ஓ[3] ō, *n.* 1. Going and staying; சென்று தங்குகை. ***ஓவற விமைக்கும் . . . ஒளி* (*திருமுரு.* 3)**. 2. Shutter or other means to stop the flow of water; மதகுநீர்தாங்கும் பலகை. (*தொல். எழுத்.* 180, *உரை.*).

தேய்[2]-த்தல் tēy-, *11 v. tr.* Caus. of தேய்[1]-. [M. *tēikka.*] 1. To rub, rub away, waste by rubbing; உரைசச்செய்தல். *மாநாகங்கொண்டாற் கொப்புளாம் விரலிற் றேய்த்தால்* (*சீவக.*1288). 2. To reduce; குறைத்தல். *அழுத கண்ணீரன்றே செல்வத்தைத் தேய்க்கும் படை* (*குறள்,* 555). 3. To kill, destroy; அழித்தல். ***செறுநர்த் தேய்த்த செல்லுறழ் தடக்கை* (*திருமுரு.* 5)**. 4. To scour, scrub, polish by rubbing, as a wall, as a vessel; to clean, as teeth; துலக்குதல். *பாத்திரத்தைத் தேய்த்துவைத்தாள்.*5. To efface, erase, obliterate by rubbing; துடைத்தல். *எழுத்தைத் தேய்த்துவிட்டான்.* 6. To pare, shave, cut, as a gem; செதுக்குதல். *மணியிற் றேய்த்த வள்ளமும்* (*கம்பரா. வரைக்.* 40). 7. To rub in, as oil, ointment or liniment; எண்ணெய் முதலிய அழுந்தப்பூசுதல்.

மதன்[1] matan̲, *n.* <மத. 1. cf. *mada.* Arrogance; செருக்கு. *மதனுடை நோன்றாள்* (*பட்டினப்.* 278). 2. Strength; வலிமை. *மதனுடை முழவுத்தோள்* (*புறநா.* 50). 3. Enthusiasm, elation; மனவெழுச்சி. *மதனுடை நோன்றாள்* (*புறநா.* 75, *உரை*). 4. Beauty; அழகு. (*பிங்.*) 5. Greatness, glory; மாட்சிமை (*பிங்.*) 6. Abundance; excess, மிகுதி. (*யாழ். அக.*) 7. Ignorance; மடமை. ***மதனுடை நோன்றாள்* (*திருமுரு.* 7** [*sic*]**, உரை)**. 8. Bewilderment; கலக்கம். (*யாழ். அக.*).

Abbreviations

KAR: anonymous *karutturai.*

KAV: Kavipperumāḷ's *urai.*

MKK: Mallaiyūrk Kuḻantaik Kavirācan̲'s *urai.*

MS/MSS: manuscript/manuscripts (artefact of testimony).

NA: Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar's *urai.*

PE: anonymous *urai* from Pērūr.

PM: Parimēlaḻakar's *urai.*

PT: Pariti's *urai.*

TL: *Tamil Lexicon.*

TMAP: *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai.*

UR: Uraiyāciriyar's *urai.*

UVS: U. V. Swaminatha Iyer = U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar.

Conventions for Manuscripts Transcription

[a]	Proposed reading of unclear letter/sign.
[a/b]	Alternative readings of unclear letter/sign.
[X]	Illegible letter/sign. As many X as letters/signs.
[C]	Illegible consonant.
[V]	Illegible vowel.
{a}	Illegible letter/sign, restored by conjecture or from another witness.
[a*]	Letter/sign missing in the original and entirely restored.

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This is a list of the manuscript Manuscripts testimonies of *uraṅ*s to the TMAP. For a list of MSS testimonies (including those containing the *mūlam*) and details about the dated MSS, see Francis (2016: 527–528[46]). Between parentheses are the accession No./catalogue No., with only a single reference if the accession No. is the catalogue No.

C = Chennai, U.V.S. Library.

Ca = Calcutta, National Museum.

G = Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai.

I = Institut Français de Pondichéry.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Pe = Pērūr Cāntaliṅka Atikaḷār Tirumaṭam in Coimbatore

SM = Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore.

T = Trivandrum, Oriental Research Institute Manuscripts Library.

TT = Tiruvavāṭutuṟai Tirumaṭam.

TU = Tamil University, Tanjore.

C1 (1074/2227)	Ca2 (3152/111)	I4 (RE47681/—)	T2 (4108/2676)
C5 (416/193)	G2 (TD939/R1236)	I5 (RE47752/—)	T3 (6389/2675)
C6 (813/194)	G6 (TR964/R1269)	P1 (Indien 66)	T7 (10318/2673)
C7 (892/195)	G8 (TR1635/R2865)	P2 (Indien 67)	TT1 (201/?)
C8 (704/196)	G9 (TR1506/R2688)	Pe (79/—)	TT2 (201/?)
C9 (743/197)	G10 (TR1588/R2806)	SM1 (227/254)	TU3 (2252/3697)
C11 (1072/2231)	G11 (TR2303/R5184)	SM3 (973/1125)	
Ca1 (3092/110)	I2 (RE25365/—)	SM4 (1587/?)	

[46] Four more MSS, recently made available to me thanks to NETamil, are to be added to this list (Pe and T6–T8).

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Commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* Works

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Like many classical Tamil texts, the *Akam* works of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus have been transmitted along with a commentary. The old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works are anonymous, and the date of their composition is unknown. There are also several modern commentaries from the 20th century, as well as at least two English translations. As I will show in this article, the old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works have been instrumental in establishing our present understanding of these texts. Moreover, I will argue that the presence (or absence) of the commentaries has been crucial for the very way in which the texts have come down to us. I will start with a (necessarily short) introduction to the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works, followed by an overview of the nature of their old commentaries. While discussing the transmissional history of the commentaries, I will present some evidence for the fact that the old commentaries have been reworked in the course of transmission. I will then turn to the modern commentaries and translations of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works and discuss their indebtedness to the old commentaries. Finally, I will examine what happens when a part of the old commentary goes missing. As I will show, the absence of the old commentary has not only created problems for the modern commentators with regards to the interpretation of the texts, but also caused the parts of the texts for which the old commentary is lost to become corrupted in the course of transmission. What I am presenting in this article is partly based on very detailed textual work, which at times might be hard to digest for non-specialists (and maybe also for specialists). Nevertheless, I hope that the example of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works will show what a profound role commentaries have played in shaping the history of classical Tamil texts.

1. The *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* Works

What is known under the name *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* ("eighteen shorter works") or *Kīḻkkaṇakku* ("shorter works") for short, is a corpus of eighteen literary works from the late classical period of Tamil literature. This means that these works stem from the period immediately following that of the so-called *Caṅkam* works, which form the oldest stratum of Tamil literature. I do not want to enter here into a discussion on dating (which is a thorny issue), but we can maintain that the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts were most probably composed some time in the second half of the 1st millennium CE. The *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus includes the famous *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, a work which has enjoyed great popularity throughout its history, and which is today considered perhaps the most important icon of Tamil culture. Another *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work, the *Nālaṭiyār*, also seems to have been quite popular during the pre-modern era, although it nowadays has been eclipsed by the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. The remaining sixteen works of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus are far less well-known. Most of them represent, like the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār*, the genre of so-called didactic literature, that is, they deal with questions of right conduct. Six works, however, belong to the ancient genre of *Akam* or love poetry, and one more represents the equally ancient genre of *Puṟam* or heroic poetry. In this article, I am concerned with the six *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works of the *Akam* genre (see Table 1), namely the *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu* (TN), the *Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu* (TAi), the *Aintiṇai Aimpatu* (AiAi), the *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu* (AiE), the *Kainnilai* (Kain.), and the *Kār Nāṟpatu* (KārN). Although I would like to argue that these texts deserve much more attention as literary works than what they have received so far, this is not the place to do so.[1] In this article, I am concerned with the commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works.

[1] I am currently preparing a critical edition and annotated translation of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works. Secondary literature on these texts is scarce. Readers are referred to Zvelebil (1975: 117–120), who presents not more than the most basic facts, and to Citamparaṉār (1957: 12–50) (in Tamil)

Table 1: The *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* Works and their old commentaries

Abbr.	Title	No. of poems (original/extant)	Old commentary
TN	*Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*	150 (153)	Extant for 1—127
TAi	*Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu*	50	Complete (no. 1 is fragmentary)
AiAi	*Aintiṇai Aimpatu*	50	Complete
AiE	*Aintiṇai Eḻupatu*	70 (66)	Extant for 1–24
Kain.	*Kainnilai*	60 (many fragmentary)	Extant for 18–25, 36–43, 54–60
KārN	*Kār Nāṟpatu*	40	Extant for 1–22, 39–40

2. The Old Commentaries

Among the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts, the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the *Nālaṭiyār* are the only works on which several pre-modern commentaries exist.[2] For each of the remaining sixteen works, there is an anonymous old commentary (although not all of them have been preserved in full).[3] In what follows, I will limit myself to the commentaries on the six *Akam* texts. Whether what can be said about them also holds true for the anonymous old commentaries on the other *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts, is certainly a worthwhile question, which, however, cannot be answered within the scope of this article.

Nothing is known about the authors of the old commentaries or the circumstances in which they were produced. The literary historian Mu. Aruṇācalam dates the anonymous *Kīḻkkaṇakku* commentaries to

[2] The *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is said to have possessed ten old commentaries. Five of them have survived, namely those by Paritiyār, Kāliṅkar, Maṇakkuṭavar, Paripperumāḷ, and Parimēlaḻakar (Aravintaṉ 1968: 271–315). On the *Nālaṭiyār*, we have three old commentaries: those by Patumaṉār and Tarumar, as well as an anonymous one (Aravintaṉ 1968: 235–239).

[3] For an overview, see Aruṇācalam 1995: 87–95.

the period between the 12th and 14th centuries, although he himself admits that the dating is rather tentative.[4] Indeed, linguistically the old commentaries seem to belong to the period of Middle Tamil. Conspicuous features include the present tense suffixes *-kiṉṟ-* and *-āniṉṟ-*, case suffixes such as *-iṉkaṇ* for the locative and *-iṉiṉṟum* for the ablative, and certain lexical choices such as the word *mukil*, which is regularly used as a gloss for the various words for "cloud" that appear in the texts. On the other hand, hardly anything is known about the evolution of Tamil during this period, and the standardized nature of the commentary idiom makes it difficult to draw any conclusions about the age of the commentary. It should be kept in mind that even early 20th-century Tamil scholars wrote in an archaizing language which emulated the style of the medieval commentators. While Aruṇācalam's dating is not implausible, I would say that even a range of three centuries, as proposed by him, is too narrow in light of the scanty evidence.

The old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works appear to be rather uniform, both with regards to their structure and to their language. Again, the standardized nature of the commentary idiom makes it difficult to draw any definite conclusions, but one may note, for example, that all the commentaries very consistently use the suffix *-iṉkaṇ* (rather than any other of the numerous possible suffixes) for the locative, or that negative imperatives are regularly glossed with a periphrastic construction involving the negative absolutive in *-ātu* and the verb *oḻi-tal* (e.g. *vārātoḻika* or *varātoḻivāyāka* for *vāral*, "do not come"). The vocabulary of the glosses is also very uniform. For example, we have already noted the word *mukil*, which is used as the standard gloss for the various words for "cloud" (*kār*, *vāṉ*, *vāṉam*, *maḻai*, *koṇmū*, *eḻili*, *mañcu*, *mēkam*) that appear in the texts. Finally, there are cases where the individual commentaries conspicuously agree in very specific points. One example is the word *intu*, which appears in

[4] Aruṇācalam (1995: 88). The dating is followed by Lehmann (2009: 69), who assigns the old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works to the 14th century.

TN 104 and in KārN 40, but is not attested elsewhere in the corpus of early Tamil literature.[5] In both cases, the old commentary explains *intu* as a metrical shortening of *īntu*, "date" (the fruit), which is certainly possible, but at least to me seems somewhat surprising.[6] Of course it is possible that the identification of *intu* as "date" was so obvious that two different commentators would have independently arrived at the same solution, or that the two commentaries were written by two different persons, who, however, were influenced by each other. But such correspondences between the commentaries might also show that they were composed by the same person. It should be noted that the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts were transmitted as a corpus, and as such their anonymous old commentaries form a group.[7] At least in the case of the *Akam* works, it seems likely that all of them were composed by a single author, although this cannot be proven with certainty. Whether this is also true for the anonymous old commentaries on the other *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works, cannot be said at the present moment.

In the manuscripts (and in most printed editions) of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works, the text is interspersed with the old commentary. Each poem is followed by the so-called speech situation and then by the actual commentary. What I have termed "speech situation" (rendering the Tamil term *kiḷavi*) is a short paratext naming the situation in which the poem, according to an elaborate poetological theory, is supposed to have been uttered. In other words, it defines the context of the poem. In the secondary literature in English, the speech situations are often

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[5] See the *Index des mots de la littérature tamoule ancienne.*

[6] In both cases, *intu* appears as the object of comparison for the dark colour of rainclouds. It does not seem very obvious why rainclouds should be compared with dates, and I am not aware of any parallels. Other meanings listed for *intu* in the *Tamil Lexicon*, include "charcoal" and "black bear." Although they are only attested in a very late lexicographical work (the *Akarāti Nikaṇṭu*), these meanings might be worth considering.

[7] Most of the surviving manuscripts are multiple-texts manuscripts containing several (though never all) works of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus with their respective commentaries. Only the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the *Nālaṭiyār* seem to have had a largely separate history of transmission.

(though misleadingly) called "colophons," but they have also been characterized as "miniature commentaries."[8] The modern editors of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts have used the Tamil term *karutturai*, lit. "commentary [giving the] gist [of the text]," which suggests that the speech situations have also been conceived as a kind of commentary (*urai*). Although the origin of the speech situations is probably independent, their transmission is intimately connected with that of the commentaries. Manuscripts of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts that come without the commentary do not contain the speech situations, either, and wherever the commentary has been lost, the speech situations are likewise missing. The speech situations can thus be perceived as being part of the commentary. In what follows, I will, nevertheless, concentrate on the commentary proper.

The actual commentary is termed *poḻippurai*, "summarizing or paraphrasing commentary," by the modern editors.[9] It should be emphasized, however, that this commentary is not just a summary, but a full paraphrase. As a rule, each word of the poem is represented by a gloss in the commentary. The reason why the old commentary is termed *poḻippurai* is that the words of the original poem are not repeated in the commentary. This distinguishes the old commentaries from the modern commentaries, which are termed *patavurai*, "word-by-word commentary." In the manuscripts, the end of the poem is marked by *e-tu* (an abbreviation for *eṉṟatu* or *eṉpatu*), and the end of the commentary (or rather of the paraphrase) with the phrase *eṉṟavāṟu*. These markers are inflected forms of the quotative verb *eṉ-tal*.[10] Only in the case of three poems (TN 103, 106, and 108), do we, for unknown reasons, find a different format. Here, the text of the poems is

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[8] For a discussion of the terms "*kiḷavi*" and "colophon" and the characterization as "miniature commentaries," see Wilden (2006: 132).

[9] For a brief discussion of the Tamil terms for various types of commentary, see Zvelebil (1973: 250–251).

[10] Some modern editors add the phrase *itaṉ poruḷ* (abbreviated as *i-ḷ*), "the meaning of this," at the beginning of the paraphrase. This is, however, not found in the manuscripts.

quoted phrase by phrase in the commentary. The end of each quote is marked by *eṉpatu* followed by a gloss of that phrase, ending in *eṉṟavāṟu.* One may note that the use of *eṉṟatu/eṉpatu* and *eṉṟavāṟu* to mark quotations and glosses, respectively, is a standard feature of the Tamil commentarial idiom.[11]

With a few exceptions (which will be discussed later), the old commentaries do not include any further exposition or discussion of the poem. This sets the old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts apart from the great medieval author commentaries such as Parimēlaḻakar's commentary on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* or the literary commentaries composed by the author Naccinārkkiṉiyar.[12] In addition to a paraphrase, these commentaries include a detailed discussion (termed *viḷakkam*, "explanation") of the poems, as well as an introduction to the work (sometimes also to the individual sub-sections of the work). Lacking these features, the old *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* commentaries represent a more basic form of commentary. On the other hand, they are more elaborate than other anonymous old commentaries like those surviving on the *Caṅkam* works *Akanāṉūṟu* and *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu.*[13] While the latter contain only selected glosses and annotations, which might well have accumulated over the course of time, the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* commentaries are comprehensive and self-contained. This strongly suggests that they are the result of a single production act (although it does not necessarily mean, that they remained unchanged over the course of time—a question to which we will return).

Let us now have a look at an example of what the old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts look like. I will quote

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[11] See Victor D'Avella's contribution in this volume.

[12] On Parimēlaḻakar's commentary on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, see Cutler (1992). Also see T. Rajeswari's contribution about Naccinārkkiṉiyār's commentary on the *Kalittokai* in the same volume.

[13] See Eva Wilden's and Thomas Lehmann's contributions about the anonymous old commentaries on the *Akanāṉūṟu* and *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* in the same volume.

here the poem AiAi 2 with its speech situation and commentary in the original and along with a translation.[14]

AiAi 2

அணிநிற மஞ்ஞை யகவ விரங்கி
மணிநிற மாமலைமேற் றாழ்ந்து—பணிமொழி
கார்நீர்மை கொண்ட கலிவானங் காண்டொறும்
பீர்நீர்மை கொண்டன தோள்.

aṇi niṟa mañnai akava iraṅki
maṇi niṟa mā malaimēl tāḻntu paṇi moḻi
kār nīrmai koṇta kali vāṉam kāṇṭoṟum
pīr nīrmai koṇṭaṉa tōḷ.

Thundering so that the peacocks of ornate colour call,
descending onto the great mountains of sapphire colour—you of humble words!—
the swelling clouds have taken on the quality of the rainy season. Whenever [I] see them,
[my] shoulders take on the quality of *pīr* flowers.

Speech situation:

எ-து. பருவங் கண்டழிந்த தலைமக டோழிக்குச் சொல்லியது.

e-tu. paruvam kaṇṭu aḻinta talaimakaḷ tōḻikkuc colliyatu.

The heroine, who is troubled as she sees the season, speaking to the confidante.

Old commentary:

அழகிய நிறத்தையுடைய மயில்க ளழைக்க முழங்கி நீலமணி நிறத்தையுடைய மா மலையின்கட் படிந்து மெல்லிய மொழியினை யுடையாய் கார் காலத்துத் தன்மையைக் கொண்ட மிக்க

[14] In this article, all quotations are first given in Tamil script with full sandhis (and metrical split in the case of the poems) and then in transliteration with resolved sandhis and word split. Note that most printed editions present the old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works in a simplified, sandhi-free version. In the manuscripts, however, the commentaries are transmitted with full sandhis.

> முகில்களைக் காணுந்தோறு மென் றோள்கள் பீரின் றன்மையைக் கொண்டன வென்றவாறு.
>
> *aḻakiya niṟattaiyuṭaiya mayilkaḷ aḻaikka muḻaṅki nīlamaṇi niṟattaiyuṭaiya mā malaiyiṉkaṇ paṭintu melliya moḻiyaiyuṭaiyāy kār kālattut taṉmaiyaik koṇṭa mikka mukilkaḷaik kāṇuntōṟum eṉ tōḷkaḷ pīriṉ taṉmaiyaik koṇṭaṉa eṉṟavāṟu.*
>
> Whenever [I] see the great clouds, which thunder so that the peacocks, which have beautiful colour, call, settle on the great mountains, which have the colour of blue sapphires—you who possess gentle words!—and have taken on the quality of the rainy season, my shoulders take on the quality of *pīr* flowers.

The speech situation defines the context of the poem. The heroine is expecting the return of the hero, who has promised to be back from his journey at the beginning of the rainy season. As the hero has still not returned, the heroine despairs at the sight of the onset of the monsoon and expresses her distress to her friend (a very frequent topos in classical Tamil poetry). The actual commentary consists of a paraphrase of the poem. An overview of the glosses found in the paraphrase is given in Table 2, where I have also identified the type of change that takes place in the paraphrase. As can be seen from this overview, the paraphrase fulfills two main tasks. The first task is to gloss with synonyms words which the reader might find difficult to understand. Of the twenty-two words in the poem, ten are replaced by a synonym (or near-synonym) in the commentary. For example, *mañṇai*, "peacock," is substituted with the more frequent word *mayil*, and *akava*, "so that they call," is glossed with the synonym *aḻaikka.* In part, the glosses amount to semantic levelling. Thus *aṇi*, "ornate," becomes *aḻakiya*, "beautiful," and *paṇi*, "humble," is glossed with *melliya*, "soft." In some cases, the commentary specifies a word found in the poem. For example, *maṇi*, which literally simply means "gem," but here has to be understood as "sapphire" (since it is the object of comparison for the blue colour of the mountains appearing on the horizon), is explicitly

glossed as *nīlamaṇi*, "sapphire." The other important task of the commentary is to add morphological marking where it is lacking in the original. This is due to a property of Old Tamil, the language of the poems, where the relation between the words in a sentence does not necessarily have to be overtly marked. Take, for example, the last line of the poem (*pīr nīrmai koṇṭaṉa tōḷ*). In the original, the words, meaning "*pīr* flowers," "quality," "take," and "shoulder," are simply juxtaposed. How they relate to each other has to be gathered from the context. The commentary makes the relations explicit by adding the accusative suffix *-ai* on *nīrmai* (which is also replaced by a synonym, resulting in the gloss *taṉmaiyai*) to mark it as the object and by adding the oblique suffix *-iṉ* on *pīr* to mark it as qualifying *nīrmai.* The commentary also adds the plural suffix *-kaḷ* to explicitly mark the subject *tōḷ*, "shoulders," as a plural and normalizes word order by shifting it to the beginning of the sentence (the respective order of the elements is indicated by numbers in Table 1). At the same time, the commentary resolves another ambiguity of the poem. As pronouns are often dropped in Old Tamil when they can be inferred from the context, the possessor of the shoulders is not identified in the original. The commentary makes things clear by adding the pronoun *eṉ*, "my." All this results in the gloss *eṉ tōlkaḷ pīriṉ taṉmaiyaik koṇṭaṉa*, "my shoulders take on the quality of *pīr* flowers." In the example discussed here, the decisions made by the commentator are rather straightforward, as there is no other sensible way to interpret the syntax. It should, however, be kept in mind that the ambiguities of Old Tamil often allow several ways to understand a poem, while the commentary reduces such ambiguities to one solution.

Table 2: Glosses in the old commentary on AiAi 20

Poem		Old commentary		Type of change
1	*aṇi*	1	*aḻakiya*	Replacement with synonym
	niṟa		*niṟattaiyuṭaiya*	Addition of morphology
	mañnai		*mayilkaḷ*	Replacement with synonym, addition of morphology
	akava		*aḻaikka*	Replacement with synonym
	iraṅki		*muḻaṅki*	Replacement with synonym
	maṇi		*nīlamaṇi*	Specification
	niṟa		*niṟattaiyuṭaiya*	Addition of morphology
	mā		*mā*	—
	malaimēl		*malaiyiṉkaṇ*	Change of morphology
	tāḻntu		*paṭintu*	Replacement with synonym
	paṇi		*melliya*	Replacement with synonym
	moḻi		*moḻiyiṉaiyuṭaiyāy*	Addition of morphology
	kār		*kār kālattu*	Specification
	nīrmai		*taṉmaiyai*	Replacement with synonym, addition of morphology
	koṇṭa		*koṇṭa*	—
	kali		*mikka*	Replacement with synonym
	vāṉam		*mukilkaḷai*	Replacement with synonym, addition of morphology
	kāṇṭoṟum		*kāṇuntoṟum*	Change of morphology
2	*pīr*	3	*pīriṉ*	Addition of morphology
	nīrmai		*taṉmaiyai*	Replacement with synonym, addition of morphology
	koṇṭaṉa		*koṇṭaṉa*	—
3	*tōḷ*	2	*eṉ tōlkaḷ*	Specification, addition of morphology

As should now be clear, the aim of the old commentaries is to help the reader understand the wording of the poems. In the case of other

questions that might puzzle the reader, the commentary, however, does not provide help. For example, it does not explain that the *pīr* flowers (which are pale yellow in colour) serve as the object of comparison for the speaker's pale complexion. The old commentary, thus, is only concerned with the wording of the original text and not with the interpretation of its contents. It should also be noted that in many cases, the old commentary simply repeats a part of the original text without providing a gloss. This mostly seems to be the case because the author of the commentary assumed that the meaning of the word or phrase in question was so obvious that it did not have to be explained. Be that as it may, it means that the old commentaries presuppose at least some degree of acquaintance with the language and diction of classical Tamil poetry.

In a few cases, the old commentaries contain some additional material, which appears after the paraphrase. The most extreme case is found in TN 88, where we find two different paraphrases one after the other. Here it is natural to assume that one of the two versions (presumably the second) was added at some point in the course of transmission by a copyist who did not agree with the commentary's interpretation of this (indeed rather difficult) poem. In other cases, the paraphrase is followed by additional annotations. Such additions are found in the case of nine poems of the TN and five poems of the KārN. A complete list of these additions with their translations is found in Appendix 1. Most commonly, these additions contain glosses of words which appear in the poem, but have not been glossed in the commentary (TN 17, 62, KārN 11, 16). We also find short grammatical explanations (TN 99, KārN 21), identifications of poetical devices (TN 104, KārN 40), alternative interpretations of parts of the poem (TN 95, KārN 3), and in one case a variant reading (TN 3). In one case, an alternative numbering seems to be indicated (TN 119). In the commentary on TN 4, the paraphrase is followed by an explanation of two word-plays found in this poem. The most elaborate case is found in TN 123, where the meaning of a striking image in the poem is discussed.

I would like to argue that this additional material in the old commentary is likely to have been added at some point in the course of transmission. This seems natural in the case of the additional glosses. For example, the poem TN 62 contains the two rare words *uvarkkam* and *vēlāḻi*, which are, however, not included in the paraphrase. After the paraphrase, we find a note defining *uvarkkam* as "seashore" (*kaṭaṟkarai*) and *vēlāḻi* as "sea" (*kaṭal*). It seems reasonable to assume that a person who copied the text was unhappy with the fact that these two words were not explained by the commentary and therefore felt the need to add the glosses. Notably, in the case of TN 17, we find an additional note glossing the word *āya*, "when it diminishes," with *varunta*, "when it becomes emaciated," although *āya* is already glossed with *varunta* in the actual paraphrase. It is likely that the original version of the commentary simply repeated the word *āya*, which prompted a later copyist to add the gloss *varunta* after the paraphrase. Even later, another copyist replaced *āya* with *varunta* in the paraphrase, but retained the additional gloss, although it by now had become superfluous.[15]

Such examples seem to betray that additions were made in the course of transmission of the commentary. That this was the case becomes evident from the fact that three of the five additions to the commentary on the KārN (11, 16, and 21) are not found in any of the manuscripts, but only appear in the first printed edition. Apparently, the editor Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār felt authorised to add further material to the commentary if he felt that it was useful for his readers. As far as the manuscripts are concerned, however, there is little variation. Generally, the same additions are found in all manuscript copies of the commentary. The only exceptions are the additions to the commentaries on TN 104 and 119, which are found only in one manuscript and have not made it into the printed editions. However,

[15] A similar case is found in KārN 16, where we also find an additional gloss of a word already glossed in the paraphrase, although in this case the gloss was added only by the editor of the first printed edition.

there are other ways in which the manuscripts show traces of a reworking of the commentary in the course of transmission. We will turn to this question in the next section.

3. The Reworking of the Old Commentaries

In what follows, I will discuss the textual history of the old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts based on the findings to be presented in my critical edition of the TN. The main manuscript witnesses for this commentary are two palm-leaf manuscripts held at the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library (UVSL) in Chennai: UVSL 1078 (henceforth C_1) and UVSL 524 (henceforth C_2). Another palm-leaf manuscript held at the same library, UVSL 698 (henceforth C_4), contains a seemingly random selection of 23 poems from the TN along with their commentary. The other manuscripts of the TN are not relevant for our discussion, either because they do not contain the commentary, or because they can be shown to be copies of one of the aforementioned manuscripts.[16] The version of the old commentary that we find in the printed editions of the TN is mostly based on the readings in C_2, since this manuscript was the main source used by Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār for the first edition of the text (published in 1904).

Generally speaking, the level of variation between the different manuscript copies of the old commentary on the TN is not very great. By and large, the text is the same; there are no major additions or omissions. On a small scale, however, we do find interesting variants which suggest that the commentary was gradually reworked in the course of transmission. The first thing to be noticed is that C_1 often employs more archaic grammatical forms than C_2. For example, in the commentary on TN 7, we find two present tense forms with the Middle Tamil suffix *-āniṉṟ-* in C_1 (*paṭarāniṉṟa* and *vaḷarāniṉṟa*), whereas C_2

[16] The sigla C_1, C_2, and C_4 conform with those used in my forthcoming critical edition of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works. The critical edition also contains a more detailed description of the manuscripts and their interrelation than what was feasible within the scope of this article.

employs the corresponding forms with the modern suffix *-kiṉṟ-* (*paṭarkiṉṟa* and *vaḷarkiṉṟa*).[17] Similarly, in the commentary as transmitted in C_1, we occasionally find the archaic form *illā* for *illāta*, "not having," whereas C_2 consistently uses the modern form (cf. TN 63, 71). In other cases, the commentary as transmitted in C_1 is closer to the original text of the poems. For example, the phrase *ār viral*, "full fingers," from the poem TN 72, is simply repeated verbatim in the commentary in C_1, whereas the commentary in C_2 glosses it with *ārnta viralkaḷ* (adding morphological marking to both words). Such differences may also extend to lexical glosses, as in the case of the poem TN 84, which employs the now obsolete Old Tamil word *atar*, "path." In the commentary, C_1 adds an accusative suffix, but retains the word *atar*, resulting in the gloss *atarai*, whereas C_2 glosses *vaḻiyai*, replacing *atar* with the more familiar synonym *vaḻi*.[18] It seems likely that the readings which are closer to the original are the older ones. It is easy to imagine that a copyist would add morphological marking to a word which previously had none, or replace a word that was not previously glossed by a gloss, but the opposite appears rather unlikely. As such, C_1 seems to contain an older version of the commentary than C_2. This does, however, not necessarily mean that the manuscript itself is older than the other one (in fact, both manuscripts belong to the 19th century).[19]

A rather remarkable case is found in the commentary on TN 2. This poem contains an enumeration of flowers which the hero is said to have draped on the heroine's hair. The enumeration includes the uncontroversial *nīlam* or blue waterlily and *ceyalai* or ashoka flower, but also two rare flower names, *cuḷḷi* and *cōpālikai.* The only other

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[17] Another such case is the variant *pōkiṉṟāṭku* (C_2 and C_4) / *pōkāniṉṟāṭku* (C_1) in the commentary on TN 81.

[18] Similar cases are the glosses *kutirai* (C_2) / *mā* (C_1) for *mā*, "horse," in TN 54 and *mati* (C_2, C_4) / *cuṭar* (C_1) for *cuṭar*, here "moon," in TN 89.

[19] The manuscript C_1 is dated to 1821. The manuscript C_2 cannot be dated exactly, but it was produced by the scribe Mayilai Aṇṇācāmi, whose *floruit* was ca. between 1840 and 1880. See my forthcoming critical edition of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works for details.

occurrence of *cuḷḷi* in the corpus of old Tamil literature is found in *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* 66, whereas *cōpālikai* is a *hapax legomenon*.[20] In the old commentary as we find it in the printed editions, *cuḷḷi* is glossed with *naṟavam* and *cōpālikai* with *aṭampu.* I do not want to enter a botanical discussion here, but it should be said that the two identifications are somewhat doubtful. The well-attested *aṭampu* (goat's foot) is a flower of the coastal region, while the poem in question is set in the mountains. Also, the identification of *cuḷḷi* with *naṟavam* (itself a flower of unclear identification) contradicts Naccinārkkiniyār's commentary on the *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, which identifies *cuḷḷi* as the flower of the kadamba tree (*marāmarappū*). What is more important here is that the glosses *naṟavam* and *aṭampu* are found only in the manuscript C_2, whereas C_1 retains the words *cuḷḷi* and *cōpālikai* in the commentary. Again, it is likely that the version found in C_1 is the older one, and that the glosses were added at some point during the course of transmission. Nevertheless, since C_2 was the basis for the first edition of the TN, the glosses have made it into the printed text of the old commentary and have thus become accepted knowledge. Consequently, the *Tamil Lexicon* identifies *cōpālikai* with *aṭampu* with reference to TN 2.[21] In fact, the entries found in the *Tamil Lexicon*, the most important dictionary for classical Tamil, very often rely on commentarial glosses. The example of TN 2, however, shows how shaky the ground under such glosses can be. Even if we are to accept that the old commentary on the TN possesses some authority concerning the identification of the *cuḷḷi* and *cōpālikai* flowers, it is much more debatable whether we want to concede the same amount of authority to the unknown copyist who added the glosses *naṟavam* and *aṭampu* at an unknown point in time.

There is one more case of rather blatant textual variation in the old commentary on the TN that deserves to be discussed. This case

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[20] See the *Index des mots de la littérature tamoule ancienne.* Cf., however, the well-attested Sanskrit word *śephālikā*, from which *cōpālikai* seems to be derived.

[21] For *cuḷḷi*, we find in the *Tamil Lexicon*, among other entries, "cinnamon, see *ñāḻal*" with reference to TN 2. This, however, seems to be based on a mistake.

concerns the commentary on TN 115. The full text of the poem and both versions of the commentary are found in Appendix 2. Here it is sufficient to say that in the poem the hero sends a messenger to the heroine, who is eagerly awaiting his return at the beginning of the rainy season, and instructs the messenger to tell her that he will arrive any moment. This makes TN 115 a messenger poem, a type of poem that was already represented in *Caṅkam* literature, and which later, in parallel with similar developments in pan-Indian literature, became a very productive genre of Tamil poetry.[22] The speech situation informs us that the hero is speaking to a messenger, but does not specify the identity of that messenger, nor does the messenger seem to be named in the poem itself. In the manuscript C_4, however, we find a completely different version of the speech situation, which identifies the addressee of the poem as a cloud (*mēkam*). This, of course, reminds us of the most famed of all messenger poems, Kālidāsa's Sanskrit poem *Meghadūta* ("cloud messenger"), which triggered numerous imitations in various Indian languages. In the case of TN 115, however, taking the messenger to be a cloud requires a different understanding of the wording of the poem. In this case, the word *vāṉ*, "cloud(s)," which appears in the poem, would have to be taken as a vocative. This is a possible, but not exactly a natural interpretation, and it is not what the old commentary understands. Here *vāṉ* is glossed with the nominative plural *mukilkaḷ*, "clouds" (replacing *vāṉ* with the synonym *mukil* and adding the plural suffix *-kaḷ*)—at least as far as the manuscripts C_1 and C_2 are concerned. In C_4, however, we see that the commentary there differs with respect to the crucial passage. Here, the word *vāṉ* is glossed with the vocative *mēkamē*, "o cloud" (employing another synonym, *mēkam*, and adding the particle *-ē* to mark the vocative). The commentary contained in C_4 also contains some other changes, which cannot be discussed here. What is important is that the text of the commentary (in this case: the gloss for the word *vāṉ*) is consciously altered in order to bring it into accordance with a different interpretation of the poem. Obviously, the

[22] For Tamil messenger poems, see Dubianski (2005).

person who produced C_4 (or a previous manuscript, on which C_4 was based) was very keen about the idea of having a cloud-messenger in TN 115 and did not shy away from tampering with the commentary to promote his preferred interpretation.

It should be kept in mind that the manuscripts which we have at our disposal today are only the very last link in a long chain of transmission. It is a fundamental dilemma of classical Tamil philology that the texts which we are dealing with may be ancient, but the surviving manuscripts are rarely older than two or three centuries. This is because the climatic conditions in South India limited the lifespan of palm-leaf manuscripts and required the texts to be copied regularly.[23] In the case of the commentaries on the *Kīḻkaṇakku Akam* works, there must have been several generations of manuscripts preceding those that have survived to date. Nevertheless, even the few surviving manuscripts seem to show that the old commentary on the TN was modified in the course of its transmission. There were two different strategies that copyists could apply. One was to add additional material to the commentary, which, as we have seen, was occasionally done in the form of additional notes following the main body of the commentary. The other strategy was to change the existing text of the commentary. We have seen various examples for this strategy: archaic grammatical forms were replaced by more modern ones, morphological marking was added where there previously was none, words that had not been glossed were replaced by glosses, and in some cases copyists even consciously altered strategical parts of the commentary to change the interpretation of a poem.

The state of affairs we can witness here is similar to what Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson have noted with regards to commentaries on Sanskrit poetry. They convincingly argue that commentaries on literary texts were more likely to be changed than commentaries on works of theology or philosophy, since the former

[23] Wilden (2014: 360–361).

were seen as "crutches with which to read the main text and without any integrity or value in their own right."[24] As Goodall and Isaacson point out, transmitters of literary commentaries were primarily concerned with the usefulness of a commentary. Therefore, copyists would feel authorized to change the commentary if they felt that this made the root text easier to understand.[25] Most of the changes described above fulfill this criterion. For sure, the variation in the case of Tamil commentaries is much smaller than in the case of commentaries on important Sanskrit works, which were spread across different regions of South Asia and often existed in several widely divergent recensions. Nevertheless, even the limited findings presented here seem to confirm the verdict that literary commentaries in pre-modern India were likely to be subject to reworking in the course of transmission.

4. Modern Commentaries and Translations

For many centuries, the set of anonymous old commentaries was the only exegetical aid that existed for the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works. Things changed only during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when these texts, like many other works of classical Tamil literature, were brought into print. The first of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts to be printed was the KārN, which was published some time around 1875 by a certain Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār.[26] The AiAi and the TN were both edited by Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār in 1903 and 1904, respectively. A certain Cōmacuntara Tēcikar produced the first editions of the TAi and the AiE,

[24] Goodall & Isaacson (2003: xxiii).

[25] Goodall & Isaacson (2003: xxvi).

[26] The title page of Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār's KārN edition contains only the month, but not the year, of publication. Its layout, however, is very similar to the editions of the *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu* and the *Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu* published by the same editor at the same printing press in 1875 and 1876, respectively. It stands to reason to assume that the KārN edition was published around the same time.

which were published in 1918 and 1926, respectively.[27] The last *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* text to be printed was the Kain., which was edited in 1931 by I. Vai. Aṉantarāmaiyar. Although the printing of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts did not have the same consequences as in the case of the *Caṅkam* texts, which were lifted from comparative obscurity to become icons of Tamil culture, it did increase their visibility and invited people interested in Tamil literature to engage with them. This project notably involved the production of modern commentaries.

The era of the pioneering editions was followed by a time of standardization and consolidation. This period saw the publication of widely available editions of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts (and of many other Tamil classics), which eased access to the texts. A crucial role in this endeavour was played by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevelly (*Tirunelvēlit Teṉṉintiya Caivacittānta Nūṟpatippuk Kaḻakam*, henceforth *Kaḻakam*), which published editions of a great number of Tamil classics, including the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works. In 1926, Na. Mu. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭar published the *Kaḻakam* edition of the KārN. The *Kaḻakam* editions of the AiAi, TN, AiE, and TAi, were produced by A. Naṭarāca Piḷḷai between 1935 and 1936 and soon after published as a collective edition. Finally, Ti. Caṅkup Pulavar produced an edition of the Kain. for the *Kaḻakam* in 1961. Unlike the pioneering editors, the *Kaḻakam* editors as a rule did not consult the manuscripts of the texts, but relied on the pre-existing editions, although they occasionally made emendations of their own. As in the case of many other classical Tamil texts, the *Kaḻakam* editions of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works have essentially come to define the standard text as they have been reprinted numerous times and have served as the basis for most later editions.

[27] In his preface, Cōmacuntara Tēcikar mentions a previous edition of the first 24 poems of the AiE (corresponding to the section for which the old commentary survives) by Mu. Irākavaiyaṅkār. I have so far not been able to trace this edition. Cōmacuntara Tēcikar's is, in any case, the first complete edition of the AiE.

Importantly, the editors of the *Kaḻakam* editions also composed new commentaries on the texts. The earlier editors had been content with including the old commentary in their editions.[28] However, it seems that a need was perceived for a commentary that was more elaborate and closer to contemporaneous diction than the old commentary. This is made clear by Naṭarāca Piḷḷai in the preface to his AiAi edition, who states that he composed a new commentary because the old commentary "in many places confuses the thoughts [even] of educated people."[29] With regards to the old commentaries, the *Kaḻakam* editors made different editorial choices. While Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's editions also included the old commentary in addition to the modern one, Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭar and Caṅkup Pulavar chose to print only their own commentaries. Paradoxically this meant that the modern commentaries on the KārN and the Kain., while heavily indebted to the old commentaries, caused the latter to become virtually obliterated. Since the old commentaries on the KārN and the Kain. were superseded by the modern commentaries, today they can only be found in the early editions of these texts, which are rather hard to come by.

As an example of the modern commentaries, I would like to discuss Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary on the TN. This commentary consists of two parts, a word-by-word paraphrase of the poem (labelled *patavurai*) and a section with additional explanations (labelled *virivurai*). The old commentary (labelled *paḻaiyavurai*) is given between these two sections. The additional notes found in the old commentary, however, are shifted to the "explanations" section, where they are not distinguished from Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's annotations. This shows how

[28] An exception is Cōmacuntara Tēcikar's first edition of the AiE (1926), which includes a commentary written by the editor for the part of the text for which the old commentary does not survive (AiE 27–68). We will return to this commentary.

[29] P. 7 in the preface of Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's edition of the AiAi: *Ap paḻaiya poḻippuraiyum pala viṭaṅkaḷiṟ kaṟpōrukkuk karuttiṉai mayaṅkac ceyvaṉavāyk kāṉpaṭuttaliṉ, patavuraiyum virivuraiyum cērttu veḷiyiṭa muṉ varalāyiṉēṉ*, "Because even that old summarizing commentary in many places can be seen to confuse the thoughts of educated people, I have decided to add a word-by-word commentary and an explanatory commentary and publish them."

strongly the modern commentators relied on the old commentaries without explicitly acknowledging it. In Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's word-by-word paraphrase, each word of the original poem is quoted (unlike in the old commentary), followed by a gloss of that particular word. Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's glosses are usually more elaborate than those found in the old commentary, and he often adds additional phrases not found in the original poem (usually set in brackets) to elucidate the context. Nevertheless, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai largely follows the old commentary. This can be seen, for example, from his treatment of the poem TN 7. The full text of the poem, the old commentary, and Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's modern commentary with their respective translations are found in Appendix 3. Here, I will only give a tabular overview of the glosses found in the old commentary and in Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary.

Table 3: Glosses in the old commentary and Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary on TN 7

Poem		Old commentary		Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary	
2	*kaṟi*	1	*miḷaku*	2	*miḷakuk koṭikaḷ*
	vaḷar		*paṭarkiṉṟa*		*paṭarukiṉṟa*
	pūm		*pūm*		*aḷakiya*
	cāral		*cāraliṉkaṇ*		*malaip pakkattiṉiṭattē*
	kai		*kaiyaiyuṭaiya*		*tutikkaiyiṉaiyuṭaiya*
	nākam		*nākaṅkaḷai*		*yāṉaikaḷai*
	pārttu		*pārttu*		*etirppārttukkoṇṭu*
	neṟi		*vaḻiyiṉkaṇ*		*vaḻiyiṉkaṇ*
	vaḷar		*vaḷarkiṉṟa*		*patiṉāṟaṭivarai vaḷarntu nīṇṭa*
	nīḷ		*perum*		*perum*
	vēṅkai		*pulikaḷ*		*pulikaḷ*
	koṭkum		*tiritarum*		*tiritarumpaṭiyāṉa*
2	*muṟi*	3	*taḷir*	1	(*palavakaiyāṉa*) *taḷirkaḷ*
	vaḷar		*vaḷarkiṉṟa*		*taḷirttuk kāṇum*
	nal		*nal*		*nalla*
	malai		*malai*		*malai*
	nāṭa		*nāṭaṉē*		*nāṭṭiṟkuriya talaivaṉē*

3	*ira*	2	*iraviṉkaṇ*	3	*iraviṉkaṇ*
	variṉ		*nī variṉ*		*nī varuvāyāṉāl*
4	*vāḷāḷāl*	5	*vāḷāḷ*	5	*poṟukkamāṭṭāḷ*
5	*nal*	4	*nal*	4	*nalla*
	malai		*malai*		*malai*
	nāṭaṉ		*nāṭaṉ*		*nāṭṭiṟkuriya talaivaṉiṉ*
	makaḷ		*makaḷ*		*makaḷ*

As can be seen from Table 3, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai mostly adopts the glosses found in the old commentary. For example, where the old commentary glosses *neṟi*, "path," with *vaḷiyiṉkaṇ* and *vēṅkai*, "tiger," with *pulikaḷ* (in both cases replacing the word used in the poem with a synonym and adding morphological marking), Naṭarāca Piḷḷai repeats those glosses verbatim. In this respect one may note the use of the Middle Tamil locative suffix *-iṉkaṇ* in a 20th century commentary. Where the old commentary simply repeats a word from the original text, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai adds a gloss of his own. Thus, in the case of the phrase *kai nākam*, "elephants with trunks," the old commentary merely adds morphological marking (*kaiyaiyuṭaiya nākaṅkaḷai*), whereas Naṭarāca Piḷḷai replaces both words with more explicit synonyms (*tutikkaiyiṉaiyuṭaiya yāṉaikaḷai*). In part, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai expands the glosses found in the old commentary. Thus *kaṟi*, "pepper," is glossed with the synonym *miḷaku* in the old commentary and with *miḷakuk koṭikaḷ*, "pepper-vines," in Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary. Similarly, the old commentary's gloss *taḷir* for *muṟi*, "sprouts," is expanded into (*palavakaiyāṉa*) *taḷirkaḷ*, "sprouts (of many sorts)." In this respect, we may note Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's treatment of the phrase "full-grown, large tigers" (*vaḷar nīḷ vēṅkai*). While the old commentary does not attempt to rationalize the rather awkward use of the word *vaḷar*, lit. "growing" ("full-grown" in my translation), Naṭarāca Piḷḷai glosses *patiṉāṟaṭivarai vaḷarntu nīṇṭa perum pulikaḷ*, "large tigers that grow up to sixteen feet in length."

In the section labelled "explanations" (*virivurai*), Naṭarāca Piḷḷai explicitly points that his specification "growing up to sixteen feet

length" is a contextual addition. He also discusses a number of grammatical questions related to the poem. Naṭarāca Piḷḷai explains why the word for "night" appears as *ira* rather than the usual *irā* by relating to a rule of the *Naṉṉūl*, a medieval grammar which was considered authoritative by traditional Tamil scholars.[30] He also defines the particle *-āl* in *vāḻāḷāl*, "she will not live," as a meaningless filler (*acainilai*). This is a standard way for later commentators to deal with obsolete Old Tamil particles, the meaning of which was not understood any more.[31] Such grammatical, and in other cases also poetological, discussions are typical for the *virivurai* section of Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary. In this section, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai relies on the models of traditional Tamil scholarship, as can be seen from the fact that he invokes the authority of the *Naṉṉūl*, or that he employs a rather archaizing language, which imitates the style of the medieval commentators (in the commentary on TN 7, e.g. the form *peṟṟām* instead of modern *peṟṟōm* for "we have obtained").

Finally, it should be noted that both the old commentary and Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary change the word order of TN 7 (the order of the elements is indicated by numbers in the table). The shifting of the predicate *vāḻāḷāl*, "she will not live," to the end of the sentence is a rather straightforward normalization, but the old commentary also makes another, more debatable, change in word order. The original poem contains a lengthy *peyareccam* (relative participle) clause, which describes a natural scene involving tigers looking out for elephants. From the syntactical point of view, it seems most natural to connect the *peyareccam* clause with the immediately following vocative phrase *nal malai nāṭa*: "man from the land of good hills" (that is: land of good hills,

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[30] Naṭarāca Piḷḷai does not explicitly quote the *Naṉṉūl*, but his expression *kuṟiyataṉ kīḻāk kuṟuki varalāyiṟṟu*, "has undergone shortening of *ā* after a short vowel," echoes the phrase *kuṟiyataṉ kīḻāk kuṟukal*, "shortening of *ā* after a short vowel," in *Naṉṉūl* 171.

[31] In fact, as Eva Wilden has shown, the particle *-āl* was by no means meaningless in Old Tamil, but was used to express surprising, yet undoubtable facts. Wilden (2006: 108–112).

where tigers look out for elephants). The old commentary, however, connects the *peyareccam* clause with the word *ira*, "at night," which follows after *nal malai nāṭa*. This is possible if the vocative phrase is taken as a parenthesis ("at night—man from the land of good hills—during which ..."), but the old commentary's interpretation is by no means compulsory. I would, in fact, argue that it is preferable to understand the scene including the tigers and elephants as an implied metaphor (*uḷḷuṟai*) inserted in the description of the hero's country (a typical technique of classical Tamil poetry) rather than as a straightforward description of the night.[32] Nevertheless, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai follows the old commentary's interpretation, and even further normalizes the word order by placing the vocative phrase at the beginning.

There are only very few cases where Naṭarāca Piḷḷai does not follow the old commentary. One such case is found in TN 61, where the old commentary understands the word *miṇṭal* as the name of a tree (glossing *miṇṭaṉmaraṅkaḷ*, "*miṇṭal* trees"). There are, however, no parallels for *miṇṭal* used in such a sense. Naṭarāca Piḷḷai—more convincingly—understands *miṇṭal* as the verbal noun (here used as an attribute) of the verb *miṇṭu-tal*, "to throng" and glosses *nerukkamāṉa*, "dense." Here Naṭarāca Piḷḷai had good reason to disagree with the old commentary, but if there was no compelling reason to do so, he regularly followed the interpretation established by the old commentary.

Since Naṭarāca Piḷḷai published his edition in 1936, hardly any serious textual work on the TN has been done. Most later editions of the TN are based on the text of the *Kaḻakam* edition, and the commentaries which they contain are copied verbatim or with minor changes from Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary.[33] Translations of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam*

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[32] For the poetical technique of *uḷḷuṟai*, see Wilden (2006: 293–307).

[33] This is true for the commentaries on the TN by Em. Nārāyaṇa Veluppiḷḷai (1985) and A. Māṇikkaṉār (1991) and Tuṟai. Irācārām (1996), which I will not discuss further

works are also highly dependent on the commentaries. To my knowledge, there are two English translations, one by A. Dakshinamurthy (2010) and one published online by Vaidehi Herbert (2014). Dakshinamurthy's translation, in particular, follows the modern commentary very closely. Dakshinamurthy's and Vaidehi Herbert's translations of TN 7, the poem discussed above, are also included in Appendix 3. In the case of this poem, Dakshinamurthy follows the commentary's decision to take the *peyareccam* clause involving the tigers and elephants as a description of the night (except that *ira*, "at night," has become "through the hazardous paths" in his translation). He also places the address "chief of a goodly mountain rich in plants with tender leaves" (corresponding to the phrase *muṟi vaḷar nal malai nāṭa* in the original) at the beginning of the poem, thus following the word order of Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's paraphrase rather than that of the actual poem. One may also note that *pūm*, lit. "flowering," is translated with "beautiful," and *kaṟi*, "pepper," with "pepper-vines," which reflects Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's glosses *aḻakiya* and *miḷakuk koṭikaḷ*. Vaidehi Herbert's translation may seem to be less dependent on the commentaries than Dakshinamurthy's. She connects the *peyareccam* clause with the land of the hero rather than with the night, and her wording is closer to the original (e.g. "with flowers" for *pūm* and "pepper" for *kaṟi*). Nevertheless, there are numerous cases in which Vaidehi Herbert follows Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary even if it contains clear mistakes. To be fair, it should be said that Dakshinamurthy corrects most of these mistakes in his translation. For example, in the case of the phrase *vaḷai muri*, "pieces of bracelets," found in TN 119, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai confuses the word *muri*, "broken piece," (which is not glossed by the old commentary) with *muṟi*, "sprout," and glosses *vaḷaikiṉṟa taḷirkaḷ*, "bending sprouts." While Vaidehi Herbert follows Naṭarāca Piḷḷai and translates "curved tender leaves," Dakshinamurthy rightly opts for "broken bracelets." In general, however, Dakshinamurthy's translations

here. The only later edition which contains original work is that by Es. Rājam (1959), which, however, comes without a commentary.

of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works can be said to be translations of the commentaries rather than of the texts themselves. There are even several cases where phrases added by the commentary for context have ended up in the translation. To quote only one example, the phrase *akaṉṟa vaḻi nōkki*, "looking at the way on which [he] parted," in TN 74 is translated by Dakshinamurthy as "gazing at the wheels of his chariot in which he came and then parted from me." There is no trace of a chariot, let alone of its wheels, in the original poem. What Dakshinamurthy is translating is not the text of the poem, but the gloss *avar tērōṭum vantu nīṅkiya vaḻiccuvaṭu nōkki* (old commentary) or (*tērōṭum vantu*) *nīṅkiya vaḻiccuvaṭṭiṉaip pārttukkoṇṭu* (Naṭarāca Piḷḷai), "looking at the imprints on the way on which he came with his chariot and then parted."

To sum up, we have seen that the modern commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts, as exemplified by Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary on the TN, are highly dependent on the old commentaries, while the translations of the texts, for their part, strongly rely on the modern commentaries. There has been little interest to engage with the texts themselves without the mediation of the commentaries. Ultimately the canonical interpretation of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts has been defined by their old commentaries. The extent of this dependence on the old commentaries becomes even clearer when we examine what happens when the aid of the old commentary is not available any more.

5. When the Old Commentary Goes Missing

Not all of the old commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works have been preserved in full. The largest gaps are found in the case of the AiE, where the commentary has survived only for the first 24 out of originally 70 poems, that is only a third of the whole text. Similarly, the old commentary on the Kain. has been preserved only for 23 out of 60 poems, and even in the surviving part of the commentary, there are many gaps. In the case of the KārN, the old commentary is missing for

16 out of 40 poems, and in the case of the TN, it has been lost for the last 26 out of 153 poems. The old commentary on the TAi is preserved almost in full, except that the commentary on the first poem is fragmentary. The only old commentary which survives without any gaps is that on the AiAi.

When the modern commentators had to produce commentaries for the parts of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts for which there is no old commentary, they were obviously faced with the problem of not having a model to rely upon anymore. This becomes evident from Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary on the final part of the TN. These poems are not easy to understand, and Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's attempt to write a commentary on them without the help of the old commentary certainly deserves respect. At the same time, it has to be said that his commentary on this part of the text contains many improbabilities and partly even serious mistakes. This is, for example, the case with TN 128, where Naṭarāca Piḷḷai misses the point of the central image in the poem, which is based on the comparison of an ear of paddy bending over a lotus flower with a pendant (*vayantakam*) hanging on a chain (an image which, incidentally, is based on the *Caṅkam* poem *Kalittokai* 79). Here, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai fails to understand the crucial word *vayantakam*, but splits it as *vayantu*, the absolutive of a (non-existing) verb *vaya-ttal*, and *akam*, which he takes as "chest."[34] It goes without saying that this causes additional problems concerning the syntax of the poem and ultimately results in a less than satisfying interpretation. There is no place to discuss all of Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentarial decisions here, but readers are invited to compare the text of TN 128 and my translation with Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary, which are found in Appendix 4. I have also included the translations by A. Dakshinamurthy and Vaidehi Herbert. Notably, Dakshinamurthy understands the poem correctly

[34] The next poem TN 129 contains another variation of the same image, this time centred on another type of ornament (*pullakam*). Again, Naṭarāca Piḷḷai misses the point and splits *pullakam* as *pullu*, "to embrace," and *akam*, "chest."

(and identifies the *Kalittokai* parallel in a footnote), while Vaidehi Herbert replicates Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's misinterpretation in her translation.

Apart from the problem that we are lacking the old commentary's help for understanding the poems, there is another serious problem concerning the passages of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts for which the old commentary has been lost. Textual problems are much more numerous in these parts of the texts than in those for which the old commentary still exists. It seems that the people who produced the manuscripts of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works relied on the commentary in their understanding of the texts which they were copying. One can argue that the presence of the commentary protected the root text from change, since it ensured that the copyists knew what they were writing. On the other hand, as soon as there was no commentary, mistakes started creeping in, ultimately resulting in a heavily corrupted text.

How great the impact of the loss of the old commentary could be, can be seen in the case of the final section of the TN. Here the manuscripts betray what a difference it made whether the text was transmitted with or without the commentary. In the case of the TN, the transmission strand which includes both the root text and the commentary ends with poem 127, which is the fourth poem of the final section of the TN. Of the two main manuscript witnesses, one (C_1) ends at this point. The other one (C_2) includes the text with commentary up to TN 127, but then goes on giving the complete last section (TN 124–153), now without commentary. It seems that the person who produced C_2 (or a previous manuscript, on which C_2 is based) had two templates at his disposal: one which contained the text with commentary, but ended with TN 127, and one which contained the full text, but not the commentary. Upon reaching the end of the first manuscript, the scribe copied the whole last section (starting with TN 124) from the second template. This means that four poems (TN 124 to 127) are found twice in C_2, first occurring as a part of the text-with-commentary strand and then as part of the text-only-strand. Notably, there are considerable

differences between the two occurrences of these four poems within the same manuscript. I will not go into details here, but a comparison of the readings clearly shows that the variants in the text-only strand are corruptions of the readings found in the text-with-commentary strand. Now, for the final 26 poems of the TN, we only have the corrupted text of the text-only-strand. When we compare the text as we find it in the single manuscript witness (C_2) with Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār's first edition of the TN, we realize that the manuscript often contains clearly faulty readings, whereas Irākavaiyaṅkār's text is usually more meaningful. It cannot be ruled out that Irākavaiyaṅkār had access to other, less corrupted, manuscripts, but it is equally possible that he emended the text. If we assume that this is the case, we must concede that he had good reason to do so, and that he, for the most part, was able to improve the text. Nevertheless, numerous problems remain with the text of the TN from poem 128 onwards, and parts of the poems defy understanding.

In the case of the TN, it was only Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār who tried to produce a meaningful text based on the corrupted manuscripts, while all later editors followed his readings. Things are slightly different with regards to the AiE. For this work, there are two competing early editions, and the text of these editions differs significantly, especially in the part of the text for which no old commentary survives. The first edition of the AiE was published in 1926 by Cōmacuntara Tēcikar. Only five years later, in 1931, I. Vai. Aṉantarāmaiyar published a new edition of the AiE. In his preface, Aṉantarāmaiyar criticizes Cōmacuntara Tēcikar (without mentioning him by name) and states that his edition contains "many mistakes."[35] Aṉantarāmaiyar indeed had good reason to re-edit the AiE, since the text established by Cōmacuntara Tēcikar's edition often is not very satisfactory. Notably, Cōmacuntara Tēcikar's edition contains a commentary newly written by the editor for the part of the text on which no old commentary exists. Aṉantarāmaiyar's text, on the other hand, was the basis for the *Kaḻakam* edition of the AiE, published in 1936, which contains a modern commentary written by

[35] P. 2 of Aṉantarāmaiyar's preface on the AiE.

the editor Naṭarāca Piḷḷai. By comparing the two different commentaries one can see how the absence of the old commentary created different readings of the poems, which in turn created vastly different interpretations. I will discuss this based on a single line from the poem AiE 35.

AiE 35 deals with the journey through the desert that the hero has to undertake in search of wealth (a typical topos of classical Tamil poetry). Line 2 of this poem contains a *peyareccam* (relative participle) clause describing the desert. The readings found for this line in Cōmacuntara Tēcikar's and Aṉantarāmaiyar's editions significantly differ from each other. Cōmacuntara Tēcikar reads *ūrkeḻu cēvati yōṭuvār tiḷaikkum*, whereas Aṉantarāmaiyar's reading is *ūrkeḻu cēva litaloṭu pōrtiḷaikkum*. In fact, both readings seem to be attempts at emending a heavily corrupted manuscript reading. The three known manuscripts of the AiE that contain this particular poem have the reading *ūrkaḻu cēvatai lōṭuvēr tiṉaikkum*, which is nothing short of nonsensical.[36] Of the two versions of the line found in the printed editions, Aṉantarāmaiyar's reading *ūrkeḻu cēva litaloṭu pōrtiḷaikkum* has to be understood as "[the desert,] where the rooster of the village engages in a battle with a quail." Naṭarāca Piḷḷai adopts Aṉantarāmaiyar's reading and paraphrases it as "where the male fowl, which belongs to the villages in the desert tract, fights with the quail bird" (*pālainilattūrkaḷil poruntiyuḷḷa āṉ kōḻiyāṉatu kāṭaippaṟavaiyuṭaṉē caṇṭai ceyyumpaṭiyāṉa*). One wonders about the exact implications of this scene in the description in the desert, but grammatically and semantically this version of the line is completely satisfactory. Things are different with regards to Cōmacuntara Tēcikar's reading *ūrkeḻu cēvati yōṭuvār tiḷaikkum*. In his commentary, Cōmacuntara Tēcikar glosses the line as "[the desert,] where the one who went away from the

[36] The manuscripts in question are C_{13} (UVSL 99c), G_4 (GOML R.5753), and G_6 (GOML D.204). The only variant is *ūkeḻu* for *ūrkaḻu* in G_4. Since the type of Tamil script used in the manuscripts is ambiguous with regards to certain letters, there are also other ways to interpret the text. However, none of them makes sense.

small village because of desire for wealth rejoices (?)" (*ciṟṟūriṟ poruṇacaiyāṟ ceṉṟār tiḷaikkum*). This paraphrase contains a number of improbabilities. Cōmacuntara Tēcikar's gloss "the one who went away because of desire for wealth" (*poruṇacaiyāṟ ceṉṟār*) seems to be an attempt to rationalize the rather awkward phrase *cēvati ōṭuvār* in the root text, which probably has to be understood as "the one who runs after a treasure."[37] Cōmacuntara Tēcikar also glosses the word *ūrkeḻu*, which must be a possessive ("the treasure of the village"), with *ciṟṟūriṉ*, which probably has to be understood as an ablative ("he who went away from the small village"). Here the commentator has to ignore grammar in order to arrive at a meaningful solution. How Cōmacuntara Tēcikar understands the verb *tiḷai-ttal*, does not become clear from the commentary because he does not provide a gloss for *tiḷaikkum.* Judging from its other occurrences, the most basic meaning of the verb seems to be something like "to play," or in this context maybe "to frolic" or "to rejoice."

Reading only the commentaries on the two different versions of the line—someone running after a treasure, or a rooster fighting with a quail—one would hardly expect that they go back to the same source. Here we can witness how the absence of the old commentary caused the text to become heavily corrupted in the course of manuscript transmission. The modern editors had to bring the corrupted text into a meaningful form, which they did with varying success. This becomes evident from the way in which the modern commentaries deal with it. While Aṉantarāmaiyar's version of AiE 35 does not pose any problems for the commentator Naṭarāca Piḷḷai, Cōmacuntara Tēcikar has to resort to quite an amount of exegetical acrobatics in his commentary in order to make his version of the text make sense.

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[37] The *Tamil Lexicon* derives *cēvati* from Sanskrit *śevadhi* and defines it as "Kubēra's treasure." This is, however, a very specific meaning. The basic meaning of *śevadhi* in Sanskrit is just "treasure." The expression "to run after wealth" is attested elsewhere in a very similar context (AiAi 39: *poruṇmāṭṭu ōṭa*), but there are no parallels for the word *cēvati* in such a context, nor is this word attested anywhere else in the corpus of early Tamil literature.

6. Conclusion

As I have shown in this article, our understanding of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works is heavily indebted to their anonymous old commentaries. Composed at an unknown date, but probably at some point in time during the medieval period, these commentaries were for many centuries the only exegetical tools that existed for the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* texts. They did not go uncontested, though, as can be seen from the additions, which at some point were included in the commentaries, and from the fact that they seem to have been reworked in the course of their transmission. When modern commentaries were produced on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works in the early 20th century, the commentators heavily relied on the old commentaries. Recent translations of the texts, in turn, depend on the modern commentaries. What is perhaps most illustrative, though, is what happens when the old commentary goes missing. As I have shown, both pre-modern copyists and modern commentators were very much dependent on the old commentaries. The absence of the commentary caused severe problems with the transmission of the texts, whereas modern commentators struggled with the interpretation of the poems without the help of the old commentary. All in all, the case of the commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works highlights the role which commentaries played in the history of pre-modern Tamil texts.

6. Appendices

Appendix 1: Additional material in the old commentaries

TN 3 (variant reading):

சாந்த மறைத்த விதணென்று பாடமோதிச் சந்தனத் தழையான் மறைத்த விதணென்பாரு முளர்.

cāntam maṟaitta itaṇ eṉṟu pāṭam ōtic cantaṉat taḻaiyāṉ maṟaitta itaṇ eṉpārum uḷar.

"There are also people who read '*cānta maṟaitta vitaṇ*,' meaning 'watchtower hidden by sandalwood leaves.'"

TN 4 (explanation of two word-plays and identification of metrical lengthening):

ஆடா வடகென்று விளையாட்டிற்கு வெளிபடைநிலை யென்னு மலங்காரத்தாற் பெயராயிற்று. அடா வென்பதனை யாடா வென்று நீட்டியது. மன்னர் கலமென்பது மன்னரணியு மணிமுடி யாதலான் முடியின் பெயராற் கூந்தற்குச் சேர்த்தி முடி கூடிற்று கொல்லோ வென்றதாகக் கொள்க.

āṭā aṭaku eṉṟu viḷaiyāṭṭiṟku veḷipaṭainilai eṉṉum alaṅkārattāl peyar āyiṟṟu. aṭā eṉpataṉai āṭā eṉṟu nīṭṭiyatu. maṉṉar kalam eṉpatu maṉṉar aṇiyum aṇi muṭi ātalāṉ muṭiyiṉ peyarāl kūntaṟkuc cērtti muṭi kūṭiṟṟu kollō eṉṟatākak koḷka.

"The game has come to be called '*āṭā aṭaku*' thanks to the stylistic device called *veḷipaṭainilai*.[38] '*Aṭā*' has been lengthened to '*āṭā*.' "Ornament of the kings" (*maṉṉar kalam*) is the ornamental crown (*muṭi*) worn by kings; therefore, because of the expression *muṭi*, take it

[38] For *veḷi[p]paṭainilai*, cf. *veḷippaṭai*, which is defined in the *Tamil Lexicon* as "a figure of speech in which the meaning of an ambiguous word is made clear by the use of a qualifying word." In this particular case, the word *aṭaku* can denote either a girls' game or some kind of edible leaves. The attribute *āṭā* (metrical lengthening for *aṭā*, "which is not cooked") makes it clear that *aṭaku* does not refer to the foodstuff, but to the game.

to mean for the hair 'has it been tied together and joined as a hair tuft (*muṭi*)?'"[39]

TN 17 (additional gloss):

இதனு ளாய வென்பது வருந்த வென்றவாறு.

itaṉuḷ āya eṉpatu varunta eṉṟavāṟu.

"Herein '*āya*' means 'when it becomes emaciated.'"

TN 62 (two additional glosses):

உவர்க்க மென்பது கடற்கரை. வேலாழி யென்பது கடல்.

uvarkkam eṉpatu kaṭaṟkarai. vēlāḻi eṉpatu kaṭal.

"'*Uvarkkam*' is 'coast.' '*Vēlāḻi*' is 'sea.'"

TN 95 (alternative interpretation):

அல்லதூஉம் போதாரி வண்டெலா மென்பது போதினைப் யருந்தி வண்டெல்லா மென்றவாறு.

allatūum pōtāri vaṇtelām eṉpatu pōtiṉai arunti vaṇtellām eṉṟavāṟu.

"Alternatively, '*pōtāri vaṇṭelām*' means 'feeding on flowers, all the bees ...'"

TN 99 (grammatical explanation):

இதனுள் வாளா வென்பது பயனின்மையைக் காட்டுவதோ ரிடைச்சொல்.

itaṉuḷ vāḷā eṉpatu payaṉ iṉmaiyaik kāṭṭuvatōr iṭaiccol.

"Herein, '*vāḷā*' is a particle expressing uselessness."

TN 104, only in C_4 (identification of metrical shortening):

ஈந்து இந்து என விகார மாயிற்று.

īntu intu eṉa vikāram āyiṟṟu.

"*Īntu* has been changed to *intu.*"

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[39] The poem contains the phrase *maṉṉar kalam pukka kollō ... mayir*, "has the hair reached the ornaments of the kings?" Here, *maṉṉar kalam*, "ornaments of the kings," has to be understood as *muṭi*, which means "crown," but also "hair tuft." Therefore, the hair having "reached the ornaments of kings" must be understood as having "reached [the state of being tied in] a hair tuft."

TN 119, only in C_4 (alternative numbering?):

பத்தெனவுமாம்.

pattu eṉavum ām.

"It is also 'ten.'"

TN 123 (discussion of the poem):

குழ னலிவது நெருப்பாற் சுடப்பட்டுத் துளைப்பட்ட பின் சூடுண்டது. பிறரை நலிந்ததாற் பயனென்று குழலைச் சொல்லுமா றென்னை யெனிற் பிறரை நலியுந் தன்மை முன்பே யதற்குளதாலதாற் பட்டதெனக் கொள்க.

kuḻal nalivatu neruppāl cuṭappaṭṭut tuḷaippaṭṭa piṉ cūṭu uṇṭatu. piṟarai nalintatāl payaṉ eṉṟu kuḻalaic collumāṟu eṉṉai eṉiṉ piṟarai naliyum taṉmai muṉpē ataṟku uḷatu ātalāl paṭṭatu eṉak koḷka.

"That the flute suffers [means] that it is burnt by fire and experiences burning after having been perforated. Why is it said about the flute that it is the result of afflicting others? Take it to mean that it happens because it earlier had the quality of afflicting others."

KārN 3 (alternative interpretation):

அல்லதூஉ நெருநற்றே தொடங்கித் தனியாண்மாட்டு.

allatūum nerunaṟṟē toṭaṅkit taṉiyāṇmāṭṭu.

"Alternatively, since yesterday on account of the woman, who is alone."

KārN 11, not in the mss. (additional gloss):

ஐம்பால் பெண்மயிர்.

aimpāl peṇmayir.

"*Aimpāl* is female hair."

KārN 16, not in the mss. (additional gloss):

பழங்கண் மெலிவு.

paḻaṅkaṇ melivu.

"*Paḻaṅkaṇ* is weakness."

KārN 21, not in the mss. (grammatical explanation):

நின்றது என்னும் பயனிலை தொக்கது.

niṉṟatu eṉṉum payaṉilai tokkatu.

"The predicate '*niṉṟatu*' has been elided."

KārN 40 (identification of metrical shortening):

ஈந்தென்பதனை யிந்தென்று குறுக்கியது.

īntu eṉpataṉai intu eṉṟu kuṟukkiyatu.

"'*Īntu*' has been shortened to '*intu*.'"

Appendix 2: TN 115 with two versions of old commentary

Poem:

படுந்தடங்கட் பல்பணைபோல் வான்முழங்கன் மேலுங்
கொடுந்தடங்கட் கூற்றுமின் னாக—நெடுந்தடங்க
ணீர்நின்ற நோக்கி னெடும்பணைமென் றோளாட்குத்
தேர்நின்ற தென்னாய் திரிந்து.

paṭum taṭam kaṇ pal paṇai pōl vāṉ muḷaṅkal mēlum
koṭum taṭam kaṇ kuṟṟu miṉ āka neṭum taṭam kaṇ
nīr niṉṟa nōkkiṉ neṭum paṇai mel tōḷāṭkut
tēr niṉṟatu eṉṉāy tirintu.

After you have roamed about, say: "The chariot has come to a stand,"
to her with soft shoulders like large bamboo, who has the look of tears standing
in her large, wide eyes, while the lightning is the god of death with cruel wide eyes,
on top of the roaring of the clouds, like many sounding drums with wide drumheads.

Speech situation (C_1, C_2):

எ-து. வினை முற்றி மீண்ட தலைமகன் றலைமகட்குத் தூது விடுகின்றான் றூதிற்குச் சொல்லியது.

e-tu. viṉai muṟṟi mīṇṭa talaimakaṉ talaimakaṭkut tūtu viṭukiṉṟāṉ tūtiṟkuc colliyatu

The hero, who has returned after he had finished his business, sending a messenger to the heroine and speaking to [that] messenger.

Old commentary (C_1, C_2):

ஒலியாநின்ற தடங்கண்ணையுடைய பல முரசு போல் **முகில்கண்** முழங்குவதன் மேலு மின்னே கொடிய தடங்கண்ணினையுடைய கூற்றமாக வழுகின்ற நீர் விடாது நின்ற நெடுந்தடங்க ணோக்கினையுடைய நெடும்பணை மென்றோளாட்கு **நீ மறித்து வந்து** நின் மனை வாயிலின்கண்ணே யவன் றேர் நின்றதென்று **சொல்லுவா** யெமக்கு முன்னே சென்று தூதாக வென்றவாறு.

oliyāniṉra taṭam kaṇṇaiyuṭaiya pala muracu pōl ***mukilkaḷ*** *muḻaṅkuvataṉ mēlum miṉṉē koṭiya taṭam kaṇṇiṉaiyuṭaiya kūṟṟamāka aḻukiṉra nīr viṭātu niṉra neṭum taṭam kaṇ nōkkinaiyuṭaiya neṭum paṇai mel tōḷāṭku* ***nī maṟittu vantu*** *niṉ maṉai vāyiliṉkaṇṇē avaṉ tēr niṉratu eṉru* ***colluvāy*** *emakku muṉṉē ceṉru tūtāka eṉravāṟu.*

Having gone ahead of us as a messenger, **after you have wandered about and arrived, say:** "His chariot has come to a stand at the gate of your house," to her with soft shoulders [like] large bamboo, who has the look of long, wide eyes, in which the tears, which she has shed, constantly remain while the lightning is the god of death, who has cruel, wide eyes, on top of the roaring **of the clouds,** like many sounding drums, which have wide drumheads.

Speech situation (C_4):

தலைவன் மீன்டு வருங்கான் மேகத்தொடு கூறியது.

talaivaṉ mīṇṭu varuṅkāl mēkattoṭu kūṟiyatu.

The hero talking with a cloud at the time of his return.

Old commentary (C_4):

ஒலியாநின்ற தடங்கண்ணையுடைய பல முரசம் போல **விங்குநின்று மேகமே நீ** முழங்குவதன் மேலும் மின்னே கொடிய தடங்கட் கூற்றமாக வழுகின்ற நீர் விடாது நின்ற நெடுந்தடங்க ணோக்கினையுடைய நெடும்பணை மென்றோளாட்கு [**ø**] நின் மனை வாயிலின்முன்னே யவன் றேர் வந்து நின்றதென்று **நீ** யெமக்கு முன்னே சென்று தூதாக வென்றவாறு.

oliyāniṉra taṭam kaṇṇaiyuṭaiya pala muracam pōla ***iṅkuniṉru mēkamē nī*** *muḻaṅkuvataṉ mēlum miṉṉē koṭiya taṭaṅkaṇ kūṟṟamāka aḻukiṉra nīr*

viṭātu niṉṟa neṭum taṭam kaṇ nōkkinaiyuṭaiya neṭum paṇai mel tōḷāṭku ***[Ø]*** *niṉ maṉai vāyiliṉmuṉṉē avaṉ tēr vantu niṉṟatu eṉṟu* ***nī*** *emakku muṉṉē ceṉṟu tūtāka eṉṟavāṟu*

O cloud! Like many sounding drums, which have wide drumheads, **you may go from here** ahead of us and be a messenger, saying: "His chariot has come to a stand in front of the gate of your house," to her with soft shoulders [like] large bamboo, who has the look of long, wide eyes, in which the tears, which she has shed, stand unceasingly while the lightning is the god of death, who has cruel, wide eyes, on top of **your** roaring.[40]

Appendix 3: TN 7 with old commentary, modern commentary, and translations

Poem:

கறிவளர் பூஞ்சாரற் கைந்நாகம் பார்த்து
நெறிவளர் நீள்வேங்கை கொட்கு—முறிவளர்
நன்மலை நாட விரவரின் வாழாளா
னன்மலை நாடன் மகள்.

kaṟi vaḷar pūm cāral kai nākam pārttu
neṟi vaḷar nīḷ vēṅkai koṭkum muṟi vaḷar
nal malai nāṭa ira variṉ vāḻāḷāl
nal malai nāṭaṉ makaḷ.

Man from the land of good hills, growing with sprouts, where
full-grown large tigers
roam about on the paths, looking out for elephants with trunks on the
flowering slopes
growing with pepper! If you come at night, she will not live,
the daughter of the man from the land of good hills.

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[40] Since the commentary, as it is found in C_4, deletes the predicate *colluvāy*, the only way to construe the sentence is to take *āka* in *tūtāka* as an optative rather than as an adverbial suffix, although this does not conform with the original wording of the poem.

Speech situation:

எ-து. இரவுக்குறி வேண்டிய தலைமகற்குத் தோழி மறுத்துச் சொல்லியது.

e-tu. iravukkuṟi vēṇṭiya talaimakaṟkut tōḻi maṟuttuc colliyatu.

The confidante refusing the meeting at night-time to the hero, who is asking for it.

Old commentary:

மிளகு படர்கின்ற பூஞ்சாரலின்கட் கையையுடைய நாகங்களைப் பார்த்து வழியின்கண் வளர்கின்ற பெரும்புலிக டிரிதரு மிரவின்க ணீ வரிற் றளிர் வளர்கின்ற நன்மலை நாட நன்மலை நாடன் மகள் வாழா ளென்றவாறு.

miḷaku paṭarkiṉṟa pūñcāraliṉkaṇ kaiyaiyuṭaiya nākaṅkaḷaip pārttu vaḻiyiṉkaṇ vaḷarkiṉṟa perumpulikaḷ tiritarum iraviṉkaṇ nī variṉ taḷir vaḷarkiṉṟa nal malai nāṭa nal malai nāṭaṉ makaḷ vāḻāḷ eṉṟavāṟu.

If you come at night, when growing large tigers wander on the ways, looking out for elephants, which have trunks, on the flowering slopes, where pepper spreads—o man from the land of good hills, where shoots grow!—then the daughter of the man from the land of good hills will not live.

Natarāca Pillai's commentary

(பத[வுரை]) முறி – (பலவகையான) தளிர்கள், வளர் – தளிர்த்துக் காணும், நல்மலை நாட – நல்ல மலைநாட்டிற்குரிய தலைவனே! கறி – மிளகுக் கொடிகள், வளர் – படருகின்ற, பூ சாரல் – அழகிய மலைப் பக்கத்தினிடத்தே, கை நாகம் – துடிக்கையினையுடைய யானைகளை, பார்த்து – எதிர்பார்த்துக்கொண்டு, நெறி – வழியின்கண், வளர் நீள் வேங்கை – பதினாறடிவரை வளர்ந்து நீண்ட பெரும் புலிகள், கொட்கும் – திரிதரும்படியான, இர – இரவின்கண், வரின் – நீ வருவாயானால், நல்மலை நாடன் மகள் – நல்ல மலைநாட்டிற்குரிய தலைவனின் மகள், வாழாள் – பொறுக்கமாட்டாள் (என்று தோழி தலைவனிடம் கூறினாள்.)

(விரி[வுரை].) 'இரா', என்ற பெயர்ச் சொல், 'இர', எனக் குறியதன் கீழாக் குருகி வரலாயிற்று. 'வளர் நீள் வேங்கை,' என்றமையின் 'பதினாறடி,' என்பது பெற்றாம். ஆல் – அசைநிலை.

(pata[vurai].) muṟi – (palavakaiyāṉa) taḷirkaḷ, vaḷar – taḷirttuk kāṇum, nalmalai nāṭa – nalla malaināṭṭiṟkuriya talaivaṉē! kaṟi – miḷakuk koṭikaḷ, vaḷar – paṭarukiṉṟa, pū cāral – aḻakiya malaip pakkattiṉiṭattē, kai nākam – tutikkaiyaiyuṭaiya yāṉaikaḷai, pārttu – etirpārttukkoṇṭu, neṟi – vaḻiyiṉkaṇ, vaḷar nīḷ vēṅkai – patiṉāṟaṭivarai vaḷarntu nīṇṭa perum pulikaḷ, koṭkum – tiritarumpaṭiyāṉa, ira – iraviṉkaṇ, variṉ – nī varuvāyāṉāl, nalmalai nāṭaṉ makaḷ – nalla malai nāṭṭiṟkuriya talaivaṉiṉ makaḷ, vāḻāḷ – poṟukkamāṭṭāḷ. (eṉṟu tōḻi talaivaṉiṭam kūṟiṉāḷ.)

(viri[vurai].) 'irā', eṉṟa peyarc col, 'ira', eṉak kuṟiyataṉ kīḻāk kuṟuki varalāyiṟṟu. 'vaḷar nīḷ vēṅkai,' eṉṟamaiyiṉ 'patiṉāṟaṭi,' eṉpatu peṟṟām. āl – acainilai.

(Word-by-word commentary:) Hero belonging to the good land of hills, where sprouts of many sorts can be seen sprouting! If you come at night, when large tigers, which grow up to sixteen feet in length, roam about on the way looking out for elephants, which have trunks, on the beautiful hillside, where pepper-vines are spreading, then the daughter of the hero who belongs to a good land of hills will not bear with it (thus the confidante said to the hero.)[41]

(Explanation:) The noun '*irā*' occurs as '*ira*,' since *ā* after a short vowel has been shortened. Because it says 'growing large tigers,' we have obtained 'sixteen feet.' *Āl*: filler.

Dakshinamurthy's translation:

Chief of a goodly mountain rich in plants with tender leaves! Should you choose to come here through the hazardous paths, where tigers roam about, looking for elephants in the beautiful slopes rich in pepper-vines, this daughter of a fertile hill chief will cease to be!

Vaidehi Herbert's translation:

O man from the fine
mountains with new

[41] For the translation of Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's word-by-word commentary, I have ignored the quotations from the original and treated the glosses as if they were a continuous text.

sprouts,
where huge, adult
tigers roam on
the paths looking for
elephants with trunks,
on the pepper-growing
slopes with flowers!
If you come at night,
she will not live, the
daughter of the lord
of a fine mountain.

Appendix 4: TN 128 with modern commentary and translations

Poem

செந்தா மரைப்பூ வுறநிமிர்ந்த செந்நெல்லின்
பைந்தார் புனல்வாய்ப் பாய்ந்தாடுவா—ளந்தார்
வயந்தகம்போற் றோன்றும் வயலூரன் கேண்மை
நயந்தகன் றாற்றாமை நன்று.

cem tāmaraip pū uṟa nimirnta cem nelliṉ
paim tār puṉalvāyp pāyntu āṭuvāḷ am tār
vayantakam pōl tōṉṟum vayal ūraṉ kēṇmai
nayantu akaṉṟu āṟṟāmai naṉṟu.

The man from the village with fields, where a fresh garland of red paddy,
which has grown so tall that it touches a red lotus flower, appears like a pendant
on the beautiful garland of a woman who has plunged into the water to bathe—
it is good to suffer after having gladly parted with his love.

Naṭarāca Piḷḷai's commentary:

(பத[வுரை].) செந்தாமரை பூ - செவ்விய தாமரை மலரோடு, உற - ஒன்றாக, நிமிர்ந்த - வளர்ந்து நிற்கின்ற, செந்நெல் இன் - செந்நெற் பயிரினது, பை

தார் – பசிய கதிர்க்குலைகளையுடைய, புனல்வாய் – யாற்று நீரினிடத்திலே, பாய்ந்து – குதித்து, ஆடுவாள் – விளையாடுகின்ற பரத்தையினது, அம் தார் – அழகிய மார்மீதணிந்துள்ள மலர் மாலையின், வயந்து – வயப்பட்டு, அகம்போல் – அவளது மனம் போல, தோன்றும் – வெளிப்பட்டு நடக்கும், வயல் ஊரன் – மருத நிலத்தூர்த்தலைவனது, கேண்மை – நட்பினின்றும், நயந்து – பகையின்றியே, அகன்று – விலகி, ஆற்றாமை – துன்புற்று வாழ்தல், நன்று – நல்லதாகும் (என்று தலைவி தனக்குத்தானே கூறினாள்.)

(விரி[வுரை].) இச் செய்யுண்முதல் பின்வரும் இருபத்தேழு செய்யுட்கட்கும் பழைய பொழிப்புரை கிடைக்கவில்லை. தார் = தாறு – குலை. புலத்தல் – ஊடல்.

(pata[vurai].) centāmarai pū – cevviya tāmarai malarōṭu, uṟa – oṉṟāka, nimirnta – vaḷarntu niṟkiṉṟa, cennel iṉ, cenneṟ payiriṉatu, pai tār – paciya katirkkulaikaḷaiyuṭaiya, puṉalvāy – yāṟṟu nīriṉiṭattilē, pāyntu – kutittu, āṭuvāḷ - viḷaiyāṭukiṉṟa parattaiyiṉatu, am tār – aḷakiya mārmītaṇintuḷḷa malar mālaiyiṉ, vayantu – vayappaṭṭu, akampōl– avaḷatu maṉam pōla, tōṉṟum – veḷippaṭṭu naṭakkum, vayal ūraṉ – maruta nilattūrttalaivaṉatu, kēṇmai – naṭpiṉiṉṟum, nayantu – pakaiyiṉṟiyē, akaṉṟu – vilaki, āṟṟāmai – tuṉpuṟṟu vāḻtal, naṉṟu – nallatākum (eṉṟu talaivi taṉakkuṭṭāṉē kūṟiṉāḷ.)

(viri[vurai].) ic ceyyuṇmutal piṉvarum irupattēḻu ceyyuṭkaṭkum paḷaiya poḻippurai kiṭaikkavillai. tār = tāṟu – kulai. pulattal – ūṭal.

(Word-by-word commentary:) It is good to live in sorrow after having walked away without enmity from the friendship of the hero from the village in the agricultural tract, who has been overpowered by the flower garland, which has been draped on the beautiful bosom of the courtesan, who plays having jumped into the water of the river, which possesses fresh bunches of ears of the red paddy crop, which has grown long and stands together with red lotus blossoms, and appears acting according to her mind (thus the heroine spoke within herself).

(Explanation:) The old paraphrasing commentary is not available for the following 27 poems from this poem onwards. *Tār = tāṟu* – bunch. *Pulattal* – quarreling.

Dakshinamurthy's translation:

Red lotus flowers and green-eared paddy crops flourish together in the fields beside which a young girl sports in water and delights, in the place of the chief. The garland she wears resembles the ornament of vayantakam. It is good now to distance ourselves from his friendship and suffer pain, though we liked his kinship in the past.

Vaidehi Herbert's translation:

It is best to move
away from his
friendship.
I live in sorrow
caused by the man
from the town with
fields, who acts in
accordance with the
mind of the woman
wearing a lovely
garland, who leaps
and plays in the
stream where lifted,
fresh clusters of
paddy grain touch
the nearby red lotus
blossoms.

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C_{13} (UVSL 99c): paper manuscript held at the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library in Chennai. What is listed under a single shelf mark are actually three independent manuscripts of the AiE in different hands. The first one contains AiE 1–24 with commentary, the second AiE 1–24 and 27–28 without commentary, and the third AiE 24 with commentary and AiE 27–68 without commentary.

G_4 (GOML D.204 / D.7 / T.D.2): paper manuscript held at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Chennai. AiE 25, 26, 69, and 70 are missing. With commentary up to AiE 24. Contains the AiE on the verso sides and the beginning of a copy of Winslow's Tamil-English dictionary (1862) on the recto sides.

G_6 (GOML R.5753 / T.R.1074): paper manuscript held at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Chennai. AiE 25, 26, 69, and 70 are missing. With commentary up to AiE 24. Difficult to read due to corrosion of the ink. Part of a multiple-text manuscript containing 4 *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts.

Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu (TN):

C_1 (UVSL 1078): palm-leaf manuscript held at the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library in Chennai. Contains TN 1–127 with commentary. Part of a multiple-text manuscript containing 14 *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts.

C_2 (UVSL 524): palm-leaf manuscript held at the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library in Chennai. Contains TN 1–127 with commentary and TN 124–153 without commentary. Part of a multiple-text manuscript containing 11 *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts.

C_4 (UVSL 698): palm-leaf manuscript held at the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library in Chennai. Contains a selection of 23 poems from the TN with commentary. Part of a multiple-text manuscript containing excerpts from 12 *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts.

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Towards Understanding the Śrīvaiṣṇava Commentary on the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam*: The Blending of Two Worlds and Two Languages[1]

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Śrīvaiṣṇava Commentaries

The period between the 12th and 15th centuries coincides with the birth and growth of the genre of commentary among the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas. The first commentary to be written was on Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi* (TVM), considered as the Tamil Veda by Śrīvaiṣṇavas, by one of Rāmānuja's disciples, Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ. Known as the

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[1] This article was written by Suganya Anandakichenin with input from Erin McCann, who has among other things provided a sample text and translation of Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's commentary (ca. 15th c.) on the first *sūtra* of Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Tattvatraya*, which serves as an example of later commentarial pratices, especially on works other than the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam*. This article is the second part of our series of articles dealing with Śrīvaiṣṇava Maṇipravāḷam literature. See Ciotti & McCann (forthcoming). As this is a work in progress, this article and the features of the Maṇipravāḷam commentaries that it lists are by no means exhaustive. I have relied on Tubb & Boose's *Scholastic Sanskrit* (2007) and Gnanasundaram's *Vaiṇava uraivaḷam* (1989) for writing this article, along with my own readings of the commentaries on the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, especially the *36000-paṭi*, also known as the *Īṭu* (13th c.) and the *12000-paṭi* (14th c.) (see § 1.1. The Śrīvaiṣṇava Commentaries for more details on these works), and Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's commentary on the *Perumāḷ tirumoḻi* (13th c.). See Anandakichenin (2018) for a complete translation of this work. This article will have examples drawn mainly from these works. Translations, unless mentioned otherwise, are ours.
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Āṟāyirappaṭi (*āṟu+āyiram+paṭi*, 'six thousand *paṭis*[2]'), this work, which seems to be the first commentary composed on a 'specifically sectarian work'[3] in Tamil, was commissioned by Rāmānuja himself, according to the tradition.[4]

This work was the first of many more, approximately forty (excluding the ones written in Sanskrit[5]), with Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai (Piḷḷai) contributing more than half. The TVM has received the highest number of commentaries, with Āṇṭāḷ's *Tiruppāvai*, Tiruppāṇ's *Amalaṉ āti pirāṉ*, and Madhurakavi's *Kaṇṇi nuṇ ciṟu tāmpu* each receiving multiple commentaries. No work from the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam* (NTP) was neglected by the Ācāryas, and Piḷḷai himself wrote a commentary on all twenty-four works of the corpus (see Table 1).

Given that the Teṉkalai Śrīvaiṣṇavas (who were called thus much later)[6] cherished the NTP and placed it on par with the Sanskrit Vedas, they put the most emphasis on cultivating the commentary-writing

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[2] The *paṭi* roughly corresponds to a unit consisting of 32 syllables.

[3] Raman (2007: 58). Writing commentaries on Tamil religious works was a practice common to the Jains (e.g. *Nīlakēci* and its 15th c. commentary [Zvelebil 1992: 70]), but not the Śaivas. With the Tamil Vaiṣṇavas, this tradition thrived. That a work of religious importance should be written in Tamil and that it should deserve a commentary was a first for a religion that calls itself Vedic.

[4] The *Guruparamparāprabhāvam* (GPP), a 14th century hagiography, narrates how Piḷḷāṉ approached Rāmānuja, requesting him to write a commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, but Rāmānuja suggested that his disciple himself do it. The belief is that Rāmānuja's commentary, if it had been written, would have been considered as the definitive commentary, which would not have allowed any room for further or variant interpretation.

[5] Raman (2007: 57).

[6] Differences of opinion emerged among Rāmānuja's followers by around the 13th c., a few centuries after his lifetime. The Teṉkalai/Śrīraṅgam Ācāryas (Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Maṇavāḷa Māmuni, among others) and the Vaṭakalai/Kāñcīpuram ones (especially Vedānta Deśika) held diverging views on important theological issues (e.g. the nature and role of Śrī, the means to achieve *mokṣa*, etc.). The differences became crystallized from the 18th c. onwards. For more on this topic, see Patricia Mumme (1988) and Srilata Raman (2007).

tradition,[7] and gave a commentary such as the *Īṭu* (*36k*) a sacred status[8] by making it one of the four works that every Śrīvaiṣṇava ought to have studied in her/his lifetime[9] under the guidance of a qualified Śrīvaiṣṇava scholar.

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[7] Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ, who wrote the first (extant) commentary on the NTP, is considered as a Vaṭakalai scholar, and in modern times, from among the numerous commentaries on the NTP, seems to have been integrated into the Vaṭakalai corpus of metatexts. For example, on Vedānta Deśika's 750th birth anniversary, a series of lectures was only his *Āṟāyirappaṭi* organised by a group called "Rāmānuja Dayā" and among the authors and works that were the topics of discourses, the *Āṟāyirappaṭi* was included, along with other works such as Deśika's, but not any other commentary on the NTP.

Piḷḷai, who came a few generations after Piḷḷāṉ, is in general embraced by the Teṉkalais, although the Vaṭakalais believe he is common to both schools (Personal communication by Villiambakkam C. Govindarajan in December 2017); he is also thought to be the Ācārya of the Ācārya of the founder of the Ahobila Maṭha, which is a Vaṭakalai *maṭha* (place of organized religious activities and learning). Despite this fact, his works hardly made it to the celebrations of Deśika's anniversary mentioned above.

[8] Menstruating women stay away from the lectures on the *Īṭu* and also refrain from reading such books (both commentaries and *rahasya-grantha*s). The present author, who was dressed in non-traditional attire, was requested to sit outside the hall where a discourse on Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇam* was taking place in Śrīraṅgam in October 2017. These are some of the signs of sacrality in the contemporary Śrīvaiṣṇava community.

[9] The other three are: Rāmānuja's commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the *Brahmasūtra*s (known as the *Śrībhāṣyam*), as well as his *Vedārtha-saṅgraham*.

Table 1: The works of the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam* (NTP), the number of verses, the author's name, and the Maṇipravāḷam commentaries composed on each of them and their authors.[i]

Location in the NTP	Work(s) of the NTP	Number of verses	Author/Āḻvār	Commentaries – Commentator(s)
1st Thousand	*Periyāḻvār tirumoḻi*	473	Periyāḻvār	- Piḷḷai[ii]/Maṇavāḷa Māmuni[iii]- Tiruvāymoḻi Piḷḷai*- Nañcīyar[iv] [v]
	Tiruppāvai	30	Āṇṭāḷ	- Piḷḷai (*mūvāyirappaṭi* ([3000 *paṭṅs*])- Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Nāyaṉār (*ārāyirappaṭi* [6000 *paṭṅs*])- Āy Jananyācārya (two commentaries: *īrāyirappaṭi** [2000 *paṭṅs*] & *nālāyirappaṭi**[4000 *paṭṅs*])- Nañcīyar**[vi]
	Nācciyār tirumoḻi	143	Āṇṭāḷ	- Piḷḷai
	Perumāḷ tirumoḻi	105	Kulaśekhara	- Piḷḷai
	Tiruccantaviruttam	120	Tirumaḻicai	- Piḷḷai
	Tirumālai	45	Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi	- Piḷḷai
	Tirupaḷḷiyeḻucci	10	Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi	- Nañcīyar*- Piḷḷai

[i] This was made based on Raman (2007: 17-21), herself using M. A. Venkatakrishnan (2003), and with the help of Padmavati Pandurangan. Venkatakrishnan bases his list on works such as Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's *Upatēca-rattiṉamālai*, the commentary on it by Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar, and *Periya tirumuṭi aṭaivu*, but also points out that there are some commentaries that have been lost since, and some that do not find mention in Māmuni's work. For more on this, see Raman (2007: 19-20) or Venkatakrishnan (2011: 18-20).

[ii] Piḷḷai is used here for Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai and Nāyaṉār for Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Nāyaṉār.

[iii] Piḷḷai has commented upon 53 verses, from 1 to 12 and 433 onwards; the rest is lost. Maṇavāḷa Māmuni wrote a commentary on the missing portions, i.e. on 420 verses

[iv] He is claimed to have commented on the first decade of this work.

[v] Gnanasundaram (1989: 97) quotes some other author as his source, which I have not been able to trace (Ā. Raṅkanāta Mutaliyār [publ.] *Śrīvaiṣṇavam*. Tiruvallikkēṇi, 1937, p. 240). Whenever I have marked Nañcīyar, it is to point out that I have no other source of information concerning the authorship.

[vi] It seems that if this work really did exist, it is lost now. It is worth noting that although not specifically mentioned in the *Upatēca-rattiṉamālai*, it is named in the commentary that Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar wrote on this work.

	Amalaṉ āti pirāṉ	10	Tiruppāṇ	- Piḷḷai - Nāyaṉār*- Vedānta Deśika- Nañcīyar
	Kaṇṇi nuṉ ciṟu tāmpu	11	Madhurakavi	- Nañcīyar - Nampiḷḷai- Piḷḷai- Nāyaṉār - Tampirāṉ paṭi[vii]
2nd Thousand	*Periya tirumoḻi*	1084	Tirumaṅkai	- Piḷḷai
	Tirukkuṟuntāṇṭakam	20	Tirumaṅkai	- Piḷḷai
	Tiruneṭuntāṇṭakam	30	Tirumaṅkai	- Piḷḷai
3rd Thousand	*Mutal tiruvantāti*	100	Poykai	- Piḷḷai- Nampiḷḷai*?[viii]/Nañcīyar- Appiḷḷai
	Iraṇṭām tiruvantāti	100	Pūtam	- Piḷḷai- Nampiḷḷai*?/ Nañcīyar[ix]- Appiḷḷai
	Mūṉṟām tiruvantāti	100	Pēy	- Piḷḷai- Nampiḷḷai*?/ Nañcīyar[x]- Appiḷḷai
	Nāṉmukaṉ tiruvantāti	96	*Tirumaḻicai*	- Piḷḷai- Nampiḷḷai*?- Appiḷḷai
	Tiruviruttam	100	*Nammāḻvār*	- Nampiḷḷai- Piḷḷai- Nāyaṉār- Appiḷḷai (forthefirst 15 *pācuram*s) - Vādikesari Aḻakiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Cīyar (?)[xi]

[vii] Since Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's time, the *araiyar*s ('priests in some Viṣṇu temples whose duty it is to chant the *Divya Prabandhas'* TL) began using extracts from the commentaries on the NTP, along with the *pācuram*s (verses from the NTP), while performing *abhinaya* ('dramatic representation' Apte). This commentary, which is largely based on Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's and which was composed by the *araiyar*s, has been preserved in manuscripts and transmitted from father to son. It is only the very recent editions of commentaries that have started to include the *tampirāṉ paṭi*.

[viii] Venkatakrishnan (2011: 22-32), who found a few manuscripts with commentaries hitherto unknown and had them published for the first time, argues that these were composed by Nampiḷḷai.

[ix] Gnanasundaram (1989: 97).

[x] Gnanasundaram (1989: 97).

[xi] Varadarajan (1989: 6, 21) claims that it said so, and gives in a footnote the reference based on *Upatēca-rattiṉamālai* 47. But this verse provides no such evidence:

nañcīyar ceyta vyākkiyaikaḷ nāliraṇṭukku
eñcāmai yāvaikkum illaiyē – tam cīrāl
vaiyakuruviṉ tampi maṉṉu maṇavāḷamuni
ceyyumavai tāmum cila. 47

The commentaries that Nañcīyar wrote were [only] for a couple [of texts],
not for all of them without exception.
The works that the eternal Maṇavāḷamuni, [Piḷḷai] Lokācārya's brother, composed out of his excellence, are also few.

	Tiruvāciriyam	7		*Nammāḻvār*	- Piḷḷai
	Periya tiruvantāti	87		*Nammāḻvār*	- Piḷḷai
	Tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai	1		*Tirumaṅkai*	- Piḷḷai (two commentaries)
	Ciriya tirumaṭal	40	77 ½	*Tirumaṅkai*	- Piḷḷai- Nampiḷḷai or Nāyaṉār[xii]
	Periya tirumaṭal	78	148 ½	*Tirumaṅkai*	- Piḷḷai - Nāyaṉār or Nampiḷḷai*
4th Thousand	*Tiruvāymoḻi*	1102		*Nammāḻvār*	- Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Pillāṉ (*ārāyirappaṭi* [*6000-paṭi*])- Nañcīyar: (*oṉpatiṉāyirappaṭi* [*9000-paṭi*])[xiii]- Nampiḷḷai or Vaṭakkuttiruvīti Piḷḷai[xiv] (*muppattārāyirappaṭi* [*36000-paṭi*])[xv]- Piḷḷai (*irupattiṉālāyirappaṭi* [*24000-paṭi*])- Vādikesari Aḻakiya maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Cīyar (*Paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi* [*12000-paṭi*])
Appendix	*Irāmānucanūṟṟāntāti*	108	-	*Tiruvaraṅkattu Amutaṉār*	*-Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar*
		V+	*T+*		

* Not mentioned in *Upadeśa-rattiṉamālai*

\+ V+: Vaṭakalai ('Northern school of Śrīvaiṣṇavism); T+: Teṉkalai ('Southern school of Śrīvaiṣṇavism).

[xii] It is not clear which of the two wrote a commentary on this work (Raman 2007: 20).

[xiii] It is believed that Nampiḷḷai is the redactor of this commentary.

[xiv] Vaṭakkuttiruvīti Piḷḷai is said to have jotted down notes when listening to his *ācārya* Nampiḷḷai, so his commentary is traditionally attributed to the latter.

[xv] This is the longest commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḻi*. Āttaṉ Jīyar and Rāmānuja Jīyar have each written a gloss on this commentary, and Jagadeesan (1977 [1940]: 21) points out that these, along with the *Īṭu*, were 'the classical commentaries of the medieval period which are collectively known as the *Bhagavat Vishayam*.'

Table 2: The commentators on the NTP and their dates

Commentator	Dates[xvi]	Comments[xvii]
Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ	12th – 13th c.; b. 1161; *b. 1066*	Rāmānuja's disciple
Nañcīyar	13th c.; 1182-1287; *1113-1208*	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa's disciple
Nampiḷḷai	early 13th c.; *1147-1252*	Nañcīyar's disciple
Vaṭakkuttiruvīti Piḷḷai	14th c.; 1217-1312;*1167-1264*	Nampiḷḷai's disciple
Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai	13th c.; b. 1228; *1167-1262*	Nampiḷḷai's disciple
Vādikesari Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar	14 th c.; *1242-1350*	Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's disciple; also thought to be Piḷḷai's son's (Naiṉārāccāṉ's) disciple.[xviii]
Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār	end of 13th c.; *1207-1309*	Vaṭakkuttiruvīti Piḷḷai's son and Piḷḷai Lokācārya's[xix] brother
Vedānta Deśika	1268-1369[xx]; *1263-1369*	-
Tiruvāymoḻi Piḷḷai	ca. 1300-1405; *1290-1410*	Piḷḷai Lokācārya's disciple
Āy Jananyācārya	*14th c.*	Tiruvāymoḻi Piḷḷai's disciple
Maṇavāḷa Māmuni	*1370-1443*	Disciple of Tiruvāymoḻi Piḷḷai, who was himself Piḷḷai Lokācārya's disciple
Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar	15th c.?	Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's disciple
Appiḷḷai	15th c.?	Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's disciple

[xvi] These are tentative dates that are by no means unquestionably established. K. K. A. Venkatachari's (1978) dates, themselves based on M. Arunachalam (2005 [1969]), are underlined here, and M. Varadarajan's (2001) dates are in italics.

[xvii] This information is obtained from hagiographic works like the GPP.

[xviii] Jagadeesan (1977 [1940]: 21).

[xix] Piḷḷai Lokācārya composed eighteen treatises (collectively called the *aṣṭādaśarahasyaṅkaḷ*) on the doctrines and sacred mantras of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. He did not, however, write any commentaries of the NTP, and thus is not himself included in the list of commentators.

[xx] Jagadeesan (1977 [1940]: 133).

1.2. Writing in Maṇipravāḷam

The choice of language made for commenting upon works dealing with *ubhayavedānta*, a theology that is based both on the Sanskrit and the Tamil scriptures, itself speaks of the bilingual culture that flourished in this community: rather than favouring the one or the other, the commentary-writing Ācāryas decided on a mixture of the two languages, which later came to be known as Maṇipravāḷam ('gem-coral').

This hybrid language was not invented by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, nor was the appellation newly coined by them. Jinasena's *Jayadhavala*, a Sanskrit commentary on the Jain scripture *Ṣaḍkhaṇḍāgama* (ca. 9th c.), is the first to use the compound *maṇipravāḷa* in reference to the text's use of both Sanskrit and Prakrit. But it is in Abhinavagupta's (11th c.) commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* that the expression is first used to refer explicitly to an admixture of two languages. The author sees Maṇipravāḷam as a tradition from the 'South,' in which Sanskrit is mixed with the regional language (*deśa-bhāṣā*).[10]

The words of this compound are found in the same line (*maṇi miṭai pavaḷam* - 'coral mixed with gem or pearl') in an ancient classical Tamil text, the *Akanāṉūṟū* (3rd – 4th CE?), though they do not refer to a mixed language in this context. The earliest reference to the compound in Tamil is made in the 182nd verse of the *Vīracōḻīyam*, an 11th c. grammatical treatise: when Sanskrit syllables are blended with Tamil writing, it is known as *viraviyal*, and if it is words that are mixed, then it is called *maṇipravāḷam*. The same verse suggests that the author is referring to the context of poetics in his definition of the word, as he claims that the use of *etukai* (initial rhythm) is not mandatory, whatever the choice of style (*etukai naṭai ētum illā* - 'which does not have any *etukai* whatsover').

[10] Raman (2007: 63–64).

Interestingly, two centuries before these definitions came into being, the style had already been used in some passages of Peruntēvaṉār's *Pārataveṇpā*, a Tamil rendering of the *Mahābhārata* (9th c.). In this work, classical Tamil (= *centamiḻ*) is reserved for poetic passages and Maṇipravāḷam is used for prose.[11] Other works written during that period and later, especially the Jaina ones, e.g. the *Śrīpurāṇam*, used Maṇipravāḷam. Gnanasundaram believes that Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas may have created a dialect of Maṇipravāḷam for their own purposes, which is why it is neither influenced by the other styles of Maṇipravāḷam that preceded it (like the Jain one), nor does it have an impact on the Maṇipravāḷam of other communities that followed it (like the Śaiva one).[12] He points out that in the *Pārataveṇpā* and in the *Civajñāṉa Cittiyārurai* by Śrī Civākra yōkikaḷ, the Sanskrit words have been transformed into Tamil as per the rules of *tamiḻ mayakkam* (combination of letters in Tamil), whereas the Śrīvaiṣṇava Maṇipravāḷam *tadbhava* (a Sanskrit word that is incorporated in another language with phonological modifications) words are not modified much. Moreover, Gnanasundaram points out that the 'unrefined' language of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Maṇipravāḷam (to be studied later) is not to be found in the above-mentioned works. Therefore, it is unique in more ways than one.

Many hypotheses have been put forth to explain why this hybrid language was opted for by the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas. Some scholars believe that this was a move to legitimize the equation of a human composition in the vernacular—and that too by a Śūdra (Nammāḻvār)—with the divine Vedas in Sanskrit that were revealed: that is, the TVM deserved to have a commentary written upon it, just as much as any Veda or Vedic text. The use of theological jargon and quotations from *pramāṇa*s ('authoritative evidence') in Sanskrit, like the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, reinforce this equation. And it was essential that they use a

[11] Zvelebil (1995: 525f).
[12] Gnanasundaram (1989: 237-240).

language that would facilitate these needs.[13] Some other scholars aver that the Ācāryas, following the Āḻvārs who valued both languages, chose Maṇipravāḷam so that their theology, which derives its ideas from the traditions of both languages, could reach everyone without caste or gender restrictions, thereby becoming accessible even to those who only knew Tamil.[14] Some others believe that technical terms were kept in Sanskrit to maintain the accuracy of key concepts,[15] although the structure remained Tamil, and that the hybrid language was meant to keep the outsiders and/or the less knowledgeable members of the Vaiṣṇava community from misunderstanding the finer points of their doctrines. Maṇipravāḷam was then a means to maintain a certain esoteric quality to these texts that were so sacred to the Ācāryas.[16] Gnanasundaram believes that despite their very good mastery of Tamil, they wrote in Maṇipravāḷam because of their love for Sanskrit.[17] Whatever the reason for their choice of language, we can undoubtedly say that it is certainly not because they lacked a proper knowledge of Tamil, as their mastery of both languages and their knowledge of both literatures are evident in the works they have written.

2. Commentary Techniques

2.1. Types of commentaries

Early Maṇipravāḷam commentaries mainly focus on the NTP, but the later ones also focus on other works, i.e. ones that were composed in Tamil (e.g. Piḷḷai Lōkam Jīyar's commentary on Maṇavāḷa Māmuṉi's *Upatēca-rattiṉamālai*) and in Sanskrit (e.g. Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's *Rāmāyaṇa taṉiślokam*, on a selection of Sanskrit verses from the *Rāmāyaṇa*).

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[13] For more on the Śrīvaiṣṇava commentarial tradition, see Carman & Narayanan (1989).
[14] Venkatachari (1978: 39–40).
[15] Raman (2007: 64).
[16] Raman (2007: 64).
[17] Gnanasundaram (1989: 242–5).

Table 3: Types of commentaries on the NTP (made based on Gnanasundaram [1989: 126])

Commentaries	Type of commentaries
6000-*paṭi* (*6k*)	*karuttu kuṟipp$_u$ urai* ('Gist, substance of a text' TL[18])
9000-*paṭi* (*9k*)	*poḻippurai* ('A commentary which paraphrases a text or summarises its substance' TL)[19]
12000-*paṭi* (*12k*)	*patavurai* ('Word-by-word explanation, as of a verse' TL)
24000 / *īṭu [36k]* /Piḷḷai's commentaries on other NTP works	*akala urai* ('Elaborate commentary' TL)

As we can see in the table above, commentaries are not all of the same type, although the most variety occurs when they were composed to elucidate the TVM: with the exception of the *6k*,[20] most of them are of the elaborate type. The fact that Piḷḷai composed most of the commentaries probably explains why one style (*akala urai*)—which could have been the personal choice of one individual—is more prevalent than the others, or else, that type was the standard choice for doing justice to a work (from the commentator's point of view).

[18] This is the meaning given for the word *karutturai*, which, according to Indra Manuel in a personal communication, could simply be a synonym of *karuttu kuṟippu urai* ('a commentary that gives the gist').

[19] M. Varadarajan (1989: 37) explains that this type of commentary does not focus on the individual words, but gives the meaning(s) of a verse by means of a gloss.

[20] Sometimes, Piḷḷāṉ presumably thinks that the *pācuram* is so easy to understand that he completely skips the elucidation of the explicit meaning, and very briefly cites its implicit one. For example, in TVM 3.3.10, the poet instructs his audience to reach Veṅkaṭa before they become weary. Piḷḷāṉ comments as follows: *ātalāl īṇṭeṉac ceṉṟu tirumalaiyai anubhaviyuṅkaḷ eṉkiṟār* – 'He [Nammāḻvār] says, "Therefore, promptly go and enjoy Tirumalā!" ' The 'therefore' points to Piḷḷāṉ's comment on the previous *pācuram* (TVM 3.3.9), in which he declares that Veṅkaṭa itself is the devotees' goal.

2.2. Basic Structure

The basic structure of a commentary varies according to the author and/or the work that is commented upon. If we take the example of the commentaries on the TVM, except for the *6k*, they have an introductory sentence summarizing the main idea of a *pācuram*, often from the theological perspective that the commentator is planning to develop. Piḷḷai, however, does not do this systematically for his other commentaries (*Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, *Nācciyār Tirumoḻi*). And this short introduction, known as the *avatārikai* (cf. *avataraṇikā* in Sanskrit), is by no means always short.

Similarly, most commentaries have an introductory part before every *pattu* ('decade'), e.g. Piḷḷai's commentary on *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*.[21] This part is either referred to as *avatārikai* ('introductory note to a verse' TL) or *praveśam* ('entrance' or 'introduction'), especially at the very beginning of a work.

The main body of the commentary can sometimes include a gloss of the individual words or phrases, or, alternatively, a word-by-word gloss, as especially in the *12k*.[22] At the end of the commentary, the *12k* sometimes finishes off by giving the gist of the meaning of any given verse; and at the end of each decade, it usually ends by identifying the meter (e.g. *itu kaliviruttam* 'this is *kali-viruttam*'[23] [TVM 3.8.]).

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[21] For example, these are his introductory words to *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 9:
avatārikai – śrī kausalaiyār peṟṟa pēṟṟai anubhavittār kiḷil tirumoḻiyil; bālyāvasthai ellām anubhavittu prāptayauvanar āṉavāṟē anubhavikka peṟātē iḷanta cakravarti ōpātiyum tamakku prāpti ottirukkaiyālē, anubhavikka peṟātē iḷantēṉ eṉṟ$_u$ avaṉ collukiṟa pācurattālē tam iḷavai pēcukiṟār itil.
'Introductory note - In the previous *tirumoḻi*, he [Kulacēkaraṉ] enjoyed the fortune that the divine, revered Kauśalyā had obtained. In this one, since his [Kulacēkaraṉ's] fortune is similar to that of the emperor, who, having enjoyed the whole of [His] childhood, lost [the experience] without getting to enjoy [it] as He reached manhood, he [Kulacēkaraṉ] speaks of his deprivation through the *pācuram* that [the emperor] utters saying, "I have lost [the experience] without getting to enjoy [it]!" '

[22] Even this is not literally word-by-word, if we look at how a palm-leaf manuscript presents the commentary: the commentator quotes a phrase, and then groups of words are dealt with in one go.

[23] 'A kind of verse allied to *kali* having four feet in each of its four lines' (TL).

2.3. The Commenting Tools

The commentators seem to follow the *pañcalakṣaṇa* practice of the Sanskrit commentary traditions,[24] according to which a commentary includes a word-split, a word gloss, an analysis of complex formations, syntactic analysis, and refutation of potential objections. Although it seems that the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas broadly follow this pattern, it is best to keep in mind that theirs is theological in nature, in which content takes precedence over form, with the latter often being given relatively less importance, as we shall see.

2.3.1. Division of words

The Tamil *pācuram*s, as found in the manuscripts that we have access to now, are given in *scriptio continua* without word-split and the commentator usually does not provide a word-by-word split. But the decision seems to depend on how difficult he thinks a specific string of words is, in which case some words are singled out and explained. This feature, if applied, is often an integral part of the commentary.

In some cases, however, the Ācāryas do suggest different ways of splitting the words, especially when a different interpretation of the *pācuram* can be derived by doing so:

> TVM 2.6.1 [*36k*] *ceykun tāvarun tīmai*
>
> *1) cey kuntā varum tīmai* - 'the committed evil that comes [back] unfailingly'
>
> *2) ceykum tāv$_u$ arum tīmai* - 'the evil that one performs [and] that is hard to measure/cross[25]

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[24] *padacchedaḥ padārthoktiḥ vigraho vākyayojanā* |
ākṣepeṣu samādhānaṃ vyākhyānaṃ pañcalakṣaṇam ||
'The *vyākhyāna* has five features: the separation of the words, the stating of the meaning of the words, the analysis of grammatical complexes, the construing of sentences, [and] the answering of objections.'
The translation of the first two lines of the verses above is based on Tubb & Boose (2007: 4–5).

[25] This example is provided by Gnanasundaram (1989: 161).

When there are variants in the main text, which the Ācāryas point out, they often influence the way the words are split.

> TVM 1.5.1 [*12k*] *niṉaintu naintē—iṉaintu naintē eṉṟu pāṭamāy*, '*iṉaital varuntutal*' *eṉṟum colluvārum uḷar* - 'Thinking and languishing'—'Worrying and languishing' being the [variant] reading, there are also some who say '*iṉaital* means to worry.'

2.3.2. Glossing

More often than not the words of the *pācuram*s are simple Tamil ones, which do not always need glossing. Therefore, most commentators, other than Vādikesari, whose main aim is to give a gloss of the TVM, do it only when they believe that the reader/listener might misunderstand a word which either had a different meaning in the past or requires a specific understanding in a certain context.

2.3.2.1. Simple glosses

Simple glosses can be synonyms (one word = one word) or synonymous expressions (one noun or verb = a compound noun or verb).[26]

2.3.2.1.1. Tamil words glossed by Tamil words

Some words are repeated (i.e. they are left as they are, unglossed or explained), and some glossed with words formed from the same root:

> TVM 1.7.9 [*12k*] *amararkku* (dat. 'immortals') = *amararkku* (dat. 'immortals')
>
> TVM 1.2.3 [*12k*] *cērmiṉ* (ipt. 'join') = *cēruṅkōḷ* (ipt. pl. 'join')
>
> TVM 1.3.1 [*12k*] *aṭiyavarkku* (h. dat. 'servant') = *aṭiyārkku* (h. dat. 'servant')
>
> TVM 3.6.4 [*36k*] *cevvai* ('sound condition') = *cemmai* ('excellence')
>
> NB.: These are glosses on morphology, i.e., the main purpose of the gloss is to give an alternative form with the same meaning, from the same root, but with alternate morphology that was probably felt to be less antiquated.

[26] I have given grammatical details where it is most useful. Nouns in the nominative case, for example, have not been explicitly mentioned.

Words are also glossed with synonyms:

TVM 1.1.2 [*12k*] *aṟa* (inf. 'cease') = *kaḻiya* (inf. 'be removed')

TVM 1.2.10 [*12k*] *kaḻal* ('anklet, foot') = *tiru aṭikaḷai* (pl. acc. 'the sacred feet')

TVM 2.9.1 [*36k*] *ceppam* = *ceppōm* = *collōm* (1.pl. hab. fut. 'we shall not speak')

NB.: The last one combines both types of glossing: a morphological gloss (*ceppam* = *ceppōm*), and then a gloss on the semantics (*collōm*).

2.3.2.1.2. Tamil words glossed by Sanskrit origin/MP words and/or phrases

Sometimes, even common Tamil words are glossed by words of Sanskrit origin:

TVM 1.3.2 [*12k*] *iṟaiyōṉ* ('master') = *svāmi-āṉavaṉ* ('he who is the lord')

TVM 3.8.7 [*12k*] *ār* (v.r. 'to be full, complete') = *paripūrṇam-āṉa* (pey. 'who is completely full of')

TVM 1.1.7 [*12k*] *vicumpu eri vali nīr nilam* ('sky, fire, wind, water, earth') = *ākāśamum*, *agniyum*, *vāyuvum*, *jalamum*, *bhūmiyum* ('sky, fire, wind, water and earth')

TVM 3.6.2 [*12k*] *ceṟṟa* (pey. 'win') = *śatrunirasanam paṇṇa* (pey. 'who caused the destruction of the enemies')

NB.: *paṇṇa* is a contracted form of *paṇṇiya* or *paṇṇiṉa*.

2.3.2.1.3. Sanskrit origin/MP words[27] glossed by Tamil words[28]

Very rarely, this phenomenon also happens:

TVM 1.5.5 [*12k*] *cōti* (<*jyotis*–'light') = *oḷiyai uṭaiya* (pey. 'who has light')

---

[27] Some of the *tatsama* (a loanword from Sanskrit that is used as such, without any phonological modification) and *tadbhava* words used in the *pācuram*s had been integrated in the Tamil language so long before the Āḻvārs that we sometimes treat them simply as Tamil words (ex: *kālam* 'time', *mēkam* [=*meghaḥ*] 'cloud').

[28] This was not a prominent practice, but rather exceptions that prove that such a thing was also possible.

TVM 1.5.5 [*12k*] *tirupātam* (*tiru* + < *pāda* - 'sacred foot') = *tiru aṭikaḷai* (acc. 'sacred feet')

TVM 3.10.8 [*12k*] *pōkam* (< *bhoga* – 'sexual enjoyment') = *kalaviyālē* (inst. 'sexual union')

2.3.2.1.4. Sanskrit origin/MP words glossed by Sanskrit /MP words

Sometimes, the synonyms are from the same family of words.

TVM 1.5.2 [*12k*] *cāntu* (< *candana* - 'sandal paste') = *cāntam*

TVM 1.2.7 [*12k*] *campattu* (< *sampad* - 'wealth') = *sampattai* (acc.)

TVM 1.3.1 [*12k*] *pattu* (< *bhakti* - 'devotion') = *bhaktiyai* (acc.)

NB.: The last two glosses also contain a morphological gloss: the accusative ending is made explicit. We shall come back to this later.

At other times, glosses are synonyms:

TVM 1.6.4 [*12k*] *aṅkam* (< *aṅga* - 'limb, body') = *śarīram* ('body')

TVM 1.6.4 [*12k*] *īcaṉ* (< *īśa* - 'Lord') = *svāmi-āṉavaṉ* ('he who is the Lord')

2.3.2.2. Expansion of glosses

2.3.2.2.1. Short Explanation

Bringing out what is not self-evident is one of the aims of the Maṇipravāḷam commentators, and the context of each verse helps them decide what its words have left unsaid.

TVM 1.6.4 [*12k*] *āṭum* (pey. 'who dances') = *premattālē sasambhramaṇṛttam paṇṇukiṟa* (pey. 'who performs a frenzied dance[29] out of love')

TVM 1.7.2 [*12k*] *āyar* ('cowherds') = *aṟivilikaḷ-āṉa iṭaiyarkku* (dat. 'to the cowherds who are devoid of intelligence')

[29] For more on this type of dance, see Anandakichenin (2018: 186, n.358).

TVM 1.7.9 [*12k*] *āyar* ('cowherds') = *taṉṉōṭu uṟavu uṭaiyar-āṉa āyarkaḷukku* (dat. 'to the cowherds who were related to Him')[30]

TVM 3.8.7. [*6k*] *āviyē* (voc. 'breath, soul') = *eṉṉuṭaiya dhārakamē* (voc. 'my Sustainer'); *ār amutē* ('rare Nectar') = *eṉṉuṭaiya poṣakamē* (voc. 'my Nourisher')[31]

Sometimes, the glossing is done by adopting a Sanskritic style, as Gnanasundaram points out, i.e. by giving a gloss to a noun in the nominative case, and then using a pronoun in the original case:[32]

TVM 4.8.8 [*36k*] *aṭaṅkārai* (acc. 'those who are not subdued') = *aṭaṅkār uṇṭu śatrukkaḷ. avarkaḷai* (acc. 'there are enemies who are not subdued. Them')

N.B. Compare this with the more straightword gloss by Vādikesari:
TVM 4.8.8 [*12k*] *aṭaṅkārai* (acc. 'those who are notsubdued')= *abhavyarāṉa śatrukkaḷai* (acc. 'the enemies who are disobedient')

2.3.2.2.2. Semantic Expansions

This is an example in which he clarifies individual elements in a larger frame.

TVM 2.3.4 [*36k*][33] *peru nal utavi* ('very good help') = *utavi-āvatu upakarikkai; nal utavi-āvatu paccaikoḷḷātē upakarikkai; peru nal utavi-āvatu taṉ pēṟu-āka upakarikkai.* 'Help is [offering] assistance; good help is helping without receiving anything in return; very good help is helping as if it were one's own good fortune [to do so].'

---

[30] The same word receives different glosses depending on the context. Also, the case ending, which is unmarked in Tamil, is made explicit by the commentator, something that will be dealt with later in this article.

[31] According to the Śrīvaiṣṇava ideal, the devotee ought to see God as his *dhāraka* ('sustainer'), *poṣaka* ('nourisher') and *bhogya* ('object of enjoyment').

[32] Gnanasundaram (1989: 137).

[33] This example is given by Gnanasundaram (1989: 157).

2.3.2.2.3. Suggestions for alternative word-split/reading

Sometimes the commentator suggests splitting words in a different way, which can modify the interpretation of a verse; sometimes he gives an alternative reading, possibly suggested by someone else, named or otherwise.

> TVM 1.2.1 *vīṭu ceymmiṉē* (ipt. 'give up') = *viṭutalai paṇṇuṅkōḷ* (ipt. 'give up'). *vīṭu icaimiṉē eṉṟum colluvar* ('they also say it is *vīṭu icaimiṉē*' [ipt. 'agree to give up'])

When a different reading of a word is relevant, the commentator points that out too.

> TVM 5.7.3 [*12k*] *karuḷa puṭkoṭi cakkara paṭai vāṉanāṭa eṉ kār mukil vaṇṇā* ('O You whose abode is the sky, with a Garuḍa-bird banner [and] a discus-weapon! Oh my black cloud-hued One!') = *karuṭaṉ-ākiṟa pakṣiyai koṭi-ākavum tiru āḻiyai āyutam-ākavum. karuḷa puḷ eṉṟu kaṟai aṇi mūkku eṉṉumā-pōlē kaṟutta tirumukamuṭaiyavaṉ eṉṉavumām* ('[having] the bird that is Garuḍa as [His] banner and the sacred discus as [His] weapon; *karuḷap puḷ* also means "He with a sacred face that is dark," as we say, *kaṟai yaṇi mūkku*' ['a nose that is adorned with blackness' TVM 3.10.2.])
>
> N.B. Here, the commentator suggests that *karuḷa[ṉ]*, which can be taken to be a Tamil form of Garuḍa, can also be the infinitive of the verb *karuḷ* (= to become black).

2.3.2.2.4. Mythological Clarifications

As the Āḻvārs' *pācurams* abound in mythological allusions and references, the explanation of such allusions in the commentaries is particularly useful since the commentator often names the specific characters of the myths and elaborates their context.

> TVM 3.8.7 [*12k*] *puḷ* ('bird') = *periyatiruvaṭiyai* (acc. 'the big sacred feet,' i.e. Garuḍa)
>
> TVM 1.9.3 [*12k*] *kālattu* (obl. 'time') = *varāhakalpattiṉ mutalilē* (loc. 'at the beginning of the Varāha age')

TVM 1.7.5 [*12k*] *marāmaram eyta* (pey. 'who discharged arrows at the pipal tree') = *mahārājar viśvasikkaikkāka marāmarattai eyta* (pey. 'who discharged arrows at the pipal tree so that the emperor [i.e. Sugrīva] trusts [Him]')

TVM 3.9.8 [*6k*] *vēyiṉ mali purai tōḷi piṉṉaikku maṇāḷaṉai* (acc. 'The Husband of Piṉṉai, she with shoulders that have more greatness than bamboo') = *nirastasamasta-pratibandhakaṉ-āy koṇṭu vēyiṉ mali purai tōḷi piṉṉaikku maṇāḷaṉai* (acc. '[Him who is] the Husband of Piṉṉai, she with shoulders that have more greatness than bamboo, because of His being the One who has removed all obstacles.')

It is worth noting that in the last case the commentator does not gloss a single word from the *pācuram*, but rather explains why Kṛṣṇa is praised as being the Husband of Piṉṉai: He was able to overcome obstructions, i.e. He killed seven bulls in order to win her, which is why His being her husband is also one of His divine exploits.

2.3.2.2.5. Theological Clarifications

Gnanasundaram (1989: 316) rightly points out that the Śrīvaiṣṇava commentary, which is essentially theological in nature, is an important method employed by the Ācāryas to explain theological ideas, both simple and complex.

• **Simple Clarifications**

TVM 1.3.2 [*12k*] *nalam* ('goodness') = *kalyāṇaguṇaṅkaḷ* (pl. 'auspicious qualities')

TVM 4.1.1 [*12k*] *nāraṇaṉ* ('Nārāyaṇa') = *nirupādhikaśeṣi-āṉa nārāyaṇaṉuṭaiya* (gen. 'of Nārāyaṇa who is the unconditional Master[34]')

TVM 1.3.3 [*12k*] *amararum yāvaiyum yāvarum* ('the immortals,

[34] For more on the word *śeṣi* and its translation, see n. 99.

everything and everyone') - *amararum = brahmādi devarkaḷum* ('the devas beginning with Brahmā'), *yāvaiyum = ellā acetanaṅkaḷum* ('all the insentient beings'), *yāvarum = ellā cetanaṅkaḷum* ('all the sentient beings')

• **Complex Clarifications**

Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi 5.1 [Piḷḷai] *ammāṉē* – 'O Lord!' = *prajai uṟaṅkukiṟa toṭṭilkīḻē kiṭakkum tāyai pōlē iṅkē vantu kiṭṭiṉavaṉē! tammuṭaiya pāratantryattālē tammuṭaiya rakṣaṇattukku tamakku ananvayam coṉṉār. śeṣi-ākaiyālē tammuṭaiya rakṣaṇattukku prāptaṉ avaṉ eṉkiṟār. ippōt$_u$ oruvaṉ pēṟṟukku oruvaṉ sādhanam ām-pōtu ittaṉai prāpti uṇṭāṉāl-allat$_u$ ākātiṟē. prajai uṭaiya nōykku tāyiṟē kuṭinīr kuṭippāḷ. mēl tāyai nidarśanamāka colla pukukiṟavar-ākaiyālē ippōt$_u$ 'ammāṉē' eṉṟu prāpti tōṉṟa collukiṟār.*

O You who approached [us] having come here, like a mother who lies beneath the cradle in which [her] child sleeps! He spoke of the lack of connection between him and his [own] protection because of his dependence [on God]. He says that because [He] is God, He is the One fit to protect [him]. Now, when a person becomes the means for the good fortune of an[other], it will not do unless [he] has this much right. It is the mother who drinks medicinal infusions for her child's illness. Since further on, he is going to start using the mother as the example, he now says 'O Lord!' in [such] a way that the union [between him and God] appears.

2.3.3. Defining the nature and properties of a word

2.3.3.1. Formulated by the author

• **Defining Tamil words**

Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi 1.7 [Piḷḷai] *maṟam - kolaiyum*, *ciṉamum*, *koṭumaiyum* (*maṟam* = 'murder, anger and cruelty')

TVM 1.5.5 [*12k*] *maṭavāḷai* (acc. 'woman, stupid woman') = *maṭappattai nirūpakam-āka uṭaiyaḷ-āṉa nārīṇām*[35] *uttamai* ('the best of women who has simplicity as [her] defining [quality]')

TVM 3.3.3 [*12k*] *aṇṇal* ('great man')[36] = *kuṟiñci nilattu talaivan ākavumām* ('[*aṇṇal*] is also [taken] to be the hero from the hilly tract.')

TVM 2.10.9 [*36k*] *aḻakkoṭi* ('demoness') = *aḻaṉ eṉṟu pēykku pēr*; *koṭi eṉṟu peṇṇukku pēr*; *pēyppeṇ eṉṟa-paṭi. aḻaṉ eṉṟu piṇam āy*, *attāl pēy eṉṟa-paṭi.* '*aḻaṉ* is the name for "demon"; *koṭi* is a word for "woman." It [*aḻakkoṭi*] denotes a demon-woman. *aḻaṉ,* being a "corpse," is therefore how to say "demon."'[37]

• **Defining words of Sanskrit origin**[38]

TVM 1.9.2 [*12k*] *kēcavaṉ* (p.n.; <*keśava* - 'Having much, fine or luxuriant hair,' Apte) = *praḷayajalattilē naṉainta mayir aḻakai ~uṭaiya* (pey. '[He] who has the beauty of the hair that became wet in the water of dissolution')

2.3.2.2. Quoted from a Reference Work

Sometimes, the commentators quote a definition from a *nikaṇṭu* ('glossary'), although they do not name the source (which they mostly do not do for any of their quotations).

TVM 2.2.6 [*36k*] *paḷḷi* ('bed') = *pāyalum*, *paḷḷiyum*, *pāḻiyum paṭukkai*[39] ('*paṭukkai* ["bed"] is *pāyal*, *paḷḷi* and *pāḻi*')[40]

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[35] One may note that an expression with a Sanskrit case ending is given here.

[36] The TL also defines this as 'ruler in a forest-pasture tract' (i.e. *mullai*) which is different from the gloss given by Vādikesari, who suggests *kuṟiñci*.

[37] Compare this definition with the very brief *pēyāṉa koṭi* ('the woman who is a demoness') given by the *12k*.

[38] Often such explanations occur when a Sanskrit name of the Lord requires clarification: the commentator supposes that the Āḻvār chooses one name over another with a certain quality of God in mind that he wants to emphasize in a particular context.

2.3.4. Grammatical and Syntactical Analysis

As mentioned earlier, the Śrīvaiṣṇava commentaries are essentially theological. They are meant to elucidate Tamil *pācuram*s, the explicit meanings of which are mostly simple. Therefore, they do not focus on grammar or syntax more than necessary. But this in no way means that the commentators were not experts in the field, as the following examples show.

2.3.4.1. Grammar

2.3.4.1.1. Elucidation of the Case Ending, Number, the Role of Suffixes, etc.

TVM 1.2.2 [*12k*] *iṟai* ('lord') = *svāmiyai* (acc. 'lord')
TVM 3.6.5 [*12k*] *cuṭar* (v.r. 'shine') = *aujjvalyattai uṭaiya* (pey. 'who has brightness')
TVM 2.1.1 [*12k*] *ē* = *ē eṉṉum acai viṉā* ('The expletive *ē* is an interrogative [suffix]')
TVM 1.3.1 [*12k*] *uṟu* (v.r. 'suffer') = *varunti* (abs. 'suffer')[41]

2.3.4.1.2. Explaining Grammar and Phonology Points

Small explanations are given throughout these commentaries.

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[39] The modern editor has given between parentheses the words *tamiḻ nikaṇṭu*.

[40] I was unable to find the source of this quotation, if it indeed is a quotation. The words quoted here occur more than once in the lists provided by well-known *nikaṇṭu*s like the *Tivākaram* (e.g. verse 979) and the *Piṅkalam* (e.g. verse 703):

kaṭci amaḷi cēkkai uṟaiyuḷ
caṭṭakam cērviṭam paḷḷi cayaṉam
paṭṭam pāḷi pāyal ari tuyiliṭam
oṭṭiya uyartiṇai kiṭappiṭam ākum.

'The [following] are the [words for] resting places for appropriate high class nouns: *kaṭci*, *amaḷi*, *cēkkai*, *uṟaiyuḷ*, *caṭṭakam*, *cērviṭam*, ***paḷḷi***, *cayaṉam*, *paṭṭam*, ***pāḷi***, ***pāyal***, *ari*, *tuyiliṭam*' (bold mine) *Tivākaram* 979.

It is possible that the commentator chose a few synonyms among the many from the glossary, or that he is quoting from a *nikaṇṭu* that is not extant anymore.

[41] The commentator makes explicit the fact that the verb is to be taken as intransitive here.

> TVM 2.7.5 [*12k*] *viṭṭu eṉṉum i- iṭattil ukaram kuṟṟiyal-āka koḷka* – 'Take the *u* of *viṭṭu* in this context as a shortened *u*.'

Sometimes, even Sanskrit grammatical terms are used to explain grammatical points from a Tamil *pācuram*, although this does not seem to be a frequent practice.

> TVM 2.9.1 [*36k*] *cērttu eṉru lyap-ākai aṉṟikkē vidhi-āy*, *cērtt*$_u$ *aruḷavēṇum eṉkai* – '*cērttu* ['having joined'] is not *lyap* ('gerund') but a *vidhi* ('imperative'), it means "[You] must grace to join [Your feet to my head]."'

2.3.4.2. Syntax

Sometimes, the commentator deems it necessary to reformulate a *pācuram* and give it in prose.

> TVM 1.10.8 – *celvaṉ nāraṇaṉ eṉṟa col kēṭṭalum*
> *malkum kaṇ paṉi nāṭuvaṉ māyamē*
> *allum nal pakalum iṭaivīṭ*$_u$ *iṉṟi*
> *nalki eṉṉai viṭāṉ nampi nampiyē.*
>
> At hearing the word 'Lord Nārāyaṇa,'
> my eyes shed tears. I examine [how]. It is a wonder!
> Desiring [me] incessantly [throughout] good day and night
> the Lord, accepting [me], will not abandon me.
>
> [*36k*] *divārātravibhāgam aṟa eṉakku snehittu*, *paripūrṇaṉ-āṉavaṉ eṉṉai svīkarittu*, *eṉṉai viṭa kṣamaṉ ākiṟilaṉ. avaṉ pēr mātrattai kēṭṭa aḷavilē*, *eṉ kaṇ-āṉatu paṉi malkāniṉṟatu; neñc-āṉatu tēṭāniṉṟatu. itu ōr āścaryam irunta-paṭi eṉ! eṉkiṟār.*
>
> 'Loving me [in such a way that] the difference between night and day ceases,[42] the Complete One, making me His own, is incapable of leaving me. At merely hearing His name, my eyes shed tears; [my] heart looks [for Him]. This is a wonder!' [So] he [Nammāḻvār] says.

[42] This actually means 'loving me day and night.'

We can see that the commentator switches the order of the two halves of the *pācuram*, which modifies its meaning by introducing a cause and effect relation between the two.

Sometimes, because the syntax of a verse may be nonstandard, especially when metrical constraints or *etukai* (rhyme on the second syllable) take precedence over easy understanding, the commentator reshuffles words so that the standard word order (as he understands it) is applied.

> *muṭṭil pal pōkattu oru taṉi nāyakaṉ mū ulakukku uriya*
> *kaṭṭiyai tēṉai amutai naṉ pālai kaṉiyai karumpu taṉṉai*
> *maṭṭu aviḻ taṇ am tuḻāy muṭiyāṉai vaṇaṅki avaṉ tiṟattu*
> *paṭṭa piṉṉai iṟai ākilum yāṉ eṉ maṉattu parivu ilaṉē.* TVM 3.10.3
>
> *muṭṭu il* = without obstacle; *pal pōkattu* = (obl.) of many enjoyments; *oru taṉi nāyakaṉ* = one sole Master; *mū ulakukku uriya* = (pey.) who/that belong(s) to the three worlds; *kaṭṭiyai* = (acc.) jaggery; *tēṉai* = (acc.) honey; *amutai* = (acc.) nectar; *nal* = good; *pālai* = (acc.) milk; *kaṉiyai* = (acc.) fruit; *karumpu taṉṉai* = (acc. refl.) sugarcane; *maṭṭu aviḻ taṇ am tuḻāy* = cool, beautiful sacred basil that drips with honey; *muṭiyāṉai* = (acc.) him with the crown; *vaṇaṅki* = (abs.) having worshipped; *avaṉ tiṟattu paṭṭa piṉṉai* = after having been inclined towards Him; *iṟai ākilum* = even if a little; *yāṉ* = I; *eṉ maṉattu* = (obl.) my mind; *parivu* = distress; *ilaṉē* = I do not have.
>
> After worshipping the one sole Master of many enjoyments that [know] no hindrance, who belongs to the three worlds, the One with a crown [made] of cool, beautiful sacred basil that drips with honey, and having been inclined towards Him, I have not had the least affliction in my mind.

The following is the order in which the *12k* comments upon the different parts of the *pācuram*. I have included here only the elements of the *pācuram* that Vādikesari comments upon, and not the comments themselves. I have omitted his glosses (which are marked by dashes),

the point here being to show how he reshuffles the words. Words in bold signal a shift in the word order. Underlined words are ones from the verse itself that are added by the commentator.

> ***mū ulakukk$_u$ uriya*** *- muṭṭ$_u$ il – pal pōkam - oru - taṉi nāyakaṉ* ***nal*** *kaṭṭiyai* ***nal*** *tēṉai* ***nal*** *amutai nal pālai* ***nal*** *kaṉiyai* ***nal*** *karumpu taṉṉai maṭṭ$_u$ aviḷ taṇ am tuḷāyāṉ muṭiyāṉai vaṇaṅki avaṉ tiṟattu paṭṭa piṉṉai* ***yāṉ*** *iṟai ākilum* ***pariv$_u$*** *eṉ maṉatt$_u$ ilaṉ.*

In the above example, we can see that only a few words were shifted, although the adjective *nal* is given as an attribute of the words that both precede and follow it. We can now compare this with the order that the *36k* (*Īṭu*) gives this *pācuram.*

> *muṭṭ$_u$ il ityādi* (A) – *kaṭṭiyai* – *tēṉai* – *amutai* – *naṉ pālai* (B) – *kaṉiyai* – *karumpu taṉṉai* – *maṭṭ$_u$ aviḷ ityādi* – *vaṇaṅki avaṉ tiṟattu paṭṭa piṉṉai iṟai ākilum* – *yāṉ eṉ maṉattu pariv$_u$ ilaṉē.*

Other than citing one word from the *pācuram* followed by the expression *ityādi* ('etc.'), rather than spelling out all the words of the original verse, the *36k* does not change the word order in this particular case. However, it does make suggestions for reshuffling words in order to get an alternate reading. The following are elements from the commentary which I found interesting:

> *muṭṭ$_u$ il ityādi (A) - kaṭṭiyai - tēṉai – amutai - naṉ pālai (B) - kaṉiyai – karumpu taṉṉai - maṭṭ$_u$ aviḷ ityādi - vaṇaṅki avaṉ tiṟattu paṭṭa piṉṉai iṟai ākilum - yāṉ eṉ maṉattu pariv$_u$ ilaṉē.*
> ('the one sole Master who belongs to the three worlds (...) the Jaggery, the Honey who belongs to the three worlds')

Here, the commentator suggests that *mū ulakukk$_u$ uriya* can be an attribute of either *taṉi nāyakaṉ* or *kaṭṭiyai tēṉai.*

> *naṉ pālai* (B) - *naṉmai eṅkum kūṭa kaṭavatu* – 'The "good"ness ought to be added to all [words]'[43]

[43] Literally, 'the goodness is to be joined everywhere.'

The *36k* makes the same suggestion as the *12k* by attributing the adjective *nal* to not just the words that it precedes (and is therefore grammatically attributed to), but also the ones that it follows.

2.3.5. Expansion of Content

The commentators often point out the link between some of the words or topics found in a *pācuram* and the Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrine. This theological expansion is done through different methods.

2.3.5.1. Answering Objections

• Objections from Interlocutors

In order to record the objections put forth by different factions and to establish what is the 'right' way of interpreting something, debates are sometimes reported in direct speech.

> *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 5.1 [Piḷḷai] *mutalikaḷ ellārum kūṭa periya tirumaṇa maṇṭapattukku kīḻāka iruntu rahasyārthaṅkaḷ vicāritt*$_u$ *eḻuntiruppārkaḷ-āyttu; oru nāḷ* '*nityasaṃsāri-āy pōntavaṉukku bhagavadviṣayattil ruci piṟakkaikku aṭi eṉ?*' *eṉṟu vicārikka ceytē*, '*yādṛcchikasukṛtam*, *ajñātasukṛtam*' *eṉṉa piṟantatu; a-aḷavil kiṭāmpipperumāḷ-iruntavaṉ*, '*namakku bhagavadsamāśrayaṇam pōlē sukṛtadevar eṉṟ*$_u$ *oruvar uṇṭō āśrayaṇīyaṉ?*' *eṉṟāṉ; piḷḷai tirunaṟaiyūraraiyar*, '*sukṛtam eṉṟu collukiṟa nīr tām niṉaitt*$_u$ *irukkiṟatu ettai kāṇ?*' *eṉṟār.*
>
> As all the wise ones got together, sitting on the east of the big "Fragrance" hall, they would begin examining the secret meanings. One day, while examining [the question],"What is the basis upon which the taste for God is produced in one who has forever been a worldly being?," [the answer], "The good merits done accidentally [and] the merits done unknowingly" appeared. At that point, he who was [called] Kiṭāmpi Perumāḷ said, "Is there a god of good merits who is to be taken refuge in, like we resort to God [for everything]?" Piḷḷai Tirunaṟaiyūr araiyar said, "Look! What do you mean when you say 'good merits'?"

• **Implied Objections**

Implied objections are often expressed with expressions such as *eṉṉil* ('If one says...') (See 2.4.1. Commentary Jargon).

> TVM 3.3.9 [*6k*] - *tiruveṅkaṭamuṭaiyāṉ aṉṟō prāpyam, tirumalaiyē prāpyam eṉṟu colluvāṉ eṉ? eṉṉil, tiruveṅkaṭamuṭaiyāṉuṭaiya prāpyatvamum tirumalaiyōṭ$_u$ uḷḷa sambandhattālē vantat$_u$ ātalāl tirumalaiyē prāpyam eṉkiṟār.*
>
> If one asks, 'It is the Lord of the sacred Veṅkaṭa who is the goal [sought by the devotees], is it not? Why say that Tirumalai ['sacred mountain'] itself is the goal?' [In response] he says, 'The very fact that the Lord of the sacred Veṅkaṭa is the goal comes from the relation that [He] has with Tirumalai. Therefore, Tirumalai itself is the goal.'

2.3.5.2. Showing Parallels between the pācuram *and the Vedas*

This is true mainly for the TVM, which is considered as the Tamil Veda. To justify this claim, the commentators often quote from the Vedic texts when explaining the *pācuram*s.

> [*36k*] TVM 2.6.3, 7.8.11 & 9.3.3: *yato vāco nivartante [aprāpya manasā saha]* - '(Before they reach it,) words turn back, (together with the mind)' *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, *2.3.1 & 2.9.1.*[44]

The *36k* quotes this Upanishadic line a few times when the topic of how difficult it is to praise God, even for the Vedas, comes up. And this is just one of the many lines from *pramāṇa*s ('authoritative evidence') that are referred to in these texts.

2.3.5.3. Quoting from Authoritative Evidence

It is not just the Vedas that are quoted in the Maṇipravāḷam commentaries. The commentators believe that they merely repeat what has been said in universally accepted *pramāṇa*s and in the works of their predecessors. For this reason, they make sure to give proper

[44] Translated by Olivelle (1998: 303).

sources for their arguments, which is why quotations from various types of works abound in the commentaries. Because the tradition is based on *ubhaya-vedānta*, evidence is taken from both Sanskrit and Tamil sources. Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai, for example, quotes from the Vedas, the Upanishads, the two Sanskrit epics, with the *Rāmāyaṇa* being by far his favourite, Purāṇas, and even *kāvya*s, but also from the TVM, the *Kuṟuntokai*, the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (TVM 2.1.6 [*36k*]) and even Kampaṉ's Tamil *Irāmāvatāram* (TVM 2.1.3 [*36k*]).[45]

Two elements ought to be briefly mentioned here, as they cannot be developed in this article: 1) because some texts are not for everyone's ears (e.g. the Vedas), some commentators, like Vedānta Deśika, have avoided quoting them in their Maṇipravāḷam and Tamil works, as they are supposed to be accessible to everyone;[46] 2) the MP commentaries do not cite their sources, but some important works, like the *36k*, have led a few later Ācāryas to write works exclusively meant to compile all of the authoritative sources cited in them. For example, Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's *Īṭu pramāṇa-tiraṭṭu* gives the sources for all the quotations from Sanskrit *pramāṇa* texts. From what I have observed, however, these subcommentaries do not include the Tamil works as *pramāṇa*s.[47]

2.4. The Mixed Language

2.4.1. Commentary Jargon

Due to the influence of the Sanskrit commentarial tradition, some of the jargon in MP works is similar to its Sanskrit counterpart.

TVM 1.1.2 [*36k*] *aṉṟikkē* ('besides' TL) ≅ *athavā* ('or else')

[45] For an exhaustive list of the Tamil works quoted in these commentaries, see Gnanasundaram (1989: 339–440). However, not all works that are quoted are taken as *pramāṇa*s. For example, Tamil literary compositions like the *Kuṟuntokai* are indeed quoted, but seemingly to make a linguistic or literary point. Undoubtedly the main *pramāṇa* in Tamil is the NTP, as it is used to make valid theological points. I am planning to deal with the topic in detail in a future publication.

[46] Personal communication from Oppiliyappan Kōyil V. Sadagopan.

[47] More work needs to be done on this type of literature before I can give more information on this.

TVM 2.8.6 [*36k*] *eṉṉil* (lit. 'if one says') ≅ *iti cet* ('if you say this') *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 1.2 [Piḷḷai] *ittaṉai* (lit. 'this much')[48]≅*iti yāvat* ('to put it plainly')[49]

2.4.2. The Tamil-Sanskrit Ratio

The Ācāryas do not seem to have set any rules as to the ratio of Tamil to Sanskrit, which in fact varies from one work to another, or even from one passage to another within the same work. The MP used by Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ, the earliest Śrīvaiṣṇava commentator to use Maṇipravāḷam, is highly Sanskritized, with a Sanskrit-Tamil ratio of 4:2.[50] But even in such a case, it is difficult to draw general conclusions without actually closely studying the patterns of language use. Gnanasundaram, for example, points out in detail how the proportion of Tamil and Sanskrit varies from one passage to another in the *6k*. The later commentators, however, usually use both languages in a more balanced way, with Tamil even taking the upper hand sometimes.[51]

Complex theological ideas are often expressed using Sanskrit words and compounds, probably so that the full meaning is not lost, e.g.

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[48] It is not very clear what *ittaṉai* ('this much') or *attaṉai* ('that much') mean. It generally occurs at the end of a clause and seems to have a restrictive value, so that I mostly translate it as 'that is all,' or use adverbs like 'just, only.' In a personal communication, Dominic Goodall pointed out that this could be the equivalent of *iti yāvat*, which occurs in Sanskrit commentaries, about which Tubb & Boose (2007: 25) write the following: 'The phrase *iti yāvat* (lit., "just this much [is meant]") is used after a paraphrase that expresses the meaning of the original text more precisely, either by substituting a more specific term for a wider one, or by reducing a picturesque expression to plain language. *iti yāvat* may thus be translated "specifically," "to be precise," "to put it plainly," etc., depending on the context.' This definition does seem to correspond to the usage of *ittaṉai* and *attaṉai*.

[49] The translation of these Sanskrit terms is based on Tubb & Boose (2007: 251, 244).

[50] Venkatachari (1978: 62). We do not know what method he used to calculate the ratio. In a personal communication, Erin McCann suggests that his numbers may not always be exact. Having said that, even a quick look at the writings of Piḷḷāṉ and Piḷḷai for example will show that the former uses Sanskrit words more profusely than the latter.

[51] Gnanasundaram (1989: 239–241).

sāmānādhikaraṇyam, 'co-referentiality.' In the process, some Sanskrit words and expressions also acquire new meanings, or at least ones that are not immediately obvious, e.g. *puruṣakārabhūtai*, 'mediatrix', a reference to the Goddess Śrī.

It is also worth pointing out that Sanskrit words generally take Tamil suffixes. The commentators, however, sometimes transgress this rule, especially with the use of adverbs.

> TVM 1.5.5 [*12k*] *anāyāsena* (Skt. adv. 'effortlessly')
> TVM 2.7.0 [*36k*] *paramparayā* (Skt. adv. 'traditionally')
>
> N.B. In modern Tamil, Tamil suffixes are used in a parallel manner, e.g. *anāyāsena* becomes *anāyāsam-āka*, also an adverb.

They also profusely use verbs made from Sanskrit roots, which are suffixed with a short 'i' and treated as 11th class verbs in Tamil.

> TVM 2.3.4 [*36k*]: *laṉjikkiṟār* (<*lajj* - 'to be ashamed')

2.4.3. The Influence of Spoken Tamil

Despite the importance of Sanskrit, the influence of Tamil remains very significant in these texts, which makes them all the more interesting: before they were conceived of as a fixed work, some of the commentaries seem to have initially been notes taken during (or after) a discourse, e.g. the *36k*, which is said to be Vaṭakkuttiruvīti Piḷḷai's notes of Nampiḷḷai's lectures. Therefore, the language used is often in a spoken style. However, we must point out here that these remarks are general and do not apply to all commentaries, e.g. Vedānta Deśika's *Munivāhanabhogam*, a commentary on *Amalaṉ āti pirāṉ*, which uses a relatively more formal written register.

2.4.3.1. Rhetorical Apostrophes

According to Gnanasundaram, there are a number of apostrophes used in this text, e.g. *kāṇ*, *kiṭāy*, *kiṭikoḷ*, which are all synonymous and play a

similar role in the text.[52] It seems that these are not usually used to address the reader, but rather within speeches that are reported.

> *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 10.1 [Piḷḷai] *'inta rājyadhurandharataiyilē akappaṭṭirukkiṟa nāṉ, aṉṟu avaṉai kāṇa peṟātē viṭāytta kaṇkaḷ-āṉavai kaṇṭu, viṭāy tīrntu kaṇ paṭaitta prayojanam peṟal āvatu eṉṟō?' eṉkiṟār, 'eṉṟu kolō' eṉṟu kālattiṟku oru avadhi peṟṟār-ākil, iṉṟu kaṇṭatōṭu okkum* ***kiṭīr****.*
>
> He [Kulacēkara Āḻvār] says, 'Being the beast of burden for this kingship, when will I be able to get the benefit of having eyes which—having grown faint and weary due to not getting to see Him that day—see [Him], so that the longing ends?' Having asked, 'When?', if he receives a time limit [for seeing Him], it will be like seeing [Him] today [itself], **behold**!

2.4.3.2. The Mixing of Registers

Spoken and written styles are sometimes mixed, and thus we have words that are written down the way they are pronounced.

> *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 4.5 [Piḷḷai] *añcām pāṭṭu* instead of *aintām pāṭṭu* ('fifth song')
>
> *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 5.4 [Piḷḷai] *attai* (acc. 'that') instead of the formal (and grammatically correct) *atai* or *ataṉai*.
>
> *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 5.1 [Piḷḷai] *varukiṟattai* (acc. 'that which comes') instead of *varukiṟatai*
>
> TVM 1.7.1 [*36k*] *nintikkiṟatukku* (dat. 'to blame') instead of *nintikkiṉṟatukku* (the formal present tense marker *-kiṉṟu-* is replaced by *-kiṟu-*)

In fact, Gnanasundaram points out that the commentators are not interested in writing in faultless Tamil.[53] For example, they omit standard gemination.

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[52] Gnanasundaram (1989: 206).
[53] Gnanasundaram (1989: 251–2).

> *Periya TM* 5.4.0 *iṉi tēvar pataṟukiṟat*$_u$ *eṉ* ('Why does Your Lordship hurry now?')
>
> NB: The written form '*iṉit tēvar*' is what one would expect.[54]

And they sometimes disregard gender and number as well.

> TVM 5.2.4 [*36k*] *ōr ō- iṭaṅkaḷilē* - 'In one or the other place*s*'
>
> NB: In the above example, *iṭam* ('place') should have been in the singular.

They also favour the particular use of some expressions, e.g. the profuse use of the particle -*āniṉṟu.*[55]

> *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 6.7 [Piḷḷai] *pōkāniṉṟāṉ* ('he was going')

Sometimes the commentators also use sarcasm, stating the opposite of what they intend. Although in a theological context this can lead to ambiguity, this device is used only when they are sure that the reader will not by any means be misled. In the following example from *Rāmāyaṇa taṉiślokam* commenting on the verse that begins with *iyam sītā* ('This is Sītā'), Janaka, who is requesting Rāma to accept his daughter's hand in marriage, states as follows:

> [Piḷḷai] *i- vēppaṅkuṭi nīraiyiṟē nāṉ ummai kuṭikka collukiṟatu!* 'It is this neem-bark decoction that [I am] asking You to drink!'

Janaka would not insinuate that his daughter is like the bitter liquid made from neem-bark, as anybody who knows the *Rāmāyaṇa* would know immediately.

2.4.3.3. The Coining of New Words

Gnanasundaram gives a list of usages that seem to have been coined by the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas: e.g. *avvaruku* ('beyond, above') instead of *appāl; aṅkuttai* ('there') instead of*avviṭam; āyirukka* ('when it is such')

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[54] However, Erin McCann pointed out in a personal communication that the lack of gemination might be an error from the printed editions, or even a variant from a particular recension of the manuscript tradition, where another recension might retain the gemination.

[55] The TL defines this as 'Present tense affirmative particle.'

instead of *appaṭi irukka* and *tamappaṉ* ('father') instead of *takappaṉ*.[56] Verbal nouns formed with the suffix *pāṭu*, e.g. *ācaippāṭu* ('desire'), *īrappāṭu* ('compassion'), are also neologisms. Gnanasundaram also believes that the commentators have invented a new sociative suffix *ōṭṭai* (instead of *ōṭu*),[57] which sounds to me like a spoken variant.

He also points out that they use -*kōḷ* as 2nd person plural ending in the imperative form rather than the more common suffix -*kaḷ*.

TVM 4.1.1 *[12k] uymmiṉ = uḻjīviyuṅkōḷ*
TVM 4.1.1 *[36k] pāruṅkōḷ*

And they add the suffix *ī* to a verb in order to express surprise.[58]

TVM 6.1.6 [*36k*] *uṅkaḷai pōka viṭukai dharmahāni-āy iruntatī* - 'Letting you go is a neglect of dharma!'

The commentators also have the idiosyncratic practice of ending their clauses with one of the following particles: *iṟē*, *ittaṉai* (See 2.4.1. Commentary Jargon), *āyttu* (possibly from *āyiṟṟu* 'it has become'), possibly for emphasis, which again is more a feature of the spoken language. It is also worth pointing out here that, according to Gnanasundaram,[59] they also use words that are found more commonly in inscriptions. For example,

TVM 3.2.8 [*24k*] *muṟṟūṭṭu* - 'Anything which is exclusively enjoyed, as of right' (TL)[60]

They also use existing words in new ways. For example, the prefix *tiru* ('sacred'), or its Sanskrit equivalent *Śrī*, or even *divya* ('divine') are prefixed to anyone or anything linked to Nārāyaṇa or His devotees (e.g.

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[56] Gnanasundaram (1989: 204–6). The examples that Gnanasundaram gives, including these ones, need to be taken with caution. For example, he includes *cilavar* ('some people' instead of *cilar*) in his list. However, according to the *Glossary of Historical Tamil Literature*, *cilavar* is attested in earlier works such as *Cūḷāmaṇi* (c. 10th c., according to Zvelebil (1974: 139).
[57] Gnanasundaram (1989: 319).
[58] Gnanasundaram (1989: 225–6).
[59] Gnanasundaram (1989: 207).
[60] For more examples, see Gnanasundaram (1989: 207).

divyacesṭitam – 'divine act'). Additionally, -*āḻvāṉ* is used as an honorific suffix for both sentient and insentient beings that are considered sacred (e.g. *tirumalaiyāḻvāṉ* - 'the sacred hill-*āḻvāṉ*'). This dialect with the Śrīvaiṣṇava jargon is now known as the *Śrīvaiṣṇava-paribhāṣai*.

Some words take on specific meanings, e.g. *kōyil* ('royal abode, temple'), unless otherwise specified, in the Śrīvaiṣṇava context means Śrīraṅgam; and *malai* ('mountain'), refers not to just any mountain, but specifically to Tirumalā.

There are also a number of instances where we find that different names are given for mythological characters, especially the ones from the epics:[61]

> *iḷaiya perumāḷ* ('the young lord') = Lakṣmaṇa
> *mahārājar* (h. 'emperor) = Sugrīva, the monkey-king

2.4.3.4. Lengthy Sentences

Sentences are sometimes lengthy and, at times, important segments of a sentence have been omitted when they would be most useful. The elucidation of the elliptical elements is marked in this translation by square brackets. It is also possible that this phenomenon is the consequence of the Ācāryas' dealing with a knowledgeable audience, who were capable of following their train of thought, however lengthy or elliptical their wordings were.

> PTM 5.1. [Piḷḷai] *atāvatu - oṉṟai ārāya pukkāl atukk$_u$ a- aruku vēṟ$_u$ oṉṟu iṉṟi iruppatiṟē aṭi āvatu; yāt$_u$ oṉṟu phalapradamāṉatiṟē upāyam āvatu; allatu naṭuvē anekāvasthai piṟantāl avaṟṟiṉ aḷavil paryavasiyātiṟē. iḷaippāṟuvatu itilē ceṉṟiṟē; naṭuvu iḷaippāṟātiṟē; attālē taru tuyaram eṉṉalāmiṟē.*
>
> That is, when one starts examining [the cause of] one thing, there being no other [cause] beyond that, is the basis [for calling it a cause], is it not? That which gives the fruit is indeed the

[61] For more on this, see Gnanasundaram (1989: 218–20).

means [that is the root Cause]; otherwise, [even] if many states [such as the non-rejection of God] are produced midway [through], [the state of being the root cause] will not rest with them [i.e. the states]; [it] indeed goes to rest in this [God who is the root Cause of those states]; it does not rest in between [i.e., in the sins and merits, etc.]; because of that, [one] can say 'The grief that [You Yourself] give [me].'

2.4.4. Rhetorical Devices

2.4.4.1. Rhetorical Questions

The commentators sometimes have recourse to rhetorical questions to make the text more powerful. It is, of course, an effective tool in oral discourse. In the following passage, the poetic voice wonders whether God will only help the girl who is in love with him if her situation is similar to Prahlāda.

NB.: Prahlāda's father, a mighty *rākṣasa* called Hiraṇyakaśipu, tried to kill his own son because he became devoted to Nārāyaṇa, who, by killing Hiraṇyakaśipu's brother, had become his sworn enemy. As Prahlāda claims that God is everywhere, his father breaks a pillar to disprove the claim, only to have Viṣṇu appear in the form of a man-lion there and kill him.

TVM 2.4.1 [*36k*] *naraciṇkā* (voc. 'Narasiṃha') – (...) *tamappaṉ pakai āṉālō utaval āvatu? nīr pakai āṉālum utaval ākātō? jñānaniṣṭharkkō utaval āvatu? bhaktiniṣṭharkku utaval ākātō? āṇkaḷukkō utaval āvatu? peṇkaḷukku utaval ākātō? cērāta vaṭivu cērttu utavilō utaval āvatu? irunta-paṭi utaval āvārkku utaval ākātō? oru adhikāriniyati, oru kālaniyati, oru aṅganiyati eṉkiṟa nirbandham vēṇumō ivaḷukku? ivaḷuṭaiya rakṣaṇattukkum ētēṉum mukham paṇṇavēṇumō?*

Is help possible only if one's [own] father becomes one's enemy? Is no help possible even if *You* become [her] enemy?[62] For those rooted in knowledge help is possible, [but] no help is possible for

[62] The implication is that being the cause of this girl's distress, Nārāyaṇa has become an enemy to her happiness and peace.

> those rooted in devotion? Is it for men that help is possible? [But] no help is possible for women? Is help possible if [You] can help [by] combining forms that do not go together?[63] [But] is help not possible for those whom [You] can help being the way [You] are? Must [You] insist upon restrictions on the one who is authorized, [appropriate] time, and instruments, [when it comes] to her? Do [You] need to change [Your] face for the sake of saving her?

2.4.4.2. The Narration of Anecdotes

Anecdotes, often a sign of the spoken style—especially given the way they are presented in these commentaries—are abundantly narrated to illustrate a point.

> *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 5.1 [Piḷḷai] *nampi tiruvaḻuti vaḷanāṭu dāsarai mutaliyāṇṭāṉ kopittu, kaiyālum kālālum tukaittu iḻuttavāṟē tiṇṇaiyil paṭṭiṉiyē oru nāḷ pōkātē kiṭantār; āṇṭāṉ maṟṟai nāḷ amutu ceyya pukukiṟār;* '*avaṉ ceytat*$_u$ *eṉ*' *eṉṟu kēṭṭavāṟē*, '*paṭṭiṉiyē vācalilē kiṭantāṉ*' *eṉṟu kēṭṭu aḻaittu*, '*nī pōkātē kiṭantat*$_u$ *eṉ?*' *eṉṉa;*'*oru nāḷ oru piṭi cōṟ*$_u$ *iṭṭavaṉ ellā paṭiyālum nintittālum vācal viṭṭu pōkiṟat*$_u$ *illai nāy*; *nāṉ eṅkē pōvatu?*' *eṉṟār.*
>
> As Mutaliyāṇṭāṉ, being angry with Nampi Tiruvaḻuti Vaḷanāṭu Dāsar, beat [him] with [his] hands and feet, and dragged him out, he [Dāsar] stayed on the veranda, without food [and] without leaving for a day. The next day, Āṇṭāṉ was about to have food; as he asked, 'What did he do?' [and] heard, 'He stayed at the doorstep without food,' he called [Dāsar] and asked, 'Why did you stay [here] without leaving?' [He] said, 'The dog does not leave the doorstep of the one who gave it a handful of rice for one day, even though he reviles it in all possible manner. Where shall *I* go?'

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[63] This is a reference to Narasiṃha's man-lion form.

2.4.4.3. Idiomatic Expressions

The commentators use a number of idiomatic rhetorical devices to connect their commentaries to the visual, tangible world.

For example, proverbs are quoted:

> TVM 1.10.1 [36k] *āyira(m) kātam paṟappataṉ kuṭṭi ainnūṟu kātam ciṟakaṭi koḷḷum* - 'The young of that which flies for a thousand leagues, flaps its wings for five hundred leagues.'
>
> NB.: This means that the offspring of someone capable is at least half as capable as its parent, even in youth.

And comparisons and other images that are not to be seen elsewhere abound.

> TVM 1.9.5 [*36k*] *attikkāyil aṟumāṉ pōlē* –'like a mosquito in the *attī*[64] fruit'
>
> TVM 1.1.1 [*36k*] *āṉaikku kutirai vaittal* –'placing a horse for an elephant'[65]

Descriptive phrases are also sometimes used when the commentator believes a word to be inappropriate. For example, a dog is referred to as:

> TVM 1.2.2 [36k] *tiṟantu kiṭanta vācalkaḷ tōṟum nuḻaintu tiriyum padārtham* –'A thing that wanders, entering in every entrance that remains open'

The maxims in Sanskrit known as *nyāya*s are also frequently used.

> TVM 6.5.0 [*36k*] *siṃhāvalokana-nyāya* – 'the maxim of a lion's glance'[66]

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[64] 'Species of *eclipta*' (TL).

[65] It is explained that in order to teach an elephant to run, a horse was made to run ahead of it, neither too fast, nor too slow, so that it was always within the elephant's reach, but not quite.

[66] 'The maxim of a lion's glance. This is based on a lion's habit of looking in front and behind, after killing its prey, to see if there is any rival to dispute possession! It is applied, says Târânâtha, where a word in a sentence is connected, with what

3. Conclusion

We can thus see that commentaries are repositories of various types of knowledge. They are not just places where the NTP was preserved, but a treasure trove of information about how Tamil may have been spoken, pronounced and evolved, as well as how Sanskrit was adopted and how Tamil/Maṇipravāḷam adapted itself to another language.

When reading a Śrīvaiṣṇava commentary, the reader is thus allowed a peek into a melting pot into which have been cast poetic Tamil, medieval colloquial Tamil, literary Sanskrit, *pāñcarātra* ideology, *viśiṣṭādvaita* theology, diverging views of doctrine, etc. Having some knowledge in these fields, getting used to this uncommon language, and trying to convey what the commentator says (and/or deliberately leaves out or even hides) are some of the inherent challenges that reading such texts pose. Overcoming these challenges allows one to have a glimpse at how a whole community defined itself, firmly establishing itself by linking itself to the past (through the Āḻvār poetry, for example), and by making sure that its ideas and ideals were transmitted without loss to future generations (by committing commentaries to writing, for example). Studying *viśiṣṭādvaita* without having much direct knowledge of these texts in Maṇipravāḷam will only yield a partial, if not inexact, knowledge of this theological system, hence the need to turn our attention to this literature.

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precedes and with that which follows it. It is not, however, restricted to this.' (Jacob 1907[1]: 52).

4. Appendices: Sample Texts

4.1. Vādikesari Aḻakiyamaṇavāḷa Jīyar's 12k commentary on Tiruvāymoḻi 2.5.1

அந்தாமத் தன்புசெய்தென் னாவிசேர் அம்மானுக்கு
அந்தாம வாழ்முடிசங் காழிநூ லாரமுள
செந்தா மரைத்தடங்கண் செங்கனிவாய் செங்கமலம்
செந்தா மரையடிகள் செம்பொன் திருவுடம்பே.

am tāmattu aṉpu ceytu eṉ āvi cēr ammāṉukku
am tāma vāḻ muṭi caṅku āḻi nūl āram uḷa
centāmarai taṭam kaṇ cem kaṉi vāy ceṅkamalam
centāmarai aṭikaḷ cempoṉ tiru uṭampē.

The Lord, who, giving [me] the love [given to] the people of the beautiful abode,
has joined my mind, has a flourishing crown with pretty garlands, a conch, a discus, a sacred thread [and] a pearl necklace.
[His] long eyes are red lotuses; [His] ripe red mouth is a red lotus;
[His] feet are red lotuses; and [His] sacred body is red gold.

முதற்பாட்டில், ஹூஷணாதிவிஶிஷ்டமான விக்ரஹஶோபையை அநுஹவிக்கி-றார்.

= *mutal pāṭṭil, bhūṣaṇādiviśiṣṭam-āṉa vigrahaśobhaiyai anubhavikkiṟār.*
In the first poem, he [Nammāḻvār] enjoys the loveliness of [His] form endowed with adornments, etc.

- அந்தாமத்து - பரமபதத்தில் = *am tāmattu - paramapadattil*

in the beautiful abode – in the supreme abode

- அன்பு - விருப்பத்தை = *aṉpu - viruppattai*

love – affection (acc.)

- செய்து - பண்ணி = *ceytu - paṇṇi*

having done – having made

- என் ஆவி - ஹெயனான என் நெஞ்சுக்குள்ளே = *eṉ āvi - heyaṉ-āṉa eṉ neñcukkuḷḷē*

my mind - inside the heart of me, who am fit to be abandoned

- சேர் - பொருந்தின அம்மானுக்கு - நிரூபாயிகஸ்வாமியானவனுக்கு

= *cēr - poruntiṉa ammāṉukku – nirupādhikasvāmi-āṉavaṉukku*

join – that fitted to the Lord – to Him who is the unconditional Master

- ஶேஷித்வஸூசகமான அம் தாமம் - அழகிய மாலையையுடைத்தான.

= *śeṣitvasūcakam-āṉa am tāmam - aḻakiya mālaiyai uṭaitt-āṉa*

pretty garland that is indicative of [His] being the Master – which has a garland that is pretty

- வாள் - உஜ்ஜ்வலமான = *vāḷ - ujjvalam-āṉa*

bright – that is radiant

- முடி - திருவபிஷேகம் = *muṭi – tiru abhiṣekam*

crown – the sacred crown

- சங்கு ஆழி - திவ்யாயுதங்கள் = *caṅku āḻi - divyāyudhaṅkaḷ*

the conch, the discus – divine weapons

- நூல் - யஜ்ஞோபவீதம் = *nūl - yajñopavītam*

the thread – the sacred thread

- ஆரம் - திருவாரம் = *āram – tiru āram*

the pearl necklace – the sacred pearl necklace

- உள - இவை ஸ்஫ுரித்துத் தோன்றாநின்றன = *uḷa - ivai sphurittu tōṉṟāniṉṟaṉa*

there are – these appeared glittering

- கண் - திருக்கண்கள் = *kaṇ - tiru kaṇkaḷ*

eye(s) – the sacred eyes

- செந்தாமரைத்தடம் - சிவந்த தாமரைத் தடாகமாயிராநின்றன

= *centāmaraittaṭam - civanta tāmarai taṭākam-āy irāniṉṟaṉa*

the red lotus pond – they are a pond of red lotuses

- செம் - சிவந்த = cem - civanta

red – that is red

- கனி - பக்வஃலம் போன்ற = *kaṉi - pakvaphalam pōṉṟa*

fruit – like a ripe fruit

- வாய் - ஃயரம் = *vāy - adharam*

mouth – lower lip

- செம் - சிவந்த = *cem - civanta*

red – that is red

- தாமரை - தாமரையாயிராநின்றது = *tāmarai – tāmarai-āy irāniṉṟatu*

lotus – is a lotus

- அடிக்கள் - திருவடிகள் = *aṭikkaḷ - tiru aṭikaḷ*

feet – the sacred feet

- செம் - சிவந்த = *cem - civanta*

red – that is red

- தாமரை - தாமரையாயிராநின்றன = *tāmarai – tāmarai-āy irāniṉṟaṉa*

lotus – are lotuses

- திருவுடம்பு - திருவுடம்பு = *tiru uṭampu – tiru uṭampu*

the sacred body – the sacred body

- செம்பொன் - செம்பொன்னாயிராநின்றன = *cempoṉ - cem poṉ-āy irāniṉṟaṉa*

red gold – is red gold.

4.2. Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's[67] commentary on Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Tattvatraya sūtra* 1[68]

1. ஊஊக்ஷுவான செதநனுக்கு மொக்ஷமுண்டாம் போது
தக்வத்ரயஜ்ஞாநமுண்டாக வேணும்.

mumukṣuvāṉa cetanaṉukku mokṣam uṇṭām pōtu
tatvatrayajñānam uṇṭāka vēṇum.

When the liberation of the sentient being who is desirous of liberation occurs, it is necessary for [him] to have knowledge of the three realities.

(ஊஊக்ஷுவான செதநனுக்கு மொக்ஷமுண்டாம் போது தக்வத்ரயஜ்ஞாநமுண்டாகவேணும்) ஊஊக்ஷுவாகிறான் மொக்ஷத்தும் இச்சையுடையவன். ஸம்ஸார-

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[67] Maṇavāḷa Māmuṉi (c. 14th century CE) is the last of the great theologians of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, called *pūrvācārya*s 'former teachers.' He is counted as the founder of the Teṉkalai ('southern branch') Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, and, according to the Teṉkalai *guruparamparā* ('lineage of teachers'), he is linked to Piḷḷai Lokācārya through Tiruvāymoḻi Piḷḷai, who was Maṇavāḷa Māmuṉi's Ācārya and Piḷḷai Lokācārya's disciple.
As the first of the Ācāryas to comment upon the Maṇipravāḷam works of his predecessors, his commentaries, particularly those on the works of Piḷḷai Lokācārya, were instrumental in the popularisation of the Śrīraṅgam/Teṉkalai school of theology. According to K. K. A. Venkatachari, his 'style is very simple and easy to understand' and thus he 'was given the title "crown jewel among those who explain elaborately" (*viśadavākśikhāmaṇi*)' (Venkatachari 1978: 162). He composed a total of eight commentaries. They are on: Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Tattvatrayam*, *Rahasyatrayam*, and *Śrīvacana Bhūṣaṇam*; Aḻakiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār's *Ācāryahṛdayam*; Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Emperumāṉār's *Jñānasāram* and *Pramēyasāram*; Periyāḻvār's *Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi*; and Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār's *Irāmānuca Nūṟṟantāti*.

[68] The printed editions with which I have been working (see Tattvatraya under Primary Sources) both present the text in Tamil script, except that one of the editions (edited by Tiruvēṅkaṭācāriyar, date unknown: given as *rauttirināmasamvatsaram* '*raudra* year', which is likely 1920–21, but could also be 1860-61) gives Sanskrit quotations in grantha script. I have chosen here to amend the text to include grantha script where appropriate (i.e., for Sanskrit words). Other than this change, in both the Tamil-Grantha transcription and the transliteration that follows, I have followed the editions in spelling, punctuation, and sandhi (or lack thereof). I am grateful to Suganya Anandakichenin for all of her suggestions and corrections in the process of preparing this text. Any and all mistakes, however, are mine.

விஶொஹநத்தில் இச்சையுடையவனென்றபடி. ஶுஶுக்ஷுவான – என்கையாலே, ஸம்ஸாரநிவ்ருத்தியில் இச்சை ஒருவனுக்குண்டாகையிலுள்ள வருமை தோற்றுகிறது. இந்தவிச்சை பிறவாமையிறே, சுநாஶிகாலும் ஸம்ஸரித்தது. உஜ்ஜீவயிஷுவான ஸவ்வெஶ்வரனும் இந்த விச்சை பிறக்குமளவுமிறே பார்த்திருக்கிறது.

ஸம்ஸாரத்தைப் பூண்கட்டிக் கொள்ள விச்சிக்கக் கடவ சூத்ரவுக்கு தளிவ்ருத்தியில் இச்சை பிறக்கை ஶுலூஹமிறே. இப்போது, இவர் சைதநனென்றதும் ஸாஹிப்ராயம். அதாவது – சைதந்யப்ரயொஜநமுண்டாகத் தொடங்குகிறதும் இப்போதென்கை; சுநாஶிகாலும் வ்யஶூமே போய்த்ததித்தனையிறே சைதந்யம்; அதாவது – உஜ்ஜீவநத்துக்கு உறுப்பாகாமை. இனித்தான் ஸம்ஸாரநிவ்ருத்தியை யிச்சிக்கிறது – நிரஸ்தாதிஶயாஹ்லாஹஸுவஹாவைகலக்ஷணையாகிற[69] ஹரவத்ப்ராப்திக்கு உறுப்பாகவிறே. தாமரையாள் கேள்வனொருவனையே நோக்குமதிறே யுணர்வாவது; சூத்ரப்ராப்திக்கு உறுப்பாக ஸம்ஸாரநிவ்ருத்தியை யிச்சித்தாலும் விபரீதஜ்ஞாநகாயூஶாமித்தனை. ஆகையால் ஹரவத்ப்ராப்திக்கு விரொயியான ஸம்ஸாரத்தினுடைய விஶொஹநத்திலிச்சையுடையவனான வயிகாரிக்கு, அப்படி யிருந்துள்ள ஶொக்ஷமாகிற பூரூஷாயூம் ஸிஶிக்கும் போது தக்வசுயஜ்ஞாநமுண்டாக வேணுமென்கை.

தக்வஜ்ஞாநொத்பத்திக்கு முன்னே ஶுஶுக்ஷை ஜநிக்கக் கூடுமோ? என்னில்; "பரீக்ஷ்ய லொகாந்" "ஜாயஶாநஶ்" ஐத்யாதி ஶ்ருதிஸ்ம்ருதிகளிற் சொல்லுகிற ப்ரக்ரியையாலே கூடும்.

உண்டாக வேணுமென்று சுவஶ்யாபெக்ஷிதக்வம் தோற்ற வருளிச்செய்கையாலே, "தக்வஜ்ஞாநாந்நொக்ஷலாஹஶ்"[70] என்கிற நியஶம் தோற்றுகிறது. "தக்வஜ்ஞாநாந்நொக்ஷஶ்" என்கிறவிது, ஸகலஸிஶாஹஸாயாரணமிறே. ஶொக்ஷத்திலும் தக்வத்திலுமிறே விப்ரதிபத்தியுள்ளது. ஆனால், 'ஜ்ஞாநந்நொக்ஷம்' என்கிற நியஶம் கொள்ளும்போது, "பஶுஶூநுஷ்யஃ பக்ஷீ வா யெ ச வைஷ்ணவ-

[69] The Aṇṇaṅkarācāriyar (1966) edition gives the ending as –ஆன (*-āṉa*).

[70] It is unclear to me whether this is a quotation or simply the name of the rule (*niyama*).

ஸம்ஸ்ரயாः । தெநெவ தெ வ்ரயாஸ்ஸுஜி தத்விஷ்ணோः வாரம் வத்ஶ” “யம் யம் ஸ்ப்ருஶதி வாணிஹ்யாம் யம் யம் வஸ்ருதி சக்ஷுஷா । ஸ்ஹாவராணுவி ஶுத்ஸுதெ கிம் வுநவபூரூவா ஜநாः” என்று, ஜ்ஞாநயொக்ருதெ யில்லாத தியுக்ஸ்ஹாவரங்களுக்கும் வைஷ்ணவஸம்வந்தத்தாலே ஶொக்ஷஸிஜ்ஜியைச் சொல்லுகிற வசநங்களுக்கு வெயர்ரும் வாராதோ? என்னில்; வாராது; அவற்றுக்கு ஶுஶுக்ஷுக்வந் தானுமில்லையிறே. இங்கு, ஶுஶுக்ஷுவான வெதநனுக்கிறே ஶொக்ஷஸிஜ்ஜிக்கு தக்வஜ்ஞாநமுண்டாக வேணுமென்றது, அங்கு தானும் ஶுஶுக்ஷுக்வமும், தக்வஜ்ஞாநமும் இரண்டும் இவற்றின் பக்கலின்றிக்கேயிருக்கச் செய்தேயும், இவையிரண்டாலும் வபூணுனாயிருப்பானொரு வைஷ்ணவனுடைய சுஹிதாநமேயிறே! கூயுகூரமாகச் சொல்லுகிறது.

ஆகையாலே, சுஹிதாநியானவனுடைய ஜ்ஞாநவிஶேஷத்தைக் கடாக்ஷித்தே, சுஹிதாநாதுஹுஶதமான விவற்றுக்கும் ஈஶ்வரன் கூயுஞ் செய்கையாலே, “தக்வஜ்ஞாநாஶொக்ஷம்” என்கிறவிது, அவ்விடத்திலும் ஸக்வாரகமாக ஸிஜ்ஜிக்கும். தக்வஜ்ஞாநமென்னாதே, தக்வகுயஜ்ஞாநம் என்கையாலே தக்வங்களை சுயிகமாகவும், நுஶநமாகவும் கொள்ளுகிற வாஹ்யகுஶ்ருஷிஶதங்கள் சுயூாத்ருதிக்ஷிவுங்கள்.

இவர் தாம் தக்வகுயம் என்று நிணுயிக்கைக்கு வ்ரதாணமென்? என்னில்; நிஶ்சுஷவ்ரதாணமானவெதாதம். “ஹொக்தா ஹொக்ரம் வ்ரெரிதாரம் ச ஶக்வா” என்று ஹொக்தாரஸ்ஹத்தாலும், ஹொக்ரஸ்ஹத்தாலும், வ்ரெரயிதாரஸ்ஹத்தாலும், சிதசிதீஶ்வரதக்வங்கள் மூன்றையுமிறே சொல்லுகிறது. ஆகையாலே “வெதாதவ்ரதிவாஶும், தக்வகுயமுமே” என்று நிரூபயித்து, ஶொக்ஷமுண்டாம் போது தக்வகுயஜ்ஞாநமுண்டாக வேணும் என்கிறார்.

ஆனால், “தஶெவம் விசாநஜ்ரத ஊஹ ஹவதி । நாந்ரः வரூா[71] சுயநாய விஜ்ரதெ” என்று வெதாதங்கள் ஹ்ருவதக்வஜ்ஞாநமொன்றுமே ஶொக்ஷஸாயநமென்னா

[71] The Tiruvēṅkaṭācāriyar (n.d.) gives வரூா(*pandhā*) and the Aṇṇaṅkarācāriyar (1966) edition gives பந்த்தா (*panttā*). However, since it is attested in the source text, வரூா (*panthā*) appears to be the correct reading (*Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* 3.8 & 6.15, see n. 80).

நிற்க; தத்வாதாரவரிஜ்ஞாநத்தையும் இவர் மொக்ஷஸாயநமாக வருளிச் செய்-வானென்? என்னில்; ஹரவதத்வத்தை யறியும்போது, ஸகலசெதநாசெதந-விலக்ஷணமாகவும், இவற்றுக்கு காரணமாகவும், வ்யாபகமாகவும், தாரக-மாகவும், நியாமகமாகவும், மெஷியாகவுமறிய வேண்டுகையாலும், தத்வாதாரங்களை யறியாத போது இப்படி யறிய விரகில்லாமையாலும், தத்வகுயஜ்ஞாநமுண்டாக வேணும் என்னக் குறையில்லை. "மொக்தா மொரு ம் வெரிதாரம் ச ஶக்வா" "வ்யரதாதாநம் வெரிதாரம் ச ஶக்வா ஜுஷ்டதமெநாரதக்வதெதி" என்கிற ஸ்ருதிக்கும் ஹ்ருதயமிதுவிறே. இங்ஙனன்றாகில், "தமெவம் விதாந" இத்யாதி ஸ்ருதியோடு இதற்கு விரொதம் வரும். ஆகையால் இந்த ஸ்ருதிஹாயெயாலே இவரும் அருளிச்செய்தாராகையாலே, வெதாதவிரொதவ்ரஸஜ்ஜமேயில்லை.

("*mumukṣuvāṉa cetanaṉukku mokṣam uṇṭām pōtu tatvatrayajñānam uṇṭāka vēṇum*") *mumukṣu ākiṟāṉ moktum iccai uṭaiyavaṉ. saṃsāravimocanattil iccai uṭaiyavaṉ eṉṟa paṭi. mumukṣuvāṉa – eṉkaiyālē, saṃsāranivṛttiyil iccai oruvaṉukk$_u$ uṇṭākaiyil uḷḷa arumai tōṟṟukiṟatu. inta iccai piṟavāmaiyiṟē, anādikālam saṃsarittatu. ujjijīvayiṣuvāṉa sarveśvaraṉum inta iccai piṟakkum aḷavumiṟē pārtt$_u$ irukkiṟatu.*

saṃsārattaip pūṇkaṭṭik koḷḷa iccikkak kaṭava ātmāvukku tannivṛttiyil iccai piṟakkai durlabhamiṟē. ippōtu, ivar cetanaṉ eṉṟatum sābhiprāyam. atāvatu – caitanyaprayojanam uṇṭākat toṭaṅkukiṟatum ippōt$_u$ eṉkai; anādikālam vyarthamē pōyttat$_u$ ittaṉaiyiṟē caitanyam; atāvatu – ujjīvanattukku uṟupp$_u$ ākāmai. iṉit tāṉ saṃsāranivṛttiyai iccikkiṟatu – nirastātiśayāhlādasukhabhāvaikalakṣaṇaiyākiṟa bhagavatprāptikku uṟupp$_u$[72] *ākaviṟē. tāmaraiyāḷ kēḷvaṉ oruvaṉaiyē nōkkumatiṟē uṇarv$_u$*[73] *āvatu; ātmaprāptikku uṟupp$_u$ āka saṃsāra-*

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[72] This is probably a quotation from another Maṇipravāḷam work, but I have been unable to identify it.

[73] *Mutal Tiruvantāti* 67 *peyarum karuṅ kaṭalē nōkkum āṟu oṇ pū / uyarum katiravaṉē nōkkum uyirum / tarumaṉaiyē nōkkum oḷ ṭāmaraiyāḷ kēḷvaṉ / oruvaṉaiyē nōkkum uṇarvu.* 'The river looks to the dark, swelling sea. The bright flower looks to the

nivṛttiyai iccittālum viparītajñānakāryamām ittaṉai. ākaiyāl bhagavatprāptikku virodhiyāṉa saṃsārattiṉuṭaiya vimocanattil iccai uṭaiyavaṉāṉa adhikārikku, appaṭi irunt$_u$ uḷḷa mokṣam ākiṟa puruṣārtham siddhikkum pōtu tatvatrayajñānam uṇṭāka vēṇum eṉkai.

tatvajñānotpattikku muṉṉē mumukṣai janikkak kūṭumō? eṉṉil; "*parīkṣya lokān*"[74] "*jāyamānam*"[75] *ityādi śrutismṛtikaḷiṟ collukiṟa prakriyaiyālē kūṭum.*

uṇṭāka vēṇum eṉṟu avaśyāpekṣitatvam tōṟṟa aruḷic ceykaiyālē, "*tatvajñānān mokṣalābham*"*? eṉkiṟa niyamam tōṟṟukiṟatu.* '*tatvajñānān mokṣam*' *eṉkiṟavitu, sakalasiddhāntasādhāraṇamiṟē. mokṣattilum tatvattilumiṟē vipratipattiyuḷḷatu. āṉāl,* '*jñānān mokṣam*' *eṉkiṟa niyamam koḷḷum pōtu,* "*paśur manuṣyaḥ pakṣī vā ye ca vaiṣṇavasaṃśrayāḥ | tenaiva te prayāsyanti tadviṣṇoḥ paramaṃ patam*"[76] "*yaṃ yaṃ spṛśati pāṇibhyāṃ yaṃ yaṃ paśyati cakṣusā |*[77] *sthāvarāṇyapi mucyante kiṃ punar bāndhavā janāḥ*"[78] *eṉṟu, jñānayogyatai illāta tiryak sthāvaraṅkaḷukkum vaiṣṇavasaṃbandhattālē mokṣasiddhiyaic collukiṟa vacanaṅkaḷukku vaiyarthyam vārātō? eṉṉil; vārātu; avaṟṟukku mumukṣutvam tāṉum illaiyiṟē. iṅku, mumukṣuvāṉa*

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rising sun. All living beings look to the god of dharma (i.e., Yama, the god of death). The consciousness looks to the One, the husband of the lady on the bright lotus').

[74] *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 1.2.12. *parīkṣya lokān karmacitān brāhmaṇo nirvedamāyān nāstyakṛtaḥ kṛtena | tadvijñānārthaṃ sa gurum eva abhigacchet samitpāṇiḥ śrotriyaṃ brahmaniṣṭham* || 'When he perceives the worlds as built with rites, A Brahmin should acquire a sense of disgust – "What's made can't make what is unmade!" To understand it he must go, firewood in hand, to a teacher well versed in the Vedas, and focused on *brahman*.' Text and translation, Olivelle (1998: 440–441).

[75] It has not been possible to trace this reference based on a single word.

[76] This passage appears in Vedānta Deśika's commentary on Rāmānuja's *Gītābhāṣya*, 6.42 (Uttamūr 1972: 224). The editor of Vedānta Deśika's commentary gives the reference 'śāṇḍi. 1–15'. I have checked the *Śāṇḍilya Upaniṣad* and *Śāṇḍilya Bhakti Sūtras*, but without success.

[77] This section of the quotation appears, in a slightly modified form in a number of texts. One such instance is found in *Bṛhat Tantrasāra* 36, *yaṃ yaṃ spṛśāmi pādābhyāṃ yo māṃ paśyati cakṣuṣā* 'whatever I touch with [my] feet, he who sees me with [his] eye' (my translation).

[78] The above text (n. 77) does not include this section of the quotation and I have been unable to locate it elsewhere.

cetanaṉukkiṟē mokṣasiddhikku tatvajñāṉam uṇṭāka vēṇum eṉṟatu, aṅku tāṉum mumukṣutvamum tatvajñānamum iraṇṭum ivaṟṟiṉ pakkal iṉṟikkē irukkac ceytēyum, ivai iraṇṭālum pūrṇaṉāy iruppāṉ oru vaiṣṇavaṉuṭaiya abhimānamēyiṟē! kāryakaramākac collukiṟatu.

ākaiyālē, abhimāniyāṉ avaṉuṭaiya jñānaviśeṣattaik kaṭākṣittē, abhimānāntarbhūtamāṉa ivaṟṟukkum īśvaraṉ kāryam ceykaiyālē, "tatvajñānān mokṣam" eṉkiṟa itu, avviṭattilum satvārakamāka siddhikkum. tatvajñānam eṉṉātē, tatvatrayajñāṉam eṉkaiyālē tatvaṅkaḷai adhikam ākavum, nyūnamākavum koḷḷukiṟa bāhyakudṛṣṭimataṅkaḷ arthāt pratikṣiptaṅkaḷ.

ivar tām tatvatrayam eṉṟu nirṇayikkaikku pramāṇam eṉ? eṉṉil; nirdoṣapramāṇamāṉa vedāntam. "bhoktā bhogyaṃ preritāraṃ ca matvā"[79] *eṉṟu bhoktṛśabdattālum, bhogyaśabdattālum, prerayitṛśabdattālum, citacitīśvaratatvaṅkaḷ mūṉṟaiyumiṟē collukiṟatu. ākaiyālē "vedāntapratipādyam, tatvatrayamumē" eṉṟu niścayittu, mokṣam uṇṭām pōtu tatvatrayajñānam uṇṭāka vēṇum eṉkiṟār.*

āṉāl, "tam evaṃ vidvān amṛta iha bhavati | nānyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate"[80] *eṉṟu vedāntaṅkaḷ bhagavattatvajñānam oṉṟumē mokṣasādhanam eṉṉā niṟka; tatvāntaraparijñānattaiyum ivar*

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[79] *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* 1.12. *etaj jñeyaṃ nityam eva ātmasaṃsthaṃ nātaḥ paraṃ veditavyaṃ hi kiṃcit | bhoktā bhogyaṃ preritāraṃ ca matvā sarvaṃ proktaṃ trividhaṃ brahmam etat*|| 'This can be known, for it abides always within one's body (*ātman*). Higher than that there is nothing to be known. When the enjoyer discerns the object of enjoyment and the impeller – everything has been taught. This is the threefold *brahman*.' Text and translation, Olivelle (1998: 416–417).

[80] Although the quotation given in the Maṇipravāḷam differs somewhat, the following passages seem to be its source: *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 3.8 *vedāham etaṃ puruṣaṃ mahāntam ādityavarṇaṃ tamasaḥ parastāt*|*tam eva viditvāti mṛtyum eti na anyaḥ panthā vidyate 'yanāya* || 'I know that immense Person, having the color of the sun and beyond darkness. Only when a man knows him does he pass beyond death; there is no other path for getting there.' Text and translation, Olivelle (1998: 420–421) and 6.15 *eko haṃso bhuvanasyāsya madhye sa evāgniḥ salile saṃniviṣṭaḥ | tam eva viditvāti mṛtyum eti na anyaḥ panthā vidyate 'yanāya* || 'He is the one goose in the middle of this universe. He himself resides as fire within the ocean. Only when a man knows him does he pass beyond death; there is no other path for getting there.' Text and translation, Olivelle (1998: 432–433).

mokṣasādhanamāka aruḷic ceyvāṉ eṉ? eṉṉil; bhagavattatvattai aṟiyum pōtu, sakalacetanācetanavilakṣaṇam ākavum, ivaṟṟukkuk kāraṇam ākavum, vyāpakam ākavum, tārakam ākavum, niyāmakam ākavum, śēṣi ākavum aṟiya vēṇṭukaiyālum, tatvāntaraṅkaḷai aṟiyāta pōtu ippaṭi aṟiya virak$_u$ illāmaiyālum, tatvatrayajñānam uṇṭāka vēṇum eṉṉak kuṟai illai. "*bhoktā bhogyaṃ preritāraṃ ca matvā*"[81] "*pṛthagātmānaṃ preritāraṃ ca matvā juṣṭas tatas tenāmṛtatvam eti*"[82] *eṉkiṟa śrutikkum hṛdayam ituviṟē. iṅṅaṉ aṉṟu ākil,* "*tam evaṃ vidvān*"[83] *ityādi śrutiyōṭu itaṟku virodham varum. ākaiyāl inta śrutichāyaiyālē ivarum aruḷic ceytār ākaiyālē, vedāntavirodhaprasaṅgamē illai.*

('At the time of the liberation of the sentient being who is desirous of liberation, it is necessary to produce knowledge of the three realities') – one who has the desire to be liberated, he is a *mumukṣu*. Thus, [he is] one who has the desire for liberation from *saṃsāra*. By saying *mumukṣuvāṉa*, the difficulty that exists in the production of one's desire to separate [oneself] from *saṃsāra* is made clear. Since beginningless time it [the soul] has been born [again and again] without this desire being born. And it is for the very moment that this desire is born that the Lord of all, who desires the cause of salvation, [is] waiting.[84]

For the souls that are disposed[85] to desire, so that they have bound themselves to *saṃsāra*, the birth of the desire for the cessation of that

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[81] See n. 79.

[82] *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 1.6. *sarvājīve sarvasaṃsthe bṛhante asmin haṃso bhrāmyate brahmacakre* | *pṛthagātmānaṃ preritāraṃ ca matvā juṣṭas tatas tena amṛtatvam eti* || 'Within this vast wheel of *brahman*, on which all subsist and which abides in all, a goose keeps moving around. When he perceives himself (*ātman*) as distinct from the impeller, delighted by that knowledge he goes from there to immortality.' Text and translation, Olivelle (1998: 414–415).

[83] See n. 80.

[84] According to Suganya Anandakichenin, *pārttirukkiṟatu* is a spoken idiomatic expression meaning 'to wait'.

[85] The term *kaṭava* poses something of a problem here. I have translated it here, in consultation with Suganya Anandakichenin, as an adjectival participle modifying *ātmāvukku* (for the soul). In form here, however, it appears to be a pronominal

[*saṃsāra*] is indeed difficult to obtain. His now saying '*cētanaṉ* (sentient being)' also [has] this intention. That is, [he is] saying that it is at this time that the purpose of consciousness comes into being.[86] [Since] beginningless time, such consciousness has gone on being useless indeed; that is, it [consciousness] is not[87] the cause for salvation. Now, his desiring the cessation of *saṃsāra* is[88] 'the reason for the attainment of the Lord which/who[89] has the singular signification[90] of a pleasant state [in which] there is no superior joy.' Consciousness is indeed that which beholds the One, the husband of Her of the lotus flower. Even if one desires the cessation of *saṃsāra* so that [it is] the reason for attainment of the self, it is an effect of erroneous knowledge, it is just so! Therefore, this is saying [that] for the *adhikārī*[91] who possesses the desire for liberation from the *saṃsāra* that is an obstruction to attainment of the Lord, at the time of the attainment of the [ultimate] goal of man, which is the liberation that occurs thusly, it is necessary for knowledge of the three realities to be produced.

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noun in the 3rd person neuter plural from *kaṭamai*. According to the TL, *kaṭamai* means 'duty' or 'obligation.' Such an interpretation, however, doesn't entirely make sense in this context. Thus, I have extended the meaning a bit by taking the obligatory sense of *kaṭamai* as a kind of unwitting obligation, something like a predisposition.

[86] The phrase *uṇṭāka+ toṭaṅkukiṟatum* more literally means 'that which begins to exist,' but the English expression 'comes into being' gets more closely at the intended meaning.

[87] *ākāmai* is technically a negative verbal noun, but it seems necessary to translate it as a finite verb here.

[88] Technically an infinitive, but for the sake of readability I have translated it as a finite verb.

[89] The referent of the present adjectival participle (*ākiṟa*) given in the Tiruvēṅkaṭācāriyar (n.d.) edition, and the adjectival suffix (-*āṉa*) given in the Aṇṇaṅkarācāriyar (1966) edition, to *lakṣanai* ('characteristic') is unclear, it could be modifying *pakavat* or *praptikku*, thus 'the Lord who has the singular signification ...' or 'the attainment which has the singular signification ...'

[90] *lakṣaṇā*/ *lakṣaṇai* could also mean 'aim' or 'object' here.

[91] *adhikāri* is a difficult term to translate succinctly. In this context it means something like 'one who has the rights or qualities necessary to be a Śrīvaiṣṇava.'

If it is asked, 'is it possible to produce the desire for liberation before the production of knowledge of the realities?', [the answer is that] it is possible in the manner that is described in *śruti* and *smṛti*,[92] beginning with 'having examined the worlds' and 'being born.'

By saying, 'it is necessary [for knowledge] to be produced,' so that the indispensable requirement appears, the precept, 'the attainment of liberation from knowledge of the realities,' is shown. 'Liberation [attained] from knowledge of the realities' is common to all doctrines, is it not? [Between] liberation and reality, indeed, there is mutual opposition. But when grasping the precept called 'liberation [attained] from knowledge,' saying, 'be they animal, human, or bird, whoever seeks refuge with Vaiṣṇavas, only thereby [seeking refuge], they will reach the supreme abode of Viṣṇu,' 'whomever he[93] touches with [his] hands, whomever he sees with [his] eyes,[94] even the immovables are released, how much more so [our] kinsmen?', if it is asked, 'Will not the discourses that speak of the means of liberation for all the animals and inanimates that are not fit for [this] knowledge, due to their association with Vaiṣṇavas, be rendered useless?'; [the answer is that] they will not. They [animals and inanimate] are not even desirous of liberation. Here, it is said that knowledge of the realities must be produced for the attainment of liberation for the sentient being desirous of liberation, and there it is said [that] even though they have neither the desire for liberation nor knowledge of the realities, the affection of a Vaiṣṇava, who is full with both of these, is efficacious.

Therefore, having cast a side-glance upon the excellence of the knowledge of him who has affection, because Īśvara (God) acts even for these things that are a part of [the Vaiṣṇava's] affection, this, which is

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[92] *śruti* ('that which is heard') refers to the Vedas, and *smṛti* ('that which is remembered') refers to a broad category of literature that, while important in philosophical and religious tradtions, is less authoritative than *śruti*.

[93] This appears to be in reference to devotees rather than the Lord himself, as illuminated below.

[94] See n. 77.

called the liberation [attained] from knowledge of the realities, is accomplished swiftly at that time. Not [by] saying 'knowledge of reality', [but] by saying 'knowledge of the three realities,' [he] rejected, through [the strength of the][95] meaning, the external and heterodox sects that take the realities as more or even less.

If these ones[96] ask, 'What is the proof for the determination [of] the three realities?', [it is] the Vedānta that is the faultless proof. As in, 'When the enjoyer discerns the object of enjoyment and the impeller...,'[97] with the words 'the enjoyer,' 'that which is to be enjoyed,' and 'the impeller,' *all* three realities of sentient beings, insentient matter, and Īśvara are stated. Therefore, having resolved that all three realities are to be explained by Vedānta, he says 'at the time of liberation, it is necessary to produce knowledge of the three realities.'

But, if it is said: when the Vedāntas (i.e., Upaniṣads) have always maintained that only knowledge of the reality of the Lord is the means of liberation, as in 'Only when a man knows him does he pass beyond death; there is no other path for getting there'[98], how can he say [that] thorough knowledge of another reality is a means to liberation?; [the answer is that] when one comprehends the reality of the Lord because of desiring to know [Him] as distinct from all the sentient beings and non-sentient things, as the cause for these, as all pervading, as the [one] who aids in the crossing, as the ruler, and as the Śeṣī,[99] and when the

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[95] *The Glossary of Historical Tamil Vaishnava Prose* glosses *arthāt* as *poruḷ valimaiyāl* 'by the strength of the meaning.'

[96] The referent of *ivar* is not entirely clear here. However, it probably refers to people of the 'external or heterodox sects.'

[97] See n. 79.

[98] See n. 80.

[99] *Śeṣī*, a possessive noun from the verb root *śiṣ* 'to leave as a remainder', has no adequate translation in English. In the context of Śrīvaiṣṇava theology it means something like 'possessor', 'principal', or 'owner'—that is, God. It is generally the counterpart of the *śeṣa* (the remainder—that is, the sentient being) in the theology of Rāmānuja, upon which the Ācāryas build. On the relationship of the *śeṣī* to the *śeṣa*, Rāmānuja writes in his *Vedārthasaṅgraha* that: 'The *śeṣa-śeṣī* relationship in any situation means just this: the *śeṣa* is that whose essential nature consists solely

other realities are not known because of not having the means to know in this way, there is no fault with saying 'It is necessary to produce knowledge of the three realities.' This is indeed also the heart of the *śruti* that says, 'the enjoyer having thought about that which is to be enjoyed and the One who rules,' 'having thought about the individual soul and the One who rules, consequently, the servant approaches the state of immortality.' If it is not thus, this will contradict the *śruti* beginning with 'the man who knows him thus.' Therefore, as he too graciously says, because of this resemblance to *śruti*, the argument is not in opposition to the Vedāntas.

Abbreviations

Grammatical abbreviations

abl.	ablative
abs.	absolutive
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
dat.	dative
expl.	expletive
gen.	genitive
h.	honorific
hab. fut.	habitual future
inf.	infinitive
inst.	instrumental
intr.	intransitive
ipt.	imperative
loc.	locative
n.	noun
neut.	neuter

in the state of being subservient [*śeṣa-bhutam*] to the Lord, and He is the master and owner [*śeṣī*] of everything ...' Translation, Carman (1974: 148).

neg.	negative
obl.	oblique
p.n.	proper name
part.n.	participial noun
pey.	*peyareccam* (participle with various aspects)
pl.	plural
sg.	singular
soc.	sociative
tr.	transitive
v.n.	verbal noun
v.r.	verbal root
u	elided overshort *u*

Other abbreviations

MP	Maṇipravāḷam
NTM	*Nācciyār Tirumoḻi*
NTP	*Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam*
PTM	*Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*
Periya TM	*Periya Tirumoḻi*
Piḷḷai	*Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai*
TL	*Tamil Lexicon*
TVM	*Tiruvāymoḻi*
6k	*6000-paṭi*
12k	*12000-paṭi*
24k	*24000-paṭi*
36k	*36000-paṭi*

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A Multilingual Commentary on the First Verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* as found in ms. IFP RE22704 (Studies in Late Tamil Manipravalam Literature 1)[1]

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Preamble

This is the first outcome of a series of studies on the literature composed in a language (possibly a "mixed language," see McCann 2016: 136–143), or register of Tamil, that we here christen "Late Tamil Manipravalam." At the present stage of our research, such a label is chosen purely for convenience's sake. The term "Manipravalam" may immediately bring to mind the well-known form of linguistic—in particular morphological—hybridisation in which Sanskrit and Tamil features are profusely mixed, may it be at the level of lexical borrowings such as in the case of the commentaries of the Śrīvaiṣṇava

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ācāryas,[2] *or of sentences built with fully inflected words in both languages, à la Līlātilakam,*[3] *as witnessed by Viśvanātha Sūri's Virāṭaparvamaṇipravāḷamañjarī.*[4] *However, the adjective "Late" attempts to take distance from that archive of texts and its language and shifts the focus onto the literature and language found in several understudied or yet unexplored written documents, such as manuscripts and early printed books, which were produced during the 18th and 19th centuries in the Tamil speaking area of South India (mostly corresponding to today's Tamil Nadu).*

This was in fact a crucial moment, when virtually for the last time the term Manipravalam was used in some manuscripts to designate the language in which the texts there contained were composed (see Ciotti and Sathyanarayanan [forthcoming]), and when the label "Brahmin Tamil," which is often used to indicate a highly Sanskritised register of Tamil spoken by Brahmin communities in Tamil Nadu, makes its first appearance. To the best of our knowledge, the actual terminus post quem for the use of this label can be traced back to the 17th cent. when some Portuguese missionaries refer in their scholarly works to the peculiarities of the Tamil spoken by the Brahmins. For instance, Antaõ de Proença speaks of the modo de fallar dos Bramenes *"way of speaking of the Brahmins."*[5] *However, it is probable that the label started to be used in Western literature after Arthur Coke Burnell's 1877 publication, where one finds the tag "Brahman Dialect of Tamiḻ Spoken at Tanjore."*

Aware that Sanskritised forms of Tamil are still spoken and written today in some restricted contexts, with these studies we intend to investigate the literary tradition that made use of such a medium at the time of its twilight.

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[2] Venkatachari (1978).
[3] Gopalapillai (1985).
[4] Edited by Ramachandrasarma (1985).
[5] Cristina Muru (personal communication).

1. Introduction

Crafted by a certain Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ for someone called Paṭṭaravarkaḷ from Pāḷayaṅkoṭṭai (Tamil Nadu), most probably sometime during the 19th century, manuscript RE22704 (presently held in the library collection of the Institut Français de Pondichéry, IFP) contains one of the many copies of Amarasiṃha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*—more commonly known as *Amarakośa*—accompanied by Tamil annotations that are nowadays found in manuscript libraries throughout Tamil Nadu.[6] However, this manuscript definitely stands out from the others thanks to its several exceptional features.

In particular, the text of RE22704, entitled *Amarapaṃcakai* (as mentioned on the recto side of the guard leaf), allegedly contains the most elaborate set of Tamil annotations to the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* that is available up to now.[7] In this respect, they surpass not only the annotations to the same passage found in other manuscripts[8] and early printed books[9] of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, but they also hold their own even when compared to other Sanskrit commentaries of the same portion of the *mūla* in terms of both length and depth of analysis.

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[6] RE22704 – *amarakośaḥ drāviḍaṭīkāsahitaḥ* (*apūrnaḥ*) consists of 284 palm-leaves (25.4 x 4.3 cm): one title folio (*amarapañcakai*), one blank guard-leaf folio, 276 folios with original numbering from 1 to 276 (eight lines per folio), two blank guard-leaf folios, three (guard-leaf?) folios containing part of an unidentified text (possibly a lexicon), and one blank guard-leaf folio. Its colophon [79r7-8] reads: *veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi kuruṉātayyaṉ yeḻutiṉatu paḷayaṅkoṭṭai piṟanda paṭṭaravarkaḷukku* "Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ wrote for Paṭṭaravarkaḷ born in Paḷayaṅkoṭṭai." For a survey of copies of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* with Tamil annotations, see Ciotti (2017).

[7] The *Amarapaṃcakai* is in part akin to other sets of annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* found in other manuscripts, such as, for instance, the text of EFEO 0044, which bears the title *Amarapañcikā* and is attributed to a certain Veṅkaṭeśvara. See Ciotti (2017). However, due to its unique features, the version of the annotations found in RE22704, and in particular of those to the first five verses of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, can be understood to be a brand new recension.

[8] See Ciotti (2017).

[9] E.g. Rāmānujācāryyar (1849).

The unique character of RE22704 emerges also from its linguistic and graphic characteristics. Its annotations to the first five verses of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* are composed using both Tamil, or rather a couple of its registers as we find both Sanskritised and colloquial forms, and Telugu, which is used—rather idiosyncratically—mostly to double the information already provided by the Tamil annotations. It is however also the case that, a few times, episodes of code-switching occur, with a sentence written part in Tamil and part in Telugu. Furthermore, the whole manuscript is written in Grantha (or Tamilian Grantha) script, which is conventionally used to write Sanskrit in the area of Tamil Nadu, but is here exceptionally used to write all three languages found in the manuscript, namely Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telugu.[10]

Owing to these unique features, it seems reasonable to think that Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ may have been himself the author of the annotations found in RE22704, in particular of those appended to the first five verses of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, which due to their complexity can in fact be seen as forming a full-fledged commentary rather than a simple set of annotations. In particular, because of the idiosyncratic interspersion of Telugu words and expressions, we can make an educated guess that our commentator was a Telugu-speaking scholar who worked in an environment where Sanskrit and Tamil were the main languages of intellectual exchange and their intermixture was a normal linguistic practice, much like in the case of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community.

In what follows, we will focus on the annotations to the first of these five verses, highlight their most striking commentarial (§2) and linguistic (§3) features, and then provide their diplomatic transcription together with an English translation (Appendix). The pertinent leaves of the manuscript (guard leaf 1 recto, and ll. 1r to 7r) are reproduced at the end of the article.

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[10] For another example of Grantha used to write both Sanskrit and Telugu, see Ganser's forthcoming investigation of manuscript IFP RE43647 *Abhinayaśāstram*.

2. Commentarial Features

2.1 Adaptation of the *pañca-lakṣaṇa*

In most manuscripts containing Tamil annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, the annotations to the first five verses, i.e. the invocation (verse 1) and the instructions on how to use the thesaurus (verses 2-4), are notably more elaborate than those to the other verses of the *mūla*. Furthermore, they usually adhere to a system known as *pañca-lakṣaṇa* "five characteristics."

Given a verse, this commentarial routine runs as follows: 1. the words of the *mūla* are divided and the *sandhi* dissolved (*padaccheda*), 2. the words are rearranged according to a syntax free of metrical constraints (*anvayokti*), 3. grammatical complexes, such as compounds, are analysed (*vigraha*), 4. the meaning of individual words is explained (*padārthabodha*), 5. an explanation of the purport of the *mūla* is provided (*tātparya*).[11]

The *pañca-lakṣaṇa* system has a clear didactic purport as students are taken step by step through the components of each verse.[12] It may not be far from the truth to assume that this system also corresponds to the way in which teachers orally instructed their pupils.

In RE22704 the commentary to the first five verses of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* presents a particular modulation of the *pañca-lakṣaṇa* system, with two main sections: one in which the *padaccheda*, the *anvayokti*, the *vigraha*, and the *padārthabodha* are conflated, and one in which the *tātparya* alone is given. An unconventional feature of RE22704 consists in the fact that each of the five verses is preceded by

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[11] For a short but informative report about the *pañca-lakṣaṇa*s and the stanzas in which the five characteristics are listed together, see Formigatti (2015: 66–67). For example, one of these stanzas reads as follows *padacchedo 'nvayoktiś ca samāsādivivecanam padārthabodhas tātparyaṃ vyākhyāvayavapañcakam*. For more detailed information on the *pañca-lakṣaṇa*, see Tubb and Boose (2007: 3–5).

[12] See Goodall and Isaacson (2003: l–li) for the case of commentaries on *kāvya*s, and Ciotti (2017) for other cases of copies of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana.*

an *avataraṇikai* "introduction," in which a very succinct summary of the purport of each verse is given.[13]

Even more noticeable is the set of annotations appended to the first verse, for which we are given two slightly different interpretations—the possibility of extrapolating two meanings, we are expected to assume, should be understood as the result of Amarasiṃha's mastery in versification. They are introduced as *prathamārtthaṃ* [1v2] "first meaning" and *dvitiyārtthaṃ* [4r2] "second meaning," and their plausibility is justified by the possibility of reading the beginning of the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* in two ways, either as **yasya jñāna-dayā-sindhor**[14] "of which ocean of knowledge and compassion" or as **yasya jñāna-da-yā sindhor** "of which ocean with Lakṣmī, who is the giving of knowledge."[15]

2.2 A double explanation

Reading the annotations to verse 1, it is clear that their author had an agenda, i.e. trying to present the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* as a text suitable for followers of different religious strands. This position is held throughout the commentary in both interpretations of the *mūla*.

For ease of reference, we present here the text of verse 1, followed by its translation according to the first explanation found in the manuscript [1v1–2]:

> *yasya jñānadayāsindhor agādhasyānaghā guṇāḥ* |
> *sevyatām akṣayo dhīrās sa*[16] *śriyai cāmṛtāya ca* ||

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[13] The word *avataraṇikai* is written at the beginning of the introduction to verses 2–4 (see, for instance, the image of [7r1]), but not to verse 1.

[14] Words from the Sanskrit *mūla* are given in bold characters throughout the article.

[15] This double reading is also explained by Mallinātha Sūri in his commentary of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. That Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ is indebted to Mallinātha's work will emerge clearly in § 2.3. Nevertheless, the analysis found in RE22704 is definitely much more detailed than the one offered by Mallinātha.

[16] In Grantha manuscripts the combination °*ḥ s*° is usually written as °*s s*°. This is in accordance with the optional sandhi given in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 8.3.36. See Vasu (1962: 1612).

> O learned ones! The imperishable one, the unfathomable ocean of knowledge and compassion, whose qualities are stainless, he should be worshipped for both *śrī* and immortality.

(a) First explanation

Already when the first meaning of the verse is unfolded, **dhīrāḥ** [1v2] ("o learned ones!"), which in the syntactically rearranged section has become the first word, is glossed as *nirguṇopāsakāḷ āyuṃ saguṇopāsakāḷ āyuṃ yirukkira paṇḍitarkkaḷe* [1v2-3] "o scholars who are followers of the unqualified and qualified [brahman]!" The possible tension between the two groups of devoted scholars is resolved syncretically already a few lines later, when the word ***yasya*** is commented as *nirguṇasaguṇasvarūpan āna yenda paramātmāvinuḍaya* [1v7] "of which supreme being who has a nature [that is] both unqualified and qualified [brahman]." By means of this gloss the commentator is able to present his view even before venturing into the *tātparya*, where the reader will find a rich elaboration of those glosses. A section of the *tātparya* is divided into two parts, respectively introduced by the tags *nirguṇaparam āy ākira tātparyyaṃ* [2v6–7] "purport conforming to the unqualified [brahman]," which is overtly said to address *advaita* scholars (*advaitamatāvalaṃbam āna paṇḍitāḷe* [2v7] "o scholars who follow the *advaita* doctrine!"), and *saguṇaparam āy ākira tātparyyaṃ* [3r1–2] "purport conforming to the qualified [brahman]," which has to be implicitly intended to be for *dvaita* followers.

A further explication of what is supposed to be Amarasiṃha's ecumenical intention is also given in the following passage:

> *astikamatāvalaṃba*[?]*m ā/ na advaitadvaitaviśiṣṭādvaitu śollappaṭṭa trividhajanaṃgaḷuṃ* [*ga*]*n-aṃgīkāraṃ paṇṇuṃpaḍi*

> *nirguṇaparam āyuṃ* | *saguṇaparam āyuṃ* | *arttham ākira vidham āy bhagavatguṇaṃgaḷai varṇanaṃ śeytu* |[17] [2v2–4]
>
> Having made the description of the qualities of the lord in such a way that there is a meaning that pertains to both unqualified and qualified [brahman], so that the three kinds of people that are mentioned in connection with the *advaita*, *dvaita*, and *viśiṣṭādvaita* [schools], which support the *astika* [*sic*] tenet, will agree on it.

The commentator justifies his interpretation on the basis of the principle of *sahṛdayatva* "empathy," in the sense of "understanding the poet's intent," which is here called *kavihṛdayaparijñānamūlahṛdayaṃ* [3r4-5] "the heart as the basis for understanding the heart of the poet."[18] In particular, Amarasiṃha's message is said to be revealed by two pairs of words, namely *jñāna* ~ *dayā* and *śrī* ~ *amṛta*. These two pairs are read as references to the aims pursued by the followers of the unqualified and qualified [brahman], respectively.

On the one hand, *jñāna* and *amṛta* are to be connected to the *nirguṇa* position. God is said to be knowledge (*jñānasvarūpan āyyanirvacanīyamahimai uḷḷa paramātmā* [2v7–8] "the supreme being who has ineffable greatness—having knowledge as his essential nature") and liberation (*mokṣārtthakam āna* **amṛtāya** | *ane yeṉkiṟa padattaiyuṃ* | *pratyekam āy prayogicci* [3v5–6] "having specifically employed the word **for immortality** [in the *mūla*], which means liberation"), which is presented as the supreme aim of the Nairguṇas (*māyopādhirahitan eṉṟum* | *nityaṉ eṉṟuṃ* | *mokṣāpekṣai uḷḷavarkaḷāle bhāvikkappaḍat takuvān* [2v8-3r1] "[he] is well-suited to be praised by

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[17] Notes on the readings found in the manuscript of this and the following passages, as well as linguistic observations about them, are found in §3 and in the footnotes to the Appendix.

[18] One can compare such a complex formulation of this exegetical principle with the famous *kavihṛdayatādātmyāpattiyogatā* "communion with a state identical to the heart of the poet" mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* (Ramakrishna Kavi [1984: 339]).

those who aim at liberation,[19] as [he is] both free from the condition of illusion, and eternal"). On the other hand, *dayā* and *śrī* are understood as hallmarks of the *saguṇa* position. Compassion is god's disposition towards his devotees, whom he cares to protect (*nikhilabhaktajanaparirakṣaṇattile-n aparimitakṛpāḷan āy* [3r2–3] "immeasurably compassionate in protecting all [his] devotees"), whereas *śrī* is understood by means of a lexicographical escamotage to which we return in §2.4 as the prosperity in the three human ends, namely *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* (**śriyai** | *yeṉkiṟa* | *trivargasaṃpadvācakam āna* | *śriśabdattai*[20] *pratyekam āy* | *prayogaṃ paṇṇi* [3v4–5] "having specifically employed the word *śrī*, which means 'prosperity in the three human ends', as **for *śrī*** [in the *mūla*]").

(b) Second explanation

The commentator aims at pointing out Amarasiṃha's ecumenical intent also in the explanation of the second meaning of the verse. This time he analyses the fact that addressing god as "ocean" indicates that the lord is where all doctrines merge, as the ocean is the abode of all sages and of all gods (*yinda graṃdhakarttā* | *sarvamatasiddhāṃta-pratipādyan āy irukkira bhagavānai viśvavidvajjaṉīṉanikhila-devatānivahasiṃdhuv āy bhāvittu* [4v1–3] "The author of this work conceiving the lord who must be established in the final teachings of all doctrines as being the ocean, which is the multitude of all wise people and all gods"). Such an explanation is said to be justified by the poet's use of *śleṣa*s "paronomasia." In this respect, the commentator refers to his own approach as *śabdaśleṣārtthaśleṣattuṉāle uṇḍākira*

[19] An alternative translation of *mokṣāpekṣai uḷḷavarkaḷāle* would be "by those who are desirous of liberation." The meaning "desire" for *apekṣai* is suggested by the *Glossary of Historical Vaishnava Prose*. The same remark can be extended to the other occurrences of the same word, including the cognate verbal root *apekṣi-*, that are found in this article.

[20] There is a general tendency in Grantha manuscript to write *i* instead of *ī*. It thus, for instance, sometimes happens in RE22704 that the word *śrī* is written as *śri*.

tārataṃmyavivecanākramaṃ [4v7–8] "the way to assess the difference that emerges thanks to *śleṣam*s of sounds and *śleṣam*s of meaning."

Although not explicitly mentioned, the explanation of the *śabdaśleṣa* is de facto found in the section conflating the first four stages of the *pañca-lakṣaṇa*. There, in fact, the commentator offers his alternative reading of the *mūla* by splitting the words—thus *śabda-śleṣa*—of the verse as **yasya jñānadayā sindhor** "of which ocean with Lakṣmī, who is the giving of knowledge" instead of **yasya jñānadayāsindhor** "of which ocean of knowledge and compassion" (about this passage see also §2.4):

> **jñānadayā** | **jñāna** | *paramārtthaparijñānattukku* | **da** | *kuḍukkirat' āy irukkiṟatu* | **yā** | *mokṣalakṣmi kū*[*ṭa*]*ḍa* | upalakṣitasya | *kūṭiyirukkappaṭṭavaṉum āy* | [4r3–4]
> **With-knowledge-giving-Lakṣmī-knowledge**: of the thorough knowledge of the supreme meaning; **giving**: who is the giving; **with Lakṣmī (yā)**: together with Mokṣa-Lakṣmī. Of the characterised [i.e. of the ocean]: and he [i.e. the ocean] who is forever with [Mokṣa-Lakṣmī].

The whole *tātparya* section seems instead to be devoted to the study of the *arthaśleṣa* of the verse. Here, in fact, the commentator focuses on explaining the double meaning—thus *artha-śleṣa*—of the "ocean" (**sindhu**) mentioned in the *mūla*. In particular, the point is that the limitations of the mundane ocean are evident when compared to those of the divine ocean, i.e. of the ocean as god. For instance, he says:

> *jñānaṃ pokkaḍikkira* | *saṃpattai kuḍukkira lakṣmini* | *lakṣmiyai* | *uḷḷavaṉ ākavum bhagavaṃtunivalene* | *bhagavānāle* | *jñānattai kuḍukkira* | *mokṣalakṣmiyai* | *uṇḍāy irukullai* | [5r1–2]
>
> He may even be the one who has [the kind of] *lakṣmī* that gives [mundane] wealth, which removes knowledge, [but] he is not (*irukka-v illai* for *irukullai*) the one who has Mokṣa-Lakṣmī, who gives knowledge through the lord.

2.3 Refutation of other interpretations

The last section of our text discusses and eventually refutes the interpretations offered by other commentators. In particular, other scholars are said to have understood verse 1 as an invocation to a specific deity, may he be Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, or to the ocean:

> *śirutu perukaḷ* | *vyākhyānakarttā* [*ḷ*] *vāka yirukkira perkaḷ* | *yiṃda ślokattukku viṣṇuparam āyum* | *brahmaparam āyuṃ śivaparam āyuṃ* | *samudraparam āyuṃ* | *artthakalpanai paṇṇināṟ* [5v6–8]
> A few people—people who are commentators—explained this verse as pertaining to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, or the ocean.

Just to give one example of these different interpretations, we learn for instance that it is possible to read in the word *yasya* both the name of Viṣṇu and that of Lakṣmī:

> **yasya** | *anu padaṃ* | *ikāra-akāraṃgaḷukku sandhiyināle* | *eṟppaṭṭ' irukkiṟa śabdaṃgaḷ eṉṟum ikārattukku*[21] *lakṣmidevi arttham eṉṟumakāra*[~~*mu*~~]*ttukku viṣṇu varttham eṉṟum coṉṉār* | *kāṇ* | **yasya***a*[~~ga~~]*nagā* | *lakṣminārāyaṇamūrttiy eṉṟu* | *arttham* | *mattatusamānam āṃ* || [6r4–6]
>
> The way to extrapolate the meaning as pertaining to Viṣṇu. They said that the word ***yasya*** [consists of] the sounds that have arisen through the combination of *ī* and *a* [namely *ya*], and that *ī* means "Lakṣmī-devi," and that *a* means "Viṣṇu." Look! The meaning "the image of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa" [occurs] by saying [T] ***yasya***. The rest is the same—it is said (*āṃ*).

Despite some uncertainties concerning the reading of some characters in the manuscript (see Appendix), it seems that this passage and others where our author discusses other scholars' interpretations make use of the Tamil hearsay-evidential clitic *ām*. This clitic is supposed to be used to indicate that a certain event has not been

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[21] See n. 20.

personally witnessed by the person who is reporting it.[22] However, in the present text it seems to be used to report an opinion that is not agreed with.

In due course, all these alternative explanations are rejected on the basis of their alleged misinterpretation of Amarasiṃha's intent, here referred to, exclusively in Telugu, as *kavihṛdayamu* "heart of the poet":

> *ite mārgam āy* | *kliṣṭakalpanaiyaḷāle buddhimānṃgaḷ* | *anekārtthaṃgaḷai ūhikka varuṃ yeṉṟu* | *atu yellāṃ* | *kavihṛdayamu yillaiyeṉṟu* | *nampa veṇum* || [6v7–7r1]
>
> This being the way, it should be accepted that intelligent [commentators] will conjecture many meanings by means of tortured ideas, [but] all that does not correspond to (lit. is not) the heart of the poet [T] [i.e. to Amarasiṃha's intention].

One could ask why the interpretation of the verse as an invocation to the ocean should be discarded, given that Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ himself interprets the *mūla* as such and considering that this explanation is the only one where the clitic *ām* does not appear. The former issue may be understood as a matter of strategy of interpretation of the *mūla*, rather than of its actual interpretation. As pointed out in §2.2b, our author prefers to extrapolate the meaning of the text through the interpretation of its *śleṣa*s, rather than relying on what looks like a far-fetched use of sandhi rules. On the other hand, the absence of *ām* remains indeed an open issue, which could lead to different reading of other passages of the text.[23]

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[22] For the use of the clitic *ām* in modern Tamil, see for instance Lehmann (1989: 162).

[23] Note that *ām* could also be understood as a contracted form of the non-past 3rd person singular *ākum* "it is" or the homophonous non-past relative participle "that is." However, this interpretation would raise syntactic problems in some of passages where *ām* occurs and, most of all, would also constitute a suspicious reading, since this particular verbal form, which is rather popular in Classical Tamil (*cen-tamiḻ*), is never used elsewhere in the present text (see nn. 100, 102 and 104).

2.4 Aspects of intertextuality

From the commentary on verse 1 it is clear that Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ was familiar with Mallinātha Sūri's *Amarapadapārijāta*,[24] a South Indian commentary in Sanskrit of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*.

An implicit reference to Mallinātha's work can be traced at the very end of the first *tātparya*, where we find a verse attributed to Vyāḍi's thesaurus:

> *śrīśabdamunaku trivargasaṃpatparam āy* | *vyāḷinikhaṇḍuvile colli yirukiratu* || *ślokaṃ* ||
> lakṣmīsarasvatīdhātrītrivargasaṃpadvibhūtiśobhāsu |
> upakaraṇaveṣaracanār vasudhāsu śrīr iti prathitāḥ || [3v8-4r2]
>
> In Vyāḷi's thesaurus, relying on *trivargasampad* for the word *śrī*, the [following] verse is mentioned: "Śrī is proclaimed as Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, mother (?), prosperity in the three human ends (*trivargasampad*), power, lustre, means of support, fabrication of clothes (*veṣaracanā* ?), [and] earth."

It is by means of this lexicographical reference that our commentator is allowed to understand the word *śrī* as meaning *trivargasaṃpad* "prosperity in the three human ends." Interestingly, the same quotation—or rather a better reading of it—is found also in Mallinātha's work:[25]

> *lakṣmīsarasvatīdhātrītrivargasaṃpattivibhūtiśobhāsu* |
> *upakaraṇaveṣaracanāvasudhāsu śrīr iti prathitā* ||

As thoroughly accounted for by Robert Birwé,[26] Vyāḍi's work—called *Utpalinī*—is a long-lost thesaurus that is known only through fragments quoted by some commentaries of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*.[27]

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[24] Ramanathan (1971).
[25] Ramanathan (1971: 2).
[26] Birwé (1967: 51).
[27] This same verse found in RE22704 and in the *Amarapadapārijāta* is also quoted in Sarvānanda's *Ṭikāsarvasva* (12th cent.), Rāyamukuṭa's *Padacandrikā* (15th cent.), and Bhānujidīkṣita's *Vyākhyāsudhā* (17th cent.) Cf. Birwé (1967: 51).

Another implicit reference to the *Amarapadapārijāta* is found in the second *tātparya* (see also above §2.2b), which is based on an explanation of the *mūla* given by Mallinātha:

> **jñānadayā** | **jñāna** | *paramārtthaparijñānattukku* | **da** | *kuḍukkirat' āy irukkiṟatu* | **yā** | *mokṣalakṣmi kū*[*ṭa*]*ḍa* | upalakṣitasya | *kūṭiyirukkappaṭṭavaṉum āy* | [4r3-4]
> **With-knowledge-giving-Lakṣmī–knowledge**: of the thorough knowledge of the supreme meaning; **giving**: who is the giving; **with Lakṣmī (yā)**: together with Mokṣa-Lakṣmī. Of the characterised [i.e. of the ocean]: and he [i.e. the ocean] who is forever with [Mokṣa-Lakṣmī].

Mallinātha's exegesis runs as follows:

> **jñānadayā** *jñānadānasaṃpattyā* | *jñānasya dāḥ dānam iḥ saṃpattiḥ* | *tayā jñānadayety upalakṣaṇatṛtīyayā upalakṣitasyety arthaḥ* |[28]
> **With-knowledge-giving-success** (***jñāna-da-yā***), i.e. with-knowledge-donation-prosperity. **Giving**, i.e. giving of knowledge. **Success**, i.e. prosperity. The meaning is: of the characterised [ocean] with the characteristic [expressed] by the third [case ending],[29] namely with that success that is the giving of knowledge

If we compare these two passages, it is interesting to note that Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ makes direct use of the same word, namely *upalakṣitasya* "of the characterised [i.e. ocean]," found in Mallinātha's explanation. We can also observe that our author prefers to gloss *ī* as *mokṣa-lakṣmi* instead of *saṃpatti* "prosperity."

An explicit reference to the *Amarapadapārijāta* and its author is found a few lines later in the text. Once it is stated that other

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[28] Ramanathan (1971: 2).

[29] This is a reference to *Aṣhṭādhyāyī* 2.3.21: *itthaṃbhūtalakṣaṇe* "[The endings of the instrumental case are used] to denote the feature of an acquired state." See Vasu (1962: 186).

commentators of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* have read verse 1 as variously dedicated to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, etc. (see §§ 2.2b and 2.3), our commentator writes:

> *adu yellāṃ | jinamatāvalaṃbiyagu n-amarasiṃhanai vipakṣitatātparyyam āy irukka māṭṭāt' eṉṟu toṇukiṟatu | yinda artthattai tāne amarapadapārijātapraṇetan āy mallinātha-sūriyuṃ teriyappaṇṇiy irukkiṟāṉ* || [6r1–3]
>
> It seems that all this cannot be an opposite view to Amarasiṃha (*amarasiṃhanai*), who is a follower of the doctrine of the Jina. Even Mallināthasūri himself, the author of the *Amarapadapārijāta*, has proposed this interpretation (lit. expressed this meaning).

If we turn our attention to Mallinātha's explanation of the meaning of the word *saḥ* "he" in the *mūla*, we can read that this has been variously understood as referring to different deities:

> *sa śaivānāṃ śivaḥ vaiṣṇavānāṃ viṣṇuḥ jainānāṃ jinaḥ bauddhānāṃ buddha iti tattadadhidevatāpūrvasindhuḥ* |[30]
>
> "He" is Śiva for the Śaivas, Viṣṇu for the Vaiṣṇavas, Jina for the Jainas, and Buddha for the Bauddhas. The ocean accompanied by (*pūrva*) the tutelary deity of these or those [devotees].

Contrary to Mallinātha, Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ does not accept the possibility of reading different *iṣṭa-devatā*s in verse 1 and discards it on the basis of the *sahṛdayatvā* principle (see §§ 2.2b and 2.3). Nevertheless, he accounts for several of these alternative interpretations.

We can thus establish that Mallinātha's work was surely part of the scholarly background of our commentator, who however engages with his predecessor in a critical way.

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[30] Ramanathan (1971: 2).

Finally, Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ quotes, in a different passage of the text, a verse from a further thesaurus without, however, indicating either its title or its author:

> "akāro brahmaviṣṇvīśakamaṭheṣv aṃkaṇe 'pi ca" | *ane kośabalattunāle* [6v3-4]
>
> thanks to the power of the lexicon, which says [T] "*a* [means] Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśa (= Śiva), tortoise, and also court (*aṅkaṇa* for *aṅgaṇa*?)."

This verse appears in a slightly modified form in the 14th cent. lexicon *Nānārtharatnamālā* of Irugadaṇḍādhinatha.[31]

3. Graphic and Linguistic Features

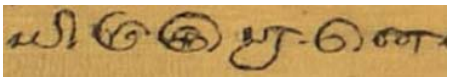
This section contains an analysis of the graphic and grammatical features characterising Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ's annotations to the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. Our commentator wrote most of his remarks in a particular version of Tamil that is both colloquial and Sanskritised. In this respect, RE22704 falls into the category of documents (see Preamble) that present us with a language that we can label Manipravalam or Brahmin Tamil. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the presence of a few Telugu words and expressions is most probably indicative of the actual mother tongue of Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ.

(a) Grantha Script and Tamil Spelling

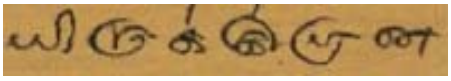
All three languages of RE22704 are written in Grantha (or Tamilian Grantha). Seldom, the Tamil characters *ṉ* and *ṟ* do appear, rather idiosyncratically, in words where they are expected (e.g. *nityaṉ* ~ *nityan*, *irukira* ~ *irukiṟa*). Notably, the letter *ṟ* is sometimes written with a particular character that could possibly be understood to be the

[31] Kulkarni (1929: 72). We thank Victor D'Avella for pointing out this reference to us. The original text reads *akāro brahmaviṣṇvīśakamaṭheṣv aṃgaṇe raṇe.* See Kulkarni (1929: 72).

Grantha consonant cluster *gr*, the pronunciation of which could resemble that of *ṟ*.[32] For instance:



[5r4] *yirukkiṟaṉ eº*



[6r3] *yirukkiṟāṉ*

A consequence of using Grantha to write Tamil words is that single intervocalic consonants and consonants preceded by a nasal sound are often written as voiced consonants, i.e. as they are in fact pronounced in Tamil (e.g. *paḍi* for *paṭi*, *engira* for *eṉkiṟa*, but *yillātatunāle*). Furthermore, a *y* glide is added in front of words beginning with *i* and *e* (e.g. *yirukkira* for *irukkiṟa*, *yeṉkiṟa* for *eṉkiṟa*) even when they are preceded by a consonant or a non-palatal vowel.

It is however the case that, in general, the spelling of Tamil words is rather inconsistent throughout the manuscript, e.g. *śeyutu* ~ *śeytu*, *enkira* ~ *eṃgira* ~ *engira* ~ *yeṉkiṟa*, *irukkiṟatu* ~ *yirukiratu*, *irukira* ~ *irukiṟa* ~ *irukkira* ~ *yirukkira*, *perukaḷ* ~ *perkaḷ*, *-kaḷ* ~ *-kkaḷ* ~ *-ṃgaḷ* (plural ending as in *uḷḷavarkaḷāle* ~ *paṇḍitarkkaḷe* ~ *buddhimānṃgaḷ*).

(b) Registers of Tamil

Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ's Tamil could be easily labelled as Manipravalam. Although he does employ a few Tamil words (in particular adverbs, such as *tirumpavum*), the great majority of words

[32] Note that in Modern Tamil there is no difference in the pronunciation of *ṟ* and *r* (Keane [2004]), although the differentiation is maintained in written Tamil, thus reflecting what was originally a minimal pair (cf., for instance, *maram* "tree" ~ *maṟam* "courage"). According to the Tamil grammarians, *ṟ* was originally a stop consonant. See, for instance, *Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttatikāram* rule 1.19 and Subrahmanya Sastri (1930: 3).

are made of Sanskrit nominal and verbal stems combined together with Tamil case and verbal endings.

The phonology of these stems generally matches the original Sanskrit one. There are, however, a few notable exceptions, e.g. *grandha* for *grantha*, *nikhaṇḍu* for *nighaṇṭu*, *maṃgaḷam* for *maṃgalam*, *kṛpāḷu* for *kṛpālu*.

Tamil words and endings are mostly given in their colloquial form.[33] We can thus observe cases of (1) vocalic opening, such as *e* for *i* and *a* for *ai*, (2) palatalisation of consonants, such as *cc* for *tt* and *ñj* for *nd* (in particular when these clusters are used as past tense suffixes), and (3) simplification (i.e. phonologically reduced markedness) of certain consonant clusters, such as *tt* for *ṟṟ*, *nn* (but also *ṇ*) for *ṉṟ*. Here is a list of pertinent examples:

- *neravettukiratarku* [1r3] "in order to complete," instead of *niṟaivēṟṟukiṟatarku* (*e* instead of *i*; *a* instead of *ai*; *tt* instead of *ṟṟ*).
- *niścayicci* [2r3] "having decided," for *niścayittu*, *nirddeśiccu* [2v6] "having indicated,"for *nirddeśittu*, *prayogicci* [3v6] "having employed," for *prayogittu*, *raciyiccavān* [3v7] "author," for *raciyittavāṉ*, *uddeśicci* [4v6] "indicating," for *uddeśittu*.
- *aḍañjārkaḷ* [5v2] "those who obtained," for *aṭaintārkaḷ*, *aḍaya* [5v3] ("to obtain") for *aḍaiya*, *aḍañja* [5v3] "who obtained," for *aṭainta*.
- *mattatu* [6r7] "the rest," for *maṟṟatu*.
- *anniyil* [6r1] "however," for *aṉṟiyil*.
- *toṇappaḍukiratu* [3v7-8] "he (lit. it) appears," for *tōṉṟappaṭukiṟatu*, and *toṇukiṟatu* [6r2] "it seems," for *tōṉṟukiṟatu*.

Furthermore, some of the features characterising the language employed by Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ could be classified as Brahmin Tamil:[34]

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[33] Schiffman (1999).

[34] Secondary literature describing the features of Brahmin Tamil is scant. A list of pertinent sources is found in Ciotti (2017: 198, n. 12).

- initial *c* pronounced as palatal sibilant: *śeyutu*/*śeytu* [1r2/2v4] "having made" for *ceytu*, *śonnavan* [2v6] "he pronounced" for *coṉṉavaṉ* (but also *coṉṉār*).

- plural in -*āḷ* for -*kaḷ* for animate nouns, e.g. °*paraṃparāḷukku* [1r6–7] "to the generations," *avāḷavāḷ* [2r6] "of different people," *paṇḍitottamāḷai* [2v4-5] "the best among the scholars," *paṇḍitāḷe* [2v7] "o scholars!," *puruṣāḷāle* [3r4] "by men." But *nikhilajanaṃgaḷukku* [2r7] "to everyone," *uḷḷavarkaḷāle* [3r1] "by those who have." Note also the plural in -*yaḷ* for -*kaḷ*: *grandhādiyaḷile* [1r7] "at the beginning of [his] work," *kliṣṭakalpanaiyaḷāle* [6v7-8] "by means of tortured ideas."

- relative sub-clauses with both relative pronoun and -*o* appended to the word ending the sub-clause: *yeṃda paramātmāvinuḍaya* [...] *nirṃmalamunnu ayinavo* | *ānado* (<*yasya ... anaghāḥ*) [1v7 ... 2r1–2] "of which supreme being ... [the qualities] are [x2] pure [T],"[35] *yeṃda samudrattinuḍaya ... niṣkaluṣam ānavo* (<*yasya siṃdhoḥ ... anaghāḥ*) [4r5-6] "of which ocean ... [the qualities] are without impurity."

- suffix -*un*-/-*uṉ*- instead of -*iṉ*-: °*śleṣattunāleyuṃ*/°*śleṣattuṉāle* [4v4/4v7] "by means of *śleṣam*" (but *sandhiyināle* [6r4–5] "through the combination"), [*a*]*tunāle* [5r3] "because of the fact." The latter is frequently used after a verbal noun (3rd person singular neuter) to construe a causal clause: *yirukkiratunāleyum* [3v6-7] "by the fact," *yillātatunāle* [2r1] "by being devoid," etc.

A feature that, for the time being, we cannot ascribe to any particular register of Tamil, but that is worth noting is that our author seems to have a predilection for a particularly elaborated type of verbal finite forms: *paṇṇinavan ānān* [1r8] "he composed" (lit. "he is the one who composed"), *teriyappaṭuttiṉavaṉ āṉ*[*āṉ*] [4v6–7] "he expressed" (lit. "he is the one who expressed").

[35] Concerning the meaning of [x2] and [T], see the introduction to the Appendix. Concerning the words *ayinavo* and *ānado*, see n. 52.

(c) Special use of Sanskrit

Owing to the Late Manipravalam style employed by our commentator, the text makes ample use of long Sanskrit compounds (with Tamil case endings). In a few cases, the Sanskrit words contained in those compounds present peculiar features:

- *viśvavidvajjaninikhiladevatā*°[1r3] "all sages and all gods" and *viśvavidvajjanīnanikhiladevatā*° [4r5, 4v2] contain what seem to be irregular forms of *jana* ("people"), i.e. *jani* and *janīna*, respectively.

- *kṣārodakavatvapūtigandhavatvād*[*i*]°[5r5] "such as the fact of having salt water [and] the fact of having a fetid odour" reads *vatva* instead of *vat-tva.*

- *grandharacanaiprāraṃbhaṃ* [1r4–5] "starting the composition of a work" contains the word *racanai* "composition," i.e. the Tamil rendition of the Sanskrit word *racanā.*

- *trivargasaṃpataiprāpti* [3v2] "the attainment of prosperity in the three human ends" could be interpreted as containing the inflected word *saṃpatai* "prosperity" in the accusative.

(d) Remarks on Telugu

Telugu makes only a few and idiosyncratic appearances, often translating Tamil words and short expressions that are also included in the text. For instance, the very beginning of RE22704 reads *amarasiṃhuṃḍ' ane graṃdhakartta amarasiṃhan enkira grandhakarttā* [1r1] "the author of the work, called Amarasiṃha"—*amarasiṃhuṃḍ' ane graṃdhakartta* being the part in Telugu. Some other times, we find fully inflected Telugu words embedded in Tamil sentences, e.g. *parabrahmanu* [...] *dhyānaṃ paṇṇi* [1r4] "having meditated [...] upon the Supreme Brahman," *atu yellāṃ kavihṛdayamu yillai* [6v8-7r1] "all that does not correspond to (lit. is not) the heart of the poet [i.e. to Amarasiṃha's intention]." It also happens sometimes that Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ starts writing a word in Telugu and then

changes it into Tamil (these cases are signalled in the edition of the text given in the Appendix).

A notable feature that sometimes makes its appearance in the text is an epenthetic *n* occurring between two Tamil words. This phenomenon is tricky to reckon with, but could be explained as an influence of Telugu. On the one hand, some Telugu case endings end in *n*, e.g. dative -*kun*, and this could have been transferred to Tamil case endings as in:

- *parirakṣaṇattile-naparimitakṛpāḷan* [3r2–3] "immeasurably compassionate in protecting all [his] devotees."
- *kṣayaśabdattuku-nutpattikāraṇabhūtan ām* [6r8–6v1] "and that the word *kṣaya* [has the meaning]—it is said—'he is the cause of creation'."

On the other hand, Telugu knows a peculiar *sandhi* usually called *druta-sandhi* ("quick [word-]combination") that consists of the insertion of an *n* after certain categories of words (classified as *druta-prakṛtulu* words[36]). A few epenthetic *n*s could fall into this category:

- *trividhajanaṃgaḷuṃ n-aṃgīkāraṃ paṇṇuṃpaḍi* [2v3] "so that the three kinds of people will agree."
- *nirguṇasaguṇaparam āy* | *n-arthavivecanapaṇṇukirataṟku* [3r5–6] "for distinguishing the meaning [of the verse] as related to both unqualifiedand qualified [brahman]."
- *jinamatāvalaṃbi yagu n-amarasiṃhanai* [6r1] "Amarasiṃha, who is a follower of the doctrine of the Jina."

At the present stage we will not venture into a classification of the (morpho-phonological?) contexts in which this *sandhi* phenomenon occurs.

4. Conclusion

In order to fully appreciate the—sometimes dazzling—features characterising RE22704, we invite the reader to venture into the

[36] See Brown (1857: 325–328).

Appendix of this article, which contains the edition of the text and an English translation of it. While appreciating the ingenuity of Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ in trying to offer an exhaustive explanation of verse 1 of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* as well as in pushing through his personal interpretations, the reader will also be able to appreciate the complex multilingual nature of this short work, which serves as a good reminder of the variegated linguistic background from which it originated.

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Appendix: Text and Translation

In order to facilitate the reading we have split the text into meaningful blocks, each of them followed by its translation.

Notes on the text:

a. The text is given in diplomatic transcription with only a limited number of emendations inserted in square brackets and, when needed, discussed in the footnotes. A light punctuation is added.

b. Sanskrit words are in normal characters, with the *mūla* highlighted in bold. Tamil and Telugu are written in italics.

c. The transliteration of characters that are difficult to read is underlined. Originally erased characters are given in square brackets and stricken out.

Notes on the translation:

a. [x2] indicates that the same word or expression is repeated twice in the original text, both in Tamil and in Telugu. [T] indicates that a word or expression appears in the original text just in Telugu.

b. In order to mirror as closely as possible the original syntax, we have sometimes made use of indentation for subclauses governed by an absolutive (or gerund) verbal form.

[guard leaf] ௳ śubham astu amarapaṃcakai postakaṃ ௳ ௳ gomatisahāyaṃ

May there be prosperity. The manuscript of the *Amarapaṃcakai*. The support of Gomatī.

[on the left margin of 1r] śubham astu avighnam astu amarasiṃhaṃ prathamakāṇḍaṃ

May there be prosperity. May there be no obstacle. The first book of the *Amarasiṃham*.

[1r] *amarasiṃhuṃḍ' ane grandhakartta amarasiṃhan enkira grandhakarttā tān paṇṇukiratarkku yetnaṃ śeyutu yirukkira*

nāmaliṃgānuśāsanam eṃgira uttamanikhaṇḍugrandhaṃ nirvighnam āy neravettukiratarku,[37] *viśvavidvajjaniṉikhiladevatānivahasvarūpam*[38] *āna parabrahmanu*[39] *tannuḍaya hṛdaya antarantile*[40] *dhyānaṃ paṇṇi, grandharacanaiprāraṃbhaṃ* [*a*]*vyavahitam āy*[41] *pūrvakālaṃbuna pūrvakālattile iṣṭadevatāddhyānaṃ śeṟ*[*va*]*tu*[42] *atyantāvaśyakam engira artthattai tannuḍaya śiṣyavargaparaṃparāḷukku upadeśaṃ paṇṇukira nimittam āy grandhādiyaḷile*[43] *ślokarūpam āy devatāprārtthanai paṇṇiṉavan ānān* ||||

The author of the work, who is called Amarasiṃha, [x2] in order to complete without obstacle the supreme thesaurus called *Nāmaliṃgānuśāsanam*, which he had made an effort (*yeṯṉaṃ*)[44] to compose,

> having meditated inside his heart on the Supreme Brahman [T], who has the form of the multitude of all sages and all gods,

composed a prayer for god in the form of a *ślokam* at the beginning of his work for the sake of teaching to the generations of his students the fact (*artthattai*) that an act (*śey*[*va*]*tu*) of meditation upon the *iṣṭadevatā* immediately ([*a*]*vyavahitam āy*) before [x2] starting the composition of a work is absolutely necessary.[45]

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[37] Colloquial form of *niṟaivēṟṟukiṟataṟku*.

[38] °*jani*° should be probably read as °*jana*°.

[39] Note the Telugu accusative ending -*nu*.

[40] Read *antarattile* [1r4].

[41] Emendation. The manuscript reads *vyavahitam āy* [1r5]. The reasons for this emendation are explained in n. 45.

[42] Emendation. The manuscript reads *śeṟtu* [1r6]. The reasons for this emendation are explained in n. 45.

[43] Possibly, the plural ending -*aḷ* is here an honorific feature.

[44] The character of the consonant cluster in *yeṯṉaṃ* [1r2] is difficult to read. We propose the reading *tn*, since the whole word can be understood as an aberrant form of Sanskrit *yatna* "effort." Alternatively, one could read *tt*.

[45] The passage *grandharacanaiprāraṃbhaṃ vyavahitam āy pūrvakālaṃbuna pūrvakālattile iṣṭadevatāddhyānaṃ śeṟtuatyantāvaśyakam engira artthattai* is unclear. As such, it could be translated as "the fact (*artthattai*) that, having previously [x2] [and] interruptedly (*vyavahitam āy*) meditated upon the *iṣṭadevatā*,

[1v] *maṃgaḷaślokaṃ* | *mū*[46] | **yasya jñānadayāsindhor agādhasyānaghā guṇāḥ | sevyatām akṣayo dhīrās sa śriyai cāmṛtāya ca** | 1 || *prathamārtthaṃ* || *uṟai*[47] || **dhīrāḥ** | *nirguṇopāsakāḷ āyuṃ saguṇopāsakāḷ*[48] *āyuṃ yirukkira paṇḍitarkkaḷe* [|] **jñānadayāsindhoḥ | jñāna** || *nikhilopaniṣatpratipādanaparamatatvārtthattukkuṃ* || **dayā** | *bhaktajanaparirakṣaṇattile yirukkira avyājakaruṇaikkuṃ* | **sindhoḥ** | *jalattukku samudranaip polane*[49] | *ādhārabhūta*[~~m~~]*m*[50] *āy* | **agādhasya** |

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starting the composition of a work is absolutely necessary." However, this would make no sense.

Our translation opts for emending *vyavahitam āy* [1r5] into *avyavahitam āy* and *śeṯtu* [1r6] into *śeyvatu*. It remains unclear whether *grandharacanaiprāraṃbhaṃ* [*a*]*vyavahitam āy pūrvakālaṃbuna pūrvakālattile* yields, as it is, the meaning we have provided in our translation (i.e. "immediately before [x2] starting the composition of a work"), or needs to be emended into, for instance, *grandharacanaiprāraṃbhattukku*.

Finally, it could be possible to read *śeṯtu* as an absolutive, i.e. without emendation, and translate *grandharacanaiprāraṃbhaṃ* [*a*]*vyavahitam āy pūrvakālaṃbuna pūrvakālattile iṣṭadevatāddhyānaṃ śeṯtuatyaṃtāvaśyakam engira artthattai* [...] *upadeśaṃ paṇṇukiranimittam āy* as "having meditated upon the *iṣṭadevatā* immediately before [x2] the beginning of the composition of a work, for the sake of teaching that [this] point (*artthattai*) is absolutely necessary." In this case *artthattai* would refer not only to the act of meditation expressed by the sub-clause ending in *iṣṭadevatāddhyānaṃ śeṯtu*, but also to that expressed by the sub-clause ending in *dhyānaṃ paṇṇi*. However, this solution would raise a syntactic oddity, in light of the style of our author, who generally seems to prefer *āna* instead of *engira* (in any of its alternative spellings, see § 3[a]) for predications. On the basis of this stylistic observation, we thus justify our emendation of *śeṯtu* into *śeyvatu*. Furthermore, note also the sentence *appaḍikk' onda nikhiladevatātmakasamudrattai prārtthanai paṇṇukiratu uttamam eṉṟu paṇḍitāḷai uddeśicci* [4v5–6] "indicating to the scholars that it is excellent to pray to such ocean that consists of all gods," where the construction *prārtthanai paṇṇukiratu uttamam eṉṟu* mirrors the construction *iṣṭadevatāddhyānaṃ śey* [*va*]*tu atyantāvaśyakam engira* that we propose.

[46] Abbreviation for *mūlam*.

[47] Read *urai*.

[48] Emendation. The manuscript reads *saguṇopāsakaḷ*.

[49] We understand *polane* (probably corresponding to the Tamil standard form *pōlaṉē*) as a rarely attested variant of the standard *pōlē* ("like"). We found ten occurrences of போலனே ("*pōlaṉē*") through an online Google search (31.07.2018).

[50] This is the first of several cases in which Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ started writing a word in Telugu and then corrected it into Tamil. Here [1v6], he first wrote *m* in Tamil and then changed it into a Grantha *m*.

avāṅmanasagocaran āy atigaṃbhīran āy irukkira | **yasya** | *nirguṇasaguṇasvarūpan āna yenda paramātmāvinuḍaya* | **guṇāḥ** | *satyajñānānandaṃgaḷuṃ* | *nikhilakalyāṇaguṇaṃgaḷuṃ* || **anaghāḥ** | *sarvasiddhāntasammatam āy irukiṟa* | *bādhaka*[~~*mu?unnu*~~]*ṃgaḷ*[51] | *yi*[2r]*llāmal* | *māyopādhirahitaṃgaḷuṃ*, | *heyaguṇāṃśaleśaṃ yillātatunāle* | *nirṃmalamunnu* | *ayinavo* | *ānado*[52] | **akṣayaḥ** | *nityuḍunnu* | *nityan āy* | *nāśarahitan āy irukkira* | **saḥ** | *nirguṇa-saguṇasvarūp*[~~*uḍayi*~~]*an*[53] *āy irukkira* | *anda paramātmā* | **amṛtāya ca** | *nityakaivalyarūpam āy irukkira mokṣattu nimittyaṃ* | *āyuṃ* | **śriyai ca** | *dharmmārtthakāmaṃgaḷ eṃgira trivarga-aiśvaryyanimittyamuṃ* | **sevyatāṃ** | *nirvikalpakasamāddhyādikri*[~~*ya*~~]*yainále svāvyatiriktan āy* | *yeppotuṃ* | *bhāvikkappaḍuvān*, | *avāḷavāḷ matānusāram āy* | *śaṃkhacakraśūlādyāyudhadharan āy ddhyānikkappaḍuvān āka* |

Invocation verse. Root-text: **O scholars! The imperishable one, the unfathomable ocean of knowledge and compassion, whose qualities are stainless, he should be worshipped for both *śrī* and immortality** (1). First meaning. Commentary. **O learned ones!**: O scholars who are followers of the unqualified and qualified [brahman]. **Of-the-ocean-of-knowledge-and-compassion** – **knowledge**: of the supreme truth the teaching of which is in all Upaniṣads; **compassion**: of the uncorrupted compassion that lies in the protection of the devotees. **Of the ocean**: he being a vessel, like the ocean for water. **Unfathomable**: that is beyond the reach of speech and mind, and very deep. **Whose**: of which supreme being that has a nature [that is] both unqualified and qualified [brahman]. **Qualities**: truth, knowledge, and bliss, as well as all virtuous qualities. **Flawless**: they are [x2] free from the condition of illusion without the hindrances that are acknowledged by all the doctrines (?),

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[51] Emendation. The manuscript reads *abādhakaṃgaḷ* [1v8]. The double negation in *a-bādhakaṃgaḷ yillāmal* seems to be a mistake. Furthermore, note that the Telugu *abādhakamunnu* is changed into Tamil *abādhakaṃgaḷ*.

[52] Note that both the Telugu *ayina-v-o* and its Tamil counterpart *ānad'-o* sport the suffix -*o*, which marks the end of the relative clause.

[53] In *nirguṇasaguṇasvarūp*[~~*uḍayi*~~]*an āy irukkira* [2r2–3] the Telugu °*svarūpuḍ' ayina* is changed into Tamil °*svarūpan*.

and pure [T] by being devoid of [even] a fraction of a part of bad qualities. **Imperishable**: who is devoid of destruction, [i.e.] eternal [x2]. **He**: that supreme being who has both unqualifiedand qualified nature. **And for immortality**: and for the sake of liberation, which has the nature of eternal aloneness. **And for *śrī***: and for the sake of sovereignty over the triple aim, which is called *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*. **Should be worshipped**: may he be (*āka*) the one who is always thought of [by followers of the unqualified brahman] as identical to himself by actions such as non-conceptual meditation (*nirvikalpaka-samādhi*), [and] the one who is meditated upon [by followers of the qualified brahman] as the bearer of the weapons, the conch, the discus, the trident (*śūla*), etc., according to the belief of different people, [i.e. vaiṣṇavas and śaivas].[54]

amarasiṃmhan | *nikhilajanaṃgaḷukku samastaviṣayaṃgaḷuṃ* | *karatalāmalakam āy* | *teriyuṃ paḍiy āy* | *uttamanikhaṇḍuvai paṇṇa niścayicci*, [2v] *anda nikhaṇḍuvukku ādiyile atyantaṃ mṛdupākam āy* | *atiramaṇiyyam āy* | *tān paṇṇina maṃgaḷaślokaṃ*, | *astikama-tāvalaṃba*[~~*ā*~~]*m ā*/ *na advaitadvaitaviśiṣṭādvaitu*[55] *śollappaṭṭa trividha-janaṃgaḷuṃ* [~~*ga*~~]*n-aṃgīkāraṃ*[56] *paṇṇuṃ paḍi nirguṇaparam āyuṃ* | *saguṇaparam āyuṃ* | *arttthaṃ ākira vidham āy bhagavatguṇaṃgaḷai varṇanaṃ śeytu*, | *paṇḍitottamāḷai saṃbodhanai paṇṇi*, *akhilajanaṃgaḷukkuṃ* | *sevyam āna uttama*[?]*vastuvai innat' ennru*[57] *nirddeśiccu teriyuṃ paḍi śonnavan ānān* ||

[54] The conch and the discus are symbols usually attributed to Viṣṇu, whereas the trident is usually attributed to Śiva.

[55] Possibly, read °*viśiṣṭādvaittu* [2v2] (Tamil oblique stem) with a missing case ending (probably, locative or dative).

[56] Note the possible *druta-sandhi*.

[57] Note the graphic rendition of °*nnru* (read °*ṉṟu*) [2v6].

Amarasiṃhan,

> having decided to compose the best thesaurus so that everyone understands—as [clearly as one can know a] *nelli* fruit on the palm of his own hand—all topics,[58]
>
> having made the description of the qualities of the lord in such a way that there is a meaning that pertains to both unqualified and qualified [brahman], so that the three kinds of people that are mentioned in connection with the *advaita*, *dvaita*, and *viśiṣṭādvaita* [schools],[59] which support the *astika* [sic!] tenet, will agree on it,
>
> [and] having addressed the best among the scholars,

pronounced the invocation verse,[60] which he made very easy to digest (lit. softly cooked) [and] extremely pleasing, at the beginning of that thesaurus, in order for everyone to know the great [subject] matter that has to be honoured, having indicated [it] as such (*innat' ennru*).

nirguṇaparam āy ākira tātparyyaṃ || *advaitamatāvalaṃbam āna paṇḍitāḷe* | *jñānasvarūpan āyy anirvacanīyamahimai uḷḷa paramātmā* | *māyopādhirahitan eṉṟum* | *nityaṉ e* [3r]*ṉṟuṃ* | *mokṣāpekṣai uḷḷavarkaḷāle bhāvikkappaḍat takuvān* ||

The purport conforming to the unqualified [brahman]. O scholars who follow the *advaita* doctrine! The supreme being who has ineffable greatness—having knowledge as his essential nature—is well-suited to

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[58] To know something like a *kara-tala-āmalakam* "a *nelli* fruit on the palm of the hand," in Tamil *kaiyyilaṅku nellikkaṉipōl* "like a *nelli* fruit that shines on the hand" (this expression is used in Rāmānujācāryyar [1849: title page]), means to know something clearly and completely. *Nelli* fruits are known in English, among other names, as Indian gooseberries.

[59] We translate *advaitadvaitaviśiṣṭādvaitu śollappaṭṭa* as "that are mentioned in connection with the *advaita*, *dvaita*, and *viśiṣṭādvaita* [schools]" and not as "that are called *advaita*, *dvaita*, and *viśiṣṭādvaita*." The latter would presumably require the compound to read something like *advaitidvaitiviśiṣṭādvaitiyāḷ*.

[60] The word *maṅgaḷaślokam* must be understood as the object of *śonnavan ānān*, although unmarked as such in the text.

be praised by those who aim at liberation, since [he is] both free from the condition of illusion, and eternal.

saguṇaparam āy ākira tātparyyaṃ || vo paṇḍitāḷe | nikhilabhaktajanaparirakṣaṇattile-ṅ[61] *aparimitakṛpāḷan āy akhilakalyāṇaguṇagaṇākaran āy irukkira bhagavan trivargasaṃpadai*[62] *apekṣikkira puruṣāḷāle sevikkappaḍat takuvār* ||

The purport conforming to the qualified [brahman]. Oh scholars! The lord, who is immeasurably compassionate in protecting all [his] devotees [and] mine (*ākaran*) of all the multitudes of auspicious qualities, is well-suited to be worshipped by men who aim at prosperity in the three human ends.

kavihṛdayaparijñānamūlahṛdayaṃ ||| yindap prakāraṃ nirguṇasaguṇaparam āy | n-arthavivecanapaṇṇukiratarku[63] *mūlam ennatu*? | *īślokamandu yiṃda ślokattile nirguṇasaguṇabodhakapadam*[64] *āna* | **jñānadayāsiṃdhoḥ** | *ade samastapadattile* | **jñānasiṃdhoḥ** | **dayāsiṃdhoḥ** | *yeṉṟu* | *ververe arttham ākiratai śolil, ubhayārtthabodhakam āy* | [3v] **agādhasya** | **yasya** | **guṇāḥ** | **anaghāḥ** | *yeṉṟu* | *śirutu śabdaṃgaḷai* | **akṣayaḥ** | **saḥ** | *yeṉṟu* | *teriyum*[65] *paṭi yirukku|ratunāleyuṃ*,[66] | *saguṇopāsakāḷukku trivargasaṃpatai-prāpti*[67] *uṇḍākirat' eṉṟum* | *nirguṇopāsakāḷukku mokṣaprāpti uṇḍākirat' eṉṟu*[*m*] | *tannuḍaya abhiprāyattai teriyiratarkkāka*[68] | **śriyai** | *yeṉkiṟa* |*trivargasaṃpadvācakam āna* | *śriśabdattai*[69] *pratyekam āy* | *prayogaṃ paṇṇi* | *mokṣārtthakam āna* **amṛtāya** | *ane yeṉkiṟa*[70]

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[61] Note the epenthetic *n*.
[62] Note *°saṃpadai* is the accusative of Sanskrit *sampad*.
[63] Note the possible *druta-sandhi*.
[64] Emendation. The manuscript reads *°sadam* [3r7], which apparently makes no sense.
[65] The syllable *°yum* is written in its abbreviated form [3v2].
[66] To be read as *irukkiratunāleyum*. This expression occurs again later in the text.
[67] The *°ai°* in *trivarga-saṃpatai-prāpti* is difficult to justify. It could be a Tamil accusative ending inserted by mistake in the compound.
[68] *āka* is here used to strengthen the dative in *teriyiratarkku*, in turn probably a colloquial form of *terivataṟkku*.
[69] See n. 20.
[70] Note that *ane* is the Telugu equivalent of the Tamil *y-eṉkiṟa*.

padattaiyuṃ | *pratyekam āy prayogicci yirukkiratunāleyum*, | *yinta ślokaṃ* | *saguṇanirguṇaparam āy* | *raciyiccavān āy paṇṇinavan āy toṇappaḍukiratu*[71] |

The heart as the basis for understanding the heart of the poet. In this way (*yiṃdap prakāraṃ*) what is the basis for distinguishing the meaning [of the verse] as related to both unqualified and qualified [brahman]? [Answer:] **of-the-ocean-of-knowledge-and-compassion**, which is the word conveying both unqualified and qualified [brahman] in this verse [x2]. With reference to that (*ade*),[72]

> if one argues (*śolil*) for the presence (*ākiratai*) of different meanings, [i.e.] **of-the-ocean-of-knowledge** and **of-the-ocean-of-compassion**, in the compound (*samasta-padattile*),
> by aiming at clarifying (*teriyum paṭi yirukku*|*ratunāleyuṃ*) the few words **unfathomable**, **whose**, **qualities**, **flawless** as well as **imperishable**, **he** as being conveyors of both meanings,[73]
> and by the fact of having specifically employed the word *śrī*, which means "prosperity in the three human ends," as **for *śrī*** [in the *mūla*], [and] having specifically employed the word **for immortality** [in the *mūla*], which means liberation, for the sake of clarifying his intended meaning as both the attainment of prosperity in the three human ends for those who follow the qualified [brahman], and the attainment of liberation for those who follow the unqualified [brahman],

it appears that (*āy toṇappaḍukiratu*) he [i.e. Amarasiṃha] made, i.e. he composed, this *ślokam* so that it conforms (°*param āy*) to both unqualified and qualified [brahman].[74]

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[71] Colloquial form of *tōṉṟappaṭukiṟatu*.

[72] The Tamil pronoun *ade* (normalised as *at'-ē*) is understood here adverbially, in the same way as the pronoun *tad* is sometimes used in Sanskrit.

[73] The translation of the passage *ubhayārtthabodhakam āy* [...] *yirukku* | *ratunāleyuṃ* should be considered provisional. In particular, the position of the accusative *śabdaṃgaḷai* and whether it can depend on *teriyum* are problematic issues.

[74] It seems that the only way to make the syntax of the sentence *yinta ślokaṃ* | *saguṇanirguṇaparam āy* | *raciyiccavān āy paṇṇinavan āy toṇappaḍukiratu* work is

śrīśabdamunaku trivargasaṃpatparam āy[75] | *vyāḷinikhaṇḍuvile colli yiru*[4r]*kiratu* || *ślokaṃ* ||
lakṣmīsarasvatīdhātrītrivargasaṃpadvibhūtiśobhāsu |
upakaraṇaveṣaracanāvasudhāsu śrīr iti prathitāḥ[76] ||

In Vyāḷi's thesaurus, relying on *trivargasampad* for the word *śrī* [T], the [following] verse is mentioned: "Śrī is proclaimed as Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, mother (?), prosperity in the three human ends (*trivargasampad*), power, lustre, means of support, fabrication of clothes (*veṣaracanā* ?), [and] earth."

arttham || *dvitiyārtthaṃ* || *he dhīrāḷe*[77] | *vo paṇḍitāḷe* | **jñānadayā** | **jñāna** | *paramārtthaparijñānattukku* | **da** | *kuḍukkirat' āy irukkiṟatu* | **yā** | *mokṣalakṣmi kū*[*ṭa*]*ḍa* | upalakṣitasya | *kūṭiyirukkappaṭṭavaṉum āy* | **agādhasya** | *avāṅmanasagocara*[*n*] *āna*[78] | **yasya** | **siṃdhoḥ** | *viśvavidvajjaṉīṉanikhiladevatānivahasvarūpan āna* | *yeṃda samudrattinuḍaya* | **guṇāḥ** | *guṇaṃgaḷ* | *nikhilakalyāṇaguṇaṃgaḷ* | **anaghāḥ** | *niṣkaluṣam*[79] *ānavo* | **akṣayaḥ** | *kālatray\āvasth/āyi ākiratuṉāle* | *nāśarahituḍ' aina* | **saḥ** | [*ābha*][80]*aṃda bhagavān* | **śriyai ca** | *trivargasaṃpadnimityamuṃ* | **amṛtāya ca** | *mokṣattukkākavum* | [4v] **sevyatāṃ** | *sevikkappaḍuṃ* ||

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to understand the *āy* immediately preceding *toṇappaḍukiratu* as introducing a *that*-clause, i.e. a declarative clause. Cf. below the expression *eṉṟu toṇukiṟatu* [6r2].

[75] Possibly, emend into *āna*. However, the syntax would be then odd since one would have to link it directly to *ślokaṃ*.

[76] A better reading is found in Mallinātha's *Amarapadapārijāta*:
lakṣmīsarasvatīdhātrī-trivargasaṃpattivibhūtiśobhāsu |
upakaraṇaveṣaracanāvasudhāsu śrīr iti prathitā || Ramanathan (1971: 2).
For further remarks, see § 2.4.

[77] Here the scribe made a mistake by directly giving the Manipravalam equivalent of the Sanskrit original **dhīrāḥ**.

[78] This passage could also be read *avāṅmanasagocarān*, but a relative clause is more appropriate as a gloss for an adjective (in this case *agādhasya*). Furthermore, the expression *°gocaran āna* is attested below.

[79] Emendation. The manuscript reads *niṣkalyaṣam*.

[80] Here [4r7], *ābhagavāntulu* would have been the Telugu equivalent of *aṃda bhagavān*.

Meaning. Second meaning. O learned ones: oh scholars! **With-knowledge-giving-Lakṣmī** – **knowledge**: of the thorough knowledge of the supreme meaning; **giving**: who is the giving; **with Lakṣmī (yā)**: together with Mokṣa-Lakṣmī. Of the characterised [i.e. of the ocean]: and he [i.e. the ocean] who is forever with [Mokṣa-Lakṣmī]. **Unfathomable**: beyond speech and mind. **Of which ocean**: of which ocean whose nature is the multitude of all sages and all gods. **Qualities**: qualities, [i.e.] all good qualities. **Flawless**: are without impurity (*niḥ-kaluṣam*). **Imperishable**: he who is free from destruction [T], since he resides in the three times [i.e. past, present, and future]. **He**: this lord. **And for *śrī***: and for the sake of prosperity in the three human ends [i.e. *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*]. **And for immortality**: and for the liberation. **Should be worshipped**: may he be worshipped.

tātparyyavivaraṇaṃ || yiṃda grandhakarttā | sarvamatasiddhāṃtapratipādyan āy irukkira bhagavānai viśvavidvajjanīnanikhiladevatānivahasiṃdhuv āy bhāvittu, | appaḍikk' onda[81] *devatāsiṃdhuvukkuṃ | asmadṛggocaram āy irukira | samudrattukkuṃ | uṇḍāy irukiṟa viśeṣatārataṃmyattai | śabdaśleṣattunāleyuṃ | artthaśleṣattunāleyuṃ | [a]ariyap paṇṇi, | appaḍikk' onda nikhiladevatātmakasamudrattai prārtthanai paṇṇukiratu uttamam eṉṟu paṇḍitāḷai uddeśicci, tannuḍaya abhiprāyattai teriyappaṭuttiṉavaṉ āṉ[āṉ]*[82] ||| ๑ |||

Explanation of the purport. The author of this work expressed his own intention (*abhiprāyattai*)

> conceiving of the lord who must be established in the final teachings of all doctrines as an ocean that is the multitude of all wise people and all gods,

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[81] A more standard version of *appaḍikku onda* would be *appaḍikku otta*, lit. "that is similar to that way."

[82] Emendation. The manuscript reads *teriyappaṭuttiṉavaṉāṉ* [4v6–7]. We postulate the reading *teriyappaṭuttiṉavaṉ āṉāṉ* on the basis of the verbal construction *devatāprārtthanaipaṇṇinavan ānān* "he composed a prayer for god" that is found in [1r7–8].

understanding by means of *śleṣam*s of both words' sound and meaning the specific difference that exists between the ocean (*sindhu*) as such a god and the ocean (*samudram*) as the object of our direct perception,
indicating to the scholars that it is excellent to pray to such an ocean that consists of all gods.

śabdaśleṣārtthaśleṣattuṉāle uṇḍākira tārataṃmyavivecanākramaṃ || *asmadṛggocaruḍ' agu* | *asmadṛggocaran āna* | *samudruḍu* | *samudran ānavan* | [5r] *jñānaṃ pokkaḍikkira* | *saṃpattai*[83] *kuḍukkira lakṣmini* | *lakṣmiyai* | *uḷḷavaṉ ākavum bhagavaṃtunivalene* | *bhagavānāle* | *jñānattai kuḍukkira* | *mokṣalakṣmiyai* | *uṇḍāy irukullai* |[84]

The way to assess the difference that emerges thanks to *śleṣam*s of sounds and *śleṣam*s of meaning.[85] He is the ocean [x2], who is within the field of our perception [x2]. He may even be (*ākavum*) the one who has [the kind of] *lakṣmī* [x2] that gives [mundane] wealth (*sampattai*), which removes knowledge, [but] he is not the one who has (*uṇḍāy irukullai*?) Mokṣa-Lakṣmī (*mokṣa-lakṣmī*), who gives knowledge through the lord [x2].

tirumpavum | *nimnonnatapradeśasaikatadvīpa* | *parvatanikarasaṃmatan*[86] *āna* | [*a*]*tunāle gādhan ā*[*ā*]*ka yirukkiṟāṉ eṉṟu* | *avāṅ*[*ma*]*nasagocaran āna bhagavānaip pole* | *agādhan āka māṭṭān*, | [?] *ituvum allāmal* |

[83] The word *sampattai* is to be understood as the accusative of the Tamil *campattu* ("prosperity") and not as a possible form of the accusative of its Sanskrit counterpart *sampad*.

[84] The syntax of this passage is problematic. The expressions *lakṣmini* | *lakṣmiyai* | *uḷḷavaṉ ākavum* and *mokṣalakṣmiyai* | *uṇḍāy irukullai* (possibly to be read as *irukka-v illai*) seem to be ungrammatical given that both *uḷ* "to be" and *uṇḍāy* "to become" are intransitive and should not govern an accusative. In the translation we have resorted to tentatively assign to both of them the meaning "to have."

[85] The difference referred to here is that between the real ocean and god metaphorically referred to as the ocean.

[86] *Nimnonnatapradeśasaikatadvīpa* | *parvatanikarasaṃmatan* should be read as one compound.

kṣārodakavatvapūtigandhavatvādyanekadurguṇanikarabharitan āy allāmal | nikhilakalyāṇaguṇagaṇākaran ānabhagavānaip pole nirṃmalaguṇaviśiṣṭan āy āka māṭṭān, || iṉṉa[~~vu~~]*mum yinda samudran ānavan | agastyamaharṣi uḷḷaṃkaiyile akappaṭṭa atunāle kṣayan*[87] *āy irukkiṟāṉ ākaiyāl | bhagavānai*[5v]*p pole nityan āka māṭṭān, |*

Furthermore (*tirumpavum*), as (*eṉṟu*) he is shallow because of the fact that he is (*āy āna* [*a*]*tunāle*, or *āy ānatunāle*) commonly thought of [as having] numerous (°*nikara*°) low and high (*nimnonnata*) places, sandy (*saikata*) islands, and mountain, he is not unfathomable like the lord, who is beyond the reach of speech and mind. Besides this (*ituvum allāmal*), he is not characterised by pure qualities like the lord, who is [instead] a mine of hosts of all good qualities, being [the lord] free from (°*bharitan allāmal*, lit. "without being the one who is full of") the heap of many bad qualities, such as the fact of having (°*vatva*° for °*vattva*°) salt water [and] the fact of having a fetid odour. Furthermore (*iṉṉamum*), he this ocean is perishable because he has been taken on the palm of the hand of *maharṣi* Agastya, therefore (*ākaiyāl*) he is not eternal like the lord.

idu tavira uḷḷe devataiyaḷ | samudramathanaṃ paṇṇiratunāle lakṣmideviyaiyum amṛtattaiyuṃ | aḍañjārkaḷ[88] *yillāmal | bhagavatbhajanattunāle aḍaya*[89] *śakyam āna dharmmārtthakāmamokṣaṃgaḷai aḍañja*[90] *perukaḷ āka māṭṭārkaḷ | ākaiyāl, | nikhiladevatānivahasvarūpan āna samudrattai sevikkiratunāle puruṣārtthacatuṣṭayasiddhi uṇḍākirat' ākaiyāl, bhagavatsevai paṇṇukiratu sarvottamam eṉṟu tātparyyaṃ |||*

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[87] Emendation. The manuscript reads *akṣayan*, which would however hinder the whole reasoning.
[88] Colloquial form of *aṭaintārkaḷ*.
[89] Colloquial form of *aṭaiya*.
[90] Colloquial form of *aṭainta*.

Besides (*idu tavira uḷḷe*), the gods obtained the goddess Lakṣmī and *amṛtam* by churning the ocean, but (*yillāmal*)[91] they are not people who obtained *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*,[92] which can be obtained by praising the lord. Therefore, the completion of the fourfold human aims occurs by worshipping the ocean as having the nature of the conglomeration of all gods. Therefore, the purport is that worshipping the lord is the best of all [activities].

śirutu perukaḷ | *vyākhyānakarttā*[ḷ]*v āka yirukkira perkaḷ* | *yinda ślokattukku viṣṇuparam āyum* | *brahmaparam āyuṃ śivaparam āyuṃ* | *samudraparam āyuṃ* | *artthakalpanai paṇṇināṟ* [6r] *anniyil*,[93] | *a*[~~di~~]*du yellāṃ* | *jinamatāvalaṃbi yagu n-amarasiṃhanai*[94] *vipakṣitatātparyyam āy irukka māṭṭāt' eṉṟu toṇukiṟatu*, | *yinda artthattai tāne amarapadapārijātapraṇetan āy mallināthasūriyuṃ teriyappaṇṇi yirukkiṟāṉ* ||

A few people—people who are commentators—explained this verse as pertaining to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, or the ocean. However (*anniyil*), it seems that all this cannot be an opposite view to Amarasiṃha (*amarasiṃhanai*), who is a follower of the doctrine of the Jina.[95] Even Mallināthasūri himself, the author of the *Amarapadapārijāta*, has proposed this interpretation (lit. expressed this meaning).

viṣṇuparam āka artthaṃ paṇṇina kramamaṃ[96] || — ||| **yasya** | *anu padaṃ* | *ikāra-akāraṃgaḷukku sandhiyināle* | *eṟppaṭṭ' irukkiṟa*

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[91] Here we understand *yillāmal* to mean *āṉāl* "but."

[92] Note the correspondence between *lakṣmi-devi* and *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*, on the one hand, and between *amṛtam* and *mokṣa*, on the other.

[93] Colloquial form of *aṉṟiyil*.

[94] Note the possible *druta-sandhi*. Also note that this construction seems to require an accusative.

[95] It is difficult to establish here whether the name *jina* refers to the founding figure of Jainism or is an attribute for Buddha. Amarasiṃha is usually thought to have been a Buddhist, but given that Buddhism had disappeared from the area of Tamil Nadu long before the time of Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ, the former option could also be suitable in this context.

[96] Read *kramaṃ*.

śabdaṃgaḷ eṉṟum ikārattukku[97] *lakṣmidevi arttham eṉṟum akāra*[~~mu~~]*ttukku*[98] *viṣṇuv arttham eṉṟum coṉṉār* | *kāṇ* | **yasya** *a*[~~ga~~]*nagā* | *lakṣminārāyaṇamūrttiy eṉṟu* | *arttham* | *mattatu*[99] *samānam āṃ* ||

The way to extrapolate the meaning as pertaining to Viṣṇu. They said that the word ***yasya*** [consists of] the sounds that have arisen through the combination of *ī* and *a* [namely *ya*], and that *ī* means "Lakṣmī-devī," and that *a* means "Viṣṇu." Look! The meaning "the image of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa" [occurs] by saying [T] ***yasya***. The rest is the same—it is said (*āṃ*).[100]

brahmaparam āy arttham paṇṇina kramaṃ || **akṣayaḥ** | *anu padattile uḷḷa akārattukku* [~~ṣa~~] *viṣṇupravācyaṉ eṉṟum gṛhavācakam āna kṣayaśa*[6v]*bdattuku-n*[101] *utpattikāraṇabhūtaṉ āṃ arttham*[102] *eṉṟum coṉṉāṟ kāṇ* | *viṣṇuve utpattikāraṇabhūtan āy uḷḷavan* | *brahmadevaṉ āka ākirār eṉṟu teriyat takuvatu* ||

The way to extrapolate the meaning as pertaining to Brahmā. They said that Viṣṇu is the meaning (lit. is to be mentioned) of the *a* that is in the word ***akṣayaḥ***, and that the word *kṣaya*, which means "abode" (*gṛha-*

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[97] See n. 20.

[98] The scribe began to write the Telugu word *akāramu* and then corrected himself by striking out the syllable *mu*.

[99] Colloquial for *maṟṟatu*.

[100] Note that *āṃ* is here translated as a hearsay-evidential clitic. One could also try to interpret *āṃ* as a contracted form of the non-past 3rd person singular *ākum* "it is." Although this could work syntactically (vs the other occurrences of *āṃ*, see nn 102 and 104), this verbal form is not used anywhere else in the present, where in similar syntactic positions we find the verbal form *irukkiṟatu*.

[101] Note the epenthetic *n*.

[102] As mentioned in n. 23 (see also n. 100), an alternative explanation of *āṃ* could be that it functions as a non-past relative participle. Thus, *utpattikāraṇabhūtaṉ āṃ arttham* could be translated as something like "the meaning that is 'he is the cause of creation.'" However, this interpretation is, in our opinion, problematic not only because such a syntactic construction does not appear anywhere else in the text (unless one applies it to the passage *śramaheśvaraṉem arttham* and emends it into *śramaheśvaraṉ āṃ arttham*; see n. 104), but also because it seems to be slightly ungrammatical (one would probably expect *eṉṟum* instead of *āṃ*).

vācakam), has the meaning—it is said—"he is the cause of creation." Look! It is proper to know that Viṣṇu is the cause of creation and he becomes the god Brahmā.[103]

śivaparam āy arttham paṇṇina kramaṃ || – || "akāro brahmaviṣṇvīśakamaṭheṣv aṃkaṇe 'pi ca" | *ane kośabalattunāle akārattukku śivanuṃ* | *vācyuḍugāna*, | **yasya** | *anu padattuku u\ḷ/ḷe coṉṉa vidham āy sarvaiśvaryyasametan āyirukkira* | *śramaheśvaraṉem arttham*[104] *eṉru samarppiccārkaḷ* |||

The way to extrapolate the meaning as pertaining to Śiva. Śivaṉ too is the meaning [T] (*vācyuḍugāna*) of *a* thanks to the power of the lexicon (*kośa*), which says [T] "*a* [means] Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśa (= Śiva), tortoise, and court (*aṅkaṇa* for *aṅgaṇa*?)." They propose (*samarppiccārkaḷ*) that, similarly to before (lit. in the manner to what has been said before), the word ***yasya*** has the meaning—it is said—"Maheśvaraṉ along with Śrī," being [Maheśvaraṉ] joined with sovereignty (*aiśvaryya* [= *śrī*]) over all.[105]

samudraparam āy arttham ceyta kramam || **akṣayaḥ** | *anu padattukku viṣṇuvukku sthānabhūtaṉ eṉru arttham coṉṉār* ||

The way to extrapolate the meaning as pertaining to the ocean. They established that the word ***akṣayaḥ*** [i.e. the abode (*kṣaya*) of Viṣṇu (*a*)] has the meaning "the place of Viṣṇu," [i.e. the ocean].

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[103] This interpretation refers *akṣaya* to Brahmā, who is the one whose abode is Viṣṇu.

[104] The passage *śramaheśvaraṉem arttham* presents two problems. First, the occurrence of *śra°*, which we suggest to emend into *śrī°*. Second, the reading *°aṉem arttham*. We opt to read *śrīmaheśvaraṉ ām arttham*, aiming at making it consistent with the previous instances of the use of the hearsay-evidential clitic *ām* (cf. n. 100 and, in particular, 102).

[105] As in the interpretation given above of the syllable *ya* (= *ī* + *a*) in *yasya* by which *ī* is Śrī/Lakṣmī and *a* is Viṣṇu, here it is argued that *ī* still represents the goddess, whereas *a* stands for Śiva. Note, however, that in the former case *ya* seems to be understood as a *dvandva* compound, whereas in the latter case as a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

ite mārgam āy | kliṣṭakalpanaiyaḷāle buddhimānṃgaḷ | anekārtthaṃgaḷai ūhikka varuṃ yeṉṟu | atu yellāṃ | [7r] *kavihṛdayamu yillai yeṉṟu | nampa veṇum* ||

This being the way (*ite mārgam āy*), it should be accepted (*nampa veṇum*) that intelligent [commentators] will conjecture (*ūhikka varum*) many meanings by means of tortured ideas, [but] all that does not correspond to (lit. is not) the heart of the poet [T] [i.e. to Amarasiṃha's intention].

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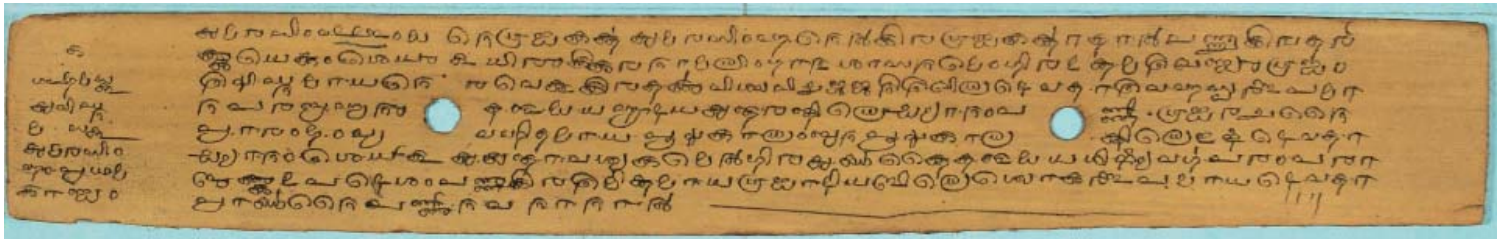

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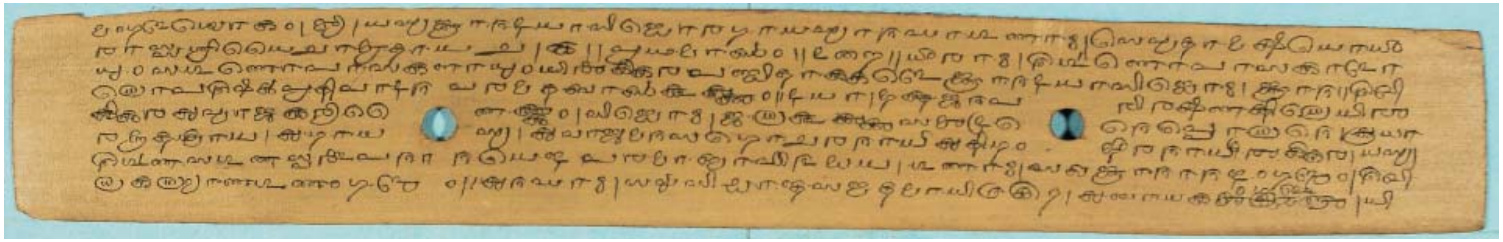

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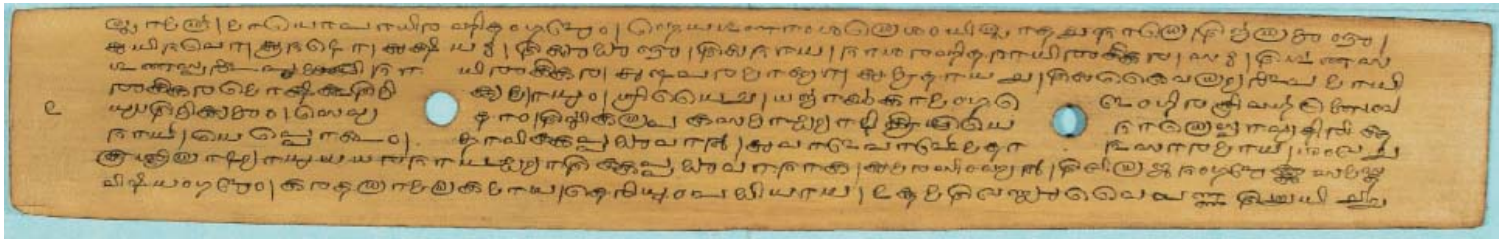

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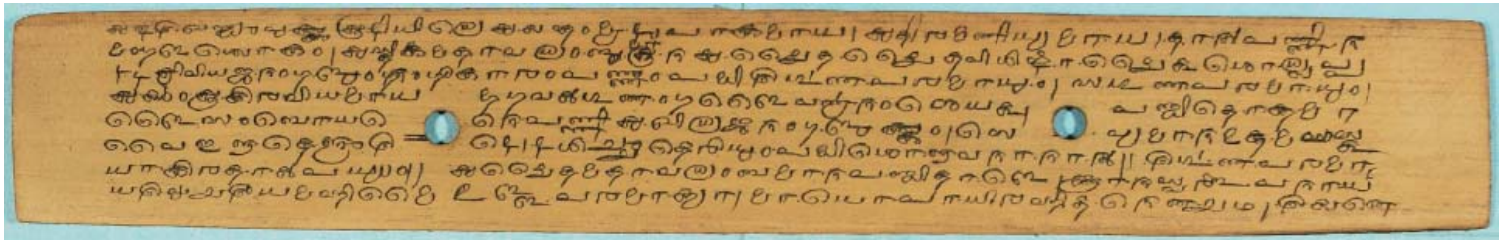

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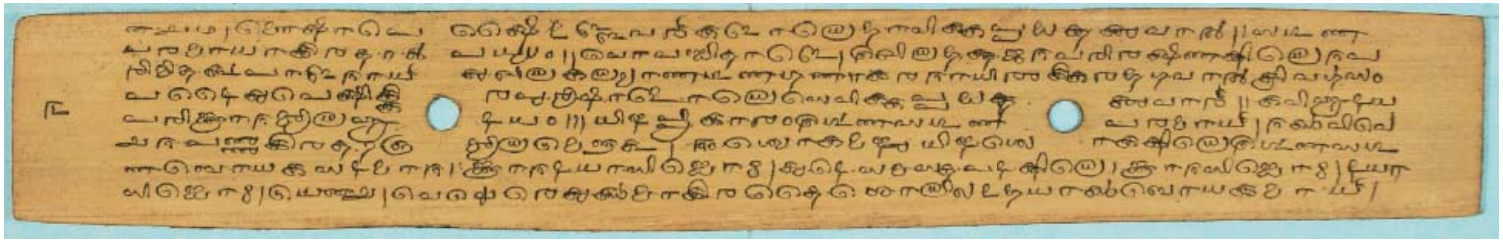

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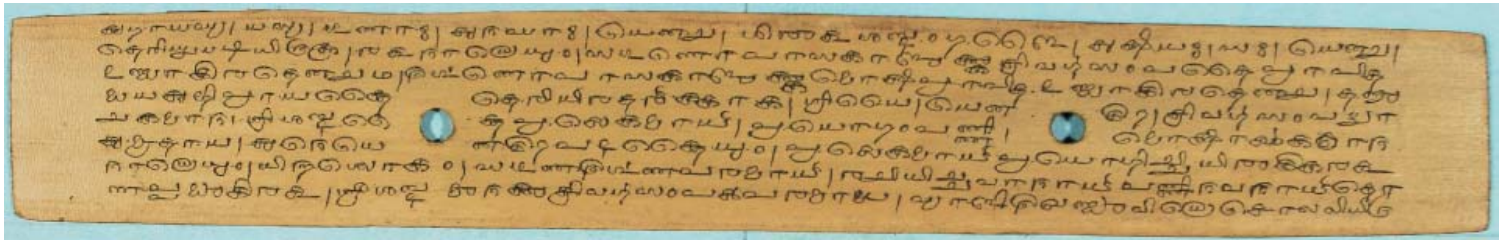

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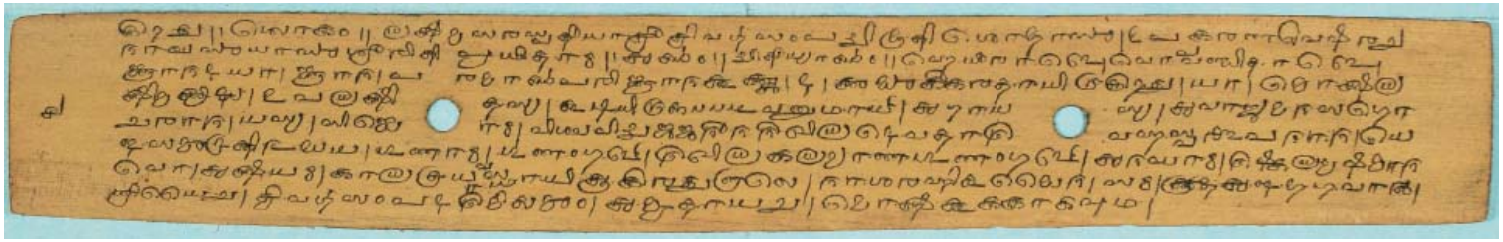

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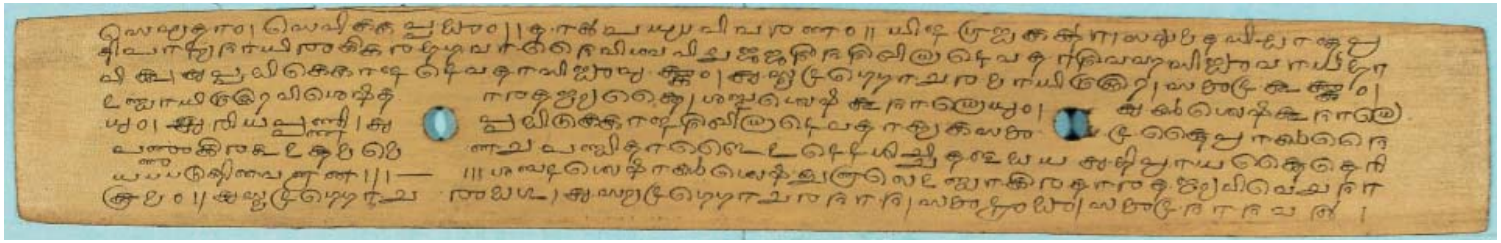

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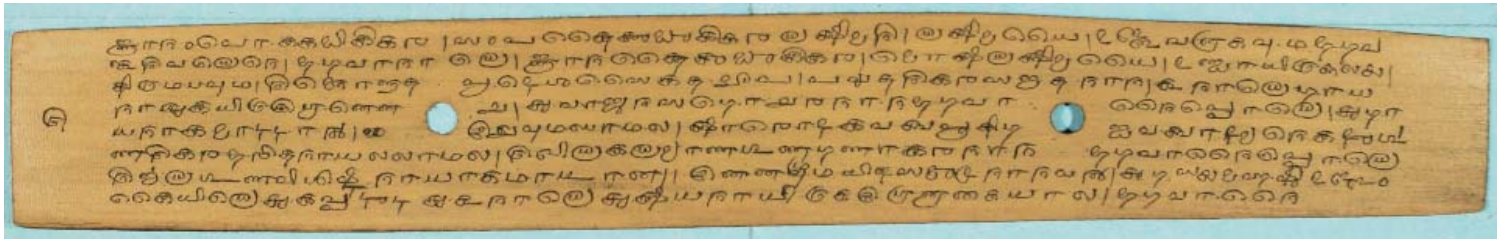

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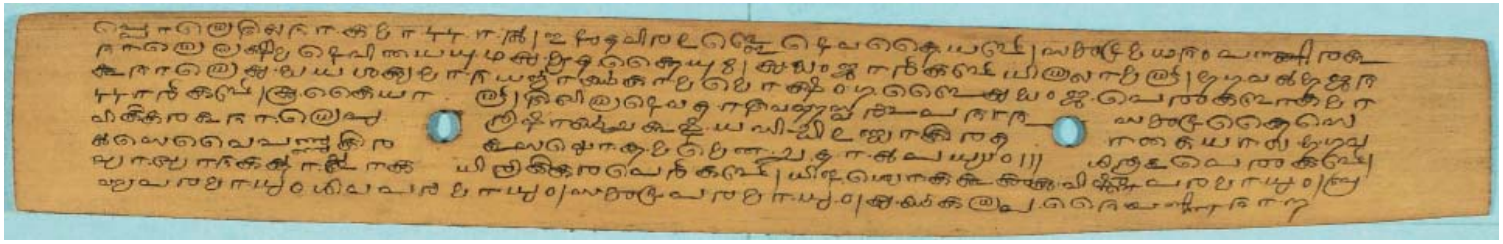

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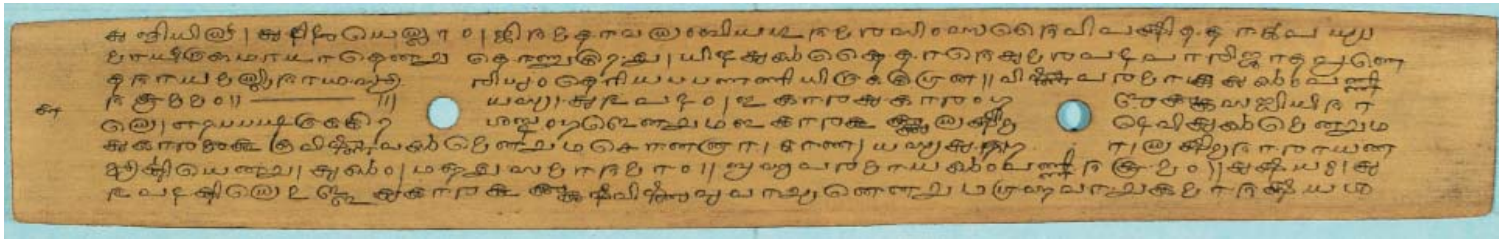

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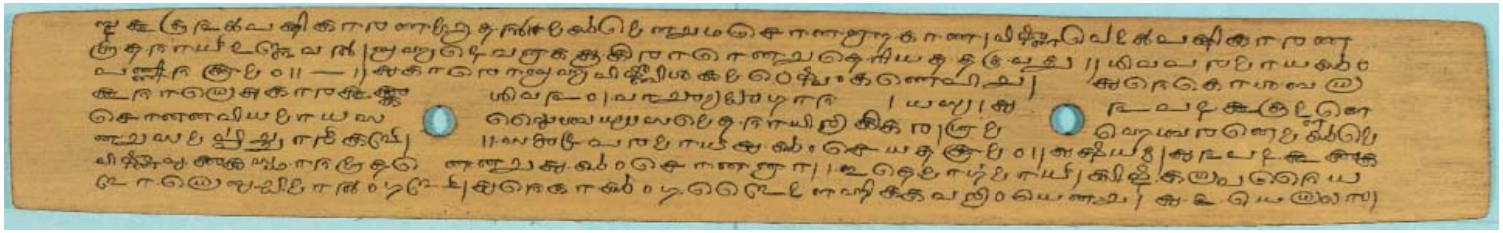

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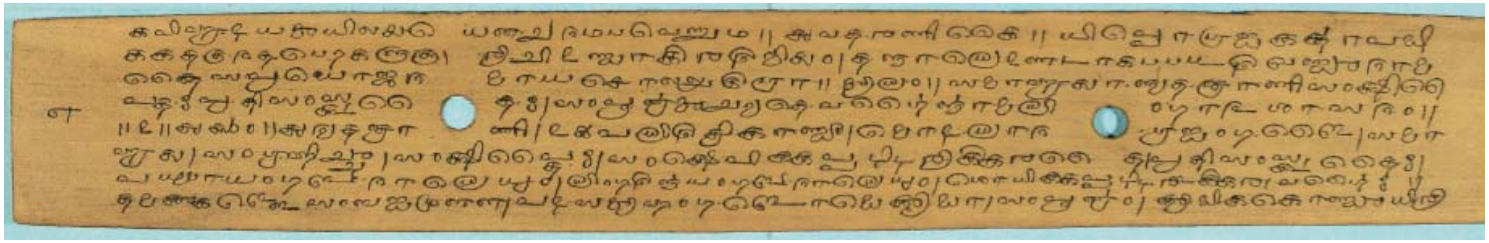

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Reading Pōtana's *Mahābhāgavatamu* as a Commentary on the Sanskrit *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*: A Case in Point

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Pōtana's (15th c.) *Mahābhāgavatamu* (PMB) in Telugu (also known as *Śrīmadāṃdhramahābhāgavatamu*) is a milestone in the history of Telugu literature. While the Sanskrit *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (BhP) enjoys the privilege of being used for *pārāyaṇa*[2] purposes, the vernacular masterpiece has captivated the popular mind for many centuries, with parts of it still being sung in homes and in temples by one and all.

It will be stating the obvious if we suggest that the PMB is a full-fledged work in its own right, and not a mere translation of the original Sanskrit text.[3] And Pōtana's retelling, in spite of being a *kāvya*, has sometimes intrigued scholars and led them to spot in it traits of other genres, such as that of a Purana.[4] And in this article, we are going to

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[1] We thank the following people for their precious inputs, which has helped us write this article: Andrey Klebanov, David Shulman and Vinodh Rajan. We also thank Victor D'Avella for helping us to improve it.

[2] 'Reading a *purāṇa* or causing it to be read' (MW).

[3] Velcheru Narayana Rao (1995: 27) points out how misleading it can be to reduce such works to mere translations: 'The retellings are not just "translations," as is sometimes supposed. To take the Telugu example, what Nannayya or Tikkanna did in retelling the *Mahābhārata* in Telugu was to create a domestic *Mahābhārata*, transformed to a regional story of medieval South India, that could happen in any south Indian kingdom or, for that matter, any large joint family. These retellings reinterpreted the Sanskrit texts and at the same time created an elevated and regional discourse and values.'

[4] Shulman (1993: 124) argues that while the Sanskrit Purana is barely a Purana, the Telugu version, 'for all its pronounced formal affinities with ornate composition (*kāvya*), is in fact a *purāṇa* of a particular, late medieval, South Indian type. It is customary to imagine a process by which, over the centuries, many individual Sanskrit *purāṇic* passages, or indeed, whole books were transformed into Telugu *kāvya*s or *prabandha*s, each with its author, its patron, its adoption of the elevated

argue that this Telugu *kāvya* has characteristics of a good *vyākhyāna*,[5] even though, of course, it claims no such thing, and it is not strictly speaking meant to be one either, especially given the fact that writing *vyākhyāna*s in Telugu had not yet started.[6]

In the process of defending the legitimacy of such a claim, we shall take up verse 10.52.37 (from now on BhP 37) from the BhP, and analyze how the traditional Sanskrit *vyākhyāna*s deal with it, especially since Pōtana himself is said to have known at least one of them;[7] and then we shall examine how the PMB compares. But before doing that, we first shall briefly introduce the works that we will be using in this article, and their respective authors.

1. Texts based on the *Bhāgavata*

1.1. Pōtana's *Mahābhāgavatamu*

Nothing much factual, unsurprisingly, is known about the author, called Bammera Pōtana after his native place located in Northern

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prabandha style. But here we have a reverse instance: Potana has, in effect, created a *purāṇa* from a Sanskrit original of a rather different nature.'

[5] Since the term *vyākhyāna* ('communication, narration, speech, lecture, explanation, exposition, interpretation, comment' Apte) has many layers of meanings (which we cannot develop here), we shall here use this term instead of 'commentary,' although we have used the word 'commentator' instead of *vyākhyātā* for the sake of convenience.

[6] In a personal communication, David Shulman has suggested that the early commentaries in Telugu begin to appear probably around the 17th–18th centuries, on the great *prabandham* texts of the 16th century, e.g. an early commentary on Kṛṣṇadevarāya's *Āmuktamālyada*. There are also late-19th and early-20th c. commentaries by scholars such as Tañjanagaram Tēvapperumāḷayya, which quote verbatim (without attribution) from earlier commentators, whose names are known. Besides, as in Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* ('grammatical analysis'), there are medieval Telugu works of grammar that are presented as commentaries on earlier works. Pōtana's *Bhāgavata* has many modern commentaries, but not earlier ones.

[7] Without giving any evidence, Atmananda Giri Swami (1981: 60) claims that 'Sridhara's commentary must have been available to Pothana (...) and [that] he pays respect to Sridhara Swami.'

Telangana.[8] Apart from the PMB, he has allegedly composed works such as *Bhoginīdaṇḍakam*, *Nārāyaṇaśatakamu* and *Vīrabhadravijayamu* (Vēṅkaṭāvadhāni et al [1972: 18-20]). As for the PMB, parts of it are said to have been posthumously completed by other poets.[9]

While discussing the PMB, David Shulman (1993: 123) points out that the traditional scholars have generally focused on (1) 'the narrative changes, elaborations, and occasional deletions' that Pōtana indulges in vis-à-vis the Sanskrit original, and (2) his 'occasional deviations from the strict classical norms of Telugu prosody.' Thus, Pōtana has been criticized, already in the 17th c., for the metrical, linguistic, and other 'mistakes' that occur in his work, while he himself, claiming to be a *sahaja-kavi* ('born poet'), is not very pedantic about form, since he favours the content and its intense emotions for the divine, which transcend such rigid barriers (Rao & Shulman [2002: 201]).

As for the first point, which is of more interest to this article, Shulman (1993: 123) adds that, despite the claim, the Telugu poet is on the whole faithful to the BhP:

> (...) in Potana's case actual changes in the narrative structure, including the detailed progression of most individual narrative episodes, are relatively minimal; in retelling the stories, he has, on the whole, stuck closely to his Sanskrit text, often to the point of quoting whole phrases verbatim in the form of long Sanskrit compounds transposed, with the sole addition of a Telugu ending, to the Telugu verses. Such a practice is, indeed, normal in medieval Telugu.

Shulman then points out in what way Pōtana innovates, which renders his work unique:

> (...) despite this close verbal correspondence and even, on occasion, identity, Potana's verses breathe a rather different

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[8] Some suggest that he was from the village Orugallu (in the present-day Warangal) in Telangāna or from Onṭimiṭṭa in Rāyalasīmā (Ayyappappanikkar [2000: 763]).

[9] They are: Veligandala Nārayya (Books 11, 12 and possibly 2), Ercūri Siṅganna and Bopparāju Gaṅgayya (Books 6 and 5 respectively) (Rao and Shulman [2002: 200]).

> spirit from that of the Sanskrit original—the spirit, no doubt, of fifteenth-century Andhra as well as of the idiosyncratic inner world of this particular poet.

With Shulman's analysis in mind, we are going to see how Pōtana's style, the modifications/elaborations that he makes and the various techniques that he uses while composing his poetry, can compare with how a *vyākhyāna* deals with a text, especially if trying to clarify elements to an audience belonging to a different time and geographic origin *inter alia*. But before proceeding to that study, we shall begin by focusing on the full-fledged *vyākhyāna*s that were written around Pōtana's time.

1.2. *Vyākhyāna*s on the BhP

Four extant works have been selected here, based on their date of composition, i.e. before or during Pōtana's lifetime. It is thought that Madhva's (1238–1317) *Bhāgavatatātparyanirṇaya* is the earliest extant *vyākhyāna* (Sheridan [1997: 125]),[10] but as it does not deal with the passage chosen here, it had to be left out of this list.[11] As for the following ones, we do not know much that is factual about their authors, and there is little general consensus regarding their dates.[12]

The first *vyākhyāna* that we will look at is *Śukapakṣīyam* by Sudarśanasūri. A Viśiṣṭādvaitin and the author of the more famous

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[10] Sheridan (1997: 127) comments thus upon Madhva's style: 'In these *Bhāṣya*s Madhva states his interpretation by weaving together citations from various texts. His method and style juxtaposes a series of texts from the Vedas, Purāṇas, and Pāñcarātra *Saṃhitas* next to the *sūtra* or verse being commented upon. His own contribution is to add connecting sentences that allow all the texts to work together. Hence, his interpretation is chiefly implied through his particular citations, which bring the force of his tradition of texts to bear on the *sūtra*.'

[11] Madhva's work is a selective *vyākhyāna* made up of 3,600 *grantha*s (a grantha is a unit of 32 syllables). Leaving out narrative passages, Madhva focuses only on approximately 1600 verses out of the 18000 of the BhP. Essentially, his comments are made up of supporting citations from over 195 texts (Sharma 1981[1961]: 129).

[12] Therefore, the chronological order in which these works are listed in this article is not unquestionable.

Śrutaprakāśikā, a *vyākhyāna* on Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*, he is said to have been an elder contemporary of the 14th c. Vedānta Deśika, but Francis Clooney (2001: 20) dates him to the 12th c.[13]

The second one is Śrīdhara's (1327–1353 or 1378–1414) *Bhāvārthadīpikā*, the earliest extant full *vyākhyāna* on the BhP (Sheridan 1994: 48).[14] It became a much valued authority for the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. Although from Śaṅkara's school, Śrīdhara does not strictly adhere to Advaita Vedānta (Sharma 1981[1961]: 128–129). Possibly a contemporary of Vijayadhvajatīrtha—thus posterior to Madhva and Vopadeva[15] (late 13th c.)[16]—he has also commented upon the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. He may have been acquainted with Madhva's *vyākhyāna* on the BhP (Sheridan [1994: 49]).

The third one is *Padaratnāvalī* by Vijayadhvajatīrtha (1410–1450), a Dvaitin,[17] who follows closely in Madhva's footsteps, but who was aware of Śrīdhara's work on the BhP (Sheridan [1994: 49]). As opposed to Madhva's *vyākhyāna* on the BhP, which is 'brief and somewhat terse, consisting mostly of quotations from various sources' (Okita [2014: 65]), but which it nonetheless follows very closely (Sharma [1981: 458]), Vijayadhvaja's work is complete: therefore, it is the standard Dvaita *vyākhyāna* on the BhP (Sharma [1981: 450]).

And the last one we are using here is *Bhāgavatacandracandrikā* (also known under the name of *Bhāgavatacandrikā*) by Vīrarāghavācārya

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[13] Swami (1981: 60) believes Sūri to be later than Srīdhara, whom he places in the 11th c., which does not seem an acceptable date to us, in light of more reliable scholarship, e.g. Sheridan (1994).

[14] Other Advaitic *vyākhyāna*s seem to have pre-existed this one, e.g. those of Citsukha (1220–1284) and Puṇyāraṇya (?) (Sheridan 1994: 49).

[15] Vopadeva (13th c.) wrote, among other books, the *Muktāphala*, which is a collection of around a thousand verses from the BhP. Some scholars have thought him to be the author of the BhP itself, although that theory has been decisively refuted. For more on this topic, see Rocher (1986: 144–45).

[16] Sheridan (1998: 48).

[17] Madhva's, Śrīdhara's and Vijayadhvaja's dates are given by Okita (2014: 65), who relies on those given by other scholars, such as Sharma (1981) [1961].

(15th c.), another Viśiṣṭādvaitin, of whom we know very little. His work comments upon the entire BhP.

2. BhP 37

We have selected this verse more or less in a random way: it is part of what is popularly known as Rukmiṇī's message to Kṛṣṇa. While Rukmiṇī was in love with Kṛṣṇa, whom She had never seen before, Her brother arranged Her marriage against Her will with Śiśupāla, Kṛṣṇa's cousin. Therefore, She sends Kṛṣṇa a message through a Brahmin, in which She declares Her love for Him, asks Him to take Her away and gives Him the means to do so. She does this in seven verses in the BhP, of which the following is the first:

> *śrutvā guṇān bhuvanasundara śṛṇvatāṃ te*
> *nirviśya karṇavivarair harato'ṅgatāpam* |
> *rūpaṃ dṛśāṃ dṛśimatām akhilārthalābhaṃ*
> *tvayy acyutāviśati cittam apatrapaṃ me* ||

> O [most] handsome One in the world! After hearing of Your qualities—which eradicate the torments of the body, after entering through the ear canals [the heart] of those who listen [to them]—[and] of [Your] handsome form, which grants all the desired objects to the eyes of those who look [at You], my heart, devoid of shame, fully enters You, O Acyuta!

We shall now see how the following *vyākhyāna*s deal with this verse in order to elucidate both its explicit and implicit meanings.

3. The Sanskrit *vyākhyāna*s

As shown in detail by Tubb & Boose (2007), the role of the *vyākhyāna* in Sanskrit is to help the reader overcome the challenges posed by the *mūla* text ('source text'), in order to get a good understanding of it. Therefore, this type of work is said to have the following qualities, according to this verse of untraceable source:

> *padacchedaḥ padārthoktir vigraho vākyayojanā |*
> *ākṣepeṣu samādhānaṃ vyākhyānaṃ pañcalakṣaṇam ||*
>
> The *vyākhyāna* has five features: the separation of the words, the stating of the meaning of the words, the analysis of grammatical complexes, the construing of sentences [and] the answering of objections.[18]

Although this probably can serve as a general guideline for composing a *vyākhyāna*, most commentators usually do not restrict themselves to these five points, or accord them equal importance. Understanding what the author of the *mūla* text wished to say (and sometimes even what s/he did not intend to, at least not explicitly[19]) and conveying it to the reader in an enhanced way is the commentator's task: the possible derivation of the word *vyākhyāna* itself points to that.[20] It has also been traditionally claimed that that 'the enhanced [understanding of a text] is obtained from a *vyākhyāna*' (*vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattiḥ*[21]), and not merely from the *mūla*. Many commentators therefore develop interpretations that they believe the authors had in their hearts, or even use the work that they comment upon as a base for developing their own ideas and theories on various topics.[22]

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[18] The translation of the first two lines of the verse up is based on Tubb & Boose (2007: 4-5).

[19] See n. 22.

[20] *[mūloktārthasya] viśeṣeṇa ākhyānam vyākhyānam* – 'A *vyākhyāna* is that which states [the meaning expressed in the *mūla* text] in an enhanced way.'

[21] This goes back to the *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn [1962: 6]). It is also the first *paribhāṣā* ('metarule') in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*.

[22] As it is said in oral traditions, *vyākhyātā vetti no kaviḥ* (literally meaning, 'The commentator knows, not the poet,' the sentence actually intends to claim that the commentator knows what even the poet himself does not'). For example, in his *vyākhyāna* on the verse 1.72.17 of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i.e. the one beginning with the verse *iyaṃ sītā* –'This is Sītā'), Govindāraja takes up parts of the verse and finds what seems to us far-fetched ideas as to why Janaka must have uttered those words to Rāma.

Keeping this in mind, we shall now see, albeit not in an exhaustive way, how the following 'real' *vyākhyāna*s deal with BhP 37, but also more importantly, how Pōtana's work fares compared with them.

3.1. *Śukapakṣīyam* by Sudarśanasūri

As we can see below, the *Śukapakṣīyam* is relatively short when dealing with this verse. As a matter of fact, it accords a set of six verses only one line:

> ***śṛṇvatāṃ karṇavivarair nirviśya tāpaṃ haratas tava rūpam*** *ity anvayaḥ* || 37–42
>
> The construction is as follows: '[Having heard about] the **(handsome) form** of You, who **remove torment,**[23] after **entering through the ear canals of those who hear** [about Your qualities]...'[24]

This *vyākhyāna* reshuffles the word order of part of the verse, and thereby forces one particular interpretation of the sentence in the sense that the removal of torment is attributed directly to Kṛṣṇa [*te* 'of You'], not to His qualities [*guṇān*]. Other than that, Sudarśanasūri contents himself to gloss *te* as *tava* ('your').

3.2. *Bhāvārthadīpikā* by Śrīdhara

Vaṃśīdhara (19th c.), in his *Bhāvarthadīpikāprakāśaḥ*, a subcommentary on Śrīdhara's work, shows that Śrīdhara's edition had the words '*rukmiṇī uvāca*' preceding this śloka,[25] and therefore understands the words as not being spoken by Rukmiṇī, but quoted by the messenger.[26]

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[23] Note that *aṅga* is not part of the compound.

[24] The quotations from the original verse are given in bold throughout this article.

[25] The GRETIL edition also does.

[26] *rukmiṇy uvāca ity apy āha patradvāreti svāmicaraṇāḥ, paraṃ tu tasya* '*ity ete guhyasaṃdeśāḥ*' *ity ukteḥ kevalaṃ aṃdeśaharatvam eva pratīyate* – 'The venerable [Srīdhara] Swami also adds *patradvārā* ['through a letter'] to *rukmiṇy uvāca* ['Rukmiṇī says']. But through his [i.e. the messenger's] saying 'these secret messages' [BhP 10.52.44], only [his] bringing the message is known.'

It would therefore seem that Śrīdhara did not have an edition that included a few extra ślokas precisely explaining this (See n. 31).

> *rukmiṇyā svayam ekānte likhitvā dattapatrikāṃ mudrām unmucya kṛṣṇāya premacinhaṃ adarśayat | brāḥmaṇaḥ śrīkṛṣṇānujñayā vācayati | **śrutv**eti | ayam arthaḥ | he **acyuta** | he **bhuvanasundar**ety autsukyaṃ dyotayati | kva tava mahimā | kva cāhaṃ rūpaśīlādiyuktāpi | tathāpi apagatā trapā yasmāt tat me cittaṃ **tvayy āviśaty** āsajjate | tat kutas tatrāha | **śṛṇvatāṃ karṇavivarair** aṃtaḥ praviśy**āṅgatāpam** | aṅgeti pṛthak saṃbodhanaṃ vā | **haratas** tava **guṇān śrutvā** tathā **dṛśimatāṃ** cakṣuṣmatāṃ dṛśām **akhilārthalābh**ātmakaṃ **rūpaṃ** ca **śrutv**eti |

> After removing the seal, [the brahmin] showed Kṛṣṇa the mark of [Rukmiṇī's] love, [i.e.] the letter that Rukmiṇī gave [him], which She Herself composed in privacy. The Brahmin, with Kṛṣṇa's permission, read out [the words beginning with] **having heard.** This is the purpose [of Her letter].[27] She makes clear Her eagerness [for Kṛṣṇa], [by] addressing [Him as follows], '**O Acyuta! O [most] handsome One in the world!**' What comparison is there between Your greatness and me, even though I am endowed with beauty, conduct, etc.—**qualities that remove** torments, [28] **entering** (*praviśya*=***nirviśya***) the heart **through the ear canals of those who hear** [about You]—or [the word] *aṅga* is a vocative [particle] separate [from *tāpam*]—and also hearing of [Your] **handsome form**, which is [itself] the granting of **all types of desired objects**[29] **for the eyes** of those who are endowed with eyes (***dṛśimatām***=*cakṣuṣmatām*).'

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[27] We have translated *ayam arthaḥ* this way, following the subcommentary of Vaṃśīdhara, which suggests that '*ayam arthaḥ* means [Rukmiṇī] reveals Her intention' (*svāśayaṃ prakāśayati [rukmiṇī]—ayam artha iti*) through this message.

[28] This can also be interpreted as 'hearing of **qualities** [belonging to] **You who remove** torments.'

[29] What the commentator means here is that Kṛṣṇa's handsome form does not merely grant all types of desired objects, but is itself the very personification of that granting.

Śrīdhara gives the verse some context (as *he* imagines it), as if he were answering implicit (or even imaginary) objections: how could Rukmiṇī directly address Kṛṣṇa? (She does not, She sends a message through a Brahmin messenger, who speaks Her words.[30]) How could She express Her intimate desire to a Brahmin? (She did not, She wrote it down in privacy.) How could the messenger read out loud a personal message? (He did not, Kṛṣṇa requests him to do so.) Nowhere are such details given in the BhP,[31] or in Pōtana's work for that matter.

Śrīdhara adds *he* to *acyuta* and *bhuvanasundara*, so that they clearly appear as addresses. He then interprets Her choice of the word *bhuvanasundara* as illuminating Rukmiṇī's ardour (*autsukya*). Furthermore, he explains why She uses the word *apatrapam* (which he analyses as *apagatā trapā yasmāt tat*):[32] He is far too superior for Her, and yet She shamelessly desires to marry Him. Śrīdhara therefore has Rukmiṇī praise Kṛṣṇa while demeaning Herself. And he establishes the cause and effect link between His qualities and beauty, and Her 'shameless' behaviour.

Śrīdhara also gives an alternative interpretation when, dealing with *aṅgeti pṛthak saṃbodhanaṃ vā*, he splits the compound *aṅga-tāpam* into two separate words, takes *aṅga* to be a vocative particle, and keeps *tāpam*, which has now become a term denoting some unspecified torment as opposed to 'torment of the body,' as the object of the verb *harataḥ*. He also performs the basic duties of a commentator by providing the reader with paraphrases (***āviśati***=*āsajjate*—literally, 'it

[30] This is briefly mentioned in a previous verse, i.e. verse 26 of the same canto.

[31] See n. 39.

[32] In BhP, Rukmiṇī makes an indirect comparison between Her and Kṛṣṇa in verse 38. Even then, She does not think of Herself as being inferior or unfit for Him. She contents Herself with speaking of His distinction of being comparable only to Himself: 'What distinguished, sensible girl of noble birth would not, at the [appropriate] time, choose [You] as a husband, O Lion among men, who are equal to Yourself in good birth, character, handsome form, knowledge, youth, wealth and power (...).' See the Appendix for the original verse and Pōtana's corresponding verse. Śrīdhara—or whoever he was following—seems to have introduced the interpretation of a self-deprecating Rukmiṇī in his work.

becomes attached to [You]'; ***dṛśimatām***=*cakṣūṣmatām*, ***nirviśya***=*antaḥ praviśya*) and reconstrues sentences when deemed necessary (e.g. ***tvayy āviśatyi***, ***harataḥ tava guṇān śrutvā***). As the *vyākhyāna* unfolds, the splitting of words happens on its own without Śrīdhara having to do it separately.[33]

3.3. *Padaratnāvalī* by Vijayadhvajatīrtha

To begin with, Vijayadhvajatīrtha has a slightly variant text. Therefore, the meaning of the verse itself is different to some extent:[34]

> *śrutvā guṇān bhuvanasundara <u>saṅgamāṃste</u>*
> *nirviśya karṇa<u>vivaraṃ</u> harato'ṅgatāpam* |
> *rūpaṃ <u>paraṃ bhuvanamaṅgalamaṅgalaṃ te</u>*
> *tvayy acyutāviśati cittam apatrapaṃ me* ||[35]

O [most] handsome One in the world! Having heard of Your well-known[36] qualities, which eradicate the torments of the body, having entered the ear canals [and] Your <u>excellent</u> beauty, <u>which [gives] auspiciousness to [all] that is auspicious in the world</u>, my heart, devoid of shame, which fully enters You, O Acyuta! (our underlining).

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[33] The same goes for the other commentators as well.

[34] Vijayadhvajatīrtha seems to be the only one to have access to this variant text. Not even other commentators who are not mentioned or used in this article seem to know of it. It may be worth drawing the reader's attention to the fact that Madhva himself has been accused—from the days of the 16th c. of Appayya Dīkṣita to ours—of allegedly having inserted his own verses in older texts or even 'quoting' from untraceable sources in order to bring strength to his arguments. For more on this topic, see Roque Mesquita (2000) or Kiyokazu Okita (2017). For an alternative view, see Suzanne Siauve (1968) or Paul Sheridan (1997), who refute such a possibility. We do not have an opinion on the question (nor is it within the scope of this article to deal with it), nor do we know whether Vijayadhvaja, himself a follower of Madhva, did alter the text or not, or even if he simply used a text that was already tampered with—if at all it was.

[35] The variants are underlined here.

[36] More literally, 'that pervade well [everywhere],' if we analyse *saṅgamān* as *samyak* ('entirely, throughout, thoroughly') *gamaḥ* ('going forth').

Vijayadhvaja briefly comments on this verse in the following manner:

> *he* ***bhuvanasundara****! śrotṛṇāṃ* ***karṇavivaraṃ nirviśya aṅgatāpaṃ*** *śarīrasantāpaṃ* ***harataḥ*** *samyaggamo vyāptir yeṣāṃ te tathā tān svarūpābhinnān vā* ***te*** *tava* ***guṇān śrutvā te*** *tava* ***bhuvanamaṅgalamaṅgalaṃ param*** *utkṛṣṭaṃ* ***rūpaṃ*** *ca* ***śrutvā tvayi apatrapam āviśati*** |
>
> **O [most] handsome One in the world! Hearing about Your** (***te****=tava*) **qualities** which remove torments of the body (***aṅga-tāpa****=śarīra-santāpa*), **entering the ear canals** of those who hear [about You]; which have pervasion (*samyaggamaḥ= vyāptiḥ*);[37] or which are non-different from Your essential nature; and also **hearing** of **Your handsome form,** which is the best (*param=utkṛṣṭam*) and is auspicious to [all that is] auspicious in the world, **my mind shamelessly enters You**.

Vijayadhvaja too clarifies that ***bhuvanasundara*** is an address, ignoring *acyuta.* Other than providing glosses (***te****=tava*; ***aṅga-tāpa****=śarīra-santāpa*; ***param****=utkṛṣṭam*; *samyaggamaḥ=****vyāptiḥ***), he goes a step further to explain the nature of the Lord's qualities, by analysing the word *saṅgamān*: they are all-pervading (*samyaggamo vyāptir yeṣāṃ te tathā tān*; meaning, they are well-known everywhere[38]) or they are inseparable from His very identity (*svarūpābhinnān vā*), since they have merged with Him to a point that He cannot ever be devoid of them.

Despite the fact that ***bhuvanamaṅgalamaṅgalam*** is a variant that seems to exist only in his work, Vijayadhvaja does not explain or gloss it. Besides, unlike Śrīdhara, he chooses to focus more on the Lord and His qualities, rather than on Rukmiṇī or Her feelings.

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[37] Vijayadhvaja glosses *saṅgama* as *samyaggama* (literally, 'going completely'), for which he gives the synonym *vyāpti* ('pervasion').

[38] See n. 36.

3.4. *Bhāgavatacandracandrikā* by Vīrarāghavācārya

Vīrarāghavācārya comments upon a few verses that apparently precede BhP 37 in his source text, but which not all the commentators seem to have had access to.[39] As that passage is not very relevant to our study here, we shall focus here on verse 37:

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[39] It seems that the editions used by some commentators, but clearly not Śrīdhara, have a few extra verses between *evaṃ sampṛṣṭa* (v. 36) and *śrutvā guṇān*, which, precisely, fill in such blanks:

vidarbhādhipateḥ putrī rukmiṇī tava kiṃkarī | vijñāpayati te kiñcit prastutodvāhamaṅgalam ||

tayā sampreṣito 'haṃ te sakāśaṃ bhīṣmakanyayā | tasyāḥ sandeśam ākarṇya kriyatāṃ tadanantaram || [This seems like a variant text, which is traced back to an indecipherable *ma. pu. ṭi* by the editors].

rukmiṇyā preṣitas te'haṃ sakāśaṃ puruṣottama | tasyāḥ sandeśam ākarṇya kriyatāṃ tadanantaram ||

nidhāya likhitaṃ patraṃ pādayoḥ praṇanāma tam | tad ādāya jagannāthaḥ smitasundaralocanaḥ |

vācayāmāsa dharmātmā sādaraṃ spṛhayanniva |

"Rukmiṇī, daughter of the king of Vidarbhā, Your servant, communicates to You some [message] concerning [Her] auspicious marriage [with You]. [I have been sent to You by Her, the daughter of Bhīṣma[ka]. After listening to Her message, act [accordingly].]

O best among men! I have been sent to You by Rukmiṇī. After listening to Her message, act [accordingly]. Having placed the letter at [His] feet, he [the Brahmin messenger] bowed to Him. Having taken it, the Lord of the universe, with eyes [made] beautiful by a smile, the virtuous One respectfully had [him] read [it] out, as if [He was] eager [to hear Her message]."

These verses, the source of which we could not trace, are given in the footnotes of the Kardamaṛṣiḥ & Kṛṣṇaśaṅkara Śāstri edition (1989) that we have used in this article for both the BhP and its *vyākhyāna*s.

Vīrarāghavācārya seems to have the verses *rukmiṇyā preṣitas te 'ham* and *nidhāya likhitaṃ patram* in his copy of the BhP. Here are his comments upon that passage, which seem to deal along with verse 37:

varṇanamevāha—rukmiṇyēti | tava ***sakāśaṃ*** *samīpaṃ prati preṣito 'haṃ he kṛṣṇa he mādhava* ***tasyāḥ saṃdeśaṃ*** *vācikam* ***ākarṇya anantaraṃ*** *rukmiṇyuktaṃ kriyatāṃ yadvā* ***tadanantaraṃ*** *śravaṇānantaraṃ kriyatāṃ yathocitam iti śeṣaḥ | evam uktvā* ***likhitaṃ rukmiṇyā*** [this is not part of the original verse] *iti śeṣaḥ patraṃ* ***pādayoḥ*** *bhagavata iti śeṣaḥ |* ***nidhāyataṃ*** *śrīkṛṣṇaṃ* ***praṇanāma*** *namaskṛtavān brāhmaṇa iti śeṣaḥ | tat patram* ***ādāya sādaraṃ yathā*** *tathā vācayāmāsa brāhmaṇamukheneti śeṣaḥ | kathaṃbhūto bhagavān smite sundare locane yasya sa* ***dharmātmā*** *yācitārthapradānarūpadharmapravaṇabuddhimān ity*

*atha brāhmaṇaḥ śrīkṛṣṇānujñayā vācikaṃ vakti - **śrutve**ti | he **bhuvanasundara** anenautsukyaṃ dyotayati tvad**guṇān**eva **śṛṇvatāṃ** janānāṃ **karṇa**randhrairantaḥ praviśy**āṅgatāpam** ādhyātmikaṃ **tāpaṃ haratas te** tava **guṇān**, tathā **dṛśimatāṃ** cakṣuṣmatāṃ dṛś**āmakhilārth**ānām anukūlaviṣayāṇāṃ **lābho** yasmāt tathābhūtaṃ tava **rūpaṃ** ca **śrutvā** he **acyuta** mama **cittaṃ** nirlajjaṃ yathā tathā, **citta**viśeṣaṇaṃ vā tvayi eva **āviśati** āsajjate, kva ca tava mahimā? kva cāhaṃ rūpaśīlādiyuktāpi? tathāpy **apatrapaṃ** nirviśati ity abhiprāyeṇāpatrapam ity uktam* || 37 ||

Now, with Kṛṣṇa's permission, the Brahmin reads out Rukmiṇī's message[40] [beginning with] **'having heard.' 'O [most] handsome One in the world!'** By this [address], She expresses [Her] eagerness. **Hearing of the qualities of You** (*te=tava*), **who remove**[41] **bodily torments** (***aṅgatāpam**=ādhyātmikaṃ tāpam*[42]) entering the heart through the **ear** canals of the people **who listen** only **to** Your **qualities** and of Your **handsome form**, such a form from which there is the obtainment of all objects

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arthaḥ | ***spṛhayann iva** vācanenaiva liṅgena tadviṣayakaspṛhāṃ vyañjayann ivety arthaḥ* |

"[The Brahmin thus] gives a description [through the text beginning with the words] 'by Rukmiṇī.' 'O Kṛṣṇa, O Mādhava, I have been **sent** to Your presence [***sakāśaṃ**=samīpaṃ prati*]. **After listening to Her message** [***saṃdeśaṃ**=vācikam*], do what Rukmiṇī says.' Or else, 'Immediately **after that** [i.e.] immediately after hearing, act (Supply:) appropriately.' Having spoken thus, and placed the letter written (supply:) by Rukmiṇī, at the feet (supply:) of Bhagavān, (supply:) the Brahmin bowed [***praṇanāma**=namaskṛtavān*] to **that** Śrīkṛṣṇa. Having taken that letter, He respectfully had [it] **read out** (supply:) by the Brahmin. Of what kind wasthe Lord? He whose eyes are smiling and beautiful; the **virtuous One, which means** He whose mind is inclined towards the virtue that consists in conferring [upon the devotee] the wealth [that they] begged for. **As if eager** means 'as if, by the mere act[39] of [having the Brahmin] read, He suggests [His] eagerness for that [letter].'

[40] See n. 39.

[41] It is also possible to read it as 'hearing [of] Your qualities that remove...'

[42] *ādhyātmika* could also refer to mental or spiritual distress.

> (***akhilārthānāṃ***=*anukūlaviṣayāṇām*[43]) **for the eyes of those who are endowed with eyes** (***dṛśimatāṃ***=*cakṣuṣmatāṃ*), **O Acyuta! My mind** shamelessly **enters** (***āviśati***=*āsajjate*) only **You.**[44] Or else *nirlajjam* qualifies ***cittam.***[45] What comparison is there between Your greatness and me, even though I [too] am endowed with form, conduct, etc.? Even so, [my mind] **shamelessly** enters [You].' ***apatrapam*** is uttered [by Rukmiṇī] in [this] meaning.

As we can see, Vīrarāghavācārya follows in Śrīdhara's footsteps in many ways: for example, he provides glosses (***aṅgatāpam***=*ādhyātmikaṃ tāpam*), sometimes using the older commentator's own words (***dṛśimatāṃ***=*cakṣūṣmatāṃ*, ***āviśati***=*āsajjate*). By splitting the compound ***akhilārthalābham***, he analyses, glosses and explains it thus: 1) ***akhilārtha***=*anukūlaviṣayaṇām*, in which the genitive is made explicit, and 2) ***lābham***=*lābhaḥ yasmāt tathābhūtam* (literally, 'such from which there is obtention'). He reads ***apatram*** as an adverb (*nirlajjaṃ yathā tathā*- 'shamelessly'), and alternatively suggests interpreting it as a qualification of ***citta*** (*citta-viśeṣaṇam*).[46]

Another element that shows that Vīrarāghavācārya probably knew Śrīdhara's *vyākhyāna* is his making Rukmiṇī feel inferior to Kṛṣṇa, despite having qualities Herself (See n. 32).

4. Pōtana's '*vyākhyāna*'

4.1. The Text[47]

To the seven verses of the BhP, Pōtana has composed eight corresponding verses (PMB10.1702 to 1709), and we believe that both the first and (or at least parts of) the last of this set correspond to BhP 37:

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[43] *anukūlaviṣayāṇām* literally means 'things that please [us].'

[44] Vīrarāghavācārya is the only one so far to insist on the undivided attention that Kṛṣṇa gets in Rukmiṇī's thoughts.

[45] So that the passage should be read as 'My Mind being shameless...'

[46] The meaning thus becomes 'My mind, being shameless, enters You....'

[47] We have here used the Vāviḷla Rāmasvāmiśāstrulu edition (1963), since they are standard publications when it comes to Telugu literary works. And we have used ISO to transliterate Telugu.

*ē nī guṇamulu karṇēṃdriyaṃbulu sōňka dēhatāpaṃbulu tīṟi pōvunu**
ē nī śubhākāramu īkṣaṃpaň kannulaku* akhilārthalābhaṃbu kalugucuṃḍunu**
ē nī caraṇasēvalu ē prodduň cēsina bhuvanōnnatatvaṃbuň poṃdaň kalugunu**
ē nī lasannāmamu ē prōddu bhaktitōň taḍavina baṃdhasaṃtatulu pāyunu**

aṭṭi nī ~aṃdu nā cittamu anavaratamu nacci ~unnadi nī~āna nāna lēdu*
karuṇaň cūḍumu kaṃsāri khalavidāri śrīyutākāra māninīcittacōra. (PMB 10.1702)

When Your qualities touch the ears, the distresses of the body end; when Your auspicious form is beheld, the obtainment of all the desires happen for the eyes; when one always serves Your feet, he can obtain the eminent state in [all] the worlds; when one always speaks out Your glorious names with devotion, the succession of bondages leave.

My heart continuously remains delighted in You who are such. [I] swear upon You. [I] have no shame. Show me compassion. O Enemy of Kaṃsa! O Slayer of the wicked people! O You with a form joined with lustre! O Thief of the mind of the sulky woman!

prāṇēśa! nī mañjubhāṣalu vinalēni karṇarandhrambula kalimi ~ēla?
puruṣaratnama! nīvu bhōgiṃpagālēni tanulatavalani saundaryamu ēla?*
bhuvanamōhana! ninnu(n) poḍagāṃnagālēni cakṣurindriyamula satvamu ēla?*
dayita nī ~adharāmṛtaṃbu ānagālēni jihvaku phalarasasiddhi ~ēla?*

nīrajātanayana nī vanamālikā gandhamu abbalēni ghrāṇamu* ēla?*
dhanyacarita nīku dāsyambu(n) cēyanijanmamu ēla ~enni janmammulaku?* (PMB 10.1709)

O Lord of [my] life! Why possess ear canals that cannot hear Your sweet words? O Gem among men! Why [possess] the beauty due to the creeper [that is] the body that You cannot enjoy? O You who enchant the World! Why have eyes that cannot see Your figure? O [my] Beloved! Why [should] the tongue [have the advantage of] recognizing the taste of fruits [if it] cannot rest upon the nectar that is Your lower lip? O You with eyes that are like the lotus! Why [have] a nose which cannot get the smell of Your garland of forest flowers? O You with excellent deeds! Why [have] a birth which does not do service to You, however many births [one takes]?

4.2. Features of a *vyākhyāna* in Pōtana's Verses

Pōtana's poetry was composed in a vernacular language with a different audience of a different time in mind. The poet also made sure that it was accessible to everyone, unlike the *vyākhyāna*s of Śrīdhara and the like, which were meant for the well-educated. This invariably means that the spirit and practice of elucidation found in the PBM will be different from the other works. Keeping this in mind, let us have a look at how in this work, despite its nature, we can detect features of a *vyākhyāna*.

To begin with, Pōtana makes the syntax of his verse simple: for every important idea expressed in a single complex sentence in the BhP, he allots a separate sentence.

BhP 37: (1) O [most] handsome One in the world! (2) Having heard of Your qualities—which eradicate the torments of the body, having entered through the ear canals [the heart] of those who listen [to them]—(3) [and] of [Your] handsome form, which

grants all the desired objects **to** the eyes of those who look [at You], (4) my heart, (5) devoid of shame, fully enters You, O Acyuta!

PMB 10.1702:

(2) When Your qualities touch the ears, the distresses of the body end,

(3) When Your auspicious form is beheld, the obtainment of all the desires happen for the eyes (...)

(4) My heart continuously remains delighted in You who are such.

[I] swear upon You.

(5) [I] have no shame. (...)

(1) O You with a form joined with lustre! O Captivator of the mind of the sulky woman!

We can see that although he does not proceed systematically the way a commentator like Śrīdhara does, Pōtana too supplies glosses, the evidence of which lies in the fact that his verse contains all the elements found in the original verse. Sometimes, he gives Telugu equivalents for the Sanskrit words and expressions (e.g. *nāna lēdu* for ***apatrapam***), and at other times he provides synonyms in Telugu-Sanskrit Maṇipravāḷa (*śrīyutākārā* or *dēha**tāpaṃ**bulu* with the final *ā* marking the vocative case in Telugu and -*ṃbulu* being a Telugu ending marking the nominative-plural, respectively). The following are comments specific to the different sections of the verses, which will allow us to analyse how the vernacular verse comments upon its *mūla*.

(1) Other than glossing ***bhuvanasundara*** as *śrīyutākārā* ('O You with a lustrous/majestic **form**!' - *ākāra*=***rūpa***) and ***bhuvana****mōhana* ('O You who enchant the **World**!' PMB 1709), Pōtana includes a few other vocatives that allude to Kṛṣṇa's personal charm and excellence.[48] This may be his way of showing Rukmiṇī's overflowing emotions, which

[48] *māninīcittacōra* ('O Captivator of the mind of the sulky woman!'), *puruṣaratnama* ('O Gem among men!'), *nīrajātanayana* ('O You with eyes that are like the lotus!').

embolden Her to call Kṛṣṇa *dayita* ('O [my] Beloved!'), which the Rukmiṇī of the BhP does not.[49] Her calling Him *kaṃsāri* and *khalavidāri* (not in the BhP) also seems to indicate that She had heard of His warrior-like qualities, which will be useful when confronting with Her brother and the man She is promised to.

(2) PMB does away with the description in BhP 37 on how Kṛṣṇa's qualities enter the ears, and possibly reach the hearts of the listeners. Instead, Pōtana uses the verb *sōṅkan* ('touch'), possibly to compensate for the lack of details: it is enough that His qualities should brush against the ears to produce the same effect, i.e. end bodily torments. The main idea is intact despite the simplification, besides which, Pōtana remains close to the BhP by keeping some of the Sanskrit words in Telugu as *tatsama*s[50] (***guṇam**ulu*) and providing gloss where necessary (***aṅgatāpam**=dēha**tāpaṃ**bulu*).

(3) As mentioned earlier, Pōtana makes a separate sentence for this part of the verse too.[51] And while keeping the compound ***akhilārthalābham**bu* intact except for the Telugu ending, the poet turns the *bahuvrīhi-samāsa* of BhP 37, which qualifies ***rūpam***, into the agent of the verb *kalugucuṃḍu* ('to happen, to occur'), so as to imply that 'the obtainment of all the desires happen' on their own, without necessitating the intervention of Kṛṣṇa's auspicious beauty (***rūpam**=śubhākāramu* ['auspicious form']).

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[49] This is reminiscent of Śrīdhara's and Vīrarāghavācārya's comments that through the address *bhuvanasundara*, 'She makes clear Her eagerness [for Kṛṣṇa]' (*autsukyaṃ dyotayati*).

[50] A loanword from Sanskrit that is used as such, without any phonological modification.

[51] Literally *śrutvā (...) rūpaṃ* means 'having heard of/listened to ... Your handsome form.' While it is fine with qualities which indeed can be heard, it is more complicated to hear a form, however handsome it is, unless we add 'of/about.' This is where Pōtana the commentator clarifies the idea by making separate sentences so as not to mix the senses of hearing and seeing.

While Pōtana adds further cause and effect relations to explain how contact with Kṛṣṇa can be beneficial,[52] which is not to be found in the Sanskrit verse, he gets back to the senses soon enough, in PMB 10.1709.

While the BhP verse mentions the role that the senses of hearing and seeing play in relation to Kṛṣṇa, Pōtana includes all the sense organs (nose, tongue, etc.), as if believing that the BhP's allusion to two of them is an *upalakṣaṇa*[53] for them all. He also goes beyond the BhP in stressing the importance of the senses in the worship of Kṛṣṇa, with his interpretation using negative rhetorical questions which establish that the sole purpose of having sense organs is to dedicate them to Kṛṣṇa, at least from Rukmiṇī's point of view. Pōtana seems to use *vyatireka* ('negative correlation') to bring out the depth and the intensity of Rukmiṇī's feeling for Kṛṣṇa.

(4 & 5) Glossing *tvayi* by *aṭṭi nī ~andu* ('to You who are such'), Pōtana transforms the punctual act(s) of Rukmiṇī's mind entering Kṛṣṇa (*āviśati*) into a permanent state of mind ('My heart continuously remains delighted in You...'): he does so by using the verb *unnadi* ('it is') instead of 'enters'; and by adding the redundant *anavaratamu* ('always'). The poet seems to imply that Rukmiṇī is in a meditative (or even an obsessive) state at all times.

So that She is not dismissed as being hyperbolic, the Telugu Rukmiṇī takes an oath on Kṛṣṇa to prove the veracity of Her words (*nī āna* – '[I] swear upon You').[54] As for expressing the sense of shame, Pōtana has a separate sentence to convey the idea, unlike BhP 37 in which *apatrapam* is merely a qualifier of *cittam* or an adverb modifying *āviśati*. And like Śrīdhara, Pōtana seems to bring out the *kārya-kāraṇa*

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[52] i.e. 'when one always serves Your feet, one can obtain the eminent state in [all] the worlds; when one always thinks of Your glorious names with devotion, the succession of bondages leaves.'

[53] 'Implying something that has not been actually expressed' (Apte).

[54] Or else, given that *nī āna* occurs as a separate between Her statement of constant meditation on Him and the fact that She has no shame, we may wonder whether the 'swearing' is meant to prove the former, the latter or both.

(effect and cause) relation between Her sense of shame (which in this case seems well and truly synonymous with feminine modesty, rather than a sense of inferiority) and His qualities, which appear to have selectively desensitized Her so that She cannot feel that particular emotion, which can be witnessed from the effusive vocatives that She uses.

Finally, unlike Rukmiṇī in BhP 37, Her Telugu counterpart hints right in the first verse that She needs a favour from Kṛṣṇa by begging for His compassion (*karuṇa cūḍumu*). We can thus take the rest of Her letter as an expansion of the message found in the first verse itself.

Conclusions

We can thus see that since the PMB is not technically-speaking a *vyākhyāna*, its verses are unsurprisingly devoid of the type of commentarial jargon found elsewhere (e.g. *iti śeṣaḥ*, *iti arthaḥ*). And Pōtana does not necessarily provide glosses as methodically as a commentator would (although the gloss is there, as pointed out earlier, both in Telugu and in 'Sanskrit-Telugu Maṇipravāḷa'), nor does he present grammatical analyses the way a commentator would (although that also exists, e.g. his conveying the different ideas found in BhP 37 in different, shorter sentences). But he does what a good commentator ought to, i.e. to make known the intentions of the author of the *mūla* text (as the commentator understands it); to bring out the feelings of the characters in contexts such as these verses'; and thus to allow the reader/listener—in Pōtana's case, not necessarily an educated audience—to understand fully what is happening in the text and get its real feel. And he does so with whatever means afforded to him by poetry.

Even in 'real' *vyākhyāna*s, these tasks are of prime importance. We can take the example of the Śrīvaiṣṇava *vyākhyāna*s, which, while commenting upon a Tamil *pācuram* ('a verse' from the *Nālāyirattivviyappirapantam*), sometimes expand a topic that seems

far-fetched compared to the passage that is being commented upon.[55] But more often than not, this practice is merely a way of elucidating what is deemed necessary. And despite the liberties he seems to take with the original text, Pōtana does not even venture as far as some commentators often do, at least not in the passage that we have chosen. And although rules have been devised to suggest what features a *vyākhyāna* ought to have, there is very little to determine exactly what form a commentary ought to take or what text can act as a *vyākhyāna*. In fact, U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar himself opined that the Tamil works composed in the form of songs, which explain with a story or an illustration a verse from the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* for example, should be considered as commentarial works.[56]

To come back to Pōtana, it seems to us that he blends *kāvya* and *vyākhyāna* at a time when the region needed both in the vernacular for the Bhāgavata. Therefore, although not a *vyākhyāna* stricto *sensu*, Pōtana's *Mahābhāgavatamu* still acts as one, since it brings a clearer understanding of the original text—even if it sometimes uses unconventional methods to do so—and thereby, grants an easy access to the BhP to generations of Telugu people, including the laymen.

[55] For example, in his *vyākhyāna* on Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi* called *īṭu muppāttāṟāyirappaṭi*, Nampiḷḷai (or his disciple Vaṭakku Tiruvīti Piḷḷai who is said to have composed the commentary based on his teacher's lectures) comments extensively on a verse from the *Bālakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in his introduction to *Tiruvāymoḻi* 3.7 in order to explain the virtue of being devoted to a devotee, just as Śatrughna was to Bharata.

[56] This is mentioned by M. V. Aravindan 1995: 70–71.

Appendix

Pōtana's verses and the corresponding BhP verses:

śrutvā guṇān bhuvanasundara śṛṇvatāṃ te
nirviśya karṇavivarair harato 'ṅgatāpam
rūpaṃ dṛśāṃ dṛśimatām akhilārthalābhaṃ
tvayy acyutāviśati cittam apatrapaṃ me (BhP 10.52.37)

O [most] handsome One in the world! Having heard of Your qualities—which eradicate the torments of the body, having entered through the ear canals the heart of those who listen [to them]—and of [Your] handsome form, which grants all the desired objects to the eyes of those who look [at You], my heart, devoid of shame, fully enters You, O Acyuta!

ఏనీగుణములు కర్ణేంద్రియంబులు సోఁక దేహతాపంబులు దీఱి పోవు
నేనీశుభాకార మీక్షంపఁ గన్నుల కఖిలార్థలాభంబు గలుగు చుండు
నేనీచరణసేవ లేప్రొద్దుఁ జేసిన భువనోన్నతత్వంబుఁ బొందఁ గలుగు
నేనీలసన్నామ మేప్రొద్దు భక్తితోఁ దడవిన బంధసంతతులు వాయు

నట్టి నీయందు నాచిత్తమనవరతము నచ్చి యున్నది నీయాన నానలేదు
కరుణఁ జూడుము కంసారి ఖలవిదారి శ్రీయుతాకార మానినీచిత్తచోర. 1702

*ē nī guṇamulu karṇēṃdriyaṃbulu sōṅka dēhatāpaṃbulu tīṟi pōvunu**
ē nī śubhākāramu īkṣaṃpaṅ kannulaku* akhilārthalābhaṃbu kalugucuṃḍunu**
ē nī caraṇasēvalu ē prodduṅ cēsina bhuvanōnnatatvaṃbuṅ poṃdaṅ kalugunu**
ē nī lasannāmamu ē prōddu bhaktitōṅ taḍavina baṃdhasaṃtatulu pāyunu**
aṭṭi nī ~aṃdu nā cittamu anavaratamu nacci ~unnadi nī~āna nāna lēdu*
karuṇaṅ cūḍumu kaṃsāri khalavidāri śrīyutākāra māninīcittacōra. 1702

When Your qualities touch the ears, the distresses of the body end; when Your auspicious form is beheld, the obtainment of all the desires happen for the eyes; when one always serves Your feet, he can obtain the eminent state in [all] the worlds; when one always speaks out Your glorious names with devotion, the succession of bondages leave. My heart continuously remains delighted in You who are such. [I] swear upon You. [I] have no shame. Show me compassion. O Enemy of Kaṃsa! O Slayer of the wicked people! O You with a form joined with lustre! O Thief of the mind of the sulky woman!

kā tvā mukunda mahatī kulaśīlarūpa
vidyāvayodraviṇadhāmabhir ātmatulyam
dhīrā patiṃ kulavatī na vṛṇīta kanyā
kāle nṛsiṃha naralokamano'bhirāmam (BhP 10.52.38)

O Mukunda! What distinguished, sensible girl of noble birth would not, at the [appropriate] time, choose [You] as a husband, O Lion among men, who are equal to Yourself in good birth, character, handsome form, knowledge, youth, wealth and power, and who please the hearts of the people of the human world?

ధన్యున్ లోకమనోభిరాముఁ గులవిద్యారూపతారుణ్యసౌ
జన్యశ్రీబలదానశౌర్యకరుణాసంశోభితున్ నిన్ను నే
కన్యల్ గోరరు కోరదే మును రమాకాంతాలలామంబు రా
జన్యా నేకపసింహ నావలననే జన్మించెనే మోహముల్. 1703

dhanyun lōkamanōbhirāmuṅ kulavidyārūpatāruṇyasau-
janyaśrībaladānaśauryakaruṇāsaṃśōbhitun ninnun ē
kanyal kōraru kōradē munu ramākāṃtālalāmaṃbu rā-
janyānēkapasiṃha nāvalananē janmiṃcenē mōhamul. 1703

O Lion to the kings who are elephants! Which girl will not desire You who are blessed, who please the hearts of the people of the world, [and] who are endowed with noble birth, knowledge, beauty, youth, goodness, wealth, might and compassion? Did not the best among

lovely women previously desire [You]? Was love [for You] born only due to me?[57]

tan me bhavān khalu vṛtaḥ patir aṅga jāyām
ātmārpitaś ca bhavato 'tra vibho vidhehi
mā vīrabhāgam abhimarśatu caidya ārād
gomāyuvan mṛgapater balim ambujākṣa (BhP 10.52.39)

Well, therefore, You have indeed been chosen as my husband, and my self has been surrendered to You who are worthy. O mighty One! Make [me Your] wife. Let the king of the Cedis, like a fox that [touches] the portions of the [lion,] king of beasts, not touch [Me who am] the share [meant] for the Hero, O lotus-eyed One!

శ్రీయుతమూర్తి యోపురుషసింహమ సింహముపాలిసొమ్ముగో
మాయువు గోరుచందమున మత్తుఁడు చైద్యుఁడు నీపదాంబుజ
ధ్యాయిని యైనన్ను వడిఁదాఁ గొనిపోయెద నంచునున్నవాఁ
డా యధమాధముం డెఱుఁగఁ డద్భుతమైన భవత్ప్రతాపమున్. 1704

śrīyutamūrti ~ō puruṣasiṃhama siṃhamupāli sommu gō-
māyuvu kōrucaṃdamuna mattuṅḍu caidyuṅḍu nī padāṃbuja-
dhyāyini ~aina nannu vaḍiṅ tāṅ konipōyedan aṃcun unnavāṅ-
ḍu ā ~adhamādhamuṃḍu* eṟuṅgaṅḍu* adbhutamaina*
bhavatpratāpamun. 1704

O You with a form endowed with lustre[58]! O Lion among men! Like the fox that desires the property that is the share of the lion, the king of the Cedi [land] who is arrogant is saying he himself will without delay take me away, who am one who meditates upon Your lotus feet. That lowest of all does not know Your valour, which is extraordinary.

pūrteṣṭadattaniyamavratadevavipra
gurvarcanādibhir alaṃ bhagavān pareśaḥ

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[57] Literally, 'Was passion [from You] born only due to me?'
[58] Śrī can also be taken as Lakṣmī or wealth.

ārādhito yadi gadāgraja etya pāṇiṃ
gṛhṇātu me na damaghoṣasutādayo 'nye (BhP 10.52.40)

If God, the Supreme Lord, has been worshipped sufficiently [by me] with acts of pious liberalities, sacrifices, charity, voluntary religious observances, vows, the worship of gods, brahmins, teachers, etc., let the elder brother of Gada[59] come here and take my hand, and not the others like the son of Damaghoṣa, etc.

వ్రతముల్ దేవగురుద్విజన్మబుధసేవల్ దానధర్మాదులున్
గతజన్మంబుల నీశ్వరున్ హరి జగత్కల్యాణుఁ గాంక్షించి చే
సితి నేనిన్ వసుదేవనందనుఁడు నాచిత్తేశుఁడౌఁ గాక ని
ర్జితులై పోదురు గాక సంగరములోఁ జేదీశముఖ్యాధముల్ . 1705

vratamul dēvagurudvijanmabudhasēval dānadharmādulun
gatajanmaṃbulan īśvarun hari jagatkalyāṇuṅ kāṃkṣiṃci cē-
sitinēnin vasudēvanaṃdanuṅḍu nā cittēśuṅḍauṅ kāka ni-
rjitulai pōdurugāka saṃgaramulōṅ cēdīśamukhyādhamul. 1705

If I have performed austerities, service to gods, teachers, brahmins and scholars, charity in my past births longing for Hari, the Supreme God who is beneficent to the people of the world, may the Son of Vasudeva become the Lord of my heart! May the vile ones beginning with the king of Cedi be defeated in the battle!

śvobhāvini tvam ajitodvahane vidarbhān
guptaḥ sametya pṛtanāpatibhiḥ parītaḥ
nirmathya caidyamagadhendrabalaṃ prasahya
māṃ rākṣasena vidhinodvaha vīryaśulkām (BhP 10.52.41)

Coming secretly to the Vidarbhas, at the wedding that is to take place tomorrow, accompanied by [Your] commanders, and crushing down by force the armies of the kings of Cedi and Magadha, You marry me, purchased by [Your] valour, as per the *rākṣasa* system.

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[59] Kṛṣṇa's brother.

antaḥpurāntaracarīm anihatya bandhūn
tvām udvahe katham iti pravadāmy upāyam
pūrvedyur asti mahatī kuladevayātrā
yasyāṃ bahir navavadhūr girijām upeyāt (BhP 10.52.42)

[If You ask] 'How will I marry you, who move inside the harem, not killing [your] relatives?' I will tell [You] the means. On the day before [marriage], there is a great procession to the guardian deity of the family, in which the bride goes out to [the temple of Pārvatī,] the daughter of the mountain.

అంకిలి సెప్పలేదు చతురంగబలంబులతోడ నెల్లి యో
పంకజనాభ నీవు శిశుపాలజరాసుతులన్ జయించి నా
వంకకు వచ్చి రాక్షసవివాహమునన్ భవదీయశౌర్యమే
యుంకువ సేసి కృష్ణ పురుషోత్తమ చేకొని పొమ్ము వచ్చెదన్. 1706

aṃkili seppalēdu caturaṃgabalaṃbulatōḍan elli ~ō
paṃkajanābha nīvu rākṣasavivāhaṃunan jayiṃci nā
vaṃkaku vacci rākṣasavivāhaṃbunan bhavadīyaśauryamē
~uṃkuva cēsi kṛṣṇa puruṣōttama cēkoni pommu vaccedan. 1706

O You with a lotus navel! Nothing prevents You [from accepting me]. Tomorrow, conquering Śiśupāla and the son of Jarā with the four-fold force,[60] coming towards me, giving Your valour itself as dowry, take me away grasping [my] hand, marrying [me] as per the *rākṣasa* [system].[61] I will come [with You], O Kṛṣṇa, O best among among men!

లోపలిసౌధంబులోన వర్తింపంగఁ దేవచ్చునే నిన్నుఁ దెత్తునేనిఁ
గావలివారలఁ గలబంధువులఁ జంపికాని తేరాదని కమలనయన
భావించితేని నుపాయంబు సెప్పెద నాలింపు కులదేవయాత్రఁ జేసి
నగరంబు వెలువడి నగజాతకును మ్రొక్కఁ బెండ్లికి మునుపడఁ బెండ్లికూఁతు

[60] 'A complete army consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry' (Apte).
[61] One of eight types of marriage, 'marriage by capture.'

నెలమి మావారుఁ బంపుదురేనునట్లె పురము వెలువడి యేతెంచి భూతనాథు
సతికి మ్రొక్కంగ నీవు నాసమయమందు వచ్చికొని పొమ్ము నన్నునవార్యచరిత.
1707

lōpalisaudhaṃbulōna vartiṃpaṃgaň tēvaccunē ninnuň tettunēniň
kāvalivāralaň kalabaṃdhuvulaň caṃpikāni tērādani kamalanayana
bhāviṃcitēnin upāyaṃbu ceppedan āliṃpu kuladēvayātraň cēsi
nagaraṃbu veluvaḍi nagajātakunu mrokkaň peṃḍliki munupaḍaň peṃḍlikūňtun
elami māvāruň paṃpuduru ēnun aṭle puramu veluvaḍi ~ēteṃci bhūtanāthu-*
satiki mrokkaṃga nīvun ā samayamaṃdu vacci konipommu nannun avāryacarita. 1707

O lotus-eyed One! If You think, 'Is it proper to take you out when you are residing inside the inner apartments? If I take you out, it is not possible to do so without killing guards and relatives [residing] there,' I will tell you about a strategy. Listen! Before the wedding ceremony, my parents will with joy send the bride out of the city on a journey to the guardian deity of the family in order to worship the mountain-born goddess [Pārvati].

When I too, thus going outside [the city] and coming [to the temple], worship the wife of the chief of the beings, You come at that time and take me away, O You with unrestrainable deeds!

yasyāṅghripaṅkajarajaḥsnapanaṃ mahānto
vāñchanty umāpatir ivātmatamo'pahatyai
yarhy ambujākṣa na labheya bhavatprasādaṃ
jahyām asūn vratakṛśān śatajanmabhiḥ syāt (BhP 10.52.43)

If I do not obtain Your favour, O lotus-eyed One,—with the dust of whose lotus feet even the great people like Umā's husband desire[62] to bathe in order to get rid of their *tamas*—I will give up [my] life-breaths, emaciated by vows, [even if Your favour] may take a hundred births [to come].

ఘనులాత్మీయతమోనివృత్తికొఱకై గౌరీశుమర్యాద నె
వ్వనిపాదాంబుజతోయమందు మునుగన్ వాంఛితురే నట్టినీ
యనుకంపన్ విలసింపనేని వ్రతచర్యన్ నూఱుజన్మంబులన్
నినుఁ జింతించుచుఁ బ్రాణముల్ విడిచెదన్ నిక్కంబు ప్రాణేశ్వరా. 1708

ghanulātmīyatamōnivṛttikoṟakai gaurīśumaryādan e-
vvani pādāṃbujatōyamaṃdu munugan vāṃchituru ēn aṭṭi nī*
~anukaṃpan vilasiṃpanēni vratacaryan nūṟujanmaṃbulan
ninuň ciṃtiṃcucuň prāṇamul viḍicedan nikkaṃbu prāṇēśvarā. 1708

If I do not shine with Your compassion—in the water [born out] of Whose feet the noble ones desire to plunge in order to get rid of their ignorance like the lord of Gaurī—I will give up my life thinking of You for a hundred births taking up austerities. This is certain!

ప్రాణేశ నీమంజుభాషలు విన లేని కర్ణరంధ్రంబులకలిమి యేల
పురుషరత్నమ నీవు భోగింపఁగా లేని తనులతవలని సౌందర్య మేల
భువనమోహన నిన్నుఁ బొడగానఁ గాలేని చక్షురింద్రియములసత్త్వ మేల
దయిత యధరామృతం బానఁ గా లేని జిహ్వాకుఫలరస సిద్ధి యేల
నీరజాతనయన నీవనమాలికాగంధమబ్బలేనిఘ్రాణ మేల
ధన్యచరిత నీకు దాస్యంబు సేయని జన్మ మేల యెన్నిజన్మములకు. 1709

prāṇēśa nī maṃjubhāṣalu vinalēni karṇaraṃdhraṃbula kalimi ~ēla
*puruṣaratnama nīvu bhōgiṃpaňgālēni tanulatavalani sauṃdaryamu**
ēla

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[62] Or: 'great people desired, as Umā's husband did...'

bhuvanamōhana ninnuṅ poḍagānaṅgālēni cakṣuriṃdriyamula
sattvamu ēla*
dayita ~adharāmṛtaṃbu ānaṅgālēni jihvaku phalarasasiddhi ~ēla*

nīrajātanayana nī vanamālikāgaṃdhamu abbalēni ghrāṇamu* ēla*
dhanyacarita nīku dāsyaṃbu cēyani janmamu ēla ~enni janmamulaku.*
1709

O Lord of [my] life! Why possess ear canals that cannot hear Your sweet words? O Gem among men! Why [possess] the beauty due to the creeper [that is] the body which You cannot enjoy? O You who enchant the World! Why have eyes which cannot see Your figure? O [my] Beloved! Why [should] the tongue [have the advantage of] recognizing the taste of fruits [if it] cannot rest upon the nectar of Your lower lip? O You with eyes that are like the lotus! Why [have] a nose which cannot get the smell of Your garland of forest flowers? O You with excellent deeds! Why [have] a birth which does not do service to You, however many births [one takes]?

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Application of Structure Analysis to the Study of Sanskrit Commentaries on *mahākāvya-*

A General Overview of the Subject with a Special Reference to the Commentaries on the *Kirātārjunīya*[1]

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1. Introduction

1.1. Preliminary Remarks

As the title of the present article suggests, on the following pages I introduce a particular method of structure analysis and discuss several potentially rewarding strategies for employing it to the study of Sanskrit commentaries on *mahākāvya-*.[2] The degree of elaboration in the treatment of these strategies differs from case to case: I provide a thorough exposition of the basic approaches and only briefly mention the more complex ones (I hope to be able to do justice to their complexity in a separate article).

This article draws upon various unpublished sources: largely unknown Sanskrit texts preserved exclusively in manuscripts,[3] but also secondary academic research, the results of which have not been widely circulated so far. In fact, the centrepiece of my study, the actual analytical tool, the application of which I review, has not yet been publicized by Roger Vogt (previously Hamburg University), who

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[2] This article is the first in a series of studies that reflect upon the findings of my doctoral dissertation (Klebanov [2016]).

[3] Note that in the present article, when quoting textual excerpts from the MSS, I generally do not reproduce a critical apparatus.

developed this method in its original form more than a decade ago.[4] Although I try to supply all the basic information necessary for the understanding of my arguments within the article itself, an interested reader is referred to the relevant chapters of my doctoral dissertation,[5] that provides, among other things, a comprehensive introduction to the methodology (chapter one) and detailed descriptions of utilized Sanskrit commentaries and their material sources (chapters two and four).

1.2. On *mahākāvya-*

Some explanation is due regarding the subject of the commentaries dealt with here. Although the majority of examples stem from commentaries on a single Sanskrit poem, the *Kirātārjunīya* (KĀ) of Bhāravi (fl. ca. 6th century CE),[6] I would like to extend my conclusions to—and, what is more, draw additional evidence from—the commentarial literature on a whole sub-genre of Sanskrit belletrist literature, the *mahākāvya-*.[7] In brief, my arguments for the validity of this generalization are as follows:

1. As for the *mahākāvya-* as such, it had been unanimously identified by a broad spectrum of Sanskrit theoreticians to constitute an individual category within belletrist literature (*kāvya-*) in Sanskrit. It could be distinguished from other types of *kāvya-* by its attendance to a set of unique "formal requirements," by a specific "structure of the

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[4] The current method was in its seminal form developed by Roger Vogt, an independent scholar previously affiliated with the Hamburg University (Germany), in the course of preparing a so far unpublished critical edition and study of Śrīnātha's commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa*. On his part, Vogt drew upon the study of Vallabhadeva's commentary on the same work published by Goodall and Isaacson (2003).

[5] Klebanov (2016).

[6] See Peterson (2003) for a comprehensive analysis of the poem, and chapter 3 in the same book (as well as the Introduction to Peterson [2016]) for an assessment of its historical (and literary) context.

[7] For an overview of Sanskrit belletrist literature see e.g., Lienhard (1984) or the encyclopaedic study in Warder (1972–2011).

plot," "arrangement of *rasa*-s" and by a particular "use of descriptive passages."[8] Contemporary academic scholarship, in its turn, has repeatedly reinforced the traditional view about a distinct identity of *mahākāvya*- and supplemented it with novel observations about the compositional principles and other features of the genre.[9] As for the KĀ, Bronner et al. (2014) observe in their introduction to the section dealing with classical *mahākāvya*-s that "Louis Renou, in his great monograph on the style of *kāvya* poetry, recognized in Bhāravi's work a new way of composing poetry distinctive enough to serve as the basis of his description."[10]

2. Just as the composition of *mahākāvya*- was, therefore, led by its distinct principles, so, I believe, were the associated reading practices. We seem to lack almost any material that would allow direct claims about the actual reception of Classical *mahākāvya*-s in their original environment.[11] Based on an overwhelming amount of secondary evidence, however, we know, for example, that this genre (just as many other forms of Sanskrit knowledge) was closely associated with the

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[8] See Tubb (1979) for the most exhaustive study on the subject. The quoted categories are taken directly from the titles of chapters four to seven in Tubb's dissertation.

[9] See e.g., classic studies by Renou (1959) and Peterson (2003), both dealing with the *Kirātārjunīya*, Tubb (1979), who concentrates on the *Kumārasaṃbhava*, and Smith (1985), who examines Ratnākara's voluminous *Haravijaya.* For more recent examples, see a wide range of articles collected in Bronner et al. (2014).

[10] Bronner et al. (2014: 109).

[11] There are examples of largely imaginative works such as the *Bhojaprabandha*, which do, however, inform us at least about the kind of circumstances under which poetry (and these are mainly individual verses rather than *mahākāvya*-s) could have been recited. I am aware of only a single "chronicle-like" portrayal of a Medieval reading group on *mahākāvya*- found in the 25th chapter of Maṅkha's (fl. 11th–12th cent., Kashmir) *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Here, the poet describes the grand publication (the first official public recital) of his work in front of an assembly of learned scholars of all sorts: see, e.g., Kreyenborg (1929) and Slaje (2015). Note also that the delivery of the actual poem (i.e., reading it out from a manuscript, see vss. 26–30 and Slaje [2015: 32]) was preceded, among other things, by engagement in poetic riddles of the type described, for example, in the *Bhojaprabandha*. For a further reference to the recitation of a *mahākāvya*- at the royal court, see n. 21.

courtly environment.[12] The paradigmatic length as well as "the felt integrity of court epic passages"[13] must have naturally stipulated further conditions for the recitation of *mahākāvya*-s that marked their difference from shorter compositions: it certainly could not, for example, be composed and recited spontaneously and was delivered (most probably, read out from a manuscript) on special occasions.

A hint to a perceived difference between *mahākāvya*- and other types of *belles-lettres* can be read, e.g., in Ingalls' often quoted findings about the distribution of sources in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, the oldest known anthology of single stanzas put together around 1100 CE by a certain Vidyākara. According to Ingalls,[14] a comparatively small number of verses in this collection can be traced back to known *mahākāvya*-s, whereas the compiler "drew most heavily on [theatre] and [small kāvyas]."[15]

Much later (i.e. modern) reports suggest, furthermore, that within the "traditional system of Sanskrit education," these are predominantly chapters from *mahākāvya*-s that are utilized as reading exercises at primary and intermediate levels of study.[16] Several hints from Medieval and late Medieval Sanskrit works seem to attest to a similar use of these texts at an earlier period of Indian history. A verse in Govardhana's *Āryasaptaśatī* (ca. 12th–13th cent. CE), for example, compares Kālidāsa's words with love-making, inasmuch as both give pleasure even at the time of study.[17] Likewise, the main protagonist of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*, a manual of spoken Sanskrit composed by the

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[12] This is, in fact, arguably the main subject of the first part of Pollock (2006).
[13] Peterson (2003: 18). "Court epic" is the author's translation of "*mahākāvya*-."
[14] Ingalls (1965: 33–35).
[15] Ibid., 33.
[16] See Gerow (2002). This is confirmed by my own empirical observations at several *pāṭhaśālā*-s in Karnataka.
[17] *Āryasaptaśatī* 35: *sākutamadhurakomalavilāsinīkaṇṭhakūjitaprāye / śikṣāsamaye'pi mude ratalīlākālidāsoktī* // "Purposeful, sweet and tender moans from the throats of wanton women—love-play is filled with (*prāya*-) them and Kālidāsa's speech resembles them (*prāya*-), [so that] both give pleasure even at the time of study."

famous Varadarāja (fl. ca. 17th cent. CE),[18] lists mainly *mahākāvya*-s (the only other *kāvya*-text being *Meghadūta*) among "non-technical" literature that he has studied.[19] Looking at the same issue from a different point of view, Tubb and Boose state that "the fact that we have old commentaries on these *mahākāvya*-s, and only much more recent ones on great plays of equivalent age and difficulty, may be presumed to indicate that the *mahākāvya*-s made up the standard curriculum for Indian students of Sanskrit *kāvya*-."[20]

3. As for commentaries, the actual focus of our investigation, it has been pointed out, e.g., in Patel (2014) that these texts are some of the most important documents for the study of the literary tradition (i.e., reception) of works they expand upon. In fact, commentaries do not only record, they constitute an integral part of respective textual traditions, so that they necessarily reflect upon and actively influence the prevalent reading practices associated with their root texts.[21] Should we accept, therefore, that the reading practices associated with *mahākāvya*- were, indeed, different from those connected with other *kāvya*-genres, we could formulate an initial hypothesis, according to which the commentaries on *mahākāvya*- should be distinguishable from those on other belletrist genres in some way.

Although, to my knowledge, no attempt has so far been made to establish and to describe the proposed difference,[22] some secondary evidence could be taken in its support. For example, it is rather uncommon that a single individual would compose commentaries on

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[18] See Wezler (1996) for an overview of the text.

[19] See Shah (1960: 11).

[20] Tubb and Boose (2007: 2).

[21] As far as the actual circumstances for the composition of *kāvya*- commentaries are concerned, I am aware of just a single reference given by Appayyadīkṣita (fl. 16th cent. CE) in his commentary on Vedāntadeśika's extensive *Yādavābhyudaya*. In the introductory verses (vss. 10–12), Appaya explains that he was commanded to do so by his royal patron, King Cinnatimma, who heard the poem recited in a poetry assembly (*sāhityagoṣṭhī*).

[22] As a matter of fact, I believe that the structure analysis introduced in this article is exactly the kind of methodological tool that could be well utilized for this purpose.

both, a *mahākāvya-* and a representative of any other type of *kāvya-*: it seems particularly unusual to author simultaneously an explanation of a *mahākāvya-* and a dramatic composition,[23] although combinations of a *mahākāvya-* with shorter poetic works are just a little more frequent.[24] The exact reasons for this observation need to be investigated separately, but, for my current purpose, it provides just another indication in support of the perceived distinction.

With the above in mind, in the following I speak of commentaries on the KĀ as roughly representative of commentaries on *mahākāvya-*, or, to be more precise, of commentaries on the four classical exemplars of the genre: Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (RVaṃ) and *Kumārasaṃbhava* (KuSaṃ), the KĀ and Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* (ŚPV). I hope to be able to discuss the special status of these four texts within the Sanskrit intellectual tradition and to analyse special features (or their absence) of commentaries on different sub-genres of *kāvya-* in separate articles.

1.3. The Structure Analysis

In this section I describe the main principles of the structure analysis.[25] In general terms, the proposed methodology, taking a commentary on a single stanza as its analytical unit, seeks to dissect the given text in a number of segments (structural elements) based on the textual function, i.e., the content, that can be allotted to each of these

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[23] At the moment I know only of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, who is reported (cf. NCC 8, pp. 302f.) to have composed commentaries on four classic works of Kālidāsa: the *Kumārasaṃbhava* and the *Raghuvaṃśa* (two *mahākāvya*-s), the *Meghadūta* (a short *kāvya-* whose transmission often reminds of the previous two works) and the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (a drama).

[24] Among shorter *kāvya*-s, Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* seems to occupy a special position, so that many scholars author commentaries on it and *mahākāvya*-s (the same is true for some commentators on Sanskrit plays). As far as other short *kāvya*-s are concerned, the most prominent example is, perhaps, that of Vallabhadeva (fl. ca. 10th cent. CE, in Kashmir). The early Medieval *paṇḍita-* wrote not only on three classical *mahākāvya*-s and the *Meghadūta*, but also on other short and very difficult collections of verses: Ratnākara's *Vakroktipañcāśikā* and, according to his grandson's attestation, Ānandavardhana's *Devīśataka*.

[25] For a considerably more elaborate description, refer to Klebanov (2016: ch. 1).

elements. Examples of such elements are paraphrases or direct glosses of the words from the root text, simple questions or other types of introductory remarks employed to disambiguate syntactic relation between words, general explanatory passages, technical analysis of grammatical complexes, quotes from Sanskrit dictionaries and many more.[26] The text of a commentary on an individual verse can be, therefore, represented as a configuration of these structural elements and, in the next step, studied in its own right or compared to other textual units.

Vogt (unpublished) (cf. n. 4) initially worked with nine and later with only three functional elements. In Klebanov (2016), contrary to this development, I differentiate among 26 categories and slightly reduce their number in the present article to avoid prolixity. Vogt marked individual elements visually with different typefaces and colours. Apart from accomplishing its direct goal, this system proved, in my own experience, to provide a useful didactic aid for students of Sanskrit and to enable access to the structure analysis to non-Sanskritists. Given the increased number of functional elements, in addition to colour marking I supply a direct verbal tag with the name of the element.

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[26] It may be noted that an analytical notion of functional elements as basic units of a Sanskrit commentary has been already foreshadowed by the Sanskrit literary tradition. It was codified, e.g., in various readings of a famous verse of unknown origin (according to the *Nyāyakośa* p. 828 and Bhattacharya [1955: 124], a certain version of this verse is found in the 18th chapter of the *Parāśara*-(*upa*-)*purāṇa*, a text that I was so far not able to consult):
padacchedo 'nvayoktiś ca samāsādivivecanam |
padārthabodhas tātparyaṃ vyākhyānāvayavapañcakam || (quoted from Roodbergen [1984: 2])
"The five constituents of a commentary are: [1] separation of words, [2] providing syntactic arrangement [of words], [3] analysis [of grammatical complexes] such as compounds etc., [4] stating the meaning of words, [5] stating the intended meaning." (This translation follows Tubb and Boose (2007: 4f), who, however, give a different reading of the verse.)

The analytical elements can be approximately clustered in accordance with the five basic functions traditionally ascribed to a commentary (see n. 26).

(1-2) Stating the meaning of words and separation of words:

1. **Words from the root text** used verbatim in the text of the commentary (without an indicative particle "*iti*" or the like) and employed in the same meaning as in the verse. In the following examples this element is typeset in **bold** and is not marked with any further tagging.

There are three common ways to paraphrase words from the root text:

2. Simple paraphrases of words quoted from the root text. These elements are typeset without any additional tagging.
3. In cases where a word from the root text is given two or more subsequent paraphrases, these "double glosses" are marked with a double line.
4. If a word from the root text is not quoted in the commentary, but instead directly substituted by its gloss, the corresponding gloss is marked with a single line.

A particular arrangement of the above basic elements (especially, 1 and 4) fulfils yet another important duty of "providing syntactic arrangement of words" (see also the third group below). With regard to the actual techniques, the commentaries on *kāvya-* largely adhere to one of the following:[27]

1 A commentator may arrange the words of the root text in one long sentence. This method is often referred to as *daṇḍānvaya-*. It was paradigmatically employed in poetic commentaries by Mallinātha (fl. ca. 14th century in the area of modern states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh), *inter alia*, in his *Ghaṇṭāpatha* (GhP) on the KĀ.

[27] These are elaborately discussed in Klebanov (2016: 33ff.). See also Tubb and Boose (2007: 149ff.).

2 A commentator may first single out the main simple sentence (subject–object–main verb) and relate other words from the verse to it in separate clauses. An important peculiarity of this arrangement is that it most commonly calls for the use of additional elements (9–11) which mark the exact syntactic connection between the main and the secondary clauses.[28] This arrangement is often called *khaṇḍānvaya-* and is employed, for example, in the *Subodhaṭīkā* by Ḍal(l)ana (see below) or the *Kirātārjunīyaṭīkā* (JoKṬ) by Jonarāja (fl. 15th cent. CE, in Kashmir).

3 A commentator not interested in indicating the syntactic construction of the verse may discuss various words and their implications in order of their appearance in the root-text. This arrangement is often attended to in the *Kirātapañjikā* (SuKP) by Suvarṇarekha (fl. possibly before 1172, in Bengal).[29]

4 It is useful to distinguish yet another "mixed approach" that simultaneously combines both the *daṇḍānvaya-* and the *khaṇḍānvaya-* arrangements by e.g., construing several sentences (that neither comprise all the words of the poem nor are limited to its basic constituents) and by relating these to each other. Examples of this style can be found in the *Kirātacandrikā* (KC) of Pītāmbara (see below) or the *Vidyāmādhavīya* (VM) by Vidyāmādhava (fl. 14th cent. CE, in Kerala).

Apart from these basic elements, Sanskrit commentaries may additionally explicate the basic meanings of words by one of the following means:

5 They may quote technical definitions of words taken from specialized literature. Because the most common sources for such quotations are Sanskrit dictionaries (*kośa*-s), such as the *Amarakośa* (AKo) and others, this element is { typeset in red colour and tagged "kośa" }kośa. In the present article, however, the same element comprises similar

[28] Vallabhadeva's *Raghupañcikā* is one of rare examples for this arrangement that seems to avoid almost any additional elements.

[29] See Klebanov (2016: 91ff.)

quotes from other types of literature as well (such as e.g., *nītiśāstra-* etc.).

6. They may add what I call { "quasi-technical" explanatory remarks on the meaning of the words }[word], which differ from the previous type of glosses because they do not involve quotations from other texts. Various kinds of this type, whose exact configuration depends on the actual reference word, have been gathered in sections 1.16 and 1.17 of Tubb and Boose (2007: 28ff.).[30]

(3) Analysing of grammatical complexes:[31]

7. { Non-technical analysis of grammatical complexes (so called, *vṛtti*-s) }[vṛtti]. In Klebanov (2016), I distinguish between (a) the formulaic analysis of individual types of nominal compounds and (b) a broad range of other non-technical analyses. The latter category spans over a variety of grammatical complexes, including derivative verbs as well as primary and secondary nominal derivations. In this article I subsume all these under a single element.

8. { Technical analysis of grammatical complexes }[grmmr]. This element is frequently found throughout the commentaries on *mahākāvya-*. It encompasses all kinds of brief remarks or elaborate discussions that deal with the technical aspects of Sanskrit grammar (*vyākaraṇa-*). The main factor distinguishing this element from the preceding one is the use of technical vocabulary and direct quotations from grammatical literature, e.g., from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Pāṇ).

(4) Providing syntactic arrangement of words (see above on *khaṇḍānvaya-*):

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[30] Commentarial statements of the type described in section 1.16.2, "definitions quoted from the dictionaries" (Klebanov (2016: 29f.), are obviously excluded from this element as they correspond to the element above (5).

[31] Cf. Roodbergen (1984: 4, [9]), who distinguishes between *laukikavigraha-* (non-technical analysis or meaning-paraphrase) and *alaukikavigraha-* (technical analysis), which respectively correspond to elements 7 and 8 in my list.

9. { Simple questions }[qstn] are usually employed within the *khaṇḍānvaya*-type of arrangement in order to disambiguate the syntactic connection between the separated clauses.

10. { Various remarks pertaining to the syntax of the verse }[sntx]. In this article, this element comprises a broad set of various possibilities: single inflected pronouns indicating the syntactic value of the discussed word; conjunctions or conjunctive adverbs indicating the connection between the preceding and the following clause; longer explanatory passages dealing with the syntactic construction; direct indications of the *kāraka*-value of a given word; as well as formulas indicating the adverbial value of a word or a construction.

11. { Introductory passages }[intro], or *avataraṇikā*-s. The position of this element within the five-fold scheme is ambiguous. Within the *khaṇḍānvaya*-framework, it is often employed in a function similar to that of simple questions, that is, in order to introduce the syntactic value of the following clause. Within the *daṇḍānvaya*-framework, however, it is usually employed as a stylistic variant of a secondary explanation (see below), which is expressed as a presupposition or a complex question and implies the broader meaning of the following clause. It happens rather frequently within the *khaṇḍānvaya*-framework, that both the described functions of the element are combined (this use of *avataraṇikā*-s is typical for JoKṬ).

    It need to be noted that the term *avataraṇikā*[32] is usually (i.e., outside of the current study) applied to denote just a single type of { Introductory passages }[intro]—namely those which are "intended to clarify the flow of thought, leading over from the preceding stanza to the next."[33]

(5) Stating the intended meaning:

12. Apart from the previously mentioned introductory passages (*avataraṇikā*-s), Sanskrit commentaries on *mahākāvya*- abound in

[32] Several Sanskrit words can be used interchangeably: *avataraṇa*-, *avataraṇikā*, or *avatārikā*.
[33] Roodbergen (1984: 383, n. 97) contains also further bibliographical references.

manifold { secondary explanatory passages }[expl]. These provide various kinds of additional information ranging from short remarks on the general meaning of a single word or a verse, explanations of intended or hidden ideas and up to essay long elaborate discussions of "many features involving the poem as a whole"[34] (the latter type can be found, e.g., in Citrabhānu's *Śabdārthadīpikā*).

13. Another element that in the current representation subsumes several elements from Klebanov (2016) is called {> alternative explanation <}[altrn]. It combines all kinds of alternative explanations proposed by commentators based either on a varying understanding of the syntactic structure, on a punning meaning detected in a verse, on opinions of other commentators, on a different reading of a verse, etc. Depending upon the complexity of the alternative explanation, this element may combine a whole range of other elements.

14. The final subcategory of elements is related to the "intended meaning" only in so far as it draws upon the internal workings of the verse. It is concerned with the technical analysis based on the concepts of { the *alaṃkāraśāstra*- (poetics) }[poet].[35]

For the sake of further analysis, it is useful to highlight another logical grouping of the above descriptive elements into two broad categories:

- The first category encompasses elements which are concerned with the formal and technical (i.e. śāstric) analysis. These are, above all, { quotes from Sanskrit dictionaries }[kośa] (5), { technical grammatical discussions }[grmmr] (8) and { poetological considerations }[poet] (14). Given the formalized (but not technical) vocabulary employed for the { non-technical analysis of grammatical complexes }[lauka] (7),[36] one may note that this element was occasionally also regarded as a technical one (here I think in particular of Dharmavijayagaṇa's *Pradīpikā*). For the analysis below, however, I will follow what I consider to be

[34] Tubb (1979 :19).

[35] As none of the examples utilized in this article refers to concepts of, e.g., metrics (*chandas*-) or dramaturgy (*nāṭya*-) I omit the concerned elements from my current list.

[36] See Tubb and Boose (2007: 33ff.).

a more common perception and will not include the latter element among the technical ones.

- The second category is easiest to describe by contrast to the first one. It comprises all the remaining elements—that is, those which are concerned with explaining manifold levels of meaning without making use of technical analysis formally established by a *śāstra-*.

Apart from the above elements associated with the five basic functions of a commentary, I introduce two further elements concerned with the inner structure of these texts:

15. { tag }[tag]: From the lexical point of view, this element unites a broad spectrum of expressions that make up the technical jargon of the commentarial literature. They have been thoroughly examined in Roodbergen (1984) and Tubb and Boose (2007), whose translations, whenever possible, I borrow in this paragraph. From the point of structure analysis, however, the main duty of these expressions and the corresponding element is to indicate the function of the associated textual units. For example, such expressions as *iti bhāvaḥ* ("..., such is the idea"), *iti yāvat* ("..., just this much [is meant]"), *ity āśayaḥ* ("..., such is the intention of the author"), etc. specify the preceding clause to have a function of a { secondary explanation }[expl]. In a similar way, expressions such as *anena* [...] *iti sūcayati* ("in this way [the author] suggests ...") enclose—and formulas such as *idam uktaṃ bhavati* ("the following is said ..."), *ayam arthaḥ* ("the following is the meaning ..."), etc. introduce the same element. Furthermore, expressions such as *yad vā* and *yadi vā* ("or, alternatively"), *iti vā*, ("... this is an alternative interpretation") *kecit tu* [...] *ity āhuḥ* ("however, some say that ..."), etc. mark the associated passages to contain {> alternative explanations <}[altrn]. The same holds good for vocabulary employed to indicate a second meaning in a pun (such as *anyatra*, *pakṣe*, etc.). Formulas such as *ity āśaṅkyāha* ("... anticipating this doubt, [the author] says ...") or *ity āha* ("... with this [in mind], [the author] says ..."), on the other hand, can be seen as markers of { introductory element }[intro]. Another type of "tags" subsumed under the same element are indications of quotations such as *ity amaraḥ*

("so Amara"), *ity amare* ("so in *Amara*"), or *iti amarasiṃgena kathyate* ("so it is taught by Amarasimḥa"), or *ityādi granthāntare* ("so etc. [it is said] in another text"), or *tad uktam* [...] *iti* ("and this is also said [in the following quote] ... "), etc. Another less frequent type of tagging pertains to what I call "elements structuring the text of the commentary." Every verse in the commentary of Dharmavijayagaṇi on the KĀ, for example, is explained in two sections. The first section (which deals with the general meaning of the verse) is introduced by the word *vyākhyā* ("explanation"), while the second section (that deals with the analysis of grammatical complexes) is introduced with *atha samāsaḥ* ("now [grammatical] complexity").

16. The final element is called { pratīka }prati. It is somewhat difficult to define and, especially, to differentiate from the **simple repetition of words from the root text** described above (element 1). From a formal point of view, a *pratīka-* is typically followed by the quotative particle *iti* and is often abbreviated (sometimes to just one syllable) and thus stands for a larger unit than what is actually written out. Therefore, a *pratīka-* does not express the actual meaning of the word (or the syllable), but merely signals what is to be commented on. Some of the most typical usages of this element can be found at the very beginning of a single commentarial unit, where the first syllables (sometimes words) of the stanza indicate the beginning of the commentary on this verse. Similarly, it can follow introductory elements, when functioning as a placeholder for a connected syntactic group of words. At other times, *pratīka*-s can be employed in introducing or concluding of various secondary explanations (technical or general) in order to disambiguate the object of the current explanation.

2. Application of the Structure Analysis

2.1. Formal Description of Individual Text Units

As noted above, the current methodology takes the text of a commentary on a single verse (or a group of syntactically connected verses) as the analytical unit that can be studied by itself, and, more importantly, compared with others. Therefore, I would like to begin the

main part of my article by providing a detailed illustration of structure analysis of a single analytical unit. The *Kirātacandrikā* (KC) by Pītāmbara[37] on KĀ 1.7 serves as a good example, because it combines lucid structure with a fair amount of complexity.

2.1.1. Sanskrit Text and Translation of KĀ 1.7 and the KC at KĀ 1.7

KĀ 1.7:

viśaṅkamāno bhavataḥ parābhavaṃ nṛpāsanastho 'pi vanādhivāsinaḥ | *durodaracchadmajitāṃ samīhate nayena jetuṃ jagatīṃ suyodhanaḥ* ||

"Apprehending defeat from Your Honour—a forest-dweller—Suyodhana, although he occupies the king's seat, tries to win through policy the world he won by the dice game ruse."[38]

KC on KĀ 1.7:[39]

(§1) { *tad eva śātravaṃ nayavartmacaritam upadarśayitum* { *āha* }tag }intro—{ *viśaṅkamāna iti*}prati |

(§2) ***suyodhano durodara***{*rūpaṃ* }vṛtti ***cchadma*** { *tena* }vṛtti ***jitāṃ jagatīṃ*** *pṛthvīṃ* ***jetuṃ samīhate*** *ceṣṭate* |

{*yā kila kapaṭena jitā bhavati sā sthirā na bhavati +* { *iti* }tag }intro—***nayena*** { *sāmadānavidhibhedanigraharūpeṇa*[40] }word{ *jetum ākāṅkṣata* }sntx { *iti*}tag |

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[37] The text of the KC is quoted from a single extant MS: NAK 4/761 kept at the National Archives in Kathmandu (*Siglum*: **C**). According to the authorial statement at the end of KC, the commentary was completed in 1513/14 CE (LS 335). According to my assessment, Pītāmbara must have hailed from Bengal. For a detailed description of the MS and the text, see Klebanov (2016: 57ff.).

[38] For my rendition of the verse I utilize the following available translations:

Cappeller (1912: 2): "Wenn auch auf dem Throne sitzend, ist Suyodhana, da er von dir dem Waldbewohner eine Niederlage fürchtet, bestrebt, die durch falsches Spiel gewonnene Erde auch durch seine Staatskunst zu gewinnen."

Roodbergen (1984: 21): "Fearing defeat by you who now live in the forest, Suyodhana, although occupying the throne, is engaged in winning over the world already won (by him) under the cover of gambling, by political means"

Peterson (2016: 5) "Afraid you will defeat him in battle, even though you live in forest exile while he sits on the throne, Suyodhana is trying to win through policy the world he had won by the dice game ruse."

[39] **C**: 4r2.

[40] Cf. RVaṃ 11.55: *te caturthasahitās trayo babhuḥ sūnavo navavadhūparigrahāḥ* | *sāmadānavidhibhedavigrahāḥ siddhimanta iva tasya bhūpateḥ* || "Along with their

nṛpāṇām āsanaṃ *siṃhāsanaṃ* {*tatra*}[vṛtti] ***stho 'pi*** { *suyodhanaḥ* }[sntx] |
{ *virodhe 'pi* }[word] |
{ *vane 'dhivasatīti* }[vṛtti] ***vanādhivāsī*** { *tato* }[sntx] *vanasthād* ***bhavatas*** *tvattaḥ yudhiṣṭhirāt* ***parābhāvaṃ*** *tiraskāraṃ* ***viśaṅkamāna*** *ūhamānaḥ* |
{ {*etena+* }[tag] *alpād api ripor bhetavyam* { *iti darśayati* }[tag] }[expl] |
(§3) {>
{ *yad vā* }[tag] ***durodarachadmajita*** *yudhiṣṭhira* { *he!* }[sntx]
suyodhano jagati *bhuvane* ***'ṃ*** *kṛṣṇam* ***īṃ*** *lakṣmīṃ* ***jetuṃ*** *svīkartum abhilaṣati* |
vanādhivāsinaḥ *śmaśānasthānasthād* ***bhavato*** {"*madbhakto nāyam*" *iti* }[expl] śivāt ***parābhavaṃ viśaṅkamānaḥ***
<}[altrn] |
(§4) { { *ādye* }[tag] *śatrantam,* { *antye* }[tag] *bhavaśabdād "ādyādibhyas tasi upasaṃkhyānam"*[41] { *iti* }[tag] *tasiḥ*}[grmmr], { "*vyomakeśo bhavo bhīmaḥ sthāṇu rudra umāpatiḥ*"[42] { *ity amare* }[tag]}[kośa] { *bhavata iti* }[pratī] |
{ "*nṛpāsanaṃ yat tad bhadrāsanaṃ siṃhāsanaṃ ca tad*"[43]
{ *ity amare* }[tag]}[kośa] |
{ "*śmaśānaṃ syāt pitṛvanam*"[44] {*ity amare* }[tag]}[kośa], { *ekadeśoccāraṇenāpi sakalanāmābhidhānaṃ bhīmasene bhīmavad*}[grmmr] { *vanam iti* }[pratī] |
{ "*āvaśyakādhamarṇayor*"[45] { *iti* }[tag] *ṇināv* }[grmmr] { *adhivāsīti* }[pratī] |
{ "*durodaro dyūtakāre paṇe dyūte durodaram*"[46] { *ity amare* }[tag]}[kośa] |
(§5) { *yudhiṣṭhirasya duryodhane duḥśabdoccāraṇam asukhāvaham iti tatrāsyānujīvinaḥ suśabdaṃ prakṣipanti* }[word] ||

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new brides, these three sons of that king, together with the fourth, appeared to be his conciliation, art of making gifts (bribing), fomenting dissension and punishment, each endowed with success." (This translation agrees mainly with Mallinātha's explanation of the verse).

[41] Cf. Vā 1 ad Pāṇ 5,4.44: *tasiprakaraṇa ādyādibhya upasaṅkhyānam* |

[42] AKo 1,1.34cd.

[43] AKo 2,8.32cd.

[44] AKo 2,8.120a.

[45] Pāṇ 3,3.170.

[46] AKo 3,3.171cd.

Tentative Translation of KC at KĀ 1.7:

(§1) { In order to illustrate these very activities of statecraft of the enemies{ [he, i.e., Yudhiṣṭhira's spy] says [the following] }tag }intro—{ *viśaṅkamānaḥ* ("apprehending"). }prati

(§2) **Suyodhana tries**—that is, he endeavours—**to win the world—**that is, the earth—**won** { by means of that (Instr.) which is }vṛtti **a ruse** { in form of }vṛtti **dice game**.
{The world won over fraudulently, it is said, is not stable, { therefore (*iti*) }tag}intro—{ [he] endeavours to win }sntx **through policy** { in the form of conciliation, making gifts, fomenting dissension and punishment[47] }word—{ this is said (*iti*) }tag.
Although { Suyodhana }sntx **occupies** { that (Loc.) what is }vṛtti **the seat of kings —**that is, the lion's seat (i.e., the throne).
{ [The conjunction] "although" (*api*) [is used] in the sense of contradiction. }word
Apprehending—that is, conjecturing—**defeat**—that is, abuse { from (abl.) }sntx **a forest-dweller**, { he who dwells in a forest }vṛtti—that is, an inhabitant of a forest—**from Your Honour—**<u>that is, from you, i.e., from Yudhiṣṭhira</u>.
{ {By this [the poet] demonstrates that}tag one should be afraid even of an insignificant enemy.[48]}expl

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[47] I follow here Mallinātha's explanation of a parallel expression in RVaṃ 11.55 (see n. 40) as I am quite confident that Pītāmbara's gloss is a reference (conscious or not) to this verse. I must note, however, that, Pītāmbara's interpretations of KĀ often differ from those proposed by Mallinātha in his GhP. In this way, it is entirely possible that in the case of RVaṃ too, Pītāmbara followed a separate commentarial tradition and understood the current compound differently.

[48] I have some doubts about the exact interpretation of what is being demonstrated here. *alpād api ripor bhetavyam* could, on the one hand, take Suyodhana as an implied agent ("[Suyodhana] should be afraid even of an insignificant enemy") and, in this way, highlight an unlawful king's pitiful condition of being in constant need to be concerned about even an insignificant threat.
On the other hand, the same remark could have a broader application to (some or all) kings ("one should be afraid even of an insignificant enemy"). In this interpretation, it could refer to some kind of political maxim, or, in fact, an example of the very policy that Suyodhana strives to employ now. A parallel expression

(§3) {>

{ Or, alternatively, }tag { Oh, [you]! }sntx **conquered by the dice game ruse**—that is, Yudhiṣṭhira—**in the world—**that is, on earth—**Suyodhana** wishes **to win—**that is, to obtain—**Ī**—that is, Lakṣmī (acc. Sg.)—[from] **A—**that is, Kṛṣṇa (acc. sg.).

Apprehending defeat from Bhava—that is, from Śiva—**a forest-dweller—**that is, a cemetery-dweller { who may think: 'He is not my devotee!' }expl

<}altrn.[49]

(§4) { { in the first [meaning] }tag, it is a form ending in *ŚatṚ;* { in the last [meaning], }tag there is affix *TasI* added after the word[50] *bhava-* { in accordance with the rule- }tag "Addition of *TasI* after word-group starting with *ādi-* ('beginning')" }grmmr,[51]

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found in one of the versions of the *Laghuṭīkā* by Prakāśavarṣa (see Klebanov [2016] on the history of transmission of this commentary) supports this broad interpretation: *alpīyaso 'pi śatror bhetavyam itīmāṃ nītiṃ darśayati—sa nṛpāsanastho'pi ...* ("[the poet] demonstrates the political maxim that one should be afraid even of a smaller enemy by saying: although he occupies the king's seat ..."). Since I could not trace this maxim to any particular text, I do not know if this assiduity is recommended to all kings in general, or only to those who rule over lands obtained by fraud.

[49] The pun explicated by the commentator (and most probably *not* intended by Bhāravi) involves an alternative application of the sandhi-rules (*durodaracchadmajitām* [...] *jagatīm* → *durodaracchadmajita + am* [...] *jagati + īm*), as well as finding homophones of *bhavataḥ* and *vana-* that have distinctly different meanings ("from Śiva" and "cemetery" respectively).
As for the clause "*īm aṃ jetum samīhate*," I understand it as a ditransitive construction of the type *jayati śataṃ Devadattam*, "he wins a hundred [from] Devadatta," (see Deshpande [1991]). In this way, the current sentence *īm aṃ jetum samīhate* means "Suyodhana wishes to win Lakṣmī [from] Kṛṣṇa."

[50] In the present article I translate the Sanskrit *śabda-* as "word" (and not as technically more precise "speech unit") in order to facilitate general understanding of the concerned passages.

[51] The difference is that in the first meaning, *bhavataḥ* is interpreted as abl. sg. of the word *bhavat* (honorific pronoun, "Your Honour") and in the punning sense, as abl. sg. formed with a special affix *-tas* (cf. Stenzler [2003, par. 59]) added to the word *bhava-*, one of Śiva's bynames.
From a strict Pāṇinian point of view, Pītāmbara's remark on the word *bhavat* is wrong. He states that it is a *śatranta-*, i.e., a present participle formed with the affix

{ thus the form *bhavataḥ* }pratī. { "Vyomakeśa, Bhava, Bhīma, Sthāṇu, Rudra, Umāpati [are synonyms]" { this is said in the *Amara*. }tag }kośa
{ "That what is king's seat that is the auspicious seat and the lion's seat (i.e., the throne)" { this is said in the *Amara*. }tag }kośa
{ "*pitṛvana-* ("forefathers' forest") is a synonym of cemetery," { this is said in the *Amara*. }tag }kośa { [Here,] one expresses the whole word by uttering only a part [of it], just as [the utterance] "Bhīma" [expresses] "Bhīmasena" }grmmr, { thus the nominal base *vana-*. }pratī
After addition of affix *ṆinI* { in accordance with the rule }tag
{ "Affix *ṆinI* occurs after a verbal root when the agent performs action out of necessity (*āvaśyaka*), or indebtedness (*ādhamarṇya*)."[52] }grmmr, { [we derive the word] *adhivāsinaḥ*. }pratī
{ "*durodara-* (masc.) means gambler, *durodara-* (neut.) means stake and gambling" { this is said in the *Amara*. }tag }kośa
(§5) { Since pronouncing the word 'difficult' (*dus*) in [the name] Duryodhana (lit.: one who is difficult to fight) causes distress to Yudhiṣṭhira, his subjects insert the word 'easy' (*su*) in its place [and call him Suyodhana, 'one who is easy to fight' or 'one who fights with ease']. }word

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ŚatṚ (added, I assume, to the root *bhū*, "to become"). Although this formation is grammatically possible, the derived word has a completely different meaning—namely, "[one who] becomes" (a present participle) and its masc. nom. sg. form is "*bhavan*." The honorific pronoun *bhavat*, on the other hand, is usually formed with an *uṇādi*-affix *ḌavatuP* (cf. *Ūṇādisūtra* i, 64) which is added to the verbal root *bhā*, to shine. This is necessary to account, e.g., for the nom. sg. form "*bhavān*" by Pāṇ 6,4.14. (Similarly, the feminine stem of the pronoun is *bhavatī* by Pāṇ 4,1.6 and that of the participle *bhavantī* by additional application of Pāṇ 7,1.81).

[52] Translation quoted from Sharma (1995: 583).

2.1.2. Structure Analysis of KC ad KĀ 1.7

From the point of the overall structure, it appears rather striking that, based on the distribution of the descriptive structural elements (1–14), the current excerpt can be subdivided into two major sections:

Section 1 (**§§ 1–3**) consists of only non-technical elements (cf. the 2nd category above) and, therefore, can be inferred to furnish a general meaning of the verse.

Section 2 (**§4**), on the contrary, contains predominantly technical elements (see the 1st category), so that it provides systematic, i.e., technical analysis of meanings and grammatical derivations of individual words.

Within the proposed division, the position of **§5** is ambiguous. I will discuss it later in the section.

The structure of Section 1 lends itself to a further subdivision into three connected paragraphs:

§1 consists of a single *avataraṇikā* which is marked out by a typical tag *āha*, "says [the following]." It is immediately followed by a *pratīka-*, in this case the first word of the verse under consideration. This constellation of elements at the very beginning of a commentary is rather common. It points to a particular function of the introductory element, that is, to make a transition from the previous verse (see 11 above). As a matter of fact, the present remark does just this by referring back to several words and ideas from the preceding stanza:

{ In order to illustrate these very activities of statecraft of the enemies { [he] (i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira's spy) says [the following] }tag }intro— { *viśaṅkamānaḥ* }prati |

Here, the segment "activities of statecraft of the enemies" (*śātravaṃ nayavartmacaritam*) directly corresponds to "enemies' statecraft" (*nayavartma vidviṣām*), the last two words of KĀ 1.6.[53]

[53] The word *caritam* certainly resonates with the one in *pāda* b of KĀ 1.6. However, it is used here in a different syntactic position.

§2 follows upon the opening statement (§1) and can be considered the main part of the commentary. From the point of structure, we can note that it contains all **words from the root text** which are rearranged and supplemented by a variety of non-technical explanatory elements: simple glosses, secondary indications of a word-meaning, a double-gloss, non-technical grammatical analyses, *avataraṇikā*-s, syntactic comments and a short secondary explanatory passage at the end.

As noted above, a particular order of **words from the root text** (and their direct paraphrases) is often utilized in order to indicate the syntactic construction of the verse. Here, Pītāmbara follows a mixed scheme and formulates two long sentences in accordance with two verbal actions found in the stanza: At first, he construes the main sentence centred around the main verbal clause "tries to win" (*jetuṃ samīhate*). Apart from the subject and the object "Suyodhana ... the world" (*suyodhanaḥ ... jagatīm*), the same sentence simultaneously integrates the complex qualifier "[the world] he won by the dice game ruse" (*durodaracchadmajitām* [*jagatīm*]). Only one word *nayena* ("through policy") is singled out, and its connection to the main verb is indicated by a complex introductory statement and additionally explicated by a syntactic remark. The position of *iti* at the end of the element cluster is somewhat peculiar. If taken on its own right, it is perhaps best understood as an additional closing tag of the *avataraṇikā* at the beginning:

{ The world won over fraudulently, it is said, is not stable, { therefore (*iti*) }tag}intro—{ [he]endeavours to win }sntx**through policy** { in the form of conciliation, making of gifts, fomenting dissension and punishment }word—{ this is said (*iti*). }tag

The remaining words of KĀ 1.7 (*pāda*-s a and b) constitute a complex participle clause that qualifies Suyodhana (the subject of the main sentence). Similar to the main sentence, its syntactic construction is explicated with the help of the *daṇḍānvaya*-scheme: the words are arranged in one long sentence with the actual participle, "[being] afraid" (*viśaṅkamānaḥ*), found at the very end. The connection between

the main and the subordinate clauses is indicated by means of a minimal syntactic aid: the main noun, Suyodhana, is restated within the subordinate sentence.

As for the indication of meanings and implications, one may observe that Pītāmbara's text exhibits two slightly modified approaches in dealing with the main and the subordinate clauses. Among the words of the main sentence, Pītāmbara limits himself to just two simple glosses: the word *jagatī* ("the world") is glossed with *pṛthvī* ("the earth") and *samīhate* ("tries") with *ceṣṭate* ("endeavours" or "acts"). A *tatpuruṣa* (that is, a determinative) compound *durodaracchadmajītām* ("[the world] he won by the dice game ruse") is provided with a very brief analysis without glossing any of its constituent words. It is arguable, however, that in addition to its function as a syntactic marker, the following introductory element (see above for its translation) carries out several other semantic functions. In this way, the clause *kapaṭena jitā* ("won over fraudulently") can be seen as a summarizing paraphrase of the above compound. The whole statement before the first *iti*, on its part, seeks to bring out an underlying idea that explains why Suyodhana strives to conquer the world for a second time. In this way, the current introductory element simultaneously figures as a secondary explanation. Finally, the word *nayena* ("through policy"), which is already highlighted by its special position and the surrounding cluster of secondary elements, is additionally furnished with a quasi-technical gloss.

In the subordinate clause, on the other hand, Pītāmbara provides every word with a simple paraphrase. The word *bhavataḥ* ("Your Honour", abl. sg.) is additionally furnished with a double gloss, which first gives the meaning of the word within the actual context of the verse (*tvattaḥ*, "from you") and then generalises it (*yudhiṣṭhirāt*, "from Yudhiṣṭhira"). The meaning of the particle *api* is supplied in a separate (syntactically disconnected) clause. All compound formations are briefly analysed in a manner similar to the one employed in the glossing of the main sentence. A single syntactic element *tataḥ* is used

in a special function of indicating the case (here, Ablative) of a compound formation that was first analysed in the nominative. The explanation of the subordinate clause is concluded with a short explanatory remark embedded into typical *etena* [...] *iti darśayati* ("by this [the poet] demonstrates that ...").

§3 consists of a single complex element that provides an {>alternative, punning interpretation<}[altrn] of the whole verse. The element is unambiguously marked with a typical *yad vā* ("or, alternatively") that signals the beginning of an alternative explanation. By making use of an alternative word split and reinterpretation of grammatical complexes, Pītāmbara arrives at a decisively different understanding of the whole verse. The overall function of the {>complex element<}[altrn]—namely, to indicate the respective meanings of individual words and the verse, is, therefore, reminiscent of one assigned to the main explanatory paragraph (§2) as a whole. In keeping with this, §3 largely reproduces the inner structure of §2 and it is built around the construction of two "new" syntactic clauses (linked to the two verbal actions). Noteworthy is that Pītāmbara omits several words (*nayena*, *nṛpāsaṇastho 'pi*) which, perhaps, have no bearing on this second interpretation. Most of the words are provided with their new simple glosses, and a single word (*samīhate*) is substituted with its direct gloss *abhilaṣati* ("wishes"). Pītāmbara makes further use of a short marker of the Vocative case (*he*) and a secondary explanatory remark, both of which are integrated in the longer sentences (see translation above).

§4 presents a set of glosses distinctly different from the ones found in §§1–3. As stated above, this part of the commentary concentrates on the technical analysis of several words from the root-text, which are this time introduced in the order of their appearance in the verse. Referents of grammatical analyses are disambiguated with the help of *pratīka*-s. This kind of disambiguation is not necessary and, therefore, is omitted in case of lexicographical citations, because these already contain the concerned words as a part of the quoted text. A single word *bhavataḥ* requires a different grammatical parsing in connection with

the primary and the punning meanings. In §4, Pītāmbara accounts for both possibilities and marks them out with corresponding tags: *ādye* ("in the first [meaning]") and *antye* ("in the last [meaning]"). In the case of the word *vana-*, whose main meaning "forest" is obvious, Pītāmbara explains only its derivation in the punning sense as "cemetery."[54]

§5 consists of a single comparatively complex quasi-technical gloss. From the point of function, therefore, it has a strong affinity to the explanations found in §2. Its position, however, marks their remoteness from each other. It indicates, therefore, that albeit functional correspondence, the word-meaning established in §5 has a closer connection to the technical analysis in §4 than to the general meaning established in §2. A further indication for a strong link between the present remark and the preceding technical section, is that its position seems to fit the arrangement of elements in §4 (i.e., following the order of appearance of individual words in the verse). In view of several additional features of KC (see next section), I consider §4 and §5 to form a single technical section.[55]

This has an obvious consequence for the interpretation of the actual meaning of the remark: it appears likely that by removing it from the general explanation of the verse and by clustering it with technical, i.e., universally valid statements, Pītāmbara meant to signal its more general validity (see 2.3.1.4 for further deliberations).[56]

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[54] In short, this understanding is provided by the use of the word *vana-* as an abbreviation for *pitṛvana-* (lit., "ancestors' grove"). This kind of truncation, Pītāmbara observes, is found, for example, in the widespread usage of the short form "Bhīma" to mean "Bhīmasena."

[55] I have not explicitly mentioned the alternative possibility, that is, to interpret §5 as a secondary explanation. In this case, its position could be explained not in terms of its relation to other elements of §4, but, rather, in absolute terms, that is, as the end of the commentary on the current verse.

[56] As a matter of fact, Bhāravi does not use the appellation "Duryodhana" in KĀ at all. On the other hand, he employs "Suyodhana" at three more instances (KĀ 2.44, 3.13 and 13.10).

2.1.3. Application of the Formal Description of Individual Text Units

A formal description of a commentary on an individual stanza illustrated above can be considered a basic building block for any further application of structure analysis. I would like to highlight, however, that it has a certain value on its own.

One should not overlook what can be called the "didactic" utility of the above description. It is not limited to formal teaching situations, but, rather, enables a reader at any stage of her advancement in the study of Sanskrit literature to approach the text of a commentary in a more systematic and analytical way. For example, the structure analysis helps the reader to disentangle the general structure and syntax of a commentary, to see through the well-planned arrangement of individual words from the text (see *daṇḍānvaya-*, *khaṇḍānvaya-* etc.) and to distinguish between various levels of remarks. Especially secondary comments (be they of syntactic, grammatical or any other nature), which were supposed to improve the understanding of a text, may initially appear confusing and even disturbing to a novice reader of Sanskrit commentaries.[57] With the help of a visually structured text, this difficulty can be easily overcome. The same aid provided to a more experienced reader may allow her to access the underlying structuring principles of a commentary, to separate various levels of interpretation and to analyse the hermeneutic methods adopted by the author.

A thorough understanding of the structure of a commentary may, furthermore, considerably facilitate the understanding of various passages. In the above example, the function of the quotative particle *iti* (in *jetuṃ samīhata iti*) can be arguably understood only considering the structure of a longer segment it seems to conclude. Even though this consideration may not necessarily require a formal analysis of the involved elements, the latter provides an easily accessible and differentiated view at the underlying syntactic arrangement. Similarly, it is merely on account of certain structural features of the element §5

[57] Here I speak primarily from my own experience, but cf. Tubb and Boose (2007: xxv).

that I have argued a specific facet of its meaning. At other instances, as in case of the word *nayena*, the structure analysis may highlight an unusual position of an element and, in this way, stimulate further reflection upon it.

2.2. Application of Structure Analysis to the Text-Critical study of Individual Commentaries

The main value of the present structure analysis (or, for that matter, of any formal description) is that it allows to juxtapose its analytical units and, based on the exact form of the juxtaposition and the choice of compared units, to pursue different analytical goals. Needless to say, an absolutely reliable study demands uniform descriptions of compared segments. In the current article, however, I limit myself to the illustrative verbal description of KC ad KĀ 1.7 above and make use of the visual tagging for all other textual examples.

When examining textual excerpts derived supposedly from a unified composition of a single author, one can employ the structure analysis to identify a set of characteristic features specific to the studied text. With reference to the current methodology, these features can be expressed in terms of commonly occurring elements, usual position and arrangement of individual elements, their particular form employed in the text, specifics of their meaning and function, etc. Given the repetitive style of Sanskrit commentaries on *mahākāvya*-, the above approach can be used to arrive at an approximate structural outline of the given commentary. A comparison of an individual unit (i.e., a commentary on a single stanza) with this outline may, in turn, provide the editor of a text with a new kind of critical reasoning: bluntly speaking, structurally anomalous elements could be considered less likely to be original.

2.2.1. Example of a Structural Outline

Let us look at the structural outline of KC. In order to have a certain basis for comparison, in the following I provide two additional

examples of the commentary. Note, however, that the subsequent analysis is aligned with my study of a substantial portion of the text.[58]

2.2.1.1. Sanskrit Text and Translation of KĀ 2.35 and KC at KĀ 2.35

KĀ 2.35

śivam aupayikaṃ garīyasīm phalaniṣpattim adūṣitāyatim | *vigaṇayya nayanti pauruṣaṃ vihitakrodhajayā*[59] *jigīṣavaḥ* ||

[Those] eager for conquest, who have [first] achieved conquest of [their] anger, having considered the means to be auspicious, direct [their] effort towards a greater accomplishment of [their] goals with unimpeded future prosperity.[60]

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[58] I hope to be able to publish a critical edition of KC and other unpublished commentaries in future.

[59] *vihitakrodhajayā*] Harikaṇṭha, Pītāmbara, Ḍal(l)aṇa, Jonarāja, Lokānanda, Devarājabhaṭṭa, *Prakāśavarṣa; *vijitakrodharayā* Mallinātha, Ekanāthabhaṭṭa, Dharmavijayagaṇi, Vidyāmādhava.

[60] My translation follows the reading (see previous footnote) and the interpretation of the verse and its individual words as proposed in the KC. The current syntactic construction is further advocated in Harikaṇṭha's *Sārāvalī*, Ḍal(l)aṇa's *Subodhaṭīkā*, Vidyāmādhava's *Vidyāmādhavīya* and Lokānanda's untitled commentary. It is mentioned as an alternative, e.g., in Devarājabhaṭṭa's *Sukhabodhinī* and in the JoKṬ. The translations of the verse that are available to me attend to the syntactic construction that is maintained in Mallinātha's GhP, Ekanāthabhaṭṭa's *Prasannasāhityacandrikā*, Dharmavijayagaṇi's *Pradīpikā*, Devarāja's *Sukhabodhinī*, Suvarṇarekha's *Kirātapañjikā* andin the main interpretation offered by Jonarāja. It is mentioned as an alternative in the *Vidyāmādhavīya*, the *Sārāvalī* and the *Subodhaṭīkā*.
Cappeller (1912: 12) "Die nach Sieg Trachtenden lenken, wenn sie den Andrang des Zornes überwunden haben, während sie den Eintritt eines reichen auch in der Zukunft unverkümmerten Erfolges in Aussicht nehmen, ihre Tatkraft auf eine glückverheißende Bahn."
Roodbergen (1984: 123): "Those who want to conquer, having (first) overcome the impulse of their hot temper (and then) having calculated that the achievement of result (will be) great (and) not be endangered in the future, direct their effort to (finding) the favourable means."
Peterson (2016: 31) translates: "Would-be conquerors must first conquer the overpowering force of anger; then, making sure that the accomplishment of their goal will yield beneficial and substantial results, they should direct their manly efforts toward determining favourable means."

KC ad KĀ 2.35:[61]

(§1) { *tat kiṃ pauruṣāśrayaṇaṃ pakṣa eva nāsti+* { *ity āha* }tag}intro—{ *śivam iti* }pratī |

aupayikam *upāyaṃ* ***śivaṃ*** *kalyāṇaṃ* ***vigaṇayya*** *jñātvā* ***jigīṣavaḥ*** { *pumāṃso* }sntx ***garīyasīm***, ***adūṣitāyatir*** *uttarakālaviśuddhir* { *yatra* }vṛtti, { *tāṃ* }sntx ***phalaniṣpattiṃ*** *kāryaniṣpattiṃ kāryanirvāhaṃ* ***pauruṣaṃ navanti*** |

(§1a) { *dṛptaviraktābhimānilubdheṣu daṇḍopajāpasāntvanadānāni*, *tāni ca krodhajaye sati bhavanti+* { *ity āha* }tag }intro—{ *vihitakrodhajayā* }pratī { *iti* }tag |

vihitaṅ krodhasya jayo { *yais te* }vṛtti |

(§1b) { *upāyena pauruṣaṃ kurvanti+* { *iti bhāvaḥ* }tag}expl |

(§2) { { *vinayādau* }tag "*upāyād dhrasvaś ca*"[62] *svārthe ṭhaky*[63] { *aupayikam iti* }pratī |

"*priyasthira°*"[64] { *ityādinā* }tag *guror garādeśa īyasuni* { *garīyasīm iti* }pratī | *gaṇeḥ*[65] *caurādikatvāt*[66] *lyapi* [67] "*lyapi laghupūrvāt*"[68] { *ity* }tag *ayādeśe* { *vigaṇayyeti* }pratī |

"*nīvahyor harateḥ*"[69] { *iti* }tag *nayater dvikaramakatāyāṃ* { *pauruṣam āyatim iti* }pratī | }grmmr

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[61] **C**: 30r7.

[62] Cf. *Bhāṣāvṛtti* ad Pāṇ 5,4.34: *upāyād dhrasvaś ca* ||
In the version of the *Gaṇapāṭha* (the *vinayādi-* group) reproduced in Böhtlingk (1887: 135), *Gaṇapāṭha* 211,3 reads slightly different: *upāyo hrasvataṃ ca.* Yet another reading is found in the *Kāśikā* ad Pāṇ 5,4.34: *upāyād dhrasvatvaṃ ca* (this wording seems to be confirmed by the *Kāśikā*'s two commentaries, the *Nyāsa* and the *Padamañjarī*).

[63] Cf. Pāṇ 5,4.34: *vinayādibhyaṣ ṭhak* ||

[64] Cf. Pāṇ 6,4.157: *priya-sthira-sphira-uru-bahula-guru-vṛddha-tṛpra-dīrgha-vṛndārakāṇāṃ pra-stha-spha-var-baṃhi-gar-varṣi-trab-drāghi-vṛndāḥ.* Cf. also Pāṇ 6,4.154.

[65] Cf. *Dhātupāṭha* x,309: *gaṇa saṃkhyāne* ||

[66] Cf. Pāṇ 3,1.25: *satyāpa-pāśa-rūpa-vīṇā-tūla-śloka-senā-loma-tvaca-varma-varṇa-cūrṇa-curādibhyo ṇic* ||

[67] Cf. Pāṇ 7,1.37: *samāse 'nañpūrve ktvo lyap* ||

[68] Cf. Pāṇ 6,4.56: *lyapi laghupūrvāt* ||

[69] Cf. a *ślokavārttika-* in *Mahābhāṣya* ad 1,4.51 (Kielhorn [1880: 335]): *nīvahyor harateś cāpi gatyarthānāṃ tathaiva ca* | *dvikarmakeṣu grahaṇaṃ draṣṭavyam iti niścayaḥ* ||

{ "*sampannas tu prakṛtibhir mahotsāhaḥ kṛtaśramaḥ* |
jetum eṣaṇaśīlaś ca vijigīṣur iti smṛtaḥ ||"[70] { *iti* }tag }kośa||

Tentative Translation of KC on KĀ 2.35:

(§1) { "Then, [in your opinion,] resorting to effort is not even an option?"—{ with this [objection in mind], he says }tag}intro—{ *śivam* ("auspicious"). }prati
{ Men }sntx **eager for conquest, having considered—**that is, having understood—**the means** (*aupayika-*)—that is, the means (*upāya-*)[71]—[to be] **auspicious**—that is, fortunate—**direct [their] effort towards a greater accomplishment of [their] goals**—that is, accomplishment of [their] intents, i.e., carrying out of [their] intents—{ towards such [an accomplishment], }sntx { in which [there is] }vṛtti **unimpeded future prosperity—**that is, purity of the future time.[72]

(§1a) { Punishment, conspiring, conciliation and bribery of the arrogant, with the indifferent, of the self-esteemed and the greedy ones, [respectively]; and these become possible only when one has conquered [one's own] anger { with this [idea in mind, the poet] says }tag}intro { the following }tag— { *vihitakrodhajayā* ("who have achieved conquest of [their] anger"). }prati { Those by whom }vṛtti **the conquest of anger is achieved.**

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[70] Cf. *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* 8.6. As mentioned in Peterson (2016: 388, n. 12), Bhāravi's use of the word *jigīṣu-* may have been inspired by the technical meaning of the word *vijigīṣu-* as defined and repeatedly used in the eighth chapter of the *Nītisāra*.

[71] As Pītāmbara elaborates later in the text, *aupayika-* is formed from the nominal base *upāya-* by adding a semantically redundant *taddhita-* affix *ṭhaK*. In this way, the meaning of both Sanskrit words, *upāya-* and *aupayika-*, is exactly the same and I therefore translate them with a single English word "means."

[72] It is not exactly clear to me whether the compound *uttarakālaviśuddhi-* should be understood as a genitive *tatpuruṣa-* (the above translation follows this option), or—perhaps, more natural in English—as a locative *tatpuruṣa-*, "purity at the future time."

(§1b) { { The idea is that }[tag] they make effort with [appropriate] means }[expl].

(§2) { [Considering the rule] "After [the nominal base] *upāya-* there is a short [vowel in place of a long one]" { in the *vinayādi*-list [of the *Gaṇapāṭha*] }[tag], after addition of semantically redundant[73] affix *ṬHaK*[74] { [we derive the nominal base] *aupayika-*. }[pratī]

After replacement of the base *guru-* with *gar-* and addition of the affix *īyasUN* { by the rule beginning with }[tag] "*priya-*, *sthira-*"[75] { [we derive the word] *garīyasīm*. }[pratī].

Since [the verbal root] *gaṇi-*, "to count," belongs to the *curādi*-group (i.e., the 10th verbal class) [and it is, therefore, followed by the affix Ṇi(C)], after addition of affix *LyaP* and the replacement [of Ṇi] by *ay* { by the rule }[tag] "A Ṇi, when occurring after a sound segment preceded by a vowel termed *laghu* 'short', is replaced with ay, provided an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*, namely, *LyaP*, follows."[76] { [we derive the word] *vigaṇayya*. }[pratī]

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[73] Here, I follow the interpretation as well as the English translation of the term *svārtha-* argued for, e.g., in Cardona (1983: 102ff.) and briefly reinforced in Cardona (2004: 149). For a distinctly different interpretation of the term, see e.g., Roodbergen (2008: 476).

[74] Sharma (1999: 683) translates the relevant rule, Pāṇ 5,4.34, as follows: "The *taddhita* affix *kaN* [*sic*!] occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vinaya* 'humility'." Sharma's placement of "*kaN*" that should be, of course, "*ṬHaK*" is rather curious, because it seems to reflect upon a mistake found in both available to me editions of the *Kāśikā* (Śāstrī [1878: 109] and Miśra [1985, vol. 5: 348])
The element "*ṭha*" of *ṬHaK* is replaced with "*ika*" by Pāṇ 7,3.50 (Sharma [2003: 264]: "A replacement in *ika* comes in place of *ṭha* of an affix which, when follows, conditions assignment of the term *aṅga*."). Note, further, that the *Kāśikā* introduces (and its commentaries elaborate upon) two equally possible (and problematic) interpretations of the concerned rule. In the alternative analysis, the described replacement concerns only the element "*ṭh*" and its substitute "*ik*".

[75] Sharma (2001: 551) translates the concerned rule (Pāṇ 6,4.157) as follows: "An *aṅga* termed *bha*—namely, *priya*, *sthira*, *sphira*, *uru*, *bahula*, *guru*, *vṛddha*, *tṛpta*, *dīrgha* and *vṛndāraka* is replaced with *pra*, *stha*, *spha*, *var*, *baṃhi*, *gar*, *varṣi*, *trap*, *drāghi*, and *vṛṇda*, respectively, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow."

[76] Sharma (2001: 471f.).

Given that [the verb] *nayati* is ditransitive { on account of the statement }tag "of the roots *nī- and vah-* as well as *harati*"[77] { [we construe] *paruṣam*, "effort" (acc. sg.), and *āyatim*, "future prosperity"(acc. sg.).[78]}prati }grmmr

{ "And (*tu*) [a king] who is endowed with [all the] constituents [of royal power],[79] who possesses great vigour and who puts effort [into study], who is disposed to the desire for conquest is remembered as *vijigīṣu-*, 'eager for conquest'" { thus it [has been said]. }tag }kośa

[77] The whole *vārttika-* is translated in Joshi and Roodbergen (1975: 214): "It is decided that among (the verbs) which take two objects we should find included *nī-*: 'to bring', and *vah-*: 'to carry' and also the verb *harati* : 'to fetch' and, in the same way, verbs of motion." In my translation of the verse, I render the root *nī-* contextually as "to direct."

[78] This remark is very strange. Pītāmbara first quotes a verse from the *Māhābhāṣya*, which lists several ditransitive roots. *nī*, "to lead, bring" (KĀ 2.35 uses *nayanti*, 3rd person, plural, present tense of *nī*) is mentioned at first and, therefore, can take two direct objects in the accusative. However, Pītāmbara laconically identifies the respective objects as *pauruṣa-* (effort, valour) and *āyati-* (future prosperity). The latter is found in the verse as the final member of the compound *aduṣitāyati-*, which is glossed in KC as a *bahuvrīhi-*, i.e., an adjectival compound in the meaning "[accomplishment] in which the future prosperity is unimpeded." The present grammatical remark oddly suggests that *āyati-* should be taken as an object of *nayanti* (not as a member of a predicative clause) so that the above compound can be only a *karmadhāraya-*: "unimpeded future prosperity." This is very unlikely for several reasons. From the point of the verse, to begin with, this requires a reinterpretation of *phalaniṣpatti-* as a grammatically ugly (i.e., wrong) *vyadhikaraṇa*-type of *bahuvrīhi-* qualifying one of the nouns in the accusative *aupayika-*, *aduṣitāyati*, or *pauruṣa-* ("[means, unimpeded future prosperity or effort,] in or by which there is accomplishment of goals"). Furthermore, this understanding goes against Pītāmbara's own analysis of *aduṣitāyati*-as a locatival *bahuvrīhi-* in the first section of the text. This makes me think that the current remark reflects merely Pītāmbara's carelessness and should not be given much weight when considering his understanding of the verse.

[79] In the *Kāmandakīyanītisāra*, the constituents of royal power (*prakṛti*-s) are dealt with in verses that directly precede the one under consideration (8.4–5).

2.2.1.2. Sanskrit Texts and Translation of KĀ 8.14 and KC at KĀ 8.14

KĀ 8.14:

prayacchatoccaiḥ kusumāni māninī vipakṣagotraṃ dayitena lambhitā |
na kiṃcid ūce caraṇena kevalaṃ lilekha bāṣpākulalocanā bhuvam ||

The upset lady, who by her lover, offering her high flowers, was given the name of a rival, did not say anything, but, her eyes suffused with tears, just scratched the earth with her foot.[80]

KC ad KĀ 8.14:[81]

(§1) { *prayacchateti* }prati |

uccaiḥ**sthāni* ***kusumāni ***prayacchatā*** *dadatā* ***dayitena*** ***vipakṣasya*** *sapatnyā* ***gotraṃ*** *nāma* ***lambhitā*** *prāpitā*, { *sapatnīnāmnā dattakusumā* }expl, ***māninī*** ***na*** ***kiṃcid*** ***ūce*** *vadati sma* | ***kevalaṃ*** { *māninī* }sntx ***baṣpeṇākulalocanā*** ***bhuvaṃ*** ***lilekha*** | { *bhagavati vasudhe! vai dvidhā bhava tenāhaṃ yāmi, na varam īdṛśāpamānena jīvāmi+* }expl { *ity abhiprāyaḥ* }tag |

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[80] This translation corresponds to the analysis offered by Pītāmbara (see below) and Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* to *Dhvanyāloka* 3.39. This interpretation of the verse is poetically rendered into English in Ingalls et al. (1990: 621): "Her lover, reaching her high flowers from a branch // Had called her by another woman's name. // The lady stood, her eyes suffused with tears, // Saying nothing, scratching with her foot the earth."
Harikaṇṭha and Mallinātha understand *uccaiḥ* ('high' in the above translation) to mean "loud." This interpretation is also mentioned by Abhinavagupta, who attributes it to his teacher (see a short discussion of this reference in Ingalls et al. [1990: 623]). Other translators follow this second alternative.
Cappeller (1912: 55f.): "Eine Stolze, die von ihrem Geliebten, welcher ihr Blumen reichte, laut mit dem Namen ihrer Nebenbuhlerin angerufen wurde, sagte kein Wort; nur mit dem Fusse scharrte sie tränenvollen Auges die Erde."
Roodbergen (2001: 93): "A woman very loudly called by her lover offering flowers by the name of her rival, being proud, did not say anything, but with eyes full of tears merely scratched the ground with her foot."
Peterson (2016: 141): "One apsaras was upset when her lover, even while offering flowers he had plucked, called her by her rival's name, out loud. She said nothing, but with eyes brimming with tears, simply stood scratching the ground with her toe."

[81] C: 101r6.

(§2) { "*gotraṃ nāmni ca+*"[82] }kośa { *ity amare* }tag |

{ *atra caraṇena bhūmilikhanam iṅgitam, dṛśor bāṣpākulatvam ākāraḥ, tābhyāṃ gotraskhalanodbhavo māninyā manastāpaḥ pratīyata iti pratīyamānobhayalakṣyaḥ sūkṣmo 'yam alaṃkāraḥ* |[83]

{ *tathā ca daṇḍī* }tag—"*iṅgitākāralakṣyo 'rthaḥ saukṣmyāt sūkṣma iti smṛtaḥ*"[84] { *iti* }tag}poet ||

Tentative Translation of KC at KĀ 8.14:

> (§1) { *prayacchatā* ("offering", instr. sg. masc.) }prati **Given**—that is, caused to obtain—**by her lover, offering**—that is, giving—**high** situated **flowers, the name (*gotra-*)**—that is, the name (*nāman-*)— **of [her] rival**—that is, of [her] female competitor—{ that is, she was given flowers [being addressed] with the name of her female competitor }expl—**the upset lady did not say anything**—that is, [did not] speak. { The upset lady }sntx, **her eyes suffused with tears, just scratched the earth**.
> { Oh, Goddess Earth! open yourself, so that I [can] enter! It is not good for me to live on with such a humiliation! }expl { such is the intention. }tag
> (§2) { "*gotra-* is also [used in the sense of] *nāman-* ("name")," }kośa { this [is said] in the *Amara*. }tag
> { Here, scratching the earth with the foot is a bodily gesture and suffusion of the eyes with tears is a bodily appearance, and since we extrapolate the mental anguish of the lady caused by [her lover mistakenly] calling her by her rival's

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[82] AKo 3,3.180d.

[83] Cf. *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* ad 3.21–22 (*Svavṛtti* on example verse 3.53): *atra caraṇena bhūmilekhanam iṅgitaṃ dṛśor bāṣpākulatvam ākāras tābhyāṃ gotraskhalanodbhavo māninyā manastāpaḥ pratīyamāna itiṅgitākāralakṣyaḥ sūkṣmabhedaḥ.*
Pītāmbara's wording is extremely similar to, but not completely identical with, that of Bhoja.

[84] *Kāvyādarśa* 2.260cd: *iṅgitākāralakṣyo 'rthaḥ saukṣmyāt sūkṣma iti smṛtaḥ.*

name on the basis of these two (i.e., her gestures and her appearance), this is a case of the figure of speech *sūkṣma-* ("the subtle one") that [belongs to the subtype in which a certain meaning] is inferred (as opposed to directly stated) and [in which this meaning] is recognized by means of both, (i.e., gestures and appearance).[85]

{ And it is also said by Daṇḍin }tag—"[When] a meaning can be recognized on the basis of bodily gestures or appearance, it is remembered as *sūkṣma-* ("the subtle one"), because of the subtleness [of the recognized meaning]." }poet

2.2.1.3. Structural outline of the Kirātācandrikā

1. General Observations:

A striking structural feature common to all the above examples is the bipartite organisation of the text. Based on the distribution of the descriptive structural elements (1–14), every text excerpt can be divided into two sections (cf. 2.1.2 above): (i) a general commentarial section that lacks all of the three technical elements (5, 8 and 14); as well as (ii) a strictly technical section that is distinguished by the predominance of these three elements.

It is further noteworthy that the present division of the commentary is reflected upon by the layout of the MS **C**, which—judging from the palaeographical features—could not be dated much later than the actual text (cf. Klebanov [2016: 59]). The scribe of the MS must have

[85] In Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* 3.21–22 (Śarmā and Paṇśīkar pp. 334ff.), the figure of speech *sūkṣma-* is defined as a mode of verbal expression in which a certain subtle meaning can be recognized based on a description of either bodily movements (*iṅgita-*), a particular bodily appearance (*ākāra-*), or both (*ubhaya-*). These options constitute three basic types of *sūkṣma-*, each of which can be further subdivided into two by attending to another classification: a *sūkṣma-*, in which the subtle point that is recognized by the bodily gestures, etc. is directly stated (*vācya-*), and the one, in which it is not directly stated but can be inferred indirectly (*pratīyamāna-*), as in the present verse. Note, furthermore, that Bhoja quotes the current verse as an example of the *pratīyamānobhayalakṣya-* subtype of *sūkṣma-*.

been aware of the bipartite structure of the text, because he often marked off the end of the first section by a double *daṇḍa* and, less frequently, by additional space.

2. General commentarial section (i)

2.1. General structure:

In indicating the syntactic construction of the verse (i.e., arranging **words from the verse** or their direct glosses), Pītāmbara usually follows a "mixed scheme." Whenever possible, he construes several clauses centred around verbal actions. The main clause is provided in the beginning of the commentary, and it is followed by the subordinate ones (this is typical of the *khaṇḍānvaya*-). The individual syntactic clauses, however, are presented according to the logic of the *daṇḍānvaya*-, inasmuch as they integrate various predicative, adverbial, etc. qualifications. At times, Pītāmbara singles out individual words or phrases from the major syntactic clauses, perhaps, in order to indicate their special bearing on the meaning of the verse.

To indicate a syntactic relation to the main clause, the subordinate clauses as well as isolated words or phrases are either (i) introduced by complex *avataraṇikā*-s, which often simultaneously fulfil the purpose of a secondary explanation, or (ii) are connected to the argument they predicate by means of a simple restatement (a syntactic aid) of the latter.

2.2. Way of glossing:

As far as paraphrases are concerned, Pītāmbara usually combines **words from the verse** with their simple glosses, and only occasionally (much less frequently than it may appear from the above examples) makes use of double glosses and extended or quasi-technical paraphrases. At other instances, **words from the verse** remain unexplained.

Compounds are commonly **quoted** in a simple analytical form, in which individual members are related to each other (or to words outside the compound) by means of inflected pronouns. In case of

upapada- compounds, Pītāmbara provides their short analytical form in the nominative and indicates their syntactic value within the verse by means of inflected pronouns.

2.3. Secondary elements:

Secondary explanations of individual words or clauses always contain a typical tagging (such as *ity arthaḥ*, etc.) and are placed near by their actual referents.

If available, {> various alternative explanations <}altrn are placed at the very end the section.

3. Technical section (ii)

3.1. Content:

In KC to KĀ 1.7 and 2.35 the second section contains a number of grammatical and lexicographical remarks, and in the commentary on KĀ 8.14, the grammatical point of view gives way to an extended poetological observation. One need not, however, consider the two fields of knowledge mutually exclusive in the text of KC. At many other instances (e.g., in KC ad KĀ 1.1, 1.3, 1.11, 1.18, or 1.46 to name but a few), Pītāmbara places both the elements side by side.

In view of 1.7 (cf. also KC ad KĀ 1.16, 1.20, 3.31, 3.38, etc.), one can add that the second section occasionally incorporates supplementary indications of word meanings as well as secondary explanatory passages (the latter are distinguished from the former ones, *inter. alia*, by a typical tag, see above), which do, however, invariably attend to the general structure of the section (see next).

3.2. General structure:

In the second section, the individual explanatory elements always occur in strict order, in which their referent words appear in the verse.

3.3. Structure of individual elements:

Grammatical explanations are usually supplied with identifying *pratīka-s*, which help to establish otherwise unclear referents of these remarks.

Derivations of individual forms or constructions are usually stringed into single sentences. These sentences merge quotes from grammatical literature with commentator's own remarks. Applied grammatical operations are indicated with the locative case.[86] Quotations from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are most commonly marked with a laconic *iti* or, in case of partial quotations, with *ityādinā*. Quotations from other grammatical works, on the other hand, are sometimes supplied with an identification of their source.

Quotations from Sanskrit dictionaries are (nearly) always supplied with indications of their sources, while lexicographical quotations from other texts are more often left unidentified.

Poetological discussions are always found at the very end of the section and, therefore, of the text. Their style is often more elaborate than that of the previous two elements and merges analytical observations with occasionally identified quotes (Pītāmbara primarily quotes from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* and Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*).

4. Explanatory remarks pertaining to the whole verse

The position of secondary explanatory passages pertaining to the whole verse is, by Pītāmbara's standards, a little unstable. They most commonly occur either at the end of the first or at the end of the second section. A physical removal of an explanatory element from Section (i) may suggest its semantic distance. However, I was so far unable to prove this hypothesis.

A further important feature of the secondary explanatory passages in the KC is that they are, in the absolute majority of cases, tagged with

[86] Within a technical grammatical element of the KC, a construction of the type "x-loc." usually means something like "when x is applied."

a special identifier. This feature provides, for example, one of the arguments for considering the final remark in KC ad KĀ 1.7 as a quasi-technical gloss of the word "*suyodhana-*."

2.2.2. Discussion of the Analytical Approach

The above outline of the KC contains a number of what can be called nearly inflexible structuring rules of the text. A deviation from these rules can call for the special attention of a textual editor and, in fact, provides a good reason to doubt the authenticity of the concerned passage. If, for example, one would come across a quote from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* or the *Viśvakośa* placed next to a simple gloss of a word in the middle of the first section of the KC, or, similarly, if one would identify that a certain technical element in the second section disturbed its uniform arrangement, one would be equipped with a rather strong initial hypothesis to conjecture the secondary character of these elements. As the transmission of commentaries on *kāvya-* has been demonstrated to be extremely uneven,[87] such a hypothetical scenario is, in fact, rather realistic. It must be noted, however, that the rigidity of arrangement of certain textual units in the KC (paired with a rather simple style of the text), could be similarly taken advantage of by someone wishing to supplement the text with additional material. In this case, a textual editor would be misled, if she based her decision merely on the structural argument.

On account of its lucid structure, the KC is well suited to illustrate how a structural outline of a commentary can be produced. The peculiarity of its transmission, on the other hand, does not allow us to illustrate how these considerations can be employed for a text-critical study. The KC is transmitted in a single MS that, as mentioned above, must have been produced soon after the composition of the

[87] See, above all, Goodall and Isaacson (2003). Klebanov (2016) contains further bibliography.

actual text and that preserves a rather uniform text of comparatively high quality.[88]

One example may be, however, useful to illustrate some of the pitfalls of the current approach. In the KC ad KĀ 1.14, the text-final sentence[89] definitely looks like an explanatory remark, but does not contain any of its typical tags. One's suspicion is further strengthened by the observation that the conjunction *ca* cannot connect this sentence to any of the preceding ones. One may, therefore, surmise either that a tag was lost in the (short) process of textual transmission, or that the entire sentence was added secondarily, or, perhaps, that the sentence was misplaced from somewhere else. Further intertextual deliberations (similar to the ones illustrated in the next section), however, demonstrate that Pītāmbara has bluntly copied this passage from one of his main sources, the *Sārāvalī*. Here, it occurs exactly at the end of the commentary, so that Pītāmbara must have probably taken over the wording and the position of the segment without adjusting it to its new environment.

It must be added at this point, that the analytical strategy envisioned in the present section goes back to the most original form of the structure analysis, as it was introduced and successfully applied in the ground-breaking study by Goodall and Isaacson (2003). In this pioneering work, both scholars not only dwelt upon theoretical intricacies of the then newly introduced methodology, but, most importantly, employed it for the preparation of the first of its kind (and still unique) critical edition of the initial six chapters of Vallabhadeva's commentary on RVaṃ. In dealing with the complex textual transmission of this commentary, the scholars arrived at a certain description of characteristic features of what they considered to be the

[88] Several lacunae (marked by dashes) and a fair amount of typical scribal mistakes indicate that it is not an autograph.

[89] *anujīvinaś ca kṛtajñe rājani hitaṃ pravartante* ("and the subjects act benevolently towards a grateful king").

most original form of the *Raghupañcikā*,[90] and made extensive use of it for their critical reconstruction of the text.[91]

In fact, my own involvement with the structure analysis had the initial purpose to utilize it for the preparation of a critical edition of the *Laghuṭīkā* by Prakāśavarṣa (possibly, the oldest available commentary on a Sanskrit *mahākāvya-*). However, I have so far failed at this task, mainly on account of the extreme irregularity of the textual transmission of the *Laghuṭīkā* and because I could not resolve contradictions between a number of competing intertextual and text-internal (*inter alia*, structural) considerations about the most likely original form of its "structural outline."

2.3. Application of Structure Analysis to the Study of Textual Reuse

In this section I would like to illustrate how the proposed methodological approach can be applied to the study of the phenomenon of "textual reuse"[92] that is frequently encountered within the Sanskrit commentaries on *mahākāvya-* (those on the KĀ in particular). This frequency may be, perhaps, even formulated as one of the most peculiar features of the literary genre and deserves a separate study. Among well-known examples of reuses, one could think (to name but one of many examples) of the commentaries on KuSaṃ by Vallabhadeva and Cāritravardhana, where the latter often reads as a somewhat distorted copy of the former.

While at times Sanskrit commentators openly state their indebtedness to their predecessors and, much less frequently, call these

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[90] See pp. xlivff. for a broader discussion and p. xlvii for the actual list.

[91] This is repeatedly reflected in their critical notes to e.g., RVaṃ 1.2, 1.28, 3.27 or 6.42 to give just a random selection.

[92] In the introduction to the recently appeared Freschi and Maas (2017), the volume editors elaborate upon the concept of "adoptive reuse" as being distinct from what the authors call "simple reuse." Here, I deliberately use a more generic term "textual reuse," but it can be noted that in terms of the above distinction I mainly deal with instances of "simple reuse" and only marginally touch upon cases of "adoptive reuse."

authorities by name, it happens more often that the utilized materials remain unacknowledged. As a result, textual interconnections between many Sanskrit commentaries can be established only on the basis of the similarity of their wording. In such cases, it is, of course, possible to compare the actual words of the concerned texts. With regard to a formal description, however, this comparison does not promise to yield results more substantial than a statistic statement about the degree of similarity. The structure analysis, on the other hand, may help to shift the focus to the actual differences and, for example, initiate a study of the types of changes that are introduced in the process of borrowing of textual passages.

I would like to differentiate between two theoretical scenarios which lend themselves to slightly different applications of the structure analysis. In one case, the direction of borrowing between two commentaries can be established on a basis of arguments other than those deriving from the actual comparison of the texts (in case of Vallabhadeva and Cāritravardhana, for example, this direction is suggested by their comparative dating). The structure analysis may be utilized here, for example, in order to study particular techniques applied by individual authors in borrowing texts from their predecessors, or, considering more substantial amount of data, in order to arrive at certain generalizations about the common types of introduced changes. In the other scenario, when the exact relation between the texts remains unclear, one may, for example, make use of the previously established generalizations in order to conjecture the more likely direction of borrowing.

In the following, I will exemplify some of the methodological approaches associated with the first scenario.

2.3.1. Comparison between the *Kirātacandrikā* and the *Sārāvalī*

In this subsection, I would like to continue looking at Pītāmbara's KC and compare it with the *Sārāvalī* (SĀ) by Harikaṇṭha (fl. prior to

1513/14 CE, probably in Bengal).[93] KC's direct dependence on the SĀ can be postulated in view of Pītāmbara's acknowledgement of this fact.[94]

To begin with, I would like to present excerpts from the SĀ dealing with the above verses of the KĀ.

2.3.1.1. Sanskrit Text and Translation of SĀ at KĀ 1.7

SĀ at KĀ 1.7:[95]
(§1) { *tad eva śātravaṃ nayavartma darśayitum upacakrame* }^{intro}—
{ *viśaṅkamāna iti* }^{prati} |
(§2) ***suyodhano durodaracchadmajitāṃ jagatīṃ nayena***
{ *dānaśāsanarakṣaṇādinā* }^{word} ***jetum samīhate*** |
{ *yā kila dyūtacchadmanā jitā sā sthirā na bhavatīti* { *nayenety āha* }^{prati} }^{expl} |
bhavatas *tvattaḥ* ***parābhavaṃ viśaṅkamāna*** *ūhamānaḥ* |
{ {*etena+* }^{tag} *alpīyaso 'pi śatror bhetavyam* { *iti darśayati* }^{tag} }^{expl} |

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[93] The text of SĀ is quoted from a single MS, IOL San.MS I.O. 543 (*Siglum*: **S**) kept in the Indian Office Library. For a detailed description of the MS see Klebanov (2016: 115ff.) The *terminus ante quem* for the composition of SĀ is given by the date of composition of the KC. The Bengali provenance of the author is purely hypothetical and is based on (1) the fact that two of the three known MSS of the text are kept in MS-libraries in Bengal and the other MS (the one available to me) is written in Maithilī script, (2) SĀ's influence on Bengali author of the *Kirātacandrikā*, and (3) SĀ's frequent references to grammatical works belonging to the "Bengali grammatical tradition" as described in Wielinska-Soltwedel (2006, vol. 2: 3ff.).

[94] One of the concluding verses (7ab) of KC reads (**C** 222v6):
sārāvalīṃ śrīśubhakaṇṭhaṭīkāṃ prākāśavarṣīṃ ca subodhaṭīkām/ (supply: "*ālokya candrikākāri* [...] *pītāmbaraiḥ*" from vss. 10–11)
"[Pītāmbara composed *Candrikā* after he had studied] the *Sārāvalī*, a commentary by venerable Śubhakaṇṭha, and the *Subodhaṭīkā* by Prakāśavarṣa."
The latter commentary by Prakāśavarṣa is better known under the title *Laghuṭīkā* (see Klebanov [2016: 135ff.]). NCC IV (164a), although it contains a separate entry for a commentary on KĀ by Śubhakaṇṭha, notes that it is "almost identical with that of Harikaṇṭha." Based on this note in NCC and my personal observations pertaining to KC's close dependency on the text of SĀ available to me, I assume that Śubhakaṇṭha must be interpreted as a different name (or a variation of the same) of Harikaṇṭha.

[95] **S**: 3r1.

(§3) { *duryodhane duḥśabdoccāraṇaṃ yudhiṣṭhirasya duḥkhāvaham iti tadanujīvinaḥ suśabdaṃ prakṣipanti* }[expl] |

(§4) { "*durodaro dyūtākare paṇe dyūte durodaram*"[96]{ *ity amaraḥ* }[tag] }[kośa]
|

(§5) {>
{ *he nṛpa!* }[sntx] ***durodaracchadmajita*! *suyodhano'ṃ*** *viṣṇuṃ* ***jagati*** *bhuvana* ***īṃ*** *lakṣmīṃ* ***jetum samīhate*** *svīkartum abhilaṣati* |
viśaṅkamānaḥ |{ *kaṃ* }[qstn] |***parābhavam*** | { *kutaḥ* }[qstn]|*maheśvarāt*,
vanādhivāsinaḥ *śmaśānavāsinaḥ*
<}[altrn] ||

Tentative Translation of SĀ ad KĀ 1.7:

(§1) { [Yudhiṣṭhira's spy] set out to demonstrate this very activity of statecraft of the enemies [saying] }[intro]—{ *viśaṅkamānaḥ* ("apprehending"). }[prati]

(§2) **Suyodhana tries to win the world he won by the dice game ruse through policy**—{ that is, through making of gifts, punishment, protection, etc. }[word]

{ The [world] won over by the gambling ruse, it is said, is not stable—with this in mind, { he says *nayena*, "through policy." }[prati] }[expl]

Apprehending—that is, conjecturing—**defeat from Your Honour**—that is, from you.

{ {By this [the poet] demonstrates that }[tag] one should be afraid even of a smaller enemy. }[expl][97]

(§3) { Since pronouncing the word "difficult" (*dus*) in [the name] Duryodhana (lit.: one who is difficult to fight) causes distress to Yudhiṣṭhira, his subjects insert the word "easy" (*su*) in its place [and call him Suyodhana, "one who is easy to fight" or "one who fights with ease"]. }[expl]

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[96] AKo 3,3.171cd.
[97] Cf. n. 48.

(§4) { "*durodara-* (masc.) means gambler, *durodara-* (neut.) means stake and gambling" { thus Amara. }tag }kośa

(§5) {>

{*Oh, King!*}sntx **Conquered by the Dice Game Ruse! In the world—**that is, on earth—**Suyodhana tries to win**—that is, wishes to obtain—**Ī**—that is, Lakṣmī (acc. sg.)—[from] **A**—that is, Viṣṇu (acc. sg.) **Apprehending.**{ What? }qstn **Defeat.** { From whom? }qstn From Maheśvara, **a forest-dweller**—that is, a cemetery-dweller.

<}altrn[98]

2.3.1.2. Sanskrit Text and Translation of SĀ at KĀ 2.35

SĀ ad KĀ 2.35:[99]

(§1) { *tat kiṃ pauruṣāśrayaṇaṃ nāsti+* { *ity āha* }tag }intro —{ *śivam aupayikam ityādi* }prati |

jigīṣavaḥ pauruṣam *udyogaṃ* ***phalaniṣpattiṃ nayanti*** |
adūṣitāyatim *adūṣitottarakālām* |
aupayikam *upāyaṃ* ***śivaṃ vigaṇayya*** *bhadraṃ jñātvā* |

(§1a) { { *śivam upāyajñānam* }prati —*dṛpteṣu daṇḍaḥ, virakteṣu jāpaḥ, abhimāniṣu sāntvanaṃ, lubdheṣu pradānam*[100] }word; { *etac ca krodhajaye sati bhavati+* { *ity āha* }tag }intro —***vihitakrodhajayā*** { *iti* }tag |

(§1b) {*upāyena pauruṣaṃ kurvanti+*{ *ity arthaḥ* }tag}expl |

(§2) { { *aupayikam iti* }prati "*upāyād dhrasvatvaṃ ca*"[101]{ *iti vinayādipāṭhāt* }tag *ṭhak*[102] }grmmr |

(§3) {>

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[98] Cf. n. 49.

[99] **S**: 36r1.

[100] The exact source for this formulation is unknown to me. Application of the four means to achieve kingly triumph over enemies is elaborated e.g., in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* 2,10.47ff. or in chapter 18 of the *Kāmandakīyanītisāra*.

[101] *Kāśikā* ad Paṇ 5,4.34: *upāyād dhrasvatvaṃ ca.* Cf. *Gaṇapāṭha* 211,3: *upāyo hrasvataṃ ca.* Cf. n. 71 above.

[102] Cf. Paṇ 5,4.34: *vinayādibhyaṣ ṭhak.* Cf. n. 74 above.

{ *yad vā* }[tag] ***phalaniṣpattim adūṣitāyatiṃ vigaṇayya pauruṣaṃ śivam*** *anuguṇam* ***upāyaṃ*** { *sāmādīnām apy anyatamaṃ* }[word] ***nayanti***
<}[altrn] |
(§4) { "*sampannas tu prakṛtibhir mahotsāhaḥ kṛtaśramaḥ* | *jetum eṣaṇaśīlaś ca vijigīṣur iti smṛtaḥ* ||"[103] { *iti* }[tag] }[kośa] ||

Tentative Translation of SĀ ad KĀ 2.35:

(§1) { "Then, [in your opinion,] there is no resort to effort? " { with this [objection in mind], he says }[tag] }[intro]—{ *śivam aupayikam* etc. }[prati]

[Those] eager for conquest direct [their] effort—that is, endeavour **towards accomplishment of [their] goals. With unimpeded future prosperity**—that is, with an unimpeded future.

Having considered the means (*aupayika-*)—that is, the means (*upāya-*)—**to be auspicious**—that is, having understood them to be propitious.

(§1a) {{ Knowledge of means to be auspicious [is as follows] }[prati]—punishment for the arrogant ones, conspiring with the indifferent ones, conciliation of the self-esteemed ones and bribery of the greedy ones}[word]; { and this becomes possible only when one has conquered [one's own] anger, { with this [idea in mind, the poet] says}[tag] }[intro] { the following (*iti*)}[tag]—**who have achieved conquest of [their] anger.**

(§1b) { { The meaning is that }[tag]they make effort with [appropriate] means. }[expl]

(§2) { { Since the rule }[tag] "[When *ṬHaK* is added] after the base *upāya-*, there is also shortness [of the long vowel] " { is cited in the *vinayādi-* list [of the *Gaṇapāṭha*] }[tag] the affix *ṬHaK* [is added] { and thus [we derive the word] *aupayikam*. }[prati] }[grmmr]

(§3) {>

[103] Cf. *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* 8.6.

{ Or, alternatively, }[tag] **having considered accomplishment of [their] goals to have unimpeded future prosperity** [they] **direct [their] effort towards auspicious**—that is, appropriate—**means** {—that is, anyone among conciliation, etc. }[word]

<}[altrn]

(§4) { "And (*tu*) [a king] who is endowed with [all the] constituents [of royal power], who possesses great vigour and who has put effort [into study], who is disposed to the desire for conquest is remembered as *vijigīṣu-*, 'eager for conquest'"{ so [it has been said]. }[tag] }[kośa]

2.3.1.3. Sanskrit Text and Translation of SĀ at KĀ 8.14

SĀ at 8.14:[104]

(§1) ***na kiṃcid ūce***, { *krodhāt* }[expl] |
vipakṣagotraṃ *sapatnināma,* ***uccair lambhitā*** *prāpitā*, { *yataḥ* }[sntx] |
(§2) { "*gotraṃ nāmni ca+*"[105] }[kośa] { *ity amare* }[tag] |
{ *atra caraṇena bhūmilekhanam iṅgitam, dṛśor bāṣpākulatvam ākāraḥ, tābhyāṃ gotraskhalanodbhavo māninyā manastāpaḥ pratīyata iti pratīyamānobhayalakṣyaḥ sūkṣmo nāmāyam alaṃkāraḥ* |
{ *tad uktaṃ* }[tag]—"*iṅgitākāralakṣyo 'rthaḥ saukṣmyāt sūkṣma iti smṛtaḥ*"[106] }[poet] |
{ { *dayitena māninīti+* }[prati] *ucitaṃ viśeṣaṇam* }[poet] ||

Tentative Translation of SĀ at 8.14:

(§1) **Did not say anything** { out of anger. }[expl] **Loudly given—**that is, caused to obtain—**the name of her rival**—that is, the name of her female competitor, { because of this. }[sntx]

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[104] **S**: 104v2.

[105] Cf. *Amarakośa* 3,3.180d.

[106] Cf. *Kāvyādarśa* 2.160cd: *iṅgitākāralakṣyo 'rthaḥ saukṣmyāt sūkṣma iti smṛtaḥ* | Bhoja's definition in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* 3.21ab reads slightly differently: *iṅgitākāralakṣyo 'rthaḥ sūkṣmaḥ sūkṣmaguṇāt tu saḥ* |

(§2) { "*gotra-* is also [used in the sense of] *nāman-* ("name")," }kośa { this[is said] in the *Amara.* }tag
{ Here, scratching the earth with the foot is a bodily gesture and suffusion of the eyes with tears is a bodily appearance, and since we extrapolate the mental anguish of the lady caused by [her lover mistakenly] calling her by her rival's name on the basis of these two (i.e., her gestures and her appearance), this is a case of the figure of speech called *sūkṣma-* ("the subtle one") that [belongs to the subtype in which a certain meaning] is inferred (as opposed to directly stated) and [in which this meaning] is recognized by means of both, (i.e., gestures and appearance).
{ So it is said }tag—" [When] a meaning can be recognized on the basis of bodily gestures or appearance, it is remembered as *sūkṣma-* ("the subtle one"), because of the subtleness [of the recognized meaning]." }poet
{ { "by her lover" and "the upset lady" }prati [are both cases of employment of] a fitting qualification. }poet

2.3.1.4. Comparative Analysis of the Kirātacandrikā *and the* Sārāvalī *on KĀ 1.7*[107]

The introductory elements of both commentaries are identical in their content. One can note, however, that Pītāmbara substitutes Harikaṇṭha's final *darśayitum upacakrame* ("set out to demonstrate"), which, rather appropriately for a narration, makes use of the perfect form of *upa-kram*, with a plain *upadarśayitum āha* ("says in order to illustrate"). Unlike *upacakrame*, *āha* is immediately recognizable as a common marker of an introductory element. Less significant from the structural point of view, but nonetheless noteworthy for a broader understanding of textual reuse in Sanskrit commentaries, is the fact that the preverb *upa-* (in Pītāmbara's *upa-darśayati*, substituted for

[107] See 2.1.1 for the corresponding text of KC and 2.3.1.1 for that of SĀ.

Harikaṇṭha's *darśayati*) must be considered an (un-/conscious) reflex of the same preverb in *upa-cakrame* (substituted by *āha*).

In the syntactic arrangement of the **individual words** of KĀ 1.7 (§2 in both texts), one may observe that KC follows the general pattern of its source. However, Pītāmbara completes the construction of the subordinate sentence by supplying **words** omitted from the SĀ. Harikaṇṭha does not indicate the relation between individual syntactic clauses, so that Pītāmbara supplies a syntactic marker to cater for this need.

Further telling is a comparison of Pītāmbara's ***nayena*** and the surrounding cluster of elements with their originals. In the SĀ, one may notice, the word *nayena* is found twice: once in its role as a **word from the verse** integrated in the syntactic arrangement of the main sentence (this is also supplied with a quasi-technical meaning), and a second time, as a *pratīka-* marking the referent of an explanatory element. Pītāmbara may have considered this repetition unnecessary and chose to excerpt *nayena* (along with its paraphrase) from the construction of the main sentence. One can recognize that this decision called for a number of additional changes: SĀ's explanatory element was transformed into a complex *avataraṇikā*, and a new element was introduced in order to spell out the syntactic relation to the main sentence. From the comparative point of view, one may further surmise that Pītāmbara's final *iti* could be explained as a rudiment of SĀ's untypical *nayenety āha*.

It may be noted further that Pītāmbara's *kapaṭena jitā* in place of SĀ's *dyūtacchdamanā* may be explained by Pītāmbara's wish to provide an indirect paraphrase of Bhāravi's *chadman* ("ruse").

Pītāmbara's second explanatory element at the end of §2 can be seen as a direct adaptation (wording and position) of the same element in SĀ. The reason behind the minimal change of wording (SĀ's *alpīyasaḥ* > KC's *alpād*) is not obvious, although one may try to think of it as a slight simplification.

KC's §5 is found in SĀ immediately following the main explanatory section (§3). In this way, it is possible that with this remark Harikaṇṭha wanted to provide an additional explanation relevant for the understanding of the verse. In Pītāmbara's view, however, this is rather a quasi-technical gloss. Therefore, along with the following quote from the *Amarakośa*, it is relegated to a specialized section, where it is positioned in accordance with the section's own constraints.

Finally, I would like to consider the respective sections in the commentaries, which deal with the {> additional punning meaning <}[altrn](§5 in SĀ and §3 in KC). In Harikaṇṭha's text, this element is merely juxtaposed with the preceding text without any additional tag. As noted above, Pītāmbara disambiguates the text of his predecessor with an introductory *yad vā*. The inner structure of the actual element marks further differences. Unlike the KC (see above), SĀ furnishes here syntactic marking that is more elaborate than the one used in the main explanation: apart from a short marker of the Vocative case (*he*), Harikaṇṭha introduces a new element, a simple question.

2.3.1.5. Comparative Analysis of the Kirātacandrikā *and the* Sārāvalī *on KĀ 2.35*[108]

Similar to the previous example, Harikaṇṭha's §1 follows a certain minimal *khaṇḍānvaya*-method (minimal, inasmuch as it does away with almost all indications of syntactic value of secondary clauses) and mentions only selected **words from the verse**. Pītāmbara, in following a different scheme, supplies the missing words, largely rearranges them, adds several brief analytical and syntactic remarks, as well as provides additional glosses. The word *phalaniṣpatti-* ("accomplishment of goals") is supplied with a double gloss, *kāryaniṣpattiṃ kāryanirvāham* (accomplishment of intents, [i.e.,] carrying out of intents). Furthermore, it is difficult to explain why Pītāmbara omits Harikaṇṭha's gloss of the word *pauruṣa-* (i.e., *udyoga-*, "effort").

[108] For the relevant text of the KC, see 2.2.1.1, and for that of SĀ, 2.3.1.2.

Remarkable is Pītāmbara's treatment of §1a. In SĀ's original, this segment consists of three descriptive elements: a quasi-technical remark on the meaning of *śivam upāyam* ("auspicious means"), which is taken up by a remark introducing the immediately following **word from the verse**, *vihitakrodhajayāḥ* ("[men who] achieved conquest of [their] anger"). Pītāmbara integrates the first two segments into a single complex *avataraṇikā* and, in doing so, abbreviates the text of SĀ (which arguably makes it less comprehensible). He takes the *iti* (after *vihitakrodhajayāḥ*) rather seriously and (re-)interprets Harikaṇṭha's element as a *pratīka*. Consequently, he supplies the same word in a different function, as a **word from the verse**, and furnishes it with a brief analysis. Consider the following:

SĀ: { { Knowledge of means to be auspicious [is as follows] }prati—punishment of the arrogant ones, conspiring with the indifferent ones, conciliation of the self-esteemed ones and bribery of the greedy ones}word; { and this becomes possible only when one has conquered [one's own] anger, { with this [idea in mind, the poet] says }tag }intro { the following (*iti*) }tag—**who have achieved conquest of [their] anger.**

KC: { Punishment, conspiring, conciliation and bribery of the arrogant, with the indifferent, of the self-esteemed and the greedy ones, [respectively]; and these become possible only when one has conquered [one's own] anger { with this [idea in mind, the poet] says }tag }intro { the following (*iti*) }tag—{*vihitakrodhajayā* ("who have achieved conquest of [their] anger"). }prati { Those by whom }vṛtti **the conquest of anger is achieved.**

SĀ's general explanatory element (§1b) that summarizes the meaning of the whole verse (*upāyena pauruṣam kurvanti*, "they make effort with [appropriate] means") is found in KC at exactly the same position. While the wording of the actual element remains identical, Pītāmbara substitutes SĀ's *ity arthaḥ* ("such is the meaning"), with *iti bhāvaḥ* ("such is the idea").

SĀ's technical remarks in §3 and §5 are expectedly relegated to the special section of KC. Unusual, on the other hand, is the omission of the {> alternative explanation <}[altrn] (§3 in SĀ).

2.3.1.6. Comparative Analysis of the Kirātacandrikā *and the* Sārāvalī *ad 8.14*[109]

The main explanatory part of SĀ is extremely succinct and provides just a couple of very short remarks. Harikaṇṭha briefly indicates the reason for the woman's silence, *krodhāt* ("out of anger"), and explicates the syntactic connection between the first and the second halves of the verse, *yataḥ* ("because of this"). Two words from the first half are glossed, and the word *uccaiḥ* (here, "loud") is indicated to modify *lambhitā* ("given", or, contextually, "called").

KC, in its turn, attends to its usual mixed scheme that integrates *all* **words from the verse** and makes use of a simple repetition of the word *māninī* to explicate the subject of the second finite verb (*lilekha*, "scratched") and the connected clause. The subsequent explanatory statement provides a poetic interpretation of this behaviour. Note also that Pītāmbara's interpretation of *uccaiḥ* ("high") differs from the one attended to by Harikaṇṭha (cf. n. 80).

SĀ's §2, one may observe, is taken almost verbatim into the text of KC. Of particular interest is the comparatively long poetological remark that draws upon two texts, Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (see nn. 83 and 84 above). In dealing with these, Pītāmbara retains the same pattern as found in his template: whereas Bhoja's prose is integrated into the text of the commentary without any hint at its being a quote, a half-verse from the *Kāvyādarśa* is provided with typical tags, which in Pītāmbara's text also indicate the actual source of the quotation.[110] Harikaṇṭha's final remark on the

[109] For the relevant text of the KC, see 2.2.1.2, for that of SĀ, 2.3.1.3.

[110] Note that in the three text excerpts discussed in the present article, we can talk of at least two indications of the fact that Pītāmbara has probably tried to check the quotations he adopted from his predecessor (in fact, the text of KC offers many other similar examples). Apart from the current identification of Daṇḍin's text,

appropriateness of Bhāravi's choice of words, *dayitena* ("lover"; masc., instr. sg.) and *māninī* ("upset lady"; fem., nom. sg.), to designate the male and the female protagonists of the current verse, is missing from the KC.

2.3.1.7. Pītāmbara's Reuse of Harikaṇṭha's Text: Analysis

In the current context, it appears useful to think of an individual structural element found within an actual text as bearing on three features:

A. function (the guiding principle behind the structure analysis),
B. the exact wording (that is obviously related to the actual meaning), and
C. the current position within the text (this can be described either in terms of preceding and following elements, or in terms of the absolute position within the text).

It seems possible, furthermore, to differentiate between two major varieties of borrowings:

i. borrowings of uniform individual elements, and
ii. borrowings of complex elements and element clusters.

The first type of borrowings includes, among other things, adoption of simple word-glosses. These are of no interest to our current purpose, and, what is more, are rarely made use of by Pītāmbara. The commentator draws primarily on various types of secondary explanatory elements found in the text of his predecessor. I would like, therefore, to consider these kinds of borrowing in some detail here.

At the beginning of my analysis, I would like to highlight that with regard to general structure, SĀ and KC resemble each other in two significant ways:

Pītāmbara's slight alteration of Harikaṇṭha's wording of a *gaṇasūtra-* (cf. nn. 62 and 101) to fit the reading of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* seem to point to this attitude.

(1) they both blend elements of *daṇḍa-* and *khaṇḍānvaya-*, and

(2) they both separate general explanations from further, more detailed remarks.

a. Borrowings of Uniform Individual Elements

Some of the most "stable" elements are the *avataraṇikā*-s found at the very beginning of a commentary and bearing a special function—that is, to connect the current stanza to the preceding one.

In the above examples (KĀ 1.7 and KĀ 2.35) we could see that in adopting this element from Harikaṇṭha, Pītāmbara preserves two of its properties: function and position (i.e., absolute position at the beginning of a commentary). It is only a slight change in wording that allows Pītāmbara to provide these passages with a bit of "personal touch".

In the case of KĀ 1.7, as noted above, Pītāmbara's change pursued simplification of Harikaṇṭha's vocabulary and a standardization of the usual form (i.e., of the expected tag) of the current element.

In 2.35, on the other hand, Pītāmbara's change seems not to have any additional purpose apart from "individualization" of the adopted element.

- Similar level of "stability" can be achieved by other elements as well.

Let us consider, for example, Harikaṇṭha's explanatory element found at the very end of §2 in SĀ 1.7:

{ {*etena+*}^{tag} *alpīyaso 'pi śatror bhetavyam* { *iti darśayati*}^{tag} }^{expl} |

One may observe, that here too, Pītāmabara keeps both, function and position of this element, intact. The position is defined by the precedence of a particular **word**, or, rather, a **clause from the root text** (*bhavataḥ* [...] *parābhavam* [...] *viśaṅkamānaḥ*). Note, that the final participle is glossed in both the commentaries (most probably, not independently) with *ūhamānaḥ*.

The minimal change of words (*alpīyasaḥ -> alpāt*) is difficult to explain. It could be either a result of individualization or, possibly, simplification of the text.

Another similar example is Harikaṇṭha's
{*upāyena pauruṣaṃ kurvanti+*{ *ity arthaḥ* }tag}expl (cf. SĀ 2.35 §1b).
In the current case too, Pītāmbara preserved function and position of this element when appropriating it into his own text. Although the current element is directly preceded by ***vihitakrodhajāyāḥ*** in SĀ and its analytical equivalent in KC, its relative position within both the texts should be better described in different terms as occurring at the end of the general explanatory section.

The change in the wording introduced by Pītāmbara is further curious, as it pertains to the choice of a tag (see above). In KC, Pītāmbara uses *ity arthaḥ* (a tag applied here by Harikaṇṭha) far more often than *iti bhāvaḥ*, which he favours in the current case. As far as I can see, however, both terms are employed in the KC in a wide range of different contexts and do not seem to differ from each other in the meaning (unlike suggested, e.g., in Tubb and Boose [2007: 23f.]). In this way, it seems likely that Pītāmbara, yet again, modified the wording of the source text just for the sake of modification alone.

A somewhat different approach is attended in dealing with various technical explanatory elements. These elements are usually relatively stable with regard to their function and wording but may be moved around in accordance with commentator's special needs.

To highlight a few examples, one may have a look at SĀ 1.7 §4, a quote from the AKo. Pītāmbara integrates this element into the second technical section of his KC and, in accordance with its strict order, moves it to an appropriate position there (note also *amaraḥ -> amare*). Similar treatment is given to the quote from the *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* (SĀ 2.35 §4 -> KC 2.35, end of §2) and the one from the AKo (SĀ 8.14 §2 ->

KC 8.14, §2).[111] Notwithstanding the length of the poetological element at the end of SĀ 8.14, its inner uniformity provides for a smooth transfer to KC 8.14. Structural similarity between both the commentaries makes it possible, furthermore, that the element is assigned to the identical position in both the texts.

A specialized grammatical element (SĀ 2.35 §2) was integrated into the technical section of KC 2.35. On the way from one text to another, the wording of the element underwent several modifications (mainly rearrangement of individual words, but also alteration of phraseology)[112] so as to match the formulaic style of these elements in KC's text.

Example of yet another pattern is provided by SĀ 1.7 §3 -> KC 1.7 §5. Here, Harikaṇṭha's { secondary explanation }^{expl} provides on the basis of a particular use of words (in this case, a certain hidden idea that may be in the mind of the speaker and that can be inferred appellation Suyodhana used in place of more common Duryodhana). In SĀ, this remark is found after the commentary on the general meaning of the verse and before the short technical part. Pītāmbara, in his turn, conceived of the expressed meaning more pragmatically as a { quasi-technical explanation }^{word} of the word Suyodhana. In Pītāmbara's scheme, this element can either be placed next to the corresponding **word from the verse**, or, in fact, relocated to the technical section. Considering the length and the original position of the current element, Pītāmbara decided for the second alternative (see above on its position within the text of KC).

[111] It may be noted that the absolute position of these two quotes is identical in both texts. I believe, however, that this should be considered a coincidence caused by the fact that the inner logic of KC's technical section happened to direct them there.

[112] Cf. n. 110.

b. Borrowings of complex elements and element clusters

Borrowings involving complex elements or their clusters usually involve complex adaptations. I have provided detailed descriptions of several individual cases in the above sections and will merely offer several additional remarks here.

- Curious are the transformations discussed in 2.3.1.4 in connection with Pītāmbara's element ***nayena***. They provide, in fact, a good example of a kind of a "chain reaction" that may occur in result of often simple changes introduced to individual members of an element cluster. The succession of events may be hypothetically envisioned as follows: (1) Pītāmbara sought to avoid Harikaṇṭha's repetition of *nayena*; (2) the **repetitive element**, along with its quasi-technical gloss, was deleted from the main syntactic clause, (3) the gloss was moved to its new referent (Harikaṇṭha's second *nayena*), which, on its part, (4) changed its function from being a part of a complex *pratīka* to a **word from the verse**, (5) in this process, other parts of the same *pratīka* were deleted; (6) Harikaṇṭha's initial secondary explanation now referred to a word that followed it, so that it changed its function to a complex *avaraṇikā;* (7) Pītāmbara stood in need to disambiguate the place and the function of ***nayena*** within the main syntactic structure, for which reason he introduced a brief syntactic remark.

- Other examples involve Pītāmbara's transformation of SĀ 2.35 §1a into KC 2.35 §1a, that seems to have been introduced mainly to individualize Pītāmbara's composition.

- Pītāmbara's appropriation of SĀ 1.7 §5 into KC 1.7 §3 is further curious. To begin with, one may observe that the current element, an {> alternative explanation <}altrn, is extremely stable with regard to its overall structural value and does not require any adjustment of surrounding elements when moved to a new text. With regard to its position, furthermore, I would like to observe that this element is often clustered somewhere towards the end of a commentarial unit. In the present case, it is, in fact, found at the very end of Harikaṇṭha's original text, and is relegated to the end of the first section in Pītāmbara's adaptation. A more substantial modification has been introduced to the inner structure and, therefore, the actual wording of the element. Here, Pītāmbara standardizes and, in doing so, structurally simplifies Harikaṇṭha's

text by stripping it of additional elements. At the same time, however, it provides the element with an additional secondary explanation.

2.3.2. Additional evidence of *Subodhaṭīkā* at KĀ 1.7

In order to put some of the patterns described in the previous section in a broader context, I would like to have a brief look at another related commentary on the KĀ that, however, follows a distinctly different structural arrangement.

The *Subodhaṭīkā* (SṬ) by Ḍal(l)aṇa was composed before 1610 CE, most probably in Nepal.[113] The exact relation of SṬ to SĀ and KC is not entirely clear. It appears most likely, however, that Ḍal(l)aṇa had access to both the texts.

2.3.2.1. Sanskrit Text and Translation of the Subodhaṭīkā (*SṬ*) *at KĀ 1.7*

ST at KĀ 1.7[114]

(§1) { *tad eva dviṣāṃ nayavartmacaritaṃ darśayitum* { *āha* }tag }intro—{ *viśaṅkamāna iti* }prati |

(§2)***suyodhano*** *duryodhano* ***jagatīṃ*** *pṛthvīṃ* ***nayena*** { *sāmadānarakṣaṇādinā* }word ***jetuṃ samīhata*** *icchati sma* |

{ *kiṃbhūtām* }qstn |

durodaracchadmajitāṃ *dyutakapaṭajitām* |

{ "*durodaro dyūtakāre paṇe dyūte durodaram*" { *ity amaraḥ* }tag }kośa |

{ *yā kila kapaṭena jitā bhavati, sā sthirā na bhavati, ato* { *nayena jetuṃ samīhata iti* }prati }expl |

{ *sa kiṃbhūtaḥ* }qstn |

bhavataḥ *tvattaḥ* ***parābhavaṃ viśaṅkamāna*** *ūhamānaḥ* |

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[113] For the study of the SṬ I rely on eight partly incomplete MSS preserved at the National Archives in Kathmandu: NAK 1/1049 (**N_G**), NAK 1/417 (**N_C**), NAK 1/1442 (**N_B**), NAK 1/1477 (**N_F**), NAK 1/1454 (**N_H**), NAK 3/298 (**N_D**), NAK 5/3515 (**N_A**), NAK 5/3659 (**N_E**)ṣ. The hypothetical *terminus ante quem* (1610 CE) is provided by the date of a separate though probably related codicological unit in NAK 5/3659 (see Klebanov [2016: 112]).

[114] **N_A**: 3v5, **N_B**: 4r2, **N_C**: 4r4, **N_D**: 3v1, **N_E**: 5r1.

{ *duryodhane duḥśabdoccāraṇaṃ yudhiṣṭhirasya duḥkhāvaham iti suśabdaṃ prakṣipanti* }[expl] |
{ *sa kiṃbhūtaḥ* }[qstn] |
nṛpāsanastho 'pi *siṃhāsanastho 'pi* |
{ *bhavataḥ kiṃbhūtāt* }[qstn] |
vanādhivāsino *vanāvasthitāt* |
{ { *etena+* }[tag] *alpīyaso 'pi śatror bhetavyam* { *iti darśayati* }[tag] }[expl] |
{>
(§3) { *yad vā* }[tag] { *he ṇrpa!* }[sntx] ***durodaracchadmajita!***
aṃ *viṣṇum* ***īṃ*** *lakṣmīṃ* ***jetum samīhate***, ***bhavataḥ*** *maheśvarāt* ***parābhavaṃ viśaṅkamānaḥ*** |
{ *bhavataḥ kiṃbhūtāt* }[qstn]
vanādhivāsinaḥ *śmaśānādhivāsina* { *iti* }[tag]
<}[altrn]||

Tentative translation of SṬ at KĀ 1.7

(§1) { In order to demonstrate these very activities of statecraft of the foes{ [he, i.e., Yudhiṣṭhira's spy] says [the following] }[tag] }[intro]—{ *viśaṅkamānaḥ.* }[prati]
(§2) **Suyodhana**—that is, Duryodhana—**tries**—that is, wanted—to win **the world**—that is, the earth—**through policy** { that is, through conciliation, making of gifts, protection etc. }[word]
{ How is it (i.e., the world)? }[qstn]
Won by the dice game ruse—that is, won by gambling fraud.
{ "*durodara-* (masc.) means gambler, *durodara-* (neut.) means stake and gambling" { thus *Amara.* }[tag] }[kośa]
{ The [world] won over by the gambling ruse, it is said, is not stable, therefore { [it is said that] he tries to win through policy. }[prati] }[expl]
{ How is he? }[qstn]
Apprehending—that is, conjecturing—**defeat from Your Honour**—that is, from you.

{ Since pronouncing the word 'difficult' (*dus*) in [the name] Duryodhana (lit.: one who is difficult to fight) causes distress to Yudhiṣṭhira, his subjects insert the word 'easy' (*su*) in its place [and call him Suyodhana, 'one who is easy to fight' or 'one who fights with ease']. }[expl]
{ How is he? }[qstn]
Although [he] occupies the seat of kings—that is, although he occupies the lion's seat (i.e., throne).
{ From what kind of Your Honour? }[qstn]
From a forest-dweller—that is, from [someone who] resides in the forest.
{ {By this [the poet] demonstrates that }[tag] one should be afraid even of a smaller enemy. }[expl]
{>
(§3) { Or, alternatively, }[tag]{ Oh, King! }[sntx]**Conquered by the Dice Game Ruse! tries to win**—that is, wishes to obtain—**Ī**—that is, Lakṣmī (acc. sg.)—[from] **A**—that is, Viṣṇu (acc. sg.), **apprehending defeat from Bhava**—that is, from Maheśvara.
{ From what kind of Maheśvara? }[qstn]
A forest-dweller—that is, a cemetery-dweller, {—thus [is the alternative]. }[tag]
<}[altrn]

2.3.2.2. General Observations

Unlike SĀ and KC, SṬ adheres to a paradigmatic *daṇḍānvaya-* that consistently (and almost exclusively) utilizes simple questions in order to indicate the syntactic connection between individual words and phrases. **Words from the verse** are provided with their simple glosses, which at times are followed by their technical analyses and secondary explanations. At the end of the commentary one occasionally finds {> alternative explanation <}[altrn] and poetological remarks.

Notwithstanding these apparent differences, it must be noted that the majority of the above observations about the borrowing patterns of individual elements holds good in the present case as well. Let me briefly reconsider the above statements.

2.3.2.2.1. Borrowings of Uniform Individual Elements

Introductory *avataraṇikā*-s at the beginning of a commentary remain, in fact, extremely stable with regard to their function and the absolute position. With respect to their wording, on the other hand, Ḍal(l)aṇa's commentary exhibits clear signs of simplifications.

With reference to the explanatory elements too, the situation is comparable to the above:

{ {*etena+*}^{tag}*alpīyaso 'pi śatror bhetavyam* { *iti darśayati*}^{tag} }^{expl} |

Ḍal(l)aṇa must have considered this element to provide a succinct summary of the whole verse. In accordance with this interpretation, it is found at the end of the main explanatory section removed from ***viśaṅkamānaḥ***, the element which precedes it in Harikaṇṭha's original. Wording and function of the element remain exactly the same as in the SĀ.

{ *duryodhane ... prakṣipanti*}^{expl} |

When considered on its own, the position of this element within the text of the SṬ does not seem to make much sense. Although it is placed between glosses of two attributes of Suyodhana, it does not seem to be semantically connected to any of them. The current position makes much more sense, however, when we assume that Ḍal(l)aṇa was, perhaps, trying to retain what he reckoned to be its "original" placement. Ḍal(l)aṇa must have misinterpreted the arrangement of the SĀ and linked the present element to ***viśaṅkamānaḥ***.

Elements of technical analysis, such as the above quote from the AKo, exhibit similar stability with regard to their wording and function. As we saw above, their position largely depends on the individual arrangement of the concerned commentaries.

2.3.2.2.2. Borrowings of complex elements and element clusters

- *...nayena...*

Unlike the KC, the SṬ appropriates the element cluster without introducing any structural changes. Its relative position too, closely corresponds to the one found in the SĀ (i.e., after the primary analysis of all the words belonging to the main sentence). The wording of individual elements is altered with the view on simplification.

- {> alternative explanation <}altrn

The SṬ retains the position and, expectedly, the overall functional value of the element. With regard to its inner structure, it introduces several insignificant changes pertaining to the order of individual words, but, more notably, also provides the element with its characteristic introductory tag.

2.3.3. Summarizing Remarks

In terms of a summarizing conclusion, I would like to highlight that the above examples have demonstrated that the application of structure analysis allows for a great flexibility with regard to its direct object. In this way it is possible, for example, to utilize the structure analysis to arrive at a detailed description of the common patterns and techniques utilized by a single author X in reusing the text of a single author Y for the composition of a commentary on verse Z. However, the structure analysis equally allows to generalize the behaviour of X and Y and, even further, to propose certain general tendencies that may be (tentatively) valid for all authors during a certain period of time, hailing from a certain area, belonging to a certain school, borrowing from a certain template, etc. depending on the sources utilized for the comparative study.

As far as generalizations about the phenomenon of textual reuse in the commentaries on *mahākāvya-* are concerned, I would like to add further that these can be looked at from several points of view:

Firstly (and this was the logic attended in the above illustrations), one can look at the phenomenon from the viewpoint of individual structural elements. In this case, one can try to examine how likely (or not) it is that a certain element would be borrowed into another text, and if it was borrowed, what transformations it would most likely undergo.[115] From the view of the issue of textual criticism of commentaries on *mahākāvya-* (an issue of my personal interest), the above observations could be applied to the understanding of the phenomenon of expansion of these texts in general, regardless of the actual source of the extraneous secondary elements.

Secondly, when trying to distinguish between various kinds of changes introduced to the borrowed texts, one may try to distinguish between different possible motivations that could have caused these alterations. In the discussion above, I have tried to highlight that, in my understanding, many a time an author may introduce a certain change just in order to change the borrowed text (in order to avoid direct plagiarism? to add a bit of "personal touch"?). While the exact thinking behind this motivation is not clear to me at the moment, I believe that a specialized study of such examples may provide some interesting perspectives on, for example, the long-standing debate concerning the idea and the value of "authorship" in India. Among other important causes for alterations of borrowed texts, one could distinguish those connected to a general wish to improve the readability of the template (simplification, standardisation, addition of "missing information," etc. are among the most common techniques employed for this purpose) and those connected to a commentator's need to accommodate the borrowed textual excerpts within various structural and stylistic constrains provided by her own work (rearrangement, addition of tags, but also truncations and simplification are among the common methods used to achieve these ends).

[115] This train of thought becomes particularly interesting when inverted: how likely is it that a certain element X is a borrowing, and if it was one, what could be its original form.

Finally, and this seems to be the most obvious logic, one could try to look at the phenomenon of textual reuse from the point of the actual types of modifications introduced to borrowed elements. Here, one could distinguish between something like simple borrowing (where no change is introduced), or some of the more common types as simplification of vocabulary, rearrangement of elements and words within individual elements, addition of tags explicating the structural function, etc.

I would like to point out briefly that a thorough understanding of the phenomenon of textual reuse may provide important aid for the understanding of peculiar scribal habits exhibited within the manuscript transmission of individual commentaries.

Conclusion

In this article I have tried to provide a general introduction to the method of structure analysis of Sanskrit commentaries on *mahākāvya*- and to illustrate some of its basic workings. In this way, this article does not contain any proper study and does not arrive at any conclusion. On the contrary, I should say, it invites the reader (and myself) to engage the introduced methodology in the study of commentarial literature and to arrive at her own conclusions and results.

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