Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas

Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts

Edited by

Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin

INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 10

Hamburg • 2020

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

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Preface

Paratexts are a ubiquitous feature in any manuscript culture, and in premodern South-India they are one of the primary means, in fact often the only one, for attempting to trace transmission history. The word "paratext" may be understood, in this context, as a textual element that mediates and mirrors the relationship between a textual artefact in a manuscript and its environment, that is, the people who conceived, produced, and used it. Paratexts capture the threefold tie a manuscript has with time: firstly, with the time anterior to its production, when the text it carries was composed, secondly, the period when the individual manuscript was copied, and, thirdly, its more or less long history of storage and use. The word can be used as a cover term for a huge number of subcategories that partly overlap with literary sub-genres, which can be arranged by function or by position within the layout of a manuscript.

For this volume we have adopted the latter scheme which seems particularly suited to the format of a palm-leaf manuscript where additions most easily can be made at the beginning and at the end. We hope to thus contribute to the ongoing discussion on colophons, where evidence has already been brought forward to show that it does not make sense, not even in terms of language, to talk about Tamil colophons, Sanskrit colophons and so on, but that we are dealing with a category that should be more properly identified as South Indian colophons.[1] With this volume, we want to initiate a broader discussion about prefatory materials in general, and about prefaces in particular, called *pāyiram* and *patikam* in the

[1] A separate volume on Indic colophons is under way – based on a workshop that took place at the CSMC in October 2018–, in the hands of Nalini Balbir, Giovanni Ciotti and Martin Delhey.

Tamil case, the former more often associated with theoretical texts, the latter with literary ones. Prefaces hover on the thin edge between a paratext and a literary genre, as can be seen for instance from the fact that there are cases where commentaries include the preface in their discussion of the text. Prefaces have also received their share in the commentarial reflections on the elements of a treatise.

An even smaller, but important unit are the satellite stanzas, free-floating verses that can appear integrated into the prefatory material or the colophon, but that can also range even more freely by simply preceding the beginning or following the end of a text in a manuscript. As has been shown by Wilden 2017a+b, they are of crucial importance for our understanding of the text tradition in terms of corpus organisation, text structuring, and authorship. However, there is a much broader range of texts for which such stanzas have been transmitted. We are comparing the free-wheeling, anonymous type with traditions where a very similar type of verse has been codified and made part of the text transmission itself. One indication of such a process is whether a stanza has a named author or not.

Such observations lead to more general questions as to how people create, structure, and transmit larger text corpora and how they perceive what they are doing. Cases in point can be found almost anywhere, from the literary traditions to the grammatical traditions running in parallel to it (as is expressed in the Tamil pair *illakkiyam* and *ilakkaṇam: "*what is to be described" and "what describes", i.e., poetry and grammar in the wider sense), the Tamil Kaumāra, Śrīvaiṣṇava and Śaiva devotional traditions and their hagiographical and theological extensions. Several glimpses allow us to observe that the phenomenon is by no means restricted to South India, but very much present in the North too. The present volume essentially

goes back to the 8th NETamil workshop entitled "Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas" that took place from 20 to 22 April 2017 at the CSMC in Hamburg, generously funded by the European Research Council within the framework of NETamil: *Going from Hand to Hand – Networks of Intellectual Excahnge in the Tamil Learned Traditions* (ERC Advanced Grant no. 339470). The publication was kindly supported by our follow-up project TST ("Texts Surrounding Texts – Satellite Stanzas, Prefaces and Colophons in South-Indian Manuscripts (collections of the Paris BnF and Hamburg Stabi)"), grace to the support of the ANR-DFG, in which an extended team of scholars tries to answer some of the questions raised here. Even if currently we cannot yet answer them in their full range we may be able to demonstrate that these questions are worth asking.

Eva Wilden, Hamburg,

September 2020

Introduction

If we look at the way South-Indian literary history was conceived and presented in the mid-nineteenth century, we find several strands that appear to exist in isolation from each other, although they intersect at certain points and no doubt exercise mutual influences. The famous English prototype is Casie Chitty's *Tamil Plutarch*, first published in 1859 and carrying its model in its very title. It consists in a series of brief sketches on the lives of Tamil poets in what is supposed to be a chronological order, supplemented by quotations from the works attributed to them. A slightly earlier indigenous Tamil model is the anonymous *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai*, edited only in 1949 by Turaicāmip Piḷḷai, probably far less widely known, as one may conclude from the fact that only two manuscripts seem to survive, one of them incomplete. Here too we find the enumeration of poets with their verses, but most of the accompanying biographical data has been added by the 20th-century editor. The genre continues and becomes far more detailed and elaborate with texts like the *Pulavarp Purāṇam* by the 19th-century poet-scholar Taṇṭapāṇi Cuvāmikaḷ, first edited by V. Krishnanama Chariar in 1901, where the lives of the poets are now depicted in Tamil verse.

What connects these works and others like them is their belief in the eternity of the Tamil tradition: all the accounts available are based, in one way or another, on the Caṅkam legend, and the model of how poets interact and interrelate is the story of the forty-nine poets of the academy.[1] This is why they share a surprising disregard for the actual sources that

[1] The basics of that development have been unraveled in Wilden 2014: 274-285. As for time calculation, recall that the three academies together lasted for 9990 years. If that is not eternity, it certainly is time out of mind.

might make a reconstruction of Tamil literary history possible. Now, this is admittedly a Western undertaking, but one that was shared by Tamil scholars through the colonial era and beyond, as is documented by huge numbers of works on literary history, ranging from one-volume historiographies to ongoing encyclopaedias – a good representative being Mu. Aruṇācalam's monumental 14-volume *Tamiḻ Ilakkiya Varalāṟu*, first printed in 1971.

One pervasive problem of those writings on Tamil literary history – or history, for that matter – lies in the way sources are intermingled in order to produce a narrative, often beyond recognition. It does not seem out of place to recall those sources:

1. references and quotations in other literary or theoretical works and commentaries
2. inscriptions
3. *Talapurāṇam*-s that are based on the narration of local events as well as a number of other types of literary text with a local focus
4. the paratexts that come with the individual texts
5. oral tradition

References and quotations usually come without dates and are difficult to use because of the fluidity of titles and author names (if quotations are identified at all). Epigraphical evidence may be datable, but it is comparatively rare and it shares the problem of having to disentangle the names and epithets of various persons. The *purāṇam*-s are guided by the principles of storytelling and based on a more or less skillful amalgamation of pan-regional myth, regional legends, and local events. Paratexts have usually been understood either as part of the textual tradition and taken up in the print version, thus fixing a fluctuating semi-oral tradition by choosing particular manuscripts and reproducing often only parts of

what is available, or they have been ignored as spurious. Either way, the full evidence has never been brought together because everybody has been using editions since they became available. The oral tradition, evoked whenever people feel in a tight spot with respect to disputable facts, is adaptable to circumstances and clearly takes up influences from all the previously mentioned four sources.

The end result of the intermingling of all the five types of sources can be seen in the early handbooks, such as Singaravelu Mudaliar's *Apitāṉa Cintāmaṇi* of 1910, where all the information available is transformed into a smooth narrative ordered into alphabetical entries. If one filters the information given, for example with the help of Govindasamy's *Survey of Sources for the History of Tamil Literature* from 1977, one usually remains with sizeable portions that cannot be traced back to any other source, and it is these portions which are then termed "oral tradition". The same redaction procedures can still be observed in more recent handbooks, be it in Tamil, like Aruṇācalam 1971, or in English, with Zvelebil's *Lexicon of Tamil Literature* of 1995. Zvelebil does not comment, but he gives an implicit explanation in his *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature* (1992) by adding, on pages 262-269, genealogical tables of scholars in what he terms "Scholarly Lineages of the 19th and 20th Centuries" – what would have been called a *paramparā* chart by tradition –, ending with "the present author", i.e., himself. All the while he still does not specify which part of the information he reproduces in English is received from his "oral tradition".

What is called for now is, first of all, not an attempt at rewriting what has already been written, but rather at understanding the way information about texts and authors was transmitted in those long periods when people could

either talk or produce palm-leaf manuscripts of comparatively short life-expectancy. Huge numbers of remaining witnesses provide ample testimony for the ways in which tradition functioned. The strong oral component is obvious, first of all, from the fact that the classical manuscript notation is underdetermined. In order to make sense of what is written down, a reader has to set the *puḷḷi*-s (the dots above the letter that cancel the inherent *a*-vowel), decide about the vowel length for *e* and *o*, and distinguish the two functions of the *kāl* in order to decide between long *ā* and intervocalic *ra*. Moreover, he has to split the *scriptio continua* into metrical feet and those metrical feet into words, not to mention the business of making sense of them. In short, training for many years was necessary both for reading and writing, and that training had to be provided by an ongoing tradition.

So far so good. But even an ongoing tradition needed mnemonic aids – in case, for example, disaster struck in the form of insects, high water, or war – both to make sure losses were kept at a minimum, and, as anywhere, simply to instruct the younger generation. In addition, it also needed at least minimal ordering tools for keeping track of a single object (text or manuscript) within a larger collection. Both mnemonic aids and ordering tools can be traced in manuscripts, the former in the form of satellite stanzas[2], the latter by marginal titles and inter-titles. Neither of these two elements is obligatory and often they do not really match each other. One place where the two sets of information meet and may be harmonised is the colophon. However, the majority of colophons have been lost (if ever they existed), free-floating stanzas may occur elsewhere (often in the beginning on unnumbered folios), and inter-titles may or may not coincide with end titles.

[2] This term has been coined and elaborated by Wilden 2017a+b.

One thing, however, is certain. As soon as the print tradition starts, there appears the overwhelming wish to have matters settled one way or another: the multiplicity of voices is reduced to a standard form, usually unquestioned because scholars in general stopped perusing manuscripts once editions were available. The call of the day is to restore the multiplicity and learn to live with the fact that information (if available) is contradictory.[3] Sceptics may claim that the manuscript tradition as such bears testimony only for, roughly, the last three-hundred years. But we can be fairly certain that satellite stanzas have existed for a long period, firstly, because they are structurally needed, secondly, based on linguistic and metrical grounds, and, thirdly, because some of them have been quoted in the commentarial literature.

Recovering the material evidence is, however, not sufficient. Satellite stanzas are also literary products and as such they intersect with many of the smaller subgenres that hover on the edge between text and paratext, the invocation stanzas (*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, "praise of god" and *kāppu*, "protection") and other prefatory sections falling under the main heading of *patikam/pāyiram* ("preface"), such as the *avaiyaṭakkam* ("appeasing of the assembly"), or the signature verse. They are emulated by some later traditions, distinguishable by the fact that now the free-floating anonymous verse has a named author, as in the Vaiṣṇava *taṉiyaṉ* ("solitary stanza") tradition. They can be concatenated into larger units of several stanzas and even whole texts that still share with the model the concern about safeguarding a tradition and a way of seeing things.

Thus the purpose of this volume is, on the one hand, to advance on the manuscript front and bring forward further

[3] This is being done, for the Tamil tradition, on a larger scale by the ANR-DFG project TST (https://tst.hypotheses.org/the-tst-project).

materials that have been neglected for a long time. On the other hand, it aims at exploring the range of interrelated literary subgenres in the Tamil tradition. From what can be seen in other Indian manuscript traditions, especially the great northern, Sanskritic one, none of these phenomena are restricted to the South-Indian area. But for once it seems that research is ahead on the southern front. While the majority of contributors come from a Tamil background, three articles add glimpses on similar material in Sanskrit manuscripts.

The volume comprises thirteen articles (all but two from participants of the Hamburg workshop mentioned in the preface), spanning not only *ilakkiyam* and *ilakkaṇam*, the literary and the grammatical traditions, but also the devotional (Kaumāra and Vaiṣṇava), hagiographical (Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva), and theological traditions (again Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva), complemented by one foray into the (evidently later) Christian tradition.

For the literary traditions, Jonas Buchholz ("Construing a Corpus: the Mnemonic Stanza on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* Works") shows how the anonymous stanza on the eighteen works that make up the second classical Tamil corpus, the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* ("The Eighteen of the Lower Order"), was one of the constitutive elements that informed the scholars of the Tamil renaissance about the number of texts that were to be included in that corpus, about the single texts that made part of the list, and about their sequence. He also shows how the various pre-print versions of that stanza were brought into a single form that became the accepted one by the efforts of one of the early editors, Ci. Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai.

Still in the sphere of influence of the same corpus, K. Nachimuthu ("*Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*: Prolegomena to *Tirukkuṟaḷ*?") takes up the various manuscript versions of one of the little programmatic texts meant to forge a tradition,

namely the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* ("Garland for Tiruvaḷḷuvar"), a collection of around 50 stanzas purportedly going back to the forty-nine scholar-poets of the academy, composed in order to acknowledge the acceptance of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* ("Holy Dwarf [Veṇpā] Stanzas") into their fold. This is a text that overtly claims to be a collection of paratexts and no doubt one of the models for later texts such as the *Tamiḻ nāvalar Caritai*.

Sascha Ebeling ("Appeasing the Assembly – The History, Poetics and Social Logic of the *avaiyaṭakkam* Stanza in Tamil literature") takes up another type of stanza, one that has become a standard part of any preface in the Tamil poetic tradition, namely the *avaiyaṭakkam*, a self-denigrating verse where the poet voices a poetically skillful excuse for putting his own mean efforts in front of the assembly of experts. This is a typical example of a verse belonging to two categories, that is, it is a paratext with respect to the main text – and as such it may teach us something about the kind of interaction a poet had with his audience –, but it is also part of a poetic subgenre that has become a must for many types of composition and follows a clear set of conventions.

The first contribution from Northern India and the Sanskrit tradition comes from Bidur Bhattarai ("Praising the Work and Colophonic Features in Manuscripts Containing Sanskrit Texts") and brings together a number of examples from Nepalese manuscripts that show the diversity of additional material found in colophons, ranging from verses that enumerate the benefits to be derived from engaging with a text (*phalaśruti*) to various, often multi-lingual (Sanskrit-Newari) colophon elements to scribal caveats and other types of additional stanzas.

The grammatical tradition would appear particularly rich in satellite texts, and the contribution of Victor D'Avella ("Orbiting Material in Tamil Grammatical Texts") goes beyond

the ones we usually find printed and reprinted in our editions of the *Tolkāppiyam*, etc., and makes a first foray into the manuscripts that have been brought together in recent years, focusing in particular on the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). The majority of those stanzas is not of the mnemonic variety that preserves information about the text, its content and its status, but of the type of auspicious invocation that is concerned with the successful undertaking and the protection of the work.

The devotional traditions are represented here by the followers of the god Murukaṉ and those of Viṣṇu, both from the South and from the North. Emmanuel Francis ("Supplementing Poetry and Devotion: The Additional Stanzas to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*") explores the vestiges of the one classical Tamil text that forms part of two canons, the literary *Caṅkam* corpus and the Śaivite *Tirumuṟai* ("Holy Compositions"), *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* ("Bringing on the way to Murukaṉ"). This hymn also is endowed with by far the highest number of satellite stanzas found so far for any text (including the immensely popular *Kuṟaḷ*), namely thirty-nine, partly autonomous and partly quoted from elsewhere, only twelve of which have found entry into the print tradition. Francis follows up the various functions ranging from mnemonic (author, text structure) to "ritual and pragmatic" to individual expressions of devotion.

The contribution of Eva Wilden ("Colophon Stanza – *Taṉiyaṉ* – Signature Verse") deals with the evolution, structure, and function of a type of verse ubiquitous in Indian *bhakti* poetry for which there is no precise general name in Tamil, but which might be termed, in English, a signature verse, that is, a verse occurring at the end of a work, or, in Tamil *bhakti,* often at the end of a decade (one hymn of about ten verses) which names the author of the text. Here the

wealth of material allows a reconstruction of the development from a satellite verse, i.e., author stanzas as found preserved in colophons, to *taṉiyaṉ*-s (a "solitary" literary stanza contributed by the devotional community), to a literary subgenre that is as conventional as the *avaiyaṭakkam* of the literary tradition.

Judith Unterdörfler ("Paratexts in the *Govinda-vilāsamahākāvya*") takes us to Rajasthan and Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava bhakti of the 16th century, with the *Govindavilāsamahākāvya,* where not only she also finds signature verses that allow conclusions on the author and his intentions. She also introduces to us a type of satellite stanza that is located in an unusual place, namely neither are the beginning of the text nor at the end as we would expect, but between the chapters of poetry and their corresponding signature verses. They appear to be additional stanzas in the praise of the deity, of unknown authorship and provenance, and, as satellite material goes, not ubiquitously present in the manuscript tradition.

Rich is also the material found in the hagiographical traditions both of the Vaiṣṇava and the Śaiva persuasion. Suganya Anandakichenin ("The *Taṉiyaṉ:* Its Role, Evolution and Importance in the Śrīvaiṣṇava Tradition") lifts for us the lid of Pandora's box by making a first collection of the solitary stanzas (*taṉiyaṉ*), as yet uncounted, both in Tamil and in Sanskrit, that belong to the Śrīvaiṣṇava canonical corpus, the *Nālāyirat Tivyappirapantam* ("Four-thousand Divine Compositions"). Clearly emulating the mnemonic author stanza of the semi-oral tradition, the *taṉiyaṉ* names the author of a *bhakti* text (and often also its title), though no longer for the purpose of keeping the information intact but as a kind of personal homage to a poet-saint.

Shubha Shanthamurthy's contribution ("Evolution of the Tamil Śaiva Hagiographical Tradition from Marginalia to Mainstage") shows how a very similar situation – a fixed set of

devotees who, in the Śaiva case, are only partly also composers of the canonical hymns, but who become saints and models of devotion for later adherents – can be dealt with using a different set of strategies that result in different literary conventions. The Śaiva tradition does not deal in *taṉiyaṉ*-s, although there are signature verses (called *tirukkaṭaikkāppu*, "Holy Protection of the End"), but develops a set of sixty-three saints (*nāyaṉmār*). It is, according to traditional views, first codified in a hymn of the later *bhakti* corpus itself, then elaborated into a text made of single stanzas that are not unlike both author stanzas and *taṉiyaṉ-s*, and finally culminated in the narrative tradition of the fully-fledged hagiographies.

A similar type of text is found in the theological tradition of the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect. Erin McCann ("A Note on the *Rāmānuja Nūṟṟantāti"*) focusses on the representation of their bhakti corpus in the *Irāmānucanūṟṟantāti,* ("Hundred Antāti Verses on Rāmānuja"). This is a lengthy poem in praise of the most important figure in Vaiṣṇava theology, the 11th-century Sanskrit author Rāmānuja, mentioning him in every verse, like a *taṉiyaṉ,* but strung together like the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*, though attributed to a single author. Apart from the overt adulation of a religious teacher (and others in the same lineage) it also engages with the Tamil canon and the earlier poet-saints.

A completely different angle is brought in by R. Sathyanarayanan and Dominic Goodall ("Text and Paratext in South Indian Śaiva Manuscripts"). Their article demonstrates the difficulties involved in unravelling paratextual material pertaining to authorship which may have been added by the author himself, by a commentator, a scribe, or simply at a later point in the transmission history of the text or manuscript. Their starting point is the South Indian Śaiva

tradition in Sanskrit, but they note multilingual elements that point to a South Indian copying tradition irrespective of the language of the root text (Sanskrit, Tamil, or Maṇipravāḷam).

The final paper, also in a chronological perspective, is Cristina Muru's "Socio-pragmatics on the Page. Discursive Strategies and Packaging of Christian Books (16th-19th century) in Tamil". It deals with the way elements important for the transmission of texts were implemented in the manuscript tradition of Christian missionaries, conceived of as both tools for vernacular language acquisition and for the spreading of Christian religion in South India.

Construing a Corpus: The Mnemonic Stanza on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* Works

Jonas Buchholz (SAI Heidelberg)

Abstract

This article discusses the mnemonic stanza that lists the constituent works of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus as an example of how traditional knowledge has shaped notions about Tamil literary history. This stanza has been considered authoritative for the constitution of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus by modern scholars, but as it will be shown, the manuscripts of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus betray that the mnemonic stanza was instrumental for organizing this corpus already at the time of its manuscript transmission. At the same time, the stanza's interpretation has been contested, leading to a debate on whether a text called *Kainnilai* or *Iṉṉilai* should be included in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. This article reviews this debate and provides further evidence in favour of the *Kainnilai* that exists in the form of the manuscript of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. Finally, the article attempts a close reading of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza on the basis of the manuscript evidence and discusses a number of possible interpretations.

Introduction

Much of our knowledge about Tamil (and other Indian) literary history is based on a nebulous entity called "tradition". Although there hardly has been any attempt to define what constitutes this tradition, at least one source of traditional knowledge can be named. I am talking about anonymous stanzas containing information about literary works, which seem to have circulated largely in oral transmission during

pre-modern times. Their purpose apparently was to present information that was meant to be learnt in a versified and therefore easily memorable form. As such, this type of stanzas has been aptly termed "mnemonic stanzas" by Eva Wilden.[1]

An example for mnemonic stanzas containing information about Tamil literature is a set of three stanzas listing the constituent works of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, and *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* corpora, respectively. The *Pattuppāṭṭu* ("ten songs") and *Eṭṭuttokai* ("eight anthologies") collectively constitute what has come to be known as Caṅkam literature, a corpus of eighteen poetic works, which, for the most part, belong to the two genres of *Akam* or love poetry and *Puṟam* or heroic poetry.[2] They represent the oldest stratum of Tamil literature. The term *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* ("eighteen shorter works"), or *Kīḻkkaṇakku* ("shorter works") for short, refers to another corpus of eighteen texts, dating from the period immediately following that of the Caṅkam works.[3] Most of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works, including the famous *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, represent a new genre, best labeled "ethical literature", i.e. they deal with questions of moral and right conduct, but six of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts belong to the genre of *Akam*, and one to the genre of *Puṟam*. Taken together, the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora constitute the bulk of what has been termed classical Tamil literature.

The three mnemonic stanzas on the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora form a group, and they were mostly transmitted together (in this particular order). The stanzas are composed in the *veṇpā* metre, one of the most popular Tamil

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[1] Wilden 2014: 177, Wilden 2017a: 169, Wilden 2017b: 322.

[2] The exceptions are the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* and the *Paripāṭal*, both of which contain religious poetry.

[3] Although the Caṅkam corpus also contains three later works—the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, the *Paripāṭal* and the *Kalittokai*—which may be roughly contemporaneous with the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts.

metres, which emerged during the late-classical period (the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works are composed in *veṇpā*) and remained in use right into the 19th century. The stanzas are anonymous, and we have no external information about the circumstances of their production. It therefore does not seem possible to determine their date. From what we know, in pre-modern times the mnemonic stanzas seem to have largely circulated in oral tradition, i.e. they were taught from teacher to student. Thus, the famous Tamil scholar U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar (1855–1942) recalls in his autobiograpy that he knew the names of the *Eṭṭuttokai* works from an "old verse" even before he was familiar with the texts themselves.[4] As such, the mnemonic stanzas formed part of a large body of free-floating single stanzas (*taṉippāṭal* or *taṉippāṭṭu*) that circulated among the Tamil literati. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when print culture became dominant in the Tamil country, many of these single stanzas were collected and printed. The mnemonic stanzas on the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora, too, came to be part of one such collection, the *Peruntokai*, which was edited by Mu. Irākavaiyaṅkār in 1935/36.[5] Aside from the originally largely oral single-stanza tradition, the mnemonic stanzas were sometimes also written down in manuscripts. Most typically they are found as paratexts on the fringes of the texts contained in a manuscript, e.g. on a separate leaf at the beginning of the bundle. We will come back to this at a later point in this article.

After a large number of classical works had been made available through the new medium of print, interest in the history of Tamil literary history started growing during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Due to the lack of other

4 Wilden 2017b: 321-322.
5 *Peruntokai* 2008, 2009, and 2017.

sources, scholars dealing with Tamil literary history had to rely on traditional knowledge, as it is encapsulated in the anonymous mnemonics stanzas. The stanzas listing the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works therefore came to be considered authoritative for the constitution of these corpora. Even the order in which the works are conventionally listed corresponds to the order in which they appear in the stanzas.[6] The three mnemonic stanzas have thus proved extremely influential for Tamil literary historiography.

The three mnemonic stanzas on the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora have already been discussed by Eva Wilden.[7] However, unlike the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Eṭṭuttokai* stanzas, where there are no major difficulties concerning the interpretation, the mnemonic stanza on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus poses a number of problems and therefore deserves to be investigated in more detail. It should be noted that there has been a scholarly debate about the *Kīlkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza. During the turn of the 20th century, scholars disagreed both on the exact wording and the interpretation of the stanza, and for a long time, there was no consensus about the exact identity of the eighteen works that constitute the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. In particular, there was a protracted controversy about the eighteenth and last *Kīḻkkaṇakku* text, which according to some was a work called *Iṉṉilai*, and according to others, a work called *Kainnilai*. Although a number of influential scholars have brought forward convincing arguments in favour of the *Kainnilai*, this question is still sometimes considered open.

In this article, I wish to present the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza and to give an overview of the controversies

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[6] One may note that the order employed in the stanzas does not follow any logical principle, but is largely dictated by metrical requirements.

[7] Wilden 2014: 177-180 and 198-199; Wilden 2017b: 322-325.

surrounding its interpretation, particularly the question of the *Iṉṉilai* and the *Kainnilai*. As I will show, the surviving manuscripts are another, so far largely ignored source for the constitution of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus, which helps us to solve this question. I will then turn to the early witnesses (manuscripts and early prints) of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza. As we will see, the form in which the stanza is found in these witnesses differs significantly from the form in which it has generally come to be known. Based on these findings, I will attempt a close reading of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza and propose a number of possible interpretations. Although some of the philological discussion contained in this article is very detailed and doubtlessly hard to digest for anybody but the specialist, I hope that an in-depth study of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza will shed some light on the larger question of how anonymous "traditional" information has shaped our understanding of Tamil literary history.

The Kīḻkkaṇakku Mnemonic Stanza and the Constitution of the Corpus

The mnemonic stanza on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus is quoted in the preface of virtually every edition of a *Kīḻkkaṇakku* text and in most secondary works dealing with the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus.[8] There is some degree of variation between the various instances of the stanza, but its received form seems to go back to Ci. Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's preface to his edition of the *Kalittokai* (one of the *Eṭṭuttokai* anthologies), which was published in 1887. Ci. Vai Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai (1832–1901), a native of Sri Lanka, who spent most of his professional life in South India, can be considered one of the pioneers of Tamil

[8] See e.g. Purnalingam Pillai 1929: 68, Citamparaṉār 1957: 5-6, Somasundaram Pillai 1967: 382, Zvelebil 1975: 117 fn. 41, Paṭcirājaṉ 1996: iv, Dakshinamurthy 2010: 8.

philology.[9] His *Kalittokai* edition was the first printed edition of a Caṅkam text (apart from the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*).[10] It also contained an extensive and influential preface.[11] At a time, when Tamil philology as a modern academic discipline was just developing, such prefaces constituted an important platform for scholarly discourse, and Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's preface seems to have been widely received by other scholars. Among the numerous topics Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai discusses in his preface are the three mnemonic stanzas.[12] He quotes the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* stanza in the following form:

> நாலடி நான்மணி நானாற்ப தைந்திணைமுப்
> பால்கடுகங் கோவை பழமொழி—மாமூல
> மின்னிலைசொல் காஞ்சியுட னேலாதி யென்பவே
> கைந்நிலைய வாங்கீழ்க் கணக்கு.
> *nālaṭi nāṉmaṇi nāl nāṟpatu aintiṇai mup-*
> *pāl kaṭukam kōvai paḻamoḻi mā mūlam*
> *iṉṉilai col kāñciyuṭaṉ ēlāti eṉpavē*
> *kainnilaiya ām kīḻkkaṇakku.*

Nālaṭi, *Nāṉmaṇi*, the four *Nāṟpatu*s, the *Aintiṇai*s,[13] *Mup-pāl*, *Kaṭukam*, *Kōvai*, *Paḻamoḻi*, the great *Mūlam*,
along with *Kāñci*, which speaks about the pleasant state,[14]
Ēlāti, so they say,
†and *Kainnilai*†[15]—[these] are the *Kīḻkkaṇakku*.

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[9] On Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's biography, see Muttucumaraswamy 1971.
[10] The *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* had a largely separate history of transmission due to its religious importance. It was printed in 1834/35, at the latest (Wilden 2014: 368).
[11] Reprinted in Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ 2004: 54-91.
[12] Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ 2004: 71.
[13] Or: "The four *Nāṟpatu*s and [the four] *Aintiṇai*s".
[14] Or: "*Iṉṉilai*, along with the praised *Kāñci*".
[15] For the problem concerning the phrase *kainnilaiya*, see below.

Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai also notes two variant readings: *aintokai* for *aintiṇai* in line 1 and *iṉṉilaiya* for *iṉṉilai col* in line 3. As we will see, these variants proved important for the discussions about the interpretation of the mnemonic stanza.

There is no room here to discuss all the different forms in which the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza has been quoted in the editions and secondary works that appeared after Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's *Kalittokai* edition. We may, however, note that, while individual sources may introduce different readings, the common denominator seems to be the form in which the stanza is quoted by Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai. By contrast, as we will see, the witnesses that predate Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's preface (manuscripts and early prints) contain a quite different form of the stanza. It therefore stands to reason to assume that it was Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai who defined the standard form of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza. In what follows, we will treat the form in which the stanza is quoted by Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai as the received version.

Let us now have a look at this received version of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza. Most of it is just an enumeration of work titles, concluded by the statement *… ām kīḻkkaṇakku*, "… are the *Kīḻkkaṇakku*". However, the identification of the individual works enumerated in the stanza is not trivial. Several texts appear with an abbreviated or alternative title. Moreover, in two cases, multiple works are lumped together under a common heading. This seems to be mainly due to the difficulty of fitting eighteen titles into a single *veṇpā* stanza. In some cases, a title may also be endowed with an ornamental attribute for metrical reasons. Despite of these difficulties, there is what can be considered an accepted interpretation of the mnemonic stanza. According to this interpretation, the individual works are identified as follows:

- *Nālaṭi* = *Nālaṭiyār*
- *Nāṉmaṇi* = *Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai*
- The four *Nāṟpatu*s = *Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu*, *Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu*, *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu*, *Kār Nāṟpatu*
- The *Aintiṇai*s = *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu*, *Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu*, *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*
- *Muppāl* = *Tirukkuṟaḷ*
- *Kaṭukam* = *Tirikaṭukam*
- *Kōvai* = *Ācārakkōvai*
- *Paḻamoḻi* = *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*
- *Mūlam* = *Ciṟupañcamūlam*
- *Kāñci* = *Mutumoḻikkāñci*
- *Ēlāti* = *Ēlāti*
- *Kainnilai* = *Kainnilai*

These eighteen works today have been universally accepted as constituting the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus (with a possible question mark lingering over the *Kainnilai*). It was a long way, however, until this received interpretation of the stanza was established. In 1887, Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai was not at all sure about the correct identification of the eighteen works. In particular, he assumed that *muppāl*, which nowadays is generally accepted to be an alternative designation for the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, referred to "three small books on dharma which were current at that time" (*akkālattilē vaḻaṅkiya mūṉṟu ciṟut taruma nulkaḷai*).[16] Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai explicitly denied that *muppāl* stood for the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. His argument is mainly based on the assumption that the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is much too important

[16] Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ 2004: 71.

to be placed on the same level with the "small texts" (*ciṟu nūlkaḷ*) of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus.[17] Furthermore, Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai thought that the phrase *iṉṉilai col* referred to "the names of two texts named *Iṉṉilai* and *Iṉcol*" (*iṉṉilai iṉcol eṉṉum peyariya iraṇṭu nūlkaḷiṉ peyarai*).[18] He also did not realize that the phrase *aintiṇai* referred to a group of works, but identified it with the *Aintiṇai Aimpatu* alone. All this left him to wonder how to arrive at the number of eighteen works.[19] Others, Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai tells us, had even wilder ideas about the identity of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works. Some people identified the phrase *aintokai* (a variant reading for *aintiṇai*) with the *Neṭuntokai*, which is an alternative title of the Caṅkam anthology *Akanāṉūṟu*. Even others apparently thought that *kōvai* stood for the *Tirukkōvaiyār*, the famous Bhakti work by the poet-saint Māṇikkavācakar.[20] In other words, during the late 19th century, the state of knowledge about the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works seems to have been rather limited even among Tamil scholars.

Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's discussion of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza soon triggered reactions from other scholars. The particulars of this scholarly debate have been described by Mayilai Cīṉi Vēṅkaṭacāmi, and therefore do not have to be reiterated here.[21] Suffice it to say that not after long, most of the doubts concerning the identification of the individual works were cleared. One problem, however, remained unsolved for several decades, namely the identity of the eighteenth and last *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work. We will turn to this question in the following section of this article.

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[17] Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ 2004: 72.
[18] Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ 2004: 71.
[19] Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ 2004: 71.
[20] Tāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ 2004: 71-72.
[21] Vēṅkaṭacāmi 1962: 317-338.

Iṉṉilai and *Kainnilai*

Based on different interpretations of the mnemonic stanza, scholars of the early 20th century disagreed over the question whether the eighteenth and last *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work was called *Iṉṉilai* or *Kainnilai*. Some took the phrase *iṉṉilai col kāñci* in the third line of the mnemonic stanza to contain the titles of two works, *Iṉṉilai* and (*Mutumoḻik*)*kāñci*, the latter being endowed with the ornamental attribute *col*, "praised".[22] According to this interpretation, the word *iṉṉilai* would be part of the enumeration of work titles.

Other scholars, however, understood *iṉṉilai* literally as "pleasant state" (*iṉ + nilai*) and took it to be part of the attribute qualifying *kāñci*, i.e. they understood the phrase *iṉṉilai col kāñci* as "(*Mutumoḻik*)*kāñci*, which speaks about the pleasant state". According to this interpretation, the word *iṉṉilai* would not be the title of a work. While the phrase *iṉṉilai col kāñci* allows both interpretations, there is also the variant reading *iṉṉilaiya kāñci* (already pointed out by Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai), which allows only the later interpretation. In the case of the reading *iṉṉilaiya*, the adjectival suffix *-a* unambiguously marks the word *iṉṉilai* as an attribute of *kāñci*, i.e. "(*Mutumoḻik*)*kāñci* of pleasant state".

Those scholars who did not believe that *iṉṉilai* was the title of a work, assumed that the eighteenth *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work was called *Kainnilai*. The word *kainnilai* indeed appears in the fourth line of the mnemonic stanza, where it is found in the form *kainnilaiya*. Now, it has to be said that, based on the reading *kainnilaiya*, it is grammatically impossible to take *kainnilai* to be part of the enumeration of work titles. We will

[22] *Col* is the verbal root (used in the function of a *peyareccam* or adjectival participle) of the verb *col-tal*, lit. "to say". Here we have to assume that *col-tal* is used in the extended meaning "to praise" (a meaning that is also listed in the *Tamil Lexicon*).

return to this problem, but we can maintain that many scholars were nevertheless willing to assume that the name of the eighteenth *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work was *Kainnilai*. It was therefore suggested to emend the reading *kainnilaiya* to *kainnilaiyum*, "and the *Kainnilai*, too".[23]

Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, we are faced with a situation where some scholars believed that the eighteenth *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work was a text called *Iṉṉilai*, whereas others thought that it was a text called *Kainnilai*. One might assume that the dispute would have been solved through the discovery that only one of the two texts actually existed. In reality, however, *both* works were published in the years to come. This is a rather colourful story, which deserves to be briefly told.

In 1917, Va. U. Citamparam Piḷḷai, a famous Indian independence activist and Tamil scholar, published an edition of a work called *Iṉṉilai*. This is an ethical work containing 45 stanzas in the *veṇpā* metre. Like some of the other ethical works included in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus (most notably the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*), the *Iṉṉilai* is structured according to the concept of the "goals of life" (*puruṣārthas*). Unlike the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, however, it does not confine itself to righteousness (*aṟam* or *dharma*), wealth (*poruḷ* or *artha*), and pleasure (*iṉpam* or *kāma*), but also includes the fourth goal of life, namely liberation (*vīṭu* or *mokṣa*). In the preface to his edition, Citamparam Piḷḷai states that he edited the *Iṉṉilai* from a palm-leaf manuscript written by the 17th century scholar Irattiṉak Kavirāyar from Āḻvārtirunakari.[24] He had received this manuscript from Ta. Mu. Corṇam Piḷḷai, a Tamil pandit at the Tirunelveli Hindu College, who, in turn, had obtained it from a

[23] This reading is found e.g. in I. Vai. Aṉantarāmaiyar's edition of the *Kainnilai* (Aṉantarāmaiyar 1931: 44). Cf. also Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1964: 82-83.

[24] Citamparam Piḷḷai 1917/18: xv. On Irattiṉak Kavirāyar, see Zvelebil 1995: 274.

certain A. Mī. Malaiyaiyāp Piḷḷai, a descendant of the scribe Irattiṉak Kavirāyar.[25] As the manuscript cannot be traced any more, we have to rely on the description of the manuscript in the preface to Citamparam Piḷḷai's edition.

According to Citamparam Piḷḷai, the manuscript of the *Iṉṉilai* identifies the author of the text as Poykaiyār. Citamparam Piḷḷai assumed that this Poykaiyār was identical with the Vaiṣṇava poet-saint Poykaiyāḻvār.[26] The text also comes with an invocation (*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*) to Śiva, which is ascribed to the author Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār in the manuscript. The same Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār is also credited with the invocation stanzas of five of the Caṅkam anthologies. Like the invocation stanzas of the Caṅkam works, the invocation of the *Iṉṉilai* is composed in the old *āciriyappā* metre.[27] Furthermore, the manuscript of the *Iṉṉilai* identifies a certain Maturaiyāciriyar as the compiler of the *Iṉṉilai*. Citamparam Piḷḷai assumed that this meant that Maturaiyāciriyar was the person who had included the *Iṉṉilai* in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus.[28] As the *Iṉṉilai* manuscript did not contain a commentary, Citamparam Piḷḷai himself composed an elaborate new commentary on the text.

Citamparam Piḷḷai was convinced that he had discovered the eighteenth and last *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work. He mentions the conflicting interpretation of the mnemonic stanza in his preface, but refutes it by simply stating that "it is very clear that it is not proper" (*poruntuvaṉavalla veṉpatu naṉku viḷaṅkum*).[29] Citamparam Piḷḷai also claims that a total of seven verses of the *Iṉṉilai* had been quoted by the medieval authors

[25] Citamparam Piḷḷai 1917/18: xvi.
[26] The question of the authorship is discussed at length in Citamparam Piḷḷai 1917/18: xvii-xxvi.
[27] Wilden forthcoming.
[28] Citamparam Piḷḷai 1917/18: xxvi.
[29] Citamparam Piḷḷai 1917/18: v.

Iḷampūraṇar, Pērāciriyar, and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar in their commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam*, as well as in the commentary on the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*. He took this as further evidence for the *Iṉṉilai* being an eminent ancient work.[30] Consequently, Citamparam Piḷḷai ends his preface with complimenting himself on having brought the so-far unknown *Iṉṉilai* to the attention of the Tamil people.[31]

The question of the eighteenth *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work was, however, by no means settled with the publication of the *Iṉṉilai*. In 1931, another scholar, I. Vai. Aṉantarāmaiyar, published an edition of a text called *Kainnilai*. The *Kainnilai* is a work of the author Pullaṅkāṭaṉār, representing the genre of classical Tamil love poetry (*Akam*). It contains 60 *veṇpā* stanzas, although the text has suffered badly in the course of transmission, and many of its poems are fragmentary. In his preface, the editor Aṉantarāmaiyar does not comment on the controversy surrounding the *Kainnilai* and the *Iṉṉilai*, but plainly states that the *Kainnilai* is a part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus.[32]

Indeed, Aṉantarāmaiyar had good reason to assume that the *Kainnilai* was an authentic *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work. This text is very similar to the other *Akam* works of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. Like four of the five other *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works, the *Kainnilai* is structured according to the *tiṇai* system. This is a crucial concept of classical Tamil poetics, which categorizes love poetry into five "types" or *tiṇai*s, each of which deals with a particular love situation and is associated with a particular landscape or time of the year.[33] The *tiṇai* concept is a central organizational principle for the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works—so central, indeed, that four of them (the *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*,

[30] Citamparam Piḷḷai 1917/18: xii-xv.
[31] Citamparam Piḷḷai 1917/18: xvi.
[32] Aṉantarāmaiyar 1931: 25.
[33] For an introduction to the *tiṇai* system, see e.g. Zvelebil 1973: 85-110.

Aintiṇai Eḻupatu, *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*, and *Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu*) bear the word *tiṇai* in their titles. Like the *Kainnilai*, they are divided into five sections of equal length, each of which deals with one of the *tiṇai*s.[34] In terms of style and content, the *Kainnilai* is very close to the other *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works. In particular, it contains numerous phrasal parallels with the *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu*.[35] These parallels go beyond what can be explained as the effect of conventionalized formulaic language, but suggest some sort of intertextual relation between the two works (although the exact nature of this relation remains to be determined). Moreover, the *Kainnilai*, just like the other *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works, comes with an anonymous old commentary. These commentaries are part of a set of anonymous commentaries that exist on all the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts except for the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār*. The commentaries on the ethical works have so far not been studied, but at least as far as the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works (including the *Kainnilai*) are concerned, the old commentaries appear to be very uniform, suggesting that they were composed by a single author.[36] We may also note that the commentators Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, who also regularly quote from the other *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works, include a total of seven quotations from the *Kainnilai* in their commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam*.[37]

All of this seems to suggest that the *Kainnilai* forms a group with the other *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works. It thus stands to

[34] The only exception among the *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works is the *Kār Nāṟpatu*, which does not deal with the whole range of *tiṇai*s, but with a specific topic, namely the rainy season.

[35] Cf. e.g. *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu* 30 and *Kainnilai* 13; *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu* 45 and *Kainnilai* 42 and 45; *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu* 60 and *Kainnilai* 51; *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu* 62 and *Kainnilai* 53.

[36] Buchholz 2020.

[37] Iḷampūraṇar on *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 109 (twice) (p. 197 and 199), 110 (p. 209), 148 (p. 294), and 423 (p. 483); Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar on *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 112 (p. 89) and 150 (p. 232).

reason to assume that the *Kainnilai*, too, is a part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. Indeed, previous scholars who have dealt with the question of the *Iṉṉilai* and the *Kainnilai* have believed that it is the *Kainnilai* that belongs to the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. They have even gone as far as to dub the *Iṉṉilai* a forgery. The question has been discussed by Es. Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (1954),[38] Mayilai Cīṉi Vēṅkaṭacāmi (1962),[39] and Mu. Aruṇācalam (1972).[40] Nevertheless, the standard edition of the *Iṉṉilai* and the *Kainnilai* remains a composite edition published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society (or "*Kaḻakam*") in 1961 (several reprints), which presents the two texts side by side without committing to the authenticity of either of them. Perhaps due to the standardizing influence of the *Kaḻakam* edition, the question of the *Iṉṉilai* and the *Kainnilai* is still sometimes considered open, as can be seen even from very recent scholarly publications.[41] It therefore seems necessary to briefly summarize the arguments brought forward by Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai, Vēṅkaṭacāmi, and Aruṇācalam and to re-assess the question of the *Iṉṉilai* and the *Kainnilai*.

First of all, Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai thinks that the language of the *Iṉṉilai* does not make the appearance of a very old work.[42] Since an analysis of the language of the *Iṉṉilai* is beyond the scope of this article, I cannot assess the strength of Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai's claim, but his argument certainly deserves to be taken seriously. Moreover, the fact that the invocation stanza of the *Iṉṉilai* is ascribed to Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār and that the *Iṉṉilai* is said to have been compiled by a certain Maturaiyāciriyar is considered dubious. Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai points out that this would make the *Iṉṉilai* the only

[38] Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1964: 80-83.
[39] Vēṅkaṭacāmi 1962: 329-338.
[40] Aruṇācalam 2005: 445-449.
[41] Cf. e.g. Wilden 2017b: 325.
[42] Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1964: 81-82.

Kīḻkkaṇakku work to possess an invocation stanza composed by someone other than the author of the text itself, and it would also be the only *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work to make mention of a compiler.[43] Aruṇācalam also remarks that, unlike in the case of the Caṅkam anthologies, which contain poems by many different authors, the mention of a compiler does not make sense in the case of a text composed by an individual author.[44]

To me, the ascription of the invocation stanza to Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār and the mention of a compiler seem like an attempt to give the *Iṉṉilai* the appearance of an ancient text. We may recall that Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār is credited with the authorship of the invocation stanzas of five Caṅkam works. The fact that the invocation stanza of the *Iṉṉilai* uses the old *āciriyappā* metre also places it in the vicinity of the Caṅkam invocation stanzas.[45] Moreover, the fact that the *Iṉṉilai* is said to have been compiled by a certain Maturaiyāciriyar is also reminiscent of the Caṅkam anthologies, many of which mention a compiler in their colophons.[46] In this respect, the name Maturaiyāciriyar ("scholar of Maturai") seems to evoke the legendary "academy" (*caṅkam*) in the city of Maturai, which is said to have been responsible for the compilation of the Caṅkam works. Finally, the fact that the *Iṉṉilai* is ascribed to an author called Poykaiyār is also significant. Whether or not we want to accept Citamparam Piḷḷai's claim that the author of the *Iṉṉilai* was identical with the Vaiṣṇava poet-saint Poykaiyāḻvār, we can

[43] Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1964: 81.
[44] Aruṇācalam 2005: 447.
[45] One may also note that the invocation stanza of the *Iṉṉilai* uses a different metre than the text itself (which is composed in *veṇpā*). This stands in contrast to most other classical Tamil texts, where the invocation stanza and the text itself are composed in the same metre (Wilden forthcoming).
[46] See Wilden 2014: 160-176.

maintain that Poykai(yār) is an illustrious name.[47] Apart from the Vaiṣṇava saint, there is also a Caṅkam poet (author of *Naṟṟiṇai* 18, *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 48, and 49) named Poykaiyār, and another *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work (the *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu*) is ascribed to an author of the same name. Thus, one cannot help the impression that the alleged names of the author, the author of the invocation stanza, and the compiler were all consciously chosen in order to endow the *Iṉṉilai* with the authority of an ancient text.

Finally, as has been shown by Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai and, in more detail, by Aruṇācalam, Citamparam Piḷḷai's claim that the *Iṉṉilai* was quoted by the medieval commentators is false. There is indeed a quotation of three lines in the commentary on the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* which is identical to the last three lines of *Iṉṉilai* 12. In the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* commentary, however, this quotation is attributed to the author Auvaiyār.[48] As far as the alleged *Iṉṉilai* quotations in Iḷampūraṇar's commentary are concerned, these quotations are not found in the printed editions of the commentary. This is all the more surprising since the first edition of Iḷampūraṇar's commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* was published by Citamparam Piḷḷai himself. The edition of Iḷampūraṇar's commentary, however, postdates that of the *Iṉṉilai*. Both Vēṅkaṭacāmi and Aruṇācalam suggest that Citamparam Piḷḷai had changed his opinion about the *Iṉṉilai* quotations in the meanwhile. More specifically, in the preface to his edition of Iḷampūraṇar's commentary, Citamparam Piḷḷai mentions a paper manuscript of this commentary by Corṇam Piḷḷai—the same person from whom he had also received the *Iṉṉilai* manuscript—and states that this manuscript contained numerous interpolations. Aruṇācalam concludes that the alleged

[47] *Poykai* and *Poykaiyār* are variants of the same name, the latter employing an honorific suffix.
[48] Aruṇācalam 2005: 446.

Iṉṉilai quotations which Citamparam Piḷḷai had mentioned in the preface to his edition of the *Iṉṉilai* must have been interpolations made by Corṇam Piḷḷai, and that Citamparam Piḷḷai later came to consider these quotations as spurious and therefore chose not to include them in his edition.[49] It thus emerges that none of the alleged *Iṉṉilai* quotations in the medieval commentaries appears to be authentic.

This leads Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai, Vēṅkaṭacāmi, and Aruṇācalam to conclude that the *Iṉṉilai* is a modern forgery.[50] Aruṇācalam even explicitly blames Corṇam Piḷḷai for having fabricated the text. Now, it has to be said that even if it should be true that the alleged *Iṉṉilai* quotations in Iḷampūraṇar's commentary are interpolations added by Corṇam Piḷḷai, this does not necessarily mean that Corṇam Piḷḷai had made them up. It is also possible that he knew the poems from the *Iṉṉilai* manuscript he had in his possession and inserted them in Iḷampūraṇar's commentary because he felt that they were fit to illustrate the topics under discussion. While it cannot be ruled out that the *Iṉṉilai* is a fabrication of the early 20th century, it seems equally possible that we are dealing with an older, though not necessarily ancient, text, which consciously imitates classical models. This question deserves further study, but for the time being, it seems safe to conclude that the *Iṉṉilai* with all likelihood is not an authentic part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus.

By contrast, we have seen that the inclusion of the *Kainnilai* in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus is perfectly legitimate since this text clearly forms a group with the other *Kīḻkkaṇakku Akam* works. This assumption is corroborated through the existence of an old commentary on the *Kainnilai*, which forms part of a series of anonymous commentaries on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works, and

[49] Aruṇācalam 2005: 448-449

[50] Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1964: 82, Vēṅkaṭacāmi 1962: 338, Aruṇācalam 2005: 449.

through the existence of genuine *Kainnilai* quotations in the medieval *Tolkāppiyam* commentaries. In the next section, I will present an additional argument which will allow us to finally settle the debate on the identity of the eighteenth *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work in favour of the *Kainnilai*, namely the evidence that exists in the form of the surviving *Kīḻkkaṇakku* manuscripts.

The Corpus as Represented in the Manuscripts

Manuscripts of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works are held by various institutions in Tamil Nadu, other parts of India, and abroad. So far, no systematic study of these manuscripts has been undertaken, but thanks to the work of the Caṅkam project centred at the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Pondicherry, the larger part of these manuscripts has been located and digitized. In what follows, I will give a (not necessarily exhaustive) overview of the existing *Kīḻkkaṇakku* manuscripts based on the results of this digitization project.

Most of the manuscripts containing *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works are multiple-text manuscripts. Some of them contain *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works together with other, not directly related texts, but most of the multiple-text manuscripts include only works of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. They can therefore be termed *Kīḻkkaṇakku* serial manuscripts.[51] No manuscript contains all eighteen *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts. What comes closest to being complete is the manuscript UVSL 1078, which contains fourteen of the eighteen *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works. Other sizeable *Kīḻkkaṇakku* serial manuscripts are UVSL 524 with originally

[51] By "serial manuscript", I mean a manuscript containing texts that have been put together on a systematic basis (e.g. because they form part of the same corpus), as opposed to the term "multiple-text manuscript", which does not necessarily imply a connection between the individual texts contained in the same manuscript.

thirteen (now eleven) texts,[52] UVSL 698 with twelve texts (most of them in excerpts), and Dharmapuram 75 with ten texts. We may also mention the manuscripts ORIML 6417 and UVSL 589, which include excerpts of fifteen and fourteen *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts, respectively, in addition to other, non-*Kīḻkkaṇakku* material.

The fact that most copies of *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works are found in serial manuscripts suggests that the people who transmitted these texts conceived of them as forming a corpus. The notion of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus, thus, is not just a conceptual tool of modern literary histories, but played a crucial role in the life of these texts. One might even wonder if the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works were transmitted not so much as texts of their own right, but precisely *because* of their being part of a well-established corpus. Importantly, many of the serial manuscripts give the texts in the exact order in which they appear in the mnemonic stanza. This is true for the manuscripts UVSL 524, UVSL 698, and Dharmapuram 75, and with slight deviations also for UVSL 589. This shows that the mnemonic stanza was considered authoritative for the constitution of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus already at the time of manuscript transmission.

The manuscript evidence allows us to finally settle the debate on the identity of the eighteenth *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work in favour of the *Kainnilai*. Only three manuscripts of the *Kainnilai* are known (two palm-leaf manuscripts and one paper manuscript, which can be shown to be a copy of one of the palm-leaf manuscripts), and all of them are fragmentary. However, both palm-leaf copies of the *Kainnilai* are found in *Kīḻkkaṇakku* manuscripts: one in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* serial manuscript UVSL 524 and one in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* section of

[52] The two missing works are listed in the table of contents found on an unnumbered leaf at the beginning of the bundle, but the corresponding leaves are missing, as can be seen from a gap in the foliation.

the manuscript UVSL 589. By contrast, there is no *Kīḻkkaṇakku* serial manuscript that contains the *Iṉṉilai* (in fact, not a single manuscript of the *Iṉṉilai* can be located at the present moment as the whereabouts of the manuscript used by Citamparam Piḷḷai are unknown).

Finally, it should be noted that the two most important *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts, the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the *Nālaṭiyār*, have a largely separate history of transmission. Both of these texts seem to have enjoyed great popularity during the pre-modern period. This is reflected by the fact that several pre-modern commentaries exist on these texts, by the existence of numerous quotations in other commentaries, as well as by the large number of surviving manuscripts of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the *Nālaṭiyār* (so many, indeed, that the Caṅkam project did not even attempt to digitize all the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār* manuscripts). Their number might easily exceed the hundreds. Notably, most of these manuscripts are single-text manuscripts. Partly this may due to the sheer size of the texts: with 1330 two-line stanzas in the case of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and 400 four-line stanzas in the case of the *Nālaṭiyār*, they are much longer than most of the other *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works.[53] As such, they may easily fill a palm leaf bundle of their own, especially if accompanied by a commentary. The fact that the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the *Nālaṭiyār* have a separate transmission, however, might also mean that they were primarily perceived as texts of their own right, rather than as parts of a corpus.

There is only one *Kīḻkkaṇakku* serial manuscript that contains the *Nālaṭiyār*, namely Dharmapuram 75. The *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is not contained in a single *Kīḻkkaṇakku* serial manuscript. It is found in the manuscript ORIML 6417, which also includes the *Nālaṭiyār* as well as excerpts of thirteen other

[53] The only exception is the *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*, which also contains 400 four-line stanzas. The other *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works range from 40 to 153 stanzas.

Kīḻkkaṇakku texts, but this manuscript also contains various other texts, including excerpts of the epics *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, *Cilappatikāram*, and *Maṇimēkalai*. In the case of this manuscript, it therefore cannot be taken for granted that the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the *Nālaṭiyār* were included because of their being part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. In this respect, we may recall that in the late 19th century, it was debated whether or not the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. We will return to this question at the end of this article, but we may already state that, although there may be valid reasons for including the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus, based solely on the manuscript evidence, there would be no indication for doing so.

Manuscript Representations of the Mnemonic Stanza

As we have seen, the mnemonic stanzas seem to have been transmitted largely orally, but they are occasionally also found in manuscripts. So far, I have been able to trace the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza in six manuscripts. For the sake of convenience, I will use the following sigla to refer to these manuscripts:

- C1: Chennai UVSL 589
- C2: Chennai UVSL 603
- C3: Chennai UVSL 885
- C4: Chennai UVSL 1078
- G: Chennai GOML D.122 / TD.48
- K: Kolkata National Library 3108

Four of the six manuscripts (C2, C3, C4, and K) are serial palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus that contain the mnemonic stanza on a separate leaf. While K includes only the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza, the others contain all three

stanzas on the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭuttokai*, and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora. The leaf containing the mnemonic stanzas may be found either at beginning of the bundle (C3, C4) or between two sections of the manuscript in the middle of the bundle (C2, K).[54] In the case of these manuscripts, one can assume that the mnemonic stanzas function as paratexts providing information about the contents of the manuscript.

The manuscript K is a particularly interesting case. Here the text on the leaf containing the mnemonic stanza, unlike the rest of the manuscript, is uninked, suggesting that it might be a later addition. The mnemonic stanza is found in a separate column on the left side of the leaf. In the right column, the titles of the individual works are spelled out. Although there are some inconsistencies, the identification of the works largely corresponds to the established interpretation of the mnemonic stanza.[55] The case of the manuscript K shows that a concern with the identification of the works listed in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza existed already at the time of the manuscript transmission. Unfortunately, the manuscript K cannot be dated with certainty. It does record the date of its production (the 15th day of the month of *āṉi* in the year of *caruvacittu*), but since the year is given in the 60-year Jovian cycle, the date is ambiguous.[56] However, the type of the script used in the manuscripts is relatively modern, which suggests that the most likely candidates for the date of production are 1827 or 1887

[54] In C2, the mnemonic stanza is found on fol. 40r (according to the original foliation of the manuscript). In K, it is found on fol. 26A according to the secondary foliation in Western numerals that has been added at a later point in time. Originally, the leaf was unnumbered. It thus appears possible that the leaf may have originally been found at the beginning of the bundle.

[55] The phrase *aintokai* (variant reading for *aintiṇai*) is taken as the title of a single work, and the word *pāl* (variant reading for *muppāl*) is adopted as such (i.e. it is apparently not identified with the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*). Otherwise, the titles found in K conform with the standard interpretation.

[56] The date is found in a colophon on fol. 32A.

CE.[57] Since the text on the folio containing the mnemonic stanza is uninked, it might have been added at an even later point in time.

Turning to the other manuscripts that contain the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza, the manuscript G is a paper manuscript containing several *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts, dated to 1885. The mnemonic stanza is found on a separate page at the end of the section containing the *Kār Nāṟpatu*. The text of the *Kār Nāṟpatu* in G is identical with the first printed edition of this text, which was published around 1875 by a certain Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār,[58] and it seems that the manuscript was copied from the printed edition. Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār's edition quotes the mnemonic stanza, and a comparison of the readings suggests that the mnemonic stanza in the manuscript G was also copied from the printed edition.

Finally, in the palm-leaf manuscript C1, the mnemonic stanza is found in a different context. This is a peculiar manuscript containing excerpts from a wide array of different Tamil texts.[59] While C1 also contains excerpts from various *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts, the mnemonic stanza is not found in their vicinity, but in a section that contains a selection of stanzas from different sources (labelled *caṅkīraṇam*, "miscellanea"). These stanzas include excerpts from well-known literary works, but also isolated stanzas that later came to be included in collections of single stanzas. Among these stanzas are also the mnemonic stanzas on the

[57] In particular, the manuscript uses the modern form of the letter *ṟa*.

[58] The title page of Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār's *Kār Nāṟpatu* 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 *Kār Nāṟpatu* edition was published around the same time.

[59] See Buchholz & Ciotti 2017

Pattuppāṭṭu, *Eṭṭuttokai*, and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora.[60] Their position in the manuscript suggests that they are quoted as a part of the repertoire of free-floating single stanzas. In other words, we are dealing with a written representation of the largely oral single stanza tradition.

Apart from these six manuscripts, I have been able to locate the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza in two printed sources that predate Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's edition of the *Kalittokai*. The stanza is found in the aforementioned *Kār Nāṟpatu* edition by Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār (around 1875), and also in the editions of the *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu* (1875) and the *Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu* (1876) that were published by the same editor. Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār's editions include the mnemonic stanza on a separate page at the beginning of the text. The other early printed representation of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza is found, perhaps slightly surprisingly, in a colonial source, namely the *Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books with Introductory Notes*, published by the Scottish missionary John Murdoch in 1865. The sizeable introduction included in this catalogue is a very interesting document about the state of knowledge and the attitudes that European orientalists of the 19th century had with respect to Tamil literature.[61] We cannot go into this topic here, but we may note that Murdoch quotes the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza in the context of his discussion of the "oldest existing literature" in Tamil.[62]

Notably, the form in which the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza is found in the manuscripts and early printed sources is rather uniform, whereas it differs significantly from the form in which it was quoted by Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai. There are several

[60] The three mnemonic stanzas are found on p. 31 (according to the secondary pagination in Western numerals), line 5-7.
[61] See Blackburn 2003: 136-138.
[62] Murdoch 1865: xxii.

possible reasons for this. Firstly, the sources that are available to us probably represent only a small fraction of all witnesses that originally existed. Although it is conspicuous that the six manuscripts and two early printed sources conform with each other quite closely, it is certainly possible that other versions exist in other, so far unknown sources (for example in the numerous *Tirukkuṟaḷ* manuscripts). Secondly, it has to be kept in mind that Ci. Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai was a native of Sri Lanka. While he spent most of his professional life in India, he had received his early education in Jaffna. One can easily imagine that he had learnt the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza there, and it would not be surprising if the form in which the stanza circulated in Sri Lanka was different from the one in India. However, it is also possible that Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai altered the stanza at his own discretion. It has to be kept in mind that the early Tamil editors felt authorized to freely emend the texts they were dealing with, and they certainly had good reason to do so, as the manuscripts they had at their disposal were often highly corrupted. Nevertheless, from the point of view of a contemporary scholar it is unfortunate that they rarely made this procedure transparent or discussed their decisions. In the following section, I will therefore present the evidence that is found in the surviving witnesses of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza and discuss its implications for the interpretation of the stanza.

Revisiting the Mnemonic Stanza

In what follows, I will present what I believe to be the archetype of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza as it is represented by the available manuscripts and early printed sources. The apparatus lists all readings that are found in the manuscripts as well as those printed by Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār (CM), John Murdoch (JM), and Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai

(TP). The variants mentioned by Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai (TPv) are also recorded. In the apparatus, the witnesses are listed in approximate chronological order. Passages for which there are variants are marked with curly underlines:

நாலடி நான்மணி நானாற்ப தைந்தொகை[1]முப்[2]
பால்கடுகங் கோவை பழமொழி—மாமூல
மெய்ந்நிலைய[3] காஞ்சியோடேலாதி[4]யென்பதூஉங்[5]
கைந்நிலைய[6] வாங்கீழ்க் கணக்கு.
nālaṭi nāṉmaṇi nāl nārpatu aiṉtokai[1]mup-[2]
pāl kaṭukam kōvai paḻamoḻi mā mūlam
meynnilaiya[3] kāñciyōṭ’ ēlāti[4]eṉpatūum[5]
kaiṉnilaiya[6] ām kīḻkkaṇakku.

1 தைந்தொகை *aintokai* C1, C2, C3, C4, K, JM, CM, G, TPv; தைந்திணை *aintiṇai* TP
2 முப் *mup-* CM, G, TP; omit. C1, C2, C3, C4, K, JM
3 மெய்ந்நிலைய *meynnilaiya* CM, G; மெய்நிலைய *meynilaiya* C1, C2, C3, C4, K, JM; மின்னிலைய *iṉṉilaiya* TPv; மின்னிலைசொல் *iṉṉilaicol* TP
4 காஞ்சியோ டேலாதி *kāñciyōṭ’ ēlāti* C1, K, JM, CM, G; காஞ்சி யேலாதி *kāñci ēlāti* C2, C3, C4; காஞ்சியுட னேலாதி *kāñciyuṭaṉ ēlāti* TP
5 யென்பதூஉங் *eṉpatūum* C1, K, JM; யென்பதூங் *eṉpatūm* C2, C3, C4; யென்பவே *eṉpavē* CM, G, TP
6 கைந்நிலைய *kainnilaiya* CM, G, TP; கைநிலைய *kainilaiya* C1, C2, C3, C4, K, JM

As can be seen, there is quite a number of variant readings, and it seems necessary to discuss them in more depth. The first case of variation is found at the end of the first line. Here the reading *aintokai*, which is also mentioned as a variant by

Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, is found in all the manuscripts and early prints. The received reading *aintiṇai*, by contrast, is not supported by any of the primary sources. It should be noted, though, that this variant does not really affect the interpretation of the stanza. The reading *aintokai* can be understood as "collections on the five [*tiṇai*s]", which is a slightly more elliptical way to express the same as *aintiṇai*, "[works on] the five *tiṇai*s".

Secondly, we may note that in the received version of the mnemonic stanza, the phrase *muppāl*, which is understood as an alternative title of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, is split across two lines. Notably, in the palm-leaf manuscripts and Murdoch, the element *mup-* at the end of the first line is missing, which leaves us only with *pāl*. The reading *muppāl*, however, is already attested by Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār (and the paper manuscript G, which is a copy of Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār's edition) and thus predates Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai. This variant may seem significant since, as we have seen, there was a debate about the question whether or not the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* forms part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. We may also recall that the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* serial manuscripts do not provide any evidence for the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* being part of this corpus. However, as Es. Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai has pointed out, the medieval commentators Pērāciriyar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, and Kuṇacākarar confirm that the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was considered a part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus.[63] In their respective commentaries on sūtra 235 of the *Ceyyuḷiyal* section of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*, both Pērāciriyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar state that the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works comprise stanzas with a length of two to five lines, which implies the presence of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*,[64] and for

[63] Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1964: 78.

[64] The *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is the only *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work which is composed in the two-line variety of the *veṇpā* metre. The other works contain *veṇpā* stanzas with a length of four or rarely five lines.

illustration, both of them quote from the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*.[65] In his commentary on the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*, Kuṇacākarar explicitly identifies the "product of Tiruvaḷḷuvar" (*tiruvaḷḷuvappayaṉ*), i.e. the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, as a *Kīḻkkaṇakku* work.[66] It thus seems warranted to accept that the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* forms part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. As for the variant readings *muppāl* vs. *pāl*, Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai has shown that the expression *muppāl*, lit. "[having] three parts" (referring to the three books of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*), is well-attested as an alternative title of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* already in older texts such as the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai* or the commentary on the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*.[67] At the same time, the reading *pāl* does not make much sense in the context of the mnemonic stanza. *Pāl*, lit. "part", does not seem plausible as the title of a work, nor does it seem possible to take the word *pāl* as an attribute qualifying the following title, (*Tiri*)*kaṭukam*.[68] It therefore seems reasonable to assume that *muppāl* was the original reading, and that the omission of *mup-* is based on a scribal error.

Moving to the third line of the mnemonic stanza, we may note that all manuscripts and early prints contain the reading *mey*(*n*)*nilaiya*, "of true state".[69] This reading bears only a faint resemblance to the reading *iṉṉilaiya*, "of pleasant state", which is reported as a variant by Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, whereas Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai's primary reading *iṉṉilai col* is even further detached from the reading found in the early witnesses.

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[65] Pērāciriyar on *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 537 (= *Ceyyuḷiyal* 235) (p. 427); Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar on *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram Ceyyuḷiyal* 235 (p. 266).

[66] Kuṇacākarar on *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* 38 (p. 320).

[67] Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1964: 77.

[68] If the noun *pāl* were employed as an attribute of *kaṭukam*, the expected sandhi would be *pāṟ kaṭukam*.

[69] The variation between *meynnilaiya* and *meynilaiya* is purely orthographical.

Keeping in mind the controversy over the question whether or not the text called *Iṉṉilai* formed part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus, it is significant that none of the early representations of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza contain the word *iṉṉilai*. This seems to further confirm that the *Iṉṉilai* was not generally considered to belong to the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus.

Also in line three, we may note the variant *kāñciyōṭ' ēlāti* for the received *kāñciyuṭaṉ ēlāti*. This is a minor variant, since it only regards the choice of the sociative suffix, and need not concern us any further. The third reading *kāñci ēlāti* (with no suffix at all) results in the same meaning, but has to be discarded for metrical reasons.

Finally, at the end of the third line, the palm-leaf manuscripts and Murdoch contain the reading *eṉpatū(u)m* instead of the received reading *eṉpavē*.[70] The reading *eṉpavē*, however, again predates Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, as it is already attested by Caṇmukacuntara Mutaliyār and the derivative manuscript G. This variant has some repercussions for the question as to how to integrate the *Kainnilai* in the mnemonic stanza. This is a slightly convoluted issue, which needs to be unravelled with due detail.

As we have seen, there is reason to believe that the text that is known as *Kainnilai* is the eighteenth work of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. We would therefore expect that the title *kainnilai* is listed in the last line of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza. There are, however, a number of problems. First of all, if we accept the reading *kainnilaiya ām kīḻkkaṇakku* for the last line, we must note that the form *kainnilaiya* grammatically can only be either a neuter plural participial noun or an adjectival derivation of the word *kainnilai*. In neither case is it possible to

[70] Again, the variation between *eṉpatūum* and *eṉpatūm* is purely orthographical. Manuscripts do not always mark extra-long vowels (*aḷapeṭai*), such as the *ūu* in *eṉpatūum*.

take the word *kainnilai* as a part of the enumeration of work titles. As we have seen, this has induced some scholars to propose the emendation *kainnilaiyum*, "and the *Kainnilai*, too". However, all the manuscripts and early prints support the reading *kainnilaiya* (the variant *kainilaiya* for *kainnilaiya* is merely orthographical and does not affect our discussion in any way). The emendation *kainnilaiyum* therefore must be considered speculative. Another possible solution, which was kindly pointed out by Prof. K. Nachimuthu, might be to split the words of the last line differently, namely as *kainnilai avām kīḻkkaṇakku*, "[and] the *Kainnilai* [are] the desirable *Kīḻkkaṇakku*".[71] In this case, the word *avām* (a contracted form of *avāvum*, the *peyareccam* or relative participle of the verb *avāvu-tal*, "to desire") would have to be taken as an attribute modifying *kīḻkkaṇakku*. While this interpretation is certainly worth considering, it requires splitting the word *avām* across two metrical feet (which is not impossible, but appears slightly inelegant) and presupposes a rather heavy mode of expression (the purely ornamental attribute *avām* is required neither by the metre nor by rhyme or alliteration).

Another problem is posed by the variant reading *eṉpatūum* for *eṉpavē* at the end of the second but last line. The received reading *eṉpavē* (*eṉpa*, "thus they say", plus the emphatic particle *-ē*) contains a third person plural non-past indicative verb form of the verb *eṉ-tal*, "to say". This is a phrase that is frequently employed in Tamil texts to invoke traditional authority.[72] Importantly, it is a parenthesis that can be inserted at any position of a sentence. In our case, *eṉpavē* would be

[71] K. Nachimuthu, personal communication, April 2017. Note that Tamil manuscripts employed full sandhi and did not mark word boundaries, which sometimes allows several ways of undoing the sandhi and splitting the words. Eva Wilden (2017b: 324) also splits *kainnilai avām*, although from her translation it does not become clear how she understands *avām*.

[72] Cf. the usage of *eṉpa* in grammatical literature.

inserted between the second-but-last and the last element of the enumeration of work titles ("… the *Ēlāti*—thus they say—[and] the *Kainnilai*"). By contrast, in the case of the other reading *eṉpatūum* (*eṉpatu* + *-um*), the verb *eṉ-tal* is used in a purely grammatical function as an embedding verb. More specifically, the form *eṉpatu* is a non-past verbal noun that serves as a focalizer (in this case, delimiting the elements of the enumeration), while the particle *-um* denotes completeness. Importantly, this means that the word *eṉpatūum* marks the *end* of the enumeration; anything that follows (in our case, the word *kainnilai*) cannot be part of the list of work titles. Thus, if one accepts the reading *eṉpatūum*, one has to assume that the word *kainnilai* does not refer to the title of a work (unless one opts for the emendation *kainnilaiyum*, "and the *Kainnilai*", in which case the enumeration concluded by *eṉpatūum* and *kainnilaiyum* would be coordinated).

At this point is seems pertinent to ask: if the word *kainnilai* is not the title of a work, what else can it be? To answer this question, we first have to explore the term *kainnilai*. The meaning of this phrase is somewhat obscure, but it has been explained as "the state (*nilai*) of conduct (*kai*)".[73] The meaning "conduct" (*oḻukkam*) for *kai* is rare, but it is attested in the *Kalittokai*, where the commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar glosses *kai* with *ulakavoḻukkam*, "worldly conduct".[74] One is, however, still left to wonder why "the state of conduct" should be an appropriate title for a work of love poetry. Kamil Zvelebil tries to rationalize the title through the laconic statement "*kai = oḻukkam*, 'conduct' (i.e. *tiṇai*)".[75] While it is true that the term *oḻukkam* is used in a part of the poetological tradition to refer

[73] Cf. Citamparaṉār 1957: 6, Caṅkup Pulavar 1961: vi, Zvelebil 1975: 119, Zvelebil 1995: 303.
[74] *Kalittokai* 95.25.
[75] Zvelebil 1975: 119 fn. 52.

to the modes of conduct that are associated with each of the five *tiṇai*s, Zvelebil's equation of *kai*/*oḻukkam* with *tiṇai* seems somewhat rushed.[76] Why the work that has come to be known as *Kainnilai* should have this title therefore remains a mystery. On the other hand, the phrase "state of conduct" seems quite natural in the context of ethical literature, which, after all, deals with questions of right conduct. Returning to the mnemonic stanza, the last line *kainnilaiya ām kīḻkkaṇakku*, could also be understood as "those [works] [which deal] with the state of conduct are the *Kīḻkkaṇakku*". This has been suggested already in 1957 by Cāmi Citamparaṉār, who glosses the last line of the mnemonic stanza with *oḻukka nilaiyaik kūṟukiṉṟaṇavākiya kīḻkkaṇakku nūlkaḷākum*, "… are the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works, which speak about the state of conduct".[77] In this case, the word *kainnilaiya* would be a pronominal noun (*kuṟippuviṉai*), standing in apposition to *kīḻkkaṇakku*. Describing the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus as dealing with "the state of (right) conduct" does not seem entirely out of way, given that the majority of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts are ethical in nature. Moreover, this interpretation neatly solves the grammatical problem of how to integrate the form *kainnilaiya* in the syntax of the mnemonic stanza. In other words, if we take the wording of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza seriously, a close reading does not seem to support the notion that the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus should contain a work named *Kainnilai*. Rather, the word *kainnilai* might have to be understood as describing the whole of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus.

On the other hand, there is a work that has come to be known under the title of *Kainnilai* and which, as we have seen,

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[76] This usage of the term *oḻukkam* seems to be first attested in Nakkīraṉār's commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* (Nakkīraṉār on *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* 1, p. 23–4). It is also very common in modern Tamil-language secondary literature.

[77] Citamparaṉār 1957: 6; cf. also Caṅkup Pulavar 1961: vi.

with all certainly belongs to the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. How are we to explain this? If we assume that the work that has come to be known under the title *Kainnilai* is a part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus, but the word *kainnilai* in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza does not refer to it, then this work has to be integrated into the mnemonic stanza in another way. There is, in fact, a quite simple solution for this problem. We may recall that the first line of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza contains the phrase *nāl nāṟpat' aintiṇai*. According to the received interpretation, the numeral *nāl*, "four", modifies both *nāṟpatu*, "[works of] forty [stanzas each]", and *aintiṇai*, "[works on the] five *tiṇai*s" (i.e. "the four *nāṟpatu*s and [the four] *aintiṇai*s"). In this case, the four *aintiṇai*s would be the *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu*, *Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu*, and *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*.[78] However, this interpretation is by no means compelling. It is equally possible to assume that the numeral *nāl* modifies only *nāṟpatu*, in which case *aintiṇai* can be understood as "the five [works on the] *tiṇai*s", rather than "[works on the] five *tiṇai*s" (or, in the case of the variant reading *aintokai*, simply "five collections", rather than "collections on the five [*tiṇai*s]"). This would leave room to include the work that has come to be known as *Kainnilai* under the heading *aintiṇai* (or *aintokai*).

This is also the stance taken by Cāmi Citamparaṉār, who moreover claims that the original title of the *Kainnilai* must have been *Aintiṇai Aṟupatu*.[79] This is, indeed, an intelligent theory. Given that the *Kainnilai* forms a group with the other *Akam* works of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus, one would expect that

[78] The designation *nālaintiṇai*, "the four *aintiṇai*s", has been widely accepted as the collective title for these four works, as can be seen for example from the title of their collective edition, which was published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society (1936, several reprints).

[79] Citamparaṉār 1957: 6–7. Throughout his book, Citamparaṉār uses the title *Aintiṇai Aṟupatu* instead of *Kainnilai*.

it follows the same naming pattern, and since there is a text called *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, "fifty [stanzas] on the five *tiṇai*s", and another one called *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu*, "seventy [stanzas] on the five *tiṇai*s", it does seem reasonable to assume that the *Kainnilai* (which contains sixty stanzas) could have been called *Aintiṇai Aṟupatu*, "sixty [stanzas] on the five *tiṇai*s".

While the hypothesis that the work that has come to be known as *Kainnilai* originally had a different name is quite attractive, there unfortunately is a serious drawback to this theory. In all known manuscripts of this text (the palm-leaf manuscripts UVSL 524 and UVSL 589 and the paper manuscript UVSL 190), the title of the work is identified as *Kai*(*n*)*nilai*. This title is found as a heading at the beginning of the text (as a marginal heading in the palm-leaf manuscripts and on the cover page in the paper manuscript), and also in the colophon that comes at the end of the text and records the title of the work and the name and lineage of its author.[80] The first editor of the *Kainnilai*, I. Vai. Aṉantarāmaiyar, who apparently had access to a number of manuscripts that are today lost, also reports the alternative title *Kainnilai Aṟupatu*.[81] The title *Aintiṇai Aṟupatu*, which was suggested by Citamparaṉār, on the other hand, is not attested anywhere. As the title *Kainnilai* is already found in the manuscripts, it clearly predates the debate about the identification of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works that began after these texts had been brought to print. It still cannot be ruled out that the title *Kainnilai* is a misnomer based on a wrong interpretation of the mnemonic stanza, but if this is the case, the confusion must have taken place at an earlier point in time. On the other hand, the fact that the title *Kainnilai* is found

[80] The colophon as it is found in I. Vai. Aṉantarāmaiyar's printed edition of the *Kainnilai* reads *māṟōkkattu muḷḷināṭṭu nallūrk kāvitiyār makaṉār pullaṅkāṭaṉār ceyta kainnilai muṭintatu*, "[here] ends the *Kainnilai*, composed by Pullaṅkāṭaṉār, son of Kāvitiyār from Nallūr in Muḷḷināṭu in Māṟōkkam" (Aṉantarāmaiyar 1931: 44).

[81] Aṉantarāmaiyar 1931: 27.

in the colophon of the text is significant. Unlike a marginal title, which could easily be added or omitted, the colophon was an integral part of the textual transmission, and the fact that it contains apocryphal information about the author of the work suggests that it encapsulates traditional knowledge that may go back a considerable span of time. In other words, if the title of the work was at some point changed from an originally different title to *Kainnilai*, this would mean that someone would have had to consciously alter the colophon, which is not impossible, but also does not seem very likely.

Another, perhaps more tentative, argument that might suggest that *Kainnilai* was the original title of the work has to do with the internal logic of the mnemonic stanza. Mnemonic stanzas often contain purely ornate attributes, which at first glance may seem like unnecessary ballast, but which, in fact, serve metrical purposes. For example, in the mnemonic stanza listing the titles of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* works, the ornate attributes *peruku vaḷam*, "of growing luxuriance", and *maruv' iṉiya*, "pleasant to embrace", in line 2 are motivated by the rhyme with the title *Muruku* (= *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*) in line 1. Similarly, the ornate attribute *kōlam*, "beautiful", in line 3 rhymes with the title (*Paṭṭiṉap*)*pālai* in line 4.[82] In other words, such attributes are normally only used if they are necessitated by metre or rhyme. Now, in the case of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza, no matter what reading we prefer for the beginning of the third line, the phrase *iṉṉilaicol*/*iṉṉilaiya*/*meynnilaiya* is clearly an ornate attribute (as we have seen, the possibility that *iṉṉilai* refers to the title of a work can be safely ruled out). Assuming that *kainnilai* in line 4 is not the title of a work would mean that whoever composed the stanza employed two rhyme words that both

[82] Cf. Wilden 2017b: 323–324.

were purely ornamental, rather than employing a word that was required for content and choosing a matching rhyme word. This seems a somewhat uneconomic mode of expression, especially given that the author had to struggle quite hard to fit the titles of eighteen works into a four-line *veṇpā* stanza.[83] It therefore might be more likely that the word *kainnilai* was set because it was one of the titles to be enumerated, and that the ornate attribute *iṉṉilaicol*/ *iṉṉilaiya*/*meynnilaiya* was employed to achieve a rhyme with *kainnilai*.

To summarize this somewhat protracted issue, there are two possible scenarios. The first possibility is that the title *Kainnilai* was wrongly applied to the text that has come to be known under this title based on an erroneous interpretation of the mnemonic stanza. This is what a close reading of the mnemonic stanza seems to suggest. In this case we would have to assume that the *Kainnilai* originally had a different title, perhaps *Aintiṇai Aṟupatu*, as suggested by Citamparaṉār, and was included under the heading *aintiṇai*, while the phrase *kainnilaiya* in the mnemonic stanza referred to the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus as a whole. The other possibility is that *Kainnilai* is indeed the original title of the work that has come to be known under this name, as the manuscripts of this text seem to suggest. If we accept this possibility, we have to cope with the problems posed by the wording of the mnemonic stanza. In this case, it might be reasonable to adopt the emendation *kainnilaiyum*, "and the *Kainnilai*, too", for the problematic reading *kainnilaiya*. Given the complicated nature of this problem and the lack of other evidence, I do not see a way to decide between these two possibilities.

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[83] Note the abbreviated titles and the fact that the only other ornate attribute is *mā*, "great", in line 2 (here required by metre).

Conclusion

This article has shown that the anonymous mnemonic stanza on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works has been formative for both modern and pre-modern notions of this literary corpus. This stanza was not only the source on which scholars since the late 19th century have been relying for information on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus, but it was also known to the scribes of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* manuscripts, who often arranged the texts in the order prescribed by the mnemonic stanza and sometimes also wrote down the stanza. At the same time, both the wording and the interpretation of the mnemonic stanza have been contested. We have seen that the accepted version of the stanza was defined by Ci. Vai. Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai, marginalizing earlier versions of the stanza. In this article, we present the form in which, judging from the surviving witnesses, the stanza seems to have circulated before Tāmōtaram Piḷḷai. Moreover, the interpretation of the mnemonic stanza and the identification of the individual *Kīḻkkaṇakku* works has left room for debates, particularly concerning the question of the *Iṉṉilai* and the *Kainnilai*. This article has shown that the *Iṉṉilai* does not belong to the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. In addition to the arguments that have been brought forward by previous scholars, this is confirmed by the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* serial manuscripts and by the fact that the pre-Tāmōtaram-Piḷḷai form of the mnemonic stanza does not make mention of the *Iṉṉilai*. While the work that has come to be known as *Kainnilai* doubtlessly is a genuine part of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus, the question if *Kainnilai* is the original title of this work, or if this title was mistakenly conferred to a work that originally had a different title, remains open. A close look at the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* mnemonic stanza thus does not only highlight how strongly our knowledge on Tamil literary history relies on anonymous traditional information, but also how shaky the ground on which this knowledge stands can sometimes be.

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UVSL 524. Palm-leaf manuscript held at the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Chennai, India. Multiple-text manuscript containing 11 (originally 13) Kīḻkkaṇakku texts (*Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu*, *Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu*, *Kār Nāṟpatu*, *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu*, *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*, *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*, *Ciṟupañcamūlam*, *Mutumoḻikkāñci*, *Ēlāti*, *Kainnilai*). 225 fols.

UVSL 589. Palm-leaf manuscript held at the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Chennai, India. Multiple-text manuscript containing a wide array of both grammatical and literary texts (see Buchholz & Ciotti 2017), including excerpts from 14 *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts (*Kār Nāṟpatu*, *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, *Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu*, *Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu*, *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu*, *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu*, *Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu*, *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*, *Kainnilai*, *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*, *Ciṟupañcamūlam*, *Mutumoḻikkāñci*, *Ēlāti*, *Ācārakkōvai*). 98 fols.

UVSL 603. Palm-leaf manuscript held at the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Chennai, India. Multiple-text manuscript containing eight *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts (*Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai*, *Tirikaṭukam*, *Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu*, *Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu*, *Kār Nāṟpatu*, *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu*, *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, *Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu*). 85 folios.

UVSL 698. Palm-leaf manuscript held at the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Chennai, India. Multiple-text manuscript containing excerpts from 12 *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts (*Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai*, *Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu*, *Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu*, *Kār Nāṟpatu*, *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu*, *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, *Aintiṇai Eḻupatu*, *Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu*, *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*, *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*, *Ciṟupañcamūlam*, *Mutumoḻikkāñci*). 55 fols.

UVSL 885. Palm-leaf manuscript held at the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Chennai, India. Multiple-text manuscript containing five *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts (*Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu*, *Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu*, *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*, *Ācārakkōvai*) and an unidentified text. 32 fols.

UVSL 1078. Palm-leaf manuscript held at the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Chennai, India, Multiple-text manuscript containing 14 *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts (*Ācārakkōvai*, *Tirikaṭukam*, *Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai*, *Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu*, *Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu*, *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*, *Ciṟupañcamūlam*, *Ēlāti*, *Mutumoḻikkāñci*, *Kār Nāṟpatu*, *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu*, *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, *Tiṇaimoḻi Aimpatu*, *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*). 193 fols.

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Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai: Prolegomena to *Tirukkuṟaḷ*? An inquiry into the genesis and transformation of the canonization of an author and a text at the advent of the print era

K. Nachimuthu (EFEO)[1]

Abstract

Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai or Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai, 'A Garland of Poetry on Tiruvaḷḷuvar' (TM), is a small treatise-like literary work consisting of verses praising the genius of the author Tiruvaḷḷuvar and his didactic work *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (TK). It is purported to have been sung by various authors whose names are similar to those found in the classical Caṅkam texts. The work is available in about 30 palm-leaf manuscripts and a number of printed versions of 19thc. and a first modern commentary by Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇap Perumāl Ayyar that appeared in 1838. This article outlines the variations in the text, its status either as an independent work or as an etiological one with other connected legendary texts on Tiruvaḷḷuvar, its controversial evolution as a *Ciṟappuppāyiram* or prolegomena to the TK, and finally its role in shaping the historiography of Tamil literary history in the 19th c. Together with other legendary narratives on Tiruvaḷḷuvar, TM (redacted by an unknown author around the period of 16th c.), has played a role in canonising Tiruvaḷḷuvar as a Śaivite saint and the TK as orthodox text (Vedic, Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite) at the advent of the print era.

[1] The English translations quoted in this article are from the translation of the entire TM1846TCA done by Indra Manuel. Recently, another English translation by Sankaranarayanan of TM 53 verses has come out in the reedition of the work Mutaliyār 1926 by Mōhaṉ 2017 (Caṅkaranārāyaṇaṉ 2017: 259-270).

Introduction

Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai or Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai; hereafter TM, a small treatise-like literary work, consists of 53 (or 51 or 55 according to the different versions) verses praising Tiruvaḷḷuvar and his TK (Post Caṅkam; 1st-3rd c.; all dates are CE, unless otherwise stated).[2] According to legends, 49 poets in the Caṅkam academy of Maturai and four more, viz. a Voice from Heaven, Nāmakaḷ, Ukkirapperuvaḻuti, and Iṟaiyaṉār, altogether 53 in number, sang these songs,[3] and their names are similar to the names of poets in the Caṅkam anthologies. This work has been linked to the narratives found in the legends of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* or *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram* ("History of Tiruvaḷḷuvar or Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār") and is similar to *Kapilar Akaval* ("Song of Kapilar"), also a small treatise and a polemical work challenging the rationale of caste system, and contemporary to the other two.[4] Another late

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[2] *Vaḷḷuvamālai* was also used as a name to refer to *Tirukkuṟaḷ* occasionally. Vēmpattūr Muttu Vēṅkaṭa Cuppa Pāratiyar or Cuppaiyar (1849), in his *Pirapanta Tīpikai*, when he lists the *Eighteen Kīḻkkaṇakku*, refers to the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* as *Vaḷḷuva Mālai*. The *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is referred to as *Tiruvaḷḷuvappayaṉ* in the early commentaries of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar (*Tol. Poruḷ.* Puṟatt. 21), Peruntēvaṉār (*Vīracōḻiyam*, Yāppu. 21), Kuṇacākarar (*Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* 38).

[3] In some versions, two more songs, one by Iṭaikkāṭaṉār (*kaṭukaittuḷaittu*) and another one by Auvaiyār (*aṇuvaittuḷaittu*) are added without a serial number (ETM1847, 1878). In one TM version (ETM1847 TCA) they are also numbered and so the total will be 55. In a 20th c. printed version, 57 *veṇpā*s plus eight by medieval poets and 83 songs by modern authors are given (Kaḻakappulavar Kuḷu 1968: 49-56) under the title TM.

[4] *Kapilar Akaval* is supposed to have been composed around the 10th-12th centuries according to some literary historians (Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar 1975); Mu. Aruṇācalam dates it to the 15th c. (Aruṇācalam 2005 [1969]: 261-266) but a closer study of it with other evidence shows that it could also be a later work composed around the 16th-18th centuries (Nāccimuttu 1998 [2004]: 21-25). Te. Po. Mīṇāṭcicuntaram, in his notes to the reprint of *The Tamil Plutarch* by Simon Casie Chitty (1946: 22), says that the story that Auvaiyār was the sister of Tiruvaḷḷuvar was made popular by *Kapilar Akaval*. I have heard men of the 19th c. attributing it to either Saravanaperumal Aiyar or Vishakapperumal Aiyar. Tiru. Vi. Kaliyāṇa-cuntaranār also records the same idea (Aṉantanāta Nayiṉār 1932/2006:

prose narrative *Caṅkattār Carittiram* ("History of Caṅkam poets") has also been connected with it (Wilden 2014: 274-285). Still another literary work *Kallāṭam*,[5] supposed to have been composed around the 11th c., mentions the legends about Tiruvaḷḷuvar's connection with the Caṅkam. And the legends of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's birth narrated in *Kapilar Akaval* needs to be examined.

Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai or Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai: Nomenclature, provenance and its affinity with legendary narratives

The name of this work is found differently as *Caṅkattār ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai, "*The *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* composed by the

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i-xii). Po. Pūlōkaciṅkam (1975: 39), in his edition of *Pāvalar Carittira Tīpakam* Vol.1, differs from it. He says that Vēḷūr Ātmanāta Tēcikar (1650-1728), in the 15th song of his *Cōḻamaṇṭala Catakam*, mentions the work and author and therefore, it could have been composed before the 17th-18th centuries CE. The legendary narratives in it might have been developed later and presented in the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar carittiram* and *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*:

poṟaiyār tillai vāḻmuṉivar
pukalip perumāṉ caṇṭīcar
niṟaiyār kalaiyār pūcalaiyār
nīla nakkaṉ pukaḻccōḻaṉ
muṟaiyār ñāṉat tiru akaval
moḻinta kapilar mutalāya
maṟaiyōr evarum imaiyōrāy
vāḻum cōḻa maṇṭalamē (*Cōḻamaṇṭala Catakam* 15)

"For sure, the Cōḻamaṇṭalam is the abode, where (the Three thousand) Sages (Brahmins) who live in Tillai (and who shoulder the responsibility (of conducting the worship of Tillaikkūttaṉ there), the Great leader born in Pukali or Cīrkāḻi) (i.e., Tiruñāṉacampantar), the Caṇṭīcar (of Cēyñalūr), the Kalaiyār (Kuṅkiliyakkalayar of Tirukkaṭavūr) who had been firm in the vow (of burning Guggulu in the temple of Śiva at Tirukkaṭavūr), the Pūcalaiyār (i.e., Pūcalār of Tiruniṉṟavūr in Toṇṭaināṭu), the Nīlanakkaṉ (Tirunīlanakkar of Cāttamaṅkai), the Pukaḻccōḻaṉ (of Karuvūr), the Kapilar (of Tiruvārūr) who had composed the *Ñāṉattiruvakaval* which speaks of justice/proper customs and so forth and all such Brahmins live as immortals."

[5] It is probable that *Kallāṭam* could also have come into existence in a later milieu which produced the narratives connected with *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai, Kapilar Akaval* etc. after the 16th c.; see fn. 54 below.

Caṅkam poets",[6] *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*[7] and *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*.[8] Among the Kerala University mss., six out of seven bear the name *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*,[9] with TKM 2 also containing the *Pāṇṭimaṇṭala catakam* (17th-18th c.), where verse 49 refers to this work as *Vaḷḷuvar Mālai*. The name variation is found reflected in the earlier printed versions also.

The first printed edition of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in 1812 edited/published by Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar of Tirunelvēli records its name as *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (text only without any commentary) and includes it at the end of the book. A printed edition by Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār in 1831, which contains the text of TM along with the texts of TK and *Nālaṭiyār* (Cuntaramūrtti 2017: liii) records this as *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*. It seems that the 1842 edition of TK by Poṉṉucāmi Mutaliyār and the edition of it in 1859 by U. Pusparatac Ceṭṭiyār are similar and mention this name only (Cuntaramūrtti 2008: liii).

In the 1847 edition of TK by Cōmacuntara Upāttiyāyar, the text of TM with the newly-written commentary by Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar (1799 to not known; TCA) is found appended at the end, with the explanatory caption *Tirukkuṟaḷiṉ ciṟappuppāyiram ākiya Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai,* i.e., "*Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*, which is the *prolegomena to Tirukkuṟaḷ*." The *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* is found at the beginning. It seems that it follows the original edition of the same work by TCA (1838).[10]

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[6] Tancāvūr Carasvati Mahāl 1629A.

[7] 1612B = TMS1.

[8] 1. Tancāvūr Carasvati Mahāl 69A, call no. 1, 3 folios, 6 pages = TMS4, and call no. 2.1628H id. Text only = TMS2.

[9] i.e., TMK 1-4 with both *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai and Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai.*

[10] It also contains a lucid commentary on the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* by TCA based on the commentary of Parimēlaḻakar. The commentary on TM was written for the first time by TCA, which is testified by the *Uraicciṟappuppāyiram* ("Prolegomena to the Commentary by TCA") by Tiruttaṇikai Vicākap-perumāḷ Aiyar, TCA's younger brother and by the prefatory song on the

The 1878 edition includes the TK (*mūlam)*, and various commentaries (*patavurai, karutturai* and *vicēṭavurai*) based on *Parimēlaḻakar*, along with *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai Mūlam* and *Urai* on it by Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar and *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram.* This work places the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* and the *Tirukkuṟaḷiṉ ciṟappuppāyiramākiya Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (*"Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*, which is the 'prolegomena to *Tirukkuṟaḷ*'") and its commentary by TCA at the beginning, in the same order. The name is found to be *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai.*

The first edition of the TK by Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār (1849) contains the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* at the end, according to the British Museum Catalogue (14172.c.2). It should also contain the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* but its position and order are not verifiable.[11]

The 1883 edition of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlapāṭam* by Kantacāmi Mutaliyār gives the name of the work as *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*, with the caption *Caṅkattār ceyta,* i.e., *Caṅkattār ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* ("the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* composed by the poets of the Caṅkam"), and its related work on the history of Tiruvaḷḷuvar as *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram*, both of which are placed at the beginning of the book. Thanks to the front page, we come to know that this edition was based on the 1838 one by TCA with *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram and Mālai (TNC).*[12]

In the later editions of *Tirukkuṟaḷ,* it is appended regularly as *Tirukkuṟaḷiṉ ciṟappuppāyiramākiya Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* with

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TM by Kāñcīpuram Kumāracāmi Tēcikar, TCA's schoolmate (ETM 1847, TCA: 1-8).

[11] The same is the case with its other editions in 1851 and 1853, but its recent 2018 edition places TM at the beginning and the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* is dropped (Mōhaṉ Civālayam 2018).

[12] This edition does not contain any commentary on *Tirukkuṟaḷ* or TCA's commentary on *Caṅkattār ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai.*

TCA's commentary or its adaptations of a modified version.[13] References to the TM and fragmentary translations of it had already been recorded in the writings of European scholars in the 19th c. (Blackburn 2000, Gros 2009, Aloysius 1999).

Even though the TM seems to be an independent work of compilation of verses by individual poets, no information is available about the compiler. It is often found associated with the legends of Tiruvaḷḷuvar narrated in *TNC* and the *Kapilar Akaval*.

In the *Nēmināṭam* commentary (14th c.) on verse 6, TM 21[14] is quoted as the illustration of an acceptable comparison

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[13] e.g. Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār 1849; Āṟumuka Nāvalar 1861, 1875; Vīrācāmippiḷḷai 1875 (reprint of Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār 1849); Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār 1885; Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār 1904, 1919; Irākava Ayyaṅkār Mu. 1910; Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār 1936/1937.

An example for the modification of the commentary on TM21 (*uppakkam nōkki upakēci tōḷmaṇantāṉ*) by TCA (1847) is the following: TCA's commentary has been challenged and interpreted differently by Rā. Irākavaiyaṅkār, the editor of the literary journal *Centamiḻ* (1902: 53-54) and it seems that this modified interpretation has been adopted by Kō. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār in his 1904 and 1919 editions. The latter has also edited the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram* as *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* with corrections and changes in the language and narration, incorporating more embellishments, and idioms made more contemporary by replacing the Sanskrit lexemes with the Tamil ones at the beginning. He appended the TM and its commentary by TCA at the end as *Ciṟappuppāyiram of Tirukkuṟaḷ* (1904 edition; British Museum Catalogue No.14172.a.39).

In the first edition of Ceṭṭiyar's *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (1904), TM was placed at the beginning along the with *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* and it seems in the edition of it in 1919 it was placed at the end, may be influenced by the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* editions of Āṟumuka Nāvalar (1861, 1875) and others (see below under the title *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* As *Ciṟapppuppāyiram* or Prolegomena).

[14] TM 21. நல்கூர்வேள்வியார் Nalkūrvēḷviyār
உப்பக்க நோக்கி யுபகேசி தோண்மணந்தா
னுத்தர மாமதுரைக் கச்சென்ப – விப்பக்க
மாதானுபங்கி மறுவில் புலச்செந்நாப்
போதார் புனற்கூடற் கச்சு.
uppakka nōkki upakēci tōḷ maṇantāṉ
uttara mā maturaik kacc' eṉpa – vippakka

between the whole and the part, without indicating the source in the palm-leaf manuscripts. For example, in one manuscript (Kerala University, *Nēmināṭam* No. 6361), only the verse is quoted without giving any indication of the source of the text. In a few other manuscripts and in printed versions, a longer portion is found in which the names Nappiṉṉai and Mātāṉupaṅki are given as illustrations, and the name Nappiṉṉai is explained as the consort of Tirumāl and Mātāṉupaṅki as Tiruvaḷḷuva Tēvar's name.

> உபகேசி ஆவாள், நப்பின்னைப் பிராட்டியார்.
>
> மாதானுபங்கி ஆவார், திருவள்ளுவதேவர்.
>
> *Upakēci āvāḷ, Nappiṉṉaip Pirāṭṭiyār. Mātāṉupaṅki āvār, Tiruvaḷḷuvatēvar.*
>
> Upakēci is Nappiṉṉaip Pirāṭṭiyār and Mātāṉupaṅki is Tiruvaḷḷuvatēvar.

But even here the name of the source text is not mentioned. Only the printed text indicates it that it is TM 21. This is definitely an addition made by the later editor of the printed text. Therefore, we can surmise that the quotation in the *Nēmināṭam* commentary text will not confirm the existence of the work TM as an independent work at the time of the writing of the commentary in the 14th-15th c. A complete critical edition of *Nēmināṭam* may throw some light on it.

A fragment of TM 23 attributed to Veḷḷivītiyār[15] is quoted in *Pirayōka Vivēkam* (*Kārikai* 18; 17th c.) with the comment "The academy men will also say that the Vedas are self-existent."

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mātāṉu paṅki maṟuvil pulaccennāp
pōtār puṉal kūṭaṟk(u) accu.

"Lord Krishna, who went to the northern side and married Nappiṉṉai, is called the pivot of the great Northern Madurai; on this side, Tiruvaḷḷuvar with the versatile tongue free from blemish is the pivot of Kūṭal, i.e. Southern Madurai with ponds abounding in flowers."

[15] It is attributed to the *caṅkattār*, "the men from the academy", i.e., the poets in the Tamil Caṅkam.

செய்யா மொழிக்குந் திருவள் ளுவர்மொழிந்த
பொய்யா மொழிக்கும் பொருளொன்றே – செய்யா
வதற்குரிய ரந்தணரே….
(ஆராயின் ஏனை யிதற்குரியா ரல்லாதார் இல்)
எனச் சங்கத்தாரும் வேதபுருடனைச் சுயம்பு என்பர்.

ceyyā moḻikkun tiruvaḷḷuvar moḻinta
poyyā moḻikkum poruḷ oṉṟē – ceyyā
vataṟk' uriyar antaṇarē…..
eṉac caṅkattārum vētapuruṭaṉaic cuyampu eṉpar.

The meaning/content of the *Veda*s that is not man-made, and the truthful sayings of Tiruvaḷḷuvar are the same; that which is not made belongs to the Brahmins alone; (for the other one, there are none who are excluded.)

Please note here that the *Veda*s are referred (by means of a *bahuvrīhi)* as "those sayings that are not man-made". Here also the name of the text is not found.

It is possible that the legends found in *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Nāyaṉār Carittiram or Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram, Kapilar Akaval,* and *Caṅkattār Carittiram* were already popular in the 17th c. and it may be that the verse is quoted from the work, which had already been compiled or made part of the legendary narrative of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram*. The latter is named *Vaḷḷuvar Mālai* for the first time in the 18th-c. *Pāṇṭimaṇṭala Catakam*:

தெள்ளிய சங்கப் புலவோரும் வாணியும் செஞ்சடைமேல்
ஒள்ளிய கங்கை தரித்தோரும் கூறி ஓரோர் கவிதை
வெள்ளிய செஞ்சொற்றொடர்பா வகையை வியந்துகொண்டு
வள்ளுவர் மாலை பயந்தாரும் பாண்டியன் மண்டலமே (49)

teḷḷiya caṅkap pulavōrum vāṇiyum cem caṭai-mēl
oḷḷiya kaṅkai tarittōrum kūṟi ōrōr kavitai
veḷḷiya cem col toṭar pā vakaiyai viyantu koṇṭu
valḷuvar mālai payant' ārum pāṇṭiyaṉ maṇṭalamē. (49)

Those (poets) who produced the *Vaḷḷuvar Mālai* – the poets of the Caṅkam, the Goddesses Sarasvatī, and the one who is wearing the shining Ganges (i.e., Śiva) having composed each one poem appreciating the clear and rich words and phrases and the distinct metrical pattern (of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*) – also belong to the Pāṇṭimaṇṭalam.

From the above, we can see that the work had different appellations. i.e., *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (without commentary), *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*, *Caṅkattār Ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* (without commentary), *Tirukkuṟaḷiṉ ciṟappuppāyiramākiya Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (with commentary) and *Vaḷḷuvar Mālai.* Sometimes it is also referred to as *Mālai*, as in the 1883 TK edition by Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār.

So one may infer that the work must have come into existence in the present form around the 15-16th centuries, composed by an unknown author.[16] It is probable that the TM continued to exist as a separate work in the late manuscript traditions associating itself with the legends found in earlier texts and in oral sources.[17] The legendary narratives are teleological in nature, aiming at explaining the origin of TM.[18]

Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar (1799 to not known), who must have followed the transmission found in a strand of the manuscripts, probably wrote a commentary on it for the first time, and standardised the name as *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*. It is

[16] Please note that in the 18th c. it was already known as *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai and Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai.*
[17] E.g., like *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram*, *Kapilar Akaval* and *Caṅkattār Carittiram*.
[18] Please note that it was still referred to as *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai and Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*.

also probable that many accretions on the legends of Tiruvaḷḷuvar with a Śaivite perspective were added in the early 19th c. by him and his followers.[19]

In a few palm-leaf collections which I have examined, the TM is found appended at the end of the TK manuscripts.[20] They are copies made on palm leaves of the 19th c. printed editions and so they may not provide evidence for knowing the state of the TM in the TK mss. in the earlier centuries.[21] In the preface, the editors of *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* (Rajam 1981 [1957]: 6) works note that the TM is never found attached with the palm-leaf mss. of the TK, and that the first print editors of TK never included the TM either, and therefore, they have not included the TM in their edition of the TK either. But the 1812 (first) printed edition of the TK contains the TM along with the *Nālaṭiyār*, probably compiled from different mss. The Rajam editors (Rajam 1981 [1957]: 6) may have in mind Ramanuja Cavirayar and Drew's edition (1840), which, possibly aware of the 1812 edition, does not include the TM. This text is also found along with some minor treatises in a bundle, as the 53 or so verses could be written in a few folios which are difficult to keep as a separate bundle (TMK4, TMG4, 5). However, the TM is also found in a separate bundle

[19] By this time, it is commonly referred to as *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai.*

[20] This is done mostly with Parimēlaḻakar's commentary and the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram or Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram,* as inTMK3, 7, TMG3.

[21] It may be noted here that a few palm-leaf mss. of *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* with the commentary of TCA are copies of printed books of 1847, etc.(cf. the TM mss from GOML [TMG3], *Tiuvaḷḷuva Mālai* No11237-2 [R.2661] [TMG3] - 15 Folios (Total Folios 1-117); Injured; old; Extent: 5000 granthas). It contains the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram, Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* and after the 20th folio, the *Tirukkuṟal Kaṭavuḷ Vāḻtttu to Avaiyaṟital* is found. From the description, it seems to be a palm-leaf copy of the printed edition; compare also the mss. from Carasvati mahāl *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* No 3584 1629 A (TMS1) and the one from Kerala University (TMK3).

(TMK2). About 135 TK palm-leaf mss., and a few others related to the TK are also found world over.[22]

A complete picture will be obtained only after examining all the manuscript evidence notably of the TK, the TM, the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram/Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram,* the *Caṅkattār Carittiram, and Kapilar Aakaval*. A thorough examination of the transmission of the TM will help us trace its transmission history, viz.

1. Its emergence as a separate collection with a name (around 16th-17th c.),
2. Its relationship with the prose legendary narratives,[23]
3. The appearance of the commentary by TCA in the 19th c. and the revisions made by later editors,
4. Its designation as *Ciṟappuppāyiram* and its placement at the end of the TK manuscripts and the print editions, mostly with Parimēlaḻakar commentary (19th c.) and its shifting to the beginning of the TK,
5. Its being part of other bundles with the collection of smaller treatises,
6. Its emergence as a separate work in the ms. tradition (Kerala Mss TMK2).

Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai as *Ciṟappuppāyiram* or Prolegomena to *Tirukkuṟaḷ*

As already mentioned, according to the legends associated with the work,[24] this is purported to have been sung by well-

[22] Twenty palm-leaf mss. of the TM and three of the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* have been digitized by the Central Institute of Classical Tamil, Chennai (www.cict.in/criticaledition_english.php).

[23] E.g. *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram/Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram, Caṅkattār Carittiram* and the poetical texts *Kapilar Akaval* and the *Kallāṭam*.

[24] cf. *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram*, *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram, Kapilar Akaval and Caṅkattār Carittiram.*

known poets of the Caṅkam age, when it was first presented in the assembly of the poets in the Tamil Caṅkam by Tiruvaḷḷuvar amidst opposition and critical comments. It is an assorted anthology of eulogical verses on Tiruvaḷḷuvar, critical comments on the TK, and short statements on its content and organisation. In this sense some scholars, notably like TCA,[25] later started to assign it the status of a *ciṟappuppāyiram* or a kind of *prolegomena* to the TK. As per the evidence of printed sources indicated above, Ampalavāṇak Kavirāyar (1812) had already appended the text of the TM at the end with the first printed edition of the TK under the title *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai.*

Mālai as a Literary Genre

The suffix *Mālai* (a garland or a bunch of verses on a theme [Cuppiramaṇiyaṉ 2010 [1978]: 475ff.]) is found as a generic name of many minor genres (counted upto 28). It is one of the 96 traditional genres mentioned in the poetological texts in Tamil, and is supposed to contain 100 verses in the *Kaṭṭaḷaikkalittuṟai* or *Veṇpā* metres in *Antāti* mode (Kōpālaiyar 2005, Vol. 16: 163). But the TM is not an *Antāti* but in *Veṇpā* metre, and it consists of some 53 songs. It may be remembered here that there was a (now) non-extant work with the title *Āciriya Mālai (Garland of Āciriyappā)*, the songs of which are illustrated in *Puṟattiraṭṭu* (15thc.; ed. by Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai 1938).

Among the other famous *Mālai*s which are similar to the TM, *Nālvar Nāṉmaṇi Mālai* by Civapprakācar (16th c.) is worth mentioning here. It is a eulogy on the *Tēvaram* trio of Tiruñāṉacampantar, Tirunāvukkaracar and Cuntaramūrtti, as well as of Māṇikkavācakar, the author of *Tiruvācakam*.

[25] He does this in his edition of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* with his own commentary elucidating the one by Parimēlaḻakar (TCA 1838, reprinted 1847).

Caṭakōpar Antāti by Kampar and *Upatēca Rattiṉa Mālai* by Maṇavāḷa Muṉi (14th to 15th c.) are other similar works.

The *taṉiyaṉ* Tradition of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas

In the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, such a type of compositions extolling the greatness of a work or author are called *taṉiyaṉs* ("stray verse in praise of an author or a work or stray verse in salutation to a guru" TL). Sometimes this type of works are considered as *ciṟappuppāyiram* ("introduction to a book, giving particulars of the author, title of the work, subject-matter, etc., opp. to *potu-p-pāyiram*, a kind of prolegomena" Irāmacāmi 1988: 127). In short, we may say that the TM shares a milieu with the *Mālai/Antāti* traditions of the minor literary genres, with the *ciṟappuppāyiram* tradition of grammatical works and with the *taṉiyaṉ* tradition of Vaiṣṇava scholasticism.

Ciṟappuppāyiram and the Later Tradition of *Cāṟṟukavikaḷ*

According to Mayilai Cīṉi Veṅkaṭacāmi (2001 [1962]: 272-286) the earlier *Ciṟappuppāyiram* had transformed itself into a later tradition called *Cāṟṟukavikaḷ* ('prefatory verses in praise of the author or editor and the contents and merits the work, a kind of introduction or preface') at the advent of the print era. When a work was printed from the copies of palm-leaf manuscripts, the editors added these *Cāṟṟukavikaḷ* as prefaces received from reputed scholars, which compliment the author or editor, and give the details of the content and the merits of the work. As satellite stanzas they are a rich source of information for the literary history. The practice of including the TM as *Ciṟappuppāyiram* to the TK at the advent of the print era may have been influenced by the emergence of the *Cāṟṟukavikaḷ* tradition during the 19th c.

The TM and Historiography of the TK and Caṅkam Studies

The TM assumes importance because it is one of the earliest complete works to celebrate the greatness of the TK, and of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and therefore, it is part of the historiography of the TK studies. Another aspect is that the names of the authors of the verses sound like the names of the poets of Caṅkam texts, which draws our attention to the historiography of classical studies. Wilden (2014: 274-295) has discussed in detail the bearing of the work on Caṅkam studies. Moreover, the emergence of the TM and other related narratives affected the historiography of Tamil literary history and therefore they assume importance (Blackburn 2000).

The TM and other Related Texts in Canonizing Tiruvaḷḷuvar as a Śaivite Saint, and the TK as an orthodox text

There seems to be a subtle effort to assimilate the TK with the orthodox traditions especially from the Śrīvaiṣṇava perspective on the one hand, and on the other hand, there is a strategy to accommodate and absorb the TK and Tiruvaḷḷuvar in the classical tradition shaped by the Śaivite narratives of the Caṅkam traditions. Together with the legendary narratives[26] and the later Śaivite *akam* composition *Kallāṭam*, the TM has played a role in canonizing Tiruvaḷḷuvar as a Śaivite saint and the TK as an orthodox text (Vedic, Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite). A look at it from the aspects of textual traditions is overdue to evaluate it extrinsically.

[26] As found in in *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram/Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram, Kapilar Akaval,* and *Cankattār carittiram*.

Textual Information and the print history of the text

Palm-leaf Mss.

The following 30 mss. are found in various manuscript libraries in Ceṉṉai, Maturai, Tancāvur, Tiruvaṉantapuram, Kolkatta, Paris, Copenhagen, and Erode. This information will have to be updated after checking with the collections in other libraries.

Kerala University Mss. Library (7)

1. No. 11237B *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*: complete, 7 folios, 150 Granthas; dated ME 1029 = 1854 CE (TMK1).
2. No. 6733 *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai:* Complete, 6 folios, 100 Granthas; 51 songs (TMK2).
3. No. 6417A *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*: incomplete, 2 folios, 35 Granthas (TMK3).
4. No. 6158D *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*: folios 85, 5 folios; an Index of *Tiruvācakam* is found at the end (TMK4).
5. No. 11498A *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai Uraippāṭam*: incomplete, 11 folios, 225 Granthas (TMK5).
6. No. 6383C *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai:* incomplete; along with *Nālaṭiyār*, *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* and *Tirukkuṟaḷ atikāra* index; seems to be a copy from printed editions (TKM 6).
7. No. 11283B. *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* complete, 9 folios, 150 Granthas (TMK7).

See also

Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram

1. No. 6383 B *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram*: complete, 2 folio, 55 Granthas (TCK1).
2. No. 11283A *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram*: complete, 27 folios, 425 Granthas (TCK2).

U.Vē. Cāminmāta Aiyar Library (5)[27]

1. No. 275A (744) *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* complete, 7 folios (TMC1).
2. No. 479A (745) *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*: complete, 7 folios (TMC2).
3. No. 587E (746) *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*: complete, damaged, 5 folios (TMC3).
4. No. 757B (747) *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* badly damaged, 4 folios (TMC4).
5. No. 589 (748) *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*: incomplete, damaged, 1 folio, 10 verses only (TMC5).

Carasvati Mahāl (4)

The Carasvati Mahāl, Tañcāvūr, has four manuscripts of the text:

1. No. 3584 1629A *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (TMS1). This is with a commentary. The colophon is damaged. From the fragmentary information, it may be surmised that it is from the Tirunelvēli area in Tamilnadu. The commentary seems to be an adaptation of the one written by TCA and published for the first time in his printed edition of 1838 or 1847 (cf. the commentary on verse 21 of the printed version; 20 in the palm-leaf).[28] So the palm-leaf manuscript could have

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[27] The numbers in bracket are from *Descriptive Catalogue of Palm-leaf Mss. in Tamil,* Vol. II part II, published by The Institute of Asian Studies, Ceṉṉai 1992, General Editors Shu. Hikosaka, John Samuel. The CICTPM Vol I lists these Mss. from 5529-5533.

[28] (உபதேசி பாடம் போலும், மாதானுபங்கி –மாதனுபங்கி-
பிறவியொழிந்தோன்)
உப்பக்க நோக்கி யுபதேசி தோண்மணந்தா
னுத்தரமாமதுரைக் கச்சென்ப – விப்பக்க
மாதானு பங்கி மறுவில்புலச் செந்நாப்
போதார் புனற்கூடற் கச்சு. in 1883 பாடம் **உட்பக்கம்** in 1878 உபகேசி இடைக்காடன் சென்ற பக்கத்தைப்பார்த்துச் சென்றோனாகிய தன்னிடத்துபதேசம் பெறுமுமாதேவி தோளைச் சேர்ந்த பரமசிவன் பெருமைபெறும் வடமதுரைக்காதாரமாவரென்று சொல்லுவர்.

been prepared during the middle of the 19th c. It was not uncommon to see printed books being copied onto palm leaves during the middle of the 19th c.

2. No. 3579 1628H *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (TMS2). The name of the work is mentioned as *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*.Only 53 verses are there without commentary. It is dated to Śāka era 1720, i.e., 1798 CE. It is also surmised to be from the Tirunelvēli area.

3. No. 3536/No. 1612-B *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (TMS3). 53 plus 3 songs are found.

4. No. 00069-A *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (TMS4). It is copied by one Vāttiyār Villavanam, who lived near Tirukkurāccēri (the modern Tirukaḷāccēri, near Taraṅkampāṭi/Tranquebar).

அதுபோலப் பிறவியொழிந்தோனாகிய குற்றமற்ற பெருமை பொருந்திய புலமையைச் சேர்ந்த செவ்விதாகிய நாவையுடைய திருவள்ளுவன் சங்கப்புலவரிருக்குமிப்பக்கமாகிய நிறைந்த நீர்வளம் பொருந்திய தென்மதுரைக்காதாரமாவனென்றவாறு, தானு நீட்டல் விகாரம். செந்நா அன்மொழித்தொகை உத்தரமதுரைக்கருகில் வடபுறத்திருப்பது 20

(Upatēci pāṭampōlum mātāṉupaṅki mātaṉupaṅki-one who destroyed or relinguished the bondage of birth)

uppakka nōkki yupatēci tōṇmaṇantāṉ
uttara mā maturaik kaccu eṉpa –vippakka
mātāṉupaṅki maṟuvil pulaccennāp
pōtār puṉal kūṭaṟ kaccu. In 1883 pāṭam uṭpakkam in 1878 upakēci

'iṭaikkāṭaṉ ceṉṟa pakkattaippārttuc ceṉṟōṉākiya taṉṉiṭattupatēcam peṟumumātēvi tōḷaic cērnta paramacivaṉ perumai peṟum vaṭamaturaik-kātāramāvareṉṟu colluvar. atu pōlap piṟaviyoḻintōṉākiya kuṟṟamaṟṟa perumai poruntiya pulamaiyaic cērnta cevvitākiya nāvaiyuṭaiya tiru-vaḷḷuvaṉ caṅkap pulavarirukkumippakkamākiya niṟainta nīrvaḷam poruntiya teṉmaturaikkātāramāvaṉeṉṟavāṟu, tāṉu nīṭṭal vikāram. Cennā aṉmoḻit tokai uttaramaturaikkarukil vaṭapuṟattiruppatu' 20

"Learned people say that Paramacivaṉ, who joined the shoulders of Umātēvi, who receives the teachings from him, and who has looked in the direction in which Iṭaikkāṭaṉ had gone, is the pivot for the northern Maturai. Similarly, it is said thus that Tiruvaḷḷuvaṉ, who has relinquished the bondage of births and who has a versatile tongue, joined with a superior and faultless scholarship, is the pivot of Teṉmaturai, which is full of water resources and which is the place where the poets of the Caṅkam resides."

This commentary closely follows TCA's.

It was copied in the Tamil year Vikāri, month of Māci, in the 19th c.[29] The manuscript must have been copied from a damaged mss.; many missing portions are left with blank spaces. There are also missing numbers, verses, names, and songs, which are mixed up. Only 50 songs have been written down and a few of them are not there. The numbering also differs. There is no song by Iṟaiyanār, and the name Uruttiracarmar is repeated twice.

GOML Library (5)

1. No. TD-969 *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* 22 folios (TMG1).
2. No. 5-85 *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* 10 folios (TMG2).
3. No. 11237-2 (R.2661) *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* 15 folios; total folios 1-117 (TMG3). Damaged, old. Extent 5000 granthas. It contains the *Tiruvalluvar Carittiram, Tiruvalluva Mālai* and, after the 20th folio, *Tirukkuṟal Kaṭavuḷ Vāḻtttu to Avaiyaṟital* are found. From the description it seems to be a palm-leaf copy of the printed edition.
4. No. TD-103 *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai:* 38x2/12x5 cm (TMG4). In the bundle *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*, *Civapōkacāram*, and *Civa-taricaṉam* are found. Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai is in 14 folios. The rest are the other two works. Acarīri 1. Tiruttaku…. 53. *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* Muṟṟum Āka 53. From the script it seems to be a copy of 19th c., which seems to be closer to the printed edition.
5. No. GOML TD-104/D-166 *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* and *Nālaṭiyār:* condition sticky, 26x3x10cm 14 folios (TMG5). *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* Acarīri Tiruttaku …1. Ālaṅkuṭivaṅkaṉār Vaḷḷuvar pāṭṭiṉ 53; *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai Muṟṟum Tēvicakāyam Āṟumukaṉtuṇai*. This seems to be copy of the early 19th c. versions, similar to the printed editions.

[29] It could be one of the following years, 1839-1840, 1779-1780, or 1719-1720.

Tamil University (2)

1. No. 3439 *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* 58 folios.

2. No. 131-2 *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*: 10 folios.

Madurai Tamil Sangam (1)

1. No. 48 *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* 27 folios.

Kolkatta National Library Tamil Manuscript collections (3)

1. No. 3074A *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*: ? (information missing) folios.

2. No. 2977A *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai:* 8 folios.

3. No. 3098-A *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai Mūlamum uraiyum;* this could be a copy of Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar edition.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, France (1)

1. No. 507-B *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*.

National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark (1)

Tirukkuṟaḷ aṟam Mūlamum Uraiyum Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar. It could be a palm-leaf copy of the printed version of Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar's TK edition, which contains the TM.

Government Museum, Erode (1)

The palm-leaf collection of the Tamilnadu Government Museum at Erode has a copy of a palm-leaf ms. of the TM with 12 verses. Among those, verses from the TM are found with variations. The names of the authors are not found. A few additional verses are also found (Mahēsvaraṉ 2015: 137-40).

These are mostly catalogued as separate works even though some of them are found as part of the TK mss. or along with smaller treatises. One has to scan all the available traditions of the TK transmission before making final statements.

Earliest Printed Texts

The following are the earliest important print versions, which became the standard vulgate for later transmission:

1. *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai (text only)* was edited by Tirunelvēli Ampalavāṇa Kavirayār and published as an appendix with the first TK print edition (which also included *Nālaṭiyār*) by Ñāṉaprakācaṉ of Tañcāvūr in 1812.[30]
2. Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār's *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālaiyum, Tirukkuṟaḷ mūlamum, Nālaṭi Nāṉūṟṟiṉ mūlamum,* Church Mission Press, Ceṉṉai, 1831 (Cuntaramūrtti 2017: liii).[31]
3. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlam, Tiruttaṇikai K. Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar's Teḷiporuḷ Viḷakkam elucidating the Commentary of Parimēlaḻakar,* edited by Cōmacuntara Upāttiyāyar, Pārati Vilāca Accukkūṭam, Cheṉṉappaṭṭaṇam, Pilavaṅka Puraṭṭāci 1847.[32] It seems that it follows the original edition by Aiyar 1838. It also contains a lucid commentary of the TK by TCA based on the commentary of Parimēlaḻakar. (ETM1847TCA).
4. *Tirukkuṟaḷ* with Parimēlaḻakar commentary, edited by Āṟumuka Nāvalar in 1861 (Tuṇmati Vaikāci), Vāṇinikētaṉa Accukkūṭam, Ceṉṉappaṭṭaṇam 1861.[33]

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[30] It was made available as a collector's edition by Roja Muthiah Library Ceṉṉai in 2016. (1812) (ETM1812 A). A palm-leaf ms. of it was made noting the print and other mistakes of the print edition by scholars, and a copy of it has been deposited in the Kolkata National Library (Cuntaramūrtti 2017: liii).

[31] It seems that the 1842 edition of the TK by Poṉṉucāmi Mutaliyār and its 1859 edition by U. Pusparatac Ceṭṭiyār are similar (Cuntaramūrtti 2017: liii). (ETM1831T).

[32] The text of the TM and the commentary newly written by Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar (cf. Aiyar1847) are found appended at the end with the explanatory caption *Tirukkuṟaḷiṉ Ciṟappuppāyiram ākiya Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* "that which is the *prolegomena of Tirukkuṟaḷ*".

[33] *Tirukkuṟaliṉ Ciṟappuppāyirmākiya Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai* along with the commentary of Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar (ETM1861AN), is appended at the end. *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* is not found here. The non-inclusion of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* by Āṟumuka Nāvalar is taken as evidence for its

5. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum Parimēlaḻakar uraiyaikkoṇṭiyaṟṟiya patavuraiyum, karutturaiyum, vicētavuraiyum*, *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai Mūlamum-uraiyum Carittiramumākiya ivai Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷaiyaravarkaḷāl muṉ patippitta piratikkiṇaṅkap paricōtittu Tiricirapuram Puttaka viyāpāram Ti. Capāpatippiḷḷai*. Printed at the Muttoovarcolalumbal Press, Chintadripettah 1878 (ETM1878CP).

It contains the TK *Mūlam*, the *patavurai*, *karutturai* and *vicēṭa-urai* based on Parimēlaḻakar *urai*, the TM *Mūlam* and the *Urai* by Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar, and *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram.*[34]

6. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlapātam, Ivai Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar muṉ patippitta piratikkiṇaṅka Pūviruntavalli Kantacāmi Mutaliyārāl pārvaiyiṭappaṭṭu Cennīrkkuppam Kaṉṉiyappa Mutaliyār avarkaḷatu Kamalālaya Vilāca accukkūṭattil patippikkappaṭṭatu* 1883 (ETM1883KM).

This 1883 edition was edited by Pūviruntavalli Kantacāmi Mutaliyār based on the (1838?) edition of Aiyar.[35] It may be noted that it gives the name of the work as *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* with the caption *Caṅkattār Ceyta* i.e. *Caṅkattār Ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* "*Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* composed by the poets of Caṅkam", and its related work on the history of Tiruvaḷḷuvar as *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram.* [36]

7. *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlam-Ivai Putuvai Poṉṉucāmi Mutaliyārāl Patippittu Ā. Tirumullaivāyil Appācāmi Mutali-*

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non-genuineness by Tiru. Vi. Kaliyāṇacuntaraṉār (Aṉantanāta Nayiṉār 1930 [2006]: X-XI).

[34] Itplaces the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar carittiram* and the *Tirukkuṟaḷiṉ ciṟappup pāyiramākiya Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* at the beginning.

[35] (TCA) with *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyanār Carittiram (TNC) and Caṅkattār Ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* text only without the commentary of Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar.

[36] This edition does not contain any commentary on the TK but includes the works *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram and Caṅkattār Ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* (without commentary) at the beginning serially. (Note that it refers to the work as *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*).

yārāl tamatu Nīticāra Viḷakka accukkūṭattil Patippikkappaṭṭaṉa Cupakirutu varuṭam Vaikāci Mātam (1842-43).

This contains only the text of the TM and the TK.[37]

8. Karunānanta Cuvāmikaḷ, *Tirukkuṟaḷ Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar Urai.*

It contains *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* with his commentary etc.[38]

As already mentioned, the text of the TM and the commentary by Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ (TCA) Aiyar became the standard model version (vulgate) for the later publications. A new lucid commentary has been published recently (Irāma Vētanāyakam 2017). Later, the TM with Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar's commentary was reproduced by many others, among whom Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār 1904 and Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār may be mentioned here for their modifications.

Other Printed editions

The following are some of the other printed editions, which include *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* etc.

1. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlam* with a commentary based on Parimēlaḻakar's and other works, compiled by Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār.[39] [40]

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[37] The TM is found at the beginning with the caption *Ciṟappuppāyiram* (ETM1842PM).

[38] Pirapākara Accukkūṭam, Ceṉṉai 1869 (ETM1869K).

[39] Followed by the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* 53 stanzas by various authors in praise of Tiruvaḷḷuvar with commentary by Caravaṇapperumāḷ, pp. iv, xvi., iii., 488, 32, xix, Kīlaka, Madras, 8*, 1849, (14172-e.2; British Museum Catalogue pp. 382-383). (Unfortunately, the details of the publisher are not given. It may be the same as the one published by Irattiṇa Nāyakar & Sons, Ceṉṉai (Cuntaramūrtti 2006: 35). It is an adaptation of the commentary by TCA.). It contains the TM at the beginning along with the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar carittiram*. There were reprints of this work by Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār (1795-1852) in 1850/1851 (Cātāraṇa) and 1853 (Cuntaramūrtti 2018: xviii). In 2018 came a reprint (Mōhaṉ Civālayam 2018).

2. *Tamiḻ vētamākiya Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum uraiyum* [*Kuṟaḷ* with commentary of Parimēlaḻakar].[41]
3. [Second Edition] pp. viii, ii, 365, 26, x, Ceṉṉapaṭṭaṇam, Yuva (Madras, 1875) 8* 14172.d.7 (ibid).
4. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum Uraiyum [Kuṟaḷ. With commentary based chiefly upon that of Parimēlaḻakar, together with interpretations and prolegomena purporting to be those of Caravṇa Perumāḷ Aiyar.* Edited by M. Vīrācāmippiḷḷai.[42]

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[40] Cover page of the 1851 Edition (As per Tamil calendar, it should be March/April 1851, and not 1850 as given in Mōhaṉ Civālayam 2018):

Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār aruḷicceyta Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum Uraiyum–Tiṇṭikkal Muttuvīrappiḷḷai avarkaḷ uttaraviṉpaṭi Maturai-Putuvai-Ceṉṉai-iccaṅkaṅ-kaḷil Tamiḻttalaimaippulamai naṭāttiya Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyārāl patavuraiyum-karutturaiyum-Vicēṭavuraiyum-ceytu palavilakkaṇa Mēṟkōḷ koṭuttapiṉpu Maturai-Ma Ra Ra Cīvil sēṣaṉ kōrttu hēṭ rayiṭṭar Muttukriṣṇa Piḷḷaiyavarkaḷāl Cintātirippēṭṭai Caṇmuka vilāca Accukkūṭattil patip-pikkappaṭṭaṇa. Ipputtakam Mēṟpaṭi Mutaliyār Kumārarkaḷ Āṟumuka Mutaliyārālum Kantacāmi Mutaliyārālum Niṟaiveṟṟappaṭṭatu. Cātāraṇa varutam Paṅkuṉi Mātam.

Cover page of 1853 Edition:

Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉārāl Tiruvāymalarntaruḷiya Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum Uraiyum –Iṉṯu Maturaikkalviccaṅkattut Tamiḻttalaimaippulamai naṭāttiya Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyārāl patavuraiyum-karutturaiyum-Vicēṭa-vuraiyum-ceytu palavilakkaṇa Mēṟkōḷuṭaṉ Acciṟpatippitta puttakattukkiṇaṅka Maṇṇippākkam Capāpati Mutaliyārāl pārvaiyiṭap-paṭṭu Ceṉṉīrkkuppam Kaṉṉiyappa Mutaliyārāl Kalvikkaṭal Accukkūṭattiṟ patippikkappaṭṭatu, Pramātīca varuṭam Puraṭṭāci Matam (Equal to CE 1853 Sept/Oct).

There is a second edition in 1856, published by Kēcava Mutaliyār, of Prapākara Accukkūṭam (Cuntaramūrtti 2006: 35). The 2018 edition is by Mōhaṉ Civālayam (*Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Tiruvāymalarntaruḷiṉa Tiruk-kuṟaḷ Mūlamum Uraiyum,* Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār, Patippāciriyar, Civālayam Je. Mōhaṉ, Civālayam, Ceṉṉai 2018).

It contains the TM with commentary (adopted from TCA) at the beginning, and the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* found in the earlier editions has been dropped).

[41] Followed by the TM with Caravaṇapperumāḷ's commentary. Edited by Āṟumuka Nāvalar, pp. viii, ii, 384, 28, xi, Ceṉṉapaṭṭaṇam, Tuṉmati [Madras1861] 14172.d.7

[42] It is followed by the TM with Caravaṇa Perumāḷ's commentary; pp. 434, 24, ii, x, ii, Yuva [Madras1875] 8* 14172c.10 A reprint of the edtion 1849 (ibid).

5. *The Kuṟaḷ of Tiruvaḷḷuvar*, *with the commentary of Parimēlaḻakar and a simple and clear Patavurai*. Edited by Murukēca Mutaliyār 1885, to which is added an English translation of the Text by the Rev. J. Lazarus for the chapters from 64 to 133, furthering the translations of William Henry Drew.[43]
6. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlam Karutturaiyuṭaṉ*. Edited by Cuntara Mutaliyār, Victoria Jubilee Accukkūṭam, Ceṉṉai 1893.[44]
7. *Tamiḻ vētamākiyaTirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum uraiyum [Kuṟaḷ with the commentary of Parimēlaḻakar and with paraphrases, notes, and biography by G. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭi,* 1904.[45]
8. *Teyvappulamait Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Aruḷicceyta Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum uraiyum Parimēlaḻakar uraiyum* [*Kuṟaḷ* with Parimēlaḻakar's commentary and the English translation of the text.][46].
9. *Teyvappulamait Tiruvaḷḷuvar aruḷicceyta Tirukkuṟaḷ. Parimēlaḻakar urai* [*Kuṟaḷ* with Parimēlaḻakar's commentary.][47]
10. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum Parimēlaḻakar Uraiyum. Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār ārāyccikkuṟippuraiyuṭaṉ*. [*Kuṟaḷ*

[43] Followed by the TM*. (Tamiḻ vētamākiyaTirukkuṟaḷ Mūlamum…Ilakkaṇa Uraiyum*) pp. 4.4. 623, 29, x; 1 plate. Madras 1885. 8* 14172.d.15 (ibid).

[44] Among others it includes the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram, Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* Text and *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Corūpa tuti* at the end (cf. the edition of ETM KM1883).

[45] Followed by the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* with Caravaṇapperumāḷ's commentary. Edited by Vaṭivēluceṭṭi and V.P. Teyvanāyaka Mutaliyār; pp. iii.vi, ii.1208, 30, 28, xi.ii.; 1 plate, Ceṉṉai [Madras] 1904, 8* 14172.c, 48 (ETM1904KV).

[46] Followed by the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* with notes. Edited with annotation etc. by K. Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭi. Second Edition, 2 vols., pp. 8, 24, 1402, 11, 30, 5, 7, 11; 1 plate, Ceṉṉai [Madras] 1919, 8* 14172.ccc, 15 (ETM1919KV).

[47] Followed by the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* with Caravaṇapperumāḷ's commentary. Revised by Mu. Irākava Aiyaṅkār. pp. ii.21, 28, 674, 46, 2, Maturai [Madura] 1910. 16* 14172.a.72.

with Parimēlaḻakar's commentary and research notes by Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār].[48]

It contains the three parts of the TK with Parimēlaḻakar's commentary with extensive annotations, and the TM with the commentary of Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇa Perumāl Aiyar and the modifications by Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār, perhaps adapting from Mu. Irākava Aiyaṅkār's *Tirukkuṟaḷ* edition (cf. above Other Printed Editions 9). There is no printing history available in the edition.[49]

A complete collection of the TM mss. both palm-leaf, paper as well as the printed versions and a collation and a critical edition only will give a definite view on it. What is presented here is a provisional statement on the subject. Nobody has attempted to make a critical edition of the TM collecting the palm-leaf manuscripts and printed versions. Along with this, critical editions of the legendary narratives[50] are to be prepared. An effort in that direction was made by me with my M. Phil student Lani Das in 2004.[51] Subsequently a few more mss., one with a commentary on the TM (No 3584 1629-A of Caracuvati Mahāl [TMS1])and the other without a commentary

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[48] First Edition of Uma Patippakam, Ceṉṉai 2009 (ETM1938VMK).

[49] It seems to be based on the edition *Tirukkuṟaḷ Aṟattuppāl Parimēlaḻakar Urai* with the notes by Vai. Mu. Caṭakōpa Rāmānucāccāriya svāmikaḷ, R. G. Accukkūṭam, Ceṉṉai 1937 and the *Tirukkuṟaḷ Aṟattuppāl Parimēlaḻakar Urai (Poruṭpāl, Kāmattuppāl)* with the notes of Vai. Mu. Kōpāla-kiruṣṇamāccāriyār and Vai. Mu. Caṭakōpa Rāmānucāccāriya svāmikaḷ, R.G. Accukkūṭam, Ceṉṉai 1938. It contains 53 verses of the TM with the commentary of Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar without the last two verses by Iṭaikkāṭar and Auvaiyār.

[50] i.e. *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram, Caṅkattār Carittiram, Kapilar Akaval,* including *Kallāṭam*.

[51] This was in the Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, Kāriyavaṭṭam, Tiruvaṉantapuram. The work for her M.A. dissertation was based on a ms. in the Oriental manuscripts Library of the Kerala University (Tās2004). She could not compare other manuscripts in the Kerala University Manuscript Library or elsewhere, and could not do much with the editorial work. What was finally submitted was an index and study of the text as it was available in print and a few observations of the ms.

(*Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* No. 00069-A of Caracuvati Mahāl [TMS4]) have been consulted. The other mss. could not be examined. A few observations are presented in this article.

Variation in the Total Number of Verses

ETM1812A contains 53 *veṇpā* verses. In ETM1847 TCA two more *Kuṟaḷ veṇpā*-s attributed to Iṭaikkāṭar and Auvaiyār are added with a commentary after the main commentary, bringing the total to 55. The number here has a significance. According to the legends, the presiding poets in the last Tamil Caṅkam were 49 in number. In addition to the poems attributed to them, the four verses attributed to Acarīri ("voice from the sky"), the gods Carasvati and Iṟaiyaṉār (i.e., Śiva), and the Pāṇṭiya king Ukkirapperuvaḻuti are also added to make it 53. Then the last two by Iṭaikkāṭanār and Auvaiyār were added later to make it 55. But the 1883 edition by Kantacāmi Mutaliyār is similar to ETM1812A and does not contain the last two. Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār 1938 is similar to the above. The 1847i (ETM1847 TCA) edition by Upāttiyāyar has two verses by Iṭaikkāṭar and Auvaiyār with a commentary added after the main commentary. The 1878 edition by Capāpati Piḷḷai (ETM1878CP) has the song by Iṭaikkāṭar as the 54th verse, added to the main commentary, after which a song called *Nāyaṉār corūpa stuti* and a list of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's other names (a song attributed to Auvaiyār) are added without any number.[52]

[52] The insertion of songs by Iṭaikkātar and Auvaiyar needs an explanation. There are at least three poets who go with the name Iṭaikkāṭar or Iṭaikkāṭaṉār, one of whom is found among the poets of the Caṅkam period. There is another one who figures in the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam*. The legends of this poet are found in "Iṭaikkāṭaṉ Piṇakkuttīrtta Paṭalam" (chapter 56 of Parañcōti *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam*). The third Iṭaikkāṭaṉ is a Cittar who might have lived in the 15th c. (Aruṇācalam 2005 [1969]: 274-277). The addition of his name in the narrative may be linked to the desire of the legend makers to give a Caṅkam background to the TK on the one hand and a Śaivite background on the other hand. Auvaiyār, an important poet of the Caṅkam age, is not among the poets who greeted

The TMK2 has only 51 songs. The significant absence is that of the names and the songs by Iṟaiyanār and the one by Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār. The following are the other notable things: TMS1 seems to be similar to the copy of the first printed version of TM and has close similarities with the commentary of TCA, and a comparison is needed to settle the issue and make further observations. It has only 53 songs, without the ones by Iṭaikkāṭar and Auvaiyār. TCA's commentary is also worth examining. But except for a note on the 21st verse, there is nothing much worth writing on it at present. It needs a complete examination of the transmission of the TM and its commentary in printed versions.

Missing names and verses in TMK2 compared to the print edition of ETM1812A and ETM1847TCA

1. The 3rd song in ETM1812A and ETM1847TCA by Iṟaiyaṉār is not found in TMK2:

> என்றும் புலரா தியாணர்நாட் செல்லுகினு
> நின்றலர்ந்து தேன்பிலிற்று நீர்மையதாய்க் குன்றாத
> செந்தளிர்க் கற்பகத்தின் றெய்வத் திருமலர்போன்ம்
> மன்புலவன் வள்ளுவன்வாய்ச் சொல்
>
> *eṉṟum pularātu yāṇar nāḷ cellukiṉum*
> *niṉṟu alarntu tēṉ piliṟṟu nīrmaiyatāyk kuṉṟāta*
> *cem taḷirk kaṟpakattiṉ teyvat tirumalar pōṉm*
> *maṉ pulavaṉ vaḷḷuvaṉ vāyc col.*
>
> The words coming out of the mouth of the king of all poets, Vaḷḷuvaṉ, is like the godly flower Kaṟpakam,

---

Tiruvaḷḷuvar in the TM legend. So she must have been added by the later legend makers with the same twin purpose of linking the narrative with Caṅkam and Śaivite backgrounds. There is also more than one poet with the name Auvaiyār, viz., a Caṅkam poet, a mendicant poet, and a Cittar poet.

not losing its beauty ever, even if days pass,
blooming well, giving out sweet honey.

2. Acarīri in TMK2 and ETM 1847TCA: change of order and two songs[53]

திருத்தகு தெய்வத் திருவள்ளுவரோ
டுருத்தகு நற்பலகை யொக்க – விருக்க
வுருத்திர சன்ம ரெனவுரைத்து வானி
லொருக்கவோ வென்றதோர் சொல்.

tiruttaku teyvat tiruvaḷḷuvarōṭu
uruttaku nal palakai okka – irukka
uruttiracaṉmar eṉa uraittu vāṉil
orukkavō eṉṟatōr col.

A voice arose from the heaven saying once, 'Oh, let Uruttiracaṉmar be seated on the fine-shaped Caṅkam plank in equality with the esteemed and divine Tiruvaḷḷuvar'.

The following is song 51, not found in the printed versions:

51 Acarīri, New Song

மருக்கை மகப்பலகை வள்ளுவனார்க் கன்றி
யிருக்க விடம்போதா தொக்க நெருக்கி
உருத்திர சன்மனுட னிருக்க யானின்
னருக கலவென்ற தொருசொல்

marukkai makap palakai vaḷḷuvaṉārkku aṉṟi
irukka iṭampōtā tokka nerukki
uruttiracaṉmaṉ uṭaṉ irukka yāṉ niṉ
naruk(u)akala eṉṟatu oru col.

[53] The song by Acarīri is found as number 1 in TM1812A and TM1847TCA. This is found as no. 14 in TVK2. The latter has also another song by Acarīri as number 51. That means TVK2 has two songs by Acarīri.

O baffledand brilliant *s*itting plank (of the Caṅkam)!
There is no sufficient space to sit on [you] except for Vaḷḷuvaṉār.
Me*,* in orderto sit (on you) along with Uruttiracaṉmaṉ squeezing myself*,* let your edge be expanded –
thus said a (celestial) voice.[54]

3. Missing Song – A song by Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār (30) in ETM1847 TCA (*epporuḷum*) is missing in TMK2:

எப்பொருளும் யாரு மியல்பி னறிவுறச்
செப்பிய வள்ளுவர்தாஞ் செப்பவரு – முப்பாற்குப்
பாரதஞ்சீ ராம கதைமனுப் பண்டைமறை
நேர்வனமற் றில்லை நிகர்.

epporuḷum yārum iyalpiṉ aṟivuṟac
ceppiya vaḷḷuvar tām ceppavarum – muppāṟkup
pāratam cīrāma katai maṉup paṇṭai maṟai
nērvaṉa maṟṟillai nikar.

To the *Kuṟaḷ* which has been written by Vaḷḷuvar, who is well-equipped to describe all the things
in a natural way so that everybody will understand the story of Rāma,
the writings of Manu, the ancient Vedas and the *Pāratam* that cannot be equalled.

This is an important omission, which leads to an important hypothesis that the TMK2 version could have been written in the South (Āḻvār Tirunakari) by a Vaiṣnava poet. However, an ardent Vaiṣṇava poet could not have such a song included in it

[54] O baffled (*marukkai)* and brilliant (*maka) s*itting plank (of the Caṅkam) *(palakai)*! There is no sufficient *(pōtātu)* space (*iṭam)* to sit on [you] (*irukka)* except (*aṉṟi*) for Vaḷḷuvaṉār *(vaḷḷuvaṉārkku)*. Me (*yāṉ),* in order to sit (*irukka)* (on you) along (*okka)* with *(uṭaṉ)* Uruttiracaṉmaṉ squeezing myself *(nerukki),* let your (*niṉ)* edge (*aruku)* be expanded/extended *(akala)* – that said (*eṉṟatu)* a (celestial) (*oru)* voice/word (*col).*

as it does not accord equal importance to the Vedas, *the Mahabhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* with the TK, and the language also looks very late. Either it was not there in the original text or was later added by others. Or, if it is otherwise, it has been deleted by the version in TVK2. There is also a different interpretation of this verse which will make the TK equal to the *Mahabhārata*, etc.

4. Another Missing Song – The song beginning in a*ṟam muppatteṭṭu* by Maturaipperumarutaṉār 37) in ETM1812A and ETM1847 TCA is not found in TMK2:

அறமுப்பத் தெட்டிப் பொருளெழுப தின்பத்
திறமிருபத் தைந்தாற் றெளிய – முறைமையால்
வேத விழுப்பொருளை வெண்குறளால் வள்ளுவனா
ரோதவழுக் கற்ற துலகு.
aṟam muppatteṭṭip poruḷ eḻupatu iṉpat
tiṟam irupattaintāl teḷiya – muṟaimaiyāl
vēta viḻup poruḷai veḷ kuṟaḷāl vaḷḷuvaṉār
ōtavaḻuk kaṯṟatu ulaku.

As Vaḷḷuvar brought out the essence of the Vedas
in the thirty-eight chapters on dharma, the seventy on worldly affairs,
and the twenty-five on pleasure, the world has exonerated itself from failing (to do what is right).

Additions found in TMK2

1. Another name for the poet

The Song 20 by Ciṟumētāviyār of ETM1847TCA is found as 19th song in TMK2 with the poet's name as Kākkaipāṭiṉiyār, which is significant:

வீடொன்று பாயிர நான்கு விளங்கற
நாடிய முப்பத்து மூன்றொன்றூழ் – கூடுபொரு

ளெள்ளி லெழுப திருபதிற் றைந்தின்பம்
வள்ளுவர் சொன்ன வகை.

vīṭoṉṟu pāyira nāṉku viḷaṅkaṟa
nāṭiya muppattu mūṉṟoṉṟūḻ – kūṭu poruḷ
eḷḷil eḻupatu irupatiṟṟaintu iṉpam
vaḷḷuvar coṉṉa vakai.

That which is of an introductory nature is four,
that which explicates dharma is thirty-three,
that which explicates destiny is one,
that which explicates worldly matter is seventy,
and that which explicates pleasure is twenty-five.

Similarly, the song *uppakkam nōkki* comes with a different name for the author. Song 21 in ETM1847 TCA is said to have been sung by Nalkūrvēḷviyār, but TMK2 suggests Ālaṅkuṭi Vaṅkaṉār as the author, just as for song 20. The latter is an enigmatic song also found quoted in *Nēmināṭam* commentary (14th c.), cited as evidence for dating the work.[55]

There is another episode on the song and its commentary. In the commentary by TCA it was given a Śaivite interpretation alluding to the legend of the poet Iṭaikkātar in the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam*. This interpretation is found in the palm-leaf copies of the print versions of TCA and other earlier print editions (eg. Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār 1849, Āṟumuka Nāvalar 1861). Later it was corrected by Irā. Irākava Aiyaṅkār (1902) and adopted by Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār (1904), Mu. Irākava Aiyaṅkār (1910) and others in their TK editions. It would be interesting to classify the editions of

[55] The song is quoted in the *Nēmināṭam* commentary without referring to the source of the book. It is surmised that the song must have been in vogue as a stray verse and must have later been made part of the TM when compiled. Therefore, it may not be taken as evidence to the existence of TM as a compilation at the time when *Nēmināṭam* commentary was written.

TM with song 21 and its original commentary by TCA and the modifications proposed by Irā. Irākava Ayyaṅkār.

This song implies that the TK is equal to the *Bhagavad Gītā*:

உப்பக்க நோக்கி யுபகேசி தோண்மணந்தா
னுத்தர மாமதுரைக் கச்சென்ப – விப்பக்க
மாதானு பங்கி மறுவில் புலச்செந்நாப்
போதார் புனற்கூடற் கச்சு.

uppakka nōkki upakēci tōḷ maṇantāṉ
uttara mā maturaik kaccu eṉpa – ippakkam
mātāṉupaṅki maṟuvil pulac cem nāp
pōtār puṉal kūṭaṟ kaccu.

Lord Krishna, who went to the northern side and
married Nappiṉṉai,
is called the pivot of Northern Madurai;
on this side Tiruvaḷḷuvar with the versatile tongue is
the pivot of Kūṭal, Southern Madurai.

This name of the poet Ālaṅkuṭi Vakkaṉār is found as Ālaṅkuṭi Vaṅkaṉār in the last (i.e. 53rd) song, in ETM1846TCA.:

வள்ளுவர் பாட்டின் வளமுரைக்கின் வாய்மடுக்குந்
தெள்ளமுதின் றீஞ்சுவையு மொவ்வாதாற் – றெள்ளமுத
முண்டறிவார் தேவ ருலகடைய வுண்ணுமால்
வண்டமிழின் முப்பான் மகிழ்ந்து.

vaḷḷuvar pāṭṭiṉ vaḷam uraikkiṉ vāymaṭukkun
teḷ amutiṉ tīm cuvaiyum ovvātāl – teḷ amutam
uṇṭu aṟivār tēvar ulaku aṭaiya uṇṇumāl
vaḷ tamiḻiṉ muppāṉ makiḻntu.

If one desires to describe the richness of the song of
Vaḷḷuvar,
it has to be conceded that the sweet taste of the
ambrosia itself will not be equal to it,

because the clear ambrosia is eaten only by the gods
but the three-sectioned *Kuṟaḷ* written in Tamil is
tasted by all the people of the world.

The song *aṟanāṉkaṟi poruḷ* by Toṭittalai Viḻuttaṇṭiṉār, numbered as 22 in ETM1847TCA, is found as 21 in TMK2, and his name is found as Koṭivaḻuttaṇṭiṉār in TMK 2. The version has also different readings in the last two lines:

அறநான் கறிபொரு ளேழொன்று காமத்
திறமூன் றெனப்பகுதி செய்து – பெறலரிய
நாலு மொழிந்தபெரு நாவலரே நன்குணர்வார்
போலு மொழிந்த பொருள்

aṟam nāṉku aṟi poruḷ ēḻ oṉṟu kāmat
tiṟam mūṉṟu eṉap pakuti ceytu – peṟal ariya
nālum moḻinta peru nāvalarē naṉku uṇarvār
pōlum moḻinta poruḷ.

Only the great learned one who organized his treatise
keeping the divisions of the section on dharma as four,
that of worldly matters as seven and that of pleasure
as three
and dealt with the four-fold *aṟam*, *poruḷ*, *iṉpam* and
vīṭu can there in grasp anything which is beyond
the limits of that treatise.

Song 29 beginning with *ellāp poruḷum* is attributed to Maturai Nāyakaṉār in ETM1847TCA while it is attributed to Marutiṉiḷanākaṉār in TMK2 as verse 28, with different readings in the last part of the song.

எல்லாப் பொருளு மிதன்பாலு ளவிதன்பா
லில்லாத வெப்பொருளு மில்லையாற் – சொல்லாற்
பரந்தபா வாலென் பயன்வள் ளுவனார்
சுரந்தபா வையத் துணை.

ellāp poruḷum itaṉ pāl uḷa itaṉ pāl
illāta epporuḷum illaiyāl – collāl
paranta pāvāl eṉ payaṉ valḷuvaṉār
curanta pā vaiyat tuṇai.

All things are here; there is nothing
which exists beyond what is explained here.
What is the use of treatises which use too many words?
The treatise written by Valḷuvar is a companion to the whole world.

The song *iṉpamum tuṉpamum* is attributed to Maturai Aṟuvaivāṇikaṉ Iḷavēṭṭaṉār in TM1847TCA as 35 and to Ciṟumētāviyār in TMK2 as 33. Here also the readings are different in some places.

இன்பமுந் துன்பமு மென்னு மிவையிரண்டு
மன்பதைக் கெல்லா மனமகிழ – வன்பொழியா
துள்ளி யுணர வைத்தாரே யோதுசீர்
வள்ளுவர் வாயுறை வாழ்த்து.
iṉpamum tuṉpamum eṉṉum ivai iraṇṭu
maṉpataikku ellām maṉam makiḻa – vaṉ poḻiyātu
uḷḷi uṇara vaittārē ōtu cīr
valḷuvar vāyuṟai vāḻttu.

To all the people of this world Valḷuvar gave *Tiruk-kuṟaḷ*
as Vāyuṟai Vāḻttu, a medicine fed in the mouth
so that they can contemplate and differentiate
between pleasure and distress with a joyful heart and love.

The song *pūviṟkut tāmaraiyē* numbered as in TM1847TCA is found with different readings in TMK2 34 and with different names of authors, with the former mentioning Kavicākarap peruntēvaṉār and the latter, Maturaikkavutamaṉār, as its author.

பூவிற்குத் தாமரையே பொன்னுக்குச் சாம்புனத
மாவிற் கருமுனியா யானைக் – கமரரும்ப
றேவிற் றிருமா லெனச்சிறந்த தென்பவே
பாவிற்கு வள்ளுவர்வெண் பா.
pūviṟkut tāmaraiyē poṉṉukkuc cāmpuṉatam
āviṟ karumuṉi ā yāṉaikku – amarar umpal
tēvil tirumāl eṉac ciṟantatu eṉpavē
pāviṟku vaḷḷuvar veṇpā.

Among flowers the lotus is superior; among the varieties of gold, that which is called Sampuṉatam;
among the cows, that which belongs to the great sage, namely, Kāmatēṉu; among the elephants the Airavata,
among the gods, Tirumāl (Viṣṇu); similarly,
among the treatises the book written by Vaḷḷuvar in Veṇpā meter is superior.[56]

An interesting additional song is found in TMK2 as no. 50, attributed to Pāṇṭiyaṉār. Irākava Ayyaṅkār, Irā. (1902: 53-54) quotes this as found in the mss. of Maturai Tamil

[56] The following is the version found in the TMK2 34 with different readings:
பூவிற்பொற் றாமரை பொன்னி னாவற்
பெயர்பொன் னாவிற் குறுமுனி – னாவாகும்
மேவியதே விற்றிருமா தெனச்சிறந்த தென்பவே
பாவிற்கு வள்ளுவர்வெண் பா.
pūviṉ poṉ tāmarai poṉṉiṉ nāval
peyar poṉ āviṉ kuṟumuṉi ṉā – ākum
mēviya tēvil tirumātu eṉac ciṟantatu eṉpavē
pāviṟku vaḷḷuvar veṇpā.
The significant changes are the following: *poṉṉukku cāmpunatam* is found as *poṉṉiṉ nāval peyarpoṉ*, "the gold that goes by the name *nāval*", or *jamun*, a Tamil synonym for *jampunada*. The second and third lines of the song in the printed version is different. The song in ETM1846TCA has five things mentioned as excellent but TMK2 has only four. Among the four things contrasted, the line *tēvil tirumāl*, "among the gods Tirumāl" is found as *tēvil tirumātu*, "among the gods Tirumātu, or Lakṣmī." This could be a subtle Saivite subversion.

Caṅkam. This is also found quoted in Kōpālakirusṇa-māccāriyār 2009 with different readings:[57]

> பெற்றவரு நற்குருவும் பேணியொரு பொருளை
> யுற்றிரு காலன்றி யுரைசெய்யார் பெற்றவொரு
> பொருளைப் பத்துப்படி யொப்பச் செப்பித்
> தரு . ..... பொருள் வள்ளுவனே தாய்
>
> *peṟṟavarum nal kuruvum pēṇi oru poruḷai*
> *uṟṟu iru kāl aṉṟi urai ceyyār. peṟṟa oru*
> *poruḷaip pattuppaṭi oppac ceppit*
> *taru poruḷ vaḷḷuvaṉē tāy.*
>
> Even the parents and teachers will tell
> an idea twice only and not more than that.
> But Vaḷḷuvar will describe a subject
> in ten different ways.

More changes found in the names of poets TMK2:[58]

ETM1847TCA	TMK2
Iḷikkaṇ Peruṅkaṇṇaṉār 40	Viḷikkaṇpētai Peruṅ-kaṇṇaṉār 37 KU
Ceyirkkāviriyār makaṉār Cāttaṉār 41	Talaikkaviric Cāttaṉār 38
Vaṇṇakkaṉ Cāttaṉār 43	Vaḷḷakkoṟṟaṉār 41
Akkārakkaṇi naccumaṉār 46	…….āciriyar 44 KU

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[57] பெற்றவரு நற்குருவும் பேணி யொருபொருளை
யுற்றிரு காலன்றி யுரைசெய்யார் பற்றி
யொருபொருளைப் பத்துப் பொருளாகச் செப்பித்
தருகையால் வள்ளுவரே தாய்
peṟṟavarum nalkuruvum pēṇi oru poruḷai
uṟṟu iru kāl aṉṟi urai ceyyār. paṟṟi
oru poruḷaip pattup poruḷ ākac ceppit
tarukaiyāl vaḷḷuvarē tāy.

[58] Note that the honorific suffix *-ār* is not regularly found for the names of poets in the mss. of the Caṅkam texts. Some of them with *ār* suffix are later additions by editors. So this usage with *ār* suffix in TM has to be investigated to trace the traditions in mss.

Kavuṇiyaṉār 51	Kavuṇiya Pāratayaṉār 48 KU
Veḷḷiviyāḻam 52 I	Maturaiyār 49
Peruñcīttaṉār 32	Peruñcittaṉār 30

To sum up, the following differences may be noted:

1. Differences in the total number of songs.

2. Differences in the sequence of poems.

3. Differences with regard to the authorship of the poem.

4. Differences in the names of authors.

5. Different readings of the text.

The omission of songs in the TMK2 and the name Iṟaiyaṉār shows that it belongs to a different strand of transmission.

The Correlation with the names of Caṅkam Poets

Twenty-four of the names of poets found in the TM text are similar to the names of poets found in the Caṅkam anthologies. These names mentioned here are the standardized forms in the print editions. But recently the critical editions by Eva Wilden of *Naṟṟiṇai* (2008), *Kuṟuntokai* (2010) and *Akanāṉūṟu* (2018), and of *Kalittokai* (2015) by T. Irājēsvari have recorded various readings of the names which have to be looked into closely.[59]

The name Peruñcīttaṉār (32) in TM1847TCA is found as Peruñcittaṉār in the first printed edition ETM1812, and as Peruñcittiraṉār (30) in TMK2. In Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār

[59] 1. Āciriyar Nallantuvaṉār (18), 2. Ālaṅkuṭi Vaṅkaṉār (53), 3. Aricirkiḻār (13), 4. Cīttalaiccāttaṉār (10), 5. Iṟaiyaṉār (3), 6. Kallāṭar (9), 7. Kapilar (5), 8. Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉattukkārikkaṇṇaṉār (28), 9. Kīrantaiyār (19), 10. Kōvūrkkiḻār (38), 11. Māmūlaṉār (8), 12. Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉār (24), 13. Maturai yaṟuvai vāṇikar iḷavēṭṭaṉār (35), 14. Maturaipperumarutaṉār (37), 15. Mōcikkiraṉār (27), 16. Nakkīrar (7), 17. Nappālattaṉār (37), 18. Nariverūuttalaiyār (33), 19. Paraṇar (6), 20. Pāratam pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār (30), 21. Poṉmuṭiyār (14), 22. Toṭittalaiviḻuttaṇṭiṉār (22), 23. Ukkirapperuvaḻutiyār (4), 24. Veḷḷivītiyār (23)

(1937, 1938, 2009), it is Peruñcittiraṉār. Apparently, it is a corrected version upon finding a similarity with the name of the Caṅkam poet Peruñcittiraṉār. The name Pōkkiyār (26) is found as Pottiyār in one Kerala manuscript (TMK2).

Also, some names show partial similarity with the names of known Caṅkam poets. Either one component is found or the combinations with different components are found.[60] Some names are not found among the Caṅkam poets (i.e. Nalkūrvēḷviyār [21] and Māmilāṭaṉ).[61] Another special case is the name Maturait Tamiḻāciriyar Ceṅkuṉṟūrkkiḻār (34).[62]

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[60] Maruttuvaṉ Tāmōtaraṇār (11): Vaṭamavaṇṇakkaṉ Tāmōtaraṉ, Uṟaiyūr Maruttuvaṉ Tāmōtaraṇār, Uṟaiyūr Mutukūṟṟaṇār (39): Mutukūttaṉār, Iḷikaṭperuṅkaṇṇaṉār (40): Viḷikkaṭpētaip Peruṅkaṇṇaṉār, Ceyalūrk Koṭuñceṅkaṇṇaṉār (41): Ceyalūr Iḷampoṉ Cāttaṉ Koṟṟaṇār, Ceṅkaṇṇaṉār, Iruṅkōṉ Ollaiyāyaṉ Ceṅkaṇṇaṉār, Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉattuc Ceṅkaṇṇaṉār, Taṅkāl āttirēyaṉ Ceṅkaṇṇaṉār, Maturaic Ceṅkaṇṇaṉār, Vaṇṇakkañ Cāttaṉār (43): Putukkayattu Vaṇṇakkaṉ Kampūrkiḻāṉ, Vaṭama Vaṇṇakkaṉ Tāmōtaraṉ; Vaṇṇakkaṉ Cōrumaruṅkumaraṉār, Vaṭama Vaṇṇakkaṉ Pēricāttaṉār, Viṟṟūṟṟu Vaṇṇakkaṉ Tattaṉār, Nattattaṉār (16): Iṭaikkaḻināṭṭu Nallūr Nattattaṉār, Nākaṉṟēvaṉār (12): Maturait Tamiḻkūttaṉ Nākaṉ Tēvaṉār, Kōtamaṉār (15): Pālaikkautamaṉār, Mukaiyalūrcciṟukaruntumpiyār (17): Cōṇāṭṭu Mukaiyalūrcciṟukaruntumpiyār Ciṟumētāviyār/Ciṟumōtāviyār (20): Ciṟumōlikaṉār, Nallūrciṟumētāviyār, Naṉpalūrcciṟumētāviyār, Eṟiccalūr malāṭaṉār/Eṟiccalūr Māmūlaṉār (25): Kōṉāṭṭu Eṟiccilūr māṭalaṉ maturaikkumaraṉār.

[61] It may be noted that Malāṭu is the region around Tirukkōyilūr where a provincial dialect of Tamil was formerly spoken, one of twelve Koṭuntamiḻnāṭu (*Naṉṉūl* 272. Mayilainātar commentary).It is also found used as *milātu* in inscriptions and literature (Cf.Tamil Lexicon. *milāṭu*, n. <*malāṭu*. Country of Malaiyamāṉ; *malaiyamāṉatu nāṭu*. [I. M. P. S. A. 525]).There are many references to persons with the title *milātuṭaiyār* in inscriptions. During the reign of Rājēntira Cōla (1012-1044 CE), many names with the title Milāṭutaiyāṉ or Milāṭuṭaiyār figure in inscriptions such as Arumoḻitēva Milāṭuṭaiyār, Rājēntiira Cōḻa Milāṭuṭaiyāṉ as feudatories ruling over Malāṭu or Milāṭu (Govindasamy 1979: 39-40). So the name Māmilāṭaṉār could have been derived from the name of the territory called Milāṭu or Malāṭu.

[62] Ceṅkuṉṟūr is attested in Caṅkam literature. But there is no such name as Ceṅkuṉṟūrkkiḻār in the available name lists of Caṅkam poets, although it may be there in some variant readings. The combination of Tamiḻāciriyaṉ is also not attested, while Pālāciriyaṉ and Iḷampāciriyaṉ are attested.

There are 33 names with Maturai as attribute found in the Caṅkam corpus;[63] here we find Maturaittamiḻnāyakaṉār (29). "Tamil" is attested in some names (Maturait Tamiḻkkūttaṉār and Maturait Tamiḻkkūttaṉ Nākaṉtēvaṉār). There are 15 names ending in Nākaṉār.[64] Nāyakaṉār is not attested in the printed versions of Caṅkam corpus.

The name Uruttiracaṉmakaṇṇar (31) is known from legend; Uruttiracaṉman is the dumb son of Uppūrikuṭikiḻār, i.e., the incarnation of god Murukaṉ in human form in the Tamil Caṅkam legend. Either variants or related names are Uruttiraṉār [Kuṟu. 274, Cōḻaṉ Nalluruttiraṉ [Puṟam. 190] and Nalluruttiraṉār [Kali.101-117].

Another name with multiple repercussions is Peruntēvaṉār. Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār (30) is the author of another song in the TM and could be a different poet from Kavicākarapperuntēvaṉār (36). His songs are found as invocatory songs in the *Kuṟuntokai, Akaṉāṉūṟu, Puṟanāṉūṟu, Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* and *Naṟṟiṇai*. He is also the author of *Pārata Veṇpā.* He could have lived in the 8th c. CE. There is also a Peruntēvaṉār among the Caṅkam poets.

Another name found in the printed versions is Ceyirk-kāviriyārmakaṉār Cāttaṉār. His song is numbered 41 and begins with *āvaṉavum ākātaṉavum*. In the Kerala mss (TMK2) it is numbered as 38, and the name of the author is given as Talaikkāviritccāttaṉār. In TMSI it is attributed to

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[63] Maturai Āciriyar Kōṭaṅkoṟṟaṉār, Maturai Iḷampāl Āciriyar Cēntaṅ-kūttaṉār, Maturai Tamiḻkūttaṉār, Maturai Tamiḻkūttaṉār Nākaṉtēvaṉār, Maturai pālāciriyar Cēntaṅkoṟṟaṉār, Maturai pālāciriyar Nappālaṉār, Maturai Pālāciriyar Naṟṟāmaṉār.

[64] Ammeyyaṉ Nākaṉār, Iḷanākaṉār, Iṉincanta Nākaṉār, Taṅkāl Poṟkollaṉ Veṇṇākaṉār, Tīṉmati Nākaṉār, Naṉṉākaṉār, Maturaikkaṭaiyattār Makaṉ Veṇṇākaṉār, Maturaikkaḷḷiṟkaṭaiyattaṉ Veṇṇākaṉār, Maturaikkollaṉ Veṇṇākaṉār, Maturaippūtaṉ Iḷanākaṉār, Maturaip Perumarutiḷa Nākaṉār, Marutaṉiḷa Nākaṉār, Muppēr Nākaṉār, Viricciyūr Naṉṉākaṉār, Veḷḷaikkuṭi Nākaṉār.

Ceyirkkāviriyārmakaṉār Cāttaṉār, and in the TMS2 it is numbered as 39, attributed to Talaikkāvititccāttaṉār. In the variations of this name the elements Ceyir, Kāviri, Kāviti, Talaikkāviri and Talaikkāviti, Makaṉār, and Cāttaṉār can be sifted.[65]

The name Kayattūrkkiḻār (44) is attested in Caṅkam anthologies. The epithet Kiḻār is found in at least 35 names of poets in in Caṅkam anthologies (Cañcīvi 2010 [1973]: 276-277).

As for Naccumaṉār (45), there are two names occuring in the TM one without epithet as Naccumaṉār, and with an epithet Akkārakkaṉi Naccumaṉār (46). Names with the epithet *nal* or its variants also exist. But this particular name is not so far recognized.

Regarding the Acarīri (1) and Nāmakaḷ (2) songs, they could be ghost songs. Nāmakaḷ is found with the Sanskrit name Caracupati in TMK2 manuscript. In the first print edition ETM1816 the last 54th and 55th songs by Iṭaikkāṭar and Auvaiyār are not found. In the ETM1847 TCA also it is found added as addition after the main commentary. In the Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār editions (1937, 1938 and 2009) they are not included. It seems like a later interpolation.

From the foregoing discussion (which could have been extended to cover more items), the following are some of the observations that we can make:

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[65] Among these names the Talaikkāviri is notable, being the name of a place in Kudagu District of Karnataka and the source of the River Kāviri. Or the reading of the name could be Talakkāviti as in one TMS2 mss. Kāviti is a title for Veḷḷāḷa ministers given by Pāṇṭiya Kings (*Pattuppāṭṭu Maturaikkāñci* (UVēcā's note on line 499) and Talaikkāviti could be a chief among them. The following names of the poets in Caṅkam anthology contain the title Kāviti: Iḷampullūrkkāviti, Kiṭaṅkil Kāvitik Kīraṅkoṟṟaṉār, and Kiṭaṅkil Kāvitip Peruṅkoṟṟaṉār. The other component Ceyir is unique. The other components like Makaṉār and Cāttaṉār are also found attested in the poets' names in Caṅkam anthologies.

1. There are variations in the reading of names between the manuscripts and the printed versions.
2. A few names are not attested in the available printed texts of Caṅkam texts.
3. A few are found without the usual attributes found in Caṅkam texts.

It seems that the first editors of the TM had published the names as they are available in the manuscripts used by them and later editors emended some of them without any textual evidence. To resolve this all the variations found in manuscript evidences of the names of Caṅkam poets (about 472) should be collected. Similarly, the readings found in the different TM mss. should also be collated. A comparative study of such a material may reveal facts.

Dating of the text

The date of the work is not well established but the opinions on it vary, fixing the date of its composition either to Tiruvaḷḷuvar's own time or at some point between 7th to 16th c.

Sriṉivāca Aiyaṅkār (1998 [1914]: 247-249), in his *Tamil Studies*, feels that these poets found in TM could not have lived at the same period and contemporary to Tiruvaḷḷuvar. It must have been a figment of imagination and a later work of the 9th c.

Cuppiramaṇiya Aiyar (1959: 109-121), relying on the legends on Tiruvaḷḷuvar, feels that the TM is contemporaneous with the TK. Those who criticize him say that the text is an effort to prop up the late legends and it will be naïve to rely and date it. In fact, the different Caṅkam poets found in it could not have lived at the same time and the language of the verses is also very late. Moreover, the *veṇpā* verse followed (most of them pedestrian), the plan and organization of the ideas point

to a work of a single author or editor. There is an agenda for the work, which is to accord to it a Vedic background.

In my opinion the agenda of the work is to give a Vaiṣṇava tag and a Vaiṣṇava compatibility, which will be explained later. It is a clever strategy to give credence to the late legends associated with Tiruvaḷḷuvar and the TK, and it is an interesting narrative in the historiography of the TK studies. The legends relating to Tiruvaḷḷuvar have reached new dimensions in the 19th c., and the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* by Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇap perumāḷ Aiyar has new episodes, which might have existed independently. This has to be investigated individually.

Kantacāmi (1972 [1966]: 118) proposes that it could have been composed during the ascendancy of the Bhakti cult during the 7th to 8th centuries without examining the evidence in detail.

Aruṇācalam (2005 [1971]: 17-34), in his *History of Tamil Literature, 11th century*, considers it a late work which could have been composed by a single author.

His view is shared by Cuppiramaṇiyaṉ (2004: 79-82), a historian. Aruṇācalam dates it to the 11thc. relying on the quotation of the verse *uppakkam* (TM 21) in the *Nēmināṭam's* commentary (14th c.) and the mention of a legend in *Kallāṭam* about the eulogy verse sung by Iṟaiyanār (Śiva) at the time of the *Araṅkēṟṟam* ("presentation of a new work for acceptance before a learned assembly, first public performance of a dancing girl or of a drama" TL) of the TK in the Tamil Caṅkam (Aruṇācalam 2005 [1971]: 17-34)[66]. But in *Nēmināṭam* the

[66] Mu. Aruṇācalam's assumption is based on his dating of *Kallāṭam* to the 11thc. (Aruṇācalam 2005 [1971]: 2-16). But the *Kallāṭam* could be dated to a period around 16-17th c., along with the TM and other legendary narrative texts on Tiruvaḷḷuvar. Similarly, the Śaiva Siddhānta text *Ñāṉāmirtam* (12th c. according to Mu. Aruṇācalam (2005 [1973]: 177-

name *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* is not mentioned and only the verse is quoted. Therefore, it will not consist a testimony for the existence of the work as such. According to a second opinion of Aruṇācalam's, the verse and similar ones could have been collected and presented as the TM by a later compiler. The whole narrative about the presentation of the TK in the Tamil Caṅkam in the presence of an unnamed Pāṇṭiya King is fictional. The 49 poets who were supposedly present at the event lived in different times and in different places. The songs 16, 20, 25, 26, 27, and 37, which describe the schematic structure of the TK, could not have been composed by individual poets but by a single poet on the basis of a common pattern.[67] So the TM was composed by a single poet and the authorship is attributed fictionally to many with ghost names, which is not uncommon in the Tamil tradition.[68] The TM

192), which needs to be examined) has a reference to a legend (*Ñāṉāmirtam* 33 in Cuppiramaṇiyak Kavirāyar Rā. (1904?: 69-72) edition and 40 in Avvai Turaicāmi Piḷḷai: *Ñāṉāmirtam* edition 1954: 248-256) about a *Eḻuvarppayantōḷ* ("she who begot the seven"), which has to be interpreted as an allusion to the legends of Yoganandan/Sunanda and other seven progenies of Yāḻitatta and a Pulaya women found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Avvai Turaicāmi Piḷḷai: *Ñāṉāmirtam* edition 1954: 248-256). But unfortunately, it has been interpreted in later commentaries of the *Ñāṉāmirtam* with reference to the legends of seven progenies of Brahmin Pakavaṉ and the Pulaicci Āti found in *Kapilar Akaval* narrative (Cuppiramaṇiyak Kavirāyar Rā. (1904?: 69-72). Turaicāmi Piḷḷai feels that it is a spurious commentary which was interpolated later by somebody. So, all these are to be re-examined including a critical edition of these texts and it may lead to re-fix the dates of these texts to a later date. It is probable that the Tiruvaḷḷuvar legend and the legends of *Kapilar Akaval* might have been inspired by the stories from *Kathāsaritsāgara.* Similar legends are found in Kerala about Vararuci and his twelve progenies who include Tiruvaḷḷuvar and Kāraikkālammaiyār.

[67] For example, Cīttalaiccāttaṉār is the author of the song 10 and his contemporary king was Pāṇṭiyaṉ Neṭuñceḻiyan according to the *Cilappatikāram*. But he does not figure among the poets but Ukkirapperuvaḻuti, a king mentioned in *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* legend, is.

[68] There are such practices of interpolating songs by Kantiyār and Veḷḷiyampalavāṇattampirāṉ found in the case of *Tēvāram, Cīvakacintā-*

cannot be considered as a *Ciṟappuppāyiram* because it is always found attached at the end of the TK text and not at the beginning, which should be the practice with the *Ciṟappup-pāyiram* as a type of prolegomena. Moreover, no old commentator has added it at the beginning as a *Ciṟappup-pāyiram*, nor is there a commentary by them on it till TCA wrote one. The diction and the *veṇpā yāppu* of the TM look very late.

Aruṇācalam (2005 [1971]: 2-16) sees a link between the legend about the presence of God Śiva and the *Iṟaiyaṉār* 9 and a reference of it found in *Kallāṭam* 62. He proposes the 11th c. as the date for the *Kallāṭam* on grounds which are very flimsy. For example, Aruṇācalam sees a parallel in the reference to the story of Śiva transforming himself into the Pāṇṭiya king in the *Kallāṭam* (2: 9-14) and the *Parañcōti Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* (song 10). He feels that it is an adaptation by Parañcōti based on the *Kallāṭam*. But a close examination will reveal that it is the adaptation by the *Kallāṭam* from the later *Parañcōti Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* (16th c.). Moreover, Parañcōti has not narrated any legend of Tamil Caṅkam connecting Tiruvaḷḷuvar, and only the *Kallāṭam* mentions such a legend. So the *Kallāṭam* must have been a product of the Tiruvaḷḷuvar-Tamil Caṅkam legend cycle which arose around 16th to 17th centuries. In fact, a legend on *Kallāṭam* gives an account of it being heard in the Tamil Caṅkam by Iṟaiyaṉār similar to the one on Tiruvaḷḷuvar. So the *Kallāṭam* could be dated to a period posterior to *Parañcōti Tiruviḷaiyāṭal.* i.e., post 16th c. The legendary narratives in the *Kallāṭam* have similarities with the narratives in the TM legends, and its language is very late. There is also other corroborating evidence to attribute a late date to the *Kallāṭam*, which could be discussed in another context.

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maṇi and *Periyapurāṇam*. In later periods many works go with the name of the old authors like *Tiumūlar Ñāṉam, Tiuvaḷḷuvar Ñāṉam*, etc.

On the content and the names of the poets who figure in the TM, Aruṇācalam (2005 [1971]: 17-34) has the following to say: The song attributed to the divine voice is fictional. The other poet, i.e. Uruttiracaṉman, son of Uppūri Kuṭikiḻār mentioned in *Iṟaiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal* and other works, was dumb. There is no such name in the list of Caṅkam poets. Only a name Utturiṉār is found in Caṅkam texts. When legends say that there are 49 poets in Caṅkam poetry, here 51 poets are mentioned. Out of them 25 names of poets are undoubtedly names found in Caṅkam anthologies.[69]

Names like Maruttuvaṉ Tāmōtaraṉār, Uṟaiyūr Mutukūṟṟaṉār, Iḷikaṇ Peruṅkaṇṇaṉār, Ceyalūrk Koṭuñceṅkaṇṇaṉār, and Vaṇṇakkañcāttaṉār do not occur in the same way. They are found with different attributes. There are three similar names to Maturaippālāciriyar in the Caṅkam texts. Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār is a later poet who is said to be the compiler of anthologies. The name Kavicākarapperuntēvaṉār is not known otherwise. The name Nattattaṉār has a variation Naṟṟattaṉār, and he is the author of a *Pāṭṭiyal* works belonging to 10th c. Some names are not found in the list of Caṅkam names of poets.[70]

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[69] Iṟaiyaṉār, Ukkirapperuvaḻutiyār, Kapilar, Paraṇar, Nakkīrar, Māmūlaṉār, Kallāṭar, Cīttalaiccāttaṉār, Aricil Kiḻār, Poṉmuṭiyār, Āciriyar Nallantuvaṉār, Kīrantaiyār, Toṭittalai Viḻutaṇṭiṉār, Veḷḷivītiyār, Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉār, Mōcikīraṉār, Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉattuk Kārikkaṇṇaṉār, (Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār), Peruñcittiraṉār, Nariverūuttalaiyār, Maturai Aṟuvai Vāṇikaṉ Iḷavēṭṭaṉār, Maturaip Perumarutaṉār, Kōvūrkiḻār, Nappālattaṉār, and Ālaṅkuṭi Vaṅkaṉār.

[70] Nākaṉtēvaṉār, Kōtamaṉār, Mukaiyalūrcciṟukaruntumpiyār, Ciṟumētāviyār, Nalkūrvēḷviyār, Eṟiccalūr Malāṭaṉār, Pōkkiyār, Maturait Tamiḻnākaṉār, Uruttiracaṉmakaṇṇar, Maturai Tamiḻāciriyar Ceṅkuṉṟūrkkiḻār, Ceyirkkāviriyār Makaṉār Cāttaṉār, Kaḷattūrkkiḻār, Naccumaṉār, Kulapati Nāyaṉār, Tēṉīkkuṭikīrṉār, Koṭiñāḻal Māṇipūtaṉār, and Kavuṇīyaṉār. There are two Naccumaṉār-s (45): one is without any attributes, and the other with an attribute, i.e. Akkārakkaṉi [Naccumaṉār] (46). In the Caṅkam anthologies, one poet is named Kōṉāṭṭu Eṟiccalūr Māṭalaṉ Maturaikkumaraṉār, which sounds similar to Eṟiccalūr Malāṭaṉār. This could be a misinterpretation. (The observation by

Aruṇācalam (2005 [1971]: 17-34) notes the confusions and revisions in the commentary to song 21 composed by Nalkūr-vēḷviyār, by Tiruttaṇikai Caravanap perumāḷ Aiyar (ETM1847 TCA) Irākava Aiyaṅkār Irā (1902: 53-54).[71] Aruṇācalam finally surmises that the TM could belong to the 11th c. on the basis of a reference to the *Kallāṭam*, which is not tenable as explained earlier.

Pūlōkaciṅkam (1979 [1975]: 17-26; cf. Akkārakkaṉi Naccumaṉār) in his editorial notes to the revised edition of *Pāvalar Carittira Tīpakam* discusses the provenance and authenticity of the TM in detail, since Chitty (1859 [1946], and the author of *Pāvalar Carittira Tīpakam*, A. Catācivam Piḷḷai (1886 [1979]), have included almost all the 53 poets found in the TM in their works on literary Tamil history and gave write-ups on them mostly based on the TM. He feels that the TM could be a composition by different poets and that it was compiled at a

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Aruṇācalam is due to his lack of knowledge about the various readings of names of poets found in the texts. These variations in names can be resolved only after a thorough study of the names and their variations from the Caṅkam texts critically edited by Wilden and others.) Peruṅkuṉṟūrkkiḻār, a quite common poet's name that occurs in Caṅkam anthologies is not found here.

[71] Noting that the suffix *-nāyaṉār* in the name Kulapati Nāyaṉār is of late usage, Aruṇācalam feels that song 48 attributed to him has been inspired by the illustrative song *ōṅkal iṭaivantu* in *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (12th c.). Similarly, song 47 by Nappālattaṉār is inspired by the *Nālāyiram Tivyappirapantam* song *vaiyantakaḻiyā* by Poykaiyāḻvār and *aṉpē takaḻiyā* by Pūtattāḻvār. Song 4 by Ukkirapperuvaḻuti has similarities with a few lines of *Tiru-Aṅkamālai Patikam* of Tirunāvukkaracar. Song 10 by Cīttalaiccāttaṉār has allusions to a late folklore interpretation of his name (Cīttalai is a place name but the later folklore has given a folk etymology to it, as "suppurated" or "having a pus head" due to his hitting of his own head with the stylus on hearing a wrong usage of Tamil). The songs 15 and 23 speak about the social division of Brahmins and non-Brahmins. Song 8 of Māmūlaṉār alludes to the lower caste of Vaḷḷuvar which is in poor taste and it is also a very late legend. The TM is mentioned in the very late *Pāṇṭimaṇtala Catakam*. The TM is an effort to canonize the TK giving it a glow of classicism with the names of Caṇkam poets.

later date and a common name given. He particularly noted that the TM has not taken note of the names of poets mentioned in *Iṟaiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal* who are supposed to have attended the last Tamil Caṅkam.[72] Commenting on this fact, the author Capāpati Nāvalar in his *Tirāviṭappirakācikai* (1899 [1960]: 311), one of the earliest attempts at putting together a history of Tamil literature, observes that these poets may be known under different names in the TM, which is not plausible.[73] It is also not possible to accept that all the poets of the TM lived at the same time. For example, Paraṇar and

[72] The TM has not included the following five poets of the third Caṅkam, viz., Cēntampūtaṉār, Aṟivuṭaiyaraṉār, Peruṅkuṉṟūrkkiḻār, Iḷantirumāṟaṉ and Maturai Marutaṉiḷanākaṉār.

[73] Out of the 53 names excluding Acarīri (divine voice) and Nāmakaḷ (Goddess Carasvati) the following 29 names are found in the Caṅkam anthologies: Iṟaiyaṉār, Ukkirapperuvaḻutiyār, Kapilar, Paraṇar, Nakkīrar, Māmūlaṉār, Kallāṭar, Cīttalaiccāttaṉār, Aricirkiḻār, Poṉmuṭiyār, Kōtamaṉār, Nattattaṉār, Mukaiyalūrcciṟukaruntumpiyār, Āciriyar Nallantuvaṉār, Kīrantaiyār, Toṭittalai Viḻuttaṇṭiṉār, Veḷḷivītiyār, Māṅkuṭimarutaṉār, Mōcikīraṉār, Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉattuk kārikkaṇṇaṉār, Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār, Peruñcittiraṉār, Nariverūuttalaiyār, Maturai Aṟuvai Vāṇikar Iḷavēṭṭaṉār, Maturai Perumarutaṉār, Kōvūr Kiḻār, Uṟaiyūr Mutukūṟṟaṉār, Ālaṅkuṭivaṅkaṉār, and Nappālattaṉār. One may find similarities in the three names of the TM, viz. Maruttuvaṉ Tāmōtaraṇār, Nākaṉṟēvaṉār and Ciṟumētāviyār with the following names in Caṅkam anthologies: Uṟaiyūr Maruttuvaṉ Tāmōtaraṇār, Maturaittamiḻkkūttaṉ Nākaṉṟēvaṉār and Nallūrc Ciṟumētāviyār or Naṉpalūrcciṟumētāviyār. The name Iḷikaṭperuṅkaṇṇaṉār in the TM is similar to the name Viḻikkaṭpētaipperuṅkaṇṇaṉār in the Caṅkam anthologies as assumed by the first editor of Naṟṟiṇai Piṉṉattūr Nārāyaṇacāmi Aiyar. Eṟiccalūr Malāṭaṉār of the TM is similar to the following three names: Eṟiccalūr Māṭalaṉ Maturaikkumaraṇār, Māmilaṭaṇār, Māmalāṭaṇār. Similarly, the names in the TM, viz. Kavuṇiyaṉār and Maturaippālāciriyaṉār, are similar to the names of Maturaikkavuṇiyaṉ Pūtattaṉār, Maturaippālāciriyar Cēntaṅkoṟṟaṉār, Maturaippālāciriyar Naṟṟāmaṉār, and Maturaippālāciriyar Nappālaṉār in the Caṅkam anthologies. The remaining 15 names including Akkārakkaṉi Naccumaṉār may be found in the names of the anonymous poets or the poets who were not included in the Caṅkam anthologies. However, the names Kavicākarapperuntēvaṉār and Kulapati Nāyaṉār are doubtful to be identified in the Caṅkam anthologies.

Veḷḷivītiyār of the TM could not have lived at the same time, if the evidence from Caṅkam poems are taken into account.[74] The TM must have been the beginning of the trend to connect Tiruvaḷḷuvar with the Caṅkam heritage. A Pāṇṭiya King is addressed in a few TM songs,[75] and the presentation of the TK in his presence is mentioned. The *Kallāṭam* (14) mentions the presentation of the TK at the poets' body. These facts tell us of the development of the legend. The story of *Caṅkappalakai Koṭutta Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* in the version of Perumparṟappuliyūr Nampi and the *Ūmai Tamiḻaṟinta Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* (ie., Uruttiracaṉmar, the dumb child of Uppūrikuṭikiḻār who testified the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* commentary by Nakkīrar) must have been the source for the story of the divine voice (*acarīri*). According to the story narrated in the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ urai,* Ukkirapperuvaḻuti is the last king of the third Caṅkam, the decline of which is attributed to Tiruvaḷḷuvar's encounter in the Caṅkam. The reference to Tiruvaḷḷuvar as of poet of low caste in song 8 and in the legend in the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* has already gained currency in the 18thc. as evidenced by the poem of *Cōmēcar Mutumoḻi veṇpā* by Civañāṉa Muṉivar (1753-1785). Pūlōkaciṅkam also notes the absence of the name TM in the *Nēmināṭam* commentary (14th c.) when it quotes TM 21. He also reminds the reader of the quotation of the verse TM23 in *Pirayōkavivēkam* (*Kārikai*

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[74] Poetess Auvaiyār and Paraṇar are contemporaries (cf. Puṟam 99), and Auvaiyār refers to Veḷḷivīti in the past tense in a poem (Akam 147) which makes it difficult to consider them contemporaries. Here it may be recalled that Auvaiyār is not included in the list of 49 poets and the songs attributed to her along with Iṭaikkāṭar are added later to the 54th and 55th poets and their names and the songs attributed to them are not found in all the earlier mss. or in the printed versions.

[75] E.g. TM 2 (*kūṭārai yeḷḷiya veṉṟi ilaṅkilaivēl**māṟa***), TM 5 (*maṉaiyaḻaku vaḷḷaikkuṟaṅkum **Vaḻanāṭa***), TM 11 (*malaikkuttu **mālyāṉai***), TM 14 (Kāṇiṉṟa **toṅkalāy**), 19 (kūrvēl **vaḻuti**), 32 (**tātaviḻtārmārpa**), and 50 (*maṟaṉeṟinta vāḷār **Neṭumāṟa***).

18; 17th c.) without naming the TM. Pūlōkaciṅkam concludes his notes with the observation that the question of the identity of 29 or 36 poets found in the TM and Caṅkam anthologies needs to be investigated.

Since the legends of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and his encounters with the Tamil Caṅkam poets do not find place in the two versions of the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* by Perumparṟappuliyūr Nampi (13th c.?) and Parañcōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam* (16th c.), the legends linking Tiruvaḷḷuvar with the Tamil Caṅkam are very late, and they could have become popular only after the 16thc. Moreover, the song by Nāmakaḷ (TM2), a post-16th-c. work, is included in the *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai*, an anthology of verses by Tamil poets probably compiled after the 16th c. (the latest author included is the 16th-c. Antakakkavi Vīrarākava Mutaliyār). This is why the mention of a late legend in the *Kallāṭam* could not be a valid evidence for dating. In fact, the mention of this legend in the *Kallāṭam* will force this work to be dated to a period around 16th c. This has to examined in detail separately (see fn. 54).

Similarly, TM 21 *uppakkam* is quoted in the Neminātam Commentary which is dated to the 15th c. by Aruṇācalam (2005 [1971]: 2-16), and this confirms a late date for the TM. In one ms. of the *Nēminātam* commentary this quotation is not found as from the TM. Unless a critical edition is done for the *Nēminātam* commentary, this cannot be considered firm evidence.

The other scholars who criticised the TM as being an attempt to appropriate the TK into the *varṇāśrama* fold (like Cattiyam 2000 [1979], Murukarattiṉam (2004) and scholars like Caṇmukam (2002: 45-53), who trace the different readings of the TK) have not examined the date of this work but generally concur with the date 11th c.

Content of the Text

Caṇmukam (2002: 48-49) sums up the content of the TM as follows:

1. The name of the poet, the name of the work, the different views of the organization of the work with regard to its chapters and various sections (*pāl, iyal, atikāram)*.

2. Statements from a perspective of comparative literature.

   a. A comparison with the Sanskrit works like the *Vedas, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti, Bhagavat Gīta,* etc.[76]

   b. General perception that it is non- or anti-Vedic.

3. Opinions on the content of the work: e.g. questions such as whether there are three goals of human life (*puruṣārtha*), namely duty, wealth and pleasure, or whether the fourth, liberation, is subsumed under the three etc., or whether there are actually all four of them.

4. Hidden expressions of sociolinguistic responses to the Tamil-Sanskrit contact.

He considers the TM as an important landmark in understanding the readers' response to a great work and the study of the historiography of the TK readings, which are yet to be studied in detail.

A few more perspectives may be added to the study of the text:

1. The nature of the textual transmission and a textual criticism of the text.

2. The readers' response and the agenda for it from the point of view of religion and philosophy.

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[76] *Arthaśāstra, Śukra Nīti, Kāmasūtra, Dhammapada* and other texts are compared with the TM nowadays.

3. The correlation of the TK to the Caṅkam classical milieu to get a classical aura for the text, i.e., the name of the Caṅkam poets and its bearing on the study of Caṅkam classical tradition.
4. The language of the text.

The content of the text and its relation to the dating of the text: an additional note

There are six songs which describe the content structure of the TK,[77] which show that the whole composition of the TM is a planned text composed by a single hand, and not by different authors (Aruṇācalam 2005 [1971]:17-34). Secondly, even though the content structure described in these songs broadly reflects the classifications found in the commentaries of Maṇakkuṭavar, Paripperumāḷ, and Parimēlaḻakar, they are not always similar. The first four chapters of the TK are not described explicitly as *pāyiram*s by commentators and the designation of these chapters as *pāyiram* by stanza 20, composed by Ciṟumētāviyār, stanza 25 by Eṟiccalūr Malāṭaṉār, and stanza 26 by Pōkkiyar, may be a later reading (Caṇmukam 2002: 48-49). A definitive conclusion cannot be arrived at on these issues unless critical editions of the TK and its commentaries are made. However, one may infer that the structural description of the TK found in the songs of the TM could be a thing of the post-commentator period or contemporary to them (13th c.). In the 13th c., Kālinkar, a commentator of the TK, describes the structure of *Kāmattup-pāl* as consisting of three *iyals*, i.e., songs on the male, the female or both. Toṭittalai Viḻuttaṇṭiṉār in TM 22 gives the same classification. So, the ideas found in the TM songs on the structure of the TK could not be older than the 13th c.

[77] viz., 16. Nattattaṉār, 20. Ciṟumētāviyār, 25. Eṟiccilūr Malāṭaṉār, 26. Pōkkiyār, 27. Mōcikīraṉār, 28. Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉattuk Kārikkaṇṇaṉār, and 37. Maturaipperumarutaṉār.

Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai As a *Ciṟappuppāyiram* or Prolegomena

The TM shares a milieu with the *Ciṟappuppāyiram* tradition (the introduction to a book, giving particulars of the author, title of the work, subject-matter, etc., as opposed to *potu-p-pāyiram,* "the general preface") of grammatical works and *taṉiyaṉ* tradition ('stray verse in praise of an author or a work or stray verse in salutation to a guru' TL) of Vaiṣṇava scholasticism.

Historically there is no evidence to show that the TK had a *Potuppāyiram* or a *Ciṟappuppāyiram*. To fill the lacunae some later scholars thought that the TM could be a *Ciṟappuppāyiram*. That is why when Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar (1838) wrote a commentary to it and published it, he captions the text as *Tirukkuṟaḷiṉ Ciṟappuppāyiramākiya Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* and later it was adopted and made it as an appendix to the TK with the caption *Ciṟappuppāyiram* in several editions (cf. Capāpati Piḷḷai ETM1878CP), TK edition of 1927 and others).

In some editions, the TM is printed at the beginning with the caption *Ciṟappuppāyiram* (Putuvai Poṉṉucāmi Mutaliyār; ETM 1842PM). An 1883 edition by Pūviruntavalli Kantacāmi Mutaliyār based on the edition of 1838 by TCA (1799 to not known; TCA) with *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram (TNC)* and *Caṅkattār Ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* text only without the commentary of Tiruttaṇikai Caravaṇapperumāḷ Aiyar includes the works *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram and Caṅkattār ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* (without commentary) at the beginning (ETM1883KM).[78]

[78] It may be noted here that it gives the name of the work as *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* with the caption *Caṅkattār ceyta Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai,* "the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* composed by the poets of the Caṅkam" and a related work on the history of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram.*

So, the evolution of the compilation of the TM and its transformation into a *Ciṟappuppāyiram* needs to be studied from the point of view of documentary evidences, i.e., the mss. of the TK and the TM, as well as the print editions.

Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai: Is it a Vaiṣṇava Reading and a Vaiṣṇavite Appropriation?

The content of the text of the TM follows the pattern of the *taṉiyaṉs* of the Vaiṣṇava tradition and the contents are also presented from a Vaiṣṇava perspective.[79]

It is clear that the original text of the TK could have been written by a Jain with a cosmopolitan perspective (Anantanāta Nayiṉār 1932 [2006], Kaliyāṇacuntaraṉār (Aṉantanāta Nayiṉār [1932 (2006): 1-12]; Sripāl (1988: 27-90); Mahātēvaṉ (Sripāl 1998: 91-103); M.K. Jagaṉṉāta Rājā (Sripāl 1988: 104-150). Initially the Jains claimed it as their scripture (*em ōttu,* in *Nīlakēci* (10th c.) 326, 353 commentary) and even the Buddhist text *Maṇimēkalai* (5-6th c.) quotes (22:61) him and mentions the author as Poyyil Pulavaṉ.[80]

After the Buddhists, the Śaivas were the earliest to accept Vaḷḷuvar and appropriate him and his work as belonging to

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In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* editions by Āṟumuka Nāvalar (ETM1861AN) and Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār (ETM1919KV), the TM is appended at the end. The earlier edition of the TK by Vaṭivēlu Ceṭṭiyār (ETM1904KV) had included the TM at the beginning. It is intriguing why in the later editions the TM was appended at the end. It is possible that the reordering might have been inspired by the edition of the TK by Āṟumuka Nāvalar (ETM1861AN). As already noted, the Murray Rajam's TK text only edition avoided the TM as there was no old manuscript evidence for the association of the TM with the TK (Rajam 1981 [1957]: 6).

[79] Here it would be out of place to trace the transformation of the TK text through the reading and reception of it from different ideological groups.

[80] The name Vaḷḷuvar came into vogue very late and it could be after 12thc. The Jains claim that he was commonly referred to as Tēvar, and his Jain name Tiruvuḷḷa Tēvar or Nayiṉār has become Tiruvaḷḷuvar thanks to folk etymology, which seems to be plausible (Aṉantanāta Nayiṉār 2006 [1932]: 79-104; 1-78).

their sect. Umāpati Civāccāriyār (14th c.) composed his *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ* in the *kuṟaḷ* metre. The commentator Nirampa Aḻakiya Tēcikar (16th c.) pays a tribute to Umāpati Civāccāriyār as a captain of a ship, which carries across easily in the ocean of Śaiva works and a guide to Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[81]

That marks the upper age limit for completing the Śaivite appropriation of the TK. The earliest quotes of the TK found in

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[81] பவப் பிரகாசப் படரிருள் விழுங்கும்
சிவப்பிர காசத் திருப்பெயர் மேவி
……
சைவ நூற்சலதி நொய்தினிற் கடத்தும்
மரக்கல மதனுக்கு மாலுமி யொப்ப
எழிலீ ரைந்தும் வழுவறப் புணர்த்தித்
தெள்ளுசீர்ப் புலமை வள்ளுவன் தனக்கோர்
நற்றுணை உடைத்தெனக் கற்றவர் களிப்ப
அருட்பயன் என்னா வதற்கொரு நாமந்
தெருட்படப் புனைந்து செந்தமிழ் யாப்பிற்
குறளடி வெள்ளை ஒருநூ றியம்பினன்
pavappirakācap paṭariruḷ viḻuṅkum
civappirakācat tiruppeyar mēvi
……
caiva nūl calati noytiṉiṟ kaṭattum
marakkalamataṉukku mālumi oppa
eḻilīraintum vaḻuvaṟap puṇarttit
teḷḷucīrp pulamai vaḷḷuvaṉ taṉakku ōr
nal tuṇai uṭaittu eṉak kaṟṟavar kaḷippa
aruḷ payaṉ eṉṉā ataṟku oru nāman
teruḷ paṭap puṉaintu cem tamiḻ yāppiṉ
kuṟaḷaṭi veḷḷai orunūṟu iyampiṉaṉ

"And having dwelled in the treatise of (his) *Civappirakācam*,which swallows the engulfing darkness of powerful sins, the great Umāpati Civāccāriyār has composed a hundred *kuṟal veṇpā* verses in the prosody of chaste Tamil as a navigator to the wooden boat which carries across easily in the ocean of Śaiva works, having knitted it in a faultless manner and endowed it with ten types of beauties so that the learned are happy that it has a companion to the (work) Vaḷḷuvaṉ of clear and fine scholarship and having given the name called (*Tiru) Aruṭpayaṉ* (to the work) wisely in order that the subject matter be comprehensible."

உமாபதிசிவம் (14th c. CE) திருவருட்பயன்-நிரம்பஅழகியதேசிகர் (16th c.) உரைச்சிறப்புப்பாயிரம்.

Tirukkailāya Ñāṉa ulā by Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ (9th c.) may be mentioned here. The numerous allusions to the words and ideas of the TK in the various Śaivite texts have been extensively discussed in his book by Aruṇai Vaṭivēl Mutaliyār (1992). The Śaivite *Tirumantiram* is also patterned upon the TK and it could be dated post 10th c. or even later. Further, Auvaiyar's *Nalvaḻi* (12th to 14th c.) sums up that the TK is the essence of the *Tēvāram*, *Tiruvācakam* and other holy scriptures in stanza 40.[82]

This act of appropriation is matched by creating narratives to claim the Caṅkam heritage to a Śaiva platform in *Iṟaiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal* and other Tamil Caṅkam myths, especially in the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam.*

The legend of Iṟaiyaṉār and Tarumi linking *Kuṟuntokai* 2 *konkutēr vāḻkkai* with the Caṅkam text is an example of how the narrative was constructed to claim the Caṅkam heritage to the Śaivite sect. Similar legends were constructed by Vaiṣṇavas to lay claims on the Caṅkam heritage and the Tiruvaḷḷuvar heritage.

In a legend found in the earliest Vaiṣṇava hagiography, the Sanskrit *Divyacūri Caritam,* Nammāḻvār is connected to the

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[82] தேவர் குறளும் திருநான் மறைமுடிவும்
மூவர் தமிழும் முனிமொழியும் – கோவை
திருவா சகமும் திருமூலர் சொல்லும்
ஒருவா சகம்என் றுணர்.

tēvar kuṟaḷum tiru nāl maṟai muṭivum
mūvar tamiḻum muṉi moḻiyum – kōvai
tiruvācakamum tirumūlar collum
oruvācakam eṉṟu uṇar.

"The *Tirukkuṟaḷ* of (Tiruvalluva) tēvar,
the conclusion of the holy four Vedas,
the Tamil of the three (Campantar, Appar and Cuntarar),
the Words of the sage (Vyāsa, i.e., *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*),
the *Tiruciṟṟampalak Kōvaiyār* and the *Tiruvācakam*,
the words of Tirumūlar (*Tirumantiram*)
– realize that all these are saying the same."

Tamil Caṅkam. His *Tiruvāciriyam* song beginning with the words *aṇṭakōḷatt āraṇuvāki* was sent by him to the Tamil Caṅkam and the poets there were not able to understand it. This is referred to in the *Kūṭaṟpurāṇam* (16th c.) also (verse 13). There is also another legend, which describes the meeting of the poets Auvaiyār and Iṭaikkāṭar with Tiruvaḷḷuvar. In their meeting, the two poets posed a question to Tiruvaḷḷuvar about the merits of his composition TK. Tiruvaḷḷuvar replied *kuṟumuṉivaṉ muttamiḻum eṉkuṟaḷum naṅkai ciṟumuṉivaṉ vāymoḻiyiṉ cēy,* "the composition of Three Tamil by Kuṟumuṉivaṉ (i.e., Akattiyar) and my *Kuṟaḷ* are the progeny of the *Tiruvāymoḻi* of Naṅkai Ciṟumuṉivaṉ (i.e., Nammāḻvār). Again, concurring with him the two poets Auvaiyār and Iṭaikkāṭar replied in two songs, one with the beginning *aimporuḷum* and another with *cēymoḻiyō* respectively, which celebrate the greatness of Nammāḻvār's compositions (Aruṇācalam 2005 [1971]: 14-19). This is a piece of evidence connecting the heritage of Caṅkam and Tiruvaḷḷuvar with that of Vaiṣṇavism.

The Vaiṣṇava legend found in the *Guruparampā Prabhāvam* (13th c.) and *Kūṭaṟpurāṇam* (16th c.) about Periyāḻvār winning the golden purse (*poṟkiḻi* or *vidyā culkam*) from the court of the Pāṇṭiya king is modelled on the Tarumi legend but the reference to the Tamil Caṅkam is not explicit. This seems to be another Vaiṣṇava or parallel to the Śaiva appropriation of the Caṅkam heritage in a vague sense (Nāccimuttu 1981: 65-82).

References to TK words and ideas are found in the songs of Kulacēkara Āḻvār.[83] Nammāḻvār[84] employs *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 1147

[83] Personal communication from Suganya Anandakichenin: "The *kuṟaḷ* that he [Kulacēkaraṉ] mentions is *vāṉ nōkki vāḻum ulaku ellām maṉṉavaṉ / kōl nōkki vāḻum kuṭi* – "The whole world lives looking up at the sky; [similarly] the subjects live looking up at the sceptre of the king" (*Kuṟaḷ* 542, bold mine). And the *pācuram* with similar metaphors is: *āṉ nōkkātu ettuyaram ceytiṭiṉum tār vēntaṉ / kōl nōkki vāḻum kuṭi pōṉṟu iruntēṉē*

with different combinations. The Manipravāḷa commentators also quote the TK on many relevant occasions.[85] The *Māṟaṉakapporuḷ* has a number of quotations from the TK and the Caṅkam texts.

(PTM 5.3) – "(…) I have been like the subjects who live looking up to the sceptre of the garlanded king, whatever the grief he gives [them] by not looking after [them]." It can be seen clearly that the second line of *Kuṟaḷ* 542 has been lifted and inserted into the PTM. In fact it even seems that this *kuṟaḷ* not only inspired this *pācuram*, but also another one in the same decade (PTM 5.7): *ettaṉaiyum vāṉ maṟanta kālattum paim kūḻkaḷ maittu eḻunta mā mukilē pārttu irukkum* – "For however long the clouds forget [them], green shoots keep looking only for the big clouds that rise turning black." The dependence of the shoots on the sky and that of the subjects on the king are expressed in two different *pācuram*s. To me it seems quite certain that the Āḻvār lived after the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was written and had become well-known; and he must have been a well-read man too, which probably shows his relatively high social and financial status." For more details, see See Anandakichenin 2018: 371.

[84] NTP 3363.4 ஏசு அறும் ஊரவர் கவ்வை தோழீ என் செய்யுமே, *ēcu aṟum ūravar kavvai tōḻī eṉ ceyyumē*; "What will the gossips of the neighbours/inhabitants of the village will do for?

NTP 3364.1 என் செய்யும் ஊரவர் கவ்வை தோழீ இனி நம்மை, *eṉ ceyyum ūravar kavvai tōḻī iṉi nammai*; "O Friend What will the gossip of the neighbours/inhabitants of the village do to us further"

NTP 3365.4 தீர்ந்த என் தோழீ என் செய்யும் ஊரவர் கவ்வையே, *tīrnta eṉ tōḻī eṉ ceyyum ūravar kavvaiyē*;

"O My mature Friend What will the gossip of the neighbours/inhabitants of the village do to us further"

NTP 3366.1 ஊரவர் கவ்வை எரு இட்டு அன்னை சொல் நீர் படுத்து, *ūravar kavvai eru iṭṭu aṉṉai col nīr paṭuttu*. "Having the gossip of the neighbours/inhabitants of the village made as manure and having made the words of the mother as water …"

[85] Personal communication from Suganya Anandakichenin: *Perumāḷ TM* 7.6: Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's commentary: *rājamahiṣiyāy piḷḷaikaḷ aḷainta eccil uṇṇāmaikkō eṅkaḷ tāyār eṉṉaip peṟṟatu? 'amutiṉum āṟṟa iṉitē tam makkaḷ ciṟu kai aḷāviya kūḻ' 'makkaḷ mey tīṇṭal uṭaṟk' iṉpam maṟṟ' avar tam col kēṭṭal iṉpam cevikku*.' "Is it for the sake of not being able to eat the leftovers that the children mixed up that our mother gave birth to me as the chief wife of a king?" "The food that the little hands of one's children stirred is much sweeter than nectar." [*Tirukkuṟaḷ* 64 (1.2.3)], "The caress of children is sweet to the body, and listening to their words is sweet to the ears." [Tirukkuṟaḷ 65 (1.2.3)]. See Anandakichenin 2018: 371. For more references, see Ñāṉacuntaram 1989: 338, Patmāciṉi 2018: 403-436 and Araṅkarācaṉ 2002: 328-334.

The ms. version of TMK2 without the song by Iṟaiyaṉār makes us infer that either it was not there as a Vaiṣṇava composition or it could have been added by the Śaivites when the late fictional narratives on the biography of Tiruvaḷḷuvar were created around the 16th c. and after. Song 30 on the supremacy of the *Kuṟaḷ* even over *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābharata* and other works by Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār was also not found in the ms. version of the TM. All these confirm that the work might have been composed by Vaiṣṇava Tamil scholars from the Āḻvār Tirunakari area initially, and later the Śaivite perspectives were added by TCA and others as a subtle subversion of the text.

Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai in the Tamil literary Historiography

The fictional legends of the TM*, Tamiḻ Caṅkattār Carittiram, Kapilar Akaval, Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram,* and the *Kallāṭam* are interconnected and have a nexus.[86] They are the creations of a growing educated folklore that were started in the post 16th-c. Tamil literary milieu on Tiruvaḷḷuvar and the Tamil Caṅkam.[87]

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[86] The nexus could be complementary and contradictory. For example, the TM has an hidden message that the TK is ideologically compatible with the orthodox Vaidika Vaiṣṇava view point (TM 2, 4, 14, 21, 23, 24, 30, 32, 36, 42, 43, 44) eventhough an overt Tamil Sanskrit-friendly rivalry is portrayed as a backdrop. It accepts the low birth of Tiruvaḷḷuvar as the other texts, viz., *Tamiḻ Caṅkattār Carittiram, Kapilar Akaval, Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram,* and *Kallāṭam,* but they have a Śaivite bias. *Kapilar Akaval* is polemical and a critique of caste system differing from others. It could be a heterodox response to the legends and could have been created in the climate of exposure to European religion and ideas in the 16th and 17th c. (Nāccimuttu 2004: 119-128).

[87] The folklore on Tiruvaḷḷuvar was still developing in the 19th c. by new adherents to Tiruvaḷḷuvar and TK, both native and western. For example, G.U. Pope in his English translation of the TK proposes a new legend which has been later developed into some fictions and dramas (1886: Introduction, p. III): "……..we may fairly, I say, picture him pacing along the sea-shore with the Christian teachers, and imbibing Christian ideas, tinged with the peculiarities of the Alexandrian school, and day by day working them into his own." Mu. Irākava Ayyaṇkār (1938: 205ff.) proposes a new legend of the incarnation of Brahmā as Tiruvaḷḷuvar,

These were the culmination of the appropriation of the Jain literary heritage of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and his work by Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites. On the one hand, all these are reinventing and creating a new historiography to canonize Tiruvaḷḷuvar as a Śaivite or a Vaiṣṇava Saint and the text TK as the gospel of their sects.[88] From another perspective, they are giving vent to the growing tensions between Tamil and Sanskrit supremacy and between the non-brahmin low castes and Brahmin rivalries. However, unfortunately, the fiction had been perceived as real and later some gullible literary historians, both European and native, take them for fact. These legends fed as sources for their historiography.

Western scholars had already noticed these legends, which were popular in the 18th and 19th centuries. Stuart Blackburn (2000) records the references to these by the writings of European and native scholars starting from Beschi in 1730, Kindersley in 1794, Wilson in 1828, Taylor in 1835, Bower in 1855, Simon Casie Chitty in 1859, Murdoch in 1865, Gover in 1871, Robinson in 1873, Baierlein in 1875, Robinson in 1885, Lazarus 1885, to Pope in 1886. François Gros (2009) documents the references to Tiruvaḷḷuvar, his works and legends in French writings from the late 18th c. starting from Desvaulx (1777), d'Obsonville (1783), Ariel (1852) to Lamairesse (1867).

In the 19th c., Simon Casie Chitty (1946 [1859]), Catācivam Piḷḷai (1886 [1975, 1979]), Capāpati Nāvalar (1899), Kumārcāmip Piḷḷai, A. Cuṉṉākam (1916), and Murukatāca Cuvāmikaḷ alias Taṇṭapāṇi Cuvāmikaḷ (1901) have extensively used these legends to write their works on Tamil literary

drawing inspiration from the TM song 4. For more such legends see Caṇmukacuntaram Kāvya (2007).

[88] Stuart Blackburn (2000: 476) characterizes the dominant reading of the Vaḷḷuvar legend to emerge from the 19th c. as a story of corruption and redemption.

history. Even a very careful modern literary historian like Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (1988 [1956]) quotes these legends and give some credence even though he considers them legendary folklore. Aruṇācalam, another literary historian who published many volumes on the history of Tamil literature, is critical of these legends but he is also misled by the cross-references in these legends and dated them improperly.

As explained earlier, critical voices have been raised against these works by discerning scholars. Among them, Kaliyāṇa-cuntaraṉār has condemned it unequivocally in his writings (Aṉantanāta Nayiṉār 2006 [1930]: I-XII). Nayiṉār (ibid.) has taken pains to deny all these legends floated by Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite groups to lay claim to the Tiruvaḷḷuvar heritage. Furthermore, he cites many such legends to claim a Jaina lineage to Tiruvaḷḷuvar (ibid. 79-104). All this shows how the legends once created intermingle with history, and it is difficult even for a scientific historian to sift them from facts. It will be an uphill task to undo the unhistoricity of these ghost writings and legendary folklore in the literary history of Tamil. But they stand as testimonies to the re-reading and re-inventing of literary history at various points in time by various entities to realize their own agenda.

Towards the Canonization of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and the TK: The TM and the legendary Narratives

The TM records a turning point in the process of assimilation of the Tiruvaḷḷuvar legacy to the orthodox fold. As already explained, the legendary narratives created in *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār Carittiram* were developing faster at the beginning of the 19thc. The nomenclature "Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār" was given by the Śaivites to make him a Nāyaṉmār of the Śaivite fold (see *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Nāyaṉār Carittiram*). The present Tiruvaḷḷuvar temple at Mayilāppūr was a Jain temple earlier, and in popular parlance it had been called the "Nayiṉār temple". In the

northern Tamilnadu, Tamil Jains use the word Nayiṉār as their caste title and therefore, Nayiṉār is popular word to refer to Tamil Jains in general. The Jain Nayiṉār Temple of Mayilāppūr was converted into a Śaivite temple during the middle of the 19th c. as that of Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār and consecrated. It has a long history, and the debates and references to it are found in the early printed books. It needs to be studied in detail separately. Sripāl (1988: 27-90), Kaliyāṇacuntaraṉār (Aṉantanāta Nayiṉār 2006 [1932]: 1-12) and others have dealt with it in detail (Aṉantanāta Nayiṉār 2006 [1932]); Mahātēvaṉ 1998: 91-103; Jagaṉṉāta Rājā 1998: 104-150). When Vaṇṇaccarapam Taṇṭapānicuvāmikaḷ or Murukatāca Cuvāmikaḷ (1839-1898) composed the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram* (verses 688-752) in his *Pulavar Purāṇam* (written in 1901, but first published in 1908), the process was complete.

He narrates that a Ceṭṭi disciple of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, after his passing away, made a stone sculpture of him and got it consecrated according to the canons of the Śaiva religion (verses 742, 747). Taṇṭapāṇicuvāmikaḷ further adds that he visited the temple and composed a *patikam* on Tiruvaḷḷuvar (748). The beauty of the icon was marvellous (verse 749). A song on the beauty of the idol of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is found in the edition of Capāpatippiḷḷai (ETM1878 CP) and found reproduced in the 1904 edition by Vaṭivēl Ceṭṭiyār. Another similar song is found in the TK edition by Kaḷattūr Vētakiri Mutaliyār (Mōhaṉ Civālayam 2018: 35).

The canonization has already been absorbed by the other new teachers of the orthodox fold like Nārāyaṇa Guru (1855-1928) in Malayalam. In an invocatory song to Goddess Caracuvati, he rephrases the words and ideas found in TM 1 in Malayalam.[89]

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[89] In *Civa catakam*, Nārāyaṇa Guru adopts a belief found in *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*, i.e. the TK is the quintessence of the *Veda*s and the *Itihāsā*s:

But over the years when the secular ethos of Tiruvaḷḷuvar was emphasized by the Tamil Nationalist forces, Tiruvaḷḷuvar was reinvented on a secular platform and many statues have been erected without any religious attributes (Cutler 1992: 549-66). Tiruvaḷḷuvar is now more adored as a secular icon and so the old legendary narratives are side-lined (Mōhaṉ Civālayam 2018: iii). However, the debates are going on to assimilate Tiruvaḷḷuvar into the orthodox fold (Nagaswamy 2018/2017:).

அருமற நாலு மொரிக்க லோதி முன்னம்
கரிமுகில் வர்ண்ணனு பங்கு செய்து நல்கிப்
பரமது வள்ளுவர் நாவிலும் மொழிஞ்ஞப்
பரிமள பாரதி காத்து கொள்க நித்யம் – சிவசதகம் 1

aru maṟa nālu morikkal ōti muṉṉam
kari mukil varṇṇaṉu paṅkuceytu nalkip
paramatu vaḷḷuvar nāvilum moḻiññap
parimaḷa bhārati kāttukoḷka nityam – *Civacatakam*-1

"Let the that fragrant/great Bhārati (Sarasvati) who once taught the rare Vedas (to Brahmā) and on another ancient time gave it to the one with dark cloud color (Vyāsa) and later taught it to Vaḷḷuvaṉ protect (us) eternally."

This is an adaptation of *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*, Nāmakaḷ 1:

நாடா முதல்நான் மறைநான் முகன்நாவிற்
பாடா விடைப் பாரதம் பகர்ந்தேன் – கூடாரை
எள்ளிய வென்றி யிலங்கிலை வேல் மாறபின்
வள்ளுவன் வாயதென் வாக்கு. - *Tiruvaḷḷuva mālai* Nāmakaḷ 1

nāṭā mutalnāṉ maṟaināṉ mukaṉnāviṟ
pāṭā- v-iṭaippā ratampakartēṉ–kuṭārai
eḷḷiya veṉṟi -y-ilaṅkilaivēl māṟapiṉ
vaḷḷuvaṉ vāyaṭeṉ vākku

"Oh, Māṟa, the Pandyan king, possessor of a leaf-like spear instrumental to victories belittling your enemies! In the time of creation, I gave the four scriptures or *Veda*s through Brahma; in the medieval times I gave *Bhāratam*; finally in this age, my words are expressed through Vaḷḷuvaṉ."

Here it is mentioned that Caracuvati, who taught the Vedas to Brahmā in the first yuga and the *Mahābhārata* to Vyāsa in the second yuga, taught the *Kuṟaḷ* to Vaḷḷuvar in the third yuga (Nāccimuttu 2003: 991-995, Nāccimuttu 2019: 1-24).

An Evaluation of the TM: Its Emergence, Aim and the Milieu

As explained earlier, the opinion on the nature of the work TM is highly divided. Some scholars, having faith in the legend associated with it, treat it as the anthology of critical comments and as a precursor to the development of the native critical traditions. Many other scholars assert that it is a work by a single author who composed it with fictitious old vintage names for giving credibility. It could be unplanned (or not) to appropriate the work for sectarian acceptance and allegiance. A sophisticated Vaiṣṇava perspective is evident in the text. Evidences are there to prove the point.

The contents and opinions found in the TM show that it could be a work by a scholar having allegiance to Vedic philosophy especially of the Vaiṣṇava sect. The nature of the style and language also have parallels with Vaiṣṇava *taṉiyaṉs*. But it also shows later efforts by Śaivites to assimilate it with their own versions. There was an attempt to construct the TM as a *Ciṟappuppāyiram,* a kind of *prolegomena* to the text which is highly contested and rejected.

To sum up, the TM and its allied works, the *Kapilar Akaval,* the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram,* and the *Kallāṭam*, were created from the 16th c. onwards to canonize Tiruvaḷḷuvar as a saint either in the Vaiṣṇava mould or in the Śaiva mould. The variations in the text of the TM show that the original Vaiṣnava perspective has been expanded with a Śaiva perspective through the TCA commentary, and it is a subtle subversion of the TM by the Śaivite followers. The legendary materials that were added by texts like the *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Carittiram,* etc. canonize Tiruvaḷḷuvar as a Śaivite saint. It is part of the effort to give credence to the conversion of the original Jaina temple as a Śaiva temple at Mayilappūr in Ceṉṉai during the 19th c.

The textual tradition of the work needs further study. It seems that the stray verses were composed on the TK and later compiled under the single heading of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai* or *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai.* It must have existed as a separate work. The legendary narratives connected with it were also created as an aetiology and added to the TM. Later in the print culture in the early 19th c., the TM was added to the main text of the TK by some editors to make it look like a *Ciṟappuppāyiram* or prolegomena.

The TM attracts the attention of the scholars for mapping the reception of the TK in different periods. Apart from studying it from literary and sociological perspectives, a fresh look at it from the point of view of textual tradition is also needed. A sample study of the readings of a few mss. has been presented here for further studies on it. It will also fix the title of the work whether it is *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* or *Tiruvaḷḷuvar Mālai*.

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Appendix I Specimens of Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai Manuscripts

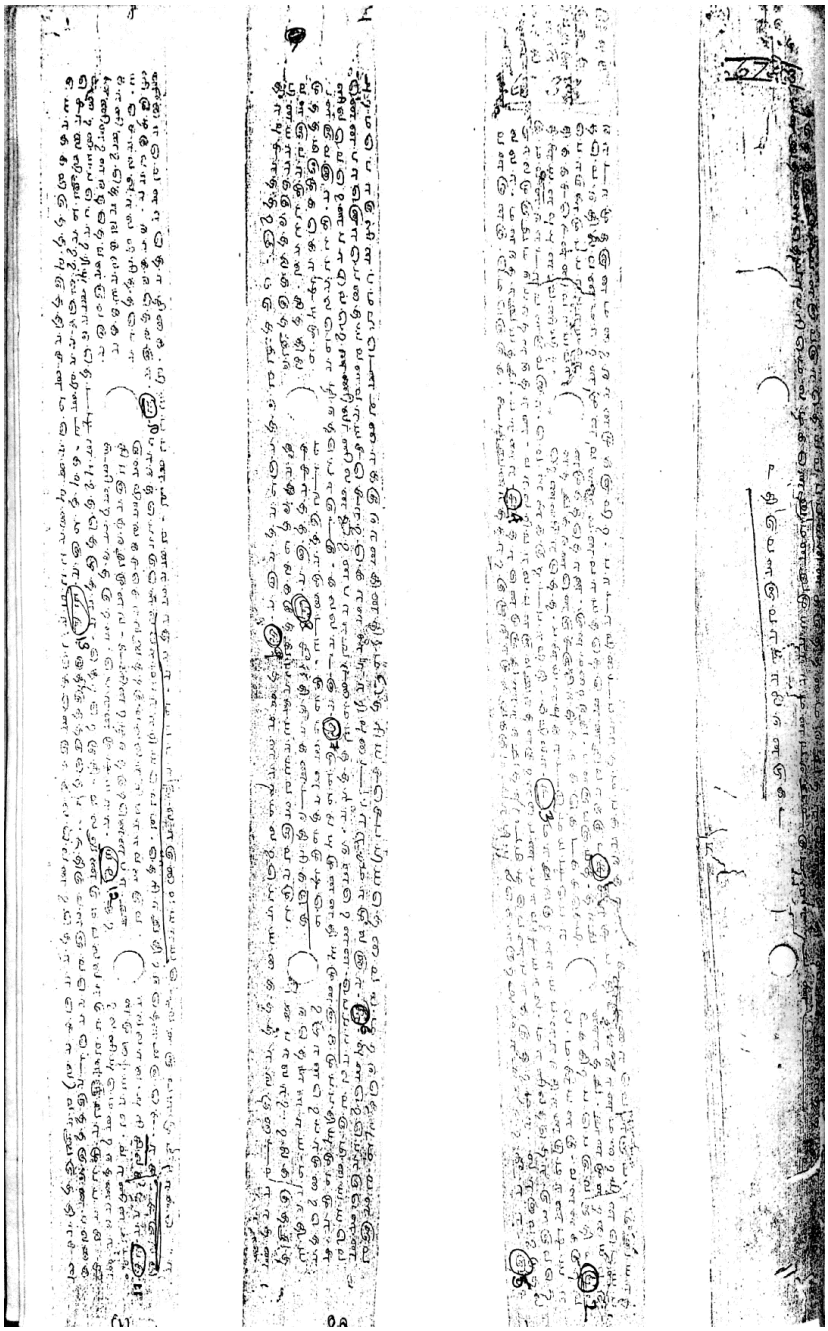
Figure 1. TM S1 Tañcāvūr manuscript with Commentary

Figure 2 TM S2 Tañcāvūr 1628H Text only

Figure 3 S3 TM 1612 A Text only

Figure 4 S4 TM 00069 A Text only

Figure 5 TMK2 Kerala University Text only



Appeasing the Assembly
Competition among poets and the history, poetics and social logic of the *avaiyaṭakkam* convention in Tamil literature

(Sascha Ebeling, The University of Chicago)

அவையறியார் சொல்லல்மேற் கொள்பவர்
சொல்லின்
வகையறியார் வல்லதூஉம் இல்.

Those who undertake to speak without knowing the assembly
do not know the different kinds of words, and
they have no power.

Tirukkuṟaḷ 713

பகையகத்துச் சாவார் எளியர் அரியர்
அவையகத்து அஞ்சா தவர்.

Many die [fearlessly] before their enemies,
but there are few who are fearless in the assembly.

Tirukkuṟaḷ 723

The poetic convention known as *avaiyaṭakkam* in classical Tamil literature can be described as a type of apologetic preface, a trope of humility or *captatio benevolentiae* in the form of one or more stanzas at the beginning of a literary work in which the author of the work belittles his own capability vis-à-vis other poets and asks his audience for indulgence: "I possess only little learning, please forgive my mistakes".[1] The

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present essay will explore the history of this particular type of paratext and the poetics of this type of stanza, its structuring principles and main tropes. Moreover, I will argue that in addition to being a type of text, the *avaiyaṭakkam* should also be viewed as a sociocultural practice. This argument will be developed below by examining the pragmatics or the performative social logic of the *avaiyaṭakkam* within the wider premodern Tamil literary sphere and its economy of praise. While we know that most of South Asia's premodern literary texts were meant to be performed before an audience, as opposed to other forms of reception such as silent reading, the performative aspects of premodern Tamil literary works have not yet received the scholarly attention they deserve. Thus, a discussion of how the *avaiyaṭakkam* as both textual object and cultural practice mediates the interaction between poets and their audiences will provide a small contribution to a more systematic recovery of a key aspect of premodern Tamil literary culture.

1. The history and extent of the *avaiyaṭakkam* convention

Based on the available premodern Tamil textual evidence, it appears that the *avaiyaṭakkam* as a separate stanza within a larger poetic composition does not occur prior to the very end of the first millennium CE. In the only existing extended scholarly treatment of the *avaiyaṭakkam*, Es. Cauntara-pāṇṭiyaṉ's monograph *Tamiḻil avaiyaṭakkap pāṭalkaḷ* (1988), the author lists as the earliest known *avaiyaṭakkam* verse a

K. Nachimuthu for pointing me to further sources and generously sending me materials, sometimes within minutes, and for being, over many years now, such a formidable benevolent assembly before which to stand and be tested. Finally, I would like to thank David Shulman and Ulrike Niklas, who thought about some of the materials presented here already decades ago, for continuing to provide so much inspiration and friendship.

stanza of the Buddhist epic *Kuṇṭalakēci* of which only fragments survive and which he dates to the 7th century CE (Cauntarapāṇṭiyaṉ 1988: 9f.). Up next, according to Cauntarapāṇṭiyaṉ, would be the five *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas of the Jain epic *Nīlakēci* datable somewhere between the 5th and the 10th century CE (ibid., 10). Unfortunately, however, in the case of both these texts, the chronology is doubtful. If we accept the discussions in Zvelebil (1995), the *Kuṇṭalakēci* should be dated to the 9th or 10th century CE, and the *Nīlakēci* to the latter half of the 10th century CE (Zvelebil 1995: 379; 495). In that case, the two *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas of the Jain epic *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (c. 9th c. CE)[2] could be considered the first known occurrences. This would establish a connection between the appearance of the *avaiyaṭakkam* as a separate stanza and the literary efflorescence or 'philological turn' of the Chola period.

Indeed, all the longer Chola-period poems have *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas. In addition to the texts mentioned above, we must list the Jain epic *Cūḷāmaṇi* (c. 11th c. CE), the Śaiva hagiographical poem *Periyapurāṇam* (12th c. CE, with 3 *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas), the *Kamparāmāyaṇam* (c. 12th c. CE, 6 av. stanzas), the *Naḷaveṇpā* (late 13th/early 14th c. CE), and the *Villipāratam* (14th c. CE, 3 av. stanzas). At the same time, we must note that some of the well-known Chola court poems, such as the *Kaliṅkattupparaṇi* or the *Mūvarulā*, do not feature *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas. The *Kallāṭam* (c. 11th c. CE) has some lines (l. 38-40) which contain the idea of a *captatio benevolentiae*, but not a separate stanza. Furthermore, *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas can be found in the following Chola-period grammatical and poetological works: *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* (late 10th c. CE), *Vīracōḻiyam* (11th c. CE), *Veṇpāppāṭṭiyal* alias *Vaccaṇantimālai* (12th c. CE), *Nēminātam* (12th

[2] All dates in this essay are based on Zvelebil (1995) unless indicated otherwise.

or 13th c. CE), and the *Navanītappāṭṭiyal* (14th c. CE), but not in the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (12th c. CE).

The class of poems known as *pirapantam* works, which also rise to prominence from the Chola period onwards, equally features *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas, e.g. in works belonging to the *kōvai*, *ulā*, *kalampakam*, *piḷḷaittamiḻ*, *pāmālai*, *catakam*, *veṇpā*, and *kuṟavañci* subgenres. But not all *pirapantam* works have an *avaiyaṭakkam* stanza, and there seems to be no single *pirapantam* genre for which the *avaiyaṭakkam* is obligatory. Another group of works for which the *avaiyaṭakkam* is common is that of *purāṇam* and *sthalapurāṇam*. With no fewer than 20 stanzas, Kāñcipuram Kacciyappa Civācāriyar's *Kantapurāṇam* (c. 1350-1400 CE) has the largest known number of *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas in a single work.

In his book, Cauntarapāṇṭiyaṉ divides the premodern Tamil texts that feature *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas into the following categories: *ilakkiyanūṟkaḷ* or literary works proper (with 117 titles listed in this category), *purāṇanūṟkaḷ* or *purāṇas* (with 92 titles), *cāttiranūṟkaḷ* or śāstric works (with 38 titles), *tattuvanūṟkaḷ* or religio-philosophical works (with 40 titles), and *ilakkaṇanūṟkaḷ* or grammatical works (with 12 titles).[3] However, this total of 299 texts is not a complete list of all premodern Tamil texts that feature *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas.

Given our current state of research, only rudimentary generalizations are possible from the above data. What we can say is that the convention of including one or more *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas in a work appears to have emerged with the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* from the 9th c. CE onwards, that the *avaiyaṭakkam* was used predominantly in longer works, but that it was not obligatory to any specific genre or text type.

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[3] Cauntarapāṇṭiyaṉ's last two categories of *akarātikaḷ* (dictionaries) and *patippu*, *katai*, *kaṭṭuraikaḷ* (text editions, prose tales, essays) refer to modern texts not relevant to the present discussion.

2. The poetics of the *avaiyaṭakkam*

It is intriguing that while we have no evidence of actual usage before the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, we find a definition of the convention already in the *Tolkāppiyam*. In the *Ceyyuḷiyal* chapter of the *Poruḷatikāram* we read:

> அவையடக் கியலே யரிறபத் தெரியின்
> வல்லா கூறினும் வகுத்தனர் கொண்மினென்
> றெல்லா மாந்தர்க்கும் வழிமொழிந் தன்றே
> (s. 19 = Tol.Poruḷ. 425).[4]
>
> *avaiyaṭakk'iyalē, aril tapat teriyiṉ,*
> *"vallā kūṟiṉum, vakuttaṉar koṇmiṉ" eṉṟu*
> *ellā māntarkkum vaḻimoḻintaṉṟē.*
>
> The nature of the Avaiyaṭakku, if we examine it
> without fault,
> is praising/speaking submissively before all people,
> saying "Even though it may not be said well/strongly,
> may those who have analyzed [it] accept [my work]".

In other words, the poet asks the audience to accept his work despite any possible shortcomings. We note that the term used here is not *avaiyaṭakkam*, but *avaiyaṭakkiyal*, i.e. the 'nature' or 'quality' of *avai aṭakku*. For the literal meaning of the expressions *avai aṭakku* and *avai aṭakkam*, lit. 'assembly restraint/restraining', there are two possible interpretations, either 'appeasing/controlling the assembly' or possibly also 'showing restraint/submissiveness in/before the assembly', with the term *avai* referring to the 'assembly' or audience of learned scholars, patrons and others before which a poetic composition was generally performed. We will return to the meaning of the audience below. The act of *avai aṭakku*, then, is defined in the above verse as *vaḻimoḻi-tal*, a verb that is listed

[4] I have used Ka. Veḷḷaivāraṇaṉ's variorum edition of the *Ceyyuḷiyal* but restored the full sandhi.

in the *Tamil Lexicon* (s.v.) as meaning 'to praise' (perhaps etymologically something like 'speaking according to the established way').[5] The commentator Pērāciriyar glosses *vaḻimoḻi-tal* as *vaḻipaṭu kiḷavi collutal* 'saying an utterance of praise/worship', while Iḷampūranār's commentary glosses it as *tāḻntu kūṟal* 'speaking submissively'. These two readings nicely encapsulate the meaning of the *avaiyaṭakkam* as a rhetorical strategy: to praise the work and the poet through (feigned) humility.

But to which textual practice does this verse in the *Tolkāppiyam* actually refer? Are the works that could have illustrated this technique simply lost to us today? Or is this stanza a later interpolation in the *Tolkāppiyam*? Given that the *Ceyyuḷiyal* contains other information on post-Caṅkam poetic developments, it is likely that the latter is true. Still, further study is required to be able to say more.

A second definition of the *avaiyaṭakkam* convention can be found in Kuṇacākarar's commentary on the *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas of the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*, a treatise on metrics (10th c. CE). The commentary explains: "*nūliṉatu peruntaṉmaiyum, āciriyaratu peruntaṉmaiyum taṉatu uḷḷak kuṟaiyum uṇarttiya mukattāṉ avaiyaṭakkam uṇarttiṟṟu*" (pāyiram 2, urai) and "*pulavaratu ciṟappu uṇarttiya mukattāṉ avaiyaṭakkam uṇarttiṟṟu*" (pāyiram 3, urai): lit. "The *avaiyaṭakkam* teaches/explains by explaining the great quality of the book/work, the greatness of its author, and its defect/shortcoming(s)", and "The *avaiyaṭakkam* teaches by teaching the *pulavar*'s pre-eminence". This twofold explanation actually overtly spells out the double speak or

[5] I pass over the other meaning listed in the *Tamil Lexicon*, 'to reiterate, as a statement already made', since it does not appear applicable for our present purpose.

antiphrasis of the convention, where pointing to a work's defects is actually meant to elevate the work and its author.

In its rhetorical strategy of elevating the poet's achievement by downplaying it, the *avaiyaṭakkam* is related to the difficulty topos we find elsewhere in premodern Tamil literature. This topos is perhaps most clearly seen at work in the very beginning of the *Periyapurāṇam*, where the poet describes Lord Śiva as *ulakelām uṇarnt' ōtaṟku ariyavaṉ* 'he who, for the entire world, is difficult to understand and to speak of' and then goes on to demonstrate that what is true for the entire world is not true for him by writing 3,634 stanzas about the ineffable. This is medieval Tamil poetic 'modesty' in full swing. As we shall see below, being confident of one's knowledge and poetic prowess was after all an important character trait of the Tamil *pulavar* (poet-scholar).

As a textual strategy, the *avaiyaṭakkam* stanza can be part of a longer prefatory discourse (*pāyiram*) that forms a paratextual narrative extending over several stanzas, explaining such matters as the circumstances that led to the composition of the text. Examples of this can be found in the *Kamparāmāyaṇam* and the *Periyapurāṇam*. In contrast, *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas can also be narratively unconnected to the other paratextual parts, such as the invocation (*kāppu* or *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*) or special preface (*ciṟappuppāyiram*) preceding it. The wittier *avaiyaṭakkam* verses establish an intertextual relation with the text in question, as we will see in the next section.

3. Analysis of individual stanzas

Probably the most common structuring principle of an *avaiyaṭakkam* verse is the simile (*uvamai*), typically following a formula like "That I dare put this work before you is like X". At the same time the poet might denigrate his work as a

'lowly/humble poem' (*puṉkavi*), 'lowly utterance' (*puṉcol*), 'small book' (*ciṟu nūl*), the 'crowing of a crow' (*kākkaik kūvu*) or 'babbling gift of a small infant' (*oru ciṟu kuḻavi kuḻaṟum ciṟappu*). But if we consider the historical evidence, such an overt expression of humility is not how the convention began. Rather, the oldest texts draw on two other structuring principles: (1) the argument that the greatness of the work is directly linked to the audience's capacity to fully understand it, thus making the audience responsible for the success of the work; and (2) the argument that a few mistakes here and there should not be taken to spoil the overall effect, or, more specifically, that mistakes in the composition do not diminish the truth of the text and its salutary effects. We find both these structuring principles at work in the two *avaiyaṭakkam* verses of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*.

> கற்பா லுமிழ்ந்த மணியுங்கழு வாது விட்டால்
> நற்பா லழியு நகை வெண்மதி போனி றைந்த
> சொற்பா லுமிழ்ந்த மறுவும்மதி யாற்க ழூஉவிப்
> பொற்பா விழைத்துக் கொளற்பாலர் புலமை மிக்கார்
> (v. 4).

> *kal pāl umiḻnta maṇiyum kaḻuvātu viṭṭāl,*
> *nal pāl aḻiyum. nakai veḷ mati pōl niṟainta*
> *col pāl umiḻnta maṟuvum. matiyāl kaḻūuvi,*
> *poṟpu ā iḻaittu koḷal pālar pulamai mikkār.*

> If gemstones yielded from pieces of rock are left unpolished,
> their good quality will be ruined. [So] too [with] the blemishes yielded from
> [my] words which abound as in the shining white moon.
> It is up to those who abound in learning to polish [them] with their intellect and to make them beautiful.[6]

[6] Throughout this essay, the translations of the Tamil verses are meant to be as literal as possible and not as poetic translations.

In other words, the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* is like a diamond in the rough that will shine only if polished. Which is also to say: It takes an audience with learning and intellect to properly understand the composition. And by extension: Those who do not understand it might simply not have what it takes, or, put less elegantly: Whoever doesn't appreciate this work is an idiot or at least not sufficiently educated in literature. This, then, is less an expression of the poet's humility than a demonstration of self-confidence. It is also a call for audience participation in the performance process. The text only becomes truly polished if listened to by a learned audience.[7] The simile of the diamond in the rough is clever given the title of the work *cintāmaṇi* or 'wish-fulfilling gemstone'. Thus, this verse inaugurates another typical feature of the *avaiyaṭakkam*: the tradition of alluding playfully in the *avaiyaṭakkam* stanza to an element in or of the text itself, as in this case the title of the work.

The second *avaiyaṭakkam* verse of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* exhorts the audience to ignore potential flaws and focus on the essential quality of the text.

> முந்நீர்ப் பிறந்த பவளத்தொடு சங்கு முத்து
> மந்நீ ருவர்க்கு மெனின்யாரவை நீக்கு கிற்பா
> ரிந்நீர வென்சொற் பழுதாயினுங் கொள்ப வன்றே
> பொய்ந்நீர வல்லாப் பொருளால்விண் புகுது மென்பார்
> (v. 5).

> *mun.nīr piṟanta pavaḷattoṭu caṅkum muttum.*
> *an.nīr uvarkkum eṉiṉ, yār avai nīkkukiṟpār?*
> *in.nīra eṉ col paḻutu āyiṉum, koḷpa, aṉṟē,*
> *"poy nīra allāp poruḷāl viṇ pukutum" eṉpār.*

[7] This, incidentally, is what the commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar does in his commentary on the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, as Pandit T. V. Gopal Iyer (2009: page number?) has pointed out, an unusually creative commentary that goes far beyond the normal interpretation of grammar, lexical meanings and imagery.

The red coral, conch and pearls are born from the ocean.
Who would be able to cast them aside because that ocean is salty?
Even if my words that have such [salty] quality are defective,
[people] will accept [them], won't they, and they will say:
"Through this subject matter that has no false qualities we will reach heaven".

Just as everyone prises corals, conches and pearls, even though they come from salty, brackish water, the truth of this text will grant salvation, even though there may be formal flaws. Again, this is not so much a display of the poet's humility but rather an exhortation to the audience not to be petty. A similar strategy is used in the *avaiyaṭakkam* stanza to the fragmentary Buddhist epic *Kuṇṭalakēci* (9th or 10th c. CE):

நோய்க்குற்ற மாந்தர் மருந்தின்சுவை நோக்கில்லார்
தீக்குற்ற காத லுடையார்புகைத் தீமை யோரார்
போய்க்குற்ற மூன்று மறுத்தான்புகழ் கூறு வேற்கென்
வாய்க்குற்ற சொல்லின் வழுவும்வழு வல்ல வன்றே(v. 2).

nōykku uṟṟa māntar maruntiṉ cuvai nōkkillār.
tīkku uṟṟa kātal uṭaiyār pukaittīmai ōrār.
pōyk kuṟṟam mūṉṟum aṟuttāṉ pukaḻ kūṟuvēṟku eṉ
vāykku uṟṟa colliṉ vaḻuvum vaḻu alla, aṉṟē.

Sick people do not consider the taste of the medicine.
Those whose love burns like fire do not mind the evil effects of smoke.
For me who sings the praise of him who has eradicated the three faults [= Buddha],
even a mistake in the words from my mouth is not a mistake, right?

While the first analogy of sick people accepting that medicine might taste bitter is straightforward, the second

analogy presents the somewhat surreal, or *recherché*, image of smoke rising from a heart on fire. At any rate, the message is clear: Any mistake in this poem in praise of the Buddha should be excused. We also notice that here as well as in the example from the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, it is possible to read the question tag *aṉṟē* at the end of the verse not just as a semantically empty metrical filler as commentators generally want us to believe. Instead, it might in fact point to the extratextual situation of the assembly before which the text is recited. In other words, it can serve a phatic function of establishing contact with the audience, much like asking "Right?" or "Am I wrong?"

For a shift in tone towards the expression of humility in the form of self-denigration we turn to the treatise on metrics *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* (late 10th c. CE).

> தேனார்கமழ்தொங்கன்மீனவன்கேட்பத்தெண்ணீரருவிக்
> கானார்மலயத்தருந்தவன்சொன்னகன்னித்தமிழ்நூல்
> யானாநடாத்துகின்றேனென்றெனக்கேநகைதருமால்
> ஆனாவறிவினவர்கட்கென்னாங்கொலென்னாதரவே
> (v. 2).
>
> *tēṉ ār kamaḻ toṅkal mīṉavaṉ kēṭpat, teḷ nīr aruvik*
> *kāṉ ār malayattu arun tavaṉ coṉṉa kaṉṉit tamiḻ nūl*
> *yāṉ nā naṭāttukiṉṟēṉ eṉṟu eṉakkē nakai tarum-āl,*[8]
> *āṉā aṟiviṉ avarkaṭku eṉ ām-kol, eṉ ātaravē.*
>
> My desire to undertake to tell with [my] tongue the book of pure Tamil
> composed by the great ascetic of the mountain

[8] While the commentary considers *āl* as a metrical filler here, it works quite well as the old assertive particle (as described in Wilden 2006: 108–112 and Wilden 2018: 176), hence my translation as 'really'. I thank Eva Wilden for pointing this out. I have translated the other occurrences below similarly.

full of forests and waterfalls with clear water,
for the Pandya king, with [his] fragrant garland full of honey, to hear –
it really makes me laugh myself.
What might it mean to those of boundless knowledge?

Even the poet himself has to laugh at this act of presumption, to attempt to re-write the grammatical work of the legendary sage Akattiyar for a new patron. How much more ridiculous must it seem to his learned *pulavar* colleagues? This is clearly an example of humility and humor combined. Let us all have a good laugh. But it also validates the new treatise by casting it as a re-writing of Akattiyar's work. Even the 'new version' cannot really be all that bad if it is based on a treatise on pure or 'virginal' Tamil (*kaṉṉit tamiḻ nūl*). Also, the word the poet has chosen to express his 'desire', *ātaravu*, is an interesting choice.[9] Unlike the more common *ācai*, a drive or urge that compels someone to do something, *ātaravu* has the semantic range of 'love/affection/kindness'

[9] That is, of course, if *ātaravu* is indeed the correct reading. The Kaḻakam edition (p. 6) lists the variant *ātaramē* which appears to be used more commonly to mean 'desire' (the *Tamil Lexicon* refers to the *Cūṭāmāṇinikaṇṭu* for that meaning), but none of the editions I have seen emends the text. At any rate, retaining *ātaravu* as the *lectio difficilior* certainly presents a more interesting reading. The commentator Kuṇacākarar somewhat inexplicably dodges the issue by producing in his (otherwise detailed) gloss a free rendering of the content that does not correspond to the grammatical construction of the original. In his gloss, he explains that the retelling of Akattiyar's work was done "out of desire" (*avāviṉāl*) but *eṉ ātaravē* cannot be construed like that syntactically in the original. This leaves him without a subject to *eṉakkē nakai tarum.* In her translation, Ulrike Niklas considered *eṉ ātaravē* as a separate invocation in which the poet addresses his own 'heart': "O my desire!". This soliloquy trope is of course common enough, but this version still poses syntactic problems. Thus, I see no better solution than to read the syntax as a *pūṭṭu vil* construction (indicated, perhaps, by the particle *āl* in line 3) with *eṉ ātaravē* as the subject, i.e. X *eṉṟu eṉ ātaravu eṉakkē nakai tarum*, lit. 'my desire gives me laughter, saying X'. This reading is spelled out explicitly as *eṉ ātaravu eṉakkē nakaitarum* in U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar's commentary.

and is often used in the sense of 'kindness towards others' or 'support', and specifically for the real material support with which a royal patron remunerates a poet. Thus, the poet describes the act of re-casting Akattiyar's work not just as a labor of love, but as an act of kindness towards others (*so that* the Pandya king might be able to hear it), a sly inversion of the patron-client relationship, sly because it is really all just a laughing matter. Compared to this, the second stanza is considerably less humorous in tone.

> சுருக்கமில்கேள்வித்துகடீர்புலவர்முன்யான்மொழிந்த
> பருப்பொரு டானும்விழுப்பொருளாம்பனிமாலிமயப்
> பொருப்பகஞ்சேர்ந்தபொல்லாக்கருங்காக்கையும்
> பொன்னிறமாய்
> இருக்குமென்றிவ்வாறுரைக்குமன்றோவிவ்விருநிலமே
> (v. 3).
>
> *curukkam il kēḷvit tukaḷ tīr pulavar muṉ yāṉ moḻinta*
> *parupporuḷ tāṉum viḻupporuḷ ām. paṉi māl imayap*
> *poruppu akam cērnta pollāk karum kākkaiyum*
> *poṉṉiṟamāy*
> *irukkum eṉṟu ivvāṟu uraikkum aṉṟō iv.virunilamē.*
>
> Before the *pulavar*s of unabbreviated learning who remove [all] defects
> even the tasteless matter that I have pronounced turns itself into something sublime.
> Likewise, it is said in this wide world – is it not? – that the lowly black crow
> turns golden once it reaches the tall snowy Himalayan mountains.

Here the poet uses the strategy we already saw above of implicating his audience or enlisting their help in order to elevate the composition, while at the same time pretending to belittle his own contribution as a "tasteless" or "superficial"

matter (*parupporuḷ*). Since the poet recites his work before his erudite colleagues who know how to remove all potential defects, his tasteless matter turns into a lofty or sublime matter (*viḻupporuḷ*) all by itself, just like a black crow turns golden in the golden sunlight reflected off the snowclad Himalayan mountains as legend has it. Flattery across the board ensures that the poet's work shines in the company of those mountains of scholars, and everyone is happy.

Sometimes, however, the task of writing a new work can be so daunting that what is needed is not just love for the endeavor but sheer madness, or at least an indomitable urge. This is how Kampaṉ explains his motivation to produce a Tamil version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Irāmāvatāram* (c. 12th c. CE):

> ஓசைபெற்றுயர்பாற்கடலுற்றொரு
> பூசைமுற்றவுநக்குபுபுக்கென
> ஆசைபற்றியறையலுற்றேன்மற்றிக்
> காசில்கொற்றத்திராமன்கதையரோ (v. 4).

> *ōcai peṟṟu uyar pāl kaṭal uṟṟu, oru*
> *pūcai muṟṟavum nakkupu pukku eṉa,*
> *ācai paṟṟi aṟaiyal uṟṟēṉ (maṟṟu) ik*
> *kācu il koṟṟattu irāmaṉ katai, arō.*

> Like a cat undertaking to lap up completely
> the high, roaring ocean of milk,
> seized by desire, I have told this tale, oh,
> of Rāma whose kingship is without blemish.

The divine story of Rāma is vast, high and auspicious like the mythological ocean of milk, and before the task of rendering such greatness the poet appears like a lowly cat. There is eagerness and urgency here, the greed with which a cat tries to lap up milk, the desire to contain it all, every drop of it. But there is also a sense of powerlessness and

desperation, perhaps best seen in the sigh built right into the poem, the *arō* at the end, as if to say 'Goodness, what a foolish thing to do!' Telling Rāma's tale is of course an act of worship, so the urgent desire that seized the poet cannot be controlled. He simply must follow the urge, cat-foolishness or not. The next verse, too, contains an interjection, 'Oh my!' (*eṉai*), generally used to express wonder, right in the first line.[10] Perhaps the poet still cannot believe he has actually been foolish enough to try this.

நொய்தினொய்யசொன்னூற்கலுற்றேனெனை
வைதவைவின்மராமரமேழ்தொளை
எய்தவெய்தவற்கெய்தியமாக்கதை
செய்தசெய்தவன்சொன்னின்றதேயத்தே (v. 5).

noytiṉ noyya col nūl kaluṟṟēṉ, eṉai!
vaita vaiviṉ marāmaram ēḻ toḷai
eyta, eytavaṟku eytiya māk katai,
ceyta cey tavaṉ col ṉiṉṟa tēyattē.

I have written [this] book with the simplest of words, oh my,
the great story that happened to the one who shot [a single arrow]
so as to reach and pierce seven pipal trees like a curse spoken [by a Rishi],
in [this] land where the words of the ascetic who made 'made things'[Vālmīki] are established.

[10] Traditional commentators have of course tended to ignore words like *arō* and *eṉai* as simple metrical fillers (*acai*), but it seems implausible to me that someone who shows such consummate mastery throughout a massive epic poem as the author of the *Irāmāvatāram* would litter his otherwise carefully crafted verses with meaningless syllables. That I am not alone in taking these fillers as meaningful parts of the verse is demonstrated by P. S. Sundaram's translation who spells out the sense of wonder explicitly in his translation: "How strange that, with the poorest of words, / I should tell again that arrow's tale …" (Sundaram 2002: 4).

In addition to the interjection, the remainder of the first line appears somewhat emotional, perhaps even theatrical, in its hyperbole (lit. "words that are simpler than simple"). But after this moment, the poet quickly gains composure and continues with his signature wordplay, the rhyming and chiming made possible by recourse to unusual words and turns of phrase in order to provide an *in nuce* version of Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, the story of the one who shot a single fateful arrow. We have no space here to discuss all of Kampaṉ's six *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas in full detail. Suffice it to say that they form part of a larger discursive preface (known as *pāyiram*) in which the poet continues to say that he alone is to blame if the world despises him for his foolish endeavor, but that he did it simply in order to show everyone the divine greatness of Vālmīki's brilliant poem (*teyva mā kavi māṭci*) (v. 6). He concedes that his verses might offend his sophisticated audience like a noisy drum would offend the sensitive ears of an *acuṇam*[11] used to hearing a honeyed lute (*yāḻ*) (v. 7). And he asks "the most exalted poets who have studied the ways of all the branches of the threefold Tamil" (*muttamiḻt tuṟaiyin muṟai nōkkiya / uttama kaviñar*): "Are the things said by madmen, simpletons / or devotees fit to be analyzed?" (*pittar coṉṉavum pētaiyar coṉṉavum / pattar coṉṉavum paṉṉa peṟupavō*) (v. 8). And he continues in question mode: "Would real carpenters be offended by innocent children drawing buildings on the floor?" (*maṭap piḷḷaikaḷ / taṟaiyil*[12] *kīṟiṭiṉ taccarum kāyvarō*), "and will those who are proper scholars be offended by my lowly poem devoid of the slightest knowledge?" (*iṟaiyum ñāṉam ilāta eṉ puṉ kavi / muṟaiyiṉ nūl uṇarntārum muṉivarō*) (v. 9). All this happens in a series of short *viruttam* verses, so that the effect is somewhat restless, even gushing, the gushing of a madman,

[11] A mythological animal that is so sensitive to sound that it dies from loud noise.

[12] *Taraiyil* is changed here into *taṟaiyil* for the *etukai*.

with the rhyming equation of *pittar* (madmen) and *pattar* (devotees) we know well from first-millennium bhakti poetry. But while the poet speaks of madness, religious effusiveness and humble song, in fact everything is method, calculation and carefully crafted poetic mastery.

Kampaṉ's contemporary Cēkkiḻār took the animal imagery further[13] in his *Periyapurāṇam*, his hagiographical epic telling the legends of Śiva's canonical devotees.[14] If Kampaṉ was a cat, Cēkkiḻār was a dog, the "even more despised, unclean" animal, "in perfect accord with the *bhakti* persona, very conspicuous in Śaiva texts, of the devotee who sees himself as the god's faithful, lowly, dog-like servant", as David Shulman has remarked (2001: 111).

தெரிவ ரும்பெரு மைத்திருத் தொண்டர்தம்
பொருவ ருஞ்சீர் புகலலுற் றேன்முற்றப்
பெருகு தெண்கட லூற்றுண் பெருநசை
யொருசு ணங்கனை யொக்குந் தகைமையேன் (v. 6).

terivu arum perumait tirut toṇṭar tam
poruvu arum cīr pukalal uṟṟēṉ. muṟṟap
peruku teḷ kaṭal ūṟṟu uṇ peru nacai
oru cuṇaṅkaṉai okkum takaimaiyēṉ.

I begin to relate the incomparable glory of the sacred devotees,
whose greatness is difficult to understand.
I am like a dog eager to drink up
the clear ocean that overflows completely.

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[13] Given how unclear the dating of Kampaṉ still is (see Zvelebil 1995, s.v.), it is also possible that Cēkkiḻār's poem (and thus the idea of the animal simile) is in fact older than the *Irāmāvatāram*.

[14] For a discussion of the context and ideology of Cēkkiḻār's poem through a reading of the famous story of the untouchable saint Nantaṉ, see Ebeling (2010b).

Like Kampaṉ, and like a ravenous dog eager to eat (*uṇ peru nacai*), Cēkkiḻār is driven by his boundless desire (*aḷavil ācai turappa*), as he explains in the stanza preceding the one above. And in the verse following his canine apology, drawing on the strategy we already saw in the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* and elsewhere, the poet appeals to his audience to show their greatness (*mēṉmai*) by accepting his exposition of an important matter, the lives of the saints, even though it may be a minor exposition (*eṉ urai ciṟitu āyiṉum*):

அளவி லாத பெருமைய ராகிய
வளவி லாவடி யார்புகழ் கூறுகே
னளவு கூட வுரைப்பரி தாயினு
மளவி லாசை துரப்ப வறைகுவேன் (v. 5).

aḷavu ilāta perumaiyar ākiya
aḷavu ilā aṭiyār pukaḻ kūṟukēṉ.
aḷavu kūṭa uraippu aritu āyiṉum,
aḷavil ācai turappa, aṟaikuvēṉ.

I proclaim the fame of the servants without measure
whose greatness knows no bounds.
Even though it is difficult to reach their measure in
speech,
I speak, driven by limitless desire.

செப்ப லுற்ற பொருளின் சிறப்பினா
லப்பொ ருட்குரை யாவருங் கொள்வரா
லிப்பொ ருட்கென் னுரைசிறி தாயினு
மெய்ப்பொ ருட்குரி யார்கொள்வர் மேன்மையால் (v. 7).

ceppal uṟṟa poruḷiṉ ciṟappiṉāl
ap poruṭku urai yāvarum koḷvar āl.
ip poruṭku eṉ urai ciṟitu āyiṉum,
meyp poruṭku uriyār koḷvar mēṉmaiyāl.

Because of the extraordinariness of the matter about to be related
everyone will surely accept an exposition of that matter.
Even though my exposition of this matter is small,
those worthy of the true essence will accept it due to [their] excellence.

Note how here, as elsewhere, the plea for his audience to show their excellence is tied to their being worthy of the true essence or content (*meyp poruḷ*) of the book. You do have to be an expert in order to understand it. As in the case of Kampaṉ's poem, Cēkkiḻār's *avaiyaṭakkam* verses too form part of a larger discursive preface. His next verse explains that he wrote his work for the assembly or court (*avai*) of the Chola king, "the royal assembly of Anapāyaṉ, whose fame will last for aeons in this world, / the Chola who ornamented the sacred great hall / of the Red Lord with pure red gold" (*cēyavaṉ tirup pēr ampalam ceyya / tūya poṉ aṇi cōḻaṉ, nīṭūḻi pār / āya cīr anapāyaṉ aracu avai*) (v. 8).

For a final example of an animal simile, we now turn to the famous *avaiyaṭakkam* stanza of Pukaḻēnti's poem on the story of Nala and Damayantī, the *Naḷaveṇpā* (late 13th c./early 14th c. CE).

வெந்தறுகண் வேழத்தை வேரிக் கமலத்தின்
தந்துவினாற் கட்டச் சமைவதொக்கும் –
பைந்தொடையில்
தேன்பாடுந் தார்நளன்றன் றெய்வத் திருக்கதையை
யான்பாட லுற்ற விது (v. 6).

vem taṟukaṇ vēḻattai vērik kamalattiṉ
tantuviṉāl kaṭṭac camaivatu okkum – paim toṭaiyil
tēṉ pāṭum tār naḷaṉ taṉ teyvat tiruk kataiyai
yāṉ pāṭal uṟṟa itu.

Like trying to tie down a raging and fearless elephant
with the stalk of a fragrant lotus
is this [poem] that I undertook to sing about
the divine and sacred story of Nala with a chaplet of fresh
flowers in which bees sing.

In Shulman's cogent reading he points to the "parallelism between two 'singers', the poet and the bees; like the latter, the author haunts the hero's outer adornments without ever attaining the heart of the story or encompassing his experience" (2001: 109). While the image of the buzzing bees is familiar from bhakti poetry as a simile for the devotees surrounding a deity, this verse cleverly extends that usage to the situation of the courtly poet. His exasperation before the magnitude of the task at hand of retelling a divine and sacred story (*teyvattiruk katai*) finds expression in another simile: The story is "a rampaging elephant which the poet somewhat pathetically tries to contain by the paltry means of language, verse, ornament" (ibid.). And yet, there is a subtle humor here in that the poet chose to liken his composition not, say, to a piece of straw, but to the stalk of a fragrant lotus, an auspicious flower where deities tend to manifest themselves and a symbol of beauty. The stalk may be 'fragrant' primarily for euphonic reasons (vem *taṟukaṇ* vēḷa*ttai* vērik *kamalattiṉ*), but it is still a lotus.

The *avaiyaṭakkam* verses that Kacciyappa Civācāriyar of Kāñcipuramproduced for his *Kantapurāṇam* (c. 1350-1400 CE), his Tamil retelling of the *Skandapurāṇa*, are all in all much more straightforward. The first verse resorts to the conceit of the poet as a little child.

இறைநில மெழுதுமு னிளைய பாலகன்
முறைவரை வேனென முயல்வ தொக்குமா
லறுமுக முடையவோ ரமலன் மாக்கதை
சிறியதோ ரறிவினேன் செப்ப நின்றதே
(avaiyaṭakkam v. 1).

iṟai nilam eḻutum muṉ iḷaiya pālakaṉ
"muṟai varaivēṉ" eṉa muyalvatu okkum āl,
aṟumukam uṭaiya ōr amalaṉ māk katai
ciṟiyatu ōr aṟiviṉēṉ ceppa niṉṟatē.

That I of little knowledge should tell
the great tale of an immaculate one with six faces,
that is truly like a little boy trying to write with [his] finger
in the sand, saying "I will write a scholarly treatise".

In the second verse, the poet compares himself before the assembly of scholars, "the skilled scholars of Tamil of choice/limitless words" (*āṉa col tamiḻ valla aṟiñar*), to a star that wants to outshine the sun.

ஆன சொற்றமிழ் வல்ல வறிஞர்முன்
யானு மிக்கதை கூறுதற் கெண்ணுதல்
வான கத்தெழும் வான்கதி ரோன்புடை
மீனி மைப்ப விரும்பிய போலும் (v. 2).

āṉa col tamiḻ valla aṟiñar muṉ
yāṉum ik katai kūṟutaṟku eṇṇutal
vāṉakattu eḻum vāṉ katirōṉ-puṭai
mīṉ imaippa virumpiya pōlum āl.

Thinking that I too might relate this story
before the skilled scholars of Tamil of choice words
is like a star wanting to [out]shine the sun
that rises in the sky.

There is little subtlety in these by and large conventional verses. Kacciyappa Civācāriyar appears to have opted for quantity over quality, since his *Kantapurāṇam* has twenty *avaiyaṭakkam* verses, the largest number in a single work.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that all Tamil *purāṇams* work like this. In Parañcōti Māmuṉivar's

Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam (early 17th c. CE?), the story of the sacred games of Śiva in Madurai, we find a clever intertextual joke in the first of the four *avaiyaṭakkam* verses which are part of the work's preface (*pāyiram*). In the first verse we read:

> நாயகன்கவிக்குங்குற்றநாட்டியகழகமாந்தர்
> மேயவத்தலத்தினோர்க்கென்வெள்ளறிவுரையிற்குற்ற
> மாயுமாறரிதன்றேனுநீர்பிரித்தன்னமுண்ணுந்
> தூயதீம்பால்போற்கொள்கசுந்தரன்சரிதந்தன்னை
> (pāyiram 26).

> *nāyakaṉ kavikkum kuṟṟam nāṭṭiya kaḻaka māntar*
> *mēya at talattiṉōrkku eṉ veḷḷaṟivu uraiyil kuṟṟam*
> *āyumāṟu aritu aṉṟēṉum, nīr pirittu aṉṉam uṇṇum*
> *tūya tīm pāl pōl koḷka cuntaraṉ caritam taṉṉai.*

> Even though it would not be difficult for the people of
> that place,
> where the scholars of the Sangam dwelled,
> who established a mistake even in the poem of
> the Lord,
> to find a mistake in my ignorant speech,
> may they accept the story of the Beautiful One [= Śiva]
> like the pure, sweet milk
> that the goose drank, separating it from the water.

Madurai, in other words, is a place where people easily find fault with poets. Since the scholars of the legendary Madurai Sangam found a mistake even in a poem composed by Lord Śiva himself, how easy would it be for Parañcōti's "ignorant or silly speech" (*veḷḷaṟivu urai*) to be taken apart! The allusion here is of course to one of the stories told later in the poem, a story that remains to date the most popular story ever to be told about the legendary ancient Tamil Sangam or assembly of poets in Madurai. It is the story of the uncompromising Sangam poet Nakkīrar who was burned by Śiva for arguing

that a love poem Śiva had composed contained a mistake.[15] Rather than applying the same philological intransigence to him, Parañcōti asks that his Madurai audience do as the goose (*aṉṉam*) that knows how to separate milk from water according to Hindu mythology.

The use of intertextual references was an important strategy for other poets as well. Another interesting example can be found in the long Christian epic *Tēmpāvaṇi* (Unfading garland or Garland of Sweet Songs, c. 1726?) by Vīramā-muṉivar otherwise known as the Jesuit missionary Costanzo Gioseffo Beschi (1680–1747). As has been argued elsewhere,[16] Beschi wrote his poetic masterpiece not simply to convey Christian content in Tamil, but also in order to demonstrate that he was a properly educated Tamil *pulavar* who should be taken seriously by his Tamil peers. What better way, then, to show one's *pulavar* chops than to quote from the most revered poet in all of Tamil literature?

சூசையுற் றனவ ரங்கட் டூய்கடல் கடக்க லில்லா
லோசையுற் றொழுக மிர்த முடைகட லென்ன நண்ணிப்
பூசையுற் றதனை நக்கப் புக்கென வுளத்தைத் தூண்டு
மாசையுற் றூம னேனு மருங்கதை யறைய லுற்றேன்
(pāyiram 4).

cūcai uṟṟaṉa varaṅkaḷ tūy kaṭal kaṭakkal illāl,
ōcai uṟṟu oḻuku amirtam uṭai kaṭal eṉṉa naṇṇip,
pūcai uṟṟu ataṉai nakkap pukku eṉa, uḷattait tūṇṭum
ācai uṟṟu, ūmaṉ ēṉum, arum katai aṟaiyal uṟṟēṉ.

[15] For the most recent discussion of the Nakkīrar story in Tamil literary history and beyond, see Wilden (2014) and the literature cited there. The 1965 cult film *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* (dir. A. P. Nagarajan), with its legendary performance of Sivaji Ganesan (1928–2001) as Śiva, has done much to popularize the story.

[16] See Ebeling and Trento (2018).

There exists a commentary for the beginning of the work which according to some is the work of Beschi himself, but according to others was added later. If we follow the reading of this commentary, the verse could be translated as follows:

> Even though I cannot cross the pure ocean of boons that Joseph obtained,
> as if entering it in order to touch it doing worship, thinking that it is
> the resounding sea of flowing *amṛta*,because I have the desire to captivate
> the mind, even though I am a mute, I begin to narrate this rare/difficult story.

But on closer inspection we find that the verse actually features a lovely intertextual reference to Kampaṉ's cat, rhyming 'Joseph' (*cūcai*) with three of the initial rhyming words from Kampaṉ's stanza (*ōcai, pūcai, ācai*), and also a *śleṣa* double entendre based on *pūcai* which could mean either 'worship' (Skt. *pūjā*) or 'cat' as a variant of *pūṉai* (listed in the *Tolkāppiyam*). Thus, instead of reading the beginning of line 3 *pūcai uṟṟu ataṉai nakkap pukku eṉa* as 'as if entering it in order to touch it doing worship', we could also translate, much more elegantly,

> Even though I cannot cross the pure ocean of boons that Joseph obtained,
> *like* (*eṉa*) *a cat that wants to lap up all of it* (*uṟṟ'ataṉai*), thinking that it is
> the resounding sea of flowing *amṛta*, because I have the desire to captivate
> the mind, even though I am a mute, I begin to narrate this rare/difficult story.

For an audience familiar with Kampaṉ's verse, the reference is impossible to miss. Why does the commentary not mention it? Did Beschi, if indeed he was the author of the commentary,

not want to make it too easy for his readers? Or if he was not the author, did the later commentator(s) simply miss the quotation? Be that as it may, Beschi's verse is a brilliant little meta-*avaiyaṭakkam* in its nod to Kampaṉ.

Outside of the field of the high *kāvya* style poems we have seen so far, we find *avaiyaṭakkam* verses also in the smaller literary forms and *pirapantam* poems. Sometimes, an *avaiyaṭakkam* can be woven effortlessly into the flow of the *kaṇṇi* stanzas or couplets that many of these poems use for narration. A good example of this can be found in the *Kūḷappa Nāyakaṉ kātal* (18th c. CE), a poem on the amorous exploits of Kūḷappa Nāyakaṉ, a local ruler in Nilaikkōṭṭai (in today's Dindigul district), composed by Cuppiratīpakkavirāyar who was perhaps one of Beschi's teachers.[17] The poem begins with an invocation or *kāppu* verse in *veṇpā* form followed by 5 *kaṇṇis* (of a total of 375) which contain invocations to Vināyakaṉ, Sarasvatī, Murukaṉ, and Parañcōti Māmuṉivar of Madurai. Then follows the *avaiyaṭakkam*:

நாட்டுபுகழ்ப்பெரியநாயகன்மேற்காதலைநான்
சூட்டுகவிநாவலர்முன்சொல்லத்துணிந்ததுதான் (6)

தானந்தவயோகதத்துவமில்லானொருவன்
ஞானந்தெளிந்தவர்க்குநல்லறிவுசொல்வதொக்கும் (7).

தெள்ளமிர்தமூட்டியுரைதிருத்திவளர்த்தெடுத்தோர்
கிள்ளைகுழறுமொழிகேட்டுமகிழ்வதுபோல் (8)

நன்னயவில்வேள்பெரியநாகேந்த்ரனென்கவியி
லென்னவழுக்கண்டாலுமின்பமெனக்கொண்டருள்வான் (9).

nāṭṭu pukaḻp periya nāyakaṉ mēl kātalai nāṉ
cūṭṭu kavi nāvalar muṉ collat tuṇintatu tāṉ,

[17] For a reading of the poem in the context of *Nāyaka*-period patronage, see Shulman (2001: 92–102).

tāṉam tava yōkatattuvam illāṉ oruvaṉ
ñāṉam teḷintavarkku nallaṟivu colvatu okkum.

teḷ amirtam ūṭṭi urai tirutti vaḷarttu eṭuttōr
kiḷḷai kuḻaṟum moḻi kēṭṭu makiḻvatu pōl,

naṉṉaya vil vēḷ periya nākēntraṉ, eṉ kaviyil
eṉṉa vaḻu kaṇṭālum, iṉpam eṉak koṇṭaruḷvāṉ.

That I should recite a *kātal* poem on the great Nāyakaṉ of established fame
before garlanded and eloquent poets is presumptuous indeed,

like someone without status and realization of yogic penance
reciting ethical learning to those who [already] possess knowledge.

[But] just as those who raise [a parrot] by feeding it clear ambrosia
and correcting its speech are delighted on hearing the parrot's prattle,

the great king Nākēntraṉ of the kind bow, whatever flaws he should find
in my poem, will graciously accept it with pleasure.

We remember that training a parrot to speak is one of the sixty-four arts a courtier is supposed to master according to such texts as the *Kāmasūtra*, and, given the parrot's prominence in Sanskrit love poetry, it is a particularly appropriate animal for a Tamil poem on love like a *kātal*. The poet humbly observes that his poem is nothing more than the prattle of a parrot (*kiḷḷai kuḻaṟum moḻi*), and an act of presumption or daring for which the verb *tuṇi-tal* is typically used in the language of the *avaiyaṭakkam*. At the same time, the poet alludes to the real-life situation of patronage according to which "the great king Nākēntraṉ of the kind bow"

is supposed to remunerate his humble servant, to feed him "clear ambrosia" and to like or enjoy the "prattle" he receives in return, a quick reminder that the recitation of a poem like this is, among other things, also a business transaction. We will return to this thought in the next section.

The final example included here is meant to show that even the so-called 'minor' literary forms known as *pirapantam* can have complex and elaborate *avaiyaṭakkam* verses. This is how Tiricirapuram Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai 'apologizes' for his *Akilāṇṭanāyakip piḷḷaittamiḻ*, a poem which imagines the 'Lady of All the World' in Tiruvāṉaikkā as a little baby girl (SMPT v. 155):[18]

பொங்குமலை நீர்பருகு மொருமனிவ னமர்நறும்
பொதியத் திருந்தெழுந்து
-புன்னைவீ யின்ரா தளைந்தவிள மென்சிறு
புதுத்தென்றல் வந்தரும்ப
வெங்குமொளிர் செந்தழ லரும்புதே மாவட
ரெழிற்காவை யம்பதியின்மே
-வெம்பிராட் டிக்கியா னுரைசெய்பிள் ளைக்கவியி
தென்போ லிருக்குமென்னிற்
றங்குமூ தறிவுடைய சான்றோ ருறுந்தெய்வ சைவநெறி
யொழுகு வோரின்
-சங்கத்து மெய்ப்பொரு ளுணர்த்துநூல் புகலுவது
தான்கேட் டெழுந்து தீம்பால்
செங்குமுத வாயொழுக மந்தமந் தச்சென்று தேருமக்
கழகமுற்றோர்
-சிறுமடல்கை பற்றியொரு சிறுகுழவி குழறுஞ்
சிறப்பினுக் கொக்குமன்றே.

[18] For a study of the *piḷḷaittamiḻ* genre in general and a discussion of another *piḷḷaittamiḻ* by Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai, the *Cēkkiḻār Piḷḷaittamiḻ*, see Richman (1997). For the life and works of Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai, see Ebeling (2010a).

poṅkum alai nīr parukum oru maṉivaṉ amar naṟum
potiyattu iruntu eḻuntu
puṉṉai vīyiṉ tātu aḷainta iḷa meṉ ciṟu putu teṉṟal vantu
arumpa,
eṅkum oḷir cem taḻal arumpu tē mā aṭar eḻil kā
vaiyampatiyiṉ mēl
em pirāṭṭikku yāṉ urai cey piḷḷaikkavi itu eṉ pōl
irukkum eṉṉiṉ:
taṅkum mūtu aṟivuṭaiya cāṉṟōr uṟum teyva caiva neṟi
oḻukuvōriṉ
caṅkattu meypporuḷ uṇarttu nūl pukaluvatu tāṉ kēṭṭu
eḻuntu tīm pāl
cem kumuta vāy oḻuka manta mantac ceṉṟu tērum
ak.kaḻakamuṟṟōr
ciṟu maṭal kai paṟṟi oru ciṟu kuḻavi kuḻaṟum
ciṟappiṉukku okkum aṉṟē.

If you ask: what is it like,
the *piḷḷaittamiḻ* I composed on
our Lady of the beautiful Tiruvāṉaikkā,
where the sweet budding mango trees grow densely,
their red fire shining everywhere,
while the young, soft, little, fresh southern breeze
carrying the? pollen of the *puṉṉai* flowers
begins to blow, rising from fragrant Mount Potiyam,
where he who drank up the water of the bulging
waves (= Akattiyar) resides?
It is like the babbling gift of a small child
who hears the lectures on books expounding *meypporuḷ*
[the nature of things]
in the assembly of those following the divine Śaiva path,
the path of the elders with the right knowledge in
their minds,

and who gets up, milk dripping from his red *kumutam*-
flower mouth,
slowly toddles along with searching steps
and before this assembly
takes a small palm leaf in his hands.

There is an entire story contained in this dense, elegant and opulent verse (try reading the verse all in one breath…). The poet describes Tiruvāṉaikkā, the sacred abode of the goddess, by means of a *locus amoenus* (or 'pleasance') topos so common in classical Tamil literature, with the bright red buds of the mango trees and the mild and fragrant southern wind. All is auspicious, fragrant, beautiful. And the breeze arrives there from Mount Potiyam where the ancient sage Akattiyar lives, so that, by extension, Tiruvāṉaikkā too becomes a place of Tamil learning (and the poet salutes his legendary predecessor in passing). Masterful poetic craftsman that he was, Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai consciously chose the *kaḻineṭilaṭi* or 'overlong line' for his stanza to allow for this kind of detailed, charged description. The imagery is painted with a loving hand, just as in the description of the little baby boy toddling along, "milk dripping from his red *kumutam*-flower mouth". The humor rests of course on presenting the poet as this prattling baby boy listening in on the lofty philosophical debates of the 'real' scholars, the "assembly of those who follow the divine Śaiva path" as set out by the noble ancestors with their age-old wisdom. But the striking effect of this verse further rests on its allusion to a generic convention. Since the *piḷḷaittamiḻ* (lit. 'Tamil [for] a child') genrehas as its subject the depiction of the deity (or person) praised as a baby in which the poet adopts the voice of a mother, the poet referring to himself here as a baby (instead of a mother) before the other poets is a form of self-humiliation particularly appropriate for this genre. As we saw above in the case of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*,

Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai's verse, too, playfully alludes to an element of the text itself, the generic convention of poetic 'baby talk'.

4. Audiences, performance, and *pulavar* competition: The social logic of the *avaiyaṭakkam*

We now turn to the extratextual or pragmatic moorings of the *avaiyaṭakkam* stanza, or what we may call its 'social logic', a term that I borrow from Gabrielle Spiegel's work to translate the German "Sitz im Leben". The 'assembly' of poet-scholars invoked in all *avaiyaṭakkam* stanzas was not merely a virtual one or a genre convention. Historically, it referred to a very real performative situation, since premodern Tamil literary works were rarely, if ever, silently read by an individual. Rather they were publicly performed, recited in front of a mixed audience which usually consisted of the poet's students and *pulavar* colleagues, the person(s) who commissioned the text and their followers, and finally a number of interested people attracted by the spectacle of such a performance. Thus, from the perspective of the circulation of premodern Tamil literature through performative situations, the *avaiyaṭakkam* may be seen as a trace that the situation of oral performance through which classical Tamil poems were circulated left *within* the literary text itself. In my work on nineteenth-century Tamil literature, I have attempted to account for the particular performative situation of premodern Tamil texts and the communities of sentiment or interpretive communities they produced by proposing the model of an "economy of praise".[19] In premodern Tamil literature, praise and its result fame (both commonly referred to as *pukaḻ*) bound poet to poet and poet to audience, and in so far as it served to secure a poet a place with a patron on whom he depended to earn his living,

[19] See Ebeling (2010a).

praise was directly convertible into economic welfare. Thiseconomy of praise consisted of five elements, both textual and extra-textual: the special preface (*ciṟappuppāyiram* or *cāṟṟukkavi*); the*avaiyaṭakkam* stanza; thepublic premiere of a work (*araṅkēṟṟam*); theformalized correspondence between *pulavar*s via epistolary verses (*cīṭṭukkavi*); and the writing ofoccasional poetry (*taṉippāṭal*).Viewed from this perspective of the economy of praise, what is important about the *avaiyaṭakkam* stanza as a conventional component of a literary text is that the literary text itself contained an obligatory slot for status negotiations among the poets. The *ciṟappuppāyiram*, as a type of peer endorsement, helped display the status of a particular poet vis-à-vis his fellow poets and before a literary audience. The *avaiyaṭakkam*, then, was the poet's acknowledgement of this peer endorsement through the feigned humble refusal to accept peer praise. The fact that this negotiation of status or fame was conventionalized does not mean that it lacked force. While on the one hand the poet overtly, and sometimes ostentatiously, displayed his talents in front of an audience, he attenuated and belittled his own efforts in a few words. Needless to say, these seemingly humble words often achieved the opposite effect. As in Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai's verse seen above, it was yet another display of the poet's ingenuity, or as Kuṇacākarar put it already centuries ago in his commentary on the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*: The *avaiyaṭakkam* makes explicit the greatness of the author *and* the greatness of the work.

And in a competitive system of literary patronage the acknowledgment of greatness (or its absence) was not to be taken lightly. We have two types of evidence supporting the idea that competition among poets was a serious affair in premodern Tamil literary culture: First, from about the Chola period onwards there are numerous legends and anecdotes about *pulavar* competition and a fierce atmosphere of one-

upmanship, envy, and, on occasion, *Schadenfreude*. Second, the perils of public performance and the circumstances in which a poet might have to praise himself are even theorized in the poetological literature.

One of the most famous stories of fighting over poetological detail was already mentioned above: the story of the uncompromising Sangam poet Nakkīrar who was burned by Śiva for arguing that a love poem Śiva had composed contained a mistake. Then there are the stories of the rivalry between the Chola-period court poets Oṭṭakkūttar (a.k.a. *kaviccakkaravartti* 'emperor of poets' or *kavirāṭcacaṉ* 'demon among poets') and Pukaḻēnti ('bearer of fame', a.k.a. *veṇpāpuli*, 'tiger of the *veṇpā*') which grew so terrible that Pukaḻēnti one night went to Oṭṭakkūttar's house to kill him, but when he overheard how Oṭṭakkūttar spoke to his wife about the sweetness of Pukaḻēnti's verses, he realized that Oṭṭakkūttar actually liked his compositions and the murder was put off.[20]

Another famous legend is told about the composition of the *Kantapurāṇam* we saw above. When Kacciyappa Civācāriyar of Kāñcipuram wanted to compose a poem in praise of Lord Murukaṉ in Kāñcipuram, he prayed to Murukaṉ for inspiration. He was, after all, a religious man and not a Tamil scholar, and thus he had some reservations about his poetic abilities. Lord Murukaṉ appeared to him and suggested he begin with the words *tikaṭa cakkara* and everything would come to him from there. The inspiration worked, and Kacciyappa wrote a long and complex poem of some 10,436 stanzas. At the *araṅkēṟṟam* of his work in Kāñcipuram, Kacciyappa was interrupted after the first two words *tikaṭa cakkara* and asked to explain the sandhi. Surely, the words could only mean *tikaḻ tacakkara* (the shining ten arms), but his

[20] The stories are recounted in A. Vīracāmi Ceṭṭiyār's *Vinōtaracamañcari* (1927). Some are retold in abridged versions in English in Purnalingam Pillai (1904: 122–130). See also Shulman (2016, chs. 4 and 5).

opponent insisted that such a strange sandhi was not possible. Kacciyappa did not quite know which grammar or rule to cite, because he was not a Tamil scholar and because it was actually Murukaṉ who had dictated those words to him. So, sadly, Kacciyappa was forced to abort the recitation of his work. In his despair, he prayed to Murukaṉ again who simply asked him to reschedule the *araṅkēṟṟam* for the next day. On that occasion, Murukaṉ appeared in the assembly in the guise of an old *pulavar*, cited the appropriate rule from the grammar *Vīracōḻiyam* (11th c. CE), and disappeared.[21]

And finally, one might mention the story of Perumāḷ Aiyar from Vēmpattūr (today in Sivaganga District) who composed a single work in his lifetime, the *Nellaivarukkakkōvai*, a *pirapantam* poem[22] in honor of Śiva in Tirunelvēli.[23] The disaster happened again during the *araṅkēṟṟam*, in Tirunelvēli, in the presence of a large crowd of Tamil scholars, patrons and dignitaries, after one of Perumāḷ Aiyar's students had recited the invocation stanza

> தேரோடும் வீதியெலாஞ் செங்கயலும் சங்கினமு
> நீரோ டுலாவிவரு நெல்லையே – காரோடு
> கந்தரத்த ரந்தரத்தர் கந்தரத்த ரந்தரத்தர்
> கந்தரத்த ரந்தரத்தர் காப்பு (v. 1).

[21] There are several slightly different versions of this legend. My summary follows the blog on the *Kantapurāṇam* by Shanmugasundaram Ellappan, available at: http://kandapuranam.blogspot.com/2017/09/normal-0-false-false-false-en-us-x-none.html. In the version told in Purnalingam Pillai (1904: 107f.), Kacciyappa could not explain the sandhi rule even though he was trained in both Sanskrit and Tamil and was "a perfect scholar in Grammar, literature, and vedic lore" (107). Instead, "a genius from the Chola king" helped him out by referring to the *Vīracōḻiyam*.

[22] A *varukkakkōvai* consists of *kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai* stanzas arranged alphabetically from *a-karam* to *va-karam*.

[23] I first heard this anecdote from T. V. Gopal Aiyar. Here I follow the (printed) version as told by U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar in a volume of his reminiscences (Cāmināṭaiyar 1938).

Immediately after the student had finished reciting the verse, a member of the audience stood up and objected that there was a mistake in the stanza: "You sang: In all the streets the red carp and conches are swimming in the water. How can there be fish and conches swimming in the street?" Perumāḷ Aiyar was so offended by the very thought that an accomplished *pulavar* like him could have made a mistake that he almost lost his senses. Instead of explaining the poem to the ignoramus in the audience, he announced: "It appears that the Lord's grace is not fully with me today. Therefore, the *araṅkēṟṟam* will have to be postponed". He then simply left everyone standing there and went home. Convinced that his reputation was ruined, he never recovered from the affront and died a few years later with a heavy heart. When one day Perumāḷ Aiyar's son accidentally found the manuscript of his father's work and his mother told him the story of the botched premiere and how it finally killed his father, the son swore that he must restore his father's reputation. He organized a new *araṅkēṟṟam*, again on a large scale, and explained the meaning of the first stanza.

> தேரோடும் வீதியெலாஞ் செங்கயலுஞ் சங்கினமு
> நீரோடு லாவிவரு நெல்லையே – காரோடுங்
> கந்தரத்த ரந்தரத்தர்கந்தரத்த ரந்தரத்தர்
> கந்தரத்த ரந்தரத்தர் காப்பு.
>
> *tēr ōṭum vīti elām cem kayalum caṅku iṉamum*
> *nīrōṭu ulāvi-varum nellaiyē – kār ōṭum*
> *kantarattar, antarattar, kam tarattar, am tarattar,*
> *kantar attar, am tarattar kāppu.*
>
> On all streets, chariots are running and the red carp and schools of conches are roaming in the waters in Tirunelveli. [May there be] protection through him in whose throat black [poison] is running [Nīlakaṇṭha],

the heavenly one, who bore water on his head
[Gaṅgādhara], whose mountain is beautiful
[Kailāsanātha],
the father of Murukaṉ, he of beautiful character.[24]

In other words, the *peyareccam* verb form *ōṭum* in the first line must be taken to qualify the distant *nellai*, and not *vīti*: 'Nellai where chariots are running in all the streets and where …'. This construction is perhaps less common, but if we consider the second half of the verse we see that it was not meant to be common or predictable. It was a verse that was meant to provoke. Too bad that Perumāḷ Aiyar was not able to follow through with it. When years later the son explained the construction to the audience, so the story goes, everyone was impressed by such poetic mastery and Perumāḷ Aiyar's reputation was restored. But he had to die of his grief first.[25]

What does the grammatical and poetological literature have to say about such competitions? From *Naṉṉūl* 52, we learn that an author must not praise himself even though he may be a master of all the sciences.[26] But in the next *cūttiram*, we find exceptions to this rule. A *pulavar* may praise himself (*taṉṉaip pukaḻtal*) when seeking the favor of a king by presenting to him a palm leaf which details the poet's many attainments and

[24] For the wordplay of the last two lines Cāmināṭaiyar provides a commentary by his teacher Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai (Cāmināṭaiyar 1938: 52). My reading here differs from Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai's in that I prefer to split the last two feet of line 3 as *kam tarattar, am tarattar*, translatable as 'He who bears water (*kam*) on his head (*taram*) [i.e. Gaṅgādhara], he whose mountain (*taram*) is beautiful (*am*) [i.e. Kailāsanātha]', while Mīṇāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai reads *kantu arattar, am tarattar* 'He who has redness (*arattam*) and is [our] support/crutch (*kantu*), he who bears water (*am*) on his head (*taram*)'. I find the solution of Śiva as a 'pole', 'post' or 'crutch' (*kantu*) less elegant. The reading of the 'beautiful mountain' was suggested to me by T. V. Gopal Aiyar, albeit for a different line of the verse.

[25] For further tales of competition between poets, see also Ebeling (2010a).

[26] *tōṉṟā tōṟṟit tuṟaipala muṭippiṉun*
tāṉṟaṟ pukaḻtal takuti yaṉṟē (s. 52).

skills (*ōlaittūkku*); before those who do not realize his abilities; when defending himself and his work before an assembly of *pulavar*s; and finally when challenged and ridiculed by a fellow poet.[27] The possible exception of having to defend (*velluṟu*) one's work in the tough atmosphere of the assembly clearly refers to the performative situations we saw above. Moreover, some of the *pāṭṭiyal* grammars even distinguished between a good or friendly and an evil or hostile assembly, *nallavai* or *tīyavai*.[28] This is how the *Navanītappāṭṭiyal* defines a hostile assembly:

> சொற்ற படிசொற்றாம் பெய்பவர் சொல்லுநற்
> சொல்லினையுங்
> குற்றமி தென்று குலாவி யுரைப்பவர்கூறும்பரி
> சுற்ற துணர்ந்தோ ரொருபாற் படுபவர்
> பொய்யுரைப்போர்
> செற்றஞ் சினத்தொடு சேர்ந்தோ ரிருப்பது தீயவையே
> (s. 90).
>
> *coṟṟa paṭi col tām peypavar collum nal colliṉaiyum*
> *"kuṟṟam itu" eṉṟu kulāvi uraippavar, kūṟum paricu*
> *uṟṟatu uṇarntōr oru pāl paṭupavar poyyuraippōr,*
> *ceṟṟam ciṉattoṭu cērntōr iruppatu tī avaiyē.*
>
> Those people who have understood a word that has been said, but take
> pleasure in pointing out this good word as a mistake; those who understand

[27] *maṉṉuṭai maṉṟat tōlait tūkkiṉun*
taṉṉuṭai yāṟṟa luṇarā riṭaiyiṉum
maṉṉiya avaiyiṭai velluṟu poḻutiṉun
taṉṉai maṟutalai paḻitta kālaiyun
taṉṉaip pukaḻtalun takumpula vōrkkē (s. 53).

[28] In addition to two intermediate types: *niṟaiyavai*, the full or complete assembly, and *kuṟaiyavai* the lacking or defective assembly.

the way in which [something] is recited, but find fault with the singer for [just] one part;
and those who combine hatred with anger – these constitute an evil assembly.

Thus, a hostile assembly might criticize a poet by pretending that there was a mistake, even though they actually understand the word in question. Or the poet might be interrupted and criticized before the entire verse is even finished. In general, it is enough to have people driven with anger and hatred in the assembly for things to go awry. The *Veṇpāppāṭṭiyal* adds a few more possibilities to the above typology:

அவையின் திறமறியா ராய்ந்தமர்ந்து சொல்லார்
நவையின்றித் தாமுரையார் நாணார் - சுவையுணரார்
ஆயகலை தெரியா ரஞ்சா ரவரன்றோ
தீய அவையோர் செருக்கு (s. 81).

avaiyiṉ tiṟam aṟiyār, āyntu amarntu collār,
navaiyiṉṟit tām uraiyār, nāṇār, – cuvai uṇarār,
āya kalaiteriyār, añcār, avar aṉṟō
tīya avaiyōr cerukku.

Those who do not know the methods of the assembly, those who speak without analyzing, those who themselves do not speak without errors, those who are shameless, those who do not understand the *rasa*, those ignorant of all the existing arts, the fearless ones – those constitute the arrogance of an evil assembly.

Here, the common thread seems to be ignorance of how one is supposed to behave in an assembly, of the methods (*tiṟam*) according to which it functions, of all the existing arts (*āyakalai*), ignorance of how to appreciate literary flavor (*cuvai*) and of how to speak properly.

The discussion of benevolent and hostile assemblies in the *pāṭṭiyal* grammars has an early kind of predecessor already in two chapters of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (c. 5th c. CE) titled *avaiyaṟital* 'knowing the assembly' (v. 711 to 720) and *avaiyañcāmai* 'not being afraid in the assembly' (v. 721 to 730). While the assembly referred to in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is of course the king's court, the notions that it is important to know how one's audience works, how to address them with patience and modesty, and that having to speak before the assembly can be a frightening thing are all applicable to the assembly of poets as well. What was true for the royal court was true for the assembly of *pulavar*s: "Those who undertake to speak without knowing the assembly /do not know the different kinds of words (*colliṉ vakai*),[29] and they have no power" (*Tirukkuṟaḷ* 713). And when we read that "the learning of a man who is afraid before the assembly is like the shining sword in the hand of a eunuch standing before the enemy" (*Tirukkuṟaḷ* 727), we think of the frightening, emasculating powers of a hostile assembly of poets.

Both the theoretical discourse on poetic modesty and hostile audiences in the *Naṉṉūl* and in the *pāṭṭiyal* grammars and the legends of fights between poets show quite clearly how serious *pulavar*s took their eulogizing business and the status and rank it implied. They also show the fluidity and fickleness of the whole process of status negotiation. Being challenged and having to defend oneself was not an occasional threat but a constant part of a poet's life. It was also sanctioned by the long-standing rules of Tamil poetics.

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[29] The precise meaning of *colliṉ vakai* is somewhat opaque and commentators have arrived at different conclusions. Literally translatable as 'division of words', 'types of words' or 'division of speech' etc., the expression might refer in a narrower technical sense to the fourfold grammatical division of words (*iyaṟcol*, *tiricol*, *ticaicol* and *vaṭaccol*) or in a wider sense to something like 'different nuances of words'.

5. Concluding remarks

In the communicative situation of premodern Tamil literary texts, the *avaiyaṭakkam* forms part of a ritualized textual beginning that marks the threshold between a text and its external world. This ritualized beginning often contained the following elements: First, one or more invocation stanzas, *kāppu* or *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, seeking protection of one or more deities; second, the special preface *ciṟappuppāyiram*, one or more stanzas of praise by a fellow *pulavar* or disciple; and third, the *avaiyaṭakkam* in which peer praise was gently brushed aside in a gesture of humility. Since, as we saw, poets tended to use the *avaiyaṭakkam* convention to actually display their mastery while claiming on the surface to be not much of an expert, the convention introduced a sense of humor, a sort of tongue-in-cheek of feigned humility, into an otherwise more serious textual incipit. On an extratextual level, the fact that texts began that way meant that the audience thus encountered any given text always already as fundamentally *intertextual*, as part of a larger network of other texts and cultural concepts but in particular as part of an interpretive community of scholars with the power to approve or disapprove. As a fixed ingredient of what Bourdieu might have called performing the habitus of the *homo pulavar*, the way in which a Tamil *pulavar* related to his patrons, peers and audiences, the *avaiyaṭakkam* sheds light on the performative contexts of premodern Tamil literary works.

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Praising the Work and Colophonic Features in Nepalese Manuscripts

Bidur Bhattarai (CSMC, Universität Hamburg)

Abstract

This study examines the *phalaśruti* (also known as *śrutiphala*) 'the reward of hearing' and some other colophonic features based on selected, but diverse, Sanskrit manuscripts sources from Nepal. They provide historically pertinent information enabling better comprehension of the processes of transmission and production and the various uses of the texts and manuscripts.

1. Introduction[1]

The present paper makes a study of the *phalaśruti* (also known as *śrutiphala*) 'the reward of hearing' and some other colophonic features based on selected, but diverse, Sanskrit manuscripts sources from Nepal. They provide historically pertinent information that enables us to understand the processes of transmission and production, as well as different uses of the texts and manuscripts. Writing a *phalaśruti* seems

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to have a long and significant tradition. The findings of this study will enhance our understanding of the following issues: 1) the process of production of the manuscripts, 2) the role of the scribe, 3) cultural and religious elements, such as symbols, and 4) the message that the *phalaśruti* tries to convey its audience.[2]

2. Praising the work or *phalaśruti* or *śrutiphala*

Under the labels ("praising the work" (PW) or *phalaśruti* (PhaŚru) (literally "audition that is a fruit") or *śrutiphala* ("fruit that is obtained by audition") I categorize the following textual element(s) in which the importance of the particular text and manuscript (as an object), the usage of a particular text or manuscript (as an object), and the production (copying) of a manuscript are emphasized, or the text and manuscript are praised in various ways.[3] In such textual elements, we may find various kinds of goal which one might achieve by the use of the text, production of the manuscript (as an object) or worshipping of the manuscript. In this respect, manuscripts containing puranic texts exhibit rather remarkable textual evidence.[4] For this reason, in this paper, I limit myself to selected manuscripts containing Sanskrit texts for the study of such features.

In such textual elements we find various kinds of statements. For instance, if one reads/recites or makes someone read/recite, or one listens or makes someone listen to only a part (i.e., *a pāda*, half a *śloka* or *śloka*) or the whole text, or one copies or makes someone copy a particular work,

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[2] See a case study of Tamil satellite stanzas in Tamilian manuscripts, Wilden 2017.

[3] For some examples of the *phalaśruti* in Tamilian literature, see the contributions of Anandakichenin and Francis to this volume.

[4] It is not my claim here that manuscripts containing other texts do not contain such features.

this may lead to obtaining various kinds of *phala* (fruit), such as going to heaven or, for a childless person, obtaining children; all the sins may be removed; desired objects may be obtained. Furthermore, if a person just keeps such a manuscript ("book") in his hand or at his home, he may also obtain various kinds of objects desired and there will be no calamity for him. Further, he may be healthy, wealthy and he may obtain power, fame and liberation. A student may get knowledge, a childless woman may obtain a son, an unmarried girl may obtain a good husband, etc.

Let us see some selected passages from manuscripts which exemplify the features just mentioned above. The following are some examples of such items that we find in the end part of the final chapter in manuscripts (of the *Viṣṇudharma* (NS 197 / 1077 CE) (KL 2 / NGMPP C 1/2), *Nāradapurāṇa* (NS 676 / 1556 CE) (NAK 1/823 / NGMPP B 210/5), *Agnipurāṇa* (NS 766 / 1646 CE) (NAK 4/1539 / NGMPP A 252/2), *Garuḍa-purāṇa* (NS 802 / 1682 CE) (NAK 4/1556 / NGMPP B 4/4), *Matsyapurāṇa* (NS 805 / 1685 CE) (NAK 1/1038 / NGMPP A 269/1), *Skandapurāṇa* (NS 809 / 1689 CE) (NAK 1/890 / NGMPP A 254/3), *Padmapurāṇa* (ca. 19th c.) (NAK 5/205 / NGMPP B 236/8)) respectively (see Appendix 1 for the list of consulted manuscripts below). The examples are presented according to the date of the manuscripts, except one undated manuscript, which features at the end.

Let me first turn to the manuscript of the *Viṣṇudharma* (NS 197 / 1077 CE) (KL 2 / NGMPP C 1/2). Here we find verses in which the importance of the usage of the text has been emphasized. It mentions that all kinds of obstacles or evil deeds will be removed after having read (recited)/ remembered/listened to the text. Furthermore, the text has been considered to be the best pleasing one (Figure 1; see Appendix 2):

[161r1] (sa)rvā bādhās tathā pāpam akhilam
manujeśvara ||
viṣṇudharmā vyahanti saṃsmṛtās paṭhitāḥ śrutāḥ | ⟨1⟩
etat te sarvam ākhyātaṃ rahasyaṃ pararaṃ hareḥ ||
nātaḥ parataraṃ kiñcic chravyaṃ śrutisukhāvaham | ⟨2⟩
atroktavidhiyuktasya puruṣasya vipaścitaḥ ||
na durlabhan naravyāghra paramaṃ brahma śāśvatam
iti || ⟨3⟩

⟨1–3⟩ Viṣṇudharmās, having been read/recited, remembered well, or listened to, remove all sorts of obstacles [as well as] very evil deed, oh lord of men. I have told all this— the highest secret of Hari. Beyond this, there is no such a pleasant thing to be heard of. For the wise man who adheres to the procedure that has been taught here, o king of men, the eternal highest *Brahman* is not unattainable.

Furthermore, some verses of the final chapter of the manuscript of the *Nāradapurāṇa* (NS 676 / 1556 CE) (NAK 1/823 / NGMPP B 210/5) state the importance of and the *phala*s from listening to/reading (reciting) the text, for instance:

[98v2] yaś cedaṃ śṛṇuyān nityaṃ paṭhed vā bhakti-
bhāvitaḥ |
sa yāti paramaṃ sthānaṃ sarvvavighnavivarjjitaṃ | ⟨1⟩
rukmāṅgadasya caritaṃ yaḥ śṛṇoti narottamaḥ
iha loke sukhī dhanyaḥ putrapautrasamanvitaḥ | ⟨2⟩
dīrghāyur nīrujo dharmāt sarvvavighnavivarjjitaḥ |
bhuktvā bhogān tataḥ prāpya maraṇe smaraṇaṃ hareḥ |
⟨3⟩
tato yāti paraṃ sthānaṃ, yasmān nāvartate punaḥ || ⟨4ab⟩

3d hareḥ Conj.] *hariḥ* ms. **4b** nāvartate Conj.] *nāvantate* ms.

⟨1–4ab⟩ He who listens to this [*purāṇa*] regularly or reads/recites with emotional [dynamics of] devotion,

goes to the highest realm, devoid of all [sorts] of obstacles. The best among men who listens to the deeds of Rukmāṅgada, being happy, rich, being well-endowed with children and grandchildren, living long, being healthy, being devoid of all [sorts] of obstacles because of righteousness, having enjoyed the pleasures, then remembering Hari at the time of death, then will go to the highest realm [of the universe]. From there he never comes back again.

In the last part of the final chapter of the manuscript of the *Agnipurāṇa* (NS 766 / 1646 CE) (NAK 4/1539 / NGMPP A 252/2) we find a few verses in which various kinds of *phala*s have been expressed that one may obtain from the listening/reading (reciting) /copying (of the text) or making someone listen to/read (recite) /copy the work or worshipping/praising (the manuscript) and keeping it at one's own home. For instance, one becomes pure, rich and goes to heaven with one's family. Further, one may be escape calamity and get enjoyments and liberation (Figure 2; see Appendix 2):

[297v] śṛṇuyāc chrāvayed vāpi yaḥ paṭhet pāṭhayed api |
likhel likhāpayed vāpi pūjayet kīrttayed api || ⟨1⟩
nirmmalaḥ prāptasarvvārthaḥ sakulaḥ svarggam
āpnuyāt |
yo dadyād brahmalokī syāt pustakaṃ yasya vai gṛhe | ⟨2⟩
tasyotpātabhayaṃ nāsti bhuktimuktim avāpnuyāt | ⟨3ab⟩

⟨1–3ab⟩ He who listens or makes [someone] listen to, reads or makes [somebody else] read; or writes/ copies or makes [someone] write/copy; or worships and praises, he becomes pure and obtains all kinds of riches and he will go to heaven together with his family. [Furthermore,] one who offers [the manu-script] will be a resident of the world of *Brahmā*. If he happens to have a manuscript

("book") at home, for him there is no danger of calamity.
He will obtain enjoyments and liberation.

At the end of the last chapter of the manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (NS 802 / 1682 CE) (NAK 4/1556 / NGMPP B 4/4) we find many verses in which the importance and various kinds of *phala*s from reciting/listening to the whole or just part of the text (a *pāda* or *śloka*) of the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, or keeping its manuscript ("book") at one's home or in one's hand has been stated. To divide the *pādas* visually from each other, often a small slanted stroke has been used after the first and third *pāda*s (the stroke has been transcribed as ˎin the transliteration). For instance, one may obtain all kinds of desired objects, merit, wealth, pleasures, fame, knowledge, poetic skills, auspiciousness, power, liberation etc. Furthermore, a childless woman may get a child and an unmarried woman may obtain a good husband (Figure 3; see Appendix 2):

[270r9–270v8–9] vasurājaś ca garuḍaṃˎ stutvā sarvam
avāpnuyāt |
garuḍo bha[9]gavān viṣṇuṃˎ dhyāyan sarvam
avāptavān || ⟨1⟩
tad vakṣye garuḍaṃ puṇyaṃˎ purāṇaṃ yaḥ pathen
naraḥ |
sarvvakāmam avāpyāthaˎ prāpnoti paramāṅ gatim || ⟨2⟩
ślokapā[271v1–6]daṃ paṭhitvāsyaˎ sarvvapāpakṣayo
bhavet |
yasyedaṃ tiṣṭhate geheˎ tasya sarvvaṃ bhaved iha || ⟨3⟩
gāruḍaṃ yasya haste tuˎ tasya hastagato jayaḥ |
yaḥ paṭhec chṛṇuyā[2]d etad bhuktimuktim
avāpnuyāt || ⟨4⟩
dharmārthakāmamokṣāṃś caˎ prāpnuyāc chravaṇādinā |
putrārthī labhate putrānˎ kīrtyarthī kīrttim āpnuyāt || ⟨5⟩
vidyārthī labha[3]te vidyāṃˎ jayārthī labhate jayaṃ |

brahmahatyādipāpī ca, pāpaśuddhim avāpnuyāt || ⟨6⟩
vandhyāpi labhate putraṃ, kanyā vindati satpatim |
kṣemārthī la[4]bhate kṣemaṃ, bhogārthī bhogam
āpnuyāt || ⟨7⟩
maṅgalārthī maṅgalāni, guṇārthī guṇam āpnuyāt |
kāvyārthī ca kavitvañ ca, sārārthī sāram āpnuyāt || ⟨8⟩
jñā¦[5]nārthī labhate jñānaṃ, sarvvasaṃsāra
marddanam |
idaṃ svastyayanaṃ satyaṃ, gāruḍaṃ garuḍeritaṃ || ⟨9⟩
nākāle maraṇan tasya, ślokam ekan tu yaḥ paṭhet |
ślokā[6]rddhapaṭhanād asya, duṣṭaśatrukṣayo
dhruvaṃ || ⟨10⟩

2a vakṣye] *vakṣaṃ* ms. **2d** prāpnoti Conj.] *prānnoti* ms. **5a** °mokṣāṃś] °*mokṣāṃñ* ms. **5d** kīrtyarthī] *kītyarthī* ms.

⟨1–10⟩ King Vasu obtained everything by praising the *Garuḍa*[*purāṇa*]. The venerable Garuḍa obtained every desired object by meditating on Viṣṇu. I shall explain the sacred *Garuḍapurāṇa* [to you]. He who reads this *purāṇa* achieves all the objects desired, and [eventually] reaches the highest goal. By reading/reciting a single quarter of a verse of this [*purāṇa*], the destruction of all sins will take place. He who keeps [the manuscript of the *purāṇa*] at home obtains every [object desired] in this world. He who has [a manuscript of] the *purāṇa* in his hand, holds victory in his hand. He who reads/recites and listens to this *purāṇa* obtains pleasure and liberation. By listening to this *purāṇa*, one obtains merit, wealth, the object desired and liberation. One desirous of a son obtains a son; desirous of fame obtains fame; one desirous of knowledge obtains knowledge; one desirous of victory obtains victory. He who has committed the sin of killing a Brahmin and the like obtains absolution for [that] sin. A childless woman obtains a son; an unmarried woman obtains a good husband. One desirous of comfort obtains

of merit achieves merit; one desirous of [being] a poet becomes a poet; one desirous of power obtains power; one desirous of knowledge obtains the knowledge which destroys all cycles of transmigration. This [*purāṇa*], which has been narrated by Garuḍa, is auspicious as well as true.

In the last/end part of the last chapter of the manuscript of the *Matsyapurāṇa* (NS 805 / 1685 CE) (NAK 1/1038 / NGMPP A 269/1) we find two verses in which the significance of the work has been expressed as follows (Figure 4; see Appendix 2).

[341r2–3] etat pavitram āyuṣyam etat
kīrttivivarddhanaṃ |
etat sarvvatra māṅgalyam˽ etat pāpaharaṃ śubham | ⟨1⟩
asmāt purāṇād api pādam ekaṃ
paṭhet tu yaḥ so [']pi vimuktapāpaḥ |
nārāyaṇasyāspadam eti nūnam
anaṅgavad divyasukhāni bhuṅkte ॥⟨2⟩

1c māṅgalyam Conj.] *maṅgalyam* ms. **1d** śubham] *śubha* ms. **2b** paṭhet Conj.] *paṭhe* ms. **2d** bhuṅkte Conj.] *bhuktam* ms.

⟨1–2⟩ This [*purāṇa*] is purifying, grants longevity and spreads glory. This is in all places auspicious, this a sin-destroying good. Somebody who reads/recites even a single quarter of a verse from this [*purāṇa*] is free from sins and certainly attains the seat of Lord Nārāyaṇa and he enjoys [obtaining] the divine body akin to that of the limbless one (i.e. Kāma).

Similarly, in the last part of the final chapter of the manuscript of the *Skandapurāṇa* (NS 809 / 1689 CE) (NAK 1/890 / NGMPP A 254/3) we find three verses in which it has been stated that one may obtain various kinds of *phala*s from listening to this particular text, such as being always

successful/victorious and fortunate.[5] Furthermore, it has also been said that the work or manuscript ("book") is itself the best of all things, therefore one should worship the manuscript ("book") at home for various kinds of auspicious achievements, as for instance (Figure 5; see Appendix 2):

[321r9–321v1] etac chravaṇataḥ puṃsāṃ sarvvatra
vijayo bhavet |
saubhāgyaṃ vāpi sarvvatra, prāpnuyān nirmmalā-
śayaḥ || ⟨1⟩
yasya viśveśvaras tuṣṭas tasyaitacchravaṇe matiḥ |
jāyate puṇyayuktasya, mahānirmmalacetasaḥ || ⟨2⟩
[321v1] sarvveṣāṃ maṅgalānāñ ca, mahāmaṅgalam
uttamaṃ |
gṛhe [']pi likhitaṃ pūjyaṃ sarvvamaṅgala-
siddhaye ॥ ॥⟨3⟩[6]

1b sarvatra Conj.] *sarvvata* ms. **1c** cāpi Conj.] vāpi ms. **2a** viśveśvaras Conj.] *viśveśvara* ms. **2a** tuṣṭas Conj.] *tuṣṭa* ms. **2b** etac Conj.] *eta* ms.

⟨1–3⟩ To the man who listens to this, success/victory comes about in every case, [and] the person with pure intention will [obtain] good fortune. The man who is endowed with virtues and whose mind is greatly stainless, and with whom the lord of every creature is pleased, in his ear intuition comes into being. This is the best kind of auspicious [thing] among the auspicious [objects]. At home one should worship the manuscript ("book") for accomplishment of all kinds of auspicious [achievements].

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[5] For a study on the *phalaśruti* in the *Skandapurāṇa*, see Taylor 2012: 92–111.

[6] These verses are not attested in the older copies of the Nepalese manuscripts of the *Skandapurāṇa*, see e.g. Bhaṭṭarāī 1988. A team of scholars are working on the edition of the texts of these older recensions including other copies under the scope of 'the Skandapurāṇa Project' at Leiden University, Netherlands.

Similarly, at the end of the final chapter of the manuscript of the *Padmapurāṇa* (NAK 5/205 / NGMPP B 236/8) we find a few verses that state the importance and the *phala*s from writing (copying) /listening to/reading (reciting) the text, for example:

[162v2] naraḥ paṭhitvā śrutvā vā labhate vāṃchitaṃ
phalaṃ ||
likhitvā lekhayitvā vā yaḥ śāstram idam arccayet || ⟨1⟩
etacchāstravācakaṃ tu pūjayitvā dvijottamaṃ ||
svarṇaraupyādikair vastrair ddatvā ca dakṣīṇāṃ
śubhāṃ || ⟨2⟩
sa viṣṇupūjanasyaiva phalaṃ prāpya mahāmate ||
dehānte jāhnavītīram āsādya dvijasattama || ⟨3⟩
prāpnoti bhavanaṃ viṣṇo[ḥ] satyaṃ satyaṃ na
saṃśayaḥ || ⟨4ab⟩

2c vastrair Conj.] *vastrar* ms.

⟨1–4ab⟩ The man who, after writing/copying or getting written/copied, worships this scripture, reads/recites or listens to it, will obtain the desired fruit. Who, after making the best of the twice-born worship the treatise [and] giving a suitable priestly fee by golden and silver garments, reads/recites the treatise, that person rejoices by obtaining the fruit of worshipping Viṣṇu. Getting the shore of the Ganges after death, O best of twice-born, he obtains the abode of Viṣṇu. This is the truth; this certainly is the truth; there is no doubt [on this point].

2.1 Praising the work or *phalaśruti* or *śrutiphala*: Preliminary conclusions

Such verses appear often in the end part of the final chapter in manuscripts. From the examples we can see how much puranic literature or manuscripts (as objects) containing such literature were held in esteem and how they might have been used by individuals or communities. In addition, evidence shows that beyond the mere reading (reciting) / writing (copying) of such texts acts of praising or worshipping such works or manuscripts were deemed important.

Furthermore, since we find various kinds of offer from *purāṇa*s, one may assume that there might have been a kind of necessity to attract more readers, devotees, users in the competitive market of the vast and manifold literature of the Indian religious culture. Further, as we have seen in some verses above, the usage of the text and the manuscript (as an object) played a crucial role in achieving various kinds of desired things, e.g. knowledge, power, pureness, fame, liberation, etc.

As we have seen in the examples above and will also be observed in the following instances, *phalaśruti* and other textual elements are features which sometimes appear followed by other colophonic elements such as text title, date, reign, scribal declaration and so forth. They may appear divided by devices such as symbols, free spaces, etc., therefore, the visual organisation is also an aspect which one should take to some extent into consideration while consulting the issues of the manuscript production and scribal practices in studies.

3. Visual organisation

The chapters or sub-chapters, or even smaller text units in manuscripts may appear to be divided visually by using

symbols of various kinds[7] (*puṣpikā*(s) "small flower")[8] or "blank space(s)".[9] They appear usually between a set of double *daṇḍa*s. Such symbols may hint at the fact that the text has a close relation to a particular religion or sometimes to the topic of the text. In the following I present examples from a Buddhist manuscript.

Ms. of the *Lalitavistara* (1709 CE)

This manuscript (NAK 4/9 / NGMPP B 99/5), which contains a Mahayana Buddhist sūtra, is dated to Nepālasaṃvat 829, corresponding to 1709 CE (see last line on 299v). Before and after the last chapter colophon, stylized *puṣpikā*s are drawn (in line no. 1 and 2). The chapter colophon reads as follows:

nigamanaparivarto nāma saptaviṃśatitamaḥ

[Thus], the 27th chapter, namely, *Nigamana* [is concluded].

Immediately after the second *puṣpikā*, we find the final colophon which reads:

samāptaṃ cedaṃ sarvabodhisatvacaryāprasthānam iti ||
lalitavistaro nāma mahāyānasūtraṃ parisamāptaṃ

Thus, the path of deeds of all Bodhisattvas is also completed. The *Mahāyānasūtra* called the play in full is concluded.

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[7] For a study of the visual text-organisation and use of various kinds of symbols in Nepalese and North Indian manuscripts, see Bhattarai 2019.

[8] In the manuscript culture of southern India symbols such as *piḷḷaiyārcuḻi*s ("Gaṇeśa's curl/trunk") can be found, see Bhattacharya 1995: 201, Ciotti and Franceschini 2016: 60.

[9] Free space that has been left at the end of a (sub-)chapter or smaller text units and demarcated by a set(s) of double *daṇḍa*s within the text block on the folio has been labeled as "blank space".

The symbol that we find after the final colophon is a *viśvavajra* ("double *vajra*") which is itself a Buddhist emblem and is popularly used in various Buddhist rituals.[10] After the symbol we find a popular Buddhist verse *ye dharmā* …, after which we find a circle, which is followed by a popular Buddhist post-colophonic element (*deyadharmo 'yaṃ* …),[11] and it runs until the beginning side (left) of the last line on 299r. After this we find a *puṣpikā* which is followed by a long post-colophonic statement starting with the benediction *svasti* ("[May it be] well"). The post-colophon contains various kinds of information (such as the name of the reigning King (Bhāskarendramalla)[12] and other names of people, such as the donor and the names of his family members. And some parts of it are written in mix of Sanskrit and Newari, in Newari or in a Newarized version of Sanskrit (for instance, see such parts in the transliteration in ⌜ ⌝ below). These features are also some-times visually divided by *puṣpikā*s (in the 2nd and last line) and simple circles (in the 5th line) (Figure 6; see Appendix 2).

[299r1–6] ni[2]gamanaparivarto nāma saptaviṃśatitamaḥ samāptaṃ cedaṃ sarvabodhisatvacaryāprasthānam iti || lalitavistaro nā¦[3]ma mahāyānasūtraṃ[13]

[10] See, e.g. Kim 2013, 24, Figure I-1 in which a Buddhist priest, with a manuscript in front of him, uses a *vajra* to invoke the Goddess Prajñāpāramitā during the Prajñāpāramitā *pūjā*.

[11] This particular colophonic formulation is labelled by some scholars as "donor colophon". For instance, see Kim 2013: 248.

[12] Here Bhāskarendramalla probably be the same King Bhāskara (= Mahindrasiṃha) who reigned Kathmandu from 1700 to 1722 CE. See, Slusser 1982: 400, Table III-5.

[13] We have here *hāmayāna*° written. It should be *mahāyāna*°. In this case scribe might have been confused with '*ma*' of the preceding word *nāma*

parisamāptaṃ

ye dharmā hetu¦prabhavā、
hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato |
hy avadad teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha、
evaṃ[4]vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ⟨1⟩

deyadharmo 'yaṃ pra¦varamahāyānayāyinaḥ paramadhārmikātmaka, dharmātmā **tulādha**[5]**raḥ veṣābhāro** pramukhādīnāṃ yat puṇyaṃ、tad bhavatv ācāryopādhyā¦yamātāpitṛpūrvaṅgamanaṃ kṛtvā, sarasatvarāśe,r anuttarapu¦ [6]ṇyabhūmau、samyaksaṃbodhipadaṃ prāptayo [']stu[14]

svasti¦śrīmatpaśupaticaraṇakamala、dhūridhūsarita śirorūha, śrī[299v1]manmānyeśvarīṣṭadevatā、varal abdhaprasāda、dedīpyamānonnata、ravikulatilaka、ha nūmantadhvaja、**nepāle**śvara、mahārājādhirāja、rājen drasakalarāja、cakrādhīśvara[15][2]śrīśrī**bhāskarendra malladeva**prabhuthākulasya vijayarājye

thinking it is the first *akṣara* of *mahāyāna*°. To set the correct order of *akṣara*s in *hāmayāna*° '1' has been written above the '*ma*' and '2' above '*hā*'.

[14] Often this colophonic element can be found with a particular formulation, for instance: *deyadharmo 'yaṃpravaramahāyānayāyinaḥ ... yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatv ācāryapādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvaṃgamaṃ kṛtvā sakalasattvarāśer anuttarajñānaphalāvātaya iti*. Its translation: 'this is a religious gift of an elder Mahāyāna follower ..., whatever merit there is in this, may that lead to the entire group of beings, putting teacher, preceptor, mother and father first, obtaining the fruit that is unsurpassed knowledge'.

[15] The *mātrā* for short *i* is deleted using the deletion mark.

dānapti śrī**kāntipuri**mahānagare、 ˹ṅaṃtatorake˺、 **somavāhāra**sannidhāne、˹ṅatapithyā mugala yautā˺¦[3] nāma gṛhādhivāsika、**tulādhara**varṇapuṇyātmā **vekhāsiṃha**、 tasya bhāryā **dhanadharīlakṣmī** || prathamātmaja**tulādhara**, **ratneśvara**, tasya priyā **mārikālakṣmī** || dvitīyāṃsa**tulādhara**, **jo**[4]**geśvara** || **vekhāsiṃhakasya**, kanīṣṭhamātā, **manoharīlakṣmī** || vekhāsiṃhasya、 putrī、 **caṇḍikālakṣmī**、 dvitīyaputrī **mahālakṣmī** || tṛtīyaputra**vārakumāra**, **nārāyana** || **ratneśvara**syātmaja¦[5]**vārakumāraprabhāvatī** saheti ete sahānumatena、 bhagavataḥ śri3lalitavistaraṃ likhanīyaṃ kṛtam iti ataḥ ˹paradeśabhākhā、[16]dānapati**tulādhara**、**ratnasiṃ**[6]**ha**、 jīvantajuvavelasa、**nirmmaratīrthayā**[17] tīrasa śrī3 vidyādharīdevīyāḥ antikasa˺ || ˹śrī3vajradhātucaitya、jīrṇoddhārayāṅā juro˺ ˹thvanaṃli˺ samvat 829

sapta° Conj.] *saptā*° ms. samāptaṃ Conj.] *samāptā* ms. puṇyaṃ Conj.] *puṇya* ms. bhavatu Conj.] *bhavata* ms

[Thus] the 27th chapter, namely, *Nigamana* [is concluded]. Thus, the path of deeds of all Bodhisattvas is also completed. The *Mahāyānasūtra* called the play in full is concluded …[18]

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[16] It should be *paraṃdeśabhākhā*.

[17] It should be *nirmalatīrtha*.

[18] The popular Buddhist verse *ye dharmā* … can often be found at the end of Buddhist manuscripts. For a detailed study of the verse, see Boucher 1991: 1–27 and its translation in 11: 'those *dharmas* which arise from a cause, the Tathāgata has declared their cause. And that which is the cessation of them, thus the great renunciant has taught'.

This is a religious gift of the elder Mahāyāna follower, highly religious, virtuous, Tulādhara Veṣābhāra and the rest, whatever merit [there] is, may it be for obtaining the state of Bodhisattva in the novel, pious land, by putting teacher, preceptor, mother and father first.

[May it be] well. During the victorious reign of the glorious sovereign (?), lord Bhāskarendramalla Deva, whose hair is [made] dirty [by?] the lotus feet of the glorious Paśupati; who has been favoured by the glorious chosen deity Mānyeśvarī; who is the glory of the sun-dynasty, the monkey-bannered ruler of Nepal, a great king, the king among all kings, the king of the circle of kings.

The donor, in the glorious great city of Kāntipura, in the locality [called] Ṅata[19] in the vicinity of Somavāhāra, a resident of the house named Ṅatapithyā Mugala Yautā,[20] the virtuous one of the Tulādhara caste Vekhāsiṃha, his wife [is] Dhanadharīlakṣmī, the first son [is] Tulādhara Ratneśvara, his wife [is] Mārikālakṣmī. The second son [is] Tulādhara Jogeśvara. The youngest mother of Vekhāsiṃha [is] Manoharīlakṣmī. The daughter of Vekhāsiṃha [is] Caṇḍikālakṣmī, the second daughter [is] Mahālakṣmī. The third son [is] Vārakumāra Nārāyana. The son of Ratneśvara Vārakumāra [is] together with Prabhāvatī. With the permission of these (?), I have made the copy of the glorious (śrī3) *Lalitavistara*.

From here onwards, [in] the native (i.e., Newari) language. While the patron Tulādhara Ratnasiṃha was alive, [we] have renovated the triple glorious Vajradhātucaitya in the vicinity of the triple glorious Goddess Vidyādharī on the

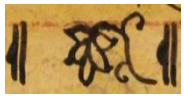
[19] It is probably Nyata in Kathmandu.
[20] It must be "a house in the exteriors of Nyata".

banks of Nirmalatīrtha. After this, [on(?)] saṃvat 829 [1709 CE].[21]

From this we can assume that the scribe was aware of the contents of the text he was copying. Therefore, he might have drawn the *viśvavajra* symbol after the final colophon. In addition, we find before the colophon of the 21st chapter a realistic *puṣpikā* (with stalk) which may be understood as *padma* ("lotus") representing the *prajñā* (the wisdom aspect of knowledge and a female practitioner or a deity). After the chapter colophon, a symbol can be found, which is a *vajra* ("thunderbolt") (in line no. 6 on 232v, see figure below) which may be interpreted as a presentation of *karuṇā/upāya* ("compassion") and a male practitioner or a male deity. Both symbols correspond to an area of one text line of the folio in height.

Furthermore, in the section of the colophonic part we do come across Newari sentences or Newarized Sanskrit words. Even in the last part of the colophonic section, the scribe informs us about the writing in Newari: "from here onwards, [it is written or I write] in the native language (i.e. Newari)". This gives us a further hint about the language of the scribe. The scribe who was involved in the manuscript production had, most probably, very good skills in the Newari language or he was even a Newari native speaker coming from a Newar community. In this case the last option is more convincing. In addition, we find the caste name of the donor family (Tulādhara) which also clearly belongs to one of the Newar castes (Figure 7; see Appendix 2).

[21] I thank my colleague Dr Manik Bajracharya (University of Heidelberg) who kindly checked the Newari or newarized parts of the colophonic section for me.

[232v6]  māragharṣaṇaparivartto nāmaikaviṃśatimaḥ

[Thus], the 21st chapter, namely *Māragharṣaṇa* [is concluded].

4. Manuscript dating

Most of the manuscripts that I have taken into account for this paper are dated in Nepālasaṃvat.[22] One manuscript is dated in Śakasaṃvat.[23] The date of one manuscript is given even in three eras, such as NS/VS/SS.[24]

We often find dating in the *aṅkākṣara* ("numeral") system. But in some manuscripts the date is given in *bhūtasaṃkhyā* ("object or concrete numbers") and it is incorporated in the metrical version (see below).

5. Writing style of colophonic or post-colophonic sections

At the end of the text in manuscripts we find colophonic or post-colophonic textual elements containing various kinds of information. Often such elements are written in prose. However, in some manuscripts we also find such information in a metrical version. Such parts cover various types of

[22] Manuscripts of the *Viṣṇudharma* KL 2, NS 197; *Viṣṇudharma* NAK 4/1389, NS 281; one manuscript of the *Nāradapurāṇa* NAK 1/823, NS 676, one manuscript of the *Agnipurāṇa* NAK 4/1539, NS 766; one manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* NAK 4/1556, NS 802, two manuscripts of the *Skandapurāṇa* NAK 1/890, NS 809; NAK 1/1017, NS 816/819.

[23] Manuscripts of the *Gītagovinda* NAK 6/267, ŚS 1549). For the detailed study on dating of the Tamilian manuscripts, see Ciotti and Franceschini 2016.

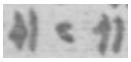
[24] This is in the manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* KL 261, NS 937, ŚS 1738 and VS 1873.

information, such as the date of the manuscript when it was copied, the name of place where it was copied, of the scribe, the reigning king, etc. (see some selected examples below). From this we can assume that scribes had also good skills in composing verses in metres along with the practice/skills of copying the text.[25] In the manuscript of the *Viṣṇudharma* (1161 CE; NAK 4/1389 / NGMPP A 10/3) on folio 140r we find the final colophon on line no. 2 (see transliteration below).

Here all these kinds of post-colophonic information are composed in the *anuṣṭubh* metre. From this we deduce that this scribe himself was relatively dexterous in composing verses in Sanskrit. This also gives us a hint about the practice or even the education of the scribe who was involved in manuscript production. Additionally, the scribe might not have only copied the text but also added here and there something to the text, or he might have even corrected the text during the copying process, when he thought there was a necessity (Figure 8; see Appendix).

[140r2–3] iti viṣṇudharmeṣu śāstramāhātmyaṃ parāmṛtan dharmottamam parisamāpta[ñ] ceti

dasyubhir analaiḥ kīṭaiḥ mūṣikai|⊙|r[26] anilais tathā ||

rakṣitavyaṃ prayatnena sadārādhanatatparaḥ 

⟨1⟩

prithivyāpannagapakṣe +++++ [3] nā(ya)te |

phālgune sitapakṣe ca riktādyātithayaḥ śubhe || ⟨2⟩

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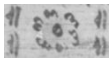
[25] We know from attestations that there were different levels of scribes, and a good scribe is expected to master metres and even should be a poet; see Sarma 1992. On scribes, see also Einicke 2009: 430–446; De Simini 2016: 96–102.

[26] In this case it seems Grünendahl might have confused the hyphen sign that one often finds before the string-hole or at the end of the line (on right side) on the folio. Most probably he understood the sign as *visarga*.

nakṣatraraivatau|⊙| jñeyā vāsare somanandane |
nepālamaṇḍale kāntā **śrīmadānandabhūpate** || ⟨3⟩
śrīmāndhānupure|⊙| ramye viśālākulabhūṣaṇe |
nāgaja**harṣapālasya** pitā bhrātā svakātmajāḥ || ⟨4⟩
viṣṇuḥ prasa(nnaḥ)[27] +++ [4] (pu)trapautrādibāndhavāḥ |
āyur ārogyam aiśvaryalakṣmīsaubhāgyasampa|⊙|dāḥ || ⟨5⟩
pārthiva dharmabuddhy astu subhikṣaṃ sarvvamedinīṃ |
vaṣudharmam idaṃ puṇyam akhilaṃ
śāstra|⊙|saṃgrahaṃ | ⟨6⟩
puruṣottamavarmena likhitaṃ yatnataḥ śubhaṃ
 ⟨7ab⟩

parisamāptañ Conj.] *parisamāptaś* ms. **1b** *mūṣikair* ms,] *musikaiḥr* G. **1b** anilais Conj.] *anilas* ms., *anilaiḥ* G. **2a** pṛthivyā° G] *prithivyā* ms. **3a** raivatau jñeyā ms.] *raivatokte yā* G. **5a** prasa ms.] *purā* G. **6c** puṇyam] *punyam* ms. **6d** akhilaṃ] *akṣilaṃ* ms.

Thus, in the *Viṣṇudharmas*, the [chapter on] the glory of treatise, the highest nectar which is the highest dharma, is completed.

⟨1⟩ One, being always intent upon veneration, should, with effort, protect [the manuscript] from thieves, fire, insects, mice and wind.

⟨2–6⟩ In the year 281, in the auspicious bright fortnight of the Phālguna [month], in the lunar days of riktā, in the Revatī constellation; on Monday; [when the] glorious King Ānanda [ruled] over the land of Nepāla, in the charming city of Āndhānu, where there are overwhelming ornaments (?). Father, brother, and his own sons of Nāgaja-Harṣapāla(?). Delighted Viṣṇu … family members, such as son and grandson. [Full] life-span, health, lordship, wealth, fortune and riches. May there be king of the mind of dharma and

[27] Grünendahl reads *purā*. But from how the *akṣara*s appear, it looks more like *prasa* than *purā*.

abundant supply of food on earth. This pious *Viṣṇudharma* [is] the collection of all scriptures.

⟨7ab⟩ This auspicious [text] is copied with effort by Puruṣottamavarman.

Ms. of the *Gītagovinda* (1627 CE)

In the manuscript of the *Gītagovinda* (NAK 6/267 / A 1022/ 11) which is dated to Śakasaṃvat 1549 (1627 CE),we find four nicely composed verses after the final colophon on 30v.

Most probably they were composed by the scribe himself. The first three of them are in the *upajāti* metre (with each *pāda* containing 11 syllables) and the last one is in *mālinī* (with each *pāda* containing 15 syllables). To divide the *pāda*s visually from each other, a small slanted stroke has been used after the first and third *pāda*s. However, after the second and fourth *pāda*s, single and double *daṇḍa*s are provided respectively.

The first verse gives a kind of short information about the work. The second verse follows with the name of the country (Nepāla), the copying place (Bhaktapura), and the name of the reigning King (Jagajjyotir Malla).[28] In the first two lines of the third verse, the reason for composing the work is given. Then, the last two lines contain an appeal to the learned people to check the errors that might have happened during the copying process. In the fourth verse the copying year (at first in *bhūtasakhyā* and after that immediately, in figure-numerals), the *tithi*, month, *pakṣa* have been given. After that, we find the name of scribe (Narāyaṇa) and the copying place (at the palace). At the end of the verses, we find benedictions (Figure 9; see Appendix 2).

[28] The King Jagajjotir Malla reigned Bhaktapur from 1614 to 1637 CE, see Slusser 1982: 400, Table III-4.

[29r6–30v7] [29r7] iti śrījayadevakṛtagītagovinde sānandagovindo nāma dvādaśaḥ sarggaḥ || samāptaṃ cedaṃ[30v1] gītagovindanāma pustakaṃ

śrīgītagovindasamagragāne、nānāprakāro
bahudeśa[2]bhedāt |
ekaikarāgeṇa satālabaṃdhaṃ、gītaṃ
caturviṃśatisaṃkhyam etat || ⟨1⟩
nepāladeśe śiva[3]yoḥ prasādāt[29]、**bhaktāpurī**
nāma jagatprasiddhā |
tasyāṃ sadā bhūpaticakravarttī、**śrīmān**
jaga[4]**jjyotir** iti prasiddhaḥ || ⟨2⟩
prīty artham etat parameśvarasya、saṃpāditaṃ
tena **nareśvareṇa** |
doṣo[5] yadi syāt guṇibhir vicārya、saṃśodhanīya
vinatiḥ sadā me || ⟨3⟩
nidhiharibhujabāṇabrahmabhiḥ[6] 1549 śākavarṣe、
rasatithikarasūrye śrāvaṇe śuklapakṣe |
nṛpatitilakaveśmany atra **nārā**[7]**yaṇo** sau、
vyalikhad idam ayatnād rājña evājñayāpi || ⟨4⟩
śrīhariharaḥ prīṇātu || śivam iti ||

1c rāgeṇa Conj.] *rāgena* ms. **3d** saṃśodhanīya Conj.] *saṃśodha-nīyaṃ* ms.

Thus, in the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, the 12th chapter, namely "delighted Govinda" [ends]. Further, the book called *Gītagovinda* is completed.

⟨1–4⟩ There are several ways to fully sing the glorious *Gītagovinda* according to the many regional differences. This song is [in] twenty-four [parts with each Rāga [called] Tālabandha. In Nepal, by the grace of Śiva-Pārvatī, there is

[29] *dā* is added on the upper margin.

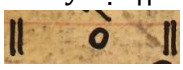
a famous city called Bhaktapur. There is a glorious [and] well-known sovereign, King Jagajjyotir. In order to please the highest lord, this [book], has been brought about by that king. Should there be errors, may the wise people correct them with consideration. There is always my humbleness. In the Śaka year 1549 (1627 CE), on the 6th day in the bright fortnight of the Śravaṇa [month], there, in the house of the king, Nārāyaṇa copied this [book] without [any] effort by the command of the king.

May Harihara protect [us]! Auspicious.

Ms. of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (1682 CE)

In the manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (NS 802 / 1682 CE) (NAK 4/1556 / NGMPP B 4/4) after the PW/PhaŚru we find the final colophon (see transliteration below). A circle is visible after the final colophon. After that we find a post-colophonic verse which is written nicely in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre (with each line containing 19 syllables). The verse contains the copying date (year in *bhūtasaṃkhyā*, month, *pakṣa*, *tithi*, day), and the name of the scribe (Mohana). Most probably the verse was composed by the scribe himself. To divide the *pāda* visually from each other a small slanted stroke has been used after the first and third *pāda*s. After the verse we find again a portion of post-colophonic feature which is written in prose and contains copying date (year in numerals and rest is in word). At the end of the post-colophonic part we find a benediction (*śubham astu*) (Figure 10; see Appendix 2).

[271v6–9] ity[7] ādimahāpurāṇe gāruḍe purāṇamāhātmyaṃ || samāptaṃ cedaṃ garuḍapurāṇam iti || 247 ||



netrākāśagajāṅkake śaradi vā indoḥ[8] kalāyāṃ tithau、
pūrṇṇāyām api pūrvvabhadrabhayute māse budhe
bhādrake |
śrīgovindapadadvayābjamadhuliṭ paurāṇacūḍāmaṇiṃ、

ramyaṃ gāruḍakaṃ pu[9]rāṇam alikhat dhyāyan vibhuṃ **mohanaḥ** || ⟨1⟩

samvat 802 bhādrapadaśuklatrayodaśisomavāśare etasya dine gāruḍapurāṇaṃ sampūrṇṇaṃ śubham astu ||

Thus, in the primary *purāṇa* pertaining to Garuḍa the *purāṇamāhātmya* [is concluded]. Thus, the *Garuḍapurāṇa* is also completed.

⟨1⟩ In the year 802, in the almost completing fortnight or in Pūrṇimā of Pūrvabhādra[pada] of the auspicious month of Bhādra, Mohana, meditating on the lord, wrote the bee on the two lotus-like feet of the glorious Govinda the crown jewel among the *purāṇas*, the beautiful *purāṇa* pertaining to Garuḍa.

Year 802, the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the Bhādrapada month, on Monday, the *purāṇa* pertaining to Garuḍa has been completed. May there be well-being.

Ms. of the *Skandapurāṇa* (1696/1699 CE)

Furthermore, in the manuscript of the *Skandapurāṇa* (NS 816/819 / 1696/1699 CE) (NAK 1/1017 / A 256/2) after the colophon, some part of the post-colophon is written in *anuṣṭubh* metre which contains information such as the name of scribe's father, Chatrasiṃha. The scribe informs us that he copied the text after having taken the order of his father like a *puṣpāñjali* on his head.

After that, a verse of "begging for pardon"[30] (BP) can be found. In order to divide the *pāda*s visually each other, a small

[30] Under this label I understand verses in which pardon is asked in different ways for the errors or incorrectness or for other things that might have occurred during the copying of a particular text in the manuscript. In some manuscripts verses of BP appear together with verses in which an appeal for the careful book protection is made (pleading for the book protection;

slanted stroke has been used after the first and third *pāda*s. The verse is followed by the copying date of the manuscript (Nepālasaṃvat 816 *kārttika* month, *śuklapakṣa,* (*tithi*) 3 / 1696 CE) and a text part written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Newari and containing various pieces of information, such as another date (Nepālasaṃvat 819 *margaśira* month, *śuklapakṣa,* (*tithi*) 5, *ādityavāra* Sunday / 1699 CE) and the name of a few persons (Nandalāla, Rāmacandra, Bālakṛṣṇa).

After the final colophon, the post-colophonic verse and the verse of BP, we find blank space(s) and they visually divide these features. At the end of whole post-colophon, we find two blank spaces (Figure 11; see Appendix 2).

[355r1–6] iti śrīskandapurāṇe kāśīkhaṇḍe anukramaṇikādhyāyo nāma śatatamo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ || 100

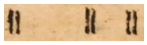
pitur ājñāṃ samādāya, mū[r]ddhni puṣpāñjalīm iva |
cchatrasiṃhasuto dhīmān, vyalikhat[31] pustakaṃ varaḥ ⟨1⟩

yādṛśaṃ pustakaṃ dṛṣṭvā, tādṛśaṃ likhitaṃ mayā |
yadi śuddham aśuddhaṃ vā, mama doṣo na dīyate ⟨2⟩

samvat 816 kārttikaśuddi 3 || samvat 819 mārggaśiraśudi pañcamī ādityavāra ˹thvakuhnu yāccheṭolapā cukuṭi pādune hmavākāyasena **śrīnandalāla** o ṛyāke˺, kāśīkhaṇḍa vyākhyāna ˹ṅeṅāva˺ **śrīrāmacandra**prīti na ˹thva puthi˺ **śrībālakṛṣṇa** ˹bhāju yātā˺ dāna ˹viyājaro˺ ||

PBP). For a study of such verses of BP and PBP, see Sarma 1992; for such verses of BP and PBP in Jaina manuscripts, see Tripāṭhī 1975; Balbir 2006: 67–68 as "scribal maxim".

[31] Sometimes *ṣa* is also pronounced like *kha*. Therefore, the scribe might have written here *vyaliṣat* instead of *vyalikhat*(?).

śubha grahe lebhaśāke gate 'bdesu naipālike mārggaśukle 'rkkaghasre 3 hi tithyāṃ | ˹mudā˺ kāśi⟪ka⟫khaṇḍaṃ kṛtī ˹pāḍunāmā˻ hy adād**bālakṛṣṇāya** nāma pratuṣṭyai˺ 

1d vyalikhat Conj.] *vyaliṣat* ms. **2a** yādṛśaṃ Conj.] *yādṛśī* ms. **2b** tādṛśaṃ Conj.] *tādṛśī* ms.

Thus, the 100th chapter, namely the chapter of contents in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* in the *Skandapurāṇa* is completed.

(1–2) Having taken the command of the father upon the head like a flower, the wise son of Chatrasiṃha has written the best book. Whatever I have seen in the book, so I have written down. Whether it is correct or error, one should not blame on me.

Saṃvat 816 (1696 CE), third [lunar day] of the bright fortnight of Kārttika [month]. Saṃvat 819
(1699 CE), the fifth [lunar day] of the bright fortnight of the Mārgaśira [month], Sunday ---

Ms. of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (1817 CE)

At the end of the manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (KL 261 / NGMPP C 28/7) after the final colophon, we find a part of the post-colophon, which is written in *anuṣṭubh* metre. The verse has three lines and contains information such as the date of production of the manuscript (year in *bhūtasaṃkhyā*: *aṅka* 9 + *agni* 3 + *pātāla* 7 = Nepālasaṃvat 937 / 1817 CE); month *kārttīka*; *sitapala caturdaśītithi* (14th bright fortnight); *induvāra* Monday), name of the scribe (Pūrṇasiṃha) and donor (Maṇiratna). After the verse, we find again the copying date of the manuscript, first in Nepālasaṃvat (937), followed in Śakasaṃvat (1738) and Vikramasaṃvat (1873). The dates are followed by the month (*Kārttika*), *pakṣa* (*vadi*), *tithi* (14th),

(*ro*[*ja*][32] day (2nd i.e. Monday) and a benediction (*śubhaṃ*) (Figure 12; see Appendix 2).

[82v7–10] iti śrīgaruḍapurāṇe pretakalpe uttarakhaṃḍe viṣṇuvaina[8]teyasaṃvāde dharmopadeśo nāma paṃcatriṃśo dhyāyaḥ || samāptaḥ || 35 ॥ ॥

nepālavatsare yāte pā[9]tālāgnyaṅkasaṃyute ||
kārttikāsitapalasya caturddaśīnduvāsare || ⟨1⟩
likhitaṃ **pūrṇasiṃhena maṇīra**[10]**tnasya** pustakam iti || ⟨2ab⟩

saṃvat 937 śrīśāke 1738 śrīvikramābde 1873 kārttikavadi 14 ro 2 śubhaṃ

1d caturddaśīndu° Conj.] *caturddaśyandu*° ms. **2a** likhitaṃ Conj.] *likhitvāt* ms.

Thus, the 35th chapter, namely the dharma instruction in the dialogue between Viṣṇu and Vainateya in the concluding section in the Pretakalpa in the glorious Garuḍapurāṇa is completed.

⟨1–2ab⟩ On Monday, 14th [lunar day] of the bright fortnight of the Kārttika [month], when the Nepāla-calenderic-year 937 [1817 CE] has passed, Purṇasimha copied the book of Maṇiratna.

[Nepāla]saṃvat 937 (1817 CE), in the glorious Śaka year 1738 (1817 CE), in the glorious Vikrama year 1873 (1817 CE), in the 14th [lunar day] of the bright fortnight of Kārttika [month], second day (i.e. Monday). Auspicious.

5.1 Writing style of colophonic or post-colophonic sections: Preliminary conclusions

The languages of the colophonic sections are important factors to observe in manuscripts. As we have seen in some manuscripts, colophonic or post-colophonic textual elements

[32] We find in the manuscript only *ro* which most probably stands for *roja* (i.e. day). This is a term from Persian.

are written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Newari, in Newari or in a Newarized version of Sanskrit. This provides us hints to practices of writing of colophons partly or entirely in a local language other than the language of the main text (for instance, see the colophonic element in the manuscript of the *Lalitavistara* (NAK 4/9 / NGMPP B 99/5)).[33] Furthermore, it emphasizes the language skills of scribes who were involved in the manuscript production. Some parts of the colophonic elements may also be found written in metrical verses which most probably are the creation of scribes (as for instance in the manuscripts of the *Viṣṇudharma* (NAK 4/1389 / NGMPP A 10/3), *Gītagovinda* (NAK 6/267 / A 1022/11), *Garuḍapurāṇa* (NAK 4/1556 / NGMPP B 4/4) and *Garuḍapurāṇa* (KL 261 / NGMPP C 28/7), and *Skandapurāṇa* (NAK 1/1017 / A 256/2)). From such colophonic verses we can also observe how scribes used their practice in the manuscript production and their skills in composition.

Conventions

`	a small slanted stroke used as word-divider or after a *pāda* or first half of the *śloka*.
⌜ ⌝	word(s) or text part(s) that is Newarized or written in Newari.
bold face	Name of places, persons in the text part or reference of *śloka* number and *pāda* in the register.
( )	restored *akṣara* or reading that is lost due to the physical damage of the manuscript.
⟨⟩	To facilitate the structure, in the Sanskrit text part the *śloka*s or their translated parts are numbered putting in brackets

[33] For writing of colophonic elements in vernacular language in the case of Jaina manuscripts, see Balbir 2006.

[ ]	folio and line numbers or supplied text part in the translation are given using square bracket.
|| ||	indicates blank space that appears before or after the (sub-)chapter or final colophon or in a particular place in the text block on the folio.
⊙	string-hole
|⊙|	text lines are left clear from top to bottom around the string-holes on the folio
¦	hyphen sign used before the string-holes or at the end of the line on the folio
+	lost *akṣara* due to the physical damage of leaf; the number of signs denotes the loss of *akṣara*s.
---	not translated part(s) due to uncertainty of meaning of the text
ye dharmā	highlighted textual part where the original uses reddish colourant for emphasizing

Abbreviations

Conj.	conjectura
fol(s).	folio(s)
G	Grünendahl, Reinhold (Ed.) (1983–1989): *Viṣṇudharmāḥ*. Precepts for the Worship of Viṣṇu. Part 1–3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
KL	Kaiser Library, Kathmandu
ms.	manuscript
NAK	National Archives, Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
r	recto
v	verso

Appendix 1: List of consulted manuscripts

	Title	Subject	Writing support	Folios	Size	NGMPP Reel No.	KL/NAK MS No.	MS Type	Date of creation	Name of scribe	Place of copying	Donor	Remarks
1	*Agnipurāṇa*	Purāṇa	paper	300	42.2 x 9 cm	A 252/2	NAK 4/1539	STM	NS 766 (1646 CE)	Sacocakā?			
2	*Garuḍa-purāṇa*	Purāṇa	paper	272	36 x 10.5 cm	B 4/4	NAK 4/1556	STM	NS 802 (1682 CE)	Mohana			
3	*Garuḍa-purāṇa*	Purāṇa	paper	82	27.2 x 12 cm	C 28/7	KL 261	STM	NS 937/ŚS 1738/VS 1873 (1817 CE)	Pūrṇasiṃha		Maṇiratna	Three different eras, namely NS 937, ŚS 1738, VS 1873
4	*Gītagovinda*	Kāvya	paper	32	23.7 x 9 cm	A 1022/11	NAK 6/267	STM	ŚS 1549 (1627 CE)	Nārāyaṇa	Bhakta-pura		
5	*Lalitavistara*	Buddhist sūtra	paper	299	39.5 x 9.5 cm	B 99/5	NAK 4/9	STM	NS 829 (1709 CE)				
6	*Matsyapurāṇa*	Purāṇa	paper	341	50 x 11.5 cm	A 269/1	NAK 1/1038	STM	NS 805 (1685 CE)				
7	*Nārada-purāṇa*	Purāṇa	paper	102	30 x 6.5 cm	B 210/5	NAK 1/823	STM	NS 676 (1556 CE)				
8	*Padmapurāṇa*	Purāṇa	paper	162	30 x 13.5 cm	B 236/8	NAK 5/205	STM					
9	*Skanda-purāṇa*	Purāṇa	paper	321	39 x 11 cm	A 254/3	NAK 1/890	STM	NS 809 (1668 CE)	Viśvambharārājopādhyāya or Donor?			
10	*Skanda-purāṇa*	Purāṇa	paper	352	41 x 11 cm	A 256/2	NAK 1/1017	STM	NS 816/819 (1696/1699 CE)	Son of Chatrasiṃha			There are two dates.
11	*Viṣṇudharma*	Purāṇa	palm-leaf	141	55.5 x 5 cm	A 10/3	NAK 4/1389	STM	NS 281 (1161 CE)	Puruṣottamavarman		Harṣapāla?	
12	*Viṣṇudharma*	Purāṇa	palm-leaf	160	54 x 4.5 cm	C 1/2	KL 2	STM	NS 197 (1077 CE)				

Appendix 2: Figures 1 to 12

Figure 1: Manuscript of the *Viṣṇudharma*, fol. 161r1 © Kaiser Library, Kathmandu

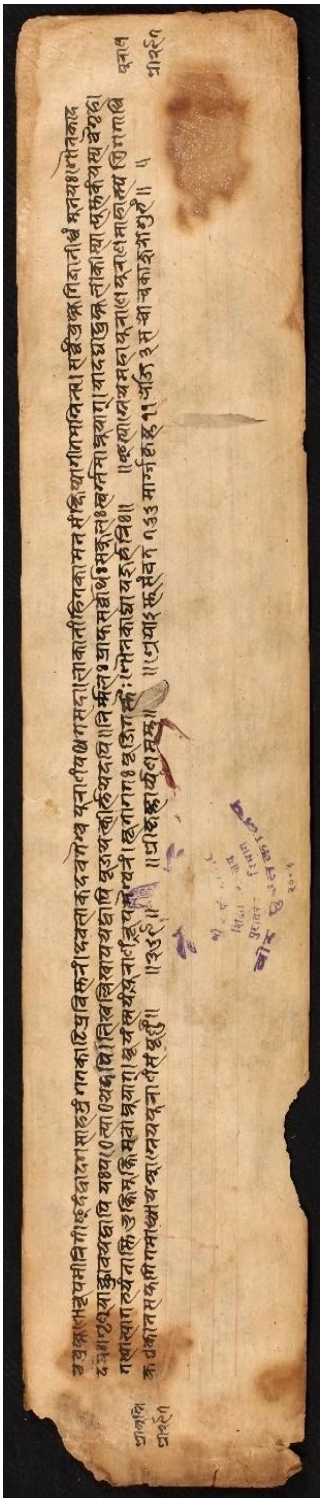


Figure 2: Manuscript of the *Agnipurāṇa*, fol. 297v © National Archives, Kathmandu

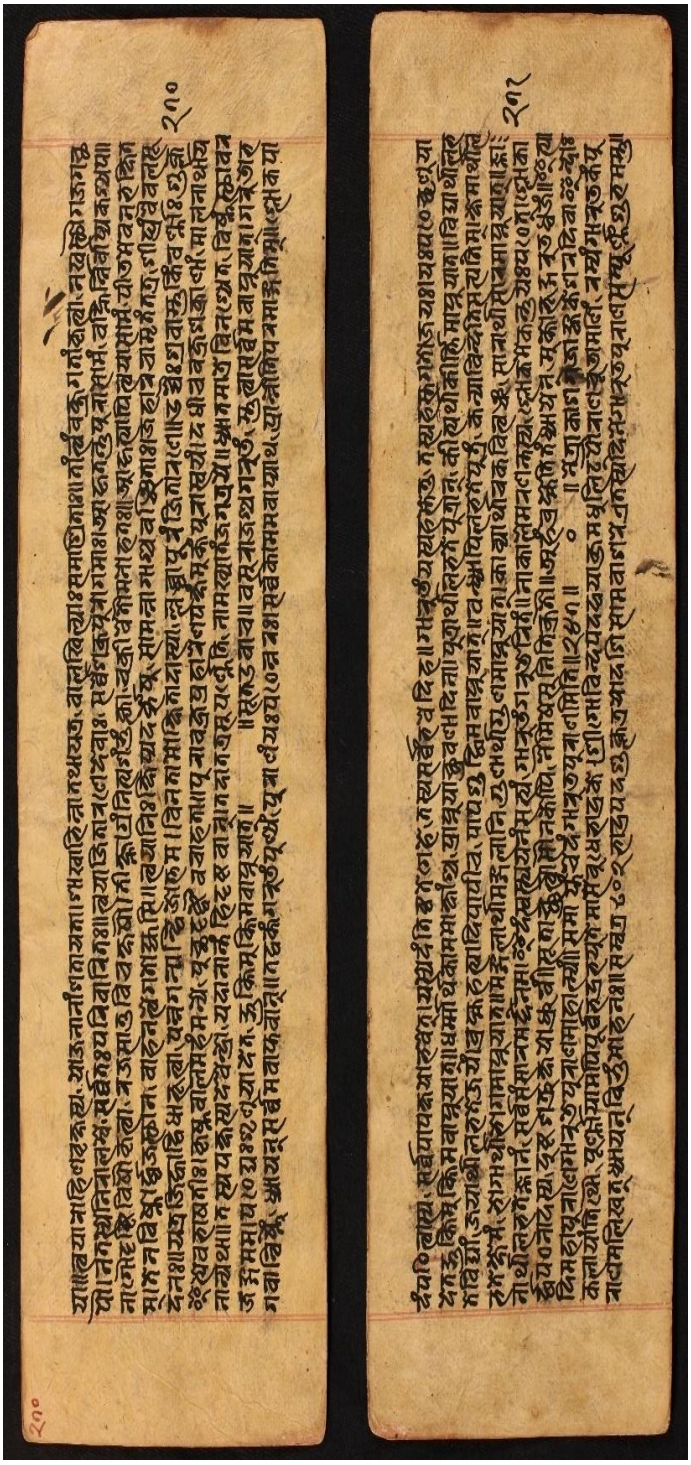


Figure 3: Manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, fols. 270v, 271v © National Archives, Kathmandu

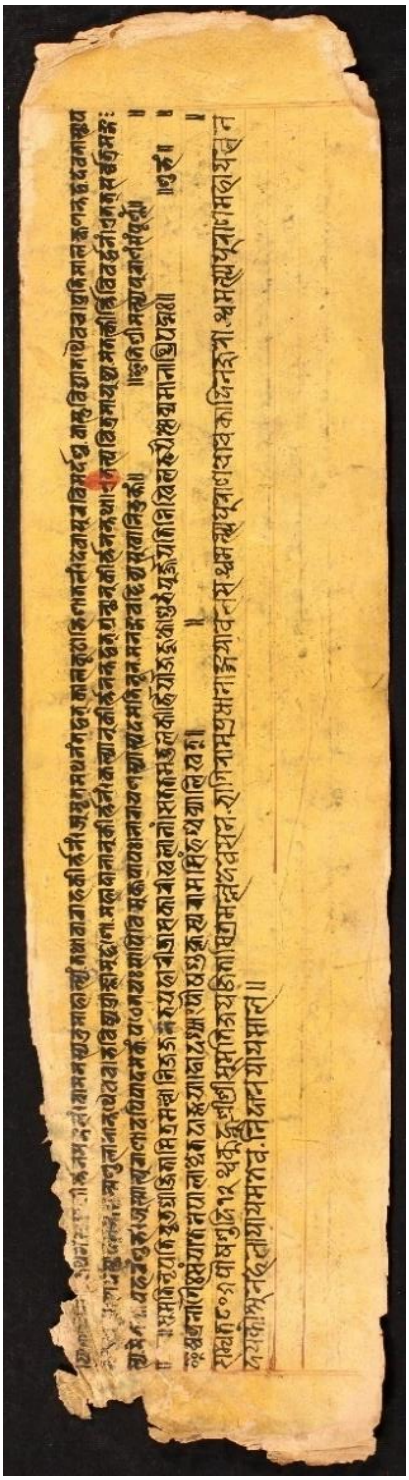


Figure 4: Manuscript of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, fol. 341r © National Archives, Kathmandu

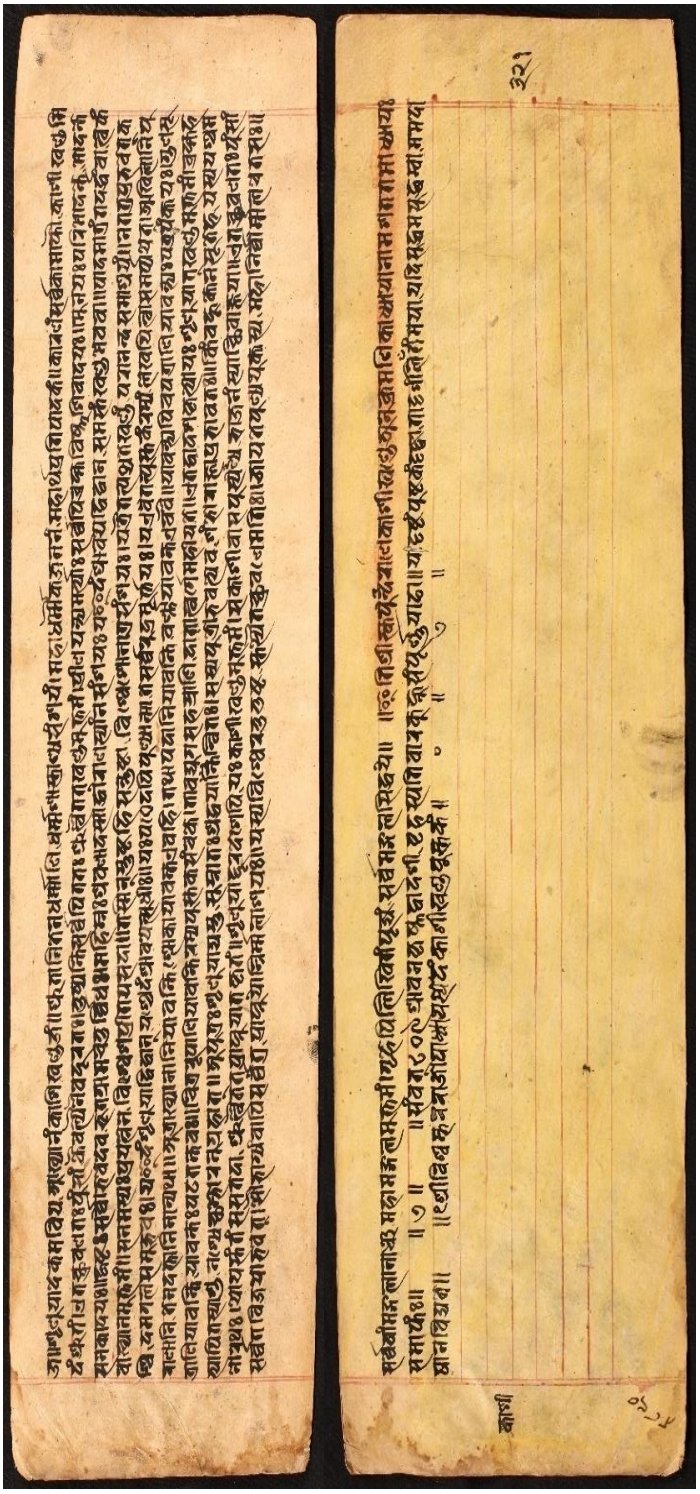


Figure 5: Manuscript of the *Skandapurāṇa*, fol. 321rv © National Archives, Kathmandu

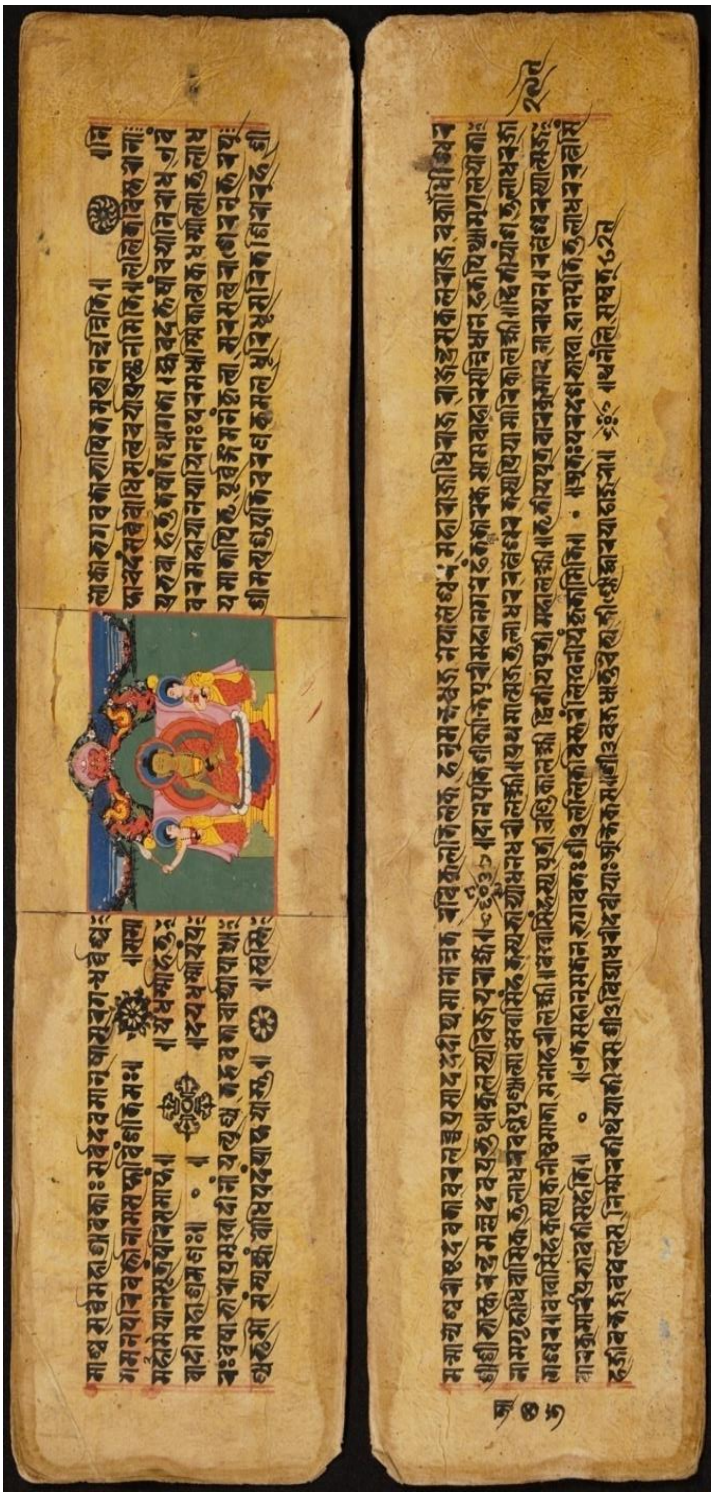


Figure 6: Symbols before and after the final colophon and in parts of the post colophon, manuscript of the *Lalitavistara*, fol. 299rv © National Archives, Kathmandu

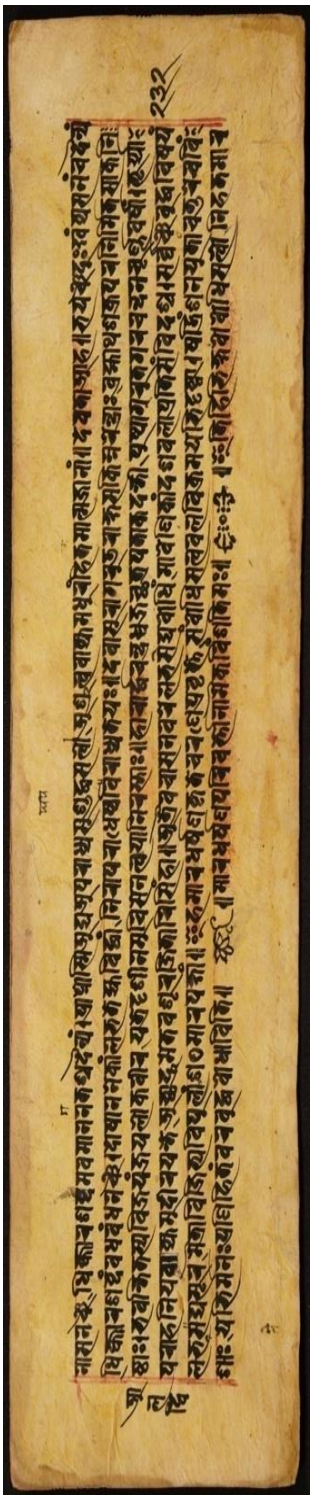
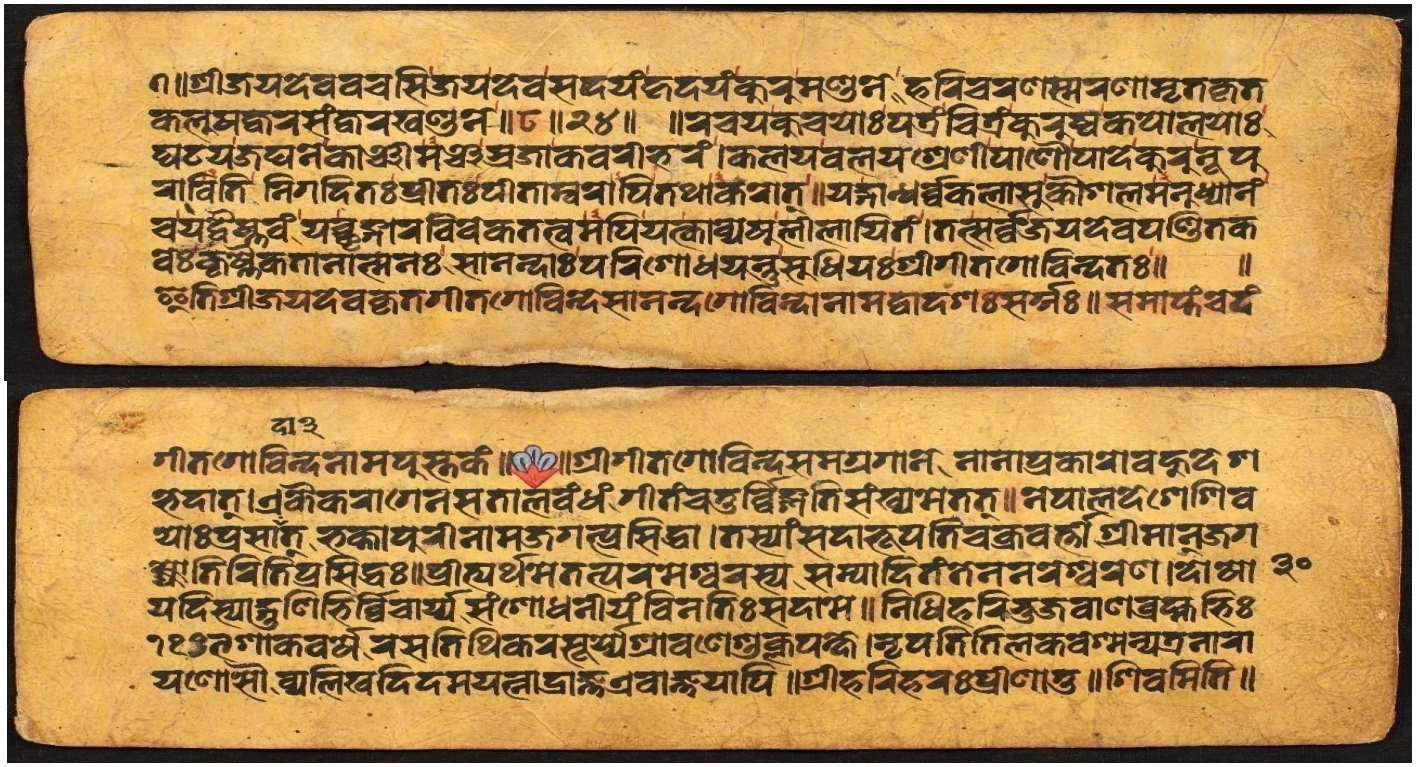


Figure 7: Realistic *puṣpikā* and stylized *vajra* before and after the chapter colophon, manuscript of the *Lalitavistara*, fol. 232v © National Archives, Kathmandu

Figure 8: Final and colophonic features, manuscript of the *Viṣṇudharma*, fol. 140r © National Archives, Kathmandu

Figure 9: Final and post-colophonic parts, Manuscript of the *Gītagovinda*, fol. 30rv© National Archives



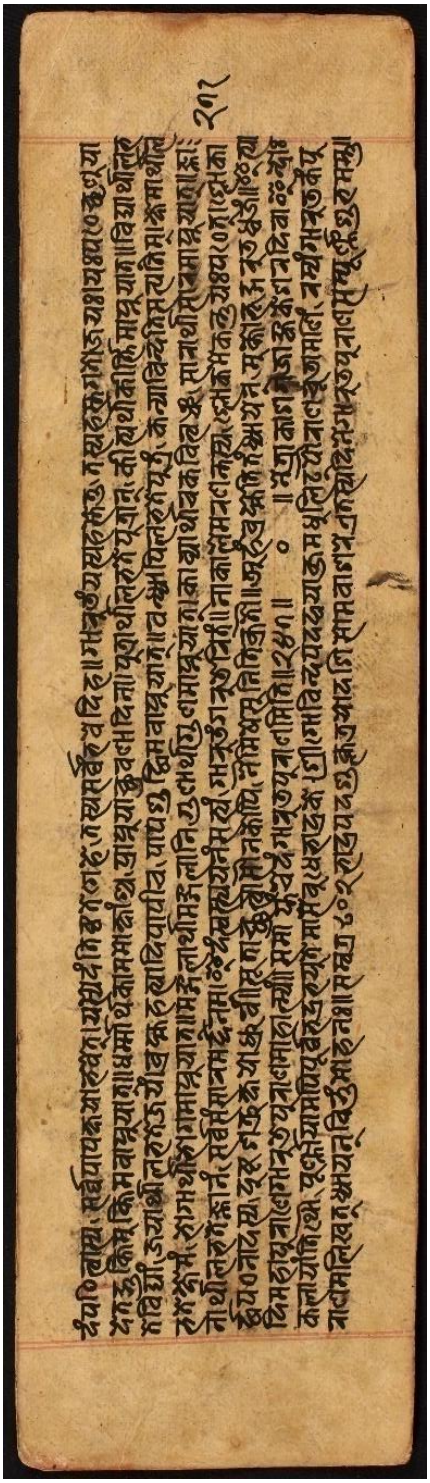


Figure 10: Final and colophonic features, manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, fol. 271v
© National Archives, Kathmandu

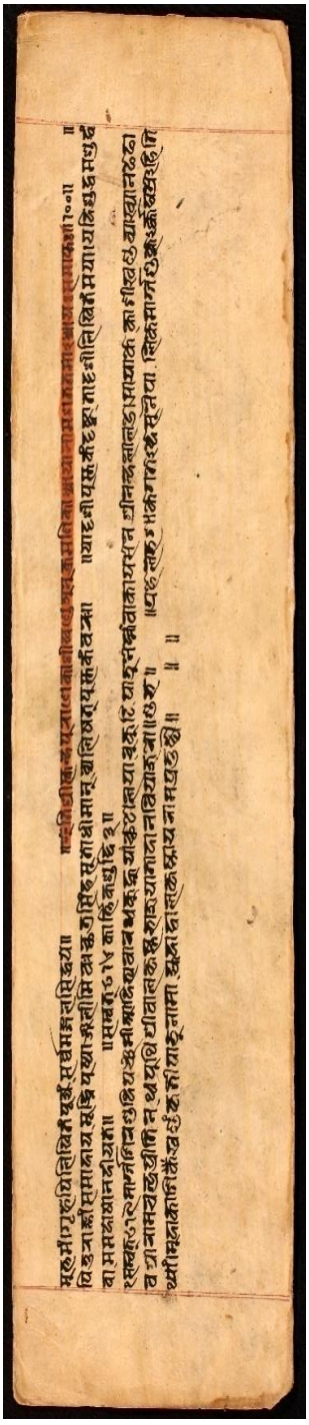


Figure 11: Final and colophonic features, manuscript of the *Skandapurāṇa*, fol. 355r
© National Archives, Kathmandu

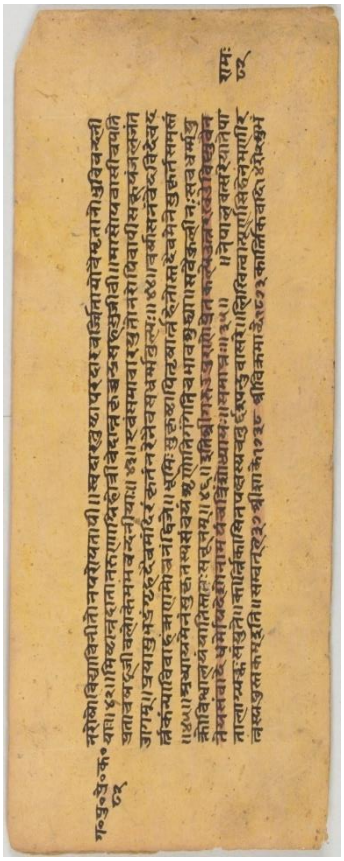


Figure 12: Final and colophonic features, manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, fol. 82v
© Kaiser Library, Kathmandu

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Orbiting Material in Tamil Grammatical Texts

Victor B. D'Avella (Universität Hamburg)

I. Abstract[1]

At the centre of the present article, like many others in this volume, stands material that is, both physically and in the domain of scholarship, marginal. I refer here to the "satellite" stanzas or verses that accompany Tamil grammatical texts and which I have primarily culled from a collection of palm leaf manuscripts housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).[2] These stanzas fall for the most part into the category of short, auspicious poems that express homage to a deity or ask for a blessing and so are suitably placed—as well as recited—at the beginning of a work in order to ensure success. Furthermore, the verses are, for the most part, located not only before the proper beginning of the main text, but occupy a markedly prefaced position within the codicological unit insofar as they are often written on an unnumbered folio, a fact that will give rise to further questions regarding unity and possible accretions. After a brief discussion about beginnings and a description of the manuscripts, I will present the verses

[1] Research for this article was carried out with funding from the project *Texts Surrounding Texts* (TST), research program FRAL 2018 (ANR & DFG).

[2] A large proportion of the manuscripts stem from the private collections of Eugène Burnouf and Edouard Ariel as indicated by Antoine Cabaton in his catalogue, Cabaton (1912). The catalogue of Burnouf's library, Duprat (1854), is in some places more detailed than Cabaton (1912). For a report on the arrival of Ariel's collection in Paris and a preliminary description, see Rosny (1869). A smaller number of manuscripts were part of the collection belonging to Philippe Etienne Ducler (1778–1840), for which see Eyriès and Burnouf (1832). The article contains rare details about the production of the manuscripts (they were written by a learned Brahman who had been sentenced to jail) and even the materials (palm leaves were brought from Ceylan). Indeed, it was "la plus belle collection tamoule" in France at the time.

in full with translation and discuss their implication for scribal practices in Tamil manuscripts with conclusions rather tentative since material is still being collected from other sources and the data presented here is statistically trivial.

I.1 Auspicious Beginnings

We know from quite early sources that texts in India should begin with a sign of auspiciousness.[3] One of the earliest discussions of the topic can be found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, where, in explaining the word *siddha* in *siddhe śabdārthasambandhe* (MBh I.6.16), the teacher is to have used it for the sake of auspiciousness (*maṅgalārtham*) because treatises (*śāstras*) that begin with something auspicious spread far and wide, give rise to heroic as well as long-lived people, and help the student (*adhyetṛ*) achieve his aim.[4] The term *maṅgala* itself is defined in the 5th cent. by Bhartṛhari in his *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* as "the accomplishment of one's irreproachable and desired goal."[5] In the course of time, it became standard practice for authors to make a *maṅgalācāraṇa* "auspicious gesture" by composing at least one verse to a deity who would remove obstacles and aid in the successful completion of the undertaking. For *mahākāvya*s, Daṇḍin expressly prescribes that they should begin with: obeisance to a deity (*namaskriyā*), a benediction (*āśir[vāda]*) or a statement of the subject matter (*vastunirdeśa*).[6] For works that were not transmitted with any such verse, the word *atha*,

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[3] See Slaje (2008) for a variety of essays on the beginnings of Sanskrit śāstric texts.

[4] MBh. I.6.28–7.2 *māṅgalika ācāryo mahataḥ śāstraughasya maṅgalārthaṃ siddhaśabdam āditaḥ prayuṅkte maṅgalādīni hi śāstrāṇi prathante vīrapuruṣakāṇi ca bhavanty āyuṣmatpuruṣakāṇi cādhyetāraś ca siddhārthā yathā syur iti.* Cf. MBh. I.40.6–9 for a repetition of the same passage but for the word *vṛddhi*.

[5] *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* IV.21.11: *nirupakruṣṭābhimatārthasiddhir maṅgalam*. Cf. Kaiyaṭa's in MbhPra vol. I, p. 62a: *agarhitābhīṣṭārthasiddhir maṅgalam*.

[6] KĀ 1.14cd. For a Tamil version, see TA 1.8.2–3.

which often occurs first, was eventually ascribed the meaning *maṅgala*[7] so as to ensure an auspicious start.

For Tamil, how to begin a text becomes a topic of great interest during the course of the first millennium, with grammars of the second millennium having entire sections dedicated to prescriptions for the *pāyiram* "preface",[8] a versified introduction to a text containing various bits of information about the topic, author, patron, and so forth. Prior to these, some of our earliest commentators shed light on different opinions about what a *pāyiram* must contain while explaining and justifying the introductory verses of the root text. I would like to briefly look at some of these sources so that we may have a specific textual basis for the widely acknowledged practice of paying homage to a deity at the beginning of a treatise.

We may begin with perhaps the earliest Tamil commentator, Nakkīrar, on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*, according to whom a *pāyiram* can be of two kinds: general (*potu*) or specific (*ciṟappu*), the latter being composed by the author of the treatise itself. The required contents of each type of *pāyiram* that Nakkīraṉār gives on the basis of now lost sources include details about the patron, the audience, the author, the contents of the treatise, etc.,[9] but in neither is there any mention of an homage to god, a benediction or other auspicious gestures. For this we must turn to the

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[7] Cf. *Śāśvatakoṣa* 790ab, for example.

[8] For example, the first section of the *Māṟaṉ Alaṅkāram* is dedicated to the *pāyiram* (*pāyiram-iyal*).

[9] The general preface is fourfold and focuses on the patron and the audience, whereas the specific preface is eightfold and should give information about the author and the treatise. The quote for the general preface (*īvōṉ ṟaṉmai*…) is also cited in commentaries to other *pāyirams*: *Tolkāppiyam*, TEi p. 2 and TEn p. 2; the *Nēmināṭam*, p. 1; *Veṇpāppāṭṭiyal*, p. 1. The *Naṉṉūl* includes the same verse on the specific preface (*ākkiyōṉ* … = *Naṉṉūl* preface v. 46m) as well as other commentators: TEi p. 4., TEn p. 6, *Veṇpāppāṭṭiyal*, p. 4.

commentaries on the *Yāpparuṅkalam* and its abridgement, the *Yāpparuṅkalakkarikai*, where three verses in total are quoted that specifically mention the invocation of a deity or the like as a part of the *pāyiram*. I present them here in the order that they occur in the commentary to *Yāpparuṅkalakkarikai* 1.1 (*pāyiram*), but add other works that cite the same source.

- vaṇakkam atikāram eṉṟu iraṇṭum collac
  ciṟappu eṉṉum pāyiram ām. (YAKu p. 6, YAv p. 7, *Nēmināṭam* comm., p. 3)
  "The preface called 'specific' when one states two things: obeisance [to god] and the topic [of the treatise]."
- teyva vaṇakkamum ceyappaṭu poruḷum
  eyta uraippatu taṉ ciṟappup pāyiram. (YAKu p. 6, *Māṟaṉ Alaṅkāram*, p. 59)
  "One's own specific preface states nicely an obeisance to god and the subject matter."
- valipaṭu teyva vaṇakkam ceytu
  maṅkala moḻimutal valuvaṟa vakuttē
  eṭuttuk koṇṭa vilakkaṇa vilakkiyam
  iṭukkaṇ iṉṟi iṉitu muṭiyum. (YAKu p. 10, YAv p. 10, Veṇpāppāṭṭiyal p. 6)

  "After making obeisance to the honoured god[10] and appointing faultlessly an auspicious word at the beginning, the grammar or literary work that has been taken up will, without trouble, be easily completed."

We may also include one of the verses known from the *Naṉṉūl*'s preface but already cited by Iḷampūraṇar in his

[10] *valipaṭu teyvam* is likely a calque of Sanskrit *iṣṭa-deva(tā)*, the first member of which derives from √*yaj* "to worship, honor" not √*iṣ* "to desire, choose." See *Vācaspatyam*, p. 999 s.v. *iṣṭadeva* for the correct analysis. Cf. the gloss in *Caracuvatiyantāti* 1914, p. 5: *valipaṭu kaṭavuḷ – tammāṟ pūcikkappaṭum teyvam*. "*valipaṭu kaṭavuḷ* is the deity which is worshipped by oneself."

commentary to the *pāyiram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*,[11] about how to recite or teach a treatise:

- [pāṭam collutaliṉ varalāṟu]
  ītal iyalpē iyampum kālaik
  kālamum iṭaṉum vālitiṉ nōkkic
  ciṟantu uḷi iruntu taṉ teyvam vāḻtti
  uraikkap paṭu[m][12] poruḷ uḷḷattu amaittu
  viraiyāṉ vekuḷāṉ virumpi mukamalarntu
  koḷvōṉ koḷ vakai aṟintu avaṉ uḷam koḷak
  kōṭṭam il maṉattiṉ nūl koṭuttal eṉpa. (Preface v. 37m[13])

  When one describes how to give [i.e., teach a text],[14]
  they say it is:
  seeing the time and location to be pure,
  sitting in a special place, praising one's own god,
  preparing in one's mind the topic to be discussed,
  desiring [to begin] without haste or anger, face in [full] bloom,
  knowing how the listener understands,
  then giving the [meaning of] the treatise with a straight mind
  so that his [the student's] mind receives it.

The verse, reminiscent of a famous passage in the MBh in which Patañjali describes how Pāṇini composed his grammar,[15] attests to the general practice of beginning a

[11] TEi p. 2 = TEn p. 3.
[12] Mayilainātar alone omits the *m*.
[13] Verse 36 with the commentary of Caṅkaranamaccivāyar and the *Kāṇṭikaiyurai*s.
[14] *Ītal* is glossed as "to teach" (*kaṟṟuk koṭuttal* and *kaṟpittal*) in the *Kāṇṭikaiyurai*s.
[15] MBh I.39.10f: *pramāṇabhūta ācāryo darbhapavitrapāṇiḥ śucāv avakāśe prāṅmukha upaviśya mahatā yatnena sūtraṃ praṇayati*. "As an authority, the teacher, sitting in a clean place, facing east, and with sacred grasses in hand, composed his *sūtra*s with great effort."

lesson with praise of one's own deity[16] among other auspicious actions conducive to the completion of one's goal. The topic took off, however, in the *pāṭṭiyal* literature, where specific words, letters and a variety of other restrictions were made for the initial word of a text.[17]

These few passages substantiate at the prescriptive level what is observable at the level of practice and add further impetus for the habit of including a verse in homage to a deity at the beginning of a grammatical work. As can be gleaned from the other texts in which the verses continued to be quoted (and there very well may be more), commentators considered themselves compelled to cite a śāstric source to justify the ubiquitous practice. It is also noteworthy that although these verses are recycled over the course of time, the parallel passages have remained for the most part unnoted in editions, e.g., no edition of the *Naṉṉūl* records that the above quoted passage already occurs in Iḷampūraṇar's commentary. The larger network of quotations in this and other contexts is in need of further documentation and exploration.

I.2 Previous Research

Since the use of Tamil manuscripts in modern scholarship had been extremely limited until recent times—and attention to paratextual material even more so—there are only two earlier studies that discuss verses of the sort I present below. In Wilden (2014: 146–215), virtually all substantial paracontent to the *Caṅkam* manuscripts has been marched forth with a large number of stanzas that serve to transmit information about the *Caṅkam* corpus itself or a particular collection. Stanzas similar to the type described above that invoke a deity

[16] *taṉ ṟeyvam* is glossed as *tāṉ vaḻipaṭu kaṭvuḷai* in the *Kāṇṭikaivurai* 1932 p. 27.

[17] The *Veṇpāppāṭṭiyal*, the earliest complete work of this genre, begins with a *cūttiram* that lists ten *poruttam*s "proprieties" for the beginning of a text (*muṉmoḻi* "first utterance").

are also represented but at two levels of textuality. In the first are the five (possibly six)[18] poems attributed to Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār that function as invocations at the beginning of the *Caṅkam* anthologies and have been consistently transmitted with the root texts; in the case of the *Puranāṉūṟu*, the stanza actually became part of the anthology itself, a process that is likely paralleled in KT 1. These poems are considered to be an integral, if appended, part of the main text within the tradition and do not owe their presence to tastes of individual scribes. At the second level, there are four poems in a single manuscript of the *Akanāṉūṟu* (UVSL 107),[19] that more closely mirror those I present below insofar as they are clear additions by a scribe and not, based on the available evidence, part of the text's wider transmission. They are, with one exception, explicitly (Śrī-) Vaiṣṇava in content[20] and so add a personal touch to the manuscript, one that was perhaps felt necessary given the very Śaivite invocation accompanying the *Akanāṉūṟu*.[21] As it happens, three of these stanzas form part of my collection, and one, the invocation to Sarasvatī, is quite widespread among the materials collected. I will return to these verses below. The placement and arrangement of the verses is also worthy of note. They all occur on an unnumbered leaf with auspicious markings in the left margin. The letters (*eḻuttu*s) are generously spaced in comparison with the writing

[18] On the sixth, which would belong to the *Kalittokai*, see Wilden (2014: 159f.).

[19] For descriptions of the manuscript, see Wilden (2014: 129) and (2018: xxiiif.).

[20] The first verse is to Nammāḻvār and also found as the first introductory verse in the *ciṟappuppāyiram* of the *Māṟaṉ Alaṅkāram*. The second praises the teachers and can also be found online: (https://thiruvonum.wordpress.com/category/%E0%AE%A4%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%B0%E0%AF%81-%E0%AE%B5%E0%AE%BE%E0%AE%AF%E0%AF%8D-%E0%AE%AE%E0%AF%8A%E0%AE%B4%E0%AE%BF/) as part of a collection of *taṉippāṭal*s to Nammāḻvār. The third is to Tirumāl (Viṣṇu) and the fourth to Sarasvatī. All links given in the article were last accessed on 20.3.20.

[21] For the text and a translation, see Wilden (2015: 154f.).

on the other leaves, and the *piḷḷaiyar-cuḻi* ("Gaṇeśa's whirl," i.e., his trunk) with a long tail is used for punctuation. We will see many of these features reoccur with the introductory verses that form the main body of this study.

The second study is found in Chevillard (2008: 23–26) and deals with a set of four verses generally printed at the beginning of the *Cēṉāvaraiyam*, a commentary to the *Collatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Why and how these verses have come to accompany Cēṉāvaraiyar's commentary had never previously been questioned, but Chevillard presents evidence from one manuscript that offers a justification for their inclusion. Before summarizing his findings, I am happy to be able to fill two lacunae regarding the print history of the *Cēṉāvaraiyam*. The two earliest editions were not available to Chevillard, but I have since been able to obtain digital scans of them that appear complete. The earlier of the two is edited by Kōmaḷapuram Irācakōpālapiḷḷai, head Tamil *pulavar* ("paṇḍit") of the teacher's college named Chennai Normal School,[22] and published in 1868 (*vipava kārttikai*) without any verses at the beginning.[23] The next edition, however, by Āṟumukanāvalar in 1886 (*viya āṉi*) does contain the four verses that would become standard in subsequent printings of the *Cēṉāvaraiyam*. Unfortunately, neither editor has written an introduction in which we could have learned about the manuscripts consulted.

To better understand the complex origin of these verses, Chevillard draws our attention to a manuscript of the *Cēṉāvaraiyam* (TVM 303) housed in the *Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātīṉam* ("mutt") that has a total of seven verses prefaced to the text, only two of which are also contained in the printed

[22] In Tamil: ceṉṉai nārmalskūl eṉṉum pōtaṇācattivirtti vittiyācālait tamiḻ-llalaimaippulavar. The school was the forerunner of the Institute of Advanced Study in Education.

[23] A pdf is available here: http://www.tamilvu.org/library/nationalized/scholars/pdf/literature/tholkaappiyachcheinaavaraiyam.pdf.

editions, namely, the third and fourth verses (V3 and V4 = M3 and M4 in Chevillard's nomenclature). This manuscript from 1832 is significant because it predates Āṟumukanāvalar's edition by over half a century and consequently serves as an independent witness to the verses that could introduce the *Cēṉāvaraiyam*. Based on this evidence, Chevillard questions the hypothesis by Mu. Vai. Aravintaṉ that Cēṉāvaraiyar himself composed the verses (except the first) found in the printed edition since they are not all transmitted in TVM 303. In addition, a transcript of two verses, M1 and M2 (an almost[24] complete transcript of the leaf is found on p. 509), is given with an indication that the "elephant-faced god" is the subject of the final three verses (M5 to M7). The short study opens up for the first time in modern scholarship the possibility, on the basis of concrete evidence, that the invocatory verses to the *Cēṉāvaraiyam* are not a stable part of the text and that if we wish to understand how such paratexts relate to the main text and, more importantly, to the scribe and his beliefs, we must turn to more manuscript sources. I have tried to fulfill this desideratum in the following pages.

II. Description of Manuscripts

Below I provide a brief description of each manuscript from which I have extracted satellite stanzas so that the reader may have a more realistic image of the physical features of each object as well as the basic layout of the (para-)textual elements. Later on in the conclusions, these details will help better determine how such stanzas may have become part of the codicological unit. I will begin with the ones from the BnF and then take up those from other institutions. For the manuscripts of the BnF I have given a reference to the published catalogue by A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens, indo-chinois & malayo-polynésiens*, but the

[24] The text in the margin has not been transcribed.

information given on the Tamil and Telugu manuscripts is derived from an unpublished but more detailed catalogue by Julien Vinson dated to 1867. It contains, for instance, information about guard leaves with invocations,[25] greater detail about the number of folios, and clearer remarks about the date of the manuscripts.[26]

For the sake of brevity, I will use the following conventions:

- "guard leaf" refers to a usually unnumbered folio that immediately precedes the first numbered leaf. In the description below, only guard leaves are mentioned that have writing on the recto. Writing on the verso is very rare. I designate these as folio 0 when this does not create ambiguity.
- Unless otherwise noted, all numbers should be understood to be written with traditional Tamil numerals.
- Unless otherwise noted, traditional Tamil script is used, i.e., without *puḷḷi*s and no distinction between e/o and ē/ō or *ra* and *-ā*. See Chevillard (2008: 29–31) for an overview.
- I have not counted or described the title leaves that accompany many manuscripts in the BnF as they are clearly of a later date and must have been made at or around the time of collection.

[25] One finds the remark: "ôle sans n° (invocations)".

[26] Vinson often includes a remark such as "sans indication d'année" and an approximation of the year as signaled by "vers". Cabaton usually drops "vers" so that one has the impression that the date is based on more precise evidence than it is. Compare, for example, Vinson's entry 177 (= Indien 177) on p. 43 with the corresponding entry in Cabaton (1912: 30). The catalogue is available online from Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105333021/f11.image.

1) BnF Indien 12: *Civatarumōtturakāviyam*.[27]

Cabaton (1912:3) gives the year of production as 1770. The leaves total 373 and measure 450 x 25mm. The manuscript is from Ariel's collection. The number of leaves is slightly incorrect because there are two leaves numbered 1 plus a guard leaf with text.

The very first leaf (Image 1[28]), unnumbered, contains text in the left-hand margin and then in three blocks, two smaller ones before the left string hole and then a larger block between the two string holes. It seems to be the same hand as in the subsequent leaves. In the margin we find the ubiquitous *piḷḷaiyār-cuḻi* (௳) and *civā* "Śiva!", both marks of auspiciousness. Thereafter comes the title of the text in three lines (*civataru // motti // rakāviyam*௳)In the next column we [29]. find the statement:

> akattiya-makāmuṉikku cuppiṟamaṇiyacuvāmiyār aṉukkiṟakam paṇṇiṉatu ௳
>
> "[This work] is what Holy Cuppiramaṇiya graciously made for the great sage Akattiyar ௳"

Finally, we have a stanza to Sarasvatī (numbered 6 below) written in three lines and ending with a ௳. This is a fairly common stanza on guard leaves and serves as the first of two *kāppu* "protective" verses to the *Carasvatiyantāti*, a work attributedto Kampaṉ,[30] although it is difficult to know when it became associated with that text.

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[27] Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510323z/f1.item.r=indien %2012.

[28] Please find the images of the manuscripts in the Appendix.

[29] Unless there is serious cause to do otherwise, I give an interpreted transliteration of all text in manuscripts and do not attempt to represent the ambiguities of the Tamil script as it occurs in manuscripts, which can be viewed online in most cases.

[30] LT p. 122. The two editions (1914 and 1935) I have been able to consult, both have the same two verses as a *kāppu*. In the commentary to the first verse in the 1914 edition by Vai. Mu. Caṭakōparāmānujācāriyar and

2) BnF Indien 169: *Tolkāppiyam*.[31] Complete text of the *cūttiram*s including the *pāyiram* ("Introduction") on ff. 1r–98v; thereafter, *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* with the commentary of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar up to TP 52n with a new foliation. The commentary on TP 52n breaks off abruptly with *kūṟum āṟu āṇṭuṇarka ivai talaivi* on 109r2. There is one guard leaf with writing.

Cabaton (1912: 29) describes it as *Tolkâppiamûlamûm-adigâravuræyum*, 206 leaves measuring 360 x 30mm and from Ariel's collection. This is not entirely accurate. There are 207 numbered leaves divided into two foliations as given above. There is one unnumbered guard leaf.

The guard leaf (Image 2) contains, in addition to two *piḷḷaiyār-cuḻi*s on the left, a stanza in four lines that spans the full length of the leaf and ends with ൧. The verse begins *teṉṟā makiḻt toṭaiyalum* (= 9) and invokes Ñāṉatēcikaṉ or Nammāḻvār. It is labelled as the *kaṭavuḷ tuṇai* to the *Iraṇiyavataipparaṇi*, an anonymous, incomplete poem of the 13th cent. about the killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu by Narasiṃha.[32]

Cē. Kiruṣṇamācāriyar, the appropriateness of the verse for the work is explained but not definitely ascribed to Kampaṉ or any other individual: *ikkāppu innūlāciriyarkku iṣṭatēvataiyum innūlukkut talaiviyum āṉa caracuvatiyiṉ viṣayam āṉat' ātalāl, itaṉai, vaḻipaṭukaṭavuḷ vaṇakkattōṭu ērpuṭaikkaṭavuḷvaṇakkamum ākum eṉṟu koḷḷalām.* "Because this *kāppu* takes Caracuvati [Saravatī] as its subject, who is both the honoured deity for the author of this work and the main female character of this work, one should understand that it, [this verse] in addition to being an obeisance to the honoured deity, is also an obeisance to the deity appropriate to the subject matter of the work."

[31] Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525080880.r=indien%20169?rk=107296;4.

[32] LT p. 272. As it is presented in the *editio princeps* (*Centamiḻ* vol. XV, part 1, p. 41), the verse appears before the title of the main text and is followed by three additional auspicious phrases: *cīyartiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam*. *kuruvē tuṇai*. *periya tiruvaṭikkavirāyakuruvē namaḥ*. "The holy feet of Cīyar (Maṇavāḷa Māmuni) are the refuge. The Teacher is the refuge. Homage to the teacher Periya Tiruvaṭikkavirāya." It seems likely

3) Indien 170: *Tolkāppiyam Cūttira Virutti* of Mātavaccivañāṉayōki.[33] Complete in 50 numbered leaves. The *puḷḷi* is used, somewhat sporadically, and long and short e/o are distinguished though not consistently.

Cabaton (1912: 29) describes it as "Commentaire développé" in two volumes dated to 1850. 50 and 199 leaves measuring 450 x 30mm. From Ariel's collection. The entry combines this manuscript with Indien 171.

Although there are no guard leaves, the text starts on the first leaf[34] (Image 3) with a verse beginning *taṉ ṟōṇāṉkiṉ* (= 7), one found in several other sources, the earliest perhaps being Iḷampūraṇar's commentary to TC 359i (8.50). The verse is not marked off from the following text, Āttirēyar's *potuppāyiram*, which Mātavaccivañāṉayōki quotes at the beginning of his commentary. The stanza printed in the edition and labeled *taṟciṟappuppāyiram*, "his own special introduction," is absent. I am not aware of this verse accompanying the *Tolkāppiyam Cūttira Virutti* in any printed edition.

In the margin on the first leaf:

veṟṟivēl uṟṟa // tuṇai tolkā // ppiyacūttiravi // rutti - tirucciṟṟampala // m ൲൲൲൲൲

The victory spear is the proper refuge. *Tolkāppiya-virutti*. Holy Chidambaram. ൲൲൲൲൲

4) Indien 176: *Naṉṉūl* of Pavaṇanti with the commentary of Mayilainātar.

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that all this material was on the leaf of the manuscript, but I cannot at present be certain.

[33] Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541004041/f1.item.r=indien%20170.zoom

[34] The leaf is unnumbered but factors into the foliation as the next leaf is numbered 2.

Cabaton (1912: 29): Same work (scil. *Naṉṉūl*) with a commentary. Dated to approximately 1750; 149 leaves measuring 465 x 30 mm. From Ariel's collection.

The text does not begin with what is usually titled *Naṉṉūṟciṟappuppāyiram* in printed editions but with the *pāyiram* along with the commentary.[35] This ends on numbered folio 8v6. The first chapter, *Eḻuttatikāram* then begins with a new foliation, and the entire work ends on 149r2. There is one unnumbered guard leaf. The colophon on the last leaf provides us with a date or rather several possible dates (Image 4).[36] The Kollam year appears to be 803, although the scribe has crossed out the number between the 8 in the hundreds place and the three so that there is some doubt as to the number in the tens place. The month has also been altered from *vaikāci* to *āṉi*, i.e., May or June. The day is clearly 29. Reading 803, we can give the corresponding dates, Monday 26 May, 1628 (with *vaikāci*) or Thursday 26 June, 1628 (with *āṉi*).[37]

The same scribe does not appear to have written the entire manuscript, and there are occasionally rather dramatic changes in the style of writing and number of lines per leaf. For example, 80r contains only five lines in a very broad, seemingly unpracticed hand, whereas on the immediately following leaf, 81r, there are 10 lines in a very tight and regular hand (Image 5). These variations can be explained most simply by assuming that perhaps a young student replaced damaged leaves of an old manuscript that had been preserved in his family, maybe even for generations. Be that as it may, the worm holes indicate clearly that leaves were together at the time of consumption.

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[35] The margin title is *naṉṉūl pāyiram urai*.

[36] The date was missed by Vinson who gives the approximate date of 1750.

[37] Vinson (43) reads 19 for the day. He says there is no indication of the year ("sans indication d'année"), which is incorrect.

The unnumbered guard leaf contains five verses, each punctuated with a ஈ and written without any formatting (Image 6). The hand might well correspond to one of those in the manuscript itself. In the left-hand margin there are the ubiquitous auspicious words *hariḥ // naṉṟāka*. The verses are given in the following order:

1) *mati pāya* (= 14), 0r1 ending with ஈ; 3rd*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* to the *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai*.
2) *eṇṇiya eṇṇiya* (= 3), 0r2 ending with ஈ; 2nd *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* to the *Purapporuḷ-veṇpāmālai*.[38]
3) *tavaḷat tāmarait* (= 6), 0r2f. ending with ஈ; 2nd *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* to the *Purapporuḷ-veṇpāmālai*.[39]
4) *āya kalaikaḷ* (= 2), 0r3f. ending with ஈ; *kāppu* to *Carasvatiyantāti*.
5) *cantaṉap potiyat* (= 5), 0r4 ending with ஈ; not associated with one specific text.

In addition to these verses on the guard leaf, the *Eḻuttatikāram* also begins with two verses:

1) *mati pāya* (= 14), 1r1 (second foliation) ending with ஈ.
2) *tavaḷat tāmarait* (= 6), 1r2 (second foliation) ending with a semicircle.

After which follow homages to Gaṇeśa, Sarasvati (*caracōti*) and the guru. All this takes up the first two lines. Then begins the *Eḻuttatikāram* at the start of the third line.

5) Indien 177: *Naṉṉūl* with the commentary of Caṅkara Namaccivāyar. Complete in 278 folios with one guard leaf that contains verses. Based on both the hand of the scribe and a visual inspection of the palm leaf, the

[38] Not in all editions, however. See my discussion below.
[39] Not in all editions, however. See my discussion below.

guard leaf appears to be younger than the rest of the manuscript, although it clearly shares wormholes with the following leaf. Cabaton (1912: 30) gives the year 1820 and the measurements 430 x 25mm. for 279 (*sic*) leaves.[40]

On the guard leaf (Image 7), there is text in three sections: the left margin, to the left of the first string hole, and then from the right of the first string hole to the end of the leaf. In the first unit, to the left of which is a *piḷḷaiyār-cuḻi*, we find the auspicious words: *makāliṅka // n tuṇai // civamayam* "the great *liṅga* is [our] refuge. Glory be Śiva." Thereafter we have the title with another auspicious Śaiva word at the end: *naṉṉūl uraipātam pāyiram* ๛ *civam* ๛. Three verses occupy the remainder of the recto:

1) *eṇṇiya eṇṇiya* (= 3), 0r1 ending with ๛.

2) *tavaḷat tāmarait* (= 6), 0r2 ending with ๛.

3) *tāmarai puraiyum* (= 8), 0r2f. ending with ๛; *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* to the *Kuṟuntokai*.

The verso uniquely contains one additional verse as well as another string of auspicious phrases, all centered between the two string holes (Image 8). The hand seems to be the same as on the recto. The verse is *cantaṉap potiyat* (= 5), punctuated with a *piḷḷaiyār-cuḻi*, and followed by:

civam ๛ [0v2] *meññaraṉacittaviṉāyakaṉpātamē keti* ๛ *makāliṅkakurupātamē keti*. ๛

"Prosperity ๛ [0v2] The feet of magical Gaṇeśa of true knowledge are the way [to salvation] ๛ The feet of the guru Mahāliṅga are the way [to salvation]."

[40] Vinson gives the correct number of 278 and includes "vers" before 1820.

6) Indien 178: *Naṉṉūl* with the commentary of Caṅkara Namaccivāyar. Complete in 310 leaves with one guard leaf, measuring 375 x 35 mm. Cabaton (1912 :30) gives the approximate date 1830. The manuscript is very well-written with almost no damage to any of the leaves. It stems originally to be from the collection of Burnouf (Manuscript 175).[41]

The guard leaf contains four verses in three columns arranged around the string holes. In the left margin we find the following auspicious phrases along with the title:

ஒ/ *naṉṟāka kuru/ vāḻka / naṉṉūl u / raipāṭam*

"Be well. May the Guru thrive. *Naṉṉūl* Commentary."

The verses are:

1) *eṇṇiya eṇṇiya* [left of first string hole] (= 3), ending with a dash (Image 9).

2) *tāmarai puraiyum* [between the string holes] (= 8), ending with a dash (Image 10).

3) *tavaḷat tāmarait* [to the right of string holes] (= 6), ending with a dash (Image 11).

4) *cantaṉappotiyat* [immediately after the preceding] (= 5), ending with a dash (Image 11).

7) Indien 182: *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* of Vaittiyanāta Tēcikar.[42] Complete up to the end of the *Collatikāram* in 212 numbered folios with one empty guard leaf before and after, measuring 450 x 33. Cf. Cabaton (1912: 30). The entire work spans Indien 182, 183, and 184, the last of which has a colophon and is dated:

[41] Duprat (1845: 347).

[42] Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525082108.r=indien%20182?rk=64378;0.

காலவுததி ஞ சிததிரை மீ உயிரு ஏ "Friday May 7, 1858" (f. 250r5).[43]

The verse *eṇṇiya eṇṇiya* (= 3) has been placed on the first folio (unnumbered but counted in the foliation, Image 12) before the *pāyiram* on the first leaf and ends in the first line with a *piḷḷaiyār-cuḻi*. In the left margin there is: *cokkal // iṅkantuṇai // iḷakkaṇa // viḷakkam // pāyiram*.

8) Indien 185: *Vīracōḻiyam* of Puttamittiraṉ with the commentary of Peruntēvaṉār.[44] Complete in 124 folios. One guard leaf at the beginning with writing and a blank one at the end. Cabaton (1912: 31) gives the approximate date 1780 and the measurements 405 x 30mm.

The guard leaf (Image 13) contains text in five columns, three before the left sting hole, one block between the string holes and one after the right string hole. The verses, written between the string holes are:

1) *eṇṇiya eṇṇiya* (= 3), 0r1f. ending with ஒ.

2) *cantaṉappotiyat* (= 5), 0r3–5, ending with ஒ *civamayam*.

In the remaining columns are expressions of homage and auspiciousnes:

- Column 1: ஒ *hari* // *om*
- Column 2: *tirucciṟṟrampalam* // *tattuvaliṅkantuṇai* // *vīracōḻiyam* // *mutalāvatucantipaṭa* // *lam*

"Holy Cidambalam // The essence *liṅga* is the refuge // *Vīracōḻiyam* // First the section on sandhi".

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[43] Many thanks to Giovanni Ciotti for helping me with the date.

[44] Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508204n.r=Indien%20185?rk=128756;0.

- Column 3: *eḻuttati* // *kāram* // *civamayam* "The Chapter on Letters // *Civamayam*".
- Column 5: *kuruvētuṇai* // *vēlumayiluntuṇai* // *kuruvē tuṇai*

"The teacher himself is the refuge // The spear and the peacock are the refuge // The teacher himself is the refuge".

9) BnF Indien 187: Multiple text manuscript containing several works on poetics, all without commentary.[45] The hand is clearly a skillful one with neat, tight letters so as to fit ca. 15 lines per page. The manuscript, which does not have any sort of initial guard leaf, begins with a folio numbered twice as 56 and 161 (Tamil numerals) and ends with f. 87/192, 32 folios total.

It contains the following 4 complete texts without commentary on Tamil poetics:

1) *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam*, 54/161r–66/171v.[46]

2) *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai* 67/172r–75/183v.

3) *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* 76/184r–82/187r.[47]

4) *Veṇpāppāṭiyal* 83/188r–87/192r.

The entry in Cabaton (1912: 31), which gives the title and author as "*Piriyôgavivêgamûlamumuræyum*, par Subrahmanya-dît'sada de Kurugæ", is perhaps an indication that the missing leaves contained the *Piriyōkavivēkam* but no mention is made

[45] Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10027473f/f1.item.r=indien%20187.

[46] Titled simply *akapporuḷ* in the margin on f. 54/161r but *akapporuḷ-viḷakkam* in the chapter colophon in 66/171v3.

[47] Titled simply *alaṅkāram* in the margin on f. 79/184r and *alaṅkāranūl* in the chapter colophon in 82/187r7. This is one of the manuscripts of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* that gives *cūttirams* 101–126 as a separate section, the *oḻipiyal* (81/186r–82/187r).

of the other texts currently contained in Indien 187. Vinson in his entry (p. 46) identifies the text just as Cabaton does but makes explicit mention of the double-numbered folios, albeit without any indication of their contents.[48]

Prior to the beginning of the *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam* (Image 14) there are the following three verses in *scriptio continua*:

1) *eṇṇiya eṇṇiya* (= 3), 54/161r1 ending with ஒ.

2) *tavaḷat tāmarait* (= 6), 54/161r1f. ending with ஒ.

3) *cantaṉap potiyat* (= 5), 54/161r2f. ending with ஒ.

No other text in the manuscript begins with such a stanza. Could this be an indication that the *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam* was the beginning of a new section of grammatical texts after the now lost *Piriyōkavivēkam*, which focuses on grammar proper?

10) BnF Indien 197: *Puṟapporuḷveṇpāmālai*, complete in 108 numbered folios, measuring 415 x 35mm. The guard leaf, which contains several verses, is numbered 1 (Image 15). It is likely a misprint that Cabaton (1912: 33) gives 168 leaves as Vinson has the correct tally.[49]

Three verses are neatly written on f. 1r in *scriptio continua* without any particular formatting. In the left margin, preceded by a ஒ, we find: *hari om // naṉṟāka*.

1) *eṉṟun tirumāṟkē* (= 4), 1r1f. ending with = க =.

2) *pottakam paṭika* (= 13), 1r2–4 endig with = ஒ =. *Kampaṉ Irāmāyaṇam*, *taṉiyaṉ* 12 to *Kalaimakal* "Sarasvatī."

3) *āya kalai* (= 2), 1r4f. ending with ==.

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[48] Vinson p. 46: "32 ôles portant une double numération (56 á 87 et 161 et [*sic*] 192)."

[49] Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525091984/f1.item.r=Indien.zoom.

At the beginning of the fifth line there is *kumarakurupāṉ ṟuṇai*: "Kumarakurupāṉ is the refuge."

11) BnF Indien 199: The *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* with various ancillary texts in 120 numbered folios measuring 450 x 25mm.[50] Folios numbered 24 through 64, inclusive, are missing. The colophon on f. 111r gives the date 5 Dec. 1760. Note that the final text, the *kaṭāviṭai* "question and answer," comes after the colophon, a fact recorded in the colophon itself.[51] The year 1680 given in Cabaton (1912: 33), copied from Vinson's catalogue, p. 48 ("vers 1680"), is incorrect. The text is divided into three columns throughout.

Texts:

1) *Kārikaittokaivakai* 1r–23v.
2) *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*
   i. Root text (*mūlapāṭam*) 65r–7r8.
   ii. Examples (*utāraṇaṅkaḷ*) 72r–98r.
   iii. Ancillary rules (*puṟaccūttiram*) 99r–111r.
3) *kārikaikkaṭāviṭai* 112r–119v.

Prior to the beginning of the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*, there is a leaf numbered 65[52] (Image 16) with three verses and the title of the text in the left margin:

1) *eṇṇiyaeṇṇiya* (= 3), 65r1 ending with ஈ.
2) *tavaḷat tāmarait* (= 6), 65r2 ending with ஈ.

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[50] Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541005370/f1.item.r=Indien%20199.zoom.

[51] Indien 199 101r5: *kaṭaiciyiṟ ka[ṭ]āviṭaiyum eḻuti muṭintatu muṟṟum* ஏ "The question and answer [section] has been written to completion at the end."

[52] On Gallica it is image 24r: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541005370/f51.item.r=Indien%20199.

3) *cantaṉap potiyat* (= 5), 65r3 ending with ஒ.

12) UVSL 11/98: *Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttatikāram* and *Collatikāram* with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary. Complete (?) in 375 numbered folios. One guard leaf with writing (Image 17), probably unnumbered but the left side has broken off. In the UVSL Catalogue vol. I, p. 127, the measurements given are 18.75 in. x 1.5 in.[53]

Three verses are written across the guard leaf, after which there are additional auspicious expressions. Owing to the damage of the left-hand side, I have only been able to identify the first and last verses:

1) *taṉ ṟōṇāṉkiṉ* (= 7), 0r1 ending with ஒ.

2) arun tamiḻ kacaṭaṟa (= 1), 0r1–2 ending with ஒ.

3) *tavaḷat tāmarait* (= 6), 0r2 ending with ஒ.

In the third line after the verse:

[…] *mār* [?] *vēl tuṇai*ஒ*civakōcaramutaliyār pātāravintamē keti - āṉantavalliyammaṉ ṟuṇai kurupātamē tuṇai*

"[?] spear is the refuge ஒ the lotus feet of *Civakaracāmutaliyār* is the way - Āṉantavalliyammaṉ is the refuge. The feet of the Guru are the refuge."

The title below the verses is clearly a later addition.

13) UVSL 107: *Akaṉāṉūṟu*, incomplete. Described in Wilden (2018 vol. I: xxiiif.). According to the colophon, the manuscript is dated to November 1726.

[53] No reference is made to the stanzas on the guard leaf, and the total number of pages, 706, is incorrect. Note that the modern pagination in Arabic numerals, which ends with 728 on f. 375v, does not match the Tamil numbers, i.e., we expect f. 375v. to be p. 750.

On the first unnumbered folio there are four verses with Vaiṣṇava themes along with various other auspicious expressions and blessings. The verses have been discussed and translated in Wilden (2014: 182f.). Three of these reoccur in the collection presented below:

1) *tēṉ aṟā makiḻ*, 0r1–2; no punctuation.

2) *pārāta kalvi* (= 11), 0r2–3 ending with a dash.

3) *eṉṟun tirumāṟkē* (= 4), 0r3 ending with a dash.

4) *tavaḷat tāmarai* (= 6), 0r3–4 ending with ๛.

14) ORIML 22903: *Tolkāppiyam*. All three chapter (*atikārams*) without commentary, but the last several *cūttirams* are missing. The last visible words are the beginning of TP 649i (9.105) on 72v3. The right margin is damaged throughout. The hand is uneven with large letters and seemingly that of a beginner. The first leaf two leaves, unnumbered, contain the *pāyiram* and select verses from the commentaries thereon. On the third leaf recto the *pāyiram* begins anew and is immediately followed by the *cūttirams* of the *Eḻuttatikāram*. It is from this leaf that the Tamil foliation begins and then ends with f. 72.

The first unnumbered folio (Image 18) opens with two verses:

1) *teṉṟāmakiḻt* (= 9), 0r1–3 ending with a dash.

2) *pārātakalvip* (= 11), 1r3–4, ending with a dash.

In the left margin: ๛ *hariḥ naṉ* // *[ṟ]āka*๛ // *tol* // *kāppi* // *yam*.

15) TVM 303: *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* with the *Cēṉāvaraiyam*. Complete in 177 folios. The manuscript can be dated to 1832 according to the

colophon. See Chevillard (2008: 23–26) for further details and references. A transcript of the page can be found on p. 509.

On the unnumbered guard leaf (Image 19) there are seven verses written in *scriptio continua* without any formatting:

1. *mati pāy* (= 14), 0r1–2 ending with ஒ.
2. *tāmarai* (= 8), 0r2–4 ending with ஒ.
3. *tavaḷat tāmarait* (= 6), 0r4–5 ending with ஒ.
4. *cantaṉ̲ap potiyat* (= 5), 0r5–6 ending with ஒ.
5. *piñcumatic* (= 12), 0r6–8 ending with ஒ.
6. *nallacol* (= 10), 0r8–9 ending with ஒ.
7. *vēkam ā neṟ̲i* (= 15), 0r10–11 ending with *naṉ̲ṟ̲āka*ஒ.

In the left margin: *hariḥ* // *om* // *naṉ̲ṟ̲āka* // *to* // *lkā* // *piya* // *m*ஒ

III. Preliminary Observations

From the above description of the manuscripts and the stanzas that they can contain, we make no statistically meaningful conclusions about Tamil manuscripts in general but speak only of general observations and trends that yield questions and hypotheses for future exploration. I will first take up the physical features of the verses and then turn to their content.

III.1 Physical Features

The most salient physical feature of the invocation verses is their frequent appearance on a separate leaf. From the fifteen manuscripts I have taken into consideration, eleven of them[54] have a guard leaf with stanzas whereas four place such verses on the same leaf as the start of the main text. The guard leaf is

[54] Indien 12, 169, 176, 177, 178, 185, 197, 199, UVSL 11/98, UVSL 107, and TVM 303.

left unnumbered with two exceptions, Indien 197 and Indien 199. In Indien 197 it is simply the first folio, but Indien 197 is a special case since it is numbered 65. It is difficult to say why this should be the case and a few explanations come to mind. Since the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* is the central text in the manuscript, the scribe likely thought it worthiest of having a sort of title page with invocation stanzas. We do not know, however, at which stage of production the leaves were numbered and whether the first text was added before or after the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai* was written. There are other possibilities, but none subject to proof or of moment.

In six instances (Indien 12, 177, 178, 185, 199, TVM 303) the guard leaf contains both stanzas as well as the title of the text and basically serves as title page, although the title is always repeated in the left-hand margin of the first leaf. Such title pages were by no means obligatory (but how many may have gone missing?), and scribes could add it at the time he commenced writing. Only in two manuscripts (Indien 176 and 177) does the hand appear to differ between the guard leaf and the main body of the text, indicating that absence of such a leaf was felt to be in need of remedy. It is also worth noting that with one exception (Indien 176) no manuscript contains stanzas on both a guard leaf as well as at the beginning of the main text. I suspect that Indien 176 is not really an exception to this generalization because the guard leaf was added later by another hand and the text of the *Naṉṉūl* Preface may well have been too. It seems that one occurrence of auspicious verses was enough. Once further material is collected one might be able to determine whether the practice of adding a separate guard leaf was a younger or relatively old practice.

I would also like to briefly remark on the fact that the guard leaves often contain some of the most elaborate formatting that we find in palm leaf manuscripts. This includes the rather simple gesture of offering generous margins (Indien 169, 176,

197, 199, UVSL 11/98) but can also expand to placing the verses and other material on the guard leaf into columns (Indien 12, 177, 178, 185). Indien 178 is a very elegant example. Such formatting, though certainly not standard, is also not entirely unheard of, and entire texts can be written into a tripartite columnation, for example Indien 199.

III.2 The Content of the Verses

Most of the verses focus on deities typical of invocation in Indian literature with Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning and literature, and Gaṇeśa, the god who removes obstacle, taking the lion's share: 5 to Gaṇeśa and 3 to Sarasvatī. Verses to them are also the ones most frequently quoted: verse 3 to Gaṇeśa occurs in 7 sources (6 manuscripts); verse 6 to Sarasvatī, in 8 sources (7 manuscripts). An equally favoured stanza is to Akattiyar[55] (Skt. Agastya), the mythical sage (*ṛṣi*) who is said to have brought grammar to the Tamil language. The verse (5) appears in 7 sources (6 manuscripts). These three verses occur together in four manuscripts (Indien 176, 178, 187, and 199) and may be viewed as a set of default verses that a scribe or teacher could turn to when beginning a text.

Unsurprisingly, the more sectarian verses—here mainly of a Śrīvaiṣṇava flavour—find favour less frequently among scribes. The three included here (4, 9, 11) each occur in two manuscripts with 11 being paired once with 9 (ORIML 22903) and once with 4 (UVSL 107). The sectarian nature of the scribes is also evident in the fact that none of the three are placed alongside an invocation to Gaṇeśa, a son of Śiva, or even Akattiyar, who took orders from Śiva. Such verses are useful in determining in which community a text had been transmitted

[55] See Chevillard (2009) for a discussion of the sage, his role in Tamil grammar, and later reception.

since certain readings may be specific to one group or the other as is the case with the *Akaṉāṉūṟu*.[56]

One question that undoubtedly comes to mind pertains to the authorship and source of the verses. Unfortunately, we can reply with some certainty in but a few cases. Most secure is the source of verse 8, which is the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* to the *Kuṟuntokai*. The others, for which I have given a parallel in another work, are slightly less certain because, as invocation verses there too, we do not know if the verse was always affiliated with the text or came to be attached to it in the course of time. We also cannot say for sure that the scribe who wrote the verse knew it from the same source as we do. I have discussed some of the issues above in footnotes. With these uncertainties in mind, those that I have been able to trace to another earlier work are:

1) verse 2: given as *kāppu* to *Carasvatiyantāti*.
2) verse 3: occurs in some editions of the PVM but *not* in Indien 197.
3) verse 7: this verse is already known to Iḷampūraṇar and quoted ad 359i (8.50).
4) verse 9: *kāppu* to the *Iraṇiyavataipparaṇi*.
5) verse 10: 1st *kaṭavuḷvāḻttu* (Kaṇapati) to the *Piramōttarakāṇṭam*.
6) verse 12: 3rd *kaṭavuḷvāḻttu* (Kaṇapati) to the *Piramōttarakāṇṭam*.
7) verse 13: *Kampaṉ Irāmāyaṇam*, *taṉiyaṉ* 12 to *Kalaimakal* "Sarasvatī."
8) Verse 14: 3rd *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* in the *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai*.

[56] See Wilden (2018 vol. I: xxx) and *passim* in the *Introduction*. The Vaiṣṇava affiliation is based on the stanzas found in UVSL 107 and transferred to other manuscripts which lack of sectarian markings.

This is a fairly substantial proportion of the verses I have collected, but they are also not among the most frequently cited: verse 2 is quoted three times in the manuscripts; verses 7, 9 and 14, twice; verses 10, 12 and 13, once. The reason for this likely lies in the individualistic choice of the scribe, in other words, he must have had some particular penchant for the verse, but I suspect that more data will change our perspective.

Yet it behooves us to keep in mind that the question of origin was likely not to have been relevant to the scribes or readers of the manuscripts. If we consider verse 7, one of the many to Gaṇeśa, we see that it appears in three relatively modern sources: the first stanza in the printed editions of the *Cēṉāvaraiyam*, at the beginning of Kaṇēcaiyar's 1943 edition of the *Pērāciriyam* (placed on the page before the *mukavurai*), and partially quoted by T.V. Gopal Iyar in the TIPA. See **Sources** in my entry below. In none of these texts, however, is there any reference to the earliest known source of the verse in the *Iḷampūraṇam*, not necessarily because the scholars did not know it was there (I am rather certain they did), but because the verse simply belonged to the large constellation of verses one knew and could cite as the appropriate time occasioned it. This practice has continued both into the age of print (cf. Kaṇēcaiyar's edition just mentioned) as well as into the digital age as becomes evident if one searches online for the verses collected here such as verse 6, which is quoted on blogs and message boards.

Further documentation of the invocation verses in Tamil manuscripts is sure to multiply both the number of verses as well as the number of sources presented here. The larger data set will help us to speak more concretely about manuscript practices in the 18th through early 20th centuries and perhaps even earlier. They may also allow us to pinpoint a manuscript

among a specific community if certain verses can be associated with a particular area based on colophons. May this be the auspicious start to such endeavours!

IV. Alphabetical List of Stanzas

Below I give the verses so far encountered in manuscripts of Tamil grammatical texts (plus Indien 12) along with a translation and notes. Most verses can be traced to other sources and are found appended to more than one manuscript.

IV.1 Unidentified

அருநதமிழ கசடற அருல[?]யவுர [0.1]

[...] வானறி ருநதடிபாவுதுஞ சிததி பெறற பொருடடெ [0.2][57]

arum tamiḻ kacaṭu aṟa arul[?]ayavura [0.1]

[...] var aṉṟu[58] iruntu aṭi pāvutum citti peṟal poruṭṭē

"Precious Tamil without fault [?] [0.1]

[...] we shall touch the two feet in order to obtain success."

Source:

1. UVSL 11/98 0.1–2.

IV.2 To Sarasvatī

ஆய கலைக ளறுபத்து நான்கினையு
மேய வுணர்விக்கு மென்னம்மை—தூய
வுருப்பளிங்கு போல்வாளென் னுள்ளத்தி னுள்ளே
யிருப்பா ளிங்குவாரா திடர்.

āya kalaikaḷ aṟupattu nāṉkiṉaiyum
ēya uṇarvikkum eṉ ammai—tūya

[57] The missing text at the beginning of the second line in the manuscript makes an interpretation of the text in the first difficult

[58] It is unclear to me how வானறி should be split.

urup-paḷiṅku pōlvāḷ eṉ uḷḷattiṉuḷ-ē
iruppāḷ iṅku vārātu iṭar.

"My mother, who suitably teaches the sixty-four beautiful arts,[59]
she, who is like a crystal of flawless shape, will be in my heart;
no trouble will come here."

Sources:

1. First *kāppu*-stanza[60] to the *Carasvatiyantāti* attributed to Kampaṉ.[61]
2. Indien 12 0r, stanza in centre column ending with ఒ.
3. Indien 176 0r3f., 4th stanza ending with ఒ.
4. Indien 197 1r4, 3rd stanza ending with = =.

The two editions of the *Carasvatiyantāti* available to me both print this verse as the first of two *kāppu* ("protective") verses. Further evidence from the manuscripts of the *Carasvatiyantāti* might help to decide whether the verse originated with this text and hence give us a specific source for the verse.

IV.3 To Gaṇeśa

எண்ணிய வெண்ணிய வெய்துப கண்ணுதற்
பவள மால்வரை பயந்த
கவள யானையின் கழல்பணி வோரே.

eṇṇiya eṇṇiya eytupa kaṇ-nutal
pavaḷa māl varai payanta
kavaḷa yāṉaiyiṉ kaḻal paṇivōr-ē.

[59] Reference is to the goddess Sarasvatī.
[60] So labeled by the editor.
[61] TL pp. 122 and 319.

"They who bow to the anklets [on the feet][62] of the
elephant
with cheeks that produced the great coral mountain
of the god with an eye in his forehead [= Śiva]
will gain whatever they have in mind."

Variants:

Line 1:எண்ணிய **Σ** [யெ]ண்ணிய 199;[63] வெண்ணிய176 178 182 185 187 199 வெண்ணியாங்கு PVM; வெய்துப PVM 178 182 185 199 வெயதுவு 187.

Line 3: கவள PVM 178 182 185 199 கவழ 187; வோரே PVM 178 182 187 199 வொரகெ 185.

Sources:

1. 2nd *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* to the *Purapporuḷveṇpāmālai* (PVM) in some editions: 1912 ed. by UVS, p. க and 2009 ed. by Cāratā Patippakam, p. 2. But it is missing, for example, in the 1924 ed. by UVS, p. க.
2. Indien 176 0r2, 2nd stanza ending with ஒ.
3. Indien 178 0r, 1st stanza ending with --.
4. Indien 182 1r1, 1st stanza ending with ஒ.
5. Indien 185 0r, 1st stanza ending with ஒ.
6. Indien 187 161r1/56r1, 1st stanza ending with ஒ.
7. Indien 199 65r1, 1st stanza ending with ஒ.

The verse will bring to mind *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 666, which opens with *eṇṇiya veṇṇiyāṅku eytupa* "may they obtain what they

[62] At this stage of the language *kaḻal* "anklet" could also simply be translated as foot

[63] The initial *kompu* for *e* is clearly written, but the following consonant has been mostly eaten away.

think of as they think it,"[64] and likely gave rise to the variant in the printed edition of the PVM.

IV.4 Tirumāḷ

> என்றுந் திருமாற்கே யாளாவே னெம்பெருமா
> னென்று மெனக்கே பிரானாவா—னென்றும்
> பிறவாத பேராளன் பேரா யிரமு
> மறவாது வாழ்த்துகவென் வாய்
>
> eṉṟum tirumāṟkē yāḷāvēṉ em perumāṉ
> eṉṟum eṉakkē pirāṉ āvāṉ—eṉṟum
> piṟavāta pēr āḷaṉ pēr āyiramum
> maṟavātu vāḻttuka eṉ vāy.
>
> "I am forever the slave of Tirumāḷ (Viṣṇu).
> My great one, he is forever my lord.
> May my mouth praise, without ever forgetting,
> the thousand names of the birthless one with many names."

Variants:

Line 4: *என்வாய்* UVSL 107 Indien 197 *வாய்* *Pāppāviṉam.*[65]

Sources:

1. Indien 197 1r1f. 1st satellite stanza ending with = *க*= .
2. UVSL 107r3 [C3], 3rd stanza ending with *ஒ*. See Wilden (2014: 183).
3. *Pāppāviṉam*, p. 7 *ciṟappuppāyiram*; based on a typed-in edition available at http://noolaham.net/project/50/4958/4958.html.

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[64] Pope (1990: 93) translates the entire verse as: "Whate'er men think, ev'n as they think, may men obtain, // If those who think can steadfastness of will retain."

[65] The other variant, *வாழ்த்திக*, I take to be a typo.

IV.5 Akattiyar

சந்தனப் பொதியத் தடவரைச் செந்தமிழ்ப்
பரமா சாரியன் பதங்கள்
சிரமேற் கொள்ளுதுந் திகழ்தரற் பொருட்டே.

cantaṉap potiyat taṭa-varai cen tamiḻp
paramācariyaṉ pataṅkaḷ
ciram mēl koḷḷutum tikaḻtaral poruṭṭē.

"We shall place on our head the feet
of the supreme teacher of correct Tamil
from the large Potiyam mountain [fragrant]
with sandalwood so that we may excel."

Variants:

Line 1: பொதிய **Σ** பொகுய 199; செ **Σ** யை → செ 185;[66] தமிழ்ப **Σ** தமிழ்ட 185.

Line 3: திகழ்தரற் **Σ** திகழதரர 185.[67] பொருட்டே Σ பொருடபொட → பொருடடெ 187.

Sources:

1. Indien 176 0r, 5th stanza ending with ఒ.
2. Indien 178 0r (right column), 4th stanza ending with --.
3. Indien 185 0r, 2nd stanza ending with ఒ.
4. Indien 187 161r2f./56r2f., 3rd stanza ending with ఒ.
5. Indien 199 65r3, 3rd verse ending with ఒ.
6. 3rd stanza at the beginning the *Cēṉāvaraiyam* (printed editions) and 4th stanza in TVM 303 0r5f ending with ఒ.

[66] The original letter is not entirely clear. The correction is written above the line but not inked.

[67] The scribe appears to distinguish ర from ◌ర in places where ambiguity could arise, i.e., when ర does not have an added vowel.

7. Quoted by UVS in the introduction to his third edition (*mūṉṟām patippiṉ mukavurai*) of the *Cilappatikāram*, p. ix.

IV.6 Sarasvatī

தவளத் தாமரைத் தாதார் கோயி
லவளைப் போற்றுது மருந்தமிழ் குறித்தே.

tavaḷat tāmarait tātu ār kōyil
avaḷaip pōṟṟutum arum tamiḻ kuṟittē.

"Let us praise her whose temple is filled with white
lotus pollen[68]
for the sake of precious Tamil."

Variants:

Line 2: தமிழ் Σ தமிள 176.

Sources:

1. Indien 176 0r2f., 3rd stanza ending with ஒ, repeated 176r1 [second pagination].
2. Indien 178 0r (right column), 3rd stanza ending with --.
3. Indien 187 161r1f./56r1f., 2nd stanza ending with ஒ.
4. Indien 199 65r2, 2nd stanza ending with ஒ.
5. UVSL 107 [C3], 4th stanza. See Wilden (2014: 183).
6. UVSL 11/98 0r2, 3rd stanza ending with ஒ.
7. 3rd stanza to the *Cēṉāvarāyam* in printed editions and TVM 303 0r4f.
8. Printed in some editions of the *Puṟapporuḷveṇpāmālai* as the 4th *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*

[68] A reference to Sarasvatī.

IV.7 My heavy heart (Gaṇeśa)

தன்றோ ணான்கி னொன்று கைம்மிகூஉங்
களிறுவளர் பெருங்கா டாயினு
மொளிபெரிது சிறந்தன் றளியவென் னெஞ்சே.

taṉ tōḷ nāṉkiṉ oṉṟu kai mikūum
kaḷiṟu vaḷar perum kāṭu āyiṉum
oḷi peritu ciṟant' aṉṟu aḷiya eṉ neñcu-ē.

"My heart, in need of grace, thrives with a great light,
does it not?
though it be the large jungle of the bull elephant
who has a "hand"[69] in addition to his four shoulders."

Variants:

Line 1: தன்றோ **Σ** தனறெ 170; மிகூஉங் **Σ** மீகூஉங 170.

Line 2: காடாயினு **Σ** கர்அடாயினு 170.

Line 4: றளியவென் **Σ** றயவெண 170; னெஞ்சே **Σ** டுனசே 170.

Sources:

1. Indien 170 0v1, 1st stanza.[70]
2. UVSL 11/98 0r1, ending with ஊ.
3. *Iḷampūraṇam* ad TC 359i (8.50).
4. 1st stanza to *Cēṉāvaraiyam* (printed editions).
5. Quoted by Kaṇēcaiyar as a *viṉāyakak kaṭavuḷ vaṇakkam* ("obeisance to the god Gaṇeśa") in his edition of the *Poruḷatikāram* with the *Pērāciriyam*, 1943, p. v.

[69] That is to say, a trunk. Cf. Skt. *karin* "the handed animal, elephant."

[70] The stanza ends with no punctuation mark and the beginning of Āttirēyar's *potuppāyiram* to the *Tolkāppiyam* is cited immediately afterward.

6. The first line is cited by T. V. Gopal Iyar in TIPA vol. 5, p. 147 as it contains an example of a *nittiya-camācam*, namely, *oṉṟukai*.

IV.8 To Murukaṉ

தாமரை புரையுங் காமர் சேவடிப்
பவளத் தன்ன மேனித் திகழொளி
குன்றி யேய்க்கு முடுக்கைக் குன்றி
னெஞ்சுபக வெறிந்த செஞ்சுடர் நெடுவேற்
சேவலங் கொடியோன் காப்ப
வேம வைக லெய்தின்றா லுலகே.

tāmarai puraiyum kāmar cēv-aṭip
pavaḷatt' aṉṉa mēṉit tikaḻ oḷi
kuṉṟi ēykkum uṭukkaik kuṉṟiṉ
neñcu paka eṟinta cem cuṭar neṭu vēl
cēval am koṭiyōṉ kāppa
ēmam vaikal eytiṉṟāl ulakē.

“Desirable feet red like lotus flowers,
a body like coral, a glittering light,
a cloak like the *kuṉṟi*-seed,
a long spear—shining red—cast
to penetrate the heart of the mountain;
[with these] the one bearing a cock on his beautiful banner
protects, so the world has, without doubt,
obtained days of joy.”

Variants:

Line 1: சேவடிப் KT 0, TVM 303, *Iḷampūraṇam* சேவடி 178.

Line 3: குன்றி **Σ** குளறி 178.

Line 4: செஞ்சுடர் 178 வஞ்சுடர் KT 0, TVM MS 303, *Iḷampūraṇam*.[71]

Sources:

1. KT 0.
2. *Iḷampūraṇam* ad TP 384i (8.75).[72]
3. Indien 178 0r, 2nd stanza ending with a dash.
4. TVM 303 0[1]r2–4, 2nd stanza = M2 in Chevillard (2008: 25) ending with ஒ.

IV.9 Ñāṉatēcikaṉ

தென்றா மகிழ்த்தொடையலு மவுலியுந் திருக்கிளர்
குழைக்காதுங்
கான்றா மலர்ததிரு முகச்சோதியுங் கயிரவத்து வரவாயு
மோனமாகிய வடிவமு மார்பமு முத்திரைத் திருக்கையு
ஞானத் தேசிகன் சரணதாமரையு மென்னயனம்
விட்டகலாவே.

teṉṟā makiḻt toṭaiyalum mavuliyum tiruk kiḷar kuḻaik
kātum
kāṉṟā malart tiru mukac-cōtiyum kayiravattu vara-
vāyum
mōṉam ākiya vaṭivamum mārppum muttirait
tirukkaiyum
ñāṉattēcikaṉ caraṇa-tāmaraiyum eṉ nayanam
viṭṭakalā-ē.

“The lotus feet of Ñāṉatēcikaṉ will never leave my eyes,
nor his unbroken garland of *makiḻ*-flowers, nor his
crown,
nor his ears with beautiful, shining earrings,
nor the light of his lovely face like a *kāṉṟai* (?) flower,

[71] See Wilden (2010 vol. I: 78) for further variants in the manuscripts of the KT.
[72] The first line is quoted ad TP 274i (7.3), 277i (7.6), and 320i (8.11).

nor his excellent mouth [like] a water-lily, nor his silent form,
nor his chest, nor his sacred hands formed into auspicious gestures."

Sources:

1. *kāppu* to the *Iraṇiyavataipparaṇi*.
2. Indien 169 0r1–3, ending with ஒ.
3. ORIML 22903 0r1–3, ending with a dash (damaged on right edge).

IV.10 To Gaṇeśa

நல்ல சொற்பொரு ணாளு நடாத்தவு
மெல்லை காணரும் பேரின்ப மெய்தவும்
வெல்லு மானை முகத்தினை மேவிவாழ்
வல்லபைக் குரியானை வழுத்துவாம்.

nalla col poruḷ nāḷum naṭāttavum
ellai kāṇ arum pēriṉpam eytavum
vellum āṉai mukattiṉai mēvi vāḻ
vallapaikkuriyāṉai vaḻuttuvām.

"So that we may perpetuate good sound and sense,[73]
and obtain supreme bliss whose limits cannot be seen,
may we worship the one belonging to prosperous Vallabhā,[74]
who hastaken the face of the conquering elephant."

Sources:

1. TVM 303 0r8–9, 5th introductory verse.
2. *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* (Vināyakar) to the *Piramottarakāṇṭam*.
3. *Pāla Pōtiṉi*, p. 1. First *tottirap pāṭalkaḷ* to Viṉāyakar.

[73] The commentator to the *Piramottarakāṇṭam* glosses *naṭāttavum* with *uṇarntu kavikaḷ pāṭavum* "so that poetics understand and sing".
[74] Vallabhā is Ganesh's consort.

IV.11 Revelation

பாராத கல்விப் பிரபந்தப் பொருளனைத்து
நேராக முன் வந்து நிற்குமே—தேராது
தே வீறு கொண்ட திருமாலை முத்தமிழ்
தேர்நா வீறனைத்துதித்த நாள்.

pārāta kalvip pirapantap poruḷ aṉaittum
nērāka muṉ vantu niṟkum-ē—tērātu
tē vīṟu koṇṭa tirumālai muttamiḻ
tērnāvīṟaṉai tutitta nāḷ.[75]

"The entire meaning of the unseen scientific treatise will come directly before [us] without studying it on the day on which [we] worship the man who possesses the power of studied speech [Nammāḻvār] with triple Tamil, a garland of excellent honey."[76]

Variants:

Line 1: பிரபந்த UVSL 107 பிறபநத ORIML 22903.

Owing to damage on the right side of the leaf, ORMIL 22903 is missing the text between *vantu* and *vīṟu aṉaittu*.

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[75] Wilden (2014: 182)'s interpretation of the line as *tērnar vīr' aḻaitt'utitta nāḷ* seems unlikely. The form *tērnar* as an agent noun derived from *tērtal* like *aṟiñar* appears to be without parellel, whereas *nāvīṟu* "power of speech" is well attested and the noun *nāvīṟaṉ* is a name of Nammāḻvār. Furthermore, although அளைதது in UVSL 107 is in need of emendation,it is more likely that in this instance the scribe confused or misread the graphically similar letters for *ḷ* and *ṉ* rather than mixing up *ḷ* and *ḻ* on the basis of pronunciation. I am very thankful to Suganya Anandakichenin for helping me to make sense of the verse.

[76] I remain uncertain about *tē vīṟu koṇṭa tirumālai*. Based on form alone, *tirumālai* could either be "the sacred garland" with no case ending or the accusative of Tirumāl (Viṣṇu). In the former case, it would stand in apposition to *muttamiḻ*, i.e., Tamil used like a garland in worship; with the accusative, however, we would need to supply another verb, such as "to honor", and tē would need to be "god, divinity": "Nammāḻvār having honored Tirumāl who has excellent divinity". I prefer the first interpretation.

Sources:

1. ORIML 22903 1r3–4, ending with a dash.
2. UVSL 107 1r—2, ending with ఒ. Cf. Wilden (2014: 182f.).

IV.12 To Gaṇeśa

பிஞ்சுமதிச் சடாமகுடப் பெருமானைப் பிரியாத
வஞ்சி யிமவான் றவத்து வரும்பேடை மயிலுதவு
மஞ்சிறைவண்டிறைத்துவிழுமருவிமதமெழுகுகவுட்
குஞ்சரவெம் புகர்முகத்துக் குரிசிலடி யிணைதொழுவாம்.

piñcumatic caṭāmakuṭap perumāṉaip piriyāta
vañci imavāṉ tavattu varum pēṭai mayil utavum
am ciṟai vaṇṭu iraittu viḻum aruvi matam oḻuku kavuḷ
kuñcara vem pukarmukattuk kuricil aṭi iṇai toḻuvām.

"We worship the pair of feet of the Leader who has the angry/hot spotted face of an elephant on whose cheeks flow a waterfall of rut juice where buzzing bees[77] with pretty wings descend; him whom the peahen [Pārvatī] gave [birth to]; she who comes through the ascetic power of [her father] Himalaya, the vine[78] that never leaves the great lord with the young moon and matted locks."

Variants:

Line 2: தவத்து TVM 303 தவத்தின் PK; வரும் TVM 303 வரு PK.

Line 3: இரைத்து PK இறைத்து TVM 303.

Line 4: முகத்துக் PK முகத்து[?] TVM 303.

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[77] The commentator glosses *iraittu* as *icai pāṭik koṇṭu*. The variant in the manuscript, *iṟaittu*, seems less likely as the verb *iṟaittal* is usually transitive. Cf. TL s.v. இறை[5]-*த்தல்*.

[78] Her body is slender and lithe like a vine.

Sources:

1. TVM 303
2. *kaṭavuḷvāḻttu* (*Kaṇapati*) to the *Piramōttarakaṇṭam*.

IV.13 To Sarasvatī

> பொத்தகம் படிக மாலை குண்டிகை பொருள் சேர் ஞான
> வித்தகம் தரித்த செங்கை விமலையை அமலை தன்னை
> மொய்த்தகொந் தளக பார முகிழ்முலைத் தவளமேனி
> மைத்தகு கருங்கட் செவ்வா யணங்கினை வணங்கல்
> செய்வாம்.
>
> pottakam paṭika mālai kuṇṭikai poruḷ cēr ñāṉa
> vittakam taritta ceṅkai vimalaiyai amalai taṉṉai
> moytta kontu aḷaka pāram mukiḻ-mulait tavaḷa-mēṉi
> mait taku karuṅ-kaṇ cevvāy aṇaṅkiṉai vaṇaṅkal ceyvām.
>
> "We make a bow to the lady with a red mouth, eyes black with kajal, a white body, budding breasts, a mass of curls with clusters [of flowers] swarming [with bees], that spotless and pure goddess with generous hands, that hold a book, chaplet of crystals, a pitcher, and skill in meaningful knowledge."

Sources:

1. *Kampaṉ Irāmāyaṇam*, *taṉiyaṉ* 12 to *Kalaimakal* "Sarasvatī."
2. Indien 197 1r2–4, endig with = ஒ= .

IV.14 Śiva and Family

> மதிபாய் சடைமுடித்து மாசுணப் பைம்பூட்டுச்
> சதிபாய் குறுந்தாட்டுத் தான – நதிபா
> யிருகவுட்டு முக்கட்டு நால்வாய்த்தென் னுள்ள
> முருகவிட்டு நின்ற வொளி.

mati pāy caṭai-muṭittu mācuṇap-paimpūṭṭuc
catipāy kuṟun-tāṭṭut tāṉa – nati pāy
iru kavuṭṭu muk-kaṭṭu nāl vāyttu eṉ ṉuḷḷam
uruka viṭṭu niṉṟa oḷi.

"What has matted locks where the moon has settled, what has a snake for its golden armband, what has short dancing feet, what has two cheeks where flows a river of rut juice, what has three eyes, what has a hanging jaw [trunk], is the light that was emitted so that my heart melts."

Variants:

Line 3: தென் னுள்ள 176, TVM 303 தெனுள்ள *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai*.

Sources:

1. Indien 176 0r1, 1st stanza ending with ఒ; Indien 176 1r1–2, [second pagination at the beginning of the *eḻuttatikāram*], 1st stanza ending with ఒ.
2. TVM 303 0r1–2, 1st stanza = M1 in Chevillard (2008: 24).[79]
3. 3rd *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* in the *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai*.

IV.15 Gaṇeśa

வேக மாநெறி சேரும் வினைகளுந்
தாக போகம் விடாத தளர்ச்சியுஞ்
சோக வாரியி னால்வரு துன்பமும்
போக வானை முகத்தனைப் போற்றுவாம்.

vēkam ā neṟi cērum viṉaikaḷum
tāka pōkam viṭāta taḷarcciyum
cōkavāriyiṉāl varum tuṉpamum
pōka āṉai mukattaṉaip pōṟṟuvām.

[79] See *loc. cit.* n. 55 for other possible modern sources.

"Let us praise the elephant headed one so that
Our karma, which speedily reaches the path (to salvation) may depart,
As well as our frailty by which desire and enjoyment is not abandoned,
And our distress that comes with tears of misery."

Variants:

Line 1:சேரு TVM 303 சேரும் CP.

Line 4:வானை TVM 303 யானை CP.

Sources:

1. TVM 303 0r10–11, ending with நனறாக ஒ.
2. *Kāppu* to *Civarāttiri Purāṇam*, p. 1.[80]

[80] The author is Nellainātar and the work was published in 1881. Cf. LTL p. 492.

V Appendix

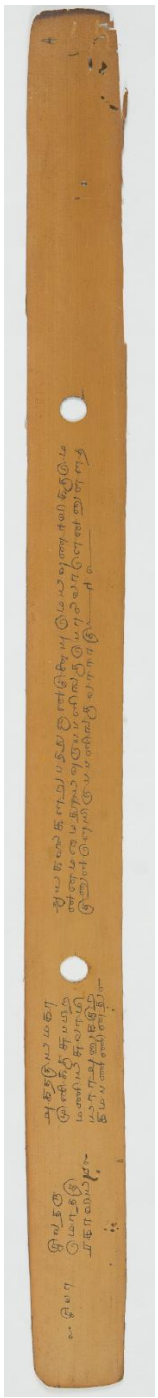

Image 1: guard leaf of Indien 12.

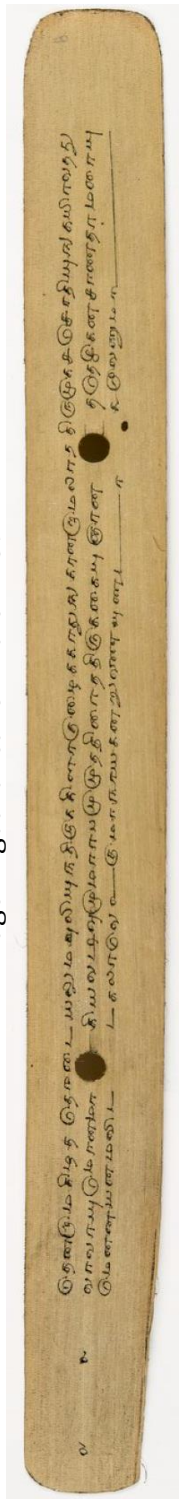

Image 2: guard leaf of Indien 169

Image 3: f. 1r of Indien 170.

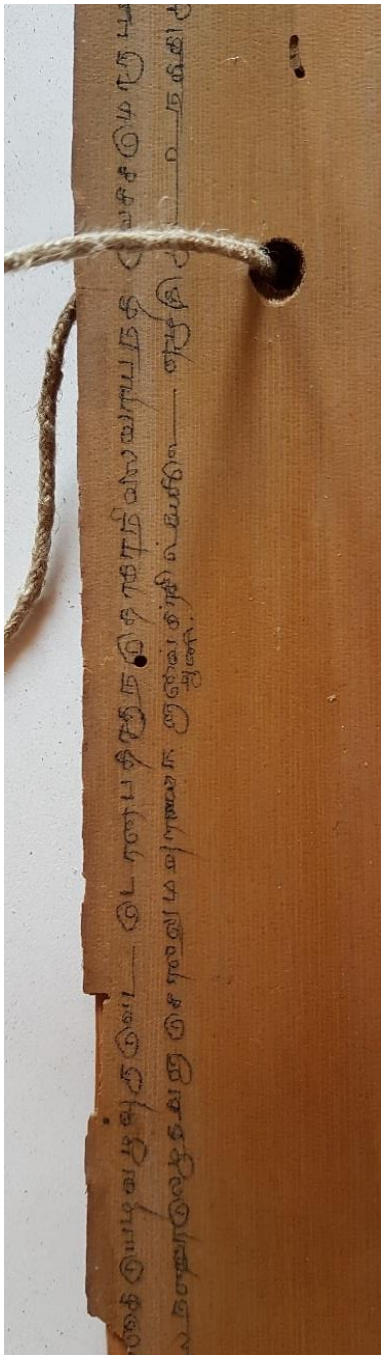

Image 4: Altered Colophon to Indien 176 on f.149r

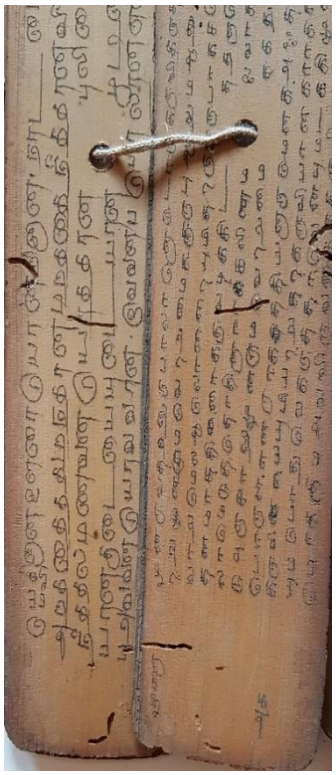

Image 5: Indien 176, ff. 80r and 81r.

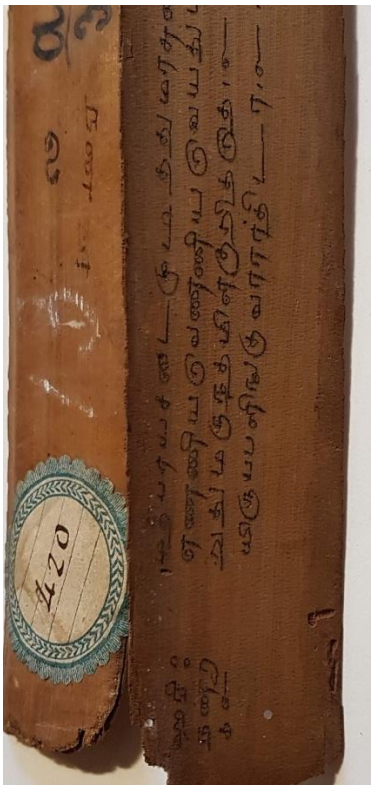

Image 6: Indien 176, unnumbered guard leaf.

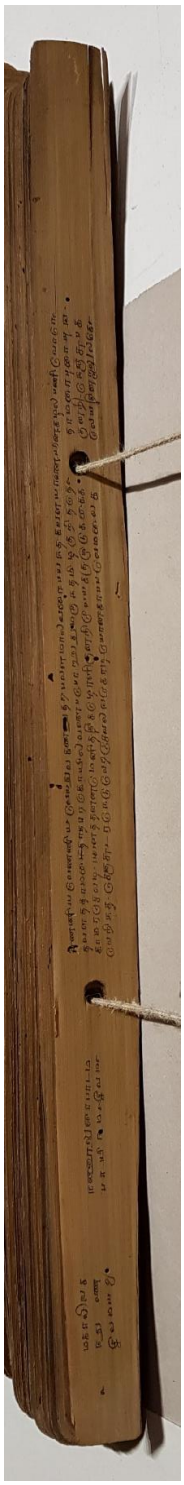

Image 7: Indien 177, unnumbered guard leaf.

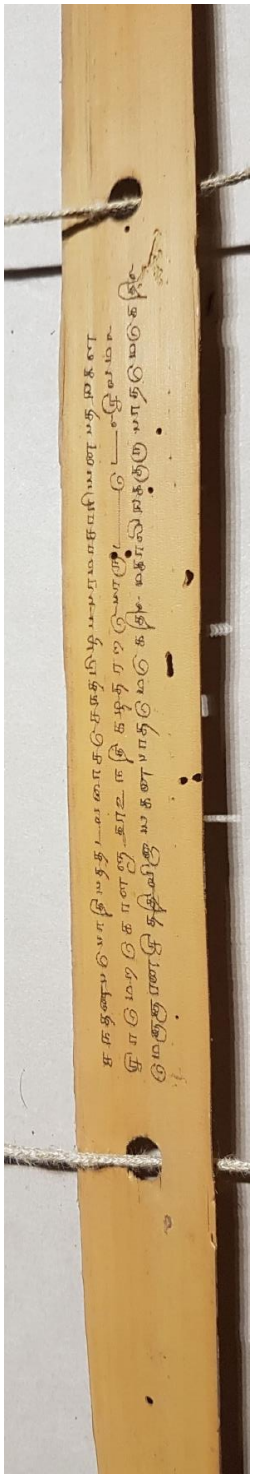

Image 8: Verse of guard leaf to Indien 177.

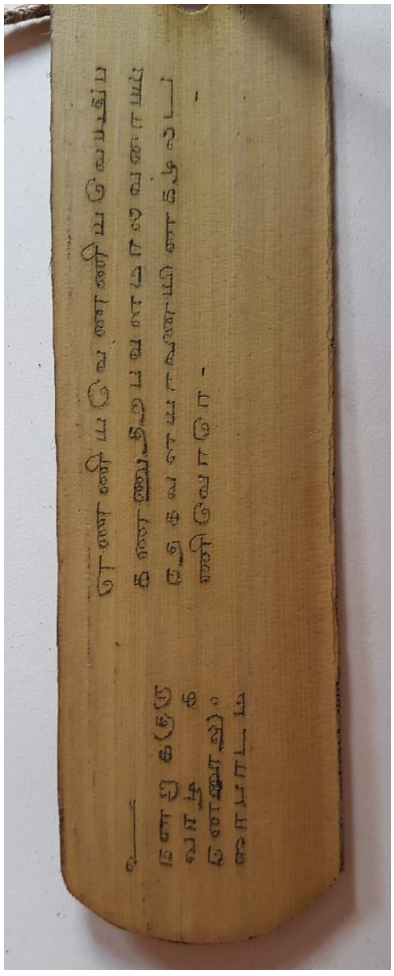

Image 9: Left side of guard leaf to Indien 178.

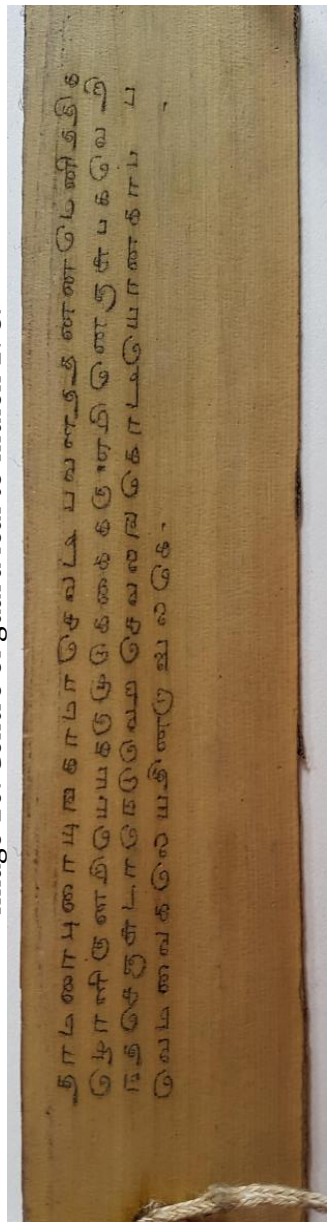

Image 10: Centre of guard leaf to Indien 178.

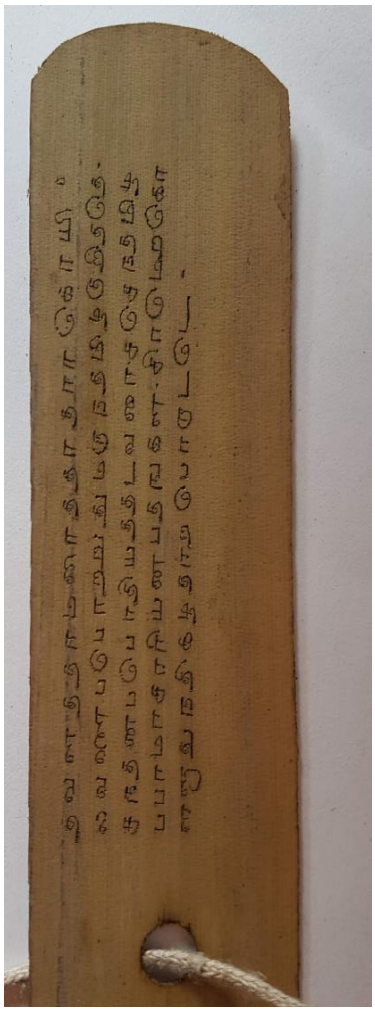

Image 11: Right side of guard leaf to Indien 178.

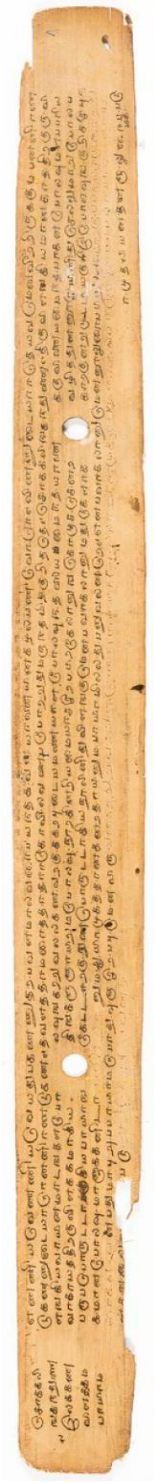

Image 12: f. 1r of Indien 182.

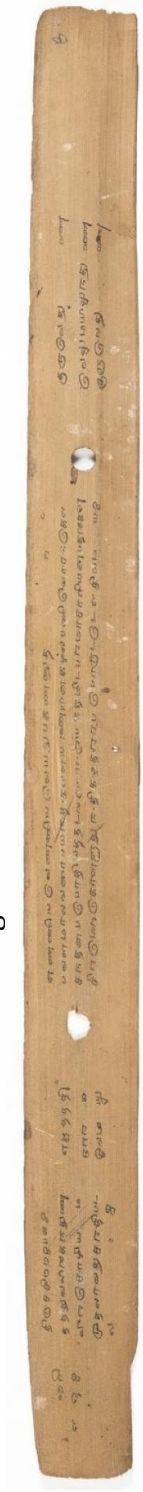

Image 13: Guard leaf to Indien 185.

Image 14: f. 1r of Indien 187.

Image 15: f. 1r of Indien 197.

Image 16: f. 65r of Indien 199.

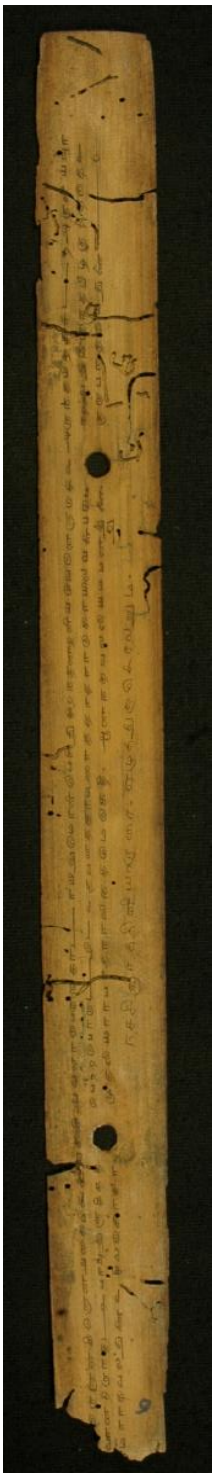

Image 17: Guard leaf to UVSL 11/98.

Image 18: first folio of ORIML 22903.

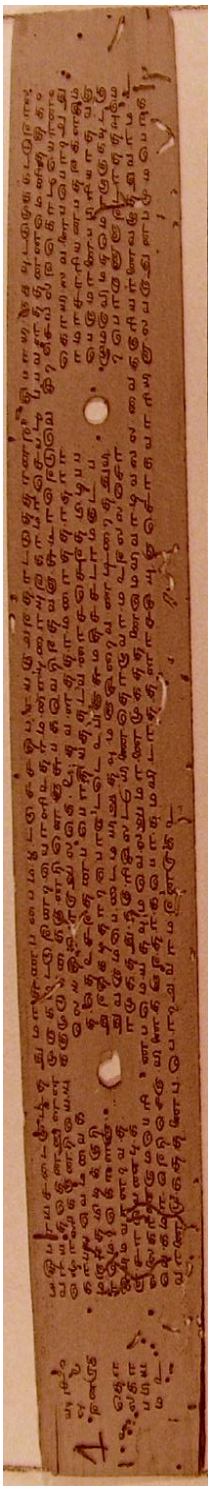

Image 19: Guard leaf to TVM 303.

VI. Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France.
i	With the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar.
kaḻakam	The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society.
LTL	*Lexicon of Tamil Literature* by Kamil Zvelebil.
m	With the commentary of Mayilainātar.
MBh	*Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.
n	With the commentary of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar.
ORIML	Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library, Thiruvananthapuram.
TE	*Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttatikāram*.
TC	*Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram*.
TVM	Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātiṉam.
UVSL	Dr. U. Ve. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Chennai.
YAKu	Commentary (*urai*) to the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*
YAv	Commentary (*virutti*) to the *Yāpparuṅkalam*.

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Stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*: What for?

Emmanuel Francis (CNRS)

Abstract

This paper is a preliminary survey of the additional stanzas of the Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, a poem possibly dated to the 7th c., which tradition holds as the first of the Pattuppāṭṭu of the Caṅkam corpus and as one hymn of the Śaiva Bhakti in the 11th Tirumuṟai. Additional stanzas are not part of the root-text (mūlam) and are found in the manuscripts, before or after the mūlam. The present survey is based on 55 manuscripts of the Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, 41 of which contain at least one additional stanza, for a total 39 different stanzas. Basic questions will be addressed. What is the frequency of each individual stanza? In which part of the manuscript are these stanzas found? How is the lay-out of the manuscript and of the page adapted to accommodate these stanzas? How is, from the codicological point of view, the transition made between the stanzas and the text? What is the content of the stanzas? Can we identify different types of stanzas? According to the analysis of their content, what are the different functions played by these stanzas?

Tamil texts transmitted in the manuscript culture often come with stanzas that most probably are later additions to the text, that is non-auctorial paratexts in Genette's terms.[1] These additions are important as they show how the work was circulated, received, and perused by its audience at different periods. As the Indian climate is not favourable to palm-leaf manuscripts, what we have in our hands is only relatively

[1] For a definition of paratext (in the sense of Genette) applied to Tamil manuscripts, see Wilden (2017b: 164)

recent: the manuscripts are hardly older than one or two centuries when kept in India, a little more for those that entered early European collections. Some stanzas recorded in those extant manuscripts, however, might be older than the artefacts that transmit them.

Such stanzas have been described as "satellite" or "mnemonic" stanzas by Eva Wilden (2014, 2017a, 2017b, forthc.). From her survey, it has already emerged that the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*—a devotional hymn to the god Murukaṉ, possibly dated to the 7th c., which is a part of two different canons, the Caṅkam corpus as one of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, and the Śaiva Bhakti devotional hymns as part of the 11th *Tirumuṟai*—is the one endowed with the highest number of stanzas among the Caṅkam texts.

What follows is only a groundwork as it is based on a preliminary survey of 55 manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟup-paṭai*. I will address basic questions concerning the additional stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. ***How often?*** How many manuscript testimonies do transmit stanzas? How many per manuscript? What is the frequency of each individual stanza? ***When?*** and ***Who?*** What is the date of these stanzas in respect to the *mūlam* (root-text) and/or the *urai* (commentary) they supplement? Who composed these stanzas? Are they auctorial, that is composed by the author of the text (Naṟkīrar/Nakkīrar according to the tradition), or apocryphal, that is the work of a scribe or of an anonymous composer recorded by a scribe? What are the means at our disposal to determine this? ***Where?*** and ***How?*** In which part of the manuscript are these stanzas found? How is the lay-out of the manuscript and of the page adapted to accommodate these stanzas? In which manner are they demarcated from the text? How is, from the codicological point of view, the transition made between the stanzas and the text? ***What?*** and ***Why?*** What is the content of the stanzas? Can

we identify different types of stanzas? According to the analysis of their content, what are the different functions played by these stanzas?

1. Stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*: Definition

By stanzas, I mean all metrical portions (be it a single stanza or a group of stanzas) that frame a text of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (be it the root-text, Tamil *mūlam*, or a commentary, *urai*, *lato sensu*, so as also to include glosses) and are in a paratextual relation with it. Placed before or after the "text" [henceforth *text*, which means either *mūlam* or *urai*], they display varying degrees of independence with respect to it. Each stanza is grammatically and semantically self-sufficient and, more or less clearly, visually demarcated from the text. In addition, the metre of these stanzas is not that of the *mūlam*.

Some of these stanzas have found their way into the printed editions of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, for instance in the 1956 *Pattuppāṭṭu* edition by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer [henceforth UVS], where they are given in an appendix, presumably because they are not found in all manuscripts. Other stanzas have, as far as I know, been preserved only in manuscripts, a fact that underlines the importance of collecting, digitising, and examining the extant manuscripts before they disintegrate in the coming decades.

In the Tamil literary context, stanzas and works like the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* are defined as *pāṭṭu*s or *pāṭal*s ("poems"), that is metrical compositions. Stray stanzas, enjoying an independent status, are called *taṉippāṭal*s, "occasional stanzas," or, as translated by Zvelebil (1973: 253) "stray individual poems," and also *taṉiyaṉ*s, for instance in a Vaiṣṇava context (Wilden 2017a: 330).[2] According to Rao &

[2] See also Zvelebil on isolated stanzas (1974: 51–4) and the dichotomy of *taṉi* and *toṭar* (1992: 138ff.).

Shulman (1997: 3, 6, etc.) *taṉippāṭal*s are, in literary theory, free-standing stanzas or narratively unconnected clusters of stanzas, and, in popular usage, remembered poems. These were composed on specific occasions (poets' competitions, for instance), orally remembered, and eventually collected in anthologies. One can thus imagine that a *taṉippāṭal* found its way as an additional stanza into a manuscript of a given work. We stand here at a transitional phase when literature was both written and oral.

The fact that these additional stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* are metrical distinguishes them from what I will call blessings. The latter are short auspicious phrases or homages to a god, of standard format, in prose, rather short compared to the stanzas and found at the beginning, the end, and/or in the margins of manuscripts. Typical for Tamil manuscripts are the phrases *hariḥ oṃ* and *naṉṟāka*.[3] Blessings appear to be, as a rule, scribal paratexts, as such pertaining more to the act of copying the text than to the text itself. As we will see, additional stanzas often do more than simply paying obeisance to a god or attracting auspiciousness. One important aspect of the stanzas, deriving from their metrical nature, is their literary value, in contradistinction to blessings. They are, as we will see, more or less successful attempt to high poetry.

Stanzas from the editions and manuscripts of the texts of the Caṅkam corpus other than the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* have been collected by Wilden (2014: 177–215). Some of these are found only in manuscripts; others, available in printed editions, are no more traceable to any surviving manuscript. Discrepancies may exist in the text of those that are found both

[3] On Tamil blessings as sources about manuscript culture, see Wilden (2009). See also Subramaniam (1996: 173–4) about the association of specific blessings to specific contents. On the preliminary copyists' invocations, including what I call blessings, in the manuscripts of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, see Haag (2009: 219–24).

in manuscripts and editions.[4] Since these stanzas are usually composed in a metre that is different from that of the *mūlam*, Wilden considers them later additions and dates them between the 7th and the 17th c. This description remains valid after my preliminary examination of the extant manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.

The metrical status of the stanzas is sometimes made explicit in the manuscripts, either verbally, in headings, or graphically, by metrically distributing the stanza on the page. In the MS A1*, the *kāppu* (on this type of stanza, see below) is thus announced: *tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai kaṭṭaḷaikkalittuṟai* (left margin of f3r). In G13, we find the headings *ivai veṇpākalittuṟai* (left margin of f51v), announcing the six stanzas to come, and *tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭaiyāṟum veṇpākalittuṟai* (f55r1–2, first column), after the respective texts. In G5*, the six stanzas after the *text* (f16r–18r) are announced on f15v, second column (*ippāl āṟupaṭaikkum āṟuveṇpā*, "Hereafter, six *veṇpā*s for the group of six *paṭai*s"), as well as in the left margin of f16r (*veṇpā*). However, as indicated by the asterisk following both these manuscript sigla, these manuscripts are manuscript copies of printed editions. Such mention of metre, thus, does not originally come from the manuscript culture.

The present survey of additional stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* is based on the examination of the 55 manuscript testimonies of the text, all on palm-leaves, available to me in digital form.[5] These manuscripts provide in total 34 testimonies of the *mūlam* and 29 testimonies of an *urai* (which usually contains quotes of the whole *mūlam*, but arranged in groups of verses, followed by the corresponding

[4] Silent emendations by the editors of the printed editions are not to be excluded.

[5] This digital collection is the result of the efforts started by the EFEO centre in Pondicherry, later joined by the CSMC and NETamil.

urai), as we find manuscripts transmitting only the *mūlam*, only the *urai*, or both. The *text* is found in single-text manuscripts [henceforth STM] or in multiple-text manuscripts [henceforth MTM].[6] Most of these manuscripts date to the 19th c., and none of them seems earlier than the 18th c. We provide an updated list of the manuscripts with their accession numbers in an appendix.

41 out the 55 available manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟup-paṭai* contain at least one additional stanza. The total number of individual additional stanzas found in these 41 manuscripts is 39. The major part of these stanzas (32) is specific to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, that is, they are, as far as I know, not found with other texts. Among these 32 stanzas, 11 are also found in printed editions of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.[7] The remaining seven stanzas are also found in the prefatory matter of printed editions of the *Kantapurāṇam*. This means that our preliminary survey of the 55 extant manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* yields 21 previously unpublished stanzas. Further research might, however, show that some among these 21, like the seven stanzas shared with the *Kantapurāṇam*, are also found with other texts.

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[6] MTM, as their name indicates, comprise two or more different texts and constitute a single codicological unit. This latter characteristic distinguishes them from composite manuscripts, that is manuscripts that comprise two or more different texts, but are made of different codicological units that were joined together at a certain point of time. In the case of the manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, some MTM might in fact be composite manuscripts, but we have not yet been able to examine each individual manuscript in order to assess their exact nature.

[7] The *kāppu* is already found at the beginning of the *editio princeps* (1834) by Caravaṇapperumāḷaiyar. Seven further stanzas are found appended to Āṟumukanāvalar's first edition of the 11th *Tirumuṟai* (1853: 25–6). UVS published these seven stanzas along with three others in his first edition of *Pattuppāṭṭu* (1889: 41–2). To these ten stanzas he added the *kāppu*, possibly already in his third edition (1931, unavailable to me) and certainly in his fifth edition (1956: 82).

The *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, thus, strikingly contrasts with the rest of the Caṅkam works (that is the eight anthologies of short poems, and the other nine long poems), as it has the highest number of additional stanzas and as this number is higher than that obtained for all the other Caṅkam works. How are we to explain this fact?

Firstly, one has to note, that, compared to the 14 stanzas of the *Eṭṭuttokai* (the eight anthologies of short poems) collected by Wilden (2014: 179ff.), the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (the ten long poems) are better endowed, with 19 stanzas (not counting those on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*) collected by Wilden (2014: 198ff.). Still, among the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* stands alone.

Secondly, one must further take into account the fact that the manuscripts (those once used by editors, but now lost, and the extant ones) of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* are much more numerous than those of any other Caṅkam work. In terms of available manuscripts, second to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* with its 55 manuscripts is the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* with 19 surviving manuscripts (8 palm-leaf and 11 paper manuscripts) (Wilden 2014: 179ff.). This circumstance immediately calls for another question: why this second contrast in terms of the number of manuscripts? The fact is that the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* is a much more "popular" text. It is also part of the Śaiva Tamil devotional corpus (as part of the 11th *Tirumuṟai*), and it is used by the Kaumāras (the sect of followers of Murukaṉ as sole main deity) and by the Smārtas (followers of five main brahmanical deities). This popularity also explains why the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* was the first among the Caṅkam texts to be printed (in 1834). If we, however, compare the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* with later texts in print—such as the *Kamparāmāyaṇam*, the *Kantapurāṇam*, or the *Periyapurāṇam*—we find that these, too, have a fairly high number of prefatory stanzas, although, in contrast to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*,

these might in fact be auctorial. The *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, thus, is exceptional only with respect to the other Caṅkam texts, as, in contradistinction to them, it had a larger audience, was more often re-copied, and therefore prone to be endowed with additional stanzas.

The devotional nature of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (shared by only one other Caṅkam work, the *Paripāṭal*, which, however, does not exclusively praise Murukaṉ) and the fact that it therefore belongs to another canon (*Tirumuṟai*) ultimately explain its popularity and, consequently, the high number of its manuscripts as well as of its additional stanzas. As pointed out to me by T. Lehmann, the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* furthermore invites paratexts as it has a practical use as a devotional text, in particular as a *kavacam* (literally "armour", a term also denoting a text which has a protective function).

Let us now examine the additional stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* in figures and tables. Table 1 shows the distribution of the manuscripts with and without additional stanzas according to their content. Remember that one manuscript can contain more than one testimony of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.

Table 1 — Manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* with stanzas according to their content[8]

	Mūlam only	*Urai* only	*Mūlam* & *Urai*
Number of manuscripts (55)	**27**	**19**	**9**
Number of manuscripts ***without*** stanzas (15)	**4**: C10, C14, I3, T1	**11**: C1, C5, C6, C9, G2, G8, G10, P2, Pe1, SM3, SM4	**0**

[8] NB: an asterisk follows the sigla of manuscripts which are copies of printed editions.

	Mūlam only	*Urai* only	*Mūlam* & *Urai*
Number of manuscripts ***with*** stanzas (40)	**23**: A1*, C2, C3, C4, C12, C13, G1, G3, G4, G5, G7, G12, G13, G14, I1, P3, SM2, SM5, T4*, T5, T6, T8, TU1	**8**: C11, G6, G11, I2*, I4, I5, SM1, T3	**9**: C7, C8, G9*, P1, Pe2, T2, T7, TT1, TU2

This table shows that among the 15 manuscripts that do not contain stanzas, four are manuscripts of the *mūlam* only and 11 manuscripts of the *urai* only. One may observe that additional stanzas are almost compulsory with the *mūlam*, since only four of its manuscript testimonies lack them, while all manuscripts transmitting the *mūlam* with an *urai* contain stanzas. Note also that most of the *urai*s transmitted without the *mūlam* (11 out of 19, most of them literary rather than devotional commentaries) do not contain additional stanzas. This seems to be a clear indication that additional stanzas are not as important for a literary *urai* as they are for a *mūlam*, which, it seems, was in the first place transmitted for devotional purposes.

Table 2 shows the number of additional stanzas per manuscript of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. A distinction is made between the *kāppu* and other stanzas. The location of the stanza *vis-à-vis* the *text* (before or after) is indicated.

Table 2 — Number of stanzas per manuscript

MS	Type and content of MS[9]	*Kāppu* (before *text*)	Other stanza(s) (before *text*)	Other stanza(s) (after *text*)	Total of different add. stanzas
A1*	STM: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
C2	MTM: M	Yes	- - -	2	3
C3	MTM: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
C4	STM: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
C7	STM: M+U	Yes	- - -	1	2
C8	MTM: U	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
C11	STM: U	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
C12	STM: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
C13	MTM: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
G1	MTM: M	Yes	1	- - -	2
G3	STM: M	Yes	1	- - -	2
G4	MTM: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
G5	MTM*: M	- - -	- - -	6 [10]	6
G6	STM: U	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
G7	MTM*: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
G9*	MTM*: M+U	- - -	- - -	7	7
G11	STM: U	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
G12	MTM*: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
G13	STM: M	Yes	6[11]	20	27
G14	MTM: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1

[9] NB: an asterisk after MTM indicates that it has not been assessed yet if the manuscript is a MTM or a composite one; M = *mūlam*; U = *urai*.

[10] The sixth stanza (f18r) is written by another hand. There are two further possible stanzas in G5, on f5v (also by another hand and not blackened) and f18v.

[11] These six stanzas are also found in the prefatory matter of printed editions of the *Kantapurāṇam*.

MS	Type and content of MS[9]	*Kāppu* (before *text*)	Other stanza(s) (before *text*)	Other stanza(s) (after *text*)	Total of different add. stanzas
I1	STM: M	Yes[12]	4[13]	- - -	5
I2*	STM: U	- - -	- - -	7	7
I4	MTM: U	- - -	- - -	10	10
I5	MTM: U	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
P1	STM: M+U	Yes	1	- - -	2
P3	MTM: M	Yes	- - -	4	5
Pe2	STM: M+U	Yes	7	- - -	8
SM1	STM: U	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
SM2	MTM: M	Yes	- - -	2	3
SM5	MTM: M	- - -	- - -	2	2
T2	STM: M+U	Yes (twice!)[14]	- - -	2	3
T3	STM: U	Yes	- - -	[15]	1
T4*	MTM*: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
T5	STM: M	Yes	- - -	6	7

[12] In the actual order of the folios (on which folio numbers have been added—probably in the library—to those which were not originally foliated, that is folios 18–20), the *kāppu* is found at the end of the manuscript (f18r, the verso of which is blank). But there are good reasons to believe that this originally was the first folio of the manuscript. Indeed, in other manuscripts, the *kāppu* always comes before the *text*. More significantly, in the left margin of f18r we find a blessing (*hari om*) and the title of the work (*narkkīratēvar aruḷicceyta tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*) whereas on f1a, where the *mūlam* begins, there are only a marginal blessing (*naṉṟāka*) and a section heading (*tirupparaṅkuṉṟam*).

[13] In the actual order of the folios (see preceding footnote), these four stanzas (folios 19–20, originally unfoliated) are also found in the prefatory matter of printed editions of the *Kantapurāṇam*, but it is most probable that they were originally at the beginning, even before the *kāppu*, as in G13.

[14] The *kāppu* is found twice, before the *mūlam* and before the *urai*.

[15] On further stanzas found here at the end of the manuscript (in the actual state of conservation), that are not clearly related to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, even though T3 is a STM, see *infra*, p. 306.

MS	Type and content of MS[9]	*Kāppu* (before *text*)	Other stanza(s) (before *text*)	Other stanza(s) (after *text*)	Total of different add. stanzas
T6	MTM: M	Yes	- - -	6	7
T7	MTM: M+U	Yes	- - -	6	7
T8	MTM: U	Yes	- - -	5	6
TT1	MTM: U+C	Yes (twice!)[16]	- - -	9	10
TU1	STM: M	Yes	- - -	- - -	1
TU2	STM: M	Yes	- - -	6	7

Several observations can be made from table 2. Firstly, the *kāppu* is the most common additional stanza. It is found 36 times in 34 individual manuscripts. It occurs twice in T2 (manuscript of the *mūlam* followed by an *urai*, once before the *mūlam* and once before its *urai*) and TT1 (manuscript with two different *urai*s, before each of the two commentaries). The *kāppu* is always located before the *text* (on the implausible exception in I1, see footnote 12). It is often the only additional

[16] The *kāppu* is found twice, before each of the two commentaries contained in this manuscript. Just before the *kāppu* of the first *urai* (f1r1–3), there is the sentence (f1r1) *attimukattut tamaṉai nittam niṉai cittamē cōtil varu kantaṉ [aṭi]mu[t]tu niṉai cintaiyē*, "O mind, think constantly of the male relative of the elephant-faced one (Gaṇeśa)! O mind, think of the pearls (*muttu*?) (which are the) feet (*aṭi*) of Skanda, who comes in splendour!" As it is not clear if this sentence is metrical (even though there is *etukai*), we do not include it among our additional stanzas, but consider it as a blessing. The same sentence *attimukattut tamaṉai nittam niṉai cittamē* is found on an unfoliated folio in C3, which is a MTM. See also the unfoliated initial folio in T7: *attimukaṉ aṭi nitta niṉaipavar cittiyoṭu paramutti peṟuvarē*, "He who constantly thinks of the feet of the elephant-headed one will obtain final liberation (*paramutti*) along with success/the *siddhi*s (*citti*)." See also the unfoliated folio before the *mūlam* in Pe1, where the sentence is distributed on four lines so as to underline the *etukai*: **(1)** *attimukavaṉai* **(2)** *nittam niṉaipavar* **(3)** *cittiyoṭu para* **(4)** *catti peṟuvarē*, "He who constantly thinks of the elephant-headed one obtains the supreme *śakti* (*paracatti*) along with success/*siddhi*s."

stanza (19 manuscripts). And while 15 manuscripts contain the *kāppu* and at least one more stanza (up to 26 stanzas in the case of G13), only five manuscripts (G5, G9*, I2*, I4, SM5) do not contain the *kāppu*, but contain other stanzas (from two to ten stanzas).

Secondly, the number of stanzas per manuscript varies dramatically.

18 manuscripts (A1*, C3, C4, C8, C11, C12, C13, G4, G6, G7, G11, G12, G14, I5, SM1, T3, T4*, TU1) contain only **one stanza**, in all cases the *kāppu*, which, as we have just seen, always comes before the *text*.

Five manuscripts (C7, G1, G3, P1, SM5) contain **two stanzas**. Except for SM5, one of these is the *kāppu* and the other one is different in each manuscript. In three cases (G1, G3, P1) the *kāppu* is preceded by the other stanza. In one case (C7) the second stanza is found after the *text*. Both stanzas come after the *text* in SM5.

Three manuscripts (C2, SM2, T2) contain **three stanzas**: the *kāppu* and two other stanzas (the same stanzas and in the same order) after the *text*. This description concerns the *mūlam* for T2, followed by an *urai*, which also has the *kāppu* at its beginning.

Two manuscripts (I1, P3) contain **five stanzas**. In I1, all of them are found after the *text* in the actual state of conservation, but it is probable that they were originally found before the *text* (see footnote 13). These are four *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s that are also found with the *Kantapurāṇam*, followed by the *kāppu*. In P3, the four stanzas other than the *kāppu* are found after the *text*.

Two manuscripts (G5, T8) contain **six stanzas**. They are all found after the *text* in G5. In T8, the *kāppu*, as usual, appears before the *text*, while the five other stanzas come after the *text*.

Six manuscripts (G9*, I2*, T5, T6, T7, TU2) contain **seven stanzas**: the same set of seven and in the same order, after the *text*, in G9* and I2*; the *kāppu* and an almost identical series of six stanzas, after the *text*, in T5 and TU2.

One manuscript (Pe2) contain **eight stanzas**, all before the *text*.

Two manuscripts (I4, TT1) contain **ten stanzas**: all after the *text* in I4; the *kāppu* before each of the two *urai*s in TT1, and nine after the first *urai*. Note that in both manuscripts, the ten stanzas do not exactly match the series edited by UVS.

One manuscript (G13) yields a total of **27 stanzas**: seven before the *text*, i.e. six *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s, which are also found with the *Kantapurāṇam* (f40r–f40v), followed by the *kāppu* (f41r1–4), and 20 after the *text* (f51v–54v6), the last one also being found in the *pāyiram* of the *Kantapurāṇam*.

Thirdly, if the *kāppu* is not taken into account, the stanzas are generally added after the *text* (16 manuscripts) rather than before (five manuscripts). G13, exceptional with its 27 additional stanzas, is the only manuscript that contains stanzas both before and after the *text*.

2. Frequency

Let us now examine the frequency with which each individual stanza (referred to below by its initial words, except for the *kāppu*, as it named as such in some manuscripts) occurs.

The most commonly found stanza is, as already mentioned, the *kāppu*, with 36 occurrences in 34 different manuscripts (it occurs twice in T2 and TT1, which are MTMs), always before the *text*.

At the other extreme, we have 14 stanzas attested only once, none of which are known to UVS. Among these 14, eight are found only in G13 (after the *text*, along with other stanzas[17]), two only in I4 (after the *text*, along with other stanzas[18]), while four stanzas are found only once in four different manuscripts.[19]

The table 3 comprises the stanzas attested between two to 16 times.

[17] *amarar payam*, *āṟumukam eṉpēṉ*, *vēlai*, *ōr āṟu*, *nāṉ poy*, *etu viṉai vantālum*, *karuṇai poḷi*, *āvator kāḷai*.

[18] *teṉṟaṟku*, *iṅk' ār ulakattu*.

[19] *aṉṉaipakai* (C7, after the *text*), *vēṇṭiya* (G3, before the *text*, on a front unfoliated folio), *niṉṟ{lost}* (T5, after the *text*), *tiruma[k]a[ḷ]* (TT1, after the *text*). The former two stanzas are found in isolation, the latter two along with other stanzas.

Table 3 — Stanzas of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* occurring between two to 16 times.

Stanza's beginning		C 2	G 1	G 5	G9	G 13	I 1	I2	I 4	I 5	P 1	P 3	Pe 2	S M 2	S M 5	T 2	T 3	T 5	T 6	T 7	T 8	T U 2	T T 1	
kuṉṟam eṟintamai	UVS # 2[i]	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y	Y			Y		Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	16
kuṉṟam eṟintāy	UVS # 1	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y	Y			Y		Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	16
añcu	UVS # 6			Y	Y	Y		Y	Y										Y				Y	7
iṉṉam	UVS # 4			Y	Y	Y		Y	Y													Y	Y	7
naṟkīrar	UVS # 10					Y			Y		Y	Y										Y	Y	6
kākka	UVS # 8			Y		Y													Y	Y			Y	5
vīravēl	UVS # 3				Y	Y		Y										Y			Y			5
mūvirumukaṅkaḷ	KPP 3[ii]					Y							Y					Y			Y			4
paraṅkuṉṟiṟ	UVS # 9									Y		Y								Y			Y	4
vēlumayilum									Y									Y		Y	Y			4

[i] The figure following "#" refers to the rank of the stanza in the series edited by UVS in his *Pattuppāṭṭu* (1956).
[ii] KPP = *Kantapurāṇam*, *Pāyiram*.

āṟutirumukamum				Y					Y										Y					3
cūralaivāy	KPKV 13[iii]					Y	Y						Y											3
irupparaṅk(u)	KPKV 12					Y	Y						Y											3
kāvinaṉkuṭi	KPKV 14					Y	Y						Y											3
nīrakattē	KPKV 15					Y	Y						Y											3
pālai																			Y	Y			Y	3
eḻamutira	KPKV 17					Y							Y											2
irukai						Y			Y															2
kālaṉ						Y																Y		2
kuṉṟ' eṟinta						Y																Y		2
murukaṉē	UVS # 7				Y			Y																2
oṉṟu torāṭalai	KPKV 16					Y							Y											2
ulakam uvappa			Y			Y																		2
uṉṉai	UVS # 5				Y			Y																2

[iii] KPKV = *Kantapurāṇam*, *Kaṭavuḷ Vāḻttu*.

From this table, one can observe that we have 16 attestations for two stanzas, seven attestations for two other stanzas, six attestations for one stanza, five attestations for two stanzas, four attestations for three stanzas, three attestations for six stanzas and two attestations for two stanzas. Note that most of the stanzas edited by UVS are among the most frequently attested.

With the help of table 3, it is also possible to identify families of manuscripts.[20] For instance, C2 and T2 contain the same couple of stanzas after the *text*. I2* and G9*, both of which are manuscript copies of printed editions, contain the same series at their end: this match helps, together with other arguments (Francis 2017), to confirm that G9* also is a manuscript copy of a printed book. It also appears that G13, even with its exceptional number of additional stanzas, still lacks some stanzas that are attested in other manuscripts. There is a possibility that G13 is related to I1, since the former also contains the four stanzas that are otherwise only found in the latter.

3. When? Who?

Our manuscripts, most of them not older than 200 years, are copies of copies. It is thus difficult to assess the date of the additional stanzas vis-à-vis the *mūlam*. Wilden (2017a: 322) has pointed out the oral/aural context of transmission, to which such stray stanzas might originally have belonged, finding eventually their way in the manuscripts. But a fact seems clear: even if old, a text used by a restricted community has a few additional stanzas only. We have hypothesised, considering that the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* is part of the Śaiva canon and a base-text of the devotion to Murukaṉ, that its high

[20] For the examination of discrepant *maṅgala* stanzas for establishing a *stemma codicum*, see Maas (2008)

number of stanzas as compared to other texts of the Caṅkam corpus reflects its enduring popularity all through the second millennium.

In all probability, the additional stanzas to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* are not auctorial, but have been added later, when such prefatory matter became usual for texts. In fact, early Indian texts (treatises, *kāvya*) are devoid of auspicious beginnings (*maṅgala*).[21] For instance, several of the Caṅkam anthologies were later furnished with an initial invocation (*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*) attributed to Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār (see Wilden 2014: 9ff., 149ff.).

Can we suppose that the more often a stanza is attested, the *kāppu* for instance, the more ancient it is? It might well be the case, but in fact we cannot rule out that this stanza became ubiquitous only in the later centuries of manuscript transmission.

The question of date is apparently clear concerning the stanzas that are also found in the printed editions of the *Kantapurāṇam* (15th c.?). One would at first sight conclude that they were borrowed from the *Kantapurāṇam* and thus are later than the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (7th c.?).[22] But the question of the direction of borrowing remains open and should be assessed by a closer examination, yet to be conducted, of the manuscripts of the *Kantapurāṇam*.

As for the other stanzas, which are, as far as we know, only found in *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* manuscripts, there are reasons to believe that they are not auctorial and therefore later than the *mūlam*.

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[21] See Tieken (2014: 88), Varadachari (1962: 28), Minkowski (2008: 14–5, on the belief that when a text misses an auspicious beginning, it means that the author did the invocation mentally).

[22] This contrasts with the practice in print culture, where epigraphs are regularly quotations from earlier texts.

Firstly, not all manuscripts contain such stanzas. The *kāppu* is exceptional in the sense that it is attested 36 times in 34 different manuscripts. It is thus exceptionally well attested and therefore might have been added at an early period. Such a view is substantiated by the fact that the two extant manuscripts of Parimēlaḻakar's *urai* (C11 and TT2) considered the *kāppu* worth a commentary. For the second most represented stanzas (occurring "only" 16 times), the frequency argument is less relevant. Although one may consider the high frequency as a hint for an early addition, one has to bear in mind that manuscript transmission is a human operation, rather than a mechanical one. The inclusion of a stanza was left to the choice of the scribe (if the stanzas were present in the copied manuscripts), his knowledge of orally transmitted stanzas relevant to the *mūlam*, or even his poetical imagination (in case the scribe, or the person who recited the text for him to copy, added a stanza of his own composition).

Secondly, the additional stanzas are in a different metre (*veṇpā* or *kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai*) compared to that of the *mūlam*, which consists of 317 lines of *āciriyappā*. As their name indicates, they are structured in stanzas (four metrical lines), a format unattested in Caṅkam literature and belonging to a later stage of the Tamil literary tradition. Even though these metres already existed when the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* was supposedly composed (i.e. ca. 7th c.), the contrast with the metre of the *mūlam* might be telling.[23]

Thirdly, some additional stanzas betray linguistic usages (grammatical, lexical) that are later than the date of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. Relatively recent words are found, for instance *tericaṉam* (Sanskrit *darśana*) in the stanza *ōr āṟu*

[23] The validity of this argument is strengthened in the case of texts of the earlier strata of the Caṅkam corpus, when these "new" metres had not yet been invented.

(G13). One cannot, however, rule out that the language of the text has been modernised in the course of the transmission process.

I add that some of the stanzas evince spoken forms of Tamil. This might mean firstly that they were originally oral poems, transmitted orally and recorded from oral memory, but also, secondly, that they were recorded in order to be recited with the *mūlam*. However, as the *mūlam* also sometimes shows such spoken forms, no conclusion can really be made on the basis of the language.

None of these arguments is *per se* sufficient to prove that the stanzas are later than the *mūlam*, but taken together, they tend to confirm this view.

Finally, the examination of the way the stanzas are demarcated from the text might provide a hint concerning their date vis-à-vis the text. When they are, from the codicological point of view, in close continuity with the text (on the same folio, or on a folio with continuous foliation) we might conclude that, at this stage, they were considered an integral part of the text. When there is no such continuity—for instance when the stanzas stand on unfoliated separate folios—or when the script is from a different hand,[24] we might suspect that the stanza is a later addition by the scribe, the text-reciter, or a later user. In the case of stanzas from another hand, suppose that such a manuscript is copied entirely, the difference in hand would disappear and the stanzas would appear more integral to the text than in the master manuscript.

As for authorship, additional stanzas can be auctorial (i.e. composed by the author of the *mūlam* himself) or non-

[24] We have several instances of stanzas from another hand: one stanza in C7 (p. 85), one in G3 (unfoliated front folio) and one (the sixth of the six *veṇpā*s announced in a marginal heading) in G5 (f18r).

auctorial. When considered auctorial, they are printed in the editions at the beginning of the text. In Tamil printed texts, they are often introduced with an intertitle, the origin of which (editor's addition or manuscript heading?) is difficult to assess. When considered non-auctorial, as they are not found in all manuscripts, they are edited in an appendix.

As a rule, the manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* do not provide authors for the additional stanzas. If one accepts the above reasoning about their dates, there is no question that they were auctorial: the scribe either composed them or recorded oral compositions. In that respect, the additional stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* differ from the invocatory stanzas (Sanskrit *maṅgala*, Tamil *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*) of certain works, which are considered auctorial.

Occasionally, we get some hints about the status of additional stanzas as acknowledged in the manuscript transmission, as in the above-mentioned cases when the *kāppu* is also commented upon: the commentator considered it integral to the text, maybe to the extent that he attributed it to the author of the text.

4. Borrowed or shared stanzas?

In the present state of my knowledge, seven among the satellite stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* are today found in the prefatory matter of printed editions of the *Kantapurāṇam*, a text also devoted to Murukaṉ.

If we look at an edition (1942) of the *Kantapurāṇam* (15th c.?), we see that the prefatory matter is as follows: five stanzas of *pāyiram* ("preface") are followed by 25 stanzas of *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*. The *pāyiram* consists of two stanzas of *Vināyakar kāppu* ("protection by Vināyakar [Gaṇeśa]"), one stanza of *Cuppiramaṇiyar kāppu* ("protection by Cuppiramaṇiyar [Skanda/Murukaṉ]), one stanza of *nūṟ payaṉ* ("meaning of/profit from

the book"), and one stanza of *vāḻttu*. The 25 stanzas of *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* address various gods. The stanzas 12 to 18 invoke Murukaṉ; among these, the first six praise the six abodes of the god that are mentioned in the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*; the last and seventh praises Murukaṉ in his abode at Kāñcīpuram.

Table 4 shows the distribution of the stanzas found in this printed edition of the *Kantapurāṇam* and in the five manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* which attest them.

Table 4 — Stanzas common to *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* in manuscripts and to *Kantapurāṇam* in print

	G13	I1	Pe2	T5	T8
mūvirumukaṅkaḷ Pāyiram 3 General praise of Murukaṉ	(**20A**)[25] f54v5–6		(**7B**) f101r4–7	(**6A**) f24r5–f24v4	(**5A**) f15v2–4
irupparaṅk(u) Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu 12 Praise of Murukaṉ at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam	(**1B**) f40r1–2	(**2B/2E**?) f[19]r1–4	(**1B**) f100v1–3		
cūralaivāy Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu 13 Praise of Murukaṉ at Cīralaivāy	(**2B**) f40r3–4	(**4B/4E**?) f[20]r1–4	(**2B**) f100v3–5		
kāvinaṉkuṭi Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu 14 Praise of Murukaṉ at Āviṉaṉkuṭi	(**3B**) f40r5–6	(**3B/3E**?) f[19]v1–4	(**3B**) f100v5–7		
nīrakattē Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu 15 Praise of Murukaṉ at Ērakam	(**4B**) f40v1–2	(**5B/5E**?) f[20]v1–4	(**4B**) f100v7–8		

[25] The figure in bold between parentheses indicates the rank of the stanza in the series as in the manuscript. It is followed by B if the series is found before the *text*, by A, if the series comes after the *text*.

	G13	I1	Pe2	T5	T8
oṉṟutorāṭalai Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu 16 Praise of Murukaṉ at Kuṉṟutoṟum	(**6B**) f40v5–6		(**5B**) f101r1–2		
eḻamuti Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu 17 Praise of Murukaṉ at Paḻamutircōlai	(**5B**) f40v3–4		(**6B**) f101r2–4		

Note that, in the case of I1, it is not clear whether the two folios bearing the stanzas originally came before or after the *text* as they are unfoliated. In the present state of conservation, they are placed at the end of the manuscript and a folio number has been added, probably by a librarian. These two unfoliated folios (the recto of which is marked by a *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*, in the margin) are preceded by another originally unfoliated folio bearing on its recto the *kāppu* alone. It appears that the folio bearing the *kāppu* has been in fact misplaced in the library at the end of the manuscript: it must have originally been placed before the *mūlam* (and not after), as it bears the marginal title. The question is whether the folios with the stanzas shared with the *Kantapurāṇam* also were in front. The original location of the four stanzas of the *Kantapurāṇam* is thus floating: in the beginning of the manuscript, possibly, like the *kāppu*, before or after the *kāppu*, or in the end.

The seven stanzas shared with the *Kantapurāṇam* all appear in G13 and Pe2. I1 contains only four of the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s, while T5 and T8 contain only the *pāyiram* stanza, but along with other stanzas.

The *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s appear before the *text*, even in I1, though there is a doubt about their original place. The seventh *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* of the *Kantapurāṇam*, about *Cuppiramaṇiyar*, has been left out, since it does not focus on one of the six

abodes of the god described in the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. G13 has its six *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s almost in the "right" order, that is in the order the six abodes concerned are described in the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (the last two are reversed), while, in I1, the second and third of the four *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s are reversed. Pe2 has its six *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s in the "right" order.

The *pāyiram* stanza (*Cuppiramaṇiyar kāppu*) appears after the *text* in G13, T5 and T8, but before the *text* in Pe2. It is always the last in the series of stanzas to which it belongs.

At first sight, one might think that the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* borrowed these seven stanzas from the *Kantapurāṇam*, as they are found in the prefatory matter of its printed editions, and are supposedly used as what Genette calls epigraphs.

In the manuscripts, it is never mentioned that the stanzas are borrowed, but there are often paratextual elements which indicate that these stanzas are implicitly not considered as part of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.

In G13, the six *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s shared with the *Kantapurāṇam* appear before the *text* on their own folio (f40rv). They are introduced in the margin of f40r by the blessing or credo *āṟumukan tuṇai*, while the title *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* appears only in the margin of the following folio (f41r) where we find the *kāppu* (f41r1–4, first column),[26] setting thus apart the six *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*s from the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.

In Pe2, a MTM devoted to Murukaṉ, which is incomplete, starting on f99r,[27] the seven stanzas shared with the

[26] G13 is thus one of the rare manuscripts where the *kāppu* is preceded by other stanzas. Other instances are G1, G3 (where each stanza is found on its own folio), and P1.

[27] In fact, the situation is even more complicated: Pe2 appears to be a library binding, where one of the bound manuscript is a MTM of texts related to Murukaṉ. Thanks to the table of contents (f157) we know which texts are missing (they include several *Vakuppu*s by

Kantapurāṇam are accommodated before the *text* with the marginal heading *āṟ̲ṟuppaṭaivīṭu* (f100v).[28] Then comes, on the next folio (f101v), the *mūlam* with the marginal heading *tirumurukāṟ̲ṟuppaṭai*. These seven stanzas are here also given more or less the status of an autonomous text, on par with the texts preceding and following it.

Both these manuscripts force us to reconsider our initial perception that the *Tirumurukāṟ̲ṟuppaṭai* borrowed these stanzas from the *Kantapurāṇam*. One must be aware that what we have today are printed editions not earlier than the 19th century and manuscripts not older than the 18th century. It thus cannot be ruled out that the direction of borrowing is reverse. Further research on the manuscripts of the *Kantapurāṇam* could shed light on this issue. It also cannot be ruled out that stanzas, as independent compositions, independently found their way as paratexts into two different texts praising Lord Murukaṉ.

We might have here a hint about the process by which stanzas came to be associated with different texts, in this case the *Tirumurukāṟ̲ṟuppaṭai* and the *Kantapurāṇam*. As a small series of stanzas they could, in the process of recopying, shift from their more or less autonomous status to an ancillary status vis-à-vis longer texts dealing with Murukaṉ.

To be complete about shared or borrowed stanzas, we must say a few words about T3. Five pages that come after the *text* contain seven stanzas. Three of these are from the *Tiruppāṭaṟ̲ṟiraṭṭu* by Tāyumāṉa Cuvāmikaḷ (18th c.). The remaining four are not attested in other manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟ̲ṟuppaṭai*. From that fact and from their

Aruṇakirināṭar). Note also that the folios have been re-numbered and were incorrectly arranged by the librarian.

[28] See also *āṟupaṭaivīṭu* (with one *p*) (f157v1) in the table of contents at the end of the manuscript.

association with borrowed stanzas, I surmise that these four, too, were borrowed, although I have not yet been able to trace their source. The folios are damaged and incomplete, and the left part (where the foliation is usually marked) is lost. We thus ignore whether these folios were originally foliated in continuity with the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* and their original place in the manuscript is unclear. Furthermore, the writing is different from that of the preceding part of the manuscript that contains the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (ending with a blank page, f62v). It is thus difficult to say if these folios were part of the original manuscript and if these stanzas are really satellite to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. I have therefore not taken these seven stanzas from T3 into account in the present survey, as they might in fact not relate to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* recorded in the same manuscript.

5. Where? How?

The location of stanzas is an important aspect to consider. One will have to examine the content of stanzas found before or after the *text*, bearing in mind that the location might imply different functions. One will also have to check if a single stanza is always found at the same location.

As for the location, there are two natural possibilities: before the *text* or after. There is no instance of an additional stanza found "in-*text*", that is, between different parts of the work.

The original location of stanzas is sometimes difficult to assess or subject to doubt, in case they are found on unfoliated folios. We have seen above (p. 293) the case of stanzas which in the actual state of conservation (and sometimes also according to the page/folio numbering added later) are found at the end of the manuscript (I1), but originally seem to have been at its beginning.

We have also mentioned, that, if we except the *kāppu* (already exceptional with its 36 occurrences), G13 is the only manuscript containing stanzas both before and after the *text*. The other manuscripts have them either before or after the *text*.

As for the *kāppu*, it is found before the *text*. There is only one other stanza (*vēṇṭiya*, G3) that appears only before the *text*. If we except the stanzas shared with the *Kantapurāṇam*, most other stanzas appear after the *text*.

As for stanzas that are found either before or after the *text* (excepting again the stanzas shared with the *Kantapurāṇam*), there are two instances only. The stanza *ulakam uvappa* is found before the *text* in G1 and after the *text* in G13. The stanza *naṟkīrar tām* is found before the *text* in P1, but after the *text* in four other manuscripts (G13, I4, P3, TU2, TT1).

One may thus conclude that a given stanza has generally a fixed location, either before the text or after the *text*.

Different devices are used to demarcate the additional stanzas from the *text* (or other paratexts). The stanzas are sometimes introduced by paratexts (see A1*, G5*, G13, Pe2, *supra* p. 285, 306). In some manuscripts, they are metrically distributed (which, in some cases, is also done for the *mūlam*) and/or indented (for instance C12, G13). They are sometimes accommodated on separate folio(s). When found on the same folio as the *text*, they can be separated from it by a punctuation mark (most frequently a *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*) or a blessing. Depending on which devices are used, the transition between the stanzas and the *text* is more or less sharp, as it can be:

- Straight/Softly marked: stanzas and *text* are on the same line. For instance, C8, G5, G7, G12.
- Less softly marked: stanzas and *text* are on the same folio, but on their own lines. For instance, C7 and G14.

- Strongly marked: stanzas and *text* are on different pages (for instance G1) or different folios, but within a continuous foliation (for instance G11).
- Very strongly marked: stanzas and *text* are on different folios and the foliation is not continuous, that is, there is no foliation for the folios bearing the stanzas, or the folios bearing the stanzas have their own independent foliation (as in G13). Sometimes stanzas are even from a different hand (for instance C7, p85 and G3, p2). In those cases, it is not always clear if they relate to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, especially in the case of MTMs (possibly composite manuscripts), and when there is doubt about the position of the stanzas in the manuscript as the folios could have changed place.

From the codicological point of view, the degree of demarcation might reflect the attitude of the scribe towards the stanzas. The less demarcated, the more strongly they are considered as a part of the text, or as auctorial paratexts.

6. What?

In order to understand why stanzas were added to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, we must first look at their content. At a first look, one observes—as one would expect, given the nature of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*—that the majority of them have a devotional content. They mention the god, praise him, or praise one of his attributes, his lance (*vēl*), for instance. They mention his mythical feats. They describe his abodes in the sacred geography of Tamil Nadu. Here is an example of indirect praise, a *veṇpā* which praises the god's lance. What follows is a first tentative critical edition of it based on five manuscripts testimonies:[29]

[29] G9* (f72r5–6), G13 (f53v3–4), I2* (f125v3–6), T5 (f23v5–f24r2), T8 (f15r11-f15v2). This stanza has been edited by UVS (1956[5]: # 3, p. 80) and translated by Wilden (2014: 203). Interestingly, only the two

வீரவே ருரைவேல் விண்ணோர் சிறைமீட்ட
தீரவேல் செவ்வே டிருக்கைவேல் — வாரி
குளித்தவேல் கொற்றவேல் சூர்மார்புங் குன்றுந்
துளைத்தவே லுண்டே துணை

Variants — 1 — வீரவே ருரைவேல்: வீரவெல் தாரைவேல் (G13, T5, T8). — 2 — செவ்வே டிருக்கைவேல்: செவ்வேள்திருக்கைவேல் (G13, T5, T8). — வாரி: வாரிக் (T8). — 3 — குளித்த: துளைத்த (T8). — குளித்தவேல் கொற்றவேல் சூர்மார்புங் குன்றும்: குடுத்தவேல்சூரமார்பு குன்றமுருகத (G13). — குன்றுந்: குன்றுந்திறக்க (T5), குன்றுந் திறக்கத் (T8). — 4 — துளைத்த: தொடுத்த (G13). — லுண்டே: லுண்டோ corrected to லுண்டே (T5).

vīram vēl tārai vēl viṇṇōr ciṟaimīṭṭa
tīram vēl cevvēḷ tirukai vēl — vāri
kuḷitta vēl koṟṟam vēl cūr mārpum kuṉṟum
tuḷaitta vēl uṇṭē tuṇai

The heroic lance, the sharp lance, the valorous lance
which freed the celestials, the lance in Cevvēḷ's[30] glorious hand,
the lance which bathed in the water (*vāri kuḷitta vēl*[31]), the victorious lance, the lance which pierced (*tuḷaitta*[32])

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manuscript copies of printed editions (G9* and I2*) have the same text as UVS.

[30] Cevvēḷ(G13, T5, T8) is a common name of Murukaṉ ("the young red one").

[31] This phrase might refer to the ritual anointment of the Murukaṉ's weapon. As the verb *kuḷi-ttal* also means "to pierce," an alternative translation is "the lance which pierced the water," as a reference to one of Murukaṉ's feats mentioned in the *Kantapurāṇam*, that is the piercing of the demon Cūr in the sea where the latter took refuge in the form of a mango-tree. The variant *tuḷaitta* (T8) for *kuḷitta*, from *tuḷai-ttal*, also has the meaning "to pierce."

the chest of the demon and the mountain, it is there [as our] help.

Besides this devotional aspect, certain stanzas evince other elements. Some comprise poetological information and/or appear as *phalaśruti* stanzas explaining the merit and benefit of hearing/reciting the poem.

Let us first look at the *kāppu*, the only stanza which the manuscripts occasionally name as such (G4, Pe2) and upon which the *urai* attributed to Parimēlaḻakar (C11^{UP}, TT1^{UP}) comments.

The basic meaning of the word *kāppu* is "watching, caution, vigilance, preservation, defence, guard, protection," and as such it applies to any protective device (fence, fortification, door, amulet). In a literary context, *kāppu* means, according to the *Tamil Lexicon*, "invocation of deities at the commencement of a poem to facilitate its successful completion." This makes it similar to a *maṅgala*. It seems indeed (Wilden 2017b: 172) that, in time, the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* was replaced by the *kāppu* (which, besides the god's name, contains the title of the text).

The question is: whom/what does the *kāppu* protect? The completion of the author's or scribe's work? The recitation by the devotee, ensuring that this act of worship will be fruitful? The devotee himself, user of the text, in which case it is a kind of *phalaśruti*? Or is the *kāppu*, as pandits use to say, meant for protecting the manuscript (as a physical object) from deterioration where it is more prone to destruction (at its beginning or end)?

The *kāppu* of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (in *kaṭṭaḷaikkalittuṟai* metre), is rather specific. It is important to remind

[32] The variant *toṭutta* for *tuḷaitta* (G13) has the same meaning. In T5 and T8, the word *tiṟakka*, "so as to open it," is inserted between *kuṉṟum* and *tuḷaitta*.

that it appears only before the *text*, most often as the only additional stanza at this place.[33] I provide here the text as in UVS edition, with one exception:[34]

ஒருமுரு காவென்றெ னுள்ளங் குளிர வுவந்துடனே

வருமுரு காவென்று வாய்வெரு வாநிற்பக் கையிங்ஙனே

தருமுரு காவென்று தான்புலம் பாநிற்பத் தையன்முன்னே

திருமுரு காற்றுப் படையுட னேவருஞ் சேவகனே

Notes — 1 — காவென்றெ: UVS edits காவென்ற, but most manuscripts read காவென்றெ.

oru murukā eṉṟu eṉ uḷḷam[35] *kuḷira uvant' uṭaṉē*
varum murukā eṉṟu vāy veruvāniṟpa kai iṅṅaṉē
tarum murukā eṉṟu tāṉ pulampāniṟpa taiyal muṉṉē
tiru murukāṟṟuppaṭaiyuṭaṉē varum cēvakaṉē

So that/As my heart is comforted (literally: cools) saying: "O unique Murukaṉ!"
as (my) mouth remains alarmed saying: "O Murukaṉ who comes (*varum*) at once joyfully!"
as it (i.e. the mouth)[36] keeps lamenting, saying: "O Murukaṉ who renders help here/in this manner (*iṅṅaṉē*)"

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[33] In G1, the *kāppu* is the second of two stanzas on the same page (the first being *ulakam uvappa*). In G13, the *kāppu* stands on its own folio (with blessings), is preceded by six stanzas shared with the *Kantapurāṇam* on their own folio and is followed, next folio, by the *mūlam*. When the *kāppu* appears with other stanzas, it is thus always the last of the series, right before the *text*.

[34] This stanza has been edited by UVS (1956[5]: # 5, p. 82) and translated by Wilden (2014: 206).

[35] UVS reading for *eṉṟu eṉ uḷḷam* is *eṉ taṉ uḷḷam*, which basically has the same meaning.

[36] It is not clear what is the subject of *pulampāniṟpa*. I take it to be the mouth (*vāy*, also subject of *veruvā niṟpa*), but it could also be *kai* or, as suggested to me by Suganya Anandakichenin, *taiyal*, the consort or the lady in front ("as the lady keeps lamenting, saying …").

the warrior (*cēvakaṉ*[37]) comes along with the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, in front of the lady (*taiyal*[38]).

Following this interpretation, the *kāppu* of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* resembles what is known in Tamil Bhakti poems as *phalaśruti* ("audition of the fruit") in the Vaiṣṇava tradition and *tirukkaṭaikkāppu* ("glorious closing protection") in the Śaiva tradition, that is, the "envoi" of Bhakti poems expounding the benefits obtained by using the text (i.e. reciting, hearing or reading the poem).[39] But one has immediately to clarify that, in contrast to a *kāppu*, which is found before the text, a *phalaśruti*/*tirukkaṭaikkāppu* occurs after each individual poem, that is, at several places inside the manuscript, where there is no specific physical threat to the manuscript.

Found before the *text*, often alone, this stanza describes the situation of a devotee adoring Murukaṉ, reciting the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, praising him as unique and asking him to come and give. The last line seems to imply that the summoning of the god is fruitful if the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* is recited: Murukaṉ, happy to be summoned this way by his devotee, comes at once. This is a possible way of understanding *tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭaiyuṭaṉē*, as suggested to me by Jean-Luc Chevillard, rather than just the fact that Murukaṉ comes holding the text. In this sense, the *kāppu* is meant to ensure the protection or grace of the god, which derives from the use of the text praising him. As such, it is close to a *phalaśruti*.

There is however another possible interpretation and translation of the *kāppu*, as suggested to me by Jonas Buchholz:

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[37] This "warrior" is Murukaṉ, named as such in the *Tiruppukaḻ*.

[38] Who this lady (*taiyal*) is remains unclear. Is she the god's consort or the devotee's wife?

[39] The term *tirukkaṭaikkāppu*, specified as closing (*kaṭai*, "end"), would be coined in order to contrast it with the plain *kāppu* found at the beginning.

O warrior who comes along with the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*
in front of the lady when (my) mouth is afraid, saying: "O Murukaṉ
who comes at once joyfully so that my heart is comforted, saying: "O unique Murukaṉ,"
when it (i.e. the mouth?) laments, saying: "O Murukaṉ who renders help in this manner."

Following this interpretation, the *kāppu* is an address to Murukaṉ by a devotee asking for help.

This stanza is also in a broader sense poetological. It throws light on the nature and genre (*āṟṟuppaṭai*) of the text, as it explicitly mentions the title: *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, that is, "The glorious (*tiru*) guide to the way (*āṟṟuppaṭai*, from *āṟu*, "the way," and *paṭai*, "instrument, tool") to Muruku (*muruku*, i.e. Murukaṉ)," or alternatively "The guide to the way to the glorious Muruku").

Another stanza has a content similar to that of the *kāppu*, but is even more explicit. It is attested twice with substantial variants, so I provide here both versions.[40] In G1, two additional stanzas stand on their own page and the text begins on the verso of the same folio. The first of these two stanzas is in the *kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai* metre, like the *kāppu*. What follows is the version found in G1 (p88:1–4):

உலக முவப்ப மலகிழ வொனென்று ரைப்பவர்தங்
கலக வி[ஊ]கள் கஊபவ னெஎன் கருத்தினுள்ளெ
இலகு மலர்க்கரம் பன்னிரெண் டாறு திருமுகமும்
திலத மயித்த னிலெறுந் திருத்த[ணி]ச் செவகனெ

Notes — 2 — மலகிழவொனெ: read மஊலகிழவொனெ.

ulakam uvappa malai kiḻavōṉ eṉṟu uraippavar tam
kalakam viṉaikaḷ kaḷaipavaṉē eṉ karuttiṉuḷḷē

[40] G1 (p88:1–4), G13 (f51v1–2).

ilaku malar karam[41] *paṉṉireṇṭ' āṟu*[42] *tirumukamum*
tilatam[43] *mayil taṉil*[44] *ēṟum tiruttaṇi cēvakaṉē*

O (you) who removes the tumultuous *karman* of those who recite *ulakam uvappa … malai kiḻavōṉ*
(your) twelve shining lotus-hands (and) (your) six glorious faces (are) in my mind (*karuttiṉuḷḷē*)
o warrior of Tiruttaṇi, who mounts the excellent peacock.

Here is the version found at the end of G13 (f51v1–2):

உலக முவப்ப மலைகிழ வொனென் றுரைப்பவர்தங்
கலக வினையைக் களைபவ னெயென் கருத்திலென்று
மிலக மலற்கரம் பன்னிரண்[டாறு] முகமிலங்க
திலக மயில்மிசை நிற்பாய் திருத்தணிச் செவகனெ

Notes — 3 — மலற்: read மலர்க்.

ulakam uvappa malai kiḻavōṉ eṉṟu uraippavar tam
kalakam viṉaiyaikaḷaipavaṉē eṉ karuttil eṉṟum
ilaka malar karam paṉṉiraṇṭ' āṟu mukam ilaṅka
tilakam mayil micai niṟpāy tiruttaṇi cēvakaṉē

O (you) who remove the tumultuous *karman* of those who recite *ulakam uvappa … malai kiḻavōṉ*
so that in my mind/heart (*karuttil*) always shine (*ilaka*[45]) (your) twelve lotus-hands (and always) shine (*ilaṅka*) (your) six faces
o warrior of Tiruttaṇi, you stand on the excellent peacock.

In both its versions, this stanza conveys the idea that the god Murukaṉ removes the evil *karman* of those who recite

[41] The coordination *-um* would be expected for *karam* like for *tirumukamum*.
[42] Note that *paṉṉireṇṭu* is a spoken form for *paṉṉiraṇṭu*.
[43] The spelling *tilakam* would even have been better for the sake of *etukai*.
[44] The phrase *mayit taṉil* is a spoken form for *mayiṟ ṟaṉil*.
[45] As pointed out to me by Jonas Buchholz, to ease the syntax one might correct *ilaka* to *ilaku*, as in the version of this stanza found in G1.

ulakam uvappa … malai kiḻavōṉ, that is, the *Tirumurukāṟṟup-paṭai*, as *ulakam uvappa* constitute the first two words (and *cīr*s) of the poem and *malai kiḻavōṉē* the last two.

Another stanza, a *veṇpā* attested six times,[46] also has a content similar to that of the *kāppu*. It is found for instance at the beginning of P1, before the *kāppu*, both stanzas standing on their own page (while the next page of the same folio is left blank and the text begins on the recto of next folio). What follows is the version found in P1:

நற்கீரர் தாமுரைத்த நன்முருகாற் றுப்படையைச்
சொற்கூற நாவாற் றுதித்தொர்க்கு — முற்கொலி
மாமுருகன் வந்து மனக்கவலை திர்த்தருளி
தாளினைந்த தெல்லாந் தரும்

Notes — 1 — நற்கீரர்: UVS edits நக்கீரர், not found in any manuscript. — 2 — சொற்கூற நாவாற்றுதித்தொர்க்குமுற் கொலி: UVS edits தற்கோல நாடோறுஞ் சாற்றினுல் முற்கோல. — 4 — தாளினைந்த: read தானினைந்த. — தெல்லாந்: UVS edits வெல்லாந், not found in any manuscript.

naṟkīrar tām uraitta nal murukāṟṟuppaṭaiyai
col kūṟa nāvāl tutittōrkku — muṉ kōli
māmurukaṉ vantu maṉakkavalai tīrtt' aruḷi
tāṉ niṉaintat' ellām tarum

To those who praise (him) with their tongues so that they say the words (of the) *Murukāṟṟuppaṭai* which Naṟkīrar composed
the great Murukaṉ, gathering (*kōli*) in front (*muṉ*) (of them), having come and having graciously ended the affliction of (their) mind,
will give everything that they have been thinking of.

[46] G13 (f54r3–4), I4 (f48v5–f49r1), P1 (fcf2r1–2), P3 (f318v1–2), TT1 (f21v3–4), TU2 (f8v6–8). This stanza has been edited by UVS (1956[5]: # 10, p. 82) and translated by Wilden (2014: 205).

This stanza thus appears as a kind of *phalaśruti*, disclosing what one obtains by reciting the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. It also supplies poetological information as it not only provides the title of the work (*Murukāṟṟuppaṭai*, without the "prefix" *tiru*), but also the name of the author Naṟkīrar (in a more grammatically correct form than Nakkīrar). Like the *kāppu*, it can further be considered as explaining the genre (*āṟṟuppaṭai*): the work is a way to reach Murukaṉ and obtain his liberality.

7. Why?

Answering the above basic questions (How often? When? Who? Where? How? What?) provides us with an array of perspectives in order to understand the function(s) played by additional stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. To summarise quickly, our stanzas are most probably later than the *mūlam* and possibly also later than the earlier commentaries, thus non-auctorial, located at the threshold of the *text* (that is before or after it), more or less clearly demarcated from the *text*, comprising as a rule a praise of the god Murukaṉ, and sometimes fulfilling other functions of ritual (attracting auspiciousness) or poetological purport.

Paratexts are familiar to any Indologist. Any literary composition in Sanskrit or another language such as Tamil is expected to begin with an invocation. In Sanskrit, its classical form is a stanza or a group of stanzas, known as *maṅgalācaraṇa* ("performance of auspiciousness, auspicious undertaking"). Sanskrit Indian literary tradition and theory defines a *maṅgalācaraṇa* as comprising an homage (*namaskriyā*, *vandana*, *stuti*) to a god or to a spiritual figure (such as the Buddha), a call upon his blessing (*āśis*, *āśīrvāda*) as well as an exposition of the subject matter (*vastunirdeśa*) and purpose (*prayojana*) of the work.[47]

[47] This is summarised from Sanderson (2005: 89–90), Slaje (ed. 2008: vii), Minkowski (2008: 5n3), and Boccali (2008: 184). Primary sources

The need for a *maṅgalācaraṇa* and particularly for some of its components—the homage and blessing, which Minkowski (2008: 5n3) calls "*maṅgala* verse"[48]—has been explained in Sanskrit literary tradition as a means "to facilitate the successful completion of the work by removing whatever obstacles might block that completion; to instruct students; and to conform to the immemorial custom of learned predecessors" (Minkowski 2008: 15).[49] We are here often in a situation where these stanzas are auctorial. As shown by Minkowski (2008: 8–10) in the case of *śāstra*s (treatises of different disciplines of learned tradition), the inclusion of a *maṅgala* has become the norm only gradually as it appears at different periods depending on the type of *śāstra*s.[50] Moreover, invocations were often supplied to works that did not contain them originally, and the absence of a *maṅgala* has been the object of theoretical reflections by philosophers (Minkowski 2008: 10–17).

This need for an invocation might explain why stanzas were added to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. Being the first of the "ten long poems" (*Pattuppāṭṭu*), the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* could be considered the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. But when it came to be transmitted alone, its lack of invocation could have become an issue, and so the *kāppu* was composed and added before the *mūlam*.

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referred to by these scholars are Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* I.14 and Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭābharaṇa* (p. 123).

[48] Minkowski (2008: 5n3) excludes prose *maṅgala*s, which are often found in the manuscripts, from his survey because they are not metrical and because they are "difficult to attribute to the author of the text." These are what I call blessings, and I, too, have excluded them from the present study, but the criterion of not being attributable to the author is not relevant here since, as will be seen below, our Tamil stanzas are more or less clearly later additions to the text.

[49] See also Minkowski (2008: 21–22), Varadachari (1962: 28–9).

[50] See Minkowski (2008: 17–24) for elements towards the history of the developments of *maṅgala*. See Boccali (2008) about incipits of *mahākāvya*s.

From the point of view of content, at a first glance, Tamil paratexts are of different types:

(1) initial benediction, invocation, or homage to gods (*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, *vaṇakkam*).

(2) *kāppu*, whose content and function has to be assessed from the study of actual examples.

(3) summaries of the content of the work (*vattunirttēcam*).

(4) panegyrics of sponsoring individuals. An example is found at the beginning of the *Pārataveṇpā* (stanza 4).

(5) exposition of the benefits obtained by using the text (*phalaśruti*, *tirukkaṭaikkāppu*).

(6) colophons.

Much of this paratextual material, auctorial or not, is often grouped at the beginning of a work under the general heading *pāyiram* ("preface"). It is however not always clear whether this heading is found in the manuscripts or supplied by modern editors.

In recent scholarship Eva Wilden (2014, 2017a, 2017b, forthc.) has reflected on what she has described as non-auctorial "mnemonic," "satellite," and "poetological" stanzas "ranging from a praise of Tamil and its literary genres to valuable information about the text in hand and its structure in a condensed and easily memorable form" (2014: 177). She has identified various functions of these stanzas, which can be summarised as follows:[51]

- corpus organiser, that is, a stanza attached to a work or works, part(s) of a "canon," and listing its works. For instance, there is a stanza on the five texts commented upon by the great 14th-century commentator

[51] See also Wilden (2017b: 164ff.).

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, published in some printed editions (Wilden 2017: 331).

- content/structure summariser, that is, a stanza pertaining to the content and inner structure of an anthology/work.
- author disclaimer, that is, a stanza naming/describing the author/commentator of the work.

Against this background, my preliminary examination of the additional stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* shows that these stanzas fulfil different functions, several of which may be conveyed by a single stanza:

Firstly, stanzas add praise to a *mūlam* which in itself is already a praise of the god Murukaṉ. This praise of the god is multiform. It could be direct (UVS # 7; Wilden 2014: 204) or indirect, for instance a praise of his lance (UVS # 3; Wilden 2014: 203; *supra*, p. 310). It could be a declaration of faith, a kind of *credo* (UVS # 5; Wilden 2014: 204). In praising the god, mythological feats which are not prominent in the *mūlam* can be stressed on. For instance, the splitting of the mount Krauñca is mentioned only once and briefly in the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (*aṭi* 266), but this feat figures prominently at the beginning of two stanzas (UVS # 1–2; Wilden 2014: 202).

Secondly, stanzas are explicit demands of blessing or protection from the god such as the *kāppu* or the stanza *kākka* (UVS # 8; Wilden 2014: 204–205).

Thirdly, beyond praise and benediction are stanzas focussing on the expectations of the devotee and clearly expounding the benefits the user may expect. This is the case of the *kāppu* (in the first interpretation offered), of the stanzas *ulakam uvappa* and *naṟkīrar tām* (*supra*, p. 314, 316), all of which come close to what a *phalaśruti* is. Another stanza (UVS # 9; Wilden 2004: 205) explicitly enjoins to use the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* for worship (*pūcaiyā koṇṭē*).

Fourthly, moving towards poetological information, stanzas provide a title and/or an author to the work. This is the case of several stanzas (UVS # 9, 10; Wilden 2004: 205).

Fifthly, in conjunction to the *phalaśruti* function, stanzas provide a literary background, by defining, in a more or less explicit way, the genre of *āṟṟuppaṭai* (for instance, the *kāppu*).

Sixthly, stanzas indirectly identify some of the abodes of god Murukaṉ mentioned in the *mūlam* of the 7th c. with contemporary holy places that might not be those that were originally intended. As such, they anchor the text into the actual religious landscape by mentioning names of some of the six main temple sites that form a pilgrimage network probably set up several centuries after the composition of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. The *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* is indeed divided into six parts, each one describing an abode of Murukaṉ. Only one of them is more or less clearly located: a hill (*kuṉṟu*) situated to the west of Kūṭal, that is Maturai (*aṭi* 71). This place is believed to be the modern Tirup-paraṅkuṉṟam. A stanza (UVS # 9: Wilden 2004: 205) makes it clear by mentioning Paraṅkuṉṟu as does also a stanza shared with the *Kantapurāṇam* (*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* 12). This is however not an important clarification since Paraṅkuṉṟam is mentioned as such in other Caṅkam poems. More interesting is the mention of Centi in two stanzas (UVS # 5, 7: Wilden 2004: 203–204), which indirectly identifies one of the six abodes with the modern Tiruccentūr (see Francis 2016: 518). Suppose we know when Tiruccentūr became identified as one of the six abodes of *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, we would have a *terminus a quo* for the date of the stanza.

One important aspect of these stanzas is that they reveal the pragmatic and ritual use that is made of a text in the course of time, even though dating the stanzas is difficult. It attests to the devotional nature of the text, but more

importantly to its ritual use, some stanza stating that the text is to be used in worship and to be recited.

I also underline—as pointed out to me by Dr. G. Vijayavenugopal—that the location of stanzas is determinant in assessing their function. The *kāppu* and stanzas of similar content (*ulakam uvappa*, *naṟkīrar tām*), located before the *text*, indicate the benefits obtained by reciting the *mūlam*. They are a kind of incitation to use the text, and they disclose its ritual dimension as a means to obtain the favour of Murukaṉ. Both stanzas that are similar in content to the *kāppu* also appear after the *text* and are, in these instances, a kind of reiteration of the benefits to be expected or a conformation to the model of Bhakti poetry where the "envoi" is the last stanza.

As for stanzas placed after the *text* (including the *phalaśruti*-like ones), one could, in some cases, consider them as placing the god in front of his duty: the faithful devotee having worshipped the god with the text, now enjoins the god to come to him and grant his favour. As pointed out to me also by Dr. G. Vijayavenugopal, some of these stanzas are addresses made by the devotee in the first person as in the stanza *āṟumukam eṉpēṉ*, a *veṇpā* attested only once (G13, f53r3–4):

ஆறுமுக மெனபெ னமரர் பதியெனபென்
வெறு விஜனயெஜனயெ மெவிஞல் — கூறரிய
அஞ்செழுத்தா யாறெழுத்தா யான்மயி லெறிவந்தென்
னெஞ்செழுத்தாய் நீயொடி வா

āṟumukam eṉpēṉ amarar pati eṉpēṉ
vēṟu viṉai eṉaiyē mēviṉāl kūṟ' ariya
añc' eḻuttāy āṟ' eḻuttāy āṉ mayil ēṟi vantu eṉ
neñceḻutt' āy nī ōṭi vā

I say "Āṟumukam," I say "Master of the immortals."
If evil *karman* affects me,

you who are the five-letter(-*mantra*),[52] you who are the six-letter(-*mantra*)[53], which are ineffable (literally: difficult to say),
having come mounted on a *male* peacock[54], you who are the letters in my heart (that is "you who are inscribed in my heart"), you, come running!

This might appear as a rude way of communicating with god, but many Tamil Bhakti hymns depict a devotee scolding the awaited god.

One could thus distinguish stanzas found before the *text* (*kāppu* and *phalaśruti*-like ones), promising benefits to the devotee, and those found after the *text*, more or less directly petitioning the god to shower with his grace the devotee, now that he had appropriately worshipped the god by reciting the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.

8. Conclusions

Some of the additional stanzas to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, as paratexts, have an introductory function. Someone who reads it, understands it, even knows it from oral transmission and thus recognizes it, would at once identify the content of the manuscript in his hands. So does the stanza *ulakam uvappa* as it provides the first and last two *cīr*s of the poem. But some stanzas do more than this.

We cannot say that they have the function of a corpus organiser, as they deal with the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* alone,

[52] I take *āy* in *eḻuttāy* as the suffix of 2nd person singular, but, as pointed to me by Jonas Buchholz, one could equally take it as the absolutive of *ākutal*.

[53] On *āṟ' eḻutt' āy*, see *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* 186, which describes twice-borns praising Murukaṉ with "the precious secret science concealed/ condensed in six letters" (*āṟ' eḻutt' aṭakkiya aru maṟai kēḷvi*).

[54] The phrase *āṉ mayil*, "cow peacock," is problematic. One possibility is to emend *āṉ* into *āṇ* ("male").

not with the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, of which serial manuscripts are in fact rare (Wilden 2014: 74). They can, however, have a mnemonic function when they allude to the content and structure of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, such as the six *paṭaivīṭu* stanzas shared with the *Kantapurāṇam,* which, besides praising as they all end in *pōṟṟi*, make clear that the work is a praise of the god who resides in the six abodes mentioned in the stanzas and described in the *mūlam*. The stanza *naṟkīrar tām* retains for the posterity the name of the poet. The more obvious function of these stanzas is, however, ritual and pragmatic, either as *maṅgala* or *phalaśruti*. They call for the grace of the god and disclose what the devotee can expect from his/her perusal of the poem. There is furthermore a devotional function, supplementary to that of the *mūlam*, when the god is further praised. As suggested to me by Eva Wilden, such purely devotional stanzas might have been composed at the time of copying in order to link the poem with its reading community.

One final remark is that the study of the stanzas of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* offers some hints about the process of aggregation of stanzas in the course of transmission. Firstly, there are the stanzas from another hand, for which, when the manuscript is copied, the difference of hand vanishes. Secondly, sometimes a series of stanzas (the six *paṭaivīṭu* stanzas) is treated as an autonomous group, which reveals its initial independent status, that the scribe could have misunderstood or consciously ignored, so as to transform them into ancillary material to the poem.

Acknowledgements

In order to interpret the additional stanzas of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, I have greatly benefited from comments and suggestions of various colleagues during reading sessions at the EFEO centre in Pondicherry and at the CSMC in Hamburg. I particularly thank Suganya Anandakichenin, Jean-

Luc Chevillard, Thomas Lehmann, G. Vijayavenugopal, and Eva Wilden. I also wish to warmly thank Babu N. Ramaswamy, the late lamented G. Ravindran, and S.A.S. Sarma for updating me on the location of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* manuscripts and providing me with digital images of them. Last but not least, a great many thanks to Jonas Buchholz for his help on prosody and for his many insightful suggestions.

Abbreviations

KPKV: *Kantapurāṇam, Kaṭavuḷ Vāḻttu*.

KPP: *Kantapurāṇam*, *Pāyiram.*

MTM: multiple-text manuscript.

STM: single-text manuscript.

text: *mūlam* or *urai*.

UVS: U. V. Swaminatha Iyer (U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar). See *Pattuppāṭṭu* (1956). When followed by "#" and a figure, the latter indicates its rank in the series of stanzas edited by UVS in his *Pattuppāṭṭu* (1956).

List of Manuscripts

For a list of the manuscript testimonies of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* (*mūlam* and *urai*), with their catalogue and access numbers, see Francis (2016: 526–527). An asterisk follows the sigla of manuscripts which are copies of printed editions. Five more manuscripts, now available to me thanks to NETamil, are to be added to this list: Pe1, Pe2, T6, T7 and T8. Note also that there are no more TT2 and TU3, since TT2 forms one single manuscript with TT1 (even though the hand is seemingly different and the foliation is independent) and TU3 does so with TU2.

Passages from manuscripts are indicated by folio number when the manuscripts are originally foliated, otherwise by page number (as added by users or librarians).

In stanzas quoted in Tamil characters, long *ō* and *ē* have not been restored when the quotation is based on a single manuscript testimony. I have however added the *puḷḷi*s.

C = Chennai, UVS Library.

G = Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai.

I = Institut français de Pondichéry.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Pe = Pērūr Cāntaliṅka Atikaḷār Tirumaṭam, Coimbatore.

SM = Maharaja Serfoji Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore.

T = Trivandrum, Oriental Research Institute Manuscripts Library.

TT = Tiruvavāṭuturai Tirumaṭam.

TU = Tamil University, Tanjore.

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Colophon Stanza – *Taṉiyaṉ* – Signature Verse (Tamil Satellite Stanzas IV)

Eva Wilden (CSMC, Universität Hamburg)

Abstract

The present article deals with the evolution, structure, and function of a type of verse ubiquitous in Indian *bhakti* poetry for which there is no precise general name in Tamil, but which might be termed, in English, a signature verse, that is, a verse occurring at the end of a work, or, in Tamil *bhakti,* often at the end of a decade (one hymn of about ten verses) which names the author of the text. Here the wealth of material allows a reconstruction of the development from a satellite verse, i.e., author stanzas as found preserved in colophons, to *taṉiyaṉ*-s (a "solitary" literary stanza contributed by the devotional community), to a literary subgenre that is as conventional as the *avaiyaṭakkam* of the literary tradition. The exemplary case discussed in detail are the hundred signature verses coming with the hundred decades of Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*, the famous Vaiṣṇava 'Tamil Veda'.

1. Introduction

The main focus of this fourth contribution to the study of Tamil satellite stanzas – that is, additional, often mnemonic verses transmitted in the margins of texts – is on the gradual overlap of the (semi-)oral[1] tradition that transmits works of literature

[1] I use the term semi-oral rather than oral in order to remind us that, while certainly the whole interrelated process of preserving, teaching and learning had an oral basis and strongly relied on memorisation, the way the mnemonic stanzas come down to us is as paratextual material in manuscripts, that is, in written form. The oral substratum still becomes visible in the variability of verses not only from manuscript to manuscript, but from preface to preface in the frequent cases they are

along with their credentials and the literary tradition as such. In other words, the question is: How does the need for preservation and authentication feed into the development of literary subgenres that ultimately help in the constitution of a tradition? One way of demonstrating a genetic relationship between such paratextual and textual types lies, in my view, in the tracing commonalities such as syntactic patterns and semantic inventory that they have in common. While for the *Caṅkam* period it makes sense to speak of a formulaic repertoire, the later tradition ought to be described in different terms, for the simple reason that one factor which was decisive in the formulation of the theory is no longer extant, namely metrical identity in the repetitive elements. With the post-*Caṅkam* explosion of metrical possibilities, the building blocks for construing poems, though still repetitive, are no longer of the same simple oral-formulaic type, and some thought ought to go into their analysis in general.

The sub-type of stanza under scrutiny here can be called, in English, a signature verse, i.e., a verse that is added to a poetic work and that conveys the name of the author. Doing so is a custom followed more or less comprehensively in many Indian religious traditions; the earliest examples are found in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*.[2] In Tamil the type is established with the early bhakti tradition, starting, in about the 6th c., with the Śaiva poetess Kāraikālammaiyār. In some cases, it is found at the end of longer works, such as *Antāti*-s, but its most conspicuous appearance is in the really bulky texts that are composed in decades and where every decade(*patikam* for the Śaivas, simply *pattum,* ~ "a full ten", for the Vaiṣṇavas) end with such a signature. However, a general term referring to this type of verse is not found.

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quoted by early editors who in part did not find them in a manuscript but had learned them from their teachers.

[2] Cf. Gonda 1975: 186f.

1.1 Terminology

Tamil terminology is meagre with respect to elements that were originally probably either added to a colophon (i.e., at the end of a text) or on unnumbered folios at the beginning of a text. The one sort of designation that is found fairly frequently in manuscripts is a metrical identification such as "Veṇpā", followed by a corresponding verse. There does not seem to be a Tamil word for what we might term an author verse, as a subtype of the colophon stanza, before the literary tradition adopts the concept and transforms an anonymous verse containing information about the author and title of a work into an often laudatory stanza with a known author positioned at the beginning, where such verses may accumulate, depending on the importance of the text. The first designation apparently goes back to the Vaiṣṇava tradition that calls it, rather unspecifically, *taṉiyaṉ*, "solitary [verse]".[3] Since this corpus is the focus of another contribution, that of Suganya Anandakichenin, I will not further dwell on it for now; the word does not appear to have been used for the Vaiṣṇava signature verses.

In the Śaiva tradition, there actually is a word for the verses that end the decade of stanzas making up one devotional song, though it does not refer to the signature present, but to another aspect. The word is *tirukkaṭaikkāppu*, "holy protection of the end", possibly occurring for the first time in *Periyapurāṇam* 6.28.80:

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[3] For the time being, we are sure that it appears there from the verge of the print culture on; manuscript evidence will as yet have to be brought forward. The term *taṉiyaṉ* is not taken up by any of the treatises such as the ones of *Pāṭṭiyal* genre, where we find definitions of literary genres and subgenres, or actual lists of the works called *Pirapantam* and their sub-forms. It has to be distinguished, in any case, from the term *taṉippāṭal* or *taṉippāṭṭu*, "solitary song", that, in poetics, might refer to the short form as an opposite of the long form called a *peruṅkāppiyam*, forming a counter-pair for Sanskrit *muktaka*- and *mahākāvya*-.

திருப்பதிகம் நிறைவித்துத் **திருக்கடைக்காப் பு**ச்சாத்தி
இருக்குமொழிப் பிள்ளையார் எதிர்தொழுது நின்றருள
அருட்கருணைத் திருவாள னார்அருள்கண் டமரரெலாம்
பெருக்கவிசும் பினில்ஆர்த்துப் பிரசமலர் மழைபொழிந்தார்.

*tiruppatikam niṟaivittut **tirukkaṭaikkāppu**c cātti*
irukku moḻip piḷḷaiyār etirtoḻutu niṉṟ' aruḷa
aruḷ karuṇait tiruvāḷaṉār aruḷ kaṇṭ' amarar elām
perukka vicumpiṉil ārttup piraca malar maḻai poḻintār.

When, completing the holy decade [and] closing [it] with a **holy protection of the end**,
the Child (~ Tiruñāṉacampantar) with words, that were [like] Vedic hymns, graciously stood in front worshipping,
seeing the grace of the gracious, compassionate holy lord, all the immortals
enormously cried out in heaven [and] showered a rain of honey blossoms.

The Purāṇam thus refers to a composition technique that governs all the 386 decades ascribed to the *Tēvāram* saint-poet Tiruñāṉacampantar, namely completing a poetic decade with a particular type of verse called *tirukkaṭaikkāppu*, without, however, being explicit about its purpose or function. It is only from looking at Campantar's final verses that we see four recurrent elements of content: the name (and place) of the poet, the qualities of the poetry and its purport, and finally the profit to be gained from recitation. All these will be discussed in the subsequent section, but here we may ask what general idea of function is conveyed by the element *kāppu*, "protection", in *tirukkaṭaikkāppu*. It has to be taken into consideration at this point that *kāppu* by itself has become the designation for another type of satellite stanza often integrated into the transmission of a text, namely for a type of invocation

that, in contradistinction to the older *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, "praise of god", does not only pay respect to a deity (often to Ganeśa) but may also name the author and title of a work.[4] This stanza may have played the double role of spiritually protecting the beginning by giving it an auspicious start (as in Skt. *maṅgala*-) and, on a more practical level, of safeguarding it against loss of information by naming the title and author.[5] In a similar way, the *tirukkaṭaikkāppu* may have protected the end. Another option to be considered is that in unequivocally stating who is the author of a hymn there may be a protection against plagiarism. This has become a topic also in the Tamil tradition, as can be gleaned, for example, from verse 48 of the *Veṇpāppāṭṭiyal* that enumerates four types of subsidiary poets, kindly brought to my notice by Jean-Luc Chevillard.[6] Note that

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[4] The possible evolution is discussed in Wilden (forthcoming): p. 172f. As an example may serve the stanza transmitted in the wake of the *Arumpatavurai* ("commentary on difficult words") on the *Cilappatikāram*:
karumpum iḷanīrum kaṭṭik kaṉiyum
virumpum vināyakaṉai vēṇṭi – arump' aviḻ tārc
***cēramāṉ** ceyta **cilappatikārak** kataiyaic*
cāram āy nāvē tari.
Entreating Vināyakaṉ, who desires sugarcane,
coconut milk and sweet fruit, support, o tongue,
as elixir the story of the ***Cilappatikāram*,** made by
Cēramāṉ with a garland on which buds open.

[5] Possibly there was the third function of a literal, material protection for the integrity of the actual manuscript copy of a work; it may not be chance that the *kāppu* (frequently starting with the very word *kāppu*) begins line 1 of the first numbered folio of a manuscript.

[6] *Veṇpāppāṭṭiyal* 48:
ār oruvaṉ pākkaḷai yāṅk' oruvaṉukk' aḷippōṉ
cōrakavi. cārnt' oliyiṉ collum avaṉ – cīr ilāp
piḷḷaikkavi ciṟanta piṉmoḻikk' ām puṉmoḻikk' ām
veḷḷaikkavi avaṉiṉ vēṟu.
The one who bestows the poems of somebody on somebody else
is a thief-poet. This is different from one who speaks in dependence on [somebody else's] tone,
one who is a child-poet for words that are excellent after [somebody else's],
[and] one who is a bleak poet for low (unrefined?) words.

the verse in question is not only added at the very end of a text, but, in practice far more frequently, at the end of a decade. This may reflect the way those hymns were used in worship, that is, not as integral "texts", but as portions to be recited.

1.2. Form and Functions

Another possible angle of approach is that of form and function. The majority of anonymous colophon verses naming author and title adopt the favourite form of a mnemonic verse, that is, a four-line stanza in Veṇpā metre. Compare the following three stanzas, all related to texts roughly from the same period, let us say the 6th century:

Aintiṇai Aimpatu, colophon stanza: C3 = UVSL 1078l: p. 317, C4 = UVSL 553e: p. 70, G1 = GOML D.205/TD.84: p. 3, G2: GOML D.206/TD.53: p. 38A, G3 = GOML D.207/D.137: p. 31

பண்புள்ளி நின்ற பெரியார் பயன்றெரிய
வண்புள்ளி **மாறன் பொறையன்** புணர்த்தியாத்த
வைந்திணை யைம்பது மாதவத்தி னோதார்
செந்தமிழ் சேராத வர்.

*1c பெரியார் C3, ER; பெரியர் G1; பெரியர்ப் G2+3; பெரியே♯ C4v

*2b மாறன் C4c, G1+2+3, ER; மாரன் C3+4

*2d புணர்த்தியாத்த C3, G1+2; புணர்த்து யாத்த ER; புணர்க்கியாத்த G3

*3cd மாதவத்தி னோதார் G1+2+3; மார்வத்தி னோதா-தார் C3, ER

paṇp' uḷḷi niṉṟa periyār payaṉ teriya
vaṇp' uḷḷi ***māṟaṉ poṟaiyaṉ*** *puṇarttu yātta*
*~**aintiṇai ~aimpatum** mātavattiṉ ōtār*
cen tamiḻ cērātavar.

Those who do not recite, for [its] sweetness, the **Fifty on Aintiṇai**,
strung together by **Māṟaṉ Poṟaiyaṉ**, [always] thinking of generosity,
so that [its] purport be clear to great people who constantly think of quality,
have not reached refined Tamil.

This is the colophon verse of one of the smaller *Kīḻkkaṇakku* anthologies, the *Aintiṇai Aimpatu*, as so often relocated to the beginning with the first edition.[7] It is not necessary to go into the problems of historiography posed by this verse; what is of interest here is the structure. Put in a nutshell, it answers the following question: who composed what with which purpose and what is the consequence for the recipients?

*taṉiyaṉ **mutaliyāṇṭāṉ** aruḷicceytatu*
("solitary [verse] graciously made by **Mutaliyāṇṭaṉ**")

கைதைசேர் பூம்பொழில்சூழ் கச்சிநகர் வந்துதித்த
பொய்கைப் பிரான்கவிஞர் போரேறு – வையத்
தடியவர் வாழ வருந்தமி**ழந் தாதி**
படிவிளங்கச் செய்தான் பரிந்து.

kaitai cēr pūmpoḻil cūḻ kaccinakar vant' utitta
***poykaip** pirāṉ kaviñar pōr ēṟu vaiyatt'*
*aṭiyavar vāḻa arum tamiḻ **antāti***
paṭi viḷaṅkac ceytāṉ parintu.

The lord **Poykai**, bull combative among poets, who hails from Kaccinakar,
surrounded by flower groves joined by screw pines, has lovingly made,
for the genre to shine, [this] **Antāti** in precious Tamil
so that the servants (of god) may prosper in the world.

[7] For a discussion of such relocation processes, see Wilden 2017: 170f.

This second verse is one of the Vaiṣṇava *taṉiyaṉ*-s that come with the name of an author, and is as such printed before the beginning of the text. Its position(s) in the manuscript transmission will have as yet to be established. The apparent main function is to convey the name of the early Āḻvār Poykai, not otherwise mentioned in his *Antāti*. The title here remains vaguer, but even in the tradition, this *Antāti* is called just that, with the further specification of being the first (*Mutal Tiruvantāti*). The purpose mentioned is still rather literary, namely to delight a learned audience with a work that is excellent in its genre, but the result is less mundane in that the work is meant to serve the community of devotees.

Kāraikkālammaiyār, *Aṟputat Tiruvantāti* 101

உரையினா லிம்மாலை **யந்தாதி** வெண்பாக்
கரைவினாற் **காரைக்காற் பேய்**சொல் - பரவுவா
ராராத வன்பினோ டண்ணலைச்சென் றேத்துவார்
பேராத காதல் பிறந்து.

*uraiyiṉāl im mālai **antāti** veṇpāk*
*karaiviṉāṉ **kāraikkāl pēy** col – paravuvār*
ārāta aṉpiṉōṭ' aṇṇalaic ceṉṟ' ēttuvār
pērāta kātal piṟantu.

Those who worship with the words of the demoness of **Kāraikkāl** out of tenderness,
[consisting of] these Veṇpās in an **Antāti** garland [made] from words,
will go [and] praise the majesty with insatiable love,
being born with immovable love.[8]

[8] In spite of the fact that from a point of view of strict syntax the last line ending in the absolutive *piṟantu* ought to be construed with *paravuvār*, content rather suggests that it is Kāraikkāl Pēy, who had been born with immovable love for her god.

This third stanza is counted as a signature verse, added as number 101 to the *Aṟputat Tiruvantāti* of the early Śaiva poetess Kāraikkālammaiyār, referred to as Pēy (the type of demoness who haunts the cremation grounds so admirably sung by her), as a reminder of her status as an ascetic, who has given up worldly ties. Again, the reference to the title is vague, the motive for composing the work is kept brief, but we get a full line on the expected result: it will bring the reciter to heaven, there to encounter their god.

Note that all three stanzas refer to the author in the third person, although only the first two cases are overtly understood as the creation of somebody other than the composer of the work, in the first case the anonymous semi-oral tradition, in the second case a named devotee and Śrīvaiṣṇava. I would suggest that the reason why no author making signature verses refers to himself in the first person is that the type of stanza was inherited and well established by the time the new context was created. Needless to add that anyway authorship is open to argument, as has been argued for example in the case of Campantar in Velupillai 2013.

The parallelism between the three stanzas is tangible, and yet one has been put on record as an anonymous colophon stanza, one as a *taṉiyaṉ*, and the last one as a signature verse. At a first glance, the similarities are easier to perceive when there is metrical uniformity. In fact, the two most tangible changes when a satellite verse enters into the literary tradition are the mention of its author and, even more consequentially, the freedom of metre. Very often the new metrical liberty chooses an adjustment to the metre of the text addressed – as was the case with the early *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*. The reason why the latter two of the three verses quoted above were in Veṇpā is that both of them are attached to *Antāti*-s composed in Veṇpā metre. However, gradually the type acquires more metrical

and even linguistic liberty, as Suganya Anandakichenin will show with the *taṉiyaṉ*-s, which may be in Tamil or in Sanskrit.

The commonality remaining once the metrical identity is given up is function. The four main functions that transpire from the stanzas quoted so far are to convey information on the author, on the title of the respective works, on its purported goal, be it from the point of view of content, form or impact, and finally on the fruit that is gained by those to listen to or recite the work. This translates down into four slots in a poem that have to be filled, often more or less in balance, but at times also putting more emphasis on some than on others: author, work, objective and gain for the audience. One aim of this article is to show how this quadruple goal is realised on the level of syntax, but before getting there, it appears useful to make a survey of the material available and to have a closer look at one amply documented case. I have chosen that of Nammāḻvār, since he is the Āḻvār on whose corpus I am currently working, but any other would have done just as well.

2. Overview of the Material

The corpus covered for the present paper consists in the literature of the first millennium, the *Caṅkam*, *Kīḻkkaṇakku* and bhakti works, with an occasional foray into epic literature. Colophon stanzas that deal with authorship are to be found for seven out of the eighteen *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts.[9] An important text

[9] Namely, besides the one for the *Aintiṇai Aimpatu* quoted above, for the *Tiṇaimālai Nūṟṟaimpatu*, the *Ēlāti*, the *Paḻamoḻināṉūṟu*, the *Ācārakkōvai* and the *Ciṟupañcamūlam*; the one printed with the *Kārnāṟpatu* is not found in any surviving manuscript. Two such author stanzas also exist for the *Caṅkam* corpus, probably both spurious. The *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* verse is of indeterminable age and definitely goes back to the manuscript tradition, but is fictitious in claiming famous earlier authors such as Kapilar to be the poets of this work. The *Kalittokai* stanza does the same, but is not even borne out by the manuscript tradition and may well go back to the 19th century revival period (cf. Wilden 2017a: 331ff.).

such as the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* would be expected to come with one or more ancillary stanzas, and as yet nobody has taken the trouble to sift through the hundred-odd manuscripts preserved, but in any case it has triggered a full ancillary text in the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*, analysed in detail in the contribution of K. Nachimuthu. Similarly, the Vaiṣṇava *taṉiyaṉ*-s, still growing in number just from printed editions, are dealt with by Suganya Anandakichenin.

Coming to the signature verses proper, their place is the devotional corpus of both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava designations, although their distribution is uneven. As far as the Vaiṣṇava ones are concerned, there does not seem to be any relation between the presence of signature verses and the *taṉiyaṉ*-s, in other words, *taṉiyaṉ*-s are found for the works of all the Āḻvārs, regardless whether they have signature verses or not. As already mentioned, there are two possibilities for the position of signature verses, namely either at the end of a work or at the end of every decade in the decadic compositions.

table 1: distribution of signature verses in the Tamil bhakti corpus

author	**work**	**decade**
Śaiva: 389		
Kāraikkālammaiyār	*Aṟputat Tiruvantāti*: 1	*Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu* decades: 2
Tiruñāṉacampantar[10]		*Tēvāram* 1-3: 386
Vaiṣṇava: 280		
Periyāḻvār	*P. Tirumoḻi*: 44	
Āṇṭāḷ		*Nācciyārtirumoḻi*: 14

[10] For statistics on the Campantar verses, see the unpublished dissertation of Uthaya Velupillai 2013: 44-49.

Kulacēkara		*Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*: 10
Nammāḻvār	*Tiruviruttam*: 1	*Tiruvāymoḻi*: 100
Tirumaṅkai	*Tirukkuṟuntāṇṭakam*: 1 *Tiruneṭuntāṇṭakam*: 1	*Periyatirumoḻi*: 108
Maturakavi		*Kaṇṇi Nuṇciṟuttāmpu*: 1

The end of the decade may either mean that every tenth verse is given over to the signature, as is the case with Tirumaṅkai, or that an eleventh verse is added, as is the case with Campantar and Nammāḻvār. In a minority of cases, the designation "decade" is an approximation, since some decades only have nine verses while others may go up to twelve. The one fairly irregular case is Periyāḻvār, where apart from ten or eleven we find once twelve (1.1.12), once twenty-one (1.3.21) and once thirteen (2.3.13).

3. Example: Nammāḻvār

If we now ask how the four functions are fulfilled, the crucial insight is that there is no basic difference in the amount of information to be gleaned from a short or from a long verse. In fact, the four-line Veṇpā stanza is not the shortest form available; in simple terms, metres range from four-line stanzas with two metrical feet (*cīr*)to those with a full eight. The longer metres simply give more space to attribution, as is illustrated by the following two examples from the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, the first as short, the second as long as possible:

TVM 1.6.11

மாதவன் பால்சட கோபன்
தீதவ மின்றி யுரைத்த

ஏதமி லாயிரத் திப்பத்து
ஓதவல் லார்பிற வாரே.

mātavaṉ-pāl caṭakōpaṉ
tī tavam iṉṟi uraitta
ētam il āyiratt' ip pattu
ōta vallār piṟavārē.

Those who are able to recite
these ten in the imperishable thousand
spoken without vile evil
by Caṭakōpaṉ on Mādhava
will not be reborn.

TVM 7.3.11

ஊழிதோ றூழி யுருவும் பேருஞ் செய்கையும் வேறவன் வையங் காக்கு
மாழிநீர் வண்ணனை யச்சு தன்னை யணிகுரு கூர்ச்சட கோபன் சொன்ன
கேழிலந் தாதியோ ராயி ரத்துள் ளிவைதிருப் பேரையில் மேய பத்து
மாழியங் கையனை யேத்த வல்லா ரவரடி மைத்திறத் தாழி யாரே.

ūḻi-tōṟ' ūḻi uruvum pērum ceykaiyum vēṟavaṉ vaiyam kākkum
āḻi nīr vaṇṇaṉai accutaṉai aṇi kurukūrc caṭakōpaṉ coṉṉa
kēḻ il antāti ōr āyirattuḷ ivai tiruppēraiyil mēya pattum
āḻi aṅkaiyaṉai ētta vallār avar aṭimai tiṟatt' āḻiyārē.

Those able to praise him with the discus in [his] palm
with these ten associated with Tiruppērai
among the one thousand in incomparable Antāti
spoken by Caṭakōpaṉ from decorative Kurukūr
on the unshakable one, the one of water colour

with the discus, who guards the world, who is manifold in form
and name and deed, aeon through aeon,
they [will be] in the service of him.

a) the author

In spite of a certain amount of poetic variation what is actually said about the author, Nammāḻvār is very meagre and does not go beyond his personal name(s), his hometown and possibly his patronym. He is most often simply called Caṭakōpaṉ from Kurukūr, occasionally Māṟaṉ Caṭakōpaṉ or simply Māṟaṉ. Only in two places we find the string Kurukūr Kāri Māṟaṉ Caṭakōpaṉ, where Kāri is usually interpreted as the name of his father. His hometown Kurukūr is sometimes described as situated in the Pāṇṭiya land or he himself as a resident of that region.

table 2: information on Nammāḻvār found in the TVM signature verses

toponyms and names	**(number of) occurrences**
vaḻuti nāṭaṉ	2.8.11, 3.6.11, 5.6.11, 9.2.11, 10.4.11
teṉṉaṉ Kurukūrc Caṭakōpaṉ	4.3.11
(teṉ) Kurukūrc Caṭakōpaṉ	83 times
Kurukūr nakarāṉ	4.10.11
Kurukai kōṉ[11]	3.6.11
Kurukūr Māṟaṉ	10.2.11
Kurukūr (nakar) Kāri Māṟaṉ Caṭakōpaṉ	4.5.11, 5.2.11

[11] A side issue lively discussed is whether some Āḻvārs might have been kings: from the signature verses alone such a question cannot be decided. Both Nammāḻvar and Periyāḻvār, to name just two examples, are referred to as kings (*kōṉ*, *maṉ*), just as Kulacēkara and Tirumaṅkai, but only for the latter two the designation has been taken literally rather than as a form of respectful veneration, a decision not explicable without presupposing further sources of information.

Caṭakōpaṉ	1.6.11, 1.8.11, 3.6.11, 4.10.11, 6.9.11, 6.4.11, 8.8.11, 9.2.11, 10.5.11
Māṟaṉ	2.6.11, 4.5.11, 4.7.11, 4.10.11, 5.10.11, 9.9.11

There are only two pieces of additional information, one mentioned three times, the other one only once, and those concern the status of Nammāḻvār as a devotee. In 6.9.11, 7.1.11 and 8.9.11 he is called "Caṭakōpaṉ, who is the servant of the servants of the servants" (*toṇṭar toṇṭar toṇṭaṉ caṭakōpaṉ*).In the very last stanza of the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, 10.10.11, we are informed that the author has obtained liberation (*vīṭu peṟṟa*), which again begs the questions as to whether the author of a signature verse is always the author of the text.

b) the title

References to the title may be vague, as was already seen in the early colophon verses, originally in part due to the necessity to fit a long title, or, in the case of an anthology, a number of sub-titles, into the frame of a four-line Veṇpā. A beautiful example is the *Pattuppāṭṭu* verse, and about the challenges faced by the composer (and now by the reader) of the verse enumerating the eighteen *Kīḻkkaṇakku* more can be learned from the contribution of Jonas Buchholz. In addition, or *in lieu* of the title, there may be genre labels – like *Antāti*, seen above with Poykai and Kāraikkālammaiyār – or numerical and metrical identificators. Further attribution often refers to the musical quality or to the excellent Tamil the work is composed in. However, in the *Tiruvāymoḻi* signature verses, there are two things which in fact are not found, namely on the one hand the title, on the other hand the later ubiquitous designation as a or the Tamil Veda. In fact the main designation is numerical: *āyirattuḷ ip/ivai pattum*, "these ten in

a thousand", with an elastic understanding of the term thousand, because ten decades plus ten signature verses amount to one thousand one hundred stanzas, incidentally plus two, because with 2.7 we get an overlong decade, duly bringing the signature verse to 2.7.13.

The main attributes given to these decades are:

antāti	1.4.11, 2.5.11, 2.6.11, 5.3.11, 5.4.11, 5.10.11, 7.3.11, 8.2.11, 10.4.11, 10.10.11
tamiḻ	1.5.11, 2.8.11, 9.8.11, 9.10.11, 10.6.11
tamiḻkaḷ, "Tamil [verses]"	4.7.11, 5.1.11, 7.8.11, 9.1.11
tamiḻ mālai, "Tamil garland"	2.7.13, 5.6.11, 6.2.11, 8.9.11, 10.6.11
icai mālai, "musical garland"	3.2.11, 4.8.11
col mālai, "word garland"	7.2.11, 8.1.11, 9.3.11
mālai, "garland"	9.8.11
col toṭai[12], "word string"	1.7.11, 8.3.11, 10.4.11
cīrt toṭai, "excellent string"	1.2.11, 4.1.11
pāṭal, "song"	3.4.11, 3.10.11, 4.1.11, 4.3.11, 4.4.11, 4.10.11, 9.2.11, 9.10.11
nāmaṅ(kaḷ), "name(s)"	2.7.13, 5.9.11

It is noteworthy that the majority of epithets given to a decade pertain to literary excellence and thus certainly suggest that god is an expert audience, but also his faithful servants who recite and listen maintain their membership in the older group of secular connoisseurs.

[12] With the designation *toṭai* one has to ask whether it is meant as an alternative form for *mālai*, or whether it is meant as a technical term from metrics, referring to linkage by forms such as alliteration and rhyme (*mōṉai* and *etukai*).

c) the objective

The objective of the decade in a bhakti context does not require much attention because in structure it is even simpler than the other three slots, that is, it basically consists of an accusative for the object of devotion, the lord or his feet; on rarer occasions it may be a dative or even a locative. With respect to content, the descriptions of the god are not different from the ones in the decade itself. Depending on the metre and the corresponding length available for the slot, the main referent can come with a string of attributes and/or appositions or with a sub-clause relating one or the other mythic episode.

Two further forms of extension are possible, one of which integrates a phrase on the content of the decade:

TVM 9.7.11

ஒழிவின்றித் திருமூழிக் களத்துறையு மொண்சுடரை
யொழிவில்லா வணிமழலைக் கிளிமொழியா ளலற்றியசொல்
வழுவில்லா வண்குருகூர்ச் சடகோபன் வாய்ந்துரைத்த
வழிவில்லா வாயிரத்திப் பத்துநோ யறுக்குமே.

oḻiv' iṉṟit tiru mūḻikkaḷatt' uṟaiyum oḷ cuṭarai
oḻiv' illā aṇi maḻalaik kiḷi moḻiyāḷ alaṟṟiya col
vaḻu illā vaḷ kurukūrc caṭakōpaṉ vāynt' uraitta
aḻiv' illā āyiratt' ip pattum nōy aṟukkumē.

These ten among the imperishable thousand
spoken excellently by Caṭakōpaṉ from flawless liberal Kurukūr
in words spoken unceasingly by her of parakeet[-like] speech, decorative prattling without end, on the bright light who dwells in endless Tirumūḻikkaḷam,
cut off pain.

Moreover, occasionally another dative or locative may be added to denote the temple sung in the decade:

TVM 6.7.11

வைத்த மாநிதி யாமது சூதனை யேயலற்றி
கொத்த லர்பொழில் சூழ்குரு கூர்ச்சட கோபன்சொன்ன
பத்து நூற்று ளிப்பத் தவன்சேர் **திருக்கோளூர்க்கே**
சித்தம் வைத்து ரைப்பார் திகழ்பொன் னுலகாள்வாரே.

vaitta mā niti ām matucūtaṉaiyē alaṟṟi
kott' alar poḻil cūḻ kurukūrc caṭakōpaṉ coṉṉa
*pattu nūṟṟuḷ ip patt' avaṉ cēr **tirukkōḷūrkkē***
cittam vaitt' uraippār tikaḻ poṉ ulak' āḷvārē.

Those who recite with perfection
these ten **for Tirukkōḷūr,** joined by him, among the ten hundred
spoken by Caṭakōpaṉ from Kurukūr, surrounded by groves with flowers in clusters,
talking incessantly of Matucūtaṉ, who is a stored great treasure,
will rule the world of glittering gold.

d) fruit to be gained from knowing/reciting the work (*phalaśruti*)

The goals are manifold, but almost all of them can be attributed to one of two categories, namely either worldly or spiritual; a very small number is particular either in not proclaiming a goal at all or in being playful. About three quarters simply express the desire to better one's spiritual position, either by destroying pain and the fruits of karma in this world or by leaving the body behind, cutting of rebirth, going to heaven and joining the celestials or even (the feet of) the Lord himself. One quarter, however, rather recalls earlier agendas of wellbeing. On the one hand, we find those

expressed in Puṟam poetry, such as victory, rule over the world and the company of women. On the other hand, there are those in accordance with the colophon verses of the literary tradition where the ability to read and recite promotes one into the illustrious group of connoisseurs of good Tamil, not unlike the community of devout servants in the bhakti context.

worldly:

profit/wealth	1.4.11, 6.2.11
pleasure/erudition	1.10.11, 6.8.11, 7.9.11, 9.5.11
contentment	7.8.11, 8.2.11
refuge	10.3.11
wisdom	7.5.11, 10.9.11
women	5.8.11, 6.1.11, 7.6.11, 8.10.11, 10.2.11
victory	7.4.11
lordship of the world(s)	3.10.11, 4.3.11, 6.7.11, 9.2.11, 9.8.11

spiritual:

better rebirth	5.9.11
end trouble/pain/impurity	1.5.11, 1.7.11, 4.1.11, 4.6.11, 5.2.11, 9.7.11, 10.1.11, 10.7.11
destroy karma	3.5.11, 4.5.11, 7.1.11, 9.10.11
leave body behind	2.2.11, 3.2.11
cut off rebirth	TV 100, 1.3.11, 1.6.11, 3.1.11, 3.7.11, 3.9.11, 8.3.11, 8.7.11, 9.6.11, 9.9.11, 10.10.11
see him in this birth	8.5.11
be his servants	2.6.11, 3.6.11, 5.5.11, 6.4.11, 6.5.11, 6.9.11, 7.3.11, 8.9.11
service to his servants	5.6.11, 10.5.11
reach his feet	1.9.11, 2.3.11, 2.7.13, 2.10.11, 4.9.11, 5.1.11, 8.8.11, 10.4.11

company of celestials	5.7.11, 6.3.11, 6.6.11, 7.2.11, 7.7.11, 7.10.11, 9.4.11
life (in heaven?)	3.3.11
heaven	2.1.11, 2.4.11, 2.5.11, 3.4.11, 3.8.11, 4.2.11, 4.4.11, 4.7.11, 4.8.11, 4.10.11, 5.3.11, 5.4.11, 5.10.11, 6.10.11, 8.4.11, 8.6.11, 9.3.11, 10.8.11
liberation (*vīṭu, uyyal*)	1.1.11, 2.8.11, 2.9.11, 8.1.11
special:	
none	1.2.11, 1.8.11
pleasing the celestials	10.6.11
listener servant to reciter	9.1.11

To quote just one example of a less frequent goal, here is TVM 6.1.11 with a promise of being attended by beautiful ladies:

மின்கொள் சேர்புரி நூல்குற ளாயகன் ஞாலங்கொண்ட
வன்கள் வனடி மேற்குரு கூர்ச்சட கோபன்சொன்ன
பண்கொ ளாயிரத் துள்ளிவை பத்துந் திருவண்வண்டூர்க்
கின்கொள் பாடல் வல்லார் **மதனர்மின் னிடையவர்க்கே**.

miṉ koḷ cēr puri nūl kuṟaḷ āy akal ñālam koṇṭa
val kaḷvaṉ aṭi-mēl kurukūrc caṭakōpaṉ coṉṉa
paṇ koḷ āyirattuḷ ivai pattum tiruvaṇvaṇṭūrkk'
iṉ koḷ pāṭal vallār ***mataṉar miṉ iṭaiyavarkkē.***

Those capable of singing sweetly,
these ten for Tiruvaṇvaṇṭūr among the melodious thousand
spoken by Caṭakōpaṉ from Kurukūr on the feet of the strong robber,
who took the wide world as a dwarf with a flashing, suitable sacred thread,
they will be attractive to [women] with lightning-[thin] waists.

4. Syntactic Patterns

Coming to the way syntax works, there are three main syntactical patterns plus a fourth, slightly deviant one. In the first pattern, the subject are the songs, while the main sentence is either a nominal phrase or a verbal construction:

1	*ippattum*	"These Ten
	… *vīṭu*(1.1.11)	[are] liberation."
	… *nōy ōṭuvikkum*(1.7.11)	drive off pain."

In the second pattern, the agent are the devotees who praise the lord with these songs. If this agent is put in subject position, they are also the subject of the main predicate:

2a)	*ippattum (ōta) vallār*	"Those who master (to recite) these Ten
	… *piṟavārē* (1.6.11)	they won't be [re]born."

Alternatively, however, the agent may be put into the dative, while the songs are the subject of the main clause:

2b)	*ippattiṉ ētta vallārkku*	"For those who master to praise with these Ten,
… *vīṭu ceyyum*(2.9.11)		they will produce liberation."

The third pattern, far less frequent, makes use of a conditional construction, again with the devotees as an agent:

3) *ivai patt' uṭaṉtaṇivilar kaṟparēl … kaḷvi vāyum* (1.10.11)

"If those who persevere learn these Ten together … [their] learning with be supreme."

ippatum kūṟutal vallār uḷarēl … kūṭuvar vaikuntam (2.5.11)

"If there are those that master speaking these Ten, … they will join Vaikuṇṭha."

The fourth pattern, finally, also comparatively rare, involves an address to the devotees with a request to do service in the form of reciting or singing, dancing and prostration at the feet of the Lord:

4) *ivai pattum uṭaṉ pāṭi … nīṉr' āṭumiṉ* (2.3.11)
"Singing these Ten together … dance (ipt.pl.) constantly"

pāṭi āṭip paṇimiṉ avaṉ tāḷkaḷē (9.10.11)
"Singing [and] dancing humble yourself at [his] feet"

To sum up, what can be seen in an exemplary fashion in the signature verses attached to the decades of Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi* are stanzas simple in syntactic structure and making use of a limited number of constructions. They are also concise and repetitive in content, as far as the original purpose is concerned, namely preserving information about the author and the title of a text, but very rich in fanciful ornamentation and metrical variation. Both observations hold good for most signature stanzas, especially those coming with decades, and not with texts, because there is the inherent element of repetition – for those of Campantar, Periyāḻvār, Āṇṭāḷ, Kulacēkaraṉ and Tirumaṅkai. However, there are also the odd ones that stick out, and the discussion shall be concluded with one case of deviation, both from the point of view of structure and from that of content, namely one of the fourteen signature stanzas of Āṇṭāḷ's *Nācciyār Tirumoḻi*:

10.10

நல்லவென் றோழி நாக ணைமிசை நம்பரர்
செல்வர் பெரியர் சிறுமா னிடவர்நாம் செய்வதென்
வில்லி புதுவை விட்டுசித் தர்தங்கள் தேவரை
வல்ல பரிசு வருவிப்ப ரேலது காண்டுமே.

nalla eṉ tōḻi nāk' aṇai-micai nam parar
celvar periyar ciṟu māṉiṭavar nām ceyvat' eṉ

villiputuvai viṭṭucittar taṅkaḷ tēvarai
valla paricu varuvipparēl atu kāṇṭumē.

My good friend, what can we small humans do
for the one on the serpent bed, our highest one, the lord,
the great man?
When [the daughter of] Viṭṭucittaṉ[13] from Villiputuvai
makes her god
come with mighty gifts, that we will see.

Here the stanza is put into the mouth of the girls supposed to sing the *Nācciyār Tirumoḻi*; the reference to the title of the text becomes even more elliptical and the profit to be gained from reciting is more elusive – the lack of human spiritual merit is made up for by the force of the saint. Also elsewhere, in the *Tiruvāymoḻi* for one, we find verses that integrate the human devotees more directly into the dialogue.

5. Conclusions

It is possible to trace back the signature verses of Tamil bhakti to a pool of genetically related anonymous material. Firstly, the full Tamil bhakti tradition shares a matrix, or a system of closely related patterns of syntax. The same pattern or similar patterns can be discerned in a wider range of stanzas both from the literary and the semi-oral traditions.Secondly, these genetic relations probably allow explaining part of the goals or benefits to be derived from learning and reciting the decades or texts graced with a signature verse: aims such reaching the lord's feet, heaven or liberation, or of avoiding rebirth, are easily comprehensible within the bhakti tradition itself (and

[13] Since the honorific form of *viṭṭucittaṉ*, i.e. *viṭṭucittar*, is found only two times, namely in the two outstanding signature verses occurring in the *Nācciyār Tirumoḻi*, we may be safe in concluding that they are meant to be a reference not to Āṇṭāḷ's father Viṭṭucittaṉ alias Periyāḻvār, but to Āṇṭāḷ herself as the offspring of Viṭṭucittaṉ.

they pervade the various sectarian strands). Further, it might be possible to account for a relatively smaller group of aims centred around wisdom, erudition or the mere pleasure in listening by the link with the literary tradition and its group of fellow experts so aptly represented in the legends of the Madurai academy, the famous Caṅkam. More puzzling, at first glance, are aims such wealth, women or world dominion, and for the moment we may wonder whether they come from a tradition of royal eulogy or whether they might be relics of the earlier more this-worldly orientation preserved in the *Caṅkam* classics.

If we want to understand the phenomenon of signature verses, we have to examine a triple set of parallels, namely, besides the full set in both the *Tirumuṟai* and the *Tivyappirapantam*, also

- the satellite stanzas of the literary tradition, beginning with those of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* and continued with the literary commentaries.
- the solitary verses (*taṉiyaṉ*) that originate in the said literary tradition as anonymous stray verses on authorship, but become a literary sub-genre with known authors in the Vaiṣṇava tradition and eventually beget stanza collections such as the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*.
- the Sanskrit tradition of *phalaśruti*.

There is yet another side purpose that connects the old type of stanza with a later pre-modern one, namely the praise of the author. This is, at least in modern times, relegated to the beginning in the form of the laudatory preface, *ciṟappup-pāyiram*. It is for this reason that, if they make it into print at all, the original, text-final colophon stanzas make a reappearance as *ciṟappuppāyiram*.

With respect to authorship, we have to keep in mind that, while the older type of author stanza used to be anonymous, the *taṉiyaṉ*, the signature verse and the laudatory preface tend to come with a known author. This appears to reflect a change in focus or purpose: while an anonymous verse is produced in order to ensure the survival of vital information (such as titles and authorship) along with the transmission of a text, the latter three deal with the self-inscription of an individual into a community of transmitters, into a tradition. Collections of such verses, then, seem to serve the purpose of the self-(re)construction of such communities.The convention in place for all four types of single verses demands the use of the third person (singular or honorific) when naming an author. The situation is, however, peculiar with respect to the authorship of signature verses in that here the author is supposed to be identical with the author of the text. This may still be due to the fact that this genre of stanza was already established. It might also reflect the practice of singing selected decades of bhakti works in temples and allow the singer to give credit to the actual bhakti poet. But it also must have come in handy when adding or altering the current text(s).

In order to evaluate and use the information contained in all those types of stanza it is, first of all, necessary to understand the genre conventions so as to learn how to distinguish the ornamental from the possibly factual. Possibly the survey of actual manuscript material might help to draw more precise lines, but for the time being we also simply may have to live with the fact that the boundaries between the genres of colophon verse, *taṉiyaṉ*, signature verse and *ciṟappuppāyiram* are fluid.

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Paratexts in the *Govindavilāsamahākāvya*

Judith Unterdörfler (Chair of Indology, Institute for Cultural Studies of East and South Asia, University of Würzburg)

Abstract

This article focuses on a specific type of paratexts in the 16th-century Sanskrit poem *Govindavilāsamahākāvya*. These stanzas, which I refer to as *bhakti* verses, occur at the end of each chapter as the penultimate stanza before the final signature verse. As the *bhakti* verses are transmitted only in one manuscript, and in another only partly, the main problem is how to interpret them and how to understand their role in the transmission of the text. My approach to answer this question is as follows: First, I will briefly introduce the poem, its content, the author, and the two extant manuscripts. Secondly, I will examine these two text witnesses mainly on the level of visual organisation, among others, by seeing the manuscripts in light of the Western Indian manuscript culture of the 16th century. The purpose of this task is to find out whatever that can be possibly found out about the two scribes and their backgrounds. Thirdly, I shall have a closer look at the signature verses as the important paratextual stanzas that provide us with information about the author and the purpose of his composition. And finally, I will, on this basis, try to draw a tentative conclusion on how to interpret the *bhakti* verses in the *Govindavilāsamahākāvya*.

The *Govindavilāsamahākāvya* and its two manuscripts

The *Govindavilāsamahākāvya* (*GV* henceforth) is a poem written in Sanskrit, whose time of composition can be fixed

around the middle of the 16th cent. CE.[1] As the title indicates, this work categorises itself as *mahākāvya*, also called *sargabandha*,[2] and thus tries to connect with an old, well-established Sanskrit literary tradition. The content of the poem is chosen from a Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* context; within nine *sarga*s the poet narrates Lord Kṛṣṇa's famous amorous amusements with the *gopīs* and Rādhā in Vṛndāvana, a core theme of Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* as it is flourishing in Northern India particularly from the 15th cent. onwards. To depict the pleasures of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the first *sarga* starts with the arrival of spring, the love god's friend, in Vṛndāvana, who is slowly permeating the whole world. In the following two chapters a beautiful forest-deity shows and explains to Hari the beauty of nature, i.e. that of Vṛndāvana, and of Mount Govardhana in particular. The descriptions of the sunset and the moonrise, likewise a standard theme of the *mahākāvya* genre, are not missing either. With the proper mood having been set, Kṛṣṇa performs the famous *rāsa* dance with the *gopī*s, as well as the *jalakrīḍā*, the amorous frolic in the river Yamunā. After that, we have Kṛṣṇa's most beloved *gopī*, Rādhā, coming onto the scene, which ends in her and Kṛṣṇa's union in a creeper house. During their amorous tête-à-tête, the *gopī*s are desperately searching for their lover everywhere. The poem finally ends—as to be expected—with their happy reunion. In the last part of the ninth and final chapter of the poem, i.e., the *praśasti*, the author informs the reader that he wrote his work in the city of Iḍādurgā (today's Idar) in Gujarat under the patronage of King Bhāramalla. The name of the poet, Bhoja, is furthermore repeated at the end of each chapter in the signature verses, which will be dealt with in more detail later.

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[1] The calculation of the date of composition is discussed in detail in Unterdörfler (forthcoming) chapter "Abfassungszeit und Autorschaft".

[2] *mahākāvya*, literally "great tradition"; *sargabandha*, "consisting of chapters". An overview of the genre is given in Lienhard (1984: 159–227).

As far as my previous research on the work, including several field trips through archives, libraries and private manuscript collections in India could show, there seem to be only two extant manuscripts transmitting the text of the *GV*: one to be found in the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute Jodhpur (Acc.No. 12259), the other in the Sanskrit Anup Library of Bikaner (Acc.No. 3009). Both these manuscripts are dated in the scribal colophons which state that the copy of the first (from now on J) was completed in V.S. 1603, i.e., 1545 CE, the copy of the latter (from now on B) twelve years later: V.S. 1614, i.e., 1557 CE.[3]

Already at the first sight the two manuscripts show several codicological differences, which shall be briefly described in the following. The first and most obvious fact is that J is extraordinarily beautiful, with the margins of each folio being decorated with delicate symmetrical designs in red, blue and yellow, and a cross-like place marker in the middle around a big red dot. This style even slightly changes at the end of the manuscript from the cross-like place marker in the middle into a two-coloured cross-sign in yellow and red, thus visually accentuating the new part of the *praśasti*, from folio 50v up to the end of the copy (Figure 1[4]). In comparison to that the plain and artless style of B is in sharp contrast (Figure 2). Moreover, the calligraphically clean handwriting in J, accompanied by the rubrication of the verse numbers and chapter endings, varies clearly from B, which is neither neatly written, nor shows ornamentation or structural accentuation of any kind.

Besides these differences concerning the level of visual organization there are also differences on the paratextual level. Here it is of course usually the very beginning of a

[3] There seems to be a misprint in the catalogue of the Sanskrit Anup Library Bikaner which in the column 'date' shows "V.S. 1514". However, the manuscript very clearly has "V.S. 1614".

[4] All the figures are to be found in Appendix 2.

manuscript where the reader is first confronted with invocational phrases or the like. While in J the copy starts with a *bhale*-symbol[5] and *oṃ vināyakabhāratībhyāṃ namaḥ*, thus paying homage to Lord Gaṇeśa as the one who removes obstacles, and to Sarasvatī, goddess of learning and speech, we cannot make any record about B's beginning since the first folio of the manuscript is missing. When we look at the end of the manuscripts as the next prominent place where paratextual elements are to be expected, we find in J two auspicious phrases, namely *śubham bhavatu* and *śrīrāmo jayatu*. B, in contrast, simply concludes with documenting the date of the completion of the copy. However, interestingly, the scribe of B seems to stress the title of the copied text in the way that he does not only call it simply *śrīgovindavilāsa-mahākāvya* but *śrīgovindagovindavilāsamahākāvya* (folio 40r) and *śrīgovindaśrīgovindavilāsamahākāvya* (folio 41v). Thus, he obviously deliberately repeats the name of Lord Kṛṣṇa twice at this final point of his copy. Especially in the first instance, the word doubling is striking, as the title in this way no longer fits in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre of the signature verse.

These two repetitions of *govinda* in B and the auspicious wish plus invocation, as well as the initial homage to Gaṇeśa and Bhāratī in J, are not part of the text itself but can be regarded as scribal remarks. The distinction between what has been added by the scribe and what was originally written by the author himself, is by far more unclear in another case of paratext, namely a specific group of stanzas I call "*bhakti* verses". While in B these stanzas are missing—with the exception of three out of nine—, they occur in J in a prominent position: it is at the end of each chapter before (and once after) the concluding signature verse. The term "*bhakti* verses" was chosen to designate that these stanzas are clearly not part of

[5] For an explanation see next paragraph.

the narration of the *mahākāvya* but have a purely devotional content. In various ways they express the personal devotion for God Kṛṣṇa – be it that of the scribe or the author, a point that shall be discussed below.

The two *GV*-manuscripts in light of the 16th cent. Western Indian manuscript culture

If we want to get any idea of the person of the scribe, and possibly their cultural and religious backgrounds, we must look at the theme with a broader perspective and take into consideration what we know about other manuscripts of approximately the same time and region.[6] How did copyists around the 16th cent. in Western India work? Were there scribal conventions, specific features, which had to be considered while copying a text? What can the characteristic traits of the copies tell us about the copyists?

For B the case is quite straightforward, as there is little information to draw from the copy itself. As said before, the first folio of the manuscript is lost, and the end of the copy lacks a colophon or any other kind of paratext that could reveal something about the scribe besides the date of transcription. Therefore, to make any assumption about the copyist, we must look at the text itself and how it is represented in comparison to the text in J. First, we can state that surprisingly almost no corrections were made in the manuscript afterwards; one could even think that the copyist did not read his copy even once. Otherwise, we would expect him (or other readers after him) to have corrected at least some of his mistakes, which indeed are many. These mistakes are almost all obvious scribal flaws, for example missing out

[6] What is described in the following is, among others, based on an unpublished comparative study of about 350 manuscripts from Western India which was carried out for my PhD project at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg.

(or sometimes adding) a Visarga, Anusvāra, omitting single syllables, words or sometimes whole parts of a stanza, errors based on dittography or metathesis, etc. Hence, we can conclude that B's copyist might either have been a rather uneducated person, who possibly just wrote down what he heard, maybe being particularly unfamiliar with Sanskrit. Or he might even fall into the category of, as Hanneder called them, "uninterested scribes who counted their 32 syllables merely for the single reason that they were paid in units of granthas" (Hanneder 2017: 224).

In comparison to such minimal information about the scribe in B, there are many interesting, and at the first sight, sometimes puzzling observations that we could make in J and its copyist. As it almost feels natural to start with the beginning, let us first turn to the commencement of manuscripts in general: One convention of the Indian manuscript culture is the initial invocation or homage paid to a god or goddess to assure that the undertaking is completed successfully and without hindrance.[7] Typical of Sanskrit literature—in its simplest form—is a phrase, in which the respected deity stands in the dative followed by *namaḥ*, "obeisance to". The invocation of Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī in J in this way fits very well into the prevalent pattern, as it is indeed mostly the elephant-headed god who is invoked as the remover of obstacles, closely followed by Sarasvatī, goddess of speech and learning. Notably, no conclusion about the possible religious affiliation of the scribe can be drawn from such a homage to Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī, since this type of invocation is not restricted to any religious belief. On the contrary, both

[7] Haag states that for philosophical works already from the 6th cent. onwards silent homage was obviously not considered appropriate anymore and the custom of *maṅgalaśloka* was well established (Haag 2009: 228). For a discussion on the development and gradual inclusion of *maṅgala* verses in the case of *śāstras,* see Minkowski 2008: 17–24.

deities are generally paid obeisance to by Hindus, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas alike, as well as by Jains. A beautiful example for the latter case can be found in the *tripāṭha*-manuscript of the *Abhidhānacintāmani*, dating from perhaps the 16th or 17th cent. (Figure 2). Here it is the isolated illustration of the goddess Sarasvatī at the outset of the Jain manuscript[8] that functions as *maṅgala* instead of a textual homage at the beginning.

Another feature of J's commencement before the obeisance to Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī is the *bhale*-symbol, which has already been mentioned but not yet been commented upon. Nowadays the conventional Gujarati term for it is *bhale*, meaning something like "be blessed".[9] The auspicious symbol, mostly represented with //§O// in a transcription, can be usually found at the beginning of Jain manuscripts from Gujarat and Rajasthan. Furthermore, the almost calligraphical hand-writing in J falls under the so-called *pṛṣṭhamātrā* style,[10] also found primarily in Jain manuscripts. In this way of writing, the long vocals *e* and *o* as well as the diphthongs *ai* and *au* are depicted as vertical lines before and/or after the consonants. There are also some consonants that differ from the Devanāgarī alphabet, for which reason this particular style is

[8] In scholarship the term "Jain manuscript" is used differently. Kapadia lists four possible definitions: "(1) Whatever is written in the form of a Manuscript by a Jaina is a Jaina Manuscript (2) Whatever Manuscript is written in Jaina Nāgarī characters is a Jaina Manuscript (3) Any Jaina work sacred or even secular written in the form of a manuscript by a Jaina or non-Jaina is styled a Jaina Manuscript (4) Any Manuscript that is in possession of a Jaina individual or body is a Jaina Manuscript" (cited in Tripathi 1975: 17). At this point, the third definition would be appropriate. However, in the following I will refer to the term "Jain manuscript" when I mean manuscripts that do not necessarily transmit Jain texts, but are of Jain production.

[9] Supposed to be derived from Sanskrit *bhadram* (Bhattacharya 1995: 201). Tripathi also discusses a possible connection with *a-rh-aṃ* and refers to the similarity with the *siddham*-Symbol (Tripathi 1975: 39).

[10] Also referred to as *paḍīmātrā*. See Balbir 2006: 60f. as well as Tripathi 1975: 27 und Thakara 2002: 39.

sometimes also referred to as Jain Nāgarī.[11] Leaving aside the paratextual level and hand-writing, and turning back to the visual organisation of J as it has been already described above, we get more and more the impression that J indeed seems to be a manuscript produced in the Jain tradition. Comparing the copy with other manuscripts of that time-period and region, the similarities in layout and design are striking, especially concerning the three-coloured geographic motifs on the margins. In the following two examples of *Kalpasūtra*-manuscripts (Figure 3 and 4) the decorative ornamented red or blue border of the folio catch the eye of the reader. Likewise, it is in J that the cross-like place marker in the middle around the red dot and the motifs on the margins that underline the wish of the scribe to make of this manuscript a distinctive object (cf. Balbir 2017: 62).

After all these observations, the following question arises: Could the copyist of the *GV*, in the case of J, have been a Jain? Of course, it is not contradictory that a Jain scribe should copy a Vaiṣṇava text, since it is well-known that Jain manuscript archives are treasure stores of manuscripts of all different kinds of genres, not only containing Jain scriptures but whatever the learned Jain community held worthy to be copied. Still, we should also keep the paratext of J's last folio in mind, which shows the scribal remark *śrīrāmo jayatu*, "may Rāma be victorious". In the scribal colophon at the very end of the manuscript we even learn the copyist's name: *rā / damodarena [sic] likhitam*, "[This] has been written by Rāma Damodara", insofar as *rā /* can be presumed to be an abbreviation of the proper name Rāma. From this fact, again one could infer that it was rather a Vaiṣṇava copyist, with whom the *śrīrāmo jayatu* would also fit well. Of course, one has

[11] Differing consonants are for example *ca*, *tha*, *bha*, *jña* and *kṣa*. The two latter are discussed in Kapadia 1935.

to be very careful with all these assumptions, since there are many weak points in hypothesizing to extrapolate information about a scribe's possible religious affiliation from the characteristics of a manuscript. Especially complex is the situation for the level of visual organization as it has to be legitimately clarified first—a mostly unfulfillable task for sure—if scribe and illustrator were one and the same person. For example, there are manuscripts which show folios with pre-factored marginal lines. Looking at particularly complex and beautiful illustrations in some manuscripts, it might be more probable to assume that there was a share of labour between copyist and illustrator, and scholarship has already brought into light some information about such a kind of studio workshops.[12] Anyway, in the case of J it can be at least noticed that, had scribe and illustrator really been two separate persons, they worked together in close cooperation; for it is obvious that the visual design changes deliberately on the last few folios to demarcate, and stress the *praśasti* part of the text.

However, if we once again assume that it was one person, and despite of these points, try to understand the differences in J, how, then, could we explain that a Vaiṣṇava scribe used Jain Nāgarī and a layout and style typical of Jain manuscripts? Probably he was a professional Vaiṣṇava scribe who was used to copying manuscripts of Jain texts and kept this particular design while copying manuscripts containing non-Jain texts,

[12] See Crill 1990: 32: Colophons record that major studio workshops of manuscript production were at the Jain centres of Patan and Ahmedabad. Interestingly, it was discovered that a number of the finest Jain manuscripts of the 15th cent. such as the *Kalpasūtra* from Jaunpur, were written and illustrated by members of the Hindu caste of professional scribes, the *kāyasthas* from Bengal. For a recent monograph on the visual organisation of Nepalese and North-Indian manuscripts, see Bhattarai 2020.

using the same characteristics they normally have.[13] Or was he even a copyist who had converted from Jainism to Vaiṣṇavism? One could think of either as a possible solution. But we do not even have to go that far. Rather it is the case that with J we hold a text witness in hands that, at the same time, could be seen as a "witness of blurring boundaries". In this way, J yet again shows us—and thus is one more example of the fact—that the often-assumed fixed borders of what is regarded as "Hindu", especially "Vaiṣṇava" and "Jain", was, and is not, so tight as one would think at the first glance.[14]

What do we learn from the signature verses?

Concerning the authorship of the *GV* and its time of composition there is some information to be found in the *praśasti* at the end of the poem as well as in the signature verses. These verses, transmitted in J and B respectively, structure the text additionally as they occur at the very end of every chapter and thus leave a kind of "signature" of the author nine times. Therein Pāda a and b are kept unaltered, while Pāda c is in each case arranged individually. Pāda d, again, varies according to the specific *sarga*s, mentioning that *sarga* xy of the *GV* is now completed.[15] Let us, for example, look at the signature verse of the first *sarga*:

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[13] I am grateful to Nalini Balbir for sharing her opinion with me (personal communication by email, January 2018).

[14] This statement not only includes the production and transmission of manuscripts, but the whole religious-cultural sphere. For example, Jain and Vaiṣṇava families in Gujarat and Rajasthan are known for their intermarriages since at least the last five-hundred years, thus naturally influencing each other in all spheres of life. See e.g. Cort 2001: 59, 63, 118. Babb elaborately writes about the interaction between Jains and Vaiṣṇavas within their "ritual culture" (Babb 1996 and 1998).

[15] In style and metre (Śārdūlavikrīḍita) these signature verses closely resemble the ones of Śrīharṣa in *Naiṣadhacarita* (10th cent.); for a detailed discussion see Unterdörfler (forthcoming), chapter "Abfassungszeit und Autorschaft".

śrīmallaḥ sa vidagdhavardhakiśiro'laṃkāraratnāṅkuro
mandodary api yaṃ kavīndratilakaṃ prāsūta bhojaṃ sutam /
tasya śrītvaritāprasādavikasadvāco 'tra kāvye kṛte
śrīgovindavilāsanāmni viratiṃ sargo 'yam ādyo 'gamat //1.65//

This Śrīmalla, the small gem, which is the ornament on the head of skilled artisans, and Mandodarī have brought forth that Bhoja as a son, who is an ornament of the best poets. In this great poem named *Śrīgovindavilāsa*, which he [Bhoja] composed, as his speech flourished out of the grace of the venerable Tvaritā, the first chapter is now completed.

The poet introduces himself as Bhoja and beyond that tells us the names of his parents, i.e., his father Śrīmalla and his mother Mandodarī. According to his statement his father was an artisan (*vardhaki*), so that we might not expect that Bhoja stands in a long family tradition of poets. However, it would also be wrong to assume that the poet grew up in a rather uneducated environment. In the ninth chapter he mentions the profession of his father again in calling his own poetry "the speech of the son of the excellent artisan Śrīmalla" (*giram* [ ] *śrīmallaśilpīndrasūnoḥ* 9.68). *śilpin* as well as *vardhaki* are terms that summarize a plurality of specialists with different backgrounds, be it that of a specific type of architecture or of fine arts. Although Bhoja does not tell us explicitly about his caste or *gotra*, we learn from the ninth chapter that he was raised in Idar (Gujarat) and Idar, again, is not far from Bhīnmāl in Rajasthan (formerly called Bhillamalla or Śrīmalla). Therefore, his father's name Śrīmalla might refer to the Śrīmāl-brahmins who are known to have migrated into Gujarat from the 10th cent. onwards (Sheikh 2009: 32).

What else do we learn from the signature verses or, technically speaking, their respective Pāda c, besides these statements about Bhoja's family? As we have read, in the first chapter the poet refers to Tvaritā as the goddess who grants him blessings for his poetical skills. Tvaritā is originally a tantric deity, who is named "the quick one" (√*tvar* "to hasten, move with speed"), because she was primarily worshipped for saving the life of people suffering from snakebites. Later on she was identified with different famous goddesses, e.g. with Kubjikā, Durgā, and Kālī in the Śākta traditions, as well as with Padmāvatī in the Jain Tantras.[16] That Bhoja should mention her in this prominent position within his first chapter might point to the possibility that Tvaritā was his Iṣṭadevatā, i.e. the deity chosen by him as his tutelary, favourite goddess.

According to the information that we can draw from the *praśasti* Idar's king Bhāramalla employed Bhoja as a court poet. Also, the second signature verse leads to the assumption that Bhoja must have worked as court poet in different places. In 2.66 he mentions one of his compositions, a poem of praise he had apparently written for some ruler called Arjuna. Furthermore, at the end of *sarga* three we first read explicitly about the poet's devotion for Hari, when he tells us about the great joy he feels while worshipping the god. From *sarga* four onwards all the following signature verses, in one way or another, either refer to the *GV* as an outstanding piece of poetry or to Bhoja's unique qualification as a poet. On the one hand, he ascribes to himself an extraordinary, exceptional talent in wording (*adbhutokti*) and calls himself the "jewel, who has been raised in Idar" (*iladurgarohaṇamaṇeḥ*, 4.59). On the other hand, he is the Himālaya, i.e. the source location for the rivers that are the astute literati (*vaidagdhīvibudhā-*

[16] Slouber 2012: 115. See as well chapter 6 of his monograph (Slouber 2016).

pagāhimagireḥ, 5.66), and he very well knows how to tie the flower wreath of poetry in manifold brilliant ways (*aneka-vidhojjvalāñcitavacoguṃphasya*, 6.63). When Bhoja, after that, labels himself as "spring in/for the forest of *alaṃkāraśāstras*" (*alaṃkṛtiśāstrakānanamadhoḥ*, 7.64), it is the first signature verse which shows a thematic connection to the content of the *sarga*; for it is chapter seven in particular in which the poet tries to demonstrate his poetical skills in using several distinct rhetorical figures throughout the stanzas. Moreover, the metaphor is especially witty as in *bhakti* poetry spring is considered to be the most beautiful time, because it stimulates the lovers' indulgence. Not for nothing, the poet dedicates the complete first *sarga* of his *GV* to describing spring's manifestation in Vṛndāvana that brings not only the surrounding nature, but explicitly also Lord Kṛṣṇa into the right mood.

The signature verse of chapter eight, then, tells us that Bhoja writes for the connoisseurs, the *rasika*s, and entrances them with his [sophisticated] word compositions (*rasika-pramodadavacogumphasya*, 8.63). After these four signature verses of "self-praise" in a row, the final chapter, i.e. *sarga* nine concludes with a verse that content-wise very much resembles its previous stanza (9.79). In this last of ten stanzas, which form the *praśasti*, Bhoja praises his patron, king Bhāramalla, as one who is skilled in all the *śāstra*s and never lets Hari out of his mind and heart. It is him from whom Bhoja received patronage—a whole range of favours, as he concretizes in the ninth signature verse, and thus closing stanza of the *mahākāvya* (*racite'rjitelavaraṇādhīśaprasādavaleḥ*, 9.80).

Looking at the group of signature verses as a whole it is striking that most of the stanzas clearly refer to the poet himself, trying to demonstrate and emphasize in one or another way his qualification as *poeta doctus*. Even when he mentions his devotion for Tvaritā, this happens only in

connection with her blessings concerning his poetical competence. In this respect, it is only that one signature verse of chapter three, which claims that Bhoja was worshipping Hari. This fits well into the overall picture one gains after reading through the whole poem: the *GV* seems to be a commissioned work that was in the first place composed to meet the expectations of the literati. It was composed to keep a literary knowledge system running, at a time when Kṛṣṇa-devotion was good form, especially at the courts of Rajasthan. In this way the core of the work seems to lie in an exemplary exercise of rhetorical figures; there is no sectarian or even theological agenda—a fact that is mirrored in the obviously authorial signature verses as well.

bhakti verses and further paratextual material

Before presenting the content of the *bhakti* verses, whose text and translation are given in the Appendix, let us have a look on the stanzas' position and their outer forms. To begin with, in the whole poem, i.e. in the text of J as well as B, there is not a single stanza demarcated in any way.[17] All the stanzas appear within the *scriptio continua* without any differentiation; therefore, the distinction between "text" and "paratext" (and later in particular of "scribal paratext" and "authorial paratext"), as I try to make it here, is a purely interpretative task, in which other readers of the *GV* might come to different conclusions.[18]

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[17] What is rubricated in J are not stanzas, but the concluding phrases like *iti prathamaḥ sargaḥ*, "this was the first chapter" etc. as well as on the last folio *saṃpūrṇam idaṃ śrīgovindavilāsākhyaṃ mahākāvyam*, "[now] the great poem titled *Śrīgovindavilāsa* is completed".

[18] Our initial situation here is of course totally different from the oral/aural context of transmission that for example Wilden (2017a and b) describes for specific groups of Tamil manuscripts. As the *GV* was a commissioned court poem of the genre *mahākāvya*, the main text was for sure not an aural, but a written one from the start. Therefore, we do not need to speculate too much about the orality except for the fact that the poem

***Table 1*: Occurrence and position of the *bhakti* verses**

bhakti verse(s) of *sarga*	metre	Trans-mitted	Trans-mitted	position (after the narrative part, ...)
1: 1.64	Svāgatā	✓	–	before the signature verse
2: 2.65	Svāgatā	✓	✓	before the signature verse
3: 3.57	Svāgatā	✓	–	before the signature verse
4: 4.58	Svāgatā	✓	–	before the signature verse
5: 5.65	Svāgatā	✓	–	before the signature verse
6: 6.62	Svāgatā	✓	–	before the signature verse
7: 7.65	Svāgatā	✓	–	after the signature verse
8: 8.62	Svāgatā	✓	✓	before the signature verse
9: 9.64–67	Mālinī + 2x Svāgatā + Upajāti	✓	✓	before the *praśasti* and followed by two other paratextual stanzas

Leaving aside for a moment the more complicated case of *sarga* nine, all *bhakti* verses are composed in the Svāgatā metre[19] and appear respectively at the end of a chapter,

was recited in public and commented upon among experts. On this point, see also Hanneder 2017: 227 talking about the last *sarga* of Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*.

[19] Svāgatā is a *samavṛtta* metre, consisting of four lines with 11 syllables each. The metre seems deliberately chosen especially for the *bhakti* verses. According to the *alaṃkāraśāstra*s the author of a *mahākāvya* has

subsequent to the narrative part and before the signature verse. This structure changes only once in *sarga* seven; here the *bhakti* verse surprisingly concludes the chapter after the signature verse, whose last line reads, "thus chapter seven is now completed". Apart from this single exception, the position of the *bhakti* verses seems fixed and clear throughout the poem and allows us to accredit these stanzas some structural function as well. In their Svāgatā metre, the *bhakti* verses are among the shorter ones of the poem and somehow form a contrast to the 19-syllabled four-lined Śārdūlavikrīḍita signature verses.

Looking at their content, we see that all the stanzas are in one way or another directly addressed to Hari (see Table 2), obviously uttered by the voice of a humble devotee. After calling upon Hari as his sole refuge (1.64), the devotee supplicates so that the god might cool down the burning pain of existence with his nectar-gaze (2.65). Hari, imagined as the lover of the devotee's personified mental power, may never leave her, who actually is his mistress (3.57). The following invocations of *sarga*s four to six, then, emphasize the god's supremacy over Brahmā and Śiva: he is the one out of whom all the universes, plus uncountable Brahmās and Śivas, emerged and passed away (4.58). Brahmā and Śiva instead must wait at his door and beg for entrance (5.65). Quite sweet is also the depiction of Brahmā, who, recognizing that he is not the "real" creator, mumbles in some corner of Hari's navel-lotus (6.62). In accordance with the "exercise in style" of chapter seven, the *bhakti* verse of this *sarga* states in a sophisticated hyperbole the immeasurable joy one gains by worshipping Hari (7.65). Furthermore, *bhakti* verse 8.62 somehow denotes the "fruits" of Kṛṣṇa-devotion since it

to use one main metre per *sarga* and alternate it only in the *sarga's* last stanzas. Bhoja adheres to this requirement; he uses Svāgatā only one more time as the principal metre of chapter eight (8.1–57).

recognizes the God's name as the mantra whose recitation conquers even death.

***Table 2*: Vocatives in the *bhakti* verses**

bhakti verse	vocative
1.64	*kṛṣṇa*, *keśava*, *mukunda*, *murāre*, *kaiṭabhāntaka*, *hare*, *narakāre*, *paṅkaruhanetra*
2.65	*deva* (2x), *viṭapin*
3.57	(*mānasavṛtte*), *kṛṣṇakṛpālo*
4.58	*romakūpavivarāntarariṅgatkoṭikoṭijagadaṇḍa*
5.65	*abhava*
6.62	*acyuta*
7.65	*nātha*
8.62	*kṛṣṇa*
9.65	(*svānta*)

Regarding the syntactical structure, it can be noticed that these stanzas contain at least one vocative each (Table 2), which in the first three *bhakti* verses is connected with an imperative.[20] Initially the *bhakti* verse of *sarga* one, its first half (Pāda a and b) being a mere enumeration of epithets for Kṛṣṇa, leaves the impression that this stanza is not as complex as the stanzas of the narrative part. That might indeed be the case of the first *bhakti* verse; however, the other *bhakti* verses show that they definitely are, each in its own way, well-conceived compositions.[21]

A further characteristic of this group of stanzas is the frequent use of the first person singular (as verb and/or

[20] *pāhi* (1.64c), *kalaya* (2.65d), *kalaya*, *mā kṛthāḥ* (3.57).

[21] There are a number of rhetorical figures to find and the author never uses a name for Hari twice, but varies between several epithets. Also, some sound plays are striking such as *kaḥ kva vā viśasi vā-* and *'bhava bhavo 'bjabhavo* (5.65) or *svānta kāntam*, *dhehi dehiṣu* (9.65).

pronoun) for displaying the voice of the humble devotee who is calling upon Kṛṣṇa.[22] Even in the stanzas lacking that explicit first person voice, the situation seems to be still that of a devotee talking very personally to his God. That of course is a feature, which clearly distinguishes the *bhakti* verses both from the narrative stanzas as well as from the signature verses, in which Bhoja refers to himself in the third person.

Let us now turn to the final *sarga*, in which the *bhakti* verses are not as easy to grasp as in the previous chapters. What we can clearly differentiate here are: the signature verse at the very end (9.80), the narrative part from 9.1 to 63, and the *praśasti*, praise of Idar and its kings, from 9.70 to 9.79. Between them, there are six stanzas, whose first four I tend to interpret as *bhakti* verses since they are again purely devotional in content. Among them, 9.64 might be a kind of transitional stanza, composed in the metre Mālinī. On the one hand, the verse recollects the situation of the previous stanzas by clothing the core theme of 9 in a new Utprekṣā (Kṛṣṇa as a tree for the *gopīs*, who are the female cuckoos), on the other hand, it is a personal invocation of the devotee, that leads over to the following invocations. Similar to his mental power in 3.57, it is in 9.65 the devotee's heart that is invoked to focus on Kṛṣṇa. This kind of mental union with God leads one to a mind full of *sattva*—a state that is even hard to be reached by people in India. Just as the *bhakti* verses of *sarga* one to eight, this stanza and the following ones are also written in the metre Svāgatā. 9.66, then, shows a poetical convention insofar as it apparently expresses the poet's modesty (*vinaya*), and at the same time functions as well-concealed praise of the poem. In this way it refers back to the beginning of the *GV*, in which a similar *vinaya* verse appears (1.5), thus forming a kind of ring

[22] *me* (1.64c), *māṃ* (2.65), *avāpam* (7.65), *śaṅke* (8.62), *mama* (9.64), *me*, *kalaye* (9.66), *me* (9.67).

composition. Both these verses, especially 1.5, seem to be modelled after Kālidāsa's famous stanza *Raghuvaṃśa* 1.2. In the following verse 9.67, the devotee is speaking again of his heart, from which the God may never stay far away. Here the metre changes to Upajāti, and the poet bases the stanza on a pun using *kanda*, *kunda* and *mukunda*.

The clear devotional content ends at this point. The two following stanzas in Mālinī and Śikhariṇī—clearly to be differentiated from the *bhakti* verses—form a kind of *phalaśruti* and *kāvyapraśasti*. Therein the poet directly addresses his favoured audience, and encourages them to imbibe his excellent speech about Hari's plays for it is a drink of immortality (9.68). Subsequently, as a last statement before the *praśasti* of Idar and its kings, Bhoja says that only the *rasikas* should enjoy his excellent speech and rejoice in it—others are not entitled to do so (9.69).

Before trying to give some interpretation, let me—for the sake of completeness—very shortly present the few remaining stanzas of the *GV* that fall under the category of "paratextual material": the incipit of the poem,[23] one additional stanza in chapter two, and a kind of postscript in *sarga* four. The clearly authorial stanzas of *sarga* one open the poem with a combination of *namaskriyā* and *āśis* by paying homage first to Hari as paramour of the *gopī*s (1.1), and then to Hari together with his consort Lakṣmī (1.2 and 3). In addition, Śabarī/Pārvatī is venerated (1.4) before the already mentioned *vinaya* verse (1.5), and a further stanza about Bhoja's personified poetry (*kavitā*; 1.6). The latter one is particularly interesting, since it seems to imply one more biographical hint about the poet's previous activity as court poet. Bhoja portrays himself as being compassionate with his *kavitā*; since she must be tired from all

[23] On a study about the incipit or preface in *mahākāvyas* see Boccali 2008 and Tieken 2014.

the "comings and goings" to so many kings, he now encourages her to recover in the lake of the stories about Kṛṣṇa. Besides, structurally 1.5 and 1.6 function as a kind of transition to the main text.

After that, the next paratextual element is stanza 2.66 (in Upajāti), likewise a kind of *kāvyapraśasti* occurring after the signature verse at the end of *sarga* two:

वाग्देवतानुग्रहकल्पशाखि-	*vāgdevatānugrahakalpaśākhi-*
प्रसूतसूक्तस्तबकैः प्रक्लृप्तम्।	*prasūtasūktastabakaiḥ prakḷptam /*
मान्दोदरेयेण बुधाः स्वकण्ठं	*māndodareyeṇa budhāḥ*
	svakaṇṭhaṃ
नयन्तु गोविन्दविलासदाम॥ ६७॥[24]	*nayantu govindavilāsadāma ||67*

67. The wise men may dress their own necks with the garland of the *Govindavilāsa* [poem and recite and memorize it]. For this wreath was bundled by Mandodarī's son with clusters of stanzas, which had been born as flowers on the wish fulfilling tree that is the favour of Sarasvatī.

Finally, after the signature verse of *sarga* four we find in both manuscripts the following *postscriptum*:

श्रीगोविन्दविलासाख्यं काव्यं	*śrīgovindavilāsākhyaṃ kāvyaṃ*
सर्वमनुत्तमम्।	*sarvam anuttamam*
सर्गस्तत्रापि चतुर्थोऽयं यत्र	*sargas tatrāpi caturyo 'yaṃ yatra*
कृष्णाङ्गवर्णनम्। १	*kṛṣṇāṅgavarṇanam*

This poem named *Śrīgovindavilāsa* is the best of all [poems]; here is the fourth chapter, in which Kṛṣṇa's body is described.[25]

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[24] Metre: Upajāti (Pāda a and c: *Indravajrā*, Pāda b and d: *Upendravajrā*). Stanza in J and B.

[25] I suggest that the second part is supposed to mean "here is [the best of all chapters], the fourth, in which Kṛṣṇa's body is described."

While 2.67 very well fits into the style of the textual stanzas, it is written in Upajāti, which is the prevalent metre of the second *sarga*, and therefore can be understood as an authorial stanza. I suppose that the paratextual element after the fourth chapter is a scribal remark. Not only because it is comparatively simple, and in the second part its style is almost elliptical, but in particular because of the metric irregularity and the peculiar expression *sarvam anuttamam*, which does not really seem to be good Sanskrit. At least one would not expect this wording by an author whose main task is to demonstrate his poetical skills—even not as a short afterword. Interestingly, there happen to be further scribal remarks after this part, in J, as well as in B. While this time it is only a short *oṃ namaḥ* in J, B shows—once in the whole manuscript—several phrases: *śrī // śubhaṃ bhavatu // // śrīr astu // // rāmo jayatu //*

How, now, to bring order to all these different, somehow puzzling observations? How should we understand especially the fact that there are some *bhakti* verses also in B (namely those of chapters two, eight and nine), while the majority of them is not?

Let me try to interpret this by giving one more look in particular to these three stanzas and their positions in the poem. First, we can state that, as already seen above, the scribe of B does not seem to have been a very well-educated person. According to the number of mistakes in the manuscript, at least his competence in the transcription of Sanskrit might have been limited. Keeping that in mind, one would not expect B's copyist to make deliberate changes of the text for example by conscious leaving out of specific parts of it. This again leads to the assumption that the *bhakti* verses, which are missing in B, were already not present in the manuscript that served

the scribe of B as text witness for his own copy.[26] In that situation we suppose that the text witness in front of B's copyist (or some earlier copy of that strand of transmission) had been revised at some point, interpreting the *bhakti* verses as being non-authentic, i.e., as scribal paratext, which should not been transmitted.[27] If, however, the person responsible for this thought that originally there were no *bhakti* verses in the poem—why, then, did he not cancel all of the supposedly additional stanzas? For the *bhakti* verse of chapter two, this question is difficult to answer. At least we can say that the second *sarga* is already somehow special as it is the only chapter offering an additional stanza after the signature verse. An additional stanza, we must specify, which is not a *bhakti* verse but a *kāvyapraśasti*, written in Upajāti just as stanzas 2.1–61. In the case of *sarga* eight one possible explanation for the fact that the *bhakti* verse was not cancelled might be that the predominant metre of the whole chapter is Svāgatā. Therefore, the Svāgatā *bhakti* verse is somehow not as easily "detectable" as in the other chapters. Especially in *sarga* nine it might have been the same case since structurally, as I have shown above, the final chapter with its important *praśasti* part before the signature verse deliberately differs from the rest of the poem. Is it plausible that somebody would "forget" to delete in particular the *bhakti* verses at these three places? I am not sure. Otherwise, I also cannot think of any argument as to why one should consider the *bhakti* verses as such as

[26] There are several arguments as to why B cannot be a direct copy of J, which was written twelve years earlier. See the discussion in my dissertation under "Abstammung der Manuskripte" (Unterdörfler: forthcoming).

[27] Either a reader, a scribe or an editor could have done this work. For the editor as an important actor in pre-modern Indian text production and transmission, see Hanneder 2017.

non-authentic and only those of chapter two, eight and nine as being worthy of transmission.

Turning back to the *bhakti* verses themselves and their style and content, I would say that there is no reason for interpreting them as scribal paratext. Not only does their well-defined position at every chapter end before the signature verse suggest that these stanzas have a structural function, but also their way of composing matches well with the textual part, and does not show any clashes in style. It seems to have been a deliberate choice of the author to close every chapter in a personal voice and in this way "alert" the reader that the *sarga* is now coming to an end. Maybe especially the use of the first person and the structure of a personal dialogue between devotee and God were necessary to contrast it with the following signature verse that the author modelled, as we have seen, after Śrīharṣa's signature verses in the third person. For a court poet like Bhoja, who seeks to demonstrate his creative competence in poetry, the *bhakti* verses might have indeed been part of his personal "signature"—a kind of innovative signature that is not only "copied" by his great predecessor Śrīharṣa, but connected with a new element: a *bhakti* verse.

Appendix 1: *bhakti* verses

कृष्ण केशव मुकुन्द मुरारे	*kṛṣṇa keśava mukunda murāre*
कैटभान्तक हरे नरकारे।	*kaiṭabhāntaka hare narakāre |*
पाहि पंकरुहनेत्र न मेऽन्य-	*pāhi paṅkaruhanetra na me 'nyas*
स्त्वत्पदैकशरणस्य शरण्यः॥६४॥	*tvatpadaikaśaraṇasya śaraṇyaḥ*
	|| 64

(1.64) O Kṛṣṇa, o Keśava, o Mukunda, o enemy of Mura, o destroyer of Kaiṭabha, o Hari, foe of Naraka, protect [me], you with lotus-eyes! There is no one else, in whom I seek rescue—your feet being my sole refuge.

देव देव विटपिन्विनतानां	*deva deva viṭapin vinatānāṃ*
दुःसहा भवतपातपनाप्तिः।	*duḥsahā bhavatapātapanāptiḥ |*
तद्विडम्बितसुधारसवृष्ट्या	*tadviḍambitasudhārasavṛṣṭyā*
किंकरं कलय मां निजदृष्ट्या	*kiṃkaraṃ kalaya māṃ*
॥६५॥[28]	*nijadṛṣṭyā ||65*

(2.65) Lord, [o my] Lord, you, being the [shelter-giving] tree for the people who bow to you! It is so hard to bear the burning pain, which affects one during the circuit of existence. I am your [exhausted] servant—refresh me with your gaze that even surpasses nectar rain!

केशवं कलय मानसवृत्ते	*keśavaṃ kalaya mānasavṛtte*
जीवितेशमिव वासकसज्जा।	*jīviteśam iva vāsakasajjā |*
मा कृथास्त्वमपि कृष्ण कृपालो	*mā kṛthās tvam api kṛṣṇa kṛpālo*
खण्डितां प्रणयिनीं क्षणमेनाम्	*khaṇḍitāṃ praṇayinīṃ kṣaṇam*
॥५७॥	*enām ||57*

[28] Stanza also in B.

(3.57) O my mental power, call Keśava, Lord over my life! [Call him] just as a beloved woman calls, who is ready to receive her lover! And you, merciful Kṛṣṇa, take care so that this mistress will not even for a second be left by her lover!

रोमकूपविवरान्तररिङ्ग-	*romakūpavivarāntarariṅgat-*
त्कोटिकोटिजगदण्ड भवत्तः।	*koṭikoṭijagadaṇḍa bhavattaḥ |*
नोदयं न विलयं च भजन्ते	*nodayaṃ na vilayaṃ ca bhajante*
कत्यनन्तविधयः कति शर्वाः	*katyanantavidhayaḥ kati śarvāḥ*
॥५८॥	*//58*

(4.58) O [Lord], out of whose apertures of skin pores millions over millions of universes sprout! How many countless Brahmās, how many Śivas did not emerge from you and passed [again]?

वेत्रिभिः कलितवेत्रविकम्पं	*vetribhiḥ kalitavetravikampaṃ*
कः क्व वा विशसि वारित इत्थम्।	*kaḥ kva vā viśasi vārita ittham |*
द्वारि तेऽभव भवोऽब्जभवोऽपि	*dvāri te 'bhava bhavo 'bjabhavo 'pi*
प्रान्तवेदिवसतिश्चिरमास्ते॥६५॥	*prāntavedivasatiś ciram āste //65*

(5.65) O Abhava (Hari), on your door even Bhava (Śiva) and Abjabhava (Brahmā) are held back by your doorkeepers, who are waving their stakes, saying: "Who are you? Where do you want to go?" Long do they have to wait on the threshold.

यः प्रभुः प्रतिदिनं प्रथितोर्जा	*yaḥ prabhuḥ pratidinaṃ prathitorjā*
हेलया त्रिजगतीश्वरिकर्ति।	*helayā trijagatīś carikarti |*
नाभिनीररुहि ते ऽच्युत धाता	*nābhinīraruhi te 'cyuta dhātā*
क्वापि मुग्धमधु पीयति कोणे	*kvāpi mugdhamadhu pīyati koṇe //62*
॥६२॥	

(6.62) The Lord with the famous strength—[it is you alone,] o Acyuta!—daily creates the three worlds out of play. The so-called creator, Brahmā, is just sitting in your navel lotus, gawkishly mumbling in some corner.

नित्यदौस्थ्य इव सेवधिलब्ध्या	*nityadausthya iva sevadhilabdhyā*
ध्वान्तदूषित इवार्यमरुच्या।	*dhvāntadūṣita ivāryamarucyā |*
यां त्वया मुदमवापमनल्पां	*yāṃ tvayā mudam avāpam analpāṃ*
नाथ गोष्पदमदःपुरतोऽब्धिः	*nātha goṣpadamadaḥpurato*
॥६५॥	*'bdhiḥ ||65*

(7.65) What an immeasurable joy I found through you! Just as someone, who was always poor, [rejoices] after discovering a treasure; or as one being frightened by darkness exults at the sunlight. [My pleasure is great through you], o Lord; in front of it, even the ocean is only [as expansive as] the hoofprint of a cow.

कृष्ण नाममनुना तव विद्या	*kṛṣṇa nāmamanunā tava vidyā*
दृष्टताकृदपि सिद्ध्यति शङ्के।	*dṛṣṭatākṛd api siddhyati śaṅke |*
यज्जपान्न कलयन्ति विरामे	*yaj japān na kalayanti virāme*
किंकराः प्रकुपिताः शमनस्य	*kiṃkarāḥ prakupitāḥ śamanasya*
॥६२॥[29]	*||62*

(8.62) O Kṛṣṇa, by the mantra that is your name, knowledge is accomplished, which leads to the state of [right] perception, I suspect. [It is the mantra] because of whose recitation the angry servants of Yama at the time of death are not able to harm one anymore.

[29] Stanza also in B.

तरुणिममधुमत्ताभीररामान्यपुष्टा-	*taruṇimadhumattābhīra rāmānyapuṣṭā-*
कलितललितकूजो जागरूकाखिलान्तः।	*kalitalalitakūjo jāgarūkākhilāntaḥ |*
समधिकसुरभिश्रीरञ्जितच्छाययोच्चै-	*samadhikasurabhiśrīrañji- tacchāyayoccair*
र्यदुतिलकरसालस्तापहारीममास्तु ॥६४॥[30]	*yadutilakarasālas tāpahārī mamāstu //64*

(9.64) May the mango tree Kṛṣṇa (Yadutilaka) take away my burning pain! [This tree,] in which the female cuckoos, i.e., the beautiful cowherdesses, are softly cooing as they are infatuated by the vine of their youth! This tall tree that has awoken [the gopīs'] inner part, may it [appease my fervour] by his shadow, which blazes in colours by the resplendence of the exuberant spring!

स्वान्त कान्तमुदधिप्रभवाया	*svānta kāntam udadhiprabhavāyā*
धेहि देहिषु नृता दुरवापा।	*dhehi dehiṣu nṛtā duravāpā |*
सापि चेत्क्व बत भारतवर्षे	*sāpi cet kva bata bhāratavarṣe*
सात्विकी मतिरिहाप्यबहूनाम् ॥६५॥[31]	*sātvikī matir ihāpyabahūnām //65*

(9.65) O heart! Focus on the beloved of [Lakṣmī], the lady who was born from the ocean! It is tough for souls[32] to achieve a human birth. And even if they [are born as humans]—where? In Bhāratavarṣa, of course!—a mind full of *sattva* is even here [in Bhāratavarṣa] not achieved by many.

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[30] Stanza also in B.

[31] Stanza also in B.

[32] *dehin* from *deha*, "body", in the strict sense "who is corporeal", means the soul, which is according to birth wrapped in a body. In this sense, *dehin* can be understood as synonym of *ātman*, the unperishable soul, which stays pure irrespective of its choice of a body.

वाक्त्वदीयगुणवार्धितरङ्गं	*vāk tvadīyaguṇavārdhitaraṅgaṃ*
लङ्घितुं युगशतैरपि नालम्।	*laṅghituṃ yugaśatair api nālam |*
तस्य सीकरमपि स्पृशतो मे	*tasya sīkaram api spṛśato me*
साहसस्य कलयेऽञ्जलिबन्धम्	*sāhasasya kalaye 'ñjalibandham*
॥६६॥[33]	*//66*

(9.66) Even in hundreds of aeons, speech[34] is not capable of crossing a single billow of the ocean of his good qualities! I bow down to my own courage, since I [in this poem] try to touch only a foam [of one of these waves].

दैवान्मुकुन्दो यदि वापि कुन्दः	*daivān mukundo yadi vāpi kundaḥ*
कुर्वीत मे धाम विलासधाम।	*kurvīta me dhāma vilāsadhāma |*
तथापि देवः करुणानलिन्याः	*tathāpi devaḥ karuṇānalinyāḥ*
कन्दो मुकुन्दो न हृदोऽस्तु दूरे	*kando mukundo na hṛdo 'stu dūre*
॥६७॥[35]	*//67*

(9.67) Be it, depending on fate, Mukunda, who bestows liberation, or Kunda, who brings evil,[36] – may he turn my heart into a place for/of [his] amusements! In any case shall Mukunda, the plant root of the lotus "compassion", be not far from my heart!

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[33] Stanza also in B.

[34] And the goddess of speech, Sarasvatī, respectively.

[35] Metre: Upajāti (Pāda a, b, d: Indravajrā, Pāda c: Upendravajrā).

[36] *mukunda* and *kunda* are both lexicalized as epithets of Viṣṇu. While *mukunda* is usually translated as "he who grants liberation", an etymological explanation for *kunda* is missing. Here it is clear from the context that the poet in both cases addresses Lord Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and that *kunda* was meant to form an antipole to *mukunda*; therefore, it is interpreted as "the one who brings evil".

Figures 1 to 4

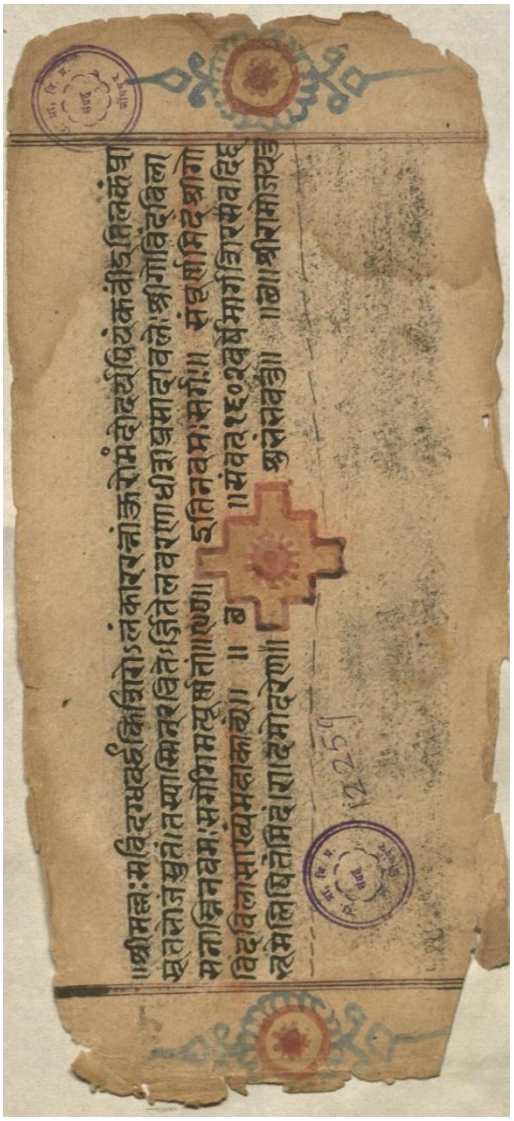

Figure 1: *Śrīgovindavilāsamahākāvya*, RORI Jodhpur, Acc. No. 12259, folio 52v

Figure 2: *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* with *Nāmasāroddhāra* commentary (Or. 13806), The British Library Board

Figure 3: *Kalpasūtra* (Gamma 453), Wellcome Trust Library

Figure 4: *Kalpasūtra* (IM08-1931), Victoria and Albert Museum

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The *taṉiyaṉ*s: 'Self-contained' Śrīvaiṣṇava Verses in Tamil and Sanskrit on the *Nālāyira Tivviyap Pirapantam*[1]

Suganya Anandakichenin (CSMC, Universität Hamburg)

Abstract

Before reciting a canonical work, discussing it or engaging in any other equally solemn activity, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas recite what they refer to as *taṉiyaṉ*s, "solitary" invocatory verses, which are not part of the composition that they precede, but which they actually introduce and praise, sometimes along with its author. In this contribution I focus on the (approximately) fifty *taṉiyaṉ*s solely dedicated to the NTP,[2] as well as similar solitary verses known under different denominations by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. And the aim is to introduce this peculiar Śrīvaiṣṇava verse in its larger context, and to provide information on its types, contents, styles, functions, authorship and dating.

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[1] Please note that the translation of all the Tamil verses are mine. I thank Hugo David and Victor D'Avella, who I relied on for the translation of the Sanskrit verses, with the latter going through this article and making valuable suggestions. I also thank N. Govindarajan, Harunaga Isaacson, Andrey Klebanov, Indra Manuel, K. Nachimuthu, R. Rajarethinam, Srilata Raman, Srirangam B. Ramanujam, Śrīvaiṣṇavaśrī A. Kiruṣṇamāccāriyar, S. L. P. Anjaneya Sarma and Eva Wilden for the different kinds of help that they generously gave me at the various stages of writing this article. All shortcomings are undoubtedly mine.

[2] I hope to produce at least one more article on the *taṉiyaṉ*s dedicated to both the metatexts on the NTP and to the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas, authors of such works (as well as some non-writing Ācāryas). A monograph translating and analyzing the commentaries on the *taṉiyaṉ*s dealt with here is also in order.

I. Introduction

The recitation of the *taṉiyaṉ*s opens many a religious event among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, especially if it involves the chanting or studying of their canonical works. These solitary verses, although distinct from those works, introduce and praise them and/or their authors. Manuscripts of the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam* (NTP) begin with them, and so do their printed editions. Sometimes whole manuscripts are exclusively dedicated to them, which suggests their importance for the devout.

In her contribution to this volume, Eva Wilden (p. 333) points out that these *taṉiyaṉ*s could be the first kinds of texts that name and praise an author at the beginning rather than the end of a work. We may wonder why this innovation was made. What exactly are these paratextual verses that have gained so much importance among generations of devout Śrīvaiṣṇavas? Who composed them and for what purpose? What is the literary context which produced them? Were there specific rules applied to compose them? In what way do they differ from their counterparts like the *pāyiram* or the *maṅgalācaraṇa*? How and why did their status and role grow among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas? Wilden (fn 3) also draws our attention to the fact that the word *taṉiyaṉ* is not found in Tamil treatises, such as those found in the *Pāṭṭiyal* ("treatise on poetic composition" *Tamil Lexicon* [TL]) genre, which typically defines literary genres and subgenres, and provides lists of compositions called *Pirapantam* ("poetic compositions of 96 types" TL) and their sub-forms. So once again, we may wonder why the *taṉiyaṉ*s do not appear in these prescriptive and inclusive texts. When were they named and classified? Are they even considered a separate genre, like the texts that they introduce? Who is their intended audience? I shall seek to answer some of these questions throughout this article.

1. The word *taṉiyaṉ*

The TL defines *taṉiyaṉ*— from the root *taṉi* "singleness, solitude, uniqueness"— thus:[3]

> *taṉiyaṉ*, 1. See *taṉit tāḷ*, 2. Single person, animal or thing; 3. Wild beast detached from the herd and thus rendered ferocious 4. Stray verse in praise of an author or a work. (***tiv***.) 5. Stray verse in salutation to a guru. ***Vaiṣṇ***. [bold mine][4]

If we leave aside the first three definitions for the moment, we can notice that the examples given for 4 and 5 point to a Vaiṣṇava connection.[5] While this division shows that the *taṉiyaṉ* in the Vaiṣṇava context is of two different types, we shall solely focus on 4, since it is linked to the NTP, which is the focus of this article. The reference to *tiv*. (short for NTP) in 4 is a little ambiguous. Does the TL mean to say that the word figures in the NTP? If so, is it used to convey this particular meaning? If yes, why not give an example from the corpus? If not, why point to this corpus at all?[6] When and how did the

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[3] We also find in the TL the word for the literary genre known as *taṉippāṭal* or *taṉippāṭṭu* ("stray, occasional stanza" [TL]), of which the *taṉiyaṉ* is a type.

[4] Here is the full definition: *taṉiyaṉ*, n. < id. 1. See *taṉit tāḷ*,[4] 2. Single person, animal or thing; *oṉṟiyāṉavaṉ ... tāyumili tantaiyili tāṉṟaṉi yaṉ* ['He has neither mother, nor father, He is a solitary one'] (*tiruvācakam* 12, 3). 3. Wild beast detached from the herd and thus rendered ferocious; *iṉattiṉiṉṟum pirintamaiyāl mūrkkaṅkoṇṭa mirukam*. 4. Stray verse in praise of an author or a work; *oru nūlai allatu ākkiyōṉaip pukaḻntu kūṟum taṉicceyyuḷ.* (**tiv**.) 5. Stray verse in salutation to a guru; *kurustōttiramāṉa oṟṟaic culōkam*. ***Vaiṣṇ***. [bold mine].
Please note that *taṉittāḷ*, *means* 1. Single man or woman, as a bachelor, a widow. 2. Helpless, forlorn person.

[5] This is done by means of *tiv*. and *vaiṣṇ*. (short Vaiṣṇava), respectively. Please note that in both cases, no reference text is named, which the TL usually provides.

[6] We can ask ourselves similar questions for 5 (*vaiṣn.*): does this word *vaiṣn.* intend to include all types of Vaiṣṇava texts, presumably composed in Tamil? Or is this a short form for 'Śrīvaiṣṇava'? How widespread and

word come to refer to a stray verse in praise of a work, its author or an Ācārya? Does the Śrīvaiṣṇava literary corpus, which is of a considerable length, use the word *taṉiyaṉ* in this sense?[7]

To get back to the etymology of *taṉiyaṉ*, as seen above, among the different nuances suggested by the TL, the common link is the "being alone" element. As a matter of fact, in more specialized dictionaries, we find that this meaning is primary.[8] However, there is no reference to any type of verse in their definitions, and instead, they correspond to the TL definitions 1 and 2. This is rather surprising especially for the *Glossary of Historical Tamil Vaishnava Prose*.

If we look at what traditional scholars have said about the word, we can see that Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār (1968: 5), in his commentary on *Caṭakōpar antāti*, defines the nature of the *taṉiyaṉ* thus:

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systematic is the composition of *taṉiyaṉ*s for the gurus in the non-Śrivaiṣṇava Tamil milieu compared with the Śrīvaiṣṇava one? The TL seems to indicate that the usage of the word *taṉiyaṉ* bearing this particular meaning belongs to Vaiṣṇava literature. Due to lack of space, I cannot deal with these questions here, but will do so elsewhere. What we can say here, at best, is that the TL seems to be a little imprecise while giving its definitions in this particular case.

[7] We also observe that the TL uses the Tamil word *ceyyuḷ* ("stanza, poem") for 4, and the Tamilised Sanskrit word *culōkam* ('śloka') for 5. Could it be that the language of composition varies according to the function of the *taṉiyaṉ*, e.g. whom it praises? We might also consider whether all the *taṉiyaṉ*s related to the NTP are (or were supposed to be) composed in Tamil.

[8] *Glossary of Historical Tamil Vaishnava Prose*:
taṉiyaṉ = oṉṟiyāṉavaṉ ["he who is solitary"] (The example given is from the *oṉpatiṉāyirappaṭi* commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḻi* by Nañcīyar)
Glossary of Historical Tamil Literature:
taṉiyaṉ = 1) oṉṟiyāṉavaṉ ["he who is solitary"] (The illustration is from *Tiruvācakam* 257[8]), and 2) *oppaṟṟavaṉ* ["He who is matchless"] (+ an example from *Periya Tirumoḻi* 2.2.8)
NB: The *Glossary of Tamil Inscriptions* does not include this word.

> This poem is composed by one of the learned people. This is called a *taṉiyaṉ* in the Vaiṣṇava tradition. (It stands on its own, as a preface (*pāyiram*) [does], not being included in a work. The *aṉ*-ending of the word points to high [i.e. human] class).[9]

When did such a meaning come to exist? The word *taṉiyaṉ* was known both to the Āḻvārs and the Ācāryas,[10] but for both groups, it is a masculine word which points to being alone and/or singular. For example, Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai (1167-1262) uses the word *taṉiyaṉ* in the sense of a single person:

> "And [His] embracing both the sacred shoulders of the revered Periya-Pirāṭṭi, who has for [Her] abode a lotus flower abundant in petals; And [His] embracing [Her] is like when **one man [all] alone** descends into great floods seeking to enjoying [them on his own]" (commentary on *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 2.2).[11] [12]

It therefore seems to me that the use of the word *taṉiyaṉ* to refer to a type of solitary verse, as it is used now, came later

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[9] *i- kavi, apiyuktaril oruvar ceytatu. itu, vaiṣṇavacampiratāyattil 'taṉiyaṉ' eṉappaṭum. (nūliṉuḷ aṭaṅkātu taṉiyē pāyiram āy niṟṟal paṟṟiyatu, a- peyar 'aṉ'-vikuti – uyarvu poruḷāṉatu).*

[10] In order to check the usage of the word *taṉiyaṉ*, I did a word search of electronic texts of the NTP and some of the early Śrivaiṣṇava works. Not all Śrivaiṣṇava works are available in word-searchable files. We are in the process of creating such files and making a database that is as exhaustive as possible.

[11] *itaḻ mikk$_u$ irunta tāmarai pūvai vāsasthānam-āka uṭaiya periya-pirāṭṭiyār tiru tōḷkaḷ iraṇṭaiyum tōyntatum;* ***taṉiyaṉ*** *peru veḷḷattilē iḻintu anubhavikka tēṭiṉā pōlē tōyntatum —*

[12] As for Vādikesari Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar (1242-1350), he gives the word *taṉiyaṉ* a slightly more complex meaning, although it is still very close to the etymology: in his *Paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi*, he glosses *taṉiyaṉ*—used by Nammāḻvār to refer to Nārāyaṇa in TVM 3.5.6, in a context that clearly betrays neither reference, nor allusion to any type of verse but to a noun in masculine-singular — as *advitīyaṉ* ("One without a second", i.e. matchless one).

than these two Ācāryas, which will be addressed in more detail below.[13]

2. Authorship, sources and dates

As mentioned above, the *taṉiyaṉ* was not composed by the poet/person whom it praises, but by Ācāryas named in the Śrīvaiṣṇava traditions.[14] The ones on the NTP are thought to have been composed for the express purpose of praising an author/work. However, there also exist some that were extracted from a larger work, e.g. a *stotra*.[15] It is worth noting that some verses can be found in, but not traced to, hagiographic works,[16] because these works probably only serve as a centralized database for verses that may have an independent existence before[17] (See chart 4).

The *taṉiyaṉs* for the NTP have been transmitted, as mentioned above, with author names, usually of Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas.[18] But because we have very few means of verifying

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[13] Only a more thorough search can tell us if the word *taṉiyaṉ* ever meant a verse in praise of an Āḻvār or an Ācārya for the early Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas—which it did not for the Āḻvārs.

[14] Please note that the latter sometimes give alternative possibilities, which sometimes creates confusion over the authorship (see Chart 1; see for example, the *taṉiyaṉ* "*mālai taṉiyē*" on Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār's *Periya Tirumoḻi*).

[15] See § 4.8. A Chronological Study of *the* Contents of the taṉiyaṉs .

[16] Examples of such works are Piṉpaḻakiya Perumāḷ Jīyar's *Āṟāyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam* (GPP6k; 14th-15th c.), Kantāṭai Nāyaṉ's *Periya tirumuṭi aṭaivu* by (15th c. [Arunācalam 2005 [1971], vol. 4: 299]), Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar's *Yatīndra Pravana Prabhāvam* (YPP; 16th c.) or even the *Āṟāyirappaṭi Paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam* (GPP12k).

[17] Although there can be inconsistencies within a tradition, it is unlikely that the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Ācārya and lay alike, did not know that while a work like the GPP6k is attributed to one Ācārya (i.e. Jīyar), the *taṉiyaṉs* have their own individual authors.

[18] However, the *taṉiyaṉs* for the Ācāryas themselves were usually composed by their foremost disciple, a practice that is still in vogue. To this day, each Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācārya has a *taṉiyaṉ* composed in his praise by his foremost disciple, in Sanskrit.

the authorship of verses that are not part of larger works,[19] this can sometimes be a source of doubt, for traditional and modern scholars alike. K. K. A. Venkatachari (1978: 10-1), for example, is sceptical about the authorship attributed to the verses composed in praise of the Āḻvārs, while he believes in the authenticity of the authorship of the *taṉiyaṉ*s dedicated to the Ācāryas (not dealt with in this article), because of the role that he believes they played in the remembering of the genealogy of teachers.

On the one hand, his reasonings seem sound: for the Ācāryas, it was often their chief disciple who wrote the *taṉiyaṉ*, mostly during their lifetimes. Margins for errors in the attribution of authorship are therefore limited. The same cannot be said of the *taṉiyaṉ*s in praise of the Āḻvārs, as they were written after their lifetimes by people technically unrelated to them.[20] On the other hand, it does not seem sensible to doubt the integrity of the tradition on this subject without a valid reason.[21] Thus, Aruṇācalam (2015b [1973]: 215), while admitting that it is not possible to assert the authorship claims, notes that there is no harm in trusting the tradition, as the Vaiṣṇavas have, according to him, always preserved and transmitted their works systematically. Therefore, as Friedhelm Hardy (1974: 39fn94) points out on the authorship of Nāthamuni on Madhurakavi's work, there

[19] If they were, it could have allowed a better study of recurrent linguistic, thematic, and other patterns.

[20] Indeed, the authorship of some are attributed to Ācāryas who probably lived well before the practice of using *taṉiyaṉ*s (the way it is now) came into being, and that too, to Ācāryas who may have left very few traces of their writings, and/or who are not known to have written in Tamil at all. Nāthamuni (traditional dates: ca. 10th c.) fits in all three categories.

[21] That the writers of the tradition in question had vivid imagination can be seen from the hagiographies, but making inexact claims unless what is at stake is worth it cannot be presumed (e.g. the Vaṭakalais or the Teṉkalais seeking to establish the superiority of their own Ācāryas over the others).

"is no reason to question the ascription".[22] Till we know more about this matter (which we may never), we have to rely on the traditional ascribing of authorship.

Accepting the authorship of the NTP *taṉiyaṉ*s leads to the equally complex issue of the dating of their authors, i.e., the early Ācāryas. Debates concerning their dates continue to rage, as consensus is understandably hard to achieve, and settling them is well beyond the scope of this article.[23] Therefore, if we agree — if not on the exact dates — at least upon the centuries in which they lived, especially based on the internal chronology that can be built, for example, based on the relationship between these Ācāryas,[24] then we can make the following tentative suggestions concerning the dates.

Chart 1. The authors of standard *taṉiyaṉ*s

Cent.	Author/attributed to	S	T	Total
9th-10th	Nāthamuni	3	1	4
10th	Īśvaramuni	-	1	1
10th	Āḷavantār/Yāmunācārya	1	-	1
10th	Tirukkaṇṇamaṅkaiyāṇṭāṉ	-	1-2	1-2
10th	Uyyakkoṇṭār/Puṇḍarīkākṣa	-	2	2
10th	Maṇakkāl Nampi	-	1-2	1-2
10th	Kurukai Kāvalappaṉ	-	1	1
11th	Coṭṭai Nampi	-	1	1
11th	Tiruvaraṅka Perumāḷ Araiyar	-	2	2
11th	Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Nampi/Goṣṭhīpūrṇa	0-1	-	0-1
11th	Tirukkacci Nampi/Kāñcīpūrṇa	-	2	2
11th	Tirumalai Nampi	-	1	1

[22] We can say the same for the 3 (or 4) verses attributed to Rāmānuja, who is usually known to have written only in Sanskrit. Please note that more verses in Tamil attributed to him are quoted in Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar's *Rāmānujārya Divyacaritai.*

[23] For a list of important Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas and their traditional dates, see Mumme 2009 [1988]: 274-5, but most importantly, the many volumes of Aruṇācalam 2005, especially for the minor Ācāryas. Most datings used in this article are based on these works.

[24] Sometimes these are blood relations, but oftentimes, they belong to the teacher-disciple lineage.

Cent.	Author/attributed to	S	T	Total
12th	Periya Nampi/Mahāpūrṇa	1	-	1
12th	Rāmānuja	-	3-4	3-4
12th	Anantāḻvāṉ	-	1	1
12th	Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Emperumāṉār	-	1	1
12th	Cīrāmappiḷḷai	-	1	1
12th	Cōmāciyāṇṭāṉ	-	0-3	0-3
12th	Empār/Govinda Bhaṭṭa	-	1-2	1-2
12th	Kiṭāmpiyāccāṉ	-	1	1
12th	Kūrattāḻvāṉ/Kūreśa	2	-	2
12th	Mutaliyāṇṭāṉ	-	1	1
12th	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	2	2	4
12th	Piḷḷai Tirunaṟaiyūr Araiyar	-	2	2
12th	Amutaṉār/Tiruvaraṅkatt' Amutaṉār	-	0-1[25]	0-1
12th	Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ	-	1	1
12th	Tirumālaiyāṇṭāṉ	1	-	1
12th	Vedappirāṉ Bhaṭṭar	-	2-3	2-3
14th	Brahmatantra Svatantra Svāmi	1	-	1
15th	Maṇavāḷa Māmuni	-	0-1	0-1
15th	Vāṉamāmalai Svāmi I	-	1-2	1-2
N/A	Raṅganātha (God)	1	-	1
?	Pāṇṭiya Paṭṭar	-	2	2
?	Tirukkōḷūr Nampi	0-1	0-1	0-2
	Other (*apiyuktar*)	-	0-1	0-1
	TOTAL	13	37	50

S = Sanskrit; T = Tamil

While with older, anonymous verses, Wilden (2017c: 175-6) notes how the composer's choice of metre can sometimes help determine the date of composition,[26] in our case, most

[25] When the authorship is doubtful and/or attributed also to someone else, I have taken that into account. More details on this issue will be given later.

[26] Wilden's theory is quoted in detail here: "Before looking into the verses themselves it might be useful to add a few observations on metre as an indication of age. Of course, it is impossible to date an anonymous verse with any degree of certainty, but at least it is permissible, and perhaps useful, to weigh the probabilities. The four-line *Veṇpā* has to be regarded as the standard format for mnemonic stanzas. The metre developed in the 5th–6th century, and some stanzas might well go back at least to the late centuries of the first millennium (…) *Āciriyappā* is of course the metre of the oldest heritage. To have it composed in the second

*taṉiyaṉ*s are *veṇpā*s whatever the metre of the poem that they precede and praise, when they are not Sanskrit ones. Therefore, the choice of metre does not really take us any further in our quest.[27]

Based on the information found in Chart 1, the oldest composer of a *taṉiyaṉ* verse is Nāthamuni,[28] and most of the fifty *taṉiyaṉ*s were composed between the 10th and the 12th centuries (Aruṇācalam 2005b [1973]: 215). As for the practice of integrating them to the recitation of sacred texts, on the one hand, Venkatachari (1978: 10-1) points out that Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai (13th c.) does not refer to the *taṉiyaṉ* verses or include them in his works, so it must have been after his time. On the other, we have the *terminus post quem* with Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar (16th c.) commenting upon the NTP *taṉiyaṉ*s.[29] The practice of singing them could hence have come into common practice between the 13th and 16th centuries.[30]

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millennium almost certainly implies a political statement. (…) As for *Āciriya viruttam*, it is one of the complicated later metres en vogue when after the fall of Vijayanagara and the independence of the Nayaks there was a resurrection of traditional Tamil culture, and thus was perhaps employed in the 17th or 18th centuries."

[27] Because the *veṇpā* metre came into being in the 5th–6th centuries, because we know our verses to be later than that (due to the style, the content and so forth, not to mention their ascription), and because this knowledge will not help us pinpoint the exact century of composition (after the above-mentioned period), the choice of metre does not help fix the dates with any precision.

[28] Nāthamuni may not have known it himself, as the practice of composing them with the express purpose of glorifying the NTP and/or its author(s) before reciting the(ir) work(s) did not come into being for many generations after him.

[29] I have not checked all his commentaries: he may have used the word *taṉiyaṉ* elsewhere, too. Jīyar has also used the word *taṉiyaṉ* to refer to some verses that belong to the *Iyal cāttu* (See fn53) in his introduction to the commentary on that work.

[30] It is worth noting here that the explanations of some *taṉiyaṉ*s and the stories related to their origins are to be found in works such as the GPP6k, the *Periya tirumuṭi ataivu* and the *Kōyil oḻuku*, the Śrīraṅgam temple chronicles.

3. Types of NTP-related *taṉiyaṉ*s

3.1. The standard taṉiyaṉ*s related to the Āḻvārs and their works*

The *taṉiyaṉ*s that I call 'standard' are the ones that praise the Āḻvārs and their works, and figure in most recitations and editions of the NTP. They are of two types: the common ones and the individual ones (See Chart 2).

The five common *taṉiyaṉ*s, all in Sanskrit and recited before *any* NTP work or even *any* religious event, are not per se in praise of the works of the Āḻvārs, but of the teachers, beginning with Nārāyaṇa.[31] The *taṉiyaṉ*s on the individual Āḻvār and/or their work can be either in Sanskrit or in Tamil, and in some cases, both.[32]

Chart 2. The list of NTP *taṉiyaṉ*s, along with author, language and metrical information

Common *taṉiyaṉ*s

	***taṉiyaṉ* name**	**Author/attributed to[33]**	***taṉiyaṉ* praising/ dedicated to**	***taṉiyaṉ* sung before**
1 & 2	*śrīśaileśadayā-pātram*	Lord Raṅganātha	Maṇavāḷa Māmuni	Any NTP work or even any Ācārya's works
	rāmānujadayā-pātram	Brahmatantra Svatantra Svāmi	Vedānta Deśika	

[31] But we can say that they are also on the Āḻvārs themselves, in the sense that they are also considered as teachers, especially Nammāḻvār, who is claimed to be the first human in the *guruparamparā*.

[32] Thus, Nammāḻvār and Tirumaṅkai get verses in both languages (one in Sanskrit and a few others in Tamil), but the early Āḻvārs get only one verse, and that too in Tamil. It is not very clear to me as to why this is so, although in the case of Nammāḻvār and Tirumaṅkai, given their stature among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, it may not be so very surprising that they have claimed the lion's share.

It is worth noting here that while the Āḻvārs and/or their works have received verses in both languages, the practice of dedicating a verse to one's Ācārya, not necessarily the author of some work, which is a practice that is still extant, favours mostly Sanskrit.

[33] Please note that after the slash, it is an alternative name (often a Sanskrit one) of the same author that is given. It is the name that follows "OR" that indicates a possible different author.

3	*lakṣmīnātha*	Kūrattāḻvāṉ/ Kūreśa	*Guruparamparā* ('lineage of teachers')	
4	*yo nityam*	Kūrattāḻvāṉ/ Kūreśa	Rāmānuja	
5	*mātā pitā*	Āḷavantār/ Yāmunācārya	Nammāḻvār	
6	*bhūtaṃ saraś ca*	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	The Āḻvārs & Rāmānuja	

Specific *taṉiyaṉ*s

7	*gurumukham*	Nāthamuni	Viṣṇucitta (Periyāḻvār)	*Tiru pallāṇṭu + Periyāḻvār tirumoḻi*
8	*miṉ ār*	Pāṇṭiya Paṭṭar	(Periyāḻvār)[34]	
9	*pāṇṭiyaṉ koṇṭāṭa*	Pāṇṭiya Paṭṭar	paṭṭarpirāṉ (Periyāḻvār)	
10	*nīḷātuṅga*	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	Godā (Āṇṭāḷ)	*Tiruppāvai*
11	*aṉṉavayal*	Uyyakkoṇṭār/ Puṇḍarīkākṣa	Āṇṭāḷ	
12	*cūṭi koṭutta*	Uyyakkoṇṭār/ Puṇḍarīkākṣa	(Āṇṭāḷ)	
13	*alli nāḷ tāmarai*	Tirukkaṇṇamaṅkaiy-āṇṭāṉ		*Nācciyār tirumoḻi*
14	*kōla curi caṅkai*	Tirukkaṇṇamaṅkaiy-āṇṭāṉ OR Vāṉamāmalai Svāmi I		
15	*iṉ amutam*	Rāmānuja OR Maṇakkāl Nampi/ Rāmamiśra	Kulacēkaraṉ (Kulaśekhara)	*Perumāḷ tirumoḻi*
16	*āram keṭa*	Maṇakkāl Nampi/ Rāmamiśra		
17	*taru canta poḻil*	Tirukkacci Nampi/ Kāñcīpūrṇa	The Tirumaḻicai town	*Tiruccanta-viruttam*
18	*ulakum maḻicaiyum*	Tirukkacci Nampi/ Kāñcīpūrṇa		
19	*maṟṟoṉṟum*	Tiruvaraṅka Perumāḷ Araiyar	Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi	*Tirumālai*
20	*tam eva matvā*	Tirumālaiyāṇṭāṉ	Bhaktāṅghrireṇu (Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi)	*Tiruppaḷḷiy-eḻucci*
21	*maṇṭaṅkuṭi eṉpar*	Tiruvaraṅka Perumāḷ Araiyar	The Maṇṭaṅkuṭi town	
22	*āpādacūḍa*	Periya Nampi/ Mahāpūrṇa	Munivāhana (Tiruppāṇ)	*Amalaṉ āti pirāṉ*
23	*kāṭṭavē kaṇṭa*	Tirumalai Nampi	Pāṇar (Tiruppāṇ)	

[34] The name is given only between parentheses when only an attribute of the author is given, unless that attribute is itself sometimes used as an appellation (e.g. Paṭṭarpirāṉ for Periyāḻvār).

24	*aviditaviṣayān-taraś śaṭhāreḥ*	Nāthamuni	Madhurakavi	*Kaṇṇi nuṇ*
25	*vēṟoṉṟum nāṉ aṟiyēṉ*	Nāthamuni	Maturakaviyār (Madhurakavi)	
26	*kalayāmi kalidhvaṃsam*	Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Nampi/ Goṣṭhīpūrṇa OR Tirukkōḷūr Nampi	(Tirumaṅkai)	*Periya tirumoḻi*
27	*vāḻi parakālaṉ*	Rāmānuja	Parakālaṉ (Tirumaṅkai)	*Periya tirumoḻi/ Tiruveḻukūṟṟ-irukkai*
28	*neñcukkiruḷ*	Kūrattāḻvāṉ/ Kūreśa		*Periya tirumoḻi*
29	*eṅkaḷ katiyē*	Empār	Tirumaṅkai + Rāmānuja	
30	*mālai taṉiyē*	Maṇavāḷa Māmuni OR Cōmāciyāṇṭāṉ OR Empār OR Tirukkōḷūr Nampi	(Tirumaṅkai)	
31	*kaitai cēr*	Mutaliyāṇṭāṉ	Poykai pirāṉ (Poykai)	*Mutal tiruvantāti*
32	*eṉ piṟavi tīra*	Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ	Pūttattār (Pūtam)	*Iraṇṭām tiruvantāti*
33	*cīr ārum māṭa*	Kurukai Kāvalappaṉ	(Pēy)	*Mūṉṟām tiruvantāti*
34	*nārāyaṇaṉ paṭaittāṉ*	Cīrāmappiḷḷai	Maḻicai pirāṉ (Tirumaḻicai)	*Nāṉmukaṉ tiruvantāti*
35	*karu virutta*	Kiṭāmpiyāccāṉ	(Nammāḻvār)	*Tiruviruttam*
36	*kāciṉiyōr*	Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Emperumāṉār	Parāṅkuśa (Nammāḻvār)	*Tiruvāciri-yam*
37	*muntuṟṟa neñcē*	Rāmānuja	Māṟaṉ (Nammāḻvār)	*Periya tiruvantāti*
38	*cīr ār tiruveḻukūṟṟiru kkai*	Rāmānuja	(Tirumaṅkai)	*Tiruveḻukūṟṟ-irukkai*
39	*muḷḷi ceḻu malarō*	Piḷḷai Tirunaṟaiyūr Araiyar	Kaliyaṉ (Tirumaṅkai)	*Ciṟiya tirumaṭal*
40	*poṉ ulakil*	Piḷḷai Tirunaṟaiyūr Araiyar	NA	*Periya tirumaṭal*
41	*bhaktāmṛtam*	Nāthamuni	*tiruvāymoḻi*	*Tiruvāymoḻi*
42	*tiruvaḻuti nāṭu*	Īśvaramuni	(Nammāḻvār)	
43	*maṉattālum vāyālum*	Coṭṭai Nampi	Worshippers of Kurukūr + Śaṭhakopa (Nammāḻvār)	
44	*ēynta perum kīrtti*	Anantāḻvāṉ	Rāmānuja	
45	*vāṉ tikaḻum*	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	Śaṭhakopa (Nammāḻvār) + Rāmānuja	

46	*mikka iṟai nilayum*	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	(*tiruvāymoḻi*)	
47	*muṉṉai viṉai akala*	Vedappirāṉ Bhaṭṭar	Amutaṉ (Tiruvaraṅkattu Amutaṉār)	*Irāmāṉuca nūṟṟantāti*[35]
48	*nayam tarum pēr iṉpam*	Vedappirāṉ Bhaṭṭar	Tiruvaraṅkattu Amutaṉār	
49	*colliṉ tokai*	Apiyuktar, Cōmāciyāṇṭāṉ OR Amutaṉār	Rāmānuja	
50	*iṉi eṉ kuṟai namakku*	Vedappirāṉ Bhaṭṭar OR Cōmāciyāṇṭāṉ	Rāmānuja/Tiru-v-araṅkattu Amutaṉār	
Sanskrit verses				

The common ones that glorify the teachers are all in Sanskrit,[36] making us wonder whether it is because the "divine language" ensures a more auspicious beginning or because it has a wider reach. Having said that, the NTP works have globally received more verses in Tamil than in Sanskrit. In fact, while no Āḻvār is praised only with a Sanskrit *taṉiyaṉ*, some only have *taṉiyaṉ*s in Tamil.[37] We may wonder if the earlier *taṉiyaṉ*-writing Ācāryas prefer one language over another (See chart 1 for information of their dates). It does not really seem so. Seen from another angle, it is the first thousand, which is composed of many minor works, which contains the most *taṉiyaṉ*s in Sanskrit: the third thousand, the *Iyaṟpā*, does not have any at

[35] Although it is not strictly speaking a part of the Āḻvār poetry, the *Irāmānuca nūṟṟantāti* has been added to the corpus by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, thanks to which it enjoys equal (if not greater) respect and veneration as the Āḻvār poetry, since it is known as the *prapanna-gāyatri*, or the "*gāyatrī*-mantra of those who have taken refuge". I have been told that if a devotee were to learn only one work in the NTP corpus, it ought to be this. For more on this work and a full translation, see Erin McCann's contribution to this volume. Following the traditional practice, I, too, have added it here to the NTP.

[36] And so is the official *taṉiyaṉ* in praise of the individual, personal Ācārya that is composed to this day which is exclusively composed in Sanskrit (to be dealt with in another article).

[37] This concerns the first three Āḻvārs, Tirumaḻicai, and Kulaśekhara. These Āḻvārs have been traditionally thought to be the earliest. For more information on this, see Anandakichenin 2018: 48.

all, while the other two have one each for Tirumaṅkai and Nammāḻvār, but it is not clear what determines the choice of language.[38]

3.2. The non-standard verses[39]

Despite the fact that this category is not the main focus of this article, I shall deal with non-standard verses briefly here for the reason that they, too, deal with the NTP/Āḻvār.[40] Sometimes, they are "stray" verses, recited on special occasions, e.g. during a discourse on a particular Āḻvār. At others, these are verses extracted from a larger work and recited just like the *taṉiyaṉ*s are, although the two are not identified as one and the same by the traditional scholars. To add to the existing confusion, it seems that there is no uniform set of verses that are used for particular occasions, because the selection varies from one school, *maṭha* and *divyadeśa* ("divine land"[41]) to another.

Sometimes some such verses, too, are published in printed editions, which may make a difference between a *nityataṉiyaṉ* ("permanent *taṉiyaṉ*", which I refer to as "standard" *taṉiyaṉ*), the *tirunakṣatra taṉiyaṉ*, the *vāḻi tirunāmam* (see the next two paragraphs below) and the *nāḻpāṭṭu* (See Appendix 4).

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[38] Whatever the reason, it definitely cannot have anything to do with the language skills of the Acāryas, for they were perfectly bilingual. However, this does demonstrate how much the tradition valued both Sanskrit and Tamil.

[39] Please note that it is I who call them non-standard, because I do not see them published in all editions or used in all the oral discourses, but only in certain circumstances.

[40] There is a real need to explore further this whole world of sparsely-documented verses, which still are very much alive and used in everyday life.

[41] *Divyadeśa*s are places with a temple that is praised in the Āḻvār poetry. The Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas have identified 108 of them. For more on this, see Ramesh 1996.

3.2.1. The *tirunakṣatra taṉiyaṉs* and the *nāḷ pācurams*

During the birthday celebrations of an Āḻvār or a discourse on them/their work, it is often customary to recite their *tirunakṣatra* ("sacred asterism", or birth asterism)[42] *taṉiyaṉ*. More often than not, these *taṉiyaṉs* are found in Sanskrit hagiographical works, like the GPP6k, but the latter may have incorporated existent floating verses.[43] Some of these verses are published in printed editions at the very beginning.[44]

The *nāḷ pācurams* — called thus because each line ends with the word *nāḷ* — are recited on the asterism day (either the annual birthday or the monthly *nakṣatra*) of an Āḻvār/ Ācārya. These verses, too, are sometimes extracted from larger works, and sometimes not.[45] Except for the reference to the birthday,

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[42] Among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, *tirunakṣatram* refers to the birthday of a saint or great person, while in the Tamil Śaiva world, it would seem that it is a reference to the 'asterism under which a saint or a great person died' (TL).

[43] To my knowledge, there has been no study focusing on the homogeneity of style in these hagiographic works.

[44] Here are two such *taṉiyaṉs* on Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi Āḻvār:

kodaṇḍe jyeṣṭhanakṣatre maṇḍaṅguḍipurodbhavaṃ
colorvyām vanamālāṃśaṃ bhaktapadareṇum āśraye
I take refuge in Bhaktapadareṇu ['Dust at the feet of the devotees'],
who was born in the town of Maṇḍaṅguḍi,
in [the month of] *kodaṇḍa* [i.e. *dhanus*], under the asterism of *jyeṣṭha*,
in the Cōḻa country, a part of the forest [flower] garland.

colakṣitau dhanuṣi māsi mahendratāre
yaḥ prādurāsa murajidvanamālikāṃśaḥ
raṅgeśakelisakhaṃ ūrdhvaśikhaṃ dvijendraṃ
bhaktāṅghrireṇuṃ anaghātmaguṇaṃ prapadye.
I take refuge in Bhaktāṅghrireṇu, endowed with faultless virtues of the soul,
one who has the Lord of Raṅgam for his playmate, the best among brahmins, him with a tuft of hair on the top,
who was born in the Cōḻa country in the month of *dhanus* under the star *mahendra*,
part of the forest garland of Murajit ['the Vanquisher of Mura'].

[45] For example, the one used for Rāmānuja on his asterism *tiruvātirai/ ārudrā* in Śrīraṅgam was composed by Appiḷḷai, one of Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's eight foremost disciples (*aṣṭadiggaja*s):

it seems to me that this *nāḷpāṭṭu* is very similar to the verses of the next category, the *vāḻi tirunāmam.*

3.2.2. *Vāḻi tirunāmam*

For the Teṉkalais,[46] most of these verses were composed by Appiḷḷai,[47] and are now part of that school's *nityānusan-*

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cańkara pāṟkara yātavapāṭṭa pirapākarar tańkaḷ matam
cāyvu ura vātiyar māykuvar eṉṟu catu maṟai vāḻntiru nāḷ
vem kali iṅku iṉi vīṟu namakku illai eṉṟu mika taḷar nāḷ
mētiṉi nam cumai āṟum eṉa tuyar viṭṭu viḷańkiya nāḷ
mańkaiyar āḷi parāṅkuca muṉṉavar vāḻvu muḷaittiṭu nāḷ
maṉṉiya teṉ araṅkā puri mā malai maṟṟum uvantiṭu nāḷ
cem kayal vāvikaḷ cūḻ vayal nāḷum ciṟanta perumpūtūr
cīmāṉ iḷaiyāḻvār vantu-aruḷiya nāḷ tiruvātirai nāḷē.
The day that the four Vedas live saying, 'Disputants will be annihilated so that the doctrines of Śaṅkara, Bhāskara, Yādavabhaṭṭa [and] Prabhākara are destroyed!';
the day that the cruel Kali grows much enfeebled thinking, 'We do not have potency here anymore!';
the day that the earth shone giving up sorrow, thinking, 'Our burden will be alleviated!';
the day that the thriving of the predecessors, the king of the people of Maṅkai and Parāṅkuśa, arises!
the day that the eternal city of Raṅgam, the great hill and the rest rejoice;
the day that Iḷaiyāḻvār, the lord of Perumpūtūr—which always excelled, with fields surrounded by wells with red carps—graced to come
is the day of the Tiruvātirai [asterism]!

[46] It is not clear to me who composed them for the Vaṭakalais. The edition that I have used does not mention the author names either.

[47] Not all *vāḻi tirunāmam*s that are recited were composed by Appiḷḷai. For example, although he has composed one on Rāmānuja, too, in Śrīraṅgam it is Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's verse from *Ārtiprabandham* 30 that is recited in place of Appiḷḷai's *vāḻi tirunāmam*:
cīr ārum etirācar tiru aṭikaḷ vāḻi
tiru araiyil cāttiya cem tuvar āṭai vāḻi
ēr ārum ceyya vaṭivu eppoḻutum vāḻi
ilańkiya muṉṉūl vāḻi iṇai tōḷkaḷ vāḻi
cōrāta tuyya ceyya muka cōti vāḻi
tū muṟuval vāḻi tuṇai malar kaṇkaḷ vāḻi
īr āṟu tirunāmam aṇinta eḻil vāḻi
iṉitu iruppōṭu eḻil ñāṉa muttiraiyē vāḻiyē

dhānam, or daily recitals. These verses are more like blessings with the word *vāḻi*, an optative form, meaning "May [someone] prosper!", ending each line of the verse.[48] Some of these *vāḻi tirunāmam*s are quoted in the YPP, while some are included in the *Iyal cāttu* (see below). These verses celebrate God, the Āḻvārs and the Ācāryas, paying particular attention to their personal beauty and/or knowledge. Some *vāḻi tirunāmam*s are recited at the end of the *cāttumuṟai* (see fn97 and 44) every day in some *divyadeśa*s,[49] and in others, an Āḻvār's/ Ācārya's *tirunāmam* is chanted on their birth asterism,[50] also at the end of the *cāttumuṟai*.[51] [52]

May the sacred feet of the king among ascetics who abounds with excellence prosper!
May the red ochre worn around [his] sacred waist prosper!
May [his] great form filled with beauty prosper!
May the shining three-stranded [sacred] thread prosper! May [his] pair of shoulders prosper!
May the pure, beautiful lustre of [his] unwithering face prosper!
May [his] pure smile prosper! May [his] pair of lotus eyes prosper!
May [his] beauty that adorned two sacred *nāmam*s [Vaiṣṇava marks] prosper!
May the lovely *jñāna-mudrā* [handpose] along with [its] sweet seat prosper!

[48] Aruṇācalam (2015 [1969]: 227).

[49] For example, in Āḻvār Tirunakari, Srīvilliputtūr and Śrīperumpūtūr, the birth places of Nammāḻvār, Āṇṭāḷ and Rāmānuja respectively, theirs are recited every day.

[50] I gathered this piece of information from: https://guruparamparaitamil.wordpress.com/vazhi-thirunamams/ accessed on 03/09/2020.

[51] Here is an example of a *vāḻi tirunāmam*, on Āṇṭāḷ:
tiru āṭi pūrattu cekattu utittāḷ vāḻiyē
tiruppāvai muppatum ceppiṉāḷ vāḻiyē
periyāḻvār peṟṟeṭutta peṇ piḷḷai vāḻiyē
perumputūr māmuṉikku piṉ āṉāḷ vāḻiyē
oru nūṟṟu nāṟpattu mūṉṟu uraittāḷ vāḻiyē
uyar araṅkaṟkē kaṇṇi ukantu aḻittāḷ vāḻiyē
maruvu ārum tiru malli vaḷa nāṭi vāḻiyē
vaḷ putuvai nakar kōtai malar pataṅkaḷ vāḻiyē
May she who appeared on earth on the sacred *āṭi pūram* [day] prosper!
May she who uttered all thirty [songs of] *Tiruppāvai* prosper!

3.2.3. Other types of "stray" verses

These are other verses that are sometimes called, rightly or wrongly, *taṉiyaṉ*s, like the *Iyal cāttu* and the *cāttumuṟai* ones,[53] which are directly linked with the NTP.[54] Added to the

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May the female child begotten by Periyāḻvār prosper!
May she who came after [i.e. the younger sister of] the great ascetic from Perumpūtūr prosper![51]
May she who sang a unique [set of] hundred and forty-three [verses] prosper!
May she who offered rejoicingly [her] garlands to the eminent One from Raṅgam prosper!
May she of the fertile land of sacred Malli filled with fragrance prosper!
May the lotus feet of Kōtai from the wealthy city of Putuvai prosper!

[52] It is worth remembering here that, probably because Nārāyaṇa and Śrī are part of the *guruparamparā*, they too have *vāḻi tirunāmam*s dedicated to them, or rather to their *arcā* ('image') forms in the temple, e.g. Śrīraṅgam. Thus, Appiḷḷai's verses on the God and Goddess in Śrīraṅgam are the standard ones in Śrīraṅgam, while the adjacent *divyadeśa* Tiruveḷḷaṟai has its own *vāḻi tirunāmam*s for its main deities. It is not clear if all the *divyadeśa*s have *vāḻi tirunāmam*s for their deities, and who composed them.

[53] We shall not deal with them here, as they do not fit the framework of this article. Both are sung at the end (*cāṟṟu/cāttu*). As mentioned earlier, among other things, *cāttumuṟai* refers to the reciting of a set of specific verses — taken from the NTP and other works by the Acāryas— at the close of the recitation of the NTP during worship (*tiruvārādhanam*) in temples, *maṭha*s, but also at home. The set of verses differs between the Vaṭakalais and the Teṉkalais, and possibly even within the same school. They possibly even include verses used for a specific occasion, like the *maṅgala*s for Ācāryas such as Vedānta Deśika and Maṇavāḷa Māmuni wishing them to live for another century (*iṉṉum oru nūṟṟāṇṭu irum*). For more details, see the original text of both schools published in Śrītvatsaṉ (2005: 1387-9, 1391-2.).

The *Iyal cāttu*, on the other hand, is sung at the end of the recitation of the *Iyaṟpā*, or the 'prose' compositions by the Āḻvārs, the works bearing the suffix *-antāti* among others. Some of its verses are sung on other occasions, too, but we cannot develop that here. The contents of the Teṉkalai and Vaṭakalai *Iyal cāttu*s also differ. The Teṉkalai one is said to have been put together by Maṇavāḷa Māmuni, who gathered verses by different Ācāryas like Piḷḷai Uṟaṅkā Villi Tācar. And this was commented upon by Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar.

tirunakṣatra taṉiyaṉ and the *vāḻi tirunāmam*, they are sung along with them.[55] There are other similar Tamil verses,[56] called *taṉi pāṭal* by the traditional scholars, which are sung at the end of a recitation of a particular work of the NTP, and not a *taṉiyaṉ*.[57]

Both the *vāḻittirunāmam*s and the *Iyal cāttu* can be found in the editions of the *nityānusandhānam*. Please note that the Vaṭakalai *Nityānusandhānam* edition that I have used omits the *Iyal cāttu*.

[54] Some of these verses, extracted from non-NTP works, are also considered (or at least referred to) as *taṉiyaṉ*s.

[55] For example, the following is one such verse on Kulaśekhara:
ghuṣyate yasya nagare raṅgayātrā dine dine |
tam ahaṃ śirasā vande rājānaṃ kulaśekharam ||
I salute respectfully with my head [before] the king Kulaśekhara
in whose city the pilgrimage to [Śrī]raṅgam is proclaimed day after day.
This verse is quoted in GPP6k and the YPP, and appears as a colophon verse in certain *Mukundamāla* manuscripts (Veluthat 2004: 475fn23). The *Mukundamālā* is a *stotra* that is often attributed to Kulaśekhara Āḻvār. For more on this work and the debate concerning its authorship see Anandakichenin 2018: 62-4fn152-4.

[56] Some of these verses are given in a few editions of the NTP. Aruṇācalam (2005b [1973]: 218-21) lists them in his book. For example, the following verse, attributed to Vedappirāṉ Bhaṭṭar, is a popular one that is recited on the various occasions related to Āṇṭāḷ:
kōtai piṟanta ūr kōvintaṉ vāḻum ūr
cōti maṇi māṭam tōṉṟum ūr nītiyāl
nalla pattar vāḻum ūr nāl maṟaikaḷ ōtum ūr
villiputtūr vēta(m) kōṉ ūr.
The town where Kōtai was born, the town where Govinda lives
the town where mansions [made] of glittering gems appear,
the town where good devotees live with right conduct,
the town where the four Vedas are recited is Villiputtūr,
the town of the king of the Vedas [i.e. Periyāḻvār].

[57] In a personal communication, Srirangam B. Ramanujam informed me about this and about these various verses and on the prevalent reciting practices, which I have mentioned in this subpart.
More research needs to be done on these *taṉiyaṉ*s/*taṉi pāṭal*s. We may remember here once again that many of these are not technically speaking either *taṉiyaṉ*s or even stray/floating verses, even though in the Vaiṣṇava context they are indeed paratextual material, in that their existence was/is dependent upon the NTP (among other works), and have been hardly documented properly, hence the importance to mention them here, albeit in a passing manner.

4. The Contents of the *taṉiyaṉ*s

4.1. Introduction: the taṉiyaṉ*s in their literary context*

The *taṉiyaṉ*s must have been the product of many an influence: invocation verses, and not only Tamil ones; introductory verses, composed by the author of the work that it precedes or not; other types of stray verses, and so forth.

The Sanskrit *maṅgalācaraṇa*, "the recitation of an auspicious verse that invokes a deity" (Minkowski 2008: 3), for example, also opens a text, even a prose one. It begins "by paying obeisance (*namaskriyā*), or with blessings (*āśīrvāda*) taking the form of auspicious verses (*maṅgala*), whereupon the subject matter (*viṣaya*/*vastunirdeśa*) and purpose (*prayojana*) are indicated, typically in the sequence just mentioned" (Slaje 2008: vii). Composed in order to begin well, the *maṅgalācaraṇa* is at times difficult to read due to its complex syntax, obscure references and many figures of speech (Minkowski 2008: 3-6).[58] Speaking of *śāstrārambha* ("beginning of *śāstra*"), Walter Slaje (2008: ix) further spells out the need to have an audience that can profit by the text (*adhikārin*). Which of these features and functions did the *taṉiyaṉ* have? In what way did it differ?

From the Tamil side, the *taṉiyaṉ*'s interesting relation to the *pāyiram*, which it is "in direct continuity with", according K. K. A. Venkatachari (1978: 9), has been underlined by scholars.[59]

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[58] Minkowski equally mentions the popularity of the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, which led to retroactive addition of such a verse (among other reactions) to the absence of one in older works. Some similar motive may have led the Ācāryas to write *taṉiyaṉ*s on the Āḻvārs.

[59] Venkatachari (1978: 9) points out that the *taṉiyaṉ* literature is closely related to the Tamil *pāyiram* tradition, for which an introductory verse that gives the gist of a work was composed, possibly by the most important student of the author, a colleague or a teacher. He adds that the practice of writing a *pāyiram* grew so important throughout the first millennium that the *Naṉṉūl*, a 12th c. Tamil grammar, refuses to acknowledge the legitimacy of a work unless it is begun with a *pāyiram*.

The *pāyiram* itself has been of utmost importance in Tamil literature, as demonstrated by the existence of works such as Caṭaiyaṉ's *Māṟaṉ alaṅkāram* (16th c.), which dedicates its first chapter to describing it and setting down the rules for its composition. The *taṉiyaṉ* has also been compared with the *ciṟappupāyiram* ("Introduction to a book, giving particulars of the author, title of the work, subject-matter, etc." TL),[60] a topic that has already been dealt with elaborately.[61]

Let us now examine the contents of a *taṉiyaṉ*, and analyse what its contents, functions and purposes could have been/are, especially in comparison with the other type of verses mentioned above, *inter alia*.

4.2. Names, paraphrastic appellations and epithets of poets

Some Āḻvārs are named in Tamil or in Sanskrit, often but not just depending on the language of the *taṉiyaṉ*, and it is either the name by which they refer to themselves in their poetry, or a name that the Ācāryas gave them at a later date. [62] For some

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He thereby concludes that the *taṉiyaṉ* is 'in direct continuity with the Tamil tradition of *pāyiram*.' At this point, Venkatachari remarks, somewhat strangely, that the *taṉiyaṉ* is generally written in Sanskrit. But do the Śrīvaiṣṇavas care about their works being validated by the existence of a such a verse? If not, why is the *taṉiyaṉ* so special in the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition? These are some questions that beg answering.

[60] See for example, Aruṇācalam (2005b [1973]: 215).

[61] See for example, Wilden 2017a+Wilden (forthcoming), and more particularly, Wilden 2017b: 173fn.

[62] Let us take the example of Āṇṭāḷ: *godā tasyai nama* – "I hail Godā" (10[62]). *Godā* here is the Sanskritization of her Tamil name, *kōtai* ("creeper"), which she gives herself in her verses (e.g. *Nācciyār Tirumoḻi* 5.11), and for which a new Sanskrit etymology has been attributed, i.e. "She who was given by the Earth". NB: Hagiographies and popular beliefs claim that she, not being born of a human womb, was found on the earth near a tulsi plant, and some suggest that she was the Earth-incarnate. It is not clear to me if the Sanskritised name gave rise to the story or vice versa.

Kōtai also appears in *taṉiyaṉ*s, albeit in a non-standard one in this case: *kōtai tamiḻ* - "the Tamil of Kōtai". The same Kōtai is also referred to by a name given to her by the Ācāryas, a popular one even now, i.e. Āṇṭāḷ:

Āḻvārs, who have not written signature verses with their names in them, the *taṉiyaṉ*s could be the first to name them (See § 5.2. The story-telling function), based on their (perceived) profession, caste, poetic skills or geographic origins.[63] On some occasions, characteristics that the Ācāryas saw in the Āḻvārs influenced the appellations;[64] sometimes, a life incident ascribed to them was turned into an epithet;[65] and on other occasions, it is not very clear.[66] Please note that although the author of the poem (which precedes the *taṉiyaṉ*) is, as a rule, not the *taṉiyaṉ*-writer, there may be an exception to the rule.[67]

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aṉṉa vayal putuvai āṇṭāḷ - "Āṇṭāḷ, of Putuvai with paddy fields where swans [roam]" (11).

For Periyāḻvār, who refers to himself as Viṭṭucittaṉ (e.g. *Tiruppallāṇṭu* 12), the Tamil *tadbhava* form of Viṣṇucitta, a secondary name, probably an appellation linked with his profession or function, is given to him: *paṭṭarpirāṉ* – "the lord among the priests"/Paṭṭarpirāṉ (9) But again, this name for example, was not made up by the *taṉiyaṉ*-writing Ācārya, but was lifted out of the NTP: Āṇṭāḷ refers to herself as *paṭṭarpirāṉ kōtai* ("Kōtai [daughter] of Paṭṭarpirāṉ") in some of her signature verses (e.g. *Tiruppāvai* 30).

[63] For example, for Tiruppāṇāḻvār, we have *pāṇar tāḷ paraviṉōmē* – "We have worshipped the feet of Pāṇar/the honourable minstrel" (23). This is a function-based or possibly even a caste-based appellation, rather than a proper name, quite similar to the epithet used for Poykai, which alludes to the quality of his poetry: *kaviñar pōr-ēṟu*—"the fighting bull among poets" (31). For an appellation based on the supposed geographic origin of a poet, we can quote Tirumaḻicai's *taṉiyaṉ*: *maḻicai pirāṉ*—"the Lord of Maḻicai" (34).

[64] Let us take the examples of Nammāḻvār and Tirumaṅkai:
parāṅkucaṉai—acc. "Parāṅkuśa/he who is goad to God" (36)—
Nammāḻvār is referred to thus, as he had God under his control.
parakālaṉ—"Parakāla/he who is death to the enemies" (27) —
Tirumaṅkai was called thus because he was thought to be a good warrior.

[65] *muṉ nāḷ kiḻi aṟuttāṉ*—"He who reaped the gold bundle in the former days" [Periyāḻvār] (8)

[66] For example, we do not know exactly what in the poetry of Bhūtattāḻvār made the Ācāryas give him that name. The *taṉiyaṉ* simply mentions: *pūtattār poṉ am kaḻal*—"the beautiful, golden feet of the revered Pūtam" (32).

[67] e.g. the following *taṉiyaṉ* on *Irāmānuca Nūṟṟantāti* by Tiruvaraṅkattu Amutaṉār: *uṉ nāmam ellām eṉ taṉ nāviṉuḷḷē/ allum pakalum amarum*

Along with the name, sometimes the *taṉiyaṉ* provides information on the poet and their life, although of course, it is hard to know what is factual, biographic information. Details that are based on the work of the Āḻvārs are the more trustworthy ones.[68]

4.3. Places

Similarly, giving the name of a place related to an Āḻvār is an important feature of the *taṉiyaṉ*. Most of the time it is the birth place of the Āḻvār that is mentioned, in conformity with the Āḻvār's own words, if such information is available in their work.[69] When the Āḻvār does not mention his birth place, the Ācāryas do, although it is not always clear what their source of information is.[70]

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paṭi nalku … irāmāṉuca! itu eṉ viṇṇappamē—"O Rāmānuja! This is my request: Grant that all your names … are seated day and night on my tongue" (49).

This *taṉiyaṉ* was attributed, among a couple of other Ācāryas, to the author of *Irāmānuca Nūṟṟantāti* himself, which is rare, but which does not break the rule in the sense that it does not indulge in the praise of the author of the work (in this case, potentially the author himself), but that of the *viṣaya* of the work, Rāmānuja.

[68] *āṇṭāḷ araṅkaṟku paṉṉu tiruppāvai pal patiyam iṉ icaiyāl pāṭi koṭuttāḷ nal pā-mālai*—"Āṇṭāḷ who, having sung with good music many stanzas, the skilfully[-composed] *Tiruppāvai*, gave a good song-garland to the Lord of Raṅgam" (11). To which is inevitably added a hagiographic element: *pū-mālai cūṭi koṭuttāḷai collu*—"Praise she who gave [Him] a flower garland having worn [it]" (11), which is interwoven into the life story of the Āḻvār said to be her father, involving superhuman personages: *śvaśura-mamaravandyaṃ raṅganāthasya sākṣāt*—"the father-in-law of Raṅganātha Himself" [i.e. Periyāḻvār] (7).

[69] E.g. Periyāḻvār's birth place, which he mentions in his own verses, are also referred to in the *taṉiyaṉ*: *miṉ ār taṭa(m) matil cūḻ villiputtūr*—"Villiputtūr, surrounded by broad walls that abound in glitter" (8).

[70] We can cite the example of Tirumaḻicai Āḻvār: *tiru cantattuṭaṉ maruvu tirumaḻicai*—"The fertile town of Tirumaḻicai, which is joined with auspicious beauty" (17).

The geographic virtues of such locations are lauded.[71] While the place itself seems to acquire a certain sacredness due to giving birth to a saint, sometimes, an (exaggerated?) eulogy could also insinuate that the Āḻvār is great *because of* being born in a sacred place. The fact that whole *taṉiyaṉ*s are sometimes dedicated to the birth place of a poet seems to point in that direction.[72]

4.4. Naming the topic of a poem and describing it

The *viṣaya* of a poem is sometimes given with a short but detailed description,[73] although neither systematically, nor

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[71] *tiru vaḻutināṭ*$_u$ *eṉṟum, teṉ kurukūr eṉṟum, maruv*$_u$ *iṉiya vaḷ porunal eṉṟum*—"saying, 'The sacred Pāṇḍya land!', and 'Kurukūr in the South,' and 'The bounteous Porunal (river) that is sweet to embrace!'" (42).

[72] For example, the following *taṉiyaṉ* is on Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi's birth place:
maṇṭaṅkuṭi eṉpar mā maṟaiyōr maṉṉiya cīr
toṇṭaraṭippoṭi tol ṉakaram vaṇṭu
tiṇartta vayal teṉ araṅkatt$_u$ *ammāṉai paḷḷi*
uṇarttum pirāṉ utitta ūr.
They say that the town where Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi — the lord who wakes from sleep
the Lord of the beautiful Raṅgam with fields where bees crowd together — was born,
is the ancient city of Maṇṭaṅkuṭi with the greatness that is great brahmins remaining [there] permanently. (21)

[73] Let us stake the example of a *taṉiyaṉ* dedicated to Tiruppāṇ:
kāṭṭavē kaṇṭa pāta(m) kamalam, nal āṭai, unti,
tēṭṭ$_u$ *arum utarapantam, tiru mārpu, kaṇṭam, ce(m) vāy,*
vāṭṭam il kaṇkaḷ mēṉi muṉi ēṟi taṉi pukuntu,
pāṭṭiṉāl kaṇṭu vāḻum pāṇar tāḷ paraviṉōmē. (23)
We have worshipped the feet of Pāṇar who, having climbed upon a sage and entered [the shrine] alone,
lives by seeing through songs the lotus feet, good clothes, the navel,
the hard-to-find girdle, the auspicious chest, the throat, the red mouth,
the unwithering eyes [and] the body, which [he] saw as [He] showed [them Himself].
This verse, while venerating Tiruppāṇ and hinting at his life-story,— i.e. his having climbed upon Muni/an ascetic, which is the equivalent found in the Sanskrit verse, *munivāhana*—, also summarizes his ten verses, which are a *pādādikeśavarṇana*, a description from foot to head of the main Deity in Śrīraṅgam. The Sanskrit *taṉiyaṉ* on Tiruppāṇ, even if less expansive, is of a similar spirit.

directly.[74] Along with that, the poem is sometimes described metaphorically.[75] Apart from that, along with the topic, other types of information, on style and metre *inter alia*, are also given sometimes.[76]

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[74] For example, here is the *taṉiyaṉ* on Tirumaṅkai's *Tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai*:
cīr ār tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai eṉṉum centamiḻāl,
ārāvamutaṉ kuṭantai pirāṉ taṉ aṭi iṇai kīḻ,
ēr ār maṟai poruḷ ellām eṭutt$_u$ i- ulak$_u$ uyyavē,
cōrāmal coṉṉa aruḷ māri pātam tuṇai namakkē.
The feet of the Shower of grace — that unfalteringly uttered
all the meanings of the Vedas filled with goodness, speaking highly of [them],
at the pair of feet of the Lord of Kuṭantai, Ārāvamutaṉ,[74]
in refined Tamil, called *Tiruveḻukūṟṟirukkai* filled with excellence,
so that this world is redeemed—
are our support (38)

Although no clear information concerning the poem is given here, and this practice may seem like a literary trope, the poem does have its subject matter spelled out, in a way: conveying the meanings of the Vedas in Tamil. This can also be taken as the *vaḻi*, or 'origin' of the work: Tirumaṅkai's poetry is not an original work in one sense, because it echoes the Vedas.

[75] The following *taṉiyaṉ* on Tirumaṅkai is a good example:
neñcukk$_u$ iruḷ kaṭi tīpam, aṭaṅkā neṭum piṟavi
nañcukku nalla amutam, tamiḻ a(m) nal ṉūl tuṟaikaḷ
añcukk$_u$ ilakkiyam, āraṇa cāram, paracamaya
pañcukk$_u$ aṇaliṉ poṟi parakālaṉ paṉuvalkaḻē.
The stanzas by Parakāla are the flame that destroys the darkness of the heart;
good nectar for the poison that is a protracted birth that [is] not controlled';
the aim for the five sections of the good, beautiful Tamil treatises;
the essence of the Vedas; a spark of fire for the cotton of alien religions.
(28)

In a way, this description alludes to the content ("a spark of fire for the cotton of alien religions", meaning that its words destroy rival views), but also serves to divulge its purpose(s) ("the flame that destroys the darkness of the heart").

[76] The previous example concerning Āṇṭāḷ names her work and possibly hints at its musical nature ('sweet music' 11). The following examples show the kind of metrical or stylistic details that are given, along with an insight into the content:
aru(m) maṟaikaḷ antāti ceytāṉ - "he who turned the hard[-to-understand] Vedas into *antāti* [verses]" [Nammāḻvāṟ] (42).

4.5. Stating the purpose of the poem and the intended audience

It seems to me that the *taṉiyaṉ* does not list the rewards of listening to or reciting the poem that it precedes (See fn99). If anything, it states the purpose that the poet must have had for composing their poem, or at least the impacts that the poem had, whether the poet intended them or not.[77] This category of ambiguous purpose-benefit does not limit itself to the poem, but extends to the deified poet, and even further.[78]

As for the audience, who could be the *adhikārin*, is directly named at times: the poet can directly speak to the audience

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āciriya pā ataṉāl aru(m) maṟai nūl virittāṉai—"he who expanded the hard[-to-understand] Vedic *āgama*s in the *āciriyam* metre" (36).

It seems to me that this is the only type of metrical information (in this case, "poetry") information given by the *taṉiyaṉ*s.

[77] For example, *poykai pirāṉ … vaiyattu aṭiyavar vāḻa arum tamiḻ antāti paṭi viḷaṅka ceytāṉ parintu*—"Lord Poykai… affectionately made an *antāti* in Tamil so that [it] shines on earth in such a way that the devotees of the world live" (31).

This verse claims that the poem was composed for the well-being of the people of the earth.

[78] For example:

'miṉ ār taṭa(m) matil cūḻ villiputtūr' eṉṟu oru kāl
coṉṉār kaḻal kamalam cūṭiṉōm. 'muṉ nāḷ
kiḻi aṟuttāṉ' eṉṟ_u uraittōm. kīḻmaiyiṉil cērum
vaḻi aṟuttōm neñcamē vantu.
We have worn the lotus-feet of those who said [but] once
"Villiputtūr, surrounded by broad walls that abound in glitter".
We have said, "He who reaped the gold bundle in the former days!"
We have [therefore] **cut the path leading to degradation**, o heart
[with you] coming [along]! (8)

Here, along with the hailing of the author as well as those who merely mentioned the town of the author (who themselves could be *adhikārin*s), the "we" refers to (possibly a second layer of) *adhikārin*s, those who precisely do what is described/prescribed by the verse, honourable acts of submission and praise, to the devotees' devotees. The benefit, although not explicitly mentioned, is doing away with "the path leading to degradation".

Many of the *taṉiyaṉ*s do not have a purpose mentioned, so this is not a standard feature (see, for example, verse 16).

(i.e. anyone who hears/recites the verses),[79] or even to their own heart.[80]

4.6. Invocation

Some verses clearly worship the author of the work that is going to be recited,[81] with a direct request for blessings being made sometimes.[82] The *āśīrvāda*-type of *taṉiyaṉ*s also exist, but some of them seem to do little more than utter a blessing upon the poet, and give some information on them.[83]

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[79] See for example:
karu virutta(m) kuḻi nītta piṉ, kāma(m) kaṭum kuḻi vīḻntu,
oru viruttam pukkᵤ, uḻaluṟuvīr!
O you who, after leaving the round pit of a womb, whirl around,
falling in the cruel pit of lust, and entering old age! (35)

[80] See for example: *maṟṟᵤ oṉṟum vēṇṭā, maṉamē!* - O **heart**! There is no want for anything else. (9)

[81] For example, Periyāḻvār is thus hailed by this *taṉiyaṉ*:
gurumukhamanadhītya prāha vedānaśeṣān
narapatiparikḷṛptaṃ śulkamādātukāmaḥ ।
śvaśuramamaravandyaṃ raṅganāthasya sākṣāt
dvijakulatilakaṃ taṃ viṣṇucittaṃ namāmi ।।
Without having learnt (them) from the mouth of a teacher,
He proclaims the whole Vedas, desirous of receiving the prize set by the king,
I bow down before that Viṣṇucitta, who was the father-in-law of Raṅganātha Himself,
worshipped by the immortals, the ornament of the clan of brahmins. (7)

[82] We can take the following verse on Āṇṭāḷ as an example:
cūṭik koṭutta cuṭar koṭiyē tol pāvai
pāṭi aruḷa valla pal vaḷaiyāy
nāṭi nī vēṅkaṭavaṟku eṉṉai viti eṉṟa i- māṟṟam
nām kaṭavā vaṇṇamē nalku.
O sparkling creeper who gave [Him the garland] having adorned [it]!
O many-bangled one who is capable of gracing [us] by singing [about] the ancient *pāvai*!
Bestow grace so that we do not transgress these words that [You] spoke,
having approached [Kāma]: "You destine me for Him of Veṅkaṭam". (12)

[83] For example:
vāḻi parakālaṉ vāḻi kalikaṉṟi
vāḻi kuṟaiyalūr vāḻ vēntaṉ vāḻi arō

In most *taṉiyaṉ*s, it is the author — undoubtedly deified — of the work (an Āḻvār) who is praised. And on rare occasions, it is the deified work itself that replaces him/her.[84]

It is also worth noting here that most NTP *taṉiyaṉ*s praise the various Āḻvārs as a rule, rather than some unrelated deity, like a favourite god (*iṣṭadevatā*), but there are exceptions to that rule, too.[85]

4.7. Gap-fillers

Like many Tamil verses, the *taṉiyaṉ*s have topos-like gap-fillers due to their metrical requirements, which mostly make a superlative description of a place related to the poet.[86] It may

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māyōṉai vāḷ valiyāl mantiram koḷ maṅkaiyar kōṉ
tūyōṉ cuṭar māṉa vēl.
May Parakāla prosper! May Kalikaṉṟi prosper!
May the king who lives in the Kuṟaiyalūr [town] prosper! *arō*!
May the strong, shiny spear of the holy one, the king of the Maṅkai people
who took the [Nārāyaṇa] mantra from Māyōṉ by the power of [his] sword! (27)

[84] For example:
bhaktāmṛtaṃ viśvajanānumodanaṃ sarvārthadaṃ
śrīśaṭhakopavāṅmayam ।
sahasraśākhopaniṣadsamāgamaṃ namāmy ahaṃ
drāviḍavedasāgaram ॥
I bow down to the ocean of the Tamil Veda, nectar to the devotees,
which gives joy to all the people, [and] grants all [their] wishes,
made of the honourable Śaṭhakopa's utterings,
which is the confluence of the Upaniṣads of the thousand [Vedic] branches (41)

[85] For example, in the following *taṉiyaṉ*, the favourite deity here is a human being, who rose to the ranks of God, possibly even above:
eṅkaḷ katiyē! irāmāṉuca muṉiyē!... maṅkaiyar kōṉ īnta maṟai āyiram
aṉaittum taṅku maṉam nī eṉakku tā
"Our refuge! O sage Rāmānuja! ... You give me a heart where all thousand Veda [verses] ... remain!" (29)

[86] For example:
miṉ ār taṭa(m) matil cūḻ villiputtūr—"Villiputtūr, surrounded by broad walls that abound in glitter" (8).

be further noted here that the Sanskrit verses on the NTP do not seem to have these fillers.

4.8. A Chronological Study of the Contents of the taṉiyaṉ*s*

The following chart[87] has been made in order to check if with passing time, the choice of the *taṉiyaṉs*' contents evolved, although this depends on something as unreliable as authorship and dates. If we presume the exactness of both, we could draw some conclusions, which, being further obstructed by the lack of any knowledge whatsoever on some of the *taṉiyaṉ* authors, like Pāṇṭiya Bhaṭṭar, Vedappirāṉ Bhaṭṭar and Tirukkōḷūr Nampi, can only be accepted with a lot of caution.

kaitai cēr pūm poḻil cūḻ kacci nakar—"the city of Kāñci surrounded by beautiful groves with fragrant screw-pines" (31).

[87] Please note that the general *taṉiyaṉs* have here been delegated to the end, as they do not fit the pattern of the other NTP *taṉiyaṉs*.

Chart 3. The *taṉiyaṉ*s and their contents

c.	**author**	***taṉiyaṉ name***	**Name/ identity element**	**Birth (or other place)**	**Life events**	**Name of the poem**	**Topic of the poem**	**Metre/ style**	***Phala-śruti***
10th	Nāthamuni	*gurumukham-anadhītya*	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
10th	Nāthamuni	*avidita*	X	-	X	-	X	-	-
10th	Nāthamuni	*vēṟoṉṟum*	X	-	-	-	X	-	-
10th	Nāthamuni	*bhaktāmṛtam*	X	-	-	?[i]	X	-	?[ii]
10th	Īśvaramuni	*tiruvaḻuti nāṭu*	-	X	-	-	?[iii]	X	-
10th	Uyyakkoṇṭār	*aṉṉa vayal*	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
10th	Uyyakkoṇṭār	*cūṭi koṭutta*	X	-	X	X	X	-	-
10th	Kurukai Kāvalappaṉ	*cīr ārum māṭa*	-	X	X	?[iv]	-	-	-
10th	Maṇakkāl Nampi	*āram keṭa*	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
10th or 12th	Maṇakkāl Nampi or Rāmānuja	*iṉ amutam*	X	-	X	-	X	-	-
10th	Tirukkaṇṇa-maṅkaiyāṇṭāṉ	*alli nāḷ tāmarai*	X	X	X	-	-	-	-

[i] A few metaphors are used to refer to the TVM.
[ii] The verse says what good the TVM does for people.
[iii] The verse has a reference to how the TVM is a more accessible version of the Vedas.
[iv] Same as above.

10th or 15th	Tirukkaṇṇa-maṅkaiy-āṇṭāṉ or Vāṉamāmalai Svāmi I	*kōla curi caṅkai*	X	X	X	-	X	-	-
11th	Coṭṭai Nampi	*maṉattālum*	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
11th	Tiruvaraṅka Perumāḷ Araiyar	*maṟṟoṉṟum*	X	-	-	X	-	-	-
11th	Tiruvaraṅka Perumāḷ Araiyar	*maṇṭaṅkuṭi eṉpar*	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
11th	Tirumalai Nampi	*kāṭṭavē kaṇṭa*	X	-	X	-	X	-	-
11th	Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Nampi or Tirukkōḷūr Nampi?	*kalayāmi*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12th	Periya Nampi	*āpādacūḍa*	-	-	X	-	X	-	-
12th	Tirukkacci Nampi	*ulakum maḷicaiyum*	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
12th	Rāmānuja	*vāḻi parakālaṉ*	X	X	X	-	-	-	-
12th	Rāmānuja	*muntuṟṟa neñcē*	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
12th	Rāmānuja	*cīr ār*	-	-	-	X	X	-	-
12th	Anantāḻvāṉ	*ēynta perum*	X	-	-	-	X	-	-
12th	Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Emperumāṉār	*kāciṉiyōr*	X	-	-	-	-	X	-
12th	Cīrāmappiḷḷai	*nārāyaṇaṉ paṭaittāṉ*	X	X	-	?[v]	-	-	-

[v] Same as above.

12th	Kūrattāḻvāṉ	*neñcukkiruḷ*	X	-	-	-	X	-	?[vi]
12th	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	*nīḷātuṅga*	X	-	X	-	X	-	-
12th	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	*vāṉ tikaḻum*	X	-	-	-	X	-	-
12th	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	*mikka iṟai*	X	X	-	-	X	-	-
12th	Empār	*eṅkaḷ katiyē*	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
12th	Mutaliyāṇṭāṉ	*kaitai cēr*	X	X	-	X	-	X	-
12th	Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ	*eṉ piṟavi tīra*	X	X	-	?[vii]	-	-	-
12th	Kiṭāmpiyāccāṉ	*karu virutta*	X	X	-	X	-	-	-
12th	Piḷḷai Tirunaṟaiyūr Araiyar	*muḷḷi ceḻu malarō*	X	-	X	X	-	-	-
12th	Piḷḷai Tirunaṟaiyūr Araiyar	*poṉ ulakil*	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
12th	Vedāppirāṉ Bhaṭṭar	*muṉṉai viṉai*	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
12th	Vedāppirāṉ Bhaṭṭar	*nayam tarum*	X	-	-	-	X	X	
12th	Cōmāciyāṇṭāṉ OR Amutaṉār OR other	*colliṉ tokai*	-	-	-	-	-	-	?[viii]
12th	Cōmāciyāṇṭāṉ OR Vedappirāṉ Bhaṭṭar	*iṉi eṉ kuṟai*	X	X	-	-	X	X	-

[vi] It is more of a description of the poem is, a description of the good things it does.
[vii] It gives the first words of his poem.
[viii] It is a verse that asks Rāmānuja to favour the devotee.

12th or 15th	Cōmāciyāṇṭāṉ OR Maṇavāḷa Māmuni OR Empār OR Tirukkōḷūr Nampi?	*mālai taṉiyē*	-	-	X	-	-	-	?[ix]
12th	Tirumālaiyāṇṭāṉ	*tam eva matvā*	X	-	-	?[x]	X	-	-
?	Pāṇṭiya Paṭṭar	*miṉ ār*	X	X	X	-	-	-	?[xi]
?	Pāṇṭiya Paṭṭar	*pāṇṭiyaṉ koṇṭāṭa*	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
11th	Āḷavantār	*mātā pitā*	X	-	-	NA	NA	-	NA
12th	Kūrattāḻvāṉ	*lakṣmīnātha*	X	NA	NA	NA	NA	-	NA
12th	Kūrattāḻvāṉ	*yo nityam*	X	-	-	NA	NA	-	NA
12th	Parāśara Bhaṭṭa	*bhūtaṃ saraśca*	X	NA	-	NA	NA	-	NA
14th	Brahmatantra Svatantra Svāmi	*rāmānujadayā*	X	-	NA	NA	NA	-	NA
15th ?	Raṅganātha	*śrīśaileśadayā*	X	-	NA	NA	NA	-	NA

X – yes - – no ? – ambiguous

Sanskrit

[ix] It is more of a prayer to Tirumaṅkai to rid us of karma.

[x] It is more of a description of what the poem does, which is what its name means in Tamil.

[xi] It is about devotion to Periyāḻvār helping one avoiding degradation, nothing to do with the recitation of his poems and their benefits.

While naming and/or describing the poet seems like a fairly standard practice across time, giving their birth place and the topic of their work is relatively less so. It does seem, however, that providing the life-events of the poets is more common among the early *taṉiyaṉ*-writers than it is for the later ones, although the practice does not go fully extinct. Something similar also seems to be happening with the naming of the work. It is worth noting that the choice of language does not seem to have been influenced by the date of the *taṉiyaṉ*-writer.

4.8. Conclusions: the taṉiyaṉ *and its counterparts*

The *taṉiyaṉ*, like the *maṅgalācaraṇa* and the *pāyiram*, opens a text, and in this particular case, the Āḻvār poems, which it holds sacred and on par with the Vedas, although it does not claim to be part of it. Sometimes a *taṉiyaṉ* seems to fit very well into the category of a *maṅgalācaraṇa*,[88] and at others, it does not seem to have many of its features.[89] Minkowski (2008: 15)

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[88] Here is an example, in this case, incidentally, one in Sanskrit:
kalayāmi kalidhvaṃsaṃ kaviṃ lokadivākaram
yasya gobhiḥ prakāśābhir āvidyaṃ nihataṃ tamaḥ
I pray to the poet who destroyed Kaliyuga, a sun to the world,
whose radiant rays/words dispel the darkness of ignorance (26)
The *namaskriyā* is clear ("**I pray"**), the *viṣaya* could be the greatness of his words that dispel darkness, the *prayojana*, the eradication of ignorance, and the *adhikārin* is implicit: it could be anyone who does what the persona does.

[89] Here is an example:
alli nāḷ tāmarai mēl ār aṇaṅkiṉ iṉ tuṇaivi
malli nāṭu āṇṭa maṭa(m) mayil mel iyalāḷ
āyar kula(m) vēntaṉ ākattāḷ teṉ putuvai
vēyar payanta viḷakku.
The sweet confidante of the beautiful lady [seated] on the newly-blossomed lotus with petals,
The peacock[-like] Woman who ruled over the land of Malli, She of tender nature,
She [belonging to/possessing] the body of the King of the cowherd caste is
The Light begotten by the brahmin from southern Putuvai (13).

points out that the *maṅgala* verse, according to early commentators, aimed at the successful completion of the work in question by removing likely obstacles, at instructing students and at confirming "to the immemorial custom of learned predecessors". As for the *taṉiyaṉ*, it is recited rather to begin (and end) well a given recitation, but perhaps even more so, to remember with gratitude those who composed them as well as the predecessors, who cherished, taught and transmitted them (see § 5.3. Honouring the Āḻvārs). Besides, the *taṉiyaṉ*s are relatively (and purposefully) easy to understand and easier still to memorize, being intentionally made to be mnemonic (Wilden 2017a: 330), whose very raison-d'être is fostering the understanding of the greatness of the poets and facilitating thereby their memorization.

The Tamil invocation stanza, too, definitely has a few common points with the *taṉiyaṉ*, e.g. both are "a prelude to the text in question, not as a part of the text itself" (Wilden 2017b: 170), although the invocation verse came to be seen as part of the text itself.[90] But the *taṉiyaṉ* is also different from it: an invocation verse is "supposed to mirror in poetic form and

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There is no explicit *namaskriyā*, *maṅgala*, *vastunirṇaya* or *prayojana*, but it is possible to see allusions to all these in this verse (the praising words stand for worship and invocation of blessings, the praise itself could be the purpose, etc.). Sometimes, even the guesswork is made more difficult:

ulakum maḻicaiyum uḷ uṇarntu tammil
pulavar pukaḻ kōlāl tūkka, ulaku taṉṉai
vaitt$_u$ *eṭutta pakkattum, mā nīr maḻicaiyē*
vaitt$_u$ *eṭutta pakkam valitu.*
Having examined the world and Maḻicai within their hearts,
As the wise men weigh [them] on the scales of fame,
Even strong[er] than the side on which the world [was] placed and held up,
Was the side on which Maḻicai with great waters was placed and held up (18).

[90] Wilden (2017c: 170) points out that in works such as the *Kalittokai* and the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the invocation verse is "even included in the numbering of verses in the text, as poem number 1".

metre the type of poems found in the text it precedes" (Wilden forthcoming: 85), while the *taṉiyaṉ* does not necessarily do so.[91] Besides, as mentioned above, usually the *taṉiyaṉ* praises the poet, and is not technically-speaking an invocation to a deity, although an author like an Āḻvār/ Ācārya is not less respected than God Himself. Also, Wilden's description of a *pāyiram* (2017b: 173) suggests that it is composed by the author of the poem himself, but the *taṉiyaṉ* is definitely not that. What is composed by another person in praise of the work/author is indeed known as *ciṟappuppāyiram*, a "laudatory preface",[92] which Wilden says was influenced by the *taṉiyaṉ*.[93] [94]

At this point, it is worth pointing out here that the *taṉiyaṉ* is different from the signature verses,[95] although it could have

[91] Even a cursory look at the metres used for the *taṉiyaṉ*s would show that, except perhaps for the four works that form the earliest layer of the NTP (which are themselves composed in the *veṇpā* metre), the *antāti*s, there is no such mirroring happening, at least not in terms of the metre.

[92] It does seem that the two forms are sometimes confused, or least the *ciṟappu-p-pāyiram* is a form of *pāyiram*: we can see this from the fact that the *taṉiyaṉ*s are dealt with in a book dealing with the *pāyiram*s (e.g. Irāmacāmi 1988).

[93] Wilden (2017b: 189 fn21) explains: "In this respect the *taṉiyaṉ*-s of the Śrīvaiṣṇava *Tivyappirapantam* transmission might be seen as its [*ciṟappuppāyiram*] predecessor. Although demonstrably continuing the form of the author stanza, they are already employed in a different manner in that they constitute the personal praise of an Āḻvār and his/her work uttered by persons important to the community".

[94] The following one attributed to Vedappirāṉ Bhaṭṭar, which is not part of the "standard", official *taṉiyaṉ*s sung for the NTP, is an apt illustration for the laudatory — as well as introductory — nature of the verse:
pātakaṅkaḷ tīrkkum paramaṉ aṭi kāṭṭum
vētam aṉaittukkum vittu ākum kōtai tamiḻ
ai aintum aintum aṟiyāta māṉiṭarai
vaiyam cumappatum vampu.
The earth bearing the humans who do not know
Kōtai's Tamil [poem] of thirty [*pācurams*],—
which destroy sins, show the feet of the Supreme Being
[and] is the seed to all the Vedas — is worthless.

[95] For more on the difference between the *taṉiyaṉ*s, the signature verses and the colophon stanzas, see Wilden's article in this volume.

been inspired by its style and choice of contents.[96] The signature verses, which occur at the end of a work and are very much part of it, sometimes comprise a *phalaśruti,* and are known as the *tirukkaṭaikkāppu*s in the Tamil Śaiva tradition and as *cāttu/cāṟṟu pācuram*s ('closing verses')[97] in the Tamil Vaiṣṇava one. More often than not, these *taṉiyaṉ*s do *not* include "the reward(s) of hearing"— that we often find embedded in the Āḻvārs' verses, most probably composed by the poets themselves[98]—, at least not explicitly or systematically.[99] Despite this, both have a few features in

[96] For more on this discussion, see Wilden 2017a: 328-9.

[97] One of the meanings for the verbal root *cāttu* is "to close", whence the Śrivaiṣṇava meaning "to finish reading a sacred book" (TL). While the expression *cāttu pācuram* or *cāttu pāṭal* is popular among the traditional scholars, more famous is the word deriving from the root, the *cāttumuṟai* ("*Vaiṣṇ*. 1. Recital of some special stanzas at the close of *pirapantam* recitation in times of worship at temples, etc.; 2. Close of the festival in honour of Vaiṣṇava saints; 3. Completion of the study of sacred works, generally celebrated with appropriate ceremonies". [TL]). *Cāṟṟu* and *cāṟṟumuṟai* seem to be oral variants produced by hypercorrection.

[98] The authorship of the signature verses by the Āḻvārs has been doubted and defended, but I shall not delve in that topic here, as I have discussed it elsewhere (See Anandakichenin 2018: 20-23). Please note that while arguing that the signature verses were indeed composed by the Āḻvārs but not some later author, Norman Cutler (1984: 69) precisely refers to the existence of the *taṉiyaṉ* to make his point, thereby bringing out the difference between the two types of verses: "Also, there is another genre in Vaishnavite literature which fulfills this function and which is traditionally recognized as a later author's gesture of appreciation for the saint's poems. This is the verse called *taṉiyaṉ* which is appended to a saint's or to an *ācārya*'s composition as an introductory verse". He repeats this idea elsewhere too (Cutler 1987: 28).

[99] Sometimes the functions of the two are confused, as is the case with Archana Venkatesan (2010: 223-4), who defines the *taṉiyaṉ* thus: "A *taṉiyaṉ* (lit. a single one) is a laudatory verse, composed in either Tamiḻ or Sanskrit, that is appended to the main text. A poem may have more than one *taṉiyaṉ*. It may offer a brief synopsis of the life of the āḻvār poet, a summary of the main points of the poem, and **invariably emphasizes the merit earned from reading, reciting, or listening to the relevant text.** The taṉiyaṉ is as much a praise of the poem it is appended to, as it is of the poet who composed it. Liturgical recitations of any āḻvār poem always begin with a recitation of the relevant

common, as for example, giving information about and praising the poet and/or the work.

The *taṉiyaṉ*, in turn, influenced not just other types of solitary verses like the *ciṟappuppāyiram*, but also other genres

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taṉiyaṉs" (bold mine). While some *taṉiyaṉs may* allude to the benefits of hearing or reciting a particular poem, they do not do so as a rule (See § 4.5. Stating the purpose of the poem and the intended *audience*).

To illustrate this point, let us compare a signature-cum-*phalaśruti* verse and a *taṉiyaṉ*, including one that mentions the purpose of the work it hails:

iṉ amutam ūṭṭukēṉ iṅkē vā paiṅkiḷiyē
teṉ araṅkam pāṭa valla cīr perumāḷ poṉ am
cilai cēr nutaliyar vēḷ cēralar kōṉ eṅkaḷ
kulacēkaraṉ eṉṟē kūṟu.
I shall feed [you] with sweet boiled rice, come here, O parakeet with green plumage!
Say that the king of the Cēras, a Kāma for those with a golden, beautiful forehead joined by bows,
the auspicious Perumāḷ who was capable of singing [about] beautiful Raṅgam in the South
is the head of our community/Kulaśekhara (15).

There is no reward promised here to those who recite the work. If anything, it is the parakeet that gets a treat for repeating statements that praise and respect Kulaśekhara. The following one is different:

eṉ piṟavi tīra iṟaiñciṉēṉ iṉ amutā
aṉpē takaḷi aḷittāṉai nal pukaḻ cēr
cītatt$_u$ *ār muttukaḷ cērum kaṭal-mallai*
pūtattār poṉ am kaḻal.
I bowed at the beautiful, golden feet of the revered Pūtam
from Mallai-on-sea with good fame joined by pearls filled with coolness,
him who gave [the poem with the words] 'love itself is a lamp-bowl' as sweet nectar, **so that my births end** (32).

A purpose is assigned to the creative activity of the poet, which has an impact on the reciter. This is different from what a real *phalaśruti* (from TVM 1.6.11) looks like:

mātavaṉ pāl caṭakōpaṉ tīt$_u$ *avam iṉṟi uraitta*
ētam il āyirattu i- pattu ōta vallār piṟavārē.
Those who are capable of reciting this [set of] ten among the blemishless thousand
that Śaṭhakopa uttered on Mādhava without defect or evil, **shall not be born** [again].

There is a cause and effect relation here between reciting and obtaining the fruit, or rather, there exists a promise of fruit for a prescribed action, which is not what is usually found in the *taṉiyaṉ*s.

of works, e.g. Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiographies and *ācāryastuti*s. While explaining that the fully-fledged subgenre of *ācāryastuti* ('praise of the Ācārya') is an important feature of the Śrīvaiṣṇava literature, Nancy Ann Nayar (1992: 94-5) believes that the *taṉiyaṉ*s are forerunners to this genre.[100] Nayar (1992: 94-6) also adds that the shape of the *taṉiyaṉ* tradition had not become rigid even by the 12th c., not having "yet developed into an official finalized *guruparamparā* listing", which it later became, something that can be seen from the type of verses taken from both Kūreśa's (12th c.) and Parāśara Bhaṭṭa's (12th c.) larger works, and used as *taṉiyaṉ*s for Ācāryas like Rāmānuja, going all the way up to the *prathamācārya* ('the first Ācārya'), Nārāyaṇa along with Śrī,[101] thus constructing a *guruparamparā* ('genealogy of teachers') lineage, but also helping remember that very lineage (Venkatachari [1978: 10-1]),[102] which is one of its purposes.

[100] Indeed, Venkatachari (1978: 10) points out that "the first explicit and documented use of the *taṉiyaṉ*" corresponds to a couple of verses found in Yāmuna's *Stotraratna,* in praise of Nāthamuni and Nammāḻvār, both of which are now deemed the 'official' verses for these two teachers (See Chart 2). We may note, however, that they are not technically-speaking *taṉiyaṉ*s at all, if we stick to its etymological meaning.

[101] The verse mentioned by them is the following *taṉiyaṉ*, which gives a hint as to what form the praise of individual Ācāryas within a particular lineage will become later:
lakṣmīnāthasamārambhāṃ nāthayāmunamadhyamām |
asmadācāryaparyantāṃ vande guruparamparām ||
I salute the lineage of teachers which begins with the Lord of Lakṣmī, has in its middle Nātha[muni] and Yāmuna, and extends up to our Ācārya (3).

[102] Six of them are used as official *taṉiyaṉ*s. As I am not focusing on the *taṉiyaṉ*s dealing with the Ācāryas in this article, but only the ones on the Āḻvārs and their works, I shall not say more on this. See Nayar 1992: 94-6 for further details.

5. The purposes of the *taṉiyaṉ*

5.1. The function of ensuring transmission

The most important feature of a *taṉiyaṉ* is "to ensure the transmission of vital information in a semi-oral environment" (Wilden 2017b: 189). And the transmission depends on the memory of the people, hence the easier-to-memorize *veṇpā* metre, along with rhythming reciting patterns, and the simple content (unlike *maṅgalācaraṇa*s). As we have seen, the *taṉiyaṉ*s, although they do not all share the same features, do recapitulate the essential information that the devotee needs to remember on a certain Āḻvār/Ācārya.[103] So this is a presentation of an author and her work in a nutshell,[104] with the *taṉiyaṉ* here being a sort of metonymy of the person that it

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[103] *aṉṉa vayal putuvai āṇṭāḷ araṅkaṟku*
paṉṉu tiruppāvai pal patiyam
iṉ icaiyāl pāṭi koṭuttāḷ nal pāmālai
pūmālai cūṭi koṭuttāḷai collu.
Praise Āṇṭāḷ of Putuvai with paddy fields where swans [roam],
who, having sung with good music many stanzas,
the skillfully[-composed] *Tiruppāvai*,
gave a good song-garland to the Lord of Raṅgam [and]
who gave [Him] a flower garland having worn [it] (11).

At the cost of sounding redundant, here is what the devotee gets to remember: the author name, her town, the name of her work, which is a musical song-garland, along with the destined recipient is the Lord of Raṅgam. She equally gave Him real flower garlands, which is "biographic" detail, that reveals both her bhakti and poetic talents.

[104] The *taṉiyaṉ* may not always be a means for the devotee to remember what a particular poem is about. In instances like with the *taṉiyaṉ* quoted here and the one on Tiruppāṇ (See both *taṉiyaṉ*s on him), it may be the case. The one in Tamil, especially, summarizes the poem itself. But then, why not give such a summary for a larger work, whose contents might be more difficult to remember, like the *Tiruvāymoḻi*? We can only surmise that practically speaking, it is harder to condense the meanings of a thousand verses within the scope of four lines. Which is precisely why that the general content is alluded to differently, like the examples quoted in the previous subpart, e.g. Nammāḻvār wrote the Vedas in Tamil.

speaks of, in this case Āṇṭāḷ, as pointed out to me by Srilata Raman in a personal communication.

Could it be that this identification of the author and her work is a protection against potential theft or plagiarism (Wilden, same book, p. 335) or downright appropriation of authorship? It may be a possibility. Linking a poem to a venerable author could probably also enhance the value of the work, which was after all called the Tamil Veda. And, as Wilden (2017b: 90) points out for the colophon and invocation stanzas, the *taṉ̲iyaṉ̲*s too have "the function of anchoring the text in a tradition," in this case the Śrīvaiṣṇava one, which "views the recitation of poetry as one possible communal activity in a group whose identity is intimately linked with their religious affiliations."

5.2. The story-telling function

We have already seen that giving details about a poet's life is a feature that seems more important at the beginning of the *taṉ̲iyaṉ̲*-writing period than later, if we accept the traditional ascriptions and datings. But Wilden (2017a: 330) expresses a doubt concerning that particular function of the on the *taṉ̲iyaṉ̲*, since the Śrīvaiṣṇavas already began to produce hagiographic literature, so there cannot have been a need to preserve vital information about the poet in the form of stray verses.[105]

[105] This is what Wilden says while discussing the *taṉ̲iyaṉ̲* on Poykai: "If the ascription is correct, it gives us a date, namely the 11th or 12th century and the heyday of Vaiṣṇava commentary production. At that time with the *Divyasūricarita* (in Sanskrit) and the *Guruparamparāprabhavam* (in Maṇipravāḷam) also the first saint hagiographies, an important genre, were probably already around. In other words, things do not look as if this stanza could have been composed for the sake of preserving precious information in a predominantly oral milieu. The rationale for the composition of such a stanza is that it was regarded as a desirable complement, if not as a requirement: many Tamil texts come with such a verse, though by no means all of them. Thus, the Vaiṣṇava *taṉ̲iyam*-s

But it seems to me that while the first hagiographic works were not written before the 13th c., the *taṉiyaṉ*s were, around a century or two before them. Therefore, it is well possible that the *taṉiyaṉ*s were the earliest step to narrate and remember a story, even before the commentaries, which are full of anecdotes about the lives of the Ācāryas, began to do it. As a matter of fact, while pointing out that the *taṉiyaṉ* is a result of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas trying to establish a direct link with the Āḻvārs via a lineage of teachers, Friedhelm Hardy (1983: 243) sees in these "self-contained" poems "the beginnings of a hagiographic tradition".[106] Of course, none of the dates or authorship questions — let alone the source of their stories[107] — being settled (or even settleable), we cannot affirm anything for sure.

5.3. Honouring the Āḻvārs

The *taṉiyaṉ* may have been meant to help make an auspicious beginning of the reciting. But knowing the veneration that the Śrīvaiṣṇavas have had for their Ācāryas (which is how the poetry-writing Āḻvārs were and still are perceived by many Śrīvaiṣṇavas), this may have something to do with remembering them with fervour and gratitude (See the end of *4.8. Conclusions: the* taṉiyaṉ *and its counterparts*). This is particularly shown by the nature of the *potu* or common *taṉiyaṉ*s, which are nothing but praise and worship of all the Ācāryas, especially those who were thought to have been involved in the composition and transmission of the sacred

(*sic*) could be seen as an indication that the genre of the mnemonic stanza was well established by their time."

[106] He also shows that we get to know the name and an "event" of Tiruppāṇ's life only thanks to two *taṉiyaṉ*s, "which are probably not later than the end of the tenth century" (Hardy 1983: 243).

[107] The life-stories of the Āḻvārs may have been based on what the Ācāryas could glean or infer from their poems; on oral traditions that may still have remembered some stories, albeit altered throughout the centuries; or on their imagination, especially if needed to suit a certain purpose, like the canonization of the poetry and the deification of its composer.

texts. And in the case of the individual *taṉiyaṉ*, the Āḻvār-poet becomes a sort of *iṣṭadevatā*, whose favour is still sought, centuries after they gave their blessings that are their compositions.

6. The Transmission of the *taṉiyaṉ*s

The transmission of the *taṉiyaṉ*s, just like that of the NTP and the Śrīvaiṣṇava works, probably happened via both oral and written means in this tradition that Wilden qualifies as "semi-oral".[108] The advent of the printing press during the British rule did change some of the equations, as it did for the rest of Tamil literature, *inter alia*.

6.1. Traditional methods of transmission

The most common and widespread means of transmission of the *taṉiyaṉ* is oral instruction to the younger generation, and it would have happened along with the teaching of the NTP, possibly along with their meanings. At least orally, the *taṉiyaṉ*s did not have a life and identity independent of the larger corpus.[109]

The Śrīvaiṣṇavas also wrote down their works, although this must have concerned a smaller group of people. In fact, the disciples recording their Ācāryas words on palm-leaves are mentioned on many occasions in the Śrīvaiṣṇava texts.[110] In

[108] For more on the use of the expression semi-oral traditions by Wilden's contribution to this volume, fn1.

[109] This oral transmission is not a thing of the past, as even today, Teṉkalai Śrīvaiṣṇava parents, for example, who wish to give a traditional education to their sons (not the daughters) decide whether he will learn the Vedas or the Tamil Vedas, with the latter including the *taṉiyaṉ*s.

[110] The GPP6k, for example, tells us that Nampiḷḷai's lectures on the *Tiruvāymoḻi* were written down both by Naṭuvil Tiruvīti Piḷḷai and Vaṭakku Tiruvīti Piḷḷai. Unhappy with their writing down without his permission, Nampiḷḷai left the former's palm leaves to white ants and the latter's to Īyuṇṇi Mātavaṉ, so that he transmits it to one person of the

fact, the verb *paṭṭōlai-koḷḷutal* is used among them to refer to taking notes on palm-leaves.[111] So the *taṉiyaṉ*s would have been transmitted along with both the NTP and the NTP commentary manuscripts.

Besides, it seems that the *taṉiyaṉ*s enjoyed some added attention in the written domain, as the existence of these manuscripts, e.g. in the catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Chennai (Sastri 1932), suggests, while giving us an idea of the types of *taṉiyaṉ*s, their authors and the kind of overall importance that this paratextual, if not parallel, literature has held for the Śrīvaiṣṇavas.[112] Since Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar wrote a commentary on the *taṉiyaṉ*s, these verses would have been transmitted as a separate work, too.[113]

6.2. Modern means of transmission

The palm-leaf manuscripts have unsurprisingly given way to printed books. And the *taṉiyaṉ*s have been printed along with the NTP and NTP-related works, but there do exist books

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following generation (This is narrated in the very last part of the GPP6k, in a chapter called '*Nañcīyar Nampiḷḷai vaipavaṅkaḷ*.').

[111] The TL defines it as "To reduce to writing the utterances of the great".

[112] GOML 415 & 416. *ācārya taṉiyaṉkaḷ* ("the *taṉiyaṉ*s of the Ācāryas")
GOML 488 & 489. *āḻvārācāryarkaḷ taṉiyaṉkaḷ* ("the *taṉiyaṉ*s of the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas")
GOML 490. *āḻvārācāryarkaḷ tirunaṭcattira taṉiyaṉ* ("the *tirunakṣatra taṉiyaṉ*s of the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas")
GOML 2053. *taṉiyaṉiyaṟṟiya āciriyar peyar* ("the names of the authors who composed *taṉiyaṉ*s")
GOML 2252. *tirunakṣatrattaṉiyaṉ* ("the *tirunakṣatra taṉiyaṉ*(s)")
GOML 3013. *nālāyira tivviya pirapantat taṉiyaṉ* ("the *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam taṉiyaṉ*(s)")
GOML 3014 to 3016. *nālāyira tivviya pirapantat taṉiyaṉ vyākhyānam (Piḷḷai lokam jīyar)* ("Commentary on *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam taṉiyaṉ*(s) [by Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar]")
GOML 3116. *bhagavadviṣayat taṉiyaṉkaḷ (tirumalaiyāḻvāṉ mutalāṉor)* ("*taṉiyaṉ*s on the *Bhagavadviṣayam* [by Tirumalaiyāḻvāṉ, etc.]")

[113] See GOML 3014-3016 in fn112.

exclusively dedicated to the *taṉiyaṉ*s (See for example, Veṅkatācārī 2001).

The following is worth noting when it comes to the *taṉiyaṉ*s: when including these verses in published books, although the practice is largely uniform in the general editions of the NTP (with a few exceptions, e.g. Bharati's 2000 unexplained choice of common *taṉiyaṉ*s), those dedicated to individual works or authors are less consistent.[114] My suspicion is that the systematic labelling of the various types of *taṉiyaṉ*s could be the modern editor's doing.[115]

7. Conclusions

While speaking of the intertextual realities in which the *cāṭu* verses thrive, Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman (1998: 7) state the following:

> …a *cāṭu* is not really an isolated verse, even if it appears as such. It is an integral part of a system of communicated and shared knowledge, often with string intertextual connections and interactive relationships

[114] For example, while the Ayyaṅkār 1995 edition of the *mūṉṟām tiruvantāti* only gives the *taṉiyaṉ* that is traditionally recited before reciting that particular work (in this case, the *mūṉṟām tiruvantāti*), some editions, like the Ayyaṅkār 1993 edition of *iraṇṭām tiruvantāti*, give extra verses, which do not correspond to the category that I call "standard" *taṉiyaṉ*s. The latter names the Sanskrit *taṉiyaṉ* for Tirumaṅkai (*kalayāmi*) the *nitya taṉiyaṉ*, or "the permanent *taṉiyaṉ*", insinuating thereby that there are non-permanent ones, or ones that are not standard. It is not clear if such a category is standard, and if so, when it became so (See §3.2. The non-standard verses).

[115] A random check into NTP manuscripts shows that some simply do not include 'non-standard' verses, let alone label them with specific names like *nakṣatra taṉiyaṉ*: for example, MS EO-0727 from the EFEO Pondichéry collection, which is a copy of the *Periya tirumoḻi*, only gives the five standard *taṉiyaṉ*s (26 to 30 in Chart 2). EO-544 and EO-656 (*Mutal tiruvantāti*, etc.) only have the one standard *taṉiyaṉ* destined for this work (*kaitai cēr*). This does not mean that none of them does, but that the practice is not an established, standard one.

> between these apparently independent verses. We are looking at a well-defined body of verses, many with associated stories and contexts, that has maintained itself as a coherent whole through oral communication from generation to generation among a specific group of people…

This can also be applied to the *taṉiyaṉ*, as despite (mostly) not being a verse that is part of a bigger work, it still belongs to a larger literary corpus, in which it interacts with its other counterparts, whom it influences and/or is influenced by.

Although it owes its raison-d'être to the NTP work that it precedes, its importance is by no means secondary in a certain milieu: among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, the NTP cannot be recited without reciting the *taṉiyaṉ*s first. Therefore, it cannot be entirely preposterous to claim that it is a separate genre that has an identity of its own, to an extent.

Moreover, as we have seen earlier, the *taṉiyaṉ*s on the NTP have been commented upon, an honour usually reserved for the texts that they praise. Therefore, this kind of verse, a veritable *seuil* ("threshold") described by Genette, while leading the devout to the *garbhagṛha* ("sanctum sanctorum") of the sacred words of the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas, is itself sacred, like the door step to the shrine of Veṅkaṭam that Kulaśekhara Āḻvār wanted to be.[116]

The fact that the *taṉiyaṉ* was likely important for the devout Śrīvaiṣṇava but not necessarily to the rest of the Tamil people is probably shown by the fact that an edition of the *mutalāyiram* ("first thousand" of the NTP) by the eminent Tamil scholar Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai (1955), which seeks to make the

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[116] In his *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* 4.9, Kulaśekhara expresses his wish to become the door-step to the main shrine. As a consequence, to this date, door-steps to the *garbhagṛha* of Śrivaiṣṇava shrines are known as *kulacēkaraṉ paṭi*.

NTP accessible to the average Tamil person by giving a text that is sandhi- and word-split, completely omits the *taṉiyaṉs*[117]: it would probably call itself a proper Tamil, non-religious edition, and would not be wrong in doing so. At the same time, we can notice that the usage of the *taṉiyaṉ* has spread outside the domain of the Śrīvaiṣṇava literature. As a matter of fact, as a few editions of Kampaṉ's *Irāmavatāram*, like Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamāccāriyār (2017 [19XX?]), list eleven verses that they call *kampar taṉiyaṉkaḷ* ('the *taṉiyaṉs* for Kampar), immediately after invocation verses on Nammāḻvār, Hanumān and Sarasvatī. Those verses (4 to 11) praise both Kampaṉ and his *Rāmāyaṇa*, very much like the Śrīvaiṣṇava *taṉiyaṉs* do the NTP authors and works. We can therefore see that the concept of the *taṉiyaṉ* has transcended the Śrīvaiṣṇava world to establish itself outside it and thrive.

List of abbreviations

GPP6k	*Āṟāyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam*
GPP12k	*Āṟāyirappaṭi Paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam*
MW	Monier williams
NTP	*Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam*
TL	Tamil Lexicon
TVM	*Tiruvāymoḻi*
YPP	*Yatīndra Pravana Prabhāvam*

[117] It is interesting to note that the other *āyiram*s were edited by a group of unnamed scholars for the same publication, and the *taṉiyaṉs* find their way back there. In the *Iyaṟpā, Periya tirumoḻi,* and *Tiruvāymoḻi* volumes (See Rajam 1956a, 1956b and 1956c), they are all given together before even the text is touched upon.

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[118] This could correspond to 1919-20 or 1978-9. Other books, such as Rajam (1956b: v), refer to a NTP edition by Cē. Kiruṣṇamācāriyar published in 1928. Unless it is a reference to another print or edition, it is not clear what year this book was published in (https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/book-detail.php?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZh0kuly&tag=நாலாயிர%20திவ்ய ப்ரபந்தம்#book1/3). The online library entry for the copy that I have used here shows 1935 as the year of publication. So for the sake of convenience, I shall use this date.

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Tiruppaḷḷiyeḻucci and commentaries: *Naṅcīyar, periyavāccāṉ piḷḷai aruḷicceyta tiruppaḷḷiyeḻucci vyākyāṉaṅkaḷ (sudarcaṉam āciriyariṉ eḷiyanaṭai vivaraṇattuṭaṉ kūṭiyatu).* Ed. by S. Kiruṣṇasvāmi Ayyaṅkār. 3rd edition. Tirucci: S. Kiruṣṇasvāmi Ayyaṅkār, n.d.

Tiruvāymoḻi and commentaries:

(1) *prapannajaṉakūṭastarāṉa nammāḻvār tiruvāymalarntaruḷiya tiruvāymoḻi (mutal pattu, iraṇṭām pattu, mūṉṟām pattuk-kaḷuṭaṉ tivyārtta tīpikai urai).* Ed. by Piraṭivātipayaṅkaram Aṇṇaṅkarācāriyar. Śrīraṅgam: Śrīvaiṣṇavaśrī, 1998 [1933].

(2) *Śrī Bhagavad-Viṣayam. Tiruvāymoḻi mūlamum āṟāyirappaṭi, oṉpatṉāyirappaṭi, irupattināḻāyirappaṭi, īṭumuppattāṟāyirap-*

paṭi vyākhyānaṅkaḷum, cīyar arumpatavurai, pramāṇattiraṭṭu, draviḍopaniṣatsaṅgati, draviḍopaniṣattātparyaratnāvaḷi, tiru-vāymoḻi nūṟṟantāti ivaikaḷuṭaṉ. Ed. by Cē. Kiruṣṇamācāriyār. Tiruvallikēṇi: Nōpil Accukkūṭam, 1925–30.

Tiruveḻukkūṟṟirukkai and commentaries: *Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār aruḷiya tiruveḻukkūṟṟirukkai* (*periyavāccāṉ piḷḷai aruḷiya iru vyākhyāṉaṅkaḷ, vivaraṇattuṭaṉ*). *śrīsūktimālā malar 27.* Ed. by S. Kiruṣṇasvāmi Ayyaṅkār. Tirucci: Śrīnivāsam Piras, 1973.

Tiruviruttam and commentaries:

(1) *Nammāḻvār aruḷicceyta tiruviruttam, itu …*[119] *tiruvallikkēṇi vaittamāniti muṭumpai caṭakōparāmānujācāriyar iyaṟṟiya uraiyuṭaṉ.* Ed. by Vaittamāniti Muṭumpai Caṭakōparāmānujā-cāriyar. Ceṉṉai: Mimōriyal accukkūṭam, (*vikāri* v°[120]).

(2) *Iyaṟpā, prapannajana kūṭasttarāṉa nammāḻvār aruḷicceyta tiruviruttam, itaṟku periyavāccāṉpiḷḷai tampēraruḷā laruḷicceyta, maṇipravāḷa vyākyānam, itaṟku vivaraṇamāṉa arumpatam, appu arumpatam: vēṟoru arumpatam. 19 pācuraṅkaḷukku appiḷḷai urai, tarkkatīrttarāṉa śrīmān, ciṅkapperumāḷkōvil, māṭapūci rāmānujācāryarāleḻutappaṭṭa pratīpatam, tātparyam inta eṭṭu krantaṅkaḷum māṭapūci rāmānujācāryarālum si. muttukruṣṇanāyuṭu avarkaḷālum nānātēcā nītāneka śrīkośaṅkaḷiṉ sahāyattiṉāl paricōtippikkappaṭṭu (…) pracuram ceyyappaṭṭatu.* Ceṉṉapaṭṭaṇam: Śrīvaiṣṇava kranta mutrāpaka-sapaiyār, *śobhakṛt* v° [= 1903/04].

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[119] Printed words that occur here have faded in the edition that I am using.

[120] The Tamil *vikāri* year could correspond either to or to 1899-1900 or 1959-1960.

Yatīndrapravaṇaprabhāvam: *śrī piḷḷailōkārya jīyar aruḷicceyta yatīntrapravaṇa prapāvam* (*Śrīmaṇavāḷamāmunikaḷ vaipavam*). Ed. by V. V. Rāmānujaṉ. Tiruvallikkēṇi: Śrīraṅgapriyā patippakam, 2017 (1992).

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Evolution of the Tamil Śaiva Hagiographical Tradition from Marginalia to Mainstage

Shubha Shanthamurthy (SOAS)

Abstract

The Tamil Śaiva devotional tradition may have begun with the devotional outpourings of the itinerant *mūvar*, the three Śaiva poets Campantar, Appar, and Cuntarar who composed their devotional hymns between the sixth and ninth centuries. But as Śaiva devotional texts were canonized in progressive stages, the composers of the initial hymnal corpus, their attendants and exemplars themselves moved from the edges to the centre-stage of the devotional tradition. The first stage of canonization of Tamil devotional Śaivism, in the tenth-century efforts of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi to anthologize the hymns of the *mūvar*, is said to have occasioned his composition of the *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti*, a cycle of ninety verses extolling the *nāyaṉmār*, purportedly an elaboration of Cuntarar's earlier hymn in the same subject. Further evolution of the figure of the *nāyaṉār* continues in the twelfth-century *Periyapurāṇam* of Cēkkiḻār. This paper addresses the nature and composition of the *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti* and its place in the developing Śaiva hagiographical tradition beginning with the ninth-century *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* of Cuntarar and continuing with the twelfth-century *Periyapurāṇam* of Cēkkiḻār.

The Tamil Śaiva devotional tradition may have begun with the devotional outpourings of the itinerant *mūvar*, the three Śaiva poets Campantar, Appar, Cuntarar who composed their devotional hymns between the sixth and ninth centuries, but as they attained the status of canon in progressive stages, the composers of the initial hymnal corpus, their attendants and

exemplars moved from the edges to the centre-stage of the devotional tradition. Thus, while there is only an occasional reference to named devotees of Śiva, also called the *nāyaṉmār* (sg. *nāyaṉār*) in the early *patikam*s (hymnal decades) of Campantar and Appar,[1] Cuntarar devotes an entire *patikam*, the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* (*lit*. "the Summary of the Holy Servants"), to paying them homage. The first stage of canonization of Tamil devotional Śaivism, in the tenth-century efforts of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi to anthologize the hymns of the *mūvar*, is said by the tradition to have occasioned his composition of the *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti*,[2] a cycle of ninety verses extolling the *nāyaṉmār* named by Cuntarar as well as Cuntarar himself, which makes at times cryptic references to the 'deeds of devotion' that make that particular *nāyaṉār* being described stand out as an exemplar of devotion. Further evolution of the figure of the *nāyaṉār* continues in the twelfth-century *Periyapurāṇam* of Cēkkiḻār.[3] This paper addresses the nature and composition of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi's (hearafter Nampi) *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti* (hereafter TTA), and its place in the developing Śaiva hagiographical tradition beginning with the

[1] Campantar refers to devotees of Śiva in about forty hymns, the majority being anonymous or collective, unnamed, general references. He refers to named individuals sporadically, most frequently to Caṇṭēcurar and Kaṇṇappar whose legends appear to have been in wide circulation by his time. Appar refers to devotees of Śiva less often than Campantar (about thirty times), also mostly in unnamed general references. When he names individuals, it is again most often Caṇṭēcurar and Kaṇṇappar; he also refers to Campantar. Campantar and Appar refer far more often to purāṇic devotees of Śiva (Rāvaṇa, Hiḍimba, Mārkaṇḍēya, Arjuna) and neither lauds human devotees in the same way that Cuntarar does. Refer Shanthamurthy (2020: 31–38) for a more detailed discussion.

[2] The *Antāti* is a metrical arrangement where the final syllables of one verse are repeated at the beginning of the following verse.

[3] The PP of Cēkkiḻār is a hagiographical text which purports to expand on the TTT. See Shanthamurthy (2020: 44–71) for a more detailed discussion. See McGlashan (2006) for a translation, and Manikkanar (1990) for the Tamil original.

ninth-century *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* (hereafter TTT) of Cuntarar and continuing with the twelfth-century *Periyapurāṇam* (hereafter PP) of Cēkkiḻār. I begin by presenting a short summary of the structure and contents of the TTA, with the emphasis on the figure of the *nāyaṉār*. I then situate the *nāyaṉār* in the context of the earlier TTT and its devotional milieu as well as his later evolution in the devotional community imagined in the PP. I conclude with a discussion of the nature of the TTA project within the evolutionary arc of the Tamil Śaiva tradition.

The *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti* of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi: A summary

Nampi's TTA consisting of ninety verses elaborating Cuntarar's TTT[4] and adhering closely to the sequence of names mentioned therein. The final stage of elaboration is said to be Cēkkiḻār's PP, which also adheres closely to the TTT in sequence.

It is suggested that the TTA, later canonized in the eleventh book of the *Tirumuṟai*,[5] was composed between the late ninth and early twelfth centuries by Nampi.[6] McGlashan (2009: 291–294) dates the TTA between 870 and 1118 CE, based on the internal evidence of v.65 of the TTA, which refers to the Cōḻa king Ātittaṉ (r. 870–907 CE), and the evidence of the *Tirumuṟaikaṇṭapurāṇam* of Umāpati[7] which claims that the

[4] See Subramanya Aiyar et. al. (2006) for the Tamil original and translation.

[5] The *Tirumuṟai* is the collective name for the *Śaiva* canon of twelve books compiled by Umāpati in the fourteenth-century. See Irāmacāmi (1971) for the Tamil original of the eleventh book of the Tirumuṟai, and McGlashan (2009) for a translation of the TTA.

[6] Probably of Nāraiyūr in the Cōḻa domain, based on the invocation verse in the TTA.

[7] An early fourteenth-century purporting to give an account of the compilation of the canon. See Pechilis (2001) for a fuller discussion of Umāpati's project.

Cōḻa king Apayakulacēkaraṉ instructed 'Nampi' to compile what became the first seven books of the *Tirumuṟai*. Cōḻa Apayakulacēkaraṉ is identified variously with the Cōḻa kings Uttama Cōḻa (r. 970–985 CE),[8] Rājarāja I (r. 985–1016 CE),[9] and Kulōttuṅga I (r. 1070–1118 CE).[10] Though Nampi and Cēkkiḻār both credit Cuntarar's TTT with being their source, it must be noted that Cēkkiḻār only makes a passing reference to the TTA and does not credit Nampi with being his primary source.[11] It is Umāpati's *Tirumuṟaikaṇṭapurāṇam* that places the TTA between the TTT and PP. In fact, many references to *nāyaṉmār*s' lives in the TTA can only be understood with reference to the more elaborate stories of the PP. Thus, there is some reason to doubt the conventional chronology of the TTA as claimed by the literary hagiographical tradition; I discuss this further at the conclusion of this essay.

The TTA cycle of ninety verses is in the *kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai* metre.[12] It begins with a verse that invokes Gaṇapati (*puḻaikkai-muka maṉṉaṉ*), king of Nāraiyūr on the north bank of the Poṉṉi, declares that the brahmin Nampi amplifies (*vakai palkum*) the TTT with his support, and describes the place, land, tradition, and actions of the sixty-three *nāyaṉmār*

[8] Champakalakshmi (2011: 102).
[9] Nilakanta Sastri (1966).
[10] Zvelebil (1995)
[11] PP v.48-50—"As a source for this history, I shall use the celebrated poem called 'the Roll of the Holy Servants of the Lord'', which Vaṉṟoṇṭar himself composed with the aid or divine grace. The devotees whose names occur in that poem are also mentioned in the work of our master Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi. I shall follow his work closely in my own history. That the whole world might find salvation and the Śaiva religion flourish, the famous poet Nampi Ārūrar sang the eternal praise or the servants of the Lord. But first I shall describe the beauty of the land watered by the cool river Kāveri, where great numbers of that company passed their lives" (tr. McGlashan 2006: 23).
[12] A kind of *kalitturai* verse of four lines of five feet each, in which every line has 16 syllables if the first syallable is a *nēr*, and 17 if the first is *nirai*, and the stanza always ends in *ē* (per *Tamil Lexicon*).

(*aṟupattu mūvar pati tēm marapu ceyal*). It enumerates and briefly extolls sixty-three individual *nāyaṉmār*[13] and nine groups of devotees, interspersed with eleven verses in praise of Cuntarar. Twelve other verses also refer to Cuntarar, and two verses each are composed in praise of the devotees Appar, Campantar, the Cēra king Cēramaṉ Perumāḷ, and the Cōḻa king Kōcceṅkaṭcōḻan;[14] the remaining *nāyaṉmār* get only one verse each. The TTA follows the same sequence of naming the *nāyaṉmār* as the TTT, expands upon it and marks the end of each verse of the TTT with a verse in praise of Cuntarar, as summarized in the table below.

[13] Which it calls "*toṇṭar*" or servants. The term *nāyaṉmār* does not appear in hagiographical literature until much later. See McGlashan (2006: 7).

[14] See Peterson (1989 and 2004), and Velupillai (2004) among others for further information on the *nāyaṉmār*.

Table 1: TTA vs. TTT

#	TTA	TTT	#	TTA	TTT	#	TTA	TTT	#	TTA	TTT
1	Invocation verse		25	Tirunāvukk-aracar	v.4	50	Poyyaṭimai illāta pulavar	v.7	71	Ecstatic devotees in general	v.10
2	Tillai vāḻ antaṇar	v.1	26	Tirunāvukk-aracar		51	Pukaḻccōḻaṉ		72	Pilgrim hymnists	
3	Tirunīlakaṇṭar		27	Kulacciṟai		52	Naraciṅkamuṉaiyar aiyaṉ		73	Renunciates	
4	Iyaṟ-pakaiyār		28	Miḻalaik-kuṟumpaṉ		53	Atipattaṉ		74	*Śaiva*s of Ārūr	
5	Iḷaiyāṉ-kuṭi Māṟar		29	Kāraikkālammai		54	Kalikkampaṉ		75	Temple priests	
6	Meypporuḷār		30	Appūtiyaṭikaḷ		55	Kaliyaṉ		76	Ascetics	
7	Viṟaṉmiṇṭar		31	Tirunīlanakkar		56	Catti		77	Others	
8	Amarnītiyār		32	Naminanti		57	Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ		**78**	**Cuntarar**	
9	**Cuntarar**		**33**	**Cuntarar**		**58**	**Cuntarar**		79	Pūcalār	v.11
10	Eṟipattar	v.2	34	Tiruñāṉa-campantar	v.5	59	Kaṇampullaṉ	v.8	80	Maṅkaiyarkku Araciyār	
11	Ēṉātinātar		35	Tiruñāṉa-campantar		60	Kāri		81	Nēcaṉ	
12	Kaṇṇappar		36	Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmaṉ		61	Neṭumāṟaṉ		82	Kōcceṅkaṭcōḻaṉ	

13	Kuṅkuliyakkala yanāyaṉār		37	Tirumūlar		62	Vāyilār		83	Kōcceṅkaṭcōḻaṉ	
14	Māṉakkañcāṟar		38	Taṇṭiyaṭikaḷ		63	Muṉaiyaṭuvār		84	Tirunīlakaṇṭa-yāḻppāṇar	
15	Vāṭṭāyar		39	Mūrkkaṉ		**64**	**Cuntarar**		85	Caṭaiyar	
16	Āṉāyar		40	Cōmācimāṟaṉ		65	Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ	v.9	86	Icaiñāṉiyār	
17	**Cuntarar**		**41**	**Cuntarar**		66	Iṭaṅkaḻi		**87**	**Cuntarar**	
18	Mūrtti	v.3	42	Cākkiyar	v.6	67	Ceruttuṇai		88	Reference to TTT	
19	Murukar		43	Ciṟappuli		68	Pukaḻttuṇai		89	Reference to TTT	
20	Uruttira Pacupatiyār		44	Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ		69	Kōṭpuli		90	*phalaśruti*	
21	Tirunāḷaippōvār (Nantaṉār)		45	Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ		**70**	**Cuntarar**				
22	Tirukkuṟippuṭ-toṇṭar		46	Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ							
23	Caṇṭēcurar		47	Kaṇanātaṉ							
24	**Cuntarar**		48	Kūṟṟuvaṉ							
			49	**Cuntarar**							

The TTA describes a variety of valid expressions of devotion, which may be classified into three main categories—acts of devotion and charity by and towards insiders, acts of violence against the 'other', and participation in conflict with sectarian overtones. Acts of devotion and charity could either be ordinary or every day actions[15] or extreme acts on the part of the devotee.[16] Acts of violence against the 'other' can include violence against loved ones who are passive instruments of the devotee's manifestation of heroic devotion,[17] violence against

[15] Ordinary acts of devotion are performed by the brahmins of Tillai (v.2) who were hereditary priests of Śiva, Ānāyaṉ (v.16) who played the flute to please the lord, Murukaṉ (v.19) and Cōmācimāraṉ (v.40) who recited the pañcākṣarī, Uruttira Pacupati (v.20) who recited the *śatarudrīya*, Appūti (v.30) who set up water fountains to quench the thirst of travellers, Tirumūlar (v.37) who reproduced the Vedas, Mūrkkaṉ (v.39) who gave away his gambling earnings, Cirappuli (v.43) who was charitable to ascetics, Kaḷaṟiṟṟarivāṉ (v.45) who was humble toward the lowly washerman whom he mistook for a Śaiva, Kaṇanātaṉ (v.47) who proselytised people to the Śaiva sect, Kūṟṟavaṉ (v.48), and Pukaḷccōḷan (v.51) who were Śaiva kings, Narasiṅga Muṉaiyaraiyaṉ (v.52) who gave alms even to fake Śaivas, Aiyaṭikaḷ (v.57) who was a devout pilgrim, Kāri (v.60) who composed hymns to Śiva, and Vāyilāṉ (v.62) who was devoted to Śiva.

[16] Extreme acts of devotion are performed by Nīlakaṇṭaṉ (v.3) who renounced his wife, Iyarpakai (v.4) who gave his wife to an ascetic, Iḷaiyāṉkuṭi Māṟaṉ (v.5) who dug up his freshly planted field and burnt down his roof to feed an ascetic, Amarnīti (v.8) who gave up his wealth, his family and himself in compensation for a loincloth, Kuṅkuliyak-kalayaṉ (v.13) who pulled the leaning *liṅga* upright with his neck, and sold his wife's jewels for temple offerings, Kāraikkālammai (v.29) who walked to Kailāsa on her head, Nīlanakkaṉ (v.31) who rejected his wife because she blew spittle on the *liṅga*, Cākkiyaṉ (v.42) who worshipped Śiva by throwing stones at him, Atipattaṉ (v.53) who offered up a gold fish to Śiva, Kaliyaṉ (v.55) who used up his wealth to worship Śiva, and Kaṇampullaṉ (v.59) who fed lamps with grass instead of oil.

[17] Violence against loved ones is carried out by Māṉakkañcāraṉ (v.14) who cut off his daughter's hair, Caṇṭīcaṉ (v.23) who cut off his father's feet for interrupting his worship, Ciruttoṇṭaṉ (v.44) who killed his only son to feed the ascetic, Kalikkampaṉ (v.54) who cut off his wife's hand for refusing to honour a Śaiva, Kalarciṅkaṉ (v.65) who cut off his wife's hand for smelling Śiva's flower offering, and Kōṭpuli (v.69) who killed his relatives for consuming the grain set aside for Śiva's devotees.

those who offend Śiva,[18] and even self-harm.[19] Deliberate participation in conflict with sectarian overtones could mean conflict with Jainas;[20] rarely, it could also be intra-sectarian conflict among Śaivas.[21] Finally, the TTA praises nine groups of devotees, thus universalizing the Śaiva community.[22]

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[18] Violence against those who offend Śiva is offered by Eripattaṉ (v.10) who killed the elephant and its handlers because it spoilt the flowers meant for Śiva, Catti (v.56) who cut out the tongues of those who spoke slightingly of Śiva and Ceruttuṇai (v.67) who cut off the nose of Kalarciṅkaṉ's wife for smelling Śiva's flower offering.

[19] Self-harm could be passive such as that carried out by Meypporuḷ (v.6) who allowed himself to be murdered by an ascetic without taking revenge, or Ēṉātinātaṉ (v.11) who threw away a fight, because the opponent was a Śaiva, or active such as Kaṇṇappar (v.12) who gave up his eye(s) to replace Śiva's bleeding eyes, Vāṭṭāyaṉ (v.15) who cut his throat because he spilt the lord's food, Mūrtti (v.18) who ground down his elbow instead of sandalwood paste, Nālaippōvāṉ (v.21) who passed through fire to see Śiva at Cidambaram, and Tirukkuṟippuṭṭoṇṭaṉ (v.22) who dashed his head on rock because he could not dry the ascetic's loincloth.

[20] Such as the one offered by Appar (v.25-26) in his repeated clashes with Jainas, Kulaccirai (v.27), minister of the Pāṇṭiyaṉ who impaled Jainas opposing Appar, Nāminanti (v.32) who was refused oil for lamps by Jainas and cursed them, Campantar (v.34) whose hymns were instrumental in breaking the power of the Jainas, blind Taṇṭi (v.38) who caused the Jainas to go blind because they ridiculed him, Neṭumāṟaṉ (v.61) who impaled Jainas defeated by Campantar, and Maṅkaiyarkkaraci (v.80) who caused her husband to be cured and brought death to Jainas by summoning Campantar.

[21] Such as Viṟaṉmiṇṭaṉ (v.7) who excluded Cuntarar from the community of devotees or Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmaṉ (v.36) who killed himself rather than be cured by Cuntarar.

[22] These are the brahmins of Tillai (v.1), pious poets of the Tamil *Caṅkam* (v.7), ecstatics who praise the lord of Ārūr, trembling, incoherent, hair standing on end, and bodies drenched in tears (v.71), pilgrims who praise the lord of the hall of Tillai, composers of songs in the language of the north or the south (v.72), renunciates who are devoted to Śiva's feet (v.73), Śaivas born within the precincts of holy Ārūr who are the celestial hordes of Śiva incarnate (v.74), priests of Śiva's temple(s) (v.75), ascetics who anoint their bodies with sacred ash (v.76), and devotees beyond the Tamil land or devotees of purāṇic times (*appālaṭiccārntavar*, v.77).

The prehistory of *Toṇṭar*, the devotee at the margins: The nature of devotion and devotee in the hymns of the *mūvar*

Let us place the TTA in the context of the hymns of the *mūvar* in the *Tēvāram*, which comprises the first seven books of the *Tirumuṟai*—the first three books containing 385 *patikam*s of Campantar; the next three books, the 312 *patikam*s of Appar; and the last book containing the 100 *patikam*s of Cuntarar. Campantar refers to devotees of Śiva in only about 40 *patikam*s, the majority of which are unnamed, general references. He refers to specifically named devotees in occasional verses,[23] most frequently to Caṇṭēcurar and Kaṇṇappar, whose legends appear to have been in wide circulation by his time. Appar refers to devotees of Śiva less often than Campantar (about 30 times), again mostly in unnamed general references; in addition, he refers in two hymns to gifts bestowed by Śiva on Campantar; finally, he makes five references to Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ.[24] In summary, Appar,

[23] Campantar refers six times to Caṇṭēcurar (1.62.4, 2.65.2, 3.54.7, 3.66.3, 3.68.10, 3.115.5), thrice to Kaṇṇappar (3.35.7, 3.52.9, 3.69.4), and once each to Nāminanti (1.62.6), Murukar (2.92.5), Nīlanakkar (3.58.2), and Nīlakaṅta Yāḻppāṇar (3.115.6). There is also a Campantar hymn lauding Ciṟuttoṇṭar (3.63), supposedly composed at the Kaṇapaticcaram temple in Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi, the birthplace of Ciṟuttoṇṭar. Further, two hymns lauding Maṅkaiyarkkaraci, queen of Neṭumāraṉ, and his minister Kulacciṟai (3.39, 3.120), attributed to Campantar, were supposedly composed at Ālavāy. Finally, Campantar mentions Kōcceṅkaṭcōḻaṉ in four verses (1.48.6, 2.23.5, 2.63.7, 2.120.7), and is supposed to have composed two hymns (3.18 and 3.19) in praise of temples built by the Cōḻa (Vaikal Māṭakkōyil and Ampar Peruntirukkōyil respectively). We can speculate about the authenticity of the attribution here, considering the dating of Campantar to the earlier end of the sixth to ninth century period, and the Cōḻa rise to power and subsequent spurt of temple building towards the end of the period. Verse numbers pertain to *Tirumuṟai*.

[24] Appar refers seven times to Caṇṭēcurar (4.48.4, 4.49.3, 4.65.6, 4.73.5, 4.102.5, 5.2.4, 5.73.8), six times to Kaṇṇappar (4.49.7, 4.65.8, 6.12.6, 6.39.9, 6.87.1, 6.96.1), twice to Kaṇampullar (4.49.9, 6.12.7), and once each to Appūti (4.12.10), Taṇṭi (4.48.4), Cākkiyar (4.49.6), the brahmins

like Campantar is aware of and praises other devotees of Śiva, particularly Caṇṭēcurar and Kaṇṇappar, but does not appear to laud them in the same way that Cuntarar does, who refers to devotees in nineteen hymns. Setting the TTA (v.7.39) aside for the moment, Cuntarar too follows the same sporadic pattern of reference to named devotees seen in the hymns of Campantar and Appar.[25]

Of the nearly 800 *patikam*s in the *Tirumuṟai*, the TTT of Cuntarar is a unique composition in that the object of the hymn is a homage to a systematic and comprehensive catalogue of *nāyaṉmār* and other classes of devotees, instead of to Śiva. Cuntarar (v.7.55) and Appar (v.4.49) come closest in conception to the TTT in that they mention multiple *nāyaṉmār*, but they also contain praise of purāṇic Śiva as represented in temple iconography and cannot be considered in the same light as TTT. What are we to make of this startlingly different composition? A facile explanation would be to consider it a later interpolation into the *Tēvāram*, particularly since the tradition acknowledges at least two attempts at canon formation—those of Nampi and Umāpati. Though one cannot deny the possibility, particularly since there is some evidence of later hymns being attributed to the *mūvar*,[26] there can be no conclusive proof of interpolation given the shortness of

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of Tillai (4.80.1), Amaranīti (4.97.7), and Nāminanti (4.102). Appar refers to Campantar in 4.56.1, 5.50, and to Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ in 4.49.4, 4.62.9, 4.65.3, 4.70.2, 6.75.8; we have the same caveat here as we made in the case of Campantar's references to Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ. Verse numbers pertain to *Tirumuṟai*.

[25] Cuntarar refers five times to Caṇṭēcurar (7.16.3, 7.17.4, 7.55.3, 7.65.2, 7.88.6), thrice to Kaṇṇappar (7.55.4, 7.65.2, 7.88.6), and once each to Pukaḻttuṇai (7.9.6), Kōṭpuli (7.15.11), Naracinka Muṉaiaraiyaṉ (7.17.11), Ēyarkōṉ (7.55.3), Nāḷaippōvāṉ, Mūrkkar, Cakkiyar (together in 7.55.4), and the brahmins of Tillai (7.90.3); he also makes five references to Campantar (7.55.4, 7.62.8, 7.67.5, 7.78.10, 7.97.9) and four to Appar (7.55.4, 7.65.2, 7.67.5, 7.78.10); finally, he mentions Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ in three hymns (7.65.1, 7.66.2, 7.99). Verse numbers pertain to *Tirumuṟai*.

[26] See for example, Campantar hymns praising Cōḻa royal temples, per fn22.

individual *Tēvāram* hymns and the mostly formulaic expressions of devotion.

A second, more involved explanation is premised upon the evolving nature of Tamil *Śivabhakti* (devotion to Śiva) and the figure of the *nāyaṉār*. The nature of devotion in the hymns of Campantar and Appar is one of possession and enslavement willingly undergone and subsequently celebrated by the devotee in vernacular hymn and pilgrimage (see Shulman 1990: xxiii-xxvi). This is also reflected to some extent in Cuntarar's devotion. However, the figure of the *nāyaṉār* and the nature of the devotional community appears to have evolved from the earlier strata of Campantar and Appar hymns to the later stratum of Cuntarar hymns. Campantar and Appar indulge in abuse and exclusion of Jainas and Buddhists far more frequently than Cuntarar. Also, Campantar and Appar refer to purāṇic devotees of Śiva far more frequently than to human devotees. Where they refer to human devotees, the references are more often to a generic community of pilgrims. To the extent that they refer to specific named devotees, the most common mentions are Caṇṭēcurar and Kaṇṇappar, whose tales of inhuman devotion were probably in wide circulation by their time. Cuntarar too refers repeatedly to his enslavement by Śiva, to pilgrim-devotees and purāṇic devotees, but his devotion is undergirded by a sense of equality with Śiva, a consequent complaint against Śiva's arbitrary treatment of himself, and a reciprocal irreverence when he employs Śiva for his own mundane purposes such as intercession in his romantic affairs and provision of material wealth.[27] In summary, compared to the helplessly enslaved Campantar and Appar, who seem to revel in surrendering to servitude, Cuntarar is a self-consciously empowered devotee, on terms of increasing parity with his deity, and at times

[27] See Shulman (1990: xxiii-xxvi).

bitterly resentful of Śiva's power over him. So perhaps it is not surprising that Cuntarar crafts a community of individual and individualistic devotees who, for the most part, personify heroic independence in their devotion. The TTT is very short on details of this devotion, particularly that of the new entrants into the *nāyaṉmār* community, and we must look to later texts (PP and TTA) to understand why they merit membership.

The later evolution of the *nāyaṉār*, the devotee centre-stage: The devotional community in the *Periyapurāṇam*

If the TTT is the earliest systematic catalogue of members of the devotional community, the PP is the latest in the Tamil Śaiva canon. In the PP we see the fully elaborated Śaiva hagiographical tradition which somewhat precedes a similar tradition in Kannada and Telugu. The structure of the PP closely follows the TTT—chapters are equivalents of TTT verses, including the exact sequence of the *nāyaṉmār* mentioned in each verse; chapter headings are the initial words of the TTT verses; and chapters end in a verse in praise of Cuntarar. However, the nature of devotion, the self-perception of the *nāyaṉār*, and his relationship with Śiva and the Śaiva community is markedly different in the PP and the *Tēvāram*.

The PP openly declares its communitarian objective and the purpose of Cuntarar's incarnation as that of proclaiming the glory of the devotees.[28] It adopts throughout a remarkable language of empowerment, even when describing enslavement by Śiva. For instance, though Cēkkiḻār opens the PP with Śiva

[28] PP 6—"Like a thirsty dog that tries to drink up the mighty ocean, I have set myself the task of setting forth the matchless glory of the holy servants of the Lord, although it lies beyond all human understanding." (tr. McGlashan 2006: 20).

asserting ownership of Cuntarar, the assertion is bitterly contested by the *nāyaṉār* and must be validated in a human court consisting of members of the Śaiva community by the production of a mundane contract document. The master-slave relationship between god and devotee is framed and rejected by the *nāyaṉār*, though later upheld by the community because of specific circumstances signifying consent, in mundane terms, of the *nāyaṉār* himself. Thus, the community emerges as the final arbiter of the nature of the relationship between god and devotee—the community asserts 'mastership' of god and 'slaveship' of devotee. Further, the PP describes a vastly expanded set of notable devotees, not found in the *Tēvāram*, except in the TTT.

The narrative setting of the PP is one of prosperous urbanization; the self-affirming devotional acts of the *nāyaṉmār* are carried out in towns, which are scenes of prosperity and plenty. The Śaiva community has grown and contains many more archetypes of empowered devotion, including archetypes of guardianship of conformance to the rules of the community (see the case of Viṟaṉmiṇṭar, PP 491-501). In this context, we may also see references to other devotees as a means of reinforcing community boundaries, which are now defined, not in opposition to heterodox Jainas and Buddhists (except in a purely formulaic manner), but instead in terms of validating acts of devotion which are more often than not defined in terms of service to the temple and the community. Members of the community validate each other by undertaking public meetings, assemblies and joint pilgrimages—for example, repeated meetings of Campantar, Appar and Cuntarar with other *nāyaṉmār* and with each other, as well as their travels together. Devotion to Śiva exists alongside devotion to Śiva's devotees, and less prominent devotees exhibit signs of ecstatic devotion at the sight of the more prominent *nāyaṉmār*—for example, Maṅkaiyarkkaraci

and Kulacciṟaiyār exhibit signs of ecstatic devotion at the sight of Campantar when he arrives in Maturai.[29] Thus, we see progressive elevation of the figure of the *nāyaṉār* and signs of transference of devotion from Śiva to the *nāyaṉār*, or at least a more prominent *nāyaṉār* who may be considered a guru. The concomitant devaluation of the deity is seen in the employment of Śiva by Cuntarar as his servant-messenger in interactions with his wives, particularly Paravai whom he wishes to appease after straying.[30] In a final validation of the prominence of the *nāyaṉār*, the PP describes Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ's ascension to Kailāsa because he is an adherent of Cuntarar.[31] Worship of Śiva's devotees now results in the same soteriological rewards as worship of Śiva.

The empowered figure of the *nāyaṉār* and the self-regulating Śaiva community of the PP is a far cry from the enslaved devotee of the early *Tēvāram*. This is only explainable on the basis of the passage of five centuries marked by increasing prosperity and urbanization in the Tamil region. But the tradition itself appears to deny this—in firmly tracing the source of the PP to the TTT, Cēkkiḻār portrays an unchanging figure of the *nāyaṉār* that is further supported by the intermediate TTA of Nampi. We must ask ourselves if this historical stasis of the *nāyaṉār* over many centuries is logically consistent. Would this stasis not be more suspect were it not supported by the intermediate testimony of the TTA? This leads us to consider more critically the true nature of the TTA project.

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[29] PP 2602-2639 (McGlashan 2006: 227).

[30] The PP is self-conscious about this role reversal, and makes Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmaṉ protest Cuntarar's actions to the point of suicide (PP 3537-3562 [McGlashan 2006: 300]).

[31] PP 4243-4278, McGlashan (2006: 366).

What was the true nature of the Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti project?

Let us remind ourselves of Nampi's declared project in composing the TTA—the poet states that he will amplify the TTT, and describe the place, land, tradition, and actions the sixty-three *nāyaṉmār*. Like the PP, the TTA follows the same sequence of *nāyaṉmār* names as the TTT, and marks the end of each TTT verse with a verse on Cuntarar. Thus, the TTA treats the TTT as some kind of liturgical authority, in the same way as the PP does.

Further, when we consider the TTA verses in praise of Cuntarar we find strong parallels between the content of the TTA verse and its equivalent in the PP in many (but not all) cases. Briefly, TTA 9 as well as PP 550 discuss Śiva's enslavement of Cuntarar by means of the deed. Similarly, TTA 41 and PP 3635 discuss Śiva's instrumentality in bringing Cuntarar and Caṅkili together. TTA 49 and PP 3938 refer to Cuntarar's miraculous cure of the cripple and the blind man. TTA 58 and PP 4054 refer to Cuntarar's recovery of gold given by Śiva from the tank at Ārūr. TTA 64 and PP 1898 (instead of 4095) refer to Cuntarar's miraculous resurrection of the boy eaten by the crocodile in the tank of the Avināci temple at Pukkoḷiyūr. TTA 78 and PP 4170 refer to Cuntarar's being plundered and subsequently redressed by robbers on his way to Mutukuṉṟu. Finally, TTA 87 referring to Cuntarar's ascension to Kailāsa with Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ is elaborated in the final chapter of the PP. The table below presents translations of these verses for comparison.

Table 2: TTA[1] Cuntarar verses marking the end of TTT verses: parallels with the PP[2]

TTA	**PP**
Verses with similar storyline	
#9: Although Tirumāl and Ayaṉ worshipped and adored the heavenly Light, they could not find him. Yet he came and showed the ancient Tamil contract to our lord Nampi of Ārūr who wore a garland of flowers dripping with honey and humming with beetles. "Your whole family are my slaves," he declared, "Come and serve me."	#550: For the salvation of the world, the Lord whom Tirumāl and Ayaṉ could not find produced the ancient deed of ownership at Tiruveṇṇeynallūr, and there took possession of his servant. Now we place our head beneath his servant's feet and meditate upon them. That is the way of life which we esteem above all others.
#41: With the help of the infinite Lord who is beyond all compare, the wonder-working son of Ārūr embraced the shoulders of Caṅkili, smooth and slender as bamboo. She was like a black carp or a doe, an arrow or a long bright spear.	#3635: In Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, which fields and lakes surround, the Lord inseparable from his consort united his companion with Caṅkiliyār, the girl with shapely breasts and soft embrace. We have fled to him alone for refuge.

[1] Tr. McGlashan 2009.
[2] Tr. McGlashan 2006.

#49: There is a widely current legend which tells of a blind man and a hunchback who walked with a stick. They used to bring as gifts to Ārūraṉ betel nut and garlands of flowers, which the devotee accepted and wore around his head. In consequence of their piety, the hunchback was cured of his disability and the blind man received his sight. So how could Yamaṉ ever trouble us?	#3938: When Paravaiyār whose words were sweeter than flute or honey was cross with him, Cuntarar sent the Lord as his messenger to heal the breach between them. On that happy day, Cuntarar healed the crippled and the blind, and took them as his servants. I too praise his flower feet, and thereby heal the handicap that cripples the soul in all its seven births.
#58: Cuntarar's home town was Nāvalūr. He was the friend of the ruby-coloured Lord of Nāṭṭiattāṉkuṭi, and sang the praises of the feet of the Lord who had knocked out the teeth of the sun god among the assembled throng. At Pukalūr he received from Haraṉ the gift of pure red gold.	#4054: He cast into the river the gold which the Lord of Mutukuṉṟu gave him. He then recovered it from the tank at fertile Tiruvārūr, which the seven worlds extol. Myself also he has recovered from the pit of deeds, so that in our hearts there is no room for fear.
#64: It was Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ, the great ascetic, who at Pukkoḷiyūr restored to life the child whom the crocodile had eaten, and composed sweet songs in praise of the Lord of Avināci. At Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi he defeated the band of hunters and tasted the sweetness of the Lord.	#4095: Among the fragrant woodlands on the road to Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi, robbers plucked the treasure from his hand. We are sure that he will pluck up by the roots our ancient deeds. If our minds are set on service, we shall reap the benefit. Of that, there is ample evidence. Now there is not a single thing we lack.

#78: Ārūraṉ of enduring fame sang a rich Tamil hymn at Mutukuṉṟu, where there is abundant water for the fields. But he did not receive there the gold given by the Lord who holds a shining battle axe in his strong hand. Instead, as we have heard, he came to Tiruvārūr, set amidst broad woodlands, and there took possession both of the gold and of the commission charged upon it.	#4170: When Nampi Ārūrar was on the way to prosperous Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi, where dwells the archer-Lord who destroyed the three cities or his enemies, he was ambushed by the archer-huntsmen who stole his treasure. He then was granted the untold blessing or having those same heavenly attendants of the Lord carry his treasure with them to his destination. That I should worship at his feet, the penances I wrought in previous births must have been immeasurable.
#87: In the company of the great ascetics, wise Ārūraṉ and Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ bearing their human form entered the dwelling place of the King of Mount Kailāsa in the North, which even the celestials robed in light cannot approach. We know of no one but them who has ever achieved this. **Verses with divergent story**	Chapter 13: The white elephant

#17: Cuntarar once made the bold claim, ‘‘I shall not be the servant of the God of Aruṭṭurai.’’ For those who found the Lord of Nāvalūr, set among the irrigated fields where the dark water lilies bloom, Cuntarar was able to dispel their darkness and reveal the sure path to heaven.	#967: Twice Cuntarar sent the Lord on an errand to settle his quarrel with Paravai, and the light that shone from his ear rings dispelled the darkness of the night. It is to him that we belong. We are his servants, and we shall not walk in the path or evil deeds that leads to rebirth.
#24: The ascetic who was prince of Nāvalūr, where the river water flows into the fields, prayed to the Lord of prosperous Vēḷvikkuṭi in the South, also known as Turutti: ‘‘When I forgot you, you gave me this illness as a mark of my folly. Now heal me, I pray.’’ In response the Lord Coṉṉāvāṟaṟivār bestowed his grace upon him.	#1265: To make known the glory of the devotees of the Lord, with heartfelt love he composed “The Roll of the Holy Servants of the Lord”. Thereby every living being joined in adoration and every land attained redemption. I count this life a blessing since it has enabled me to worship his flower feet.
#33: Our lord Naminanti was an important personage in the fair city of Ēmappērūr. One day the malicious and treacherous Jainas refused to give him oil for the lamps in Haraṉ’s temple at Ārūr, where the Lord with the deer in his hand resides. “A plague on Arukar!” thought Naminanti, and lit the lamps with fresh water instead.	#1898: In time past, as is widely known, on an auspicious day he saved the Brahmin boy who had been killed by a huge crocodile in the lotus-filled tank at Pukkoḷiyūr. Now all who meditate upon his feet are saved from that path which leads to a fate from which there is no salvation.

#70: On the death of the suitor who had sought her hand, it seemed that Caṅkili's chances of marriage were gone. However, the king of Nāvalūr fell in love with her and wanted to marry her. So he bowed in prayer at the flower feet of the Holy One of Oṟṟiyūr, and by his grace married her happily in defiance of the world's derision.	#4146: The flower feet of the prince of Navalūr which walked through the parted waters of the river have blossomed eternally upon my head and in my worthless heart. What penances could I ever have performed to win such blessing?

How are we to interpret these similarities? The PP is composed as a narrative text with the frame story of Cuntarar holding the narrative together. The TTA, on the other hand, simply aims to provide more detail about individual *nāyaṉmār* mentioned in the TTT. Why then does it interpolate verses on Cuntarar that provide a narrative frame almost identical to the one developed in the PP? When we examine the other references to Cuntarar in the TTA, we find that they too mirror incidents mentioned in the PP. For instance, TTA 7 refers to the PP incident of Viṟaṉmiṇṭar's excommunication of Cuntarar from the community for omitting to make obeisance to the devotees in the assembly hall of the temple at Ārūr before worshipping Śiva in the sanctum. In the TTA, Murukaṉ (v.19), Miḻalaikkuṟumpaṉ (v.28), Cōmācimāraṉ (v.40), Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ (v.46) are all celebrated essentially for being the followers of Cuntarar, as they are in the PP. Further, TTA 36, as in the PP, celebrates Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmaṉ for preferring suicide to being cured by Cuntarar. Likewise, the incidents related to the other *nāyaṉmār* in the TTA closely mirror corresponding descriptions in the PP. In summary, the TTA elaborates the TTT in a manner entirely consistent with the PP.

Let us next examine the claims that the TTA makes on behalf of the devotional community. First, it attempts to locate the community in the historic past of the Tamil country by co-opting all ruling dynasties;[32] it also incorporates other *nāyaṉmār* identified as chieftains of uncertain historicity further declaring firm support for the Śaiva community by rulers at all levels.[33] Second, it makes claims of inclusivity and

[32] The Pallava is represented by Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ (v.57); the Pāṇṭiya by Kulacciṟai (v.27), Neṭumāraṉ (v.61), and Maṅkaiyarkkaraci (v.80); the Cōḻa by Ceṅkaṇ (v.35, 82, and 83), Pukaḻccōḻaṉ (v.51), and Ātittan (v.66), and the Cēra by Kaḻaṟiṟṟarivāṉ (v.45, 47, and 87).

[33] Meypporuḷ, Ēṇātinātar, Naraciṅka Muṇaiyaraiyaṉ, Iṭaṅkaḻi, Mūrkkaṉ, Kūṟṟavaṉ, Munaiyaṭuvār, Kalarciṅkaṉ.

boundedness of the devotional community; devotees are particularized by a wide variety of professions and castes,[34] and specific incidents that prove the devotee's loyalty to the community and opposition to "others" are described. Third, by locating each *nāyaṉār* in geography it makes a territorial claim outlining the religious geography under the dominion of the devotional community. Expression of devotion and adoption of the sacraments of devotion are the main qualifications for membership of the community. This is as clear a communitarian project as the PP. This leads us to ask, if the TTA is a communitarian project seeking to establish the validity of the Śaiva devotional community in space, time and salvific efficacy, with clear rules of membership and authorities of validation, in a manner entirely consistent with the PP and having the TTT as its original source, what is its unique role that necessitated its composition in the first place?

As we have noted before, the TTA follows the same sequence of enumerating the *nāyaṉmār* as the TTT, expands upon it, and marks the end of each verse of the TTT with a verse in praise of Cuntarar. This is identical to the scheme followed by the PP. In fact, the TTA and PP conserve the form of the TTT, even when it appears faulty. This is illustrated by the anomalous Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ-Iṭaṅkaḻi-Ceruttuṇai sequence in v.9 of the TTT, repeated in v.65-67 of the TTA and v.4096-4126 of

[34] For example, the brahmins of Tillai, Nīlakaṇṭaṉ the potter, Kaṇṇappaṉ the hunter, Ānāyaṉ the shepherd, Tirukkuṟipputtoṇṭaṉ the washerman, Atipattaṉ the fisherman, Kaliyaṉ the oilman, Nēcaṉ the weaver, and Nīlakaṇṭaṉ the bard. Caste communities mentioned in the TTA include brahmins—of Tillai (v.2), Murukaṉ of Pukalūr (v.19), Caṇṭīcaṉ of Cēyñāḷūr (v.23), Appūti of Tiṅkaḷūr (v.30), Nīlanakkaṉ of Cāttamaṅkai (v.31), Cōmāci Māraṉ of Amparmākāḷam (v.40), Cirappuli of Ākkūr (v.43), Pūcalaṉ of Niṉṟavūr (v.79), in addition to Ēnātināthaṉ of the toddy tappers/ *īḻar* (v.11), Kaṇṇappaṉ of the hunters/ *vēṭar* (v.12), Āṉāyaṉ the shepherd/ *āyavar* (v.16), Nālaippōvāṉ the outcaste/ *pulaiyar* (v.21), Tirukkuṟipputtoṇṭaṉ the washerman/ *ēkāliyar* (v.22), Kalikkāmaṉ of the *ēyar* (v.36), Nēcaṉ of the weavers/ *cāliyar* (v.81)

the PP. In brief, the story is as follows—Kaḷaṟiciṅkaṉ and his wife go to worship Śiva in the temple at Ārūr. Kaḷaṟiciṅkaṉ's wife picks up a flower meant for the worship of Śiva and smells it. Ceruttuṇai observes her doing so and cuts off her nose in punishment for the offence against Śiva. Kaḷaṟiciṅkaṉ comes to know of this and considers it insufficient punishment; so he cuts off her hand in addition. This story-sequence is interrupted by the mention of Iṭaṅkaḷi in the TTT 9, no doubt for metrical reasons. The TTA preserves this sequence of enumeration and inserts Iṭaṅkaḷi anomalously into the telling of the Kaḷaṟiciṅkaṉ-Ceruttuṇai story of punishment of the erring wife, though it has to insert a verse in between two other verses to do so. The PP also preserves this sequence and interrupts the Kaḷaṟiciṅkaṉ-Ceruttuṇai story by inserting the Iṭaṅkaḷi episode consisting of eleven verses (as summarized in the table below). The inescapable conclusion from this deliberate conservation of an anomaly is that the TTT is treated as liturgy by both Nampi and Cēkkiḻār, who therefore took pains to conserve the liturgical sequence in their respective texts, even at the expense of narrative coherence.

Table 3: Comparison of the Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ-Iṭaṅkaḷi-Ceruttuṇai sequence in TTT[1], TTA[2], and PP[3]

TTT	**TTA**	**PP**
I am the servant of the servants of the great lord **Kaḷaṟiciṅkaṉ**, —king of the Kāṭavar, who protect the whole world —surrounded by the sea; of Nampi **Iṭaṅkaḷi**, with a garland covered with petals, and of servants of **Ceruttuṇai**, king of Tañcai; of Pukaḷttuṇai, who concentrated his mind —on the golden feet of the lord, who dances —while snakes dance upon the tiger-skin he wears;	**Kalarsingaṉ** wore a garland of fresh flowers, around which swarms of beetles hummed busily. His queen had her nose cut off for smelling the flowers that were set apart for the jewel of Ārūr, the Lord of the great ascetics. Kalarsingaṉ, thinking that was too light a punishment, cut off her hand as well.	**Kalarciṅga *Nāyaṉār* Purāṇam** (verses 4096-4108)—Pallava king Kalarciṅgaṉ ruled the Kāṭavar people; he was a just and powerful king and a pilgrim who visited all Śiva temples. Once he went to Tiruvārūr, accompanied by his queen. His queen smelt a flower meant for Śiva. Ceruttuṇai saw this and cut off her nose. Kalarciṅgaṉ saw that and cut off her hand too. He was acclaimed by devotees and celestials as a conspicuous act of service

[1] Tr. Shulman (1990: 241).
[2] Tr. McGlashan 2009.
[3] Tr. McGlashan 2006.

of Nampi Kōṭpuli, with his victorious spear— I am the poet Ārūraṉ, slave of my Father in Ārūr.	Ātittaṉ roofed with gold from Koṅku land the lesser hall of the temple of Siva, who slew Vishnu when he took the form of Narasingam. Our lord, king **Iṭaṅkaḻi** of Irukkuvēḷūr, who was the ancestor of that Ātittaṉ, announced that his wealth was at the disposal of the servants of Siva, whose matted locks are adorned with the crescent moon.	**Iṭaṅkaḻi *Nāyaṉār* Purāṇam** (verses 4109-4119)—Description of Kōnāṭu, and its capital Koṭumpāḷūr. Ātittaṉ of the Irukkuvēḷir dynasty, roofed the golden court at Tillai in gold from Koṅkunāṭu ruled the land. Iṭaṅkaḻiyār forebear of Ātittaṉ, was a devout Śaiva. Once an ascetic of Koṭumpāḷūr was unable to find the wherewithal to feed devotees (his particular service) one day, and stole from the royal granary. He was caught in the act and taken to the king, where he explained his actions. Iṭaṅkaḻiyār proclaimed the servants of Śiva could help themselves to his treasure.

	Far-famed Kalarsingaṉ's queen smelt the flowers dedicated to the Lord who drank the poison from the wide sea. At once **Ceruttuṇai**, who came from Tañcāvūr in well-watered Marukal land, cut off her nose, lovely as a kumil flower.	**Ceruttuṇai *Nāyaṇār* Purāṇam** (v. 4120-4125)—Ceruttuṇaiyār, *vēḷāḷa* of Tañcāvūr in Marukalnāṭu, worshipped Śiva in Tiruvārūr. He saw the queen of the Pallava Kalarciṅgaṉ smell a flower meant for Śiva and cut off her nose. Eventually he attained Śiva (summary by McGlashan 2006: 350-352)

If we accept the intermediate placement of the TTA between the TTT and the PP, clearly, the PP treats the TTA itself as a liturgical text and continues to preserve its anomalies. Other features of the TTA lead us to confirm its liturgical role. For instance, TTA 1 invokes Gaṇapati, introduces the poet and purpose of the text. TTA 88 invokes the TTT, composed by ruler of Navalūr, consisting of eleven verses, which tells of sixty-three individual devotees and nine groups. TTA 89 provides a mnemonic of the TTT verses, which are used as chapter titles in the PP, and TTA 90 proclaims the merits obtained by reciting the TTA.[35] Perhaps the more elaborate ritual requirements of the tenth-century temple require an elaborated liturgy of homage to the *nāyaṉmār*, which necessitated the composition of the TTA.

But, could the TTA really have been a tenth-century liturgical text if it follows the PP in detail and purpose so closely? Can the TTA even be interpreted as an intelligible composition without reference to the PP? Could it have been a liturgical performance of the PP itself, and therefore a later text than the PP? The only direct evidence we have of the intermediate nature of the TTA is the PP reference to it as a source in PP 49, and verse 29 of the *Tirumuṟaikaṇṭapurāṇam* of Umāpati.[36] Is this sufficient to firmly place it chronologically one to two centuries after the TTT and two centuries before the PP? Based on the evidence to the contrary examined here we cannot be certain. We must examine the TTA in light of its declared and implicit purpose and the logical consistency of that purpose with its purported chronology in order to arrive at reasonable conclusions about its historicity. As we have attempted to theorize here, the TTA is equally, if not more likely to have been a liturgical performance of the PP. Further

[35] TTA 90 contains no signature, but may be a first-person reference in the voice of Nampi.
[36] Pechilis Prentiss (2001: 16).

examination of the historicity of the Cōḻa dynastic references in the TTA would shed more light on its chronology. Considered in the light of a paratext, the TTA as well as the TTT are catalogues of devotees that are relevant only in the context of establishing a community, just as a catalogue of shrines and their virtues makes sense in the context of establishing a geography of pilgrimage.[37] They must not be considered solely as an outpourings of devotion, even one rooted in a shared sense of community, but rather as historical testaments to the empowerment of the devotee and the prominence of the community in the place and time in question. To that extent they should be considered part of the same project as the PP.

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[37] Of the eighteen catalogue hymns in the *Tēvāram*, eight are attributed to Campantar and six to Appar, and consist of lists of shrines. Of the four attributed to Cuntarar three are lists of shrines as well.

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A Note on the *Irāmānuca Nūṟṟantāti*[1]

Erin McCann (CSMC)

Abstract

As the last entry into the Śrīvaiṣṇava collection of sacred verses (the *Nālāyirat Tivviyap Pirapantam*), the *Irāmānuca Nūṟṟāntāti* straddles the line between cannon and paratext. Although similar in structure to a number of its counterparts in the *Nālāyirat Tivviyap Pirapantam*, its theme and content signal a marked shift in the tradition's devotional paradigm by establishing Rāmānuja as its teacher and saviour *par excellence*. In a series of verses, he is connected to the authors of the *Nālāyirat Tivviyap Pirapantam* and the tradition's early teachers. This article analyses the content and context of these verses and considers the role of this work as a mediator between the past and present of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community as it sought to reify the relationship, not only between its philosophical paradigm (via Rāmānuja) and its devotional poetic corpus, but, importantly, between the teachers, past and present, charged with ensuring the continuity of the tradition's religious perspective.

1. Introduction

In the final section of the *Nālāyirat Tivviyap Pirapantam* (NTP)—the 'sacred collection of 4000' verses of Tamil poetry composed by 12 poet-sages (Āḻvārs) from roughly the 6th to 9th centuries CE —we find a curious anomaly: the *Irāmānuca Nūṟṟāntāti* 'the hundred *antāti* [verses] on Rāmānuja' (RN).

[1] This paper has been prepared within the scope of work conducted with NETamil 'Going From Hand to Hand: Networks of Intellectual Exchange in the Tamil Learned Traditions', Hamburg/Pondicherry, funded by the European Research Council (ERC).

It is a poem of one hundred and eight verses composed in the *kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai* metre in the *antāti* style, by Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār (Amutaṉār). It is at once canonical and a statement on the parameters of that canon. While it adopts the basic structure of a number of the poems of the Āḻvārs, its content and theme are radically different. It is also, as acknowledged by the tradition itself, a rather late addition to the sacred corpus. In this paper I will outline the paratextual elements found in the RN and consider the role of this work as a kind of mediator between the past and present of the community as it sought to reify the relationship, not only between its philosophical paradigm (via Rāmānuja) and its devotional poetic corpus (via the Āḻvārs), but, importantly, between the teachers (Ācāryas), past and present, charged with ensuring the continuity of the tradition's religious perspective.[2]

Its purported author, Amutaṉār, is understood by tradition to have been the disciple of Rāmānuja by way of Rāmānuja's direct disciple, Kūrattāḻvāṉ. The precise date at which the RN was appended to the pre-existent verses of the NTP is unknown, but, given Amutaṉār's traditional dates, Hardy estimates around the 12th or 13th century (Hardy 1983: 250). It should be noted that only one branch of the tradition today, the Vaṭakalai (northern branch), counts the RN as a part of the 4000 sacred verses of the NTP. This is not to say, however, that the RN is an unimportant text for the Teṉkalai (southern branch), but it is not technically counted as a part of the NTP proper.[3] Nevertheless, its status as an essential text for all

[2] For background information on the influences and development of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, see Carman (1974) and Lipner (1986) on Rāmānuja's *Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta*; Hardy (1983) on the devotional religion of the NTP; and Mumme (1988), Raman (2007), Clooney (1986), Carman and Narayanan (1989), and Narayanan (1994) on the post-Rāmānuja synthesis of these two streams.

[3] The issues of when, how, and why the RN was canonised are beyond the scope of this article. I intend to treat some of these issues in a future

Śrīvaiṣṇavas was solidified around the 14th century with Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentary, where he calls the RN the '*prapanna-sāvitri*',[4] meaning that he considered it a sacred verse intended for daily recitation for all those who have sought refuge (*prapanna*), and states that daily contemplation of the text is a necessity:

> It is said that, as 108 verses with [his] holy name in each verse, 'like the *Sāvitri* [mantra],[5] this is required as the object of daily contemplation for those who have love for the holy feet of Rāmānuja'; therefore, our religious teachers say that this is the '*prapanna-sāvitri*'. [6]

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publication on the Tamil hagiographical tradition authored in collaboration with Suganya Anandakichenin and Shubha Shanthamurthy (TBD). Regarding the schism of the tradition into two branches, see Mumme (1988) and Raman (2007). For the divergent numbering systems of the NTP, see Hardy (1983: 249).

[4] The tradition also calls the RN the *prapanna gāyatrī* (Anandakichenin, personal communication). *Sāvitri* and *gāyatrī* are terms used to identify a particularly sacred mantra of the Vedic tradition, *sāvitri* because the god identified in the mantra is Sāvitṛ (the Sun), and *gāyatrī* after the name of the meter of the mantra. Most commonly called the *Gāyatrī*, Gonda sums up the significance of the mantra as follows: "the so-called *praṇava*, i.e., the 'mystic' syllable *Oṃ*—originally a 'numinous primeval sound' which is still uttered with the utmost reverence—is throughout many centuries regarded as a positive emblem of the Supreme. It is said to have flashed forth in the heart of Brahmā, while he was absorbed in deep meditation. It unfolded itself in the form of the Gāyatrī, which in turn, became the mother of the Veda's [*sic*]" (Gonda: 1963). Both terms are used here as signifiers that equate the status of the RN for *prapanna*s, those who have taken refuge in the Śrīvaiṣṇava fold, with that of the sacred Gāyatrī.

[5] In this way Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi also prescribed that the RN not just be held to have the *status* of the Gāyatrī, but that it be incorporated into the daily life of the *prapanna* in an equivalent manner. As Gonda notes, the Gāyatrī is prescribed for daily contemplation in authoritative texts on dharma "such as Yajnavalkya I, 99 prescribe *japa*, i.e., muttering of the Gayatri and other Vedic mantras, as the principal part of the morning and evening adoration. By reciting these verses a man becomes pure (Vāsiṣṭha DhS. 28, 10-25)" (Gonda: 1963).

[6] *emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷilē prēmam uṭaiyavarkaḷukku sāvitri pōlē itu nityānusantēyaviṣayamāka vēṇum eṉṟ' āyiṟṟu pāṭṭut tōṟum tirunāmattai*

2. Paratextual elements of the RN

The RN, although not technically a paratext, features some elements that parallel the functional aspects of paratexts outlined by Wilden (2017: 164). Namely, as a late addition to the corpus, it reflects the tradition's reception of the NTP and mediates the relationship between the canon and its teachers. The primary topic, as the title indicates, is Rāmānuja. He is praised for such deeds as destroying false practices, protecting the earth, teaching for the salvation of all living beings, being the incarnation of the Lord's weapons, removing the poet's karma, etc. The work also, however, praises Rāmānuja via his connection to the authors of the NTP, along with other figures counted among the lineage of Śrīvaiṣṇava teachers (*guruparamparā*). In doing so it represents what is possibly the first complete chronological enumeration of the Āḻvārs (Zvelebil 1975: 195) and as such is also the first, or at least a very early, definition of canonical content. It also constructs a bridge, both in terms of time and reception, between the composition of the NTP and the formation of the Śrīvaiṣṇava *sampradāya* (system of religious teaching), which takes Rāmānuja to be its most important teacher.

Unlike the classically paratextual elements found alongside the NTP in its various manifestations (in manuscripts, printed editions, recitations, etc.), which are usually comprised of a single stanza or groups of individual stanzas, the basic structure of the RN mimics several of the works in the NTP. With over 100 stanzas, the RN is clearly intended as a fully-fledged poetic composition. Furthermore, it is composed in the *antāti* style, a poetic device in which the last word or phrase of a stanza is repeated as the first word or phrase in the following stanza, connecting also the first and last stanzas of the entire

vaittu nūṟṟeṭṭappāṭṭāka aruḷicceytatu; ākaiyāl ittai prapannasāvitri eṉṟ' āyiṟṟu nam mutalikaḷ aruḷicceyttu. (unknown date: 11).

work. Of the 24 compositions found in the NTP, the RN most closely resembles the *mutal, iraṇṭām, muṉṟām* and *nāṉmukaṉ tiruvantāti*s of Poykai, Pūtam, Pēy, and Tirumaḻicai Āḻvārs, in so far as they are structured as (roughly) 100 4-line verses in *antāti* style.[7] And the metre of the poem, *kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai*, is found in one other composition in the NTP, Nammāḻvār's *Tiruviruttam*. Finally, just as the works of the NTP, in terms of genre it presents as a devotional poem.

The RN does, however, echo the function of the paratexts attached to the NTP in its enumeration of the NTP's authors, alongside its attempt to define the relationship between the texts of the NTP and its teachers (the Ācāryas / *guruparamparā*), as a kind of history-in-brief of the transmission of sacred knowledge. Like the paratextual *taṉiyaṉ*s (single stanzas in praise of an author and/or their work),[8] and the later hagiographies for which they serve as one source of inspiration, the RN draws a direct line between the past and present. In the process, the RN highlights an important shift in the theological paradigm of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. Where many of the poems of the NTP tell of a devotion to God that is direct and unmediated, the RN is not only in praise of the salvific power of a teacher (i.e., Rāmānuja),[9] but constructs a vision of an unbroken succession of teachers that serves to bind Rāmānuja and his philosophical school (Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta) to the Āḻvārs and their works.

The remainder of this article will be dedicated to an analysis of the content and context of the 23 verses of the RN that, with Rāmānuja as the focal point, serve as a means of reifying the

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[7] *Antāti* style is also used in Maturakavi's *Kaṇṇi nuṇ ciṟuttāmpu* (11 v.) and Nammāḻvār's *Periyatiruvantāti* (87 v.) and *Tiruvāymoḻi* (1102 v.).

[8] See Anandakichenin (this volume).

[9] It should be noted that there is one parallel, albeit a much less elaborate one, in Maturakavi's *Kaṇṇi nuṇ ciṟuttāmpu*, which expresses the author's devotion to his teacher, Nammāḻvār.

intimate connection and line of transmission between the Āḻvārs (6th–9th CE) and the Ācāryas it names (~10th–12th CE). With section 2.1 we will begin by looking at what the author has to say about himself and how he characterises his place as author and devotee. Section 2.2 is a brief introduction to the shifting theological paradigm of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition in the period after Rāmānuja and its association with the formation of the *guruparamparā*. The following sections are overviews of how the RN treats the Āḻvārs (2.3) and Nammāḻvār specifically (2.3.1), and the pre-Rāmānuja Ācāryas (2.4). Finally, in sections 3 and 4, I discuss the ways in which the RN defines and demonstrates Rāmānuja's centrality in the Śrīvaiṣṇava theological paradigm via the series of *guruparamparā* verses.

2.1 Amutaṉār

Amutaṉār reveals virtually nothing in the way of biographical details. In fact, there is no signature verse, nor does he name himself at any other point in the work. And we find no information on his birth date, familial connections, or location.[10] However, in several verses he employs a first person pronoun, 'I' *nāṉ* and 'my' *eṉ*, for example, and thus has inserted himself into this poem in praise of Rāmānuja as both devotee and author. In doing so, he gives us a modicum of information pertaining to his relationship to the community of devotees and his perception of it.

Amutaṉār's references to himself occur within four basic constructs (in order of frequency): 1) descriptions of his state before and after he takes refuge with Rāmānuja; 2) descriptions of his devotion and/or gratefulness to

[10] Such details have been recorded in later hagiographies, most notably the *Koyil Oḻuku*.

Rāmānuja for his assistance; 3) his relationship to other devotees; and 4) as the author of the RN.

The first and second categories are largely composed of somewhat formulaic variations on his lowness before taking refuge with Rāmānuja and his piety after, declarations of his intention to praise Rāmānuja throughout the world, his wonder at Rāmānuja being his constant refuge, etc. However, one rather important example, found in verse 7, attributes his shift from sinner to devotee to having been 'joined' (*kūṭiya*) to the man who, according to traditional accounts, would be his teacher, Kūrattāḻvāṉ.

After joining to the feet of our Kūrattāḻvāṉ,
he with great glory that surpasses language,
who passes over the pitfalls that are the 3
cunning evils,[11]
from now on, for me,
singing [about] the fame of Rāmānuja,
who leads [one] past sin,
[for the purpose of] passing over the path
that [causes] distress,
nothing is difficult.[12]

In this way, Amutaṉār establishes his relationship to Rāmānuja as one that is mediated through his teacher, and thus affirms not only his place but the place of Kūrattāḻvāṉ within the *guruparamparā*.

References to Amutaṉār's perception of other devotees, though sparse, paint a picture of a community that is utterly

[11] Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi gives the three evils as: *abhijana* 'family', *vidyā* 'knowledge', and *vṛtta* 'profession'.

[12] *moḻiyaik kaṭakkum perum pukaḻāṉ vañca muk kuṟump' ām / kuḻiyaik kaṭakkum nam kūrattāḻvāṉ caraṇ kūṭiya piṉ / paḻiyaik kaṭattum irāmāṉucaṉ pukaḻ pāṭi allā / vaḻiyaik kaṭattal eṉakk' iṉi yātum varuttam aṉṟē* (RN 7).

devoted to Rāmānuja. He refers to them as groups of people who have perceived the truth of his renown,[13] who, having taken refuge with him, are generous of deed,[14] and, perhaps most importantly, as 'the wise ones who have the certainty that is not doing [acts] of love for [anyone] except the holy sages who, with the homage due to God, always prostrate to the beautiful golden feet of Rāmānuja'.[15] In this last example we find an expression of the devotional paradigm that dominates Śrīvaiṣṇava theology to this day[16] and that mirrors the expressions of devotion from a number of the Āḻvārs, who profess their love for the devotees of the devotees of Lord Viṣṇu.

Finally, Amutaṉār makes reference to his role as author in two places. As we have already seen above in verse 7, he refers to himself as 'singing about the fame of Rāmānuja' in connection to his relationship with his Ācārya, Kūrattāḻvāṉ. And in verse 6, he specifically mentions the RN saying, 'In order to express his great renown, I persevere with my sinful heart, which is without devotion, in these poems that speak without discernment about Rāmānuja'.[17]

2.2 The Paramparā

The RN's shift from Viṣṇu to Rāmānuja as the proper object of devotion[18] constructs in the lineage of teachers a parallel to the Āḻvārs' association with God. Rāmānuja in particular here becomes not only the mediator of the community's access to

[13] *irāmānucaṉ pukaḻ meyyuṇarntōr īṭṭaṅkaḷ* (RN 29).
[14] *irāmāṉucaṉ taṉṉaic cārntavar tam kāriyam vaṇmai* (RN 11).
[15] *irāmāṉucaṉ am poṉ pātam eṉṟum kaṭam koṇṭ' iṟaiñcum tiru muṉivarkk' aṉṟik kātal ceyyāt tiṭam koṇṭa ñāṉiyarkkē* (RN 12).
[16] See Narayanan (1994) and Mumme (1988).
[17] *irāmāṉucaṉai mati iṉmaiyāl payilum kavikaḷil patti illāta eṉ pāvi neñcāl muyalkiṉṟaṉaṉ* (RN 6).
[18] At the most basic level, it is similar to numerous Indian traditions that see the teacher (*guru* or *ācārya*) as a kind of divinity on earth. For early attestations, see Gonda (1965: 230-5).

the texts, both Sanskrit and Tamil, that reveal the path to salvation, but the very source of salvation itself.[19] And, in turn, the devotee's access to Rāmānuja and his salvific knowledge is mediated by the lineage of teachers. The RN takes as its fundamental principle the central position of Rāmānuja in the relationship between the tradition's past, represented here by the Āḻvārs and their works, and present, the *guruparamparā* and the author himself.

Verses 7 through 21 connect Rāmānuja to each of the twelve Āḻvārs and the early Ācāryas in what appears to be meant as a chronological list. It begins, as we've already seen, with the name of Amutaṉār's personal teacher, Kūrattāḻvāṉ, through whom his relationship to Rāmānuja is mediated. Rāmānuja is then connected to the Āḻvārs in verses 8 to 19, and finally to his predecessors in the lineage of teachers, Nāthamuni and Yāmuna, in verses 20 and 21. Aside from Rāmānuja, whose name appears in every verse of the RN, the only figures that appear in multiple verses are Nammāḻvār and Tirumaṅkai (with 8 and 3 references, respectively). Nammāḻvār is also the only Āḻvār connected to other figures, specifically Maturakavi (an Āḻvār) and Nāthamuni (an Ācārya), and whose composition, the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, receives its own mention in verse 60 (more on Nammāḻvār and the *Tiruvāymoḻi* in section 2.3.1).

By connecting Rāmānuja to all twelve Āḻvārs, and the *Tiruvāymoḻi* specifically, Amutaṉār pinpoints the locus of entrance to the NTP while simultaneously defining its parameters. Then, by connecting Rāmānuja to Nāthamuni and Yāmuna, the RN outlines the beginning of the *guruparamparā* with Nammāḻvār as the first teacher through the connection

[19] It is important to note here that it is unlikely that the RN's presentation of this paradigm is an innovation. In all likelihood, Amutaṉār's reverence for Rāmānuja here is merely a representation of contemporary beliefs.

made between Nammāḻvār and Nāthamuni in verse 20 (more on this in section 2.4), and thus confirms the authority of the *guruparamparā* in the interpretation and transmission of the sacred knowledge contained in the works of the Āḻvārs.

2.3 The Āḻvārs

Verses 8 through 19 give the Āḻvārs in the following order: Poykai, Pūtam, Pēy, Tiruppāṇ, Tirumaḻicai, Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi, Kulacēkaraṉ, Periyāḻvār, Āṇṭāḷ, Tirumaṅkai, Nammāḻvār along with Maturakavi, and Nammāḻvār.[20] There are an additional 8 stray verses in the RN, 6 of which are dedicated to Nammāḻvār and the *Tiruvāymoḻi* (v.1, 29, 46, 54, 60, and 64) and 2 to Tirumaṅkai (v.2 and 88). Aside from the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, very few of the poetic compositions of the Āḻvārs are specifically mentioned. In fact, we only find references to the works of Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi as the 'Tamil garland of the Veda' (*maṟait tamiḻ mālaiyum*), Kulacēkaraṉ's as 'śāstric verses' (*kalaik kavi*), and Tirumaṅkai's as 'the very loud song' (*oli mikka pāṭalai*). Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*, on the other hand, is referred to in several ways: as 'song' (*pā*), 'Veda' (*maṟai*), 'refined Tamil Veda' (*cem tamiḻ āraṇamē*), harmonies (*icai*), fresh Tamil Veda (*vētap pacum tamiḻ*), unfading, bountiful Tamil Veda (*vāṭṭam ilā vaṇ tamiḻ maṟai*), '*tiruvāymoḻi'*, and 'the musical fresh Tamil of Māṟaṉ (*paṇ taru māṟaṉ pacum tamiḻ*).[21]

As is evident to anyone familiar with the NTP, the RN does not expand upon the details one can find in the Āḻvārs' verses. The only time biographical details are mentioned, such as location or a particular act of devotion, they are derived

[20] Other lists of the Āḻvārs (e.g. a single verse by Parāśara Bhaṭṭar, Piṉpaḻakiya Perumāḷ Jīyar's hagiographic work, the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, and Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's *Upadeśaratnamālai*, among several others) present different chronologies and some, as in the case of Parāśara Bhaṭṭar, for example, exclude Āṇṭāḷ and Maturakavi.

[21] RN 1, 18 and 46, 19, 20, 29, 54, 60, and 64, respectively.

directly from the verses of the NTP.[22] Putting aside Nammāḻvār for the moment (see section 2.3.1), let us look at how each of the Āḻvārs are presented.

Some are identified with familiar names:

Poykai: the sacred lamp that was kindled that day [when] our lord Poykai, in order to dispel the outer darkness that causes distress, joining the meaning of the essence of the Vedas and refined Tamil, twisted [them] into one (*varuttum puṟa iruḷ māṟṟa em poykaip pirāṉ maṟaiyiṉ kuruttiṉ poruḷaiyum cem tamiḻ taṉṉaiyum kūṭṭi oṉṟat tiritt' aṉṟ' eritta tiruviḷakkai*) (RN 8).

Pūtam: Pūtam who raised up the full lamp called knowledge so that the darkness in the heart where [one] sees the Lord is destroyed (*iṟaivaṉaik kāṇum itayatt' iruḷ keṭa ñāṉam eṉṉum niṟai viḷakk' ēṟṟiya pūtam*) (RN 9).

Tirumaṅkai: Nīlaṉ who made the cool Tamil [garland] about the unique elephant that praises the *śāstra*s (*kalai paravum taṉi yāṉaiyait taṇ tamiḻ ceyta nīlaṉ*) (RN 17).

Some by their titles:

Tirumaḻicai: the master of Maḻicai, with widespread fame (*iṭam koṇṭa kīrtti maḻicaikk' iṟaivaṉ*) (RN 12).

Kulacēkaraṉ: king of Kolli (*kolli kāvalaṉ*) (RN 14).

Tirumaṅkai: lord of Kuṟaiyal (*kuṟaiyal pirāṉ*) (RN 2), king of the treatise from Kuṟaiyal (*kuṟaiyal kalaip perumāṉ*) (RN 88).

But more often, we find various epithets:

Pēy: the master of Tamil who demonstrates [his] having seen the Dark One along with the Lady of the great lotus

[22] For example, Kulacēkaraṉ as king of Kolli, Nammāḻvār being from Teṉkurukūr, Āṇṭāḷ's gift of the garland, etc.

in Kōvalūr (*kōvaluḷ mā malarāḷ taṉṉoṭu māyaṉaik kaṇṭamai kāṭṭum tamiḻt talaivaṉ*) (RN 10).

Tiruppāṇ: the lord of song with fame that advances upon the earth, who bestowed the true significance of the excellent four Vedas with refined Tamil (*cīriya nāṉ maṟaic cem poruḷ cem tamiḻāl aḷitta pār iyalum pukaḻp pāṇ perumāḷ*) (RN 11).

Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi: the supreme one who adorns the feet of the Noble Lord of Araṅkam of undiminished fame with the green tulasi garlands that [he] made [as his] occupation, and the Tamil garland of the Veda that [he] poured out in refined Tamil (*ceyyum pacum tuḻapat toḻil mālaiyum cem tamiḻil peyyum maṟait tamiḻ mālaiyum pērāta cīr araṅkatt' aiyaṉ kaḻaṟk' aṇiyum paraṉ*) (RN 13).

Periyāḻvār: the one with the nature [of one who provides] protection, saying "Pallāṇṭu" to Him, not seeing anything of ancient Māl [in Him][23] because of the great agitation of untiring love (*cōrāta kātal perum cuḻippāl tollai mālai oṉṟum pārāt' avaṉaip pallāṇṭ' eṉṟu kāppiṭum pāṉmaiyaṉ*) (RN 15).

Āṇṭāḷ: she who wore and gave the garland that surrounds the crown of the Lord of Araṅkam (*araṅkar mauli cūḻkiṉṟa mālaiyaic cūṭik koṭuttavaḷ*) (RN 16).

Maturakavi: the great one who is fit to place into [his] mind Caṭakōpaṉ who came into the world in order to render the Vedas that are difficult to obtain with one thousand sweet Tamil [verses] (*eytaṟk' ariya maṟaikaḷai āyiram iṉ tamiḻāl ceytaṟk' ulakil varum caṭakōpaṉaic cintaiyuḷḷē peytaṟk' icaiyum periyavar*) (RN 18).

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[23] Meaning that, because of his overwhelming love for Him, he feels the need to protect Him, rather than, thinking of Him as God, expecting His protection.

The hagiographic tradition refers to the Āḻvārs in a number of ways, some are ascribed honorific titles, as with Nammāḻvār, Periyāḻvār, and Āṇṭāḷ (absent from the RN); some with toponyms, as with Tirumaṅkai and Tirumaḻicai (only Maḻicai attested in the RN); others retain the names found in their signature verses, Kulacēkara, Maturakavi, and Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi (absent from the RN); and in one case, the poet's profession comprises his name, Tiruppāṇ (holy bard; a modified form is attested in the RN); the source of the names of the earliest three Āḻvārs, Poykai, Pūtam and Pēy (only the first two attested in the RN), is rather less clear (Hardy 1983: 251-2).[24] In the RN, however, the most common method of identifying the Āḻvārs is with an intertextual reference. We find the term *viḷakku* (lamp or wick) in the first verse of both Poykai's *mutal tiruvantāti* and Pūtam's *iraṇṭām tiruvantāti*. The first verse of Pēy's *mūṉṟām tiruvantāti* repeats five times that he has seen (*kaṇṭēṉ*) the Lord along with Śrī (the lady of the lotus).[25] The constant refrain throughout the first 12 verses of Periyāḻvār's poetic corpus is "*pallāṇṭu*". And in line 12 of Tirumaṅkai's *Tiruveḻukkūṟṟirukkai* we find a reference to the 'unique elephant' of RN 17 with a slightly different formulation: *oru taṉi vēḻattu arantaiyai* 'the distress of the unique elephant'.[26] In other cases the identifying attributes recall, without directly quoting, the narrative of their poetry, as with Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi, Āṇṭāḷ, and Maturakavi.

With the exception of Kulacēkaraṉ, who is simply 'King of Kolli', the Āḻvārs are also credited with some quality or deed, usually based on some aspect of their poetic compositions (most of which are clear from their epithets above). Poykai and

[24] See also Anandakichenin (2018).
[25] For the context and translation of these verses from Poykai, Pūtam, and Pēy see Wilden (2020).
[26] For the context and translation of Tirumaṅkai's *Tiruveḻukkūṟṟirukkai* see Ate (2019).

Tiruppāṇ render the 'essence' or 'true significance' of the four Vedas in Tamil; Pūtam destroys the darkness in the hearts of devotees; Pēy has seen the Lord in Kōvalūr; Tirumaḻicai possesses great fame; Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi, Periyāḻvār, and Āṇṭāḷ all perform some service for the Lord; Tirumaṅkai composed a work in praise of the *śāstra*s; and Maturakavi has a mind that is fit for Nammāḻvār.

2.3.1 Nammāḻvār

As the author of the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, the text regarded with the most reverence in the NTP, it comes as no surprise that Nammāḻvār, in terms of number of dedicated verses, comes second only to Rāmānuja. He and the *Tiruvāymoḻi* are referenced in a total of 9 verses. The RN opens, in fact, by saying that Rāmānuja has humbled himself at his feet:

So that we live permanently
at the lotus-like feet of Rāmānuja,
who came so that men of the many Vedas remained,
who was redeemed,
having humbled [himself at] the feet of Māṟaṉ,
who endures [in his] songs
that abound with the praise of Him
with the chest where the woman
who inhabits the [lotus] flower[27] abides,
O heart, we shall speak his names! [28]

He is identified with two names, both found in his signature verses, Māṟaṉ (RN 1, 19, 46, 64) and Caṭakōpaṉ (RN 18), and by the toponym, man or lord of Teṉkurukūr (RN 20, 29, 54). Every verse in praise of Nammāḻvār is also a verse in praise of his *Tiruvāymoḻi* (also called the Tamil Veda here):

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[27] I.e., *Śrī* on the lotus flower on Viṣṇu's chest.

[28] *pū maṉṉu mātu poruntiya mārpaṉ pukaḻ malinta pā maṉṉu māṟaṉ aṭi paṇint' uyntavaṉ pal kalaiyōr tām maṉṉa vanta irāmāṉucaṉ caraṇāravintam/ nām maṉṉi vāḻa neñcē colluvōm avaṉ nāmaṅkaḷē* (RN 1).

Māṟaṉ, who endures [in his] songs that abound with the praise of Him with the chest where the woman who inhabits the [lotus] flower abides (*pū maṉṉu mātu poruntiya mārpaṉ pukaḻ malinta pā maṉṉu māṟaṉ*) (RN 1).[29]

Caṭakōpaṉ who came into the world in order to render the Vedas that are difficult to obtain with one thousand sweet Tamil [verses] (*eytaṟk' ariya maṟaikaḷai āyiram iṉ tamiḻāl ceytaṟk' ulakil varum caṭakopaṉai*) (RN 18).

the refined Tamil Veda that Māṟaṉ gave as a shining excellent path is the tremendous wealth, the father, the mother, the great guru, and the Lord of the lady of the fragrant flower (*uṟu perum celvamum tantaiyum tāyum uyar kuruvum veṟi taru pūmakaḷ nātaṉum māṟaṉ viḷaṅkiya cīr neṟi tarum cem tamiḻ āraṇamē*) (RN 19).

The pleasant Tamiḻ harmonies of the nectar[-like] holy words of the Lord of Teṉkurukūr (*teṉ kurukaip pirāṉ amutat tiru vāy īrat tamiḻiṉ icai*) (RN 20).

The liberation that is his bhakti [and] the cool Tamil Veda that is the song of the Lord of Teṉkurukūr (*teṉ kurukaip pirāṉ pāṭṭ' eṉṉum vētap pacum tamiḻ taṉṉait taṉ patti eṉṉum vīṭṭiṉ*) (RN 29).

The Veda that was spoken by Māṟaṉ in the world so that the six religious systems that had been proclaimed were destroyed (*kūṟum camayaṅkaḷ āṟum kulaiyak kuvalayattē māṟaṉ paṇitta maṟai*) (RN 46).

The unfading, bountiful Tamil Veda of the generous man of Teṉkurukūr (*teṉ kurukai vaḷḷal vāṭṭam ilā vaḷ tamiḻ maṟai*) (RN 54).

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[29] As my colleague Suganya Anandakichenin points out, this could also read: 'enduring Māṟaṉ, [with] songs that abound with fame, that are upon the chest of Him that is fit for the woman who abides on the [lotus] flower'.

> The bliss of the musical fresh Tamil [Veda] of Māṟaṉ (*paṇ taru māṟaṉ pacum tamiḻ āṉantam*) (RN 64).

And the *Tiruvāymoḻi* is specifically named in verse 60:

> Rāmānuja … enters and remains … in every place where the sweet music that brings the flavour of the *Tiruvāymoḻi* abides (*tiruvāymoḻiyiṉ maṇam tarum iṉ icai maṉṉum iṭam toṟum … pukku niṟkum … irāmāṉucaṉ*)[30]

All the Āḻvārs are celebrated in one way or another for their compositions, but none more so than Nammāḻvār. Although several of the Āḻvārs are said in the RN to have in some way rendered the Veda or its essence in Tamil (Poykai, Tiruppāṇ, and Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi), it is the *Tiruvāymoḻi* that stands out here and throughout the secondary corpus, both in terms of emphasis and frequency, as *the* Tamil Veda.[31]

2.4 Ācāryas

The pivotal role of the *Tiruvāymoḻi* is highlighted in verses 18, 19, and 20, all of which have to do with Nammāḻvār, and which are perhaps the most important verses of the RN in terms of realizing the *guruparamparā*.

> Our support is Rāmānuja who,
> for the salvation of all living beings,
> contributes to the fame of the great one
> who desired to place Caṭakopaṉ,
> who came into the world
> in order to render the Vedas that are difficult to obtain
> with one thousand sweet Tamiḻ [verses],
> into [his] heart.[32]

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[30] Most likely a reference to a temple setting.

[31] See, for example, Carman and Narayanan (1989: 6-7).

[32] *eytaṟk' ariya maṟaikaḷai āyiram iṉ tamiḻāl / ceytaṟk' ulakil varum caṭakopaṉaic cintaiyuḷḷē / peytaṟk' icaiyum periyavar cīrai uyirkaḷ ellām / uytaṟk' utavum irāmāṉucaṉ em uṟu tuṇaiyē.* (RN 18)

Rāmānuja,
who remained so that the people of this wide earth
understand that the refined Tamiḻ Veda
that Māṟaṉ gave as a shining excellent path
is the tremendous wealth,
the father, the mother, the great guru,
and the Lord of the lady of the fragrant flower,
is my rare nectar.[33]

Rāmānuja, who, with [his] heart,
avidly enjoys[34] Nātamuṉi
who has the quality of being saved
having learned about the greatness
of those who have affection
for those who know the pleasant Tamiḻ harmonies
of the nectar[-like] holy words of the Lord
of Teṉkurukūr[surrounded by] sandal groves,
is my great treasure trove. [35]

Nammāḻvār here marks the transition between past and present and functions as the link between the Āḻvārs and the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas, a position repeated in all the hagiographical narratives about the formation of the *guruparamparā*.[36] In those stories, Nammāḻvār is connected to Maturakavi (called Periyavar 'the great one' in RN 18 above), supposed to have been the last of the Āḻvārs, as both his teacher and the object of his devotion, and to Nāthamuni, who, the tradition holds, recovered the whole of the NTP after having heard a group of devotees singing just a few verses of

[33] *uṟu perum celvamum tantaiyum tāyum uyar kuruvum / veṟi taru pūmakaḷ nātaṉum māṟaṉ viḷaṅkiya cīr / neṟi tarum cem tamiḻ āraṇamē eṉṟ' innīḷ nilattōr / aṟitara niṉṟa irāmāṉucaṉ eṉakk' ār amutē.* (RN 19)

[34] *vārip parukum* 'scoops up and drinks'.

[35] *ārap poḻil teṉ kurukaip pirāṉ amutat tiruvāy / īrat tamiḻiṉ icai uṇarntōrkaṭk' iṉiyavar tam / cīraip payiṉṟ' uyyum cīlam koḷ nātamuṉiyai neñcāl / vārip parukum irāmāṉucaṉ eṉ taṉ mā nitiyē.* (RN 20)

[36] See, for example, Carman and Narayanan (1989: 5-6).

the *Tiruvāymoḻi*. Although the details of this story are lacking in the above verses of the RN, the basic structure is evident. Verse 18 tells us that Maturakavi holds Nammāḻvār in his mind, i.e., he is devoted to him, and verse 20 describes in outline the process by which Nāthamuni discovers the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, thus allowing him to propagate the Āḻvārs' teachings. And, in the middle, verse 19 makes clear the essential role of Nammāḻvār, as 'the tremendous wealth, the father, the mother, the great guru, and the Lord of the lady of the fragrant flower', in the *guruparamparā*. This sentiment, a version of which is expressed by Nammāḻvār in *Tiruvāymoḻi* 1.10.6[37] with respect to God, and Maturakavi in *Kaṇṇi nuṇ ciṟuttāmpu* v.4[38] with respect to Nammāḻvār, is expanded and reiterated by Yāmuna:

> I bow [my] head to the auspicious pair of feet, with pleasing vakula [flowers], of the lord of our family, originator of our lineage, invariably, that which is all, mother, father, daughters, sons, and wealth.[39]

Amutaṉār, I think, intends verse 19 not only as a statement on the importance of Nammāḻvār and the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, but, with this intertextual reference to Yāmuna's *Stotra Ratna* (translated into Tamil), as a reminder to the reader or listener

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[37] *nīyum nāṉum in- nēr niṟkil, mēl maṟṟ' ōr / nōyum cārk koṭāṉ neñcamē, coṉṉēṉ / tāyum tantaiyum āy iv-ulakiṉil / vāyum īcaṉ maṇi vaṇṇaṉ entaiyē*. 'I say, if you and I remain in this [state of] firmness, O heart, He – My father! The Sapphire-hued Lord who appears in this world as mother and father – will not [allow] any other suffering to come upon [us]'.

[38] *naṉmaiyāl mikka nāl maṟaiyāḷarkaḷ / puṉmai ākka karutuvar ātaliṉ / aṉṉaiyāy attaṉāy eṉṉai āṇṭiṭum / taṉmaiyāṉ caṭakōpaṉ eṉ nampiyē (4)* 'Because the scholars of the four Vedas, great with blessings, consider [me] to be vile, Caṭakōpaṉ, a man of greatness, who rules me completely as Mother and Father, is my Lord'.

[39] *mātā pitā yuvatayas tanayā vibhūtis sarvaṁ yadeva niyamena madanvayānām || ādyasya naḥ kulapater bakulābhirāmaṁ śrīmattadaṁghriyugalaṁ praṇamāmi mūrdhnā* || Stotra Ratna v.8. The 'lord of our family, originator of our lineage' here is a reference to Nammāḻvār.

of Yāmuna's own devotion to Nammāḻvār and his place in the unbroken *guruparamparā*, further emphasising the direct link created and maintained by that lineage.

The final verse of the *parampará* sequence (RN 21) is dedicated to Yāmuna, the man whom the tradition takes to have been Rāmānuja's predecessor and Nāthamuni's grandson.[40] Here referred to as 'the man from the Yamunā river', he provides an important link to the philosophical tradition predating Rāmānuja and, in particular, to the *pañcarātra* system,[41] which was incorporated into Śrīvaiṣṇavism as its source for ritual procedures and cosmology, among other things.

I do not hang on the doorways of lowly people,
thinking, "[they are] a cloud that pours forth treasure,"
[or] learn [their] praise, nor do I wilt in the world,
now that Rāmānuja,
who obtained and keeps the refuge
that is the pair of feet Yamunā,[42]
the chief of ascetics on the virtuous path,
has sheltered me.[43]

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[40] His relationship to Nāthamuni is confirmed in the penultimate verse of his *Stotra Ratna*: *akṛtrimatvaccaraṇāravindapremaprakarṣāvadhim ātmavantam | pitāmahaṃ nāthamuniṃ vilokya prasīda madvṛttam acintayitvā ||* 'Having beheld my grandfather, Nāthamuni, who is self-possessed [and] has a natural, most excellent love for the refuge that is your lotus [feet], disregarding my own conduct, please be gracious'.

[41] Especially via his defense of *pañcarātra* in the *Āgamaprāmāṇya*.

[42] Although *yamuṇait tuṟaivaṉ* can be a reference to Kṛṣṇa, given the context here it seems clearly to be identifying Yāmuna Ācārya. This conclusion is supported by the commentary of Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi: *āḷavantāruṭaiya tiruvaṭikaḷākiṟa prāpyattaip peṟṟuṭaiya emperumāṉār eṉṉai rakṣittaruḷiṉā* 'My master, the great Rāmānuja, graced to preserve the goal that is the holy feet of Āḷavantār' (another name for Yāmuna Ācārya) (RN, unknown date: 25).

[43] *nitiyaip poḻiyum mukil eṉṟu nīcar tam vācal paṟṟit / tuti kaṟṟ' ulakil tuvaḷkiṉṟilēṉ iṉit tūyneṟi cēr / etikaṭk' iṟaivaṉ yamuṇait tuṟaivaṉ iṇai aṭi ām / kati peṟṟ' uṭaiya irāmāṉucaṉ eṉṉaik kāttaṉaṉē* (RN 21).

As with all of the figures of the RN's *paramparā*, not much is revealed in the verse dedicated to him. Of course, his identifier here, 'the man from the banks of the Yamunā [river]' tells us something about his potential origin, and the attribute ascribed to him (*etikaṭk' iṟaivaṉ*) tells us that he was viewed by the tradition as an important ascetic. But, most importantly, Amutaṉār uses this verse to define Rāmānuja's teachings as the refuge of Yāmuna, who, verse 19 reminds us, understood Nammāḻvār as the All and first teacher of their lineage, thus serving to further bind Rāmānuja (and by extension all of the post-Rāmānuja Ācāryas) and his philosophical system to the devotional works of the Āḻvārs.

3. Rāmānuja

No matter how important any one of these figures is portrayed, however, the RN makes clear that all their teachings, all their poems of devotion, all their philosophical treatises authorize and reify Rāmānuja's central role in the Śrīvaiṣṇava community. This is actualized in verses 8 through 21 by creating a clear linkage between Rāmānuja and each of the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas. Rāmānuja is thus imbued with the full authority of the *guruparamparā* and its texts.

We find in the RN four basic formulations of Rāmānuja's connection to the figures of the *guruparamparā* and their texts. Most commonly, Rāmānuja is shown to have an unmediated relationship to an Āḻvār or Ācārya (1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). In four cases he has an unmediated relationship to a text (8, 29, 46, 64, 88). And in only two verses do we find that Rāmānuja's connection to an Āḻvār is described as being mediated, one through an Ācārya (20) and the other through devotees (14). In by far the most numerous formulations, as we have already seen from RN 1, wherein he is said to have 'humbled [himself] at the feet of Māṟaṉ', Rāmānuja is described as having some kind of personal

relationship with the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas. In an example of the second formulation, RN 46, focused on the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, we find that Rāmānuja is described as one 'who understood the Veda that was spoken by Māṟaṉ' (*māṟaṉ paṇitta maṟai uṇarntōṉ*). That is to say, in both the first and second categories, Rāmānuja's interaction with or connection to the Āḻvār, Ācārya, or text is depicted as being without an intermediary, it is direct and personal.

The mediation of the third category, through an Ācārya, is depicted in verse 20 on Nāthamuni (above). Here we find that Rāmānuja's connection to Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi* is filtered through the learning of Nāthamuni. This extra step is expected and necessary. As we have seen, Nāthamuni functions as an essential link between the works of Nammāḻvār and the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. Importantly, this verse also hints at a devotional community, centred around the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, that predated Nāthamuni's recovery of the NTP, i.e., 'those who have affection for those who know the harmonies' of the *Tiruvāymoḻi*. By making Nāthamuni the intermediary for Rāmānuja, Amutaṉār affirms the *guruparamparā* as the source of sacred knowledge, passed down through generations of devotees and teachers, and Rāmānuja as its inheritor.

The final category, his relationship mediated through devotees, seems to be a rather odd outlier. In verse 14, focused on Kulacēkaraṉ and his *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, a degree of separation is imposed between Rāmānuja and the object of his attentions:

I have ceased the observance that is doing penance
so that the hot jungles, mountains, and seas all boil,
having been impatient for refuge.
Rāmānuja, the supreme one,
who worships the feet of the great ones
who sing śāstric verses

inscribed with the words of the guardian of Kolli,
will not abandon me.[44]

The significance of this is not entirely clear to me. It is likely that the 'great ones' (*periyavar*) here refer to temple singers, perhaps meant to indicate Rāmānuja's participation in temple activities that involved the verses of Kulacēkaraṉ, or, perhaps, to encourage such activities. Either way, similar to the verse on Nāthamuni (RN 20), it draws in a wider community as the foundation upon which the relationship between the Āḻvārs' works and the *guruparamparā* is built.

4. Conclusion

Aside from the obvious expression of devotion for Rāmānuja, alongside an enumeration of his many great qualities, the RN serves to define the guru lineage and the canonical works of the Āḻvārs, and it does so by connecting Rāmānuja (and by extension all the tradition's teachers) to the authors of the NTP. Amutaṉār's connection to Kūrattāḻvāṉ, expressed in the opening verse of the *guruparamparā* sequence, establishes his and his Ācārya's relationship to Rāmānuja. From here, the RN goes on to describe Rāmānuja's connection to all twelve Āḻvārs and the beginning of the lineage of Ācāryas. He is careful to highlight here the intermediary role of Nammāḻvār for both Maturakavi and Nāthamuni, thus establishing the point of contact in the line of succession between the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas.

In his treatment of the Āḻvārs, Amutaṉār either omits or is not yet aware of the hagiographical stories detailing their birth-stars, hometowns, fantastic deeds, etc. The identifiers he employs are, for the most part, firmly based in the content of

[44] *katikku pataṟi vem kāṉamum kallum kaṭalum ellām / kotikka tavam ceyyum koḷkai aṟṟēṉ kolli kāvalaṉ col / patikkum kalai kavi pāṭum periyavar pātaṅkaḷē / tutikkum paramaṉ irāmāṉucaṉ eṉṉai cōrvilaṉē* (RN 14).

their compositions. Nevertheless, by tying together all the Āḻvārs, (and according to a chronology that continues to be accepted to this day) the RN marks an important step in the authorization of their works as canonical and signals the move toward the fully-fledged hagiographical tradition.

Rāmānuja's role as teacher and saviour, of course, is the fundamental message of the RN. Even Nammāḻvār's much celebrated *Tiruvāymoḻi*, credited with being the Tamil Veda, the 'liberation' (*vīṭṭiṉ*), the 'shining excellent path' (*viḷaṅkiya cīr neṟi*), is only viewed as the means of salvation through the lens of Rāmānuja's redemption at the feet of Nammāḻvār. In this way, the RN articulates a kind of feedback loop in its understanding of the relationship between the Āḻvārs and Ācāryas. Viewed from the perspective of the NTP, and what I have mostly addressed here, by affirming that Rāmānuja was intimately associated with each of the Āḻvārs, he and the teachers in his lineage are confirmed as the proper locus of the spiritual knowledge contained in their works. On the other hand, viewed from the perspective of the burgeoning theological paradigm evident in the RN, i.e., Rāmānuja's essential role in the salvation of all Śrīvaiṣṇavas, it is *his* relationship to the authors of the NTP that confirms their works as authoritative and binds *them* to the Śrīvaiṣṇava *guruparamparā*.

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Text and Paratext in South Indian Śaiva Manuscripts

R. Sathyanarayanan & Dominic Goodall (EFEO)

Abstract

As its title announces, this article is an exploration of the interrelationships of text and paratextual material (both authorial and transmissional) that is to be found in South Indian Grantha-script manuscripts that transmit Śaiva works in Sanskrit.

Pious formulae or statements in prose or verses added by transmitters appended to the beginnings or ends of texts that they copy can be useful for what they reveal about, for instance, the provenance of manuscripts, and so can help build up a more nuanced picture of regional variations in scribal habits. It can, however, often be difficult to recognise which are authorial statements and which are not, as the article also illustrates with examples.

Alongside the texts that are transmitted in manuscripts, there are other written statements that may be called paratextual: invocations, floating verses that do not belong to the transmitted material, contents lists, mnemonic passages, statements of ownership and authorship that we may call colophons, etc. Such written statements, even though they do not belong to the text which the manuscript is produced to transmit, are helpful to scholars for understanding better about the texts that are typically the primary focus of their studies and about the history of their transmissions. Because they are not authorial, they may be called paratextual.[1] This

[1] Of course it is possible to have paratextual material that is also authorial, but it seems to us axiomatic that non-authorial material is paratextual. Here we do not discuss authorial paratext and so, for the purposes of this

article is intended to illustrate some of the kinds of paratextual material (not only colophons) that we find in South Indian Śaiva works transmitted typically in palm-leaf manuscripts written in Grantha script. In doing so, we shall demonstrate in passing that it is often difficult to determine with certainty what is authorial and what is in fact not. To illustrate the issues, we shall be making use primarily of Śaiva manuscripts from the Pondicherry collections.

We shall begin with a manuscript bearing, on a slip of card attached to the coverboard, the title "*Tattvaprakāśa (yogapāda) ratnatrayavyākhyā (aghoraśiva)"*, but which is in fact a bundle containing five treatises of the Śaivasiddhānta that all belong to a grouping of eight such treatises that are commonly transmitted together (with commentaries) in the South of India and that bear the title, at least in the two complete editions know to us, of *aṣṭaprakaraṇam.*[2] The

article, a distinction between authorial and [non-authorial] paratextual material seems sufficient.

[2] The *Tattvaprakāśa* (C11th) has been printed as the first text in this collection. Written by Bhoja, it has two commentaries, the *Tātparyadīpikā* of Kumāradeva (which is not commonly transmitted in Grantha manuscripts) and the *Vṛtti* of Aghoraśiva (C12th). The second text is the *Tattvasaṃgraha* by Sadyojyoti (fl. c. 675–725) and the brief commentary (*laghuṭīkā*) by Aghoraśiva; the third one is the *Tattvatrayanirṇaya*, a brief text of Sadyojyoti with a *Vṛtti* of Aghoraśiva; the fourth one is the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* of Śrīkaṇṭha (C10th), which has a commentary of Aghoraśiva called the *Ullekhinī*; the fifth text is the *Bhogakārikā* of Sadyojyoti, again with a commentary of Aghoraśiva; the sixth one is a brief text of 27 kārikās called the *Nādakārikā* by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (C10th) and with a commentary of Aghoraśiva; the seventh one is the *Mokṣakārikā* of Sadyojyoti with the commentary *Vṛtti* of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha; the eighth text is the *Paramokṣanirāsakārikā* of Sadyojyoti with the commentary *Vṛtti* by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha. The manuscript that we are focusing upon, RE 30370, in fact omits the *Nādakārikā*, the *Mokṣakārikā* and the *Paramokṣanirāsakārikā*, thus avoiding the commentarial works of Rāmakaṇṭha, which are notoriously much more difficult than those of Aghoraśiva. Nonetheless, it seems plain that the scribe would have been aware of these works as typically belonging

manuscript-bundle in question belongs to the collection of the Institut français de Pondichéry (IFP) and bears the shelf-mark RE 30370. It is an apt example for pointing up the differences between author colophons, commentator colophons, scribal colophons and the relationship between what is authorial and paratextual.

The manuscript begins with a generic invocation, *hariḥ om*, in the left-hand margin and then starts at once with the following opening verse of Aghoraśiva's commentary on the *Tattvaprakāśa* (f. 1r):

> śivaṃ praṇamya ṣaṭtriṃśattatvātītaṃ saśaktikam|
> vyākhyāṃ tattvaprakāśasya sphuṭāṃ laghvīṃ karomy aham||
>
> Having saluted Śiva, who is beyond the 36 tattva-s, together with Śakti, I, Aghoraśiva am composing a clear and brief commentary on the *Tattvaprakāśa*.

Here Aghoraśiva makes the promise (*pratijñā*) that he is about to write a commentary for this text. At the end of his commentary of this text he reconfirms that he has completed the promise he made in the opening verse for that he writes:

> yaḥ śāstreṣu śivoditeṣu paramaṃ vyākhyātṛbhāvaṃ gataḥ
> sāmānyeṣu padādikeṣu ca sudhī svādhyāyaśikṣodbaṇaḥ |
> tenāghoraśivena śaivatilakais saṃprārthitenādarāt
> saṃkṣepeṇa gurūttamena vivṛtas tatvaprakāśaḥ sphuṭam||[3]

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together. One proof of this is that he actually begins to copy the *Mokṣa-kārikā* without its commentary, but breaks off after the first verse.

[3] Two minor details of deviant South Indian orthography may be mentioned in passing here: no *visarga* is considered obligatory before an s in ligature with a semi-vowel, which explains how the scribe could write *sudhī* (instead of the required *sudhīs* or *sudhīḥ*), and the word *ulbaṇa*, under the influence of Tamil sandhi, is regularly pronounced and written *udbaṇa*.

> By that most excellent of teachers Aghoraśiva, who has attained the highest rank of commentator upon scriptures uttered by Śiva, who is of trained intelligence (*sudhī*[*ḥ*]) in the general [disciplines of] grammar and the others, [namely hermeneutics and logic,] who is vigorous in maintaining his own studies and in teaching (*svādhyāyaśikṣolbaṇaḥ*), the Tattvaprakāśa has been clearly and briefly expounded after he had been beseeched respectfully by the foremost Śaivas.

Now both this opening and this concluding verse contain the kinds of information about the author and the circumstances of his composition of the transmitted work that one might find in a colophon, and yet they are not to be considered as paratextual; nonetheless, the second of them might arguably be described as a colophon in verse. In this particular case given what we know about Aghoraśiva's style in other works, we feel reasonably certain that this final verse in elaborate *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, is an authorial composition that is an integral part of the transmitted text. There are some cases where we may have doubts as to who and in what circumstances composed such verses. Consider, for instance, the concluding pair of verses (75–76) of the *Tattvaprakāśa* itself, on which Aghoraśiva is commenting:

> tatvānām api tattvaṃ yenākhilam eva helayā kathitam|
> śrībhojadevanṛpatir vyadhatta tatvaprakāśaṃ saḥ|| 75

> The illustrious king Bhojadeva, by whom the complete nature of the *tattva*s has been taught without effort, composed the *Tattvaprakāśa*.

> yasyākhilaṃ karatalāmalakakrameṇa
> devasya visphurati cetasi tatvajātam|
> śrībhojadevanṛpatis sa śivāgamārtha[ṃ]
> tattvaprakāśam asamānam imaṃ vyadhatta|| 76

> His majesty (*devasya*) the king Bhojadeva, in whose mind all entities shine out clearly, like an *āmalaka*-fruit held in the palm of the hand, composed this incomparable 'Light upon the Tattvas', which bears the meaning of Śaiva scriptures.

Here, it is not impossible that the author should have used the third person to refer to himself — and in any case the form *vyadhatta* is, in point of fact, ambiguous, for it could instead be understood and translated as a first-person form — ; but it is decidedly odd that we have two consecutive concluding verses that essentially say the same thing and use the same main verb, *vyadhatta*. The first of the two is in *āryā*, which is the metre used in the rest of the text, and seems therefore quite likely to be authorial. But might not the second, an embellished version in *vasantatilakā* metre, have been added by a transmitter at some later point in time? It seems, however, to have been already known to Aghoraśiva in the twelfth century, who introduces it with *etad eva prapañcayati* ("He [now] says exactly the same at greater length:…"). This has all become muddled up in print, since *tad eva prapañcayati* is printed only after verse 76 in Dwivedi's edition. Furthermore, when printed with Kumāradeva's commentary the *Tātparyaṭīkā*, verse 76 appears printed as though it were the composition of Kumāradeva and not of Bhoja. The truth of the matter is not clearly apparent.

The opening to another work in the collection, namely Aghoraśiva's commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, represents a variation upon this sort of non-paratextual colophonic statement, since it opens with a *maṅgala*-verse followed by three "historical" verses, the first of them about the author of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Sadyojyotiḥ (and therefore paratextual with respect to Sadyojyotiḥ's work) and the following two about the transmission of the text up to Aghoraśiva and his authorship of a commentary (f. 9r).

padavākyapramāṇajñas sadyojyotir gurūttamaḥ |
sākṣād iva śivo [']smābhir alakṣyamativaibhavaḥ ||

tatvasaṃgrahacandrasya prakāśāya vitānitā|
śrīnārāyaṇakaṇṭhena bṛhaṭṭīkā śaranniśā||

tathāpi khinnabuddhīnāṃ bṛhaṭṭīkāpravistare|
hitāya laghuṭīkātra mayeyam uparacyate||

The most excellent among teachers, Sadyojyotiḥ, who has mastered grammar, hermeneutics and logic, is like Śiva present here: we cannot conceive the extent of his thought.

To illuminate the moon which is the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, Śrī Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha composed the Great Commentary (*bṛhaṭṭīkā*) called *Śaranniśā* ("autumnal night").

Nonetheless, for the benefit of those whose minds grow tired in the expanse of the Great commentary, this brief commentary on this work is being composed by me.

For the sake of consistency, we may quote also the work's conclusion. Sadyojyotiḥ's final verse is, once again, colophonic (f. 16v):

ity avadat tatvāni tu sadyojyotis suvṛttikṛṣ[4] ṣaṣṭyā |
bhagavān ugrajyotis sarvajño yam anujagrāha||

Thus Sadyojyotiḥ, the author of the good commentary [on the *Raurava*], has taught the *tattva*s in sixty (*kārikā*s), whom the all-knowing Master Ugrajyotiḥ favoured with compassion.

After the word *suvṛttikṛṣ*, all the subsequent words (including the whole of the second line) have been omitted in the editions of Devakottai and of Vrajavallabha Dwivedi (1988), which is an indication of how such conclusions, particularly when they are

[4] Thus the manuscript; understand: *suvṛttikṛt*.

in a metre that can be difficult to recognise, as in this case *āryā* metre, may tend to be regarded as paratextual and so at extra risk of being poorly transmitted. (We should add in passing that these important words, which seem to be original to Sadyojyotiḥ's seventh-century work, are included in the text of the critical edition of Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat (1988).)

The colophonic verse of the twelfth-century commentary, by Aghoraśiva, reads as follows (f. 16v):

> śrīmatkheṭakanandanārkakiraṇais sadvṛttivākyātmakair
> dhvastājñānatamaścayena guruṇā ghorādinā śaṃbhunā |
> tat(tv)ajñānabubhutsubhir budhavarais saṃprārthite-
> nādarāt
> tatvānām iti[5] saṃgrahasya vivṛtir laghvī sphuṭā nirmitā ||
>
> A clear, short exposition has been composed of this extremely succinct account of the *tattva*s by the Guru Ghoraśambhu, for whom the mass of darkness that was his ignorance has been shaken off by the rays of the sun who is the venerable Kheṭakanandana, [rays] in the form of statements in his good commentary [on the *Raurava*], [after Aghoraśiva had been] beseeched with respect by extremely learned persons who were desirous of grasping knowledge of the *tattva*s.

Kheṭakanandana, by the way, is a name (attested in many other places as well) for Sadyojyotiḥ. Formally, Sadyojyotiḥ is an initiation-name, consisting in the name of a mantra, namely SADYO[JĀTA], followed by the initiatory termination °jyotiḥ (see Tāntrikābhidhānakośa [=TAK] 2, s.v. *jyotiḥ* and TAK3, s.v. *dīkṣānāman*). As for Aghoraśiva, that too is an initiation-name, and the mantra that forms its first part may be called AGHORA, GHORA, UGRA or HṚDAYA; the second element may be given as °śiva or as śambhu.

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[5] Thus the manuscript; understand: *ati*°.

That colophonic verse is then followed by a truly paratextual statement in prose of the kind that Indologists typically call a "colophon":

> ity aghoraśivācāryaviracitā tatvasaṃgrahalaghuṭīkā samāptā||
>
> Thus ends the light commentary on the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, composed by the teacher Aghoraśiva.

Such statements are common in almost all manuscripts that transmit Sanskrit literature, typically placed at the end of each chapter of the given transmitted work. The Sanskrit term for them is *puṣpikā*, "little flower", which may be a modern Sanskrit usage, but it might actually reflect an ancient practice, since we have examples of ninth-century Nepalese manuscripts that contain no such prose statements between chapters, but instead just small flower-like ornaments. One example of this practice may be seen in the ninth-century manuscript that transmits the *Sarvajñānottaratantra*, which has been filmed by the NGMPP on Reel No. A 43/12.

The above "colophon" crediting Aghoraśiva with the authorship of the *Tattvasaṃgrahalaghuṭīkā* is then followed by this pious invocation:

> śivāya parabrahmaṇe namaḥ |
>
> Veneration to Śiva, [who is] the supreme *brahman*.

Let us now turn to a more complicated case in the so-called *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*, where the interpretation of a verse depends on who formulated it, and where the editions, by their choice of a large bold font, appear to have led all twentieth-century scholarship astray.

At the very end of the portion of the manuscript that transmits the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* embedded in Aghoraśiva's

commentary thereon, the *Ratnatrayollekhinī*, we read the following (f. 43v):

> kenedaṃ prakaraṇaprakaraṇam[6] āracitam ity āha |
>
> rāmakaṇṭhakṛtālokanirmalīkṛtacetasā |
> ratnatrayaparīkṣeyaṃ kṛtā śrīkaṇṭhasūriṇā ||
>
> śrīrāmakaṇṭhasadvṛttiṃ mayaivam anukurvatā |
> ratnatrayaparīkṣārthas saṃkṣepeṇa prakāśitaḥ ||
>
> [ye]nākāri kavīśvareṇa rasavān āśca[rya]sārāhvayaḥ
> pāṣaṇḍaprajayaś ca kāvyatilako bhaktaprakāśas tadhā |
> nāṭyeṣv abhyudayaś ca sundarakaveś śaiveṣu sadvṛttayas
> tenāghoraśivena sādhu racitā ratnatrayollkehinī ||
>
> ity aghoraśivācāryaviracitā ratnatrayollekhinī saṃpūrṇā |
> śrīgurubhyo namaḥ | hariḥ om|
>
> rudhirotgāri śaradi cāpaṃ yāte tvahaskare
> dvādaśyām induvāre bhe yāmye śuklacchade śubhe|
> muhūrtte guruṇālekhī ratnatrayasubodhinī
> ~~aru~~ +śo+ṇācalena bhaktyeyamm aghorāryeṇa śodhitam||
> śrīmaddeśikavaryeṇa gurūṇāṃ pravareṇa ca|[7]

Now it is clear that there is more than one voice speaking in the above passage, but before we enter into a discussion of which words were written by whom, let us first give a basic translation of the whole conclusion.

> He tells us by whom this work was composed:
>
> This 'Examination of the Three Jewels' was composed by the scholar Śrīkaṇṭha, his mind purified by the light created by Rāmakaṇṭha.

---

[6] Thus the manuscript; understand: *kenedaṃ prakaraṇam*.
[7] Please see picture 1 [IFP MS RE 30370 f. 43v] in the Appendix.

> The meaning of the 'Examination of the Three Jewels' has been expounded in brief by me, who thus follow the 'True Commentary' of Śrī-Rāmakaṇṭha.
>
> [This] 'Chisel for digging out the Three Jewels' has been well composed by the same Aghoraśiva who is the lord of poets who composed the juicy *Āścaryasāra*, the *Pāṣaṇḍaprajaya*,[8] the *Kāvyatilaka*, and (em.: *tathā*) the *Bhaktaprakāśa*, and, among dramatic works, the Success of Poet Sundara; among Śaiva works, [many] fine commentaries.
>
> Thus the 'Chisel for digging out the Three Jewels' is complete. Obeisance to the venerable gurus. Hariḥ Om.
>
> In autumn, in [year of the sixty-year Jovian cycle called] Rudhirodgārin, with the sun entered into Sagittarius, on Monday, the twelfth lunar day in the auspicious brightening fortnight, under the asterism (*bhe*) Bharaṇī (*yāmye*), in an auspicious period of the day, the guru Śoṇācala wrote (em.: *alekhi*) with devotion this *Ratnatrayasubodhinī*. [The text] was corrected by Aghorārya, the best of venerable teachers and the most excellent guru.

Here it seems clear, from the way in which the prose introduces it, that the first of these verses was understood by the commentator to be the composition of Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the root-text. The second verse too has been assumed by all editors hitherto to be the composition of Śrīkaṇṭha, who print it in the same large bold type-face that is used for verses of the root text. In the editions, this is followed

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[8] The text *Pāṣaṇḍāpajaya* is also claimed by Aghoraśiva's disciple Trilocanaśiva as his composition. Trilocanaśiva in his commentary of Somaśambhupaddhati says *asmābhiḥ pāṣaṇḍaparājaye*. Whether the *Pāṣaṇḍāpajaya* and the *Pāṣaṇḍaparājaya* were one and the same work or two different texts we do not know.

by a short prose 'colophon' to the root text only, which in Kṛṣṇaśāstrī's edition reads simply *mūlaṃ samāptam* and in Dvivedi's edition *ratnatrayaparīkṣā samāptā*. The third verse is then unmistakably a verse of the commentator Aghoraśiva. Finally, after the 'colophon' to the commentary, a ten-*pāda* verse gives the date, with astrological details, of copying by a scribe called Śoṇācala (a variant Sanskrit name of the South Indian town widely known today by the Tamil name Tiruvaṇṇāmalai), and its correction by a certain Aghorārya.

In fact, the second of these verses, it has recently been argued by Sanderson (2006: 43–54), must rather be the composition of Aghoraśiva, since Śrīkaṇṭha would hardly speak of expounding briefly the essence of his own work. What has led people astray here is the mistaken assumption that both the first and second verses of the conclusion must refer to the same Rāmakaṇṭha and must therefore both have been penned by the same author. In fact, it is reasonable to suppose that in the second verse Aghoraśiva must have been referring to Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, the prolific and well-known tenth-century commentator on the *Mataṅga*, *Kiraṇa*, etc, who was the son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, commentator on the *Mṛgendratantra,* since Aghoraśiva everywhere closely follows that Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, both in style and in ideas. In the first verse, however, Śrīkaṇṭha may be referring to a different individual of the same name, probably the same as the Rāmakaṇṭha who was the guru of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha (see Goodall 1998: ix–x, who, however, was still at that time mistakenly assuming that the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* was concluded with two verses by Śrīkaṇṭha that referred to the same Rāmakaṇṭha).

We have now found confirmation of Sanderson's 2006 diagnosis that the verse beginning *śrīrāmakaṇṭhasadvṛttiṃ* could not be by Śrīkaṇṭha and therefore must rather be the composition of Aghoraśiva. The confirmation is to be found in a

Grantha script manuscript from the Śaiva monastery of Tiruvāvaṭuturai (MS 15) that transmits another commentary, one not by Aghoraśiva, on the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* of Śrīkaṇṭha. That manuscript gives an almost complete text, beginning in the commentary on verse 3 and ending with just three quarters of a verse from what must have been the concluding passage by the commentator describing his lineage (f. 79v):

> gururnetraguru śrīmān āyato gauḍadeśataḥ| netā śivāgamārthānām [[remainder of folio blank]].

Before that, the last verse of the root text to be given and commented upon there is:

> rāmakaṇṭhakṛtālokanirmalīkṛtacetasā |
> ratnatrayaparīkṣeyaṃ kṛtā śrīkaṇṭhasūriṇā ||

We may therefore now assume with some confidence that Sanderson is correct and that this was indeed the last verse of Śrīkaṇṭha's text. Confusingly, however, the unknown commentator appears to interpret this verse as referring to the famous commentator Rāmakaṇṭha, whom he assumes to have been the guru of Śrīkaṇṭha. This is his commentary on the last verse (f. 79v):

> kāśmīradeśasaṃbhūtaśrīkaṇṭhakuṭuṃbānvayo nārāyaṇakaṇṭhasūnuḥ śrīmataṅga-kiraṇa-kālottara-parākhya-sūkṣmasvāyaṃbhuvāditantrayānasiddhāntāt yāthātmyavettā darśanāntarasiddhāntārthasaṃkaram asahamāno viśvalokavidito maheśvara ivāparo lokagurus tacchiṣyeṇa śrīkaṇṭhena mayā ratnatrayaparīkṣeyaṃ saṃskṛteti prakaraṇārthopasaṃhāraḥ|
>
> • °kuṭumbā°] *em.*; °kuḍumbā° MS • °kiraṇa-kālottara°] *conj.*; °kiraṇālottara° MS • °sūkṣma°] *em.*; °sūkṣmā° MS • tantrayānasiddhāntāt yāthātmyavettā] *conj.*; tatra yā yā na siddhāntāt yāyātmyavettā MS • darśanāntarasiddhā-

ntārthasaṃkaram asahamāno] conj.; darśanāntaraṃ siddhāntārtthasaṃkaraṃ sahano MS

The son of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha belongs to the family-lineage of the Kashmir-born Śrīkaṇṭha, who knows the truth as it really is (*yāthātmyavettā*) from [studying] the settled doctrines of the path taught in such tantras as the venerable *Mataṅga*, *Kiraṇa*, *Kālottara*, *Parākhya*, and *Sūkṣmasvāyambhuva*, who cannot tolerate (*asahamānaḥ*) the mixing up of doctrines of the Sidddhānta with those of other systems, who is known throughout all the world, like a second Maheśvara, teacher of the world; I, Śrīkaṇṭha, his disciple, have composed this 'Examination of the Three Jewels'. Thus the conclusion of the work.

We suspect, however, that Śrīkaṇṭha, who makes the impression of being more open-minded (see, e.g., the way he formulates objections to a rival view in *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* 160–164) than the well-known prolific commentator Rāmakaṇṭha, is more likely to have been the student of another (earlier) Rāmakaṇṭha.

It seems that this manuscript transmits the same commentary on the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* as that which Francesco Sferra has long been studying (Sferra 2007), and we have accordingly passed it to him for incorporation in his edition.

A final remark in passing about this other commentator on the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*: we have, as yet, no idea who he may have been, but perhaps we may tentatively date him to between the prolific Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha in the tenth century and his equally prolific follower Aghoraśiva in the second half of the twelfth, for the second opening verse of Aghoraśiva's commentary refers to another commentator of whose work he disapproved (RE 30370, f. 29r):

kaiścid vedadṛśā paraiḥ kuḷadhiyā nyāyānuvṛttyetarair
anyaiś ca svamanīṣayā malinitaṃ mohena ratnatrayam|

> tasmāt karṇavibhūṣaṇāya viduṣāṃ bhūyo pi sadvyākriyā-
> śāṇollekhanasaṃskṛtaṃ tad adhunā so 'haṃ karomy
> ujvalam||
>
> Out of delusion, some people have sullied the "Three Jewels" with the viewpoint of the Veda, others with the ideas of the Kula, others by following Nyāya, and yet others with ideas of their own. Therefore, I will now give make them bright again, polished by being turned on the lathe of true exegesis, in order that they may adorn the ears of learned men.

This suggests that Aghoraśiva knew of many attempts to interpret the text, which need not all have been literary works committed to writing, but it does imply that he may have known a written commentary, and that commentary might have been the one transmitted in the manuscript from Tiruvāvaṭuturai.

And now a final remark about text and paratext, before we leave the Kashmirian author Śrīkaṇṭha behind us, about the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* itself. Śrīkaṇṭha's root text itself begins with what one might assume to have been a paratextual *maṅgala*-verse, since it is often used in such a way to preface the copying of other Śaiva works: we find it, for instance, at the beginning of the text of the *Sarvajñānottaratantra* in IFP T. 334 and T. 760 and at the beginning of a chapter of commentary on the *Sarvajñānottara* transmitted in T. 985; at the beginning of the *Pauṣkarāgama* in IFP T. 165; at the beginning of the *Sakalāgamasārasaṅgraha* in IFP T. 199 and T. 288; at the beginning of the *Śivāgamādimāhātmyasaṅgraha* in IFP T. 372 and T. 1059; and at the beginning of the *Śivayogaratna* in IFP T. 527, T. 530 and T. 804. The verse in question reads:

> namaḥ śivāya śaktyai ca bindave śāśvatāya ca |
> gurave ca gaṇeśāya kārtikeyāya dhīmate ||

> Veneration to Śiva, to Śakti and to eternal Bindu,
> as well as to the Guru [viz. the lord Śrīkaṇṭhanātha], to
> Gaṇeśa, and to the wise Skanda.

Given that it is seen to be a common "floating" *maṅgala*-verse elsewhere, we might be tempted to assume that it has been added secondarily by some transmitter here. But it would probably be wrong to dismiss the verse as paratextual, since this verse actually belongs exactly here, to the beginning of the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, which is dedicated to an examination of precisely the first three entities that are appealed to in this *maṅgala*, namely Śiva, Śakti and Bindu, as Aghoraśiva observes in his commentary. (The very beginning of the other commentary is unfortunately not preserved, and so we cannot be certain whether this opening verse was commented upon there or not.)

Through this long discussion of the beginning and end of the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* and its commentaries, we can see that the distinguishing of text from paratext has always been potentially problematic for transmitters (including medieval commentators) of Sanskrit literature. Compounding the problem, in some cases, is the issue of narrow onomasty: two instances of the name Rāmakaṇṭha applied (probably) to two different gurus has muddled (in different ways) both the anonymous commentator and the two twentieth-century editors of Aghoraśiva's commentary. What is required, to sort through the data and see clearly, is to read it with as much background knowledge as possible: a "pure" codicological approach (if such could exist) must be allied with as much knowledge as we can gather about the relevant intellectual tradition, in this case that of the history of Śaivism.

Before we finally leave this manuscript bundle, we should mention that it ends in fact with a further unnumbered leaf on one side of which stanzas 2, 3, 5, 6 and the first half of stanza 4

of a hymn to the goddess in *vasantatilakā* metre by Nīlakaṇṭhadīkṣita, namely the *Ānandasāgarastava*. Perhaps the scribe had intended to copy all 108 stanzas of the work.

Now while the other example is a case where even all the paratextual material is in Sanskrit, from beginning to end, it is extremely common that manuscript-bundles from the Tamil-speaking South conclude with paratextual material that is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil of a spoken register. Let us consider the example of IFP RE 19028, which concludes, after giving a series of texts ending with Pañcākṣarayogin's sixteenth-century Śaiva ritual manual called the *Śaivabhūṣaṇa*, as follows (f. 212r):

> śaivabhūṣaṇam ity etac chāstraṃ śrotrarasāyanaṃ |
> dhāryyam āryyais sadā kaṇṭhaiḥ paramānandakāraṇaṃ || u[9] 190 u |
> ślokāś śatadvayenoktāś śāstre smin daśabhir vinā |
> tanmadhye nuṣṭubhāsmābhiḥ proktaṃ ślokaṃ catuṣṭayaṃ || u 191 u |
> anyonyabhūṣanaṃ hy etac chāstraṃ samyak bibharti yaḥ |
> sa eva bhūṣaṇañ cāsya tasyedaṃ bhūṣaṇaṃ tataḥ || u 192 u |
> śrotrāṇāṃ paṭhatāṃ bhadraṃ bhūyāc chambhu-prasādataḥ |
> bhuktimuktir abhīṣṭaś ca bhūyat grandhakṛto niśaṃ || u 193 u |
> hariḥ om u
>
> śaivabhūṣaṇaṃ samāptaṃ| śrī paradevatāyai namaḥ u dharmmasaṃvardhinyai namaḥ| vallīdevanāyakī-sametaśrī[ma]t gṛndhācalanivāsakārttikeyāya namaḥ u

[9] The isolated *u* here and below transcribes a punctuation that looks like an initial *u* and that may sometimes be referred to as Gaṇeśa's trunk (*piḷḷaiyār cūḻi*).

asmātgurucaraṇāravindābhyān namaḥ| dummukhi varuṣa ṃ mārkaḻimāsaṃ 13 nānteti yeḻuti muhiñcitu| subrahmaṇyan pustakaṃ| svahastalikhitaṃ|

This is an intriguing conclusion, as we shall see. The verse numbered 190 above is the 355th and final verse of the printed *Śaivabhūṣaṇa:*

> This teaching is an ornament to Śaivas (/to Śaiva literature), an elixir for the ears; good people should wear it on their necks (/hold it in their throats): it brings about supreme bliss.

But the second of these concluding verses, here numbered 191, does not feature in the edition at all, and appears to state that the text contained only 194 stanzas in total.

> Two hundred stanzas less ten have been taught in this work. In the middle [of it], I have [also] formulated four stanzas in *anuṣṭubh* metre.

The verse here numbered 192 (see above) looks as though it may be an earlier draft of the much more smoothly comprehensible verse that is numbered 354 in the edition, namely:

> etad vahati yaś śaivaḥ sa evāsya tu bhūṣaṇam
> tasyāpi bhūṣaṇaṃ hy etat tasmād anyonyabhūṣaṇam
>
> "If a Śaiva holds/wears this, he will be an ornament to it and it will be an ornament to him: therefore each will be an ornament to the other."

The verse here numbered 193 (see above) looks as though it may be paratextual:

> By Śiva's grace, may good befall those who listen to (understand: *śrotṝṇām*) or recite [this book]. May supernatural powers and liberation and whatever he desire unceasingly befall the author of the book.

It seems possible, in other words, that this manuscript transmits an earlier draft of the *Śaivabhūṣaṇa*, when it was about one hundred and sixty verses shorter, and before Pañcākṣarayogin had added the dating stanza that is numbered 353 in the edition and that dates the composition (using the *kaṭapayādi* system) to 1521 *śaka*, in other words 1598/1599 CE (see Goodall 2009: 356 fn. 9).

As for the final prose paragraph of the conclusion, that too is paratextual and obliquely implies that the manuscript was copied in or near Kaḻukumalai, in Tuticorin District, since the Skanda venerated here is said to dwell in *gṛndhācala*, which looks like a misspelling of *gṛddhrācala*,[10] the "Vulture Mountain", which may be Kaḻukumalai:

> The Śaivabhūṣaṇa is completed. Veneration to the Supreme Deity! Veneration to [the divinity] who increases Dharma! Veneration to the Kārttikeya who dwells at the Vulture Mountain with Vallī and Devanāyakī. Veneration to the lotus-feet of our guru. The writing was finished (understand: *eḻuti muṭintatu*) in Durmukhi Year, Mārkaḻi Month, 13th lunar day. The book of Subrahmaṇyan. Written by his own hand.

Note that there are hardly any Tamil words used here and that the few that appear are written with non-standard orthography (*eḷuti* for *eḻuti*) or reflecting non-standard dialectal or idiolectal usage (*muhiñcitu* for *muṭintatu*), suggesting that the scribe Subrahmaṇyan was a native speaker of Tamil but schooled to read and write primarily in Sanskrit medium.

What should we call such mixed idioms of Tamil with many borrowed Sanskrit expressions? In a Vaiṣṇava context, we

[10] The graphs for *ddha* and *ndha* are particularly easily confused in many Grantha hands.

would speak of Maṇipravāḷam, but such mixtures are typically not so called, at least in secondary literature, when the context is Śaiva. Nonetheless, perhaps Maṇipravāḷam is not inappropriate even in Śaiva contexts. Deviprasad Mishra is currently editing a probably seventeenth-century ritual manual called the *Śambhupuṣpāñjali* by a certain Saundaranātha, who mentions (*Śambhupuṣpāñjali* 1.76) that he has earlier written a Śaiva ritual manual in Maṇipravāḷam. And we further note that IFP RE 10851 transmits a commentary on the *Śivajñānabodha* that is twice mentioned to be in Maṇipravāḷam: a marginal note on a f. 1r (f. 239r according to the more recent numbering in Arabic numerals in red ink in the right-hand margin) reads *śivajñānabodhakam pada urai maṇipravāḷam* and, at the end of this commentary f. 18r (f. 249r according to the more recent numbering in Arabic numerals in red ink in the right-hand margin) we read:

> śivajñānabodhakam pada urai maṇippiṟavāḷam muṭintatu vedāraṇyaṃ mūṇān teru ce a kaṇapati ppaṭṭārakar svahastalikhitaṃ samāptaḥ saumiya varuḻam āṉi mātam 5m tikati
>
> [Thus] concludes the commentary on the words of the *Śivajñānabodha* in Maṇipravāḷam. Ce. A. Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭāraka of 3rd Street in Vedāraṇya, written by his own hand. Completed. Year: Saumya. Month: Āṉi. 5th day.

Also of potential importance to the textual critic are occasional asides to the reader about problems of copying. Since Grantha-script manuscripts engraved in the surface of palm-leaves tend to have little interlinear space margins, which are not only rather small, but which also tend to wear away, there is much less of a tendency to add marginal comments or remarks, or to squeeze between the lines or into the margins passages of texts that were mistakenly omitted or that the scribe wishes to add for other reasons. This means that such things must be

written out separately. In IFP RE 47667, for instance, a manuscript transmitting the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, there is an extra folio inserted between ff. 88 and 89 that explains in Tamil that a portion of text (which turns out to be *Mataṅga-pārameśvara vidyāpāda* 24.23ff) was inadvertently omitted and then gives the Sanskrit text of the omission in question. The explanatory note about the omission reads as follows:

> eṇpatteṭṭām ēṭṭil muṟpakkattil eṭṭām variyil piḻai viḻuntatu
> anta ēṭṭil piṟpakkattil eṭṭām vari mutal eṇpattoṉpatām ēṭṭil muṟpakkattil antam (aintām) vari pariyantam eḻuti irukkutu appāl kuṟai viḻuntatu inta ēṭṭil eḻutiy irukkutu||
>
> On the recto of the 88th leaf, in the eighth line, a mistake occurred. It is written starting from the eighth line on the verso of that leaf, ending in the fifth line of the recto of the 89th leaf. After that there is a shortfall. It [viz. the omitted portion] has been written on this (inserted) leaf.

Up until this point, we have been examining Sanskrit material or, in the last cases, Sanskrit material with some paratextual material in Tamil, particularly in colophons. Let us turn now to the colophonic material in a manuscript transmitting a Śaiva work in Tamil.

The palm-leaf bundle RE 4197, to which is tied a white card label that bears the title *Tiruvācakam*, written both in Roman transliteration and in Tamil, furnishes an example of a type of colophon that is common in South Indian manuscripts (f. 202v):

> tirucciṟṟampalam u kuruvaṭi vāḻka velumayilun tuṇai veḷḷaivāraṇappuḷḷaiyār tuṇai vikāri varuṣam puraṭṭāci mātam 30 tēti comavāram puṟuvapaṭcam cattami titiyum mūlānaṭcattiramuṅ kūṭiya cupatiṉattil tiruvācakam eḻuti niṟaintutu[11] mīnāṭcicuntaram||

[11] The standard form would be *niṟaintatu*.

> Tirucciṟṟampalam![12] May the feet of the guru thrive! May spear and peacock be protection! May Veḷḷivāraṇap piḷḷaiyār protect![13] [This text called the] *Tiruvācakam* has been completely written out on the auspicious day accompanied by the asterism Mūla, which is Monday, the seventh day of the bright fortnight, the 30th day of the month Puraṭṭāci, in the year [that in the Jovian 60-year cycle is called] Vikāri. Mīnākṣīsundaram.[14]

In passing, we may note that this is written in Tamil with standard orthography, even if almost every word involving the date is a *tatsama* or *tadbhava* word from Sanskrit: *vikāri*, *varṣa*, *proṣṭhapada*, *māsa*, *tithi*, *somavāra*, *pūrvapakṣa*, *saptamī*, *tithi*, *mūlanakṣatra*, *śubhadina*. From the details given above, we can determine, with the help of L. D. Swamikannu Piḷḷai's *Indian Ephemeris*, that the manuscript was completed on 14th October 1839. In many similar cases, we can identify the exact date of the Gregorian calendar with the dating information given by scribes. But it is quite often the case that only one or two pieces of relevant information are furnished, such as, for example, the name of the year in the 60-year Jovian cycle, which is not enough to pin down an exact date. Thus, alas, most South Indian manuscripts cannot be dated with certainty, even when they proclaim dates.

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[12] This name of the Śaiva shrine in the town now known as Chidambaram is used as an invocatory expression before reciting Śaiva hymns or writing down Śaiva documents, or in similar contexts.

[13] This theonym, which could be translated as "Silver/White Elephant Gaṇeśa", is used of the god of the Vināyaka shrine in the Mūlanātha Śiva temple of Pūvalūr (near Lalgudi), but it may occur elsewhere in Tamil Nadu, where the similar theonym Veḷḷai-Vināyaka is common (e.g. in Tiruvalañcuḻi, where he is also known as *śvetavināyaka*).

[14] This could be a pious exclamation, like Tirucciṟṟampalam above, since it is a combination of the names of the Goddess and her spouse Śiva in the principal temple in Madurai, or it could be an anthroponym, and so the name of the scribe or of the owner of the palm-leaf book.

An example is furnished by RE 20062, which transmits the *Śaivabhūṣaṇa* and *Siddhāntasārāvalī*. Paratextual material may be found on the recto of an unnumbered folio (RE20062-046.jpg in the IFP photos) that follows the blank but numbered f. 22, beginning first with a verse that asks for the forgiveness of scholars for copying mistakes and then mentions the date. The verse requesting scholars' indulgence is one of several such floating scribal verses that have been gathered together and discussed by K. V. Sarma (1992) in his useful short article on 'Scribes in Indian Tradition'.

bindudarllipivasargaṃvīdhikāśriṃgapaṅktipadabheda-
dūṣaṇam|
hastavegajam abu+ddhi+pūrvakam kṣantum arhatha
samīkṣyā sajjanāḥ|

tāruṇābde kuṃbhamāse induvāsare kharkṣe (?)
śaivabhūṣaṇa – siddhāntasārāvalikṛtau svayaṃ likhitaṃ
aḷakiyasundareśvaranāmakena
dakṣiṇāmūrtibhaṭṭasūnunā etaṃ granthaṃ samīkṣyāśu
kṣantum arhanti sādhavaḥ||

The first half of the stanza asking scholars for their forgiveness for copying mistakes is itself so full of mistakes that it is worth quoting in a corrected form before translating it: *bindudurlipivisargavīthikāśṛṅgapaṅktipadabhedadūṣaṇam*. We may understand the verse as follows:

> Good people, after examination, you should forgive the faults (°*dūṣaṇam*) caused by the haste of the hand, [or] that result from ignorance, relating to *anusvāra*s, poor lettering, *visarga*s, margins/interlinear spacing (°*vīthikā*°),[15] marks for the vowels e, ai, o, and au (°*śṛṅga*°),[16] lineation and word-splits.

[15] When K. V. Sarma cites this verse from a Tanjore manuscript (1992: 34), he reads °*vīcikā*° at this point, which he glosses with "lines". Perhaps he is thinking of the nearly continuous upper line from which letters may

Translating the rest is not so easy, since it seems not syntactically coherent, but what seems to be intended was a statement to the effect that two texts, the *Śaivabhūṣaṇa* and the *Siddhāntasārāvali*, were copied by Aḷakiyasundareśvara, son of Dakṣiṇāmūrtibhaṭṭa, on a Monday in the month of Kumbha in a year called Tāruṇa, which would more normally be called Tāraṇa.

Here the date comes with no corroborative astrological detail, and so could be identified as 1824/1825 or 1884/85 or as 1944/45. As for the scribe's name, Aḷakiyasundareśvara, it suggests his parents' devotion, and therefore perhaps also proximity, to Madurai, since it is one of the various ways in which the principal Śiva of Madurai is named. This is however, in this instance, not conclusive, since Sundareśvara is a deity of transregional significance. Clearer cases where theonymy points to provenance can be cited: see, for example, IFP RE 47637, which includes this formula of obeisance on f. 208v: *abhirāmavallīsahita amṛtaghaṭeśvarāya namaḥ*. As remarked by Goodall in his description of the manuscript (1998: xcv, quoting T. Ganesan), this suggests that the manuscript in question might be from Tirukkaṭaiyūr or its vicinity, where there is a temple of Amṛtaghaṭeśvara and his consort Abhirāmavallī. Another such example is IFP RE 45946, which contains a formula of obeisance to Pañcanadīśa, the deity of

seem to hang in Northern scripts such as Devanāgarī. RE 20062's °*vīdhikā*°, however, appears to be a mistake, influenced by Tamil phonology, for °*vīthikā*°, which seems more likely to refer to avenues of free space, such as roads or channels: cf., e.g., the use of *vīthī* in the descriptions of *maṇḍala*s (see Brunner 1986 and her diagram on p. 23).

[16] K. V. Sarma's rendering of *śṛṅga* is "head-marks" (1992: 34), which is effectively the same thing if one is describing a Northern script that doesn't use *pṛṣṭhamātra* vowel-notation. But *śṛṅga* calls to mind the expression *kompu* ("horn", "branch", etc.), used in Tamil (and, *mutatis mutandis*, in other Southern languages) to refer to the curlicue that is part of the vowel-marker for medial or final *e*, *ē*, *ai*, *o*, *ō* and *au* and that is placed before the consonant to which the vowel in question is attached (see *Tamil Lexicon*, s.v. *kompu*, meaning 9).

Tiruvaiyāṟu (see the description of the manuscript in Sathyanarayanan and Goodall 2015: 58).

Generally speaking, Grantha-script palm-leaf manuscripts are not easy to skim through, as a modern reader might with a printed book: there is no word-separation, no paragraphing a very limited range of punctuation, and even when a given bundle contains many works, or a long work of many chapters, there tends to be no mode of indicating the changes in chapter or text — no gaps, no rubrication, no underlining. The text continues on and on to the end in plain *scriptio continua*, and if one loses one's place, one may waste a long time finding it again. Some manuscripts, however, use a few contrivances to help readers to orient themselves more easily. In the left-hand margin of the recto, for instance, we typically find not only folio-numbering, but also titles of chapters or works that begin on the folio in question. Another helpful device is the inclusion of a table of contents, which we find for instance in IFP RE 10843, a manuscript transmitting the *Pauṣkarapārameśvara* in Sanskrit with Tamil glosses. The recto of the first leaf on which there is writing in this bundle begins with the following tabular presentation of the contents:

prathamapaṭalam grantham 95 1/2
dvitīyapaṭalam grantham 65
tṛtīyapaṭalam grantham 64 1/2
caturthapaṭalam grantham 170
pañcamapaṭalam grantham 93
ṣaṣṭhapaṭalam grantham 354 1/2
saptapaṭalam granthan 89 1/2
aṣṭamapaṭalam grantham 45
āka paṭalam 8 i^{taṟku} kūṭiya grantham = 975

Note, however, that the numbers are not page-numbers! Instead, they indicate the number of *granthas*, thirty-two-syllable units (in this case *anuṣṭubh* verses), that each chapter contains. The last line totals up the *paṭalas* to 8 and the *granthas* to 975.

Another orientation device used by the same scribe is to quote the opening word or syllable of each verse in the left-hand margin at the point where the Tamil commentary on it begins.[17]

A similar convention is used by the scribe of another manuscript that transmits the *Pauṣkarapārameśvara*, IFP RE 10838, for he gives (from f. 26 onwards) the first syllable of each verse in the left-hand margin, in each case roughly aligned with the beginning of the verse in question.

We have concentrated above on paratextual material that in some way helps to read the texts that are transmitted, not on extraneous material that just happens to be bound up with the texts. In fact there is plenty of that too! We may mention in passing, for instance, that RE 10852, transmitting the *Mūvar Tēvāram*, includes an unnumbered leaf at the beginning that gives the day and date of a marriage and details the gifts of sarees to different people and the costs of the sarees in rupees! Another manuscript, RE 20049, which transmits the *Sakalāgamasaṃgraha*, includes (on four sides of a series of freshly numbered folios after f. 177) a long declarative formula in Sanskrit that announces the intention to perform a ritual (*saṅkalpa*) on a date that can be identified as 3rd April 1927. Presumably, the ritualist was anxious about stumbling over his lines!

Conclusion

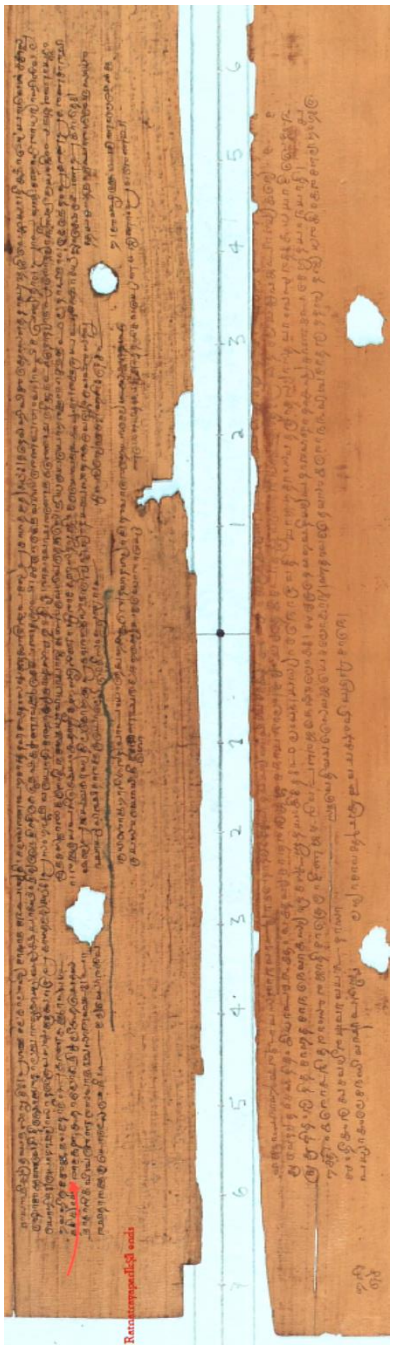
With the above sampling of paratextual materials from palm-leaf manuscripts produced in the Tamil-speaking South, we have illustrated a few common phenomena about which it is useful to be aware when using such sources, whether as a textual critic or a historian of literature. First of all, we have shown at some length that it is easy to become confused by multiple levels of authorship in introductory and concluding

[17] See picture 2 (IFP MS RE 10843) in the Appendix.

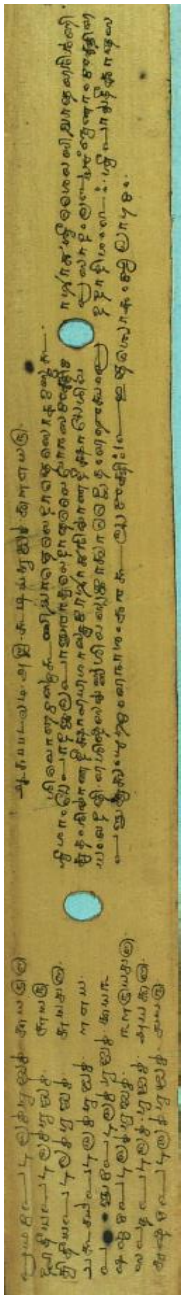
colophonic statements, particularly in the case of texts transmitted with commentaries (and of course sub-commentaries) and further interspersed with scribal observations. Amongst our examples are illustrations of the following sorts of paratextual remarks that are typical of the Tamil-speaking region:

- dating formulae, often involving a year identified with a name of the sixty-year Jovian cycle, which can thus only be converted into dates of the Gregorian calendar when further corroborative astronomical information is also mentioned;
- formulae of obeisance to deities, sometimes to the deities of particular localisable temples, which can thus serve to suggest or identify the provenance of the scribe, and thus often the manuscript;
- formulae requesting the indulgence of learned readers when they encounter copying mistakes, which typically take the form of floating scribal verses, many of which have been documented by K. V. Sarma (1992);
- formulations that are in a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil. Unsurprisingly, it is noticeable in this connection (although our examples do not show this conclusively, for one would need many samples for a clear demonstration) that the paratextual statements in Tamil that accompany Sanskrit works are often composed in a register of Tamil that is both colloquial and highly Sanskritised. This suggests that, as one would expect, some copyists of Sanskrit texts were better educated and more literate in Sanskrit than in a literary register of their mother-tongue.
- The occasional use of orientation-aids such as contents-lists and incipits indicated in left-hand margins.

Appendix



picture 1: IFP MS RE 30370 f. 43v



picture 2: IFP MS RE 10843, The recto of the first leaf

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Socio-pragmatics on the Page
Discursive Strategies and Packaging of Christian Books (16th-19th century) in Tamil*

Cristina Muru (University of Tuscia)

Abstract

Following Genette (1997), this article offers an insight into the paratexts found in fifty-five missionary documents (the *corpus*) in and about the Tamil language composed between the 16th and 19th centuries by missionaries belonging to different orders, mainly the Jesuits and the Protestants. Paratexts have been differentiated into discursive and visual ones, and have been analysed within a socio-pragmatic framework (Jucker 1995) highlighting the discursive and non-discursive strategies adopted by writers in speech act theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969) highlighting how the relationship between the writer/utterer and the reader/hearer was negotiated throughout the centuries and how it changed in the passage from the manuscript to the printed book. The distribution of paratexts and their frequency of occurrence within the corpus have also been examined. The aim is to understand, throughout the analysis of paratexts, whether it is possible to enhance, within the Western descriptors who were engaged in the same mutual activity such as the description of a new language like Tamil and the codification of Christianity through its linguistic structures, a community of practice, or rather a discourse community (Carroll at al. 2003) regardless of the religious order to which missionaries belonged to.

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1. The study of paratexts in Christian religious manuscripts

In Genette's (1997) formulation, which has been so far usually applied to printed books, paratexts are defined as reinforcements that influence the main text. Recent studies have also applied the notion of paratexts to the study of manuscripts. Such an application has found place, for example, in the project carried out by Eva Wilden (NETamil), which deals with the preservation and transmission of old Tamil manuscripts mainly in the form of palm leaves where paratexts have been considered as very useful elements for the reconstruction of the transmission history and the history of manuscripts (Wilden 2014). Indeed, a text, as a physical object, is also intended for circulating and paratexts may become the proof of the journey that a text has made. Therefore, paratexts become extremely important, above all among the undated texts, as it has been demonstrated in Ancel (2016), Ciotti/Franceschini (2016), and Ciotti/Lin (2016). Furthermore, other studies such as Watts (1990; 1995), Carroll et al. (2003, 2013), Peikola (2008; 2015), Jacobs & Jucker (1995), have focused on the study of paratexts within a pragmatic framework. Therefore, the analysis of paratexts has been relevant for understanding in which way discursive communities were formed throughout the production of written texts and how the relationship between writer and reader was established.

In this study, I follow Jacobs & Jucker's (1995: 9) approach and I consider paratexts, which are found in Christian religious texts composed in Tamil or about Tamil by missionaries belonging to different orders over a span of four centuries (16th-19th) (Cf. § 2), as amenable to pragmatic analysis. The Christian texts analysed are represented both by manuscripts and printed books since the passage from the first kind to the

second one influenced the way in which the informative structure about the book was packaged.

Thus, starting from the assumption that both oral and written communications are not mere tools for transmitting a message, but rather represent the medium through which speakers/writers 'do things' (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), such as achieving goals, marking identity, claiming intentions, I analyse paratexts within a socio-pragmatic framework highlighting the discursive and non-discursive strategies adopted by writers – that are representative of utterers – in speech act theory, in order to allow their texts to be received or to function in a certain way by the audience – that is representative of the hearer.

In this essay, starting from the taxonomy provided by Genette (1997) for printed books, I classify paratexts (Cf. § 3) found in the missionaries' documents which are described in § 2, where they are presented as forming a *corpus*. Hence, I analyse them within a socio-pragmatic framework (Cf. § 4) while in the concluding remarks (Cf. § 5), I observe the frequency of occurrence of paratexts within the *corpus.* Therefore, I discuss the identified paratexts (*visual* and *discursive*, Cf. § 3) discussing how they influenced the way in which the reader/hearer received the texts. As such, paratexts are considered as representative of the communicative strategies made by writers/utterers through which they negotiated their relationship with the reader/hearer.

The aim is to exhibit, through a socio-pragmatic analysis of paratexts, whether it is possible to enhance, within the Western language descriptors in India, a community of practice, or rather a discourse community[1] regardless of the religious order to which missionaries belonged to.

[1] As Carroll at al. (2003: 4) state "The terms communities of practice and discourse communities, as well as writing communities, are overlapping,

2. Corpus

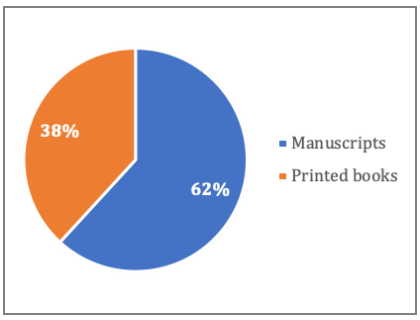
The *corpus* under investigation comprises a total of 55 documents, both manuscripts and printed books (Cf. Graphic 1). They are representative of different typologies of texts (Tamil grammars, dictionaries, and religious books, Cf. Graphics 2) composed by missionaries who belonged to various orders and professed the Gospel in South India between the 16th and 19th centuries. The following chart lists the identified authors and their religious order of reference:

Chart 1: List of authors and their religious order

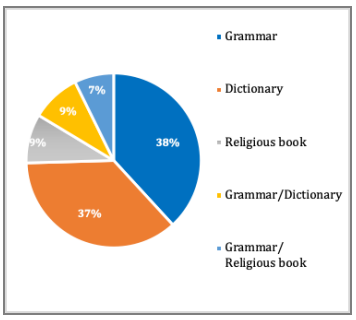
List of authors in chronological order	Religious order
Henrique Henriques (1520-1600)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
Gaspar De Aguilar (1548-nd)	Roman Catholic – Jesuit
Balthasar Da Costa (ca. 1610-1673)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
Antão de Proença (1625-1666)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
Philippus Baldaeus (1632-1671)	Protestant – Calvinist, Dutch Reformed Church
Jacome Gonçalves (1676-1742)	Roman Catholic – Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri
Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733)	Roman Catholic – Carmelite
Domingo de Madeyra (1685-175?)	Roman Catholic – Jesuit
Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719)	Protestant – Lutheran, Pietist
Dominique de Valence (1696-1778)	Roman Catholic - Capuchin
P. de La Lane (?)	-
Balthazar Esteves da Cruz (ca. 18th c.)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
Onorato da Udine (ca. 18th c.)	Roman Catholic - Capuchin
Christophoro Theodosio Walther (1699-1741)	Protestant
Johann Philipp Fabricius (1711-1791)	Protestant - Lutheran
Paulo Francisco de Noronha (1780-1848)	Roman Catholic – Carmelite
Johann Christian Breithaupt (†1782)	-
Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius (1790-1838)	Protestant – Church Mission Society, Anglican
Robert Caldwell (1814-1891)	Protestant – London Missionary Society
George Unglow Pope (1820-1908)	Protestant – Anglican

as are disciplinary discourses and writing practices." In this essay, I prefer to use 'discourse community,' rather than 'community of practice' as I did in Muru (2016), because I focus here specifically on discourse analysis, applying the theory of speech acts.

The texts they produced, which I consider here as forming a *corpus,* were intended as tools for the acquisition of vernacular languages as well as for the spread of the Christian religion in India. They are represented by different kinds of 'linguistic tools' both manuscripts and printed books, whose composition is highlighted in the following two graphics:

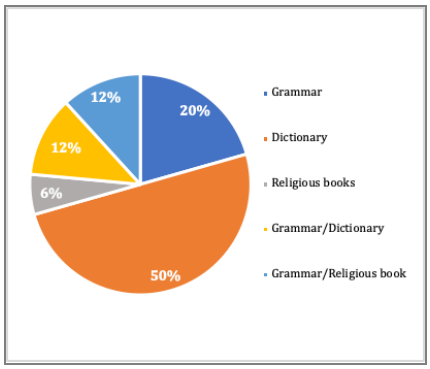


Graphic 1: Manuscript and printed books

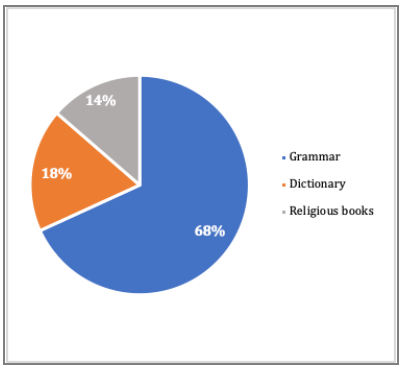


Graphic 2: Typology of texts in the *corpus*

As per the typology of texts, it slightly differs between manuscripts and printed books as shown in graphics 3a and 3b:



Graphic 3a. Manuscripts



Graphic 3b. Printed books

Forty-one of the documents analysed have been collected in various European and Indian Archives, in two different periods

– between 2007 and 2009 and between 2016 and 2017; the remaining fourteen documents are available online.[2]

The metalanguages used in the *corpus* are English, French, Italian, Latin, Portuguese, and Tamil. Due to the fact that the earlier descriptors of the Tamil language were Portuguese Jesuit missionaries, the Portuguese language is the most used metalanguage in manuscripts.[3] It is followed by Latin, English, and French. The European languages are used for the composition of grammars and dictionaries, while Tamil is mainly used for composing religious books and, of course, dictionaries. However, only documents written in Latin present one metalanguage along with Tamil used for the representation of the described forms, while all the other manuscripts or printed books present different metalanguages, even though one metalanguage always covers the most substantial proportion of the book. For example, in manuscripts where Portuguese is the predominant metalanguage, some glosses and functional words are also written in Latin.

All the details about the *corpus*, such as information about the metalanguage used, the library or the web-page where the document was found, and, if available, the author, the name of the copyist, and the year of composition, are provided in the final Appendix 1, in which manuscripts and printed books are

[2] The main online sources have been: the digitized manuscripts of the Vatican Library, the Munich DigitiZation Center, Gallica of the National Library of France, and Google books. The research on manuscripts of the National Library of France (*Bibliothèque national de France*, BnF) of which this paper is the result was (partly) conducted in the framework of the project Texts Surrounding Texts (TST, ANR & DFG).

[3] The Portuguese language played the important role of *lingua franca* in India, above all along the Indian coasts and in Ceylon, both in the commercial and the religious domains. This was the main reason for which non-Portuguese merchants and missionaries used to learn it. For further details about this topic, refers to Muru (2018) and the bibliographical references available there.

grouped into five different charts based on their typologies. Thus, chart a.1 lists *grammars* (hereafter G); chart a.2 lists *dictionaries* (bilingual or trilingual, hereafter D); chart a.3 lists *religious books* like Catechisms and Manual for Confessions (hereafter RB); the remaining charts list composite manuscripts. Therefore, chart a.4 provides *grammars and dictionaries* (hereafter G/D) and chart a.5 lists *grammars and religious books* (hereafter G/RB).

3. Analysis and classification of paratexts in Christian manuscripts and printed books

Prior to the analyses of some of the recurring paratexts within Christian manuscripts given in the succeeding paragraphs, I have differentiated them following Genette's (1997) paratexts taxonomy given for printed books. Thus, the first relevant distinction is between *peritext* and *epitext*. However, in this essay, the focus is on *peritexts* which are useful to understand how readers/hearers experienced the Christian missionaries' texts. For this reason, I compare them so as to highlight how much, what kind, and for what purpose paratexts are used and how they changed throughout the time, also highlighting the differences between manuscripts and printed books with the aim to figure out if, within the religious community, both Catholic and Protestant, it is possible to identify significant differences.

It is promising to envisage a typology of the paratexts recurring in religious documents produced between the 16th and 19th centuries within the following terms:

a. *substance paratexts*
    1. *of first level*
    2. *of second level*
        i. *discursive*
        ii. *visual*

considering also:

b. *spatiality and temporality of paratexts*
c. *functionality and pragmatics of paratexts*

With reference to the first type (a), it is relevant to observe what kind of 'substance' they represent, as well as how the 'substance' is represented, if in a *discursive* (i) or *visual* (ii) way. Thus, it is significant to distinguish between those which are directly connected to the main text and those that were added later at a second stage by someone different from the main producer of the texts. The former is considered as *substance* paratexts *of first level* (a.1), the latter as *substance* paratexts *of second level* (a.2). *Spatiality* and *temporality* of paratexts (b) suggest information about the history of the manuscript or of the book, not only when and where it was produced for the first time, but also when and eventually where it was moved and thus transferred for becoming part of a different network of knowledge. Finally, the *functionality* and *pragmatics* of paratexts (c) are demonstrative of the communicative instances of author/producer of the text toward the addressee, thus the audience. They are represented by different kinds of paratexts each one absolving a different pragmatic function which are discussed below (Cf. § 3.3).

3.1. *Substance* paratexts *of first* and *second levels*

Firstly, *peritexts* are representative of a specific 'substance'. As such they may appear as *discursive,* thus represented by words, phrase, and sentences, or they can be *visual*, thus represented by drawings, or paraphs, or similar to illuminated letters[4] (Cf. § 4.3). Each one may be part of the main text and

[4] I define in this way those elements which are similar to 'illuminated letters' of Medieval manuscripts. They do not have any pigment, but like illuminated letters, these elements may appear as decorated with drawings and usually occupy different lines of the main text.

thus be *of first level* or they may be represented by later additions. As such, they are *of second level*. Hence, the primary label for the taxonomy of paratexts is *substance* paratexts *of first level*, such as the title page, preface, dedication, table of contents, colophons, and *substance* paratexts *of second level*, such as marginal notes and seals. The following example will clarify this notion.

Figure 1 below is the reproduction of the protective leaf and the title page of the copy of the French-Tamil dictionary and grammar written by the Capuchin Dominique (de Valence 1696-1778), 1743.[5] It shows *substance* paratexts *of the first level*, like the printed title page (1a), while *substance* paratexts *of the second level* appear in the protective leaf of the handwritten grammar/dictionary (2a, b). Those *of first level* give the anecdotal information about *whom*, *when,* and *where* the manuscript was composed/finished. While, those *of second level* tell us *from whom* and *to whom* the book was passed on, *when*, and *where*. They occur as marginal annotations on the protective leaf of the manuscript penned in a different hand from that which wrote down the main text (Cf. Fig. 1, sections 2a, b) or they may be represented by seals (2c) defining the ownership of the text. Further examples are provided in Appendix 2, section 1.

[5] James (2000: 123) states that this authorship has been contested by "Xavier Raj (1996: 133) [who] basing his argument on the fact that a Copenhagen copy of the same manuscript dates 1734", he made a case for the misattribution of this dictionary to de Valence, who could have not learnt the languages yet, since he only reached Pondicherry in 1731. However, James (*ibid*.) also states that "'1734' in the Copenhagen manuscript may be a *lapsus calami* for 1743 (They MDCCXLIII)".

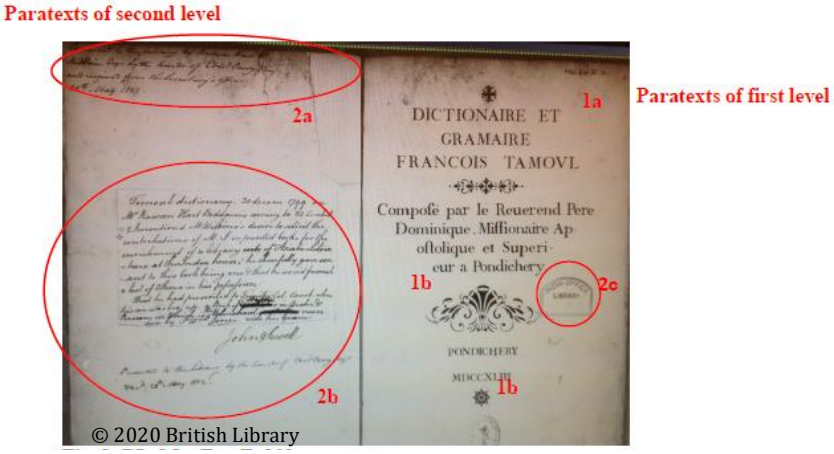


Fig. 1. BL_MS Eur.E. 121

The penned annotations in different hands on the protective leaf of BL_MS Eur.E.121 (Cf. Fig. 1: 2a, 2b),[6] added at a second stage and not directly connected with (or part of) the main text, are liminal elements which are essential for the understanding of the trajectory/transmission of the manuscript. They inform us about the origin of the manuscript, its previous owner, its provenance, as well as its destination. For example, they tell us about the fact that Rawson Hart Boddam (1734 – 20 May 1812, Bath), the former Governor of the Bombay Presidency during the rule of the East India Company in British India from 1784–1788, had brought the book to M. Wilkins (probably Charles Wilkins 174 ?–1836) in order to enrich the library of Asiatic Literature in 1799; that

[6] Annotation 2a: *Timoul dictionary. 30 Decem 1799 on Mr Rawson Hart Boddam's coming to 32 Cornhill I mentioned M Wilkins's desire to solicit the contributions of manuscripts or printed books for the enrichment of a library of Asiatic Literature at the India house, he carefully [sic] gave consent to this book is one & that he wou'd furnish a list of Others in his possession. That he had presented it to Trinity College where his son was bro. Up a Book of [sic] in Arabic et Persian in which is Mohmahand [sic] never seen by Sir W[m] Jones vide his Gram. Signed by: John Sewell.*
Annotation 2b: *1. presented to the library by Rawson Hart [sic] by the hand of (Edward Parry) and received from the Secretary's office 28th May 1802; 2. presented to the Library by the hands of (Edward) Parry [sic] 28th May 1802.*

the book was also seen by Sir William Jones (maybe the Anglo-Welsh philologist, 1746-1794); that the book passed through the hands of Edward Parry, one of the directors of the East Indian Company, who presented it to the library in 1802; that John Swell, a member of the Religious Society of Friends (commonly known as the Quakers), a movement born in England in the 17th c., certify these passages. The correspondence of nouns with the characters listed must be further confirmed. However, if I am correct, this paratext is evidence of the importance that these kinds of elements have for the reconstruction of the circulation of books and, as a consequence, for understanding its history and how a sharing of knowledge occurred among the different religious orders and possibly how new ideas developed. Indeed, they are evidence of the fact that a text produced for being used within a Roman Catholic community also circulated among Protestant missionaries and Civil Servants working for the East Indian Company.

The *substance* paratexts *of the second level* can also be proof of a donation,[7] proof of transmission, and thus of relocation (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 2, 4, 5), or evidence of ownership which is not always straightforward understandable and unique, since different individuals,[8] in different places, may have possessed the same text over the time.[9] Being evidence of transfers and thus of the relocations of the manuscripts, one

[7] One example is found in manuscript KSCLG_MS13 (ex 12): *oferecido a Bibliotheca Nacional Nova Goa pela Dª Joaquin Mariana de S(an)ta Anna [Fegamosto] de Loululim para indicação e indermedio de [sic]. Goa 6/11/902* [offered to the National Library of New Goa by MS Joaquim Mariana from St Anne [Fegamosto?] on the suggestion and mediation of [sic], Goa, 6th/11/1902]. (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 1).

[8] One example is found in manuscript BLO_Vet.Tam.f.Or.1 (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 3).

[9] The ownership is not exclusive to individuals. In that case not only *discursive*, but also *visual substance* paratexts *of second level* can be found as exemplified by Fig. 6 (a-f) in Appendix 2 (section 1.b).

should wonder, as pointed out by Ancel (2016: 270), if "the use that was made of manuscripts – in other words, their function – may have changed while they travelled from place to place, variously fulfilling the needs of different individuals and institutions".

Among the 55 documents analysed, paratexts of second level are found in 21 documents revealing the circulation throughout the centuries that missionaries' texts had within the religious community as a whole.

3.1.1 *Discursive* and *visual substance* paratexts

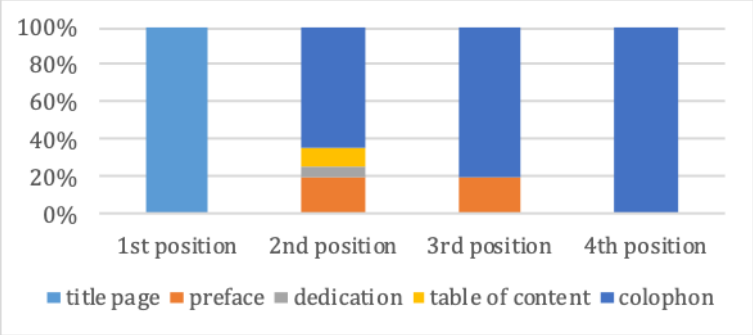
Figure 1 above shows that also *substance* paratexts *of the first level* may be of two kinds: *discursive* (1a) and *visual* (1b) (see §§ 4.1-4.4 and Appendix 2, sections 2a, b and section 3). I have defined as *discursive* substance paratexts the title, the prefatory texts like 'address to the reader', 'dedication', and also the final or initial colophons. While paraphs, images similar to illuminated letters, drawings/decorations; size/colour of the title page, size/colour of font, seals and symbols represent *visual substance* paratexts.[10] Hence, *visual* paratexts are identified by all those elements which can be caught at first sight. As already stated by Machan (2011), it is entirely legitimate to talk about *visual pragmatics* since "readers experience books as physical objects which provide visual encounters as well as linguistic contents. The appearance of the page is integral to the readers' construal of

[10] The material support used for producing the text can also be considered as a *visual* paratext. One has to specify here that missionaries not only used paper, but also local materials like palm leaves. The only palm leaves I have been able to see so far are representative of specific kinds of documents, e.g. religious books. Thus, in the palm leaves kept in the VL, one finds the *Flos Sanctorum* written in Tamil by Henrique Henriques (ca. 1520-1600), while in those held in the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam, one finds *prayers* written in Tamil and translated into Portuguese (Cf. Muru 2019). However, these documents were not accessible when I was writing this article, and therefore I have not included them in my *corpus*.

meaning." (Carroll et al. 2013: 55). Consequently, *visual paratexts* can be considered as communicative strategies, too. Their presence or absence determines a different perception of the text by the reader/hearer, a different intention by the writer/utterer. They are also representative of the ideology behind the text. In order to understand how these *visual* paratexts encode this pragmatic strength, I will discuss different *visual* elements: the title page, drawings, initial letters, and paraphs, etc. in §§ 4.1 and 4.3 while in the concluding remarks I offer an analysis of the occurrence of these kinds of paratexts within the whole *corpus* (Cf. histogram 14 in § 5).

3.2 *Spatiality* and *temporality* of paratexts

For each *substance* paratext of the *first* and the *second level*, either *discursive* or *visual*, I have observed the space occupied with respect to the main text.[11] I have also observed the *temporality* of paratexts, which means that I have pointed out how the same paratext changed throughout the time, mainly in the passage from the manuscript to the printed text of the same document.



Histogram 1. *Spatiality* of *discursive substance* paratexts in manuscripts

[11] Since the *substance* paratexts *of second level* are mainly found on protective leaves as already highlighted in paragraph 3.1, they are not discussed further here.

As expected, the title page is always found in the first position both in manuscripts and printed books and it may be only preceded by *second level* paratexts which are temporally later in comparison to the main text.[12]

Regarding the other paratexts, it seems possible to delineate some absolute tendencies for manuscripts:

1) the colophon always occupies the last position after the main text, thus corresponding to the second portion, unless there are sections like appendices or addenda. Therefore, it can be in the third position, if there is a preface,[13] or in the fourth, if the dedication comes first and the preface follows it.[14]

2) If there is a dedication,[15] there is also a preface. However, the opposite is not true.

3) If there is a dedication, it precedes the preface and it is followed by the table of contents.

4) If there is a table of contents/index, this will be preceded by both a dedication and a preface.

Thus, prefaces occupy both the second or third positions and this is directly dependent on the presence/absence of a dedication. However, it is also true that the presence of an element does not imply the presence of any other. The

[12] One has to stress that the title page is not found in sixteen manuscripts, indeed it is found only in eighteen manuscripts of the total thirty-four, while the title page is always present in printed books (twenty-one items). Furthermore, among the whole *corpus,* only seven documents do not show any kind of paratexts, while the remaining ones have at least one *discursive* paratexts, i.e. thirteen documents have table of contents; thirty-nine documents have a title page; twenty-seven documents have a preface; six documents have a dedication; thirty-six documents have a colophon; while thirty-nine documents also have *visual* paratexts.

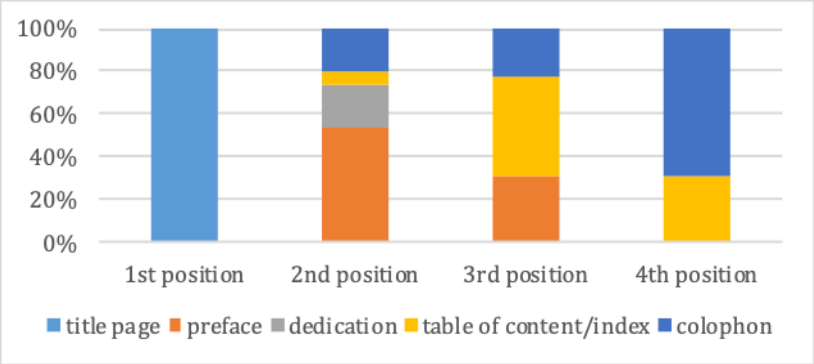
[13] This is the case in four manuscripts of the *corpus.*

[14] This is the case in one manuscript.

[15] The *Dedication* becomes an established pattern after c. 1550, although there is a rapid decline after the 1590s (Enenkel 2008).

placement of a dedication before a preface highlights that it was more important to state the authority for whom the book was intended, since this would automatically encode a status for the manuscript because the addition of an authority stressed the importance of the book itself. As Enenkel (2008: 39) states the dedication is usually addressed to the patron and it locates the text "in the system of the social and political hierarchy, thus in a system of power". The preface, written for the reader/hearer, had the aim of explaining or justifying the existence of the book, why it was written, and of declaring the author's intents. Both these paratexts suggest that the text was intended for a wider audience. Indeed, they are rarely found in earlier manuscripts except when the manuscript was intended or imagined as being addressed to a broader audience as they were the texts composed by the earliest Roman Catholic missionaries like Antão de Proença (1625-1666), Giuseppe Costantino Beschi (1680-1747), and Domingo de Madeyra (1680-175?) (Cf. Appendix 1).

Concerning printed books, the situation is slightly different as the following histogram shows.



Histogram 2. *Spatiality* of *discursive substance* paratexts in printed books

A more recurrent paratext is the 'table of contents/index'. This may be placed before or after the main text. If it comes before, it occupies the second position after the title only if

both dedication and preface are lacking. Otherwise (and most frequently), it occurs in the third position after the preface. Less frequently it can be found in the final position after the colophon.

Colophons are usually placed after the main text occupying the fourth position, less frequently the third position and, only in early printed books (16th c.) colophons are placed after the title page in the second position and before the main text, respectively in *Confessionairo* (1580) and *Docthrina Christam* (1579), both written by the Jesuit Henrique Henriques (c. 1520-1600). Whenever there is a dedication which is representative of the status of the book in the community of the reader/hearer, the address to the reader/preface is placed in the third position. However, one should notice that dedication is not very common, although it is more frequent in printed books than in manuscripts. On the contrary, prefatory texts, like the address to the reader or the preface are found more frequently. These kinds of prefatory material reveal the intention of the author to create consensus within the community and make his book accepted (Cf. Muru, in preparation). Indeed, it is through these paratexts that the reader/hearer receives the main text, deciding whether to carry on with it. As shown in histograms 1 and 2, their presence increased with printed books.

As per *visual* paratexts and their *spatiality*, they always occupy the same position. For example, decorations appear in the first position in the title page and in colophons (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 17, 18 (a), 26), *visual* paratexts similar to illuminated letters or decorations occur at the beginning of each paragraph (Cf. Appendix 2, Figg. 42 (a), 43 (c)), paraphs appear next to a list or at the beginning of a new section (Cf. Appendix 2, Figg. 43 (b), 44 (d)), the colour and size of fonts

which may be seen in the title page (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 7, 9, 16, 18 (b)), in paragraph, section, or sub-section titles.[16]

The *temporality* of paratexts has been observed in detail only for those documents founds in form of manuscripts which also become printed books. Indeed, whenever *substance* paratexts *of the first level* are maintained among manuscript copies of the same document or when they are reproduced in later printed books, they may be adapted to the context and the audience. An example of this adaptation is found in Antão de Proença's (1625-1666) Tamil-Portuguese dictionary, a manuscript which was reproduced in manuscript forms and also printed in 1679 (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 17, 37). The differences among the two kinds of documents, manuscript and printed, are evident both in terms of *discursive* and *visual* paratexts. Indeed, the printed version of the book not only adds a long preface in which all the approvals for the publication of the dictionary are listed, but also *visual* paratexts such as decorations which enrich the embellishment of the text. Nevertheless, both versions of the document present a different size for the fonts and they both organise the contents in two columns, and the printed version also add paratexts similar to illuminated letters and decorations surrounding the beginning of the text in the first page and a drawing in the last one. For example, compare Figs. 37 and 38 (Cf. Appendix 2, section 3) or Figs. 26 and 33 (Cf. Appendix 2, section 2). It is clear that both texts, the manuscript as well as the printed version, were addressed to a wider audience, but in the printed version, which would have improved the status of the manuscript, further paratexts are included, so that the book can easily be accepted by the reader community.

[16] *Visual* paratexts of these kinds are further discussed in paragraph 4.2.

3.3 *Functionality* and *pragmatics* of paratexts

All paratexts can be further classified taking into consideration their *functionality* and *pragmatics* since they can be representative of the communicative instances of the author of the text. As already anticipated in paragraph 3.1, *substance* paratexts *of the second level*, both *discursive* and *visual,* always have one main function: they exist in order to inform about the transmission and trajectory of ownership of the manuscript/book. As per the pragmatic structure, the *discursive* ones usually occur with the same short formula indicating only the place and rarely the time during which they were written. The shortened version of *discursive* paratexts is only a noun phrase[17] while a verb phrase is also added if other types of information occur.[18] Otherwise, a full sentence or a longer period, as already seen in § 3.1 (Cf. footnote 6), may occur. In that case it states *from whom*, *to whom*, and *why* a specific text was donated, passed, transmitted, acquired, etc. However, the illocutionary force always corresponds to the illocutionary act of the statement made for informing.

On the contrary, *substance* paratexts *of the first level* may encode different functions and thus display various pragmatic structures (discussed below, Cf. § 4) as it is resumed in the following chart:

Paratexts *discursive*	functionality and pragmatic
Title page	to inform about *who, when, where, what*
Dedication	to increase the respect/prestige of the book in front of the audience; it locates the text in the system of the social and political hierarchy; to make the book accepted by the reader/hearer

[17] An example is represented by Fig. 5 (Appendix 2, section a).

[18] An example is represented by: *Auctor [sic] R. P. Hanxleden vide Exam history. Crist. Cod. Indic. Bibl. Congr. De prop. Fide Auct. P. Paulino (1792) p. 55 n° X* (MS BnF_Ind_221, Fig. 4, Appendix 2, section a).

Prologue to the reader and Preface	to justify the book, guide the reader/hearer, present the structure of the book, present the described language
Table of contents	to guide the reader/hearer
Colophon	to inform about the ending of the book (the composition of it or the copying of it). It may simply contain the word 'end' written in the metalanguage of the main text and/or in the Tamil language. Otherwise, it may also state *when, who, where*.
Visual	
Paraph	to guide the reader/hearer, to point out the beginning of a new topic
Similar to illuminated letters and drawings/ decorations	to increase the prestige of the book through an aesthetic device; to guide the reader/hearer, to point out the beginning of a new topic
Size/colour of the title page	to highlight the most essential information, usually *what* and *who*

In order to accomplish the highlighted functions, each paratext, either *discursive* or *visual*, can be discussed in the framework of socio-pragmatics (Peikola 2015)[19] as the following paragraphs points out.

4. Pragmatics on the page: *visual* and *discursive* paratexts

I consider here the pragmatic strength and the communicative strategies that can be found in those paratexts which I have defined as *discursive* and *visual*, the latter mainly used in order to guide the reader/hearer.[20] Therefore, in the following paragraphs I shall examine these elements in detail in order to

[19] See also Framing Text: Paratextual Framing in the Promotion of Knowledge *(FRAMI)* Project leaded by Matti Peikola.

[20] Due to space constraints I focus here only on 'long title pages' and 'colophons', while I leave the analysis of 'address to the reader or preface' and 'dedications to an authority' to other studies (Cf. Muru, under preparation).

find out where the differences are, but also where these paratexts display similarities over a span of almost four centuries. As already discussed above, these kinds of paratexts are much more typical in printed books than in manuscripts. However, it is still much more interesting to observe and compare them, since they tell us how practices related to the book and the status of the book itself have changed over the centuries. At the same time, they also show how these texts may be considered as a representation of the same discourse community in which, individuals engaged in the same kind of activity (the description of the Tamil language or the translation into Tamil of Christian religious books) the language is used in particular communicative settings to serve specific communicative functions. Consequently, while looking at these paratexts, I assume that language is not an abstract system, but rather it is part of major processes and activities. As such, the patterns found in the language, which are associated with a given topic or activity (e.g. grammatical discourse, political discourse, religious discourse, etc.), are looked within broader contexts such as culture and society. As such, the interest in looking at language goes beyond it (e.g. the study of grammatical theory development). The questions to which I aim to reply are: how are the author's intentions expressed? How do communicative strategies, both *discursive* and *visual*, influence the way in which the audience receives the text?

4.1 Title page

As already stated above (Cf. § 3.2), the title page is not always found, especially in manuscripts (Cf. Appendix 2, section 2a, Figs. 7-8) and this may be because the page was lost, as it was the first element of the book. Despite this and the passing of the centuries, 39 documents of the *corpus* present a title page. Of these, 23 title pages are long discursive ones. As Watts

(1995: 156) states, the title page is "the first part of the overall text that the potential reader/hearer sees". Indeed, it is the type of prefatory text which embeds the grammar or the dictionary in the broader discourse between the author/utterer and the reader/hearer. For this reason, it must give more information than a simple title, also providing information about the nature of the text as well as about the credentials of the community that the author belongs to. Furthermore, it is possible to observe that over the centuries, the amount of information given in the title page increases, showing a tendency toward the affirmation of a tradition which is recalled in the title page itself.

This is particularly evident in the printed books when compared with manuscripts, mainly when they are adaptations of previous manuscripts. For example, figures 9-13 in Appendix 2 are representative of the title pages of the same Tamil-Latin dictionary and grammars of Common Tamil (*koḍuntamiḻ*) written by Giuseppe Costantino Beschi (1680-1747) respectively. Earlier texts produced among Jesuits were copied or printed at different stages mainly by Protestant missionaries (Cf. footnote 26). The grammars were also translated into different languages.

The title page in manuscripts gives information about:

- *What*: the argument dealt with in the book
- *Who*: the author
- *When*: the year of composition

The title page in printed books (Appendix 2, Figs. 11-13) also adds:

- *Where*: the place of publication
- *For who:* addressee of the book
- *What for*: the reason for which the book was written/published

- *By whom* or *through whom*: information about the author and/or translator.

Furthermore, some title pages (Cf. Appendix 2, section 2a, Figs. 18-20, 24 vs. Figs. 21, 22, 23) not only further specify the name of the language (*Linguae Damulica seu Malabarica*), but also state the scope and utility of the book, which introduces an unknown language to Europe, to make it easy for the people to learn the language and to allow the communication with the Indians who live there.

Regarding the producer/composer of the book as well as its translator, this gains more attention in later texts (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 11-13) mainly belonging to the Protestant community revealing in this way a shift of importance from the book itself toward its producer.[21] Although all title pages make use of conventional 'by'-phrases to indicate the agent responsible for the text (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 8, 16, 19), the tendency to provide more information is found, quite regularly, whenever the text is going to be meant for a wider audience and usually also printed (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 17-18, 20, 22-24). This reveals how over the centuries, and with the advent of printing, as well as within orders different from Jesuits, the attention and focus on the 'agent' of the contents of the printed book increased. Furthermore, in the specification of addressees as well, there is a shift in the perception of the nature and utility of these kinds of texts, as well as a change in the typology of the audience that read these books. Indeed, the title pages in figures 13, 18, 20 and 24 (Cf. Appendix 2) clearly state which reader/hearer community the text was written for.

[21] The author is stressed, for example, in title pages found in fig. 12 and 13 (Cf. Appendix 2) where he is identified as the one who could compose the grammar *after a study and practice of thirty years* (fig. 12), who was a *missionary of the said society in the district of Madura* (fig. 13), where also the translator, like *Garrison Chaplain, Fort St George, Madras and late fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford* (fig. 13) finds his own space.

When documents were aimed at missionaries involved in the spread of the Gospel in a specific area of India, regardless of their religious order, the texts were produced exclusively for religious purposes (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 18 and 20). However, a comparison of the title page found in grammars and dictionaries composed by Catholic missionaries (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 17, 21) with those written by Protestant missionaries (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 18, 20, 22, 24) reveals how the attitude and the awareness about the Tamil language had changed. Furthermore, when the addressees gradually included 'all learners', the English and the Tamil ones (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 24), these texts were intended also for administrative, economic, and scientific purposes. Not only is there an establishment of educational purposes but also an establishment of the philological studies which can be connected to the comparative grammar of Dravidian languages composed by Robert Caldwell (1814-1891) (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 25).

The changes connected to the scope for which descriptions of the Tamil language were carried out was also connected to the changes that print-languages and consequently print-capitalism produced. Indeed, as Anderson (2006 [1983]: 44-45) observes, print-languages laid the basis for national consciousness in three distinct ways. First of all, "it created unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars." Secondly, it gave a permanent fixity to the language, establishing its antiquity. Thirdly, it created languages-of-power compared to those varieties which remained in a subaltern position (dichotomy *language* vs *dialect*) because of their being distant from the print-language. However, the establishment of print-languages occurred throughout the common unselfconscious practice of describing languages, to which the missionaries' works here discussed also contributed. As Wilden (2014: 27) underlines "although

Christianisation in Southern India, as in India in general, was only moderately successful, the missionaries are key figures in the discourse. The beginnings of Dravidian philology and almost all the early dictionaries and grammars were undertaken by them. This is why their expectations, their criticism, and their perception could shape the nascent Tamil understanding of what is Tamil and Tamilian so fundamentally".

Differences in lexical choices are also relevant to understand the changes which occurred in the attitude towards the Tamil language. First of all, the Latin word *Arte* (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 14-15), which may be an equivalent of the English *short introduction* (Cf. Appendix 2, fig. 16), it is gradually substituted by the term *grammar* (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 18-20, 22), that appears more systematically in later descriptions of the language. Secondly, the denomination of the language also changes. The Tamil language is called either *Malabar* (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 16, 22, 23) or *Tamul/Tamil* (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 7-15, 17-19, 21) with the specifications of variety *Vulgaris/Common* (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 11-13, 19-20) and *High*, with the label *language* (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 11-13, 16, 18-20, 22) or *dialect* (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 13, 24) being added.

Regardless of the century in which the book was composed, interesting similarities are also found in *visual* paratexts like font size and colours which are used both in manuscripts and printed books. These play an essential role in guiding thereader/hearer directly towards the most prominent information (*what*, *who*, *where*) in the title page.[22]

[22] For example, the red colour of some words on the title page of figs. 9 and 18 (Cf. Appendix 2, section 2a) highlights the immediate message of what and who the text is about.

The title pages, as part of a discourse community reveal significant changes in the socio-political and socio-cultural roles of these kind of texts. Fig. 24, and in particular Fig. 25 (Cf. Appendix 2), are clear examples of these changes.[23]

4.2 Colophons

Colophons in Christian missionaries' texts differ from those found in the Indian written tradition, where they are useful for understanding the transmission of the text. Indeed, in the Christian texts they tell us about the completion of the book and a little about the author, while paratexts useful for the tracing of history and transmission of the document are mainly found in the second level paratexts in the protective leaves as discussed in § 3.1. In the following analysis of colophons, I have not only considered what kind of information they provide, but I have also looked at the language shift, considering it in the framework of code-switching put forward by Gumperz (1982: 59-99), for whom "it may signify a distancing or involving of the speaker or towards what is said or toward the social groups and values of reference".

The first characteristic of colophons in the Christian texts is that they appear to be quite regular, since they present a kind of formula in which the author states the end of the book/manuscripts (Cf. Appendix 2, section 2b, Figs. 27-33). They mainly occur at the end of grammars or dictionaries, both in printed books and manuscripts. The message can be given in a European language like French (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 27),

[23] Despite the fact that the first description and recognition of a Dravidian family goes back to Francis Whyte Ellis (1777-1819) (Cf. Trautmann 2006: 73-115; 151-186; 243-275), fig. 25 (Cf. Appendix 2) is representative of the ground-breaking formulation of the difference between the Dravidian family and Sanskrit elaborated by Robert Caldwell (1814-1891), a missionary for the London Missionary Society, in his book: *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages* (1856).

Latin (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 28, 29) or in Tamil (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 30); otherwise it can be bilingual, with a European language and Tamil (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 26, 31). If they only state the end of the work without adding further information on *who, when*, and *where* the document was composed, they can be considered as *simple* colophons. Otherwise, if they encode a broader set of information (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 30, 32, 33), they can be considered as *rich* colophons. They not only mark the end of the document but also may say *who* wrote the text or *when* it was completed or *where* it was produced. As the previous ones, these *rich* colophons can also be further differentiated between monolingual, if composed in a European language (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 32) or in Tamil (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 34, 35), and bilingual, where a European language alternates with Tamil (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 36) or two European languages like Portuguese and Latin (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 33).

A question which arises is whether any differences regarding the language choice can be related to intentional messages from the author. It is interesting to point out that when colophons are written in Tamil, they expose the typical systematic structures of the Indian colophons on palm leaves revealing authors' inculturation about the Indian style (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 34, 35, 36). As Ciotti and Franceschini (2016: 64) have shown, in Indian colophons, the elements of time-reckoning are arranged according to a specific order: the year is always written in numerals and followed by the symbol for the *Jovian* year (of the type {YJ1}).[24] Then comes the solar month, and its corresponding symbol of the type M1, M4, or

[24] This symbol is used in Ciotti/Franceschini (2016: 68) for referring to the symbol used to mark the Jovian year which "as in the case of the symbol for the Kollam, the symbol used to mark the Jovian year also occurs in three variant forms: an 'accurate' form […] which is interpreted by Pope (1859: 18) as an abbreviation of the Tamil word *varuṣam* ('year'); a slightly simplified version of it […]; and a cursive style variant […]."

M3. M1 is "represented by the Tamil syllable *ma* with one or more curls to its upper right; according to Pope (1859: 18), this is the abbreviation for Tamil *mācam*" (Ciotti/Franceschini 2016: 69). M3 "resembles the Tamil ligature *ṭṭa* followed by the Grantha *ma* with *virama*", while M4 "is represented by a Tamil syllable, *ma*, with a full-height '2'-shaped sign appended to the right" (Ciotti/Franceschini 2016: 70). Then, the day of the month and the symbol for *tēti* meaning 'date', 'day of the month' (Arden 1962 [1942]: 310) follow. At the end, the weekday is given with the corresponding words/equivalents in Sanskrit or Tamil, respectively *vāra* or *kiḻamai* (Ciotti & Franceschini 2016: 71-72). Another element which occurs in Tamil colophons is a statement declaring the completion of the work, the same found in colophons composed in a European language. In this kind of colophons, the agent is expressed in two ways: *having written, I finished* (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 35) or *I wrote this dictionary* (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 36).[25]

Both monolingual (in Tamil) and bilingual colophons can be considered within the 'accommodation practice' to which speakers apply themselves during conversation. Thus, through the selection of one language rather than another in paratexts, the author does not only negotiate his image as a master of the Tamil language, but he also reveals his imagined community of readers/hearers. Indeed, from such a perspective, these paratexts reveal the author's/utterer's intentions and the code-switching can be seen as a communicative strategy of accommodation toward the reader/hearer community which is intended as inclusive of the Tamil reader/hearer. Furthermore, it is not irrelevant to point out how three of the five colophons, which are reader-/hearer-oriented, are found

[25] Examples of colophons of these types are found only in five manuscripts of which three are by the same author, Henrique Henriques (Figs. 30, 34, Appendix 2, section b), one is in Beschi's text (Fig. 35, Appendix 2, section b) and another by Madeyra (fig. 36, Appendix 2, section b).

in those religious books mainly intended for the Tamil community rather than the European one. Similar consideration can be made for monolingual colophons above all when they are written in Latin. As we know, despite the fact that the Latin language had lost ground starting from the 16th century onward and the vernaculars had gained path, it was still perceived as a status language to which a certain prestige was recognised for being a language of science. In this respect, the selection of Latin for the composition of a text – as it is the case the Jesuits' works by Beschi and the Protestants' works by Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) and Walther (1699-1741)[26] – as well as for its enclosure can be seen as the intention of the author to elevate the status of his book.

4.3 *Visual pragmatic* paratexts

In early printed and handwritten books, *visual* paratexts like 'similar to illuminated letters', paraphs, and drawings can be observed in the title page (Cf. Appendix 2, section 3, Figs. 39-41) as well as within the main text (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 38, 42-45). However, this is particularly evident in the early 16th-17th centuries. The first Christian religious books to be printed, those composed by Henrique Henriques, e.g. *Doctrina Christam - Tambiran vaṇakkam* (1578) (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 39), *Doctrina Christam - kirīcittiyāṉi vaṇakkam* (1579) (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 40, 44), and *Confessionairo - kompecioṉayru* (1580) (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 41, 43) display visual paratexts such as decorations and drawings, a different font size, 'similar to illuminated letters' accompanied by a bilingual title page

[26] It is relevant to highlight that the Protestant Ziegenbalg chose the Latin language rather than Portuguese for writing his grammar despite the fact of having been written in Portuguese the *Arte* he largely copied. Indeed, according to Jeyaraj (2010: 20), Ziegenbalg made use of the *Tamil Arte* composed by Balthasar Da Costa (ca. 1610-1673). His linguistic choice can be seen not only as an attempt to elevate the status of the book but also as an explicit willing of being differentiated by the Jesuits community.

and paragraph titles used for guiding the reader. The imagined audience is twofold and it includes both Indians and Westerners, and they are guided by *visual* paratexts not only in the reading of the text but also in its identification within a specific group. Indeed, *visual* paratexts such as drawings, create a direct association between reader/hearer and the group to which the text belonged to. For example, the 'marketing' choices in Henriques' texts rely on *visual* elements like drawings and symbols, which directly create an association with the socio-religious group to which he belonged and which he intended to represent. The illustration in figure 39 (Cf. Appendix 2, section 3), such as the one reproducing the Trinity,[27] is used to interpret the content of the book or emphasise it, as well as to create a new symbolism, in this case to Christianity in India. The bilingual title page and the fonts marked as different by means of size also have the pragmatic function of guiding the reader. The capital letter for the section written in Portuguese [*Doctrina Christam em Lingua Malauar Tamul* - Christian Catechism in Malavar Tamil language], while a 'similar illuminated letter' occupies four lines of the paratext written in Tamil: *compañ̃iya de cecu vakaiyil anṭirikki pātiriyār tamilil piṟitt(u) eḻutina tambirāṉ vaṇakkam* ["*tambirāṉ vaṇakkam* that was written having split in Tamil by Father Henrique of the group of the Company of Jesus"]. A bilingual title-page introduces the reader/hearer to the contents of the book.

In figures 17, 40-41 in Appendix 2, the seal of the Jesuit Society clearly states the religious community within which the text was produced. Without considering if the Indian audience would properly interpret the selected images, the missionary writers here were adding aesthetic devices to their

[27] The Father, the Son sitting on the right on the same throne touching the globe and bearing a kind of sceptre, and the dove between them, representing the Holy Spirit.

manuscripts in order to give them a certain status, and at the same time they were communicating their belonging to a specific community: the Christian one. However, this practice in Christian manuscripts seems to have been used among the Catholic Jesuits and to disappear in later books where this information is given through *discursive* paratexts like 'title page'. Furthermore, the 'religious seal' also disappears because other orders wrote grammars and dictionaries and gradually the study of language became a scientific field rather than a functional activity useful to religion, although some *visual* paratexts like size and colour fonts and decorative drawings remain.

Looking at *visual* paratexts within the main text one may notice how they are intended as guiding tools for the reader/hearer. They are found both in handwritten texts (Cf. Appendix 2, Fig. 42) and printed books (Cf. Appendix 2, Figs. 43-45) at the end and or at beginning of a new section of the text (a), at the beginning of a title (b), and for indicating a list (d). They are guiding paratexts since they help the reader/hearer to orient himself within the text, marking the beginning of the work (similar to illuminated letters) or a new topic (paraph and different size fonts letters), but they also have a communicative intent. "On the textual level paraph had the initiating function of a frame shifter" (Carroll et al. 2013: 63): in figure 43 (Cf. Appendix 2, section 3) the paraph marks the beginning of the third chapter of the Confessor; in figure 44 (Cf. Appendix 2, section 3) it is used as frame marker for a listing. These kinds of *visual* paratexts are found both in Catholic (like Figs. 43-44 in Appendix 2), and Protestant documents (like Figs. 42, 45 in Appendix 2). Hence, visual clues in manuscripts and printed books can be interpreted as elements useful for marking the social status of the text among readers/hearers, indeed "the more sophisticated the appearance, the more prestigious the owner" as well as the

author/or authorities who produced the book (Carroll et al. 2013: 64). These elements not only embellish the book, making it more presentable to the addressee and highlighting its importance, but they also compliment the reader/hearer, who would buy/receive the book with such external aesthetical devices.

The use of a different font size for the first letter of paragraphs can be considered *visual* paratext. They introduce new topics while decorations open or close the page or a paragraph. These *visual* paratexts which function as "contextualisation cues'' (Gumperz 1992) and pragmatic signs – i.e. codifying the pausing between one topic and another – influence the way in which the reader/hearer receives the text. Once again, this packaging of the text may suggest that among the expectations of the writer/utterer, there was the idea that his book would have a wider audience.

5. Distribution of paratexts in Christian manuscripts and printed books. Concluding remarks

I have hypothesised that paratexts can be interpreted within a socio-pragmatic framework since they encode intents, messages, and expectations of writer/utterer towards the reader/hearer. As such, I have considered them as clue for understanding in what way the relationship between the writer/utterer and the reader/hearer changed throughout the centuries. I have also hypothesised that, despite some differences traceable among missionaries' works belonging to different orders and periods, missionaries show sufficient similarities regarding their discourse strategies and cognitive assumptions to justify their being considered as a whole discourse community engaged in the same mutual activity: the description of a new language like Tamil and the codification of Christianity through its linguistic structures (Cf. § 3). However,

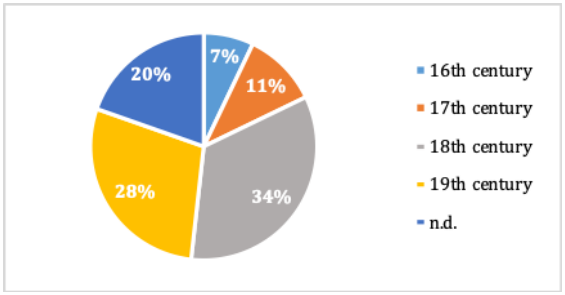
in order to better understand how paratexts and their distribution in documents produced by missionaries changed throughout the centuries, I found useful to observe, as illustrated in the histograms below, their distribution and frequency within the whole *corpus*.

The histograms are built taking into account the distinction of paratexts as *visual* and *discursive* discussed in paragraph 3 and considering their presence or absence in the analysed *corpus*, since this is relevant for understanding how the relationship between the writer/utterer and the reader/hearer was shaped throughout the centuries. Indeed, as it emerged from the histograms above (n.1-2), there is a recurrent order in which paratexts appear and their presence is more frequent among all those texts which were addressed toward a wider audience rather than conceived for personal usage. Thus, histograms (n. 3-7) show the distribution of *discursive* paratexts in manuscripts, histograms (n. 8-12) in printed books, while histograms (n. 13-14) highlight the presence and distribution of *visual* paratexts in manuscripts and printed books respectively.[28]

It is important to point out that what the histograms show must be taken as representative of a tendency rather than an absolute statistical number. Indeed, the number of manuscripts is higher than printed books, 34 manuscripts vs 21 printed books (Cf. Graphics 1) and each category of items is not equally well represented; indeed, there are 21 G, 20 D, 5 RB, 5 G/D, 4 G/RB (Cf. Graphic 2). Furthermore, even though the 55 documents belong to four different centuries, each century is not equally well represented (Cf. Graphic 4), since only 4 items are from the 16th c. and only 6 from the 17th c.,

[28] The frequency of occurrence of paratexts within the *corpus,* expressed in percentage value is represented on the y-axis. Each bar also represents the total number of items for each kind of document (i.e. G, D, RB, G/D, G/RB) where paratexts were found. See footnote 12.

while the 18th c. and the 19th c. are the most represented with 19 and 16 items respectively. The remaining eleven items do not present any specific date. However, the style of the handwriting, the ink colour, the paper, and some spelling conventions for the transcriptions of Portuguese words allow us to place some of them between the second half of the 17th c. and the first half of the 18th c., while few can be dated back to the second half of the 18th c. – 19th c. for being copies of Giuseppe Costantino Beschi's (1680-1747) works. Despite this, I have preferred to maintain their classification as 'not dated' (n.d.).

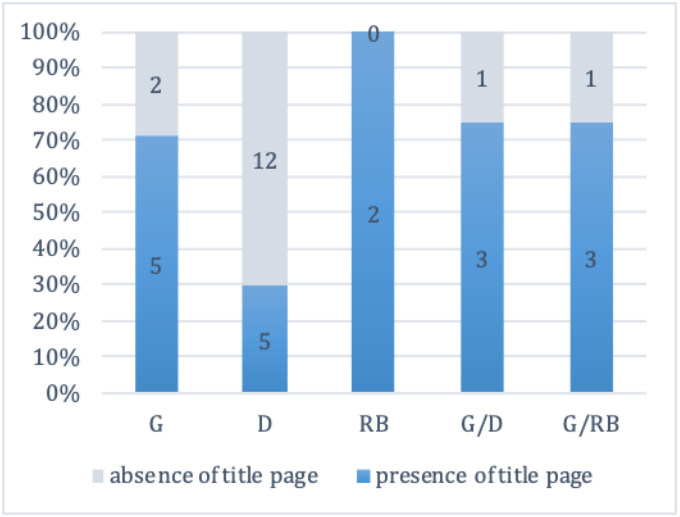


Graphic 4: representation of centuries

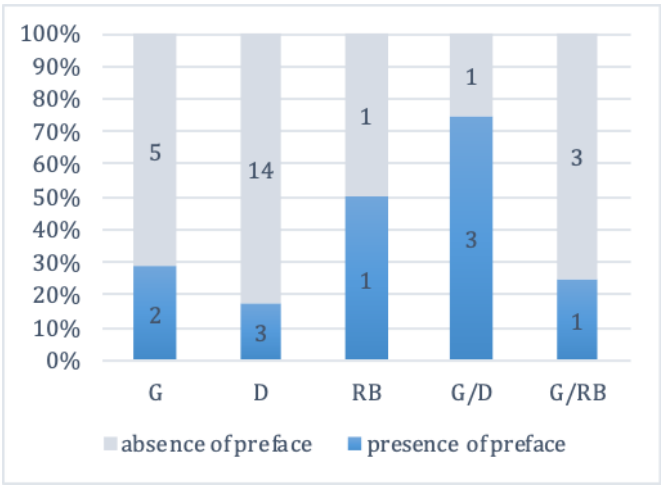
Finally, as already stated above, the absence of some paratexts, like title pages and colophons, may depend on manuscript damages, like the loss of the first or last pages of the manuscript.[29] However, despite these difficulties, the histograms can still be considered a useful visual representation of the tendency of presence vs absence of paratexts in manuscripts (n. 3-7) and printed books (n. 8-12).

[29] For example, this seems to be the case for the majority of dictionaries kept at the State Central Library of Goa. See also footnote 12.

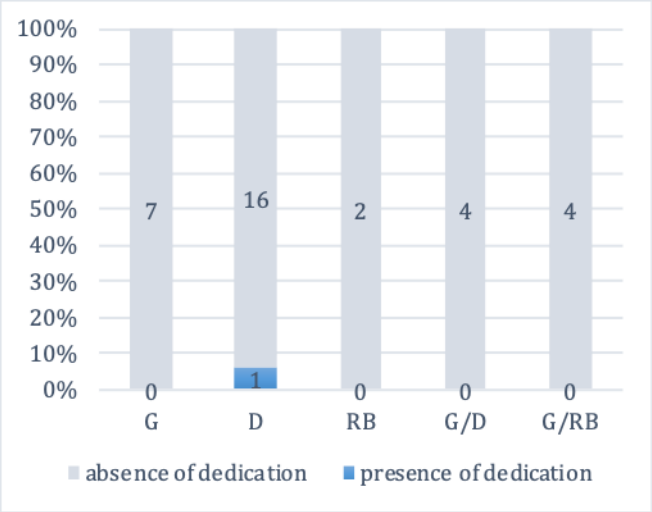
Discursive Paratexts
MANUSCRIPTS



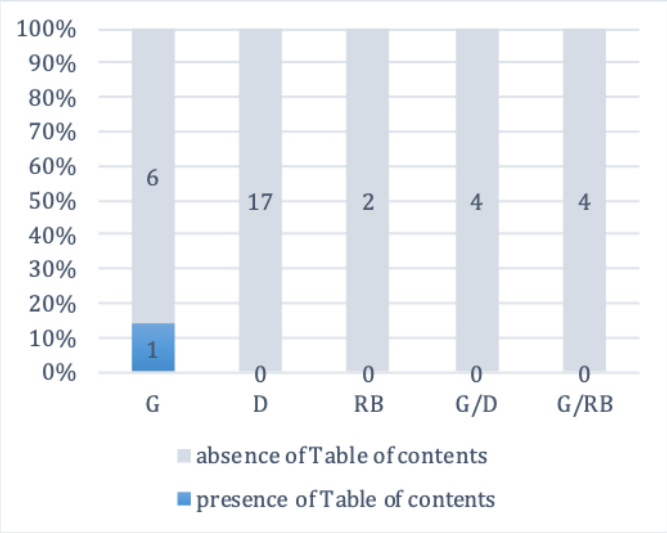
Histogram 3. Title page



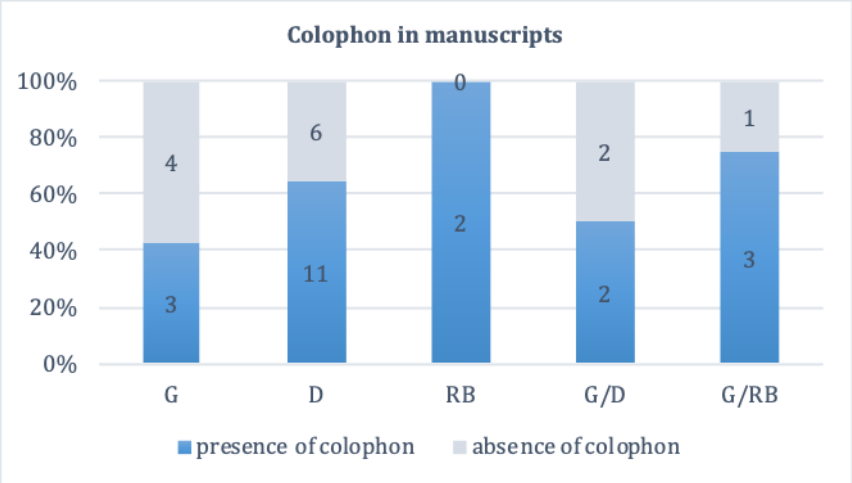
Histogram 4. Preface



Histogram 5. Dedication



Histogram 6. Table of contents

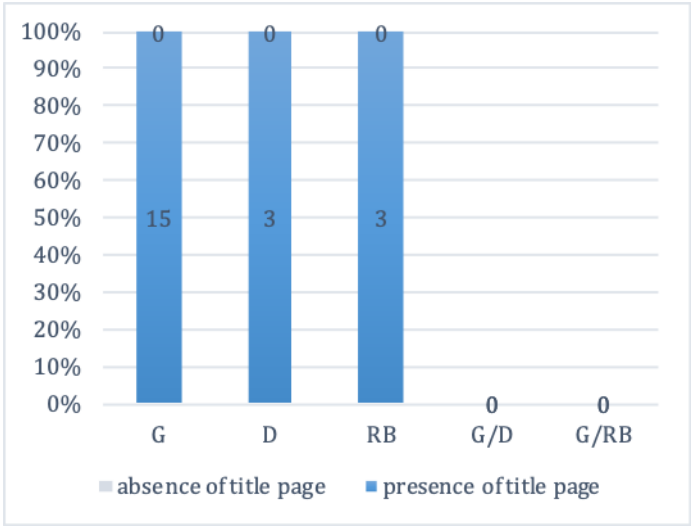


Histogram 7. Colophon

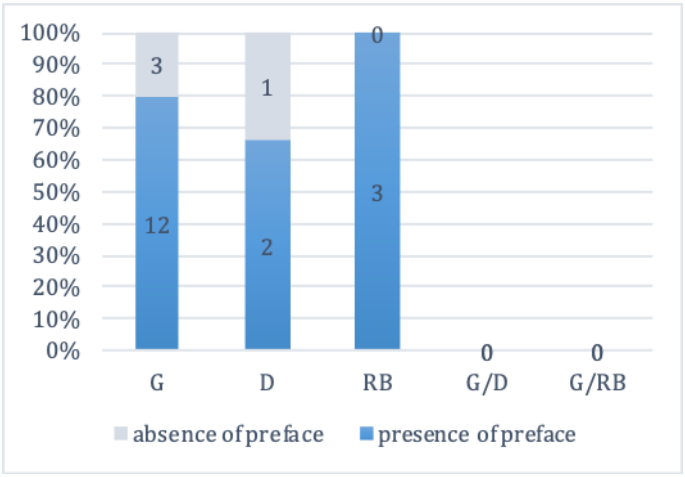
Despite title pages and colophons often being absent, they remain the most widespread paratexts in manuscripts. Indeed, the title page is a recurrent paratext for G and RB, while it is less used for D and for the composite manuscripts like G/D and G/RB. Other kinds of paratexts also, like the table of contents, dedication, and preface can be found. The table of contents is only found in G, dedication in D, and a mixture between the address to the reader and preface is found in a few examples of any typology of manuscripts.

The situation with printed books is slightly different. Indeed, most of the paratexts under examination are always present since the earliest printed books, even though they are not widely spread. In particular, the title page is an absolute constant; the preface which justifies the 'reasons for the book' as well as the colophon are frequently found, while the table of contents is found only in G and the dedication only in G and D.

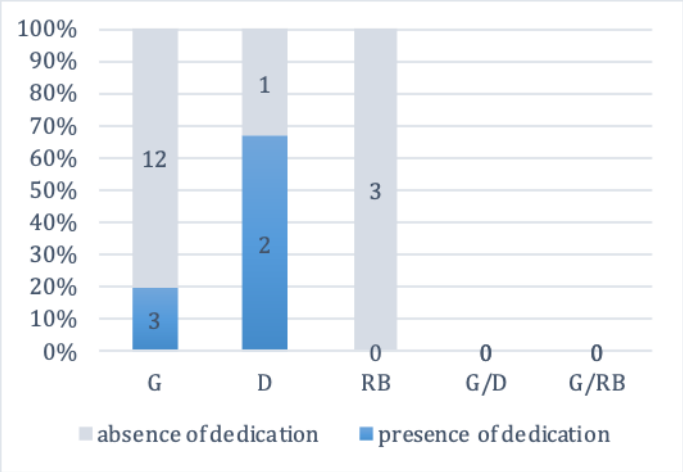
Discursive Paratexts
PRINTED BOOKS



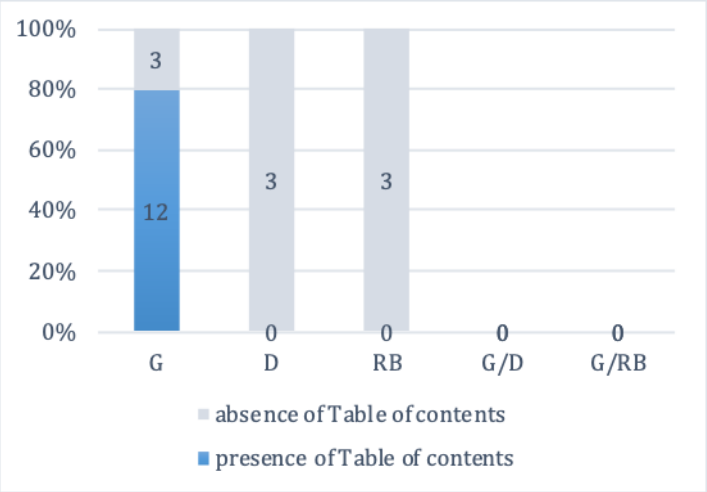
Histogram 8. Title page



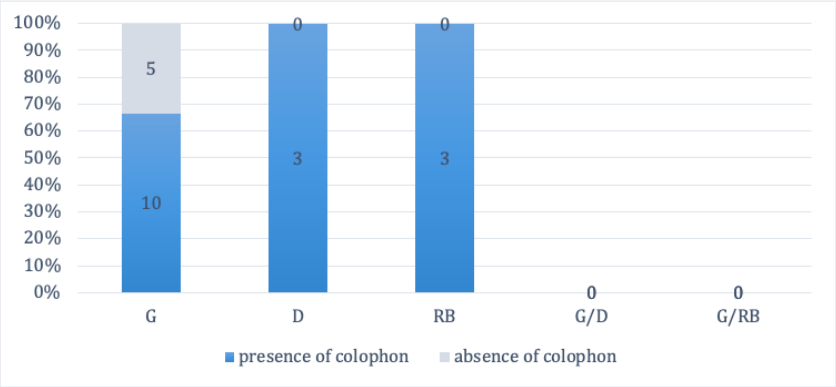
Histogram 9. Preface



Histogram 10. Dedication

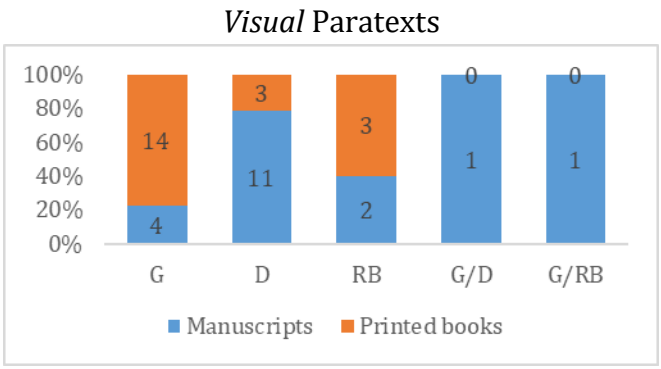


Histogram 11. Table of contents



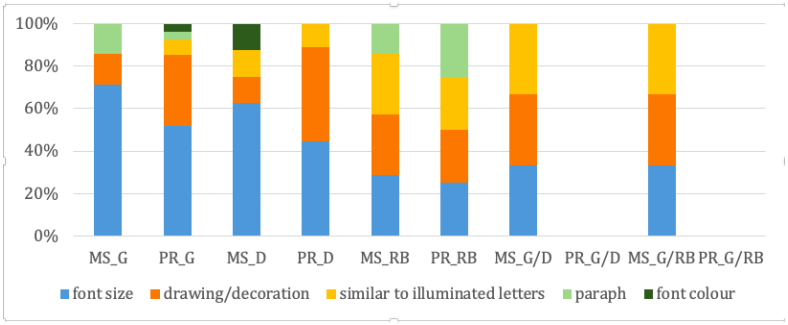
Histogram 12. Colophon

Regarding *visual* paratexts, which, along with the *discursive* ones, may serve to promote the interests of books among the audience as well as transmit the intentions and aims of the writer/utterer to the reader/hearer (see §§ 4.1, 4.3), the following histograms show their distribution in manuscripts and printed books.



Histogram 13. Occurrence of *visual* paratexts in the *corpus*[30]

[30] Among the whole *corpus*, only 39 documents have *visual* paratexts.



Histogram 14. Kind of *visual* paratexts in the *corpus*

Observing the distribution of *visual* paratexts, one can notice that they are a persistent element in printed books and in manuscripts also, in the latter only when they were addressed to a wider public (i.e. size/colour of the fonts in the title page in G, D, G/D, RB; drawings/decorations in D, RB, G/D, G/RB, and similar to illuminated letters in D). However, the highest occurrence of paratexts was limited to the size of fonts in the title page, then followed by drawings/decorations, 'similar to illuminated letters', and paraphs. It is also relevant to highlight that, with the only exception represented by Henrique's religious texts, the practice of printing grammars and dictionaries was much more pursued by later missionaries belonging to the Protestant order.

Consequently, the observation of the distribution of *visual* and *discursive* paratexts between manuscripts and printed books reveals that their presence was mainly determined by the function the texts had. Indeed, when it was composed, or copied, or printed for being addressed to a broader audience, the authors and editors paid more attention to promoting the book, embellishing it not only throughout *discursive* paratexts but also by *visual* paratexts. The aim was to increase the status of the book among the community of readers/hearers and this was an intent common both to Catholics and Protestants. A larger variety of paratexts were used whenever the

writer/utterer intended to interact with a wider and differentiated number of reader/hearer.

At the same time, the analysis of paratexts in the previous paragraphs (Cf. §§ 3-4) have highlighted that differences among paratexts in the analysed documents disclose the gradual change in the intents of the author/writer of the texts, thus a change in the perception of the language described as well as in the function of the description itself. Indeed, the writing of grammars and dictionaries and the translations of books, carried out with practical rather than theoretical aims, gradually achieved a firm position within the discourse of a more scientific description of languages. Grammars also became more theoretical than practical, contributing to the affirmation of a linguistic tradition (Cf. § 4.1). This started within the Catholic community with Beschi and was pursued by Protestant missionaries, above all in later works dating back to the 18th and 19th centuries.

In conclusion, this study, integrating insights from historical socio-pragmatics and book studies into a new approach to the older text, has exhibited how research in 'pragmatics on the page' proceeds (Cf. §§ 3-4). Therefore, the examples discussed in this study have proven how much is important to consider the "reinforcement and accompaniment" found in manuscripts and books (Genette & Maclean 1991). Hence, the discussion of *substance* paratexts *of the second level* has shown how they can contribute to a better understanding of the history of the transmission of books in terms of space, time, and ownership since this also reveals much about the circulation and transmission of knowledge and ideas, and thus the contribution for the foundation of new form of knowledges and ideological frameworks. In this regard, the discussion about the packaging of texts among Christian missionaries within a socio-pragmatic perspective has highlighted how the foundation of new ideologies can be realised throughout the

negotiation between the writer/utterer, the reader/hearer, and the complex meditation with the main text (Cf. § 4) realised throughout paratexts.

In this framework, where language is contemplated as a dialogic structure implying an utterer and hearer, the writing/reading process occurs throughout a social contract, defined by Grice (1975) as the cooperative principle. Hence, the reader/hearer derives inferences during the reading (Watts 1995: 151) of the writer's/utterer's texts and paratexts guide him in this process of inference. Therefore, this essay has also discussed how this negotiation defines the writer's/utterer's position in the community and builds his relationship with the reader/hearer (Cf. § 4.3) unveiling how paratexts acquire their communicative force. In fact, the analysis of *discursive substance* paratexts, like title pages and colophons (Cf. §§ 4.1-4.2), as well as *visual* paratexts (Cf. § 4.3), has disclosed how written artefacts like paratexts can be considered as writing/speech acts since they are communicative manifestations in their own right. Throughout them, the author transmits intentions and messages, and realises acts of identity-defining the social boundaries and negotiating the social spaces among individuals.

However, in this essay, *discursive* strategies have been considered at a macro-level. The focus was on pragmatics and textual characteristics. For this reason, a further investigation within this framework of other paratexts such as 'preface and address to the reader', as well as 'dedication' are still required. Above all on a micro-level, with the aim to investigate the process through which the philological studies of languages like Tamil found their ground as represented by the kinds of discursive markers or lexical choices for the codification of specific topics which were used for the description of the Tamil language.

Appendix 1: The *corpus*[i]

Chart a.1 – Grammar

ID No	Acronym for library/archive and manuscript shelf mark	Typo-logy	year on the ms/ book	author	copyist	Metalanguage 1. Language of the main text 2. Language of examples 3. Language for glosses/funct. words	Title given on the title page or on the first page of the main text
1	**NLL_Cod.Or.3141**	MS	n.d. (ca. 1548)	Henrique Henriques (1520-1600)		1. Portuguese 2. Tamil 3. Latin	Arte da Lingua Malabar
2	**SOAS_MS 7107**	MS	1671/ 2	Philippus Baldaeus (1632-1671)	G. Perry	1. English 2. Tamil 3. Latin: translation of *Our Father*	Short Introduction to the Malabar Language by Philip Baldaeus, 1672
3	**SOAS_ MMSL INS-T 65**	PR	1716	Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719)		1. Latin 2. Tamil	Grammatica Damulica, Quæ per varia paradigmata, regulas & necessarium vocabulorum apparatoum, VIAM BREVISSIMAM monstrat, Qua LINGUA DAMULICA Seu MALABARICA, quæ inter Indos Orientales in uso est, & hucusque in Europa incognita fuit, facile disci posit: in Usum eorum Qui hoc tempore gentes illas ab idolatria ad cultum veri Dei, salutemque æternam Evangelio Christi perducere cupiunt: In itinere Europæo, seu in nave Danica, concinnata a BATRHOLOMÆO ZIEGENBALG, Serenissimi Regis Daniæ

[i] MS= manuscript; PR= printed book. The acronym for libraries and links of the online sources are provided at the bottom of this Appendix 1.

							Missionario inter Indos Orientales, & ecclesiæ ex Indis collectæ Præposito. Halæ Saxonum, Litteris & impensis Orphanotrophei MDCCXVI
4	**BnF_Ind_188** (Manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr)	MS	17th (?)	/	/	French (initial folios, not belonging to the main text) 1. Portuguese 2. Tamil 3. Latin 4. Some glosses are in French	/ Cf. Francis, Emmanuel & Muru, Cristina (2019), *BnF INDIEN 188: On Tamil Language*, available at https://tst.hypotheses.org/426
5	**BnF_Ind_189** (Manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr)	MS	1728	Un missionaire de la Comp.e de Jesus de la mission du Carnat [P. de La Lane]		1. French 2. Tamil	Grammaire Pour apprendre la langue Tamoul Ditte Vulgaireiment le Malabar. Grammaire pour apprendre la langue Tamoul Vulgairement appellée le Malabar Cf. Muru, Cristina (2019), *BnF INDIEN 189: Grammar of Tamil by P. de La Lane*, available at: https://tst.hypotheses.org/560
6	**BSB_online_1** (Manuscript available at Munich DigitiZation Center)	PR	1739	Christophoro Theodosio Walther (1699-1741)		1. Latin 2. Tamil	OBSERVATIONES GRAMMATICAE, QVIEVS LUNGVAE TAMVLICAE IDIOMA VVLGARE, IN VUSVM OPERARIORVM IN MESSE DOMINI INTER GENTES VVLGO MALABARES DICTAS, ILLVSTRATVR A CHRISTOPHORO THEODOSIO WALTHERO, MISSIOANRIO DANICO. TRANGAMBARIAE, Typis Missionis Regiae, MDCCXXXIX
7	**BL_Mss.Eur.B43I**	MS	1769	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	/	1. Latin 2. Tamil 3. Prayers in Portuguese language	Clavis Humani~~i~~arum Litterarum Sublimioris Tamulici Idiomatis, Auctore Constantio P. Josepho Beschio Societatis Jesu In Madurensi Regno Missionario
8	**VE_Mar_MSOR_257 /12030**	MS	n.d.	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	/	1. Latin 2. Tamil	Clavis Humanarum Litterarum Sublimioris Tamulici Idiomatis, Auctore Constantio P. Josepho Beschio Societatis JESU In Madurensi Regno, Missionario

9	**Online_2** (Available at Google libri)	PR	1778	English missionaries of Madras		1. English 2. Tamil	A GRAMMAR For learning the Principles of the MALABAR LANGUAGE properly called TAMUL or the TAMULIAN LANGUAGE, By the English Missionaries of Madras. Printed at Wepery near MADRAS in the year 1778.
10	**SOAS_EB.78.27/12050**	PR	1789	English missionaries of Madras		1. English 2. Tamil	A grammar for learning the Principles of the Malabar Language Properly called TAMUL or the TAMULIAN LANGUAGE, By the English Missionaries of Madras. Printed at Vepery near MADRAS. The second Edition in the Year of our Lord 1789.
11	**JEM_221/598**	PR	1813	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)		1. Latin 2. Tamil	GRAMMATICA LATINO-TAMULICA IN QUA DE Vulgari Tamullicæ Linguæ Idiomate கொடுந்தமிழ் dicto, FUSIUS TRACTATUR. AUCTORE P. CONSTANTIO IOSEPHO BESCHIO, E Societate IESU, et in Regione Madurensi apud Indos Orientales MISSIONARIO. APUD MADRASPATNAM e Typograheo Collegii, 1813
12	**JEM_221/602**	PR	1822	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	translated by Benjamin Guy Babington	1. English 2. Tamil 3. Latin	A GRAMMAR OF THE HIGH DIALECT OF THE TAMIL LANGUAGE, TERMED SHEN-TAMIL: TO WHICH IS ADDED AN INTRODUCTION TO TAMIL POETRY BY THE REVEREND FATHER C. J. BESCHI, *Jesuit Missionary in the Kingdom of Madura.* TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, BY BENJAMIN GUY BABINGTON, *Of the Madras Civil Service.*
13	**JEM_221/600**	PR	1831	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	translated by Christopher Henry Horst	1. English 2. Tamil 3. Latin	A GRAMMAR *OF THE COMMON DIALECT* OF THE *TAMULIAN LANGUAGE* CALLED கொடுந்தமிழ் COMPOSED BY THE *R. F. Const: Joseph Beschi*, JESUIT MISSIONARY AFTER A STUDY AND PRACTICE OF THIRTY YEARS. TRANSLATED BY CHRISTOPHER HENRY HORST. Madras: Printed at the Vepery Mission Press. 1831

14	**Online_3** (Available at Google libri)	PR	1836	Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius (1790-1838)		1. English 2. Tamil	A GRAMMAR OF THE TAMIL LANGUAGE WITH AN APPENDIX. BY C. T. E. RHENIUS. MISSIONARY, TINNEVELLY. MADRAS: Printed at the Church Mission Press. 1836.
15	**Online_4** (Available at Google libri)	PR	1845	/		1. English 2. Tamil	ABRIDGMENT OF RHENIUS' TAMIL GRAMMAR. SECOND EDITION WITH ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS. MADRAS: AMERICAN MISSION PRESS TO BE HAD AT THE PRESS, ALSO OF E. S, MINOR, JAFFNA, AND OF REV. H. CHERRY, MADURA, 1845. *Price One Rupee.*
16	**JEM_221/599**	PR	1848	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	translated by George William Mahon	1. English 2. Tamil	A GRAMMAR OF THE COMMON DIALECT OF THE TAMUL LANGUAGE, CALLED கொடுந்தமிழ், COMPOSED FOR THE USE OF THE MISSIONARIES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, BY CONSTANTIUS JOSEPH BESCHI, MISSIONARY OF THE SAID SOCIETY IN THE DISTRICT OF MADURA. TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN BY GEORGE WILLIAM MAHON, A. M. GARRISON CHAPLAIN, FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS, AND LATE FELLOW OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD. MADRAS: PRINTED BY REUBEN TWIGO, AT THE CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY'S PRESS, VEPERY. 1848.
17	**Online_5** (Available at Google libri)	PR	1858 (1st ed. 1855, 3rd ed. 1867)	George Unglow Pope (1820-1908)		1. Tamil 2. Tamil 3. English used in the titles of each paragraph and chapter	A LARGER GRAMMAR OF THE TAMIL LANGUAGE IN BOTH ITS DIALECTS; TO WHICH ARE ADDED THE NÂNNÛL, YÂPPARUNGALAM, AND OTHER NATIVE AUTHORITIES; with copious exercises taken from the best authors, and an Analytical Index. BY THE REV. G. U. POPE "GRAMMAR, though a difficult study, is absolutely necessary in the search after philosophical truth.....and is no less necessary in the most important questions concerning religion and civil society." – HORNE TOOKE.

							MADRAS: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY P. R. HUNT, AT THE AMERICAN MISSION PRESS, 167 POPHAM'S BROADWAY. 1858.
18	**Online_6** (Available at Google libri)	PR	1859	George Unglow Pope (1820-1908)		1. English 2. Tamil	A TAMIL HAND-BOOK: OR FULL INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMON DIALECT OF THAT LANGUAGE, ON THE PLAN OF OLLENDORF AND ARNOLD. FOR THE USE OF FOREIGNERS LEARNING TAMIL, AND OF TAMULIANS LEARNING ENGLISH. With copious Vocabularies (Tamil-English, and English-Tamil), Appendices containing Reading Lessons, Analyses of Letters, Deeds, Complaints, Official Documents, and a Key to the Exercises BY THE REV. G. U. POPE *Head Master of the Ootacamund Grammar School.* கற்கக் கற்கக் கசடறும். *Difficulties will vanish as you learn on* - PROV. The second edition. MADRAS: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY P. R. BUNT. And sold at the American Mission Press. 1859. *Price Seven Rupees.*
19	**Online_7** (Voll. 1 & 2, available at Google libri)	PR	1863	Anon.		1. French 2. Tamil	GRAMMAIRE FRANÇAISE-TAMOULE, OÚ LES RÈGLES DU TAMOUL VULGAIRE, CELLES DE LA LANGUE RELEVÉE, ET CELLES DE LA POÉSIE TMOULE SE TROUVENT EXPOSÉES AU LONG PAR UN PROVICAIRE APOLOSTOLIQUE DE LA CONGRÉGATION DES MISSIONS ÉTRANGÈR. PONDICHERY, IMPRIMERIE DES MISSIONAIRE APOSTOLIQUE DE LA DITE CONGRÉGATION. 1863. Avec l'approbation des Supérieurs.
20	**Online_8** (Available at Google libri)	PR	1867	George Unglow Pope (1820-1908)		1. English 2. Tamil	A TAMIL HAND-BOOK: OR FULL INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMON DIALECT OF THAT LANGUAGE, ON THE PLAN OF OLLENDORF AND ARNOLD, FOR THE USE OF FOREIGNERS LEARNING TAMIL, AND OF TAMILIANS LEARNING ENGLISH. With copious Vocabularies

							(Tamil-English, and English-Tamil), Appendices containing Reading Lessons, Analyses of Letters, Deeds, Complaints, Official Documents. BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, D. D., *Master of Ootacamund Grammar School: Fellow of the Madras University; Member of the Leipzig Oriental S.* கற்கக் கற்கக் கசடறும். *Difficulties will vanish as you learn on.* – Prov. The third edition. Madras: PRINTED FOR J. HIGGINBOTHAM, MOUNT ROAD, At the Christian Knowledge Society's Press. 1867.
21	**Online_9** (Available at Google libri)	PR	1875 (2nd ed.)	Robert Caldwell (1814-1891)		1. English 2. Tamil	A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE DRAVIDIAN OR SOUTH-INDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES. BY THE REV. ROBERT CALDWELL, D.D. LL. D., HONORAY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, MISSIONARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AT EDEYENGOODY, TINNEVELLY SOUTHERN INDIA. Second edition, Revised and Enlarged. LONDON: TÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.1875.

Chart a.2 - DICTIONARY

ID no	Acronym for library/archive and manuscript shelf mark	Typology	year on the ms/ book	author	copyist	Languages 1. Headwords 2. meaning	Title given on the title page or on the first page of the main text
22	**JEM_MS222/2**	MS	March 6th, 1733	Balthazar Esteves da Cruz (ca. 18th c.) (maybe a copy of Antão de Proença (1625-1666)	Balthazar Esteves da Cruz (ca. 18th c.)	1. Tamil 2. Portuguese 2.a. Latin	Missing

23	**GSL_MS146A17**	MS	1735	Jacome Gonçalves (1676-1742)	Marco Angeloni, Copeado por um certo Mssionario de Ceylão P(adr)e de Congregação do Oratorio de S Philippe Neri et Goa	1. Portuguese 2. Tamil, Singalese	VOCABVLARIO, Lusitano-Tamulico-Chingalitico (1735)
24	**KSCLG_MS47 (ex 32)**	MS	1738	Balthazar Esteves da Cruz (ca. 18th c.)	Balthazar Esteves da Cruz (ca. 18th c.)	1. Portuguese 2. 2 Tamil	Not readable
25	**BL_MS.Eur/26/110**	MS	1744	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	Paschoal Manuel Dos Reys, 23 feb-mar; Thursd., 1750	1. Tamil, 2. Portuguese 3. Latin, Tamil	VULGARIS TAMULICÆ LINGUÆ DICTIONARIUM TAMULICO = LATINUM Additis Præfatione aliquot Regulis, necessario prælegendis. AUCTORE P. CONSTANTIO JOSEPHO BESCHIO SOC: JESU MISSIONARIO. A.D. MDCCXLIV.
26	**KSCLG_MS13 (ex 12)**	MS	1744	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)		1. Tamil, Portuguese 2. Latin, Tamil	VULGARIS TAMULICÆ LINGUÆ DICTIONARIUM TAMULICO – LATINUM. Additis Præfatione Aliquot Regulis, necessario prælegendis. AUCTORE P. CONSTANTIO JOSEPHO BESCHIO SOCIETATIS JESU MISSIONARIO. A.D. MDCCXLIV
27	**KSCLG_MS52 (ex 37)**	MS	1750	Domingo de Madeyra (1685-175?)	Domingo de Madeyra (1685-175?)	1. Tamil 2. Portuguese 3. Short grammar sketch in Latin	Ad M. D. G. Vocabulario Thamulico Luzitano para uso dos Missionarios da Companhia de JESV. Composto, e augmentado pello P. Domingos Madeyra da mesema Companhia

							Missionario na Missaõ de Madurej. Anno 1750[ii]
28	**BL_Mss.Eur.D104**	MS	1769	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	/	1. Tamil 2. Latin	VULGARIS TAMULICÆ LINGUÆ DICTIONARIUM TAMULICO = LATINUM. Additis Prefatione aliquot Regulis, necessario prælegendis, AUCTORE P. CONSTANTIO JOSEPHO BESCHIO SOC: JESU MISSIONARIO
29	**Online_10** (Available at Google libri)	PR	1779	English Missionaries of Madras[iii]		1. Tamil 2. English	தமிழும இங்கீலேசுமாயிருக்கீற அகராதி A MALABAR and ENGLISH DICTIONARY, WHEREIN THE WORDS AND PHRASES of the Tamulian Language, commonly called by Europeans the Malabar Language, ARE EXPLAINED IN ENGLISH By the English Missionaries of MADRAS. Printed at WEPERY near Madras. M. DCC. LXXIX.
30	**Online_11** (Available at Archiv.org)	PR	1809	Johann Philipp Fabricius (1711-1791) and Johann Christian Breithaupt († 1782)			தமிழும இங்கீலேசுமாயிருக்கீற அகராதி A MALABAR and ENGLISH DICTIONARY composed by the Rev: MeSsrs: Fabricius and Breithaupt English Missionaries at Madras and published in the year 1779. THE SECOND EDITION Revised & corrected by the Rev: Mr: Poezold, Mr: William Simpson and the Malabar Catechists. Printed at Vepery in the year 1809.
31	**JEM_MS n.d.**	MS	1785			1. Portuguese 1. 2. Tamil	Missing
32	**GSL_MS146A16**	MS	1838	P. De N. R. (?)		2. Portuguese 3. Tamil, Singalese	VOCABVLARIO LUZITANO TAMULICO E CHINGALATICO
33	**Online_12** (Available at	PR	1855 – Vol. 1	DEUX MISSIONAIRES		1. Tamil 2. Tamil, French	DICTIONNAIRE TAMOUL-FRANÇAIS, PAR DEUX MISSIONAIRES APOSTOLIQUES DE LA CONGRÉGATION

[ii] According to James (2000: 105) this is a version of Proença's work.
[iii] The English missionaries are Johann Philipp Fabricius (1711-1791) and Johann Christian Breithaupt († 1782).

	Google libri)		1862 – Vol. 2	APOSTOLIQUES DE LA CONGRÉGATION DES MISSIONS ÉTRANGÈRES		1.	DES MISSIONS ÉTRANGÈRES. அத்தியதேசத்துப்போதகர்சபையிலுள்ள அப்போஸ்தொலிக்குக்குருக்களிலிருவர் செய்தருளிய தமிழ் பிராஞ்சகாரதியின். PONDICHÉRY, IMPRIMERIE DES MISSIONAIRES APOSTOLIQUES DE LA DITE CONGREGATION. 1855 (Vol. 1)/1862 (Vol. 2). *Avec l'approbation des Supérieurs.*
34	**BnF_Ind_223** (Manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr)	MS	/	/	Maybe copy of MS44(ex32)	2. Portuguese 3. Tamil	VOCABVLARIO LVSITANO-TAMVLICO
35	**BnF_Ind_222** (Manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr)	MS	/	/	Maybe a copy of JEM_222/2	1. Tamil 2. Portuguese 3. Latin	VOCABVLARIO TAMVLICO-LVSITANO
36	**JEM_MS225/5**	MS	/	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)		1. Portuguese 2. Latin 3. Tamil	missing on the first part, only on the second p.: A.M.D.G VULGARIS TAMULICÆ LINGUÆ DICTIONARIUM. PARS SECUNDA. in qua LUSITANIS VOCIBUS Latinè explicatis Vulgaris Idiomatis TAMULICA VERBA adjunctur. AUCTORE P. CONSTANTIO JOSEPHO BESCHIO SOC: JESU MISSIONARIO.
37	**KSCLG_MS48 (ex 33)**	MS	/			1. Portuguese 2. Tamil	VOCABULARIO LUSITANO-TAMOUL
38	**KSCLG_MS49 (ex 36)**	MS	/	Balthasar da Costa (?) (ca. 1610-1673)		1. Portuguese 2. Tamil	VOCABVLARIO LVSITANO-TAMVLICO
39	**KSCLG_MS53 (ex 38)**	MS			Maybe a copy of Bnf_Ind 222 and JEM_222/2	1. Tamil 2. Portuguese	VOCABVLARIO TAMVLICO LVSITANO

40	**BnF_Ind_221** (Manuscript available at: gallica.bnf.fr)	MS			Maybe a copy of Bnf_Ind 222 and JEM_222/2	1. Tamil 2. Portuguese	VOCABVLARIO TAMVLICO-LVSITANO
41	**GSL_MS146A14**	MS		/	/	1. Tamil 2. Portuguese	VOCABULARIO TAMULICO EM LUZITANO

Chart a.3 – Religious Book

ID no	Acronym for library/archive and manuscript shelf mark	Typo-logy	year on the ms/ book	author	Copyist	Metalanguage	Title given on the title page or on the first page of the main text
42	**HOUG_Typ 100 578** (Available at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass)	PR	1578	Henrique Henriques (1520-1600)		Main text: Tamil Title and Colophons: Portuguese	*Doctrina cristaã tresladada em lingua tamul pello padrc[!] Anrique Anriquez da Cõpanhia de Iesv, & pello padre Manoel de São Pedro ... Impressa em Coulam no Collegio do Saluador: aos vĩte de octubro de .M.D.LXXVIII.* *Doctrina Christiana.* DOCTRINA CHRISTAM en Lingua Malauar Tamul. கொமபஞஞிய தெ செசு வகையில [அ]ணடிறிககிப பாதிரியார தமிழிலெ பிறிததெழுதின தமபிரான வணககம
43	**BLO_Vet.Tam. f. Or. 1**	PR	1579	Henrique Henriques (1520-1600)		Main text: Tamil	DOCTRINA CHRISTAM கிரீசிததியானி வணககம
44	**BLO_Vet.Tam. f. Or. 2**	PR	1580	Henrique Henriques (1520-1600)		Main text: Tamil	CONFESSIONAIRO கொமபெசியொனாயரு
45	**BSB-Hss Cod. Tam. 6**	MS	1642	Philippus Baldaeus	Francisco Fonseca	Tamil	Oraçaons DE SANCTA igreia Reformada de Nosso Señor J[seu] C[hristo] no Regno de Jaffnapatam

	(Available at Munich DigitiZation Center)			(1632-1671)	Canacapoli (translator)		na Ilha Ceylaon, com CATECHISMO dos mininos cristiaons e preguintas e respostas por uso d'aquellos q[ue] querem commingar na Santa I[greja] do Señor, compostas por R[everend]o Philippo Baldeu ministro pregador do Sancto Evang[elho] n'as igreias do Regno de Jaffnapatam e' traducidas na Lingoa Tamil por [sic] [lererado] Francisco Fonseca Canacapoli d'as mesmas igrejas
46	**KSCLG_MS6**	MS	1661	Balthasar Da Costa (ca. 1610-1673)		Main text: Portuguese Some sections: Latin	CATECHISMO EM Q[UE] SE EXPLICÃO TODAS AS VERDADES CATHOLICAS. NECESSARIAS PERA A SALVAÇAÕ CÔ[M] EXCᵐ ORDEM. Confutaõse tambem clarissimamente todas as Seitas gentilicas do Oriente. Obra verdadeiramente nascida pera converter gentios. COMPOSTO Em lingoa Tamul pello Venerauel P. Roberto Nobili da Comp[anhi]a de IESV Fvnd[ad]or da Missaõ d[e] Madure. Tradusido em lingoa Portuguesa pello P. Balthazar da Costa da mesma Comp[anhi]a Missionario da mesma Missaõ Em obsequio dos Missionarios da India Oriental. DEDICADO Ao mũy Alto & mũy Poderoso S[enh]or D Affonso VI Rey de Portugal & c.a. Anno de i66i.

Chart a.4 – Grammar and Dictionary

ID no	Acronym for library/archive and manuscript shelf mark	Typo-logy	year on the ms/ book	author	copyist	Languages 1. Headwords 2. Meaning Metalanguage (GR): a. Main text b. Examples c. Glosses/ funct. words	Title given on the title page or on the first page of the main text
47	**KSCLG_MS50 (ex 34)**	MS	1670	Antão De Proença (1625-1666) + B. Da Costa (ca. 1610-1673)		1. Tamil 2. Portuguese a. Portuguese b. Tamil c. Latin	Missing
48	**VL_Borg.Ind.12**	PR (Dict.) + MS (Gram.)	1679 (D) 1685 (G)	Antão De Proença (1625-1666) + B. Da Costa (ca. 1610-1673)	Paulo Francisco Barefoot Carmelite	1. Tamil 2. Portuguese a. Portuguese b. Tamil c. Latin	VOCABVLARIO TAMVLICO COM A SIGNIFI-CAÇAM PORTVGVEZA. COMPOSTO PELLO P. ANTAM DE PROENÇA DA COMPANHIA DE IESV MISSIONARIO DA MISSAM DE MADUREY. Com todas as licenças necessaria da Santa Inquizição, E dos Superio-res. Na Imprenssa Tamulica da Prouincia do Malabar, por Ignacio Archamoni impressor dela, Ambalacatta em 30. de Julho 1679 annos.
49	**BL_MS Eur.E.121**	MS	1743	Pere Dominique de Pondicherry		1. French 2. Tamil a. French b. Tamil c. Latin	DICTIONAIRE ET GRAMAIRE FRANCOIS TAMOVL. Compose par le Reuerend Pere Dominique, Missionaire Apostolique et Superieur a Pondichery. PONDICHERY MDCCXLIII [the title page is printed]
50	**VEL_MS Varia 53**	MS	1793	Honorato Utinensi		1. Tamil, Portuguese 2. Portuguese, Tamil	Grammatica Tamilica à Fr. Honorato Utinensi Cappuccino Miss.° Ap.° Madraspatam in India Orientali exacta Anno Domini 1793.

51	**KSCLG_MS51 (ex 35)**	MS	nd	Costa?		1. Tamil 2. Portuguese a. Portuguese b. Tamil c. Latin	missing

Chart a.5 – Grammar and Religious Book

ID no	**Acronym for library/archive and manuscript shelf mark**	**Typo-logy**	**year on the ms/ book**	**author**	**copyist**	**Metalanguage** **1. Language of the main text (GR)** **2. Language of examples** **3. Language for glosses/funct. words** **4. Language of RB**	**Title given on the title page or on the first page of the main text**
52	**Sta_Cod.Orient.283 (elect)**	MS	1659-1665	Gaspar De Aguilar (1548-nd) / Philippus Baldaeus (1632-1671)	Philippus Baldaeus) ?(	1. Portuguese 2. Tamil 3. Latin, Sanskrit 4. Tamil	Arte Tamul SIVE INSTITVTIO GRAMMATICA LINGÆ MALABARICÆ SVM PHILIPPI BALDÆJ VDM IN REGNO Jaffnapatam 1659= பிலிபபி வலஜதெயுசு 1665
53	**KSCLG_MS66 (ex 49)**	MS	1731 (?)	Balthasar Da Costa (ca. 1610-1673)	/	1. Portuguese 2. Tamil 3. Latin 4. Tamil	Arte Tamulica composta pello P[adr]e Balthazar da Costa da Comp[anhi]a de JESV
54	**ARSI_Goa706b**	MS	17th cent.	Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733)		1. Latin 2. Tamil 3. Italian, Latin 4. Tamil	missing
55	**KSCLG_MS16 (ex 15)**	MS	1794 - 1890	Paulo Francisco de Noronha	Father Domingo (copyist of	1. Portuguese 2. Tamil 3. Latin	Grammatica Tamulica da [sic] [sic] Padre Paulo Francisco de Noronha Missionario de Madurai [sic] [natural de Ucassaim, do concelho de

				(on the title page) (1780-1848) Balthasar da Costa (ca. 1610-1673) (author of the Tamil grammar included in the ms)	three sections of the manuscript), MARCH 31ST, 1794	4. Tamil (final glossary TA-PT of poetical and religious terms)	Bardez] [sic] Goa. 1890 [sic]. Uccassaim.

Acronym for libraries and archives:	**List of authors in chronological order**	**Order**
ARSI = Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, IT	Henrique Henriques (1520-1600)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
BL = British Library, London, UK	Gaspar De Aguilar (1548-nd)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
BLO = Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, UK	Balthasar Da Costa (ca. 1610-1673)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
BnF = Bibliothèque National Française, Paris, FR	Antão de Proença (1625-1666)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
BSB = Bayerische Staats Bibliothek, Munich, GER	Philippus Baldaeus (1632-1671)	Protestant – Calvinist, Dutch Reformed Church
GSL = Library of the Geographical Society, Lisbon, PT	Jacome Gonçalves (1676-1742)	Roman Catholic – Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri
HOUG = Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass	Costantino Giuseppe Beschi (1680-1747)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
JEM = Jesuit Archive of Madurai, Shembaganur, IN	Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733)	Roman Catholic – Carmelite
KSCLG= Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library, IN	Domingo de Madeyra (1685-175?)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
NLL = National Library of Lisbon, PT	Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719)	Protestant – Lutheran, Pietist
SOAS= SOAS, University of London, UK	Dominique de Valence (1696-1778)	Roman Catholic - Capuchin

Sta= State and University Library Carl von Ossietzky, Hamburg, GER	P. de La Lane (?)	-
VE_Mar= Marciana Library, Venice, IT	Balthazar Esteves da Cruz (ca. 18th c.)	Roman Catholic - Jesuit
VEL= National Library Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, IT	Onorato da Udine (ca. 18th c.)	Roman Catholic - Capuchin
VL= Vatican Library, Rome, IT	Christophoro Theodosio Walther (1699-1741)	Protestant
	Johann Philipp Fabricius (1711-1791)	Protestant – Lutheran
	Paulo Francisco de Noronha (1780-1848)	Roman Catholic – Carmelite
	Johann Christian Breithaupt (†1782)	-
	Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius (1790-1838)	Protestant – Church Mission Society, Anglican
	Robert Caldwell (1814-1891)	Protestant – London Missionary Society
	George Unglow Pope (1820-1908)	Protestant – Anglican

Sources listed in Appendix 1 that are available online:

Doc. BnF_Ind_188 available at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10091793h.r=ind 188Indien 188 Indien 188?rk=128756;0

Doc. 5, BnF_Ind_189 available at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531609463/f3

Doc. 6, BSB_online_1 available at: https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10571740_00001.html

Doc. 9, *Online_2* available at:
https://books.google.it/books?id=mnEIAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=MALABAR+LANGUAGE&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjfwKnfxY7oAhUww8QBHVfJBAEQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=MALABAR%20LANGUAGE&f=false

Doc. 14, *Online_3* available at:
https://books.google.it/books?id=W1IIAAAAQAAJ&pg=PR1&dq=A+GRAMMAR+OF+THE+TAMIL+LANGUAGE+WITH+AN+APPENDIX+BY+C.+T.+E.+RHENIUS.+MISSIONARY,+TINNEVELLY&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjg26aGxo7oAhUGXpoKHZo3Cq4Q6AEINTAB#v=onepage&q=A%20GRAMMAR%20OF%20THE%20TAMIL%20LANGUAGE%20WITH%20AN%20APPENDIX%20BY%20C.%20T.%20E.%20RHENIUS.%20MISSIONARY%2C%20TINNEVELLY&f=false

Doc. 15, *Online_4* available at:
https://books.google.it/books?id=TeAPAAAAYAAJ&pg=PP5&dq=Abridgment+of+Rhenius'+Tamil+Grammar.+Second+edition+with+additions+a

nd+improvements&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiNrY2vxo7oAhXOxaYKHWP0BL0Q6AEILDAA#v=onepage&q=Abridgment%20of%20Rhenius'%20Tamil%20Grammar.%20Second%20edition%20with%20additions%20and%20improvements&f=false
Doc. 17, *Online_5* available at:
https://books.google.it/books?id=AKNFAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=A+Larger+Grammar+of+the+Tamil+Language+in+both+its+Dialects&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi1yNj7xo7oAhXJtYsKHXnCAx8Q6AEILjAA%20-%20v=onepage&q=A%20Larger%20Grammar%20of%20the%20Tamil%20Language%20in%20both%20its%20Dialects&f=false
Doc. 18, *Online_6* available at: https://books.google.it/books?id=A35FAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=A+TAMIL+HAND-BOOK:+OR+FULL+INTRODUCTION+TO+THE+COMMON+DIALECT+OF+THAT+LANGUAGE,&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiH-KqUx47oAhVMxaYKHd4KBJMQ6AEIMjAB#v=onepage&q=A%20TAMIL%20HAND-BOOK%3A%20OR%20FULL%20INTRODUCTION%20TO%20THE%20COMMON%20DIALECT%20OF%20THAT%20LANGUAGE%2C&f=false
Doc. 19, *Online_7* available at: https://books.google.fr/books?id=XZZFAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false
Doc. 20, *Online_8* available at: https://books.google.it/books?id=elEIAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA3&dq=A+TAMIL+HAND-BOOK:++OR++FULL+INTRODUCTION+TO+THE+COMMON+DIALECT++OF+THAT+LANGUAGE.++ON+THE+PLAN+OF++OLLENDORF+AND+ARNOLD,+FOR+THE+USE+OF+FOREIGNERS+LEARNING+TAMIL,+AND+OF++TAMILIANS+LEARNING+ENGLISH.+With+copious&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwivv6zMje7rAhXIllsKHSbdCpQQ6AEwAHoECAMQAg#v=onepage&q=A%20TAMIL%20HAND-BOOK%3A%20%20OR%20%20FULL%20INTRODUCTION%20TO%20THE%20COMMON%20DIALECT%20%20OF%20THAT%20LANGUAGE%2C%20%20ON%20THE%20PLAN%20OF%20%20OLLENDORF%20AND%20ARNOLD%2C%20FOR%20THE%20USE%20OF%20FOREIGNERS%20LEARNING%20TAMIL%2C%20AND%20OF%20%20TAMILIANS%20LEARNING%20ENGLISH.%20With%20copious&f=false
Doc. 21, *Online_9* available at:
https://books.google.it/books?id=01RlAAAAcAAJ&pg=PR15&dq=A+%7C+COMPARATIVE+GRAMMAR+%7C+OF+THE+%7C+DRAVIDIAN+%7C+OR+SOUTH-INDIAN+FAMILY+OF+LANGUAGES.+%7C+BY+THE+%7C+REV.+ROBERT+CALDWELL,+D.D.+LL.D.++%7C+HONORABLY&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjHzo_Xx47oAhXGcJoKHYdkA3QQ6AEINDAB#v=onepage&q=A%20%7C%20COMPARATIVE%20GRAMMAR%20%7C%20OF%20THE%20%7C%20DRAVIDIAN%20%7C%20OR%20SOUTH-INDIAN%20FAMILY%20OF%20LANGUAGES.%20%7C%20BY%20THE%20%7C%20REV.%20ROBERT%20CALDWELL%2C%20D.D.%20LL.D.%20%20%7C%20HONORABLY&f=false
Doc. 29, *Online_10* available at:
https://books.google.it/books?id=GXUIAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=A+%7C+MALABAR+and+ENGLISH+%7C+DICTIONARY%7C&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjSxPfqyI7oAhVT8aYKHZlkC0MQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=A%20%7C%20MALABAR%20and%20ENGLISH%20%7C%20DICTIONARY%7C&f=false

Doc. 30, *Online_11* available at: https://archive.org/details/tamilumaiakilcu01simpgoog
Doc. 33, *Online_12* Volume 1 available at: https://books.google.it/books?id=77lFAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
Doc. 33, *Online_*12 Volume 2 available at: https://books.google.it/books?id=ULJFAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=DICTIONNAIRE+TAMOUL-FRANÇAIS,+PAR+DEUX+MISSIONAIRES+APOSTOLIQUES+DE+LA+CONGRÉGATION+DES+MISSIONS+ÉTRANGERES.&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwinyo-Yyo7oAhXZwcQBHaBuBiYQ6AEIKzAA#v=onepage&q=DICTIONNAIRE%20TAMOUL-FRANÇAIS%2C%20PAR%20DEUX%20MISSIONAIRES%20APOSTOLIQUES%20DE%20LA%20CONGRÉGATION%20DES%20MISSIONS%20ÉTRANGERES.&f=false
Doc. 34, BnF_Ind_223 available at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52509282d/f9.image.r=indien 223
Doc. 35, BnF_Ind_222 available at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52509281z/f9.image.r=indien 222
Doc. 40, BnF_Ind_221 available at: https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc103757b
Doc. 42, HOUG_Typ 100 578 available at: https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53909112$1i
Doc. 45, BSB-Hss Cod.Tam.6 available at: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0008/bsb00084489/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00084489&seite=1
Doc. 48, VL_Borg.Ind.12 available at: https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Borg.ind.12

Appendix 2

Examples of paratexts in manuscripts and printed books

Section 1. Substance paratexts of second level

a. Discursive

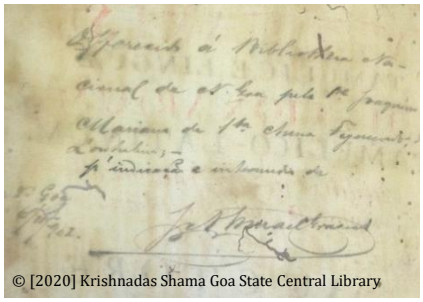
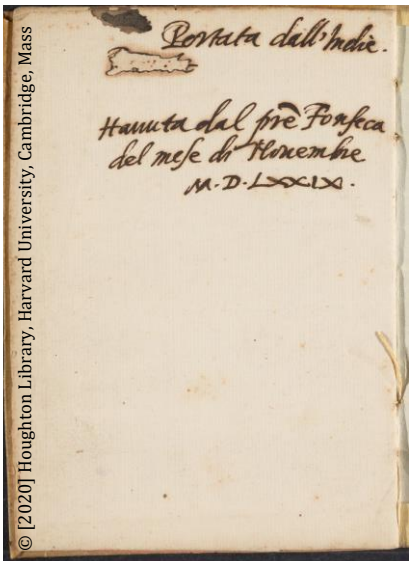

© [2020] Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library

Fig. 1: KSCLG_MS13 (ex 12) [doc. 26, App. 1]


© [2020] Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass

Portata dall'Indie.

Hauuta dal pre Fonseca
del mese di Nouembre
M.D.LXXIX.

Fig. 2: HOUG_Typ 100 578 [doc. 42, App. 1]

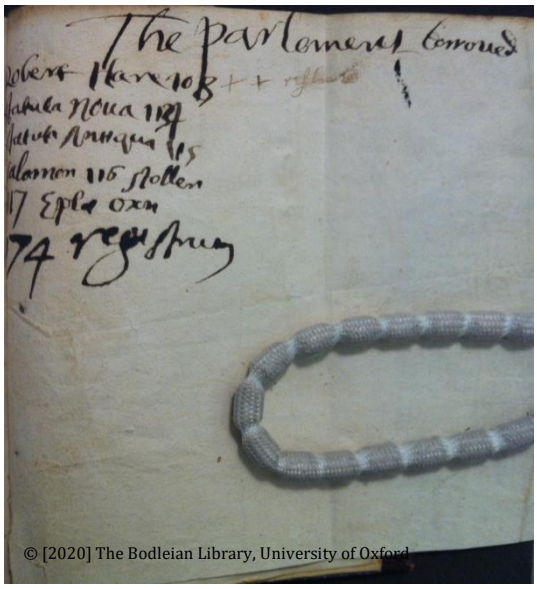


Fig. 3: BLO_Vet.Tam.fOr 1 (1579) and BLO_Vet.Tam.f.Or 2 (1580) [doc. 43 and 44, App. 1]

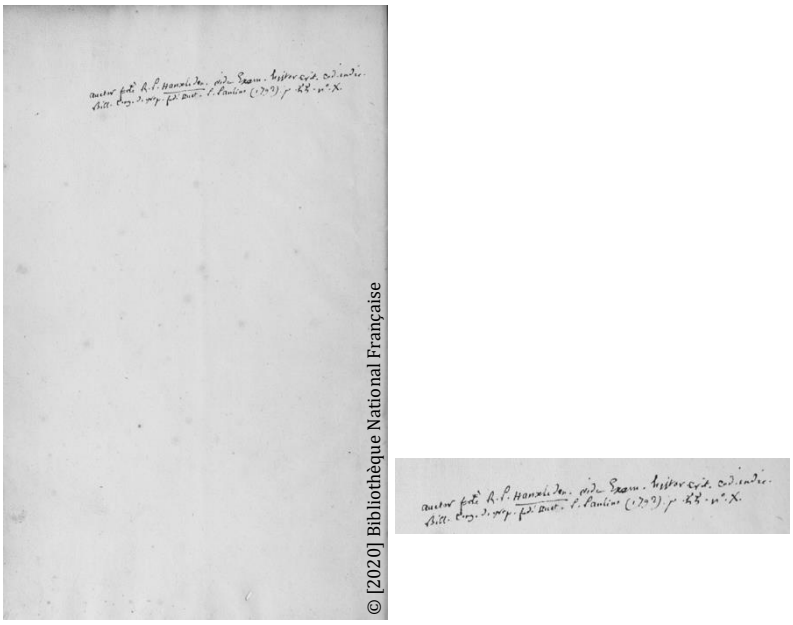


Fig. 4: BnF_Ind_221«Auctor [sic] R. P. Hanxleden vide Exam history. Crist. Cod. Indic. Bibl. Congr. De prop. Fide Auct. P. Paulino (1792) p. 55 n° X » – **[doc. 40, App. 1]**

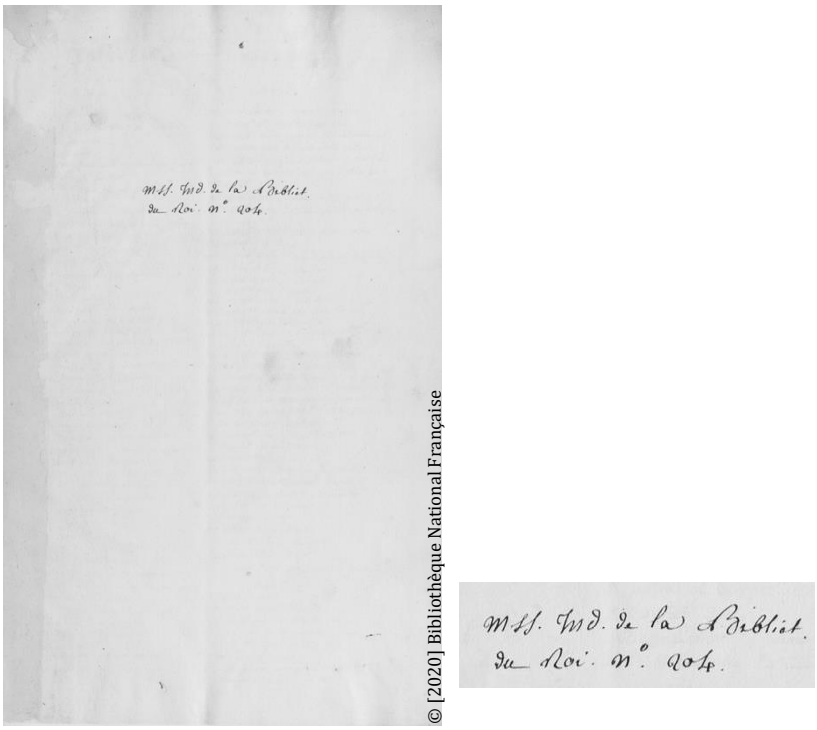


Fig. 5: BnF_Ind_221«mss.Ind.de la Bibliot. Du Roi n° 204»
[doc. 40, App. 1]

b. Visual

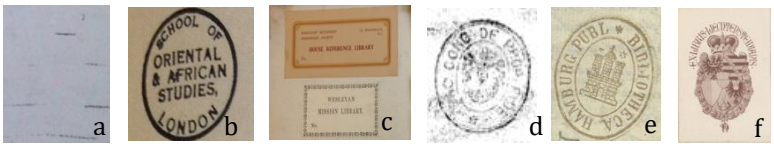


Fig. 6: seals

a. NLL_Cod.Or.3141 – ca. 1548 **[doc. 1, App. 1]**

b. SOAS_MS 7107 – 1671/2 **[doc. 2, App. 1]**

c. SOAS_MMSL INS-T65 – 1716 **[doc. 3, App. 1]**

d. VL_Borg.Ind.12 – 1679 **[doc. 48, App. 1]**

e. Sta_Cod.Orient.283 – 1659/65 **[doc. 52, App. 1]**

f. HOUG_Typ.100.578 – 1578 **[doc. 42, App. 1]**

Section 2: Substance paratexts of first level

a. Title page

Fig. 7: BnF_Ind_221 [doc. 40, App. 1]

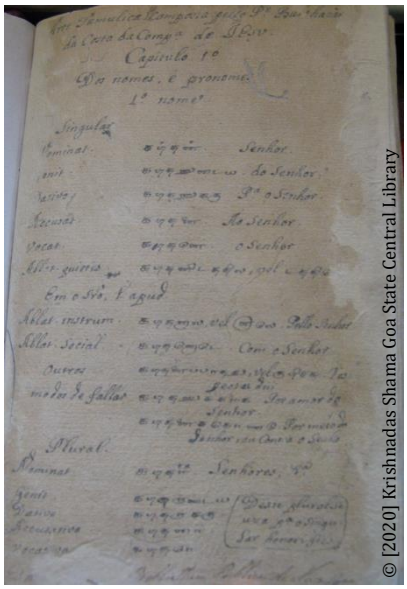


Fig. 8: KSCLG_MS66 (ex 49) [doc. 53, App. 1]

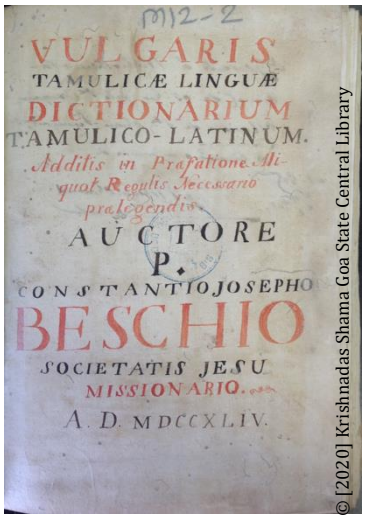


Fig. 9: KSCLG_MS13 (ex 12) – 1744 [doc. 26, App. 1]

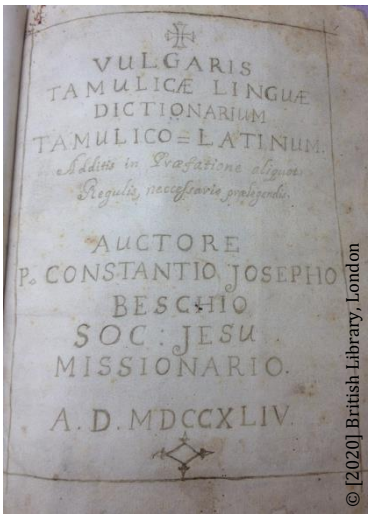


Fig.10: BL_MS.Eur/26/110 – 1744 [doc. 25, App. 1]

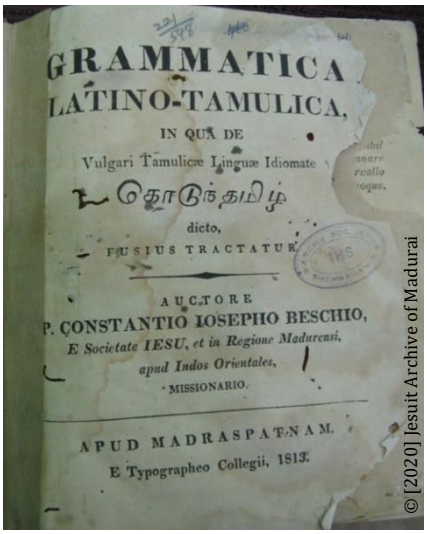

GRAMMATICA
LATINO-TAMULICA,
IN QUA DE
Vulgari Tamulicæ Linguæ Idiomate
கொடுந்தமிழ்
dicto,
PLURIMUS TRACTATUR
AUCTORE
P. CONSTANTIO IOSEPHO BESCHIO,
E Societate IESU, et in Regione Madurensi,
apud Indos Orientales,
MISSIONARIO.
APUD MADRASPATNAM.
E Typographeo Collegii, 1813.
© [2020] Jesuit Archive of Madurai

Fig. 11: JEM_221/598 – 1813 [doc. 11, App. 1]

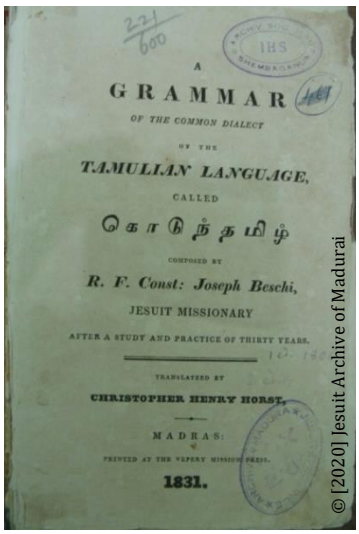

A
GRAMMAR
OF THE COMMON DIALECT
OF THE
TAMULIAN LANGUAGE,
CALLED
கொடுந்தமிழ்
COMPOSED BY
R. F. Const: Joseph Beschi,
JESUIT MISSIONARY
AFTER A STUDY AND PRACTICE OF THIRTY YEARS.
TRANSLATED BY
CHRISTOPHER HENRY HORST.
MADRAS:
1831.
© [2020] Jesuit Archive of Madurai

Fig. 12: JEM_221/600 – 1831 [doc. 13, App. 1]

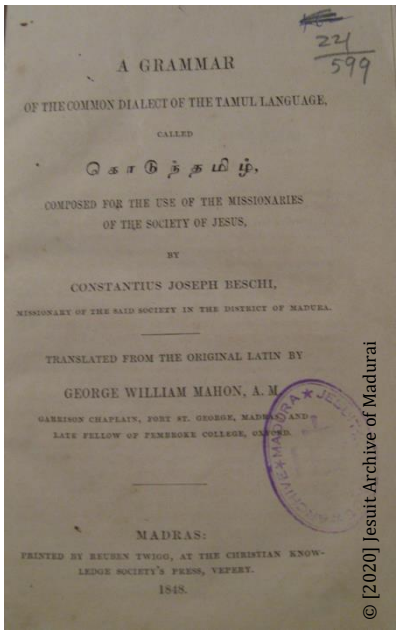
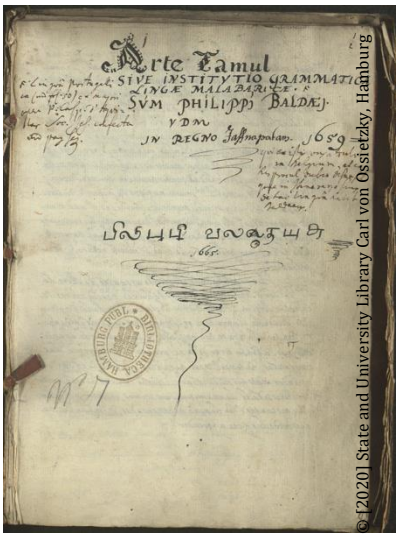

A GRAMMAR
OF THE COMMON DIALECT OF THE TAMUL LANGUAGE,
CALLED
கொடுந்தமிழ்,
COMPOSED FOR THE USE OF THE MISSIONARIES
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS,
BY
CONSTANTIUS JOSEPH BESCHI,
MISSIONARY OF THE SAID SOCIETY IN THE DISTRICT OF MADURA.
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN BY
GEORGE WILLIAM MAHON, A. M.
GARRISON CHAPLAIN, FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS; AND
LATE FELLOW OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD.
MADRAS:
PRINTED BY REUBEN TWIGG, AT THE CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY'S PRESS, VEPERY.
1848.
© [2020] Jesuit Archive of Madurai

Fig. 13: JEM_221/599 – 1848 [doc. 16, App. 1]



© [2020] State and University Library Carl von Ossietzky, Hamburg

Fig. 14: Sta_Cod.Orient.283 – 1659/65 [doc. 52, App. 1]

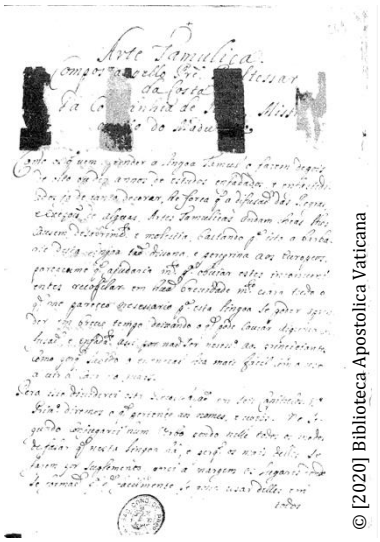


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Fig. 15: VL_Borg.Ind.12 – 1685 [doc. 48, App. 1]

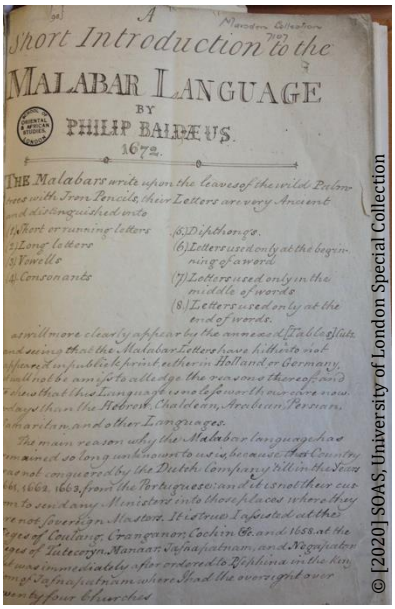

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Fig. 16: SOAS_MS 7107 – 1671/2 [doc. 2, App. 1]

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Fig. 17: VL_Borg.Ind.12 – 1679 [doc. 48, App. 1]

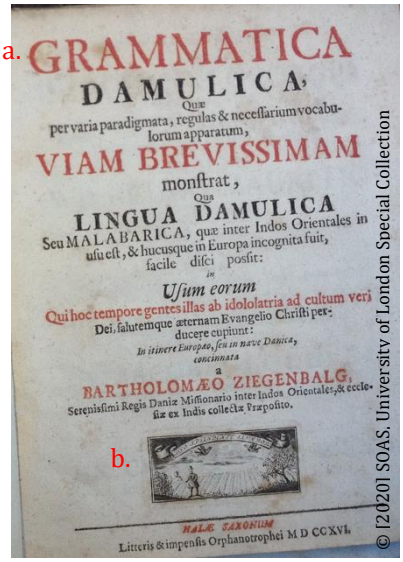


Fig. 18: SOAS_MMSL INS-T65 – 1716 [doc. 3, App. 1]

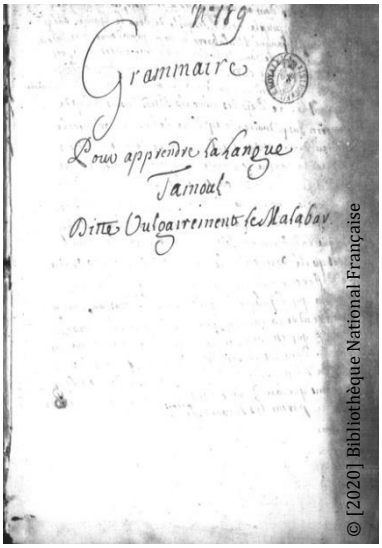


Fig. 19: BnF_Ind_189 – 1728 [doc. 5, App. 1]

Fig. 20: BSB_Online_1 – 1739 [doc. 6, App. 1]

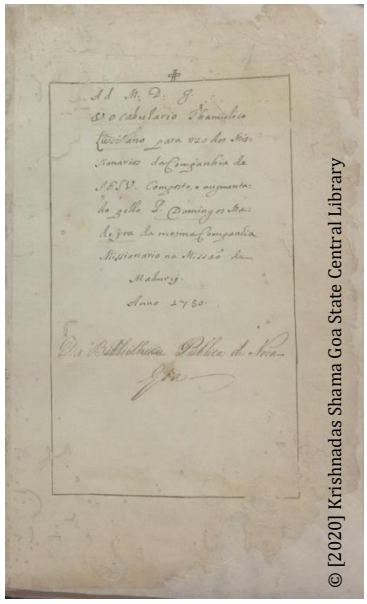
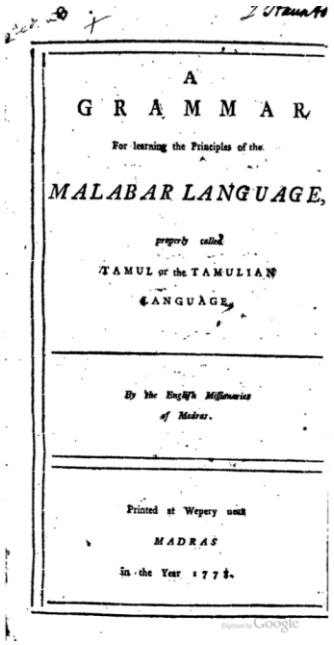


Fig. 21: KSCLG_MS 52(ex 37) – 1750 [doc. 27, App. 1]



A

GRAMMAR

For learning the Principles of the

MALABAR LANGUAGE,

properly called

TAMUL or the TAMULIAN

LANGUAGE,

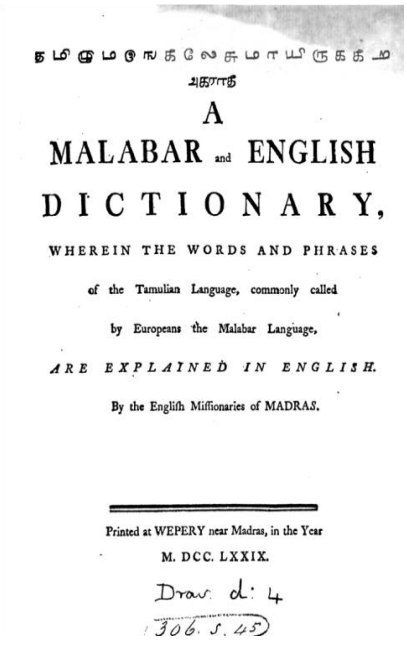
By the English Miſſionaries of Madras.

Printed at Wepery near

MADRAS

in the Year 1778.

Fig. 22: Online_2 – 1778 [doc. 9, App. 1]



A

MALABAR and ENGLISH

DICTIONARY,

WHEREIN THE WORDS AND PHRASES

of the Tamulian Language, commonly called

by Europeans the Malabar Language,

ARE EXPLAINED IN ENGLISH.

By the Engliſh Miſſionaries of MADRAS.

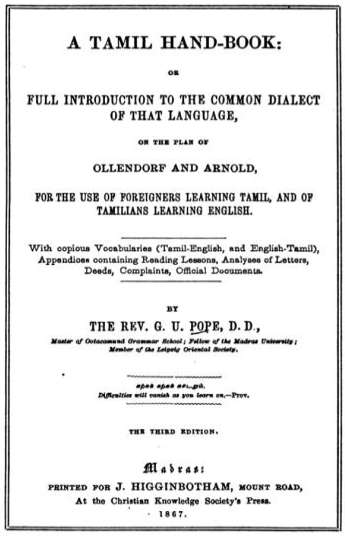
Printed at WEPERY near Madras, in the Year

M. DCC. LXXIX.

Draw. d: 4

306. S. 45

Fig. 23: Online_10 – 1779 [doc. 29, App. 1]



A TAMIL HAND-BOOK:

OR

FULL INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMON DIALECT OF THAT LANGUAGE,

ON THE PLAN OF

OLLENDORF AND ARNOLD,

FOR THE USE OF FOREIGNERS LEARNING TAMIL, AND OF TAMILIANS LEARNING ENGLISH.

With copious Vocabularies (Tamil-English, and English-Tamil), Appendices containing Reading Lessons, Analyses of Letters, Deeds, Complaints, Official Documents.

BY

THE REV. G. U. POPE, D. D.,

Master of Octacamund Grammar School; Fellow of the Madras University; Member of the Leipzig Oriental Society.

open open ope...pih.

Difficulties will vanish as you learn on.—Prov.

THE THIRD EDITION.

Madras:

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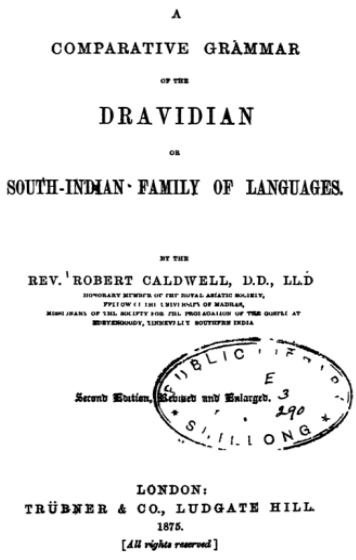
At the Christian Knowledge Society's Press.

1867.

Fig. 24: Online_8 – 1867 [doc. 20, App. 1]



A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

DRAVIDIAN

OR

SOUTH-INDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

BY THE

REV. ROBERT CALDWELL, D.D., LL.D

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS,

MISSIONARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AT

SECOND Edition, Rewritten and Enlarged.

LONDON:

TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.

1875.

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Fig. 25: Online_9 – 1875 [doc. 21, App. 1]

b. Colophons

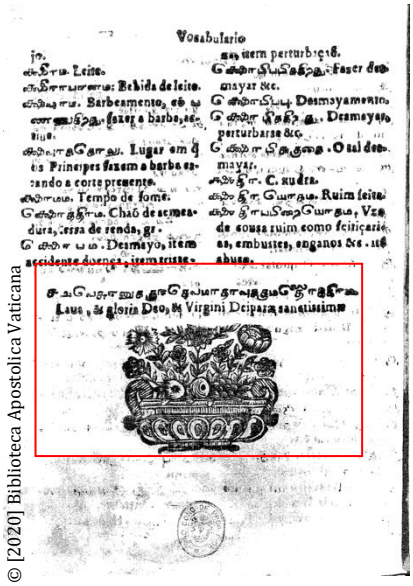


Fig. 26: VL_Borg.Ind.12 – 1679 [doc. 48, App. 1]

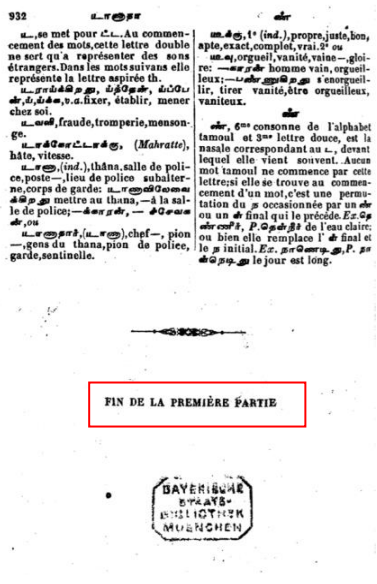


Fig. 27: Online_12 – 1855 [doc. 33, App. 1]

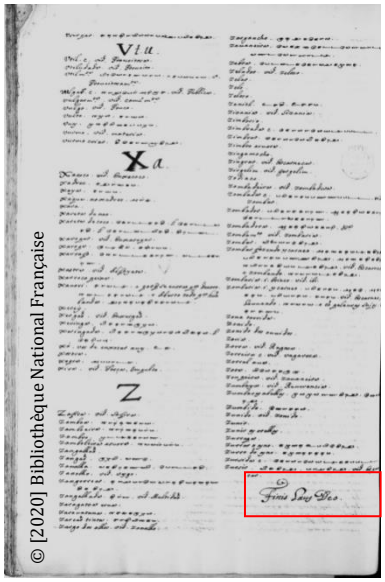


Fig. 28: BnF_Ind_223 [doc. 34, App. 1]

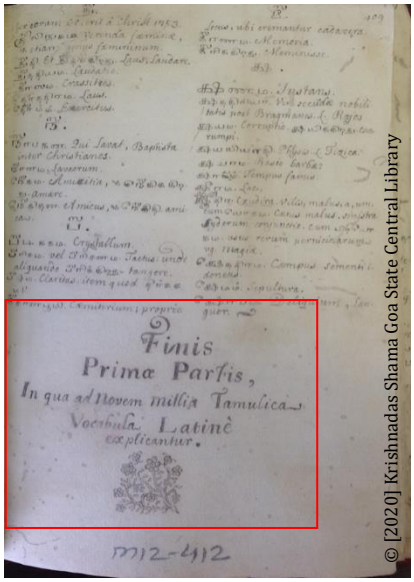
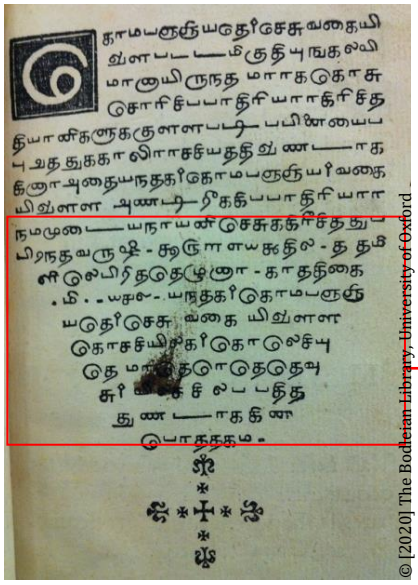


Fig. 29: KSCLG_MS13 (ex 12) [doc. 26, App. 1]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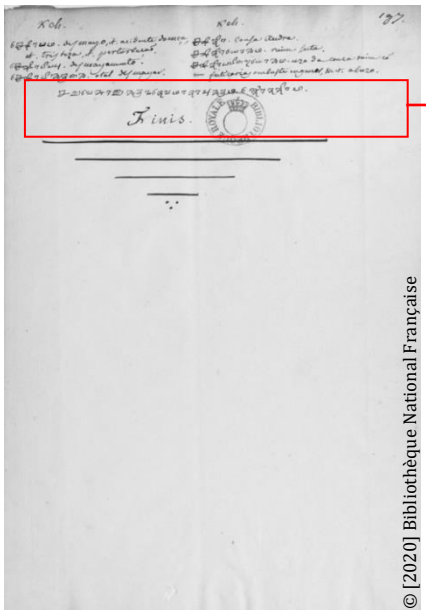
1579. tamiḻile piṟitta eḻuṉār. k(ā)rtikkai. mācam. 14.tēti
anta compañña de cecu vakaiyiluḷḷa kocciyil.k koleciyu de mādere de tevucuvil.c cila.p patittuṇṭākkiṉa pottakam.

Fig. 30: BLO_Vet.Tam.f.Or.1 [doc. 43, App. 1]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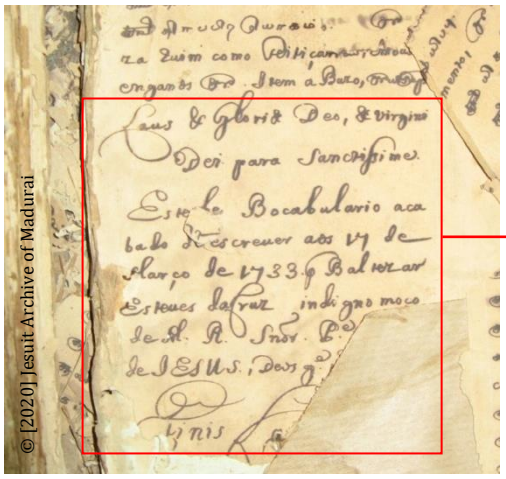
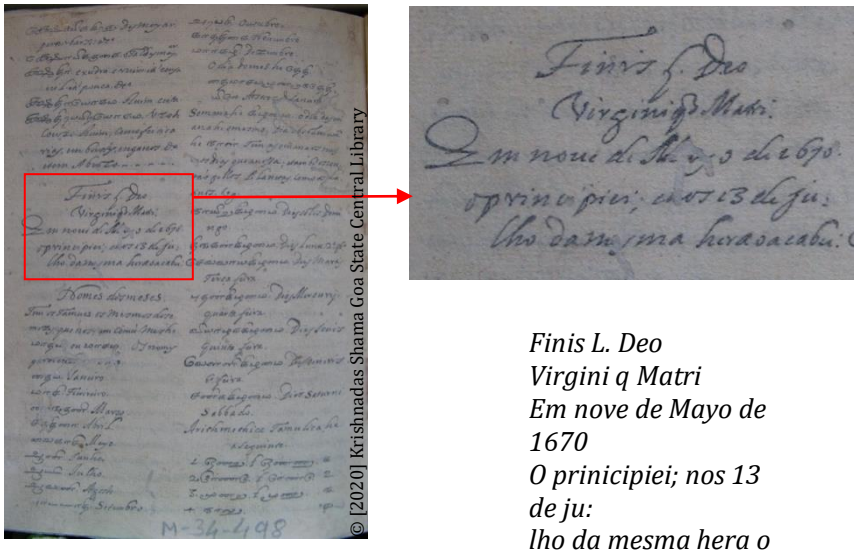
caṟuvecuraṉukkum teva mātāvukku ṭistottiram.
Finis

Fig. 31: BnF_Ind_221 [doc. 40, App. 1]



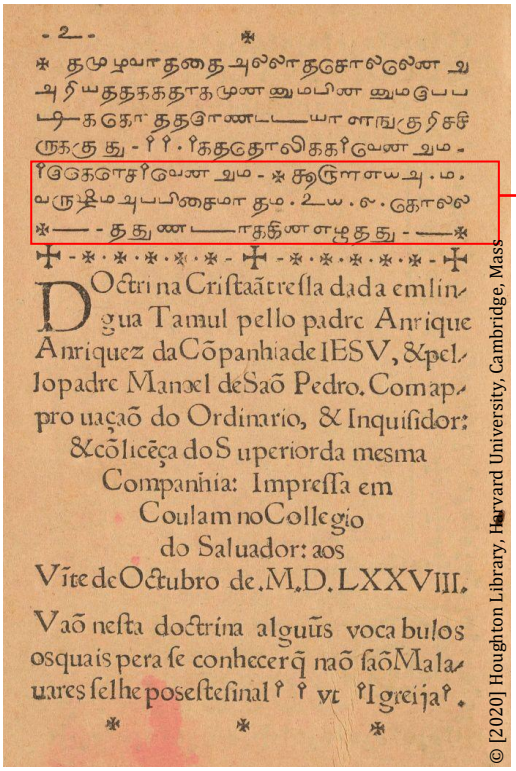
Laus & Gloria Deo, &Virgini Dei para sanctificar Este Bocavulario acabado de escrever aos VI de Março de 1733 p(ara) Balthazar Esteves da Cruz, indigno moço de III R. S(enhor) P(adre) [sic] de Jesus, Deos p(ara) [sic]

Fig. 32: JEM_MS222/2 – 1733 [doc. 22, App. 1]



Finis L. Deo
Virgini q Matri
Em nove de Mayo de 1670
O prinicipiei; nos 13 de ju:
lho da mesma hera o acabei

Fig. 33: KSCLG_MS50 (ex 34) – 1670 [doc. 47, App. 1]



1578.ma. varuṣam appicai mātam. 20. t[ē]ti. kolla - ttuṇṭākkiṉa eḻuttu

Fig. 34: HOUG_Typ 100 578 – 1578 [doc. 42, App. 1]

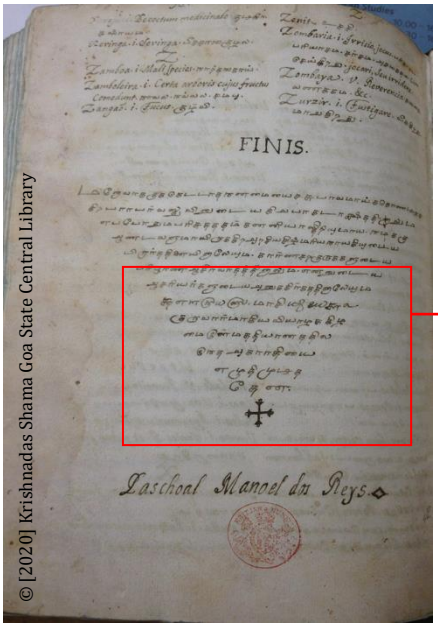


Fig. 35: BL_MS.Eur/26/110 – 1744 [doc. 25, App. 1]

1750. Varuṣam[1] maci macām[2] 26 tēti[3] guruvāram[4] ākiya viyaḷakkiḻamai[5] iḻammattiyāṉattil inta ākāratiyai eḻuti muṭittēṉ.

1. YJ1 for year
2. M3 for month
3. D1 for day
4. Saturn
5. day

(Cf. Ciotti/Franceschini 2016: 59-129)

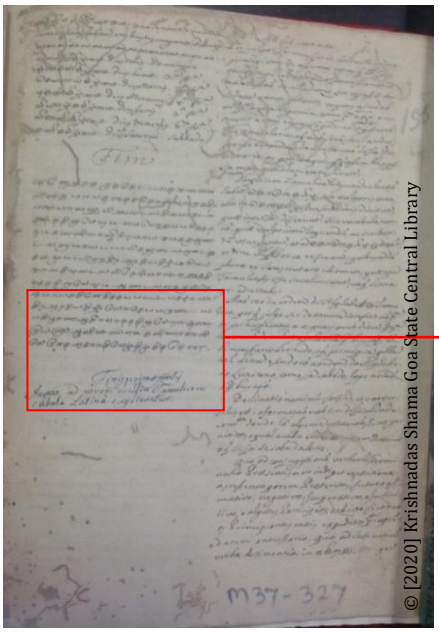


Fig. 36: KSCLG_MS52 (ex 37) – 1750 [doc. 27, App. 1]

1750. Varuṣam[1] āṉimacām[2] 17 tēti[3] caṉivār nāḷilē inta ākārati.y eḻutittēṉ*

1. YJ6 for year
2. M1 for month
3. D1 for day
4. Saturn
5. day

(Cf. Ciotti/Franceschini 2016: 59-129)

Finis primæ partis In quæ ad novem millia Tamulica vocabula Latina explicantur

Section 3: Visual paratexts

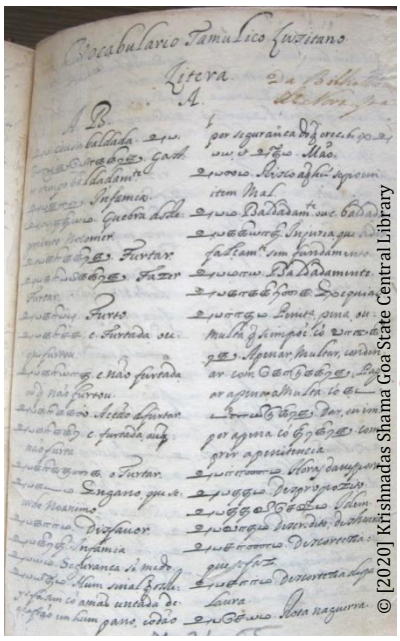


Fig. 37: KSCLG_MS50 (ex 34) – 1670 [doc. 47, App. 1]

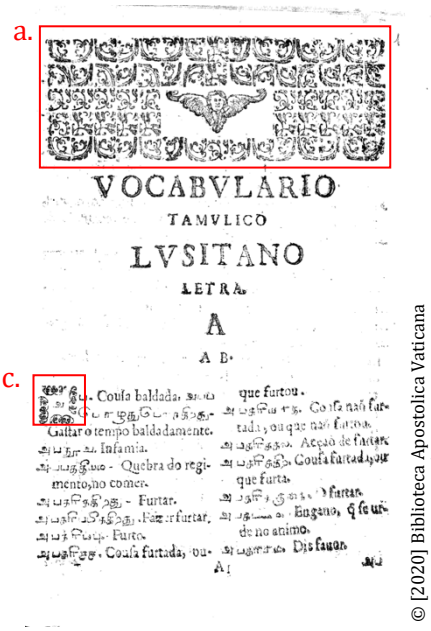


Fig. 38: VL_Borg.Ind.12 – 1679 [doc. 48, App. 1]

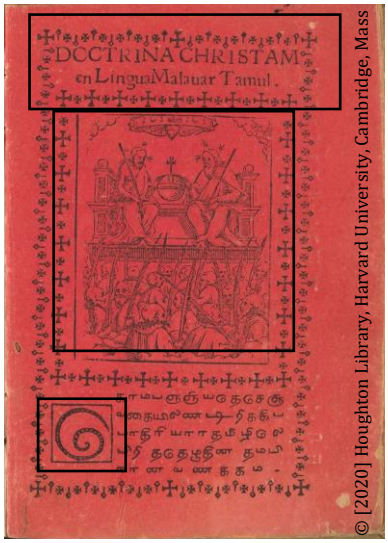


Fig. 39: HOUG_Typ 100 578 – 1578 [doc. 42, App. 1]

Fig. 40: BLO_Vet.Tam.f.Or.1 – 1579 [doc. 43, App. 1]

Fig. 41: BLO_Vet.Tam.f.Or.2 – 1580 [doc. 44, App. 1]

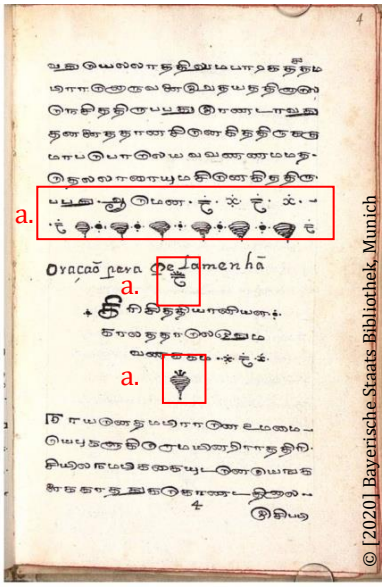


Fig. 42: BSB_Hss_Cod.Tam.6 – 1642 [doc. 45, App. 1]

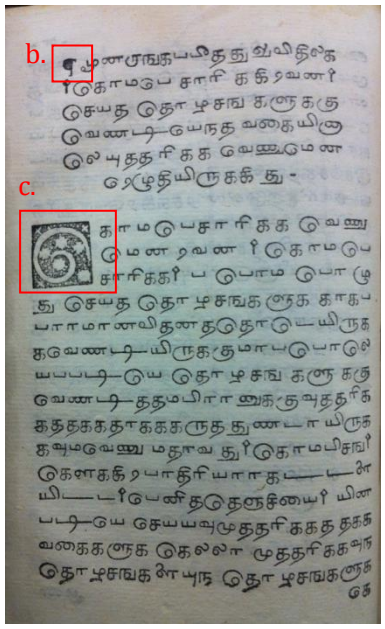


Fig. 43 : BLO_Vet.Tam.f.Or.2 – 1580 [doc. 44, App. 1]

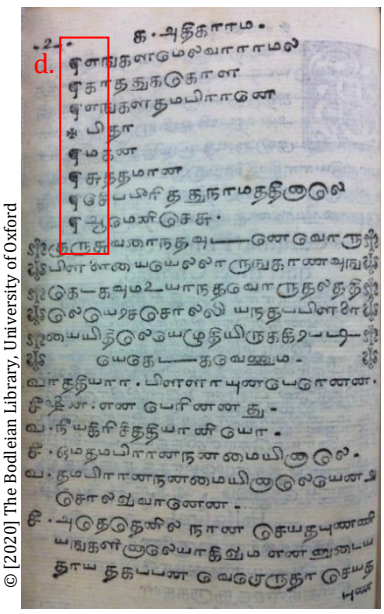


Fig. 44: BLO_Vet.Tam.f.Or.1 – 1579 [doc. 43, App. 1]

a.

I. N: I.

CAPVT PRIMVM,

DE LITTERIS TAMVLICIS.

§ I. De nvmero et pronvncia-tione litterarvm.

c.

Rdo litterarum hujus linguæ idem
sit qui matris தாய்தகம் *Graudam*,
ceterarumque hujus filiarum in In-
dia intra Gangem: numero tamen
pauciores sunt. Grammatici nume-
rant அயிரெழுத்து *vocales bis*
sex, et உயிர்மெய்யெழுத்து *con-*
sonas ter sex, seu, quod idem, அயிர்பன்னிரண்டு
மெய்பதினெட்டு, *XII*
et XVIII. Nam figura ஔ, ae, quæ vocalibus adjec-
ta pueris elementariis præscribitur, tantummodo præ-
stat vicem consonæ, in quam definit syllaba composita,
estque signum conatus, quo illa effertur. Ceterum uti
Priscianus, *Tantum*, ait, *fere interest inter vocales et con-*
sonantes, quantum inter ANIMAS *et* CORPORA, cetera;
ad quam comparationem dudum alluserunt antiquis-
simi Ebræorum magistri: ita dictæ voces அயிர் seu
ஆவி et உடம்பு seu மெய் pariter signifi-
cant, vocalem *animare corpus* litteræ. Et quemadmo-
dum ebræis vocalibus pronunciandis vel simplex vel
duplex temporis *mora* impenditur: ita et Tamuli,
Brachmanes secuti, vocalium sonum ad மாத்திரை,
seu potius மாத்திரை, *mensuram* unam et geminam
demetiuntur, consonantem autem, pariter ac Græci et
Latini, in *semisonæ* loco habent. Denique sicut Aethi-
opes *vocales cum consonis coaduuant*, prætereaque, se-

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Fig. 45: BSB_online_1 – 1739
[doc. 6, App. 1]

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For primary sources refer to Appendix 1, The *corpus*.

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