

THE
CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS

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K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI

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**THE
CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS**

Based on the Synchronistic Tables of their Kings,
Chieftains and Poets appearing in the Sangam Literature.

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Tamils when subjected to modern methods could be made to yield the secret of their chronology or should be allowed to lie mute, as of yore, or worse still, to mumble out their incoherencies, here and there, in the triad of collections to which a late literary but unhistorical systematist has so kindly consigned them. In entering on this new and difficult piece of work I had no reason to be buoyed up by any strong hope of success, so divergent and even conflicting being the views of scholars about the Tamil Sangam and its Literature and so hopelessly disarranged the literary remains. And immediately after I sat down and began preparing the Synchronistic Table a revered scholar, with another friend, one day happened to step into my room and, learning what I was engaged in, lost no time in throwing a plentiful douche of cold water on the scheme, urging that he himself had been engaged more than once in a similar undertaking but each time had to give it up as a fruitless venture in sheer vexation of spirit. This warning coming from a scholar of his standing and that at the very threshold of my efforts naturally had the effect of very nearly wiping out even the little hope I had behind the back of my mind. Still realising the traditional overpartiality of some of our scholars for traditions as a class I persuaded myself that the scholar referred to must have weighted his barque with a little too much of unnecessary traditional lumber to have thus sent it to the bottom before reaching its destination. A ray of hope thus gleamed through this idea and accordingly I persisted in my work and went on verifying the various literary references and jotting down the names for the projected Table. If past failures are but stepping-stones to future success, I thought that this particular scholar's discomfiture should put me doubly on my guard against the intrusion of legendary matter and unverified traditions amongst the facts of the Table and so vitiating their positive testimony. I resolved also to keep clear before my mind the distinction between facts and our interpretation of facts, between

objective data and subjective constructions. Despite all these resolves, however, I should confess that my first Table, true to the forewarning I had already received, turned out badly; nor could the second fare any better, though much superior to its predecessor in its close-jointed character and freedom from extraneous and irrelevant matter. The Table herewith presented is the result of my third attempt and I trust that the sacrifice of two of its fellows has added strength to it. Unlike its predecessors this Table has stood all the criticism I have been able to bring to bear upon it and hence on this frame I proceeded to distribute the various facts and events of Early Tamil Literature and weave a connected narrative for the period covered by it. Now that the Table and its interpretation are placed before Tamil Scholars, old and new, it is for them to pronounce whether these lay the foundation-stone for a real 'Beginning of South Indian History' based on the earliest literary documents available in Tamil, or, these too should go the way of the previous attempts in the field.

For drawing up the preliminary lists of the Kings, Chieftains and Poets appearing in the Sangam Literature on which the construction of the Synchronistic Table was started, I have to express my thanks to Vidvan V. Venkatarajalu Reddiyar and Pandit E. V. Anantarama Aiyar, then Fellows of the Oriental Research Institute, of whom the latter unhappily has since been removed by the hand of death beyond the reach of this deserved though belated recognition of his assistance. I should also acknowledge with gratitude the services of Mr. S. Somasundara Desikar of the Tamil Lexicon Office and Mr. K. N. Kuppuswami Aiyangar, B.A., of the Oriental Research Institute Office, in so kindly undertaking the preparation of an Index of Names for this book. And, above all, my most sincere thanks are due to the Syndicate of the University I have now the honour to serve, for the facilities and conveniences offered for Research in this Institute without which a work of this nature would scarcely be possible.

In the transliteration of proper names I have generally followed the system adopted by the Tamil Lexicon, though in respect of certain well-known names, as for instance, Chēra, Chōla, etc., I have allowed the old spelling to stand. A certain want of uniformity in the spelling of a few names has, I am aware, unavoidably crept in; but the instances, I am sure, are not of such a nature as to mislead the reader into false conclusions about the facts embodied in the work.

With all the attention and care bestowed on this book, it is more than likely that in many places it may stand in need of improvement in the light of informed criticism and I shall be only very grateful to receive from scholars any suggestions in that direction.

ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,

'LIMBDI GARDENS,' MADRAS, }

K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI.

20th April, 1932.

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ERRATA.

Page—Line.		
45—30	<i>for</i> naiete	<i>read</i> naivete.
80—31	„ Agam., S. 220	„ Agam., S. 226.
117—12	„ Erythrean	„ Erythrean.
120— 3	„ naurally	„ naturally.
125—18	„ was	„ way.
170—21	„ Archæological	„ Archæological.
176—26	„ Kuṭṭanāḍu ²	„ Kuṭṭanāḍu. ²
231—24	„ Koḍagu	„ Kuḍagu.

TABLE I.

THE CHOLA GENEALOGY.

50 B.C.-25 B.C.	(1) Vejiyan Tittan, the Conqueror of Uṟaiyūr.
25 B.C.-1 A.D.	(2) Tittan Veliyan <i>alias</i> Pōrvaikkō-Perunarkīḷi, son of (1).
1 A.D.-25 A.D.	(3) Muḍittalaikkō-Perunarkīḷi, probably son of (2) (4) Karikālan I <i>alias</i> Perumpūṇ-Cenni.
25 A.D.-50 A.D.	(5) Vēlpaṭṭaḍakkai-Perunarkīḷi, probably son of (3).
50 A.D.-75 A.D.	(6) Uruva-paṭṭēr-Iṟāṇḍēḍ-Cenni, probably son of Karikālan I.
75 A.D.-100 A.D.	(7) Karikālan II or Karikālan the Great, son of (6).
100 A.D.-125 A.D.	(8) Cēḍcenni-Nalaṅkiḷi, probably son of (7).
125 A.D.-150 A.D.	(9) Kuḷamurattu-tuṟciya-Kiḷiivaḷavan, probably son of (8).
150 A.D.-175 A.D.	(10) Bājasūyam-Vēṭṭa-Perunarkīḷi, probably son of (9).
175 A.D.-200 A.D.	(11) Chōlan Kō-Ceṅkaṇṇan.

TABLE II.

THE PAṆḌIYA GENEALOGY.

1 A.D.-25 A.D.	(1) Neḍuntēr-Ceḷiyan of Korkai <i>alias</i> Neḍuñceḷiyan I, the Conqueror of Kūḍal.
25 A.D.-50 A.D.	(2) Ollaiyūr-tanta-Pūtappāṇḍiyan, probably son of (1).
50 A.D.-75 A.D.	(3) Pasumpūṅ-Pāṇḍiyan <i>alias</i> Nilam-taru-tiruvil-Pāṇḍiyan <i>alias</i> Vadimbalamba-ninṇa-Pāṇḍiyan <i>alias</i> Pannāḍu-tanta-Pāṇḍiyan or Neḍuñceḷiyan II, the Conqueror of the Aayi country, probably son of (2).
75 A.D.-100 A.D.	(4) Paḷḷalai-Mudukudumi-Peruvaḷudi <i>alias</i> Velliyaṁ-balattu-tuñciya-Peruvaḷudi, probably son of (3).
100 A.D.-125 A.D.	(5) Talaiyāḷamkānattu-Ceru-Venṇa-Neḍuñceḷiyan <i>alias</i> Neḍuñceḷiyan III, probably son of (4).
125 A.D.-150 A.D.	(6) Ilavantiḱaipāḷi-tuñciya-Nanmāraṅ. (7) Kūḍakāratu-tuñciya-Maṇaṅ-Valudi.
150 A.D.-175 A.D.	(8) Muṣiṇi-Murriya-Ceḷiyan. (9) Kānappēreyil-tanta-Ukkirapperuvaḷudi.

TABLE III.

THE CHÉRA GENEALOGY.

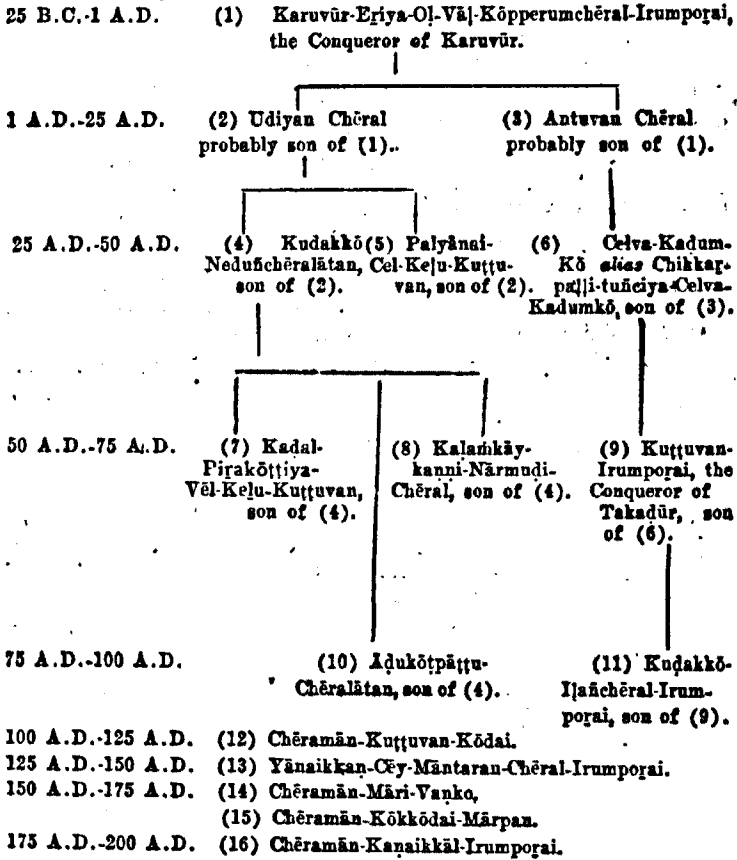


TABLE IV.

The Contemporary Kings of the Early Andhra Dynasty in Mahārāshtra
according to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar.

- 50 B.C.-40 B.C. (1) Krishnaraja.
40 B.C.-16 A.D. (2) Sātakarni.
(3) Kṣaharata Nakapana and his son-in-law Vasava-
dāta.
133 A.D.-154 A.D. (4) Gotamiputra Sātakarni.
130 A.D.-154 A.D. (5) Vāsisthiputra Pulumayi.
154 A.D.-172 A.D. (6) Gotamiputra Sri Yajña Sātakarni.
172 A.D. (7) Vāsisthiputra Catusparna (Cattirapana).
About 190 A.D. (8) Madhāriputra Sākasena.

(*Early History of the Deccan*, p. 32.)

TABLE V.

The Contemporary Kings of the Early Āndhra Dynasty in
Tailangana according to Dr. E. G. Bhandarkar.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Name.</i>
A.D.	
154-158	Pulumāyi.
158-165	Siva Sri
165-172	Sivaskanda.
172-202	Jajña Sri.
• • • • •	
202-208	Vijaya.
208-211	Candra Sri.
211-218	Pulomavi.

APPENDIX I.

THE DATE OF MANIKKAVACAGAR.

As a striking instance of the omission of literary valuation, I have only to mention here the attempt of certain scholars, whose general historical equipment is beyond doubt, to antedate *Tiruvācagam* of Mānikkavācagar to the Dēvāra hymns of Appar and Tiruḡṅānasambandar. Leave apart the epigraphic confirmation, which assigns Mānikkavācagar to the 9th century, the valuation of *Tiruvācagam* on literary grounds alone should have predisposed these scholars to the acceptance of a late date.

I shall here summarise the more important of such grounds: (1) The omission of Mānikkavācagar from the list of the sixty-three devotees of Śiva enumerated in the *Tiruttonḍaitokai* of Sundaramūrti, followed closely therein by Nambiāṇḍār Nambi in his *Tiruttonḍār Tiruvandāti* and by Śekkiḷār in his *Periyapurānam*, is fatal to any attempt at antedating Mānikkavācagar. The interpretation of "குரப்பியை மெலித யுலவி" as referring to Mānikkavācagar has, at all events, nothing to recommend it except its originality. No where else in Tamil literature do we find such a name or descriptive epithet for Mānikkavācagar. On the other hand, we have literary authority to support that 'குரப்பியை யுலவி' denotes the famous author of *Kuraḷ*. An equally original and futile attempt is the interpretation of 'வரசன்' in Appar's line:

'குடமுழ சிந்தனை வரசனுக்குக் கொண்டாய்'

as a reference to Mānikkavācagar. There is absolutely no authority for holding Mānikkavācagar as the incarnation of Nandi. Here the word 'வரசன்' means a 'chamberlain' and no more. (2) In the *Tirumurai* collections, *Tiruvācagam* appears only as the eighth in the series, the preceding seven being composed of the hymns of the three Dēvāram hymnists, ḡṅānasambandar, Appar and Sundaramūrti. (3) In the invocatory stanzas in all Tamil religious works and Purāṇas, composed in praise of the Nāyanmāra and Āchāryas, the authors observe invariably an order which is roughly chronological. Here is a stanza about the work of the various religious teachers in the Tamil country, wherein the arrangement of names follows strict chronology.

“சொற்கோவுள் தோணிபுரத் தோன்றலுமெஞ் சுந்தரனும்
சிற்கோல வாதலுர்த் தேசிகனும்—முற்கோவி
வந்திலரேல் நீறெங்கே மாமறைநூல் தானெங்கே
எந்தைபிரான் ஐந்தெழுத் தெங்கே!”

The praises in honour of the four ‘Samaya Kuravars’ (Religious devotees or saints) precede those about the four Santānāchāryas (Religious teachers or gurus who come in apostolic succession) and among the four Samaya Kuravars, of whom Mānikkavācagar is one, Mānikkavācagar gets only a last mention. And in reciting these religious hymns in the temples all over the South, the invariable practice of reciting *Tiruvācagam* after *Dēvāram* should naturally add its confirmatory evidence to the above testimony.¹

(4) A convention has risen among the Saivites—evidently it must have arisen before the composition of *Tiruvācagam*—that only the hymns of Gñānasambandar, Appar and Sundaramūrti should be known as Tirunerittamil. This appellation for a body of religious works does not connote *Tiruvācagam* to this day. If *Tiruvācagam* had been in existence when this name was coined and got into currency, there is absolutely no reason, so far as I know, why it should not have been included in that class. (5) From the point of view of style, *Tiruvācagam* has to its credit more brand-new Sanskrit words than *Dēvāram*. The occurrence of such words as தயா, காபாலி, இமவான், உத்தாளித்து, குப்பாயம், etc., is enough to make us pause before we claim a great antiquity for this work. As for the literary echoisms that occur in *Tiruvācagam*, the jingle “பற்று மற்றெனக் காவ தொன்றினி” and that of “மற்றுப்பற்றெனக் கின்றிந்திருப் பாதமே” of Sundaramūrti may be considered indecisive; but there can be little doubt that Mānikkavācagar’s ‘யாமார்க்குங் குடியல்லோம் யாதமஞ்சோம்’ is a more generalised and therefore a later form in imitation of Appar’s line: ‘நாமார்க்குங் குடியல்லோம் நமனையஞ்சோம்’. (6) In respect of ideas, *Tiruvācagam* shows considerable development. Both in mythos and philosophical doctrine it marks a highly complicated stage. While the *Dēvāra* hymns are purely religious,

(1) That religious conventions when grown up persist without change and even resist all attempts at modification is borne testimony to by the following observations; “The members of the worshipping group think it strange when the regular order of service is not adhered to. They expect the singing of hymns, the prayer, the anthem by the choir, the announcements, the sermon and whatsoever else they may be, to follow the habitual order and adhere to customary usages”.—Frederick Goodrich Henke’s *A Study in the Psychology of Ritualism*, p. 87.

Tiruvācagam contains the finished tenets of the Saiva Siddhānta Philosophy. For instance, Mānikkavācagar's search of a spiritual guru, his query to Siva and Siva's answer about *Sivagānābōdam* and his philosophical dispute with the Buddhists will bear this out. The verse 'மூவரு மறிகிலர், யாவர் மற்றறிவர்' occurring in *Tiruvācagam* (*Tiruppallielucci*) conveys the sense of the absolute God 'தூரிய சுவம்' transcending the Trimūrtis themselves. This conception of godhood was the result of acute philosophising which the Dēvāram singers did not follow, much less preach. They, on the other hand, depict Siva as the God of destruction, who baffled the other two of the triad in their attempt to measure him. (7) Such references as the following occurring in *Tiruvācagam* must argue for a late date:

“மன்னு மாமலை மகேந்திர மதனிற்
சொன்ன வாகமம் தோற்றுவித் தருளியும்.”
“மிண்டிய மாயா வாத மென்னும்
சண்ட மாருகஞ் சுழித்தடித் தார்த்த.”

The first fixes the post-agamic¹ origin of the work (and the Āgamas, it is well-known, are of very late growth in the religious history of the South), and the second establishes that Sankara's system must have preceded *Tiruvācagam*. (8) There are certain other references in *Tiruvācagam*, which must be taken as pointing to previous Nāyanmārs and certain specific episodes in their lives such as:

“தேனமர் சோலைத் திருவா ரூரின்
ரூனத் தன்னை நல்கிய நன்மைபும்.”

and

“திருவார் பெருந்துறைச் செல்வ னுதித்
கருவண் சோதியிற் கலத்த கள்ளமும்.”

(1) Regarding the agamic or tantric phase of the religious life in India, the observations of H. Kern in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 133, will bear reproduction.

“The decline of Buddhism in India from the eighth century downwards nearly coincides with the growing influence of Tantrism and sorcery, which stand to each other in the relation of theory to practice. The development of Tantrism is a feature that Buddhism and Hinduism in their later phases have in common. The object of Hindu Tantrism is the acquisition of wealth, mundane enjoyments, rewards for moral actions, deliverance by worshipping Durga,—the Sakti or Siva-Prajna in the terminology of the Mahāyāna—through the means of spells, muttered prayers, samadhi, offerings, etc.” With special reference to the age of the Brahmanical Tantras Hirananda Rāstri, M.A., writes: “The true Brahmanical Tantra books do not appear to be very old. Perhaps they do not go back farther than the 6th century, A.D.”—*The Origin and Cult of Iārā* in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 20, p. 2.

can only refer to Siva's miraculous appearance to bestow *mukti* on his devotee Sundara. Do not some at least of the references in the verses,

“அறுக்கி லேனுடல் துணிபடத் தீப்புத்
கார்கி லேன் திரு வருள்வகை யறியேன்.”

“தியில் விழ்கிலேன் தின்வரை யுருள் கிலேன்
செழுங்கடல் புருவே னே.”

bear upon the tortures inflicted on Saint Appar by the Jains? Do not the lines,

“விருத்தின னாகி வெண்கா டதனிற்
குருத்தின் கீழன் றிருந்த கொள்கையும்”

cryptically refer to the Ciruttonḍar story? (9) The references in *Tiruvācagam* to many *Āḍiyārs* (devotees) and to many miracles performed in many different places show that the work belongs to a late period in the religious history of the South. (10) There is absolutely no ground for the view that the miracle of ‘the fox and the horse’ was performed for *Mānikkavācagar*. There is no allusion in *Tiruvācagam* itself to uphold any such view. Its references are all to previous miracles and not to any contemporary ones, but later on they have been twisted by such Purāṇic writers as the authors of *Vāḍavūrpurāṇam* and *Tiruvāiyāḍalpurāṇam* for adding embellishments to the saint's biography. The usefulness, by the way, of these two Purāṇas for purposes of sober history is yet to be established. (11) *Mānikkavācagar*'s philosophical disputation with the Buddhists at Chidambaram is only a later and improved edition of *Gūṇasambandar*'s religious controversy with the Jains at Madura. Considering the late period in which Chidambaram itself must have come into existence as compared with Madura, the disputation with the Buddhists should also be held as having occurred much later. (12) And finally, the literary finish of *Tiruvācagam*, by itself,—its highly-polished and pellucid diction, its numerous felicities of thought and expression, its marvellously-developed prosodic forms and rhetorical turns and above all the sense of artistry which runs throughout—is more than sufficient to establish its later origin than the *Devāra* hymns, which as a body, in spite of its higher sacred

character, occupies, from the standpoint of pure literary excellence, only another level in Tamil Devotional Literature. However, this admiration of *Tiruvācagam* should not lead one to claim for it a precedence in time also, as if that alone could ratify and invest its numerous beauties with an additional authority for their being readily accepted.

The cumulative force of these grounds, external, drawn from Tamil religious literature and practice, and internal, drawn from Māpikkavācagar's own handiwork is enough to convince any fair-minded inquirer that the efforts made to ascribe a high antiquity to *Tiruvācagam* have yet to surmount serious difficulties in that direction.

APPENDIX II.

TOLKAPPIYAM versus AGAPPORUL.

I subjoin here for comparison half-a-dozen Sūtras from the two works, *Tolkāppiyam* and *Agapporul*:

- | <i>Tolkāppiyam.</i> | <i>Agapporul.</i> |
|--|--|
| 1. களவியல் 127.
குறையுற வுணர் தன்
முன்னுற வுணர் த
லீருவரு முள்வழி
யவன்வர வுணர் தலென்
மதியுடம் படுத்த
லொருமு வகைத்தே. | 7. முன்னுற வுணர் தல்
குறையுற வுணர் த
லீருவரு முள்வழி
யவன்வர வுணர் தலென்
றம்முன் றென்ப
தோழிக் குணர்ச்சி. |
| 2. களவியல் 133.
அல்லகுறிப் படுதலு
மவள் வயினுரித்தே
யவன்சுறி மயங்கிய
வ்மைவொடு வரினே. | 17. அல்லகுறிப் படுதலு
மவ்வயி னுரித்தே
யவன்வர வறியுங்
குறிப்பி னுன. |
| 3. களவியல் 130.
குறியெனப் படுவ
திரவினும் பகலினு
மறியத்தோன்று
மாற்ற தென்ப. | 18. குறியெனப் படுவ
திரவினும் பகலினு
மறியத் திளந்த
விடமென மொழிப. |
| 4. வேற்றுமையியல் 114.
கிளந்த வல்ல
வேறுபிற தோன்றினுங்
கிளந்தவற் றியலா
னுணர்ந்தனர் கொளலே | 59. * *
கிளந்த வல்ல
வேறுபிற தோன்றினுங்
கிளந்தவற் றியலா
னுணர்ந்தனர் கொளலே. |
| 5. வேற்றுமையியல் 174.
அன்புதலைப் பிரிந்த
கிளவி தோன்றிற்
சிறைப்புறங் குறித்தன்
றென்மனார் புலவர். | 54. * *
அன்புதலைப் பிரிந்த
கிளவி தோன்றிற்
சிறைப்புறங் குறித்தன்
றென்மனார் புலவர். |

6. கம்பியல் 187. 43. பரத்தையிற் பிரிந்த
 பூப்பின் புறப்பா கெழுவான் மனைவி
 மரறு நாளு பூப்பின் புறப்பா
 நீத்தகன் றுரைபா மரறு நாளு
 ரொன்மனார் புலவர் நீத்தகன் றுறைநி
 பரத்தையிற் பிரிந்த லறத்தா றன்றே.
 காலையான.

Is it not a little puzzling that *Agapporul*, which lays claim to a divine origin, should thus slavishly copy the terminology of *Tolkāppiyam*, a work without any odour of inspirational sanctity about it? For it is admitted generally, and by orthodox pandits specially, that *Tolkāppiyar* being a much earlier author could not have borrowed his language from *Agapporul*. And the possibility of both following a third and common anterior work is entirely out of the question, for none such has ever been alleged to exist. Even creating for the nonce such a hypothetical common original, still it will not save *Agapporul* from the charge of open plagiarism which after all suits ill with its high pretensions to divine descent.

APPENDIX III.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'KALITTOGAI'.

The late C. W. Dāmōdaram Pillai, the first Editor of *Kalittogai*, ascribed the whole work to one author, Nallantuvanār, and I find no cogent reason to dissent from his decision. The work itself bears the impress of one artist's execution throughout its five divisions. The syntactical forms employed and the rhythms and rhetorical devices adopted possess a certain family-likeness and point to a common parentage. The numerous references to Madura, to the river Vaigai, and to the Pāṇḍiya king, occurring in all parts of the work, lead me to assume that the author should have belonged, if not to the Madura city, at least to the Madura country on the basin of the Vaigai. I append hereunder some extracts from *Kalittogai* in support of this view.

1. "ஆனாச்சீர்க் கூடலு ளரும்பவிழ் நறுமுல்லைத்
தேனார்க்கும் பொழுதெனக் கூறந ருளராயின்
* * * * *
அறல்வாரும் வையையென் றறையுந ருளராயின்"
—*Kali., Pālai*, 30.
2. "வண்ணவண் டிமிர்ந்தானு வையைவா ருயரெக்கர்த்
தண்ணருவி நறுமுல்லை
* * * * *
நிலனாவிற் றிரிதருஉ நீண்மாடக் கூடலார்"
—*Kali., Pālai*, 35.
3. "பூந்தண்டார்ப் புலர்சாந்திற் றென்னவ னுயர்கூடல்"
—*Kali., Kuriñci*, 57.
4. கனவினாற் சென்றேன் கலிகெழு கூடல்
வரைபுறழ் நீண்மதில் வாய்குழந்த வையைக்
கரையணி காவினகத்து.
* * * * *
கிணையலர் வேம்பின் பொருப்பன் பொருத
முணையான் போல
* * * * *
நான்மாடக் கூடன் மகளிரு மைந்தரும்"
—*Kali., Marutam*, 92.

5. “பொருகரை வாய்க்கும்ந்த பூமலி வையை
வருபுன லாடத் தவிர்த்தேன்
* * * * *
பொய்யாவாட் டானைப் புனைகழற்காற் நெட்வைந்
வையைப் புதுப்புன லாட.
—Kali, Marutam, 98.
6. “புலியொடு விண்ணீக்கிப் புகழ்பொறித்த கிளர்கெண்டை
வலியினுள் வணக்கிய வாடாச்சீர்த் தேட்வைந்
* * * * *
உருமுறழ் முரசிற் நெட்வைந்
கொருமொழி கொள்கவிவ வுலகுட னெனவே
—Kali, Mullai, 104.
7. “பொருந்தாதார் போர்வல் வழங்கி கருந்திறை
போலக் கொடுத்தார் தமர்.”
—Kali, Neytal, 141.
8. “தேட்வைந் நெளிந்த தேளம்போல
விண்ணகை பெய்தின ளிழந்த தன்னலனை.”
—Kali, Neytal, 143.

While the internal testimony of the work bears out the theory of unitary authorship of the poems, later-day scholarship has been busy ferreting out a fugitive stanza like the following:—

“பெருங்கடுங்கோன் பாலை கயிலன் குறிஞ்சி
மருதனின ஈகன் மருத—மருஞ்சோழ
எல்லுத் திரான்முல்லை எல்லத்துவனெய்தல்
கல்விவலார் கண்ட கவி”

and raising on it the untenable hypothesis of a multiplicity of authors for this modest work of 149 stanzas in *Kali* metre. This floating stanza of an unknown author is evidently a late mnemonic verse of facts which require to be proved by tradition instead of the tradition itself being helped any way by the verse. Applying the facts of the Synchronistic Tables one can easily find out that the five authors mentioned in the verse belonged to different generations. They could never have been contemporaries. Such being the case, we have to infer that *Kalittogai* too, like *Pattuppāṭṭu*, is an accretion of a few centuries. The nature of the work does not however permit any such inference. It is surprising that some scholars who follow uncritically the lead of a misleading stanza should have failed to appreciate the artistic unity which runs through the whole of this beautiful work. The attempt to break up this compact artistic structure—the creation of one

master mind—and try to distribute its contents to the credit of various authors¹ almost savours of a touch of Philistinism.

The editor of the new edition of *Kalittogai*, Pandit E. V. Anantarāma Aiyar, has sprung another surprise on us. He suggests an emendation of the good old name நல்லந்துவன் as நல்வந்துவன். Neither beauty of sound nor facility of pronunciation is improved by the proposed reading. Moreover, the Pandit seems to have missed the delicate phonetic principles which guided the ancient authors in the matter of proper names. Wherever the prefix 'நல்' or 'ந' its shortened form occurred in ancient names, 'ந' always preceded names beginning with a hard consonant, as in நக்கண்ணையார், நக்கிரனார், நப்பசலையார், நப்பாலத்தனார், நச்செள்ளையார், etc., and நல் was invariably used when the names began with a vowel or a soft or medial consonant, as in நல்லுருத்திரன், நல்லிறையனார், நன்னாகனார், நல்விளக்கனார், நல்வெள்ளியார், நல்வேட்டனார், etc. The combination 'நஞ்சோனை' reveals its late origin; had it come down from the early age it would have reached us not in the form நஞ்சோனை but as 'நச்சோனை' or நலஞ்சோனை as in நலங்கிள்ளி. This invariable early usage shows that நல்லந்துவனார், as it stands, is a correct form and needs no emendation.

(1) A close study of the five sections of this work discloses throughout numerous repetitions both in thought and diction, sometimes even bordering on mannerism, which cannot but be ascribed to one and one writer only. These I hope to present in a separate booklet.

APPENDIX IV.

NOTE ON 'ARKKADU' AND 'ARUVALAR'.

The popular derivation of the name Ārkkādu, to which Dr. Caldwell has given the honour of a mention in his work as ஆர்க்கடு from ஆடிகாடு (Ṣadāranyam in Sanskrit) is too puerile for serious refutation. A more plausible attempt is to connect the name with ஆதி , Ār, the ātti tree, a variety of ebony (*Bauhinia Tomentosa*). Considering the fact that the Chōla kings wore garlands of the Ātti flower, as their family emblem, this derivation has at least the semblance of support from an historical fact. But in my opinion this hardly goes to the root of the matter. The names of numerous villages adjoining Arcot on the river Pālār such as Ārkkōṅam, Ārpi, Arppākkam require some other explanation. This portion of the country, according to Ptolemy, was inhabited by the Aruvālar tribe in the second century A.D. Early Tamil literature calls its two divisions Aruvā and Aruvāvāḍatalai, i.e., Aruvā, North and South. The modern districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput may be taken as marking their extent. The people of this tract was evidently the Naga race¹ who seem to have occupied the whole of the northern border extending westwards to the verge of the Arabian Sea. Tamīlagam was then separated from Dakshināpada or Dekkhan proper of the Aryan colonists by a broad belt of forest land inhabited, in addition to the aboriginal hill tribes and nomads as the Kuṛavars and the Vēḍars, by the Nāga tribes, known as the Aruvālar or Kuṛumbars. These last were a thorn on the side of the rulers of the border states of the Tamil land and gave them a 'sea of troubles' by their depredations and frequent forays. The most distinguishing peculiarity of the Nāga tribe was that they lived in fortified places called *Arav* (அரவ) in Tamil. References to such fortresses are numerous in the poems we are dealing with. Both *Ar* and *Kuṛumbu* mean fortification in Tamil, probably their earlier signification. (Cf. The meanings of அரவ , அரவ , அருப்பம் ,

(1) That the name Aruvālar was connected with the Nāga race will be evident from the following reference: "Among others Majjhantiko was despatched to Kashmira and Gandhara. A Naga king of that country, named Aravalo endowed with supernatural powers by causing a furious deluge to descend was submerging all the ripened crops in Kashmira and Gandhara."—J. Ferguson's *Trees and Serpent Worship*, p. 47.

all of which are traceable to the root *Ar*). The name 'Aruvālar, thus literally denotes the people living in fortified places. Later on the words அருவலர் and குறும்பர்¹ came to signify also people of mischievous or evil propensities; but evidently these later developments in meaning are ascribable to well-known laws of association by which changes in the significance of words are effected in course of time. The Telugu and Kanarese-speaking people even to this day make contemptuous references to *Aravamū*, the Tamil with which they came into contact in the borderland and to *Aravarū*, the Tamil-speaking people. Though the Aruvālar spoke a kind of Tamil, it would be a serious blunder both ethnologically and culturally to confound them with the Tamil races living farther South. The Tamils too held these semi-barbarous borderers in great contempt. The following stanza conveys that popular judgment:

“வடுகர் அருவாளர் வான்கரு நாடர்
சுகோடு பேய் எருமை * *
குறுகார் அறிவுடை யார்.”

Though in Ptolemy's time this portion of the country had come under the Chōla rule, he marks the ethnic difference by a separate mention of the Arvarnoi tribes in his account of South India. But as often happens when one race meets another, a fusion seems to have taken place in later times, and the ancient Nāga tribes were also received into the Dravidian society. This Nāga race should not, however, be confounded with the aboriginal hill and forest tribes such as the Kuravar, the Vēdar, etc., who still stand lowest in the scale of civilization.

(1) The new Tamil Lexicon gives the following meanings: அருவல் = துன்பம், குறம்பு = வீழ்மம்.

APPENDIX V.

NOTE ON THE TAMIL SUFFIX *mān* (மான்).

The term *Vēlmān* should be properly understood. The ending 'மான்' should not be confounded with the Sanskrit suffix '*mān*' which found its way into Tamil in later times, as for instance, that occurring in *பூமான்*, *புத்திமான்*, *கல்விமான்* etc. *Vēlmān* is one of the earliest formations in the Tamil language, just like *Chēramān*, *Adikamān*, *Toṇḍaimān*, etc., with the suffix *mān* (மான்) which is only a shortened form of the full term '*magan*' (மகன்). The feminine form *Vēlmāl* is likewise a contraction of *Vēlmagaḷ*. In Tamil this word *Magan* or *Magaḷ* has two distinct meanings. It means a son or a daughter and also an individual or person in general belonging to a particular *Kuḍi* (family), or a community formed of a number of such families. This distinction the first Aryan incomers could not understand and thus were led to make a mess of the early literary and linguistic usage by confounding the two significations. The term '*Kēraḷaputra*', for instance, remains to this day a puzzle for the Sanskritists to solve. They translated the name literally as "the son of *Kēraḷa*", which does not make any sense whatever. If they had interpreted the term as the literal translation of a Tamil idiomatic expression *Kēraḷar* or *Chēralar-magan*, meaning of course a person belonging to the family or community of *Chēralar* and then the king or ruler of that community, they would have exactly hit the peculiar connotation. I may instance also the ridiculous attempt to import Persian *magis* into *Tamiḷagam* by some European Sanskrit savants in interpreting the simple phrase '*Brahmani Magoi*' occurring in Ptolemy's Map of India. There the geographer locates one of the earliest Aryan settlements in the

(1) The editor of *Pettappāṭṭu* in his introduction to that work explains *Vēlmān* as *செவீர் தலைவர்*, the chief of *Vēḷir*. If the term *Vēḷ* itself could denote a chief or king, I do not see why *mān* should be made to convey the same meaning over again. Probably he must have taken this suffix as a contraction of the Sanskrit word *मन्त्र*. However, the fact that the suffix appearing with *Vēḷ* takes a feminine form *மால்* as in *Vēlmāl* must render such attempts to connect this form with a Sanskrit original altogether abortive.

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South at the foot of Mount Malakūṭa¹ in the southern part of the Kanarese country near the source of the Kāviri. He follows the Tamil nomenclature and marks the territory as occupied by Brāhmaṇa Makkaḷ or Mākkaḷ (பிராமணமக்கள் OR மரக்கள்) or the Brāhmin community. Thus we find the want of acquaintance with Tamil idiomatic usage has been at the bottom of the whole error.

(1) This name furnishes another instance of the liberties taken with the original Tamil names in the process of Sanskritisation. The Tamil name Kuṣamalai given to the hills of Coorg was literally inverted to give us the Malakūṭa of the Sanskrit authors.

APPENDIX VI.

NOTE ON KARUVUR, THE CHERA CAPITAL.

I have the authority of Dr. Vincent A. Smith and Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai to identify Tirukkārūr near Kōtamangalam as the ancient Chēra Capital. The controversy started by Pandit R. Raghava Aiyangar, in favour of Karūr, in the Trichinopoly District, is no doubt an elaborate special pleading which is ingenious but not convincing. The fundamental proposition with which the Pandit starts to prove his thesis, that the three Tamil sovereigns were in possession of their several kingdoms in South India since creation, is a piece of dogmatism which few will be prepared to accept. Not only does he not take into account the facts disclosed in the early poems but seems to beg the whole question by representing the various independent chieftains warring against the Tamil kings as rebels pure and simple. He represents the Tamil kings to have been born as it were for ready-made kingdoms to inherit and rule over. Facts of history belie this primary assumption of his. Kingdoms like organisms are born, grow and decay in time and none, with any scientific spirit in him, will hazard the statement that the Tamil kingdoms alone were an exception to the general rule. And, as a matter of fact, what do we find in some of the works we are just now handling? Confining our attention to *Paṭṭiṟupattū* alone, the conquest of Pūlināḍu, of Naḷḷikānam or Koḍagu, of Umbarkāḍu or the Elephant country, probably round about the Ānaimalai in South Coimbatore, of Koṅgu country, of Kolli, of Takaḍūr in Salem, of Malayamān-nāḍu on the banks of the river South Peṅṅār in the South Arcot District, follows one after another in the space of four successive generations. The conquest of the Koṅgu country was first begun in the time of Pal-Yānai-Cel-Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan appearing in the fourth generation and takes two generations more for its actual completion. The earlier Chēras appear to have devoted their time to the conquest of the coast strip lying to the west of the Western Ghats and possessing in its south-eastern corner the important key-station, the Coimbatore gap, which alone would give them an entry into the Koṅgu country. Facts of history studied thus along with those of geography must make it clear that the Chēras could by no means have gained a footing in the

Koṅgu country in the period of the earlier generations of the Synchronistic Tables. Koṅgu, however, is easy of approach from the east and south and actually we found the Chōla Power in Koṅgu and, in the next generation, a southern power also entering the field. The Koṅgu land was then free from the Chēras rendering it thus an easy prey to be actually overrun by the forces of Āayi Aṇḍiran of the fourth generation. Historical facts such as these embodied in early literature absolutely negative the idea of the Chēra capital being Karūr in the Trichinopoly District—a town of much later growth. Even facts gathered from the mediaeval history contained in *Periyapurāṇam* clearly establish that Coimbatore or Southern Koṅgu was a thick forest infested by marauding tribes with but a few shrines and a sparse population here and there scattered about. It should have been much more so in still earlier times. Had Karūr in Coimbatore been the Chēra capital, surely its adjacent parts would not have been allowed to remain in the primeval state of a forest-covered area, unless, of course, we assume that some sudden cataclysm had swept the Chēras out of existence and allowed those fair regions to be overgrown with thick jungle in the interval. Who would ever subscribe to that view? Taking all these facts into account we are forced to conclude that Coimbatore District at that time was a forest area lying far away from the capital of the Tamil kings and occupied by forest tribes, who had to maintain a constant fight with their more civilized neighbours.

Then again Vañci or Karuvūr, the ancient Chēra capital, should satisfy two primary conditions to render any identification of its site acceptable, *viz.*, that it should stand on the banks of a big navigable river by name Porunai or Ān Porunai and that that river should have Musiri, (the modern Cranganore), at its mouth. The following references culled from the ancient poets all point only to one conclusion which goes to strengthen Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's identification. Only we shall have to carefully guard ourselves against being mystified by the numerous names under which the river Periyār appears in the ancient texts. It appears as Porunai, Ān-Porunai, Taṇ-Porunai, Culliyāru, or Periyāru.

1. புல்லிகை வஞ்சிப் புறமதி லலைக்குங்
கல்லென் பொருரை மணலினும்.

2. திருமா வியனகர்க்க் கருஆர் முன்றுறைத்
தெண்ணீ ருயர்க்கைக் குவைஇய
தண்ணீர் பொருநை மணலினும் பலவே.
—*Agam.*, S. 93.
3. தன்பொருதைப் புனல்பாயும்
வின்பொருபுகழ் விறல்வஞ்சிப்
பாடல்சான்ற விறல்வேந்தனும்மே.
—*Puram.*, S. 11.
4. கள்ளியம் பேர்யாற்று வெண்ணுரை கலக்க
யவனர் தந்த வினைமா ணன்கலம்
பொன்னொடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும்
வளக்கெழு முசிறி.
—*Agam.*, S. 149.
5. கல்பொரு திரக்கு மல்லற் பேர்யாற்று
நீர்வழிப்படுஉம் புனைபோல்.
—*Puram.*, S. 192.
6. நிவந்துகரை யிழிதரு நனந்தலைப் பேர்யாற்று
* * * * *
செந்நீர்ப் பூசலல்லது
வெம்மை யரிதுவின் எனன்றலை காடே
—*Patirru.*, S. 28.
7. அருவி யற்ற பெருவறற் காலையு
மருஞ்செலற் போய்ந் திருங்கரை புடைத்த
—*Patirru.*, S. 43.
8. புனன்மலி பேர்யாற் நிழிதற் தாங்கு
—*Patirru.*, S. 88.

The untenability of the identification of this major river of the West Coast with one of the tributaries of the Kāviri, all for the purpose of shifting the location of the ancient Chēra capital to Karuvūr in the Trichinopoly District, is only too patent to need any detailed criticism.

Here I may add that the North-western and the South-eastern boundaries of the ancient Āayi kingdom were marked by the modern Periyār and the Tāmpraparṇi respectively. Both these rivers appear then to have gone under the names, Porunai or Taṇ-Porunai or Culliyāru. The modern name, Tāmpraparṇi, may be traced to ancient Taṇ-Porunai and the river Solen of the Greek Geographer to Culliyāru of those days. The term Porunai itself, as has been already pointed out in foot-note (1) of page 66, is a part of the fuller name An-Porunai, literally the river that

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resembles a milch-cow by its perennial supply of milk-like water. This poetic name, I am sure, must have been prevalent from the earliest times when the pastoral tribes over whom the Āyī kings ruled lived in the regions lying between those rivers of the East and the West Coast.

APPENDIX VII.

NOTE ON POET IDAIKKADAR.

Poet Iḍaikkāḍar, like some other poets as Paraṇar, Kapilar and Avvaiyār, has the rare distinction of being made to live again in much later times and play his part for the admiration of a posterity which would not allow him to make his exit from the stage of life. He appears also to have lived when Kuṛal was placed before the Sangam for its approval and to have sung a couplet in praise of that work. By the Tables one can see that this poet belongs to the eighth generation and Kapilar comes between the fourth and the fifth. Thus clearly enough full two generations separate them. Still we find the author of *Tiruvālavāyudaiyār Tiruvilaiyādal-purāṇam* asserting positively

“முன்னமோர் நாணன் மாடமதரையின் முழுதணர்ச்
தோன்
பின்னமில் கபிலன் ரோமுன் பெயரிடைக் கட்டெனன்
போன்”.

20: 1.

Probably some who are determined to stand by all literary texts of by-gone days may be inclined to create another Kapilar to establish this Purānic writer's veracity. But the difficulties which have gathered round the great name of Kapilar can scarcely be tided over by a single such creation. We shall have to requisition at least two more Kapilars to personate the author of *Kuṛiṅcipāṭṭu* in the Ten Idylls—leaving out of account the *Kuṛiṅci* portions of *Aiyinkurunūru* and *Kalittogai* for the present—and of *Sivaperumān Tiruvandādi* and the other poems appearing in the eleventh *Tirumuṛai*. Will it be right to give 'a local habitation and a name' to such fictitious authors of the works of later days and take them for historic personalities? Are we to consider for instance Kapilar too as an immortal like Agastya or at least as having lived, more than the ordinary mortal span of years, for some centuries? Or are we to open an arithmetical series like Kapilar I, Kapilar II, Kapilar III, etc., to keep each name apart to its appropriate historical environ-

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ment? If the latter alternative is adopted, we shall have to create other series likewise for Paraṇar, Nakkirar, Avvaiyār, Iḍaikkāḍar and others. Is it not particularly significant that only the names of some outstanding celebrities of antiquity show this decisive tendency to recur in later history, while those of their less distinguished brethren are allowed to sleep in peace? The easy device of creating a family name to hold in common the various members spread throughout the centuries is little better than a fiction, because we know next to nothing about the intervening members of such families and hence cannot invest these latter with a continuity which even larger groups, social or political, do not generally exhibit. To a critic the proper course would seem to be to lop off these excrescences as the unhealthy creations of hero-worshipping minds which were driven by their peculiar temperament and zeal to value the hero more than they valued truth. An uncritical public also seems to have been the fertile soil in which such literary forgeries thrive in wild luxuriance and there is hardly any justification for a modern scholar with the weapon of historical criticism in his hands to allow these growths to encumber the fair grounds of genuine Tamil literature.

APPENDIX VIII.

GRAMMARIANS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PARTICLES 'man' (மன்) AND 'kol' (கல்)

The unknown commentator of *Puranānūṟu*, one of the acutest of Tamil commentators, has been led into error *re* the interpretation of Avvaiyār's verses quoted in foot-note to p. 153 simply because he had to follow the flickering light of later grammarians on the use of these little particles by the ancient poets. The key of interpretation of the early texts having been lost by the lapse of a few centuries of political turmoil, social unrest and even religious strife,¹ which the Kaḷabhra interregnum is answerable for in Tamil history, the grammarians from Tolkāppiyar downwards have been literally playing fast and loose with those tiny particles, consigning some to a meaningless group and assigning to others individually meanings various, disconnected and at times even fanciful. Where a happy intuition had not guided them to the right significance they seem to have fallen to mere guess-work as the sequel will show. This they could not help doing in the absence of a scientific induction based on a comparative study of all the available ancient texts in which such particles occur.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that a good many Tamil scholars who look upon Tolkāppiyar as the court of final appeal in any interpretation of ancient texts, lexical or grammatical, will not be disposed to bring an open mind for the settlement of the important question herein raised, themselves being in the iron-grip of that grammarian's overshadowing authority. Still I have persuaded myself that however much the old school may shut its eye to obvious facts and the deductions they justify, at least the English-educated section of the Tamil scholars of the present day will try to discount mere dogmatism and *ex cathedra* statements of later interpreters and seek to arrive at a conclusion by the pursuit of a comparative study of the ancient authors, for

(1) After a study of the early Madura coins the Rev. E. Löventhal gives his considered opinion thus: "I should think the whole series of these coins belonged to the 4th, 5th and 6th century A.D., that is to the time when Buddhism and Brahmanism were fighting together."—*The Coins of Tinnevely*, p. 7.

that alone will lead us to truth. All that I urge here is the necessity of applying to the so-called 'third Sangam' works of Tamil literature such scientific methods of study and interpretation as are now adopted by the Orientalists of the West in the interpretation of the Vedic texts. As in the case of Sanskrit, in Tamil also, a great gap of time divides the later grammarians and commentators from the ancient poets and hence arises the need of scrutinizing thoroughly and with critical insight the deliverances of these later writers.

'man' (மன்).

Taking first Tolkāppiyar's treatment of 'man' (மன்), we find him giving three meanings for this particle: (1) கழிவு¹ (condition of being past or past time), (2) ஆக்கம் (becoming), and (3) ஒழியிசை (importing an ellipsis to be supplied according to circumstances). One would like to know how these multi-coloured meanings differing from one another in all the categories of time, past, present and future, arose from that simple monosyllabic word 'man'. Not only are they various, they are even mutually exclusive. The science of Semantics, which occupies itself with a study of the changes in the significance of words, feels certain of its results only when the various meanings associated with a word in its historical development are connected with one another by appropriate bridges erected by logical or psychological laws or by perceivable or conceivable historical accidents. Tolkāppiyar's three meanings stand without any such connection and cannot therefore be held as issuing from one primary root-meaning of the particle. On the other hand, they seem to be based upon extraneous characteristics arising from the different contexts in the sentences in which such a particle occurs.

Moreover, in their application to some of the texts of the ancient poets, these meanings, in spite of their convenient vagueness and generality, are found to fail. Before illustrating this fatal want of correspondence between Tolkāppiyar's meanings and the early texts, it is necessary to clarify one's ideas about 'ஆக்கம்' as conceived by Tolkāppiyar. Ḥampūraṅgar illustrates it by 'பண்டு காமென்' and Daivacilaiyār by 'அதுமனெம் பரிசி லாஹியர் கோவே'. From such illustrations one must conclude that wherever மன் appears affixed to a குறிப்புவினை

(1) If கழிவு were taken to mean மிகுதி, muchness, it would suit some texts; but none of the commentators has given that interpretation.

(time-less verb, i.e., a noun used as a predicate) it supplies ஆம் or ஆசும் or ஆயிற்று the ஆக்கச்சொல் and completes the formal predication. One can further infer that in cases where 'man' is affixed to a verb signifying time (தெரிநிலை மனை) the significance of 'man' should be looked for under either கழிவு or ஒழியுமை. If, however, any were to contend that ஆக்கம் could arise even from a man-affixed time-signifying verb, it would really amount to making ஆக்கம் lose its specific force and lead further to the absurdity of every predicate with a 'man' being twisted to give the meaning of ஆக்கம். It would be, in short, obliterating the distinctions which Tolkāppiyar himself evidently wanted to draw between the various meanings he has assigned. Thus according to the orthodox interpretation, the meaning of ஆக்கம் should not be applied to such texts as the following:

1. நனிநீ டுழந்தனை மன்னே.

—Agam., S. 87.

2. ஆர்குவை மன்னே வவனமாடு களத்தே.

—Puram., S. 230.

On the other hand, it will be quite appropriate for such texts as:

1. யாணர் வேனின் மன்னிது.

—Agam., S. 341.

2. பசலை மாய்த லெளிது மற்றில்ல.

—Agam., S. 333.

3. நமர்மன் வாழி தேழி

* * மலைநிறர் தேரே.

—Agam., S. 241.

The other two meanings being more or less explicit do not require any exposition here. Let me now introduce the reader to the following texts, which cannot be fairly made to take up any of the three meanings specified by Tolkāppiyar:

1. பிடின் மன்னர் போல

ஒடுவை மன்னால் வாடைநீ பெமக்கே.

—Agam., S. 125.

2. * * * கின்

ஒடுகொள் வரிசைக் கொப்பப்

பாவென் மன்னுந் பகைவரைக் கடப்பே.

—Puram., S. 53.

3. அன்னே என்மை நன்வா பாக

மனைதெழு பெண்டியா ஒருக மன்னே.

—Agam., S. 203.

4. * * அழிபட ரகல
வருவர் மன்னாற் றேழி
உரையொடு செல்லு மன்பினர்ப் பெறினே.
—*Agam.*, S. 255.
5. * * * நந்துய
ரறியா மைவி னயர்ந்த நெஞ்சமொடு
செல்லு மனனே மெல்லம் புலம்பன்.
—*Agam.*, S. 330.
6. அரிமதர் மழைக்கண் கலுழச் செல்வீர்
வருவீ ராகுத லுரைமின் மனனே.
Agam., S. 387.

In all these cases, the *man*-affixed verbs being in the future and referring decisively only to future events the meaning of கழிவு is clearly inapplicable. Nor can we say that these time-signifying verbs can express ஆக்கம் consistently with the specific meaning of ஆக்கம் before laid down. And in none of these cases can ஒழியிசை be brought in as there is no ellipsis to be supplied in any of them. Thus one and all the texts quoted above refuse being coaxed to take up any of the three meanings of Tolkāppiyar, simply because these have diverged a good deal from the idea the ancient poets wanted to convey by the use of this particular particle.

A comparative study of the verbs with the *man*-affix opens however a new and fruitful way of interpretation. In the texts of the ancient poets '*man*' served to express 'certainty'. It added emphasis to a predication. It appears with both time-signifying and time-less verbs in all tenses and persons and modifies the predicates to which it is attached as an adverbial adjunct meaning certainly, surely, positively, emphatically.¹ That '*man*' is a particle expressing certainty can also be clearly established from its connection with the verbal root *man*, to exist or persist to exist. Existence being the most authentic standard to measure certainty '*man*' naturally seems to have come to express the new idea. Even in the verbal form it has begun to show signs of this change of meaning.

Take the following line of Kapilar from a *Puranānūru* stanza:

“ யானே, பரிசிலன் மன்னு மந்தண னீயே ”

(1) I am glad to find that I have been forestalled in this view by Dr. Pope. He expounds '*man*' as a particle of emphasis. Vide '*man*' in the index to his Edition of *Kural*.

Here the relative participle மன்னும் imports not *existence* but *certainty*. Kapilar should be here understood as saying "I am certainly an antaṇaṇ" and not "I am an existing antaṇaṇ" which makes little sense. Following the verbal 'man' expressing 'certainty', the adverbial particle 'man' also conveys an identical significance of emphasis. I may also state in this connection that 'man' does not differ at all in meaning from 'maṇṇa' (மன்ற) to which Tolkāppiyar assigns this force of emphasis or certainty. He calls it தேற்றம். Though Tolkāppiyar tries to draw a distinction between 'man' and 'Maṇṇa', in the usage of the early poets they differ only in quantity and not in meaning. Both import certainty.

Examples of 'maṇṇa'.

1. கண்டனன் மன்ற சோர்தவென் கண்ணே
Puram., S. 261.
2. சென்றோன் மன்றவக் குன்றகிழ வோனே.
Agam., S. 48.
3. அறனிலண் மன்ற தானே
* * * பண்டி ருயே.
Puram., S. 336.
4. நொற்றோர் மன்றநின் பகைவர் நின்றொடு.
Puram., S. 26.
5. புல்லென் மாயையு மினிது மன்றம்ம
செயிர்நீ நின்றனைப் பணர்ந்திசினோர்க்கே.
—Agam., S. 367.

Examples of 'man'.

1. சிறியோன் பெறினது சிறத்தன்று மன்னே.
—Puram., S. 75.
2. அரிய வல்லம னிருளை
அறிதலு மறிதிரோ வென்னுர்ப் பெறினே.
—Agam., S. 8.
3. * * * கானஞ்
சென்றோர் மன்னென விருக்கிற் பேர்க்கே.
—Agam., S. 387.
4. செல்லன் மகிழ்நகற் செப்கட னுடைபன்மன்.
—Agam., S. 376.
5. வல்லை பென்றாக நோக்கி
நகலை மன்னென நகலம்பெயர்க் தேனே.
—Agam., S. 248.

In these verses the particles 'manra' and 'man' are both adverbial adjuncts (இடைச்சொல்) denoting certainty and add emphasis and nothing else to the sense of the verbs to which they are attached. The one being a dissyllable and the other a monosyllable does not at all affect their significance. Take again the following lines:—

எமக்கே கலங்க றருமே தானே
தேற லுண்ணு மன்னே நன்று
மின்னுன் மன்ற வேந்தே யினியே
நேர ராரெயின் முற்றி
வாய்மடித் தூறிரீ முந்தென் னானே.

—Puram., S. 298.

Here the particles 'man' and 'manra' are used with verbs in connection with one and the same person and to import the same meaning, in exactly identical circumstances. In the face of this stanza how can any one say that these words differ in meaning? In fact, such differences have not been found in these particles; they have been only read into them.

If the reader now tries to apply the meaning suggested here to all the early texts where 'man' and 'manra' appear affixed to the predicates, he will find how appropriately it suits the contexts and how fully it brings out their meaning. Let me hope that this explication will save future expounders of these ancient poems from the trouble of stretching their texts on the procrustean bed of this particular Sūtra of Tolkāppiyar or of being forced to take refuge in the later canon that 'man' is a meaningless particle. However much the poems of later Tamil literature are filled with such particles, mere dead shells without the living organism of a meaning inside, the texts of the old poets do not allow me to ascribe meaninglessness so lightly to their words. If we have not understood their meanings, we have to patiently try our best till light dawns on us and not to hasten to bury them in the grave of expletives conveniently dug and kept ready by the grammarians.

'Kol' (கொல்)

Turning to the particle 'kol' we find that Tolkāppiyar's explanation of the term as 'doubt' is but an attempt at an approximate signification and does not help us to correctly interpret many of the ancient texts. No doubt, it seems to hold good in some instances; but the number of cases to which it does not apply is so large that a re-examination of its correctness and applicability to the early texts is imperatively called for.

So far from supporting Tolkāppiyar's meaning a comparative study of the *kol*-affixed verbs supports the conclusion that in the language of the early poets '*kol*' invariably discharged the grammatical function of a question in a sentence. It is a mere question-mark, a syntactical form which has dropped out of later Tamil.

Before offering my proofs for this, I shall, for clearness' sake. arrange the various types of questions occurring in early literature under certain well-defined classes based on the psychological characteristic or background from which all of them proceed. This is all the more necessary since Tolkāppiyar himself has assigned a psychological meaning to '*kol*' as 'doubt'. It rests with the reader then to apply Tolkāppiyar's Sūtra to the various classified instances and see whether it applies to all or any of them or breaks down in the process. The sentences with the *kol*-affixed verbs may be distributed under four distinct classes of questions, which proceed from and correspond to the four mental states of the questioner. They are:—

I. Questions craving for information where the questioner's state of mind is not one of doubt but a blank, a *tabula rasa*. Here the speaker merely seeks for information about matters of which he or she knows nothing or holds no opinion, e.g.,

1. என்செய்தான் கொல்லோ வினோதத்தன் ?
—*Kurīñcikkali*, S. 24.
2. ஏனோ மகள்கொ லிவளென விதுப்புந்
நென்னொடு வினவும் * * நெடுந்தகை.
—*Puram*, S. 342.
3. பாங்குச் செய்வாங்கொல்?
—*Nar.*, S. 51.
4. அறிவு மொழுக்கமும் பாண்டினர் தன்கொல்?
—*Nar.*, S. 110.

II. Questions whereby the questioner seeks to resolve certain doubts in his or her mind regarding opinions, beliefs, judgments, conduct, etc., e.g.,

1. மகிழ்நன் மாண்குணம் வண்டுகொண் டன்கொல்?
வண்டிள் மாண்குணம் மகிழ்நன்கொண் டன்கொல்?
—*Aiñkuru*, S. 90.
2. உண்டுகொ லன்றகொல் பா துகொல் மற்றென.
—*Nar.*, S. 122.

3. அறிவிப் பேங்கொ லறியலங் கொல்லென
விருபாற் பட்ட சூழ்ச்சி.

—*Agam.*, S. 52.

4. சுறுவங் கொல்லோ சுறுவங் கொல்லென.

—*Agam.*, S. 198.

III. Questions whereby the questioner desires to secure confirmation of his own views already arrived at in his mind. Here the questioner, so far from expressing a doubt, must be considered to have come to a conclusion in his own mind, affirmative or negative as the case may be, and only tries to enforce it by means of a question. Such questions are expected to elicit either affirmative or negative answers according to circumstances.

(a) Questions conveying the affirmative conclusions of the questioner and seeking confirmation by affirmative answers, e.g.,

1. தந்தையுங் கொடாஅ னாயின் வந்தோர்
வாய்ப்பட விறுத்த வேணி யாயிடை
வருந்தின்று கொல்லோ தானே பருந்துயிர்த்
* * * * * பணை நல்லூரே ?

—*Puram.*, S. 343.

2. * * * * * நோயா கின்றே
* * * * *
இலங்கலை வெள்வேல் விடலையை
விலங்குமலை யாரிடை நலியுங்கொ லெனவே.

—*Nar.*, S. 305.

3. சேக்கோ ளறையுந் தண்ணுமை
சேட்குநள் கொல்லெனக் கலுமுமென் னெஞ்சே.

—*Agam.*, S. 63.

4. 'அல்கற் கனவுக்கொ னீகண்டது ?

—*Marutakkali*, S. 25.

5. லாள்வினைக் ககறியாயி னின்றொடு
போயின்று கொல்லோ * * *
* * * * * இவள் மாமைக் கவினே ?

—*Nar.*, S. 205.

6. மாவா ராதே மாவா ராதே
* * * * *

விலங்கிடு பெருமரம் போல
வுலந்தன்று கொல்லவன் மலைந்த மாவே ?

—*Puram.*, S. 273.

(b) Questions conveying the negative conclusions of the questioner and seeking confirmation by negative answers.

The positive psychological states mentioned in class III (a) and (b) and the blank state of class I, preclude doubt of any sort on the part of the speaker, e.g.,

1. குளித்துமணற் கொண்ட கல்லா விளமை
யளிதோதானே யாண்டுண்டு கொல்லோ
பெருமு தாளரே மாகிய வெமக்கே ?
—Puram., S. 243.
2. பண்டறி யாதிர்போற் படர்கிற்பிர் மற்கொலோ ?
* * * * *
கண்டறி யாதேன்போற் காக்கிற்பென் மற்கொலோ ?
—Kurincikkali, S. 3.
3. மழைதளி மறந்த வங்குடிச் சேறார்ச்
சேக்குவங் கொல்லோ நெஞ்சே யூப்புனை
* * * * *
செறிதொடி முன்கைகல் காதலி
யறிவருந் கோக்கமும் புலவியு நினைந்தே ?
—Agram., S. 225.
4. யூவொடு துயல்வரு மால்வரை நாடனை
யிரந்தோ ருளர்கொல் தோழி ?
—Nar., S. 225.
5. * * * * * நெடுமா னஞ்சி
தன்னறி பலவ்கொ லென்னறி பலவ்கொல் ?
—Puram., S. 206.

IV. Merely formal or rhetorical questions whereby the questioner, in moments of heightened feelings such as surprise, grief, fear, etc., allows his language to find vent in the form of a question and thus gives the most effective expression to the then dominant psychic mood. These are questions only in form but really come very near to interjections or exclamations, e.g.,

1. இன்சிறு பிண்டம் பாக்குண் டனவ்கொல்
* * * * *
பலவோ ணெட்டன் மரீஇயோனே ?
—Puram., S. 234.
2. சூசா கெந்தை யாண்டுண் கொல்லோ
நெஞ்சற விழந்த புரைமை யோனே ?
—Puram., S. 235.

3. என்னு வதுகொ ருனே தெண்ணீர்
* * *
ஏமஞ்சால் சிறப்பினிப் பனைநல் லுரே ?
—*Puram.*, S. 351.
4. என்னுவது கொருனே
* * * *
வினைநவில் யானே பிணிப்ப
வேர்துளங் கினநம் முருண் மானே ?
—*Puram.*, S. 347.
5. என்ன மகன்கொல் தோழி ?
—*Nor.*, S. 94.

Applying Tolkāppiyar's dictum *re kol* for the interpretation of the various foregoing *kol*-affixed verbs, it seems to serve only in a limited number of instances falling under class II. The idea of doubt cannot be imported into the texts in the other classes without detriment to their plain and natural meanings. Realising this difficulty Pavaṇandi supplemented Tolkāppiyar's meaning by grafting an expletive function too on *kol*. I need scarcely point out that this wonderful meaning of 'meaninglessness' coined by the later grammarian to cut the gordian knot presented by the ancient texts is only a confession of impotence on Pavaṇandi's part to reach the idea of the early poets in the use of 'Kol'. Still allowing that grammarian the benefit of his new device, it will help him only in some cases under classes I, IV and III (a), where other interrogative words¹ in the sentence will convey the intended meaning, with *kol* itself expunged as a meaningless particle. In sentences where only *kol* appears without other interrogative words, they will be turned into assertive predications by thus depriving *kol* of its interrogative function. These manipulations however hardly count when we come to the tough cases coming under class III (b). In fact, these supply the *instantia crucis* to test the validity of the theory of the Tamil grammarians and of the rival hypothesis herein suggested. Taking the examples 2, 3 and 4 in this class, in all of them the speaker clearly conveys a negative proposition and this can never be effected by construing *kol* either in the light of Tolkāppiyar's dictum of doubt or with

(1) The phenomena of double interrogation, as double demonstratives and double vocatives, etc., have not been treated at all in Tamil grammar. I refrain from entering into this question in detail here, for even without propounding this new theory, the interrogative character of the word *kol* can be fully established.

Pavanandi's meaning of 'meaninglessness'. Unless we invest *kol* with an interrogative function, the affirmative character of the predication must remain and thus convey the very opposite of the meaning intended by the speaker. It will be noted that in these cases the speaker enforces the following negative conclusions as:

படரீர், கரக்கேன், சேக்கேம், இரந்தோலிர்

and how can this magical transformation of affirmative predicates like

படர்கிற்பீர், கரக்கிற்பேன், சேக்குவம், இரந்தோருள்

be accomplished without assigning an interrogative function to *kol*? When we know that even an assertive sentence may become an interrogatory by the peculiar intonation of the speaker—a device beyond the scope of the written language—cases where the interrogative sentences should import the very opposite of their predication need cause little difficulty.

In short, if the grammarians had laid down a rule stating the interrogative function of *kol* it would have covered all the instances occurring in early literature. Overlooking this fundamental grammatical function, they appear to have gone a little into Psychology and have created an imaginary meaning for the term *kol*. The tabulation of the different types of questions hereabove presented to the reader is enough to show how many and diverse are the psychological attitudes of the speaker which drive him to couch his language in an interrogation. The interpreter of the literary texts is of course bound to read aright the particular psychological state of the questioner's mind for a correct elucidation of the texts. But a grammarian need not entangle himself in such psychological analyses and puzzles and thus miss his plain duty of defining the function and form of a word in the sentence in which it occurs. This perfunctory excursion into Psychology has in fact made the labours of the commentators of the literary works more difficult and arduous. In illustration, I shall transcribe here a few verses from 'ஊர் சூழ்வரி' in *Cūappadikāram* (19:51-59) and the relevant portions of Adiyārkkunallār's commentary thereon:

“பெண்டிரு முண்டுகொல் பெண்டிரு முண்டுகொல்
* * * * *

தெய்வமு முண்டுகொல் தெய்வமு முண்டுகொல்?

The commentary runs thus:

கொல்—ஐயம் (In the face of Tolkāppiyar's dictum the commentator could not do anything else. As a grammarian

he does not probe into the exact significance of *kol*; but such an omission does not prevent him from correctly expounding the lines, guided by the true instincts of a literary man). The commentary continues: "கூத்த வாளால் என் கொழுநனைத் தவறு செய்தலாற் கோல்கோடிய மன்னனுடைய இக்கூடலென்னு நகரிடத்துப் பெண்டிரும் சான்றோரும் தெய்வமு முண்டோ? உண்டாயின் இவ்வரியாயம் பிறவாது; ஆதலால் இல்லையென்றா ளென்க."

It is unnecessary to inquire here why Adiyārkkunallār himself should not have felt the clear contradiction between his almost mechanical reproduction of Tolkāppiyar's meaning 'கொல்-ஐயம்' and the ascription of a negative proposition to the heroine by himself in the closing lines of his commentary. The commentator of *Puranānūru* too follows the same method in expounding Avvaiyār's line:

இன்றும் பாணன் பாடினன் மற்கொல்.

and while giving the meaning in an affirmative proposition he inconsequentially adds 'கொல்-ஐயம்' in his appended note. So heavy lies the hand of the master on these commentators! As a matter of fact the commentator of *Puranānūru*, in his interpretation, follows Pavaṇandi and takes *kol* as an expletive.

In the light of this detailed study, the knot presented by the line of the poetess quoted above need not be cut at all by the sharp sword of the grammarian but can be untied quite naturally and so fittingly as to harmonize with the historical necessities brought to light in the Synchronistic Tables. I shall wind up my remarks by inviting attention to the distinction that should be kept in mind about the two meanings that have been assigned here. The meaning of *man* falls under what Dr. Jespersen calls the notional category while that of *kol* is merely syntactical. The former may be traced regularly to its origin in the verbal root *man* whereas *kol*, at present, cannot be so traced. Its relation with the verbal root *kol* is not at all clear and so the origin of this question-mark remains a subject for further investigation.

APPENDIX IX.

NOTE ON THE ELEPHANT-MARKED COINS OF MADURA.

Rev. E. Löventhal in his work, *The Coins of Tinnevely*, after referring to the existence of two distinct Pāṇḍya dynasties, one of Korkai and the other of Madura, observes: "Both the chief lines had the elephant and the battle-axe as their royal marks, probably because they were closely related to each other." Early Tamil literature furnishes the most direct testimony on the relation of the two lines of the Pāṇḍiya kings shrewdly arrived at by the reverend gentleman from the valuation of numismatic evidence before him. It confirms his conclusion that the two lines belonged to one family having their original seat at Korkai. In course of time the coin gets an additional fish-mark and Mr. Löventhal suggests that the elephant and fish-marks symbolize the Buddhistic and the Vaishnavite character of the religious persuasion of the then Pāṇḍiya kings. Whatever may be the significance of the fish, I am inclined to hold that the battle-axe was the original emblem of the Korkai rulers and that the elephant-mark should have been added later on after the conquest of the Āyī country by Pasumpūn-Pāṇḍiyan. It is not at all improbable that the Āyī rulers themselves may have had the elephant-mark as their royal emblem. The Travancore royal house, which now rules over the greater part of the ancient Āyī country, has still the elephant-mark in its crests, with a conch (a symbol of Viṣṇu) placed between and underneath the uplifted trunks of the animals. As to the Āyī kings, it is quite appropriate that they should have assumed this particular elephant-emblem, themselves being the rulers of an extensive mountain region; and the probability of the truth of such an assumption is all the greater if we bring in also the literary evidence bearing on this question. Many are the references in the earliest Tamil poems to the strikingly lavish gifts of elephants bestowed on the poets by the Āyī kings in a manner quite characteristic of their line. Umparkāḍu, the elephant forest, belonged to them at first and came to be annexed to the Chēra dominions later on. Two verses may be quoted here about the elephant-gifts of the Āyī kings:

நஞ்சைப் பலவின் மாமலைக் கிழவ

அடி பண்டி அடுபொ றன்ன

விரவலர்க் கீத்த யானையிற் கரவின்று
 வான மீன்பல பூப்பி னான
 தொருவழிக் கருவழி யின்றிப்
 பெருவெள் ளென்னிற் பிழையாது மன்னே.

—*Puram.*, S. 129.

விளங்குமணிக் கொடும்பூணாய் நின்னாட்
 டிளம்பிடி யொருசூல் பத்தீ னும்மோ
 நின்னுநின் மலையும் பாடி வருநர்க்
 கின்புகங் கரவா துவந்துநீ யளித்த
 வண்ணல் யானை யெண்ணிற் கொங்கர்க்
 குடகட லோட்டிய ஞான்றைத்
 தலைப்பெயர்த் திட்ட வேலினும் பலவே.

Puram., S. 130.

These facts fairly make it more than probable that the elephant-mark in the Madura coin symbolises Pasumpūn-Pāṇḍiyā's conquest of the Āyī kingdom. I think such a turning political event as this is more likely to be commemorated in contemporary coinage than the religious persuasion of a king or kings which in fact came to assume importance only after the lapse of four or five centuries from that early date.

APPENDIX X.

NOTE ON THE ARYAS AND 'VADAPULAM'.

The tendency of the human mind to ascribe its own thoughts and feelings to its surrounding objects is a common enough phenomenon and in the matter of reading the ancient history of a country a like tendency impels most of us to project into it our own modes of thought and life and thereby to invert the events from their true historical setting. As an instance of the creation of such false historical perspectives, Dr. A. Berriedale Keith in his work on *Buddhist Philosophy* draws pointed attention to how the advanced idealistic conceptions of the later Mahāyāna system were read back into the earlier Buddhism of the days of its founder. In Tamil literature too this unconscious inversion has been going on for a long time. Conceptions borrowed from such late works as *Cilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* are generally read back into the poems of the earliest poets with the result that a false picture of the early times is created and believed in. Take for instance the following lines of Parāṇar:

ஆரிய சலறத் தாக்கிப் பேரிசைத்
தொன்றுமுதிர் வடவரை வணங்குகிற்பொரித்து
வெஞ்சின வேந்தரைப் பிணித்தோன்
வஞ்சியன்ன.

—*Agam.*, S. 396.

This being one of the earliest references to the Aryans in the group of works we are considering, it must have formed the starting point from which Ṇāṅkō Aḍigal passed on to the Aryan kings of North India and the Himalayas. As an episode in an epic poem it may be allowed; but as an incident in sober history it does not deserve serious notice. Parāṇar's lines should be interpreted strictly as referring to Neḍuñchēralāṭan's victories over certain Āndhra kings of his time who ruled over territories lying just to the north of his kingdom. 'வடவரை' also should be taken as referring to the northern-half of the Western Ghats, known then as Eḷimalai. We should not import into these lines meanings historically improbable for that period. Let us take another

couplet:

வில்லீண்டு குறும்பின் வல்லத்துப் புறமினே
பாரியர் படையி னுடைக.

—*Agam.*, S. 336.

The name 'Aryas' here also refers not to the Aryans of North India, but the Aryans nearer home who lived in 'Ariaca' or Ārya-agam lying beyond the northern border of Tamilagam. It was then known as 'வடபுலம்' also as in the following lines:

வடபுல மன்னர் வாட வடக்குறித்
தின்ன வெம்போ ரியநேர் வழுகி

—*Puram.*, S. 52.

Again in interpreting the name 'வடகுன்றம்' unless there is a clear reference to the Himalayas, the name must be strictly construed as referring to the northern-half of the Western Ghats, beyond the Coimbatore gap. Let us take these verses:

தென்பவ்வத்து முத்துப்பூண்டு
வடகுன்றத்துச் சாந்தமுரீஇ.

—*Puram.*, S. 380.

குமரியம் பெருந்துறை யயிரை மாந்தி
வடமலைப் பெயர்குவ யாயி னிடையது
சோழ நன்னாட்டுப் படினே.

—*Puram.*, S. 67.

The reference to sandal-wood in the first verse and the poetic description of the intervening Chōla country in the second render the identification of 'வடகுன்றம்' and 'வடமலை' as Eḷimalai quite certain and indisputable.

Thus in the interpretation of this earliest stratum of Tamil literature we should be on our guard not to import ideas borrowed from later literature which would not fit into it.

APPENDIX XI.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE *re* THE DARK PERIOD IN TAMIL HISTORY (4TH TO 6TH CENTURIES A.D.).

A comparative study of the Pāṇḍiya coins of the early centuries of the Christian era has led Rev. E. Löventhal to lay down that the coins of the later centuries show considerable debasement. Suggesting that this must have been due to some internal trouble or war, he writes: "I should think the whole series of these coins belonged to the 4th, 5th and 6th century A.D., that is the time when Buddhism and Brahmanism were fighting together." I am, however, inclined to hold that this debasement of coinage should be ascribed more to the political disturbances then prevailing than to any religious cause. The fact is incontestable that from a hundred or a hundred and fifty years from the close of the period of the Synchronistic Tables, i.e., from 300 or 350 A.D., to the beginning of the seventh century there stretches a period of three centuries, whose darkness there is hardly any means of dispelling by our appeal to Tamil literature. The thread of continuous literary development too seems to have snapped with the abrupt close of the dynastic annals arranged and discussed in these Tables. This breach of continuity in the political and literary life of the Tamil people must be attributed to the disturbances to which the once isolated Tamil kingdoms were subjected by the incursions of the growing Pallava power of the North. The loss of independence or at least the necessity of constantly maintaining a fight with a northern rival must naturally have led to the debasement of the coins in the centuries noted, to which Mr. Löventhal bears valuable testimony.

APPENDIX XII.

PROF. W. F. CLIFFORD ON THE AUTHORITY OF TRADITIONS.

Venerable as the Sangam tradition is in the Tamil land, first put into shape by the commentator on *Kalaviyal* and then sedulously propagated by later commentators, we have to examine it closely and satisfy ourselves first about its authenticity and secondly about its evidentiary value for purposes of history.

Prof. W. F. Clifford in his paper on the Ethics of Belief emphasizes the necessity of basing belief on a thorough examination of its grounds. And this he claims, be it noted, even for traditions more fundamental and hoary than the tradition we have in respect of the Tamil Sangam. In page 199 of his *Lectures and Essays*, Vol. II, he writes:

“What shall we say of that authority more venerable and august than any individual witness, the time-honoured tradition of the human race? An atmosphere of beliefs and conceptions has been formed by the labours and struggles of our forefathers which enables us to breathe amid the various and complex circumstances of our life. It is around and about us and within us; we cannot think except in the forms and processes of thought which it supplies. Is it possible to doubt and to test it? and if possible, is it right?

“We shall find reason to answer that it is not only possible and right but our bounden duty; that the main purpose of tradition itself is to supply us with the means of asking questions, of testing and inquiring into things; that if we misuse it and take it as a collection of cut and dried statements to be accepted without further inquiry, we are not only injuring ourselves here, but by refusing to do our part towards the building up of the fabric which shall be inherited by our children, we are tending to cut off ourselves and our race from the human line.”

If according to the exhortations of this thinker even the traditions that have become the very breath of our nostrils should be subjected to scrutiny, the necessity of the Sangam tradition, which after all is a mere concoction of a literary coterie, being carefully and critically examined goes without saying.

APPENDIX XIII.

NOTE ON *Tiruvalluvamālai*.

To *Kuraḷ*, the great ethico-political treatise of Tiruvalluvar, is generally appended in its praise a small work of fifty-three stanzas in *venpā* metre from the pen of an unknown author. Suppressing his own name, the real composer of this poetic pendant has chosen to pass it off as the joint-product of the various members of the third Tamil Academy of Madura. Probably fired with an unbounded admiration for *Kuraḷ*, the writer may have thought that without this bunch of certificates from the whole Sangam conclave the excellencies of that great work could not be well and truly appreciated by posterity or it may be that, consigning the Sangam celebrities to their proper niches, he wanted to place Tiruvalluvar on a higher pedestal of his own. Whatever be the motive of the plan and however genuine it may have appeared to an uncritical public, it cannot any longer pass muster in the roll-call of the genuine works of Tamil Literature. The Synchronistic Tables, it is evident, bear hard upon this spurious work. In the light of their facts and their arrangement one cannot resist the conclusion that the account contained in *Tiruvalluvamālai* is wholly faked and historically of no value. Even as a pure literary production, it is so surcharged with the most fulsome flattery with hardly any ray of critical insight to redeem its verses that one would be justified in severing its connection with the great classic of Tiruvalluvar. The merits of that masterpiece are admittedly such as not to require this unequal prop.

It is a task of mere supererogation to analyse the contents of this work at any length and lay bare the impossibilities and improbabilities it bristles with. A few significant points bearing on its authenticity may, however, be noted here. The first three stanzas stand ascribed to the unembodied Spirit (அஃஃ), to Sarasvati and to Iraiyanār the supreme Lord or God. None in these days will be disposed to seek for authors in such a divine assemblage as this. The human authorship of these pieces, however, peeps out of the last line of the stanza assigned to the Spirit, viz., "என்றதேளி செலவ்." Further, the use, in this stanza, of the word 'புணி' in the sense of beauty—a very late phenomenon in Tamil Semantics—appears wholly incongruous to the Sangam

age and makes the mysterious spirit quite up-to-date to suit the present-day conditions of the Tamil language. Assuming at any rate that these three stanzas may have been interpolated into a genuine poem on religious motives at a later stage and that their presence should not affect the validity of the rest of the work, one has still to wonder by what mysterious agency could the verses of authors separated from one another by centuries be brought into one work. It is clear that the unknown author has manipulated with the names of the poets belonging to almost all the generations in the Tables and has made them indite verses in praise of one and the same work and in one and the same metric style. What is still more remarkable, he has brought into this company a very large number of much later poets such as Bhāratam-pāḍiya Perundēvanār, Kavisāgara-Perundēvanār, Cīrumēdāviyār, Kulapatināyanār, etc. The medley thus created could be justified only on such assumptions as these: that the Academy was a continuing living institution throughout some centuries, that *Kural* was submitted to that body during Nariveruttalaiyār's time, *i.e.*, about the second generation, and that all those poets who later on composed stanzas in its praise did so not as Nariveruttalaiyār's contemporaries but as mere slavish imitators of an ancient model traditionally handed down to them. If such were the case, this modest work of 53 stanzas should be considered like Homer or the *Mahabharata*, a miniature epic of growth!

My only excuse for going into this length of criticism is the amazing seriousness with which such spurious compositions are treated in our current histories of literature.

APPENDIX XIV.

NOTE ON THE NAME 'Tirumurugārruppaḍai'.

The very name 'Tirumurugārruppaḍai' proclaims its late origin involving as it does a new turn in the use of the phrase ஆற்றப்படை and quite a departure from the linguistic practice of the early poets. To these latter the phrase stood for a species of literary composition wherein the poet points out a way to be pursued by certain individuals addressed by him, for gaining their particular objects. Thus பொருகார்த்தப்படை, பாணுற்றுப்படை (both major and minor), and சுத்தார்த்தப்படை (otherwise known as Malaipadukaṭam) all signified compositions wherein the Porunar, Pānar and Kūttar are each directed to pursue certain paths to attain certain ends of theirs. Interpreted according to this time-honoured literary usage 'Tirumurugārruppaḍai' should denote a composition by which the poet directs Tirumurugan to follow a certain path to compass some of his ends. But that evidently is not the idea of this late poet, as the work itself shows. Here he is seen to direct the devotee to reach Murugan in his various shrines, worship him and thereby get salvation. This undoubtedly involves a departure from the established literary usage—a departure which none of the old poets would have perpetrated. To strengthen my contention I shall refer the reader to the use of this identical phrase by an old poetess, Veri-pāḍiya-Kāmakkanniyaṉ, in the line:

“ முருகார்த்தப் படுத்த வருகெழு கடுகாள்.”

Agam., S. 22.

Here the phrase means, as it should, that God Murugan had been brought to the heroine's home for worship. The transitive verb படுத்த and the verbal noun derived from it படை appearing in the compounds ஆற்றப்படுத்த and ஆற்றப்படை were always used then with their grammatical objects. The names of all the old Arruppaḍai poems fall in line with this early usage. But in *Tirumurugārruppaḍai*, this usage has been wholly departed from and a new extension effected. Probably this may be a sign of growth of thought and facility in the use of the linguistic instrument but that means the lapse of an appreciable time for it to come to pass.

APPENDIX XV.

THE AGE OF *Tolkāppiyam*.

In the cloistered world of Tamil learning, the age of *Tolkāppiyam* stands to this day an insoluble problem. Not that the problem itself is really insoluble, but it has been made to appear so by powerful influences, racial, religious, literary, and even sentimental, which have gathered round this particular work and thrown up such entrenchments as cannot be carried by mere literary men. Tradition and dogmatic opinion have been responsible for the widely-entertained belief that *Tolkāppiyam* alone of the existing works in Tamil belongs to an anterior stratum, the so-called 'Second Sangam Literature', and that it is far too much older than *Puranānūru*, *Aganānūru*, etc., which are relegated to a special class, the 'Third Sangam Classics'. This rooted conviction has been further stiffened by the writings of some of the learned commentators of *Tolkāppiyam*, who, despising the use of centuries for measuring the age of this unique work, have launched into æons and *ūlis* instead—an *ūli* of course taking in that vast stretch of time which intervenes between the creation of a cosmos and its destruction. Even such practically inconceivable periods of time as are dealt with by the Geologists dwindle into insignificance before the actual time-measure adopted by these authors in settling a problem in Tamil literary history! Such a thoroughly unscientific attitude and procedure are possible only in a field of study self-centred and stagnant and absolutely cut off from the vitalizing currents of modern thought and modern methods.

Taking *Tolkāppiyam* out of this privileged position and subjecting it as any other work to a critical examination from every point of view open to a linguist, a literary man or a historian, one will find that its transcendent antiquity is a pure myth and that its relative age in Tamil literary history can easily be settled. The assigning of this work absolutely to a particular century may not be feasible at present, for its composition quite probably falls within the dark period of Tamil history just preceding the advent of the Religious epoch; but to fix its age relatively to some of the third Sangam works, such as *Puranānūru*, etc., is, it seems to me, not at all difficult. The linguistic evidence I have thus far gathered in my study of *Tolkāppiyar's* treatment of 'uricol' warrants

the conclusion that the composition of this grammar comes much later and is separated from the *Purānānūru* period by a fairly wide gap of time. Reserving the results of that study for a separate treatment I shall here confine myself to a discussion of only those points on which the Synchronistic Tables throw an altogether new and much-needed light.

I shall summarize them under five heads:

(1) The first mention of Vēnkaṭam in this literature occurs in the poems of Kallāḍanār, a poet of the seventh generation. It was in the sixth generation that Aruvānāḍu was conquered and brought under complete subjection by Karikālan II. Both the father and the grandfather of this sovereign are said to have fought some battles in the North; but those victories did not take them as far north as Vēnkaṭam nor did they lead to any permanent occupation of territory in that region. It was only during the time of the great warrior-king Karikālan II that the Chōla kingdom had its northern frontier pushed to the foot of Vēnkaṭam. If this fact of early Chōla history is admitted—and existing literature does not permit one to ante-date the conquest of North Aruvānāḍu in pre-Karikālan days—it gives us an important *point d' appui* for the settlement of Tolkāppiyar's age. In the commendatory stanza composed by Panampāranār, Tolkāppiyar's co-student according to tradition, and prefixed to *Tolkāppiyam* it is definitely stated that Vēnkaṭam was the northernmost boundary of Tamiḷagam at the time of the composition of that work. Hence one may legitimately infer that Tolkāppiyar could not have written his grammar before the Chōla power had extended its conquests to the foot of that northern hill. Surely when the country round about Vēnkaṭam was a region of thickly-grown forests infested with marauding tribes under their chieftain Pulli none would be warranted in assuming that that region had come under the civilized rule of the Chōlas. It was only after the complete subjugation of the Aruvānāḍu of the Naga tribes and of the North Aruvā inhabited by some forest-tribes and the planting of Tamil colonies in those semi-civilized and barbarous regions that Vēnkaṭam must be considered to have become the northernmost boundary of the Chōla dominion and hence of Tamiḷagam. This bit of political history testified to by the Tables about the gradual expansion of the Chōla power is entirely subversive of the current view *re* the composition of *Tolkāppiyam* in the pre-Purānānūru period. In the light of the early conditions it is simply unthinkable.

(2) If these Tables establish any historical fact beyond a doubt it is this: that the rulers of the three royal dynasties of the Tamils were engaged in an unceasing and protracted warfare with many a tribal ruler for the expansion of the very limited territories with which they seem to have started. Before the establishment of their capitals at Uraiyūr, Karuvūr and Kūdal they could not be considered as having attained the status of 'Great Kings', a status which their descendants came to occupy in later times as could well be gathered from the narrations in later literature. Supposing that *Tolkāppiyam* had preceded the establishment of the three Tamil monarchies in their respective capitals, would such Sūtras as the following appear in it?

(a) போந்தை வேம்பே யாரென வருஉ

மாபெருந் தானையர் மலைந்த பூவும்.

—*Agattiṇai-Iyal.*, S. 60.

(b) படையுங் கொடியும் * *

தாரு முடியு நேர்வன பிறவுந்

* செங்கோ லரசற் குரிய."

—*Marapu-Iyal.*, S. 626.

(c) வண்புகழ் மூவர் தண்பொழில் வரைப்பி

ணற்பெய ரெல்லை யகத்தவர் வழங்கும்.

—*Seyyul-Iyal.*, S. 391.

Such descriptions as 'மாபெருந்தானையர்', 'முடி.....செங்கோலரசர்' and 'வண்புகழ் மூவர்', applicable to the time of the fully-developed Tamil kingships would scarcely suit the early period when these were only in the making and just feeling their way towards territorial expansion, dominant power and political influence. How could the early communal Vēls and Kō's be styled *மாபெருந்தானையர்*, the kings with big standing armies? How could they be invested with the crown and sceptre, the insignia of full-fledged royalty of later days? How could Veliyan Tittan and his son Tittan Veliyan, the first two Chōla sovereigns in the Tables, who ruled their people without wearing a crown, be brought under the description of *Tolkāppiyar*? How could the general phrase 'three kings' refer particularly to the Tamil kings at a time when there were seven kings, eleven kings, and host of them besides, in a proper counting? Again, the political division to which the third extract refers is not at all applicable to the period of the Synchronistic Tables. The commentator rightly expounds that it comprised the four major political provinces of the *Tamilagam* of *Tolkāppiyar*'s days, *viz.*, Pāṇḍiyamaṇḍalam,

Malaimaṇḍalam, Chōlamaṇḍalam and Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. Now a reference to Tonḍaimān Iḷantiraiyan occurs only in the time of Avvaiyār of the ninth generation and from this one cannot immediately jump to the conclusion that there was a political province under the name Tonḍaimaṇḍalam in those days, for this name itself was brought into vogue at a much later date. Even after the conquest and colonisation of the Aruvānāḍu, North and South, the territory must have existed only as part and parcel of the Chōla kingdom. After a century or two from the time of Karikālan II this northern dependency seems to have become a separate principality (the Kalabhra interregnum testifies to this effect), which in still later times became the *nidus* for the Pallava power to grow in. In time, this new power grew to such dimensions that it easily subverted the paramount Chōla rule and overran the other Tamil States too. But all these belong to much later history. What we have to note in this connection is that the four-fold political division to which Tolkāppiyar alludes in his Sūtra is the picture of a later Tamiḷagam which we have no right to project into the times of the dynastic kings appearing in the Synchronistic Tables. Tolkāppiyar's reference must be strictly construed as mirroring the conditions of a much later period in the political history of the Tamils.

(3) We have seen from the Tables that the few Aryans who first came into the Tamil country were of the religious order and had been invited by Karikālan II and Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi for the performance of Yāgas. There was a small sprinkling of secular Brāhmins also who pursued some handicraft work or other. This handful of immigrants from the North could hardly have exerted any influence on the politics of those days. By the fewness of their numbers, by the inconspicuousness of their professions, by the absence of the fighting Kṣatriya element in their ranks, and, above all, by the war-like propensities of the Tamil kings themselves, the early Aryan settlers could not certainly have borne any part or lot in the political life of Tamiḷagam then; much less could they have cast a glance towards the occupation of a throne. And yet we find in Tolkāppiyar, a Sūtra like this:

“அந்தணைர்க் கரகவரை விவரே.”

—*Marapu-Iyal*, S. 637.

Howsoever applicable this dictum may be to North India or to South India in much later times, it has no relevancy to the political conditions of the ancient Tamil States during the first

two centuries of the Christian era and presumably much less to any century preceding them. If *Tolkāppiyam* is a work composed for the Tamils, their language, and their country, this particular Sūtra should then be construed as the product of a much later literary activity when the Aryan element gained in strength, influence and importance in the Tamil land.

(4) Let us take another Sūtra:

“மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புள லுலகமும்
வருணன் மேய பெருமண லுலகமும்.”

—*Agattiṇai-Iyal*, S. 5.

Applied to the four fundamental works of these Tables and even in the case of the secondary works much of this description must lack in pertinency. The occurrence of the names மால் and இக்கிரன் in a few stanzas in a body of poems numbering above 1,600 can in no way be construed as importing a classification of the land amongst the different deities specified by *Tolkāppiyar*—a novel scheme, be it noted, that was sought to be grafted on the life and literature of the early Tamils by a later systematism just about the dawn of the Religious epoch. To one conversant with the method of linguistic development and literary forms the very scholasticism which breathes through this classification of the land and a tabulation of its products, and its people with their modes of life, manners, etc., should proclaim itself as an aftergrowth, such a scheme being incompatible with the creative period of a nation's literature dealt with in the Synchronistic Tables. Still, those who cherish the antiquity of *Tolkāppiyam* as an article of faith may seek to press into service the mere mention of the names of some deities in early literature as affording a clear testimony to the state of popular belief in such deities at that time and also to the literary usage of investing such deities with the presiding functions in their respective *locale*. Allowing the fullest scope even for this latitudinarian interpretation, how can they grapple with the difficulty raised by *Tolkāppiyar*'s specific mention of *Varuna*? Not even a single poet has alluded, anywhere, or on any occasion, to this particular deity either by name or by implication. This leaves us in little doubt that *Tolkāppiyar*'s reference must be shifted to much later times for coming into some accordance with prevalent literature. It will not certainly be relevant to raise in this connection any question about *Varuna*'s antiquity in the

Aryan pantheon. Admitting that that antiquity reaches the Rig Vedic Period, or even a still earlier age, what is here urged is the lateness of its introduction into the pantheon of the Tamils. If *Tolkāppiyam* had preceded the basic works of the Tables and served as their authority, there is not the least reason why one and all the poets who allude to such deities as ஆலமர்க்கடவுள், முருகன், நகெற்றெய்வம், கள்ளிநீழற் கடவுள், etc., should have given the go-by to this particular deity in their stanzas. If Varuṇa had been as familiar to the early Tamils as to Tolkāppiyar, surely a few poets at least would have alluded to him in some stanza or other. This allusion to Varuṇa therefore definitely throws the composition of *Tolkāppiyam* to a much later age when the major portion, if not the whole, of the Aryan pantheon was systematically introduced into the Tamil country, taking of course into its bosom a number of pre-Aryan deities. As for the method adopted for the effective assimilation in religion, the following lines of *Paripāḍal*, a late work, furnish the most instructive and interesting information:

“அழல்புரை குழைகொழு நிழறரும் பலகினை
யாலமுங் கடம்பு கல்யாற்று நடுவுங்
கால்வழக் கறுநிலைக் குன்றமும் பிறவு
மவ்வவை மேய வேறுவேறு பெயரோ
பெய்வயி னோயு நீயே.”

—*Paripāḍal*, 4: 66-70.

Here the poet exhibits an extraordinary catholicism capacious enough to absorb every form of worship, then obtaining in the Tamil land, into the cult of Viṣṇu. ‘Māyōn’ occupying the place of honour in Tolkāppiyar’s Sūtra quoted above, it is but reasonable to hold that that grammatical work is much nearer to the period of *Paripāḍal* than to the earlier works, *Puraṇānūru*, *Aganānūru*, etc.

(5) We have seen that the Synchronistic Tables comprise events which fall within the first two centuries of the Christian era and will not fit in if shifted to any subsequent period. That fact being established, the following Sūtra of *Tolkāppiyam* supplies us with the most valuable testimony of a definite chronological significance. It runs:

“மறைத்த வொழுக்கத் தொகையு காளுந்
தறத்த வொழுக்கம் கிழவோர்க் கிஃகி.”

—*Kaḷaviyal*, S. 135.

The word ‘தொகை’ in this Sūtra has a history of its own and enables us to determine the upper limit of Tolkāppiyar’s age

with some degree of certainty. 'ஓரை' is certainly not a Tamil word by its origin; nor is it native even in Sanskrit before the Astronomers of the North borrowed it from the Greeks. The opinion of Western Orientalists like Colebrooke, Weber, Whitney, Thibaut, Jacobi and Keith is unanimous about at least the later Indian Astronomy having been decisively influenced by the Greek Science. G. R. Kaye in his valuable contribution on Hindu Astronomy, published in the Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India No. 18, has clearly demonstrated that the Vedic and the post-Vedic periods down to the first century of the Christian era mark the existence of the Indian Astronomy, as an entirely indigenous system free from foreign influence of any kind. Coming, however, to the third stratum of that Science which synchronises with the period of the Gupta dynasty from 320 A.D. to 650 A.D., he pronounces it as being largely permeated by Greek method and thought. Aryabhata born towards the close of the fifth century and Varāhamihira of the sixth century were the earliest Astronomers who absorbed the new influence of the West and borrowed also a good number of Greek technical terms of which 'Hora' is one. If Sanskrit language itself cannot claim possession of this particular word before the Gupta period or the fifth century approximately, how can Tolkāppiyar who borrowed the word from Sanskrit—and few, I think, will contend that he borrowed it direct from the Greek source for his grammatical work—aspire to any higher antiquity?

A treatment of the linguistic evidences from *Tolkāppiyam* itself may be reserved for another occasion, as it will swell this Appendix beyond its acceptable limit.

Reasons like the foregoing drawn from historical facts and probabilities may not appeal to those who are used to take a static view of history wherefrom the time-element is wholly extruded. Whether from a desire to glorify the past or from an incapacity to shake off erroneous ideas in estimating that past or from an unwillingness to get out of traditional grooves of thought, they generally transport *en masse* the latest developments in any walk of life and thought to any anterior period in history, without the least notion of the monstrous inversion they thereby make. Among such there may still be many hardy Jasons to go in search of the golden fleece of Tolkāppiyar's Date in pre-Christian centuries or even millennia and who can hope to dissuade them from that heroic venture!

Turning, however, to the side of serious inquiry, we find that the Synchronistic Tables open a fair and fruitful way of solving

the problem of Tolkāppiyar's Date. They restore the ancient classical poems of Tamil to their rightful place of priority as against *Tolkāppiyam* by establishing that a good many of them are almost contemporary with the birth of the Tamil monarchies. No sooner have the facts of early Tamil history, hitherto chaotically jumbled up and rendered irrational and even mute, been arranged in a time-scheme in their natural order of sequence than they have acquired a new intelligibility and significance and give us a most valuable and much-needed guidance in interpreting the facts of the political and social life of the Tamils no less than those of their language and literature. If the basic works of the Tables do not enable us to fix Tolkāppiyar's date absolutely in a particular century, at least they leave us in little doubt about the relative age of his work as compared with themselves. This in itself is a great point scored in favour of a correct reading of the history of Tamil language and literature. Hitherto the traditional practice unquestioningly followed of ante-dating *Tolkāppiyam* and post-dating the third Sangam classics has only thrown inquiry wholly off its right track. Instead of the earlier Sangam works supplying the norm for the valuation of *Tolkāppiyam*, this comparatively late grammar was erected into an absolute standard by which those ancient poems were invariably measured and judged. The viciousness of this practice is solely due to the inverted and false chronology on which it is based. And it is to the entire reversal of this faulty method that the Synchronistic Tables supply a most valuable help.

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Kurunālogai.
Narriṇai.
Purānānūru.

II. SECONDARY WORKS.

*Pattirrupattu.**Pattuppāṭṭu.*

III. OTHER WORKS.

*Aiṅkurunūru.**Cilappadikāram.**Iṟaiyanār Agapporu.**Kalavāli Nārpadu.**Kaliṅgattupparaṇi.**Kalittogai.**Koṅgudēsaraṅjakkal.**Kural.**Māṇimēkalai.**Paripādal.**Periyapurāṇam.**Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru.**Tiruvācagam.**Tiruvīlayāḍalpurāṇam.**Tolkāppiyam.**Toṅḍaimaṅḍalacatakam.**Vādavūrpurāṇam.**Vāñcimānagar.*

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