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CĀŖU, "FESTIVAL", IN CANKAM POETRY

INTRODUCTION1

Tamil $c\bar{a}ru$ is related to $c\bar{e}ru$ through the interchange of \bar{e} and \bar{a} after a palatal plosive.² Both words are attested in Cankam poetry, in two cases even side by side in one sentence. They share the meaning "sap, juice". In addition, cēru means "mud, slush" and cāru "festival". As to cāru "festival", it is unclear if we are dealing with the same word as *cāru* "sap, juice" and, if so, how the two meanings are related. Nevertheless, commentators, editors and translators have shown an outspoken preference for the meaning "festival" and have ignored the other meaning except in a few cases where "sap, juice" was absolutely inevitable. In this article I will have a closer look at a number of instances of the word cāru in Cankam poetry and try to show that as far as these instances are concerned the meaning "festival" is unnecessary beside that of "fluid". Besides, in several of the passages that will be investigated, cāru seems to mean more particularly "mud", the very meaning supposed to be peculiar to cēru. On closer consideration it would seem that in Cankam poetry the meanings of *cēru* and *cāru* overlap much more than has hitherto been assumed. Even so, there seems to have been scope for using the two words side by side, each with its own specific meaning.

Before discussing instances of *cāru* "festival" I will present a few examples of *cēru* "juice, sap, mud" and of *cāru* "juice, sap". I should also add that the conclusions reached here are provisional as they are restricted to Cankam poetry and are based on only a selection, though a fairly large one, of the instances of *cāru* available in that corpus. Some instances have been left out

I Would like to thank Whitney Cox for his most stimulating comments.

² Krishnamurti 2003: 99.

³ Other meanings beside "mud, slush" mentioned in the *Tamil Lexicon* (p. 1640) are "kernel, as of a coconut", which rests on a misunderstanding of *Puṛanāṇūṛu* 225, for which, see below, and "liquid of thick consistency", with reference to *Paripāṭal* 6, 41, which I will also deal with below. The latter meaning is merely a contextually determined version of that of "mud, slush". So is the meaning "pus", mentioned in the lexicon as well. The meaning "wood-apple" does not seem to be relevant here. Finally, the *Tamil Lexicon* mentions a meaning "temple festival" with reference to a traditional lexicon. Most likely, however, we have to do with *cēṛu* for *cāṛu*!

⁴ Another meaning mentioned in the *Tamil Lexicon* is "worship", with reference to *Paripāṭal* 8, 96. This meaning seems to have been made up *ad hoc*, as an alternative for "festival", which did not fit in this context (see below). Besides, the dictionary mentions a meaning "marriage" with reference to *Tiruviļaiyāṭarpurāṇam 3*1, 5: nāṇmaṛai vitiyir cāru ceytē. To the latter instance I will return below.

of consideration because I simply failed to make sense of the poem as such or because the context was too meagre to come to any definite conclusion concerning the meaning of $c\bar{a}pu$.

cēru "mud" and "pulp, juice"

The meaning "mud" for *cēru* is well attested in Cankam poetry. Examples are *Ainkurunūru* 28, 2, *tan cēru kaļavan varikkum ūrarku*, "the man from the town where a crab leaves its 'footprints' in the cool mud" and *Patirruppattu* 65, 16, *cēru cey māriyin*, "like rainclouds turning earth into mud". Another example is found in *paṭṭiṇappālai* 43–51:

... aṭṭir ... kañci yāru pōlap parantoluki yēru porac cērākit tēr ōṭat tukaļ keļumi nīrāṭiya kaļiru pōla vērupaṭṭa viṇai yōvattu veṇkōyiṇ mācūṭṭun,

The gruel, flowing from the kitchen like a river, having turned into mud as buffaloes waded through it, splashed up as chariots raced through it and made the resplendent palace with walls decorated with paintings look like an elephant which had taken a bath in mud.

There are several descriptions of elephants "playing" in the mud: e.g. *Narriṇai* 51, 9, *iruñcērāṭiya* ...*kaḷiru*, "the elephant which played in the dark mud" and *Akanāṇūru* 121, 6, *cēru koṇṭāṭiya* ... *kaḷiru*, "id.". In *Narriṇai* 278, 7 it is a mule, *kaḷiccērāṭiya* ... *attiri*, "a mule playing in the mud of the backwaters".

In *Cirupāṇāṛruppaṭai 27–8, nuṅkiṇ iṇcērikutarum, cēṛu* refers to the dripping juice of the palmyra fruit. An interesting example of this meaning of *cēṛu* is found in *Puṛanāṇūṛu 225*, 1–3:

talaiyōr nunkin rīñcēru micaiya iṭaiyōr palattin painkani māntak kaṭaiyōr viṭuvāyp piciroṭu cuṭukilanku nukara. As I understand the passage, the warriors in the vanguard of the army were given the sweetest and softest parts of the palmyra fruit⁵ and those forming the middle and the rear increasingly less sweet and soft parts:

The warriors at the front of the army enjoyed the sweet juice (or pulpy kernel) of the palmyra fruit, those behind the front the green part of the fruit and those forming the rear the stringy (*viţuvāy*) fibers and the unpleasant (*cuṭu*) root.

In all these instances, whether it means "mud" or "juice, sap", *cēru* refers to relatively thick or turbid fluids, never, for instance, to clear water.

cāru "juice, sap"

There are a few instances of *cāru* in which one simply cannot get around the meaning "juice, sap". Thus, in *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* 262, *karumpiṇ rīñcāru virumpiṇir micaimiṇ*, it refers to sweet sugarcane juice. In the passage *Puranāṇūru* 24, 12–6 this sweet sugarcane juice is part of a list of three juices (*munnīr*):

irumpaṇaiyiṇ kurumpainīrum
pūṅkarumpiṇ rīñcārum
ōṅkumaṇar kuvavuttālait
tīnīrōṭuṭaṇ virāay
munnīr untu ...

mixing the juice of the young fruit of the high palm trees with those of the flowering sugarcane and the nuts of the coconut trees growing in groups on the high sands, and drinking this mixture of three juices ...

In *Paripāṭal* 6, 41–2 *cāṛu* occurs side by side with *cēṛu* in a list of fragrant substances produced by, or floating in, the Vaiyai river:⁶

⁵ The Tamil Lexicon (p. 1640) quotes nunkin rīncēru micaiya as an example of cēru "kernel, as of a coconut".

⁶ This passage is responsible for the meaning "water in which aromatic substances are infused" for cāru listed in the *Tamil Lexicon* (p. 1397) and "liquid of thick consistency, as sandal paste" for cēru (p. 1640). Another poem in which the two words are found side by side is *Patirruppattu* 65, which will be discussed below.

cāruñ cēru neyyu malarum nārupu nikaļum yāruvaralāru,

Lotions, pâtes, huiles et fleurs, Déroulant ses parfums, c'est la venue de la rivière!

In either case we are, as in the case of $c\bar{e}_T u$, dealing with a liquid with something in it, not with clear, pure water.

cāru "mud"

The possibility that *cāru*, like *cēru*, could mean "mud" as well has not been considered. A case in point is *Narriṇai* 200, 3–4:

yāru kiṭantaṇṇa vakaṇeṭun teruvir cāreṇa nuvalu mutuvāy kuyava.

Wilden has translated these lines as follows:8

O potter of old wisdom who talks about [the coming] festival in the streets wide [and] long as a river gone to rest.⁹

To understand the passage one should know that the comparison of a wide street to a river with still—and clear—water is standard; see (y)āru kiṭantaṇṇa vakaṇeṭun teruvir in Neṭunalvāṭai 30 and Maturaikkāñci 359. Another example is found in Malaipaṭukaṭām 480–2, which is particularly interesting since there, as in the poem under consideration, the clear water of the river is contrasted to cāru:¹⁰

viyaliṭaṃ perāa vilupperu niyamat tiyāreṇak kiṭanta teruvir cāreṇa vikalunar verūun kavalai marukir,

⁷ Gros 1968: 32–3. For his notes, see p. 204. Parimēlaļakar glosses cāru with maṇanīr and cēru with cantaṇam kuṅkumam alattaka mutaliya kuḷampu (Kalittokai, pp. 85–6).

⁸ Note that for the *Narrinai* we do not possess an old commentary (see Marr 1985: 340).

⁹ Wilden 2008. See also Kandasamy's translation: "Oh intelligent potter ... saying 'Festival' in the broad long street lying like a river" (Kandasamy 2008: 141).

¹⁰ The commentator Naccinārkkiniyar does not single out cāru for comment; see Pattuppāṭṭu: 652-3.

We are not in a James Bond film here, in which our secret agent manages to shake off his pursuers by mingling in a festive crowd, but in the world of Indian warfare, in which military campaigns run aground in the mud (*cāṛu*):¹¹

[The king's town] with crowded streets lined with large, richly laden shops, which resemble (wide) rivers flowing softly, [and] with narrow, ever-forking lanes which his enemies fear because of the mud.

Going back to *Narriṇai* 200, a bard (*pāṇaṇ* in line 8) has compared the wide street of the village to a river with still, clear water. All the potter sees, however, is mud. "Festival" does not yield the right contrast here. The point is that the bard tries to gloss over the fact that the rainy season has started and the wife's husband has failed to fulfil his promise to be back in time. Deaf to poetry, the potter unwittingly exposes the bard as a liar. Note in this connection how the poem continues. Obviously by way of a joke, someone urges the potter to take it upon himself to warn the women of the village to protect themselves against the bard's cruel lies (lines 10–11: *ivaṇ* [the bard of line 8] *pōypoti koṭuñcol ōmpumiṇ*). The potter (*kuyavaṇ*) in this poem may be compared to the village types in Hāla's *Sattasaī*, who have no ear for poetry, taking it too literally. His characterization of the potter as *mutuvāy*, or "of old wisdom", is obviously meant ironically here.

Marching warriors are not the only ones who fear mud. The poor man in *Puranāṇūru* 82 has his own particular reasons for that:

cāru talaikkoṇṭeṇap peṇṇ īṛruṛreṇap paṭṭa māri ñāṇṛa ñāyiṛruk kaṭṭiṇiṇakkum iliciṇaṇ kaiyatu pōltūṇṭūciyiṇ viraintaṇṛu mātō ūrkoļa vanta porunaṇo ṭār puṇai teriyaṇeṭuntakai pōrē.

II Admittedly, it is strange to see how the scene of military campaigns has been shifted here from the countryside to the town.

¹² See Khoroche and Tieken 2009: 161ff.

Ramanujan's translation runs as folllows:

With the festival hour close at hand, his woman in labor, a sun setting behind pouring rains,

the needle in the cobbler's hand is in a frenzy stitching thongs for a cot:

swifter, far swifter, were the tackles of our lord wearing garlands of laburnum,

as he wrestled with the enemy come all the way to take the land ¹³

Beautiful though this translation is—Hart's more recent translations differs only in details¹⁴—it misrepresents the situation. A festival "at hand" (Rāmanujan) or "impending" (Hart) is given as a reason here for the man to hurry with the bed. The editor of the Kalakam edition explains: because he has to be ready to be able to assist at the festival.¹⁵ But why has the bed to be ready before nightfall—the scene is explicitly set at sunset (nānta nānta nānta is, just before it is getting really dark? As I see it, it is because the man's pregnant wife has to sleep on it. Otherwise she would have to sleep on the ground, which has become muddy (cātu talaikkoṇṭeṇa) due to the rain (paṭṭa māti). With all this we should keep in mind that the man is poor (ilicinan) and probably he and his wife do indeed usually sleep on the ground.

¹³ Ramanujan 1985: 123.

¹⁴ Hart and Heifetz 1999: 61

Unfortunately, the editor of the Kalakam edition of the Puranānūru does not distinguish, for instance by using different letter types, between the explanations of the anonymous, old commentary and his own comments (see Marr 1985: 69–70).

Another instance of *cāru* to be discussed here is *Kalittokai* 102, 13–16:

colluka pāṇiyēm eṇṇār araikeṇṇār pārittār māṇilai yāṇākac cāru cārruļ peṭai yaṇṇār kaṇ pūttu nōkkum vāyellām mitai perin ērāt takaittu.

Unfortunately, the only English translation available so far, by Murugan, is far too free to be of any use. For instance, the two instances of engar, "they say", in line 13 are skipped, and so is cārrūl, probably because Murugan did not know what to do with the combination of ul "inside" and cāru, which, following the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, he translated as "festival". 16 To understand the poem we have to know that the scene is set at a so-called bull-baiting contest, at which young men vie with each other for the hand of the cowherd leader's daughter by riding a bull. The poem under consideration is set on the following day, when a second contest is announced as the owners of the bulls were not satisfied with the outcome of the one on the day before (nerunal in line 30). The winner was only a "commoner" (potuvan, l. 37), which, of course, he always was, as for the young men the contest was a way up from being a nobody to the sonin-law of the owner of a cattle herd. Furthermore, one should know that it has been raining heavily: the poem opens with a reference to rain showers and an enumeration of flowers typical of the rainy season, which the women present at the occasion are wearing.¹⁷ So we may safely assume that the area in which the contest takes place is muddy. In fact, this might explain why the girls are looking for an elevated spot (*mitai*) from which to watch the performance. It is an elevated spot "amid all this mud" (cārrul). If instead of "mud" cāru would mean "festival" here, it does not refer to the occasion but to the crowd obstructing one's view of the contest, which is an additional complication to the one offered by the meaning "festival".

Naccinārkkiniyar has: cāru ērukōļ viļā (Kalittokai, Mullaikkali, p. 11). In Murugan (1999) the poem is numbered 101. His translation of the passage under consideration runs as follows: "Let the drum beat have a wider reach / Heralding the festive contest / For our richly jewelled girl's hand./ Fitting and worthy it'd be / Were there raised platforms around / For the fowl-like lasses' eyes / To feast on the contest."

The bull-catching festival takes place in the rainy season. *Kalittokai* 101 and 103 open with a similar enumeration of flowers of that season, *Kalittokai* 106 with a description of rain-wet pastures. Therefore the bull-catching contest described in *Kalittokai* 102–6 is not the direct precursor of the modern *callikkatţu* festival described by Zvelebil, which takes place in February-March (Zvelebil 1962).

Above I have rendered *cārrul* with "all *this* mud", as *cārrul* echoes *cāru* in the preceding line, pārittār māṇilai yārākac cāru. The editor of the text glosses cāru with "festival", translating pārittār ... cāru as viļavaip parakkac celutti, "having set in motion the festival". 18 It is unclear, however, how yārāka, which he ignores, as was done by Murugan as well (see note 16), fits in. The context is the following. In the first "paragraph" (lines 1–8) we hear a young man asking after a girl who has caught his eye. In lines 9–12 he is told she is the prize of the bull-catching contest. After that we get three short sentences, namely colluka pāṇiyēm eṇṇār, aṇaikeṇṇār, and pārittār māṇilai yārāka cāru, in which someone is telling what had happened the day before; that explains the past tense forms engar (twice) and parittar. The subject of the first part, colluka pāṇiyēm eṇṛār is most likely the young men, who said "tell them that we are ready (for the contest)". Next, they, or else the organizers of the contest,19 said: "beat the drums (to announce that we begin)". The verb pārittār in the third sentence is otherwise rare in Cankam poetry. When it occurs, it is glossed with the verb para-ttal, "to spread". It is used transively, as in akal nilāp pārikkum tinkaļ, "the moon which spreads moonlight", in Nālaţiyār 151,20 as well as intransitevly, as in pakalcey mantilam pārittānku (Perumpānārruppaṭai 442), "like the sun appearing (scil. emitting its rays)".21 Consequently, pārittār māṇilai ārāka cāru may be translated as follows: "the girls, the mud serving as a path (that is, walking through the mud), displayed their precious ornaments", or, taking māṇilai metonymically, "the girls, decked out with precious ornaments, walked through the mud."22 The cārrul sentence may be translated as follows: "if amid this mud (cārrul) all of them manage to find an elevated spot from which they can watch (the contest) with large eyes, resembling fowls, that would be wonderful."

¹⁸ Kalittokai, Mullaikkali, p. 11.

¹⁹ Note that in line II (araintaraintu) the announcement by beating drums is done by the organizers.

²⁰ Tirukkural 851 mentions a (contagious) disease (nōy) which infects (pārikkum) everybody with hate. In payaṇila pāritturaikkum urai (Tirukkural 193) the verb pārittu seems to express the idea that the speaker spoke to just anybody who cared to listen. In Kalittokai 71, 12, puṇ pārittu puṇarttalin parattaimai (Murugan 1999: 278 reads puṇ pārittup puṇarnta niṇ parattaimai), pārittu is glossed with maraiyāmal, "without hiding (as scar)" (Kalittokai, Marutakkali, p. 21), which assumes a positive "showing".

²¹ Note that the commentator has added an object, "rays" (kiraṇaṅka]): ñāyiru taṇ kiraṇaṅkaļaip parappit tōṇriṇārpōla (Pattuppāṭṭu, p. 255).

²² Incidentally, it is not entirely certain that the girls are the subject of pārittār. The fact is that the young men wear garlands of flowers as well (see *Kalittokai* 103). If the young men are the subject, we get an interesting contrast: they swagger through the mud, while the girls seek refuge from it on elevated spots.

cāru combined with the verb kol

In several instances $c\bar{a}ru$ is combined with the verbs kol or ayar. The meaning of kol as an independent verb is more or less clear; it means "to hold, contain, keep, acquire". The meaning of ayar is less clear and requires an investigation of its own. I will begin with some instances involving kol. The first one is from our point of view also the most interesting in that $c\bar{a}ru$ occurs in it side by side with the more common word for "festival", namely vilavu. The context seems to rule out that $c\bar{a}ru$ means "festival" as well. I refer to Kurincippattu 189–194 here:

... palavi nekilntuku narumpalam vilainta tēra nīr cettayinra tōkai viyalūrc cāru kol āṅkaṇ vilavukkala nanti yarikkūṭṭinn iyaṅ karaṅka vāṭumakal kayirūr pāṇiyir ralaruñ cāral.

The passage describes a peacock which has drunk (ayinṛa) the fermented juice (vilainta tēṛal) of the fragrant jackfruit (palavin), which had fallen on the ground (nekilntuku), thinking (cettu) it was water (nīr), and has got drunk. It staggers (talarum) like the slow (irregular) beat (pāṇi) with which the pebbles (arikkūṭṭū) in the tightrope dancer's anklets rattle (kaṛaṅka) with each step she sets on the rope. 24 Either the peacock or the dancer is enjoying him/herself (nanti) on the festival site (vilavukkalam), a place (āṅkaṇ) which is "having" (kol) cāṛu. 25 It is unlikely that cāṛu means "festival" here, as the commentator Naccinārkkiṇiyār on the text would have it. 26 Instead, it seems to describe the state the festival grounds are in. In that case "mud(dy)" is definitely a possible meaning here. In this particular instance the mud may have been caused by the juice dripping from the jack fruits. More in general, during feasts, and probably during festivals as well, toddy is spilled

²³ Steever 2005:195-6.

²⁴ The construction āṭumakaļ kayirūr pāṇi, "the rhythm (of the feet) with which the tightrope dancer moves slowly along the rope", may be compared with kaṇru puku mālai (Akanāṇūru 9, 20), "the evening when the calfs come home". For the semantic role of the noun phrase to be relativized (ūr = ūrnta) and its case marking (pāṇiyiṇ instrumental) in Modern Tamil, see Lehmann 1993: 288ff.

²⁵ āñkan, "place", seems to anticipate viļavukkaļam. Compare ānkan in niļalil ānkan aruncurakkavalai (Narrinai 105, 5-6) and koṭunkaļi yiļumeņa volikkum ānkat peru nīr vēli (Kuruntokai 345, 5-7). For ānkan, "place", see inru peritennum ānkanatavaiyē (Kuruntokai 146, 5) and kari vaļar aļukkattānkan muri yaruntu (Kuruntokai 288, 1).

²⁶ vilākkoļļutarkuriya avviṭaṅkaļaiyuṭaiya akarciyaiyuṭaiya ūrkaļil vilākkoļļutalaiyuṭaiya kaļattē mikku (Pattuppāṭṭu, p. 503).

turning the earth into mud. The following passage, *Puranāṇūru* 68, 15–18, may give us some idea of what went on such occasions, in case at a drinking party:

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kaṭuṅkaṭ parukunar naṭuṅkukai yukutta
naruñcērāṭiya varuntalai yāṇai
neṭunakar varaippir naṭumulā vōrkkum
urantai ... ... ... ...
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Hart translates this passage as follows:

and some men drinking strong toddy let the cups fall from their unsteady hands while elephants, although no one rides on their heads, dance in the mud rendered fragrant by that splashing toddy as they listen, with rapt attention, to the sound of a mulā drum that is beaten somewhere within the towering mansion in the city of Urantai.²⁷

Another instance is *cāru koļa eluntu* in *Paripāṭal* 8, 96. I quote the passage from lines 93 to 102:

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kulirpoykai yalaru niraiya maruta nali maṇan ñemarnta naṇimalarp peruvalic cīraṭiyavar cāru kola veluntu ... ... ... aruvaraic cērāt totunar.
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Gros's translation runs as follows:

L'eau boueuse remplit les frais étangs; Le sable épais de la plaine s'étale Sur le grand chemin abondamment fleuri Où tes humbles servantes se son mises en route pour Te célébrer.

(Diverses qualités de santal ... et les autres objets nécessaires, tenant tout cela,) Elles rejoignent la montagne d'accès difficile, tes adoratrices.²⁸

²⁷ Hart and Heifetz 1999: 52–3.

²⁸ Gros 1968: 50. Gros reads tolunar for totunar; see his notes on p. 224.

In Gros's translation *cāru* "festival" is hidden away in "Te célébrer". "Festival" is indeed difficult to fit in as the "humble servants" (*cīṛaṭiyavar*) do not go to a festival but to a temple (*kaṭinakar* in line 126) on Tiruparaṅkuṇṛam to worship Cevvēļ, or Murukaṇ, there.²⁹ As I see it, there is no good reason not to translate the passage as: "the women with small feet set off on wide roads so that they (or their small feet) get covered with mud", as they pass muddy (*aḷaṛu*) ponds (*poykai*) and (wet) sandy (*maṇal*) fields.

In *Paripātal* 19, 6 one of Murukan's lovers, Tēvayāṇai—the other is Vaḷḷi,—is described as *cārukol turakkattaval*, or "Celle qui [est] dans le paradis rempli de fêtes." I do not know of other references to festivals organized by the gods among each other in heaven. However, they do drink *amṛta*, or the drink of immortality. *cāru kol turakkattaval* may accordingly be translated as "the goddess in heaven enjoying 'the liquid' (i.e. the *amṛta*)."

The last instance of the phrase $c\bar{a}\underline{r}u$ $ko\underline{l}$ to be dealt with in detail is found in $Pu\underline{r}an\bar{a}\underline{n}\bar{u}\underline{r}u$ 22, 14–19:

alankucenner katir vēynta āykarumpin koṭikkūrai cāru koṇṭa kaļam pola vēruvēru polipu tōnrak kurrānā vulakkaiyār kaliccummai viyalānkaṭ.

Hart's translation reads:

... there are rows of roofs that are plaited of soft sugarcane, covered with sprouts of the finest swaying paddy, variously resplendent as if we were at the site of a festival, a vast place full of noise, where to the endless drumming of pestles, ... ³¹

²⁹ Among the meanings of *cāru* the *Tamil Lexicon* mentions "worship" with reference to this particular instance, as if worship and festival are the same thing, which they are not.

³⁰ Gros 1968: 118.

³¹ Hart and Heifetz 1999: 18.

As I see it, what is described here is not a festival but a wet (*cāru koṇṭa*) field in which paddy and sugarcane grow in abundance. The firls looks like a roof thatched with paddy and the sugarcane sticking out from it resemble flagpoles.³²

cāru in combination with the verb ayar33

There are two types of constructions in which *cāru* co-occurs with *ayar*, namely cārayar mūtūr in Cirupāṇārruppaṭai 201, which is similar to cāru koļ āṅkaṇ in Kuriñcippāţţu 192 discussed above, and cārayarntanna in Kuriñcippāţţu 201 or cārayarntu in Maturaikkāñci 366. The commentator Nacciṇārkkiṇiyar translated cārayar mūtūr with viļā naţakkinra paļaiya ūr,34 cārayarntanna as viļāk konţāţinār pōla or pōnṛa (see below), thus, as if cāru means festival (viḷā). That, however, remains to be seen, as the meaning also depends on that of the verb ayar. This verb is generally translated as "to perform" and its contextual variants.³⁵ Objects found with it are dances (kuravai yayarum in Puranāṇūru 129, 3), the reception of a guest (elviruntayaru maṇaivi in Naṛṛiṇai 121, 11), marriage (nāṭaṛkayarvar naņmaņamē in Ainkurunūru 230, 5), and festival (ūrē ... viļavayarummē in Narriņai 348, 3–4). Other objects are flower plucking (poytal ayara in Maturaikkāñci 589) and guarding one's daughter (aruṅkaṭi yayara in Aiṅkurunūru 292, 4). However, besides instances in which a specific dance is mentioned, as in kuravai yayarum quoted above, there are also several instances in which ayar seems to mean "to dance" or "to make dancing movements" all by itself. Examples are makaļir kuļanīr ayara in Maturaikkāñci 603, pēymakaļ ayara in Puranāņūru 371, 27, and turai ... yām ... ayarkañ cērum in Kuruntokai 80, 3.36 Similarly, we find ayar with celavu, a noun expressing the action of going (celavayarntanaiyē in Ainkurunūru 423, 2). It would seem, that ayar in the first place denotes a fast or quick movement and, from there,

³² As I will try to show below, another passage in which *cāru* and flagpoles are found in each other's proximity, *cārayarntaṇṇa eṭutta vuruvappalkoṭi*, in *Maturaikkāñci* 366, is a deceptive parallel.

³³ The *Tamil Lexicon* (p. 1396) dedicates a separate lemma to *cāṛayartal*, "to celebrate a festival". It refers to *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* 1221: *cāṛayarntiṛaivaṛ pēṇi*. Unfortunately, I have been unable to check this particular instance. As I will indicate below, it is not impossible that in post-Caṅkam text *cāṛu* was used in the meaning of "festival."

³⁴ Pattuppāṭṭu, p. 169.

³⁵ Wilden (2008), who more or less consistently translates *ayar* with "to be engaged in", in connection with its use in *celavayarnticināl* in *Naṛṛiṇai* 149, 9, suggests that the verb might mean "to express a plan". She might, however, have taken the trouble to check if these meanings make sense in the other instances of the verb. We do have excellent word indexes of the Cankam corpus nowadays!

³⁶ For the construction ayarkañ cērum, compare man koṇarkañ cēru(m), "we go to fetch sand", in Kuruntokai, 113, 5. For the meaning "to dance", see also viḷaiyāṭāyamoṭayarvōḷ in Kuruntokai 396, 2. In pāvai ... ayarum ... makaḷir (Puranāṇūru 283, 10–1) ayar seems to mean "to play [with a doll]".

for instance, dancing. Besides, the word seems to express the idea of exerting oneself; an example is the noun *ayarvu* in *Puranāṇūru* 182, 5–6: *paliyeṇin / ulakuṭan periṇun kollalar ayarvilar*, "even if they conquer the whole world, if it brings them shame, they will not bother to keep it". In some instances exertion seems to lead to exhaustion, which meaning may be assigned to *ayarcci* in *Ainkurunūru* 396, 3: *curattiṭai yayarcciyai yāruka*, "may we recover from the exhaustion (or: fatigue) we suffer from as we go through the wasteland".³⁷

If the above considerations do not rule out a translation of $c\bar{a}_{\underline{r}ayarnta\underline{n}\underline{n}a}$ with "as if a festival was celebrated", it also opens other possibilities. Take $Kuri\tilde{n}cipp\bar{a}ttu$ 201–2:

cārayarntanna miṭāacconri varunarkku varaiyā vaļanakar.

As expected, the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar translates cārayarntanna with viļāk koṇṭāṭiṇārpōṇṛa, which he links to vaļanakar.³ In this translation, however, cārayarntanna does not function as a comparison to immediately following miṭāaccoṇṛi, "rice cooked in a pot", but is linked to the house(hold), "which gives away (varaiyā) as if it is celebrating a festival". I do not want to make yet another detour here by investigating how phrases like cārayarntanna are usually construed in the sentence. Instead, I would like to point out that taking cārayarntanna together with miṭāaccoṇṛi makes sense as well if we take cāru to refer to a liquid: "rice (cooking) in a pot bubbling like mud". "Mud" stands here metonymically for a fast-flowing river, which is by nature muddy. Above we have seen that the verb ayar means, among other things, "to dance"; here, it seems to describe the movement of a muddy river. These two things come together in Puṭanāṇūṭu 22, 22–3, in which the kuravai dance is compared to "the waves in the sea":

... ... verikkuravai ōta nīrir peyarpu poṅka,

The frenzied *kuravai* moves this and that way and jumps up and down like the waves in the sea.

³⁷ Note the intransitive verb āru- with an object, ayarcciyai, in the accusative.

³⁸ miţāccorrai varuvārkkellām varaiyāmal iţukinra vilāk konţāţinārponra celvattaiyuţaiya akam polivu perumpaţi, Pattuppāţţu, p. 504.

Another instance of cārayarntanna is found in Patirruppattu 81, 20-1:

cārayarntanna kāraņi yāṇart tūmpakam paluniya tīmpili mānti.

The editor translates $c\bar{a}_{r}ayarntanna$ with $vi\underline{l}\bar{a}k$ kontatinan $p\bar{o}la$, which is construed with the verb $m\bar{a}nti$, "people drink $(m\bar{a}nti)$ sweet juice $(t\bar{t}mpi\underline{l}i)$ as on a festival". A translation accounting for $c\bar{a}_{r}u$ "mud" and ayar "to flow fast, etc." would read: "They drink sweet juice ripened in fresh bamboo stems rising up towards the dark rainclouds which billow like a stream of mud". $c\bar{a}_{r}ayarntu$ on its own is met with in $Maturaikk\bar{a}nci$ 366:

cārayarnteţutta vuruvap palkoţi,40

A multitude of flags raised, billowing like a stream of mud.

In four instances, *cārayar*, like *cāru koļ*, describes a town (*cārayarūr*) or else a field (*kaļam*). One such instance is found in *Cirupāṇārruppaṭai* 200–2:⁴¹

aṇṇal yāṇai yaruvitukaļ avippa nīṛaṭaṅku teruviṇ avaṇ cāṛayar mūtūr cēyttum aṇṛu ciṛitu naniyatuvē.

Here, elephants muddied the town, or rather, its streets:

His town (with its streets) flowing with mud, the dust in the streets settled as elephant bulls shower themselves with jets of water drops, is not far; it is nearby.

Another instance of *cārayar*, this time describing a festival site on the beach, is found in *Cilappatikāram* 6, 157–165:

āṭukaļamakaļirum pāṭumakaļirum vēruvēru kōlattu vēruvēru kampalai

³⁹ Patirruppattu, p. 389.

⁴⁰ The commentator Naccinārkkiṇiyar translates: kōyilkaļukku viļākkaļai naṭattik kaṭṭiṇa alakiṇaiyuṭaiya pala kōṭikaļum (Pattuppāṭṭu, p. 377).

⁴¹ Naccinārkkiniyar translates: avaņuţaiya viļā naţakkinra palaiya ūr (Pattuppāţţu, p. 169).

cārayar kaļattu vīruperat tōnrik kaṭarkarai melikkun kāvirip pēriyār riṭankeṭa vīṇṭiya nālvakai varuṇat tatankāk kampalai yutankiyaintolippa.42

The passage is part of a description of what went on during the Indra festival. In interpreting *cārayar kalattu* we should keep in mind that this festival takes place during the rainy season⁴³ and that this particular scene is set at the Kāviri estuary, where the river turns the sand on the beach into a mire:

Dancers in various costumes and singers singing all kinds of songs have made their appearance on the site flooded with mud, the noise they make mingling with those of the four castes crowded along the Kāviri river which turns the sand of the beach into a soft mud.

SOME CONTEXTS WHICH DO NOT ALLOW ANY DEFINITE CONCLUSION

In Pattinappālai 215, cārayar describes a town (mūtūr) to which various high-caste people with their families and friends have come to visit a shrine or temple. In *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* 283, cārayar is found in a sentence which is exactly identical to Cilappatikāram 6, 162: cārayar kalattu vīruperat tōnri. Murukan's servants inform the god that a "beggar" has arrived on the cārayar kaļattu, who is praising him, saying many sweet and good things. Another instance of the combination, cāru kol, is cārukolūrir pukalvēn in Kuruntokai 41, 2. The woman who is speaking here is greatly delighted and rejoices like a town "having cāru". In the last example, a festival seems to be taking place in the town. However, this does not automatically imply that cāru means festival, especially as the evidence for this meaning is thin. As already argued above cāru could equally well refer to the state the town (or the site) is in when a festival takes place. As to the meaning "mud", the presence of mud, coinciding with the longed-for rainy season, is generally a cause for rejoicing (except for travellers). I have to admit that I am entirely at a loss as to how to interpret Patirruppattu 72, in which the king's task, or the king himself, is compared to cāru.44

⁴² Aṭiyārkkunallār translates: putuppuṇal viḷavu koṇṭāṭum talaināṭpōl ivviḷaviṇiṛutikkaṇ puṇalāṭiṭaṅkaḷum vīṛupeṛat tōṇṛāniṛka (Cilappatikāram, p. 199).

⁴³ Kuiper 1979: 136.

⁴⁴ For instance, I do not know how to construe nayiru paṭṭa vakanṛuvaru kuṭṭattu with following caru. I cannot follow the analysis given by the editor of the text, who seems to link everything with everything.

By way of conclusion I would like to deal briefly with an instance of *cāru* in the *Cilappatikāram*. It is interesting because, as in *Kuriācippāṭṭu* 192, *cāru* is found here as a part of the celebration of a *vilavu*, or "festival". The passage concerned runs from 5, 174 to 188. I quote only the parts 174–178 and 187–188:

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māmutu mutalvaņ vāymaiyiņ valāa
nāṇmarai marapir rīmurai yorupāl
nālvakait tēvaru mūvaru kaṇaṅkaļum
pālvakai terinta pakutit tōrrattu
vēruvēru kaṭavuļar cāru cirantorupāl
... ... ... ...
mulavukkaṇ ṭuyilātu muṭukkarum vītiyum
vilavukkaļi ciranta viyaluļāṅkaṇ.
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The passage describes the various activities taking place at a festival site (*vilavu*), from Vedic sacrifices and *Purāṇa* recitation to music making. The passage is summed up in the last two lines:

Where drums do not stop and in every street and alley the sounds of the festival are heard.

In the preceding lines some of the activities taking place are mentioned, beginning, as said, with the performance of Vedic sacrifices:

On one side Vedic sacrifices (in which offerings were poured into the fire, [t] *īmuṛai*), as ordained by Brahmā, are faultlessly performed.⁴⁵

After this we read how $c\bar{a}\underline{r}u$ is available in abundance for the gods. ⁴⁶ Rather than a festival we may have to do with a $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ -like activity here. Could, therefore, $c\bar{a}\underline{r}u$ not refer to liquids like coconut water or ghee poured over the idols of the gods?:

On another side great quantities of liquid were poured over the four classes of deities, the eighteen *gaṇas* and the many other gods.

⁴⁵ This translation is based on Dikshitar 1939: 118.

⁴⁶ Dikshitar translates: "[O]n another [side] the festivals pertaining to the four classes of Dēvas and the eighteen Gaṇas and different other gods, were separately and correctly conducted" (Dikshitar 1939: 118)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The above presentation, ending with a question, is inconclusive for a reason. While I hope to have shown that in many of the above instances "mud" and "liquid" make good sense as translations of *cāru*, it cannot in each and every case be shown that the meaning "festival" does not make sense. At the same time, why do we need a meaning "festival" to begin with, which, apart from everything else, is not covered by its cognate cēru? My provisional conclusion is that in Cankam poetry, in which against better judgement I include the Cilappatikāram, 47 there is no such word as cāru meaning "festival". For all that I do not want to rule out the possibility that there may be instances in Tamil literature in which *cāru* is used in the meaning "festival". As we have seen, traditional interpretation of the Cankam poems has resulted in the isolation of a word cāru, "festival", which might as such have been given a second life in literature. 48 Unfortunately, I have no access to post-Cankam texts to check this. In this connection I may refer to the Cīvakacintāmani, to which Tamil Lexicon (p. 1396) refers in connection with an instance of cāru "worship" in the phrase cārayarntiraivar pēni, the Tiruvilaiyātarpurānam, to which the same dictionary (p. 1397) refers in connection with an instance of cāru "marriage in the phrase nūnmarai vitiyir cāru ceytē, or, for that matter, the traditional dictionary Cūtāmani Nikantu, which according to the Tamil Lexicon (p. 1640) includes a word *cēru* meaning "temple festival".

It is not difficult to see how $c\bar{a}_{\underline{r}u}$, when it was misunderstood, came to be interpreted as a word for festival. Some of the scenes described are set at a festival (*Kalittokai* 102, at a bull-catching festival, *Kuriñcippāṭṭu* 189–194 at a *vilavu*, *Cilappatikāram* at the Indra festival). From these instances the meaning may have spread to the other ones. However, the question is rather why $c\bar{a}_{\underline{r}u}$ was misunderstood. I think that for an explanation we have to turn to Modern Tamil. As we have seen, in most of the passages discussed above, $c\bar{a}_{\underline{r}u}$ means "mud". A good example is $Cirup\bar{a}_{\underline{n}}\bar{a}_{\underline{r}\underline{r}\underline{u}\underline{u}\underline{p}a_{\underline{d}}i}$ 200–2, in which the roads are covered with $c\bar{a}_{\underline{r}u}$ after the dust had been sprayed by elephants. Both $c\bar{e}_{\underline{r}u}$ and $c\bar{a}_{\underline{r}u}$ have survived into Modern Tamil but the meanings seem to have been redistributed so that "mud" has come to be associated with $c\bar{e}_{\underline{r}u}$ and more watery liquids with $c\bar{a}_{\underline{r}u}$. Thus, for $c\bar{e}_{\underline{r}u}$ the Cre-A Dictionary of Contemporary Tamil (p. 641) gives the meaning "mud, slush" and for $c\bar{a}_{\underline{r}u}$ (p. 569) "juice, extract" and "accumulated

⁴⁷ The Cankam corpus consists of poems selected according to a few specific criteria (see Tieken 2001: e.g. 194–5). The *Cilappatikāram* does not fit these criteria.

⁴⁸ The artificial nature of Tamil literature, in particular later, nineteenth-century literature, has been well documented by Ebeling (2010).

saliva in the mouth (when one chews betel leaves, tobacco, etc.)." At the same time there is already evidence of this specialization in Cańkam poetry itself. For this we may have a closer look at *Patirruppattu* 65, 16–7, in which, as in *Paripāṭal* 6, 41, *cāru* and *cēru* occur side by side but in which case the meanings are redistributed with *cēru* meaning "mud" and *cāru*, as in *Paripāṭal* 19, 6, "liquid". As "the liquid" *cāru* would refer to the milk of the mythological Milk Ocean. I should, however, immediately add that we cannot be certain that *cāru* already at the time of the composition of the *Patirruppattu* did mean "watery liquid" (against "mud") or was merely used in that meaning for alliteration's sake: *cēru cey māriyin aļikkum nin / cāru paṭu tiruviṇaṇai makiḷāṇē*. On the other hand, it is *cāru* which is used here for the more watery liquid, not *cēru*. The passage in question is *Patirruppattu* 65, 12–17:

... ... nin
nāṇmakilirukkai yiṇitu kaṇṭikumē
tīntoṭai narampiṇ pālai vallōṇ
paiyul uruppir paṇṇup peyarttāṅkuc
cēru cey māriyiṇ alikkum niṇ
cāru paṭu tiruviṇaṇai makilāṇē.

Before presenting my interpretation I would like to paraphrase the one given by the editor of the text (to the passage <code>tīntoṭai</code> ... <code>peyarttāṅku</code> I will come back below): "We are (were?) glad to see (what happens in) your audience hall (<code>nin</code> / <code>nānmakilirukkai yinitu kanṭikumē</code>), in your audience hall (<code>makilān</code>), which has the festive appearance of festival grounds (<code>cāru paṭu tiruvin</code>), in which toddy is distributed (<code>alikkum ... [nlanai</code>), which resembles rain which turns the earth into mud. All words are there, but none is in its proper place; the editor does not consider grammar. A case in point is the way he links <code>nanai</code> (<code>tiruvin nanai</code>) in line 17 as the object to <code>alikkum</code> in line 16, which apart from everything else breaks up <code>cāru paṭu tiruvin ... makilān</code>, which he otherwise takes as constituting one phrase. In addition, the editor overlooked <code>nin</code> in <code>nin</code> <code>cāru</code> <code>paṭu</code> tiruvinanai</code>, apparently because he did not know how to fit it in. Finally, the comparison of toddy to (rain)

⁴⁹ Patirruppattu, p. 309.

⁵⁰ Compare the translation of the corresponding part by Subramanian: "[y]ou distribute pots of liquor[,] which, fermented, tastes bitter-sweet (like showers of rain which turn the earth into sticky mire) to those in the court[,] which takes on a gay festive look. I am happy that I could see all this joy and merriment of your daytime camp, O Vāzhiāda!" (Subramanian 1980: 61).

clouds is curious. Usually, (rain)clouds are mentioned to evoke a liberal patron, not the thing he gives.⁵¹

Evidently, the editor did not really know what to make of the passage. In these circumstances it is best to begin with those parts that are more or less clear. For instance, cēru cey māriyin aļikkum niņ, "of you who give, resembling rain which turns the earth into mud". 52 Interestingly, cāru paţu tiruvin is among the clear passages as well. Thus, tiru is Sanskrit śrī, and except in titles such as Tirukkural refers either to wealth or to Śrī, the goddess of wealth. The latter arose from the so-called Milk Ocean when it was churned. cāru paţu tiru may accordingly be translated as "Srī fallen in 'the liquid', Śri from the Milk Ocean". nin/nānmakilirukkai yinitu kanţikumē belongs here too, though for the rare formation kanţikum there are at least two possible interpretations. Both Rajam and Lehmann take it as a past tense formation for the first person plural.⁵³ Though it is indeed used for the first person plural (see kantikum yāmē in Ainkurunūru 198, 4), the past tense does not seem to fit here, as the bard, while standing in front of him, seems to comment on the king's present situation. Apart from that, according to Lehmann the form is also used as a second person singular imperative, "please look". Though I do not intend to go any further into the meaning of forms like kantikum here (the only other available form is kēttikum), it may be noted that kantikum does combine the first person plural ending -um with that of the second person singular -ti. In the present context, however, I am almost certain that we have to do with the first person plural. If -ti is indeed the ending of the second person singular, we may treat kantikum as a present tense formation and translate lines 12-3 as: "We look with great pleasure at (the things happening in) the hall in which you enjoy yourself during the day (the public hall where you hold your audiences)". After this, however, things become problematical. For instance, the question of how naṇaimakilaṇ and caru paṭu tiruviṇ are to be meaningfully combined and how niṇ in line 16, if not to immediately following *cāru*, is to be connected with the text in the next line is not immediately clear. To begin with makil in line 17, I do not see how it takes up *nānmakilirukkai* in line 13, as assumed by the editor (see above). The compound *naṇaimakil* would mean "being elated from toddy". It is hard to believe, however, that the goddess Śrī (tiruvin (n)anaimakil) drinks toddy and gets drunk. As to the king (nin... naṇaimaki]), as shown by Puranāṇūru 123, being liberal

⁵¹ Hart 1975: 249-50.

⁵² For another instance of a participle tagged to the oblique of a personal pronoun, see *polinta nin* in *Patigruppattu* 11, 19.

⁵³ Rajam 1992: 596 and Lehmann 1994: 98-9.

while drunk brings him nothing but contempt.⁵⁴ There is also a verb *naṇai*-, "to be wet, to bud (of flowers), but a *viṇaitokai*⁵⁵ *naṇaimakil* does result in similar problems. A third possibility, which I would like to suggest, is to read *aṇaimakil*, "such (great) joy".⁵⁶ For... *iṇitu kaṇṭikumē/* ... *cēṛu cey māriyiṇ aḷikkum niṇ/ cāṛu paṭu tiruviṇaṇai makiḷāṇē* this yields the following translation:

We look with great pleasure at (the things happening in) the hall in which you enjoy yourself during the day ... because of the enthousiasm, which is like that (*aṇai*) of the Goddess Śrī from the Milk Ocean, (your enthousiasm) with which you shower presents (making us bards happy) like a raincloud making mud.

Admittedly, the distance of *nin* from *makil* is awkward. It should be noted, however, that in this interpretation, with *anai* meaning "such as" *cāru paṭu tiruvan aṇai makil* forms a fixed phrase, which does not allow *nin* to intervene.

So far, lines 14–5 have been left out of consideration. In these lines the king alleviating the distress of poor bards is compared to a musician, who, well-skilled in melodies belonging to the $p\bar{a}lai$ category, quickly switches from the secondary melody type called paiyul, or "poverty", to another, presumably pleasanter type.⁵⁷

hpriți pēk

I would like to end by explaining how I got interested in the relationship between $c\bar{a}\underline{r}u$ and $c\bar{e}\underline{r}u$ in the first place. A few years ago, having collected money at the State Bank of India ($p\bar{a}\underline{r}ata\,s\underline{t}\bar{e}\underline{t}\,p\bar{a}\bar{n}ku$) on Anna Salai in Madras, I went to have a fruit juice in a small shop in a side street. On the refrigerator a piece of paper

⁵⁴ *Puranāṇūru* 123: "If someone takes his seat every morning in his court/ and drinks himself blissfully drunk, it's a simple thing/ then to give away chariots! But Malaiyan, whose good name glows/ and is never diminished, even without getting delightfully drunk,/ gives away more lofty, ornamented chariots/ than the drops of rain that fall on fertile Muḷḷūr Mountain!" (Hart and Heifets 1999: 122).

This is how Naccinarkkiniyar describes the compound in his commentary to *Cirupāṇārtuppaṭai* 66–7, which, however, does not read *naṇaimakil* but *makilnanai: tamil nilai petra tāṅkaru marapin makil naṇai marukin maturaiyum varitē*, "Maturai too, where Tamil has taken roots and on whose streets because of that people brim over from joy, a joy which is difficult to contain, that Maturai, too, is poor".

⁵⁶ For other instances of this use of aṇai, see aṇaiperuṅ kāmam, "a desire so great" in Kuruntokai 99, 6, aṇai matukaiyar kol, "are they that strong?" in id., 290, 2, piriya (v)anainalam uṭaiyaḷō, "is your lover so beautiful that you'd leave ... this girl?", aṇaināḷ, "on that day/such a day", in Puranāṇūru 301, 7, aṇai yarum paṇpināṇ, "such rare qualities" in Kalittokai 44, 9, and aṇaivarai, "that far" in id. 128, 26.

⁵⁷ For paṇṇuppeyarttu, see Cilappatikāram 7, 47, 4.

was stuck which read *hpriti* pēk. It took me some time to decipher the text. In the first place I was amazed by the occurrence of the aytam (h), a sophisticated letter I had not expected to find in what was after all a rather shabby establishment. If hpriti meant "fridge", what to make of pēk? I was told that it referred to a pack of bottles. This example shows that for writing $/\bar{a}/$ in Tamil there are two options, either \bar{a} as in $p\bar{a}nku$, "bank" and \bar{e} as in $p\bar{e}k$, "pack". My initial idea about $c\bar{a}\underline{r}u$ and cēru in Cankam poetry was that we are dealing with just two ways of writing one and the same word. This idea was quickly found to be untenable, as in Paripāṭal 6, 41, 2 both words are used side by side, apparently referring to different kinds of fragrant fluids. This suggested that we have to do with two separately inherited words. On the other hand, cāru and cēru are not the only pair showing this particular variation. Another instance is the instrumental/conditional suffix -āl, which has a variant -ēl, in, for instance, turappāyēl (the second person singular turappāy followed by -ēl) in Kalittokai 3, 10, untēl in Kalittokai 38, 13, and viţuvānēl (the third person singular masculin viţuvān followed by -ēl) in Kalittokai 147, 50.58 It cannot be a coincidence that all the instances of the variant -ēl which have been identified so far are from the Kalittokai 59

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⁵⁸ Lehmann 1994: 118-20.

⁵⁹ For other instances, see Lehmann and Malten 1992, s.v. -ēl. The suffix has not been acknowledged in Rajam 1992.

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