Roland Ferenczi

**History behind the praising words of the learned**
An annotated translation of the *Pattruppattu* and the political geography of the early Cēra kingdom

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**Abbreviations**

* reconstructed form.  
abs. absolutive (*vignaiyeccam*)  
adj. adjective  
alap. alapețai  
caus. causative  
fem. feminine  
Gr. Ancient Greek  
h. pl. honorific plural  
imp. pey. *peyareccam* with imperfective aspect  
inf. infinitive  
intr. intransitive  
masc. masculine  
neg. abs. negative absolutive (negative *vignaiyeccam*)  
neg. pey. negative *peyareccam*  
neut. neuter  
obl. oblique case  
onom. onomatopoeia  
opt. optative  
Pā. Pali  
Per. Persian  
perf. pey. *peyareccam* with perfective aspect  
pl. plural  
p.n. proper name  
POC *Patiruppatu’s* old commentary  
Pkt. Prakrit  
pron. n. pronominal noun  
sing. singular  
subj. subjunctive  
Skt. Sanskrit  
tr. transitive  
v. verb  
v. n. verbal noun  
voc. vocative  
v. r. verbal root
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Introduction to a long durée of South Indian history

“History may be divided into three movements: what moves rapidly, what moves slowly and what appears not to move at all.”¹ If we consider Braudel’s words when examining the ancient history of South India, soon we have to realise that, although the rapidly moving ‘evental history’ (l’histoire événementielle) is entirely impossible to reconstruct from the primary sources (of which I think mostly of the Caṅkam literature), still the first three centuries of the Common Era provide us a long durée, in which the seemingly motionless period is apt to reveal the course, processes, directions, and tendencies of history, while breaking the surface we can somewhat explore the slowly moving, tectonic layers in the depth. In order to conduct such a research, it is important to put down boundary-stones and drop down some additional anchors of Cēra chronology. However, between the endpoints we must ignore out of compulsion the dense history of events and instead of that, focus on the dynamism of long centuries.

Reviewing the works published on early Cēra history, we see a keen interest from the beginning of the 20th century, in the background of which we find the anthology called Patiruppattu which has soon become very attractive as a quasi “chronicle” of Cēra history. Studies like Kanakasabhai’s The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago (1904), Sesha Aiyar’s Cēra Kings of the Śangam Period (1937), Aiyangar’s Seran Vanji (1940), Marr’s dissertation and the published book called The eight anthologies [1958], Thiagarajah’s dissertation called The Cērannāṭu during the Caṅkam and the post-Caṅkam period (1963), M. E. M. Pillai’s Culture of the Ancient Cheras (1970), Balasubramanian’s A Study of the Literature of the Cēra kingdom (1980), and Turaicāmippillai’s Cēra maṇṇar varalāṟu (2002) are the most important works written on this period of history. Each of these works is an important contribution to historical reconstruction, however, the lack of a sufficiently critical approach and the lack of a thorough comparative and philological work on the written sources arises in connection with almost all these works (perhaps Marr’s work is an exception in this respect). Historical studies like Champakalakshmi 1996 and 2011, Sivabalan 1996, Mahadevan 2003, Gurukkal 2010 and 2016, Selvakumar 2017, Narayanan 2018, De Romanis 2020 provide valuable insight into Cēra history and I found them immensely useful, although in some cases, particularly in the cases of politics and economy, I felt necessary to argue with their authors. This work is unique in that respect that it simultaneously presents a new translation of the Patiruppattu, with its rich annotation apparatus, and in-depth studies related to it, in which the most important methodology was a critical reinterpretation of the text and the questioning

¹ Braudel 1972, 8.
of everything we thought we knew about the early Cēras, thus formulating new questions and opening new doors to interpretations and scientific dialogue.

I need to make some remarks on it now, first of all, about the chronology. The available data suggest that the early Cēra chronology has to be defined between two points: the inscriptions of Aśoka (3rd c. BC) which most probably records the strong tribal state of the Cēras perhaps dating back to a somewhat older past, and the 4th century AD, when the Pallava dynasty already ruled over some of the eastern parts of South India, however, the Patiruppattu is remarkably silent about them, and/or the 5th century AD, the possible date of the epic Cilappatikāram, since we have textual evidences that Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ already knew the later patikams of Patiruppattu, which century anyway marks the beginning of a next chapter in Tamil literary history: the bhakti (patti). In these centuries, we see Pliny the Elder (around 50 AD) who mentioned the Cēras and their town Muziris as a place to be avoided by merchants because of the pirates, the Periplus Maris Erythraei (around 50–70 AD) which mentioned the Cēra state as kingdom and Mouziris that seemed to be an already safe place for the sailors, Ptolemy who mentioned the Cēra kingdom (around 150 AD) and their capital in Karuvūr, and last but not least, the Pukāḷūr inscriptions (near Karūr, Tamil Nadu) datable to the end of the 2nd century AD, which mentioned Cēra kings of the Irumpoṟai branch. These, together with the textual references and unearthed archaeological evidences for Indo-Roman trade between the Mediterranean and the Cēras offer us a time-span between around the 1st c.–3rd c. AD as a possible era when the Cēra kings, who were mentioned in the Patiruppattu, reigned. Regarding the Patiruppattu, one of the conclusions of the following study is that the Patiruppattu is nothing more than a collection of old poems (old in style, phrasing, and contents) sang for ancient Cēra kings, which poems were collected and edited into an anthology probably during the time of the late Irumporai rulers, around the end of the 3rd century or sometime in the 4th century AD, while unified patikams, epilogues, and names of established authors were added to the decades (pattu). The text thus became a means of legitimizing power and at the same time, the most important “songbook” of royal ceremonies, which was able to retell the history of the kingdom from its beginnings to the glorious present, when the kingdom was perhaps economically the strongest, culturally the most flourishing, and territorially the greatest. In my opinion, this must have happened at the same time when the Cēra love anthology, the Aiṅkūṟinūru took shape, and these two, the puram and the akam anthologies of the Cēras have to be considered as a late antique attempt to

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2 Francis 2011, 339.
3 For a different point of view on the absence of the Pallavas, read: Tieken 2001, 130–131.
4 For the chronology and debates around it, read: Zvelebil 1995, 145–146.
5 For an illustrative example, read the V. patikam of the Patiruppattu, which has several passages comparable to passages legible in Cilappatikāram, III. 26; 28.
6 Wilden 2014, 149.
establish a Cēra literary tradition and academy, the “disciple” or “competitor” of the one found in Maturai. However, it could not have been a cradle for a mediaeval Tamil literary renaissance during the Cēra Perumāḷs, because of the rapidly intensifying Brāhmaṇical influences on the Malabar Coast which have greatly contributed to the specific development of Kerala’s cultural history. Therefore, the academy at Maturai still could have felt that the ancient Cēra anthologies were their inheritance and burden to edit, since this late-unfolding classical literature may have withered early in the decline of the early Cēra kingdom and at the beginning of bhakti, but the early mediaeval epics have already re-connected the literary legacies of the ancient kingdoms.

I must mention the so-called “Gajabāhu synchronism” which has long been the basis of Caṅkam chronology. According to this theory, in the Cīlappatikāram the Cēra king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ is reported to have met with the king Gajabāhu who was mentioned in the text as Kayavāku; latter is identified with the king Gajabāhu I who reigned in Śrī Laṅkā about 113–125 AD. I must agree with Eva Wilden who expresses her doubts about the theory as it is indeed unclear “a. whether the Tamil word kayavāku really is the Tamilized form of gajabāhu, b. whether it refers to the Gajabāhu of the [Śrī Laṅka] chronicle, c. how the information of the chronicle is to be matched with that of the epic, d. what the date of the kings does imply for the dating of the Cīlappatikāram (according to later legend the author of the epic was a younger brother of the Cēra king)…”. If we accept the “Gajabāhu synchronism” as a historical data, then we may also accept one of those chronologies which were offered by previous authors. One of the biggest mysteries is deciding whether the kings reigned simultaneously or whether the two dynastic branches, the Kuṭṭuvar Cēras and the Irumpoṟai Cēras, succeeded each other on the throne. Authors like Sivaraja Pillai, Thiagarajah and others suggest that these branches were ruling simultaneously. Pillai’s theory relies on the meeting of Karikāla Cōḻaṉ and Peruṉcēral Irumpoṟai on the battlefield of Veṇni. However, the poems mention only Cēralātaṉ, the one with irum paṉam pōntai. The colophon of Puranāṅāru 65 mentions only Cēramāṉ Peruṉcēralātaṉ, literally “the great Cēralātaṉ of the Cēras”. This is far from being sufficient to identify these two. What is, however, striking that the 88th poem of the Patīṉṟuppatu enumerates the royal titles and deeds of Iḷaṅcēral Irumpoṟai together with the deeds of his Cēra ancestors starting from

7 On the academy at Maturai, read: Wilden 2014, 12.
8 Cīlappatikāram, III. 30. 160.
10 Wilden 2006, 17.
11 The most influential ones can be found in Kanakasabhai 1904, 87; in Pillai 1932, Table III; and in Sesha Aiyar 1937: 128–129.
12 Pillai 1932, Table III.
13 Thiagarajah 1963, 171.
14 Akanāṅāru, 55: 11.
15 Porunarāṅṟuppatai, 143.
Neṭuṅcēralātaṇ and Ceṅkuṭṭuvan with the battle against the katampus, the defeat of Naṅnan and Kaḷuṅvul, etc., which lines contain both the heroic feats of the Kuṭṭuvan Cēras as well as the Irumporaiṇais. However, the poet calls Iḷancēral the “descendant of [these] great ones” (Line 14), who did the actions described in the previous lines (Lines 1–13). I believe that if he had been a proud scion of the Irumporaiṇai branch, he would not have boasted of the exploits of the other branch of the Cēras, and the poet would not have called him a descendant of both branches at once. At the very least, it casts doubt on Sivaraja Pillai’s theory. However, if we read the following words of Sivaraja Pillai, we understand his methodology which differs from ours: “[b]ut in view of most, if not the whole, of the Chēra genealogy depending for its authenticity on Patiṟṟuppattu, a work not of impeccable authority in itself on account of its containing patent interpolations and which moreover has already been consigned to the humble role of mere secondary evidence, I could not bring myself to make that dynasty the standard for the construction of the Tables.” Anyways, I interpret these kings as successive rulers, which is also confirmed by the genealogical information of the patikams, and their dynastic branches as Cēra families who could exercise power simultaneously as king and royal representatives, but in my opinion, there is no hard evidence to prove that two crowned Cēra kings ever ruled at the same time.

Talking about the “Gajaḻīh synchronism” and the chronology, I rather think that, although it is a fascinating playground of numerology, we still do not have sufficient data in order to reconstruct a usable chronology of the Cēra kings from our South Indian literary sources including the Patiṟṟuppattu’s epilogues, the Cilappatikāram, and others. Therefore, it is better to talk about periods of history in which it is possible, drawing on external evidences, to capture the major historical courses of each century, while we make the possibilities to outline ‘evental history’ dependent on the discovery of additional evidences.

Thus, the most important chronological boundaries were fixed to the inscriptive material and the Greek and Latin sources, while for the reign of the eight kings of the Patiṟṟuppattu, we designated a long period (1st–3rd centuries AD). In these centuries, if we somewhat consider the years given by the Patiṟṟuppattu’s epilogues, the Cēra kings ruled for 231 years and succeeded each other on the throne every 29 years on average. Even if the exact years were not taken into account, this data was used in this study as approximate calculation. Including the Cēra kings whose names we only know, we can conclude that the dynasty could have been in power for another hundred years or so, and its beginnings as a kingdom must be sought at the beginning of the first century AD.

Throughout this study, the focus will be laid on a unique literary anthology: the Patiṟṟuppattu, which were intentionally written to one particular dynasty, the Cēras, and/or

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16 Patiṟṟuppattu, 88: 1–14.
17 Pillai 1932, 57.
edited for them or their later successor’s needs. This anthology of ten times (*patirru*) ten poems (*pattu*), of which eighty survived along with eight summarizing poems (*patikam*), is one among the eight old anthologies (*Eituttokai*) of the Early Old Tamil Caṅkam literary corpus, and one from the two *puram* anthologies that contain heroic compositions. The *puram* literature has a particular importance in reconstructing history, because the ancient heroic songs were not only a means to praise the great warriors but to keep them alive through their glorious memories mixed with a great quantity of literary topoi. Once the ancient literature of the Tamils has been edited and formed into a canon in the early Middle Ages, this canon was continuously studied (with more or less intensity), copied and preserved through the ages, which meant to be the next step of memorialising. Thus I believe that the *puram* literature became a memory space (*lieu de mémoire*) with time, in which the poems were quasi symbolic memorials for the heroes, and I have also the impression that the Tamils themselves looked upon the old literature as an imaginary *locus memoriae*, as a vast material of their collective memory, which became a part of their collective identity. During this work, I put an emphasis on the importance of reading the songs of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* and the ancient Mediterranean authors together, while I occasionally used their data to verify each other. I analysed the text of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* in the light of other works of the Caṅkam corpus (particularly the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*), paying attention to the system of conventions recorded in the *Tolkāppiyam*, which in some cases overwrote our possibilities of interpretation. Wherever it was possible, I used Sanskrit and Prakrit sources during the historical reconstruction. As a supplement to the primary sources, I often used inscriptions of the ancient *oikumene*, Tamil Brāhmī epigraphic remains, and archaeological findings from Egypt via India to Thailand, which materials in many cases contributed to a deeper understanding and dispelled the uncertainties.

I have already designated two methodological directions: to interpret Cēra history as a *long durée* which allows us to shoot a “long take”, and to interpret *puram* poetry as a *locus memoriae*, a very formulaic literary universe in which actual historical events come to life. Since I will use literary sources to draw historical conclusions from them, it is important to mention the crucial questions collected by Wilden in her monograph on *Literary Techniques in Old Tamil Caṅkam Poetry*: “what picture of reality do the texts give and why? What do they betray as to their own historical and social reality and how? To what extent is it possible to distinguish fiction from fact? How does fiction influence fact and vice versa?”. I felt necessary to keep all these issues in mind throughout my study. Among these, the first question was already answered when I stated that the heroic poetry served as a memorial place. I think the comparative method, in which I primarily used Latin and Greek texts as the background for Caṅkam sources, proved the antiquity of the Cēra kingdom and helped us to

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understand their history in several matters even when the Cankam poets remained silent. I tried, however, to remain skeptical and critical all along and to distinguish the texts in which the poets intended to capture history from those in which we find the imagination, poetic fancies, literary programs and conventions, or lies of the poets.

When we examine whether it is possible to reconstruct history from literary sources, we must emphasize that, how Assmann says, “the original task of the poet was to preserve the group memory”.¹⁹ In our case, bards and court poets of the Cēras are special carriers of the cultural memory, who are indeed separated from everyday life and duties.²⁰ The poets were not merely slaves to literary conventions, while, as people who use their human memory to preserve the knowledge that consolidates the group identity,²¹ they needed a “system” in order to fulfill the necessary tasks of creating unity and guiding action, which have three functions to be performed: storage (poetic form), retrieval (ritual performance), and communication (collective participation).²² “Through regular repetition, festivals and rituals ensure the communication and continuance of the knowledge that gives the group its identity. Ritual repetition also consolidates the coherence of the group in time and space.”²³ This applies to the examined period, where we find lavish festivals around the courts, and at the festivals there are many bards and musicians who sing the praises of the king according to the established rules of ancient poetry, which increased the king’s reputation and strengthened the unity among those participating in the celebrations as a group. As Assmann mentions: “[i]t is generally accepted that the poetic form has the mnemotechnical aim of capturing the unifying knowledge in a manner that will preserve it.”²⁴ This means for us that in addition to formulaic language and literary conventions, which first serve as necessary means of storage, and later as means of preserving and miming the archaic style, the poet is the carrier of the cultural memory of his society, and it is worth examining their poems from this point of view. In this study, I draw attention to the dangers inherent in this kind of historical reconstruction several times. We assume that the Patiruppatu is an anthology already on the half way between oral tradition and written literature, considering the possible dating and the length and of the poems. In the oral tradition the bard’s memory was the only means of storing knowledge, and there were no other ways to access that knowledge, other than the bard’s performance. As Assmann emphasizes, the repetition is a structural necessity in the oral tradition, without which the tradition would break down, while innovation would mean forgetting.²⁵ In the later semi-oral tradition, these are still valid, so even though writing helps the compositions to be

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¹⁹ Assmann 2011, 39.
²⁰ Assmann 2011, 39.
²¹ Assmann 2011, 41.
²² Assmann 2011, 41.
²³ Assmann 2011, 42.
²⁴ Assmann 2011, 41–42.
²⁵ Assmann 2011, 82.
preserved, following the rules of the old system remains a basic requirement for the continuity of the tradition.

The monograph of Tieken,\(^\text{26}\) which casts doubt on the antiquity of Caṅkam literature and considers the corpus as mediaeval giving the 8th–9th centuries AD as the lower limits, is an interesting work because, despite its exaggerations, it questions some disturbing conditionings and doubtful dating, from which one may be inspired.\(^\text{27}\) However, we have to refute his re-dating efforts, because, as we will see in the following pages, the Cēra panegyrici proved to be capable sources to shed light on the antiquity of the Cēras and could have been successfully analysed in the mirror of the Greek and Latin authors. The external chronology provided by the Mediterranean texts, the various archaeological findings, and the inscriptions suggest that the historian has to take the courage and should attempt to use these Old Tamil literary works as a source in the historical research. It is not a duty of my study to cover all of Tieken’s possible mistakes, however, I have to make a few comments about his ideas. He is perhaps right when he claims that the bards and poets are not always the same in the puram poems, but it does not mean that the puram is not a poetry of a contemporary heroic society but one about the heroic past.\(^\text{28}\) As he says, bards appear as dramatis personae in most of the puram poems.\(^\text{29}\) However, this does not mean that the court poets could not write poems in which they wrote on behalf of the minstrels, as they were certainly surrounded with a world where bards roam around South India and sing the glory of the worthy ones, and which tradition the court poet may have felt its own as being a quasi rhapsodos. At the time of the Patiruppattu, if we consider the length and the complex contents of the songs, we may conclude that these songs were composed or even written in and around the courts and were most probably introduced on recitations of royal festivals as being parts of the panegyrical ritual. The poems had a literary program to praise the king, the dynasty, and the kingdom by means of the old literature following the conventions of the Tolkāppiyam. We do not know whether to compose songs in akavallāciriyappā metre was in fashion around the 1st–3rd centuries AD, or whether it was an archaic but already fading tradition, but it seems that the audience was only satisfied if this old style was applied in the poems. The poets sang about themselves as the eye-witnesses of situations which they have most probably never seen personally. This again does not mean that these are historical fictions or the poets must have been composed these poems in later ages, but it probably means that the Caṅkam court poets as honourable members of the court did not have to follow the king into dangerous campaigns, it was enough if the outcome of the battles was sung according to the old poetic tradition, with the help of the appropriate poetic conventions. Therefore, I believe that the

\(^{26}\) Tieken 2001.


\(^{28}\) Tieken 2001, 114.

\(^{29}\) Tieken 2001, 113.
court poets were able to “move” between the court, the queen’s residence, the battlefield, the military camp, and the enemies’ countries, etc. while they lived in the protected mansion of the king and wrote their songs by means of the royal informants who learned first-hand about the affairs of the kingdom. Thus the court literature remained a high culture, it met the highest expectations of the learned ones, and at the same time, the ruler could easily put it at his service. The fact that the poet who wrote the song and the *dramatis persona* who is depicted in the song as a poet are not always the same, does not seem to be problematic and does not justify considering the poem as a work of later ages, as it was simply a matter of meeting the expectations of the court and of the literary style. The problem is how to use them in the historical reconstructions, an attempt of which is the recent study. Regarding Tieken’s comment on the *puram* colophons, I must say that he is perhaps right when he claims that the colophons are later and not entirely reflects the reality of previous ages. However, even if the colophons are not as ancient as the poems, we must confess that we do not know when they were written and from what sources the ancient or (early) mediaeval editors worked, also, so that we cannot exclude the possibility that in most cases those scholars had reliable data about the ancient past of South India, and contradictions arose only when they did not know something and/or had to improvise/amend. Last but not least, Tieken thinks that the *Patiṟṟuppattu*’s structure already shows the characteristics of *bhakti* poems, therefore, it is a later texts than e.g. the *Puranāṅūra*. However, I think it is possible to assume that the king cult of the Caṅkam times together with its *panegyric ritual* and the pilgrimage-like wanderings of suppliants and bards to the palaces of kings who were the protectors of the mankind, had an even more important influence on the early *bhakti* literature of the Tamils. This is why I think that in these ages we must be careful with what we attribute to the influence of *bhakti*, and what still comes from the royal cult of previous ages.

In the first part of my dissertation, I introduce an annotated translation of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, the *puram* anthology of the early Cēra kings, together with introductory notes and annotations. A new translation of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* has long been waited for a better understanding of the early Cēras, as far as the available translations are neither faithful to the text nor accurate enough, or even critical. When translating, I did not undertake to keep up with these translations, but focused on a rigorous text-based translation and on a thorough textual reconstruction. The translation was based on the following edition: *Patiṟṟuppattu paḷaiyavuraiyum*, edited by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar, Ceṉṉapaṭṭaṇam: Vaijayanti Accukkūṭam, 1904. In terms of methodology, I have tried to avoid relying on the mediaeval anonymous commentator which is almost a thousand years later than the text itself, and because of that, it

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32 Except for shorter or longer excerpts that have been published, two complete translations have to be mentioned: Cuppiramanṇiyan 1980 and Herbert 2012.
carries a great deal of danger. Previous translators in turn fell into this error. In the
philological dead ends, I tried to find early textual parallels first, while I opened the mediaeval
interpretation only after this step. Reading enigmatic and obscure parts, U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar
(Cāminātaiyar 1980) and Turaicāmi Piḷḷai (Turaicāmippiḷḷai 1973) were the ones among the
modern editors I turned to for help, whose glosses and commentaries often helped me to
understand the dubious passages. I am especially grateful to my supervisor Eva Wilden, with
whom I had the opportunity to read the Patiruppattu in Hamburg in 2019–2020 with the
support of the DAAD Research Fund, and who provided me with extremely helpful advice
throughout. I am also very grateful to G. Vijayavenugopal (EFEO, Pondichéry) and K.
Nachimuthu (EFEO, Pondichéry), with whom I had a chance to read the first four decades of
the Patiruppattu in Pondichéry 2019 with the support of the EFEO Field Scholarship. Both of
them generously offered their free time and read these extremely difficult texts with me for
many days. Without their oral comments, the translation would not be the same as it is now.
Whenever I felt necessary, I considered the variant readings collected by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar
himself, and occasionally used the oldest complete manuscript of the text, the UVSL [98a]33
nr. palm-leaf manuscript for emendations.

In the second part of my dissertation (The political geography of the early Cēra
kingdom), we find historical studies accompanying the translation. Regarding this chapter, in
its first sub-chapter called The legitimate kingdom, I have examined the political nature of the
early Cēra state, the king’s power legitimacy and his connection to the Cēra dynasty, I have
discussed the Cēra royal courts and political centres, I have processed the historical data on
towns, villages, and the society of the Cēra kingdom, and I have attempted to define the
borders and border areas of the Cēra kingdom. In its second sub-chapter called The expansive
kingdom, I have discussed three topics: king and army, the king’s campaigns against the
disobedient, and the triumphant festivals after the victory. In its third sub-chapter called The
interactive kingdom, I examined the commercial, diplomatic, religious, and cultural
interactions of Cēras with those who contacted them in the 1st–3rd centuries AD. Thus we find
the Cēra kings appear in the centre of interactions which made their country long-standing,
strong, and, in terms of its cultural identity, unique. In the The interactive kingdom, I made an
attempt to critically and thoroughly examine our ancient primary sources on trade and
religion, during which new results were obtained and in many cases I was able to refine our
previous knowledge.

I adhere to the following conventions throughout this study. I have transliterated all
Tamil texts using the conventions of the Madras Tamil Lexicon and all Sanskrit texts using
the conventions of International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST). Regarding the

33 Wilden 2014, 68. A critical edition of the Patiruppattu will be released in the coming years under the
editorship of T. Rajeswari (EFEO, Pondichéry), after the publication of which I will definitely have to make a
corrected translation of the text considering the reconstructed text.
Ancient Greek sources, I have transliterated the texts following the conventions of the ELOT 743 – Type 2, however, in case of the South Asian proper names written in Greek, I felt necessary to put the length marks (ō, ē). Regarding the place names and some of the important terms found in Greek texts, they appear at their first occurrence in brackets in Greek, after that in Romanized transliteration. I followed the rules of Romanised transliteration for Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, and other Indian place names, also for administrative units, while I have given the names of modern Indian states in English transliteration.

All translations into English are my own unless I stated otherwise.
Encomia for the Cēra kings: The *Patiṟṟuppattu*

**Introduction**

The *Patiṟṟuppattu* and its place in the Caṅkam corpus

The Early Old Tamil Caṅkam literature as a corpus consists of two hyper-anthologies, the *Eṭṭuttokai* or the oldest Eight Anthologies, and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* or the Ten Songs, which anthologies contain erotic (*akam*) and heroic (*purāṇi*) songs composed by Tamil bards and court poets during the antiquity and late antiquity of South Indian history. Two heroic anthologies survived the ages, the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. The main difference between them is that while the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* is a collection of four hundred poems which have no particular relation to each other (although the mediaeval editor(s) had certainly searched for links in the contents), the *Patiṟṟuppattu* is a unique text in being composed and edited as “a chronicle of the early kings of Kerala”. The *Patiṟṟuppattu* is in fact the only Old Tamil text which was written exclusively about one dynasty of ancient South India. There is another anthology among the collections of *Eṭṭuttokai* namely the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, an anthology of five hundred short love poems, which shows striking similarities with the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, as both of these are Cēra texts connected to the Cēra court, and use a decadic structure first time in Tamil literary history. The *Patiṟṟuppattu*, as its title shows, originally contained ten times ten heroic songs in ten decades (*pattu*), of which eight decade with eighty songs survived together with the additional *patikams* that close/open and summarize each decades. As Eva Wilden says, although “in the case of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* the beginning and end are missing and so are both the invocation verse and the colophon, but it is so close to the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* in language and style that one can argue for the hypothesis that there was once such a verse and that the *Patiṟṟuppattu* was also part of a preliminary collection of six texts”. The text of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* survived on four palm-leaf manuscripts and six paper manuscripts. The collection of poems was discovered and edited by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar, whose first edition (1904) was used throughout this study.

Before turning to the main characteristics of the decade poems (*pattu*) and the *patikams*, it is necessary to talk about the authorship of the poems. As we know now, the *Patiṟṟuppattu* was written by ten various poets. The eight names survived are the following: 1.

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34 Panattoni 2001, 139–178.
35 Marr 1985 [1958]: 262.
36 Wilden 2014, 12.
38 Wilden 2014, 67–70.
Kumāṭṭūr Kaṇṭāṇar, 2. Pālai Kautamaṇar, 3. Kāppiyaṟṟu Kāppiyaṇar, 4. Kācaṟu Ceyyuḷ Paraṇar, 5. Kākkaiṭṭiṉiyār Nacceḷḷaiyār, 6. Kapilaṟ, 7. Aricil-kiḷār, and 8. Peruṇkuṟṟ-kiḷār. According to this, the authors of the decades were among the greatest poets of Caṅkam literature, however, when we read the texts, we have the feeling that they sometimes fall short of the high standard expected from the mentioned authors. How or in which milieu could the *Patiṟṟuppattu* be born as an anthology which contains the above-mentioned names, and what is the relationship of the anthology with the early Cēra kings? To create a hypothesis, I considered the following situations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demand</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Reception</th>
<th>Royal perspective</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td><em>Patiṟṟuppattu</em> (Pati.) was ordered or received by the king</td>
<td>The poets are real celebrities of the Caṅkam literature, the authors are court poets</td>
<td>Success; people could meet, hear and celebrate the poets</td>
<td>The king is satisfied; his reputation is growing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td><em>Pati.</em> was ordered or received by the king</td>
<td>The poets mentioned in the <em>Pati.</em> never went to the Cēra court but their names were used by other poets</td>
<td>Literature only for internal usage, not very flattering to the king</td>
<td>No court recitations, no real performances, propaganda for festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td><em>Pati.</em> was ordered or received by the king</td>
<td>The poets are real but epigones / impostors</td>
<td>Fraud; literature for internal usage</td>
<td>The king had to face the fraud, the real value of the panegyrici is lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td><em>Pati.</em> was composed during the spontaneous visits of famous poets</td>
<td>The poets are real celebrities of the Caṅkam lit.; the authors are temporary visitors</td>
<td>Success; people could meet, hear and celebrate the poets</td>
<td>The king is satisfied; his reputation is growing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td><em>Pati.</em> was composed during the spontaneous visits of famous poets</td>
<td>The poets are real but epigones / impostors</td>
<td>Fraud; literature for internal usage</td>
<td>The king had to face the fraud, the real value of the panegyrici is lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>The name of poets are added by a later editor</td>
<td>No data available on the real poets</td>
<td>No real data about the kings and the early court poetry (<em>patikams</em> are later!)</td>
<td>Possible but it means to reject the whole tradition around the <em>Pati.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking at this table, I have tried to introduce all the possible situations regarding the possible circumstances of the composition of *Patiṟṟuppattu*. I found the *Patiṟṟuppattu*’s inner perspective (Situation A) a clear literary program, which has less to do with historical reality. I found it unlikely that the real poets mentioned in the *Patiṟṟuppattu* visited the Cēra court after each other, composing decadic compositions to the different kings (Situations A, D). Why would they have written only these ten songs and why in this style? If they would have written more, where are those compositions? Thus I found Situation H perhaps as the only possible one. According to that, the poems of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* could have been written by ten various poets from different ages, including older hymns written for the ancient Cēra kings and newer ones, collected and edited by people serving in the court of the last Irumporai rulers, who had certain knowledge on ancient Cēra history. These early editors could have been the ones who connected the decades to the names of famous authors in order to elevate the entire work to a higher literary rank, while it became suitable for distribution as royal propaganda and for presentation as a festive anthology of songs. If the text would have been created later than the last Irumporais, there would certainly be more cross-talk or intersections with the *Cilappatikāram* and the developments of later periods (e.g. the number of words of Indo-Aryan origin). If they were composed earlier, by the poets named in the texts, it would have been difficult to tailor the structure of *Patiṟṟuppattu* to those compositions later. The text must have existed as a Cēra anthology even before the early mediaeval editorial work at the Maturai academy, since it is again not very likely that an anthology flattering to the Cēra kings would be produced hundred years later, in a Pāṇṭiya city. Thus the only way I can interpret the genesis of the text is the following: 1. collecting old songs from the Cēra past, 2.
organizing them, and 3. putting them in the service of the Cēra court with appropriate modifications and adding historical data. Of course, it is also possible that some poems are in fact related to the poets to whom the tradition attributes them (e.g. Kapilar refers to his friendship with Pāri in his first poem), but this can only become clearer with further research and text analysis including mathematical methods.

The decade poems

The *Patiṟṟuppattu* consists of decade poems, originally ten times (*patiṟṟu* ten (*pattu*), from which eight times ten survived. These poems are average 21 lines in length, the shortest is a five liner (87th song), while the longest is of fifty-seven lines (90th song). As discussed earlier, each decade was written by various poets: Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇar for the king Imaiyanarampan Netuṅcēralātaṇ, 2. Pālai Kautamaṇgar for the king Palyaṅaicelkeṇ Kuṭṭuvan, 3. Kāppiyāṛṛ Kāppiyāṛṛ for the king Kaḷṅṅkāykkanaṇi Närmuti Cēral, 4. Kācaṇu Ceyyul Paraṇar for the king Kaṭal Piṟaṅkōṭṭiya Ceṅkuṭṭuvan, 5. Kākkaipāṭṭiṇiyār Nacceḷḷaiyār for the king Āṭukōṭṭiṭṭu Cēralātaṇ, 6. Kapilar for the king Celvakaṭuṅkō Vāḷiyātaṇ, 7. Aricil-kilār for the king Peruṅcēral Irumporai, and 8. Perunkuṇtṛ-kilār for the king Īḷaṅcēral Irumporai. In some of the decades, the poems are only loosely connected to each other, not so in the Fourth Decade (*nāṅkām pattu*), which is in fact an early example of antāti-composition (< Skt. *antādi*) in Tamil literary history, in which the last letter, syllable, or foot of the last line are repeated at the beginning of the next one, although in this case it is quite an irregular antāti, since repetitions sometimes change the word order, and the last and the first poems are not connected this way. We find another early (and also irregular) antāti-composition in the Caṅkam corpus, which is interestingly part of the Aiṅkuṟunūru, the Cēra erotic anthology: the decade called *Toṇṭip pattu* written by Ammūvaṇṇar more or less follows the same rules. Thus the first antāṭis have to be connected to the ancient Cēra literature.

The early editors of the decade poems have uniquely preserved interesting musicological information about the texts, which, as being parts of a lost tradition, cannot really be decoded. In any case, they enhance the uniqueness of the text among other Caṅkam anthologies, since the decade poems has titles (*peyar*), poetic themes (*tuṟṟai*), information about the rhythmic effect of the metre (*vaṇṇam*), and information about the metre itself (*tūkku*). All of the poems has *centūkku* as metre, which seems to be identical with the old metre called *akaval* or *āciriyappā*. The hypermetrical lines and the hypermetrical feet are rare

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39 *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 61.
40 *Tamil Lexicon*, 82.
41 Marr 1985 [1958], 266.
in the poems. Some of the poems contain vañci-lines mixed with standard lines (aḷavāṭi). Most of the themes are panegyrici (pāṭāṇpāṭṭu). The rhythmic effect of the poems are described as oḷukuvaṇṇam or oḷukuvaṇṇamum coṭćurvaṇṇamum. From these, the oḷuku vaṇṇam was defined by V. S. Rajam as a variation in rhythm which “is obtained when the lines in a composition produce an uninterrupted sound (ōcai) and present the subject matter in the order in which they are composed.”

The patikams

The patikams are panegyrici which summarize and close/open each decades. They vary in length from ten to twenty-one lines. The patikams often contain data that cannot be found in the decade poems but were added by the knowledgeable ones who composed them. These poems show a uniform structure which means that the poems first introduce the parents of the heroes, then we read their heroic acts in a row of absolutes which are connected to the king’s name as the object, for whom the poet, and here we find our main predicate, sang his ten songs. The patikams are certainly of different authorship than of the decades, and were written in a later period, which we also see in the frequent appearance of accusatives (-aṭṭ), among other features. The patikams contain prose parts with “epilogues”, which summarize the titles of the songs, the gifts which were received by the poets for their songs, and contain the number of years of the kings' reigns, the reliability of which is a matter of debate. Although in some cases I think these epilogues contain historical data, it is necessary to interpret them as the most loosely connected parts of the text, whose language and the Indo-Aryan loanwords attested in them prove that these have to be later additions even compared to the patikams.

Missing poems and stray songs

Not too much information is available about the missing poems and this situation has changed nothing over the decades. Reading the poems, Marr’s theory seems to be reasonable, assuming that one of the lost decades is the first, and the other is the seventh instead of the tenth, however, in the absence of further evidence, we can neither prove nor disprove these ideas. Scholars in the 20th century have rediscovered some of the lost fragments or stray songs (tirattu) of the Patiruppattu, which were found in the Purattiraṭṭu, and in Naccinārkkiyiar’s

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42 For a list of the different tuṟaiś, see: Marr 1985 [1958]: 267–271.
43 Rajam 1992, 211.
commentary on Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram. Their language indeed shows that they were most likely part of the Patiṟṟuppattu. Not so in the case of the last fragment (vicayam tappiya), in which we find the word vicayam (< Skt. vijaya), which is rather weird in the light of the Patiṟṟuppattu as a whole. If this passage was really part of the text, it connects that missing verse, considering the attestations of the word vicaya(m) in the corpus, with the last poems of the Puranāṇūṟu (362: 5) and the songs of the Pattuppāṭu (Perumpāṇāṟuppaṭai, 261; Maturaikkāṇci, 625; Mullaippāṭṭu, 91), so it is possible that we are talking about the lost Tenth Decade or a lost patikam. All of these stray songs are included at the end of the annotated translation of the Patiṟṟuppattu.

Preliminary remarks on the translation

The translation was based on the following edition: Patiṟṟuppattu paḷaiyavuraiyum, edited by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar, Cēṉṇapāṭṭaṇam: Vaijayanti Accukkūṭam, 1904. Whenever I felt necessary, I considered the variant readings collected by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar, and occasionally used the oldest complete manuscript of the text, the UVSL [98a] nr. palm-leaf manuscript for emendations.46 I have translated the poems line by line and put the number of the particular line of the Tamil original at the end of the translated English lines, thus helping the retrievability. When translating the text, I strove for philological accuracy and for my translation to reflect the Old Tamil syntax instead of making the text aesthetically pleasing. This was necessary in order to be able to follow the original text even better, word for word, thus getting closer to the original content. In the Tamil text, the hypermetrical foot or kūṟ (“hunch”) was separated by a comma and a line break. I have bolded and italicized the title in both the Tamil and English text.

45 Wilden 2014, 68. A critical edition of the Patiṟṟuppattu will be released in the coming years under the editorship of T. Rajeswari (EFEO, Pondichery), after the publication of which I will definitely have to make a corrected translation of the text considering the reconstructed text.
46 Special thanks to Eva Wilden who kindly provided me with copies of the manuscripts.
An annotated translation of the *Patirruppattu*

**The First Decade**
(*oṉṟām pattu*)
Lost (*kiṭaikkavillai*)

**The Second Decade**
(*iraṉṭām pattu*)
The poet: Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇār
The king: Imaiayavarampaṉ Neṭuṅcēralātaṉ

11.
peyar: puṇṇumi kuruti, tuṟai: centurai pāṭāṇpaṭṭu, tūkku: centūkku, vaṇṇam: oḻuku vaṇṇam

varai maruḷ puṇari vān picir utaiya
vali pāynt’ āṭṭa tuḷaṅk’ irum kamaṇcūl
naḷi ~irum parappiṇ mā+ kaṭal muṇṇi
aṇaṅk’ utai ~avuṇar ēmam puṇṇarkkum
5
cūr utai muḷu mutal taṭinta pēr icai+
kaṭum ciṇa virāl vēḷ kaḷiṅ’ urnt’-āṅku
cē(m)+ vēy ekkam vilaṅkunar āruppa
aru nīrām tiranta *puṇ+ umiḷ kurutiyiṅ*
maṇi niṅa ~irum kaḷi nīr nīrām peyarntu
maṇāla+ kalavai pōla ~araṅ konṭru
10
muraṇ miku cirappiṇ uyartta ~ūkkalai
palar mocint’ ōmpiya tirāḷ pūṅ kaṭampīṅ
kaṭi ~utai muḷu mutal tumiya ~ēey
venṛ’ eṛi muḷaṅku paṇai ceyta vel pōr
nār ari naravīṇ āra mārpiṇ
pōr aṭu tāṅai+ cēralāta
mārpu mali paintār ōṭaiyoṭu vilaṅkum
vaḷaṅ uyar maruppiṇ paḷi ūr yāṅai+
20
polāni anī ~eruttam mēl koṇtu polinta niṇ
palar pukāl celvam inītu kaṇṭikumē
ekavir tatai cilampiṅ tuṅcum kavari
parant’ ilaṅk’ aruviyoṭu narantam kaṇavum
āriyar tuvaṅriya pēr icai ~imayam
tenṇam kumariyoṭ’ āyitai
maṇ mī+ kūrunar māraṁ tapa+ kaṭantē.
25
11th song

Blood that the wounds spew

Let us sweetly see the wealth that is praised by many, (20) [wealth] of you who prospered, (19d) after [you] had approached the great sea of vast surface dark like (nål) (3) the billowing, dark, fully pregnant [clouds] which were attacked by the wind by blowing, (2) when it shattered the mountain-like waves into white spray, (1) [having approached] being mounted on an elephant bull like the famous and victorious chief (vē) with fierce anger, who cut down the entire foot of [the tree of] Cūṛ (5–6) protected by the awful (aṇank ṭutai) avuṇar (asura) (4) having destroyed/felled fortresses so that the dark stream of the sapphire-coloured backwater became like a vermilion dye (9–10) by changing from the spewed blood of the wounds that gaped open [on] the difficult[-to-approach] vital spots, when the blades of the red swords cut down the defiant, (7–8) o you of the effort that was increased by [your] superiority with immense enmity, (11) after [you] had commanded to chop down the entire protected foot (13) of the katampu-tree that was guarded by many by gathered together, (12)

47 Cf. Aṅkaṟunūṟu, 121: 1. Here kaṇṭikum is a rare form. Aesthialingom explains the ending -kum as a suffix that denotes both first person plural and non-past, however, in the Patigruppatu we see -ikum (six occurences) which is “found immediately after various past tense markers.” Aesthialingom 1979, 187. U. Vē Cāminātaiyar glosses kaṇṭōm (“we are ones who have seen”). Cāminātaiyar 1980, 4. Eva Wilden also analysed it as a past tense form. Wilden 2018, 82.

48 Here utaiya can be translated in two different ways: 1. as an adjective (‘possessing’), or 2. as an infinitive (‘to break’). The translation of utaiya as a genitive suffix would suggest a later form of genitive in the text.

49 If the chief in Line 6 is identifiable as Muruka (Cevvēl), then the elephant must be the one called Piṇimukam. See: Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, 78–82; 247.

50 The word vē could refer either to Muruka (Cevvēl) or to another famous chieftain (vē). The previous lines are also ambiguous. The poet might have directly chosen this ambiguous way (between mythical and historical).

51 I translate cūr as a proper name of a malevolent power that evolves to the character of Cūrapatumā, the demon slaughtered by Murukaṇ. Cf. Puṟanāṟṟu, 23: 4–5. Another possible translation is ‘fearful’, literally ‘fear-possessing’ (cūr-ṛta). See: Tamil Lexicon, 1565.


53 Another possibility is that the king ‘felled’ (koṟṟu abs. < kol/lu)-tal v. 3.) either the guarded tree of the forts or the wooden fences of the forts. We do not exactly know whether the forts were made from wood, mud, bricks, or stone.

54 The word maṟṟam is a hapax legomenon in the Cankam corpus. According to the POC, it means ‘saffron’ (kukkmam) or ‘vermilion’ (cāṭiṅkullam), of which I chose the second in my translation.

55 An important innovation of the Patigruppatu that the poems have titles (peyaṭ) that is, in fact, a short phrase chosen from each poems. In the following pages in both the Tamil texts and the translations, I marked these titles with bold italic font.

56 The form ēy is a metrically lengthened (alaṭṭai) absolutive (viṭṭaiyeccam) of ēvu-tal v. 5. tr ‘to command’.

18
o Cēralāta with an army that is murderous in battle, (16)
with a chest with sandal-paste [smeared on it], with fiber-filtered toddy, (15)
and with victorious war [in which] the paṇai drum was made, which sounds by beating
after [you] had won, (14)
after [you] had been lifted on the golden ornamented neck (19a–c)
of [your] flawless elephant with tusks excel in strength, (18)
which shines with abundant fresh garlands on [its] chest together with Ṧṭai ornaments, (17)
after [you] had overcome while the bravery of the ones who uttered praises of [other] kings
failed, (25)
[kings] between the southern Kumari (24)
and the famous Imayam where āriyar live, (23)
where the yaks (kavari) that sleep on the slopes dense with kavir-trees (21)
dream about narantam and shiny splashing waterfalls. (22)

57 Here kaṭampu refers to the totemistic tree of the kaṭampu-tribe. See: Patiruppattu, 12: 3; 17: 5; 20: 4; 88: 6; Patiruppattu, IV. 6. The act of cutting down a totemistic tree was one of the most important part of a battle and most of the times meant to score an irreversible victory.
58 We find another poem in the Akanāṉūṟu written by Māmūlaṉāṟ, in which probably the same Cēra king appears together with his famous campaign against the kaṭampu tribe. Akanāṉūṟu, 127: 3–9.
59 After the battle, royal drums (muracu/muracam, paṇai) were occasionally made from the chopped wood of the totemistic tree. It is remarkable that the custom appears only in the poems of the Patiruppattu (11: 14; 17: 5; 44: 15–16) or in another poem on a Cēra king (Akanāṉūṟu 347: 4–5), so we might talk about a Cēra tradition.
60 The term pola that denotes gold is a rare adjectival form appearing more frequently in later texts. In Caṅkam corpus, see: Akanāṉūṟu, 254; 3; 387: 7; Aṅkuranṉūṟu, 435: 5; Kalittokai, 54: 2; Puṟanāṉūṟu, 29: 3.
61 Here Ṣṭai means ornamented frontlet of the elephants, same as mukapaṭām.
62 Kaniṇiyākumari or Cape Comorin is the southernmost point of the Indian peninsula.
63 imayam < Skt. himālaya.
64 The word narantam (perhaps < Skt. nāranga, Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 3653) means either a fragrant grass (Cf. Porunaraṟṟppaṭai, 238) or the flower of the bitter orange (cf. Kuruntokai, 52: 3). Here to understand grass would be logical, but we cannot be sure about the eating habits of the ancient yaks.
65 āriyar < Skt. ārya. The honorific marker might refer to an honorable enemy or more than one enemies.
12.
peyar: māram viṅku pal pukal, tuṟai: centurai pāṭāṇpāṭṭu, tūkku: centūkku, vaṇṇam: oḷuku vaṇṇam

vayavar viḷa vāḷ aril mayakki
~iṭam kavar katumpiṅ aracu talai pāṇippa+
katampu mutul taṭinta katum ciṅam vēntē
tār aṇi ~erutiṅ vāral vaḷ+ ukir
arimāṅ vaḷaṅkum cāral pīra māṅ
5
tōṭu koḷ iṇa nirai neṅ’ atirnt’-āṅku
muracu muḷaṅku(m) neṭum nakar aracu tuyil iyātu
māṭiraṃ paṇikkum māram viṅku pal pukal
kēṭṭār’ iṇitu niṣ celvam kēḷ torum
10
kāṇṭal virupoṭto kamalum kulavi
vāṭ+ paim mayir iḷaiya ~āṭu naṭai
~aṅṅal maḷa kaḷiṅ’ ari niṃir’ ὤppum
kaṇṛu pūnar pīṭya kuṅṛu pala niṅti
vant’ avaṅ nirutta ~irum pēr okkal
tol paci ~uḷanta paḷam kaṅ viḷa
15
~eṅkku pōḷnt’ arutta vāḷ niṇa+ koḷum kuṟai
mai ~ūṅ peyta veḷ-nel veḷ-cōṛu
naṇai ~aṁai kalḷiṅ tēraḷōṭu mānti
nīṛ+ paṭu paruntiṅ irum cīrak’ aṅṇa
nilattiṅ citār kaḷaṁta piṅrai
20
nūḷa+ kaliṅkaṁ vāl arai+ koḷiū
vaṇar irum katuppiṅ vāṅk’ aṁai mel tōḷ
vacai ~il makal viyaṅk’ ilai ~aṇiya
~aṁrupu mey+ āṛṭta cuṟṟamoṭu
nukartār’ iṇitu niṅ perum kali makīlvē. 25
12th song

The increasing many praises of bravery

After [you] had confused [the enemies] in a thicket of swords so that [their] strong men\textsuperscript{66} fell, (1) o king with fierce anger, who chopped down the foot of the katampu-tree (3) so that the heads of the kings\textsuperscript{67} (aracu) [whose] relatives\textsuperscript{68} seize domains, are trembling, (2) not having let the kings (aracu) of tall/long mansions with roaring muracu-drums sleep (7) having trembled like the hearts of the crowded groups of other animals of the valley, (5c–6) where the lion\textsuperscript{69} with mane-ornamented neck and sharp released\textsuperscript{70} claws roams around; (4–5b) whenever we hear [about] your wealth it is sweet to hear (9)

the increasing many praises of bravery which caused the [great] directions shiver. (8)

After [we] had crossed many mountains with female elephants joined by calves, (13) who chase away the striped bees from the mighty young elephant bulls (12) with youngish dancing gait [and] with fresh hair [on which] the kulavi-flowers\textsuperscript{71} that emit fragrance do not wither; [having crossed] with the desire of seeing [your court] (10–11) after [we] had eaten white [boiled] rice (vēncōṟu)\textsuperscript{72} [and] white [mountain] paddy (venpeṭ)\textsuperscript{73} [on which] goat flesh [in] young and fatty meat pieces which had been chopped by splitting with blades had been poured, together with the clarified sap (iṟal) [of the] filtered toddy (kaḷ) produced with flower buds, (16–18)

so that the sorrow has perished which bore the long-lasting hunger (15) of [our] relatives with big names, who camped here by coming, (14) after you had removed [our] muddy clothes (20) [that were] like the dark wings of the water-moistened brahminy kites (paruntu), (19)

after you had covered [our] young waist with unwoven (nūḷa)\textsuperscript{74} kaliṅkam-clothes,\textsuperscript{75} (21)

\textsuperscript{66} I made an attempt to translate the original meaning of those terms which were usually translated elsewhere as ‘foes’ or ‘enemies’. This way we can clearly see how or why they became enemies for the Cēras.

\textsuperscript{67} aracu < Skt. rāja. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 201.

\textsuperscript{68} The word katampu is probably a variant of Tam. kuṭampam that means ‘relations’, ‘relatives’. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 1655.

\textsuperscript{69} arimāṉ prob. < Skt. hari ‘yellow’ + Tam. māṅ ‘animal’. Tamil Lexicon, 127. See: Pāṭṟṟuppattu, 88: 15; as arimā, see: Kalitokai, 103:18; Naṟṟinaṟ, 112: 4; Pāṭṟṟuppāḷai, 298.

\textsuperscript{70} Here vāral is most probably a contracted form of a verbal noun from either vār-tal v. 4. intr. (Tamil Lexicon, 3606), or vāru-tal v. 5. tr. (Tamil Lexicon, 3614). To translate it is a complicated task, because one has to choose from the several possible meanings, e.g. 1. sharp claws [with] flowing [blood?]; 2. scooping (?) sharp claws; 3. long sharp claws, etc. I found it appropriate to choose a transitive verb ‘to release’ to interpret the possible meaning (‘released claws’) behind this phrase.

\textsuperscript{71} kulavi: wild jasmine (Jasminum angustifolium). Tamil Lexicon, 1039. Cf. Kuṟṟicippṭṭu, 76.

\textsuperscript{72} vēncōṟṭṭ: white rice cooked but unmixed with sauce or condiment. Tamil Lexicon, 3777.

\textsuperscript{73} venpeṭ: mountain paddy, wild rice (Oryza mutica). Tamil Lexicon, 3780.

\textsuperscript{74} The form nūḷa has only this single attestation in Caṅkam texts. It seems to be a neg. pey. from the verb nūḷ(lu)-tal v. 10. tr. ‘to spin’. Tamil Lexicon, 2326.
your great and bustling joy is sweet [for us] to enjoy (25) 

Together with [your] retinue who longingly fight [for] the truth,⁷⁶ (24) 

While [you] adorned with shiny jewels [your] flawless women (23) 

[who have] bamboo-like suppl[e] tender shoulders [and] curly black tresses. (22)

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⁷⁵ Among other possible meanings (*Tamil Lexicon*, 782), *kaliṅkam* was a kind of garment named after the country (of its origin?) called Kaliṅkam (Skt. *kalinga*). Cf. *Pāṭṭirupattu*, 76: 13; *Puṇāṇūṟu*, 392: 15.

⁷⁶ The penultimate line taken as a whole is problematic. Here *amarpu* is understood as an old absolutive of *amar-tal* v. 4. tr./intr. ‘to abide’, ‘to rest’, ‘to wish’, etc. requiring an adverbial usage (“longingly”, “lastingly”), *mey* means either ‘truth’ or ‘body’, etc. (*Tamil Lexicon*, 3336), *ārta* is a perfective peyareccam from *ār-ttal* v. 11. tr./intr. ‘to shout’, ‘to fight’, ‘to slander’, ‘to bind’, etc. (*Tamil Lexicon*, 239), *cuṟamọṭu* is the word *cuṟam* in sociative case, means ‘retinue’, ‘attendants’, ‘friends’, etc. (*Tamil Lexicon*, 1549). After all, it is difficult to provide a final interpretation of this line.
13.
peyar: pūtta neytal, tuṟai: centūrai pāṭāṇṭṭu, tūkku: centūkkum vaṅcittūkkum, vaṅṇam: oḻuku vaṅṇam
toruṭṭa vayal āral pirāṇnavum
ēṟu poruta ēṟu ~uḷāṭu vittunavum
karumpīṇ pāṭṭ+ **pūtta neytal**
irum kaṇṭ erumaiyīṇ nirai taṭṭukkunavum
kali kelu tuṇāṅkai ātiya maruṅṅīṇ
vaḷai talai mūṭ’ ā ~āmpal ārnavum
oli teṅkiṇ imiḷ maruṭīṇ
puṇal vāyil pūm poykai+
pāṭal caṇṟa payam kelu vaippīṇ
nāṭu kaviṅ aliya nāmam tōrri+
kūṟṟ’ āṭūu niṟṟa yākkai pōla
nī civant’ īruṭta nīr aḷi pākkam
viri pūm karumpīṇ kaḷaṇī ṽul+ eṇa+
tiri kāy viṭṭṭarōtu kār uṭai pōki+
kavai+ talai+ pēṃmakal kalut’ īruṭ’ iyaṅka
~ūriya neruṇci nīr’ āṭu paṟantalai+
tāṭ’ eru maṟutta kali ~āḷi maṟṟaṭṭ’
uḷḷam aliya ~ūkkunar mīṭal taṉṭt’
uḷḷunar paṅṅikkum pāḷ āyiṉavē
kāṭē kāṭavul mēṅa puravē
~ōl+ iḷai makanisoṭu maḷḷar mēṅa
~āṟē ~a--+ aṅaṇṭt’ aṅriyum nāḷattu+
kūḷam pakarnar kuṭi pūṟam-ṭarāa+
kuṭi pūṟam-ṭarunar pāram ōṃpi
~alal caṇṟa maruṅṅīṇ veḷḷi ~ōṭṭu
maḷai vēṇṭu pulattu māri nirpa
nōyoṭu paci ~ikant’ orī+ pūttarṇu peruma nī kāṭṭa nāṭē.
13th song

The *neytal* which have blossomed

[Where] āral-fishes\(^77\) leap [out of the water] on the pastures with herds, (1) bulls fight on the meadows [which are] not sowed [anymore], (2) herd of buffaloes with black eyes were impeded (4) by the *neytal-flowers*\(^78\) which have blossomed on the sugar cane fields, (3) [and] old cows with drooping heads eat the white waterlily\(^79\) (6) at the side [where] bustling *tuṇaṅkai*\(^80\) was [previously] performed, (5) having caused fear as the beauty of the country perished, (10) [country] with wealthy areas which were worthy of singing about, (9) [and] with blooming ponds at the sluice (vāyil) of the stream (8) with clamorous coconut palms and noisy\(^81\) *marutam*-trees, (7) having destroyed the valour of the strong ones, while [their] minds became subdued (18) on the perished village common with dust and dung, where the bustle died away, (17) on the wasteland with flying ashes [and] with the *neruṅci*-plant\(^82\) that had spread [around], (16) while demonic women with shaggy hair were riding on donkeys and roaming around (15) [where] the *viṭattar*\(^83\) of twisting fruits grew [pervasively] together with the dark *uṭai*\(^84\), (14) while the sugar cane fields with thick flowers became exhausted (13) [at] the villages perished in the water, which were furiously destroyed by you, (12) so that they became similar to the bodies that were left behind by Kūṟṟu\(^85\) after [he] killed them; (11) these devastations have taken place which made those who think [about that] shiver. (19) The forests are desired by the deities (*kaṭavūḷ*). The forest tracts (20) are desired by the warriors together with [their] wives with bright jewels. (21) After [you] had nourished the relatives\(^86\) of the ones who had given protection
to the clans, [since] the grain merchants [were] not [able to] provide protection to the families (23–24),
after [you] had dispelled and eradicated the hunger together with the pain, (27)
when clouds tarried above the fields that desired rain (26)
[when] the Veḷḷi (Venus) had not run to the side [where] the Aḻal (Mars) had gone,\textsuperscript{87} (25)
besides all the [great] routes\textsuperscript{88} in the world, (22)
o great one, the country, which is protected by you, has become flourishing [again]. (28)

\textsuperscript{87} The astronomical description perhaps reflects an observation of the stationary or northwards(?)-moving Venus and the Mars in an opposite (southwards?) motion that might happened around the beginning of the monsoon season. According to the observations or astronomical knowledge of the ancient Tamils, Venus probably had an important role associated with rainfall. The \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} tells us that if the Venus bends to the north, it is a forerunner of turbulent rains. Cf. \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 24: 24–26; 69: 13–15. However, we learn from the \textit{Purāṇāṅgūru} that the southwards motion of Venus meant to be unauspicious. Cf. \textit{Purāṇāṅgūru}, 35: 7; 117: 1–2. The \textit{Puṟapporuḷvenpāmālai} records a subtheme of the \textit{pāṭāṅ-tīnai} called \textit{veḷḷi-nilai} which “is talking about the elevated Veḷḷi saying that it gives rain so that the sorrow vanishes”. (\textit{tuvar tīrap puyal tarum ena/ayar veḷḷi nilai uraittaṅṟu}). \textit{Puṟapporuḷvenpāmālai}, IX. 16. However, the \textit{veṇpā} stanza given as an example does not help us to get closer to the theme.

\textsuperscript{88} According to the POC and U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar, the word \textit{āru} here refers to the “great routes” (\textit{peruvali}), the trade routes or highways of South India. Cāminātaiyar 1980, 12.
14.

peyar: cāṅgor meymmařai, tuṟai: centuṟai pāṭāṃpāṭṭu, tükku: centūkku, vaṇṇam: oļuku vaṇṇnamum corcir vaṇṇnamum

nilam nīr valī vicump’ eṇra nāṅkiṅ
alapp’ ariyaiyē
nāl kōḷ tīṅkal ḍāyīru kaṅai ~āḷal
aint’ oruṅku puṇarnta vilakkatt’ aṁṇaiyai
pōr talai mikutta ~ir aimpanṭinmaroṭtu

tuppu+ tuṟai-pōkiya tuṇiv’ uṭai ~āṁmaī
~akkaṇaŋ aṉaiya kai vaṇṇmaiyaĩyē
~amar kaṭantu malainta tumpai+ pakaivar
pōr piṭ’ āḷittu ceru+ pukal muṇpa
kūṟu vekuṇṭu variuṃ āṛu māṭrālaĩyē
~ēlu muṭi keḷīya tīru Ńemar akalattu
nōl puri+ taṭa+ kai+ cāṅgor meymmařai
vāṃ uṟai makuṭir nalaŋ ikal koḷḷum
vayaṅk’ īḷai karanta vaṇṭu paṭu katuppiṅ
ōṭuṅk’ īṛ āṭi koṭum kūḷai kaṅava

pal kaḷiṅṟu+ tolūṭiyōṭu vel koṭi nuṭaṅkum
paṭai ~ēr uḷava pāṭiṅī vēntē
~ilāṅku maṇi miṭainteda poḷam kala+ tikiṟi+
kaṭal-akam vaṟaippiṅ i+ poḷil muḷutu ~āṅṭa niṅ
muṅ tiṇai mutalvaɾ poḷa niṅṛu nī
keṭāa nal+ icai nilaii+
tavāaliyarō ~i~+ ulakamōṭ’ uṭaŋē.
14th song

The body shield of worthy men

Earth, water, wind, and sky, [just like these] four, (1)
you are difficult to measure. (2)
Stars, planets, Moon, Sun, and burning fire, (3)
you resemble the ligh that join together as five. (4)
You are generous [with your liberal] hands which resemble [the hands] of Akkurant (5)
with determined manliness accomplished in strength, (6)
together with [his] twice fifty warriors (7) who very much excelled in warfare. (5)
O powerful one who enters the field of battle, [who] destroyed the wartime pride (9)
of [your] enemies with tumpai-flowers that were worn, (2) by overcoming in battle! (8)
You are the one who would not change [your] way even if Kūṛru came with anger. (10)
O you, the body shield of worthy men, (3) who have sturdy large arms (12)

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89 The beginning of this poem resembles the 2nd poem of the Purāṇāvīra, where the king is compared to “the five great elements” (am perum pittattu) which reflects the brāhmaṇical term of pañcamaḥbhūta (पञ्चमाह्बुह्तa “earth”, apaḥ “water”, agni “fire”, vāyuḥ “wind”, ākāśa “ether”). Here we see a slightly different description, where the various elements and extraterrestrial objects fall into two categories: 1. those which are similar to the unmeasurable nature of the king (earth, water, wind, and sky), and 2. those which are similar to the brilliance of the king (stars, planets, Moon, Sun, and fire). These lines here seem to be a mixture of the pañcadhūta tenet and the unique idea of the poet Kumaṭṭūr Kannaṛā who was perhaps inspired by the poem of Muraṇciyūr Muṭināṛār (Purāṇāvīra, 2) composed for Cērahān Perunēcōrū Utiṟ Cēralṭaṇ, probably the predecessor of Neṭuṇcēralṭaṇ. Cf. Patirippattu, II. patikam: 1; Akanāvīra, 65: 5; 233: 8.

90 Akkurant was a generous philanthropist and according to the Piṅkalam (Piṅkalam, 756), believed to be one of the seven “munificent patrons of the intermediate galaxy of benefactors” (tiṇai-vallalkaṭ). Tamil Lexicon, 289. Akkurant is perhaps the Tamilized form of the Sanskrit name Akrūra. At least one famous Akrūra is well-known from the epics and the Purāṇic literature, who was the uncle and a follower of Kṛṣṇa, and might have been the person referred by Kumaṭṭūr Kannaṛā.

91 This passage on one hundred warriors led U. Vē. Cǎmināṭṭaiyar to the conclusion that we might have to understand the hundred warriors as the hundred Kaurava brothers of the Maḥabhārata. Cǎmināṭṭaiyar 1980, 14. The Piṅkalam, an old dictionary mentions Akkurant and Karnaṇ among the seven munificent patrons (Piṅkalam, 756) which fact precludes the identification of these two; Cǎmināṭṭaiyar too mentions the lack of evidences. It is more than possible that the Patirippattu refers to the same Akkurant, but it is also possible that the editor of the Piṅkalam extracted the name from the Patirippattu, unless these enumerated names have been borrowed from a Sanskrit original list that I could not discover yet. In fact, we have neither old commentary available for this line, or other references to Karnaṇ (not even to Akkurant) in Caṅkam literature that would support the above mentioned idea, so here I stick to translating literally without further interpretation.

92 tumpai: white dead nettle (Leucas aspera). Tamil Lexicon, 1972. The occurrence of this plant denotes a “literary setting” (tiṇai) that focuses on the battle. Tolkāppiyam Poruḷaṭṭikāram Puṟaṭṭiṇaiyiyal, 70. In the poems that show the features of tumpai tiṇai, the warriors often wear tumpai garlands during the battle.

93 The word meymnaṭṭā is a unique Cēra word attested only in the Patirippattu (Patirippattu, 14:12; 21: 24; 55: 8; 58: 11; 59: 9; 65: 5; 73: 13; 90: 27). Its meaning would be literally “body-concealment”. In the POC the compound meypukukaruvī (“instrument inserted [on the] body”) is given as a meaning. According to the old commentary on Purāṇāvīra, 13: 2, there the meypukukaruvī is an armour probably made from/with leather of a tiger. (puḷiyiḷ tōḷā ceyyappattra meypukukaruvı). Considering the context of these lines, I conclude that this must be an armour, a breastplate, or a body shield.
and a brilliant\textsuperscript{94} wide chest [on which] seven crowns\textsuperscript{95} have been united! (11)
O husband of [the lady] with curved earrings, with hair restrained the moisture [of oil], (15)
with tresses swarmed by bees that hid [her] shiny jewels, (14)
[and] with beauty that competes with the girls abiding in the sky!\textsuperscript{96} (13)
O king of the songstresses (pāṭiṇī)\textsuperscript{97} O ploughman\textsuperscript{98} whose plough is the army (17)
with swaying victory banner and herds of elephant bulls! (16)
Having [firmly] stood like the ancestors (mutilvar) of the ancient family (20)
of yours, [which] entirely ruled in this grove with boundaries inside the sea, (19)
[having] the wheel\textsuperscript{99} with golden ornaments set with shiny sapphires, (18)
having established [your] immortal fame, (21)
may you, together with this world, never decline! (22)

\textsuperscript{94} Here the word tiru can be interpreted in two different ways: 1. Tiru (Śrī) as the Goddess who extends (ñemar) on the chest of the king; 2. tiru as ‘brilliance’ and since that noun can be used as an adjective, the translation would be “brilliant wide chest”. The description is clearly formulaic as the repetitions suggest. Cf. Patiruppatu, 16: 17; 31: 7; 40: 13. In northern Indian (and later South Indian) traditions, it is well known that there were deep relations between the kingship/dominion (ksatra) and the welfare, fortune (śrī). Śrī as a goddess is not only believed to select a mighty king as her husband, but also described as one who resides in the monarch. Gonda 1956: 131. The king’s person anyway has connotations with Viṣṇu, who himself often compared to the deity, as far as he guards and protects the world. See: Gonda 1969: 164–167.

\textsuperscript{95} According to the POC on Line 11, it is believed that the Cēra kings won over seven kingdoms (elu aracarai vennai) so that they wore seven crowns of those kings on their chests. Another hypothesis would be to interpret those “crowns” as the “seven treasures” (ratnāni) of the king (chariot, elephant, horse, a jewel, [best] wife, [best] minister and [best] adviser) as a northern Indian borrowing. Gonda 1956: 145. This again seems to be a formulaic pattern, cf. Patiruppatu, 40:13; and a quasi-formulaic usage in 45: 6.

\textsuperscript{96} The cūr-ara-makālīr, vānu-ara-makālīr or vānu uhai makālīr are celestial girls abiding in the upper spheres, who are famous for their beauty.

\textsuperscript{97} The pāṭiṇī was a female musician or songstress who sang the prowess of the victorious king. Puṇāṇāṛru, 11: 10–11. See her in: Patiruppatu, 17: 14; 61: 16; 87:1.

\textsuperscript{98} It is an agricultural metaphor of the king who is a ploughman with a plough that is his army/weapon (patāi) ploughing on the field of battle.

\textsuperscript{99} The ornamented wheel (tikiri) of the dynasty can be identified as one among the regalia of the sovereign monarch. I consider the wheel of dynasty here as cakra or dharmacakra which probably reflects the brāhmanical tradition of coronation and/or the presence of brāhmanical traditions around the Cēra court. About the relations between the king and the wheel in Indo-Aryan sources, see: Gonda 1957: 144–149.
15.


yāṇṭu talai+ peyara vēṇṭu pulatt’ īruttu
muṇai ~eri parappiya tuṭ+ arum cīṟṟamoṭu
malai tavalpu talaiya matil maram murukki
nirai kaliru ~olukiyai niraiya veḷḷam
parant’ āṭu kaḷaṅk’ ali maṇ maruṅk’ āruppa+
koṭi viṭu kurū+ pukai picira+ kāl pora
āḷal kavar maruṅkiṅ uru +aṛa+ keṭuttu+
tol kaṉiṇ alinta kaṇ+ akana vaippin
veḷ pū vēḷaiyōṭu paim curai kalittu+
pīr ivarpu paranta nīr aru niraimutal

civanta kāntaḷ mutal citai mūṭ’ il
pulavu vil+ uḷaviṅ pul+ āl vaḷaṅkum
pul+ ilai vaippin pulam citai ~arampiṅ
ăriyāmaiyāl maṟantu tuppū ~etirnta niṅ
pakaivar nāṭum kaṇṭu vanticiṅē
kaṭalavum kallavum āṟṟavum piṟavum
valam pala nikaḷtarum naṟam talai nal nāṭṭu
vilav’ ārup’ āriyā muḷav’ imil mūṭ’ ūr+
koṭi niḷal paṭṭa poṅ+ utai niyamattu+
cīr perū kāi-makīḻ iyampum muraciṅ
vayavar vēntē paricilai verukkai
tār anint’ eliliya toṭi citai maruppiṅ
pōr val yāṇai+ cēralāta
nī vāḷiyar i-- uḷakattōrk’ ēṇa
uṇṭ’ urai māriya malalai nāviṅ
mel col kala+ paiyar tiruntu toṭai vāḷṭta
veyt’ urav’ āriyātu nantiya vāḷkkai+
ceyta mēval amarnta cūṟṟamōṭ’
ōṅrū moḷint’ atāṇkiya kolḵai ~eṅrum
pati piḷaipp’ ariyātu tuyṭtal eyti
niraiyam orīiyā vētkai+ puraiyōr
mēyiṅar uraiyum palar pukaḷ paṇpiṅ
nī puṟam tarutaliṅ nōy ikantu ~orīya
yāṇar nal nāṭum kaṇṭu mati maruṇṭaṅēṅ
maṅ+ utai ūḷaluṭṭa manṅ’-uyirkk’ eficātu
~itti+ kai tañtā+ kai kaţum tuppiñ
purai-vaiñ purai-vaiñ periya nalki
ēmam ākiya cīr keļu vilaviñ
neţiyoñ ananal+ icai
~oṭiyā mainta niñ paņpu pala nayantē.
15th song

The hellish flood

After [you] camped on the desired land [of your foes,] while a year had [already] passed, (1) after [you] destroyed the tree of the ramparts,\(^{100}\) [where] clouds spread [and] showered [plentifully], (3) by means of [your] rage difficult to approach while you caused to spread the fire on the battlefield; (2) after [you] destroyed [everything], so that the beauty of the fire-seized [country-]sides perished, (7) while the wind battered the particles [of ash in the] colourful smoke by letting out banners, (6) when the hellish flood that flowed [with] elephant bulls in rows, cut the waists\(^{101}\) of the kings, [whose prediction] made with kaḷaṇku-beans\(^{102}\) [had become] ruined, (4–5) after [we] had seen the countries of your enemies who opposed [your] strength (14c–15c) by forgetting [about it] because of [their] ignorance, (14) [the countries] with villages\(^{103}\) where the fields perished together with the grassy-leafy lands,\(^{104}\) (13) where rascals,\(^{105}\) [who carry their] flesh-reeking bows as [their] ploughs,\(^{106}\) roam (12) [among] the old houses destroyed by the vines of the reddened kānta\(^{107}\) (11) where in\(^{108}\) the waterless furrows which were creepingly spread with [the tendris of] pūr,\(^{109}\) (10)

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\(^{100}\) It is probably a reference to the destruction of the guarded totemistic tree (kaṭimaram) of the enemy.

\(^{101}\) A strange although formulaic pattern. E.g. cf. Akanāṉūṟu, 220: 5; Akanāṉūṟu, 59: 10; Paṭiṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ关羽

\(^{102}\) The kaḷaṇku is the Molucca bean (kaḷaṇcuḷai). Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 639. According to the Tamil Lexicon it also means a play among girls with Molucca-beans, the divination with the help of Molucca-beans by a soothsayer when possessed (cf. Naṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟｩanāṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ //~anāṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟrabbit

\(^{103}\) Following the POC, the word arampu is probably the same as kurṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟῡ (kurṟṟṟṟrabbit), ‘village of a desert tract’ (Cf. Cīvakacintāmaṇi, 2727). See: Akanāṉūṟu, 179: 9; 287: 13.

\(^{104}\) The Tamil Lexicon suggests “village of leafy huts” (Tamil Lexicon, 2781) which interpretation is based on the POC written on this line (pulīya ilaikaḷaiḷē vēya paṭṭu āṟ). The question is whether in this case we should trust in the much later mediaeval commentary or choose an old meaning of vaippu as “place” or “land”.


\(^{106}\) Cf. viḷ ēr vāḷkkai cīṟṟ rutva matavai (,.the strong [man] of the small village whose livelihood [is his] bow [as a] plough”). Paṟṟṟrabbit, 331: 2. Most probably, this passage refers to the same idea that these people have their bows as ploughs means their only livelihood was, in fact, to kill, as also the flesh-reeking (pulavai) signifier suggests.

\(^{107}\) Malabar glory lily (Gloriosa superba). Tamil Lexicon, 866.

\(^{108}\) I translated mutal here as a mere locative suffix. Wilden 2018: 27.

\(^{109}\) pūr: sponge gourd (Luffa acutangula). Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 4224.
the green curai\textsuperscript{110} grew well together with the vēḷai\textsuperscript{111} with white flower (9) on the regions of vast areas whose ancient beauty has perished, (8) [having seen all these] let us come [to your court]! (15d)

O wealth of the gift-seekers! O king of strong men (21) with the muracu-drum\textsuperscript{112} that sounds in [your] excellent court (kalimakil)\textsuperscript{113} (20) at the gold-possessing market (niyamam)\textsuperscript{114} where the flags of [your] old town cast a shadow, [old town] that sounds with mulāvu-drum\textsuperscript{115} where the festivals do not know an end; (18–19) [old town] of the good country with vast areas where many goods enter (17) from the seas, mountains, rivers, and other [such places]! (16)

O Čēralāta with elephants strong in war, (23) with ringed, worn-out tusks which were beautified by adorning garlands! (22)

After [I] had seen the fertile good countries (34a–c) that were avoided by the pain by overcoming [it] by means of your protection, (33) [you of] a nature praised by many [who] stay as people who are attached,\textsuperscript{116} (32) [who are] great men with a desire that avoided the hell\textsuperscript{117} (31) having reached enjoyment never knowing of doing wrong [in their] villages, (29d–30) [people] with principles that were controlled by declaring an oath\textsuperscript{118} (29a–c) together with [their] relatives in whom the fullfilled desire abided, (28) [longing for] a prosperous\textsuperscript{119} life that does not know to have distress (veytu),\textsuperscript{120} (27) while the perfect strings of the people with instruments in bags and with tender words praised [you] (26) with prattling tongues that changed [their] words after having drunk, (25) saying “may you live long for the people of this world!” , (24)

\textsuperscript{110} curai: calabash climber (Lagenaria vulgaris). Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 2690.

\textsuperscript{111} The vēḷai is either the ‘black vailay’ (Gynandropsis pentaphylla), or another sticky plant that grows best in sandy places (Cleome viscosa). Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 5546.

\textsuperscript{112} The royal drum called muracu/muracu/muracam is one and (might be the most important) among the regalia of a sovereign monarch in ancient So\textsuperscript{uth India.

\textsuperscript{113} According to the Tamil Lexicon, kalimakil as a compound can be interpreted as ‘public audience’, or ‘royal court’. Tamil Lexicon, 783. Occasionally, we can consider the literal meaning as ‘bustling mirth’ although it clearly refers here to the daily court of the Čēra king.

\textsuperscript{114} The word niyamam means ‘market’ or ‘bazaar street’ (Tami\textsuperscript{l} Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti: kaṭai teru) in the old literature, which term has a clear Indo-Aryan origin (< nigama). Cf. Naṟṟai, 45: 4–5. Its meaning as a ‘temple’ is a later development that might be reflected first in the Čilappatikāram, II. 14: 8. Tami\textsuperscript{l} Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 1366. I think that those temples referred as niyamam were perhaps temple-economies uniting the two functions, the ritual and the economic.

\textsuperscript{115} A large drum, hemispherical in shape. Tamil Lexicon, 3283. According to the Tami\textsuperscript{l} Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, it might be a synonym of mattaḷam (< Skt. mardala).

\textsuperscript{116} Here mēyiṉar is a finite form that I translated as a muṟreccam (“the ones who desired”).

\textsuperscript{117} nirayam < Skt. niraya.

\textsuperscript{118} The verb oṆṟ-moḻi-tal/_intr. means “to declare with an oath”. Tamil Lexicon, 616.

\textsuperscript{119} nantu-tal v. 5. intr. ‘to increase’, ‘to be luxuriant, fertile’, ‘to prosper’, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 2153.

\textsuperscript{120} This part is obscure and hardly understandable. I followed the gloss of U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar: veyuṟavu – tuppam urutalai. Cāminātaiyar 1980, 20.
having desired your many qualities, o great man, whose fame does not diminish,
[whose fame is] like that of Netiyōn\textsuperscript{121} (39–40)
with excellent festivals that became [the source of] delight/protection, (38)
after [you] bestowed huge things at all [your] places (37)
by means of the fierce strength of [your] unceasingly [generous] hands, (36)
by tirelessly granting for the sake of the living beings of the earthly world. (35)

\textsuperscript{121} Netiyōn can be understood as the “lofty/tall man” who is usually Viṣṇu in the later texts, and there is a possibility that he is the one who was mentioned here. However, I left the original name which does not preclude its interpretation as another deity.
16.


kōṭ’ uṟaḷnt’ etutta koṭum-kaṇ iṅci
nāṭu kaṇṭ’ anṇa kaṇai tuṇcu vilaiṅkal
tuṇcu-mara+ kuḷāam tuvaṅṛi+ puṇiṟru makal
pūnā ~aiyavi tūkkiya matila
nal+ elil netum putavu murukki+ kollupu
~eṅam ākiya nuṇai muri maruppiṅ
kaṭāam vārntu kaṭum ciṇam potti
maram kol maḷa kaliru muḷaṅkum pācaṟai
niṭṇai ~ākaliṅ kāṅku vaṇticiṅē
~āriya karpiṅ ataṅkkiya cāyal
uṭiṅum iṅiya kūṟum iṅ nakai
~amīrtu potti tuvar vāy amarta nōkkīṅ
cuṭar nutal acai naṭai ~uḷḷalum uriyaḷ
pāyal uyyumō tōṅral tāṅṟu

pār mani poru tikaḷ viṭṭu pacum-poṃ

vayaṅku katir vayiramōṭ’ uṟaḷntu pūṇ cuṭarvare
~elu muṭi keḷḷiḷa tīru ṇemar akalattu+
puraiyōr un kaṇ tuyil iṅ pāyal
pālum koḷḷum vallōy niṅ

cāyaṅ mārpu naṅi ~alaiṭtanṛē.
After [you] fell by crushing the greatly beautiful tall gate (5) of the walls [on which] the aiyavi\textsuperscript{122} was hanged, which is not [the unguent (aiyavi)] smeared (4) by new mothers on,\textsuperscript{123} where many\textsuperscript{124} of the wooden beams (tuñcumaram)\textsuperscript{125} were closely placed (3)

\textsuperscript{122} Here the aiyavi seems to be a specific term that only Kumaṭṭür Kaṇṭanār and Pālai Kautamaṇār mentioned in the Caṅkam corpus (Cf. Patiṟṟuppattu, 22: 23), although aiyavi as ‘white mustard’ (veḷ kaṭṭuku) appears in other texts (Kaṟuntokai, 50: 1; Tirumurukāṟṟuppatai, 228; Naṟṟinai, 40: 7; 370: 3; Neṭunallāṭi, 86; Puṟanāṉṟu, 98: 15; 281: 4; 296: 2; 342: 9; 358: 4; Maturakkānccī, 287; Maḷaiḷaṭukaṇṭam, 123). The POC suggests understanding aiyavi as “a well-sweep/wooden-beam (tulāmaram, Tamil Lexicon, 1988) that has been hung on the outer entrance as a protection for the gate” (kaṭavīrku kāvalāka puṟavāyiḷē tūkkappāṭum tulāmaram). In the 22\textsuperscript{nd} poem of the Patiṟṟuppattu, we see “the aiyavi with excellent fame [on which] a bow-mechanism (vil-vcīca) has been tied” or “the aiyavi … that has been fastened [having] the speed (vcīca) of the bow (vil)” (vil vcīca māṭṭiya vilu cīr aiyavi). The POC explains it in another way: “aiyavittulām which possesses the abundant arrows of fast bowmen, which quickly penetrate [in it] without destroying [it].’” (vicaivāṭaiyai villāgum tuaipai urava eyya mutiyātu mikkā kaṇṭatāyaiyai aiyavittulām). It seems that the commentator tends to understand something that caught the arrows of the enemies rather than a machine that discharges arrows. The aiyavittulām also appears in later, post-Caṅkam texts such as Cīvakacintāmaṇi and Cīvakacintāmaṇi. In the Cīvakacintāmaṇi (II. 15. 212–213) we see a kind of “machine on the wall” (Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti uses the word matil-pori, p. 523) that was one among the many weapons and mechanisms served as the defense of the fortress (Lines 207–216). The commentator Aṭṭiyārkkannāḷ gave a short description of this object (comm. on Line 213): “aiyavittulām; a hanging beam resembled (tōṭanka) a stone-vault (kaṟkvai) that makes the gate unapproachable; there are also those who say that the fixed bunch of arrows is of a hanging nature; it is a machine that discharges the small arrows [that] have been loaded in.” (aiyavittulām – kathavi anukātapaṭi kaṟkvai tōṭanka nāṟrum tulām; appu pāṟkkai tūkk’ īṟ’ epāṟrum uḷ; cīr’ ampukalai vaippu eyyum iyantiram ām). According to the commentator Naccīṅarkkuṇiyar, the same “machine” (at least bearing the same name) appears in the Cīvakacintāmaṇi (76: 4) where he explains the object called “twisting wood” (nerukku-maram) as an “aiyavittulām; the wood that presses with strength and twisting the heads” (talaikaḷai tirukkēḻum valuṟṟuṇe nerukku maramāvṛt’ aiyavittulām). If we believe in the testimony of these later authors and commentators, we may conclude that the aiyavi mentioned in the 22\textsuperscript{nd} poem of Patiṟṟuppattu was perhaps an arrow shooting machine (vil-vcīca) fastened on the wall, and it might be the same in this poem, but from the oldest attestations it is not possible to satisfactorily identify the aiyavi.

\textsuperscript{123} pāṭṭă: not-smeared (negative peyareccam). Here this special feature, which I call a negative signifier, helps to distinguish the specific meaning of this particular aiyavi from the aiyavi well-known as white mustard. Cf. Puṟanāṉṟu, 168: 14. īṟa kūṭirai “the not-ridden horse” = Kutirai (“Horse”)-mountain.

\textsuperscript{124} Here we see the lengthened (alapecai) form of kulām basically means ‘herd’ or ‘flock’ of living beings, animals. It is an odd usage of the word, unless the intention of the poet was to create a metonymy (“the herds of sleeping beams”) since tuṅcu-maram, the technical term for a kind of protective beams, contains the verbal root tuṅcu-tal v. 5. ‘to sleep’ (Tamil Lexicon, 1957). Maybe the full image that intended to create looks like this: “[where like animals,] the herds of sleeping beams were crowded [at] the mountain (vilvaṅka) of the laying arrows […]” However, the Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti (p. 727) suggests that kulām also meant tiral (‘multitude’, ‘crowd’, etc.) attested in Puṟanāṉṟu, 136 :4, where the word means ‘swarm’ according to V. I. Subramoniam (Index of Puṟanāṉṟu, 252). My understanding is based on the last and simplest.

\textsuperscript{125} The word tuṅcumaram is a rare word attested only two times in the whole corpus, here and in Patiṟṟuppattu, 22: 21. The Tamil Lexicon gave a meaning of tuṅcu-maram as 1. ‘a wooden bar to fasten the gate of the fort’ and
at the blockade\textsuperscript{126} of the laying (\textit{tuńcu}) arrows which looked like the country (2)
where the raised outer walls\textsuperscript{127} with curved formations\textsuperscript{128} resembled the mountains, (1)
I arrived to see\textsuperscript{129} [you] because you prolonged [staying in] (9)
the military camp where the young elephant bulls are trumpeting by felling trees\textsuperscript{130} (8)
after [they] had become full (\textit{potti})\textsuperscript{131} of fierce rage, after their must flowed, (7)
having tusks with broken tips\textsuperscript{132} that became like\textsuperscript{133} [the fangs of] the boars. (6)
Whenever [your] rightful wife remembers you, who has swaying walk, glowing forehead, (13)
a glance that is in conflict\textsuperscript{134} with [her] nectar-filled,\textsuperscript{135} coral-like mouth (12)
with kind smile, which talks sweetly even if there is a quarrel, (11)
who has obedient\textsuperscript{136} nature [and] appeased\textsuperscript{137} fidelity (\textit{kappu}), (12)
will she live, [alone] on the bed, o [lord with great] appearance? (14a–c)
[The memory of] your graceful chest tortures [her] a lot, (20)
[chest of] yours who are able to be divided\textsuperscript{138} and remain\textsuperscript{139} (19)

2. ‘impaling stakes’ (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 1957). These meanings are based on the POC given for this line (Line 3): “\textit{tuńcumaram} means cylindrical woods (\textit{kanaïya marakkal}) that hang/rest on the entrance of the walls; henceforth, there are those who say that [it is] a wood planted as impaling stake;” (\textit{tuńcumaram egratu matili vāyilil tūnkum kanaïya marakkalai, ini kaijukkālāka nāṭtiya maram enpārum ular}).
126 I understood here \textit{vilankal} as a quasi “blockade” since it is grammatically a contracted form of the verbal noun \textit{vilankatul} ‘laying athwards’, ‘being transverse’ or ‘obstructing’. According to the \textit{Tamil Lexicon} (p. 3712), the word could also mean ‘mountain’” (Cf. \textit{Malaipatukaṭām}, 298), although that seemed to be derived from the same verb (\textit{vilanku-tal} v. 5.) as an extended meaning (‘something that is lying athwards’: mountain).
127 The word \textit{tuńcu} is lexicalized in the Tamil Lexicon as ‘ramparts’ (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 274), although the POC gives a less specific meaning as ‘outer walls’ (\textit{puramati}) that I borrowed here.
128 Because of the simile of the mountains, I found it reasonable to follow the POC that suggested to understand “outer walls which possess curved formations/places” (\textit{vaḻintu itatāiyuṭtiya puramati}). Another possibility would be to translate \textit{kotuṇkaṇ} as ‘evil-eye’ (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 1138), so the translation would be “the ramparts [with] evil-eye[-like portholes]”.
129 \textit{kǎntuk}: first person singular subjunctive from the verb \textit{kānt-tal} v. 13. ‘to see’.
130 The topos of tree-killing elephants is a well-known one in Cǎntk texts. The elephants usually attack the \textit{vēntkai}-tree, because seeing its colour it could be easily confused with a tiger. See: \textit{Kalittokai}, 38: 6–9; \textit{Naṟṟipai}, 51: 8–11. This passage may also suggest this.
131 I understood \textit{potti} as a viṇāyiyeccam from the verb \textit{poti-tal} v. 4. ‘to become full’, ‘to become large’, etc. \textit{Tamiḻ Ilakkiyam Pērakāṟṟi}, 1813.
132 The broken tusks of the elephants is a literary topos which is one among the consequences of a difficult siege.
133 I understood \textit{ākṭya} as a comparative particle here, which is the same how U. Vē. Cāmāṇāyay explains this (\textit{kompappōṭṭiśa}). Cāmāṇāyay 1980, 23.
134 \textit{amārtta}: perfective peyareccam of the verb \textit{amar-ttal} v. 11. intr. ‘to be at strife’. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 101.
135 \textit{amittu} < Skt. \textit{anṛta}.
136 \textit{aṭankiṭa}: perfective peyareccam of the verb \textit{aṭanku-tal} c. 5. intr. ‘to obey’, ‘to yield’, ‘to be subdued’, etc. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 44.
137 \textit{āriya}: perfective peyareccam of the verb \textit{āru-tal} v. 5. intr. ‘to be appeased’, ‘to be mitigated’, etc. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 259.
138 The word \textit{pāl} can be identified as a contracted form of a verbal noun from \textit{paku-tal} v. 6. intr. ‘to be divided’, ‘to be split’, ‘to be separated’, etc. (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 2384). In this sense, the king is able to separate from his bed, when his royal duty calls.
in the bed of your camp that is sweet for sleeping [for] the kohl-painted eyes of [your] lovers (18)
[laying] on your brilliant wide chest that united seven crowns, (17)
while jewels [on it] glitter in contrast with the shining radiant diamonds, (16)
[and] greenish gold glimmers contrasting in colour with the flawless brilliant sapphires. (14d–15)

139 The word kolāl is a hapax legomenon in the Caṅkam corpus that seems to be a contracted form of a verbal noun from kol[ṭu]-tal v. 2. tr. ‘to grasp’, ‘to receive’, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 1162. We agreed with the suggestion of Agesthialingom (Index of Patirṛpurattu, 56) that kolāl means “the act of remaining” in a sense that the king “received” the bed at the end of the day/his duty.
140 puraiyōr: sweethearts; kātaṇ makalir. Tamil Lexicon, 2779.
141 Here this line might refer to the chest of the king taken ab initio by the Goddess (and de iure by the queen) on which lovers are de facto lying.
142 pacum pog: fine gold. Tamil Lexicon, 2400. I translated it literally as a ‘greenish gold’ because it probably had a greenish colour that showed its fineness.
17. 
peyar: valampaṭu viyaṉpaṇai, tūṟai: centurai pāṭānhāṭṭu, tūkku: centūkku, vaṇṇam: oḻuku vaṇṇam.

puraivatu niṅaippuṇi puraivatō ~iṅṛē
periya tappunar āyiṇum pakaivar
pañintu tirai pakara+ koḷḷunai ~āṭalīṇ
tulāṅku picir uṭaiya mā+ kaṭal nīktīni
kaṭamp’ arut’ iyaṛriya valam-ṇaṭu viyaṇ paṇai
~āṭunar peyaṛntu vant’ arum pali tūuy+
kaṭippu+ kaṇ urūm toṭi+ tōḷ iyavar
araṇam kāṇātu māṭiram tulaiiyya
naṇam talai+ paim niḷam varuka ~i+ niḷal eṇa
nāyiru pukaṇṭha ṭitu tīr cirappiṇ
amiḻtu tikaḷ karuviya kaṇam maḷai talaai+
kaṭum kāl koṭkum nal perum parappiṇ
vicumpu tōy veḷ kuṭai nuvalum
pacum pūṇ mārpa pāṭṇi vēntē.
17th song

The victorious wide papai-drum

If [someone] thinks that it is alike, there is nothing like [you]!\(^{143}\) (1)
Even if [they are] someones with big faults, (2a–c)
because you are one who receives [their] tributes which were humbly announced by [those] enemies, (3)
after [you] had liberated the great sea that possessed shiny spray, (4)
after [you] scattered precious offerings (\textit{pali}),\(^{144}\) having come by returning with your warriors,\(^{145}\) (6)
o man of the chest with golden\(^{146}\) jewels, o king of songstresses, (14)
[your] white parasol, which touches the sky (13a–c)
of greatly vast extent, where fierce wind whirls around (12)
after groups of clouds in a big number that glimmer with ambrosia,\(^{147}\) showered plentifully, (11)
[the parasol] whose flawless superiority is desired by the Sun, (10)
announces (13d)

“Let [the young men] come [under] this shade in [this] fertile world of vast area, (9)
young men (\textit{iyavar}) with armlets on [their] arms, who keep [their] drumsticks on the [drums’] eyes, (7)
who had [already] explored the great directions (\textit{mātiram}) without seeing [any] refuge!” (8)

\(^{143}\) In the phrase \textit{puraivatō ĭgrē}, I understood the ēkāram as the demarcation of the topic, and the ēkāram at the end of the finite form as the end of a sentence.

\(^{144}\) \textit{pali} < Skt. \textit{bali} ‘oblation’, ‘offering’.

\(^{145}\) āṭunar: honorific third person plural form of the verb āṭu-\textit{tal} v. 5. intr. ‘to move’, ‘to dance’, ‘to fight’. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 219. Here I translated warriors, although it is possible that the author referred to dancers who returned to celebrate the king, or dancing/rejoicing warriors. Anyway, I understood āṭunar as having an unmarked sociative case, so that I avoided the subject changing absolutes.

\(^{146}\) \textit{pacum}: ‘greenish-yellow’ (adj.).

\(^{147}\) \textit{amītu} < Skt. \textit{ānyta}. It is remarkable that Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇaḍar used this Sanskrit loanword two times (\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 16: 12) with two different spellings. Comparing the two words, this one (\textit{amīṭu}) seems to be an older form attested in most of the old anthologies of the Ēṭṭutokai (\textit{Akanāṭu}, 170: 5; \textit{Kalitokai}, 4: 13; 20: 11; \textit{Kuṟutokai}, 14: 1; \textit{Naṟṟipai}, 230: 3; \textit{Puṟañāṭu}, 10: 7; 125: 8; 361: 19; 390: 17; \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 51: 21; \textit{Ciṟupāṇṟṟuppattai}, 101: 227), while \textit{amītu} can be found only once in the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} (16: 12), and in later anthologies such as \textit{Pariṟṟai (3: 33; 8: 121; 12: 57)}, and \textit{Maturaikāṭci} (Line 532).

uṇmiṅ kaḷḷē ~aṭumiṅ cōṛē
~eṟika tiṟi ~eṟumīṅ puḻukē
varunarkku vara;yātu polam kalam tēḷirppa
~iruḷ vaṇar olivarum puri ~avil aimmer
ēntu kōṭṭ’ alkul mukiḷ nakai maṭavaram

kūntal viṟaliyar vaḷaṅkuka ~aṭuppe
peṟṟat’ utavumīṅ tapp’ iṅru piṇnum
maṇṇ’ uyir aḷiya yāṇṭu pala tuḷakki
maṇ+ uṭai ṇāḷam purav’ etir-koṇṭa
tañ+ iyal eḷilī talaiyātu māri

māri poṭṭukavaṭ’ ayinum
cēralaṭaṇ poyyalaṇ nacaiyē.

18.

maṇ+ uṭai ñālam purav’ etir-koṇṭa
tañ+ iyal eḷilī talaiyātu māri

māri poṭṭukavaṭ’ ayinum
cēralaṭaṇ poyyalaṇ nacaiyē.
18th song

**Songstresses with tresses**

Drink\(^{148}\) the toddy! Cook the rice! (1)
May [you] cut the meat! Pile up the cooked grains!\(^{149}\) (2)
May the \textit{viralīyar}\(^{150}\) \textbf{with} [long] \textit{tresses}\(^{151}\) bustle around the oven, (6)
as women with blossoming smiles and eminent, arched hips, (5)
whose curly and black, sprouting and loosening [coiffures were] fashioned into five parts
\textit{(aimpāḥ)}, (4)
while golden vessels sparkle without limit for the sake of those who come!\(^{152}\) (3)
Help yourself to what is available thereafter, without fault! (7)
Even if the rain lies (11)
by failing, without having showered from the clouds \textit{(eḻili)} of cool nature, (10)
which had accepted to protect the material world,\(^{153}\) (9)
[after] shaking for many years so that creatures\(^{154}\) perished, (8)
a loving \textit{Cēralātăn} never lies. (12)

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\(^{148}\) The beginning of this poem resembles \textit{Puranāṅgū} 172 which could have been the antecedent of the poem, or both are songs of a popular sub-genre of \textit{iyaṅmōli vāḷṭṭu} for which only a few examples survived.

\(^{149}\) The word \textit{puḻukku} seems to be a root noun from the verb \textit{puḻukku-tal} 5. v. tr. ‘to boil before husking, as paddy’ (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 2793), so that we conclude that \textit{puḻukku} could be most probably ‘boiled grains’, a kind of \textit{dāl}. \textit{Dravidian Etymological Dictionary}, 4315. Other possibility is to understand meat (\textit{iṟaićci}) suggested by the \textit{Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti} (p. 1741) among the old meanings (cf. \textit{Puṟanāṅgū}, 212: 3), but the POC makes it clear that \textit{tīṟi} (from the verb \textit{tīg-tal}8. v. tr.) in the same line already means ‘meat’ (\textit{iṟaićci}).

\(^{150}\) \textit{viralī}: a female performer who is most probably a dancer and/or a singer.

\(^{151}\) \textit{maṭavaṟal}: 1. ‘simplicity’, ‘artlessness’; 2. ‘woman’. (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3020)

\(^{152}\) According to my understanding, the imperatives in Line 1–2 lead us to understand that the guests (\textit{varunat}) arrive to the subject of the poem who is either the king or the husband/chief of the \textit{viralīs}. If we choose the latter, then the message of the poem could be something like this: “do not be afraid to help others with those things what you have got from the king, because he will shower gifts again and again not like the rain that sometimes fails.” If the subject was the king Neṭuṅcēralātăn, to whom this case all the imperatives are directed, then the poem must be an advice to the king to be liberal as much as his ancestors, and the word \textit{cēralātăn} in Line 12 is a general reference to the Cēra kings and the just nature of the dynasty. Since the \textit{tūrai} of this poem is \textit{iyaṅmōli vāḷṭṭu}, I tend to accept the king as the subject of the poem who is compared to his predecessors. Cf. \textit{Puṟapporuṉpāmāḷai}, 9: 6–7.

\(^{153}\) I translated the phrase \textit{maṉ utai Ṇḷām} as ‘material world’; it literally means “earthly world”.

\(^{154}\) I translated the phrase \textit{maṉi uyir} as ‘creature’; it literally means “permanent life”.
19.


koḷḷai valci+ kavar kāl kūliyār
kal+ uṭai neṭum neṇi pōḷntu curam aruppa
~oḷ poṛi+ kalal kāl māṭā vayavara
ṭiṇ piṇi ~ekkam puli ~urai kalippa+
cem kaḷam viruppoṭu kūlam muṛṭiya
~uruva+ cem tiṇai kurutiyōṭu tūuy
maṇ+ uṛu muracam kaṇ peyart’ iyavar
kaṭipp’ uṭai valattar toṭi+ tōḷ ʿōcca
vampu kaḷaiv’ ʿariyā+ curṛamōṭ’ ampur terint’
a+ viṇai mēvalai ~ākaliṇ
ellum naṇi ~irunt’ elli+ peṛra
~aritu peṛu pāyal ciru makilaŋum
kaṇavīṇ uḷ uraiyum perum cālp’ ʿōṭuṇkiṇa
nāṇu mali yākkai vāl nutal arivaikku
yārkol aliyai
~iṇam tōṭ’ akala ~ūr uṭaŋ eluntu
nilam kaṇ vāṭa nāncil kaṭintu ni
vāṭtal iya vaḷam aru paitiram
aṇṇa ~āyiṇa palaṇam tōrum
aḷaḷ mali tāmarai ~āmpaloṭu malarntu
nellin cēruvil neyṭal pūppa
~arinar koy vāl maṭaṅka ~arainar
ṭīṁ pili ~entiram pattal varunta
~iṅrō ~aṅrō toṅrō rālai
nallamaṇ aḷiya tām eṇa+ colli+
kāṇunar kai puṭait’ irāṅka
māṇa maṭciya māṇṭaṇa palavē.
19th song

The countries with lost fertility

After you had scattered colourful red millet together with blood (6) which crops have become matured, [scattered] with the desire [for] the red battlefield, (5) while the firmly tied155 blades had been removed from the tiger[-skin] scabbards (4) by [your] stable-minded156 strong men with legs [wearing] anklets with bright spots, (3) when the the demon-like157 foot-soldiers (kāḷ kūḷiyar) who seize food as plunder (1) took a short-cut [through] the desert by cutting off the rocky long road, (2) after you caused to return the bathed158 muracam-drum [to its] place,159 (7) after you had examined the arrows together with [your] retinue who never remove [their] gloves,160 (9) while young meg as being someones who have drumsticks on their right raised [their] armlet-[wearing] arms, (7d–8) because you are someone with the desire of those [heroic] acts, who [are you] (15a) for [your] woman (arivai) with bright forehead, with body that abounds in modesty (nāṇu) (14) controlled by [her] great excellence that remained even during in [her] dreams (13) with the little joy obtained at night in sleeping difficult to obtain, after many days have passed? (11–12)

Pitiable you are! (15b)

The many [lands] which [were] splendidly glorious,161 are not glorious [anymore], (27) so that those who see [this] are clapping [their] hands and moaning, (26) having said “[Not just] today, [or] yesterday, [but] in ancient times [these lands were] good indeed, [but now] they [are] pitiable!”, (24–25)

155 It might be a reference to the hilt of the swords.
156 māṟṭi: lit. “not-changing” (neg. pey.). This signifier denotes the fact that the warriors do not change their determination, do not turn back from the battle so that I translated it as “stable-minded”.
157 Since the word kūḷiyar can be interpreted in two different ways as ‘soldiers’ or ‘demons’ (Tamil Lexicon, 1080), I decided to give back both the meanings that is, I guess, similar to what has been suggested by Turaicāmippiḷḷai 1973, 50.
158 The phrase māṇṇuṟu muracam can be split and interpreted in two different ways: 1. māṇṇuṟu muracam: “the muracam[-drum] that has clay/paste (maṇṇu) [on its surface]” (Tamil Lexicon, 3026), 2. māṇṇuṟu muracam: “the muracam[-drum] that was bathed” (māṇṇuṟu-ttal, Tamil Lexicon, 3034), cf. Puṇānāṉṟu, 50: 5–6.
159 The word kaṇ is ambiguous here, since it could mean the “centre of a drum-head where it is rapped” (Tamil Lexicon, 683), or the ‘location’ or ‘place’ (kaṇ) of the drum where it was stored. Cf. Puṇānāṉṟu, 50: 7, where the drum has a decorated flower-bed on which it used to be laid.
160 The word vampu is not a rare one in the Caṅkam corpus, although none of the old meanings fits here. However, the POC believes that vampu means “glove” (kaiccāṭu). Another possible meaning can be found in the old commentary of Puṟapporulvēṇpāḷai on VI. 24: 3, where the vampu of the warriors with bright swords means a ‘girth’ or ‘belt’ (kaccu < Skt. kaksya, Tamil Lexicon, 638).
161 māṭciyamāṇṭaṇ: lit. “those which were gloriously glorious”.
while the reaper’s buckets for the nectar (tīm) squeezing\textsuperscript{162} machine\textsuperscript{163} suffered [from emptiness], (23)
while sickles\textsuperscript{164} for shearing of those who cut [the crops] became bended, (22)
while the neytaḷ blossomed on the paddy fields, (21)
and the fire-like tāmarai\textsuperscript{165} flourished together with the āmpal (20)
on every arable land which became similar to (19)
\textbf{the countries with lost fertility} that you did not let live, (17d–18)
after you renounced to plough so that the yield (kaṇ) of the lands perished, (17a–d)
after the villages unitedly set off (eluntu), while [their] herds scattered. (16)

\textsuperscript{162} Verbal root from \textit{pili-tal} 4.v. tr. 1. ‘to shed’, ‘to pour, as rain’; 2. ‘to squeeze’, ‘to express’, ‘to press out with the hands’; intr. ‘to drip, as oil from hair’; ‘to exude, as juice from fruits’. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 2711.
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{entiram} < Skt. \textit{yantra} ‘machine’, ‘mechanism’.
\textsuperscript{164} vāḷ: ‘sword’. I read here “sickle” following the POC which suggests to understand \textit{arivāḷ} which was already lexicalized as ‘sickle’, ‘garden-knife’, or ‘billhook’. (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 128)
\textsuperscript{165} tāmarai: lotus, \textit{Nelumbium speciosum}. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 1837.
num kō yār ega viṇṇaṅi em kō
~irul munnir+ turtti ~uḷ
muraṇiyōr+ talai+ ceṇṭru
daypp’ ariyalaṅe veyil tukaṅṭum
māṭrōr teṇṭu māriya viṇṇaiyē
daynīṅ vacuttu tūkku: centūkkum vañcittūkkum, vañṇam:
oluku vaṇṇum coṛcīr vaṇṇumum.

ounaṅ tēya ~oṅki naṭantu
paṭiyōr+ tēyytu vaṭi maṇi ~iraṭṭum
koṭai+ kaṭaṅ amarnta koṭa neṇciṇaṅ
muṇḍu vaṭiyā yāṇṭu pala mārī+}

vayiṟu māc’ il īḷḷi talaiyāṭ’ āyiṇum
vayiṟu paci kūra ~īyalaṅ
vayiṟu māc’ il īyār avan ēnra tāyē.
20th song

**He with a chest that blooms after killing**

If someone asks, “Who is your king?”, our king\(^{166}\) (1) [is] Neṭuñcēralātăng with the strength of [his] fierce rage, (5a–b) who chopped down the foot of the katampu-tree,\(^{167}\) (4) after he went to the land of the resisting ones, (3) which land was inside an island\(^{168}\) of the dark sea, (2) may his chaplet live long! (5c–d)

He does not know the chance, not even that much as the particle [of dust] in the sunshine, (6) to [do] deeds that failed in the countries of [his] foes. (7)

He is the one who knows no lies, not even in dreams,\(^{169}\) (9c–10a) to the countries of [his] foes (9a–b) who do not know to open their hearts, [although their] eyes rejoiced. (8)

After he marched and rose [on the battlefield] so that the disobedient became weakened, (10) after he destroyed\(^ {170}\) the ones who [where] not humble, (11a–b) after he overran lands large like the vast, dark expanse [of the sea], (13) while the rows of rutting elephant-herds were trumpeting (12) with cast bells\(^{171}\) sounding on [their bodies], (11c–d) after he established [his] lofty fame, while the pulavar\(^{172}\) praised [him], after he gave abundantly without saving [for himself,]\(^{173}\) chariots, elephant bulls and horses with spreading mane to the dancers (kaṇṇuḷar)\(^{174}\) and the musicians (vayiriyar),\(^{175}\) (15–16)

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\(^{166}\) The same opening line appears at the beginning of Puranāṅgūru, 212: 1. which might show that one poem was the antecedent of the other, or it was simply a common formulaic pattern of the bards.

\(^{167}\) Here katampu refers to the totemistic tree of the katampu-tribe which was destroyed by the Čēras. See: Patiruppattu, 12: 3; 17: 5; 20: 4; 88: 6; Patiruppattu, IV. 6.

\(^{168}\) On the localization of the katampu tribe’s land, p. 383–384.

\(^{169}\) Here kaṉaviṉ is a hypermetrical foot or kūṉ (“hunch”) that I separated by a comma and a line break. Although its position is a bit odd, we have no other choice than to connect kaṉaviṉ as a concessive with poyp’ ariyalaṅē at the end of Line 9.

\(^{170}\) It is also possible to connect the absolutes ōṅki, naṭantu, and tēyytu (Lines 10–11) to the elephants (Line 12) as their subjects, although the POC also understood that all of these absolutes are hanging on neṅciṅgū (Line 23). However, the infinitive in Line 12 (alaṟa) allows the subject change of the absolutes, so it can work both ways.

\(^{171}\) Or: “shapy bells” (vaṭi maṇī).

\(^{172}\) pulavar: learned men. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 4344(b).

\(^{173}\) The phrase ōmpātu vīci is a formulaic pattern denoting that the liberal donor does not save (ōmpātu, neg. abs.) anything to himself, but give away all what he has.

\(^{174}\) According to the Tamil Lexicon, the word kaṇṇuḷar is the same as kaṇṇuḷāḷar which means ‘actor’, ‘dancer’, or ‘masquerader’ (Tamil Lexicon, 696). In fact, we have only two attestations of the word kaṇṇuḷar in the Caṅkam texts, here (in dative) and in Malaippaṭuṅkāṭan 50 (in honorific plural nominative), where the king is “the head of the kaṇṇuḷar’s kinsfolk which obtained jewels” (kalam peṟu kaṇṇuḷar okkal talaivai), so this does not
after he destroyed the insides of the difficult-[to-conquer] fortresses that possess arrows, (19a–c) stable bastions, tall walls, (18) deep moats and protecting forests;¹⁷⁶ (17)

he [is] **the one with a chest that blooms after killing** [in the] smoke that was not of cooking¹⁷⁷ [but of] destruction, (20) which engulfed [the fortresses]. (19d)

To us and to others, whoever they were, (21) even if the gift-seekers (**paricīlar**) were incapable men, he is a man with unbiased¹⁷⁸ heart who desired [his] duty to give [liberally]. (23)

Even if the clouds with cool nature have failed for many years without showering so that creatures perished, (24–25) he is one who gives abundantly [against] the hunger of the stomach,— (26) let the womb (**vayīru**) of the mother who gave birth to him be spotless! (27)

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¹⁷⁵ **vayīrirar**: ‘professional dancers’, ‘actors’, or ‘professional musicians’ (at the entry **vayīriyamākkal**, Tamil Lexicon, 3500). Since their name is most probably derivable from the name of an ancient instrument, the **vayir** which was a large horn or bugle (Tamil Lexicon, 3498), I translated the word as “musicians”, although it is possible that we see here another group of actors as the Tamil Lexicon suggests.

¹⁷⁶ **kaṭtipai**: a protective forest or grove (or thorny obstacles?) around the fort. Cf. **Pattiruppattu**, 22: 24; **Puranāṇūru**, 21: 5.

¹⁷⁷ **aṭṭā**: a lengthened (**alaṭṭai**) form of the neg. pey. from the verb **aṭṭu-tal** v. 6. tr. ‘to cook’, ‘to kill’, ‘to destroy’, ‘to conquer’. This form is used here as a negative signifier which narrows the meaning of the given word, and here precludes the possibility of understanding the smoke of cooking.

¹⁷⁸ **kōṭṭē**: lit. “not-bending”, neg. pey.
II. patikam

maṇṭṇiya perum pukaḷ maṟu ~il vāy-mile
~iṅ+ icai muraciṇ utiyaṅcērārku
veḷiyaṅ vēṃmāḷ nalliṇi ~iṅra makaṅ
amaı varal aruvi ~imaiyam vil poṛitt’
imil katal vēli+ tamiḻalakam vilaṅka+
tañ köl niṟṭi+ takai cāl cirappotpū
pēr icai marapiṅ āriyar vanakki
nayaṅ il val col yavaṅār+ piṇittu
ney talai+ peytu kai piṅ koli
~arum vilai nal kalam vayiramotu koṇtu
perum viral mūt’ ūr+ tantu pīrarkk’ utavi
~amaiyār+ tēyta ~aṅaṅk’ utai nōl tāl
imaiyavarampaṅ neṭuṅcēralātaṅai+
kumāṭṭīr+ kaṅnaṅār pāṭṭāṅār pattu+ pāṭṭu.

avai tām: puṅ+ umiṅ kuṟuti, maṟam vīṅku pal pukaḷ, pūtta neytaļ, cāṅrōr meymmaṟai, niraiya
veḷḷam, tuiy in pāyal, valam paṭṭu viyal paṇai, kūntal vīraliyan, vaḷaṅ aru paitiraṅ, aṭṭu malar
māṟpaṇ, ivai pāṭṭīṅ patikam.

pāṭṭi+ peṟṟa paricil: umparkāṭṭu aim nūr’ ūr piramatāyam koṭṭuttu mu+ patt’ etṭu yāṇṭu teṇ
nāṭṭūl varuvataṅīṅ pākam koṭṭutṭāṅ.

imaiyavarampaṅ neṭuṅcēralāṅaṇ aim patt’eṭṭu yāṇṭu vīṟrīruntāṅ.
II. Panegyric

These are the songs that were sung by Kumaṭṭur Kaṇḍanār\(^{179}\) on Imaiyavarampan Nēṭuṅcēralaṭaṇ, (13) the son who was born from [the queen] Vēṃmā\(^{180}\) Naliṅi\(^{181}\) [daughter of] Veliyan,\(^{182}\) (3) to [the father] Utiyaṉcēral\(^{183}\) with a sweetly sounding muracu-drum, (2)

with flawless speech [and] permanent, good fame; (1)

[who] imprinted a bow[-sign]\(^{184}\) in the Imaiyam\(^{185}\) with waterfalls that flow properly,\(^{186}\) (4) [who] established [the rule of] his [royal]-staff (kōl),\(^{187}\) (6a–b)

so that Tamiḻakam\(^{188}\) with fences of the rumbling sea was shining, (5)

[who] made the āriyar\(^{189}\) of famous tradition\(^{190}\) humble with [his] eminent glory, (6c–7)

[who] shackled the worthless yavagas\(^{191}\) of harsh speech, (8)

poured oil on [their] heads, pinioned [their] hands behind [their] back, (9)

took [their] good vessels\(^{192}\) of rare value together with [their] gems (vaviram) (10)

\(^{179}\) The name of this particular bard is known only from the Patiruppattu.

\(^{180}\) vēṃmā: woman of vēṭir-tribe. Tamil Lexicon, 3825.

\(^{181}\) It is the proper name of Nēṭuṅcēralaṭaṇ’s mother who was the wife of Utiyaṉcēral, perhaps the first king of the lost First Decade (ōgāṟam pattu).

\(^{182}\) Considering the masculine ending of Veliyan, I think it is the name of Naliṅi’s father which appears anyway as a part of her name. Marr thought the same in his study (Marr 1985 [1958]: 274), what is more, he has noted that Veliyan could be a possible father of Āy Eyiṅaṅ as well. Marr 1985 [1958]: 123–124.

\(^{183}\) Utiyaṉcēral is the name of Nēṭuṅcēralaṭaṇ’s father. We find the name Utiyaṇ in a Čēra king in Akanāṇāṟu, 65: 5; 168: 7; 233: 8; as a member of Naṉṇaṅ’s dynasty in Akanāṇāṟu, 258: 1; and an unidentifiable Utiyaṇ in Narrīnaṟ, 113: 9. The Pre-Pallav Tamil Index states that the name Utiyaṇ was a branch of the Čēra dynasty that can be found in names like the name of the above mentioned king or in the name of Naṉṇaṅ Utiyaṇ (p. 132), but this theory seems to be a bit weak, since it is mostly based on the similarity of names. However, the Puranāṇāṟu 2 was composed by Muraṇciyar Muṭhunākaṅṭaṅ to the king called Peruṅcōṛa Utiyaṇ Čēralaṭaṅ who might be the same king as the king appeared in Akanāṇāṟu 233: 8, who offers sacrificial rice (peruṅcōṛa) to the ancestors (muṭtiyaṟ). Although the Pre-Pallav Tamil Index warns us that Utiyaṇ of the akam-poetry might be different as Utiyaṇ of the puram-poetry, I do not see convincing arguments behind this statement.


\(^{185}\) Imaiyam: < Skt. Himālaya (p. n.).

\(^{186}\) Another possible reading is to take aṁai as ‘bamboo’ (“Imaiyam with coming waterfalls [and] bamboo”).

\(^{187}\) The term kōl denotes the royal staff, one among the regalia which was perhaps a scepter.

\(^{188}\) Tamiḻakam: the Tamil country. Puranāṇāṟu, 168: 18. Tamil Lexicon, 1757. It means perhaps those lands where Tamil was spoken, so it seems to be not a political region but a cultural.

\(^{189}\) āriyar < Skt. ārya. As an umbrella-term, āriyar denotes non-Tamil but Indian people living in the Indian peninsula.

\(^{190}\) Or maraṇipū: “according to the tradition”.

\(^{191}\) yavagar: ‘Greeks’ (< Gr. “lov (“Ionian”). It is an umbrella-term which denotes non-Indian people living inside or outside the Indian peninsula. In the Cankam texts it seems that yavagar meant mostly the merchants of the Roman Empire, although there are cases when their identification is far from being settled. For the philological problems related to this part, pp. 331–332.
[and] gave [them all] to greatly valorous, old villages, [who] helped others, (11)
[who had] sturdy legs possessed by anaṅku that destroyed the disobedients. (12)

These [ten songs] themselves [are]: Blood that the wounds spew; The increasing many praises of bravery; The neytal which have blossomed; The body shield of worthy men; The hellish flood; The bed sweet for sleeping; The victorious wide paṇai-drum; Songstresses with tresses; The countries with lost fertility; He with a chest that blooms after killing, [and this as] the panegyric of these ten.

Having sung, [the following] gifts [have been] obtained: [the king] gave a portion [of the revenue] that came to the Southern lands [during] thirty-eight years [and] gave five-hundred brahmadeya (piramātīyam)193 villages of the Umppākṭu194 [to the Brahmins].

Imaiyavarampaṉ195 Neṭuṅcēralātan sat fifty-eight years on the throne.

iranṭām pattu muṟṟṟṟu.
Thus ending the Second Decade.
The Third Decade
(mūṟṟām pattu)
The poet: Pālai Kautamaṉār
The king: Palyaṅaiccelku Ṛutuvaṅ

21.
col peyar nāṟṭam kēḷvi neṇcam eṛr’
aṁt’ uṭaṇ pōṛri ~avai tuṇai ~āka
~evvam cūḷātu viḷāṇkiya koḷkai+
kāḷai ~aṇṇa cīr cāl vāymoḷi
~uru keḷu marapiṅ kaṭaṟuvul pēṇiyar
koṇṭa tiyṇ cūṭar eḷu-tōrūm
virumputu mey paranta perum peyar āvuti
varunar varaiyēr vāra vēṇṭi
viruntu kaṇ māṟāṭ’ unīya pācavar
ūṟgatt’ āḷittā vāl niṇa+ koḷum kuṟai
kuy ~iṭu tōrūm anāṭ’ āṟppa+
kaṭal oli koṇṭu ceḷu nakar naṭuvaṅ
aṭu mai ~eḷunta ~aṭu ney āvuti
~iraṇṭ’ uṭaṇ kamaḷum nāṟṟamoṭu vāṇattu
nilai peru kaṭaṟuvulum vilai taka+ pēṇi
~ēr vaḷam paluṇiya ~aiyam ūr cīrappiṅ
māri ~am kāḷiṅ pōr vaḷ yāṅai+
pōṛpp’ uṛu muracam kaṟaṅka ~āṟppu+ cīṟantu
nal kalam tarūm maṇ paṭu mārpa
mullai+ kaṇṭi+ paḷ+ āṅ kōvalar
puḷ+ uṭai viyam pulam paḷ+ ā parappi+
kal+ uyar kaṭatt’-iṭai+ kaṭir maṇi perūm
miti ~al cēruppiṅ pūliyar kōvē
kuviyal kaṇṭi maḷavar meymmaṟai
pal payam taḷiẏa payam keḷu neṭum kōṭṭu
nīr aral maruṅku val+ paṭā+ pākuṭi+
pāṟval kokkiṅ pari vēṭp’ aṅcā+
cīr uṭai+ tēetta muṇai keṭa vilaṅkiya
nēr uyar neṭum varai ~aṟiyai+ poruna
yāṇṭu piḷai+ ariyātu payam maḷai curantu 30
nōy il māntarkk’ ūli ~āka
maṇṇā ~āyin maṇam kamaḷ koṇṭu
kār malar kamalum tāḷ irum kūntal
oriyyiṇa pōla ~iravu malar niṇḍu
35
tiru mukatt’ alamarum perum matar maḷai+ kaṇ
alaṇkiya kāntal ilaṅku nīr aḷuvattu
vēy ural paṇai+ tōḷ ivalōṭ’
āyira veḷḷam vāḷiya palavē.
The libation of heated ghī

O [you,] the man of the chest [on which Mother] Earth (maṇī)\(^{196}\) abides, who gives good jewels (19)
as the noise excelled when the [skin]-covered\(^{197}\) muracam-drum was sounding, (18)[who possesses] elephants which have strength in war, [you, who] have raining\(^{198}\) (māriyam) toddy (kaḻ) (17)[and] doubtless superiority which had grown high [from your] abundant prosperity, (16)[you, who] paid homage in a way which is fit\(^{199}\) (taka) to be desired by the deities who obtained permanence (15)in the sky, [you, who paid homage] with the two scents together (uṭṭaṇ) which emit fragrance,— (14)[the scent of] the libation (āvuti) of heated ghī[from which] the dark\(^{200}\) (maṇī) [smoke] of the cooking arose (13)in the middle of [your] palace\(^{201}\) (nakar) rich with\(^{202}\) (koṇṭu) the sound of the sea, (12)while\(^{203}\) the seasoning was unceasingly sizzling whenever it had been put (11)on the fat pieces of the pure meat\(^{204}\) which had been minced on the cutting-board\(^{205}\) (10)

196 Here I translated maṇī (Line 19) as ‘Earth’ choosing the interpretation as Bhūdevi, the Goddess Earth.
197 pōrppu: lit. ‘cover’ derivable from the verb pōr-ṭṭal 11. v. tr. ‘to wear’, ‘put on’, ‘warp oneself in’, ‘to cloak’, ‘to cover’, ‘to envelope’, ‘to surround’. What is referred here is not easy to decode from the poems in which pōrppu had been mentioned since ‘pōrppu uru muracam’ is formulaic. Cf. Patiṟṟuppattu, 84: 2; Akanāṉūṟu, 188: 3; Puṇāṉaṉūṟu, 241: 4. We do not have available medieval commentary on the above mentioned lines for Patiṟṟuppattu or Akanāṉūṟu. As for the Puṇāṉaṉūṟu poem, the commentator said that the drum was pōrττal uru muracam which is not helpful at all. However, it clearly refers to a verbal noun (pōrtaṭ) instead of ‘skin’ which is a possible meaning of pōravai (id. pōrppu, Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 1861) found in Pīṅkaḷam (Tamil Lexicon, 2968). I conclude that since the muracam drum was definitely covered with the skin of an animal (Puṇāṉaṉūṟu, 288: 2–4; 63: 7; Maturaikkāṭći, 242), here we see the same description with the difference that in these poems the cover (as a result of the act of covering) was emphasized, instead of the skin which was the material used for covering and in later centuries became a possible meaning of pōrppu.
198 The phrase ‘māriyam’ was analysed here as māri (‘rain’) + an (adjective suffix).
199 Here taka was taken as an adverbial infinitive.
200 Here aṭu maṇī was translated as ‘cooking’ (aṭu, root noun) + ‘darkness’ (maṇī, noun) instead of aṭumai (‘cooking’, abstract noun).
202 It is rather possible to understand koṇṭu as an early example of a frozen sociative than to translate it literally which does not make much sense.
203 Following my analysis, here the infinitiveative ārppa, although it looks like, cannot be understood as a purposive infinitive.
204 As for vāṭiṇum koḷum kuṟai, another interpretation is “the meat-pieces (kuṟai) which are rich (koḷum) in white fat (vāṭiṇum)”.
205 The POC suggests that āṟṟattu here has to be understood as “anvil/scaffold [on which] the meat is hacked” (iṟaići kotṭum ataikuruṭu). Cf. āṟ-amar-kuṟai, Tamil Lexicon, 506. Here I followed this idea, although another
by the goat-traders\textsuperscript{206} (\textit{pācavar}), in order to feed the limitless guests wishing to take up [what is served] without exchanging glances [during] the feast,\textsuperscript{207} (8–9) [and the scent of] the libation (\textit{āvuti}) with great name\textsuperscript{208} [in which] the desirable body (\textit{mey}) had spread (7) whenever sparks (\textit{cutar}) arose from the fire which was taken (6) by those who pay homage to the deities\textsuperscript{209} according to [their] frightful tradition, (5) [who have] truthful speech abounding in excellence [which] resembles the Sun (\textit{kālai}),\textsuperscript{210} (4) [who have] shining principles that do not consider the distress, (3) while by worshipping ‘word (\textit{col}),\textsuperscript{211} names (\textit{peyar}),\textsuperscript{212} eyes (\textit{nātām}),\textsuperscript{213} hearing (\textit{kēḷvi}),\textsuperscript{214} heart/mind (\textit{neñcam})',\textsuperscript{215} these five together, they\textsuperscript{216} became a help [for you], (1–2)

and easier interpretation would be to understand the oblique case of \textit{ūgam} (‘flesh’), so that the meaning of the phrase would be “fat pieces of the pure meat [which had been minced] from the flesh [of the animal]”.\textsuperscript{206} \textit{pācavar}, “goat-trader” (\textit{āttuvānīkara}, POC). Cf. \textit{Patiṟṟupattu}, 67: 17. It is possible that these people were, in fact, butchers. Their name might be derivable from Skt. \textit{paśa} ‘cattle’, or \textit{pāśā} ‘noose’, ‘trap’, etc., since we do not know whether these particular group of people were hunting with bows, traps, or something else. We might consider an old Dravidian verb (Te. \textit{pāyu}, \textit{pāc}, \textit{pāśa}; Ko. \textit{pās}; Ka. \textit{hasak}; Ta. pāl?), which means ‘to rot and smell offensively (of any food, rice, fruit, or animal)’, so that \textit{pācavar} would mean “those who smells [like] rotten [animals]”. \textit{Dravidian Etymological Dictionary}, 4057. The word has two attestations only in the \textit{Patiṟṟupattu}.

\textsuperscript{207} Here the question is whether we should translate \textit{kaṇ} as ‘eye’ or ‘place’. Because of this ambiguity, we have another possible reading, in which the guests were eating “without changing the place of the feast” (\textit{viruntu-kaṇ māṟṟatu}), which would mean that they were satisfied and did not wish to go to another patron.

\textsuperscript{208} See: p. 419.

\textsuperscript{209} I translated \textit{kataval} as a plural, although it is possible that the author refers to one particular deity.

\textsuperscript{210} Although Kāḷai normally means Kūṟṟu, I followed the suggestion of the old commentary which glosses \textit{kāḷai} as \textit{ātiṭṭag} < Skt. \textit{ādīya} ‘Sun’, which idea was taken up by U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar who glosses \textit{cūrīya} < Skt. \textit{sūrya} ‘Sun’ and gives parallels. Cāmināṭaiyar 1980, 40.

\textsuperscript{211} \textit{col} ‘word’, ‘term’, ‘saying’, ‘speech’, ‘praise’, etc. \textit{Dravidian Etymological Dictionary}, 2855. POC understood “the treatise which talks [about] the grammar of words” (\textit{collilakkaṇam colli nūḥ}) which seems to refer to the second division of the \textit{Tolkāppiyam (Collatikāram)}.

\textsuperscript{212} \textit{peyar} ‘name’, ‘reputation’, ‘name’, ‘person’, ‘shape’, ‘form’, etc. \textit{Dravidian Etymological Dictionary}, 4410. POC understood “the treatise which talks [about] the grammar of meanings” (\textit{porulilakkaṇam colli nūḥ}) which seems to refer to the third division of the \textit{Tolkāppiyam (Porulatikāram)}.


\textsuperscript{215} \textit{neñcam}: conscience’, ‘heart’, ‘breast’, ‘chest’, ‘bravery’, ‘mind’, etc. \textit{Dravidian Etymological Dictionary}, 3736. POC understood “the pure [and] harmonious heart/mind which does not follow the path of the senses” (\textit{intiriyatkalīṉ vaiṟyittu uṟṟuṇkiṭa tūya ŋeñcīgai}). Turaicāmippillai suggests that \textit{neñcam} is ākamam (id. Skt. āgama) which seems to be a matter of interpretation as both the old commentator and Turaicāmippillai seems to see \textit{vediṅgas} here which idea was borrowed by Marr (Marr 1985 [1958]: 311). Turaicāmippillai 1973, 67.

The enumeration in Line 1 is very interesting, although it is not possible to give a final interpretation. Here we see a quasi \textit{specula principum} or Fürtenspiegel-like context, which conducts the king how to reign. It is possible to reconstruct one secular and at least one another religious list. The secular one could be: 1. speech, 2. fame, 3. inspection, 4. audience, 5. intelligence/valour/conscience. The religious one could be: 1. praises (Cf. \textit{col-māḷai),
o king of the Pūḷiyar²¹⁷ [in] the Ceruppu[-mountain²¹⁸ which] no [one] can tread on [like on a slipper (ceruppu)],²¹⁹ (23)
[where] herdsmen with mullai-chaplets²²⁰ and with many cows (20)
obtain radiating sapphires²²¹ in the woods high with rocks, (22)
once they made their many cows spread on the grassy, wide lands, (21)
o body shield of warriors with chaplets of heaped [flowers], (24)
o fighter of the straightly rising tall Ayirai²²² that lies athwart, (29)
so that the frontier of famous lands perished, (28)
[Ayirai, where] the kokku-bird, which is watching keenly/from afar,²²³ does not fear to circle²²⁴ [in the air] (26d–27)
without going to the waterless slopes (26a–c)
with prosperous tall peaks that encompass great yield, (25)
May you live for thousand veḷḷam²²⁵ [of years] (38)

Together with Her, [your woman] with round shoulders resembling bamboos (37)
[standing in] the depth of the shining water with swaying kāntaḷ, (36)
with greatly proud rain eyes that cast side-glances,²²⁶ (35)
with a beautiful face, [who] stands like the plucked (orīiyiṉa) night flower, (34)
with descending dark tresses being fragrant [like] the monsoon flowers (33)

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217 pūḷiyar: the people living in Pūḷināṭu which was a division of the Cēra kingdom. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 593.
218 Ceruppu: an unidentified mountain.
219 The phrase miti al is a negative signifier here that appears when the poet intends to clarify his message. Here, to make sure that we do not mix up the name of the “Sandal-mountain” with the ‘sandals’ (ceruppu), he says that this particular “sandal” is the one that no one can tread on (miti al). It is possible that this has a double meaning and the Ceruppu-mountain was a kind of sacred mountain which cannot be entered by anyone.
220 The phrase mullai refers to the literary setting (tiṇai) of woodlands and pastoral tracts (mullai).
221 The gems and sapphires, which are lying on the ground, show the abundance and fertility of the country. Cf. Puṟanāṉūṟu, 202: 1–4; Akanāṉūṟu, 213: 14–15.
222 Ayirai is a hill which was an established place of worship. The old commentator seemed to know that the deity of the hill was the Goddess, Koṟṟavai (See: POC on Patiṟṟuppattu, 79: 18).
223 pākuṭi: a hapax legomenon. There is no useful old comment on this. A gesthalingom suggests (Index of Patiṟṟuppattu, 92) that it means ‘minuteness’. Turaicāmippillai (Turaicāmippillai 1973, 72) who reads ‘pākuṭi pāṟval kokkiṉ’ as ‘cēymaiýiliruntē nuğiṭtu nōkkum kokkiṉ’ (“the kokku-bird, which sharply stares from the distance”). U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar (Cāmināṭaiyar 1980, ) says that “pākuṭi is like kūrmai”. The Tamil Lexicon (p. 2581) glosses ‘long distance’ (veku tūram). The Tamil Ikkiyap Pērakāṟu (p. 1596) seems clueless and glosses both vekutūram and kūrmai, so it is up to the translator how to interpret this hapax.
224 pari-vēṭu (< Skt. pari-veṣa?): “circling, hovering, as of a bird”. Tamil Lexicon, 2519.
226 alamarum (imp. pey.): “whirling”, here refers to the side-glances.
with *(koṇṭu)* the smell of [a natural] scent [even] if [her hair] had not been washed, \(^{227}\) (32) [may you live], so that [this aeon] *(ūḻ)* \(^{228}\) become painless for the human beings, (31) after wealthy clouds showered without missing a year. (30)

\(^{227}\) A very famous debate was going on probably from the earliest times through the Middle Ages, whether the hair of the beloved has a natural fragrance, or it is artificially fragrant. This “scholarly” debate between Tarumi and Nakkīraṉ is a part of the *Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam* of Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr Nampi and the *Tiruvilaiyāṭarpurāṇam* of Paraṉcōti, the *Cīkāḷattu Purāṇam*, but also of many other texts. See: Wilden 2014: 254–255; 268–269; 271–272.

22.
cinaegi kaimam kali kannottam
accam poy+ col anpu mika ~utaimai
terai katumaiothu piravum i++ ulakatt'
aram teri tikirikku vali ~atai ~akum
titu cenh ikantu nafru mika+ purintu
katلام kaimum pala payam utava+
pirar pirar naliyatu vēru+ porul vekkatu
mai ~il arivinhar cenvitin naantu tam
amar tuairai+ piriyatu paṭṭ' uṇṭu makkal
müttə yäkkaiyoṭu pinii ~iṇru kaliya
~ūli ~uytta ~uravor umpal
poŋ cey kanicci+ tin pinii ~uṭaittu+
cirruthu cila ~uṛiya nīr vāy+ pattal
kayiru kuṇu mukavai mūyina moykkum
ā keļu koṅkār nāṭ' akam+ paṭutta
veḷ kelu tāṅai veru-varu tōṅrāl
ulai+ polinta mā
~iḷai+ polinta kaliru
vampu paranta tēr
amarkk' etirnta pukal maravaroṭu
tuṅcu-maram tuvaṛiyya malar akal parantalai
~ōṅku nilai vāyin tünkupu takaitta
vil vicai māṭṭiya vīḷu+ cīr aiyavi+
kaṭi milai+ kuṇṭu kitaṅkīn
neṭum matil nirai+ pataṇatt'
aṅnalam perum kōṭṭ' akappā ērinta
poŋ puṇai ~uliinai vel pōr+ kuṭṭuvu
pōrtt' ērinta paṟaiyāl puṇal cerukkunarum
nīr+ taru pūcaliṃ amp' alikkunarum
oli+ talai vilaviṇ maliyun yānār
nāṭu keļu taṇ puṇai ciriṅai āṭalin
kuṭa ticai māyntu kuṇa mutal tōṅri+
pāy irul akaarrum payam keļu paṇṇīṅ
nāyiru kōṭā nal pakal amayattu+
kavalai veḷ nari kūum muṟai payirri+
kaḷal kaṇ kūkai+ kuḷṟu kural pāṇi+
karum kaṇ pēymaṅkaḷ vaḷaṅkum
perum pāḷ ākumaṅ aliya tāmē.
22nd song

The small scoops on ropes

Anger, desire, excessive pity,²²⁹ (1)
fear, untrue words, possession of excessive love, (2)
punishing with cruelty, and other [such things] in this world (3)
become obstacles on the road for the wheel which knows the virtues (aṟaṁ).²³⁰ (4)
O offspring of strong men who governed for aeons (ūḷī), (11)
while [their people] passed away without suffering with bodies that had become old, (10)
people who share [what they] ate, [who] did not separate from their beloved retinue, (8d–9)
walking straight like the flawless, learned ones, (8a–d)
without desiring other’s property, without causing affliction to others,²³¹ (7)
while the many profits of the forests and the seas helped [them], (6)
staying away [from what is] evil, desiring much what is good, (5)
o [you,] the frightening apperance with [your] spear-army, (16)
who annexed the country of the koṅkar²³² [who] have cows, (15)
[the koṅkar,] who closely surround the rim of the bucket [holding their] the small scoops on the ropes, [in which bucket] the water sprang [from among] the scattered scraps,²³³ (13–14)

²²⁹ The compound kaṇṇōṭṭam means ‘regard’, ‘kindness’, ‘partiality’, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 697. The Puṇāṅgūru refers to the same good (!) quality when it talks about perunkaṇṇōṭṭam, cf. Puṇāṅgūru, 20: 6; 198: 7. Here I have translated kali kaṇṇōṭṭam as “excessive pity”, as I needed an extremity or bad quality in the list, although I have to mention that the Tamil Lexicon has already lexicalised kalikaṇṇōṭṭam as ‘glance with overflowing eyes’, ‘great joy’, ‘delight’. Tamil Lexicon, 800. Its attestation, however, is not really old, but was found in the commentary of the Kūrā.

²³⁰ The wheel (tikiri) that knows the aṟaṁ seems to be a direct reference to the royal attribute known as dharmacakra, “the wheel or circle of religion or law”. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 449. This is a unique feature in the Patiruppattu, which is not attested in other Old Tamil texts.

²³¹ One might understand the selfless, non-violent, non-extremist, balance-promoting advices here and in Line 1–2 as Jaina or Buddhist teachings. In this case, 1. the reference to the virtuous wheel (aṟaṁ teri tikiri, Line 4) might be identifiable with the dharmacakra of the Jainas or with the wheel that the Buddha set in motion, and 2. the flawless, learned ones (aṟiviṅgar, Line 8) who walk straight, might be identifiable with the tīrthankaras, arhats, etc. of Jainism or with the monks (bhikṣu), enlightened ones, etc. of Buddhism. One day the primary sources and epigraphical remains might help to solve this historical puzzle. The name of the poet of this decade is telling: Pālai Kautamaṉār, in which we might see the name Gautama, but unfortunately that could also refer to either Gautama Buddha, or to Indrabhūti Gautama, the first disciple of Mahāvīra (or someone else?). Unfortunate that the epilogue of the patikam mentions him as a brāhmaṇa.

²³² The term koṅkar refers to the people living in Koṅku Nāṭu which was a part of the Cēra kingdom. The ancient Koṅku Nāṭu perhaps covers a region in, around, and behind the Palghat (Pālakkāṭu) Gap, the only low mountain pass in the Western Ghats. The Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index suggests (p. 322) that it might be identifiable with the northern and western parts of today’s Salem District, Tamil Nadu.

²³³ The word cil had been understood as a neuter plural noun from cil (Tamil Lexicon, 1431) and translated as “scraps”, literally means “small pieces”.

59
after the tightly sticked [earth] had been broken by the metal-made axe (kaṇicci) [of the Cēra], (12)
the fort, which has rows of ramparts [on] the tall/long walls, (25)
deep moats, protective forests, (24)
and the aiyavi of excellent fame which had been tied with a bow-machine, (23)
which was fastened, hanging on the lofty, stable gate (22)
the fort at] the vast, extensive wasteland which was filled up [with] wooden beams (tuñcumaram), (21)
KuṭṭuvaṆ who attacked the fort [with] his rejoicing warriors who were facing the battle, (20)
with chariots spread with hangings [of cloth?], (19)
with elephant bulls on which ornaments shone, (18)
and] with horses whose manes shine, (17)

because you destroyed the cool fields of the country (31)
with ample fertility [and] with festivals (viḷavu) in noisy areas (30)
of fighters with bows, [who made noise] like the water-created clamour, (29)

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234 The elliptical structure probably refers to the earth which is “tightly stucked” (tiṉ piṉi), and which had to be broken with an axe to get water.
235 The name kuṭṭuvaṆ was a traditional title among the Cēra rulers which was probably connected to the geographical region called Kuṭṭa-nāṭu (“The country of the lakes”). Tamil Lexicon, 962. Kuṭṭanāṭ is a well-known region of Kerala even today, which covers Alappuzha, Kottayam and Pathanamthitta Districts.
236 The golden uliñai-flowers are golden jewels here. For similarly made jewelry which has the form of flowers, see: Puṟṉūṟu, 153: 7–9.
237 Akappā was the name of a fort which was attacked and seized by Palyāaiccelke KuṭṭuvaṆ. The Tamil Lexicon understands akappā as not a name but a compound which would mean “fortified fort” (lit. “inner protection”?). Tamil Lexicon, 11. However, Naṟṟinai, 14:4. and the Patiṟṟuppattu, III. patikam (Line 3) seem to underline the fact that Akappā was, in fact, the name of a fort. The Naṟṟinai, 14: 5. is particularly interesting, because there the same formulaic phrase was used as in the III. patikam (pakal ti vēṭṭal/pakal ti vēṭṭu), but in Naṟṟinai, it seems that the Cōḷa king won the battle, although the Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index rejects this reading. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 20. In this poem, it seems that the Cēra king did not capture a fort that once already belonged to his dynasty, but acquired a new fort and annexed new territories with that. Whether the certainly later III. patikam misunderstood the Naṟṟinai passage, which I think the author paraphrased, or the ambiguous Naṟṟinai passage has to be understood as a Cēra victory over the Cōḷas at Akappā, or the Naṟṟinai talks about an event which happened in time after this particular Cēra siege, when the Cōḷas captured Akappā from the Cēras, is a matter of interpretation.
238 patapaṉ: mound or raised terrace of a fort, rampart. Tamil Lexicon, 2468.
239 See: footnote 122.
240 See: footnote 125.
241 Here I followed the suggestion given by the Tamil Ilakkīyap Pērakarāti (p. 2116) and understood vampu as tēr cīlai (“cloths of the chariot”). The phrase vampu paranta tēr could also be interpreted as “the chariot [on which] flagpoles (vampu) extend”.
242 aḷikkunar, lit. “destroyers”.
and of people (*cerukkunar*) who control the stream with [their] *paṟai*-drum\(^{243}\) [whose skin-cover was beaten, (28)

those pitiable [fields] certainly\(^{244}\) became big wastelands, (38)

[where] black-eyed demonesses dance, (37)

after owls (*kūkai*) with bulging eyes repeat shrieking voices, (36)

having produced sequences [repeatedly] howled by white jackals at the crossroad, (35)

at the auspicious time of the day with not-bending [rays of the] Sun, (24)

[the Sun] with a salutary nature that removes the extensive darkness, (23)

having disappeared in the West [and] having turned up in the East. (22)

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\(^{243}\) The *paṟai*-drum, probably a frame drum, was a particularly important one among the instruments.

\(^{244}\) Here *maṇ* is an assertive particle with shades of evaluation. Wilden 2018, 167.

alam talai ~uṇṇatt’ am kavaṭu porunti+
citaṭi karaiya+ perum vaṟam kūrntu
nilam pait’ aṟṟa pulam keṭu kālaiyum
vāṅkupu takaiṭṭa kala+ paiyar āṅkaṇ
maṇṭam pōntu maṟuku cīṟai pāṭum 5
vayirīya mākkaḷ kaṭum paci nīṅka+
poṇ cey puṟai ~ilai ~olippa+ perit’ uvantu
neṅcu mali ~uvakaiyar uṇṭu malint’ āṭa+
cīṟu makīl āṉum perum kalam vīcum
pōr aṭu tāṅai+ poḷam tāṛ+ kuṭṭuva 10
niṅ nayantu varuvēm kaṇṭaṇam pul mikkordova
valaṅkunar arṟ’ eṅa maruṅku keṭa+ tūrntu
perum kaviṅ alinta ~aṟṟa ~ēṟu puṇarnīnt’
aṅṇal marai ~ā ~amarnt’ inīt’ uraiyum
viṅ+ uyar vaippīṇa kāṭ’ āṉaṇa niṅ
maintu mali perum pukaḷ āriyār malainta
pōr etir vēntar tāṛ alint’ orāḷīṇ
marut’ imiḷṇt’ ōṇkiya nalī ~irum parappīṅ
maṇṭal mali perum tuṟai+ tatainta kāṇciyōṭu
murukku+ tāḷp’ elīliya nerupp’ uraḷ aṭai karai
nantu nāraiyoṭu cevvari ~uкалum
kalaṇi vāyiṇ palaṇa+ paṭappai
~aḷal maruḷ pūviṅ tāmarai vaḷai makaḷ
kuṟāṭu malarnta ~āmpal
aṟṟa yāṇar avar akam talai nāṭē. 25
23rd song

The dense kāñci-trees

O Kuṭṭuvan with golden garland and army which is murderous in war, (10) who liberally gives big vessels, even if just a little toddy remains [for himself], (9) while those whose hearts are full of happiness cheerfully dance, after they ate, (8) [and] they greatly rejoiced, when [their] beautiful, gold-made jewels jingle, (7) while the fierce hunger left the vayir-people, (6) who sing on the side of the streets, having come there, to the village common, (4d–5) as people who have bags with instruments that were tied up [and] carried; (4a–c) [they rejoice] even at the time when the fields perished as the moisture of the ground ceased, (3) after the great drought intensified, while crickets, abiding on the forked branches of the unnam-trees distressed crown, were chirping, (1–2) we have come longing for you as people who have seen (11a–c) their countries of vast area with unceasing fertility, (25) by the girls with bangles, [and] with lotuses (tāmarai) with flowers that resemble fire, (23) [in] the gardens at the watertanks of the paddy fields, (22) [where] the cevvari-birds hop together with the numerous nārai-birds (21) [on] the solid seashore which resembles fire, which was glorious when the murukku-trees droop (20) together with the dense kāñci-trees of the big harbour which abounds in sand (19)

245 The main meaning of vīcu-tal 5 v. tr. is ‘to throw’, ‘to fling, as a weapon’, ‘to cast, as a net’, etc. Here I translated “to give liberally” which is a meaning can be found in the Tamil Lexicon. Although I believe that the verb would mean here that the king “showered, throw, fling (gifts)”, but in the case of fragile vessels, it would be rather unfortunate to throw them to the suppliants.

246 Here poṉey puṉai iḷai refers to ‘gold-made jewels’, but poṉ could also mean ‘metal’. The poet definitely wanted to emphasize here their high value. However, we saw in the previous poem (22nd) that poṉey kānicci meant “metal-made axe”, since gold would not be appropriate to fabricate axes, however, as a poetic fancy that could also have been a “golden axe”.

247 Same as vayiriyar ‘musicians’. See: footnote 175.

248 In Old Tamil texts, the word magram could denote either the village-common, a square, a frontyard, or the royal court. Tamil Lexicon, 3127. It is possible that here the poet meant the royal court, but I rather came up with the easiest and usual interpretation, since there are streets around the magram here, and we do not exactly know how the environment of the ancient Cēra palaces looked like.

249 unnam: “A small tree with golden flowers and small leaves which, in ancient times, was invoked for omens before warriors proceeded to battle.” Tamil Lexicon, 488.

250 Here vāyi was translated as a locative suffix.

251 cevvari: a kind of wading bird, a species of ibis (?). Tamil Lexicon, 1413.

252 nārai: a kind of wading bird. According to the Tamil Lexicon, it can be a species of heron, stork, ibis, or crane. Tamil Lexicon, 2226.

253 murukku same as mullumurukku. 1. palāśa-tree (Butea monosperma); 2. coral tree (Erythrina indica). Tamil Lexicon, 3289.
[of] the big, vast extense [of the sea, which has] high-growing, rustling marutu-trees,—\(^\text{256}\) (18) [we have seen their the countries] which have ways (āṟu) where the great beauty lost (13a–c) after they perished, while the [country-]sides were destroyed because those who roam around, stopped coming (12) [and] the grass abounded, (11d) [the countries] which have sky-touching regions (15a–b) where superior wild cows dwell sweetly taking rest (14) [after they] united with the bulls, (13d) [ways and regions] that have become wilderness (15c–d) because of the desolation (orāl), after the garlands\(^\text{257}\) of the the kings perished, who opposed [you in] war, (17) who fought while being ignorants of the great fame which was increased by your strength. (15d–16)

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\(^{254}\) kāñcē: portia tree (Thespesia populnea). Tamil Lexicon, 847.

\(^{255}\) The word tuṟai refers to a ghat or a harbour.

\(^{256}\) marutu: 1. Arjuna tree (Terminalia arjuna); 2. black winged myrobalan. Tamil Lexicon, 3093.

\(^{257}\) The word tār refers to either a flower-garland or the vanguard of an army.

neṭum vayṅ oḷīru minṅu+ parant’-āṅku+ puli ~uṟai kalittu pulavu vāy ēkkam ēval āṭavar valam uyartt’ ēnti ~ār araṇ kaṭantta tār arum takaįppiṅ ropsychological analysis 10
piṭu koḷ māḷai+ perum paṭai+ talaiva ~ōtal vēṭtal avai piṟar+ ceytal ītal ēṟraḷ eṅṟ’ ārū purint’ oḷukum ēram puri ~antaṇar vaḷimolint’ oḷuki ņālam niṅ vaḷī ~oḷuka+ pāṭal cāṇru nāṭ’ uṭaṇ vīḷaṅkum nāṭa nāl+ icaic+ tīruntiya ~iyaḷ moḷi+ tīrunt’ īḷai kaṇava kulai ~īḷip’ ariyā+ cāppatu vayaṭvar ampz kaḷaiuv” ariyā+ tūṅku tuḷaṅk’ irukkai ~iṭāa ~ēṇi ~iyaḷ arai+ kurucīl niṟ nilam ti vaḷī vicumpōṭ’ aintum 5
āḷantu kaṭai ~aṛiyiṃum alapp’ aruṅkuraiyai niṅ valam vīṅku perukkaṃ iṅṭu kaṇṭikumē ~uṅmarum tiṃmarum varai kōḷ ariyātu kurai+ toṭi maḷukiyai ~ulakkai vayṅ tōr’ aṭai+ cēmp’ elunta ~āṭ’ uṟu maṭāćiṅ ekk’ uṟu+ cīvantu ~uṇatt’ āvarum kaṇṭu maṭi marulum vāṭa+ coṇri vayaṅku katir virintu vāṅ akam cuṭar-vara vaṟitu vaṭakk’ iṛaiṇciyai cīr cāl veļli payam keḷu poḷuṭōṭ’ āniyam nirpa+ kāliḷum karuviyoṭu kai ~uṟa vaṇaṇki māṅŋ’ uyir puraiyai vaḷaṅ ēṛp’ iṛaṅkum koṇṭal taṇ talį+ kamaṇcūl mā maḷai kār etir paruvam marappṭiṃ pērā yāṇaṛttāl vālkai niṅ valamē. 15
24th song

The Venus (Veḷḷi) with abundant excellence

O hero of the great army with proud garlands,[258] [army] with the military-array[259] of [its] difficult[-to-defeat] vanguard that overran the difficult[-to-obtain] fortress, (4)
after the right [hands] of the commanding men were raised and held up (3)
with blades [which had] reeking flesh on the edges, which were pulled out of the tiger[-skin] scabbards,— (2)
[hero of the great army that] scattered like shiny flashes in the tall space! (1)
O husband of [your beloved with] perfect jewels, the nature of whose speech is perfect, (11)
whose fame, which is incomparable, shines along with the country, (10)
after [you] have become worthy for singing [praises], while the world followed your path, (9)
after [you] have acted by praising (vaḷiṃoḷi) the gracious ones[260] who desire the virtues (aṟam) (8)[and] act by exercising the six[261] namely: reciting, sacrificing, doing these [two for] others, giving, and receiving [offerings],— (6–7)
o king of the advancing camp (aṟai) whose boundaries (ēṇi) had not been set, (14)
camp] with a swinging, swaying throne, [camp] that does not know to put down arrows, (13)
[camp] with strong bowmen who do not know to dismount the bow-strings, (12)
You are as difficult[262] to measure as the five: water, earth, fire, wind and sky,[263] even if one
would know the result after measuring [them]. (15–16)
We have sweetly seen your prosperity with [your] increasing wealth. (16d–17)
After we have seen (22a)
all of those with meat that was reddened when knives were cutting [them], (21)
with large earthen cooking pots (maṭā) in which leafy Indian-kale[264] arose (20)
at all the places with pestles of which metal rings were worn-out, (19)
which places do not know the limit of receiving those who eat and those who
drink, (18)

[258] U. Vē. Cā. claims (Cāminātaiyar 1980, 52) that here we have to understand an additional meaning of mālai as iyalpu "nature", which idea was based on the POC whose knowledge came from the Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Uriyiyal, 16.
[259] Here I followed the POC and understood takaippu as a ‘military array’ (paṭaivakuppu, Tamil Lexicon, 2448).
[261] The antaararutoṭiḷ, or ‘the six occupations of the antaar’ – learning, teaching, offering a sacrifice, conducting a sacrifice, giving, receiving – are well-known from early texts. See: Mānavadharmasāstra 1. 88. (adhyāpyam adhyayam yaṉaṉaṁ yaṉaṉaṁ tathā/dānaṁ pratīgraḥaṁ caiva brāhmaṇānaṁ akalpayat).
[262] In the word arukuraiyai I analysed kurai (Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram, cū. 272) as either a syllabic supplement (acaïnilai), or a metric complement (icainira), so that the translation is “you, the rare/difficult one”.
the ceaseless boiled rice which puzzles [our] mind (22a–d) 
[means] indeed\(^{265}\) unceasing fertility, 30(a–b) 
even if the monsoon forgets the coming season, (29) 
[monsoon] with dark clouds that are fully pregnant with cool drops of the rain, (28) 
[clouds], which sound ascending clockwise in order to protect the creatures, (27) 
after [the clouds] bow down so that hands can touch them, along with the turbulent masses [of rain], (26) 
when *the Venus* (Veḷḷi) *with abundant excellence* which bent a little to the north (24) 
stands [visible] at daytime in a blessed timing, (25) 
so that the middle of the sky starts to shine spreading shiny rays. (23) 

\[\text{May your wealth live [long]! (30c–d)}\]

\(^{265}\) Here the particle ḍh has an assertive function.
25.

mā ~āṭiya pulam nāncil āṭā
kaṭām ceṇṇiya kaṭum kaṅ ṣāṅga
~iṇam paranta pulam vaḷam parapp’ ariyā
niṅ pāṭaiṅaṅar cērnda maṅṟam kaḷutai pōki nī,
~uṭanṭrh māṅ eyil tōṭṭi vaiyā 5
kaṭum kāl orṟalṅ cuṭar cīṟant’ uruttu+
pacum picir oḷ alal āṭiya maruṅkiṅ
āṭ talai vaḷaṅkum kāṅ upaṅku kaṭum neṟī
muṇai ~akam perum pāl āka maṇṇiya
~urum uṟalp’ iraṅkum muraciu perum malai 10
varai ~iḷi ~aruviyṅ oliru koṭi nuṭaṅka+
kaṭum pari+ kataḷ cīrak’ akaippa nī
neṟum tēr oṭṭiṅa pīṟar akam talai nāṭē.
25th song

The harsh paths, where the forest dried out

After the ploughs did not move on the land when horses were galloping, 266 (1)
after the land did not know the spreading of growth where herds of elephants with fierce eyes
and heads on which rut [flows] spread, (2–3)
after donkeys entered the village common (magram) where your armed ones gathered, (4)
after no guard 267 was put in the permanent fortress of the enraged ones, (5)

let it permanently become a big wasteland (9b–d)
the country with vast areas of the others whom you chased away [with] the tall chariot (13)
of yours, when the advancing wing of the swift horses were broken, (12)
while [your] bright flag swayed like the waterfall [which] rushes on the slopes (11)
of the big hill, [rushes] like the muracam-drum which sounds like 268 thunder, (10)
[let it become a big wasteland] with battlefield[-like] inner [parts] (9a)
with harsh paths, where the forests dried out, where wild cocks roam around the areas, (8)
with places, where the bright fire with yellow sparks danced (7)
burning excessively [by means of its] flames that were driven by the fast wind. (6)

266 The formulaic first line (mā āṭiya pulam nānçil āṭā) returns in Patiruppattu, 26: 2, although there are elephant-bulls (kaliṟu) instead of horses. Anyway, the Patiruppattu 25 and 26 have many features in common.

267 According to the POC, tōṭṭi means ‘protection’ (kāval) here.

268 uralpu (abs.): “having resembled”.
26.

peyar: kāṭuṟu kaṭunēri, tuṟai: vaṅcitturai pāṭāṇpāṭu, tūkku: centūkkum vaṅcittūkkum, vaṇṇam: oḷuku vaṇṇamum corcīrvanṇamum.

tēer paranta pulam ēer paravā
kaḷiṟṭ aṭiya pulam nāṅcil ēṭā
matt’ uraṟiyar maṉai ~iṅ ~iyam imēḷā
~ēṅku+,
pāṇtu nark’ ariyunar celu vaḷam niṇaippiṅ
nōkō yāṅē nō taka varumē
peyal maḷai purav’ iṅṛ’ āki veyt’ uṟṟu
vaḷam iṅṛ’ amma kāḷaiyatu paṇp’ eṅa+
kaṅ paṇi malir nirai tāṅki+ kai puṭaiyū
meliv’ uṭai neṅciṭar cīrumai kūra+
pīr ivar vēli+ pāḷ maṇai neruṅci+

kāṭ’ uṟu kaṭum neṭi ~āka maṅṇiya
muruk’ uṭaṇṛu kaṟutta kali ~alī mūt’ ūr
urump’ il kūṟatt’ aṇṇa niṇ
 tiruntu tojil vayavar cīṟiya nāṭē.
26th song

The harsh paths which experienced wilderness

After the ploughs ( società ) did not move on the lands where chariots spread, (1) after the ploughs ( nāñcil ) did not move on the lands when elephant bulls moved, (2) after the sweet sound does not arise [from] the houses, where the churning-staff ( mattu ) resounded [before], (3) when thinking of the prosperous fertility of those people who know there well the older times ( paṇṭu ), (4)

Ah, I ache. Pain is coming, as is fit. (5)

Let them permanently become harsh paths which experienced wilderness, (11) the countries where the strong men with perfect work infuriated (14) you who resembled the God of Death ( Kūṟam ), who does not [face] the ire [of others]. (13) [countries with] ancient towns, where the bustle died away, which are blackened [after] Muruku got enraged, (12) [harsh paths] with nerci-plant [on] the desolated mansions [which have] high-rising fences of the pīr-plant, (10) while misery abounds [in] those, whose hearts are possessed by the pain, (9) after they clapped [their] hands, after they endured the increasing quantity of dew [in their] eyes, (8) saying that: “Alas, [this is] the nature of [this] enervate time, (7) after [the lands] have experienced the heat [and] remained without the protection of the raining clouds!” (6)

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269 I intended to avoid the repetition, so I translated the phrase iyam imiḷḷ (“not-sounding sound”) as “the sound which does not arise”.

270 mattu (< Skt. mantha): churning-staff. It is a typical Čaṅkam description of the devastation when the sound of the churning-staff cannot be heard in a village anymore. Cf. Pataṟṟappattu, 71: 16–18.

271 As I do not have better suggestion and the phrase is very much enigmatic, here I followed the POC ( piṉit’ oṕṟḷal nalivu paṭṭu maṇakkoṭipp’ illāḷa kūṟram ).

272 karutta (perf. pey.): ‘blackened’, ‘got angry’, ‘became polluted’. Tamil Lexicon, 825. It is possible that the towns with their inhabitants got angry, but I found it better to translate as “blackened”, because this might refer to the fact that the town had been burnt down/had become filthy.

273 Muruku is the proper name of an ancient Dravidian deity, same as Murukan who could certainly be associated from the early Middle Ages with Skanda/Subrahmanya. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 4978.

274 āki (abs.): “having become”.

citaintatu maṇḍra nī civantaṇai nōkkaliṇ

toṭarnta kuvaḷai+ tū neṛi ~aṭaicci
~alarnta ~āmpal akam maṭivaiyār
curiyal am cēṇi+ pūm cey kaṇṇi
~ariyal ārkaiyār initu kūṭ' iyavār
tuṟai maṇṭi marutam ēɾi+ tēṟumār
el vaḷai makaḷir tel vilī ~īcaippiṇ
paḷaṇam+ kāvil pacum mayil āḷum
poḷkai vāyil puṇḍal poru pūtaviṇ
neytal marapiṇ nirai kal cēruviṇ
val vāy uṟulī katum eṇa maṇṭa
āḷḷaḷ paṭṭu+ tullūpu turappa
nal+ erutum muyalum aḷalu pōku viḷumattu+
cākāṭṭāḷar kampaḷai ~aḷḷatu
pūcal ariyā nal nāṭṭ'
~yāṇar aṟāa+ kāmaru kaviṅē.
27th song

The concatenated kuvalai-flowers

Because of the sight of you, who became enraged, (1)
the desirable beauty of the unceasing fertility is definitely spoiled (1a–b, 16)
[in] the good country which does not know other clamour than (14d–15)
the uproar of the cart men275 (14a–c)
in distress trying to get out of the mire [by means of their] good oxen,276 (13)
after [they] were goading [them] jumping down [from the cart], after [it] got stuck in the mud, (12)
when the wheels with strong rims rapidly entered (11)
the fields [which have] rows of bees (kaḷ) according to the nature of the neyal-flower,277 (10)
[which have] sluices attacked by the flood at the gates of the water-tanks, (9)
[where] greenish peacocks dance in the groves of the paddy fields (8)
when the clear tinkle of the girls with splendid bangles sounds, (7)
[girls] who tarried at the ghat climbing on the jingling278 marutam-trees, (6)
[ghat] with musicians (iyavar) who sweetly gathered, the ones who drink toddy (ariyal) (5)
[wearing] flower-made chaplets [on their] pretty, curly heads, (4)
the ones with garments of leaves279 with blossoming ṣṟai-flowers inside [that], (3)
[on which] the pure calyxes of the concatenated kuvalai-flowers had been inserted. (2)

275 ṭṭṭāḷar (< Skt. ṣakata): ‘cart-people’, ‘cart-drivers’.
276 This topic with the mire and the cart is well-known in the early literature, just to mention a famous example, see: Akanāṟṟuṉāṟu, 140.
277 This might refer to the ṭṭṭai called neyal and its literary conventions.
278 maṇi: ‘bell’. Here I translated the “marutam-tree with bells [on the girls]” as “jingling marutam-tree”. However, not all the editions read maṇi in Line 6, as U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar did. For example, Turaicāmippiḷḷai and Arulampalavaṉār read maṇī (“nearness”). Turaicāmippiḷḷai 1973, 111; Arulampalavaṉār 1960, 185.
279 maṭivaiyar: “the ones with foliage”. The scene described here recalled my memories about a Malabari folk dance, the Kummāṭṭi, when the dancers wear masks and garments woven from grass during the performance which is accompanied by drummers.
28.


tiru ~uṭaitt’-amma perum viṟal pakaivar
paṁm kǎṅ yāṇai+ puṇar nirai tumīya
~uram turant’ eṟinta kāṟai ~aṭi+ kaḷal kāl
kaṭum mā maṟavaru katal tōṟai māṟappa
~iḷai ~iṇitu tantu viḷaivu muṭṭ’ uṟātu
~pulampā ~uṟaiyuḷ ni tōḷil āṟraḷiṇ
vīṭu nila+ karampai viṭar aḷai niraiyë+
kōṭai nīṭa+ kuḷṟam pul+ eṇa
~aruvi ~aṟṟa perum vaṟal kāḷaiyum
nivantu karai ~iḷitaru naṟam talai+ pēriyāṟṟu+
cīr uṭai viyāl pulam vāy parantu mīkīyār
uvalai cūṭī ~uṛ̱tu vaṟu malir nīṟai+
cem nīr+ pučal allatu
vemmāi ~aṟitu nīṭ+ akam talai nāṭē.
28th song

The increasing mass which furiously comes

Alas! Your land with vast dominions possesses fortune (tīru),280 (1a–b, 14b–d) because you master your duty [at your] never-desolated residence (6) after the production did not have difficulties, after the defense was sweetly organized, (5) while [your] warriors (maṟavar) with ankleted feet and mortar-legged281 fierce animals ignored282 the hasty shooting [of the enemies,] (3c–4) [warriors] who attacked by forcefully driving [those animals] (3a–b) when the united line of [their] green-eyed elephants had been slaughtered,283 (2) [elephants] of [your] greatly victorious enemies, (1c–d) [your land] in which harshness is rare (14a–b) except the noise284 of the red water, (13)

the increasing mass which furiously comes after it wore dried leaves [on its surface] (12) when it was getting wider spreading on the excellent, vast fields, (11) the big river285 of wide spaces which overflowingly descends to the seashores (karai) (10) even at the time of the big draught, [when] waterfalls subsided, (9) when the mountains became empty, the west wind prolongs, (8) while the soil became full of clefts and holes eroding the land. (7)

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280 Another, slightly different interpretation is to translate tīru as the Goddess (Tiru/Śrī).
281 The phrase kaṟai aṭi (“mortar-legs”), as an attribute connected to elephants, is very frequent in the old texts. See for examples: Puṟanāṉūṟu, 39: 1–2; 135: 12; 323: 6.
282 maṟappu (inf.): ‘forgetting’.
283 tumiyā (inf.): ‘being cut’.
284 This structure may already be familiar from the previous poem (Patiruppattu, 27: 14). This might be an argument that the poem was the work of one particular author who concatenated his works with parallel features.
285 Although there is a river in Kerala called Periyār today, I do not follow the practice of those translators who identifies these two, but rather translated it literally.
29.


aval eṁinta ~ulakkai vāḷai+ cērtti
vaḷai+ kai maṅalir vaḷḷai koyyum
muṭantai nelliṅ vilai vayal paranta
taṭam tāḷ nārai ~iriya ~ayirai+
koḷu mīṅ ārkaiya maram-toṛum kuḷāliṅ
veḷ kai maṅalir veḷ kuruk’ ōppum
āliyā vilaviṅ iliya+ tivaviṅ
vayiriya māṅkaḷ paṅ+ amaṅṭt’ eḷiṅ
maṅram naṅṇi maruku cīrai pāṭum
akam kaṇ vaippiṅ nāṭu-maṅ aliya
viravu vēṟu kūlamoṭu kuruti vēṭṭa
mayir putai mā+ kaṇ kaṭiya kaḷaṛa
~amar kōḷ nēṛ ikant’ ār eṭiy kaṭakkum
perum pal yāṅai+ kuṭṭuvan
varamp’ il tāṅai paravaś ~ūṅkē.
29th song

The girls with empty hands

The countries were certainly\textsuperscript{286} pitiable (10c–d) [even] before [Kuṭṭuvān’s] boundless army spread, (15) Kuṭṭuvān with many great elephants, (14) who vanquished the difficult[-to-siege] fortress, after the formations which [were] murderous in battle went beyond [the walls], (13) while drumsticks were sounding on the fur-covered black eye\textsuperscript{287} [of the drum], (12) after blood had been sacrificed together with variously mixed crops,— (11) [pitiable were the countries] with regions of vast places, (10) where the vayirīya-people sing on the side of the streets reaching the village-common, after they arose [from their places], after they performed melodies (paṇ) (8–9) [playing] on the strings which had not been dismounted [during] the unceasing festival, (7) where girls with empty hands\textsuperscript{288} scare away the white kuruku-birds,\textsuperscript{289} (6) because they gathered [on] all the trees around eating the fat ayirai-fishes,\textsuperscript{290} (4d–5) while the nārai-birds with big, wide legs retreat, (4a–c) which [birds] were spread on the paddy fields that produce drooping paddy, (3) where girls with bangles on their wrists pluck vallai-flowers,\textsuperscript{291} after they laid the mortars, in which the paddy was beaten, [at] the plaintain[-tree].

\textsuperscript{286} In the light of Eva Wilden’s oral comment, the position of maṉ as an assertive particle is weird and a later development as it is not sticked to the subject here. It might show that the poem is from later centuries or presents an exceptional usage of the particle.

\textsuperscript{287} kaṇ: “the eye [of the drum]”, “the place [where the drum was stored]”. Here we have to understand the eye of the drum, which was a dark circle made of clay in the middle of the drum’s leather surface. Tamil Lexicon, 683.

\textsuperscript{288} veļ kai makaļīr: “girls with white hands” or “girls with empty hands”’. Their hands could be white, because of the bangles, but I rather think that their hands are empty, since the birds stole the fishes which they supposed to bring home.

\textsuperscript{289} kuruku: a kind of wading bird. Tamil Lexicon, 1014.

\textsuperscript{290} ayirai same as ayilai: a kind of fish (Cobitis thermalis). Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 191; Tamil Lexicon, 112.

\textsuperscript{291} vallai: creeping bindweed (Ipomaea aquatica). Tamil Lexicon, 3552.
30.


iṇar tatai ṇāḷal karai keḷu perum tuṟai
maṇi+ kalatt’ aṅna mā ~itaḷ neyatal
pāc’ aṭai+ paṇi+ kalai tulaṟi+ puṇṇai
vāl iṇar+ paṭu ciṇai+ kuruk’ irai koḷḷum
alk’ ūru kāṇal ōṅku maṇal aṭai karai
5
tāḷ āṟumpu malainta puṇari vaḷai ṇarala
~ilaṅku nir muttaṇoṭtu vār tükir ēḻukkum
tañ kaṭal paṭappai mel pāḷaṇavum
kāntāl am kaṇṭi+ kolai vil vēṭṭuvār
cem kōṭṭ’ ā māṅ ūṇṭu kāṭṭa
10
mataṅ aṭai vēḷattu vel kōṭu koṇṭu
poṇ+ ataḷ niyamattu+ plī noṭai koṭukkum
kuṇṟu talai maṇanta pul pulam vaippum
kāḷam anṛiyum karump’ arutt’ oḷiyāṭ’
ari kāv avittu+ pala pū viḷaviṇ
15
tēm pāy marutam mutal paṭa+ koṇṟu
vel talai+ cem puṇṛ parantu vāy mikukkum
pala cūḷ paṭappar pariya vēḷattu+
ciṟai koḷ pūcaliṃ pukaṇṭā ~āyam
muḷav’ imiḷ mūṭ’ ūr viḷavu+ kāṇṇū+ peyarum
20
ceḷum pal vaippiṇ paḷaṇa+ pāḷum
ēṅal uḷavar varaku mīṭ’ īṭṭa
kāṅ miku kuḷaviṇa ~aṅpu cēṛ irukkai
mel tiṃai nuvaṇṭai murai murai puṭukkum
pul pulam taḷḷiṇa puṟav’ ~aṇi vaippum
25
pal pūṁ cemmal kāṭu payam māṛi
~arakkatt’ anṇa nun maṇal kōṭu koṇṭ’
oḷ nutil makalir kaḷalotu marukum
viṇ+ uyartō’ ōṅkiya kaṭṭāravum piṟavum
paṇai keḷu vēntarum vēḷirum onṟu moḷintu
30
kaṭalavum kāṭṭavum aran valiyār naṭuṅka
muraṅ miku kaṭum kural vicump’ aṭaip’ atira+
kaṭum ciṟam kaṭṭay muḷaṅku mantiratt’
arum tiṟal marapiṇ kaṭavuḷ peṇiyan
uyartōṅ ēṇtiya ~arum peṟal piṇṭam
karum kaṇ ṁey makal kai puṭaiyūu naṭuṅka
neyttōr tūuyā niṟai makīḷ irum pali
~erumpu mūcā ĭrumpūtu marapiṅ
karum kaṇ kākkaivoṭu parunt’ irunt’ āra
~ōṭā+ puṭkai ~oḷ poṛi+ kāḷal kāl
perum camam tatainta ceru+ pukal maravar
urumu nilam atirkkum kuraloṭu koḷai puṉarntu
perum cōr’ ukuttaṅk’ ēriyum
kaṭum ciṇam vēntē niṅ taḷaṅku kural muracē.
30th song

The elated crowd

After kings with ṃṇai-drums, and chieftains had sworn an oath [against you], (30) [kings and chiefs] of the tender lands (megpāḷ) with gardens at the cool ocean, (8) where [people]292 take up the long corals together with the pearls of the shiny water, (7) while the conches are sounded by the waves which attacked the atumpu-plant293 that creeps (6) on the solid shore of the high-rising sand[-bed] at the permanent seashore-grove, (5) [where] kuruku-birds perched294 on the drooping branches (4b–d) of the punḍai-tree295 with white-clusters, after they stirred up296 the cool backwaters with the green leaves (3–4a) of the neytaḷ-flower with big petals which resembled the sapphire-jewels (2) of the great harbour which is connected to the shore [which has] nāḷal-trees297 dense with clusters,— (1) [kings and chiefs] of the areas of low lands which are densely surrounded by hills, (13) [where] the hunters (vēṭṭuvar) with murderous bows and kāntaḷ-chaplets,298 (9) give the price of wine (piḷi)299 in the gold-possessing300 markets, (12) after they brought the white tusks of rutting forest-elephants together with the meat of wild cows (āmāṉ) with red horns,— (10–11) [kings and chiefs] of the division of the paddy-fields with many excellent settlements, (21) where having seen the festival of the ancient town with sounding muḷavu-drums, (20a–c) the elated crowd departs, [because of] the clamour of [those who are] guarding (19, 20d) the flood, while many, surrounding sand-heaps301 are suffering [from the torrent], (18) when the red water with white surface spread and overflew the sluices, (17) [where people] felled a honey-flowing marutam-tree, so that its foot had perished, (16) on the festivals with many flowers, after [they] caused the end of the pruned stems (15) cutting the sugar-cane unceasingly even if it is not the [proper] season,— (14)

292 I interpret these lines as having an elliptical, indefinite subject (“people”).
294 īrai koḷum: “which takes a seat”.
298 kāntaḷ: Malabar glory lily (Gloriosa superba), a fiery colour flower of the high mountains. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 1451.
299 piḷi: toddy, fermented liquor. Tamil Lexicon, 2711. Here might refer to the Roman wine because of its high price.
300 poṇ uta niyamam: “the gold-possessing market”, “the golden market”.
301 The word patappar is a hapax legomenon therefore I accepted the POC’s suggestion: “sand-stronghold” (maṇṭ kōṭṭai).
[kings and chiefs] of the decorated woodland-areas which are surrounded by the low lands, (25) where [people] divide the soft millet-flour one by one\(^{302}\) (24) at the firmly made (vaŋpu cēr) residences with kuḷavi-flowers\(^{303}\) in which the forests abound, (23) where the millet\(^{304}\[-harvesting\] farmers heaped up the millet,— (22) [kings and chiefs] of the sky-touching lofty [paths of the] wilderness, (29a–c) where, having exchanged\(^{305}\) the yield of the excellent forest for many flowers, (26) having taken the shellac\(^{306}\)-like peaks of fine sand, (27) girls with bright forehead are wandering with kaḷal-anklets,—\(^{307}\) (28) [and kings and chiefs] of other [places],— (29d) o king of fierce anger, your muracam-drum with roaring voice (44) was beaten [to announce] that the great cooked rice (peruṅcōṟu)\(^{308}\) is poured, (43) after [your] warriors, who desire war, who were crowded on the great battlefield, (41) [who have] legs with spotted, bright anklets and the maxim not to run [away],— (40) joined to the melody with [their] voices which resemble the earth-shaking thunder, (42) when the black-eyed crows and kites perched and filled [themselves] full (39) according to the amazing tradition where ants do not swarm,\(^{309}\) (38) with the great oblation (pali) of strong wine (makiḻ) that is sprinkled with blood (neytōr), (37) while black-eyed demonesses were trembling and clapping [their] hands, while they shivered [out of desire] (36) for the difficult-to-obtain piṇṭam\(^{310}\) that was offered by the uyartōṅ (35) in order to honour deities according to the tradition with the precious power (34) of the sounding mantiram,\(^{311}\) (33c–d) having kindled (kaṭāay) [your] fierce anger, (33a–b) while a fierce voice that abounds in enmity sounded and echoed in the sky, (32) so that strong warriors were trembling in [their] forts [on] the seas, in [the] forests. (31)

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\(^{302}\) muṟai muṟai: “order-order”, “according to the order”.

\(^{303}\) kuḷavi: wild jasmine (Jasminum angustifolium). Tamil Lexicon, 1039.


\(^{305}\) For māṟu-taḷ5 v. tr. in the context of bartering flowers Cf. Kuṟuntokai, 269.

\(^{306}\) The word arakkam, which is quite rare in the old texts, means either ‘shellac’ (< Skt. rākṣa) or ‘blood’ (< Skt. rakta). Tamil Lexicon, 115. According to Eva Wilden’s comment on this line: “the red sand is not really sand here but a read powder piled into conic heaps the likes of which can still be seen on modern market places.”

\(^{307}\) kaḷal: heroic anklet worn by warriors. According to Eva Wilden’s comment on this line: “these women from the hill tribes are unlike normal women and actually wear kaḷal, in keeping with the fact that they come to the city all on their own in order to do business.”

\(^{308}\) peruṅcōṟu: “big rice”. The Puṟapporuṇvēṇpāmālai (3. 23) and the Tolkāppiyam Porulatkāram Puṟattinaiyiyal (65: 9) together with their old commentaries make it clear that there was a famous custom, when after the battle huge quantity of cooked rice was offered by the king to the warriors.

\(^{309}\) See: pp. 398–399.

\(^{310}\) piṇṭam (< Skt. piṇḍa): ‘anything globular or round’, ‘embryo’, ‘ball of rice’, ‘ball of cooked rice offered to the manes’, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 2656. Here it refers to balls of rice used in post-battle rituals.

III. patikam

imayavarampañ tampi ~amaivara
~umparkāṭṭai+ taṅ kōl niṟti
~akappā ~erintu pakal tī vēṭtu
mati ~urāl marapiṅ mutiyarai+ taḷī+  5
kaṅ+ akam vaippīṅ maṅ vakutt’ ītu+
karum kaḷiṅ’ yāṅai+ puṇar nirai niṭṭī
~iru kaṭal niṟum oru pakal āṭi
~ayirai paraii ~āṟṟal cāl muṇpōṭu
~oṭuṅkā nal+ icai ~uyarnta kēḷvi
neṭumpāratāyaṅār munt’ ura+ kāṭu pōnta  10
palyāṅaiccelkelu kuṭṭuvaṅai+
pālai+ kautamaṅār pāṭiṅār pattuppāṭṭu.

avai tām: aṭu ney+ āvuti, kayiru kuṟu mukavai, tatainta kāṇci, cīr cāl veḷḷi, kāṅ unāṅku kaṭum neṛi, kāṭ’ uṟu kaṭum neṛi, toṭanta kuḷaḷai, uruttu varu maḷir niṟai, veḷ kai makuḷir, pukāṇra
~āyam. ivai pāṭṭiṅ patikam.

pāṭi+ peṟṟa paricil: nir vēṇṭiyatu koṇmiṅ ena yāṇum en pāṟṟpaniyum cuvarkkam pukal vēṇṭum ena pāṟṟpāriṅ periyōrai+ kēṭṭu ~oṇpatu perum vēḷvi vēṭpikka+ pattāṁ perum vēḷviṅiṅ pāṟṟpaniṅiyum pāṟṟpaniyaiyum kāṅar āyiṅār.

imayavarampañ tampi palyāṅaiccelkelu kuṭṭuvaṅ iru patt’ ai yāṇṭu vīṟiruntāṅ.
III. Panegyric

Pālai Kautamaṅkar sang [these] ten songs (12) for Pālyānaiccelkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan, (11)
who had gone to the forest\(^{312}\) following Neṭumpāratāyaṅkar,\(^{313}\) (10)
[armed] with knowledge (kēḻvū) that rose high [by means its] unceasing fame (9)
[and] with strength that abounds in ability, after [he] worshipped\(^{314}\) the Ayirai,\(^{315}\) (8)
[who] bathed on one day in the water of the two seas,\(^{316}\) (7)
[who] made the united rows of [his] black elephants\(^{317}\) longer, (6)
[who] donated lands by dividing the regions of vast area, (5)
[who] surrounded [himself] with old men alike in intelligence according to the tradition, (4)
[who] sacrificed Akappā in the fire [in one] day by attacking [it], (3)
[who] established Umpārkāṭu [under] his [royal-]staff (kōḷ), (2)
while [he] was befitting [to rule as being] the brother of Imaiyaṟavarampaṅ, (1)

These [ten songs] themselves [are]: The libation of heated ghī, The small scoops on ropes,
The dense kāṇci-trees, The Venus with abundant excellence, The harsh path, where the forest
dried out, The harsh paths which experienced wilderness, The concatenated kuvaḷai-flowers,
The increasing mass which furiously comes, The girls with empty hands, The elated crowd,
[and this as] the panegyric of these ten.

Having sung, the [following] gifts have been obtained: [when the king] said: “What is
desirable for you, take [it!]”, [he replied,] saying: “Me and my wife (pāṛppaṅ) desire to enter
the heaven (cuvarkkam)!”\(^{318}\), [thus the king] asked the great men of the pāṛppār
and made [them] to perform nine great sacrificies, [then] at the tenth great sacrifice [both] the priest
(pāṛppāṅ) and [his] wife became invisible.

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312 Here kāṭu pōnta refers to the ancient practice when a king resigned from politics around the end of his life and
left for the forest to follow a reclusive lifestyle. See: pp. 424–425.
313 The questionable pāṛatiyaṅkar’s name might have come from the proper name Pāṛatiyaṅ < Skt. Bhāradvāja
(Tamil Lexicon, 2620), so that the honorific plural could mean one particular person (a rājaguru? a purohita?)
whose name was Pāṛatiyaṅkar, or, as a de facto plural, they could have been influential brāhmaṇas belonging to
the bhāradvāja-gōtra. It is easy to find another possible etymologies of the Tamil name (< Skt. Bhārata?), but
almost impossible to give a final answer for the question.
314 paraiṭ: irregular abs. from the verb parāvu-tal 5. v. tr. Tamil Lexicon, 2507.
315 Ayirai was an established place of worship, probably a hill.
316 Here we see a victorious/ritual bath on the western and the eastern coasts of South India, most probably at the
Malabar Coast in the Arabian Sea and at the Coromandel Coast in the Bay of Bengal. This could mean that the
king had acquired territories on the Coromandel Coast or had temporarily taken possession of territories there.
317 kāṭiṟṟ yāṅai: “elephant-elephant” means simply “elephants”.
Palyāṇaiccelkelu Kuṭṭuvaṇ, the brother of Imayavarampanā sat twenty-five years on the throne.

mūṟṟām pattu mūṟṟīṟu
Thus ending the Third Decade.

318 There is a difference between ‘Imayam’ of this colophon and ‘Imaiyam’ of the patikam, however, both forms are paralelly exist.
The Fourth Decade

(nāṅkām pattu)

The poet: Kāppiyāṟṟu Kāppiyaṉ ār

The king: Kaḷāṅkāykaṉṇi Nārmuti Cēral

31.


kuṇṟu talai maṇantu kulūru+ kaṭal uṭutta
manē kuḷu ūḷattu māntar ōṛāṅku+
kai cumant’ alaṟṟum pūcal māṭirattu
nāl vēṟu naṭam talai ~oruṅk’ elunt’ olippa+
tēl+ uyar vaṭi maṇi ~eṇiyunar kal+ eṇa 5
uṇṇā+ paim nilam paṇi+ tūrai maṇṇi
vaṇṭ’ ūtu poli tār+ tiru ņemar akalattu+
kaṇṭ poru tīkiri+ kamal kural tulāy
alaṅkal celvaṇ cē~ aṭi paravi
neṇcu mali ~uvakaiyar tuṇcu pati+ peyara
maṇi niram mai ~iruḷ akala nilā viripu
kōṭu kūṭu maṭiyam iyal ūṛ’-āṅku+
tulāṅku kuṭi vīḷu+ tiṇai tirutta muracu koṇṭ’
āḷ kaṭaṇ iṟutta niṅ pūṇ kilar viyal mārpu
karuvi vāṇam taṇ taḷi talaiiya 10
vaṭa terku vilaṅkī vilaku talaiṭṭ’ elḷiliya
paṇi vār viṇṭu viṟal varai ~aṟṟē
kaṭaṭuḷ añci vāṇṭt’ ilaiṭṭa
ṭūṅk’ eyil katavam kāvāl koṇṭa
~elḷū nivant’ aṉṇa parēr eruḷ mulavu+ tōḷ
veḷ tīrai munnīr vaḷaiiya ~ulakattu
vaḷ pukaḷ niṟutta vakai cāl celvattu
vaṇṭaṇ añaiyai-maṇ niḍē vaṇṭu paṭa
~olintu kūntal aṟam cāl karpiṅ
kuḷaiṅku vilakk’ ākiya ~oḷ nutal poṇṇiṅ
 ilaṅkku vilakk’ ākiya ~am vāṅk’ unṭi
vicumpu vaḷaṅku makaḷiṟ uḷḷum cīṟanta
cemmēn añaiyal niṉ tol nakar+ celvi
nilam atirp’ irañkala ~āki valaŋ ērpu
viyal paŋai muḷaṅkum vēl mūc’ aḷuvatt’
āṭaṅkiya puṭaiyal polam kaḷal nōl tāl
ōṭuṅkā+ tevvar ūkk’ āra+ kaṭaili+
puṇa+koṭai ~eriyār niṅ maṛa+ paṭai koḷḷunar
naṅivarkk’ araṅam āki+ pakaivarkku+
cūr nikaṅt’ aṛru niṅ tāṇai
pōr miku kurucil ni māṇṭaṅai palavē.
31st song

The *tulāy* with fragrant clusters

The wide chest of yours on which ornaments emerge (14b–d) is like the victorious mountain [up to] the sky which overflowed with the dew (17) of the clouds, [mountain] with peaks that lies across from the North to the South and recedes [out of sight], (16) while a big amount of cool drops showered from the sky, (15) [the chest of yours] who fulfilled [your] manly duty (14a–b) after the *muracu*-drum was taken, setting right the excellent family (*tiṇai*) of a declining lineage (*kuṭi*), (13)

which have the nature of the full moon which joined the peaks (12) spreading [its] moonlight so that the sapphire-coloured collyrium-darkness vanished, (11) when people whose heart was full of joy returned [to their] villages, [where they] sleep, (10) after [they] praised the red feet of the Lord (15) (*celvag*) who has a garland (9) of *tulāy* with fragrant clusters, an eye-blinding discus (*tikiri*), (8) a chest [on which] Tiru (Śrī) abides [and] abundant garlands [on which] bees blow themselves up with [the nectar], (7)

after [they] had bathed at the cool ghat of the green lands which had not been grazed, (6) [as] people who noisily hit the clear long-shaped bells, (5) so that the crying clamour unitedly arose and sounded [in] the vast regions in [all] the four different directions, [after] the hands of the men were raised (3–4) together, [who were men] of the earthly world (2)

[which was] encircled by the sea [and] which was densely mingled with mountains. (1)

You are certainly like the wealthy Vaṇṭaṇ, (22d–23c)

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319 *tulanku kuṭi*: “swaying/perturbed/uprooted family”. The phrase *tulanku kuṭi* appears in a few more times in the Fourth Decade, see: 32: 7; 37: 7; IV. 12. We do not exactly know what happened to the dynasty, but this king seems to restored the old glory of the kingdom. Was he, as it is said in Sanskrit, a *kula* *v*ardhana?

320 It is a description of Māl/Viṣṇu. The POC identifies him with Tirumāl of Tiruvaṇantapuram (now Tiruvaṇantapuram, Kerala). Marr pointed out that there were and are other important shrines of Viṣṇu across Kerala (Marr 1985 [1958]: 314), so it is possible that the commentator’s suggestion was only his best guess. What is more, from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Chapter 54) we know that “Nelkynda is just about 500 stades from Muziris, likewise by river and sea, but it is in another kingdom, Pandiôn’s” (Translated by Lionel Casson), so it seems that at least at the time when the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* was written (sometime between 50–70 CE) the southern parts of the Malabar Coast were on Pāṇṭiya hands.


322 Another possible interpretation is to translate *vaṭi maṇi* as ‘cast bell’. To see an example for the making of a cast bell, read: *Kuruntokai*, 155.

323 My translation here is based on the commentary of Turaicāmippilai (*makkaṭ talai mēl kai küppi*). Turaicāmippilai 1973, 135.
who abounds in qualities (vakai) which were established by the generous praises (22a–c) of the world which is encircled by the sea with white waves, (21) whose very beautiful, strong muḻavu-drum[-like] shoulders [are] elevated like like the cross-bar (eḻu) (20) which brought protection to the gate of the hanging fortress, (236) (19) which was created in the sky having feared the deity, (237) (18) [Your] lady (celvi) of your old mansion is like the Red Star (238) (28) [by which] even the minds of the sky-roaming [celestial] girls became exalted, (27) [your lady, whose] beautiful curved navel became the [source of] light for the golden [waist-jewelry], (25d–26) [whose] bright forehead became the [source of] light for [her] earrings, (25a–c) [whose] fidelity is abundant in virtues [and whose] tresses [were] sprouting, (24) so that bees swarm around. (23d)

You are glorious on many [counts], o Lord who abound in wars (36) with your army, who appeared like Cūr (35) to the enemies, [but] became protection to the friends, (34) [with] your men who bravely take up [their] weapons against those who do not attack [but] turn [their] backs, (33)

324 According to the Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, Vaṇṭaṅ is the p. n. of a generous patron. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 732.
325 koṇṭu (abs.): “having taken”.
326 We find this “hanging fort” (tūṅk’ eyil) in other poems. In Purāṇāṇu, 39: 5–6, we read about the Cōḷa king “who attacked the hanging fort of fierce strength which [was] difficult to approach” (tung’ arum kaṭum tiral tūṅk’ eyil erinta). In Cīṟupāṇuṟṟuppatāṭai, 81. we read about Cōḷa king with “large hands that shine with armlets, which attacked the hanging fort” (tūṅk’ eyil erinta toṭi vīḻanku tātām kai). The old commentaries available for Purāṇāṇu and Cīṟupāṇuṟṟuppatāṭai collects all the passages which contained information about the tūṅk’ eyil. This leads us to the Cīḻappatikāram, III. 29. 16: 4, where we read about “the Cōḷaṇ who attacked three of the hanging forts” (tūṅk’ eyil mūgr’ erinta cōḷaṇ) and to Maṇimēkalai, 1: 4, where the Cōḷa king is depicted as “Cempiyaṅ of armleted arms who attacked the hanging fort” (tūṅk’ eyil erinta toṭi tōḷ cempiyaṅ). In fact, the old commentator here understood “forts which were moving in the sky, possessed by asuras, who became enemies to the protector of the devas” (tēva kaṭakku pakaivar ākiya acurarkaṭutaiya ākayattil acaṅkiṟṟa maṟkaḷ). Not counting the mediaeval commentaries, we can state that in the Ćaṅkam corpus and the epics 1. this episode was connected to the Cōḷa king, and 2. the related phrases are very much formulaic. Regarding our passage, I think this could be connected either to the Cōḷa king’s action, or to Śiva’s Tripurāri aspect, however, it is also possible that these two were somehow connected in some early unwritten legends.
327 kaṭavoḷ aḷci: “having feared the deity”. It is possible to understand a plural (“deities”) here, thus it might underline the information found in the mediaeval commentary of Maṇimēkalai about the fort-builder asuras (see: footnote 326). Here in the Pattirṟṟuppatu, we might also read about elliptical hostile beings (asuras?) who feared the deity/deities and therefore built a fort in the sky.
328 A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 82; Tamil Lexicon, 133.
329 The sprouting (olivarum, olinta, etc.) tresses of women is a frequent and usual image in Ćaṅkam literature. Cf. Narrāṭai, 6: 10; 141: 12; 313: 4.
after [you] urged forwards the untameable\textsuperscript{330} enemies with [your] the sturdy, golden ankleted legs, so that [their] strength perished, (31c–32)
[you] with yielding garland (31a–b)
in the thicket crowded by spears when the wide \textit{pa\~n}ai-drum sounded (30)
increasingly [together with] the victory, after [you] became pitiless shaking the earth. (29)

\textsuperscript{330} \textit{otuṅkā} (neg.pey.): “[who] is not restrained”, “[who] does not calm down”.
32.

peyar: kaḻaiyamal kaḻagi, tuṟai: centṟai pāṭāṃpāṭṭu, tūkku: centūkku, vaṉṇam: oḷuku vaṉṇam.

māṉṭaṅai palavē pōr miku kurcil nī
māṭiram vilakkuṃ cālpum cemmāiyum
mutt’ uṭai maruppiṇ maḷa kaḷiṟu pilīra
mikk’ eḷu kaṭum tār tuyṭtalai+ cēṟu
tuppu+ tuvara pōka+ peruṃ kilai ~uvappa
~īṭ’ āṅr’ āṅā ~īṭam uṭai vāḷaṇum
tulaṅku kuṭi tiruttiya valam paṭu veṇriyum
ellām eṅṇiṅ iṭu kalaṅku tapuna
koṇ+ oṛu maruṭṭaṅeṇ atu pōr+ korṟava
neṭumīṭal cāya+ koṭum miṭṭal tumiyā+
peruṃ malai yāṅaioṭu pulam keṭa ~iṟuttu+
tāṭam tāḷ nāraḷ paṭint’ irai kavarum
muṭtandai nelliṅ kaḷai ~amal kaḷaṇji+
pilaiyā vilaiyul nāṭ’ aka+ paṭṭuttu
vaiyā māḷaiyar vacaiyunar kaṟutta
15 pakaivar tēett’ āyiṭum
cinavāyi ākutal iṟumpūṭ’-āl peritē.

90
32nd song

The fields which are dense with bamboos

O you, the lord who abounds in battles, you are glorious on many [counts]!331 (1)
O you for whom [the prescription made by] the thrown kalaṅku-beans fail, if I think about all (8)
the triumphant victories which improved [your] perturbed family (7)
and the fertility of the boundless places [which had been] given and populated, (6)
so that the great relatives rejoiced, when [they were] entirely left by [their] strength, (5)
after you went to the land [of your foes] with [your] increasingly rising, fierce vanguard, (4)
when the young elephant bulls, whose tusks possess pearls,332 were trumpeting, (3)
[if I think about] the redness333 [of the war] and [your] excellence that illuminates
the great directions, (2)
I am confused by one great334 thing, o victor of murderous battles! (9)
Indeed, it is a great marvel that you are not enraged (17)
even if [you are] in the countries of [your] enemies (16)
who became enraged as people who blame [you], people with not-reviling garlands, (15)
after you stayed [there] with [your] big mountain-like elephants, so that the fields perished (11)
while you cut off the fierce strength [of] Neṭumiṭal,335 so that [he] fell, 336 (10)
after [you] annexed the country with unfailing production, (14)
[and] with fields which are dense with bamboos [and] bending paddy, (13)
where, having landed, the nārai-birds with big feet seized [their] food. (12)

331 The first line of this poem is the same as the last line of the 31st poem, but the components of the line are reversed. This is most probably the earliest example of antāti (Skt. antādi) in Tamil literary history (together with the Toṇṭi Decade of the Aiṅkurunūṟu, the Cēra love anthology). This structure is characteristic of the decade as a whole, since the last lines are more or less repeated at the beginnings of the subsequent poems. However, it is remarkable that the last line of the last poem is not connected to the first line of the first poem, so it cannot be an entirely regular antāti.

332 For the elephants whose tusks contain pearls, see e.g.: Paṇanāṟuṟu, 161: 16; 171: 11; Naṟṟipai, 202: 2–3; Kalittokai, 40: 4–5.

333 It is also possible to translate here cemmai as “impartiality”. Tamil Lexicon, 1598.


336 The form cāya could be also used as an irregular but often used perf. pey., but the gemination of the subsequent hard consonant and the context both make it clear that here an infinitive has to be understood.
33.

iṟumpūt’-āl peritē koṭi+ tēr aṇṭal
vaṭi maṇi ~aṇaitta paṇai maruḷ nōl tāḷ
kaṭi marattāl kaḻir’ aṇaittu
neṭum nīra tuṟai kalaṅka
mūḷṭ’ irutta viyāl tāṇaiyoṭu 5
pulam keṭa neri-tarum varampil veḷḷam
vāḷ matiḷ ēka vēḷ miḷai ~uyarttu
vil vicai ~umīṇṭta vai muḷ+ ampiṇ
cem vāy ekkaṃ vaḷaiya ~akalīṅ
kār ḍi ~urumīṇḍ uruṟum muraciṇ 10
kāl vaḷaṅk’ ēr eyil kaṟuṭiṇ
pōr etir vēntar orūupa nīṅṅē.
33rd song

The limitless flood

It is indeed a great marvel, o majesty of a chariot with flags: (1)

the limitless flood [of your invasion] that crushes the fields so that [they] perished, (6)

together with [your] extensive army that swarmed [and] camped (5)

while the long water at the ghat had been stirred up, (4)

after you tied [your] elephant bull to the guarded tree (kaṭimaram),337 (3)

[which elephant has] sturdy feet that resemble mortars, on which shapely bells338 were fastened! (2)

After [you] raised a thicket (mīlai) of spears, while swords became a wall, (7)

the kings who opposed [you] in war will surrender to you, (12)

if [they] think [about your] difficult fortress which is roaming on legs, (11)

[fortress] with the muracam-drum that resounds like the thunder that roars during the rainy season, (10)

[fortress] with moats surrounded by blades with red edges (9)

[and] thorn[-like] sharp arrows which were hastily spat by the bows.339 (8)

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337 This act might refer to the humiliation of the enemies’ totemistic tree (kaṭimaram) as the final act of the total defeat, but could also refer to the descent of the enemies’ king into vassal status. Cf. Puranāṅgūru, 57: 10–11; 109: 10–13; 162; 336: 3–4; 345: 1.

338 Another possible interpretation is to translate vati maṇi as ‘cast bell’.

34.


orūupa niṇṇai ~oru perum vēntē
~ōṭā+ pūṭkai ~ol poṟi+ kal kal kāl
irum nilam tōyum viri nūl aṟuvaiyar
cem++ uḷaiya mā ~ūntu
neṭum koṭiya tēr micaiyum
ōṭai viḷaṅkum uru keḷu pukar natal
poṇ+ anī yāṇai muraṇ cēr eruttiṇum
maṇ nilatt’ amainta ··········
mārā maintar māṟu nilai tēya
muraic’ uṭai+ perum camam tataiyya ~ārpp’ eḷā
~araicu paṭa+ kaṭakkum āṟral
purai cāl mainta nī ~ōmpalmāṟē.
34th song

**Legs with bright spotted kaḻal-anklets**

They will surrender to you, o great and unique king, (1) because of your defense,\(^{340}\) o great and worthy strong man, (12) [who is] powerful, who overcomes so that the king\(^{341}\) falls, (11) when noise arises, while the big battle,\(^{342}\) which possesses the *muraicu*-drum,\(^{343}\) becomes crowded (10) while the hostile state of the [enemies’] strong men who do not change [their minds], becomes weakened (9) ………………………………… which was settled on the permanent land, (8) on the malignant neck of [their] golden-ornamented elephants (7) with beautiful, spotted foreheads which shine with ēṭai-ornaments, (6) on the top of the chariots with long flags, (5) after [they] mounted [their] horses with red mane (4) as being people in long garments\(^{344}\) (*āruvaiyar*) [made from] spreading thread which touches the dark earth, (3) [who have] **legs with bright spotted kaḻal-anklets** [and] a resolution not to retreat. (2)

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\(^{340}\) Here ṍompal is a contracted v. n. means ‘defending’, ‘guarding’, ‘protecting’ (*Tamil Lexicon*, 625) and māṟu is a causal suffix (*Tamil Lexicon*, 3185).

\(^{341}\) *araicu* < *aracu* (prob. < Skt. rāja).

\(^{342}\) *camam* (prob. < Skt. samara): ‘war’, ‘battle’.

\(^{343}\) *muraicu* < *muracu* ‘the royal drum’.

\(^{344}\) Reading the other attestation (from the two!) of the word *āruvaiyar* (h. pl.), it seems that the Pāṇḍiya warriors used to wear a kind of long garment (*iru kōṭtu āruvaiyar*, *Neṭunalvāṭai*, 35). However, it does not really help us to identify the enemies.
35.  

purai cāl mainta nī ~ōmpalmāṇē  
~urai cāṅraṇa (v)āl perumai niŋ venṛ  
~irum kalirṛ’ ~yāṇai ~ilaṅku vāl maruppoṭu  
neṭum tēr+ tikiri tāya viyāl kaḷatt’  
āḷak’ uṭai+ cēval kilai pukā ~āra+  
talai tumint’ ēṇciya mey+ āṭu parantalai  
~anti māḷai vicumpu kaṇṭ’-aṇṇa  
cem cuṭar koṇṭa kuruti maṅrattu+  
peṭy āṭum vel pōr  
vīyā yāṇar niŋ vayiṇāṇē.  

5

10
35th song

Wasteland where bodies dance

Your victory and [your] greatness [both] abound\textsuperscript{345} in fame, (2)
because of your defense, o great and worthy strong man! (1)
On account of you, fertility will not fail (10)
in the victorious war,\textsuperscript{346} [when] demonesses (pēy) dance (9)
in the village common [where] the blood had taken on a red glow (8)
that looked like the sky at nightfall (7)
in the wasteland where bodies dance, which remained there after [their] heads had been cut off,\textsuperscript{347} (6)
while flocks of female and male owls\textsuperscript{348} filled themselves full with the food (5)
[found] on the vast battlefield, on which wheels of tall chariots are scattered\textsuperscript{349} (4)

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{345}] Here āl has to be understood as an expletive that marks a finite verb (cāṅragā), but it is also possible to split the saṁdhi in another way reading vāl perumai “pure greatness”.
  \item[\textsuperscript{346}] pōr: fight, battle, war. Tamil Lexicon, 2966.
  \item[\textsuperscript{347}] Cf. Cilappatikāram, III. 26: 206–208. The headless torsos (kabandha) that retained vitality are well-known in Sanskrit literature. For a nice example, see: Raghuvamsā, VII. 51.
  \item[\textsuperscript{348}] Here both the terms alaku and cēval mean ‘owl’. If we look at the 593rd cūttiram of the Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Marapiyal, we come to know that the term cēval could denote any male bird except the male peacock, however, cūttiram 600 and 601 inform us that the term alaku can be used only for the hen and the female of owl (kōḷi, kūkai) and also for peacocks, but latter had to be excluded because of what we read about cēval. If we follow these instructions of the Tolkāppiyam, to translate female and male owls is the only way.
  \item[\textsuperscript{349}] tāya is an inf. from tāvu-tal v. 5. intr. ‘to leap’, ‘to spread’, ‘to move towards’, ‘to pace out a distance’, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 1851.
\end{itemize}

\normalsize
36.

vīyā yāṉar niṉ vayināṉē
tāvāṭ ākum mali peṟu vayavē
mallal uḷḷamoṭu vamp’ amar+ kaṭantu
ceru miku munpiṅ maravaroṭu talai+ ceṅṟu
paṇai taṭi puṇattiṅ kai taṭipu pala ~uṭaṇ
yāṉai paṭṭa vāl mayaṅku kaṭum tār
māvum mākkaḷum paṭu pīṇam uṇṇiyyar
poṟitta pōḷum puḷḷi ~eruttin
puṇ puṟa ~eruvai+ peṭai puṇar cēval
kuṭumi ~eḻaloṭu koṇṭu kilakk’ iliya
nilam iḷi nivappiṅ niḷ nirai pala cumant’
uru ~eḷu kūliyar uṇṭu makilnt’ ata+
kuruti+ cem puṅgal oḷuka+
ceru+ pala ceykuvai vāḷka niṉ vaḷaṉē.
36th song

The fierce vanguard which was mingled with swords

On account of you, fertility will not fail. (1)
[Your] abundant\textsuperscript{350} strength has become unceasing. (2)
You [will] overcome in the new battles with [your] brilliant mind, (3)
you [will] march at the head together with [your] warriors, (4)
[and] you [will] make many battles (14a–b)
so that a red flood of blood [will] flow, (13)
while demons, [on account of whom] fear rises, will dance, after they ate\textsuperscript{351} [and] rejoiced, (12)
after [they] carried the long rows of many [corpses] from the heaps dismounted on the field, (11)
so that the cocks and\textsuperscript{352} hens of the eruvai-birds\textsuperscript{353} (9)
with small back and spotted neck as if it were imprinted,\textsuperscript{354} (8)
together with the eltā-birds\textsuperscript{355} with tufts descend downwards (10)
in order to eat from the fallen corpses of people and horses (7)
of the fierce vanguard mingled with swords which caused many elephants to fall, (6)
after they cut off [their] trunks, [so that the field looked] like an upland with cut-off palmyra-trees. (5)

May your wealth live long! (14c–d)

\textsuperscript{350} Here I analysed mali as a root noun from mali-tal-4. v. intr. Cf. malivu (Tamil Lexicon, 3104.).

\textsuperscript{351} unṭu (abs.): ‘having consumed’. Since the original broader meaning of the verb allows it, it is possible that they were not just eating, but also drinking from the river of blood.

\textsuperscript{352} Here puṇar is a verbal root means ‘to unite’ and it stands for a quasi sociative.

\textsuperscript{353} A bird of prey, which could be either a kite or an eagle. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 818.

\textsuperscript{354} Remarkable that exactly the same formulaic attributes are connected to pigeons (puṇavu) in Patirūppattu, 39: 10–11.

\textsuperscript{355} eltā: an unidentifiable kind of bird, most probably a bird of prey which we can deduce from its vivid interest for corpses.
37.

peyar: valampaṭu veṇṛ, tuṟai: centurai paṭṭampaiṭṭu, tūkku: centūkku, vaṇṇam: oluḳu vaṇṇam.

vāḷka niṅ vaḷaṇē niṅ+ uṭai vāḷkkai
vāy moḷi vāyar niṅ puḳaḷ ēṭta+
pakaivar āra+ paḷaṇḳaṇ aruḷi
nakaivar āra nal kalam citaṛi

~āṅr’ avint’ ataṇḳiya ceyir tū cemmāl
vāṅ tōy nal+ icai ~ulakoṇṭ’ uyirppa+
tuḷaṇku kuṭi tirutṭiyā valam paṭu veṇṛyūm
mā ~irum puṭaiyal mā+ kaḷal puṇaiṭntu
maṇ+ eyil eriṇtu marvaṇṭ+ tarīi+
tol nilai+ cirappiṅ niṅ nilal vaḷnarkku+
kōṭ’ aṛa vaitṭa kōṭṭa+ koḷkaiyūm
naṇṛu periṭ’ utaiyaiyāl niyē
vem tiṟal vēntē i~+ ulakkattōrkē.
37th song

The triumphant victories

May your wealth last [long]! (1a–b)
After you graciously [caused] distress so that [your] enemies became full [of that], (3)
while people, [whose] mouths tell the truth, praised your fame (2)
[and] your life, (1c–d)
after you scattered good vessels, so that your friends became full [of that], (4)
o flawless majesty who is in self-control, after you become worthy [and] humble, (5)
for the people in this world, o, king of severe strength (13)
you possess very much (12)

triumpant victories which improved [your] perturbed family, (7)
so that [your] sky-touching fame breathes together with the world, (6)
[and] implemented, indvertible principles, so that partiality (kōṭu) perished (11)
of those who live in the shade\textsuperscript{356} of [your] ancient permanent excellence (10)
after you adorned [yourself with] big kaḷal-anklets and big, dark garland,\textsuperscript{357} (8)
[and] brought [your] warriors having attacked the tough\textsuperscript{358} fort. (9)

\textsuperscript{356} The protective shade (\textit{nilaḥ}) of the king’s parasol can be seen \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 17: 9–14. I would think that it is the same, although elliptical, image here.

\textsuperscript{357} The passage \textit{mā irum puṭaiyal} perhaps refers to the palmrya-garland which was particularly important to the Cēra kingdom. For examples, read: \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 42: 1; 57: 2; 67: 13.

\textsuperscript{358} I analysed \textit{maṅg’ eyil} as a “tough/permanent fort” (from the verb \textit{maṅg’-tal} v. 5. intr., \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3130), but it is as possible as to translate “the king’s (\textit{maṅg}) fort”, since these forms are homophonous.
38.


ulakattōrē palar-maṇ celvar
ellār uttum niṇ nal+ icai mikumē
vaḷam talaimayaṇkiya paitiram tiruttiya
kaḷaṇkāy+ kaṇṭi nār muṭṭi+ cēral
eyil mukam citaiya+ tōṭṭi -ēvaliņ
 tōṭṭi tanta toṭi marupp’ -yāṅai+
cem+ uḷai+ kali mā -ikai vāl kaḷal
cyeyal amai kaṇṭi+ cēralar vēntē

paricilar veṟukkai pāṇar nāḷ avai
vāḷ natal kaṇava maḷḷar ēṛē
mai -ara vilāṇkiya vaṭu vāḷ māṛpiņ
vacai -il celva vāṇam varampa
-įniyavai periņē taṇi taṇi nukarkēm
taru(k)a ēṇa vilaiyā+ tā -il neṅcattu+
pakutt’ ūṅ tokutta -āṅmaϊ+
piṟarkk’ ēṇa vālti nī -ākalmāṛē.
The wealth for the gift-seekers

[Among] those, who are in [this] world, [there are] certainly many wealthy people. (1) Among all of them, [only] the fame of yours excells. (2) O Cēra with fibre crown of the kaṅkāy-chaplet,359 (4) who improved the country whose prosperity was very much disturbed, (3) o king of the Cēras with a chaplet, [which is a piece] of workmanship, (8) with whitish [golden]360 kaḻal-anklet, with bustling horse with red manes, (7) with elephants whose tusks [have] rings, [elephants which] provided the guard (tōṭṭi),361 (6) so that the gate of the fort was broken by means of the instigation of the goad (tōṭṭi),362 (5) o bull of the warriors,363 o husband of [your lady with] bright forehead,364 (10) with a daily court [open] for the minstrels, [you who are] the wealth for the gift-seekers, (9) O man, [whose] border is the sky, o flawless lord (12) whose chest flourishes with scars which shine so that the flaws disappear, (11) If we obtain sweet things, let us enjoy them one by one, (13) because of it being the case that you live thinking [that it is] for others, (16) [you who, by means of your] courage, had collected food365 which was distributed, (15) [you] with a blemishless heart that would never wish [saying] “give me [from that]!” 366 (14)

359 The word kaṅkāy seems to denote a kind of plant or flower. It has only two attestations in the Caṅkam corpus, here and in Akanāṉūṟu, 199: 22, where it appeared also as the part of the name of this particular Cēra king. It is, however, very possible that kaṅkāy is the same as kaṅkapī in Puṟanāṉūṟu, 177: 9 which is the same as kaḻā (Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakātri, 646) means ‘a low spreading shrub’ or ‘a kind of berry’ (Tamil Lexicon, 814). The Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index (p. 244) also understands kaṅkāy kaṇṇi as ‘a garland of blackberry’.

360 According to Turaicāmippillai, vāṇ kaḻal is “an excellent kaḻal-anklet made with gold” (pōṇāl ceṭṭa uyarrta kaḻal). Another possible interpretation is “divine (vāṇ) anklet”.

361 See POC for Patiruppattu, 25: 5, where tōṭṭi means ‘custody’ (kāval).


363 Cf. Skt. puruṣaṛṣabha.

364 It is a so-called exocentric or possessive compound (agmojitokai), “an elliptical compound in which any one of the five tokai-nilai, q.v., that precede this in the enumeration, is used figuratively so as to signify something else of which this compound becomes a descriptive attribute.” Tamil Lexicon, 183.


366 Cf. vēlotu niṟṟāṉ ‘iṭu’ enratu pōḷum kōlotu niṟṟāṉ iravu (Kural, LVI. 552).
39.
pirarkk’ ena välti nī ~ākalmārē
~emakk’ il eṇār niṇ maṟam kuru kulāttar
tuppu+ tuṇai pōkiya vepp’ uṭai+ tumpai+
kaṟutta tevvar kaṭi muṇai ~alaṟa
~eṭutt’ eṟint’ iraṅkum (m)ēval viyal paṇai  5
~urum ena ~atir-paṭṭu mulāṅki+ ceru mikk’
āṭaṅkār ār arāṇ vāṭa+ cellum
kālaṅ aṇaiya kaṭum ciṇam muṇa
vālitiṅ,
nūliṅ iḷaiyā nuṇ mayir iḷaiya
poṟitta pōlum puḷḷi ~eruttiṅ  10
puṇ pūṟa+ puṟaviṅ kaṇam nirai ~alaṛa
~alam talai vēḷatt’ ulavai ~am ciṇai+
ciḷampi kōliya ~alaṅkal pōrvaiṅ
iḷaṅku maṅi mitaintya pacum poṇ paṭalatt’
aviṟ iḷai taiṁ niṅ+ umilp’ ilaṅka+  15
ciṟ miku muttam taiiyā
nār muṭi+ cēral niŋ pōr niḻal pukanṛē.
The commanding wide \textit{paṇai}-drum

Because of it being [the case that] you live, thinking “for others”, (1) the men, who assembled to declare your strength will not say “nothing for us”, (2) rejoicing in the shade that covers you,\textsuperscript{367} o \textit{Cēra} of the fibre crown (17) which has been tied with pearls that abound in superiority (16) so that it shone emitting glitters, after bright ornaments [were] fastened [on it] (15) in the hollows of the greenish gold, which had been set with shiny sapphire, (14) [looking] ] like the spider-made swinging net\textsuperscript{368} (13) on the twiggy boughs of the \textit{vēlam}-tree\textsuperscript{369} with distressed crown, (12) while groups of doves cried, [which have] small backs, (11) spotted necks as if it had been imprinted,\textsuperscript{370} (10) [and] fine crests as [their] ornaments, which were not spun brightly from thread.\textsuperscript{371} (9) O strong man with fierce anger, which is similar to [the anger of] \textit{Kālaṉ},\textsuperscript{372} (8) [you] who act so that the difficult-to-obtain fort of the disobedient became defeated, (7) after the battle had become intensified and \textbf{the commanding \textit{wide paṇai}-drum} roared resounding like thunder, (5c–6) [the drum which was] sounding, after it was taken [and] beaten, (5a–b) while the enraged enemies yelled on the defended frontier, (4) whose \textit{tumpai}-battle\textsuperscript{374} possessed severity, who mastered [their] strength. (3)

\textsuperscript{367} \textit{nīp pōr niḻa}: “the shade that covers (pōr, v. r.) you” or “the shade of your war”. I think the poet might play with the words here, so that we can associate this passage with the parasol of the king, as well as with his victorious battles.

\textsuperscript{368} The \textit{Akanāṉūṟu} 199 mentioned Nārmuṭi Čēral and his conquest against NaṉṆa (Lines 18–22). What is particularly interesting is the image of the leafless branches of a tree woven by spiders (Lines 5–6), so we see the same image in both of these poems with the difference that in the \textit{Akanāṉūṟu} the tree is a part of the description of the dangerous wilderness, but here it is compared to the crown of the king. We may conclude that one author knew the poem of the other.

\textsuperscript{369} The tree called \textit{vēlam} is the same as \textit{vēl} and \textit{vēlamaram}: ‘babul’, ‘\textit{Gens acacia’}. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3838; \textit{Tamil Ilakkiyap Pēракarāti}, 2344. Cf. \textit{Naṟṟṟiṉai}, 302: 8.

\textsuperscript{370} It is remarkable that exactly the same attribute is connected to \textit{eruvai}-birds in \textit{Patirṟppattu}, 36: 8–9.

\textsuperscript{371} Since \textit{ilai} means 1. ‘yarn’, ‘single-twisted thread’, 2. ‘darning’, 3. ‘ornament’, 4. ‘kind of necklace’, ‘garland’, 5. ‘string tied about the wrist for a vow’ (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 353), here the poet not only plays with the words, but intends to clarify that the ornament (\textit{ilai}) of these birds had not been made from white thread, despite the fact that the word \textit{ilai} could have that meaning. Here the fine crests of the birds were probably distinguished from the white thread of the spiders below.

\textsuperscript{372} \textit{Kālaṉ}, also known as \textit{Kuṟṟu} or \textit{Kuṟṟuvan} is the God of Death in Old Tamil poetry.

\textsuperscript{373} It is possible to split the words reading \textit{mēval viyaṉ paṇai}, “the wide \textit{paṇai}-drum which is desirable”.

\textsuperscript{374} \textit{tumpai}: white dead nettle, \textit{Leucas aspera}. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 1972. The occurrence of this plant denotes a “literary setting” (\textit{tiṇai}) that focuses on the battle. \textit{Tolkāppiyam Porulaṭṭikāram Pur事先iṇaiyil}, cū. 70. In the poems that show the features of \textit{tumpai tiṇai}, the warriors often wear \textit{tumpai} garlands during the battle.
40.


pōr nilal pukanra cuṟṟamoṭ’ ūr mukatt’
irāāliyarō peruma niṅ tāṅai
~in+ icai ~imil ~murac’ iyampa+ kaṭipp’ ikū+ puṅ tōḷ āṭavar pōr mukatt+ Ĭṛuṣita+
kuṭṭa karantai mā+ koṭi vilai vayal 5
vant’ īra koṅṭaṅru tāṅai ~antil
kaḷainar yār īṅi+ piṟar ēṇa+ pēṇi
maṅ+ eyil maravaṅ olī ~avint’ āṭaṅka
~oṅgār tëya+ pū malaint’ urai
veḷ tōṭu niraiiya vēnt’ utai ~arum camam 10
koṅru puṟam peṟṟu maṇṟatāi nirappi
veṅṛi ~āṭiyya toṭi+ tōḷ mīkai
~ēlu muṭi keḷiyya tiru ūmer akalattu+
poṇam kaṇṇi+ polam tēr naṅṇan
cuṭar vī vākai+ kaṭi mutal taṭinta
15
tār miku maintiṅ nār muṭi+ cēral
puṅ kāl uṇṇam cāya+ tel kaḷ
vaṟitu kūṭṭ’ ariyal iravalar+ taṭuppa+
tāṅ tara ~uṇṭa naṅṇai naṟavu makiṅtu
nīr imil cilampiṅ nēriyōngē 20
cellāyō-til cil vaḷai virali
malarnta vēṅkaiyin vayaṅk’ īḷai ~aṇintu
mel iyal makalir elīl nalam cēṟappa+
pāṇar paim pū malaiya ~iḷaiyar
iṅ kaḷi ~aḷāa mel col amarntu 25
neṅcu mali ~uvakaiyar viyai kalām vāḷṭta+
tōṭṭi nīvātu toṭi cēṟpu niṅṇu
pākar ēvali ol pōri picira+
kāṭu talai+ koṇṭa nāṭu kāṇ avir cuṭar
aḷal viṭupu marīyya maintiṅ 30
toḷil pukal yāṅai nalkuvan palavē.
40th song

Shiny flames which were visible across the country

“O great man, let your army not stay (2) at the entrance of [our] village together with [your] retinue which rejoices in the shade that covers [you]! (1)

There, [your] army collected the taxes [on land], having come (6) to the fertile paddy-field with big creepers of the fruit-bearing karantai, (5) while [other] warriors with wounded shoulders were resting on the battlefield, (4) while the muracu-drum, which has sweet sounding tone, was beaten with drumsticks [and] roared. (3)

Who else will weed now?” — after the people prayed like this, (7) after [he] smeared [your chest and] adorned [yourself] with flowers, so that the disobedients perished, (9)

while the voices of the warriors [behind] the permanent walls became silent, (8) after [he] murdered (11a) in the difficult battle of the king who put on a row of white petals,— (10) the Cēra with the fibre crown, with strength that abounds [by means of] the vanguards (16) who chopped down the protected foot of the vākai-tree with fire-like flowers (15) of Naṉṉa with golden chariot and golden chaplet, (14) [the Cēra] of a brilliant wide chest on which seven crowns have been united, (13) [the Cēra] with raised hands [and] armlet-wearing upper arms who danced [after] the victory, (12)

after [he] satisfied the living beings driving away [his enemies], (11b–d)

375 I translated irai (n.) as ‘tax’ derivable from iru-ittal 11. v. tr. ‘to pay (as a tax, a debt)’. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 521.
377 Here mukattu stands for a locative or means “at the entrance (mukattu) of the battlefield” (pōr). It might be possible to understand a poetic fancy here, that they stayed “in the mouth of war”, just as one can say “jaws of death” in English.
379 Naṉṉa: name of several chieftains of the same dynasty ruling over different places in today’s northern Kerala and southern Karnataka.
380 See: footnote 94.
381 According to the POC on Line 11, it is believed that the Cēra kings won over seven kingdoms (elu aracair veṭṟu) so that they wore the seven crowns of those kings on their chests. Another interesting hypothesis would be to understand those “crowns” as the “seven treasures” (ratnāni) of the king (chariot, elephant, horse, a jewel, [best] wife, [best] minister and [best] adviser) as a northern Indian borrowing. Gonda 1956: 145. However, this again seems to be a formulaic pattern, cf. Patiruppattu, 40:13; and a quasi-formulaic usage in 45: 6.
382 This is perhaps a reference to the victorious tuṇṭakai dance. Tamil Lexicon, 1963.
383 Here we have puram peṭru, lit. “having obtained [their] back” which means that the king made the enemies turn back and run away from the battlefield.
after he [too] enjoyed the *narava*384 [aged] with flower buds that was given by himself, (19) while [not just] the slightly filtered toddy (*ariyaih*) made the suppliants to stay, (18) [but] the clear toddy (*kañh*), while the weak trunk of the *uppan*-tree dried up,385 (17) [the Cēra with the fibre crown] is the man of the Nēri [Hill]386 with slopes, [where] the water sounds. (20)

O *vīrali* with rare bangles, why shall you not go387 [to him]? (21)

He will bestow many [from his] elephants which desire [hard] works, (31) which are strong, which changed [their minds, after] they left [because of] the fire (30) with *shiny flames which* [were] *visible* [across] the *country* that turned [their] forest into a [cultivated] land, (29)

when bright sparks were scattered [obeying] the commands of the mahouts (28)
after they stood [there] putting iron rings [on the elephants] without using [their] goads, (27) while those whose hearts abounded [in] joy, praised the vast battlefield, (26)

having desired the endless [and] tender, sweet [and] joyful words (25) of the young men who wore fresh flowers, of the bards (*pāñar*), (24)

while the goodness [and] the gracefulness388 of the women with tender nature excelled, (23) wearing bright jewels resembling the blossoming *vēṅkai*-flower.389 (22)

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385 *uppan*: “A small tree with golden flowers and small leaves which, in ancient times, was invoked for omens before warriors proceeded to battle.” *Tamil Lexicon*, 488.

386 Nēriyōṅ (p. n.): “the man of the Nēri [Hill]”, see: *Patrūppattu*, 30: 20, 67: 22.


IV. patikam

āra+ tiruviñ cērālāṭaṅku
vēlāvi+ kōmān
patumaṅ tēvi ~iṅra makaṅ muṇai
pañippa+ pīrantu pal pukaḷ vaḷart’
ūḻiṅ ākiya ~uyar perum cīrappiṅ
pūḷi nāṭṭai+ paṭai ~eṭṭṭtu+ taḷīī
~urul pūm kāṭampiṅ peruvāyil nāṅaṅai
nilai+ ceruviṅ āṛṛlai ~aṛutt’ avaṅ
poṅ paṭu vākai muḷu mutal taṭintu
kurunti+ cem puṇal kuṅcaram īṛppa
 ceru+ pala ceytu cem kāḷam vēṭṭu+
 tulāṅku kuṭi tiruttīya valam paṭu veṅri+
 kalaṅkāy+ kaṅṇi nār muṭi+ cēralai+
kāppiyāṛṛu+ kāppiyaṅḷār pāṭiṅna pattu+ pāṭṭu.

avai tām: kamaḷ kural tulāy, kalai ~amal kalaṅi, varamp’ il veḷḷam, ol poṛi+ kalal kāl, mey+
āṭu pārāntalai, vāḷ mayaṅku kāṭum tār, valam paṭu veṅṛi, paricilār veṛukkai, ēval viyaṅ paṇai,
nāṭu kāṅ avir cuṭar, ivai pāṭṭiṅ patikam.

pāṭi+ peṛṛa paricil: nārpaṭu nūṛ’ āyiram poṅ oruṅku koṭuttu+ tān āḷvaṅiṅ pākam koṭuttāṅ a+ kō.

kalaṅkāy+ kaṅṇi nār muṭi+ cēral iru pāṭt’ ai yāṇṭu vīṛṛurtāṅ.
IV. Panegyric

He [was] the son, whom the queen, [daughter of] Vēḷāvi Kōmāṉ Patuṉa,\(^{390}\) (2–3c) gave birth to [the father,] Cēralāta\(^{391}\) of endless wealth, (1) [who] was born so that the frontlines trembled, (3d–4b) [who] caused to increase the many praises [about him], (4c–d) [who] incorporated Pūḷi country\(^{392}\) raising [his] weapon [against it], (6) [country] with high superiority which happened by the destiny,\(^{393}\) (5) [who] destroyed the strength of Naṉṉāṉṉāṉ in the war for the position at Peruvāyil with the kaṭampu-tree\(^{394}\) [which had] round flowers, (7–8d) [who] chopped the entire foot of his golden vākai-tree,\(^{395}\) (8d–9) [who] led many battles, (11a–b) so that elephants were drifted away on the red flood of blood, (10) [who] sacrificed on the red battlefield, (11c–d) Kāppiyāṉṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāventus place name and kaṭampiq as its attribute, where the oblique case stands for a sociative.

\(^{394}\) It is possible that the name of this town was Kaṭampiq Peruvāyil, which was also suggested by Marr referring to the old commentary. Similar place names can be found in today’s South India, cf. Tirumullaivāyil, Tiruvālavāyil, Vākavācal, etc. However, I prefer to understand Peruvāyil as the place name and kaṭampiq as its attribute, where the oblique case stands for a sociative.

\(^{395}\) It is possible that the first name of this poet might be derivable from an unidentified place name where he belonged: Kāppiyāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉā轫 contextualised place names can be found in today’s South India, cf. Tirumullaivāyil, Tiruvālavāyil, Vākavācal, etc. However, I prefer to identify Peruvāyil as the place name and kaṭampiq as its attribute, where the oblique case stands for a relate.

These [ten songs] themselves [are]: The tulāy with fragrant clusters, The fields which are dense with bamboos, The limitless flood, Legs with bright spotted kalal-anklets, Wasteland where bodies dance, The fierce vanguard which was mingled with swords, The triumphant victories, The wealth for the gift-seekers, The commanding wide paṇai-drum, Shiny flames which were visible across the country, [and this as] the panegyric of these ten.

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\(^{390}\) patuṉa (p.n.) < Skt. padma: “lotus” (?). It is either the name of the chief of the Āviyar tribe, to which Pēkaṉ belonged, or the name of the queen, one of the wives of Neṭuṅceḷaḷaṭa. Remarkable that the same name appears in the VIII. patikam, 2 as the mother of Celvakaṭaṅkō and the name without ‘Patumaṉ’ in VI. patikam 1–2. The same chiefs appear in the Ciḷappatikāram, III. 28: 198. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 801.

\(^{391}\) Cēralāta (p.n.): here it is perhaps a short form of the name Neṭuṅcēralāṭa. Marr 1985 [1958]: 276–277.

\(^{392}\) Pūḷināṭu: part of the Cēra kingdom. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 593.


\(^{394}\) It is possible that the name of this town was Kaṭampiq Peruvāyil, which was also suggested by Marr referring to the old commentary. Similar place names can be found in today’s South India, cf. Tirumullaivāyil, Tiruvālavāyil, Vākavācal, etc. However, I prefer to understand Peruvāyil as the place name and kaṭampiq as its attribute, where the oblique case stands for a sociative.


\(^{396}\) The first name of this poet might be derivable from an unidentified place name where he belonged: Kāppiyaṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉāṉā轫 contextualised place names can be found in today’s South India, cf. Tirumullaivāyil, Tiruvālavāyil, Vākavācal, etc. However, I prefer to identify Peruvāyil as the place name and kaṭampiq as its attribute, where the oblique case stands for a relate.


\(^{396}\) The first name of this poet might be derivable from an unidentified place name where he belonged: Kāppiyaṉāvatma-gotra (Tamil Lexicon Supplementum, 216), or his name was simply Kāppiyaṉ which could be derivable from Skt. kāvya, which refers either to his job as a poet composing poetry (Kāppiyaṉ < Tam. kāppiyam < Skt. kāvya), or to his Sanskritic name (Kāppiyaṉ < Skt. kāvya, descendant of Kavi).
Having sung, [the following] gifts [had been] obtained: that king gave from the share of his palace fourty [times] hundred-thousand gold [which] was given in one [instalment].

Kaḷaṅkāykaṇṇi Nārmuṭi Cēral sat twenty-five years majestically [on the throne].

nāṅkām pattu muṟṟṟu.
Thus ending the Fourth Decade.
The Fifth Decade
(ainṭām pattu)

The poet: Kācaṟu Ceyyuḷ Paraṇar

The king: Kaṭal Piṟakkōṭṭiya Ceṅkuṭṭuvan

41.


puṇar puri narampiṭh toṭai paḷuṇiya
vaṇar amai nal yāl ilaivar poruppa+
paṇ+ amai mulavum patalaiyum piravum
kaṇ+ arutt’ ivaṟriya tūmṇṭu curukki+
kāvil takaitta turai kūṭu kala+-paṇyar
kai val ilaivar kaṭavuḷ paḷicca
maṛa+ puli+ kulūu+ kural cettu vaya+ kaḷiṟu
varai cērp’ elunta cuṭar viṆkai

pū ~uṭai+ perum ciṆai vāṅki+ piḷantu taṇ
mā ~iṟum ceṇṇi ~aṇi peṟa miḷaicci+
ceer uṟa cel paṭai maravar
taṇṭ’ uṭai valattar pōr etirnt’-āṅku
vaḷai ~amal viyai kāṭu cilampa+ piḷirum
maḷai peyal māriya kaḷai tiraṅk’ attam
oṛ’ iranṭ’ ala pala kaḷiṇṭu tiṇ tēr
vacai ~il neṭṭaṅkai kāṅku vanticīṅē
tāval uyyumō maṅṛē tāvātu
vaṇciṆam muṭṭita ~oṛu moḷi maravar
murac’ uṭai+ perum camatt’ aracu paṭa’ kaṭaṅtu
vevvar Ṽoccam peruka+ tevvar
miḷak’ eṛi ~ulakkaiyin irum talai ~iṭṭtu
vaik’ ēṛpp’ elunta mai paṭu parappiṅ
eṭṭṭ’ ēṛ’ ēya kaṭipp’ uṭai viyai kaṇ
valam paṭu cīrtti ~orūṅk’ utoṇ iyaintu
kāḷ uḷai+ kaṭum picir uṭaiya vāḷ uḷai+
kaṭum pari+ puravi ~ūrnta niṅ
paṭum tirai+ paṇi+ kaṭal uḷaṇta tāḷē.
I came as one who wants to see [you,] the flawless paragon (16) with firm chariot, after I spent not just one or two, but many [days (15) on] the difficult paths, [where] bamboo dried up, while the showers of the clouds failed, (14) while [wild elephants] trumpeted so that [their voice] echoed in the vast jungle that abounds in gamboges.\(^{397}\) (13) [trumpeted like] the people with sticks in their right [hands] facing battle, [12] warriors of the unitedly marching army, (11) after [those elephants] pulled down [and] broke off the flowery big branches of the \textit{vēṅkai-tree with glowing flowers},\(^{398}\) while they got an ornament by putting [them] on their big dark heads, (8c–10) after [those] wild elephant bulls thought [they heard] the voice of a group of valorous tigers that rose [and] settled in the mountains, (7–8b) when skillful young men praised the deity (\textit{kāṭavuļ}), (6) [who were] men with bags of instruments gathered at the ghat, [whose bags] had been fastened to a pole (\textit{kāvu})\(^{399}\) (5) by tying the melodious \textit{muḷava}-drum, the \textit{patalai}-drum,\(^{400}\) and others [into a bundle] together with the flutes (\textit{tūmpu}) that were made by cutting the joints [of bamboo], (3–4) while [other] young men picked up [their] good, properly bending \textit{yāḻ},\(^{401}\) (2) [on which] the sweet consonants of the attached, coiled strings were matured. (1) Will your legs get rid of the pain,\(^{402}\) which conquered the cool sea with sounding waves, [legs of yours who] rode the horse with fast gallop (17a–b, 26–27) [and] whitish mane while the spray [of the sea] broke as the wind (\textit{kāh}) howled (\textit{ulai}), (25) after you overcame so that the king fell in the great battle with \textit{muracu}-drum (19) [and] with sworn warriors who accomplished their vow\(^{404}\) (18)

\(^{397}\) \textit{valai}: long-leaved two-sepalled gamboge. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3550.

\(^{398}\) The topos of the tree-killing/attacking elephants is a well-known one in the Caṅkam texts. The elephants usually attack the \textit{vēṅkai-tree}, because seeing its colours it could be confused with a tiger. The word \textit{vēṅkai} itself could mean ‘tiger’ (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3820). See: \textit{Kalitokai}, 38: 6–9; \textit{Naṟrīṇai}, 51: 8–11.

\(^{399}\) According to Turacīmippilai, here \textit{kāvu} is the same as \textit{kāvuṭa} (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 903) or \textit{kāvaṭi} (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 900) “pole for carrying burdens on the shoulder”.

\(^{400}\) \textit{patalai}: ‘large-mouthed pot’, ‘kind of drum’, ‘single-headed large drum’. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 2470. It might be the same as the instrument called \textit{ghaṭam}.

\(^{401}\) \textit{yāḻ}: stringed musical instrument, kind of harp. \textit{Dravidian Etymological Dictionary}, 5156.

\(^{402}\) \textit{tāval} is a hapax legomenon. It is explained by the POC as \textit{varuttam} ‘suffering’, ‘pain’ (\textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3522), which meaning was accepted by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar in his commentary. Cāminātaiyar 1980, 100.

\(^{403}\) \textit{muracu’ uṭai perūṭucamam}: “the great battle with \textit{muracu}-drum” or “the great, \textit{muracu}-drum breaking battle”.

\(^{404}\) \textit{vañciṉam}: ‘oath’, ‘asseveration’. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3466. There is another way to understand this line if we follow the POC which glosses: \textit{vañciṉam muṭṭaṭak}: “completion of the seizure of the circles/states of the foes”
after you pounded the black heads [of your] enemies like the pepper-pounding pestle, (20d–21) so that the wealth of [your] friends was increased, (20a–c) after you were in harmony with all [your] victorious reputations (cırttı) (24) with the wide eye [of your drum] which possesses a drumstick that fit to be raised [and] beaten on [its] blackened surface from which continuous clamour arose?

(māṛr maṭṭalankaik koṭṭu muṭṭtal). It is clearly based on the theory of vaicittiṇai described in Puṟapporuṇeṇpamālai, 3: 1.
42.


irum paṇam puṭaiyal īkai vāṅ kaḻal
mīṅ tēr kotpiṅ paṇi+ kayam mūliki+
ciral peyart’-aṇṇa neṭum veļ+ ūci
neṭum vaci paranta vaṭu vāl māriṅ
ampu cēr utampiṅar+ cērntō allatu
tumpai cūṭatu malanta māṭci
~aṅṅor peruma nal nutal kaṇava
~aṅṅal yaṅai ~atū pōr+ kuṭṭuva
maint’ utai nal+ amar+ kaṭantu valam tārī
~iṅci vī virāya paim tār cūṭti+
cāntu prṝatt’ eṛittta **tacumpu tuļaṅk’ irukkai**
	tim cēru vilaiṁta maṇi niram maṭṭam
ōmpā ~iṅkaiṅ vaḷ makil curantu
kōṭiyar perum kīlai vāla ~āṭ’ iyal
uḷai ~avir kalimā+ polintavai ~eṅṅiṅ
maṅpatai maruḷa ~aracu paṭa+ kaṭantu
munṭu viṅai ~etir-vara+ peṟutal kāṇiyar
oliṟu nilai ~uyar marupp’ ēntiya kalir’ ūrntu
māṅa maintaroṭu maṅṇar ēṭta niṅ
tēroṭu cuṟam ulakk’ uṭaṅ mūya
mā ~irum teḷ kaṭal mali tirai+ pauvattu
veḷ talai+ kurū+ picir uṭaiya+
taṅ pala varūum puṇariṁṭi palavē.
42nd song

The shining seat of vessels

[O you] with divine (vāṉ) golden kaḻal-anklets, with garlands of dark palmyra[-fronds], (1) o great man among the similarly glorious men, (6d–7b) who fought, who [did] not wear tumpaḻ-garland\(^{405}\) (6a–c) [against] others than the united ones whose bodies were touched by arrows, (5) [ones] with chests with deep scars [on which] the long tips of long bright needles spread, (3c–4) which [needles repeatedly] came up like a kingfisher\(^{406}\) (3) after it plunged into the cool lake, [over which it] circled [in order to] find fishes, (2) o husband of [the woman with] fine forehead, (7c–d) o Kuṭṭuvan [who are] murderous in war with [your] majestic elephant, (8) after you overcame in the strong good battle [and] brought victory, (9) after you put on a fresh garland combined with ginger-flowers, (10) after you poured abundant liquor (makiḻ) giving [generously] without saving [for yourself], (13) the sapphire-coloured\(^{407}\) wine (maṭṭam) which was matured [from] the sweet juice, (12) [wine from] the shining\(^{408}\) seat of vessels, which had sandal-paste smeared on the outside, (11) if one counts those which were given [by you liberally], the horses with shiny plume (15) [and] prancing nature, so that the dancers\(^{409}\) and [their] great relatives lived [well], (14) there are numerous\(^{410}\) like the many cool waves that come, (23) while the bright surface of the ocean with abundant tides of the vast, dark [and] clear seas was broken into a brilliant spray, (21–22) when the world of [your] relatives was filled with your chariots, (19d–20) while kings with honorable warriors praised [you], (19) after you overcame so that kings fell while the humanity (mappatai)\(^{411}\) became puzzled, after you rode your elephant bull which lifted [you up with its] high tusks [to] a splendid seat (nilai) (18)

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\(^{405}\) tumpaḻ: white dead nettle (Leucas aspera). Tamil Lexicon, 1972. The occurrence of this plant denotes a “literary setting” (tiṇai) that focuses on the battle. Tolkāppiyam Poruḷaṭikāram Puruṭṭinaṭṭiyal, cū. 70. In the poems that show the features of tumpaḻ tiṇai, the warriors often wear tumpaḻ garlands during the battle.

\(^{406}\) This much-quoted simile of the poem describes the suturing of wounds as a surgical procedure, which is a testament to advanced medical knowledge in South India.

\(^{407}\) The sapphire-coloured wine here is a possible reference to the Mediterranean wine arrived to South India during the centuries of Indo-Roman trading relations. Since maṇi means not only ‘sapphire’, but ‘precious stone’, it is possible that the Tamil poet referred to the dark-coloured Roman import wine as a prestige-good of the king. However, without having further evidences it is also possible that we are dealing here with a kind of toddy, which has taken on the color of the flower buds during the maturation process described by many poems.


\(^{410}\) The last line of the poem has to be connected with poṭintavai ēṇṇi in Line 15.

\(^{411}\) Most probably refers to the subjects of the enemy kings.
in order to see the oncoming attainment of [gifts as] an ancient act.\textsuperscript{412} (17)

\textsuperscript{412} Here I interpreted \textit{muntu vīpāi} as an ancient act when the retinue of the king distributed gifts in the name of the monarch, while the king watched it from the neck of his royal elephant.
43.


kavari mucci+ kār viri kūntal
ūcal mēval cē ~iḷai makuḷir
ural pōl perum kāl ilaṇku vāḷ maruppiṇ
perum kai mata mā+ puku-tariṇ avaṟṟul
virunți vīḷ piṭi ~eṇṇu murai peṟā+
kaṭavuṇ nilaiya kal+ ōṅku neṟum varai
taṭa ticai ~ellai ~imayam āka+
tenṇam kumariyoṭ’ āyiṭai ~aracar
murac’ uṭai+ perum camam tataiya ~ārpp’ ēḷa+
col pala nāṭṭai+ tol kaviṇ alitta
pōr aṭu tāṅai+ polam tār+ kuṭṭuva
~iṟum paṇai tiraṅka+ perum peyaḷ olippa+
kunṟu vaṟam kūra+ cuṭar ciṇam tikiḷa
~aruvi ~aṟra perum varal kālaṇyum
arum celal pēr ĕṟr’ irum karai ~uṭaittu+
kaṭi ~ēr puṭṭunar kaṭukkai malaiya
varaiv’ il atir cilai muḷaṅkī+ peyal ciṟant’
ār kali vaṇṇam tali corint’ āṅk’
ūṟuvar āra ~ōmpāt’ uṇṭu
nakaivar āra nal kalam citaṛi
~aṭu ciṟai ~aṟutta narampu cēr in kural
pāṭu viraliyar pal piṭi peruka
tuy vī vākai nuṇ koṭi ~uḷiṇai
veṇṛi mēval uru keḷu ciṟappiṇ
koṇṭi mallaṅ kol kāḷiṟu peruka
maṇṟam paṭarntu maṟku ciṟai+ pukku+
kaṇṭi nuṇ kōl koṇṭu kalam vāḷtum
akavaḷaṇ peruka māvē ~eṇrum
ikal viṇai mēvalai ~ākaliṇ pakaivarum
tāṅkāṭu pukalṇta tūṅku koḷai muḷaviṇ
tolaivyā+ karpa niṇ nilai kaṇṭikumē
nīnma cuṭu pukaiyōtu kaṇal ciṇam taviṟātu
niramp’ akalp’ ariyā ~ēṛā ~ēṇi
nirāṇtu neṭit’ irā+ tacumpiṇ vayiriyar
uṇṭ’-eṇa+ tavāa+ kallin
val kai věntē niŋ kali makilāṅē.
43rd song

The shelves that cannot be climbed

O Kuṭṭuvaṇ with gold garland [and] with the army murderous (11) in battle, who ruined the ancient beauty of many famous countries\(^{413}\) (10) when clamour emerged, while [kings] crowded on the great battlefield that possessed the muracu-drum, (9) kings between the southern Kumari\(^{414}\) (8) [and] the Imayam\(^{415}\) which became the boundary of the northern direction, (7) the tall mountain which rises with rocks, which has the state of the deity,\(^{416}\) (6) [where.] if [women] enter the rutting elephants with huge trunks, (4a–c) shiny white tusks, and big mortar-like feet, (3) the way to count the new desirable elephant cows fails among them,\(^{417}\) (4d–5) women with swinging desirable red jewels (2) [and] spreading tresses black like the yak’s tuft,—\(^{418}\) (1) even at the time of the great famine without waterfalls, (14) when the anger of the Sun shines, when the drought is abundant among the hills, (13) when the big rainings vanish and the bamboos dry up, (12) [even at that time] the difficult-[to-stop] flowing big river broke [its] dark shores, (15) the rain had increased [and] endlessly reverberating roars\(^{419}\) [of thunder] rumbled, (17) while [those] people, who fastened [their] new\(^{420}\) plough, put on kaṭukkai-flowers,—\(^{421}\) (16) like the raindrops drip from the crowded clamorous sky, (18) [you] showered good vessels, so that [your] friends became full,\(^{422}\) (20) having consumed without saving, so that people who witnessed [it] became satisfied, (19) let the singing virāḷis obtain many elephant cows, (22)

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\(^{413}\) This kind of cleft sentence, in which the actual direct object is embedded in the verb and the possessor of that is marked by accusative instead of genitive, is typical from the bhakti literature onwards and very rare in the Caṅkam texts,

\(^{414}\) Kanniyākumari or Cape Comorin is the southernmost point of the Indian peninsula.

\(^{415}\) Imayam (p.n.) < Skt. Himālaya.

\(^{416}\) Here the god (katavu) who has a seat/state in the Himalaya might be Śiva, so this could be one among the earliest Tamil references of him.

\(^{417}\) Obscure passage.

\(^{418}\) POC: mucchi – “tufted head” (koṇṭaimuṭṭi).

\(^{419}\) POC: cilai – cilattal (v. n.).

\(^{420}\) Here I followed Aghostialingom (Aghostialingom 1979, 42) who understood kaṭi as ‘new’, which is one among the possible meanings of the word. See: Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram, cū. 383. Another reading is “the plough (ēr) [which] bites/cuts (kaṭi) [the ground]”.

\(^{421}\) kaṭukkaḷ: Indian laburnum (Cassia fistula), same as koṇraḷ. Tamil Lexicon, 1168.

\(^{422}\) This formulaic (or allusoric?) line (nakaivar āra nal kalam citaṟi) is the same as Patiruppattu, 37: 4.
[vīralh, whose] sweet voice, which excelled[the kīpparam with] fluttering wing, joined to the strings! (21)

Let the plundering (koṇṭi) strong men (maḷḷar) obtain murderous elephant bulls, (25)
[men, who are] glorious, fearful, and longing [for] victory, (24)
[who have] the soft flower of the vākai-tree and the fine creeper of uḷiña! (23)

Let the akaval-ward obtain horses, (28a–c)
[who] praised the battlefield taking [his] fine stick with joints (kaṇṭi) (27)
after he set out to the village common [and] entered the side of the street! (26)

O man of the fidelity that does not perish, (31a–b)
with a melodiously sounding mulaṽu-drum which praised [you] that none of [your] enemies could bear, (29d–30)
we saw your state in your bustling court, o king with generous hands, (31b–d, 36)
[which court bustles,] because [your] unceasing toddy (kaḷ) had been drunk (35)
by the musicians (vayiriyar) from the pots which do not remain filled for a long, (34)
[pots from] the shelves (ēṇṭ) that cannot be climbed [as a ladder (ēṇṭ)], [shelves, which] know neither exhaustion nor fullness, (33)
[shelves in your court, where] the heat of the fire together with the smoke of the burning meat does not cease. (32)

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423 arutta (perf.pey.): lit. “cut-off”.
424 I followed Turaicāmippiḷḷai whose commentary is based on POC, which understood āṭu ciṟai as a metonymy (ākupeyar) that refers to the kīpparam (< Skt. kinnara). Turaicāmippiḷḷai 1973, 198.
425 POC: koṇṭi – koḷḷai.
426 uḷiña: Balloon vine, Cardiospermum halicacabum. Tamil Lexicon, 468.
427 akaval: a group of bards who mastered the metre called akaval. POC: “singing pāṇaṭ” (pāṭum pāṇaṭ).
428 Here unṭeṇṭa has to be understood as a causal absolute.
429 The negative signifier ēṇṭ is a velippaṭai here which distinguishes the ‘ladder’ (ēṇṭ) from this ‘unscalable’ one which is, according to the POC, a kōkkāli means a “bracket in a wall for holding pots” (Tamil Lexicon, 1169).
430 In Line 33, the words nirampu and akalpu are old type of absolutives which I translated as nouns here.
44.


nilam puṭaipp’-aṇṇa ṛ-arpp’-oṭu vicumpu tuṭaiyū
vāṇ tōy vel koṭi tēr micai nuṭāṅka+
periya ṛ-āyigum amar kaṭantu peṛra
~ariya ṛ-ennāṭ’ ōmpātu vīci+
kalam cela+ curattal allatu kaṇaviṇum
kaḷaik’ eṇa ṛ-ariyā+ kaṭaṭ’ il neṇcatt’
āṭu naṭai ṛ-anṇal niṇ pāṭu-maḳal kāṇiyar
kāṇiḷiyarō niṇ pukaḷnta yākkai
muḷu vali tuṇcum nōy tapu nōl toṭai
nuṇ koṭi ṛ-ulīṇai vel pōr arukai
ceṇṇā ṛ-āyigum kēḷ eṇa moḷiṇtu
puḷam peyarnt’ olṭta kalaiyā+ pūcark’
araṇ kaṭā ṛ-ūrī ṛ-anṇku niḳaṇṭ’-aṇṇa
mōkūr maṇṇṣ muracam koṇṭu
neṭu moḷi paṇitt’ avaṇ vēmpu mutal taṭiṇtu
muracu cey muracci+ kalīru pala pūṭṭi
~oḷukai ~uytta koḷu ~il paṃ tūṇi
vaıt talai maṇṭanta tuy+ talai+ kūkai
kavalai kavṛṛum kūḷām paṇṭalai
murac’ uṭai+ tāyatt’ aracu pala ~ōṭṭi+
tuḷaṅku nīr viyāl akam āṇṭ’ initu kaļiṇta
maṇṇar maṭaḷtā tālī
vaṇṇi maṇṭattu viḷaṅkiya kāṭē.

122
The sturdy limbs destroyed by pain

After you showered [gifts] without saving [for yourself], without saying that [those] things [are] rare, (4) [things] which were obtained after you overcame in battle, even if [those] things [are] big, (3) [you showered them,] while sky-touching, victorious flags sway on the top of the chariots, (2) rubbing the sky with clamour which was as if the earth had been beaten, (1)

Let your songstresses see [your] majesty with dancing gait (āṭu nātai), (7) with flawless heart, [you, who] know nothing, not even [in your] dreams, but springing forth [gifts], when jewels leave [your hands, and least of all] asking [us] to remove [those jewels]! (5–6)

After you said that Arūkai of victorious battle [who had] fine uliṇai-creeper is your relative (kēḷ), even if he [was] far away, (10–11) after you returned to the lands, (12a) after you took the muracam-drum of the king Mōkūr who entered like the apaṅku (14) making the fort have an urge for resistance (pucaḷ) [against] removing the hidden things (oḷitta), (12b–13b) after you made [him, who had] high words [of promises], humble, cut off the foot of his vempu-tree, (15) accomplished to make a muracu-drum [from the tree] and tied [your] many elephant bulls [to the rest of the trunk], (16) after you drove away many kings with muracu-possessing patrimony (tāyam) (20) on the wastelands with owls (kurāḷ) which feel distressed anxiety (19)

Reading ārpp'-ōtu, the position of the sociative suffix (ōtu) at the beginning of a metrical foot (cēr) is, to put it mildly, weird and irregular.

kaḷaika(subj. Wilden 2018, 114.): “let [us] remove!”.


According to the POC, Arūkai (p. n.) is “a minor tributary chief who has become a friend for the Cēras, [but] an enemy for the king Mōkūr” (mōkūr maṅgaṅukku pakai āy cēraṅukku naṭp’ āy iruppār ṽṟunilamaṅgaṇ). Interestingly, neither the Tamil Lexicon nor the Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index contains an entry on Arūkai, the chief.

Mōkūr (p. n.) is a chieftain (or the name of several rulers of the same dynasty, cf. Naṉṉaṉ) of the age, who might be connected to a Mauryan invasion from the North, and whose court was visited by the kōcar-tribe. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 713.

Perhaps another possible interpretation is to understand the word neṭumoḷi which means ‘eulogy’, ‘praise’ (Tamil Lexicon, 2340) as a metonymy for Mōkūr (“he who is equal to] eulogy”).


This act can be understood as the final humiliation of the defeated king, or I would rather think, the enemies’ descent into the vassal status as the poetic image suggests, in which the chopped totemistic tree had been tied to the royal elephant, one of the important insignias of the king (cf. Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Marapiyal, 72, cū. 616).
[caused] by [other] owls (kūkai) with soft head which forgot the place, where they put (18) the fresh fatless chops [of the corpses] which had [already] been carried away by carts, (17) after [you] ruled the vast inlands [surrounded by] the swaying water, — (21a–c) at the burial ground (kāṭu)\(^{441}\) which shines on the square with vanni-trees,\(^{442}\) (23) [where are] urns (tāḻi), [in which] kings, who sweetly passed away, had been buried, (21c–22) may [your songstresses] not see\(^{443}\) your famous (pukaḷnta)\(^{444}\) body [there], (8) [your] **sturdy limbs destroyed by pain**, [in which your] entire strength [falls] asleep!\(^{445}\) (9)

440 Another interpretation is to take kavalai ‘crossroad’ or ‘forking branches’ (*Tamil Lexicon*, 790) as an unmarked locative.
441 Same as cuṭukāṭu. *Tamil Lexicon*, 855. One might prefer to translate kāṭu literally as ‘wilderness’, which might result a less specific interpretation, but a more accurate reading.
442 **vanni**: *Prosopis spicigera*. *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 5330.
443 The word kāṇiliyarō is a negative optative from kāṇ(ṇu)-tal v. 13. tr. ‘to see’, with an ōkāram at the end, which is perhaps a particle of politeness (Wilden 2018, 113).
444 Literally “the body which was praised”.
445 It is a kind of anomalous circular construction (*pūtuvil*) here, in which not the first line has to be connected to last, but in fact Line 8, where anyway we find our main predicate (kāṇiliyarō).

polam pūn tumpai+ poṟi kilar tuṇi+
pūr̩r̩ ataṅk’ araviṅ oṭuṅkiya ~ampiṅ
nociv’ utai viliṅ nociyā neṅciṅ
kalir’ erīntu murīnta katuviā eṅkiṅ
viloṁyōr tuvaṅriya ~akam kaṇ nāṭpiṅ
elu muṭi mārpiṅ eytiya cēral
kuṇtu kaṇ akiyā matīl pala kaṭantu
paṇṭum paṇṭum tām ẓ uḷi ẓuṭta
nāṭu kelu tāyattu naṇam talai ~aruppattu+
katavam kākkum kaṇai ~elu ~aṇṇa
nilam peṛu tiṇi tōl uyara ~ōcci+
piṇam piṅaṅk’ aļuviittu+ tuṅaṅkai ~āṭi+
cōṟu vēr’ eṅnā  responsável tuviā aščil
ōṭā+ piṭaṛ ul vaḷi ~iruttu
muḷ+ ṭiṭup’ ariyā ~ēni+ tevvar
cilai vicai ~aṭakkiya mūri veḷ tōl
aṅaiya panpiṅ tāṇai maṇṇar
iṇi yār uḷarō niṇ muṇṇum illai
maḷai koḷa+ kūraiyātu puṇal puka niṟaįyātu
viḷaṅku vaḷi kaṭavum tuḷaṅk’ irum kamaṅcūl
vayaṅku maṇi ~imaippin vēḷ ṭiṭupu
muḷaṅku tirai+ paṇi+ kaṭal maṟutticinōrē.
45th song

The food with meat curry

O Cēra [king] who obtained seven crowns with your chest (6) on the battlefields with vast areas which were crowded by excellent men (5) with diminishing broken blades since they attacked elephant bulls, (4) [men] with unbending hearts [but] flexible bows (3) [and] arrows which were restrained in the quivers like the withdrawn snake in the anthill, (2) [quivers, on which] marks of the tumpai with golden flowers emerge, (1) after [you] overcame the many walls which had moats in the deep, (7) after [you] danced the tūṇāṅkai on the battlefield, where corpses were piled up, (12) risingly raising [your] strong arms which obtained lands, (11) which are like the cylindrical cross-bar (elu) that protects the gate (10) of the fort (aruppam) of wide areas [which were] the heritage (tāyam) of [those] countries (9) that [you] annexed, after [you] ruined their inlands (ul) in very ancient times, (8) after [you] stayed on the inner paths with the ones whose pride is not to flee, (14) [who had] food (aticil) with meet curry, in which [meat] was inseparable from the boiled rice, (13) [those] kings with armies, whose nature is similar (17) to the strong bright shields which stop the hasty [arrows of the] bows, (16) [who are] enemies with borders (ēṇi), where thorns had never been planted [for defence], (15) who are they now? None [of them] is in front of you, (18) [since] they are ones who did not let [pass] the cool ocean with roaring waves, (22) [after you] planted [your] spear with shiny sapphire[-like] glittering, (21) [the ocean with] swaying fully pregnant [clouds] which had been urged by the athwart[-blowing] wind, (20)

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446 Same as nāṭpu: battle, fight, battlefield. Tamil Lexicon, 1684.
449 It is possible to split the sandhis in another way reading nocivu and nociyā derivable from noci-tāl v. 4. intr.
452 Here tuvai is a dish made from rice and meet, which is consistent with the fifth and sixth meaning of tuvai found in Tamil Lexicon, (p. 1999). Cf. Puraṇāṭṭuṟu, 14: 13–14. For more, see Chévillard 2021, 20–22.
453 cilai vicai: “the haste of the bow”, “bow-mechanism”. If we choose the first interpretation, then vicai (‘haste’) might be a metonymy for arrows. If we prefer the second one, then we might see here a mechanism similar to aiyavi. Cf. footnote 122.
454 iṭupu (abs.): ‘having placed’, ‘having kept’, ‘having thrown’, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 283. Another possible reading is that the king threw his spear.
[the ocean, which] cannot be filled, while the rivers enter, and cannot be diminished, while it receives the rain.\textsuperscript{455} (19)

\textsuperscript{455} We find a rather similar formulaic line in \textit{Maturaikkāñci}: \textit{maḷai koḷa kuṟaiyātu pugal puka mīkātu} (\textit{Maturaikkāñci}, 424).
46.

peyar: karaivāy paruti, tuṟai: centuṟai pāṭāṇḻuttu, tūkku: centūkku, vaṇṇam: oḻuku vaṇṇam.

ilaiyar kulaiyar narum taṇ mālaiyar
cuṭar nimir avir toṭi ceritta muṅkai+
tīṟal viṭu tiru maṇi ~ilaṅku mārpiṇ
vaṇṭu paṭu kūntal muṭi puṇai makkālir
toṭai paṭu pēr(i) yāl pālai paṇṇi+
paṇiyā marapin uliṅai pāṭa
~inītu puram tant’ avarkk’ īṅ makkil curattalīṅ
curam pala kāṭavum karaivāy paruti
~ūr pāṭṭ’ ēnṭ’ il paim talai tumīya+
pal ceru+ kāṭanta kol kalīṟ’ ~yāṇai
kōṭu naral pauvam kalanika vēl īṭṭ’
uttai tirai+ parappil paṭu kāṭal ōṭṭiyā
vel pukaḷ+ kuṭṭuvan kanṭōr
celkuvam ēṅṅār pāṭupu peyarntē.
46th song

The wheels with bloody ridge

After women performed *pālaṭ*-melody[456] on the stringed big *yāḷ*[457] [women] with ornamented hairknots [and] tresses swarmed around by bees, (4–5) with bosoms on which bright brilliant sapphires shone, (3) with forearms on which bangles with splendour extending [like] the Sun (*cutṭar*) had been put tightly, (2) [women] who [wear] fragrant cool garlands, earrings, and jewels, (1) because [you] shower[458] for them sweet joy/toddy[459] after [you] sweetly provided [them] protection, (7) when they were singing *ulḷaṇṭ*-songs[460] according to [their] not-declining (*pañiyā*) tradition, (6) after [you] planted [your] spear,[461] while, the ocean [where] the conch shells (*kōṭu*)[462] sounded, was stirred up, (11) [you] with murderous elephant bulls, which overcame in many battles, (10) when the wheels with bloody ridge cut off the countless fresh heads at the crawling advent, [which wheels] were driven[463] through the many deserts (*curam*),— (8–9) the ones who have seen [you,] Kuṭṭuvaṉ with victorious praise, (13) will not say that “we go [and] return!”,[464] after they sang [for you] (14) [who] drove back the sea[465] which had a [huge] extent of breaking waves. (12)


[457] The performance of *pālaṭ*-melodies on the *pēriyāḷ* can be found in Patiṟṟuppattu, 57: 8; 66: 2.

[458] Here *curattali* (v. n. + obl.) stands for a causal clause.


[460] *ulḷaṇṭ*: a heroic literary setting, a *puṟattinaṭ* that talks about the siege of forts. Tamil Icaip Pērakarāṭi, 95.

[461] *iṭṭ*: “having placed”, “having kept”, “having thrown”, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 283. Another possible reading is that the king threw his spear.


[463] *katavum* (imp. pey.): “which causes to ride”, “which drives”, “which urges”. Tamil Lexicon, 662.

[464] According to the analysis of Aghostialingom, the verb *celkuvam* is a non-past finite form: “we (will) go”. Aghostialingom 1979, 185.

[465] The most important title of Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ (*kaṭal pirakk’ ŏṭṭiya*) is reflected in this description.
47.


aṭṭ’ āṉāṅē kuṭṭuvan aṭu torum
peṟṟ’ āṅārē paricilar kaḷirē
varai micai ~ili-tarum aruviyiṅ māṭattu
vali muṇai ~avir-varum koṭi nuṭaṅku teruvil
cori curai kavarum ney valip’ uraliṅ

pāṇṭil vilakkū+ parū+ cuṭar alalā

nal nutal viṟaliyar āṭum

tol nakar varaippin avaṇ urai ~āṇāvē.
47th song

Viralis with fine forehead

The always murderous Kuṭṭuvan is never done with killing.466 (1)
Whenever he kills, the gift-seekers never end in obtaining elephants. 467 (2)
His fame will never end468 within the boundaries of the ancient palace (nakar), (8)
where viralis with fine forehead dance, (7)
while the flame burns, after the light on the [lamp’s] bowl469 became larger, (6)
because470 the clear butter (ney), which seized the hollows to be poured, spread [and]
overflowed, (5)
[dance] on the streets where brightening flags sway on the windy places471 (4)
at the storied houses (māṭam) [which looked] like the waterfall472 rushing from the top of the
mountain. (3)

466 ānpār: neg. m. sg. from *āṅg v. 3. tr./intr. ‘to end’.
467 ānār: neg. h. pl. from *āṇg v. 3. tr./intr.
468 āṇā: neg. n. pl. from *āṅg v. 3. tr./intr.
469 POC glosses kāl-vilakku (“standing lamp”?) for paṇṭil vilakku which was, according to the Tamil Lexicon, a
standard-lamp. Tamil Lexicon, 2598.
470 Here urālig (v. n. + obl.) stands for a causal clause.
471 Another reading is “in the wind” (vaṭi mugaṭ), in which mugaṭ would be an unusual locative suffix.
472 As a possible interpretation, in this poem we might see a short description of a royal palace which may have
been the antecedent of the medieval Dravidian style temple complexes, since the waterfall-like storied
houses/buildings could very well be imagined as kōpurams. However, it is possible to connect aruviyig to the
flags (cf. Patiruppattu, 25: 11), so that in the simile, the storied houses looked like mountains and the swaying
flags looked like the waterfalls rushing from the top.
48.


paim poṇ tāmarai pāṇar+ cūṭṭi
~oḷ nungal viraliyarkk’ āram pūṭṭi+
keṭal arum pal pukaḷ nilaii nīr pukku+
kaṭaloṭ’ uḷanta paṇi+ tuṟai+ paratava
~āṇṭu nīr+ peṟra tāram īṇṭ’ īvar 5
kollā+ pāṭark’ ēlitin īyum
kallā vāymaiyaṇ ivaṇ eṇa+ ta(m)+ tam
kai val ilaiyar nēr kai niraippa
vaṇṇekkiya cāyal vaṇṇkā ~āṇmai
muṇai cuṭu kaṇai ~erī ~erittalīg peritum
ikāl kaviṇ aliṇta mālaiyōtu cāntu pular
pal poṇi mārpa niṇ peyar vāliyarō
niṇ malai+ pirantu niṇ kaṭal maṇṭum
maḷi puṇgal nikāl-tarum tīm niṅ vilaviṇ
poḷil vati vēṅil pēr elil vālkkai 10
mēvaru cuṟamōṭ’ uyṭ’ īṇṭu nukarum
tīm puṇgal āyam āṭum
kāṅciyam perum tuṟai maṇṭalīṇum palavē.
48th song

A great and high life

O fisherman of the cool harbour which was conquered by the sea, (4)
after [you] entered the water [and] established [your] abundant fame which is difficult to lose, (3)
after [you] put a necklace on the vīrala with bright forehead, (2)
[and] adorned the minstrels (pāṇar) with greenish golden lotuses, (1)
may your name live [long], o man of the chest with many lines (12)
of the dried sandal-paste [and] with a garland on which the beauty of all the petals perished (11)
because of the burning of the intensely hot fire on the frontier, (10)
[man who has] valour which is not humble, [but has a] nature which is humble, (9)
when the skilful youngsters strech out each of [their] hands, saying that “this man is a man of truth [that he did] not learn, (7–8)
[who] easily gives goods (tāram) which were obtained there, on the water, for the songs of these people here, [which songs were] not kept [to themselves,]— (5–6)
[may your name live] even more [years] than the [number of] sand[-particles] in your great harbour with kāñci-trees, (18)
where [your] retinue dances at the sweet flood (17)
which they enjoy sweetly, eating together with [their] desirous relatives (16)
with a great and high life at summer that stays in the groves (15)
with festival of sweet water that occures (14)
by the abundant flood which was born in your hills and enriches your sea. (13)

Turaicāmippiḷḷai: kaṭalōtu ulanta – “[who] performed a difficult battle with the enemies [from] the sea” (kaṭarpakaivarotu ariya pōraic ceyta). However, I translated ulanta (< uḷa-itt v. 4. tr., Tamil Lexicon, 466) as “conquered”, and understood the sociative suffix of kaṭal as instrumental (veṟṟumai-mayakkam).
vīrala: a female performer who was most probably a dancer and/or a singer.
pacum poğ: fine gold. Tamil Lexicon, 2400.
Cf. Puranāṉṟī, 11: 15–17, where another Cēra king gave a “lotus crafted in the bright flames” (oḷal purinta tāmarai) to the minstrel (pāṇmakai).
Here erittal(ī) (v. n. + obl.) stands for a causal clause.
Another interpretation would result to understand ilaiyar as “they [at] the fence/enclosure (ilai < miḷai)”. Tamil Lexicon, 359.
Here mēvaru is a contracted verbal compound from mēvu+varu (“to be fitted for”). Wilden 2018, 153; Tamil Lexicon, 3360.
49.

yāmum cēṟukam nīyirum vammiṇ
tuḷalum kōtaī+ tuḷaṇk’ iyal viṟaliyar
koḷai val vāḻkkai num kīḷai ~iṇit’ uṇiṇyar
kalīṟu parant’ iyala+ kaṭum mā tāṅka
~oḷiṟu koṭi nūṟṇaṅka+ tēr tirintu kōṭpa
~ēkku turant’ elu-ṭarum kai kavar kaṭum tār
vel pōr vēntarum vēḷirum oṅṟu mōḷintu
moy vaḷam cerukki mocintu varum mōkūr
vaḷam-paṭu kūlū-nilai ~atira māṭṭi
neyṭṭir toṭṭa cem kai maṟavar

niram paṭu kuruti nilam paṭarnt’ ōṭī
maḷai nāḷ puṇaliṇ aval parant’ oḷuka+
paṭu piṉam pirāṅka+ pāḷ pala ceytu
paṭu kaṇ muracam nāṭuvaṅ cilaippa
vaḷaṅ aṟa-nilakṇtu vāḷunaṅ palar paṭa+
kāṟum ciṇai viṟal vēmp’ arabṭa
perum ciṇam+ kuṭṭuvaṅ kāntaṇam varaṟkē.
49th song

The warriors with red hands

Let us also join!\(^{483}\) You too come! (1)
May your relatives eat sweetly, [whose] livelihood is the ability of [performing] melodies\(^{484}\) (3)
[for you,] virālīś with swaying gaits\(^{485}\) and swaying garlands! (2)
[Let us also join] in order to return as people who have [already] seen the much enraged Kuṭṭuvaṉ,\(^{486}\) (17)
who cut off the strong\(^{487}\) vēmpu-tree\(^{488}\) with black branches, (16)
so that many of those who lived fell, after [their] wealth happened to perish, (15)
while the muracan-drum with its beaten-eye resounded in the middle, (14)
after he caused many desolations, while the [heaps of] fallen corpses were lofty, (13)
when the blood (kuruti) rolled spreading in the depressions [of the lands] like the flood of a rainy day (12)
overspreadingly running on the ground, [the blood] from the vital spots of warriors with red hands that had touched blood (neyttōr),— (11)
while, after [Kuṭṭuvaṉ] attacked, the stand of the victorious crowd of Mōkur was trembling, (8d–9)
where kings and chieftains of victorious battles had come after they declared an oath, (7)
swarmed [with their armies and] became arrogant [from their] concentrated strengths, (8a–c)
[kings and chieftains] with fierce vanguards with seizing divisons, which rise driving [their] blades into [the crowd], (6)
while [their] chariots were rolling to and fro,\(^{489}\) shiny flags were swaying, (5)
swift horses carried [soldiers] and elephant bulls spread and advanced. (4)

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\(^{483}\) cēṟukam (subj.): “let us join!”.

\(^{484}\) koḷai: ’song’ (pāṭaḥ), ‘melody’ (icai). Tamil Icai Pērakarāti, 204.

\(^{485}\) Translating tulak’ iyal. I would prefer to understand either “swaying gait” or “shining nature”. Tamil Lexicon, 301; 1987. Here I chose “swaying gait”, thus the poet might compared the swaying gait to the swinging garland (tuyalum kōtai) in the same line.

\(^{486}\) For understanding the poem, we have to connect the first line to the last in a circular construction (pūṭu viḥ).

\(^{487}\) Turaicāmippilla: viral – “strength” (vaṉmaṭ), PPI: “strength”. We chose the same meaning, although the usual old meanings of viral are either victory, or bravery. Tamil Lexicon, 3733.

\(^{488}\) vēmpu. neem, margosa, Azadirachta indica. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 5531.

50.


mā malai mulakkiṇ māṅ kaṇam paṇippa+ kāḷ mayaṅku katal urai ~āliyōtu citaṛi+ karump’ amal kaḷaṇiṇyā nāṭu vaḷam poliṇa vaḷam keḷu ciraṇṇiṇ ulakam puraii+ cem kunakk’ oḷukum kalūli malir niṟai+ kāviri ~anṝiyum pū viru puṇgul oru mūṅṛ’ utaṇ kūṭiya kūṭal anaiyai kol kaḷiṛ’, uravu+ tirai pīṟaḷa ~a+ vil picira+ purai tōl varaippelin ekku mīṅ avir-vara viravu+ paṇai muḷaṅk’ oli verīya vēntakk’ aranam ākiyai veru-varu pugal tār kal-micaityavvum kaṭalavum pīṟavum aruppam amaiiya ~amar kaṭant’ urutta ~āḷ malī maruṅkiṇ nāṭ’ akapptaṭtu nal+ icai naṇam talai ~iriyā ~oṇṇār urupp’ āra niraṇippai ~āṭaliṇ cāntu pularpu vaṇṇam nīvi vakai vaṇṇapp’ urṭa vari ṇimīṛ’ imirum mārpu pīṇi maṅkalir viri mel kūntal mel+ aṇai vatintu kol pīṇi tirukkya mārpu kavar muyakkattu+ polutu kol marapiṅ mel pīṇi ~avīḷa ~evaṅ pala kaḷiyumō peruma pal nāḷ pakai vemmaiṇṇ pācaṟai marīi+ pāṭ’ arit’ iyainta cīṟu tuyil iyāḷāṭu kōṭu muḷaṅk’ imilicai ~cēṭuppum pīṭu keḷu celvam marīiya kaṇṇē.
50th song

The frightening flood-like vanguard

After you protected the world with [your] prosperous superiority, (4) so that the wealth of the country overflowed, [the country, which] has fields dense with sugarcane, (3) after the wind-bewildered hasty raindrops were scattered together with hailstones (āli), (2) while the herds of deer were trembling, because of the thunders at the big mountains, (1) you are like the confluence (kūṭah), where the three united in one: (7) [two] streams on which flowers open besides the Kāviri (kāviri) (6) with flooding copiousness of muddy water, which flows straight to the East,— (5) after [you] annexed the country with [country]sides that abounded in infuriated men, (13d–14) after [you] overcame in battle, so that the fortresses of the hill-tops, of the ocean and of other [places] became subdued (12–13c) [by your] frightening flood-like vanguard which became the protection (11) for the kings (vēntar) who were frightened by the roaring sound of the various panāṭ-drums, (10) while the star-[like] blades started to glitter at the enclosure of eminent shields, (9) when those bows drizzled [the arrows], while the strong tide of the murderous elephants was advancing, (8) because you are the one who is complete, so that the anger of the disobedient perished (15d–16b) while the fame left [their] vast dominions, (15a–c) how many [days], o great man, would pass [until] the soft slumber fades according to the tradition of the time of embrace, (21–22c) when [women] seize [your] chest which changed [on their] killing distress, (20a–c) staying in [your] soft bed [among] the soft spreading tresses (19) of the women clinging to [your] chest, where striped bees hum, (18) [chest, which] had a beauty of [various] kinds after unguent (vaṇṇam) had been smeared [on it and] the sandal-paste (cāntu) had dried, (16d–17) after [you] stayed many days [in your] military-camp of hostile severity (23) [where your] eyes, which were focussed on the mighty wealth, (26) had been woken up by the curved, roaring drums (imiṭcai) (25) after a little nap was not possible neither the difficult[-to-obtain] sleep? (24)
V. patikam

vaṭṭavar utkum vāṇ tōy vel koṭi+
kutavar kōmāṇ neṭuṇcēralātarku+
cōḷaṇ maṇakkalli ~iṇra makeṇ
kaṭavul pattini+ kal kōl vēṇṭi+
kāl navil kāṇam kaṇaiyin pōki
~āriya ~aṇṇalai vīṭṭi+ pēr icai
~iṇ pal aruvi+ kaṅkai maṇṇi
~iṇam teri pal+ āṇ kaṇroṭu koṇṭu
mārā valvil ihtumṭi pūratt’ iṟutt’
urū puli ~aṇṇa vayavar vīḷa+
cirū kural neytal viyалīr nūri
~a+ karai naṇṇi+ koṭukūr eṟintu
paḷaiyin kākkum karum cīnai vēmpīṇ
murara muḷu mutal tumiya+ pāṇṇi
vāl īḷai kaḷiṭṭa narum pal pēnṭhir
pal+ irum kūntal muraciyāl
kuṇcara ~okukai pūṭṭi vem tīṟal
ārā+ ceruviṇ cōḷa kuṭikk’ uriyōr
onaṭiṅmar vīḷa vāyiḷ puṟatt’ iṟuttu
nilai+ ceruviṇ ārṭalai ~aṟuttu+
ketāl arum taṇaiyōtu
kaṭal pirakk’ oṭṭiya cēṇkuṭṭuvaṇai+ karaṇam amainta
kāc’ āru ceyyūl paraṇaḥ pāṭinār pattuppāṭṭu.

avai tām: cuṭar vī vēṅkai, tacumpu tuḷāṅk’ irukkai, ēṛā ~eṇi, nōy tapu nōl tōṭai,
ūṇ tuvaiv ~aticil, karai vāy+ parutī, nal nutal vīṟaliyār, pēr eḷil vēḷkai, cem kai maṟavar,
veru-varu puṇal tār. ivai pāṭṭiṇ patikam.

pāṭi+ ēṛra paricil: umparkāṭṭu vāriyaiyum taṇ makaṇ kuṭṭuvaṇ cēralaiyum koṭuttāṇ a+ kō.

kaṭal pirakk’ oṭṭiya cēṇkuṭṭuvaṇ aim-pattai yāṇṭu vēṟiruntāṇ.
V. Panegyric

He [was] the son who was born from Cōḷaṅ Maṇakiliḷi,495 (3) to [his father] Neṭunčeratana, the king of the westerners (2) with sky-touching victorious flag that is feared by the northerners, (1) [the son who] desired to take a rock (kal koḷy496 for the divine (kaṭavuḷ) Pattini,497 (4) [who] slid like an arrow through the forest where the wind whispers,498 (5) [who] killed the āriya majesty,499 (6a–c) [who] bathed in the famous Kaṅkai (Gaṅgā)500 with many sweet waterfalls, (6d–7) [who] brought back many cows with [their] calves chosen [as good ones] from the herd, (8) [who] camped outside of Iḻumpil501 of unwavering strong bows, (9) [who] destroyed Viyalūr502 of neytaḷ-flowers with small clusters, (10) so that [its] strong men fell who were like tigers that are encountered, (11) [who] attacked Koṭukūr503 after he approached that [other] seashore, (12) [who] accomplished504 to chop down the entire foot of the hard trunk505 (14) of the veṭmpu-tree [which had] dark branches [and] was guarded by Paḷaiyaṅ,506 (13) [who] fastened the elephant-cart by the ropes507 of the dark tresses (16)

495 Analysing the proper name Maṇakiliḷi, there is no doubt that the name has to connected to the ancient Cōḷa dynasty as many of the Cōḷa kings bore the title Kiḷi (Tamil Lexicon, 938). The proper name Cōḷaṅ (masc. sing.), which precedes Maṇakiliḷi, is perhaps a reference to an unnamed Cōḷa king (as an unmarked genitive) and the name Maṇakiliḷi could be the name of the queen (and mother of Čēṅkuṭṭuvaṇ). however its use for a woman is weird.

496 Here we see a reference to the epic Cilappatikāram and to the story when the Čēra king marched to North in order to select a stone to carve a Pattini statue. See: Cilappatikāram, III. 26. (kaṟḵēt-kēta) In the Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Paṟattippaiyikal (cū. 63: 19–20) Tolkāppiyāṅar used the same terms for describing the different stages of the erection of a hero-stone (naṭukāḷ as the chapter names appear in Cilappatikāram, (III. 25–29). It is a matter of debate (on mostly chronology), who borrowed from whom, although it is also possible that both or (all the three) are remnants of an older tradition.


498 navil-tal v. 3. tr. ‘to say’, ‘to talk’, ‘to declare’, ‘to sing’, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 2181.


500 Čēṅkuṭṭuvaṇ’s visit of the Gaṅgā is reflected in Cilappatikāram, III. 27: 11–24.

501 According to Cilappatikāram, III. 28: 118, Iḻumpil (“cruel place”?) was a place, where Čēṅkuṭṭuvaṇ camped with his army. It might be the same as Iḻumpāvaṅam sung by Campantar (Tēvāram, I. 17).

502 According to Cilappatikāram, III. 28: 114–115, Viyalūr was a village/town with neytaḷ-flowers which had small clusters (ciṟu kural neytaḷ, and elephants sleeping on the pepper-growing slopes. If the description is true, then Viyalūr must have been a town at some mountains, but it may also be located close to the coastal areas (neytaḷ tiṇai).

503 Koṭukūr was a village/town conquered by Čēṅkuṭṭuvaṇ.

504 Here panṭṭu-tal v. 5. tr. ‘to make’, ‘to effect’, ‘to accomplish’, is an auxiliary verb that became very productive in later ages, but it can also be found elsewhere in the Čaṅkam poems, e. g. Akanāṉṟu, 45: 10; 145: 12.

505 murarai: hard, stout trunk of a tree. Tamil Lexicon, 3277.

506 Paḷaiyaṅ: chief of Mōkūr. His totemistic tree was a veṭmpu-tree. Cf. Maturaikkāṇci, 508; Cilappatikāram, III. 27: 124.
of the many scented wives [of the enemies], whose jewels [had been] taken off [by him], (15) [who] camped outside of Vāyil,\textsuperscript{508} so that nine (19) heirs of the Čōla family fell [because of their] unending, harsh and wrathful quarrel (ceru), (18) [who] cut their strength in a long-lasting battle,— (20) Paraṇar\textsuperscript{509} of flawless poetry [and] of focused mind sang [these] ten songs on Ceṅkuṭṭuvan who drove back the sea (22–23) with [his] army, which [was] difficult to defeat. (21)

These [ten songs] themselves [are]: The vēṅkai-tree with glowing flowers, The shining seat of vessels, The shelves that cannot be climbed, The sturdy limbs destroyed by pain, The food with meat curry, The wheels with bloody ridge, Viṟalis with fine forehead, A great and high life, The warriors with red hands, The frightening flood-like vanguard, [and this as] the panegyric of these ten.

Having sung, the [following] gifts [had been] obtained: that king gave Umpaṛkāṭu with [its incoming] taxes and [also] his [own] son Kuṭṭuvan Čēral [as an intendant]. Ceṅkuṭṭuvan who drove back the sea sat fifty-five years majestically [on the throne].

Thus ending the Fifth Decade.

aintām pattu muṟṟiru.

\textsuperscript{507} It seems that the same custom is attributed to NāṉṆaṅ in Nāṟṟīnai, 270: 8–9, in which poem we see a “cord of tresses of NāṉṆaṅ” (nāṉṆaṅ kūntal muṟṟiṟiyin). What is more, the author of Nāṟṟīnai 270 is Paraṇar, just as the author of this decade. The triumphant arrival of the elephant-carts appears in Cilappatikāram, III. 27: 254–255.

\textsuperscript{508} In Cilappatikāram, III. 28: 116–117, Ceṅkuṭṭuvan won at Nērivāyil (same as Vāyil here) over nine kings (onpatu māṇgar). Nērivāyil was perhaps a town south of Uṟaiyūr. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 413.

\textsuperscript{509} Paraṇar was one of the most famous Caṅkam poets. For more, see: Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 531.
51.
peyar: vaṭuvatu nunṇayir, turai: vaṇcitturai pāṭāṇpāṭṭu, tūkku: centūkkum vaṇcittūkkum, vaṇṇam: oḷuku vaṇṇamum corro vaṇṇamum.

tulaṅku nīr viyal akam kālaku+ kāl pora
vilan’ irum puṇarī ~urum eṇa muḷaṅkum
kaṭal cēr kāṅal kuṭa pulam muṇṇi+
kūval tulanta taṭam tāl nāraī
kuvi ~inār nāḻal mā+ ciṇai+ cēkkum
vaṇṭ’ irai koṇta taṅ kaṭal parappiṅ
āṭum’ amal aṭaikarai ~alavaṇ āṭiya

vaṭu ~āṭum nuṇ+ ayīrūtaī ~unnaṟrum
tū ~urum pōntai+ poḷil anī+ poli-tant’
iyaliṅal olkiṅal āṭum maṭam maḵal
veṛi ~uṟu nuṭakkan pōla+ tōṅri+
perum malai vaiṅ vaiṅ vilaṅkum aru maṇi
~arā vilaṅkum perum teyvattu
vaḷai ṃaralum paṇi+ pauvattu+
kuṇa kuṭa kaṭalōṅ’t āyitai maṅanta
pantar antaram vēyntu
vaḷ piṇi ~avilna kaṇ pōl neytal
naṇai ~uṟu naṟavai nāṅ’ utaṅ kamala+
cuṭar nutil maṭam nōkkīṅ
vāl nakai ~ilāṅk’ eyiṅ’
amilṭo poti tuvar vāy acai naṭai viraliyar
pāṭal caṅṛu nīṭiṅai ~uraitalīṅ
veḷ vēḷ anṭal melliyang pōṁ eṇa
~uḷḷuvaṅ-gollō niṅ uṇarāṭōrē
maḷai tavaḷum perum kuṇṛattu+
ceyir’ utaiya ~arav’ eriṅtu
kaṭum ciṇattam miṭal tapukkm
perum ciṇa+ puyal ēṛ’ aşaiyai
tāṅkunar,
taṭam+ kai yāṇai+ toṭi+ kōṭu tumikkum
eḵk’ uṭai valattar niṇ paṭai vali vāḷnar
maṛam keḷu pōntai veḷ tōṭu puṇaintu
niṟam peyar kaṇṇi+ parunt’ ūṟ’ alappa+
tū+ kaṇai kilitta mā+ kaṇ taṇṇumai
dañkai val īḷaiyar kai ~alai ~aḷṅka
māṛt’ arum cīṟṟattu mā ~irum kūṟṟam
valai viritt’ āṇṇa nōkkalai
kāṭiyai ~āḷ netuntakai ceruvattāṅē.
51st song

The fine sand that hides the scars

After [you] approached the western land with groves merged with the sea, (3) where the huge shiny waves roar like thunder, (2) while the wind blows, so that the vast inside of the billowing water had been stirred up, (1) after [you] covered the open spaces of the arbour [with a roof] (16) where the eastern met the western sea, (15) at the cool ocean which sounds with conches (14) [of] the great god (perum teyvam) who roams [along with] snakes (13) [with] rare sapphires (māni) that lay athwart here and there [in] the big mountain, (12) [which snakes] appeared like the possessed (vedi-uru) tremble of the innocent girl who dances, frisks and trembles (10–11) after the groves were embellishingly flourishing by itself with big whitish palmyra-trees, (9) where the cold wind [vigorously] urges the fine sand that hides the scars (8) on the settling shore, [which scars] were caused by the dancing crabs, [the shore which is] dense with atumpu-creeper (7) at the expanse of the cool sea, where bees settled down, (6) where the broad-footed nārai-bird, which stirred up [the water of] the well, rests on the big branches of the nālal-tree with heaps of clusters,— (5) after you became worthy of the songs (22a–b) of the viraliyar with swaying gait, ambrosia-filled, red-coral-mouth, (21) shiny teeth, lustrous smile, (20) glowing forehead, [and] innocent glances, (19) while the toddy (narava) was fragrant across the country, which had [aged with] flower-buds (18) of the neytaḷ-flower with big outer petals, which [flowers] resembled opened eyes,— (17) because you resided [here] being the one who extended [your staying], (22c–d) those who have not [yet] understood your [nature], will they think that (24) [your] majesty with shining spear is like someone with tender nature? (23) You are the one who resembles the thunder of the greatly enraged cloud (28)

510 POC: “the division west from his capital” (taṭ nakarikkamēḷpāḷ). It is very likely that the poet referred to the Malabar Coast.
511 For an attempt to identify the deity here, read: pp. 400–401.
513 Cf. Čṟupāṇāṟṟuppati, 135.
515 kāval (id. Skt. kīpā): well. Tamil Lexicon, 1077.
516 Another reading is “white (veḷ) spear”, which suggests that he does not fight with it.
517 pōṁa (contracted imp. pey.) < pōḷum.
which destroys the fierce wrathful strength, (27)
after attacking the poisonous snake (26)
of the big hills where clouds creep. (25)
O [our] paragon, you are indeed fierce in the battle (37)
[as] you are of the sight which is like the thrown net (36)
of the huge and dark God of Death (Kūṟṟam), [whose] anger is difficult to change, (35)
while the hand-beatings of the skilful musicians (īlaiyar) became silent, (34)
[musicians] with tappumai-drums of dark eyes which were torn apart by [your] pure
t518 arrows, (33)
when kites consider to approach [the bloody] chaplets [which had] changed [their] colour [in
the battle] (32)
after the protectors [of the world] adorned [themselves] with the white frond of the valorous
palmyra-tree, (29a–31)
[being] someones who live [by following] the path of your army of strong men with blades (30)
which cut off the ringed tusks of the elephants with wide trunks. (29)

52.


koṭi nuṭaṅkum nilaiya kol kalīru miṭaintu
vaṭi maṇi netum tēr vēru pulam parappi
~arum kalam taṇṭiyar nīr micai nivakkum
perum kai vaṇkam ticai tirint’-āṅku
mai ~aṇint’ elu-tarum mā ~irum pal tōl
mey putai ~araṇam eṇṇāṭ’ ekku cumantu
muṇ camatt’ elu-tarum vaṇkān āṭavar
tolaiyā+ tumpai tevvali viḷaṅka
~uyar nilai ~ulakam eyṭiṇar palar paṭa
nal+ amar+ kaṭantā niṇ cel+ urāl tāta+ kai
~irappōrkku+ kavital allatai ~iraṇiya
malarp’ ariyā ~eṇa+ keṭṭikum niṇyē
cuṭarum pāṇṭil tiru nāru viḷakkattu
muḷā ~imil tuṇḍākaikku+ taḷūu+ puṇai ~ākā+
cilaippu val+ ēṛiṇi talai+ kai tantu ni
naḷintaṇai varutal uṭaṇṛañal āki
~uyalum519 kōṭai ~urāl am titti
īr ital maḷai+ kaṇ pēr iyal arivai
~oḷ ital avil akam kaṭuṅkum cīr ati+
pal cem520 kiṅkini cīr paraṇt’ alaippa+
kol puṇal taḷirin naṭuṅkuvaṇal niṅru niṇ+
eriyan okkiya cīr cem kuvalai
~ī ~eṇa ~irappavum oḷḷāl niṇ ~emakk’
yāraiyō ~eṇa+ peyarōli kaiyatai
katum-eṇa ~urutta nōkkamōṭ’ atu ni
pāal vallāy āyiṇai pāal
yāṅku vallunaiyō vāḷka niṇ kanṭin
~akal irum vicumpiṇ pakal-ṭam taṇṭiyar
tēru kāṭir tikaḷ-ṭarum uru521 keḷu ūṇiyṛ’

519 Here U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar gives uyavum (“suffering”, imp. pey.) which I did not find very fortunate, not like the variant reading uyalum (“swaying”, imp. pey.) which can be found in Ms. UVSL 98a [303. v. 10.], thus I emended the edited text here.

520 Although the odd phrase pal cīla kiṅkini was suggested by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar in his edited text (1904), he himself offers another possible (and more convincing) reading at the end of the notes (pal cem kiṅkini). Finally I chose to emend his edited text for pal cem kiṅkini that I found attested in Ms. UVSL 98a [303. v. 11.].

521 I emended Cāminātaiyar’s uḷu for uru which variant can be found in UVSL 98a [303. r. 1.].
urupu kiḷar vaṇṇam koṇṭa
vāṇ tōy veḷ kuṭai vēntar tam eyilē.
52nd song

Little red *kuvalai*-flowers

We now heard\(^\text{522}\) that your thunderbolt-like large hands do not open (10c–d, 12) in order to beg, [but] only for showering [gifts] to the suppliants, (11) [the hands of yours who] overcame in good battles (10a–b) so that many [of your foes] fell as ones who obtained the world of upper state,\(^\text{523}\) (9) when the unfading *tumpai*-flowers\(^\text{524}\) were shining on [their] hostile paths,\(^\text{525}\) (8) [whose] cruel\(^\text{526}\) men were rising before the battle (7) carrying [their] blades without considering the body-covering protection (6) of the many huge [and] dark leather[-shields] which beautifully arose [like] the clouds, (5) [as they] turned in direction like the great bustling ships (\textit{vaṅkam}) (4) which float on top of the water in order to bring precious vessels,\(^\text{527}\) (3) after the tall chariots with shapely\(^\text{528}\) bells spread on the various lands (2) [and] the murderous elephant bulls, on which flags swayed,\(^\text{529}\) crowded.— (1)

After you, [who were] like a strong roaring bull, gave your first hand (15) [to other women], so that [you] became [their] support by embracing [them] for the sake of \textit{tuṇkai}-dance with rumbling \textit{mulavu}-drum, (14) in the brilliant fragrant light of the glowing lamp (\textit{pāṇṭil}), (13) after She became enraged by your coming as somebody who happened to get closer, (16) after She was standing [there] as one who shivers like the sprouts in the murderous flood, (21a–d) while [her] many red anklets on her small feet that resemble the opening insides of bright petals, tinkled on the narrow ankles [of her, (19–20)] your] woman of great nature, [who has] wet eyes with moist eyelashes, (18) [who has] pretty beauty-spots\(^\text{530}\) that creep up [on her skin, and] a garland that sways [on her neck],— (17) while [you] begged\(^\text{531}\) [her] saying to give [back] (23a–b)

\(^{522}\) Here \textit{kēṭtikum} is a first person plural perfective finite verb ("we heard"). Wilden 2018, 77.

\(^{523}\) The phrase \textit{uyar nilai ulakam} refers to an otherworldly place where brave heroes get.

\(^{524}\) It is possible that these \textit{tumpai}-flowers (garlands?) were crafted from metal (gold?), and that is why the poet called them unfading (\textit{tolaiyā}).

\(^{525}\) Another way is to take \textit{vaḷi} as a locative.

\(^{526}\) \textit{vaṅkam}: 'cruelty', 'bravery', 'enmity', 'envy', 'evil eye'. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3562.

\(^{527}\) Given the historical setting of these early centuries AD, it is rather possible that \textit{arum kalam} referred here to the precious/rare \textit{amphorae} from the Mediterranean, however, the flexibility of these words allows to understand precious/rare jewels or other type of vessels including ships.

\(^{528}\) Or: "cast bells" (\textit{vaṭṭi maṇi}).

\(^{529}\) In a literal translation: "having the state (\textit{nilaiyā}) that sways (\textit{nuṭṭiṇkum}) [with] flags (\textit{kōṭṭi})".

\(^{530}\) \textit{titti} (prob. < Skt. \textit{sidhma}?): yellow spreading spots on the body. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 1875.
the little red kuvalai[-flowers] which were raised [by her] in order to beat you, (21d–22) she refused [and] returned with what [was in her] hand (kaivyatai) saying “who are you for us?” (23c–24)
You, whose sight became angry fast, became the one who is [now] not able to master [her]. (24d–26b)
How will you be able to rule, may your chaplet live [long], (26d–27) the fortresses of the kings (vēntar) with white sky-touching parasols (31) which had (koṇṭa) the radiating nature with a shape (30) of the beautiful Sun whose scorching rays are shining (29) in order to give daytime in the vast dark sky? (28)

531 Here irappavum is a concessive infinitive.
532 ceṇkuvalai same as ceṇkalunir: ‘purple Indian water-lily’ (Nymphaea odorata), ‘red Indian water-lily’. Tamil Lexicon, 1579.
53.

veṅṛu kalam tarśi运维 vēṭṭu pulatt’ irutt’ avar
vāṭā yāṇaṅ natu tirai koṭuppa
nalkiṇai ~ākumati ~em+ eṅṛ’ aruḷi+
kal pirāṅku vaippin kaṭaṛ’ arai (y)atṭa niṅ
tol pukaḷ mūṭ’ ūr+ celkuvai ~āyiṅ
cem poṛi+ cilampot’ ani+ taḷai tūṅkum
entira+ takaippin amp’ utṭa vāyil
kōl val mutalaiya kuṇṭu-kaṅ akali
vāṅ ura ~ōṇkiya vaḷaiṇtu cey puricai
~oṇṇ+ tevvar muṇai keṭa vilaṅki
niṅṅiṅ tanta maṅṅ’ eyil allatu
muṇṇum piṇṇum niṅ muṇṇor ōmpiya
~eyil mukappatuttal yāvatu vaḷaiyiṇum
piriṭ’ āru ceṇmati ciṇṭa keḷu kurucil
eḷūu+ puṟam-tarīi+ poṇ piṇi+ palakai+
kulūu nilai+ putaviṅ katavu mey kāṅṅ
tēm pāy kaṭatṭoṭtū kāl-kai nīvi
veṅkai veṅṛa poṛi kīlar pukar nutal
ēntu kai cuṟuṭṭi+ tōṭṭi nīvi
mēṃpaṭṭu vel koṭi nutanja+
ṭāṅkal ākā ~āṅku niṅ kalire.
53rd song

**Moats with deep spaces**

After [you] won [and] camped on the desired land in order to bring [back] jewels, (1a–d) may you become the one who grants that they be given their countries with unfading fertility as tributes! (2–3b)

After [you] graciously talked to us, (3c–d) if you march [back] to your old town with ancient fame, where the waist [of the town] is tied around with forests [and] with places which shine with rocks, how about [you] confronting [those] fortresses (13) which were protected by your ancestors/ministers (muṉṉōr), [forts] in front [of you] and behind, (12) except [this] durable fort that was given [to the kingdom] by you [yourself], (11) after it laid athwart [on your way], so that the frontline of [your] disobedient enemies perished, (10) [which fort had] sky-touching high walls made in a way to curve, (9) *moats with deep spaces* [having] murderous crocodiles, (8) [and] gates which possessed arrows [in] a row of machines (7) on which ornamented foliage (tala) hung together with red spotted iron rings (cilampa) (6) [If you march back to your old town,] go another path even if that is curved! (13d–14b)

O enraged lord, (14c–d) if [your elephants] truly see the doors of the many storied gates (16) with metal-fastened plates, protected by wooden cross-bars, (15) your elephant bulls will not endure [to stop] there (22) when the victorious eminent flags sway, (21) after they got past the firm sticks (kāḷkai) because of [their] honey-flowing rut, (17)

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533 One might prefer to translate kaḷ as ‘mountain’ (cf. Purāṇāṅgūra, 17: 1), although I stucked to its original meaning as ‘rock’.


535 Or we can translate kāḷ as a mere locative (“in the depth”).

536 kōḷ val: “strength to kill”. I translated it as “murderous” following the way how I translated kai val as “skilful” (cf. Patirṛrupattu, 41: 6).

537 This description probably refers to the weapon/machine called aiyavi. Cf. Patirṛrupattu, 22: 22–23 and notes.

538 It is very uncertain what the description refers to. As far I could not find parallel description (not even in the weapon-catalogue of Cilappatikāram, II. 15: 207–215), I would rather think that the rings and the foliage served as either a camouflage for the arrow-machine, or as an infuriating bait for the enemy since these things might looked like kidnapped women on the walls (cf. “dolls and balls” on the fort’s wall in Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, 68).

539 POC: kulīḷu nilaip putavu – “the kōpuram-gate that was made into many levels (nilam)” (pala nilam ākac ceyta kōpuravāyil). It is possible that we see here the antecedent of kōpurams.

540 I understood here kāḷkai as the verbal root kāḷ (Tamil Lexicon, 904) + kaḷ as a nominal suffix (Wilden 2018, 30). Probably we see an extended usage of the word kaḷ (Tamil Lexicon, 1098) for ‘rod’, ‘stick’. The third, but
after they got past the goad (ṭōṭṭī) folding [their] raised trunks (19)
[in front of their] tawny foreheads with shining spots, which [trunks] defeated tigers (vēṅkaī). (18)

perhaps not the last, possibility is to connect kai ‘hand’ to nīvi (abs.) that makes an (intensified?) compound verb. However, I did not yet find good reason to believe in Aghostialingom’s gloss as ‘iron rod’ (Aghostialingom 1979, 49). It is also possible that the weird word kālkai in Line 17 had been used for poetic reason because it rhymes with vēṅkai and ēntu kai in Lines 18–19.
54.


vaḷḷiyai ~eṇraliṅ kāṅku vanticinē
~uḷḷiyatu muṭittī vālka niṅ kaṇṇi
vīṅk’ irai+ taṭaiiya ~amai marūḷ paṇai+ tōl
ēnt’ eḻil maḷai+ kaṇ vagaṁtu varal ila mulai+
pūm tukil alkul tēm pāy kūntal
miṅ+ iḷai viraliyar niṅ māram pāṭa
~iravalar puṅkaṇ tīra nāḷ-toṛum
urai cāl nal kalam varaiv’ ila vīći
~aṇaiyai ~ākalmāṛē ~eṇaiyatūum
uyar nilai ~ulakattu+ cellāṭ’ ivañ niṅ’
iru nilam maruṅkiṅ netitu maṇṇiyarō
nilam tapa viṭṭum ēṇi+ pulam paṭarntu
paṭu kaṇ muracam naṭuvaṇ cilaippa+
tōmara valattar nāmam ce yyāmār
ēval viyaṅkoṭ’ iḷaiyarōṭ’ eḷu-tarum
ollār yāṇai kāṇṇi

nillā+ tāṅai ~irai kilavōyē.
54th song

The army that does not stand still

Because they say that you are generous, I came [here, so] let me see [you]! (1)
What [you] think of, may you accomplish! Let your chaplet live [long]! (2)
After you donate every day unending good jewels which abound in fame, (7d–8)
so that the misery of suppliants comes to an end (7a–c)
while vīrāḷīs sing your valour, [whose] jewels [are like] lightning, (6)
[on whose] tresses honey flows [from the flowers], [whose] hips [are covered with] garments of flowers, (5)
[who have] shapely growing, young breasts, [whose] moist eyes have high beauty, (4)
[and whose] thick shoulders resemble bamboos with large rounded joints,— (3)
because you became the one who is like [this], (9a–b)
after you stopped here only for a while without going to the world of upper state, (9d–10)
may you please live long in [this] vast world, (11)
o lord, chief of an army that does not stand still. (17)
if [they] see the elephants of the disobedients (16)
who rise together with the young [soldiers] obeying the commands, (15)
in order to cause fear as men [who carry] javelins (tōmara) in [their] right hands, (14)
when the muracam-drum with beaten eye echoes in the middle, (13)
after they set out for the places at the borders leaving lands behind to perish. (12)

541 Here eṉralīṇ (contracted v. n. + obl.) stands for a causal clause.
542 Here the obscure vanticiṅ is either a subjunctive/optative, an imperative, or a first person singular perfective “personal verb”. Rajam 1992, 585.
543 kāṅku: first person singular subjunctive from the verb kāṅ-tal v. 13. ‘to see’.
544 muṭittī (second person sing. subj.): “may you accomplish!”.
545 kalam: jewel, vessel, ship. Tamil Lexicon, 778.
547 I assume that the abs. vaṉaintu requires an adverbial usage here (“formingly”, “shapely”). Tamil Lexicon, 3569.
548 The same formulaic pattern (vaṉaintu varal ila mulai) appears in Akanāṅgūru, 58: 7.
550 Here the ōkāram denotes politeness.
551 Here marunkiṅ stands for a locative.
552 Here viyaṅkōṇtu (abs. Tamil Lexicon, 3686) perhaps requires an adverbial usage (“obeyingly rising”).
553 ceymmār (inf.): “in order to do”.
554 tōmara (< Skt. tomara): ‘javelin’, a hapax legomenon.
55.


āṅrōḷ kaṉava cāṅrōr puravaḷa
niṅ nayantu vantage ṁtu pōr+ koṟava
~in+ icai+ puṇari ~irāṅkhum pauvattu
nal kalam veṟukkai tuñcum pantar+ kaḷalum tāḷai+ kāṇalam perum tuṟai+
taṅ kaṭal pāṭappai nal nāṭṭu+ poruna
ce+ ~ūṅ tōṅrā veḷ tuvai mutirai
vāl ūṅ valci maḷavar meymmaṟai
kuṭavar kōvē koṭi+ tēr anṟal
vārā āyinum iravalar vēṇṭi+
tērīṅ tant’ avarkk’ ār paṭam nalkum
nacai cāl vāy-moli ~icai cāl tōṅral
vēṇṭuva ~alavaiyul yāṅtu pala kaḷiya+
peytu puṟam-tantu poṅkal āṭi
viṅṭu+ cērnta veḷ maḷai pōla+
ceṟṟāliyarō peruma ~alkalum
naṉam talai vēntar tār alint’ alaṟa
niṅ tuvarai ~aṭukkattā nāṭṭu kai+ koṇṭu
porutu ciṟam tanṅṭa ceru+ pukal āṁ mai+
tāṅkunar+ takaṅṭa ~oḷ vāḷ
ōṅkal uḷḷattu+ kurucil niṅ nāḷē.
55th song

The sleeping arbour

O husband of [your] excellent woman!\(^{555}\) O protector of paragons! (1) Longing for you,\(^{556}\) I came, o victor of murderous battle! (2) O fighter of the good country with gardens at the cool sea (6) around the big harbour which have fragrant tālai-groves\(^{557}\) (5) at the sleeping arbour (\textit{pantar}),\(^{558}\) [and] with wealth of the good vessels\(^{559}\) (4) of the ocean where sweetly melodious waves resound! (3) O king of the western people, (9a–b) the body shield of warriors [who have] food with white meat, (8) lentils, [and] white curry in which red meat does not appear\(^{560}\) (7) O majesty of chariots with flags! (9c–d) O chief who is worthy of the songs (\textit{icai}) with truthful words (\textit{vāymoḻi})\(^{561}\) which abound in desires, (12) who bestowed satiating cooked rice to the people (\textit{avar}) after [it] had been brought by a chariot, (11) even if they did not come [but] desired [it as being] suppliants! (10) While, within the measure which was required, many years passed, (13) o great man, may your days not pass (16a–c, 21d) similarly to the white clouds which joined to the mountains, (15) swayed as foam, protected and showered, (14) o chief of exalted heart, (21a–b) [who has] a bright sword which destroyed the protectors (20) [of the enemies, whose] manliness desires battle, whose anger had become mitigated [once he] fought, (19) laying hands on the country\(^{562}\) with slopes of the long mountains, (18)

\(^{555}\) āngrōk: “worthy she”, “excellent she” (probably from *āl-tal v. 3. intr. same as cal-tal v. 3. intr. Tamil Lexicon, 1389).

\(^{556}\) Here the oblique (\textit{niṉ}) stands for accusative.

\(^{557}\) kāṇalam (adj.): “grove-having”.

\(^{558}\) Although the word \textit{pantar} is either an arbour (\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 51: 16) or the proper name of a Cēra town/harbour (\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 67: 2; 74:6), it seems that the word itself meant also “storehouses” (\textit{paṭacālaikaḷ}) at least at the time when the old commentary had been composed. For more, see: pp. 351–352.


\(^{560}\) POC: cevvūṟūṟuṉḷa vēṟṟuvai – “the white curry (\textit{tuva}) from the hacked and exsanguinated goat, [in which] the red meat, which was caught by himself, does not appear. (\textit{araittuk karaitta maiyāl tuṅṉir pukka cevvūṉ tōṅrāta vellḷḷya tuva}).”

\(^{561}\) It is possible that the word \textit{vāymoḻi} already meant a style of uttering hymns. Tamil Lexicon, 3599–3600.

\(^{562}\) Or we may translate it as a plural (“countries”).
while the kings (vēntar) of vast lands were wailing day by day, [because their] vanguards vanished! (16d–17)

563 Another interpretation would result: “[because their] garlands (tār) vanished”.

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563 Another interpretation would result: “[because their] garlands (tār) vanished”.

156
56.

peyar: vēntu meyammaṟanta vāḻcci, tuṟai: oḻvāḷ amalai, tūkku: centūkku, vaṉṇam: oḻuku vaṉṇam.

vilavu vīṟ'-irunta viyal uḷ āḵaṇ
kōṭiyar muḷaviṇ muṇṇar āṭal
vallāṇ allaṇ vāḷka ~avaṇ kaṇṇi
valam-paṭu muracam tuvaippa vāḷ uyart’
ilaṅkum pūṅṇa polam koṭi ~uliṅaiyaṇ
maṭam perumaḷiyiūṭaṇu mēl vanta
vēntu mey+ maṟanta vāḻcci
vīnt’ uku pōr+ kaḷatt’ āṭum kōvē.

5
56th song

The lives that were left by the bodies of the kings

May his chaplet live long, he is not someone who is able (3) to dance in front of the *mulavu*-drum of the *kōṭiyar*[-people],564 (2) there, in the wide place [where] the festival was held with dignity,565 (1) [but] the one with ornaments that shine, (5a–b) after he raised [his] sword, while the victorious *muracam*-drum resounded, (4) [and] the one with golden flags of *uḷiṅaṅi*-flowers566 (5c–d) o the king who is dancing on the battlefield, where [warriors] perish [and] fall, (8) [where] the lives567 had left568 the bodies of the [enemies’] kings. (7) who came up, after they got enraged because of the greatness of [their] ignorance! (6)


565 Here I agreed with Turaicāmippillai who explains this line as *vilavāpatu mūkka cirappuṭṭaṁ etukkappattā*. The verb *vīṟṟiṟu*-tal (‘to sit majestically’, ‘to rule’) however, is a bit weird here, Turaicāmippillai 1973, 268.


568 Regarding the whole passage (*vēntu mey maranta vāḍcē*), the POC understands “the lives that left their bodies, after they, the fleeing kings got scared” (*māṟṟuvēntar aṅcit taṅkāl meyva maranta vāḍcē*). Thus I followed the old commentator, however, all the possible meanings of *vāḍcē* would result new possible readings of Line 7, so it seems to remain the translator’s responsibility to decide.
57.

peyar: cīlvalai virali, tuṟai: viraliyāṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟруд

ōṭā+ puṭkai maravar miṭal tapa
~irum paṇam puṭaiyalotu vāl kalal civappa+
kurutī paṇiṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟруд

melliyā vakunti cīr āṭi ~otuṅki+
cellāmō-til cil valai virali

pāṇar kaiyatu paṇi toṭai narampiṇ
viral kavar pēr(i) yāḷ pāḷai paṇṭi+
kural puṇar iṇ+ icai+ tāḷiṇci pāṭi
~iḷam tuṇai+ putalvar nal valam payanta
valam kēḷu kuṭaiccūl āṭaṇkiya kōlkai
~āṇṛa ~āriviṇ tōṅriya nal+ icai
~oḷ nutal makalir tuṅitta kaṅtiṇum
iraval ir puṭkan aṇcum
purav’ etirkoḷvaṅgai+ kaṇṭāṅam vararkē.

15
57th song

Virali with few bangles

[Our] victorious king who danced the *tuṇāṅkai* (4) is the man of [his] flesh-reeking military camp,\(^{569}\) who sprinkles the blood,\(^{570}\) so that [his] pure anklets together with [his] big palmyra-garland redden, (2) while the strength of the [enemies’] warriors with maxim not to retreat perishes. (1)

After [our] small feet walked on the tender roads, (5) o **virali with few bangles**, shall we not go\(^{572}\) (6) in order to come back as ones who have seen the man who accepts\(^{573}\) the tributes (*puravu*), (15) who fears the distress of the suppliants (14)

more than the angry eyes of [his] women with bright forehead, (13) with fame that appeared [because of her] excellent knowledge, (12) with controlled maxims and rich anklets, (11) who gave birth to the good wealth: [his] sons, [his] young companions, (10) [to come back as ones who have seen him, after we] sang\(^{574}\) the sweet melody of *tāḷiṅci*\(^{575}\) [in which] the voices united, (9) [after] the bards (*pāṇar*) performed\(^{576}\) the *pāḷai*-melody\(^{577}\) on the big *yāḷ* which [was] in [their] hands, [on which their] fingers caught the expanding, tied strings. (7–8)

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\(^{569}\) POC: *kalam* – “the military camp joined to the crowded battlefield” (*ṇṭukkaḷattai aṉaṁta pācaṁ*).

\(^{570}\) A reference to the post-battle *bali*-sacrifice.

\(^{571}\) It might be also possible that *mellīya* (n. pl.) refers to the ‘feet’, but in this case the word order is weird.

\(^{572}\) *cellāmōṭiḥ: cellāṁ* (“we [will] not go”) + ṯ (interrogative particle) + *ṭil* (a particle of wish, Wilden 2018, 51). Cf. *Paṭīṟṟupattu*, 60: 3; *Tinaṁāḷai nūṟṟaṁppatu*, 77: 1. In his dissertation, Buchholz notes on *cellāmō* that “-ṅ forms a rhetorical question. The more literal translation “will we not go?” would be misleading, since it implies a positive answer, whereas *cellāmō* implies a negative answer”. Buchholz 2017, 111. However, the *ōkāram* as interrogative particle could mean also ‘doubtfulness’ (“zweifelnde Frage”, Beythan 1943, 74) that I gave back in my translation with an additional ‘why’.

\(^{573}\) *etirkoḻvag: “he who go towards a guest”, “he who receive”, “he who accept”*, *Tamil Lexicon*, 522.

\(^{574}\) In my construction *cellāmō* (finite verb), *kaṇṭagam* (*murerccan*), and *ṉṟi* (abs.) form the sequence of events, and *pañṉi* (abs.) is a subject-changing absolutive with *pāṇar* as its subjects.

\(^{575}\) POC: *tāḷiṅci* – “the song that is based on the meaning of the *turai* called *tāḷiṅci* (*tāḷiṅci ennūm turai purul mēl tanta pāṭha*). According to *Tamil Icaip Pērakarāti* (p. 267) *tāḷiṅci* is a *mēṟṟṟmāḷai* (*kalyāṅ*), a secondary melody-type of the *pāḷai* class. *Tamil Lexicon*, 3362. The *Tamil Lexicon*, (p. 1797) claims that it is either a theme (*turai*) describing the honour and presents offered by the king to the soldiers maimed in battle, a theme describing the valour of a warrior who does not pursue and destroy a routed adversary in full retreat, or a theme describing the guarding of a narrow passage through which an enemy might enter. Since we see the king as someone who accept the tributes in Line 15, I think the interpretation based on the first theme (*turai*) given by the *Tamil Lexicon*, (based on *Tolkāppiyam Poruṭṭatikāram Pūṟappāṭṭiyāygal* cū. 65: 12.) is the possible one here.

\(^{576}\) I analysed *pañṉi* as a subject-changing absolutive with *pāṇar* as its subject.

\(^{577}\) *pāḷai*: melody of the barren tract (*pāḷai niḻap perum paṉ*). *Tamil Icaip Pērakarāti*, 372.
58.


āṭuka viṟaliyar pāṭuka paricilar
veḷ tōṭ’ acaitta ~oḷ pūṃ kuvaḷaiyar
vāḷ mukam poṟitta māṇ vari yākkaiyar
cel+ uraḷ maravar tam kol paṭai+ taṟīyar
iṅṛ’ iṇitu nukarntṇaṇam āyin nāḷai
maṇ puṇai ~iṇci matil kaṭant’ allat’
unkuvaṁ allēm pukā ~eṇa+ kūṛi+
kaṇṇi kaṇṇiya vayavar perum makan
poy paṭup’ ariyā vayaṅku cem nāvin
eyiḷ eri val vil ēviṅku tāṭa+ kai
~ēnt’ elil ākattu+ cāṅrō meymmaṟai
vāṇavarmapan eṇpa kaṇṭattu+
kaṟaṅk’ icai+ citaṭi pori ~aṟai+ poruntiya
ciri(y)a ilai vēlam periya tōṅṟum
pul pulam vittum val kai viṇaiṅar
cīr uṭai+ pal pakaṭ’ oḷippa+ pūṭti
nāṅcil āṭiya kōlū vāḷi maruṅkiṅ
alaṅku katir+ tiru maṇi perūum
akal kaṇ vaippiṅ nātu kilavōṅē.
58th song

The large hands that shine with arrows

May the *viralis* dance! may the gift-seekers sing! (1)

After he\(^{578}\) declared: (7c–d)

“If we are ones who sweetly enjoyed this day (5)
in order to distribute their murderous weapons to the thunderbolt-like warriors (4)
[who are] people having bodies with glorious scars imprinted by the edges of swords, (3)
people having bright flowers of *kuvalai* tied with white fronds,\(^{579}\) (2)
we will not eat food [from now], (7a–c)
unless [we] conquer tomorrow the walls with ramparts made from earth!”, \(^{580}\) (6)

they say\(^{581}\) (12c)

the great son of strong men with\(^{582}\) chaplets,— (8)
he whose limit is the sky (*vāṉavarampaṉ*), (12a–b)
the body shield\(^{583}\) of the paragons, [who have] a chest with eminent grace (11)
[and] **large hands that shine with arrows** of the strong bow which attacks the fortresses, (10)
[who has] a shiny, refined tongue, which is not able to lie,— (9)
[is] the lord of the country of the lands with vast areas (19)
where [workers] obtain brilliant sapphires with glittering rays (18)
at the sides of the fertile furrows where the plough moved around, (17)
[after] many from the good (*cīr*) oxens had been yoked while they lowed, (16)
[yoked] by the workers with strong hands, who sow on the lowlands (15)
where the *vēlam*-trees with small leaves appear big (14)
[with small leaves] attached to the scorched trunks, [where there are] crickets with chirping\(^{584}\) sound (13)

[around] the forests. (12d)

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\(^{578}\) I assume that the absolutive *kūṟi* has to be connected to the king’s person, so that it is a subject-changing absolutive, since our finite verb (*enpa*) has a general subject ("they say"). This is necessarily the cause seeing the cause effect in this poem ("having declared …", "they say").

\(^{579}\) It is a reference to the fronds of the *palmyra*-tree which was particularly important to the Cēra kingdom.

\(^{580}\) Here we see an important reference to the most common type of fortress which had been built from earth/mud or mudbricks.

\(^{581}\) Here *enpa* is our main predicate ("they say"), not counting Line 1 which itself contains two separate sentences.

\(^{582}\) I understood *kanniyā* as a perf. pey. which means ‘attached’, but in translation I gave back this meaning with a mere sociative. Another option is to understand *kanniyā* as an adj. ‘having chaplet’, then the phrase ‘*kanni kāṇṇiya*’ is a difficult-to-translate figura etymologica. Third option is to understand *kanniyā* as a Skt. loanword < *gaṇya* (*Tamil Lexicon*, 695), in this case we read ‘strong men whose honour is in [their] chaplets’.

\(^{583}\) Here *meymmaṟ* is an apposition of *vāṉavarampaṉ*.

\(^{584}\) *kāṟanku* (v.r.): lit. ‘to sound’. 
59.


pakal nīṭ’ ākāṭ’ iravu+ pōḷuṭu peruki
māci niṟṟa mā kūr tīṅkal
paṉi+ curam paṭaruṁ pāṉ- mākaṇ uvappa+
pul+ iruḻ vitiya+ pulamupo cēn akala+
pāy iruḻ nīṅka+ pal katir parappi
nāyiru kuṇam-mutan tōṅriyāṅk’
~iravaḷ mākkaḷ ciru kuṭi peruka
~ulakam tāṅkiya mēṃpaṭu karpīṅ
villōr meymmarai vīṅ’ irum kōṟattu+
celvar celva cērntōrkk’ araṇam
āṟiyāt’ etirntu tuppiṅ kuṟai ~uṟṟu+
pāṉintu tiṟai tarupa niṟ pākaivar āyiṅ
ciṅam cela+ taṇiyumō vāḷka niṇ kāṭṇi
pal vēṟu vakaiya naṇam talai ~iṅṭiya
malaiyavum kaṭalavum pāṇiyam pakukkum
āṟu muṭṭ’ uṟāat’ āram purint’ -oḻukkum
nātal cāṇra tuppiṅ paṅai+ tōḷ
pāṭu cāḷ naḷ kalam tarūm
nāṭu pūrma-taruṭal niṅakku-mār kāṭaṅē.
59th song

The month, when animals shrink

O victorious lord among the prosperous ones,\(^{585}\) (10a–b) who sit majestically [on your throne,] the body shield of bowmen, (9) with an outstanding knowledge (\textit{karpu}) which supports the world, (8) while the small families of the begging people prosper, (7) [you who sit] as if the Sun appeared in the east (6) spreading many rays, so that the pervasive darkness departed, (5) when the lonesome distances vanished and the low darkness came to an end, (4) when the minstrel (\textit{pāṇmakaṉ}), who set out to the chilly desert, rejoiced (3) in the \textit{month} [called] \textit{māci},\(^{586}\) when animals rest and \textit{shrink} [from cold], (2) after [the \textit{māci}-month] increased the time of the night without lengthening the day,—\(^{587}\) (1) if your enemies humbly give tributes, (12a–b) after [their] strength became diminished,\(^{588}\) since they opposed [you] without knowing (11) [you as] the shelter for your friends, (10c–d) will [your] anger cool down so as to be gone [completely]? May your chaplet live [long]! (13) For you\(^{589}\) the duty is the protection of the country, (19) [you, who] gives good jewels\(^{590}\) worthy for songs, (18) [you] with strong, \textit{papaṭ} [-drum-like] shoulders which were worthy to examine, (17) [whose lineage] flows by establishing virtue (\textit{aṟam}) without having obstacle on the way, (16) [you, who] distributes the goods of the seas and of the mountains (15) where the vast areas which have many different divisions\(^{591}\) had come together. (14)

\(^{585}\) Or it perhaps means a bit more (as an unmarked \textit{genitivus partitivus}?): “the richest among the rich ones”.

\(^{586}\) \textit{māci}: ‘the eleventh solar month (February–March)’, ‘the tenth nakṣatra’, \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3147. Another interpretation is “the month (\textit{tiṅkaṭ}), [when] the animals (\textit{mā}), which stood (\textit{nīṟra}) in the mist (\textit{māci}, \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3146), shrink (\textit{kūr}) [from cold]”.

\(^{587}\) This is an accurate observation of the shorter length of the days in South India during February and March.

\(^{588}\) \textit{tuppiṉ kuṟai uyru}: lit. “having had the deficiency of strength”.

\(^{589}\) In \textit{nigakkumār} the particle \textit{mā} is an unexplained one (an expletive?). \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3168.

\(^{590}\) Or we may translate ‘vessels’, if we consider the trade in Line 15.

\(^{591}\) The phrase \textit{pal vēṟu vakaiya} may refer to the different \textit{tiṅai}, literary landscapes of the Cēra country.
60.


kolai viṇai mēvaṟṟu+ tāṇai tāṇē
~ikal viṇai mēvalan taṇṭatu viṟcum
cellāmo-til pāṇmakaḻ kāṇiyor
miṇiru puṟam mūcavum tīm cuvai tiriyyāṭ'
aram pōlkallā maram paṭu tīm kapī 5
~am cēṛ' amainta muṇṭai viḷai paḷam
āru cel mākkaṭ' ōy takai taṭukku
(m)aṟāa viḷaiyul aṟāa yāṇar+
toṭai maṭi kalāṇita cilai ~uṭai maṟavar
poṅku picir+ puṇari maṅkuḷotu mayaṅki 10
varum kaṭal ūṭaiyīṅ paṅkkum
tuvvā naṟaviṇ cāy iṇattāṇē.
60th poem

The sweet fruit which fell down from the tree

[His] army desires murderous acts. He, (1)
the one who desires hostile deeds will give [us gifts] unceasingly. (2)
O songstresses, why shall we not go in order to see [him], (3)
the one with a brilliant company in Naṟavu that could not be consumed, (12)
where [warriors (maṟavar)] shiver in the cold wind of the coming sea, (11)
after the waves with foamy sprays together with the clouds became bewildered, (10)
wARRIORS who possess bows whose laziness of the strings had been removed, (9)
[Naṟavu] of unceasing fertility and of unchangeable yield, (8)
[where] the ripened, egg-shaped fruit (given) to the people who are going [on] the road
impedes the tired propensity [to advance, fruit which] became abundant in fine juice, (6–7)
the sweet fruit which fell down from the tree [which] was never cleft by rasp (5)
where bees swarmed around without turning away from its honey-taste. (4)

592 Because of the ēkāram, I understood Line 1 as a separate sentence.
593 Line 2 is the second separate sentence in this poem with the finite verb vīcum (s. 3. habitual future).
594 cellāmōtil: cellām (“we [will] not go”) + ḍ (interrogative particle) + tīl (a particle of wish, Wilden 2018, 51).
Cf. Pativruppattu, 60: 3; Tinaimālai nūṟṟaimpatu, 77: 1. The verb cellāmōtil is the predicate of the third separate sentence in this poem.
595 POC: naṟavu – “a village/town” (ōrū). The word tuvvā (neg. pey. “not-eaten”, “not-consumed”) is a negative signifier (trad. velippaṭaṭai) which distinguishes the naṟavu as a ‘town’ from the naṟavu as the ‘toddy’. If we do not accept the existence of Naṟavu as a town, we may translate tuvvā naṟavu as inexhaustible toddy. An intermediate solution may be to assume that the ambiguity was in fact the intention of the poet.
596 The egg-shaped fruit was either a mango or a jackfruit, although a big number of other sweet fruits can be compared to an egg.
597 Here aram pōḷkallā (negative form with the suffix kallā) perhaps refer to the tree’s sanctity or to the tree as a totemistic one which was not yet attacked or harmed by anyone.
VI. patikam

kuṭa+ kō neṭuṇcēralātaṅku vēl
āvi+ kōmāṅ tēvi ~īṅra makuṅ
tanṭāraṇiyattu+ kōṭpaṭṭa varūṭaiyai+
toṇti ~uḷ tantu koṭuppittu+ pārppārkku+
kapilaiyoṭu kuṭa nāṭṭ’ ēr ūr īṭtu
vāṇavarampaṇ eṇa+ pēr īṅitu vilakki
~ēṅai māḷavarai+ ceruviṅ curukki
maṅgarai ~ōṭṭi+
kulavi kōḻvāriṅ kuti puṟam-tantu
nāṭal cāṅra nayaṅ utai neṅciṅ
āṭukōṭpāṭṭu+ cēralātanai
yāṭṭa ceyyul aṭankiya koḷkai+
kākkaipāṭiṅiyār nacceḷḷaiyār pāṭiṅār pattu+ pāṭṭu.

avai tām: vaṭu ~aṭum nuṅ ayir, cīru cem kuvalai, kuṇṭu kaṇ+ akali, nillā+ tāṅai, tuṅcum
pantar, vēntu mey+ maranta vālcci, cil vaḷai virali, ē vilāṅku taṭa+ kai, mā kūr tiṅkal, maram
paṭu tīm kaṇi, ivai pāṭṭiṅ patikam.

pāṭṭi+ peṛṟa pariṭil: kalaṅ anika ~eṅṟu avarkku onpattu kā+ pōnnum nuṅ’ āyiram kāṇamum
koṭuttu+ taṅ pakkattu+ koṇṭāṅ a+ kō.

āṭukōṭpāṭṭu+ cēralātana muppatt’ ētt’ ~yāṅṭu vīἱṛuruntāṅ.
VI. Panegyric

He, [who was] the son whom the queen, [daughter of] Vēḷ Āvi Kōmāṉ gave birth, (1d–2) to the father, Neṭuṇcēralātaṉ,598 the western king, (1a–c) [the son who] brought mountain-sheep which were taken in Taṇṭārāṇiyam599 (3) into Toṇṭi600 [and] ordered to distribute601 [them, he who] gave to the seers (pārppār602 (4) a village in the western country (kutanāṭu)603 together with tawny cows (kapilai), (5) [who] caused the name of Vāṉavarāmaṉ604 to sweetly shine, (6) [who] decimated in battles the warriors of others, (7) [who] caused to run [their] kings, (8) [who] gave protection to the villages against those who take cattle,605 (9) whose loving heart [was] worthy for investigation,606 (10) to Āṭukōṭṭu Cēralātaṉ, (11) Kākkaipāṭṭiṉyār Naccellaiyār,607 the poetess [whose] maxims were controlled by [her] poetic compositions (yātta ceyyu), sang [these] ten songs. (12–13)

These [ten songs] themselves [are]: The fine sand that hides the scars, Little red kuvalai-flowers, Moats with deep spaces, The army that does not stand still, The sleeping arbour, The lives that were left by the bodies of the kings, Viṟali with few bangles, The large hands that shine with arrows, The month, when animals shrink, The sweet fruit which fell down from the tree, [and this as] the panegyric of these ten.

Having sung, the [following] gifts [had been] obtained: [after the king] said: “adorn [yourself]

598 It seems that Āṭukōṭṭu Cēralātaṉ was the brother of Kaḷaṅkāykaṉni Nāṛmuṭi Cēral, whose father was Neṭuṇcēralātaṉ and whose mother was the queen (tēvi) who belonged to the dynasty of Vēḷ Āvi Kōmāṉ.

599 Taṇṭārāṇiyam (p. n.): ‘an ārya country’ (ōr āriya nāṭu). Tamiḻ Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 966. It is perhaps the same as the legendary Daṇḍakāraṇya in the Deccan, between the Narmadā and the Godāvarī. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 411, Geographical Dictionary, 114.

600 Toṇṭi (p. n.): the most-mentioned Cēra settlement, a port on the Malabar Coast which appears only two times in the Patiṟṟuppatu, (here and as toṇṭiyōr in 88: 21), but in several other poems of the Caṅkam corpus: Akanāṭuru, 10: 13; Aiṅkuruṇuṟu, 171: 3; 172: 2; 173: 2; 174: 1; 175: 4; 176: 1; 177: 4; 178: 3; 179: 3; 180: 4; Kuṟuṇtakai, 128: 2; 210: 2; 238: 4; Naṟrīṇai, 8: 9; 18: 4; 195: 5; Puṟanāṭuru, 48: 4.

601 kotuppiṭṭu (caus. abs.): “having made to give”.

602 pārppār, ‘seers’ (< pāṛ-ttāl v. 11. tr. ‘to see’), brāhmanas.

603 Kuṭa Nāṭu was the western part of the ancient Tamil-speaking South. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 282.

604 The same title appears in Patiṟṟuppatu, 58: 12.

605 As another option, Agesthalingom suggests to understand “those who protect (koḻvār) the young children (kuḷavi)”. Agesthalingom 1979, 141–142.

606 The passage nāṭal cāṇra uppers also in Patiṟṟuppatu, 59: 17.

607 Kākkaipāṭṭiṉyār Naccellaiyār was a famous poetess who composed also the Kuṟuṇtokai 210 and the Puṟanāṭuru 278.
with jewels!”, [and] gave hundred-thousand $\textit{kāṇam}^{608}$ and nine $\textit{kā}$-measure$^{609}$ of gold to her, that king brought [her] to his place.

Āṭukōṭpāṭṭu Čēralāṅ sat thirty-eight years majestically [on the throne].

Thus ending the Sixth Decade.
āṟāṁ pattu muṟṟṟu.

\footnote{\textit{kāṇam}: ‘an ancient weight’, ‘an ancient gold coin’, ‘gold’. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 859.}
\footnote{\textit{kā}: ‘a standard weight’, ‘hundred \textit{palani’}. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 840.}
The Seventh Decade
(ēḻām pattu)
The poet: Kapilar
The king: Celvakaṭuṅkō Vālijyātaṅ

61.

palāam paḷutta pacum puṉ+ ariyal
vāṭai turakkum nāṭu keḷu perum viṟal
ōvatt’ anṇa viṅai puṉai naḷ+ il
pāvai ~anṇa nallōḷ kaṇavaṇ
ponṭiṅ anṇa pūviṅ ciṟi ~iḷai+
pul kāl uṇṇattu+ pakaivaṇ em kō
pularnta cāntiṅ pularā ~iṅkai
malartna māriṅ mā vaḷ pāri
muḷavu maṅ pulara ~iraval iṅkaiya
vārā+ cēṅ pulam pāṭarntōṅ alṅkk’ eṅa
~irakkuvārēn eṅci+ kūrēṅ
ittat’ irāṅkāṅ iṅ toṛum mākiṅ
iṅ−toṛum mā vaḷiṅyāṅ eṅa nuvalum nīṅ
naḷ+ iṅci tara vanticē ~oḷ vaḷ
uravu+ kalṛiṅ+ pulāam pācaṟai
nilaviṅ anṇa veḷ vēḷ pāṭiṅ
muḷaviṅ pōkkīya veḷ kai
vilaviṅ anṇa nīṅ kali mākiṅē.
61st song

The flesh-reeking military camp

[The man] with great victory [from] the country where the northern wind disperses (2) the sap\(^{610}\) [from] the fresh wound of the ripened [fruit] of the jack-tree, (1) the husband of [his] image-like\(^{611}\) fine woman (4) in [his] fine house which was fashioned by workmanship like a painting,\(^{612}\) (3) the greatly generous Pāri\(^{613}\) with blooming chest (8) [whose] sandal paste had dried, [but whose] bestowals [were] unfading,\(^{614}\) (7) our king, the enemy of the *ungam*-tree\(^{615}\) with small trunk, (6) little leaves, and gold-like flowers, (5) set out\(^{616}\) to a distant land [from where there is] no return, (10a–c) so that the suppliants despaired, while the clay has dried on the *mulavu*-drum. (9)

I did not come to beg [you], saying “Have pity [on me]!”’. (10d–11b)

I do not speak by decreasing\(^{617}\) [your greatness].\(^{618}\) (11c–d)

In your bustling court, which is like a festival (18) for the white\(^{619}\) hands that agitated the *mulavu*-drums (17) for the songstresses (*pāṭiṉi*) with moonlight-like bright spears,\(^{620}\) (16) [in the court at] the flesh-reeking military camp with strong elephant bulls (15) [and] bright swords, I have come to spread\(^{621}\) the fame (*nallicai*) (14) of yours, declaring “He is a great donor who always gives! (13)

He delights in every [act of] giving! He is someone who does not repent for what he gave!” (12)

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\(^{610}\) For *ariyal*, the POC glosses *tēg* which means either ‘honey’, ‘toddy’, ‘sap’, or ‘juice’. *Tamil Lexicon*, 2072. The original meaning of *ariyal* is toddy. *Tamil Lexicon*, 128. I translated *ariyal* as ‘sap’, so that it covers all the possible meanings, but still it is possible that we should understand a kind of honey.

\(^{611}\) This part perhaps refers to *kollippāvai*, the “woman-shaped statue in the Kolli hills believed to have been carved by the celestials and to have the power of fascinating all those who look at it”. *Tamil Lexicon*, 1157.

\(^{612}\) *ōvam* (< *ōviyam*): painting, portrait, picture. *Tamil Lexicon*, 631.

\(^{613}\) Pāri was the chief of Parampu Nāṭu (*Purāṇāṅgāṇu*, 110), friend of Kapilar. *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, 557.

\(^{614}\) *pularā* (neg. pey.): “unfading”, “unwithering”. *Tamil Lexicon*, 2786.

\(^{615}\) *ungam*: “a small tree with golden flowers and small leaves which, in ancient times, was invoked for omens before warriors proceeded to battle”. *Tamil Lexicon*, 488.

\(^{616}\) The POC suggests to understand here the end of the first sentence, which was followed by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar too. Cāminātaiyar 1980, 161.

\(^{617}\) *eḻci* (abs.): “having diminished”. *Tamil Lexicon*, 511.


\(^{620}\) These songstresses (*pāṭiṉi*) carry bright spears which might suggest that they performed heroic compositions or they were associated with Koṟṟavai. Without parallels and old commentary, we cannot be sure what is the exact meaning behind this phrase.

\(^{621}\) The infinitive *tara* would literally mean ‘to give’, ‘to bestow’.
62.


ilai ~aṇint’ elu-tarum pal kāliru+ tolūtiyōtu
mālai ~eṇa maruḷum mā ~irim pal tōl
ekö paṭai −arutta koy cuval puraviyōtu
maint’ uṭai −ār eyil puṭai-paṭa valaii
vantu puṛatt’-iṛukkum pacum picir oḷ aḷal
nāyiru palkiya māyamoṭu cuṭar tikal+
pollo mayaloṭu pāṭimilp’ ulītarum
maṭāṅkal vaṇṇam koṇṭa kaṭum tiṟal
tuppū+ tūrai-pōkiya koṛa vēntē
puṇal poru kiṭaṅkiṇṛ varai pōl iñci
vaṇāṅk’ uṭai+ taṭa+ kaiyar tōṭṭi ceppī+
paṇintu tiṟai tarupa niṅ pakaivar āyiṅ
puḷ+ uṭai viyal pulam pal+ ā parappi
vaḷaṅ uṭai+ ceruvīṇ vīḷainavai ~utirnta
kaḷaṅ aru kuppai kāṅci+ cērtti
~ariyal ārkai vāl kai viṇṇainar
aruvi ~āmpal malainta cēṇniyar
āṭu ciṟai vari vaṇṭ’ ōppum
pāṭal cāṇra ~avar akam talai nāṭē.
The mountain-like ramparts

O victorious king who accomplished [your] strength, (9) [king] with fierce vigour that recalled\(^{622}\) the nature of the God of Death (Maṭṭaṅkal), (8) [the god] who roams around by roaring\(^{623}\) with a vicious frenzy (pollā mayah), (7) [the god] with a radiating glitter together with the illusion\(^{624}\) of a multiplied Sun\(^{625}\) (6) with bright flames and yellow sparks,—[king who] encamped after [you] came, (5) after [you] surrounded the strong and difficult[-to-conquer] fort in order to approach [it] (4) with horses [which have] trimmed mane cut by the weapon with a blade, (3) with many big and dark shields which could be confused with clouds, (2) [with] a rising multitude of many elephant bulls adorned with ornaments, (1) if your enemies humbly give tributes, (12) after [they] said “Tōṭṭi!”,\(^{626}\) [as being] someones with large, greeting\(^{627}\) hands (11) at the mountain-like ramparts with moats in which the water dashes against [the edges], (10) their country with vast areas is worthy of song, (19) [where] people who wore chaplets of āmpal-flower\(^{628}\) [collected at] the waterfalls (17) drive away the striped bees with flapping\(^{629}\) wings, (18) [who are] workers with strong hands, [who] drink toddy, (16) after they put down [their] kāñci-[garlands]\(^{630}\) at the unwinnowed heap [of crops] (15) which had withered [and] which had ripened on the fertile paddy field, (14) after [their] many cows spread on the vast, grassy fields. (13)

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\(^{622}\) koṇṭa (perf. pey.): lit. “which took”.  
\(^{623}\) pāṭimilpu (abs.): “having roared”. Tamil Lexicon, 2594.  
\(^{625}\) The God of Death (Kāla, Yama) was the son of Sūrya in northern Indian mythologies, therefore, it might be the idea on which our comparison based. Purāṇic Encyclopaedia, 367.  
\(^{626}\) According to the Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakāṭi, tōṭṭi means here a greetings about which no other ancient information has survived. Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakāṭi, 1235. However, we see tōṭṭi vanakkam in Perunkatai, I. 45. 64. In his commentaries on Perunkatai, U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar claims that it is a “goad-like greetings” (aṅkucam pōgra vanakkattai), when the person bends like a goad. Similar idea is the vilvaṇṇakkam (Kural, 827), or the reverential bowing known as daṇḍa-praṇāma (A Sanskrit-English dictionary, 399).  
\(^{627}\) We can split the sandhi either as vaṇaṅk’ uṭai or aṇaṅk’ uṭai. The first would confirm the idea of tōṭṭi as a greetings, the second would qualify the hands (“awful hands”)?  
\(^{628}\) āmpal: Nymphaea pubescens. Rajeswari 2020, 149.  
\(^{629}\) āṭu ciṟai: lit. “moving wings”, “dancing wings”.  
\(^{630}\) I think we have to understand this as they put down their kāñci-garlands because they just surrendered and it was time to cultivate the neglected lands. Cf. kāñćiṭṭai, Tamil Lexicon, 847.
63.


pārppārkk’ allatu paṇip’ ariyalaiyē
paṇiyā ~uḷḷamoṭ’ anī-vara+ keḷi
naṭṭöṛkk’ allatu kaṇ+ aṅcalaiyē
vaṇṇaṅku cilai poruta niṅ maṇam kamal akalam
makaḷirkk’ allatu malarp’ ariyalaiyē  5
nilam tīram peyarum kālai ~āyiṇum
kilanta col ni poyp’ ariyalaiyē
ciri ~ilai ~uḷiṅai+ teriyal cūṭi+
koṇṭī mikai paṭa+ taṇ tamīl cerittu+
kūṟru nilai talarkkum urumīn cīri 10
~oru muṟṟ’ īruvar ōṭṭīya ~oḷ vāḷ
ceru miku tāṇai vel pōrōyē
~āṭu peṟṟ’ alinta māḷḷar māri
nī kaṇṭāṇaiyēm eṅṛaṅar nīyum
num nukam koṇṭ’ īṇum veṅröy ataṇāl 15
celva+ kövē cēralar maruka
kāḷ tirai ~eṭṭutta mulaṅku kural vēli
naṇam talai ~ulakam ceyta naṇṟ’ unṭēṇīṇ
atāi ~aṭupp’ ariyā ~aruvi ~āmpal
āyiṇa veḷḷa ~ūḷī 20
vāḷiyāta vāḷiya palavē.
63rd song

The cascade of āmpals

You do not know to make obeisance to others than the seers (pārppār). You do not fear eyes other than of [your] friends, after [you] joined [them] with a heart that is not humble, in order to start adorning [your] chest [which is] redolent with fragrance when it fights with a bending bow, to others than [your women]. You do not know falsity in [your] spoken words, even if the time [has come] which changes the elements of the earth. You are of a victorious war, [who have] an army that abounds in battles, [who have] a bright sword which drove away two [rulers] in one go, after [you] got enraged like the thunder which makes the stability of the hills infirm, after [you] united the cool Tamil [regions], so that tributes happened [to become] abundant, after [you] wore a garland of uliñai-flowers with small leaves! After they retreated once [you] achieved victory, the defeated warriors (māḷar) said “we are similar to those who were seen by you!”. You had been victorious again, after you also took up the burden of your [family], therefore, o wealthy king, o descendant of the Cēras, if there is something worthy which had been done in this world with wide places, with fences that have roaring sound, which were raised from the waves by the wind, o Vāḻiyāṅ, then] live through many aeons (ūḻi): 'time of universal deluge and destruction of the world', 'aeon', 'very long time'. Āmpal: Nymphaea pubescens, but here it clearly denotes a very high number. Here the veḷippatāi type of negative signifier warns us to search for another meaning than the usual one ('water-lily', 'bamboo', etc.).
64.


valampaṭu muraciaṇ vāy vāl koṟṟattu+
polam pūn vēntar palar-tilamma
~aṟam karaintu vayaṇkiyā nāvin pirānkiyā

~urai cāl vēḷvi muṭṭita kēḷvi
~antaṇar arum kalam ēṛpa nīr paṭṭu
~irum cēṛ’ āṭiya maṇal mali muṟṟattu+
kaliru nilai muṇaiyā tār arum takaippin
puṟam ciṟai vayiriyar+ kāṇḍ vallē
~ekku paṭṭai ~arutta koy cuval puravi
~alaṅkum pāṇṭil iḷai ~anint’ ṯṁ ena
~āṅā+ kolḳaiyā āṭali a+ vayin
mā ~irum vicumpil pal mīṇ oli keṭa
nāyiru tōṅriyāṅku māṛrā
uru muraṇ citaṭita niḍ nōl tāl vāḷṭṭi+
kaṇku vantici kāḷal toṭi ~aṇṇal
mai paṭṭu malar+ kāḷi malarnta neytaḷ
iṭal vaṇapp’ uṛra tōṛramoṭ’ uyarnta
maḷaiyiṉum perum payam poḷiti ~aṭaṇāl
paći ~uṭai ~okkalai ~orīya
~icai mēm tōṅral niḍ pācaṇaiyāṅē. 20
64th song

**The sacrifices which are worthy of fame**

Would that the golden ornamented kings be many, with triumphs of the truthful sword, and with victorious muracam-drum. Because you are someone with immortal principles, while you say “give away the moving oxen having adorned with jewels the horses with trimmed mane cut by a weapon with a blade quickly if you see the musicians outside the walls (8) which are difficult to conquer for the vanguards, [where] elephants which bathed in the dark mud, disliked standing in the sandy front yard (6–7) after the water was poured, when rare vessels were raised by the gracious ones (antaṇar) (5) [with a] complete knowledge (kēḷvi) [of] sacrifices (vēḷvi) [which are] worthy of fame (4) [that] was glittering on [their] tongues that [became] brightened by explaining the virtues (aram)”, (3) after you appeared that place like the sun so that the brightness of many stars disappeared in the dark vast sky, (11d–13b) after I praised the sturdy legs of yours who destroyed the enmity of the disobedient, (13d–14)

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643 In palartilamma, the particle til is, agreeing with the POC, an oḷiyicai (“omitted sound”, see: Tamil Lexicon, 606) that has an implied expression, perhaps a kind of assertive function here, and is not a particle for desire (viḷaivu) or time (kālam). Tamil Lexicon, 1924. The particle amma denotes either lament or invitation of attention (Wilden 2018, 51), possibly the second. I also assume that here we have to deal with a sort of rhetorical question. It is, however, very difficult to translate these particles, since the combination of these two is not very frequent.

644 If we prefer to translate vāy as “edge [of the sword]” which is another extended meaning given by the Tamil Lexicon, then vāy vāḷ is a “sharp sword”.

645 alankum (imp. pey.): “moving”, “shaking”, “dangling”. It might be also possible to choose one from the Pīṇkalam provided meanings: “shining”, “glittering” (Tamil Lexicon, 144), however, it would not reflect the old attested meanings of the verb alanku tav. 5. intr.

646 Here I followed the old commentary (tēr pāṯum enrutuṭaḥ) and U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar (nārai erutu, Cāminātaiyar 1980, 169) who both understand pāṇṭil as erutu ‘ox’. However, I cannot exclude the possibility to understand pāṇṭil as having the usual ‘lamp’ meaning or to translate it as ‘chariot’. Tamil Lexicon, 2598.

647 vayiriyar: ‘professional dancers’, ‘actors’ or ‘professional musicians’ (at the entry vayiriamākkaḷ, Tamil Lexicon, 3500).


649 One might understand two attributes: antanar with complete knowledge/accomplished śrutī/completed studies (muṭṭita kēḷvi) and with sacrifices worthy for fame (urai cāḷ vēḷvi).

650 Not counting the attestations of the probably later patikams, this is the first time when the word vēḷvi appears in the decade poems. Before that, the texts used a much specific term, the āvuti.

651 Here I suggest an adverbial use of the absolutive karaintu. I found it also possible to understand the poet Kapilar as the subject of tōṅri~āṅku, in this case, using an immodest analogy, Kapilar himself appeared like the sun so that the other shining stars (other minstrels?) disappeared on the sky.

652 According to the POC, here avvayiḷ could refer to the town of the king (niṅ ur iṭṭatu).
I came to see you, o majesty with anklets and bangles! (15)
You may shower wealth even more than the clouds, (18a–c)
[you who] became lofty by means of [your] appearance which had the beauty of the petals (17)
of the neytal-flower that blossomed in the backwaters with blackened flowers, (16)
thus you may rescue [my] hungry kinsfolk, (19)
o greatness of eminent fame in your military camp! (20)
65.

peyar: nāḻmakiḻirukkai, tuṟai: paricielṟai pāṭāṇpāṭṭu, tūkku: centūkku, vaṟṇam: oḻuku vaṟṇam.

eri piṇaṟi yira cem maru+ kuḻampin
 pari ~uṭai nal mā viri ~uḷai cēṭṭi
 malaitta tevvar maram tapa+ kaṭanta
 kāṇci cāṅra vayavar peruma
 villō meymmarai cērntōr celva
 pūṇ anintr’ eliliya vanaṁtu varal ila mulai
 mān vari ~alkul malarnta nōkkiṅ
 vēy puraip’ eliliya vilaṅṅ’ irai+ paṇai+ tōl
 kāmar kaṭavulum āḷum karpin
 cēṅ+ nāṛu naru nutal cē ~iḷai kaṇava
 paṇar puravala pariclar verukkai
 pūṇ anintru vilaṅkkiya pukaḷ cāḷ māṛpa niṅ
 nāḷ makiḻ irukkai ~iṇitu kaṭṭikumē
 tīm toṭai narampiṅ pāḷai vallōṅ
 paiyul uṟuppip paṇṣu+ peyart’-āṅku+
 cēṛu cey māriṅṅ alikkum niṅ
 cēṛu paṭṭu tiruvipp (n)anai makiḷāṅē.
65th song

The seat at the daily court

O great man among the strong ones who were worthy for kāñci[-songs], who overcame [in battle], so that the valour of the enemies who opposed [you] failed, after [you] adorned [your] galloping good horse with a spreading plume, [your horse] with red-stained hoofs that struck against the chopped corpses, [your horse] with red-stained hoofs that struck against the chopped corpses, (1) o body shield of the bowmen, o lord of [your] retinue, o husband of the [queen with] red jewels, with fragrant forehead that smells from afar, (10) with fidelity that outranks even the desirable deity, (9) with rounded shoulders [having] shining joints which are beautiful while resembling the bamboo, (8) with blooming glances, with gloriously curved hips, (7) [and] with shapely growing young breasts, which are beautiful when adorned with ornaments, (6) o benefactor of the minstrels (pānar), o wealth of the gift-seekers! (11) o man of the chest which is worthy of the praises, which was shining when adorned with ornaments, (12a–d) we sweetly saw the seat at your daily court (12d–13) in mirth that is similar (ajai) to the festive brilliance (17) of yours who nourish [us] like the rain which makes mud, (16) who changed [our mode of life] like [how] the musical mode with paiyu-components (15) [had been changed by] the master of pālai-melody on the sweetly fastened strings. (14)

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654 Here the word kāñci most probably refers to the tina that proclaims either the instability of earthly things or the warriors who defend themselves in the battle. Tamil Lexicon, 847.
655 cēntōr: lit. ‘the ones who joined’, retinue, friends, relatives, etc. See: cēntār, Tamil Lexicon, 1634.
656 What we see here is a so-called exocentric or possessive compound (agnolittokai), “an elliptical compound in which any one of the five tokai-nilai, q.v., that precede this in the enumeration, is used figuratively so as to signify something else of which this compound becomes a descriptive attribute.” (Tamil Lexicon, 183) Here it refers to the queen.
657 The desirable deity is perhaps Aruntati (< Arundhati). Tamil Lexicon, 133.
658 I agreed with the POC which understands “daily court” (ōlakkam) for nāl makil. This might exclude the possibility to read ‘court’ again in Line 17, unless we understand nāl makil as the institutionalized “daytime audience” and makil as its location. Instead of that, I translated makil as ‘mirth’ and read ajai (v. r. ‘to be similar’) instead of nagai (v. r. ‘to be wet’), although this is not what the old commentator read.
659 Another reading would result to understand “the delightful throne at daytime (nāl makil irukkai, Line 13) in the wet court (nagai makilāgē, Line 17) with festive/intoxicated brilliance (cāṭu pāṭu tiruvi, Line 17).
661 This description refers to kāñci songs (Tamil Icaip Pērakarāti, 389) and with it perhaps to the kāñci in Line 4.
66.

vāṅk’ iru maruppiṉ ātum toṭai paluṇiya
~iṭaṅ uṭai+ pēr(i) yāḷ pālai paṇṭi+
pāṭartāṇai cellum mutu vāy iravala
~iṭi ~icai muracamọṭ’ ōṟru-molint’ ongār
vēḷ uṭai+ kuḷūu+ camam tataiya nūri+
koṇṟu puṟam-peṟra piṇam payil aḷuvattu+
toṇṟu tirai tanta kalirroṭu nelliṅ
ampanja ~aḷavai virint’ uṟai pōkiya
~ār patam nalkum enpa karuttōr
uṟu muraṇ tāṅkiya tār arum takaippiṅ
nāḷ maḷai+ kuḷūu+ cimai kāṭukkum tōṅral
tōl micaит’ eḷu-tarum virint’ ilāṅk’ ekkiṅ
tār purint’-anṇa vēḷ uṭai vilaviṅ
pōr paṭu maḷḷar pōṇptoṭu toṭutta
kāṭavul vākai+ tūy vī ~ēyppa+
pūṭta mullai+ putal cūḷ paravai
kāṭattīṭai+ piṭavīṇ toṭai+ kuḷai+ cēkkum
vēḷ pāḻiṅku viraiyü cem paral murampiṅ
ilāṅku katir+ tiru maṇi peṟūm
akaṇ kaṇ vaippiṅ nāṭu kilavōṅē.
66th song

The bees which surround the bushes

O old truth[-saying]⁶⁶³ beggar who goes as being one who is thinking⁶⁶⁴ [of the Cēra king], (3) by performing the pālai-melody on the spacious, big yāḷ (2) on which the sweet consonants of the big, bending neck were matured, (1) they say [that the king] will grant [you] an ampaṇa measure⁶⁶⁵ of paddy as food to eat, which abundantly went⁶⁶⁶ [beyond] the [rim of the] receptacle (urai), (7d–9c) along with elephant bulls which were brought as tributes in former times (7a–c) from the thicket⁶⁶⁷ which was dense with corpses who were caused to retreat [by the king] while killing⁶⁶⁸ [them], (6) after he destroyed the disobedient, while the battle with spear-possessing troops⁶⁶⁹ was dense, (4d–5) after [he] declared an oath⁶⁷⁰ by means of [his] muracam-drum with thundering sound, (4a–c) [he will grant as the one] of [great] appearance that resembles the summit with groups of auroral (nāṉ)⁶⁷¹ clouds, (11) [he] with an array of [his] difficult[-to-defeat] vanguard⁶⁷² which endured the enmity (10) of the enraged ones, (9d) [he will grant as] the lord of the country of areas with wide places, (20) where brilliant sapphires with shining rays can be obtained (19) from the mounds with red pebbles which are mixed with white crystals,⁶⁷³ (18) where bees,⁶⁷⁴ which surround the bushes of the blossomed jasmine, (16) dwell among the joined clusters of the emetic-nut (piṭā) in the forest, (17)

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⁶⁶⁴ In paṭarntaṇai, I analysed paṭar as ‘to think’ following the POC (paṭartal – niṇaiva), although this is not the usual, old meaning of the verb. Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 1513. The Tamil Lexicon (p. 2432) claims that this meaning is attested as “to think of, consider” in Perumpāṇṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ所所
⁶⁶⁵ According to the POC, ampaṇam (< Pā. ammaṇa/ambaṇa < Skt. armaṇa) is a measure of capacity, equal to a marakkāl, “a grain measure, varying in different places = 8 paṭī = ½ kalam = 400 cu. in., as originally made of wood” (Tamil Lexicon, 3082).
⁶⁶⁶ POC: urai pōtal – “the scattering that does not end in the receptacle” (urmaṇtum muniṉ āṉilāh).
⁶⁶⁷ The Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti believes that in Naṟṟṇai, 349: 7, aluvam means ‘battlefield’ (pōrkkalum) that might fit here, still I stucked to translating it as ‘thicket’ very much close to its old meaning as ‘depth’.
⁶⁶⁸ I read koṇṟṟu having an adverbial usage.
⁶⁷⁰ POC: ogṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ所所
⁶⁷¹ Here I understood nāf as viṭṭal ‘dawn’. Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 1341.
⁶⁷² Within this decade, we found another reference to tār arum takaiippip (64: 7), where I translated “walls [which are] difficult [to conquer for the] vanguards”. We may consider this reading here as well.
⁶⁷³ paliṅku (< Skt. sphaṭikā): ‘crystal’, ‘crystal quartz’. Tamil Lexicon, 2554.
so that they resembled the soft flowers of the divine\textsuperscript{675} \textit{vākai}-tree\textsuperscript{676} which (15) had been tied with Palmyra fronds on the warriors who fell in war (14) [which was] like a festival of swords,\textsuperscript{677} [when swords are] examined as garlands (13) with extensively shining blades that rise upto the shields. (12)

\textsuperscript{675} POC: \textit{kāṭavuḷ vākai} – “the \textit{vākai}-tree in which a deity, the Goddess of Victory abides” (\textit{veṟṟimaṭantaiyākikya kāṭavuḷvāḷum vākai}). Most probably the word \textit{veṟṟimaṭantai} denotes Koṟavai.

\textsuperscript{676} \textit{vākai}: ‘sirissa’, \textit{Albizzia}. \textit{Dravidian Etymological Dictionary}, 5333. Considering the flowers of the \textit{vākai}-tree, this description is quite a comparison.

\textsuperscript{677} It is perhaps the same imagination as \textit{raṇotsava} or \textit{yuddhotsava} in Sanskrit literature, cf. \textit{Subhāṣītaratnakoṣa} 1576, Bhāsa: \textit{Dūtavākya}, I. 4; Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa: \textit{Veṭṭīsaṃhāra}, 6. 10; \textit{Mahābhārata}, VII. 35. 5; Daṇḍin: \textit{Kāvyādarśa}, 2. 269, etc.
67.


koṭumaṇṇam paṭṭa neṭumoli ~okkalọtu
pantar+ peyariya pēr icai mūt’ ūr+
kaṭaṇ ari marapiṇ kai val pāṇa
tel kalal muttamotu nal kalam peṟukuvai
kol paṭai teriya vel koṭi nuṭaṅka
vayaṅku kāṭir vayiroṭu valampuri ~āṛppa+
pal kaḷiṟṟ’ īṇam nirai pulam peyaṟnt’ iyal vara
amar+ kaṇ amainta ~avir niṇa+ parappiṇ
kulūu+ cīrai ~eruva kuruti ~āra+
talaï tumint’ eṇciya ~āṇṭ ṣali yūpamoṭ’
uruv’ il pēṃmakal kavalai kaḷarṭṭa
naṭ’ uṭṭaṇ naṭuṅka+ pal ceru+ koṅru
naṁ’ iṇar+ koṅraį veḷ pōl+ kaṇpiyar
vāl mukam porīṭta māṅ vari yākkaiyār
neṛi paṭu maruppiṇ irum kaṇ mūriyoṭu
vaḷai talai māṭṭa tāḷ karum pācavar
ekk’ āṭ’ ūṇam kaṭuppa mey citaintu
cānt’ eḷḷal māṇittā cāŋrōr perum makan
malartta kānta māṇṭ ūtiya
kaṭum paṟai+ tumpi cūr nacaitt’ āay+
paṟai paṇ+ aliyum paṭu cāḷ neṭum varai+
kal+ uyar nēri+ porunnaṭ
celva+ kōṁḍ pāṭhṇai cēliṇē.
67th song

The chaplets of the white Palmyra fronds

O skilful minstrel (pāṇaṇa) of the tradition which is [your] duty to know (3) from the famous ancient town called Pantar,\(^{678}\) (2) together with [your] relatives [who have delivered] an encomium\(^{679}\) [upon the king], which happened in Koṭumaṇam,\(^{680}\) (1) you will receive good jewels\(^{681}\) together with pearls from the clear ocean, (4) if you go as one who sings the wealthy king, (24) the fighter of the Nēri [Hill] which grows high with rocks (23) among the tall mountains which are worthy for singing, (21c–d) where the wings (paṟai)\(^{682}\) of the fast-flying bees which inflated themselves [with pollen] without moving away from the blossoming kāntaḷ-flowers,\(^{683}\) failed to work, after [they] became desired\(^{684}\) by the Cūr,\(^{685}\) (19–21b) the great son of worthy people who hid [their scars with] the beauty of the sandal-paste, (18) after [their] bodies had become wounded, so that they resembled the meat\(^{686}\) on which the blade of the low and cruel butcher\(^{687}\) dances, (16c–17) [the butcher] with animals [which have] drooping heads (16a–b) along with oxen with big eyes and curving horns; (15) [the great son of] people with bodies [which have] glorious scars impressed by the edge of the swords, (14) people with chaplets of the white Palmyra fronds [which had been tied] with the fragrant clusters of kōṇrai-flower,\(^{688}\) (13) after they murdered in many battles, so that [all] the countries trembled together, (12) while demonesses without beauty caused painful anxiety (11) together with the torsos (yūpam)\(^{689}\) which abounded in valour\(^{690}\) [and] remained [on the battlefield]\(^{691}\) after [their] heads had been cut, (10)

\(^{678}\) Pantar was the name of a Cēra port of trade. For more, read: pp. 351–352.


\(^{680}\) Koṭumaṇam (probably identifiable with today’s Koṭuṇaṉal, Erode District, Tamil Nadu) was an ancient Cēra town which was famous for its craft.

\(^{681}\) kalam: jewel, vessel, ship. Tamil Lexicon, 778.

\(^{682}\) Cf. Neṭunalvāṭai, 15.

\(^{683}\) kāntaḷ. Malabar glory lily (Gloriosa superba), a fiery colour flower of the high mountains. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 1451.

\(^{684}\) Cf. Kuṟuntokai 52: 2.

\(^{685}\) The term cūr is the proper name of a malevolent power that later evolves to the character of Cūrapatumaṉ, the demon slaughtered by Murukāṇ.

\(^{686}\) Reconsidering footnote 205, ṭṇam could perhaps also mean the anvil/scaffold on which the meat is hacked.

\(^{687}\) See: footnote 206.

\(^{688}\) Indian laburnum (Cassia fistula).
when a crowd of winged eruvai-birds filled [themselves] full with blood (9) from the expanse of shiny flesh that remained on the place of the battle, (8) while the rows of the herds of elephant bulls started to advance\textsuperscript{692} leaving the land [behind], (7) while the valampuri-conch\textsuperscript{693} along with bugles\textsuperscript{694} with glittering rays was sounding, (6) when the victorious flags swayed, while people were selecting the murderous weapons! (5)

\textsuperscript{689} Although \textit{yūpam} (< Skt. \textit{yūpam}) means first of all ‘sacrificial post’, here we followed the additional meaning given by the \textit{Piṅkalam} 1083, where \textit{yūpani} is a synonym of \textit{uṭarkurai}, “torso”.

\textsuperscript{690} If we split sandhi in a different way, we may read “the torsos [which] abound [in] swords (\textit{vāḷ})”.

\textsuperscript{691} Cf. \textit{Tolkāppiyam Porulaṭṭikāram Puṟaṭṭinaiyiyal}, cū. 71.

\textsuperscript{692} In \textit{iyal-vara}, the infinitive \textit{vara} is an auxiliary that denotes the starting of an action. Wilden 2018, 155.

\textsuperscript{693} valampuri: conch whose spirals turn to the right. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3534.

\textsuperscript{694} The word \textit{vayir} could also mean ‘diamond’. When I chose to translate ‘bugle’ (\textit{vayir}), I relied on a similar passage that can be found among the stray songs of the \textit{Patiruppattu} (\textit{Patiruppattu tiraiṭṭu}, 2: 10).
68.


kāḷ kaṭipp’ āka+ kaṭal olitt’-āṅku
vēṟu pulatt’ āṟutta kaṭūr nāppaṇ
kaṭum cilai kaṭavum talāṅku kural muracam
akal irum vicumpīq-ākatt’ ātīra
ve+ vari nilaiya ~eyil ērīnt’ allat’
unuṅṭ’ āṭukkiya poḷuṭu pala kalīya
neṇcu pukal ākkattar mey tayaṅk’ uyakkatt’
iṅṅar uṟaiyul tām pēriṅ allatu
vēnt’ ēṟ yāṇai veḷ kōtu koṇṭu
kaḷ koṭi nuṭāṅkum āvaṇaṃ pukk’ uthan
arum kaḷ noṭaimai tīrnta piṅ mākiḷ ciṟantu
nāmam ariyā ~ēmam vāḷkkai
vaṭa pulam vāḷnariṅ perit’ amart’ alkalam
iṅ nakai mēya pal+ urai perupa-kol
pāyal iṅmaiṅiṅ pāc’ īḷai ēṅkila
neṭum maṅ iṅci nīḷ nakar varaippiṅ
ōv’ urāḷ neṭum cuvar nāḷ pala ~eluti+
ce+ viral ciṟanta ~am vari+ kuṭaiccūl
aṅaṅk’ ēḷḷi arivaiyar+ piṅikkum
maṇaṃ kamaḷ mārpa nīṅ tāḷ niḷalōrē.
68th song

The delightful life

Unless [they] attack the persistent forts with desirable lines, while the muracam-drum with rumbling sound echoes in the big vast sky, [which sound] had been urged [with drumsticks into] a fierce noise (5) in the middle of the military camp which stationed in various lands, [the muracam-drum] which sounded like the sea as if the wind became [its] drumsticks, unless they themselves [who have] distress that perplexes [their] bodies and who are ones with heart-declared effort achieve to conquer the residences of the disobedient, while a lot of time has passed which was multiplied without eating, after their joy excelled once the price of the rare toddy was paid out as soon as they entered the market (āvanaṃ), [where] flags of the toddy-selling places swayed, after they brought [there] the white tusks of the elephant that a king rode on, [to pay with] will they obtain the desired long lifetime attached to sweet-smiling-women after they greatly desired [it] every day, [which life is] as of those who are living in the northern lands, [they with] delightful life that does not know of fear in the shadow of your feet, o man of the chest which is fragrant of scents, with beautiful striped anklets, whose red fingers are reddened, after they painted [lines] of the many days [counting] on the tall walls which resembled a painting, at least.

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695 nilaiiya (perf. pey.): “which remained permanent”, “which stayed”. Tamil Lexicon, 2279.
696 Another possible reading: “cruel lines”.
697 Or: “fast sound/rhythm(?)”.
698 This might refer to the ‘hunger’ described in Line 6.
699 We may translate poḷutu as ‘day’ (Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakaráti, 1832), so that unṇāt’ aṭukkiya poḷutu pala would mean “the consecutive many days without eating”.
700 This may indicate a solemn vow not to eat until they have conquered the fort. Another possibility is that there was a stalemate in the supply of food during the protracted campaign.
701 The precious/rare toddy with a very high price could refer to the expensive Mediterranean wine that arrived to South India in amphorae during the centuries of Indo-Roman trade. Cf. Patigrappattu, 30: 9–12.
702 āvanaṃ (< Skt. āpāṇa): ‘market’. It is quite a rare word in the corpus, see: Neṭunalvāṭai, 44; Akanāṇgūṛu, 77: 8; 122: 3; in oblique case: Akanāṇgūṛu, 227: 21; Paṭṭiippāḷai, 158.
703 POC: pallurai – “living for many days” (palanāḷuraitaḥ).
704 We have three ways to understand this. Either the northern people desired the long lifespan in the same manner as our subjects, or the northern ones, in fact, had longer life according to some unknown local legends (mahāṆiś?). The third option is based on POC which glosses vaṭa pulam as “the world to go” or “heaven” (pōkapūmi), so this would refer to the longer lifespan of the celestials.
705 ēmam vāḻkkaṭi: “protected life”, “delightful life”.

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188
[on the walls] of the enclosure of the huge palace with tall earthen ramparts, (16)
while [their] greenish gold jewels slipped down, because of the lack of sleeping?707 (15)

706 To mark the days on the walls is an old topos, cf. Kuruntokai, 358: 2–3; Akanāṟuṟu, 61: 4.
707 To loose bangles because of emotional distress (absence of the lover) is an old topos, cf. Kuruntokai, 11: 1;
31: 5; 50: 4; 125: 1; 365: 1; 371: 1; 377: 2; etc.
69.


malai ~uṟal yāṇai vān tōy vel koṭi
varai micai ~aruviyiṉ vayiṉ vayiṉ nuṭaṅka+
kāṭal pōl tāṇai+ kāṭum kural murac̣am
kāl uth kaṭalīṉ kaṭiya ~uraṆa
~erintu citainta vāl
ilai terinta vēl
pāynt’ āynta mā
~āyntu terinta pukal mararōtu
paṭu pīṇam pīraṅka nūri+ pakaivar
keṭu kūṭi payiṟriya koroṭam vēntē
niṅ pōl,
acaiv’ il koḷkaiyar ākaliṅ acaiyāt’
āṇṭōr-manṟa ~i+ maṇ keḷu Ṇālam
nilam payam poliya+ cuṭar ciṇaṅ taṇiya+
payam keḷu veḷḷi ~aṇiya(m) nirpa
vicumpu mey+ akala+ peyal purav’ etira
nāl vēṟu naqam talai ~ōrāṅku nanta
~ilaṅku katir+ tikiri munticīṉōrē.
69th song

The earthly world

O victorious king who caused the injured clans of the enemies to gain acquaintance [with you], 708 (9d–10) after [you] destroyed 709 [their armies] with [your] desirable warriors who were chosen with scrutiny, (9c, 8) with [your] horses exhausted in gallop, 710 (7) with [your] spears [whose] leaves were [only] recognizable 711 [in blood], (6) with swords that spoiled while attacking, (5) so that the fallen corpses were piled up, (9a–b) while [your] sea-like army’s muracam-drum with fierce voice (3) fiercelyumbled like the windy sea [rumbles], (4) when, like the waterfalls on the summits of the mountains, sky-touching victorious flags swayed everywhere on the mountain-like elephants, (1–2) [your] predecessors 712 [who had] the wheel with shining spokes 713 (17) were certainly someone who ruled tirelessly [in] this earthly world, because they, as just you, became ones with principles of not being inactive, (11–12) so that the four different vast regions 714 flourished as being one, (16) while [people] received the protection of rain when the sky truly widened, (15) when the beneficial Venus (Vellī) remained [visible at] the daytime (āniyam) 715 (14)

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708 payirriya (perf. pey.): “who made to live” (Index of Patirruppatu, 89), “who caused to become acquainted” (Tamil Ilakkiyam Pērakarāti, 1550). According to the POC: “Regarding pakaivar ketu kuṭi payirriya, it is a way of saying that [he] made [them] to become someones who live, after [he] caused the injured kinsmen of the enemies to become acquainted/rerelated [to him] in their countries itself, right after [he] destroyed [those] enemies, so that [their] fallen corpses were piled up.” (pakaivar ketu kuṭi payirriyavēṟṟatu payi pinn piraṇkap pakaivar nūriya payi appakaivaruṭaiyai keṭṭuppōga kūttimakkaḷai avar nāṭṭēlē payiṟru vāḻvāṟēṟkai pāṇṭπivaṇṉaṟvāṟu), I think Agesthilationg’s gloss is based on the POC, while those times the word payirriya meant a bit different. The Tamil Ilakkiyam Pērakarāti (p. 1550) claims that payil-tal also means ‘to live’ (vāḻum), but its Tolkāppiyam reference (Tolkāppiyam Poruḷaṭikāram Marapiyal, 613: 2), where the phrase maram payil kūkaiyai can be found, is not convincing at all, since the owl indeed lives on trees, but also used to repeat a voice/pattern from the tree, which is one among the usual old meanings of payil-tal (I think in that case payil could mean ‘to hoot’).

709 The POC has useful suggestions for the syntactical construction. 1. nūri has pakaivar as its subject which is not present in the absolutive clause (… payi pinn piraṇkap pakaivar nūriya payi appakaivaruṭaiyai keṭṭuppōga kūṭmakkai…), 2. we have to conclude the first two infinitive clauses (nūṭānka, Line 2; uraṟa, Line 4) with the absolutive nūri (“nūṭānkavēṟṟum uraṟavēṟṟum vēṟṟaiyeccaṇkaḷai nūṭānjanum vēṟṟaiyuo muṭikka”).

710 pāyntu (abs.): “having pranced”, “having jumped”.

711 The form terinta is, in fact, a perfective peyareccam (“which is known/recognized”).

712 muntacicgor: “they who were before [in time]”. Cf. muntu-tal (Tamil Lexicon, 3268).


714 I assume that here the four landscapes refer to the four basic tiṇai (“literary landscapes/settings”), so that the whole literary universe flourished under the Cēras. Not so the POC which understood “all the four [great] directions” (nāṭu ticaiyum).
while the rage of the Sun was reduced and the yield of the lands overflowed. (13)
70.

kaḷiṟu kaṭaiya tāḷ
mā -uṭaṟṟiya vaṭimpu
camam tatainta vēḷ
kal+ alaitta tōḷ
vil+ alaitta nal valattu 5
vanṭ’ icai kaṭavā+ taṇ paṇam pōntai+
kuvi mukil ūci veḷ tōṣu koṇṭu
tim cuṟai nīr malar malaintu matam cerukki
-ūṭai nilai nal+ amar kaṭantu maṟam keṭuttu+
kaṭum ciṟam vēntar cemmal tolaitta 10
valam-paṭu vāṅ kaḷal vayavar peruma
nakaiyinum poyyā vāymai+ pakaivar
puṟam col kēḷā+ purai tīr oṇmai+
peṇmai cāṅru perum maṭam nilaii+
karp’ iṟai-koṇṭa kamaḷum cuṭar natal
puraiyōl kaṇava pūṅ kīḷar mārpa 15
tolaiyā+ kolkai cuṟam cuṟra
vēḷviyin kaṭavul aruttiṇai kēḷvi
-uyar nilai ~ulakatt’ aiyar ḕṛp’ uruttiṇai
vaṉankiya cāyal vaṉankā ~āṇmai 20
-īḷam tuṇai+ putalvariṇ mutiyar+ pēṇi+
tol kaṭan irutta vel pōr aṇṇal
māṭōr uraiyum ulakamum kēṭpa
-īḷumeṇa ~iḷi-tarum paṟai+ kural aruvi
muḷu mutal micaiya kōṭu torum tuvaṅṟum 25
ayirai neṭum varai pōla+
tolaiyāṭ’ āka nī vāḷum nāḷē.
70th song

The waterfalls with the voice of the \textit{pa\text{	extbar{r}}ai}-drum

O great man of the strong ones with victorious divine \textit{ka\text{	extbar{r}}al}-anklet, (11) [who] destroyed the superiority of the kings (\textit{v\text{	extbar{e}}ntar}) with fierce anger, (10) after you demolished [their] valour, after you overcame in a good battle for the possessed\textsuperscript{716} state, (9) after you were elated with strength,\textsuperscript{717} after you wore flowers from the water of the sweet mountain pool, (8) taking the needle[-sharp] white fronds with heaped buds (7) of the cool palmyra-tree\textsuperscript{718} without eliminating the buzz of bees,\textsuperscript{719} (6) [great man of an army] with fine right [hands]\textsuperscript{720} which attacked with bow, (5) with arms which attacked with\textsuperscript{721} stones, (4) with spears which destroyed in battle, (3) with edges\textsuperscript{722} [of feet] which infuriated the horses, (2) [and] with legs that urged forward the elephant bulls,— (1) o husband of [your] eminent woman\textsuperscript{723} (16a–b) with fragrant, glowing forehead, in whom the fidelity took a seat, (15) after [her] great modesty became permanent, after [her] feminine grace\textsuperscript{724} became worthy [of praise, (14) [your woman] with flawless splendour, who does not listen to the gossips\textsuperscript{725} (13) of [her] enemies, [your woman] with truthfulness which does not lie even if she smiles,—(12) o man of the chest which shines with ornaments, (16c–d) you fed the deities with sacrifice (\textit{v\text{	extbar{e}}\text{	extbar{b}}\text{	extbar{v}}}), (18a–c) while [your] retinue with unceasing maxims surrounded [you]! (17)

\textsuperscript{716} I analysed \textit{utai} here a verbal root with an adjectival usage (“the possessed state”).

\textsuperscript{717} Here \textit{Agesthialingom} must be right in translating ‘strength’ (\textit{Agesthialingom} 1979, 107) instead of ‘rut’. See also: \textit{Tamil Pakkiiyap Perakarati}, 1897.

\textsuperscript{718} In \textit{pa\text{	extbar{m}}am p\text{	extbar{n}}\text{	extbar{t}}\text{	extbar{ai}}, both the words has the same meaning (“Palmyra-tree”), which is, I think, nothing more but a poetic figure. It might be possible that \textit{p\text{	extbar{a}}\text{	extbar{m}}am} means “largeness, thickness”, a meaning can be found in the Tamil Lexicon (p. 2571), although it is difficult to prove that this meaning can already be found in the \textit{C\text{	extbar{a}}\text{	extbar{n}}\text{	extbar{k}}am} corpus and the \textit{Tamil Lexicon} gives only a late reference from \textit{C\text{	extbar{a}}\text{	extbar{t}}\text{	extbar{a}}\text{	extbar{m}}\text{	extbar{a}}\text{	extbar{n}}\text{	extbar{i}}\text{	extbar{k}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{n}}\text{	extbar{t}}u}. \textsuperscript{719} Here my translation relied on the explanation of \textit{Turaic\text{	extbar{a}}\text{	extbar{m}}\text{	extbar{i}}\text{	extbar{p}}\text{	extbar{p}}\text{\textbar{i}}\text{	extbar{l}}\text{	extbar{i}}\text{	extbar{l}}\text{	extbar{i}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{n}}}: va\text{	extbar{n}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{t}}\text{	extbar{i}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{\textbar{a}}}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{m}}} moy\text{	extbar{t}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{u}}} p\text{	extbar{\textbar{a}}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{t}}\text{	extbar{u}}} ill\text{	extbar{\textbar{a}}}}. However, \textit{ka\text{	extbar{t}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{a}}}}\text{	extbar{v}} is really weird here, cf. the meanings of \textit{ka\text{	extbar{t}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{a}}}u} v. 5. tr., \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 666.

\textsuperscript{720} One may prefer to translate \textit{valai} as ‘strength’.

\textsuperscript{721} It is possible that \textit{ka\text{	extbar{r}}} is not an unmarked instrumental but the object (unmarked accusative) of the action (stone-built forts? hilly/rocky countries?).

\textsuperscript{722} \textit{v\text{	extbar{a}}\text{	extbar{t}}\text{	extbar{i}}\text{	extbar{m}}\text{	extbar{p}}}u: ‘edge’, ‘border’, ‘extremity’, ‘eaves’, etc. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3477.

\textsuperscript{723} \textit{pu\text{	extbar{a}}\text{	extbar{r}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{i}}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{\textbar{v}}}}: “she who is great” (prob. from \textit{pu\text{	extbar{r}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{a}}}\text{	extbar{\textbar{t}}}} v. 11. intr. ‘to be great’, \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 2777).

\textsuperscript{724} Here \textit{pe\text{	extbar{\textbar{n}}\text{	extbar{m}}}\text{	extbar{a}}}\text{	extbar{i}} was translated as “feminine grace”. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 2860.

\textsuperscript{725} I translated \textit{pu\text{	extbar{r}}\text{	extbar{a}}m col} (“the word(s) [from] outside”) as ‘gossip’.
You caused the delight of the paragons (aiyar) in the world of higher state (19) by [your] knowledge. (18d)

After you honoured the elders by sons [who are your] young retinue (21) with manliness that does not humble itself, [and with] excellence which became humble,— (20)
o majesty of the victorious war who performed the ancient duty, (22)
may your living days become eternal²²⁶ (27)
like Ayirai,²²⁷ the tall mountain, (26)
where every peak from the bottom to the top is entirely filled (25)
with waterfalls [which have] the voice of the paṟai-drum, which tumble while sweetly sounding,²²⁸ (24)
so that even the world, where the deities (māṭör)²²⁹ live, [can] hear [it]! (23)

²²⁶ tolaiyātu (neg. abs.): “without dying”, “without being perished”, “without being terminated”.
²²⁷ Ayirai was an established place of worship, probably a hill.
²²⁸ Ɂuńme: onom. that denotes noise or sweetness. Wilden 2018, 54.
²²⁹ The word māṭör is a hapax legomenon in the Caṅkam corpus. Here I followed the commentaries of Turaićāmippillai who glosses tevarkaṭ. Turaićāmippillai 1973, 336.
VII. patikam

maṭiyā ~uḷḷamoṭu māṟṟōr+ piṆittā
neṭum nuṇ kēḷvi ~antuvaṟk’ oru tantai
~iṅra makal poraiyān perum tēvi ~iṅra makan
nāṭu pati paṭṭuttu naṇṇār ōṭṭi
veru-varu tāṇai koṭu ceru+ pala kaṭant’
ēṭtal cāṇ ra ~iṭaṇ utai vēḷvi
~ākkiya poḷuṭin aram turai-pōki
māya-vanṇaṇai maṇṇ ura+ peṟṟavaṇ
kōttiram nelliṅ okantūr īṭtu+
purōcu mayakki
mallal uḷḷamoṭu māc’ aṟa viḷaṅkiya
celvakkatuṅkō vāliyātaṇai+
kapilar pāṭinār pattu+ pāṭṭu.

avaṇṭām: pulāam pācaṟai, varai pōl iṅci, aruni ~āmpal, urai cāḷ vēḷvi, nāḷ mākiḷ irukkai,
pūtul cūḷ pāravai, veḷ pōḷ+ kaṇṇi, ēṭam vāḷkkai, maṇ keḷu ūḷam, pārai+ kural aruni. ivai
pāṭṭiṇ paṭikam.

pāṭṭi+ peṟṟa paricil: ciṟu puṟam eṇa nūr’ āyiram kāṇam koṭṭuttu naṇṇā ~eṇṇum kūṇṛ’ ēri
niṅṟu taṇ kaṇṇiṅ kaṇṭha nāṭ’ ellām kāṭṭi+ koṭṭtāṇ a+ kō.

celvakkatuṅkō vāliyātaṇ iru patt’ ai yāṇṭu viṟṟiruntāṇ.
VII. Panegyric

These ten songs were sung by Kapilar\textsuperscript{730} (13) on Celvakkaṭūṅkō Vāḷiyāṭṭaṅ (12) who flawlessly shone with [his] brilliant mind (11) after he confused [his] purōcu (purohita),\textsuperscript{731} (10) who gave Okantūr [rich] in paddy to a kōṭṭiram (gotra)\textsuperscript{732} (9) [as being] the one who achieved to have the Dark Hued One\textsuperscript{733} in [his] heart, (8) who accomplished the virtue (aṟam) at the time, when the sacrifice (vēḷvi) which possessed a place worthy for praising, was arranged, (6–7) who overcame in many battles with\textsuperscript{734} [his] frightening army, (5) who caused to run [his] enemies, who caused to fall the villages of [their] countries,\textsuperscript{735} (4) [who was] the son whom the great queen, the only begotten daughter of Peraiyaṉ, [her] father,\textsuperscript{736} gave birth to Antuvaṅ, [his father] with high, refined\textsuperscript{737} knowledge, (2–3) [Antuvaṅ who] shackled the enemies with [his] diligent mind. (1)

\textsuperscript{730} Kapilar is one among the best and most famous poets of the Caṅkam corpus, an intimate friend of Pāri, later Celvakkaṭūṅkō Vāḷiyāṭṭaṅ’s court poet. For more biographical details, see: Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 219. Whether Kapilar himself was the author of these ten songs or the original author used his name only for promoting the greatness of Patirṛuppattu, is a question of debate. From the poems, however, it is clear that the author of the decade followed the literary program that associated the decade with Kapilar not only by name but by the famous biographical event when Pāri died and Kapilar left his court. We may argue that these poems are less polished than the others of Kapilar, but we have no real argument against the guess that Kapilar was the original author of these songs.

\textsuperscript{731} Just like his father, Antuvaṅ who shackled the enemies by means of his mind (Line 1), this king confused his purohita by means of his mind.

\textsuperscript{732} Okantūr was a name of a brahmadeya-village. What follows after is not easy to understand, since kōṭṭiram could mean a ‘gotra’; ‘a type of paddy’ (See: Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 181), or more specifically ‘a paddy fit to offer in hotra-oblation’ (kōṭṭiram nel). The king gave the village either to 1. the one who achieved to have the deity in the heart/mind (we can split the sandhi to read either peṟṟavaṉ kōṭṭiram, or peṟṟavaṉ kōṭṭiram), or 2. to the kōṭṭiram, but then peṟṟavaṉ is an apposition of vāḷiyāṭṭaṅai (Line 12).

\textsuperscript{733} According to the POC, Māyavaṉ is Tirumāl who could be already identical with Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa.

\textsuperscript{734} Here koṭu is an alternate form of koṇṭu, a frozen absolutive which serves as a postposition (from the bhakti times onwards) that means “with”. Wilden 2018, 85.

\textsuperscript{735} Or: ‘a very big number’ (nāṭu) of villages. Tamil Lexicon, 2211.

\textsuperscript{736} The name of the queen (the mother of Celvakkaṭūṅkō) and her father (the maternal grandfather of Celvakkaṭūṅkō) is a tricky question. I believe that 1. we do not know the personal name of the queen and perum tēvi means only “great queen”; 2. Poraḷaiyan is surely the name of the queen’s father; 3. she is the daughter who was born (iṟṟa makaḷ). The phrase oru tuntai, however, is the real question. The Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index states that it is a name of the maternal grandfather (p. 182), which I personally do not find convincing. In contrast, I think that the following reading could be right: “the [only] one (oru) begotten (iṟṟa) daughter (makaḷ) [of her] father (tuntai)”.

\textsuperscript{737} Or: neṭum nur could mean “long minute” that is long-lasting.
These [ten songs] themselves [are]: The flesh-reeking military camp, The mountain-like ramparts, The cascade of āmpals, The sacrifices which are worthy of fame, The seat at the daily court, The bees which surround the bushes, The chaplets of the white Palmyra fronds, The delightful life, The earthly world, The waterfalls with the voice of the parai-drum, [and this as] the panegyric of these ten.

Having sung, the [following] gifts [had been] obtained: having given hundred-thousand kāṇam as a little gift, having climbed the hill [called] Naṅṟā, having stood [there], having shown all the countries which were seen by his [own] eyes, that king gave [all of them to him].

Celvakkaṭuṅkō Vāliyātaṅ sat twenty-five years majestically [on the throne].

Thus ending the Seventh Decade.

ēḻam pattu murṟṟu.

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738 No better idea than the Tamil Lexicon’s ciṟu-puṟam entry, where it means ‘little gift’ (p. 1463), although it refers only to this poem.

739 Naṅṟā: an unidentified hill of the Cēra country.
The Eighth Decade
*(ceṭṭām pattu)*

The poet: Aricil-kiḻār
The king: Perunçēral Irumporai

71.

aṟāa yāṇar aṅk kaṅ ceṟuviṅ
aruvī ~āmpal neytaḷōt’ arintu
cēru viṅai maṅkīr malinta vekkai+
parūu+ pakāṭ’ utirtta mel ce+ nelliṅ
ampaṇām ~ālavai ~uṟai kuvitt’-āṅku+
kaṭum tēṛ’ uṟukilai mocintaṇa tuṇcum
cēlum kūtu kilaiṭṭa ~ilam tunai maṅkīṅ
alantaṇgar peruma niṅ utaṛṭiyōrē
~ūr eri kavaṇa ~urutt’ eļunt’ uraii+
pōr cuṭu kamal pukai māṭiram maṟaippa
matil(-)vāy+,
tōṅral iyātu tam paḷi ~ūkkunar
kuṇtu kaṅ akalīya *kuṟum tāḷ nāyil*
ār eri yōl vauviṅai ~eṛōtu
kaṅ’ uṭai ~āyam tarī+ pukal ciṟaṇtu
pulavu vil+ ilaiyar aṅkai viṭuppa
mattu+ kaiyir’ āṭā vaikal polutu niṅaiyūu
~āṅ payam vāḷnar kaḷuvul talai maṭaṅka+
pati pāḷ āka vēru pulam paṭāntu
virunṇīṅ vāḷkkaiyōtu perum tiru ~aṛṭ’-eṇa
arum camatt’ arum nilai tāṅkiya pukar nutal
perum kalirṛ’ ~yāṅiyoṭ’ arum kalam tarār
mey paṇi kūṛā aṇaṅk’ eṇa+ parāvaliṅ
pali koṇtu peyarum pācam pōla+
tīrai koṇtu peyarti vālka niṅ ṭūli
~uravarum maṭaṭaram aṟivu terint’ eṇṇī
~aṟintaṇai ~arulāy āyiṅ
yār ivaṅ netuṃ-ṭakai vāḷumōrē.
The bastions with small stairs

Those people who made you angry, o great one, were suffering (8) like children, young companions who scooped up the rich hive (7) where the fiercely stinging colony [were] sleeping as being ones who crowded (6) [and] heaped like an ampaṇam[-measure] of tender red paddy in the receptacle, (4c–5) which had been threshed by the large buffalos (4a–b) on the threshing-floor (vekkai)\(^{740}\) which was crowded\(^{741}\) with women working on the fields, (3) having cut a big number of āmpal-flower\(^{742}\) together with neytal-flowers (2) on the fields with wide areas [which have] unceasing fertility. (1)

You seized the defence [over] the difficult fort (13a–c) with bastions [which have] small stairs,\(^{743}\) with moats in the depth,\(^{744}\) (12) [fort of] those who committed their crimes, [you seized] without letting the gate\(^{745}\) of the walls be visible\(^{746}\) (11) when the fragrant smoke of the burning of war concealed the great directions, (10) after [the fire] spread, arose, [and] got enraged,\(^{747}\) so that the flames seized the villages. (9)

You departed by taking the tributes (tiṟṟai) (24a–b) like the pācam (piśāca) which departs by taking the oblation (pali), (23) because [they,] with bodies full of shivering,\(^{748}\) worshipped\(^{749}\) [you] as the aṇṅku,\(^{750}\) (22) they who did not give [you] precious jewels\(^{751}\) together with big elephant bulls (21) with spotted forehead which endured the difficult state of the difficult battle, (20) because [their] great wealth vanished\(^{752}\) together with [their] feast-like lifestyle (19) after [you] set out to various lands, while the villages became ruins (pāṭ), (18)

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\(^{740}\) The word vekkai is a hapax legomenon. The POC understands it as katāvītukalam (“threshing floor”), however, I am not sure whether its gloss is only an educated guess, or pointed to a word that ever existed. As a seemingly possible etymology, is vekkai built up from ‘vai’ (“straw of paddy”, Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 5553) in which the diphthong [ai̯] had phonetically simplified to [e] + ‘kai’, a suffix that forms a noun?

\(^{741}\) malinta (perf. pey.): “which is abounded/abundant”.

\(^{742}\) Another reading is “āmpal [from around] the waterfalls(streams) (aruvi)”.

\(^{743}\) POC: tāḷ – “stair/step/rung of ladder” (paṭṭi). Tamil Lexicon, 2436.

\(^{744}\) Or: “moats (akāḷ) with deep (kuṇṭu) places (kaṇ)”’. Cf. Patiruppattu, 45: 7.

\(^{745}\) The meaning of vāy here is either a mere locative suffix or means the gate.

\(^{746}\) According to the POC, tōṟṟal īyātu together means a negative absolutive (toṛṟātu, toṟṟal iyāmal).

\(^{747}\) The POC makes it clear that the subject of these absolutives is the fire/flame (urutṭu eḻuntu uraii ār ēri kavaravēngak kuṭṭuka).

\(^{748}\) The word paṟṟi is a root noun here.

\(^{749}\) Here parāvali (contracted v. n. + obl.) stands for a causal clause.


\(^{751}\) Or: “difficult[to-obtain] vessels”.

\(^{752}\) Here aṟṟēṇa is a causal absolutive.
so that Kaḻuvuḷ,\textsuperscript{753} [the chief] of those who live from the yield of cows, bowed [his] head, (17) after [he] thought about the time of the dawn, when the rope of the churning-staff did not move, (16) when [your] young men with flesh-reeking bows joyfully left with [full-filled] palms, after [he] gave [them] calf-possessing [cow] herds along with bulls. (14–15)

May your era (ūḻ)\textsuperscript{754} last\textsuperscript{755} long! (24c–d)

After [you] examined and considered the knowledge of both the learned and the ignorant ones, (25) if you do not have pity [on them as being] someone who knew [them, then] (26) who [will do that among] the greatly befitting ones who live here? (27)


\textsuperscript{754} Another possible translation of ūḻ here is 'lifetime'. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 502.

\textsuperscript{755} vāḻka (opt.): “let [it] live!”.
72.


ikal perumaiyin paṭai kōl aṅcār
cūḷatu tuṇṭal allatu vaṭit’-uṭṭaṇ
kāval etirār kaṟuttōr nāṭu niṇ
muṇ tiṇai mutalvarkk’ ōmpiṇar urāintu
manṭpatai kāppa ~aṛivu valiyuṛuttu
naṅṛ’ ari ~uḷḷattu+ cāṅṇrōr ḍaṇṇa niṇ
pañpu naṅk’ ariyār maṭam perumaiyin
tuṇcal urūum pakal puku mālai
nilam poṇai ~orāa nīr ŋemara vant’ iṇṭi
~uravu+ tirai kaṭukkiya ~urutt’ elu velḷam
varaiyā māṭiratt’ iruḷ cērpu parantu
ṅāyiru paṭṭa ~akaṇṇu varu küṭṭatt’
am cāru puraiyum niṇ tolil oḷittu+
poṅku picir nuṭakkiya cem cuṭar nikalviṇ
maṭaṅkol tiṇiṇ aṇaiyai
ćiṇam keḷu kurucil niṇ uṭaṛricinōṛkkē.
72nd song

The furiously rising flood

After [they] stayed as someones who were careful to the first men of the ancient family (4) of yours, in the country of enraged people, someones who do not happen to defend,\(^{756}\) (3) not even a little, except [their] unconsidered determination (2) [as being] ones who do not fear to take up weapon because of the greatness of [their] enmity, (1) after [they] abandoned\(^{757}\) the burden of [their] lands in the entering evening of the day of [their] demise\(^{758}\) (8–9b) because of the greatness of [their] ignorance (maṭam) as being someones who do not know [your] nature well, (7) which is like of the worthy men (cāṁrē) with mind that knows the good, (6) who strenghtened [their] knowledge to guard the humanity,\(^{759}\) (5) after [you] surrounded [them] by coming so that the water (nīr)\(^{760}\) had become swollen, (9) after [you] completed your mission which resembled a beautiful festival (13) with crowds that increasingly come, [festival] when the Sun appeared (12) by spreading [and] uniting with the darkness of the limitless great directions, (11) [festival with] a furiously rising flood that billowed fast with strong waves, (10) o angry king (kurucil), for them who made you enraged, (16) you are similar to the fire\(^ {761}\) of the God of Death (maṭaṅkal) (15) with lustre of red flames that destroyed the foaming spray! (14)

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\(^{756}\) POC: kāval etirār – “those who do not guard/protect [themselves]” (kākkamāṭṭār).

\(^{757}\) The word orāa is a metrically lengthened negative peyareccam from oruvu-tal v. 5. tr. ‘to abandon’, ‘to renounce’ (Tamil Lexicon, 603).

\(^{758}\) POC suggests ellā uyirum irantu-pañtal (“the dying of all lives”) for tuñcal, āli (“era/aeon”) for pakal, and ūḷimuti (“the end of the era/aeon”) for mālai. One may consider to understand tuñcal as “resting without work” (cf. Akanāṅuru, 141: 5) which leads to neglect of things to do (nilam pōraī orāa).

\(^{759}\) POC: maṇpaṭai – “multitude of people” (makkatpaṉmai).

\(^{760}\) One may translate nīr as ‘you’: “so that you spread [on the fields]”.

\(^{761}\) This is perhaps a reference to the submarine fire at the end of a yuga (pralayāgni; Tam. vaṭavaittī). Tamil Lexicon, 3018.
73.


uravōr eṇṇiṉum maṭavōr eṇṇiṉum
piṟarkku ńī ~āyīṅ allatu niṇṅakkū+
piṟar uvamam āka ~oru perum vēntē

..........................

marutam cāṇḍra malar talai vilai vayal
cey~uḷ nāraṉi ~oyyum makalir
iravum pākalum pāc’ ilai kaḷaiyār
kuṟum pal yāṉaṟ+ kuravaṉ ~ayarum
kāṉiri maṇṭhya cēy viri vaṇṇappiṅ
pukār+ celva pūliyār meyṃmarai
kalai virint’ elu-tarum malai tavalṇētum kōṭṭu+
kolli+ poruna koṭi+ tēr+ poṟaiya niṅ
vaḷaṅnum āṇmaiynūm kai vaṇṇmaiynūm
māṇṭar alav’ iṟantāṇa ~eṇa+ pal nāl
yāṅ ceṅr’ uraippavum tērār piṟarum
cāṅñe uraippa+ telikuvar-kol+ eṇa
~āṅku mati marulā+ kāṅkuval
yāṅk’ uraippēṇ eṇa vaṟuntuval yāṅē.
73rd song

The golden jewels with shiny colour

O unique great king, other people cannot become [the subject of] (3) comparison with you, unless you become [the subject of comparison] for others, (2) whether they are considered as knowledgeable or whether they are considered as ignorant! (1) O the wealthy one of Pukār (9a–b) with beauty that expands far away, [Pukār] where the Kāviri rushed, (8) [Pukār,] where many short kuravai-dances are performed for the fertility (7) by the ones who do not remove [their] greenish[golden] jewels neither day or night, (6) girls who chase away the nārai-bird on the wet lands (5) at the productive fields of the vast regions which were worthy [to mention as] marutam (4) ……………………………………
…………………………………………..
…………………………………………

O body shield of the Pūliyar! (9c–d)

O fighter of the Kolli[hills] (11a–b)

O Poṟaiyaṉ with the chariot [which has] flags! (11c–d)

After I wandered for many days saying that your wealth, valour, and generosity went beyond the limits of humans, (11d–14b) while I talked, they [did] not accept it as true. (14b–c)

I see there that [their] minds are puzzled, while [I] said [to myself] (16) ‘would they be enlightened if also other worthy men were to talk [to them]?’. (14d–15) I struggle, how shall I talk? (17)

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762 The title (niṟam tikal pāc’ ilai) of this poem was part of the missing lines which we can reconstruct from the mediaeval commentary.

763 I understood ākā as a finite verb here and Line 1–3 as a separate sentence.

764 Pukār was well-known as an important Cōla town, however, it seems to be a Cēra town at the time of this king.

765 kuravai: dance in a circle prevalent among the women of sylvan or hill tracts. Tamil Lexicon, 1012.

766 cey: wet field. Tamil Lexicon, 1599.

767 Here the word marutam refers to the tipai or literary landscape/setting called marutam. This is perhaps part of a poetic fancy in which the ambiguous ceyyul in Line 6 can be also understood as ‘poetry’ at least at the level of association.

768 From the old commentary of the Patirṟuppattu, it is possible to somewhat reconstruct the missing lines (as the Rājam edition also did): “the worthy men with [good] hearts which served the dark deity with women of [his] lofty abode, [women with] greenish[gold] jewels which shine with its colour, [jewels] which were abundant [on their] bright foreheads with tresses” (kiṇṭal ol nutal polinta niṟam tikal pāc’ ilai –uyar tipai maku irum teyvam tarūum neliṟṟatt’ āṉrō). From these, niṟam tikal pāc’ ilai happened to become the title (peyar) of the poem. The connection between Line 4 and the missing ones is not clear to me (marutam of the āṉrō?).
74.


kēḷvi kēṭṭu+ paṭivam oṭiyātu
vēḷvi vēṭṭaṇai ~uyarṇtōr uvappa+
cāy aṟal kaṭukkum tāl irum kūntal
vēṟu-paṭu tiruvıṇ niṇ vali vāliyar
koṭumaṇam paṭṭa viṇai māṉ arum kalam
5
pantar+ payanta palar pukaḷ muttam
varai ~akam naṉṇi+ kuṟum poṟai nāṭi+
teriyunar koṇṭa ciraṅ’ utai+ paim poṛi+
kavai maram kaṭukkum kavalaiya maruppiṅ
puḷḷi ~iralaṅ+ tōl ūṅ utirttu+
10
ṭṭu kaḷaṅt’ eṇciya tikaḷ viṭu pāṇṭil
paruṭi pōkiya puṭai kilai kaṭṭi
~ekk’ utai ~irumpiṅ ul+ amaittu vallōn
cūṭu nilai ~uṟṟu+ cuṭar viṭu tōṟṟam
vicump’ ātu marapiṅ parunt’ ūṛ’ āḷappa
15

nalam peṟu tiru maṇi’ kūṭṭum nal tōḷ
oṭuṅk’ ēr ōti ~oḷ nutal karuṅvil
en+ iyal murṛi ~ēr arivu purintu
cāḻpum cemmaiyum ula+−paṭa+ piravum
kāvark’ amainta ~aracu tuṟai-pōkiya
20
vēṟu cāl putalvaṇ peṟraṇai ~ivaṇarkk’
arum kaṭhaṇ īruṭa ceru+ pukal muṇpa
~anṇavai maruṇtaṇeṅ allēn niṇ-vaiṇi
muḷut’ uṇarnt’ oļukkum narai mūṭ’ āḷanaṅi
vaṇṇmaiyum māṇpum vaḷaṇum eccamum
teyvumum yāvatum tavam uṭaiyōrkk’ eṇa
vēṛu-paṭu naṇam talai+ peyara+
kuṟiṅgai peruma niṇ paṭimaṇiṇē.
You performed the sacrifice (vēḷvi) without breaking [your] vow by listening to the kēḷvi (śruti), so that those who are exalted rejoice. (1–2)

May your lineage live [long], [lineage] with [your wife being] another Goddess (tiru) (4) with descending dark tresses that resemble the tender black-sand! (3)

O battle-desiring strong man who completed [your] difficult duty for the sake of these people here, you begot a son who abounds in superiority, (21) [who] completed the kingship which was suitable to protect the excellence and the goodness and other things to be included, (19) after you had desired the two knowledges by ending the period countable in the womb of [your queen with] bright forehead, with hair restrained the moisture [of oil], (17) with fine shoulders on which beautiful brilliant sapphires were attached, (16) so that a brahminy kite, which was circiling in the sky according to the tradition, measured to approach (15)

[her] glittering appereance, having accessed (uṟṟu) the state of being covered (cūṭu) by a mighty man (vallōng), (13d–14)

after [that man] seeked [for] a small hillock by reaching the inside of the mountains which possess Pantar-produced pearls praised by many (6) [and] glorious rare jewels which happened to be crafted in Koṭumaṇam, (5)

after [he] had stripped off the flesh [from] the skin of the dotted iralai-antelope (10) with branching antlers that resemble the branching tree, (9) with golden (paim) spots which were scattered [on the skin], [antelope] which was taken by the ones who know [the customs], (8)

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769 POC: paṭivam – “The vows which are earlier conducted as an instruction for the sake of performing the yāga/yākani’ (yākam paṇṇuṭarku uṭalāka mupu celuttum viratāntaṅ).”

770 POC: kēḷvi kēṭṭal – “listening the instructional method for the sake of performing the yāga/yākani’ (yākam paṇṇuṭarku uṭalāga viṭkēṭṭaṅ).”

771 POC: uyarmtōr – tēvar.

772 The basic meanings of vaḷḷi are ‘way’, ‘path’, ‘road’, etc., however, it also means marapu (Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 2155) which can be translated as ‘law’, ‘antiquity’, ‘custom’, or ‘ancestral line’. Tamil Lexicon, 3086.

773 The POC claims that the suffix ip is, in fact, only a syllabic supplement (acainilaṅ).

774 aṟal: black-sand (karu maṇṭal). Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 187.

775 POC: ir aṟivu – “the knowledge of this life, the knowledge of next life” (immaiyāṟivu maṟumaiyaṟivu). Tamil Lexicon, 298; 3124.

776 The two towns, Pantar and Koṭuṇamaṇ appear together in Patiṟṟuppattu, 67: 1–2. These lines might refer to the Cēra mountains where these commodities were easily accessible to buy.

777 In this reconstruction, I followed the POC. However, if we read Puranāṅgūṭu, 166: 10–17, it might be also possible that either the king or his son wears the deer skin as a royal attribute instead of the queen.
after [he] had tied the parts at the circling side (12) of the lustre-emitting [leather]-round (pāṇṭil) which remained after [its] defects were removed, (11) after [he] had crafted\textsuperscript{778} the inside [of the garment] with a pointed instrument. (13)

I am not puzzled by such things. After you understood the entireness in yourself, (23–24a) when [you] departed towards various wide areas, (27) at [the time of] your penance, o great man, you said (28) to [your] old man with grey hair\textsuperscript{779} who helps [you] to conduct (24b–d) that the generosity, the glory, the wealth [of the spirit], the lack [of the material wealth,] (25) and the deities (teyvam) are [available only] for the ascetics (tavam uṭaiyōr). (26)

\textsuperscript{778} The POC suggests to change \textit{amaittu} (abs.) to \textit{amaippa} (inf.). I considered this as the most problematic part of the poem, since it is not clear who does the actions in Lines 7–13. I accepted the idea of the POC, since it is more possible that the vallōg, an able man did the hunting/skinning rituals rather than the queen, the king, or their son.

\textsuperscript{779} POC: \textit{narai múṭ āḷaṇ – purōkitāṇ (purohita)}.
75.

irum puli koṇru perum kalir’ aṭūum
arum pori vaya-māṇaññai pal vēl
poḷam tār yāṇai ~iṭal tēr+ poḷaiya
vēntarum vēlirum pīraruṇ kil+ paṇintu
niŋ vaḷi-paṭār āyiŋ nel miṅk’
araí ~uru karumpin tīm cēṭ’-yāṇar
varunar varaiyā vaḷam viṅk’ irukkai
val pulam tāḷi mel pāl tōṟum
arum paṟai viṅaiṇar pul+ ikal paṭuttu+
kal+ uṭṭai niyamatt’ oḷ vilai koṭukkum
veḷ varak’ uḷuta koḷ+ uṭṭai+ karampay+
cem nel vaḷci ~aṟiyār tam tām
pāṭal cāṇṛa vaippiṇ
nāṭ’-uṭṭai āṭal yāvaṇatt’ avarkkē.
75th song

The fertility with sweet sap

O Poṟaiyan with advancing chariots, with elephants [which have] golden garlands, (3) [and] with many spears, you are the one who is similar to the strong animal with rare dots which killed the great elephant bull after [it] killed a dark tiger! (1)

If the kings, the chiefs, and others do not follow you by humbling themselves [before you], (4–5c) after [you] surrounded [their] strong lands (vāṇpulam) (8a–b) with [your] seat (irukkai) that increases [your] wealth, [throne which has] limitless visitors (7) [who brings] fertility with sweet sap of sugarcane that had been cut after the paddy became abundant (6)

after [you] caused to happen a mean enmity with [your] workmen with precious paṟai-drum (9) in all the tender fields (menpāi), (8c–d) where would be [place] for them to rule the regions which were worthy for singing along with the countries of all of them, of the people who do not know food with cooked red-rice (12–14) of the hard soil (kāṟampai) [which] possesses horse-gram, [where] the white-millet (veḻ varaku) are ploughed, (11) [of the people] who pay a bright price in the markets (niyamam) which possess toddy? (10)

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780 Poṟaiyan (< Tam. poṟai ‘hillock’?) is a title which was specifically applicable to the Irumpoṟai branch of the dynasty, but generally indicated the Cēras. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 616–617.

781 vayamāṉ: ‘tiger’, ‘horse’, ‘lion’, ‘āḷi. Tamiḻ Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 2118; Tamil Lexicon, 3496. I assume that here it is a reference to a leopard.

782 It is perhaps possible that the “dark tiger” was, in fact, a panther. For irum puli, see: Kuṟuntokai, 47: 2; 141: 5; 215: 6; 321: 6; 343: 3; Akaṇṭaiṟu, 88: 9; 92: 4; 107: 5.

783 The term vāṇpulam, ‘hard soil’ refers to the kuriḻci and mullai landscapes.

784 This might refer to Karuvūr, the Cēra capital which was very much close to the Pāṇṭiya and Cōḷa capitals and territories and therefore, it threatened their rules.

785 The term menpāi, ‘soft divisions’ refers to the neytal and marutam landscapes. The POC intends to limit its meaning to marutam.

786 koḷ: horse-gram (Dolichos uniflorus). Tamil Lexicon, 1162.
76.

peyar: mācitaṟ’ irukkai, tuṟai: centuṟai pāṭāṇpāṭṭu, tūkku: centūkku, vaṇṇam: oḻuku vaṇṇam.

kalir’ uṭai+ perum camam tataiya ~eṅk’ uyartt’
oḷiṟu vāḷ maṇṇar tutai nilai koṇru
muracu kaṭipp’ ataiya ~arum tuṟai pōki+
perum kaṭāl nintiya maram vali-urukkum
paṇṇiya vilaiṇar pōla+ puṇ+ orṭi+
perum kai+ tolutiyiṇ val tuyar kalippi
~irantōr vāḷa nalki ~irappōrk’
ītal taṇṭā mā citaṟ’ irukkai
kaṇṭaṇeṇ celku vantaṇeṇ kāl koṇṭu
karuvi vāṇam taṇ taḷi corint’-eṇa+
apal vitai ~uḷaviṇ cil+ ēr āḷar
paṇi+ tuṟai+ pakaṇṭrai+ pāṅk’ uṭai+ teriyal
kaḷuv’ uṛu kaliṅkam kaṭuppā+ cúti
~ilaṅku katir+ tiru maṇi pēṟūm
akaṇ kaṇ vaippiṇ nāṭu kilavōyē.

5

10

15
76th song

The seat which distributes horses

I have come as one who would go after having seen (9a–c) the [royal] seat [of you] who distributes horses, who does not decrease in giving to the ones who beg, after [you] bestowed [gifts to] the ones who begged so that they live well, after [you] dispelled the strong distress of the big-trunked herds [of elephants], after [you] healed the wounds like the merchant of stores who strengthen the wood that swam on the great sea, by going to the difficult haven, while drumsticks were beating the muracu-drum, after [you] felled the crowded stand of the kings with shiny swords by raising [your] blade, while the great battlefield was crowded along with elephant bulls, o lord of the country with regions of vast area.

where the men with few ploughs, who have many seeds to plough because the big number of clouds which were taken by the wind showered cool drops, obtain brilliant sapphires with shining rays, after [they] adorned themselves with beautiful garlands of pakangra from the cool ghat which resembled the washed kalinkam.

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787 celku (first person singular subjunctive/optative, Wilden 2018, 119): “let me go!”.
788 citaṟu-tal v. 5. tr. ‘to disperse’, ‘to scatter’, ‘to give liberally’. Tamil Lexicon, 1418.
789 panniya-vilañar: dealers in stores and provisions. Tamil Lexicon, 2453. Here panniyan is most probably a Sanskrit loanword from panya ‘article of trade’, ‘ware’.
790 POC suggests to understand katal nintiya maram as marakkalam. I would suggest to translate literally since marakkalam usually meant a boat or larger ship in later texts, however, here maram might mean only a seafaring raft (an amp?).
791 One may prefer to understand here turai as ‘ghat’.
792 āṭaiya (inf.): lit. ‘to join’, ‘to mingle’.
793 kouṟu (abs.): ‘having killed’, ‘having felled’. I understood here an elliptical katimiram at the enemies’ stand, or a wooden plank of the fort, which had been felled by the king.
794 Here cil er āḷar means that those people who had more than one plough were definitely rich, not like the ones with only one plough (e.g. Kuvantokai, 131: 5).
795 Or did they have the garlands on their sides (pāṅk’ uṭai)?
796 pakangra: Indian jalap (a purgative root). Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 3807.
77.


eṇai+ perum paṭaiyano cīṇam+ pōr+ poraiyano
eṇraṇir āyino āru cel vampalir
maṇpatai peyara ~aracu kaḷatt’ oliyao
koṇru tōl ościyao veṇṛ’ āṭu tuṇāṅkai
mī piṇatt’ urunṭa tēyā ~āliyino
paṇ+ amai tērum māvum mākkaḷum
eṇṇark’ arumaiyino eṇṉirō ~ilāṇē
kantu kōḷ iṭātu kāḷ pala murukki
~ukakkum paruntiḥ nilattu nilal cāṭi+
cēṇ paral murampīṅ īrm paṭai+ koṅkar
ā parant’-aṇṇa celaviṇ pal
yāṇai kāṇpal avan tāṇaiyāṇē.
77th song

The victoriously danced tuṇaṅkai

O you strangers\textsuperscript{797} going [on] the road, if you asked,\textsuperscript{798} (2) how great a warlord is he, Poṟaiyan of furious war, (1) I do not consider\textsuperscript{799} [it] because of the difficulty of counting (7) [his] people, [his] horses, [his] suitly crafted chariots (6) with never-tired wheels which rolled on the corpses at the elevation (5) of the victoriously danced tuṇaṅkai when [his] shoulders were raised by killing\textsuperscript{800} (4) a king so that [that king] was left behind on the field, while [ordinary] humans departed. (3) In his army I see elephants (12) a lot with marching by spreading like the cows (11) of the koṅkar with wet weapons\textsuperscript{801} [and] distant gravel mounds, (10) after [those elephants] trampled on the shade of the ascending brahminy kite on the ground (9) by breaking many hard\textsuperscript{802} [sticks] without accepting [being tied to] the posts. (8)

\textsuperscript{797} vampalir: “you who are new”; ‘new-comer’, ‘stranger’. Tamil Lexicon, 3492.
\textsuperscript{798} enṟa: lit. “you said”.
\textsuperscript{799} The structure \textit{eṇṇiṟō ilaṅē} (lit. “I am without counting”) is defined by Eva Wilden as a \textit{negation of fact}. Wilden 2018, 151.
\textsuperscript{800} Another way to construe is to understand koṅru as ‘having felled’ together with and unmarked subject (perhaps a kaṭimaram or the wooden plank of a fort?).
\textsuperscript{801} The wet weapon (\textit{irm patai}) might refer to the same story found in Patiruppattu, 22: 12–15, when the koṅkar people used their axes (\textit{kaṅicci}) to wring water from a flint. This way we might connect \textit{murampiṅ} and \textit{irm} (“weapon wet from the mounds”).
\textsuperscript{802} kāl: hardness, core. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 1491.
78.


valam paṭu muracin ilaṅkuvaṇa vilūum
a(m)+ veḻ+ aruvi ~u+varai ~atuvē
cil vaḷai viṟali celkuvaī ~āyiṇ
tel+ ita+ tāmarai neytaloṭ’ arintu
meļ+ iyal makaļir olkuvāgar iyali+
kiḷi kaṭi mēvalar puravu torum nuvala+
pal payam nilaiiya kaṭaṭ’ uṭṭai vaippīṇ
vel pōr āṭava maṟam purintu kākkum
vil payil irumpiṇ takaṭūn nūri
peem manaṭa piśāla nōkk’ iyavar
ōṭ’ uṟu kaṭum muraṇ tumiyā+ ceṇṭru
vem muṇai taputta kālai+ tam nāṭṭ’
yāṭu parant’ anṇa māviṇ
ā parant’ anṇa yāṇaiyōṅ kuṇrē.
78th song

The watching musicians who were perplexed

If you go, o virālis with few bangles, (3)
[then that is the hill] in the mountain with beautiful white waterfalls (2)
which shine and fall [noisily] like the victorious muracu-drum, (1)
the hill of the one with elephants spread like cows, (14)
with horses spread like goats (13)
in their country at the time when the severe frontier was destroyed, (12)
after [he] marched [there], so that the fierce enmity, from which the watching musicians take to running, had been cut, (10c–11)
while they became perplexed [the hill which is] certainly [a source of] fear, (10)
after he destroyed Takaṭūr [which was] like a thicket dense with bows, (9)
[Takaṭūr,] which was guarded by warriors of victorious war by performing feats, (8)
[Takaṭūr] at the areas which possess difficult paths, where the many yields were permanent, (7)
while girls with tender nature were chatting everywhere in the woodlands as being ones with the desire to scare away the parakeets by advancing as someones who are tired [of work], (5–6)
after [they] cut lotuses with pointed petals together with neyal−flowers. (4)

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803 It is unfortunate to choose a title (peyar) that contains an infinitive clause (piraḷa), unless we have to understand piraḷa as an absolutive (piraḷatu, see the commentaries of Turaicāmippillai on Line 10) having an adverbial sense. This case the poem talks about “iyavar who watch in a perplexed manner”. Anyway, I translated it as an infinitive. Turaicāmippillai 1973, 372.
804 nōkkut-tal v. 5. tr. ‘to see’, ‘to view’. Tamil Lexicon, 2371.
805 iyavar: drummers (Tamil Lexicon, 302), lit. “the ones with musical instruments (iyam)”.
806 According to the Tamil Ilakkiyam Pērakārāti (p. 1664), in this passage piraḷa means acuiya (inf.) ‘to move’, ‘to be perplexed’. Given the context, I accepted this, although I must point out that the old meaning of piraḷ-tal would be slightly different (to flop, to leap, etc.).
807 According to the Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, Takaṭūr was the capital of Atikamāṇ Netumāṇ Añci, and it is Dharmapuri of modern times. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 409.
808 If purintu is an adverbial absolutive, then it might qualify the manner of protection (kākkum), then the warriors would belong to the enemies.
79.


uyir pōṟalaiyē ceruvattāṅē
goṭai pōṟalaiyē ~iravalar nātuvaṇ
periyōr+ pēṇi+ ciriyōrai ~alitti
niṉ vayiṇ pirinta nal+ icai kaṇaviṇum
pirar nacai ~ariyā vayaṅku cem nāviṇ
paṭiyōr+ tēyta ~āṇmai+ toṭiyōr
tōḷ iṭai+ kuḷainta kōtai mārpa
~aṇaiya ~āḷapp’ aruṅkuraiyai ~ataṇāl
niṇṇoṭu vārā tam nilatt’ olintu
kol kāḷir’ ~yāṅai ~eruttam pulleṇa
vil kulaṅi ~āṟuttu+ kōliṅ vārā
vel pōr vēntar muracu kaṇ pōḷnt’ avar
arac’ uvā ~āḷaippa+ kōṭ’ āṟutt’ iyaṛṭiya
~aṇaṅk’ uṭtai marapiṅ kaṭṭil mēl iruntu
tumpai cāṟra mey tayaṅk’ uyakkattu

niṟam paṭu kuruti puram paṭiṅ allatu
maṭai ~etir-kolḷā ~aṇcu-varu marapiṅ
kaṭavul ayiráiyiṅ nilaii+
kēṭ’ ila ~āka peruma niṅ pukalē.
The blood which flows from the vital spot

You do not protect [your] life on the battlefield. (1)
You are unguarded in giving among the supplicants. (2)
Having esteemed the great ones, you care about the little ones.⁸⁰⁹ (3)
O you of the chest with a garland which was intimately close⁸¹⁰ to the shoulders⁸¹¹ (7)
of the ones with bracelets [who have] courage which destroyed those who are not humble, (6)
[you] with a splendid, perfect tongue, [whose] fame,⁸¹² which was separated from you, does
not know to desire others, [not] even in dreams, (4–5)
you are difficult⁸¹³ to measure, therefore, (8)
after [you] stayed behind [the borders of] the lands of those who did not come with you,⁸¹⁴ (9)
after [you] cut the strings⁸¹⁵ of [their] bows, (11a–b)
while the necks of [their] murderous elephant bulls became empty,⁸¹⁶ (10)
after [you] split the eyes of the muracu-­drums of the kings (vēntar) of victorious wars, (12a–d)
who did not come under [your] sceptre, (11c–d)
after [you] sat on the throne⁸¹⁷ according to the awful tradition, (14)
let your praises become immortal, o great man, (19)
after [you] had solidified like the Ayirai-­hill of the deity⁸¹⁹ (18)

⁸¹⁰ kulainta (perf. pey.): “which was intimately close”, “which became soft”, “which was melted”. Tamil Lexicon, 1035.
⁸¹¹ It might be possible that the phrase tōliḻai kulainta means ‘making love’ with “the ones with bracelets/bangles” (toṭiyōr), the king’s lovers. However, I think that the consonant gemination in Line 6 after the word āṇmai is telling, since it connects āṇmai and toṭiyōr, “the mannish ones with bracelets”, which excludes the appereance of female lovers.
⁸¹² We cannot connect nallicai and kagavīṟum because of the absence of the consonant gemination. This case, we might understand either ‘fame’ or ‘fame’ as a metonymy for the queen who does not desire others than the king, when she was separated from the king during the war. I tend to accept the second reading, anyway, it is very difficult to explain these lines.
⁸¹³ In the word arutkuraiyai, I analysed kurai (Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram, cū. 272) as either a syllabic supplement (acainilai), or a metric complement (iacaiṟai), so that the translation is “you, the rare/difficult one”.
⁸¹⁴ It might refer to those who were not obedient, who did not join to the king.
⁸¹⁵ kulai (< kuta?): notch in a bow to keep the string in check; bow-string. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 1812.
⁸¹⁶ The word pullega is usually an onomatopoia with an adverbial usage. Here, however, I think that we have to translate it as an infinitive clause.
⁸¹⁸ An important reference to arac’ uvā as a ‘royal elephant’ (and not a ‘state elephant’, Tamil Lexicon, 119) can be found in the commentaries of Cēgāvaraiyar on Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram, 37. I owe a special thank to Jean-­Luc Chévillard who turned my attention to this.
with a frightening tradition, who does not accept food-oblation (maṭai)\(^{820}\) (17) other than [the one which] gushes outside [being] the blood which flows [from] the vital spot (16) amid the pain that perplexes the body which was worthy of tumpai\(^{821}\) (15)

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\(^{819}\) Ayirai is a hill which was an established place of worship. The POC seemed to know that the deity of the hill was the Goddess, Kōṛavai and the hill was her abode.


\(^{821}\) Here the word tumpai might refer to the tumpaṭipai, the “major theme of a king or warrior heroically fighting against his enemy”. *Tamil Lexicon*, 1972.
80.


vāl maruppiṇ kaḷiṟ’ –yāṇai
mā malaiyīṇ kaṇam koṇṭ’ avar
eṭutt’ erinta virāl muracam
kār maḷaiyīṇ kaṭitu muḷaṅka+
cāntu pularntā viyāl mārpiṇ
toṭi cuṭar-varum vali muṅkai+

 пуṇ-утаи –еruļ+ ṭoļ puṭaiyāl am kaļal kāl
piṟakk’ āṭi –otuṅkā+ puṭkāi –oḷ vāl
oṭiv’ il tevvar etir-niṅr’ uraii
–iṭuka tiraiyē purav’ etirntōrk’-eṇa
–amp’ utoi valattar uyarntōr parava
–aṇaiyai –ākalmāṛē pakaivar
kāḷ kilart’-aṅṇa katal pari+ puravi+
kaṭum pari neṭum tēr mē micai nuṭaṅku koṭi
puḷam varai+ tōṟral yāvatu ciṇam+ pōr
nilam varai niṟiśya nal+ icai+
tolaivyā+ karpa niṅ tev muṇaiyāṅē.
80th song

The mighty shoulders that possess scars

After [you] invaded (etuttu) (3a)
them with⁸²² the herd of [your] white-tusked, big-mountain-like elephant bulls, (1–2)
after [you] talked as opposing [those] unbroken enemies (9)
with [your] bright sword, with the resolution of [your] feet not to step back, (8)
with [your] legs [which have] beautiful anklets, with garland [of your] mighty shoulders that possess scars. (7)
with strong forearm [on which] bracelets start to glitter, (6)
with wide chest on which the sandal-paste has dried, (5)
while the beaten, valorous muracam-drum (3b–d)
was fiercely sounding like the clouds of the monsoon-season,— (4)
since you became such a one, (12a–c)
so that [their] men with arrows on their right sides praised the high ones,⁸²³
saying “let [us] put down tributes for the protector!” , (10)
[even so,] o man of unceasing decision (karpu) (17a–b)
[and] fame which consolidated the boundaries of the lands (16)
of the enraged war, how about the appearance (15b–d)

of [those] enemies (11d)
in your hostile frontier (17c–d)
at the boundary of [your] places [now], (15a)
[enemies] with swaying flags on the top of the tall, fast-moving⁸²⁴ chariots, (14)
with horses [which have] hasty gait as if the wind had become visible? (13)

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⁸²² koṇṭu (abs.): ‘having taken’. I understood it as a frozen postposition (“with”) which appears slightly later in the early bhakti texts, and this might be one of its first attestations.

⁸²³ uyarntōr: the great, the learned, the exalted, as in piety, in virtue, or in austerities. Tamil Lexicon, 434.

⁸²⁴ katum pari: fierce/fast motion.
VIII. patikam

poy+ il celvakkaṭţukkovukku
vēḷāvi+ kōmā patumaṭ tēvi ~īnra makaṇ
kolli+ kūṟṟattu nir kūr mē micai+
pal vēl tāṇai ~atikamāṇōṭ'
iru perum vēntaraiyum utaṇ-nilai veṇ̥ru 5
muracum kuṭaiyum kalaṇum koṇṭ'
urai cāl cirappiṇ atu kalam vēṭṭu+
tukal tīr makalir irañkā+ tupp’ aruttu+
takaṭṭur ēṛintu nocci tant’ eytiya
~arum tīral oḷ+ icai+ peruṅcēral irumpoṇaiyai
maṇu ~il vāy molī ~aricilkār
pāṭīnār pāṭṭu+ pāṭṭu.

avai tām: kuruṭum tāḷ ōṇiyil, urutt’ ēḷu veḷḷam, niram tikāḷ pāc’ īlai, nalam peru tīru maṇi,
tīm cēṛṭ’ ~yāṇar, mā citaṛ’ irukkai, veṇṭ’ āṭu tuṇāṅkai, pīṟaḷa nōkk’ iyavar, niram paṭṭu kuruti,
puṇṭ+ utai ~erul+ tōḷ. ivai pāṭṭīn patikam.

pāṭṭi+ peṛṛa paricil: tāṇum kōyilālum puram pōntu niṇrū kōyil uḷḷa ~ellām koṇmīn en루
kāṇam oṅpattu nūṛ’ āyirattōṭu aracu kāṭṭil koṭuppa ~avar yāṇ irappa ~itaṇai ~āḷka ~enṛu
~amaiccu+ pũṇṭār.

takaṭṭur ēṛintu peruṅcēral irumpoṇai patiṇ elʾ yāṇṭu vīṟīruntāṇ.
VIII. Panegyric

He [was] the son, whom the queen [called] Patumān,\(^{825}\) [daughter of] Vēḷ Āvi Kōmāṅ gave birth (2) to [the father,] Celvakkatuṅkō with no falsity, (1) [the son, who] won over the allied state of the two great kings (vēntar) (5) together with Atikamaṅ\(^{826}\) with an army with many spears, (4) [won on] the heights of the summits which abounded in water at the division\(^{827}\) of the Kolli, (3) [who] seized jewels, parasols, and muracu-drum\(^s\), (6) [who] performed sacrifice on the murderous battlefield according to [his] excellence\(^{828}\) worthy of fame, (7) [who] cut off the strength [of the enemies], so that [their] faultless women wept, (8) the flawless and truthful Aricilkiṅ (11) sang these ten songs on Peruṅcēral Irumpoṟai with bright fame and rare strength (10) who approached Takaṭūr by attacking [and] giving protection [to it].\(^{829}\) (9)

These [ten songs] are: The bastions with small stairs, The furiously rising flood, The golden jewels with shiny colour, The beautiful brilliant sapphires, The fertility with sweet sap, The seat which distributes horses, The victoriously danced tuṇāṅkai, The watching musicians who were perplexed, The blood which flows from the vital spot, The mighty shoulders that possess scars, [and this as] the panegyric of these ten.

Having sung, the [following] gifts [had been] obtained: after [the king] himself and the lady of the palace went out, after [they] stopped [there], after [they] said “take everything [from] inside the palace!”', he, [the poet] put on the ministry (amaiccu) saying “Let you rule [again] this place, because I beg you!”, while nine-[times]-hundred-thousand kāṇam and the royal throne/bed were given [to him].

Peruṅcēral Irumpoṟai who conquered Takaṭūr sat seventeen years majestically [on the throne].

Thus ending the Eighth Decade.

ettiṁ pattu muṟṟṟu.

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\(^{825}\) *patumān* (p.n.) < Skt. *padma*: “lotus” (?). It is perhaps the name of the queen who belonged to the dynasty of Vēḷ Āvi Kōmāṅ. Remarkable that the same name appears in the *Patiṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ瑀

826 Atikamaṅ Neṭumāṅ Ańci was one of the greatest chieftain of the Caṅkam literature, one among the greatest donors, lord of the Kutirai Hills and Takaṭūr, patron and friend of Auvaiyār. For his short biography, see: Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 32.

827 *kūṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ瑀 * division of a country in ancient times*. Tamil Lexicon, 1080.

828 One may connect *cirappiṅ* and *atu kālam*.

829 *noccī tantu*: “having given the defense of a fort”. Tamil Lexicon, 2364. In this case, it also refers to the *noccitturṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ瑀, a minor sub-genre in puram poetry.
The Ninth Decade

(ọmpatām pattu)

The poet: Perunkuṇṭur-kilār

The king: Ilaṅcēral Irumporai

81.


ulakam purakkum uru keḷu cirappiṅ
vaṇṇam+ karuviya valam keḷu kamaṅcūl
akal irum vicumpiṅ atir cinam cirantu
kaṭum cilai kalaɾi vicump’ ataiyū nivantu
kālai ~icaikkum pūḷotoṭu pulampu koḷa+
kaḷiṟu pāynt’ iyala+ kaṭum mā tāṅka
~oḷiṟu koṭi nuṭāṅka+ tēr tiruntu koṭpa
~aracu pūṟatt’ iruppīquum ativ’-ilar tiruntu
vāyil koḷḷā maintiṅgar vavayar
mā ~irim kaṅkulum vilu+ toṭi cuṭar-vara+
tōl piṇi mī kaiyar pukal cirantu nālum
muṭṭital vēṭkaiyar netiya moliyū+ keṭāa nal+ icai+ tam kuṭi niṟumār
iṭāa ~eṇi viyāl aṟai+ koṭpa
nāṭ’ atippatuttaḷiṅ koḷḷai māṛi
~aḷal viṇai ~amaṅta niḷal viṭu kaṭṭi
kaṭṭalai valippa niṅ tāṅai ~utavi
vēṛu pulatt’ irutta vel pōr aṇṇal
muḷaviṅ maṅnta perum pāḷam icaintu
cāṛ’ ayarnt’-aṅṇa kār aṇi yāṇar
20
tümp’ akam paḷuṇiya tīm piḷi mānti+
kāntaḷam kaṇṇi+ celum kuṭi+ celvar
kali makili mēvalar iravalarkk’ iyum
curump’ ār cōḷai+ perum peyal koli+
peruvāy-malarōṭu pacum piḷi makilnṭu
miṅ+ umilnt’-aṅṇa cuṭar ilai ~āyattu+
taṅ niṟam karanta vaṇṭu paṭu katuppiṅ
otūṅk’ īr ōṭi ~ōḷ nūtal aṇi koḷa+
koṭuṁ kuḷaiṅk’ amornta nōkkīṅ nayavara+
perum-takaṅk’ amornta mel col tiru mukattu

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māṇ ilai ~arivai kāṇiya ~oru nāl
pūŋka-māḷa niṇ puravi neṭum tēr
muṇai kaiviṭṭu muṇ nilai+ cellātu
tū ~etirntu peṟāa+ tā ~il maḷḷaroṭu
tol maruṅk’ aruttal aṇci ~aran koṇṭu
tuṇcā vēntarum tuṇcuka
viruntum āka niṇ perum tōṭkē.
81st song

Lustre-emitting golden bars

[After] the wealthy pregnant [clouds] in a big number, [having] a colour (2)
with frightening\(^{830}\) excellence, [clouds] that protects the world, (1)
excelled with a trembling anger in the vast dark sky (3)
after [the clouds] thundered with a fierce roar, arose by gathering in the sky, (4)
after [your] people who do not tremble, [not] even when [another] king camps outside, (8)
were roaming around, while chariots roamingly rolled, when bright flags swayed, (7)
when swift horses carried [soldiers], when elephant bulls advanced by spreading, (6)
while [the clouds] took away the laments at the time that announces the [rainy] season,\(^{831}\) (5)
after the desire of your warriors excelled [as being] ones with hands shackled on [their]
shoulders,\(^{832}\) (11a–c)
while [their] excellent bracelets began to shine in the dark great nights, (10)
[bracelets] of [your] warriors [who were] strong men [who] do not protect the entrance, (9)
after [they] took an oath\(^{833}\) [as being] ones with the desire [of] finishing [the war] each day, (11d–12)
after [they] exchanged the plunder (kollai) because [they] made humble\(^{834}\) the countries, (15)
when vast military camps (arañ), [which] did not put borders [around],\(^{835}\) rolled (14)
[against you] in order to establish their dynasties with unceasing fame, (13)
after your army helped [you], while the lustre-emitting [golden] bars\(^{836}\) which were completed
by the work of flames became solid in the moulds, (16–17)
o majesty of victorious war who stayed in various lands, (18)
after [you] acquired the muḷavu-drum-like, suitable, big fruit,\(^{837}\) (19)
after [you] consumed the sweet liquor (piḷi) matured inside the beautifully dark, fertile
bamboo-tubes as if a festival would be celebrated, (20–21)
after [you] rejoiced [among] the green leaves\(^{838}\) and peruvāymalai-flowers\(^{839}\) (25)
in the Kolli-[region] with great showers and with groves full of bees (24)

\(^{830}\) One might translate uru-keḻu as beautiful. Tamil Lexicon, 443.
\(^{831}\) POC: kālai – kār (“monsoon season”).
\(^{832}\) This passage might refer to the tuṇankai-dance. However, the POC’s suggestion is slightly different, since it
assumes that the “coolness” (kaliṟāḷē) of the rainy season was the reason of this act.
\(^{833}\) For netumoli as ‘oath’, see: Tolkāppiyam Porulaṭikāram Parāṭṭaiyāyāl, cū. 63: 13.
\(^{834}\) atippaṭuttaliy: “because of making humble” (Tamiḻ Ilakkiyap Pērakarātī, 47); here verbal noun + oblique
stands for a causal clause.
\(^{835}\) Here the phrase itṭa ēṇi perhaps means that the military camps were advancing without a stop so that there
was no need to put thorn-fences around.
\(^{836}\) The cast gold bars have great economic historical significance. For more, see: p. 373.
\(^{837}\) Perhaps a reference to jackfruit.
\(^{838}\) POC: pacum piḷi – pacc’ ila (“green leaves”).
\(^{839}\) POC: peruvāymalai – iruvāci (see: Tamil Lexicon, 333).
where the *kāntal*-wreathed lords of prosperous families give [liberally] to the supplicants, [to the] ones who long for bustling joy;\(^{840}\) (22–23)
let you harness\(^{841}\) your horse [to] the tall chariot on [this] particular day in order to see [your] lady with glorious jewels, (31–32)
with brilliant mouth of tender words which were desired by the paragons, (30)
while [her] desirous glances rivaled [her] curved earrings, (29)
while [her] bright forehead is exquisitely adorned, [your woman] with hair restrained by the moisture [of oil], (28)
with coiffure which is swarmed by bees which hid its colour, (27)
[your lady] among [her] female retinue with jewels that glitter as if flashes were spitted! (26)
Let the sleepless kings (*vēntarum*) sleep, (36)
after [they] fortified (*araṇkoṇṭu*) [their stands] by fearing the demise of the old lineages (35)
and of their weakened\(^{842}\) warriors who did not obtain [your] strength by opposing [you], (34)
not being able to stay in front [of you] after [they] forsook the frontier. (33)
[Having harnessed your horse,] let [her] become a feast\(^{843}\) for your great shoulders! (37)

\(^{840}\) Or: “court” (*kalimakil*).
\(^{841}\) In *pūṅkanāḷa*, I analysed a subjunctive from *pūṅ-tal* v. 7. tr. (*Tamil Lexicon*, 2830) to which an unexplained particle (*māḷa*, Wilden 2018, 57) contributes.
\(^{842}\) Following the POC (*valiyillāta*), here I translated *tāvil* as ‘weak’ (lit. “to be without strength”) instead of ‘flawless’ which is, in fact, another option to interpret this passage.

pakai perumaiyiṅ teyvam ceppa
~ār ērai ~aṅcā veruvara kaṭṭūr+
pañ koṭi nūṭāṅkum mūṇpiṅ cēṟunar
cel camam tolaittà **viṇai navil yāṅai**
kaṭāam vāṛntu kāṭum cīṇam potti
vaṇṭu paṭu cēnniya piṭi puṇarnt’ iyala
māṟavaṇ marala mā+ paṭai ~uṟuppa+
 tēr koṭi nuṭāṅka+ tōl puṭai ~aṟppa+
kāṭu kaikaṭṭiyā niṭu nāl irukkkai
~aṅņa vaikal paḷ nāḷ āka+
pāṭi+ kāṅku vanticīn peruma
paṭunar,
kola+ kola+ kuṟaiyā+ celvattu+ ceṟūr
kola+ kola+ kuṟaiyā+ tāṅai+ cāṟūr
vaṇmaiyum cemmaiyum cēlpum maraṇum
pukaṟu pukaṟnt’ acaiya naḷ+ icai
nilam taru tiruviṅ netiyōy ninē.
82nd song

Elephants which were trained for actions

May there be many days of staying\textsuperscript{844} like that (10)
on [your] seat\textsuperscript{845} with extended days that burnt the forests down, (9)
when strokes on the shields sounded, when flags on the chariots swayed, (8)
when horses were harnessed, when warriors opposed, (7)
while \textit{elephant} [bulls] \textit{trained for actions} (4c–d)
with heads that were swarmed by bees advanced after [they] united with [their] cows, (6)
after [their] fierce anger were stirred up, after [their] rut flowed, (5)
[elephant bulls] which destroyed the ongoing battle (4)
of the warriors in the front where many flags swayed, (3)
[warriors from] the frightening military camp that is not afraid of the difficult stay,\textsuperscript{846} (2)
while [your foes] spoke to the deity (\textit{teyvam}), because of the greatness of [your] enmity! (1)
After [I] sang you, (11a)
o lofty one with prosperity (\textit{tiru}) given by the lands, (16)
[the one] of unceasing fame, having desired [and] praised (15)
the generosity, perfection, tender nature, and valour (14)
of worthy people with armies that do not dwindle while killing (13)
[and of] warriors with wealth that does not dwindle when singers\textsuperscript{847} take [from it], (12)
O great man, I came so I would see [you]! (11b–d)

\textsuperscript{844} The word \textit{vaikal} is a contracted verbal noun from \textit{vaiku-tal} v. 5. intr. ’to stay’, ’to halt’, ’to tarry’, ’to reside’, etc. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3850.
\textsuperscript{845} If we follow the POC, then \textit{irukkai} has to be connected with the second line and must be understood as “military camp” (\textit{p\textacuted{a}r\textacuted{a}t}). See POC on Lines 9–10.
\textsuperscript{846} In my interpretation, \textit{\textacuted{a}r \textacuted{i}ru} refers to the fact that to stay in the enemies’ land was, in fact, a dangerous and difficult task.
\textsuperscript{847} The word \textit{p\textacuted{a}tunar} is a hypermetrical foot or \textit{k\textacuted{u}g} (“hunch”) that I separated by a comma and a line break in the Tamil text.
83.


kār malai muṇpiṇ kaiparint’ elutarum
vāl paṟai+ kurukiṇ neṭum vari porpa+
kol kaḷiṟu miṭainta pal tōl toḻutīyoṭu
neṭum tēr nuṭanku koṭi ~avirvara+ polintu
celavu perit’ ipitu niṇ kāṇumōrkkē
~innāt’-amma ~atu táṇē pal mā(ṇ)
nāṭu keṭa ~erukki nal kalam tarūum niṇ
pōr arum kaṭum ciṇam etirntu
māru koḷ vēntar pācaṇaiyōrkkē.
83rd song

**The multitude of many shields**

The march (*celavu*) is very much sweet for those who are watching you,\(^{848}\) (5) after [your] tall chariots flourished as the swaying flags started to shine (4) together with the *multitude of many shields* which were crowded [together with] murderous elephant bulls (3) so that [the march] resembled a long line\(^{849}\) of *kuruku*-birds with white wings, (2) [while] the clouds of the rainy season arose by felling into disorder before [them], (1) [but,] alas, that [march] itself is unpleasant (6a–c) for the ones in the military camps of the hostile\(^{850}\) kings, (9) after [they] opposed the fierce anger of the difficult war (8) of yours who give good vessels, after [you] destroyed (7b–d) so that the many proud\(^{851}\) countries perished. (6d–7a)

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\(^{848}\) Here *niṉ* has to be understood as an accusative (*niṉṉai*).

\(^{849}\) Here *vari* means the order in which the birds fly (*varicai*).  

\(^{850}\) *māṟu koḻ* ‘enmity-taking’. *Tamil Lexicon*, 3185.

\(^{851}\) We can split the sandhis in two different ways here so that one can read either ‘proud’ (*māṟ*) or ‘big’ (*mār*) countries.

etutt’ ēr’ ēya kaṭipp’ utai ~atirum
pōrpp’ urahan muracam kaṇ+ atirnt’-āṅku+
kār maḷai muḷikkīṇum veḷil piṇi niivi
nutal anant’ eḷu-tarum tojil navil yāṇai-
pārval pācaɾai+ tarūum pal vēl 5
pūliyar kōve polam tēr+ poṟaiya
maṇpatai cavaṭṭum kūṟam muṇpa
koṭi nuṭāṅk’ ār eyil eṇṇu varamp’ ariyā
pal mā paranta pulam oṇr’ eṇr’ eṇṇātu
valiyai ~ātal naṅk’ arinṭanār āyinum
vār mukil muḷaṅkīṇ maḷa kaḷiṟu miṅki+ tan
kāḷ maḷai muṅkīl kavar kilai pōla
~uytal yāvatu niṇ uṭṭaívelyōrē
vaṇaṅkal ariyār uṭṭar’ elunt’ uraii+
pōrpp’ urahan taṇṇumai ~ārpp’ eluntu nuvala
nōy+ tojil maḷaiṇta vēl iṅṭ’ aḷuvattu
muṇai pukal pukalviṅ māṟā mainṭaroṭ’
urum ēri varaḷiyin kaḷiṟu nilam cēra+
kāṅci cāṅra ceṟu+ pala ceṟtu niṅ
kuvaṉ+ kurai ~irukkai ~iṅtu kaṇṭikumē
kāḷai māri peytu tojil āṟri
viṇṭu muṇṇiṇa puyal neṭṭum kāḷai+
kāl cēṟpu mā maḷai talaii+
pal kural puḷḷiṅ oli ~elunt’-āṅkē.
84th song

Elephants trained for work

O king of the Pūḻiyar, (6a–b)
you with spears who gives [elephants] in the military camp with custody (pārval), (5)
elephants trained for [their] work, which rise by lifting their foreheads, (4)
after [they] broke the shackle [at] the post, even if the cloud of the rainy season had [only] thundered, (3)
having roared like the eye of the covered muracam-drum (2)
sounding [by means of] the beating of drumsticks, so that [that] beating commanded! (1)
O Poraiyaṉ with golden chariots! (6c–d)
O man with the strength of Kūṟṟam who masticates humanity! (7)
Even if they are someones who knew you well as being the one who is sturdy, (10)
without considering [your] unique land where many horses spread, (9)
who do not know the limit of counting the difficult[-to-obtain] forts with swaying flags, (8)
after [your] young elephant bull increased [his power] like the sound of the spreading clouds, (11a–d)
how the ones who made you angry would escape (13)
his feet, (11d–12a)
similarly to the branching sprouts of the growing bamboo? (12)
After the ones who do not know to bow down got enraged, rose, [and] plotted, (14)
after [you] had done many battles which were worthy for kāñci, (19a–d)
while thunder-attacked-mountain-like elephant bulls fell to the ground (18)
together with warriors who did not change [their determination, warriors] with the obsession to enter the frontier (17)
of the thicket[-like] battlefield abounded [in] spears that resisted [with] painful effort, (16)
while the sound of the covered tanumai-drum risingly announced [the battle], (15)
we sweetly saw your throne where crowds jubilated, (19d–20)
[whose sound] arose like the sound of the many songbirds, (24)

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852 pūḻiyar: the people living in Pūḻināṭu which was part of the Cēra kingdom. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 593.
853 eṭṭēṟu: ‘beating, as of a drum (eṭṭerikai)’. Tamil Lexicon, 516; Tamiḻ Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 466.
854 cavattum (imp. pey.): “which masticates”. Tamil Lexicon, 1332.
855 There are two different ways to understand pal mā paranta pulam ogru, 1. “the many, great, extended lands as being one”, 2. “the unique land where many horses (mā) spread”.
856 uraii (abs.): “having talked”.
857 Here the word kāñci most probably refers to the tiṇai that proclaims either the instability of earthly things, or the warriors who defend themselves in the battle. Tamil Lexicon, 847.
858 Here pukalvu means ‘desire’ and pukal means ‘entering’ as a contracted verbal noun.
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858 Here pukalvu means ‘desire’ and pukal means ‘entering’ as a contracted verbal noun.
859 Or; “fought with painful acts”. 
860 Here the POC understands kuvavu as “the crowd of the army” (paṭai-kuḷām), and kuraittal as āravāri-ṭtal v. 11. intr. ‘to roar’, ‘to shout’. For a meaning as ‘to jubilate’, see Tamil Lexicon, 1020.
after the big clouds had showered rain which approached the mountains by joining to the rocks [for a] long time, (22–23) after the work had become accomplished by showering the seasonal rain.862 (21)

861 Or: “the birds with many voices”.
862 Here I see quite a few subject changing absolutives (peytu, āṟṟi, cērpu, talaii).
85.


nal maram tuvaṇṭiya nāṭu pala tarī+ 5
poṉ+ avir puṇai ceyal ilaṅkum perum pūṇ
oṇṇā+ pūṭkai+ ceṇṇiyar perumāṅ
iṭṭa veḷ vēl muttai+ tam+ ega
muṇ tiṇai mutalvar pōla niṇrū
tīm cuṇai nilaiya tiru mā maruṅkīṅ
kōṭu pala virinta nāṭu kāṅ neṭum varai+
cūṭā nāraviṅ nāl mākīḷ irukkai
~arac’-avai paṇiya ~aṛam purintu vayaṅkiya
maṛam puri koḷkai vayaṅku cem nāvīṅ
uvalai kūrā+ kavalai ~il neṇcīṅ
naṇaviṅ pāṭiya nal+ icai+
kapilaṇ peṟṟa ūriṅum palavē.
85th song

The tall mountains which are seen from the country

After [you] gave [to the kingdom] many countries which were dense with good trees, (1) after [you] stood like the first men of [your] ancient lineage, (5) saying “put in front [of me] the white spear that was put down (4) by Cenniyar Perumān whose resolution [was] not to agree [with me], (3) [and] the shining big jewels [which were] prettily fashioned [and] brilliant from gold!”, (2) after [you] desired virtues ([aram]), while the king’s council became humble (9a–c) [around] the seat [in your] daily court in Naṟavu, which cannot be put on [as flowers (naṟavu)], (8) among the tall mountains which are seen from the country, which were expanded with many of [its] summits, (7) [mountains] with brilliant big slopes [where] the sweet mountain springs became permanent; (6) [thus your songs of] fame are more numerous than the villages obtained by Kapila (12c–13) [which songs] were sung with truth, with a heart that [was] without anxiety (11c–12b) without being full of meanness, with a perfect tongue which shone (10c–11b) [from] the principle that was accomplished [by] the splendid valour. (9d–10b)

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864 The word tam seems to be a contracted form of tārum, a late imperative form from the type ‘verbal root + um’, which is rare in Caṅkam corpus and typical in post-Caṅkam texts. Cf. Puranāṅgura, 203: 4. POC glosses tammiñ (imperative, 2nd person plural).
865 Cenniyar Perumān means the Cēla king. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 389.
867 Another possible reading of naṟavu nāḻ mākī is “the daily joy [of/from] toddy”, however, we cannot be sure whether drunkenness during the royal audience can be attributed to virtuous behaviors. Here a velippattai (POC: matuvīrku velippattai) in a form of a negative signifier helps to distinguish the specific meaning of naṟavu as a city of the Cēra from the naṟavu as a flower/fragrance (See: naṟavu and naṟavam, Tamil Lexicon, 2186).
868 This passage refers to the same legend as the epilogue of the VII. patikam. This shows that 1. the chronological order is correct, 2. this poet was already familiar with the earlier poems written by Kapilar.

ural uru kuruṭi+ cērukkāḷam pulava+
koṅṛ’ amar+ kaṭanta vem tiraḷ taṭam+ kai
vel vēl poṇaiyaṇ eṇṭalīṅ veru-vara
vepp’ uṭai ~āṭu+ cettaṇeṇ-ṇaṇ yāṇ
nal+ icai nilaiya naṇam talai ~ulakatt’
illōr puṇkaṇ tīra nalkum
nāṭal cāṇra nayaṇ uṭai neṇciṇ
pāṭunar puravaṇaṇ āṭu naṭai ~aṇṭal
kalai nilai peṛāa+ kuṭṭatt’ āṭīṇum
puṇgal pāy maṇeḷir āṭa ~oḷinta
poṇ cey pūm kuḷai mī micai+ tōṇrūm
cāntu varu vāṇi nīrīṇum
tīm taṇ cāyalan-ṁaṇra+ tāṇē.
86th song

The large hands with severe strength

I certainly\(^{869}\) thought \[that he is\] a frighteningly severe man,\(^{870}\) (3d–4) because \[he is\] called Poṟaiyaṉ with victorious spear (3a–c) and \textit{large hands with severe strength} that overcame in battle by felling \[the tree\],\(^{871}\) (2) so that the blood \[which was intensely\] perceived smelled on the battlefield. (1) O majesty with dancing gait as being someone who protects the singers, (8) \[who has\] a loving heart worthy to be examined,\(^{872}\) (7) who grants \[gifts\] to the destitutes so that \[their\] distress vanishes (6) in the world with vast areas where \[your\] fame had become permanent! (5) He is certainly\(^{873}\) a man of sweet and cool nature, (13) even more than the water of the Vāṉi-\[river\]\(^{874}\) which comes with sandal-wood, (12) \[in which,\] even if it is deep for the bamboo-\[pole\]\(^{875}\) to get a standing position, (9) the beautiful earrings made of gold are visible\(^{876}\) \[from\] the very surface,\(^{877}\) (11) \[earrings\] which had fallen, when the girls who jump into the flood were bathing. (10)

\(^{869}\) Here \textit{maṉ} is an assertive particle with shades of evaluation. Wilden 2018, 167.


\(^{871}\) The word \textit{kōṟu} that occurs frequently can be translated as “having killed” (warriors?), or “having felled” (guraded tree, wooden plank?), however, in all the cases, the subject is missing.


\(^{873}\) Here \textit{maṉṟa} is an assertive particle. Wilden 2018, 57.

\(^{874}\) POC: Vāṉi – “a river” (\textit{ōṟ yāṟu}). It is perhaps the river Bhavānī (Pavāṉi). \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 3629.

\(^{875}\) \textit{kalaĉ} bamboo pole of the ferryman used for propelling boats/rafts. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 806. See the same formulaic passage in \textit{Akanāṉūṟu}, 6: 6.

\(^{876}\) \textit{tōṟum} (imp. pey.): lit. ‘appearing’.

\(^{877}\) Or: ‘[from] the very top [of the boat/raft]’.
87.


cenmo pāṭiṇi nal kalam peṟukuvai
cantam pūḷiloṭu poṇku nurai cumantu
teḷ kaṭal muṇṇiya veḷ talai+ cem puṇgal
oyyum nīr vaḷi+ karumpiṇum
paḷ vēḷ poṟaiyaṉ vallāṇāl aliye. 5
87th song

The red flood with white surface

Please, go songstress \(pāṭinī\) [and] you will obtain good jewels! \(1\)
Poraiyan with many spears, is certainly more capable to take care [of you], \(5\)
than the sugarcane-raft\(881\) [on] the course of the water that is dragged along \(4\)
by the red flood with white surface which approached the clear sea, \(3\)
after [it] carried along a rising foam together with sandal and eaglewoods. \(2\)

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\(878\) Here \textit{cegmō} is an imperative with a shade of politeness.
\(879\) Here \textit{āḷ} is an assertive particle.
\(880\) POC: \textit{aliṭṭal vallag} – “the one who is capable to nourish/take care”.
\(881\) POC: \textit{nīr vaḷī oyyum karumpu} – “the sugarcane which is driven on the water” (\textit{nīr īṭattu celuttuṃ karumpu}).
\textit{karumpu} – “sugarcane-raft” (\textit{karpupanteppam}). See: \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 759.
\(882\) \textit{pāḷiṭ}: eaglewood (POC: \textit{akiṭ}). \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 2853.

vaiyakam malamta toḻil murai ~oliyātu
kaṭaṇūl peyaripya kaṇamoṭu kal+ uyantu
tel kaṭal vaḷaḷiya malar talai ~ulakattu+
tam peyar pōkiya ~oṅṇār tēya+
tulaṅ’ irum kuṭṭam toḷaiya vēl īṭ’
aṇaṅ’ uṭai+ kaṭampiṅ muḷu mutal taṭintu
poru muraṅ eṭṭiya kaluvu puṟam peṟṟu
nāmam maṇṇar tuṇiya nūri+
kāl val puravi ~aṅṭar ṣṭṭi+
cuṭar vi vākai naṇṇaṅ tēyṭṭu+
kuruti viṭirtta kuvaṉu+ cōṟru+ kuṇṇōṭ’
uru keḷu marapiṅ ayairai pari
vēntum vēḷirum piṅ vantu pāṇiya+
kōṟram eṭṭiya periyōr maruka
viyal uḷai ~arimā māram keḷu kurucil
viravu+ pāṇai muḷaṅkum nirai tōl varaippiṅ
uravu+ kaḷirru vel koṭi nuṭtaṅkum pācarai
~ār eyil alaitta kal kāl kavaṇai
nār arī nāraṇiṅ koṅkar kövē
~uṭalunar+ taputta polam tēr+ kurucil
vaḷai kaṭal muḷaviṅ tōṅṭiyōr poruna
nī nīḷu vāḷiya peruma niṅ vaṉiṅ
tuvaṭṭita tumpai naṇav’ urṟu viṭavum
māṛt’ arum teyvattu+ kuṭṭam muṇṉiya
puṇṭal mali pēr’ ~ār’ ili-tant’-āṅku
varunar varaṇiṅ+ cēḷum pāl tāram
kola+ kola+ kuraṇiṉu talai+ talai+ cīrappa
~ōvatt’ anṇa ~uru keḷu neṭum nakar+
pāvaive ~aṇṇa mākaṅir nāppaṅ
puḳaṅra māṅ poṛi+ polinta cāntamoṭu
taṅ kaṁal kōṭai cūṭi+ puṇḍ cumantu
tīru-viḷ kulaii+ tīru maṇi puraiyum
uru keḷu kuɾuviya perum maḷai cēṛntu
vēṅkai virintu vicump’ ẓr ŋ cēṇ cimai

88.
~aruvi ~arum varai ~aṇṭa mārpiṇ

35

cēṇ (n)āru nal+ icaĩ+ cēy īlai kaṇava
mākam cuṭara mā vicump’ ukakkum

35

āyiru pōla viḷaṅkuti pal nāḷ

āṅku+ kāṅku vantaṇen yāṇē

40

uṟu kāḷ ēṭutta ~oṅku varal puṇari

nuṇ maṇal atai karai ~uṭai-tarum

tāṭa kaṭal paṭappai nāṭu kilavōyē.
88th song

The stone-vomiting catapult

After [your ancestors] did not fail [their] regular duties which made the earth blossom, (1) after they planted [their] spears, so that the swaying dark depth⁸⁸³ had lost, (5) while the disobedient whose name had gone became weakened (4) in the world with flourishing places which was surrounded by the clear sea (3) by rising high with rocks and forests which were named [after] the deity,⁸⁸⁴ (2) after they cut the entire foot of the awesome (aṇaṅ’uṭai) kaṭampu-tree, (6) after they got Kaḻuvu!⁸⁸⁵ who approached martial enmity [to show his] back [in battle], (7) after they defeated the fearful kings, while [those kings] had been slaughtered, (8) after they drove back the herdsman (aṇṭar)⁸⁸⁶ [who had] strong-legged horses, (9) after they destroyed Naṉṉai with Sun-[like] flowers, (10) after they worshipped the Ayirai⁸⁸⁷ according to the fearful tradition (12) with hills of heaped cooked rice [on which] blood was sprinkled, (11) o descendant of [these] great ones who obtained victory (14) while kings (vēntar) and chiefs (vēḷir) humbled by following [them], (13) o lion (arimān) with wide mane, o valourous chief, (15) o king of the koṅkar with fibre-filtered toddy, (19) [who has] a stone-vomiting catapult⁸⁸⁸ which made the difficult-[to-siege] forts suffer, (18) [who has] a military-camp where victorious flags sway on the strong elephant bulls,⁸⁸⁹ (17) [which camp has] border of shields in rows, [where] the various paṇai-drums sound, (16) o chief with golden chariot that destroyed those who made [you] enraged, (20) o fighter of the men in Toṇṭi where the surrounding⁸⁹⁰ sea [is] like the muḷavu-drum, (21)

⁸⁸³ In this context, kuṭṭam, the word that denotes ‘depth’ or ‘pond’ might mean ‘ocean’ (Index of Patiruppattu, 51; cf. Patiruppattu, 46: 11–12), however, I found it necessary to translate it literally leaving the interpretation open, since kuṭṭam could rather refer to the ponds of Kuṭṭa-nāṭu, one of the twelve koṭun-tamil-nāṭu. Tamil Lexicon, 960.

⁸⁸⁴ The POC suggests that the region mentioned here is equal to Vintāṭavi (< Skt. Vindhyāṭavī), “the forest region adjoining the Vindhyas” (Tamil Lexicon, 3676), the deity would be the goddess “Koṟṟavai who dwells there” (aṇṭu uraiyum koṟṟavai).


⁸⁸⁸ The basic meaning of the word kavaṇai (kavan, Tamil Lexicon, 788) is ‘sling’, however, as an extended meaning it could mean a ‘catapult’. The English word ‘catapult’ here helps us to keep the ambiguity. I would not think that the king attacked forts with a mere sling but of course it depends on the size of the questionable sling/fort. Cf. Kuṟumokai, 388: 3; Naṟṟinaī, 206: 5; Akanāṉūṟu, 292: 11.

⁸⁸⁹ It is also possible to connect the elephants directly to the king who possessed them.

⁸⁹⁰ Index of Patiruppattu tends to understand vaḷai as ‘conch’. I would rather translate it as “the surrounding sea”, in which vaḷai is a verbal root (vaḷai-ṭal v. 11. tr., Tamil Lexicon, 3555).
o great man, may you live long! (22a–c)
After you wore the cool and fragrant garlands (31a–c)
together with the sandal-paste that shone in desirable glorious lines (30)
among the goddess-like women (29)
of [your] beautiful and tall/long painting-like mansion, (28)
while you made all the places excel, without being the many rich goods diminished
[due] the limitless visitors while they take [from it], (26–27)
[visitors who] descend like the big river which abounds in water, (25)
which came [from] the mountain of the deity [whose will is] difficult to change, (24)
who was truly asked for the much-praised tumpai on your behalf, (22d–23)
after you became heavy from the ornaments, (31c–d)
o husband of [the lady with] red jewels, with fame, [and with perfume that] smells from far,
(husband) of the chest which is like the difficult-[to-climb] mountain with waterfalls (35)
[and] distant summits that touch the sky by blooming the vēṅkaṭ-trees (34)
[and] by gathering the fearful masses of big clouds (33)
which resembled the brilliant sapphires, where the brilliant [rain]bow was bending;— (32)
may you shine for many days like the Sun (38)
ascending in the dark sky, so that the firmament brightens! (37)
I came here so I would see you, (39)
the chief of the country with gardens at the cool sea, (42)
where the high-rising waves raised by the continously blowing wind (40)
break against the shore where the fine sand [is] solid. (41)

891 Here pāvai ānga maṅalir could mean either “doll-like women” (Tamil Lexicon, 2636) or “goddess-like women” (cf. kollippāvai, Tamil Lexicon, 1157).
892 tumpai: white dead nettle (Leucas aspera). Tamil Lexicon, 1972. The occurrence of this plant recalls the “literary setting” (tiṇai) that focuses on the battle. Tolkāppiyam Porulāṭikāram Purāṭṭinaiyīyal, cū. 70. However, it is not clear why the goddess had been asked for the tumpai. The POC suggests that the deity was asked for giving victory in the tumpai-battle (attumpaip pēraī niṅakkū veṅkitarutarku…).
893 Another split of the sandhi results the reading of “greatly famous red jewels from distant paths (āṟu)”.
894 However, āṟu literally means ‘to have’.
89.

peyar: tuvarā kūntal, tuṟai: kāvalmullai, tūkku: centūkku, vaṇṇam: ojuriesāvṇam.

vāṇam poḷutoṭu curappa+ kāṇam
tōṭ’ uṟu maṭam māṇ ēru puṇarnt’ iyala+
pullum miṇirum mā+ ciṇa –āṟppa+
palaṇum kilaṅkum micai –aṟav’ ariyātu
pal+ āŋ nal nirai pul+ arunt’ ukaḷa+
payam kaṭai –ariyā vāḷam kelu cirappiṅ
perum pal yāṇar+ kūlam keluma
nal pal+ ūḷi nāṭuvu niṇ’ oḷuka+
pal vēl irumporai niṇ kōl cemmaiṅiṅ
nāliṅ nāliṅ nāṭu toḻut’ ētta
~uyar nilai ~ulakatt’ uyarnṭō parava
~arac’ iyal piḻaiyātu ceru mēmtōṅri
nōy ilai –ākiyar niyyē niṇ-maṭṭ’
āṭanṅiṅa neṅcam pukar paṭṭu’ ariyātu
kaṅaviṅum piṅiyā –uṟaiyuloṭu tanṇeṅa+
takaram niyya tuvarā+ kūntal
vatuvai makaḷir nōkkiṅa peyarntu
vāḷ nāḷ ariyum vayaṅku cuṭar nōkkattu
miṅṭu puraiyum kaṅpiṅ
vāḷ nutal arivaiyoṭu kāṇ-vara+ polintē.

5 10 15 20
89th song

Tresses that do not dry

When the sky gives [showers] liberally at the [proper] time, while in the forests (1) herds of innocent deers advanced by joining to the stags (2), when birds and bees were sounding [around] the big branches, (3) when the good herds of the many cows were leaping after they ate the grass (5) without knowing cessation [from] fruits and edible roots on the highlands (micai) (4) when the grains of the many great fertilities became abundant, (7) [fertilities] with prosperous superiority that does not know the end of yields, (6) while many good aeons passed in justice (natuvu),895 (8) o Irumpoṟai with many spears, while, because of the straightness of your staff (kōl),896 (9) the country praised [you] by worshipping day by day, (10) after [you] became eminent in the battle without ruining [your] royal nature, (12) so that the lofty ones revered [you] in the world of higher state, (11) may you become the one who does not have pain, (13a–c) after you were visibly897 flourishing together with your woman with shiny forehead, (20) with fidelity which resembles the [Arundhati] star898 (19) with glowing-flame[-like] glances that knows the lifetimes (vāl nāḷ) (18) of [those] brides (vatuvai makalir) who repeatedly looked [up on it], (17) [woman] with not drying tresses on which takaram-unguent899 was coolingly smeared,900 (16) [flourishing] along with [your] residence (uraiyul) [from where she] does not separate, not even in dreams, (15) [whose] controlled heart does not know undergoing blemishes in901 you. (13d–14)

896 The straightness of the royal staff was a symbol of a just reign, otherwise, when the king was unjust, the staff has become bent or broken.
897 kān vara (aux. inf.): “to start to be seen”.
898 I am not able to explain the function of a sociative here. For Aruntati, cf. Patiruppatu, 31: 28.
900 Here the infinitive of the quotative verb engu-tal forms an adverb (tāṇṇaṇa ‘coolly’).
901 Here māṭṭu is a locative.
90.
peyar: valikeḷu taṭakkai, tuṟai: kāṭcivāḷtu, tūkku: centūkkum vaṅcittūkkum, vaṅṇam: oḷukuvanṇamum corcīrvanṇamum

mīṉ vaiṉ nirpa vāṇam vāyppa

~acc’ arṟ’ ēmam āki ~iruṟ tūṟnt’

iṅpam peruka+ tōṅri+ tam tuṇai+

tuṟaiyin eṇcāmai niraiya+ kaṟṟu+

kalintōr uṭṭarum kaṭum tū ~aṅcā

~olīṟu vāl vayam vėntar

kaḷiṭoṭu kalam tantu

toṇru molintu tojil kētpa

~akal vaiyattu+ pakal āṟri

māyā+ pal pukaḷ viyal vicump’ ūr-tara

vāḷ vali ~ūṟuttu+ cemmai pūunṭ’

araṇ vaiḷtta narṅ’ āṇṭa

viṟal māntaraṅ viṟal maruka

~īrām uṭṭaimaiyin nīr ōr aṉaṉayi

~āḷapp’ arumaiyin āru vicump’ aṉaiyai

kola+ kuṟai paṭāmaiyin munnīr aṉaṉayi

pal mīṉ nāppan tiṅkal pōla+

pūṭta cuṟaṁoṭu polintu tōṅralai

~ūṟu keḷu marapiṅ aiṟairai paraviyum

kaṭal ikuppa vēḷ iṭṭum

uṭṭalunar miṭal cāyṭṭum

malayavum nilattavum aruppar vauvi+

perṛa perum peyar palar kai ~irīīya

koṟṟa+ tiriṟvī uravōr umpal

kaṭṭi+ puḷukkiṅ koṅkar kōvē

maṭṭam+ pukāviṅ kuṭṭuvar ēṛē

~elāa+ tuṇai+ tōḷ pūliyār meymmarai

~iraṅku nīr+ parappiṅ marantaiyōr poruna

veḷ pū vēḷaiyōtu curai talai mayakkiya

viravu moli+ kāṭṭur vayavār vėntē

~uravu+ kaṭal aŋṇa tāṅk’ arum tāṇaiyōtu

māṉ viṇai+ cāpam māṛp’ ursday vāṅki

ṅāṅ pora vilanākiya vali keḷu taṭa+ kai

vārntu puṇaint’-aṅṇa ~ēntu kuvavu moympiṅ

247
mīṉ pūtt’-aṉṇa vīlāṅku maṇi+ pāṇṭil
āy mayir+ kavari+ pāy mā mērkōṇtu
kālēkkam piṭitt’ ērǐntu
vīlumattṉ pukalum peyarā āṁmai+
kānci cāṅṛa vayavar peruma
vēṅku perum cirappīṅ ēṅku pukalōyē
kālaṅi āḷavaru tanṇumai ācaippīṅ
pāḷagam maṅṅai maḷai cett’ āḷum
tāṅ puṅal āṭunaru āṛppōṭu mayāṅki
vēm pōr māḷḷar teḷ kiṅai kaṟaṅka+
kūḷ’ utāi nal+ ēl ēṛum ēṛu cīḷappā+
ceḷum pala āṛunta koḷum pal tāṅ paṇai+
kāviri+ paṭappai nal nāṭ’ aṅṇa
vaḷam keḷu kuṭaṅcēḷu atāṅktīyā koḷkai
āṛiya karpiṅ tēṛiya nal+ icai
vaṅṭ’ ār kūntal ol toṭi kaṇaṅva
nīṅ nāḷ,
tiṅkāl aṅaiya āka tiṅkāl
yāṅṭ’ ār aṅaiya āka yāṅṭē
āḷī āṅaiya āka āḷī
eḷḷam varampiṅ āk(a) eṅa āḷī+
kāṅku vanticiṅ yāṅē ceru mikk’
urum eṅa muḷaṅkum muracīṅ
perum nal yāṅai ārīai kīḷavōyē.
90th song

The strong large hands

O victorious descendant of the victorious Māntaran who ruled well, who praised the virtue (araṇ), after [you] became ornamented with justice, after you made [your] sword strong, so that [your] incessant many praises spread in the vast sky, after you appeased the day of the vast world, while [other kings] learned [about your] deeds by talking [about] the old [days], after [you] gave vessels along with elephant bulls of strong kings with splendid swords that do not fear the fierce and enraged power of strong men, after [you] learned, while [your] companions’ places became full without rest, so that the delight was increased, the darkness came to an end, joy has become, fear has ceased, while the sky flourished and the stars stood at [their] places! O you, the unique one who is similar to the water, because of [your] affection! O you who are similar to the two skies, because of the difficulty of measuring [you]! O you who are similar to the sea which does not happen to diminish by taking! O you whose apperance is like the Moon among the many stars having shone together with [your] flourishing retinue! (17–18)

902 Māntaran was a Cēra king of the Irumporai branch of the dynasty. He is probably the same as Yānaikkaṭēy Māntarançēral Irumpoṟai. His name appears also in Puranāṅgūṟu, 22: 34; Cilappatikāram, II, 23: 84. According to the tradition, the Puranāṅgūṟu, 17, 20, 22, 53, and 229 had been composed for this particular king. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 670–671.

903 pūntu (alaṉai abs. from pūṉ-tal v. 7. tr.): ‘having put on’, ‘having worn’, ‘having been ornamented’. Tamil Lexicon, 2829.

904 I followed Aghostialingom in translating tū as ‘strength’. Aghostialingom 1979, 73; Tamil Lexicon, 2008.

905 This part is quite obscure; not even the POC can help. One possible reading of the commentary is: tantuṟattuṟai – “their standard (aḷavāga) books of the paths (tuṟai) [of virtues?], of the first men of the seers” (pāṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṛ). Tamil Lexicon, 2287. Is this line a reference to the institutions of Vedic learning?

906 niraiya (inf.): ‘to become full’, ‘to abound’, ‘to be satisfied’. Tamil Lexicon, 2287. To define the subject here is more than difficult. I connected the absolutive to kalinti in Line 5.

907 To define the subject here is more than difficult. I connected the absolutive to kalinti in Line 5.

908 Here irre vicumpu had been translated as ‘vast sky’. However, I find the translation of ‘two skies’ (1. the visible sky, 2. the upper sphere/uyar nilai ulakam) also possible, so that it would be a play with the enumeration of nir ṣr, irre vicumpu, munnir, “one man, two skies and three waters” in consecutive lines.

909 munnir: “sea, as having the three qualities of forming, protecting and destroying the earth, or as consisting of three waters, viz., river water, spring water and rain water”. Tamil Lexicon, 3268.

910 I understand this as how the ocean receives abundant water from rivers, clouds, and springs, the king receives abundant gifts from the guests who are coming like a torrent.

911 Technically pūtta (‘blossomed’, ‘flourished’) is a perf. pey. here, which cannot be reflected in the English translation.
O [you,] the king of the *koṇkar* with cooked-grains [sweetened] with jaggery,912 (25) the descendant of brilliant and victorious strong men, (24) [who] caused to be earned great things in913 the hands of many, (23) after you seized forts (*aruppam*) of lands and mountains, (22) after you destroyed the strength of the enraged ones, (21) after you threw a spear so that the ocean was destroyed, (20) after you worshipped the Ayirai according to the fearful tradition! (19) O bull of the *kuṭṭuvar*914 [for whom] the toddy is the food! 915 (26) O body shield of the *pūḷiyar*, [who] do not raise [their] pairs of arms [against you]!916 (27) O fighter of the people in Marantai917 at the extense of the sounding water! (28) O king of the strong ones in [your] military camp with mixed languages, (30) where the *vēḷai* with white flowers are mingled with the *curai* [all around] the area! (29) O great man of the ones who mean918 transience (*kāñci*) [for your enemies], (39) [who has] unchangeable courage that desires affection, (38) after you gripped the handle of the blade and attacked (37) by mounting galloping horses with fine-haired yak[-tail-plumes] (36) [in front of] the wheels [of chariots] with shiny sapphires that were as if stars were glittering,919 (35) [attacked] by means of [your] rising round shoulders that were as if they were broadwise decorated, (34) [and of your] strong [and] large hands that were shining as they pulled out the bowstring, (33) after [you] drew [your] bow of glorious workmanship so that it touched [your] chest together with [your] difficult-to-endure army that was like the strong ocean! (31–32) O you of the lofty fame, whose great excellence has increased! (40) O husband [of your lady] with bright bracelets and tresses full of bees, (50) with fame accepted as true, with patient fidelity, (49) with regulated principles, with anklets precious like the good country at the gardens of Kāviri (47–48)

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912 The word *kaṭṭi* denotes ‘jaggery’ (*Tamil Lexicon*, 648) which had been explained by U. Vē. Cā. as *carkkarai*.
913 Here I understood *kai* as an unmarked locative and the word *peyar* as *pori* following the POC.
914 *kuṭṭuvar*: the people of Kuṭṭa-ṇāṭu, one of the twelve *koṭṭu-ṇami-ṇatu*.
915 *POC*: *maṭṭappukā* – “the food that is toddy/honey” (*matuvākiya ṣeṇava*). *Tamil Lexicon*, 3059. U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar explains it as “the food that is toddy” (*kaḷākiya ṣeṇġuṭaiya* …).
916 U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar, however, understands “men of the Pūḷ-ṇāṭu with clasped (?) shoulders that do not rise [against] those who ran away after they showed their back in battle” (*pōri mutuku kāṭṭi oṭṭi ēri mēl cellāta iniyāya tōlkalayāṭaiya pūṭināṭarkku* …).
918 Another reading would be: “the ones who were worthy for the *kāñci* songs”. Cf. *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 65: 4.
919 *pūṭtu* (abs.): “having bloomed”, “having flourished”.

250
with many rich and cool paddy fields (pañai) which had many rich [harvests] (46)
when the bulls were sounding at the sides of the good houses with cooked rice, (45)
while the clear kipai-drum\textsuperscript{920} of the warriors of cruel wars sounded (44)
having confused with the sound the bathing ones in the cool stream, (43)
where peacocks of the paddy fields danced having thought that
the tannumai-drum’s music of the paddy fields’ workmen was a raincloud! (41–42)

Having thought that (54d)

may your day become like a month (tiṅkaḷ), (51a–c)
may [that] month become like a year, (51d–52c)
may [that] year become like aeons (ūḷi), (52d–53c)
may [those] aeons have limits of vellam.\textsuperscript{921} (53d–54c)
I came so I would see [you], (55a–c)
o eminent chief with big and good elephants (57)
and with the muracu[-drum] that is outstanding in battles and roaring like a thunder! (55d–56)

\textsuperscript{920} The only place in the Patiruppattu that mentions the kipai-drum, the hour-glass shaped drum which was connected to the agricultural tract. Tamil Lexicon, 921.

\textsuperscript{921} Both to understand vellam as a ‘huge number’, or as ‘deluge’ (since the deluges are connected to the ends of the aeons) seem to be fine.
IX. patikam

kuṭṭuvaṇ irumporaikkú mawaiyúr kiláaṇ
vēṇmāḷ antuvaṇ cellai ~īṇra makan
veru-varu tāṇaiyōtu veyt’ uṟa+ ceyytu cēṅ’
iru perum vēntarum vicciyum vīla
~arum mīlai+ kal+ akatt’ aint’ eyil ērīntu 5
potti ~āṇṭa perumcōḷaṇaiyum
vittai ~āṇṭa ~īlam pālaṇyān māraṇaiyum
vaitta vaṇciṇaṃ vāyppa vēru
vaṇci mūṭūr+ tantu pirarkk’ utavi
mantiram marapiṅ teyvam pēṇi
mey+ ēr ~amaicciyaṇ mawaiyūr kilāṇai
purai ~arū kēḷvi+ purōcu mayakki
~arum tirāl marapiṅ perum catukk’ amantta
vem tirāl pūtarai+ tant’ ivan nirīi
~āynta marapiṅ cānti vēṭṭu 10
maṅ+ uyir kāṭta maru ~iḷ cem kōl
iṅ+ icai muraciṅ ilaṅcēral irumporaivai+
pāṭiṅār pattu+ pāṭṭu.

avai tām: nilal viṭu kaṭṭi, viṅai navil yāṇai, pal tōl toḷuti, toḷil navil yāṇai, nāṭu kāṇ
neṭu varai, vem tirāl taṇṭa+ kai, veḷ talai+ cem puṇal, kal kāl kavaṇai, tuvarā+ kūntal,
vali keḷu taṇṭa+ kai; ivai pāṭṭiṅ patikam.

pāṭṭi+ peṛṭa paricil: maruḷ illārkku maruḷa+ koṭukka ~ēṛu uvakaiyīṇ mu+ patt’ īr āyiram
kāṇam koṭuttu avar ariyāmai ~ūrum magaiyum valam mika+ paṭaittu ~ērum iṅpamum iyāl-
vara+ parappi ~ēṉarkku ~ākā ~arum kalam veṟukkaįyọtu pal ēṛu’ āyiram pāṛpaṭa vakuttu
kāppu maram tān viṭṭāṇ a+ kō.

kuṭakkō ilaṅcēral irumporaį paṭiṅ āṛ’ āṇṭu vīṛirunṭaṅ.
IX. Panegyric

He is the son, [whom] Maiyūr Kīḷāṅ Vēṁmāḷ Antuvaṅ
Celḷai922 gave birth to the father, Kuṭṭuvaṅ Irumporai, (1–2)
[who] marched with a frightening army and made [his enemies] to experience [his] severity, (3)
[who] attacked five fortresses among the rocks with
difficult[-to-cross] forests,923 so that the two great kings and Vicci fell, (4–5)
[who] won over the Great Cōḷaṅ924 who ruled in Potti925 and over the
young Paḷaiyaṅ Māran926 who ruled in Vittai,927 so that the taken vow has excelled, (6–8)
[who] brought [tributes to] the old town [called] Vaṅći,928 [who] helped others, (9)
[who] paid homage to the deity according to the mantra-tradition,929 (10)
[who] confused Maiyūr930 Kīḷāṅ, the minister [in whom] the truth circulates
[with his] purōcu (purohita) of flawless knowledge, (11–12)
[who] brought the pūtaṛ (bhūtāḥ)931 of severe strength and of difficult powerful
tradition, which were living at the great crossroads, (13–14c)

[who] performed cāntī[-ritual] (sāntī)932 according to the tradition that has been studied, (15)
on Iḷaṅcēral Irumporai with sweetly melodious muracu-drum (17)

922 I insist that the name of the mother was Antuvaṅ Celḷai who was either the daughter of the vēḷ called Maiyūr Kīḷāṅ, or a woman of vēḷ-tribe (vēṭhăṭ: woman of vēḷ-tribe. Tamil Lexicon, 3825) connected to the chief called Maiyūr Kīḷāṅ.
923 It is possible that here the word milai refers to kaṭi milai, the protective forest or grove (or thorny obstacles?) around a fort. Cf. Paṭṟiruppatṭu, 22: 24; Puranāṅgûru, 21: 5.
924 It is possible that the Great Cōḷaṅ here is identifiable with the famous Köpperuṅcōḷaṅ whose court poet called Pottiyyār (or Potti elsewhere, Puranāṅgûru, 212: 9) was his intimate friend. Pottiyyār’s name might reflect a place name, Potti of the early Cōḷa kingdom from which place the poet came. This would somehow explain the relationship between the Great Cōḷaṅ and Potti in this poem. See: Marr 1985 [1958]: 295.
925 Potti: an ancient town in the early Cōḷa kingdom.
926 Paḷaiyaṅ Māraṅ was either a feudatory of the Pānṭiya kings or a Pānṭiya king. Marr suggested that Paḷaiyaṅ Māraṅ here was the son of Paḷaiyaṅ Māraṅ whom Kōkkōtai Māraṅ destroyed at Kūṭal. Marr 1985 [1958]: 173–174; 296.
927 Vittai: an ancient town in the early Pānṭiya kingdom; not mentioned elsewhere in the Caṅkam poems.
928 Vaṅći was one of the royal seat of the ancient Cēras, still no decade poem mentioned it. Its localization is also very problematic. See: Marr 1985 [1958]: 296–298. Read: pp. 344–351.
929 We may translate this passage either as “mantra-tradition” or as “magical tradition”. However, it might refer to some kind of Tantric practice in and around the court.
930 Maiyūr: an ancient town in South India. The localization of this place is impossible, however, it is important to mention that the chiefs of this village/town were strongly connected to the Irumporai branch of the Cēras both by marriage and service in public life. Marr 1985 [1958]: 299.
931 catuṛkappūṭai: “demons having their abode at the junction of four roads.” Tamil Lexicon, 1258. Cf. Cilappatikāram, III. 28: 147–148: catuṛkappūṭai vēṭciyul tantu. Is that a cult similar to the bhūtakōḷa which is still alive in northern Kerala and Karnataka?
932 The sāntī rite was quite a complex ritual performed in the interest of the appeasement of all the transcendental beings.
and flawless, straight [royal-]staff which protected the living beings, (16)
Peruṅkunṟūr Kiḻar\textsuperscript{933} sang [these] ten songs. (18)

These [ten songs] are: Lustre-emitting golden bars, Elephants which were trained for actions, The multitude of many shields, Elephants trained for work, The tall mountains which are seen from the country, The large hands with severe strength, The red flood with white surface, The stone-vomiting catapult, Tresses that do not dry, The strong large hands, [and this as] the panegyric of these ten.

Having sung, the [following] gifts [had been] obtained: that king himself sent him away [giving him] protective valour, [after that king] distributed [a lot], so that the wealth of many hundred thousand [articles?] and the precious jewels, [both] impossible to count, have been arranged well, [after that king] spread [the wealth], so that beauty and joy started to be proliferated, [after that king] created [for him] a village and a mansion without his knowing, so that [his] prosperity abounded; [after that king] gave thirty-two-thousand kāṇam-coins, because of [his] happiness, saying “Take it!”, so that those who did not have confusion had become confused.

Kuṭakkō Iḷaṅcēral Irumpoṟai sat sixteen years majestically [on the throne].

\textbf{Thus ending the Ninth Decade.}
\textit{onpatām pattu muṟṟirru.}

\textbf{The Tenth Decade}
\textit{(pattām pattu)}
lost (kiṭaikkavillai)

\textbf{Thus ending the Patiruppattu.}
\textit{patiruppattu muṟṟirru.}

\textsuperscript{933} Peruṅkunṟūr Kiḻar was a well-known poet of the ancient South India. For the list of his poems, see: \textit{Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index}, 597.
Stray songs (tirattu) of the Patirruppattu

1.934

irum kaṇ yāṇaiyot’ arum kalam tuṟuttu+
pañintu vaḷi-moḷital allatu pakaivar
vaṇaṅkār ātal yāvāṭō-maṛē
urum uṭaṅru cilaitṭaiṅ vicump’ atirt’-āṅku+
kaṇ+ atirpu muḷaṅkum kaṭum kural muracamoṭu
kāḷ kiḷarnt’-aṅṇa ūrti+ kāḷ muḷai
~eri nikaṅt’-aṅṇa nirai ~arum cīṟṭattu
naḷi ~irum parappi mā+ kaṭal muṇṇi
nīr tuṇaint’-aṅṇa celavin

What of being enemies who do not bow down for you, (2d–3, 10d)
instead of humbly praising you (2a–c)
after [they] stacked precious rare jewels together with elephants with big eyes [in front of you]? (1)
You of the army that rolled like waves on the lands, (10a–c)
whose march [was] as if water was rushing, (9)
after you approached the great sea with a vast dark surface,935 (8)
which [has] difficult[-to-stop] anger blazing like the fire (7)
which rises with the wind, [you of] the chariot that was rising like the wind (6)
together with the muracam-drum of a fierce tone that was sounding, having beaten [its] eye, (5)
trembling like the sky roaring angrily with thunder. (4)

934 Purattiraṭṭu, Poruṭ pāl, 111: 1260. The first three lines of this poem were mentioned by Nacciṅārkkiṅiyar in his commentaries on Tolkāppiyam Porulakāram, cū. 63 (Parattuṅaiyīyal 6), claiming that this was of the Patirruppattu. Pavāṅnattam Pīḷḷai 1916, 200. The opening phrase „iruṅkan ṣāṅai” was quoted by Nacciṅārkkiṅiyar in his commentaries on Cīvakacintāmaṇi, Nāmakalilampakam, 310.

935 It is a line already found at Patirruppattu, 11: 3.
The eyes desired [to see] (8a–b)  
[your] victorious elephants (kuñcaram)\textsuperscript{937} which rise beating the lands, (2)  
after the rut flowed on [their] tusks with shiny metal rings, (1)  
[your] horses with swift gallop, which resemble as if the wind become visible, (4)  
having worn spreading mane extended like the fire, (3)  
[horses] of an appearance that resemble statues (viṇai) [from] flesh, (6a–c)  
which forcefully run, having entangled the battalions in the frontline of the king, (5)  
[your] beautiful long/tall chariot with waterfall-like lines [banners], (7)  
\begin{quote}
\textit{after it had greatly arisen}. (6d)
\end{quote}

After the desires of [their] hearts failed,\textsuperscript{938} (14a–b)  
in the protected country with difficult-[to-conquer] forts on the elevated places, (13)  
[forts] with deep moats [and] protective enclosures, (12)  
with rows of ramparts [and] long/tall walls, (11)  
when the \textit{valampuri}-conch was sounding together with the bugle’s resonating sound, (10)  
while the hastily rising great directions growled excitedly, (9)

\textsuperscript{936} This poem was quoted by Nacciärkkiyiar without further references in his commentaries on \textit{Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram} cù. 67 (Pāṟattinaṉiyāl 12). Pavānantam Pillai 1916, 213. That this was a poem of the \textit{Patiṟṟupattu}, we learn from the commentaries on \textit{Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram} cù. 80 (Pāṟattinaṉiyāl 25). Pavānantam Pillai 1916, 297.

\textsuperscript{937} The word \textit{kuñcaram} (< Skt. kuṉjara) is not attested in the decade poems, only once in the IV. \textit{patikam} 10.

\textsuperscript{938} Here I analysed quite a few subject changing absolutives (\textit{alintu, orii, taḷarpū, urṟu}).
after the eye of the *muracam*-drum was touched [by the drumsticks], (8c–d)
after [their] state became infirm, after [they] renounced, (14)
the kings who do not agree [with you] tremble, (15)
when here, the long march [of your army] is indeed good. (16)
She knows those who resemble her, (3) [but] she is not someone who resembles me, (2) even if [she has] the nature of the excellent women who are fit to be honored. (1)

939 This three-liner āciriyappā poem (or the last three lines of a longer one) was quoted by Nacciğerkiŋiyor in his commentaries on Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram cū. 180 (Kappiyal 39).
As being someone who have seen [you], I have came, o great man, for the sake of going (1) to your military camp with impregnable boundaries, (10) [where] rutting elephants are trumpeting, (9) after [they] kicked by foot [their] mighty strong posts, (8) while the hostile position of the not-retreating strong warriors was dwindling (7) together with [their] victorious cruel armies which stayed in various lands, (6) o you of the strength which cannot be agitated by hostile severity, (5) who are someone who does not shrink [himself in the cold], who do not say [that is] rain, [but only] dew, (4) [you] with a throne that abounds in smiles, [throne] that gives good jewels, (3) after elephant bulls [and] proud horses were given [as gifts] together with chariots. (2)
The victory that was failed. (1)

vicayam\textsuperscript{942} tappiya

\textsuperscript{941} This phrase of a missing \textit{Patiṟṟappattu} song was quoted by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar in his commentaries on \textit{Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram} cū. 75. Pavānantam Pillai 1916, 251.

\textsuperscript{942} The word \textit{vicayam} (< Skt. \textit{vijaya}) is a rare one in the Caṅkam corpus, see: \textit{vicaya in Puṟanāṉgūru}, 362: 5; \textit{vicayam in Perumpāṉṟṟuppatai}, 261; \textit{Maturakkāṇci}, 625; \textit{Mullaippāṭṭu}, 91.
The political geography of the early Cēra kingdom

The legitimate kingdom

The political nature of the early Cēra state

The primary task of this chapter is to determine, whether the reign of the early Cēras can be defined as a monarchy or as a tribal chiefdom. To decide this question is the most important key to the reconstruction of early Cēra economy, since a moderately strong chief, or a king in strong control of his vassals, treats economy differently. Therefore, in the following pages an attempt is made to introduce the state of the Cēras, one among the Tamil dynasties; however, a more comprehensive study including the Cōḷas and the Pāṇṭiyas also has to be done in the future.

Gurukkal outlined in many of his works that the ancient Tamil rulers were in fact tribal chieftains. The following crucial factors were identified by Gurukkal that would exclude the Tamil rulers from the circle of monarchs: (1.) the lack of government in a developed (North Indian) sense; (2.) the lack of the adequate stratified relations of the society; (3.) the lack of a proper territorial sense; (4.) the unsatisfying role of agriculture in the economy during the continuous predatory warfare; (5.) the lack of semblance of taxation; (6.) the lack of the major role of trade in the economy, as chieftains mostly dealt with prestige goods; (7.) the lack of evidence that the chieftains had interest in the protection of trade and trade routes.

If we examine the early Cēra state (1.) in the long durée of the Indo-Roman trade when the Patiṟṟuppattu was possibly composed (around 1st–4th centuries AD), we can conclude that the Cēra state already seemed to show a hybrid nature which meant, on the one hand, Tamil literary life, culture, and identity, but on the other hand profound North Indian influences together with dominant political theories from the North. At this point, it is important to emphasise that the Cēra ruler and his ancestors were familiar with the concept of the wheel of virtues (araṃ teri tikiri, Skt. dharmacakra) which was one of the most important attribute of a sovereign monarch in ancient India. It is clear from the Patiṟṟuppattu’s encomia that early Cēra rulers used the dharmacakra as a royal symbol and they established the araṃdharma (?) all over their country, while following śāstric teachings in order to rule

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943 I mainly followed the points collected by Subbarayalu from Gurukkal’s works. Subbarayalu 2014, 53.
944 Gonda 1957, 144–149.
946 Patiṟṟuppattu, 59 16; 85: 9.
the country well.\textsuperscript{947} It seems that the Goddess of Fortune, Tiru/Śrī resided on the chest of the Cēra rulers.\textsuperscript{948} In the North Indian (and later South Indian) traditions, it is well known that there were close relations between kingship/dominion (\textit{kṣatra}) and welfare/fortune (\textit{śrī}). Śrī as a goddess is not just believed to select a mighty king as her husband, but also described as one who resides in the monarch and on the king’s chest.\textsuperscript{949} It is believed that the Cēras have gained superiority when they overcame seven kingdoms (\textit{cēru aracarai veγrū}) so that they also wore the seven crowns of those kings on their chests.\textsuperscript{950} The Cēras also had a royal chaplain (\textit{purōcu < Skt. purohita}) in the court, who conducted the main sacrifices for the favour of the king and served as an intimate advisor, which in fact shows another important northern influence.\textsuperscript{951} The appearance of \textit{purohit\text{ā}s} is not surprising, since the Cēras are well-known about sheltering seers (\textit{pārppār}) and gracious men (\textit{antaṇār}) in their country, who both were brāhmaṇical groups in the \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}.\textsuperscript{952} The Cēras, or at least one of their kings, seem to have followed the ancient practice well-attested in North Indian texts, when the old king goes to the forest together with his chaplain to resign from political duties; however, this story appears only in one of the probably later \textit{patikams}.\textsuperscript{953} In the Cēra country, we find established places of worship for Viṣṇu and for other deities. The Cēras ordered/conducted Vedic rituals (\textit{pali < Skt. bali; āvuti < Skt. āhuṭi; cānti < Skt. śānti})\textsuperscript{954} and regularly made pilgrimages to sacred places of their country. They also had fortified towns and courts with councils (\textit{araṭc’-avaī}) with learned people around,\textsuperscript{955} where the king held daily courts (\textit{nāl makiṭ}) in

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
  \item For example, see \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 21: 1–4; 22: 1–5. The enumeration in \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 21: 1 is very fascinating. Here we see a quasi-\textit{specula principum} or \textit{Fürstenspiegel}-like context, which conducts the king how to reign. It is possible to reconstruct one secular and at least one another religious list. The secular one could be: (1.) speech, (2.) fame, (3.) inspection, (4.) audience, (5.) intelligence/valour/conscience. The religious one could be: (1.) praises (\textit{cf. col-māla}), (2.) names (\textit{cf. sahasranāma}), (3.) sight (\textit{cf. darśana}), (4.) śrutī-kēlvī, (5.) mind/heart/meditation (\textit{cf. vijīṭāna}). We can draw up another list of \textit{vedāṅgas} following the old commentary of \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}. (1.) treatise on words (phonology), (2.) treatise on meanings (morphology), (3.) astrology/astronomy, (4.) Vedas, (5.) controlled heart/mind. However, all of these seem to be inspired by the śāstric rājadharma.

  \item \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 16: 17; 31: 7; 40: 13.

  \item Gonda 1956, 131.

  \item See the old commentary on \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 14: 11. The possession of seven crowns seems to be a formulaic pattern, \textit{cf. Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 40: 13; and a quasi-formulaic usage in 45: 6. Another hypothesis would be to understand those ‘crowns’ as the seven “treasures” (\textit{ratnāni}) of the king (chariot, elephant, horse, a jewel, [best] wife, [best] minister and [best] adviser) as a northern Indian borrowing, Gonda 1956, 145.

  \item Their appearance is clear from the somewhat later \textit{patikams}, the summarizing panegyric of the decade poems, but we find at least one another reference in the decade poems (\textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 74: 24), where the “old man with grey hair who helps to conduct” (\textit{olūkkum narai mūṭ’ āḷaḍ}) was no doubt a chaplain, which was anyway the suggestion of the old commentary glossing \textit{purōkitaṭ}.

  \item For \textit{pāṛppār}, read \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, VI. 4; 63: 1; for \textit{antaṇār}, read \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 24: 8; 64: 5.

  \item \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, III. 10. The ancient practice when a king resigned from politics around the end of his life and left for the forest to follow a reclusive lifestyle can be found, among others, in the \textit{Mānavadharmasāstra VI. 2}.

  \item \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 17: 6; 21: 7; 13; IX. 15.

  \item \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, III. 8. 88: 11; 90: 19.

  \item \textit{Paṭiṛṛuppattu}, 85: 9.
\end{itemize}}
order to meet his subjects.957 Turning back to the question of regalia, we also see the royal drum, totemistic tree, flag, bow as dynastic symbol, garland, royal-staff, chariot, elephant, horse, crown/chaplet, and parasol, which insignia show a complex system of symbols of royal power.958 What is more, ancient Greek authors name the Cēra country a ‘kingdom’ (βασιλεία).959 Thus we find a well-established monarchy of the Cēras in the centuries of Indo-Roman trade. This monarchy was characterized by Tamil culture and the embeddedness in the brāhmaṇical/śāstric religio-political context.960

Regarding the question of the stratified society (2.) with hierarchy of clan relations, we know three prominent groups, the vēntar/aracar/kōṅ, the māṇṇaṅ, and the vēḷ ruling over the different landscapes of Tamil countries (Tāmilakam). From these ancient terms, vēntar/aracar meant to represent the highest level of political power (usually translated as ‘king’, or ‘crowned king’). We know only three Tamil dynasties of the category vēntar, the Cēras, the Cōḷas, and the Pāṇṭiyas. The term māṇṇaṅ is considered either as a synonym of vēntar, but also meant a ‘chief’, ‘chieftain’, or ‘ruler’ (cf. kūṟunila-māṇṇaṅ). The term vēḷ signified de facto a ‘chieftain’ ruling over a chieftdom, but also a ‘brave chief’ where the term vēḷ served as a mere heroic title. While the vēntar were traditionally the overlords of the Tamil South,961 other chiefs were independent friends, disobedient rivals, or subjugated chiefs with a quasi feudal dependence. Even the grammarly (ilakkaṅam) sister-tradition of ancient literature (ilakkiyam), the Tolkāppiyam recorded differences between kings (aracar) and chiefs (ēṅgōr), one of which was the possession of elephants discussed later, if we accept the interpretation of Pērāciriyar, the mediaeval commentator of that work.962

We have literary evidence that the early Cēras had a sense of borders (3.) in their kingdom. Such evidences are the poems which refers to a punitive naval expedition against the people of the totemistic kaṭampu-tree living in the islands north from the Malabar Coast, who were either pirates, or privateers of another chief/king, which shows a decisive action against the violation of the territory and of the Cēra economic interests.963 We can extract evidences from the direction of Cēra military campaigns, and from their titles in which the

957 Patiṟṟuppattu, 38: 9; 65: 13; 85: 8.
958 Cf. Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Marapiyal, 72. cū. 616.
960 Gurukkal recognized this (Gurukkal 2016: 275), though I do not think he attaches enough importance to it, while he confuses things that only the mediaeval commentator suggests but are not explicitly included in the ancient texts, e.g., “… the Cēras are praised as … devotees of Korravai, the war goddess, and worshippers of Murukan (Karthikeya). However, unlike the case of the other two of the muventar, the poems equate the Cēras with the Vedic gods such as Śūrya, Agni, Marut, …”. Gurukkal 2016, 274.
962 Vacek 2013, 331.
963 Akanāṅgūru, 127: 3–9; Patiṟṟuppattu, 12: 3; 17: 5; 20: 4; 88: 6; IV. 6
conquered lands/folks appear, together with other titles that refer to their homeland: “The king of the westerners”; “Bull of the kuṭṭuvar”; “Fighter of the people in Marantai”; “King of the koṅkar”; “King of the pūḷiyar”, etc.\footnote{For the enumerated titles, see: Patīṟṟuppattu, 55: 9; V. 2; 90: 26; 90: 28; 22: 15–16; 88: 19; 90: 25; 21: 23; 73: 9; 84: 6; 90: 27.}

With regard to agriculture (4.), it should be emphasised that the early Cēra rulers were strongly committed to the growth and prosperity of their lands, and also to re-create harmony and fertility in their enemies’ lands which had been destroyed to the dust by them. In the Patīṟṟuppattu, we see references to sluices and water-tanks;\footnote{Patīṟṟuppattu, 13: 8; 27: 9; 30: 17} agricultural workers sowing on the lowlands;\footnote{Patīṟṟuppattu, 58: 15.} reapers with bending sickles;\footnote{Patīṟṟuppattu, 19: 22.} ploughmen, fertile fields and irrigated furrows,\footnote{Patīṟṟuppattu, 43: 16; 58: 17; 76: 11.} etc. Thus, while the king time to time marched against the land of the disobedient, the homeland of the Cēras appears to have been engaged in continuous agricultural production including the need to feed the army. It is indeed fascinating, how Muciṟi/Muziris, but also the Cēra kingdom, was able to make year by year thousands of tons of products, and, agreeing with De Romanis, this certainly would not have been possible without the existence of a “complex local economic system”.\footnote{De Romanis 2020, 115–116.} During the centuries of the Indo-Roman trade, dozens of Roman merchant ships, which had cargo capacity between 75–500 tons, arrived to the shores of Southwestern India perhaps every single year,\footnote{McLaughlin 2010, 36.} which was not just a magnificent attraction for the locals, but a busy period when they only had a few months to fill the ships and carry out transactions. No doubt, it could not have worked out without the active participation of the locals and their trading channels in any way.

*Taxation of the early Cēras (5.) is a problematic issue. Because of the scarcity of the primary sources, we are far from being able to reconstruct this early episode of economic history. From other texts of the Caṅkam corpus, we know that taxation (vāri, iṟai) existed at least around the last centuries when Caṅkam works were written.\footnote{On taxes, Puranāṅgāra, 330: 5; 75: 4; on tax collectors, Paṭṭippāḷai, 116–125. For an informative introduction of the topic, see Subrahmanian 1966, 198–203.} What we see during the reign of the Cēras is that perhaps the army or a troop of soldiers had the duty to collect taxes (vant’ iṟai koṇṭanṟu tāṅai).\footnote{I understand here iṟai (n.) as ‘tax’ derivable from iṟu-ṭtal 11. v. tr. ‘to pay (as a tax, a debt)’. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 521. Patīṟṟuppattu, 40: 6.} The ‘epilogue’ of the V. patikam, which was composed possibly later by someone who edited the anthology, records the gifts given to the poet: “having sung, the [following] gifts had been obtained: that king gave Umparkātu with [its incoming] taxes (vāri) and [also] his [own] son Kuṭṭuvan Cēral [as an intendant].” Although we have only a
few and uncertain references to taxation, the *Patiṟṟuppattu* contains several other passages, where regular tributes (*tiṟai, koṇṭi*) are humbly given to the Čēra kings by other rulers.\(^{973}\) The terms *tiṟai* and *koṇṭi*, however, are difficult to differentiate; according to the *Tamil Lexicon* both are a synonym of *kappam* ‘tribute, as paid by an inferior prince to his suzerain’.\(^{974}\) Therefore, we must conclude that even in the very formulaic Tamil heroic poetry, we can find an example of some level of organized taxation.

The last two questions to clarify are *the role of trade in the economy* (6.) and the *protection of trade* (7.). Among these, I will answer the first question only later in this chapter. Regarding the *protection of trade*, I have already mentioned that the Čēras ensured to maintain their economic interests by punishing those who committed territorial violation or robbery against their ports. This, together with the fact that the royal capitals, the bigger towns and the multicultural ports were often fortified and protected by warriors, as we shall see in the case of the fortified Muciri/Muziris, means that the Čēras sought to protect the people of their kingdom and thus also the merchants from the potential dangers. However, traders killed on dangerous roads of the wasteland (*pālai*) was a popular *topos* in Čaṅkam literature, and at some time of South Indian history it was surely a cruel reality of everyday life. In the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, the king appears more than twenty times as the protector of the kingdom, of living beings, of his friends, and of poets, which titles show that the Čēra kings intended to provide safety and maintain prosperity in those parts of the monarchy where peace had already become permanent. I agree with De Romanis, when he talks about the importance of the several hundreds of elephants of the Čēras, which made them able to control the hinterland of ports and to harvest hundreds of kilograms of ivory tusk fragments; anyway to possess an elephant contingent, as the *Arthaśāstra* (II. 2. 13) states, was an effective means of victory.\(^{975}\) However, for similar reasons horses, which were sometimes imported via sea routes (*Paṭṭinappālai* 185), had also pivotal role in battles and also emphasised the authority of the kings/chieftains, but the possession of horses is perhaps less apt to distinguish a king from a tribal chief.

**The legitimate king and his dynasty**

In the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, we are already able to prove a well-established order of succession of the Čēra rulers. In this system, which we can define as primogeniture, the most important roles go to the father, the old or already demised king and to the first or the oldest

\(^{973}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 17: 3; 57: 15; 59: 12; 63: 9; 80: 10.

\(^{974}\) *koṇṭi*: *Tamil Lexicon*, 1143; *tiṟai*: *Tamil Lexicon*, 1931; *kappam*: 720.

\(^{975}\) De Romanis 2020, 119; 221.
son of the king, who inherits the throne.  

Although some scholars tried to reconstruct a system of matrilineal succession in the case of the early Cēras, it cannot be proved from the sources while the Tolkāppiyam makes it clear that the word tāyam, which is used also in the Patiruppattu to describe the royal lineage and the succession of the Cēras, means “things that are inherited by sons as father’s property” according to Naccinārkkiniyarr. All the patikams of the Patiruppattu begin with the mention of the father and the mother of the particular king, however, while the fathers are referred to by their names, the mothers are mostly referred to by the names of their fathers or by some sort of strange, dynastic names which we cannot confidently identify as proper female names. On the other hand, it is possible that names like Nalliṉi, Maṇakiḷḷi, Patumaṉ, and Antuvaṉ Ceḷḷai were the real names of the queens. These queens are referred as tēvi (Skt. < devī) or peruntēvi in the poems, which shows again a northern Indian influence in the life of the dynasty (and/or in the poet’s use of words). The question arises whether the kings were supposed to live in monogamy or polygamy. We have references throughout the Patiruppattu which suggest that the king had more than one wife (makaḷir, arivaiyar). However, each king certainly had a favourite wife who was immortalized in the poems as a unique and quasi celestial consort, whose beauty, nature, and fidelity outranked the deities. While wives were expected to be faithful, the king often had fun in the company of courtesans, mostly in the military camp. Turning back to the question of the connection between the dynasty and the royal consorts, we see that the kings forged ties through dynastic marriages. The dynastic names of the queens such as Veḻiyaṉ Vēṇmāl, Vēḷāvi Kōmāṉ, Cōḷaṉ, Maiyūr Kiḻāaṉ Vēṇmāl, suggest that the kings married women who came from the tribe of Veḻiyaṉ, from the tribe of Āvi (living around Āvinaṅkuṭi, today’s Paḷaṇi, Tamil Nadu), from the royal dynasty of the Cōḷas, and from the tribe of Maiyūr Kiḻāaṉ. Although we cannot identify all the areas connected to these names, we may at least conclude that the Cēras were interested to make alliances in central South India, which primarily harmed the interests of the Pāṇṭiyas and the Cōḷas, however, these relationships, proved to be very fragile, as we have seen in the V. patikam of Paraṉar, in which nine heirs of the Cōḷa family fell at Vāyil against the Cēraṉ, or the IX. patikam of Perunkuṅṟūr Kiḷār, in which the Great Cōḷa of Potti was defeated by the Cēraṉ. Anyway, the king had friends with whom they could count on each other. One example is the chief

976 Subrahmanian 1966, 48.
977 Patiruppattu, 44: 20.
981 Patiruppattu, 16: 18; 50: 18.
982 Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 94.
984 Patiruppattu, IX. 6, 8.
called Arukai, the enemy of Mōkūr, to whom the Cēra king rushed to help when he was in trouble, and defeated Mōkūr in revenge. This might show that the Cēra kings tried to maintain the balance of power in and around their kingdom through their diplomatic, dynastic relationships which makes it likely that the rājamaṇḍala ("circle of kingdoms") theory could have been existed in the Cēra political thinking.

Where the Cēras came from? V. Kanakasabhai derives the Cēras from a tribe called vāṉavar "celestials" who "were evidently natives of a mountainous region in the north of Bengal", what is more, according to him “[t]he Chera Kings belonged to this tribe and called themselves Vanavar or Celestials”. This far-fetched theory cannot be verified by ancient sources, but we can prove that the word vāṉavar in the Caṅkam sources connected to the Cēras meant either ‘deities’ (perhaps living in the Himalaya region) rather than a mountain tribe of Bengal, or, when it referred to the Cēras, ‘kings’ ruling over the ‘high land’ (Mēlnāṭu, Malaināṭu). In fact, we do not have any evidence regarding the origin of the Cēra dynasty. Because of their self-designation as villavar ‘bowmen’, ‘hunters’, we might think that they were strongly connected to archery, which is confirmed by their dynastic symbol, the bow. They were also known as Kuṭṭavar or Kuṭṭuvar, names which are connected to western South India and the region called Kuṭṭanāṭu rich in lakes. They were also rulers of a mountainous country, therefore they are known as Poraiyar and Malaiyar. We do not exactly know, where the name Cēra/Cēral or the Sanskrit Kerala come from. Some scholars thought that it has to be connected to an Egyptian etymology (‘Seru’ would mean ‘a prince’), while others think that “Chēralam means mountain range and so is equivalent to Malabar”. This meaning was mentioned by Balasubramanian too, however, neither the Tamil Lexicon and the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary nor the Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti lexicalized the word as ‘mountain’. Others like Dorai Rangaswamy mention the possibility that the Cēra name is derivable from cērppu ‘seashore’. The truth is that we do not know what the dynastic name Cēra refers to. Thiagarajah adds to this that “[s]ince the word Kerala is first mentioned in Aśoka inscriptions, Burrow is of the opinion that when the Āryans first came into contact with the three Tamil kingdoms, the name was still realised with an initial velar plosive and that the change to palatal Ceral [sic!] must have taken place between this period and the period

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985 Patiruppattu, 44: 10–16.
987 Kanakasabhai 1904, 48.
988 Subrahmanian 1966, 41.
989 Subrahmanian 1966, 41.
990 Subrahmanian 1966, 42.
991 Subrahmanian 1966, 42.
992 Balasubramanian 1980, 4.
993 Rangaswamy 1968, 110.
represented in early Tamil literature". One may think that the name derives from the Old Malayalam word kēram ‘coconut palm’, but as Gundert states, that name came from the name of the Malabar (kēra/cēra) which can certainly be connected to the name of the Cēra dynasty, or another possibility that the word kēram is a short form of the Sanskrit nālikera ‘coconut tree’. Be that as it may, we find the dynasty first mentioned as Keralaputra (Skt. “son of Kerala”), which can be found on the II. Ashokan Rock Edict of Mānsehrā (3rd c. BC), but also on other Ashokan inscriptions as Ketalaputo (II. Rock Edict of Girnār), Kelalaputo (II. Rock Edict of Kālsī), or Keraḍaputro (II. Rock Edict of Shāhbāzgarhī). After that, we meet with the names Cēral, Cēramāṉ and Cēra in the Caṅkam texts and colophons from around the 1st century AD onwards. It is possible that the Cēras reached the Malabar Coast through conquest, but the first decade of the Patiruppattu, which would probably serve as an answer to this, has been lost. Unfortunately we do not have sources of convincing quantity and quality about the transition period when the Cēra state developed from a chiefdom into a kingdom, so for the time being, leaving the assumptions behind, I leave this question open.

In the Cēra texts, we find names of ten kings which are identifiable with the heroes of the Patiruppattu and ten names of Cēra kings which are or are not identical with them. The first group of kings consist the following names:

1. Utiyañcēral (hero of the lost I. decade?)
   = Cēramāṉ Peruṉcoṟ’ Utiya Cēralāta (Puranāṅgūru, 2, colophon; Akanāṅgūru, 168; 233);
2. Imaiyavarampaṉ Neṭucēralāṭa (hero of the II. decade)
   = Kuṭākkō Neṭuṅcēralāṭa (Puranāṅgūru, 62, colophon; 63, colophon; 368, colophon) – son of Utiyañcēral, born from Nallinī, ruled for 58 years;
3. Palyāṅaiccelkelu Kuṭṭuvan (hero of the III. decade)
   – son of Utiyañcēral, younger brother of Neṭuṅcēralāṭa, born from Nallinī, ruled for 20 years;
4. Kaḷāṅkāykkāṉi Nārumṭi Cēral (hero of the IV. decade)
   – son of Neṭuṅcēralāṭa, born from Veḷāvi Kōmāṉ Patumaṉ Tēvi, ruled for 20 years;
5. Ceṅkuṭṭuvan (hero of the V. decade)
   = Kaṭalōṭṭiya Velkelu Kuṭṭuvan (Puranāṅgūru, 369, colophon) – son of Neṭuṅcēralāṭa, born from Cōḷaṇ Maṉakili, ruled for 50 years [+ Kuṭṭuvan Cēral (V. decade, patikam), intendant of Umparkāṭu – son of Ceṅkuṭṭuvan];
6. Āṭukōṭpāṭu Cēralāta (hero of the VI. decade)

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994 Thiagarajah 1963, X.
995 A Malayalam and English Dictionary, 294.
996 Hultzsch 1925, 2–3; 28–29; 51–52; 72.
– son of Neṭuṇcēralaṭaṇ, born from Vēḷ Āvi Kōmāṇ Tēvi, ruled for 30 years;

7. Antuvaṇ (hero of the lost VII. decade?)998
   = Antuvaṇcēral Irumporai (PuranāṆūṟu, 13, colophon);

8. Celvakkaṭunḵō Vāliyāṭaṇ (hero of the VII. decade)
   = Celvakkaṭunḵō Vāliyāṭaṇ (PuranāṆūṟu, 14, colophon); = Kaṭunḵō Vāliyāṭaṇ (PuranāṆūṟu, 8, colophon) = Cikkarpallīttunćiya Celvakkaṭunḵō Vāliyāṭaṇ (PuranāṆūṟu, 387, colophon) – son of Antuvaṇ, born from a daughter of Poṟaiyaṇ, ruled for 20 years;

9. Peruṇcēral Irumporai (hero of the VIII. decade)
   = Kuṭuvaṇ Irumporai (VIII. patikam) = Takaṭūr eṟinta Peruṇcēral Irumporai (PuranāṆūṟu, 50, colophon) = same as Kökkōtai Mārpaṇ999 – son of Celvakkaṭunḵō Vāliyāṭaṇ, born from Vēḷ Āvi Kōmāṇ Patumaṇ Tēvi, ruled for 17 years;

10. Iḷaṅcēral Irumporai (hero of the IX. decade)
    = Kuṭakkocciṟal Irumporai (PuranāṆūṟu, 210, colophon; 211, colophon) – son of Peruṇcēral Irumporai, born from Antuvaṇ Cēlḷai, ruled for 16 years.1000

Thus we see that the royal dynasty was probably established by Utiyaṇ who was followed by his son, Neṭuṇcēralaṭaṇ, then his younger brother was the next on the throne who was succeeded by three sons of Neṭuṇcēralaṭaṇ. The reign of Āṭukōptūṭu Cēralaṭaṇ was followed by the rule of the dynastic branch of the Irumporais established by Antuvaṇ which king was followed by his descendants, Celvakkaṭunḵō Vāliyāṭaṇ, Peruṇcēral Irumporai, and Iḷaṅcēral Irumporai. Sivaraja Pillai made an attempt to reconstruct the chronology of the early Tamils, thus the chronology of the early Cēras.1001 As we have seen that our basic chronological milestones rather waver than stand firmly, we cannot consider his calculations correct, although he discovered serious synchronicities and his ideas certainly overlaps with reality.

What seems to be sure from the available evidences, that these kings were ruling over the Cēra kingdom from around the beginning of the 1st century AD to the first half of the 3rd century AD. If the reigning years of the Patiruppatu’s epilogues are real, then in the case of the very long ruling periods (e.g. see Neṭuṇcēralaṭaṇ and his sons), we have to take into account that the kingdom was divided and the power was sometimes exercised by contemporary kings simultaneously. The other names found in the PuranāṆūṟu, which can be connected to the Cēras are:

a. Oḷvāṭkōpperuṇcēral (PuranāṆūṟu, 5, colophon);
   b. Pāḷai pāṭiya Peruṇkaṭunkō (PuranāṆūṟu, 11, colophon);

1000 For a family tree of the Cēras, see: Marr 1985 [1958]; 276.
1001 Pillai 1932; for the Cēra genealogy, see.: Table III.
c. Yañaiıkătēr Māntaraṅcēral Irumpōrāi (*Pūranāṅgūru*, 17, colophon; 20, colophon; 22; 53, colophon; 229, colophon);

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<th>Key</th>
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<td>d.</td>
<td>Kōkkōtai Mārpān (48 + colophon; 49 + colophon)</td>
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<td>e.</td>
<td>Kūṭṭuvan Kōtai (<em>Pūranāṅgūru</em>, 54, colophon)</td>
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<td>f.</td>
<td>Peruṅcēralātaṇ (<em>Pūranāṅgūru</em>, 65, colophon)</td>
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<td>g.</td>
<td>Kaṅaikaṭūl Irumpōrāi (<em>Pūranāṅgūru</em>, 74, colophon)</td>
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<td>h.</td>
<td>Kōṭṭampalattutuṇciya Mākkōtai (<em>Pūranāṅgūru</em>, 245, colophon)</td>
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<td>i.</td>
<td>Mārívaṅkō/Māvaṅkō (<em>Pūranāṅgūru</em>, 367, colophon)</td>
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<td>j.</td>
<td>Cēramān Vaṅcaṇ (<em>Pūranāṅgūru</em>, 398, colophon)</td>
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We must take into account that some of these kings might be identical with the ones found in the first list. I have previously concluded that the *Patiṟṟuppattu* as a Cēra anthology was most probably collected, supplemented and edited at the time of the last Irumpōrāi ruler of the anthology, therefore it is possible that in this second list we see kings who preceded or succeeded the kings of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. One day numismatic findings and inscriptions might be able to help identify these rulers.

The first among the kings of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* is Utiyān or Utiyaṅcēral who appears only in the II. *patikam* and in some poems of the *Pūranāṅgūru* and the *Akanāṅgūru*. His kitchen became symbolic as far as he supposed to be the one who fed ritually his demised warriors and also the armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas during the *Mahābhārata’s* battle. Latter appears only in the *Pūranāṅgūru* 2, which was perhaps the idea of the poet who tried to trace the ancient origins of the Cēra dynasty back to the time of the *Mahābhārata* and with that connect the Cēras to the legendary kings of India, however, agreeing with Marr, we cannot take this hyperbole seriously. Anyway, some similarities found in the *Pūranāṅgūru* 2 suggests that either Kumaṭṭūr Kaṅṇaṅnār was familiar with that poem, or, and I think it is rather possible, Muraṅcīyūr Muṭṭināṅkanār was already familiar with the first decade of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*.

Let us have a look at the regalia of Cēra kings attested in the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. The *Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Marapiyal* contains a *cūttiram* from which we can form an image of what regalia the kings supposed to have. The kings with righteous royal-staffs (*ceṅkōl aracar*) possess: army/weapon (*paṭṭaṅ*), flag (*koṭī*), umbrella (*kuṭṭai*), royal-drum (*muruccaṅ*), horse (*puravi*), elephant bull (*kalīṟu*), chariot (*tēṟ*), garland (*tāṟ*), crown (*muṭṭi*). *Iḻampūṟaṅnar* adds to this the chain (*āram*) and the anklet (*kaḷal*), while Pēṟāciriyar mentions the additional

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1002 For a brief overview of these attestations, read: Marr 1985 [1958], 155–181.
1003 *Pūranāṅgūru*, 2, colophon; *Akanāṅgūru*, 168; 233.
1005 Marr 1985 [1958]: 158.
yak-tail fan (kavari), throne (ariyaṇai), and fortification (āram). Analysing these items in the light of the Patiruppattu, we can conclude that, except the kavari and Iḷampūṟuṇar’s āram, the Cēra king possessed all of the above mentioned insignia which are very much emphasized in the poems.

As Subrahmanian outlines “the banner or the flag has been a universal feature in royal paraphernalia at all times” and Cēra kings are no exception. We see their flags swaying in many of the Patiruppattu poems. We read about the banners of the old town near the market, the bright flags which sways like waterfalls, the flags on the chariots, the flags on the storied houses of the streets, flags on the top of the elephant bulls, flags swaying in the frontline, flags on the fortresses. The Cēra symbol, which was painted on the banners, was the bow (vil) which perhaps reflects that the Cēra kings were once hunter chiefs of mountainous areas. We learn from Caṅkam poems that the Cēras went on a pilgrimage to the Himalaya (or to an unidentified northern mountain tall enough to be called ‘Himalaya’ in the legend), where the king imprinted their dynastic bow sign on the rocks. This act meant for the protection of the dynasty as we learn from the Puṟanāṉūṟu 39 in which one reads ēman vil.

The royal parasol (kuṭai) is attested in a few poems of the Patiruppattu. As for the Cēra kings, we find one direct reference in Patiruppattu 17: 12, and a few indirect and uncertain ones in which the king is referred as having a shade that covers him (pōr nilal “covering shade”). The translation of pōr nilal as “shade of war/battle” seems to be more logical, however, it is a weird image hard to interpret, unless the “shade of war” is equal to the smoke of burning and the dust of marching. I found it rather possible that it refers to the shade

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1006 Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Marapiyal, cū. 616. Sundramathy–Manuel 2010, 585. Subrahmanian cites the Cittānami-niṅṟuṭtu which contains a list of 21 elements, however, we do not consider this as a useful source for our historical reconstruction. Subrahmanian 1966, 75.

1007 Subrahmanian 1966, 84.

1008 Patiruppattu, 15: 19.

1009 Patiruppattu, 25: 11.


1011 Patiruppattu, 47: 3–4.

1012 Patiruppattu, 52: 1; 69: 1–2; 88: 17.

1013 Patiruppattu, 82: 8.

1014 Patiruppattu, 84: 8.

1015 Subrahmanian 1966, 84.


1018 Patiruppattu, 39: 17; 40: 1.
of the parasol that covers the king, so that the whole image can be interpreted that the retinue which rejoices in that shade\footnote{Patiriṟṟuppattu, 40: 1.} was closely surrounded the king.

[...\(\) o man of the chest with golden jewels, o king of songstresses, [your] white parasol, which touches the sky of greatly vast extent, where fierce wind whirls around after groups of clouds in a big number that glimmer with ambrosia, showered plentifully, [the parasol] whose flawless superiority is desired by the Sun, announces “Let [the young men] come [under] this shade in [this] fertile world of vast area, young men (iyavar) with armlets on [their] arms, who keep [their] drumsticks on the [drums’] eyes, who had [already] explored the great directions (mātiram) without seeing [any] refuge!”\footnote{Patiriṟṟuppattu, 17: 8–14.}

The Cēras also have horses in their armies. It is, however, rather difficult to find references in which we see the unique horse of the monarch. In \textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu} 65: 1–2, we see the galloping good horse of the king with a spreading plume and with red-stained hoofs that struck against the chopped corpses. In the 81\textsuperscript{st} poem (Lines 31–32), the poet asks the king to harness his horse in order to visit his lady after the successful war. Another references to horses in the \textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu} seem to refer to horses in the army rather than to the horse of the king.

We also find references to the royal elephant. In \textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu} 42: 18, the king rode his elephant bull which lifted him up with its tusks to his neck. This elliptical passage might refer to a situation, when the king was watching from the neck of his elephant the oncoming attainment of gifts. In the \textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu} 33: 3, the king tied his elephant bull to the guarded tree (kaṭimaram), which act I will explain later. The last reference on royal elephant leads us to the next among the regalia.

In the \textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu} 79: 12–14, we find the Cēra king sitting on a throne (kaṭṭil) which was fashioned by cutting off the tusks of the enemies’ royal elephant (arac’uvā). We do not know whether the same throne was carried during the campaigns camp to camp, but we see a throne (irukkai ‘seat’) appearing in the military camps.\footnote{\textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu}, 24: 13.} It is also possible that the poems with the throne which moves together with the army, are supposed to refer to the kingdom, while the throne was a metonymy signifying the expanding kingdom. In other poems, we see the Cēra throne, where crowds jubilate,\footnote{\textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu}, 84: 19–20.} the throne which increases the wealth of the king.

\footnotetext{1019}{\textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu}, 40: 1.} \footnotetext{1020}{'araṇam kāṇātu mātiram tuḻaiya/naṉam talaip paim ūlam varuka i niḻal eṇa/hāyiru pukagṟ tītu ūr ciṟappin/pacum pūp māṟpa pāṭiṉi vēnte\textsuperscript{.} \textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu}, 17: 8–14.} \footnotetext{1021}{} \footnotetext{1022}{\textit{Patiriṟṟuppattu}, 24: 13.}
and have limitless visitors,\textsuperscript{1023} the royal seat which distributes horses to the ones who beg,\textsuperscript{1024} and the throne that gives good jewels and therefore surrounded by smiling people.\textsuperscript{1025} It is remarkable that in the epilogue of the VIII. \textit{patikam}, the royal throne (\textit{aracu kaṭṭil}) was gifted to Aricilkilār, the poet, which, even if it was not true, was still a legendary example of selfless donation.

The chariot of the king was also an important royal attribute, which appears in several poems of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu},\textsuperscript{1026} however, we do not really know how it looked like. In the poems, it was firmly made, had flags swaying on the top, was perhaps fashioned with gold or metal plates,\textsuperscript{1027} and was either long or tall (\textit{neṭum}).

The sceptre or royal staff (\textit{kōl}), which supposed to be straight (\textit{ceṅkōl}) when the king was just, and bent (\textit{koṭuṅkōl}) when the king was unjust, is attested only in the \textit{patikams} and the last decade’s penultimate poem.\textsuperscript{1028} According to the IX. \textit{patikam}, the \textit{kōl} was a source of protection for the living beings.

In the case of the crown, we rather see royal chaplets on the Cēra heads in the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, although in the case of Nārmuṭi Cēral, we have a fascinating description of his famous crown.\textsuperscript{1029} Interestingly, the crowns of enemies’ kings appear in the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu},\textsuperscript{1030} while the Cēra crowns did not really deserve mention by the poets.

What is new, however, is the fact that the Cēra rulers and their ancestors were familiar with the concept of the “wheel of virtues” (\textit{aṛam teri tikiri}, cf. Skt. \textit{dharmacakra}) which was one of the most important attribute of a sovereign monarch in ancient India.\textsuperscript{1031} The early Cēra rulers used the \textit{dharmacakra} as a royal symbol and they established the \textit{aṛam} (\textit{dharma}) all over their country,\textsuperscript{1032} while followed śāstric teachings in order to rule the country well.\textsuperscript{1033} I

\textsuperscript{1023} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 75: 7.
\textsuperscript{1024} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 76: 7–8.
\textsuperscript{1025} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu-tirattu}, 4: 3.
\textsuperscript{1027} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 88: 20.
\textsuperscript{1028} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 89: 9; II. 6; III. 2; IX. 16.
\textsuperscript{1029} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 39: 9–17.
\textsuperscript{1031} Gonda 1957, 144–149.
\textsuperscript{1033} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 59 16; 85: 9.
\textsuperscript{1034} For example, see \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 21: 1–4; 22: 1–5. The enumeration in \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 21: 1 is very fascinating. Here we see a quasi-\textit{specula principum} or \textit{Fürstenspiegel}-like context, which conducts the king how to reign. It is possible to reconstruct one secular and at least one another religious list. The secular one could be: (1.) speech, (2.) fame, (3.) inspection, (4.) audience, (5.) intelligence/valour/conscience. The religious one could be: (1.) praises (cf. \textit{col-māla}), (2.) names (cf. \textit{sahasranāma}), (3.) sight (cf. \textit{daṛsana}), (4.) \textit{śruti/kēḷvi}, (5.) mind/heart/meditation (cf. \textit{vijñāna}). We can draw up another list of \textit{vedāṅgas} following the old commentary of \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} (1.) treatise on words (phonology), (2.) treatise on meanings (morphology), (3.) astrology/astronomy, (4.) Vedas, (5.) controlled heart/mind. However, all of these seem to be inspired by the śāstric \textit{rājadharma}. 273
argued in the previous chapter that the political nature of the Cēra state was clearly monarchical and in this early kingdom, brāhmaṇa groups surrounding the king played a major role in politics and religion. They were not only people who influenced the religion of the court, but they must have had important part in strengthening the dynastic legitimacy and its acceptance in the far reaches of the kingdom. Although we have no record of royal initiations or coronations (is the Patiruppattu 74 an example?), it is quite certain that the brāhmaṇas were the ones who ritually consecrated the kings and they paved the way for the king with various Vedic sacrifices. This is confirmed by the appearance of the royal chaplains (purōcu < Skt. purohita) in the texts.\(^{1035}\) We do not see that the Cēra kings depended on the whims of the gods, and apart from certain pilgrimages, it is more the case that the kingdom tried to keep secular matters under control and leave religious matters to the Vedic priests. Champakalakshmi states that “[p]erformance of Vedic sacrifice and patronage to brahmanas were not an intrinsic part of the legitimation process in this period”, but the Patiruppattu introduces the opposite as it marks the beginning of an era when Vedic sacrifices and patronage to brāhmaṇas became a pivotal question of the legitimation process.\(^{1036}\)

The totemistic tree is special among the regalia as far as it is not on the list of Tolkāppiyam, but it really seems to be connected to an ancient Dravidian belief. I have written more about this topic in the chapter dealing with religion, but I also need to emphasize here that all the dynasties including kings, major and minor chieftains had special totemistic trees or plants which were protected by them. It is possible that those plants supposed to protect the lineage, the power of the dynasty, etc., but unfortunately we do not find poems which would underline that. It is, however, quite certain that these trees had a serious yet unexplained connection with the continuity of the dynasty.\(^{1037}\) Regarding the totemistic tree of the Cēras, it was most probably the pañai or pōntai, the Palmyra tree.\(^{1038}\) The same plant served as the main constituent of their royal garlands and chaplets.\(^{1039}\) The Cēras often set the goal of cutting down the totemistic trees of their foes.\(^{1040}\) We see in other poems that to tie the royal elephants to the enemies’ totemistic trees was an often practiced custom in war.\(^{1041}\) This act may refer to the humiliation of the enemies’ totemistic tree (kaṭimaram) as the penultimate or final act of a total victory, but could also refer to the descent of the enemies’ king into vassal status. We learn that the Cēras sometimes cut down the totemistic tree of their foes and made a royal drum (muracu) from its wood. This act can be found in the Patiruppattu and in

\(^{1035}\) For more about the brāhmaṇas in the Cēra kingdom, read: pp. 413–425.

\(^{1036}\) Champakalakshmi 1996, 27.

\(^{1037}\) For a fascinating yet exaggerated analysis, read: Hart 1975, 15–17.

\(^{1038}\) Dubyanskiy 2013, 316–317.

\(^{1039}\) Puṟanāṉūṟu, 42: 1; 57: 2.


the Akanāṉūṟu, but all these poems report on Cēra kings, thus I assume that this rarely mentioned tradition could have been connected to the early Cēras, as far as its connection with other kings cannot be proved. The royal muracu drum anyway enjoyed cultic respect, which had been regularly and ceremonially washed, which had a special bed on which it was laid, and to which drum bloody sacrifices were offered.

In the Patiruppattu, the king appears more than twenty times as the protector of the kingdom, of living beings, of his friends, and of poets, which titles show that the Cēra kings intended to provide safety and maintain prosperity in those parts of the monarchy where peace had already become permanent. This royal mission to be responsible for the “mankind” made the Cēras stand out from the crowd of tribal chiefs and made them able to compete with the great dynasties of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇṭiyas, who often fancied themselves as protectors of the world. The usual comparison of the royal generosity with the monsoon rains shows how difficult it is to create abundance in the kingdom from time to time, nevertheless, for the monarch, the well-being of his subjects also meant control over social processes, increased his own wealth and stabilized his royal power.

The poets of the Patiruppattu often mention the heroes of the decades as offsprings of an ancient lineage. In the 59th poem (Line 16), the Cēra lineage “flows by establishing virtue (āṟam) without having obstacle on the way”. In the 14th poem (Lines 19–21), we see “the [Cēra] ancestors (mutalvar) of the ancient family […], which entirely ruled in this grove with boundaries inside the sea, [having] the wheel with golden ornaments set with shiny sapphires”. In the 63rd poem (Lines 14–16), the king who is called as the descendant of the Cēras, took up the burden of his family. In the 88th poem (Lines 13–14), the Cēra king is called as “the descendant of great ones who obtained victory while kings (vēntar) and chiefs (vēḷir) humbled by following [them]”. The 90th poem (Lines 23–24) calls the king “the descendant of brilliant and victorious strong men, [who] caused to be earned great things in the hands of many”. The 58th poem (Line 8) mentions the king as “the great son of strong men with chaplets”. We have, however, longer descriptions worth to be cited here:

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1042 Puranāṉūṟu, 50.
1043 Patiruppattu, 19: 4–5; Puranāṉūṟu, 362: 3.
1044 Patiruppattu, 85: 5.
1045 The ornamented wheel (tikiri) of the dynasty can be identified as one among the regalia of the sovereign monarch. I consider the wheel of dynasty here as cakra or dharmacakra which probably reflects the brāhmaṇical tradition of coronation and/or the presence of brāhmaṇical traditions around the Cēra court. About the relations between the king and the wheel in Indo-Aryan sources, see: Gonda 1957: 144–149.
1046 Here I understood kaṇṇiya as an unmarked locative and the word peyar as porul following the POC.
1047 I understood kaṇṇiya as a perf. pey. which means ‘attached’, but in translation I gave back this meaning with a mere sociative. Another option is to understand kaṇṇiya as an adj. ‘having chaplet’, then the phrase ‘kaṇṇi kaṇṇiya’ is a difficult-to-translate figure etymologica. Third option is to understand kaṇṇiya as a Skt. loanword < gaṇya (Tamil Lexicon, 695), in this case we read ‘strong men whose honour is in [their] chaplets’.
[...] [your] predecessors⁴⁸ who had the wheel with shining spokes⁴⁹ were certainly someones who ruled tirelessly [in] this earthly world, because they, as just you, became ones with principles of not being inactive, so that the four different vast regions⁵⁰ flourished as being one, while [people] received the protection of rain when the the sky truly widened [...]⁵¹

One of the most interesting description of the Cēra ancestors can be found in the 22²ⁿᵈ poem:

O offspring of strong men who governed for aeons (ūlī), while [their people] passed away without suffering with bodies that had become old, people who share [what they] ate, [who] did not separate from their beloved retinue, walking straight like the flawless, learned ones, without desiring other’s property, without causing affliction to others,⁵² while the many profits of the forests and the seas helped [them], staying away [from what is] evil, desiring much what is good [...]⁵³

We have poems in which a summary of the acts of previous Cēra kings can be found.⁵⁴ What we see here is a tradition communicated by the Cēra court poets, which talks about an ancient lineage of Cēra kings who were powerful, just, heroic and omnipotent and did not fail their regular duties, therefore they made the earth blossom.⁵⁵ As I already mentioned, we are not able to reconstruct the origin of the Cēra dynasty. As a powerful chiefdom, its history must go back to the time of the Aśoka inscriptions and before, but we do not have evidence that the Cēra chiefdom had evolved into a kingdom before the beginning of the 1⁰ c. AD. We do not know what happened after the death of Palyānaiccelkelu Kuttaṇav, the younger son of Netunčēralatān, but the poet, Kāppiyāṟṟu Kāppiyaṉār felt important to emphasize that Kaḷāṅkāyykanṇi Nāruṭi Cēral won triumphant victories that improved the perturbed family.⁵⁶ We read in the 3¹ˢᵗ poem that “the muracu-drum was taken, setting right

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⁴⁸ munticīrē: “they who were before [in time]”. Cf. muntu-tal (Tamil Lexicon, 3268).
⁴⁹ Here it is perhaps another reference to dharmacakra, a royal symbol. Cf. Pāṭigruppatu, 14: 18; 2²: 4.
⁵⁰ I assume that here the four landscapes refer to the four basic tinai (“literary landscapes/settings”), so that the whole literary universe flourished under the Cēras. Not so the POC which understood “all the four [great] directions” (nālu ticaiyum).
⁵¹ Pāṭigruppatu, 6⁹: 1⁵–¹⁷.
⁵² One may interpret the selfless, non-violent, non-extremist, balance-promoting advices here and in Line 1–² as Jaina or Buddhist teachings.
⁵³ Pāṭigruppatu, 2²: 5–¹¹.
⁵⁵ Pāṭigruppatu, ⁸⁸: 1.
⁵⁶ Pāṭigruppatu, 3¹: ¹³; ³²: ⁷; ³⁷: ⁷; IV. ¹².
excellent family (*tiṇai*) of a declining lineage (*kuṭi*), which famous act might mean that a king or chief threatened and regularly attacked the Cēra country, whom Nārmuṭi Cēral had to defeat and whose drum had to be taken in order to control the power. It is also possible that the story refers to the period when after Neṭuṇcēralātaṇ, his younger brother sat on the throne instead of the son of Neṭuṇcēralātaṇ, which agnicentrality was the opposite of the primogeniture that we can see throughout the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, therefore, the ancient order of succession had to be restored. However, since we do not know the first decade of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* and the order of succession before Neṭuṇcēralātaṇ, we are not aware of whether Nārmuṭi Cēral was the one who started to introduce the principle of inheritance according to primogeniture, or this was already the usual system before Palyaṇaiccelkeṭu Kuṭṭuvaṇ.

Thus we have introduced the Cēra dynasty, its legitimate kings, and the regalia which symbolized their legitimate rules and incorporated their royal power, so it is time to examine the king and his country, first of all, the royal courts of the Cēras together with their political centres.

**Royal courts and political centres**

We find several passages in the *Patiṟṟuppattu* that refers to the Cēra courts, where people had a chance to meet the king in person in order to receive gifts. This place was referred to as *irukkai* (“seat”) which was either a ‘constantly moving court’ at the time of campaigns, or a permanent court found in the royal residences. In the previous chapter, I have already mentioned the throne (*kaṭṭil*) as one of the most important symbols of the royal power, around which crowds jubilated, where the beggars and gift-seekers received generous gifts, and where the bards and the learned court poets sang songs to the king. As Dubiansky adds to this, “it was on these occasions that musicians, singers and dancers actually performed”. 1058 We have six poems in the *Patiṟṟuppattu* which were written following the theme (*turai*) called *viralivāṟṟuppatai* “guidance to the *viralī*-s”. It is clear from the texts, that the *viralī* was a female performer who was most probably a dancer and/or a singer, and she might have been somewhat related to other performers or artistic groups as we see in *Patiṟṟuppattu* 49, where we read about the *viralīs* and their relatives whose livelihood was the ability of performing melodies. 1059 The common feature of these *viralivyāṟṟuppaṭai*s is that all those poems talk to the *viralīs* inviting them to the court of the Cēra, where the king bestows precious gifts. When

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1057 *tulanku kuṭi*: “swaying/perturbed/uprooted family”. The phrase *tulanku kuṭi* appears in a few more times in the Fourth Decade, see: 32: 7; 37: 7; IV. 12. We do not exactly know what happened to the dynasty, but this king seems to restored the old glory of the kingdom. Was he, as it is said in Sanskrit, a *kula-vardhaka*?

1058 Dubianski 2000, 70.

they arrived to the court, they danced and sang to the king in order to entertain him and his retinue. One of these descriptions is the following:

after we sang\(^{1060}\) the sweet melody of *taļiṇci*\(^{1061}\) [in which] the voices united, [after] the bards (*pāṇar*) performed\(^{1062}\) the *pālai*-melody\(^{1063}\) on the big *yāḷ* which [was] in [their] hands, [on which their] fingers caught the expanding, tied strings.\(^{1064}\)

The musicians who played were definitely learned musicians of the age. As we see in the 46\(^{th}\) poem (Line 4–5), the *vīraliṣ* might have also played on the harp or lute-like ancient instrument called *yāḷ*. The most mentioned melody type was the *pālai* ‘melody of the barren tract’ together with the *taļiṇci*, a secondary melody-type of the same style. However, not only the melodies of musicians could have been heard in the royal courts, but the echoing sound of various drums were also rumbling.\(^{1065}\) Here these musicological questions I have to leave open, as the complexity of the questions deserves an independent in-depth study.

The always murderous Kuṭṭuvaṅ is never done with killing. Whenever he kills, the gift-seekers never end in obtaining elephants. His fame will never end within the boundaries of the ancient palace (*nakar*), where *vīraliṣ* with fine forehead dance, while the flame burns, after the light on the [lamp’s] bowl became larger, because the clear butter (*ney*), which seized the hollows to be poured, spread [and] overflowed, [dance] on the streets where brightening flags sway on the windy places at the storied houses (*māṭam*) [which looked] like the waterfall\(^{1066}\) rushing from the top of the mountain.

\(^{1060}\) In my construction *cellāmō* (finite verb), *kaṇṭaṇam* (*muṟṟeccam*), and *pāṭi* (abs.) form the sequence of events, and *paṇṇi* (abs.) is a subject-changing absolutive with *pāṇar* as its subjects.

\(^{1061}\) POC: *taļiṇci* – “the song that is based on the meaning of the *tuṟai* called *taļiṇci*” (*taļiṇci engum tuṟai poṟul mēl tanta pāṭal*). According to *Tamil Icaip Pērakarāti* (p. 267) *taļiṇci* is a *mērcempālai* (*kalyāṇi*), a secondary melody-type of the *pālai* class. *Tamil Lexicon*, 3362. The *Tamil Lexicon*, (p. 1797) claims that it is either a theme (*tuṟai*) describing the honour and presents offered by the king to the soldiers maimed in battle, a theme describing the value of a warrior who does not pursue and destroy a routed adversary in full retreat, or a theme describing the guarding of a narrow passage through which an enemy might enter. Since we see the king as someone who accept the tributes in Line 15, I think the interpretation based on the first theme (*tuṟai*) given by the *Tamil Lexicon*, (based on *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷṭitikāram Puṟattinaiyival* cū. 65: 12.) is the possible one here.

\(^{1062}\) I analysed *paṇṇi* as a subject-changing absolutive with *pāṇar* as its subject.

\(^{1063}\) *pālai*: melody of the barren tract (*pālai nilap perum paṇ*). *Tamil Icaip Pērakarāti*, 372.

\(^{1064}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 57, 7–9.

\(^{1065}\) For example, read: *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 15: 20.

\(^{1066}\) As a possible interpretation, in this poem we might see a short description of a royal palace which may have been the antecedent of the medieval Dravidian-style temple complexes, since the waterfall-like storied houses/buildings could very well be imagined as *kōpuram*. However, it is possible to connect *aruviyiṅ* to the
Thus the dance in the lamp-light, which we have read about, was performed on the streets within the boundaries of the ancient mansion, where streets with storied houses could have been found. As a possible interpretation, in this poem we might see a short description of a royal palace which may have been the antecedent of the medieval Dravidian-style temple complexes, since the waterfall-like storied houses/buildings could very well be imagined as kōpurams. However, it is possible that we have to connect aruviyin to the flags so that in the simile, the storied houses looked like mountains and the swaying flags looked like the waterfalls rushing from the top, which is much closer to the usual topoi. The royal mansion we see, however, seems to have boundaries with streets within, which can be imagined as having a concentric layout with the well-protected palace in the centre surrounded by the market and the streets. Certainly not just anyone could live within the boundaries, but the higher strata of society (ministers, rich merchants, wealthy ones, etc.) and the service staff, could have lived here.

The bards, artists, dancers, singers, beggars and others met the king in the daily court called nāḷ makišt, an important institute where the king anyway held his council (arac’-avai) with his purohita, the elders, the learned ones, and the influential members of the court. As far as the Cilappatikāram is a certainly later composition which was influenced by the Sanskrit literature as well as the historical settings of its time, I do not consider it possible to reconstruct the daily life of the Cēra king from that text. The king certainly had a strict schedule, pastime activities, official councils, participation in jurisdiction, legislative and executive duties, ritual obligations, etc., but to reconstruct these is rather impossible from the texts. Even if we know quite a bit about the king’s life in the court, one thing is certain that the court was a place to organize feasts with roasted meats and unlimited toddy for the visitors and the victorious warriors who often got intoxicated during these events together with the king himself who enjoyed their company. In the Patiruppattu, we read about dancing, eating, satiated, prattling, drunken people who bustle around the king, jubilating his greatness. If the court was held in the military camp, we see the presence of lovers who cling to the king’s chest and the bards who heard about the king’s feats so that they arrived to see him.

We find a few references about the Cēra courts in the royal palaces, from which passages we can get a rough idea of how the poets imagined/saw the palaces. In many of these
poems, we see the word nakar of Indo-Aryan origin referring to the ‘palace’. However, sometimes I found it more accurate to translate it as ‘mansion’. In those cases when the word denotes something bigger than a building, with enclosures, streets, and market, I translated it as ‘palace’.

In the 21st poem of the Patiruppattu, we find the Cēra palace (nakar), where seasoning was sizzling on the fat pieces of the pure meat which were roasted on fire. In the same poem we see that brāhmaṇas performed Vedic sacrifices with clarified butter, so that, even if this double image was only the fantasy of the poet, the Cēra palace was definitely a place, where a sumptuous feast was prepared for the visitors and a place, where rituals were conducted.1072 In the 68th poem (Lines 15–20), we read about the royal consorts who are waiting for the king’s return in the palace:

[…] in the shadow of your feet, o man of the chest which is fragrant of scents, [which] is bound to [your] women with bewitching (apaṇku) grace, with beautiful striped anklets, whose red fingers are reddened, after they painted [lines] of the many days [counting] on the tall walls1073 which resembled a painting, [on the walls] of the enclosure of the huge palace with tall earthen ramparts, while [their] greenish gold jewels slipped down, because of the lack of sleeping?1074

Just as in Patiruppattu 64: 3–8, here we see again the tall walls that surround the palace with earthen ramparts. I must conclude that the palaces and some houses must have had paintings on the walls, of which this poem referred, however, here instead of a painting, the painted lines of the waiting ladies served as an aesthetic experience. In the 88th poem, we see the palace again, but there it itself is like a painting with or without the painted lines of the sorrowful consorts.1075 We see markets near the royal mansions, which question I discussed in detail in a later chapter on economy.1076 The royal palace, according to Patiruppattu 15, could have been found in the old town with festivals, where many goods entered from the oikumene.1077 It is time to expand the circle: the palace was not only a ritual and political center but also an economic institution.

We find a few additional passages in the patikams. In the IV. patikam, the king gave away forty times hundred-thousand gold from the share of his palace to the poet in exchange

1073 To mark the days on the walls is an old topos, cf. Kuruntokai, 358: 2–3; Akanāṟu, 61: 4.
1074 To loose bangles because of emotional distress (absence of the lover) is an old topos, cf. Kuruntokai, 11: 1; 31: 5; 50: 4; 125: 1; 365: 1; 371: 1; 377: 2; etc.
1075 Patiruppattu, 88: 25.
1077 Patiruppattu, 15: 16–20
of his poems. Even if that amount is a mere fiction, it clearly shows the idea that the palace itself must have been also a treasury with a regular or irregular income. I think that in earlier texts such as the Akanāṉūṟu 127: 6–9, the poet, in fact, talks about the treasury of the Čēras, which was in that case established in Māntai/Marantai, and which passage led us in a later chapter to an attempt to reconstrue the existence of Čēra treasuries in the palaces. In the VIII. patikam, although the treasury cannot be proved, the rich palace appears, from where the poet could have taken whatever he wanted for the king’s order. The poet, however, was moderately humble and after he put on the ministry, he was finally satisfied with nine-times-hundred-thousand kāṇam and the royal throne/bed. However, these later passages of the patikams are found in those epilogues whose language shows a certainly later stage than the decade poems. Still, we might be able to trust in those poets or editors who composed these lines insisting that they had certain knowledge about the ancient Čēras.

We find political centres of the Čēras in various towns like Muciṟi as an early, fortified capital close to the Arabian Sea, in Toṇṭi which was an important seashore town and a dynastical centre north of Muciṟi, in Naṟavu which centre definitely protected the maritime trade relations and the northern gate of the kingdom at Tūḷunāṭu, in Māntai/Marantai, however, we know almost nothing about this town, and in Karuvūr of Koṅkunāṭu, where a powerful capital emerged in the middle of South India threatening the rival kings.\footnote{1078} Whether the Čēras divided their kingdom when king and heirs ruled at the same time, it is rather difficult to tell from the sources. If we accept the years of reign of the Čēras given by the patikams, it might mean that the Čēra kings certainly divided their power in order to rule the country easier, but for the time being, it is impossible to answer this question. Even if the territories were divided, I assume that we cannot talk about simultaneously ruling kings but only about one crowned king who gave sovereign rights to the princes, ministers, commanders and others. However, we strayed into the swampy ground of historical reconstruction. Finally, I think that our passages on palaces and royal residences are less imaginary, and we really read some schematic descriptions partly based on literary topoi that must have been overlapped with historical reality. In the case of the Čēras, this leads us to the following conclusion: the Čēra political centres together with the fortified palaces were political, ritual, and economic centres; places which were rich in treasures and festive events, which were famous far and wide and desirable for people to visit.

**Towns, villages and society**

Thus we discussed the political centres of the early Čēras, the courts among which we examined permanent ones (court in the palace), and moving ones (court moving with the

\footnote{1078} Fur further information about these cities, read: pp. 333–362.
military camp). We also concluded that the political centres, where the king or royal “commissioners” were stationed, were political, economic, and ritual centres. Although it is difficult to reconstruct from the texts, these centres must have been the institutions governing public administration. They were at the top of the settlement hierarchy. It is also difficult to examine the urbanization, the settlement structure, and society of the early Cēra kingdom from the sources, but still some important conclusions can be drawn when reading the texts.

The Tamil South can be divided into four geographic zones (tiṇai) which found their places in the universe of literary conventions recorded in the Tolkāppiyam. These divisions are the following: neytal ‘seashore and coastal settlements’, the mullai ‘forest-zone’, the marutam ‘agricultural fields and villages’, and the kuṟiṇci ‘mountains and hilly villages’. The fact that these have “solidified” into a well-definable literary/grammatical system does not mean that they did not fundamentally determine the geographical thinking of the Tamils. I rather think that these divisions were important factors in political thinking and warfare strategy.

Reading the Cēra panegyrici, we find towns, villages, and harbours in the Cēra kingdom. The main term used for village or town is ār, however, in most of the cases these were de facto villages. In those cases, when it refers to a town or regional centre, it is called a mūt’ ār ‘old village/town’. In the Patirṟuppattu, we find Pantar1079 as being a mūt’ ār (67: 2), but also the unnamed Cēra capital and marketplace (15: 18–19; 53: 5), the unnamed old towns of the Cēras (II. 11), while all the other attestations refer to old towns of the enemies (26: 12; 30: 20). We find references to smaller villages (ār, pākkam, pati, vaippu, arampu, kuṭi, cīṟ’ ār) in greater numbers. We know very little about these settlements. The villages had a village common called maṉṟam which was a place of bustle (13: 17), a place where sometimes the armed ones (paṭaiṉar) gathered (25: 4), a place where demonesses were dancing in the blood after the battle (35: 7–9), but most importantly a place where streets met (23: 4–5; 43: 26). About the streets, we have not much valuable information, unless the fact that dancers, musicians, and bards were occasionally performing there when festivals were celebrated.1080 The maṉṟam was also a place where the village elders and leaders supposed to assemble time to time, however, this function of the maṉṟam cannot be verified by texts written on the Cēra country. In other texts, the word maṉṟam is used not only for village common but for royal court, or frontyard of a building.1081 The houses in these settlements were made either by palm leaves or by adobe bricks, but from the remarkable absence of ancient buildings, we can conclude that most of the huts and houses in the villages could have been made of leaves. We can also think that the huge fires and smoke caused by the war, which can be found

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1080 Puranāṉūṟu, 65: 5; Patirṟuppattu, 23: 4–5; 29: 8–9; 47: 4.
1081 Tamil Lexicon, 3127.
everywhere in the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, are also related to these types of houses, since setting such a village of dried-leaf-cottages on fire was not only a simple task, but the fire of destruction was considered as spectacular. We find one reference in the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, when the old commentator interprets *pul-ilai vaippuṟṟ pullum citai arampi* (15: 13) as *pulliya ilaikalāle vēya patta ur*, on which the *Tamil Lexicon*’s explanation was based: “village of leafy huts”. The question is whether in this case we should trust in the much later mediaeval commentary or choose an old meaning of *vaippu* as “place” or “land”. Most of the villages were engaged in a form of production which was connected to the *tiṇai* where the particular settlement was located. In the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, we read mostly about those villages which were surrounded by agricultural fields. I assume that the village chiefs (tribal chiefs?) who governed the villages (tribal populations?) were chosen in a traditional way, however, they had to be loyal and to be connected to the royal chiefs ruling over the particular administrative unit or division of the kingdom, which were probably more traditional divisions than planned. In the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, only those people are visible in the villages who were engaged either in war or in agriculture, which does not mean that others (artists, artisans, shop keepers, priests, etc.) could not have been lived there. It is indeed a blind spot of heroic poetry. Those who worked in agriculture, both men and women\(^{1082}\) used ploughs (*nāncil, ēr*),\(^{1083}\) sickles (*vāḷ* in the hands of *aṟainar*),\(^{1084}\) they sowed the lands,\(^{1085}\) yoked the oxen for work,\(^{1086}\) worked with large buffalos on the threshing floor (*vekkai*) where the paddy was threshed,\(^{1087}\) collected the threshed products in receptacles,\(^{1088}\) they built water tanks and sluices at the groves near the paddy fields,\(^{1089}\) their cattles were grazed on the vast meadows,\(^{1090}\) they drilled wells,\(^{1091}\) cultivated and cut the sugar cane and used machine to squeeze it into their buckets,\(^{1092}\) they used churning staff for dairying,\(^{1093}\) and they felled trees or cleft them by rasp.\(^{1094}\) People of the Cēra kingdom often left their homes to go on pilgrimages, to visit festivals in towns, or to enter the royal palace in order to receive gifts. Except for these mostly *marutam*-type settlements which are emphasized in the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, there were also seashore settlements in the Cēra kingdom, which were either fishermen villages or well-protected ports of trade. We have dealt with

\(^{1082}\) For female farmers, read: *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 71: 3.
\(^{1083}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 19: 17; 25: 1; 26: 2; 58: 17; 26: 1; 76: 11.
\(^{1084}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 19: 22.
\(^{1085}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 58: 15.
\(^{1086}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 58: 16.
\(^{1087}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 71: 3–4.
\(^{1088}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 71: 5.
\(^{1090}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 62: 13.
\(^{1091}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 51: 4.
\(^{1092}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 30: 14; 19: 23.
\(^{1093}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 26: 3.
\(^{1094}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 30: 16; 60: 5.
these settlements in detail in a later chapter. Those who lived in the *mullai* or forest areas were engaged in pasturage, harvesting millets (*ēpal*), grinding and dividing the millet-flour, in hunting animals, in gathering the goods of the forests, and in selling them in the towns’ markets. There is no information in the *Patiṟṟuppattu* about the mountain dwelling folks which were probably hunters, gatherers, mine-workers, archers and border guards. It is important to emphasize that, agreeing with Subrahmanian, the ancient Tamil societies were essentially tribal. In the case of the Cēras, it means that at the time about which the *Patiṟṟuppattu* sings, the Cēra kings were able to consolidate their power over the tribal organizations and to control them through their people asserting the will of a powerful kingdom. In the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, we see that the Cēras were the overlords of folks called *konkar, kuṭṭuvar, pūliyar, kuṭavar*, etc. However, we cannot decide whether these actually represent tribes in this period, or were umbrella-terms for those people who lived in those geographical areas. As in many cases in this study, we have to admit that we have no information about the tribal organization at the bottom of the social hierarchy, if it still existed. We see that the campaigns were directed against either kings or chieftains, while the text does not mention such characters within the Cēra kingdom, so I think that the subjugated chieftains became local chiefs and more importantly vassals with little power, or at least they were treated as such. We learn from other Caṅkam texts that chieftains called *vēḷı* and village chiefs called *kilāg* existed in the ancient times. In the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, whenever the word *vēḷı* is attested, it refers to chiefs together with kings (*vēntar*) who were disobedient, declared an oath against the Cēras, and therefore have to tremble of fear or humble themselves. In the *patikams*, the word *vēḷı* appears as a component of the name of some of the queens, so that it shows kinship there. In one case, it might refer to Murukan. However, we see the total absence of the word in a sense of administrative chief over certain divisions. This does not mean that such chiefs did not exist. In my opinion, this only means that heroic poetry did not fit in praising others besides the king. To keep the kingdom together, to the large-scale production (which can be seen in the Muziris Papyrus), and to the establishment of the army, all required loyal intermediaries who kept certain areas under their control. The fact that *vēḷır, vēntar,* and *maṇgar* existed outside the kingdom, who were disobedient but were also able to humble themselves, give tributes and join the Cēras, shows that there must have been certain chiefs

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1098 Subrahmanian 1966, 259.
1099 Le mercenier 1979 and Gurukkal 2010, 242–254. As far as these social structures are invisible in our main sources, our text-centered analysis does not take a position on these issues.
1101 *Patiṟṟuppattu*, IV. 1; VI. 1; VIII. 2.
who have already gone through this “procedure” and became vassals and/or friends of the Cēra court. One more thing worth mentioning among those missing from the text: the so-called “caste system”. Although we see reference to the king who following the stages of the varṇāśramadharma, abandoned his kingdom and left for the forest (vanavāsa), but we see no other traces of this type of social arrangement. Thus I think that the varṇāśramadharma might have existed as a ruler’s ideal at the suggestion of the courtly brāhmaṇas, but not in the society.

We know from the Periplus Maris Erythraei’s author and Ptolemy that in these centuries more Cēra settlements existed than attested in our Tamil texts. Settlements like Adarima, Aloē, Arembour, Bakarē, Balita/Bammala/Blinca, Berderis/Bideris, Bragmē/Brammē, Elangōn/Elangōros, Kalaikarias, Kereoura, Koreour/Koureour, Kottiara, Kouba, Koulerring/Kourelloura, Nelkynda/Melkynda, Morounda, Naoura, Naroulla/Nalloura, Paloura, Pantipolis/Pantipoleis, Pasagē, Pounnata, Semnē are not attested in the Cēra kingdom and were important enough to be noticed by Mediterranean authors. Other settlements like Cellūr, Kalumalam, Karuvūr/Vaṇci, Koṭumāṇam, Māntai/Marantai, Muciṟi, Naṟavu, Pantar, Toṇṭi appear in the Cēra texts and some of them also in the Mediterranean sources, so that I did not include them in the first list. I do not mention a few other place names here, which were probably parts of the Cēra kingdom for a shorter or longer period. Thus we are talking about around thirty Cēra settlements mentioned in the sources together with a probably great number of unknown villages which were invisible for the Mediterraneans and the Tamil bards.

The Cēra kingdom certainly consisted of different divisions which, I believe, began to emerge and form during this period from the traditional/tribal/geographic territorial units. As in many cases of the early Cēra history, it must be emphasized that we have almost no information about this territorial evolution, so I do not want to make the mistake of those who project data from later periods onto the past. What is certain that we read about Kolli kūṟram in the VIII. patikam (Line 3) of the Patiruppattu. This would suggest that the territorial unit or division called kūṟram existed in the ancient times, however, as we concluded elsewhere, the information of the patikams cannot be read with absolute certainty. We cannot rule out that smaller territorial units were called by the name kūṟram, however, this single reference is not sufficient for the reconstruction. There are territorial units, however, which we already know from the Patiruppattu: the ones called nāṭu. In the decade poems, the nāṭu is many times only a word for ‘country that one family, tribe, chief, or king governs’. Thus the Cēra

1104 See: Appendices, Index, pp. 446–455.
1105 Cf. Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 744–745.
kingdom is also referred to as nāṭu in the text. However, we see many direct or indirect references to countries and territories which became divisions of the Cēra kingdom and mentioned in later traditions as traditional parts of the Cēra kingdom: the *Konkunāṭu < konkar nāṭu (Patiṟṟuppattu, 22: 15); *Kuṭanāṭu < kuṭa nāṭu (Patiṟṟuppattu, VI. 5); *Kuṭanāṭu < kuṭṭuvar (Patiṟṟuppattu, 90: 26); *Pūjināṭu < pūliyar (Patiṟṟuppattu, 90: 27). Although we were able to reconstruct these names and we can certainly manage to identify them geographically, we do not know who governed them and how. Reading the texts, I assume that we find the king on the top of the hierarchy together with his influential friends around the court; we find the royal heirs, loyal commanders or worthy men over major territories in the second stage, who were given the right to supervise and judge certain areas (e.g. the son of Ćenkuṭṭuvaṇ in Umpaṟkāṭu).1106 the next stage was reserved for those over minor territories who were relegated to vassal status or voluntarily accepted it, while in the last stage we see village elders and tribal leaders dependent on the previous level. I think that the brāhmaṇa settlements, about which I have written in a later chapter,1107 could have been self-governing communities with certain privileges, however, no information is available in this era of Cēra history to verify this statement. If we take the accounts of the Patiṟṟuppattu seriously then the people of the kingdom lived in fragile peace under the protection of the Cēra parasol, while the Cēra dynasty tried to control their hegemony by means of a loyal network in every corner of their kingdom, but for this, they had to have a knowledge about the borders and border areas of their kingdom.

Borders and border-areas

As it was one among the main criteria to define an early kingdom, it is important now to discuss the borders and border areas of the Cēra kingdom in detail. It is necessary to state at the beginning that the only border of the Cēra kingdom that can be definitely drawn is the western seacoast of the Arabian Sea. Between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats, the southern parts of the division called Kuṭanāṭu and northern Kuṭṭanāṭu could have been the original homeland of the Cēras. Since it is almost impossible to reconstruct political history from the Caṅkam poems, I put an emphasis on the main processes and tendencies emerging from the texts, which shaped the territory of the kingdom and its borders.

As we read in Pliny the Elder (Naturalis Historia, VI. 26. 105), the Periplus Maris Erythraei (ch. 55), and Ptolemy (Geog. VII. 1.9), the southern border of the Cēras must have been somewhere in Kuṭṭanāṭu in the middle of the 1st c. AD, as far as south of Muciṟi/Muziris, we see the Pāṇṭiyas and later the chieftain called Āy (Aioi) to rule around the city called

1106 Patiṟṟuppattu, V. epilogue.
Nelkynda which also belonged to Kottanarichē/Kuṭṭanāṭu. Even so, we see the siege of Muciṟi by the Pāṇṭiya king, which shows their proximity in that century.\textsuperscript{1108} Later the Čeras annexed areas of the \textit{itaiyar}-tribe and of the chief called Āy in South Malabar. We do not have hard evidence to verify that the early Čeras ever reached the areas of today’s Tiruvaṇantapuram,\textsuperscript{1109} but definitely conquered Kuṭṭanāṭu and some areas south of it. This is the first border region that we can somewhat define: the southern border area, where political tension with the Pāṇṭiyas was probably continuous. This area was certainly very important for the Čera dynasty because of the maritime trade, therefore the Čeras here tried to push back the Pāṇṭiya interests and convert the resistant chieftains to vassals or friendly allies.

The royal epithets, the Greek and Latin sources, and the Čaṅkam poems show that the eastern border of the Čera kingdom was constantly changing. From the time of Palyāṇaiccelkeḻu Kuṭṭuvaṇ (perhaps around the end of the first century AD), we see that he was already called as the “fighter of the Ayirai” (Aivarmalai near Paḷāṇi, Tamil Nadu),\textsuperscript{1110} and as “the one who annexed the country of the Koṅkar by means of his army”.\textsuperscript{1111} It means that the Čera kings made serious military efforts very early to control the Palghat Gap together with its transit trade, and to reach the fertile areas and mines of interior South India. It shows the seriousness of their military enterprise that a new capital will soon arise in the heart of Koṅkunāṭu: Karuvūr which was also mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of the Čera kingdom around 150 AD.\textsuperscript{1112} Later, at the time of the Irumporaith, the Čera king is known as the “lord of Pukār”,\textsuperscript{1113} and “the fighter of the Kolli”,\textsuperscript{1114} which probably shows that the Čeras made a successful attempt to reach the eastern coast and for a shorter period of history, entirely control the maritime trade including the main trade routes of South-India. Considering the remarkable silence of the Čaṅkam literature about this military campaign, I would think that this military action quickly failed (nothing left after but a sounding epithet), but the politically tense eastern border area of the Čeras remained stable around the Kolli Hills, north of Maturai of the Pāṇṭiyas and west of Uṟaiyūr of the Cōlas, including vast areas of Koṅkunāṭu with regions around today’s Paḷāṇi.

The northern border meant a continuous threat against the Čera interests. Powerful chieftains called Naṇṇaṅ, Aṯikāmā Neṭumāṅ Aṅci, or tribes like the \textit{katampu}-tribe of the seas and the \textit{kōcar}-tribe of the interior lived here. The \textit{katampus} who lived in the archipelago west

\textsuperscript{1108} \textit{Akanāṅuru}, 57: 14–17; 149: 7–11.
\textsuperscript{1109} Even if the old commentator suggests that in \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} 31, we read about the vaiṣṇava shrine at Āṭakamāṭam. Cāminātaiyar 1980, 74.
\textsuperscript{1110} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 21: 29.
\textsuperscript{1111} 22: 15–16.
\textsuperscript{1112} Ptol., \textit{Geog.} VII. 1. 86.
\textsuperscript{1113} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 73: 9.
\textsuperscript{1114} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 73: 11.
of the Konkan coast seem to have been partially or completely identical to the pirates whom Pliny, Ptolemy, the Periplus Maris Erythraei and the Tabula Peutingeriana mentioned, and whose location can be pinpointed north of Naoura/Naṟavu, around Nitra/Nitrias, inland and in the archipelago near and north of today’s Maṅgalūru, Karnataka, which region was governed by either Naṅṇaṅ, the kōcar, or the independent or feudatory kaṭampu-tribe. The chief called Naṅṇaṅ was the ruler of a land called Pūṇṇāṭu,¹¹¹⁵ Viyalūr and Pāḷi, Ēḻilkuṟam, Pāram, Koṅkāṇam, Pūḷināṭu, and Tuḷunāṭu. Later in the Malaiṇṭuṭukāṭāṁ, Naṅṇaṅ seems to be a chief also seated in Toṇṭaimāṇṭalāṁ.¹¹¹⁶ Naṅṇaṅ might be the same as Nandana, the early ruler of the Mūṣikavamlśa, about which dynasty the poet Atula sang in the 11th century AD.¹¹¹⁷ What is more, the totemistic tree of Naṅṇaṅ was the vākai, which can be found in the name of that mediaeval dynasty, since mūṣika not only means a ‘rat’ but also the plant called Albizia lebbeck or Acacia sirissa.¹¹¹⁸ The tribe called kōcar were most probably living in Pūḷināṭu. Atikamāṇe Netumāṇ Aṇci was the ruler of Takaṭūr (today’s Dharmapuri, Tamil Nadu) and the regions around, north of Karuvūr, the Cēra capital in Koṅkūnuṭu. Reading the Jampai inscription, his dynasty was probably the same as the Satiyaputo mentioned in the Āsoka inscriptions.¹¹¹⁹ Atikamāṇ Netumāṇ Aṇci was one of the ‘seven great donors’ (ēṭu vaḷḷalkal) of the Ĉaṅkam ages. His dynasty certainly ruled some areas in Koṅkūnuṭu before the Cēra conquests. East and southeast of Atikamāṇ’s territories, we find the crowned Ĉoḷa kings. Thinking about the Cēras’ political position, it must have been frustrating to have these powerful neighbors in the north. Therefore, as we see in the Patirṛuppattu, they defeated them one by one, first Naṅṇaṅ and the kaṭampu-tribe in Tuḷunāṭu, then the Atikamāṇs in battle and in their capital, Takaṭūr,¹¹⁰ even if, as one might assume, the Ĉēra kings might have been strongly related to Atikamāṇ’s dynasty.¹¹¹ The Cilappatikāram, when talking about the northern campaign of the Cēras, mentions the event when the Ĉēra army camped at the tall outskirts of the Nīlakiri (Nilgiri).¹¹¹² According to these literary data and the historical events discussed in later chapters on trade,¹¹¹³ I assume that the northern border area of the Cēras started at the historical Ėḻilkuṟam, today’s Ėḻimala, but never extended to Tuḷunāṭu and the

¹¹¹⁵ Was it the same as the rich-in-beryl Pounnata of Ptolemy (Πουννάτα ἐν Ῥη Βήρυλλος) between the Pseudostomos/Periyār river and the Baris/Pampā river? In that case, it appears in the some mistakenly mapped “category” as Karuvūr which can be found not on the Malabar Coast but in northwestern Koṅkūnuṭu. Or should we understand puṇṇāṭu as ‘lowland’ (pul nāṭu as a synonym of pul pulam)? Cf. Akanāṭu, 396: 2. Marr anyway takes it as a proper name and considers it possible to localize at modern Mysore. Marr 1985 [1958], 287.
¹¹¹⁶ ¹¹¹⁷ Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 484–485.
¹¹¹⁹ Pillai 1977, 6–7.
¹¹¹⁰ Mahadevan 2003, 23.
¹¹¹¹ Patirṛuppattu, 32: 10, 78: 9.
¹¹¹³ Cilappatikāram, III. 26: 79–85.
Koṇkāṇam (not counting some punitive or looting campaigns); it stretched along the southern outskirts of the Nilgiri, and it included Takaṭūr, today’s Dharmapuri after the Cēra conquest, as being an eastern end of the northern border area. In addition to local vassals, the border regions were secured by royal centres (the coastal Naṟavu in the north, Toṇṭi and Muciṛi in central Malabar, and Karuvūr in Koṅkunāṭu), fortifications, and the soldiers stationed there.
The expansive kingdom

King and army

The Cēra kings raised his dynasty to the ranks of the crowned kings of South India by relying on his soldiers, heroic warriors and companion-in-arms, while calling on the knowledge of the local brāhmaṇas, they established a ritual system of succession (or the brāhmaṇas forced the establishment of the king-ideology?) that anyway helped their dynasty stay in power. As we have seen before, the Cēra kings often strengthened their system of relations through dynastic marriages with certain tribal or royal dynasties, while with “others”, they were forced into continuous conflicts. Reading the ancient songs written on the Cēras, it is not possible to decide whether the rājamaṇḍala-theory was part of their political thinking. What is certain that the Cēras had enemies who made them angry, and had friendly allies who helped them against their foes (e.g. Āṟukai against Mōkūr).\(^\text{1124}\) We see in the poems that the Cēras became protection/shelter to their friends and increased their wealth,\(^\text{1125}\) while their enemies had to become either obedient or if not, had to be defeated. If we take a look at the words used for ‘enemies’ in the Patiṟṟuppattu, we might understand how the Cēras thought about them:

1124 Patiṟṟuppattu, 44: 10–16.
The main motif in the list above is that in many of the cases, a hostile or bad reaction was enough to become the enemy of the Čeras. From this Čera-centric point of view, it seems that these enemies did not agree with the Čeras, did not obey, were not humble, and therefore made them enraged or they themselves became enraged for some reason. The reaction was natural from the Čera’s perspective: these enemies had to be punished or defeated. On the other hand, it is also striking as if the Čera kings had offered the possibility of choice to their enemies early on. Whether it was in fact the case or they tried to cover up the aggression and the bloody conquests with the means of literature, we are not able to tell. Be that as it may, the Patīṛuppattu speaks of the campaigns as if the immeasurable ravages were direct consequences of some hostile acts of the enemies in the past.

According to the poems, the king had a close relation to his army. Army and king are inseparable in the Patīṛuppattu, the primary reason for which is the system of conventions of the heroic puram-poetry, but in the background of that, history emerges: the Čera king conquered dominions, while maintained his power with the help of his army and his loyal men. In the 36th poem, we read that the king marched at the head together with his warriors. This, of course, could be a mere literary fiction, however, it is a trivial fact that if a king fought in the battles, it increased the efficiency of the army and had a motivating effect. About the march of the army, we learn that the king and his warriors marched unitedly. As the strongest unit, the army had a powerful, fierce vanguard (ṭār) that was capable of quick and effective attacks and sieges. We also read about arrays and formations in which the army and/or the vanguard marched:

O hero of the great army with proud garlands, [army] with the military-array of [its] difficult[-to-defeat] vanguard that overran the difficult[-to-obtain] fortress, after the right [hands] of the commanding men were raised and held up with blades [which had] reeking flesh on the edges, which were pulled out of the tiger[-skin] scabbards […]

In this passage, we do not only see the garlands in the neck of the soldiers, but the array of the vanguard that overran a fort, while the commanders controlled the battle with their swords pulled out of the decorated scabbards.

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1127 *Patīṛuppattu*, 41: 11.
The ancient Cēras had a four fold army with infantry, cavalry, elephant corps, and chariots.\textsuperscript{1130} The infantry, which we have also seen in the previous quotation, used various weapons such as swords, spears, and perhaps slings with stones,\textsuperscript{1131} but one of the most important troops in the infantry was the unit of archers. All these soldiers had dark, huge shields in their hands made of leather against the strokes of the swords and spears, and the shoots of the arrows.\textsuperscript{1132} The word \textit{meymmaṟai} is a unique Cēra word attested only in the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}.\textsuperscript{1133} Its meaning is literally “body-concealment”, while in the POC the compound \textit{meypukukaruvi} (“instrument inserted on the body”) is given as a meaning. According to the old commentary on \textit{Puṟanāṉūṟu} 13: 2, the \textit{meypukukaruvi} is an armour probably made from/with leather of a tiger (\textit{puliyin tōḷaṟ ceyyappṭṭa meypukukaruvi}). Considering the context of these lines, I conclude that this was an armour, a breastplate, or a body shield, and this must be also part of the clothing of some soldiers.

The cavalry was also an important corp of the Cēra army. Unfortunately, we do not know where the horses of the Cēras came from. In the \textit{Paṭṭiṉappāḷai}, we see the prancing, swift horses that arrived on water,\textsuperscript{1134} so that it is perhaps possible that the horses were brought by Roman or West Asian traders, however, it is also possible to think about an already existing Indian market for horses. What we read in the texts is that the horses of the Cēras were strong enough to carry soldiers, while they were famous for their speed.\textsuperscript{1135} The mane of the horses was usually trimmed by a sharp weapon,\textsuperscript{1136} their heads were adorned with shiny plumes,\textsuperscript{1137} they were harnessed before being mounted,\textsuperscript{1138} and in the battles, they were urged by the edges of the soldiers’ feet.\textsuperscript{1139} We see a beautiful description of the Cēra horses in the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu tīṟattu} 2:

\textit{[…]} [your] horses with swift gallop, which resemble as if the wind become visible having worn spreading mane extended like the fire, [horses] of an appereance that resemble statues (\textit{viṇṭai}) [from] flesh, which forcefully run, having entangled the battalions in the frontline of the king […].\textsuperscript{1140}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1130} Pillai 1970, 215.
\textsuperscript{1131} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 70: 4.
\textsuperscript{1132} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 62: 2.
\textsuperscript{1134} \textit{Paṭṭiṉappāḷai}, 185.
\textsuperscript{1135} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 49: 4.
\textsuperscript{1136} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 64: 9.
\textsuperscript{1137} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 42: 15; 90: 36.
\textsuperscript{1138} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 81: 32; 82: 7.
\textsuperscript{1139} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 70: 2.
\textsuperscript{1140} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu tīṟattu} 2: 3–6.
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All such descriptions suggest that either the puram poetry intended to present the king’s army much more glorious as it really was, or that these horses actually came by trade from areas where people knew the way to breed good horses.

The cavalry together with the elephant corps was the most important in terms of the outcome of the battles. From this point of view, we agree with De Romanis, who emphasizes the great importance of having several hundred war elephants in the army of the Cēras. De Romanis mentions that the elephant contingent was the source of power that enabled the Cēras to control the hinterland of Muziris and to harvest hundreds of kilograms of ivory tusk fragments mentioned in the Muziris Papyrus. He must be right when he is talking about the strong connection between having an incomparably huge elephant contingent, possessing most of the elephant habitats, and the power of the Cēra king, and it was certainly one of the most important engines behind the successful expansion of the Cēra kingdom. Regarding the number of elephants in the Cēra army, once one of the poets said: “in his army, I see marching elephants a lot spreading like the cows”. We know that the elephants of the army were trained for the battles, they had ornamented frontlets, and rings on their tusks, and they were led by their mahouts who instigated them by their goads. We see quite a dramatic scene in the 28th poem, when the enemies’ elephants had been killed by the elephant contingent of the Cēran:

[…] while [your] warriors (maṟavar) with ankleted feet and mortar-legged fierce animals ignored the hasty shooting, who attacked by forcefully driving [those animals], when the united line of the green-eyed elephants had been slaughtered, [elephants] of [your] greatly victorious enemies […]

Here we probably see an elephant corps contra elephant corps battle, when the enemy tried to stop the Cēra elephant charge by shooting arrows, but they disregarded the arrows and broke the lines of the enemy while slaughtering their elephants.

The last unit of the army which we have to discuss is the charioteers. The king usually enters the battlefield either on his chariot, horse, or elephant bull. Unfortunately, we do not know, how those chariots looked like as far as no archaeological findings proved their South Indian existence yet. However, we know from the texts that they had long flags and bells

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1141 De Romanis 2020, 119.
1142 De Romanis 2020, 119.
1143 Patiruppattu, 77: 11.
1144 Patiruppattu, 82: 4; 84: 4.
1145 Patiruppattu, 11: 17.
1147 Patiruppattu, 38: 5; 40: 27.
fixed on them, and they were either long (*neṭum*) or tall (*neṭum*), but thinking of maneuvering, height is less disturbing than length. The king himself possessed a royal chariot. We read in the 42nd poem that the world of the Cēras’ relatives was filled with the chariots of the Cēras, which, in case it is not an empty topos, again shows their conquests and their system of political relations together with their allies and relatives in South India. The 77th poem talks about the “suitly crafted chariots with never-tired wheels which rolled on the corpses at the elevation”. Anyway, the chariot and its wheels, both seem to be symbols of the royal *dharmaṇa*, which topic we have discussed elsewhere. We find a very fascinating image in the 33rd poem, in which the Cēra army looked like a fortress:

[… after you] raised a thicket (*miḷai*) of spears, while swords became a wall, the kings who opposed [you] in war will surrender to you, if [they] think [about your] difficult fortress which is roaming on legs, [fortress] with the *muracām*-drum that resounds like the thunder that roars during the rainy season, [fortress] with moats surrounded by blades with red edges [and] thorn[-like] sharp arrows which were hastily spat by the bows.\(^{1150}\)

Besides the simile, we see in this passage that not only soldiers were marching in the army but also those who played drums and other instruments. We know from a single reference found in the poems, that after the victorious battle, the army also had the duty to collect taxes, while the wounded ones were resting on the battlefield.\(^{1151}\) Anyway, the warriors in the army followed the maxim not to retreat in battles,\(^{1152}\) so that in case they happened to die, they could enter the upper sphere of the heroes this way.\(^{1153}\)

Thus we have introduced the powerful army of the Cēras,\(^{1154}\) so it is time to see them in action, therefore, I dedicate the next chapter to the Cēra campaigns, military camps, and sieges of the disobedient’s strongholds.

**Military campaigns**

When the Cēra kings became enraged by the disobedient for some reason, they gathered the warriors who could be called to war and went on a punitive campaign against

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\(^{1149}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 77: 5–6.

\(^{1150}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 33: 7–12.

\(^{1151}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 40: 3–6.

\(^{1152}\) *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 34: 2;

\(^{1153}\) About the heroic death, see: pp. 430–436.

\(^{1154}\) For more descriptions, read: *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 69; 1–10; 82; 1–10. About the existence of a Cēra navy which could have won battles on the seas and archipelagos, I have written in a later chapter yet to come. pp. 332–333.
them. This is of course the mere narrative of the poems, since the campaigns could have had in fact various casus belli: 1. a punitive campaign for violating the Cēra interests, 2. booty campaign in order to strengthen the bonds of vassalage and fill the treasury, 3. gaining territory to suppress a neighbouring threat, 4. gaining territory in order to control trade routes, 5. acquisition of land to access fertile areas, mines, and river valleys, 5. to earn wealth, 6. re-conquest of territories, etc.

In the poems, we read that the Cēra king and army went into battle together and they camped at various stations along the long march. Whenever they stopped, a military camp was built in those places. Regarding the motivation behind the war, we learn from the Patiṟṟupattu that the king stayed in his hostile military camp built on the desired land of his enemies in order to bring back jewels and wealth,\textsuperscript{1155} while his “eyes, which were focussed on the mighty wealth, had been woken up by the curved, roaring drums”.\textsuperscript{1156} The 88\textsuperscript{th} poem talks about the boundaries of the military camp which has “border of shields in rows”,\textsuperscript{1157} while we see the topos of the fierce, invincible king in the 24\textsuperscript{th} poem, whose advancing camp’s boundaries had not been set.\textsuperscript{1158} The idea behind this passage could be that the army moved so fast, so that there was no need to camp for long, or that the army was so strong, so that they could defend themselves without fences. In the Puranāṅūra 301, we read about another custom to build fences of thorn (muḷ vēli) around the military camp.\textsuperscript{1159} The 24\textsuperscript{th} poem tells more details about the military camp which had a swinging, swaying throne so that it was, as I concluded before, \textit{de facto} a “moving court”, which camp had strong bowmen who did not know to dismount the bow-strings.\textsuperscript{1160} In the 16\textsuperscript{th} poem, we see the elephant bulls of the king’s army felling trees. We also see in the same poem the royal bed in the camp, where the king was, according to the puram topos, sleepless, while that bed was sweet for sleeping for the kohl-painted eyes of his lovers.\textsuperscript{1161} We see several poems in which the military camp was reeking of flesh and blood.\textsuperscript{1162} What we find in the 30\textsuperscript{th} line of the Patiṟṟupattu 90 is very fascinating, since it talks about the “military camp with mixed languages” (\textit{viravu moḷik kaṭṭūr}). Whether this means that non-Dravidian soldiers, speakers of other Dravidian languages, or mercenaries from across the sea served in the Cēra army, we have no valuable information. Were they also \textit{yavagas} as those “Greek” body guards whom we see in the Mullaippāṭṭu?\textsuperscript{1163} It is possible that these words are mere allusion to Akanāṅūra 212: 14,

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1155} Patiṟṟupattu, 53: 1–3.
\item \textsuperscript{1156} Patiṟṟupattu, 50: 23–26.
\item \textsuperscript{1157} Patiṟṟupattu, 88: 16.
\item \textsuperscript{1158} Patiṟṟupattu, 24: 14.
\item \textsuperscript{1159} Puranāṅūra, 301: 3.
\item \textsuperscript{1160} Patiṟṟupattu, 24: 12–13.
\item \textsuperscript{1161} Patiṟṟupattu, 16: 8–9; 17–18.
\item \textsuperscript{1162} Patiṟṟupattu, 57: 3; 61: 15.
\item \textsuperscript{1163} Mullaippāṭṭu, 45–49, 59–63, 63–66.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
where the same words (viravu moḷik kaṭṭūr) can be read. However, the Mullaippāṭṭu mentions a military camp, where in the middle of the camp, the special room created for the king was surrounded by many different and great armies. I consider it plausible that the appearance of mercenaries speaking different languages is not just an empty literary topos, but again overlaps with the reality.

The target of a military campaign was always to attack the fortifications which protected certain regions, whose sieges opened the way to conquer the areas behind them. Thus it is time to briefly summarize what we know about the ancient fortifications in and around the Cēra country. Above all, it is necessary to emphasize that archaeologists have not yet excavated important fortifications from these early centuries or at least not the size and importance what the Caṅkam sources would suggest. The Caṅkam fort of Vaḷḷam excavated near Tañcāvūr was a small mud fort lesser in height than the fort later built on it. However, in the Patirṛuppattu, we find difficult-to-siege, huge forts of lands and mountains. The main characteristics which can be found in our texts is that these fortresses had bowmen inside the walls, they possessed stable bastions with stairs, tall walls, deep moats sometimes with crocodiles, and protecting forests around. In the case of Akappā, the fort had rows of ramparts on the tall walls and a bow-machine called aiyavi fastened on the lofty gates. The gates had cylindrical cross-bars (elū), a row of war machines, and swaying flags above on the walls. We see in the Patirṛuppattu that, although there were forts built among the rocks, for which stones were certainly used as building material, most of the references mention earth fortifications of the lowlands, and in that sense, perhaps our most important passage is when we read about the royal palace with tall walls and an enclosure with tall earthen ramparts. We also read that the enemies of the Cēras had forts on the seas and in the forests.

Sometimes the poems describe the end of the siege with the absolutive kongṟu ‘having felled’, which could mean either the act of cutting a totemistic tree or that the fortresses were made from wood which had been destroyed this way. During our conversations, K. Rajan shared with me his archaeological experiences on the topic; according to this, it can be confidently stated that stone or brick structures were rare in Caṅkam times, because in subtropical zones, those structures were not needed, and even if a brick structure was made as a base of a building, it is rather possible that the superstructures were wooden. As Deloche

1164 Mullaippāṭṭu, 43–44.
1165 Subbarayalu 1984, 1–98.
1166 See: footnote 122.
1168 Patirṛuppattu, IX. 5.
1171 Patirṛuppattu, 11: 10; 16: 5; 76: 2.
summarizes, until the 3rd century AD, “strongholds in the Indian subcontinent were usually built according to a geometrical plan (quadrilateral, trapezium, rectangle, square, circle or semicircle); they consisted of a high and thick earthen embankment, with stone facing, corresponding to a wide and deep ditch; curtain walls were always massive and, except some sites, flanked by solid quadrangular towers; gateways were relatively simple: a passage between rectangular structures forming either a projecting work outside or a curved opening inside; finally, according to iconographic sources, walls were crenellated with rectangular or serrated merlons.”

Around the beginning of the first century AD, following the classification of ancient treatises, we see either sthaladurgas, “earthen forts” or jaladurgas, “water forts” (e.g. Karuvūr) in South India. This is exactly what we find in most of the cases in the Patiṟṟuppattu, where the forts are usually surrounded with deep moats, which forts anyway have to be understood either as earthen or water forts. The examples mentioned by Deloche consist of high and thick earthen bunds surrounded by deep ditches; around them, masonry works have been exposed; breaches through the embankments often correspond to gates; flanking towers are never seen except at Kōṭiṅgāla, Andhra Pradesh. Once again, it can only be said that the descriptions, although they were certainly inspired by other literary works from the North (e.g. Mahābhārata?) and ancient treatises such as the Mānavadharmasāstra and the Arthaśāstra (e.g. the crocodiles in the moats, cf. Arthaśāstra, II. 3. 4), may still have overlapped with reality, since it is hard to imagine that Caṅkam literature would have been filled with poetic images that could not be decoded by a person living in that space and time. It can be said about the Caṅkam fortifications as a whole that they could have been built of wood, earth, bricks, or in few cases stones, among them we could certainly find less important stations and watch posts, durable fortifications representing more serious protection and strength, and fortified towns like Muciṟi or Karuvūr with streets and palace.

When the army left the military camp, they either continued their way to the enemies’ land, met the enemies on the battlefield, or started to siege a fort. From these, I discuss here the sieges in detail. The primary goal was to force the enemy to surrender; sometimes the march of the armed forces was sufficient for this as we probably see in the 62nd song:

[…] after [you] surrounded the strong and difficult[-to-conquer] fort in order to approach [it] with horses [which have] trimmed mane cut by the weapon with a blade, with many big and dark shields which could be confused with clouds, [with] a rising multitude of many elephant bulls adorned with ornaments, if your enemies humbly give tributes, after [they] said “Tōṭṭi!”, [as being] ones with

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1172 Deloche 2007, 49.
1173 Deloche 2007, 51.
1174 Deloche 2007, 51.
large, greeting\textsuperscript{1175} hands at the mountain-like ramparts with moats in which the water dashes against [the edges], their country with vast areas is worthy of songs […]\textsuperscript{1176}

If the enemy decided to fight, then, according to the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} which never talks about the defeat of the Ėrəs, the destiny of the fort was to be captured and/or to be burnt down. The Ėrə kings felled forts in the 11\textsuperscript{th} song (Line 10), destroyed the insides of the forts and burned them down in the 20\textsuperscript{th} song (Line 19–20), but sometimes they only let the forts to be abandoned without guard as we see in the 25\textsuperscript{th} song (Line 5). We see the Ėrə arrays go beyond the walls in the 29\textsuperscript{th} song (Line 13), and the Ėrə war elephants to break the gate in 38\textsuperscript{th} song (Line 5). In the 50\textsuperscript{th} poem (Lines 12–13), we see the Ėrə kings to overcome in battles, while the fortresses of the hill-tops, of the ocean and of other places became subdued. In the 53\textsuperscript{rd} song (Lines 16–22), we see the Ėrə elephants who cannot endure to stop in front of the many storied gates of the forts. In the 58\textsuperscript{th} song (Line 10), the Ėrə army attacks a fort with archers. We learn from the poet of the last decade, that the Ėrə army that time used a “stone-vomiting catapult”\textsuperscript{1177} which made the difficult-to-siege forts suffer.\textsuperscript{1178} I have already mentioned certain machines before, which protected the gate of a fort, such as the famous \textit{aiyavi} which either caught arrows or shot arrows. Unfortunately, we do not know anything sure about these machines, why were they included in the texts, but some of them must have existed in these centuries. Regarding the siege, we see an interesting oath taken by the Ėrə king as the commander of his warriors:

[After] he declared: “If we are ones who sweetly enjoyed this day in order to distribute their murderous weapons to the thunderbolt-like warriors [who are] people having bodies with glorious scars imprinted by the edges of swords, [and who are] people having bright flowers of \textit{kuvalai} tied with white fronds, we will not eat food [from now], unless we conquer tomorrow the walls with ramparts made from earth!”\textsuperscript{1179}

\textsuperscript{1175} We can split the sandhi either as \textit{vaŋk’ uṭai} or \textit{aŋk’ uṭai}. The first would confirm the idea of \textit{tōṭṭi} as a greetings, the second would qualify the hands (“awful hands”?).\textsuperscript{1176} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 62: 1–4, 10–12, 19.

\textsuperscript{1177} The basic meaning of the word \textit{kavaṇai} (\textit{kavaṇ, Tamil Lexicon, 788}) is ‘sling’, however, as an extended meaning it could mean a ‘catapult’. The English word ‘catapult’ here helps us to keep the ambiguity. I would not think that the king attacked forts with a mere sling but of course it depends on the size of the questionable sling/fort. Cf. \textit{Kuruntokai}, 388: 3; \textit{Naṟṟina}, 206: 5; \textit{Akanāṟu}, 292: 11.

\textsuperscript{1178} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 88: 18.

\textsuperscript{1179} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 58: 2–7.
This rigorous fast in order to achieve victory seems to be unique in the old puram corpus. I think the idea behind it was that the warriors will not have to wait so long, since the Cēra king’s army was definitely stronger than any other armies, if not in reality, at least in these panegyrici. In fact, we see a similar example in the 68th poem of the Patiruppattu, in which we read the following:

Unless [the Cēra warriors] attack the persistent forts with desirable/cruel lines, while the muracam-drum with rumbling sound echoes in the big vast sky, [which sound] had been urged [with drumsticks into] a fierce/fast noise in the middle of the military camp which stationed in various lands, [the muracam-drum which sounded like the sea as if the wind became [its] drumsticks; unless [they] themselves, [who have] distress that perplexes [their] bodies and who are ones with heart-declared effort, achieve to conquer the residences of the disobedient, while a lot of time has passed which was multiplied without eating, will they obtain the desired long lifetime […]? ¹¹⁸⁰

This may indicate again a solemn vow not to eat until they have conquered the fort. Another possibility is that there was a stalemate in the supply of food during the protracted campaign. If we imagine such a siege in the tropical heat of South India, perhaps the vow could have been a magical concentration of power (cf. tapas) in which the hunger and the distress heat the wrathful efforts, even if it was merely the poet’s imagination. I still infer from this that it was a popular idea among ancient Tamil people that by fasting a desirable goal would sooner be achieved by means of some supernatural intervention.

The destruction after the siege and the wasteland often appears in the poems:

You seized the defence [over] the difficult fort with bastions [which have] small stairs, with moats in the depth, [fort of] those who committed their crimes, [you seized] without letting the gate of the walls be visible when the fragrant smoke of the burning of war concealed the great directions, after [the fire] spread, arose, [and] got enraged, so that the flames seized the villages.¹¹⁸¹

Thus we see that to seize the defence over the fort was not the last stage of the siege. In some cases the last act was when the Cēra king, at least in the poet’s imagination, burned down the villages around, thus completing his mission. We find a longer description in poem 15, which gives a detailed account of the destruction caused by the war:

¹¹⁸⁰ Patiruppattu, 68: 1–8; 14.
After [you] camped on the desired land [of your foes,] while a year had [already] passed, after [you] destroyed the tree of the ramparts, [where] clouds spread [and] showered [plentifully], by means of [your] rage difficult to approach while you caused to spread the fire on the battlefield; after [you] destroyed [everything], so that the beauty of the fire-seized [country-]sides perished, while the wind battered the particles [of ash in the] colourful smoke by letting out banners, when the hellish flood that flowed [with] elephant bulls in rows, cut the waists of the kings, [whose prediction] made with kāḷaṅku-beans [had become] ruined, after [we] had seen the countries of your enemies who opposed [your] strength by forgettting [about it] because of [their] ignorance, [the countries] with villages where the fields perished together with the grassy-leafy lands, where rascals, [who carry their] flesh-reeking bows as [their] ploughs, roam [among] the old houses destroyed by the vines of the reddened kāntal where in the waterless furrows which were creepingly spread with [the tendrils of] pūr, the green curai grew well together with the vēlai with white flower on the regions of vast areas whose ancient beauty has perished, [having seen all these] let us come [to your court]!

The Cēra kings and his retinue certainly found descriptions like this impressive. The contrast between the sophisticated language of classical poetry and the minute details of the terrible destruction raised the cruelty of the kings to an aesthetically high degree. The audience must have listened these poems with admiration mixed with horror. Either these campigns were real conquests or insignificant marches against some villages, they probably occurred far enough from the capital to be recorded by the royal propaganda as memorable and legendary events.

As far as we could, we have already sketched the main campaigns in a previous chapter on Cēra border areas. The directions indicated by the Cēra military enterprises show the intention to gain control over the Malabar Coast and the Kāviri Valley together with the most important trade routes of the age, while trying to weaken, to make dependent, or to defeat their rivals. Thus in my view the Cēra expansions were not only schematic literary examples of the predatory warfare in early South India, but they have historical value: the Cēras tried to control the inland trade of South India between the ports of the Malabar Coast and the Coromandel Coast, for which their capital in Karuvūr had a perfect strategic position. At the same time, the Cēras laid their hands on the mines of Koṅkunāṭu rich in precious

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stones. This way the Cēras at a certain time of their early history, probably around the second half of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century AD, were able to control most of the ports of the Malabar Coast, the trade routes via the Palghat Gap, the mines of Koṅkunāṭu, and through their favourable position, they had the opportunity to profit from the ancient inland trade in South India offering a market at Karuvūr for goods flowing from all directions.

The victory and the festive kingdom

As the Caukam poems suggest, when the king and his armies were victorious, they could finally return to the capital or one of the regional political centres in order to celebrate the victory with splendid festivals. The triumphant festival consisted of different events started with the (pre-festival) post-battle sacrifices; followed by the performances of musicians, dancers, and actors on the streets of the capital and in the palace; followed by the open court when the king graciously distributed his gifts, while sumptuous feast was offered to the visitors and the worthy ones.

From these, the post-battle rituals will be discussed in a later chapter. Regarding them, we conclude that the post-battle sacrifices of the Cēras mentioned in the poems were complex offerings that fed the deity probably of Ayiraimalai who might have been Koṟṟavai and/or Murukaṉ, the forefathers, the evil spirits and other legendary beasts, and the earth in order to make the battlefield fertile and pacified. These pali descriptions may designate a Dravidian sacrifice as well a brāhmaṇical sacrifice, however, I believe we have to interpret it as an ancient Dravidian oblation for the victory, which began to intertwine with Vedic rituals at the time of the Patiṟṟuppattu. We do not know whether such rites were performed only on the battlefield, or also in the festive towns of the Cēras.

Talking about the post-battle sacrifices, we observe the tradition of the tuṇāṅkai dance which was, according to the Tamil Lexicon, “a kind of dance in which the arms bent at the elbows are made to strike against the sides”. In the Patiṟṟuppattu, this dance was either a partner dance/festival dance in which the king had a chance to dance with other women than his (favourite) wife, or a victory dance performed on the battlefield by the king and his warriors. The tuṇāṅkai dance was sometimes performed by demons (pey). Anyway, tuṇāṅkai dance was also danced after the victory and in the festivals, but its religious context

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1184 See: pp. 396–400.
1185 Tamil Lexicon, 1963.
1187 Patiṟṟuppattu, 13: 5; 45: 12; 57: 4; 77: 4.
1188 For example: Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, 56.
is debatable. Be that as it may, when the sacrificial rites were performed, the celebration began.

In the Patiruppattu, we find several references to royal festivals. The 15th song talks about the old town (probably the capital) of the Cēras, where the festivals do not know an end,1189 the same poem also talks about the excellent festivals of Neṭiyōṅ (perhaps Viṣṇu or another unidentified deity), which became the source of delight or protection.1190 the 22nd song sings about the ample fertility of the country which was previously destroyed, and its festivals in noisy areas, which seem to be tappatam-festivals celebrating ‘the oncoming of the freshet in a river’(Tamil Lexicon, 1738),1191 the 30th song talks about the festival of the ancient town mentioning the flood of the river and the elated crowd of people,1192 the 48th song also mentions the festival of flood, in which water the people dance,1193 the 56th song speaks of the festival in the court which was held with dignity and where people usually dance,1194 the 61st song talks about the festival-like court in the flesh-reeking military camp, where drummers, and songstresses with moonlight-like bright spears gather,1195 while the 72nd song compares the king’s warfare acts to the festival when people come to celebrate the rising flood.1196 All these shows that festivals were regularly celebrated in the Cēra kingdom. The most important festivals were organized after the victory, for welcoming the overflowing river, and for paying homage to certain deities. At the news of the victory, the bards, dancers, gift-seekers and others set out for the court, which “pilgrimage” in order to see the king and receive his gifts became a literary program in the puram-poetry.1197

When the court was opened to suppliants, people started to praise the king and sing the marvellous acts of the Cēras. In the 23rd song, we read the following:

O Kuṭṭuvan with golden garland and army which is murderous in war, who liberally gives big vessels, even if just a little toddy remains [for himself], while those whose hearts are full of happiness cheerfully dance, after they ate, [and] they greatly rejoiced, when [their] beautiful, gold-made jewels jingle, while the fierce hunger left the vayir-people, who sing on the side of the streets, having come there, to the village common, as people who have bags with instruments that were tied up [and] carried; [they rejoice] even at the time when the fields

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1189 Patiruppattu, 15: 18–19.
1192 Patiruppattu, 30: 14–21.
1194 Patiruppattu, 56: 1–3.
1195 Patiruppattu, 61: 15–18.
1197 Patiruppattu, 11: 20; 15: 15; 23: 11; 49: 1, 17; 61: 14; 76: 9; etc.
perished as the moisture of the ground ceased, after the great drought intensified, while crickets, abiding on the forked branches of the **ungam**-trees’ distressed crown, were chirping […]\textsuperscript{1198}

In this important passage, we read about the generous gifts of the Cēran, about the feast and the dance of those who visited the court, and about the musicians who performed on the side of the streets. In the 29\textsuperscript{th} song, we also see “the **vayiriya**-people sing on the side of the streets reaching the village-common, after they arose [from their places], after they performed melodies (**pañ** [playing] on the strings which had not been dismounted [during] the unceasing festival”).\textsuperscript{1199} This musical performance was preceded by the post-battle sacrifices in the same poem which was probably accompanied by drum rolls of drummers and blood sprinkling.\textsuperscript{1200} Perhaps the scene found in the 47\textsuperscript{th} song, when **viralis** are dancing in the streets of the ancient palace, also has to be connected to the festivals, although this could also have been an ordinary entertainment for the king. We see women with **yāḷ** in the 46\textsuperscript{th} song, who performed **pālai**-melody, who, after the king gave them sweet toddy and jewels, changed the musical mode and sang **uḷiṇai**-songs according to their tradition.\textsuperscript{1201} In the 41\textsuperscript{st} song, we read about skilful young men who praised the deity (**kaṭavul**), who were men with bags of instruments gathered at the ghat, whose bags had been fastened to a pole (**kāvu**) by tying the melodious **mulavu**-drum, the **patalai**-drum, flutes (**tūmpu**) and other instruments into a bundle, and about other young men who picked up their good **yāḷ** in order to perform melodies.\textsuperscript{1202} In the 57\textsuperscript{th} song, we see the **viralis** who sang the sweet melody of **taliṇci**, after the bards (**pānar**) performed **pālai**-melody on the big **yāḷ** in their hands, on which their fingers caught the expanding, tied strings.\textsuperscript{1203} In the 66\textsuperscript{th} song, we read about a scene of musical performance, in which an old truth-saying beggar appears, who walks on the road while thinking of the Cēra king, and performing **pālai**-melody on his big **yāḷ**.\textsuperscript{1204} The examination of these specific details deserve a separate research, which certainly has to be done in the future.

In the 54\textsuperscript{th} song, we see that after the king donated unending quantity of jewels day by day, the misery of the suppliants came to and end, while the **viralis** continously sang the king’s valour.\textsuperscript{1205} Reading the first line of the 58\textsuperscript{th} song, from the imperatives we conclude that not only the musicians and bards but also the gift-seekers sang, quite spontaneously, on these

\textsuperscript{1198} *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 23: 1–10.
\textsuperscript{1199} *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 29: 8–10.
\textsuperscript{1200} *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 29: 11–14.
\textsuperscript{1201} *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 46: 4–6.
\textsuperscript{1202} *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 41: 1–6.
\textsuperscript{1203} *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 57: 7–9.
\textsuperscript{1204} *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 66: 1–3.
\textsuperscript{1205} *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 54: 6–8.
occasions. Anyway, if those visitors in the court sang the glory of the king, especially if they were learned musicians, they could expect a fabulous reward:

O skilful minstrel (pāṇṇapp) of the tradition which is [your] duty to know from the famous ancient town called Pantar, together with [your] relatives [who have delivered] an encomium [upon the king], which happened in Koṭumāṇam, you will receive good jewels together with pearls from the clear ocean, if you go as one who sings the wealthy king [...].

The 86th poem also talks about the king as being someone who protects the singers. Thus we have seen bards, dancers, musicians, and other gift-seekers to sing the glory of the king for which they received gifts in exchange. A nice example of this gift-giving ceremony (as being part of the panegyric ritual, a term suggested by A. Dubiansky) can be found in the 43rd song:

[…] like the raindrops drip from the crowded clamorous sky, [you] showered good vessels, so that [your] friends became full, having consumed without saving, so that people who witnessed [it] became satisfied, let the singing vīralīs obtain many elephant cows, [vīralīs, whose] sweet voice, which excelled [the kinnaram with] fluttering wing, joined to the strings! Let the plundering (koṇṭi) strong men (māḷār) obtain murderous elephant bulls, [men, who are] glorious, fearful, and longing [for] victory, [who have] the soft flower of the vākai-tree and the fine creeper of uḻīnāl! Let the akavalapp-bard obtain horses, [who] praised the battlefield taking [his] fine stick with joints (kaṇṭi) after he set out to the village common [and] entered the side of the street! (26)

Sometimes they received much more useful gifts such as the expensive kaliṅkam-clothes in the 12th poem (Line 21), while the given food perished the long-lasting hunger of their relatives (Line 15). In this milieu of heroic literature, the most important quality that distinguished heroes from others was their capacity for limitless and generous giving, thus those who excelled in generosity were extolled as heroes in Tamil literature. The one-sidedness of the donation was important, i.e. the donor did not expect anything in return, but nothing obliged him to be generous either. To show such generosity and compassion was the

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1207 Patiṟṟuppattu, 86: 8.
noblest of deeds. Selfless donation could be in fact real redistribution of goods, but in many cases its purpose was only to create a bond between the donor and the recipient.

According to the Patiruppattu, the last event of a victorious festival (or of a festival day) was the fabulous feast, about which important details are revealed in the poems. First of all, regarding the food served on the feasts, the Cēras offered a non-vegetarian menu to their guests with seasoned and roasted goat flesh and fatty meat pieces together with various types of boiled rice and cooked grains, they prepared Indian-kale in large earthen pots, meat curry in which meat was inseparable from the boiled rice, while in the western parts of the kingdom, people got the chance to taste white meat, lentils, white curry without red meat. Those who prepared the food used blades, knives, chopping boards, pestles, pots, and ovens. A drink was also served during the feast, which was the nothing else but toddy. We find references in the Patiruppattu to the fiber-filtered toddy (naravu), to the clarified sap (tēra) of the filtered toddy (kaḷ) produced with flower buds, to the slightly filtered toddy (ariya), to the rare toddy sold in the marketplaces, to the sweet toddy (maki), to the toddy called pili sold in the markets, to the toddy called maṭṭam popular among the kuṭṭar, and the toddy called maṭṭam which had sapphire colour, was matured from a sweet juice, and was stored in vessels with sandal-paste smeared on the outside. Another fascinating passage can be found in the 43rd poem:

[...] we saw your state in your bustling court, o king with generous hands, [which court bustles,] because [your] unceasing toddy (kaḷ) had been drunk by the musicians (vayiriyar) from the pots which do not remain filled for a long, [pots from] the shelves (ēṇi) that cannot be climbed [as a ladder (ēṇi)], [shelves, which] know neither exhaustion nor fullness, [shelves in your court, where] the heat of the fire together with the smoke of the burning meat does not cease.

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1209 Subbiah 1991, 133.
1212 Patiruppattu, 18: 2.
1213 Patiruppattu, 24: 20–21.
1214 Patiruppattu, 45: 13.
1215 Patiruppattu, 55: 7–8.
1216 Patiruppattu, 11: 15.
1217 Patiruppattu, 12: 18.
1218 Patiruppattu, 40: 18.
1219 Patiruppattu, 68: 10–11; 75: 10;
1221 Patiruppattu, 30: 12.
1222 Patiruppattu, 42: 11–12.
All these texts show that the drinking of the intoxicating toddy was a popular activity during the feasts, so that those who were interested in selling these liquors tried to produce a great variety of different sorts of toddy. Among the beverages available in South India, one could certainly find Mediterranean wines (cf. the sapphire-coloured māṭṭam?), however, we do not have enough information to surely identify them in the texts. In one case, however, the Tamils clearly referred to the Mediterranean wines, when we read about “the fragrant cool wine which was brought in the good vessels of the Greeks/yavaŋ” (yavaṅ naṅkalam tanta taṅ kamaḻ tēṟal).1224

Whenever the guests had eaten the dishes and drank the liquor, they suddenly felt like dancing in their joy, and we also find a reference in the Patiṟṟuppattu, in which the bards got drunk so that they started to prattle: “… while the perfect strings of the people with instruments in bags and with tender words praised [you] with prattling tongues that changed [their] words after having drunk …”.1225 The king, of course, was always there among the celebrating folks, his retinue, the famous bards, and the valorous warriors, while others sweetly saw his throne where crowds jubilated, whose sound arose like the songs of birds.1226

1224 Paranāṉuru, 56: 18.
1226 Patiṟṟuppatti, 84: 19–20, 24.
The interactive kingdom

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the Cēra Kingdom as an interactive monarchy; I shall examine the person and power of the king through his commercial, diplomatic, religious, and cultural interactions with the “others”. The king’s power and strength rested mostly on a system of interactive relations, where the Cēraṇ could maintain order through the military elite, control political life through his purohita and the court council, protect his authority and power through the praising words of the learned poets, control and boost the economy through the merchants, protect ritual embeddedness of the dynasty through the brāhmaṇas around the court, and satisfy the needs of the society through the generous gifts regularly given by the palace. Therefore, the king was forced to interact continuously and although his power may seem absolute, it depended a lot on the loyal actors who helped him stay in power. 1227 On the following pages, I attempt to make an analysis in two subchapters, the King and Trade and King and religion, in which studies the Cēra king appears in the centre of interactions which made his country long-standing, strong, and, in terms of its cultural identity, unique.

King and trade

The circumnavigation of the Malabar Coast

Due the fortunate constellation around the end of the 1st century BC created by the legacy of the experiences of Ptolemaic and Mediterranean merchants, the improvement of technological innovations, the evolving needs of the solvent strata of multicultural societies in the Mediterranean, the organization of infrastructural framework of trade together with the establishment of a trade defense system during the peaceful period of Pax Romana,1228 led to the beginning of an organic, intense, predictable, and promising trade in the Indian Ocean and with it on the Malabar Coast. The Cēra kingdom had a special role in the history of Indo-Roman trade, because the northern and the middle areas of the Malabar Coast were the first among the South Indian shores that were reached by Roman traders, which geographical area was ruled by the Cēra dynasty for a long durée from around the 3rd century BC until around

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1227 To analyse the Cēra kingdom as an interactive one, the work of Angelos Chaniotis (Chaniotis 2005) served as a source of inspiration. The reason that the previous sub-chapter, The heroic king as a topic fell out of the circle of analysis is that, as we have seen, there was no hard evidence to prove the dynastic/clan relations within the Cēra army, nor to prove that vassal commanders served in the Cēra army making the loyalty of the warriors labile, and the army dependent on personal interests of a military elite. No doubt, royal interactivity had to be present in the organization of army, but its extent and nature is difficult to determine from Tamil sources.

1228 Rawlinson 1916, 101.
the 4th century AD. Within these centuries the Cēras’ state was gradually transformed from a tribal hegemony to an early kingdom with Old Tamil culture but strong brāhmanical influences around the court. Around the first century AD, the Cēra kingdom had already developed an economic system with a) traditional barter, b) with monetised market-places operated by Jains, Buddhists, and perhaps loyal officials, and c) with prestigious gifts as side-products of “international” relations; this system was able to exploit the potential of trade, however, it became dependent on Rome, the centre of the trading system. In order to begin our analysis, it is worth turning our attention to the Mediterranean, where, during the Roman trade with India, various authors discussed the Cēra kingdom together with its settlement network providing an excellent background for the Early Old Tamil literary sources. Although, among the ancient Tamil rulers, the Pāṇṭiyas had been probably mentioned at the earliest by Megasthenes in the 4th–3rd c. BC, and the Pāṇṭiya embassy to Augustus by Strabo (1st c. BC), we find the first reference to the Cēra kingdom only in the Naturalis Historia of Pliny the Elder (23/24–79 AD).

Pliny learned (Naturalis Historia, VI. 26. 104) at the time when he was working on the Naturalis Historia that the king of Muziris (perhaps around today’s Paṭṭaṇaṃ/Koṭūnḥallūr, Kerala), the first marketplace (emporium) of India, was Caelobothras. Although he did not have much knowledge about this kingdom, he was of the opinion that traders should not visit Muziris, because it does not abound in commodities (neque est abundans mercibus), the cargoes have to be conveyed in boats for loading or discharging, taking into account the great distance between the coast and the riverside port (praeterea longe a terra abest navium statio, lintribusque adferuntur onera et egeruntur), and because of the neighbouring pirates of Nitrias (vicinos piratas, qui optinent locum nomine Nitrias), which made the Muziris’ trade

1229 The chronology of the Cēras’ reign stretches between the Aśoka inscriptions which records them as Kelalapute/Keralaputro/Keradaputro, and the reconstructed, obscure chronology found in the Cēra panegyrici. For more details, see: pp. 2–4.
1230 For the fragments of Megasthenes, see: Solin. 52. 5–17; Phlegon, Mir. 33.
1231 Strabo, Geogr. XV. 5.
1232 For the recent localization of Muziris/Muciṟi, see: Cherian (et al.) 2004 and Cherian–Selvakumar–Shajan 2007. Gurukkal–Whittaker 2001. De Romanis rightly assumes that Paṭṭaṇaṃ may have been just a nearby settlement, ement very close to Muziris, but anyway, ancient Muziris could be located certainly in the zone of Paṭṭaṇaṃ, Kerala. De Romanis 2020, 79, 115. In any case, the excavations confirm that there was an ancient settlement in the village of Paṭṭaṇaṃ which was involved in trade with the Romans.
1233 The location of Nitrias/Nitra emporion (Νίτρα ἐμπόριον; Ptol., Geog. VII. 7) is a matter of debate. Pretzsch (Pretzsch 1889, 23), Warmington (Warmington 1974, 57), and Schoff (Schoff 1913, 203) suggests to identify it with today’s Pigeon Island/Netrani Island, the Leukē nēsos (Λευκὴ νῆσος) of the Periplus (ch. 53), while Casson (Casson 1989, 217) mentions that “Ptolemy’s Nitraiai, however, is no island but a port of trade right on the coast”. Following Ptolemy and the Periplus, we should, however, distinguish between Naoura (Νάουρα) and Nitrias/Nitra, since Nitra was north of Limyrikē (Λιμυρική) in Andrōn Peiratōn (Ἀνδρῶν Πειρατῶν; Ptol., Geog. VII. 7), the land of pirates, while Naoura was the first among the marketplaces on the Malabar Coast (Periplus
unpredictable. However, the presence of pirates around the port of Caelobothras somewhat highlights its importance and the intensive maritime activities around it. Caelobothras as a name is the distorted form of Keralaputra (Skt. “son of Kerala”), which can be found on the II. Aśokan Rock Edict of Mānsehrā (3rd c. BC), but also on other Aśokan inscriptions as Ketalaputo (II. Rock Edict of Girnār), Kelalaputo (II. Rock Edict of Kālsī), or Keraḍaputro (II. Rock Edict of Shāhbāzgarhī). This name is, no doubt, the Indo-Aryan name of the Cēra/Cēral dynasty and of their kingdom itself, which name was used perhaps in diplomacy and external affairs. In the Mahābhārata and the few-hundred years later Masyapurāṇa, we find the same kingdom/inhabitants of the kingdom attested as kerala. We have another reference to the ancient kingdom of the Cēras in the Periplus Maris Erythraei, a periplus-text from the middle of the 1st century AD, in which we read about the kingdom (βασιλεία) of Kēprobotos (Κηπροβότος) which was, as Casson pointed out following Frisk and McCrindle, a misspelled form from of *Κηροβότρος, the Greek transcription of the above mentioned Keralaputras. Adding to this, Ptolemy also mentioned the “sons of Kerala” as Kērobothras (Κηροβόθρας) whose royal residence (Βασίλειον) was in Karoura (Κάρουρα)/Karuvūr, somewhere between the rivers called Pseudostomos (Ψευδόστομος; the Periyār river, Kerala) and Baris (Βάρις; might be the Pampā river, Kerala). Perhaps Florus (c. 74 –147 AD) is the last among the ancient authors who wrote about them; in that passage, which mentioned seres (a usual term for the “silk people” i.e. folks of ancient China) among Indians, which is still a matter of debate, but considering the context, the seres in that special case could have been identical with the Cēras of South India, but that would also mean that Florus had an informant who was aware of the Tamil name of the kingdom (seres < Cēra), which we could prove by the appearance of the ‘s’ at the beginning of the word, instead of the names before derived from Kerala and Keralaputra. Regarding their dynastic name, Marr is right when he argues that the name ‘Cēra’ does not appear in the old texts, but instead of that we have Cēral and the honorific Cēralar, which seemed to be preserved also in the Sanskrit names with an initial velar plosive (*Keral), and this way in the Latin/Greek forms. We see Cēraṇ/Cēramāṇ (masc. singular) in the colophons of the Purāṇāgūra (e.g. col. 53; 203), but the earliest actual attestation of ‘Cēraṇ’ (masc. singular) and ‘Cērar’ (honorific plural) can be

ch. 53). Among them, Naoura was perhaps a town in the Cēra kingdom, which appears in the Patiruppattu as Naṟavu. Patiruppattu, 60: 12; 85: 8.

1234 Hultzsch 1925, 2–3; 28–29; 51–52; 72.

1235 Mahābhārata, I. 177. 15: 4; II. 28. 48: 1; VI. 10. 57: 1; VIII. 8. 15: 1; XIV. 83. 29: 2; Masyapurāṇa XLVIII. 5. 1; CXIV. 46. 2.

1236 Periplus Maris Erythraei, 55.


1238 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 86.

1239 Florus, Epitomae IV. 12: 62. or II. 34.

1240 Marr 1985 [1958], 263.
found only in the *Cilappatikāram* written in the early Middle Ages (ca. 5–6 centuries AD).\(^{1241}\) Therefore, it is up to the researcher to join the tradition of applying a usual although a bit anachronistic name used by early mediaeval authors, editors, commentators, and modern historians, or to adhere to the archaic version of the dynastic name. I think both are right in their own way; I use the dynastic name Čēra throughout my study except when I quote from Caṅkam texts.

Pliny’s ‘Muziris’, the name of the “first marketplace of India” is known in the Caṅkam literary works as Muciri/Mucurī, a coastal town of the Čēras,\(^{1242}\) and Muciri appears also in an early inscription at Muttuppaṭṭi (ca. 1st c. BC).\(^{1243}\) Although the trade between the Čēra Kingdom and the Mediterranean might have begun somewhat earlier, we see in Pliny that in the 1\(^{st}\) c. AD an existing trade can already be found on the Malabar Coast, which, in Pliny’s work, was just in a crisis because of the pirates from northern areas. Regarding the region of the Malabar Coast, it has its own name in Ancient Greek: Limyrikē (Λῑμυρική) in Ptolemy (*Geog*. VII. 1. 8) and Limyrichē (Λῑμυρίχή) in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (ch. 55). The name of Limyrikē/Limyrichē caused much ink to flow, since many scholars claimed (Schoff, Warmington, Wheeler, Mathew and others), that the name Limyrikē is a misspelled form when two letters, the Λ and the Δ were interchanged, and the reconstructed/original “Damirice” (Schoff even used the misleading “Damirica” in his translations!) must be derivable from the Old Tamil word ‘Tamilakam’, which means the “interior of the Tamil [countries]” or simply “Tamil land”.\(^{1244}\) Leaving the question open, I think the only right thing to do is to turn back to the original Greek name and keep in mind two things: that this place name may have some obscure Dravidian origin and it is certainly the same as ‘Dymirice’ of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, but is definitely different from the area which the *itinerarium* calls ‘Damirice’.\(^{1245}\) Considering this, it is rather problematic to draw up a satisfying etymology of Limyrikē from Tamilakam. If this would be the solution, more must have happened in the history of the word than just a scribal error.

We should emphasize that we are already on the land called Dachinabadēs (Δαχιναβάδης; *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, ch. 50), which term is the same as Skt. Dakṣiṇāpatha (“the road to the south”), the historical region south of Āryāvarta, which can be generally divided into the Deccan Plateau and the Tamil South. However, the author of the *Periplus* had distinguished Dachinabadēs from Limyrikē, the Malabar Coast, which was perhaps based on a misinformation or misinterpretation, or simply meant that the practical information came from

\(^{1241}\) *Cilappatikāram* III. 29. 28: 3; III. kaṭṭ. 3.

\(^{1242}\) *Akanāṉūṟu* 57: 15; 149: 11; *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 343: 10.

\(^{1243}\) Mahadevan 2003, 295. For the ancient and early mediaeval history of Muziris, see: Malekandathil 2016.


\(^{1245}\) *Tabula Peutingeriana* XI.

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informants familiar with the areas, who who divided South India into these units from the point of view of west coast trade.

The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (ch. 53), anyway, talks about Limyrikē as a region that have several ports of trade. Among them three names are of Cēra places: Naoura (Νάουρα),1246 Tyndis (Τύνδις),1247 and Mouziris (Μούζιρις). Two of these, Mouziris/Muciṟi and Tyndis/Toṇṭi (perhaps around today’s Ponnāni, Kerala)1248 appear in Caṅkam literature, while Naoura is only suspected to be attested as Naṟavu.1249 North of these, the *Periplus* lists a series of coastal places that lie on the Konkan Coast (VII. 1. 6–7), in connection with which the name of a tribal chief, Naṉṉa1250 and the kaṭampu-tribe will occur later in this chapter. The *Periplus* just mentions Naoura, and does not have much to say about Tyndis which happened to be a port of trade (ἐμπόριον; ch. 53) and an “important seashore village” (κώμη παραθαλάσσιος ἔνσης, ch. 54). However; it tells much about Mouziris, which owes its wealth to two trading activities, the ships from Ariakē (Αριακή) and the ships of the Greeks.1251 According to Casson, Ariakē extended from around the Gulf of Kutch “south as far as Barygaza1252 … and east into the interior at least as far as Minnagara”,1253 and its name perhaps has to be connected with the āryas, thus, Ariakē1254 would be the Hellenized version of Āryaka, the land of the Āryas.1255 The distance between Tyndis and Mouziris is 500 stadia with plus 20 stadia which has to be possibly counted from the river mouth.1256 We find other ports of Limyrikē in Ptolemy together with the already known ones,1257 such as the city

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1246 Naoura was perhaps a town of the Cēra kingdom in North Malabar, which appears in the *Patiruppattu* as Naravu. *Patiruppattu*, 60: 12; 85: 8. Schoff identifies it (Schoff 1913, 204) with Kannūr (Kerala) and rejects an age-old attempt of localization which can already be found at Pretzsch (Pretzsch 1889, 23). Casson (Casson 1989, 297) pinpoints it at Maṅgalūru (Karnataka), which became another usual identification of the place name. It was certainly located between Nitiyas/Nitra and Tyndis/Toṇṭi.

1247 Cf. Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 8. Tyndis lay perhaps around today’s Ponnāni, Kerala. The Greek name covers an important Cēra town, Toṇṭi which appears twenty times in the Caṅkam texts. Lehmann–Malten 2007, 244. The Aiṅkuṟunāṟu, the erotic anthology of the Cēras devoted an entire decade to Toṇṭi (*tonṭip pattu*). *Aiṅkuṟunāṟu* 171–180.

1248 Casson 1989, 297.

1249 See: *Patiruppattu*, 60: 12; 85: 8.

1250 Naṉṉa was perhaps the same as Nandana found in the *Mūṣikavamśamahākāvyya* written by Atula (12th c. AD), which text would then suggest that Naṉṉa was the supposed or real ancestor of the Mūṣika Dynasty of the Middle Ages. However, we have no ancient data to confirm this.

1251 *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, ch. 54.

1252 Barygaza (Βαρύγαζα) had to be the today’s Bharūc (Gujarat), the historical Bharukaccha/Bhārukaccha (*Mahābhārata*, II. 28. 50: 1; II. 47. 8: 1; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I. 6. 76: 2; *Matsyapurāṇa*, CXIV. 50: 2).

1253 The metropolis called Minnagara (Μινναγάρα; *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, ch. 41), also found at Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 63. as Minagara (Μυνάγαρα), lay perhaps at today’s Vaḍodarā (Gujarat). Casson 1989, 199.

1254 Ariakē covered the hinterlands of Barygaza and some parts of the Konkan Coast.

1255 Casson 1989, 197.

1256 *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, ch. 55.

1257 Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 8.
(πόλις) called Tyndis (Τύνδις), Bramagara (Βραμάγαρα),1258 the cape (ἄκρα) called Kalaikarias (Καλαικαρίας),1259 the port of trade (ἐμπόριον) called Mouziris (Μουζζιρίς), then comes the mouth of the river Pseudostomos/Periyār (Ψευδοστόμου ποταμοῦ ἕκβολαι), after that another port called Podoperoura (Ποδοπέρουρα),1260 the cape (ἄκρα) called Kanakasabhai 1904, 18.

Kereoura (Κερεούρα) was perhaps the today’s Guruvāyūr. Barrington Atlas, 65.


1262 Blinca is an unidentified settlement found on the Tabula Peutingeriana XI. It might be the same as Boλίτα of the Peripus (ch. 58) and Bammala (Βαμμάλα)/Bambala (Βαμβάλα) of Ptolemy (Geog. VII. 1. 9). Kumar (et al.) 2013, 196; 200. If so, it might also be the same as today’s Viḻiṉāṉam, Kerala. Barrington Atlas, 61.

1263 Selvakumar 2017, 274. n. on fig. 11. 2.

1264 It is almost impossible to localize Patinae, since its name seems to reflect the Tamil word for ‘maritime town’ (paṭṭaṉam/paṭṭigam, Tamil Lexicon, 2420; 2426), which word has been regularly added to the names of ports.

1265 It is today’s Maturai (Tamil Nadu), the ancient Kūṭal and Maturai.

1266 Kanakasabhai 1904, 17–18.

1267 Casson 1989, 85.
Turning back to Pliny the Elder, he even adds that Cottonara, a region (regio) was the place from which pepper used to be transported in dugouts (monoxylus linter) to Becare.\textsuperscript{1268} The Cottonara region is attested also in the \textit{Periplus Maris Erythraei} (ch. 56), in which Kottanarichē (Κοτταναρῖχη) is a ‘place’ (τόπος) which was famous for its export of pepper and was connected to the northern harbours, as Casson highlighted, of Mouziris and Nelkynda mentioned in the previous chapter of the \textit{Periplus} (ch. 55), which ports were the “active ones” (αἱ ἑιπράσσουσαι) those times.\textsuperscript{1269} Cottonara/Kottanarichē must have been very near to the ‘capital city’ (μητρόπολις) called Kottiara (Κοττιάρα) in Ptolemy (\textit{Geog.} VII. ch. 1), and Cotiara in the \textit{Tabula Peutingeriana} (XI). Among the many possible identification of Kottiara/Cotiara, Caldwell\textsuperscript{1270} mentioned a few possible locations from North Malabar (the Koḷatta-nāḍu-theory of Burnell) to South Malabar (the Kadatta-nāḍu-theory of Buchanan), which had been supplemented with other doubtful theories by Schoff, however; their notes did not bring us closer to a convincing solution.\textsuperscript{1271} Casson, on the other hand, found consensus in the scientific works on Old Tamil literature,\textsuperscript{1272} so the historical region called Kuṭṭanāṭu,\textsuperscript{1273} “the country of the lakes” (modern days’ Ālappuḷa, Koṭṭayam and Pattanamṭṭa Districts of Kerala) became the usual identification of Kottiara/Cotiara, where the valley of the Pampā river can be found, which is still famous for its pepper production.\textsuperscript{1274} This may be supported by the depiction of a lake above Muziris on the \textit{Tabula Peutingeriana}.\textsuperscript{1275} Adding to this, the word kuṭṭuvay was a traditional title among the Cēra rulers, which probably has to be connected to the geographical region of Kuṭṭanāṭu which was surrounded by historical divisions of the Tamil South, such as Vēṇāṭu in the southwest, Kuṭṭanāṭu in the northwest, Koṅkunāṭu and Pūḷināṭu in the west over the Western Ghats,\textsuperscript{1276} which were all divisions of the early Cēra kingdom at certain times in history. We also know that Kottiara/Cotiara laid south of Ptolemy’s Melkynda (Μελκύνδα)/Melkyda (Μελκύδα), the port of the Neacyndus-people, also mentioned as Nelkynda, a port of trade (ἐμπόριον) in the \textit{Periplus Maris Erythraei} (ch. 56), and Nincildae on the \textit{Tabula Peutingeriana} (XI). Nelkynda, clearly has a name of Indian origin. Casson mentions the nowadays-popular identification, that originates from

\textsuperscript{1268} Remarkable that Solinus seems to have compiled this part of his work (\textit{Coll. rerum mirab.} 54. 7) from Pliny the Elder (cf. \textit{Naturalis Historia}, VI. 26. 104–105), which could mean that Solinus did not have much to say about India, or that these facts were still valid for India.

\textsuperscript{1269} Casson 1989, 219; De Romanis 2020, 88.

\textsuperscript{1270} Caldwell 1875, 97.

\textsuperscript{1271} Schoff 1912, 221.

\textsuperscript{1272} Iyengar 1926, 458.

\textsuperscript{1273} Tamil \textit{Lexicon}, 960. For the koṭṭum-tamiḻ-nāṭus, one of which is Kuṭṭanāṭu, see: Chevillard 2008.

\textsuperscript{1274} Casson 1989, 221.

\textsuperscript{1275} \textit{Tabula Peutingeriana} XI.

\textsuperscript{1276} Chevillard 2008, 19; map 3.
Iyengar, with “Niranom”/Nirṇaṇa, Kerala (which corresponds to the distance of 500 stadia from Muziris and the riverside location mentioned by the ancient sources), and the possibility of the existence of a South Indian town called “Nilgunda”. Another attempt of identification is to connect it with Nākkiṭa, Kerala, at the confluence of Maṇimalaiyar, Pampā, and Accankōvilār rivers. The name of this port is still a problemative issue among scholars, since we neither have it attested in Old Tamil literary works, nor in inscriptions. The Neacyndus-port or Nelkynda together with Becare/Bacharē/Bakarē at the “pepper country”, were governed some time by the Pāṇṭiya king according to Pliny (Naturalis Historia, VI. 26. 105) and to the Periplus (ch. 55), which geographical position could have been very frustrating for the early Cēras and certainly made the economically flourishing Malabar Coast a politically tense region. Pliny adds to this that because none of the nations, ports, and cities are to be found in previous authors, it is clear that they have changed their places (status). Whether the location of these nations and settlements did actually change in those times is difficult to say, but since, for example, Pliny also lists Modura/Maturai and Muziris/Mucti, two settlements that had quite a stable location in different ages, his statement is likely to be refuted. I believe that before Pliny the Elder, the Mediterranean scholars were simply not so much interested in the geography of South India, and that is the reason why their knowledge was lacking or inaccurate.

However, in Ptolemy (Geog. VII. 1. 9) we find that places such as Melkynda/Melkya, Elangōn emporion (Ἐλαγκών ἐμπόριον)/Elangōros (Ἐλανκόρος), Kottiara metropolis, Bammala/Bambala, and Komaria (Κομαρία ἅκρον καὶ πόλις) were already located in

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1277 “Nelcynda is the present day Nirnom, on the south coast of Aleppey; it is called Niganda and Nilarnam in the Malayala m work, Keralapatittu.” Iyengar 1926, 458.
1278 Casson 1989, 298.
1280 On a theoretical basis, if we agree that the Greeks properly transliterated the original place name then we must reject interpretations in which ‘w’ and ‘z’ meets, since it would change into stop, e.g. *nil kuṉṟam > niṟkuṟam (“Rice Hill”). It is, however, possible to think of nil-kuṟam (“Long hill”), nil-kuṟam (“Long Lake”) in which cases the alveolar ‘ḷ’ occurred, but I think rather anachronistic to talk about ‘Nilkantha’, ‘Nilgunda’ (e.g. on the plates of Vikramāditya VI; Epigraphia Indica 12, 142, 148), and such, since the deletion of schwa at word endings is a later phenomenon and it does not occur in the ancient Indo-Aryan languages.
1281 According to Kanakasabhai (Kanakasabhai 1904, 20), Elangōn emporion (Ἐλαγκών ἐμπόριον)/Elangōros (Ἐλανκόρος) is perhaps identical with Vijayāṅkōṭ, Kerala, however; Chattopadhyaya (Chattopadhyaya 1980, 91) identifies it with Kollam, Kerala.
1282 Bammala/Bambala might be the same as Balita (Βαλίτα) of the Periplus (ch. 58) and Blinca of the Tabula Peutingeriana XI. Kumar (et al.) 2013, 196; 200. If so, it might also be the same as today’s Viḷiṉṭaṅ, Kerala. Barrington Atlas, 61.
1283 Komaria (Κομαρία) is certainly identical with Komar (Κομάρ) (Periplus Maris Erythraei, ch. 58), today’s Kanniyākumari or Cape Comorin, the southernmost tip of the Indian peninsula. It is interesting, although less surprising, that it was already known as a cape (ἅκρον), and also a city (πόλις).
the territories of the people called Aioi (Aioi), and one more, Morounda (Morouνδα) in their interior (Ἀιών μεσόγειος). The Aioi people were definitely the Ay chieftains and/or the inhabitants of their chieftdom.\textsuperscript{1284}

Ptolemy not only reports on the interior of the Aioi/Ay territories, but mentions more than a dozen of inland towns in southwestern India including territories of Koṅkunātu. Thus, we see settlements 1. west of the Pseudostomos/Periyār river in the inlands of Limyrikē (Λιμυρικῆς μεσόγειοι; Ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως τοῦ Ψευδοστόμου πόλεις αἴδε; \textit{Geog. VII. 1. 85}) such as Naroulla (Νάρουλλα)/Nalloura (Νάλλουρα),\textsuperscript{1286} Kouba (Κούβα),\textsuperscript{1287} Paloura (Παλοῦρα);\textsuperscript{1288} 2. between the Pseudostomos/Periyār river and the Baris/Pampā river (Μεταξο δὲ τοῦ Ψευδοστόμου πόλεις αἴδε; \textit{Geog. VII. 1. 86}) settlements such as Pasagē (Πασάγη),\textsuperscript{1289} Mastanour (Μαστάνουρ)/Mentanour (Μεντάνουρ),\textsuperscript{1290} Kourellour (Κουρελλούρ)/Kourelloura (Κουρελλούρα),\textsuperscript{1291} the rich-in-beryl Pounnata (Πουννάτα ἐν Ἡ Βήρυλλος),\textsuperscript{1292} Aloē (Ἀλόη),\textsuperscript{1293} Karoura, the royal residence of the Cēras (Κάρουρα Βασίλειον Κηροβόθρου),\textsuperscript{1294} Arembour (Ἀρεμβούρ),\textsuperscript{1295} Berderis (Βερδερίς)/Bideris (Βιδερίς),\textsuperscript{1296} Pantipolis (Παντίπολες)/Pantipoleis (Παντίπολες),\textsuperscript{1297} Adarima (Ἀδάριμα),\textsuperscript{1298} Koreour (Κορεούρ)/Koureour (Κουρεούρ).\textsuperscript{1299} Caldwell has already noted that “it is remarkable how many of places in Southern India mentioned by Ptolemy end in οῦρ or οῦρα, ‘town’ […] twenty-three such

\textsuperscript{1284} Morounda (Μοροῦνδα) is, according to Marr (Marr 1985 [1958], 322–323), perhaps identical with Marantai of the Cēras (\textit{Pathrippattu}, 90: 28) \textit{Geog. VII. 1. 87}. However, its location is still a question of debate.

\textsuperscript{1285} \textit{Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index}, 85–86.

\textsuperscript{1286} Naroulla (Νάρουλλα)/Nalloura (Νάλλουρα): an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast. Perhaps the second reading is the right one, which means ‘good town’ (\textit{nal ṛū} in Tamil).

\textsuperscript{1287} Kouba (Κούβα): an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast.

\textsuperscript{1288} Paloura (Παλοῦρα): an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast. Due to location and name similarity, it might be the same as Pallavūr, Kerala. \textit{Barrington Atlas}, 68. Kanakasabhai, however, identifies it with Pālayūr, Kerala. Kanakasabhai 1904, 18.

\textsuperscript{1289} Pasagē (Πασάγη): settlement in the Bēttigō oros (Βηττιγώ ὄρος)/Western Ghats. \textit{Barrington Atlas}, 73.

\textsuperscript{1290} Mastanour (Μαστάνουρ)/Mentanour (Μεντάνουρ): according to the \textit{Barrington Atlas} (p. 73), it was a settlement in South Mysore.

\textsuperscript{1291} Kourellour (Κουρελλούρ)/Kourelloura (Κουρελλούρα): an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast. Due to location and name similarity, it might be the same as Kāṭavallūr, Kerala. \textit{Barrington Atlas}, 65.

\textsuperscript{1292} Pounnata en ἡ Bēryllos (Πουννάτα ἐν Ἡ Βήρυλλος) can be perhaps identified with Pūnūr, Kerala. Kanakasabhai 1904, 20; Turner 1989, 74.

\textsuperscript{1293} Aloē (Ἀλόη) was perhaps a city around today’s Aḻuvā, Kerala. Kanakasabhai 1904, 20.

\textsuperscript{1294} Karoura (Κάρουρα) was the city called Karuvūr mentioned in the Cankam poems, the capital (or one of the capitals) of the early Cēra kingdom. On the problematic issue of the Cēra capitals, see: Aiyangar 1940; Marr 1985 [1958], 159–163; Rajan 1994, 100.

\textsuperscript{1295} Arembour (Ἀρεμβούρ): an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala.

\textsuperscript{1296} Berderis (Βερδερίς)/Bideris (Βιδερίς): an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala.

\textsuperscript{1297} Pantipolis (Παντίπολες)/Pantipoleis (Παντίπολες): an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala.

\textsuperscript{1298} Adarima (Ἀδάριμα): an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala.

\textsuperscript{1299} Koreour (Κορεούρ)/Koureour (Κουρεούρ): an unidentified settlement, perhaps south of Mysore. \textit{Barrington Atlas}, 72.
It is indeed remarkable that most of the place names preserved by the above mentioned Greek and Latin sources have clear Tamil etymology, and in this respect, these Mediterranean collections of South Indian place names easily supplement the details found in Old Tamil literature. Even if it is not possible to reliably locate all the enumerated places, and although most of them would be sought in vain in the Caṅkam literature, we see that the Cēra kingdom and its surroundings were a well urbanized region, and therefore it will be necessary to deal with these data in detail later. Ptolemy even mentions the mountain ranges of southwestern India: north of the Cēra kingdom, on the Konkan Coast we see the mountain called Adisathron oros (Ἀδισάθρον ὄρος; Sahyāḍrī Hills at the Konkan Coast) where the Chabēros (Χάβηρος)/Kāviri river originated, while for the southern ranges of the Western Ghats he uses the name the Bēttigō (Βηττιγώ ὄρος), the mountain where the Pseudostomos/Periyār river, the Baris/Pampā river, and the Sōlēn (Σωλήν)/Tāmraparṇī river originated. According to Ptolemy, south of Bēttigō mountain to the region of the Batoi (Βατοί) people lay an area where brāhmaṇas were living, who were also magi (βραχμάναι μάγοι), which information has to be considered in the chapter on religion. The only one settlement that was mentioned there is Bragmē/Brammē (Βράγμη/Βράμμη), an unidentified settlement of brāhmaṇas in the Cēra interior.

According to the Periplus, towards the southernmost end of the Malabar Coast, we find the “Dark Red Mountain” (λεγόμενον Πυρρῶν ὄρος) after Bachārē, then the “seabord” called Paralia (Παραλία), and finally Komar (Κομάρ) (Kaṉṉiyākumari or Cape Comorin, the southernmost tip of the Indian peninsula), “where there is a little settlement and a port; in it men who wish to lead a holy life for the rest of their days remain there celibate; they come there and they perform ablutions.” It is also believed that the goddess remained in Komar and performed ablutions, therefore women also perform the same rituals there. Fynes wrote a thought-provoking article on the possible parallels between the cult of Isis Paralia and Pattini, but beyond a few seemingly haunting similarities, his article is not convincing in all respects. The virginity is a motif that appears by both in the stories of Isis and Pattini, 

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1300 Caldwell 1875, 102.
1301 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 35.
1302 The name of the mountain Bēttigō is often connected to Tam. Potiyil/Potikai (today’s Agastamala or Potiyam, Kerala). Although the two designate most probably the same, it is also possible that the Greek name reflects rather the Old Kannada beṭṭa, a word for ‘firmness’, ‘mountain’. Kittel’s Kannada-English Dictionary, 1205.
1303 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 33; 34.
1304 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 74.
1306 Paralia (Παραλία): the coastline of the historical Tiruvāṅkūr/Travancore region of Kerala. Barrington Atlas, 68.
1308 Periplus Maris Erythraei, 58.
1309 Fynes 1993.
but this is not enough to identify the cult at Kumari with the cult of Isis or Pattini, even so that the name pattini means ‘chaste wife’ (cf. Skt. patni), while kumari means a ‘maid’, a ‘virgin’. I find it rather possible that we find the cult of the goddess Koṟṟavai at Kaṇṇiyākumari, whose one name of many was Kumari.1311

Thus we have seen the main regions and settlements which were preserved in the Greek and Latin sources. This has to be supplemented with five other cities that were mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes (Κοσμᾶς Ἰνδικόπλευστης) who lived in the 6th c. AD. He reported (Cosm. Indic. XI. 16) on a new pepper region called Male (Μαλέ) where we find five marketplaces that exports (or literally ‘pour’) pepper (πέντε ἐμπόρια ἔχουσα βάλλοντα τὸ πέπερι): Parti (Πάρτι),1312 Mangarouth (Μαγγαροῦθ),1313 Salopatana (Σαλοπάτανα),1314 Nalopatana (Ναλοπάτανα),1315 Poudapatana (Πουδαπάτανα). According to De Romanis, Cosmas Indicopleustes clearly proves that the direct sea routes of the 1st century AD became multi-stage routes by the 6th century AD, and the main pepper emporia were moved 200–400 kilometres north of the Kottanarichē/Kuṭṭanāṭhu region to the region called Male.1317 In a later stage of our analysis the description of Cosmas will support us to map places around the northern borders of the early Cēra kingdom.

What is still to come, and perhaps the most interesting to us, is the presence of an intensive commercial system on the Malabar Coast, recorded most notably in the text of Periplus. We learn from it that ships sailing by from the Malabar Coast (Limirikē) accidentally dropped off on the island of Dioskouridēs (Διοσκουριδῆς; today’s Suqṭrā),1318 or passed the winter at Moscha limēn (Μόσχα λιμῆν; perhaps today’s Khūr Rūri, Oman, see: Schoff 1912, 140–143),1319 which shows some kind of seafaring activity that starts off the Malabar Coast, either of the Roman or of the local traders. The 51st chapter talks about the sea voyage of the western traders to the Malabar Coast, and it states that most of the western ships continued to travel until Aigialos (Αἰγιαλός), the Strand (today’s Palk Strait). The 56th chapter talks about the precious stones caught around the islands at the Malabar Coast (possibly the Lakṣadvīp Islands), the 57th chapter mentions the ships arriving from the western countries.

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1311 Cilappatikāram, II. 12. 67.
1312 Parti (Πάρτι): a settlement on the Konkan Coast; perhaps the Bārahakanyāpura/Barakanur/Fāknūr of the Arab geographers, or very close to it. De Romanis 2020, 96.
1313 Mangarouth (Μαγγαροῦθ): perhaps today’s Maṇgalūru (Karnataka). De Romanis 2020, 96.
1314 Salopatana (Σαλοπάτανα): an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast that bears a Tamil name of a port town (paṭṭinatt paṭṭanam).
1315 Nalopatana (Ναλοπάτανα): an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast that bears a Tamil name of a port town (paṭṭinatt paṭṭanam).
1316 Poudapatana (Πουδαπάτανα) was perhaps the same as “Budfattan” of Abraham Ben Jiyû, today’s Vaḷapattanam, Kerala. De Romanis 2020, 96.
1317 De Romanis 2020, 34.
1318 Periplus Maris Erythraei, 31.
1319 Periplus Maris Erythraei, 32.
The 60th chapter talks about the strait called Αἰγιαλός and perhaps about the ports of trade, Kamara (Καμάρα), Podoukē (Ποδούκη), and Sōpatma (Σωπάτμα) located already on the Coromandel (< Tam. cōḷamaṇṭaḷa) Coast, where ships from the Bay of Bengal and the Malabar Coast (Limyrikē) arrive. Here local ships anchor, namely the sangara (σάνγαρα; perhaps < Skt. saṃghāṭa) which are huge dugout canoes, and the kolandiophōnta (κολανδίοφωντα; perhaps derivable from the Chinese ship-name, k’un-lun po) which are very big vessels and sail to Chrysē (Χρυσή) and the Ganges region on the north. The same chapter records that these ports have “a market […] for all the [Western] trade goods imported by Limyrikē, and […] there come to them all year round both the cash originating from Egypt and most kinds of all the goods originating from Limyrikē and supplied along this coast”.  

The 64th chapter informs us about China, Thina (Θῖνα) in Greek, “from which silk floss, yarn and cloth are shipped by via Bactria to Barygaza and via Ganges River back to Limyrikē”.  

The Periplus discusses the commodities that changed hands on the Malabar Coast during its time, and gives us an exhaustive catalogue of products: the western ships imported a great amount of money, clothing, textiles, sulphide of antimony, coral, raw glass, copper, tin, lead, a limited quantity of wine, realgar, orpiment, grain (only for the seafaring merchants); while they exported pepper, malabathron, pearls, ivory, Chinese cloth (most probably silk), Gangetic nard, gems, diamonds, and tortoise shell. The Muziris Papyrus (P. Vindob. G 40822), a Greek papyrus from the 2nd c. AD, which records a contract between a merchant and a financier and also the cargo of the ship called Hermapollon (Ἑρμαπόλλων), confirms but does not add more items to this list.  

We recently mentioned some of the ancient ports of the Coromandel Coast, which gives us an opportunity to provide further details about other settlements of the Cōḻa and Pāṇṭiya kingdoms in order to get a more or less complete picture of the Mediterranean scholarship on the ancient South Indian countries. Thus we call Ptolemy’s work again for help. Leaving Komaria, the last station of the Aioi people, we arrive to the Kolchikos Gulf.

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1320 Kamara (Καμάρα): perhaps the same as Chabēris emporion (Χαβηρὶς ἐμπόριον) of Ptolemy (Geog. VII. 1. 13), identical with Kāvērippaṭṭam or Pukār on the Coromandel Coast.  
1321 Podoukē (Ποδούκη): It is tempting to identify this place with Putuccēri/Pondichéry, however; putu only means ‘new’ in Tamil and cēri means ‘town’, which name rather reflects to the establishment of modern Pondichéry in 1674 by the French East India Company (Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales). The ancient Podoukē has to be located somewhere close to modern Putuccēri, although this is not due to name similarity but to the excavations at Arikkamēṭṭu which proved the antiquity of the site.  
1322 Sōpatma’s (Σωπάτμα) identification is unsure; it could have been somewhere around modern days’ Cennai.  
1323 Casson 1989, 229.  
1324 Casson 1989, 229.  
1325 Chrysē (Χρυσῆ) was either Burma, the Malay peninsula, or Sumatra. Casson 1989, 235–236.  
1327 De Romanis 2020, 14–23.
(κόλπος Κολχικος) of the people called Kareoi (Κάρεοι), where that time pearl fishing (κολύμβησις πινκου) was in fashion, then we see places such as Sōsikourei/Mōsikouri (Σωσίκουρει/Μωσίκουρι), Kolchoi emporion (Κόλχοι έμποριον), and the river mouth of the Sōlen (Σωλήνος ποταμού ἐκβολαί). The inland towns of this region were Mendēla (Μένδηλα), Sēlour/Lēlour (Σηλούρ/Ληλούρ), Tittoua (Τιττούα), and Mantittour/Mantitour (Μαντιττούρ/Μαντιτιτούρ). If we go further on the seashore, we come to the land of the Pāṇṭiyas (Πανδίονος χώρα) in the Argarikos Gulf (κόλπος Αργαρικός) where the cape called Kory or Kalligikon (Κόρη άκρον τὸ και Καλλιγικόν) was located; here Argarou polis (Ἀργάρου πόλις) and Salour/Sēlour emporion (Σαλόυρ/Σηλούρ ἐμπόριον) were two settlements. The inland towns of this region were Tainour (Ταινούρ), Perinkari (Περίνκαρι), Korindiour (Κορινδιουρ), Tangala (Τάνγαλα), and the famous royal residence of the Pāṇṭiyas at Maturai/Modoura (Μόδουρα βασίλειον Πανδίονος). After that, we see the land of the people called Batoi (Βατοί) on the Coromandel Coast where three settlements, the capital called Nigama/Nisamma.

1329 Kolchikos Gulf (κόλπος Κολχικος) is, no doubt, the Gulf of Mannar (Vogel 1952, 230) which is still famous for its pearl oysters.

1330 Kareoi (Κάρεοι): fishing people on Gulf of Mannar, might be equal to the ones called paratavar (Tamil Lexicon, 2496). Kanakasabhai adds to this that the Tamil *kαριயar (seashore-they, hon. pl.) must be the word behind the Greek ‘Kareoi’. Kanakasabhai 1904, 22.

1331 Sōsikourei/Mōsikouri (Σωσίκουρει/Μωσίκουρι): unidentified place name at the Gulf of Mannar; it might contain the Tamil word karai ‘seashore’.


1333 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 10.

1334 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 88.


1336 Sēlour/Lēlour (Σηλούρ/Ληλούρ): unidentified inland settlement in Tamil Nadu. Barrington Atlas, 73.


1338 Mantittour/Mantitour (Μαντιττούρ/Μαντιτιτούρ): inland settlement in Tamil Nadu; South Madurai (?). Barrington Atlas, 72.

1339 Argarikos Gulf (κόλπος Αργαρικος): Palk Strait. A historical atlas of South Asia, 24a; 359.

1340 The cape called Kory or Kalligikon (Κόρη άκρον τὸ και Καλλιγικόν): perhaps Point Callimere (Kaλιμέτου) with Kōtiyakkarai, Tamil Nadu. Caldwell 1875, 100; Barrington Atlas, 62.


1343 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 11.

1344 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 89.


1346 Perinkari (Περίνκαρι): unidentified inland settlement in Tamil Nadu. „Perungari”? Barrington Atlas, 68.


1348 Tangala (Τάνγαλα): perhaps today’s Tankalacceri, Tamil Nadu. Barrington Atlas, 70.

1349 According to Kanakasabhai, the land of the Vēṭṭuvar in Paṭṭināṭu. Kanakasabhai 1904, 24.
(Νίγαμα/Νίσαμμα μητρόπολις), Thelcheir (Θελχείρ)/Thellyr (Θέλλυρ) and the city called Kouroula (Κούρουλα πόλεις) could have been found. The inland towns of this region were Kalindoia (Καλίνδοια), Bata (Βάτα) and Tallara (Τάλλαρα). The next region on the Coromandel Coast was Paralia Sōringōn (Παραλία Σωριγγόν), the “Seabord of the Cōlas”, with Chabēris emporion (Χαβηρίς ἐμπόριον), the river mouth of the Chabēris (Χαβήρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί), and Soboura/Souboura emporion (Σοβουρα/Σουβουρα ἐμπόριον) as its settlements. In the interior of Paralia Sōringōn, we find the following towns: Kaliour (Καλίουρ), Tennagora (Τενναγόρα), Eikour (Εικούρ), the royal residence of the Cōlas at Orthoura (Ορθούρα βασιλείαν Σωρνάτος), Berē (Βέρη), Abour (Αβουρ), Karmara (Κάρμαρα), and Magour (Μαγούρ). The last region on the Coromandel Coast was the land of the people called Arouarnoi (Αρουάρνοι), where Pōdoukē/Podoukē emporion (Ποδούκη/Ποδούκη ἐμπόριον), Melangē emporion (Μελαγγῆ ἐμπόριον), the river mouth of the Tynas/Tynnas (Τύνα/Τύννα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί), Kottis

1350 Nigama/Nisamma (Νιγάμα/Νίσαμμα μητρόπολις): usually identified with Nāgapatīṇam, although it might reflect the Skt. word nīgama for ‘marketplace’.
1351 Thelcheir/Thellyr (Θελχείρ/Θέλλυρ): unidentified settlement on the Coromandel Coast.
1353 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 12.
1354 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 90.
1355 Kalindoia (Καλίνδοια): Periyakalantai, Tamil Nadu. Barrington Atlas, 64.
1358 Chabēris emporion (Χαβηρίς ἐμπόριον): perhaps the same as Kamara (Καμάρα: Periplus Maris Erythraei, 60); identical with Kāvērippa or Pukār on the Coromandel Coast.
1359 The river mouth of the Chabēris (Χαβήρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί):
1360 Soboura/Souboura emporion (Σοβουρα/Σουβουρα ἐμπόριον)
1361 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 13.
1362 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 91.
1363 Kalior (Καλιώρ): might be the same as Uraiyyūr (?), Tiruccirāppaḷi, Tamil Nadu. Barrington Atlas, 64.
1364 Tennagora (Τενναγόρα): perhaps today’s Tirucceṅkōṭu, Tamil Nadu. Barrington Atlas, 70.
1366 The royal residence of the Cōlas at Orthoura (Ορθούρα βασιλείαν Σωρνάτος) was certainly the capital in today’s Uraiyyūr, Tiruccirāppaḷi, Tamil Nadu. Arkatos (Ἀρκατοῦ βασιλείαν Σωρᾶ; Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 68; perhaps today’s Āḍkāṭu, Tamil Nadu), between the Bēttīgō and the Adisathron mountains, might have been another royal residence of the same dynasty, although the Greek text mentions nomads called Sōrai (Σώραι νομαδεῖς) in the region.
1368 Abour (Αβουρ): either Vālūvūr or Ampūr, Tamil Nadu. Barrington Atlas, 60.
1369 Karmara (Κάρμαρα), according to Kanakasabhai, was perhaps today’s Tiruvāṟūr. Barrington Atlas, 65.
1370 Magour (Μαγούρ): unidentified settlement in Tamil Nadu.
1371 Arouarnoi (Αρουάρνοι): people on Coromandel Coast. Perhaps it covers the Aruvānāṭu region of Tamilakam. Tamil Lexicon, 135.
1372 Pōdoukē/Podoukē emporion (Ποδούκη/Ποδούκη ἐμπόριον).
1373 Melangē emporion (Μελαγγῆ ἐμπόριον): identified as “Krishnapattinam” by Moti Chandra; is that the same as Krṣṇapāṭṭañam, Andhra Pradesh? Chandra 1977, 122.
1374 Tynas/Tynnas (Τύνα/Τύννα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί): perhaps today’s Peṇṇāṟu river.
(Κόττις), and Maliarpha emporion (Μαλιάρφα ἐμπόριον) were the settlements mentioned by Ptolemy.

The settlements in this chapter show a certain hierarchy. We have seen settlements which were villages (κόμη; 2 in number), ports of trade (ἐμπόριον; 13 in number), cities (πόλις; 4 in number), capital cities (μητρόπολις; 2 in number), and royal residences (βασίλειον; 4 in number). The rest of them were ‘uncategorized’ by the sources. We have also seen that both of the villages (Tyndis and Bacharē) were at the same time ports of trade; Tyndis, however, was rather a polis according to Ptolemy. To define what could have been a South Asian polis is not an easy task. The word polis has four main senses in classical antiquity: 1. stronghold or citadel, 2. nucleated settlement, 3. country or territory, and 4. political community. I believe that in all those cases when the Mediterranean authors reported on South Indian poleis, they certainly meant ‘nucleated settlements’, while it is unlikely that they were writing about actual political communities. Had it been so, they would have somehow reported on the peculiarities of the political organizations found in the Tamil kingdoms. It is also questionable whether we can talk about strongholds or fortified settlements in the case of South Indian poleis. We discussed the Tamil literary references to forts and fortified places elsewhere, and we will soon be analysing the few fortified ports of trade which were different from the ones called poleis anyway. Thus it is only necessary to emphasize at this point that even if we see fortified places among the above mentioned poleis, it is not possible to prove that in such cases the fortification would have been relevant for the authors in choosing their Greek definition. Another interesting fact is that “almost all attested emporia of the Classical period were, in fact, poleis that possessed an emporion”, which might also be the case in South India, as we will see e.g. in the case of Muziris, which was merely a port of trade for the Mediterranean authors, but it was also a fortified city of the Cēra king for the Tamil authors. Regarding the metropoleis, we see rather provincial centres, while in the cases of basileia, we find royal capitals which are already known from the Caṅkam literary corpus. We saw the thirteen emporia in South India, which number shows a heightened interest in Indian commodities and an increasing volume of trade.

It is necessary to mention the Sanskrit texts that refer to Cēra territories and particularly the Western Ghats in the early centuries: the Mahābhārata, the various earlier or later Purāṇas, and Kālidāsa’s works. In these texts Malaya appears as one of the seven principal mountains (kulaparvata), from the top of which the sea could be seen. Malaya can

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1377 Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 14.
1380 Kūrmapurāṇa I. 47. 23. mentioned by Geographical Dictionary, 213.
be identified with the ranges of the Western Ghats from the Nilgiris hills (Durdura) to Kaṇṇiyākumari. The southern parts were known as the western side of Malaya. We must emphasize that in sources such as the Mahābhārata, Malaya was associated with the Pāṇṭiya kings (cf. the term malayeśvara) at the Tāmraparṇī river. This could show the situation on the southeastern sides of the mountain, as well as the regions at Nelkynda, which were, as we have seen, at certain times in Pāṇṭiya hands. The Raghuvamsa of Kālidāsa records that it was on the Kāverī, where cardamom, sandalwood, and pepper shrubs grew. Other names of the mountain were Śrīkhaṇḍādri and Candanādri. Száler mentions that in the Kāvyamīmāṃsā four distinct places of Malaya are described: 1. Malaya which is the same as Kālidāsa’s one, 2. Malaya which is the seat of Agastya and the source of Tāmraparṇī (Akattiyamalai), 3. Malaya which is perhaps the same as the Sahya Mountain, and 4. Malaya which is situated in Laṅkā. These North Indian sources taken as a whole do not betray much local knowledge, but they know local commodities which is remarkable in the light of economic history. They also confirm that we have to reckon with the threatening presence of the Pāṇṭiyas somewhere around and in the Western Ghats. However, as far as these sources do not seem to know much about South Indian proper names, they cannot really help to refine our data.

On the previous pages I have examined the Greek and Latin sources in order to introduce the Mediterranean scholarship on the Malabar Coast, and somewhat represent its hinterlands and its trading system during the first centuries AD. The extraordinary knowledge of the Mediterranean authors on South India is astonishing, but it should be emphasized that they were only able to collect such a large amount of data due to the high-volume Indo-Mediterranean trade. We must conclude that these data are not only the individual merits of particular scholars, but hard-work experience of many centuries’ geographers, travellers, and merchants. The data of these authors could provide us a “skeleton” of the (economic) geography and the urbanized network of the Cēra kingdom, but it still has to be “vivified” by the contemporary Indian sources, first of all the Caṅkam literary works. Thus the forthcoming analysis in this chapter will be conducted to examine the interactive Cēra kingdom in the middle of a network of contacts, to see the Cēra contribution to seafaring and maritime trade, to discover harbours and emporia which appeared in both the Mediterranean and the Tamil sources, to map the most important trade routes of the Cēra kingdom, and finally to analyse and evaluate the Indo-Roman trade from a Cēra point of view together with the need to protect trade.

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1381 Geographical Dictionary, 213.
1382 Raghuvamsa, IV. 45–51.
1383 Száler 2019, 49.
Shipping and seafaring

When Strabo travelled to Egypt (26–24 BC), he learned that at the time when Caius Aelius Gallus was the praefectus Aegypti, 120 ships sailed yearly to India from Myos Hormos on the Red Sea. In another passage, he also reported on huge maritime fleets travelling between Africa, India and the Red Sea ports. Seeing the number of ships arrive year by year to the shores of southern India, which number certainly increased in the centuries after Strabo, I feel necessary to examine how Old Tamil literature reflected on the ships of foreigners and the ships of ancient Tamils, and to what extent did the Tamils participated in the operation of the Indian Ocean trade?

Tamil history has been connected to the ocean from the beginning. If we talk about the Cēra kingdom on the Malabar Coast, we feel the statements of Malekandathil valid, who says that the “process of tapping the resources of the sea, a typical professional culture linked with fishing, salt-panning or a sea-borne trade, a food culture with rich ingredients of sea species, a religious culture where the sea becomes the central component of devotional practices and rituals, a social networking, where bonds established by collective sea-faring evolved over years, were made to become the basic features of the coastal societies of India […]”. The ocean connected worlds and became a space for cultural and commercial interactions. Because of the geographical location of southern India where the maritime trade routes met, it soon became a strategic hub for the eastern trade of Rome due to its busy ports and the demand for the locally produced goods and the available Southeast Asian commodities, which position contributed to the economic development of the Tamil kingdoms.

We read in the Akanāṉūṟu that gloriously crafted, yavaṉar-driven (tanta) good vessels came with gold (poṉ) and returned with pepper (kaṟi), while the Puṟanāṉūṟu talks about the good vessels of the yavaṉar, which bring cool and fragrant “wine” (taṉ kamaḷ tēṟal), which were was consumed by the Tamil elite. Western ships arriving in southern India were of great interest in the Tamil countries, and this may have been the inspiration for the Aḷakaṉkuḷam graffiti, on which, according to Casson, a three-master Roman sailing ship can be seen from the Imperial Roman period (1–3 c. AD), portrayed by an “unknown Tamil artist”. The Perumpāṉṟṟuppatai talks about the Greek (yavaṉar) “goose lamps” (ōtima

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\text{\textsuperscript{1384}} \text{Strabo, } \textit{Geogr.} \text{ II. 5. 12.}  \\
\text{\textsuperscript{1385}} \text{Strabo, } \textit{Geogr.} \text{ XVII. 1. 13.}  \\
\text{\textsuperscript{1386}} \text{Malekandathil 2010, xii.}  \\
\text{\textsuperscript{1387}} \text{‘… cēralar/culliyam pēriyāṟu ven nurai kalanka/yavaṉar tanta viṉai mān naṉkalam/poṉṉoṭu vantu kariyōṭu peyarum/vaḷam keḷu muciṟi āṟpp’ eḷa vaḷai’. Akanāṉūṟu, 149: 7–11.}  \\
\text{\textsuperscript{1388}} \text{‘yavaṉar naṉkalam tanta taṉ kamaḷ tēṟal/poṉ cey puṟai kalattu ēnti nāḷum/oḷ toṭi makaḷir maṭappa makil ciṟantu/ōṅku iṅiu olukumati ōṅku vāḷ māṟa’. Puṟanāṉūṟu, 56: 18–21.}  \\
\text{\textsuperscript{1389}} \text{Mahadevan 2003, 155–156.}  \\
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vilakkul of the ships in the harbour of Nīrpeyarū, which most probably referred to the ornamental stern called aplustre (Gr. ἀφλαστόν), the highest curved part of the poop, which often looked like a goose neck, and was also named after it (γηνίσκος). The “Greeks” (yavagār) vessels with rare price (aruvila nakkalam) appear in the II. patikam of the Patiruppattu, although in that case we have to keep in mind that the usage of the Tamil word kalam is in this sense exactly the same as that of the English word ‘vessel’, with an ambiguous meaning that could mean either a ‘ship’ or a ‘hollow utensil’, but also means ‘ornament’ in many cases. The Roman ships involved in South Indian trade were minimum of 75 tons, but most of them must have been freighters of 500 tons, because huge spaces were needed for the ship’s crew (ναυκλήριον) to whom food was also delivered. McLaughlin adds in his notes that the wreckage of the 33 meter long Quseir shipwreck suggests a type of 300 tons which, according to Periplus (ch. 57), was a smaller type during that period. There were certainly wooden cabins and compartments on the ships for the crew, who, using the power of the monsoon winds, arrived at and departed from India in the midst of extreme weather conditions. Pliny the Elder (Naturalis Historia, VI. 26. 101) learned about archers on the deck of ships, while Philostratos (Vita Apollonii 3. 35) reports on detachments of armed men on the merchant ships in order to help the ships go through the regions that were threatened by pirates. The ships involved in the eastern trade of Rome had enlarged mainsails to make good use of the power of the monsoon winds, on which perhaps Greco-Roman mythological images had been painted if the Torlonia relief’s depiction is real and if its artist did not just want to fill the space available. However, Lucian (Ploion ἐ Eychai, 5) also mentioned the ornaments of the ships including paintings and painted topsail. After all, what can be said is that large merchant ships were used in South Indian trade, with which a large number of “Greek” (mostly Egyptian Greek and Syrian) merchants and armed guards arrived in the territories of South India every year. The size of the ships may have been a marvel to the Indians, and the arrival of the merchant fleet may have been a monumental attraction to the Tamil population. According to Pliny the Elder (Naturalis Historia, VI. 26. 104; 106), the sea voyage from the Red Sea to the Cērā kingdom took 70 days; the merchant ships sailed out around July from the Red Sea ports and returned from India around December or the beginning of January, so that year by year, several thousand people stayed at least for a few months as being the guests of the South Indian rulers.

1390 Tamil Lexicon, 778.
1391 McLaughlin 2010, 36.
1392 McLaughlin 2010, 188. footnote 107.
1393 McLaughlin 2010, 37.
1394 McLaughlin 2010, 39.
1395 McLaughlin 2010,
Thus, we have learned about the ships of the Roman Empire, but we have not mentioned the Tamil ships yet. Interestingly the Old Tamil sources are rather laconic on this subject. The earliest anthologies usually refer to smaller types of vessels, such as paṅkāḷ, oṭam, timil, paṭaku, puṇai, and ampi, coracle-, raft-, catamaran-, and boat-like vessels. The Tamil word marakkalam which denotes larger ships appears only in later texts, however, the word kalam (“vessel”) is used in the ancient Čaṅkam poems, and it certainly meant seafaring vessels in a number of attestations. This term, as one of the main words for ‘seagoing vessel’, was used, as we have seen before, in the cases of the yavaṅa ships. Another word, nāvāy is attested 11 times in the Caṅkam poems. It is of Indo-European origin (prob. < Skt. nau or Pers. nāv), and it might refer either to Tamil ships which had Indo-European name, non-Tamil (Indian or Persian) ships sailing from the northern coasts, or a ship-type which probably reflects “northern” knowledge in both its name and technology. However, since both the Greek ( ναυς) and Latin (navis) words are also etymologically very close to nāvāy, it cannot be entirely excluded that these passages referred to “Greek” ships. The third word which was used to denote larger ships in the Caṅkam literature is vaṅkam attested 8 times in the texts plus once in oblique case (vaṅkattu). The Tamil Lexicon gives a possible etymology of vaṅkam as Skt. vahya ‘vehicle’, which is more than doubtful. Gurukkal is of the opinion that the ships called vaṅkam seem to be the vessels of Vaṅga (Bengal), probably the ones called kolandiophōnta in the Periplus Maris Erythraei. Since we do not know the etymology of the word, whether it is Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic, or Dravidian, these possibilities must be rejected. Even if Gurukkal was right concerning the etymology, the mere fact that a ship’s name is derived from the word ‘Vaṅga’ does not mean that it is used in the Bay of Bengal, just as the catamaran (< Tam. kaṭṭamaram “tied wood”) is not used exclusively by Tamils. The 189th poem of the Naṟṟiṇai could also support Gurukkal’s opinion, in which we read about a kaṅkai vaṅkam “ship of the Gaṅgā/Ganges” in Line 5, however; the poet, however, rather used these words because of the poetic figure. In any case, it is clear from the sources that vaṅkams were actually sailing on the Coromandel Coast (e.g. Maturaikkāṅci, 536), but that does not mean that they were not in use elsewhere, as for

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1396 Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 1909.
1397 It is not an easy task to distinguish the passages where kalam had been used as ‘jewel/ornament’, ‘pot’ from the ones that mean ‘ships’, as in most cases, they could mean both. Lehmann–Malten 2007, 140. Although kalam means most frequently ‘jewel/ornament’, the meaning as ‘ship’ is clearly attested in passages such as Kuṟuntokai 240: 6.
1398 Akanāṟu, 110: 18; Naṟṟiṇai, 295: 6; Paṭṭippaḷai, 174; Paṟipāṭal, 10: 39; Puranaṉūṟu, 13: 5; 66:1; 126: 15; Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, 321; Maturaikkāṅci, 83; 321; 379.
1399 See, e.g.
1400 Akanāṟu, 255: 1; Kalittokai, 92: 47; Naṟṟiṇai, 189: 5; 258: 9 (obl. vaṅkattu); Paṭṭippattaṉu, 52: 4; Paṟipāṭal, 20: 16; Puranaṉūṟu, 368: 9; 400: 20; Maturaikkāṅci, 536.
1401 Tamil Lexicon, 3452.
1402 Gurukkal 2016, 197.
example, it is attested in the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, the Cēra anthology, which has a geographical horizon that covers mostly the Malabar Coast and Koṅkunāṭu. What we surely know from other attestations is that *vaṅkam* was a huge seagoing vessel in ancient South India which had sail (*itai*), and mast (*kūmpu*). Other meanings of *vaṅkam* such as ‘tin’, ‘cotton’, ‘eggplant’, ‘Bengal’ and so forth,\(^{1403}\) occur only in later texts dated after the Caṅkam literature. The last word that sometimes denoted ‘ship’ is *maram*, the Tamil word for ‘wood’, although in those cases the poets might talk about sea-going rafts and catamarans rather than sailing vessels.\(^{1404}\)

The question arises as to whether ancient Tamils actually sailed the high seas. If we mean that they sailed with their own ships and their own crew in the open waters of the Indian Ocean to South Arabia, Egypt, or Africa, the answer is, agreeing with Gurukkal and De Romanis,\(^{1405}\) probably no. However, we have a few evidences in the Tamil sources which would suggest that some of the Tamil rulers were able to cope with the waves. Cōḷaṅ Karikāḷ Peruvalattān, for example, was “the descendent of strong men who ruled [by means of] the action of the wind, after [they] had driven ships of the vast dark ocean”.\(^{1406}\) Gurukkal is right, that this does not necessarily means the capability of utilizing the seasonal winds and of overseas voyages.\(^{1407}\) However, it might mean that some of the Tamils rulers were engaged in coastal shipping. Gurukkal discusses another passage of the *Puṟanāṉṟu*, in which we read the following sentence: “…we are similar to [those] other vessels that do not go past that route, where the gold-bringing ships of the western sea [which belongs to] Vāṉavān with enraged army, were driven.”\(^{1408}\) In conclusion, again, Gurukkal is right,\(^{1409}\) because here what we see is the Cēra king, to whom the western sea (*kuṭa kaṭaḷ*) belongs, where there are gold-bringing ships (probably not of the Cēras). However, this poet interestingly records a ban suffered by some ships that could not enter the waters under the sovereignty of the Cēra kings. Nevertheless, the following excerpt seemed to have escaped the attention of Gurukkal, who, although he mentioned in a footnote,\(^{1410}\) did not appreciate its significance:

The lover (*kātalat*) is separated [because of his] manly duty/work, while the captain (*nīkāṉ*) departs, having known the side with bright flames of the storied [light]houses (*māṭam*), [towards] the vast port (*turai*) with firm sand that towers

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\(^{1403}\) *Tamil Lexicon*, 3452.

\(^{1404}\) For example, see: *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 76: 4; *Naṟṟiapai*, 30: 8.

\(^{1405}\) Gurukkal 2016, ; De Romanis 2020, 115

\(^{1406}\) ‘*nali irum munnir nāvāy ōṭṭi/vaiḷi toṭiḷ āṭṭa uravō ṽaṅka’*. *Puṟanāṉṟu* 66: 1–2. The interpretation of Gurukkal seems to be a bit far from the exact meaning of the words. Gurukkal 2016, 86.

\(^{1407}\) Gurukkal 2016, 86.

\(^{1408}\) ‘*ciṉam miṟu vāṉavaṉ kuṭa kaṭaḷ/polan taru nāvāy ōṭṭiya avvali piṟa kalam celkalatagiyeṭṭu ṽaṅkaviya ...’* *Puṟanāṉṟu* 126: 14–16. Here *celkalatagiyeṭṭu* can be analysed as a negative peyareccam with a special sandhi in which the final ‘a’ retains (*Index of Puṟanāṉṟu*, 452) + pronominal noun in denominative function (*aṅkaiyeṭṭu*).

\(^{1409}\) Gurukkal 2016, 87.

\(^{1410}\) Gurukkal 2016, 55. footnote 75.
[like] peaks, while the wind with the nature of moving fast (vaṅkū) drives [his ship] without getting lazy (açaiv’ iṇṟu) either day or night, and the ship (vaṅkam) which is fearful as when the earth rises,\textsuperscript{1411} cuts through the open waters (nīr īṭai) of the huge sea with flesh-reeking waves.\textsuperscript{1412}

It possibly shows a real or fictitious story of a South Indian man who decides to leave his lover for a shorter or longer period of time for the sake of maritime trade or other business on the other shores of the sea. Of course, a port full of sand can be imagined anywhere on the map, but it is also possible, taking into account the long, day and night travel, that we are dealing with a brief schematic description of South Arabian or Red Sea ports.\textsuperscript{1413} We thus see the maritime trade from a closer perspective: the tiresome travel on the open seas, the Tamils who managed to get on the deck, and the actual lighthouses which mean a surprisingly modern infrastructure at the early Tamil harbours.

In another poem of the Naṟṟiṇai, we see the many kinds of goods (paṉṇiyam < Skt. panya) “that had come, when the wind brought [them] from many different lands”\textsuperscript{1414}. Another poem talks about a shipwreck, when we see “a plank grabbed by many, since they fell, agitated because [their] wooden [ship] had been turned upside down in the sea.”\textsuperscript{1415} In the Kalittokai we see again “those whose manly work had been destroyed by the wind seizing the ships on the extensive dark ocean”.\textsuperscript{1416} The Akanāṉūṟu’s 152\textsuperscript{nd} poem also talks about the wealth-bringing (taṅgam <Skt. dhanam) good vessels (naṅkalam) of the big harbour with seashore groves at the extension of the sounding water (iṟaṅku nīṟ parappiṅ kāṅal am peruntuṟai), which were broken (citaiya).\textsuperscript{1417} In the later Paripāṭal, we see again a “captain who knows the directions, who repairs [his] scattered ship (vaṅkam) with glue”.\textsuperscript{1418} In all these passages we can see maritime activities with their unfortunate twists at the South Indian

\textsuperscript{1411} Eva Wilden’s comment is on that, what she kindly shared with me from her upcoming edition: “[p]erhaps this is a reference to a creation myth, such as Varāha taking the earth out of the water, and most likely this has to be read as a metaphor for size, which would make this an allusion to overseas trade.”

\textsuperscript{1412} ‘Uḷaku kilantarṇa urukelṆ vaṅkam/pulavuttiraiṆ peruṅkaṭal nīr īṭaiṆ pōḷa/iravum ellaṆyum acaiṆvṟu āki/virai celal iyaṟkai vaṅkū ṣṭṭak/kōṭ’ uyar tiṆi maṇal aṅkaṆ tūṟai nīṅkāṁ/māṭam āl ērī maruṅ’ ārīnt’ oyya/āḷ viṅaṅ pirinṭa kāṭtalar …’. Akanāṉūṟu, 255: 1–7.

\textsuperscript{1413} It is also possible to read this passage as an implied simile behind the infinitive clause, as if the departure of the ship was compared to the parting of the lover without connecting the hero’s person to the departing ship. So the hero is not on the deck but as just the ship, his return carries hope for certain people in his village. This time thanks to Eva Wilden for discussing this with me and highlighting the possibility of seeing the simile behind the lines as well.

\textsuperscript{1414} ‘vēṟu pal nāṭṭiṅ kāḷ tara vantai/pala uru paṇṇiṆyam …’. Naṟṟiṇai, 31: 8–9. (Transl. by Eva Wilden)

\textsuperscript{1415} ‘kaṭal maram kaviṅḷ’-eṅa kalanṭi utaṅ vil пу/palar koṅ palakai …’. Naṟṟiṇai, 30: 8–9. (Transl. by Eva Wilden)

\textsuperscript{1416} ‘piḻ irum munṆir vaḷi kalaṅ vauvaḷiṅ/āḷ viṅaṅk ‘alintōr … ‘. Kalittokai 5: 6–7.

\textsuperscript{1417} Akanāṉūṟu, 152: 6–7.

\textsuperscript{1418} ‘citaiyam kalattai payiṅṆ tiruttum ticai āri nīṅkāṁ …’. Paripāṭal, 10: 54–55.
shores, in which Tamils must had been involved (or they organized it themselves). If there
had always been foreign merchants in these cases, the poets would probably have emphasized
their outsider status as usual. Regarding the question of Tamil shipping, we could mention
other passages that refer to strong coracles,\(^\text{1419}\) to the great quantity of goods showering as
monsoon rain that comes from the sea to the land and then flows from the land to the sea,\(^\text{1420}\)
to the elephant-like swinging movement of ships in the harbour,\(^\text{1421}\) etc., but from these texts
we are rarely able to reconstruct whether these poets talked about coastal shipping or sea
voyages, Tamil or non-Tamil merchants.

In South India, archaeologists have not yet found much to suggest Tamil shipping,
whether by sea or by river. The most important of these findings was the wooden dugout
 canoe of Paṭṭaṇam with a wharf, which was excavated in 2007 by the Kerala Council for
Historical Research (KCHR). It was certainly the same-type of watercraft as the \textit{monoxyulus
liner} of Pliny the Elder, or the \textit{tōpi} of the backwaters in the \textit{Rūṇāṉūṟu} 343: 6. On the other
hand, we can also point to the South Indian maritime trade by examining the evidences of
Tamil trade outside South India, thus, we will also find traces of South Indian traders in the
Roman Empire. The ambassadors of the Tamil Pāṇṭiya kings, after, according to the tradition,
an adventurous four-year journey, finally reached the borders of the Roman Empire by land.
Strabo also became aware of the Pāṇṭiya embassy, as he mentions the king of Pandion, who
sent various precious gifts to Augustus Caesar to honour him.\(^\text{1422}\) Florus mentions the arrival
of Indian ambassadors, as well as those whom he calls Seres. Because of the context given, it
is conceivable that they were ambassadors of the Cēra kings (although the same term is used
to refer to the Chinese).\(^\text{1423}\) Perhaps the kings of the Cōla also sent their envoys to Rome, so it
is also possible that the tigers presented by Augustus in 11 AD were gifts from the Cōla kings
who used the tiger as a dynastic symbol.\(^\text{1424}\) Having arrived in Rome, the South Indian
ambassadors laid the foundations for trade cooperation, or strengthened the already existing
relations.\(^\text{1425}\) The presence of Indian traders in Egypt is confirmed by a papyrus text found at
Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 413). According to Salomon, in the text called “Charition mime”
which could be dated to the 2nd c. AD, and which imitates the Euripides’ drama called
\textit{Iphigenia in Tauris}, perhaps Old Kannada words had been preserved in Greek transcription in
the gibberish-like speeches of the Indian heroes.\(^\text{1426}\) However, it seems to be rather possible

\(^{1419}\) Paṭṭiṇappālai, 30.
\(^{1420}\) Paṭṭiṇappālai, 126–132.
\(^{1421}\) Paṭṭiṇappālai, 172–175.
\(^{1422}\) Strabo, \textit{Geogr.} XV. 1. 5.
\(^{1423}\) Florus, \textit{Epitome}. II. 34. 62.
\(^{1424}\) Cassius Dio, \textit{Historiae}, LIV.
\(^{1425}\) For more, see: Jairazbhoy 1963, 110–113.
that the Indian language in this text was Tuḷu, another Dravidian language of ancient Tuḷunāṭu.\textsuperscript{1427} In Kanāyis or Wādi Miḥā, during an excavation at the temple of Seti I, an inscription was found which had been offered to Pan by an Indian merchant in gratitude for his fortunate journey, whose name, Sophōn Indos, according to Salomon, could have been the Hellenized form of Subhānu.\textsuperscript{1428} In Berenice and around the ancient Red Sea ports numerous excavated findings suggest an Indian presence in the early centuries AD,\textsuperscript{1429} and we have also evidence to the South Arabian presence.\textsuperscript{1430} There are also Brāhmī inscriptions in the Cave Hoq of Suqṭrā by Indians.\textsuperscript{1431} The \textit{Periplus Maris Erythraei} in Chapter 30 writes about Indian merchants at Suqṭrā (Dioskuridēs), while the 31\textsuperscript{st} chapter reports about sailors of Limyrikē, who accidentally moored there. This may be true as there are no traces of the presence of Tamils in the area. Although Tomber talks about the “South Indian dominance” in trade activities with Egypt,\textsuperscript{1432} but it is most evident in the archaeological finds and the goods transported, and does not mean a maritime dominance controlled by South Indians. Anyway, at Myos Hormos in the Red Sea (now Quseir-al-Qadim), archaeologists have found fragments of amphorae written in Tamil Brāhmī, one of which the text \textit{pāṅai oṛī} can be read, which means, according to Mahadevan, “pot [suspended in] a rope net”.\textsuperscript{1433} A reference to this custom can be found in \textit{Kalittokai (uṛī tāḷīnta karakumum)}.\textsuperscript{1434} We see two personal names (Kaṇaṇ and Cāṇaṇ) on other ostraca that have been found at Myros Hormos, and another name (Koṛṟṟaṇumāṇ) that has been found on a potsherd in Berenice. Another Tamil Brāhmī inscription was found at Khor Rori, Oman, which, according to K. Rajan, is an excerpt from the name of an older, highly respected merchant (nantai kīraṇ). Beyond India, a Brāhmī inscription in Prākṛt, which included Tamil Brāhmī characters, was found in Thailand. The gold plates of Band Kluay from the 2\textsuperscript{nd}–3\textsuperscript{rd} c. AD bear a short inscription about a ship captain (nāvika) namely Brahaspati Sarma/Bṛhaspati Šarma (brahaspati nāvikasa sarmasa).\textsuperscript{1435} It is interesting, because his name suggests a Brāhmaṇa origin (Šarma), which would not have allowed him to be involved in seafaring activities.\textsuperscript{1436} However, there are stories in which

\textsuperscript{1427} Rai 1985.
\textsuperscript{1428} Salomon, 1991, 735.
\textsuperscript{1429} Tomber 2008, 83–87.
\textsuperscript{1430} Strauch 2012, 373.
\textsuperscript{1431} Strauch 2012, 286–360.
\textsuperscript{1432} Strauch 2012, 371.
\textsuperscript{1434} Kalittokai, 9: 2.
\textsuperscript{1435} Thailand artefacts show links to S India. \textit{Times of India}. August 24, 2010. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/thailand-artefacts-show-links-to-s-india/articleshow/6423797.cms (downloaded: 2\textsuperscript{nd} May 2022)
\textsuperscript{1436} Māṇavadharmaśāstra III. 158.
Brāhmaṇa sea-captains appear. In Khlong Thom, Thailand, a rectangular touchstone (3rd–4th c. AD) of a Tamil goldsmith called Perum Pataṉ, whose name might have meant the “great goldsmith” (< Tam. ṁn. pongat), was found, on which the following inscription can be read: perumpatay kal, “the [touch]stone [of] Perum Pataṉ”. Excavated fragments with Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions have also been unearthed in the excavations of Tissamahārāma, Sri Lanka, which reveal the complexity of trade relations.

Turning to our main topic, the Cēras had a slightly different relationship with the ocean. Sessa Aiyar states that although “[s]hip-building industry does not appear to be mentioned in Šangam works; but the people of the Cēra country were familiar with navigation of the high seas and from early times they had trade relations with foreign nations.” Even if we cannot substantiate Sesse Aiyar’s suggestions for the earliest (direct) sea trade relations, he is right when he talks about the navigation of the Cēras. The Cāṅkam works are again quite laconic for some reason, but we have certain references that must concern the seafaring of the Cēras. I must emphasize that I considered it necessary to write a longer introduction in the previous pages in order to see the context in which the enigmatic passages relating to the “sea travels” of Cēra kings could be inserted.

Neṭuṅcēralāṭaṉ seems to be the first among the Cēras, who was known for his seafaring activities. During his reign, he led several campaigns, camped and fought together with his army, and thus he earned the honourable royal title Imaya-varampāṇ, an epithet that means 1. “he whose limit (varampu) is the Imaiyam/Himālaya”; 2. “he who is beloved (ampag) by the celestials (imaiyavar), cf. Pā. devānāmpiya, an epithet used by ancient kings e.g. AŚoka Maurya. This title brought the king closer to northern traditions. In the II. patikam of the Patiruppattu, we see Neṭuṅcēralāṭaṉ,

...[who] established [the rule of] his [royal-]staff (kōḍ), so that Tamilakam with fences of the rumbling sea was shining, [who] made the āriyar of greatly reputable tradition humble with [his] eminent glory, [who] shackled the worthless yavagas of harsh speech, poured oil on [their] head, pinioned [their] hands behind

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1437 For example, the father of the Tibetan siddha Padampa Sangye (Pha Dam pa sangs rgyas) who was probably born in South India, was a Brāhmaṇa sea-captain. Martin 2015, 339.
1438 The Tamil Leixcon even refers to the caste title of the goldsmiths as pattar. Tamil Lexicon, 2461.
1440 Sessa Aiyar 1937, 142.
1441 Tamilakam: the Tamil country. Puţnāţiṟṟu, 168: 18; Tamil Lexicon, 1757. It means perhaps those lands where Tamil was spoken, so it seems to be not a political, but a cultural region.
1442 āriyar < Skt. ārya. As an umbrella-term, āriyar denotes non-Tamil people of India.
[their] back, and took [their] good vessels of rare value together with [their] gems (vayiram) and gave [them all] to greatly valorous, old villages…

In this probably later poem, which was perhaps composed once the whole text was written down, the words aruvilai naṅkalam connected to the ““Greeks” (yavagarr) make different interpretations possible. In my translation, I agreed with Zvelebil who translates ‘vessels’, though in this way I elegantly avoid the problem because the word ‘vessel’ is just as ambiguous as the Tamil word kalam. Anyway, Zvelebil translates “precious beautiful vessels” and suggests amphorae with question mark in brackets, which would be indeed a logical interpretation, but cannot be verified. Pierre Meile offers “des bons bijoux de grand prix”, which is closer to the original text and excludes the possibility of interpreting the word kalam as a ‘seafaring’ vessel. Aruḷampalavanār glosses anikalam as ‘jewel’, ‘ornament’, while McLaughlin and De Romanis also understand kalam as ‘jewel’. We should keep in mind the slight possibility that here kalam meant ship, but I think Romila Thapar went a little too far when she interpreted this story as a defeat of a “Yavana fleet”. However, Marr claims that the yavagar are not even mentioned in the old text but added by modern writers following the old commentary. In fact, Marr is right since the oldest manuscript that contains the patikams, the UVSL 98a [10. r. 6] does not have yavagar attested but vaṇcol [i]yavar (“base men with harsh words”?), nor do the other paper manuscripts. In UVSL 559 (p. 30) and UVSL 439 (p. 106), we see emendations of yavar to yavagar made by someone, perhaps U. Vē. Ĉaminātaiyar himself. The source of emendation was definitely the old commentator who reads and understands ‘itag patikatt’ (i)yavagar piṇitt’ enṟatu …’ [10. r. 2], while the cause of emendation was, as Eva Wilden highlighted during our consultations, the fact that the transmitted text is hypometrical. I think it is possible to agree with the old commentator (supported by the later data from Cilappatikāram) while putting an emphasis on the hypometrical obscurity of the line (which supports the emendation) and on the fact that the word yavagar is de facto not attested in the Pativrūppattu (which is against the emendation).

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1443 ‘imiḻ kaṭal vēļit tamiḻkam viḷañka/taŋ kōl niṟiṭt takai cāl ciṟappōṭu/pēr icai marapiṅ āriyar vaṇakki/nayaṅ il val col yavagarp piṇittu/ney talaip peytu kai piṅ kolli/arum vilai nal kalam vaṭiramoṭu koṇṭu/perum viral mūt’ āṟt tantu…’. Pativrūppattu, II. 5–11.
1444 Meile 1941, 118.
1445 Aruḷampalavanār 1960, 116.
1446 McLaughlin 2010, 135.
1447 De Romanis 1997, 143; footnote 108.
1449 Marr 1985 [1958], 282.
1450 The questionable word can be also read as maṇyavar (< mayam? Tamil Lexicon, 3073), but because of the sandhi, that would rather appear as cōmayavar; however; col is clearly legible.
1451 Hereby, I thank Eva Wilden for her precious help in providing me an insight to the manuscripts which were not available to me and shared her ideas about the question.
The *yavagar* are mentioned in the old commentary of *Patiṟṟuppattu*, so it seems the mediaeval commentator had no doubt about the identification, which was definitely supported by those passages of the *Cilappatikāram*, which mention the ‘Greeks’ with harsh words/barbarous tongue’ (*vaṟcol yavagar*). However, what we can certainly say about this passage is that 1. the *yavagar* had precious articles (rather jewels than ships) and harsh speech, 2. they were treated as prisoners. What we cannot deduce from the text is whether the Cēra king met the “Greeks” on land or at sea. Of course, it is conceivable that we are seeing privateers here, Indo-Greek merchants or soldiers, who helped other kings at sea and therefore were punished. They might have been traders from the Persian Gulf, Greeks from Dhenukākaṭaka, or *yavaga* mariners employed by Naṉṉaṉ, the *kaṭampu*-tribe, the Sātavāhanas, the Kuśāṇs, or the Śakas. Is that the same event that has been commemorated in the *Cilappatikāram*? Even if this passage did not necessarily introduce the seafaring of the Cēras, it offered a good opportunity to partially refute the interpretive experiments that developed around it. However, we also have clearer evidence:

If someone asks “Who is your king?”, our king is Neṭuñcēralāta who has the strength of [his] fierce rage, who chopped down the foot of the *kaṭampu*-tree, after [he] went to the land of the resisting ones, [which land was] inside an island of the dark sea, may his chaplet live long!

Thus, we see direct evidence that Neṭuñcēralāta sailed the “dark sea” and attacked his enemies on an island (*turuttu*), which island must have been somewhere among the Lakṣadvīp islands, or around the southern Konkan, where anyway pirates were mentioned by Ptolemy and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. We will return to the question in a later chapter. The same episode can be found in the 17th poem of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, in which we see Neṭuñcēralāta who “liberated the great sea [that] possessed shiny spray [and] scattered precious offerings (*arum pali*) [once he] returned and arrived [together with his] warriors [carrying] the victorious wide *paṇai*-drum which was fashioned having chopped the *kaṭampu*-tree”.

We find the defeat of the *kaṭampu*-tribe in other poems as well without the maritime context.

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1453 Chandra 1977, 103–104.
1454 *Cilappatikāram*, III. 28: 141–142.
1455 Here the *kaṭampu* refers to the totemistic tree of the *kaṭampu* tribe that has been destroyed. See: *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 12: 3; 17: 5; 20: 4; 88: 6; *Patiṟṟuppattu*, IV. patikam: 6.
1458 *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 11: 11–14; 12: 2;
we read that he, “having navigated (ōṭṭi) [on] the ocean, destroyed the katampu”, or “having driven back (ōṭṭi) the ocean, destroyed the katampu.” Once he defeated the katampu-tribe, he collected the humble tributes at the great mansion of Māntai/Maranthai. In the 41st poem of the Patiruppattu, we see the son of Neṭuṇcēralātaṇ, Kaṭal Piṇakkōṭṭiya Ceṅkuṭṭuvan (“Ceṅkuṭṭuvan who drove back the sea”), whose “legs conquered the cool sea with sounding waves” (paṭum tirait paṅik kaṭal uḷanta tālē). Anyway, his royal epithet Kaṭal Piṇakkōṭṭiya was mentioned originally in the V. patikam by the poet called Paraṇar. Although we cannot really see the maritime activities of Ceṅkuṭṭuvan in the Caṅkam poems, we read about it in the early mediaeval Cilappatikāram, in which we read about Ceṅkuṭṭuvan as someone who “overthrew the katampu[tribe] with fences of the vast/dark water” (mānir vēlik kaṭamp’ erintu; III. 25. 1), or someone with cruel war “who overthrew the katampu of the sea” (kaṭal kaṭamp’ erinta; III. 25. 187). In the 90th poem (Line 20) Iḷaṇcēral Irumporai, another Cēra king is mentioned as being one who “threw a spear so that the ocean was destroyed” (kaṭal ikappa vēl iṭṭum). All these texts show that the Cēra kings de facto sailed the seas, but we have only evidence that they did so for military purposes, while their assumed sea-trade activities cannot be substantiated. However, we have seen before that the Tamils had the knowledge to sail along the coast. I think it is not unfounded to assume that the Cēra kings utilized the Mediterranean knowledge in shipping and shipbuilding and they therefore may have been able to build a powerful fleet useful in naval battles. However, it is rather possible that the vessels of the Cēras were used to transport warriors and only when they landed did the fighting begin. Be that as it may, Mediterranean sailors and warriors appeared on the Malabar Coast governed by the Cēras perhaps every year for centuries and have certainly helped them in their maritime activities, although perhaps not for free. We can assume that the very costly punitive campaign in the northern areas, in which neither new territory nor new vassals were acquired, was to stabilize trade relations and Cēra interests on the Malabar Coast.

Harbours, emporia and trade routes

In order to understand the relation between the Cēra kings and trade, the next step is to discuss the Cēra harbours, emporia, and trade routes in their kingdom. Therefore, the following three topics have to be examined in the light of Caṅkam literature, Tamil epigraphy, and South Indian archaeological findings: 1. Naṟavu/Naoura, Toṇṭi/Tyndis, Muciṟi/Muziris, Vaṇci/Karuvūr, and Pantar located in the division called Kuṭanāṭu in North- and Middle Malabar, then 2. Bakarē, Nelkynda and Māntai/Marantai/Morounda located in the division

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1460 Patiruppattu, 41: 27.
1461 Cilappatikāram, III. 25: 185.
called Kuṭṭanāṭu/Kottanarichē in South Malabar, and finally 3. the trade routes that connect the different divisions of the kingdom.

**Naṟavu/Naoura**

Regarding the division called Kuṭṭanāṭu which literally means the “western country”, the northernmost Cēra settlement of it was Naṟavu. From the thirty attestations of the word *naṟavu* in the old corpus, it is quite certain that when the poet asks: “O songstresses, why shall we not go in order to see [him], the one with a brilliant company in Naṟavu that could not be consumed (*tuvvā*)”, then he refers to a village/town of the Cēras. Behind this weird passage, an old poetic tool can be seen, which I call a negative signifier (trad. *velippaṭai*) which distinguishes the “not-eaten” (*tuvvā* *naṟavu*) as a town from the *naṟavu* as the toddy, honey, or flower. Even the old commentator of the *Patiruppadatu* glosses *naṟavu* as “a village/town” (*ōr ūr*). If we prefer not to believe in the commentary and the existence of Naṟavu as a town, we may translate *tuvvā naṟavu* as ‘inexhaustible toddy’. However; if we read the poem, it clearly talks about a place:

[…] where the warriors (*maṟavar*) shiver in the cold wind of the coming sea, after the waves with foamy sprays together with the clouds became bewildered, [warriors] who possess bows whose laziness of the strings had been removed, [Naṟavu] of unceasing fertility and of unchangeable yield, where the ripened, egg-shaped fruit [given] to the people who are going [on] the road impedes the tired propensity [to advance, fruit which] became abundant in fine juice, the sweet fruit which fell down from the tree [which] was never cleft by rasp, where bees swarmed around without turning away from its honey-taste.

What is more, from the 85th poem of the *Patiruppadatu* we learn that:

[…] the king’s council (*arac’ avai*) became humble [around] the seat [in] the daily court in Naṟavu, which cannot be put on [as flowers (*naṟavu*)], among the tall

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1462 Lehmann–Malten 2007, 258.
1463 *Patiruppadatu*, 60: 3; 12.
1464 ‘… miṉṟu puṟam mūcavum tīm cuvai tiriyāt’/aram pōḻkallā maram paṭu tīm kaṅi/am cēṟ’ amainta muṇṭai viḷai paṟan/ āru cel mākkaṭ’ oṉ takai tāṭukkum/(m)āṟā viḷaiyūl aṟā yāṉart/toṭai maṭi kaḷainta cīlai uṭai maṟavar/ ponku picirp puṇari māṅkuḷouṭu mayanki/varum kaṭal itāyīp paṭikkum …’. *Patiruppadatu*, 60: 4–11.
1465 Another possible reading of *naṟavīg nāl mākiṉ* is “the daily joy [off/from] toddy”, however, we cannot be sure that the drunkenness during the royal audience can be attributed to virtuous behaviours. Here a *velippaṭai* (POC: *matuviṟku velippaṭai*) in a form of a *negative signifier* helps to distinguish the specific meaning of *naṟavu* as a city of the Cēraṅ from the *naṟavu* as a flower/fragrance (See: *naṟavu* and *naṟavam*, Tamil Lexicon, 2186).
mountains which are seen from the [entire] country, which were expanded with many of [its] summits, which [have] brilliant, big slopes [where] the sweet mountain springs became permanent […]\(^{1467}\)

If this town was the same as the emporium called Naoura mentioned by the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, then it must have been located somewhere north of Toṇṭi/Tyndis, in the northern part of Kuṭanāṭu. Malekandathil suggests that the Naoura and Tyndis were the feeding ports of Muziris, the commercial capital of Karuvūr, the political capital of the early Cēras.\(^{1468}\) Schoff identifies Naoura with Kaṇṇūr (Kerala) and rejects the identification with Honnāvara (Karnataka),\(^{1469}\) an attempt of localization which can already be found in Pretzsch.\(^{1470}\) Casson pinpoints it at Mangalūru (Karnataka), which became another usual identification of the place name.\(^{1471}\) Anyway, it was certainly located between Nitra/Nitra and Tyndis/Toṇṭi, in a circle that includes Kaṇṇūr and Maṅgalūru. If we consider the data extracted from the 85th poem of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, and we expect mountains that visibly surround the town, then the region of Eḻimala (ancient Ēḻil neṭuvarai/kuṇṟam) with its rocky slopes seems to be the best candidate for localization, since the distance between the Kaṇṇūr seashore and the nearest range of the Western Ghats is about seventy-eighty kilometres, while Mangalūru seems to be a bit far, and although it is located in a hilly area, “tall mountains which are seen from the [entire] country” can be found again in ca. seventy-eighty kilometres distance. However, one must consider that the Western Ghats with an average altitude of 1200 metres can still be seen, even if not the whole, from ca. 124 kilometres,\(^{1472}\) so the question again is how seriously we take the description of the Tamil poem. It is rather possible that the town was located originally in Tuḷunāṭu\(^{1473}\) as Thirunavukkarusu states, perhaps later conquered by the early Cēras. Anyway, Naṟavu was a town protected by warriors who were most probably hired by the rulers, “which reveals that the chiefs of the towns invariably used warriors to protect their interest from the invading enemy chiefs, and these ports became centres of political activities, perhaps, due to the wealth brought by the trade”.\(^{1474}\) Selvakumar even adds to this that the word *miṅṟu* for

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\(^{1467}\) *tīm cuṉai nilaiya tiru mā maruṅkiṉ/kōṭu pala virinta nāṭu kāṅ neṭum varaic/cūṭā naṟaviṅ nāḷ makiḷ irukkai/ūrac’-avai paṇiya …’. *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 85: 6–9.

\(^{1468}\) Malekandathil 2017, 345.

\(^{1469}\) Schoff 1913, 204.

\(^{1470}\) Pretzsch 1889, 23.


\(^{1472}\) This calculation should be taken as a guide only as it assumes the earth is a perfect ball 6378137 metres radius. It also assumes the horizon you are looking at is at sea level. A triangle is formed with the centre of the earth (C) as one point, the horizon point (H) is a right angle and the observer (O) the third corner. Using Pythagoras’s theorem we can calculate the distance from the observer to the horizon (OH) knowing CH is the earth’s radius (r) and CO is the earth’s radius (r) plus observer’s height (v) above sea level.” [http://www.ringbell.co.uk/info/hdist.htm](http://www.ringbell.co.uk/info/hdist.htm) (downloaded: 20\(^{1472}\) March 2022).

\(^{1473}\) Thirunavukkarusu, 1994, 48.

\(^{1474}\) Selvakumar 2017, 273.
‘bees’ (*Patiṟṟuppattu*, 60: 4) “has the typical nasal sound of Malayalam”. Even if the word reflects a dialectal term used in western Tamiḻkam, it is rather impossible to connect it to the Malabar regions in this way, since the geographical spectrum of the poems in which *miṉṟu* was attested covers a vast space from the Cēra territories via Maturai to Toṇṭaināṭu. So, the usage of the word *miṉṟu* may or may not refer to the local language spoken in Naṟavu.

**Toṇṭi/Tyndis**

From north to south, the next significant town of the Cēras on the Malabar Coast was Tyndis or Toṇṭi as we find it in the Caṅkam anthologies. The etymology of the Cēra place name is not clear from the attestations; we can assume that its name was connected to the Malabar glory-lily, to the tree called *Sterculia guttata*, to the red cedar of the Nilgiris, or to the word *tuṇṭi* which meant either ‘beak’ or ‘backwater’ (*kāḷi*). However, neither of these attestations could verify the etymology of the Cēra towns, since the texts come few hundred years later than the earliest attestations in which Toṇṭi refers to either the Cēra port itself or the Cōḷa port on the eastern coast that bore the same name, but nothing else.

The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* mentioned Tyndis/Toṇṭi as a port of trade (*ἐμπόριον*; ch. 53) first, then as an “important seashore village” (*κόμη παραθαλάσσιος ἕνσημος*, ch. 54), while Ptolemy called it a ‘city’ (*πόλις*), which meant, as I have discussed earlier, a “nucleated settlement” with or without fortification, and with or without an *emporion*. From the Mediterranean references, it seems to be the case that Tyndis/Toṇṭi was perhaps a political centre of the Cēras with a village-like *emporion* on its seashores. The town also appears as Tundis on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Toṇṭi can be localized perhaps around today’s Kozhikode (Kōḻikkōṭ) District, Kerala, and it can be perhaps identified either with Ponṇāni, Kaṭaluṇṭi, or Kōyilāṇṭi. The location of Toṇṭi had a strategic importance as it was about hundred kilometres from the entrance of the Pālakkāṭ (Palakkad) Gap, the only low mountain pass and therefore an extremely important transport corridor in the Western Ghats. We can be sure that ancient towns such as Naṟavu, Toṇṭi, Karuvūr, and Muciṟi were connected to the Pālakkāṭ corridor by trade routes, which corridor connects the Malabar region to Koṅkunāṭu.

I need to emphasize that Toṇṭi is the most often mentioned town of the Cēras and even if the descriptions of the Caṅkam poems are often schematic, we can still acquire new data from them. The poets of the *Akanāṉūru* in the 10th, 60th, and 290th poems talk about a town called Toṇṭi and the tradition attributes the 169th poem to a poet called Toṇṭi Āmūr Cāttāṉār who came from Toṇṭi, although hard to say whether from the Cēra or the Cōḷa one. The 10th poem

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1476 Tamil Lexicon, 2091; *Tamiḻ Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti*, 1220.
1477 Ptol., *Geog*. VII. 1. 8.
1478 Selvakumar 2017, 274.
talks about the “wealthy Toṇṭi, where the fishermen with new nets, who had gone in [their] old boats through dunes, where waves, with swells in groups, approach with the east wind, distribute the pillage of sword-fish on the shore set with high sand by the villages fragrant with scent.”

The 60th poem talks about “Toṇṭi of Poraiyana with a sturdy chariot, where the little daughter gives, along with the flesh of fat fish, tooth-white cooked rice from paddy, for which the price had been salt, pouring forth nice curry stirred with Ayilai fish, to [her] father who had been kept back by [his] tasks in the long boat with pretty nets [and] straight staffs drawn from the winding backwaters while the red prawns were shivering in the expanse of the great area [of water].”

The 290th poem sings about “the big and cool neytaḷ-flower which has blossomed so that bees drank [its nectar], at Toṇṭi, the ancient port (muṟṟurai) at the expanse of the clear waves, [Toṇṭi] of Kuṭṭuvan with wars that are victorious [because of his] elephants with white tusks”. To summarise, a few information have to be highlighted: 1. Toṇṭi was the town of Poraiyana which means the Cēra king and his dynasty, most likely the Irumporai branch; 2. Toṇṭi was a wealthy town where hard-working fishermen communities (paratavarr) existed, among which the timil-type of watercraft (boat? catamaran? Tamil Lexicon, 1880) was in fashion; 3. Toṇṭi was an ancient port (muṟṟurai) of Kuṭṭuvan which was a dynastic title of the Cēra kings; this refers to the fact that the Cēras were once the overlords of the kuṭṭuvaḷ in Kuṭṭanāṭu. The 128th poem of the Kuṟuntuvaḷ mentions again Toṇṭi, the ancient port where the ruler is Poraiyana of firm chariot. Thus it seems that the phrase tin tēr poraiyana toṇṭi muṟṟurai had a formulaic usage, which phrase had been borrowed by Kuṭṭavāyil Kirattāṇār from Paranar, or maybe the other way round. Because of the formulaic use, I do not think that these two verses verify each other. The 210th poem refers to Toṇṭi as the place of Naḷḷi, the well-known chief of the Tōṭṭi Hill.

Interestingly, Naḷḷi also had a ‘firm chariot’ (tin tēr), which could have been a traditional title of the lord of Toṇṭi, that was inherited, or only an expression of poetic playfulness. It is also remarkable that we see the cooked food with rice both in this poem and the 60th akam, which could mean that Toṇṭi was famous for its cuisine, or that the poets knew and reflected on each other’s poems.

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1479 ‘koṇṭ’ āṅkup peyartal vēntum koṇṭalotu/kuḻak kilai/kīlaip pūnari ajaitaram ekkart/palām timil ceṇra putu valaip paratavarr/mōṭṭu manaḷ agai karaik kōṭṭu mīn koṇṭi/maṇam kamaḷ pākkattup pukkummai/vaḷaṇ-keḷu toṇṭi …’. Akanāţiṟṟu, 10: 8–13. (Transl. by Eva Wilden)


1481 Agreeing with Eva Wilden’s notes on Kuṟuntuvaḷ 128, it is also possible to translate muṟṟurai as a compound that means ‘front/another’, or as ‘the ghat/harbour in front of Toṇṭi’.

1482 ‘veṇ kōṭṭ’ (i)yāṇai viral pōrk kuṭṭuvan/ten tirai paraippin toṇṭi muṟṟurai/curump’ una malarnta perun taṇ neytaḷ’. Akanāţiṟṟu, 290: 12–14.

1483 Kuṟuntuvaḷ, 128: 2.

1484 Kuṟuntuvaḷ, 210: 1–2.

1485 Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 482.
In the 238th poem we read about “[…] Toṇṭi, where women with bright bracelets are engaged in play, having laid down on a ridge by the border of the rice field with choice ears the black, hard pestles which pounded green rice […].” Here again, we read about the rice of Toṇṭi and the great fertility which allows women to rest without work. Until now, what we have seen in the Tamil texts is that Toṇṭi had a militant chief with chariots and elephants, Toṇṭi had a port with fishermen, and Toṇṭi had rice fields which also entailed a gastronomy celebrated in literature, based on rice and fish. The fact that Toṇṭi seemed to have agricultural tracts and sea harbour might suggest that the Greeks were right when they indirectly talked about a *polis-cum-emporion* kind of settlement. If we open the *Naṟṟinaṟi*, we find other details on the town. The 8th poem, for example, mentions Toṇṭi, the town of Poṟaiyaṉ with firm chariot, where we see waterlilies, muddy paddy fields, and workers around, which description underlines the statements of the previous songs. The 18th poem talks about the gate (*katavu*) of Toṇṭi with seashore-groves, on which Poṟaiyaṉ had impressed Mūvaṉ, his enemy’s sharp, thorn-like teeth. Since Mūvaṉ is a hapax legomenon and the dental description is quite odd, one might consider that here *mūvaṉ* might be a mythological name of perhaps a demon, or a name of a legendary animal, but so far I have not come any closer to a solution. This poem is important because it highlights the closeness of the sea, and if we decide to translate *katavu* as ‘gate’ (instead of ‘anger’ as a second possibility; *Tamil Lexicon*, 711), then probably the poem refers to a fortified mansion of the Cēra king in Toṇṭi. The Cēra king anyway appears as a ‘fighter’ (*porunaṉ*) here, who has an army with anger difficult to chill down and victorious spears. Of course, these are only regular and formulaic attributes, but in doing so the poet somewhat emphasizes the powerful presence of the triumphant king in the town. In the 195th song of the *Naṟṟinaṟi*, the poet talks about Toṇṭi as a coastal place with seashore groves and waterlilies, where otters feed on fish in the backwaters, but also, sharp blades of those who harvest rice glitter. In the *Puṟanāgūṟu*’s 17th poem, we read about the Cēra king as “the murderous fighter of the people in cool Toṇṭi with flame[like] flowers [floating] on the top of clear backwaters, with vast seashore groves where sand [is like] the moonshine, with mountain-fences at the widening paddy fields, with clustered coconut trees whose bunches hang low”. The 48th poem’s author, Poykaiyār sang the following lines to Kōtai or the king, Cēramāṉ Kōkkōtai Mārpaṉ: “Toṇṭi with seashore groves that are fragrant from toddy (*kaḷ*), from the blossoming *neytal*-flowers at the big/dark backwaters, from the garlands of those

1486 *Kuṟuntuṭakai*, 238: 1–4. (Transl. by Eva Wilden)
1487 *Naṟṟinaṟi*, 8: 5–9.
1488 *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, 706.
1489 *Naṟṟinaṟi*, 18: 2–5.
who united with Kōtai, from the garland on the chest of Kōtai; that [is] our town, he [is] our superior man”. From the last poems we have seen again that Toṇṭi was close to the sea, to the backwaters, to the paddy fields which were surrounded by fence-like mountains, and we have also seen that the king was present in the town together with his wife (in this case puṇarntör is a honorific singular), wives, lovers, or favourite courtesans. The Cēra erotic anthology, the Aṅkuṇunūru\(^{1492}\) has a whole decade of songs on Toṇṭi (Toṇṭippattu, Aṅkuṇunūru, 171–180)\(^{1495}\) written by Ammūvaṇār. It is remarkable that his name Ammūvaṇār seems to be the same name as the shorter Mūva\(^{1496}\) so we can only hope that the Cēra king was satisfied with these songs and he was not the one whose teeth had been impressed on the wooden gate of Toṇṭi.\(^{1497}\) In these ten love poems, Ammūvaṇār speaks about Toṇṭi, where the sweet music of mulavu-drums is sounding everywhere mingling with the sweetly sounding music of the waves,\(^{1498}\) about the cool harbour of Toṇṭi where bees are humming,\(^{1499}\) about the neyṭal-flowers of Toṇṭi,\(^{1500}\) about the awful (aṇāṅk’ uṭṭaį), foggy/cool harbour of Toṇṭi,\(^{1501}\) about the cool, fragrant and fresh flowers of Toṇṭi,\(^{1502}\) about the harbour of Toṇṭi which is fragrant from the muṭṭakam-flowers with long stems, where the sand heaps were created by the billowing waves,\(^{1503}\) about Toṇṭi of Kuṭṭuvaṇ with straight staff,\(^{1504}\) about waders around Toṇṭi and food with fat fishes given by the fishermen (valair, lit. ‘the ones with nets’) of the great water (perunī),\(^{1505}\) These poems also reflect the stereotypical ideas about Toṇṭi we have seen before. Selvakumar understands aṇāṅku as goddess\(^{1506}\) while Marr as Kāma,\(^{1507}\) but without further explanation or parallels, this interpretation is simply not possible. We have also seen the music and drumming in Toṇṭi which shows festivities perhaps connected to the panegyric ritual. Interestingly the Toṇṭi poems form not only a decade, but a kind of antāṭī-poem. Both attributes are specific only to Cēra anthologies, the Aṅkuṇunūru and the Pāṭṭippattu (for antāṭī-structure see the Fourth Decade).

\(^{1492}\) Here, as V. I. Subramoniam (Index of Purananauru, 460) suggests, one might translate kōṭaiyaip puṇarntör as “those who copulated/made love with Kōtai”.


\(^{1494}\) Wilden 2014, 12.

\(^{1495}\) The translation of this particular decade can be found at Marr 1985 [1958], 357–360.

\(^{1496}\) Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 706.

\(^{1497}\) Naṭṭinai, 18: 2–5.

\(^{1498}\) Aṅkuṇunūru, 171: 1–3.

\(^{1499}\) Aṅkuṇunūru, 172: 2.

\(^{1500}\) Aṅkuṇunūru, 173: 2–3.

\(^{1501}\) Aṅkuṇunūru, 174: 1.

\(^{1502}\) Aṅkuṇunūru, 176: 1–2.

\(^{1503}\) Aṅkuṇunūru, 177: 2–4.

\(^{1504}\) Aṅkuṇunūru, 178: 2–3.

\(^{1505}\) Aṅkuṇunūru, 180: 1–4.

\(^{1506}\) Selvakumar 2017, 278.

\(^{1507}\) Marr 1985 [1958], 358.
Patiṟṟuppattu, however, is very laconic about Toṇṭi. The 88th poem mentions Iḷaṅcēral Irumporai as being “the fighter of the people in Toṇṭi where the surrounding sea [is] like the mulavu-drum”. Besides that, the VI. patikam tells a bit more on Toṇṭi as it was the place to where the king Ąṭukōṭṭu Cēralaṭṭu “brought mountain-sheeps (varuṭtai) which had been taken in Taṇṭāraṇiyam, into Toṇṭi [and] ordered to distribute [them]”. Selvakumar suggests that “the chief gave varudai (mountain) goats from the Deccan region (?) to the Brahmanas”, however his postpositional dative (pārppārkku) has rather to be connected to the act of village-donation: “[he] gave to the seers (pārppār) a village in the western country (kuṭanāṭu) together with tawny cows (kapilai)” (pārppārkkuk kapilaiyōtu kuṭa nāṭṭ’ ōr ūr īttu).

After reading all these passages, it seems to be clear that Toṇṭi was a nucleated settlement with a harbour (not established for the purpose of long-distance trade), with backwaters, and with widening agricultural tracts surrounded by the slopes of the Western Ghats, where fishermen communities lived and prospered, where waterlilies bloomed characterising the landscape called neytal-tinai, where the militant and triumphant Cēra king used to reside in his fortified mansion, where festivals were held. Toṇṭi was the town of Poraiyaṇ and Kuṭṭuvaṇ, both names suggesting the Cēra lineage, but it is not possible to decide whether these names reflect particular kings or the dynasty in general, and also whether Toṇṭi was a centre of the Irumporai branch of the dynasty or was already used by the branch that originated from Utiyaṅcēral and Neṭuṅcēralaṭṭu. However, the names seem to suggest that Toṇṭi was used mostly by the Irumporai clan.

Muciṟi/Muziris

Muciṟi or as the Mediterranean authors called it Muziris/Mouziris was the first emporium of India that the sailing ships reached travelling from the west. Muciṟi laid at the mouth of the river called Pseudostomos or Cuḷḷi (today’s Periyār), so that the cargoes had to be conveyed in boats for loading or discharging, taking into account the great distance between the coast and the riverside port. The Greek name seems to be surprisingly far from the earliest and later names of the river, however, Malayalam speaking scholars figured out that the word

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1508 Index of Patiṟṟuppattu tends to understand vaḷai as ‘conch’. I would rather translate it as “the surrounding sea”, where vaḷai is a verbal root (vaḷai-ttal v. 11. tr., Tamil Lexicon, 3555).

1509 Taṇṭāraṇiyam (p.n.): an ārya country (ōr āriya nāṭu). Tamiḻ Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 966. It is perhaps the same as the legendary Daṇḍakāraṇya in the Deccan, between the Narmadā and the Godāvarī. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 411; Geographical Dictionary, 114.

1510 koṭuppiṭṭu (caus. abs.): “having made to give”.

1511 Patiṟṟuppattu, VI, 3–4.

1512 Selvakumar 2017, 275.

1513 pārppār: seers (< pār-ttal v. 11. tr. ‘to see’), brāhmaṇas.

1514 Patiṟṟuppattu, VI, 4–5.
which means ‘estuary’ in Malayalam can be translated as ‘false mouth’. The problem is that \textit{aḻimukham} is a clear derivation from Old Tamil \textit{kāḻimukam} ‘the mouth of the backwaters’, ‘estuary’, and neither \textit{kāḻ} in Old Tamil, nor \textit{aḻi} in Malayalam means ‘falsity’.

Muciri certainly had a strategic importance, for if merchants encamped here, and did not travel further but made their purchases in and around the \textit{emporion}, it promised a special profit to the kingdom. That is why Muciri had been attacked by pirates and enemy armies time to time. Be that as it may, Muciri was desirable, inevitable, and probably prospered for a long time. In the previous chapters, I discussed most of the aspects of the Muziris question which was possible to reconstruct from the Greek and Latin sources. However, I did not introduce the Tamil sources yet. Although it seems to be a nuance, even its transmitted name is variable, since in all the three poems that mentioned the town we find variant readings Mucuri or Muciri in the manuscripts. Because of the various Mediterranean sources, for the time being, we can somewhat verify the reading of Muciri, which is anyway not so far in pronunciation from Mucuri. Regarding its name, several theories have been suggested, such as “hare-lip” or “three-lips”, or it might have been named after the Egyptian lunar month called Mesore (Μεσορή), as Malekandathil suggests: “it seems that this port must have got the name Machiripattanam because of its intimate connection with the Egyptian month of Machiris, when ships were to sail back from Kerala to Egypt taking advantageous use of the monsoon wind for navigation”.

In the \textit{Akanāgūṟu} 57, we read the following about the town:

[...] when she suffers like those who have difficult wounds from the noisy battle when Celiyan with a banneed chariot, [having] horses with trimmed manes, besieged Muciri at the front ghat with ancient water [and] harrassed it so that elephant bulls fell[?] In this poem, we find an important reference to the attack of the Pāṇṭiyas and the siege of Muciri, which battle was certainly bloody and noisy as the poet said, and Celiyan, the Pāṇṭiya king used chariots and elephants in order to overcome. The 149th poem tells even more about this event:

\begin{itemize}
\item[1515] Kanakasabhai 1904, 19.
\item[1516] \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 170.
\item[1517] \textit{A Malayalam and English Dictionary}, 69.
\item[1519] Malekandathil 2017, 340.
\item[1520] ‘koy cuval puravik koṭi tère celiyan/muṭu nir muṅ tuṟai muciри nuṟīṟu pāṭ haṟu ḫukkiyā kalłę ngāṭi[?]/arum puṇ ūṟunariṅ varuntuṅ’ . \textit{Akanāgūṟu}, 57: 14–17. (Transl. by Eva Wilden)\end{itemize}
Ceļiyañ with a tall and good elephant murderous in war seized statues (paṭtimam), after he had overcome in a difficult battle, after he had surrounded [the town], so that clamour arose [in] the prosperous Muciṛi [where] gloriously crafted, yavagar-driven (tanta) good vessels came with gold (poṇ) and returned with pepper (kari), while they stirred up the white foam of Cuḷḷi, the big river (pēriyāṟu) of the Čeralar.1521

Thus, we see the yavāṇa traders who sail to Muciṛi, an important episode of the Caṅkam literature which I will discuss in detail in the next subchapter. What is important here is that we see Muciṛi as a wealthy town whose prosperity made the Pāṇṭiya king besiege it. Even if the Pāṇṭiya king attacked Muciṛi, robbed its treasury and won the difficult battle, it is quite certain that the could not establish their rule there for long. The same can be said about the Čera expedition of Peruṅcēral Irumpoṟai and his victory in Pukār.1522 The PuranāṆūṟu’s 343rd poem will also be subject to thorough analysis in the next chapter. In that poem we read about the exchange of paddy for fish, the huge boats on which paddy had been heaped, the bundles of black pepper in the storehouses, the dugouts arriving from the backwaters with golden articles, the sound of drums in Muciṛi, and the liberal Kuṭṭuvaṇ with gold garland and abundant toddy, who showers the articles of mountains and seas to those who come and gathered together.1523 In the second part of the poem, we see the fortified Muciṛi, which has particular importance for us. We read about Muciṛi as being “good and big town with difficult paths mingled with weapons [around] the fortification where birds of prey (paruntu) dwell and sleep/sigh (uyirttu) in the central walls”.1524 We can conclude that according to the Tamil literature, Muciṛi was not just a port of trade, a regional centre where the king met with his trade partners and subject, but also a fortified town with surrounding walls. Even the early mediaeval, although some say it is from the Caṅkam times, Muttoḷḷāyiram mentions the Čera king as being “the king of the people in Muciri” (muciriyār kōmāṉ).1525

Given the geographical context in the Mediterranean authors and the Caṅkam sources, researchers began searching for the lost Muciṛi1526 and finally discovered remains of an ancient settlement at Paṭṭanam, Kerala, which might be identical with, or very close to Muciṛi.

1522 Patiṟṟuppattu, 73: 9.
1525 Muttoḷḷāyiram 9.
The unearthed artefacts of Paṭṭanam provide an extraordinary insight into the Indian Ocean trade, among which an amazing amount of evidence for international trade has been found. Therefore, I assume that to identify Muciri with Paṭṭanam is a reasonable choice. However, I agree with Selvakumar who states that “Pattanam is an important archaeological site and it could be one of the major ports in the Muchiri region”. In the Early Historic Period (300 BC – 500 AD), Paṭṭanam had brick constructions, its people used iron tools, the harbour received amphorae for garum, grains, oil, and wine from Kos, Rhodes, Campania, Cilicia, Hispania Tarraconensis, Hispania Baetica, Gallia and Aegyptus; terra sigillata objects from the Mediterranean; Roman luxury tableware, painted glass, mosaic glass, board game counters, gems, cameos, stone inlays, and intaglii; torpedo jars and turquoise glazed pottery from Mesopotamia, but also local artefacts such as Cēra coins from copper and lead, golden rings, bracelets and even a little axe, a wharf together with a dugout canoe, local potteries, etc. Considering these findings, Paṭṭanam was no doubt a market in a sense of “a meeting place of merchants from overseas and the local traders”. Archaeologists excavated baked brick structures with roof-tiles for residential and commercial purposes, since the conventional thatched roof-structures did not proved to be sufficient. Anyway, the town seems to be planned with streets. From the archaeological evidences, I agree with Gurukkal that Paṭṭanam was “a bazaar where transmarine and overland merchants converged for exchange”.

However, Muciri (and therefore Paṭṭanam) must have been much larger in both size and importance if we consider the data on the fortification and if we interpret Muziris as a semi-important royal residence. I share De Romanis’s opinion, who says that “[a]part from the glamorous findings of Roman amphorae, sigillata, turquoise-glazed pottery, and torpedo jars, the overwhelming majority of the pottery excavated at Pattanam has been local, and the local coins found there suggest the strong presence of local people with a monetized economy of their own.”

The Tabula Peutingeriana also depicts Muziris in between Tundis and Blinca. What is more, we see an Augustan temple (templ[um] Augusti) close to the town together with a lake (lacus Muziris). The most honest answer can be given by saying that researchers still do not know what this temple meant, since until now no Augustan temple had been discovered in Kerala. One might consider what McLaughlin writes on the questionable temple:

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1528 For a catalogue of the most important findings, see: Cherian–Menon 2014; Gurukkal 2016, 30–31.
1529 Selvakumar 2017, 286.
1530 Selvakumar 2017, 287.
1531 Selvakumar 2017, 287.
1532 Gurukkal 2016, 179.
1533 De Romanis 2020, 115.
The *Peutinger Map* records the presence of a Roman temple in the Indian city with the label ‘*Templum Augusti*’ (Augustan Temple). Similar buildings existed in the Parthian Empire where wealthy Roman merchants established Augustan temples in the Persian cities connected with their commercial interests. The imperial cult was strong in Alexandria and Philo describes the city’s Augustan temple as a large building positioned opposite the harbour. He boasted that it was superior to other Imperial temples built in rival cities and was ‘full of offerings, pictures, statues and decorations in silver and gold’. It was said to be ‘a hope and beacon of safety to all who set sail or come into harbour at Alexandria’. The Augustan temple at Muziris probably formed a similar function for Alexandrian merchants making the voyage to India.\(^{1534}\)

As another solution, Cobb reminds us that it might have been a local landmark for navigators such as a temple for a local deity, e.g. the temple of Agastya at Kanniyākumari.\(^ {1535}\) The lake above Muziris could have been the labyrinth-like system of backwaters,\(^ {1536}\) or a depiction of Kuṭṭanāṭu rich in lakes. Last but not least, we should overview the earliest epigraphic remains on which Muciṟi’s name appears. We find an interesting dedication on the Muttuppaṭṭi inscription (1st c. BC): *nākaperūr antai-y muciri kōṭaṅ elamakaṅ*. Here we read about a senior person *(anta)* of Nākaperūr and Kōṭaṅ īlamakaṅ (“young man”?) from Muciṟi.\(^ {1537}\) Another inscription is the Jewish Cochin Plates of Bhāskara Ravi (prob. 10th c. AD), which mentions Muciṟi as Muyirikkōṭu.\(^ {1538}\) Narayanan analyses the name Muyirikkōṭu as ‘the fort/settlement of Muyiri’ giving the etymology as *kōṭu* < *kōṭṭu/kōṭṭai*.\(^ {1539}\) Anyhow, the mediaeval name of Koṭūnallūr (or of its port?) on these plates clearly reflects the ancient name of Muciṟi, nevertheless, it cannot entirely verify the ancient location of Muciṟi.

Thus, we have seen Muciṟi as an ancient Cēra port of call on the Periyār river, which was a fortified political centre with brick structures and streets, and a market with encampments of foreign traders.

**A Cēra capital in Kuṭṭanāṭu**

To deal with the question, whether the early Cēras had a capital in the western division of their kingdom (Kuṭṭanāṭu) called Vaṅci and/or Karuvūr is a difficult task. In Ptolemy, we find Karoura between the Pseudostomos/Periyār river and the Baris/Pampā river which was,
no doubt, the town called Karuvūr, the capital (basileion) of the Cēra dynasty as Ptolemy states. However, we learn about one another town called Koreour, probably south of Mysore in Koṅkunāṭu, whose name is quite similar. Do we have to deal with one or two Karuvūr? According to Ptolemy’s coordinates, Karoura being an inland town was perhaps the inland capital of the Cēras not that far from Muciṟi. But did the capital of the Cēras really exist in the Malabar region or was that only a cartographic mistake that Ptolemy committed or an anachronistic theory of the Middle Ages that confused the mediaeval capital of Cēras with the ancient?

Karuvūr, the name of the town in question is a hapax legomenon in the Caṅkam corpus, although in the early mediaeval colophons many of the famous Caṅkam poets bear the name of the city.\(^{1540}\) In the 93\(^{rd}\) poem of the Akanāṉūṟu, we read the following:

\[\ldots\] many more than the [grains of] sand in the cool-watered Poruṉai that are heaped on the high shore with clear water in the front harbour of Karuvūr with the brilliant, beautiful, wide mansions of Kōtai with long chariots and fierce, high elephants with awesome broad trunks that do not fail in killing men \[\ldots\]\(^{1541}\)

Thus we see Karuvūr, a town with wide mansions of Kōtai, the Cēra king, and with a sandy river ghat/harbour. Karuvūr was located at the river called Poruṉai/Porunai which will be discussed soon. Before that, let us talk about Vañci which supposed to be the same town as Karuvūr as we read in the 10\(^{th}\)-century lexicon called Pīṇkalam 465. (karuvūriṇ peyar vañci). The 263\(^{rd}\) poem of the Akanāṉūṟu mentions “Vañci is carefully protected by Kōtai with bright spear” (ōḻṟu vēl kōtai ōṃpik kākkum vañci; Line 11–12), which refers to the Cēra control over Vañci. The 396\(^{th}\) poem sings about “Vañci of the one who shackled the kings (vēntar) of severe wrath, after he imprinted the bending bow[‘s symbol] in the famous and very ancient northern mountain, who struck the āriyar so that they screamed”.\(^{1542}\) According to the colophon, the 32\(^{nd}\) poem of the Puranāṉūṟu speaks about Cōḷaṉ Nalankiḷḷi as a liberal donor being “the one who gives even Vañci which is not the flower with long creepers” (neṭunkoṭip pūvā vañciyum taruvag; Lines 1–2). This shows that the city was once under the power of the Cōḷas, so we may assume that it must have been closer to the Cōḷa dominions. It also shows that people easily mixed up the name of the city with the name of the tree/creeper/flower which was most probably the totemistic plant or kaṭimaram after which the capital was

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\(^{1540}\) Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 228–229.  
\(^{1541}\) ‘āl kōḻ piḷaiyā aṭcu-varu tāṭak kaṭum pakaṭṭ’ yāṉai neṭum tērḵ kōtai/tiru amar viyal nakark karuvūr maṅ turaiteṭel nīr uyar karaik kuvaḷiya/taṇ āl poruṉai maṇḷiṭum palavē, Akanāṉūṟu, 93: 19–23. (Transl. by Eva Wilden)  
\(^{1542}\) āriyar alaṭat tākkēp pēr icait/tongur mutōr vaṭa varai vaṇṭaṅku vil porittu/vem ciṅa vēntaraip piṅṭtōṅ vañci [\ldots’]. Akanāṉūṟu, 396: 16–19.
named. The 39th poem, however, tells us that before the Cēra sieged Vañci, it was already a Cēra town: “you made the unwithering Vañci wither, while Vānavaṅ with gloriously crafted tall chariots and with the imprint of the protective bow that was worn by the Imaiyam, the towering mountain with tall peaks where the gold knows no measure, died”. The Čirupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai Lines 49–50. speaks about Vañci again as the town of Kuṭṭuvaṅ, which had a gate (sluice?) at the coming stream (varupugal vāyil Vañci), or which town was a gate in front of the flood-like elliptical enemy.

Regarding the river called Poruṉai, the famous Tolkāppiyam commentary of Nacciṉarkkiṉiyār (14th c. AD) causes much confusion as he mentioned four famous rivers in ancient times: Kāviri, Taṇṇpurunai, Āṉporunai, and Vaiyai. However, as we shall see, it cannot be confidently proved that these two Porunai rivers were not the same. I think Eva Wilden correctly translated cool-watered Poruṉai, as far as the sandhi split of taṇṇ̄ṉ poruṉai allows to read only taṇ ṁḷ poruṉai ‘Poruṉai with cool water’, rather than taṇ nāl, taṇ mān, taṇ āṅ, etc., the attempts of others. But if the river de facto had the name Āṉporunai and still we detach āḷ as ‘water’, then maybe we should try to understand the whole name: “[the stream] that fights (poruṉai) with water (āḷ)” (?). The 11th song of the Puranāṉūṟu tells the following about the river called Porunai:

[…] the victorious king (vēntaṉ) who was worthy for the songs of the victorious Vañci [town] with fame that competes (poru) the sky/heaven (viṉ), where the stream of the cool Poruṉai flows […]

In this poem, we see direct evidence of the existence of the Cēra town Vañci at the river called Porunai, but I think here vañcippāṭal can also be translated in a different way as reading ‘songs composed in vañcittiṉai’:

[…] the victorious king (vēntaṉ) who was worthy for victorious vañci-songs [to him], whose fame competed (poru) [the ones in] the sky/heaven (viṉ) [from where] the stream of the cool Poruṉai descends […]

So there is a little chance that here the poet intended to speak about a type of victorious song rather than about Vañci, or directly articulated ambiguously. The poem in which we actually read about Vañci and the river Porunai is the 387th of the Puranāṉūṟu written for Cēramāṇi.
Cikkarpallitūnciya Celvakkaṭunkō Vāḷiyātaṇ (the hero of the 7th decade of the Patiruppattu), in which the following passage can be found: “[…] even [more] than the sand of the rumbling Porunai river which hits the outer walls of Vañci with no leaves […]”. Behind this, perhaps an old poetic tool can be observed, which I call a ‘negative signifier’ (trad. veḷippaṭai) which distinguishes Vañci, the tree (which could have been *pal ilai ‘with many leaves’), from Vañci, the town with ‘no leaves’ (pul ilai). It is also possible that here the poet referred to ‘Vañci with leafy huts’ as we see in the Patiruppattu (15: 13), when the old commentator glosses pul ilai vaippu as pulliya ilaikalē vēya paṭṭu ěr. In the 36th song of the Puranāṉūṟu, we read about the Cōla king who “scattered the white sand of the cool-watered Porunai”.

These are all our references to the river(s) called Porunai in the Caṅkam poems. From these very ambiguous passages, I suppose that there was at least one Cēra town called Vañci which appears in later epics as the capital of the Cēras, and at most two rivers called Porunai, although the mediaeval tradition distinguishing between Taṇporunai and Āṉporunai cannot be verified by the ancient sources. If we open the Cilappatikāram, we find an interesting passage that could help us to locate Vañci:

[… ] having departed from Vañci like Vāṉavaṇ (Indra), then, the King of the World has moved forward together with the commanders of [his] army and with [his] supreme advanced guards, while they spread like the waves (puṇariyiq) which had a white surface, to the shores, while they caused the backs of the mountains to bend, and they covered the countries standing [in their way] with dust, then, having stayed at the tall outskirts of the Nīlakiri together with [his] army with ornamented chariots and prancing horses […] If we analyse puṇariyiq as a genitive, then it refers to the army that ‘marches as if to spread to the shores with waves’, however, if we analyse it as a comparative oblique case, then the army ‘marches as if to spread to the shores like the waves’. According to Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, it is possible to understand that the Cēra army began to march from Vañci on the Malabar Coast, climbed the slopes of the Western Ghats and arrived to the Nilgiri/Nīlakiri region. However, I think it is better to understand the above mentioned phrase as a comparative clause and a very common sea-simile of the army. Aiyangar also cites other passages of the Cilappatikāram, in which the Cēra country, at least at the time of

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1547 ‘raṇ āḷ porunai veṇmaṇal citaṭiya’ . Puranāṉūṟu, 36: 5.
Ceṅkuṭṭuvan, has to be imagined across the Western Ghats on the Malabar Coast, but none of his evidence is considered irrefutable. We find it strange, however, that no descriptions of Vañci and Karuvūr include the attributes characteristic of the neyal tiṇai. This is something that Tamil poets would not have missed in case Vañci would have been close to the sea or the backwaters of the Malabar Coast. Regarding the river Porunai, in the Piṅkaḷam we find that Porunai was known as Porunai or Taṅporuntam (Piṅkaḷam, 564), while Āṉporunai was known as Āṉi, Vāṇi, Āṉporunai, and Āṉporuntam (Piṅkaḷam, 566), today’s Amarāvati river. Even though I do not systematize the Caṅkam sources because of their ambiguous information and I insist on literal translation, we can conclude that the two Porunai rivers were already distinguished in the Middle Ages, which rivers cannot be really separated in the Caṅkam poems, and no matter how we look at it, we see no more than one river.

If we believe in Ptolemy’s accounts, it is possible that a town called Karoura/Karuvūr existed on the Malabar Coast, which had to be a riverside capital close to the emporium called Mouziris/Muciṟi. If Karuvūr was the same as Vañci then it could be perhaps pinpointed around Tiruvaṅcikkulam/Tiruvaṅcaikkaḷam which most probably preserved the name of an ancient site, and which place is now famous for its Śiva temple. Champakalakshmi is, however, very sceptic about this identification saying that “attempts made to locate Vañci in Tiruvaṅcaikkaḷam near Muciṟi, the Cēra port, have been unsuccessful, as no significant archaeological remains have been found at this site prior to the eighth century AD”. Interestingly, Pliny the Elder, when talking about Muziris (Naturalis Historia, VI. 26. 104), mentions that the Cēra rulers used to reign there around the middle of the 1st century AD. As I discussed previously, in the case of Becare and the Pāṇṭiya kings, Pliny used the phrase ibi regnabat (Naturalis Historia, VI. 26. 105), which syntactically referred not only to Becare and its hinterland but to the capital called Modura/Maturai as well. Just in the previous caput on Caelobothras/Cēras, Pliny used the same phrase regnabat ibr, which refer to Muziris as well as to the Cēra capital, however, he did not mention any other centre than Muziris. Therefore, Muziris was perhaps entirely or partly identical with a place where the Cēras reigned in the 1st century. As we have seen in the 343rd poem of the Puranāṇūru, the king was present in Muciṟi in order to welcome his guests, which would confirm the assumption that an important political centre could have been found at/near Muciṟi. If we agree with Ptolemy, the Cēras perhaps had an inland capital in a town called Karuvūr on the Malabar Coast. This case, the idea of pinpointing Karuvūr at around today’s Karūr, Kerala, about 25 kilometre from Koṭūnallūr seems convincing. Nevertheless, I think there is no way to prove from the Caṅkam sources that Vañci or Karuvūr existed near Muciṟi, while on the other hand we can

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1552 Champakalakshmi 1996, 118.
1553 Marr 1985 [1958], 298.
easily imagine an ancient emporion-cum-polis type of nucleated centre at Muciṟi (just as Tyndis/Toṇṭi) with the sea and the river Periyār in its proximity, which was surrounded by fertile lands and mountains; a complex royal centre that had a trading town with markets and quarters for merchants at Muziris/Muciṟi, a royal residence nearby to deal with maritime affairs, an inland centre at Ptolemy’s Karoura with perhaps a royal palace to deal with interstate affairs, and at least a few fortified zones in the port and around the region. The royal presence at Muciṟi was important in order to control market activities, while in the political centre of Karoura, the king and the dynasty were better protected and were not exposed to the potential dangers of a popular seaport town, e.g. piratical attacks, usurpers of the throne, etc.

M. G. S. Narayanan found it likely that the Caṅkam Cēras had a system called “kūṟuvālkai (sic!) or joint rule”. However, the word kūṟuvālkai does not occur in any of the later Malayalam inscriptions, neither in the earlier Old Tamil inscriptions. In the late 14th century Lilātilakam, a Malayalam work on grammar and poetics, we find kūṟāyuḷḷa vālkai that, according to N. Gopinathan Nair, rather means “living together affectionately” than a type of rule. Therefore, I find the term kūṟuvālkai misleading and anachronistic, though Narayanan might be right to assume a system of divisio regni, when “the senior most must have ruled Karūr, the junior being sent according to rank to Toṇḍi, Muciri, etc.”. This would explain the various dynastic titles of the Cēras that refer to different divions of their kingdom, and this might be the idea behind the Lines 26–31 of the 52nd poem of the Patiṟṟuppattu.

If all is true, once the fertile region of Koṅkunāṭu had been occupied by Palyāṅaiccelkelu Kuṭṭuvan (see: Patiṟṟuppattu 22: 15), the Cēra kings established their capital in Karuvūr, perhaps the Koreour of Ptolemy. If Karoura in the Malabar region really existed, then they definitely used the same place name of Karuvūr as a “twin settlement” of which Vañci became a synonym with time as we have also seen in the Piṅkalam. Later herostones from Karūr in Koṅkunāṭu datable to the eighth century AD testifies that the two places, Vañci and Karuvūr were the same. Following this theory, Koreour or probably the second Karuvūr of the Cēra history was perhaps an outpost at the beginning, which had been established in order to protect the military position in Koṅkunāṭu, the country which had important trade routes and mines rich in minerals. Koreour/Karuvūr became the primary capital of the kingdom at the time of the Irumporai Cēras due to their strengthening economic and political power. If we think of having an ancient and a newly established Karuvūr in Cēra history, then we can distinguish Taṇporunai and Āṇporunai as Nacciṅarkkiṇiyār suggested, as the former Karuvūr on the Malabar Coast could be found at the Cuḷḷi/Periyār (or Taṇporunai?)

1554 I am immensely grateful for Prof. N. Gopinathan Nair (Calicut University) who shared with me these precious thoughts on the possible origin of the term.
1555 Narayanan 2018, 104; footnote 22.
1556 Nagaswamy 1974, 396.
river; while the other Karuvūr in Koṅkunāṭu could be found at the Porunai or Āṉporunai river, which name covered most probably the Amarāvati river. The Čēra kings thus founded the new “twin capital” under the same name as the previous one, at a river which bore the same name as the river near Muciṟi, which foundation could have a threatening message for the Čoḻas and the Pāṇṭiyas, since this way the Čēra king drove the wheel of his kingdom forward to their borders and enlisted in the hegemonic role of South India. Even if we reconstruct an early capital called Karuvūr near Muciṟi, we must keep in mind that this idea is based on Ptolemy’s account, the early importance of Muciṟi which must have been near to it, and the similarity of place names that exist today in Kerala. However, we must reckon with the possibility that Ptolemy made a mistake in locating Karoura at the Malabar Coast instead of Koṅkunāṭu, and in that case, we have Naṟavu, Toṇṭi, and Muciṟi as royal towns or capitals near the seashore, while it would also mean that the existence of Karuvūr in Koṅkunāṭu would be dated back somewhat earlier than 150 AD, the date when Ptolemy finished his work. In the 373rd song of the Puṟanāṉūṟu, we see the Čoḻa as “the victorious king who made Koṅku surrender” (koṅku puram perṟṟa koṟṟa vēntē; Line 8), which poem most probably talks about the siege of the Čēra capital, as we read that “the courtyard (muṟṟam) of Vaṉci became a victorious (vayam) land (kaḷaṅ)” (vaṉci muṟṟam vayak kaḷaṅ āka; Line 24). This would again underline the fact that the Čēra capital called Vaṉci was in Koṅkunāṭu. The existence of the Čēra inland capital in the Koṅku region is supported now by Čēra inscriptions which mention three generations of Čēra kings, from probably the 2nd century AD found at Pukaḷūr (Āṟunāṭṭārmalai), near Karūr, Tamil Nadu.1557

Since we see the Čēra capital called Karoura/Karuvūr exist in the middle of the 2nd century in Ptolemy and inscriptions from the same century were found near modern day’s Karūr that mention not only the Čeras but also the town called Karuūr, I suggest that Ptolemy mistakenly located Karoura on the Malabar Coast, and a royal capital of the Čeras must have already existed in Koṅkunāṭu in the first half of the 2nd century AD. This does not mean that Muciṟi on the Malabar Coast could not have been a quasi seaside capital of the Čeras, probably it was; this only means that we do not know other centres of the Čeras on the Malabar Coast like Muciṟi, Toṇṭi, and Naṟavu.

According to the V. patikam of the Pāṭiruppatu, the Čēra king Ceṅkuṭṭuvan was born to a Čoḻa princess Maṅakkili, wife of Neṭunēṟalalan, so it seems that at the time of Ceṅkuṭṭuvan, the Čoḻa and the Čēra dynasties had forged ties through dynastic marriages. This also indicates the geographical proximity of the Čoḻa kingdom. Perhaps when Ceṅkuṭṭuvan stabilized the Čēra power in the western divisions of the kingdom, he felt that it was time to intervene in the succession of the Čoḻa throne, which led him to strengthen the political presence in Koṅkunāṭu and to lead campaigns against towns like Iṭumīl, Viyāḷūr,

1557 Mahadevan 2001, 20; 117.
Koṭukūr, and Vāyil, which marches caused the fall of nine Cōla heirs.\textsuperscript{1558} The next king Āṭukōṭpāṭṭu Cēralāṭṭu moved again to the western part of the kingdom (\textit{Patiṟṟuppatu} 51: 3) which was, according to the mediaeval commentator of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppatu}, west of his capital (\textit{tau nakari khu mēlpāl}), so his comment might already refer to Koṅkunāṭu and the capital at today’s Karūr, Tamil Nadu. In the IX. \textit{patikam} of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppatu} we find the only reference to Vañci as an ancient town of Iḷañcēral Irumpoṟai, which at that time was certainly the same as Karuvūr in Koṅkunāṭu and remained the capital until the fall of the early Cēras. We must also consider that we might thank this attestation of the name Vañci to the poetic fancy that resulted in a five-\textit{cīr}-long alliteration in which \textit{vaṅciṅgam} and \textit{vaṅci} purposely rhyme: \textit{vaiṭta vaṅciṅgam vāyppa vegru vaṅci} (Lines 8–9).

\textbf{Pantar}

Pantar was the name of a scarcely mentioned Cēra port of trade, which town supposed to be famous for its pearl production. In the 2\textsuperscript{nd} line of the 67\textsuperscript{th} song of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppatu}, we read about “the famous ancient town which had the name Pantar” (\textit{pantarp peyariya pēr icai mūt’ ār}), and in the 6\textsuperscript{th} line of the 74\textsuperscript{th} poem of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppatu}, we read about “the Pantar-produced pearls praised by many” (\textit{pantarp payanta palar pukal muttam}). This is, however, all what we know about this town. Although the word \textit{pantar} means either an ‘arbour’ (\textit{Patiṟṟuppatu}, V1–22), or the proper name of this particular Cēra town/port, it seems that the word itself meant also ‘storehouse’ (\textit{paṇṭacālai}) at least at the time when the old commentary of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppatu} was composed. Selvakumar mentions that Pantar might have had a name of Persian origin (< Per. \textit{bandar} ‘harbour’, ‘port of trade’).\textsuperscript{1559} However, according to the \textit{Encyclopaedia Iranica}, the word is not yet attested in the Old and Middle Persian sources.\textsuperscript{1560} Regarding the Arabic texts, Al-Khalīl (d. 786) is the first who glosses the word \textit{bandar} as ‘metal merchant’, and in the \textit{Lisān-al 'Arab} of Ibn Manzūr (12\textsuperscript{th}–13\textsuperscript{th} c. AD) it still meant only a ‘rich person’ or ‘metal merchant’. However, the first lexicographer who recorded \textit{bandar} as a “port of trade” was Şaḡānī (1181–1252), so that we can roughly guess the time when the word as ‘emporium’ or ‘port of trade’ appears in Arabic.\textsuperscript{1561} But the Persian origin of the word still seems to be anachronistic and cannot even be proved, nor the attestation of the word \textit{bandar} as a ‘port of trade’ earlier than the second millennium AD. The question arises, whether the word \textit{pantar} had rather an Indo-Aryan origin. In fact, we already see the words \textit{bhāṇḍhāra} and \textit{bhāṇḍāgāra} attested in the \textit{Mahābhārata}, which meant ‘treasury’ or

\textsuperscript{1558} \textit{Patiṟṟuppatu}, V. 1–22.\textsuperscript{1559} Selvakumar 2008, 26 \textsuperscript{1560} \textit{Encyclopaedia Iranica}. III, 7, 685. \textsuperscript{1561} I am grateful to my colleagues in the Oriental Collection of the LHAS, with whom I consulted on this matter, especially to Kinga Dēvényi who introduced the Arabic texts to me.
This word found its place in the Old Tamil language as *paṇṭāram* ‘treasury’ (*Paripāṭal*, 11: 123). The old commentator of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, as I mentioned before, once glosses the word *pantar* with a word meaning ‘storehouses’ (*paṇṭacālaikaḥ*). In this case, I think the mediaeval commentator certainly thought of *bhāṇḍaśālā* (“hall with boxes/commodities”, “storehouse”) while glossing *pantar*, so one might wonder where the retroflex consonants disappeared? The word *pantar* appears as of Dravidian origin in the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, which means ‘shed of leaves’, ‘arbour’, or ‘pavillon’ in the Dravidian languages, but means ‘storehouse’ only in Tamil.1563 This might rather reflect the misunderstanding of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*’s commentator inspired by his intellect and the similarities between these words, while he thought it made more sense to translate it as ‘storehouse’ rather than ‘arbour’. I must conclude that there is no way to prove that *pantar* meant anything else than ‘arbour’ or ‘pavillon’ in Early Old Tamil. In this case, the following passage: “O fighter of the good country [with] gardens [at] the cool sea [around] the big harbour which have fragrant *tāḻai*-groves [at] the storehouses (*pantar* [in which] the wealth of the good vessels sleeps [at] the ocean [with] resounding, sweetly melodious waves!”, has to be rather understood as: “O fighter of the good country with gardens at the cool sea around the big harbour with fragrant *tāḻai*-groves at the sleeping/calm *arbour* (*pantar*), and with wealth of the good vessels of the ocean which has resounding, sweetly melodious waves!”1564

As a conclusion, I have to say that we unfortunately do not know anything sure about the ancient Cēra town called Pantar except its name which has either an obscure origin, or it referred to the royal arbour erected by the king, which act we can see in the 51st poem of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. Because of its pearl production, the town can be imagined somewhere on the Malabar Coast. Auvai Turaićāmippillai claims that Pantar is the same as today’s Panlūr (sic!) of Ponnani District, Kerala.1565 He probably thought of Pantalūr which town has, in fact, a similar name.

**Kuṭṭanāṭu/Kottanarichē**

From the towns of Kuṭṭanāṭu, Bakarē, Kottiara, and Nelkynda were discussed earlier in detail. Given the fact that these towns cannot be find by name in any of the classical Indian sources, we have to be content with what the Mediterranean authors record. In brief, Bakarē, Nelkynda, Kottiara, and Marantai/Morounda were located in a region called Kottanarichē or Kuṭṭanāṭu, “the country of the lakes” (modern days’ Ālappuḷa, Kotṭayam and Pattanāṃṭṭa Districts of Kerala), a place rich in lakes and backwaters, which was famous for its pepper

1562 *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, 752.
1563 *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 3922.
1565 Turaićāmippillai 2002, 246.
production and where dugout canoes were in use in order to transport pepper from the fields to the markets. Agreeing with De Romanis, it was the southern pepper-producing land, a sub-region of Limyrikē, and a hinterland with exceptional pepper productivity, which certainly caused “the commercial pre-eminence” of Muziris and Nelkynda over other coastal settlements on the Malabar Coast. Some of these places used to be governed some time by the Pāṇṭiyas who seem to lose their political power in Kuṭṭanāṭu before the middle of the second century AD, since in those years Ptolemy (Geog. VII. 1. 9) already recorded that Melkynda/Melkyda, Elangōn emporion, Kottiara mēropolis, Bammala/Bambala, Komaria, and Morounda in the interior were already located in the territories of the people called Aioi. The Aioi people referred to the Āy chieftains and their lands.

If we consider the information given by Pliny, the Periplus, and Ptolemy reliable, then it can be said that the Āy conquest over the western Pāṇṭiya lands must have happened after the middle of the 1st century and before the middle of the 2nd century AD. Even if Ptolemy mentioned these territories as belonging to Āy chieftains, Palyānaiccelkelu Kuṭṭuvan, who according to the Patiṟṟuppattu’s epilogues reigned more than fifty years earlier than Čeṅkuṭṭuvaṅ, had already conquered some of the Koṅkunāṭu and Kuṭṭanāṭu regions. If we accept the Gajabāhu synchronism as an anchor of Cēra chronology, then we must conclude that at the time of Ptolemy, the Cēras and the Āy chieftains were both present in the former Pāṇṭiya territories south of Muziris. We cannot rule out the possibility that the Āy chiefs were friendly allies or vasals of the Cēra kings with whom they pushed the Pāṇṭiyas back together, and with whom the relationship would only deteriorate later, at the time of the Irumporais. Thus, Bakarē was most probably a seaside village at the mouth of the Pampā river, Nelkynda was its riverside emporium, and Kottiara was either the name of Kottanarichē in Ptolemy downgraded to a toponym, or an actual metropolis as Ptolemy states (the Barrington Atlas identifies it with Koṭṭāракkara, Kerala).

Morounda, however, is somewhat special in our list, since it seems to be attested in the Caṅkam literature as Marantai or Māntai. As Eva Wilden correctly pointed out, the two various names of this town, Marantai and Māntai are graphically indistinguishable in the manuscripts, while T.V. Gopal Iyer claimed that Māntai is the correct one because of the venpā metre in the 95th verse of the Muttoḻḷāyiram. Considering the attestation of Morounda in Ptolemy which has to be imagined around the southern end of the Āy territory in South Malabar, Marr is of the opinion that it must be the same as Marantai of the Tamil

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1566 De Romanis 2020, 84–88.
1567 De Romanis 2020, 154.
1568 Barrington Atlas, 65.
1569 Wilden 2010, 146; footnote 149.
sources and in that case, to read Marantai is also correct.\textsuperscript{1570} Let us read the following passage of the 127\textsuperscript{th} poem of the Akanāṉūṟu.

[...] having heaped in one place the āmpal measure rows of diamonds (vayiram), female-statues (pāvai) made from gold, and good vessels worthy of praise, which had been given as humble tributes by the disobedient, at the court of Māntai/Marantai, the good town [of Cēralātuṇ] [...]\textsuperscript{1571}

This poem clearly proves that Māntai/Marantai was an important town of Cēralātuṇ. Other parts of the same poem that mention the defeat of the katampu-tribe would suggest that here Cēralātuṇ must be the same as Neṭuṇcēralātuṇ, the king who for first time defeated the katampus. However, not only Neṭuṇcēralātuṇ fought against the katampus, but also Kaḷāṅkāṅkykaṉṇī Nāṟmuṭi Cēral and, according to the Cilappatikāram, Kaṭal Piṟakkōṭṭiya Ĉēṅkuṭṭuvaṉ too. All of these rulers certainly bore the dynastic Cēralātuṇ title. The only king who had been mentioned as the “fighter of the people in Marantai” (marantaiyōr poruna)\textsuperscript{1572} was Ėḷaṅcēral Irumporai who was in that sense the overlord of the lands of Ėy.

Even so, the previous king Peruṅcēral Irumporai was the one who fought and defeated Kaḷuvul of Kāmūr, the chief of the “cowherds” (iṭaiyar) in South Malabar. One might accept the theory that the name of the tribe Ėy means a ‘tribe of cowherds’ (< Tam. ā ‘cow’)\textsuperscript{1573} and it is identical with the tribe called iṭaiyar of the Malabar Coast, but it is also possible that these tribes are not related at all. Be that as it may, we should conclude that if Marantai was the same as Morounda and the town of Ėy, then it could not be a Cēra town before the Irumporai kings who conquered the region of South Malabar first time in the Cēra history. One might think that the 127\textsuperscript{th} poem of the Akanāṉūṟu of Māmūlaṉār mixes clichés of different ages of Cēra history and Marantai was definitely not a Cēra town at the time of Neṭuṇcēralātuṇ.

We have a problem with the interpretation of Marantai as an inland town of Ėy, which seemed to escape Marr’s attention. He argues that Marantai in the Patirṟuppattu is not a seaside town, since in the phrase ēraṅku nīr parappiṅ marantaiyōr poruna we find only ‘water’ (nīr) which does not necessarily means ‘sea’, but also ‘river’, ‘lake’, etc.\textsuperscript{1574} Even if he is right in this matter, in other poems on Marantai it is clear that the sea was close to the town: in Kuṟuntoṅkai 34: 4. we read about ‘seashore groves’ (kāṅal) at Marantai; the Kuṟuntoṅkai 166:

\textsuperscript{1570} Marr 1985 [1958], 322–323.
\textsuperscript{1571} ‘nal nakar māntai muṟṟatt’ onṟar paṇi tiṟai tanta paṟu cāl nal kalam poṇ cey paṟai vayiramoṇṭu āmpal onṟuvāy nīriyak kuvaṉ’. Akanāṉūṟu 127: 6–9.
\textsuperscript{1572} Patirṟuppattu, 90: 28.
\textsuperscript{1573} Tamil Lexicon, 236.
\textsuperscript{1574} Marr 1985 [1958], 322.
1–3. clearly refers to Marantai as a seashore village with ‘rolling waves of the cool sea’ (ṭaṇṇaṭaḷ paṭu tirai); in Naṟṟiṇai 35: 1–7. we see ‘foaming waves’ (poṇku tirai) and ‘crabs’ (alavag) at the ‘harbour/ghat’ (tuṟai) of Marantai; while in Naṟṟiṇai 395: 9. we find the name of the town as ‘seaside Marantai’ (kaṭal keḻu marantai).

Three possible interpretations remained at the end of the analysis: 1.) Māntai/Marantai is the same as the Greek Morounda; in that case Ptolemy must have been wrong in calling it an inland town of South Malabar rather than a coastal one, and this would also mean that the town had been conquered/established by the Cēras at the time of the Irumpoṟais; 2.) Māntai/Marantai is not the same as the Greek Morounda; in that case, the reading of Māntai is adequate and we must confess that we know nothing about the location and antiquity of the place, so the data given by Māmūḷaṉār is not surely fictitious; 3.) we had two towns (Māntai and Marantai), or one town with two names. What we can certainly determine is that there was a Cēra town called Māntai and/or Marantai on the Malabar Coast, where (at least) one of the Cēra kings accumulated the incoming wealth in his treasury.

Cēra Koṅkunātu

We do not have direct literary evidence for busy trade routes across the Cēra country. However, we have different sources for the reconstruction of corridors of trade: the Roman and local coins, the archaeological evidence, and the dynastic titles of the Cēras together with their settlement network.

More than six thousand Roman silver and gold coins have been found in the Indian peninsula, from which the largest quantity derive from the Tamil South. The chronological distribution of the silver denarii found in India shows a dominance of coinage from the times of Augustus (31 BC–14 AD) and Tiberius (14–37 AD), while we have almost no findings after the currency reform introduced by Nero (54–68 AD) in 64 AD, debasing the silver with about 7% copper alloy. Regarding the gold aurei, the majority of the findings are from the reign of Tiberius, Claudius (41–54 AD) and Nero (54–68 AD), while aureii after the reform of Nero which reduced the weight while preserving the purity, are rare. Later, from the 2rd century AD, we have only coins from the times of Antoninus Pius (138–161 AD) and Septimius Severus (193–211 AD), but less in quantity than from the first century AD. 3rd century Roman coins seem to be absent in India, whereas we have gold solidi coins from the 4th century AD found in India and Sri Lanka. Large quantities of Roman copper from the 4th and 5th centuries AD were found in India and Sri Lanka, while the last gold coins came from the age of Heraclius’ reign (610–641 AD). Talking about the silver denarii, since the older coins found in Indian hoards are usually much worn than the later ones but still have a high silver purity, this most probably means that the coins, after they had circulated for some time

1575 This summary was based on: Meyer 2007, 59.
in the Roman Empire, were carefully selected for export to India, which happened long time after they had been issued, probably around the end of the 1st century AD. Analyzing the findings, Meyer arrived at the conclusion that Indian traders had a good knowledge of the silver purity and the Roman coinage, and they preferred to receive coins from the time before the reform of Nero. What made this summary necessary is the fact that most of the places where Roman hoards have been found in South India lie in Koṅkunāṭu with Karuvūr, the Cēra capital as their centre, where more than a thousand Roman coins have been discovered. The unearthed coins of Koṅkunāṭu constitute ca. 70% silver coins and 90% coins from the 1st century AD. We should also emphasize that most of the coins were found in hoards, e.g. the Pūtinattam (Budinathan) hoard near Uḷumalpēṭ, Koṅkunāṭu contained 1398 silver coins. A coin die bearing a Roman device has been found at Karūr, which discovery suggests that Roman coins were also manufactured here. What is more, over five thousand late Roman coins in copper or bronze have been found at Karūr, and Roman coins do not stop arriving to Karūr until the 5th c. AD. However, not just these, but local coins were already minted at Karūr. In fact, as Mahadevan says, enormous quantities of Cēra coins have been found in the Amarāvati riverbed; among them hundreds of square-shaped copper coins with the Cēra insignia of the bow and the arrow. The earliest Cēra coins without inscriptions have to be dated back to the 2nd century BC, whilst the inscribed silver ones with portraits of the Cēras are most probably from the 3rd century AD. Majumdar adds to this that the Koṅku region came within the Cēra political orbit around the middle of the 2nd century BC, which question of chronology I discussed elsewhere. No doubt, the numismatic evidences point in this direction. However, the early silver punch-marked coins of the Cēras, according to Majumdar, imitate the Series IV coins of the Mauryans, and they were probably Mauryan coins and the reverse symbol of the Cēras (bow) was added later as a checking mark or a mark of appropriation. Majumdar mentions that it is also possible that the coins were mere imitations in order to mint their own coinage, or these coins were minted with the permission of the Mauryan state, if the rules of minting recorded in the Arthaśāstra (II. 22. 25) were still

\(_{1576}\) Meyer 2007, 60.  
\(_{1577}\) Seland 2010, 65.  
\(_{1578}\) Meyer 2007, 60.  
\(_{1579}\) Nagaswamy 1974, 397.  
\(_{1580}\) Meyer 2007, 61.  
\(_{1582}\) Majumdar 2008, 405.  
\(_{1583}\) Majumdar 2008, 413.  
\(_{1584}\) Mahadevan 2001, 153.  
\(_{1585}\) Mahadevan 2001, 153.  
\(_{1586}\) Majumdar 2008, 404.  
\(_{1587}\) Majumdar 2008, 404.
valid around this region, under which a significant penalty (25 paṇa) had to be paid for those who manufactured coins elsewhere than the Mauryan Empire. Does that show the tribal period of the Cēra history, when the homeland was Koṅkunāṭu, which was lost during their expansion to the west and reconquered after Neṭunjēralātaṇ? Focusing on the inscribed coins of the Cēras from the ca. 3rd century AD, we find legends like mākkōtai ‘The Great Kōtai’, kuṭṭuva-kōtai ‘Kuṭṭuvaṇ Kōtai’, kol-i-p-purai ‘Porai of Kolli’, and kol-irumpurai-y ‘Irumporai of Kolli’, which already shows the importance of Karūr region in the Irumporai period of Cēra history. Regarding Kolli or Kollikuṭavarai, it was an important mountain range in the Cēra kingdom (supported by dozens of Çaṅkam poems, but even the later 9th-century Tivākaram mentions the Cēraṇ as Kollicilampan). The Kolli Hills were once ruled by the chief called Öri, and they were perhaps an important place of worship where the goddess Kolliippāvai found her abode. The Kolli Hills still bear the same name in Tamil Nadu north of Karūr. I assume that the variant that calls it Kuṭavarai (“The Western Mountain”) comes from those who lived on the eastern parts of South India, or weirdly referred to the Cēras (kuṭamalai-收取ktavar-mala?). Even if numismatics cannot answer all our questions as these coins do not necessarily appear where they were used e.g. the case of hoards, while other coins have disappeared without a trace due to melting down or during the international trade of antiquities, still it points out the presence of the Cēras in Karūr. What epigraphy can tell us is not less important: the Pukaḷūr inscription nr. 9 mentions a gold merchant from Karuūr (karuūr pogyāṇikaṇ), nr. 10 talks about an oil merchant called Veṇṇi Ātaṇ (enṇai vāṇṇikaṇ veni ātaṇ), others like nr. 1–2 mention a Jaina monk namely Mutā Amāṇṇ Yārrūr Ceṅkāyapaṇ and Cēra rulers such as Iḷankaṭuṇkō, Peruṅkaṭuṇkō, and Ātaṇ Cellirumporai.

Thus we have seen the antiquity of the town Karūr and the evidences which proved that an important capital of the Cēras existed there. Another important town that should be mentioned is, Koṭumaṇṇam, the early historic habitation-cum-burial site at Koṭumaṇṇal, Tamil Nadu, on the north bank of the Noyyal river, ca. 80 km of Karūr. The town was mentioned only in the Patiṟṟuppattu without giving much attention to it.

O skilful minstrel (pāṇay) of the tradition which is [your] duty to know, from the famous ancient town called Pantar, together with [your] relatives [who have delivered] an encomium (neṭumolī) [upon the king], which happened in Koṭumaṇṇam, you will receive good jewels together with pearls from the clear ocean!
This poem was sung to Celvakkaṭuṅkō Vāḷiyāṭan, an Irumporai Cēra king who definitely ruled over the territories of the Koṅku country together with Karuvūr which was, no doubt, already his capital. The other reference on Koṭumāṇam mentions “the gloriously crafted rare jewels/vessels which turned up [in] Koṭumāṇam” (koṭumāṇam paṭṭa viṇai mān arum kalam). Archaeologists found evidences that the ancient people of Koṭumāṇam produced of iron, steel, and copper objects, but Koṭumāṇam was also famous for its gemstone-, and conch-shell industry. In fact, Koṭumāṇam was surrounded with the rich-in-beryl Padiyur, the rich-in-sapphire Sivanmalai and Perumalmalai, which all lie about 15 km from today’s Koṭumāṇal. The quartz-bearing Veṅkanēṭu and Arasampalayam lie 5 km north and south of Koṭumāṇal, but as K. Rajan mentions, another quartz bearing mound has also been discovered a kilometre north of the habitation mound. In Koṭumāṇam beads of sapphire, beryl, agate, carnelian, amethyst, lapis-lazuli, jasper, garnet, soapstone, and quartz have been unearthed from the habitation site, while a significant quantity of etched carnelian beads and agate have been found in the graves. It is seems that Koṭumāṇam was a centre of weaving industry as well, as a huge number of terracotta spindle whorls, iron rods, ivory and bone tools used in weaving, and a well preserved piece of woven cotton were found here. Also, a great number of inscribed potsherds (1456 in number, among which 598 had graffiti symbols) have been unearthed here. Punch-marked coins from the 3rd c. BC, and some Roman coins have also been found at the site. Just as the punch-marked coins, the Tamil Brāhmī potsherds of Koṭumāṇal bring us back to the 3rd–2nd centuries BC or even before, while the literary evidence might prove that the site still existed in the 1–3rd centuries AD. South of Karuvūr and Koṭumāṇam we find the historical district called Pūḷināṭu which was, as we shall see, once the dominion of the early Cēras.

On the previous pages I discussed the archaeological findings in detail that present the “international” embeddedness of Muciṟi, the Cēra emporium. In Karūr, archaeologists also discovered, in addition to the above, brick architecture, Roman amphorae, rouletted ware of local and Mediterranean origin, terra sigillata, potsherds with Tamil Brāhmī scripts even

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1592 Patiruppattu, 74; 5.
1593 Rajan 2015, 7–8.
1594 Rajan 2015, 8–9.
1595 Rajan 2015, 10.
1596 Rajan 2015, 10.
1597 Rajan 2015, 11; 30.
1598 Chevillard 2008, 7. Regarding the location of Pūḷināṭu I followed Jean-Luc Chévillard who have relied on the maps given by Marr and by Auvai Turaićāmipillai.
1599 Nagaswamy 1974, 398.
from the beginning of the 1st century AD, moulded pottery of kaolin, russet-coated painted black and red ware, and Sri Lankan “Lakshmi type coins”.

I discussed earlier that the location of the Cēra capital called Vañci on the Malabar Coast could not be proved from the ancient sources and it is rather possible that the mediaeval Cēramāṉ Perumāḷs were the kings who tried to identify their capital of Makōtai (at Koṭumallūr), probably built on an ancient centre, with Vañci/Karuvūr in order to prove its antiquity. No doubt, an important economic and political headquarters existed at Muciṟi, at Toṇṭi and at Naṟavu, but the capital of the Cēra kingdom was certainly at Karuvūr in Koṅkunāṭu from the first half of the second century AD, where the archaeological findings discussed before show the existence of an important trade corridor through the Palghat Gap.

**Trade routes of the early Cēra kingdom**

We know that important trade routes (peruvaḻi) passed through mediaeval Koṅkunāṭu, such as the konkapperuvaḻi, the viŗaṇārāyaṉaperuvaḻi, the nāṭtupperuvaḻi, the rājakēśaripperuvaḻi, the ayiraipperuvaḻi, the makadēṣaṇ-peruvaḻi, the atiyagmāṉ-peruvaḻi, the pēraṟupperuvaḻi, the cōḷamāṆēviperuvaḻi, the pāḷapperuvaḻi, and the kāraitturaipperuvaḻi. Among these, two have particular importance for us: the konkapperuvaḻi, an ancient east-west route that connected the Kāviri delta with Koṅkunāṭu, which route might have passed Uraiyūr, Kuḷittalai, and Karūr, and the rājakēśaripperuvaḻi that connected Koṅkunāṭu with Malaimaṇṭalam of Kerala. Selvakumar in his excellent paper analyses the routes of early historic Tamil Nadu in detail. According to his research, we find an important highway that starts at Karuvūr, the Cēra capital and goes on the southern bank of the Kāviri to Uraiyūr, the Cōḷa capital. There was another important highway that connected Karuvūr with northern settlements and the Mysore Plateau of Karnataka. This route linked Pukaḷūr, Araccalūr, Erettimalai; deviated west from Peruntuṟai, and through Avināci, Köpicceṭṭippāḷaiyam, and Cattiyamaṅkalam reached the Mysore Plateau via the Timpam Ghat. Karuvūr was the junction of the most important routes of the age. It was connected to the Cēra homeland across the Pālakkāṭ Gap through the sites of Koṭumutī, Nattakkāṭaiyūr, Koṭumanal, Cūḷūr, Veḷḷalūr, Pērūr on the banks of the Noyyal river to the settlements and ports of Kuṭanāṭu and Kuṭṭanāṭu. The inland capitals of the Pāṇṭiya and Cōḷa kingdoms were connected to each other through three different ways which met in a junction at Koṭumāḷūr. From there the eastern route crossed via Koṭṭāmpaṭṭi and Mēḷūr; the western route touched the Cīrumalai Hill.

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1600 Gurukkal 2016, 29.
1601 Majumdar 2008, 413.
1602 Rajan 2015, 1.
1604 Selvakumar 2016, 296.
via Vāṭippat; the middle route passed Tuvarāṅkuriccī, Nattam, and Alakarmalai. Other routes existed between Maturai and Alakaṅkulam via Paramakkuṭi and Irāmanātēpuram, and between Maturai and Toṇṭi on the eastern shore. The southern ports like Becare/Bacharē and Nelkynd of Kuṭṭanāṭu were linked to Maturai via Tēṇi and Kambam–Kumulī, and Muciri also had a route that connected it to the Pāṇṭiya capital Maturai. Selvakumar mentions a route that connected Maturai and the Cēra seashore settlements, which passed Nattam, Oṭṭaṅcattiram, Neykkārpaṭṭi, Koḷumam, Uṭumalaiptṭai, Poloḷācchi, Pērūr, the Pālakkāṭ Gap, and finally reached the Malabar Coast via Kollaṅkōṭ. Maturai of the Pāṇṭiyas had further connections to Koṅkai of the Gulf of Mannar, and Kaṇṇiyākumari with an additional route between Koṅkai and Tirunelvēli. Koṅkai was also linked to the region around Kollaṅ in Kerala via Āticcanallūr, Kuṟṟāl, and the Western Ghats following the Tāmiraparani Valley. Another routes connected the Köyamputṭūr region of Koṅkunāṭu with the north- and south-eastern shores of Tamil Nadu; one linked the Pālakkāṭ region with Kaṭalūr via Pērūr, Tiruccenḵōṭu, Rācipuram, Āṭṭu, Viruttaccalam, and Vatāḷūr; another one led through Kalḷakkuriccī, Tirukkoḷilūr to Arikamēṭu (Arikamedu). We know two another important routes, one that led via the shores connecting Kaṇṇiyākumari, today’s Pāṇṭiccēri (Pondichéry), and today’s Čeṇṇai, and another system of routes that connected Vacavacamuttiram and Kāncipuram with settlements of Andhra Prades. Beside these interstate routes we can be sure that the Malabar Coast was interlaced with further trade routes that connected northern Malabar to southern Malabar and all these settlements to either the great routes of the Pālakkāṭ region, or to Kaṇṇiyākumari.

After these details, let us have a look at the royal vocatives in the Patirṟuppattu that are connected to geographic data:

Palyāṅaiccelkēlũ Kuṭṭuvan / III. decade
 — King of the Pūḷyar (pūḷyar kō), 21: 23;
 — Fighter of the tall Ayirai (neṭum varai ayiraip porunag), 21: 29;
 — Frightening appereance with a spear-army, who annexed the country of the Koṅkars (koṅkar nāṭ’ akappäτutta vēl kēlu tāṅgai veruvaru tōṭraḥ), 22: 15–16;

Kaḷāṅkāykaṅkāṅ Nārmūṭī Ćeral / IV. decade
 — Man of the Nēri (nēriyōg), 40: 20.

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1606 Selvakumar 2016, 298.
1607 Selvakumar 2016, 300.
1608 Selvakumar 2016, 301.
1609 Selvakumar 2016, 302–303.
1610 Selvakumar 2016, 304.
1611 Selvakumar 2016, 305–306.
Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇaḥ / V. decade
   — King of the westerners (kuṭavar kōmaṅg), V. 2.
Āṭukōṭpaṭṭu Cēralaṭaṇaḥ / VI. decade
   — King of the westerners (kuṭavar kō), 55: 9;
   — Fighter of the good country with gardens at the cool sea (taṅ kaṭal paṭappai nal nāṭṭup porunaṅ), 55: 6.
Celvakkaṭuṅṅaḥ Vāliyātaṇaḥ / VII. decade
   — Fighter of the Nēri (nērip porunaṅ), 67: 22.
Peruṅcēral Irumporai / VIII. decade
   — Lord of Pukār (pukār celvaṅ), 73: 9;
   — Body shield of the Pūliyar (pūliyar meymmaṅra), 73: 9;
   — Fighter of the Kolli (kollip porunaṅ), 73: 11.
Iḷaṅcēral Irumporai / IX. decade
   — King of the Koṅkar (koṅkar kō), 88: 19;
   — Fighter of the people in Toṇṭi (toṇṭiyōr porunaṅ), 88: 21;
   — King of the Koṅkar (koṅkar kō), 90: 25;
   — Bull of the Kuṭṭuvaṅ (kuṭṭuvaṅ ēru), 90: 26;
   — Body shield of the Pūliyar (pūliyar meymmaṅra), 90: 27;
   — Fighter of the people in Marantai (marantaiyōr porunaṅ), 90: 28.

Reviewing these epithets, we can draw up some tendencies of the territorial changes and the relative expanse of the Cēra kingdom in a later period (2nd–3rd c. AD). What is important here is to visualize the vast landscape of the monarchy that covers Kuṭṭanāṭu, the north- and midwestern division on the Malabar Coast; Kuṭṭanāṭu, the rich-in-lake hinterland of Muciṟi, Becare, and Nelkynda; Koṅkunāṭu with Koṭhumāṇam, Karuvūr/Vañci, and with the Kolli Hills; and finally the northern parts of Pūlināṭu south of the Koṅku region. We see that the Cēras invaded and, even if only for a shorter period, conquered Pukār on the Coromandel Coast, fought against the Cōḻas at Nēri, fought around the Ayirai Hill, and annexed areas of the īṭaiyar and the chief called Āy in South Malabar. The epithets of the last king of the Patiṟṟuppattu Iḷaṅcēral Irumporai seem to suggest that in his time the Cēra kingdom reached its greatest extent, so we could explain the main motif behind the Patiṟṟuppattu as a large-scale anthology that seeks to present how the kingdom of the Irumporais became extensive, wealthy, and powerful.

The directions indicated by the Cēra military enterprises show the intention to gain control over the Malabar Coast and the Kāviri Valley together with the most important trade routes of the age, while trying to weaken, to make dependent, or to defeat their rivals. Thus in my view the Cēra expansions were not only schematic literary examples of the predatory...
warfares in early South India, but they have historical value: the Cēras tried to control the inland trade of South India between the ports of the Malabar Coast and the Coromandel Coast, for which their capital in Karuvūr had a perfect strategic position. At the same time, the Cēras laid their hands on the mines of Koṅkunāṭu rich in precious stones. This way the Cēras at a certain time of their early history, probably around the second half of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century AD, were able to control most of the ports of the Malabar Coast, the trade routes via the Pālakkāṭ Gap, the mines of Koṅkunāṭu, and through their favorable position, they had the opportunity to profit from the ancient inland trade in South India offering a market at Karuvūr for goods flowing from all directions.

**Traders, markets and money**

In the previous chapters, I have tried to prove from the Early Old Tamil literary sources that to interpret Cēra kings as chieftains and their state as tribal is untenable, since our available primary sources seem to suggest a different picture: the existence of a gradually strengthening ‘early kingdom’\(^\text{1612}\) of the Cēras in southwestern India with all the necessary conditions to exploit the potential of trade.

The rise of a ritually confirmed kingdom with royal insignia that connected it to the northern political tradition of India may have been part of a rational process that ensured the stable succession of the Cēras’ lineage, the acceptance of their dynasty among the people inside and outside their kingdom, and helped them to compete with the surrounding monarchies, e.g. in the field of economy and wealth. In the light of this, the task awaits to re-examine the references of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* on trade, traders, markets, and money.

We know from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Chapter 49, 56) that Romans and other merchants of the *oikumene* travelled to India in order to buy or barter pepper, malabathrum, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard, precious stones, diamonds, sapphires, pearls, tortoise-shell, luxury items, and rare animals. In exchange, the Romans offered glass, copper, tin, lead, wine, antimony, linens, clothing, coins, realgar, orpiment and other such things.\(^\text{1613}\) Most of these commodities as the main articles of Indo-Roman trade were confirmed by both the excavations in South India and the shipwreck of Bēṭ Dvārkā, Gujarat.\(^\text{1614}\) In Caṅkam literature, both the love (*akam*) and the heroic (*puṟam*) poems include several songs that report directly or indirectly on early trade. Although we often read about merchants trading salt, paddy, gold, clothes, liquor, fragrance, flowers, etc., but commercial terminology such as ‘market’, ‘shop’, ‘coin’, ‘warehouse’, ‘money’ are not frequent in the texts. These songs are either erotic

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\(^{1612}\) I believe that the kingdom of Cēras meets the criteria of Kulke’s ‘early kingdoms’: Kulke 1993.

\(^{1613}\) Gurukkal 2016, 77–78.

\(^{1614}\) See: Cherian–Menon 2014; *The Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology*, 518–519.
compositions that proclaim love and the intricacies that come with it, or heroic poetry that glorifies the acts of heroes, but both trends naturally obscure some elements of the world behind them or do not attach undue importance to it. Therefore, it is necessary to discover and examine these textual references and where it is worthwhile, take their attestations seriously. In case of those poems which deal with port towns, we have sometimes surprisingly informative descriptions of trade. For example, a very impressive picture of the early trade relations of the Cōḷas is found in the Paṭṭiṇappālai, in which we see “prancing, swift horses that arrived on water, bales of black pepper that arrived on legs/by winds (kāḻ), gold (poṅ) and sapphire (maṇī)1615 that were produced by northern mountains, sandal- and eagle-wood (akil) that were produced by western mountains, pearls of the southern sea, corals of the eastern sea, exports (vārī) of the Kaṅkai (Gaṅgā), yields of the Kāviri, food from Īḷam (Śrī Laṅkā), and wealth from Kāḷakam (Burma)”.

Regarding the Cēras, let us read the beginning of the much quoted 343rd poem of the Puṇanāṉūṟu:

[With] heaping up paddy having sold fish, mound[-like]-boats (ampi) can be confused for houses. Due the bundles of black pepper (kaṟi) heaped in the houses, [the latter] are confused for shores with clamorous sound. The golden gift brought by vessels reaches the shores by boats (tōṇi) of the backwaters (kaḻi). Like Muciṟi where the sea roars like the mulavu-drum, [the town of] Kuṭṭuvan with a gold garland and stream-like toddy, who gives liberally the articles (tāram) of the seas and the articles of the mountains to those who come and have gathered […]

In this poem, we see the early Cēra port called Muciṟi (Muziris) which was a fortified (purica) town (ūṟ) with walls (mati),1618 where fish were sold, paddy was heaped on boats, warehouses (maṅai) were full of black pepper sacks, golden gifts (poṅ paricam) were brought to the shore by the boats/canoes of the backwaters, and Kuṭṭuvan, the king gave rare articles (tāram) of the mountains and of the seas to his visitors (varunar).

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1615 The main meaning of the word maṇī is ‘sapphire’, however in some cases we have to consider to understand ‘precious stones’ or ‘jewel’ (cf. Skt. maṇī).


1618 Puṇanāṉūṟu, 343: 16–17.
In his monograph on the Muziris papyrus, De Romanis understood that the king is the one “who offers toddy as if it were water to those who come to pour there the goods from the mountains and those from the sea”, however, the word order suggests that the king has two attributes: he is the one with a golden garland (polan tār), and with stream-like toddy (pūgal am kaft). He is also the one who “gives liberally” (īyum) the articles of seas and mountains, in which case talaippeytu is an absolutive used as an adverb that is related (1.) either to the imperfective peyareccam ‘īyum’, or (2.) to ‘varunar’, ‘those who come’. Here, the meaning of talaippeytu is obscure. The interpretation chosen by V. I. Subramoniam as “having mixed” derived from the compound verb talaippey-tal does not seem to be attested in the old corpus. Considering our oldest attestations, we do not have different ways to interpret this passage. We could understand peytu as ‘having showered’, and talai as an intensifier of the verb (“having intensely showered”). In this case the articles (tāram) which have been given by the king are the only possible subjects of the sequence, otherwise, if the articles would be showered by the visitors themselves, īyum as a transitive verb would remain without subject. Nevertheless, the best way seems to be to choose the other old meaning of talaippeytu as ‘having joined’ or ‘having gathered’ (a contracted form of talaippeyar-tal), and to connect it as an adverb to varunar, so that we translate “the ones who come having joined/gathered”. De Romanis in his translation mistakenly connects marukkantu (Line 2), kalakkuruntu (Line 4), and cērkkuntu (Line 6) as the acts of the visitors. Since these are all main predicates (3rd person neuter singular) of three separate sentences (or mūreccams connected to Muciṟi), the first six lines serve as a description of the port.

Regarding the Tamil syntax, we do not see the ‘golden gifts’ in the hands of the king’s visitors anymore, at least not in the hands of those who received ‘the articles of seas and mountains’, so that we cannot even talk about direct exchange of gifts in this poem. When McLaughlin cites the above-mentioned passage of the poem, he concludes that “it seems the Tamil elites regarded their contacts with the Roman traders as a form of gift exchange rather than straightforward commercial dealings”. In contrast, the appearance of gift-giving is a result of the milieu of early Tamil literature, in which the ability to liberally “shower” gifts to the gift-seekers (paricilar) and suppliants (iravalar) was one of the most important features to define a hero. Therefore in these cases it is very difficult to extract data for the reconstruction of early economy, since there are dozens of poems where chiefs and kings give

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1619 Index of Puranaanuuru, 328.
1620 Tamil Lexicon, 1782.
1621 The old meanings of talaippey-tal are: (1.) to pour on the head, (2.) to shower intensely, (3.) to join/gather. Cf. Kalittokai 95: 27; Akanāṟulu 256: 20; Pātiṟṟippattu, II. 9; Aiṅkuṟunuṟu 86: 4.
1622 Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti, 99; Tamil Lexicon, 1782; cf. Aiṅkuṟunuṟu 86: 4.
1623 Rajam 1992, 605.
1624 McLaughlin 2010, 49.
1625 On gift-giving, see: Subbiah 1991, 133–158.
away gifts in order to meet the criteria of ancient Tamil heroism, for instance, the chief called Pāri gifted a chariot to a creeper (*Puṟanāṅgūru* 201: 3), while another one, Pēkaṉ gifted a garment (*paṭam*) to a peacock (*Puṟanāṅgūru* 141: 11), etc., which are definitely not cases of economically rational ‘gift-exchange’. I agree with Subbiah that in these early centuries gift-exchange could have a “magical-cum-religious function” and “operated as a major mode of circulation of wealth, and as a process for legitimizing or reinforcing social and moral ties between individuals and/or groups of peoples”. The exchange of prestigious gifts in Roman trade between Roman traders and Tamil rulers was a side-product rather to strengthen relations, and I believe it has little to do with actual trade. As economically rational actors, the Roman traders certainly knew that with prestigious gifts they can facilitate to make favourable deals with the Indians and to have a safe stay as important guests of the Cēra kingdom surrounded with envious enemies, in which case the personal interests (safety and making profit) of the actual traders were certainly more important than those of the Empire; while the Cēra king knew that with eye-catching presents he can ensure that his economic partner will sail to him year after year with tons of products and with an insatiable desire for the goods available in his country, which trade boosted the prosperity of his kingdom and strengthened his power and popularity. Thus, in the case of prestigious gifts, we are most probably talking about a mere economic calculation, and only in the case of the wandering bards, their families, and the poorest, can we talk about gifts as a redistribution of wealth that ensured someone’s livelihood. Otherwise, gift-giving was a mere selfless act and a manifestation of grace of the kings and heroes that happened around the court by chance, or regularly for the sake of stabilizing relations. Anyway, we have evidence for those who tried to trade in the gifts given by the king, that is why Peruṅcittiraṉār said in frustration that “I am not a gift-seeker for business” (*yāṉ or vāṉikapparicilaṉ allēn*), since he humiliatingly received a gift without the king meeting him in person. Thus, in the 343rd poem of the *Puṟanāṅgūru* although it is possible to point out the local fish- and pepper-trade, the gift-giving tradition of kings, and the existence of ‘golden gifts’ brought by boats, it is, however, not possible to prove that the visitors of the king were either “Greeks” (*yavagar*), or the ones who actually brought there the golden articles. The people who came to the king (*varunar*) could be identified rather as *paricilar* or the traditional ‘gift-seekers’ who quite frequently appear in the poems, which, however, does not exclude the possibility that we could have found *yavagar* among them.

In *Akanāṅgūru* 149, we see the Pāṇṭiya siege of the fortified Muciṟi where *yavagas* arrived on their ships (*kalam*):

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1626 Subbiah 1991, 134.
Ceļiyān with a tall and good elephant murderous in war seized statues (pañimam), after he had overcome in a difficult battle, after he had surrounded [the town], so that clamour arose [in] the prosperous Muciṟi [where] gloriously crafted, yavaṉar-driven (tanta) good vessels came with gold (poṇ) and returned with pepper (kaṟi), while they stirred up the white foam of Cuḷḷi, the big river (pēriyāṟu) of the Cēralar.1628

In these lines, we read about yavaṉar who imported gold to Muciṟi and exported black pepper from the port. Regarding the misunderstandings around this poem, the name of the river was certainly Cuḷḷi1629 and not the anyway anachronistic pēriyāṟu, ‘big river’. In fact, we do not have evidence to prove that a river called ‘Pēriyāṟu’ existed in the Cēra kingdom in these early centuries.1630 Later and even today, the biggest river of Kerala is of course called Periyār, but regarding the Caṅkam texts, in all the cases when the compound pēriyāṟu ‘big river’ appears, except the one that has just been mentioned, we cannot surely identify the river. The second possible misinterpretation is that Muziris trade was an actual gold-pepper exchange. We know that during the Indo-Roman trade pepper and gold changed hands in huge amounts, but it is unclear what happened in the port towns of the Malabar Coast when the yavaṉar arrived and stayed for a few months every year. It might seem to be a nuance, but we cannot confidently call the Muziris trade an ‘exchange’ (in the end, maybe it is),1631 since, as we shall see, markets with gold as a measure of value and at least partial monetization existed in the early Cēra kingdom.

In the 57th poem of the Akanāṉūṟu we read again about the Pāṇṭiya siege of Muciṟi/Muziris, when “Ceļiyān [whose] chariot [has] flags and horses with trimmed manes, besieged Muciṟi, the ancient harbour at the sea”.

1628 ‘… cēralar/cuḷliyam pēriyāṟu veṉ nurai kalaṅka/yavaṉar tanta viṉai māṉ naṉkalam/poṅgoṉu vantu kariṉoṉu peyaru/malam keḻu muciṟi āṟṟ’ elā valai’. Akanāṉūṟu, 149: 7–11.
1629 Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 375.
1630 Regarding the other attestations, not even the old commentator of the Patigruppattu, nor Turaićāmippillai or U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar talk about other than a ‘big river’ of the Cēras. See: Patigruppattu, 28: 10; 43: 15; 88: 25.
1631 De Romanis 2020, 319.
1633 For the pirates of the Malabar Coast, see Plin. Nat. Hist. 6.26.101; Periplus Maris Erythraei, ch. 53; Ptol., Geogr. 7.1.7. and the Tabula Peutingeriana’s scroll (XII) on India. For a summary of the Tamil sources on kaṭampu tribe, read Marr 1985 [1958], 285–290.
Malabar Coast. However, except this, we do not know much about the seafaring of the Cēras.

Turning back to trade, we also see the Cēra king as a ruler of the big harbour(s), where storehouses were standing on the shores:

O fighter of the good country with gardens at the cool sea [around] the big harbour, which have fragrant tālai-groves at the storehouses (pantar) in which the wealth of the good vessels sleeps at the ocean with resounding, sweetly melodious waves.

Here the existence of storehouses at the old harbours (cf. Puranāṅgūru 343) shows the rational planning of the South Indian kings and merchant communities to ensure the accumulation and the preservation of articles in the desired quantity.

In the previous pages, I introduced fragments of the love and the heroic poetry of ancient Tamils that contained valuable information on the trade of the Cēras. What we see in the Patīṟṟuppattu, the heroic anthology written exclusively for the Cēras, is that this text (1.) rarely mentions trade, (2.) mentions the yavaṉa only once in a later composed panegyricus (II. patikam in which sinful yavaṉas were punished while their properties were confiscated), (3.) mostly deals with the wealth of those countries that were destroyed by the Cēras. Still there are poems which show the prosperity of the Cēra kings and the fertility of their country, which passages are quite interesting in terms of trade. The 22nd poem, for example, talks about the ancestors of the Cēra king, who “helped with the many profits of the forests and the seas”, which refers to the distribution of resources to those in need. We also have poems in the Patīṟṟuppattu that sing about the fertility and the excellent yields of the lands.

It is fascinating that the 76th poem of the Patīṟṟuppattu talks about the king who “healed the wounds [of the elephants] like a merchant of stores (paṇṇiya-vilaṉan) who

1634 Akanāṅgūru, 127. 6–8; Patīṟṟuppattu, 12: 3; 11: 12; 17: 4–5; 20: 2–4; Cilappatikāram III. 25. 1; 185–187.
1635 Although the word pantar is either an arbour (Patīṟṟuppattu, 51: 16) or the proper name of a Cēra town/harbour (Patīṟṟuppattu, 67: 2; 74: 6), it seems that the word itself meant also “storehouses” (paṇṭacāḷaikaṭ) at least at the time when the old commentary had been composed. Anyway, the word pantar appears as of Dravidian origin in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary 3922, while the idea of the possible Persian etymology (< bandar) of the word (Selvakumar 2008, 26) can be perhaps excluded as being anachronistic. Encyclopedia of Islam, 1013.
1636 kalam: jewel, vessel, ship. Tamil Lexicon, 778.
1638 Although, the word yavaṉa is not directly attested in the Patīṟṟuppattu. For more, see: pp. 331–332.
1639 Patīṟṟuppattu, 22: 6
1640 Patīṟṟuppattu, 60: 8; 69: 12–17; 78: 7; 89: 6.
1641 paṇṇiya-vilaṉan: dealers in stores and provisions. Tamil Lexicon, 2453. Here paṇṇiyam is certainly a Sanskrit loanword from paṇya ‘article of trade’, ‘ware’. 
strengthen the wood\textsuperscript{1642} that swam on the great sea, after [he] went to the difficult\textsuperscript{-}approach\textsuperscript{1643} haven”.\textsuperscript{1644} Thus we have arrived at the question of the markets. Regarding the ‘merchants of stores’, the Tamil compound \textit{paṇṇiya-vilaiṉar} (lit. “the ones with the price of the articles of trade”) contains the loanword \textit{paṇṇiyam} < Skt. \textit{paṇya} ‘article of trade’, and the Tamil word \textit{vilai} ‘price’ from which the word for ‘merchants’ (\textit{vilaiṉar}) derived. The Sanskrit word \textit{paṇya} ‘article of trade’, ‘commodity’\textsuperscript{1644} is in turn a derivation of \textit{paṇa} ‘a weight of copper’, ‘coin’, ‘commodity’\textsuperscript{1645} from which another Sanskrit term, \textit{āpaṇa} was derived, a word for ‘marketplace’ or ‘shop’, which we find in Early Old Tamil texts as \textit{āvaṇam}.\textsuperscript{1646} In fact, the word \textit{āvaṇam} appears only six times in the whole Čaṅkam corpus. The 77\textsuperscript{th} poem of the \textit{Akanāṉūṟu} suggests that the people of the marketplace (\textit{āvaṇamākkal}) were literate people who destroyed the seal of a rope-bound pot (as a quasi-envelope?) in which palm-leaves (\textit{ōlai}) were stored.\textsuperscript{1647} In the 122\textsuperscript{nd} poem, we see the wealthy marketplace together with streets to “fall asleep”, which means at least that these South Indian markets were busy places surrounded with streets that emptied at night when they were closed.\textsuperscript{1648} In the 227\textsuperscript{th} poem, we read about the noisy marketplace of Maruṅkūṟpatṭiṉam that emits lustre, which was either a poetic image to emphasise its wealth, or the markets were indeed illuminated places shining afar.\textsuperscript{1649} In the \textit{Paṭṭinappālai}, we read about continuous festivals (\textit{viḻavu}) in the wide marketplaces (\textit{viyāl āvaṇattu}), so that the markets must have been places where also festivals of the kingdoms were held.\textsuperscript{1650} In the \textit{Neṭunāḷvāṭai}, women worship with folded hands in the prosperous evening-market.\textsuperscript{1651} It is, of course, not surprising to see a king organising festivals in market towns to foster market activities. However, we have not yet found references to Čēra markets. For that, let us read the following passage of the \textit{Patiṟṟupattu}’s 68\textsuperscript{th} song:

\[
\text{[\ldots] after the price of the precious/rare toddy (\textit{kaḷ}) was paid out as soon as [they] entered the market (\textit{āvaṇam}), where flags of the toddy[\textit{-}selling places] swayed,}
\]

\textsuperscript{1642} The old commentator of the \textit{Patiṟṟupattu} tends to understand ‘\textit{kaṭal nīntiya maram}’ as \textit{marakkalam}. I would suggest to translate literally since \textit{marakkalam} usually meant a boat or larger ship in later texts, however, here \textit{maram} might mean only a seafaring raft (an \textit{ampi}?).
\textsuperscript{1643} \textit{Patiṟṟupattu}, 76: 3–5.
\textsuperscript{1644} \textit{A Sanskrit–English Dictionary}, 580.
\textsuperscript{1645} \textit{A Sanskrit–English Dictionary}, 580.
\textsuperscript{1646} \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 249.
\textsuperscript{1647} \textit{Patiṟṟupattu}, 77: 7–8.
\textsuperscript{1648} ‘\textit{mallal āvaṇam marukūṭaṇ matiyiŋ}’. \textit{Patiṟṟupattu}, 122: 3.
\textsuperscript{1649} \textit{Akanāṉūṟu}, 227: 19–20.
\textsuperscript{1650} \textit{Paṭṭinappālai}, 158.
\textsuperscript{1651} \textit{Neṭunāḷvāṭai}, 44.
after [they] brought [there] the white tusks of the elephant that a king rode on […]\textsuperscript{1652}

Here the precious/rare toddy/wine with a remarkably high price could refer to the expensive Mediterranean (Campanian or Laodicean) wine that arrived at South India in amphorae during the centuries of Indo-Roman trade. It is also possible that the wine mentioned here was only a sort of refined, aged palm-wine, in which case the ‘tusk-for-toddy’ transaction was conducted by local intermediaries. We see the same thing happen in the 30\textsuperscript{th} poem of the \textit{Pati\text{\textraise\textsuperscript{}}}rppattur.

On the areas of low lands which are densely surrounded by hills, the hunters (\textit{vēṭtuvar}), [who have] murderous bows and \textit{kānta}-chaplet,\textsuperscript{1653} give the price of wine (\textit{piḷi}) in the gold-possessing\textsuperscript{1654} markets (\textit{niyamam}), [after they] brought the white tusks of rutting forest-elephants together with the meat of wild cows (\textit{āmāṉ}) with red horns.\textsuperscript{1655}

What is certain after reading these passages is that regarding the Indo-Roman trade (1.) there was a kind of rare/precious and expensive toddy/wine available in the Čēra markets, (2.) there were expensive elephant tusks (as one of the favourite imports of the Romans) collected by hunters or warriors in the battle, which had been exchanged directly or indirectly for Indian or non-Indian toddy/wine, and (3.) there were ‘markets’ which possessed (\textit{utai}) gold. Here we find another Indo-Aryan word for ‘market’, \textit{niyamam} \(<\) Skt. \textit{niyama}, which, taking into account the possible meanings in Sanskrit\textsuperscript{1656} and the other eight attestations in Early Old Tamil literature,\textsuperscript{1657} rather denotes a ‘market town’ or a ‘market street’.

\textsuperscript{1652} ‘\textit{vēṭ}’ ār yāṉai veḷ kōṭu koṇṭu/kaḷ koṭi nuṭaṅkum āvaṇam pukk’ uṭaṇ/ārum kaḷ noṭaṁmai ṭīṁta piṅ…’ \textit{Pati\text{\textraise\textsuperscript{}}}rppattur, 68: 9–11.

\textsuperscript{1653} \textit{kānta}: Malabar glory lily (\textit{Gloriosa superba}), a fiery colour flower of the high mountains. \textit{Dravidian Etymological Dictionary}, 1451.

\textsuperscript{1654} \textit{poṅ utai niyamam}: “the gold-possessing market”, “the golden market”. Here I would rather see a reference to the actual gold (coins, bars, jewels, treasures, etc.) that the market possessed.

\textsuperscript{1655} ‘\textit{kānta} am kaṇṉīk kolai vil vēṭtuvar/cem kōṭṭ ā māṇ ūṇoṭu kāṭṭa/mataṅ utai vēḷattu veḷ kōṭu koṇṭu/poṅ utai niyamattup piḷi noṭai koṭukkum’. \textit{Pati\text{\textraise\textsuperscript{}}}rppattur, 30: 9–2.

\textsuperscript{1656} A Sanskrit–English Dictionary, 545.

\textsuperscript{1657} See: \textit{niyama} in \textit{Akanāṉṟu}, 83: 7; \textit{Naṟṟiṇai}, 45: 4; \textit{niyamattu} (obl. case) in \textit{Tirumurukāruppatțai}, 70; \textit{Pati\text{\textraise\textsuperscript{}}}rppattur, 15: 19; 30: 12; 75: 10; \textit{Maturaikkāṅci}, 365; \textit{Malaiṉaṭukaṭṭām}, 480; \textit{niyamam} in \textit{Akanāṉṟu}, 90: 12.

\textsuperscript{1658} According to the \textit{Tamiḻ Ilakkiyap Pērakarāṭi} (p. 1366), the word \textit{niyamam} means “bazaar/market street” (\textit{kaṭṭai teṟu}) in the old literature, which term has a clear Indo-Aryan origin (< \textit{niyama}). Cf. \textit{Naṟṟiṇai}, 45: 4–5. Its meaning as a “temple” is a later development that might be reflected first in the \textit{Cīḷappatiṉāṟam}, (II. 14: 8). I think that the temples referred as \textit{niyamam} were perhaps temple-economies uniting the two functions, the ritual and the economic. There is one more word connected to the question of markets, \textit{aikaṭṭi} ‘bazaar’, see: \textit{Akanāṉṟu}, 93: 10; \textit{Naṟṟiṇai}, 258: 7; \textit{Parippaṭal}, 2: 9; however, these passages do not contribute much to our research.
O [you], the wealth of the gift-seekers! O [you], the king of strong men, [who possess] the muracam-drum that sounds in [your] excellent court [that is surrounded by] the gold-possessing market street (niyamam), [where] the flags of [your] old town cast a shadow, [where] the mulavu-drum sounds and the festivals (vilavu) do not know the end; [the old town] of the good country with vast areas, [where] many goods enter from the seas, mountains, rivers, and other [places]! It is remarkable that, according to this passage, the marketplaces were close enough to the royal town so that it cast a shadow over the shops, which might be a covert reference to state influence and state control over early trade. We have also seen the many goods entering from the seas, mountains, rivers, and other regions, which made the Cēra king wealthy and the bustling markets profitable. Moreover, an ostrakon found at Koṭumāṇal also shows that markets (nikama) de facto existed in the Cēra kingdom.

So far that is all that is preserved on Cēra markets in the Caṅkam texts; even if it seems little, a few remarks should not be missed. For instance, from their names of Indo-Aryan origins, we can conclude that (1.) the markets were, at least initially, in the hands of speakers of Indo-Aryan languages, perhaps Jaina or Buddhist merchants, and (2.) the kingdom was not just influenced by northern Indian groups in terms of religion and policy as we have seen before, but we can also suspect “northern” influences on the institutions of trade. We should emphasise that when Pliny the Elder, the author of the Periplus Maris Erythraei, and Ptolemy reported on the Cēra kingdom, they were still aware only of the external, Indo-Aryan name of the dynasty, the Cēraputra (Caelobothras, Κηπρόβοτος, Κηροβόθρος), “the son of the Cēras”, which seems to be an ‘official name’ of the state also known from the Aśokan inscriptions. The fact that in the 1st–2nd centuries AD this name of the state is still in use suggests that either the kingdom proudly promoted its hybrid identity (Tamil cultural life with brāhmaṇical influences around the court), or/and the traders as intermediaries between westerners and the locals were not Dravidian, but Indo-Aryan speakers. Even if the Caṅkam

1659 The royal drum called muracu/muraicu/muracam is one and (might be the most important) among the regalia of the sovereign monarch in ancient South India. Dubyanskiy 2013, 310; 313–314.
1660 According to the Tamil Lexicon (p. 783) the kalimakil as a lexicalized compound can be interpreted as ‘public audience’, or ‘royal court’. Occasionally, we can consider the literal meaning as ‘bustling mirth’ although it clearly refers here to the daily court of the Cēra king.
1662 We still have one another reference on niyamam in the Patiruppattu, but that reports only on the country of one of their enemies mentioning the “bright price that is given in the market street/town that possess toddy” (kal/ uṭai niyamatt’ of vilai koṭukku). Patiruppattu, 75: 10.
1663 Mahadevan 2003, 141.
texts are silent, we know well from epigraphical remains that Jainas and Buddhists were living in the Tamil kingdoms, even around Muciṟi/Muziris and Karuvūr, the Čēra capital, and some of them were surely involved in trade which was connected to the functioning markets. Mahadevan states that at Veḷḷarai (modern Vellarippatti) a “merchant guild” (nikamatu) was functioning in ancient times, since the name of Antai Assutaṉ, the superintendent of pears (kālatika) and the kāviti (an honorary rank and title) of the ‘guild’, and the name of Nanta-siri Kuvaṉ, the learned one (kaṉi) can be found on the 3rd Māṅkuḷam inscription (2nd c. BC); moreover, the “members of the merchant guild” (nikamatōr) appears on the 6th Māṅkuḷam inscription. I think it is perhaps better to translate nikamatu of the 3rd inscription as ‘market(-street)’ of Veḷḷarai, and nikamatōr of the 6th inscription as the ‘men of the market(-street)’, while we leave open the possibility that here nikamam meant a ‘merchant guild’ or something else, since this specific meaning of niyamam/nikamam cannot be satisfactorily proved from the contemporary Tamil sources. Interestingly, Ptolemy in the 2nd c. AD also mentioned a “capital city” (μητρόπολις) called Nigama (Νίγαμα) in the Tamil South, which could have been a market-place whose name reflects the Sanskrit term (nigama) for ‘market’.

Thus, we arrived at the last topic that needs to be examined: gold and money. The complaints of Pliny the Elder that a huge amount of coins happened to be absorbed by the eastern trade year by year, together with the record of the Periplus which talks about large amount of money (χρήματα πλείστα) imported into southern India, give us the preconception that the Čēra kingdom must have been full of “money” from the West. As a general statement, we should point out that the Caṅkam literature abounds in gold-related passages; everywhere we see golden treasures, ornaments, and jewellery. This also means that the Tamils from the earliest times had to have other sources of gold than the Roman Empire, including Indian mines. On the other hand, the Romans may have been the first ones in South Indian history who paid with gold in large quantities on a regular basis at the coasts of South India. While formerly a significant portion of the gold stocks had been obtained by the Tamils in the battles against other Indian chiefs and monarchs, now trade was a peaceful and secure way to acquire treasures and necessary articles at the same time, by which the kingdoms could embark on the path of prosperity. In the 1st–4th centuries AD, when the poems of the Patiruppattu were composed, the Čēra tribal supremacy had already crossed the threshold of becoming an early kingdom, behind which changes trade must have been the engine of the

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1664 Subramanian 2011.
1666 Mahadevan 2003, 141; 319; 323.
1667 Ptol., Geogr. VII. 1. 12.
1668 Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia, VI. 101; XII. 84.
economic stability. In the literature, predatory warfare still existed to punish those who challenged the superiority of the Cēras. However, if we consider the direction of the Cēra expansions (not speaking, of course, about the legendary march to the Himalaya), we can assume that the intrusion into Konkunāṭu through the river valleys, where hoards of Mediterranean coins were found, which in fact seem to trace an important trade route in these centuries, and the further conquests to the eastern shores of Pukār (e.g., see the vocative pukāar celva in Patiṟṟuppattu 73: 9) were aimed at stabilizing inland trade via Palghat Gap and making efforts to reach the east coast to get their hands on the trade of both the Malabar and the Coromandel Coast.

Gold, no doubt, played an important role in early trade; however, the evidence extracted from the poems is again very scarce. We have already seen the references in the Patiṟṟuppattu to markets which possess gold. From the phrasing, which in this way appears only in this particular text, we assume that in a market which possessed gold, gold was certainly a medium of exchange, a store of value, and perhaps a standard of payment in these early markets. Unfortunately, we do not really know how these transactions were executed and who the actors were, but from the Indo-Aryan names of these early markets (āvaṇam and niyamam) we can assume that Jaina or Buddhist traders might have been involved to a greater or lesser extent. We saw that people could bring their valuable articles (such as elephant tusks) to the markets, while the poets also emphasise in the Cēra texts that after they brought rare and valuable things there, they had to pay a bright price for the articles they wanted (such as wine/toddy). It is possible that we see a tusk-for-wine ‘direct’ exchange without being articulated in the texts, but since these markets were trading places where gold was stored, we might already find monetized markets in the Cēra kingdom where people obtained gold (either bars or coins) in exchange for their goods, which ‘money’ they could spend on their needs, or spare and exchange at another marketplace. In any case, this system of market-trade would make it easier to collect and sort the articles which changed hands in huge quantities during the transactions with the Romans; however, it also makes easier for the local elite or for the king himself to collect taxes and tolls from trade. The bright price is again not a frequent phrase in the Caṅkam texts. ‘Price’ (vilai and noṭai/noṭaimai) as ‘bright’ (of) appears only in the Patiṟṟuppattu, and the combinations of these words with the verb koṭu-ttal ‘to give’ and with tīr-tal ‘to leave’ are also attested only in this text. Is the bright price a high/expensive price, or is it ‘bright’ because of the standard of payment, i.e., gold was de facto ‘bright’? We should also emphasise that in all the available passages in which the words vilai and noṭai are attested (twenty-eight in number), we find references to bride-price, barter-price, flower-selling women, price for toddy or salt, rare price for jewel, but we have only a few passages in which prices are connected to markets. To point out the presence of barter in

1670 For the maps with the locations where the coins were found, see MacDowall 1995.
these early societies is not a difficult thing, as we have several passages on the traditional open barter between the different eco-regions (tiṇai). However, to examine the possibility to find monetized markets in these kingdoms is not so easy from the sources. The Patirṟṟuppattu connected to the Cēras has a special importance in this case, since we find a few sequences which talk about gold-possessing markets and large-value transactions there, which sort of markets appear only in this text of the Caṅkam corpus. Regarding the question of money, in the 81st poem of the Patirṟṟuppattu we see “lustre-emitting bars which were completed by the work of flames, became solid in the moulds". The text certainly talks about cast gold bars which bears a great economic historical significance, because these bars served to accumulate wealth, as we also see in the Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai:

… the cattle-herder-woman, having fed [her] relatives with the food [from] the price of buttermilk, does not take pure gold (pacum poṉ) in bars (kaṭṭi) [from] the price of ghī (ney), [but] obtains black calves (nāku) [of] the good cow of the buffalo (erumai)…

Adding to these, we have evidence for gold bars not only from literary sources, but Tamil Brāhmī inscribed gold bars have already been found by archaeologists in recent years at Thenur near Madurai. While gold bars were used primarily in the accumulation of wealth, gold and other coins were in circulation, which could actually be used for marketplace-transactions not only by the merchants and the elite, but by all the people who in some way received such money. I agree with De Romanis who points out that local coins found at Muziris “suggest the strong presence of local people with a monetized economy of their own". We have quite a few beautiful examples of Cēra silver and copper coins found by archaeologists at ancient Cēra sites, with dynastic symbols and portraits perhaps imitating Roman coins. We have knowledge not only about the Cēra coinage but also about the gold merchants at one of the ancient Cēra capitals, Karuvūr/Karūr. On the 9th Pukāḷūr inscription we read about the seat of Natti, the gold merchant (poṉ vanikan) of Karuūr, who had perhaps become connected to the local Jaina community. Even his rare name is telling, since

1672 Another reading is to understand kaṭṭi as an absolutive from the verb kaṭṭu-tal 5. tr. (Tamil Lexicon, 651): “does not take pure gold having fixed/tied the price of the ghī”. Still, pure gold here meant accumulated wealth from which the relatives cannot be fed.
1673 ‘... āymakaḷai/vilai uṉaviy kilai utaṅ arutti/ney vilai kaṭṭi pacum poṉ koḷḷal/erumai nal āṅ karu nāku peṟtum’. Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, 162–165.
1675 De Romanis 2020, 115.
1676 Krishnamurtty 1997; Mahadevan 2003, 118; Gurukkal 2016, 49–51.
1677 Mahadevan 2003, 417.
we know another Natti from the early inscriptions (4th of the Māṇkuḷam inscriptions), who was a senior Jaina monk. In short, the metalsmithing and local minting were well-established in the early kingdom of the Cēras in the centuries of the Indo-Roman trade. Beside hoards of local coins, the presence of Roman gold and silver coins discovered in South India is a well-researched topic; instead of introducing it in detail, let us turn back to the Patiruppattu to see whether the circulation of coins can be found in the poems. In fact, there are several poems that talk about coins and money, but their values as historical sources are uncertain, as they must be identified as later compositions. These special comments are epilogues in prose that appear at the end of the “summary poems” (patikam) of each decade (pattu) of the Patiruppattu. Reading these poems, one has the impression that these were composed by an editor in the early Middle Ages, perhaps the one(s) who collected the poems into a chronologically ordered anthology. The author must have been the editor, since the language and the verse form are uniform, and the author clearly seemed to already know the whole anthology when he added the “summary poems” to each decade. I assume that the author of these epilogues might have been the same as the author of the patikams, and the differences in word usage can be explained by the fact that the patikams were still written in an archaic form befitting the poems, while the epilogues were mere appendices that helped the recipient/scholar to contextualize the poems and their backgrounds. Turning back to the coins, we find them exclusively in those lines when the author speaks about the gifts that were received by the poets. In the VI. patikam, we read that the king gave hundred thousand kāṇam-coins (an ancient weight; an ancient gold coin; gold; Tamil Lexicon, 859) and nine kā-measure (a standard weight, hundred palam, Tamil Lexicon, 840) of gold to the poetess. In the VII. patikam, we read that the king gave to the poet hundred thousand kāṇam-coins as a little gift (ciṟu-puṟam). In the VIII. patikam, we read that the king gave to the poet nine times hundred thousand kāṇam-coins and the royal throne/bed. In the IX. patikam, the king gave to the poet thirty-two thousand kāṇam-coins. However, too many conclusions cannot be drawn because of the uncertain date of these passages. Two interpretations can be outlined: (1.) the author of these epilogues had a certain knowledge of the ages he wrote about, and indeed a large amount of money changed hands as gifts in exchange of these ancient poems; or (2.) the author projects the monetized economy of his own mediaeval age on the past and records imaginary quantities when speaks of gifts given to the poets. Even so, we have seen the literary evidence of monetized markets in the early Cēra kingdom, and we have seen those who speak probably a few centuries later (around the 5th–6th centuries) of these ages with coins and gold in circulation in large quantities. The reconstruction of a treasury in the Cēra kingdom might be possible from the Akanāṯūṟu.

1678 Mahadevan 2003, 321.
[...] having heaped in one place the āmpal measure rows of diamonds (vayirami), female-statues (pāvai) made of gold, and good vessels worthy of praise, which had been given as humble tributes by the disobedient, at the court of Māntai/Marantai, the good town [of Cēralāṭa] [...]

This could mean that in the Cēra residency at Māntai/Marantai a designated place/room existed where the tributes had been accumulated. We see another ruler, Naṉṉaṉ Utiyan who had well-protected golden treasures in his town, where we read about “the gold which was put [down] by the very ancient chiefs (vēḷir) for the sake of protection, at Pāḷi with a difficult defense, [town of] Naṉṉaṉ Utiyan.” This again underlines the fact that the early Cēra kings were very much interested in accumulating wealth in order to provide a stable foundation for the economy, since they also certainly knew what Kauṭilya said wisely in the Arthaśāstra that “all undertakings presuppose the treasury”, but also, all undertakings assume rational planning.

I have introduced the literary evidence on maritime trade, markets, and money found in Early Old Tamil texts written about the ancient Cēra kings. Despite the fact that the often flattering Tamil literature ordered by kings and chiefs is rather laconic about certain themes, the main results of this chapter are that (1.) the monarchical character of the early state formation of the Cēras has been proved, (2.) the suggestion that Cēra kings would have thought of Indo-Roman trade only as gift-exchange has been refuted, and (3.) a Tamil literature-based study has been carried out that has convincingly argued for the existence of an early money economy in ancient southwestern India. From the available textual sources and the related archaeological findings I create the following model of the early Cēra economy: (1.) a traditional barter-exchange between the different eco-regions as the most mentioned mode of trade in the Caṅkam corpus, (2.) a monetized system of marketplaces where wealthy people, local elite, and merchants carried out monetized transactions, and (3.) a system of gift-exchange as a distribution of one’s wealth in order to establish/stabilize political/economic/ritual relations. As Selvakumar also suggests, below the level of open barter there must be at least another one: the gift/credit/debt-based reciprocal micro-economies between relatives and fellow villagers. Thus, the closed communities which I

1682 ‘kośa pūrvāḥ sarvārambhāḥ’. Arthaśāstra II. 8. 1. (Transl. by Patrick Olivelle)
called micro-economies,\textsuperscript{1684} which topic was out of the scope of this chapter, would be based on trust, sympathy, and caring for each other; the open barter took place between “strangers” of the eco-zones and “people who are familiar with the use of money, but for one reason or another, don’t have a lot of it around”,\textsuperscript{1685} and the monetized world of markets would be available only for those who have gained wealth measurable in some kind of money which was recognized by the local ruler and accepted by the merchant community. I think we are far from being able to fully understand what the function of local coins and Roman coins in this economy was, but I assume that they were in use and circulated not just as treasure but as actual money to pay with, withdrawn from circulation in the Mediterranean.

On the level of economic actors, we can determine economically rational acts of the Cēra kings in order to create a predictable economy with great promise, such as the fortification of port towns where warehouses were built in order to accumulate and preserve the articles; the military campaigns in which Cēra kings sought to annex trading routes and occupy ports of the Coromandel Coast; the fact that kings allowed to establish gold-possessing markets and managed to mint local coins in order to show off their authority and perhaps to establish a monetized trading system beyond barter, and the possibility to exchange one’s wealth to gold bars as \textit{commodity money}. We are still in the early stages of state development; however, our sources show that in the case of the Cēras, we have to deal with an early kingdom of a hybrid nature which has Tamil literary life and culture but strong brāhmaṇical influences around the court; a partly monetized economy with perhaps Jaina and Buddhist merchant communities in the background; a well-organised hinterland which was able to serve the Indian Ocean trade and to make vast stocks of goods regularly and reliably available, a fascinating example of which is the Muziris Papyrus.\textsuperscript{1686} The transport of tons of goods from inland to the shores, even if it is somewhat invisible in the Caṅkam corpus, required rigorous supervision by the state which could not base the service of merchant ships that arrived on a regular basis on chance. Through the lens of the \textit{rational actors theory},\textsuperscript{1687} we consider common goals, opportunities, and constraints at both the Romans and the Cēras. Regarding their goals, both the Romans and the Cēras were interested in maintaining trading relations, gaining high profit, and acquiring necessary goods; regarding the opportunities, both intended to organise and protect the trade; regarding the constraints, both were facing with rivals, fraudsters, robbers, and pirates, as well as cultural difficulties such as language.

\textsuperscript{1684} In the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, we find a few references to how these micro-economies functioned, e.g. when people share the millet-flour with others (\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 30: 24–25) however, taken as a whole, the topic of micro-economies is quite invisible in the Cēra texts.

\textsuperscript{1685} Graeber 2011, 37.

\textsuperscript{1686} It has to be mentioned that ‘light houses’, as quite a modern infrastructure could have been found at the ports of other Tamil kings (\textit{Akanāṟuṟu}, 255: 5–6; \textit{Perumpāṇaṟṟuppattai}, 346–351). Although these are not attested in the Cēra texts, we can still assume that these buildings were in use also at the Malabar Coast.

\textsuperscript{1687} For an introduction about the theory, read: Lyttkens 2012, 19–23.
The Romans have set the goals in order to boost Roman economy (traders, of course, for an actual living), and the Cēras did it for the same reason but also in order to strengthen the royal power. They both struggled with rivals, enemies, and pirates to maximize their profits from trade, and while Roman traders certainly got a foothold in India and occasionally provided military assistance to the Tamil rulers, the Cēra kings extended their influence to markets and merchant communities in order to keep a close watch on the large-scale business.

Maritime trade has thus boosted the Cēra country’s economy and at the same time made it vulnerable to the Mediterranean, the center of the Indo-Roman trading system. Thus, when the kingdom of the Cēras declines probably around the same century when the decline of the Roman Empire takes place, only the Cēra kings and their stakeholders, who have not survived the loss of regular income and a change in maritime trade paradigm, failed, but everyday life continued on a lower level during the early mediaeval transition period preparing for the political-economic rebirth under the mediaeval Hindu kingdom of the Perumāḷs.

**Protection of trade**

When I attempted to analyse the political nature of the early Cēra state, an important argument was that the Cēras were aware of their territories and trade interests, and they sought to protect the Cēra ports of trade and punish those who threatened their trade relations. In this chapter, I look for the answer to the question who may have been the pirates of the Malabar coast from whom the Graeco-Roman writers warned travelers, and whether we can trace them in the South Indian sources?

Profitable trade and naval fleets equipped with rich cargo have attracted the pirates from the earliest times in both West and South Asia. Lootings by Red Sea pirates were mentioned by Diodorus following Agatarchides, later by Strabo, Pliny the Elder, the author of *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, and Philostratos. They all complained about the sea robbers among the Arabic people, “villains” who travel on their pirate ships and plunder the merchant ships from Egypt, enslaving shipwrecked people and those fleeing the ships. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* notes that this is why “they are constantly being taken prisoner by the governors and kings of Arabia,” so the task of the rulers was to ensure lucrative trade rather than to cooperate with the pirate leaders. Following the *Periplus*’ guidance, the

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1692 *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 20.  
1693 Philostratos, *Vita Apolloniī*, III. 35.
merchants did their best when they sailed on extra speed to the Katakekaumenē Island, leaving behind the Arabia that was “fearsome in every respect”. The next region where traders had to be careful with pirates was South India. Pliny the Elder mentioned the neighboring pirates of Nitrias (vicinos piratas, qui optinent locum nomine Nitrias) at Muziris, the first marketplace of India (primum emporium Indiae), as one of the reasons why the ships should avoid that port. Another reason was the difficulties of loading and discharging the cargoes from ships to boats since Muziris lay on a river, relatively far from the seashore (praeterea longe a terra abest navium statio, lintribusque adferuntur onera et egeruntur), and according to Pliny, Muziris around the first half of the 1st century AD did not abound in commodities (neque est abundans mercibus). The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* seems to confirm Pliny as it warns of the presence of pirates north of Naoura and Tyndis of Limyrikē (Malabar Coast), at the Sēsekreienai-islands (perhaps today’s Veṅgurlā Rocks), Isle of the Aigidioi (perhaps Aminidvīp/Aminidivi Islands?), Isle of the Kaineitoi (perhaps Oyster Rocks near Kārvār, Karnataka), and around Leukē Nēsos, the “White Island” (perhaps Pigeon Island, Nētrāṇī Dvīpa). Ptolemy recorded Ariakē, a coast of piratical people (Ἀνδρῶν Πειρατῶν) with the following places: Mandagora/Mandagara (Bāgmāṃḍla–Bāṇkōṭ, Maharashtra), Byzantion (Vijaydurg, Maharashtra), Chersonēsos (around today’s Kārvār, Karnataka), the mouth of the river Nanagounas (Tāptī river), Armagara, Nitra emporion, together with two inland towns with pirates: Olochoira (Uḍupi, Karnataka?) and Mousopallē. Adding to these, the Tabula Peutingeriana also marks the presence of pirates (“PIRATES”) with red capital letters around Malabar Coast and the southernmost tip of India. Thus we conclude that the pirates who threatened the Malabar Coast must have lived north of the Cēra kingdom, north of Naṟavu, in a place called Nitrias located in the Konkan archipelago and/or in an emporion called Nitra. As I have discussed earlier, I accept locating Naṟavu around today’s Eḻimala, instead of Kaṇṇūr or Maṅgalūru, as far as the geographic description of Tamil literature suggests, and I have also accepted the identification of Naioura of the *Periplus* with Naṟavu of the Cankam poems. If so, the *Periplus* recorded that the pirates could have been found north of Naoura of Limyrikē, so that Naoura cannot be the same as Nitrīas or Nitria. It would be strange anyway for the Cēra kings to threaten themselves from another town. If we accept the identification of Leukē Nēsos, the “White Island” with the heart-shaped island of

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1694 *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 20. Citations were transl. by Lionel Casson.

1695 Even Fǎxiǎn (4–5, c. AD) talks about the dangerous pirates of South India (Hāizhōng duō yǒu chāo zéi, yù zhé wū quán.). Legge 1886, 112. In later centuries, the piracy on the South Indian coasts was still a danger for the merchants and travellers. Thus the Nestorian *Chronicle of Seert* (11th century) and Marco Polo (13th century) still complains about the piracy on the western shores of India. *La Chronique de Séert*, 324–326; *The Travels of Marco Polo*, 376–377; 380–381.


1697 To identify the locations I used: Casson 1989, 297.

1698 Ptol., *Geogr.* VII. 1. 7; 84. To identify the locations I used: *Barrington Atlas*, 60–74.
the Konkan Coast, which bears the name Nētrāṇī or Nitrān, then we found our pirates on the Konkan Coast. However, this identification, as Casson highlighted, is mostly based on the similarity of names and this has led Warmington and Schoff to come to this conclusion. Casson argues that the place called “Nitraiai” was a port of trade in Ptolemy instead of an island. Indeed, neither Pliny nor Ptolemy mention this place as an island, so that one could think that Nitra emporion of Ptolemy is identical with the later Mangarouth of Kosmas Indikopleustes, today’s Maṅgalūru, where the Netravaṭī river flows. If this place was Nitrias/Nitra, then the pirates must have lived somewhere close to it, perhaps in the northern archipelago as the sources record.

What we learn from the Caṅkam sources is that the king Neṭuṅcēralāṭaṇ was the first among the Cēras, who led a naval campaign against northern tribes. He was the one

[…] who chopped down the foot of the katampu-tree, after [he] went to the land of the resisting ones, [which land was] inside an island of the dark sea […]

Thus we see direct evidence that Neṭuṅcēralāṭaṇ sailed the “dark sea” and attacked his enemies on an island (turuttī), which island must have been somewhere among the Lakṣadvīp islands, or rather around the southern Konkan, where the pirates were mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Periplus Maris Erythraei. The same episode can be found in the 17th poem of the Patīṟṟuppattu, in which Neṭuṅcēralāṭaṇ “liberated the great sea [that] possessed shiny spray [and] scattered precious offerings (arum pali) [once he] returned and arrived [together with his] warriors [carrying] the victorious wide paṉai-drum which was fashioned after chopping the katampu-tree”. We find the defeat of the katampu-tribe in other poems as well without the maritime context. In the 127th poem of the Akanāṉūṟu, which mentions some of the heroic exploits of Cēralāṭaṇ, we read that he, “having navigated (ōṭṭi) on the ocean, destroyed the katampu”, or “having driven back (ōṭṭi) the ocean, destroyed the katampu.” Once he defeated the katampu-tribe, he collected his tributes at the great mansion of Māntai/Marantai. In the 41st poem of the Patīṟṟuppattu, we see the son of Neṭuṅcēralāṭaṇ, Kaṭal Piṟakkōṭṭiya Ceṅkuṭṭuvan (“Ceṅkuṭṭuvan who drove back the sea”), whose “legs conquered the cool sea with sounding waves” (paṭum tirait paṇīk kaṭal ulanta tāḷē). Anyway, his royal epithet Kaṭal Piṟakkōṭṭiya was mentioned originally in the V. patikam by the poet called Panaṅar. Although we cannot really see the maritime activities of

1702 Patīṟṟuppattu, 11: 11–14; 12: 2;
1704 Patīṟṟuppattu, 41: 27.
Cēnuṭṭuvaṇ in the Caṅkam poems, we read about it in the early mediaeval *Cilappatikāram*, in which we find this king as the one who “overthrew the *kaṭampu*-tribe] with fences of the vast/dark water” (*mānir vēlik kaṭamp’ ērintu*, III. 25. 1), or the one with cruel war “who overthrew the *kaṭampu* of the sea” (*kaṭal kaṭamp’ ērinta*, III. 25. 187). In the 90th poem (Line 20) Ilaṅcēral Irumporai, another Cēra king was mentioned as being one who “threw a spear so that the ocean was destroyed” (*kaṭal ikuppa vēl īṭtum*). All these texts show that the Cēra kings de facto sailed the seas, whenever they felt necessary to take their army further north to fight.

The question may arise, who are the tribe whose totemistic tree was the *kaṭampu*-tree (*Neolomarckia cadamba*)? We might extract an answer to this question from the Caṅkam poems. In the 88th poem of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* we read that the Cēra kings “chopped off the entire foot of the *kaṭampu* which possesses *aṇaṅkū*” (*aṇaṅk’ uṭaik kaṭampiṟ ṁuḷu muḷu taṭintu*, Line 6). In this poem the ancestors of the king also “destroyed Naṇṇ of the vākai-tree with Sun-[like] flowers” (*cuṭar vī vēkai naṇṇaṅ tēyṭṭu*, Line 10). This king among the Cēra ancestors must have been Nārmuṭiccēral who “chopped down the protected foot of the vākai-tree with fire-like flowers of Naṇṇ with golden chariot and golden chaplet”. However, from the IV. *patikam* of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* we learn that Kaḷaṅkāykaṇṭi Nārmuṭi Cēral was the king “who destroyed the strength of Naṇṇ in the war for the position at Peruvaiyil with the *kaṭampu*-tree [which had] wheel-like flowers, who chopped the entire foot of his golden vākai-tree”. This act might have happened during the campaign against Pūḷināṭu, but as we shall see, the homeland of Naṇṇ seems to be somewhere else, so in this *patikam* we might see consecutive, legendary acts of the king. In the 199th poem of the *Akanāṅūru* we see the following lines:

I will not come even if I obtain wealth great as if the country would have been given [to me], which was lost due to Kaḷaṅkāykaṇṭi Nārmuṭiccēral with sharp sword which gave [him] triumphant victory, while Naṇṇ with gold ornaments died on the battlefield in the battle at the great harbour (*perunturai*) with the large golden vākai-tree, in the west […]

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1708 ‘… kūṭāṭu/ṟum poḷ vēkai perunturai ic ciṟuviṟuḷu muḷu muḷu muḷu maṭam tēt vēl kaḷaṅkāykaṇṭi nārmuṭiccēral ṟanṭa nāṭu tant’-aṅna/vaḷam paṭu koṟṟam taṭa vēl kaḷaṅkāykaṇṭi nārmuṭiccēral ṟanṭa nāṭu tant’-aṅna/vaḷam peritu perīṟum vāraḷeṇ yānē’. *Akanāṅūru*, 199: 18–24.
Thus we know that Naṉṉa fought and died in the battle at the great harbour or Perunturai if we interpret it as the name of a town, against Nārmuṭiccēral, so that his or the harbour’s golden vākai-tree was destroyed. We also know from this poem that Naṉṉa’s place must have been in the west, north of the Cēra lands. According to this poem the defeat of Naṉṉa was equal to the loss of his country. The compound perunturai means either the ‘big harbour’ or the ‘big ghat’, so we cannot be sure whether we learn about the river port or the sea port of Naṉṉa.

Now let us read a longer passage of the 152nd poem of the Akanāṉūṟu, in which we read a closer geographic/historical setting around Naṉṉa:

[...] in the slopes of Pāḻi in the tall/long Ėḻil mountain of Naṉṉa with pearl necklace, the chief of Pāram with joy of charity/abundant toddy, who liberally gives/flings elephant bulls [due his] famous liberalism, the chief with spear who overcame Piṇṭaṉ while breaking [his] opposition on the battlefield, [Piṇṭaṉ] who very much swarmed around showing copious enmity like a colony of small white shrimps that attacks while the good vessels which give the wealth (taṉam) of great harbour (perunturai) with seashore groves at the extension of the sounding water, had been sundered/dispersed, [port of] Tittan Veṭiyai with famous wrathful army that nurtured the akavunar bards [who possess] fine staf [...]1709

This passage has particular importance for us because we read about Naṉṉa as the lord of the the slopes of Pāḻi in the tall/long Ėḻil mountain which is certainly identical with today’s Eḻimala of northern Kerala, north of Kaṇṇūr. He was also the chief of Pāram, a former capital of the chief called Miñili, a friend of Naṉṉa who died at the Pāḷipparantalai battle by the side of Naṉṉa.1710 Naṉṉa also defeated Piṇṭaṉ at Kaḻumalam, a little-known chief.1711 The third name in this passage must only be a part of the comparison, since Tittan Veṭiyai was a Cōḷa king1712 who did not have territories and interests near the northwestern shores of Malabar, so the ‘great harbour’ here (Pukār?) is probably not the same as the ‘great harbour’ of Naṉṉa in the 199th poem of the Akanāṉūṟu. After all, most important for us is the 391st poem of the Naṟṟiṉai in which we read about “Ēḻil Hill of the good country of Naṉṉa at the gold-yielding Koṅkāṇam [mountains]” (poṇ paṭu koṅkāṇam naṉṉa nal nāṭṭ ēḻil kuṟram; Lines 6–7).

1710 Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 679.
1711 Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 484.
1712 Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 430–431.
Although Koṅkāṇam is a hapax legomenon, the geographic position given by the poet confirms its location north of the Čeras, and Koṅkāṇam probably meant to be the Sahyāḍrī mountain range on the Konkan Coast. In the 73rd poem of the Kuruntokai (Lines 2–4), we read that the tribe called kōcar once marched against Naṅṅaṅ’s land and felled his mango tree. Here, we have to make a short note on Naṅṅaṅ who was either the founder or a later chief of his dynasty, but anyway his name became a symbol of pedicide according to the legend, he murdered a young girl who had ignorantly eaten from a fruit that fell down from his totemistic mango tree. This was the casus belli for the kōcar who attacked and defeated Naṅṅaṅ together with his mango tree.1713 The above mentioned Naṅṅaṅ must be referring to his dynasty. As we have read all the references of the Caṅkam poems on Naṅṅaṅ(s), it is almost impossible to decide who was who in these stories. However, it can be said that the lineage of Naṅṅaṅ was once the chief of a land called Puṅṅāṭu,1714 of Viyalūr and Pāḷi, Ėḻilkuṇṟam, Pāṟam, Koṅkāṇam, Pūḷināṭu. Later in the Malaiṉpatukuṭām, Naṅṅaṅ seems to be a chief seated in Toṇṭaimāṇṭalaram.1715 Turning back, in the 90th poem of the Akanāṅṉuṟu, the kōcar-tribe appears as a folk somehow connected to the sea.

[…] the market-place (niyamam) of the fierce-eyed kōcar, [their] faces [lined] with scars inflicted by iron, fertile, since it has the noise of the great sea, east of Cellūr of the god with rare power […]1716

After all, if we read the 15th poem of the Akanāṅṉuṟu, I believe we can quite confidently identify the region that was ruled by the dynasty of Naṅṅaṅ and the tribe kōcar.

[…] like the Tuḷū land, with forests of peacocks with drum-eyed tail feathers, becoming full of the jackfruit cultivated on [tree] tops as round green unripe fruit by the upright kōcar with big ornaments, rejoicing in the truth […]1717

We can conclude that the regions north of the Malabar Coast, Tuḷūnāṭu, the Ėḻilkuṇṟam or the Ėḻil neṭunvarai together with the Koṅkāṇam/Sahyāḍrī mountain range on the Konkan Coast,

1713 For these legendary events, see Kuruntokai, 292; 73. and Puraṇāṅṉuṟu, 151.
1714 Was it the same as the rich-in-beryl Pounnata of Ptolemy (Πουννατα ἐν Ῥήπυλλος) between the Pseudostomos/Periyār river and the Baris/Pampā river? In that case, it appears in the some mistakenly mapped “category” as Karuvūr which can be found not on the Malabar Coast but in northwestern Koṅku Nāṭu. Or should we understand puṅṅāṭu as ‘lowland’ (puḷ nāṭu as a synonym of puḷ pulam)? Cf. Akanāṅṉuṟu, 396: 2. Marr anyway takes it as a proper name and considers it possible to localize at modern Mysore. Marr 1985 [1958], 287.
1715 Pre-Pallava Tamil Index, 484–485.
1716 ‘aruṁ tiṟal kaṭṭavu cellūrīk kunaṭu/periṟu kaṭṭal muḷakkuṟṟ’ aki yāṅar/ṟṟump’ itam paṭutta vaṭṭu uṭai muḷattar/kaṭṭum kaṭ kōcar niyamam …’. Akanāṅṉuṟu, 90: 9–12. (Transl. by Eva Wilden)
1717 ‘meiy mali perum poḷ ceṃmal kōcar/kommaiyaṃ pacum kāy kūṭum viḷa_ticks/pākal āṟkaip paṟai koṇ piḷit/kōkaik kāviṉ tuḷu nāṟ’ anga’. Akanāṅṉuṟu, 15: 2–5. (Transl. by Eva Wilden)
and Pišinātu were in the ancient times the dominion of Naṉṉa and/or the kōcar-tribe. We have seen that Naṉṉa was probably the overlord of Kaṭampiṉ Peruvāyil, in which town the kaṭampu-tree was the protected totemistic tree. We know that the Cēras from to the time of Neṭuçēralānt to Cēruṅuvānt made great effort in order to defeat their kaṭampu related enemies who lived on the islands of the Arabian Sea, north of the Cēra homeland, and that is why the Cilappatikāram mentions this event among others during the campaigns in the northern directions (vaṭaticai maruṅkiṁ). We know that Naṉṉa was famous for his gold ornaments and chariots, and we see another ruler, Naṉṉa Utiyaṉ, probably a descendant of Naṉṉa, who had well-protected golden treasures in his town, where we read about “the gold which was put [down] by the very ancient chiefs (vēḷir) for the sake of protection, at Pāḷi with a difficult defense, [town of] Naṉṉa Utiyaṉ.”

We see that the kaṭampu-tribe must have lived in the coastal areas of the Konkan Coast near the lands that were governed by Tuḷu-speaking tribes, the kōcar, and Naṉṉa. One might think that the tribal roots of the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāsī and Palāśikā (c. 345–610 AD) can be seen in the early appereance of the kaṭampu-tribe, whose later homeland is partly identical with the region we defined, and whose naval fleet of Goa was famous in the early Middle Ages.

Finally we have to consider the possible reasons behind the naval attacks of the Cēras against the kaṭampu-tribe living north of their kingdom. As far as we see from the ancient sources, the Cēra rulers had no territorial interest in the northern archipelago considerably far from their kingdom, where despite the victory the Cēras did not consolidate their power, and considering the fact that the expenditures of this naval campaign must have cost more than it could have benefited, I interpret this event as a retaliation for some maritime activity of the kaṭampus, possibly out of revenge, which could have been aimed at destructive victory and the collection of tributes. Due to the strategic position of the Cēra kingdom, Muziris and Tyndis were initially the main markets of Roman trade with South India and this provided significant revenue to the Cēra rulers. Therefore we regard the northern attacks of these kings as an attempt to restore the loss of prestige caused by piracy and the security of the sea routes. Regarding the Cēra fleet, everything we have described in our study on Tamil shipping is of great importance, since with their knowledge of navigation and the technical knowledge of the yavagas stationed or settled in South India, they could easily set up a fleet that could attack their enemies on the sea. I agree with Subrahmanian and De Romanis that the yavaga bodyguards in the Tamil courts may have been recruited by the Tamil kings from the armed soldiers traveling on merchant ships, who had originally traveled to India to provide

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1718 Cilappatikāram, III. 25.1; 185–187.
1719 Naṉṉa utiyaṉ arunkatīp pāḷi ṭov mutir vēḷir ompiṉa raiʃta pouniṉum …’. Akanāṅūra 258: 1–3.
1720 Marr 1958 [1985], 287; Moraes 1995, 281; Epigraphia Indica, XIII. 309.
1721 See for example: Mulnaippāṭṭu, 45–49, 59–63, 63–66.
Maybe as a precaution against pirates and robbers we can also see the ports illuminated at night and the ships shining with the lanterns. Although the Caṅkam literature makes no specific mention of pirates, the reason for this can also be seen in the fact that ancient Tamil literature was heroic poetry commissioned by the royal court, and the concept did not include mentioning robbers capturing the incomes of the royal treasury. Nor can we be sure that these pirates were in fact piratical folks and not the privateers of another ruler. By the way, I find the latter more likely in this ancient atmosphere when predatory warfare was in fashion.

The Cēra rulers were not only sponsors of poetry, but also beneficiaries of Indo-Mediterranean trade relations, so they tried to preserve the stability and security of these contacts not only through their prestigious gifts and embassies, but also by means of their soldiers. However, the mooring conditions around Muziris and the labyrinthine world of the lagoons and backwaters in Kuṭṭanāṭu favored the pirates who, with their local knowledge, could easily hide or escape with the loot. If we really talk about piracy instead of the employment of privateers, it could only have real benefits if the products could be sold, but in my opinion the pirates had the opportunity to sell the loot mostly beyond the borders of the Tamil kings, in the land of Tuḷu Nāṭu, in Naṭṭa’s country and beyond. The network of northern markets, adequate economic power, and consumer demand were given in these ages, as we know that the Sātavāhana kings occupied the Nānāghat mountain pass in the 2nd century BC, which opened the way for them to the Konkan Coast. During the reign of Gautamīputra Śatakarnī in the 2nd century AD, the interests of the Sātavāhana dynasty extended to a large part of the western coast of India. From the 1st century AD, the Sātavāhana, the Kuśaṇa, and the Śaka dynasties shared the coasts of the West India north of South India, which dynasties became active participants in the Indian Ocean trade system through their ports and their regular sea voyages, and thus they may have had some influence on the southern Konkan. Returning to the question of the sale of loot, another alternative could be the active cooperation with pirate towns such as Mousopallē and Olokhoira mentioned by Ptolemy, somewhere in the present-day state of Maharashtra, which perhaps provided them commercial connections with daksīṇāpātha (‘southern route’) and with uttarāpātha (‘northern route’).

Recognizing the thriving trade relations, the smaller rulers and militant tribes of the areas north of the Cēras could possibly envy the rich cargo, so that they sought some profit by attacking the yavaga (Greek, Roman, Persian, Arabic, etc.) fleets that came to India year after year. Although the links between the kaṭāmpu tribe of the Old Tamil literature and the later Kadamba dynasty cannot yet be sufficiently proven, the identities of their settlements and their totemistic trees may point to a specific relationship. The kaṭāmpus who lived in the

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1723 Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, 316–317; Gurukkal 2010, 234.
archipelago west of the Konkan coast seem to have been partially or completely identical to the pirates whom Pliny, Ptolemy, and *Periplus Maris Erythraei* mentioned, and whose location can be pinpointed north of Naoura/Nāravu, around Nitra/Nitrās, inland and in the archipelago near and north of today’s Maṅgalūru, Karnataka, which region was governed by either Nannan, the kōcar, or the independent or feudatory *kaṭampu*-tribe.

As we see in the *Perumpāṇṟṟuppattai*, the Tamil kings guarded the inland trade routes with archers to protect the merchants who transported the products of the mountains or seas through the lush forests. Speaking about the Tamil kingdoms in general, we find several references in the Cankam texts that refer to forest robbers who raid cattle and eat its meat, or wayside robbers who threaten the travellers on the trade routes or at the crossroads. According to K. Rajan, in the first stage of the memorials, Iron Age graves (*patukkai*) were raised for the people who were killed by warlike tribes (*maravar, kāṉavar*) by charging arrows, of which *patukkai* was most probably a stone heap (*kaṟkuvaṉ*), or a cairn. Most probably the literary topos that records the dead travellers killed by robbers or martial warriors refer to this very ancient chapter of history.

The *Patiṟṟuppattu* remains silent about the robbers, reflecting the idea that the Cēra king was a successful protector of his country. Once it mentions (*Patiṟṟuppattu*, 15: 11–13) the “villages (*arampu*) [in the destroyed lands of the enemies] where the agricultural tracts perished together with the grassy-leafy lands [where] rascals (*pullāṅ*), [who carry their] flesh-reeking bows as [their] ploughs, roam [among] the old houses destroyed by the vines of the reddened *kāntaṅ*. Talking about the protection of trade, we read an interesting passage in poem 13th (Lines 23–24), in which the king appears as being the one who “nourished the relatives (*pāram*) of those, who had given protection to the clans since the grain merchants [were] not [able to] provide protection to the families in the world”. As we see at the end of the same poem (Line 28), thanks to the Cēra king, “the country, which is [now] protected by you, has become flourishing” (*pūṭtaṅru ṃ ni kāṭṭa nāṅtē*). However, not just this poem, but the whole *Patiṟṟuppattu* abounds in passages which talk about the protective role of the Cēra king as one of the main motifs of the anthology. Talking about the centuries when the Cēras ruled during the Indo-Roman trade, it can be said that the expanding wars and the lucrative trade have attracted rascals who tried to get rich from robbery. Even if the king and his loyal army was a powerful protector of his universe, because of the envious kings, chiefs, and robbers, it was necessary to guard the harbours and the markets and build fortifications around the important settlements. We have already seen Naṟavu of “unceasing fertility and of unchangeable yield” as an important centre of the early Cēras, where “warriors (*maravar*)

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1724 *Perumpāṇṟṟuppattai*, 66–82. De Romanis 2020, 123.
1725 For examples, see: *Akanāṅṟṟu*, 97; 129; 265; 309.
1726 For examples, see: *Kalittokai*, 6; *Akanāṅṟṟu*, 1; 35; 63; 257, etc.
1727 Rajan 2014, 223.
shiver in the cold wind of the coming sea, after the waves with foamy sprays together with the clouds became bewildered, [warriors] who possess bows whose laziness of the strings had been removed”,¹⁷²⁸ which perhaps shows that Naṟavu was fortified with troops of warriors.

Taking a look at Toṇṭi, the 18th poem talks about the gate (katavu) of Toṇṭi with seashore-groves, on which Poraiyaṉ had impressed Mūvaṉ,¹⁷²⁹ his enemy’s sharp, thorn-like teeth.¹⁷³⁰ This poem was important for us because it highlighted the closeness of the sea, and if we decide to translate katavu as ‘gate’, then probably the poem refers to a fortified mansion of the Cēra king in Toṇṭi. The Cēra king anyway appears as a ‘fighter’ (porunaṉ) here, who has an army with anger difficult to chill down and victorious spears. When we read about Muciṟi, we saw that that it was a “good and big town with difficult paths mingled with weapons [around] the fortification where birds of prey (paruntu) dwell and sleep/sigh (uyirttu) on the central walls”.¹⁷³¹ Furthermore, as we read about Vaṉci/Karuvūr, the inland capital of the Cēras, we saw the town with ‘outer walls’ (puṟa matiḻ) surrounded by the water of Porunai.¹⁷³² All these passages reflect the necessity to fortify the towns connected to trading activities, and why else would the Cēras fortify a town and build walls around it than against those who are going to attack and sack it?

King and religion

The synthesis of Pre-Aryan beliefs and northern traditions

The early Cēra monarchs as interactive kings were not only the followers, mediators, and propagators of the ancient Pre-Aryan beliefs found among the people of the Malabar and Koṅku regions, and were not only the origo of the king’s cult that connected the “vulnerable” people of the kingdom to their powerful lineage that protected them, but they were also the ones to whom we owe the first religious paradigm shift of Cēra history. A change that “exalted” the Cēra kings over the tribal chiefs, when the Cēras gave way to increasing influences to the greater part of brāhmaṇical groups and rites, and to a lesser extent to the Buddhist and Jaina teachings. Thus their kingdom transformed the Cēra hegemony from a Dravidian chiefdom to a hybrid kingdom that found the via media between the brāhmaṇical relations and the diverse Dravidian society living in the shade of his royal parasol.

¹⁷²⁸ “…(m)aṟāa viḷaiyul aṟa yaṉart/toṭai maṭi kalaiṇta cilai utai maṟavaru/poṉku piĉir puṇari maṅkuuloṭu maṟanki/varum kaṭal iṭatiy paṭigkkum …”. Patiruppatu, 60: 8–11.
¹⁷²⁹ Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 706.
¹⁷³⁰ Naṟṟiṇai, 18: 2–5.
This chapter does not contain an analysis of the Jews and Christians who settled down in ancient South India. The reason is that if we do not consider their own oral theories of origin as historical sources, we have very little evidence that these groups settled on the Malabar Coast as early as the 1st–2nd centuries AD. What we have is the following: the text called *Acts of Thomas* (3rd c. AD) speaks of the Apostle Thomas in India, who arrived there around 52 AD, and mentions a Hebrew flute girl in an Indian court; Eusebius (4th c. AD) talks about Pantaenus, the philosopher (probably around 181 AD) who met with those people in India, who were aware of the Gospel of Matthew given by Apostle Batholomew to them; Jerome (4th c. AD) writes about Indian christians in his letters; Dorotheus of Tyre (3rd–4th c. AD) reports on the death of the Apostle Thomas in South India. Although these sources designate a possible period of origin of South Indian Jewish communities (if the early Christian converts were in fact Jews) and Christianity, still Jews and Christians do not appear in the Tamil sources at all.

In 345 AD (or according to other calculations in 811 AD), a missionary called Thomas of Cana arrived to the Malabar Coast, whose name and figure might have been mingled in the tradition with the legends of the Apostle Thomas. From the 4th–5th centuries AD, we have several evidences to prove that Jewish, Christian and West Asian merchants regularly travelled to or settled down in South India. Both the Bene Israel and the Cochin Jewish communities have traditional stories that trace their origin back to Solomon, the Babylonian Captivity, the siege of Jerusalem, etc., however, what is certain is that from the perspective of a historian, their South Indian presence can only be supported by (non-folkloristic) sources from the middle of the first millennium AD. Even if we know from Philo and through the example of Nicanor, that agencies and businessmen of Jewish origin held a significant part of the Alexandria–Red Sea trade, for the time being, this cannot serve as a sufficient evidence to assume the appearance of these merchants also on the other side of the Arabian Sea. Unfortunately, we have to give a similar and narrow answer regarding the question about Buddhists and Jainas in the early Cēra kingdom. Although we guess for all these above-mentioned groups including Jews and Christians that a few communities of them must have lived somewhere on the ancient Malabar Coast even in the early centuries AD, for the time being, the remarkable silence of our sources does not allow us to reconstruct their history. Anyway, there are things that the Cēra sources do not report, for example, the Indo-Roman trade, which is perhaps missing, because our Tamil sources are still heroic poems regulated by a system of literary conventions, or perhaps the reason could also be that the coast and its vivid world could not be “seen” from the king’s residence at Karuvūr in later centuries.

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1734 Weil 1986, 182.
After these introductory words, when we open the Čēra panegyrici of the Patiruppattu, we find a complex system of ancient beliefs together with influences of northern religions. In this study, we must confine ourselves to the religious phenomena that appear in the Patiruppattu as being the most important anthology of the early Čēras, and not to undertake writing a comprehensive study of the history of religion covering the whole of Tamil South India. In this analysis I mainly use poets’ compositions. One might rightly ask, how could they represent the early religion in the Čēra kingdom? In my opinion, these ancient poets used only non-anachronistic images that could be understood and contextualized by the audience in the Čēra court, and used well-known images that could be understood by the audience during the public recitations at the royal festivals. The value of these poems as historical sources together with their (seemingly) formulaic descriptions lies in the fact that they were probably included in the text at the request and order of the king to the greatest satisfaction of the king who was impressed to identify his name with these themes.

The concept of aṇāṅku as being one of the ancient features of the Dravidian’s belief system can be found in some passages of the Patiruppattu. According to the Tamil Lexicon, the term aṇāṅku has meanings varying between ‘pain’, ‘disease’, ‘fear’, ‘lust’, ‘killing’, etc.1735 Previously, Hart’s influential idea and his “reductionistic interpretation”1736 resulted in the definition of aṇāṅku as a “potentially dangerous sacred force” that, according to Hart, sometimes meant a sort of deity,1737 sometimes a force that resided in places, or in other passages it had to be associated with the chastity of women as far as aṇāṅku was concentrated in their breasts. Only married women could be safe from this “dangerous power,” which, however, entered their bodies with widowhood again.1738 As Hart summarizes, “aṇāṅku, then, was a force that was present in all sacredly charged objects, whose very presence constituted the presence of the sacred … it was dangerous and if not handled correctly could go out of control and result in catastrophe.”1739 V. S. Rajam, however, conducted an exhaustive study (and gave an in-depth answer to Hart) on the possible meanings and the semantic changes of the term aṇāṅku, which study has proved that “aṇāṅku in ancient Tamil society signified a bundle of diverse qualities; when one or more of those qualities were present in an entity (like a deity, a human being, a human being’s body-part, a person's quality, a person's action, a supernatural being, a place, or certain tradition), that entity was perceived to "have" some quality which the ancient Tamils chose to signify by the term aṇāṅku; the effect that such an entity created in its perceivers or experiencers was also called aṇāṅku; and a person, deity, or a supernatural being was personified as an aṇāṅku by virtue of having the aṇāṅku quality or

1735 Tamil Lexicon, 61. Cf. the verb aṇāṅku-tāl 5. intr.
1736 Rajam 1986, 267.
1737 Hart 1975, 21–22.
1738 Hart 1976, 321.
1739 Hart 1976, 321.
causing an apāṇku effect in another entity.” Thus it was a term that could denote ‘strength’ of the chieftain, ‘beauty’ of the heroine, ‘sexuality’ of the heroine’s breasts, ‘horror’ of the dead warriors’ heads, ‘substantiality’ of a promise, ‘vigilance’ of demons, ‘awe-inspiring quality’ of the king’s strength, ‘dangerous elements’ of ancient towns and seashores, etc. Still, I consider apāṇku a very ancient term which must have deeper roots in the belief systems of ancient Dravidians, and therefore has to be analysed among the “religious” patterns.

What we see in the Patīṟṟuppaṭṭu is that in the 11th poem the Cēra king who “approached the great sea of vast dark expanse, being mounted on an elephant bull like the famous and victorious Vēḷ with fierce anger, who cut down the entire foot of [the tree of] Cūrī protected by the awful (apāṇk’ uṭai) avuṇar (asura).” Here apāṇku means the awful or strong character or frightful appearance of those demons. In the II. patikam, the king has amaiyār tēyta apāṇk’ uṭai nōl tāḷ “sturdy legs possessed by apāṇku that destroyed the disobedient”. In this case his athletic leg (tāḷ) is already sturdy (nōl), so apāṇku cannot denote its strength but refers to “the effect that such an entity created in its perceivers” as Rajan stated, so we might translate it again as “awful”, which nature was experienced by the destroyed ones. In the 44th poem, the king “entered [the fort] like the apāṇku, the muracam-drum of the king Mōkūr, made [him who had] high words [of promises] humble, cut off the foot of his [totemistic] vēmpu-tree, accomplished to make a muracu-drum [from the tree] and tied [your] many elephant bulls [to the rest of the trunk]”. In this passage, the king entered the fort like the apāṇku, which makes us think how exactly to interpret apāṇku here? Is this apāṇku an early personification of the term, or the king entered the fort in a way that ‘distress’ or ‘anxiety’ (apāṇku) enters one’s body/mind? There is a doubtful attestation of the word in the 62nd poem (Line 11), in which, depending on how we split the sandhi, we read people either as “[they] said ‘Tōṭṭi”, [as being] someones with large, greeting hands (vaṇāṅk’ uṭai taṭak kaiyar tōṭti ceppi), or “[they] said ‘Tōṭṭi’”, [as being] someones with large, strong hands (apāṅk’ uṭai taṭak kaiyar tōṭti ceppi). In the 68th poem (Line 19) we see “women with bewitching (apāṇku) grace” (apāṅk’ eḻil arivaiyar). Somewhat special is the passage

1740 Rajam 1986, 265–266.
1742 I chose to translate cūr as a proper name of a malevolent power that evolves to the character of Cūrapatumaṉ, the demon slaughtered by Murukaṉ. Cf. Paṟanāṅgya, 23: 4–5. Another possible translation is “fearful”, literally “fear-possessing” (cūr-uṭai). See: Tamil Lexicon, 1565.
1744 … apāṇku nikaḷnt’-ānu/mōkūr muṇṇaṇ muracum koṇṭu/neṭu moḷi paṇitt’ avan vēmpu mutal taṭintu/muracu cēya muracīc kaiṟu pal pūṭṭ’ . Patīṟṟuppaṭṭu, 44: 13–16.
1745 According to the Tamil Ilakkiyāp PēraKarāṭī, here tōṭti means a greetings about which no other old information has survived. Tamil Ilakkiyāp PēraKarāṭī, 1235. However, we see tōṭti vaṇakkam in Perunkatai, I. 45, 64. In his commentaries on Perunkatai, U. Vē. Cēmināṭaiyar claims that it is a “goad-like greetings” (aṭṭukcōm pōṟa vaṇakkattai), when the person bends like a goad. Similar idea is the vilvaṇakkam (Kural, 827), or the reverential bowing known as daṇḍa-praṇāma (A Sanskrit–English Dictionary, 399).
found in the 71st poem, which I have to discuss later from another point of view. In that poem, we see the Cēra king who “departed after [he] took the tributes (tiṟai) like a pācam (piśāca) which departs after it has taken the oblation (pali), because [they,] with [their] bodies full of shivering, worshipped [him] as the aṇāṅku.” Thus we can conclude that the poet Aricil-kilār had already personified aṇāṅku as a ‘tormenting spirit’. In the 79th poem (Line 14) we find the king sitting on the throne/cot (kaṭṭil) according to the awful tradition (aṇāṅkuṭai marapiñ), and one more reference to aṇāṅku in the 88th poem, in which the Cēras cut the entire foot of the kaṭampu-tree possessed by aṇāṅku, where we might translate again ‘awful’ or ‘dangerous’ tree considering the effects caused by the destruction of a totem. Sivabalan adds to this that the Cēras might have believed that a deity resided in a kaṭampu-tree. This idea is not far-fetched at all, enough to mention the ecstatic ritual recorded in the Kuriñcippattu, in which people clasped their hands around the trunk of the kaṭampu-tree and were trembling like the banana trees on the seashore, but we find other literary evidences that show the belief that the kaṭampu was the abode of a deity. In this case the meaning of aṇāṅkuṭai is I believe still far from ‘holy’ or ‘divine’, and I would stick to translating ‘awful’, ‘dangerous’, or maybe ‘misterious’.

Another important term is cūr, which almost falls into the same category as aṇāṅkur, an ancient term that denotes ‘fear’, ‘affliction’, ‘disease’, etc., while it soon became the proper name of a malevolent power that later evolved to the character of Cūrapatumaṅ, the demon slaughtered by Skanda/Murukaṅ. We have already seen the citation from the Patirṟṟuppattu when the king “cut down the entire foot of [the tree of] Cūr protected by the awful avuṅar.” Here the questionable Vēḷ could be anyone as there is no direct reference to this particular chief (vēḷ), still the easiest and the best interpretation so far is to assume that this story refers to the Mango tree of Cūrapatumaṅ chopped down by Murukaṅ who mounted on his elephant bull, Piṅimukam. If we reject this interpretation saying that there is no proof to identify these two, then we simply read ‘fearsome roots [of a tree]’. In the 31st poem (Lines 34–35) we read about the king’s army which “appeared like Cūr to the enemies, [but] became protection to the friends”. Here, if we were not satisfied to translate Cūr as the proper name of a malevolent power, we might search for the opposite pair of ‘protection/shelter’ (araṇam, < Skt. śaraṇa), so that cūr may mean ‘fear’, ‘torment’. We find another very interesting passage in the 67th poem of the Patirṟṟuppattu, in which “the wings (para榈) of the fast-flying bees which

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1747 Sivabalan 1996, 98.
1748 Kuriñcippattu, 176–179.
1749 Kuruntokai, 87: 1; Kālīttokai, 101: 12–14.
1750 Tamil Lexicon, 1565. Cf. the verb cūr-tal 11. tr.
1751 ‘aṇāṅk’ uṭai avuṅar ēnam puṇarkkmu/cūr uṭai muḷu muṭal tāṭinta …’. Patirṟṟuppattu, 11: 4–5.
1752 Sivabalan 1996, 94.
inflated themselves [with pollen] without moving away from the blossoming kāntal-flowers, failed to work, after they became desired by the ēr." 1753 This literary topos, which perhaps found its way to literature from folk beliefs, underlines the understanding of ēr in the Patiruppatu as the proper name of a malevolent being.

Staying with malevolent creatures, the demons called pēy (often in the aḷapeṭai form pēy) and the demonic women called pēymakaḷ(pēypeṇṭir are worth mentioning. Vacek identified these creatures as ‘ghosts’, as “one representative of what may be called ‘meta-nature’”. 1754 Manuel and Sundramathy chose to translate ‘fiend’, 1755 but the translations ‘evil spirit’, ‘ghoul’, or ‘goblin’ are also among the usual interpretations. These demons have either negative or positive sides; the positive is when, as a subcategory of kāncittinai, the pēy protects the fallen bodies on the battlefield (pēykkāncī, Puranāṅgūru, 281); the negative is when the pēy itself tries to approach those bodies and the wife of the warrior protects her wounded husband (toṭakkāncī). 1756 Generally speaking, the pēy and the pēymakaḷ are usually connected to the battlefield, to the wasteland and to burial grounds (cuṭukāṭu), but they can reside in trees, appear in dreams, or cause mirage (pēy tēr), and their descriptions are quite often very horroristic. In the puram poetry we see these demons and demonesses, who usually come in groups, eat corpses and eyeballs, and play and dance in the oozing blood, for which description we find a beautiful and mature example in the Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai (Lines 47–56). Sivabalan seems to have convinced himself that, following S. Vidhyanandhan, certain barbarians who were cannibals might have lived long before the pre-Caṅkam period. He cited a reference from the Maturaikāncī (Lines 28–36) “which states that a male ghost pēymakaḷ made fireplace of heads of the beheaded enemies, boiled their blood; and cooked using the cut arms as ladle cooked”. As he continues, “it seems possible that a certain barbaric tribe who took human flesh had lived in those days”. 1757 I would rather think that here we simply meet a puram topos which is also reflected in Puranāṅgūru 372, when the pēys prepare a feast from the fallen corpses of the battlefield. Even if a sort of “human sacrifice” (uyirppali) appears in the Cilappatikāram (V. 76–88), which episode rather seems to me an overwhelmed fantasy of Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ about heroism, when the heroes willingly cut and offer their own heads on a sacrificial altar (pali-pitiṭai), 1758 we do not find real evidence either for human sacrifices of for cannibalism in the Caṅkam texts. If we open the Patiruppatu, we read the following:

1754 Vacek 2012, 29.
1758 Dubianski 2000, 16–17.
[...] demonic women (pēymakaḷ) with shaggy hair were riding on donkeys (kaḻutu) and roaming around, [where] the viṭattar[-trees] of twisting fruits grew [pervasively] together with the dark uṭaḷ[-trees], while the sugar cane fields with thick flowers became exhausted [and] the villages perished by the water, which was furiously destroyed by you, are similar to the bodies which were killed and left behind by the God of Death (Kūṟṟu) [...]1761

We should mention that in the case of kaḻutu, it is also possible that these demonic women were riding on another ghostly creatures, the kaḻutu (Tamil Lexicon, 804), however, this poetic image seems to be a bit weird and unprecented. In the 22nd poem, we see the demonesses (pēymakaḷ) again to roam on the wasteland where white jackals howl and owls with bulging eyes shriek.1763 In the 30th poem, these demonesses (pēymakaḷ) appear again on the occasion when the uyartō performed post-battle sacrifices:

[…] the black-eyed crows and kites perched and filled [themselves] full according to the amazing tradition where ants do not swarm, with the great oblation (pali) of strong wine (makiḷ) that is sprinkled with blood (neyttōr), while black-eyed demonesses were trembling and clapping [their] hands; while they shivered [out of desire] for the difficult-to-obtain piṇṭam1764 that was offered by the uyartō in order to honour deities according to the tradition with the precious power of the sounding mantiram1765[...]1766

Leaving the thorough analysis of this passage for later, what we have seen is the demonesses bustling around and being excited for the bloody sacrifices. In the 35th poem:

[…] demonesses (pēy) dance in the village common where the blood had taken on a red glow that looked like the sky at night fall in the wasteland where bodies

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1759 According to the Tamil Lexicon, it is identifiable with viṭattērai, Ashy babool (Dichrostachys cinerea). Tamil Lexicon, 3654. The name of this tree is anyway a hapax legomenon in the Čatkaṃ texts.

1760 The Tamil Lexicon provides three options to identify this tree: 1. Umbrella-thorn babul (Acacia planifrons) 2. Buffalo-thorn cutch (Acacia latronum) 3. Pea-podded black babul (Acacia eburnca).


1762 Sivabalan 1996, 102.

1763 Patiṟṟuppattu, 22: 35–38.

1764 piṇṭam (< Skt. piṇḍa): anything globular or round; embryo, ball of rice; ball of cooked rice offered to the manes, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 3656. Here it refers to certain balls of rice used in post-battle rituals.

1765 mantiram (< Skt. mantra): Vedic hymn, sacrificial formula, incantation, spell, etc. Tamil Lexicon, 3068.

dance, which remained there after [their] heads had been cut off, while flocks of female and male owls filled themselves full with the food [found] on the vast battlefield […]\

In the 36th poem (Lines 12–13), “the red flood of blood flows, while fearfully rising demons are dancing after they ate [and] rejoiced”, which reflects the same idea as seen before, but here we have to deal with another group of demons, the kūḷiyar. We have another attestation of the word kūḷiyar in Patirṟuppattu 19: 1, however, it perhaps meant “demon-like foot-soldiers (kāl kūḷiyar) seizing plunder and food”, rather than “demons with forked legs (kavar kāl kūḷiyar) with food [seized by] plunder”. Our last reference for demonesses is the following:

[…] demonesses without beauty caused painful anxiety together with the torsos (yūpam) which abounded in valour and remained [on the battlefield] after [their] heads had been cut, when a crowd of winged eruvai-birds filled themselves full with blood [from] the expanse of shiny fleshes that remained on the place of the battle […]

Thus we conclude that these demonesses were connected to the warfare, to the horrors of the battlefield, and to death. Either we translate demon, ghost, ghoul, goblin, devil, evil spirit, or fiend, we must say that these creatures called pēy were sometimes ghost-like beings (residing e.g. inside the trees), sometimes horrific but somewhat anthropomorphic creatures; but no matter in which form they were materialized, they could physically intervene in the material world.

Once we have already mentioned the battlefield, it is necessary to speak of some omens that foretold the outcome of the battle. Among these one was the tradition to make a prediction with kaḻaṅku-beans. The kaḻaṅku-bean can be identified with the Molucca bean

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1767 Cf. Cilappatikāram, III. 26: 206–208. The headless torsos (kabandha) that retained vitality are known from Sanskrit literature as well, e.g. cf. Raghuvaṃśa, VII. 51.
1768 '… viyal kaḷatt'/aḷk’ utaśi cēval kīḷai pukā ārat/talai tumint’ eṇciya mey ātu parantalai/anti mālai viciumpu kaṇṭ’-an/ga/cem cuṭar koṇṭa kuruti manrattuppeey ātuṃ …’. Patirṟuppattu, 35: 4–9.
1769 Although yūpam (< Skt. yūpam) means first of all ‘sacrificial post’, here we followed the additional meaning given by the Piṅkalam 1083, where yūpam is a synonym of utarkurai, “torso”. Hiltebeitel (Hiltebeitel 2016, 53) claims that the name of the demon called Kabandha (“headless torso”) also a name for a sacrificial post. This could help us to understand why yūpam as a sacrificial post means kabandha, however, having made a thorough search I was not able to verify his statement, unless his source was the Piṅkalam cited above, whose gloss was perhaps based on this Patirṟuppattu passage.
1770 If we split sandhi in a different way, we may read “the torsos which abound in swords (vāḷ)”. 
1771 Cf. Tolkāppiyam Poruṭṭikāram Puṟatttiṇiṇiyiyal, cū. 71.
1772 ‘amark kaṇṭ amainta avir niṇap parappi/kūḷoč ciṟai eruvai kuruti ārat/talai tumint’ eṇciya ān mali yūpanoṭ’/uruv’ il pēymakai kavalai kavaṟa’. Patirṟuppattu, 67: 8–11.
(kāḷarciikkāy). According to the Tamil Lexicon, throwing these beans also refers to a kind of play popular among the girls. As another meaning, we should mention the divination which could have been made with the help of these beans by a soothsayer when possessed (cf. Naṟṟinai, 47: 8). If we rely solely on the Patiruppattu, it must be said that this custom was practiced mostly by the Cēras’ enemies, while the Cēra king was able to overwrite the laws of nature and the (superstitious?) prophecies with his power.\textsuperscript{1773} Another tradition of warfare predictions was the divination with the upgam-tree which was “a small tree with golden flowers and small leaves which, in ancient times, was invoked for omens before warriors proceeded to battle.”\textsuperscript{1774} As is the kalaṅku-bean, the upgam-tree had only two attestations in the Patiruppattu and it seems that the Cēras did not invoke it for omens, but experienced its distressed crown and dried trunk in the perished land of their enemies. One time the Cēra king was called even as “the enemy of the upgam-tree with small trunk, little leaves, and gold-like flowers”\textsuperscript{1775} This could perhaps mean that the Cēra king said no to these ancient customs not because they might not have believed in them, but because such a denial of things would suggest that the outcome of the Cēra king’s wrath was unpredictable and unsurpassed. We observe a special relationship between Cēra kings and vows/oaths (vaṅciṅaṁ, onrumolī, netumolī). While the Cēra warriors’ vows were always unbroken, fulfilled, and fruitful, the enemies’oaths proved to be futile. Thus we read about the king who “declared an oath\textsuperscript{1776} by means of [his] muracam-drum with thundering sound” and defeated the disobedient,\textsuperscript{1777} “the sworn (onrumolī) [Cēra] warriors who accomplished [their] vows (vaṅciṅaṁ)\textsuperscript{1778} without breaking it”,\textsuperscript{1779} the Cēra king as “the one who performed the sacrifice (vēḻvi) without breaking [his] vow (paṭivam),\textsuperscript{1780} after [he] listened the kēḻvi (śruti)”,\textsuperscript{1781} about “[Cēra] warriors, strong men who do not protect the entrance … having taken an oath (netumolī)\textsuperscript{1782} as the ones with the desire of finishing [the war] each day”,\textsuperscript{1783} or the king “who won over the Great Cōḷaṇ who ruled in Potti, and over the young Paḷaiyān Māraṇ who ruled in Vittai, so

\textsuperscript{1773} Cf. Patiruppattu, 15: 5; 32: 8.
\textsuperscript{1774} Tamil Lexicon, 488.
\textsuperscript{1775} Patiruppattu, 23: 1; 40: 17; 61: 6.
\textsuperscript{1776} POC: onrumolī – “declaring an oath” (vaṅciṅaṅkūraḥ).
\textsuperscript{1777} Patiruppattu, 66: 4.
\textsuperscript{1778} vaṅciṅaṁ: oath, asseveration. Tamil Lexicon, 3466. There is another way to understand this line if we follow the POC which glosses vaṅciṅaṁ muṭṭīṭṭāḥ “completion of the seizure of the circles/states of the foes” (māṟṟār manṭalakalaiṅ koṭṭu muṭṭīṭṭāḥ). It is clearly based on the theory of vaṅcittinai described in Purapporuḷvenpāmālai 3: 1.
\textsuperscript{1779} Patiruppattu, 41: 17–18;
\textsuperscript{1780} POC: paṭivam – “The vows which are earlier conducted as being an instruction for the sake of performing the yāga/yākam” (yākam paṇṭutarkaṁ utalāka muppu celuttum virataṅkāḥ).
\textsuperscript{1781} Patiruppattu, 74: 1–2.
\textsuperscript{1782} For netumolī as ‘oath’, see: Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram Puṟattigaiyiyal, cū. 63: 13.
\textsuperscript{1783} Patiruppattu, 81: 9; 11–12.
that the taken vow has excelled". In contrast, we see chieftains and kings, who sworn an oath against the Cēras, trembling in fear, and the army of Mōkur, who declared an oath together with chiefs and kings, again trembling in fear. We see an interesting oath taken by the Cēra king as the commander of his warriors:

[After] he declared: “If we are ones who sweetly enjoyed this day in order to distribute their murderous weapons to the thunderbolt-like warriors [who are] people having bodies with glorious scars imprinted by the edges of swords, [and who are] people having bright flowers of kuvaḷai tied with white fronds, we will not eat food [from now], unless we conquer tomorrow the walls with ramparts made from earth!”

This rigorous fast in order to achieve victory seems to be unique in the old puram corpus. I think the idea behind it was that the warriors will not have to wait so long, since the Cēra king's army was definitely stronger than any other armies, if not in reality, at least in these panegyrici. In fact, we see a similar example in the 68th poem of the Patiruppattu, in which we read the following:

Unless [the Cēra warriors] attack the persistent forts with desirable/cruel lines, while the muracam-drum with rumbling sound echoes in the big vast sky, [which sound] had been urged [with drumsticks into] a fierce/fast noise in the middle of the military camp which stationed in various lands, [the muracam-drum] which sounded like the sea as if the wind became [its] drumsticks; unless [they] themselves, [who have] distress that perplexes [their] bodies and who are ones with heart-declared effort, achieve to conquer the residences of the disobedient, while a lot of time has passed which was multiplied without eating, will they obtain the desired long lifetime […]?”

This may indicate again a solemn vow not to eat until they have conquered the fort. Another possibility is that there was a stalemate in the supply of food during the protracted campaign. If we imagine such a siege in the tropical heat of South India, perhaps the vow could have been a magical concentration of power (cf. tapas) in which the hunger and the distress heat the wrathful efforts, even if it was merely the poet’s imagination. I still infer from this that it was

1784 Patiruppattu, IX. 6–8.
1786 Patiruppattu, 49: 8–9.
1787 Patiruppattu, 58: 2–7.
1788 Patiruppattu, 68: 1–8; 14.
a popular idea among ancient Tamil people that by fasting a desirable goal would sooner be achieved by means of some supernatural intervention.

We should consider that these oaths and vows could have been influences of the Sanskrit epics which abound in these.\textsuperscript{1789} We might think that the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 58: 2–7 was very similar to the “I will not do X, unless I do Y” kinds of oaths, like e.g. the oath of Kṛṣṇa to slay Śālva, or Bhima’s oath against Duḥśāsana, etc.\textsuperscript{1790} The topic would require more in-depth research. In any case, due to the very laconic passages, the epic origin of these ideas remains a mere assumption for the time being. Even if we do not know the way how the allied enemies took an oath (as we learn about the usage of water, earth, foot, etc. in Sanskrit texts), at least in one case we observed that the king declared an oath by means of the royal drum.

Not counting that the whole battle was understood as a fertility sacrifice when the king was the ploughman and the army was his plough,\textsuperscript{1791} bloody sacrifices called \textit{pali} ‘oblation’, ‘offering’ (< Skt. \textit{bali}) were offered on the battlefield. For examples, see the following acts of the Cēras recorded in the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}:

[...] while the rumble of the fur-covered black eye\textsuperscript{1792} [of the \textit{muracu}-drum] was sounding, and blood had been sacrificed together with the mixture of the different crops [...]\textsuperscript{1793}

[...] after you had scattered colourful red millet together with blood [...]\textsuperscript{1794}

[...] the black-eyed crows and kites perched and filled [themselves] full with the great oblation (\textit{pali}), [when] strong wine (\textit{maki}) and blood were sprinkled [...]\textsuperscript{1795}

[...] after they worshipped the Ayirai\textsuperscript{1796} according to the fearful tradition with hills of heaped cooked rice on which blood was sprinkled [...]\textsuperscript{1797}

\textsuperscript{1790} Hara 1988, 205.
\textsuperscript{1791} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 14: 17.
\textsuperscript{1792} \textit{kān}: “the eye [of the drum]”, “the place [where the drum had been placed]”. Here we have to understand the eye of the drum, which was a dark circle in the middle of the drum’s surface made of clay. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 683.
\textsuperscript{1793} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 29: 11–12.
\textsuperscript{1794} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 19: 6.
\textsuperscript{1795} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 30: 37; 39.
\textsuperscript{1796} POC: “the [word] \textit{ayirai} means [the goddess] Koṟṟavai who lives in the Ayirimalai” (\textit{ayirai egratu ayiraimalaiyuraiyum koṟṟavaiyiga}).
\textsuperscript{1797} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 88: 11–12.
Except the Indo-Aryan term *bali* which was used for these sacrifices, the origin of these rituals is uncertain; it might have been an indigenous ritual connected to the ancient Dravidians, a unique synthesis of Dravidian and Vedic traditions, or a purely Vedic ritual. If we open the *Ṛgveda* (III. 18. 3), we can find an advice “to offer one’s own blood if one wishes to bring into subjection a king, a country, or a fortified town without delay: the power of the abused blood reacts upon the person or object that has forced its owner to resort to the ritual”.\(^{1798}\) This could be one of the possible explanations behind this ritual. This post-battle *pali* was usually eaten by crows and kites who might have been considered by the Tamils as *manes* (*piṭṛ*). In other *puṟam* poems, we see *pali*-offerings in order to cause the rain to fall (*Puṟanāgūrũ*, 143), to the poles of the deities (*Puṟanāgūrũ*, 52), to the memorial stones (*Puṟanāgūrũ*, 329), to the front gate of the protecting kings (*Puṟanāgūrũ*, 331), or to the dead (*Puṟanāgūrũ*, 363). Going over all the attestations of the word in the Caṅkam poems,\(^{1799}\) one can find references to *pali* offered to Murukaṉ, deities, deads and *manes*, hero stones, even to snakes as a rare example for *sarpabali* (*Perumpāṇāṟṟuppatai*, 232–233), which shows in fact that the Tamils seemed to be aware of the concept of the various Vedic *bali* oblations,\(^{1800}\) but I found no closer reference in which blood was offered along with millet on the battlefield. The closest I found was the oblation offered to Murukaṉ during the *veriyāṭṭam* dance.\(^{1801}\)

Thus we have no evidences whether the post-battle oblations of the Čēras were offered to the forefathers and the spirits of the dead warriors, to some deities such as Kūṟṟuvaṉ/Yama, Koṟṟavai, or Murukaṉ/Skanda, or Bhūdevi in order to neutralize the battlefield, or to evil spirits in order to propitiate and feed them. One might consider another important meaning of the Sanskrit *bali* as “tax” or “tribute” (cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 6. 3), which would be a logical interpretation in connection to the return from the victorious battle, but the absolutive (*tūuy* from *tūvu*-tal v. 11, ‘to sprinkle’, ‘to scatter’) excludes this possibility, since the attestations of the verb *tūvu*-tal in the *Patiṟṟuppattu* are always connected to bloody offerings. Scholars like Sivabalan believe that in these cases “Koṟṟavai was ceremonially fed with sacrifices after attaining victory in a war”.\(^{1802}\) If so, this idea can be supported with the 79\(^{th}\) poem of the *Patiṟṟuppattu* (Lines 15–19) with the proviso that we agree with the mediaeval commentary:

> Let your praises become immortal, o great man, after [you] had solidified like the Ayirai Hill [of] the deity\(^{1803}\) with a frightening tradition, who does not accept

\(^{1798}\) Gonda 1980, 97.  
\(^{1799}\) Lehmann–Malten 2007, 297.  
\(^{1800}\) Kane 1941, 745–748.  
\(^{1801}\) Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, 227–244.  
\(^{1802}\) Sivabalan 1996, 95.  
\(^{1803}\) Ayirai is a hill which was an established place of worship. The POC seemed to know that the deity of the hill was the Goddess, Koṟṟavai and the hill was her abode. See e.g. the mediaeval comments on 88: 11–12: *ayirai eṟṟatu ayiraimalaiyṟṟaiyum koṟṟavaiyīgai*.  

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other food-oblation (maṭai)\textsuperscript{1804} than [the one which] gushes outside [being] the blood which flows [from] the vital spot amid the pain that perplexes the body which was worthy of tumpai […]!\textsuperscript{1805}

Therefore, we might conclude that the post-battle sacrifices of the Čēras mentioned in these poems were complex offerings that fed the deity probably of Ayiraimalai who might have been Koṛṟavai and/or Murukaṅ, the forefathers, the evil spirits and other legendary beasts, and the earth in order to make the battlefield fertile and pacified.

However, we might find another reference which shows that the post-battle pali of the Cēras had to be connected to the brāhmaṇical practices. In the 30\textsuperscript{th} poem cited above, we have seen pali as an “amazement-[causing] (iṟumpūtu) tradition [where] the ants do not swarm (mūcā)”. At first sight, I analysed mūcā as a veḷippaṭai here, since the word iṟumpūtu also means ‘bush’, ‘shrub’, a meaning that can be found in the Tivākaram (2080; the 3\textsuperscript{rd} meaning of iṟumpūtu is ciṟutūru ‘bush’, ‘thicket’), which perhaps existed in earlier centuries. The shrub is one place where ants can certainly swarm, so that the negative signifier would help to distinguish this meaning of iṟumpūtu from the other one that means ‘amazement’. Another possibility was that mūcā is not a negative absolutive but a ceyyā-type of positive absolutive which might have referred to the idea that the anthills are the ears of the earth and the ants are related to Prajāpati, so that they, in fact, swarm around the oblation.\textsuperscript{1806} The ants were, anyway, the semi-divine addressees of the bali offerings, as Gonda concludes.\textsuperscript{1807} The third option was to translate literally: “the amazing tradition [where] ants do not swarm”. I suddenly found this translation as the most convincing one in parallel with what Gonda says referring to the Baudhāyana-grhya-śeṣasūtra: “in preparing a place for sacrificing one should take notice, of the ‘disadvantages’ (doṣā) of the sand, if there are ants in it, the kingdom will go to ruin.”\textsuperscript{1808} I believe this might have been the reason why ants should have avoided the sacrificial ground. Adding to this, ‘the high person’ (uyarntō)\textsuperscript{1809} offered rice balls (piṇṭam) “in order to honour the deities according to the tradition of the precious power of sounding mantirams”, thus we conclude that brāhmaṇical groups were certainly involved in these sacrifices. However, during the oblation (pali) strong wine (makiḻ) was sprinkled along with blood (neyttōr), which raises the question, do not we see two different rituals, one connected to the Tamil beliefs and one Vedic that took place at the same time? We find that, according

\textsuperscript{1804} maṭai: cooking, boiled rice, oblation of food to a deity. Tamil Lexicon, 3025.

\textsuperscript{1805} Here the word tumpai might refer to the tumpaitṭai, the “major theme of a king or warrior heroically fighting against his enemy”. Tamil Lexicon, 1972.

\textsuperscript{1806} Heesterman 1957: 19.

\textsuperscript{1807} Gonda 1980, 103

\textsuperscript{1808} Gonda 1980, 271.

\textsuperscript{1809} According to the Tivākaram 20; the 12\textsuperscript{th} meaning of pārppār(‘seers’) is uyarntōr, however, here both of these and all the other meanings refer to the brāhmiṇs.
to the Vedic scriptures, while offering piṇḍa, a sort of beer (surā) was also offered to the western trenches of the wives of the Forefathers, which might give an answer for the usage of beverages during the ritual.\footnote{Gonda 1980, 179; 456.}

On the other hand, we do not really find an answer to what the practice of blood-sprinkling did mean here, nor do we know whose blood was offered by the sacrificial priests (or others?). At this point it is necessary to turn back and conclude that these pali descriptions may designate a Dravidian sacrifice as well a brāhmaṇical sacrifice, however, I believe we have to interpret it as an ancient Dravidian oblation for the victory, which began to intertwine with Vedic rituals at the time of the Patiṟṟuppattu.

The war was not just a heroic event when the disobedient or the conspirators were punished, the wealth and the territories of the kingdom had become increased, but also a festive series of events accompanied by religious rites. It seems that Kapilar in the Patiṟṟuppattu was aware of the idea of raṇotsava or yuddhotsava, as he mentioned in one poem the “war [which was like] a festival of swords” (vāḷ uṭai vilavā pōr).\footnote{\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 66: 13–14. Cf. \textit{Subhāṣitaratnakosa}, 1576; Bhāsa, \textit{Dūtavākya}, I. 4; Bhāṭṭanārāyaṇa, \textit{Veṇīsāphāra}, 6. 10; Mahābhārata, VII. 35. 5; Daṇḍin, \textit{Kāvyādārśa}, 2. 269, etc.} During the war, not only the priests fed the deities, but also the king fed his army. Among those kings, the one called Peruṅcōṟṟ Utiya Cēralāṉ was famous for distributing great amount of rice among the soldiers, which, as piṇṭam mēya peruṅcōṟṟu nilai, a literary sub-theme of vaṅcittini, meant for a “situation of victorious warriors dining with the king or the king symbolically breaking the ball of cooked rice in the company of the warriors.”\footnote{\textit{Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram Puṟṟattinaiyāvali}, cū. 65: 9. Cf. \textit{Puṟapporuṇpamālai} 3. 23; Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 599.} However, it is not clear whether in the Akanāṉūṟu 233: 8–9, we see Utiyaṉcēral who offers sacrificial rice (peruṅcōṟṟu) to the ancestors (muṭiyar), or we see “the day when the great rice was given by Utiyaṉcēral who honoured [his] ancestors” (muṭiyarp pēṇiya utiyaṉcēral peruṅcōṟṟu koṭutta nāṉṟai), while the two events were either related or not. Be that as it may, the king offered cooked rice to his army and maybe to his ancestors as well. In the Patiṟṟuppattu, we read the following:

[...] O, king of fierce anger! Your muracam-drum with roaring voice was beaten [to announce] the fact that the great cooked rice (peruṅcōṟṟu) is poured, [after your] warriors, who desire war, [who] were crowded on the great battlefield, [who have] legs with spotted, bright anklets and the maxime not to run [away], joined [to] the melody with [their] voices which resemble the earth-shaking thunder, [...]\footnote{\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 30: 40–44.}
The lines cited above are connected to an infinitive (āra) which marks here simultaneous events with crows, blood, oblation, and other offerings by the high priest, which customs were discussed earlier. Thus we see that the bloody post-battle sacrifices have to be connected to a sumptuous feast organized by the king to his victorious warriors.

The ancient Cēras paid homage to various deities. In the Patiṟṟuppattu, we find direct references to Māl (Viṣṇu) and Tiru (Śrī), Muruku, Kūṟuvan/Kāla/Maṭaṅkal (Yama), Aruntati (Arundhatī), and to the deity resides in the Ayirai Hill. We might find CivaṆ/Śiva attested when the poet sang about “the Imayam (Himalaya) which became the boundary of the northern direction, the tall mountain which rises [with] rocks, which has the state of the deity”. I have already written about the doubtful attestation of Murukan/Skanda who cut the foot of Cūr. Except these, the poems sometimes talk about the upper sphere/world of the deities to be rejoiced or satisfied.

Regarding the Patiṟṟuppattu, the word kaṭavul, which denotes ‘deity’, appears 13 times in the poems, the word teyvam of Indo-Aryan origin appears 5 times (among them twice in oblique case). Considering the latter, from the five attestations, once the word is connected to the enemies when they spoke (ceppa) to the teyvam (82: 1), twice the word is connected to the purōcu (purohita) of the king (74: 26; 9: 10), and two times connected to the deity of a mountain (51:13; 88: 24). The teyvam found in 51: 13 is a question of interpretation:

[...] [the Cēra king] covered the open spaces of the arbour [with a roof] where the eastern met the western sea, at the cool ocean which sounds [with] conches [of] the great god (perum teyvam) [who] roams [along with] snakes [with] rare sapphires (maṇi) that lay athwart here and there [in] the big mountain, [which snakes] appeared like the possessed (veṇi-ṛuṇu) tremble of the innocent girl who dances, frisks and trembles [...]1815

In this poem what is sure that we see a great god around a big/great mountain. The question is the snake (ara), the sapphire (maṇi), the big/great mountain (perumalai) and the connection between them. If we understand perumalai as the Himālaya (POC: perumalai – Imayam) and the snake as an unmarked sociative, which snake is similar to the sapphire (in colour? in nature that it can be found in the mountain?), or which snake, according to the famous literary topos, guards a sapphire/precious stone; then the great god could be CivaṆ/Śiva together with Vāsukī. If we understand the snake as an unmarked locative, on which the great god “roams” and we connect maṇi which lays athwart in the big mountain (Vēṇkaṭam?) directly to teyvam,

then the sapphire-blue god could be Māl/Viśṇu together with Śeṣa. We can also understand another unidentified god in an unidentified mountain, or the plurality of gods, then the snakes have to be connected to the sapphire but also to the mountain (Meru? cf. the old commentary of Puṇāṇāṟu, 228: 14) as being the place where they slither. Because the snake’s movement is compared to the trembling girl’s movement, which ‘girl’ definitely stands in feminine singular (iyaḷiḷa oḷiḷa ṛṭum maṭam make), I might see behind this phrase only one particular snake with only one particular god, who was perhaps identical with Civaṉ/Śiva.

In the 88th poem, we read about “the big river which abounds in water, which came [from] the mountain of the deity (teyvam) [whose will is] difficult to change, who was truly asked for the much-praised tumpai on your behalf”. The Patirṟuppattu’s old commentary suggests that the deity was asked for giving victory in the tumpai-battle (attumpaip pōrai niṅakkku veṃrī tarutaṟku). It is perhaps possible that here we have to understand Imaiyam/Himālaya with the river Kāṅkai/Gaṅgā where the deity Civaṉ/Śiva resides, and who was asked for the tumpai-garland or tumpai-victory (just as Arjuna asked for the Pāśupata Weapon). Whereas a big river with abundant water is mentioned there, we might exclude the Ayirai Hill from the possible interpretations as well as the Vēṅkaṭam, but it is still possible to search for another ancient places of worship such as today’s Sabarimala, the residence of the deity Ayyappan/Aiyappaṉ, where the river Pampā flows. Anyway, in the other three cases when teyvam were mentioned, we cannot even attempt to identify those deities, but at least from the contexts given, I suppose that we have to deal with deities known from northern traditions.

Although Civaṉ/Śiva’s attestation is a matter of debate, Māl, “the black one” can be found in an ancient form, whose identification with Viṣṇu in the Patirṟuppattu is beyond doubt. Let us read the following description of an ancient pilgrimage to the shrine of Māl:

[…] after [they] had bathed at the cool ghat of the green lands which had not been grazed, [as being] people who noisily hit the clear long-shaped bells so that the crying clamour unitedly arose and sounded [in] the vast regions in [all] the four different directions, [after] the hands of the men were raised together, [who were men] of the earthly world [which was] encircled by the sea [and] which was densely mingled with mountains; [after they] praised the red feet of the Lord (ceḷvaṉ) who has a tuḻāy-garland with fragrant clusters, an eye-blinding discus (tikiri), a chest [on which] Tiru (Śrī) abides [and] abundant

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1816 tumpai: white dead nettle (Leucas aspera). Tamil Lexicon, 1972. The occurrence of this plant recalls the tumpaitṭiṇai literary setting that focuses on the battle. Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram Purattinaiyiyal, cū. 70.

1817 Another possible interpretation is to translate vaṭi maṇi as cast bell. To see an example for the making of a cast bell, read: Kuṟuntokai, 155.

garlands [on which] bees blow themselves up with [the nectar],— returned [to their] villages, [where they] sleep.1819

Here we certainly see a description of Māl/Viṣṇu with well-identifiable attributes such as the tulāy/tulasī garland, the goddess Tiru/Śrī on his chest, and the discus or tikiri/cakra. He appears in the form of a divine king (varadarāja?) which makes the Cēra king with his wide chest, garlands, and the dharmacakra of the kingdom comparable to him. The old commentator identifies this celvan with tiruvanantapurattu tirumāl, Māl of Tiruvanantapuram (now Tiruvanantapuram, Kerala). U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar pointed out that the Cilappatikāram III. 26: 62 must have been talking about the same deity mentioned by the Patiṟṟuppattu’s commentator, since the deity’s residence at Āṭakamāṭam was the same as the above mentioned town according to the old commentary of the Cilappatikāram.1820 Marr pointed out that there must have been other important shrines of Māl/Viṣṇu across Kerala (Marr 1985 [1958]: 314), so it is quite possible that the commentator’s suggestion was only his best guess. What is more, from the Periplus Maris Erythraei (ch. 54) we know that Nelkynda which laid about 500 stades from Muciṟi of the Cēras was already located in the Pāṇṭiya kingdom, so it seems that at the time when the Periplus was written (sometime between 50–70 AD) the southern parts of the Malabar Coast were on Pāṇṭiya hands. In Ptolemy’s time (c. 150 AD), the questionable southern Malabar was mostly the territory of a chieftain called Āy. As we considered the rule of Kaḷāṅkāykkaṇṭhi Nārmuṭi Cēral earlier than the southern expansion of the Cēra kingdom, it would mean that South Malabar together with its Viṣṇu shrines were still on the hands of enemies or feudatories. This does not mean that people from the Cēra kingdom could not enter these areas in order to visit a sacred shrine, yet it makes a little doubtful and to interpret it as the shrine of Tiruvanantapuram seems to be anachronistic. What is more, the people in fact did travel, worship, and return on the same day, so if our assumption is right that those areas were not yet Cēra territories in the middle of the 2nd century AD, then the shrine has to be searched for somewhere else. I think that a reasonable suggestion would be the ancient shrine at Tirunelli (Kerala), which was certainly within the territories of the Cēra kingdom, had green lands around, and a cool stream called Pāpanāśini where the sacred bath mentioned in the poem could have been taken place.

Let us speak a bit more about the way of worship described in this poem. We already see the holy bath taken at the cool ghat in order to purify the body (and probably the soul as well), the hitting of bells, and the crying clamour of the people who either de facto cry in tears

1820 Cāminātaiyar 1980, 74.
from the religious experience, or loudly praised the deity, while, if we agree with Turaićāmippiḷḷai, they raised their hands together (kai cumantu). Sivabalan, however, translates Ṽṇṇā paṁ nilam paṉṆī tuṟai maṉṆi as “those observing fast bathed in the cold bathing ghats”.1821 He might have thought of the mediaeval commentary which says, “regarding Ṽṇṇā paĩṆnilam, it is a way of talking [about] a sort/group of people who slept without eating having desired the boon [given by the deity] inside that temple of Tirumāl” (Ṽṇṇā paĩṆnilam enṟatu attirumāl kōyil [var]am vēṇṭi Ṽṇṇātu kiṭtanta makkaṭokuti enṟavaru). In this case, he together with the editors of the Tamil Lexicon who translated paĩṆnilam as ‘mankind’ and ‘human race’ (p. 2276), accepted the old commentator’s suggestion without considering that if we take paĩṆnilam as a lexicalized noun then it is unfortunately a hapax legomenon. As far as the translation of paĩṆnilam as “green land” is more natural, I find this explanation of the commentator far-fetched. Even so, we are in an early phase of religion history when it is quite uncertain whether we find temples where the deities give boons, and even if temples existed, those buildings were most probably wooden or brick structures, far from what kōyil might have meant for the mediaeval commentator. It might be possible that the commentator’s suggestion was not anachronistic, however, one might want to see literary and archaeological evidences to prove his statements.

Another poem that might refer to Māl/Viṣṇu is the passage found in the 15th song, in which we read the following: “I desired your many qualities, o great man whose good fame does not diminish, [whose fame is] like that of Neṭiyōn of excellent and delightful1822 festivals […]”.1823 Here Neṭiyōn, the “tall man” could be interpreted as Māl, however, as Wilden points out, although the name Neṭiyōn could have referred to Viṣṇu’s change of size in the trivikrama story of the dwarfish vāmanāvatāra, and although Cāminātaiyar also understands Tirumāl in his commentary,1824 the same name was used in another Caṅkam poems for Murukaṇ (Akanāgaru, 149), and for Intirān (Puranāgaru, 241) as well, so from this single passage it is rather impossible to decide whose festival we see.1825 Interesting that we see two further evidences for the appereance of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa around the Cēra court. One is the name of the poet Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṭṭār of the Second Decade (iraṇṭām pattu), whose name Kaṇṭṭār (ār) (< Pkt. kaṭṭha) is the Tamil equivalent of the name Kṛṣṇa. The other evidence can be found in the VII. patikam:

1821 Sivabalan 1996, 97.
1822 If we consider the other old meanings of ēmam, the passage can be also translated as the excellent festivals that “became [the source] of protection” (ēmam ākiya).
1823 Patiṟṟuppattu, 15: 38–40.
These ten songs were sung by Kapilar on Celvakkaṭuṅkō Vāḻiyāṭṉ [who] flawlessly shone with [his] brilliant mind after [he] confused [his] purōcu (purohita), [who] gave Okantūr [rich] in paddy [to a] kōttiram (gotra) [as being] the one who achieved to have the Dark Hued One (māyava) in [his] heart, [who] accomplished the virtue (āram) at the time when the sacrifice (vēḻvi) which possessed a place worthy for praising, was arranged […]\(^{1,828}\)

Okantūr was a name of an early brahmaṇya-village. What follows after is not easy to understand, since in kōttiram nelli okantūr, the word kōttiram could either mean a brāhmaṇa clan (gotra); a type of paddy (see: Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 181), or more specifically the paddy fit to offer in hotra-oblation (kōttiram neḥ). Thus the king gave the village either to 1. the one who achieved to have the dark hued deity in his heart/mind (we can split the sandhi to read either perravaṅ’ kōttiram or perravaṅ kōttiram), or 2. to the kōttiram but then perravaṅ is an apposition of vāḻiyāṭaṅ (Line 12). Anyway, agreeing with the old commentator, Māyavaṉ is the same as Tirumāl who could have been already identical with Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa.

We see the word tiru several times attested in the Patiṟṟuppattu. When we saw it on the chest of Māl, the interpretation was out of question. When we see the noun tiru connected to the king’s chest, we may meditate on the possibilities whether we should translate it literal or not. Thus these passages (14: 11; 16: 17; 40: 13) can be interpreted in two different ways: 1. Tiru (Śrī) as the Goddess, who extends (ñemar) on the chest of the king; 2. tiru as “brilliance” and since a noun can be used as an adjective, the translation would be “brilliant wide chest”. The description is clearly formulaic as the repetitions suggest.\(^{1,829}\) In the northern Indian (and later South Indian) traditions, it is well known that there were deep relations between the kingship/dominion (kṣatra) and the welfare, fortune (śrī). Śrī as a goddess is not just believed to select a mighty king as her husband, but also described as one who resides in the monarch.\(^{1,830}\) The king’s person anyway has connotations with Viṣṇu, who himself often compared to the deity, as far as he guards and protects the world.\(^{1,831}\) Thus I believe that in all these cases we can already understand this ancient idea behind the ambiguity. We see the goddess Tiru in the 74th poem (Lines 1–2): “May your lineage (vaḻ) live [long], [lineage] with [your wife being] another Goddess (tiru) with descending dark tresses that resemble the tender

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\(^{1,826}\) Kapilar is one among the best and most famous poets of the Caṅkam corpus, an intimate friend of Pāri, later Celvakkaṭuṅkō Vāḻiyāṭṉ’s court poet. For more details, see: Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 219.

\(^{1,827}\) According to the POC, Māyavaṉ is Tirumāl who could be already identical with Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa.


\(^{1,829}\) Patiṟṟuppattu, 16: 17; 31: 7; 40: 13.

\(^{1,830}\) Gonda 1956, 131.

\(^{1,831}\) Gonda 1969, 164–167.
black-sand!", so this means that just as Māl/Viśṇu was traditionally compared to the king, the goddess Tiru/Śrī had to be compared to the queen whose beauty anyway competes with the celestial girls.\textsuperscript{1832}

One among the deities, Kūṟṟu/Kūṟṟuvan, the God of Death, seems to be the only one who lives on Earth, because his divine duty was to collect his victims in the material world. The poems, which have the pūvai nilai ("bilberry flower-theme") as a dominant theme,\textsuperscript{1833} enumerate the qualities shared by the king and the deities (in most of the cases comparing with Kūṟṟu), the comparison of which was, according to Kailasapathy not empty, since “the bards began to compare the kings to gods” as “the highest form of encomium.”\textsuperscript{1834} In the Cēra panegyrici we find references when the king or his army was compared to Kūṟṟuvan/Kālaṉ/Maṭkāl. In the 39th poem, we see the Cēra king as being a “strong man with fierce anger which is similar to [the anger of] Kālaṉ”.\textsuperscript{1835} In the 51st poem, the king is “of the sight which is like the thrown net of the huge and dark God of Death (Kūṟṟam)”.\textsuperscript{1836} In the 62nd poem, we find the king as the one “[whose] fierce vigour recalled the nature of the God of Death (Maṭkāl), [the god who] roams around having roared with a vicious frenzy (pollā mayāh), [the god with a] radiating glitter together with the illusion (māyam) of a multiplied Sun with bright flames and yellow sparks”.\textsuperscript{1837} The God of Death (Kāla, Yama) was the son of Śūrya in northern mythology, therefore, this might be the idea on which our comparison with the multiplied Sun-image based.\textsuperscript{1838} In the 72nd song (Lines 15–16) we read that the king who was “similar to the fire of the God of Death with lustre of red flames that destroyed the foaming spray”, which is perhaps a reference to the submarine fire (pralayāgni) at the end of a yuga.\textsuperscript{1839} Therefore, I think that even if the Tamils had their own conception of the God of Death, in the Patiruppattu we see a character based on Yama’s characteristics.

While the king was compared to the God of Death, his queen or better to say his favourite wife was compared to Aruntuti/Aruntati (Skt. Arundhati), the Red Star (also mentioned as vatamīṇ ‘the northern star’) which star is identifiable either with the morning star (Venus) or the star called Alcor.

[Your] lady (celvi) of your old mansion is like the Red Star\textsuperscript{1840} [by which] even the minds of the sky-roaming [celestial] girls became exalted, [your lady, whose]

\textsuperscript{1832} Patiruppattu, 14: 13.
\textsuperscript{1833} Tolkkapiyam Porulatikāram Purattinaiyiyal, cū. 63: 9–10.
\textsuperscript{1834} Kailasapathy 1968, 74.
\textsuperscript{1835} Patiruppattu, 39: 8.
\textsuperscript{1836} Patiruppattu, 51: 35–36.
\textsuperscript{1837} Patiruppattu, 62: 6–8.
\textsuperscript{1838} Purānic Encyclopaedia, 367.
\textsuperscript{1839} Skt. pralayāgni, Tam. vatavaiti. Tamil Lexicon, 3018.
\textsuperscript{1840} A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 82; Tamil Lexicon, 133.
beautiful curved navel became the [source of] light for the golden [waist-jewelry, [whose] bright forehead became the [source of] light for [her] earrings, [whose] fidelity is abundant in virtues [and whose] tresses [were] sprouting,\footnote{The sprouting (olivarum, olinta, etc.) tresses of women is a usual image in Caṅkam literature. Cf. \textit{Naṟṟiṇai}, 6: 10; 141: 12; 313: 4.} so that bees swarm around.\footnote{\textsc{\textit{Naṟṟiṇai}}, 6: 10; 141: 12; 313: 4.}

As Sivabalan points out, who anyway prefers to understand a plurality of wives, “the queens were beautiful as \textit{Aruntati} who was the most beautiful and the most reddish of all stars”, therefore we might think that not only the character of Aruntati as the faultless and blissful wife of Vasiṣtha, but its colour as a star could be the source of comparison, as far as in ancient times ‘redness’ (\textit{cemmai}) also meant ‘goodness’, ‘spotlessness’, ‘uprightness’, ‘fairness’, etc.\footnote{What we see here is a so-called exocentric or possessive compound (\textit{agnojittōkai}), “an elliptical compound in which any one of the five tokai-nilai, q.v., that precede this in the enumeration, is used figuratively so as to signify something else of which this compound becomes a descriptive attribute.” \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 183.} Because there is only one morning star in the sky, I take this part as a reference to the unique and favourite wife among other queens of the king. Reading this passage, one might consider to interpret the star as Aruntati, since the king is mentioned another time as the “husband of the [lady with] red jewels\footnote{\textsc{\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}}, 65: 9–10.} [with] fragrant forehead [that] smells from afar, [with] fidelity that outranks even the desirable deity”.\footnote{\textsc{\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}}, 65: 9–10.} All the more so if we add the following:

May you become the one who does not have pain, after you were visibly flourishing together with your woman with shiny forehead, with fidelity which resembles the star with glowing-flame[-like] glances that knows the lifetimes (\textit{vāḷ nāḥ}) of [those] brides (\textit{vatuvai makāli}) who repeatedly looked [up on it] […]!\footnote{\textsc{\textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}}, 89: 13; 17–20.}

The above mentioned passage most probably refers to the ancient custom when the brides who recently got married looked up on the Aruntatī/Arundhatī star and pledged their vow of loyalty to their husbands (\textit{pativrata}), however, it is also possible that here the brides were simply wishing a long life from the star.\footnote{Sivabalan 1996, 104.} Anyway, the comparison of women to Aruntati is not a unique feature of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} as we find several similar references in the Caṅkam

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\footnote{Sivabalan 1996, 104.}
\end{footnotes}
In other poems the queens were compared to either ‘dolls’ (pāvai) or most probably to the Goddess of the Kolli Hills, where the kollippāvai, a woman-shaped statue was found from the ancient times, which image “believed to have been carved by the celestials and to have the power of fascinating all those who look at it”. Therefore, we see the Cēra king as “the husband of [his] image-like (pāvai) fine woman in [his] fine house which had been fashioned by workmanship [so that it was] like a painting (ōvam)”.

And in another poem we read the following: “after [you] had worn the cool and fragrant garlands together with the sandal-paste that shone in desirable glorious lines among the goddess-like (pāvai) women (makuḷir) of [your] beautiful and tall/long painting-like mansion (nakar).”

It is possible that we see one of the last traces of the ancient Dravidian Muruku cult recorded in the Patirṟṟuppattu. At the beginning of history, Muruku was an ancient fertility deity, a guardian spirit of the hilly (kuriñci) regions, then it presumably became an anthropomorphic, heroic figure called Murukan/Cēyōṉ/Cevvēḷ, and later this character evolved to Skanda, the son of Śiva and the commander of a divine army. As Dubianski stated, “at an early stage of his cult Murukan was, no doubt, worshipped as a virtually omnipresent spirit, dwelling … in groves, at crossroads, on river islands, in the kadamba, at sites for village festivals and social occasions, in poles and ‘in numerous other places’ … along with this, his preference for mountains becomes evident”. His most ancient accounts happen to occur in the name of muruku which meant ‘tenderness’, ‘tender age’, ‘youth’, ‘beauty’.

The single reference in the Patirṟṟuppattu could be connected to a very ancient Muruku image, since we read about “[countries with] blackened (kaṟutta) ancient towns [where] the bustle died away [after] Muruku got enraged”. We have choice to interpret Muruku here as a commander who came with havoc, or Muruku as an ancient Dravidian spirit which, by means of its raging nature, destroyed cities as if they had cursed. Here, the old commentator elegantly circumscribe the phrase without giving an explanation; U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar, however, understands Murukakaṭavuḷ which might underline our interpretation of the term’s antiquity, but if we open Turaicāmippiḷḷai’s comments, we will find Murukavēḷ who

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1848 For example Kalittokai, 2: 21; Aiṅkuruṇṟu, 442: 4; Paṟanṟṟu, 122: 8–9; Perumpaṇṟṟuppaṭai, 302–303.
1849 Tamil Lexicon, 1157.
1851 Here pāvai āṇṇa makuḷir could mean either “doll-like women” (Tamil Lexicon, 2636) or “goddess-like women” (cf. kollippāvai, Tamil Lexicon, 1157).
1853 Dubianski 2000, 18.
1854 Dubianski 2000, 19.
1855 Dubianski 2000, 19.
1856 Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 4978.
1857 ‘muruk’ uṭṭagṛu karutta kali aḷi mūṭ’ uṭe’. Patirṟṟuppattu, 26: 12.
1858 Cāminātaiyar 1980, 57.
destroyed Cūraṃ together with his old town. So it is a matter of debate, however, we can conclude that the *Patiṟṟappattu* was definitely written in the centuries when Muruku lost its/his ancient character and transformed into Murukan/Skanda/Subrahmanya.

An ancient rite can be observed in the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* which has to be discussed in brief, without going into much detail about the person of Murukan and the rites surrounding him. In the ten songs called “The Ten [Poems] on Frenzy” (*verṟippattu*) of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* written by Kapilar, we find details of an ancient ritual, an ecstatic dance called *veriyāṭall veriyayartal* (also found as *veri, veriyāṭam*, and *veriyāṭtu*) performed by the *vēḷan* “the man with a spear”, the priest of Murukan. As Dubianski points out, these ecstatic dance rituals were performed in groups, while the priest performed a solo, while he actually became possessed by Murukan or became Murukan himself. The literary situation is the following: “symptoms of love-sick condition in the heroine (weight-loss, apathy, the withering of her body and fever) are ascribed, by her relatives, to an illness inflicted by a *pēy*-demon”, therefore “a *vēḷan* priest is invited … to diagnose the disease and cure it”. As for the preparation of the ritual, the priest first of all purified the ‘sacrificial ground’ (*kaḷam/kaḷaṅ*) chosen and measured out by himself. Once the *vēḷan* fell into trance, he used various methods during the divination, e.g. ecstatic dance, throwing the *kaḷaṅku*-beans, anointing sacrificial animal blood on the girl’s brow, sacrificing animals, etc. Regarding the places of Murukan worship, the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* refers to “pepper-growing slopes” (*kaṟi vaḷar cilampu; 243: 1) and “rock caves with pepper” (*kaṟiya kal mukai; 246: 1–2), which could refer to the pepper producing mountain ranges in north Malabar/southern Konkan, but more probably to the famous pepper region of Kūṭṭanāṭu (Kottanarichē) with Nelkynda and Becare together with its mountain slopes. The performance of divination had a special way recorded in the 245th poem of the *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*.

If the elderly priest of [our] village, who is from an unfailing tradition, predicts the truth with [the help of] Molucca beans, holds up the Kaṅṇam (image) and utters “Muruku,” will this be rightful to the one, who caused her suffering?

Lehmann quotes the mediaeval commentator who explains the word *kaṇṇam* as “an image that is made to cure a disease” (*nōytaṇṭarkup paṇṇik koṭukkuṇ paṭimam*), and comes to the conclusion that “the practice of divination as described in the poem had gone out of use at the time of the commentator and the word *kaṇṇam* had probably lost the meaning it had earlier.

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1859 *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, 241–250.
1860 Dubianski 2000, 24. See e.g.: *Paṭṭippappālai*, 155; *Tirumurukāṟṟuppatai*, 190–197; 222.
when the poem was composed”. Thus an ancient ritual of “exorcism” can be reconstructed from these poems, however, Wilden is right when she mentions “the fact that these rites are a target of mockery (since the girl is actually not possessed but lovelorn)”, which literary situation was overlooked by those who focused on religion history. She adds to this that “the material might possibly mirror Pre-Aryan religious customs, but decidedly not customs contemporary to the poems depicting them”. From the slightly sarcastic narrative of Kapilar or, better to say, of the literary setting he applied, I rather think that the rites were still in fashion when the poems were composed, but those who believed in them were already considered as being superstitious, old-fashioned, or purblind by some members of the contemporary society. What is sure, in the Patīṟṟuppattu, neither the worship of Murukaṉ, nor the divination of the vēḷaṉ appears which in my opinion shows a new paradigm in religion history.

We see the bard called akavalar who mastered the metre called akaval (akavu-tal ‘to utter a sound as a peacock’, ‘to sing’, ‘to dance as a peacock’, ‘to call’, ‘to summon’; Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, 10) to be attested in the Patīṟṟuppattu, however only in one poem, which again shows that the akaval groups were probably still existed but as performers were not ordinary sights around the royal courts/victorious battlefields. Poets like Paraṉar of the Patīṟṟuppattu still found the related tradition respectable that may have been somewhat obsolete by that time, but recalled a mysterious shade of the archaic past. According to Kailasapathy, we have to connect akavalar, whose name refers to the oldest metre called akaval (later āciriyappā), to the ones called akavuṉar, to the women called akavaṉmakāḷir, and perhaps to mutuvāyp pentīr, since all of these have to be connected (as just the vēḷaṉ) to soothsaying and exorcism. Kailasapathy refers to the commentator Pērāciriyar who reveals that those who sang akaval songs which had “the ōcai, rhythmic flow peculiar to the metre” were people who hailed fertility or abundance, wailed over the dead, and summoned particular spirits and exorcized them. Hart states that even “the word akaval means a prophetic utterance”. Although we have only a single reference to akaval in the Patīṟṟuppattu, we should emphasize that as just as the other Caṅkam anthologies, Patīṟṟuppattu also contains poems written exclusively in akaval/āciriyappā metre (sometimes mixed with vañci lines). According to Hart, “it is extremely significant that the name of the meter used for all of the early anthologies is akaval, for that shows that the meter was first used for oracular purposes, probably by the Akavuṉaṅs.”

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1864 Lehmann 2020, 218.
1865 Wilden 2006, 21.
1868 Hart 1975, 145.
[...] let the akavalaṉ-bard receive horses, [the bard, who] set out to the village common, [who] entered the side of the street, [who] took [his] fine stick with joints (kaṇṭi) and praised the battlefield! \[1871\]

Whatever might be the connection between the metre and the soothsayers, we learn from this passage that the akavalaṉ had a stick (kōl) which might had a magico-religious significance, although I think we are still far from being able to understand its real function. Hart, however, interprets this passage that here the akavugan used his stick as a quasi ‘magic wand’ “after the battle was over, perhaps to bring it [the battlefield; comment made by me] back to a normal condition”, as he says. However, such a function of the kōl of the akavalaṉ cannot really be verified. The least we can say is that the metre called akaval, which is associated with the name of this group, was in vogue until the end of the “Caṅkam period” (and even after that if one wanted to “dress up texts as classical”), \[1872\] but we can possibly take this Patiṟṟuppattu passage with the “rite” of the akavalar (if it was really a rite!) only as a euphonious reference to the past traditions.

The word kaṭavul appears 13 times in the Patiṟṟuppattu. The word itself has an obscure origin. I agree with Dubianski that the closest meaning could be ‘that which goes beyond boundaries’ or ‘that which moves about’, a deity which was able “to move around in space and stretch beyond strictly drawn boundaries”. \[1873\] In the poems in which the word kaṭavul appears, we find references to a deity or multiple deities who preferred to stay in forests, \[1874\] to the homage paid to the deity according to a fearful tradition at the time of the Vedic āvutī/āhuti libation; \[1875\] to the king who paid homage in a way which was fit to be desired by the deities who obtained permanence in the sky again after the āvuti libation; \[1876\] to the bloody offering of pali and piṇṭam in the battlefield when the uyarntōṉ paid homage to the deity/deities according to the tradition with the precious power of the sounding mantiram; \[1877\] to a hanging fortress which was created in the sky having feared the deity; \[1878\] to skilful musicians who praised the deity; \[1879\] to the Imayam which has the state of a deity, perhaps of

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\[1870\] *akaval*; a group of bards who mastered the metre called akaval. POC: “singing pāṇaṉ” (pāṭum pāṇaṉ).

\[1871\] *maṇram paṭarntu maruku ciṟaip pukkuk/kaṇṭi nu pōl koṇṭu kaḷam vaḻtum/akavalṉ peṟuka ...*.

\[1872\] Wilden 2014, 225.


\[1874\] Patiṟṟuppattu, 13: 20.

\[1875\] Patiṟṟuppattu, 21: 5.

\[1876\] Patiṟṟuppattu, 21: 15.

\[1877\] Patiṟṟuppattu, 30: 33–34.

\[1878\] Patiṟṟuppattu, 31: 18–19.

\[1879\] Patiṟṟuppattu, 41: 6.
Civāṉ;1880 to the king who desired to take a rock for the divine (kaṭavuḷ) Patṭiṅi;1881 to perhaps Aruntati as a desirable deity;1882 to the divine (kaṭavuḷ) vākai-tree;1883 to the king as someone who fed the deities with sacrifices (veḻvi);1884 to the deity of the Ayirai Hill;1885 and to the forests which were named after a deity, perhaps the Vintāṭavi (< Skt. Vindhyāṭavi).1886 We can conlude that at least the half of these attestations must be somehow connected to northern religious ideas. However, I should emphasize that our data were extracted from poems of eight poets whose dating, identification, and social background is uncertain, therefore this makes the analysis fragile, but one thing is common in these poets, that all of them were quite close to the Cēra court, thus their narratives were even closer to what the king wanted to hear. Therefore, we can conclude that even if we cannot reconstruct a detailed history of the Cēra country, the poems allow us to see the Cēra kingdom and its religion from above, from the perspective of the kingdom and of its institutions.

We find legendary places of worship in the Patiṟṟuppattu, from which I already mentioned the Kolli Hills together with the image called kollippāvai, which range of hills can be pinpointed at Kollimalai in Nāmakkal District, Tamil Nadu. The other important shrine which was perhaps acquired by Palyāṉai Cellēku Kuṭṭuvan for his kingdom, who was therefore called “the fighter of the Ayirai” (ayirai poruna).1887

O fighter of the straightly rising tall Ayirai mountain that lies athwart, so that the frontier of famous lands perished, [the hill, where] the kokku-bird, which is watching keenly/from afar,1888 does not fear to circle1889 [in the air] without going to the waterless slopes with prosperous tall peaks that encompass great yield!1890

The old commentator here tells us that Ayirai is a hill (oru malai). Later he seems to be better informed as he adds that the deity of the hill is the Goddess, Koṟṟavai, as we see in his

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1880 Patiṟṟuppattu, 43: 6.
1881 Patiṟṟuppattu, V. 4.
1883 Patiṟṟuppattu, 66: 15.
1884 Patiṟṟuppattu, 70: 18–19.
1885 Patiṟṟuppattu, 79: 18.
1886 Patiṟṟuppattu, 88: 2.
1887 Patiṟṟuppattu, 21: 29.
1888 pākuṭi: a hapax legomenon. There is no useful old comment on this. Agesthialingom suggests (Index of Patiṟṟuppattu, 92) that it means ‘minuteness’. Turaicāmippillai (Turaicāmippillai 1973, 72) who reads ‘pākuṭi pārval kokkiṉ’ as ‘cēmayiyliruntē nuğitta nōkkum kokkiṉ’ (“the kokku-bird, which sharply stares from the distance”). U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar (Cāminātaiyar 1980, ) says that “pākuṭi is like kūrmai”. The Tamil Lexicon (p. 2581) glosses ‘long distance’ (veku tūram). The Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti (p. 1596) seems clueless and glosses both vekutūram and kūrmai, so it is up to the translator how to interpret this hapax.
1889 pari-vēṭpu (< Skt. pari-veṣṭa): “circling, hovering, as of a bird”. Tamil Lexicon, 2519.
comments on *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 79: 18 and on III. 10. We know that in ancient times a river called Ayiriyāṟu also existed, which caused confusion around Ayirai whether we should understand it as a river, a hill, or both. I believe that the *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index* made a mistake while mixing up these things and giving the attestations of the word *ayirai* (*Patiṟṟuppattu*, III. 8; 79: 18; 88: 12; 90: 19; *Cilappatikāram* III. 28: 145) among those poems (*Akanāṉūṟu*, 177: 11; 253: 20) which contain the word *ayirk-y-āṟu*). In the *Akanāṉūṟu*, *ayir* is certainly a river, while in the *Patiṟṟuppattu* we have no reason to understand *ayirai* other than a hill/mountain (read: 21: 29; 70: 26). What we read in the epic *Cilappatikāram* is the following:

[...] even if [one among the Cērar] was the man who entered the tall/long mountain where gold turns up in the prosperous country of the *yavagār* with harsh words; even if [one among the Cēra was the one of] the rare power that attacked Akappā having caused [his enemies] to run on the dark/vast battlefield with [his] very huge army, even if [one among the Cēr was the one who] bathed in the water of the two seas having performed ablutions (*maṇṇi*) in/at Ayirai according to the fearful tradition, even if [one among the Cēr was] the one who performed sacrifices [for which] wine (*matu*) [was] taken having brought the *catukkappūtar* within [the boundaries of] Vañci [...]1891

This passage (together with its uncited previous lines) seems to sum up the ancient acts of the Cēras, more precisely the contents of the *patikams* of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. Here, although one of the Cēras (who was in fact Palyāṉai Celkeḻu Kuṭṭuvan) performed ablutions in/at Ayirai, we cannot confidently state that just because of this act, this place was nothing else but the Ayiri river, since ablutions could have been certainly performed in a river but also in mountain streams, sacred ponds, water tanks in and around the shrines as a religious ritual or cleansing ceremony (cf. *Patiṟṟuppattu* 31: 6). Aiyangar says the following in his work on Vañci: “A careful study of the progress of Chēra conquests seems to indicate that they began extending their authority northwards along the West Coast through the whole of what is the Malayāḷam country now extending even further to include part of the Tulu country of Kanara, as the chief Nannan is associated with Tuḷunāḍu elsewhere, then struck across towards Kongu, the middle block. Ayirai therefore is what is called now Hagari in Kanarese [today’s Vēdāvati river; comment made by me] which in modern times is only a river, but in these poems is referred to as a hill on the top of which was a shrine to the goddess of victory, and a river flowing there from as well.”1892 Although one might want to see Ayirai in ancient Tulu Nāṭu in today’s


1892 Aiyangar 1940, 65.
Karnataka, the arguments of Aiyangar seems to be not only inadequate but misleading, since in his work, earlier and later traditions are mixed with his own beliefs. In this study, I accept the identification of ayirai with Aivarmalai near Paṇḍi, Tamil Nadu. Even so, the description in the Patiruppattu which state that the kokku-bird does not fear to circle around Ayirai and does not go to the waterless slopes with prosperous tall peaks, seems to verify the identification with Aivarmalai. If we look around from the top of the Periya Aivarmalai, we can clearly see the long slopes of the Āṉaimalai, the proximity of which mountain is perhaps what the poem also refers to.

After all, we should discuss the people called the “gracious ones” (antaṇar; 2 attestations in the decade poems) and the “seers” (pārppār; 1 attestation in the decade poems + 5 in the patikams) in the Patiruppattu. Although the names of these groups appear not very often in the text, their influences could be easily examined in the poems. In the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary we find that antaṇag meant a ‘brahman’ in Tamil and Malayalam, however, there is no entry for pāṛppā. In the Tamil Lexicon, we find antanag as ‘gracious one’, ‘brāhmaṇa’, ‘sage’, ‘Brahmā’, and ‘Jupiter’, while for pāṛppā we find ‘brāhmaṇa’, ‘Brahmā’, and ‘Yama’. According to these entries, the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary and the Tamil Lexicon seem to claim that the word pāṛppā has to be derivable from Skt. brāhmaṇa, therefore the Dravidian etymology can be excluded. The Tamil Ilakkiyap Pērakarāti records that the oldest meanings of antaṇad antaṇag are pirāmaṇar/pirāmaṇan, while of pāṛppār/pāṛppā are antaṇag and pāṛppagar. I think that these identifications give rise to preconceptions which make the textual reconstruction difficult, therefore I prefer to use ‘gracious ones’ in the case of antaṇar and ‘seers’ in the case of pāṛppā (< Tam. pār-ṭtal ‘to see’), because these words can be either umbrella terms for northern “religious” groups including Buddhists or Jainas, or actual words for brāhmaṇas.

Regarding the Patiruppattu, the first attestation of antaṇar can be found in the 24th poem:

O husband of [your beloved with] perfect jewels, the nature of whose speech is perfect, whose fame, which is incomparable, shines along with the country, after [you] have become worthy for singing [praises] while the world followed your path, after [you] have acted by praising (vaḷimoli) the gracious ones (antaṇar) who desire the virtues (araṃ) [and] act by exercising the six namely: reciting, sacrificing, doing these [two for] others, giving, and receiving [offerings].

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1893 Tamil Lexicon, 112.
The antaṇarûtuḻil or the six occupations of the antaṇar (learning, teaching, offering a sacrifice, conducting a sacrifice, giving, receiving) are well-known from early texts such as the Mānavadharmaśāstra I. 88. (*adhyaśāṇam adhyayanāṃ yājanaṇaṃ yājanaṇaṃ pratigrahaṇam caiva brāhmaṇāṇāṃ akalpayat*), but it is already mentioned in the Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Purattathiyiyal 74: 1. (*āruṣṭaip paṭṭa pāṟṟaṇap paṟṟKomum*). This poem shows the poet Pāḷai Kautamanār’s idea that kingship and Vedic rituals were intertwined at the time of Palyāṉaiccelkeḻu Kuṭṭuvuṇ’s reign (around the end of the 1st century AD). This poem makes clear that this poet in fact understood antaṇar as brāhmaṇa. What is more, the gracious ones were desiring the virtues, *aṟam*, a word that is often associated with the word *dharma* claiming that the latter serves as its etymology. Even if the word itself is a Dravidian one (see: *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 311), it is certainly connected in later ages to *dharma*. Although I tried to be literal in my translations, we cannot rule out that these two words mean the same at the time of the Patirṟṟupattu. Let us read another passage which makes clear the characteristics of the ‘gracious ones’:

[...] while [you] say “quickly give away the moving oxen (*pāṇṭhil*) having adorned with jewels, and the horses with trimmed mane cut by a weapon with a blade, if you see the musicians (*vayiriyar*) outside the walls which are difficult [to conquer for the] vanguards, [where] elephants which bathed in the dark mud, disliked standing in the sandy front yard after the water was poured, when the rare vessels were raised by the gracious ones (antaṇar) [with a] complete knowledge (*muṭṭita kēḷvi*) [of] sacrifices (*vēḷvi*) [which are] worthy of fame [that] was glittering on [their] tongues that [became] brightened by explaining (*karaintu*) the virtues (*aṟam*)!

Here the poet Kapilar mentions the antaṇar is a sense of Vedic brāhmaṇas, who has *muṭṭita kēḷvi* ‘complete knowledge/accomplished śrutikompleted studies’ and who perform sacrifices worthy of fame (*uraicăl vēḷvi*), however, it is also possible to connect these as they had “knowledge of sacrifices”, as I have translated above. In connection to antaṇar, the word kēḷvi which could mean ‘hearing’, ‘question’, etc. (< Tam. *kēḷ-tal*) certainly means śruti (Vedas and Vedic scriptures), just as the vēḷvi ‘sacrifice’ (< Tam. *vēḷ-tal, vēṭṭal*) means Vedic oblations, libations, and rituals.

1893 Here I followed the old commentary (*tēr pūṟum erutukaṇ*) and U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar (*nārai erutu, Cāminātaiyar 1980, 169*) who both understand *pāṇṭhil* as erutu ‘ox’. However, I cannot exclude the possibility to understand *pāṇṭhil* as having the usual ‘lamp’ meaning or to translate it as ‘chariot’. *Tamil Lexicon*, 2598.

Now let us speak about the “seer” called pārppār, a word which has a possible Tamil etymology but all our lexicons agreed that it meant brāhmaṇa. The only one decade poem that mentioned this group of people is the 63rd song:

You do not know to make obeisance to others than the seers (pārppār). You do not know the fear of eyes other than of [your] friends, after [you] joined [them] with a heart that is not humble, in order to start adorning [them]. You do not know widening [your] chest [which is] redolent with fragrance when it fights with a bending bow, to others than [your women]. You do not know falsity in [your] spoken words, even if the time [has come] which changes the elements (tiṟam) of the earth.¹⁸⁹⁷

It is again Kapilar who mentioned the pārppār as Vedic brāhmaṇas around the court. U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar glosses antaṇar for pārppār and giving a parallel passage of the Puṟanāṉūṟu, in which we read “may you bow your head, o great man, having raised [your] hand in front of the sages of the eminent Four Vedas!” (‘irainicuka peruma niṉ ceṅṅi ciṟanta/nāṉmaṟai muqivar ēntu kai etire’; Puṟanāṉūṟu, 6: 19–20). Adding to this, the VI. patikam (Lines 4–5) mentioned that the king “gave to the seers (pārppār) a village in the western country (kuṭanāṭu) together with tawny cows (kapilai)”. This is a clear statement made by the one who composed the patikam (supposed to be the poet) that the king called Āṭukōṭṭu Cēralātaṉ gave a brahmadeya-village¹⁸⁹⁸ to this group of people in the Malabar region and a tawny kapilā cow which might have been used during the worship called kapilāpūjā.¹⁸⁹⁹ These information lead us to the II. patikam’s ‘epilogue’ in which the ancient author states that “having sung [the decade songs], [the following] gifts [had been] obtained: [the king] gave a portion [of the revenue] that came to the southern lands [during] thirty-eight years and gave five-hundred brahmadeya-villages (piramatāyam) of the Umpāṟkāṭu [to the brāhmaṇas]. Although the evaluation of these data is not easy, since the phrasing and the prose form is too weird to be inseparable part of the patikam, however, it shows that sometimes when the Patiṟṟuppattu was edited, the author of the epilogue believed to know that Imaiyavarampaṉ Neṟuṇcēralāṭan gave not less than five hundred brahmadeya-villages to brāhmaṇical communities in the division called Umparkāṭu (‘elephant-forest’).¹⁹⁰⁰ Marr agrees with K. Govindan that this poet, Kumāṭṭurk Kaṇṇaṉaṅar was a brāhmaṇa, what is more, he might have born or come to the Cēra

¹⁸⁹⁹ Tāntrikābhidhānakośa II. 47.
¹⁹⁰⁰ Perhaps the southwestern slopes of the Nilgiris. Marr 1985 [1958], 283.
court from Kumaṭṭūr near today’s Tiṇṭivānam, Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{1901} I think I can agree with them in the fact that the author of these lines was a \textit{brāhmaṇa}, but I doubt that he could be identical with the author of the \textit{patikam} who was possibly not the one called Kumaṭṭūrk Kaṇṇaṇār, since we can observe the uniform style of all the \textit{patikams} and some unusual grammatical features (such as the regular appereance of the accusative suffix). Regarding the \textit{brahmadeya}-villages in Cēra history, Veluthat mentions a town called Cellūr which can be found in \textit{Akanāṅgūru} 220, which is, according to him, identifiable with the present-day Taḷippāṟampu, Kerala.\textsuperscript{1902} Cellūr was a town of the poet Koṟṟaṉār, west of the place called Niyaṁmam/or the marketplace of the \textit{kōcar}.\textsuperscript{1903} According to the ancient poems, Cellūr was also a fearful/beautiful (\textit{uru keḻu}) town with imperishable fires (\textit{keṭṭat tīyiṉ}), where we see a “tall pillar with difficult/rare protection (\textit{kaṭi}), with eye-pleasing (\textit{kāṅ-taku}) beauty (\textit{vaṇappiṉ}), which had been tied [in] the centre with ropes, [pillar] with completed sacrifices (\textit{vēḻvi}) difficult [to perform] (\textit{aritiṉiṉ})”, and this poem also mentions Maḻuvāṉ Neṭiyōṉ (“the tall man with a battle-axe”), which can be an early reference to Paraśurāma.\textsuperscript{1904} We can agree with Veluthat considering the available literary and geographic data that this town might have been an early \textit{brāhmaṇa}-settlement in North Kerala.\textsuperscript{1905} Although it is hard to imagine five-hundred such a settlement and that number seems to be an exaggeration, some \textit{brāhmaṇa}-settlement must have been existed in these early centuries. In order to prove this, let us continue our analysis with further sources.

The epilogue of the III. \textit{patikam} is the last poem of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} in which the word \textit{pārppāṉ} occurs, and in which the \textit{pārppāṉ} received quite a special gift from the king:

Having sung, the [following] gifts [had been] obtained: [when the king] said: “what is desirable for you, take [it!]”, [he replied,] saying: “me and my wife (\textit{pārppaṉi}) desire to enter the heaven (\textit{cuvarkkam})!”’, [thus the king] asked the great men (\textit{periyōr}) of the seers (\textit{pārppār}) and made [them] to perform nine great sacrifices, [then] at the tenth great sacrifice [both] the seer (\textit{pārppāṉ}) and [his] wife (\textit{pārppaṉi}) became invisible.

In this one, we see the seers or brāhmaṇās performing great sacrifices that resulted a \textit{svargagamana}, when the seer and the female seer/his wife entered the heaven (\textit{cuvarkkam} < Skt. \textit{svarga}), so that we have all the reasons to believe that the author of these lines was knowledgeable in a Vedic sense, and to interpret the Cēra kingdom as a place where such

\begin{itemize}
\item[1901] Marr 1985 [1958], 299.
\item[1902] Veluthat 1978, 12.
\item[1903] \textit{Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index}, 386.
\item[1904] \textit{Akanāṅgūru}, 220: 3–8.
\item[1905] Veluthat 1978, 12–14.
\end{itemize}
things could happen. This also shows that, at least in the prose of the *patikam*, the poet called Pālai Kautamaṉar had a Vedic priestly occupation. The same story had been re-narrated by the *Cilappatikāram*, when we read about a Cēra king as “the one who let the man (āḷau) of the Four Vedas (nāgarai) go to the world of upper state (mēl nilai ulakam), after [he] received [his] composition (ceyyu)”. At some point, we will return to this poet and his songs.

In the 21st poem, we do not see antanar and pārppār anymore but kāṭavul pēṇiyar ‘those who pay homage to the deity/deities’. For a further analysis, first of all let us read the following lines:

O [you,] the man of the chest [on which Mother] Earth (maṉ) abides, who gives good jewels as the noise excelled when the [skin-]covered muracam-drum was sounding, [who possesses] elephants which have strength in war, [you, who] have raining (māriyam) toddy (kaḷ) and doubtless superiority which had grown high [from your] abundant prosperity, [you, who] paid homage in a way which is fit (taka) to be desired by the deities who obtained permanence in the sky, [you, who paid homage] with the two scents together (uṭaṉ) which emit fragrance,—

[the scent of] the libation (āvuti) of heated gī [from which] the dark (maṉ) [smoke] of the cooking arose in the middle of [your] palace (nakar) rich with (koṇṭu) the sound of the sea, while the seasoning was unceasingly sizzling whenever it had been put on the fat pieces of the pure meat which had been minced on the cutting-board (ūṉattu) by the goat-traders (pācavar), in order to feed the limitless guests wishing to take up [what is served] without exchanging glances [during] the feast;

[and the scent of] the libation (āvuti) with great name [in which] the desirable body (meṉ) had spread whenever sparks (cuṭar) arose from the fire which was taken by those who pay homage to the deities according to [their] frightful tradition, [who have] truthful speech abounding in excellence [which] resembles the Sun (kālai),


1907 Although Kālai normally means Kūṟṟu, I followed the suggestion of the old commentary which glosses kālai as āṭittag < Skt. āditya ‘Sun’, which idea was taken up by U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar who glosses cúriyaṉ < Skt. sūrya ‘Sun’ and gives parallels. Cāminātaiyar 1980, 40.

1908 *‘coḷ peyar nāṭtam kēḷvi neicam enr’/ait’m uṭaṅ poṟṟi avai tuṇai āka/evvam cuḷṭu viḷṭkiyai kolkaik/kalai aṅga cīr cīr vāyuloṭu keḷu marapiṅ kαṭavul pēṇiyar/koṇṭa tiyin cuṭar eḷu-tūṟu/miruṟu mey paṟṟa perum peyar āvuti/varun varaiyār vāra vēṇṭi/viruntu kaṇ māṟṭi’ unṉi pācavar/ūṇatt’ alitta vāl niṇṭ koḷum kuraik/kuy ītu tūṟu āṅṭ’ āṟppak/katāl oḷi koṇṭu ceḷu nakar nāṉuvaṇ/ātu ma elunta aṭu ney āvutufraṅṭ’ uṭaṅ kamaḷum
From a religious point of view, this is one of our most interesting passages in the Patiruppattu, in which Palyāiccekkelū Kuṭṭuvā, the king who annexed Koṅkunāṭu, who was the first worshipper of the Ayirai Hill, who bathed in two seas, etc., seems to be also the one who fostered brāhmaṇa communities in his kingdom. In the poet’s imagery, the way how the king paid homage to the deities in the sky (!) appears as a double libation or āvuti (< Skt. āhuti ‘offering oblations with fire to the deities’), one of the court and one of the brāhmaṇas. The courtly libation is certainly a profane sacrifice when meat had been cut and seasoned by the butchers/goat traders in order to be offered to the fire of the oven, to roast it with heated butter, and to feed the limitless guests as an ancient custom associated to the always liberal heroes. The brāhmanical libation was a Vedic one performed by those who paid homage to the deities, when some elliptical liquid, perhaps ghī (which is why it is not repeated in the poem) was offered to the fire altar. If we think about what “the libation (āvuti) with great name [in which] the desirable body (mey) had spread” could mean, we have three options to interpret. One way is how the old commentary takes (vīrumpu mey yeṅnum oru malintatu; ‘mai parantu’ enpatu pāṭamāyiṅ mai pōlap paranta eṅka) who suggests mai instead of mey so that we see the “darkness” of the elliptical smoke to arise. The other option is to take mey as it is, ‘a body’ of someone that spread in the fire of the Vedic sacrifice. Following this, one possibility is to think about Agni who had been summoned by the Vedic hymns, and who was the original recipient of the oblations. The other possibility is to interpret it as Viṣṇu whose aspect as yajñadehottama “supreme with a body consisting of sacrifice” is well-known; as we read in the notes of Bisschop for the 31st stanza of the Śivadharmottara’s śāntyādhyāya chapter: “[t]he close relation between Viṣṇu and sacrifice is well established, as in the notions of yajñavārīha and yajñapurusā. Perhaps this [the name of yajñadehottama; comment made by me] is a reference to Viṣṇu as the supreme Puruṣa, whose body constitutes the sacrifice in the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛgveda X. 90)”. I find this second reading as the most convincing one and insist that the poet had some inner knowledge of Vedic sacrifices, which can be proved from the patikam’s epilogue that called him a pāṛppā, who was aware of the Puruṣasūkta and therefore, he might have thought to articulate Viṣṇu’s “dissolution” in the sacrifices. Thus, as Pālai Kautamaṅār says, this was “the way which was fit to be desired by the deities who obtained permanence in the sky”. If we accept that Pālai Kautamaṅār was a brāhmaṇa then we have talk in this early period of religion history about Vedic communities that probably in exchange for privilege rights entered the service of the kingdom and, even if


1909 A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 162.
1910 Bisschop 2018, 153; footnote 32.
they themselves might have not lived like that,\(^{1911}\) accepted the non-vegetarian lifestyle in the Cēra court. We cannot be sure whether in this text we see a Vedic and/or an ancient Dravidian pantheon, also, we cannot be sure about what was the “taste” of those deities, but we might interpret this as an early description of an already forming world of deities of North and South that gladly accepted the mixed smoke of the Vedic rituals and of the roasted meat prepared in courts of the heroic kings.

In this poem we have seen an obscure enumeration of words: ‘word (col), names (peyar), eyes (nāṭṭam), hearing (kēḷvi), heart/mind (neñcam)’, which things became a help for the king. Starting with the old commentary, the commentator understood col as “the treatise [which] talks [about] the grammar of words” (colilakkaṇam collu nūḥ) which seems to refer to the second division of the Tolkāppiyam (Collatikāram), peyar as “the treatise [which] talks [about] the grammar of meanings” (porulilakkaṇam collu nūḥ) which seems to refer to the third division of the Tolkāppiyam (Poruḷatikāram), nāṭṭam as “the treatise on astrology/astronomy” (cōtiṇa nūḥ), kēḷvi as the Vedas (vētam), and neñcam as “the pure and peaceful heart/mind which does not follow the path of the senses” (intiriyaṅkalīg vaḷiyōṭātu uṭṭaṅkiya tuṭya neñciṇai). Turaicāmippillai suggests that neñcam is ākamam (< Skt. āgama) which is a matter of interpretation as both the old commentator and Turaicāmippillai see vedāṅgas here, which idea was borrowed by Marr.\(^{1912}\) This list, given as a quasi specula principum or Fürstenspiegel-like context, conducts the king how to reign. Another possibility is that we do not see vedāṅgas here but a secular list of 1. speech (col), 2. fame(peyar), 3. inspection (nāṭṭam), 4. audience (kēḷvi), 5. intelligence/valour/conscience (neñcam); five words which are extremely important for the king, and for which one can certainly find parallels in early rājadharms. There is another list offered by Eva Wilden who considers it possible that here the post-Vedic pūjā tradition was mentioned: words (col-mālai), names (enumerating names, cf. sahasranāma), eye (cf. darśana), Vedic learning (kēḷvi/śruti), and heart/mind (cf. vijnāna).\(^{1913}\) If we consider the things which were mentioned before, then in this poem we might see an early unfolding synthesis of the northern and southern traditions, and here we may consider that both the second and the third interpretation are possible. For the ones who were knowledgeable in the Vedas, the five elements of the early pūjā tradition served as an obvious interpretation, while the non-brāhmaṇical audience thought of the list as an enumeration of five important tools of government. For the ones knowledgeable in grammar, e.g. the old commentator, the first interpretation was satisfying. Again, I think that the ambiguity could not have been a coincidence.

\(^{1911}\) On meat eating cf. Mānavadharmaśāstra, V. 27–57.

\(^{1912}\) Marr 1985 [1958], 311.

\(^{1913}\) The idea came up first in Hamburg during our Patiṟṟupattu reading sessions. Wilden–Schmücker 2019, 8.
We find another passage that can be called a quasi Fürstenspiegel in the 22nd poem of Pālai Kautamaṉār:

Anger, desire, excessive pity, fear, untrue words, possession of excessive love, punishing with cruelty, and other [such things] in this world become obstacles on the road for the wheel which knows the virtues (āram), o offspring of strong men who governed for aeons (ūḻi), while [their] people passed away without suffering with bodies that had become old, people who share [what they] ate, [who] did not separate from their beloved retinue, walking straight like the flawless, learned ones without desiring other’s property, without causing affliction to others, while the many profits of the forests and the seas helped [them], staying away [from what is] evil, desiring much what is good.1914

Here what is important is that we see the “wheel that knows the virtues” (āram teri tikiri), the dharmacakra of the kingdom appear, which makes the king de facto a cakravartin. Reading the advices on reign given in this passage, one may interpret the selfless, non-violent, non-extremist advices as Jaina or Buddhist influences. In this case, the reference to the ‘virtuous wheel’ (āram teri tikiri, Line 4) may be identifiable with the dharmacakra of the Jainas or with the wheel that the Buddha set in motion, what is more, the flawless, learned ones (arívīgar, Line 8) who walk straight, might be identifiable with the tūrthankaras, arhats, etc. of Jainism, or with the monks (bhikṣu), the enlightened ones, etc. of Buddhism. Even the name of the poet of this decade is telling: Pālai Kautamaṉār, in which we might see the name Gautama which can be an Indo-Aryan name of a brāhmaṇa, or it could refer to either Gautama Buddha, or to Indrabhūti Gautama, the first disciple of Mahāvīra. However, if we keep in mind Kautamaṉār’s seemingly vast knowledge on the Vedic treatises and the later epilogue that called him a pārppān, we conclude that he was rather a brāhmaṇa who could have been influenced by Jaina and/or Buddhist teachings.

Be as it may be, Kautamaṉār says that the king should abstain from extremities in order to secure a smooth road for the wheel of virtues. Here we see the Tamil metaphrase of dharmacakra, the royal attribute considered as “the wheel or circle of religion or law”,1915 which was certainly the understanding of Iḷaṅkövaṭikaḷ as well, who talks about the “[Cēra] king with strong sword, who is eminent from generation to generation (vaḷīvaḷi),1916 with the

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1915 A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 449.
1916 Tamil Lexicon, 3547.
wheel (tikiri) that [he] keeps holding up (ēntiya”).¹⁹¹⁷ Marr adds to this that the king called Vāliyātaṅ had originally the name Āliyātaṅ instead of the grammatically weird vāliyātaṅ, so that it would mean “Ātaṅ who wields the cakra(āḷi) of kingship”.¹⁹¹⁸ The poet of the Second Decade, Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇaṅār was aware of the concept of paṇcamahābhūta,¹⁹¹⁹ which is not surprising if we see his name and his brāhmaṇical reputation in the II. patikam. In another poem we read about the king Kaḷaṅkāyāṅ Naṁtu Cēral as the one who set right the excellent family (tiṇai) of a declining lineage (kuṭi), which probably referred to the kulavardhana aspect of kings who make their families advanced, prosperous.¹⁹²⁰

[...][who] paid homage to the deity according to the mantra-tradition, [who] confused Maiyūṛ Kīḷāṅ, the minister [in whom] the truth circulates [with his] purōcu (purohita) of flawless knowledge, [who] brought the pūtar (bhūtāḥ) of severe strength and of difficult powerful tradition, which were living at the great crossroads, [who] established [their cult] here, [who] performed cānti[-ritual] (śānti) according to the tradition that had been studied [...].¹⁹²¹

In this passage extracted from the last available patikam, written for Iḷañcēral Irumporai, we find further details that could strongly connect the kingdom to northern religious practices. The first is the king who followed a magical (mantiram) or mantra-tradition which directly reflects Vedic traditions. This king was the one who said to “brought the pūtar (bhūtāḥ) of severe strength and of difficult powerful tradition, which were living at the great crossroads” to his capital. These were probably spirits living at crossings (< Skt. catuṣkabhūta). We find them referred in the Cilappatikāram, in which the pūtacatukkam is one of the five squares (magram) of Pukār,¹⁹²² where the pūtam loudly proclaims that he will bind the wicked and sinful people with a rope (pācam) and consume them,¹⁹²³ which was an excellent method against superstitious criminals. Another reference of the Cilappatikāram said, as we have seen before, that one among the Cēras performed sacrifices with wine (matu) after he brought the catukkappūtar within the boundaries of Vaṇci.¹⁹²⁴ It is perhaps possible that we see a reference to a cult similar to the bhūtakōla which is still alive in northern Malabar and Karnataka. The Maṇimēkalai also mentions the guardian pūtam of Pukār: “after beating [them], the pūtam

¹⁹¹⁸ Marr 1985 [1958], 164.
¹⁹¹⁹ Patirrupattu, 14: 1–4; cf. Puṟanāṅgūru, 2.
¹⁹₂² The catuṣka as being a part of a city, read for example: Rāmāyaṇa V. 53. 22.
devours the infernal ones (narakar) of the ancient village (tol pati), [pūtam] with a rope (pācam) by which [the narakar] had been tied, [pūtam] which causes torment with loud roar sounding like a thunder while the strong teeth shine in [its] killing red mouth”. As Decaroli sums up, “this spirit, although easily angered, uses his powers to watch the marketplace, constantly looking for crimes”. Seeing the strong connections in the tradition between these pūtar and Pukār, this might mean that the poet wanted to emphasize the Cēra interests in the eastern shores, which made them capable to borrow cults from there.

Anyway, after Ilańcēral Irumporai set up the catukkappūtar, he performed a śānti-ritual, a ritual appeasement of the world surrounded him, “the appeasement or pacification (śānti) of all cosmic power to secure the welfare of the kingdom”. We cannot be sure what does that mean here, since the cānti-ritual was probably a ceremony that “derives from consecratory forms originating in late-Vedic Atharvan ritual manuals (Śāntikalpa and Pariśīṭa)” , which continued to “develop” and found its way into the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Śivadharmottara. Except the fact that this ritual certainly appeased the cosmic power around, we know nothing about how it was performed, following which way of the rite. It is also possible that the pūtar were the ones who had to be appeased, which act shows that the king created a cosmic peace in his kingdom and established “institutions” that helped people to comply with the laws.

The 74th poem mentions some sort of rite which we cannot really identify. Balasubramanian thinks that the ritual described in that poem is the one called putrakāmesṭiyāga performed by the royal couple in order to beget a son, however, I was not able to prove this, since the syntax of the poem is extremely problematic. Although the old commentary also tends to understand a yāga (vallō – yākam paṇṇuvikka vallava; given for Line 13) and it is very possible that the old commentator construed the poem as he thought of the above mentioned putrakāmesṭi without naming it, I still cannot find explanation for the ritual hunting/skinning scenes, and cannot find the well-functioning syntactical link between acts and subjects. If we see the putrakāmesṭi rite behind these lines, then according to the Rāmāyaṇa, it would mean a ritual preserved in the Atharva Veda, or it could be even an allusion to the Rāmāyaṇa. Without going into much detail, in this poem we see the king who fulfills a religious vow, and the king, the son or the queen who is girded with a dotted deerskin. Someone also ritually hunts the deer for its skin and stitch it around, it could be either the king, his son with a syntactical twist making vallō an apposition to putalva, or the

¹⁹²⁶ Decaroli 2004, 126.
¹⁹²⁷ Bisschop 2018, 44.
¹⁹²⁸ For further details, read: Geslani 2012; Bisschop 2018.
¹⁹²⁹ Balasubramanian 1980, 33; 84.
¹⁹³⁰ Rāmāyaṇa, I. 15. 2.
master of the ritual. It is perhaps possible to think that it is a reference to the *upanayana* of the prince because of the dotted deerskin-context, however, in the case of the *ksatriya* the skin would be of a ruru-antelope instead of a deer, and the hunting/skinning scene is still more than weird. Most likely, however, the king transferred his power to the queen, who owned it until the prince became an adult.

The last major topic connected to the brāhmaṇas around the Cēra court is the person of the *purōcu* (*purohita*), who appears in the 74th poem. What we see in this poem is the following:

... after [you] understood the entireness inside yourself, o great man, at [the time of] your penance when [you] departed towards various wide areas, you said to [your] old man with grey hair (*narai mūt' āḷaṅ*) who helps [you] to conduct that the [real] generosity, the glory, the wealth [of the spirit], the lack [of the material wealth,] and the deities (*teyvam*) are [available only] for the ascetics (*tavam uṭaiyōr*). As Csaba Dezső concludes at the end of his analysis, in the case of the Raghu dynasty, the commentators suggest that the kings either adopted the third life-stage or *āśrama* (*vānaprastha*), or they became *yatis/bhikṣus*, while emphasizing that the *ksatriya* could not adopt the fourth *āśrama* (*saṃnyāsin*) anyway, as it was only available to brāhmaṇas, while their dead bodies were treated as of *saṃnyāsin*. However, there are other commentators who accepted the possibility of *ksatriyas* becoming *saṃnyāsin*, which view is already attested in the seventeenth-century *Yatidharmaprakāśa* (3. 36–45). Thus it is rather impossible to decide, whether the Cēra kings who left for the forest in their old age became *vānaprasthas*, *yatis/bhikṣus*, or *saṃnyāsin*. Turning back, the *vēṟu-patu naṉam talai* could also refer to the dharmaśāstric way to die, when “he may set out in a north-easterly direction

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1934 Dezső 2022, 20.
1935 Dezső 2022, 20–21.
and, subsisting on water and air, walk straight on steadfastly until his body drops dead”.

What is sure, the king left the kingdom transferring his royal power to his son, chose a lifestyle of turning to the gods (teyam) accompanied by rigorous penance (tavam < Skt. tapas). He is not the only one in the Patiṟṟuppattu, who decided to leave for the forest. In the III. patikam we find “Palyāṅiccelkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan who had gone to the forest (kāṭu pōnta) following Netumpāratāyaṅār [whose] knowledge (kēḷvi) rose high [by means of its] unceasing fame [and] with strength that abounds in ability.” The name of the questionable Pāratāyaṅār, whom the old commentator calls the king’s purōkitan, might have come from the proper name Pāratāyaṅ < Skt. Bhāradvāja (Tamil Lexicon, 2620), so that the honorific plural could mean one particular person, a purohita or rājaguru whose name was Pāratāyaṅār, or although I believe this is less possible, as a de facto plural noun they could have been influential brāhmaṇas belonging to the bhāradvāja-gōtra. It is easy to find another possible etymologies of the Tamil name (< Skt. bhārata?), but it is almost impossible to come closer to the hidden truth other than what we find in the poem. The most important at this point is that the king seemed to have a loyal counsellor of brāhmaṇa origin around the court, although we must mention that among these attestations only one belongs to the decade poems, while three can be found in the patikams. In the other two which had not yet been presented, we see “Celvакаṭuṅkō Viḷiyāṭan who flawlessly shone with [his] brilliant mind after [he] confused [his] purōcu (purohita)“1937 and Ilaṅcēral Irumpoṟai “[who] confused Maiyūr Kiḷan, the minister (amaicciyaṅ < Skt. amātya) [in whom] the truth circulates [with the help his] purōcu of flawless knowledge”1938. Here we see that, according to these poets, the purōcus were people who could confuse others with their vast (perhaps Vedic) knowledge, or who could be confused by the king whose knowledge surpassed that of his master, which is definitely a high-level flattering. In the 90th poem, we read about the Cēra king who”learned, while their companions’ places (turai) became full without rest.1939 This is interesting in the light of the old commentary that interprets tantunaitturai as “their standard (aḷavāṇa) treatises of the paths (turai, vedāṅgas?) of the first men of the seers/brāhmaṇas” (pārppārmutalāyiṅār tattamakkulaḷavāṇa turainūlkaḷ). We cannot, of course, take the mediaeval interpretation of such an elliptical passage completely seriously, but it is interesting to play with the idea that such institutions (vedāśrama, matha) existed in the kingdom.

We find references to the astrological/astronomical knowledge of the Cēra court poets, who mention different constellation of stars and planets. In the 13th poem we find an astronomical description that perhaps reflects an observation of the stationary or northwards(?)-moving Veḷḷi and the Aḷal (Mars) in an opposite (southwards?) motion that

1937 Patiṟṟuppattu, VII. 10–12.
1938 Patiṟṟuppattu, IX. 11–12.
1939 Patiṟṟuppattu, IX. 3–6.
might happened around the beginning of the monsoon season because as the poet said “clouds tarried [above] the fields that desired rain”.\textsuperscript{1940} According to the observations or astronomical knowledge of the ancient Tamils, Venus which stands visible at daytime probably had an important role associated with rainfalls. The \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} tells us that if the Venus bends to the north, it is a forerunner of turbulent rains.\textsuperscript{1941} However, we learn from the \textit{Puruṇāṅgūru} that the southwards motion of Venus meant to be unauspicious.\textsuperscript{1942} In the 229\textsuperscript{th} poem of the \textit{Puruṇāṅgūru} written for a Cēra king, we find an amazing and very complicated description of a planetary constellation with full of terms which have certainly been translated into Tamil from the Indo-Aryan astronomical terminology. In my opinion, the astronomical description of the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu} shows some sort of northern influence in the Caṅkam poems. There is a single reference in which a month called \textit{māci}, the eleventh solar month (February-March) or the tenth \textit{naksatra}, is attested in the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, which could somewhat prove my previous statement on northern influences, however, as the Tamil is many times ambiguous, we can translate that passage also as “the month (\textit{tiṅkaḷ}), [when] the animals (\textit{mā}), which stood (\textit{niṟra}) [in] the mist (\textit{māci}), shrink (\textit{kūr}) [from cold]”.\textsuperscript{1943}

According to the analysis of the previous pages, I conclude that the Cēras and the Vedic communities which settled down in their kingdom had a strong relation even from the first centuries AD. As we have seen earlier, south of the Bēttigō mountain to the region of the Batoi people laid an area where \textit{brāhmaṇas} were living, who were also magi.\textsuperscript{1944} To interpret \textit{brāhmaṇas} as magi is comparable to the fact that the Tamils understood \textit{mantiram} as not only ‘\textit{mantra}’ but first of all ‘magic’, ‘charm’ in the early texts. The only one settlement that was mentioned in that region is Bragmē/Brammē, an unidentified settlement of \textit{brāhmaṇas} in the Cēra interior. Thus in the middle of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century AD, we have not only Indian textual evidences to the influential \textit{brāhmaṇas} around the Cēra court, but Ptolemy’s record also underlines that these communities existed and flourished in the territory of the Cēra kingdom. Many of the words which have Indo-Aryan origin in the \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, are connected to the Vedic religion: \textit{āvuti} (\textit{āhuti}), \textit{amirtu} (\textit{amṛta}), \textit{avuṇar} (\textit{asura}), \textit{mantiram} (\textit{matra}), \textit{piṇṭam} (\textit{piṇḍa}), \textit{pali} (\textit{bali}), \textit{cānti} (\textit{śānti}), \textit{pūtar} (\textit{bhūta}), \textit{purōcu} (\textit{purohita}) etc. We also find northern place names in the text such as the Imaiyam/Himālaya, the Kaṅkai/Gaṅgā, and the Taṇṭāraṇiyam/Daṇḍāranya which was, according to the old commentary, an ārya country (\textit{ōṛ āriya nāṭu}), but it is perhaps the same as the legendary Daṇḍakāranya in the Deccan, between the Narmadā and the Godāvarī rivers.\textsuperscript{1945}

\textsuperscript{1942} \textit{Puruṇāṅgūru}, 35: 7; 117: 1–2.
\textsuperscript{1943} See: \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 59: 2.
\textsuperscript{1944} \textit{Ptol., Geog. VII.} 1. 74.
\textsuperscript{1945} \textit{Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index}, 411. \textit{The Geographical Dictionary}, 114.
Although it is easy to find references in the Patiruppattu which talk about northern religious influences, still these are embedded in a unique Cēra context, in which South Indian or even local cults can be also discovered. Among these, the most important is the cult of totemistic trees or kaṭimaram. Let us talk briefly about the translation of the term kaṭimaram. Ramachandra Dikshitar, even if he devoted only a few sentences to the subject, named the questionable tree as guardian tree (kāvalmaram) which was, according to him, a symbol of sovereignty and “to fell that tree amounted to capturing the chieftain’s flag”.

Nilakantha Sastri also used the term guardian tree in the single sentence written on the topic in his famous monograph, the A history of South India. Thani Nayagam called the tree a guarded tree, as he says “each king and each chief had a tree which symbolized him and was called the tree which he guarded”. In his monograph The Eight Anthologies, John R. Marr calls this tree a “protective tree”. In a later study, Marr compared the protective trees to the sthalavṛksas of Hindu temples. George L. Hart analyses the question that these trees were “tutelary trees”, which were “carefully guarded so that enemies could not approach it”, and were “to represent the cosmic tree, joining heaven and earth”. N. Subrahmanian used the terms “guarded tree” and “tutelary tree”. Dubiansky in his recent study returned to the term “guarded tree” and opposes Hart’s “cosmic symbolism”. Last but not least, the Tamil Lexicon defines it as a “tree planted and well guarded as a symbol of sovereign power or dominion, in ancient times”. Modern studies on the totemistic trees mention the kaṭimaram and the kāvalmaram as each other’s synonyms, however, to mention the term kāvalmaram is quite anachronistic because it is not attested in the Caṅkam texts and its earliest attestation seems to be found in the mediaeval commentary on Puranāṅgūru (ca. 12th c. AD). Thus these terms are indeed synonyms but to use kāvalmaram as a frequently used ancient term is misleading. Therefore, I prefer to use the term ‘totemistic tree’ which unites the possible and verifiable functions attributed to these trees, and the term ‘guarded tree’ which is the safer reading from the possible translations of the word kaṭimaram. Reading the Caṅkam poems, it is not a question that these trees were guarded, however, it cannot be proved whether these trees actually guarded anything (king, king’s power, dynasty, royal capital, etc.).

The poetry of the ancient Cēras abounds in natural symbolism. The various flowers, plants, trees, groves, forests are not only important for the description of the landscape, but

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1946 Dikshitar 1930, 245.
1947 Sastri 1958, 129.
1948 Thani Nayagam 1964, 34.
1952 Subrahmanian 1980, 92; 140.
1954 Tamil Lexicon, 669.
many of them have a symbolic meaning that also determines the theme of the poem or the acts of the actors. The ancient Tamil kings and chiefs had a symbolic connection with certain plants, flowers, or trees, what is more, those plants, flowers, or trees became individual symbols of the particular rulers or dynasties. Thus, when the authors of the poems referred to the different kings and tribal chiefs only with the names of their symbolic plants, this was sufficient to identify the actors and their geographic environment for the learned audience. In the Old Tamil poems, the rulers and their warriors often wear a wreath (kaṇṇi) and garland (kōtai, puṭaiyal) made of various plants, which in the case of the Cēra kings was a pōntai or paṉai wreath from the flowers of the palmyra tree (Borassus flabellifer). Beyond these chaplets and garlands, the crowned kings of ancient South India had various regalia symbolizing their sovereign power and besides the royal drum called muracu, the parasol called kutai, or the royal staff called kōl, one of these most important insignia was the kaṭimaram. In the Caṅkam poems, we see that trees that symbolized the dynasties could be found in the courtyard of the mansions of rulers (maṉṟam), or in the common (maṉṟam) of those town/villages where the court of the ruler was built, where the exhausted bards arrived to sing songs and receive gifts. In those poems in which a tree appeared as a compound, in which the first part was the word maṉṟam, in all those cases the word maṉram was followed by dynastic plants. Thus I translate the ‘maṉra-X’ type of compounds that denote trees as ‘courtly trees’, and I tend to interpret them growing in the middle of the ruler’s courtyard. Besides kaṭimaram, the kaṭimilai occurs several times in the early texts which have to be interpreted as a ‘forest [served as a] defense’. However, it is necessary to point out the difference between kaṭimaram and kaṭimilai. While the latter made it difficult for the enemy army to move around the fort due to its impenetrability, the former as standing alone, or as forming (sacred?) groves were found around the villages as stated in Puranāṅgaru 23 and 162.

The Cēras often set the goal of cutting down the totemistic trees of their foes, when they chopped down the foot of the kaṭampu-tree, the vākai-tree of Naṉṉaṉ, and the vēmpu-tree of Paḷaiyan/Mōkur. An ancestor of Naṉṉaṉ had the totemistic mango tree cut by the kōcar, of which fruit was eaten by a young girl which is why Naṉṉaṉ killed her. This poem could serve as an evidence that the totemistic trees had magical power which had to connected to the tree’s owners, therefore, the girl had to be killed. However, in the Puranāṅgaru 372 the poet adorned himself with the fallen flowers of a maṉra-vēmpu īr for which he had no trouble. So it is rather uncertain whether these trees had some sort of mysterious power, or Naṉṉaṉ was simply short-tempered who accused the girl of stealing the fruit.

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1957 Ferenczi 2020, 37.  
1959 Kuruntokai, 292.
We see in other poems that to tie the royal elephants to the enemies’ totemistic trees was an often practiced custom. This act, as the *Puranāṅgūru* 57 suggests in which we read *kaṭimaram taṭital ōmpu niru netu nal yāgaikkuk kantu āṟgāvē*, rather had a paraphrased meaning ‘do not kill the weak ones, but demand their loyalty!’ We have only one passage proving that the Cēras might have practiced this custom, in which we see the Cēra king by “tying the elephant bull to the guarded tree (*kaṭimaram*), [elephant] with sturdy feet that resemble mortars, [on which] shapely bells were fastened.” This act may refer to the humiliation of the enemies’ totemistic tree (*kaṭimaram*) as the penultimate or final act of a total victory, but could also refer to the descent of the enemies’ king into vassal status.

I mentioned the humiliation of the trees as a probably penultimate act before the total destruction, since I observe a final act of victory, at least connected to the Cēras, when the kings cut down the totemistic tree and made a royal drum (*muracu*) from its wood. This act can be found in *Patiṟṟuppattu* 11: 14, 17: 5, and 44: 15–16, and also in *Akanāṅgūru* 347: 4–5, but all these poems report on Cēra kings. Thus I assume that this rarely mentioned tradition could have been connected to the early Cēras, as far as its connection with other kings cannot be proved. The royal *muracu* drum anyway enjoyed cultic respect, which had been regularly and ceremonially washed, which had a special bed on which it was laid, and to which drum bloody sacrifices were offered.

Talking about South Indian and local cults, we observe the tradition of the *tuṇaṅkai* dance which was, according to the *Tamil Lexicon*, “a kind of dance in which the arms bent at the elbows are made to strike against the sides”. In the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, this dance was either a partner dance/festival dance in which the king had a chance to dance with other women than his (favourite) wife, or a victory dance performed on the battlefield by the king and his warriors. The *tuṇaṅkai* dance was sometimes performed by demons (*pēy*). We can conclude that the *tuṇaṅkai* dance was danced after the victory and on the occasion of the festivals, but its religious context is debatable unless it had to be associated with festivals accompanying the post-victory sacrifices. Regarding the folk traditions in the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, when I read about a group called *maṭivaiyar* “those [who wear] foliage” (27: 3) who joined to the musicians, this recalled my memories about a Malabari folk dance, the Kummaṭṭi, when the dancers wear masks and garments woven from grass during the performance which is

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1962 *Puranāṅgūru*, 50.
1967 For example: *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, 56.
accompanied by drummers. When I have seen the “great god (perum teyvam) [who] roams [along with] snakes [with] rare sapphires (mani) that lay athwart here and there [in] the big mountain, [which snakes] appeared like the possessed (veşi-uru) tremble of the innocent girl who dances, frisks and trembles”,1968 it recalled my memories on sarppam tuḷḷal or nāgakaḷam tuḷḷal, a unique ritual of Kerala, during which girls get into trance by becoming a manifestation of a Nāga, frisk, tremble, and sweep up the image of a snake made on the floor with colourful powders. However, for the time being, these are no more than interesting parallels that should be supported or rejected by further researches in the future.

The cult and the memory of Tamil heroes

We must agree with Kailasapathy’s definition, based on G. Thomson’s idea, that “the politics of the Tamil Heroic Age were marked by the ascendancy of an ‘energetic military caste, which, torn by internecine conflicts of succession and inheritance, breaks loose from its tribal bonds into a career of violent, self-assertive individualism’.”1969 Around the beginning of the Christian Era, we can already distinguish two pathways in the old literature of the Tamil kingdoms: the erotic, “inner” (akam) poetry and the heroic, “outer” (puram) poetry. As Kailasapathy states, “those treating wars, exploits of kings and chieftains, the splendour of courts, and the liberalty and munificence of heroes may be called heroic poems; those in which the love theme is predominant may be called love songs.”1970 Following the statements of the Tolkāppiyam, in the erotic poetry, poets are not allowed to mention the names of the dramatis personae, while in the heroic poetry it is allowed.1971 It was not only allowed, but it was quite remunerative, considering that the heroic poetry was ordered and funded by the kings and chieftains.1972 So, while the poets, as “the counterparts in the Heroic Age of the modern mass-media”,1973 were flattering the rulers reciting their masterful compositions, the kings and chiefs showered on them fabulous gifts and offered them abundant feasts, encouraging the bards to wander from one palace to another, or in some cases to settle down as loyal court poets.1974 What is more, in agreement with Ganapathy Subbiah, in ancient South India the liberality and the boundless capacity of gifting (kotai, ikai) were the most important

1969 Kailasapathy 1968, 73.
1971 Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Akattiṉaiyiyal, cū. 57–58. (cited by Kailasapathy 1968, 5)
1972 Dubiansky 2013, 308.
1974 In the collection of Ten Idylls (Patuppaiṭṭu) there are certain texts called āṟṟuppaiṇai songs, which have the literary program to guide poets, dancers, artists and suppliants to the liberal donors of Tamiḻakam. Kailasapathy 1968, 35–48.
criteria to distinguish a hero from others.\textsuperscript{1975} In the Old Tamil \textit{puram} poetry, the heroes (\textit{talaivān, kilavōṅ}) were the perfect men, paragons (\textit{cāṅrōṅ}) of the age. The term \textit{cāṅrōṅ},\textsuperscript{1976} as Zvelebil states is “one of the key-words in Tamil poetry, if not the key-word of the best in Tamil culture.”\textsuperscript{1977} It refers to a wise, learned, and respectable man, a great, noble person, a warrior, or a poet of the Caṅkam literature.\textsuperscript{1978} The kings and the chieftains were almost always\textsuperscript{1979} considered as noble warriors and liberal protectors (\textit{puravalamṉ}), whose generosity was not dependent on reciprocation, but was limitless and always available for the suppliants (\textit{paricilār, iravalamṉ}).\textsuperscript{1980} The level of the donations was dependent only on military successes, capturing a booty, or receiving tributes.\textsuperscript{1981} As we shall see, it was necessary and favourable for the rulers to ritually keep these liberal and iconic heroes alive in collective memory, whose memorialising act could be: the fertile medium of the hero-cult; the assurance for the survival of generosity as a social norm and a tradition of redistributing wealth; the legitimation of the ancestors’ deeds, which made them “immortal” and also legitimized their heirs; emphasis on the moral path on which the forefathers were walking, and the source of livelihood for bards, musicians, and dancers.

Those warriors, who were fighting in the armies of kings or chieftains, had to face the inevitable nature of death every day. As the poet Aiyāticciruventēraiyār sang on death in the 363\textsuperscript{rd} poem of \textit{Puṟanāṉūṟu}: “there is no life, that stays without perishing along with the body. Dying is reality, not just an illusion!”\textsuperscript{1982} which is itself a quite a wise statement,\textsuperscript{1983} or as Kaṇiyan Pūṅkuṟṇāṉār said in his much-quoted poem, beside other illusionary things “there is no novelty not even in death” (\textit{cātalum putuvatu anṟē}).\textsuperscript{1984} Death is indeed the last, irreversible event of the individual, who says farewell to the society, leaving behind a lifeless body, but also long-living memories. Of course, the durability and value of these memories were dependent on the social status of the individuals, the famous acts which they had performed and the dramatic/heroic/fabulous way, in which they passed away. From the royal perspective of memorialising, the death of a carpenter had probably a less important political value than the heroic death of a loyal soldier. In the latter case, the memorialising policy of the monarch together with the heroic poetry of the loyal poets were able to turn the sorrowful grief of the

\textsuperscript{1975} Subbiah 1991, 133.
\textsuperscript{1976} The noun \textit{cāṅrōṅ} can be derived from the verb \textit{cāl-tal}, which means to be abundant, full or extensive; to excel in moral worth; to be great or noble; to be suitable or fitting; to be finished or exhausted. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 1389.
\textsuperscript{1977} Kamil Zvelebil 1973, 17.
\textsuperscript{1978} \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 1397.
\textsuperscript{1979} Not in the case of Ḩavelimāṅ, who was a famous tightwad, see: \textit{Puṟanāṉūṟu}, 162.
\textsuperscript{1980} For further details, see Subbiah 1991, 133–158.
\textsuperscript{1981} Dubiansky 2013, 308.
\textsuperscript{1983} The idea was probably the effect of certain Buddhist/Jaina tenets, propagating the instability (\textit{nillāmai}) of life.
\textsuperscript{1984} \textit{Puṟanāṉūṟu}, 192: 4.
society into a proud, festal event of the kingdom and provided the support of the people and the continuous supply of the army. For a well-functioning military system a sovereign Tamil monarch needed a well-established policy of memorialising, a festive and ritual way to remember and remind, and a desirable conception of after-life. In fact, death was an opening door either to the upper world of the heroic ancestors, or to reincarnation into a new body.

In battles, fearless heroism was expected from the warriors. Those who bravely persevered until the end of the battle, were glorified, regardless of whether they survived or died. Those who betrayed their king and ran away from the battle, were humiliated, or killed. To observe what happened if someone abortively left his martial duties, the best example is the poem of Kākkai Pāṭiṉiyār Nacceḷḷaiyār:

When it was uttered by many, that the son of the old woman, whose belly is [wrinkled] like a lotus-leaf and whose slack, soft arms with bulging veins are parched, had withdrawn after his weapon was ruined, she got enraged and said: “If he deserted the crowded battle, then I will cut off my breasts that fed him.” She took a sword and searched [him] on the reddened battlefield turning over the fallen corpses. Once she saw the place, where the pieces of her fallen boy were scattered, she became even more glad than on the day she had given birth to him.\(^{1985}\)

This research now turns to a deeper analysis of the different passages of Old Tamil poetry, where fearless kings and warriors passed away on the battlefield. First of all, we examine the horrors of the battlefield. In the 77\(^{th}\) poem of the Akanāṉūṟu, the poet sang about “the red-eared kites, which perched at the crossing of stony roads, as they got scared from the emerging fire, which embraced the brave men who traversed the good battlefield, so their animate substance departed”.\(^{1986}\) In the 253\(^{rd}\) poem of Puranāṉūṟu a wife arrived to the battlefield lamenting the death of her warrior-husband, who was no longer able to join to his comrades’ mirth (... ilaiyar tilaippa/nakāal eṇa vantamārē), so she persuades the dead to speak (kūru nīṉ uraiye), whether she should run to his relatives (kīlaiyul oyvalō) since she became a widow.\(^{1987}\) In the 368\(^{th}\) poem of the Puranāṉūṟu, the king appears like a farmer\(^{1988}\) having his sword as a plough (vāḷ ēṟ ulava) heaping up the men into straw bales (āḷ alippaṭutta), so that

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\(^{1985}\) narampu eḻuntu ulaiya nirampā megṭol/mulāri maruṅkīṅ mutiyōḷ ciruvuṇ/paṭai alintu māṟigāṅ eṅṟu palar kūṟa/manṭa/amarkku utaṁtāṅag āyīṅ uṭṭa eṉ/mulai aruṭtiṉuṅ yōṅ eṅa cīgai/kōṉṭā vāḷṭu paṭu piṇam peyarō/ceṅkaṭam tulavuvōl cītāntu vēṟākiya/paṭumakāṅ kīṭakkai kāṇṭuṇṟa ṃḷuṟuṟum peritu uvantāṅāḷ. Puranāṉūṟu, 278.

\(^{1986}\) uyir tirai peyara nal amar kaṭanta/taṟukāṅ āḷar taḷii teṟuvara/cem cevi eruvai aṟucuvara irukkum/kal atar kavaḷai-. Akanāṉūṟu, 77: 9–12.

\(^{1987}\) Puranāṉūṟu, 253: 1–6.

the poets cannot get their gifts (here horses and elephants) in exchange for their songs, since the elephants laid dead like mountains, and the horses fell down like the ships without wind in the huge flood of blood.1989 The murderous king and a very similar flood simile appears in the 49th poem of the Patiruppattu:

… the many great desolations, which were created [by the king], so that heaps of corpses arose and the blood from the vital spots of warriors of bloody, red hands, rolls since it has overflown the pits, similarly to the stream of a rainy day, spreading and rushing on the fields.1990

We may not need to quote more from the numerous poems about the devastation of war during which, as we have seen, great warriors lost their lives, but it is necessary to talk about what we have not yet touched upon, the death of kings. In the 56th poem of the Patiruppattu, we see the victorious Cēra “king dancing on the battlefield where [other] kings, who got enraged because of their huge ignorance, marched up [against him] and fell, their lives lost, leaving [their] bodies behind.”1991 In the Puranāṉūṟu’s 62nd poem written by Kalāttalaiyār, we see how both the Cēra and the Cōḷa kings died together on the battlefield:

…[In] a highly virtuous and valorous battle, [both] kings perished, their parasols drooped and their superior royal drums, which excel in fame, became silent.1992

The death of coward kings can be seen in the 93rd poem of Puranāṉūṟu written by the famous poetess, Auvaiyār. Here the kings were killed by the army of a chieftain called Atiyamāṉ Neṭumāṉ Añci, as we read “those, who came [to fight] could not even endure the van [of your army], so they, the escaping coward kings, scattered and died.”1993 Later we see the high priests (mutalvar) of the four Vedas whose doctrines abound in virtues (aram puri kolkai nāṅmaṟaṟai), who embraced the bodies and laid them on the grassy ground, cut their bodies into pieces and buried them pretending that they died a heroic death, while saying: “go [to that] place, where warriors with bright anklets go, who fell in good battles, so that their

1989 Puranāṉūṟu, 368: 1–18.
1992 ‘aṟattiṉ maṇṭiṉ maṟappōr vēntar/tām māyntaṟarē kutai tuḻuṅkiṅgaṛē/turai cāl cirappiṅ muraicu ṭiḷintagavē’. Puranāṉūṟu, 62: 7–9. Although the literary theme of the simultaneous death of both kings can be found among the subdivisions of the tumpai ūṭai in the Tolkāppiyam (iruvar talaivar taputu pakkamum. Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram Puṟattipaiyiyal, cū. 14: 5), it is difficult to decide whether the description was a memory of a real event (as suggested by the proper names found in the probably later colophon) or just a part of literary program.
valour became [immortalized in] pillars!"  

This quotation of the song might be a faint imitation of the *Rgveda* line from the famous funerary hymn for Yama: “Go forth, go forth on the ancient paths on which our forefathers departed!”  

Even so, we see another parallel image, when Yama was invited to sit down on the grass while the poet, who carried him there to the funeral, had to sing funerary songs, which reminds us of what we read in the Tamil poem: “those who are [wearing] cord [on their] body and spreading the green grass, laid down [the bodies].”  

It is interesting to entertain the idea of whether the Tamil poetess had an insight into Vedic rituals. In fact, the sin of these kings was that they did not fight until death in the murderous battle, but ran away and were deadly wounded on their backs. To liberate them from the disgrace, the priests cut them and provided them with a burial worthy for heroes. The rhetorical question taken by the poetess is, whether in this way “they have escaped [from their sins]” (*uyntaṉarmātō*). Regarding the “real hero” Atiyamāṉ Neṭumāṉ Añci, he got a grievous wound (*viluppun*) in a duel with a war-elephant, which was indeed an honourable mark worthy for a warrior.

If we look at other poems talking about the death of chieftains we can arrange the data into schematic literary trends. Just to give a few examples, the chieftain Evvi was killed on the battlefield, so the bards put down their harps (*yāḻ*), the chieftain Āy Eyīna, son of Veḷiyaṉ, who was famous for his charity was killed on the field of Pāḷi when fighting against Miṅili, the liberal chieftain called Pāri was murdered when the armies of the three crowned kings attacked his country, Atiyamāṉ Neṭumāṉ Añci was also killed on the battlefield by spears. To conclude, all the memorable kings and chieftains of the Tamil heroic poetry happened to die a heroic death in battles, except for a few cases when the king went to the forest and became a hermit, or starved to death for various reasons. All these cases were glorious enough for the establishment of memorials, as we will see later in the chapter. In contrast those kings and chiefs, who surrendered or fled from battle, got a wound on their body...
back, whose tutelary tree had been cut off, who were not generous to others and did not shower gifts, or committed sinful acts, did not deserve to be praised, their doubtful heroic memories were not worthy enough to be preserved, and they were definitely unworthy of heroic monuments to be erected for them.

According to the poets of the Caṅkam literature, the heroes who die in battle will reach the upper world (vāṉ, vāgam, uyar nilai ulakam, arum pepal ulakam, tūrakkam etc.), which has been already “obtained by the ancestors who have unchanging strength and unfailing good fame,” as Māmulaṉār sang. However, it was not just those warriors obtained the heaven, who won the battle, but also the defeated ones, as we see in several poems where the king’s army sent the enemies to the upper world, and perhaps also the people who had established good fame on earth. The reward for those who do not turn back in battle, is similar to the Northern tradition, as mentioned in the 89th verse of the seventh book of the Mānavadharmaśāstra: “when kings fight each other in battles with all their strength, seeking to kill each other and refusing to turn back, they go to heaven.”

The upper world was not only inhabited by famous ancestors, but also by deities like Māyōṉ, Koṟṟavai, and Murukaṉ amongst others, and celestial damsels, who lived there in constant happiness. One among the deities, Kūṟṟu, the God of Death, seems to be the only one who lives on Earth, because his divine duty was to collect his victims in the material world. The poems, which have the pūvai nilai (“bilberry flower-theme”) as a dominant theme, enumerate the qualities shared by the king and the deities (in most of the cases comparing with Kūṟṟu), the comparison of which was, according to Kailasapathy not empty, since “the bards began to compare the kings to gods” as “the highest form of encomium.”

We should emphasize, that despite the feeling that the conception of heroic heaven might have been original among the Dravidians, we are still not always able to distinguish the different religious and cultural layers and borrowings in the texts, since the reconstruction of the chronology of Caṅkam texts is almost impossible and the only well-functioning tool is philology. Nonetheless, it should not be surprising to find rudimentary brāhmaṇical ideas and

2005 The 'tutelary tree' (kaṭimaram) was an important symbol of royalty at the time of Caṅkam literature, which tree had a deeper connection with the king’s life, “presumably the tree itself was believed to contain and to protect the king’s life energy.” Dubiansky 2013, 318.

2006 Hart uses the word 'Valhalla' as a quasi synonym and an attempt to define the general function of the ancient Tamil heaven-conception (Hart 1975, 41), although we consider it as a weird simplification.


2008 "Except those, who possess fame here [on earth], there is no abode [for others] in the higher world.” (ivaṉ icai utaiyorankan allatu avan atu uyar nilai ulakattu uraiyul iṉmai). Puranāṉuṟu, 50:14–15.

2010 ‘āhaveṣu mitho’nyonyam jighāmsanto mahiśitaḥ/yudhyamanāḥ paraṁ śaktyā svargaṁ yāntyaparāṁmukhāḥ’, Mānavadharmaśāstra, VII. 89. Manu’s code of law, 159.


2013 Kailasapathy 1968, 74.
certain Indo-Aryan terms in the Tamil poems even around the early centuries of Christian Era, since the ancient tenets of the Vedas were already represented by different groups all over the subcontinent in varying degrees. We can see certain Northern impacts, for instance the role of a heavenly chariot (Skt. vāhana; Tam. vāṉa ċurti) without driver, which helps the hero to reach the upper sphere.

…They say, that those who were praised by the singing learned bards, reach [heaven] on a heavenly vehicle not commanded by a celestial charioteer, after they accomplished their works to be done.2014

And the same idea in Kālidāsa’s Raghuvamśa.

“A certain warrior having his head severed off by his adversary’s sword instantly became the master of a celestial car, and with a heavenly nymph clung to his left side beheld his own headless trunk dancing about on the battle-field.”2015

The idea might have originated in the Mahābhārata, in which we read about Sudeva, the commander of Ambarīṣa’s army, who was sitting in a vimāna, which was ascending to other worlds and rising above his king, after dying a heroic death on the battlefield.2016 Although it is outside the scope of my current study, the comparison of puram poems with the Mahābhārata would be excessively fruitful for further studies because of the remarkable number of similarities.

As another otherworldly option, we must mention reincarnation, which was again either a mindset of the ancient Tamils which emerged independently from the North, or as Hart states, an adaptation of Aryan ideas in the South.2017 Overall, the idea of reincarnation does not seem to be universally accepted in old Tamil societies, although it was present and became widespread from the Middle Ages.

Nonetheless, we find references to reincarnation among the ancient poems, for instance the poet Ammuvaṉār sang the following sorrowful line: “I don’t fear dying, I fear, if

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I die, if birth becomes another, will I forget that he [is] my lover?" On the contrary, we read the critique of reincarnation in the 134th verse of the Puṇāṇuṟṟu written by Uṟaiyūr Ēṇicēṟi Muṭamōciyār about the chieftain called Āy Aṇṭira:

Āy is not a trader for the reward of virtue, saying that which you have done in this birth is for the next life. The path on which other worthy men used to walk, as they say, became [the path for] his hands’ generosity.

Be that as it may, the heroic death meant the liberation from the ancient cycle, so once the monarch died in a glorious way, it was generally believed that he departed to the upper world, which was inhabited by his ancestors and when it happened, it was time to prepare and perform the funerary rites and to establish his long-lasting fame on earth.

In the Caṅkam texts we see two regular funerary customs: cremation and urn-burial. The funerals took place at the designated places, which were found in the wilderness, near the battlefield, at the crossroads or around other deserted places. These cremation fields and burial grounds were considered as fierce and dangerous areas, where owls were hooting, vultures were hunting, jackals were howling, demons were dancing and eating the corpses and an invisible and unpredictable power called aṇaṅku was potentially present. The 238th poem of the Puṇāṇuṟṟu speaks about the different birds of prey (ceṅcēval, pokuval), crows (kākkai), owls (kūkai) and demonesses with their attendants (pēey āyamōtu) around the red burial urn (centāḻi) in the burial ground (kāṭu). The 364th poem also mentions the great burial ground (perum kāṭu), where innumerable burial urns (ānā tāḻiya) can be found and an owl hoots in a fast manner (katum eṉa iyampum kūkaikkōḻi). The poetess Auvaiyār sang the following lines in the 231st poem of the Puṇāṇuṟṟu:

If the bright fire of the pyre with charred fuel, which is like the wooden pieces of the hillman’s field cleared [by fire], approaches [his body], let it approach! [However,] if [the fire] did not approach [his body] and [he] went and rose to...
reach to sky, let [him] rise! The fame of the man will not die, who was like the bright sun and whose parasol was like the moon with cool rays.\textsuperscript{2022}

There is a possibility, that the meaning behind the lines is the dilemma, whether the king has to be burnt or buried, as we see in another poem:

The head of the man who desired esteem, either let it be left or burnt, let it happen [according to] the way [it has to] happen!\textsuperscript{2023}

Once the urn-burial was chosen, it was the duty of the local potter to create a large urn (\textit{tāḷī}), which was able to receive the body or the remains of the dead. In case of the king’s death, the poet Aiyūr Muṭavaŋār asks the master of the pots (\textit{kalam cey kō}): “Are you able to form [your urn, using] the big world as the wheel and the Great Hill\textsuperscript{2024} as the clay?”\textsuperscript{2025}

Regarding the ancient Cēra funerary customs, we see only one poem in the \textit{Patiṟṟ uppattu}, although it is rich in details, which refers to the king’s funeral:

[…] after you drove away many kings with \textit{muracu}-possessing patrimony (\textit{tāyam}) on the wastelands with owls (\textit{kurāl}) [which feel] distressed anxiety [caused] by [other] owls (\textit{kūkai}) with soft head which forgot the place, where they put the fresh fatless chops [of the corpses] which had [already] been carried away by carts, after [you] ruled the vast inlands [surrounded by] the swaying water,— at the burial ground (\textit{kāṭu}) which shines on the square with \textit{vāṇṇi}-trees, [where are] urns (\textit{tāḷī}), [in which] kings, who sweetly passed away, had been buried, may [your songstresses] not see your famous (\textit{pukaḻntā}) body [there], [your] sturdy limbs destroyed by pain, [in which your] entire strength [falls] asleep!\textsuperscript{2026}

We see references in the Caṅkam corpus, when the king was burnt on a pyre,\textsuperscript{2027} which sometimes integrated the story of the queen who stepped on her husband’s pyre and committed a ritual suicide or \textit{satī}, but it is extremely difficult to determine the nature and the

\textsuperscript{2022} ‘\textit{cēṟi puṇa kuravaṇ kuṟaiyal aṅga/kari puṇa virakki imam oḷ alai/kuruvikku kurukku kurukātu cengru/vicumpuṇa nilpigum-nilka pakuṇai/kirikul aṅga venkataio/ḥāyūṟu angoṅ pukaḷ māyalaṅe’. \textit{Puranāṅguṛu}, 231.

\textsuperscript{2023} ‘\textit{iṭuka oṅṟo cuṭuka oṅṟoṇaṇa vaḷi pāṭuka ippuṅkal veyyōg talaiyē’}. \textit{Puranāṅguṛu}, 239: 20–21.

\textsuperscript{2024} According to Tamil \textit{Lexicon}, which refers to \textit{Piṅkalam}: \textit{peru-malaį} is equivalent to Mount Meru, the centre of the created world in the Hindu cosmogony. \textit{Tamil Lexicon}, 2881.


\textsuperscript{2026} \textit{Patiṟṟuppattu}, 44: 8–9, 17–23.

\textsuperscript{2027} \textit{Puranāṅguṛu}, 221, 231, 245, 246, 247, 250, 363.
origin of these literary motifs, because at first glance they do not seem to be original, but were more likely patterns from Indo-Aryan literatures.

When a hero died in ancient Tamiḻakam, his memory deserved a worthy funeral (burial or cremation), and the erection of his memorial stone, of which a qualified case would be the heroic death of the monarch. According to K. Rajan, in the first stage of the memorials, Iron Age graves (patukkai) were raised for the people who were killed by warlike tribes (maṛavars, kāṇavars) by charging arrows, of which patukkai was most probably a stone heap (karkuvai), or a cairn.\textsuperscript{2028} The second stage was, when Iron Age graves were raised, and menhirs (naṭukal) were erected for those who died in cattle raids, but as we will see, not just for them but also for other warriors and kings, although the literary and archaeological evidence is very limited. Rajan identifies a third stage, when only the menhir (naṭukal) was raised in memory of the heroes and the grave seems to have been abandoned,\textsuperscript{2029} and a fourth stage when we see the reduced size of the menhir reaching the level of later hero stones.\textsuperscript{2030} Archaeologists have already discovered Iron Age edifices (13\textsuperscript{th} c.–5\textsuperscript{th} c. BC), hero stones with inscriptions, but without sculptural representation (4\textsuperscript{th} c. BC–5\textsuperscript{th} c. AD), hero stones with Tamil-Brāhmī script (the earliest are from the 4\textsuperscript{th} c. BC),\textsuperscript{2031} and hero stones with inscriptions and sculptural representations (from the 5\textsuperscript{th} c.–16\textsuperscript{th}–17\textsuperscript{th} c. AD).\textsuperscript{2032}

But what can we find in the literary works? The Aiṅkūṟunūṟu’s 352\textsuperscript{nd} poem mentions the inscribed memorial stones of those who died from the arrows of maṛavars\textsuperscript{2033} (maṛavar vil iṭa tolaintōr elutt’ uṭai naṭukal), similar to the 53\textsuperscript{rd} poem of the Akanāṉūṟu, where we find the same formulaic pattern with almost the same words (maṛavar vil iṭa vilintōr elutt’ uṭai naṭukal). Nōy Pāṭiyār, the author of the 67\textsuperscript{th} Akam provided more details:

…the shields and the implanted spears looked like another frontline around the towering memorial stones, which were adorned with peacock feathers at all the paths, having carved the names and the proud [acts] of [those] modest warriors who overcame in good battles\textsuperscript{2034}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[2028]{Rajan 2014, 223.}
\footnotetext[2029]{Rajan 2014, 225.}
\footnotetext[2030]{Rajan 2014, 226.}
\footnotetext[2031]{The stones were found at Pulimāṅkopai in Āṇṭipaṭṭi taluk, Tēṇi district of Tamil Nadu. The most complete inscribed stone has three lines: kal pēṭu tiyaṟg antaṟav kūṭal ěkōl, which means according to K. Rajan’s interpretation: “this hero stone [is raised to] a man called tiyaṟg antaṟav of pēṭu [village who died in] cattle raid of kūṭal ěkōl.” Rajan 2014, 228.}
\footnotetext[2032]{Rajan 2014, 221–222.}
\footnotetext[2033]{The term maṛavar can either mean the inhabitants and hunters of hilly tracts, or warriors. Tamil Lexicon, 3119.}
\end{footnotes}
Among the ancient love (akami) poems, many of the poets refer to the memorial stones, e.g. to the well-standing, imprinted stones (nal nilai poṟitta kal), to erected stones (nāṭṭiya kal), to the names on the fierce ancient memorial stones (peem mutir naṭukal peyar), to the naturally standing tall stones, which look like planted, where many names have been carved on the vast surfaces, to the neglected, hard memorial stones with parched and broken top, having withered garlands and shabby writings made by sharp chisels, to the memorial stones standing in rows (nirai nilai naṭukal), which were erected for those modest warriors, whose good fame has been established, who were crowded and killing in the difficult battle, or the memorial stone at the difficult path, which was ruined by a forest elephant thinking that it was a man.

The heroic puram literature provides a more specific picture about the rituals around the memorial stones. The 232nd poem of the Puranāgūru refers to the memorial stones adorned with peacock feathers (pīlī), where fibre filtered palm wine (nār ari) used to be offered. In another, the 260th poem mentions the names (peyar) on the surface, the decorative feathers of a bashful peacock (maṭṭicāl maṇṇai anī mayīr), which has been used as adornment and the shady pavilion (pantār) above the stone. The 263rd poem gives the advice, that one should refrain him/herself from not bowing down, when going near the memorial stone of the man, who seized and brought many cattle from the enemies. The 264th poem tells about a stone erected by people (naṭṭagu) on a mound (patukkai) of a gravelly site (paral utai marunki), on which the names were carved (peyar poṟitta), which was adorned by decorative peacock-feathers (anī mayīl pili cūṭṭi), together with garlands of red flowers (cem pūn kaṇṇiyōtu) with the picked leaves of bowstring hemp (maral vakuntu toṭutta). The hero hereby performed the same heroic act, which we have seen before, when he seized cattle with calves, but also chased away his enemies. In the 306th poem, the young woman with sprouting, tender tresses and a shiny forehead (oli meg kūntal ol nutal arivai) was praising the memorial stone with joined hands without a break (naṭukal kai toṭutu paravum oṭṭụṭu). The 329th poem refers to the little village, where liquor was brewed in the houses (il atu kallining cil kuṭu cīṛū).
and to the memorial stones nearby, where daily sacrificial offerings (nāḷ pali ʿuṭṭi) were given, which were washed with good water (naṭṭīr ʿuṭṭi), where butter-lamps were lit for the sake of incense (neyynarai ʿoṭṭi). The author of the somewhat later Malaiḷaṭukāṭām refers to the sweet-sounding music of the bards (iṅ puṟu muṟarkai num paṭṭu), which used to be performed around the erected stones with names.2048 The Puranāṉūṟu’s 335th poem states that there are no other gods than the glorious memorial stones of the heroes who stopped the enemies and killed their elephants, on which stones the paddy was scattered.2049 The 314th poem mentions a wasteland (parantalaṭ), which is densely crowded with memorial stones (piṟaṇkiya naṭukal), covered with dried leaves (iṅval itu).2050 Another text, the Paṭṭigappāḷai refers to the memorial stones, surrounded with swords/spears and shields, as a part of a simile.2051 Among the subdivisions of the “literary setting” veṭci, the Tolkāppiyam Purutattikāram Puṟṇattinaiyiyal gives six themes on the erection and the function of memorial stones: kāṭci: the selection of a particular stone for worship; kalkōṭ: the process of taking the stone; nūppaṭṭaṭ: pouring water on the stone; naṭṭuṭ: installing the stone; ciṟṟtaku marapi ʿerumṭṭaṭṭai: accomplish the great offering according to the superior tradition;2052 vāṭṭuṭ: praising the stone.2053 As we have seen, there was a wide-spread tradition of the establishment of memorials for the heroes in ancient Tamiḻakam, so this investigation turns to what monuments were erected to the kings.

We read in the 221st poem of the Puṟanāṉūṟu, that the king as the protector (puravalaṭ), who performed noble, memorable acts including liberal donations, ruling with a straight sceptre, sheltering the high persons of the Vedas, and so forth, turned into a memorial stone (naṭṭuṭkal āyigaṭ), because of the ignorant God of Death (niṟaiyā Kūṟram), who seized his sweet life (iṅ uyir uyṭṭaṅṛu) without considering his qualities.2054 The king, who turned into a memorial stone, was Köpperuṅcōḷaṇ, whose story we vaguely know from other poems: it appears that his sons rebelled against him, so that he chose to sit down facing the North and died in this manner. This custom could be introduced under the influence of a Jaina religious practice of voluntarily fasting to death (sallekhanā). According to Māmūḷaṉaṇṭi and Veṉṉikkuyattiyār, there is another king, who chose the same way to die, a Ĉēra king, who received a shameful wound on his back from Karikāl Vaḷavaṅṭ on the battlefield of Veṇṭi, so

2048 Malaiḷaṭukāṭām, 383–395.
2049 ‘oṅgā tevar muṇgingū vilanki/oliṇṭu maruppiṅ kalīṅu erintu vilāntēṇa/kallē paraviṅ allatu/nel ukuttu paravum kaṭṭuvaḷam ilavē’. Puṟanāṉūṟu, 335: 9–12.
2050 Puṟanāṉūṟu, 314: 3.
2051 ‘kīṭukku niraittu elku ṽūṇi/naṭṭukalinn aṟaṇ pōla’. Paṭṭigappāḷai, 78–79.
2052 According to the translation of L. Gloria Sundramathy and Indra Manuel, the line “ciṟṟtaku marapiṅ perumṭṭaṭṭai” means “making the stone worthy of great offering by building a temple”, but also “engraving the merits of the hero on the stone or deifying the stone”, explanations which are based on Nacciṇārkkiniyayar’s mediaeval commentaries; Sundramathy–Manuel 2010, 66–70.
the king starved himself to death, whilst sitting and facing the North. We see the king’s loyal people with their old friendship (tol nāṭputaiyār) in the Puranāṅgūr’s 223rd poem, who decided to follow the king to death, so they also turned into lasting memorial stones (nilai peṟu nāṭukal ākiya). In the 261st poem we see the young hero who became a memorial stone and we see his suffering widow with shaved head (maḷi talaiyoṭu), although the hero here was a generous village elder (kilār) and not a king. In the 265th poem we read about another unknown ruler who turned into stone (kal āyiṉaiyē). These seem to be so far all the references we could extract from the Caṅkam corpus on memorial stones of the monarchs and chiefs, although it seems clear, that the heroes, the heroic warriors, the cattle-raiders, the chiefs and the kings, who died in battle or passed away in a honourable manner, were worthy for a memorial monument.

After the king’s death, the widowed queen either chose the sorrowful life of widows or stepped on to the pyre of her beloved, but either way she reached a turning point in her life. Again we cannot be sure whether these details are the projections of the author’s fantasy, memories of real historical events, or literary loans of Northern ideas. Whatever it is, the 246th poem of the Puranāṅgūr suggests that some of the noble warriors intended to force a queen, namely Perunkōppenṭu, the wife of Pūta Pāṇṭiyaṉ, to adopt the life of widows sleeping on the bed of pebbles and following an ascetic lifestyle. Even the opening lines are suggestive, “Many warriors, o many warriors! You do not let me go, but forbid me to die, o intriguing wicked warriors!”

but finally the queen, who was the author of the poem, proclaimed her courageous determination, addressed to the cunning men around the court, as she sang: “the black twigs of the funeral pyre, which were piled up at the burning ground, might be difficult for you, but for me, since my husband with big shoulders passed away, […] the pond and the fire are all the same.” The Puranāṅgūr preserved the last episode of the life of Perunkōppenṭu in the 247th poem, when the poet, as an eye-witness, saw the queen entering the funeral pyre of her husband. In the 240th poem the chieftain Āy Āṇṭiraṉ has reached the world of the celestials together with his woman (makalīrōṭu … mēlōr ulakam eytiṉaŋ), when he was burnt on a pyre, so that the poets headed for other countries. In fact when the king died, his queen had only two choices, either agree with her bitter destiny, or step on her

2055 Akanāṅgūr, 44. cf. Puranāṅgūr, 66.
2057 Puranāṅgūr, 261.
2058 Puranāṅgūr, 265: 5.
2059 Kālasapathy 1968, 237.
2062 We cannot be sure that the text is talking about one wife, several wives, or other female attendants of the king, since the honorific plural was regularly used for singular and plural subject as well.
2063 Puranāṅgūr, 240: 4–6.
husband’s pyre. In the opposite case of the queen’s death, this unfortunate destiny had no effect on the widowed king. As we see in the Puṟanāṅgūrṉ’s 245th poem, beyond the Cēra king’s terrible pain, there were no social restrictions, so he retained his political role and importance. In the case of the queen, her life in the royal dynasty hung between two threads, which started with the wedding ceremony and ended with death, either of the king or of her. As a queen, she was the source of life and the base of the dynasty’s continuity: generally her and women’s wombs were like a “rock shelter” for the tiger-like soldiers, but once the king died, she lost her previous significance together with her royal rights and became an ordinary widow who had to begin her bitter penance.

We may conclude that the memorialising process of the ancient Tamils had different techniques and layers through the centuries. First of all, the ancient heroic literature was not only a means to praise the great warriors but to keep them alive through their glorious memories mixed with a great quantity of literary topos. Once the ancient literature of the Tamils has been edited and formed into a canon in the early Middle Ages, this canon was continuously studied (with more or less intensity), copied and preserved through the ages, which meant to be the next step of memorialising. I strongly believe that the puṟam literature became a memory space (lieu de mémoire) in which the poems were quasi symbolic memorials for the heroes. Following the criteria of Pierre Nora on lieux de mémoire, the Tamil heroic literature was able to crystallize and conceal the memory of the ancient heroes; it used a clear literary language full of symbolic patterns, but later itself became symbolic as a literary treasury of the ancient heydays; was functional as an initially oral, later semi-oral and court-poetry which was preserved by the Tamils through the millennia, and is material as a written canon, which has stood the test of time and survived the ages on palm-leaf manuscripts. Adding the fact that Old Tamil literature is our only indigenous textual source for the reconstruction of the early history of Tamiḻakam (except for the very sporadic inscriptions), we have the impression that the Tamils themselves looked upon the old literature as an imaginary locus memoriae, as a vast material of their collective memory, which became a part of their collective identity. Reading the texts of Old Tamil literature, we have the feeling that the poets intended to sing the universal and the eternal when they praised the fabulous acts and the memory of the heroes (hiding the unpleasant), rather than reflect to the fragile/fragmented history, which appears in the texts sporadically and indirectly with a secondary importance. The puṟam literature as well as the erected memorials both could be identified as the bearers of the collective memory and seem to serve the dual purpose of remembering and reminding. Remembering, and in this sense praising the kings and the heroes as the protectors of the society by means of the “panegyrical ritual” as a social

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2065 Nora 1989, 18–19.
mechanism, and the establishment of their memorials together with its rites, and reminding
the society to the principles that heroes have designated with their lives, and to the heroic acts
that could illuminate the unexperienced past. The literary references on the erection of
memorials together with the more abundant archaeological findings, show the strong efforts
of contemporaries to take the worthy members of the old societies with them into their
“progressive present”. The old heroic literature, which was delightful and entertaining,
indirectly recorded moral and social duties of heroes, highlighted symbolic events, fabulous
memories and retouched historical records was no doubt a guarantee of the legitimate survival
of clans and of the stable functioning of societies. Thus, the memory of the monarch was part
of a larger conglomerate called the memory of the heroes, which was reflected in the
flattering court poetry of the ancient Tamils, which secured the livelihood of the poets, gave
icons and stories to the societies and as a symbolic memorial preserved the glory of the
monarchs, so that they obtained the long-lasting earthly fame as the Cēra king did, who “lived
in the mouths of learned poets with uttering tongues, after his good fame shining from afar
has been established” (cēn vilanccoli icai niṟi ni navil pulavar vāy ulāge).2066

2066 Puranāgūru 282: 10–11.
Conclusion and results

In the previous pages, I made an attempt to present the history of the early Čēra kingdom from the perspective of the royal panegyrici, applying a quasi Braudelian approach in which I have analysed the 1st–3rd centuries AD as a long durée of South Indian history. In order to conduct this analysis, I have provided an annotated translation of the anthology called Patiruppattu, the praising words of the learned who served the ancient Čēra court. As we have seen, the Patiruppattu was not only a compilation of various older and later poems, but a well-constructed and edited work, which was able to retell the history of the dynasty, the main campaigns, and the territorial changes of the kingdom, from the beginnings to the glorious heydays of the Irumporai Čēras.

This anthology, together with other Caṅkam compositions, proved to be a suitable source to reconstruct the political nature of the Čēra state in these centuries, which was, no doubt, a kingdom similar to the ‘early kingdoms’ studied by Kulke. This kingdom had gradually intensifying relations with the brāhmaṇas in and around the Čēra territories, while borrowing religious and political theories from the North together with the conception of the dharmacakra and the king as being a cakravartin. I have proved that at several points the early Čēra kingdom was related to northern Indian traditions, not only in terms of governance but also of religion. The early Čēras provided protection for their Vedic brāhmaṇa communities, entrusted them with the performance of royal sacrifices, and made them personal advisers to the king, while kings lived their life (or at least part of it) under their religio-political guidance.

As I have shown, the early Čēra kingdom had well-defined but ever-increasing boundaries or frontier regions in these centuries, while we have seen the Čēra attempt to extend their hegemonic rule over South Indian countries, kings, and chiefs. In order to preserve the acquired territories, governors, princes, or loyal vassals were stationed in the most important settlements and regional centres. We have seen the directions of the Čēra campaigns in the Patiruppattu, which showed the zealous effort of the early Čēras to control both the Malabar region and the Kāviri Valley together with the networks of ancient trade routes. I have also discussed the relationship between king and his army, the poems about campaigns, the characteristics of early fortifications in the Caṅkam texts, and the splendid festivals held to celebrate victory.

I have made an attempt to introduce the ancient geography of the Malabar Coast together with its surrounding areas, based on the contemporary Greek, Latin, and Indian sources. I have examined the shipping and seafaring of the Čēras and their moderate engagement in coastal trade; the naval campaigns against those who threatened the Čēra interests, and the important role of Čēra merchants, Jaina traders, and perhaps royal officials.
in market trade. After that, I have introduced the important ports of trade, emporia, markets, and trade routes which, I believe, resulted a more detailed analysis than was available before, while I have clarified several important issues.

From the available textual sources and the related archaeological findings, I have created a model of the early Cēra economy, which consists: (1.) a traditional barter-exchange between the different eco-regions as the most mentioned mode of trade in the Caṅkam corpus, (2.) a monetized system of marketplaces where wealthy people, local elite, and merchants carried out monetized transactions, and (3.) a system of gift-exchange as a distribution of one’s wealth mainly in order to establish/stabilize political/economic/ritual relations. In the last subchapters, I have examined the relation between king and religion, king and heroism, and king and memory. Overall, in these chapters I have argued that at the time of the Patiruppattu, the religious history of the Cēra kingdom was in a stage that was characterized by a synthesis of Pre-Aryan beliefs and northern traditions, while I have shown that we are far from being able to interpret the ancient Cēra culture in these centuries as an untouched one without external influences. I have also proved that the puṟam-poetry together with the Patiruppattu were ancient loci memoriae, in which behind the formulaic language and literary conventions, we found actual memories of kings and heroes who fought under the royal banner of the Čēras.

Chronology has been a troubling factor in the study throughout. The possibility of divisio regni arose several times, however, It is rather difficult to tell whether more than one kings ruled at the same time, or there was always only one crowned king. However, there is no textual evidence that mentions two Cēra kings at the same time. The possibility of creating an internal chronology could not be attempted and the synchronisms also proved to be fragile. Thus, the most important chronological boundaries were fixed to the inscriptional material and the Greek and Latin sources, while for the reign of the eight kings of the Patiruppattu, we designated a long period (1st–3rd centuries AD). In this period, if we consider the years given by the Patiruppattu’s epilogues, the Cēra kings ruled for 231 years and succeeded each other on the throne every 29 years on average. Even if the exact years were not taken into account, this data was used in this study as approximate information.

In summary, the dissertation sheds new light on the early Cēra kingdom defining its culture as of a hybrid nature with Tamil literary life, with indigenous traditions, as well as with strong northern influences in the 1st–3rd centuries AD.
Appendices

An index of place names related to the ancient Cēra kingdom

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<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>Adarima</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 86</td>
<td>An unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala between the Pseudostomos/Periyār river and the Baris/Pampā river.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Āṇporunai</td>
<td><em>Akanāṉūṟu</em>, 93; <em>Puranāṉūṟu</em>, 36; Amarāvati river. Same as: Poruṇai/Porunai river.</td>
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<td>Arembour</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 86</td>
<td>An unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Āṭakamāṭam</td>
<td><em>Cilappatikāram</em>, III. 26: 62; id. Tiruvaṅgantapuram, the location of the vaiṣṇava shrine found in <em>Patiṟṟuppattu</em> 31 according to the old commentator. Cāminātaiyar 1980, 74.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ayirai</td>
<td><em>Patiṟṟuppattu</em>, III; 79; 88; 90; <em>Cilappatikāram</em>, III. 28: 145; an established place of worship; perhaps Aivarmalai near Paḻañi, Tamil Nadu. <em>Tamil Lexicon</em>, 112.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bacharē</td>
<td><em>Periplus Maris Erythraei</em>, ch. 58. Same as: Bakarē.</td>
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<td>Balita</td>
<td><em>Periplus Maris Erythraei</em>, ch. 58; an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala. See: Bammala/Bambala and Blinca. Kumar (et al.) 2013, 196; 200.</td>
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<td>Location</td>
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<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 9; an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala, it might be the same as Balita of the <em>Periplus Maris Erythraei</em> (ch. 58) and Blinca of the <em>Tabula Peutingeriana</em>. If so, it might also be the same as today’s Vilānīppelin, Kerala. <em>Barrington Atlas</em>, 61. Kumar (et al.) 2013, 196; 200.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baris</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 86; perhaps today’s Pampā river, Kerala.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berderis/Bideris</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 86; an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala between the Pseudostomos/Periyār river and the Baris/Pampā river.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bēttigō</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 34; Western Ghats or part of it; it has been often connected to Tam. Potiyil/Potikai (today’s Agastyamala or Potiyam, Kerala); the Greek name might reflect the Old Kannada beṭṭa, a word for ‘firmness’, ‘mountain’. <em>Kittel’s Kannada-English Dictionary</em>, 1205.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blinca</td>
<td><em>Tabula Peutingeriana</em>, XI; an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala. Probably the same as Bammala/Bambala and Balita. Kumar (et al.) 2013, 196; 200.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bragmē/Brammē</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 74; an unidentified settlement of brāhmaṇas in the Cēra interior.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bramagara</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 8; an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast; might be Brahmakulaṃ, Kerala. Kanakasabhai 1904, 18.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cellūr</td>
<td><em>Akanānūru</em>, 220; ancient brāhmaṇa settlement in today’s Kerala; might be identifiable with the present-day Tālipparampu, Kerala. Veluthat 1978, 12.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chabēris emporion</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 13; see: Pukār.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cotiara

Tabula Peutingeriana, XI; might be a city (metropolis) in Kuṭṭanāṭu. Same as: Kottiara. See: Kuṭṭanāṭu.

Cottonara


Cullī

Akanāṉūṟu, 149; the river at ancient Muciṟi, most probably the Pēriyār, Kerala.

Elangōn/Elangōros

Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 9; an emporion in Kuṭṭanāṭu; Kanakasabhai: perhaps identical with Vilayāṅkōṭ, Kerala (Kanakasabhai 1904, 20); Chattopadhyaya: perhaps identical with Kollaṁ, Kerala (Chattopadhyaya 1980, 91).

Ēlilkūṟam/Ēlil neṭunvarai

Akanāṉūṟu, 152; Naṟṟiṉai, 391; Eḻimala of northern Kerala, north of Kaṇṇūr.

Iṭumpil

Patirṛppattu, V. 9; Cilappatikāram, III. 28: 118, “cruel place”?, a place in middle-southern India?, where Cēṅkuṭṭuvaṉ camped with his army; it might be the same as Iṭumpāvaṉam sung by Campantar (Tēvāram, I. 17).

Kaḻumalam

Akanāṉūṟu, 270; a place in Naṟṟēṟkuṭṭuvaṉ’s territory. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 241.

Kamara

Periplus Maris Erythraei, 60; see: Pukār.

Kāmūr

Akanāṉūṟu, 135; 365; town belonging to the chief Kaḻuvuḷ defeated by the Cēṟaṉ, cf. Patirṛppattu, 71; 88.

Karoura

Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 86; the city called Karuvūr, the capital (or one of the capitals) of the early Cēṟa kingdom. Aiyangar 1940; Marr 1985 [1958], 159–163; Rajan 1994, 100.
Karuvūr  
_Akanānūru_, 93; the city called Karuvūr, the capital (or one of the capitals) of the early Cēra kingdom; today’s Karūr, Tamil Nadu. Aiyangar 1940; Marr 1985 [1958], 159–163; Rajan 1994, 100.

Kalaikarias  
Ptol., _Geog._ VII. 1. 8; perhaps Cālakkuṭi, Kerala. Kanakasabhai 1904, 17–18.

Kaṭampiṇ Peruvāyil  
_Patiṟṟuppattu_, IV; the town of Nāṇṇa[n] in Tuḷunāṭu, north of the Cēra kingdom.

Kāviri  
_Patiṟṟuppattu_, 74; the river Kāviri/Kāvēri at Pukār which town was probably invaded by the Cēras for a shorter period.

Kereoura  
Ptol., _Geog._ VII. 1. 8; perhaps the today’s Guruvaḷyū. _Barrington Atlas_, 65.

Kolli  
_Patiṟṟuppattu_, 73; 81; VIII; also known as: Kollikkuṭavarai, Kolli Hills still bear the same name in Tamil Nadu north of Karūr.

Komar  
_Periplus Maris Erythraei_, ch. 58; today’s Kaṇṇiyākumari or Cape Comorin, the southernmost tip of the Indian peninsula. See: Kumari.

Komaria  
Ptol., _Geog._ VII. 1. 9; today’s Kaṇṇiyākumari or Cape Comorin, the southernmost tip of the Indian peninsula. See: Kumari.

Koṅkar nāṭu  
_Patiṟṟuppattu_, 22; same as: Koṅkunāṭu, a division of the Cēra country where the folks called koṅkar lived.

Koreour/Koureour  
Ptol., _Geog._ VII. 1. 86; an unidentified settlement, perhaps south of Mysore. _Barrington Atlas_, 72.

Kottanarichē  
_Periplus Maris Erythraei_, ch. 56; id. Kuṭṭanāṭu, “the country of the lakes” (modern days’ Ālappuḻa, Koṭṭayaṇ

Kottiara

Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 9; the city (metropolis) called Kottiara in Kuṭṭanāṭu. Same as: Cotiara.

Koṭukūr


Koṭumaṇam

Patiṛuppattu, 67; 74; an ancient Cēra town which was famous for its craft; probably identifiable with today’s Koṭumaṇal, Erode District, Tamil Nadu. Rajan 2015, 10.

Kouba

Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 85; az unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast west of the Pseudostomos/Periyār river in the inlands of Limyrikē.

Kourellour/Kourelloura

Ptol., Geog. VII. 1. 86; an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast; it might be the same as Kaṭavallūr, Kerala. Barrington Atlas, 65.

Kumari

Patiṛuppattu, 11; 43; today’s Kaṇniyākumari or Cape Comorin, the southernmost tip of the Indian peninsula. See: Komar; Komaria.

Kuṭanāṭu

Patiṛuppattu, VI; the western division of the Cēra kingdom, north of Kuṭṭanāṭu, south of the neighboring Tuḷunāṭu.

kuṭṭuvar [nāṭu]

Patiṛuppattu, 90; Kuṭṭanāṭu; “the country of the lakes” (modern days’ Ālappuḷa, Koṭṭayaṃ and Pattanaṇṭitiṭṭa Districts of Kerala). Casson 1989, 221. Same as: Kottanarichē.

Lacus Muziris

Tabula Peutingeriana, XI; a lake near Muziris and its Augustan temple.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maiyūr</td>
<td><em>Patirṛppattu</em>, IX; an ancient town in South India; the localization of this place is not possible; the chiefs of this village/town were strongly connected to the Irumpoṟai branch of the Cēras both by marriage and service in public life. Marr 1985 [1958]: 299.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>The ranges of the Western Ghats from the Nilgiris hills (Durdura) to Kanṉiyākumari. <em>Geographical Dictionary</em>, 213.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māntai/Marantai</td>
<td><em>Akanāṇūṟu</em>, 127; a Cēra town called Māntai and/or Marantai on the Malabar Coast. It might be the same as Gr. Morounda.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melkynda/Melkyda</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 9; a town in Kottanarichē/Kuṭṭanāṭu. See: Nelkynda.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morounda</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 9; an unidentified town in the interior of the people called Aioi (Āy) in Kuṭṭanāṭu. Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index, 85–86. It might be the same as Tam. Māntai/Marantai.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouziris</td>
<td><em>Periplus Maris Erythraei</em>, ch. 53; Ptol., <em>Geog.</em> VII. 1. 8. See: Muziris.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Location/Description</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mucirri</td>
<td><em>Akanāṇūru</em> 57; <em>Puṇāṇūru</em> 343; Muttuppati inscription; <em>Muttollāyiram</em>, 9. See: Muziris.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalopatana</td>
<td>Cosm. Indic. XI. 16; an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast that bears a Tamil name of a port town (<em>paṭṭinam/paṭṭanam</em>).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṅrā Hill</td>
<td><em>Patiruppattu</em>, VII; an unidentified hill in the Cēra kingdom.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṟavu</td>
<td><em>Patiruppattu</em>, 60; 85; an ancient Cēra coastal town and marketplace on the Malabar Coast. Perhaps the same as: Naoura. Previously identified with: Kaṇṇūr, Kerala (Schoff 1913, 204), Honnāvara, Karnataka (Pretzsch 1889, 23), and Maṅgalūru, Karnataka (Casson 1989, 297). Perhaps around: Eḻimala, Kerala.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naroulla/Nalloura</td>
<td>Ptol., <em>Geog</em>. VII. 1. 85; an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast; according to Ptolemy an inland town west of the Periyār.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelkynda</td>
<td><em>Periplus Maris Erythraei</em>, ch. 56. an emporion in Kuṭṭanāṭu. Iyengar identifies it with Niraṇaṃ, Kerala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nēri

_Patiṟṟuppattu_, 40; 67; V. (?); A hill in the Tamil country belonging to the Cōḷas, conquered by the Cēras. _Tamil Lexicon_, 2360. Cf: Vāyił.

Nincildae

_Tabula Peutingeriana_, XI. See: Nelkynda.

Nītrias/Nitra

Plin., _Naturalis Historia_, VI. 26, 104; Ptol., _Geog_. VII. 7; an emporion and/or an island north of the Cēra border areas and Naoura/Naṟavu, perhaps in the territories of Nānṇaṅ. It might be identical with an unidentified seashore site of South Karnataka, or with today’s Pigeon Island/Netrani Island and the Leukē nēsos of the _Periplus Maris Erythraei_, ch. 53. Nītra was north of Limyrikē in Andrōn Peiratōn (Ptol., _Geog_. VII. 7). Pretzsch 1889, 23; Warmington 1974, 57; Schoff 1913, 203; Casson 1989, 21.

Paloura

Ptol., _Geog_. VII. 1. 85; an unidentified town of the Cēra kingdom; according to Ptolemy an inland town of the Cēras, west of the Periyār.

Pantar


Pantipolis/Pantipoleis

Ptol., _Geog_. VII. 1. 86; an unidentified settlement in today’s Kerala.

Paralia

_Periplus Maris Erythraei_, 58; the coastline of the historical Tiruvāṅkūr/Travancore region of Kerala. _Barrington Atlas_, 68.
Pasagē  

Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 86; an unidentified settlement in the Bēttigō oros/Western Ghats between the Periyār and the Pampā rivers. *Barrington Atlas*, 73.

Podoperoura  

Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 8; an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast; Tam. *putuppērūr* ‘new great town’.

Porunai/Porunai river:  

*Akanānūru*, 93; *Puranānūru*; 11; *Puranānūru*, 36; *Puranānūru*, 387; Amarāvati river. See: Āṇporunai.

Poudapatana  


Pounnata  

Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 86; perhaps the same as Pūnṉār, Kerala. Kanakasabhai 1904, 20; Turner 1989, 74.

Pseudostomos  

Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 33; the Periyār river which originates in the Bēttigō oros.

Pukār  

*Patirṛuppatu*, 73; A famous seashore settlement belonging to the Cōlas, perhaps conquered by Peruṅcēral Irumpoṟai; same as: Kamara (*Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 60); Chabēris emporion (Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 13), identical with Kāvērippaṭṭaṇam on the Coromandel Coast.

Pūlīnāṭu  

*Patirṛuppatu*, IV; 21; 73; 84; 90; the land of the *pūliyar*, part of the Cēra kingdom. *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, 593.

Salopatana  

Cosm. Indic. XI. 16; an unidentified settlement on the Malabar Coast that bears a Tamil name of a port town (*pattigam/patṭaṇam*).

Semnē  

Takaṭūr

*Patiṟṟuppattu*, 78; VIII; the fortified capital of Atikamān Neṭumān Aṇci sieged by the Cēras; it is perhaps Dharmapuri of modern times. *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, 409.

Taṇporunai

*Puṇanāṉṟu*, 11; *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram Karpiyal*, 191; Nacciṇārkkiṇiyār’s comm., perhaps another name of the Cuḷḷi/Periyār river. Cf. Poruṇai/Porunai river.

Toṇṭi

*Patiṟṟuppattu*, 88 (*toṇṭiyōr*); VI; the most-mentioned Cēra settlement in the Caṅkam corpus, a port and political centre on the Malabar Coast; perhaps around today’s Kozhikode (Kōḻikkōṭ) District, Kerala; it might be identical either with Ponnāni, Kaṭaluṇṭi, or Kōyilāṇṭi. Selvakumar 2017, 274.

Tundis

*Tabula Peutingeriana*, XI; see: Toṇṭi.

Tyndis

*Periplus Maris Erythraei*, ch. 53; Ptol., *Geog.* VII. 1. 8; see: Toṇṭi.

Umparkāṭu

*Patiṟṟuppattu*, III; V; cf. *Akanāṉṟu*, 357; “elephant-forest”, a division of the Cēra kingdom.

Vaṇci

*Patiṟṟuppattu*, IX; perhaps the same as Karuvūr. See: Karuvūr.

Vāyil

*Patiṟṟuppattu*, V; *Cilappatikāram*, III. 28: 116–117; perhaps a town south of Uṟaiyūr; Čenkuṭṭuvaṇḍ won at Nērivāyil (same as Vāyil here) over nine kings. *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, 413.

Viyalūr

A map on the political geography of the early Cēra kingdom
(1\textsuperscript{st}–3\textsuperscript{rd} centuries AD)

This map was made by Máté Rottár (Oriental Collection, LHAS) and Roland Ferenczi.
Source of geographic data: Natural Earth.
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