South-Indian Manuscripts in Hamburg and Paris: Paratexts and Provenance

TST Project (ANR & DFG, 2019–2023)

Edited by

Emmanuel Francis and Eva Wilden

INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 17

Hamburg • 2025

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, University of Hamburg

South-Indian Manuscripts in Hamburg and Paris: Paratexts and Provenance



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES

Edited by Harunaga Isaacson and Dorji Wangchuk

Volume 17

Hamburg • 2025

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, University of Hamburg

South-Indian Manuscripts in Hamburg and Paris: Paratexts and Provenance

TST Project (ANR & DFG, 2019–2023)

Edited by

Emmanuel Francis and Eva Wilden



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 17

Hamburg • 2025

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, University of Hamburg

Published by the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies,
Asien-Afrika- Institut, University of Hamburg, Alsterterrasse 1,
D-20354 Hamburg, Germany
Email: indologie@uni-hamburg.de

© Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies,
University of Hamburg, 2025

ISBN: 978-3-945151-16-7

Francis, Emmanuel and Eva Wilden: South-Indian Manuscripts in Hamburg and Paris: Paratexts and Provenance, TST Project (ANR & DFG, 2019–2023)

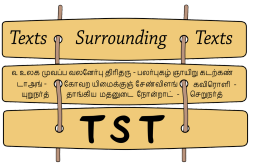
First published 2025

All rights reserved.
Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, no part of the book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microform or any other means without written permission. Enquiry should be made to the publishers.

Printing and distribution:
Aditya Prakashan, 2/18 Ansari Road, New Delhi, 110 002, India.
Email: contact@bibliaimpex.com
Website: www.bibliaimpex.com

Printed and bound in India by Replika Press Pvt. Ltd.

The TST project (2019–2023) has been funded by DFG, Germany and ANR, France.
TST logo by Nadia Guerguadj.







Contents

Introduction by Emmanuel Francis and Eva Wilden 1

Part I: Paratexts

Emmanuel Francis: Blessings in Tamil Manuscripts 25

Eva Wilden: Tables of Content — What For? 57

Neela Bhaskar: Invocatory Verses of Nampi's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam*: A Comparison of Two Versions 75

Eva Wilden: The Distribution of Satellite Stanzas in *Kuṟaḷ*, *Nālaṭiyār*, and *Paḻamoḻi* 97

Giulia Buriola Meneghin, in collaboration with Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini: Marking up the Edges: XML TEI Encoding Strategies for Indic Colophon Collections 129

Part II: History of the Collections

Emmanuel Francis: Towards a History of the BnF Collection of Tamil Manuscripts 163

Jérôme Petit: The Ochoa Collection at the BnF 193

Charles Li: Scribes, Editors, & Librarians: Between Tradition and Modernity in Late Colonial India 221

Suganya Anandakichenin: An Aperçu of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts of Śrīvaiṣṇava Provenance from the the Collection of the State and University Library in Hamburg 243

Camillo Formigatti: From the Shelves to Printed Page: Cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Analogue Era 273

Camillo Formigatti: From the Shelves to the Web: Cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Digital Era 309

Part III: Particular Manuscripts

T. Rajeswari: Paratexts in *Kalittokai*, *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, *Patiṟṟuppattu* and *Pārata Māvintam* Manuscripts 331

S. Saravanan: Paratextual Elements Manuscripts of the *Collatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam* 361

Indra Manuel: Manuscripts of the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam* in the UVS Library: A Survey 373

K. Nachimuthu: Teyvaccilaiyār's Commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* and the Role of Paratexts 403

Victor B. D'Avella: Formal Translations: The Advent of *Citrakāvya* in Tamil 425

Cristina Muru: A Missionary Grammar of Tamil of the Early 17th Century: Its History, Its Connections, and Its Main Linguistic Features 469

Margherita Trento & Jean-Luc Chevillard: Fishing for Words with Beschi in Tamil Traditional Poetical Vocabularies 501

Contributors 569

Introduction

E. Francis (CNRS)
E. Wilden (Universität Hamburg)



Fig. 1. BnF Indien 528: Tamil syllabary, early 19th century. Photo: E. Francis, 2019, courtesy of the BnF.

The present volume is the outcome of the project "Texts Surrounding Texts: Satellite Stanzas, Prefaces and Colophons in South-Indian Manuscripts (Paris BnF and Hamburg Stabi collections)", that is, TST (2019–2023), a Franco-German fundamental research project, coordinated by Emmanuel Francis (CNRS) and Eva Wilden (University of Hamburg).

The TST project was hosted in Paris by the Centre d'études de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud (CEIAS, UMR 8564, EHESS & CNRS), become in 2023 the Centre d'études sud-asiatiques et himalayennes (CESAH, UMR 8077, EHESS & CNRS) and in Hamburg in the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), in partnership with the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris and the State and University Library (SUB, formerly Stabi) in Hamburg. The collections of Tamil and South Indian manuscripts of both these libraries were the main primary sources scrutinized. The

project, initially funded for three years, begun on April 1st, 2019. It was automatically extended for six more months in the wake of the pandemic and then, on request, for twelve more months, as it took some time to find the rare gem to be the TST postdoc in Paris, namely Charles Li.

To introduce this volume, we will remind what the goals of the TST project were, how it worked, which results it yielded, before presenting the contents of the present volume.

1. The TST Project: Goals

In the wake of the recent turn to materiality which brought with it a renewed interest in manuscripts not simply as text witnesses, but as testimonies (often the only ones still extant) of earlier knowledge practices and their forms of production, dissemination and transmission, the TST project had a two-fold main objective: cataloguing manuscripts of the BnF and the SUB, as a prerequisite to a large-scale investigation of their paratextual materials.

A basic definition of the term paratext may run as follows:

> a paratext is a textual element that mediates and mirrors the relationship between a textual artefact in a manuscript and its environment, that is, the people who conceived, produced and used it. Paratexts capture the threefold tie a manuscript has with time, namely, firstly, with the time prior to its production, when the text it carries was composed, secondly, the period when the individual manuscript was copied, and, thirdly, its more or less long history of storage and use. The word can be used as a cover term for a huge number of subcategories that partly overlap with literary subgenres and can be arranged by function (A) and by position within the layout of a manuscript (B). It does not make sense to divorce literary studies and manuscript studies with respect to paratexts. We have to understand how, why and when paratextual sub-genres developed in the respective literary traditions in order to make sense of the data encountered in the individual manuscripts, and in turn manuscript evidence can help us to reconstruct the processes of their evolution.
>
> Wilden (2017b: 164ff.)

Our first goal was to significantly improve our understanding of the times, places and communities who produced the objects, whereas the material unearthed would allow us to focus more closely on the

intersection between the literary and the oral tradition, because sub-genres like prefaces and mnemonic verses hover between established literary convention and local, often oral traditions. We also aimed at unveiling the history of the collection of Tamil manuscripts in the west and trace the interactions between the West and the East, notably by investigating missionary and early Indological documents connected with the analysis of the Tamil language and the exploration of its domains of knowledge.

In order to achieve these goals, our primary material was the physical objects, manuscripts themselves from two important European collections of Tamil and South-Indian manuscripts, which had been lying more or less dormant:

- the BnF collection of approximately 650 Tamil manuscripts under the Access No. "Indien" and its diverse smaller collections in Sanskrit under the Access No. "Sanscrit";
- the Hamburg SUB (Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek Carl von Ossietzky) collection of approximately 500 manuscripts mostly from South India, the majority in Sanskrit, under the Access Nos. "Cod. Palmblatt" and "Cod. Orient."

The project has focussed on Tamil manuscripts, for which the existing catalogues are in fact mere hand lists, and on selected uncatalogued Sanskrit manuscripts.

The BnF Tamil manuscripts approximately number **650**, among which more than **100** are multiple-text manuscripts, for a total of more than **1100** different texts — not works, as several works exist in several copies. This is a unique collection of Tamil manuscripts, mostly on palm leaf but also on paper in the codex format. It has no equal in size and diversity except in South Asia. Unlike most European collections, that go back to the efforts of missionaries or other non-specialists of the Tamil literary traditions, the holdings of the BnF include many significant texts of Tamil literature. For instance, its collection of Tamil grammatical and lexicographical works is unique in Europe and invaluable for researchers. What makes it even more important is the fact that in the humid climate of South India palm leaf does not last long without proper care, and for a number of texts the BnF copies are among the oldest surviving witnesses. There are more than 150 Tamil manuscripts of the 18th c. in the BnF collection. The BnF collection is the heir of the "bibliothèque du roi" (Petit 2014: 438, n. 4), in which Indian manu-

scripts entered as early as the 18th c. The extant catalogue for Tamil manuscripts (Cabaton 1912[1]) is very basic and incomplete: it covers Indien 1–578, whereas there is an annotated copy with supplementary descriptions of further Tamil manuscripts.[2] We find more detailed descriptions in Vinson's proofreadings of his unpublished catalogue (1867, up to Indien 204[3]), in his handwritten handlist (2 vols. = Indien 1061[4]–1062[5], up to Indien 204), and in annotated proofreadings of Vinson's catalogue supplemented by handwritten descriptions by Léon Feer (Indien 577[6], up to Indien 574).

The SUB in Hamburg owns a collection of around **500** Indian manuscripts mostly on palm leaf (rather than paper) and in Sanskrit, part of which were donated by K. L. Janert, G. Oppert and O. Schrader. Besides Sanskrit manuscripts, there are also a few manuscripts in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. An important characteristic of this collection is that its provenance is mostly South Indian, that is, the same region as the Tamil manuscripts, often produced in the same institutions and clearly sharing a tradition of colophon writing (Franceschini & Ciotti 2016). There existed only a basic handwritten handlist made in the 1950's by V. Raghavan of the 205 boxes of the collection. A portion only (a little more than 250 manuscripts) is covered by VOHD (*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*) in vols. II.4–9 (see Janert 1982, 1991), but many descriptions are very rudimentary.

This endeavour, cataloguing manuscripts and mining their paratexts, was to be made with the help of digital humanities, for having a growing online catalogue of Tamil manuscripts and being able to query it.

2. The TST Project: Results

After four and a half years of the project, what follows is what TST has accomplished in terms of cataloguing and study of paratexts.

---

[1] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10329763p>
[2] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k255694f>
[3] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105333021>
[4] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536335n>
[5] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105363346>
[6] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105375868>

The initial approach has first been codicological and philological with the selection and examination of the original manuscripts, their description and the writing of detailed descriptive notices (OA TEI-XML files).
As it was from the beginning clear that it would be impossible to examine — the more so to catalogue — the entirety of the two collections in the time-span of the project, a selection of manuscripts had been made, determined by a number of overlapping factors, notably:

- the presence of paratexts, notably colophons with dates;
- the age of the manuscript;
- the importance of the specimen for its domain of knowledge, for instance, the BnF collection of Tamil grammatical texts;
- the material support, that is, traditional palm-leaf manuscripts were especially selected;
- the importance of the specimen for the history of the cultural interaction between the Tamil region and France, such as the paper manuscripts sent in early 18th century by the Jesuit mission in Pondicherry, also as examples of the acculturation of the book;
- the belonging to Ariel manuscripts, the richest sub-collection in the BnF and the most representative of Tamil literature and systematic knowledge.

Collaborative work through discussions during workshops and webinars enabled us to refine our catalogue descriptions — by determining fields to be recorded and establishing a typology of the paratexts attested in Tamil manuscripts — to investigate paratext types so far neglected, to determine a controlled vocabulary for the descriptions of the paratexts types, for instance using blessing for prose phrase and invocation for verse.

Strategies for encoding paratexts in TEI-XML were thus devised. This results in an extensive collection of identified paratexts, with data displayed in the catalogue in tabular, sortable and searchable form, usable for qualitative and quantitative analysis.

2.1. The TST Online Catalogue

From the TEI-XML files describing the manuscripts, entries for the project's online catalogue have been derived, which allows the

data collected (that is, all the catalogue descriptions) to be navigated and queried. These notices are also accompanied by digital images of the manuscripts, which can be viewed and zoomed in high definition. In order to study this corpus, specific markup was designed for paratexts.
The online catalogue (<https://tst.cnrs.fr>), entirely designed by Charles Li, displays, to date (March 2024) 775 entries. By entry is meant the description of an individual manuscript, which can be:

- a single-text manuscript, described in a single entry;
- a multi-text manuscript — defined as one manuscript containing several texts but created originally as a single codicological item — , described in a single entry;
- a composite manuscript — defined as the aggregation, by a collector or a librarian, of discrete codicological units — , described in as many entries as there are component discrete manuscript, plus one entry for the composite manuscript itself.

These descriptions are distributed as follows, according to collection's provenance:

- 611 entries from the BnF "Indien" shelfmark;
- 73 entries from the BnF "Sanskrit" shelfmark;
- 67 entries from the SUB Hamburg;
- 13 entries from the BnF "NAF" shelfmark;
- 2 entries from the BnF "Smith Lesouef" shelfmark;
- 2 entries from the BnF "Tibetan" shelfmark;
- 9 entries from other collections (private or public).

The number of entries (775) does not correspond to the number of works described as there are single entries for multi-text manuscripts containing several different works[7] and as the same text is copied in different manuscripts. The number of works described is thus higher than 775.

In terms of manuscripts — that is, bundles, whether single-text, multi-text or composite — bearing a single library shelf-mark described, there are more than 700 manuscripts described in the

[7] See, for instance, BnF Indien 28 (https://tst-project.github.io/mss/Indien_0028.xml), which is a collection of 59 works, mostly Śaiva.

online TST catalogue. For instance, almost 450 Tamil manuscripts from the BnF "Indien" shelfmark,[8] out of an estimated total of 650, that is, a little more than 68%, are to date described.

The descriptions of the BnF manuscripts surpass those available until now in the summary catalogue of Cabaton (1912). Compare the description of the BnF manuscript "Indien 1" in Cabaton (2 lines; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10329763p/f19>) and in the TST catalogue (<https://tst-project.github.io/mss/Indien_0001.xml>), where it is also accompanied by high-resolution images opposite (in the notice, links refer to the images of the manuscripts).

Corrections and updates have been made, for example on the number of folios (<https://tst.hypotheses.org/232>), on dates contained in the colophons (erroneously read or not mentioned), and on the texts contained in the manuscripts (erroneously described or not mentioned). For example, Indien 274 is not a copy of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but of the *Pākavatam*; Indien 532 is not a copy of the *Periyapurāṇam*, but of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kampaṉ; Indien 525 is not a copy of the *Nālu Mantirik Katai*, but of the *Tiruvātavūrar Purāṇam*.

Thanks to the valiant efforts of Charles Li, these descriptions are, for the most part (399), also available on the online catalogue of the BnF (BAM = <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/pageCollections.html?col=1>), mainly for the shelfmark "Indien".

2.2. Digital Images

TST proceeded along the same lines as earlier projects by significantly furthering the number of digitised manuscripts. These newly digitised manuscripts thanks to TST, come in addition to those already digitised thanks to the project NETamil. In total, there are presently 475 Indian manuscripts (mostly Tamil manuscripts) of the BnF in high resolution on Gallica. As for the South-Indian manuscripts in Hamburg, they had also completely been digitized thanks to the efforts of the CSMC and Karsten Helmholtz at the

[8] Among these approximately 450 Tamil manuscripts, more than 40 are in fact composite manuscripts containing a total of more than 100 different manuscripts.

beginning of TST. They are currently being uploaded on archive.org and also displayed on the online TST catalogue.

With the TST project an infrastructure — git repositories (<https://github.com/TST-Project>), online editor (<https://tst-project.github.io/editor>), online catalogue (<https://tst-project.github.io>) — has been implemented and will endure. Cataloguing will go on beyond the administrative life of the project, with the aim of describing all Tamil manuscripts in the BnF, adding descriptions and images of the Hamburg manuscripts, and also hosting descriptions of Tamil manuscripts from other collections, thus enriching the catalogue and broadening the search results in the database.

2.3. Paratexts Studies

With several hundred Tamil manuscripts catalogued, the sample obtained is sufficiently representative for qualitative and quantitative studies of paratexts in Tamil manuscripts. As mentioned above data can be mined on the TST online catalogue (<https://tst-project.github.io/paratexts>). The typology employed was elaborated and discussed by the TST project members during workshops and webinars. It could surely be refined, and will be, but is to date probably the most elaborate available for South Asian manuscripts. Besides, publications by TST project members have focussed on various aspects of paratexts.[9] These have advanced knowledge of manuscript paratexts, identifying and closely studying several types of paratexts for the first time, based on an unprecedentedly large sample.

The present volume is another milestone of the project with contributions, first presented and discussed during the TST workshops and webinars and now edited, about Tamil paratexts, but also about the history of the collections.

3. The TST Volume: Contents

Contributions are grouped under headings which reflect the goals of the project.

---

[9] See the online TST collection of publications (<https://hal.science/TST/browse/last>).

3.1. Part I: Paratexts

The first section comprises articles that explore different kinds of paratexts — in addition to those discussed in Wilden & Anandakichenin 2020 — not only with regard to typology but also with an eye on the role certain paratexts may have played in the transmission of the texts they accompany, whereas the last ones reflect on encoding strategies in the analogue and digital eras.

Emmanuel Francis (**Blessings in Tamil Manuscripts**) presents a survey of blessings, that is, short prose, often formulaic, phrases attracting auspiciousness, found in various places in Tamil manuscripts. This survey is based on the descriptions made and encoded for the TST project. It explores the various formulae attested, their religious obedience, their location in the manuscripts as well as pictorial blessings.

Eva Wilden (**Tables of Content — What For?**) discusses a comparative newcomer among the paratextual elements attested in Tamil manuscripts, and partly shaped by Western influence. She explores terminology and makes a first attempt at a typology, distinguishing tables of content that give folio or page numbers from those which contain other kinds of information. She also enquires into possible precursors among the more traditional paratexts such as content stanzas, marginal titles, *pratīka*s and other table forms.

Neela Bhaskar (**Invocatory Verses of Nampi's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam*: A Comparison of Two Versions**) looks at the significance of the paratextual material in Nampi's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam*, a vast text with an elaborate invocatory portion. Two versions of the text, namely, the unpublished palm-leaf manuscript RE47715 in the library of the Institut français de Pondichéry, and the edited and published book (1906) by U. V. Cāmināṭaiyar are taken into consideration. A comparison of these two versions sheds light on the significance of particular verses, namely, the signature verse in which the author is named, a verse that exists only in the manuscript but not in the printed version, and a few verses in the printed version that are no more traceable in the surviving manuscripts.

Eva Wilden (**The Distribution of Satellite Stanzas in *Kuṟaḷ*, *Nālaṭiyār* and *Paḻamoḻi***) undertakes an analysis of the distribution of satellite material in the form of stanzas in the manuscripts of three texts among the didactic *Kīḻkkaṇakku* anthologies of fairly wide-spread transmission, namely the *Kuṟaḷ* (currently 29 manu-

scripts), the *Nālaṭiyār* (12 manuscripts), and the *Paḻamoḻi* (14 manuscripts). Similar as these texts are with respect to period, general outlook and probable audience, they have fared very differently as regards the paratextual stanzas that accompany them: the *Kuṟaḷ* comes, in the first place, with a whole satellite text, the *Tiruvalluvamālai*, the *Nālaṭiyār* boasts of no less than 17 stanzas, and the *Paḻamoḻi* has but two, one of them of problematic provenance.

Last but not least in this section, Giulia Buriola Meneghin, in collaboration with Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini (**Marking up the Edges: XML TEI Encoding Strategies for Indic Colophon Collections**), aim at outlining the TEI-XML based strategy for encoding manuscripts' colophons developed for the Palm-Leaf Manuscript Profiling Initiative (PLMPI). Due to the specificities of such material and the editors' interest in studying syntactical patterns retrievable in such a linguistically and content-wise diverse corpus of paratexts, a generic — yet meaningful — encoding has been developed, based on the use of the generic element <seg>. Various layers of specificity are added through attributes such as @type, @n, and @subtype, that can both transmit historical, cultural, and linguistic information and reveal the presence of patterns. Such data may be key in tracing the history and provenance of the manuscripts, their scribes, and owners.

3.2. Part II: History of the Collections

The second section assembles articles that investigate the history of the collections of Indian manuscripts in Europe, particularly but not exclusively Tamil manuscripts. Provenance studies have not yet become a prominent branch of Indian manuscript studies, hardly surprising when we take into consideration how young is even the systematic study of paratexts. An additional factor is that very often the sources are simply lacking that would allow for a reconstruction of the path a manuscript has made through history into the collection of a particular library. This is especially the case in India itself where such records are all too rarely available, so that the historian can only fall back on the occasional "guest content", that is, the very rare paratexts that relate ownership and/or sales.[10]

[10] One such lucky find has been reported in Wilden (2014: 130ff.), where a

Emmanuel Francis (**Towards a History of the BnF Collection of Tamil Manuscripts**) sketches the outlines of the history of the collection of Tamil manuscripts in the BnF and gives an overview over existing handlists and catalogues. This history begun in the early 18th century when Tamil manuscripts brought together by the Pondicherry Jesuits were sent to the "bibliothèque du roi". Other landmarks are the donations by M. Reydellet in 1833, the collections acquired in the same year from Philippe Étienne Ducler, and, in 1854, from Eugène Burnouf, up to the substantial collection made by Édouard Ariel around the middle of the 19th century which entered the BnF collections in 1866.

Jérôme Petit (**The Ochoa Collection at the BnF**) focusses on one of the BnF sub-collections, that of Charles d'Ochoa (1816–1846), who brought back from his mission to Maharashtra a collection of three hundred works in different languages, such as Sanskrit, Prakrit, Marathi, Hindustani/Urdu, or Persian. In his research project, Ochoa wanted to go deeper into certain areas in particular. The study of Jainism, a religion about which little was known at the time, was one of his priorities. His taste for modern poetry also led him to take an interest in the tradition of the Sants, the poets who from the 13th century onwards sang their devotion to Vitthala, the god of Pandharpur. The analysis of some of the colophons of the manuscripts gives a closer look at the network of go-betweens, scribes, and scholars in which he was involved.

Another BnF sub-collection is described by Charles Li (**Scribes, Editors, & Librarians: Between Tradition and Modernity in Late Colonial India**), namely that of Palmyr Cordier who commissioned hundreds of Sanskrit manuscripts, mainly on medical topics, from different institutions across India between 1898 and 1904. This collection presents a unique opportunity to study and compare scribal practices in the colonies and princely states of Alwar, Benares, Bengal, Bikaner, Bombay, Jammu & Kashmir, Madras, and Tanjore, where the manuscripts were all produced within the same span of six years. In addition, Cordier's meticulous notes and correspondence present a window into the process of commissioning,

---

correction colophon of the *Akanāṉūṟu* has been detected to contain small lists of manuscripts owned presumably by the correctors of the copy in question.

producing, and shipping manuscripts. Rather than being mechanical copyists, many of the people employed by Cordier played active roles in editing and collating the texts; some of them were Āyurvedic experts. Their choices of script, material, format, and language reflect the widespread cultural, political, and economic changes that were taking place in the period, when Indian scholars were adopting modern technologies while, at the same time, reinventing or reasserting their traditions.

Suganya Anandakichenin (**An Aperçu of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts of Śrīvaiṣṇava Provenance from the Collection of the State and University Library in Hamburg**) comes from a completely different angle, looking at a subset from the Hamburg manuscript collection that has in common its sectarian origin with the Śrīvaiṣṇavas in South India. Despite the relative diversity of the contents — with texts ranging from the canonical *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* to works of a more general interest (logic, poetics and so forth) — most of these manuscripts bear distinct signs of their Śrīvaiṣṇava provenance. S. Anandakichenin takes note of those particular signs (invocations, blessings, colophons) in order to discover what they have to tell us about the people to whom the manuscripts belonged.

The two contributions by Camillo Formigatti (**From the Shelves to Printed Page: Cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Analogue Era** and **From the Shelves to the Web: Cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Digital Era**), are more general in nature and reflect on western efforts to catalogue Indian manuscripts (mostly Sanskrit), before and after the era of digital humanities. The first piece deals with the cataloguing of Sanskrit manuscripts in what might be called the analogue era. It is based on the experience gathered by the author during the work in the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, Cambridge, and as curator of South Asian manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford. Accordingly, the approach to the subject is mostly practical, and the remarks presented stem from the everyday activity of cataloguing. Even if they are not meant to be exhaustive, hopefully they will prove to be useful and applicable to other cataloguing projects. The second piece deals the cataloguing of Sanskrit manuscripts in the digital era. Its main purpose is to point out common issues that might arise in the task of digital cataloguing and to suggest possible solutions. It is

certainly not a manual for digital catalogues of South Asian manuscripts, but rather a plea for standardisation.

3.3. Part III: Particular Manuscripts

The third section brings together articles that focus on paratexts from the manuscripts of particular works.

T. Rajeswari (**Paratexts in *Kalittokai*, *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, *Patiṟṟuppattu* and *Pārata Māvintam* Manuscripts**) gives an overview of the different kinds of paratexts found in the manuscripts of four works that she has critically edited. In the first part palm-leaf manuscripts of these four texts are considered, whereas the second part focuses on paper manuscripts of the *Kalittokai* and the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. T. Rajeswari shows how even texts which were part of the same or closely related traditions can be very uneven and unpredictable with respect to the paratexts they attracted.

S. Saravanan (**Paratextual Elements in Manuscripts of the *Collatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam***) provides an overview of paratextual elements — such as blessing, invocation, colophon, foliation, *pratīka* and other remarks — found in selected manuscripts of the *Collatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* from various libraries, allowing glimpses into the transmission of an important work from the genre of grammar.

Indra Manuel (**Manuscripts of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* in the UVS Library: A Survey**) gives an overview of contents and paratexts for the most substantial collection of manuscripts of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*, consisting of 25 copies on palm leaf and on paper, housed in the UVSL in Ceṉṉai. She groups the manuscripts by material and content (*mūlam* only; commentaries by Iḷampūranar, Pērāciriyar and Nacciṉārkkiyar). She brings together the usual types of paratexts, from blessings to satellite stanzas, as well as colophons mentioning the name of the scribe or donor, but sadly only one with a date.

K. Nachimuthu (**Teyvaccilaiyār's Commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* and the Role of Paratexts**) recounts a piece of literary history from the manuscripts' perspective. He shows how the commentary of Teyvaccilaiyār, a late discovery in *Tolkāppiyam* studies, was first attributed to Pērāciriyar on the basis of a fragmentary manuscript from the Caracuvati Makāl Library,

an assumption that later was corrected with the help of further manuscript material from the Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyar Library (UVSL) in Ceṉṉai where the author of the commentary was clearly mentioned as Teyvaccilaiyār.

Victor B. D'Avella (**Formal Translations: The Advent of *Citrakāvya* in Tamil**) draws on manuscript material located in the BnF and UVSL for the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. The study brings to light pictorial representations of complex figures of speech (*alaṅkāram*, *aṇi*, "ornament"), providing a new view on how the relation between Tamil and Sanskrit was perceived by readers of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. Two alternate versions of the commentary on the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* differ with respect to the position of Tamil within the language hierarchy of their milieu in order to justify the translation of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* into Tamil. The focus lies on one of the most restrictive and challenging types of poetry from India, *citrakāvya* ("flashy poetry"), and how this genre, Sanskritic in origin, was adopted and expanded as *miṟaikkavi* ("painful poetry") in Tamil. A manuscript from the BnF provides diagrams and pictures of these figures including the *nāgabandha/nākapantam* "snake picture", analysed in some detail.

The last two contributions deal with Christian manuscripts.

Cristina Muru (**A Missionary Grammar of Tamil of the Early 17th Century: Its History, Its Connections, and Its Main Linguistic Features**) describes the Portuguese-Dutch manuscript Cod. Orient. 283 from the Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek Hamburg. The first part analyses its paratexts, provides information about the authorship of the manuscript, the collection to which it belonged, and its connection with other similar texts in order to trace the history of its transmission. The second part, comparing it with other similar texts, comments on the descriptive categories used for describing Tamil. It also discusses some of its linguistic peculiarities, which shed light on the language to which the missionary was exposed.

Margherita Trento & Jean-Luc Chevillard (**Fishing for Words with Beschi in Tamil Traditional Vocabularies**) propose a substantial dive into a subset of BnF manuscripts containing traditional *nikaṇṭu*s and missionary dictionaries. Their starting point is Indien 227, a manuscript of Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi (1680–1747)'s Tamil-Tamil dictionary *Caturakarāti*, which was copied in 1732, with a

long Latin preface explaining in detail Beschi's involvement and reorganization of traditional Tamil lexicographical knowledge. The article brings the first diplomatic transcription and English translation of this preface, and analyses its contents in order to contextualize Beschi's intellectual enterprise in his *Caturakarāti*. Taking the word for pearl as a *fil rouge*, they explore the *Caturakarāti*, its Latin models and the Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s on which it was based.

Acknowledgements

The TST project is a Franco-German fundamental research project funded by the ANR and DFG. It brings together two funded partners (the CEIAS, become the CESAH, UMR 8077 and the CSMC, University of Hamburg) and two scientific partners (the BnF and the Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, SUB, ex-Stabi, in Hamburg).

At the BnF, we warmly thank Jérôme Petit, Laurent Héricher, the entire staff in the reading room of the *Département des Manuscrits*, and the team of the *Atelier du site Richelieu du Département images et prestations numériques de la BnF*.

We are also grateful to Charles Li, the DH magician, who designed the TST catalogue and created various tools (online editor, quick palaeographer), to cataloguers — Suganya Anandakichenin, Anuja Ajotikar, Neela Bhaskar, Jason Canon-Silber, Giovanni Ciotti, Daniele Cuneo, Hugo David, Victor D'Avella, Elisa Ganser, Marco Franceschini, Léticia Ibanez, Ilona Kedzia, S. Lakshminarasimhan, Charles Li, Weiyu Lin, Julie Marquet, Cristina Muru, Akshara Ravishankar Parmeswaran, Jérôme Petit, T. Rajarethinam, Margherita Trento, Christophe Vielle, Dominik Wujastyk, Ines Zupanov — and encoders — Jason Canon-Silber, Gayathri Govindan, Charles Li, Riccardo Paccagnella, Abhirami Prakasan.

TST online

TST online catalogue: <https://tst.cnrs.fr> or <https://tst-project.github.io/mss>
TST research blog: <https://tst.hypotheses.org>
TST publications repository: <https://hal.science/TST>
TST github repository: <https://github.com/TST-Project>
TST online editor: <https://tst-project.github.io/editor>

TST repository of OA xml-files of catalogue descriptions: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6475590> TST repository of OA digital images of manuscripts: <https://didomena.ehess.fr/collections/2j62s840n>

Select Bibliography on Indian Paratexts

Anandakichenin, Suganya. 2020. "The *Taṉiyaṉ:* Its Role, Evolution and Importance in the Śrīvaiṣṇava Tradition". In Wilden and Anandakichenin (ed.) 2020, 395–453. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.

Balbir, Nalini & Giovanni Ciotti (ed.). 2022. *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study across Pothi Manuscripts*. Berlin: De Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 27).

Balbir, Nalini. 2014. "Réseaux religieux et familiaux dans les colophons des manuscrits jaina de l'Inde occidentale". In *Lecteurs et copistes dans les traditions manuscrites iraniennes, indiennes et centrasiatiques — Scribes and Readers in Iranian, Indian and Central Asian Manuscript Traditions* edited by Nalini Balbir and Maria Szuppe, 217–256. Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente (Eurasian Studies 12).

Balbir, Nalini. 2017a. "French Encounters with the Jains and the Paris Jain Manuscripts". In *Do. Śrī Kanubhai Vra. Śheṭh Abhinandan Granth* edited by Jitendra Bī. Śāh & Kalpanāben Śeṭh, 187–202. Śrutaratnākar, Amadāvād.

Balbir, Nalini. 2017b. "The Cambridge Jain Manuscripts: Provenances, Highlights, Colophons". In Vergiani et al. (ed.) 2017: 47–76.

Balbir, Nalini. 2022. "On the Syntax of Colophons in Jain Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts from Western India" in Balbir and Ciotti (ed.) 2022, 119–148.

Baums, Stefan. 2022. "The Earliest Colophons in the Buddhist Northwest" in Balbir and Ciotti (ed.) 2022, 15–41.

Bhattarai, Bidur. 2020. "Praising the Work and Colophonic Features in Nepalese Manuscripts". In Wilden and Anandakichenin (ed.) 2020, 181–221.

Boccali, Giulano. 2008. "The Incipits of Classical Sargabandhas". In Slaje (ed.) 2008, 183–205.

Buchholz, Jonas. 2020. "Construing a Corpus: The Mnemonic Stanza on the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* Works". In Wilden and Anandakichenin 2020 (ed.), 19–62.

Ciotti, Giovanni & Hang Lin (ed). 2016. *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*. Berlin: de Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 7).

Ciotti, Giovanni & Marco Franceschini. 2016. "Certain Times in Uncertain Places: A Study on Scribal Colophons of Manuscripts Written in Tamil and Tamilian Granth Scripts" in Ciotti and Lin (ed.) 2016, 59–130.

Ciotti, Giovanni. 2022. "Scribe, Owner, or Both? Some Ambiguities in the Interpretations of Personal Names in Colophons from Tamil Nadu." In Balbir and Ciotti 2022 (ed.), 151–169.

Colas, G. 1997. "Les manuscrits envoyés de l'Inde par les jésuites français entre 1729 et 1735" in In *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* edited by F. Deroche and F. Richard, 345–362. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France (Etudes et Recherches).

Colas, Gérard G. 2012. "A Cultural Encounter in the Early 18th Century: The Collection of South Indian Manuscripts by the French Jesuit Fathers of the Carnatic Mission" in *Aspects of Manuscript Culture in South India* edited by Saraju Rath, 69–80. Leiden: Brill (Brill's Indological Library).

D'Avella, Victor. 2020. "Orbiting Material in Tamil Grammatical Texts". In Wilden and Anandakichenin 2022 (ed.), 223–279.

de Rosny, Léon. 1866. "La bibliothèque Tamoule de M. Ariel de Pondichéry" in *Variétés orientales historiques, géographiques, scientifiques, biographiques et littéraires*, 177–224. Paris: Maisonneuve.

Ebeling, Sascha. 2020. "Appeasing the Assembly Competition among poets and the history, poetics and social logic of the *avaiyaṭakkam* convention in Tamil literature". In Wilden and Anandakichenin 2020, 139–180.

Formigatti, C. A. 2015. *Sanskrit Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (November 10, 2011), supervised by H. Isaacson. University of Hamburg.

Formigatti, C. A. 2017. "Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library: Three Centuries of History and Preservation" in Vergiani et al. 2017 (ed.): 3–46.

Formigatti, Camillo. 2022. "Colophons in Fourteenth-Century Nepalese Manuscripts: Materials for the Study of the Nepalese Renaissance (I)" in Balbir and Ciotti 2022 (ed.), 43–117.

Franceschini, Marco. 2022. "A Modular Framework for the Analysis of the Dates Found in Manuscripts Written in the Tamil and Tamilian Grantha Scripts." In Balbir and Ciotti 2022 (ed.), 171–207.

Francis, Emmanuel. 2011. "[3 manuscript entries]." *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter 4* (Austellungskatalog *Manuskripkulturen / Manuscript Cultures*): 122–125.

Francis, Emmanuel. 2012. "The Rare Case of a User-Friendly Tamil Manuscript" / "Der seltene Fall eines benutzerfreundlichen tamilischen Manuskripts." Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), *manuscript of the month / manuskript des monats* 07/2012.

Francis, Emmanuel. 2016. "Found in Paratexts: Murukaṉ's Places in Manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*" in *The Archaeology of Bhakti*

II: Royal Bhakti, Local Bhakti edited by Emmanuel Francis and Charlotte Schmid, 495–532. Pondicherry: Institut français de Pondichéry & École française d'Extrême-Orient (Indologie 132).

Francis, Emmanuel. 2017. "The Other Way Round: From Print to Manuscript". In Vergiani et al. 2007 (ed.), 319–351.

Francis, Emmanuel. 2020. "Stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*: What for?" In Wilden and Anandakichenin 2020 (ed.), 281–330.

Haag, Pascale. 2009. "Paratextual Elements in Indian Manuscripts: The copyists' Invocations and the Incipit of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* in *Studies in the Kāśikāvṛtti. The Pratyāhāraprakaraṇa: Critical Edition, Translation and other Contributions* edited by Pascale Haag & Vincenzo Vergiani, 215–241. Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina & New Delhi: Manohar.

von Hinüber, Oskar. 2017. "On the Early History of Indic Buddhist Colophons". *International Association for Buddhist Thought and Culture* 27/1: 45–72.

Janert, Klaus Ludwig. 1982. *Indische Handschriften. Teil 10. Generalregister A für II,1–6*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland II.10).

Janert, Klaus Ludwig. 1991. *Indische Handschriften. Teil 11. Generalregister A für II,7–9*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland II.11).

Li, Charles. 2022. "The Foucaux Collection at the BnF: Forgotten Works of a Forgotten Scholar". *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 35: 141–160.

McCann, Erin. 2020. "A Note on the Irāmānuca Nūṟṟantāti". In Wilden & Anandakichenin 2020 (ed.), 485–509.

Minkowski, Christopher. 2008. "Why Should We Read the Maṅgala Verses?" In Slaje 2008 (ed.), 1–24.

Muroya, Y. 2010. "A Study on the Marginalia in Some Nyāyamañjarī Manuscripts: The Reconstruction of a Lost Portion of the Nyāyamañjarī-granthibhaṅga." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 52–53: 218–267.

Muru, Cristina. 2020. "Socio-pragmatics on the Page: Discursive Strategies and Packaging of Christian Books (16th–19th century) in Tamil". In Wilden & Anandakichenin 2020 (ed.), 543–621.

Muthuraj, J. Gnanaseelan. 1985. "A Survey of Tamil Christian Writings in European Libraries." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2: 181–190.

Nachimuthu, K. 2020. "*Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*: Prolegomena to *Tirukkuṟaḷ*? An inquiry into the genesis and transformation of the canonization of an author and a text at the advent of the print era". In Wilden & Anandakichenin 2020 (ed.), 63–138.

Petit, Jérôme. 2009. [en collaboration avec Nalini Balbir] "La collection

Émile Senart et la découverte d'un manuscrit jaina illustré (Bibliothèque nationale de France «Sanscrit 1622»)." *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 24–25, 2006–2007: 177–190.

Petit, Jérôme. 2012. "L'Inde en papier." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, juin 2012: 96–101.

Petit, Jérôme. 2017. "For a History of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts in Paris" in *Do. Śrī Kanubhai Vra. Śheṭh Abhinandan Granth* edited by Jitendra Bī. Śāh & Kalpanāben Śeṭh, 172–186. Śrutaratnākar, Amadāvād.

Pinault, Georges-Jean. 2022. "Colophons in Tocharian Manuscripts" in Balbir and Ciotti 2022 (ed.), 347–372.

Rao, Velcheru Narayana & David Shulman. 1997. *A Poem at the Right Moment: Remembered Verses from Premodern South India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sathyanarayanan, R. & Dominic Goodall. 2020. "Text and Paratext in South Indian Śaiva Manuscripts" in Wilden & Anandakichenin 2020 (ed.), 511–541.

Slaje, Walter. 2008 (ed). *Śāstrārambha: Inquiries into the Preamble in Sanskrit*. Prefaced by Edwin Gerow. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 62).

Subramaniam, P. 1996. "Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Tamil" in *Palm-Leaf and other Manuscripts in Indian Languages (Proceedings of the National Seminar)* edited by A. Pandurangan & P. Maruthanayagam, 169–193. Ed. Chemmancherry: Institute of Asian Studies.

Taylor, McComas. 2012. "Heavenly Carrots and Earthly Sticks: How *Phalaśruti* Paratexts Empower Purāṇic Discourse". *The Journal of Hindu Studies*, Vol. 5(1): 92–111.

Tieken, Herman. 2005. "Author';s Signatures in Early Indian Kāvya" in *Love and nature in Kavya literature. Proceedings* edited by Lidia Sudyka, 285–294. Kraków: Ksiegarnia Akademicka (Cracow Indological studies, 7).

Tieken, Herman. 2014. "On Beginnings: Introductions and Prefaces in *Kāvya*". In *Innovations and Turning Points. Towards a History of* Kāvya *Literature* edited by Yigal Bronner, David Shulman & Gary Tubb, 86–108. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Unterdörfler, Judith. 2020. "Paratexts in the *Govindavilāsamahākāvya*". In Wilden & Anandakichenin 2020 (ed.), 359–393.

Varadachari, V. 1962. "A Note on the Maṅgalavāda of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika School". *Adyar Library Bulletin* 26: 28–35.

Vergiani, Vincenzo, Daniele Cuneo & Camillo Formigatti. 2017 (ed.). *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages: Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations*. Berlin: De Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 14).

Wilden, Eva & Suganya Anandakichenin. 2020 (ed.). *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of*

Indian Texts. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg (Indian and Tibetan Studies 10).
Wilden, Eva. 2009. "Obeisance to Visnu-Tirumāl: Vaiṣṇava Transmission for a Caṅkam Manuscript." *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter* 2: 26.
Wilden, Eva. 2014. *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*. Berlin: de Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 3)
Wilden, Eva. 2017a. "Making Order in the Vaults of Memory: Tamil Satellite Stanzas on the Transmission of Texts". *Kervan — International Journal of Afro-Asiatic Studies* 21 (2017): 317–337.
Wilden, Eva. 2017b. "Tamil Satellite Stanzas: Genres and Distribution." In Vergiani et al. 2017 (ed.), 163–192.
Wilden, Eva. 2020. "Colophon Stanza — *Taṉiyaṉ* — Signature Verse (Tamil Satellite Stanzas IV)". In Wilden & Anandakichenin 2020 (ed.), 331–357.
Wilden, Eva 2022. "The Trope of Sanskrit Origin in Pre-Modern Tamil Literature". In *Narratives on Translation Across Eurasia and Africa* edited by Sonja Brentjes, 271–296. Turnhout: Brepols.
Wilden, Eva 2023. "The Plurality of God(s) as a Poetic Concept in the Early Tamil Invocation Stanzas. (Tamil Satellite Stanzas II)". In *Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa: Changing Forms and the Becoming of a Deity in Indian Religious Traditions*, edited by Marcus Schmücker, 21–49. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science.
Wilden, Eva and Suganya Anandakichenin. 2020 (ed.). *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg (Indian and Tibetan Studies 10).

Handlists of BnF South Indian Manuscripts

"Catalogue des manuscrits tamouls de la Bibliothèque royale rédigé par M. Velanguani Arokium de Pondichery. Février 1845". BNF NAF 5443 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10527869m/f11>
"Catalogue des livres envoyés à la bibliothèque du Roi par les pères jésuites de Pondichéry et du Carnate de 1729 à 1735". By Eugène Burnouf. BnF Papiers Burnouf 34, f. 134."Catalogue tamoul. Bulletins ayant servi à l'impression". By Julien Vinson. BnF Indien 1061. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536335n>
"Fragment du manuscrit du catalogue tamoul, rédigé par M. Vinson". By Julien Vinson. BnF Indien 1062. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105363346>
"Catalogue des manuscrits tamoul et télinga". By Julien Vinson, Léon Feer et al. BnF Indien 577. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105375868>

"Manuscrits Tamoul. Catalogue L. Feer". By Julien Vinson, Léon Feer et al. BnF Indien 578. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536333r>
"Catalogue de manuscrits sanscrits en caractères granthas." By Léon Feer & Léon Rodet, [1868]. BnF Sanscrit 1775. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536323b/f9>
"Liste des livres qu'on a envoyés à Mrs de la Compagnie, en tamoul, 14 déc. 1729". BnF NAF 5441, f. 327. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525018697/f578>
"Catalogue des mss. indiens de la Bibliothèque du Roi." BnF NAF 5441, ff. 328–361. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525018697/f580>
"État des Livres Malabares envoyés à la Bibliothèque du Roy par les Pères Jésuites de Pontichery *[sic]* en 1735. [Remis en février 1737]". BnF NAF 5442, f. 13. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f39>
"Liste des mss. tamouls cédés à la Bibliothèque du Roi par M. Ducler". BnF NAF 5441, ff. 309–310. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525018697/f544>
"Liste des mss. tamouls donnés à la Bibliothèque du Roi par M. Reydelet". BnF NAF 5441, ff. 311–313. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525018697/f548>
"Manuscrits orientaux de feu Mr Anquetil Du Perron acquis au mois de prairial an XIII, 2 mai 1805". BnF NAF 5440, ff. 13–17.
"Mémoire des livres envoyés de Bengale pour la Bibliothèque du Roy en 1731 par les PP. Jésuites remis à la Bibliothèque le 29 janvier 1732". BnF Indien NAF 5442, f. 7. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f21>
"Monitum de Libris Indicis". BnF NAF 5442, f. 7. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f23>
"Mémoire des Livres Malabares et Talanga envoyés en France par les Pères Jésuites de Pontichery, pour être mis à la Bibliothèque du Roy". BnF NAF 5442, f. 5. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f17>
"Mémoire des Livres malabares, envoyés à la Bibliothèque du Roy par les Pères Jésuites de Pontichery *[sic]* en janvier 1734. [Remis le 10 avril 1737]". BnF NAF 5442, f. 11. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f35>
"Mémoire des Livres Tamouls et Talanga envoyés en France pour la Bibliothèque du Roy par les Pères Jésuites de la mission de Carnate [1729–1733]". BnF NAF 5442, f. 9. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f31>
"Notices sur des manuscrits en langue européenne relatifs à l'Inde: grammaires, dictionnaires, relations, etc.". By M. Fauriel. BnF NAF 5445. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10527871f/f5>
"Notices sur des mss. cingalais, tamouls, palis, etc., ou relatifs à ces

langues (fonds Tolfrey), par M. Fauriel". By M. Fauriel. BnF NAF 5444. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278685/f5>

Printed Catalogues of BnF South Asian Manuscripts

Cabaton, A. 1907. *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pālis. 1er fascicule. Manuscrits sanscrits*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits. Paris: Leroux. [Sanscrit 1–1141 in print; the BnF library copy comprises handwritten descriptions up to Sanscrit 1875] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536321f/f7>

Cabaton, A. 1908. *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pālis. 2e fascicule. Manuscrits pālis*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits. Paris: Leroux. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b103297627>

Cabaton, A. 1912. *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Indiens, Indo-Chinois & Malayo-Polynésiens, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits*. Paris: Leroux. [Indien 1–936 in print; this BnF library copy comprises handwritten descriptions up to Indien 1064] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10329763p>

Colas, Gérard & Usha Colas-Chauhan. 1995. *Manuscrits Telugu. Catalogue raisonné*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2557038>

Filliozat, Jean. 1941. *Catalogue du fonds sanscrit. Fascicule I. Nos 1 à 165. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve. [Sanscrit 1–165] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k255707s>

Filliozat, Jean. 1970. *Catalogue du fonds sanscrit. Fascicule II. Nos 166 à 452. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale. [Sanscrit 166–452] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2557085>

Hamilton, Alexandre & L. Langlès. 1807. *Catalogue des manuscrits samskrits de la Bibliothèque impériale. Avec des notices du contenu de la plupart des ouvrages, etc*. Paris: Imprimerie bibliographique. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536324s>

Liyanaratne, Jinadasa (1983). *Catalogue des manuscrits singhalais*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k255710g>

Raghava, Varier. 2021. *Kolezhutu and Malayalam Records in the Oriental Section of Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Council for Historical Research.

S.n. 1739. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae. Tomus primus. Pars prima, complectens codices manuscriptos orientales*. Paris: Typographia Regia. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k140995x/f1>

S.n. (1855). *Catalogue de manuscrits orientaux en langue sanscrite, sur l'as-*

tronomie, la médecine, etc., recueillis dans les Indes orientales par M. l'Abbé Guerin. Paris: Typographie de Firmin Didot frères. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10329761s>

Tulpule, S. G. 1986. "A descriptive catalogue of the marathi manuscripts in the Charles d'Ochoa collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris". *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 75: 105–123. <www.persee.fr/doc/befeo_0336–1519_1986_num_75_1_1702>

Vinson, Julien. 1867. *Manuscrits tamouls*. [Paris]. Proof-readings. [Indien 1–204] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105333021>

List of Figures

Fig. 1. BnF Indien 528: Tamil syllabary, early 19th century. Photo: E. Francis, 2019, courtesy of the BnF.

Blessings in Tamil Manuscripts

Emmanuel Francis (CNRS)

This paper is a survey of blessings, that is, short prose, often formulaic, phrases attracting auspiciousness, found in various places in Tamil manuscripts, mainly from the Bibliothèque nationale de France. This survey is based on the descriptions made and encoded for the TST project. It explores the various formulae attested, their religious obedience, their location in the manuscripts as well as pictorial blessings.

1. Introduction

A blessing is defined as a short prose, very often a formulaic phrase, regularly found at the beginning of manuscripts written in the left margin of the first page, but also at other locations, such as at the end of a chapter or at the end of the manuscript, after the work has been completed, in the colophon. A blessing is meant to attract auspiciousness, but can also express credo or reverence to a god or a spiritual master, conjuring them to offer their protection. As such, blessings participate to the auspicious beginning which is required at the beginning of texts and manuscripts in the Indian tradition, for the successful completion of the work or of the copy.[1]

A blessing is often but possibly not always a non-auctorial paratext, that is, it is not composed by the author of the main text. It is added, sometimes routinely, by the copyist. Auspiciousness is sought for the completion of the copy by the copyist through an opening blessing. But since blessings do not only appear at the beginning of manuscripts, it appears that auspiciousness and protection is sought for the reader too, or even for the world at large. Some blessings also appear as kinds of injunctions to the reader to realise who the real god is.

[1] On auspicious beginnings in Sanskrit texts, see Minkowski (2008); in Tamil texts and manuscripts, see D'Avella (2020), Francis (2020); in Sri Lankan Buddhist texts, see Berkwitz (2009: 43ff.).

In contrast to a blessing, an invocation is a verse, either a non-auctorial free-floating verse added by the copyist, or an auctorial verse. Invocations are also usually found at the beginning of a manuscript to attract auspiciousness, for the successful completion of the copy when non-auctorial, for the successful completion of the work when auctorial. Invocations are often satellite stanzas, that is, stanzas found before or after the main text. It indeed happens that a copyist repeats at the end the opening invocation. Furthermore, the same invocation can be found in copies of different works.[2] Among invocations, one can make the distinction between *kāppu*, "protection", a single stanza often isolated from the main text and the more prone to be a satellite stanza, and the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, which consists sometimes in several verses and can be viewed as part of the main text.

The opposite of blessings and invocations would be curses, which are rarely met with in Tamil manuscripts, presumably for the very reason that these are not auspicious, even though meant to protect the manuscript. In contrast, curses are regularly found in inscriptions, where they act as protective of the transaction recorded. Softer than a curse, we find sometimes in manuscripts, in rare instances, *caveat* to users enjoining them, without cursing in case of failure, to respect the manuscript or more often to return the book after use.

The present survey of the Tamil blessings is based mainly on the BnF collection of Tamil manuscripts. It adopts mostly a formula-wise approach and is biased in several respects. First, it is based mainly on a single collection, which has its particular history, not yet entirely elucidated, and might not be a very representative as a collection.[3] Second, it is not based on a complete survey of the BnF collection of Tamil manuscripts, as, in the framework of the TST project, only almost 400 out of the approximately 650 BnF Tamil manuscript bundles have been catalogued.[4] Third, in this cataloguing effort, inter-

[2] See D'Avella (2020: 248) on verses that "may be viewed as a set of default verses that a scribe or teacher could turn to when beginning a text".

[3] On the BnF collection of Tamil manuscripts, see Francis in this volume, *infra*, pp. 163–192.

[4] These bundles are either single-text, multi-text, multi-volume or composite manuscripts. There are thus more works than bundles.

mediary blessings (in completion statement of chapters) have not been exhaustively recorded. Fourth, Vaiṣṇava texts appear to be under-represented in the BnF collection as well as in the TST catalogue. Fifth, most of the manuscripts considered date to the 18th and 19th centuries and are representative of earlier practices only in cases, difficult to assess, of blessings copied from antigraphs.

This survey is nonetheless based on unprecedentedly detailed catalogue descriptions, in XML-TEI, that are available online at <https://tst-project.github.io/mss>. Blessings have been marked-up with the tag <seg function="...">. This mark-up, to date (2023/01/08), resulted in a collection of 2068 individual blessings (mostly in Tamil, but also in Sanskrit) from Tamil manuscripts, displayed online at <https://tst-project.github.io/paratexts/blessings>.[5]

2. The *Piḷḷaiyār Cuḻi*

Before proceeding with blessings in letters and words, mention must be made of the *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*, "the curl of Piḷḷaiyār," that is, the trunk of Gaṇeśa. This symbol is ubiquitous in Tamil manuscripts and can be found in several varieties, a short one and a long one with an elongated horizontal stroke at the right end meant to fill-up the line and/or visually attract the attention of the reader. The *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* can be used as an auspicious symbol proper, for instance in the left margin of the rectos of all the folios of a manuscript, along with the foliation.[6] Instances of folios left blank but already inscribed in their left margin with *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*s indicate that these auspicious symbols are sometimes added even before foliation. There are also cases of unfoliated manuscripts bearing only left-marginal *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*s. While also attracting auspiciousness the *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* has other functions such as:

- implicit foliation "1" when the first leave "is unnumbered but factors into the foliation as the next leaf is numbered 2"

[5] The full list comprises 2113 individual blessings, as it includes those from BnF manuscripts in other languages than Tamil, that is, mostly Sanskrit manuscripts.

[6] On the *siddham* ("perfection") symbol, called *bhale* symbol by the Jainas, of same purport as the *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*, see Bhattacharya (1995).

(D'Avella 2020: 235 fn. 34) and only a *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* is found in the left margin of its recto.

- punctuation mark, for instance, framing the numbers that follow a stanza or indicating a full stop at the end of a subdivision of the text or at the very end of the manuscript.
- gap-filler, for instance, following blessings. E.g. ***śrī**-rāma-ceyam* ൧ ൧ ൧ ൧ (Indien 949, U2, f211r2) and (Indien 1039, U2b, f112v5; **fig. 1**).



Fig. 1. The *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* as line-filler (Indien 1039, U2b, f112v5). A series of 16 *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*s makes the line 5 complete. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

3. The Ubiquitous Front Header

The most obvious place were one encounters blessings is the so-called header or page header, defined, in print culture, as a paratext separated from the body of the text and appearing at the top of a printed page. Headers are sometimes more properly "siders" when they appear in the margin of the page, like in pages of printed Indian books imitating the format of manuscript pages. Header is used here, in manuscript culture, to designate such paratexts appearing regularly in the margin of the first page of a manuscript and also at the first page of a textual unit, for example at the beginning of chapters.

A typical and ubiquitous front header (that is, the header of page 1) in Tamil manuscripts would contain, alone or regularly preceding the title of the text, a kind of canonical series of inaugurating blessings: ***ha**ri Ōm naṉṟāka kuru vāḻka kuruvē tuṇai*, "Lord! Om! May goodness be! Long live the preceptor (that is, the spiritual master, Sanskrit *guru*)! The preceptor is the refuge!"
Front headers with the series of four blessings only are found, for instance in:

- Indien 438a, U1, f{1}r, lm.
- Indien 92, U1, f{1}r, lm (unblackened).
- Indien 504, U1, f{1}r, lm (**fig. 2**).
- Indien 937, f{1}r, lm of U1b, U2b, U3.



Fig. 2. Left-marginal front header canonical series of blessings ***hari*** *Ōm naṉṟāka kuru vāḻka kuruvē tuṇai* (Indien 504, U1, f{1}r, lm). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

This series of four blessings can also, exceptionally, appear in-text. For instance, the exceptional colophon of Indien 959, U5, f292v7 (**fig. 3**), which abounds in various blessings, includes this canonical series.



Fig. 3. In-text canonical series of blessings *hari Om [[ku]] naṉṟāka kuru vāḻka kuruvē tuṇai* in a colophon (Indien 959, U5, f292v7). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

This ubiquitous front header knows multiple variants. The usual series might be incomplete and other blessings and paratexts might come along, as in the following examples:

- Indien 381, U2, f{1}r, lm 1, and Indien 399, U2a, f{1}r, lm 1, where the series of four blessings is followed by the title and/or other blessings.
- Indien 937, U4, f{1}r, lm 2, where the series of four blessings is preceded by another blessing in lm 1 (*civamaya**m***).
- Indien 8, U3, f1r, lm, where the series of four blessings is preceded and followed by another blessing (*Apiṟāmi tuṇai* and *cupam a**s**·ttu*).
- Indien 92, U2, f{1}r, lm, where the series is incomplete (3 of the 4 blessings only) and is followed by the title: ***ha**ri Om naṉṟāka kuruvē tuṇai — kiṟaka — cintāmaṇi –*.

4. Typology of Blessings

The ubiquitous header provides a first glance at the various types of blessings as far as their contents and purpose are concerned. A rough categorisation sets apart, on the one hand, blessings which appear to be meant just to attract auspiciousness:

- *naṉṟāka*, "May it be good!"[7]
- *X-kaṭā**kṣa**m*, "The side-glance (that is, the grace) of X!"
- *X-kiṟupai*, "The grace of X!"
- *X-cakāyam*, "The support of X!"

The blessing *naṉṟāka* appears as generic, whereas the X formula blessings, where X is the name of a deity, introduces a sectarian aspect.

On the other hand, there are blessings expressing a credo towards a specific god or reverence to a god or a preceptor. For instance, the blessing ***ha**ri Ōm*, is so ubiquitous that one wonders if it is exclusively a Vaiṣṇava blessing. It appears that Hari could here simply mean "God".[8]

Other frequent blessings of this credo or reverence type are:

- *kuru vāḻka*, "Long live the preceptor!"[9]
- *kuruvē tuṇai*, "The preceptor is the refuge!"
- ***śrī**-rāma-c**e**yam*, in its multiple spelling variants, "Victory to/of the glorious Rāma!"
- *civa-mayam* "The essence of Śiva!"[10] See also ***śiva-mayam·*** or ***śiva-mayam*** (Indien 332, U2, f{1}r, lm, line 1 and U2, f{1}r3).

The credo or reverence can be directed not towards the god himself but towards an emblematic temple of his. On the Śaiva side, the temple of Cidambaram, designated as the small hall, is hailed with the well-known and ubiquitous blessing *tirucciṟṟampalam*, "The glorious Ciṟṟampalam!",[11] whereas, on the Vaiṣṇava side, we find the

---

[7] 207 occurrences of this blessing are recorded in our corpus. A variant attested once only is *naṉṟākavum* (Indien 308, U2c, f295r3).

[8] 204 occurrences of this blessing are recorded in our corpus, with various spellings. The words ***ha**ri* and *Ōm* are also found alone (2 and 13 occurrences respectively), which implies that ***ha**ri Ōm* is in fact a collocation of two blessings.

[9] 93 occurrences of the blessing *kuru vāḻka* and 6 occurrences of the variant *kuru vāḻ* are recorded in our corpus.

[10] 119 occurrences of this blessing are recorded in our corpus, with various spellings. Some variants are *caṟuvañ civamayam* (5 occurrences), *civamayam Uṇṭāka* (1 occurrence), *civamayam vuṇṭāka vēṇṭiyatu* (2 occurrences).

[11] 260 occurrences of this blessing are recorded in our corpus, including the variant *kurucciṟṟampalam* (3 occurrences) and cases of this blessing in series (up to five times). To these can be added *citamparam* (2 occurrences).

blessing ***śrī**reṅkam*, "The glorious stage (that is, the Śrīraṅkam temple)" (Indien 551d, U1, f5v, c2, line 1).

Other credo or reverence blessings are of the X formula type, such as:

- *X caraṇam*, "X is the refuge!"
- *X keti*, "X is the way/the refuge!"
- *X tuṇai*, "X is the support/help/refuge!"
- *X namas*, "Homage to X!"

In fact, it is difficult to ascribe many, if not all, of these blessings to only one of the types (credo, reverence, auspicious, protective). A credo is at the same time a reverence and is meant to attract auspiciousness and protection of the god.

5. *X tuṇai* Formula

Among the latter mentioned blessings, the formula *X tuṇai* ("X is the support/help/refuge!") is to be singled out as it appears to be the most frequent in our collection (541 out of 2068, that is, more than 26% of the total blessings[12]). It is attested as a plain formula (487 occurrences) or with a verbal predicate (54 occurrences), of various sorts:

- *X tuṇai*, "X is the refuge!"
- *X tuṇaiyāka vēṇṭiyatu*, *X tuṇai yuṇṭākavum*, *X tuṇai yuṇṭāka tākavum*, *X tuṇai yuṇṭākak kaṭavatu*, *X tuṇai yākavum*, "May X be your refuge!" or "X should be the refuge!"

The addition of a predicate to this formula makes these phrases a sort of injunctions, addressing the reader, with a proselytic dimension.

5.1. The kuru tuṇai *Formula*

The X, who is the refuge, can be the preceptor (Tamil *kuru*, from Sanskrit *guru*), as in the following blessings:

---

[12] This blessing is however over-represented in our corpus as the blessing *verrivēl tuṇai* (119 occurrences) is regularly found on the additional title-page folios of Ariel manuscripts (on which, see Francis, *infra*, pp. 182–186).

- *kuruvē tuṇai*, "The preceptor is the refuge!"
- *caṟ-kuru tuṇai*, "The true preceptor is the refuge!"
- *kuru-pātan tuṇai*, *kuru-pātam tuṇai*, *kuru-pātamē tuṇai*, "The feet of the preceptor are the refuge!"
- *caṟ-kuru-pātan tuṇai*, "The feet of the true preceptor are the refuge!"
- *civa-kuruvē tuṇai*, "Śiva as preceptor is the refuge!"

kuru can be associated with other revered figures, as in the blessing *mātā-pitā-kuru-teyvan tuṇai*, "Mother, father, preceptor and God are the refuge!" (Indien 340, U2a, f{1}v4).
In contrast to the above generic blessings, the *kuru* type can be named or qualified, with, sometimes, a sectarian dimension:

- *ñāṉa-tēcikaṉ tuṇai* (Indien 2, U5, f139v6).
- *caṅkara-tēcikaṉ patamē tuṇai* (Indien 318, U2, f422v2).
- *meñcāṉa-kuruvē* [sic!] *tuṇai* (Indien 509a, U1, lm, lines 2–3).

5.2. The Generic X tuṇai *Formula*

There are also generic *X tuṇai* formulae, where the refuge is the supreme god:

- *kaṭavuḷ tuṇai*, "God is the refuge!" (3 occurrences).
- *(Āti {tuṇai})*, "the Supreme Being (that is, God as the beginning) is the refuge!" (Indien 308, U2a, f{1}r, lm 1; **fig. 4**).

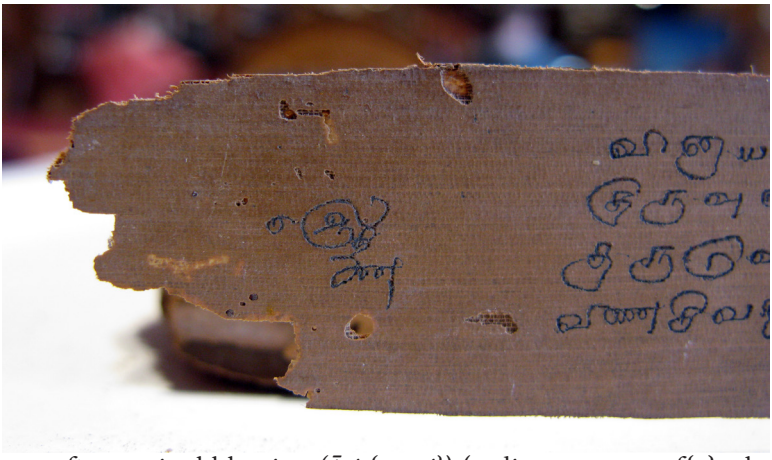


Fig. 4. Left-marginal blessing *(Āti {tuṇai})* (Indien 308, U2a, f{1}r, lm 1, lines 1–2). Photo by Emmanuel Francis.

5.3. The Hindu X tuṇai *Formulae*

Properly Hindu *X tuṇai* formulae hail as refuge great generic gods, a *liṅga*, forms of the Goddess.

Gaṇeśa:

- *viṉāyakaṉ tuṇai*, *viṉāyakar tuṇai*
- *kaṇapati tuṇai*
- *civa-kaṇapati tuṇai*

Skanda/Murukaṉ:

- *Āṟumukan tuṇai*, *Āṟumukam tuṇai*
- *murukaṉ tuṇai*, *murukar tuṇai*
- *civa-cuppiramaṇiyar tuṇai*, "Subrahmaṇya, (the son of) Śiva, is the refuge!"[13]
- *caravaṇapava-kuruvē {tuṇai}* (Indien 991, U2, f4r2).
- *veṟṟi-vēl-āyutak kaṭavuḷē tuṇai* (Indien 329, U2, f{1}r3), "The god with the victorious spear weapon is the refuge!"

Śiva:

- *civaṉ tuṇai*
- *te**ṣṣa**ṇā-mūṟt=ti-pātāravintamē tuṇai Eppōtum uṇṭākavu=M*, "the lotus-feet of Dakṣiṇāmūrti may always be the refuge!" (Śiva as Dakṣināmūrti in Indien 101, U4, f126r5).
- *tattuva-liṅkan tuṇai* (a Śiva-liṅga).

Viṣṇu:

- *nāṟāyaṇa-cuvāmi tuṇai yuṇṭākavum* (Indien 366, U2a, f{1}r, c3, lines 4–5).

The Goddess:

- *varākiyammaṉ-uṭaiya pātamē tuṇai* (Indien 5a, U2, f{1}r, lm).
- *vaḷḷi-nāyakaṉ (tuṇai)* (Indien 329, U4, f{1}v, c4, line 15).
- *periya-ṉāyaki tuṇai* (Indien 963, U2a, f119r8).

Other Hindu *X tuṇai* formulae hail as refuge specific forms of gods, that is, by prefixing the deity's name with a place-name pointing to a localised form of deity and/or using a specific name of the deity.

---

[13] Alternatively, one can consider that we have here a collocation of two blessings: *civa cuppiramaṇiyar tuṇai*, "O Śiva! Subrahmaṇya is the refuge!"

Forms of Śiva:

- Śiva worshipped in Kalahasti: *tirukkāḷatti liṅkan tuṇai yuṇṭāka* (Indien 332, U3, f294v6).
- Śiva worshipped in Madurai: *cokka-liṅkam tuṇai* (Indien 305, U2a, f{1}r4).
- Śiva worshipped in Madurai: *cōmacuntara-mūr̲ti tuṇai* (Indien 317, U2b, f167v3), *cōmacuntarēsparar tuṇai yuṇṭākavum* (Indien 531, U2c, f359v7).
- Śiva Kol̲untīśvara worshipped in Tiruppātirippuliyūr: *tirup-pātirippuliyūr civa-k-kol̲untīcurar tuṇai* (Indien 30b, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 5–7).
- Śiva worshipped in Tiruvannamalai: *Aṇṇāmalaiyār tuṇai yāka-vu=M* (Indien 33c, U2, f{1}v4).
- Śiva worshipped in Cidambaram: *Ampalattāṭumaiyyar tuṇai* (Indien 301, U2, f78r4), *Ampalattuṭumaiyyar* [sic!] *tuṇaiyāka vēṇum* (Indien 954, U2, f120r4).

Forms of Skanda/Murukaṉ:

- Murukaṉ worshipped in Tiruccentūr: *tiruccentūr murukar pātāravintamē tuṇai* (Indien 375, U2, f112v7).

Forms of the Goddess:

- The Goddess worshipped in Tirukkāvalūr: *tirukkāvalūr nāyaki tuṇai* (Indien 227, U1c, p144, lines 39–40).
- Pārvatī worshipped in Cidambaram: *civakāmi tuṇai* (Indien 102, U10, f49v7), *civakāmiyammaṉ tuṇai* (Indien 16, U2a, f{1}r7; Indien 531, U2b, f10v3), *civakāma-cavuntari tuṇai* (Indien 301, U2, f15r4).
- Pārvatī worshipped in Tiruvannamalai:[14] *Uṇṇāmalaiyāḷ* [sic!] *tuṇai* (Indien 236, U4, f17v3), *Uṇṇāmulai-t-tāyē tuṇai* (Indien 308, U2c, f295r4).

Forms of Viṣṇu:

- Viṣṇu worshipped in Śrīraṅkam: ***śrī***-*r̲aṅkaṉāyakar tuṇai yuṇṭāka vēṇṭiyatu* (Indien 366, U2b lm 2, lines 2–3).

[14] Thanks to Jean-Luc Chevillard for pointing out to me this identification of *Uṇṇāmulai*.

Such blessings to specific forms of gods presumably reflect the personal creed of the copyist and, if so, might provide precious hints about the production context of the manuscript: if not the place of provenance of the manuscript, possibly that of the copyist.[15] Others are selected or coined evidently from the content of the main text, when X is the specific god subject of the work. For instance, the blessing *tiruppātirippuliyūr civakkoḻuntīcurar tuṇai* is found in a copy of the *Tiruppātiriveṇpā*, a work praising the Lord Śiva of Tiruppātirippuliyūr, that is, Pāṭaliputtiram.

In other examples, the god who is a refuge is indicated, not by his name, but by an attribute or a holy place:

Forms of Śiva:

- *tirucciṟṟampalam tuṇai* (Indien 8, U3, f2v, lm, lines 1–2).
- *civa-citamparam tuṇai Uṇṭu*, "The Cidambaram of Śiva is the refuge!" (Indien 76, U3, f{1}r, c4, lines 1–2).[16]
- *Aḻakiya tirucciṟṟampalan {tuṇai}* (Indien 990a, U2, f{1}r10).
- *civa-citamparam caccivanantam* [sic!] *tuṇai* (Indien 991, U2, f4r2).[17]
- *Aruṇācalam tuṇai Aruṇakiri tuṇai* (Indien 88, U2c, f{1}r, rm, lines 1–2).

Forms of Skanda/Murukaṉ:

- *veṟṟi-vēl uṟṟa tuṇai*, "The victorious spear is the true refuge!" (119 occurrences in our corpus). This blessing is ubiquitous on Ariel's scribe additional title page, but is found also elsewhere.
- *vēlumayilum tuṇai*, "The spear and the peacock are the refuge!" (13 occurrences in our corpus).

Forms of Viṣṇu:

- ***śrī**-reṅkam* (Indien 551d, U1, f5v, c2, line 1).

An interesting case is that of the blessing *vēyuṟutōḷipaṅkaṉ tuṇai*, "He who has the one with bamboo shoulders as his share is the

---

[15] On theonymy as a hint to provenance, see Sathyanarayanan & Goodall (2020: 533ff.).

[16] Alternatively, one can consider that we have here a collocation of two blessings: *civa citamparam tuṇai Uṇṭu*, "O Śiva! Cidambaram is the refuge!"

[17] Here again, one can also alternatively consider that we have a collocation of several blessings: *civa citamparam caccivanantam*.

refuge!" This is in fact the incipit of *Tēvāram* 2.85. It is found in 8 occurrences so far, all in manuscripts from the Ariel collection, by the same copyist:

- 3 occurrences in Indien 105 (6 works by Akattiyar).
- 2 occurrences in Indien 129b (*Kaṭai Kāṇṭam Cūttiram*).
- 1 occurrence each in Indien 30a (*Kantarantātiyurai*), Indien 336 (*Kantapurāṇacurukkam*), Indien 98b (*Caranūl*).

5.4. Author as tuṇai

Another case, not so common, is when the refuge is the author of a work:

- *tāyumāṉavaṉ {tuṇai}* (Indien 991, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 5–8). This is a manuscript of the *Tāyumāṉavar Pāṭal*s and the author of the work contained in the manuscript is the refuge.
- *A(ṟu)ṇakirināta-tuṇai uṇṭāka vēṇu=M* (Indien 399, U2b, f134v5). As the manuscript contains the anonymous (?) *Kucalavanāṭakam*, there is here apparently no relation with the author. Either the copyist attributed the work to Aruṇakirinātar or, more probably, he just paid homage to him.
- *tiruttakkatēvar caraṇam* (Indien 957, U2, f393v, rm, lines 5–6). This is a manuscript of the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*, of which Tiruttakatēvar is the author.

5.5. Christian X tuṇai *Formulae*

There are also *X tuṇai* formulae specific to Christian copyists. A regular case is when the Christian holy family, Jesus, Mary, or a Saint are the refuge:

- *yicēcu mariyē cūcē tuṇai*, "Jesus, Mary, Joseph [are] the refuge!" (Indien 434a, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–2).
- *yēcu mariyē tuṇai* (Indien 458, U1c, f44r, c2, line 21).
- *cēcu mariyē cūcai tuṇai* (Indien 380, U1a, f{1}r, lm 2, lines 1–2).
- *Ēcu mariyē cūcaiyē tuṇaic cey*, "Jesus, Mary, Joseph [please] afford refuge!" (Indien 486, U1, f2r, lm, lines 1–3).
- *yēcuvē tuṇaiyāka vēṇṭiyatu* (Indien 434b, U3a, f{1}r1–2).
- *tēva-mātā tuṇai*, "The mother of God is the refuge!" (Indien 434a, U2, f[4]r, c6, lines 1–2; Indien 434b, U1b, f3v, c8, lines 4–5), *tēva-tāyār tuṇai* (Indien 434b, U1a, f{1}r2).

- *Antoṇiyār tuṇaiyāka vēṇṭiyatu*, "Anthony should be the refuge!" (Indien 434b, U3a, f{1}r2).

5.6. Muslim X tuṇai *Formula*

There is even one example of a Muslim *X tuṇai* formula, where a Muslim Saint is hailed as the refuge: *nākūr mīṟā cāyēpu tuṇai Uṇṭākavu=M*, "Nākūr Mīṟā Cāyēpu should be the refuge!" (Indien 548, U2, f60r, c2, lines 1–2). This Nākūr Mīṟā Cāyēpu, also known as Shahul Hameed, is a sixteenth-century Muslim saint, whose tomb is the central part of the Nagore Dargāh.

6. The *X caraṇam* Formula

The *X caraṇam*[18] formula ("[The feet of] X is the refuge"), where *caraṇam* is most regularly preceded by *tiruvaṭikaḷē* or a variant, is attested 74 times in our corpus.[19] There are no examples among these where *caraṇam* is followed by a predicate. Such a formula appears to be particularly in favour in the Vaiṣṇava milieu (51 occurrences), often in series, to conjure an Āḻvār or another spiritual figure. Here are selected examples showing variant spellings:

- *Āḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 515, U2a, f{1}r7), *Āḻvāṟ tiruvaṭikaḷē caṟaṇa=M* (Indien 551c, U1, f[11]r5), *Āḻvāṟ tiruvaṭikaḷilē caraṇam* (Indien 360, U3a, f{1}r4–5).
- *cuvāmi Āḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 996, U2, f32r10).
- *Āḻvārkaḷ tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 1039, U2b, f70r5).
- *perumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 265, U3, f578r2).
- *Emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 996, U2, f32r8), *Emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷē caṟaṇa=M* (Indien 551c, U1, f[11]r6).
- *Āḻvār emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam*, *Āḻvārkaḷ emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 1039, U2b, f84r3–4 and f95v5).
- *tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caṟaṇam* (Indien 360, U3a, f{1}r5–6).
- ***jīyar·** tiruvaṭikaḷē caṟaṇam* (Indien 545c, U1, f26r4), ***jī**yar tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 974, U2, f84r4), ***jī**yar tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇa=M* (Indien 551c, U1, f[11]r5), *cīyar tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 996, U2, f32r8).

---

[18] The word *caraṇam* is variously spelled: *caraṇam*, *caṟaṇam*, *caraṇa=M*, *caṟaṇa=M*.

[19] See also Anandakichenin's contribution in this volume, *infra*, pp. 243–272.

- *Appaṉ tiruvaṭikaḷē caṟaṇa=M* (Indien 551c, U1, f[11]r5).
- *matura[[ra]]kavi Āḷvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caṟaṇa=M* (Indien 547f, U1, f{1}v3).
- ***śrī**-rańkaṉāyakar tiruvaṭikaḷ caraṇam* (Indien 1039, U2a, f{1}v1).

Śaiva or presumably Śaiva examples are however not uncommon:

- *civāṉanta-caṟkuru-ṉātaṉ tiruvaṭikaḷilē caraṇam* (Indien 509a, U3a, f15v3).
- *civa-ṉāṉa-tēcikaṉ tiruvaṭi caraṇam* (Indien 506, U2d, f99r3), *civa-ñāṉa-tēcikaṉ tiruvaṭiyē caraṇam* (Indien 125b, U3, f{1}r3).
- *civañāṉa-tēvaṉ ṟiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 59, U2, f7r5).
- *ñaṉa-liṅka-cuvāmiyār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇa=M* (Indien 59, U2, f179r3).
- *kukai-tēcikaṉ ṟiruvaṭikaḷ caraṇam*, *kukai-tēcikaṉ tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* (Indien 504, U3c, f[96]r6 and f[103]v2). See also, in the same manuscript the blessing *kukai-tēcikaṉ tiruvaṭikaḷē tuṇai* (Indien 504, U3c, f[149]r7–f[149v]1).
- *civa-cuta-kaṇapati-tiruvaṭi caṟaṇa=M* (Indien 89, U2a, f1r3).
- *tava-civa-kaṇapati-tāḷē caraṇam* (Indien 362, U3, f17r, c3, lines 2–3). Note here the use of the synonymous word *tāḷ* instead of *aṭi*.
- *civa-kāma-cavuntari-y-ammaṉ tiruvaṭiyē caraṇam* (Indien 304, U3b, f5v6).
- *centilampati ṉāṉa-tēcikaṉ ṟiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇa⟨m⟩* (Indien 28, U3, f269v8).

There are also non-sectarian examples:

- *Ācāriyaṉ tiruvaṭikaḷē cāraṇam* (Indien 246, a copy of the *Maṇimēkalai*, U2, f77v6–7).

As shown by the above examples, this blessing seems to be mostly used to conjure the grace of religious human figures.

7. The *X-kiṟupai* Formula

The formula *X-kiṟupai*[20] ("The grace of X!"), or *X kiṟupai* ("X is grace!"), is found 19 times in our corpus, most of the time followed

[20] The spelling *kiṟupai* is more frequent than *kirupai* (2 instances only).

by a predicate (16 times). It conjures the grace of the preceptor or that of a deity, generic or localised:

- *kuru-kirupai* (Indien 323, U3, f192v1), *kuru-kiṟupai* (Indien 953, U2, f117v2).
- *civa-kiṟupai Uṇṭāka tākavum* (Indien 244, U2a, f1v5).
- ***śrī**-kokilāmpāḷ kiṟupai* (Indien 337, U3b, f273v3).
- ***śrī**-makāleṣcumi kiṟupai Uṇṭu* (Indien 76, U3, f{1}r, c3, lines 2–3).
- ***śrī**maṉ-ṉārāyaṇar kiṟupai yuṇṭāka*, ***śrī**maṉ-ṉārāyaṇar kiṟupai yuṇṭāka vēṇum* (Indien 951, U3, f395v7 and f401v1).
- *cuppiṟamaṇiyar kiṟupai yuṇṭāka vēṇum* (Indien 310, U2a, f114r7).
- ***śrī**-ṟakuṉāyakar cītā-laṭcumi-kiṟupai Uṇṭāka tākavum* (Indien 532, U1, f{1}r, lm 2, lines 1–4).

8. The *X-kaṭāṭcam* Formula

The formula *X-kaṭāṭcam* ("The glance [that is, the benevolent gaze, that is, the grace] of X!") is found 26 times (among which 10 occurrences followed by a predicate), with various spellings, in our corpus. The grace conjured is, like with the X-*kirupai* blessing, that of the preceptor (simply *kuru*), less frequently that of a deity, whom, in fact, could be considered to be also the preceptor.

- *kuru-kaṭāṭcam* (Indien 368, U2a, f{1}r, c1, line 4), *kuru-kiṭā**ṣ**cam* (Indien 397, U2, f{1}r5).
- *kuru-kaṭā**ṣ**cam Uṇṭāka tākavu=M* (Indien 33c, U2, f [1]v4).
- *kuru-ṉātaṉ kaṭā**ṣ**cam Uṇṭākavu=M* (Indien 4a, U1, f45r3).
- *civa-kaṭāṭca**m·*** (Indien 293, U2, f{1}r, c1, line 1 and line 2), *civa-kaṭā**ś**cam* (Indien 56b, U1, f26v6).
- *civa-kitā**ṣ**cam vuṇṭākavu=M* (Indien 342, U4, f1r, lm 2, lines 4–5).
- *civa-kiṭā**ṣ**cam vuṇṭāka vēṇtiyatu* (Indien 366, U2a, f{1}r, c3, lines 3–4).
- *civa-cuppiramaṇiya-kaṭā**ṣ**cam* (Indien 60, U2, f1r5).
- *civa-kuru-kaṭā**ṣ**camē Uṇṭākavum* (Indien 60, U2, f67v4).

9. The *X-cakāyam* Formula

The *X-cakāyam* formula ("The help of X!") is found 52 times in our corpus, with various spellings and only once followed by a predicate. This is to seek the help, but only of a deity: Tēvi mostly

(30 occurrences), and, less frequently, Kṛṣṇa, Mary, Kaṇapati, Śiva, Vāṇi.

- *tēvi-cakāyam* (Indien 340, U2b, f1r, lm, lines 1–2), ***devi-sahāyam*** (Indien 308, U2a, f{1}r3; fully in Grantha, thus in Sanskrit, in a Tamil manuscript).
- *kiṣṇa-cakāyam* (Indien 567, U3, f94r5), ***śrī**-kiṣṇa-cakāyam* (Indien 1036, U4, f94r7), *kiṣṇaṉ cakāyam* (Indien 1036, U7, f1r, lm, lines 5–6).
- ***śrī**-kiṣṇa-cakāyam uṇṭākavu=M* (Indien 265, U3, f369v2). This is the only instance of the *X-cakāyam* formula with a predicate.
- *vāṇikā-tēvi-cakāya**m*** (Indien 953, U2, f117r6).
- *civa-cakāyam* (Indien 28, U3, f88v5).
- *kaṇaka-capā-pati-cakāyam*, "The help of the lord of the golden hall (Śiva)!" (Indien 531, U2a, f2v4).
- *kaṇapati-cakāyam* (Indien 340, U2a, f{1}r, lm, lines 3–4).
- *teyva-cākāyam*, "The help of God!" (Indien 957, U2, f434v6).

10. The *X keti* Formula

The formula *X keti*, ("X is the way refuge/final deliverance!"), where *keti* is most regularly preceded by *pātam*, is found 27 times in our corpus (4 times only followed by a predicate). The X is the preceptor or a deity.

- *kuru-pātamē keti* (Indien 28, U3, f150v11).
- *civāṉanta-kuru-pātamē keti yuṇṭāka tākavu=M* (Indien 62, U3a, f{1}v2).
- *kumāracuvāmi-patārav(i)ntamē keti* (Indien 329, U3, f[391]v2).
- *Aruṇācalēcuparar pātāravintamē keti* (Indien 504, U3c, f[149]v1).
- *Ampalavāṇaṉ keti* (Indien 88, U2c, f{1}r, rm, line 3).

11. The X Protection Formula

Various formulae, with an imperative or optative form of Tamil verbs corresponding to Sanskrit *rakṣ-*, "to protect", conjure the protection of the preceptor or that of a deity (22 occurrences):

- ***śrī**matu Aṉantacuvāmi laṣa**kkavu=M kuru laṣa**kkavu=M* (Indien 1034a), "May the glorious Anantasvāmin grant protection! May the preceptor grant protection!"

- *cuppiramaṇiya⟨r⟩ ra**ṣṣi**kkavu=M*, "May Subrahmaṇya grant protection!" (Indien 33b, U1, f6v6).
- *rā=Macāmi la**ṣ**cikka vēṇum*, "The lord Rāma should grant protection!" (Indien 399, U2b, f134v1).
- See below (§20), the Christian adaptation.

12. The *śrī-rāma-ceyam* Formula

A recurrent Vaiṣṇava blessing, variously spelled[21] and often with a peculiar case of conjunct letter *rā=Ma* for the word *rāma*, proclaims the victory of Rāma: ***śrī**-rāma-ceyam* ("Victory of/to the glorious Rāma!") (72 occurrences) or just *rāma-ceyam* ("Victory of/to the Rāma!") (34 occurrences).[22] It is found quite appropriately in manuscripts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*:

- ***śrī-rāma-jeyam*** (Indien 947, U3, f1v3). This blessing is here fully in Grantha, thus in Sanskrit, in a Tamil manuscript.
- ***śrī**-rāma-**je**ya=M·* (Indien 335, U4, f15r1).
- *rāma-cayam* (Indien 335, U5, f16v4).
- *r̲aku-rāma-ceya**m*** (Indien 504, U3a, f{1}r5).
- ***śrī**-rā=Ma-**ja**yam* (Indien 951, U2, f{1}r, lm 2, line 3).
- ***śrī**-rāma-ceya=M **śrī**-rā=Ma-ceyam* ൹ ***śrī**-rā=Ma-ceya=M* ൹ (Indien 947, U4, f112r3). A series of 3, each with a variant spelling.

It is also regularly found in manuscripts of other texts, not specifically related to Viṣṇu or Rāma, with variants:

- *rāma-ceya=M rāma-rāma-ceya=M*, *rāma-ceya=M* (Indien 512, a copy of the *Uḷḷamuṭaiyān*, U6, f{1}r5 and f[2]r, lm, line 2, etc.)
- ***śrī-rāma-jeya-rāma-jeya-jeya-rāma-rā**mā* (Indien 959, a copy of the *Villipāratam*, U5, f292v4). This blessing is here almost fully in Grantha, thus in Sanskrit, in a Tamil manuscript.

There is a unique occurrence of *X ceyam* without Rāma, provided it is a single blessing and not two distinct blessings: *parama-rakaciyamē ceyam* (Indien 390, a copy of the *Pakavar̲kītai*, U2c, f2v2).

---

[21] See Indien 143, Ariel papers, for a good sample of various possible spellings.

[22] See also Anandakichenin's contribution in this volume, *infra*, p. 243-272.

13. The *X namas* Formula

Various Tamil forms of the Sanskrit noun *namas*, "homage", occur in blessings (92 occurrences in our corpus) paying homage to the preceptor (e.g. Rāmānuja in Vaiṣṇava context) or to a deity:

- ***śrī***-*ṟaṅkanātāya nama* and *cīraṅkaṉātāya nama* (Indien 321, U2, f{1}r1 and f5r5). These are appropriate blessings for this manuscript of the *Cīraṅkamakāttumiyam*.
- *vāṇi-na**mas·** tu*, "Homage to Vāṇi (Sarasvatī) indeed!" (Indien 244, U2a, f1v5), *kalai-vāṇi-nama**s·** tu*, "Homage to Kālaivāṇi (Sarasvatī) indeed!" (Indien 366, U2b, f{1}r, lm 3, lines 1–2), *vāṇi-namā*, "Homage to Vāṇi (Sarasvatī)!" (Indien 308, U2c f295r4).[23]
- *parama-kuruvē namā*, "Homage to the supreme preceptor!" (Indien 515, U2a, f{1}r7).
- ***śrī**matē rā=Mānu**jā**ya namā*, "Homage to the glorious Rāmānuja!" (Indien 515, U2a, f{1}r7).
- ***rāmānujāya na=Maḥ***, "Homage to Rāmānuja!" (Indien 550b, U1, f{1}r, c1, line1). This blessing is here fully in Grantha, thus in Sanskrit, in a Tamil manuscript.
- *viṉāyakāya na**ma**m*, "Homage to Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa)!" (Indien 983, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–2).

14. The *X astu* Formula

There are blessings ending with the imperative form *astu* ("Let there be X") from Sanskrit *as-* (39 occurrences). They are formulae borrowed from Sanskrit, often entirely or partially written in Grantha. They are either purely auspicious or invoke a deity, especially Sarasvatī:

- ***namo 'stu*** (Indien 308, U2b, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–2; Indien 957, U2, f33r, lm, line 1), *namo **'s·ttu*** (Indien 957, U2, f393v, rm, line 4), "Let there be homage!" (4 occurrences).
- *X-namo 'stu* (11 occurrences): e.g. ***vāṇi-namo 'stu*** (Indien 28, U3, f44v12), "Let there be homage to Vāṇi (Sarasvatī)!"
- *cupam a**s·**tu* (Indien 307, U2a, f{1}r, lm, lines 22), *cupam a**s·**ttu* (Indien 8, U3, f1r, lm, line 4), "Let prosperity/auspiciousness/goodness be!" (18 occurrences)

---

[23] It is however not clear whether one should read *nama **'s·**tu* ("Let there be homage!") instead of *nama**s·** tu* ("Homage indeed!").

- *Avikkinam astu* and *Avik·ṉam asttu*, "Let there be no obstacle!" (NAF 8895, f140r4 and f150r4).
- ***śubham astu*** *kāḷatti-purāṇam* ***Avighnam astu***, "Let there be prosperity! The *Kāḷattipurāṇam*. Let there be no obstacle!" (Indien 300, U2a, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–4; in Grantha in a Tamil manuscript, in the front header with the title).
- ***śubham astu Avighnam astu***, "Let there be prosperity! Let there be no obstacle!" (Indien 332, U3, f294v5; in Grantha in a Tamil manuscript, in the colophon).

15. The *X vāḻka* Formula

Besides the ubiquitous formula *kuru vāḻka* (and it variant *kuru vāḻ*), there are other instances of *X vāḻka* formula blessings, with variants: *vāḻ*, *vāḻi*, *vāḻum* (26 occurrences). For instance:

- *Āṟu-mā-mukamum vāḻ* (Indien 309, U2, f1v6), "Long live the six-faced one (Murukaṉ) and the elephant-faced one (Gaṇeśa)!"
- *vetti-vēl* [sic!] *vāḻi vāḻi* (Indien 309, U2 f1v6–f2r1), "May prosper, may prosper the victorious spear [of Murukaṉ]!"

16. Deity's Name and Attribute as Blessing

A plain deity's name or his/her attribute can also be used as a blessing or in a blessing:

- *civa civa civa civa civa citamparam* (Indien 361, U2b, f96r13), "O Śiva, O Śiva, O Śiva, O Śiva, O Śiva, O Citamparam!"
- *civā*, "O Śiva!" (Indien 12, U2a, lm 1, line1).
- *civam* (Indien 8, U3, f6v5), which D'Avella (2020: 238) translates as "prosperity", but which could also refer to the highest state of God according to the *Madras Tamil Lexicon* and be a blessing close in meaning to *civamayam*.
- ***śrī***, that is, Śrī-Lakṣmī (Indien 55, U7, f{1}r4–5).
- *maṅkai*, "O auspicious lady!", that is, Śrī-Lakṣmī (7 occurrences, all in Indien 512, U6).
- *vēlum mayilum*, "The spear and the peacock [of Murukaṉ]!" (Indien 310, U2a, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–2).
- *veṟṟi-vēl* "The victorious spear [of Murukaṉ]!" (Indien 329, a copy of the *Kantapurāṇam*, U3, f{1}r, lm 2, lines 2–3).

- *vēl uṇṭu viṉai yillai* (Indien 420, U2, f54r6; in the colophon), "Where the spear [of Murukaṉ] is, there is no sin."

17. The *X muṉṉiṟka* Formula

A formula encountered a few times only, ends with *muṉṉiṟka*, the optative form of *muṉṉir-tal*, "May X come in front!", and summons the presence of the preceptor or of Gaṇeśa:

- *kuru muṉṉiṟka* (Indien 433, U2, f{1}r2).
- *kuru muṉṉir·kkavum* (Indien 992, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 3–5).
- *kuru muṉṉi⟨r⟩kka vēṇum* (Indien 101, U6, f207v2–3).
- *kaṇapati muṉṉiṟka*, "May Kaṇapati be in front/assist (me)/ stand by (me)!" (Indien 324, U2, f{1}r, lm 1, line 1).
- *viṉāyakar tiruvaṭi muṉṉiṟka* (Indien 71, U3, f1r, lm, lines 1–3).

18. Merged Formulae

Some blessings merge elements of blessing formulae identified above:

- In Indien 9b several instances of *kiṟupā-kiṭāṣcam* are found, preceded by various gods' names and followed by various predicates.
- *kuru-kiṟupā-kiṭāṣcam*, "The grace and glance of the preceptor!" (Indien 504, U3a, f{1}v4).
- ***śrī**-reṅkaṉāyakar kiṟupā-kaṭāṣcam uṇṭāka tākavu=M* (Indien 1036, U4, f94v2).
- *laṣccumi-kiṭāṣcam tuṇai*, "The grace of Lakṣmī is the refuge!" (Indien 504, U3a, f{1}r5).
- *rāma-ceyan tuṇai*, "The victory of Rāma is the refuge!" (Indien 504, U1, f[29]v3).
- *tirucciṟṟampalam tuṇai* (Indien 8, U3, f2v, lm, lines 1–2).
- *laṣccumi-kiṭāṣcam tuṇai* (Indien 504, U3a, f{1}r5).

Other blessings show that formulae are interchangeable. Compare:

- *X tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* to *tiruvaṭi/tiruvaṭikaḷ/tiruvaṭikaḷē vāḻ/ vāḻka* and X *tiruvaṭikaḷē tuṇai*.
- *X pātamē keti* to *X pātam/pātāravintamē tuṇai*.

19. Further Various Blessings

Some blessings are attested in our corpus only once or just a few times:

- *viṉāyakaṉ tiruvuḷam*, "The will of Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa)!" (Indien 308, U2a, f{1}r, lm 2, lines 1–2).[24]
- *[...] neṭu-vēlōṉ kākka*, "May the One with the long spear (Murukaṉ) [...] protect!" (Indien 50, U3, f326v, c3, lines 1–2).
- *tuṟōpataiyammaṉ pātāravinta[m]ē*, "The lotus-feet of Turōpataiyammaṉ (Draupadī)!" (Indien 567, U3, f94r5). This appears however to be a truncated *X keti* formula, whose end is lost in the truncation of the right margin of the folio.

20. Christian Blessings

As seen above, Christian copyists adapted the X *tuṇai* formula to their creed. They also hail God as *aṉāti* ("he who has no beginning") in contrast to the Hindu concept of god as *āti* ("he who is the beginning"), with formulae such as *Aṉāti-nama* (Indien 482, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–2; **fig. 5**), "homage to God!", *Aṉāti-na**maḥ*** (Indien 56c, U1, f1r, lm, lines 1–2) and *Aṉāti-nama**s** tu* (Indien 488, U2, f1r, lm1, lines 1–3).[25]



Fig. 5. Left-marginal Christian cross and blessing *Aṉāti-nama* (Indien 482, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–2). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

There are furthermore specific Christian blessings, adapting Hindu blessings:

- *mariya-cakāyam*, *mariya-cakāya=M*, "The help of Mary!" (found several times in Bernolle 1, a privately held manuscript).

---

[24] There are variants with *tiruviḷam* instead of *tiruvuḷam*.

[25] Note however that there is no equivalent Hindu formula *āti-namas* in our corpus.

Christian formulae of the protection type invoke the Holy family or Jesus:

- *cēcu mariyē cūcē reṭciyum*, "Jesus, Mary, Joseph protect!" (Indien 380, U2a, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–3).
- *Icēcuvē Ireṭciyu=M*, "Jesus only protects!" (Indien 484, U2, f{1}r, lm 2, lines 1–2).
- *ciluvaiyil uḷḷa cuvāmi yireṭcikka*, "May the lord on the cross grant protection!" (Indien 448, U1, f{1}r, c3, lines 1–5).

Other blessings are transcriptions in Tamil of Christian phrases:

- *Āmeṉ cēcu* (Indien 462, U1, f[126]r17), *Āmeṉ ēcu* (Indien 450, U1, f[210]v, c1, line 1), "Amen! Jesus!"
- *pitā cutaṉ yicuppirittu cantu ṉāmattiṉālē*, "In the name of the father, the son and the holy spirit!" (Indien 452, 454), *pitā cutaṉ yi**s**·pirīttu cāntu nāmattiṉālē* (Indien 451, U2a, f1r1).
- *yēcu ṉāyaka cūcai mari*, "Jesus, Lord, Joseph, Mary!" (Indien 463, U1a, f92r29).

A manuscript from a private collection (Bernolle 1) is full of Christian blessings, such as, for instance, *mariya-ṉāyaki-kiṟupā-kiṭā**ṣ**cam uṇṭākak kaṭavatu*, "There should be the grace and the help of Lady Mary!" (f16r5). It also has the variant *Āmeṉṉ ēcu* (f12v2).

Noteworthy also is the use of the Christian cross as an auspicious or credo symbol equivalent to the *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*. The manuscript Bernolle 1 abounds in such Christian crosses as well as Christian manuscripts from the BnF, such as Indien 490. There are two types of Christian crosses, one plain and another where the cross is encircled (**fig. 5**). Both types are found, for instance, in Indien 490, U7, f{1}v4 (one encircled cross followed by four plain crosses). Like the *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*, the Christian cross can be used as a line-filler, as, for instance, in Indien 490, U9, f{1}v3–6, where one finds the space of four lines occupied by encircled Christian crosses.

21. Muslim Blessings

We have seen above one example of Muslim *X tuṇai* formula, but there are few more examples of Muslim blessings.[26] For instance, the

[26] See Francis & Tschacher (2021).

header of Indien 987 (U1, f{1}r, lm) reads *a(l=lā) Utavi ceyya vēṇu**m***, "Allah should provide help!". Furthermore, we have several examples of the Basmala, variously transcribed from Arabic into Tamil script, appearing alone on the header, in the first three examples:

- *vicumi (l=lā)ku ṟakimāṉi ṟakīm* (Indien 987, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–3).
- *vicumi llāyi rakumāni rrakim* (Indien 465, U1, f1r, lm, lines 1–4).
- *vicumi llāki ṟṟakumāṇi ṟṟakīm* (Indien 529, U2, f1r, lm, lines 1–3).
- *vicumi llāki ṟṟakīmāṇi ṟṟakīm* (Indien 976, U1, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–3).[27] This is followed by the title in lines 4–6: *vālm⟨i⟩kaṟ Aruḷic ceyt(aṉ) **ṣ**cā**ṣ**ttiram*, that is a Siddhā medicine treatise.[28]

22. X-wise Approach

In the above survey, we adopted a formula-wise approach, looking at the "tail" of blessings and identifying various formulae. Another way to look at blessings is an X-wise approach, that is, looking at the "head" of blessings and examine who is conjured (preceptor, deity) and with which specific formula. For lack of space, we will be brief here with this approach.

Some invoked deities are expected, for their auspiciousness in general and in particular as far as learning is concerned: Gaṇeśa, the god of beginnings and remover of obstacles; Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, under various names such as Vāṇi or Kalaivāṇi. The other main gods (Śiva, Viṣṇu) are also met with, invoked under their generic names or as specific forms. For instance, as seen above, Śiva can be addressed in the vocative (*civa* or *civā*), as a specific form (Dakṣiṇāmūrti), or as the deity of a specific temple (for instance Civakkoḻuntīcurar, Aṇṇāmalaiyar or Ampalattāṭumaiyyar). But he can also be summoned through formulae such as *civamayam* ("the essence of Śiva").

Another important figure is the preceptor or spiritual master, whether invoked in generic terms as *kuru* (Sanskrit *guru*) or explicitly named, such as in the case of some Āḻvārs or Tēcikars.

---

[27] Thanks to Charles Li for pointing out to me this example.

[28] This manuscript is a multi-text, possibly composite, manuscript containing medical works. The Basmala appears in fact at least 6 more times in the bundle in left-margin headers. See U1, f25r, f114r, f213r, f219r, f230r and U2, f[11]v.

23. Manuscript-wise Approach

Besides examining each different type of blessing and its variants, another approach is to look at single manuscripts, abounding in blessings of various types, some that can be very specific. Here are a few examples:

- Indien 509a, a multi-text manuscript, has several peculiar blessings: *meñcāṉa-kuruvē tuṇai*, *civāṉanta-caṟkuru-ṉātaṉ tiruvaṭikaḷilē caraṇam*, *meññāṉa-tēcika-kuru-kiṭā**ṣ**cam Uṇṭākavu=M*, *paramāṉantam*.
- Indien 2, a copy of the *Caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam*, has several peculiar blessings: *civa-kaṭā**ṣṣa**m Uṇṭāy ñāṉotaya-kiṟupai Uṇṭāy viḷaṅkak kaṭavatu*, *ñāṉa-kuru-tiṭṭai Aruḷuṇṭākak kaṭavatu*, *ñāṉatēcikaṉ ṟiru-vaṭi-k-kamalamē tuṇaiyākak kaṭavatu*.
- Indien 83, a multi-text manuscript, abounds in various blessings in various locations: *civam*, *tirucciṟṟampalam*, *civañāṉa-caṟkuru-pātāravintamē keti*, *civañāṉa-caṟkuru-pātāravintamē tuṇai yuṇṭāka tākavu=M*, ***śrī**-paripūrṇa-kuruvē namā*, ***śrī**-paripūrṇa-**śrī**-makā-kuru-cuyam-piṟakāca-cuvāminē namā*, ***śrī**-kuruvē namā*.
- Indien 298, a copy of the *Aruṇaikiripurāṇam*, that is, the *Aruṇācalapurāṇam*, has recurring blessings invoking Aruṇācalayīcuparar, that is, Aruṇācaleśvara, the Śiva of the temple of Tiruvannamalai, of which this text is the *talapurāṇam*. See e.g. *Aruṇacālayīcuparar kiṟupai Uṇṭāka tākavu=M*.
- Indien 959, a copy of the *Villipāratam*, has an impressive series of blessings in its colophon: ***śrī**-vācutēvar tuṇai* ๛ ***śrī**-paṭṭāpirāmacuvāmi tuṇai* ๛ ***śrī-rāma-jeya-rāma-jeya-jeya-rāma-rā**mā* ๛๛ *[...] tiyākarācar tuṇai cokkaliṅkam tuṇai mīṉāṭci tuṇai cuppiṟamaṇiyar tuṇai* ๛ *rācēntiramūṟti tuṇai Āṟamavaḷattavaḷ tuṇai* ๛ *vētaṉāyaki tuṇai* ๛ ***śrī-rāma-je**yam* ๛ ***hari Om** [[ku]] naṉṟāka kuru vāḻka kuruvē tuṇai keṇapatiyē namā* ๛ *[...] makāleṭcumi-pātāravintamē tuṇai* ๛ (U5, f292v3–8).
- Indien 1036, another copy of the *Villipāratam*, has many various Vaiṣṇava blessings, such as ***śrī**-kiṣṇa-cakāyam*, *kōtāṇṭa-rāmar tuṇai*, *vēṅkiṭēca-p-perumāḷ tuṇai*, *varatarāca-p-perumāḷ tuṇai*, etc.
- Indien 236, a collection of 2 *nikaṇṭu*s (2 versions of the *Tivākaram*, it seems) has various blessings in its chapter completion statements. See e.g. U4, f17v2–3: *parācatti-kiṟupai* ๛ *Uṇṇāmalaiyāḷ tuṇai* ๛ *civa-maya=M* ๛ *tevī-cakāya=M* ๛.

- Indien 336, a copy of the *Kantapurāṇacurukkam*, by several hands, likewise has a nice variety of blessings in its chapter completion statements, such as *civa-cuppiṟamaṇiyar tuṇai*, *tiruc-ciṟṟampalam*, *veṟṟi-vēl uṟṟa tuṇai, caṇmukan tuṇai Uṇṭakāvu=M*, *civamaya=M*, *vēlār tuṇai viṉāyakar tuṇai Uṇṭākavu=M*.
- Indien 329, a copy of the *Kantapurāṇam*, has 2 columns of *tuṇai* formulae, unblackened, added by a later hand (U2, f{1}v).

24. Location of Blessings

Besides listing the different blessings or singling out manuscripts rich in various blessings, it is interesting to examine the location of blessings in manuscripts.

The left-margin header, that is, the left margin of the first page or front header, as well as the left margin of further pages, where a subdivision of the text (e.g. a chapter) begins, is a preferred place for blessings, which come there along with title and intertitle. It also happens, but less frequently, that blessings are found in the right margin, on an invocation page (e.g. Indien 88, U2c, where the invocation is framed in the left margin by a blessing and the title and in the right margin by a series of three blessings *Aruṇācalam tuṇai Aruṇakiri tuṇai Ampalavāṇaṉ keti*) or on a colophon page (e.g. Indien 89, U2a, where the colophon in the main text area is framed in the left and right margins by the canonical series of inaugurating blessings ***ha**ri Ōm naṉṟāka kuru vāḻkak kuruvē tuṇai*).[29]

Another place of predilection for blessings, is in-text, in chapter's completion statements and in colophons, in various configurations (at the beginning and/or the end of the completion statement or colophon).

Some blessings can be found in various places; others appear to have a preferred or exclusive location. The ubiquitous header series is mostly confined to the front header, but, as seen above, occasionally also appears in-text. Some blessings are recurrent or ubiquitous in the sense that in some manuscripts they can be found in the margin and in-text.

For instance, we have seen above the blessings ***śrī**-rāma-jeya=M* and *rāma-cayam* used in-text in Indien 335, but this blessing recurs

[29] See also Indien 957, U2, f393v, rm, at the end of a chapter.

in the same manuscript in various forms and spellings on left margins, apparently randomly, that is, not at the transition between subdivisions of the text, e.g. *rāma-cayam* (U5, f362r, f365r), ***śrī**-rāmā* (U5, f367r, f368r, f411r), ***śrī**-rā=Mā* (U5, f407r, f476r). On other pages there are also random left-marginal *civa**m**·* (U5, f293r, f300r) or *civa**m*** (U5, f295r).
Other examples are:

- *civa-mayam*, used in the left margin with intertitles and in in-text chapter's completion statements (Indien 307, U2b).
- *tirucci̲r̲r̲ampalam*, used in the left margin with intertitles and in in-text chapter's completion statements (Indien 983, U3; Indien 28, U3).

Furthermore, the blessing *civa-maya=M* can be used randomly in the left margin of the last folio (Indien 66, U2b, f34r, lm), whereas the blessing *tirucci̲r̲r̲ampalam* can be used as a line-filler (Indien 125b, U3, f{1}r4, where a series of five makes the whole line) or as a separator of text (e.g. Indien 28, U3, f283v1).

25. Pictorial Blessings

Mention should finally be made of pictorial blessings (**fig. 6**), which display graphic designs based on the Tamil or Grantha symbol for the blessing *Ōm*/***Om***, framing other blessings in the left margin, front header:

- Grantha ***Om*** symbol (Indien 1, f75r, lm, f{1}r, lm 1, line 1).
- *ha*, that is *hariḥ*, inside the Grantha ***Om*** symbol (Indien 4a, f{1}r, lm, line1).
- *Ori* [sic! for *hari*] inside the Grantha *Om* symbol (Indien, 515, U3, f{1}r, lm, line 1).
- ***hariḥ*** inside what looks like the Tamil *Ōm* symbol (Indien 516, f102r, lm 1, line 1).
- ***hari*** inside the Grantha ***Om*** symbol (Indien 64, U1a, f{1}r, lm, line 1).
- ***hari O*** inside the Grantha ***Om*** symbol or a Grantha ***m*** (Indien 375, U2, f29r, lm, lines 1–2).
- ***hari O*(*m*)** encircled (Indien 390, U2b, f1r, lines 1–2).
- ***hari Om*** inside the Tamil *Ōm* symbol (Indien 524, U2, f1r, lm, lines 1–2).

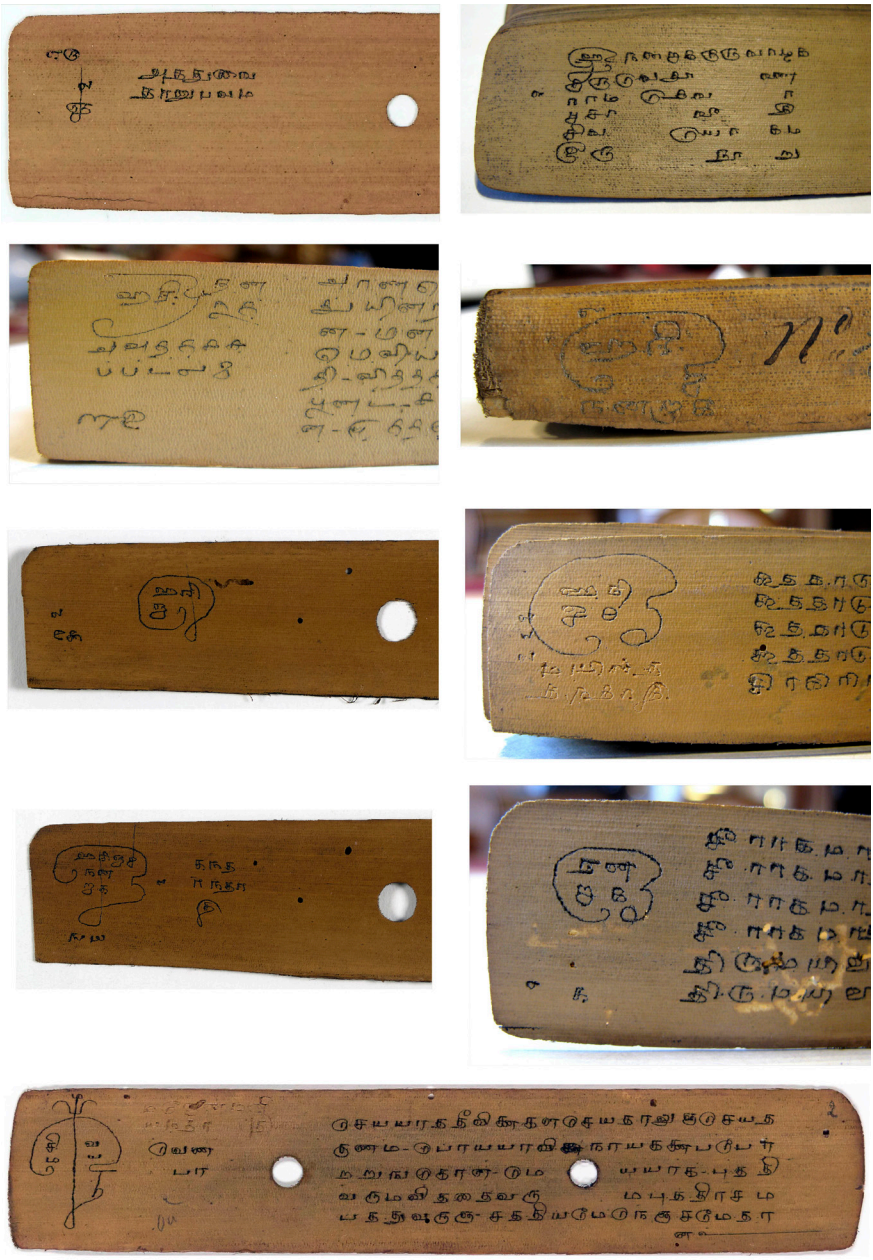


Fig. 6. Left-marginal pictorial blessings. From left to right and from top to bottom: Indien 1, U2a, f75r; Indien 4a, U1, f{1}r; Indien 516, U2, f102r; Indien 64, U1a, f{1}r; Indien 375, U2, f29r; Indien 524, U2, f{1}r; Indien 375, U2, f30r; Indien 524, U3, f1r; Indien 5a, U1, f{1}r. Photos from Gallica and by Emmanuel Francis.

- ***hari Om·*** *naṉṟāka* inside the Grantha ***Om*** symbol (Indien 375, U2, f30r, lm, lines 1–3).
- *naṉṟāka* inside the Tamil *Ōm* symbol (Indien 524, U3, f1r, lm, lines 1–2).
- *civa-maya⟨m⟩* inside the Grantha ***Om*** symbol, the final stroke of which ends with a *triśūla* (Indien 5a, U1, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–2).

Particularly pictorial is the blessing found on Indien 308, U2a, f{1}r, lm 3 (**fig. 7**): *{**Om**} caravaṇapavāya caṇmukāya kantāya kukāya nama*, "Homage to Śaravaṇabhava, to Ṣaṇmukha, to Skanda, to Guha!", which is Sanskrit in Tamil script, is framed by what could be the symbol *{Āka}* curling around it, whereas the word *tuṇai* ("refuge") appears on the left, distributed in two lines. One could read thus *{Āka} tuṇai*, "that [the *nama* formula and the god hailed, that is, Skanda/Murukaṉ] is, refuge".

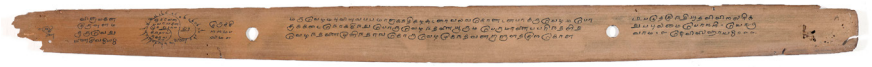


Fig. 7. Pictorial blessing (Indien 308, U2a, f{1}r, lm 2). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

26. Conclusion

The present survey, based mainly on a formula-wise approach, provides a first indication of the types of blessings which are found in Tamil manuscripts. The figures are provisional as our corpus is biased, but, presumably, most of the Tamil blessings are represented. Most blessings can be interpreted at the same time reverential, auspicious, devotional, protective. We can however identify categories:

- Generic, ecumenical, ubiquitous blessings, invoking generic form of God or of the preceptor. For instance, those of the ubiquitous header series ***ha**ri Ōm*, *naṉṟāka*, *kuru vāḻka*, *kuruvē tuṇai*. See also *kaṭavuḷ tuṇai*, *(Āti {tuṇai}*; **fig. 4**), and blessings invoking Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī, which are trans-sectarian. Note that the formula *kuruvē tuṇai* is apparently not used by Christian copyists.
- Sectarian blessings, that can be labelled respectively Hindu (Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta), Christian, or Muslim, hailing deities or preceptors that can be associated to a particular creed. The

latter two types are adaptations of Hindu formulaic blessings by Christian and Muslim copyists. There are however no specific Jaina blessings represented in our corpus.
- Peculiar Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta blessings, hailing specific forms of the deities, linked to a specific temple, and related either to the copyist or to a deity of the text.

There are Tamil blessings formulae (*X kiṟupai*, *X kiṭāṭcam*, *X cakāyam*, *X astu*, *X namas*) which appear as adaptations of presumably earlier attested Sanskrit blessings. They can be adapted as plain formulae or further developed by adding a verbal predicate (*kaṭāvatu*, *tākavum*, etc.) at the end of the formula. In our corpus, the *X kiṟupai* formula in most cases contains a verbal predicate. The *X caraṇam* formula is never found with a verbal predicate, whereas there is only one instance of the *X cakāyam* formula with a verbal predicate.

On the other hand, the *X tuṇai* formula, the more productive in our corpus, appears as more properly Tamil, in the sense that the word *tuṇai*, which has been long used in Tamil literature, has been selected to stand for Sanskrit parallel concepts (*kṛpā*, *kaṭākṣa*, etc.). This is confirmed by the interchangeability of *tuṇai* with *caraṇam* and *keti* (see above). In this sense, this blessing is a more creative adaptation.

To conclude, let us mention further avenues of investigation, some that could only be quickly tackled above:

- A collocation approach could be fruitfully adopted, in order to assess which blessings come together and where in manuscripts.
- Tamil Jain manuscripts should be examined to assess whether there exists specific Jaina blessings.
- Blessings hailing localised forms of gods and Goddess should be systematically collected, so as to obtain hints about the provenance of manuscripts.
- The use of blessings as line-fillers should be traced and investigated, as pointed out to me by Giovanni Ciotti.
- Blessings in Sanskrit Grantha manuscripts from the Tamil area should be collected. Some are already available in the online TST table of blessings.[30]

[30] See for instance, *śrī-mahālakṣmyai namaḥ* | ൠ *gurubhyo namaḥ Īśvara-kaṭākṣaṃ* |

- Blessings in Telugu, Kannaḍa, and North Indian manuscripts should be investigated. It would be interesting to assess how far Telugu and Kannaḍa blessings are adaptations of Sanskrit blessings.
- As for the various spellings in which the same blessing is found, see Francis (2024).

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Jérôme Petit, Laurent Héricher and all the BnF staff. It has been a pleasure to work with them in the BnF manuscripts library at the Richelieu building. Thanks to "Magic" Charles Li, for setting up the markup strategy for the blessings and its display on the online TST catalogue. Thanks to all TST cataloguers whose descriptions have enlarged my corpus of Tamil blessings. Thanks to Charles Li and Eva Wilden for commenting upon a draft of the present paper.

Conventions

The BnF manuscripts are referred to above by their current BnF shelfmarks, that is, "Indien" or "Sanscrit" or "NAF", followed by accession number. In case the manuscript is a composite manuscript a letter follows immediately the accession number. Further details are provided as follows: "U" followed by a number or a number+letter to indicate the codicological/textual unit (e.g. "U1," "U2a," "U2b"); "p" for page (e.g. "p12, line 25" = page 12, line 25); "f" for folio, immediately followed by folio number and "r" or "v", for recto or verso (e.g. "f1r5" = folio 1, recto, line 5) or "f" followed by "lm" (left margin), "rm" (right margin) or "c" (column), in case the phrase referred to is not in the main text area (e.g. "f1r, lm, lines 2–3"). {1} for foliation stands for non-explicit foliation 1.
The original texts are provided in diplomatic transliteration, according to the following conventions:

Roman	characters in Tamil script
Bold	characters in Grantha script

---

hariḥ Oṃ· śubham astu Avighnam astu (Sanscrit 846, a copy of the *Smṛticandrikā*, the first part of the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, U2, f155v, c2–3).

Upper-case (vowel)	initial vowel
C=C	conjunct consonant (C = consonant; e.g. *k=ku*, *t=ta*)
=M / =Ma	consonant *m* or *ma* appended as conjunct
(abc)	characters not clearly legible
[abc]	lost characters supplied by conjecture
⟨abc⟩	characters omitted by the copyist and supplied (either by a later hand or by the present editor)
[[abc]]	surplus unnecessary letters by the copyist, by oversight
ൟ	*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* (short and long forms)
·	middle dot for explicit *puḷḷi* or *virāma*
{varuṣam}	word expressed by a symbol

References

Berkwitz, Stephen. 2009. "Materiality and Merit in Sri Lankan Buddhist Manuscripts". In *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual and Art* edited by Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown, 35–49. London and New York: Routledge.

Bhattacharya, Gouriswar. 1995. "The *bhale s*ymbol of the Jainas". *Berliner Indologische Studien* 8: 201–222.

D'Avella, Victor. 2020. "Orbiting Material in Tamil Grammatical Texts". In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin, 223–279. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.

Francis, Emmanuel. 2020. "Stanzas on the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*: What for?" In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin, 281–330. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.

Francis, Emmanuel & Torsten Tschacher. 2021. "How to write the Basmala in Tamil?" and "Addendum by Torsten Tschacher". Blogpost. <https://tst.hypotheses.org/2516> (accessed 2024–10–01)

Emmanuel Francis. 2024. "Mixing Languages and Scripts in Tamil Inscriptions and Manuscripts" in *Exploring Multilingualism and Multiscriptism in Written Artefacts* edited by Szilvia Sövegjártó and Márton Vér, 205–234. Berlin: De Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 38).

Sathyanarayanan, R. & Dominic Goodall. 2020. "Text and Paratext in

South Indian Śaiva Manuscripts". In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin, 511–541. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.

List of Figures

All photos of BnF manuscripts, either retrieved from Gallica (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>) or by Emmanuel Francis, by courtesy of BnF.

Fig. 1. The *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* as line-filler (Indien 1039, U2b, f112v5). A series of 16 *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*s makes the line 5 complete. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 2. Left-marginal front header canonical series of blessings ***hari*** *Ōm naṉṟāka kuru vāḻka kuruvē tuṇai* (Indien 504, U1, f{1}r, lm). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 3. In-text canonical series of blessings *hari Om [[ku]] naṉṟāka kuru vāḻka kuruvē tuṇai* in a colophon (Indien 959, U5, f292v7). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 4. Left-marginal blessing *(Āti {tuṇai})* (Indien 308, U2a, f{1}r, lm 1, lines 1–2). Photo by Emmanuel Francis.

Fig. 5. Left-marginal Christian cross and blessing *Aṉāti-nama* (Indien 482, U2, f{1}r, lm, lines 1–2). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 6. Left-marginal pictorial blessings. From left to right and from top to bottom: Indien 1, U2a, f75r; Indien 4a, U1, f{1}r; Indien 516, U2, f102r; Indien 64, U1a, f{1}r; Indien 375, U2, f29r; Indien 524, U2, f{1}r; Indien 375, U2, f30r; Indien 524, U3, f1r; Indien 5a, U1, f{1}r. Photos from Gallica and by Emmanuel Francis.

Fig. 7. Pictorial blessing (Indien 308, U2a, f{1}r, lm 2). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Tables of Content — What For?

Eva Wilden (CSMC Hamburg)

Tables of content appear to be comparative newcomers among the paratextual features attested in Tamil manuscripts and partly shaped by Western influence. The current article discusses terminology and makes a first attempt at a typology, distinguishing those that give folio or page numbers from those which contain other kinds of information. It also enquires into possible precursors among the more traditional paratexts such as content stanzas, marginal titles, *pratīka*s and other table forms.

1. Introduction

Tables of content (ToC) at first glance do not seem to be a traditional element of a Tamil manuscript. They appear in greater number in the paper manuscripts of the 19th century, probably under the influence of Western print culture, but they can be found in non-negligible numbers also in palm-leaf manuscripts, again probably predominantly those from the 19th century, although statistics may be an inconclusive argument in this case since anyway so few older manuscripts survive. The current paper raises a few preliminary questions such as where do tables of content appear and in which type of manuscript, how do they relate to their modern printed counterparts and which are their relatives or precursors in the established set of paratext types TST has been working on. The types of manuscripts taken into consideration here, both on palm leaf and on paper, come with texts that belong to the first-millennium literary and grammatical corpus, that is, *Caṅkam*, *Kīḻkkaṇakku*, *Peruṅkāppiyam* and *Tolkāppiyam*. It is highly likely that the exploration of further text genres and periods would add to the inventory.[1]

[1] Many examples discussed here and several others are found on the online TST table for table of contents: <https://tst-project.github.io/paratexts/tables-of-contents>

The usual (and expected) location for such a table is either at the beginning or at the end of a bundle, and it is not to be expected to be included in the numbering of folios or pages, in other words it is added to the finished artefact. In many cases a difference in handwriting tells us that actually it was not made by the copyist but by a later user or by a librarian. The most frequent subtype makes use of columns, a format rarely found on palm leaf except for glossaries, which also from the point of view of content have a strong visual resemblance in that they consist in collections of single words or phrases (eventually followed by glosses).
A number of Tamil designations for a table of contents have been located in the manuscripts under scrutiny (**table 1**), based on the following three terms:[2]

1. அட்டவணை *aṭṭavaṇai*, TL: "index, register"
2. அடைவு *aṭaivu*, TL: "order"
3. கோவை *kōvai*, TL: "stringing, filing, arranging"

Table 1. Designation for tables of content.

term	source
அதிகார/படலம் அட்டவணை *atikāra/paṭalam aṭṭavaṉai*	BnF Indien 51, *Kuṟaḷ* BnF Indien 249, *Naiṭatam*

[2] A number of further (mostly related) terms have already been located by Emmanuel Francis in his cataloguing work on the BnF collection. This makes it perfectly obvious that we are not dealing with a set terminology (which makes it all the more likely that the phenomenon itself is of relatively recent origin). Additional references are the following:
- *aṭivarai* (BnF Indien 293, *Periya Purāṇam*, U4) for a table (a plain list without numbers) of the *ciṟappu*s and *purāṇam*s.
- *aṭivaraivu* (BnF Indien 361, *Avirōtavuntiyār*; paper manuscript) list of stanzas, designated by *pratīka*s, each preceded by folio reference.
- *carukkattu kaiyēṭṭu*, "guide to *sarga*s" and *purāṇa-v-aṭṭavaṇai* (BnF Indien 294, *Periya Purāṇam*, U2).
- *poruḷ aṭṭavaṇai* (BnF Indien 481 = codex sent by Pondy Jesuits) for what appears to be an index, rather than a ToC.
- *ēṭṭukkaṇakku*, "leaf count" (BnF Indien 292) for a list of chapters.

அதிகாரவடைவு *atikāra ~aṭaivu*	BnF Indien 55, *Kuṟaḷ*
அதிகாரக்கோவை *atikārakkōvai*	GOML D-126 (D-170),[3] *Nālaṭiyār*

The heading for the main text (found in the left margin in palm-leaf manuscripts and as an end title in paper manuscripts) is by no means obligatory and as such not available in the majority of cases.

2. Westernised Types

To a Western book reader, a table of contents has two main elements, namely the content and the place where it is to be found, that is, a text or chapter heading and a page number. In terms of layout, that means a double column, text on the left side, numbers on the right side. This is often the appearance a Tamil manuscript table takes, but in fact the numbers may serve different purposes, and the page number is just one of them. This type is more frequent in paper manuscripts but a palm-leaf example is found in BnF Indien 49, *Kuṟaḷ*, *Poruṭpāl* (**fig. 1**).

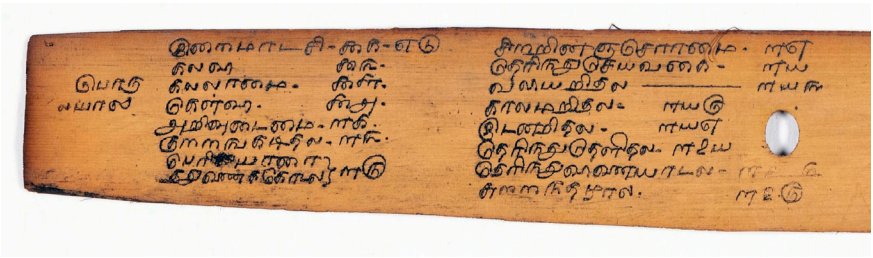


Fig. 1. BnF Indien 49, *Kuṟaḷ*, *Poruṭpāl*, p. 353. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Here we see a marginal title for the big chapter or section (*Poruṭpāl*, the second part of the *Kuṟaḷ*). The main columns then bring a list of decade titles for this second part, followed by num-

[3] In cases of double shelf marks in the GOML such as this, the first shelf mark refers to the current paper manuscript and the second refers to the palm-leaf source manuscript from which the text was copied. If both are still part of the early D series, this is an indication of a fairly early date (late 19th or early 20th century).

bers which correspond to the folio (see *ēṭu*, in c1, line 1) in the manuscript where the decade begins.[4] Further examples of this kind can be found in BnF Indien 249 — where the table seems there to provide for each chapter the total stanzas and the folio reference — and in *Naiṭatam*, BnF Indien 51, *Kuṟaḷ*.

This straightforward arrangement, however, is rare. More typical is that found in BnF Indien 55, *Kuṟaḷ* (**fig. 2**).



Fig. 2. BnF Indien 55, *Kuṟaḷ*, p. 9. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Here the arrangement is somewhat more complicated and can be interpreted in the following way:

Heading	*Tiruvaḷḷuvar Kuṟaḷ veṇpāvukku atikāravaṭaivu varumāṟu*
Part	*mutaṉmaiyāvat' aruṭpāl -1-kku*
Section	*illaṟaviyalpu -1-kku*
Decade	*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*

The first element in the enumeration is the table of contents itself, and in this manuscript the table pages are numbered with a separate count (number 1 on the left margin). The second element ought to be the heading of the first part, which should normally be called *Aṟattupāl* but here appears as *aruṭpāl*, followed by number 1 (not put in a separate column) which may either indicate the first page number or the chapter count. Then follows the title of

[4] Here Emmanuel Francis (pers. comm.) adds further information: the same manuscript contains another ToC (U8), truncated, which is in fact that of BnF Indien 48, that has been misplaced here. It ends with a completion statement: *tuṟavaṟam muṟṟum*, "[section on] ascetic life completed". BnF Indien 50, the 3rd volume of this 3-volume MVM has also a similar ToC. These three ToCs do not seem to be additional, but by the copyist himself, which makes sense in the case of a MVM.

the first subsection (*ilaṟaviyal*), again followed by number 1 either for page or for section, and then follow the decade titles beginning with *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, but none of them is numbered.

There are also examples of the colonial product, such as the following which comes from a sub-collection of the BnF, the Ducler collection which may be termed a first case of manuscripts on demand and sold to the BnF for a horrendous price.[5] This copy of the *Kuṟaḷ*, BnF Indien 51, does not only come with a book-style table (**fig. 3**) of contents but also with a French title page (**fig. 4**).



Fig. 3. BnF Indien 51, *Kuṟaḷ*, p. 5. Photo retrieved from Gallica.



Fig. 4. BnF Indien 51, *Kuṟaḷ*, p. 3. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Here the left column in fact is an elaborate marginal title which mentions the author of the work (Tiruvaḷḷuvar), its title and commentary (*Kuṟaḷuraipāṭam*), and the table of contents (*atikāra aṭṭavaṇai*). Then follow the decade titles in the left with the numbers forming the right margin of the first column, and so on. In line 1 the chapter heading is mentioned, and in this case the last letter of the word is indented to the right margin so as to be aligned with the numbers in the subsequent lines.

A peculiar feature of paper manuscripts, and especially so in the GOML, is the table of contents which I would term the librarian's type. This type seems to be brought about by that library's large-scale emergency copying: in the late 19th century, but up until at

[5] See Francis in this volume.

least the 1960s when we find the last examples, the GOML commissioned disintegrating palm-leaf bundles to be copied down in paper codices, unfortunately mostly on cheap industrial paper which is crumbling just as badly by now. The result consists in paper volumes that combine texts which would probably not have been found together in a palm-leaf bundle, as in the next example, GOML D-120, where we see a mixture of *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* texts (**fig. 5**).

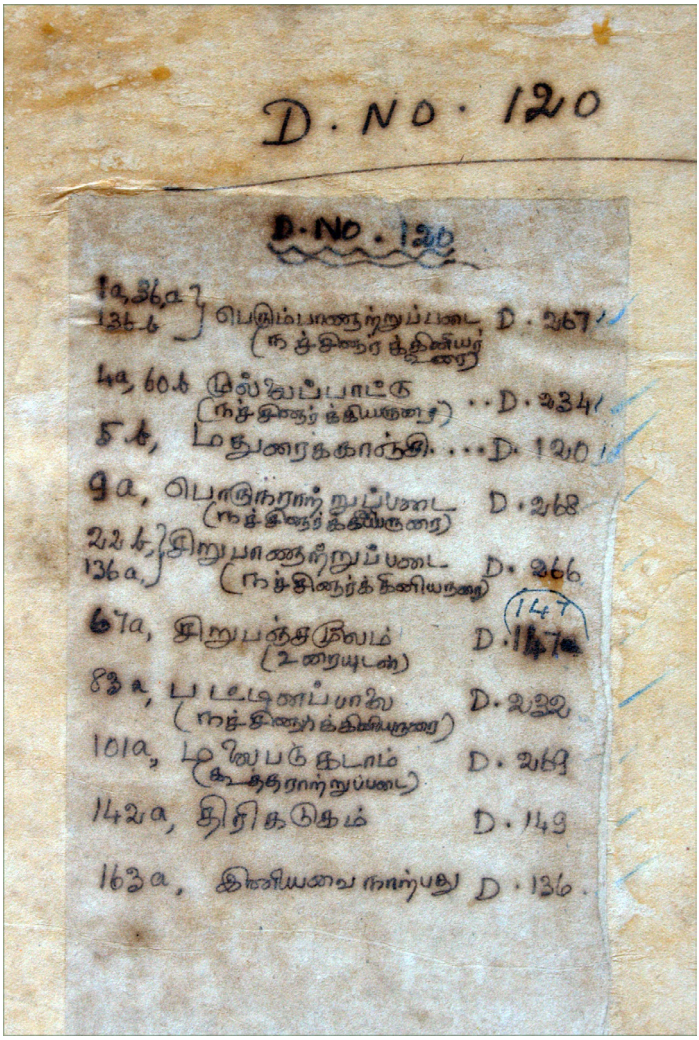


Fig. 5. GOML D-120, *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kīḻkkaṇakku*, p. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Here we see a table of contents as far as the smaller texts listed are all found in the codex (although the list is not complete; cf. Wilden 2014: 75f.). In addition, there are not one but two columns of figures. The right-hand column does not give page numbers in the codex, but the original shelf marks of the manuscripts that have been copied together here, all, as expected, from the old D series, which contained the earliest set of palm leaves stored in the library. The left-hand column is a bit of a mystery, and my best guess is that it records the original folio number where the text started in the old bundles, but that hypothesis cannot be verified because those bundles either do not exist anymore — after all they were copied on paper because they were already then in such a bad shape — or at least are not shown to the public.

3. Indian Models

Of course we should not forget that there are Indian models too that may have influenced the development of tables. Content is dealt with by at least two devices that enhance mnemonic techniques in the (semi)-oral transmission of texts that is typical of the Tamil tradition, where even the spelling demands interpretation since the script is ambiguous in so many respects. Both are found in manuscripts, both are optional. The first device is satellite stanzas pertaining to text structure (Wilden 2017). The second device is the *pratīka* index — the first one or two metrical feet of a poem — often found on the left margin of a manuscript in *lieu* or in addition to the inter-titles (chapter headings and or counts).

There is a clear overlap in the function of both these features, namely navigation, in the former case the navigation of a literary corpus and a text, in the latter case the navigation of a manuscript.

3.1. Stanzas

Since quite a lot has been written recently on the mnemonic stanzas, including the type pertaining to the structure of a corpus or a text, it will suffice here to quote one such stanza, the one enumerating the number of hymns about particular deities that were to be found in the *Paripāṭal* (UVSL 1077):

tirumāṟk' iru nāṉku cevvēṭku muppatt'
oru pāṭṭu kāṭukāṭk' oṉṟu — maruv' iṉiya

vaiyai iru patt' āṟu mā maturai nāṉk' eṉpa
ceyya paripāṭal tiṟam.

For Tirumāl eight, for Cevvēḷ thirty-one
songs, for her who guards the forest one, for the Vaiyai,
pleasing to unite in, twenty-six, for great Maturai four, they say,
[are] the constituents of the perfect Paripāṭal.

So the whole of the *Paripāṭal* would famously have made up seventy hymns to four deities and a (sacred) river, of which, however, the majority is lost today when the text counts twenty-two hymns and a number of fragments.

Such a stanza of chapter headings exists also in the case of the *Nālaṭiyār*, only here it is not in an easily memorable four-line verse in Veṇpā, but in a sort of Nūṟpā metre (GOML D-126 (D-170), *Nālaṭiyār* p. 1f.):

aṟaviyal iru vakait tāṅkavai taṉṉiṉ
tuṟav' eḻil aṟam iru mūṉṟ' eṉṉap
poruḷ iyal kai eḻil pulappaṭa kiḷappiṉ
araciyal ēḻ atikāram naṭpiyal
nāṉk' atikāram iṉpam mūṉṟ'-ē
tuṉpaviyal atikāram nāṉk'-ē
oṉṟ'-ē potuviyal pakaiviyal
kūṟ' atikāram nāṉk'-ē pal-neṟi
kūṟ' atikāram oṉṟ'-ē iṉpa(m)
vakai tāṉ iru vakai avaṟṟuḷ iṉpat-
tuṉpatt' atikāram oṉṟ'-ē ēṉai
~iṉpam kūṟ' atikāram iraṇṭ'-ē.

Of those that uphold the two divisions in the section on duty
[there are] twice three on the graceful duty with 'relinquishing',
when the section on wealth is expressed so that [its] grace is understood,
[there are] seven chapters in the section on government, four chapters
in the section on friendship, three on pleasure,
four chapters in the section on suffering,
one [is] the general section, the section on enmity
[is] in four subchapters, 'many paths'
[is] one subchapter, the kinds of pleasure
[are] one chapter on pleasure and suffering
among those of two kinds, [there are] two
subchapters on the remaining pleasures.

This verse is found (so far) in a single manuscript from the GOML, and it is the same manuscript that also contains one further item which goes one step further to what we might call a table of contents, namely an enumeration of sub-divisions and chapters in dialogue form, with question and answers about the numbers of sections and decades. The following quote is just an excerpt for the beginning of the book, of course, but this is enough to get an idea of the principle behind (GOML D-126 (D-170), *Nālaṭiyār* p. 2f.):[6]

aṟavakai iruvakai yāvaṉa?
tuṟavu aṟaviyal
illaṟaviyal...= 2
avaṟṟuḷ tuṟavu aṟaviyal ēḻ atikāram; avai yāvaṉa?
celvanilaiyāmai,
iḷamainilaiyāmai,
yākkainilaiyāmai,
aṟaṉvaliyuṟuttal,
tūyataṉmai,
tuṟavu,
ciṉamiṉmai, = 7

The two kinds among the kinds of Dharma (*aṟam*; "virtue, duty") are which?
the section on the Dharma of renunciation
the section on the Dharma of the house = 2
Among those, the section on the Dharma of renunciation has seven chapters; which are they?
the impermanence of wealth
the impermanence of youth
the impermanence of the body
the strengthening of Dharma
the pure nature
renunciation
the absence of anger = 7

[6] Emmanuel Francis (pers. comm.) points out that there are similar examples from the Christian tradition, called *callāpam*s, which are dialogues between master and disciple (see e.g. BnF Indien 451, U2b, f2r, line 1: *kuru | vīviliya v-eṉkiṟa postakam-āka-p paṭṭat' ētu | ciṣaṉ*). Further examples on TST online catalogue: BnF Indien 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 462.

3.2. Pratīkas

As already mentioned, *pratīkas*, normally on the left margin, give the first words of a poem or song. They are the traditional counterpart of stanzas like the one quoted above for the *Paripāṭal* in that they would name the beginning of each of those seventy songs that were counted in the verse. They may also appear in condensed form as a list of verse beginnings. The most prominent case in point is the Vaiṣṇava canonical corpus, the *Tivyappirapantam*. The purposes for both forms vary but overlap. The condensed form can count as a memorandum of the text structure, just like a stanza. One can also imagine it as a means of record keeping: so many verses in this bundle. The free form clearly is a navigation aid, and indeed it can be used for navigating the text itself or the manuscript. Mostly this technique is employed either for longer stanzas or for brief stanzas when there is a commentary (which makes the text blocks pertaining to one poem longer).

The figures 5 and 6 show two different styles of *pratīka*. The former (**fig. 6**) for the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, represents the minimal variety where not even the first *cīr* but the first *acai* is quoted:

vāḷ[valantara] = PN 4.1ab
eru[mai yaṉṉa] = PN 5.1ab

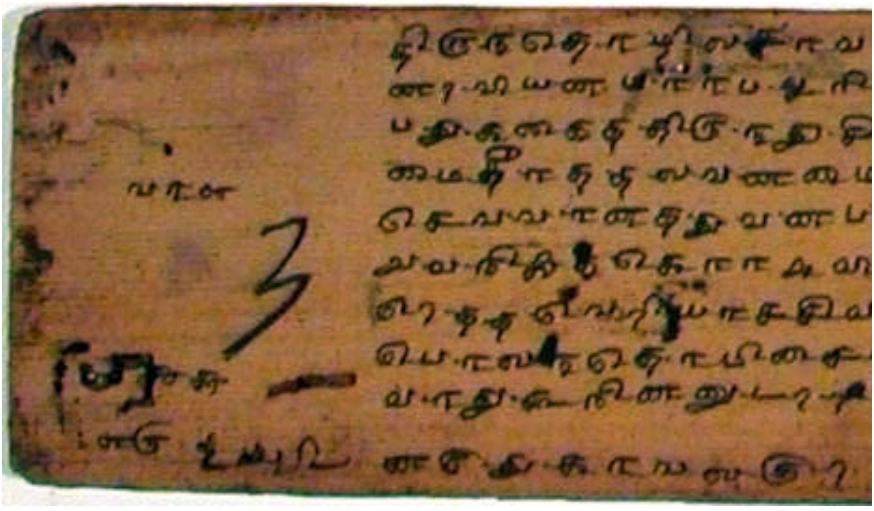


Fig. 6. UVSL 237, *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, p. 3. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

The actual length employed is, however, dictated by the degree of formulaity in the poem. If two poems in the text were to begin with the same *acai*, the *pratīka* would become longer so as to disambiguate.

The longer type (**fig. 7**) simply quotes the first two *cīr*s, as is also done in commentary literature, and this is the traditional way of referring to a poem:

pāyirum paṉikkaṭal = *Paripāṭal* 5.1ab

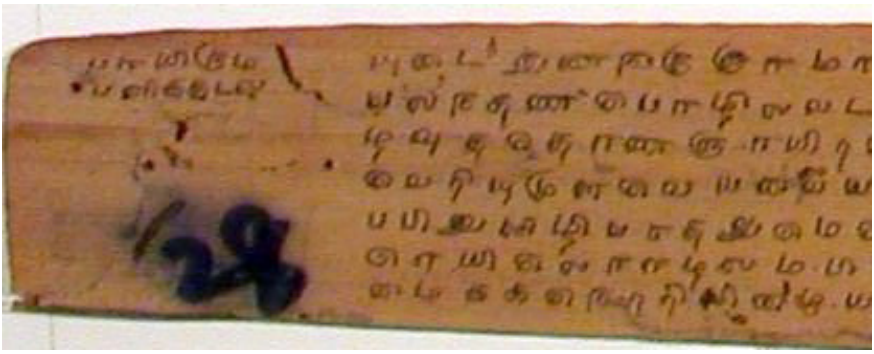


Fig. 7. UVSL 1977, *Paripāṭal*, p. 28. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

In a textual culture that is embedded in an oral tradition every well-educated reader or listener is supposed to be immediately able to recognise the poem in question. It may be worth keeping in mind that the technique as such still corresponds to the current Tamil reference system: where a Western scholar would talk about, say, *Kuṟuntokai* 2, a Tamil scholar would refer to the same poem as *koṅkutēr vāḻkkai*, the name by which it was known still in the 17th century as we can see in Parañcōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam*.[7]

An idea about the terminology of the condensed technique can be gleaned from the *Yāpparuṅkala Kārikai*, the later standard trea-

[7] Emanuel Francis (pers. comm.) has possibly detected traces of a Tamil designation that would correspond to the Sanskrit term *pratīka*, namely *aṭivarai* as employed in BnF Indien 293, *Periya Purāṇam*, U3b. A *Madras Tamil Lexicon* entry points in a similar direction: அடிவரையறை *aṭi-varaiyaṟai*, n. id. +. Index of initial syllables of the stanzas in a poem; பாட்டின் முதற்குறிப்பு வரிசை. (மீனாட். சரித். i, பக். 10.).

tise on Tamil metrics (10th c. CE), which incidentally also shows that this technique is old and by no means a development of the late pre-print era. There we find the term (ad s. 1): முதல் நினைப்பு *mutal niṉaippu*, "recollection of beginnings", with respect to the list of verse beginnings from the *Tivyappirapantam*. In current *Tivyappirapantam* editions the thing is called an அடிவரவு *aṭivaravu*, "coming of lines", but here one would have to check the manuscript tradition in order to be certain this is not an editor's addition. An example would be:

> பல் அடி வாழ் ஏடு அண்டம் எந்தை தீ நெய் உடுத்து
> எந்நாள் அல்வழக்கு பள்ளாண்டு (Periyāḻvār 1.1)

This is the enumeration of the first 'decade' (counting 12 verses) of the *Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi*, the *Tirupallāṇṭu*. One can easily imagine how such a device can also be used in memorisation technique or recitation, such as counting to make sure one has recited all the twelve stanzas.

One further traditional area of use of the simple *pratīka* is in commentary quotations, and it can be most welcome if one thinks of the enormous blocks of commentary which may follow one *sūtra* in a theoretical text such as the *Tolkāppiyam*. If a poem is not quoted but just referred to this is done with the help of the first two *cīr*s: *tēmpaṭu ciṉaiya ~eṉṉum kaḷiṟṟiyāṉainirai*, "the [verse in] *Kaḷiṟṟiyāṉainirai* (the first book of the *Akanāṉūṟu*) which says *tēmpaṭu cimaiya* (on a honey-flowing summit)", that is, a reference to *Akanāṉūṟu* 94.1ab (UVSL 74, *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 1+2, p. 39).

If a poem is quoted, the verse beginnings often are put in the margins, which allows navigating the commentary not only on *sūtra* level, but, much more fine-grained, by quotation (**fig. 8**):

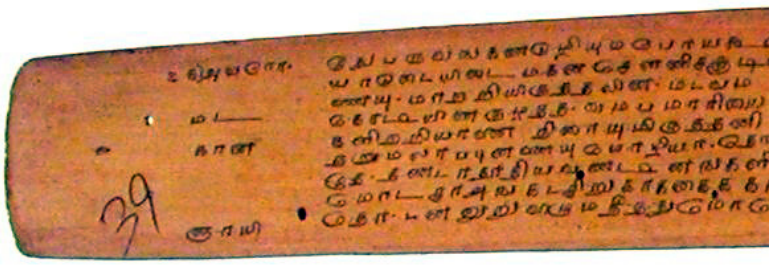


Fig. 8. UVSL 74, *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 1+2, p. 39. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

avarō [vārār] = *Kuṟuntokai* 225.1ab
maṭa[va maṉṟa] = *Kuṟuntokai* 66.1ab
kāṉa[luṁ kaḻaṟātu] = *Akanāṉūṟu* 170. 1ab
ñāyi[ṟu paṭṭa] = *Kuṟuntokai* 92.1ab

Occasionally it is even possible to find a *pratīka* index added in form of a table, as here in UVSL 1077 for the *Paripāṭal* (**fig. 9**).

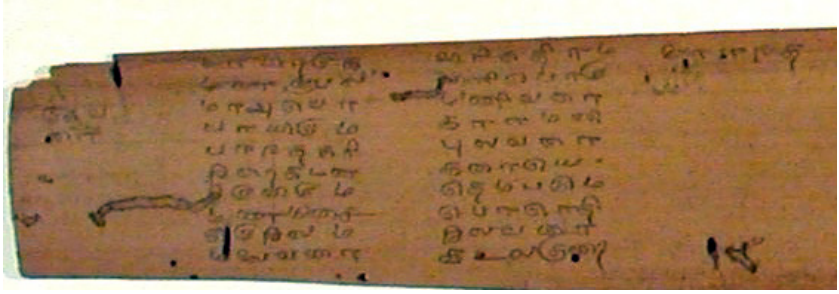


Fig. 9. UVSL 1077, *Paripāṭal*, f. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

4. Siblings in Layout

A number of further tables can be found that are in layout just like the ones already discussed but that clearly must be different in function.[8] One type may be a sort of count or account for completeness — added by the scribe? In GOML D-107, a paper manuscript of the *Cūḷāmaṇi*, for example, the second volume ends with a table of chapter headings which simply appears to be a count of chapters (slightly deviating for this text depending on the edition):

1. *nakaravaṟṇaṉaiccarukkacceyyuḷ*
2. *mantiracālaiccarukkacceyyuḷ*
3. *tūtuviṭuccarukkacceyyuḷ*

[8] The list of possibilities evoked in this section is without any doubt incomplete. Emmanuel Francis (pers. comm.) identifies further interesting siblings such as BnF Indien 950, *Tēvāram* (U4) with a table of *paṇ*s and *rākam*s, and BnF Indien 952, *Aṟciyacīṣṭṭa Kittēriyammāḷ Ammāṉai*, which contains a *toṭai viparam* (f. 102v), described as followed by Margherita Trento in the TST catalogue: "a list that counts the modes of versification (*toṭai*) for each chapter (*kātai*) of the ballad and for the entire ballad. The figures provided correspond to the number of couplets (the basic prosodic form of the *ammāṉai* being the two-lines *kaṇṇi*). Finally, the number of *viruttam*s, *tāḻica*is, and *cintu*s stanzas are counted."

4. *cīyavataiccarukkacceyyuḷ*
5. *kaliyāṇaccarukkacceyyuḷ*
6. *araciyaṟcarukkacceyyuḷ*
7. *cuyamaraccarukkacceyyuḷ*
8. *tuṟavuccarukkacceyyuḷ*
9. *mutticcarukkacceyyuḷ*

This is followed by the signature of the copyist and the date (28.3.900).

Fairly frequent also is a type where there is a column for the chapter headings followed by a number, but the number does not refer to the folio in the manuscript where the chapter is found, but to the number of verses (*ceyyuḷ* or *viruttam* or *tiruviruttam* or *pāṭṭu* or *pāṭal* in the manuscripts) contained in the chapter, as in ORIML 6421, *Cintāmaṇi* (**fig. 10**):[9]

nāmakaḷ ilampakam	*408*
Kōvintaiyār ilampakam	*84*

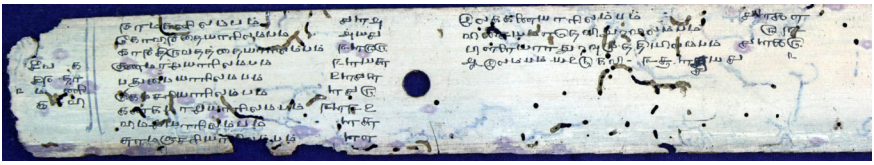


Fig. 10. ORIML 6421, *Cintāmaṇi*, f. 1. Photo courtesy of ORIML.

[9] Emmanuel Francis (pers. comm.) adduces as further examples BnF Indien 1040, *Naiṭatam* (U2), BnF Indien 506, *Periya Purāṇam* (U2c), and BnF Indien 951, *Kamparāmāyaṇam* (U2). He also raises the interesting question as to whether the number of verses may also relate to the payment of the copyists, as has been reported for the count of *granthas* in Sanskrit manuscripts. A South Indian example for that case has recently been described in Sathyanarayanan & Goodall (2020: 534): "Another helpful device is the inclusion of a table of contents, which we find for instance in IFP RE 10843, a manuscript transmitting the *Pauṣkarapārameśvara* in Sanskrit with Tamil glosses. The recto of the first leaf on which there is writing in this bundle begins with the following tabular presentation of the contents:

prathamapaṭalam grantham 95 ½
dvitīyapaṭalam grantham 65
tṛtīyapaṭalam grantham 64 1/2

Kāntāravatattāyār ilampakam *355*
kuṇamāḷaiyār ilampakam *316*
Patumaiyār ilampakam *246*
Kēmacariyār ilampakam *145*
Kaṇakamālaiyār ilampakam *332*
vimalaiyār ilampakam *106*
Curamañcariyār ilampakam *107*

My final example is isolated so far. ORIML 6348-A, *Cintāmaṇi* begins with a whole set of tables formatted in columns (**fig. 11**), the first of which appears to recount the Jaina literary corpus in two languages, Sanskrit and Tamil:

Column 1 [in Sanskrit (?)]	**Column 2**	**Column 3**	**Column 4**	**Column 5**
Makāpurāṇam *Tirulōkacāram* *Kōmaṭacāram* *Patārttacāram* *Irattiṇakāṇṭakam* *Tarmaparīṭcai*	*Cintāmaṇi* *Cūṭāma[ṇi]* *Mērumantara-purā[ṇa]m* *Nīlakēcivātam* *Amaram* *† † kaṭāyaṉam*	*Nayaccak-karam* *Cat † paṅku tavaḷa † m* *Vi † † † laṉam* *Pakarata-laṉam* *Cupōtiṉi ivaimutali-yavai*	*| tamiḻil* *Cintāmaṇi* *Cūṭāmaṇi* *Nīlakēcivātam* *Maṇimēkalai* *Nālaṭi* *Kuṟaḷ*	*Nikaṇṭu* *Naṉṉūl* *Mēru-mantara-purāṇam* *ivaimutali-yavai*

The first part starts with texts which are clearly in Sanskrit (or Prakrit?) language, even though that is not explicitly stated and even though the titles are adapted to be spelt with Tamil letters.

---

caturthapaṭalam grantham 170
pañcamapaṭalam grantham 93
ṣaṣṭhapaṭalam grantham 354 1/2
saptapaṭalam granthan 89 1/2
aṣṭamapaṭalam grantham 45
āka paṭalam 8 itaṟku kūṭiya grantham = 975

Note, however, that the numbers are not page-numbers! Instead, they indicate the number of *granth*as, thirty-two-syllable units (in this case *anuṣṭubh* verses), that each chapter contains. The last line totals up the *paṭala*s to 8 and the *granth*as to 975."

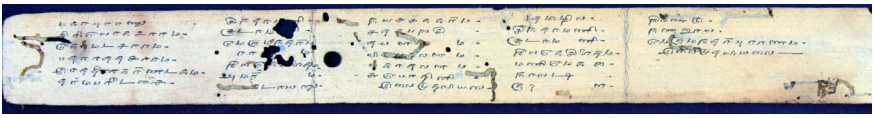


Fig. 11. ORIML 6348-A, *Cintāmaṇi*, f. 1v. Photo courtesy of ORIML.

Column 4 begins with the word '*tamiḻ*' in the locative case and heads a list of well-known Tamil classics which have Jaina affiliation. A number of titles appear twice, that is, in both lists of works (*Cintāmaṇi*, *Cūṭāmaṇi*,[10] *Mērumantarapurāṇam*, *Nīlakēcivātam*), namely in columns 2, 4, and 5, and it is not clear whether this implies a suggestion of Sanskrit versions for those texts. At any rate we can only speculate what the purpose of such a table may have been. Does it point back to a context of teaching and the corpus of texts to be taught?

5. Conclusions

Various types of table are available, most of them, but not all, to be found both in palm-leaf and in paper manuscripts. Since the vast majority of them somehow lists contents in the form of section or chapter headings, or sub-sections such as decades, the appropriate portmanteau designation may still be 'table of contents', whether it be accompanied by folio/page numbers, by a chapter or verse count, or even by former shelf marks. A table of contents may have a number of purposes:

- record keeping (so many text in this bundle, so many chapters in this text, so many verses in this chapter)
- memorandum of the text structure (stanzas, tables and hybrid forms)
- navigation aid, either with respect to the text or with respect to the manuscript

The significant overlap between Indian and western models is due to the fact that both ultimately serve the same purpose: the safeguarding and transmission of knowledge.

[10] The context suggests that what is meant by *Cūṭāmaṇi* is not the later *nikaṇṭu* but the *peruṅkāppiyam*, normally spelt as *Cūḷāmaṇi*.

Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Ceṉṉai
ORIML	Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library, Kerala University, Trivandrum
UVSL	U.Vē. Cāmināṭaiyār Library, Ceṉṉai
TL	Tamil Lexicon
†	illegible character

References

Manuscripts

Images of the BnF manuscripts can be found online on Gallica (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>), that of the UVSL palm-leaf manuscripts and GOML paper manuscripts on Tamilinaiyam Digital Library (<https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in>).

BnF Indien 49, *Kuṟaḷ*.

BnF Indien 51, *Kuṟaḷ*.

BnF Indien 55, *Kuṟaḷ*.

BnF Indien 249, *Naiṭatam*.

GOML D-107, *Cūḷāmaṇi*.

GOML D-120, *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kīḻkkaṇakku*.

GOML D-126 (D-170), *Nālaṭiyār*.

ORIML 6421, *Cintāmaṇi*.

ORIML 6348-A, *Cintāmaṇi*.

UVSL 74, *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram 1+2*.

UVSL 237, *Puṟanāṉūṟu*.

UVSL 1077, *Paripāṭal*.

Primary Sources

Akanāṉūṟu. 1933/34. *Neṭuntokai ākum Akanāṉūṟu mūlamum paḻaiya uraiyum* [old comm. for KV-90]. Ed. by Vē. Rā. Rākavaiyaṅkār/Rājakōpālāryaṉ [new comm. for 91–160]. Kampar Pustakālayam, Kamparvilāsam Mayilāppūram. Śrīmuka varuṣam (= 1933/34).

Kuṟuntokai. 1937. Ed. + Comm. by U.V. Cāmināṭaiyar. Madras. [2nd ed. 1947, 3rd ed. 1955; various reprints by UVSL]

Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi. 1912. *Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi*. With *Svāpatēcam* by Tiruvāymoḻippiḷai and *Vyākkiyānam* by Periyajīyar. Ed. by Vēṅkaṭācaryar. Kāñcipuram: Śrīnivāsa Accukkūṭṭam.

Yāpparuṅkalakārikai. 1993. *Yāpparuṅkalakārikai*. Text, translation and notes by Ulrike Niklas. Pondichéry: Institut Français de Pondichéry (publications du département d'indologie 79).

Secondary Literature

Sathyanarayanan, R. & Dominic Goodall. 2020. "Text and Paratext in South Indian Śaiva Manuscripts" in *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin, 511–541. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.

Wilden, Eva. 2014. *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Cańkam in Tamilnadu*. Berlin: de Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 3).

Wilden, Eva. 2017. "Making Order in the Vaults of Memory: Tamil Satellite Stanzas on the Transmission of Texts" *Kervan — International Journal of Afro-Asiatic Studies* 21: 317–337.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. BnF Indien 49, *Kuṟaḷ*, *Poruṭpāl*, p. 353. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 2. BnF Indien 55, *Kuṟaḷ*, p. 9. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 3. BnF Indien 51, *Kuṟaḷ*, p. 5. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 4. BnF Indien 51, *Kuṟaḷ*, p. 3. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 5. GOML D-120, *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kīḻkkaṇakku*, p. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 6. UVSL 237, *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, p. 3. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 7. Fig. 7. UVSL 1977, *Paripāṭal*, p. 28. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 8. UVSL 74, *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 1+2, p. 39. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 9. UVSL 1077, *Paripāṭal*, f. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 10. ORIML 6421, *Cintāmaṇi*, f. 1. Photo courtesy of ORIML.

Fig. 11. ORIML 6348-A, *Cintāmaṇi*, f. 1v. Photo courtesy of ORIML.

Invocatory Verses of Nampi's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam*
A Comparison of Two Versions

Neela Bhaskar (Universität Hamburg)

This article discusses the significance of the paratextual material in Nampi's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam*, a vast text with an elaborate invocatory portion. Two versions of the text, namely, the unpublished palm-leaf manuscript RE47715 in the library of the Institut français de Pondichéry, and the edition by U. V. Saminathaiyar are taken into consideration. A comparison of these two versions sheds light on the significance of particular verses, namely, the signature verse in which the author is named, a verse that exists only in the manuscript but not in the printed version, and a few verses in the printed version that were not recorded in the manuscript. Ultimately, this article emphasises the importance of analysing paratexts, for they contain information on the transmission of this, and other, texts.

1. Introduction

Oftentimes, paratexts are the only means of determining how a Tamil text was transmitted through time.[1] The present article is therefore a survey on the invocatory verses of the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam* ("the legend of the sacred games," henceforth TVP), composed by Perumparrapuliyūr Nampi (12–14th c.).[2] It also touches

[1] Wilden (2020: 3): "they [paratexts] are one of the primary means, in fact the only one, for attempting to trace transmission history."

[2] As far as I am aware, there exist only two scholarly works that engage directly with Nampi's text, namely, Wilden (2014) and Aravamuthan (1931, 1932). Both, however, speak only of the *mūlam*. In Tamil, Mū. Aruṇācalam (1970: 237) offers a detailed biography of Nampi, based on evidence in the TVP. He also dates Nampi to the 13th century, and translates a few colophon passages. Apart from this, there are no studies on the paratextual material surrounding Nampi's

upon a later version by Parañcōti Muṉivar (17th c.), which contains one ubiquitous invocatory verse that eventually transcends across several versions of the TVP. The TVP narrates the sixty-four divine actions of Lord Śiva in Maturai, where he is more commonly known as Cuntarēcuvarar, or Cokkaliṅkam (among several other names). It contains sixty-four chapters, one for each action. It serves as a tribute to this deity (and his divine consort Mīṉāṭci), the erstwhile rulers of Maturai (the Pāṇṭiyas), and to the faithful devotees they both shared.

The two versions of the text that I take into consideration are the unpublished RE47715, a palm-leaf manuscript in the collection of the Institut Français de Pondichéry, and that edited by U. V. Saminathaiyar (UVS 1906, UVS 1972[3]). Both versions are exemplary of two very different paths of textual transmission that I bring to light through a comparison of them.

My comparison is centred around two key points — the editorial selection of certain invocatory verses over others, and the numerical and codicological details of the invocatory material as a whole. Through this comparison, several preliminary observations can be made — each version contains some verses that are unique to it; the verses that are common to both versions are presented in a different sequence; and, some of those verses have been grouped into "clusters," and have been transmitted that way in both versions. Thus, little uniformity is observed, likely on account of the editorial flexibility given to the copyist. This raises many additional questions that this article hopes to accommodate. What was the relationship between the editor and the material? Does the (seemingly) haphazard transmission of these invocatory verses symptomize certain editorial choices? For instance, why did editors of the TVP choose to record certain verses over others? Was there, in that case, a cache of verses from which each editor chose the ones

---

TVP. I have taken Wilden (2020: 24) and Aruṇācalam (1970: 236) into account in dating Nampi, both of whom agree on the 13th century.

[3] I have primarily used the second edition (UVS 1972), which, unfortunately, appears to be full of typographical misprints compared to the first edition (UVS 1906), available to me only in a version typed out by Mrs. Kamalambal for the EFEO (Pondicherry).

that fit his tastes the most? And, will the answer tell us anything about how literary transmission worked/works in general?

2. The Edition by U.V. Saminathaiyar

In his printed edition, U.V. Saminathaiyar prints 31 invocatory verses and subsequently five invocatory chapters.

The 31 verses are typically supplied with four structural details: a main heading such as *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*, a sub-heading (named for the object of praise) such as *cuntarēcuvarar*, a number (which begins afresh with each new main heading), and a note *vēṟu* ("other") to denote changes in metre between verses. The sub-heading is not consistently provided. The main heading is printed in bold font and is surrounded with decorative typefaces, such as a curved line at the bottom. The sub-heading is marked in bold, but in a smaller font-size.

The first four verses seem to have been considered as independent verses. They do not have a main heading, but each possesses a sub-heading. The very first verse has the sub-heading *kāppu* ("protection [verse]") while the subsequent three verses have *kaṟpakavināyakar* ("wish[-giving] Vināyakar"), *cittivināyakar* ("success[-fulfilling] Vināyakar"), and *vāḻttu* ("praise"). The fourth verse of this series is a general adulation of the world as a manifestation of Cuntarēcuvarar's grace, beginning with the phrase *ñālam ōṅkuka* ("may the world prosper"). The next twenty-three verses fall under the main heading *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*. Each verse invokes a different deity that is unique to the Maturai temple. No deity is praised twice under the same name. For example, Cuntarēcuvarar is praised through his other names that are specific to the TVP, such as Kāṉmāṟiyāṭiyavar (literally, "he who danced, having changed legs"), which refers to TVP, story no. 32, succinctly called Māṟiyāṭiyavar ("he who danced, having changed").[4] In one instance, the Pāṇṭiya king Ukkiraperuvaḻutiyār is praised. He is presented as the saviour of Maturai, having rescued it from drought.[5] In the TVP,

[4] This story is discussed in greater detail below in §6 "Two Signature Verses."

[5] When Maturai suffered from the drought, Ukkiraperuvaḻutiyār journeyed to Mount Mēru, where he chained the rainclouds to take them back to his

the Pāṇṭiyas are also portrayed as the upholders of Tamil literary production, for they hosted in their court the famous *tamiḻccaṅkam* ("academy of Tamil [scholars]"). The poet-scholars of the *caṅkam* (usually called *caṅkappulavar*) are praised in the twenty-third and final *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verse, where they are called *āciriyar* ("teachers").[6] The object of praise also makes up the sub-heading supplied for each of these verses.

After the twenty-three *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verses there are four verses that comprise the *avaiyaṭakkam* ("appeasing the assembly"). What follows is the invocatory chapters which are called *patikam* (roughly, "contents"), *nūl varalāṟu* ("history of the text"), *tirunāṭṭucciṟappu* ("excellence of the holy [Pāṇṭiya] land"), *tirunakarcciṟappu* ("excellence of the holy city [of Maturai]"), and *nūṟpayaṉ* ("significance of the text") respectively. Following the *nūṟpayaṉ* is the first chapter of the main text, titled *intiraṉ paḻitīrtta tiruviḷaiyāṭal* ("the sacred sport of having eliminated Intiraṉ's crime(s)"). These invocatory chapters are not discussed in this article.

UVS also prints towards the end of his edition (UVS 1972: 315) a number of additional invocatory verses under the title *cila-cila kaiyeḻuttu piratikaḷil maṭṭum mikaiyāka mutalil varaiyappeṟṟirunta kaṭavuḷ vāḻttuc ceyyuṭkaḷ* ("invocatory verses that were written down frequently in the beginning of only a few manuscripts").[7] There, UVS lists five *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verses, whose sub-heading/object of praise are *cittivināyakar*, *poyyāvināyakar*, *murukakkaṭavuḷ*, *kalaimakaḷ* and

---

kingdom. The infuriated Lord Intiraṉ proceeded to attack him. In the process, the king knocked off Intiraṉ's crown with his discus. Intiraṉ, realising that he was fighting with no ordinary man, assured bountiful rain for the Pāṇṭiya kingdom (Nampi's TVP 10).

[6] The TVP credits the *tamiḻcccaṅkam* with the composition of the oldest extant corpus of Tamil literature, known as Caṅkam literature. Wilden (2014: 216, 256) discusses the background of what she thus calls "The Caṅkam Legends," and their relationship with Nampi's text.

[7] There is a slight difference here between UVS 1906 and UVS 1972. The latter prints *cila piratikaḷ*, as opposed to *cila-cila piratikaḷ*, thus removing the re-duplication that is added for emphasis. As UVS died in 1942, significantly prior to the release of the reprint, I have considered the *editio princeps* here, for one can be certain that the title came from him. It is unclear to me why the 1972 reprint made a change here.

kaviyiṉ kūṟṟu respectively. Then, he provides two verses under the sub-heading *nūṟciṟappuppāyiram* ("text's special introduction") with the sub-headings *veṇpā* and *viruttam* to indicate their respective metres.

3. The IFP Manuscript RE47715

The IFP manuscript RE47715 contains a long series of eighty-seven invocatory verses from folio 1 verso to 27 recto. They have been grouped into two sections. The first section is the first four verses (i.e., verses '1' through '4'), and the second section begins with the fifth. This is evident in the way that they are numbered — verses one through four are numbered '1', '2', '3' and '4', but stanza five is counted again as '1'. No other form of categorisation, nor formatting, can be observed here. In the end of the invocatory section, a remark that reads *pāyiram muṟṟum* ("preface is finished") is found. The *mūlam* (root-text) begins thus. Most of the verses in this manuscript are printed in UVS's edition.

From verse five onwards, a metrical remark (which is not always accurate) that reads ஒஎ. for *vēṟu* ("other") is also provided.[8]
Four notable differences between the manuscript and the printed versions are discussed below:

- a "new" verse occurs in the manuscript (§4);
- two verses from the *mūlam* in UVS's edition are considered invocatory verses in the manuscript (§5);
- two signature verses in UVS's edition are absent from the manuscript (§6);
- Parañcōti's (much later) invocation is found in the manuscript (§7).

The differences are discussed on the basis of the following three criteria: the content of the verse, its sequence among the other verses, and its presence/absence from the other version. We will also see that the same verse is reported across both versions, but its

[8] Upon reading this a few times over, it occurred to me also that *ve* could stand for *veṇpā*, which has been used synonymous to *pāṭṭu* in other portions of this manuscript. This would rule out erroneous markers of metrical changes as suggested above. However, I am currently not confident of either suggestion.

place in the sequence is different. There is only one case in which all three criteria are identical, and it is discussed when I deal with the similarities between both versions.

4. A "New" Verse

The first verse (folio 4 verso, lines 1–4) in the manuscript RE47715 has not been printed in UVS's edition. It reads as follows:

வேக மாநெறி சேரும் வினைகளுந்
தாக போகவி டாதத ளர்ச்சியுஞ்
சோக வாரியி [னா]ல்வரு துன்பமும்
போக யானைமு கத்தனைப் போற்றுவாம்

vēka mā neṟi cērum viṉaikaḷum
tāka pōka-viṭāta taḷarcciyum
cōka vāriyi[ṉāl][9] varu tuṉpamum
pōka yāṉai mukattaṉai pōṟṟuvām

We shall praise the elephant-faced one,
So that our [bad] Karmas that reach the fast/poisonous, great path [of life],
The frailty that does not allow thirst to be quenched, and
The sadness that comes because of a flood of sorrow
Go away.[10]

This verse has not been added to any other version of the TVP.[11] Yet, it occurs in several extraneous texts. It is the invocatory stanza

[9] The text within square brackets is missing from this manuscript due to damage. I have taken it from other versions, all of which are discussed below.

[10] Cf. D'Avella (2020: 264–265), who translates this verse slightly differently. He has also located this verse in many other places, such as in the palm-leaf manuscript TAM 303, kept in the Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātiṉam, a Śaiva hermitage and important manuscript library.

[11] This statement is made with the awareness that many smaller, lesser known versions of the TVP also exist. UVS, for one, prints several of these versions at the end of his 1972 edition of Nampi's TVP (UVS 1972: 317). I thus consider them to be within the same thematic sphere as Nampi's text, and initially expected some paratextual material to be shared between them. However, none of them transmit this invocatory verse, and for that matter, nor any other from either Nampi, or Parañcōti. Of all Nampi manuscripts, only this one, RE47715, has the invocatory portion.

of a manuscript containing the text *Patiyilakkaṇam*.[12] The catalogue *Ulakat Tamiḻārāycci Niṟuvaṉac Cuvaṭi Viḷakka Aṭṭavaṉai* (1998: 168) mentions this manuscript (no. 679) and quotes this verse as the beginning of the text (*toṭakkam*). Additionally, this verse appears in four unpublished manuscripts that are part of the Tamil collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (henceforth BnF). Their shelfmarks are Indien 289, Indien 294, Indien 414 and Indien 273 respectively.[13]

On folio 1 (recto) of Indien 289, this stanza functions as the invocation to another, later version of the TVP, by Parañcōti Muṉivar (17th c.).[14] In Indien 294, which contains the popular Śaiva hagiography *Periyapurāṇam* ("the great legend"), this stanza also serves as the invocation to a text called *Pavaḷakkoṭimālai* ("the garland of [she who is] the coral creeper"), by Pukaḻēnti Pulavar.[15] Indien 414 is a *katai*, one of many prose genres that summarise and/or simplify a metrical text. In this case, it is an account of *pañcatantiram* (Sanskrit *pañcatantra*, tentatively, "the five yarns"), a collection of popular animal fables. Finally, Indien 273 is the text *Makāvintam*, a Tamil version of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, of which one part is written down in this manuscript.[16]

---

[12] The *Patiyilakkaṇam* ("the grammar of *pati*") is a text that delves into one of the three elements (*mupporuḷ*) of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy. That portion is about *pati* ("Lord") while the other two are about *pacu* and *pācam*.

[13] Many thanks to Emmanuel Francis for sharing these occurrences with me.

[14] Here, it is worth noting that Parañcōti's TVP, although loosely based on Nampi's, was transmitted more frequently due to its greater popularity. However, he produced (or with his text came) several other, newer *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verses. An overlap of both texts in terms of their respective paratextual material is seen only in two instances, and this is one. The second instance is discussed further below on in this work (§7).

[15] According to I. Irāmacāmikkōṉār (*Pavaḷakkoṭimālai* 1922), Pukaḻēnti Pulavar was a resident at the court of Varakuṇa Pāṇṭiyar. The author is introduced as *varakuṇapāṇṭiyaṉatu camastāṉavitvāṉ poṉviḷainta kaḷattūr pukaḻēntippulavar avarkaḷ*, "the eminent Pukaḻēnti Pulavar of Kaḷattūr who produced gold (i.e., prized poetry), the resident scholar of Varakuṇa Pāṇṭiyaṉ." The text itself is an elaboration of the Pāṇṭiya queen Alli Aracāṉi, who is described in the title *pavaḷakkoṭi*, or "coral[-red]-creeper."

[16] A critical edition of the *Makāvintam* (also called *Paratamakāvintam*) was made by Ta. Irājēsvari. See *Pārata Māvintam* 2022.

5. Introductory Verses from the *Mūlam*

In two cases, RE47715 provides two verses as invocations that UVS prints as part of the *mūlam* (root-text). They are verses 9 and 11 (out of 87). Verse 9 of RE47715 is the same as verse 17 in chapter 36 of Nampi's TVP (titled *Maturaiyāṉa Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* "the holy sport in which Maturai was created;" UVS 1972: 176), and verse 11 of RE47715 is verse 7 in chapter 5 (titled *Patañcalikku Naṭañceyta Tiruviḷaiyāṭal*, "the holy sport in which [Śiva] danced for Patañcali;" UVS 1972: 41). Of them, the first example is printed twice in UVS's edition, first as an invocatory stanza 12 under *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* (UVS 1972: 12), and again as the concluding verse of chapter 36 (UVS 1972: 176). The second example is printed only once, as the concluding verse of chapter 5 (UVS 1972: 42).

Verse 9 of RE47715 begins with *vituvarava mitaḻitiri* (quoted in entirety below), and verse 11 of RE47715 with *matañcorikol kuñcaravi*.

These instances raise the question of how a verse is valued. The same verse could be paratextual to the *mūlam*, or part of the *mūlam* itself, based (seemingly) only on the editor's choice. This in turn lends itself to a discussion on formatting. To what extent was the movement of verses permitted? Was there a criterion, or perhaps an unwritten rule, that determined whether a verse could be shifted to a different codicological context? The two verses are as beautiful as they are difficult, composed (as is typical to this text) in lengthy, elaborate metres. Yet, the metre is musical, and is thus suitable for memorisation. It is possible that these qualities enabled their use as a paratextual stanza, as I discuss later on in my conclusions.

Verse 9 of RE47715 = UVS (1972: 5, 176), reads:[17]

> விதுவரவ மிதழிதிரி பதகைதலை பொதிசடையர்
> விதமருவு கதிய தருள்வோர் சதுமறைவி [sic] புதர்முனிவர்
> திதிபுதல்வர் துதிசெயிர சதநிகழ்தொல் பொதுவில்
> வருவோ ரதிகரள நதியையதி மதுரமுறு நதிசெய்திற
> லதுலருயர் சதுர ரிடம்வான் மதிதவழு சுதையிலகு
> புதுமைதரு நிதிதிகழு மதிறழுவு மதுரை நகரே

[17] In my translation of most of these verses, the corresponding footnotes of UVS have come in handy. They function as mini-commentaries, glossing (in most cases) the most challenging parts of the verse.

vitu aravam itaḻi tiripatakai talai poti caṭaiyar vitam maruvu(m) katiyat(u) aruḷvōr
catumaṟai viputar muṉivar titi putalvar tuti-cey iracata(m) nikaḻ tol potuvil varuvōr
ati karaḷa natiyai ati maturam uṟu nati cey tiṟal atular uyar caturar iṭam vāṉ
mati tavaḻu cutai ilaku putumai taru niti tikaḻum matil taḻuvu maturai nakarē

Maturai city which encircles the fort, in which treasures shine, giving glittering newness [akin to] the whiteness of the rising moon of the sky;

[The] place of the lofty four/the clever ones [clever four?],[18] of the Unequalled One (Śiva) who has the ability to make the greatly poisonous river into the river (Vaikai) that is full of great ambrosia,

[The place of] the gracious ones of the fate that embraces variety of the kind of He with the matted hair who carries upon his head the moon, the snake, the laburnum [and] Tiripatakai,[19]

[The place for] those who arrived in the ancient common hall where silver abides, in which Viputar of the four secrets, the sages [and] the son of Titi sang praises.[20]

When attempting to determine the "value" of the verse, as I stated earlier, another layer of analysis is made possible through observing them in the *mūlam*. Of the two verses, verse 11 of RE47715 is not the final verse in its corresponding chapter, but the penultimate verse, followed by yet another that also occurs in the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* section. As for verse 8 of RE47715, it is the last verse of its chapter. Both verses are provided below.

---

[18] This is presumably in reference to the four most eminent Śaiva Tamil saints, Appar, Campantār, Cuntarar and Māṇikkavācakar. The first three are better known as *mūvar* ("the three"), a more famous epithet than the one in this verse (*caturar*). Yet, Māṇikkavācakar's story is featured in the TVP. I surmise that this verse modified the existing category of three to include him. Alternately, *caturar* may be rendered as "the clever ones."

[19] According to UVS's footnote on this verse (UVS 1972: 12, fn. 12), *tiripatakai* is *kaṅkai*, i.e. the Gaṅgā river atop Śiva's head. I take this to be a semantic extension of Skt. *tri-patha-gā*, or "she who goes/flows in three paths."

[20] In the spirit of maintaining the beauty of the verse, this translation is approximate so that it renders smoothly in English.

RE47715, verse 11 = UVS, verse 7 (1972: 42) reads:

மதஞ்சொரிகொல் குஞ்சரவி ருஞ்சரும கஞ்சுகவ ரன்சயில
வஞ்சி கொழுநன்
விதஞ்செறிபு ரஞ்சுடநெ டுஞ்சரம்வி டுஞ்சதுரன்
விஞ்சையர்வி ரிஞ்சரிறைவ
னிதஞ்செய்கொடு நஞ்சவுர கஞ்சசிமி லைஞ்சசடை
யெஞ்சலில கஞ்ச லனுளம்
பதஞ்சலிநி றைஞ்சடியி றைஞ்செய்தப ரஞ்சுடர்த
ருஞ்சொருபமே

matam cori kol kuñc(u) arav(u) irum caruma(m) kañcuka(m) araṉ[21]
cayila vañci koḷunaṉ
vitam-ceṟi-puram cuṭa neṭum caram viṭum caturaṉ viñcaiyar viriñcar
iṟaivaṉ
nitam cey koṭu nañca(m) urakam caci milaiñcu[22] *caṭai eñcal ila*
kañc(u) alaṉ uḷam,
patañcali niṟaiñc(u) aṭi iṟaiñc(u) eyta param-cuṭar tarum corūpamē

[This] true form which emits highest fire, to which Patañcali, when he arrived, his heart filling with joy, bowing to the feet,

[Is] the Destroyer with the small, murderous snake that flows with [poisonous] nectar, [with] the upper-cloth of black animal-hide, the husband to the mountain-lady (Pārvatī);[23]

The Dexterous One that dispatches the long arrow so that the several[-tiered] enclosed cities[24] burned, the Lord of clever men [and] Brahma;

[Is] The Deceitless One without fault, with the matter hair that wears the moon and the snake with cruel poison that is made daily.

RE47715, verse 8 = UVS, verse 10 (1972: 4) and incomplete verse 10 (1972: 42), reads:

தலம்புகழ்தரும்பொரு வரும்பரம சம்புவ
ருணம்பனெழிலம் பொனொலியார்

---

[21] The word *araṉ* is a loanword, from Sanskrit *hara* "destroyer".

[22] I correct *milaiñca* of the printed edition to *milaiñcu* (*milaiñcu-tal*, unattested, but see *milaiccu-tal*), so that the construction becomes more coherent. An infinitive would have been very difficult to render here.

[23] The Goddess of virtue (Tarumatēvatai) is implied here. Vañci is another name for her, as per a lesser-used meaning in the *Madras Tamil Lexicon* (p. 3465, entry *vañci*[3]).

[24] The implication of the original Tamil is the *tiripuram*, or fort (*ceṟi-puṟam*, i.e., space that is enclosed), that Śiva burns down with his third eye.

சிலம்படி யலம்பொலி பரம்பிரசதம்படர் சிதம்பர நிரம்பு
மருளா
லலம்பெற நிலம்பெறு நமம்பிகையுமிம்பரு
மரம்பையருமும்ப ருமெலா
நலம்பெருகிடும்படி விரும்பிசை நயம்பட நடம்புரி
கடம்ப வனமே

talam pukaḻ tarum poruv(u) arum parama campu aruḷ-nampaṉ eḻil am
poṉ oli ār
cilamp(u) aṭi alamp(u) oli paramp(u) iracatam paṭar citampara(m)
nirampu(m) aruḷ-āl
alam peṟal nilam peṟum nam ampikaiyum imparum arampaiyarum
umparum elā
nalam peruk(u) iṭumpaṭi virump(u) icai nayam paṭa naṭam puri
kaṭampa vaṉamē

The Kaṭampam Forest where he (Śiva) performs [his] dance so that goodness increases, so that longing for the desirable music comes up in our Ampikai, and all the earthly, heavenly, and celestial beings,
Is brought satisfactorily into the world, through the grace that fills silver-strewn Citamparam,
Where the tinkling sound of the foot with the graceful, pretty, gold sound-filled anklet spreads,
[The anklet of] gracious Nampaṉ, who is the highest Campu who gives the sacred place fame, [and] who is difficult to oppose.

6. Two Signature Verses

In UVS's edition, there are two verses that identify the author of the TVP as Perumparṟapuliyūr Nampi. However, they are located in the section *ciṟappuppāyiram* ("special introduction"; UVS 1972: 316). Firstly, it is interesting to note that this was not recorded alongside the numerous invocatory verses in the initial part of the edition, particularly since it has been identified as a *pāyiram* ("introduction").[25] Secondly, it raises the question of how "essential" the transmission of these signature verses were, for they are absent in RE47715. This manuscript is rare in that it possesses not

[25] See, for instance, *Cilappatikāram* (1955: 32), in which the *ciṟappuppāyiram* is printed before the first section of the *mūlam*.

one, but three editorial colophons.[26] It is therefore unlikely that the exclusion of the signature verse(s) was a purposeful decision; it is more plausible that the editor/scribe(s) of this manuscript did not encounter them in the versions upon which this manuscript is based.

The signature verse 1 reads as follows in UVS edition (UVS 1972: 316, verse 1):

அம்பதுமத் தார்ச்சல்லி யாண்டான் கவுணியர்கோ
னம்பெரும்பற் றப்புலியூர் நம்பிவியந்தெம்பெருமா
னாதிவிளை யாட லறுபத்து நான்கினையு
மோதி முடித்தா னுவந்து

am patumat tār calli āṇṭāṉ kavuṇiyar kōṉam
perumpaṟṟa puliyūr nampi viyantu em perumāṉ
āti viḷaiyāṭal aṟupattu nāṉkiṉaiyum
ōti muṭittāṉ uvantu

Nampi of Perumpaṟṟa Puliyūr, [born into the] Kavuṇiyar-Kōṉam, who ruled Calli, [wearing] a pretty lotus-garland,

Having been in awe, having been overjoyed,

Completed reciting all sixty-four of the first sports of our Lord.[27]

The signature verse 2 reads as follows in UVS edition (UVS 1972: 316, verse 2):

கார்வளங்கொண் மண்டலத்துக் கப்பிஞ்சி
நாட்டுரைத்தோன்

---

[26] Many thanks to Giovanni Ciotti for pointing them out to me. According to his calculations, this manuscript was completed on the 22nd January, 1877. The other two colophons provide the date of completion of specific chapters. The scribe, Nallaperumāḷ, began his copy of the TVP on 18th October 1867. The invocatory portion was completed on 20th January 1868. The manuscript thus took around ten years to be completed, speaking further for the thoroughness of its scribe/editor.

[27] According to UVS's footnote (UVS 1972: 316, fn. 1), *kōṉam* is a version of Sanskrit *gotra*, and Nampi's *gotra* is *kavuṇiyam*, which corresponds to *kauṇṭiṉṉiyam*. Additionally, UVS notes that the mention of the lotus garland is not infrequent in the TVP — it was the garland that was worn only by Brahmins (*antaṇarkaḷukkuriyamālai*). As for *calli*, it is an alternate form of *celli*. It is also possible that the verse was misprinted, and the mistake was rectified only in the footnote.

சார்பரசு ராமச் சதுர்வேதி மங்கலமாஞ்
சீர்தகுதென் செல்லிநக ராண்டான் சொற்
றில்லைநம்பி
யார்புனைவான் விளையாடலறுபத்து நான்கன்றே

kār vaḷam koḷ maṇṭalattu kappiñci nāṭṭ(u) uraittōṉ
cār paracu-rāma catur-vēti maṅkalam ām
cīr taku teṉ cellinakar āṇṭāṉ col tillai nampi
ār puṉaivāṉ viḷaiyāṭal aṟupattu nāṉk(u) aṉṟē

Famous Tillai Nampi, hailing from southern Cellinakar that is befitting of excellence, which is [also] in the auspices of the Kappiñci land in the realm that obtains the prosperity of rain-clouds, [Nampi], the Brahmin of the four Vedas of Paracurāmaṉ,
Recited the sixty-four sports of he who wears the garland, did he not?

UVS suggests in his introduction to the author (1972: 18) that Nampi is from Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr. He refers to the author in this name throughout his discussion. This is authenticated further by the first of the two signature verses, as well as the presence of five *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verses in which this town is lauded. Yet, the second verse identifies Nampi to be a native of Cellinakar, which UVS claims (1972: 316, fn. 2) to be a part of *kappiñcināṭu*, a small territory within Maturai (represented here as *kār-vaḷam-koḷ-maṇṭala[m]*[28]). This would have been part of the Pāṇṭiya region. UVS notes the difference in location in his introduction to the author (UVS 1972: 18), and justifies it thus:

iṉṉūlāciriyarākiya perumpaṟṟapuliyūrnampiyeṉpavar pāṇṭiyavaḷanāṭṭ-uḷḷa cellinakariṟ pirāmaṇavaruṇattil smārttarkaḷākiya vēmpattūrc cōḻiyar vakuppiṟ [...] citamparam śrī āṉantanaṭarācaruṭaiya tiruvaṭikkaṇ mikunta patticcelvamvāynta kuṭumpattiṟ caṉittavar.

The author of this book, called Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr Nampi, was born in a family that was greatly devoted to the holy feet of

[28] This epithet for Maturai is based on TVP, story no. 12, in which the rain-god Varuṇaṉ dared to test the power of Cuntarēcuvarar by sending the seven oceans to Maturai. Cuntarēcuvarar retorted by dispatching four dry clouds to absorb the oceans, which then produced pleasant and abundant monsoons for the Maturai kingdom ever since. The title of this chapter is therefore *nāṉ-māṭak-kūṭal* ("confluence of the four [clouds] in the *māṭams* [of Maturai]").

> Śrī Āṉanta Naṭarācar of Citamparam, in the Cōḻiyar rank that belonged to the Smārtas of the Brāhmaṇa caste in Cellinakar, within the Pāṇṭiya country.

Thus, he justifies the difference in both signature verses by stating that Nampi was born in Cellinakar (Pāṇṭiya territory), but that his ancestors were from Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr (Cōḻa territory), as a result of which he is referred to as *tillai-nampi* ("Tillai" being yet another name for Citamparam). UVS (1972: 18) makes an additional remark regarding the name "Nampi:"

> *vēmpattūrc cōḻiyarkaḷil anēkaruṭaiya iyaṟpeyarkaḷiṉpiṉ nampi yeṉpatu cārttappaṭṭup paṇṭaikkālattil paḻakivantateṉpatai avarkaḷ vīṭṭiluḷḷa paḻaiya ōlaiccātaṉaṅkaḷil iṉṟum kāṇalākum.*
>
> Among the Vēmpattūr Cōḻiyar, the fact that the name "Nampi" since older times had been given to many people as an addition to their birth names can be seen even today in old palm-leaf records in their homes.

Producing a more meticulous history of Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr Nampi is difficult. On one hand, there are two, somewhat contradictory verses that claim Nampi's origin in Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr and Cellinakar respectively. On the other hand, an entire community habitually adds "Nampi" to its members' names. UVS merely states that Nampi's ancestry could be traced to Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr, but his place of residence at the time of composing the TVP was in Cellinakar, leading to there being two varying verses in his honour. He also remarks that the proof of Nampi's origins in Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr is in the first five (of twenty-three) *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verses, which praise this town. UVS (1972: 18) writes:

> *iṉṉūṟ kaṭavuḷ vāḻttiṟ perumpaṟṟpuliyūr-tuti mutaliyaṉa amaint' iruntalaiyum uṟṟu-nōkkukaiyil, ivar kuṭumpattārkaḷ citamparam śrī āṉanta naṭarācar tiruvaṭikkaṇ mikka aṉpuṭaiyavarkaḷeṉpatu veḷiyākiṉṟatu.*
>
> In the *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* of this text, upon looking closer at the fact that there are praises to Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr etc., it is revealed that his family members had great love towards the holy feet of Śrī Āṉanta Naṭarācar or Citamparam.

Here, UVS shows us how paratextual evidence might be useful. The proof that authenticates the information in these signature verses lies not in the content of the *mūlam*, which leans heavily

towards Maturai, the Pāṇṭiyas and their deity Cuntarēcuvarar, but in the five invocatory *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verses in which Citamparam and its deity are praised. Those five verses (UVS 1972: 2) have the sub-titles *perumpaṟṟapuliyūr*, *tirucitṟrampalam*, *tiruvampalam* ("the holy sanctum"), *poṉṉampalam* ("the golden sanctum") and *capāpati* ("Lord of the Assembly") respectively. The middle three verses are epithets for the temple in Citamparam (as is the initial Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr), and the final praises Naṭarācar, the presiding deity of Citamparam. Only then follow the verses on Maturai. Below is the verse *capāpati*, which is the only one of five that is presented in the manuscript (verse 10 of RE47715 and of UVS 1972):

திருமேவுஞ் சதுவேதச் [sic] சிரமேவும் பரஞ்சோதி
யருமேவுந் திருவுருக்கொண் டம்மையுடன்
செம்மைபெற
மருமேவும் பெரும்பற்றப் புலியூர்மா மணிமன்றுட்
குருமேவும் படிமேவிக் கூத்தாடுங் கழல்போற்றி

tiru mēvum catu-vēta cira(m) mēvum param cōti
aru mēvum tiru uru koṇṭ(u) ammaiyuṭaṉ cemmai peṟa
maru mēvum perumpaṟṟapuliyūr mā-maṇi maṉṟuḷ
kuru mēvum paṭi mēvi kūtt(u) āṭum kaḻal pōṟṟi

Adulations to the anklet[ed feet] that dance,
Having attained (i.e., learned) according to how the Gurus have learnt
Inside the great gem of the assembly hall of Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr in which fragrance dwells;
As the sacred study, the foremost study of the four Vedas and the rare study of the supreme light (i.e., the Lord) — having taken form —
Obtain excellence along with the [divine] Mother.

What remains unclear is how seriously we can take the presence of invocatory verses on Citamparam. On the one hand, they might attest to Nampi's origins in Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr/Citamparam, as UVS has noted. On the other hand, there are several instances in the *mūlam* of the TVP in which Citamparam is discussed in comparison to Maturai. In that case, it would be unexceptional to add verses on Citamparam into an already long list of invocatory verses. For example, TVP, story no. 5 (*Patañcalikku Naṭañceyta Tiruviḷaiyāṭal*, or "the holy sport in which [He] danced for Patañcali"), narrates the

story from the point of view of Patañcali, a sage devoted to Śiva. He comes to Maturai in order to attend Cuntarēcuvarar's wedding to his bride Mīṉāṭci. There, he recalls Śiva's exceptional dance as Naṭarācar in Citamparam, and asks him (that is, Cuntarēcuvarar), if he may once again dance as a special treat for his wedding guests in Maturai. Śiva obliges. This story is cited as the reason behind the special dancing icon in Maturai, contained in the *veḷḷi-ampalam* (silver hall) of the Maturai temple. It is identical to that of Citamparam, save for one key difference — Cuntarēcuvarar lifts his right leg in the dancing pose, as opposed to Naṭarācar, who (famously) lifts his left leg. This comparison of Maturai and Citamparam extends to TVP, story no. 32, titled *Māṟiyāṭiṉa Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* ("the holy sport where he danced, having changed [his leg]").[29]

Thus, Citamparam already shares a thematic relationship, even rivalry, with Maturai.[30] Its representation in the invocatory portion of the TVP could be a default addition, or just as well be an allusion to its author's origins. It is, at this stage, difficult to know.

7. Parañcōti's Invocation

Parañcōti's TVP begins with a short *kāppu* verse that reads as follows in Parañcōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* (1912: 5):[31]

சத்தி யாய்ச் சிவமாகித் தனிப்பர
முத்தி யான முதலைத் துதிசெயச்
சுத்தி யாகிய சொற்பொரு ணல்குவ
சித்தி யானைதன் செய்யபொற் பாதமே

catti āy civam ākit taṉip para(m)
muttiyāṉa mutalai tuti ceya)

[29] Śiva in Maturai used to lift his left leg, just like Naṭarāca, until the Pāṇṭiya king felt he was under great strain on account of standing in that position for aeons. Thus, he urged Śiva to change legs. Śiva then lifted his right leg, and remained standing on his left leg, leading to the epithet *kāṉmāṟiyāṭiṉavar*, "he who danced, having changed legs."

[30] Wilden (2014: 247) suggests that the TVP was the Pāṇṭiya reaction to the Cōḻa *Periyapurāṇam*. This would justify the need for this comparison, in which Maturai is declared the superior holy location.

[31] This edition is by Katiravēṟpiḷḷai, a student of Ārumukanāvalār's. UVS never edited, nor actively worked on Parañcōti.

cutti ākiya col poruḷ nalkuva)
citti yāṉai taṉ ceyya poṉ pātamē

In order to make praise of the foremost [spiritual tenets] that are [synonymous to] unique, highest salvation,
[That salvation] having become the truth, [and] having become Civam (i.e., the essence of Śaiva-ness),
May the red, golden feet of the success[-giving] elephant (Ganeśa/ Cittiviṉāyakar)
Grant words and [their] meaning that are pure.[32]

This verse is generally associated with Parañcōti. For example, I encountered it in BnF Indien 291, a prose re-telling (*vacaṉam*) of Parañcōti's TVP. Thus, I was surprised to find it on the very first folio of RE47715. In fact, due to the presence of this verse, this manuscript was mistaken to be Parañcōti's TVP among scholars in Hamburg.[33] The fundamental question here is why, as there are already so many invocatory verses in Nampi's TVP, has yet another verse from a professedly later source been incorporated. Additionally, in terms of codicology, what is the significance of this verse as being the very first in this manuscript?

It appears that Parañcōti's verse became "standardized" as *the* invocation for the TVP, indicating that he was already becoming more popular than Nampi during the time of this manuscript's completion. An initial identifier for the content of the text probably needed to be provided. Parañcōti's well-known verse seems to have been the obvious choice. No other (extant) manuscript of Nampi's TVP quotes this verse.

---

[32] The word *cuttiyākiya* is glossed by the commentator (Parañcōti's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* 1912: 5) as *pari-cuttamākiya*, "that which is pure/clean." This is a later word invoked to convey the spiritual purity of Śaivism. Such words are altogether absent from Nampi — another sign of the many centuries that passed between these two composers. Additionally, I have not rendered the reflexive pronoun *taṉ* in my translation, for it would be redundant in English. I have taken it as emphasizing that the feet that are praised belong to *citti-yāṉai*.

[33] My introduction to this manuscript was during an informal reviewing of the NETamil repository, which has around seven manuscripts of the TVP. It was unclear which version each manuscript contained. On looking through them, I realised that this manuscript, then labelled as Parañcōti's TVP, was in fact Nampi's.

The provision of an invocation from a more popular version secured the chances of survival of Nampi's manuscript. This is the only Nampi manuscript at the IFP, and one of the only complete manuscripts that are left.[34] This suggests that invocations could have been provided as much more than "just" auspicious symbols — they were tools of transmission, for they both revealed, as well as affirmed, the identity and value of the text they came with. Parañcōti's text was generally more valued, but Nampi's text also needed to be transmitted — this was a means to ensure the survival of the latter. Thus, if the addition of this verse was the result of a calculated decision, it was a clever move indeed.

8. Conclusion

This article has dealt only with the introductory portion comprising individual verses, and not the subsequent five introductory chapters which also possess a remarkable collection of laudatory verses. Of the five introductory chapters presented in UVS's edition, three are represented fully in the manuscript. This may be due to an earlier editorial choice, wherein certain invocatory verses were compiled in this format to ensure their transmission.

The wide range of application of invocatory verses, especially those that were popular during the time of this manuscript, is seen through the verse on Vināyakaṉ (discussed in §4 of this article). Here, the inclusion of the verse is not dependent on the *mūlam* with which it is transmitted, but it is an editorial preference. Another way of looking at it is that the transmission of this verse was not bound by its relationship with the *mūlam*, but by its ubiquity on account of its popularity at the time.

Nampi's TVP also bears witness to the movement of verses (§5), raising questions on their applicability in various codicological divisions, be it as invocatory (and thus paratextual), or part of the

[34] I have gained access to only two Nampi manuscripts, namely, RE47715 in this study, and RE47477, in which the invocatory portion is left out altogether. The UVSL catalogue (vol. 2: 61–64) mentions 5 manuscripts of Nampi, all of which seem to have introductory passages. Yet, the particular invocation of Parañcōti (*cattiyāy...*) does not feature in them (based on the transcription of part of the first folio available in the aforementioned catalogue).

main text. A verse is considered in one version to be an invocation, and in another, to be part of the *mūlam* (and thus not paratextual). The implications of this transferability may thus be wider than what meets the eye, i.e., the outcome of the same verse being provided in two different locations could tell us how the process of editorial selection functioned. For example, the editor may have favoured a particular verse from the *mūlam*, thus quoting it in the invocatory section as a tribute to the *mūlam*. Additionally, both the verses are notoriously difficult to construe, yet not as acrobatic to memorise, given the musicality of their metre. Quoting them in the beginning may have been the result of editors having learned them by rote.

Additionally, these verses raise a thematic question. How does one define the paradigms of an "invocatory" / "satellite" verse? In other words, the *mūlam* of the TVP, given its general laudatory theme, has several verses that could function as appropriate invocations. Yet, the editor of RE47715 chose two (namely, '*vēkamāneṟi...*' and '*coṟpaka vināyakar...*'), and I wonder what motivated him to do so over many other potential candidates.

The two signatory verses of UVS's edition (§6) question the historical significance of the invocatory verses in the TVP. Two somewhat contradictory verses are cited, each claiming the author's origin to be from a different location. UVS presents a middle course, in which one verse speaks of Nampi's place of birth, and the other, of his ancestral origins. However, that does not rule out the possibility that each verse was composed by independent parties that claimed the TVP as their own. As I hope to have shown, the transmission of paratexts in the TVP is haphazard. Thus, there is nothing to state that both of these signatory verses shared the same origin. UVS prefers "Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr Nampi" as the author of the text, as opposed to "Cellinakar Nampi," on the pretext of there being five *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verses on Citamparam/Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr. Yet, every other invocation lauds Cuntarēcuvarar, making Cellinakar, a Pāṇṭiya town, the more plausible candidate. Additionally, both these verses are missing in the manuscript version, suggesting that either the contradiction could not be resolved by its editor, or, that these verses were anyway optional. Thus, in terms of paratexts, I leave open the question of Nampi's origins. Perhaps, through a more thorough study of the

TVP's invocatory material in manuscripts, a third signatory verse may be found!

The interaction between Citamparam and Maturai — two opposing political and religious forces — is also brought to light. The temple of Citamparam in the *mūlam* is only invoked as the (arguably) lesser holy place in comparison to Maturai. Yet, Citamparam has been (and still is) an important place of worship for the Śaiva community, as a result of which it cannot be deemed altogether inferior. Perhaps the invocations towards Citamparam were added as a matter of diplomacy, wherein its divine powers are recognised in a manner that does not overshadow the glory of Maturai.

I suggested also that Parañcōti's invocation (*cattiyāy civamāki ...*) was included as the first of the long series of invocations in order to ensure the survival of the less popular TVP by Nampi. It displays the practical advantage of the fluidity of paratexts, and therefore how a popular verse was used to ensure the validity of the text following it. This case exemplifies a rarer kind of relationship between the text and the paratext: while one would expect the latter to rely on the former to be transmitted, here is an instance of the reverse process.

In conclusion, Nampi's TVP is a testament to the volume and internal diversity of paratextual material. The scope of this subject extends much further than my analysis, and I remain hopeful that scholars of the day take it up and shed new light upon it.

Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
TAM	Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātīnam, Caracuvati Makāl Library and Research Centre
TVP	*Tiruviḷaitāṭar Purāṇam*
UVS 1906	*Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* by Perumparrapuliyūr Nampi edited by UVS, 1906.
UVS 1972	*Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* by Perumparrapuliyūr Nampi edited by UVS, 1972.
UVS	U.V. Saminathaiyar

References

Manuscripts

RE47477, Institut Français de Pondichéry, Pondicherry.
RE47715, Institut Français de Pondichéry, Pondicherry.
Indien 273, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
Indien 289, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
Indien 291, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
Indien 294, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
Indien 414, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Manuscripts' Catalogues

A Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts in the Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swāmināthiyar Library [Purāṇas, Tala-Purāṇas and Pirapantas], Volume II (Nos. 441–1132). Adyar, Madras: Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminathaiyar Library. 1961.

Ulakat Tamiḻārāycci Niṟuvaṉac Cuvaṭi Viḷakka Aṭṭavaṇai, Tokuti 3, Meyyiyal, Nāṭṭuppuṟaviyal edited by Muṉaivar Ti. Makāḷaṭcumi. Ceṉṉai: Ulakat Tamiḻārāycci Niṟuvaṉam. 1998.

Primary Sources

Cilappatikāram. 1955. *Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ Aruḷiceyta Cilappatikāra Mūlamum Arumpatavuraiyum Aṭiyārkkunallāruraiyum* edited by U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar. 6th edition. Madras: Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminathaiyar Library.

Pārata Māvintam. 2022. *Pārata Māvintam mūlamum uraiyum* edited by Ta. Irājēsvari, 2 vols. Erode: Aṟam Patippakam.

Pavaḷakkoṭimālai. 1922. *Varakuṇapāṇṭiyaṉatu Camastāṉavitvāṉ Poṉviḷainta Kaḷattūr Pukaḻēntipulavar Avarkaḷ Iyaṟṟiya Pavaḷakkoṭimālai* edited by I. Irāmacāmikkōṉār. Maturai: Ekselliyar Piras.

Periyapurāṇam. 1880. *Periyapurāṇam. Aṟupattumūṉṟu Nāyaṉmār Carittiram* edited by Āṟumukamutaliyār. Ceṉṉai: Kantacāmimutaliyāratu Ilakkaṇakkaḷañciya Accukkūṭam.

Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam by Parañcōti. 1912. *Cuttacaivarākiya Parañcōtimāmuṉivar Moḻipeyarttaruḷiya Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam* edited by Ārumukanāvalaravarkaḷ. Ceṉṉai: Vittiyārtnākara Accukkūṭam.

Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam by Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr Nampi. 1906. *Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam. Cellinakarp Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr Nampi iyaṟṟiyatu* edited by Uttamatāṉapuram Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar. Ceṉṉai: Piraciṭeṉsi Accukkūṭam.

Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam by Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr Nampi. 1972. *Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam. Cellinakarp Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr Nampi iyaṟṟiyatu* edited by Uttamatāṉapuram Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar. 3rd edition. Ceṉṉai: Kapīr Accukkūṭam.

Secondary Sources

Aravamuthan, T. G. 1930. "The Oldest Account of the Tamil Academies". *JOR* 4: 183–201, 289–317.

Aravamuthan, T. G. 1931. "The Maturai Chronicles and the Tamil Academies". *JOR* 5: 108–124, 196–214.

Aravamuthan, T. G. 1932. "The Maturai Chronicles and the Tamil Academies". *JOR* 5: *JOR* 6 89–105, 275–294, 322–340.

Aruṇācalam, Mu. 1970. *Tamiḻ Ilakkiya Varalāṟ, Tamiḻ Pulavar Varalāṟu, Patiṉmūṉṟām Nūṟṟāṇṭu*. Tiruciṟṟampalam: Kānti Vittiyālayam.

Aruṇācalam, Mu. 1975. *Tamiḻ Ilakkiya Varalāṟu, Patiṉāṟām Nūṟṟāṇṭu, Pākam* 2. Ceṉṉai: Tipārkkar.

Chevillard, Jean-Luc. 2014. "Metres in Tamil Bhakti Literature and the Problem of their (occasional) Description in Treatises (Studies in Tamil Metrics 2)". In *Mapping the Chronology of Bhakti: Milestones, Stepping Stones, and Stumbling Stones. Proceedings of a Workshop Held in Honour of Pandit R. Varadadesikan* edited by Valérie Gillet, 39–96. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient.

D'Avella, Victor B. 2020. "Orbiting Material in Tamil Grammatical Texts". In *Colophons Prefaces, Satellite Verses: Paratextual Material and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin, 223–280. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.

Ebeling, Sascha. 2020. "Appeasing the Assembly: The History, Poetics and Social Logic of the *avaiyaṭakkam* Stanza in Tamil Literature". In *Colophons Prefaces, Satellite Verses: Paratextual Material and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin, 139–180. Hamburg, Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.

Francis, Emmanuel. 2020. "Supplementing Poetry and Devotion: The Additional Verses to the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*". In *Colophons Prefaces, Satellite Verses: Paratextual Material and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin, 281–331. Hamburg, Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.

Umātēvi, Ca., 2016. "*Tiruviḻaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇattiṉ Patippu Varalāṟu*". *International Journal of Linguistics and Computational Applications* 3(3) (July–September 2016).

Wilden, Eva. 2014. *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Wilden, Eva. 2020. "Preface". In *Colophons Prefaces, Satellite Verses: Paratextual Material and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin, 3–6: Hamburg, Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.

The Distribution of Satellite Stanzas in *Kuṟaḷ*, *Nālaṭiyār*, and *Paḻamoḻi*

Eva Wilden (SCMC Hamburg)

The current article undertakes an analysis of the distribution of satellite material in the form of stanzas in the manuscripts of three texts among the didactic *Kīḻkkaṇakku* anthologies of fairly wide-spread transmission, namely the *Kuṟaḷ* (currently 29 mss.), the *Nālaṭiyār* (12 mss.), and the *Paḻamoḻi* (14 mss.). Similar as these texts are with respect to period, general outlook and probable audience, they have fared very differently as regards the paratextual stanzas that accompany them: the *Kuṟaḷ* comes, in the first place, with a whole satellite text, the *Tiruvalluvamālai*; the *Nālaṭiyār* boasts of no less than 17 stanzas; and the *Paḻamoḻi* has but two, one of them of problematic provenance.

1. Introduction

While satellite stanzas as such are a phenomenon ubiquitous in Tamil manuscripts, their number and distribution is fairly unpredictable. In order to demonstrate the range of variety, this paper will report and discuss the findings on three didactic anthologies from the *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* that have a particularly broad transmission, namely the *Kuṟaḷ*, the *Nālaṭiyār* and the *Paḻamoḻi*, testifying to their ongoing popularity in the late premodern era. Of course for the former two many more manuscripts could be found, but the NETamil collection of images contains at the moment 29 *Kuṟaḷ*, 12 *Nālaṭiyār*, and, perhaps closer to the absolute figure, 14 *Paḻamoḻi*. While the *Kuṟaḷ* does not appear to have satellite stanzas of its own, but only some quotations from the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai* and so far three free-floating verse from a broader tradition of *ilakkaṇam-ilakkiyam*, the *Nālaṭiyār* boasts of 17 stanzas, a figure currently topped only by the *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. The *Paḻamoḻi* comes with an author verse plus a single stanza, namely a *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* verse, which is only glossed in the old commentary, that is, the root-text (*mūlam*) is not provided, and its text is transmitted

exclusively in an addition to one of the late paper manuscripts, from where it made it into the modern print version. **Table 1** shows the distribution of sources.

Table 1. The distribution of sources.

	Palm-leaf mss.	**Paper mss.**
Kuṟaḷ: 29	TAM (1), UVSL (1), MSSML (2), ORIML (1), IFP (11), BnF (12)	BnF (1)
Nālaṭiyār: 12	TSM (2), ORIML (1), IFP (2), BnF (6)	GOML (1)
Paḻamoḻi: 14	UVSL (9), MCC (1), ORIML (1)	TAM (1), UVSL (2)

When thinking of the various types of satellite stanzas that are available, one may broadly separate them into two categories, ornate and informative (**table 2**). Certainly there is an overlap between these two in that what is informative can also have decorative elements, but the most important difference between them is that the latter contains specific information pertaining to a text (the corpus it belongs to, its title, author, commentator, contents or sequence) and as such cannot be separated from that particular text (or corpus). The former may be, again broadly speaking, devotional, laudatory or simply unrelated (the last admittedly a label also for verses where the relationship simply has not been understood as yet). This type of stanza may be text-specific as well, but often it is movable or even migratory and can be found in different environments. This point will help when looking at the stanzas found with our three texts.

Table 2. Basic stanza types.

ornate	**informative**
devotional	text/title
laudatory	author/commentator
unrelated(?)	contents/sequence

Now, what about the distribution of stanzas within the manuscripts? It has often been said that the addition of satellite material is optional, with a certain exception perhaps for the invocatory stanza (*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*) which may be firmly integrated into the textual transmission and is, in some the texts from the late *Caṅkam* and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* period, even part of the count.[1] The three texts to be scrutinised here present three different cases also in that respect. While only 10 out of 29 *Kuṟaḷ* manuscripts come with additional verses, for the *Nālaṭiyār* all manuscripts but one have at least one stanza (and the odd one out begins with folio 11), many have several (see **table 3**). For the *Paḻamoḻi*, 6 out 14 manuscripts come with the author stanza, and 8 have the commentary for the lost invocation stanza.

2. The *Kuṟaḷ*

The *Kuṟaḷ*, probably the most popular text not only in the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* but in the whole of Tamil didactic poetry — there is no doubt that surviving manuscripts count in the hundreds — does not appear to have a single satellite verse which is all its own. The reason that springs to mind immediately is that instead, and probably singularly so, the *Kuṟaḷ* has its own satellite text, namely the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai* [hereafter TVM]. This text may be briefly characterised as a collection of around 50 stanzas in honour of the *Kuṟaḷ* author Tiruvaḷḷuvar and/or the *Kuṟaḷ* itself, put into the mouth of the putative 49 poets who were members of the legendary Tamil academy, the Caṅkam.[2] Many *Kuṟaḷ* manuscripts come with that smaller text in their wake. Where that is not the case, one or two verses from the *Mālai* may appear before the beginning of the *Kuṟaḷ*, mostly the same and in the same sequence[3] in 6 out of 29 manu-

[1] Thus in the *Kuṟaḷ*: it does not come with an additional *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu* but its very first decade counts as such.

[2] The connections between the *Kuṟaḷ* and the academy are treated in Wilden (2014: 274–285); for the transmission and editorial history of the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai* and a detailed discussion of its "authors", see Nachimuthu 2020.

[3] The odd one out of the 6 manuscripts mentioned is BnF Indien 507, where only the *āyirattu* verse (TVM 16 Nattattaṉār) is found, while the whole TVM is added at the end.

scripts used for this study. The manuscripts in question are IFP RE 04226, RE 15539a, BnF Indien 47, 55, 507, Smith-Lesouëf 265:[4]

ஆயிரத்து முன்னூற்று முப்பதருங் குறளும்
பாயிரத்தி னொடே பகர்வீரேற் போயொருத்தர்
வாய்க்கேழ்க்க வெணுமோ மன்னு தமிழ்ப்புலவ
ராய்க்கேழ்க்க வீற்றிருக்க லாம் ஏ {TVM 16 Nattattaṉār}

āyirattu muṉṉūṟṟu muppat' arum kuṟaḷ-um
pāyirattiṉoṭē pakarvīrēl pōy oruttar
vāy+ kēḷkka veṇumō maṉṉu tamiḻ+ pulavar
āy+ kēḷkka vīṟṟirukkal-ām.

If one utters the 1330 precious *Kuṟaḷ*s,
Will he need to go [and] listen
to the voice of anyone [else]? One may sit
In distinction as a lasting Tamil scholar
while [others] listen.

கடுகைத் துளைத்தேழ் கடலைப் புகட்டிக்
குறுகத் தறித்த குறள் ஏ {TVM Iṭaikkāṭaṉār}

kaṭukai+ tuḷaitt' ēḻ kaṭalai+ pukaṭṭi+
kuṟuka+ taṟitta kuṟaḷ.

Kuṟaḷ [verses] are cut out to be short,
Drilling through a mustard seed, feeding the seven seas.

The three other stanzas so far found in a *Kuṟaḷ* manuscript are free-floating ones that are widely attested. The first two of them are for Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī respectively and especially frequent in the grammatical tradition. The one for the elephant-headed god is reported in D'Avella (2020: 252ff.) just for the BnF with *Puṟapporuḷveṇpāmālai*, *Yāpparuṅkalakārikai*, *Naṉṉūl*, *Vīracōḻiyam* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, but it also comes in one of our *Nālaṭiyār* manuscripts (IFP RE 32595). The 5 out of 29 *Kuṟaḷ* manuscripts that have it are BnF Indien 51, 53, 54, 507 and IFP RE 10950a:[5]

---

[4] Variation in this case is minimal and has not been noted here. As for counting, the sequence varies frequently in the various copies of the *Mālai* and also the authors are not completely stable which is why I added them in braces {}.

[5] For further documentation in the BnF collection, search for "eṇṇiya" on the TST project homepage under <https://tst-project.github.io/paratexts/satellite-stanzas>.

எண்ணிய வெண்ணிய வெய்துப கண்ணுதற்
பவள மால்வரை பயந்த
கவள யானையின் கழல்பணி வோரே

eṇṇiya ~eṇṇiya ~eytupa kaṇ-nutal
pavaḷam māl varai payanta
kavaḷa yāṉaiyiṉ kaḻal paṇivōrē

Those who humble themselves before the anklets
[on the feet] of the elephant [feeding on] rice balls
Who was brought forth by the great coral mountain
[that is the god] with an eye on [his] forehead
Will obtain whatever they think of.

At first glance this looks like one of the completely unrelated verses and a standard invocation for Gaṇeśa as is used by copyists to ensure success of their projects, but in fact, as D'Avella points out, it is an extrapolation from the *Kuṟaḷ* itself, namely verse 666, from the *Poruṭpāl*:

எண்ணிய வெண்ணியாங் கெய்துப வெண்ணியார்
திண்ணிய ராகப் பெறின்.

eṇṇiya ~eṇṇiyāṅk' eytupa ~eṇṇiyār
tiṇṇiyar āka+ peṟiṉ.

Those who think [of something] will obtain the things they
think of like they thought
– if they manage to be firm.

As such it may be unrelated to all the grammatical texts it precedes, but it can claim a special relationship with the *Kuṟaḷ* itself.

The second stanza — in honour of the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī — also is discussed by D'Avella (2020: 256), and documented for *Naṉṉūl*, *Puṟapporuḷveṇpāmālai*, but even for one manuscript of the *Akaṉāṉūṟu*, and in the print tradition of the *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* with Cēnāvaraiyar's commentary. It will be sufficient to just quote it here from BnF Indien 507 (no variants):[6]

தவளத் தாமரைத் தாதார் கோயி
லவளைப் பொற்றுது மருந்தமிழ் குறித்தே.

[6] For further documentation in the BnF collection, search for "tavaḷat" on the TST project homepage under <https://tst-project.github.io/paratexts/satellite-stanzas>.

tavaḷa+ tāmarai+ tāt' ār kōyil
avaḷai+ poṟṟutum arum tamiḻ kuṟittē.

We will worship her
in the pollen-filled temple of white lotus,
pondering rare Tamil.

The third stanza is another free-floating verse in honour of Gaṇeśa and occurs as the first satellite stanza in BnF Indien 55 (uninked and almost illegible on an extra folio after the uninked inner title page) and in BnF Smith-Lesouëf 265. According to the TST catalogue, this stanza is attested also in five further BnF manuscripts from a devotional or purāṇic background, namely BnF Indien 125b, 304, 316, 506 and 509b.[7]

திருவாக்குஞ் செய்கருமங் கைகூட்டுஞ் செஞ்சொற்
பெருவாக்கும் பீடும் பெருக்கு – முருவாக்கு
மாதலால் வானோரு மானை முகத்தானைக்
காதலாற் கூப்புவர்தங் கை

tiru vākkum cey karumam kaikūṭṭum cem col
peruvākkum pīṭum perukkum — uruv' ākkum.
ātalāl vāṉōrum āṉai mukattāṉai+
kātalāl kūppuvar tam kai.

He makes actions of creating (by writing) sacred utterances succeed, and increases
the grandeur of great utterances with refined words. He creates beauty.
Therefore, even celestials will join their hands [in worship]
out of love for the one with the elephant face.

3. The *Nālaṭiyār*

Amazing is the situation for the *Nālaṭiyār* where we can find, in the 12 manuscripts currently available, no less than 17 stanzas (15 in Veṇpā, 2 in Āciriyappā) plus one elaborate, dialogic prose table of contents (**table 3**). Only a single manuscript comes without satellite material, namely Pe1, and that presumably is because the first

[7] Information provided by Emmanuel Francis (pers. comm.); search for "tiruvākkum" on the project homepage under <https://tst-project.github.io/paratexts/satellite-stanzas>.

Table 3. *Nālaṭiyār* satellite stanzas.

		P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	G1	O1	Pe1	Pe2	I1	I2	E1	E2	E3
1.	வானிடு (Veṇpā)	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	வெள்ளான் (Veṇpā)	–	x	xx	x	–	x	x	–	–	–	x	x	x	–	x
3.	மன்னன் (Veṇpā)	–	x	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	x	x	x	–	–
4.	பரங்குன்று (Veṇpā)	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5.	எண்பெருங் (Veṇpā)	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6.	மாவின (Veṇpā)	–	–	xx	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	x
7.	சீல (Veṇpā)	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
8.	வாக்குண்டாம் (Veṇpā)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9.	வளங்கெழு (Āciriyappā)	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x
10.	அறவியல் (Āciriyappā)	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x

11.	நானூறு (Veṇpā)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	x
12.	எண்ணா (Veṇpā)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	x
13.	ஞாலத்து (Veṇpā)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
14.	நல்லோர் (Veṇpā)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
15.	ஆலின் (Veṇpā)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
16.	அ-கோவை (prose)	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17.	ஓராதே (Veṇpā)	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
18.	எண்ணிய (Veṇpā)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–

10 folios are missing. The majority of these verses have been taken up in the prefaces or introductions to various editions (three of which are included in the table below, that is, E1, E2, E3); only three stanzas (no. 4, 5, 8), plus the prose table (no. 16) have not appeared in print, while another three (no. 13–15) have so far not been found in a manuscript.[8]

Since none of these verses has been translated (three have not even been printed), in what follows the textual credentials for 15 stanzas shall be presented, recording the in part considerable variation in the different sources.[9] No. 16 will be left out because it is discussed in this very volume in the article on tables of content (see *infra*, p. 65), while no. 17 and 18 are free-floating verses, 17 being a scribal caveat also found, for example, with the *Kuṟuntokai* and the *Kalittokai* (Wilden 2014: 161), 18 being the *eṇṇiya-v-eṇṇiya* verse to Gaṇeśa already presented at the end of the *Kuṟaḷ* section.

No. 1. வானிடு (KV) (*kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*)

Veṇpā.

P2+3+4+5+6, G1, O1, Pe2, E1+2+3, Sastri:[10]

வானிடு வில்லின் வரலறியா வாய்மையாற்
கானிலந் தோயாக் கடவுளை – யாமிலஞ்
சென்னி யுறவணங்கிச் சேர்துமெம் முள்ளத்து
முன்னி யவைமுடிக வென்று.

*1c வரலறியா P2; வரவறியா P3+4+6, G1, O1, Pe2, I1+2, E1+2+3

vāṉ iṭu villiṉ varal aṟiyā vāymaiyāl
kāl nilam tōyā+ kaṭavuḷai — yām nilam
ceṉṉi ~uṟa vaṇaṅki+ cērtum em +uḷḷattu
muṉṉiyavai muṭika ~eṉṟu.

Because truth is unpredictable, like the [rain]bow put in the sky,
the god whose feet do not touch the ground let us join,

---

[8] For detailed reference to manuscripts and editions, see the bibliography (manuscripts, *Nālaṭiyār* and editions, *Nālaṭiyār*).

[9] In order to reduce the weight of the apparatus the obvious mistakes and gaps have not been recorded.

[10] A number of verses is also reported, again with variation, in the report on Sanskrit and Tamil manuscripts by Seshagiri Sastri 1898.

bowing so that [our] heads touch the ground, saying
'let the thoughts contemplated in our minds be perfected'.

No. 2. வெள்ளான் (text title)

Veṇpā.

P2+3+3+4+6, G1, E1+3, Sastri:

வெள்ளான் மரபுக்கு வேதமெனச் சான்றோர்க
ளெல்லாருங் கூடி யெடுத்துரைத்துச் – சொல்லாய்ந்த
நாலடி நானூறு நன்கினிதா மென்மனத்தே
சீலமுட னிற்கவே செப்பு.

*1df. சான்றோர்க | ளெல்லாருங் P2+3+3+4+6, I2, G1, E3;
சான்றோர்க | கெல்லாருங் | 1. சான்றோ E1
*2c யெடுத்துரைத்துச் P2+3+3+4+6, G1, E1+3; யெடுத்துரைத்த I1. யெடுத்துரைப்பச் S
*3cd நன்கினிதா மென்மனத்தே P2+3; நன்கினிதா யென்மனத்தே P3+4+6; நன்கினிதா ரன்மனத்தே G1; நன்கினிதா ரன்மன††† I2; நன்கினிதா வென்மனத்தே I1, E1+3
*4bc னிற்கவே செப்பு P2+3+3+4+6, E3; னிற்க தெளிந்து I1, E1+3v; னிற்கத் தெளிந்து I2

veḷḷāṉ marapukku vētam eṉa+ cāṉṟōrkaḷ
ellārum kūṭi ~eṭutt' uraittu+ — col +āynta
nālaṭi-nāṉūṟu naṉk' iṉit' ām eṉ maṉattē
cīlam uṭaṉ niṟkavē ceppu.

After all noble men united [and] composed [verses] in praise of the custom of the Veḷḷāṉ as [their] Veda, The Four Hundred of the *Nālaṭi*, that were selected among [their] words, are very sweet, o my mind.
Speak [them] so that they last along with good conduct.

I1+2:

வெள்ளான் மரபுக்கு வேதமெனச் சான்றோ
ரெல்லாருங் கூடி யெடுத்துரைத்துச் – சொல்லாய்ந்த
நாலடி நானூறு நன்கினிதா வென்மனத்தே
சீலமுட னிற்க தெளிந்து.

veḷḷāṉ marapukku vētam eṉa+ cāṉṟōr
ellārum kūṭi ~eṭutt' uraittu+ — col +āynta

nālaṭi-nāṉūṟu naṉk' iṉit' ā ~eṉ maṉattē
cīlam uṭaṉ niṟka teḷintu.

The Four Hundred of the *Nālaṭi*, that were selected among the words
spoken in praise by all worthy men united as the Veda for the custom of the Veḷḷāṉ, let them stand clearly in my mind
together with good conduct, as they are very sweet.

No. 3. மன்னன் (the Pāṇṭiya test)

Veṇpā.

P2+4+6, Pe2, E1+3, Sastri:

மன்னன் வழுதியர்கோன் வைகைப் பெயராற்றி
லெண்ணி யிருநான்கோ ராயிரவர் – உன்னி
யெழுதியிடு மேட்டி லெதிரே நடந்த
பழுதிலா நாலடியைப் பார்.

*1c வைகைப் P2+4+6, Pe2, I2, S; வையைப் I1, E1+3
*1df. பெயராற்றி | லெண்ணி P2, I1; பேராற்றி | லெண்ணி S; பேராற்றின் | எண்ணி E1+3; பேராத்தின் | கண்ணின் P4; பேராற்றின் | கண்ணின் P6; கரையாற்றி | லுன்னி Pe2; போரதனிற் | யெண்ணி I2
*2bc யிருநான்கோ ராயிரவர் P2; யிருநான்கோ டாயிரவர் Pe2, I1, S, E1+3; னிருநாலாயிரர் முனிவர் P4+6, I2
*2d உன்னி P2, I2, S, E1; சொன்ன P4+5; பன்னி Pe2; நண்ணி I1
*3 யெழுதியிடு மேட்டி லெதிரே நடந்த P2, I2, S, E1+3; முழுதில்லா நீரெதிரே முன்னெறி வந்தப் P4+6; யெழுதியிடு மேட்டுக் குளெடெதிரே யோடும் Pe2; யெழுதியிடு மேட்டுகுளே டெதிரே யேறும் I1
*4a பழுதிலா P2, Pe2, S, E1+3; பழுதில்லா P4+6, I1; †††††††† I2

maṉṉaṉ vaḻutiyar kōṉ vaikai+ peyar āṟṟil
eṇṇi ~iru nāṉk' ōr āyiravar — uṉṉi
~eḻuti ~iṭum ēṭṭil etirē naṭanta
paḻut' ilā nālaṭiyai+ pār.

Behold the flawless *Nālaṭi*
that moved against [the current] on palm leaves, which they had put
after thoughtfully writing, the unique twice four Thousand, after contemplating
on the river named Vaikai of the king of the Vaḻutis, the lord.

P4+6:

மன்னன் வழுதியர்கோன் வைகைப் பேராத்தின் –
கண்ணின் னிருநாலாயிரர் முனிவர் – சொன்ன –
முழுதில்லா நீரெதிரே முன்னேறி வந்தப் –
பழுதில்லா நாலடியைப் பார்.

maṉṉaṉ vaḻutiyar kōṉ vaikai+ pēr āttiṉ-
kaṇṇiṉ +iru nāl āyirar muṉivar — coṉṉa
muḻut' illā nīr etirē muṉ +ēṟi vanta+
paḻut' illā nālaṭiyai+ pār.

Behold the flawless *Nālaṭi*
that once came along the path against the water without being complete,
that was composed by the sages, the twice four Thousand
on the great river Vaikai of the king of the Vaḻutis, the lord.

Pe2:

மன்னன் வழுதியர்கோன் வைகைக் கரையாற்றி
லுன்னி யிருநான்கோ டாயிரவர் – பன்னி
யெழுதியிடு மேட்டுக் குளேடெதிரே யோடும்
பழுதிலா நாலடியைப் பார்.

maṉṉaṉ vaḻutiyar kōṉ vaikai+ karai ~āṟṟil
uṉṉi ~iru nāṉkōṭ' āyiravar — paṉṉi
~eḻuti ~iṭum ēṭṭukk' uḷ ēṭ' etirē ~ōṭum
paḻut' ilā nālaṭiyai+ pār.

Behold the flawless *Nālaṭi*
that ran against [the current] as a palm leaf among the palm leaves
that the Thousand [times] two with four had put after composing [and] writing [them], after having reflected
on the Vaikai river shore of the king of the Vaḻuti lineage, the lord.

No. 4. பரங்குன்று (devotion to Murukaṉ?)

Veṇpā.

P2:

பரங்குன் றொருபக மப்பரம் பள்ளி
யிருங்குன்றம் பேராசை யானை – யருங்குன்ற
மென்றெட்டு வெற்பு மெடுத்தியம்ப வல்லார்க்குச்
சென்றெட்டு மோவிரைவித் தீங்கு.

paraṅkuṉṟ' oru pakam a+ param paḷḷi
~irum kuṉṟam pēr ācai yāṉai — ~arum kuṉṟam
eṉṟ' eṭṭu veṟp'-um eṭutt' iyampa vallārkku+
ceṉṟ' eṭṭumō viraivitt' īṅku.

That great place on one side of (?) Paraṅkuṉṟam,
will it be gone to [and] reached here, having speeded up,
by those who master praising after raising [and] lifting even the mountain,
saying 'the elephant with great longing for the big mountain is a rare mountain'.

No. 5. எண்பெருங் (legend of the eight thousand sages)

Veṇpā.

P2, Sastri:

எண்பெருங் குன்றத் தெண்ணாயிர முனிவர்
பண்பொருந்தப் பாடியபா னானூறுந் தண்பொருந்த
நீரெதிர்கொண் டோடுதலா லீன்றிசைப்
பாமென்றிதனைப்
பாரெதிர் கொண்டார்பயனைப் பரத்து.

*1d முனிவர் P2; மிருடி S
*2bc பாடியபா னானூறுந் P2; பாடியபா நானூறுந் S
*2d தண்பொருந்த P2; தண்பொருந்தி S
*3c டோடுதலா லீன்றிசைப் corr.; டோடுதலால் நீன்றிசைப் P2; டோடுதலால் நீணிசைப் S
*3d பாமென்றிதனைப் P2; பாவென்றிதனைப் S
*4d பரத்து P2; பார்த்து S

eṇ perum kuṉṟatt' eṇ +āyiram muṉivar
paṇ porunta+ pāṭiya pāl nāṉūṟum taṇ porunta
nīr etirkoṇṭ' ōṭutalāl īṉṟ' icaipp' ām eṉṟ' itaṉai+
pār etirkoṇṭār payaṉai+ parattu.

Saying 'the Four Hundred, part of what has been sung, so as to suit the *paṇ*,
by the eight thousand sages on the eight great hills[11] are music,

[11] That is, the Jains on the eight hills around Maturai who were suffering

having been brought forth by reciting [them] after the water coolly received them',
they on earth received [them] as the result of the divine.

No. 6. மாவின (*kāppu*)

Veṇpā.

P3 (twice) Pe2, E3:

மாவின மருகா மதகளிறே மாறாமற்
பாலமுத மோடு பழமிடுவென் – சாலவே
நாலடி நானூறு நழுவாம லென்மனத்திற்
சீலமுட னிற்கத் தெளி.

*1a மாவின P3+3; மாலின் Pe2, E3
*1c மாறாமற் P3+3+Pe2; மாறாமா E3
*2c பழமிடுவென் P3+3, Pe2; பழமிடுவேன் E3
*3d லென்மனத்திற் P2+3, E3; லென்மனத்தே Pe2

mā ~iṉam marukā mata kaḷiṟē māṟāmal
pāl amutamōṭu paḻam iṭuveṉ — cālavē
nālaṭi-nāṉūṟu naḻuvāmal eṉ maṉattiṉ
cīlam uṭaṉ niṟka+ teḷi.

Oh descendant of the big troupe/of Māl, oh rutting elephant, without swerving I place the fruit together with milky ambrosia. Let the four hundred of the *Nālaṭi* by fully clear to my mind, without slipping, so that the stand along with good conduct.

No. 7. சீல (commentator)

Veṇpā.

P3, E3:

சீல முனிவ ரிருந்து தெரிந்துரைத்த
நாலடி நானூற்றி னற்பொருளைப் பாவகையே
கண்டான் பொருட்டான் பயனுரைத்தான் காதலித்துத்
தண்டார் பொறைத்தந் தான்.

*2d பாவகையே P3; பால்வகையே E3
*3b பொருட்டான் P3; பொருடான் E3
*4a தண்டார் P3; தண்டார்ப் E3
*4bc பொறைத்தந் தான் P3; பொறைத்தருமன் தான் E3

---

prosecution; mentioned by Nampi, TVP 37.44: *eṉ perum kuṉṟatt' uṟaiyum eṉ +āyiram camaṇar.*

cīlam muṉivar iruntu terint' uraitta
nālaṭi-nāṉūṟṟiṉ nal poruḷai+ pā vakaiyē
kaṇṭāṉ poruḷ tāṉ payaṉ uraittāṉ kātalittu+
taṇ tār poṟai+ tantāṉ.

Loving [all] kinds of verse, he saw the good meaning of the *Nālaṭi* four hundred,
that were clearly composed after sitting as sages with good conduct,
[and] commented upon the matter itself [and its] gist,
he with a cool garland to brought patience [to it].

No. 8. வாக்குண்டாம் (*kāppu* taken from another text?)

Veṇpā; Auvaiyār Mūturai, *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu*[12].

[வாக்]குண்டாம் நல்ல மனமுண்டா மாமலராள்
[னோ]க்குண்டா மேனி [னு]டங்காது பூக்கொண்ட
துப்பர் திருமேனி து[மி]பிக்கை யான்பாதந்
தப்பாமற் சார்வார் தமக்கு.

v[āk]k' uṇṭ' ām nalla maṉam uṇṭ' ām mā malarāḷ
[n]ōkk' uṇṭ' ām mēṉi [n]uṭaṅkātu pū+ koṇṭa
tuppar tiru mēṉi tu[m]pikkaiyāṉ pātam
tappāmal cārvār tamakku∞

There is speech, there is a good heart, there is the glance of her from the big blossom for those powerful persons, who, [their] bodies not wavering, approach without fail the feet of the one with the elephant trunk on [his] auspicious body.

No. 9. வளங்கெழு (two commentators)

Āciriyappā.

G1, E1, E3:

வளங்கெழு திருவொடு வையக முழுது
முளங்குளி ரின்பத் தின்ப முவப்ப
வண்பெருஞ் சிறப்பின் மாதவம் புரிந்தாங்
கெண்பெருங் குன்றத் திருந்தவ முனிவ
னறம்பொரு ளின்பம் வீடெனு மிவற்றின்
திறம்பிற ரறியுந் திறத்தை நாட்டிப்

[12] Identification provided by Emmanuel Francis in his catalogue entry for this manuscript (<https://tst-project.github.io/mss/Indien_0059.xml>), which allows to fill in the gaps.

பண்புற வெடுத்துப் பாங்குறப் பகர்ந்த
வெண்பா வயலெண் ணாயிர மவற்றுட்
பாரெதிர் கொண்டு பரவி யேற்ற
நீரெதிர் வந்து நிறையணி பெற்ற
மேனூ றகையின் விதிமுறை பிழையா
நானூ றவற்றி னயந்தெரிந் தோதிய
மதுமலர்த் தண்டார் பதுமன் றெரிந்த
வையமில் பொருண்மை யதிகா ரத்தால்
மெய்யா நலத்த வெண்ணைந் தவ[ற்று]
ளறவியல் பதின்மூன் றரசர்க் குரிய
பொருளிய லிருபத் தொருநான் கின்ப
மான்றயுங் கையைம் மூன்றென மொழிந்தனன்
சான்றோ ரேத்துந் தருமத் தலைவனே.

G1: கடவுள்வாழ்த்து; G1: பாயிரம்

*3d புரிந்தாங் G1; புரிந்தாஆங் E1+3
*4df. முனிவ | னறம்பொரு G1, E1; முனிவர | ரறம்பொரு E3
*6d நாட்டிப் G1, E1; நாடிப் E3
*7b வயலெண் G1, E1; வியலெண் $E3
*9d யேற்ற G1; யேத்த E1+3
*10c நிறையணி G1, E1; நிரையணி E3
*11ab மேனூ றகையின G1; மேனூற் றகையின E1+3
*11d பிழையா G1; பிழையாஆ E1+3
*14cd யதிகா ரத்தால் G1; யதிகா ரன்தா E1+3
*15d தவற்று E1; தவத்து G1
*16b பதின்மூன் E1; பதிமூன் G1
*18ab மான்றயுங் கையைம் G1; மான்ற வகையை E1
*19b ரேத்துந் G1c, E1; ரேற்றுந் G1
*19d தலைவனே E1; தலைவன் G1

vaḷam keḻu tiruvoṭu vaiyakam muḻutum
uḷam kuḷir iṉpatt' iṉpam uvappa
vaḷ perum ciṟappiṉ mā tavam purintāṅk'
eṇ perum kuṉṟatt' irum tavam muṉivaṉ
aṟam poruḷ iṉpam vīṭ' eṉum ivaṟṟiṉ
tiṟam piṟar aṟiyum tiṟattai nāṭṭi+
paṇp' uṟa ~eṭuttu+ pāṅk' uṟa+ pakarnta
veṇpā ~ayal eṇ +āyiram avaṟṟuḷ
pār etirkoṇṭu paravi ~ēṟṟa
nīr etir vantu niṟai ~aṇi peṟṟa
mēl nūl takaiyiṉ viti muṟai piḻaiyā

nāṉūṟ' avaṟṟiṉ nayam terint' ōtiya
*matu malar+ taṇ tār **patumaṉ** terinta*
aiyam il poruṇmai ~atikārattāl
mey +ā nalatta ~eṇ +aint' ava[ṟṟu]l 15
aṟa-~iyal patiṉ mūṉṟ' aracarkk' uriya
poruḷ-iyal irupatt' oru nāṉk' iṉpam
ānṟayum kai ~aim mūṉṟ' eṉa moḻintaṉaṉ
*cāṉṟōr ēttum **taruma+ talaivaṉē**.*

While together with prosperous Śrī the whole world
rejoices in the pleasure of pleasures that cools the mind,
as if doing great penance of generously vast superiority,
the sage of great penance from the eight large hills,
establishing the matter known by others on the elements
of these called 'duty', 'wealth', 'pleasure' [and] 'liberation',
taking [them] up properly
without failing the order of rules befitting to the older texts
(*nūl*?)
that had obtained the adornment of completion when coming
against the water,
that were received reverently after being received by the earth
among those adjacent(?) eight thousand in Veṇpā
that had been uttered equitably,
by [means of] chapters of meaning without a doubt
that were understood by **Patumaṉ** with a cool garland of honey
blossoms
who had clearly recited with longing for those four hundred
among the forty [chapters] of a goodness that is true
the leader **Tarumaṉ** who is praised by the nobles
spoke [on?] the thirteen of the section on duty, the twenty
[and] once four of the section on wealth suitable for government,
[and] the three?? ? on pleasure.

No. 10. அறவியல் (text structure[13])

Āciriyappā.

G1:

அறவிய லிருவகைத் தாங்கவை தன்னிற்
றுறவெ ழிலற மிருமூன் றென்னப்

[13] According to the Caracuvati Makāl edition the *pāyiram* to Patumaṉār's commentary; not confirmed by the present manuscript.

பொருளியல் கையெழில் புலப்பட கிளப்பின்
அரசிய லேழதி காரம் நட்பியல்
நான்கதி கார மின்ப மூன்றே
துன்ப வியலதி கார நான்கே
யொன்றே பொதுவியல் பகைவியல்
கூறதி கார நான்கே பன்னெறி
கூறதி கார மொன்றே யின்ப
வகைதா னிருவகை யவற்று ளின்பத்
துன்பத் ததிகார மொன்றே யேனை
யின்பங் கூறதி கார மிரண்டே.

*1cd தாங்கவை தன்னிற் G1; தாமவை தம்முள் E1+3
*2ab றுறவெ ழிலற G1; துறவே ழில்லற E1+3
*2d றென்னப் G1; றென்ப E1+3
*3b கையெழில் G1; வகையேழ் E1+3
*4d from now on up to l. 7 different line break as E1 inserts ஆகும்
*9cd மொன்றே யின்ப G1, E3; மொன்றேனக் கிளப்பர் E1

aṟaviyal iru vakai+ tāṅkavai taṉṉiṉ
tuṟav' eḻil aṟam iru mūṉṟ' eṉṉa+
poruḷ iyal kai ~eḻil pulappaṭa kiḷappiṉ
araciyal ēḻ atikāram naṭpiyal
nāṉk' atikāram iṉpam mūṉṟē
tuṉpaviyal atikāram nāṉkē
~oṉṟē potuviyal pakaiviyal
kūṟ' atikāram nāṉkē pal-neṟi
kūṟ' atikāram oṉṟē ~iṉpa(m)
vakai tāṉ iru vakai ~avaṟṟuḷ' iṉpa+-
tuṉpatt' atikāram oṉṟē ~ēṉai
~iṉpam kūṟ' atikāram iraṇṭē.

Of those that uphold the two divisions in the section on duty
[there are] twice three on the graceful duty with 'relinquishing',
when the section on wealth is expressed so that [its] grace is understood,
[there are] seven chapters in the section on government, four chapters
in the section on friendship, three on pleasure,
four chapters in the section on suffering,
one [is] the general section, the section on enmity
[is] in four subchapters, 'many paths'
[is] one subchapter, the kinds of pleasure

[are] one chapter on pleasure and suffering
among those of two kinds, [there are] two
subchapters on the remaining pleasures.

E1[14]+3[15]:

அறவிய லிருவகைத் தாமவை தம்முட்
டுறவே ழில்லற மிருமூன் றென்ப
பொருளியல் வகையேழ் புலப்பட கிளப்பின்
அரசிய லேழதி கார மாகும்
நட்பிய னான்கதி கார மின்ப
மூன்றே துன்ப வியலதி கார
நான்கே யொன்றே பொதுவியல் பகைவியல்
கூறதி கார நான்கே பன்னெறி
கூறதி கார மொன்றெனக் கிளப்பர்
கடையின்ப வகைதான் கருதி னிருவகை
யின்பத்துன்ப வதிகார மொன்றே யேனை
யின்ப வதிகார மிரண்டே.

aṟaviyal iru vakai+ tām avai tam-+uḷ
tuṟav' ēḻ il +aṟam iru mūṉṟ' eṉpa
poruḷiyal vakai ~ēḻ pula+ paṭa kiḷappiṉ
araciyal ēḻ atikāram ākum
naṭpiyal nāṉk' atikāram iṉpam
mūṉṟē tuṉpaviyal atikāram
nāṉkē ~oṉṟē potuviyal pakaiviyal
kūṟ' atikāram nāṉkē pal-neṟi
kūṟ' atikāram oṉṟ' eṉa+ kiḷappar
kaṭai ~iṉpa vakai tāṉ karutiṉ iru vakai
~iṉpa+-tuṉpa-~atikāram oṉṟē ~ēṉai
~iṉpa-~atikāram iraṇṭē.

Among the two divisions in the section on duty
[there are] twice three on the seven domestic duties of 'relinquishing', they say,
when the section on wealth is expressed so that [its] seven divisions are understood,
there are seven chapters in the section on government,
four chapters in the section on friendship, on pleasure
three, four chapters in the section on suffering,

[14] In E1 in part the metrical splits are missing.
[15] From line 9 onwards E3 corresponds to G1, not E1!

one [is] the general section, the section on enmity
[is] in four subchapters, 'many paths'
[is] one subchapter, they state,
if one recalls the divisions of liminal pleasure,
[there is] one chapter on pleasure and suffering of two kinds,
two subchapters on the remaining pleasures.

No. 11. நானூறு **(*kāppu*?)**

Veṇpā.

Pe2, I1, E3, Sastri:

நானூறும் வேதமாய் நானூறும் நானூறாய்
நானூறும் நல்லவற்கு நற்பொருளாய் நானூறும்
பண்மொழியாள் பாகன் பரிந்தருளு மானைமுகக்
கண்ணுதலோ னீங்கிதற்கு கச[ம்].

*1b வேதமாய் Pe2, I1; வேதமா E3
*1d நானூறாய் Pe2, I1; நானூறா E3; நானூறே S
*2ab நானூறும் நல்லவற்கு Pe2; நானூறுங் கற்றற்கு E3, I1; நானூறுங் கற்றவர்க்கு S
*2c நற்பொருளாய் Pe2; நற்றுணையா I1, S, E3
*2d நானூறும் Pe2, S, E3; நானூறுப் I1
*3b–d பாகன் பரிந்தருளு மானைமுகக் Pe2; பாகம் பகிர்ந்த ச†††††க்க??† I1; பாகம் பகிர்ந்து சடைக்கரந்த E3; பாகம் பகர்ந்து சடைக்கணிந்த S
*4 கண்ணுதலோ னீங்கிதற்கு கச[ம்] Pe2; கண்ணுதலோன் பெற்ற களிறு E3; கண்ணுதலான் பெற்ற களிறு I1, S

nāṉūṟum vētam āy nāṉūṟum nāṉūṟ' āy
nāṉūṟum nallavaṟku nal poruḷ āy nāṉūṟum
paṇ moḻiyāḷ pākaṉ parint' aruḷum āṉai muka+
kaṇ-nutalōṉ īṁk' itaṟku kaca[m].

He is good wealth to him who has learned all the four hundred as the Veda of four hundred, as the four hundred of the full four hundred,
– the elephant of him here with the forehead eye,
with an elephant face who graciously pleads with him one part of whom is she of musical speech.

E3:

நானூறும் வேதமா நானூறு நானூறா
நானூறுங் கற்றற்கு நற்றுணையா நானூறும்

பண்மொழியாள் பாகம் பகிர்ந்து சடைக்கரந்த
கண்ணுதலோன் பெற்ற களிறு.

nāṉūṟum vētam ām nāṉūṟum nāṉūṟ' ām
nāṉūṟum kaṟṟaṟku nal tuṇai ~ām nāṉūṟum
paṇ moḻiyāḷ pākam pakirntu caṭai+ karanta
kaṇ-nutalōṉ peṟṟa kaḷiṟu.

He is a good companion to him who has learned all the four hundred
that are the Veda of four hundred, that are the four hundred of the full four hundred,
– the elephant bull begotten by him with the forehead eye
who hides the matted hair when sharing one part with her of musical speech.

No. 12. எண்ணா (Vaiṣṇava affiliation?)

Veṇpā.

I1, E3:

எண்ணா யிரவ ரிசைத்த வெண்பா நானூறுங்
கண்ணாமிந் நாலடியைக் கற்றுணரத் – தண்ணார்
திருக்குருகூர் மாறனையே தேர்ந்துமறை தேர்ந்த
திருக்குருகூர் மாறனையே தேர்.

eṇ +āyiravar icaitta veṇpā nāṉūṟum
kaṇ +ām i+ nālaṭiyai+ kaṟṟ' uṇara+ — taṇ +ār
tirukkurukūr māṟaṉaiyē tērntu maṟai tērnta
tirukkurukūr māṟaṉaiyē tēr.

In order to understand, after having learned [it], this *Nālaṭi* that is in
four hundred Veṇpā sung by the Eight Thousand
seek out Māṟaṉ of Tirukkurukūr full of coolness [and] seek out Māṟaṉ of Tirukkurukūr who sought out the Vedas.

No. 13. ஞாலத்து (commentator)

E3:

ஞாலத் துழிதரு நற்பாட்டே கொண்டடக்கி
நாலடி நானூரெனப் பெயரால் – வாலிதின்
ஈட்டித் தொகுத்தான் இசைசால் பதுமனே
கூட்டமைந்த மூன்றுபாற் கொண்டு.

ñālatt' uḻi-taru nal pāṭṭē koṇṭ' aṭakki
nālaṭi-nāṉūr' eṉa+ peyarāl — vāliṭiṉ
īṭṭi+ tokuttāṉ icai cāl patumaṉē
kūṭṭ' amainta mūṉṟu pāl koṇṭu.

Taking [and] containing the good songs that go round in the world,
by the name of *Nālaṭi* Four Hundred he purely
gathered [them and] put [them] together, Patumaṉ abounding in fame,
taking [them] in three parts that were suitably combined.

No. 14. நல்லோர் (commentator)

E3:

நல்லோர் அருள்செய்த நாலடி நானூற்றின்
சொல்லோர் பொருளனைத்தும் தோன்றியதே – கல்வி
வரும்பத நூல்கொண்ட மதிவரன்றன் வாக்கால்
அரும்பத மிட்ட அழகு.

nallōr aruḷ ceyta nālaṭi-nāṉūṟṟiṉ
col +ōr poruḷ aṉaittum tōṉṟiyatē — kalvi
varum patam nūl koṇṭa mati-varaṉ taṉ vākkāl
arum patam iṭṭa aḻuku.

Of the *Nālaṭi* Four Hundred made by the grace of good people the unique word meaning appeared — in the beauty put into the difficult words by the speech of the best of minds who took the treatise of a propriety that comes with erudition.

No. 15. ஆலின் (commentator)

E3:

ஆலின் அரசின் அசோகின் அணியிருளின்
மேலை மறையின் விரிந்தபொருள் – நாலடியாம்
வெள்ளாஅண் வேதத்தின் இன்னுரையைக் கண்டக்கால்
கொள்ளாரோ நல்லோர் குறித்து.

āliṉ araciṉ acōkiṉ aṇi ~iruḷiṉ
mēlai maṟaiyiṉ virinta poruḷ — nālaṭi ~ām
veḷḷāaṇ vētattiṉ iṉ +uraiyai+ kaṇṭa+-kāl
koḷḷārō nallōr kuṟittu.

At the time the Veḷḷāaṇ (?) saw the sweet commentary of the Veda that was the *Nālaṭi*, with the expansive meaning of the upper

secrets of Banyan, kingship, Aśoka [and] ornate darkness(?), did not the good people have [that] intention?

4. The *Paḷamoḷi*

The *Paḷamoḷi*, as do seven other works among the eighteen *Kīḻkaṇakku*, comes with an author stanza which is part of the colophon, although it is printed already in the 1916 edition as its *taṟciṟappuppāyiram*. It is attested in 6 of the 14 manuscripts at our disposal:

பிண்டியி னீழல் பெருமானடி வணங்கிப்
பண்டைப் பழமொழி நானூறுங் கொண்டினிதா
முன்றுறை மன்னவ னான்கடியுஞ் செய்தமைத்த
வின்றுறை வெண்பா விவை.

piṇṭiyiṉ nīḻal perumāṉ aṭi vaṇaṅki+
paṇṭai+ paḷamoḷi nāṉūṟum koṇṭ' iṉit'-ā
muṉṟuṟai maṉṉavaṉ nāṉk' aṭiyum ceyt' amaitta
~iṉ tuṟai veṇpā ~ivai.

Bowing before the feet of the lord in the shade of the Aśoka tree, taking the full four-hundred of ancient *Paḷamoḷi*, so as to be sweet, made [and] accomplished in four lines by Muṉṟuṟai Maṉṉavaṉ, these [are] the Veṇpās of pleasing theme.

It names the author as Muṉṟuṟai Maṉṉavaṉ and adds a *nāṉūṟu*, "four hundred", to the established title, as is often the case with collections of that length (as was seen also in several stanzas for the *Nālaṭiyār*).

The mystery here lurks at the other end, namely the beginning. In the eight manuscripts of the texts that are complete and possess an old, anonymous commentary (*paḷaiyavurai*), we find the commentary to an invocation stanza to the *Paḷamoḷi*, but the text of the stanza itself is missing, partly because the beginning is not intact and partly because the commentary does not quote the full *mūlam*. Here is the version of UVSL 524-I (p. 152, l. 1f.):

ulakattiṉkaṭ keṭuttaṟk' uriya kuṟṟattaik keṭuttuc ciṟitum oḷiyāmal muḷutum uṇarntavaṉ pātattait tamakk' urimaippaṭa ~ārāyn[l. 1]t' uṇarntavarkk' okkavē ~uḷatāvatu peri[ya] ~uṭampiṉaiyuṭaiyaṉ ātal i+ periyatu pōṉṟ' eṉṟavā[ṟu]

He who destroys the flaws that are fit to be destroyed in the world [and] understands all, not leaving even a little thing off,

> for those who have examined [and] perceived his feet in a way that is their right it is equally [apt] to become the one with a great body, resembling this great thing.

Even if some details remain doubtful, the main message the commentary suggests is one of worship, and the goal is to become one with god, whoever he may be here. Now, in a single paper manuscript, UVSL 576 — undated but presumably fairly late 19th century, since it contains full modern diacritics, punctuation marks and edition-like paragraph breaks — a gap has been left for the missing stanza, and a hand that is different from that of the copyists has added one verse (**fig. 1**):

> *arit' avitt'*[16] *āc' il uṇarntavaṉ pātam*
> *viri kaṭal cūḻnta viyaṉ kaṇ mā ñālatt'*
> *uriyataṉiṉ kaṇṭ' uṇarntār ōkkamē pōlap*
> *periya taṉ āvi peritu.*

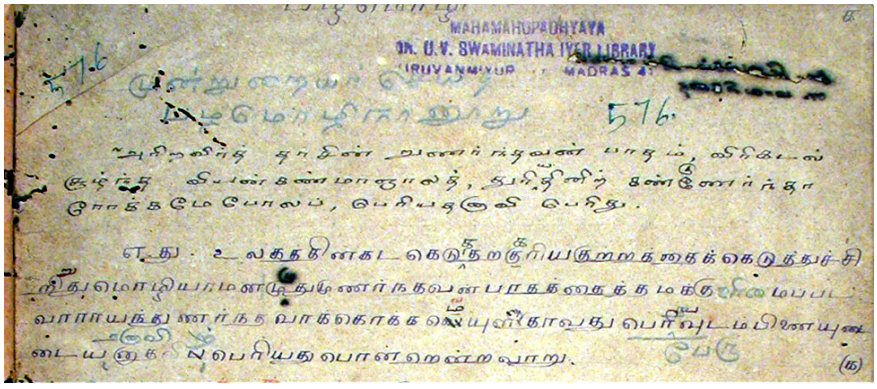
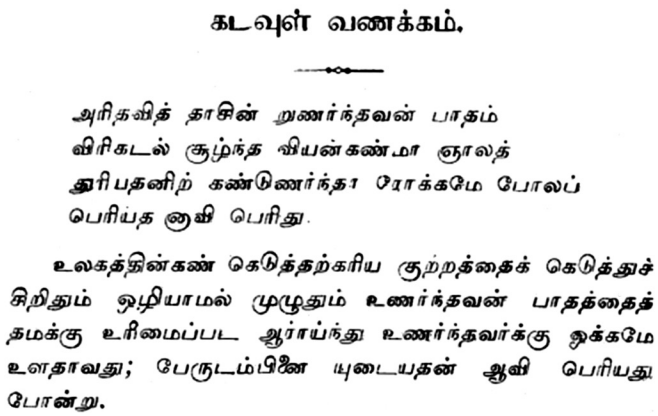


Fig. 1. UVSL 576, *Paḻamoḻi*, p. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy Courtesy of the EFEO.

[16] Here the printed text deviates from the manuscript which reads *aril tavirttu*, "removing flaws". This appears to be a slightly different semantic nuance. While the handwritten stanza refers to what the deity can do to the text copied (keep it free from flaws), the printed version addresses what the deity can do for the author/copyist (remove the difficulties, be it in understanding the text, or, more general, obstacles). Either this deviation has to be seen as a "correction" on the part of the first editor, or it is an indication that the stanza was in fact property of the oral tradition and is subject to the usual concomitant variability.

Those who have seen [and] understood the feet of him
who removes what is difficult [and] understands faultlessly,
as is right in the huge world of vast area surrounded by the
expansive sea,
as if [their] gains were equally great, his soul is great.

This is the stanza that from the 1916 edition of the *Paḻamoḻi* onwards has been printed as its invocation stanza (**fig. 2**).



கடவுள் வணக்கம்.

அரிதவித் தாசின் றுணர்ந்தவன் பாதம்
விரிகடல் சூழ்ந்த வியன்கண்மா ஞாலத்
துரிபதனிற் கண்டுணர்ந்தா ரோக்கமே போலப்
பெரிய்த ஞலி பெரிது.

உலகத்தின்கண் கெடுத்தற்கரிய குற்றத்தைக் கெடுத்துச் சிறிதும் ஒழியாமல் முழுதும் உணர்ந்தவன் பாதத்தைத் தமக்கு உரிமைப்பட ஆராய்ந்து உணர்ந்தவர்க்கு ஒக்கமே உளதாவது; பேருடம்பினை யுடையதன் ஆவி பெரியது போன்று.

Fig. 2. 1916 edition of the *Paḻamoḻi*.

Where does this verse come from, since it is not attested in a single palm-leaf manuscript? Basically there are three possibilities. Either it comes from an oral tradition which could still be intact for a text like the *Paḻamoḻi* that appears to have retained at least some of its popular appeal, judging by the number of manuscripts still extant, and by the fact that it has a transmission that is separate from the serial manuscripts of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku*. Or, secondly, it is yet another free-floating verse that can be matched up with the bit of commentary that survives. Or, thirdly, somebody composed this verse on the basis of the existing commentary with the aim of filling this embarrassing gap in an otherwise complete transmission. In order to come to a decision between these option, the first question to be answered is: does this verse match the commentary?

ulakattiṉkaṇ keṭuttaṟk' uriya kuṟṟattaik keṭuttuc ciṟitum
oḻiyāmal muḻutum uṇarntavaṉ pātattait tamakk' u[l. 1]
rimaippaṭa ~ārāynt' uṇarntavarkk' okkavē ~uḷat'-āvatu
peri[ya] ~uṭampiṉaiyuṭaiyaṉ ātal i+ periyatu pōṉṟ' eṉ[l. 2]*ṟavā[ru]*

arit' avitt' āc' il uṇarntavaṉ pātam
viri kaṭal cūḻnta viyaṉ kaṇ mā ñālatt'
uriyataṇiṉ kaṇṭ' uṇarntār ōkkamē pōlap
*periya **taṉ āvi** peritu.*

My tentative translation of the verse has already been given above. When trying to match the phrases of the verse with those of the commentary the correspondences are not always easy. The first phrase in the commentary, *ulakattiṉkaṇ*, may only correspond to the whole of line 2 in the poem. This means, the gloss would have been reduced to a single noun (*ulakattiṉkaṇ* for *ñālattu*) for a full poetic line and displaced in the word order, both clearly against commentarial habit. The second phrase would roughly correspond to the first two *cīr*s of the verse, although it is not quite evident why *aritu* ("difficult") would be glossed by *keṭuttaṟku uriya* ("worth to be destroyed"). Next, the phrase about the feet of god corresponds well enough, with the commentator adding a case suffix. In the adverbial qualification at the beginning of line 3, similar in content to the commentary, the participial noun that gives the agent is marked by a possessive dative in the commentary; the glossing of *kaṇṭu* by *ārāyntu* is unexpected. The main sentence that follows is considerably different. For one thing, the comparative mark is on different parts in commentary and verse, moreover the verse brings in an extra noun, *āvi*, that has no correspondence at all in the commentary. The exact meaning is equally unclear in both, but it seems to me the verse says that god's soul is great (*taṉ āvi* is marked as singular, and the only singular mentioned is *uṇartavaṉ*, which refers to god), in accepting the human effort at understanding as a mark of equality. The commentary, by contrary, seems to express that humans should strive to become one with the deity.

In other words, the poem and the commentary are an imperfect match, and, what is more, the discrepancies have been noticed by the scribe who added the poem to the paper manuscript. Illustration 1 above clearly shows that the substantial corrections in the commentary are made by the same hand that wrote the poem, and all these changes have been integrated into the print version of 1916 (**fig. 2**), to be followed ever since. A hard-core traditional scholar might say that this goes to show that the commentary got corrupted in the course of transmission and could luckily be corrected by the help of the orally transmitted verse. In my view,

however, this may be counted as evidence in favour of option 2; it is most likely that the copyist knew or found a stanza that was close to what the commentary suggested to him, and it order to make it fit better into the empty slot he tweaked the transmitted commentary into shape.

5. Conclusion

This article presented three case studies, chosen among the most popular didactic anthologies of the *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpus. The first case was the *Kuṟaḷ* and had a basis of 29 manuscripts, although without any doubt many more could be found. It does not possess any satellite stanza of its own, but is connected with the *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*, a whole satellite text which may appear in addition to the text of the *Kuṟaḷ* or may be quoted from. Moreover, it can also be accompanied by various (so far three) free-floating stanzas on the god Gaṇeśa and the goddess Sarasvatī which have been reported with various grammatical and literary texts.

The second case was the *Nālaṭiyār*. In its currently 12 manuscripts seventeen stanzas have been located, only two of which have so far been found elsewhere too: four devotional verses (of which two are found elsewhere), six verses on the text and its authors (informative and laudatory), five verses on the commentators, one verse on the contents, and one scribal caveat. The only manuscript that came completely without stanza was damaged (the beginning where the satellite material would be expected was missing).

The third case was the *Paḻamoḻi*, of which probably just the 14 manuscripts surveyed here survive. It comes with a colophon verse at the end (relocated in print to the beginning as a preface) and with a single invocation stanza at the beginning. The latter, however, was lost, but its commentary remained. The text filling the corresponding gap in one single paper manuscript and printed ever since might be genuine (although no other source is available) or it might have been written on the basis of the commentary. Given the fact, that the transmitted commentary had to undergo substantial changes to fit the stanza, however, the most likely explanation is that somebody found a free-floating stanza that had repercussions with the commentary and adjusted the two to fit together.

The final conclusion from these amazingly dissimilar cases is simply that chances are very good of finding satellite material,

provided the manuscript is undamaged. The kind of distribution, however, is absolutely unpredictable. In each case the manuscripts can teach us something that we could not have learned from reading the editions alone.

Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
E1	Nālaṭiyār. 1921.
E2	Nālaṭiyār. 1964.
E3	Nālaṭiyār. 1983.
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Ceṉṉai
IFP	Institut français de Pondichéry
MCC	Madurai Centamil College
MSSML	Mahārājā Serfoji Sarasvati Mahāl Library, Tañcāvūr
ORIML	Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library, Kerala University, Trivandrum
TAM	Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātīṉam, Caracuvati Makāl Library and Research Centre
TSM	Śrī Tavatiru Santaliṅga Mutt Library, Pērūr, Coimbatore
UVSL	U. V. Cāmināṭaiyar Library, Ceṉṉai

Conventions for edition and transliteration

†	illegible or damaged letter
[abc]	restored text
+	geminated consonant
~	glide (*y* or *v*)
‘	elided overshort *-u*
-	compounds and complex verbs
∞	*pūṭṭuvil* construction

References

Manuscripts: *Kuṟaḷ*

BnF Indien 47 paper: 265 double-pages (+ *urai*)
BnF Indien 48 palm-leaf: 94 f. (vol. I + Parimēlaḻakar)

BnF Indien 49 palm-leaf: 187 f. (vol. II + Parimēlaḻakar)
BnF Indien 50 palm-leaf: 70 f. (vol. III + Parimēlaḻakar)
BnF Indien 51 palm-leaf: 375 f. (+ Parimēlaḻakar)
BnF Indien 52 palm-leaf: 133 f.
BnF Indien 53 palm-leaf: 219 f. (+ Parimēlaḻakar)
BnF Indien 534 palm-leaf: 100 f.
BnF Indien 54 palm-leaf: 376 f. f. (+ Parimēlaḻakar)
BnF Indien 55 palm-leaf: ca. 200 f. (+ *curukkavuraipāṭam*)
BnF Indien 56-A palm-leaf: 89 f.
BnF Indien 57 (copy of Beschi edition)
BnF Indien 507: 154 f. (+ *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*)
BnF Smith-Lesouëf 265: 99 f.
IFP RE 04226 palm-leaf: 140 f.
IFP RE 10850-A palm-leaf: 344 f. (+ Parimēlaḻakar)
IFP RE 15539-A palm-leaf: 16 f.
IFP RE 25357 palm-leaf: 139 f.
IFP RE 25360 palm-leaf: 334 f. (*urai*)
IFP RE 25385 palm-leaf: 184 f. (*urai*)
IFP RE 30342 palm-leaf: 127 f. (+ Parimēlaḻakar)
IFP RE 31431-A palm-leaf: 16 f.
IFP RE 47708 palm-leaf: 166 f.
IFP RE 47765 palm-leaf: 122 f.
IFP RE 53105 palm-leaf: 130 f.
MSSML 693 palm leaf: 14 f.
MSSML 902 palm-leaf: 116 f. (+ *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*)
ORIML 6417-B palm-leaf: 18 f. (f. 3r–38r; im. 133–147; + *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*)
TAM 337 palm-leaf: 242 f. (+ Parimēlaḻakar)
UVSL 553 palm-leaf: 233 f. (+ Parimēlaḻakar)

Manuscripts: *Nālaṭiyār*

G1: GOML D.170/D.126, paper: 219 p.
I1: IFP RE25380 palm-leaf: 82 f.
I2: IFP RE32595 palm-leaf: 171 f.
O1: ORIML 6417-A, palm-leaf: 9 f. (f. 39r–56v; im. 147–156)
P1: BnF Indien 59 palm-leaf: 180 f. (*urai*)
P2: BnF Indien 60 palm-leaf: 69 f. (*urai*)
P3. BnF Indien 61 palm-leaf: 174 f. (*urai*)
P4: BnF Indien 515a palm-leaf: 145 f.
P5: BnF Indien 571 palm-leaf: 33 f.
P6: BnF Indien 973 palm-leaf: 105 f.
Pe1: TSM nil-a palm-leaf: 139 f.
Pe2: TSM 56–1.64-A palm-leaf: 134 f.

Manuscripts: *Paḻamoḻi*

MCC 45 palm-leaf: 100 f. (*paḻaiya urai*)
ORIML 6417-m+I, palm-leaf: 3+2 f. (f. 74r–78v; im. 161–164 + f. 98v–100v; im. 171–174)
TAM nil paper: 60 p. (*paḻaiya urai*)
UVSL 1048-D, palm-leaf: 2 f. (p. 190f.)
UVSL 1078-F, palm-leaf: 60 f. (p. 109–222; im. 32–61) (*paḻaiya urai*)
UVSL 1089 palm-leaf: 80 f. (*paḻaiya urai*)
UVSL 149 palm-leaf: 118 f. (*paḻaiya urai*)
UVSL 372 palm-leaf: 68 f. (*paḻaiya urai*)
UVSL 524-I palm-leaf: 95 f. (p. 152–320) (*paḻaiya urai*)
UVSL 576 paper: 143 p. (*paḻaiya urai*)
UVSL 577 paper: 70 p. (*paḻaiya urai*)
UVSL 589-W, palm-leaf: 5 f. (p. 118–126)
UVSL 698-I, palm-leaf: 3 f. (p. 97–101)
UVSL 885-C, palm-leaf: 4 f. (p. 33–40) (*paḻaiya urai*)

Editions

Kuṟaḷ. 1961. *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyaṉār tiruvāymalarntaruḷiya Tirukkuraḷ mūlamum paḻaiya uraiyum*. Mukavurai: Mu. Varatarācaṉār, U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar Nūl Nilaiyam, Ceṉṉai.

Nālaṭiyār. 1921. *Camaṇamuṉivarkaḷ iyaṟṟiya Nālaṭiyār mūlamum teḷiporuḷ viḷakkamum*. uraiyāciriyar Vai. Mu. Caṭakōparāmānujācāriyar/Cē. Kiruṣṇamācariyar. iraṇṭām patippu. Ceṉṉai: Śrī Kaṇēc Accukkūṭṭam.

Nālaṭiyār. 1964. *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku Nālaṭiyār urai*. uraiyāciriyar Ti. Cu. Pālacuntaram Piḷḷai. Ceṉṉai: Kaḻakam. [1st ed. 1945, rep. 1949, 1953, 1957, 1961, 1964]

Nālaṭiyār. 1983. *Nālaṭiyār uraivaḷam (mūlamum mūṉṟu paḻaiya uraikaḷum aṭaṅkiyatu)*. 2 vols. patippāciriyarkaḷ S. Mutturatṉa Mutaliyār/M.R. Kantacāmi Piḷḷai. 2nd ed. Tañcāvūr: Makārājā Cāpōjiyiṉ Caracuvati Makāl Nūl Nilayam. [1st ed. 1953].

Paḻamoḻi. 1916. *Muṉṟuṟaiyar iyaṟṟiya Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*. T.C. (ed. impressum missing!). Madras: S.P.C.K. Press.

Paḻamoḻi. 1916. *Muṉṟuṟaiyar iyaṟṟiya Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu*. T. Chelvakesavaroya Mudaliar (ed.). Madras: S.P.C.K. Press. [new edition in 1929]

Paḻamoḻi. 1918. *Paḻamoḻi mūlamum paḻaiya uraiyum*. Nārāyaṇa Aiyaṅkār (ed.). Maturai: Maturait Tamiḻc Caṅkam.

Paḻamoḻi. 1967. *Paḻamoḻi Nāṉūṟu mūlamum uraiyum*. M. Irācamāṇikkam Piḷḷai (uraiyāciriyār). Ceṉṉai: Kaḻakam [rep. of 1948]

Paḻamoḻi. 1916. Palamoli Nanuru. Text, Transliteration and Translation in English Verse and Prose. Jayabalan, M.D. (comp., ed. and tr.), Raman, S. (tr.), Balakrishna Mudaliyar, Nalladai R. (tr.). Ceṉṉai: Central Institute of Classical Tamil.

Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam. 1906. *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam, cellinakarp perumpaṟṟapuliyūr nampi iyaṟṟiyatu*. U.Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar (ed.). Ceṉṉai: Kapīr Accukkūṭam.

Secondary Literature

D'Avella, Victor. 2020. "Orbiting Material in Tamil Grammatical Texts". In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin, 223–279. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg (Indian and Tibetan Studies 10).

Nachimuthu, K. 2020. "*Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*: Prolegomena to *Tirukkuṟaḷ*? An inquiry into the genesis and transformation of the canonization of an author and a text at the advent of the print era". In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin, 63–138. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg (Indian and Tibetan Studies 10).

Seshagiri Sastri, M. 1898. *Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts for the Year 1896–97*. Madras: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press.

Wilden, Eva. 2014. *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*. Berlin: de Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 3).

List of Figures

Fig. 1. UVSL 576, *Paḻamoḻi*. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy Courtesy of the EFEO.

Fig. 2. 1916 edition of the *Paḻamoḻi*.

Marking up the Edges

XML TEI Encoding Strategies for Indic Colophon Collections

Giulia Buriola Meneghin
(Cluster of Excellence "Understanding written Artefacts" [University of Hamburg])

Giovanni Ciotti
(University of Bologna, University of Hamburg)

Marco Franceschini
(University of Bologna)

The present article aims at outlining the TEI-XML based strategy for encoding manuscripts' colophons developed for the Palm-Leaf Manuscript Profiling Initiative (PLMPI). Due to the specificities of such material and the editors' interest in studying syntactical patterns retrievable in such a linguistically and content-wise diverse corpus of paratexts, a generic — yet meaningful — encoding has been developed that can both transmit historical, cultural, and linguistic information and reveal the presence of patterns. Such data may be key in tracing the history and provenance of the manuscripts, their scribes, and owners. As will be shown, we have built our encoding on the use of the generic element <seg>, to which various layers of specificity are added through attributes such as @type, @n, and @subtype. The purpose of this choice is that of keeping the hierarchical structure as generic as possible and leave, as much as viable, all the elements at the same level.

1. Introduction[1]

The past few decades have witnessed increasing efforts towards the normalization of the use of TEI-XML based encoding practices

[1] The present article is part of the outcomes of the ongoing collaboration between

in the field of Classical Indology. As an outcome, a number of databases for editions of Indic sources have been published online (e.g. the Domestication of "Hindu" Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia [DHARMA] database, the Early Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa [EIAD] database, the Search and Retrieval of Indic Texts [SARIT] database and the Siddham database) and set the ground for further developments. In light of the principles at the basis of open science — reuse, redistribution and reproduction (FOSTER Consortium, 2018) — , the aim of the aforementioned projects has been that of creating a standardized, basic set of encoding strategies for textual sources from South and Southeast Asia. However, due to the many specificities of the Indic languages and the various traditions of textual transmission in South and Southeast Asia, we are only partially able to rely on common and shared practices. An example that will be touched upon in this paper is the construction of dates: the linguistic and syntactic peculiarities of dates, as we shall see, might compress in a few lines information that is not simply composed in different languages but also often contains different calendars and layers of detail on month, day, year, and so on. Thus, although in the context of the Palm-Leaf Manuscript Profiling Initiative (PLMPI)[2] we could rely on — among

Giulia Buriola Meneghin, Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini within the scope of the activities of the Palm-Leaf Manuscript Profiling Initiative (PLMPI). It was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy — EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. Research was conducted within the scope of (1) the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg and (2) the project Texts Surrounding Texts (TST) Satellite Stanzas, Prefaces and Colophons in South-Indian Manuscripts (collections of the Paris BnF and Hamburg SUB) funded by ANR & DFG (2019–2024). We would like to thank Syd Bauman, Piotr Bański and Patrick McAllister for the insightful exchanges on the TEI-List. Our gratitude also goes to Peter Scharf, who shared with us not only accurate opinions but also some material for consultation.

[2] PLMPI is a multidisciplinary project presently conducted with the scope of the activities of the Cluster of Excellence 'Understanding Written Artefacts' at the University of Hamburg. It combines input from the humanities (philology and codicology), computer sciences (mark-up language and pattern analysis

others — the detailed guidelines for diplomatic editions compiled by D. Balogh and A. Griffiths (2020) in terms of metadata markup, we developed a new, project-specific strategy for encoding colophons. In this respect, a relevant contribution on such a kind of paratext and its encoding is the study by A. Ajotikar et al. (2016), that provided some means of comparison with the encoding strategy developed for PLMPI. The purpose of the latter, beside recording the historical, geographical, and personal information transmitted in colophons,[3] is that of retrieving stylistic, linguistic, and syntactic patterns that they might share through the identification of thematic modules.

The advantages of Extensible Mark-Up Language (XML) are already well-known among scholars in the Humanities: the TEI subset, consisting of guidelines approved by the Text Encoding Initiative Consortium,[4] allow us to approach very specific linguistic issues as well as to transmit all those layers of information that we as editors might deem important, and make them machine-readable and operable. Besides its compliance to open science, TEI-XML is a descriptive markup that allows textual sources to be readily processed in several different ways, using only those parts of it which are considered relevant and is independent of any one hardware or software system. In light of the already large number of projects about Indic languages that are

---

and recognition) and natural sciences (chemistry and physics) with the aim of studying palm-leaf manuscripts from both material and cultural perspectives.

[3] Within this article, the term "colophon" is used to indicate a scribe's statement about the production, internal organization, and usage of a given manuscript. The expression "scribe's statement" is preferred to that of "scribal statement" in order to indicate that the author of the statement is the scribe and not just that the statement is about the scribe. This terminological choice improves upon Ciotti and Franceschini 2016.) Likewise, our definition of colophon also includes "owner's statements", the encoding of which is however not dealt with in the present article and remains a desideratum for the future.

[4] These guidelines "make recommendations about suitable ways of representing features of textual resources which need to be identified explicitly in order to facilitate processing by computer programs," specifying "a set of markers (or tags) which may be inserted in the electronic presentation of the text, in order to mark the text structure and other features of interest" (TEI guidelines).

encoded through TEI-XML, this was chosen as the operating markup language.

2. The Material

The material consists of 25 colophons from the manuscripts of the collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB) of Hamburg. These colophons are contained in different manuscripts from Tamil Nadu and are composed in Sanskrit, Tamil, or various Manipravalam-like blends thereof. The work that Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini (2016; 2022) have been conducting in the past years on similar material has shown the presence of linguistic, syntactic, and structural patterns that might be of great use in retrieving historically and geographically relevant trajectories — not only of the manuscript sources themselves, but also of their scribes and owners.[5] Thus, the main conceptual node of our material is the definition of thematic modules, namely sub-sentences that the editor grouped according to their internal theme and syntactic function. The aim of these macro-structures is that of establishing the syntactic patterns present in the colophons of the corpus. The following have been identified and are included in the project encoding guidelines:

1. [date] provides all layers of information regarding the date in a single colophon;
2. [philology] indicates certain editorial activities carried out by the scribe, e.g. checking several extant copies of the same text before copying it into a new manuscript;
3. [scribe] provides the name of the scribe and possibly information about his family, etc.;
4. [owner] provides the name of the owner and possibly information about his family, etc.;
5. [copied item] includes text titles and/or words meaning ‘manuscript’;
6. [copying formula] states the beginning and/or end of the copying process;

[5] See Ciotti and Franceschini 2016, Ciotti 2022 and Franceschini 2022.

7. [appraisal] encompasses a broad category of acknowledgements and appreciations for the act of copying and its benefits and consequences;
8. [apology formula], in which the scribe asks the reader for understanding for any mistakes he made while copying;
9. [borrowing/lending formula] includes borrowing formula put outside colophon;
10. [invocation] praises to the gods that are here reported only when found in between other modules of a single scribe's statement.[6]

To conceptually understand the function of these modules, consider colophon SUB 35.3005α[7] as an example:

> [36v4] **dhātu**[8] ṉāma**saṃvatsara** māśimāsaṃ 8 ṉāyattikiḻamai cāyintaṟam maṇi 3⟨kku⟩[9] eḻiti mukiñcittu
>
> It was fully copied on the year called Dhātu, month of Māśi, 8th day, Sunday, three hours into the evening (*cāyintaṟam*, read *cāyantaram*).

Since we aim at pointing out the different syntactic and structural patterns used by scribes to transmit the information within the colophon, we would represent the above data through the following modules (**fig. 1**):

dhātuṉāma**saṃvatsara** māśimāsaṃ 8 ṉāyattikiḻamai cāyintaṟam maṇi 3⟨kku⟩ eḻiti mukiñcittu

[date] [copying formula]

Fig. 1. Visualisation of the two modules in the encoding for colophon SUB 35.3005α.

---

[6] Please note that, since the project's aim is to markup syntactic patterns, for now, we do not focus on the historical, geographical, or religious information that might be contained in invocations. Moreover, we do not distinguish between invocations in prose or in verse, as this has no implications in the study of the colophons' syntax and thematic patterns on which the interest of the project lies.

[7] See Appendix 1.

[8] Characters in bold are those written in Grantha script; the non-marked characters are in Tamil script.

[9] The mathematical angle brackets are used here to replicate a symbol standing

While, in terms of TEI-XML encoding, each layer of information within a single module is marked-up with its specific set of tags, as will be introduced below, in general terms — and particularly in the case of the [date] module — we are not concerned with recording the technical calendrical information, but rather with recording the syntactic and linguistic structure(s) through which such calendrical data is construed and transmitted. Namely, we are mainly interested in encoding the fact that the segment transmitting the year, *dhātuṉāmasaṃvatsara*, is here built by adjoining a value (i.e. the proper name of the year, *dhātu*), an expletive (i.e. an unessential element, here *ṉāma*, "by name"), and a marker for the term "year" (*saṃvatsara*); that the month segment, *māśimāsaṃ*, is built here by adjoining a value (i.e. the proper name of the month, *māśi*) and a marker for the term "month" (i.e. *māsa*), without the presence of an expletive such as "*nāma*" or "*ākhya*" and so on. At this stage of the project, only the encoding model for modules (1), (6), (8), (10) has been extensively developed; partial attention was also devoted to organizing modules (3), (4), (5), while a strategy to fully encode modules (2), (7), and (9) has not yet been developed. The idea, however, is that of reproducing the same, or a similar, generic encoding syntax.

3. Potential Strategies for Encoding Colophons[10]

With regards to the overall encoding, we follow both D. Balogh and A. Griffiths (2020) and A. Griffiths and A. Janiak (2023), mixing their strategies when needed. As will be shown below, within the main (division), an <ab> (anonymous block)[11] contains the actual colophonic texts. This block is, then, sectioned in <lg> and <l>

for the suffix *-kku*. Note that a precise distinction between symbol, shorthand, and ligature remains a desideratum.

[10] In this article, we do not deal with the encoding of metadata, which can rely on many other available guidelines, but only with the encoding of the main sources, quite peculiar to the project.

[11] We have preferred this to the element <p> (paragraph) due to the structural characterization of colophons, which — despite being somehow assimilable to paragraphs — are better defined as "phrase or inter level elements analogous to, but without the same constraints as, a paragraph" (TEI Consortium, 2022).

(respectively line groups and line verses) or <lb> (line beginnings), according to the metrical or non-metrical nature of the source, respectively. Within the anonymous block, data are stored in different ways: we have a number of empty elements that mark changes in the text and/or provide specific information on that section of the encoded textual source, such as <anchor>, as well as an encoding pattern based on the use of the element <seg> (segment), which marks up any arbitrary segment below the "chunk" level. Following A. Ajotikar et al. (2016), we split colophon into macro-segments that relate the (macro-)module information; each of these phrases contains subordinate components. The date, for instance, might contain details on year(s), month, day of the month, day of the week, fortnight, and so on; the copying formula, as per an editorial decision, only marks up the verb used by the scribe to report on the act of copying (i.e. either end or beginning of the copying action); the segment of the apology contains apologies concerning possible mistakes that might have crept in due to the sloppy hand of the scribe; and so on. Since TEI already provides general enough tags for these items, we have not yet added any new and resorted to the general guidelines. Choosing to use such generic elements, as <seg>s are, enables us to reproduce the patterns of each colophon by specifying the characteristics of the encoded modules through the addition of an attribute @type, whose value relates the content of the segment (e.g. the specific segments of a date: the year-segment through the value "date-y", the month-segment through the value "date-m", etc.), and an attribute @subtype, that specifies the used patterns (e.g. the presence or absence of a value such as the name of a year/month/day, expletives such as *nāma* and *ākhya*, and markers such as *-saṃvatsara*, *-varṣa*, etc.). In the following paragraphs, we will show how to encode selected modules in-depth.

3.1. Use of the Element <anchor>

We use empty <anchor> to mark up the places in a colophon where each of the above-mentioned module begins. We simply use the element <anchor> with an attribute @type, whose values might be:

- date, to recall the module [date]
- philo, to recall the module [philology]

- scribe, to recall the module [scribe]
- item, to recall the module [item]
- copFor, to recall the module [copying formula]
- app, to recall the module [appraisal]
- apo, to recall the module [apology]
- borFor/lenFor, to recall the module [borrowing and/or lending formula]
- inv, to recall the module [invocation]

Since these are empty elements, they do not interfere with the hierarchies that come to be developed within the main and are positioned before the first <seg> introducing a new module. This is just a shortcut that will allow, in the visualisation process, to automatize the display of modules as they appear in the encoding itself.

3.2. <date> and [date]

The module date is one of the most complex, and thus presents different layers of encoding.
The main hierarchical element, which contains as many <seg>s as needed, is <date>. As customary, in <date> we provide standardized information on the single dates through the following attributes:

- @*when*, if the exact corresponding day in the Gregorian calendar can be arrived at, either through the calendrical elements explicitly stated in the date or with the help of additional information available to the encoder (e.g. data found in another date recorded in the same colophon or in another colophon to the same work); the value of this attribute should supply the value of the date in a standard form, e.g. yyyy-mm-dd;
- @*from* and @*to*, respectively indicating the starting and ending point of the period to be encoded; these attributes should be used only when a "from-to" range is explicitly mentioned in the text.
- @*notBefore* and @*notAfter*: these two attributes provide a time-range for the encoded date. The first reports, in a standard form, the earliest possible date for the encoded event; the second reports the latest possible date for the encoded event. They can also be used singularly.

Additionally, in recording Indic dates from our dataset, there is a relevant element to take into consideration — namely the fact that a date might be a *single-match date* (i.e. convertible into a specific day in the Gregorian calendar), a *cyclical date* (i.e. recurring at regular intervals, typically — but not exclusively — every 60 years, the date being based on a cyclical so-called Jovian year), a *multiple-match date* (i.e. a date that can correspond to two or more days in the Gregorian calendar, but which do not recur cyclically), or *problematic* (i.e. a date that has no correspondence in the Gregorian calendar because it contains wrong calendrical elements). Thus, we opted for including this information in an attribute @type with "cyclical,"[12] "single-match," "multiple-match", or "problematic" as possible values (see **figs. 2–4** below for an application of <date>).

Additionally, in our project, dates are also encoded as modules. The module [date] includes all the layers that a date might express, such as specifications on the year, the month, the day, the season, a festivity, the time, and so forth, expressed through an attribute @type. The following values are accepted for @type:

- *date-koy*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the Kollam year in a date;
- *date-kay*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the Kali year in a date;
- *date-jy*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the Jovian year in a date;
- *date-chy*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the Christian year in a date;
- *date-śy*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the Śaka year in a date;
- *date-sm*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the solar month in a date;
- *date-lm*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the lunar month in a date;
- *date-md*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the day of the month in a date;

[12] Here, as well as in the case of multiple-match dates, it is allowed to include a local <note>, in which possible date conversions, if hypothesized, can be added. At the moment, this information will be stored but probably not used for visualisation purposes.

- *date-wd*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the day of the week (*kiḻamai*, *vāram*) in a date;
- *date-t*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the day of the lunar month (*tithi*);
- *date-p*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the fortnight (*pakṣa*);
- *date-n*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses the constellation (*nakṣatra*);
- *date-o*: this value indicates the fact that the encoded <seg> expresses other components — such as a part of the day (e.g. morning, evening), a season, a half of the year (i.e. the course of the sun, *ayana*, to the south or to the north of the equator), a festivity — in a date.[13]

These values allow the search of all instances of dates and their different layers. As briefly introduced above, a @subtype further describes the structure of the segment, providing information on the specific word-sequences that appear in each segment. The values accepted for the @subtype are three:

- *v*: this abbreviation stands for "value" and is used to indicate any kind of specific name or value which identify a year, month, day, etc. See, for instance, the name *dhātu* in ***dhātu***ṉāmasaṃvatsara, "the year named Dhātu."
- *e*: this abbreviation stands for "expletive" and is used to indicate any kind of specific expletive that might be attached to a value (v), often (but not always) for metrical purposes. See for instance, the expletive *ṉāma* in *dhātu****ṉāma***saṃvatsara, "the year named Dhātu."
- *mk*: this abbreviation stands for "marker" and is used to indicate any word or symbol that might be attached to a value (v) or a value (v) cum expletive (e), whose purpose is to identify the category (year, month, day, etc.) the value belongs to. See for instance, the term "*saṃvatsara*" in *dhātuṉāma****saṃvatsara***, "the year named Dhātu", or the symbol "⟨YJ⟩" (standing for "Jovian year") in *vila* ⟨YJ⟩, "the Jovian year Vila."

[13] Apart from festivities, what is conceptually included in *date-o* is generally not useful for calculating the corresponding date in the Gregorian calendar.

In the case that more than one marker is present in the segment (e.g. in word and in the form of a symbol), the encoder can simply add as many "*mk*" as necessary as the value of the @subtype. These values should be assembled according to the order of appearance in the specific colophon's <seg>. Additionally, to distinguish the different ways that can be used to express a numerical value, we encode the numbers in an element <num> (number), defined by the attributes @type and @value. The four possible values of @type are: "digit-c" (cardinal in digit), "word-c" (cardinal in word), "digit-o" (ordinal in digit), or "word-o" (ordinal in word). We also take into consideration the possibility of having numerals in digit for which it is not explicit whether they are cardinal or ordinal: for them, we use the value "digit-u" (number in digit, unclear).[14]

```
<date type="cyclical" >
  <seg type="date-jy" subtype="v-mk">
    <hi rend="grantha">kharavarṣam</hi></seg>
   <seg type="date-sm" subtype="v-mk">
    <hi rend="grantha">māghamāsam</hi></seg>
  <seg type="date-md" subtype="v-mk" n="digit-o">
    <hi rend="grantha"> <num type="digit-c">27</num></hi> <g facs="#d2">D2</g>
  </seg>
 </date>
```

Fig. 2. Encoding of the [date] module in SUB 35.3008: ***kharavarṣam māghamāsam 27*** ⟨*D*⟩, "year of Khara, month of Māgha, day 27".

In the above example (**fig. 2**), the <seg>s within <date> mark up three different layers of the date. In the first segment, marking up *kharavarṣam* ("the year Khara"), the value of the segment's @type indicates that we are dealing with a Jovian year in a date (date-jy); its @subtype indicates that the year is represented by the name of the year (marked up with the value "v") and an additional marker (mk) for year, here *varṣa*. The same applies for the "date-sm" (solar month) segment, in which *māgha* is the month's value and *māsa* is the marker term for month. Finally, the segment of the day encloses a day of the month (date-md), in which we find the numeric value of the day (27) as well as a symbol marking the

[14] The uncertainty concerns the numbers in Sanskrit words from 11 to 19, as cardinal and ordinal in the range 11–19 are identical. The numbers of days in Tamil, when expressed in words, are always ordinal.

day of the month (mk). The latter is additionally encoded with <g> (glyph),[15] while the digit is marked up by the element <num>, with a @type (digit-c) specifying that it appears as a digit and as a cardinal number.

In slightly more complex examples, several @types are used (**figs. 3–4**).

```
<date type="multiple-match">
  <seg type="date-jy" subtype="v-mk">dhātuvarṣam</seg>
  <seg type="date-sm" subtype="v-mk">puṟattācī <abbr type="abbr" facs="#m"
    >m°</abbr></seg>
  <seg type="date-md" subtype="v-mk">31 <g facs="#d1">D1</g></seg>
  <seg type="date-wd" subtype="v-mk">tiṅkakkiḻamai</seg>
  <seg type="date-ld" subtype="v"><num type="word-o">pañcamī</num></seg>
  <seg type="date-n" subtype="v-mk">punarvasūnakṣatraṃ</seg>
</date>
```

Fig. 3. Encoding of the [date] module in SUB 35. 3363β: ***dhātuvarṣam*** *puṟattācī m° 31* ⟨*D*⟩ *tiṅkakkiḻamai* ***pañcamī punarvasūnakṣatraṃ***, "Year of Dhātu, month of Puṟattācī, 31st day, Monday, fifth [lunar day], constellation of Punarvasū".

```
<date type="single-match" when="1803-01-15">
  <seg type="date-jy" subtype="v-mk"><hi rend="grantha"> dundubhivarṣaṃ</hi></seg>
  <seg type="date-sm" subtype="v-mk"><hi rend="grantha">taimāsaṃ</hi></seg>
  <seg type="date-md" subtype="v-mk"><num type="word-o">n̲ālā<lb type="2" n="118v1"
      facs="#DSC01236-3028"/><hi rend="grantha">n</hi></num><hi rend="grantha">
    teti</hi></seg>
  <seg type="date-wd" subtype="v-mk"><hi rend="grantha">śa</hi><damage extent="4"
    unit="character"><supplied resp="#mafr"><hi rend="grantha"
      >niki</hi></supplied></damage>l̲amai</seg>
  <seg type="date-n" subtype="v-mk" n="fd"><hi rend="grantha">ci</hi>tt<supplied
    reason="omitted-in-original">r</supplied>ā<hi rend="grantha"
    >nakṣatraṃ</hi></seg> inta <hi rend="grantha">śubhadina</hi>ttil </date>
```

Fig. 4. Encoding of the [date] module in SUB 35.3028: ***dundubhivarṣaṃ taimāsaṃ*** *n̲ālā****n teti śa [niki]***l̲amai ***citt<r>ānakṣatraṃ*** *inta* ***śubhadina****ttil*, "Dundubhi year, Tai month, fourth day, Saturday, constellation of Cittrā — on this auspicious day (...)".

---

[15] In our work, symbols used as markers are categorized on the basis of their graphic representation and labelled accordingly: e.g. the symbols for "day" can be classed into two groups, ⟨D1⟩ and ⟨D2⟩. In the present article, though, this categorization has been preserved only in the text represented in the figures; elsewhere it has been ignored and symbols are distinguished only on the basis of the calendrical element they mark: ⟨YJ⟩ (symbol for "Jovian year"), ⟨M⟩ (symbol for "month"), ⟨D⟩ (symbol for "day"). All the graphic representations, reported as sigla in the edition's text, are encoded as <surface>s and recalled through the attribute @facs. In the visualisation, this is displayed as a link that leads either to a pdf or a jpg file, where images of the various glyphs are collected.

For instance, in both examples (**figs. 3–4**), besides the @types and @subtypes seen above, we use in @type the value "date-n" (for date's *nakṣatra*). This can be further specified through the attribute @n (number)[16] that is envisioned to allow the record of same day *nakṣatra*s ("pd", for "present day") or following day *nakṣatra*s ("fd").[17]

3.3. [apology formula]

The module is encoded in quite a simple way: the <seg> bears the attribute @type with value "apo" and, for the moment, no @subtype (**fig. 5**).

```
<seg type="apo">
    <hi rend="grantha">karakṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santaḥ</hi> &#xBF3;
</seg>
```

Fig. 5. Encoding of the [apology] module in SUB 35.3008: ***karakṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santaḥ***, "May the good ones forgive the mistake made by my hand".

3.4. [copying formula]

The module includes any kind of copying formulas transmitting information on the beginning and/or the end of copying; more specifically, in our project, this consists of the exact verb or verbal constructs through which the act of copying is made explicit (e.g. *e̱luti muki-*, etc.). The used element is <seg>, with the @type indicating that the line includes an ending copying formula (expressed by the attribute's value "copFor-end") and the @subtype indicating

---

[16] As per TEI guidelines, the attribute @n might contain as a value "any kind of label for an element, which is not necessarily unique within the document." It does not need to be filled with actual numeric values.

[17] Conventionally, the *nakṣatra* associated with a day is the one which is current at sunrise on that day: this is what we call a "same day *nakṣatra*". However, at some point during that day the following *nakṣatra* (i.e. the *nakṣatra* which will be current at sunrise on the following day and which, as such, is conventionally associated with the following day) becomes astronomically current; at times, this latter *nakṣatra* (called the "following day *nakṣatra*") is recorded by the scribe, in place of the conventionally expected "same day *nakṣatra*".

the specific linguistic formulation to provide this information. The values accepted for @type are two:

- copFor-beg, which indicates that the copying formula provides information on the beginning of copying the manuscript (e.g. *ārampam*);
- copFor-end, which indicates that the copying formula provides information on the end of copying the manuscript (e.g. [...] ***likhitaṃ***);

These two should be used at every occurrence of copying formulas, namely even if in a single colophon there is a copying formula dealing with the beginning of copying as well as one on the end of copying. The values accepted for @subtype are those listed by G. Ciotti in G. Ciotti and M. Franceschini (forthcoming) in the chapter devoted to activities described within the colophons. The chosen values are explicative of the segment's content and, as visible below, make explicit mention of the grammatical structures and/or specific words used in the segment itself.

```
<seg type="copFor-end" subtype="eluti-muki">eḻuti mukiñcutu</seg> |
```

Fig. 6. Encoding of the [copying formula] module in SUB 35.3170: *eḻuti mukiñcutu*, "was fully copied".

```
<seg type="copFor-end" subtype="eḻutiṉa">eḻutiṉa</seg>
```

Fig. 7. Encoding of the [copying formula] module in SUB 35.3028: *eḻutiṉa*, "was copied".

The above encodings (**figs. 6–7**) mark up in @type the fact the scribe is here referring to the end of copying, while the @subtype specifies the main verbal category used to describe the act.

3.5. [copied item]

This module aims at indicating the presence and position of the copied item — namely a fully explicit title of a work, any word for "book", "manuscript", and so forth, as well as any proleptic pronoun — within the colophonic material. The basic encoding should include the usual parent element <seg> and will depend on the level of complexity of the phrase referring to the copied item. For

instance, if the phrase contains a full title and an adjectival pronoun, the @type in <seg> might contain one of the following values (**fig. 8**):

- *copItem* to mark the sources that, as stated in the colophon, are copied by someone;
- *ownItem* to mark the sources that, as stated in the colophon, are owned by someone;
- *cop-ownItem* to mark the sources that, as stated in the colophon, are both copied and owned by the same or different persons.

The @subtype then specifies the form in which the colophon refers to the copied idem. Its values can be: "title", when the actual title of the work appears; "wordMs" (word for manuscript) when any Sanskrit or Tamil word for manuscript or book — such as *pustakam, cuvaṭi*, and so forth — is used; and "pron" (indicating either an adjectival pronoun or a pronoun), which implies the presence of any proleptic or deictic element that refers to either the non-explicitly mentioned manuscript or its explicit reference through the mention of the title or a word for manuscript in the sentence. These values can be combined, as in fig. 7, if needed.

```
<seg type="copItem" subtype="pron-title">
  <rs><hi rend="grantha">idam</hi></rs>
  <seg type="title"><hi rend="grantha">āraṇam praśnāṣṭakam</hi></seg></seg>
```

Fig. 8. Encoding of the [copied item] module in SUB 35.3008: ***idam āraṇam praśnāṣṭakam***, "This *Praśnāṣṭaka* of the *Āraṇa*".

As this example (**fig. 8**) shows, within the main segment, we further mark up each part of the copied item phrase: the pronoun or adjectival pronoun can be marked by a <rs> (referencing string) and the title should be marked up as a <seg> with a @type="title". Additionally, if <rs> is used, this should be specified by an attribute such as @ref, pointing the title's unique @xml:id: this would explicitly indicate the relation and connection between *idam* and *āraṇam praśnāṣṭaka*.[18]

[18] An external authority list containing all the texts from which colophons are taken is under construction. As expected, each of them will have a unique @xml:id and will be referred to where needed.

In cases where a word for book or manuscript is also present, the phrase will be encoded as follows:

```
<seg type="copItem" subtype="title-wordMs">
  <seg type="title">tirumuḻi</seg>
  <seg type="wordMs" subtype="pustakam">po<hi rend="grantha">stakaṃ</hi></seg></seg>
```

Fig. 9. Encoding of the [copied item] module in SUB 35.3170: *tirumuḻipos**takaṃ***, "the manuscript of the *Tirumuḻi*".

The main <seg> maintains "copItem" in the @type's value and informs us that the title is followed by a word for manuscript through its @subtype "title-wordMs". Within this main <seg>, then, the title will be marked as a <seg> with @type="title", while the word for manuscript, here *postakam*, will be encoded as <seg> with @type="wordMs". An additional @subtype might provide the normalised form of the word used for referring to the book/manuscript in that scenario (**fig. 9**).

There are, however, simpler cases in which only the title of the manuscript is mentioned (**fig. 10**).

```
<seg type="copItem" subtype="title">śrīhastigirimāhātmyaṃ</seg>
```

Fig. 10. Encoding of the [copied item] module in SUB 35.3028: ***śrīhastigirimāhātmyaṃ***, "the illustrious *Hastigirimāhātmya*".

3.6. [scribe] and Personal Names

Encoding persons will appear as a mix of <seg> and <persName> elements. A parent <seg> encloses the whole name segment, bearing a @type attribute specifying that we are dealing with "person" (pers) and a @subtype specifying that the person enclosed in the

```
<seg type="pers" subtype="scribe">
  <persName role="scribe"> kiṭāmpi <hi rend="grantha">kṛṣṇamācāluvāsale</hi>
  </persName>
</seg>
```

Fig. 11. Encoding of the [scribe] module in SUB 35.3028: *kiṭāmpi* ***kṛṣṇamācāluvāsale***, "by Kiṭāmpi Kṛṣṇamācāluvāsa".

[19] The external authority list of person names is still under construction.

<seg> is the scribe (**figs. 11–12**). Within that, a simple <persName> (personal name) will refer to an external authority list.[19] A <placeName> (name of place) might of course be added, where needed or deemed useful.

In the chance of more intricate references, as in the latter example (**fig. 12**), where we not only have the name of the scribe but also that of his *kula*, we proceed as before and add an attribute @type in <rs> that allows us to provide information on the structural pattern of the referring string. Here, "v" stands for value and refers to the name of the *kula*, namely *kauṇḍanya*; *kula* is comparable to the "mk" (marker) used in [date], but is here context-dependent. This means that it should be changed according to the word used in the compound, which might be *vaṃśa*, *gotra*, *anvaya*, and so on; finally, we have "s" (suffix), that refers to any term used for indicating that one is "born from," "sprung from" and so on, here *utbhavena*.

```
<seg type="pers" subtype="scribe" n="ins" >
  <rs ref="pers:0000X" type="v-kula-s"><hi rend="grantha">kauṇḍanyakulotbhavena</hi></rs>
  <persName  role="scribe" ><hi rend="grantha">sūryyanārāyaṇena</hi></persName></seg>
```

Fig. 12. Encoding of the [scribe] module in SUB 35.3008: ***kauṇḍanyakulotbhavena sūryyanārāyaṇena***, "by Sūryyanārāyaṇa, who was born in the Kauṇḍanya family".

Additionally, when deemed relevant, we add an attribute @n indicating the grammatical case used to indicate the person by whom the source is copied or to whom it will be donated — instrumental, in the above example[20] — within the <seg> (**fig. 12**). Adding this information might be useful for statistical purposes.

4. Conclusion

As we hope to have shown in this article, despite their concise nature, colophons are loaded with information; the data contained in colophons are useful for better understanding the history of texts as well as the meaningful connections between the actors who, by serving either as scribes or owners, contributed to their production, diffusion, and dissemination.

[20] The values of the attributes consist of the first three letters of the case's name in English, namely "nom", "dat", "ins", and so forth.

If, on the one hand, much remains to be done to account for the complexity of colophonic structures and contents — something that often challenges the development of a consistent and reusable mark-up strategy —, on the other hand, succeeding in this will conceivably allow us to operate on such material in an easier and deeper way than we can do today, permitting a step further in the direction of a real quantitative codicology. Compared to other existing projects, we aim at building a more statistics-oriented encoding, where the focus is laid on highlighting recurring structural, linguistic, syntactic, and thematic patterns — an encoding that, in the long run, could be applied for analysing colophons from manuscripts hailing from the whole of South Asia and beyond. To conclude, we are nonetheless aware of the fact that, in order to be proved effective and avoid pitfalls, the proposed configuration still needs to be tested and honed by being applied to a larger corpus of scribe's and owner's statements.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions and Translations

SUB 35.3005 — *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*, *kāṇḍa* 4 (*padapāṭha*) — 3 Feb. 1577 (?)

SUB 35.3005α — 3 Feb. 1577 (?)

> [36v4] **dhātu**ṉāma**saṃvatsara** māśimāsaṃ 8 ṉāyattikiḷamai cāyintaṟam maṇi 3⟨kku⟩ eḷiti mukiñcittu
>
> It was fully copied in the year called Dhātu, month of Māśi, 8th day, Sunday, three hours into the evening (*cāyintaṟam*, read *cāyantaram*).

The colophon is placed at the centre of the line. The date corresponds to a very early date (1577), but the writing style suggests a far later one (19th century?).

SUB 35.3005β — cyclical date

> [GLv1] **dhātu** ⟨YJ⟩ tai m° 26 mukivu
>
> Completion in the Jovian year Dhātu, month of Tai, 26th day.

If we accept the conversion of SUB 35.3005α (see the relevant note) and if the Jovian year mentioned in the two colophons is the same, then this date would correspond to 22 January 1577.

SUB 35.3006 — *Sāmaparibhāṣā* — 21 Nov. 1849

[42v2] **ity ete saptatiḥ || hariḥ om | ൟ śrīsāmagācāryyebhyo namaḥ | ൟ ṛcas samāptāḥ ||**

saumyākhyāyām api śaradi vā vṛściko[42v3]**jjṛṃbhaṇāy**[[.]]**āṃ pakṣe ṣaṣṭhy\ ā/m ahani viśade (') py abdasābhikhyavāre |**

sarvādvaite svamata iva bhe vaiṣṇave śrīnivā[42v4]**so**

yo saunāmālikhad iha ṛcāṃ pustukaṃ sāmaśākhī | ൟ

karakṛtam aparādhaṃ kṣaṃtum arhantu santaḥ ||

Hariḥ om. Honour to the brahmans of the Sāmaveda! The *ṛc*es are completed.

In the [Jovian year] called Saumya and also in autumn, when the [month] of Vṛścika breaks forth, in the sixth [lunar day] in the bright fortnight, in the day of the week which bears the name of the [Jovian] year (i.e. Saumya, corresponding to Wednesday), in the constellation devoted to Viṣṇu (*bhe vaiṣṇave*, i.e. Śrāvaṇa), Śrīnivāsa — that follower of the Sāman [branch of the Veda] who bears an auspicious name (*saunāmā*) — copied here the manuscript (*pustukaṃ* [sic!]) of the *ṛc*es. May the good ones forgive the mistake made by [my] hand.

The metre of the verse is *mandākrāntā*. The scribe is said to bear an auspicious name (*saunāmā*) probably because Śrīnivāsa is also a name of Viṣṇu. Possibly there is a word play on *bhe vaiṣṇave*: besides the calendrical interpretation as "in the constellation devoted to Viṣṇu (i.e. Śrāvaṇa)", the expression *sarvādvaite svamata iva bhe vaiṣṇave [...]* can also be understood as "[Śrīnivāsa,] being in the splendour of Viṣṇu as he were in his own Sarvādvaita doctrine, [copied here the manuscript of the *ṛc*es]", although the comparison in the latter interpretation is not particularly satisfying.

SUB 35.3008 — *Taittiriyāraṇyaka*, *Prapāṭhaka* 110 — cyclical date

[112r4] **idam āraṇam praśnāṣṭakam kauṇḍanyakulotbhavena sūryyanārāyaṇena likhitam ൟ karakṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santaḥ** [112r5] **ൟ kharavarṣam māghamāsam 27 ⟨D⟩ somāskandagurukkaḷukku āraṇapustakam ānatu sarvajanopakārakam āka** e̲l̲u**ti mukiñcutu | ൟ**

This *Praśnāṣṭaka* of the *Āraṇa* was copied by Sūryyanārāyaṇa, who was born in the Kauṇḍanya family. May the good ones for-

give the mistake made by my hand. Year of Khara, month of Māgha, day 27 — the manuscript of the *Āraṇam* was fully copied for Somāskandagurukkaḷ, benefiting all people.

SUB 35.3009 — *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*

(uninked) [GLr1] **hariḥ om śubham astu avighnam astu pālūru mutsāmikurukkaḷ kumāran su†pi†ramaṇiyan mūṇā aṣṭakaṃ** ൬

Hariḥ om, may there be prosperity, may there be no obstacle. The third Aṣṭaka of Supiramaṇiyan, son of Pālūru Mutsāmikurukkaḷ.

The catalogue wrongly reads *pālūru mutsāmikurukkaḷ* as *pālū rāmasvāmikurukkaḷ* (VOHD II, 7, entry 2275). Pālūru could correspond to Palur, a village in Kanchipuram district. Possibly, Mutsāmikurukkaḷ could be read as (an abbreviation of?) Muttusāmikurukkaḷ.

SUB 35.3024 — *Śivapūjāvidhānasaṃgraha* — cyclical date

SUB 35.3024α — *Śivapūjāvidhānasaṃgraha* — cyclical date

[28v4 or 47v4] vila ⟨YJ⟩ a̲rppici m° 20 ⟨YJ⟩

Year of Vila, month of A̲rppici, 20th day.

Vila is probably an abbreviated form for Vilamba/Viḷampi, name of the 32nd Jovian year. The number of the day is erroneously followed by a symbol ⟨YJ⟩ which is elsewhere used to mark the Jovian year.

SUB 35.3024β — guard leaf

[29r1 or 48r1] **vijanagaram** cakkarakurukaḷ **śrimatkumāraḥ** [[**vasiṣṭa**]]**kāśyapagotrotbhavaāśyāyanasūtrānuṣṭhānake**[29r2 or 48r2]**na śrinivā**[**sena**] **idaṃ somavāravratodyāpanam alekhitam | śrimatṣaṇmukhas sahāyam** — | — **āka** [[.]] **ślokam |** 812 [29r3 or 48r3] **śubham astu**

This *Somavāravratodyāpana* was copied (*alekhitam* [sic!]) by Śrinivāsa, offspring of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, performer of the Āśyāyana [sic!] *sūtra*, illustrious son of Vijanagaram Cakkarakuru. The support of the illustrious Ṣaṇmukha. Total of verses: 812. May there be prosperity.

The name *cakkarakurukaḷ* could be understood to mean either *cañkarakurukaḷ* or *cakrakurukaḷ*. The form *alekhitam* is definitely bizarre, a mix between an aorist and a past passive participle.

SUB 35.3028 — *Hastigirimāhātmya* — 15 Jan. 1803

[117r8] **dundubhivarṣaṃ taimāsaṃ** n̲ālā[117v1]n **teti śa[niki]]** l̲amai citt<r>ā**nakṣatraṃ** inta **śubhadina**ttil kiṭāmpi **kṛṣṇamācāluvāle** el̲utin̲a **śrīhastigirimāhātmyaṃ saṃpū{ṃ}rṇaṃ** ๑

Dundubhi year, Tai month, fourth day (*teti*), Saturday, constellation of Cittrā — in this auspicious day the illustrious *Hastigirimāhātmya* that was copied by Kiṭāmpi Kṛṣṇamācāluvāsa is completed.

The Telugu personal name Kṛṣṇamācālu is marked with an instrumental case, despite the fact that the verbal form *el̲utin̲a* (past participle) is not openly marked as a passive.

SUB 35.3033 — *Rāmāyaṇasārasaṃkṣepa* — 19 Dec. 1802

[34v7] **aviraḷakṛtavarṇabhraṃśane pustake** (') **smi[ṃ] likhitam anavasāne lekharīdūṣaṇaṃ vā |**

viraḷam aviraḷaṃ vā yat kṛtau varṇarāśau karakṛta[34v8] **m aparāthaṃ kṣantum arhanti santaḥ |**

yad akṣarapadabhraṣṭam mātrahīnan tu yat bhav[e] t |

tat sarvaṃ kṣamyatā[n deva] nārāyaṇa namo (')stu te |

visargabindum[ā]treṇa padapādākṣarāṇi ca |

nyūnāni[ś] cātiriktāni kṣa[34v9]**masva puruṣottama |** ๑

dundubhivarṣaṃ dhanurmmāsaṃ 7 **teti** tiṅkaḷkkil̲amai inta **śubhadina**ttil kiṭāmpi **śrīkṛṣṇadāsa**n̲āle e[l̲u]tin̲atu **śrīrāmāyaṇasārasaṃkṣepaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ | śrīnigamāntade[śi] kāya namaḥ |** [34v10] **hariḥ om** ๑

May the good ones forgive the mistake, be it infrequent or frequent, made by the hand in this literary work (*kṛtau*) that has a heap of letters, and the slip of the pen written in this endless manuscript, in which the losses of letters are numerous (*avirala*).

A dropped character (*akṣara*) or word, as well as the deficiency of a mora, may all that be forgiven, o god Nārāyaṇa, honour to you.

Visargas, nasal signs, morae (°*m*[*ā*]*treṇa*, emend into *mātrāṇi*) and words, lines, syllables: may the Supreme Being forgive whether there are too few or too many.

Year Dundubhi, month of Dhanur, 7th day, Monday: in this auspicious day the illustrious *Rāmāyaṇasārasaṃkṣepa* was copied

(*eḻutiṉatu* [sic!]) by Kiṭāmpi Śrīkṛṣṇadāsaṉ; it is completed. Honour to the illustrious Nigamāntadeśika. Hariḥ om.

No day in the Gregorian calendar corresponds to the date in this colophon. Since the scribe is the same who wrote SUB 35.3028 (completed on 15 January 1803), we assume that the day of the week recorded in this date (Monday) is wrong: by correcting it into Sunday, the date corresponds to 19 December 1802, that is around one month before the date in SUB 35.3028. In the translation we understand *saṃpūrṇaṃ* to be an independent sentence, but it seems more plausible that the syntax of the whole sentence is incorrect, with a failed attempt at a passive construction. The combination of a Tamil instrumental and the verbal form *eḻutiṉatu* cannot in fact be found anywhere else.

SUB 35.3051 — *Śivagīta*

SUB 35.3051α — guard leaf

[GLr1] vayalakkāvūr [GLr2] **ekāṃbraṃ śi**[GLr3]**vagītāpustakaṃ** [GLr4] **yogaje<yam>**

The manuscript of the *Śivagītā* of Vayalakkāvūr Ekāṃbraṃ. Victory to *yoga*.

SUB 35.3051β — *Śivagītā* — cyclical date

[41v4] **śrīsāṃbasadāśivāya** ⟨**namaḥ**⟩ ൹ **śubham astu** |

yādṛśaṃ [[.]] **pustakaṃ dṛṣ<ṭ>vā tādṛśaṃ likhitaṃ** [41v5] **mayā** |

abaddhaṃ vā subaddhaṃ vā mama doṣo na vidyate ൹

ānandamūlaguṇapallavatatvaśākhā-

vedāntapuṣpaphalamokṣarasā[41v6] **bhipūrṇaṃ** |

cetovihaṃga śivatalpataruṃ vihāya

saṃsāraśuṣkaviṭape kid idaṃ karoṣi ൹

vikārināmasaṃvatsaraṃ phālgunamāsaṃ [41v7] 19 ⟨D⟩ vayalakkāvūr **e**kā<m>**braṃ svahastalikhitaṃ śivagītākhyagrandhaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ** ൹ **śubham astu**

Honour to the illustrious Sāṃbasadāśiva. May there be prosperity.

As I saw the manuscript, thus I copied it, whether nonsensical or meaningful. No fault is mine.

O bird-like mind, once you have left Śiva who is like a wish-fulfilling tree (read *°kalpa°* for *°talpa°*) that is replete of the sap of liberation in its flowers and fruits that are the Vedānta, [which hang from] its branches that are reality, [born out of] its sprouts that are the qualities, [grown from] its roots that are bliss — what (read *kim* for *kid*) will you do in the withered bush of *saṃsāra*?

Year called Vikāri, month of Phālguna, 19th day — Vayalakkāvūr Ekāmbraṃ copied with his own hand. The text (*°grandhaṃ*) called *Śivagītā* is completed. May there be prosperity.

The expression *śivagītākhyagrandhaṃ* seems to show that the distinction between manuscript and text is not neatly cut in the tradition.

SUB 35.3110 — *Jātakālaṃkāra* — 10 March 1835

[73r5] **śubham astu jayanāmasaṃvatsaraṃ māśimāsam 28** ⟨D⟩ **bhaumavāramuṃ daśamiyaṃ puna**[73r6]**rva<su>nakṣatramuṃ śobhananāmayogamum garakaraṇamum vṛṣabhalagnamuṃ kūḍina śubhadina**ttil — ampainakar vaikānasaṃ keśavaiyaṅkār putran śrīraṃgācālu ye̲lutuki[73r7]n̲r̲atu — **iti jātakālaṃkāraṃ samāptaḥ** ๛

May there be prosperity. In the auspicious day in which the year called Jaya, the month of Māśi, 28th day, Tuesday, the tenth [lunar day], the constellation of Punarvasu, the *yoga* called Śobha, the *karaṇa* of Gara, the *lagna* of Vṛṣabha fall together, Śrīraṃgācālu son of Ampainakar Vaikānasaṃ Keśavaiyaṅkār copied. So the Jātakālaṃkāra is completed.

SUB 35.3112 — *Kālaprakāśika* — 21 July 1802

[101v4] ❀ **dundubhināmasaṃvatsare dakṣiṇāyane** [[**kru**]] **griṣṭmaṛtau āṣāḍamāse kṛṣṇapakṣe saptamyāṃ saumyavāsare revatinakṣatre** [101v5] **sukarmmanāmayoge bavakaraṇe asmin dine nemmili kāśyapagotraśeṣādriyaputreṇa tiruma**[[.]]**lācālu kālaprakāśikajyotiśśāstram** ❀ [102r1] ❀ **svahastalikhitam** ๛ **śrīrukmaṇisatyabhāmāsametaśrīveṇugopālasvāmine namaḥ** || ๛ [102r2] **śrīvighanasamahāgurave namaḥ** ๛ [102r3] **śrīgovindāya namaḥ** ๛ **[102r4] śrīkṛṣṇāya namaḥ** ๛ ❀❀

In the year called Dundubhi, during the Southern course of the sun, in the Summer season, month of Āṣāḍa, dark fortnight,

seventh [lunar day], Wednesday, constellation of Revati, *yoga* called Sukarmma, *karaṇa* of Bava — on that day, Tirumalācālu son of Nemmili Śeṣādri of the Kāśyapa *gotra* copied with his own hand the treatise *Kālaprakāśikajyoti*. Honour to the illustrious Veṇugopālasvāmin together with the illustrious Rukmaṇi (read Rukmiṇī) and Satyabhāmā. Honour to the illustrious Vighanasa-mahāguru (read Vikhānasa°). Honour to the illustrious Govinda. Honour to the illustrious Kṛṣṇa.

The colophon is composed in regular Sanskrit, apart from the Telugu personal name *tirumalācālu*. In the translation we have understood it to be a nominative that carries out the action expressed by *sva-hastalikhitam*; this however implies the presence of a Tamil-like syntactic string within a fully formed Sanskrit sentence. Alternatively, we can think of a mistake and supply an instrumental case, so as to coordinate it properly with °*putreṇa*. However, in which language the case suffix should be (Telugu or Sanskrit?) is dubious.

SUB 35.3169 — *Mumukṣuppaṭi* — 22 Oct. 1790

[98r5] cātāraṇāṇṭ(') arpici murppakkam tetiy ompatu veḷḷik-kaḻamaiy aṉṟu yinta [[.]] **svarūpopāyapuruṣārttha**m āṇa **tiru-mantrārtthaśrīkośattai** comāciyāṇṭ[98r6]āṉ **vaṃśa**m āṇa tiruṇārāyaṇapuratt(') aṟaiyar ciṅkarācāriyar eḻunt(') aruḷap-paṇṇi mukiñcitu || **śrīparāṃkuśamunaye namaḥ | śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrīḥ** ||

On the day of the year Cātāraṇam, [month of] Arpici, bright fortnight, day nine, Friday, Ciṅkarācāriyar, priest (*aṟaiyar*) of Tiruṇārāyaṇapuram, who is in the lineage of Comāciyāṇṭāṉ, finished copying this manuscript of the *Tirumantrārttham*, which is the *Svarūpopāyapuruṣārttham*. Honour to the illustrious Parāṃkuśamuni, *śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī*.

SUB 35.3170 — *Periyatirumoḻi* — cyclical date

[110v4] **śrīyai namaḥ śrīḥ śrīḥ śrīḥ śrīḥ śrīḥ śrīḥ** ๛ ๛ ๛ **śrīyai namaḥ** | aṇṇā**vedāntācāryya**r kuruv aṭikaḷe cara⟨ṇ*m⟩ ๛ [110v5] ruki**rotkā**ri ⟨YJ⟩ aṟpici m° 30 teti tirumuḻipostakaṃ eḻuti mukiñcutu | tiru eṭavintai tiruvā[110v6]ḻiyāḻvāṉ kumārar **kṛṣṇaṃgār postakaṃ karakṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santaḥ** ๛

> Honour to Śrī. *Śrī, śrī, śrī, śrī, śrī, śrī.* Honour to Śrī. The feet of the teacher Aṇṇāvedāntācāryyar are the refuge. Year Rukirotkāri, month of Aṟpici, 30th day, the manuscript of the *Tirumuḻi* is fully copied. The manuscript of Kṛṣṇaṃgār, son of Tiru-eṭavintai Tiruvāḻiyāḻvāṉ. May the good ones forgive the mistake made by my hand.

Probably, *tiru eṭavintai* is an alternative spelling of Tiruviṭaventai, in turn an alternative spelling of Tiruviṭantai (south of Chennai). Kṛṣṇaṃgār can be read in a modern spelling as Kiruṣṇayyaṅkār.

SUB 35.3188 — *Prayogadarpaṇa* and other texts on *dharma* — 22 September 1859

SUB 35.3188α — guard leaf

> (uninked) [GL2r2] tūppil **rāghavadāsan** [GL2r3] **prayogadarpaṇaṃ pā**[GL2r4]ttu **anugrahi**ttu **prasā**[GL2r5]**dam āha s\ā/di**tt(') aruḷa vēṇ[GLr6]ṭiyatu
>
> One should kindly read, favour, and gently oil (*sāditt*u) the *Prayogadarpaṇam* of Tūppil Rāghavadāsan.

The interpretation of *sāditt*u as "oiling" is based on the recorded meaning of "to rub on carefully, as oil [...]" recorded by Winslow 1862, *s.v.* சாதி, and repeated by the *Tamil Lexicon*, too. Whether this is the actual meaning in this passage remains unclear, since this is the only occurrence we have encountered so far, but it definitely makes sense in this context.

SUB 35.3188β — *Prayogadarpaṇa*

> [54v8] (invocations) tūppil **r̲ākava[dā]san svahastalikhita** ൧ [54v9] **karakṛtam aparādhaṃ kṣama†ddhvaṃ†**

Tūppil R̲ākavadāsan copied by his own hand. May you forgive the mistake made by my hand.

SUB 35.3188γ — *Prathamopakarmaśānti* — 22 Sep. 1859

> [55v5] **siddhārtthināmasaṃvatsara**ṃ puṟaṭṭāci m° [55v6] 8 ⟨D⟩ **vyā. ekādaśi** 55 — **puṣyaṃ** 56 | yinta **śubhadina**ttil **prayogadarpaṇaṃ** tūppil **rāghavadāsa**ṉāle muḻuñcutu [55v7] yitu ariñcu **anugra**hikka vēṇṭiyatu ൧
>
> On this auspicious day of the year called Siddhārtthin, month of Puṟaṭṭāci, 8th day, Thursday, the eleventh [lunar day that ends

at the] 55th [*nāḻikai*], [constellation of] Puṣyaṃ [that ends at the] 56th [*nāḻikai*], Tūppil Rāghavadāsaṉ completed the *Prayogadarpaṇam*. Knowing this, one should be favourable.

The expression *yitu ariñcu anugrahikka vēṇṭiyatu* seems to be a request of the scribe for a positive attitude towards himself. In the date, *vyā.* is most probably an abbreviation for *viyāḻakkiḻamai*, "Thursday" (which fits in with the other calendrical elements). A *nāḻikai*, the so-called "Indian hour", corresponds to 1/60th of a day, that is 24 minutes.

SUB 35.3224 — *Śanikavaca* — cyclical date

SUB 35.3224α — *Śanikavaca* — cyclical date

[65v6] **bahudhānyanāmasaṃvatsaraṃ māśimāsaṃ kṛṣṇapakṣaṃ** 12 **tedi prabodhacandrodayavyākhyānaṃ yelidi saṃpū**[65v7]**rṇam** āyi **ācidi | kāveripākkaṃ muttaṇṇā svahastalikhitaṃ grandhaś ca saṃpūrṇaḥ** ൧ || **alaṃkāravallīsametaśrīmuktīśvaracaraṇāravindābhyān namaḥ** ൧ || **sāṃbāya gurave namaḥ** ൧ ||| ൧ || ൧ || [65v8] ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜

Year called Bahudhānya, month of Māśi, dark fortnight, 12th day — the commentary of the *Prabodhacandrodaya* is fully copied. Kāveripākkaṃ Muttaṇṇā copied with his own hand and the manuscript is complete. Honour to the illustrious the lotus-like feet of Muktīśvara together with Alaṃkāravallī. Honour to the teacher Sāṃba.

SUB 35.3299 — 1) *Yādavagirimāhatmya* (*Nāradīyapurāṇa*) 2) *Śvetagirimahātmya* (*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*) 3) *Satyakṣetramahātmya* (*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*)

SUB 35.3299α — *Yādavagirimāhatmya* (*Nāradīyapurāṇa*) — cyclical date

[46r5] **śrīmannārāyaṇaparabrahmaṇe** ⟨namaḥ⟩ | ൧ **hariḥ om grandham** 1500 ൧ **śrīraṃganāyakīsame**[46r6] **taśrīraṃganāthaparabrahmaṇe** ⟨namaḥ⟩ | **yāda<va>girimāhātmyaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ** ൧ **śrīmacchrīveṃkaṭāryyamahādeśikāya** ⟨namaḥ⟩ | ൧ **śārvarīnāmasaṃvatsaraṃ mākhamāsaṃ** 19 ⟨D⟩ yeḻuti mu[46r7]kiñcutu **śrīnivāsan svahastalikhitaṃ** | (invocations)

Honour to the illustrious Nārāyaṇaparabrahman. Hariḥ om. [Number of] *grandha*s 1500. Honour to the illustrious Raṃganāthaparabrahman together with Raṃganāyakī. The *Yādavagirimāhātmyam* is complete. Honour to the illustrious Veṃkaṭāryyamahādeśika. It was fully copied in the year called Śārvarī, month of Mākha (read Māgha), 19th day. Śrīnivāsan copied with his own hand. (invocations)

SUB 35.3299β — *Śvetagirimahātmya* (*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*) — cyclical date

[20v2] **śārvarināmasaṃvatsaraṃ** mārukaḻi ⟨M⟩ 30 ⟨D⟩ **śvetagirimāhātmyaṃ** yeḻuti [[.]] mukiñcutu **śrīnivāsan svahastalikhitaṃ | śrīmac chrīveṃkaṭāryyamahādeśikāya namaḥ | śrīyai namaḥ ||** [20v3] ⟨āka⟩ **śvetagirimāhātmyaṃ** 10 ⟨varaikkum⟩ **ślokaṃ** 558

Year called Śārvari, month of Mārukaḻi, 30th day — the *Śvetagirimāhātmya* was fully copied. Śrīnivāsan copied with his own hand. Honour to the illustrious Śrīveṃkaṭāryyamahādeśika. Honour to Śrī. The total of the *śloka*s up to Śvetagirimāhātmyam [chapter] 10 is 558.

SUB 35.3299γ — *Satyakṣetramahātmya* (*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*) — cyclical date

[18v3] **plavaṃganāmasaṃvatsaraṃ** mārkaḻi ⟨M⟩ 2 ⟨D⟩ yeḻuti mukiñcatu ceṭṭalūr **śrīnivāsan** (lacuna due to broken folio)

It was fully copied in the year called Plavaṃga, month of Mārkaḻi, 2nd day. Ceṭṭalūr Śrīnivāsan ...

SUB 35.3363 — *Nālāyiraprabandha* (Ālvārkal)

SUB 35.3363α — multiple-match date

[16v1] [[**rudhirodgarī**]]**dundubhivarṣaṃ** paṅkuṉiy utta**raṃ paurṇami**yil eḻutinatu tiruṉārāyaṇapurattile

In the year Dundubhi, [month of] Paṅkuṉi, [under the constellation of] Uttaram, day of Full Moon, [the manuscript] was copied in Tiruṉārāyaṇapuram.

The word *tiruṉārāyaṇapurattile* should correspond to Thirunarayanapuram in Tamil Nadu (and should not correspond to the homonymous alternative name of Melkote in Kerala).

Note the peculiar way in which ***rṇa*** appears in ***paurṇami***yil [16v1].

The date is indeterminable because several days in the Gregorian calendar fit in: 6 March 1623, 2 March 1683 (next-day *tithi* and next-day *nakṣatra*), 3 April 1863 (next-day *tithi*) and, accepting small inaccuracies, also 27 February 1743 (it was the last day of the month of Māci, thus not Paṅkuṉi yet) and 27 March 1743 (*tithi* and *nakṣatra* do not overlap for a few hours).

SUB 35.3363β — 14 October 1816

> [18r pencil, line 1] **dhātuvarṣam** puṟattācī m° 31 ⟨D⟩ tiṅkakkiḻamai **pañcamī punarvasūnakṣatraṃ** || ൭

> Year of Dhātu, month of Puṟattācī, 31st day, Monday, fifth [lunar day], constellation of Punarvasū.

All the calendrical elements in the date agree on 14 October 1816 with the exception of the *tithi*, which is wrongly recorded as being the fifth (*pañcamī*), but should be the eighth.

SUB 35.3366 — *Tiruvāymoḻi*

SUB 35.3366 — guard leaf

> [GLr1] pakavatviṣa[yam] [GLr2] yiruvattu ṉālā[yirappa]ṭi [GLr3] oṉpatā pattu [GLr4] aḻacaiyūr naṟacimmācāriyar **śrī**kocam

> The ninth decade of the *Pakavatviṣayam Yiruvattu Ṉālāyirappaṭi*. The manuscript of Aḻacaiyūr Naṟacimmācāriyar.

Appendix 2: Working Visualisations

As for now, we have developed a transformation scenario through XSLT (Extensible Stylesheet Language Transformation) that only displays editorial and historical information, the various <seg>s serving mostly statistical purposes (partially visible in **figs. 13–15**). The visualisation is interactive and clickable: for instance, the first element marking the numeration of the encoded folio leads to the picture of the folio itself; in the same fashion, a link leads to the relevant folio, whenever a folio-change happens. Moreover, the symbols for years, days, months, and so on (e.g.⟨D⟩in 35.3008 or⟨YJ⟩ and m° or⟨D⟩in 35.3363β) are clickable, leading to a table-like content, where pictures of each symbol, from the various manuscript sources, have been collected by G. Ciotti and M. Franceschini: in

Colophon of *Taittiriyāraṇyaka*

Author: Giovanni Ciotti

Author: Marco Franceschini

Settlement: Hamburg, Germany

Repository: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB), Hamburg Universität

Reference number: SUB_30.3008

Manuscript of the *Taittiriyāraṇyaka*, 1-10 (*padapāṭha*).

Edition

[112r4] **idaṃ āraṇaṃ praśnāṣṭakam kauṇḍanyakulotbhavena** sūryyanārāyaṇena **likhitam** ৩ **karakṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santaḥ** ৩ [112r5] **kharavarṣam māghamāsam 27** ⟨D2⟩

Translation

This Praśnāṣṭaka of the Āraṇa was copied by Sūryyanārāyaṇa, who was born in the Kauṇḍanya family (kula°). May the good ones forgive the mistake made by [my] hand. Year of Khara, month of Māgha, day 27 – the manuscript of the Āraṇam was fully copied for Somāskandagurukkaḷ, benefiting all people.

[item] [scribe] [copying formula] [apology] [date]

Fig. 13. Possible visualisation for SUB 35.3008.

Colophon of the *Hastigirimāhātmya*

Author: Giovanni Ciotti

Author: Marco Franceschini

Settlement: Hamburg, Germany

Repository: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB), Hamburg Universität

Reference number: SUB_35-3028

Manuscript of the *Hastigirimāhātmya*.

Edition

[117r8] **dundubhivarṣaṃ taimāsaṃ** ṇālā°[118v1]**n teti śa**[[**niki**]]amai **c**itt<r>**ānakṣatraṃ** inta **śubhadin**attil eḷutiṇa **śrīhastigirimāhātmyaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ** ৩

Translation

Dundubhi year, Tai month, fourth day, Saturday, constellation of Cittrā – on this auspicious day, the illustrious Hastigirimāhātmya that was copied by Kiṭāmpi Kṛṣṇamācāluvāsa is completed.

[date] [scribe] [copying formula] [item] [copying formula]

Fig. 14. Possible visualisation for SUB 35.3028.

Colophon of *Nālāyiraprabandha*

Author: Giovanni Ciotti

Author: Marco Franceschini

Settlement: Hamburg, Germany

Repository: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB), Hamburg Universität

Reference number: SUB_35.3363β

Manuscript of the *Nālāyiraprabandha*.

▸ Notes

Edition

[18r1] puṟattācī ⟨m°⟩ 31 ⟨D1⟩ tiṅkakkiḻamai **pañcamī punarvasūnakṣatraṃ** ‖ ৩

Translation

Year of Dhātu, month of Puṟattācī, 31st day, Monday, fifth [lunar day], constellation of Punarvasū.

[date]

Fig. 15. Possible visualisation for SUB 35. 3363β.

this way, the reader has the chance to see how the symbol appears in the sources. We also foresee the possibility of making person names clickable; to begin with, it is possible, within the colophon, to view the role of a person (e.g. scribe, owner, receiver, father [of the scribe, owner], etc.) by hovering over its name with the mouse.

Conventions

[GL]	Guard leaf
ൟ	*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*
❉	*puṣpikā* (found inside the text block)
❀	*puṣpikā* (found on the margins of the folio)
⟨YJ⟩	symbol for "Jovian year"
m°	abbreviation for "month"
⟨M⟩	symbol for "month"
⟨D⟩	symbol for "day"
⟨āka⟩	Tamil *āka* ("total")
⟨kku⟩	Tamil dative suffix *-kku*
⟨ṇ*m⟩	Tamil *°ṇam* or *°ṇum*
⟨namaḥ⟩	Sanskrit *namaḥ* ("obedience")
⟨varaikkum⟩	Tamil *varaikkum* ("until", "up to")
(')	Sanskrit *avagraha* not present in the manuscript and Tamil dropped *kuṟṟiyalukaram*
\a/	graph inserted interlineally from above
†a†	*cruces desperationis*, graph(s) guessed by the editor
[[.]], [[a]]	graph(s) deleted by the scribe
<a>	graph(s) incorrectly omitted but added by the editor
[a]	missing graph(s) due to damage, restored by the editor

References

Secondary Sources

Ajotikar, Anuja P., Tanuja P. Ajotikar, and Peter M. Scharf. 2016. "Colophons in Sanskrit Manuscripts: A Study of the Sanskrit Library Manuscript Catalogue of Manuscripts at Harvard University, the University

of Pennsylvania, and Brown University". Banaras Hindu University: Banaras Hindu University.

Buriola Giulia, Ciotti Giovanni, and Franceschini Marco. Forthcoming. "Palm-leaf Manuscript Profiling Initiative Encoding Guidelines". Technical Report. Hamburg University.

Balogh, Dániel, and Arlo Griffiths. 2020. "DHARMA Encoding Guide for Diplomatic Editions." Technical Report. EFEO; Humboldt-Universität (Berlin); CEIAS-Centre d'Études de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud.

Ciotti, Giovanni. 2022. "Scribe, Owner, or Both? Some Ambiguities in the Interpretations of Personal Names in Colophons from Tamil Nadu" in *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study across Pothi Manuscripts* edited by Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, 149–170. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Ciotti, Giovanni and Franceschini, Marco. 2016. "Certain Times in Uncertain Places: A Study on Scribal Colophons of Manuscripts Written in Tamil and Tamilian Grantha Scripts" *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* edited by Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin, 59–130. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Ciotti, Giovanni and Marco Franceschini. Forthcoming. *Vijayatetarām Etat Grandhaḥ* [sic!] (*This Manuscript Is most Victorious*).

Franceschini, Marco. 2022. "A Modular Framework for the Analysis of the Dates Found in Manuscripts Written in the Tamil and Tamilian Grantha Scripts" *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study across Pothi Manuscripts* edited by Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, 171–208. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Griffiths, Arlo and Axelle Janiak. 2023. "DHARMA Encoding Guide for Critical Editions".

TEI Consortium. 2007. "About these Guidelines" in *TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange [4.5.0]*" (last modified 2022–10–25) edited by TEI Consortium: xvii.

Online Resources

École française d'Extrême-Orient (Paris, France), in collaboration with HiSoMA Research Centre (Lyon, France). "Early Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa." Accessed February 14, 2025. <http://hisoma.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/EIAD>

FOSTER consortium. (2018, November 26). *What is Open Science?* Zenodo. Accessed February 14, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.2629946>

"SARIT: Search and Retrieval of Indic Texts (New)." Accessed February 14, 2025. <https://sarit.indology.info/sarit-pm/works>

"Siddham. The Asian Inscription Database." Accessed February 14, 2025. <https://siddham.network>

List of Figures

Fig. 1. Visualisation of the two modules in the encoding for colophon SUB 35.3005α.

Fig. 2. Encoding of the [date] module in SUB 35.3008: ***kharavarṣam māghamāsam*** *27* ⟨*D*⟩, "year of Khara, month of Māgha, day 27".

Fig. 3. Encoding of the [date] module in SUB 35.336β: ***dhātuvarṣam*** *puṟattācī m° 31* ⟨*D*⟩ *tiṅkakkiḻamai* ***pañcamī punarvasūnakṣatraṃ***, "Year of Dhātu, month of Puṟattācī, 31st day, Monday, fifth [lunar day], constellation of Punarvasū".

Fig. 4. Encoding of the [date] module in SUB 35.3028: ***dundubhivarṣaṃ taimāsaṃ*** *ṉālā****n teti śa [niki]***ḻ*amai* ***ci****tt<r>ā****nakṣatraṃ*** *inta* ***śubhadina****ttil*, "Dundubhi year, Tai month, fourth day, Saturday, constellation of Cittrā — on this auspicious day (...)".

Fig. 5. Encoding of the [apology] module in SUB 35.3008: ***karakṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhanti santaḥ***, "May the good ones forgive the mistake made by my hand".

Fig. 6. Encoding of the [copying formula] module in SUB 35.3170: *eḻuti mukiñcutu*, "was fully copied".

Fig. 7. Encoding of the [copying formula] module in SUB 35.3028: *eḻutiṉa*, "was copied".

Fig. 8. Encoding of the [copied item] module in SUB 35.3008: ***idam āraṇam praśnāṣṭakam***, "This *Praśnāṣṭaka* of the *Āraṇa*".

Fig. 9. Encoding of the [copied item] module in SUB 35.3170: *tirumuḻipo****stakaṃ***, "the manuscript of the *Tirumuḻi*".

Fig. 10. Encoding of the [copied item] module in SUB 35.3028: ***śrīhastigirimāhātmyaṃ***, "the illustrious *Hastigirimāhātmya*".

Fig. 11. Encoding of the [scribe] module in SUB 35.3028: *kiṭāmpi* ***kṛṣṇamācāluvāsale***, "by Kiṭāmpi Kṛṣṇamācāluvāsa".

Fig. 12. Encoding of the [scribe] module in SUB 35.3008: ***kauṇḍanyakulotbhavena sūryyanārāyaṇena***, "by Sūryyanārāyaṇa, who was born in the Kauṇḍanya family".

Fig. 13. Possible visualisation for SUB 35.3008.

Fig. 14. Possible visualisation for SUB 35.3028.

Fig. 15. Possible visualisation for SUB 35.3363β.

Towards a History of the BnF Collection of Tamil Manuscripts

Emmanuel Francis (CNRS)

This paper a seminal study of the history of the collection of Tamil manuscripts in the BnF, providing preliminary observations on the main sub-collections by chronological order.

1. Introduction

The national library of France (Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF[1]) in Paris has in its collections more than 650 Tamil manuscripts, which constitute the largest and the richest collection of Tamil manuscripts outside India.

The BnF collection of Tamil manuscripts is unique for several reasons. First, it started to be constituted as early as in the late 1720s, when Tamil manuscripts were dispatched to the then "bibliothèque du roi" by the Jesuits of the Carnate mission in Pondicherry. Second, it comprises the Tamil manuscripts collected between 1845 and 1854 by Édouard Ariel (acquired in 1866), who was knowledgeable in Tamil literature and was able to acquire a representative collection of Tamil texts, with several copies dating back to the eighteenth century. Had these manuscripts not entered the BnF collection at such an early date, many would probably not have survived under the South Indian climate. The BnF collection of Tamil manuscripts thus comprises, outstandingly, a significant proportion of old Tamil manuscripts.

Having spent more than 100 days examining more than 350 Tamil manuscripts in the BnF Richelieu manuscripts reading room, I venture here to offer some preliminary observations about the history of this collection.

---

[1] The name BnF will be used in the following pages to refer to this library under the different names it had during its long history. On the successive names of the BnF, see Petit (2014: 438, fn. 4).

To assess the provenance of the BnF Tamil manuscripts the summary catalogue by Cabaton (1912) provided the first information. This had been complemented perusing the BnF entry registers (acquisitions and donations) as well as earlier handlists and catalogues. We will introduce these precious sources first, before discussing the main identified sub-collections of BnF Tamil manuscripts.

2. Handlists and Catalogues

Various lists of books sent by the Jesuits of the Carnate Mission contain Tamil manuscripts. These dispatch lists, apparently by the hand of Le Gac, the head of the Pondicherry mission, describe the successive consignments of books:

- The "Memoire des Livres Malabares et Talanga envoyés en France par les Peres Jesuites de Pontichery, pour être mis à la Biblioteque du Roy" (NAF 5442, f5rv[2]) concerns the books sent in 1729 and 1730.
- The "Memoire des Livres Tamouls et Talanga envoyés en France pour la Biblioteque du Roy par les Peres Jesuites de la mission de Carnate" (NAF 5442, f9rv[3]; **fig. 1**) concerns the books sent in 1729, 1730, 1732, and 1733. It thus partly covers the preceding list, but orders the manuscripts differently.
- The "Memoire des Livres malabares, envoyés à la Biblioteque du Roy, par les Peres Jesuites de Pontichery en janvier 1734" (NAF 5442, f11rv[4]) concerns the books sent in 1734. A marginal note records their entry in the library on April 10th, 1737, after they had been lost from sight.
- The "Etat des Livres Malabares envoyés à la Biblioteque du Roy par les Peres Jesuites de Pontichery en 1735" (NAF 5442, f13r[5])

[2] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f17>

[3] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f31>. Published in Omont (1902: 1188–1190).

[4] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f35>. Published in Omont (1902: 1190–1191).

[5] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f39>. Published in Omont (1902: 1191–1192).

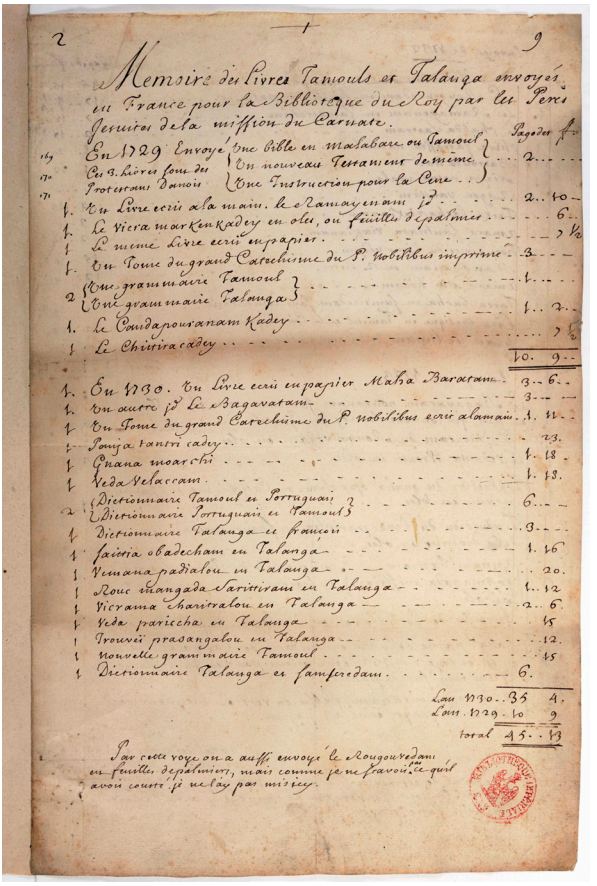


Fig. 1. NAF 5442, f9r. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

concerns the books sent in 1735. A marginal note records their entry in the library on February 1st, 1737.

These dispatch lists have been used to prepare the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae, Tomus primus, Pars prima, complectens codices manuscriptos orientales*, published in 1739, of which we have several handwritten drafts entitled *Libri Indorum* (BnF Latin 17715, f1ff., f22ff., f49ff.). This catalogue contains among the earliest, if not the earliest, Tamil manuscripts ever described in Europe in a printed catalogue, among the 287 Indian manuscripts (*codices indici*) described in pages 434–448.[6] These Pondicherry dis-

[6] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k140995x/f437>.

patch lists have also been used and compiled by Burnouf (BnF Papiers Burnouf 34, f134rv) and by Feer (Indien 578, U1, f1–f2[7]).
In February 1845, Velanguani Arokium (Vēḷāṅkaṇṇi Ārōkkiyam), a Catholic Christian from Pondicherry,[8] completed, most probably in Paris, a handwritten "catalogue" of Tamil manuscripts (BnF NAF 5443), in two parts:[9]

- A first list (f2r–f4v) describes 26 items (nos. 1–6, 8–27; no. 7 is missing), comprising most, if not all, of the Reydellet manuscripts received in 1833.[10] Manuscripts described in this list bear corresponding numbers (in black ink usually) on their first folio.
- A second list describes the Ducler manuscripts acquired in 1833 (f5r–f10r, 38 items, nos. 1–38). This list has been continued by another hand (f10v–f11r, nos. 39–47), adding 9 manuscripts, that is, 7 from the Arsenal library and 2 from the Sainte Geneviève library.

In fact, Velanguani Arokium does not describe manuscripts but summarises Tamil works with references to manuscript copies recently arrived in the BnF.
In the late 1860s,[11] Julien Vinson, made a handwritten catalogue of Tamil manuscripts in two parts:

- Indien 1061 contains first the biographical accounts of Ducler and Ariel, followed by the description of Tamoul 1–132 (old shelfmark), that is, Indien 1–132 (new shelfmark).
- Indien 1062 contains the description of Tamoul 133–204 (old shelfmark), that is, Indien 133–204 (new shelfmark).

This handwritten draft version has corrections in red ink. It contains sometimes very detailed descriptions of Tamoul 1–204, which

[7] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536333r/f7>.
[8] This information appears on the title page, by a later hand (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10527869m/f11>).
[9] On this catalogue, see also Colas & Colas-Chauhan (1995: 21, fn. 104).
[10] All the Reydellet manuscripts (27 items, see below) have not been traced yet.
[11] Vinson prepared this catalogue between 1865 and 1867, according to Colas & Colas-Chauhan (1995: 13, 21), between 1866 and 1867, according to Feer (?) (BnF Indien 577, title page, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105375868/f7>).

exist in the form of printed proof-reading sheets, which however were never published. These proof-readings are available in two copies: one is not corrected (Vinson 1868), and the other, corrected, is included in Indien 577 (U1), that is, Vinson et al. (1866–). The latter copy is completed (U2) with pasted handwritten description by Vinson for Tamoul 205–496, that is, Indien 205–496 (new shelfmark).

Following Vinson, Léon Feer, in the latter part of the 19th century continued the descriptions of the BnF Tamil manuscripts, that is, Tamoul 497–574. These summary descriptions are also found in Indien 577 (U3), whereas Indien 578, mentioned above for its compiled list of manuscripts sent by the Pondicherry Jesuits (U1), also contains an alphabetical list of Tamil manuscripts (U2) by Feer.[12]

In 1912, the *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Indiens, Indo-Chinois & Malayo-Polynésiens* by Cabaton was published. This catalogue, based on Vinson's and Feer's earlier descriptions, contains summary descriptions of the Tamil manuscripts, under their new shelfmarks "Indien" instead of "Tamoul".[13] The copy of this catalogue, which covers Indien 1–936, available in the BnF manuscript reading room, contains further handwritten descriptions up to Indien 1064, which sometimes indicate provenance.

Today, in the era of digital humanities, more than half of the approximately 650 Tamil manuscripts of the BnF are now described, in unprecedented minute details, in the TST online catalogue, accompanied by digital images linked to the descriptions.[14]

---

[12] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536333r/f15>

[13] This shelfmark conversion entailed some numbers' reallocation and also some confusion, complicated by the fact that Vinson's shelfmarks (in Vinson et al. 1866–) for Tamoul 205–496 are themselves updated numbers (the older "Tamoul" shelfmark is crossed-out and replaced by a new "Tamoul" shelfmark). For instance, Tamoul 159 became Indien 168, whereas Indien 159 is currently unattributed. As for Tamoul 168, I have not been able to trace it. Cabaton also abridged the information found in Vinson's catalogues. For instance, as noted by D'Avella (2020: 232 fn26), in respect of approximate dates by Vinson, "Cabaton usually drops "vers" [that is, "approximately"] so that one has the impression that the date is based on more precise evidence than it is."

[14] <https://tst-project.github.io/mss>. A growing portion of these descriptions is currently being exported to the online BnF manuscripts catalogue (<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/pageCollections.html?col=1>). Any

Let us now, on the basis of the provenance information gathered from these different registers, handlists and catalogues, describe the main sub-collections of Tamil manuscripts, by date of entry in the BnF collections.

3. "Ancien Fonds" (before 1739)

According to Cabaton (1912), based on Vinson and Feer, there are 18 Tamil manuscripts (mostly paper ones) from the "Ancien fonds" (Indien 189, 190, 192, 222–223, 227, 257–258, 268, 339, 410, 421, 430, 451, 454, 459–460, 463), that is, manuscripts described in the 1739 *catalogus*, as *codices indici*.[15] As it appears, these manuscripts are in fact among those sent from 1729 up to at least 1735 (up to 1737 according to Omont 1902: 850), by the Jesuits of the Carnate Mission at Pondicherry for the "bibliothèque du roi" in Paris. From the available lists by Le Gac, mentioned above and collated by Feer (Indien 578, see above), more of these can be identified, surely or tentatively, that is, Indien 259, 275–276, 297, 338, 410, 422, 452, 453, 481, 563a, 502.

What follows is the list of these manuscripts, traced thanks to the dispatch lists, handwritten lists and printed catalogues. They are referred to by date of dispatch and number in the dispatch list found in NAF 5442, f9rv; summary of description in dispatch lists; cod. ind. number in 1739 *catalogus*, if assessed; BnF Indien number; title in the manuscript:[16]

- 1729.1: "Bible en Malabar ou Tamoul" = cod. ind. 1 = Indien 451–453 (**fig. 2**): *Callāpaṅkaḷ*, that is, "dialogues," based on the Old Testament. This is a 3-volume palm-leaf manuscript described as a single manuscript in the 1739 *catalogus*: "codex corticeus, quo continentur Veteris Teſtamenti libri, nempe Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Joſue, Judices, Ruth,

---

further descriptions (or updated descriptions) will be available on the TST online catalogue only.

[15] On the acquisition of Indian manuscripts for the "bibliothèque du roi" at the initiative of Abbé Bignon, see Omont (1902: 828ff.) and, on the Telugu manuscripts specifically, Colas (1997, 2012).

[16] See growing list on <https://tst-project.github.io/collections/bnf/ancienfonds>.

quatuor libri regum, Paralipomena, Eſdras, Tobias, Eſther, Judith, Job, Machabaei; omnia in linguam Malabaricam ſeu Tamulicam tranſlata." Indien 451 contains dialogues based on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, Indien 452 on Joshua, Judges, Kings 1, and Kings 2, and Indien 453 on Kings 4, Paralipomenon, Ezra, Tobit, Esther, Judith, Job, and Maccabee. Richard (1989) convincingly argues that this multi-volume manuscript could be the oldest known translation of the Bible into Tamil, made between 1666 and 1677 by the capuchin fathers Ephrem de Nevers (1607/10–1695) and Zénon de Baugé (1603?–1687).

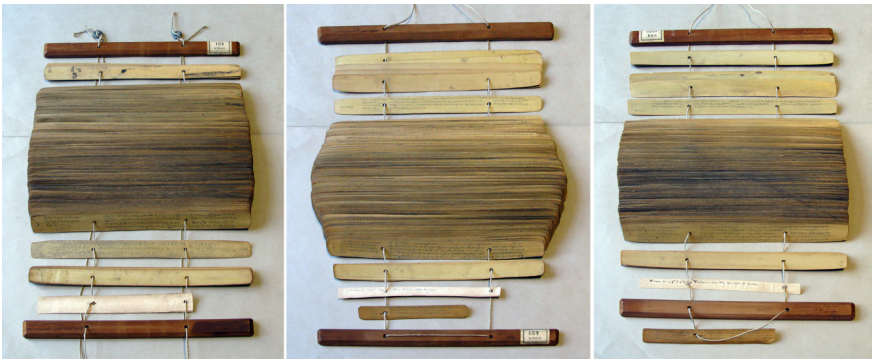


Fig. 2. Indien 451–453. Photos by Emmanuel Francis.

- 1729.2: "Un nouveau Testament de même [= en Malabar ou Tamoul]" = cod. ind. 3 = Indien 454: *Callāpaṅkaḷ* (palm-leaf), that is, "dialogues," based the New Testament.
- 1729.5: "Vicramarkenkadey" (palm-leaf) = cod. ind. 13 = Indien 422: a palm-leaf *Vikkiramātittaṉ Patumaikkatai*, that is, a Tamil version of the *Vikramacarita*. There are two palm-leaf manuscripts of the Vikrama stories in Tamil in the BnF, both without known provenance. Indien 422 is dated to 1775 according to Vinson (in Vinson et al. 1866–), whereas Indien 424 is not dated by Vinson, but contains in fact a colophon in the Maṉmata year of the Jovian cycle, which could correspond to 1715–1716, 1775–1776, 1835–1836 CE.[17] It appears that Vinson

[17] *maṉmata {varuṣam} Āṉi {mācam} 17 {tēti} maṅkaḷavārat=til kāṇiyāmpāk=kam*

associated, by oversight, the colophon information found in Indien 424 to Indien 422. Indien 422 appears as the best option as it bears a shelfmark "N° 13" in black ink (U1), which seems to correspond to cod. ind. 13, and as the copyist is a Christian, as attested by the blessings he used.[18]

- 1729.6: "le même [= Vicramarkenkadey]" (paper) = cod. ind. 14 = Indien 421: a paper *Vikkiramātittaṉ Patumaikkatai*.
- 1729.7: "un tome du grand Catéchisme du P. Nobilibus imprimé" & 1730.3: "un tome du grand Catéchisme du P. Nobilibus écrit à la main" = cod. ind. 5–6 = Indien 459 (Kāṇṭam 1–2) and Indien 460 (Kāṇṭam 3): a paper *Ñāṉayupatēcam* / *Ñāṉōpatēcam* by Nobili, in two volumes.[19]
- 1729.8: "une grammaire tamoul" = cod. ind. 207 = Indien 189: a Tamil Grammar by Father de La Lâne, written in 1728 in Pondicherry on paper.[20]
- 1729.10: "Candapouranam Kadey" = Indien 338: a paper *Kantapurāṇakkaṭai*.
- 1729.11: "Chittiracadey" = Indien 430: a paper *Cittirakkaṭaikaḷ*. Margherita Trento pointed out to me the recent edition of this text (*Cittirakkaṭaikaḷ* 2021) attributed by the editors to Beschi.

---

mutalippiḷḷai citamparaṇātamutaliyar kumaṟaṉ mutalippiḷ⟨ḷ⟩ai Appu In=ta muppat=tu reṇṭu kataiyu=M Eḻuti mutin=tatu mut=tum (U1, f40r4).

[18] See e.g. *Ēcu-mariyē tuṇai* (U1, f94v4).

[19] See letter by Le Gac, dated 1729, in Omont (1902, p. 838): "Dans le peu de temps que j'ay eu pour faire cette recherche, j'ay fait transcrire quelques livres gentils. J'envoye le grand Catéchisme, que le P. Robert de Nobilibus a composé en deux tomes." Le Gac's list NAF 5442, f5r states for 1729.4 (= 1729.7 of Le Gac's list NAF 5442, f9r) "le 2^{e} et 3^{e} Tome du grand Catechisme du Pere de nobilibus de la comp^{e} fondateur de la mission de Madurey et ſont imprimés" and for 1730.1 (= 1730.3 of Le Gac's list NAF 5442, f9r) "le 1er Tome du grand Catechisme du Pere de nobilibus en malabare ecris à la main sur du papier qui traitte de la faussetée des Dieux de ces Indes et de l'existence du vray Dieu". This description does not match the contents of the 2 volumes as they are, since the Kāṇṭams are differently distributed between the two volumes, both manuscripts. The mention "imprimé" (printed) in the dispatch lists appears to refer to the antigraphs.

[20] See also 1729.9 = Indien 634, a Telugu Grammar by the same Father de La Lâne, written in 1729 in Pondicherry on paper.

- 1730.1: "Maha Baratam" = cod. ind. 21 = Indien 268: a paper *Makāpāratam Urai*, that is, in fact, a prose rendering of the *Villipāratam*.
- 1730.2: "Bagavatam" = cod. ind. 22 = Indien 259: a paper *Pākavatam*, that is, in fact, a Tamil prose version of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.
- 1730.4: "Panja tantri cadey" = cod. ind. 23 = Indien 410: a paper *Pañcatantirakkatai*, that is, a Tamil prose version of the *Pañcatantra*.
- 1730.5: "Gnana moarchi" = cod. ind. 24 = Indien 463: a paper *Ñāṉamuyaṟci*, a work by Bertoldi, inspired by Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* (Trento 2022: 87ff.).
- 1730.6: "Veda Velaccam" = cod. ind. 25 = Indien 481: a paper *Vētaviḷakkam*, that is, a refutation of Lutheranism by Beschi (Trento 2022: 113ff.). The manuscript contains a colophon,[21] but it is not clear however if the date is that of the composition of the work, that of the copy of the manuscript or even both. Trento (2022: 114, fn. 60) suggests that this manuscript could be an autograph by Beschi.
- 1730.7: "Dictionnaire Tamoul et Portuguais" = cod. ind. 204 = Indien 222: "Vocabulario tamulico lusitano". This is a paper copy of Antaõ de Proença's Tamil-Portuguese dictionary of 1679.
- 1730.8: "Dictionnaire Portuguais et Tamoul" = cod. ind. 205 = Indien 223: "Vocabulario tamulico lusitano". This is a paper Portuguese-Tamil dictionary, probably based on the preceding.
- 1733.7: "histoire de Cochalaven" = cod. ind. 50 = Indien 339: a paper *Kucalavarkaḷuṭaiya Katai*, a work by Cañciviṉātar, that is, as pointed out to me by Margherita Trento, the Father Jean Venant Bouchet (1655–1732; see Clooney 2005, p. 74). The copy was completed in 1732 by a Tamil copyist as attested by the colophon (**fig. 3**).[22]

---

[21] *tayiriyanātarācari**ṣi**kurucuvāmiyavarkaḷ kārtā tiruvavatāraṅ ceytu 1728m āṇṭil kīlaka {varuṣam} vaikāci {mācam} 25 {tēti} yelākuṟiccimaṭattil mūvāyirattu nāṉūṟṟup paṇṇiru kirantatt' aḷavoṭu tanta payaṉ Ellārukkum naṉṟāka veḻuti mukintatu muṟṟum* (f152v1–5).

[22] *1732m āṇṭu Āvaṇi {mācam} 28 {tēti} viyāḻakkiḻamai patiṉ oru maṇikku muṉṉē Eḻuti muṭintutu. rōmāpuri cañciviṉāta-rācari**ṣi**kurucuvāmiyavarkaḷ Eḻuti vaitta po**s**-takamāvatu — mācillāmaṇi kumāraṉ muttuk kaiyeḻuttu* (f224v4–9).

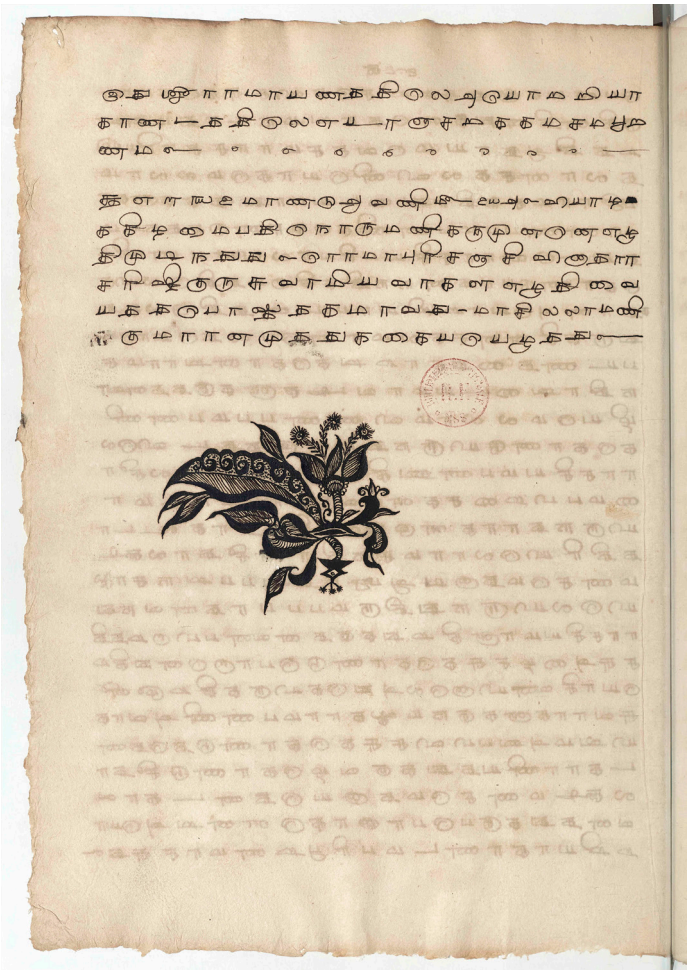


Fig. 3. Indien 339, U1, f224v. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

- 1733.9: “arounay pouranam” = Indien 297: a paper *Aruṇaikirip-purāṇam*, that is, the text nowadays known under the title *Aruṇācalapurāṇam*, with commentary.

The identification of the following manuscripts from the dispatch lists has yet to be confirmed:

- 1729.3: “Une Instruction pour la Cène”. This is possibly Indien 563a, a single paper folio, with a marginal annotation indicating that it is copied from palm leaves.
- 1729.4: “Ramayenam”. A *Rāmāyaṇa*, but it is not clear if it is a Sanskrit or Tamil version.

- 1732.11. "Ramayanam en 2 livres". A *Rāmāyaṇa* in two volumes, but it is not clear if it is a Sanskrit or Tamil version. Possible candidates are Indien 275–276, a two-volume paper *Kamparāmāyaṇam*.
- 1730.16: "nouvelle grammaire Tamoul". This is possibly Indien 502 (paper).
- 1732.14: "L'ars poétique en Tamoul et le Courmapourana" = cod. ind. 210.

Besides the manuscripts mentioned in the dispatch lists, it is possible that further manuscripts arrived from Pondicherry. Indien 450 and 458, are both paper codices, from similar hands, with similar layout, and same watermarks. The first one contains *callāpaṅkaḷ*, "dialogues" based on the Bible, the second *piracaṅkaṅkaḷ*, "sermons". Their old aspects and Christian contents make one suspect they were also sent by the Jesuits. Both manuscripts bear a documenting note stating that they arrived from Constantinople in 1738, which is close in time with the earlier dispatches from Pondicherry.[23]

Looking at the identified Tamil manuscripts sent by the Jesuits, one notes first that few are palm-leaf manuscripts (Indien 422, 451–453, 454), all sent in 1729. This contrasts with Colas (1997, 2012) observations about two periods in the dispatch of Telugu manuscripts, a first one (1729–1730), when paper manuscripts, copied by the Pondicherry Jesuits themselves, were sent, and a second one (1732–1735), when palm-leaf manuscripts, copied most probably by Indian copyists, that is, Hindus recently converted or in the process of being converted to Catholicism, were sent following the request made to Le Gac.

As for the contents of the manuscripts dispatched, there are only a few properly literary Tamil texts, and rarely the verse *mūlam* itself. We find prose versions of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (Indien 259) and of the *Villipāratam* (Indien 268) and, possibly, a *Kamparāmāyaṇam* (*mūlam*) (Indien 275–276). Other "Indian" texts are *katai*s, narrative prose works. All, except one, are paper manuscripts and are examples of acculturation of the book, with their big size intertitles and initials at the beginning of paragraphs: the *Kantapuṟāṇakkatai*

[23] See Richard (1989).

(Indien 338), the *Cittirakkatai* (Indien 430), the *Pañcatantirakkatai* (Indien 410), and the *Kucalavarkaḷuṭaiya Katai* (Indien 339). The latter is the work of the Jesuit Bouchet, while the *Cittirakkatai* is possibly by Beschi. Two copies of the *Vikkiramātittaṉ Patumaikkatai*, a Tamil version of the *Vikramacarita*, were sent in 1729, one on paper (Indien 421), the other on palm-leaf (Indien 422). As the text in both appears virtually the same, one wonders if the paper copy was made from the palm-leaf copy. Furthermore, there is one *talapurāṇam*, the *Aruṇaikiripurāṇam* (Indien 297, *mūlam* and *urai*[24]).

Besides, Tamil grammars and lexicons were also sent: the Tamil-Portuguese dictionary of Proença (Indien 222), a Portuguese-Tamil dictionary which appears to be the preceding reversed (Indien 223), a Tamil grammar written in 1728, by P. de La Lâne.

The proportion of Christian works is telling: dialogues based on the Old and the New Testament (Indien 451–454), Nobili's catechism (Indien 259–260), Beschi's *Vētaviḷakkam* (Indien 481), Bertoldi's *Ñāṉamuyaṟcci* (Indien 463), *Kucalavarkaḷuṭaiya Katai* by Bouchet (Indien 339), and *Cittirakkatai* possibly by Beschi (Indien 430). As suggested to me by Charles Li, such texts might have been selected to prove that the missionary work was proceeding well, unless it was just not easy for the Jesuits to procure Indian texts as Colas (2012: 73) points out.

The material and contents of these manuscripts thus reflect the interests of the Jesuits (Christian texts, Tamil language studies) and indicate the kind of texts, mostly non Hindu, and the book technology, that is paper, they had access to. It is somehow ironic to see the share of Christian texts, composed and copied by Europeans. It is also noteworthy that Indien 339 was copied on paper in 1728 by Muttu, son of Mācillāmaṇi, which indicates that Indian copyists were getting used to writing on paper.

4. Reydellet (1833)

According to the BnF donation register, 28 Tamil palm-leaf Hindu manuscripts were donated in 1833 by M. Reydellet, Navy officer

[24] As pointed out to me by Eva Wilden, *talapurāṇam*s normally do not come with a commentary.

retired in Le Havre.[25] A detailed list, presented as "copie des étiquettes" (copy of the labels), is then given but comprises only 27 items (entries 24–50). This discrepancy is explained by fact that there appears to have two copies of the same text (the *Ulakanīti*), referred to only as a single item in the list. An identical list of 27 items is found bound in NAF 5441, folio 311 recto and verso, with the name spelled Reydelet.[26] This might be the labels reproduced in the register. As both lists are not very detailed, it has not yet been possible to identify all Reydellet manuscripts. Here are identifications and suggestions of identification for the time being, with correspondence in Velanguani Arokium's catalogue (first numbered list):

- Reydellet register no. 39 = Reydelet list no. 16 = "justice du monde" is either Indien 76 or 77 (*Ulakanīti*), both catalogued by Velanguani Arokium (no. 17 and 20).
- Reydellet register no. 42 = Reydelet list no. 19 = "exploits de quatre rois" is Indien 420 and should have been catalogued by Velanguani Arokium (no. 7 however missing in his catalogue).
- Reydellet register no. 43 = Reydelet list no. 20 = "histoire de Tandalu" appears to be Indien 382 (*Taṇṭalaiyār Catakam*), catalogued by Velanguani Arokium (no. 11).
- Reydellet register no. 44 = Reydelet list no. 21 = "Histoire de Mouttiyan" appears to be Indien 371 (*Muttaiyaṉ Piḷḷaittamiḻ*), catalogued by Velanguani Arokium (no. 14).
- Reydellet register no. 46 = Reydelet list no. 23 = "Histoire de Devasagoyom" appears to be Indien 487 (*Tēvacakāya Cikāmaṇimālai*), catalogued by Velanguani Arokium (no. 4).
- Reydellet register no. 49 = Reydelet list no. 26 = "Arithmétique" appears to be Indien 434 (works of Arithmetics), catalogued by Velanguani Arokium (no. 23[27]).
- Reydellet register no. 50 = Reydelet list no. 27 = "Fractions" appears to be Indien 433 (*Eṇcuvaṭi*), catalogued by Velanguani Arokium (no. 22).

---

[25] The Reydelet provenance is not indicated in Cabaton's catalogue (1912). See growing list on <https://tst-project.github.io/collections/bnf/reydellet>.

[26] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525018697/f548> and following.

[27] See number "23bis" in black ink on Indien 434b, U3b, f{1}v.

All the above tentatively identified manuscripts have been described in Velanguani Arokium's catalogue (Velanguani Arokium' number is written in black ink on the manuscripts first leaf), which tends to confirm such identification as Reydellet manuscripts and calls for a minute examination of Velanguani Arokium's catalogue to trace the manuscripts yet to be found.

5. Ducler (1833)

In 1833 (BnF acquisition register, entries 68–95), the BnF acquired the collection of manuscripts of Philippe Étienne Ducler (1778–1840), who had been French administrator in Karikal (1825–1831).[28] In total, there are 35 Tamil palm-leaf bundles, including multi-text and multi-volume manuscripts, with several copies of the same work, with or without commentary, for a total of 43 different works (Indien 44, 51–53, 91–92, 100, 179–180, 228–229, 239, 249–250, 263–264, 279–285, 290, 295, 299, 324–327, 333, 386, 397, 412, 435, 495) as well as three Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts (Sanscrit 290, 815, 818). From Burnouf (1832: 84–85), we learn how Ducler constituted his collection: he commissioned a learned Indian in jail for copying them on leaves imported from Sri Lanka. Ducler was not knowledgeable in Tamil literature and appears to have commissioned these manuscripts with a plan to sell them back in Europe, as shown by their title pages in French, their parallel foliation in Tamil and Arabic numbers and by the fact that most of them come with a French description of contents on a detached sheet of paper, all devices aiming at potential buyers.

The Ducler manuscripts are almost immediately recognizable from their carved wood-covers (often in ebony), their leaves (of specific colour and carefully rounded at their edges), and their parallel Tamil and Arabic foliation (**fig. 4**).

From the colophons we learn that the Tamil manuscripts were copied between 1828 and 1832, which in any case, is their *terminus ad quem*, since this is the date of their first mention (Burnouf 1832),[29] whereas the Sanskrit manuscripts are dated between

[28] See growing list on <https://tst-project.github.io/collections/bnf/ducler>. On Ducler's biodata and collection see Francis & Vaissaire (2022).

[29] Indien 44, 51, 52, 91, 92, 100, 179, 180 228, 239, 249, 263–264, 279–285, 290, 295,

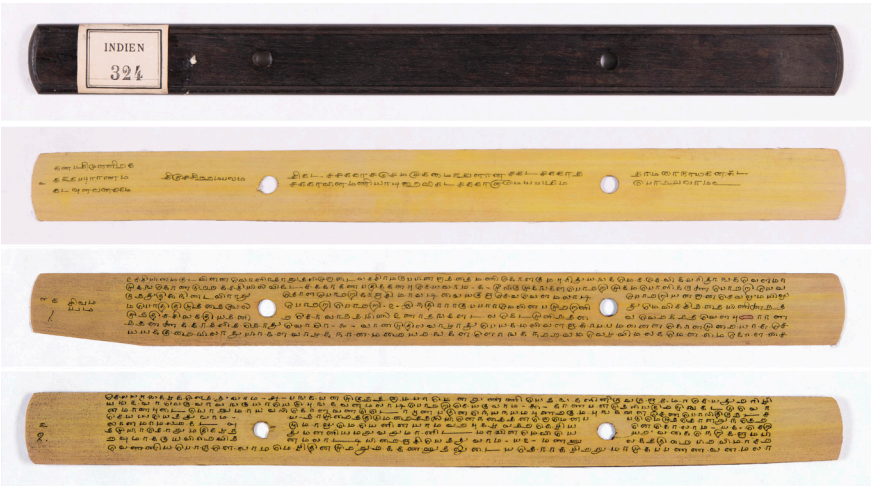


Fig. 4. A typical Ducler manuscript, Indien 324. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

1829–1830 and 1830–1831.[30] There were apparently two different scribes, one for Tamil and one for Sanskrit, unless the imprisoned learned Indian was skilled in both languages. The Sanskrit copyist is identified as Surakkuḍi Kṛṣṇa (Sanscrit 290) and Śorakkuḍi Kṛṣṇaśasāstrin (Sanscrit 815 and 818, U2; **fig. 5**), thus indeed a learned Brahmin from, it seems, Corakkuṭi, a village in the Tiruvārūr district. The same copyist was also employed by Burnouf, as we will see below, or at least sold him some Sanskrit manuscripts. Two more Ducler manuscripts copyists are identified: Nārāyaṇa, is mentioned in Sanscrit 818 (colophon to U4), whereas Cavarimuttā Piḷḷai, son of Cañcīviyā Piḷḷai, copied Indien 495, but the hands comparison does not indicate for sure that he was responsible for the other Tamil manuscripts.

299, 324–326, 333, 397, and 435 have no internal date. The copy of Indien 229 was begun in 1828 CE. The copy of Indien 327 was completed in 1830 CE, that of Indien 412 in 1828 CE, that of Indien 495 in 1829 CE. Indien 53 is dated to the year *caṟuvatāri* (1828–1829 CE), Indien 250 to the year *kara* (1831–1832 CE). Indien 333 is dated to 1739 of an unspecified era, a date most probably copied from the antigraph, as the manuscript is of the same type as the others. The gouache paintings with bilingual labels (Tamil and French) also acquired from Ducler (Indien 743, 744, 746) are dated to 1831 CE.

[30] Sanscrit 290 is dated to the Jovian cycle year *virodhin* (1829–1830 CE), Sanscrit 815 and Sanscrit 818 to the Jovian cycle year *vikṛti* (1830–1831 CE),

The Ducler manuscripts were catalogued in 1845 by Velanguani Arokium, who could be responsible for the detached paper sheets describing in French the contents the manuscripts. The manuscripts numbers on the paper sheets and the manuscripts numbers in Velanguani Arokium catalogue match, whereas the hand is similar. Burnouf (1832: 85), however, already mentions French descriptive notes, but uses other manuscripts numbers in his list. It seems possible that Velanguani Arokium rewrote the descriptive notes when he catalogued the manuscripts in 1845.

6. Burnouf (1854)

According to the BnF acquisition register (entry 4955), 218 manuscripts and 53 "textes autographiés" (that is, printed editions) were acquired in 1854 from "Madame veuve Burnouf", the spouse of the late Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852). The register indicates that all items are described in Burnouf's library printed catalogue (s.n. 1854).

Among these manuscripts, Cabaton (1912), based on Vinson, counts 18 Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts from the Burnouf collection (Indien 45, 54, 61, 81, 178, 245, 248, 291, 315, 334, 350, 381, 393, 398, 415, 416, 417, 552).[31] These palm-leaf manuscripts are indeed described in Burnouf catalogue (s.n. 1854: 346–347, nos. 167–185). Cabaton sometimes indicates the corresponding number in Burnouf catalogue. The correspondence between Burnouf catalogue numbers and BnF shelfmarks has been established in most cases. However, Burnouf catalogue number 173 has not been identified, whereas, Burnouf catalogue number Burnouf 183 is possibly, but not clearly, Indien 398.

To these 18 Burnouf Tamil manuscripts bought in 1854 are to be added two more items:

- Indien 499, made of various fragments, donated in 1870 by "Madame Burnouf" (BnF donation register, entry 1350).
- Indien 561, the leaves of which are rolled, donated in 1886 by "Madame Burnouf" (BnF donation register, entry 2345, palm-leaf and paper manuscripts no. 12).[32]

[31] See growing list on <https://tst-project.github.io/collections/bnf/burnouf>.

[32] Indien 560, received at the same time and described by Cabaton as fragments

Burnouf Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts often come with notes, pasted on the covers or on detached paper sheets, describing their contents[33] and/or with a sticker, inscribed "BURN." followed by a number. The contents of the notes regularly match the descriptions and manuscript numbers found in Burnouf's catalogue (s.n. 1854) and are most probably by Burnouf.

11 of the 18 Burnouf Tamil manuscripts acquired in 1854 (Indien 45, 54, 61, 178, 245, 248, 315, 334, 393, 398, 417) appear to be by the Tamil copyist employed by Ducler, as indicated by the hand, the type of leaf and wood-covers, similar to those of Ducler manuscripts. Burnouf manuscripts however lack the parallel Tamil and Arabic foliation, as they are foliated only in Tamil. These manuscripts have no internal dates. As Ducler copyist was active in the 1830s these can be dated to *circa* 1825–1835.

All the Burnouf Tamil manuscripts by Ducler copyist have a single Tamil letter engraved on the inside of their wood-covers. Such letters appear to be shelfmarks or carpenter marks meant for linking wood-covers to their corresponding bundle. Such letters are also found on the wood-covers of Burnouf Sanskrit manuscripts (Sanscrit 613, 816, 773) and of Ducler Sanskrit manuscripts (Sanscrit 815, 818). Two Tamil manuscripts, obviously by the same copyist and having a type of leaf and wood-covers similar to those of Ducler manuscripts, likewise have a Tamil letter engraved on their wood-covers:

- Indien 972 (pointed out to me by Charles Li), which bears a sticker inscribed "M. Travers" in black ink.
- BnF Smith-Lesouëf 264 (pointed out to me by Jérôme Petit), which was part of the collection of Auguste Lesouëf (1829–1906).

As mentioned above, some of the Burnouf Sanskrit manuscripts are by Ducler Sanskrit copyist, identified as Śorakkuḍi Kṛṣṇaśasāstrin (Sanscrit 816 and 847, both dated to 1832–1833; **fig. 5**). Furthermore, another Sanskrit copyist named Raṃganātha is mentioned

in Tamil and Singhalese has been excluded here as the examination of the original revealed that it is only in Singhalese.

[33] These notes are sometimes misplaced: Indien 350 = Burnouf 170 has notes describing Burnouf 164; Indien 398 has a note describing Indien 552 = Burnouf 174.

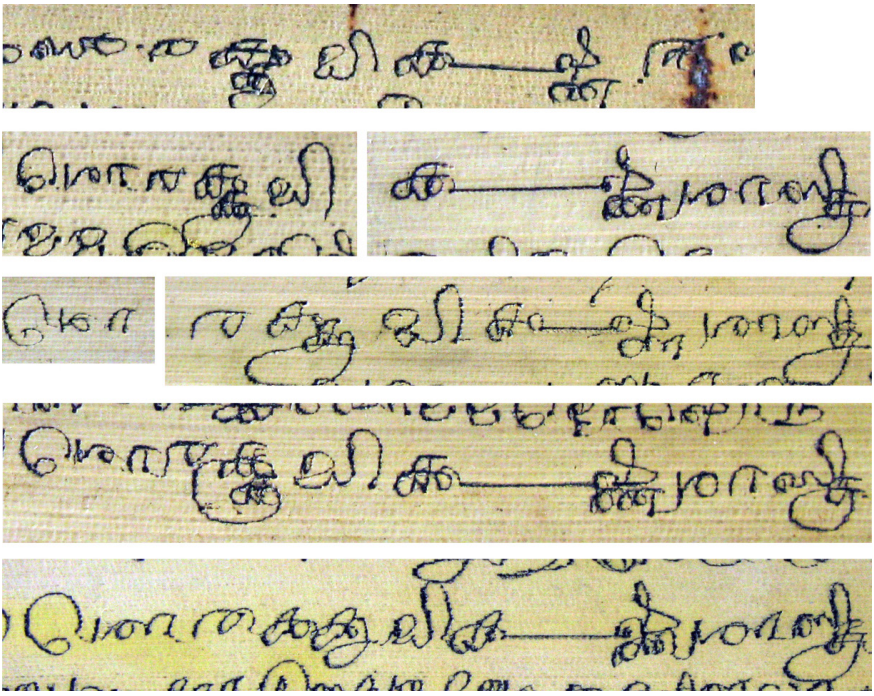


Fig. 5. Copyist's name in Sanscrit 290 (U4, f342v: *surakkuḍi kṛṣṇan·*), 815 (U3, f287r1–2: *śorakkuḍi kṛṣṇaśāstri*), 816 (U2, f201r1–2: *śorakkuḍi kṛṣṇaśāstri*), 818 (U2, f87v6: *śorakkuḍi kṛṣṇaśāstri*), and 847 (U1, f274r4: *śorakkuḍi kṛṣṇaśāstri*). Photos by Emmanuel Francis.

in the colophon of Sanscrit 846, another Burnouf manuscript also dated to 1832–1833, having the same type of leaves and wood-covers as Ducler manuscripts.

Interestingly, Ducler and Burnouf had copies of the same text apparently by the same Sanskrit copyist. The *Yajurveda Taittirīyasaṃhitā* is instantiated as Sanscrit 290 (Ducler; dated 1829–1830) and as Sanscrit 291 (Burnouf; not dated), whereas the *Pañcatacappirakaraṇam* is instantiated as Indien 44 (Ducler; not dated) and as Indien 45 (Burnouf; not dated).

It is still unclear whether Ducler put Burnouf in contact with his copyist, whether Burnouf directly commissioned the manuscripts to Ducler copyist or if the latter had a stock for sale. It is in any case intriguing to see Burnouf (1832) describing the Ducler collection and pleading for its acquisition, just one year before the BnF bought it, and acquiring around the same time manuscripts by the

same copyist, whose manuscripts reached also other French customers (Travers, Lesouëf).
The other Tamil Burnouf manuscripts which are not by Ducler copyist (Indien 81, 291, 350, 381, 415, 416, 552) were probably acquired rather than commissioned by Burnouf. Few contain internal dates:

- Indien 381 is dated in the Jovian cycle year *vikrama* of the Jovian cycle, that is, 1820–1821 CE at the latest.
- Indien 552 contains commercial accounts and letters, of which several are dated to the years (*āṇṭu*) 1813 and 1814, that is, CE years.

7. Ariel (1866)

Édouard Ariel (1818–1854)[34] bequeathed by will his library to the Société Asiatique in Paris. Thirteen boxes reached destination in October 1855. A report was ordered to Rosny in 1855 and later published (Rosny 1868). Finding itself unable to properly take care of the palm-leaf manuscripts, the Société Asiatique, against the will of Ariel, gave them in 1866, along with Ariel papers, to the BnF, which was considered at that time as the most suitable place to keep and consult manuscripts, especially palm-leaf manuscripts.[35] Some of Ariel's papers and manuscripts are still at the Société Asiatique de Paris, where his collection of printed books is also kept.[36]

It is difficult to know how many manuscripts were in Ariel's collection. Rosny (1868: 191ff.) mentions Tamil, Sanskrit and Telugu manuscripts, but without figures, except for 18 Sanskrit (paper?) manuscripts.[37] The BnF donation register (entry 1192, August 1st, 1866) mentions 324 Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts — this figure in fact includes also paper manuscripts and probably palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts — , 1 Tibetan manuscript containing different parts of "Kandjour", 1 Sanskrit manuscript in Nepalese script, and

[34] On Ariel's biodata and collection see Francis & Trento (2022a, 2022b).

[35] See *Le livre du centenaire (1822–1892)* of the Société Asiatique (s.n. 1922: 51ff.).

[36] See Filliozat (1945: 5–6), who lists 3 Ariel papers (his nos. 28, 40, 41) and 3 Ariel Sanskrit manuscripts (his nos. 26, 27, 46), which have remained in the Société Asiatique.

[37] Colas & Colas-Chauhan (1995: 106) count 3 Ariel Telugu manuscripts.

various papers, extracts, works by Ariel.[38] Vinson (Indien 1061) counts 305 Tamil manuscripts without further details. Cabaton (1912) counts 292 Tamil manuscripts from Ariel, that is, 241 palm-leaf manuscripts and 51 paper manuscripts (which include 11 volumes of the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai).
From the Ariel manuscripts so far identified and examined,[39] the following observations can be made concerning the palm-leaf manuscripts:

- Most of their wood-covers were fabricated in the BnF. See Li (2022).
- Several are composite manuscripts, probably made by Ariel himself.
- Some appear to be elements of dismembered bundles. For instance, Indien 1 has two parallel Tamil foliations, an additional foliation 75–95 on top left margin, continuous for U2a and U2b, whereas the last 19 of the 20 folios of U2b are foliated 2–20 by the original scribe on the bottom left margin.
- Most bear an additional title-page folio (hereafter TPF, **fig. 6**), by the same hand.

These TPFs, regularly bifolios of a type a leaf different from that of the original bundle, state the contents of the bundle and share the following common structure and lay-out, from left to right:

- In the left margin is regularly found a *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* and the blessing *veṟṟivēl uṟṟa tuṇai*.
- Then comes in one or several columns the contents of the bundle: either a single title, or a list of titles, sometimes preceded by *Iṉṟu*, "this is", as found on the title-pages of 19th-century Tamil printed books.
- In the case of multi-text or composite manuscripts, titles for the collection are given before the list of titles contained in the bundle. For instance, *viratam mūṉṟu*, "Three *vratams*", or *vētāntam Aintu*, "Five Vedānta [works]".

[38] The register does not explicitly mention that the whole transfer from the Société Asiatique was from Ariel's collection. It is specified only for the various papers.

[39] See growing list on <https://tst-project.github.io/collections/bnf/ariel>.



Fig. 6. Selection of Ariel title-page folios (Indien 1, 13, 66, 199). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

- A shelfmark system, in the form of a lower-case Roman letter (a, b, c, or d) followed by a number, is regularly inscribed in black ink. It is not clear yet if the letters refer, as suggested to me by Charles Li, to the size of the manuscript, as a way of organising the library shelves, or to the topic or genre of the manuscript.
- A round sticker inscribed with a number (sometimes crossed-out by a later hand) is also regularly found pasted if not on the TPF, on the front wood-cover. This constitutes another, possibly previous, shelfmark system, possibly made at the Société Asiatique as suggested to me by Jérôme Petit.

Further observations can be made about these TPFs:

- They are sometimes found outside the bundle, before the front wood-cover.
- The copyist routinely makes use of the *puḷḷi* and of the 2-curled *kompu*.
- Some Ariel palm-leaf manuscripts do not have additional TPF, either that it was lost or never added (Indien 328) or that the original manuscript already had a TPF (e.g. Indien 67).
- Sanskrit manuscripts with BnF shelfmark "Sanscrit" (among which many have also an old shelfmark "Sanscrit Grantha") have also a TPF, with the letter+number shelfmark, and occa-

sionally also a donation sticker (Sanscrit 253, 507) or a round sticker or a trace of it (Sanscrit 385), or both (Sanscrit 356). These appear to be unacknowledged Ariel manuscripts.[40] That the BnF register mentions only one Sanskrit manuscript in the Ariel bequest would mean that these manuscripts were first wrongly identified as Tamil manuscripts.

- Similar TPFs are found in Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts without known provenance. These could also be unacknowledged Ariel manuscripts.
- The information on the TPF sometimes does not correspond to the content of the bundle. For instance, the TPF of Indien 187 mentions the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, but the bundle contains four other grammatical works.[41] This might be another case of dismembered bundle.
- Indien 74, a composite manuscript, has two additional TPFs: one for the whole composite and one for the second element of the composite alone (a single text).
- There are cases of corrected TPFs. For instance, Indien 30, a composite manuscript, bears on its TPF a corrected generic title *caivam* [[*mūṉṟu*]] *nāṅku*, followed by a list of 4 titles. However only 2 of these titles are found in the bundle, while the third element of the composite consists in 3 folios with *Tiruvācakam* stanzas, not mentioned on the TPF. As for the TPF of Indien 135, its bears a list of texts on its recto and another one, crossed-out, on the verso. The recto is the corrected version, with the replacement of the author's name (Urōmariṣi, as in the original manuscript, instead of Irāmatēvar) for the last 3 of the 5 titles (**fig. 7**).

Who is responsible for these additional TPFs? A first possibility is that Ariel acquired an already existing collection, furnished with additional TPFs, but there is no hint in this direction. As for an addition made after the arrival of the manuscripts in Paris, at the Société Asiatique or at the BnF, it seems unlikely as, presumably,

[40] The same letter+number shelfmark can be found for two different manuscripts, one in Tamil and the other in Sanskrit. See for instance BnF Sanscrit 808 and BnF Indien 948, both marked "c/2".

[41] See further details in D'Avella (2020: 241–242).

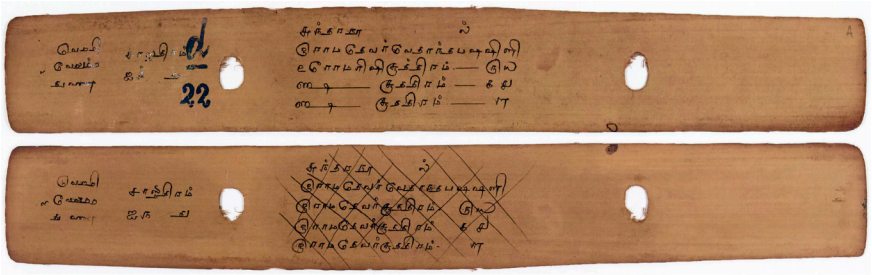


Fig. 7. Title-page folio of Indien 135, recto and verso. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

no palm leaf nor traditional Indian copyist were available there. The more reasonable option is that, after the acquisition of the manuscripts, Ariel catalogued them, dismembered some of them, created composite manuscripts, devised a shelfmark system and had the additional TPFs written. It is even possible that the additional TPFs were made before the acquisition of the manuscripts, that is, Ariel made a list of the works he wanted a copy of, had TPFs prepared, grouping sometimes several works he wanted to have in a single bundle. This could explain the corrections made on some the TPFs: text copies could not be found and had to be crossed-out on the TPFs, or the copies found showed that the text was by an author different from the one first thought.

Ariel, in any case, was aware of the shelfmark system and used it. This is proved by Indien 162, an Ariel paper manuscript, which contains 23 *curukkam*s, that is, epitomes of larger works. Their respective title pages regularly bear on top the letter+number shelfmark, with the difference that the letter is here upper-case. The title-page of the *Kantapurāṇaccurukkam* (f20r) bears not only "B/2" on its top but also, at the bottom, apparently by the hand of Ariel, "b.2", "b.55" and "imp. B.18":

- "b.2" seems to refer with lower-case to the present *Kantapurāṇaccurukkam* (3rd *curukkam* in Indien 162).
- "b.55" appears to refer to Indien 336, an Ariel palm-leaf manuscript copy of the *Kantapurāṇaccurukkam*, which bears the shelfmark "b/55" on its additional TPF.
- "B.18" appears to refer to a printed edition of the *Kantapurāṇaccurukkam*, as Ariel also used such shelfmarks for his

printed books, as shown in some of these kept in the Société Asiatique.[42]

Such were my preliminary observations when new evidence surfaced, in January 2024, while examining BnF Indien 387. This copy of the *Aṉantaraṅkakkōvai* (a work composed in honour of Āṉantaraṅkam Piḷḷai) ends with the following colophon (**fig. 8**):

> *cātāraṇa {varuṣam} Āvaṇi {mācam} 18 {tēti} Ātivāraṯiṉam*
> *muciyē Ariyel turaiyiṉuṭaiya Āṉantaṟa*
> *ṅkakkōvai veḻuti muṟṟiṟṟu muṟṟu**m**{pcl}*
>
> In the year Cātāraṇa, month of Āvaṇi, day 18, a Sunday, the copy of the *Aṉantaraṅkakkōvai* of Monsieur Ariel Tuṟai was completely completed.[43]

This colophon, dated Sunday, September 1st, 1850 CE, attests that Ariel himself directly commissioned at least one manuscript copy for his collection.

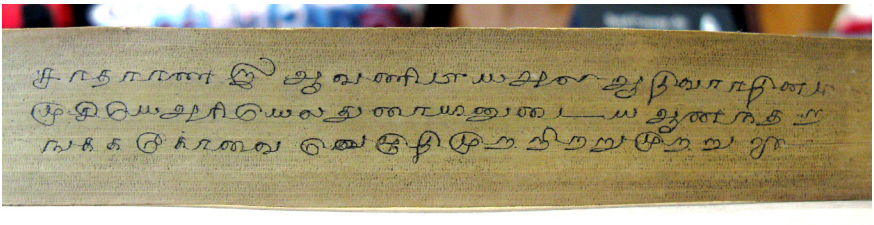


Fig. 8. Final colophon of Indien 387, f101v. Photo by Emmanuel Francis.

Furthermore, the title page of the manuscript — which, unlike other title pages added to manuscripts acquired by Ariel, appears to be original — bears a letter+number shelfmark ("b/8"),[44] which proves almost definitely that this shelfmark system is not anterior to Ariel.

From a preliminary survey of the TPFs, it is possible to estimate the minimum possible total of palm-leaf manuscripts using the

---

[42] Ariel also used such shelfmarks for his paper codices, with the difference that the reference is made of two letters, the first upper-case and the second lower-case, followed by a number.

[43] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525164454/f206>

[44] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525164454/f3>

shelfmark system, by looking at the higher number so far found for each letter:

	Letter a	Letter b	Letter c	Letter d	Total
Highest number (found so far)	31	95	85	49	260

This total of 260 is below any figure given for the total of Ariel Tamil manuscripts: 324 palm-leaf and paper manuscripts (BnF Register), 305 manuscripts (Vinson), 292 manuscripts (Cabaton). Cabaton more precisely counts 241 palm-leaf and 51 paper manuscripts. The discrepancy between the figures 241 and 260 might be explained by the fact that Cabaton was not able to trace all the Ariel palm-leaf manuscripts.

As for the contents of the manuscripts, they show that Ariel gathered his collection with the aim to obtain a copy of each identified important text. Ariel mostly bought them, apparently by batches from one or several pre-existent collections.[45] He commissioned at least one new copy and probably others, as shown by a list of texts, found in his papers (Indien 164, folio 239 recto[46]), by the hand of a certain B. Gnanappragassen (Ñāṉappirakācaṉ), writing in French from Cumbaconam (Kumpakōṇam). The list provides the number of "grandams", that is, *grantha*s, literally "verses", per text and a grand total of *grantha*s. Ñāṉappirakācaṉ states that 1000 *grantha*s cost 1 rupee and concludes that he is confident he could get a better price.

The Ariel manuscripts are in any case the most impressive sub-collection of Tamil manuscripts in the BnF by its range — for instance, there is a copy of most of the important Tamil grammars — and the early dates of many manuscripts.

Conclusion

It is interesting to observe, as pointed out to me by Charles Li, that the collection of Tamil manuscripts in Paris started at the initia-

[45] For instance, several undated Ariel manuscripts are by the same hand. See e.g. those with the *vēyuṟutōḷipaṅkaṉ tuṇai* blessing, *supra*, p. 35.

[46] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100294573/f485>.

tive of someone (Bignon, the librarian of the king) who could not read Tamil at all and who, when first receiving paper manuscripts, asked for "authentic" Indian manuscripts on palm leaf (Colas 2012: 74). As Colas puts it (2012: 77), an Indian manuscript, that is, an Indian book, was an "exotic curio", but no one in Paris could read them anyway. As for Ducler, it appears that he aimed at constituting a 'canonical' collection of Tamil texts as palm-leaf manuscripts, with the view to sell it back in the metropolis. Eventually, the collection of Tamil manuscripts turned into a scholarly endeavour, with scholars, such as Burnouf and, most importantly, as Ariel, to whom Paris owes to be, outside India, the most astounding repository of Tamil manuscripts.

Much remains to be done to assess the history of the collection of Tamil manuscripts of the BnF. Among the tasks ahead are tracing the yet untraced manuscripts from the above sub-collections and assessing the other, smaller, sub-collections. Furthermore, to assess the dates of the manuscripts, at least a *terminus ad quem*, one should track register marks on the manuscripts, study the BnF stamps with the help of Josserand & Bruno (1960), examine the binding of the codices,[47] as well as assess the exact CE of the internal dates given in Jovian cycle years. I hope to be able in the future to tackle these tasks.

Acknowledgements

The present preliminary survey would not have been possible without the kind help of Jérôme Petit, Laurent Héricher and all the BnF staff. A very special thanks to Jérôme Petit, who shared with me data he collected from the BnF registers and who, notably, pointed out to me the Reydellet manuscripts; to Charles Li, who pointed out to me the title-page folios of BnF "Sanscrit" shelfmark manuscripts using the letter+number system; to Margherita Trento who enlightened me about Christian Tamil works. Thanks to Charles Li, Jérôme Petit and Eva Wilden who commented upon a draft of the present paper.

[47] Many codices appear to have been bound in the BnF. Some covers bear the date of binding or a royal emblem, which can be associated to a specific king and his period of reign.

Conventions

The BnF manuscripts are referred to above by their current BnF shelfmarks, that is, "Indien" or "Sanscrit" or "NAF", followed by accession number. In case the manuscript is a composite manuscript a letter follows immediately the accession number. Further details are provided as follows: "U" followed by a number or a number+letter to indicate the codicological/textual unit (e.g. "U1," "U2a," "U2b"; note that these units' numbers might in the future be updated and changed); "f" for folio, immediately followed by folio number and "r" or "v", for recto or verso (e.g. "f1r5" = folio 1, recto, line 5). {1} stands for non-explicit foliation 1.
As the corresponding CE year of the internal dates provided in Jovian cycle year has not yet been assessed in most of the cases, the *terminus ad quem* double CE year only is provided here.
The original texts are provided in transliteration, according to the following conventions:

Roman	for characters in Tamil script
Bold	for characters in Grantha script
Upper-case (vowel)	initial vowel
C=C	conjunct consonant (C = consonant; e.g. *k=ku*, *t=ta*)
=M / =Ma	consonant *m* or *ma* appended as conjunct
(abc)	characters not clearly legible
[abc]	lost characters supplied by conjecture
⟨abc⟩	characters omitted by the copyist and supplied
[[abc]]	scribal deletion
{varuṣam}	word expressed by a symbol

References

BnF entry register, acquisitions. *Registre des entrées du département des Manuscrits: acquisitions*.

BnF entry register, donations. *Registre des entrées du département des Manuscrits: dons*.

Burnouf, Eugène. 1832. "Rapport fait au Conseil, dans la séance du 2 juillet 1832, sur les collections de manuscrits et de dessins rapportées de

l'Inde par M. Ducler, administrateur de Carical, membre de la Société asiatique." *Journal Asiatique* 10: 84–91.

Cabaton, Antoine. 1912. *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens, indo-chinois & malayo-polynésiens. Bibliothèque nationale. Département des manuscrits*. Paris: E. Leroux. — See <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10329763p> for the supplemented version, containing handwritten additions.

Cittirakkaṭaikaḷ. 2021. *Cittirakkaṭaikaḷ: 1730ām āṇṭu kaiyeḻutta āvaṇattiṉ accuvaṭivam*. Edited by Ka. Cupāṉiṇi & Aṉant Amalatās. Ceṉṉai: Eḻiliṉi Patippakam.

Colas, Gérard & Usha Colas-Chauhan. 1995. *Manuscrits Telugu. Catalogue raisonné*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Colas, Gérard. 1997. "Les manuscrits envoyés de l'Inde par les jésuites français entre 1729 et 1735". In *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* edited by François Déroche and Francis Richard, 345–362. Paris, France: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Colas, Gérard. 2012. "A Cultural Encounter in the Early 18th Century: The Collection of South Indian Manuscripts by the French Jesuit Fathers of the Carnatic Mission." In *Aspects of Manuscript Culture in South India* edited by Saraju Rath, 69–80. Brill's Indological Library 40. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

D'Avella, Victor. 2020. "Orbiting Material in Tamil Grammatical Texts". In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin, 223–279. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.

Filliozat, Jean. 1945. "Catalogue des manuscrits sanskrits et tibétains de la Société Asiatique". *Journal Asiatique* 223 (1941–1942): 1–81.

Francis, Emmanuel & Lola Vaissaire. 2022. "Ducler, Philippe Étienne (1778–1840)". <https://heritage.bnf.fr>.

Francis, Emmanuel & Margherita Trento. 2022a. "ARIEL Édouard". <https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/412> (accessed 2022/11/02).

Francis, Emmanuel & Margherita Trento. 2022b. "ARIEL ÉDOUARD (1818–1854)". <https://heritage.bnf.fr>.

Josserand, Pierre & Jean Bruno. 1960. "Les estampilles du Département des imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale. In *Mélanges d'histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot*, 261–298. Paris: Librairie d'Argences.

Li, Charles. 2022. "The *ébéniste inconnu* of the palm leaf manuscript collection". Blogpost. <https://tst.hypotheses.org/2707> (accessed 2024–10–01)

Liyanaratne, Jinadasa (1983). *Catalogue des manuscrits singhalais*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.

Omont, Henri. 1902. "XIV Missions en Chine et dans l'Inde. Fourmont aîné, les PP. Fouquet et de Prémare, Signard et le P. Le Gac (1684–1737)." In *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Seconde partie*, 806–851. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.

Petit, Jérôme. 2009. "État du fonds de manuscrits indiens à la Bibliothèque interuniversitaire des Langues Orientales". *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 24–25 (2006–2007): 191–206.

Petit, Jérôme. 2014. "Les savants occidentaux, lecteurs et (re)copistes des manuscrits orientaux: Eugène Burnouf, Léon Feer, Julien Vinson". In *Lecteurs et copistes dans les traditions manuscrites iraniennes, indiennes et centrasiatiques* edited by Nalini Balbir & Maria Szuppe, 437–459. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino & Halle: Orientalisches Institut der Martin-Luther-Universität.

Richard, Francis. 1989. "Ephrem de Nevers et Zénon de Baugé, premiers auteurs français d'ouvrages catholiques en tamoul" *Moyen-Orient & Océan Indien = Middle East & Indian Ocean XVIe-XIXe s.* 6: 151–163.

Rosny, Léon de. 1868. "La bibliothèque tamoule de M. Ariel, de Pondichéry". In *Variétés orientales*, 177–224. Paris: Maisonneuve.

S.n. 1739. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae. Tomus primus. Pars prima, complectens codices manuscriptos orientales.* Paris: Typographia Regia. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k140995x>

S.n. 1854. *Catalogue des livres imprimés et manuscrits composant la bibliothèque de Feu M. Eugène Burnouf.* Paris: Duprat.

S.n. 1922. *Société Asiatique. Le livre du centenaire (1822–1892).* Paris: Geuthner.

Trento, Margherita. 2022. *Writing Tamil Catholicism: Literature, Persuasion and Devotion in the eighteenth Century*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Vaissaire, Lola. 2021. *Les peintures de divinités hindoues de la collection Philippe Étienne Ducler (1778–1840). Étude des feuillets 1 à 108 du manuscrit «Indien 744» conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de France*. MA thesis. Ecole du Louvre.

Velanguani Arokium. 1845. *Catalogue des manuscrits tamouls de la Bibliothèque royale*. Manuscript, BnF NAF 5443. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10527869m>

Vinson, Julien & Feer, Léon & s.n. 1866–. *Catalogue des manuscrits tamoul et télinga.* Manuscript, BnF Indien 577. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105375868>

Vinson, Julien. 1868. *Manuscrits tamouls. Proofreadings of the catalogue for Tamoul 1–204*. Printed by the atelier oriental de l'Imprimerie nationale. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105333021>. The same proofreadings with black ink handwritten corrections are found in Vinson et al. (1866–, f1–f49).

Vinson, Julien. n.d. Catalogue of Tamil manuscripts (1 of 2). Manuscript BnF Indien 1061. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536335n>

Vinson, Julien. n.d. Catalogue of Tamil manuscripts (2 of 2). Manuscript BnF Indien 1062. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105363346>

List of Figures

All photos of BnF manuscripts, either retrieved from Gallica (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>) or by Emmanuel Francis, by courtesy of BnF.

Fig. 1. NAF 5442, f9r. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 2. Indien 451–453. Photos by Emmanuel Francis.

Fig. 3. Indien 339, U1, f224v. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 4. A typical Ducler manuscript, Indien 324. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 5. Copyist's name in Sanscrit 290 (U4, f342v: *surakkuḍi kṛṣṇan·*), 815 (U3, f287r1–2: *śorakkuḍi kṛṣṇaśāstri*), 816 (U2, f201r1–2: *śorakkuḍi kṛṣṇaśāstri*), 818 (U2, f87v6: *śorakkuḍi kṛṣṇaśāstri*), and 847 (U1, f274r4: *śorakkuḍi kṛṣṇaśāstri*). Photos by Emmanuel Francis.

Fig. 6. Selection of Ariel title-page folios (Indien 1, 13, 66, 199). Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 7. Title-page folio of Indien 135, recto and verso. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 8. Final colophon of Indien 387, f101v. Photo by Emmanuel Francis.

The Ochoa Collection at the BnF

Jérôme Petit (BnF/EPHE)

A young romantic man, fond of modern languages and poetry, Charles d'Ochoa (1816–1846) had attended Garcin de Tassy's Hindustani courses in Paris and asked the Minister of Public Instruction, Abel Villemain, for an allocation to carry out a mission in central India. The main purpose of this mission was to collect works, both manuscripts and lithographs, to be used for writing a history of Indian literature. His untimely death prevented him from fulfilling his plan, but he brought back from his mission to Maharashtra a collection of three hundred works in different languages, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Marathi, Hindustani/Urdu, or Persian, that is held in the National Library of France. In his research project, Ochoa wanted to go deeper into certain areas in particular. The study of Jainism, a religion about which little was known at the time, was one of his priorities. His taste for modern poetry also led him to take an interest in the tradition of the Sants, the poets who from the 13th century onwards sang their devotion to Viṭṭhala, the god of Pandharpur. The analysis of some of the colophons of the manuscripts provides a closer look at the network of go-betweens, scribes, and scholars in which he was involved.

1. Introduction

The Manuscript Department of the National Library of France (henceforth BnF) holds a collection of 4,000 Indian manuscripts.[1] The larger part of the collection is formed by 3,250 manuscripts which are currently divided into two main collections. The 'Indien' collection includes regional languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Sinhalese, Malayalam, Kannaḍa, Marathi, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Punjabi, Odia, and Bengali. The 'Sanscrit' collection includes Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in the various regional scripts, Devanāgarī

[1] Online catalogue: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/pageCollections.html?col=1>

and Bengali for the most of them, but also Śāradā, Nandināgarī, Grantha, Telugu, Sinhalese and Khmer scripts. The 'Persan' collection counts more than 2,500 manuscripts in Persian, one third of which comes from India. Manuscripts of Indian origin can also be found in the 'Arabe' collection and in the 'Smith-Lesouëf' collection, which was built up through the acquisitions of the collector Auguste Lesouëf (1829–1906) at the end of the 19th century.

The history of the Indian collections at the BnF covers a long period of three hundred years.[2] From the founding gesture of the Jesuits who sent manuscripts from Bengal and South India for the King's Library in the 1730s, to the acquisitions still made today, manuscripts are the core of this collection, which also includes paintings, maps, coins and a rich collection of printed books. Sanskrit was initially the main concern of scholars who sought to find the origin of humanity in it, and then to establish its relation with Latin and Greek.[3] The Jesuit manuscript collection is therefore largely in Sanskrit. The search for the Veda also occupied the 18th century for a long time, with varying degrees of success, since the Brahmins were not keen to see their sacred texts in the "impure" hands of Europeans.[4] This search continued in the first half of the 19th century, at a time when editions of texts were still rare. Research on the Avestic texts was conducted in parallel with Vedic studies, from which they remained inseparable through comparative grammar and mythology. The figure of Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) is undoubtedly the one best embodying the different facets offered by India. After a long stay in Surat in Gujarat, he studied the textual tradition of the Parsis, learned Sanskrit, translated the *Upaniṣad* from a Persian version and collected texts in modern Indian languages (Gujarati and Hindustani). Other French adventurers and residents in India in the second half of the 18th century kept on enriching the Indian manuscript collection. Alongside Sanskrit and Persian, they collected manuscripts in Punjabi, Hindi

[2] Jean Filliozat gave a first account of this history (J. Filliozat 1941, introduction), completed by other works in peculiar fields (Richard 2003; Colas 1995; P.-S. Filliozat 2020).

[3] Coeurdoux 1808; Godfrey 1967; Rabault-Feuerhahn 2013; Rocher 1995.

[4] Ducoeur 2021; Rocher 2020.

and Bengali, opening a window to other religious or literary traditions such as Sikhism, sung poetry of the Gangetic plains or court poetry of the Indo-Persian principalities. The position of the trading posts established by France in South India also made it possible to learn about the rich Tamil literature, mainly from Karikal and Pondicherry.

The period between 1830 and 1850 marked certainly a turning point. Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852) moved Indology from an ethnographic interest, sometimes tinged with romanticism, to a philological science. Fully involved in orientalist research and taking advantage of his position at the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres and the Société asiatique de Paris, he trained future generations of Indologists. Colleagues and students from all over Europe came to Paris to attend his Sanskrit lectures at the Collège de France. In Germany, August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845) established a solid teaching in Bonn, whereas Franz Bopp (1791–1867) did the same in Berlin, laying the foundations of philological precision in the study of Sanskrit texts. This was also the period when British scholars posted to India returned to England to take up the first professorships in Indian languages, primarily Sanskrit. The libraries in London and Oxford were enriched by the personal collections of these scholars.

During this period of great emulation, a young man of twenty-five years old came from Bordeaux to Paris to attend courses in Arabic, Persian and Hindustani at the École des langues orientales, in particular with Joseph Héliodore Garcin de Tassy (1794–1878). In 1842, he urged the Ministry of Public Instruction to support fieldwork in the north-western states of India in order to collect the material necessary for writing of a history of Indian literature. Still unknown in Orientalist circles, Charles d'Ochoa had nevertheless made a first trip to India, for commercial purposes, in 1835–1836, and already then benefited from important support from the government. In addition to the language courses where he had made useful contacts, he had also joined the Société asiatique de Paris in 1840. Abel Villemain (1790–1870), who had just become Minister of Public Instruction with great ambitions, granted funding to Charles d'Ochoa for a three-year mission. One year and half after his arrival in India in March 1843, Ochoa was repatriated for health reasons in September 1844, forcing him to cut short his mission.

He had however been able to explore Maharashtra, where he conducted a carefully organised collection that perfectly reflects the intellectual atmosphere of the region at the time. The fruit of his mission is a collection of three hundred manuscripts, lithographed and printed books, giving great prominence to the linguistic diversity of India.

Charles d'Ochoa remained little known for a long time, at least until studies conducted at the end of the 20th century. The historian Shankar Gopal Tulpule (1914–1994), specialist in ancient Marathi literature, published a catalogue of Marathi manuscripts in the Charles d'Ochoa collection of the BnF (Tulpule 1986) during a scientific stay in Paris. Anant Ramachandra Kulkarni (1925–?), director of History Department of Pune University, devoted studies to Charles d'Ochoa based mainly on his scientific papers (BnF NAF 8989–8991), as well as on the Indian manuscripts of the Ochoa collection which directly concern the history of Maharashtra (A.R. Kulkarni 1987). A study of the sources concerning Charles d'Ochoa taking into account the manuscript collection, scientific papers and archival material kept in French administrations remained to be done so as to assess the biographical elements that had hitherto constituted a significant gap.[5] In particular, Tulpule and A.R. Kulkarni had Charles d'Ochoa die "on the steamer that took him back to France in 1844."[6] The date of his birth was determined by Ochoa's horoscope preserved in the volume of his scientific papers (BnF NAF 8990, f. 178; **fig. 1**).

His fieldwork record preserved in the National Archives[7] has made it possible to solve a number of enigmas, particularly concerning his death, which took place in Paris on 2 June 1846, as confirmed by the Paris Archives.[8] His birth, however, remained

---

[5] See J. Petit (2025).

[6] Tulpule (1986: 107); A.R. Kulkarni (1987: 185).

[7] AN F/17/2995/2, "ministère de l'Instruction publique, mission de Charles d'Ochoa." This record was consulted by Roland Lardinois who devoted some pages to Charles d'Ochoa (Lardinois 2007: 82–85).

[8] AP, "État civil reconstitué, actes de décès, 10e arrondissement": "L'an mille huit cent quarante-six le deux juin est décédé à Paris rue du Bac 102, dixième arrondissement, Charles d'Ochoa, orientaliste, âgé de vingt-neuf ans [*sic* for "trente ans"], célibataire."

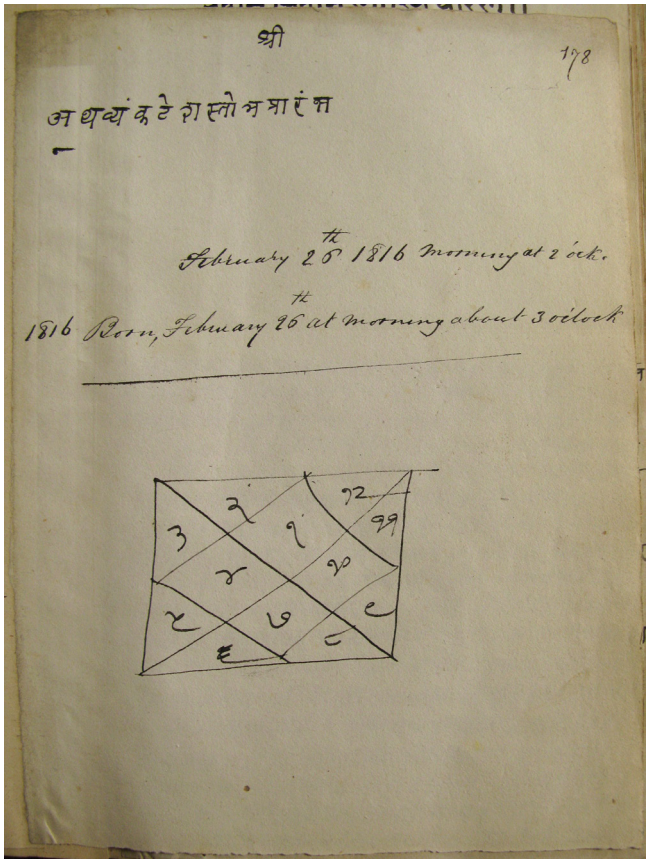


Fig. 1. Horoscope of Charles d'Ochoa, BnF NAF 8990, f. 178. Photo courtesy of the BnF.

shrouded in mystery. In a letter of recommendation to the Ministry of Public Instruction we learn that he was born in Bayonne in 1816, a fact that invites to consult the town's civil registers, for cross-referencing the date of 26 February given to Indian astrologers. This register proved to be full of surprises. The first was that Charles d'Ochoa was born "Pierre Charles Olloba," the latter surname being considered by the administration as a given name because the child was born "illegitimate," a word underlined in the margin of the register.[9] The surname "Olloba d'Ochoa" was used to

[9] AD "Pyrénées Atlantique, Bayonne, État civil, naissances, 1814–1825," f. 192: "Le vingt-six février, mil-huit cent seize, à quatre heures de relevée. Par devant nous, maire faisant les fonctions d'officier de l'Etat civil, de la ville, cantons et

sign his only publication, an adaptation from English of "Voyage au Bhoutan" by William Griffith (1810–1845), relating the embassy of Captain Robert Boileau Pemberton (dates unknown), published in 1840 in the *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques* founded by the geographers Konrad Malte-Brun (1775–1826) and Jean-Baptiste Eyriès (1767–1846). This translation with commentary was favourably received by Émile Dégranges Bonnet (1799–1870), who published a review in the *Actes de l'Académie des sciences de Bordeaux*, thus promoting the promising works of a local young fellow (Dégranges 1840). Bordeaux had in fact become Ochoa's home port. He studied there under the tutelage of Jacques Galos (1774–1830) and his son Henri Galos (1805–1873), both deputies of Gironde. Then hired as a clerk in a shipping company, he left the harbour of Pauillac, near Bordeaux, on March 22, 1835 for his first trip to India. His background was that of clerks and merchants, as his birth certificate attests. His mother was the daughter of Basque merchants from the village of Billodas in Spain and the witnesses were two young clerks and merchants from Bayonne. Bordeaux was also the port to which he returned to France in November 1844 after his second trip to India. Along with Lorient, Bordeaux was one of the few French ports from which ships left for India, via the Cape of Good Hope and the islands of the Indian Ocean. The other commercial road, taken by Charles d'Ochoa on his outward journey in 1843, consisted of passing through Marseilles, disembarking at Port Said in Egypt and re-embarking at Suez to continue the jour-

---

arrondissements de Bayonne, département des Basses-Pyrénées, est comparue Jeanne Ducros, veuve Charlesteguy, âgée de cinquante-trois ans, sage-femme, domiciliée dans cette ville, laquelle nous a déclaré que ce jour à trois heures du matin, la demoiselle Julie Belles, âgée de vingt-trois ans, rentière, casuellement en cette ville, non mariée, née à Billodas, en Espagne, elle-même fille de Sieur François Belles, marchand, et de veuve Christine Ouralde, conjoints, est accouchée en la maison n° 5 sise rue Poissonnerie, d'un enfant du sexe masculin, qu'elle nous présente, auquel elle a déclaré donner les prénoms de *Pierre Charles Olloba*; les dites déclarations et présentations faites en présence de Messieurs Pierre Mitche, dit Charlesteguy, âgé de vingt-un ans, commis négociant, domicilié dans cette ville y résidant et de Etienne Bardy, âgé de vingt-un ans, aussi commis négociant, domicilié dans ladite ville y résidant, dont les déclarants et témoins figurés avec nous le présent acte de naissance, après que leur en a été fait lecture."

ney via the Red Sea, as this was prior to the construction of the Suez canal, completed in 1869.

Charles d'Ochoa, the illegitimate child, the uncompleted scholar, nevertheless allows us to grasp all the questions that an intercultural encounter between France and India has brought to light. The incompleteness of his mission, the brevity of his life, his modest capacity for work, slowed down even further by illness, did not prevent him from providing interesting sources for an in-depth analysis of this pivotal period of the 1840s, during which Indology, driven by the work of European scholars in permanent contact with Indian scholars, found its full place in classical philological studies. While Sanskrit and Persian remained the priority of the scholarly world, Ochoa laid the foundations for the study of modern languages, of which Garcin de Tassy was the master in Paris. His collection covers various fields. Alongside Sanskrit and Persian, Ochoa collected material for a history of living literature in Marathi, Hindi, Punjabi, and Hindustani/Urdu. This literature was built in opposition to the elitism of the Brahmins, as were Jainism and Sikhism, two religions that also received Ochoa's full attention. Paradoxically, it was mostly Brahmins who provided him with the material necessary to learn about these different religious and literary trends. Ochoa thus brought back a sample that was quite representative of mid-19th-century central India. His collection was quickly used by Indologists, who learned about it from the catalogue drawn up by Eugène Burnouf and Joseph Toussaint Reinaud (1795–1867).[10]

The period concerned was also what Francis Démier calls "the decisive years" of the July Monarchy (Démier 2000: 189–207), during which France was moving towards economic, political and cultural modernity. These years are marked by the figure of François Guizot (1787–1874), whom Ochoa asked for a consular post in India when he was Minister of the Interior during Adolphe Thiers' second ministry (1797–1877). As Minister of Public Instruction between 1832 and 1837, Guizot strengthened the role of schools and education and promoted the dissemination of knowledge acquired through government funding. He had the scientific journal of Victor Jac-

[10] Burnouf and Reinaud 1848.

quemont (1801–1832) published in large in-folio volumes, whose influence was decisive on the French travellers who went to India after him. Narcisse-Achille de Salvandy (1795–1856) succeeded him in 1837 and again in 1845 until the fall of Louis-Philippe (1773–1850) and the advent of the Second Republic. In the meantime, Abel Villemain occupied the post and gave a new impetus to scientific missions by setting up a "Bureau des missions" in 1842 from which Charles d'Ochoa benefited.

2. Network of Scholars

As a cabinet scholar, Eugène Burnouf relied on the Société asiatique de Paris to take advantage of scholars in the field, mainly the British scholars of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1836, Burnouf explained to Guizot:

> There are two ways of obtaining Sanskrit manuscripts; 1° to buy those which are available, either in collections or individually; 2° to have copies made of works which one does not find the opportunity to buy. The first of these means is unfortunately rare and difficult to apply. France's relations with India are not sufficiently regular for the number of manuscripts that are transported to Paris each year and offered to the Royal Library to be considerable, and whatever the eagerness of this establishment to acquire the works presented to it, it is to be feared that the Indian collection kept there will long remain below those of London, if there are no other means of enriching it than isolated acquisitions, the opportunity for which does not arise frequently enough.
>
> My translation of E. Burnouf's letter to the Ministry of Public Instruction, 14 October 1836 (AN F/17/2775/2)[11]

[11] "Il y a deux moyens de se procurer des manuscrits sanscrits; 1° acheter ceux qui se présentent, soit en collection, soit isolément; 2° faire prendre des copies des ouvrages que l'on ne trouve pas l'occasion d'acheter. Le premier de ces moyens est malheureusement d'une application rare et difficile. Les relations que la France entretient avec l'Inde sont trop peu suivies pour que le nombre des manuscrits qui sont chaque année transportés à Paris et offerts à la Bibliothèque Royale soit bien considérable, et quel que soit l'empressement que mette cet établissement à faire l'acquisition des ouvrages qu'on lui présente, il est à craindre que la collection indienne qu'on y conserve ne reste longtemps

Burnouf stressed to Guizot the need to send a "zealous traveller who would be specially charged with the task of travelling through the central and western provinces of Hindosthan, with the special aim of searching for manuscripts"[12], following in the footsteps of Henry Thomas Colebrooke or James Tod. Succeeding Guizot in 1842, Villemain had ambitions for scientific missions, making the moment for Charles d'Ochoa's request to lead a mission to central and western India to be favourably received.

Charles d'Ochoa's arrival in Bombay in March 1843 enabled him to make contacts that would feed the various fields of research planned for his mission, notably the writing of a history of Indian literature. Letters of recommendation from the British government helped him to make excursions into Maharashtra, which was partly under the rule of the Bombay Presidency. After the fall of the last Marathi Peshwa Bajirao II in 1818, the British had in fact placed residents in each of the principalities of Maharashtra. This was notably the case in Satara, a principality administered until 1839 by Pratap Singh Bhosale (1793–1847) and then by his adopted son Shahaji (1808–1848), where Colonel Charles Ovans had been appointed Acting Resident in 1837 (S. Kulkarni 1995). A letter from Ochoa to Ovans shows how important these contacts were. During a stopover in the town of Jath, dependent on Satara and situated on the Bijapur road, Charles d'Ochoa received a welcome worthy of a "Bahādur", as he describes it in a letter written at the request of his contact in Jath, Mama Saheb.[13] The British were thus the first link in the chain of intermediaries that enabled Ochoa to gather his collection of manuscripts. Robert Xavier Murphy (1803–1857) played a key-role in his quest for Marathi literature. Murphy's

---

au-dessous de celles de Londres, si l'on n'a pour l'enrichir d'autres moyens que des acquisitions isolées, et dont l'occasion ne s'offre pas assez fréquemment."

[12] My translation of E. Burnouf's letter to the Ministry of Public Instruction (AN F/17/2775/2): "La nécessité d'envoyer un voyageur zélé qui serait spécialement chargé de parcourir les provinces centrales et occidentales de l'Hindosthan, dans le but spécial d'y chercher des manuscrits."

[13] BnF NAF 8989, f. 45, letter from Ochoa to Ovans, 3 March 1844: "This to comply with the desire of Mama Saheb of Jath that I write to you before my arrival to Beejapoor. That Mahrata gentleman according to the orders of the Raja, of the Bhaï Saheb and particularly of yourself, received me with all the honours due to a Bahadoor like me."

functions as interpreter at the Supreme Court, as well as letters of recommendation from Colonels Vans Kennedy (1783–1846) and Charles Ovans to the Indian authorities enabled Ochoa to approach the circle of Indian scholars. Based on letters in Ochoa's collection, Tulpule and A.R. Kulkarni have clearly shown how Ochoa had set up his network with the Maratha authorities in order to be able to cross through principalities or stay in cities. In Jath, he made a request directly to the *rānī* Bhāgīrathībāī Ḍaphaḷe.[14]

Besides the political network, Ochoa was able to insert himself into a scholarly network, mainly at the Sanskrit College of Pune where he worked closely with the Pandit Viṣṇu Śāstrī Bāpaṭa (dates unknown). A description of this place is given by Theodore Pavie in an article published in July 1844, at the same time that Ochoa was there:

> The Brahmanical High School is established in the former palace of the pechwa, composed of several dwellings, separated by small courtyards, surrounded by a canal where water always flows. The doors are low, the staircases narrow; the flats have ornate windows, but without glass; the back rooms, quiet, isolated, inhabited formerly by the female part of the reigning family, are haunted today by young schoolboys; they are so quiet themselves, that one would say that the gynaecium has been transformed into a convent. [...] Moving forward a little, one finds the six classes. In a course that lasts five years for each branch of education, the teachers explain grammar, logic, poetry, astronomy, medicine, the philosophy of civil and religious law. He who spends thirty years going through these six degrees leaves the College as *Pandit*, a doctor in all faculties; of course it is the sacred language, Sanskrit, the Latin of India, that must be learned and professed, and therefore the invariable tradition of the first ages.
>
> My translation of Pavie (1844: 28–29)[15]

[14] See BnF Indien 764 and Tulpule (1986: 120). The volume BnF Indien 804 contains several official letters, including one annotated by Ochoa, from "the brother of Bhaguirti Bhai, queen of Djath", thanks to which it is possible to trace his itinerary in this border region between southern Maharashtra and northern Karnataka, between Pune and Pandharpur, passing through Satara, Jath and Bijapur.

[15] "Le lycée brahmanique est établi dans ancien palais du pechwa, composé de

Viṣṇu Śāstrī Bāpaṭa had an important position in the Sanskrit College. Ochoa indicates that he was the disciple of Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī Thate, "object of great veneration on the part of the other Dekkan Brahmins."[16] The personal library of Thate is moreover described in the volume 'BnF Indien 690'. Rich in about five hundred titles, it is representative of the six branches of teaching described by Pavie, touching first on grammar, then on the Nyāya, the Mīmāṃsā, the Kāvya, the Dharmaśāstra, etc., all written in Sanskrit.

Tulpule and A.R. Kulkarni have also revealed that Ochoa was in correspondence with Rāmacandra Balāḷa Paṭavardhana, a Pandit from Pandharpur, as well as with Rāmacandra Śāstrī Jānavekara, Inspector of Schools in Pune, who suggested him in a letter dated 4 December 1843, to study Marathi language with Vaidya Vināyaka Jośī. We may add the name of Garūḍadhvaja Paṇḍita, an ascetic from Pandharpur who wrote a letter to Charles d'Ochoa dated Wednesday 22 May 1844 (*saṃvat 1901 jyeṣṭha śudi pañcamī śaśī)*. Ochoa transcribes his name at the bottom of a page as 'Garour adhoj Pandit beyragui', the term *vairāgī* referring to him as a Vaiṣṇava ascetic. Ochoa is then the subject of a poem composed by Garūḍadhvaja (**fig. 2**) celebrating their friendship and devotion to Viṭṭhala, god of Pandharpur:

bhara phūla dvai dala sahita jo ātma samarppaṇa hoi ||
calyo jāi vaikuṇṭha kaui hita vāsanā joi || 1 ||

---

plusieurs corps d'habitation, que séparent des cours peu spacieuses, entourées d'un canal où l'eau coule toujours. Les portes sont basses, les escaliers étroits; les appartements ont des fenêtres ornées, mais privées de vitres; les chambres du fond, tranquilles, isolées, habitées naguère par la partie féminine de la famille régnante, sont hantées aujourd'hui par de jeunes écoliers; ils sont si peu bruyants eux-mêmes, qu'on dirait que le gynécée s'est transformé en couvent. [...] En avançant un peu, on trouve les six classes, ou les six chaires, pour parler notre langue. Dans un cours qui dure cinq années pour chaque branche de l'enseignement, les maîtres expliquent la grammaire, la logique, la poésie, l'astronomie, la médecine, la philosophie du droit civil et religieux. Celui qui passe trente années à parcourir ces six degrés sort du collège *pandit*, docteur dans toutes les facultés; bien entendu que c'est la langue sacrée, le sanscrit, le latin de l'Inde, qu'il s'agit d'apprendre et de professer, par conséquent l'invariable tradition des premiers âges."

[16] BnF NAF 8991, f. 201v: "Le gourou ou directeur de Wichnou Chastri surnommé Bhaput d'après sa carte était Nilkunt Chastri Thate, qui était l'objet d'une grande vénération de la part des autres brahmes du Dekkan."

Docā sāhiba Cāralasa phurāsīsa Haridāsa ||
Garūḍadhvaja Paṇḍita sakhā Viṭṭhala pada raja pāsa || 2 ||

A soul shows up, along with his mate, both covered in flowers,
On their way to the Paradise of Viṣṇu, in a feeling of well-being,
Monsieur Charles d'Ochoa, the Frenchman, servant of Hari,
Is the friend of Garūḍadhvaja Paṇḍita, bowing to the dust of Viṭṭhala's feet.

BnF Indien 804

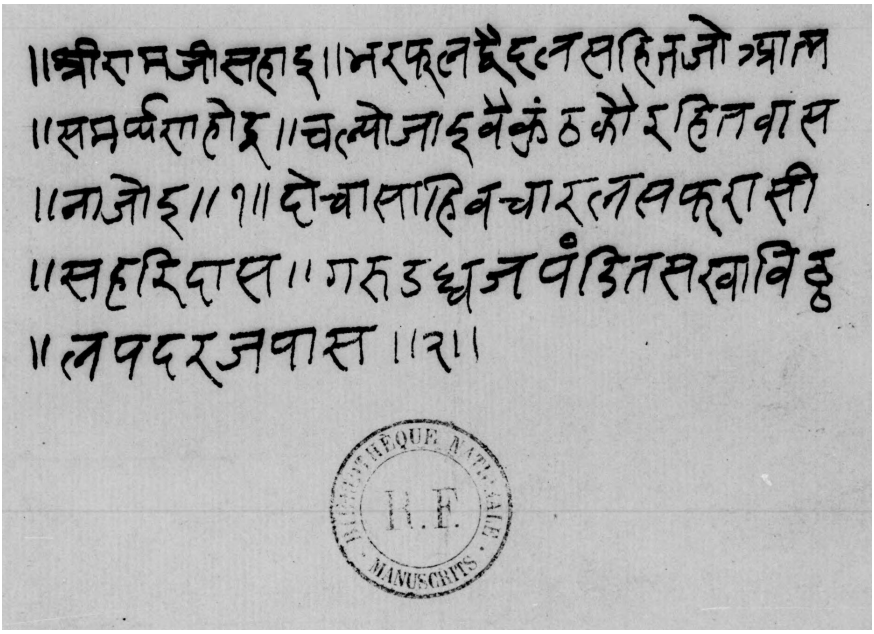


Fig. 2. Poem on Charles d'Ochoa composed by Garūḍadhvaja Paṇḍita in Pandharpur, BnF Indien 804. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

3. Collecting Manuscripts in Maharashtra

In October 1843, Charles d'Ochoa informed Abel Villemain of his intention to begin his history of Indian literature with Maharashtra:

> As I am still in the country of the Marathi, it is with the literature of this region that I shall begin. This part of my work includes: 1° A note on the Marathi language and its degree of affinity with the other languages of India. 2° Research into the tradition of the existence of a Marathi literature independent of Sanskrit literature. 3° Successful results in this investigation and

> a list of a hundred authors with the indication of their works. 4° Collection of various works sent to the Minister and including manuscripts which do not exist in France and Marathi authors recently printed on stone by the Brahmans themselves. I shall add to this collection three volumes of popular poems, national and religious songs, legends, mystical odes in the various meters designated under the name of *abhang*, *auvi*, *arya*, *pads*, etc., which I have collected in my excursions. 5° Some reflections on the nature and importance of Marathi literature. The existence of Marathi literature, denied by people who had not taken the trouble to examine it closely and to engage in the research to which I owe this success, is becoming a notable and indisputable fact.
>
> My translation of First report made by Charles d'Ochoa to Abel Villemain Colabah, 3 October 1843 (AN F/17/2995/2)[17]

This first shipment already contains the seeds of the main lines of Ochoa collection: a collection of both manuscripts and lithographed books based on the study of literature in modern languages and no longer on the Sanskrit language alone, which was then the main focus of Indian studies in Europe.

The three volumes referred to by Ochoa also contain most of the important authors of Marathi literature. They now form volumes 'BnF Indien 680' to 'Indien 682' and all bear title pages written by Charles d'Ochoa, indicating that Pune was the centre of a well-de-

---

[17] "Comme je me trouve encore dans le pays des Mahrates, c'est par la littérature de cette contrée que je commencerai. Cette partie de mes travaux comprend: 1° Notice sur la langue mahratte et sur son degré d'affinité avec les autres langues de l'Inde. 2° Recherches dans la tradition *sur l'existence d'une littérature mahrate indépendante de la littérature sanskrite*. 3° Résultats heureux dans cette investigation et *liste d'une centaine d'auteurs avec l'indication de leurs ouvrages*. 4° *Collection d'ouvrages divers* expédiés à Monsieur le Ministre et comprenant des *manuscrits qui n'existent pas en France* et des *auteurs Mahrates récemment imprimés sur pierre par les Brahmes eux-mêmes*. J'ajouterai à cette collection *trois volumes de poésies populaires*, de *chants nationaux et religieux*, de *légendes*, d'*odes mystiques* dans les divers mètres désignés sous le nom d'*abhang*, *auvi*, *arya*, *pads*, etc., etc., que j'ai recueillis dans mes excursions. 5° Quelques réflexions sur la nature de l'importance de la littérature marhatte. L'existence de la littérature marhatte, *niée par des personnes qui ne s'étaient pas donné la peine d'examiner de près* et de se livrer aux recherches auxquelles je dois ce succès, *devient un fait notable et incontestable*." (Ochoa's emphasis)

fined collecting area, comprising the whole of Maharashtra, from Bombay in the west, to Pandharpur in the east and Nasik in the north. The first of the three volumes (BnF Indien 680) is not very extensive, but it already contains a copy of the *abhaṅga* of Muktābāī (13th century), an author of particular interest to Ochoa. Indeed, he collected this same collection of eleven or twelve *abhaṅga*s several times.[18] It is known from Robert Murphy that Charles d'Ochoa had tried to give a French translation of Muktābāī's *abhaṅga*s.[19] Like most of the poets of her time and region, Muktābāī is associated with the cult of Viṭhobā/Viṭṭhala/Pāṇḍuraṅga, an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa, whose temple at Pandharpur is the main place of devotion. She is the sister of Jñāneśvara (1271?–1296) who, after Mukundarāja (13th century), provided the impetus for the creation of a literature in the Marathi language. Pandharpur was thus the epicentre from which Marathi literature spread and to which pilgrims converged coming to worship Viṭhobā, while singing the poems of the Sants.

It is important to take this movement into account in order to understand the way in which Ochoa organised his collection. For him, it was a question of collecting living Indian literature, proclaimed, declaimed and sung, far from the Sanskrit texts studied in the austerity of the reading rooms. In fact, he himself went to this great place of pilgrimage. The Marathi poets of the Bhakti movement collected by Ochoa are all inspired by the cult of Viṭhobā. They form the tradition of the Vārkarī, "those who perform the pilgrimage (*vārī*)",[20] to which the great authors of pre-modern Marathi literature are connected, such as Nāmdev (1270–1350), Eknāth (1548?–1608?), Tukārām (1608?–1648?), and Mahīpati (1715–1790) who immortalized them in the *Bhaktavijaya* and other hagiographic texts. These poets were influenced by the cult of Viṭhobā in Pandharpur, the Advaita-vedānta theorised by Śaṅkarācārya and the Nāth Yogī tradition into which Muktābāī was born. The irreverent character and anti-Brahmin sentiment that animated the Nāth Yogī was particularly suited to this poetic tradition born in humble

[18] BnF Indien 680 f. 50–52, Indien 681 f. 4–15, Indien 681 f. 56–59, Indien 684.

[19] BnF NAF 8991, f. 387–390, Letter from Murphy to Ochoa, Bombay, 21 June 1844.

[20] See Tulpule and Feldhaus (2000: 643): "*vārī*, f. the regular practice of going on a pilgrimage".

circles of grocers, weavers, tailors, fishermen, garbage collectors, for whom the only essential values lay in the name of Hari. The iconography of Viṭhobā/Kṛṣṇa shows the god wearing a Śivaliṅga in his hair, allowing the Marathas to celebrate their devotional feeling for this "unique" god. This quality is moreover noted by Charles d'Ochoa, for he saw in it the very expression of a form of Catholicism in the midst of an Indian polytheism on which he did not dwell much. The figure of Viṭhobā is at once that of the father, the mother, and a unique god, identical to the self, with whom the devotee nurtures a relationship of love.

The second volume of 1843 (BnF Indien 681) is the most extensive, containing mainly poems of the Sants. A table of contents in *devanāgarī* organises the contents, gives the number and nature of the stanzas (*abhaṅga*, *ovī*, *pada*, *śloka*, *āratī*) as well as the page numbers. The presence of these tables of contents is interesting from the perspective of the study of paratexts. It appears that the number of stanzas is an important element as the vague title such as *Tukārāmāce abhaṅga*, or "Poems of Tukārām", becomes significant when associated with a number of stanzas. The case is striking in Muktābāī: the mere mention of 12 or 11 *abhaṅga*s immediately designates a certain series of poems called *Tāṭīce abhaṅga* or "Gate Poems", while other numbers point to other collections of poems. This volume is also interesting for the colophons written in red ink at the end of most of the texts in the volume. In these the scribe notes the name of Charles d'Ochoa in Marathi fashion, like the one ending the *abhaṅga* on Goddess Ambā:

> *he Aṃbece abhaṃga Cyārlīsa Ḍocoa Sāheba yāṃce sāṭhīṃ lihile āheta ||*
> These poems on Ambā are written for Mr. Charles d'Ochoa.
>
> BnF Indien 681, f. 48

Charles d'Ochoa was also interested in collecting biographical information concerning the authors of this peculiar tradition. For this purpose, he collected texts that mentions the names and some of the deeds of these authors. The genre of the *caritra* attracted the attention of the young scholar. An important source for tracing the history of the Sants is Mahīpati's *Bhaktavijaya*. This text, written in the mid-eighteenth century, describes the history of the Sant poets of the Vārkarī tradition. This text is essential to have a precise overview of the names and lives of the main authors of

North Indian literature for the pre-modern period and thus allows Ochoa to announce to Villemain that he had collected "a hundred names".[21] The complete text was collected by Charles d'Ochoa with a fine copy containing a colophon dated in the Śaka era style which can be converted[22] as Saturday 26 September 1801:

> *svastī śrī nṛpa-Śālivāna-śake 1723 Durmati-nāma-saṃvatsare bhādrapada kṛṣṇa cuturthyāyāṃ prathama-prahare annagṛha-kṣatra-sthena kāla-viṭhopa-nāma kena Bapu-Devātmajena Anaṃdarāyena likhitaṃ idaṃ Bhaktavijayākhya-pustakaṃ samāptaṃ śrī-Pāṇḍuraṃgāryaṃ ṇamastu lekhaka-pāṭhakayoḥ śubhaṃ bhavatu śrī-Rāma ||*
>
> In the year 1723 of the era of the beneficent king Śālivahana, the year called Durmati, [month] Bhādrapada, dark [fortnight], fourth [*tithi*], first part of the day, written by Bapu Devātmaja Anandarāya, a resident of the sacred place of Viṭhobā the dark one, this book of the *Bhaktavijaya* is completed. May it pay homage to the glorious Pāndurańga. May it be auspicious to its scribes and readers. Glory to Rāma.
>
> BnF Indien 662, f. 320v

The poet-philosopher Mukundarāja was given special attention by Ochoa, who appreciated his importance in the history of Marathi literature. Mukundarāja is considered one of the earliest Marathi language poets and his *Vivekasindhu* is one of the foundation stones of literature in that language, along with Jñāneśvara's commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* known as the *Jñāneśvarī*. Tulpule recalls that Mukundarāja claimed a direct lineage to Śiva, his *guru*, while in reality he was the disciple of Raghunātha, disciple of Harināth a, founder of the Mahānubhāva sect which had a decisive influence on Maharasthra (Tulpule 1979: 327). Mukundarāja occupies a special place: while not really a Sant or a poet revered by the Pandharpurian tradition, he is essentially a rigorous philosopher of the

---

[21] AN F/17/2995, third report from Ochoa to Villemain, Paytan, 30 December 1843: "La liste copieuse des auteurs dont j'ai découvert l'existence et dont le nombre s'élève à plus de cent, le tableau de leurs œuvres révélant une littérature encore inconnue en Europe."

[22] The conversions were made using the Pancanga program (<http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga>). I thank Marco Franceschini for taking the time to read the dated colophons again and for suggesting clarifications.

Śaṅkara tradition, whose thought is, according to Tulpule, slightly softened by the sentiment of *bhakti*. Ochoa has collected the two great poems of Mukundarāja, the *Vivekasindhu* (BnF Indian 669) and the *Paramāmṛta* (BnF Indian 666). In the former, a copy commissioned by Ochoa, the first chapter of the text has been ordered in two columns. The rest of the text is noted by a second hand in full page. The manuscript stops at chapter 15. Following the colophon at the end of this chapter, an operation in Ochoa's hand calculates the price to be paid for this copy containing 81 pages, 19 lines per page, and an average 25 *akṣara*s per line: 81 x 19, broken down into (81 x 9) + (81 x 10) = 1,539 x 25, broken down into (1539 x 5) + (1539 x 20) = 38,475 / 32 = 1201 [*sic* for 1202]. The number 32, found elsewhere, is the number of syllables in a *śloka*, the equivalent of a *grantha*, the unit of account in Indian manuscripts for estimating the wages of scribes. Prices here are in *anna*, the rupee cent. As a reminder, Ochoa paid Viṣṇu Śāstri 100 rupees a month, which he said was equivalent to 250 francs, "a sum that would pay a good teacher in France".[23]

The copy of the Mukundarāja's *Paramāmṛta* is executed with great care, including an initial page ornamented with floral designs (**online fig. 2**). A colophon further gives the date of the copy, converted to Saturday 27 August 1831, as well as the name of the scribe, Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa Devadhara:

> *śake 1753 Khara-nāma-saṃvatsare śrāvaṇe māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe adya caturthīyāṃ tithau bhugu-vāsare tisarā-prahare Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Devadhara likhite ||*
>
> In the year 1753 of the Śaka era, year named Khara [25th of the Jupiter cycle], month of Śrāvana, dark fortnight, fourth day, Friday, third part of the day, [this book] was written by Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa Devadhara.
>
> BnF Indien 666, f. 39 (**online fig. 3**)

Among the Sanskrit texts, there are well-known texts such as Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. This copy is interesting because it is accompanied by the *Sāhityaratnamālā*, a commentary by Śeṣa Kamalākara. The colophon gives the date Saṃvat 1685, taken as the date of the

[23] AN F/14/2995/2, First report from Ochoa to Villemain, Colabah, 3 October 1843.

copy in the catalogue, whereas this is presumably the date of composition of the commentary, as stated in the colophon:

> *iti śrī-Śeṣa-Kamalākara-viracitāyāṃ śrī-Gītagovinda-vyākhyāyāṃ Sāhitya-ratna-mālāyāṃ dvādaśaḥ sargaḥ || cha || samāpto 'yaṃ Gītagoviṇda-vyākhyā || cha || saṃvat 1685 varṣe āṣāḍha vadi 3 budhe likhitā ṭīkā || cha ||*
>
> End of the twelfth chapter of the 'Garland of Literary Jewels', the glorious commentary on the *Gītagovinda* composed by the glorious Śeṣa Kamalākara. This commentary on the *Gītagovinda* has been completed. Commentary of the *ṭīkā* type written in the year 1685 of the [Vikrama] era, month of Āsāḍha, dark fortnight, third day, Wednesday.
>
> BnF Sanscrit 525, f. 93

If this is the date of the copy, it would make this manuscript, completed on Wednesday 19 July 1628 CE, the oldest dated manuscript in the Ochoa collection. Although it is certainly not a contemporary copy, a first codicological and palaeographic analysis precludes a date later than the second half of the 18th century.[24] The invocation noted by the scribe at the beginning of his copy is interesting, since it invokes Kṛṣṇa under his epithet of *śrī-Rādhā-vastra-bhoja-pati* or "the glorious Master of pleasures taken with Rādhā's clothes", referring to the theft by the malicious Kṛṣṇa of the clothes of the *gopī*s who were bathing in the river. Charles d'Ochoa also gives the title of the work on the upper guard leaf, with notable accuracy, despite its transcription system not so obvious to decipher nowadays: "Guit-Govind by Djay-dev with comm. entitled Sahitye Ratn Mala by Schech Kamalaker".

The copy of the *Devīmahātmya*, another famous Sanskrit text, also has a date in the colophon written by one of the scribes who worked with Charles d'Ochoa, in the precise style of ancient colophons:

> *śake 1765 Śobhana-nāma-saṃvatsare bhādrapada-vadya-amāvāsyāṃ maṃdavāsare idaṃ pustakaṃ samāptaṃ || bhairava-prasanno 'stu || cha || iti saptaśatī samāptaḥ || cha || svārthaṃ paropakārārthaṃ ca || cha ||*

[24] Other copies of this commentary are found in India: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute Jodhpur, n° 1880, shelfmark 5558, dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1670 (Jawalia 1984: 218); Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, manuscript dated Saṃvat 1781 (Gode 1940: 245).

> In 1765 of the Śaka era, a year named Śobhana [37th of the Jupiter cycle], month of Bhādrapada, dark fortnight, on the first day of the new moon, a Saturday, this book was completed. May it have the favour of Bhairava. The *Saptaśatī* is completed. [This book is written] for personal and collective use.
>
> BnF Sanscrit 512, f. 110v (**online fig. 4**)

The conversion gives Sunday, 10 September 1843, the date on which Ochoa began his tour of Maharashtra.

In the Sanskrit sphere of Ochoa's collection, the presence of Śaṅkara, bearer of the Advaita-Vedānta theories of monism well established in Maharashtra, runs through the collections and independent manuscripts. One such manuscript is notable for the quality of its copy and the date given in the colophon. It is a copy of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* (BnF Sanscrit 859), attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, centred on knowledge through perception by means of the four *pramāṇa*s: perception by the senses, by inference, by comparison and by authority of the verb. The volume opens with one of the most beautiful ornamented pages (*citraprṣṭhikā*) in the collection, consisting of finely executed floral pattern decorations enhanced with pink and yellow gouache (**fig. 3**).



Fig. 3. Ornamental title page (*citraprṣṭhikā*) of *Aparokṣānubhūti* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, dated 1826 CE, BnF Sanscrit 859, f. 1. Photo courtesy of the BnF.

The colophon, dated 12 (or 26 if the unmentioned lunar fortnight is dark) July 1826, written in mixed Sanskrit-Marathi, gives the name of the city of Pune:

> *śrī-Gurūcaraṇāravi | dārpaṇam astu || hastākṣara Rāvaji-Lakṣumaṇa-Bhīḍe vastī peṭha Sadāśiva śahara Puṇe he pustaka Śrīnivāsa-Bhāskarayāce ase śake 1748 Vyaya-nāma-saṃvatsare māhe āṣāḍha vāra 7 idaṃ pustakaṃ sa[mā]ptaṃ || śubhaṃ bhavatu || śrī-sābhaṃ Sadāśivāparṇam rastu* [= *Sadāśivārpaṇam astu*] *|| Śīva* [sic!] *|| Śīva || Śīva ||*
>
> May [this text] be the mirror of the sun that is the glorious feet of the master. The scribe is Rāvaji Lakṣmaṇa Bhīḍe, a resident of the Sadashiv Peth area of Pune. This book belongs to Śrīnivāsa Bhāskara. In the year 1748 of the Śaka era, year called Vyaya [20th of the Jupiter cycle], month of Āṣāḍha, 7th day, this book was completed. May it be auspicious. May it be an offering to Śiva. Śiva! Śiva! Śiva!
>
> BnF Sanscrit 859, f. 37v (**online fig. 5**)

4. Some Jaina Colophons

Besides the Marathi literary traditions, Ochoa also wanted to know more about the non-Brahmin, Sikh, Muslim and Jaina traditions. He collected a large number of Persian, Hindustani/Urdu and some Punjabi manuscripts. In order to explore the Jaina religion in more detail, he asked the Pandits with whom he worked closely in Pune for a copy of the most important texts. Quite logically, the Pandits first delivered to him a copy of the *Kalpasūtra* (BnF Indien 884), a text of the Śvetāmbara Canon which opens with the *Pañcanamaskāramantra*, a hymn recited daily by the Jaina, before describing the life of Mahāvīra. This copy is carefully executed by various scribes based in Pune and Mumbai who worked under the direction of Viṣṇuśāstri Bāpaṭa. Ochoa's collection, moreover, is largely composed of contemporary copies, at the end of which the scribes left colophons in which the places of copying, sometimes the name of the copyist and the patron, as well as the date of completion of the copy are given. The present *Kalpasūtra* manuscript is complete and a classically constructed colophon offers the following elements:

> *iti śrī-Kalpasūtraṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ || saṃvat 1900 varṣe mitī kartika sudha 10 || śrī-Muṃbaī-baṃdare || cha ||*

> The glorious *Kalpasūtra* was completed in the year 1900 of the [Vikrama] era, month of Kārttika, bright fortnight, 10th day, in the glorious port of Mumbai.
>
> BnF Indien 884, p. 125 (**online fig. 6**)

The date in Samvat era corresponds to Thursday, 2 November 1843. A colophon in Marathi then gives the name of the patron:

> *heṃ pustaka Cārlsa Docoa sahebāṃ sāṭhīṃ lihileṃ ase ||*
>
> This book is written for Mr Charles d'Ochoa.
>
> BnF Indien 884, p. 125 (**online fig. 6**)

At the intersection of the Jaina and Gujarati spheres, both of which interested him, Charles d'Ochoa also collected manuscripts of Jaina narrative literature in Gujarati, Prakrit or Sanskrit with a Gujarati gloss. The *Suṣaṭhakathā* (BnF Indien 883) is a narrative in Prakrit taken from the *Mahāniśīthasūtra*, the second Chedasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Canon, which deals with the sufferings inflicted on those who do not follow the suitable rules, accompanied by a commentary in Gujarati referred to as *tabārtha* in the initial stanza and as *ṭabo* in the colophon. An expanded colophon again gives the date of the copy, converted to 21 April 1789, as well as the name of the scribe, the monk Caturvijaya, who copied this text for the reading use of another monk, Sundaravijaya, in the Pañcāsarāja temple in Patan.

> *saṃvat 1846 nā varṣe caitra-vadi 11 dine vāra-maṅgalenaḥ laṣitaṃ paṃ[ḍita] Caturvijaye namaṃ Sūṃdaravijayajī-paṭhaṇārtham || śrī-Pāṭaṇa-nagare śrī-Paṃcāsarāja-prasādāt || sūbhaṃ || bhavatu || śrīr astu || śrī || śreyaṃ ||*
>
> BnF Indien 883, f. 49v (**fig. 4**)

The colophon is followed by a copyist's maxim. Written in Gujarati it wishes long life for the manuscript:

> *jīhāṃ lagai Merū aḍagaheṃ, jīhāṃ lageṃ sasīharasūrā*
> *tīhāṃ lageṃ e pothī sadā rahai jyo gūṃṇabharapūra ||*
>
> As long as the Meru lasts, as long as the moon lasts,
> may this manuscript full of qualities remains forever.
>
> BnF Indien 883, f. 49v (**fig. 4**)

Another work of narrative literature, this time in Sanskrit, the *Pṛthvīcandracaritra* is a Jaina version of the story of King Pṛthu, the

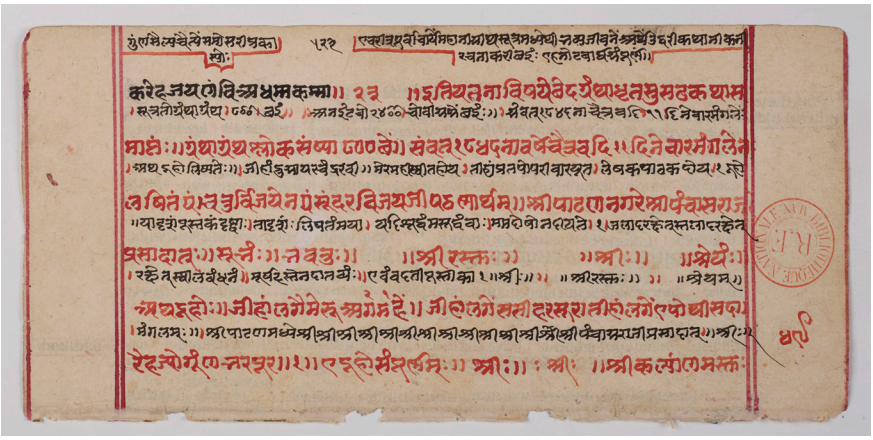


Fig. 4. BnF Indien 883, *Suṣaṭhakathā*, f. 49v. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

universal monarch portrayed in the fourth canto of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. There are two versions of this text in the history of Jaina literature. The first was composed in 1423 (Saṃvat 1478) by Māṇikyasundarasūri, a Śvetāmbara monk of the Añcalagaccha, author of an important work of Sanskrit narrative literature. The second is the work of Labdhisāgarasūri, a Śvetāmbara monk of the Tapāgaccha active in the early 16th century. Labdhisāgara's name appears in the final stanzas of the text, between the end of the narrative and the beginning of the colophon, making it possible to establish the authorship of this text, accompanied here by an interlinear gloss in Gujarati. The detailed colophon includes interesting elements, such as the date of the copy, converted to Saturday 12 October 1799, the name of the scribe, Motivijaya, who executed his copy in the temple of Pārśvanātha in Radhanpur, Gujarat. As in the case of the previous manuscript, the scribe Motivijaya notes after the colophon a maxim inviting the reader to forgive him for his copying errors.

> *iti śrī-Pṛthvicandracaritraṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ saṃvat 1856 nā varṣe āso śudi 13 dine laṣītaṃ Motivije śrī-Rādhaṇapura-madhye śrī-Caṃtāmaṇa-Pārśvanāthajī-praśādataḥ śrī-Śāṃtināthajī-bīrājitaṃ ||*
>
> *aparaṃ pustakaṃ vīkṣa sodhanīya sadā budhe |*
>
> *hīnādhakṣe svare varṇe asmākaṃ duṣaṇaṃ nahī ||*
>
> The glorious *Pṛthvīcandracaritra* is completed. It was copied in the year 1856 of the [Vikrama] era, month of Āśvina, bright fort-

> night, 13th day, by Motivije in the glorious city of Radhanpur, in the glorious temple of Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha, enhanced by the glorious Śāntinātha.
>
> That intelligent people always correct by consulting another manuscript.
>
> If there is a letter or a sound more or less, it is not my fault.
>
> BnF Sanscrit 1030, f. 72 (**online fig. 7**)

To this survey of Jaina manuscripts we might add two manuscripts of poems composed in Brajbhāṣā in the seventeenth century and copied here in Jaina milieu, the *Madhumālatīkathā* of Caturbhujadāsa (BnF Indien 702) and the *Madhavānalakāmakundala* of Motirāma (BnF Indien 704). These manuscripts are indeed of the same workmanship. The oblong sheets of Indian paper are taken lengthwise to form a codex-sized work. The reading of the colophons, written in Gujarati, makes it possible to link these two manuscripts definitively to the Jaina tradition, for the scribe reveals his identity and that of the person who commissioned the copy:

> *itī śrī-Madhumālatī nī kathā | kāyatha-Caturabhujadāsa-kathītaṃ | saṃpūṛṇaṃ | saṃvat 1879 nā varṣai | śrāvaṇa-māseṃ | kṛṣṇa-pakṣeṃ | pratīpadā tatho | vārasa nau | śrī-Pāhālaṇadhara nagreṃ | Kapatāṃna Mehajara śrī | Mehala sāhiba rājyeṃ laṣī laṣataṃ || Paṃ[ḍita] śrīVavekavījayagaṇī tat-sīṣya sadā sevaka || Bhaktīvījaya-laṣītaṃ ||*
>
> The glorious story of Madhumālatī, narrated by the *kāyastha* Caturabhujadāsa, is completed. In the year 1879 of the [Vikrama] era, month of Śrāvaṇa, first day of the dark fortnight of the rainy season, in the glorious city of Palanpur, when the ruler was the glorious Captain Major Mr. Miles, [this book] was copied by Bhaktivijaya, a disciple in the service of his glorious master Pandit Vivekavijayagaṇi.
>
> BnF Indien 702, f. 95v (**fig. 5**)

Completed on Sunday, 11 August 1822, the copy of this manuscript was followed a few weeks later by the second manuscript, the copy of which was completed on Thursday, 19 September 1822:

> *iti śrī-Mādhavānalakāmakundalārī caupai dūhā bandha saṃpūrṇaṃ || saṃ[vat] 1879 nāmāsadha tīya āsau śudhi 3 dīneṃ | śrī-Pāhālaṇapūreṃ | la° [= laṣītaṃ] paṃ[ḍita] Bhaktīvījayaga[ṇi] paṃ[ḍita]-rūpa-saktaina laṣīto yaṃ |*

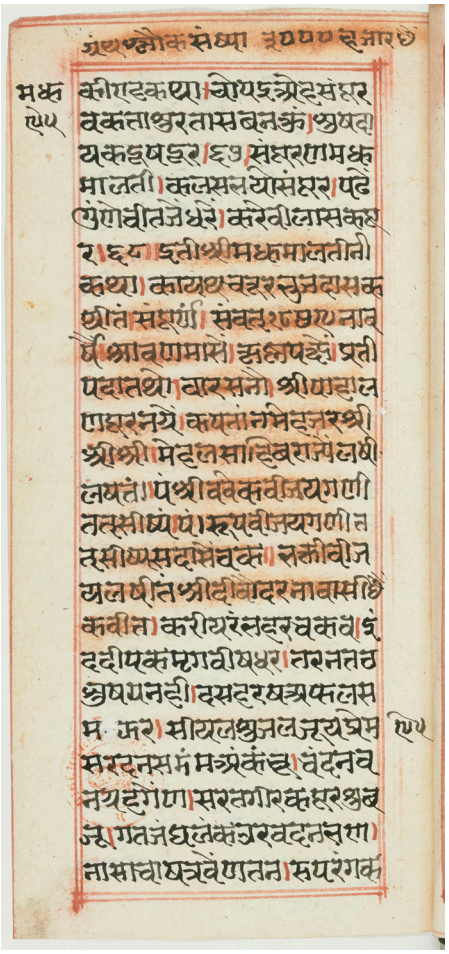


Fig. 5. BnF Indien 702, *Madhumālatīkathā*, f. 95v. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

> The glorious *Mādhavānalakāmakundala* consisting of quatrains and couplets is completed. In the year 1879 of the [Vikrama] era, month of Āśvina, bright fortnight, 3rd day, in the glorious city of Palanpur, this [book] was written by the Pandit Bhaktivijaya, who endeavoured to write it in the manner of Pandits.
>
> BnF Indien 704, f. 36v (**online fig. 8**)

It is worthy of note that the months of the copy, August and September (Śrāvaṇa and Āśvina), correspond to the period of the *caturmāsa*, the four months of the rainy season during which monks no longer move from one holy place to another to avoid injuring the

living world that thrives especially in this climate, taking advantage of this halt to teach and copy manuscripts. The copyist and patron of these two manuscripts are not unknown to European libraries as four manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library collection (e.g. Cambridge, MS Add.1266.6, **online fig. 9**) were indeed copied by Bhaktivijaya's hand, as revealed in the library records.[25] The Cambridge manuscripts were copied in the same year 1822 in the same city of Palanpur in Gujarat, with identical wording, for the same Captain Major William Miles (1780–1860). Miles used these manuscripts as a direct source for the essay on the Jainas, which he published in 1833 and which is among the pioneering works on this tradition.

5. Conclusion

Charles d'Ochoa built a collection by following guidelines established in connection with the academic and political authorities in Paris. He was able to take advantage of the revival of scientific missions in the 1840s. He made perfect use of the institutionalisation of Oriental studies at the beginning of the 19th century, relying, in Mumbai, on the Asiatic Society and the Geographical Society, and, in Paris, on the Société asiatique and the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, so as to obtain official support for his research project. He cultivated his aptitude for languages and followed his taste for poetry, of which he was an ardent reader.

The reading of sources in non-European scripts is an important access point for writing the history of Indian manuscript collections in Europe. The so-called Ochoa collection is, like any other collection, the result of a continuous exchange between a collector and his network of go-betweens. There would be no Ochoa collection without the essential contribution of Viṣṇuśāstrī Bāpaṭa or other people who played a key-role in his understanding of Marathi poetry, Vedānta philosophy or Jainism. In the same way, the reading of the paratextual materials reveals the context of production of the manuscripts, documents the social and religious history of the places concerned, and helps to link collections held in different libraries.

[25] See Balbir 2017.

Abbreviations

AD archives départementales
AN archives nationales de France
AP archives de Paris

References

Burnouf, Eugène; Reinaud, Joseph-Toussaint. 1848. "Catalogue des ouvrages indiens, arabes, etc., rapportés par M. Ch. d'Ochoa, chargé d'une mission dans l'Inde par M. le ministre de l'Instruction publique". *Journal asiatique* 11: 66–85.

Coeurdoux, Gaston-Laurent. 1808. "Réponse au mémoire de M. Barthélémy". *Mémoires de littérature, tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* XLIX: 647–712.

Colas, Gérard. 1995. *Manuscrits telugu: catalogue raisonné*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Dégranges, Émile. 1840. Review of 'Ambassade au Bhoutan' by Charles Olloba d'Ochoa. *Actes de l'Académie royale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Bordeaux* 2: 614–618.

Démier, Francis. 2000. *La France du XIX^e^ siècle: 1814–1914*. Paris: Seuil.

Ducoeur, Guillaume. 2021. "Du devenir des manuscrits du *Ṛgveda* en Europe au XVIII^e^ siècle". In *Lux philologiae: l'essor de la philologie au XVIII^e^ siècle*, edited by C. Bonnet et al., 37–54. Genève: Droz.

Filliozat, Jean. 1941. *Catalogue du fonds Sanscrit, tome I, n° 1 à 165*. Paris: Leroux.

Filliozat, Pierre-Sylvain. 2020. *À l'origine des études sanscrites: la "Grammatica Sanscritica" de Jean-François Pons S. J.* Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.

Gode, P. K. 1940. *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts*, vol. 13, part 1. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Godfrey, John J. 1967. "Sir William Jones and Père Cœurdoux: A Philological Footnote". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87: 57–59.

Jawalia, B. 1984. *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts*, Part 12. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute.

Kulkarni, A. R. 1987. "Charles d'Ochoa: A French Orientalist of the Mid-Nineteenth Century". *Indian historical review* 14: 185.

Kulkarni, S. 1995. *The Satara Raj, 1818–1848: A Study in History, Administration, and Culture*. Delhi: Mittal Publications.

Lardinois, Roland. 2007. *L'invention de l'Inde: entre ésotérisme et science*. Paris: CNRS éditions.

Miles, William. 1833. "On the Jainas of Gujerat and Mârwâr". *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3: 335–371.

Ochoa, Charles d'. 1840. "Ambassade au Bhoutan: abrégé du voyage du capitaine Pemberton en 1837–1838, rédigé par M. Griffith, traduit par M. Charles Olloba d'Ochoa". *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques* 2: 273–336.

Pavie, Theodore. 1844. "Les Mahrattes de l'Ouest". *Revue des deux mondes* 7: 5–37.

Petit, Jérôme. 2025. *La mission de Charles d'Ochoa: un jalon dans l'histoire des collections indiennes de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*. Paris: EPHE.

Rabault-Feuerhahn, Pascale. 2013. *Archives of Origins: Sanskrit, Philology, Anthropology in 19th-Century Germany*. Translated by D. Bach, R. Willet. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Kultur- und sozialwissenschaftliche Studien 9).

Richard, Francis. 2003. *Le livre persan*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Rocher, Rosane. 1995. "Discovery of Sanskrit by Europeans". *Concise History of the Language Sciences: From the Sumerians to the Cognitivists*, ed. by E.F.K. Koerner, R.E. Asher, 188–191. Pergamon.

Rocher, Rosane. 2020. *For the Sake of the Vedas: The Anglo-German Life of Friedrich Rosen 1805–1837*, with Agnes Stache-Weiske. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Tulpule, S. G. 1979. *Classical Marāṭhī Literature: From the Beginnings to A.D. 1818*, A history of Indian literature, vol. 9, fasc. 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Tulpule, S. G. 1986. "A descriptive catalogue of the marathi manuscripts in the Charles d'Ochoa collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris". *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 75: 105–123.

Tulpule, S. G. & Feldhaus, Anne. 2000. *A dictionary of old Marathi*. Oxford: Oxford university press.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. Horoscope of Charles d'Ochoa, BnF NAF 8990, f. 178. Photo courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 2. Poem on Charles d'Ochoa composed by Garūḍadhvaja Paṇḍita in Pandharpur, BnF Indien 804. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 3. Ornamental title page (*citrapṛṣṭhikā*) of *Aparokṣānubhūti* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, dated 1826 CE, BnF Sanscrit 859, f. 1. Photo courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 4. BnF Indien 883, *Suṣaṭhakathā*, f. 49v. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 5. BnF Indien 702, *Madhumālatīkathā*, f. 95v. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

List of Online Figures

Online fig. 1. BnF Indien 662, *Bhaktavijaya* by Mahīpati, f. 320v. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100913500/f325>

Online fig. 2. BnF Indien 666, *Paramāmṛta* by Mukundarāja, f. 1. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10468643n/f9>

Online fig. 3. BnF Indien 666, *Paramāmṛta* by Mukundarāja, f. 39. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10468643n/f85>

Online fig. 4. BnF Sanscrit 512, *Devīmāhātmya*, f. 110v. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10082822k/f116>

Online fig. 5. BnF Sanscrit 859, *Aparokṣānubhūti*, f. 37v. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10083081x/f41>

Online fig. 6. BnF Indien 884, *Kalpasūtra*, p. 125. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53157061c/f133>

Online fig. 7. BnF Sanscrit 1030, *Pṛthvīcandracaritra*, f. 72. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53164658n/f151>

Online fig. 8. BnF Indien 704, *Mādhavānalakāmakundala*, f. 36v. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10029531z/f84>

Online fig. 9. Cambridge MS Add.1266.6, *Jaṃbūdvīpa no vīcāra*, f. 15v. <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01266–00006/30>

Scribes, Editors, & Librarians

Between Tradition and Modernity in Late Colonial India[1]

Charles Li (Universität Hamburg)

Palmyr Cordier, a French colonial doctor stationed in Chandernagor and Pondicherry, commissioned hundreds of Sanskrit manuscripts, mainly on medical topics, from different institutions across India between 1898 and 1904. This collection, now housed at the national library of France, presents a unique opportunity to study and compare scribal practices in the colonies and princely states of Alwar, Benares, Bengal, Bikaner, Bombay, Jammu & Kashmir, Madras, and Tanjore, all produced within the same span of six years. In addition, Cordier's meticulous notes and correspondence present a window into the process of commissioning, producing, and shipping manuscripts. Rather than being mechanical copyists, many of the people employed by Cordier played active roles in editing and collating the texts; some of them were Āyurvedic experts. Their choices of script, material, format, and language reflect the widespread cultural, political, and economic changes that were taking place in the period, when Indian scholars were adopting modern technologies while, at the same time, reinventing or reasserting their traditions.

1. Palmyr Cordier, a.k.a. Śrī Naukavirāja Rajjukāra

By the end of the 19th century, the British Empire had gained control over most of the Indian subcontinent, but France still held on to a number of colonies in the region. In the heat and humidity of the tropics, the French were assailed by infectious diseases

[1] An online version of this article can be found at <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier> (doi:10.5281/zenodo.10479341). It includes all images mentioned in the print version, interactive figures, additional links, and a dataset.

and parasites that had never before been experienced in Europe, and it was in this context that the French colonial medical corps was founded, in 1890. During times of war, these medical officers were essential for the treatment of soldiers, but in times of relative calm, they also took up the task of caring for the medical needs of the colonial inhabitants (Héraut 2006: 386). Palmyr Uldéric Alexis Cordier (1871–1914) was one of the students of the very first class of the school for naval and colonial medicine, the Santé Navale in Bordeaux, where he completed a doctoral thesis on Indian medicine (Cordier 1894).

Much of what we know about Cordier's activities following his graduation comes from his copious letters[2] to Gustave Liétard, a close friend and scholarly mentor in the history of Indian medicine. Upon joining the colonial medical corps, Cordier had, naturally, been hoping to be posted to India, but instead he was sent to serve in Senegal and then to Madagascar. But he continued his study of Sanskrit as well as Tibetan; in fact, he made connections with the Indian community in Madagascar, and, through them, was able to procure some books from Bombay (Roşu 1990: lxxi).[3] Finally, in 1898, he obtained a post in Chandernagor, a French colony in Bengal. While working every day at the hospital there, he continued his research on Indian medicine, getting to know the local community of medical practitioners: for a population of 25 000, he counted 52 physicians, including practitioners of allopathy, homeopathy, Yunani medicine, and some he deemed to be pure charlatans (letter of 29/11/1898: 8). But among them were also twelve traditional physicians who bore the title of *kavirāja*, "king of poets," which may refer to their familiarity with Sanskrit medical texts (Gupta 1976: 368).[4] Some of these physicians were noted scholars themselves: Umeśacandra Gupta Kavirāja, for example,

---

[2] Archived at the Wellcome Library, London. Consulted in February 2023 and June 2024. (<https://nakala.fr/10.34847/nkl.09c947qt> doi:10.34847/nkl.09c947qt).

[3] BnF Sanscrit 1186, a printed *pothi* from Sri Venkateswar Press in Bombay, dated saṃvat 1952, śake 1817 (1895/96 CE), may have been obtained in this way.

[4] On the *kavirāja* title, Cordier writes: "contrairement à ce que j'avais appris d'autres sources, U. C. Gupta m'affirme qu'il n'y a aucun examen obligatoire pour les Kavirājas, par suite aucune garantie; en tout cas, le serment n'est plus prononcé. On se borne à s'y conformer, ce qui vaut mieux" (letter of 14/3/1900: 8).

had recently published a comprehensive lexicon of Indian medical terminology (1894). Cordier noted that the medicine prescribed by the Kavirājas, according to Āyurvedic recipes, was better at treating chronic ailments than European medicine; however, they were also very expensive and usually reserved for the rich (letter of 29/11/1898: 9). Eventually, Cordier came to style himself as a Kavirāja as well: on the cover of BnF Sanscrit 1242, dated 1899, an ex-libris stamp bears the name and title *śrī naukavirājaḥ ḍa pa rajjukāraḥ*, "naval physician D[octor] P. Cord-maker," giving a literal Sanskrit translation of his surname (**online fig. 1**).[5]

2. Mailing, Copying, and Photographing Manuscripts

Many of the manuscripts that Cordier had copied came from the Asiatic Society in Calcutta — then the capital of British India — , just an hour away from Chandernagor.[6] But he also had manuscripts mailed from other cities to be copied in Chandernagor. In an elaborate colophon to BnF Sanscrit 1177, composed in *anuṣṭubh ślokas* and drafted three times, Umeśacandra Gupta writes that, in Chandernagor, he copied a manuscript that had been brought there from Bikaner (*samānītaṃ bikānīra-rājapustakasadmanaḥ*).[7] There were also a number of old and rare Nepalese manuscripts at the Asiatic Society that had been acquired by Haraprasāda Śāstrī from his recent trips to Kathmandu, and for these, Cordier first photographed them before having transcriptions made from the photographs (Li 2022). In the case of the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā*, he even stacked the photographs and pierced a stringhole through them, binding them together like a palm-leaf manuscript.[8]

---

[5] The stamp seems to depict Kṛṣṇa. Cordier described the Bengali pronunciation of "Kṛṣṇa" as "Kristŏ" (letter of 6/3/1898: 6); this stamp may be a sly reference to the Kṛṣṇa/Christ identification popularized in the 19th century by writers such as Louis Jacolliot (1869: 261ff).

[6] In his first letter from Chandernagor to Liétard, Cordier writes: "vous savez que Chandernagor n'est qu'à une heure de Calcutta, par chemin de fer" (letter of 6/3/1898: 1).

[7] BnF Sanscrit 1177, 156–157 (<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100905830/f159>).

[8] See BnF Sanscrit 1156 (<tst.cnrs.fr/mss/Sanscrit_1156.xml>). The palm-leaf manuscript itself now seems to be lost (Wujastyk 1998: 207).

Apart from Calcutta, Cordier also travelled across India to consult manuscripts in situ, first in North India, and then later, when he was based in Pondicherry, in South India. Since he did not stay long enough in each city to procure copies of everything that he wanted, he seems to have ordered copies to be produced and then mailed to him. Traces of these mailings can still be found in the collection: in BnF Sanscrit 1170, tucked inside one of its doubled folios, there are scraps of brown paper packaging with a colonial Indian postage stamp, addressed to "Dr P. Cordier medecin des Colonies (French) Chandernagar Bengal" (**online fig. 2**). BnF Sanscrit 1255 comes with a mailing label from Ānandāśrama, addressed from Harinarayan Apte, the superintendent at the time, to Cordier's home in Besançon, France (**online fig. 3**). Longer manuscripts or large orders of manuscripts were mailed in stages — in BnF Sanscrit 1169, from Raghunath Temple in Jammu, a note at the end of the first part reads, "I have sent you two hundred and fifty Shloks, and will send you by and by" (**online fig. 4**). In some cases, manuscripts were not copied at the repository itself, but sent to a scriptorium — manuscripts from Raghunath Temple were sent to Sri Ranbir Library to be copied (**online fig. 5**); manuscripts from Deccan College were copied at Ānandāśrama.[9]

Most of what we know about this collection comes from a long article published in *Le Muśeon*, based on a presentation that Cordier made at the Congrès des Orientalistes in Hanoi in 1902;[10] but, given the dates in the manuscript colophons, we know that he continued to receive manuscripts from India for a couple years afterwards. Unfortunately, he did not publish on the collection again; at the beginning of the First World War, he was drafted as part of the 5ème régiment d'infanterie coloniale and promptly taken prisoner in Alsace.[11] He died shortly after being released, in September 1914;

[9] As noted by Cordier on the title card of BnF Sanscrit 1265 (<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52511811w>).

[10] The presentation was given on the morning of 6 December 1902 (Cordier 1903: 61).

[11] "Les docteurs Cordier, de Shaken, Franck et Mury sont restés aux mains de l'ennemi à l'ambulance de Walsheid, où ils donnent leurs soins aux nombreux blessés" (Bourdet 1920: 11) <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62167786/f15>.

his official cause of death was "maladie contractée aux colonies avant guerre," with the mention, "Non Mort pour la France."[12]

3. Overview of the Collection

Cordier's manuscript collection resurfaced in 1932, when Jean Filliozat happened to recognize it at an antiquarian shop in Paris. He petitioned the Bibliothèque nationale de France to purchase the whole lot, and it is preserved there now, split between the Chinois, Indien, Sanscrit, and Tibétain collections. This present study concerns the Sanskrit medical manuscripts, which comprise 194 items from BnF Sanscrit 1148 to BnF Sanscrit 1332 (some shelfmarks contain multiple manuscripts). 10 of these are either prints, photographs, or older manuscripts that Cordier purchased; for example, BnF Sanscrit 1180 was previously owned by Rāma Hari Pāla Kavirāja, and BnF Sanscrit 1187 by Kavirāja Kāliprasanna Dās Gupta, both of Chandernagor. The remaining 184 were commissioned by Cordier and produced between 1898 and 1904, based on the dates given in the manuscripts themselves.[13] The earliest date seen in the collection is 31 October 1898, written by Cordier on the back of BnF Sanscrit 1190, and is presumably the date on which the manuscript was received. Cordier spent the end of September and the beginning of October travelling across North India, looking for books and manuscripts (letter of 29/11/1898: 10). The latest date is found in the colophon to BnF Sanscrit 1325, corresponding to 3 January 1904.

Online figure 6 shows these 184 manuscripts, their place of copy, their approximate size[14] and shape, and the names of scribes,

---

[12] Ministère des armées (<https://www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/fr/ark:/40699/m00523a97c4c404d/5242c71b8a3a8>).

[13] This excludes colophons that were copied from an antigraph. Some of the manuscripts mentioned by Cordier in his article do not seem to be extant in the present collection (Roşu 1990: civ).

[14] Manuscript measurements were taken directly or, if the manuscripts were already microfilmed, approximated by measuring the pixel dimensions of the digital images. The library stamp was used as a reference, which measures 22 mm in diameter. These approximate measurements are marked with an asterisk in the tabular data.

editors, and procurers related to each manuscript. In many cases, Cordier did not contract directly with a scribe but with an authority figure, such as a librarian, who organized the copying of manuscripts and then sent them to Cordier; in this study, these people are grouped under the term "procurer." The names of these procurers are usually noted by Cordier himself, on a title card accompanying the manuscript, with the formula "copié par les soins de…."

4. Traditional Forms in New Materials

The collection offers an invaluable opportunity to compare the manuscript traditions of different Indian scribes and scriptoria working within the same period of six years. All 184 manuscripts are written on paper, but the quality and format of the paper differs significantly from region to region. It is generally accepted that papermaking technology spread through the subcontinent starting from the north, following the pattern of Mughal colonization and Islamization,[15] and this north-south gradient can still be seen in some features of the collection under study. Across the Gangetic plain, in North India, the manuscripts in this collection are predominantly produced in the traditional, horizontal *pothi* format, while in South India, they are almost invariably vertically-oriented codices (**online fig. 7**). In fact, the South Indian manuscripts use industrially-made British paper, sized to a standard foolscap folio, and in Tanjore, these pages are folded in half to form bifolia. In Madras, a local bookbinder has even been employed (BnF Sanscrit 1252 & 1253). These divergent choices show a striking divide between North and South Indian attitudes toward the tradition of manuscript-making at the turn of the century. In the north, where paper had been introduced at least since the 15th century (Konishi 2013: 57),[16] the material had long been used to produce Sanskrit manuscripts and had already become absorbed into local traditions, replacing palm leaves but mimicking their oblong shape and

[15] Konishi (2013: 45, 57). There is some speculation that paper technology arrived earlier, from the northeast via the Silk Route, but no physical evidence of this remains (Soteriou 1999: 185–189).

[16] Wujastyk dates the introduction of paper to the 12th century (2014: 167), and Tsien dates it between the 11th and 14th centuries (1985: 357).

format. In the south, however, it seems that paper was not widely used until the era of British colonization, and consequently, the southern manuscripts use British materials and forms.

But in this period, even in the north, a wide variety of print and manuscript formats are in circulation, and there are even some inventive, hybrid formats: BnF Sanscrit 1232, a lithograph of the *Vṛttaratnāvalīcandrikā*, is printed horizontally, but it is paginated like a book and collated in sections of two bifolia (**online fig. 8**). Thus, the choice to produce a manuscript in *pothi* format, in the same style as the centuries-old manuscripts that were being copied, seems to be a deliberate act on the part of the scribe or institution to reproduce a tradition that had already long been eroded by both Mughal and European influence. The format of a manuscript is also intimately related to the way in which it was used. As Cordier observed, the reading of a *pothi* was a ritual act: the reader, generally a *brāhmaṇa*, would sit in an ascetic pose, place the manuscript on his knees, and begin by reading the *namaskāra* out loud with hands clasped together, then continue to recite the text in a singing voice. The reader may already know the text by heart; the *pothi* seems to act more as a memory aid.[17]

A variety of paper types is also seen in the collection, ranging from handmade paper to industrial, watermarked paper produced in British as well as Indian mills (**online fig. 9**).[18] Handmade paper was already in steep decline in the 19th century, due to the export of the raw materials used to make it (Ramaseshan 1989: 115). This was part of a common strategy during the era of British rule: raw materials were exported from the colonies, and then products made from those same materials were re-imported to be sold back to the same colonies (Konishi 2013: 113). The handmade paper industry greatly suffered from this policy, as well as from competition with

[17] "A-t-on besoin de consulter un pothi..., le médecin, qui est généralement de caste brahmanique, accroupi sur son tréteau, à la manière d'un ascète, déroule gravement le plaque et place le livre sur ses genoux. A la première page, lisant les salutations du début 'Ōm namo gaṇēçāya....' il porte à son front les deux mains étendues + réunies (namaskāra), puis commence à lire d'une voix chantante, mettant en relief les visarga. D'ailleurs il sait par cœur à peu près tout le contenu de ses pothis" (letter of 29/11/1898: 9).

[18] There is also one case of paper produced in Fiume, Croatia (BnF Sanscrit 1192).

jail paper, low-quality paper produced using the free labour of jail inmates (Konishi 2013: 123–124). Nevertheless, in this collection, most of the manuscripts produced in the north are on handmade paper, and almost all of the manuscripts from Bikaner and Kashmir are written on handmade paper. As with the choice of *pothi* format, the choice to use handmade paper seems to be a deliberate nod to tradition, despite its decline. The paper used in the manuscripts from Kashmir is especially distinctive: it is thin, glossy, very white and translucent, qualities that were attributed specifically to Kashmiri paper already in the 15th century (Ghori & Rahman 1966: 135–137). The sheets are also cut to much larger sizes compared to *pothi* manuscripts in other parts of India, and they are often doubled; in fact, they may simply be sheets that were produced for making vertically-oriented codices, but rotated 90 degrees to approximate a *pothi*.

5. Scribes as Scholars

Although printed books were undoubtedly a technical innovation that, eventually, displaced handwritten manuscripts, in this period both print and manuscript cultures existed side by side. In fact, 19th century India was replete not only with different forms of print reproduction — lithography, movable type, and photography — but also manuscripts that were copied from printed sources and, in this collection, from photographs. But scribes performed a task that was fundamentally different from the "mechanical" labour of printing;[19] they were interpreters, performing a linguistic mode of reproduction rather than a visual one. In this collection, this is perhaps most evident in the spaces and other punctuation that they have inserted in their copies — rather than reproducing the *scriptio continua* of the original — , as well as transliterating from other scripts into *Devanāgarī*, which was easier to read for Cordier. But many scribes have gone much further: suggesting corrections for lacunae, editing the work of other scribes (BnF San-

[19] Naturally, "mechanical" forms of reproduction are also inherently interpretive, but their interpretive work usually goes into the reproduction of an image rather than of language. For examples, see Kriesel 2015 or Hertzmann 2022.

scrit 1206, 1214, etc.), and even creating a table of contents at Cordier's request (BnF Sanscrit 1218). In some cases, a manuscript is the result of a collation of multiple sources, giving variant readings in the margins; in one case, a scribe or procurer has evaluated different manuscripts of the same text and suggested which ones were most important (BnF Sanscrit 1258).[20] The people that were employed by Cordier, whether directly or by proxy, were not mere copyists; they were professional consultants, with a deep knowledge of Sanskrit and, especially in Bengal, of Indian medicine as well.

6. Old Texts with New Colophons

Although the manuscripts being copied were all in Sanskrit, Sanskrit was not always the language that scribes chose to use in their colophons and notes. Here, again, we find a north–south divide: while in the north, we have many examples of Sanskrit colophons, sometimes very elaborate, in the south, this is very rare. In fact, we have a number of examples in Madras and Tanjore of notes and colophons in English,[21] and in some cases the scribe has given an English transliteration of his own name (BnF Sanscrit 1272, etc.).[22] This is in contrast to the north, where vernacular forms are sometimes corrected with "proper" Sanskrit words (**online fig. 10**), and the scribe's name is written in Sanskrit, with proper Sanskrit morphology as part of a colophon statement.

7. Purohita Dīnanātha

This scribal tendency to adopt Sanskrit is most pronounced in the manuscripts from Bikaner, almost all of which were produced by a single scribe, Purohita Dīnanātha. Cordier visited the library of the Mahārāja of Bikaner in September 1899 (Roşu 1990: xcvi), and the Bikaner manuscripts date starting from October of the same year. Although Cordier likely never met the scribe, Dīnanātha continued to produce manuscripts for him up until at least 1904, the latest date given in the manuscript colophons.

---

[20] <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10077309d/f1>

[21] See also **online figure 12** for an example of a note in Telugu and Tamil.

[22] <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10091769z>

Purohita Dīnanātha's colophons are all written in Sanskrit (**table 1**), but they also included some vernacular words that were gradually Sanskritized over time. In Sanskrit 1174, dated 1900, he names the place of copy as *vīkāner*, but in all other cases, it has been Sanskritized as *vikramapura*.[23] But even more striking is the different ways in which he spells his own name, and how it changes over time.

By organizing his scribal output chronologically, based on the colophon dates and on the manuscript shelfmarks,[24] we can pinpoint the moment when he decided to Sanskritize his name, from *Prohita Dīnānātha* to *Purohita Dīnanātha*: in the colophon to BnF Sanscrit 1277, produced sometime between 1900 and 1902 (**online fig. 11**). Later on, in the colophon to BnF Sanscrit 1324, he even hypercorrects himself, writing *lipīkṛtaṃ purohitaḥ dīnanāthena*, putting the first part of his name in the nominative case but leaving the second part in the instrumental. It seems that, over a period of 5 years, it became more and more important for Purohita Dīnanātha to express himself in correct Sanskrit. Might this personal decision reflect broader trends of his historical moment?

Table 1. Purohita Dīnanātha's colophons.

shelfmark	saṃvat date	CE year	spelling of name
BnF Sanscrit 1179B	[1956 āśvina śukla 15][25]	[1899]	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1230	1956 kārttika śukla 2	1899	prohitapuṣkaraṇādīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1222	1956 kārttika śukla 15	1899	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1174	1956 pauṣa kṛṣṇa 2	1900	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1161	1957 vaiśākha śukla 7	1900	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1172	1957 vaiśākha śukla 10	1900	prohitadīnānātha

[23] BnF Sanscrit 1148, 1230, 1269, 1270, 1292, 1301, & 1231c.

[24] The shelfmarks given by Filliozat usually follow the numbering given by Cordier himself on the title cards, and they seem to be in roughly chronological order, perhaps based on the date on which the manuscript was received.

[25] The date for BnF Sanscrit 1179B is based on BnF Sanscrit 1179A, which seems to be by a different scribe. The colophon reads: *saṃ.* | *1956 mitī āsoja vaha 15 buddhavāra* (<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525116008/f108>). Interpreted as *śuklapakṣa*, this date seems to fall on a *guruvāra* rather than *budhavāra*.

BnF Sanscrit 1158	1957 vaiśākha śukla 13	1900	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1148	1957 vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 14	1900	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1231C	1957 āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 11	1900	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1269	1957 āśvina śukla 12	1900	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1231A	–	[1900][26]	–
BnF Sanscrit 1231B	1957 āśvina kṛṣṇa 10	1900	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1268	–	–	pro. dīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1270	1957 kārttika śukla 10	1900	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1271	–	–	prohitadīnānātha
BnF Sanscrit 1275	–	–	–
BnF Sanscrit 1276	–	–	–
BnF Sanscrit 1277	–	–	~~pra~~**uro**hitadīnanātha
BnF Sanscrit 1278	–	–	–
BnF Sanscrit 1293	–	–	purohitadīnanātha
BnF Sanscrit 1302	1959 caitra kṛṣṇa 13	1902	purohitadīnanātha
BnF Sanscrit 1292	1959 māgha śukla 5	1903	purohitadīnanātha
BnF Sanscrit 1301	1960 jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 2	1903	purohitadīnanātha
BnF Sanscrit 1303	–	–	purohitadīnanātha
BnF Sanscrit 1324	1960 mārgaśīrṣa śukla 14	1903	purohitaḥ dīnanātha
BnF Sanscrit 1325	1960 pauṣa śukla 15	1904	purohitadīnanātha
BnF Sanscrit 1326	–	–	purohitadīnanātha

8. Between Orientalism and Nationalism

Cordier, like all Western scholars at the time, was seeking something authentically Indian. Landing at Pondicherry, standing for the first time on the subcontinent, he was disappointed to discover that he had travelled all that way merely to disembark again on French territory. In fact, he complained that the native inhabitants of Pondicherry, who had voting rights and a colonial

[26] The date for BnF Sanscrit 1231A is based on BnF Sanscrit 1231B; A and B seem to form a single codicological unit, although they are foliated separately.

representative in French parliament, treated him, a civil servant, "comme un domestique qu'il paye."[27] In Chandernagor, too, he bemoaned the fact that European civilization had modernized Bengal too much, introducing European medicine and displacing the traditional Kavirājas.[28] In comparing contemporary India with its ancient past, as imagined through reading Āyurvedic treatises like the *Carakasaṃhitā* and the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Cordier saw a tradition in decline: for example, in the pronunciation of Sanskrit, which, in Chandernagor, was tinged with a Bengali accent,[29] and in the preparation of Āyurvedic remedies, which no longer conformed to the recipes given in the treatises, the ingredients being too expensive.[30] In his research on Indian medicine, he found contemporary practitioners to be unreliable,[31] so instead, he turned his focus to searching for "vieux textes de la bonne époque" (letter of 14/03/1900: 2).

This Orientalist idealization of the ancient past, of Sanskrit, and of Āyurveda, was very amenable to the Hindu nationalist movements that were growing in popularity at the time, especially

---

[27] "...l'arrivée à Pondichéry m'a mis aux prises avec la réalité: ici, l'on sent qu'on est en pays français. Fonctionnaires, bureaux, administrations, mais pas de port, si bien que le débarquement est même dangereux; le natif vous coudoie avec insolence... Pensez donc, il est électeur, & vous considère un peu comme un domestique qu'il paye" (letter of 6/3/1898: 2). On colonial representation in French parliament, see Binoche-Guedra 1988.

[28] "...car la civilisation européenne a un peu trop modernisé le Bengale, où le Kavirāja n'est pas entouré d'une considération bien notable, et où l'on a plus souvent qu'ailleurs recours au médecin européen, ou aux praticiens natifs adeptes des systèmes allopathique ou homéopathique" (letter of 14/3/1900: 7).

[29] "Les brahmes bengalis passent pour prononcer très mal le Sanscrit" (letter of 6/3/1898: 4).

[30] "On n'a plus en effet qu'une confiance médiocre dans les remèdes de Caraka & de Suçruta, car on sait que les Kavirājas les préparent sans scrupule & omettent la moitié des ingrédients qui doivent entrer dans leur composition. Un de ces médecins natifs m'a avoué qu'il ne pourrait jamais s'en tirer s'il voulait se conformer aux formules de maîtres, car les drogues reviendraient à un prix exorbitant: ayant voulu confectionner un jour un rasa fameux, il lui a fallu débourser 80 roupies" (letter of 6/3/1898: 6).

[31] "Binod Lāl Sen et son oncle Ashutush Sen, Dēbendra Nāth Sen + Upendra Nāth Sen, Abinash même... sont des vulgaires farceurs" (letter of 14/3/1900: 7).

among Bengali intellectuals (van Bijlert 1996: 351–353). In fact, both Sanskrit and Āyurveda were experiencing a revival (Ganeshan 2010: 111).[32] Cordier's focus on the most ancient Āyurvedic texts — which excluded, for example, Yunani medicine, which Cordier dismissed as "étrangère à l'Inde par son origine" (1899: 556) — was also shared by Hindu and Āyurvedic revivalists, who believed that successive foreign rulers, from the Mughals to the Europeans, had diluted indigenous medical knowledge (Cerulli 2022: 32). The way in which he imagines an ancient *bonne époque* was a common Orientalist vision[33] that fed into the aspirations of the nationalists who latched on to the idea of a "greater India," a Sanskrit culture that had, once, spread widely and even colonized other cultures (Bayly 2004). At the same time, in the south, a very different ideology was gaining traction: the Tamil Purist movement, which stood in explicit opposition to the cultural influence of Sanskrit. While Purohita Dīnanātha was busy Sanskritizing his own name, V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri (1870–1903), a professor of Tamil at Madras Christian College, was translating his Sanskrit name into its pure Tamil equivalent (Kailasapathy 1979: 27). This movement, too, drew some inspiration from Orientalist scholarship, especially that of Robert Caldwell (Solomon 2022).

Cordier's manuscripts, collected from across India during this era of competing cultural and social ideals, are a fascinating reflection of his historical period. The scribal colophons, in their mixture of Sanskrit and vernacular languages, bear witness to how scribes imagined the past and, perhaps, also how they might have imagined a nationalist future. In the manuscripts' materiality, as well, we find both traces of the past, in the north–south diffusion of paper technology and the use of the *pothi* format, and a hint of the future: the handmade paper industry, which had suffered so much from British colonial economic policy, would also eventu-

[32] This is something that Cordier himself noticed as well: "Depuis quelques années, l'Āyurvēda semble renaître, et les Kavirājas font des affaires" (letter of 14/3/1900, 7).

[33] In some respects, Orientalist scholarship stood in opposition to the European colonialization effort, which, nominally, aimed to bring European civilization to an uncivilized East (Mill & Wilson 1858, 107).

ally become a nationalist symbol, when Gandhi promoted handmade materials produced in India over imported foreign goods.[34] Although Cordier was aiming to create a collection of texts representing the ancient history of Āyurveda, he has inadvertently captured a snapshot of his own time, in the traditions and aspirations of the people involved in producing his manuscripts.

Appendix: Dramatis personae

This index of names found in the manuscript collection is presented in English alphabetical order, without splitting names into first and last, as they appear in **online figure 6**. The orthography follows the person's own spelling of his own name, if possible; otherwise, it either reflects the orthography as found in Cordier's notes or a normalized form. Many more names of people that Cordier met and worked with can be found in his letters to Gustave Liétard; these have not been included here.

Arthur Venis. Principal of Government Sanskrit College, Benares. In a note included with BnF Sanscrit 1228, Cordier writes: "Copié en Mai-Juillet 1899. par les soins du Prof. A. Venis, principal."

Babu Maheścandraviśvās. According to Cordier, he was the procurer of BnF Sanscrit 1193, copied from a manuscript at Raghunāth Temple. On the note card for the manuscript, he writes, "Copié par les soins du Babu Mahēçcandraviçwās, superintdt."

Bāladeva Śāstrī. According to Cordier, he is the procurer of BnF Sanscrit 1213, copied from a manuscript at Raghunāth Temple. Cordier describes having met him during his trip to Kathmandu (letter of 29/11/1898: 12).

Brāhmaṇaharananda. Scribe of BnF Sanscrit 1171, copied from a manuscript at Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The copy was corrected by **Umeśacandra Gupta**.

---

[34] "I know that handmade paper can never supply the daily growing demand for paper. But lovers of the seven hundred thousand villages and their handicrafts will always want to use handmade paper, if it is easily procurable.... Who does not know the famous Ahmedabad paper? What mill-made paper can beat it in durability or polish?" (Gandhi 1948, 13). See also Konishi (2013: 133ff.).

C. Krishnayya. Librarian in Tanjore. Recognized by his stamp, in which he bears the title "Vernacular Librarian." On the title card for BnF Sanscrit 1182, Cordier writes: "Copie exécutée par le Paṇḍit C. Krishnayya."

Cecil Bendall. Professor at the University of Cambridge. He seems to have lent a Nepalese manuscript of the *Yogaśataka* to Cordier, which he copied in Besançon in 1901 (BnF Sanscrit 1256).

Dhannālāla Śarmā. Scribe in Alwar, working under **Gaṅgādhara Jośī**. Signs his name as *bedapāṭhī dhaṃnālālaśarmmā* (BnF Sanscrit 1212), *vedapāṭhī dhannālālaśarmmā* (BnF Sanscrit 1215), or *da. dhannālālaśarmā* (BnF Sanscrit 1216).

Gaṅgādhara Jośī. Head of the library of the Mahārāja of Alwar. In colophons, he is titled *jośījī mahārāja śrī gaṃgādharajī munsarima sāhiba pustakaśālā sarakāra alavara* (BnF Sanscrit 1215). Cordier acquired manuscripts through him; see, for example, BnF Sanscrit 1216, 1r, where Cordier notes, "Copié par les soins du Paṇḍit Jōçī Gaṅgā Dhār."

Govindasiṃha Varmā. Scribe in Alwar, working under **Gaṅgādhara Jośī**. Signs his name as *govindasiṃha varmmā* (BnF Sanscrit 1217) or *da. govindasiṃha* (BnF Sanscrit 1227).

Haraprasāda Śāstrī. Sanskrit scholar and Bengali writer. He took over the supervision of the *Notices of Sanskrit Mss* catalogue from Rāja Rājendralāla Mitra, and he travelled to Kathmandu to consult and acquire Sanskrit manuscripts, which he deposited at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta (Li 2022). He lent his Nepalese manuscripts to Cordier to be photographed and copied.

Haricaraṇa Lāha. Scribe who copied manuscripts in Chandernagor that belonged to **Haridāsa Dāsa Kavirāja**.

Haridāsa Dāsa Kavirāja. Resident of Bibirhat, to the southwest of Calcutta. He lent manuscripts from his own collection to Cordier to be copied.

Harinarayan Apte. Marathi writer. He studied at Deccan College in Poona and was the superintendent of Ānandāśrama. He arranged for Deccan College manuscripts to be copied at Ānandāśrama and then mailed to Cordier in Besançon (BnF Sanscrit 1255).

K. Gopala Iyer. Scribe of BnF Sanscrit 1241, copied from a GOML[35] manuscript. Cordier lists **Śeṣagiri Śāstrī** as the person who procured the copy.

Kālinātha Tripāṭhī. Scribe of BnF Sanscrit 1236A. He seems to have worked with Cordier directly, mentioning that the manuscript was copied for "Dr. P. Cordier" in a note at the beginning.

Kavirāja Kāliprasanna Dās Gupta. Previous owner of BnF Sanscrit 1187, an older Bengali-script manuscript not commissioned by Cordier. Probably resident of Chandernagor. On the title card, Cordier writes: "Chandernagor; Kavirāja Kāliprasanna Dās Gupta." In a letter to Liétard dated 29 November 1898 (pp. 8–9), Cordier calls him a "Kavirāja érudit," and lists the 15 medical texts in his library.

Kesampath Kumara Chakravarthi. Scribe of a number of manuscripts copied from the GOML.

Kuñjavihārī Nyāyabhūṣaṇa. Catalogued Sanskrit printed books and manuscripts at the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1899), supervised by **Haraprasāda Śāstrī**. He seems to have worked directly with Cordier, copying at least two manuscripts for him (BnF Sanscrit 1188, 1218).

Mādhava Tripāṭhī Mahādevagiri. Seems to be the procurer of BnF Sanscrit 1191, copied from a manuscript at the Asiatic Society of Bengal. At the end of the manuscript, a note in Devanāgarī reads *idaṃ pustakaṃ mādhavatripāṭhinasya mā(!)hādevagirer labdhaṃ* || The note seems to be in Cordier's own hand.

N. Varadācārya. Editor of BnF Sanscrit 1286, copied by **Kesampath Kumara Chakravarthi** from a GOML manuscript. As noted by Cordier.

Pītāmbar Daujī. Mentioned once by Cordier as his contact in Bikaner: "Copié par les soins de P. Pîtāmbar Daujī" (BnF Sanscrit 1158).

Purohita Dīnanātha. Also signs his name as *prohitadīnānātha* and *prohitapuṣkaraṇādīnānātha*. He was the scribe of almost every manuscript that Cordier acquired from Bikaner, between 1899 and

[35] Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai. Now housed at the Anna Centenary Library.

1904. On the Puṣkaraṇa name, see Wilson (1877: 171–172) and Tod & Crooke (1920: 1255–1256).

P. Arunachellum Mudr. Bookbinder in Pursewalkum [Puracaivākkam], Madras. His name seems to be an abbreviation of "Arunācalam Mutaliyār."[36] His stamp is found in the inside front cover of BnF Sanscrit 1252 and 1253.

Rāma Hari Pāla Kavirāja. Previous owner of BnF Sanscrit 1180, an older Bengali-script manuscript not commissioned by Cordier. Cordier notes, "Ce Ms, qui provient de Rāma Hari Pāla Kavirāja, de Chandernagor, est en apparence incomplet."

Śeṣagiri Śāstrī. Curator, Government Oriental MSS Library and Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College. He catalogued both Sanskrit and Tamil manuscripts at the GOML (1898). He procured BnF Sanscrit 1241, copied from a GOML manuscript, for Cordier.

Śītalāprasāda Śarmā. Scribe of BnF Sanscrit 1168 from Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He is perhaps the same person as Brahmacārī Sītal Prasād, who wrote a number of commentaries and studies on Jain texts (Wiley 2004: 199–200).

Shridhar R. Bhandarkar. "Formerly assistant to the Professor of Oriental Languages, Deccan College" (1888) and later Professor of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College (1907). He catalogued the government collection of manuscripts deposited at Deccan College. One of these manuscripts he had copied for Cordier (BnF Sanscrit 1192).

Sylvain Lévi. Professor at the Collège de France. He obtained a number of Nepalese manuscripts from Nepal (1899), some of which Cordier photographed or transcribed (BnF Sanscrit 1154, 1167).

Umeśacandra Gupta Kaviratna Kavirāja. A specialist in Āyurveda. Among other works, he was the author of the *Vaidyakaśabdasindhu*, or a comprehensive lexicon of Hindu medical terms and names of drugs (1894). He was also the librarian at Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He copied manuscripts for Cordier as well as edited manuscripts copied by other scribes; in a letter dated 14 March 1900 (p. 2), Cordier writes: "U. C. Gupta est surtout employé à la correc-

[36] Thanks to Emmanuel Francis for expanding this abbreviation.

tion des MSS. copiés à la maison; cette correction est généralement faite avec toutes les garanties possibles, c. à d. par comparaison avec d'autres MSS". Signs his name as *śrī umeścandraguptakaviratnakavirāja* (BnF Sanscrit 1177) or *kavirāja śrī umeścandrakaviratna* (BnF Sanscrit 1155).

Vindhyeśvarī Prasād Śarmā Dvivedī. Librarian of Government Sanskrit College, Benares, who produced editions of a number of Sanskrit texts. For Cordier, he obtained copies of texts originating in private libraries in Benares.

References

Bayly, Susan. 2004. "Imagining 'Greater India': French and Indian Visions of Colonialism in the Indic Mode." *Modern Asian Studies* 38(3): 703–744.

Bhandarkar, Shridhar R. 1888. *A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts Deposited in the Deccan College*. Bombay: Government Central Press.

Bhandarkar, Shridhar R. 1907. *Report of a second tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Rajputana and Central India in 1904–5 and 1905–6*. Bombay: Government Central Press.

van Bijlert, Victor A. "Sanskrit and Hindu national identity in nineteenth century Bengal." In *Ideology and status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit language*, ed. J. E. M. Houben, 347–366.

Binoche-Guedra, Jacques-W. 1988. "La représentation parlementaire coloniale (1871–1940)." *Revue Historique* 280(2): 521–535.

Bourdet, Lieutenant. 1920. *Historique du 5e régiment d'infanterie coloniale pendant la Grande guerre (1914–1918)*. Paris: Chapelot. <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62167786>

Cabaton, Antoine. 1907. *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits BnF Sanscrits avec supplément manuscrit*. Paris: E. Leroux. Supplemented by Jean Filliozat. <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10536321f>

Cerulli, Anthony. 2022. *The Practice of Texts: Education and Healing in South India*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Chavannes, Édouard. 1914. "Nécrologie. Le Dr. Palmyr CORDIER." *T'oung Pao* 15(4): 551–553.

Cordier, Henri. 1903. "Congrès des Orientalistes de Hanoï." *T'oung Pao* 4(1): 53–69.

Cordier, Palmyr. 1894. *Étude sur la médecine hindoue (Temps Védiques et Héroïques)*. Paris: A. Bellier et Co.

Cordier, Palmyr. 1903. "Récentes découvertes de mss. médicaux BnF Sanscrits dans l'Inde (1898–1902)." *Le Muséon* Nouvelle Série 4: 321–352.

Filliozat, Jean. 1934. "Liste des manuscrits de la collection Palmyr Cordier conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale." *Journal asiatique* 224: 144–173.

Filliozat, Pierre-Sylvain. 2014. "La collection Palmyr Cordier à la Société asiatique et à la Bibliothèque nationale de France." *Journal des Savants* 2: 269–286.

Finot, Louis. 1914. "Palmyr Cordier (1871–1914)." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extême-Orient* 14: 99.

Ganeshan, Uma. 2010. "Medicine and Modernity: The Ayurvedic Revival Movement in India, 1885–1947." *Studies on Asia* 4(1): 108–131.

Gandhi, M. K. 1948. *Cent Per Cent Swadeshi, or The Economics of Village Industries*. Third edition. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

Ghori, S. A. K. & Rahman, A. 1966. "Paper Technology in Medieval India." *Indian Journal of History of Science* 1(2): 133–149.

Gupta, Brahmananda. 1976. "Indigenous Medicine in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Bengal." In *Asian Medical Systems*, ed. C. Leslie, 368–382. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gupta, Umeśacandra. 1894. *Vaidyakaśabdasindhu*, or a comprehensive lexicon of Hindu medical terms and names of drugs. Calcutta: Girīśa Vidyāratna Press.

Héraut, Louis-Armand. 2006. "La médecine militaire coloniale française: Une aventure médicale de trois quarts de siècle (1890–1968)." *Histoire des sciences médicales* 40(4): 381–392.

Héraut, Louis-Armand. 2007. "Palmyr Uldéric Alexis Cordier (1871–1914)." *Histoire des sciences médicales* 41(2): 179–188.

Hertzmann, Aaron. 2022. "The choices hidden in photography." *Journal of Vision* 22(10): 1–7.

Jacolliot, Louis. 1869. *La bible dans l'Inde: vie de Iezeus Christna*. Paris: A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven & Cie. <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6207136t>

Kailasapathy, K. 1979. "The Tamil Purist Movement: A Re-Evaluation." *Social Scientist* 7(10): 23–51.

Konishi, Masatoshi. 2013. *Hāth-kāg̲haz: history of handmade paper in South Asia*. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.

Kriesel, David. 2015. "Lies, damned lies, and scans." Presented at FrOSCon (Free and Open Source Software Conference), Bonn, 22 August. <www.dkriesel.com/en/blog/2015/0823_video_slides_xerox_talk_froscon>

Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, Kunja Vihāri. 1899. Catalogue of printed books and manuscripts in Sanskrit belonging to the Oriental Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.

Li, Charles. 2022. "Kathmandu, Calcutta, Paris: the life of a Tantric manuscript." *Texts Surrounding Texts: Satellite Stanzas, Prefaces and Colophons in South-Indian Manuscripts (Paris BnF and Hamburg Stabi collections)*. 1 March. doi:10.58079/uxzv. <tst.hypotheses.org/3191>

Lévi, Sylvain. 1899. "Rapport sur sa mission dans l'Inde et le Japon."

Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 43(1): 71–92.
Mill, James, & Wilson, Horace Hayman. 1858. *The History of British India, Volume II*. Fifth edition. London: James Madden.
Ministère des armées. n.d. "CORDIER Palmyr Uldéric Alexis, 18–02–1871." Memoire des hommes. www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/fr/ark:/40699/m00523a97c4c404d/5242c71b8a3a8
Ramaseshan, Sita. 1989. "The History of Paper in India upto 1948." *Indian Journal of History of Science* 24(2): 103–121.
Roşu, Arion. 1990. *Un demi-siècle de recherches āyurvédiques. Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier: travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne*. Paris: Collège de France.
Sastri, Seshagiri. 1898. *Report on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil manuscripts for the year 1896–97*. Madras: Government Press.
Solomon, John. 2022. "Caldwell's Dravidians: Knowledge Production and the Representational Strategies of Missionary Scholars in Colonial South India." *Modern Asian Studies* 56(6): 1741–1773. doi:10.1017/S0026749X21000524.
Soteriou, Alexandra. 1999. *Gift of conquerors: hand papermaking in India*. Chidambaram: Mapin.
Tod, James, & Crooke, William. 1920. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II*. London: Humphrey Milford.
Tsien, Tsuen-Hsuin. 1985. *Science and Civilization in China. Volume 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology. Part I: Paper and Printing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Wiley, Kristi L. 2004. *Historical Dictionary of Jainism. Lanham*, MD: Scarecrow Press.
Wilson, John. 1877. *Indian Caste, Vol. II*. Bombay: Times of India.
Wujastyk, Dominik. 1998. *The Roots of Ayurveda: selections from Sanskrit medical writings*. New Delhi: Penguin.
Wujastyk, Dominik. 2014. "Indian Manuscripts." In *Manuscripts Cultures: Mapping the field*, ed. J. Quenzer, D. Bondarev, & J-U Sobisch, 159–182.

List of figures

See <https://didomena.ehess.fr/concern/data_sets/c247f234c>
Selected letters from Palmyr Cordier to Gustave Liétard, as cited in this article, are available at <https://nakala.fr/10.34847/nkl.09c947qt>. doi:10.34847/nkl.09c947qt

Online figure 1. Cordier's ex-libris stamp on the cover of BnF Sanscrit 1242, which seems to depict Kṛṣṇa. Cordier described the

Bengali pronunciation of "Kṛṣṇa" as "Kristŏ" (letter of 6/3/1898, 6); this stamp may be a sly reference to the Kṛṣṇa/Christ identification popularized in the 19th century by writers such as Louis Jacolliot (1869: 261ff). <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/ex-libris.jpg>

Online figure 2. Packaging found with BnF Sanscrit 1170. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/sanscrit1170.jpg>

Online figure 3. Mailing label from Ānandāśrama, found with BnF Sanscrit 1255. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/sanscrit1255.jpg>

Online figure 4. End of BnF Sanscrit 1169a. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/sanscrit1169.jpg>

Online figure 5. Letter found with BnF Sanscrit 1266. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/sanscrit1266.jpg>

Online figure 6. Manuscripts commissioned by Cordier, 1898–1904. Organized by place of copy, showing persons involved and their roles. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/#fig-people>

Online figure 7. Paper formats and relative sizes from four different places. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/#fig-size>

Online figure 8. BnF Sanscrit 1232, pages 4–5. A sort of *pothi*/codex hybrid. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/sanscrit1232.jpg>

Online figure 9. Texture of paper from three different places. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/#fig-paper>

Online figure 10. End of BnF Sanscrit 1289. A drawing depicts the damaged state of the antigraph, and an accompanying note reads: *(noṭa) yeha pustakaṃ vṛhatprayatnena likhitaṃ aśuddha atitvāt*. The vernacular *yeha* has been corrected with the Sanskrit *idaṃ*. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/sanscrit1289.jpg>

Online figure 11. End of BnF Sanscrit 1277, showing Purohita Dīnanātha's corrected spelling of his name. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/sanscrit1277.jpg>

Online figure 12. BnF Sanscrit 1327, showing a note in Telugu and Tamil, with a Western numeral, at the bottom of page 60. The note reads: *((saśeṣamu)) 2va bukku cūḍumu —‖ ireṇṭavatu pukku pārkkavum*. <tst.cnrs.fr/cordier/src/img/sanscrit1327.jpg>

An Aperçu of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts of Śrīvaiṣṇava Provenance from the Collection of the State and University Library in Hamburg

Suganya Anandakichenin (Universität Hamburg)

The SUB collection comprises a number of palm-leaf manuscripts that seem to trace their origins to Śrīvaiṣṇavas in South India. There are those that contain Vaiṣṇava works (e.g. the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham*, or the more sectarian *Rahasyatrayasāram* by Vedānta Deśikaṉ), and those that contain works of a more general interest (logic, poetics, and so forth), which most erudite scholars of that time and place would have been learned and engaged with. Among the first group, we find manuscripts that belonged to both the Vaṭakalai and Teṉkalai schools, with their own peculiar signs. Among the second group, there exist a few manuscripts that seem to have originally belonged to a few Śrīvaiṣṇavas located in the Mysore region. Despite the relative diversity of the contents, most of these manuscripts bear distinct signs of their Śrīvaiṣṇava provenance. This paper deals with those particular signs (invocations, blessings, colophons) in order to discover what they have to tell us about the people to whom the MSS belonged.

1. Introduction

Among the Indian palm-leaf manuscripts that are now preserved at the State and University Library (SUB) in Hamburg,[1] there exist a few that seem to trace their origins to Śrīvaiṣṇavas—worshippers of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa who follow Rāmānuja (12th century)—in South India, mostly in the Tamil land but by no means limited to it. These manuscripts can be roughly divided into two categories: those that contain Vaiṣṇava material, and those that have non-Vaiṣṇava material. Among the former set, most of the manuscripts contain works of a Śrīvaiṣṇava nature, belonging to both its schools (Vaṭakalai and

[1] The MSS are referred to as SUB followed by the MS number.

Teṉkalai),[2] such as Rāmānuja's *Vedāntadīpam*, but also *kalai*-specific works such as Vedānta Deśikaṉ's *Rahasyatrayasāram* (14th century), with their own peculiar signs and markings. Among the texts of a more general nature, we predominantly find those that contain material related to Nyāya ('logic'), which most erudite scholars of that time and place would have learned and engaged with. A few of these manuscripts seem to have originally belonged to Śrīvaiṣṇavas located in the Mysore region in the 19th century, likely Vaṭakalais, as we shall see. As for language(s) and script(s), the material that I have examined contains texts in Tamil, Sanskrit, and Manipravalam (*maṇipravāḷam*), using Tamil, Grantha, and Telugu scripts, the latter two being prevalently used in Southern India to render Sanskrit phonemes.

Despite the relative diversity in terms of contents and even of geographic origins, most of these manuscripts bear distinct signs of their Vaiṣṇava provenance, especially in their invocations and salutations. And some of the colophons found in them give us more than plain facts when we know how to decipher them. What the scribe mentions and—even better—what he does not mention tell us, for example, about his socio-religious background, his personal beliefs, and the extent of his scholarship. These are the elements that I am going to focus on in this article while giving the reader a glimpse of some of the MSS that belonged to Vaiṣṇavas a few centuries ago. After examining the blessings in prose and the versified invocations (including *maṅgala* verses like the *taṉiyaṉ*s) that appear in MSS that largely contain Nyāya ('logic') as well Vaiṣṇava material, I shall turn my attention towards the colophons, taking up two specific cases, those of a scholarly scribe-owner called Sudarśana and that of a Vaikhānasa priest who clearly did not identify himself as a Śrīvaiṣṇava for all intents and purposes.

---

[2] The emergence of the two schools was mainly caused by theological differences. They consider different teachers as the heads of their schools, viz. Vedānta Deśikaṉ (14th century) for the Vaṭakalais, and Piḷḷai Lokācārya (14th century) and Maṇavāḷa Māmuṉi (15th century) for the Teṉkalais. For more on their differences and the evolution of the rift within Śrīvaiṣṇavism, see, for example, Raman (2007). Please note that I use the terms 'Vaṭakalai' and 'Teṉkalai' for the sake of convenience, in a retroactive way, since the terms did not come into common use till much later.

2. Blessings and Invocations

Most MSS from this collection (and others) that I have come across contain blessings and invocations, which often help us identify the religious persuasion of the scribe/owner with some accuracy. And in this SUB collection, we find two distinctive categories of MSS that we can claim with some certainty belonged to Śrīvaiṣṇavas, precisely thanks to this paratextual material of largely Nyāya-related MSS[3] and those that have Vaiṣṇava contents. Let us focus on the first category now.

2.1. Manuscripts with non-Vaiṣṇava Contents

Traditional Śrīvaiṣṇava scholars—very much like their counterparts from other belief systems—would have mastered to an extent subjects like Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā as part of their learning, for these provide a basis upon which they would build the knowledge of their own theological system (*inter alia*), like Viśiṣṭādvaita for the followers of Rāmānuja. Some of them would even specialise in one of these topics in parallel.[4] And this perhaps explains why a sizeable number of MSS that clearly belonged to Śrīvaiṣṇavas contain Nyāya texts (**table 1**), such as the pathbreaking works by Gadādhara (1604–1709), an eminent philosopher, which must have been very popular when they were copied onto palm-leaf manuscripts in the 18th–19th centuries, the equivalent of modern-day best-sellers.

Table 1. Nyāya texts (SUB collection) that probably belonged to Śrīvaiṣṇavas.

	MS no	Title of the Nyāya text
1	35.3115	*Bādhagrandhaḥ*
2	35.3116	*Satpratipakshagrandha niṣkarṣaḥ*

[3] I will mention in this part a MS or two that do not belong to the field of Nyāya if it allows me to present interesting examples for the point that I make.

[4] If we take a modern-day example, Uttamūr Vīrarāghavācāriar, a renowned Śrīvaiṣṇava scholar, was also a Nyāya specialist and published numerous works in the field.

3	35.3122	*Kārikāvaḷi sahi muktāvaḷi*
4	35.3127	*Nyāyaratnam* (by *Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra*)
5	35.3128	*Pāñcavāda dīrgha cintāmaṇī grandhaḥ*
6	35.3129	Anonymous[5]
7	35.3130	*Sat sāmānya nirukti* (by Śaṃkara Bhaṭṭa)
8	35.3131	*Laghuparāmarśaḥ*
9	35.3132	*Virodhagrandhaḥ* (?) (and) *Āsādhāraṇatva phārigrantha*
10	35.3133	*Savyabhicārasiddhāntarahasyam*
11	35.3134	*Śaktivādāḥ* (by Gadādhara)
12	35.3135	*Siddhāntalakṣaṇagrandhaḥ*
13	35.3138	*Satpratipakṣagrandhaḥ* (by Gadādhara)
14	35.3139	*Savyabhicāri krosaṃgrahaḥ*
15	35.3140	Anonymous
16	35.3142	*Tarkāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* (by Ananta Bhaṭṭa)

Let us now have a look at the invocations and salutations found in these MSS, especially the ones that could help us determine their sources.

2.1.1. Seeking Hayagrīva's Blessings

A handful of Nyāya MSS that I checked contain an invocation to Hayagrīva (**fig. 1**), a horse-headed incarnation of Nārāyaṇa who retrieved the lost Vedas and is thus associated with knowledge and learning.

A minor deity in the early texts, He becomes a more important figure of worship, likely due to Vedānta Deśikaṉ from the 14th–15th centuries onwards, and appears in blessings in MSS:[6]

[5] Although the MS does not bear the name of the text that it contains, the text itself has signs that it is a Nyāya work.

[6] A few works have sought to map the evolution of this deity across texts and



Fig. 1. a, outside the Hayagrīva shrine on the hill. Photo by the author.

śrī hayagrīvāya namaḥ |, "Salutations to Śrī Hayagrīva!" (SUB 35.3139, f1r, **fig. 2**)

śrīmate hayagrīvāya namaḥ |, "Salutations to the auspicious Hayagrīva" (SUB 35.3115, f1r)[7]

śrīlakṣmīhayagrīvāya namaḥ |, "Salutations to Śrī Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva" (SUB 35.3142, f1r)

śrīmate hayavadanaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ |, "Salutations to the Supreme Being, the auspicious Hayavadana (Hayagrīva)" (SUB 35.3134, f40v)

---

traditions. For more information, see van Gulik (1935), Nayar (2004), Freschi (s.d.), and Loewy Shacham (2023).

[7] The Śrīvaiṣṇavas prefix an Ācārya's name with *śrīmat* if he has composed texts, and with just *śrī* if he has not (Sri U. Vē. Dr. M. V. Annantha Padma Nabhacharya Swami, personal communication, September 2022). This rule does not seem to apply to gods, as we see both are used here for Hayagrīva. Please note that I have left *śrī* untranslated (treating it as a respectful title), but translated *śrīmat* as 'auspicious'.

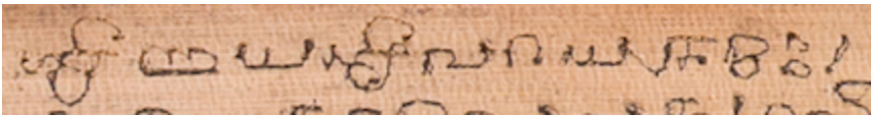


Fig. 2. SUB 35.3139, f1r. Photo: CSMC, Hamburg.

> *śrīhayavadanāya namo namaḥ |*, "Salutations again and again to Śrī Hayavadana (Hayagrīva)" (SUB 35.3122, f48v)

This deity is an object of worship for the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, especially the followers of Vedānta Deśikaṉ (traditional dates: 1268–1369), who was well-known for worshipping Him[8] and possibly also for popularizing Him to a large extent, as mentioned above. Interestingly, in a *Chāndogya upaniṣad* MS (SUB 35.3149), his well-known verse on Hayagrīva is inscribed at the beginning of the MS:

> *viśuddhavijñānaghanasvarūpaṃ*
> *vijñānaviśrāṇanaba[[X]]ddhadīkṣaṃ |*
> *dayānidhiṃ dehabhṛtāṃ śaraṇyaṃ*
> *devaṃ hayagrīvam ahaṃ prapadye |*
>
> I surrender unto the horse-headed Lord,
> Whose nature is the complete form of pure knowledge;
> He who has avowed Himself to bestow knowledge;
> He who is a store of compassion, the Refuge of entities with bodies.
>
> *Hayagrīvastotram* 4

The importance of Hayagrīva—who apparently has no direct link with the texts mentioned above—for the owner(s) of the MSS above can also be seen from some of the invocations that equal Him with the Supreme God (*parabrahman*; e.g. SUB 35.3134 mentioned above) rather than use the standard phrase with the honorific *śrī* and the name of the deity in the dative, followed by *namaḥ* (e.g. 35.3139 quoted above). Does that mean that these manuscripts belonged to the Vaṭakalai Śrīvaiṣṇavas? Not necessarily, because people belonging to other belief systems, such as the Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas,

[8] This has been mentioned in texts such as Brahmatantra Svantatra's *Muvvāyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam*, a hagiographic text accepted by the Vaṭakalais as being genuine history. See "Śrīmat vetānta tēcikaṉ vaipavam" (Kīḻāttūr 1968: 151–152).

too worshipped Hayagrīva (Loewy Shacham 2023: 146–147). So, a mention of this god likely indicates a South Indian Vaiṣṇava provenance, but not necessarily a Śrīvaiṣṇava one. Do all Vaṭakalai MSS then mention Hayagrīva? Do the Teṉkalai MSS never do? We shall deal with this topic when we turn our attention on the MSS with Śrīvaiṣṇava contents. For the moment, let us continue examining these (predominantly) Nyāya MSS and the other salutations that are found in them, so as to know who else was their object of reverence and what it tells us about them.

2.1.2. Invocations to Modern-day Ācāryas

While a mention of Hayagrīva alone cannot help establish a Śrīvaiṣṇava origin, it can do so when coupled with other markers such as an invocation to Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas, such as Vedānta Deśikaṉ, considered as the Vaṭakalai school's head.[9] And even more interesting (and perhaps even useful) is when the mention of the name of an Ācārya from the modern days, something that is found in three of these MSS, for instance in SUB 35.3134, f47v:

> *śrīmate śrīnivāsabrahmatantraparakālamahāgurave namaḥ |*, "Salutations to the great teacher, the auspicious Śrīnivāsa Brahmatantra Parakāla!" (SUB 35.3134, f47v)

Very similar are the following ones:

> *śrī śrīnivāsa brahmatantra parakālagurave namaḥ |*, "Salutations to the great teacher, Śrī Śrīnivāsa Brahmatantra Parakāla!" (SUB 35.3135, f64r)
>
> *śrīmate śrīnivāsa brahmatantra parakāla mahādeśikāya namaḥ |*, "Salutations to the great teacher, the auspicious Śrīnivāsa Brahmatantra Parakāla!" (SUB 35.3099, f103r)

The title "Brahmatantra Parakāla", which suffixes the "first" name "Śrīnivāsa", indicates that this person was a *jīyar*, a Śrīvaiṣṇava ascetic, who was the head of the Parakāla Maṭha. Founded in the 14th century in Kāñcīpuram and based in Mysore since the late 17th–early 18th centuries, this Maṭha is said to have been founded

[9] See MS of *Śaktivādāḥ* by Gadādhara: *śrīmate nigamāntamahāgurave namaḥ* ൿ ||, "Salutations to the auspicious Nigamāntamahāguru (Vedānta Deśikaṉ)!" (SUB 35.3134, f1r).

under the aegis of Vedānta Deśikaṉ himself, by his disciple Brahmatantrasvantantra (traditional dates: 1286–1386, r. 1360–1386). The main deity of worship in this Maṭha is Hayagrīva: Deśikaṉ is said to have given to the Maṭha a statue of Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva (Hayagrīva with His consort Goddess Lakṣmī), which traditions believe was bestowed upon Rāmānuja by Goddess Sarasvatī (Desikāchārya 1949: 4–5). Thus, when a mention of this deity is combined with references to Vedānta Deśikaṉ, it could well indicate that the owner was affiliated with this religious institution, and in the above case, likely a disciple of an Ācārya from this lineage whose *sannyāsa* name was Śrīnivāsa. Such a precise reference to a person in office could help us date the MS. However, as there are five Jīyars bearing the same name in the lineage of the Parakāla Maṭha Ācāryas, the task of dating them becomes more challenging, with the traditional dates[10] of their governance being: (1) r. 1386–1394, (2) r. 1440–1460, (3) r. 1737–1750, (4) r. 1770–1771, and (5) r. 1835–1860 (Desikāchārya 1949: xxiii–xxiv). Without any further evidence left behind, the MS could be referring to any of the last three Ācāryas, since the scribe/owner of the MS could be invoking the blessings of his Ācārya, or at least the latter's predecessor or successor[11] if he was a contemporary of his.

Let us have a look now at a recapitulative list of the Nyāya manuscripts from the SUB collection (**table 2**) to check which ones mention Hayagrīva or one of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas/Maṭhas, to verify if we can draw a few pertinent conclusions concerning the provenance of this part of the collection.

We notice that among the 16 MSS, 14 mention Hayagrīva, out of which 4 refer to Vedānta Deśika, 3 to Rāmānuja, and 3 indicate a link with the Parakāla Maṭha. Of the two exceptions out of the 16, one MS (35.3116) as it stands now does not contain any distinguishing sign, while the other (35.3134) clearly has links with the Deśika

[10] Usually, the dates of such Jīyars linked with a Maṭha are well-documented.

[11] The predecessor and the successor of an Ācārya are believed to represent the latter, and thus, deserves to be revered as one's own Ācārya. Also, all Śrīvaiṣṇavas "belong" to the institution they are affiliated with (whether a Maṭha or the house of a lay Ācāryapuruṣa), not merely to the individual Ācārya who initiated them. So when the MSS mention an Ācārya, it could be a reference to their own or another Ācārya of the lineage.

Table 2. Nyāya texts (SUB collection) that probably belonged to Śrīvaiṣṇavas with mention of Hayagrīva, a Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācārya or the Parakāḷa Maṭha.

	MS no	Title of the Nyāya text	Hayagrīva	Deśikaṉ (D)/ Māmuni (M)	Rāmānuja	Parakāla Maṭha
1	35.3115	*Bādhagrandhaḥ*	✓	–	✓	–
2	35.3116	*Satpratipakshagrandha niṣkarṣaḥ*	–	–	–	–
3	35.3122	*kārikāvaḷi sahi muktāvaḷi*	✓	–	–	–
4	35.3127	*Nyāyaratnam* by Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra	✓	✓ D	–	–
5	35.3128	*pāñcavāda dīrgha cintāmaṇī grandhaḥ*	✓	✓ D	–	–
6	35.3129	Anonymous	✓	–	–	–
7	35.3130	*Sat sāmānya nirukti* by Śaṃkara Bhaṭṭa	✓	–	✓	–
8	35.3131	*laghuparāmarśaḥ*	✓	–	–	–
9	35.3132	*Virodhagrandhaḥ* (?) and *Āsādhāraṇatva phārigrantha*	✓	–	–	–
10	35.3133	*Savyabhicārasiddhāntarahasyam*	✓	–	–	–

	MS no	Title of the Nyāya text	Hayagrīva	Deśikaṉ (D)/ Māmuni (M)	Rāmānuja	Parakāla Maṭha
11	35.3134	*Śaktivādāḥ* by Gadādhara	–	✓ D	–	✓
12	35.3135	*Siddhāntalakṣaṇagrandhaḥ*	✓	✓ D	–	✓
13	35.3138	*Satpratipakṣagrandhaḥ* [by Gadādhara]	✓	–	–	–
14	35.3139	*Savyabhicāri krosaṃgrahaḥ*	✓	–	✓	–
15	35.3140	Anonymous	✓	–	–	–
16	35.3142	*Tarkāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* by Ananta Bhaṭṭa	✓	–	–	✓
No explicit Śrīvaiṣṇava signs			No distinguishing signs present			

Sampradaya, especially through the Parakāla Maṭha. On the whole, we have 9 out of the 16 MSS mentioned in **table 2** which bear signs of a Śrīvaiṣṇava provenance, none of which is explicitly Teṉkalai.[12] The remaining 7 that do not bear any Vaiṣṇava marks could also belong to the same collection, because a lack of marks does not necessarily hint at a different source. Based on my observation of another MS collection,[13] MSS containing non-Vaiṣnava material are not always personalised through distinguishing signs like invocations and so forth. On the other hand, the lack of mention of non-Vaiṣṇava deities (like Gaṇeśa),[14] especially at the beginning of a text, could, to an extent, mean that the MSS belonged to Śrīvaiṣṇavas. But if the contents are Śrīvaiṣṇava in nature (or at least believed to be so, e.g. the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* works), and if there are invocations to deities that they revere and to their Ācāryas, it is easier to determine the affiliation, as we shall see in the next part.

2.2. Manuscripts with (Śrī)vaiṣṇava Contents

We have explored some distinctive signs in the above part that help us identify Śrīvaiṣṇava MSS. However, if the MSS contain Śrīvaiṣṇava texts, then there are further signs that often help us determine the source down to the detail as to which *kalai* and lin-

---

[12] The Teṉkalai Śrīvaiṣṇavas are prevalently thought to favour Tamil and the learning of the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* over the learning of other subjects, especially non-Vaiṣṇava ones (such as Nyāya), although they too did know their basics well. Is this why this collection does not contain any MS that comes from a Teṉkalai source? This is something that needs to be studied more deeply, as no conclusion can be drawn based on such a small collection, which probably also comes from a limited number of sources.

[13] This is a private collection called the Kalliṭaikuṟicci collection, which can be accessed through the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme webpage (<https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP1294/search>).

[14] One MS of the *Kāvyadarpaṇa* by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, an *Alaṃkāra* ['poetics'] work but not of Vaiṣṇava provenance, does: ๛ *śrīmedhādakṣīṇāmūrttaye namaḥ* ๛ *śrīr astu* ๛ [...] ๛ *śrīsarasvatyai namaḥ* ๛ "Salutations to the auspicious Dakṣiṇāmūrti! May there be auspiciousness! Salutations to Śrīsarasvatī!" (SUB 35.3096, f104r and f105v). Note that Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Sarasvatī, deities associated with knowledge, are non-Vaiṣṇava gods. Hayagrīva is the Vaiṣṇava equivalent, at least in the southern part of India.

Table 3. MSS of the SUB collection with unambiguously Śrīvaiṣṇava contents.

No	MS no	Title/author	Affiliation Vaṭakalai (V)/ Teṉkalai (T)	Language Tamil (Tam), Manipravalam (MP), Sanskrit (S)
1	35.3150	*Gītārthasaṃgraharakṣā* by Vedānta Deśika	V	S
2	35.3151	*Nyāyapariśuddhi* by Vedāntadeśika	V	MP
3	35.3159	*Rahasyahṛdayam* by Vedānta Deśika, *Śrītattvadarpaṇam*, and other works	V	MP
4	35.3160	*Vedāntadīpa* by Rāmānuja	–	S
5	35.3161	*Sahasranāmavyākhyānam*		S
6	35.3162	*Rahasyaratnāvali* + *Rahasyaratnāvalihṛdayam* by Vedānta Deśika	V	MP
7	35.3163	*Periya Tirumuṭi Ataivu*	T	MP
8	35.3164	*Kaṇṇiṉuṇciṟuttāmpu vyākhyānam* (by Aḷakiya Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ)	T	MP

9	35.3165	*Mutalāyiram*	T	Tam
10	35.3167	*Rahasyagranthas* (*Sārārtharatnāvalī*, *Rahasyatrayam*, *Tattvatrayam*, *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇam*)	T	MP
11	35.3168	*Tiruvāymoḻi*	–	Tam
12	35.3169	*Mumukṣuppaṭi vyākhyānam*	T	MP
13	35.3170	*Periyatirumoḻi*	T	Tam
14	35.3171	*Tiruppāvai vyākhyānam*	–	MP
15	35.3172	*Mumukṣuppaṭi vyākhyānam*	T	MP
16	35.3173	*Yatīndrapravaṇaprabhāva* by Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar	T	MP
17	35.3240	*Iyaṛpā*	–	Tam
18	35.3241	*Sampradayapariśuddhi* and other *rahasyas* by Vedānta Deśikaṉ	V	MP
19	35.3242	*Bhagavadviṣayam* (*Āṛāyirappaṭi*)	V	MP
20	35.3243	*Mumukṣuppaṭi vyākhyānam*	T	MP
21	35.3244	*Śṛīvaiṣṇavasadācāranirṇayaḥ*	V	S

eage of Ācāryas the scribe/owner belonged to. Let us, therefore, have a look at such identifying markers in the Śrīvaiṣṇava MSS from the SUB collection, of which I give a list in **table 3**.

2.2.1. Blessings

In the above part, we examined blessings and invocations to Hayagrīva and also to various Ācāryas. Similar but more varied blessings can be found in MSS that contain Śrīvaiṣṇava texts. Hayagrīva is mentioned in one of them (SUB 35.3161), but so are other forms of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa:

> ൟ *śrīkṛṣṇāya namaḥ*, "Salutations to Śrī Kṛṣṇa!" (*Sandhyāvandanabhāṣyam*, SUB 35.3236, f15v)
>
> *om śrīyaḥ pataye namaḥ |*, "Salutations to Śrī's Husband!" (*Bhagavadviṣayam*, that is, *Āṟāyirappaṭi*, by Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ, SUB 35.3242, f151r) — This MS SUB 35.3242 contains only Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ's *Āṟāyirappaṭi* commentary on Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*, traditionally associated with the Vaṭakalais, which is considered by the latter as the standard text for understanding the latter poem.[15] And the invocation to Nārāyaṇa as Śrī's Husband might be a theological decision, since they believe in the dual sovereignty of Nārāyaṇa and Śrī, unlike the Teṉkalais.[16]
>
> *śrīrāmajeyam*, "Victory to Śrī Rāma" (*Nyāyaratnam*, SUB 35.3127, f39v) — This blessing is typical of South India. Even now some people not only write it at the beginning of their work, but also fill pages and copy books with just *śrīrāmajayam*, a practice that is known as *likhita-japa* 'written repetition [of God's name(s)].'

These names of other forms of Nārāyaṇa can inform us about the *iṣṭadevatā* ('favourite deity') of the person who commissioned/copied a MS. Specific names of God enshrined in temples, sometimes

---

[15] Please note that the Vaṭakalais give the name *Bhagavadviṣayam* to this text, while the Teṉkalais use this nomenclature to refer to all the commentaries on the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, and perhaps more specifically, to Nampiḷḷai's *Īṭu Bhagavadviṣayam*. It is possible that the name *Bhagavadviṣayam* (*Āṟāyirappaṭi*) was scribbled on the MS at a later period of time, unless this practice originated in the 17th–18th centuries when the text must have been copied.

[16] For more information on this topic, see chapter 7 (*The Mediators: Śrī and the Ācārya*) in Mumme (1988).

found in the MSS, could indicate the *kuladevatā* ('family deity') or simply a favourite deity of a person who lives in a certain town:

> *śrī vīrarāghavaparabrahmaṇe namaḥ*, "Salutations to the Supreme Lord Vīrarāghava!" (title unknown, SUB 35.3129, f85v) — Vīrarāghava is the name of the main deity in the Tiru Evvuḷūr / Tiruvaḷḷūr Temple, which is managed by the Ahobila Maṭha. The owner of this MS might be affiliated to the latter.
>
> ൹ *śrīraṅganāthāya namaḥ ‖ śrīraṅganāyakyai namaḥ*, "Salutations to Śrīraṅganātha! Salutations to Śrīraṅganāyakī!" (*Vedāntadīpa* by Rāmānuja, SUB 35.3160, f102r) — Śrīraṅganātha and Śrīraṅganāyakī are the names of the main deities in the Śrīraṅgam temple.
>
> *śrīnivāsāya namaḥ* ൹ "Salutations to Śrīnivāsa!" (*Sandhyāvandanabhāṣyam*, SUB 35.3236, f15v) — Śrīnivāsa is the name of the main deity in Tirumalā.

A few other Nārāyaṇa-related people, mostly the Āḻvārs and important Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas, are also remembered and prayed to in certain manuscripts:

> *śrīsuparṇāya namaḥ*, "Salutations to Śrī Suparṇa [Garuḍa]!" (*Siddhāntalakṣaṇagrandhaḥ*, SUB 35.3135, f64r) — Garuḍa is considered as the embodiment of the Vedas.
>
> *śrīmate nigamāntagurave namaḥ*, "Salutations to Nigamāntaguru!" (*Sampradayapariśuddhi* and other *rahasya*s by Vedānta Deśikaṉ, SUB 35.3241, f6r) — Nigamāntaguru is a synonym of the title 'Vedānta Deśika', hence a reference to the Ācārya (né Veṅkaṭanātha) who famously bears this title.
>
> ൹ *śrīmate vakuḷabhūṣaṇāya namaḥ*, "Salutations to the auspicious Wearer of Bakula flowers (Nammāḻvār)!" (*Vedāntadīpa* by Rāmānuja, SUB 35.3160, f102r)
>
> *śrīparāṅkuśamunaye namaḥ śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrīḥ ‖*, "Salutations to the ascetic Śrī Parāṅkuśa! *śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrī śrīḥ*" (*Mumukṣuppaṭi vyākhyānam* [*Tirumantrārtham*], SUB 35.3169, f98r) — Parāṅkuśa is likely a reference to Nammāḻvār, or else Rāmānuja's Ācārya, also known as Periya Nampikaḷ.
>
> *śrīmate rāghavaguravē namaḥ*, "Salutations to the auspicious teacher Rāghava!", *śrīmadyai godāy[a]i nama*, "Salutations to the auspicious Godā-Āṇṭāḷ!" (*Mumukṣuppaṭi vyākhyānam*, SUB 35.3243, f52v) — "Rāghavaguru/teacher Rāghava" must be a personal Ācārya.

Just like "Rāghavaguru/teacher Rāghava" must be a personal Ācārya of the owner of the manuscripts, so must the many Ācāryas invoked in the following MSS be:

> *śrīśuddhasattvamahādeśikāya namaḥ* |, "Salutations to the great teacher Śrī Śuddhasattvam!" (*Yatīndrapravaṉaprabhāva* by Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar, SUB 35.3173, f1r) — Śuddhasattvam is the name of a *tirumāḷikai*,[17] so generations of men of the family would bear the same title. Both the *Yatīndrapravaṉaprabhāva* and the Śuddhasattvam *tirumāḷikai* indicate a Teṉkalai affiliation.
>
> *śrīvādibhīkaragurave namaḥ*, "Salutations to the teacher Śrī Vādibhīkara!" (*Iyaṟpā* by the Āḻvārs, SUB 35.3240, f35r) — This is reference to Prativādibhayaṅkaram Aṇṇaṅgarācārya (14th–15th centuries)—who was a disciple both of Vedānta Deśikaṉ and Maṇāvāḷa Māmuni—or one of his descendants.
>
> *asmat guruparamparāyai namaḥ*, "Salutations to our lineage of teachers!" (*Bhagavadviṣayam* [*Āṟāyirappaṭi*] by Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ, SUB 35.3242, f151r)

All these blessings, for individual Ācāryas but also to the whole lineage, show us the central role that the Ācāryas played in the lives of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. And so far, we have come across only blessings in Sanskrit, but there also exist Tamil ones, especially in MSS that contain works in Tamil and/or Manipravalam. Indeed, all the Teṉkalai MSS but one (11 out of 12) contain blessings in Tamil, often coupled with Sanskrit ones (such as *śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ*). *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham*-related copies often contain the format "Āḻvār name + *tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam*" ("So-and-so Āḻvār's feet are the refuge"). For texts by a Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācārya, the Āḻvār name can be replaced by his, as can be seen below. And often, these tend to occur either in the middle or towards the end of a text. The following example is of words inscribed between the decades of a relatively long work, like Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār's *Periya Tirumoḻi* (SUB 35.3170) with its 1084 verses:

---

[17] I thank Tirukkanambi Srinivasa Rajan Swami for this piece of information. Please note that *tirumāḷikai* (literally, 'sacred palace') is a reference not just to the physical structure of a house, but also to a family of non-ascetic Ācāryapuruṣas, who act parallelly to the Śrīvaiṣṇava Maṭhas to instruct and initiate people.

- the words *tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam*, "Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār's sacred feet are the refuge," appear between two centums;
- the words *vāḻi parakālaṉ / vāḻi yulakāciriyaṉ*, "Long live Parakālaṉ (Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār)! Long live the world teacher/Lokācārya!" appear between two decades.

This regular reiteration of these blessings could be an echo of an oral practice that consists in remembering the author of a work whenever possible. This kind of intermediary blessings occur less frequently than the final ones, which are as common as initial ones:

> *jīyar tiruvaṭikaḷē śaraṇam | śrīlokagurave namaḥ ||*, "The sacred feet of the Jīyar are the refuge' 'Salutations to Śrī Lokaguru!" (*Mumukṣuppaṭi vyākhyānam* (*Tirumantrārtham*) by Piḷḷai Lokācārya, SUB 35.3169. f98r) — Lokaguru is a synonym for (Piḷḷai) Lokācārya. He is technically the first Ācārya directly associated with the Teṉkalai philosophy and school. This MS contains his [18] *rahasya*-type esoteric theological treatises.
>
> *āḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam jīyar tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam*, "The Āḻvār's sacred feet are the refuge; Emperumāṉār's (Rāmānuja's) sacred feet are the refuge; Jīyar's sacred feet are the refuge" (*Tiruvāymoḻi*, SUB 35.3168, f101v)

These blessings for the triad of [Namm]āḻvār, Emperumāṉār (Rāmānuja), and Jīyar are recited at the end of lectures, discourses, and so forth, especially by the Teṉkalais. Referring to him as 'Periya Jīyar' and 'Kōyil Jīyar', this Śrīvaiṣṇava school believes that Jīyar refers to Maṇavāḷa Māmuṉi, whom they consider as their head. But this identification is not accepted by all, as some believe that it is a reference to an older Ācārya called Nañcīyar (*nam + cīyar*), Parāśara Bhaṭṭa's disciple and Nampiḷḷai's Ācārya.[18] In light of this, it is inter-

[18] I am yet to come across a MS of Vaṭakalai provenance that invokes this triad, for the Vaṭakalais (at least the modern-day ones) replace "Jīyar" (which supposedly refers to Maṇavāḷa Māmuṉi) with "Deśikaṉ", the head of their own school. But I have not yet come across either version in any of the MSS that I have had the occasion to look at. As a matter of fact, I have heard some Vaṭakalai Ācāryas claim that Jīyar is in fact a reference to Nañcīyar, another Ācārya, Parāśara Bhaṭṭar's disciple and Nampiḷḷai's Ācārya, who lived many generations before Māmuṉi. And the implication, of course, is that the expression with the Jīyar variant is not specifically Teṉkalai at all.

esting to notice a modified version of the triad at the end of the very same MS:

> *āḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam manvāḷamāmuṉi tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* |, "[Namm]āḻvār's sacred feet are the refuge; Emperumāṉār Rāmānuja's sacred feet are the refuge; Maṇavāḷa Māmuni's sacred feet are the refuge." (*Tiruvāymoḻi*, SUB 35.3168, unnumbered folio[19])

In SUB 35.3168 'Jīyar' obviously replaces 'Maṇavāḷa Māmuni' as if the two were synonyms, so it would seem that the practice of considering that the former referred to the latter is not a very recent phenomenon. Such blessings found in the MSS thus give us historical clues about certain practices. While it is beyond the scope of this article to explore the implications of the presence of certain blessings, it is still pertinent to note them:

> *piṉpaḻakiya perumāḷ cīyar tiru[vaṭikaḷē] caraṇam* "The sacred [feet?] of Piṉpaḻakiya Perumāḷ Cīyar are the refuge" (*Yatīndrapravaṇaprabhāvam* by Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar, SUB 35.3173, f1r) — Piṉpaḻakiya Perumāḷ Cīyar is traditionally considered the author of the first Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiographic work in Tamil, the *Āṟāyirappaṭi Guruparamparāprabhāvam*.

It is interesting that this MS, which contains a later hagiographic work (16th c.?) that narrates the life story of Maṇavāḷa Māmuṉi, should bear the invocation to an earlier Ācārya, rather than the author of the work (i.e. Piḷḷai Lokam Jīyar). We may wonder if this could be a way of acknowledging another former Ācārya who was one of the first Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiographers in Manipravalam, a veritable trendsetter (Piṉpaḻakiya Perumāḷ Cīyar).

All the MSS with blessings in Tamil that we have quoted above belong to the Teṉkalais, who are said to have a greater affinity to Tamil. Does that mean that the Vaṭakalais do not have blessings and invocations in Tamil? Not exactly, as we can see from the next example, where the blessings of the author of the commentary are invoked:

---

[19] These blessings can be seen on an unnumbered folio that precedes the first folio of the MS. It is not clear if it belongs to the same MS. Having said that, the handwriting is undoubtedly the same, since the scribe writes *ya* and *yu*, for example, in an idiosyncratic way.

> *tirukkurukai pirāṉ piḷḷāṉ tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam*, "The sacred feet of Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ are the refuge" (*Bhagavadviṣayam* [*Āṟāyirappaṭi*] by Tirukkurukai Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ, SUB 35.3242. f151r)

Thus, the appearance of blessings in Tamil depends on the text(s) that a MS contains: when it is a Tamil and/or Manipravalam text that belongs to the Śrīvaiṣṇava Sampradaya, then a few blessings in Tamil are likely to appear.

More elaborate completion statements can also be found in some MSS, sometimes standard phrases that wrap up a text, as is the case with Vedānta Deśikaṉ's works:

> *iti kavitārkikasiṃhasya sarvatantrasvatantrasya śrīmadveṅkaṭanāthasya vedāntācāryasya kṛtiṣu sampradāyapariśuddhi[ḥ] saṃpūrṇa*, "Thus is complete the *Sampradāyapariśuddhi* among [the works] of the best among poets and logicians, master of all doctrines, the auspicious Veṅkaṭanātha, [known as] Vedāntācārya." (*Sampradayapariśuddhi* and other *rahasya*s by Vedānta Deśikaṉ, SUB 35.3241, f6r)

Just as this phrase is recited at the conclusion of a recitation of his work, so is it found printed on books as well. Please note that *kavitārkikasiṃha*, *sarvatantrasvatantra*, and *vedāntācārya* are all titles that Deśikaṉ was given in his lifetime. Since he is considered the head of a school and is worshipped as one of the most important Ācāryas, he is remembered in an elaborate way by the reciters, a practice that is reflected in these MSS.

Apart from such blessings, we also find—often, at the beginning of a text—invocations, especially ones known as *taṉiyaṉ*s ('self-contained verse') in these MSS with Śrīvaiṣṇava contents, which is yet another sign that shows how much this community has revered, remembered, and thanked the previous teachers.

2.2.2. Invocations, Taṉiyaṉs

Both Vaṭakalai and Teṉkalai MSS contain whole invocation verses, in Sanskrit but also in Tamil. As mentioned above, these verses are known as *taṉiyaṉs*[20] by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas (unless they are part of a larger work) and are dedicated to Āḻvārs, Ācāryas and/or

[20] To know more about the *taṉiyaṉ*s in general, see Anandakichenin (2020).

their works. The Śrīvaiṣṇavas recite them at the beginning of any undertaking that involves those people or works. Here are a few examples:

> *divyākāraṃ sarojākṣaṃ śaṃkhacakragadādharaṃ |*
> *mukuṃdadvāranilayaṃ viṣvaksenam upāsmahe ||*
>
> We worship Viṣvaksena whose form is divine, whose eyes are lotuses, and who bears a conch, a discus, and a mace, whose abode is Mukunda's entrance.
>
> *Gītārthasaṃgraharakṣā* by Vedānta Deśikaṉ, SUB 35.3150, f1r

This is a verse dedicated to Viṣvaksena, the commander-in-chief of Nārāyaṇa, and third in the lineage of Ācāryas for the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Some Vaiṣṇavas replace the initial worship of Gaṇeśa with the worship of Viṣvaksena. It is not clear what other motive could have pushed the scribe/owner to choose this deity.

More common are *taṉiyaṉ*s dedicated to the Āḻvārs:

> *muntutta neñcē muyaṟṟi taritturaittu vantittu vāyāra vāḻtti |*
> *canta morukūrum cōlai cūḻ moypūm porunal kurukūraṉ māṟaṉ pēr kūṟu*
>
> O heart that went ahead! Bearing [in mind] *muyaṟṟi* ('diligence'), reciting, paying homage [to it], and praising to the satisfaction of the mouth, praise the name of Māṟaṉ, him from Kurukūr-up-on-Porunal, which is beautiful, surrounded by groves of sandal-wood trees flowing with honey!
>
> *Iyaṟpā* by the Āḻvārs, SUB 35.3240, f37v, *Periya tiruvantāti*

Note that the letters *ṟṟ* are transcribed as *tt* in the first occurrence, which could be attributed either to the influence of the spoken language, or to the fact that the MS belonged to a Teṉkalai, for this school believes that 'harsh sounds' like *ṟṟ* should be softened so that they do not hurt God's ears.[21] This *taṉiyaṉ*, attributed to Rāmānuja, is dedicated to Nammāḻvār, and is usually recited only before the recitation or study of his *Periya tiruvantāti*.

Let us now have a look at a popular *taṉiyaṉ* dedicated to another important Ācārya, Vedānta Deśikaṉ:

---

[21] Personal communication, Śrīraṅgam B. Ramanujam Swami and Tirukkanambi Srinivasa Rajan Swami.

cīroṉṟu tūppul tiruvēṅkaṭamuṭaiyāṉ
pāroṉṟac coṉṉa paḻamoḻiyuḷ ōroṉṟu
tāṉē amaiyātō tāraṇiyil vāḻvārkku
vāṉēṟap pōmaḷavum vāḻvu

Will even one of the ancient words—that excellent Tiruveṅkaṭamuṭaiyāṉ from Tūppul spoke so that the [people of] the world focus [their minds on Him]—not suffice for those who live on the earth for [their] lives [here] till they climb and reach Heaven.

Sampradāyapariśuddhi and other *rahasya*s, SUB 35.3241, f1r

This is a *taṉiyaṉ* dedicated to Vedānta Deśikaṉ, which is recited before his works are recited, read, and/or studied. It was allegedly composed by Piḷḷai Lokācārya, but this attribution is contested by a few Teṉkalais.

*Taṉiyaṉ*s can also be (in fact, most often are) in Sanskrit, and some of our MSS contain them, such as the following one (also) dedicated to Vedānta Deśikaṉ, the author of the work contained in the MS:

śrīmānveṅkaṭanāthāryaḥ kavitārkikakesarī |
vedāntācāryavaryo me sannidhattām sadā hṛdi ||

May the auspicious noble Veṅkaṭanātha, best among poets and logicians, the eminent Vedāntācārya always dwell in [my] heart.

Sampradāyapariśuddhi and other *rahasya*s by Vedānta Deśika, SUB 35.3241, f1r

Once again, this is the standard verse that is recited before reciting or studying any of Deśikaṉ's works.

Teṉkalai MSS too have such *taṉiyaṉ*s dedicated to their Ācāryas: for example, the MS SUB 35.3163, which contains a hagiographic work—by a writer who is retrospectively identified as Teṉkalai, namely, Kantāṭai Tirumalācārya—gives Maṇavāḷa Māmuṉi's popular *taṉiyaṉ* and adds an interesting comment:

śrīśaileśadayāpātraṃ dhībhaktyādiguṇārṇavaṃ |
yatīndrapravaṇaṃ vande ramyajāmātaram muniṃ ||
yintat taṉiyaṉ ellārukkum uddeśyam

I worship the ascetic Ramyajāmātṛ, the receiver of Śrīśaileśa's grace,
An ocean of knowledge, devotion, and so forth, he who is inclined

> towards the lord of ascetics [Rāmānuja].
> This *taṉiyaṉ* is the end in view (*uddeśya*) for everyone.
>
> *Periya Tirumuṭi Ataivu* by Kōvil Kantāṭai Nāyaṉ, SUB 35.3163, f51r[22]

What this sentence probably means is that this *taṉiyaṉ* is supposed to be recited whatever the identity or nature of the poem that will be recited or studied, for this is part of the general *taṉiyaṉ*s (*potu taṉiyaṉkaḷ*)—the first among them in fact—for the Teṉkalais.[23] These invocations help us determine the *kalai* of the owner, while some other help know with even more precision as to which subgroup (within the *kalai*) it belonged.

The following verses, for example, could give us the exact affiliation:

> *keśavāryakṛpāpātraṃ dhīśamādiguṇārṇavaṃ |*
> *śrīśaṭhāriyatīśānaṃ deśikendram ahaṃ bhaje ||*
> *prapadye niravadyānām niṣadyām guṇasaṃpadāṃ |*
> *śaraṇaṃ bhavabhītānāṃ śaṭhakopamunīśvaraṃ ||*
>
> I worship the king of teachers, worthy of the compassion of noble Keśava, an ocean of qualities such as knowledge and equanimity, the lord of ascetics Śrī Śaṭhāri.
>
> I surrender unto the lord of the sages Śaṭhakopa, the seat for the wealth of irreproachable qualities, who is the refuge for those afraid of *saṃsāra*.
>
> *Śrīvaiṣṇavasadācāranirṇayaḥ* by Srī Raṅganātha Yatīndra Mahādeśikaṉ, SUB 35.3244, f1r

These verses are dedicated to an Ācārya referred to as Śaṭhāri in the first verse and as the ascetic Śaṭhakopa in the second. This is indeed the founder of the Ahobila Maṭha, known as Ādivaṇ Śaṭhakopa Jīyar (b. 1379), and these verses are part of the ones to be recited everyday by the disciples of this Vaṭakalai Maṭha. And it is possible that they are present in this MS because the *Śrīvaiṣṇavasadācāranirṇayaḥ*, a Dharmaśastric text that lists everyday rites and

---

[22] This leaf appears at the end (after folio 50) but it is unnumbered.

[23] Similarly, the second work (*Rahasyatrayam*) in SUB 35.3167, f35r, gives a *taṉiyaṉ* dedicated Piḷḷai Lokācārya (*lokācāryāyagurave krṣṇapādasya sūnave [...]*, "The teacher Lokācārya, Kṛṣṇapāda's son [...]") since he is the author of the said work.

so forth of a Śrīvaiṣṇava, was composed by Srī Raṅganātha Yatīndra Mahādeśikaṉ (r. 1811–1828), the 26th Aḷakiyaciṅkar (Jīyar) who descended in the lineage of teachers of this Maṭha. Or more likely, the owner of this MS himself must have belonged to this Maṭha, hence the invocations to the founder of the Maṭha, especially since the text contained in it also happens to be one composed by an Ācārya who belonged to the same lineage.

Such invocations help us greatly trace the source of a MS, but nothing can beat a precise colophon to tell us exactly who the owner was.

3. Colophons

And among the handful of colophons that exist in the MSS of Vaiṣṇava provenance in the SUB collection, a few stand out: those by the owner of a few MSS called Sudarśana, and one manuscript that stands out by (more or less) silently proclaiming difference from the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, as we shall see.

3.1. Sudarśana's Manuscripts

The colophons of a few manuscripts mention a certain Sudarśana. Actually, it is Sudarśana himself who speaks about himself on a few occasions and gives us an insight into who and what he was and what he did. Since his MSS collection contains Nyāya and Vyākaraṇa texts, we can presume that he was an erudite scholar, unless he was only a student or scribe. Let us meet this person from the past. Here are the blessings found in the MS copy of *Śaktivādaḥ* by Gadādhara (SUB 35.3134):

> *śrīmatenigamāntamahāgurave namaḥ* ൹ ||, "Salutations to the great Nigamānta guru [Vedānta Deśikaṉ]!"
>
> *śriyaiḥ namaḥ | śrīnigamāntagurave namaḥ | śrīmate śrīnivāsa brahmatantra parakāla mahāgurave namaḥ |*, "Salutations to Śrī! Salutations to Nigamānta guru! Salutations to the great teacher, the auspicious Śrīnivāsa Brahmatantra Parakāla!"
>
> SUB 35.3134, f1r and f47v

The reference to Vedānta Deśikaṉ and Śrīnivāsa Brahmatantra Parakāla (see § 2.1.2), whom we have already met before, shows

that this person was a Vaṭakalai Śrīvaiṣṇava and a disciple of the Parakāla Maṭha, respectively. The name of the Jīyar of the Parakāla Maṭha might refer to the 28th in the line of that religious institution, Śrī Śrīnivasa Brahmatantrasvatantra Parakāla Swāmi (1836–1861) or an earlier Jīyar who bore the same name, the 22nd in line in fact, who lived between 1738 and 1751, based on the dates provided by Desikāchārya (1949: xxiii–xxiv). We need further clues from Sudarśana's paratextual writings to determine which Ācārya he is invoking the blessings of:

> *prajotpattisaṃvatsara-mār(ga)śīrṣa-māsa-paurṇimāyāṃ vyut(-)śaktivādas saṃpūrṇaḥ likhitas sudarśanena |*
>
> The complete text of *Śaktivāda* was written down by Sudarśana, on the full-moon day of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year Prajotpatti."
>
> SUB 35.3134, f48v

The date above is interesting but since the day of the week is missing, it is not possible to say for sure which Prajotpatti year in a cycle of 60 years has been referred to here. It could be 1871–1872 or 1811–1812, or even earlier. In another MS, the same Sudarśana leaves a colophon in the form of a Sanskrit verse in the *anuṣṭubh* metre:

> *abde vibhave māse mīne śukladvitiyyavāsarake |*
> *likhitas sudarśanenābhūt prāyoge suviveka evāsau |*
>
> On the second day of the bright fortnight in the month Mīna in year Vibhava, that Suviveka in [the field of] *prayoga* was written by Sudarśana.
>
> *Prayogavivekasaṃgraha* [extract] by Vararuci,
> SUB 35.3104, f208v (**fig. 3**)

By writing a verse to give the date (another incomplete one devoid of the day of the week), Sudarśana wants to show that he was a scholar, and not merely a scribe. And the fact that his handwriting does not look like that of a trained professional (which tends to be neat and regular) might add to the argument. Noteworthy is the fact that no distinctive Śrīvaiṣṇava mark seems to appear on this MS, as opposed to SUB 35.3134 that we saw before. Let us see what more Sudarśana lets us know about himself in another MS of his, another Nyāya text:

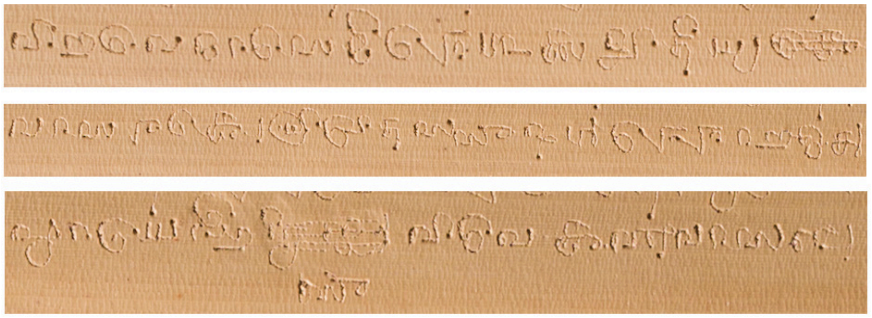


Fig. 3. SUB 35.3104, f208v. Photo: CSMC, Hamburg.

> *[...] vaiśvāmitra-sudarśanena likhitaṃ patraṃ [...]*, "letter written by Sudarśana from the Viśvāmitra [*gotra*] [...]" (*Satsāmānyanirukti* by Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, SUB 35.3130, f44r)

This MS adds the information concerning his birth, i.e. that he belonged to the Viśvāmitra *gotra* (*vaiśvāmitra sudarśanena*), and was thus, unsurprisingly (for such a scholar a few centuries ago), a Brahmin. Apart from that, it is worth knowing that despite the fact that some words are missing, we notice that Sudarśana's signature colophon was composed in the *śardūla-vikrīḍitā* metre, which requires a greater mastery of Sanskrit poetics than the *anuṣṭubh* metre. In another MS, Sudarśana himself confirms that he was a poet:

> *viśvāmitrakulajalanidhirākākumudādhiyā yena kavinā sudarśanena grandho likhitaḥ pratāparudrīyaḥ [...]*, "The text *Pratāparudrīya* which was copied by Sudarśana, with a mind [like] the white waterlily on the full-moon night over the ocean that is the family of Viśvāmitra [...]" (*Pratāparudrīya*, or *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa*, by Vidyānātha with Kumārasvāmin's commentary *Ratnāpaṇa*, SUB 35.3099, f6r; **fig. 4**)

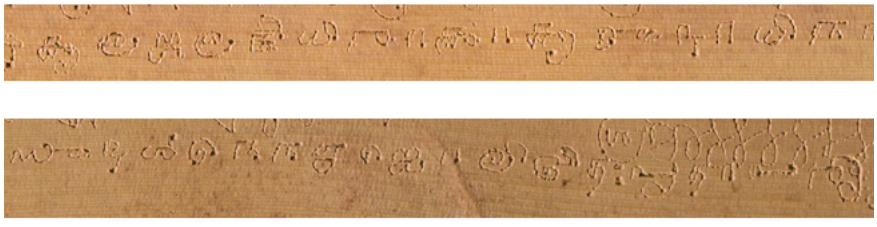


Fig. 4. SUB 35.3099, f6r. Photo: CSMC, Hamburg.

We thus see that some of the colophons tell us about the people who commissioned, copied or owned the MSS, their backgrounds, reading habits, education level, but also sometimes what texts were popular in their times, e.g. Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya's (17th-century) works such as *Śaktivāda*. Sometimes, however, what a MS does not mention can also tell us much about a person's beliefs, his social standing, religious beliefs, and so forth, like the following MS.

3.2. A Vaikhānasa Manuscript

The MS SUB 35.3184 gives extensive details about the author/owner, first in Sanskrit and then in Tamil. Since the Sanskrit parts are not fully legible, let me begin with the Tamil part before comparing it with the Sanskrit contents. This MS gives us an idea about a different subsect among the Vaiṣṇavas, and possibly how they saw themselves vis-à-vis the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. And such identity issues, which are relevant to this day,[24] have roots in the past, as the MS shows:

> *ciṅkapperumāḷkōviliṟ śrīvaikhānasan vasiṣṭhagotra tiruvaḷūrappa-bhaṭṭācārya putran vīrarāghavabhaṭṭācārya vaidikasārvabhauman tōḻappar paṇṇina āśaucaśatakavyākhyānam aghanirṇayattaip pāttu samastajanaṅkaḷukkum kaṟka eḷicākat teriyum paṭi nītisāraṃ pōlē tamiḻilē yīṭuyiṭṭu tān aṟañca mātraṃ artha-nirṇayam paṇṇiṉāṉ [...]*
>
> Vīrarāghava Bhaṭṭācārya from Ciṅkapperumāḷkōvil — a Śrīvaikhānasa of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra*, the son of Tiruvaḷūrappa Bhaṭṭācārya, the emperor among Vaidikas — settled the meanings of *Aghanirṇayam*, the commentary on *Āśaucacaśaka* composed by Tōḻappar, turned it into Tamil as a didactic work so that all the people know how to learn [it] easily, and composed that *Nirṇayam* as well as he could.[25]
>
> *Āśaucaśataka*, SUB 35.3184, f81r

---

[24] See, for example Hüsken (2009: 15, 50–51, 144–145). For a brief introduction to the differences in these two sets of Vaiṣṇavas in the Tamil land and to the tension between them, see Hüsken (2016).

[25] I took *aṟañca* as a spoken Tamil form of *aṟinta* ('that [he] knew'), so literally, it would mean 'as much as he knew' (whence, 'as well as he could'). However, in a personal communication, Giovanni Ciotti has pointed out to me that *aṟañca* could be *aṟainta* ('that [he] spoke'), hence 'within the limits of what he (= Tōḻappar) said'. Both interpretations seem possible in this case.

An almost-full biography of the owner of the MS is given here: 'Bhaṭṭācārya' indicates that he was likely a (needless to say, Brahmin) priest at Ciṅkapperumāḷkōvil (also known as Pāṭalādri). The latter is a temple-town near Chennai that is run according to the Vaikhānasa Āgamas, so this confirms that Vīrarāghavaṉ indeed was a hereditary priest (as also proven by his father's name, Tiruvaḷūrappa Bhaṭṭācārya). He claims to be a great *vaidika* (*vaidikasārvabhauman*), probably meaning that he strictly followed the Vedic Śāstras and rites, hence his interest in a text such as *Āśaucaśataka*, which is handbook for rites. And his scholarship is vouched for by his translating skills (from Sanskrit to Tamil). Interestingly, the beginning of SUB 35.3184 corroborates (in Sanskrit) some of the information concerning the author's composing this "commentary" on the *Āśaucaśataka* (*iti śrīvīrarāghavabhaṭṭācāryaviracitā śaucaśatakasya drāmiḍavyākhyāṃ [...]*, "thus, in the Tamil commentary on the *Āśaucaśataka* written by Śrīvīrarāghava Bhaṭṭācārya [...]"), his occupation (*śrīmatpāṭalaśailasthanṛsiṃhapādapūjakaḥ*, "the priest of the feet of Narasiṃha who dwells on the auspicious Pāṭalādri hill"), his birth (*vasiṣṭhagotra*, "he of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra*") as well. And the following lines also seem to give a date, which is not very legible.

Another interesting thing to notice is that being a MS that belonged to a Vaikhānasa (and not a Pāñcarātrin), SUB 35.3184 does not contain invocations to the usual Ācāryas, like Rāmānuja or Vedānta Deśika, but rather a verse dedicated to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, followed by one to Viṣvaksena. The latter, considered by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas as Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa's commander-in-chief and the third in the line of Ācāryas after Nārāyaṇa and Śrī, is also an important figure for the Vaikhānasas, who begin by worshipping him before the rituals (Hüsken 2009: 163). There have been debates about whether Vaikhānasas are even Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the answer seems inconclusive.[26] And tensions between the two sets of Vaiṣṇavas has existed for a few centuries, as vouched for by this MS which is devoid of any Śrīvaiṣṇava mark. Thus, what is there in a MS and what is not can help us determine its sources

[26] Hüsken (2009: 15) asserts that the Vaikhānasas saw (see?) themselves as being different from the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, while some of the latter consider them as being part of their community, with just the Āgama differing.

and also give a glimpse into the socio-religious context at the time it was produced.

4. Conclusion

We thus see that these manuscripts from South Indian Vaiṣṇava sources are rich and varied, both in terms of contents and of affiliation. We can say with some certainty that many of the Nyāya manuscripts come from a single source, namely, from a family of Śrīvaiṣṇavas (or disciples from the same lineage) from around the Mysore region, disciples of the Parakāla Maṭha. And since the latter's main deity of worship is Hayagrīva and since this god of learning is the Vaiṣṇava equivalent of Dakṣiṇāmūrti for the Śaivas and Sarasvatī for the others, He is remembered throughout the MSS. This collection also contains Vedānta-related works, like copies of Upaniṣads, and works from more general fields, like *vyākaraṇa*, *alaṃkāra*, and *kāvya*.[27] On the whole, the part of the collection that contains non-Śrīvaiṣṇava material comprises works that one (or more) erudite scholar(s) from whatever background and belief system would have learnt—or at least added to their to-be-read list—in the 19th century in South India. In contrast to these, the MSS with Vaiṣṇava contents are more varied in terms of their affiliation: there are both Vaṭakalai and Teṉkalai MSS from different lineages of Ācāryas, and there exists a Vaikhānasa MS that stands out among them.

Thus, like their counterparts across the subcontinent (and surely beyond), the scribes leave many signs about themselves and their societies across the leaves. For that reason (among others), the MSS that the SUB collection contains could hold a key to learning more about their scholarly world, their socio-religious backgrounds, and perhaps even the mutual interactions between them around the 18th–early 20th centuries.

---

[27] Here are a few examples, which, incidentally, also contain a mention of Hayagrīva: (1) ***kāvya***: *Mudrārākṣasa* by Viśākhadatta (SUB 35.3083) and *Mukundānandabhāṇaṃ* by Kāīpati Kavirāja (SUB 35.3084); (2) ***alaṃkāra***: *Daśarūpaka* by Dhanañjaya (SUB 35.3095), *Pratāparudrīya* by Vidyānātha with Kumārasvāmin's commentary *Ratnāpaṇa* (SUB 35.3099), and *Ratnāpaṇa* by Kumārasvāmin (SUB 35.3100); and (3) ***vyākaraṇa***: *Prayogavivekasaṃgraha* [extract] by Vararuci (SUB 35.3104).

Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to Giovanni Ciotti, Victor D'Avella, Ute Hüsken, Andrey Klebanov, and Ilanit Loewy Shacham for their various kinds of help.

Conventions

The original texts are provided in diplomatic transliteration, according to the following conventions:

(abc) characters not clearly legible
[abc] lost characters supplied by conjecture
[[X]] illegible character crossed-out by the copyist
൹ *piḷḷaiyār cu̲li* (short and long forms)

References

Primary Sources

Muvvāyirappaṭi, by Brahmatantra Svatantra. 1968. *Srīmat trutīya prahmatantra svatantra svāmi aru̲licceyta Mūvāyirappaṭi kuruparamparā prapāvam (vaṭakalai sampratāyam) [ā̲lvārkaḷ, ācāryarkaḷ, tivyatēcattu emperumā̲nkaḷ tiruvuruvappaṭaṅkaḷ, aṭikku̲rippukaḷ, anupantaṅkaḷ ākiyavaikaḷuṭa̲n kūṭiya oru ci̲ranta paktip patippu)* edited by Kī̲āttūr Śrīnivāsāccāriyar. Ce̲n̲nai: Ti liṭṭil pḷavar kampe̲ni.

Nālāyira Divya Prabandham, by the Ā̲lvārs. 1935. *Ā̲lvārkaḷ aru̲licceyta nālāyira tivyaprapantam* edited by Cē. Kiruṣṇamācāriyar. Ce̲n̲nai: Kaṇēca accukkūṭam.

Secondary Sources

Anandakichenin, Suganya. 2020. "The Ta̲niya̲n: Its Role, Evolution and Importance in the Śrīvaiṣṇava Tradition." In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanza: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in Transmission History* edited by Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin, 395–453. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies.

Desikāchārya, N. 1949. *The Origin and Growth of Śrī Brahmatantra Parakāla Mutt*. Bangalore: The Bangalore Press.

Freschi, E. S.d. "The Reuse of Texts and Images: Hayagrīva's Case". <https://www.academia.edu/12633016/The_reuse_of_Hayagrīva_iconography_in_texts_and_images>

Hüsken, Ute. 2009. *Viṣṇu's Children. Prenatal life-cycle Rituals in South India*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Heidelberg Studies in South Asian religions).

Hüsken, Ute. 2016. "Slaves and Sons: The Court Dynamics of a Religious Dispute in South India". In *Filing Religion: State, Hinduism, and Courts of Law* edited by Daniela Berti, Gilles Tarabout, and Raphaël Voix, 124–146. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Loewy Shacham, Ilanit. 2023. "The Book in the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas' Hands". *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 16(2): 132–157.

Mumme, Patricia. 1988. *The Śrīvaiṣṇava Theological Dispute: Maṇavāḷamāmuni and Vedānta Deśika*. Madras: New Era Publications.

Nayar, Kamala Elizabeth. 2004. *Hayagrīva in South India: Complexity and Selectivity of Pan-Indian Hindu Deity*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Raman, Srilata. 2007. *Self-Surrender (Prapatti) to God in Śrīvaiṣṇavism: Tamil Cats or Sanskrit Monkeys?* New York: Routledge.

Tamil Lexicon. 1924–1936. Madras: University of Madras.

Van Gulik, R. H. 1935. *Hayagrīva. The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-Cult in China and Japan*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. Tiruvahīndrapuram, outside the Hayagrīva shrine on the hill. Photo by the author.

Fig. 2. SUB 35.3139, f1r. Photo: CSMC, Hamburg.

Fig. 3. SUB 35.3104, f208v. Photo: CSMC, Hamburg.

Fig. 4. SUB 35.3099, f6r. Photo: CSMC, Hamburg.

From the Shelves to the Printed Page

Cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Analogue Era

Camillo A. Formigatti (University of Würzburg)

This article provides a description and analysis of the practices of cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in the 19th century, both in South Asia as well as in European institutions. A brief introduction provides an overview of historical lists of manuscripts in Sanskrit, together with an analysis of early European cataloguing practices of South Asian manuscripts from the 17th to the early 19th century. The focus of the article is a description of collecting and cataloguing practices after 1868 survey, by means of catalogues in different languages as well as published and unpublished letters by scholars.

The present article has the modest aim of providing a brief description of cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in what might be called the analogue era. It is intended as a historical introduction and a companion article to the contribution on cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in the digital era in the present volume (*infra*, pp. 309–330).[1] Both contributions are based on the experience gathered during the work in the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, Cambridge (2011–2014)[2] and as curator of South Asian manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford (2016–2022). Accordingly, the approach to the

[1] These two articles were originally written in 2014 to be published in a collective volume on Digital Humanities in South Asian Studies which unfortunately did not go to press. They have been slightly revised for style, but the content and reflections presented both correspond to the state of research of the year in which they were first written. Thus, the author kindly begs the readers for forgiveness, if some of their parts might sound a little outdated.

[2] The full title of the project was "The intellectual and religious traditions of South Asia as seen through the Sanskrit manuscript collections of the University Library, Cambridge." It was funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council.

subject is mostly practical, and the remarks presented stem from the everyday activity of cataloguing. Even if they are not meant to be exhaustive, hopefully they will prove to be useful and applicable to other cataloguing projects.[3]

Primary sources — be they literary, archaeological, or of other nature — are the backbone of historical research, and the first crucial step of every scholarly enterprise is their correct classification and description. Among the primary sources, manuscripts are a treasure of information not only for literary scholars, but for archaeologists and historians as well. Besides being carriers of texts, manuscripts can also be looked at as archaeological artefacts belonging to the material culture of a given society. In other words, manuscripts can also give as many clues about the material culture of a given society as any other archaeological artefact; moreover, they can also be studied from the point of view of cultural anthropology. Yet precisely their richness and complexity make their correct analysis and interpretation difficult. Manuscript catalogues provide the first clues about how to approach this task. A correct and accurate description of manuscripts includes a great deal of critical analysis, both of their textual as well as of their material aspects. Moreover, a catalogue entry may provide a first appraisal of the state of the art of a given topic by means of a selected bibliography. The importance of manuscript catalogues in the field of South Asian studies cannot be overestimated: they are the entrance gate to the treasure chamber of South Asian literatures, and "the critical scholarship in the field of research in Indology is necessarily connected with the idea of collecting MSS and printing their lists or catalogues" (Gode 1941: 101 fn. 5).

1. Collecting and Cataloguing South Asian Manuscripts before the Digital Era

Manuscript catalogues played a fundamental role from the very beginning of the discipline of Sanskrit studies. I am fully aware that

[3] Many friends and colleagues helped us directly and indirectly, sharing with me their knowledge of South Asian manuscripts (and more) during informal discussions, either in person or with e-mails. I would like to thank Prof. Dr Harunaga Isaacson, Dr Dominic Goodall, Dr Dominik Wujastyk, Dr Michela Clemente and Dr Hildegard Diemberger.

the approach of this article risks to seem primarily Eurocentric to the readers, but a discussion of the origin of Sanskrit studies in various parts of the world (for instance, in India itself or in Tibet) as compared to their origin in the West cannot possibly fall within the scope of this article. Hopefully, the post-colonial reader will forgive the writer for this Eurocentrism, even more so in the light of the favourable opinion about Western scholars expressed by a great Indian scholar like P.L. Gode: "We owe much to the European scholars in the matter of critical study of our MSS, and the early history of Indology is closely connected with their lives and labours" (Gode 1941: 101). Since far more qualified scholars have already dealt with several aspects of the history of collecting and cataloguing South Asian manuscripts,[4] an exhaustive description of this topic would be too long and detailed for the scope of this article. Nevertheless, I will try and delineate a brief history of cataloguing Sanskrit — and more broadly, South Asian — manuscripts before the digital era. The "great divide" in the history of manuscript collection, preservation, and cataloguing of South Asian manuscripts is marked by the foundation of the British Raj. In the following sections, I will thus only briefly touch upon on the liminal period preceding the British Raj, and focus above all on the 19th century, for it is precisely in this last period that bases were established for a cataloguing practice that lasted for almost two centuries.

1.1. Collecting and Classifying

Our knowledge of libraries in pre-modern South Asia is still scanty due to the fragmentary character of the sources at our disposal, such as archaeological findings and inscriptions, literary and non-literary works, and reports of foreign travellers.[5] For the period before the 18th century, we have mostly lists of manuscripts

[4] Among others, Belvalkar (1916), Gode (1941), Janert (1965), Biswas (1998) and Zysk (2012).

[5] Archaeological findings — such as the Gandharī manuscripts, the Gilgit and the Turfan material — are particularly important for Buddhist manuscript culture. On the composition of a Buddhist library in Gilgit, see von Hinüber 2014; on the topic of lists of manuscripts in pre-modern South Asia, see also Datta (1970: 1–87).

kept in private libraries of the Indian subcontinent. Among them, the best known is probably the *Kavīndrācāryasūcipatra*, a list of manuscripts in the library of Kavīndrācārya Sarasavatī, an intellectual and author active in the 16th century at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar (Sastry 1921; Gode 1969). Other older lists have survived, like the *Bṛhaṭṭipaṇikā*, "a list of Jaina works, mentioning the titles, the authors, the dates, and the extent of the works (given in *granthāgra* figures). The *Bṛhaṭṭipaṇikā* was prepared in Saṃvat 1440 (1383 A.D.) by a Jaina monk who was acquainted with the manuscript collections at Paṭāṇ, Cambay, Broach, and other places (but not with those at Jaisalmer). This text presents the earliest compilation of this type known in India" (Tripāṭhī 1975: 5–6; see also Biswas 1998: xiv and 36).

However, it is only in the 18th century that we start to have more substantial information on manuscript collections in South Asia. In this period, an increasing number of manuscripts started to be collected more systematically — and some of them were sent to Europe. The real change occurred in the 19th century, when European scholars with the help of local Paṇḍits and informants travelled throughout the Indian subcontinent in search of manuscripts, mostly of works in Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan languages. In 1868 an event occurred that had a major impact on the field: acting on a suggestion by Paṇḍit Rādhākṛṣṇa, Chief Paṇḍit of the Lahore Durbar, the Indian Government started the ambitious enterprise to preserve the South Asian manuscript heritage by means of collecting and cataloguing "all Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the libraries of India and Europe" (Gough 1878: 1–2). In order to achieve this ambitious goal, Whitley Stokes, the Secretary to the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, proposed a fourfold scheme, according to which the Government should undertake the following steps:

1. Print uniformly all procurable unprinted lists of Sanskrit MSS. in Indian libraries. [...] We should have the lists so printed, bound up in volumes; and I would send copies to the various learned Societies of Europe, and to individual scholars, such as Aufrecht, Cowell, Goldstücker, Hall, Max Müller, Muir and Rost in England, Benfey, Kuhn, Roth, Stenzler, and Weber in Germany, Regnier in France, Gorresio in Italy, Westergaard in Denmark, Böhtlingk in Russia, Whitney in America,

Bühler and Griffith in India; intimating at the same time that the Government would carefully attend to their suggestions as to which of the MSS. therein mentioned should be examined, purchased, or transcribed.

2. [I]nstitute searches for MSS. In order to this end, we should prepare from time to time lists of desirable codices, and place these lists in the hands of Native scholars and other persons willing to assist in the search. We might also send them to the principal officers employed in the Educational Departments of the various Local Governments. [...] [S]cholars, such as Professor Bühler in Bombay, Mr. Burnell in Madras, Mr. Growse in the North-Western Provinces, Bábu Rájendralála Mitra or Mr. Tawney in Bengal, should every cold weather be sent on tours to examine the MSS. reported on, to seek new MSS., to explain to the Native scholars at the different places visited the objects and importance of the mission, and to purchase (for the India House library) such MSS. as the possessors are willing to sell at a reasonable rate.
3. Proceed to copy those [MSS.] which are unique or otherwise desirable, but which the possessors refuse to part with;
4. Increase the grant made to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta for the publication of the Bibliotheca Indica," and "for the publication of Sanskrit works hitherto unprinted"

Gough (1878: 3–5)

The passages quoted above in point 1 and 2 provide a clear picture of the approach and methods proposed, in which European scholars would have played a central role.[6] The unprinted and printed lists procured should have been sent to "various learned Societies of Europe, and to individual scholars," and the Indian Government "should have carefully attend[ed] to their suggestions as to which of the MSS. therein mentioned should be examined, purchased, or transcribed." Moreover, prominent Indian and European scholars were assigned to the administrative presidencies in which India was divided at the time, where they started tours in search of manuscripts (among others, G. Bühler, L.F. Kielhorn, R.T.H. Griffith, Rājendralāla Mitra; cf. Belvalkar 1916: xv ff.).

[6] The consequences of this fact will be outlined in more detail in §1.2.

The interests of the scholars entrusted with the search for manuscripts—as well as those of the European scholars to which the lists of manuscripts were sent—are reflected in the composition of the manuscript collections housed in the libraries. For instance, during his well-known 1875–76 tour in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, Georg Bühler collected also Jaina manuscripts that were subsequently sent to the Cambridge University Library (Formigatti 2017: 7 and 15–16). The majority of these manuscripts belong to a series collected by him with the specific aim of assembling a complete Jaina canon, as clearly stated in a letter sent by him to E.B. Cowell in 1876. In this letter Bühler explicitly mentions a conspectus of manuscripts arranged according to the structure of the Jaina canon, on the basis of which he proceeded to purchase the manuscripts for the University of Cambridge. A full transcription of the letter is provided in appendix 1, while the conspectus is kept in a separate folder in the CUL archives under the shelfmark ULIB 7/3/55. According to A. Dalby, "[t]he Syndicate sanctioned their purchase on 22 March 1876 and 2 May 1877" (Dalby 1988, 259). In 1877–78, Bühler proceeded to collect and send a set of Jaina manuscripts to the Indian Institute Library in Oxford as well, as explained by Keith in the introduction to his Catalogue (Keith 1903).

Like Georg Bühler, Ralph Thomas Hotchkin Griffith was one of the scholars mentioned in Stokes' letter quoted above. From 1861 to 1878 he was the Principal of the Benares Government College, where he contributed to the governmental search for manuscripts (cf. ODNB and Gough, 1878, *passim*). Again, it is not by chance that the great majority of the manuscripts sent by Ralph T. H. Griffith to E.B. Cowell in Cambridge consists of Vedic and Mīmāṃsā works. Cowell's interest in this branch of Indian knowledge is testified by a series of twelve manuscripts containing his notes and an unpublished translation of the *Ṛgveda* (CUL Or.372 to Or.383). Cowell's scholarly interests were very wide, and often the only testimony of them is preserved in his unpublished papers. The following note on folio 1r of CUL Or.372 provides an insight into his scholarly attitude and his care for the interests of his pupils:

> N.B. This translation of the Ṛig Veda [sic] is not intended for publication. It was prepared for my own use, as I have several years past been reading the R.V. with various classes + I never knew at the beginning of a term which book my pupils might

> want to read. My authorities have been mainly Grassmann (Lexicon + transl.), Ludwig (vols. i. ii. iv. v.) with continual reference to Sāyaṇa. Mar. 23. 1899. E.B.C.

The reports about their findings published by the scholars involved in the survey contain such a wealth of information that some of them are useful reference tools still nowadays, like Bühler's *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts Made in Kaśmîr, Rajputana, and Central India* (1877),[7] — and sometimes the main or even the sole source on specific Sanskrit works, like in the case of R. Mitra's *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (1882). The last work is still an important source about Nepalese Buddhist literature, since often it is the only publication providing an analysis of the contents of little-known and less studied texts. The impact of this study on the knowledge about Sanskrit literature in South Asia and Europe was huge: not only texts were recovered that were only known through quotations and thus deemed lost, but also little known (or almost forgotten) texts were rediscovered.

Recently, another huge governmental enterprise has been undertaken in India, similar in aim and scope to the 1868 survey: the *National Mission for Manuscripts* (NAMAMI). It was established in February 2003, by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Government of India, and is divided into two phases: a "National Survey" and a "Post-Survey." Since the history and aim of the mission are provided in full on the NAMAMI-webpage, it is sufficient to briefly quote here the aim of the National Survey and of the Post-Survey:

> National Survey is an intensive state-wide programme with the aim to locate every manuscript in the country. All institutions, new and old, private collections of manuscripts, in every district, town and village are brought under the purview of the National Survey.
>
> NAMAMI website[8]

> The Post Survey is a massive exercise in cultural mapping (in this case, manuscripts) of the country. As a follow up to the Survey, each and every repository unearthed during the Survey is revisited to document every manuscript in all of them. Survey,

[7] This report is mentioned at the end of Bühler's letter transcribed in appendix 1.

[8] <https://www.namami.gov.in/national-survey>, accessed 13 September 2023.

> because of its short duration, provides an overview of the number of repositories in a district; Post survey elaborates on it.
>
> NAMAMI website[9]

These aims are not very different from the ones of the 1868 survey, and hopefully they will be achieved in a relatively short time span.

A major project for the preservation of the manuscript heritage of Nepal started in 1970, the *Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project* (NGMPP). The importance of the Nepalese collections of manuscripts cannot be overestimated, and already in 1868 Paṇḍit Rādhākṛṣṇa underlined the fact that the isolated position of the Kathmandu Valley prevented it from being an easy target for invasions, thus protecting the manuscripts from looting or destruction (see below §1.2). Moreover, Nepal's drier climate is more conducive to a long life for manuscripts, and very old palm-leaf manuscripts have been preserved there. The NGMPP came to life thanks to an agreement between His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the German Oriental Society and was financed by the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). During more than thirty years of activity (1970–2002), the NGMPP microfilmed manuscripts, blockprints and historical documents from all over Nepal—from the Terai region in the south to the Himalayan regions of northern Nepal—in a very wide range of languages (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Newar, Nepali, Hindi and Avadhi). The NGMPP microfilmed about 160,000 manuscripts, and according to the agreement with the Government of Nepal,

> Two types of microfilms are prepared from a given manuscript: one negative copy and two positive copies. The negative copy and one of the positive copies remain in the National Archives in Kathmandu, and the other positive copy is sent to Berlin to be kept in the collections of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, the German State Library. Copies of individual texts can be ordered from the National Archives in Kathmandu only, and the National Archives has the copyright on any reproduction of the material. [Erhard 1991, 20]

The NGMPP was followed by the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), which started in 2002. The long-term

[9] <https://www.namami.gov.in/post-survey>, accessed 13 September 2023.

aim of the NGMCP was to produce a descriptive catalogue of a significant part of the microfilmed manuscripts—possibly of all manuscripts. This herculean task was fulfilled by a team of cataloguers based both in Nepal (Nepal Research Center) and in Germany (University of Hamburg). Unfortunately, the sheer amount of material to be catalogued and the fact that the cataloguers had to work with microfilmed copies instead of the original manuscripts imposed certain limits to the amount of information that could be provided in each entry. Nevertheless, the NGMCP digital catalogue is an invaluable and irreplaceable tool for every cataloguer of South Asian manuscripts.[10]

1.2. Cataloguing

The production of reliable catalogues for all Sanskrit manuscripts was the ultimate reason for starting the 1868 survey in the first place. This claim is substantiated in the note by W. Stokes mentioned above in §1.1. Stokes' statement is exemplary of the attitude of the people involved in the survey, and since it touches upon many topics that will be dealt with in this article, it is worth being cited almost in full:

> The Viceroy has received a letter from Pandit Rádhákṛishṇa, Chief Pandit of the late Lahore Durbar, suggesting the compilation of a catalogue of all the Sanskrit MSS. preserved in the libraries of India and Europe, and stating that anything which His Excellency may order for the furtherance of learning,—that is, as I understand the Pandit, of Sanskrit learning,—will be gratefully appreciated by Native and European scholars. [...]
>
> There can be little doubt that such a catalogue as the Pandit contemplates would be of use to a limited class of students. But there can, I think, be as little doubt that it could be only satisfactorily produced in Europe, or, at all events, by a European scholar capable of understanding the catalogues which European San-

[10] During the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project in Cambridge, the NGMCP was the very first catalogue we looked up to find information about less known or unknown works, and often it proved to be the only reliable source available. The NGMPP has microfilmed 180,000 Nepalese manuscripts and prepared a preliminary title list containing basic information about all manuscripts, while the NGMCP descriptive catalogue contains more than 15.000 detailed entries.

> skritists have already published in the Latin, German, and other tongues, and the extensive literature, in at least four European languages, which directly or indirectly treats of Sanskrit MSS. The compilation of such a work, even if it were confined to the MSS. already known, would be the labour of a life-time. It has taken Professor Aufrecht, one of the most laborious of German scholars, more than ten years to catalogue merely the Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian.
>
> Now, I venture to assert that no one who has ever seen a Native list of MSS. would think of entrusting a Native with the preparation of such a catalogue. The titles of Sanskrit works (which are all that Native lists present) are often fanciful and insufficient to identify the books referred to. Take instances familiar to every one. Who would know beforehand that the "Immortal Treasury" (*Amarakosha*) was a versified dictionary of synonyms, or that "Moonlight on the Established Truth" (*Siddhántakaumudí*) was a grammatical work of the school of Panini, and not, as the Commander-in-Chief suggests, a Sanskrit version of a speech of Mr. Disraeli's on the Irish Church? The lists, too, are often untrustworthy, "important works" (I quote from Professor Bühler) "being entered under wrong titles."
>
> I know of no Native scholar possessed of the requisite learning, accuracy, and persistent energy. I know of no European scholar in India possessed of the requisite time, or who might not be more usefully employed in making original researches.
>
> Under these circumstances, the work, if done at all, should be done in England, and, like Max Müller's edition of the Ṛigveda, under the patronage of the Secretary of State.
>
> Gough (1878: 1–3)

After having read this passage, it becomes clear that the involvement, nay the major role of European scholars was planned from the very beginning, and the aims, models and methods for collecting and cataloguing manuscripts were tailored to their needs. On the other hand, one must acknowledge the fundamental help of native informants and Paṇḍits, often underrated or not explicitly mentioned (Zysk 2012: 255–256).[11] Still, the collection of manu-

[11] On the role of the native informants, above all during the first phase of development of epigraphic studies in South India, see also Wagoner 2003.

scripts was undertaken with particular attention to the interests of European Sanskritists. A similar remark applies to the structure of the catalogues compiled after 1868, as I will try to demonstrate in this section. Since we have poor knowledge of pre-modern indigenous South Asian catalogues, and due to the limited space at my disposal, I will provide only a few remarks on this topic. Kavīndrācārya's *sūcipatra* and similar documents are mere lists of manuscripts, containing no other information except the title of works. The following analysis will therefore focus on selected Western catalogues, taking the year 1868 as a turning point.

As to the pre-1868 catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts, the 18th century is a transitional period in which there is an increasing interest in South Asian manuscripts, particularly by missionaries. For instance, in the first half of this century "two important libraries in Paris competed to acquire Indian manuscripts, particularly between 1725 and 1735. One was the Jesuit library of the Louis-le-Grand College [...] The other was the King's Library, whose librarian was the Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743)" (Colas 2012: 71–72). The manuscripts in the royal library are listed in the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae* (1739) by Stephanus Fourmont and Guillaume de Villefroy. Even if it is defined as catalogue in the title, this work provides very little information beyond a list of titles. A closer look at the entries quoted in appendix 2.1 immediately clarify that the only information provided in Fourmont's catalogue is the writing material, the title, and only occasionally a very brief description of the content, like in the case of a manuscript of Bhartṛhari's *Śatakatraya*, about which it is only specified that the *subhāṣita*s often refer to Indian fables, probably meaning that for this reason they were difficult to be fully understood.

Another similar example is the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Persic, Arabic and Sanskerrit Languages, collected in the East* by James Fraser (1713–1754). In the part of this work dealing with the manuscripts "in the *Sanskerrit*, or the *Brahmin*'s ancient Language and Character" (emphasis in the original), the information provided is even more scanty: for most of the manuscripts only the title is given, and luckily the number of folios, unlike in the case of de Villefroy's catalogue.[12]

[12] The original manuscript of this list is kept at the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Fraser 277).

Towards the end of the 18th century, we find a quite different approach to manuscript description in two works by the Carmelite Paulinus of St. Bartholomew (1748–1806). In his *Examen historico-criticum codicum indicorum bibliothecae Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1792) and the *Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti Avenses, Peguani, Siamici, Malabarici, Indostani* (Rome, 1793), the Carmelite father described the South and South East Asian manuscripts kept in the collection of the Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731–1804) and in the library of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*. These two volumes can be considered to represent an embryonic stage of what subsequently will be called descriptive catalogues. The *Examen historico-criticum* is a short work in 80 pages, containing the description of thirty-six manuscripts (pp. 51–80) and preceded by a methodological introduction in which the author explains the aim of the work (pp. 1–50). In order to achieve this aim, Paulinus applied a three-fold method, described at the very beginning of the volume (for the Latin text, see appendix 2.2.1):

> Therefore, in order for my discourse to proceed according to the correct/appropriate arrangement, at first I will present an investigation about the antiquity of the Indian manuscripts in few words; secondly, I will establish critical rules according to which genuine and original manuscripts could be distinguished by means of study, together with carefulness and precaution; thirdly, I will examine the Indian manuscripts of the library of the S. Congregatio as compared with these rules.

This work is indeed the first attempt of a study of manuscripts from the point of view of both the content as well as their codicological features. Paulinus lists six rules for the distinction of genuine and original South Asian manuscripts (for the Latin text, see appendix 2.2.1):

1. They should be "written in the ancient, sacred, literary and liturgical Sanskrit language" (pp. 23–24);
2. They should deal with topics proper of South Asian culture (among others, mythology, philology, cult of the gods, rituals and sacrifice, transmigration of the soul etc.) (pp. 24–26);
3. They should begin with the *namaskāra*, the invocation to an Indian deity, for instance to Gaṇeśa or to Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Govinda, i.e. an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, to Śiva or to Parvatī, and end

with the word *samāptam*; moreover, he stresses the fact that in Sanskrit manuscripts the titles are put at the end of chapters, not at the beginning (pp. 26–29);

4. Another mark of authenticity is that they are written in verses (*śloka*) (p. 29–31);
5. Moreover, if they have an alleged mythological author, this doesn't necessarily mean that they are not authentic (pp. 31–40); and
6. Finally, the sixth rule (which in fact consists of a set of rules): a manuscripts is authentic if it employs the chronology occurring in the fables (?) in the teachings to be transmitted; if it employs the words described in the book by Amarasiṃha; if it is incised on palm leaves by means of a tempered-steel stylus or it is prepared and thoroughly polished starting from raw paper and water of cooked rice, called *kaññi*; if it is not a translation from Persian or Arabic; if it was taken out from a sacred place, a temple or a school, or if it was received from a Brahmin, who himself would read this manuscript, or make use of it (pp. 40–41).

Since not all manuscripts in the library of the Congregatio are from South and South East Asia (some of them are reports, grammars and dictionaries of South Indian languages written by missionaries), in their description Paulinus applies the six rules to ascertain their authenticity. For instance, in the case of the *Ezourvedam*,[13] he states that "it is not an Indian manuscript, but a false book, suppositious and to be disregarded"; it has been written with the aim of converting the reader to the Christian doctrine, and in order to achieve this goal it was composed "according to the Indian practice so that because of a false and suppositious title, the heathens would read it more eagerly".[14]

The *Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti* is more similar in its structure to a proper catalogue. It consists of a first part (pp. 1–170) in which the manuscripts are assigned consecutive numbers, and

[13] On this work, see Rocher 1984.

[14] Paulinus explains in detail why the *Ezourvedam* is not an original Sanskrit work because at that time many scholars still thought its author to be Vyāsa (Paulinus 1792: 37).

a second part (pp. 171–261) where the author expounds his conclusions based on the analysis of the manuscripts (*Ex Codicibus Indicis Consectaria*). In order to better outline Paulinus' method, I provide the beginning of the description of a Malayalam manuscript in English translation (the original Latin text is quoted in appendix 2.2.2):

> *Candrodaya*, or *The Rising of the Moon*. The manuscript, made of palm leaf, is one span and one inch wide, two inches high and squarish. It is incised with an iron stylus on twenty-four *ōlai* [i.e. palm leaves].[15] It is written in the Malayalam language with the Grantha script and with Malayalam vernacular verses, but crammed everywhere with Sanskrit terms. It is entitled *Candrodaya*, or *The Rising of the Moon*, an evidently metaphoric title, like the majority of Indian books. The teaching is plain and simple, concerning a certain Indian king Hamsa, whom a philosopher starts to teach moral philosophy by means of elements of instruction.

Compared with Fourmont's and Fraser's lists, alone the information provided at the beginning of this description is more structured and rich: original title with Latin translation, writing material, dimension, number of folios, script (with the specification that it is incised), and a very brief remark on the language and content. Moreover, Paulinus goes further in his analysis providing the *incipit* of the text in Grantha script, Roman transliteration and Latin translation, an evaluation of the style of the script, and finally a short summary of the content.

The comparison of these very early works is particularly interesting, since it enables us to trace back to the earliest stages of cataloguing some of the formats described by Biswas in the introduction to his bibliographic survey (Biswas 1998: xv; quoted in full in appendix 3). For instance, Fourmont's work contains short descriptions of a total of 287 South Asian manuscripts, and if one were to assign it to one of Biswas' categories, it would probably be

[15] The term used is *ola* in the Latin original, but it is clear from the explanation given by Paulinus that it is the Tamil term for palm leaf: "Wooden codex, or made of palm leaves, which the Malayalam, the Tamil, North and South Burmese people call ōla." See appendix 2, §2.2.2.1.

something between a simple list and an alphabetical catalogue. On the other hand, in Paulinus' *Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti* a total of seventeen manuscripts are described at length (including some written by missionaries): it can be fittingly defined as a descriptive catalogue. The distinction between lists, catalogues, manuscript search report etc. is very important also for post-1868 catalogues. The choice of the most fitting format for the cataloguing process of specific libraries can be due to many factors, but, as we will see, for historical reasons one particular type of descriptive catalogue will have a huge influence on the structure of the majority of catalogues compiled after it.

Stokes' opinion that the compilation of the catalogues "could be only satisfactorily produced in Europe" was indeed put into practice, although not by means of sending the manuscripts to Europe as originally envisioned. Belvalkar (1916: xxvii) stresses the fact that sending the manuscripts to Europe would have encountered "strong opposition and protest." This opposition did not prevent the manuscripts to be catalogued in Europe, though not physically. It was thanks to a subtle, yet more influential and enduring means that the manuscripts were "catalogued in Europe": cultural influence. As already acknowledged by Belvalkar, the solution to this problem was suggested by F. Kielhorn in a letter sent to the Director of Public Instruction in Bombay (letter no. 122, dated Poona, the 22nd March 1870),[16] in which the German scholar describes the methodology applied by him in the compilation of the *Classified Catalogue of Sanskrit Works in the Sarasvatībhāṇḍāram Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore*. At the outset, Kielhorn clearly states that one important aim was to find out "which of the works contained in the catalogue under report are already printed or to be found amongst the manuscripts of the various public libraries in Europe." He then explicitly states that "all works catalogued should be classified according to their contents," taking as model "for Vedic works the classification adopted by Professor Weber in his catalogue of the manuscripts of the Royal Library at Berlin, and,

[16] All following quotations are from Belvalkar (1916: xxvii–xxviii). The letter is published in Gough (1878, 192–196). See also appendix 4, where the part of the letter in which Kielhorn describes the rules for cataloguing manuscripts is quoted in full.

for other Sanskrit works, that followed by Professor Aufrecht in his catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Bodleian Library at Oxford." He also adds that the choice of the manuscripts to be purchased or copied is to be met after having established "which of the manuscripts catalogued are already within reach of European scholars, and which are not yet accessible to them." The conclusion of the letter is even more telling, for Kielhorn suggests that printed catalogues should not contain duplicate descriptions of more manuscripts of the same work (except for very important manuscripts), and "to leave out likewise all those works which are already to be found in the great Sanskrit Libraries of Europe, i.e., the Library of the India Office, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Royal Library at Berlin." The priority given to the interests of European Sanskritists could not be more obvious.

Also in Albrecht Weber's *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliotheken* (1853), manuscripts are classified according to their topic, a clear hint of the priority assigned to the textual element over the physical features: all manuscripts of one work are grouped together under one heading, and the description of the codicological aspects of the manuscripts is kept to a minimum. Theodor Aufrecht's *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum postvedicorum quot quot in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur* (1859) is very similar in the structure, and some entries are so rich in details about the work that they even contain a collation of parts of the text against other manuscripts.

On the other hand, it must be stressed that a classification according to topic was already employed in native lists of manuscripts, like in Kavīndrācārya's *sūcipatra*. A direct witness of such lists can be found in the CUL as well. Written in the Devanāgarī script, manuscript CUL MS Add.912 is a "List of books in Maharāja's library" organized under seventeen topics: *purāṇa*, *dharmaśāstra*, *vedānta*, *tarkaśāstra*, *yogaśāstra*, *sāṃkhya*, *nīti*, *itihāsa*, *kāvya*, *nāṭaka*, *sāhitya*, *vyākaraṇa*, *kośa*, *chandas*, *jyotiṣa*, *tantra*, and *vaidyaka*. It is actually the same list to which C. Bendall refers in his 1886 report, in which he describes his visit to the library of the Māharāja of Nepal:

> As far as I know, I am the only European who has seen this collection, but some information as to its contents has on two occasions been placed in European hands.

> One of these accounts is to be found in the lists sent to the University Library by Dr D. Wright, of which an abstract is given in my catalogue at p. 17: but I always understood that, so far from having seen the collection, he had doubts as to its existence; hence the remark there added, "It is impossible to say whether such a collection really exists," a statement which I am now glad to be able to reverse.
>
> Another account is to be found in an official paper kindly unearthed for my enlightenment by Mr A. Mackenzie, Home Secretary to the Government of India, at his office in Calcutta, during my subsequent visit to that place. It bears the somewhat strange title: "List of Sanskrit Works supposed by the Nepalese Pandits to be rare in the Nepalese Libraries at Khatmandoo."[17] At the end occurs the subscription: "R. Lawrence, Resident, Nepal Residency. The 2nd of August, 1868."
>
> That both this and Dr Wright's lists refer to the real collection seen by me, was proved by the classes of literature, which correspond exactly, in name and in number of books, with the rough but classified list of books which was first placed at my service at this visit to the library. There have been, however, very numerous accessions: nor can the rough list be anything like complete, for the MSS. in the library are counted not by hundreds merely, but by thousands.
>
> Bendall (1886: 18)

Is it by chance that this list was compiled in 1868? In his letter to the Indian Government, dated 10th May 1868 (and to which Stokes refers in his letter quoted above), Paṇḍit Rādhākṛṣṇa explicitly states that "the Sanskrit list will necessarily remain incomplete unless it contains the names of the books that are in the libraries of the Maharajas of Jaypur and Nepal. [...] as the latter country has never been under the subjection of Mahomedans, the oldest Sanskrit books are to be found there" (Gough 1878: 1). Taking Rādhākṛṣṇa's remark and the dates of the two documents into consideration, we are tempted to say that most probably Lawrence's list had been prepared for the Indian Government. CUL MS Add.912 might be a copy of it, or a new document describing the

[17] This list was published and is now available for download on D. Wujastyk's *Online Library of Digitized Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscript Catalogues*.

same library. Either way, their organization according to topics was instrumental to the needs of Western scholars.

Regardless of the origin of this textual approach to manuscript cataloguing, a direct consequence of its application can be seen also in C. Bendall's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* (1883), in which CUL MS Add.1380 and CUL MS Add.1381 are listed as separate manuscripts. The former contains the *Snātāvadāna*, while the latter the *Kauśīdya-vīryotsāhanāvadāna*. However, many common features points to the fact that they are simply two parts of one single manuscript: paper, dimension of folios, layout, and script are identical in the two manuscripts. Moreover, in CUL MS Add.1381 the foliation ends with 11, while in CUL MS Add.1380 it begins with 12 (and not 11, as given in Bendall 1883: 80). It is also worth noting that the order of the classmarks is inverted, if compared to the actual order of the two works in the reconstructed manuscript.[18]

The enduring influence of Kielhorn's cataloguing scheme—or if you prefer, of Weber's and Aufrecht's catalogues—is to be seen also in two other catalogue formats which have been, and currently still are, widely employed in India for the purpose of cataloguing larger collections of manuscripts: V. Raghavan's "Tabular Form for Preparing Catalogue of Manuscripts" (Raghavan 1963: 99; **fig. 1**) and the NAMAMI Manus Sheet (**fig. 2**).

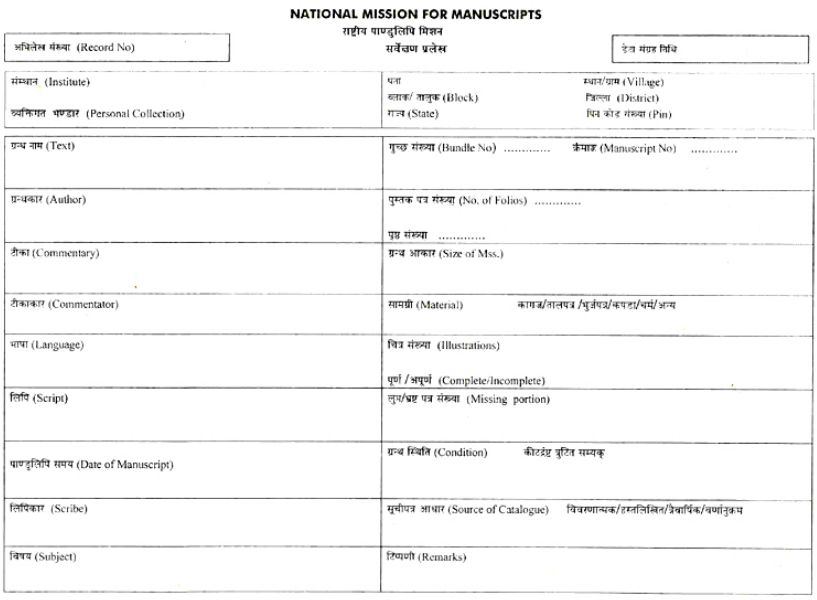
TABULAR FORM FOR PREPARING CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS

Serial No. & subject	Library Accession or collection number if any	Title of work	Name of author	Name of commentator	Material or substance	Script	Size, number of folios or leaves; lines per page and no. of letters per line	Extent	Condition and age	Additional particulars
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

66

Fig. 1. V. Raghavan's Tabular Form for Preparing Catalogue of Manuscripts (Raghavan 1963: 99).

[18] A complete description of the manuscript is provided in the Cambridge Digital Library (<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01380–01381/1>).



NATIONAL MISSION FOR MANUSCRIPTS
राष्ट्रीय पाण्डुलिपि मिशन
सर्वेक्षण प्रपत्र

अभिलेख संख्या (Record No)		इंज संग्रह तिथि
संस्थान (Institute) व्यक्तिगत भण्डार (Personal Collection)	पता ब्लाक/ तालुक (Block) राज्य (State)	स्थान/ग्राम (Village) जिला (District) पिन कोड संख्या (Pin)
ग्रन्थ नाम (Text)	गुच्छ संख्या (Bundle No) ..... क्रमांक (Manuscript No)	
ग्रन्थकार (Author)	पुस्तक पत्र संख्या (No. of Folios) ..... पृष्ठ संख्या	
टीका (Commentary)	ग्रन्थ आकार (Size of Mss.)	
टीकाकार (Commentator)	सामग्री (Material) कागज/ताडपत्र /भुर्जपत्र/कपडा/चर्म/अन्य	
भाषा (Language)	चित्र संख्या (Illustrations) पूर्ण /अपूर्ण (Complete/Incomplete)	
लिपि (Script)	लुप्त/भ्रष्ट पत्र संख्या (Missing portion)	
पाण्डुलिपि समय (Date of Manuscript)	ग्रन्थ स्थिति (Condition) कीटदंष्ट त्रुटित सम्यक्	
लिपिकार (Scribe)	सूचीपत्र आधार (Source of Catalogue) विवरणात्मक/हस्तलिखित/ग्रेचार्पिक/वर्णानुक्रम	
विषय (Subject)	टिप्पणी (Remarks)	

Fig. 2. NAMAMI Manus Sheet.

As we have seen, the types of catalogues described so far serve very well the purposes of historians of literature: the entries are arranged according to literary genre, the description of the text(s) is given in detail (in some cases, it has almost the character of an entry in a history of literature), while the description of the physical features is kept to a minimum. Information needed by scholars focusing on other fields of research, for instance codicology, history of the book, or intellectual history of South Asia is virtually absent.

2. The Nature of Manuscripts, or Some General Considerations on Manuscript Catalogues

As already pointed out in the introduction, a manuscript is a complex artefact and besides its textual content, the cataloguer has to take into consideration also its physical aspects. However, this twofold nature of the manuscript should not let us forget what manuscripts primarily are: *books*. This statement might sound as a truism, but a closer look at the status of the scholarly discipline of book history will shed light on the reason why it is necessary to stress this fact. In academia, the sharp distinction between manuscripts on the one side and printed books on the other is more or

less taken for granted. This concise definition by R. Darnton is a case in point:

> "*Histoire du livre*" in France, "*Geschichte des Buchwesens*" in Germany, "history of books" or "of the book" in English-speaking countries [...] might even be called the social and cultural history of communication by print, [...] because its purpose is to understand how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behavior of mankind during the last five hundred years. Some book historians pursue their subject deep into the period before the invention of movable type. Some students of printing concentrate on newspapers, broadsides, and other forms besides the book. The field can be extended and expanded in many ways; but for the most part, it concerns books since the time of Gutenberg.
>
> Darnton (1982: 65)

It is therefore no wonder that manuscripts are object of study of yet another scholarly discipline, unsurprisingly termed as "manuscript studies".[19] This academic distinction is reflected in the structure and organization of many libraries, in which manuscript collections are separated from rare books collections—the latter including *incunabula* and rare printed books and material. The very fact that manuscripts are usually stored in libraries should not let us overlook the fact that many museums have manuscript holdings as well, precisely because manuscripts can be considered archaeological artefacts too. For this reason, an ideal cataloguer should be an historian of the book and an archaeologist at the same time. This necessity is reflected in the six general prerequisites for the processing of manuscripts laid out by O. Mazal in his *Zur Praxis des Handschriftenbearbeiters* (1992).[20]

---

[19] In the realm of South Asian studies, the most common and widespread term is *manuscriptology*. In my opinion, there is no actual need to introduce a neologism that is confusing for scholars belonging to other fields of study. Since this article is not a suitable place to discuss in depth the status and definition of the discipline, the reader could refer to Agati (2009) for a more detailed discussion of this topic.

[20] In appendix 5, the six prerequisites are quoted in full from the English translation from Mazal (1992).

In this work—a sort of handbook of manuscript cataloguing—the second prerequisite ("thorough processing of all codicologically relevant data") should be covered by a sort of archaeologist-cataloguer. Mazal further specifies what ought to be considered codicologically relevant data, such as "details about the writing material, the gatherings, the script, the presentation and the binding" (Mazal 1992: 10).

Even though the discipline history of the book is primarily concerned with printed books, one cannot deny that manuscripts are also books, and cataloguers should process them accordingly. Again, this consideration might sound rather obvious, but if we stop and think that usually books are stored in libraries, while archaeological items are on display in museums, we might start to better understand the reason why it is necessary to stress the fact that manuscripts are also books. In some cases, illuminated manuscripts deemed particularly precious are treated more as museum objects than actual books. This tension between the manuscript as a museum object as opposed to the manuscript as a book often forces cataloguers to meet compromises with many other professional figures involved in the preservation and study of manuscripts (for instance, conservators).

The third prerequisite addresses the aspect of the description of textual content in the manuscript, i.e. the "detailed analysis of all texts and additions to the manuscript." Although fundamental for the correct assessment of a manuscript collection, the remaining four prerequisites belong to what we might call the phases of pre- and post-production of a manuscript catalogue, and they will be dealt with only if relevant to the topic of the present article—with the exception of the first prerequisite, which is the object of the following section.

3. A Cataloguer's Dilemma, or The Good, The Bad and the Many

According to Mazal, the "processor of manuscripts" should include in his work "all manuscripts of a collection ignoring classification on the basis of time or subject" and "without distinction between medieval and modern manuscripts," providing a thorough description "of all codicologically relevant data, comprehensive description of the outward appearance of every codex" together with a "detailed analysis of all texts and additions to the manuscript,

ranging from the main texts to the glosses and even to important pen trials" (Mazal 1992: 9; see also appendix 3). I am sure that every manuscript cataloguer would agree with this statement, if we were to live in an ideal world with plenty of time at our disposal to complete our work. Unfortunately, reality is totally different and often the time frame of cataloguing projects doesn't allow one to follow these rules—let alone to properly implement all six prerequisites. The sad truth is that often cataloguers are faced with the dilemma of choosing between the summarily description of a whole collection, and the exhaustive and accurate description of a small amount of manuscripts.

The Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, Cambridge was not an exception, it was rather a perfect example of this dilemma. According to the project proposal accepted by the AHRC, the aim was to catalogue roughly 1000 manuscripts in three years. However, after a thorough research in the CUL archives and a comparison of hand lists and unprinted catalogues, we found out that the actual number of Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the CUL is more than 1600.[21] The reason why it was not possible to provide this information already in the project proposal is rather obvious: it was a research *proposal*, and the research was to be done afterwards. Moreover, some manuscripts listed as a single item in the handlists consist in fact of more than one manuscript. For this reason, at the outset we decided to go over all manuscripts and prepare a general survey of the collections. At this stage, we agreed not to analyse each manuscript in depth, but to prepare a sort of census, recording only the following features of each manuscript:

1. Manuscript classmark
2. Title of the work(s)
3. Author(s)
4. Writing material
5. Number of folios
6. Script(s)
7. Language(s)
8. Date
9. Topic
10. Dimension
11. Condition
12. Decorations

As one can easily notice, the structure of our preliminary list is almost identical to the one of the *Tabular Form for Preparing Cata-*

[21] On the history of the collections of South Asian manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library, see Formigatti (2017).

logue of Manuscripts proposed by V. Raghavan (Raghavan 1963: 99), as well as to the structure of the NAMAMI Manus Data sheet (**fig. 1** and **fig. 2**).

The original aim of the project was to prepare a descriptive digital catalogue of all the CUL holdings of Sanskrit manuscripts. However, let us now make a simple calculation: the project lasted three year, and during this period either 1000 (as ideally envisioned in the proposal) or 1600 manuscripts (as in reality, after the completion of the survey) had to be catalogued by two full time Research Associates.[22] Suppose the cataloguers work each and every day for three years without taking any vacation, they have at their disposal a total of 1095 days. This means that in the best-case scenario with 1000 manuscripts, to complete the task they must catalogue on average a little less than one manuscript a day. In the worst-case scenario with 1600 manuscripts, i.e. in reality, they must catalogue on average one and a half manuscript a day.

Judging from these numbers, it is evident that we were faced with a very challenging task, to say the least. We should also add an obvious observation, namely that for different reasons some manuscripts might require more than one day to be catalogued—they are damaged, or hastily written, the script is faded (or all of these together), they can contain more than one work, or the work might be unknown. It becomes even more evident that it was not possible to catalogue all 1600 manuscripts following Mazal's rules step by step.

Therefore, we asked for help a series of colleagues who are experts in different fields. Some of them were hired in the project at a later stage, each of them for periods of three to six months. They played a fundamental role in the project, for thanks to their expertise in specific areas of South Asian literature, history, religious traditions, and palaeography, they were able to cover areas of the collections that otherwise would have been described with much less detail—if at all. I am glad to acknowledge here their invaluable help, since without their tireless efforts the output of the project would have been way poorer: Prof. Nalini Balbir and Dr Anett

[22] The Principal Investigator and the Co-investigator together should devote to the project a total of eleven hours per week, a work quota that was easily absorbed by the bureaucratic duties attached to the project.

Krause catalogued most of the Jaina manuscripts; Dr Gergely Hidas and Dr Nina Mirnig catalogued most of the manuscripts of Buddhist and Śaiva Tantric works respectively; Dr Marco Franceschini catalogued all Grantha manuscripts in the Stolper collection; and Dr Elisa Ganser prepared a preliminary survey of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Malayalam script in the Stolper collection.

Still, we realised that even with the help of other scholars, we would not have been able to catalogue the entirety of the collections producing an exhaustive descriptive catalogue. So what to do? Catalogue only a part of the manuscripts in detail, leaving the others completely out? Or rather provide a general description of all manuscripts in the form of a classified list? Caught between a rock and a hard place, we decided to go for the middle way: we selected some manuscripts to be described in detail, while providing a very brief description of all others. Such brief descriptions contain at least the information gathered during the survey. On a bigger scale, R. Grünendahl proposed a very similar approach for the preliminary catalogue (or rather title-list) of the manuscripts microfilmed by the NGMPP (Grünendahl 2001: 151–152). The criteria according to which we sieved the "good" manuscripts, separating them from the "bad" ones, coincide more or less with the criteria applied for choosing the manuscripts to be digitized, as described the second article in this volume (p. 315). Readers have been warned: cataloguing manuscripts is a matter of compromise, not of perfection.

Appendix 1: Transcription of a Letter by Georg Bühler to E.B. Cowell (1876)

Transcription of a letter sent by Georg Bühler to E.B. Cowell, dated 26th February 1876, concerning the acquisition of Jaina manuscripts on behalf of the University of Cambridge. It is written on two small folded pieces of paper (unfolded: width 21cm, height 18cm), shelved in the CUL with the classmark Add.2592(E)437. The actual letter is followed by a "true copy"—in a different handwriting, maybe E.W. Ravenscroft's—of the resolution of the Government of India authorizing Bühler to collect manuscripts for the University of Cambridge.

Transcription conventions:

\would/	addition
~~pay~~	deletion

[~~deleted word~~]	deletion (original word unreadable)
all	emphasis (underlined in the original)
Ant.[iquary] for Jan.[uary]	expanded abbreviation
obtayn(?)	unclear reading

Bombay
26–2–76

My Dear Sir

In continuation of my former letter I have now to announce to you that a box containing fifty four Jaina MSS. has been despatched to your address by my Agent Messrs Neuberg. All the MSS. which have bought in Delhi, Jaipur, Ajmir [sic], Merta, Kishingadh and Surat have been acquired at the usual rate of Rs 3 per 1000 ślokas. This total cost is Rupees 855–8.

In order to show you what you have got and what is still wanting I enclose a conspectus of the Jaina Agamas, marking those that have been acquired. Regarding the missing ones, I will remark that I shall be able to continually procure all the Angas and the Upāngas with the exception of the Chandraprajnapti(?), as this work is rare. The same remark applies to the commentaries. Among the Prakīrṇakas which are very small treatises of a hundred of couple of hundred Ślokas each, nos 2–4 are certainly obtainable. The rest are doubtful unless, by good luck, I [~~deleted word~~] get a fourth copy of the so called Sārāvali Painnā which comprises about a score of such treatises.

The commentary\ies/ in the Nisīttha and the Vyavathāra sūtras are very rare. Those in the Mahānisīttha and Bṛhatkalpa hardly obtainable. I have seen copies of the latter in the two or three of the great Bhandars, Govt. have neither. Of the Paryushakalpa I have seen one copy \during/ years of researches, which now belongs to our Govt. I may give you a new copy of it.

The remaining books are not difficult to obtain with the exception of the Piṇḍaniryukti. For the sum of Rs 154–8 which now \would/ remains and of the Rs 1000 allotted by you for the purchase of Jain books, I think I can get all the treat[ise]s and probably some of the commentaries. For most of the Angas still wanting are very small in extent.

Besides as the exchange has of late gone(?) down very much I cannot think of asking you to pay me for the Rupee two Marks. We pay for bills now 16 per cent. The exchange from England to Germany is in favour of England to the amount of 3 percent. If you reckon therefore another three per cent for freight packing, risk and interest in my outlay, that will be ample. Thus you will have to pay remit only 14 1576 1540 fifteen hundred and fourteen [sic] marks to Germany and the sum which remains to be \spent/ will be about 250 Rs.

I have also to mention that the purchase include a certain number of works, which do not belong to the canon of the Jainas, but which are held in as great or even greater esteem than the canonical works. I have purchased these in my own responsibility and shall not be in the least offended if you reject any or all of them. Should you reject them, then please forward them to my father Pastor G. Bühler, Wunstorff Provinz Hannover. I dare say I can get rid of them later.

II.

As to the payment of the money due, please remit it to my father whose address I have given above. I obtayn(?) also true copy of the Resolution of Govt. permitting me to collect books for your University. I shall feel obliged if you will mention this in case you say any thing in public or officially on the collection.

I have heard that several people in England have accused me of a breach of trust, when it became known that I had purchased books for the Prussian Govt. They wronged me as in that case, also, I had asked for and obtained the special sanction of Govt. as you can see from the Res. [~~deleted word~~] I must say that I have felt and do feel very sore on this point. For I know how easy it is to whisper away a man's good name.

I am now engaged in writing a full Report on the results of my journey. The preliminary report on Kashmir has been printed in the Indian Ant.[iquary] for Jan.[uary].

Believe me

Yours sincerely

G. Bühler

No 888

Educational Dept.

Bombay Castle August 8. 1875

Letter from the Director of Public Institutions No 2296 dated 31st July 1875 recommending (with ref[eren]ce to Gov[ernmen]t. Res[o-lution] No 696 of 1873 permitting Dr. Bühler to procure for Berlin copies of MSS. already collected for the Govt. of Bombay) that Dr. Bühler may be allowed to collect for the University of Cambridge copies of such works as are already represented in the Govt. Libraries & Adding that Dr. Bühler would collect for Cambridge as for Berlin, only when the requirements of the Govt. of Bombay are fully met

Resolution — Approved

(Signed) E.W. Ravenscroft

Ac.[ting] Chief Secretary

to Govt.

True copy

G. Bühler

Edu[cational] — Inspector N.D.

on special duty

February 26. 76.

To

Professor E.B. Cowell

Appendix 2: Extracts from South Asian Manuscript Catalogues

2.1 From the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae* (1739) by Stephanus Fourmont and Guillaume de Villefroy. Three entries, two on paper manuscripts and one on a palm-leaf manuscript [p. 435].

XXXV.

Codex chartaceus. Ibi continetur liber inscriptus bartoulahari, aliàs ut apud Rogerium, bartrouherri. In eo volumine collectae occurrunt variae Philosophorum sententiae ad religionem & doctrinam morum spectantes, sed ita ut ad fabulas indicas ubique alludat.

XXXVII.

Codex chartaceus, quo continetur liber inscriptus ragou vanssam.

XXXVIII.

Codex corticeus, stylo ferreo exaratus. Ibi continetur liber inscriptus tarka bacha, aliàs tarka bacha viakianam.

2.2 From the Examen historico-criticum (1792) and the Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti (1793).

2.2.1 Passages from the Examen historico-criticum

2.2.1.1 Aim of the work

Quare ut recto ordine mea procedat oratio, *primo*, paucis de antiquitate codicum Indicorum inquiram, *secundo*, criticas regulas statuam, ex quibus studio, diligentia & cautela accedente, veri & sinceri codices dignosci possint, *tertio*, codices Indicos bibliothecae S. Congregationis ad has regulas collatos examinabo. [p. 6]

2.2.1.2 Six rules to distinguish an original from a false manuscript

Prima, generalis, constans regula ac nota, qua veri, originales, canonici, & veteres Indici codices a spuriis, illegitimis, recentibus, & corrupti discerni debent, est, si codices illi antiqua, sacra, litterali ac Liturgica lingua Samscrdamica sunt conscripti. [p. 23]

Secunda nota boni, veri, ac genuini Indici codicis est, si hic res mythologicas, allegoricas, poeticas, philologicas, ad cultum deorum, & genealogiam eorum, ad ritus, sacrificia Indica, ad astronomiam, ad naturam, ad lustrationes, ad peregrinationes ad Indiae Sanctuaria, ad transmigrationem animarum, denique ad dogmata Indica pertinentes, pertractet, si hic idem locis Indicis, statuis, templis, symbolis, figuris, idolis antiquis hodie in multis, Indiae vetustis delubris superstitibus conveniens est, ea illustret, aut in ea devotionem suadeat, eorum laudes aut miracula narret. [p. 24]

Tertium genuini codicis Indici indicium est, si liber ille in fronte, antequam materiam propositam pertractare incipiat, invocationem, seu adorationis formulam ad Deum Ganésha seu Ianum, ad deum Shriráma, ad Krshna, Govinda seu Vishnu incarnatum, ad deum Shiva, aut ad deam Párvadi, praemittat. E.G. *Hari Shri Gannabadayè namá* [...] Eurondem codicum finis seu ultima verba, quibus

clauduntur, esse solent: Gánasamábdam *cantus finis*, Katha samábdam, *historiae*, *fabulae*, *narrationis finis*, aut denique, libri (ponitur titulus) finis. [...] Post invocationem deorum in libris Samscrdamicis nullus praemittitur matariae titulus seu inscriptio, sed ea subinde sequitur in fine dicendo: *hoc genus est tale*, sequitur *tale*, aut simpliciter, *haec ad caelum*, *ad talem deum*, *ad terram*, *ad limbum spectant*. Tum fine ulla repartitione, sectione, capitulo, epigraphe, vel paragraph statim alia res succedit, cuius denomination in fine additur. [pp. 26–27]

Quartum veri & sinceri codicis Samscrdamici Signum est, si codex ille per slogam vel shlogam, id est, per sententias sit scriptus. [p. 29]

Quintum non contemnendum signum veri & sinceri veteris Indici codicis est, si auctorem habet fictum, allegoricum, fabulosum, poetam, aut deum aliquem, vel Muni seu veterem hesychastam samanaeum, gosámi, aut philosophum antiquum. [p. 31]

Sextum et ultimum indicium genuine codicis Indici est, si in sua doctrina tradenda chronologia deorum fabulosa utatur; si doctrina illa cum Indicis statuis, figuris, symbolis, templis, religion, fabulis conveniat; si vocabulis utatur in libro *Amarasinha* descriptis, si codex est stylo chalybeo in foliis palmarum exaratus, aut ex rudi charta et coctae oryzae aqua *cángi* dicta confectus et perpolitus; si hic idem codex a Persis vel Arabibus non fuit versus; si ex loco aliquot sacro, delubro, vel schola extractus, aut a Brahmane aliquot acceptus, qui codicem hunc ipse legerit, aut eo usus fuerit. [pp. 40–41]

2.2.1.3 Application of the six rules to the analysis of the manuscript of the Ezourvedam

Liber *l'Ezourvedam* inscriptus [...] non est sincerus codex, sed liber spurius, supposititius, & contemnendus. [...] [Q]ui librum Ezourvédam inscriptum rite perlegerit, facile convenient, libri auctorem nihil aliud eniti, quam ut sun variis pigmentis religio, gentilicam dissuadeat, convellat, ac lectorem ad unius Dei cultum traducat. Librum autem Ezourvedam more & nomine Indico inscripsit, ut sub falso & supposititio titulo a gentilibus avidius legerentur. [pp. 42 and 45–46]

2.2.2 Passages from the Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti

2.2.2.1. *Padì-mauka*. Codes corticeus seu ex palmarum foliis, quas

Malabarenses, Tamulici, Avenses & Peguani ōlá vocant, confectus. Constat ex ōlis centum et duabus, longus est palmos tres & polices tres, largus polices tres cum semisse. Exaratus est elementis rotundis stilo chalybeo, quem Malabarenses *Ezuttánì*, id est *clavum scriptorium* appellant. Codices ipsi corticei vocantur *grantham*, & id quod iis exaratum exstat communi & generico nomine *granthavari* compellatur; unde linguae Samscrdamicae sacrae a libris his inhaesit nomen *grantham*, & *lingua granthamica*, cum revera *Samskrda* dici debeat. [p. 16]

2.2.2.2. Ciandrodayam seu *nativitas lunae*. Codex ex foliis palmarum constans longus palmum unum, pollicem unum, largus polices duos & fere quadrantem. Exaratus est stylo ferreo in olis vigintiquatuor. Lingua scriptus est Malabarica, elementis Granthamicis, & versibus Malabaricis vulgaribus, sed dictionibus Samscrdamicis ubique refertus. Inscribitur: Ciandrodayam, seu *nativitas lunae*, nomine videlicet metaphorico, ut plerique alii Indici linri. Instructio est facilis & plana ad regem quemdam Indicum nomine Hamsa, quem philosophus quidam ethices institutionibus imbuere satagit. [p. 94]

Appendix 3: Classified List of Catalogue Formats (from Biswas 1998: xv)

(1) Manuscript search report—provides general account of the availability of manuscripts in a particular area with list of titles acquired.
(2) Simple list—contains author and title; sometimes only the title is listed.
(3) Alphabetical catalogue by author or title—contains author, title, commentator, script, date, extent, etc.; sometimes only the short title and corresponding accession number.
(4) Catalogue in tabular form—classified arrangement; data, information are tabulated under separate coloumns [sic] / heads.
(5) Descriptive catalogue in tabular form—this type of catalogue is being published in India since 1961. It contains serial number, subject, accession or collection number, title, author, commentator, script, scribe, language, size and number of folios / leaves, lines per page and number of letters per line,

extent, condition, date, additional particulars, beginning and ending lines; colophons of select manuscripts only.

(6) Descriptive catalogue—provides full physical description (as listed in 5 above), post colophons, select portions from the text, notes on author and work.

(7) General register of works (on the basis of the catalogues of manuscripts)—contains short information on author and title with source of availability, (e.g. *Catalogus Catalogorum* (1891–1903), *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (1937) and *Jinaratnakośa* (1944) are well known.

Appendix 4: Extract from a Letter sent by Dr. F. Kielhorn (1870)

Extract from a letter sent by Dr. F. Kielhorn, Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, Deccan College, to the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay,—No. 122, dated Poona, the 22nd March 1870 (Gough 1878, 194–95).

As it is of great importance that the catalogues of Native libraries which are now being prepared in this country should be as accurate as possible, and should give the greatest possible and the most trustworthy information regarding the books catalogued, within the smallest compass, I venture to suggest that whenever any Native owners of books will permit their books to be catalogued, the following rules should be strictly observed:—

(a) All catalogues should be prepared by Sanskṛit scholars, Native or European; when prepared by Native scholars, they should be written (if possible) in the Devanágarí character, and not be transcribed in Roman character.

(b) The catalogues should give the following information:

(1) The title of the work.

(2) The name of the author. (Both should be taken from the introductory or the closing lines of the work catalogued; e. g., a work may on its outside bear the title Paribháshá, but in the interior it may be called Paribháshenduśekharaprakáśiká; if, in this case, the work is catalogued as Paribháshá, the information to be derived therefrom is extremely small, whereas the title Paribháshenduśekharaprakáśiká would inform us at once that the work is a commentary on the Paribháshenduśekhara of Nagojibhatta. Wherever it may be difficult or

impossible to make out the title or the author's name, the introductory and final lines of the work to be catalogued should be carefully given in the catalogue in the Devanágarí character.)

(3) The number of the leaves, the average number of lines on each page, and the number of ślokas, to be calculated in the Native fashion.

(4) The age of the manuscripts. Under this head it should be distinctly stated whether the year in which the manuscript was written is given in the manuscript, and if so, according to what era, or whether the person cataloguing it infers the age from the appearance of the work, the paper, the handwriting, &c.

(5) Substance on which written, and character.

(6) Where deposited, and in whose possession.

(7) Remarks.

(c) All works catalogued should be classified according to their contents in one uniform manner. As a model for such a classification, I propose for Vedic works the classification adopted by Professor Weber in his catalogue of the manuscripts of the Royal Library at Berlin, and, for other Sanskrit works, that followed by Professor Aufrecht in his catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The more uniform the arrangement of the works catalogued in India is with that of the catalogues of the great European Libraries, the easier it will be to decide which of the manuscripts catalogued are already within reach of European scholars, and which are not yet accessible to them, and should therefore be either purchased or copied.

Appendix 5: Six General Prerequisites for the Processing of Manuscripts according to O. Mazal (1992: 9)

1. Complete inclusion of all manuscripts of a collection ignoring classification on the basis of time or subject, more precisely, without distinction between medieval and modern manuscripts.
2. Thorough processing of all codicologically relevant data, comprehensive description of the outward appearance of

every codex, a description which will vary depending on whether one is dealing with an ancient or more recent copy.
3. Detailed analysis of all texts and additions to the manuscript, ranging from the main texts to the glosses and even to important pen trials.
4. Examination of the history of the manuscript.
5. Collection of existing works dealing with the manuscript.
6. Making available, whether in the introduction to the catalogue or in an independent monograph the basic material for an historical assessment of the manuscripts i.e. examination of the collection itself from historical standpoints and from the point of view of history of ideas and cultural history; this holds especially for uniform and extended collections. Only with this assessment can the work of description be said to be well done.

Abbreviations

CUL	Cambridge University Library
NAMAMI	National Mission for Manuscripts
NGMPP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project
NGMCP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
ULIB 7/1/4	Assorted Lists of Manuscripts and Books, Chiefly Oriental, Acquired by the Library, with Related Papers (Handwritten list and notes by Ralph T. H. Griffith and Daniel Wright of Sanskrit manuscripts acquired by the CUL in 1873)

References

Agati, Maria Luisa. 2009. *Il libro manoscritto da Oriente a Occidente. Per una Codicologia comparata*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Aufrecht, Theodor. Aufrecht, Theodor. 1859. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Sanscritorum postvedicorum quotquot in bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur*. Oxonii: e typographeo academico.

Belvalkar, Shripad Krishna. 1916. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts Deposited at the Deccan College, Poona*. Bombay: Government of Bombay.

Bendall, Cecil. 1883. *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge: With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palæography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal*. Cambridge: University Press.

Bühler, Georg. 1877. "Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts Made in Kaśmîr, Rajputana, and Central India". *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 12, extra number no. 34A. Bombay: Society's Library.

Colas, Gérard, "A Cultural Encounter in the Early 18th Century: The Collection of South Indian Manuscripts by the French Jesuit Fathers of the Carnatic Mission" in *Aspects of Manuscript Culture in South India*, edited by Saraju Rath, 69–80. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Dalby, Andrew. *A Dictionary of Oriental Collections in Cambridge University Library*. Cambridge: Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1988.

Darnton, Robert. 1982. "What Is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111(3): 65–83.

Datta, Bimal Kumar. 1970. *Libraries & Librarianship of Ancient and Medieval India*. 1st ed. Delhi: Atma Ram.

Erhard, Franz Karl. 1991. "The Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project." *European Bullettin of Himalayan Research* 2: 20–24.

Formigatti, Camillo A. 2017. "Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library: Three Centuries of History and Preservation" in *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages: Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations* edited by Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo Alessio Formigatti, 3–46. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Fraser, James. 1742. *The History of Nadir Shah, Formerly Called Thamas Kuli Khan, the Present Emperor of Persia. To Which is Prefix'd a Short History of the Moghol Emperors. At the End is Inserted, a Catalogue of About Two Hundred Manuscripts in the Persic and other Oriental Languages, Collected in the East*. London: Printed by W. Strahan, for the author.

Gode, Parashurama Krishna. 1941. "A Brief Note on the History and Progress of Cataloguing of Sanskrit and Other Mss in India and Outside (between a.d. 1800 & 1941)" in *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* edited by S. M. Katre, 99–128. Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House.

Gode, Parashurama Krishna. 1969. "Some Evidence about the Location of the Manuscript Library of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at Benares in A.D. 1665" in *Studies in Indian Cultural History Vol. III*, 71–76. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Institute.

Gough, Archibald Edward. 1878. *Papers Relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India*. Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Government Printing.

Grünendahl, Reinhold. 2001. "A Plea for an Integrated Approach towards Manuscript Cataloguing". *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 12: 151–159.

Harrison, Paul M. and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, eds., 2014. *From Birch Bark to Digital Data. Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research. Papers Presented at the Conference Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Janert, Klaus Ludwig. 1965. *An Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts*. VOHD Supplementband. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner.

Katre, Sumitra Mangesh and Parshuram Krishna Gode. 1941. *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*. Bombay: Karnatak publishing house.

Keith, Arthur Berriedale. 1903. *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS. in the Indian Institute Library Oxford*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mazal, Otto. 1992. *The Keeper of Manuscripts: With a Chapter on Restoring the Text*. *Bibliologia* 11. Turnhout: Brepols.

Mitra, Rājendralāla. 1882. *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.

ODNB = Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography, s.v. Griffith, Ralph Thomas Hotchkin (1826–1906), online version (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33580>).

Paulinus, a S. Bartholomaeo. 1792. *Examen historico-criticum codicum Indicorum Bibliothecae Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*. Rome: Ex Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.

Paulinus, a S. Bartholomaeo. 1793. *Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti avenses, peguani, siamici, malabarici, indostani, animadversionibus historico-criticis castigati et illustrati: accedunt monumenta inedita, et cosmogonia indico-tibetana*. Rome: apud Antonium Fulgonium.

Quenzer, Jörg B., Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobrich. 2014 (ed.). *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*. Berlin: De Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 1).

Raghavan, V. 1963. *Manuscripts, Catalogues, Editions: Steps Taken for the Collection, Preservation and Utilisation of Manuscripts*. Madras: Bharati Vijayam Press.

Rocher, Ludo. 1984. *Ezourvedam: A French Veda of the Eighteenth Century*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sastry, R. Anantakrishna. 1921 (ed.). *Kavindracharya List*. Baroda: Central Library.

Tripāṭhī, Chandrabhāl. 1975. *Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscripts at Strasbourg*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Vergiani, Vincenzo, Daniele Cuneo, and Camillo Alessio Formigatti. 2017 (ed.). *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages: Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 14).

von Hinüber, Oskar. 2014. "The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research" in *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research* edited by Harrison, Paul M. and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, 79–136. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Wagoner, Phillip B. October 2003. "Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45(4): 783–814.

Weber, Albrecht. 1853. *Verzeichniss der Sankrit- und Prâkrit-handschriften der Königlichen bibliothek zu Berlin. Die handschriften-verzeichnisse der Königlichen bibliothek zu Berlin*. Berlin: A. W. Schade.

Wujastyk, Dominik. 2014. "Indian Manuscripts" in *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* edited by Quenzer, Jörg B., Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobrich. Berlin: De Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 1).

Zysk, Kenneth G. 2012. "The Use of Manuscript Catalogues as Sources of Regional Intellectual History in India's Early Modern period" in *Aspects of Manuscript Culture in South India*, edited By Saraju Rath, 69–80. Leiden: Brill.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. V. Raghavan's Tabular Form for Preparing Catalogue of Manuscripts (Raghavan 1963: 99).

Fig. 2. NAMAMI Manus Sheet.

<title type="main"> From the Shelves to the Web: Cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Digital Era</title>[1]

Camillo A. Formigatti (University of Würzburg)

The article presents some reflections on the process of cataloguing South Asian manuscripts in digital form, based on the experience gathered by the author during the Cambridge Sanskrit Manuscripts Project and as a curator of South Asian manuscripts in the Bodleian Libraries. It briefly addresses the topics of the usage of markup language, the interaction between different professionals in the preparation of digital catalogues (academics, librarians, digital imaging and IT staff), and the importance of standardisation at all levels of cataloguing.

A companion to the historical and methodological study presented above (*supra*, pp. 273–308), the present article deals with the topic of how to catalogue Sanskrit manuscripts in the digital era. It simply presents some thoughts and suggestions stemming from the experience the author gathered during the work in the Cambridge Sanskrit Manuscripts Project (2011–2014)[2] and subsequently as curator of South Asian manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford (2016–2022). Its main purpose is to point out common issues that might arise in the task of digital cataloguing and suggest possible solutions. It is certainly not a manual for digital catalogues of South Asian manuscripts, it is rather a plea for standardisation.[3]

---

[1] As shown in the @type, this is only a possible title for the article. If you have any preference for an alternative title, please feel free to add it—but do not forget to tag it correctly with <title type="alt">Your title goes here</title>.

[2] The full title of the project was "The intellectual and religious traditions of South Asia as seen through the Sanskrit manuscript collections of the University Library, Cambridge." It was funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council.

[3] Unless the link refers to a specific entry in a digital catalogue, all links to digital resources mentioned are listed in the bibliography.

The implementation of a digital catalogue does not differ much from the compilation of a printed manuscript catalogue from many points of view, yet there are substantial differences. What similarities does a digital catalogue share with a printed one? In the first place, they both have readers. I am aware that once again, I might have to explain a truism, but maybe it is enough to rephrase the question: how can a digital catalogue meet the needs of different readers? Can it serve purposes a printed catalogue cannot? In order to answer these questions, it is worth referring to the obvious consideration that manuscripts are books. If manuscripts are books,[4] what are catalogues? A very simple definition could be that they are books describing books. On the other hand, we can consider digital catalogues of manuscripts to be a sort of specialised virtual libraries, and indeed they are usually found in a section of a digital library comprising all sorts of catalogues—of printed books, photographs, and all kind of odd objects held in a library.[5] Along the same line of thought, the structure of a digital catalogue can be modelled by taking the *Five Laws of Library Science* by S.R. Ranganathan (Ranganathan 1931) as guidelines:

1. Books are for use;
2. Every reader his or her book;
3. Every book its reader;
4. Save the time of the reader;
5. The library is a growing organism.

The problems we face during the work on a digital catalogue often have a counterpart in one or more of these five laws. For instance, during the work on the Cambridge Sanskrit Manuscripts Project we always tried to keep in mind the third and fourth law when plan-

[4] I am aware of the scholarly debate taking place in recent years about the nature of manuscripts, which are no longer considered simply as books. Yet, for the purpose of our discussion, I will leave aside for the moment most of the other characteristics that scholars from different backgrounds attribute to manuscripts and focus on their most obvious characteristic, namely their being books.

[5] In the Cambridge Digital Library, there is a section devoted to curious objects, in which we find a catalogue entry even for an ectoplasm (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-SPR-ECTOPLASM/1>, accessed 2 January 2024).

ning the structure of the catalogue retrieval system and user interface. Moreover, unlike printed catalogues, digital catalogues differ in that it is always possible to add new entries, for instance in the case of new acquisitions, making them grow exactly like a library.

1. Some Definitions and Technical Matters

In order to be processed by a computer, a text should be produced or transformed into a digital form, that is to say, a Machine Readable Form (MRF). This is done by means of encoding the text with a markup language that is in a machine-readable format. A concise, yet very clear definition of markup language is provided by L. Burnard, one of the fathers of the Text Encoding Initiative:

> We define markup or (synonymously) encoding, as any means of making explicit an interpretation of a text. At a banal level, all printed texts are encoded in this sense: punctuation marks, use of capitalization, disposition of letters around the page, even the spaces between words, might be regarded as a kind of markup, the function of which is to help the human reader determine where one word ends and another begins, or how to identify gross structural features such as headings or simple syntactic units such as dependent clauses or sentences. Encoding a text for computer processing is, in principle, like transcribing a manuscript from "scriptio continua", a process of making explicit what is conjectural or implicit, a process of directing the user as to how the content of the text should be interpreted.
>
> Burnard (1995: 42)

Among the numerous markup languages available, the Cambridge University Library chose to use the Extensible Markup Language (XML). It is a very sensible choice mainly for two reasons: it is an open source solution and thus extensible according to the users' needs. In general, a markup language must specify the following:

1. What markup is allowed and whereabouts,
2. What markup is compulsory,
3. How markup is to be distinguished from text, and
4. What the markup means.

XML is a descriptive markup, and thus provides only the means for fulfilling the first three tasks. In other words, additional infor-

mation is needed about what should happen when processing the encoded text. This information—the semantic information—is stored in other files. However, this should not be considered a weakness, since precisely this feature makes possible the use of the same encoded text by many different kinds of processors—for instance, the same set of metadata prepared for the digital catalogue can be used for the implementation of a database or for the preparation of a printed book.

An important feature to consider at the stage of choosing the semantic value of the markup is standardization. This step is of the uttermost importance for data retrieval and cross checking of information. All these features facilitate the conservation and management of information through time, as well as data access. This is achieved through the use of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standards, which are increasingly adopted not only across libraries, but also in a series of research projects and linguistic databases of South Asian history and culture. Another possible choice could have been the Encoded Archival Description (EAD) standard, employed for instance in the Bodleian Libraries for the cataloguing of archival material and in other major libraries — for instance, the Bibliothèque nationale de France — also for the cataloguing of manuscripts. On the other hand, the TEI scheme seemingly offers a more fine-grained markup for the description of manuscripts than the EAD scheme. The TEI documentation is easily accessible online for anyone who needs to update the digital catalogue, modify its structure, merge it with other digital catalogues prepared with different standards, including EAD.

An example of the latter case is the Bodleian Libraries' Manuscripts and Archives at Oxford University (MARCO) retrieval system, which allows users to search descriptions of manuscripts and archives held at the Bodleian Libraries and some Oxford colleges, from across eleven online catalogues — some prepared with TEI, while others with EAD standards. In particular, digital catalogues based on TEI descriptions include Medieval manuscripts from *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, South Asian, Inner Asian and Middle Eastern manuscripts from six manuscript catalogues, Hebrew manuscripts from *Hebrew Manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries*, and charters, deeds and seals from *Charters at the Bodleian Libraries*. The entries for Archives and post-1500 manuscripts from

Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts are based on EAD descriptions. As explained in the following sections, the choice of the markup standard is closely linked to the theoretical stage of cataloguing and it is never definitive, if the standard chosen is open source and well documented.

2. The Tripartite Schema and the Human Factor

In the compilation of the digital catalogue for the Cambridge Digital Library, we found useful to organise our work according to what we called a tripartite schema: (1) Theory, (2) Input, and (3) Output. Each of these levels presents different problems to tackle. In the description of Digital Humanities projects, a usually neglected but fundamental aspect is precisely the human factor, which proved to be decisive at all three levels. In the analogue era of printed catalogues, both Janert and Biswas already pointed out that the organisation of the workflow is crucial for the compilation of a catalogue:

> There was no uniform practice and consistency in the compilation of catalogues of manuscripts prepared in this sub-continent [i.e. the Indian subcontinent]. Such variations may be due to different approaches adopted by different libraries to the issue. In India manuscript collections have largely been catalogued through team-work efforts under the supervision of one or two principal editors, whereas the relatively smaller European collections were catalogued by successive scholars individually. As a result, catalogues produced in European libraries rarely reflected the personal approach and continuity of technical experience previously acquired. The heads of large cataloguing projects in India were chiefly concerened [sic] with organisational and technical matters, while the European collections were rarely completed without frequent changes of editor.
>
> Janert and Biswas (1998: xv)

Even though such remarks are to some extent still valid in the digital era, the preparation of a digital catalogue never involves only a single scholar, it is almost invariably the product of teamwork. For the sake of clarity, one can divide the people involved in such enterprise into four categories: (1) Academic Staff, (2) Library Staff, (3) IT Staff and (4) Digital Imaging Staff. Each group has a role in one or more of the levels of the tripartite schema. But what per-

haps is most important is that each group has different aims and approaches. A closer look at these four groups and at their role in the workflow of the project clarifies even more the great impact of the human factor on the successful preparation of a digital catalogue. As scholars, obviously we are mostly concerned with the scholarly validity of the catalogue, whereas for the library staff the impact of the Cambridge Digital Library on the broader public was a central issue—and this is the reason why there are long introductions in some entries, sometimes even in the form of a short scholarly essay. The interaction between the four groups was complicated, and unfortunately it was possible to reach a smooth workflow only after a relatively long process of trial and error (more precisely after one and half year, in other words after half of the time allotted to the project had already elapsed). A graph (**fig. 1**) provides an idea of how complex the relations can get in the preparation of a digital catalogue.

We can start the description of the workflow with the upper part of the graph, (1) Manuscript. The first step is obviously the choice of the manuscripts to be catalogued. We (AS) started with what we thought is the first Sanskrit manuscript in the CUL *List of Oriental MSS. Class Catalogue of Oriental MSS.*, with the idea of preparing a preliminary survey of the collections by going through this list. In order to speed up the process, we talked with the superintendent of the Manuscripts Reading Room (LS) about this idea, and he offered to help us by filling ten order slips and putting the ten manuscripts on a trolley to be delivered to us every morning. This

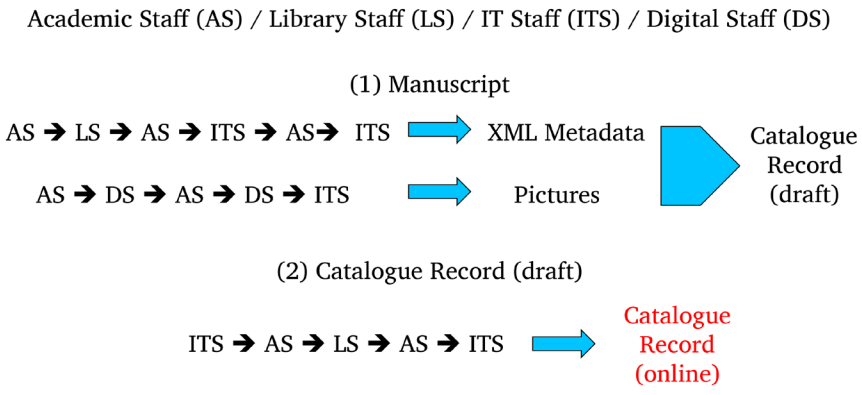


Fig. 1. Workflow and interaction in a digital project.

readiness to help considerably speeded up our work. The LS was also helpful in unearthing valuable archival material in the form hand-lists of manuscripts, enabling us to trace more Sanskrit manuscripts buried in the dungeons of the CUL, and without their help our catalogue would have been much shorter. Either during the survey or the preparation of the catalogue entries, the next step was of course the analysis of the manuscripts handed to us. We (AS) prepared a first draft description in the form of an XML metadata according to our modified TEI template (cf. §3.2.2), and then sent it to the IT staff (ITS).

At the same time, we (AS) also chose the manuscripts to be sent to Digital Imaging staff (DS) for digitisation. This was a very sensitive step, since the budget granted to the project covered the digitisation of only half of the manuscripts in the collections. Therefore, we had to set up criteria for the choice of the manuscripts to be digitised. Our main aim was to provide an overview of the variety and richness of the Sanskrit manuscripts collections, and accordingly the representativeness of a manuscript was the first aspect we took into consideration. We selected manuscripts belonging to different South Asian religious traditions, containing texts belonging to different literary genres, written on different writing materials and in different scripts. Another fundamental criterion was decoration and illumination: although we didn't choose to digitise all illuminated manuscripts, the great majority of them have been selected for digitization. Shortly, the most important criteria that guided us in the selection were the following:

1. Content: manuscripts containing unpublished or less studied works;
2. Antiquity: prioritisation of ancient manuscripts (most of them on palm leaf) for the sake of preservation (if the manuscript condition deteriorates, at least the work is saved in a digital form);
3. Interesting palaeographical or codicological features (for instance, Kashmirian *codices* with intact binding);
4. Uniqueness: for instance, multi-text manuscripts containing unusual collections of works are interesting from the point of view of the intellectual history of ideas;
5. Illumination: to some extent, this is was the easiest criterion to apply—after all, most of the users of the Cambridge Digital

Library are pleased to see images of masterpieces of art such as the *Kālapustaka* (Add.864).[6]

6. Ignorance: a good candidate for digitisation is a manuscript containing work(s) which are unidentified even after thorough research.

The manuscripts were not selected all at once. Since each manuscript could meet one or more of these criteria, we ended up having more rounds of selection, until we reached a stage in which the final decision was very difficult. In case of doubt, we asked for help numerous scholars expert in different fields (Jaina studies, palaeography, philosophy, Buddhist studies, etc.). After each round of digitisation was completed, we (AS) had to check the integrity of the images. We soon realised that every sort of error might happen during digitisation: for instance, a folio can be skipped; the order of the folios in the manuscript can be wrong in the origin; a note with important information written by a scholar on a paper slip was inserted in the manuscript; etc.

Therefore, we established the good practice of going through all folios of a manuscript before sending it to the DS, in order to avoid sorting the images afterwards—a very tedious and time-consuming job. This practice proved to be effective and time saving, for it is simpler to restore the correct order of the folios working with the manuscript itself, rather than with images. However, from the point of view of the preservation of the manuscript as an archaeological artefact, this practice has a serious drawback: the modification of the item. What if the "wrong" order of the folios yields important information? Needless to say, before changing the order of the folios we proceeded to a careful examination of the item: like an archaeologist evaluates and documents the stratigraphy of a site before removing the artefacts, we first examined the stratigraphy of the manuscripts (and documented it if necessary). Going back to the project workflow, once we checked the images, the digital imaging staff (DS) sent them to the IT staff (ITS). This stage was crucial, since the next step undertaken was the merging of the metadata produced by the AS with the images produced by the DS. The

[6] <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-00864/1> (accessed 4 January 2024); on this manuscript, see Cuneo 2017.

result consisted of a first draft of the catalogue records, which was made available online on a development server of the CUL.

At this point, we are in the second part of the graph, (2) Catalogue record (draft): the IT staff (ITS) passed the ball once again to us for proofreading of the draft entries and checking of the text-image alignment. Sometimes we could proofread only using the images uploaded on the development server, but very often we had to ask the LS to fetch the manuscripts again to check the transcriptions or other features, unfortunately exposing the manuscript to more stress. After the proofreading process was completed, we sent back the metadata to the IT staff (ITS), and finally the catalogue entry was online on the Cambridge Digital Library: the manuscript completed his journey from the shelves to the web.

I will now examine the graph of project relations according to each of the three levels of the tripartite schema. You will immediately notice that the leitmotiv linking all levels is standardisation.

2.1. Theory, or The First Stage of Standardisation

At the level of theory, only the academic staff is involved. At least three basic questions should be answered at this stage: (1) Is it possible to improve the standards for the description of South Asian manuscripts so far employed in (printed) catalogues? (2) Are these standards "standardised" enough to achieve the goal of data normalisation at the input level? (3) Do they fit the needs of the potential readers? I will try and briefly answer to these questions (the first two are strictly connected).

1. *Is it possible to improve the standards for the description of South Asian manuscripts so far employed in (printed) catalogues?*

As I have tried to explain in the first article in this volume (*supra*, pp. 273–308), the most widely accepted cataloguing scheme for South Asian manuscripts is more the product of an historical process, rather than of theoretical thinking. This statement might sound rather generic and unsubstantiated. However, a good argument to underpin it is the lack of a uniform terminology for the description of South Asian manuscripts, and in this section I will provide one example. In a recent article, D. Wujastyk points out that

> [t]he descriptive work of Chandrabhāl Tripāṭhi on the Jaina manuscripts in Strasbourg stands out as an exemplary work from many points of view. Tripāṭhi's "Introduction" to the work offers an excellent, concise treatise on many aspects of Indian manuscript studies, and the descriptive entries are a model of what can be achieved.
>
> D. Wujastyk (2014: 181)

Although being an invaluable catalogue and a formidable contribution to manuscript studies, Tripāṭhi's catalogue can still be improved in terms of terminological standardisation. The technical terminology in the English language developed by the author is largely based on a specific type of material, i.e. Jaina manuscripts, and it often clashes with the established terminology used to describe manuscripts of other manuscript cultures. For instance, in § 3.5 Tripāṭhi provides the definition of *simple*, *collective*, and *composite manuscript*. A simple manuscript is a manuscript containing one text, while collective manuscripts are

> Conglomerates collected for different purposes and differing in character from case to case. They nevertheless have the outward appearance of a single Manuscript. One may quote as parallels the practice of some libraries to bind different offprints as a single book and the practice of booksellers to offer occasionally a number of small pamphlets, articles etc. as one item. [...] It must be remembered in this connection that the old Manuscripts, whether palm-leaf or paper were unbound. It is therefore not surprising that the loose folios were occasionally "reshuffled."
>
> Tripāṭhi (1975: 18–19)

Furthermore, Tripāṭhi defines a manuscript as composite "when the different Texts[7] of a Manuscript are more or less closely related." Finally, although he does not mention this category explicitly in his list, he also distinguishes a fourth type, the *compound manuscript*, "the result of repair-work done in one way or the other" (Tripāṭhi 1975: 19).

---

[7] Tripāṭhi (1975: 17) distinguishes between text and Text: "The same word refers to a literary work when written with a small initial letter (text work), and it refers to a work as found in a particular Manuscript when written with a capital initial letter (Text = case of recording)".

In many publications dealing with Western manuscripts,[8] as well as and in some important Indological publications,[9] Tripāṭhi's composite manuscript is called multi-text manuscript. On the other hand, a composite manuscript is defined as such if it contains two or more codicological units. According to P. Gumbert, a codicological unit consists of "a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation (unless it is an enriched, enlarged or extended codicological unit), containing a complete text or set of texts (unless it is an unfinished, defective or dependent unit)" (Gumbert 2004: 40).[10] If applied to South Asian material, such a definition of composite manuscript would include both the compound and collective manuscripts in Tripāṭhi's categories.

In the last decade numerous important studies have been devoted to the improvement and honing of the terminology of manuscript studies, and the example presented here has the mere purpose of highlighting the need for a more uniform and improved terminology in the field of South Asian manuscript studies as well.

2. *Are these standards "standardised" enough to achieve the goal of data normalisation at the input level?*

The answer to this question is necessarily intertwined with the input level, therefore it will be answered in §2.2.

3. *Do they fit the needs of the potential readers?*

While I was working in the framework of the Research Group Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa at the University of Hamburg, I soon realised that terminological confusion is an obstacle in the development of comparative codicological studies. For instance,

---

[8] Among others, see Gumbert 2004 and Nyström 2009.

[9] For instance, the digital catalogue of the NGMCP.

[10] The codicological terminology we applied in the Cambridge Digital Catalogue obviously reflects the state of the art in the period in which it was compiled. We were not aware of the (at the time) recent publication of the volume *La syntaxe du codex: essai de codicologie structurale* (Andrist, Canart & Maniaci 2013), in which a finer distinction is proposed between production units ("unités de production") and circulation units ("unités de circulation"), which would have further helped us in the description of composite manuscripts. Nevertheless, the point about the shortcomings of the TEI guidelines still holds true.

what if a scholar of Persian book culture would like to know when and where the codex or the scroll formats were used in South Asia? Codex is the term for a specific manuscript format, and if we use the term codex simply as a synonym for manuscript, we do not represent in our description the fact that this specific book format was used also in South Asia, namely in Kashmir — as opposed, for instance, to a palm-leaf manuscript or a paper manuscript in the *pothī* format. Moreover, since in the Indological community it is a well-established practice to call colophon the titles at the end of chapters or works, Tripāṭhi has to call the actual colophon "scribal remark", a misleading practice for non-Indologists: in almost all other manuscript cultures a colophon is considered to be precisely what is called scribal remark by Tripāṭhi—and conversely, an Indological colophon is just a title that happens to be at end of a chapter or work, rather than at the beginning. This last example allows me to bridge over the next level: input.

2.2. Input, or the Second Stage of Standardisation

As it has already been explained, the main difference between a printed and a digital catalogue is that the latter should be prepared in a machine-readable format. Since the choice of the markup language has already been discussed, the focus of this section will be standardisation and data normalisation. These were achieved mainly through the use of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standards. The TEI module for manuscript description distinguishes between many different aspects of a manuscript (TEI P5 Guidelines Version 4.7.0, p. 335–378). Among the many fields (*elements* in the TEI guidelines) which can be included into a manuscript description, five are the most relevant. In **table 1**, the left column contains the five topics that on the level of theory correspond to each of the five main TEI elements of which a manuscript description consists.

Table 1. Five main fields of manuscript description.

Theory	Input (TEI elements)
1. Physical location	1. <msIdentifier>
2. Intellectual content	2. <msContents>

3. Physical description	3. <physDesc>
4. History of the manuscript	4. <history>
5. Additional information	5. <additional>

Each of these is an overarching element and can or must contain other sub-elements. The final aim is to build a structure that enables the cataloguer to mark up each textual or physical aspect of a manuscript, thus rendering the description machine-readable. The elements defined in the TEI guidelines are largely based on the terminology developed within the field of Western manuscript studies. In some cases, this fact proved to be an obstacle for the description of specific aspects of South Asian manuscripts, but on the whole they can be successfully applied to South Asian material as well. In this respect, our choice of largely adopting some TEI elements as base for the terminology describing different parts of a text (mainly the paratextual elements) has been criticised by some colleagues. It is true that definitions like *rubric*, *final rubric* etc. are not familiar to Indological ears, but if one would take the time to read the chapter on manuscript description in the TEI guidelines, one would immediately notice that most categories and definitions proposed there are perfectly apt to describe both the textual and the physical aspects of South Asian manuscripts. From the viewpoint of the textual aspect, let us take into consideration for instance the element <finalRubric>, defined in the TEI guidelines as that part of a text containing "the string of words that denotes the end of a text division, often with an assertion as to its author and title, usually set off from the text itself by red ink, by a different size or type of script, or by some other such visual device" (TEI P5 Guidelines Version 4.7.0, p. 354). Does this definition not describe precisely what Indologists usually call colophon? Is there a cogent reason not to adopt the term final rubric instead of colophon? We chose to employ this definition because it enabled us to avoid the use of different names (such as "scribal remark", "author's colophon" or even "subcolophon") for the actual colophon of manuscripts, i.e. the "statement providing information regarding the date, place, agency, or reason for production of the manuscript" (TEI P5 Guidelines Version 4.7.0, *ibidem*). A recent catalogue, Hartmut Buescher's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (2011), has instead a very

minimal approach with regard to terminology. The only two definitions—if we can label them as such—provided are *beginning* and *end* of a work or text in a manuscript. While such approach avoids the dangers of making a decision, leaving the freedom of definition to the single scholar, it is not useful in the case of digital catalogues, for which a very well structured entry facilitates the processing by the machine.[11]

On the other hand, the TEI standards proved to have some drawbacks, and during the Cataloguing process we soon realised that in some cases they needed to be adapted to provide a better description model for South Asian manuscript material. On the level of theory, we paid particular attention to the description of two categories of manuscripts: *multi-text* and *composite manuscripts* (as defined above in §2.2.1). When we turned to the TEI module for finding a suitable solution on the input level, we noticed that although the TEI schema provides a suitable solution for the description of the first category of manuscripts using multiple <msItems> elements, it is not designed to adequately describe South Asian composite manuscripts. The <msParts> element as defined in the TEI guidelines can be very well applied in the description of Western composite manuscripts consisting of a kernel and independent codicological units i.e. quires from different manuscripts bound together and containing different works. On the other hand, it is not a good tool to describe the great majority of South Asian composite manuscripts, which usually consists of one main codicological unit (the *kernel*) and later replacements of lost folios (*dependent codicological units*).[12] Thus, in agreement with the IT team of the Cambridge University Library, we developed a slightly modified template, and the result of these efforts can be seen in the description of several composite manuscripts on the Cambridge Digital Library website.[13]

Another important aspect to be carefully considered is how to handle prosopographical data. It does not need to be emphasised

---

[11] On the different definitions of colophons in Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, see the discussion in Formigatti (2022: 44–49).

[12] See fn. 10 above for the use of Gumbert's terminology instead of Andrist and Maniaci's.

[13] Among others Add.895, Add.905.1, Add.905.2, Add.906, Add.1356, Add.1475, Add.1644, Add.1645, Add.1662, Add.1694.1, Add.2102, Add.2196.1, Or.153.

how fundamental this topic is not only for printed catalogues, but above all for the successful preparation of a digital catalogue. As far as South Asian manuscripts are concerned, this has been already highlighted by R. Grünendahl:

> The functionality of the three primary access points (title, name and subject classification) depends on the exactness with which they respond to the search terms employed by the user of the catalogue. The response rate is considerably enhanced by vocabulary control, namely rigid standardization of titles, names and subject terms, augmented by authority records uniting all known forms of names (and titles) under one standardized heading.
>
> Grünendahl (2001: 154)

Authority control is achieved at both the theory and the input level. As we have seen, the necessity of uniform titles was seen as a priority already for the 1868 survey (cf. W. Stokes' statement reported on p. 282), and it is all the more vital for a digital catalogue. Catalogue users should be enabled to access a specific work by using any of the titles traditionally assigned to it, as well as to disambiguate different works with the same title. In the case of authors' names, the problem of homonymy is even more pressing. The project's policy in terms of assigning titles followed a simple rule: regardless of the form of the title occurring in a specific manuscript, the most widespread and known form was chosen as main title (and accordingly is marked up as <title type="main">). For instance, the work contained in Add.875 is known by at least four Sanskrit titles: *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtrendrarāja*, *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. In the critical editions of both the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan translation of this works, J. Nobel decided to use the form *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*. Accordingly, we chose this as a uniform main title, thinking that most likely readers would know the work thanks to Nobel's publications, rather than directly through the manuscript tradition—for instance, with the long title *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtrendrarāja* transmitted in Nepalese manuscripts. It goes without saying that all alternative titles are also provided (marked up as <title type="alt">).

Similar considerations apply also for authors' names: the very well-known scholiast Mallinātha is listed as Kolācala Mallinātha Sūri. The first name is of course the main name employed through-

out the catalogue, while his second name is marked up accordingly as an alternative form (<persName xml:lang="san" type="alt">). However, since both name forms refer to one individual, they have been both assigned the same identification number. In the case of Mallināṭha, we have assigned two numbers. The first number refers to an internal list compiled by the project members, in which a progressive number is assigned to each person related to a manuscript (be it the author, a scribe or donor mentioned in the colophon, or the person who acquired the manuscript; the local number for Mallināṭha is for instance 00299). In the opposite case of homonymic persons, each person is given a distinct number: the famous Jaina polymath Hemacandra is assigned a local number 00187, while his homonym Hemacandra Maladhārin is assigned the local number 00218. In order to achieve the maximum level of standardisation across different projects and platforms, a second number is assigned to each individual who happens to be listed also in the Virtual International Authority File (VIAF) (for instance, the VIAF ID number for Mallināṭha is 266223825). The VIAF's aim is "to lower the cost and increase the utility of library authority files by matching and linking widely used authority files and making that information available on the Web" (from the homepage of VIAF). If a person is not included in the VIAF database, we assigned only a local number.[14] An identical approach was applied to place names, the only difference being that the external authority file database chosen by the Cambridge University Library was the Getty Thesaurus of Geographic Names Online.

Subject classification is even more the cornerstone of standardisation, for it is precisely according to a controlled and shared terminology and classification scheme that readers can browse the catalogue and retrieve with ease the information needed. The Cambridge Digital Library policy for subject headings had to take into account the specificity of the different projects it includes, and therefore it was suggested to us to use the Library of Congress Subject Headings. Unluckily, the subject headings of the Library of Congress proved to be either too general or too specific for our

[14] The authority file for persons created by our project should have been submitted to the VIAF to be integrated into their database, but after the end of the project we did not have the means to do it anymore.

material. Therefore, we opted again to keep two levels of subject classification, bearing in mind the possible readership of our catalogue (mostly academics, scholars of Sanskrit or South Asian studies). The more general level of subject headings coincides with the Library of Congress' ones, and includes only very broad categories that group the manuscripts according to languages (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Newari, Tamil, etc.) A more refined classification is provided by means of local subject headings developed by project members. The local subject classification is mostly modelled on emic categories, and is a slight adaptation of the classification employed in the Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL). The reason behind this choice is mere common sense: GRETIL is well known to and used by scholars since decades, and its subject headings follow an emic approach. We divided our local scheme into two sections, each including refined sub-headings (not listed here). The first section consists of broad text classes (*vaidika*, *itihāsa*, *purāṇa*, *stotra*, *karmakāṇḍa*, *bhakti*, *tantra*, *śāstra*, *subhāṣita*, *kāvya*, *nāṭya*), while the second one includes classes divided according to religious traditions (*vaiṣṇava*, *śaiva*, *śākta*, *saurya*, *jaina*, *bauddha*).

This approach has been further refined by the author of the article during the preparation of the Digital Catalogue of South Asian Manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries[15], the work in the Finding Archives and Manuscripts Across Oxford's Unique Special Collections (FAMOUS) project, and the development of the already mentioned MARCO interface. The necessity of sources as authoritative and exhaustive as possible for the unequivocal identification of works and persons led to the decision of adding further identification numbers to titles and personal names in the authority files. The most sensible approach seemed to turn also to specialised Indological and Tibetological databases in addition to the VIAF database. In particular, the following prosopographical databases were employed for the identification and disambiguation of works and persons:

- Prosopographical Database for Indic Texts (PANDIT)
- Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC, formerly Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center — TBRC)

[15] <https://south-asian.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> (accessed 3 January 2024).

- Jaina Prosopography Database (JPD).

As I will try to explain in the following section, such careful authority file control has consequences on the output level.

2.3. Output, or the Final Standardised Stage?

Even if there might be a certain degree of arbitrariness in the process, authority file control is fundamental for the optimisation of the output and for data retrieval. Standardisation of titles, names, and subject headings is not just for the sake of the librarians' urge of classification, nor is it the consequence of an obsessive–compulsive disorder, it is rather a means to save the time of the reader. It should be clear from the discussion in the previous section that it is actually an implementation of Ranganathan's third and fourth laws, "Every book its reader" and "Save the time of the reader": it allows readers to find at one glance all manuscripts relevant to their search. For instance, it is easily possible to narrow down the search to all Buddhist or *kāvya* manuscripts in the collections with one click. Any reader searching for a work with the title *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtrendrarāja* in the Cambridge Digital Library will get results including all manuscripts containing the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (even if in the manuscript colophon the work is called *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* or *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*). If a reader searches for the author Kolācala, the results displayed will include all manuscripts containing a commentary by Mallinātha, and hypothetically also all manuscripts written by Mallinātha himself as a scribe, if our collections were to include such manuscripts.

A carefully planned input of the metadata allows also for future development of a search tool that can meet the needs of the most diverse types of readers. At the moment, in the Cambridge Digital Library is possible to narrow down a query only according to few criteria: collection, subject and date. However, it is possible to use the metadata created by the project to populate other databases with a more refined search engine which includes more search criteria, such as place of production, script, writing material, etc. By combining these criteria in one single search it would be possible to find, for instance, all Buddhist manuscripts of Tantric works written on paper in Kathmandu during the 14th to the 18th century.

Last but not least, we paid particular attention to the usability of the online catalogue. Working in close collaboration with the IT staff, we tried to find solutions that would render the navigation of the Digital Library an experience as intuitive as possible. We are aware that we were not able to achieve this aim in full, mostly due to compromises we had to meet on account of the fact that the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project is part of the Cambridge Digital Library—a bigger platform that includes many projects, each of which has different purposes and different cataloguing standards.

3. Final Remarks

As I have tried to briefly outline, the preparation of a digital catalogue poses several issues. Many of them can be subsumed under one or more of the following topics: standardisation, maintenance (storage and ageing of the metadata format), accessibility and usability, academic acceptance. In this last section I would like to focus on the last topic, which is often neglected in scholarly literature on digital humanities, even if the scholarly attitude towards digital publications has a great impact on their production and diffusion. For instance, the fact that online publications and research tools are more and more employed at all academic levels is acknowledged even by an authoritative source such as the *Chicago Manual of Style*:

> *Authority and permanence*. Much as they do for printed publications, authors must weigh the authority of any electronic sources they choose to cite. Electronic content presented without formal ties to a publisher or sponsoring body has the authority equivalent to that of unpublished or self-published material in other media. Moreover, such content is far more likely to change without notice—or disappear altogether—than formally published materials. On the other hand, self-published material from an authority on a given subject—relatively inaccessible before the advent of blogs—may have a great deal of validity.
>
> *Chicago Manual of Style* (16th edition, § 14.9)

Notwithstanding the evident reliability of many online publications in the field of humanities, more often than not they still have less value than traditional printed publications for the sake of one's own academic career. Their inherent fluidity and change-

ability is seen as a drawback and a cause of unreliability, rather than an advantage. Despite the warning issued by the authors of the Chicago Manual of Style, the richness of online publications consists precisely in their character of constant work in progress. In order to highlight the purport of this remark I would like to finish this article with one last example. During our project, we constantly had to consult Cecil Bendall's catalogue of the Buddhist manuscripts in the Wright collections. The Cambridge University Library holds Bendall's own copy of the catalogue, in which he added annotations and corrections to his own entries. Any reader of the present article who did not want to change something in one of his own articles or books right after it went to press, please raise their hand. I guess this was precisely Bendall's feeling when for instance he realised that he misread a word in a colophon, or that he inadvertently forgot to catalogue one manuscript. We had the same feeling over and over during the three years of the project, but luckily we were—and still are—able to correct our errors anytime: all we need to do is to open the metadata of a record, correct the error and send the metadata back to the IT staff. The corrected file will be then included in the next release of the Cambridge Digital Library. All metadata are released under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial 3.0 Unported License and are available for download in each entry. Moreover, each entry of digitised manuscripts contains a link to the IIIF manifest, making both the metadata as well as the images fully available for reuse to the scholarly community and all manuscripts enthusiasts.

References

Printed Sources

Andrist, Patrick, Paul Canart, and Marilena Maniaci. 2013. *La syntaxe du codex: essai de codicologie structurale*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Bendall, Cecil. 1883. *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge: With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palæography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal*. Cambridge: University Press.

Biswas, Subhas Chandra. 1998. *Bibliographic Survey of Indian Manuscript Catalogues: Being a Union List of Manuscript Catalogues*. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers.

Buescher, Hartmut. 2011. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Copenhagen: NIAS Det Kongelige Bibliotek.

Burnard, Lou. 1995. "What Is SGML and How Does It Help?" *Computers and the Humanities* 29(1): 41–50.

Cuneo, Daniele. 2017. "Vivid Images, Not Opaque Words: UL Add.864, the so-called Cambridge *Kalāpustaka* manuscript from early modern Nepal" in *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages: Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations* edited by Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo Alessio Formigatti, 551–586. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Erhard, Franz Karl. 1991. "The Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project." *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 2: 20–24.

Formigatti, Camillo. 2022. "Colophons in Fourteenth-Century Nepalese Manuscripts: Materials for the Study of the Nepalese Renaissance (I)" in *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study across Pothi Manuscripts* edited by Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, 43–118. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Grünendahl, Reinhold. 2001. "A Plea for an Integrated Approach towards Manuscript Cataloguing" *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 12: 151–159.

Janert, Klaus Ludwig. 1965. *An Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts*. VOHD Supplementband. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner.

Ranganathan, Shiyali Ramamrita. 1931. *The Five Laws of Library Science by S. R. Ranganathan, with a Foreword by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer and an Introduction by W. C. Berwick Sayers*. Madras: The Madras Library Association.

Tripāṭhī, Chandrabhāl. 1975. *Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscripts at Strasbourg*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Wujastyk, Dominik. 2014. "Indian Manuscripts" in *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, edited by Quenzer, Jörg B., Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobrich. Berlin: De Gruyter (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 1).

Online Resources

PANDIT = Prosopographical Database for Indic Texts. <https://www.panditproject.org> (accessed 4 January 2024).

BDRC = Buddhist Digital Resource Center (formerly Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center — TBRC). <https://www.bdrc.io> (accessed 4 January 2024).

JPD = Jaina Prosopography Database. <https://jaina-prosopography.org> (accessed 4 January 2024).

Cambridge Digital Library. <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk> (accessed 4 January 2024).

FAMOUS = Finding Archives and Manuscripts Across Oxford's Unique Special Collections. <https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/about/libraries/our-work/famous> (accessed 3 January 2024).

Getty Thesaurus of Geographic Names Online. <https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/tgn> (accessed 4 January 2024).
GRETIL = Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages. <http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.html> (accessed 4 January 2024).
Library of Congress Subject Headings. <https://id.loc.gov/authorities/subjects.html> (accessed 4 January 2024).
MARCO = Bodleian Libraries' Manuscripts and Archives at Oxford University. <https://marco.ox.ac.uk> (accessed 2 January 2024).
TEI P5 Guidelines Version 4.7.0 = TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange. <https://tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/Guidelines.pdf> (accessed 4 January 2024).
VIAF = VIAF: The Virtual International Authority File. <https://viaf.org> (accessed 4 January 2024).

List of Figures

Fig. 1. Workflow and interaction in a digital project.

Paratexts in *Kalittokai*, *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, *Patiṟṟuppattu* and *Pārata Māvintam* Manuscripts

T. Rajeswari (EFEO Pondicherry)

This paper is an overview of the different kinds of paratexts found in the manuscripts of the *Kalittokai*, the *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, the *Patiṟṟuppattu* and the *Pārata Māvintam*. In the first part of this article palm-leaf manuscripts of these four texts are considered, whereas the second part focuses on paper manuscripts of the *Kalittokai* and the *Patiṟṟuppattu*.

In Tamil manuscripts, the following kinds of paratexts are found: titles, intertitles, colophons, blessings, invocations, instructions to users, marginalia, etc.[1] In the first part of this article palm-leaf manuscripts of the following texts are examined: *Kalittokai*, *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, *Patiṟṟuppattu*, and *Pārata Māvintam*. The first three works fall under *Caṅkam* literature, the last one is a minor epic of the end of 16th century, which tells the story of the last three *pārvam*s of the *Mahābhārata*.[2] The second part of this article focuses on the paper manuscripts of the *Kalittokai* and the *Patiṟṟuppattu*.

1. Paratexts in Palm-Leaf Manuscripts

1.1. Initial page

Generally, the title of the text and/or the first intertitle (that is, the name of the first chapter or subsection of the text) is found in the left margin of the first page, along with the folio number in Tamil numeral figures. Often the library pagination is also added in pencil in Arabic numerals, in the left margin usually, but also sometimes in the right margin or in the middle bottom.[3]

---

[1] Here the commentary is not counted as a paratext.

[2] See the recent edition of the *Pārata Māvintam* by the present author.

[3] Library paginations on palm-leaf manuscripts are not included hereafter in the diplomatic readings of the manuscripts.

1.1.1. Kalittokai *Manuscripts*

In GOML R.5075/TR.2229, a blessing (that is, auspicious words), the name of the *tiṇai* (*pālai*) and the Tamil foliation "1" are found in the left margin (**fig. 1**):

hari Om·
naṉṟāka
pālai
1



Fig. 1. GOML R.5075/TR.2229, f1r, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Pālai is the first *tiṇai* of *Kalittokai*. Here the *Pālaikkali* poems begin. Since this manuscript is incomplete other paratexts have not been found.

UVSL 5 (f[1]r = lp1, left margin) begins with the *kiḷavi*[4] (contextual explanation) of the sixth poem that begins with the phrase *maraiyā maralkavara*. The first five poems of *Pālai* are missing. In the first folio, the title of the text and the name of the *tiṇai* (*pālaituṟai* for *pālaittiṇai*) are written. The pagination "1" is given in the right margin:

kalittokai
mutalāvatu
pālaituṟai

In UVSL 511 (f[1]r = lp1, left margin), due to damages, the initial blessings are not clearly legible. The name of the first *tiṇai* (*pālai*) is also mentioned:

[O]m
[ha]*ri*
[*na*]*ṉṟāka*
p[*ā*]*lai*
[*muṉ*]*ṉiṟka*

[4] *itu talaivaṉ celavuk kuṟippaṟintu [...] ceṉmiṉeṉat talaivi kūṟiyatu.*

1.1.2. Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu *Manuscripts*

In UVSL 184F, the name of the text is given as *Peruṅkuṟuñci* (**fig. 2**):

p[e]ruṅ[ku]ṟuñci

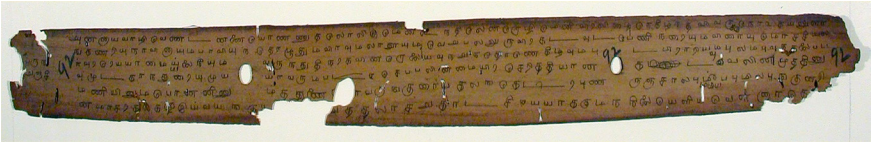


Fig. 2. UVSL 184F, lp92, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

In UVSL 579E (f121r = lp241), the title of the text and the Tamil foliation are found in the left margin of the first folio:

kuṟuñci
121

In TSA 47 (f1r, left margin), a blessing, the title of the text and the foliation are found on the recto of the first folio:

hariḥ Om
kuṟiñci
1

1.1.3. Patiṟṟuppattu *Manuscripts*

In UVSL 98A, the title of the text, the first few words (*pratīka*) of the 11th poem, and the first folio number are written in the left margin (**fig. 3**):

[I]raṇ[ṭā]m pattu
varai
maruḷ
1

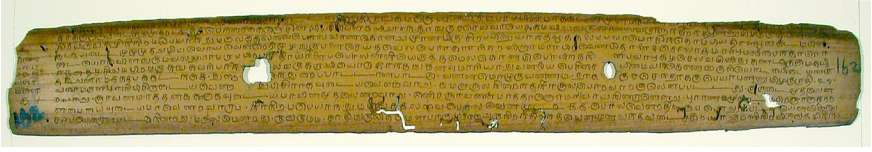


Fig. 3. UVSL 98A, f1r = lp162, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

The first few words of the verses (that is, *pratīka*) are found. Since the last folios are damaged we could not find the exact date of copying and the name of the scribe.

At the end of the second decade (lp181, line 11), there is a line of blessings, ending with several auspicious marks *piḷḷaiyār cu̲li*:

> *kuru mu̲n̲n̲i̲rka — kaḷḷappirā̲n̲ tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam — vēlu mayilu mu̲n̲n̲i̲rka vēṇum* ൳ ൳ ൳ ൳ ൳ ൳

The third decade ends on page 199. At the end of this decade, too, there is a line of blessings:

> *Irāmaṉ ṟuṇai* ൳ *la* ൳ *la* ൳ *nelvēli nātar tuṇai* ൳ *la vaṭivāḷ mu̲n̲n̲i̲rka vēṇum* ൳ *la*

These two blessings may suggest that this manuscript has been copied by two scribes. Each one praises his favourite god.[5] The scribes neither mention their names nor the exact date of copying.

In UVSL 1075b, the first folio number (f162r = lp93) is written in the left margin. As the manuscript begins in the second line of poem 12 of the second decade with the phrase *kaṭumpi n̲aracutalai*, the title of the text is missing. The count of the third decade is mentioned (f165 = lp103):

> *mū̲n̲ṟām pattu*
> *165*

In TT no no. (f136r = lp123), the subsection of the text, the first few words of the poem, and the folio number are written in the left margin. In the first verse, the first few *cīr*s are omitted. The first *cīr* of the second verse is mentioned (*vayavar*) as *pratīka*:

> *Irāṇṭām pattu*
> *vayavar*
> *136*

1.1.4. Pārata Māvintam *Manuscripts*

In ORIML 3895b, the first page (f296r) provides the title, intertitle and foliation in the left margin and the invocatory poem in the main text area (**fig. 4**):

---

[5] In Tamil Nadu generally there is not much difference between Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava devotees; two scribes equally give importance to the gods of both religions. The second scribe might belong to Tirunelvēli, because Nelvēlinātar is the God of the Nellaiyappar temple in Tirunelvēli, Tamil Nadu.

pāratamāvintam
kaṭavuḷ vaṇakkam ๖
296



Fig. 4. ORIML 3895b, f296r–f297r, left margin.

In page 3 (f297r), the intertitles for the invocatory poem, the prologue (that is, the preface) and the poet's apologetic poem are provided. The first invocatory poem is on Viṉāyakaṉ, "the elephant-faced god." This is followed by poems in praise of Lord Śiva, goddess Pārvatī, and goddess Sarasvatī (**fig. 5**):

kaṭavuḷ vaṇakkam
pāyiram
Avaiyaṭakkam
297



Fig. 5. ORIML 3895b, f297r, left margin.

In ORIML 11413 (f169r, left margin), the intertitle of the prologue appears in the first folio, followed by the Tamil foliation:

māvintap pāyiram
169

In SCLM 198 (f1r, left margin), the first page bears only the title of the text (*pārata māvintam*). The next page contains the following three elements: a blessing followed by the title, the heading for the special prologue and the folio number:

harīḥ Om· śrīmat
pā(ra)ta(m) māvintam
ciṟappup pāy(iram)
1

In IFP RE.10857, the first folio gives title, intertitles and foliation:

pāratamāvintam
kaṭavuḷ vaṇakkam

pāyiram
Avaiyaṭakkam
1

Among the four *Pārata Māvintam* manuscripts, blessings are thus found only in SCLM 198.

1.2. Intertitles and Pratīkas

1.2.1. Kalittokai *Manuscripts*

A text can be divided in several subsections or chapters. The names of those subsections, that is, intertitles, are also found in the left margin of their respective folios. The *Kalittokai* is divided in five sections, each named after a *tiṇai*: *pālai*, *kuṟiñci*, *marutam*, *mullai*, *neytal*.

In UVSL 5, the name of fifth *tiṇai*, that is, *neytal tiṇai*, is written in the left margin (**fig. 6**):

Aintāvatu
neyta[l]
nilattuk
kalittokai



Fig. 6. UVSL 5, f95r = lp381, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

In the same manuscript, the first few words of each stanza of the poem are written in the left margin of the folio. For instance, the first word of the first *tāḻicai*, that is, *kiḷipu*, and the last of the *curitakam*, that is, *aṇai*, of the verse 20 of *Pālaikkali*[6] are found on page 22, left margin:

kiḷipu
Aṇai

Intertitles for the names of the *tiṇais* are not found in UVSL 551 and GOML D210/TD 127.

[6] *kiḷipurai kiḷaviyāy aṇaiyarum vemmaiya palvaḷam pakarpūṭṭum payaṉilam paitaṟa* (*Kalittokai* 20).

1.2.2. Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu *Manuscripts*

No intertitles are found in the manuscripts of the *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, since it is a single long poem without subsections.

1.2.3. Patiṟṟuppattu *Manuscripts*

The title of the text *Patiṟṟuppattu* is not found in the manuscripts. Since the first decade is missing, the name of the second decade (*iraṇṭām pattu*) is found as intertitle. All three *Patiṟṟuppattu* manuscripts bear such intertitles. UVSL 98A and TT no no. provide the first word of the verse (*pratīka*) along with the intertitle in the left margin.

1.2.4. Pārata Māvintam *Manuscripts*

The *Pārata Māvintam* consists of seven chapters called *carukkam*: *tirunāṭṭuc carukkam, tuvarāpatic carukkam, turuvācac carukkam, attiṉapuric carukkam, turōpati mōṭcam peṟṟa carukkam, ciṅkattiṉ kataic carukkam, karuṭaṉaik kaṇṭa carukkam*. These chapters are named after the stories they narrate. In four manuscripts the title of the text as well as the intertitles are found in the left margin.

In ORIML 3895b, the name of the first *carukkam* is mentioned on the left margin (**fig. 7**):

tirunāṭṭuc ciṟappu carukkam ൧

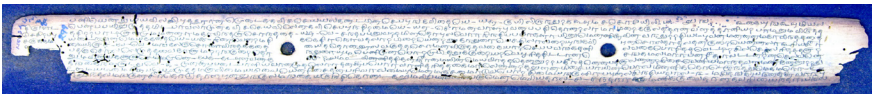


Fig. 7. ORIML 3895b, f168r = lp299, left margin.

In ORIML 11413 (f177v), the name of the third *carukkam* is found on the left margin:

turvācac carukkam

In SCLM 198 (f1r), the name of the first *carukkam* is also found in the left margin:

tirunāṭṭuc ciṟappuc carukkam ൧

In IFP RE.10857, the name of the first *carukkam* is also found, i.e., *tirunāṭṭuc ciṟappuc carukkam*.

1.3. Colophons and Completion Statements

The colophons include information such as the name of the author, the name of the scribe, date of copying, etc. Instead of colophons are also found plain completion statements.

1.3.1. Kalittokai *Manuscripts*

Among the *Kalittokai* manuscripts,[7] the exact date of copying is found only in UVSL 511. This manuscript is slightly damaged but readable. The name of the scribe and the date of copying are stated, that is, year 850 of the Kollam era, 29th of Māci month, which corresponds to 28th February 1675 CE (**fig. 8**):

kaṇapatiyē ***supramaṇya****nē tuṇai kuruvē tuṇai* ๛

850 {varuṣam} māci {mātam} 2[9m nāl] tiruvārūl irukkum ceṅkamala poṟpātam maṟaiñāṉa paṇṭārat=tāṉ put=tiraṉ civakuruṇātaṉ Eḷuttu ๛

*piramarā****ja****rē tuṇai* ๛



Fig. 8 UVSL 511, lp 606, right half. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

The manuscript UVSL 5 is incomplete, as it begins with poem 6 and ends with poem 120. At the end of each *tiṇai*, the scribe mentions his name (Ā. Aṇṇācāmi) and native place (Tirumayilai, that is, Mayilāppūr),[8] as, for instance, on f50r3 = lp91:

[...] Ivai tirumayilai — Ā — Aṇṇācāmiyāl Eḷutappaṭṭatu ~ la [...]

GOML D.210/TD.127 begins with the commentary on poem 131 and ends with poem 150. Only the name of the commentator *Naccinārkkiṉiyar* is given (f233r = lp35):

kalittokaikku nacciṉārkkiṉiyā/r\ ceyta vurai muṟṟum ๛

[7] See Wilden (2014: 70–73).

[8] On this Aṇṇācuvāmi from Mayilai, Wilden (2014:83, 134, 142, 168), Ciotti and Franceschini (forthcoming). See also Manuel's chapter in this volume.

After this completion statement there is the following verse in *Veṇpā* metre:

ஓரா தெழுதினே னாயினு மொண்பொருளை
யாரார்ந்து கொள்க வறிவுடையர் – சீராய்ந்து
குற்றங் களைந்து குறைபெய்து வாசித்தல்
கற்றறிந்த மாந்தார் கடனே

ōrāt' eḻutiṉēṉ āyiṉum oḷ poruḷai
yār ārntu koḷka aṟivuṭaiyar — cīr āyntu
kuṟṟam kaḷaintu kuṟai peytu vācittal
kaṟṟ' aṟinta māntār kaṭaṉē

This is a plea by the scribe to the readers, apologising for any errors he might have made in copying the manuscript.[9]

In the next line the scribe gives the name of his favourite goddess:

kāntimatiyammāḷ pātāravintamē (k)eti ఒ

This blessing appears to indicate that the manuscript comes from Tirunelvēli, since the consort goddess in the Tirunelvēli Nellaiyappar temple is called *Kāntimati*.

1.3.2. Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu *Manuscripts*

No surviving *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* manuscript comes with a colophon, since it is part of the bigger collection of ten songs named *Pattuppāṭṭu*.[10]

In UVSL 579E, in the last page, the name of the author of the text, the reason for composing the poem and the name of its recipient are mentioned (**fig. 9**):

Iṉṟ' āriyavaracaṉ pirattaṉait tamiḻaṟivittaṟkuk kapilar pāṭiyatu ఒ

kuṟiñci muṟṟum ఒ

kuruvē tuṇai ఒ

In the last page of UVSL 184F(1) the same information is provided (f61v5–6 = lp107):

Āriyavaracaṉ pirama/ta\ttaṉai(t) tamiḻaṟivittaṟkuk kapilar pāṭiya peruṅkuṟuñci muṟṟum — vēlē tuṇai kuruvē tuṇai marakatavalli pātamē tuṇai

---

[9] See Wilden (2014: 161).

[10] See Wilden (2014: 86).

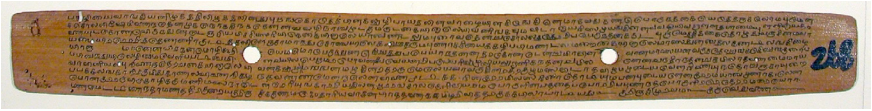


Fig. 9. UVSL 579E, f134v = lp268, right half. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Here the name of the Āriya king is very clearly stated. The blessing *marakatavalli pātamē tuṇai* lead us to assume that this manuscript might have been from Pērur, in the Coimbatore district, because the name of the goddess in the Paṭṭīśvarar temple there is Marakatavalli or Paccaiyamman̲.

In these colophons the name of the text is thus *kuṟiñci* or *peruṅkuṟuñci*. Nowadays the text is known under the title of *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*. There are no clues as to when and why the word *pāṭṭu* has been added. This word *pāṭṭu* has been added to two texts only among the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, that is, *Kuṟiñci* and *Mullai*. As for the title *Peruṅkuṟiñci*, a number of references to this name are found in various grammatical commentaries:

- Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, commentary on the *Poruḷatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam*: *kapilar pāṭiya peruṅkuṟiñciyil varaiviṉṟip pū mayaṅkiyavāṟu kāṇka* (*Akattiṇaiyiyal* 19), "See how the flowers mingle without restriction of region in the *Peruṅkuṟiñci* composed by Kapilar."
- Parimēlaḻakar, commentary on the *Paripāṭal*: *kapilar pāṭiya peruṅkuṟiñciyiṉum vantatu*, "It occurred in the *Peruṅkuṟiñci* composed by Kapilar."
- Nakkīrar, commentary on the second *cūttiram* of *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*: *atu peruṅkuṟiñciyiṟ kaṇṭu koḷka*, "See that in the *Peruṅkuṟiñci*."
- *Nampi Akapporuḷ* (*cūttiram* 251): *aṉṉāy vāḻi vēṇṭaṉṉai yeṉṉum peruṅkuṟiñci*, "the *Peruṅkuṟiñci* which begins with "O mother! Long live thou mother dear".

After the above statement, two verses (in *veṇpā* metre) are found in UVSL 579E and UVSL 184F(1):

நின்குற்ற மில்லை நிரைதொடியும் பண்புடைய
ளென்குற்றம் யானு முணர்கலேன் – பொன்குற்
றருவி கொழிக்கு மணிமலை நாடன்
தெரியுங்காற் றீய திலன்

niṉ kuṟṟam illai nirai toṭiyum paṇp' uṭaiyaḷ
eṉ kuṟṟam yāṉum uṇarkalēṉ — poṉ kuṟṟ'
aruvi koḷikkum maṇi malai nāṭaṉ
teriyum kāṟṟīyat' ilaṉ

The hero and the heroine are not to be blamed, because they met each other through fate.

ஆற்றல்சால் கேள்வி யறம்பொரு ளின்பத்தைப்
போற்றிப் புனைந்த பொருளிற்றே – தேற்ற
மறையோர் மணமெட்டி னைந்தா மணத்திற்
குறையாக் குறிஞ்சிக் குணம்

āṟṟal cāl kēḷvi aṟam poruḷ iṉpattaip
pōṟṟip puṉainta poruḷiṟṟē — tēṟṟa
maṟaiyōr maṇam ēṭṭiṉ aintām maṇattiṟ
kuṟaiyāk kuṟiñcik kuṇam

Out of the eight types of marriage described in Sanskrit literature, Gandharva *vivāha* in Sanskrit is parallel to the clandestine love in Tamil culture. These above verses are tentative interpretations of the text of *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*.

1.3.3. Patiṟṟuppattu *Manuscripts*

In UVSL 98A, at the end of the second decade (lp181) and third decade (lp 199), the names of the favourite gods of the two scribes are mentioned. This leads to assume that this manuscript has been copied by two different scribes. In UVSL 1075b, only the name of the last decade is mentioned (**fig. 10**):

Oṉ(pa)tām pa(t)tu muṟṟum

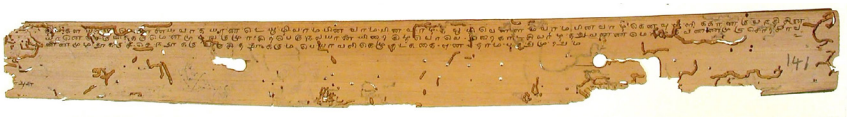


Fig. 10. UVSL 1075b, lp141. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Two other *Patiṟṟuppattu* manuscripts (TT no no. and UVSL 1075b) likewise end with the name of the last decade:

Oṉpatām pattu muṟṟum ๒

1.3.4. Pārata Māvintam *Manuscripts*

Except for IFP RE.10857, all the other *Pārata Māvintam* manuscripts have colophons.

In ORIML 3895b, the following details are given in the last page (**fig. 11**):

> *953 {varuṣam} Āṉi {mācam} 23 {tēti} cukkiṟavāramum cōti naṭcettiramum navamiyum peṟṟa cupatiṇattil Eḻuti mukittatu māṉavīravaḷaṇāṭu teṉpattil vayivattil irukkum vaḻiyaṭimaiyāpiḷḷai makaṉ muttuvayiravaṉ perumāḷ piḷḷaik=ku Eḻutik koṭutta cuvaṭi* ൧
>
> *nīṭūḻi vāḻak kumaraṉ kirupai ceyya vēṇum* ൧ *māyaṉ cakāyam*

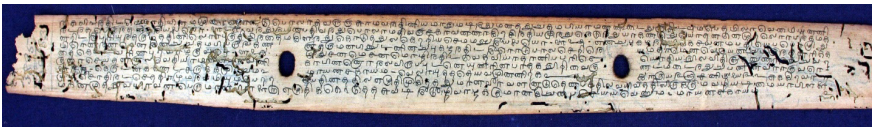


Fig. 11. ORIML 3895b, f340r. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

The date in the year 953 of the Kollam era corresponds to July 1778 CE. In the last leaf the names of the *carukkam*s, the number of poems and the total number of poems in every chapter are found.

This colophon reveals the name of the scribe, his father's name and also the name of the person for whom the manuscript was copied. The scribe is Muttuvayiravaṉ residing in Teṉpattil Vayivam, which is in Māṉavīra vaḷanāṭu. The scribe's father is Vaḻiyaṭimaiyā Piḷḷai. The person for whom the scribe copied the manuscript is Perumāḷ Piḷḷai.

In ORIML 11413, the following details are found in the last page (f194r):

> *1014 {varuṣam} Āvaṇi {mācam} 20 {tēti} Amarapaṭcattu tutikaiyum pūraṭṭāti na**se**ttiramuṅ kūṭiya cupatiṇattil eḻuti muṭinta makāpāratam civacuppiramaṇiyaṉ kaiyeḻuttu*
>
> *nīṭūḻi vāḻka* ൧ ***śrīrāmaja**ya**m**·* ൧

The date of copying, by the scribe named Civacuppiramaṇiyaṉ, in the year 1014 of the Malayalam era corresponds to September 1839 CE.

In SCLM 198, the colophon reads as follows (f71r, right half):

> *(pira)pavavaruṣam Āvaṇi {mācam}* ๛ *Itu Eḻuti muṭittatu kāratīvukaḷ pūmi pirāmaṇaṉ murukēcar pulavar* ๛
>
> *kiṟuṣṇa ceya(m)* † † † † † † † † † † † † † † † *[ma]yam* ๛ *kuruvē tuṇai* ๛ *kuruvaṭi vāḻka* ๛

We learn here that the copyist is Murukēcar Pulavar, a Brahmin from Kāratīvukaḷ, a place in Sri Lanka.

In IFP RE.10857, the name of the last *carukkam* is given in the last folio: *keruṭaṉaik kāṇṭaṟ carukka muṟṟum*, "The chapter on 'Seeing the kite' is completed."

1.4. Marginalia and Additions

Sometimes the scribe adds notes in the manuscript wherever necessary, to help scholars to copy or read the manuscript without confusion.

In UVSL 579E (*Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*, text with commentary), there is a note in the left margin of page 244, by a later user or by a librarian, which indicates that the lines 18 to 46[11] are not found (**fig. 12**):

> 18–46
> *Illai.*



Fig. 12. UVSL 579E, f222v = lp244, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

The margin of the folio is used by the scribe to add missing lines or words, because it is too difficult to insert these elsewhere on the page. Hence they are provided in the margin along with a plus mark "+" to refer to the exact place in the main text area where one should read them.

---

[11] *eḷiya eṉmaṉār tolmaruṅku aṟiñar [...] vicumpāṭu paṟavai vīḻpati paṭara* (*Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* 18–46).

In UVSL 579E (*Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu*), the lines 166–167 are added in the margin (**fig. 13**):

Eṭṭā(m) vari

(U)yvi(ṭa) (ma)ṟiyē (mā)ki yo(y)yeṉat (ti)runtukō (le)lvaḷai teḷi(p)pa nā(ṇu) ๑



Fig. 13. UVSL 579E, lp256, right margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

In UVSL 5 (*Kalittokai*) there are also additions in the margin of the folios. One of them is found on page 233, that is, as a note to the verse 81 which begins with *maiyaṟa viḷaṅkiya maṇimaruḷ*. This is a *cūttiram* from *Tolkāppiyam* (*Poruḷatikāram* 220), which is followed by the summary of the *curitakam* of verse number 81. The missing lines are *keḻutakaip potucco ṉilaikkuri marapiṉiru vīṟṟu murittē*. As this *cūttiram* is missing in the commentary, the scribe added it in the right margin preceded with a plus mark "+" and put another plus mark "+" in the main text area to indicate where to insert it (**fig. 14**):

keḻutakaip potuccol nilaikkuri marapiṉiru vīṟṟu murittē



Fig. 14. UVSL 5, lp232, right margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

2. Paratexts in Paper Manuscripts

Let us now examine the paratexts that are found in paper manuscripts of the *Kalittokai* and the *Patiṟṟuppattu*.

2.1. Title

Usually the title of the text is written in the first page, as are the manuscript shelfmark(s), by the copyist and/or by a later hand.[12]

[12] Manuscript's shelfmarks on paper manuscripts are in general not included

2.1.1. Kalittokai Manuscripts

In GOML D.212/TD.61, an incomplete manuscript, the manuscript shelfmark D.212 is found in the first page. Another number 58/22 is seen on the left side, in a box-like structure. The first two lines give the title of the text (**fig. 15**):

kalittokai
mūlam

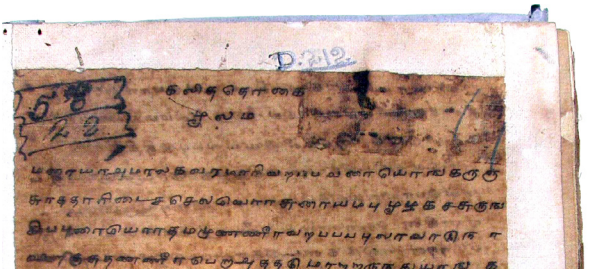


Fig. 15. GOML D.212/TD.61, p. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

The pagination is in Tamil numeral figures. Though the title indicated is *kalittokai mūlam*, here and there some commentary lines are found. This led us to assume it might have been copied from a manuscript which had both the text and the commentary. Hence the scribe copied some words or phrases from the commentary along with the text. For instance, the commentary on the *taṉiccol* (separate word) of the *Pālaikkali*, was first written and then struck out (**fig. 16**):

Eṉavāṅku — [[Āṅkacai -]]

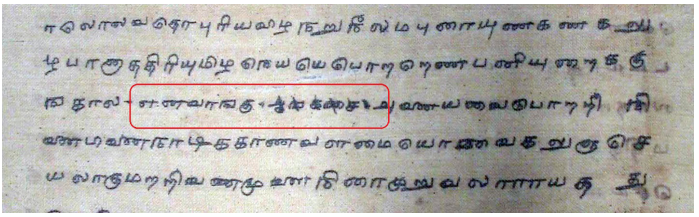


Fig. 16. GOML D.212/TD.61, p. 4, line 14. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

---

hereafter in the diplomatic reading. Letters and figures in Roman script in the manuscript are not italicised in the transliteration.

Another example is found on p. 107 after the 7th line of the verse 129, where instead of writing the 8th line of that verse, the commentary lines on the *taravu* are found:

melliyāṉ paṭai mutaliyaṉa viṉṟi yiḷaittava ṉellai maraṇa kālamumām

In GOML R.5754, where page numbers are not indicated and where the text begins with the verse 10 of *Pālaikkali*, that is, *vaṟiyavaṉ iḷamaipōl [...]*, we find a blessing and the title on the top of the first page:

kaṇapati tuṇai
kalittokai
nacciṉārkkiṉiyār Urai

In GOML D.209/TD.59, the inner cover page provides the shelfmark and the title of the text on the top right:

kalittokai: Uraiyuṭaṉ

The next written page (f2r) is slightly damaged. page numbers are given in the right corner. The manuscript begins with poem 6 of *Pālaikkali*, that is, *maraiyā amaralka*. The shelfmark of the manuscript is again indicated on this first written page.

In GOML R.5783, the inner cover page also shows shelfmark and title:

kalittokai
nacciṉārkkiṉiyar
Uraiyuṭaṉ

In the first written page of GOML R.5783 (f1r), we find a blessing, title, intertitle and then the beginning of the text, that is, the invocatory poem:

***srī** rāma**je**yam*
kalittokai
kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu
Āṟaṟi yantaṇark karumaṟai palapakarntu [...]

In GOML R.6843/TR.1292, the first (unnumbered) page contains shelfmark, auspicious mark (*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*), title, manuscript number, copying dates, copy statement with copyist's name, again manuscript shelfmark and, added by another hand, further copy information:

ఒ
kalittokai
toṭakkam tēti 11–12–57
muṭivu tēti. 29–12–57
Copied by M.R. Sivaprakasam Pillay.
Restored in 1957–58 from a manuscript of R. No. 5784.

In the next page (= p. 1) we find a blessing, title, auspicious mark (*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*), intertitle, auspicious mark again (*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*), and then the invocatory poem:

Ōm
ఒ
kalittokai
ఒ
kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu
Āṟaṟi yantaṇark karumaṟai pala pakarntu [...]

The page number is given in Arabic numerals. The name of the author of the invocatory poem is mentioned at the end of the commentary on this poem on p. 14:

maturai Āciriyar nallantuvaṉār Iyaṟṟiya kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu muṟṟum

2.1.2. Patiṟṟuppattu *Manuscripts*

In UVSL 559, on the first page we find a blessing, title, intertitle of the second decade, *pratīka*, and then the incipit (**fig. 17**):

śrīḥ
patiṟṟuppattu
Iraṇṭām pattu
varaimaruḷ

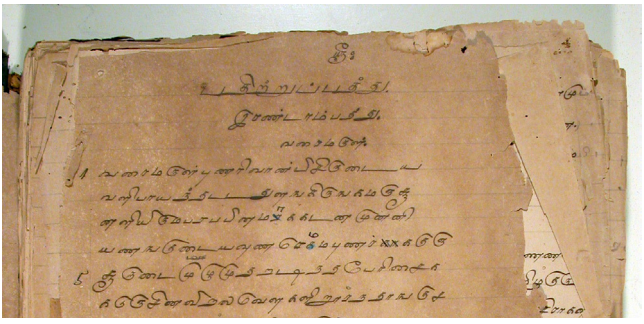


Fig. 17. UVSL 559, p. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

UVSL 439 is a multiple text manuscript, partly bound in *pothi* format, and the fourth text is the *Patiṟṟuppattu*. On the page recounted as p. 1 the title of the text and the sub-title of the text (second decade) are mentioned, separated by a full stop:

patiṟṟuppattu. Iraṇṭām pattu

UVSL 560, the second part of UVSL 439, equally in *pothi* format,[13] begins with the verse number 54 (p. 2):

54 *vaḷḷiyai Eṉṟaliṉ kāṇkuvan ticiṉē*

In GOML D.116/TD.46, after the blessing and the title, the intertitle (second decade, as the first decade is missing) comes on p. 1:

śrīḥ
patiṟṟuppattu
2 . _ pattu.

The date 9–6–22 found at the top most likely is the date of copying. The page number is marked from page 2 onwards.

In GOML D.114/TD.44, the first two pages (inner cover page and unnumbered first page) of this manuscript book bear the following paratexts. Before the inner cover page, on a glued slip of paper one reads:

9–6–27
patiṟṟuppattu, 2Ām pattu muta[l]
9Ām pattuvarai. mūlamum Uraiyu[m]
pakkam 213, vari 2[0],
Eṭṭuttokaiyuḷ Oṉṟu.
9–6–27

On the inner cover page one reads:

patiṟṟuppattu mūlamum (Uraiyum)

On the unnumbered first page one reads:

9–6–27
patiṟṟuppattu

[13] UVSL 439 begins with verse 11 of the second decade and ends with verse 53. UVSL 560 begins with verse 54 and ends with the ninth decade. That UVSL 560 is the second part of UVSL 439 is also confirmed by the fact that both are by the same hand.

(mūlamum Uraiyum)
(2 mutal 9m pattu muṭiya)
9–6–27

The text begins from the next page, p. 1, with a blessing, title, intertitle, *pratīka*, and then the incipit:

śrīḥ
patiṟṟuppattu.
mūlamum Uraiyum.
2. m pattu.
varaimaruḷ.

Pagination and manuscript shelfmark, as well as the date "9–6–27" and the figure "10", are also found on this page.

Generally, the paper manuscripts are written in note-books. If more than one text is written in a book, then the list of those works is mentioned in the first page. In GOML D.115/TD.45, a multiple-text manuscript, the first two written pages are notes by later/other hands indicating the contents of the manuscript. On the inner cover page one reads (**fig. 18**):

TD 45
D. No. 115
D. No. 115
1° *patiṟṟuppattu Uraiyuṭaṉ* D.115
41a *Aṟaneṟiccāram* D.124
64a *kuṟuntiraṭṭu* D.[[1479]]{{1480}}

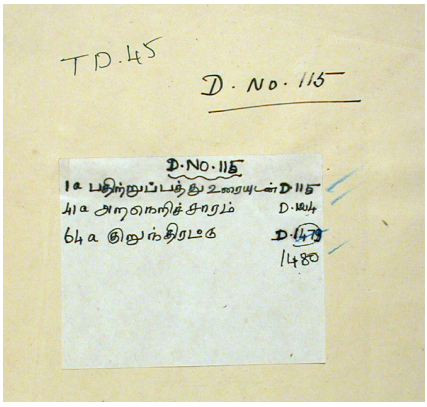


Fig. 18. GOML D.115/TD.45, inner guard leaf. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

The first unnumbered page of the manuscript reads as follows:

9. 6. 28
D 115.
9–6–28
1) *patiṟṟuppattu mūlamum Uraiyum* (2 *mutal* 5 *varai*)
2) *Aṟaneṟiccāram mūlam* (*muḻutu*)
3) *cilppiṟācak kuṟuntiraṭṭu* (*cey* 1025 *mutal* 1398 *varai*)
9–6–28

The following paratexts are found in the actual first page (p. 1, counted but not numbered) of GOML D.115/TD.45:

9.6.28
12
śrīḥ
patiṟṟuppattu.
mūlamum Uraiyum.
2m_ pattu.
varaimaruḷ.

2.2. Intertitles

2.2.1. Kalittokai *Manuscripts*

In GOML D.212/TD.61, the intertitle is given at the end of each chapter. For instance, at the end of the first *tiṇai* (*pālait tiṇai*) we read first the last stanza number "35" and, next line, a chapter completion statement containing the subsection's name (**fig. 19**):

[...] –35–
pālai muṟṟiṟṟu –

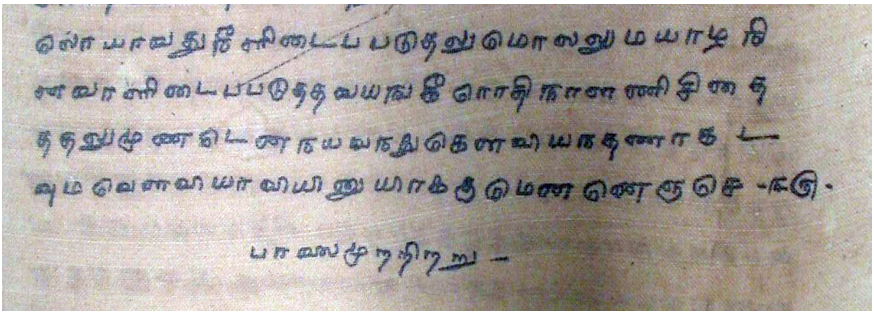


Fig. 19. GOML D.212/TD.61, p. 22.

In GOML R.5754, at the end of the Pālai (unnumbered p. 31), in a completion statement, the name of the first *tiṇai* of *Kalittokai* is found along with the name of the commentator (Nacciṉārkkiṉiyār):

pālai muṟṟum nacciṉārkkiṉiyār kūṟiya pālai nilattil urai muṭintatu

In GOML D.209/TD.59, the name of the *Pālai* subsection of *Kalittokai* is also mentioned, along with the name of the commentator, in the final completion statement (f45v = p. 88):

pālai muṟṟum
nacciṉārkkiṉiyār kūṟiya pālai nilattiṉ urai muṭintatu

2.2.2. Patiṟṟuppattu *Manuscripts*

In the *Patiṟṟuppattu* manuscripts, the intertitles are indicated either in words or numerals. For instance, in UVSL 559 (p. 31) and UVSL 439 (p. 29), the intertitle is written as *mūṉṟām pattu*, whereas in GOML D.114/TD.44 (p. 32), D.115/TD.45 (p. 28) and D.116/TD.46 (p. 11), the intertitle is written as *3m pattu*.

2.3. Colophons

The name of the author, copyist, and date of copy are mentioned in colophons.

2.3.1. Kalittokai *Manuscripts*

Among the three *Kalittokai* manuscripts, a colophon is found only in GOML R.5754.[14] The other two copies are incomplete and end with *Neytaṟkali*, verse 141.

In GOML R.5754, the name of the commentator *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar* is provided (**fig. 20**):

neytaṟku Āciriyaṉ pārattuvāci nacciṉārkkiṉiyāṉ ceyta vurai. muṟṟum.

Then comes a long poem in *nēricai āciriyappā* metre with 57 lines, under the heading *uraic ciṟappup pāyiram*:

pāṟkaṭal pōlap paranta naṉṉeṟi
[...]
vāḻi vāḻi im maṇmicai yāṉē

[14] See Wilden (2014: 72).

Below this poem, two more verses are found. The first one is in *veṇpā* metre:

tolkāp piyattiṟ ṟokutta poruḷaṉaittu
mellārkkum Oppa Iṉituraittāṉ collār
maturainacci ṉārkkiṉiyaṉ māmaṟaiyōṉ kalvik
katiriṉ cuṭareṟippak kaṇṭu

The second verse is composed in *aṟucīr āciriya viruttam*:

paccaimā laṉaiya mēkam pauvanīr parukik kāṉṟa
Ecciṉāṟṟicaiyu muṇṇu mamirteṉa veḻunā eccil
meccinā ṉāḷum viṇṇōr nukarkuvar vēta pōtaṉ
nacciṉārk kiṉiyā ṉāviṟ nallurai navilvar nallōr

Below that, once again the name of the commentator is mentioned:

kalittokaikku nacciṉāṟkiṉiyāṉ ceyta vurai muṟṟum

Finally comes another verse in *veṇpā* metre, followed by blessings and a completion statement:

Ōrā teḻutiṉē ṉāyiṉu moṇporuḷai
yārārntu koḷka vaṟivuṭaiyār cīrāyntu
kuṟṟaṅ kaḷaintu kuṟaipeytu vācittal
kaṟṟaṟinta māntar kaṭaṉ
śrīgurupyō namaḥ[15] *— **śrīrāmajayam** — **śrīśālivāḻīśvarasvāmi pādamē gati** –*
campūṛṇam[16] *–*

This *Veṇpā* is the plea by the scribe to the readers that we already met above in GOML D.210/TD.127.

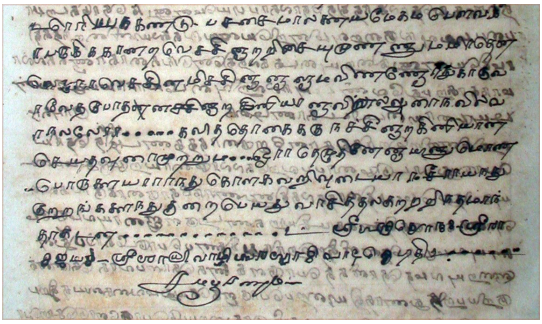


Fig. 20. GOML R.5754, unnumbered p. 254. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

[15] That is, *namaḥ*.

[16] The word *campūṛṇam* means "completed", that is, *muṭintatu*.

In GOML R.5783, after the last poem (p. 162), we find the 9th *Cūttiram* of the *Kaṟpiyal* of the *Tolkāppiyam*, then the name of the *Pālai* poet, Peruṅkaṭuṅkō, and that of the commentator, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, and then one *veṇpā*:[17]

peṟaṟkarum perumporuḷ muṭintapiṉ vanta
teṟaṟkaru marapiṟ ciṟappiṉ kaṇṇum
marapuṭai yetiru muḷappaṭap piṟavum
vakaipaṭa vanta kiḷavi yellān
tōḻikkuriya eṉmaṉār pulavar [kaṟpi. 9]
peruṅkaṭuṅkō pāṭiya pālai muṟṟiṟṟu.
pālaittiṇaikku nacciṉārkkiṉiyar kūṟiya urai muṟṟiṟṟu.
veṇpā
Iruḷpora niṉṟa viraviṟku mañcum
peruntō ḷaravalkul pētai — viruntiṉpa
vēṇṭiya vēṇṭi nukara viḻuppālai
vēṇṭiṉamai vittakaimai vittu

GOML R.6843/TR.1292, since it is restored from R.5754 just mentioned, likewise provides the 9th *Cūttiram* of the *Kaṟpiyal* of the *Tolkāppiyam*, the names of Peruṅkaṭuṅkō and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, and then the *veṇpā*, but it adds the following (p. 262):

muṟṟum
Ōm cānti! cānti!! cānti!!!
Copied by M.R.Sivaprakasam pillai 29–12–57
Compared by R.Ganesan, 30–12–57
Compared by M.R.Sivaprakasam pillai 30–12–57.

2.3.2. Patiṟṟuppattu *Manuscripts*

In UVSL 559, only the name of the last decade is mentioned (p. 189):

Oṉpatām pattu muṟṟum
iraṇṭām pattu mutal Oṉpatām pattu varaikkum

In UVSL 560, the name of the favourite god of the scribe is given (unnumbered p. 103):

kaḷḷapirāṉ tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam

The missing portions of the verse 73 in the eighth decade, have been provided in the rear side of the last page in UVSL 560. Those

[17] See Wilden (2014: 187).

lines given below are not found in the editions by U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar, but are found in the edition by Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai (**fig. 21**).

kūntal oḷnutal polinta
niṟam tikaḻ pāciḻai uyartiṇai makaḷirum
teyvam tarūu neñcattu āṉṟōr

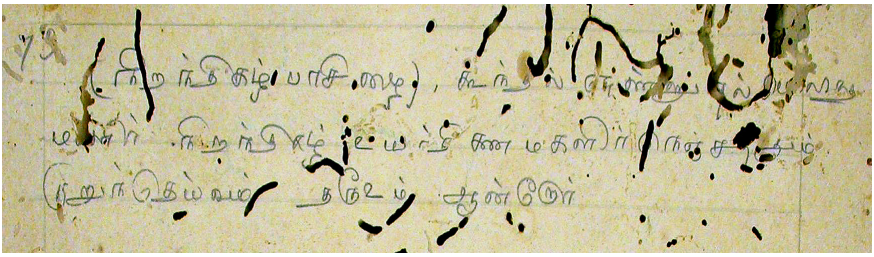


Fig. 21. UVSL 560, unnumbered p. 104. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

2.4. Completion Statements

Among the *Patiṟṟuppattu* palm-leaf manuscripts, GOML D.115/TD.45 is incomplete, as it ends with the fifth poem (*ūṉṟuvai aṭicil*) of the fifth decade without commentary. Two other manuscripts bear the name of the last decade only. GOML D116/ TD 46 (p. 69) concludes with the following completion statement:

Oṉpatām pattu muṟṟum

GOML D.114/TD.44 has a more elaborate completion and copy statement (p. 213):

Oṉpatām pattu muṟṟum
Iraṇṭām pattu mutal Oṉpatām pattu varaikkum Eḻuti muṭintatu.

2.5. Marginalia and Additions

In GOML R.5754 (*Kalittokai*), in the *Pālaikkali* poem 35, the commentary of the last *tāḻicai* ends with the phrase *vēntuṟu toḻilē yāṇṭiṉa takamē*. From the next line (*eṉpataṉāṉ itu piṉpaṉiyiṟ pirintu*) up to the commentary of the *taravu* of poem 36, a few lines are missing. These lines have been written in the main text area of the manuscript and a mark (a kind of multiplication symbol) indicates were to read the addition in the main text area (**fig. 22**).

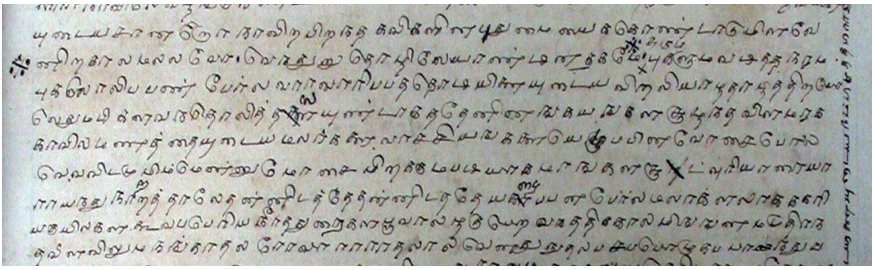


Fig. 22. GOML R.5754, unnumbered p. 31. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

3. Conclusion

In the palm-leaf as well as in the paper manuscripts surveyed above, the same types of paratexts are found, such as auspicious words or blessings, titles and intertitles for chapters and subsections of the works, marginal additions, chapter and text completion statements.

However, no title is found in the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Patiṟṟuppattu*, since the text is incomplete and begins from the second decade only.

The name of the scribe's favourite god is mentioned in the following paper manuscripts: GOML R.5754, GOML R.6843/TR.1292, GOML R.5753, UVSL 560.

As expected, full-fledged colophons are not common. We find them in the following palm-leaf manuscripts: *Kalittokai* UVSL 511, *Pārata Māvintam* KOML 3859b, KOML 11413, SCLM 198. In the other manuscripts we find instead completion statements. In paper manuscripts, we find modern short statements of the date of copy.

From the *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* colophons, we learn two important pieces of information, namely the exact name of the text and the real name of the patron king, that is, *Peruṅkuṟiñci* and Piramatattaṉ. The *Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu* is entitled *Kuṟiñci* or *Peruṅkuṟiñci* in the available manuscripts.

The main difference between palm-leaf and paper manuscripts thus does not concern the types of paratexts (paper manuscripts are in fact copies of palm-leaf manuscripts in many instances), but bears on the layout. Paratexts of the left margin in palm-leaf manuscripts are transferred to the top of the page in the paper manuscripts, where they are centred. Paratexts such as the date

of copying, the name of the scribe etc. are generally found at the end in palm-leaf manuscripts, but at the beginning in paper manuscripts. Whereas the number of the poem is found at the end of the poem in palm-leaf manuscripts, in paper manuscripts it is often found in the beginning of the poem.

Abbreviations

GOML	Government of Oriental Manuscript Library, Chennai
IFP	Institut français de Pondichéry
ORIML	Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library, Kerala University, Trivandrum
SCLM	Sentamil college Library, Madurai
TSA	Śrī Tavatiru Santaliṅga Mutt Library, Pērūr, Coimbatore
TT	Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātīṉam, Mayavaram (Mayiladuturai)
UVSL	U.V. Swaminathaiyar Library, Chennai

Conventions

The original texts read from manuscripts are provided in diplomatic transliteration (text italicised, except for letters and figures in Roman in the original), according to the following conventions:

Roman	characters in Tamil script
Bold	characters in Grantha script
Upper-case (vowel)	initial vowel
C=C	conjunct consonant (C = consonant; e.g. *k=ku*, *t=ta*)
†	illegible character
(abc)	characters not clearly legible
[abc]	lost characters supplied by conjecture
/abc	characters inserted by copyist interlineally from below
[[abc]]	scribal deletion
{{abc}}	characters added by copyist or later user
[...]	ellipsis of text

{varuṣam}	word expressed by a symbol
’	overshort *u* supplied
ൿ	*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* (short and long forms)
·	middle dot for explicit *puḷḷi* or *virāma*

Unmarked *ē* and *ō* are restored. Tamil numerals are transliterated in decimal notation.

Abbreviations: “p.” for page; “lp” for library pagination; “f” for folio, immediately followed by folio number and “r” or “v”, for recto or verso (e.g. “f1r5” = folio 1, recto, line 5).

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Kalittokai palm-leaf manuscripts: GOML R.5075/TR.2229, GOML D.210/TD.127, UVSL 5, UVSL 511.

Kalittokai paper manuscripts: GOML R.5754, GOML D.212/TD.61, GOML D.209/TD.121.

Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu palm-leaf manuscripts: UVSL 184F, UVSL 579E, TSA 47.

Pārata Māvintam palm-leaf manuscripts: KOML 3895b, KOML 11413, SCLM 198, IFP RE.10857.

Patiṟṟuppattu palm-leaf manuscripts: UVSL 98A, UVSL 1075b, TT no no..

Patiṟṟuppattu paper Manuscripts: GOML D.116/TD.46, GOML D.114/TD.44, GOML D.115/TD.45, UVSL 439, UVSL 559, UVSL 560.

Primary Sources

Kalittokai. 2015. *Kalittokai, mūlamum nacciṉārkkiṉiyar uraiyum* edited by Ta. Irājēsvari, 2. vol. Ceṉṉai: EFEO & Tamilmann Patippakam.

Pārata Māvintam. 2022. Pārata Māvintam mūlamum uraiyum edited by Ta. Irājēsvari, 2 vol. Erode: Aṟam Patippakam.

Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu. 2015. *Peruṅkuṟiñci (kuṟiñcippāṭṭu) mūlamum nacciṉārkkiṉiyar uraiyum* edited by Ta. Irājēsvari. Pondicherry: EFEO & IPF.

Patiṟṟuppattu. 1920. *Patiṟṟuppattu mūlamum paḻaiya uraiyum* edited by U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar. Ceṉṉai: UVSL.

Patiṟṟuppattu. 1967. *Caṅka ilakkiyam (pāṭṭum tokaiyum)* edited by Ca. Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai. Ceṉṉai: pāri nilaiyam.

Secondary Literature

Ciotti, Giovanni and Marco Franceschini. Forthcoming. “Experimenting with Digital Palaeography: The First Application of the Handwriting Software Tool (HAT 3.5) to Indian scripts” in *The Universe of Knowledge.*

Celebrating Shiyali Ramamrita Ranganathan (1892–1972) edited by Andrea Cuna and Fausto Freschi. Udine: Forum Editrice Universitaria Udinese.
Wilden, Eva. 2014. *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Cańkam in Tamilnadu*. Studies in Manuscript Cultures 3. Berlin: de Gruyter.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. GOML R.5075/TR.2229, f1r, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 2. UVSL 184F, f[?]r = lp92, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 3. UVSL 98A, f1r = lp162, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 4. ORIML 3895b, f296r–f297r, left margin.

Fig. 5. ORIML 3895b, f297r, left margin.

Fig. 6. UVSL 5, f95r = lp381, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 7. ORIML 3895b, f168r = lp299, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 8. UVSL 511, lp 606, right half. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 9. UVSL 579E, f134v = lp268, right half. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 10. UVSL 1075b, lp141. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 11. ORIML 3895b, f340.

Fig. 12. UVSL 579E, f222v = lp244, left margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 13. UVSL 579E, lp256, right margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 14. UVSL 5, lp232, right margin. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 15. GOML D.212/TD.61, p. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 16. GOML D.212/TD.61, p. 4, line 14. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 17. UVSL 559, p. 1. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 18. GOML D.115/TD.45, inner cover page. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 19. GOML D.212/TD.61, p. 22. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 20. GOML R.5754, unnumbered p. 254. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 21. UVSL 560, unnumbered p. 104. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 22. GOML R.5754, unnumbered p. 31. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Paratextual Elements in Manuscripts of the *Collatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*

S. Saravanan (EFEO, Pondicherry)

This paper provides an overview of paratextual elements — such as blessing, invocation, colophon, foliation, *pratīka* and other remarks — found in selected manuscripts of the *Collatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* from various libraries.

The present overview of paratextual elements — such as blessing, invocation, colophon, foliation, *pratīka* and other remarks — found in selected manuscripts of the *Collatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* is based on the examination of nearly thirty manuscripts from various libraries, that is, mainly, the Mahārājā Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahāl Library in Tañcāvūr (MSSML), the U.V. Swaminathaiyar Library in Ceṉṉai (UVSL), the Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Ceṉṉai (GOML), Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library in Trivandrum (ORIML), the Caracuvati Makāl Library and Research Centre in the Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātīṉam, (TAM), the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (BnF), the library of the Institut français de Pondichéry (IFP). Among these manuscripts, a few have been selected as illustrating examples.

In addition to a main blessing that appears in front of the main text, some blessings are simply given at the end of sub-sections. The titles for sub-subsections, if given in the beginning and at the end, are not always in agreement. The foliation is fully in Tamil in all the manuscripts. As far the paper manuscripts are concerned, some connecting phrases are written by later scribes in order to enable the readers to understand the text clearly.

1. Paratexts in the Left Margin

Usually the propitiatory mark ൟ (*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*) and the generic blessing *hariḥ ōm naṉṟāka* are found in the left margin of the first page, followed by the title of the work copied and its first intertitle (name of the first sub-section of the work), whereas the main content or invocation begins in the main text area, as in the man-

uscript TAM 303a (1 + 177 folios). Here the propitiatory mark ௳is found at the left edge in the margin, while, to its right is found an auspicious phrase followed by the main title (**fig. 1**):

hariḥ om
naṉṟāka
tolkāppiyam ௳

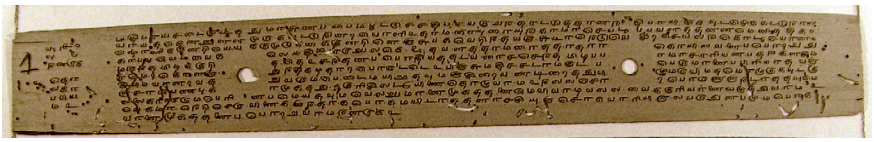


Fig. 1. TAM 303a (*Tolkāppiyam, Collatikāram*), p. 1, that is, independent unfoliated folio at the beginning of the bundle. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

In order to assist the readers to identify *cūttiram*s easily, *pratīka*s, that is, the first syllables of the *cūttiram*s, are noted in the left margin of the manuscript. Because of this, the readers can identify the *cūttiram*s easily among the dense lines of the commentary. In GOML R.5504/TR.2436 (**fig. 2**), some syllables of initial words are written in alignment with the line of the main text area where the concerned *cūttiram* starts.

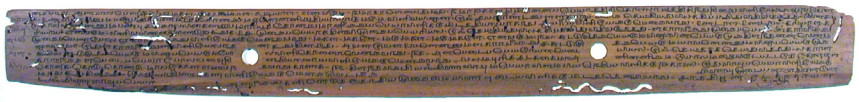


Fig. 2. GOML R.5504/TR.2436 (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), folio with lost foliation. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Sometimes, unlike the above, the *cūttiram*s do not commence in the line the *pratīka* is found, due to the size of commentary and some reasons in writing style.

2. Invocation

An invocation is one of the important paratexts. Before starting the main text, the copyist composes or adds stanzas about the gods, ven-

erating them in order to complete the text successfully. In TAM 303a (**fig. 1**), in order to pay homage to the gods Śiva, Murukaṉ, Lakṣmī, Agastya and Vināyaka, some lines about them are separately composed as invocations before the main text commences as below.[1]

All the seven stanzas below are well-known verses, which are attested as satellite stanzas[2] in many manuscripts[3].

[f1r1] *mati pāy caṭai muṭittu mācuṇap paim pūṭṭuc*
cati pāy kuṟum tāṭṭut tāṉam nati pāy
iru kavuṭṭu mu-k-kaṭṭu nāl-[f1r2]*vāytt' eṉ uḷḷam*
uruka viṭṭu niṉṟa oḷi ൬

The light (God) that does not leave [me], having caused my mind to melt, has matted hair on which the crescent moon settled, a green ornament [that is] a snake, a short leg which dances, a couple of [elephant] cheeks from which musth flows as a river, a triple eye and a mouth which hangs.

Stanza 1, praise of Śiva[4]

tāmarai puraiyuṅ kāmar cē-v-aṭip
pavaḷatt' aṉṉa mēṉit tika[f1r3]*l oḷik*
kuṉṟi-y-ēykkum uṭukkai kuṉṟiṉ
neñcu paka-v-eṟinta -v-añcuṭar neṭuvē(l)
(ciṟ) cēvalaṅ koṭiyōṉ [f1r4] *kāppa*
v-ēma vaikal eytiṉṟāl ulakē

The world verily attained a day of joy, as he with the cock banner protects [it]: long spear, hurdled with beautiful glow to split hearts, on the hill, the garment [red] as *Kuṉṟi* seed, glittering brightness the body like coral, red feet pretty like lotuses.

Stanza 2, praise of Murukaṉ[5]

tavaḷat tāmarait tāt' ār kōyil
avaḷaip pōṟṟutu[f1r5]*m arum tamiḻk kuṟittē*

Fixing the mind steadily on the great Tamil, we will praise her of the temple filled with pollen of white lotuses.

---

[1] For an illustration and Tamil transcription of this page of this manuscript dated to 1832 CE, see Chevillard (2008: 5097–509).

[2] On satellite stanzas, see Wilden (2017a, 2017b, 2020).

[3] Several of them are discussed and translated in D'Avella (2020).

[4] This is the opening verse of the *Kuṟuntokai*. See D'Avella (2020: 263).

[5] This verse is also found in BnF Indien 179. See D'Avella (2020: 258).

Stanza 3, praise of Lakṣmī[6]

cantaṉap potiyat taṭa varaic cem tamiḻp
paramācāriyaṉ pataṅkaḷ
ciram[f1r6] *mēṟ koḷḷutum tikaḻ tār poruṭṭē*

On account of the shining garland, we will bear on our head the feet of the great Tamil Teacher (Agastya) of the big Potiyam mountain adorned with sandal trees.

Stanza 4, praise of Agastya[7]

piñcu matic caṭā makuṭap perumāṉaip piriyāta
vañ[f1r7]*ci y-imavāṉ tavattu v-arum pēṭai mayil utavum*
añciṟai vaṇṭ' iraittu viḻum aruvi matam oḻukum kavuḷ
kuñ[f1r8]*cara veṇpukar mukattuk kuricil aṭi-y-iṇai toḻuvām*

We will worship at the feet of the dignified person with the face of an elephant (Vināyaka) with white dots that has a cheek from which musth flows like a waterfall on which the bees of beautiful wings descend humming, born to [Umā], the peahen got through penance by the King of Himalayas, the woman who does not part from [Śiva], the great one with the crown of matted hair and a crescent moon.

Stanza 5, praise of Vināyaka[8]

nalla col poruḷ nāḷum naṭāttavum
e[f1r9]*llai kāṇarum pēr iṉpam eytavum*
vellum āṉai mukattaṉai mēvi vāḻ
vallavaikk' uriyāṉai vaḻuttuvām

Joining the elephant faced-one who can win everything, we will extol the one who has [marital] rights to happy Vallavai in order to teach good words and [their] meanings every day and attain the great pleasure in which it is difficult to see limits.

Stanza 6, praise of Vināyaka[9]

[f1r10] *vēkamā neṟi cērum viṉaikaḷum*
tāka pōkam viṭāta taḷarcciyum
cōka vāriyiṉāl varum tuṉpamum
pōka [f1r11] *āṉai mukattaṉaip pōṟṟuvām*

---

[6] This verse is also found in BnF Indien 179, 187, 236, 247, 506, 507, 1040. See D'Avella (2020: 256).

[7] This verse is also found in BnF Indien 179, 187, 247, 1040. See D'Avella (2020: 255).

[8] See D'Avella (2020: 262).

[9] This verse is also found in BnF Smith-Lesouëf 264. See D'Avella (2020: 260).

> We will applaud the elephant-faced one so that the evil deeds that are going to join our way quickly, the weakness that does not leave because of our desire and pleasure and the sufferings that come from griefs and so forth will go.
>
> Stanza 7, praise of Vināyaka[10]

naṉṟāka

May goodness be!

3. Chapter Completion Statement

Sometimes a blessing is simply written along with the completion statement at the end of a sub-section, as in TAM 303a (**fig. 3**):

> *āṟāvatu viṉaiyiyal muṟṟum* ൧
> *cuvāmi nammāḻvār tiruvaṭika[[l]]{{ḷ}}ē caraṇam* ൧
> ***śrī-rāmaje**ya((**ra**));**m*** ൧
>
> The sixth chapter on verbs is completed. The sacred feet of Swami Nammāḻvār are protection.

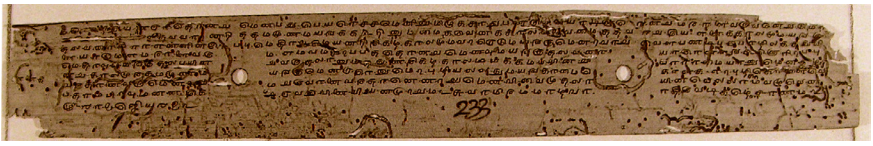


Fig. 3. TAM 303a (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), p233 = f116v8–9. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

However, this is not a common feature, as most of the sub-sections end without such blessings.

4. Colophon

At the end of the manuscript, after the main text is completed, a colophon mentions all or only some of the following elements: the name of the scribe, the date of production and other copying details. Usually, the colophon ends with a blessing.

Among the total of nearly thirty manuscripts from different libraries examined here, some manuscripts have the details about

[10] This verse is also found in BnF Indien 273, 289, 294, 414. See D'Avella (2020: 264). See Bhaskar in the present volume.

the date and place of production, the scribe's name along with his father's name, etc. The time, the year, month, day and lunar constellation are given only in some of the manuscripts, as in TAM 303a[11] (**fig. 4**):

> [f177v1] *1 1000 7 {varuṣam} tai {mācam} 5 {tēti}* ๛ *pūṟuva-paṭcattup pūṟṇaiyum puṇarpūca-naṭcettiramum tiruvaḷu/tivaḷa\nāṭṭil cēṉāvaraiyam*[12] *col*[f177v2]*latikārattukku Eḷutiṉa Urai Eḷutiṉēṉ*
>
> *cuvāmi-Āḷvār-tirunakariyil irukkumpa(la)ṉiyappapiḷḷai (y)enṟu pēr vi*[f177v3]*ḷaṅkiya tiruvēṅkaṭam piḷḷai Eḷuti mukiḻntatu muṟṟum*
>
> *cuvāmi-cuppiṟamaṇiya-cuvāmi-tiruvaṭit {tuṇai}*
>
> [f177v4] *kāntimatiyammāḷ kiṟupā-kiṭā**ṣa**m muṉṉiṟka*
>
> *cāluvāṭīc(u)ra-p-puṟavu-nellaiyappāṉ tuṇai*
>
> [f177v5] *caracupati-kiṭā**ṣa**m muṉṉiṟka* ๛
>
> ***śrī-rāmajeyam*** ๛
>
> Year 167, Tai month, day 5, in the first fortnight, a fool moon day and the *nakṣatra punarpūcam*, in the glorious land of Tiruvaḷuti (the Pāṇḍya king), I copied the commentary written for the *Collatikāram* [and named] Cēṉāvaraiyam.
>
> Copy (literally "writing") completed [by] Tiruvēṅkaṭam Piḷḷai who is very famous as Paḷaṉiyappapiḷḷai and resides in Cuvāmi Āḷvār Tirunakari.
>
> The glorious feet of Cuvāmi Cuppiṟamaṇiya Cuvāmi are the protection.
>
> May the grace of corner of the eye of Kāntimatiyammāḷ stand before [us]!
>
> Cāluvāṭīcurappuṟavu Nellaiyappaṉ is the protection.
>
> May the grace of Caracupati (Sarasvatī) stand before [us].
>
> Victory to the glorious Rāma!

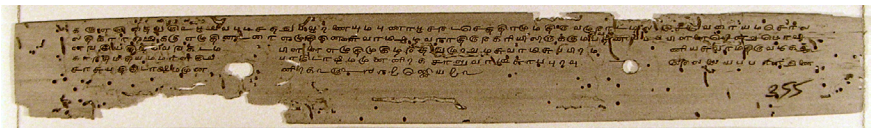


Fig. 4. TAM 303a (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), p. 355 = f. 177v. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

---

[11] Reading elucidated thanks to Marco Franceschini and Giovanni Ciotti (pers. comm.); our reading only slightly differs.

[12] Maybe *cēṉāvaraiyar* was intended, as the subject of *eḷutiṉa*.

5. Table of Contents and Total *Cūttirams*

The sub-sections of *Tolkāppiyam* are given along with *cūttiram* numbers under their superordinate chapters such as *eḻuttatikāram, collatikāram, poruḷatikāram*, as seen in MSSML 631 (**fig. 5**).[13] However, the superordinate name *eḻuttatikāram* in the first column is left out while the other two superordinate names are written as below. The calculation in total is also not correct in the first column. This classification of these chapters is set up before the main content starts.



Fig. 5. MSSML 631 (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), unfoliated folio, recto. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Like MSSML 631, the palm-leaf manuscript GOML R.1256/TR.954 and the paper manuscript TAM 16 D29 have the same classifications of the sub-sections along with *cūttiram* numbers.

6. Copyist's Additions

In the beginning and end of the commentary, some phrases or lines by later users are added in order to enable the readers to understand the meaning without hurdles. In the same way, in the paper manuscript TAM 16 D29, the phrases *mutaṟcūttiram* ("first *cūttiram*") and *eṉpar cēṉāvaraiyar* ("so says Cēṉāvaraiyar") are written by a later user in the first and last lines of the commentary respectively (**fig. 6**).

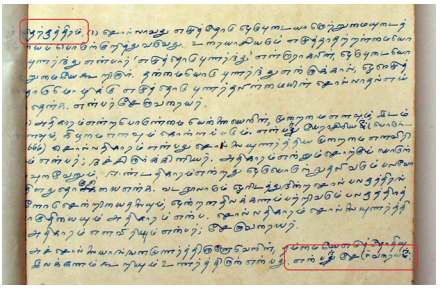


Fig. 6. TAM 16 D.29 (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), p. 1 = f. 1r. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

[13] On tables of content, see Wilden in this volume.

MSSML 88, a paper manuscript of the commentary on the *Collatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam* by *Teyvaccilaiyār* (**fig. 7**), has been emended by a reviewer or user, who is later than the first scribe who copied the text from palm leaf. These are marked below as follows: the text crossed-out by the later hand is between double square brackets, the text added by the later hand is between double curly brackets. As for phrases between double angle brackets, these are missing here but found in other editions.

> [p3.4] *Ivvatikāram eṉṉa peyarttō v-eṉiṉ, mē*[p3.5]*ṟcollappaṭṭa <<eḻuttiṉāṉ iyaṉṟu poruḷ aṟivikkum>> coṟkaḷaip pākupātuṇarttu ta*[p3.6]*lār collatikāram eṉṉum {{peyarttu}}*
>
> *<<aṯtu yāṅṅaṉam uṇarttiṉā reṇiṉ>> {{coṟkaḷaip}} poruṇi*[p3.7]*laimai nōkkit toṭarmoḻi taṉimoḻi {{eṉa iruvakaippaṭuttu attoṭarmoḻiyaiy}} [[a]] {{a}}lvaḻittoṭarpu vēṟṟumait toṭar eṉa v-iruvakaippaṭutt' [...]*
>
> If one asks what the name of this chapter is, its name is *collatikāram*, because this chapter is associated with the letters mentioned earlier and classifies the words which signify meanings.
>
> If one enquires how he explained that, [we may say that] he classified the words into two kinds as a sentence made up of more than two words and a single word and he also classified a sentence having more than two words into two kinds as non-case relation phrase and case relation phrase.

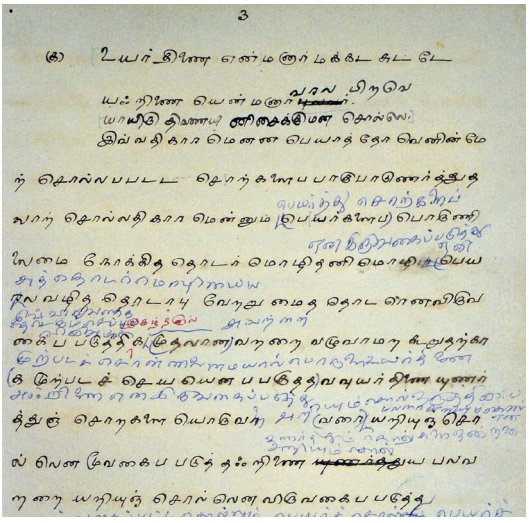


Fig. 7. MSSML 88 (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), p. 3. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

7. Conclusion

In addition to these features of paratextual elements such as a list of chapters along with *cūttiram* numbers, *pratīka*, content in the left margin of the manuscript, invocation, colophon consisting of the details about date, place, scribe, emendation, etc., also some elements such as prefaces, variations of intertitles in the left margin and in the concluding statement of the content are found as paratextual features in these manuscripts. The languages, Tamil and Sanskrit, are used in the form of Tamil script for paratextual elements especially in the details of the colophon.

Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Ceṉṉai
IFP	Institut francais de Pondichéry
MSSML	Mahārājā Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tañcāvūr
TAM	Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātīṉam, Caracuvati Makāl Library and Research Centre
ORIML	Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library, Kerala University, Trivandrum
UVSL	U.V. Swaminathaiyar Library, Chennai

Conventions

The original texts read from manuscripts are provided in diplomatic transliteration (text italicised), according to the following conventions:

Roman	characters in Tamil script
Bold	characters in Grantha script
(abc)	characters not clearly legible
[[abc]]	scribal deletion
{{abc}}	characters added by copyist or later user
((abc))	unnecessary characters by the copyist, by oversight
ൿ	*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* (short and long forms)
{varuṣam}	word expressed by a symbol

Unmarked *ē* and *ō* are restored. Tamil numerals are transliterated in decimal notation.
Abbreviations: "p." for page; "f" for folio, immediately followed by folio number and "r" or "v", for recto or verso (e.g. "f. 1r5" = folio 1, recto, line 5).

References

Chevillard, Jean-Luc. 2008. *Companion Volume to the Cēṉāvaraiyam on Tamil Morphology and Syntax. Le commentaire de Cēṉāvaraiyar sur le Collatikāram du Tolkāppiyam. Volume 2:* English *Introduction, glossaire analytique, appendices*. Pondicherry: Institut français de Pondichéry & École française d'Extrême-Orient.

D'Avella, Victor B. 2020. "Orbiting Material in Tamil Grammatical Texts". In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas* edited by Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin, 223–280. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.

Wilden, Eva. 2017a. "Making Order in the Vaults of Memory: Tamil Satellite Stanzas on the Transmission of Texts". *Kervan — International Journal of Afro-Asiatic Studies* 21 (2017): 317–337.

Wilden, Eva. 2017b. "Tamil Satellite Stanzas: Genres and Distribution." In *Indic Manuscript Culture through the Ages: Material, Textual and Historical Investigations* edited by Cuneo, Daniele, Camillo Formigatti, and Vincenzo Vergiani, 163–192. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Wilden, Eva. 2020. "Colophon Stanza — *Taṉiyaṉ* — Signature Verse (Tamil Satellite Stanzas IV)". In *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin, 331–357. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. TAM 303a (*Tolkāppiyam, Collatikāram*), p. 1, that is, independent unfoliated folio at the beginning of the bundle. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 2. GOML R.5504/TR.2436 (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), folio with lost foliation. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 3. TAM 303a (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), p. 233 = f. 116v8–9. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 4. TAM 303a (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), p. 355 = f. 177v. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 5. MSSML 631 (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), unfoliated folio, recto. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 6. TAM 16 D.29 (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), p. 1 = f. 1r. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 7. MSSML 88 (*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikāram*), p. 3. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Manuscripts of the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam* in the UVS Library

A Survey

Indra Manuel (EFEO, Pondicherry)

The *Tolkāppiyam* is a very important work in Tamil, being the first extant grammar of Tamil language. Its third chapter, *Poruḷatikāram* provides the first model of Tamil literary theory. This article deals with the role of the UVS Library in the preservation of the manuscripts of the *Poruḷatikāram*. The manuscripts are analysed under three headings — those with the root text alone, those with Iḷampūraṇar's commentary and those with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's and Pērāciriyar's commentary together or in part. These manuscripts are further analysed with a view to assess their coverage of *Tolkāppiyam* material, the condition and other details about the manuscripts and the various paratexts the manuscripts have.

1. Introduction

The *Tolkāppiyam*, the first extant grammatical treatise in Tamil, is dated to different periods by scholars, ranging from an ancient period to 500 CE. It consists of three parts: the first part, *Eḻuttu*, deals with the phonological aspects of language; the second part, *Col*, with the morphological aspects of language; and the third part, titled *Poruḷ* and glossed as content, with the formulation and study of the principles of literary production. Thus, the *Poruḷatikāram* (hereafter, TP), the third part of the *Tolkāppiyam*, provides the first model of literary theory in Tamil.

All three parts of the *Tolkāppiyam* are divided into nine chapters each. The TP has nine subdivisions and consists of 665 *cūttiram*s (aphorisms).[1] These nine chapters are:

[1] There are 665 *cūttiram*s according to the numbering of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Pērāciriyar and 656 according to that of Iḷampūraṇar.

1. *Akattiṇaiyiyal*: general theory of the *akam* theme
2. *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*: elaborate treatment of the *puṟam* theme
3. *Kaḷaviyal*: poetic situations and modes of expression for characters in the pre-marital stage of the *akam* theme
4. *Kaṟpiyal*: poetic situations and modes of expression for characters in the marital stage
5. *Poruḷiyal*: some residual features and literary techniques of the *akam* theme
6. *Meyppāṭṭiyal*: theory of *meyppāṭu* (that is, a segment related in some ways to the eight-fold division of Sanskrit *rasa* and some indigenous ideas of *Tolkāppiyam*)
7. *Uvamaviyal*: simile and its formative elements
8. *Ceyyuḷiyal:* structure of poetry, rules of verse formation, genre theory, and certain stylistic elements such as *vaṇṇam* and *vaṇappu*
9. *Marapiyal*: usage of words and descriptive units, formative aspects of a treatise and its commentary

Three renowned scholars wrote commentaries on the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Iḷampūraṇar (11th century CE) has annotated all the three books of the *Tolkāppiyam*, that is, the whole of TP. Of the commentary by Pērāciriyar (13th century CE) we presently have only the last four chapters of the *Tolkāppiyam*, namely, the *Meyppāṭṭiyal, Uvamaviyal, Ceyyuḷiyal* and *Marapiyal*, although internal evidences lead one to believe that he must have written glosses for the first five chapters also, now lost to us. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar (14th century CE) wrote a commentary for the whole of the *Eḻuttu* and *Col* sections and, as available today, for six chapters of TP, namely, the first five chapters *Akattiṇaiyiyal, Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, Kaḷaviyal, Kaṟpiyal, Poruḷiyal* and the eighth one, *Ceyyuḷiyal*.

2. Manuscripts of the *Tolkāppiyam*

A survey of the manuscripts of the *Tolkāppiyam* conducted in 1991 by the Tamil University[2] reveals that there were 113 palm-leaf manuscripts in 13 institutions all over the world, that is:

[2] As there is the possibility of availability of more manuscripts, either omissions by this survey or new finds, this need not be taken as the final number.

- UVSL (U.Vē. Cāmiṉātaiyar Library), Ceṉṉai (32)
- Tiruvāvaṭuturai Ātīṉam, Tiruvāvaṭuturai (14)
- Sri Venkateswara University, Tiruppati (13)
- GOML (Government Oriental Manuscript Library), Ceṉṉai (12)
- National Library, Calcutta (11)
- Caracuvati Makāl Library, Tañcāvūr (10)
- Aṇṇāmalai University (8)
- Tamiḻccaṅkam, Maturai (5)
- Tamil University, Tañcāvūr (3)
- BnF, Paris, France (2[3])
- Tavattiru Cāntaliṅka Aṭikaḷār College, Perur (1)
- Oriental Manuscripts Library, Tiruvaṉantapuram (1)
- Royal Asiatic Society Library, London, England (1)

As for paper manuscripts, the survey counts 36 manuscripts: 20 from GOML, Ceṉṉai and 16 from UVSL, Ceṉṉai.

3. Manuscripts of the *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*

When these are scrutinized with a view to find out the manuscripts of the TP, it is found that there are six manuscripts with Iḷampūraṇar's commentary and 38 with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's and Pērāciriyar's together or in part. There are 18 palm-leaf manuscripts with the text alone, but they are not all available now.

41 among these manuscripts of the TP are available in digitized form in the EFEO library, some in a well-preserved condition and others at different stages of deterioration. There are seven with Iḷampūraṇar's commentary, mostly in parts, and eight with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's and Pērāciriyar's commentary together, thirteen with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary alone and two with Pērāciriyar's alone for different chapters. There are seven palm-leaf manuscripts with the text alone.

4. Manuscripts from the UVSL

A look at these revealed the great role of the U.Vē. Cāmiṉātaiyar Library (UVSL) in Ceṉṉai in preserving the manuscripts of the TP,

[3] This figure obtained in 1991 must be updated to 5. See BnF Indien 169–173.

as 25 manuscripts of various sizes are preserved there. Here, a survey of these manuscripts and their paratexts is carried out.
These manuscripts containing the TP can be distributed as follows:

1. Those with the root-text (*mūlam*) only
2. Those with the text and Iḷampūraṇar's commentary
3. Those with the text and Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar's commentary and Pērāciriyar's commentary clubbed together or found individually

5. *Tolkāppiyam* Text Only

Three palm-leaf manuscripts contain only the text (*mūlam*) of the *Tolkāppiyam*: UVSL 73, UVSL 115, and UVSL1048L/2190.

UVSL 73

This palm-leaf manuscript (2 + 75 + 1 folios, 42.5 by 3 cm) contains the text of the whole *Tolkāppiyam*. In the left margin of its first page, a blessing and the title are found (**fig. 1**):

hari ōm
tolkāppiya mūla pāṭam



Fig. 1. UVSL 73, f1r. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Then come, in the first column, two *veṇpā*s, one giving the names of the chapters and another giving the total number of *cūttiram*s in *E̲luttatikāram* (**fig. 1**):

nūliṉ marapu mo̲li marapu nuṇ pi̲rappu
mēlaip puṇarcci tokai marapu pālām
urupiyaliṉ piṉ uyirpu̲l̲imayakkam
teriv' ariya ku̲r̲r̲' ukaram ceppu.

It is the enunciation of the nature of *nūl* (*nūlmarapu*), nature of cluster of letters (*mo̲limarapu*), the manner of pronunciation of the sounds (*pi̲rappiyal*), the basic rules of sandhi (*puṇariyal*), the general sandhi rules (*tokaimarapu*), the sandhi for the case markers (*urupiyal*) the sandhi of vowel ending words (*uyir mayaṅkiyal)* the sandhi of consonant ending words (*pu̲l̲li mayaṅkiyal)* and the

sandhi of the short -*u* ending words that is difficult to understand (*kuṟṟiyalukarappuṇariyal*).

eḻutt' ati kārattuc cūttirańkal ellām
oḻukkiya oṉpatōt tuḷḷum — vaḻukk' iṉṟi
nāṉūṟṟ' irunāṟpāṉ mūṉṟ' eṉṟu nāvalar
mēṉūṟṟu vaittār virittu.

The one with a victorious tongue has composed and arranged already the *cūttiram*s dealing with the chapter on the letters as four hundred and eighty-three (four hundred, the two forties and three) under the systematic nine chapters.

This is followed by the *pāyiram* in the second column (f1r, c2) and then by the first *cūttiram*s (Sanskrit *sūtra*) of the *Eḻuttatikāram*, in the third column (f1r, c3). The *Collatikāram* begins on folio 21r and ends on folio 39v. Even though the caption *atikārattiyal aṭivaravu nutaliya veṇpā* (f21r, c1, line 1) announces a *veṇpā* giving the chapters and the total number of lines contained in the book, there is only one *veṇpā* (f21r, c1, lines 2–5) preceding the *cūttiram*s, which gives the names of the chapters included in the *Collatikāram*:

kiḷaviyākkammē kiḷar vēṟṟumaic col
uḷa vēṟṟumaimayakkam ōṅkum viḷimarapu
teṟṟum peyar viṉaic col cērum iṭai uric col
toṟṟiyiṭum eccaviyal.

The making of words, the clear case markers, the mixing of cases, the tradition of address, the linked-up nouns and verbs, the enjoining [sections] on the categories of words, *iṭai* and *uri* and the residual chapter kept adjacent — [these are the section of the book on the Word, *Col.*

At the end of the *Collatikāram* (f39v, c. 2) comes the following statement (**fig. 2**):

collatikāram muṭintatu

The chapter on 'word' is concluded.

cūttiratt' eṇ nutaliya veṇpā

The *veṇpā* that gives the number of total *cūttiram*s

collatikārattuc cūttirańkaḷ ellām muṉ
colliya oṉpāṉ ōtt' uḷḷumē — colliya
nāṉūṟṟ' aṟu pattumūṉṟ' iraṇṭu nāvalavar
mēl nūṟṟu vaittār virittu.

> The one with a victorious tongue has composed and arranged already the *cūttirams* dealing with the chapter on the word as four hundred and sixty-six under the earlier mentioned nine chapters.



Fig. 2. UVSL 73, f39v, c. 1–c. 2. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Then comes the table of contents (f39v, c. 4–c. 5), that is, the total *cūttirams* per chapter and the overall total *cūttirams* (**fig. 3**):[4]

kiḷaviyākkam	*62*
vēr̲rumaiyiyal	*22*
vēr̲rumai mayaṅkiyal	*35*
viḷiyiyal	*37*
peyariyal	*43*
viṉaiyiyal	*51*
iṭaiccoliyal	*48*
uriccoliyal	*100*
eccaviyal	*67*
ākac cūttiram	*465*



Fig. 3. UVSL 73, f39v, c. 3–c. 5. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

As for the TP, it begins in folio 40r and ends in folio 75v. Here also, the *cūttirams* are preceded by a *veṇpā* (f40r, c1, lines 1–6), giving the names of the chapters (**fig. 4**):

---

[4] It has to be pointed out that this total number of 465 does not agree with the number of *cūttirams* in any of the editions of *Collatikāram*. The editions with Cēṉāvaraiyar's and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary have 463, that by Iḷampūraṇar has 456, that by Kallāṭaṉār has 260 and that by Teyvaccilaiyār has 453.

atikāratt' iyal aṭivaravu nutaliya veṇpā
The *veṇpā* giving the chapters and the lines
nāṭṭum akattiṇaiyum ēr̲ra puṟattiṇaiyum
kāṭṭum kaḷaviyalum kaṟpiyalum nāṭṭum
poruḷiyal meyppāṭ' uvamam pōr̲r̲' ariya
ceyyuḷ marap' iyalum-ām poruḷiṉ̲ vaippu.

The treatment of matter (*poruḷ*) has the established section on *akattiṇai* and that on the suitable *puṟattiṇai*, the clear *kaḷaviyal* and *kaṟpiyal*, again that, on matters [particular to *akam*] the *poruḷiyal*, the sections on emotions (*meyppāṭu*) and simile (*uvamai*), and the rare praise-worthy sections on prosody (*ceyyuḷ*) and traditions (*marapiyal*).



Fig. 4. UVSL 73, f40r. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

At the end of the book (f75v, c4), completion statements, such as *marapiyal muṭintatu* ("The *Marapiyal* is concluded"), *tolkāppiyam eḻuti muṭintatu* ("The copying of the *Tolkāppiyam* is finished") are found, whereas the total number of *cūttirams* in the respective chapters are listed (**fig. 5**).



Fig. 5. UVSL 73, f75v. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

In layout, the leaf is divided into three columns and the *cūttirams* go from column 1 to column 2 and then to column 3.

No blessing is found except *hari ōm* in the very beginning, nor are there any postscripts indicating the transmission or period of writing. The manuscript is well preserved with very few worm-holes and tears. The use of single loop for the letter *r̲a* indicates an earlier period of transcription.

UVSL 115

This manuscript (1 + 86 + 1 folios, 43 by 3 cm) also contains the full text of TP. The following stanza is written on the first folio:

tēṉ aṟā makiḻt toṭaiyalum mauliyum tiruk kiḷar kuḻaik kātum
kāṉ naṟā malart tirumukac cōtiyum kayiravattu vāyum
mōṉam ākiya vaṭivamum mārpamum muttirait tiruk kaiyum
ñāṉa tēcikaṉ caraṇatāmaraiyum eṉ nayaṉamviṭṭ' akalāvē.

The garland of *Makiḻam* flower spewing out honey, the crown, the ear adorned with a shining beautiful earring, the light of his beautiful face like a flower with honey from the garden, the mouth that resembles a waterlily, the silent posture, the chest, the holy hand with a hand posture and the feet-lotuses of Ñāṉatēcikaṉ do not depart from my eyes.

Then the introductory verse (*pāyiram*) of TP comes, followed by the text of all the three chapters.

On the left margin, foliation is provided as are, if applicable, intertitles for the chapters as follows: *mutalatu nūṉmarapu* ("the first one", *nūṉmarapu*, p. 3), *iraṇṭāvatu moḻi marapu* ("the second one", *moḻi marapu*, p. 5), *mūṉṟāvatu piṟappiyal* ("the third one", *piṟappiyal*, p. 9), *nāṉkāvatu puṇariyal* ("the fourth one", *puṇariyal*, p. 11), *aintāvatu tokai marapu* ("the fifth one", *tokai marapu*, p. 15), etc.

At the end of every chapter concluding statements are found such as the following:

mutalāvatu nūṉmarapu muṟṟum (p. 6), "the first one, *nūṉmarapu* is completed"
iraṇṭāvatu moḻimarapu muṟṟum (p. 9), "the second one *moḻi marapu* is completed"

At the end of one chapter the blessings *vayittiyanāta kuruvē nama* and *cīyar tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* are found, whereas at the end of *Marapiyal* i.e., the last chapter of the *Tolkāppiyam*, there is a verse summing up the chapters of TP, the same as given in the manuscript UVSL 73, beginning with *nāṭṭumkattiṇaiyum*. Likewise, at the end of the chapter *Kuṟṟiyalukarappuṇariyal*, the last of the book on phonology (*Eḻuttu*), and at the end the chapter *Eccaviyal*, the last of the book on morphology (*Col*), the same verses summing up the chapters of each book as given in the manuscript UVSL 73, beginning with *nūliṉ marapu* and *kiḷaviyākkam*, are found.

The very same *veṇpā*s, giving the names of the chapters of the three sections of the *Tolkāppiyam*, are also found in manuscripts preserved in other libraries, such as BnF Indien 169B and GOML 5176, while these *veṇpā*s are not found in those preserved in the Caracuvati Makāl and Tiruvāvaṭuturai Mutt libraries.

After this come the completion statements *poruḷatikāram muṟṟum* ("The chapter on *Poruḷ* is concluded") and *tolkāppiya mūṉṟatikārattirupattēḻiyalu muṟṟum* ("The 27 sections comprising the three chapters of the *Tolkāppiyam* are concluded"). Following these are the blessings *paṭṭāpirāṉ cīyar tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam*, *vayittiyanāta kuruvē nama* are given.

Finally, a colophon gives the year of copying and the name of the scribe. It is worth noting that this is the only manuscript in the whole corpus that has a date. It is dated as 877 *kollam* year.

> அளஎயஎ ஆண்டு ஆவணி மீ யஉ திரையொதெசியும் புதன்வாரமும் பூசமுஞ்சுப கரணமும் பெற்ற தினத்திலே ஆதிநாதன் தொல்காப்பிய முகிந்தது முற்றும்
>
> *877 āṇṭu āvaṇi {mācam} 12 tiraiyoteciyum putaṉvāramum pūcamuñcupa karaṇamum peṟṟa tiṉattilē ātinātaṉ tolkāppiyam mukintatu muṟṟum*
>
> In the year 877 (*Kollam* year) in the month of *āvaṇi* on the tenth day, a Wednesday, an auspicious day with the eighth *nakṣatra Tolkāppiyam* [copied by] Ātinātaṉ came to a conclusion.

UVSL 1048L/2190

This palm-leaf manuscript (2 folios foliated 7–8, 33 by 2.3 cm) contains only the *cūttiram*s dealing with *vaṉappu*, in the *Ceyyuḷiyal* of the TP (547–554). Two *cūttiram*s from a treatise *Caṅka Yāppu* are also found.

6. *Poruḷatikāram* with *Iḷampūraṇam*

There are five palm-leaf manuscripts and two paper manuscripts of Iḷampūraṇar's commentary on TP. Apart from those available in the UVSL, there are no other manuscripts preserved in any other library for this.

UVSL 1066

This palm-leaf manuscript (90 folios, 40 by 3 cm) contains in the first 96 pages the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* with Iḷampūraṇar's commentary, and, then, up to page 180, the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*. Two invocations are found in the beginning, one to Śiva and another to Lakṣmī. No blessing or details about the commentator or scribe are added any-

where. The only postscripts available are *akattiṉaiyiyaṉ muṭintatu* ("The *Akattiṇaiyiyal* is concluded"), *puṟattiṇaiyiyaṉ muṭintatu* ("The *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* is concluded") etc., indicating the end of a chapter. On the left margin the beginning of a chapter is indicated along with the initial words of *cūttirams* (*pratīka*) and the folio numbers in Tamil numerals. Though some folios are damaged, this manuscript is in a fairly well-preserved condition.

UVSL 103

This palm-leaf manuscript (212 pages, 42.5 by 4 cm) is the continuation of the previous one. It contains the commentary for the *Kaḷaviyal* (pp. 1–98), *Kaṟpiyal* (pp. 99–162), and *Poruḷiyal* (pp. 163–197) in full and the commentary for the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* up to the 12th *cūttiram* (pp. 197–212). As in the previous manuscript one postscript only is found, indicating the end of a chapter. And on the left margin, the beginning of a chapter is indicated.

An additional palm-leaf indicates the material contained within the TP. Palm-leaves left blank are inserted between chapters to indicate the end of one chapter and the beginning of the next one.

UVSL 106A

In this palm-leaf bundle, two different sets of Iḷampūraṇar's commentary are preserved. In the first set (123 pages), the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* (pp. 1–32), the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* (pp. 32–66), and the *Kaḷaviyal* (pp. 66–98) are in full, up to the portion *kāmattiṉ mikutiyaikkāṭṭum eṉṟavāṟu* in the 23rd *cūttiram* of *Kaṟpiyal* (pp. 98–123).

In the second set (64 pages), only a complete *Akattiṇaiyiyal* (pp. 1–38) and the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* up to *cūttiram* 17 (pp. 39–56) are found. Then comes the introduction to the *Kaḷaviyal* and commentary up to *ācuram irākkatam* in the first *cūttiram* (pp. 59–64). 14 lines are written on every page. No invocation is found. The pages 48 and 58 are blank.

These two sets are clubbed together, as a composite manuscript, under the same number 106A, even though they could be considered as different manuscripts.

UVSL 476

This palm-leaf manuscript (40 by 3.5 cm) contains portions of the *Ceyyuḷiyal* and the *Marapiyal* with Iḷampūraṇar's commentary. It

has about 61 leaves. The first 15 leaves and the last six are very much damaged. The rest of them are also broken on the side. Seven to eight lines are written on each page. The contents preserved begin from the commentary portion to the beginning of *cūttiram* 407 (*mūṉṟām eḻutt' oṉṟ' etukai*) in the *Ceyyuḷiyal* and goes on up to the end of the *Ceyyuḷiyal* (f90). The *Marapiyal* begins in folio 91 and goes up to folio 122, up to the line *ēḻām narakam ittaṉmaittu* ("the seventh hell is of this nature") in the commentary for the phrase *aṟiyātuṭampaṭal* in the last *cūttiram* (656).

UVSL 43A

This palm-leaf manuscript contains multiple materials. The manuscript is in a much-damaged condition. Three different treatises are included in this bundle. First, there is some literary work, mainly *akam* because words like *kiḷavi*, *alaṅkāra*, *iyaṟpaḻittal* (disparaging the character) etc., are found in the explication. Then is some treatise dealing with prosody, but this is not the *Tolkāppiyam*.

Finally, Iḷampūraṇar's commentary for three portions of the *Ceyyuḷiyal* begins. These begin from *cūttiram* 323 and run up to the middle portion of 373, from the line *poruḷāṉu* in *cūttiram* 423 up to the beginning of *cūttiram* 449 and from *cūttiram* 475 up to some portion of *cūttiram* 529.

Table 1 gives the break-up of chapters given in the different palm-leaf manuscripts.

Paper Manuscripts

Two paper manuscripts, UVSL 484 and UVSL 486, together provide Iḷampūraṇar's commentary for the whole of *Poruḷatikāram*. UVSL 484 begins with the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* and goes up to the phrase *nūṟkaṅkamākiya cūttirattilakkaṇamuṇarṟṟu* in *cūttiram* 646 of the *Marapiyal*. The matter is written on both sides. UVSL 486 (37 folios, written on rectos only) continues with the line from *mēṟṟokuttal, tokaiviri* and goes on till the end of *Marapiyal*. There is a postscript by the scribe or somebody else which says:

> *itu uraiyāciriyar uraiyeṉpatai ilakkaṇavi [.....] (viḻakkam) 612 pak mālainilai enpataṉ uraiyāl aṟiyalām. Ipputtakattil 105-m pakkattil mālainilai enpataṉ uraiyaippārkkavum*

Table 1. *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* in UVSL manuscripts.

Manuscript Number	**1066**	**103**	**106A**		**476**	**43A**
Chapters of TP	*Akat.*	–	*Akat.*	*Akat.*	–	–
	Puṟat.	–	*Puṟat.*	*Puṟat.* 1–17	–	–
	–	*Kaḷa.*	*Kaḷa.*	*Kaḷa.* (introduction and portion of *cūttiram* 1)	–	–
	–	*Kaṟp.*	*Kaṟp.* 1–23	–	–	–
	–	*Poruḷ.*	–	–	–	–
	–	*Meyp.* 1–12	–	–	–	–
	–	–	–	–	*Ceyyuḷ* 407–656	*Ceyyuḷ* 323–373 *Ceyyuḷ* 423–449 *Ceyyuḷ* 475–529
	–	–	–	–	*Marapiyal* upto *ēḻām narakam* (last *cūttiram*)	–
Additional Material	–	–	–	–	–	*Akam* work, Unknown prosody work

> It can be understood that this commentary is by Uraiyāciriyar from the gloss for *mālainilai* in *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam* on page 612. See the gloss for *mālainilai* (a *Puṟam* theme which denotes the expression of the wife as she enters the funeral pyre of her husband) on page 105 of this book.

To sum up, the paper manuscripts together contain the complete commentary of Iḷampūraṇar on the TP. On the other hand, even when the material from all the palm-leaf manuscripts is put together, the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar remains incomplete. While the first five chapters are preserved in full, only 12 *cūttiram*s of the sixth chapter are available and no *cūttiram* from the seventh chapter, the *Uvamaviyal*, is found. In the eighth chapter, namely, the *Ceyyuḷiyal*, when the material in the two palm leaf manuscripts (476 and 43A) is put together, it is found that the first 13 *cūttiram*s (310 to 322) and 50 *cūttiram*s in the middle (374 to 422) are missing. In the last chapter, the *Marapiyal*, also, the material from part of the gloss to *aṟiyātuṭampaṭal* (l.19) till the end is lost.

As for paratexts, we find in the palm-leaf manuscripts only an invocation in a single manuscript, a few blessings like *caṭṭai nātar tuṇai* in some places, intertitles (the indication of the chapter headings) in the left margin and chapter completion statements (conclusion indicating the end of the chapter).

7. *Poruḷatikāram* with *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam* and *Pērāciriyam*

There are 12 palm-leaf manuscripts with the commentaries by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Pērāciriyar. Two of them contain all the chapters of the TP with the commentaries of both Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Pērāciriyar for the relevant chapters (UVSL 16, 481). Six others contain some chapters with both commentaries (UVSL 1, 7, 9, 53, 502 and 1054). Three manuscripts have only the commentary of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar (UVSL 74, 75, 120), whereas one manuscript has the commentary of Pērāciriyar only (UVSL 575). There are three paper manuscripts.

7.1 Complete *Poruḷatikāram*

UVSL 16

The dimensions of this manuscript (364 folios, 51 by 2 cm) make it the one with the longest leaves. At the beginning, three folios, with

their own independent foliation, constitute the front matter. First is a kind of table of contents, with details about the names of the chapters in the TP and the number of *cūttiram*s they contain. An invocation is found on the second folio. The last two leaves with continuous number also give some other details. The readability of this manuscript is very poor, the writing being very dull. There are 9–11 lines per page. The folios are intact except for one or two tears at the sides and few wormholes in some folios.

On the first page, the blessing *hari ōm naṉṟāka* ("Let everything prosper!") and the title *tolkāppiyam akattiṇaiyiyal nacciṉārkkiṉiyar* ("*Akattiṇaiyiyal* of the *Tolkāppiyam* with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's [commentary]") are written on the left margin. The first word of the *cūttirams* (*pratīka*) written on the respective pages are also given on the left margin. The number of the folio in the Tamil numeral system is also found there.

This manuscript contains the whole of TP with commentary, the first five with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's and the next four with Pērāciriyar's. Attribution of the commentary of the first five chapters to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ / Nacciṉārkkiṉiyāṉ is also found at the end of each chapter:

> *nāṉkāvatu poruḷiyaṟku maturai āciriyaṉ pārattuvāci nacciṉārkkiṉiyāṉ ceyta kāṇṭikai muṭintatu*
>
> The *kāṇṭikai* [type of commentary] written for the fourth [chapter] *kaṟpiyal* by Pārattuvācian [Bhāradvāja] Nacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ, a teacher, belonging to Maturai is concluded.
>
> *aintāvatu poruḷiyaṟk' āciriyaṉ pārattuvāci nacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ ceyta kāṇṭikai muṭintatu muṟṟum*
>
> The *kāṇṭikai* [type of commentary] written for the fifth [chapter] *Poruḷiyal* by Pārattuvācian [Bhāradvāja] Nacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ, a teacher, is concluded.

Postscripts or completion statements to the chapters such as the blessings *ciṭṭai nātar tuṇai*, *cīkāḻi ciṭṭainātar tuṇai* ("Cīrkāḻi Caṭṭai nātar is our refuge") and *tirucciṟṟampalam* show that this manuscript should be of Śaiva transmission. The postscripts also contain some incomplete, not fully decipherable details regarding the names of the scribes and the patrons who helped in the transcription and also regarding some remuneration paid to the scribes:

*taṉyavāṉ ca**hā**yam. tirumalaiyappa muṭiyārukkuk kaṟpiyal eḻutiṉa taṉmaikku ayvāṇapuram vāttiyār laṭcu † † † † † † † †* [= end of the *Kaṟpiyal*]

The help of the bountiful one. For Tirumalaiyappa Muṭiyār for writing the *Kaṟpiyal* Laṭcu [...], the teacher of Ayvāṇapuram

ceṉṉap paṭṭaṇattilirukkum vēḷūr tirumalai yappa mutiyār † † † † † † eḻutiṉa taṉmaikku ayvaṉapuram † † † † † † † laṭcumaṇa paṇṭivaḻu [= end of the *Meyppāṭṭiyal*]

To Tirumalaiyappa Mutiyār belonging to Vēḷūr living in the city of Ceṉṉai for writing [...] The scholar Laṭcumaṇa

maṉṟātu utta † † † † † † ṉeḻuttu. tirumalaiyappa mutaliyār postaka † † † † † † veḻuttu [= end of the *Uvamaviyal*]

Written by [...]. The writing of the book by Tirumalaiyappa Mutaliyār [...]

These lines give the name of the scribe as Tirumalaiyappar, his place as Vēḷūr and the name of the benefactor as Laṭcuma Paṇṭitar (?) belonging to Ayvaṉa Puram, that is, Ayvāṇa Puram, probably present-day Ayanavaram (Ayaṉāvaram) in Ceṉṉai.

At the end of the manuscript, i.e., at the end of the commentary of *Marapiyal*, the following is found:

tiṟucciṟṟampalam. āciriyaṉ pārattuvāci nacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ ceyta poruḷatikāra marapiyal muṟṟum. tiruciṟṟampalam.

The holy Ciṟṟampalam. The *Marapiyal* of the *Poruḷatikāram* made by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ, a teacher of the lineage of Pārattuvācian [Bhāradvāja], is concluded. The holy Ciṟṟampalam.

This line seems to attribute the writing of *Marapiyal* to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar which is wrong.

A *Kuṟaḷ* is also given here:

nuṇmāṇ nuḻaipulam illāṉ eḻiṉalam

maṇmāṇ puṉaipāvai yaṟṟu.

The beauty of one who has no sharp penetrating knowledge is like the beauty of an excellent doll made from the clay.

UVSL 16 simply closes with *ivai nūṉmukattuniṉṟu nilāvum eṉpatu* ("these will exist in the beginning of the book") from the commentary.

UVSL 481

This manuscript (441 folios, 44 by 4 cm) contains the whole of the TP with commentary: chapters 1–5 and 8 with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary; chapters 6–7 and 9 with Pērāciriyar's commentary. The portion after *timirippulam pukkaṉaṉē* in the penultimate *cūttiram* of *Akattiṇaiyiyal* (chapter 1) till *añcutakattōṉṟum* in the commentary for the first *cūttiram* of the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* (chapter 2) is not found. The rest is intact.

The writing is legible and clear. The folios are fairly well preserved with occasional tears at the sides and wormholes. The traditional writing system is followed and hence the manuscript appears to be an old one.

In the left margin are found foliation in Tamil numerals, intertitles (names of the chapters) and *pratīka*s on the respective pages. On every leaf 9 to 12 lines are written. The first three chapters are given continuous folio numbers. The rest of the chapters, beginning with the *Kaṟpiyal*, are given as individual sets with a new set of folio numbers each. In the folio containing the first *cūttiram* of the *Kaṟpiyal*, on the left margin, above the chapter heading, the invocation *hari ōm naṉṟāka tiruñāṉacampantaṉ tāḷ vāḻka* ("Let everything prosper! Long live the feet of Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ") is written, indicating that this is a new set. The handwritings of the two sets also differ.

Several hints point to a Vaiṣṇava transmission, such as the reference to *pāṟkaṭal* ("the milk sea") as a simile in the postscript to the second chapter (*pāṟkaṭal pōṟpolinta nūṟpaṭuvāṉ*), the postscript blessing *cuvāmi āḻvār tiruvaṭikkuccaraṇam* ("[We] take refuge with the holy feet of the great one Āḻvār") at the end of three chapters, as well as the scribe's name, Tiruvēṅkaṭa Piḷḷai, residing in Āḻvār Tirunakari, obviously a Vaiṣṇava:

> *āḻvār tirunakariyil irukkum periya tiruvaṭippiḷḷai kumārar paḻaṉiyappapiḷḷaiyeṉṟu pērviḷaṅku tiruvēṅkaṭa piḷḷai eḻuttu*
>
> This is the writing of Tiruvēṅkaṭa Piḷḷai who was also known as Paḻaṉiyappa Piḷḷai, the son of Periya Tiruvaṭi Piḷḷai, residing in Āḻvār Tirunakari.

But the postscript to the eighth chapter mentions Tiruvaraṅkapperumāḷ as well as Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ, a *Śaiva* saint:

tiruvaraṅkapperumāḷ tiruvaṭit tāmaraikaḷē caraṇam. tiruñāṉacampantaṉ tiruvaṭi vāḻka.

We take refuge at the lotus-like holy feet of Tiruvaraṅkapperumāḷ. May the holy feet of Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ be blessed.

The invocation in the beginning of the different set of folios also have *hari ōm naṉṟāka* ("let there be good") as well as *tiruñāṉa campantaṉ tāḷ vāḻka* ("Long live the feet of Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ").

7.2. Poruḷatikāram with *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam* and *Pērāciriyam*

UVSL 1

This well-preserved palm-leaf manuscript (531 folios, 45 by 3.5 cm) is a composite bundle with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary on the *Collatikāram* along with his commentary for the *Akattiṇaiyiyal*, *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*, *Kaḷaviyal* in the *Poruḷatikāram* and the *Ceyyuḷiyal* with Pērāciriyar's commentary.

At the end of many chapters of the *Collatikāram*, after the completion statements ("the so-named chapter ends"), writing statements provide the name of the scribe Mayilai Aṇṇācuvāmi, such as:

avai tirumayilai aṇṇācuvāmi eḻutiyatu, "Those were written by Aṇṇācuvāmi of Tirumayilai".

ivai mayilai aṇṇācuvāmi eḻuti paṭikkiṉṟatu, "These were written and read by Aṇṇācuvāmi of Mayilai".

ivai aṇṇācuvāmi paṭikkappaṭuvatu, "These are read by Aṇṇācuvāmi".

This Aṇṇācuvāmi from Mayilai is recorded as the copyist of several other manuscripts from the Caṅkam corpus.[5]

For the *Poruḷatikāram*, in the first three chapters, the attribution of the commentary to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is found at the end. After this, the attribution of the copying to Mayilai Aṇṇācuvāmi is found. At the end of *Ceyyuḷiyal* also, a statement attributing the commentary to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is given but this has been corrected by somebody to be that of Pērāciriyar.

[5] See Wilden (2014:83, 134, 142, 168), Ciotti and Franceschini (forthcoming). See also Rajeswari's chapter in this volume.

At the end of the second chapter of TP, the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*, along with these, the verse in praise of the commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyār is given followed by the blessing *kaṭavuṭ ṭuṇai yākaṭṭum* ("Let there be support from God"). Many details about the scribe Aṇṇacuvāmi are also found here such as his residence, the street where he lives (*tāṇṭava rāya kirāmaṇi cālai*, " Tāṇṭava Rāya Kirāmaṇi Road"), the number of his house (*mūṉṟāvatu katavu ilakkam uḷḷa vīṭu*, "house with the door number 3"), and his profession as teacher (*-uvātti*).

UVSL 7

This manuscript (315 folios, 45 by 3 cm) contains six chapters of the TP with commentary: three chapters (*Kaṟpiyal*, *Poruḷiyal*, and the eighth chapter, *Ceyyuḷiyal*) with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary and three other chapters (*Meyppāṭṭiyal*, *Uvamaviyal* and *Marapiyal*) with Pērāciriyar's commentary.

The folios are sometimes torn at sides, broken and worm-eaten. The traditional writing system is followed. Hence, this appears to be an old manuscript. The letters are clear. When there are words or sequence of words omitted by mistake, they are written in between the lines or in brackets.

In the left margin of the first folio are found the blessings *naṉṟāka* ("Let there be good!") and *tiruñāṉa campantan tiruvaṭikaḷ tuṇai* ("The holy feet of Tiruñāṉacampantaṉ is our refuge"). Along with this the name of the chapter is also given: *nāṉkāvatu kaṟpiyal*. At the end of the *Kaṟpiyal* and *Poruḷiyal* we have completion statements such as:

> *nāṉkāvatu kaṟpiyaṟku maturaiyāciriyaṉ pārattuvāci nacciṉārkkiṉiyar ceyta kāṇṭikai muṭintatu*
>
> The *kāṇṭikai* type of commentary written for the fourth [chapter] *Kaṟpiyal* by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, a teacher in Maturai of the lineage of Pārattuvāciaṉ [Bhāradvāja] is concluded.
>
> *Aintāvatu poruḷiyaṟk' āciriyaṉacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ ceyta kāṇṭikai muṟṟum*
>
> The *kāṇṭikai* [type of commentary] written for the fifth [chapter] *Poruḷiyal* by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ, a teacher, is concluded.

These give the order and name of the chapter and the name of the commentator as well as the nature of the commentary, here *kāṇṭikai* according to the scholars of the time.

But the chapters with Pērāciriyar's commentary on *Meyppāṭṭiyal, Uvamaviyal and Ceyyuḷiyal* have plain completion statements:

> *āṟāvatu meyppāṭṭiyal muṟṟum*, "the sixth one *Meyppāṭṭiyal* is concluded".
>
> *ēḻāvatu uvamaviyal muṟṟum*, "the seventh one *Uvamaviyal* is concluded".
>
> *eṭṭāvatu ceyyuḷiyal muṟṟum*, "the eighth one *Ceyyuḷiyal* is concluded".

No mention of the commentator's name is found there. In fact, there is no manuscript that attributes the commentary to Pērāciriyar. It is Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, in his commentary on the fifth *cūttiram* of the *Kaḷaviyal*, who mentions Pērāciriyar by name, referring to Pērāciriyar's commentary on the *Meyppāṭṭiyal*.

UVSL 9

This manuscript (286 folios, 42 by 3 cm) contains Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary for all the *cūttiram*s of the *Akattiṇaiyiyal, Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, Kaḷaviyal, Kaṟpiyal* and for the first 29 *cūttirams* of the *Poruḷiyal*. The commentary for *cūttiram* 30 of the *Poruḷiyal* is found up to the portion *vaḷuvamaikkiṉṟatu*. The rest of the *cūttiram*s of the *Poruḷiyal* and the first six *cūttiram*s of the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* are missing. Then the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* begins from the line [*erumaiyaṉṉa kal*] *liṭaittōṟāṉ* in the commentary by Pērāciriyar for the *cūttiram* on *maruṭkai* (TPP 257) and contains the text and commentary of the rest of the *cūttiram*s. The final ten folios contain the text and commentary of the first three *cūttiram*s of the *Uvamaviyal* in full and the fourth one in part till the phrase *poruṇmai uvamikkappaṭum poru* in the commentary.

In the beginning of the manuscript, there is a leaf which gives a few lines praising Ñāṉa Tēcikaṉ and Kārimāṟaṉ, but it is not completely decipherable. This seems to be a combination of the stanza quoted in UVSL 115 and some other lines.

The blessings *Āḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* and *emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* written at the end of *Akattiṇaiyiyal* and *āḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* at the end of *Kaḷaviyal* and *Kaṟpiyal* and *kuruvē tuṇai* at the end of *Meyppāṭṭiyal* reveal that this is definitely a manuscript of Vaiṣṇava transmission. At the end of the first four chapters, the attribution of the commentary to Naccinārkkiniyar is stated. There

is a long poem at the end of the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*, which is a eulogy of the commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar.

The Tamil foliation shows clearly that leaves have been lost. On the left margin, the folio number is written in Tamil letters. The first word of the *cūttiram* (*pratīka*) beginning in that leaf is also written on the left margin in many places. The beginnings of the chapters are also indicated by intertitles like *mutalatu akattiṇaiyiyal*. The spelling *añcāvatu poruḷiyal* shows the influence of colloquial Tamil by the use of *añcu* instead of *aintu*.

The condition of the folios for the first 57 leaves is not good. They are damaged in different degrees while a few of them are intact. The leaves up to 154 are mostly well preserved except for little tears at the right-hand side. After this, the damage to the left margin expands a little bit more with more loss of letters and sometimes even a full word.

The writing is good and carefully done without gaps or squeezing of words between lines. The number of lines per page varies from an occasional nine to a maximum of 16.

UVSL 53

This manuscript (233 folios, 44 by 3 cm) contains the first six chapters of the TP, i.e., from the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* to the *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary for the first five chapters and Pērāciriyar's commentary for the *Meyppāṭṭiyal*.

There are wormholes here and there and the folios are damaged at the sides. One or two folios are broken. In many places the lines at the top and bottom are not clear. Otherwise, the folios are well preserved. On the front page of the first folio the following words are written: *tolkāppiyam poruṭkūṟu mutalatu akattiṇaiyiyal* ("*Tolkāppiyam*, the section on content, first one, *Akattiṇaiyiyal*"). The first word of the *cūttiram* (*pratīka*) is also written on the left-hand side in many places. There are 13 lines per page. The writing system is the traditional one but at places the second loop of the letter *ṟa* can be observed.

The first five chapters, at the end, have completion statements mentioning the name of the commentator, namely, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, but the sixth chapter, *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, simply ends with the completion statement *meyppāṭṭiyal muṭintatu*.

On the first folio, the blessing *śrī-rāma-jeyam* ("Victory to the Lord Rāma") and a description of the contents (*tolkāppiyam nacciṉārkkiṉiyar ceyta poruḷatikāravurai meyppāṭṭiyal varaikkum*, "*Tolkāppiyam*, commentary of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar for the chapter on content up to [the chapter] *Meyppāṭṭiyal*") are found. The blessing *kuruvē tuṇai* ("the teacher is our refuge") is found at the end of chapters one, five and six. Several postscript blessings definitely point to a Vaiṣṇava transmission: *nirupavakuḷāpāṇaṉ* at the end of the first chapter; *āḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* at the end of chapters three and six; the additional blessing *periya nampi tiruvaṭikaḷē caraṇam* at the end of the sixth chapter. On the folio 118, after the conclusion of the commentary of *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* a very long verse in praise of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is found as in UVSL 9.

UVSL 502

This manuscript (346 folios, 40 by 2.5 cm) contains the first six chapters of TP, i.e., from the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* up to the *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary for the first five chapters and Pērāciriyar's commentary for the *Meyppāṭṭiyal*.

The folios are slightly damaged with many tears at the sides and wormholes. In many places, the lines at the top and bottom are not clear. The traditional writing system is followed and hence the manuscript appears to be an old one.

Attribution of the commentary on the first five chapters to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is stated at the end of all chapters. The blessing *kuruvē tuṇai* is found at the end of two chapters. A praise of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of knowledge, is found at the end of the *Kaṟpiyal*:

> *tavaḷat tāmarai tāt' ār kōyilavaḷaip pōṟṟutum*
>
> We will praise her who has as her abode the lotus full of pollen that resembles the pearl.

This also has the same long poem in praise of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar at the end of *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*, as found in UVSL 9.

UVSL 1054

This manuscript (275 folios, 43 by 3 cm) contains the first six chapters of TP, i.e., from the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* to the *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary for the first five chapters and Pērāciriyar's commentary for the *Meyppāṭṭiyal*.

The manuscript is fairly well preserved. Except for certain tears on the left-hand side of some folios and occasional wormholes, the leaves are well-preserved. When the whole manuscript is scrutinized each page contains lines in the range of 6–12. The manuscript is quite readable and the script indicates a later period of writing with its double-looped *ṟa*.

It has an introductory verse in the beginning of *Akattiṇaiyiyal* that is rather incomplete.

Plain completion statements such as *Akattiṇaiyiyal muṟṟum*, *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal muṟṟum* and *Kaḷaviyal muṟṟum* are found at the end of the first three chapters. Only at the end of the *Kaṟpiyal* and *Poruḷiyal*, statements attributing the commentary to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyaṉ / Nacciṉārkkiṉiyāṉ, described as of the *kāṇṭikai* type, are found. The *Meyppāṭṭiyal* has a plain completion statement: *āṟāvatu meyppāṭṭiyal muṟṟum*, "the sixth one, *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, is concluded".

The blessing *tirucciṟṟampalam civakāmacuntarittāy tuṇai* found at the end of the *Kaḷaviyal* indicates a Śaiva transmission. The partly decipherable lines of the introductory verse placed before *Akattiṇaiyiyal* also strengthen this point.

7.3. Poruḷatikāram with *Pērāciriyam* only

UVSL 575

This palm-leaf manuscript (216 folios, 30.5 by 4 cm) has 10 lines per page and contains the whole of the *Ceyyuḷiyal* with Pērāciriyar's commentary. Even though the postscript in the last page attributes the commentary to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyāṉ, a close reading reveals that the commentary is in fact that of Pērāciriyar. A series of blessings, not very clear to read, is found on the first page: *irāma jeyam*, *kārimāṟaṉ*, *vaittiya nāta kuru*, *rattiṉa kavirāyar* as well as *varuṣa pūṣaṇa vātaṉa muṉṉiṟka*. On the last page also, a blessing *vakuḷa pūṣaṇa vātaṉ muṉṉiṟka* is found. On the left side of the first page, along with the blessing *hari naṉṟāka*, there is an intertitle (*tolkāppiyam eṭṭāvatu ceyyuḷiyal*). *Pratīka*s are found on the left margin on the relevant pages.

7.4. Poruḷatikāram with *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam* only

UVSL 74/107

This palm-leaf manuscript (123 folios, 42.5 by 4 cm) contains the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* and the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's com-

mentary. Attribution of the commentary to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is found at the end of the *Akattiṇaiyiyal*. The blessing *caṭṭainātar tuṇai* is used here. The commentary up to the phrase *itu pāṭāṇ tiṇaiyuṭ kūṟiṉār allāta tiṇaikkum* in the last *cūttiram* is complete. *Pratīka*s and intertitles (chapter's names) are routinely found in the left margin. On the first page the title, name of the transcriber, again Aṇṇācuvāmi from Mayilai, and chapters' names found, column-wise:

[c. 1] *tol poruḷatikāram*

[c. 2] *iṉṟu mayilai aṇṇācāmi tiṭa puttakam*

[c. 3] *akattiṇai puṟattiṇai [...] vāyi [...]*

UVSL 75/129

This palm-leaf manuscript (74 folios, 43 by 4 cm) contains the *Kaḷaviyal* with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary. The blessing *cīkāḻi caṭṭai nāyakaratu* is found at the end of the commentary of *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* on the first folio. This manuscript is a continuation of the previous one (UVSL 75), resuming the commentary from where it stopped there. On the last line of the last page, the next chapter, the *Kaṟpiyal* begins. Attribution of the commentary to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is also stated at the end. *Pratīka*s and intertitles (chapter's names) are here also routinely found in the left margin.

UVSL 120

This palm-leaf manuscript (43.5 by 4 cm) contains the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary. The folios are damaged at the sides. A few of them are broken also. Attribution of the commentary Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and some portion of the verse in praise of the commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar are also found in the preserved folios.

Table 2 gives the break-up of chapters given in the different palm-leaf manuscripts.

7.5. Paper Manuscripts

UVSL 482/35

This paper manuscript (488 pages) of the TP with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary contains the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* and the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*. Before the first *cūttiram*, we find the blessing *veṟṟivēl uṟṟa tuṇai*

Table 2. *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* chapters in UVSL manuscripts.
(Ch. = Chapter; N = Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar; P = Pērāciriyar)

Tol	UVSL MANUSCRIPT NUMBER											
	1	**7**	**9**	**16**	**53**	**74**	**75**	**120**	**481**	**502**	**575**	**1054**
Ch. 1	√		√	√	√	√			√	√		√
Ch. 2	√		√	√	√	√		√	√	√		√
Ch. 3	√		√	√	√		√		√	√		√
Ch. 4		√	√	√	√				√	√		√
Ch. 5		√	1–29	√	√				√	√		√
Ch. 6		√		√	√				√	√		√
Ch. 7		√	1–4	√					√			
Ch. 8	√P	√N		√P					√N		√N	
Ch. 9		√		√					√			
++	**Col**											
Total	**4**	**6**	**6**	**9**	**6**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**9**	**6**	**1**	6

("The victorious One with the spear is our present help") and a description of the content: *tolkāppiyam poruḷatikāram akattiṇaiyiyal naccinārkkiṉiyam*. At the end of the chapters a statement attributes the commentary to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. At the end of the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* the song beginning with *pāṟkaṭal* and two other *veṇpā*s in praise of the commentator are found.

UVSL 489/40

This paper manuscript (246 pages) is a bundle containing the *Kaḷaviyal* of TP with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary and the text of a later treatise, the *Ilakkaṇakkottu*. On the first page *tuṟaicai maṭam* ("Mutt at Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai") is written. A slip stating "This is the gift of Sr. S. Subramanya Iyer" is pasted on the first page. Before the first *cūttiram*, the blessing *veṟṟivēl uṟṟa tuṇai* ("The victorious One with the spear is our present help") and a description of the content (*tolkāppiyam poruḷatikāram mūṉṟāvatu kaḷaviyalurai*) are found. At the end of the chapter the statement attributing the commentary to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar is given.

UVSL 476/28g

In this paper manuscript (294 pages), the *Ceyyuḷiyal* comes first with the commentary of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. Then comes the *Marapiyal* with the commentary of Pērāciriyar up to the phrase *āṇai kūṟalām* in the last *cūttiram*. However, there is a little problem.

Before the first *cūttiram*, *kaṭavuḷ tuṇai* ("God is our helper") is written at the top. Below it the following lines are written in bold letters:

tolkāppiyam
poruḷatikāram
eṭṭāvatu
marapiyal

The copyist thus referred, by mistake, to *Marapiyal* as the eighth chapter, while it is actually *Ceyyuḷiyal*. The outer cover also shares this feature. As for the second part of the manuscript, that dealing with the Pērāciriyar's commentary of the ninth chapter, *Marapiyal*, no title is mentioned on the outer cover. However, on the first blank page, the name of the donor is mentioned and the content is

described accurately as the commentaries by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar for the *Ceyyuḷiyal* and Pērāciriyar for the *Marapiyal*.

These paper manuscripts cover only the first three chapters with the commentary of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and the eighth and ninth chapters with the commentary of Pērāciriyar.

8. A Misnomer: UVSL 1048R

In this palm-leaf manuscript (41 pages, 33 cm x 2.5 cm), the title given by UVSL library identifies it as a copy of the *Ceyyuḷiyal* of *Tolkāppiyam*. However, the first 17 pages, even though dealing with prosody, are in fact from some other unknown treatise, but not the *Tolkāppiyam*. The note on the left margin of the first page reads *iṟtu ceyyuḷiyal naṉṟāka* ("This is *ceyyuḷiyal*. May it be good/prosper."). The Tamil foliation starts from 1, whereas the English pagination starts from 166 and ends in 182. The treatise seems to be incomplete as the matter stops with the treatment of the element *aṭi* ("line" of the prosodical structure).

After this, two pages are titled as *ceyyuḷiyal urai*, one of which blank. Six pages contain poems which are titled as *caṅkacceyyuḷ* (*puṟam*). The rest of the leaves contain *Patiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku* works: *Elāti* (three pages), *Ciṟupañcamūlam* (three pages), *Paḻamoḻi* (three pages), and *Iṉiya nāṟpatu*, *Iṉṉā nāṟpatu* (three pages). So, this manuscript contains multiple works, but not any portion of the *Tolkāppiyam*.

Conclusion

In this survey of the manuscripts of the TP preserved in the UVSL in Ceṉṉai, it was discovered that there are three manuscripts with the text only (*mūlam*) of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Two of them have the whole of the *Tolkāppiyam*. The third manuscript has only four *cūttirams* from the *Ceyyuḷiyal*. UVSL 115 is the only manuscript which contains the date of copy.

There are five palm-leaf manuscripts and two paper manuscripts for Iḷampūraṇar's commentary. While the two paper manuscripts together contain the commentary for TP in full, even when all the material in the available five manuscripts are put together it is found that no text or commentary of *Uvamaviyal* and some portions of *Meyppāṭṭiyal* and *Ceyyuḷiyal* is preserved.

One of these palm-leaf manuscripts (UVSL 43A) is a bundle containing other works included along with the TP material.

The TP with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's and Pērāciriyar commentaries are often clubbed together. Thus, there are 12 palm-leaf manuscripts, two with the whole TP, and six, with various chapters with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's and Pērāciriyar's commentaries, three with Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary alone and one with Pērāciriyar's commentary alone.

There are three paper manuscripts, one with the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* and the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*, another with the *Kaḷaviyal* and, the third one, with the *Ceyyuḷiyal* and the *Marapiyal*. The stanzas in praise of the commentator are found after the commentary is over in the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*.

As for paratexts in these manuscripts, the following are found:

- blessings, intertitles (chapter headings) and, sometimes, *pratīka*s (first word of the *cūttiram*), as standard elements in the left margin;
- invocations, but rarely;
- blessings, completion statements for chapters and for commentary, as standard elements at the end of chapters;
- name of the commentator at the end of the commentary; whereas Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's name is mentioned at the end of his commentary for every chapter, Pērāciriyar is not mentioned in any manuscript;
- stanzas praising the commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar at the end of the second chapter, the *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*
- name of the scribe and details about him;
- name of the donor who commissioned the copy;
- blessing, chapter heading, first word of the *cūttiram* and rarely the illustrative invocations and the folio number in Tamil numerals on the left margin

Abbreviations

GOML Government of Oriental Manuscript Library, Ceṉṉai
UVSL U.V. Cāmiṉātaiyar Library, Ceṉṉai

Conventions

The original texts read from manuscripts are provided in diplomatic transliteration (text italicised), according to the following conventions:

Roman	characters in Tamil script
Bold	characters in Grantha script
(abc)	characters not clearly legible
[...]	lost characters
[abc]	lost characters supplied by conjecture
†	illegible character
ൟ	*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* (short and long forms)
{varuṣam}	word expressed by a symbol

Unmarked *ē* and *ō* are restored. Tamil numerals are transliterated in decimal notation.

Abbreviations: "p." for page; "f" for folio, immediately followed by folio number and "r" or "v", for recto or verso (e.g. "f1r5" = folio 1, recto, line 5); "c." (column).

References

Palm-leaf Manuscripts: *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*

Mūlam only (3 manuscripts): UVSL 73, UVSL 115, UVSL 1048L/2190.
Pērāciriyam and *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam* (12 manuscripts): UVSL 1, UVSL 7, UVSL 9, UVSL 16, UVSL 53, UVSL 74/107, UVSL 75/129, UVSL 120, UVSL 481, UVSL 502, UVSL 575, UVSL 1054.
Iḷampūraṇam (5 manuscripts): UVSL 43A, UVSL 103, UVSL 106A, UVSL 476, UVSL 1066.

Paper Manuscripts: *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*

Iḷampūraṇam (2 manuscripts): UVSL 482/35, UVSL 489/40.
Pērāciriyam and *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam* (3 manuscripts): UVSL 476/28, UVSL 484, UVSL 486.

Secondary Literature

Ciotti, Giovanni and Marco Franceschini. Forthcoming. "Experimenting with Digital Palaeography: The First Application of the Handwriting Software Tool (HAT 3.5) to Indian scripts" in *The Universe of Knowledge.*

Celebrating Shiyali Ramamrita Ranganathan (1892–1972) edited by Andrea Cuna and Fausto Freschi. Udine: Forum Editrice Universitaria Udinese.

Wilden, Eva. 2014. *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Cańkam in Tamilnadu*. Studies in Manuscript Cultures 3. Berlin: de Gruyter.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. UVSL 73, f1r. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 2. UVSL 73, f39v, c. 1–c. 2. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 3. UVSL 73, f39v, c. 3–c. 5. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 4. UVSL 73, f40r. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 5. UVSL 73, f75v. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Teyvaccilaiyār's Commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* and the Role of Paratexts

K. Nachimuthu (EFEO, Pondicherry)

This paper examines in the annals of *Tolkāppiyam* studies the role of paratexts in the discovery, identification and textual criticism of the commentary on *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* by Teyvaccilaiyār (between the 15th and 18th c. CE), a lone representative of a school of thought in Tamil grammatical literature. It illustrates the importance of paratexts — often overlooked by the earlier editors — in bringing out print editions from palm-leaf manuscripts and the different methods of transmitting these paratexts in the palm-leaf manuscripts and in the printed editions, which paved the way towards a standardized *vulgate* or a commonly accepted text or reading.

1. Introduction

Among the three chapters of *Tolkāppiyam* (1st–2nd c. CE), the earliest extant grammatical treatise in Tamil, the second chapter, *Collatikāram* ('the chapter on morphology') dealing with the morphology, syntax and semantics of classical Tamil, has been widely studied and commented upon. Six commentaries datable from the medieval and late medieval period are available now, authored respectively by Iḷampūraṇar (11th c. CE), Cēṉāvaraiyar (13th c. CE), Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar (14th c. CE), Kallāṭaṉār (15th c. CE), Teyvaccilaiyār (15th–18th c. CE), and an anonymous undated author. Among these, the commentary by Teyvaccilaiyār has distinct features and constitutes a lone representative of a school of thought in Tamil grammatical literature.[1]

[1] The first printed edition of Teyvaccilaiyār's commentary on *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* edited by Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai (EKV) came out in 1929, based on three manuscripts. A critical edition is currently undertaken by the present author,

Particularly relevant to the discussion of paratexts in the Tamil palm-leaf tradition, Teyvaccilaiyār's commentary has a fascinating history of discovery, identification and edition in the annals of *Tolkāppiyam* studies.
Moreover, it has unusual features, such as

- end notes after the commentary on *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* 245 and *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Eccaviyal* 31–33 equivalent to modern footnotes, where the commentator explains his way of constituting the text;
- the shifting of *cūttiram*s and their commentaries to another chapter;
- the description of the size of the corpus of the commentary in *kirantam*s or *grantha*s[2] calculation.

Teyvaccilaiyār's commentary mentions the number of *kirantam*s, a paratext indeed, in each chapter and their progressive sum at the end of each chapter. Such counting of stanzas is not a rare feature of Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts of literary texts, but the counting of *kirantam*s is not normally found in grammatical commentaries.

These aspects will be discussed in this article.

2. Discovery of the Text: Identification, Provenance and Date

In the history of *Tolkāppiyam* studies the existence of a commentarial work by Teyvaccilaiyār was little known to scholars until the beginning of the twentieth century. In fact, there is no ref-

---

based on the copies of the available two manuscripts C1 and S1 plus two paper copies C2 and S2 of the same.

[2] One *grantha* consists of 32 syllables (vowel and syllabic vowel excluding the pure consonants) in prose or in verse, also called *śloka*. It is customary to indicate the size of the work in the Vaiṣṇava Maṇipravāḷam commentaries (Araṅkarājaṉ 2002: 79). For example, the five commentaries to Nammāḻvār's songs (8th c. CE) are called with a sobriquet, indicating their size in *grantha* calculation: Tirukkurukaip Pirāṉ Piḷḷāṉ's (12th c. CE) *Āṟāyirappaṭi*, Nañcīyar's (12th c. CE) *Oṉpatiṉāyirappaṭi*, Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's (13th c. CE) *Irupattu Nālāyirappaṭi*, Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa Cīyar's (13th–14th c. CE) *Paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi*, Nampiḷḷai's (12th–13th c. CE) *Īṭu Muppattāṟāyirappaṭi*.

erence to it in the grammatical literature of earlier centuries. It was never noticed by any scholar even in the nineteenth century. For instance, even Aracañ Caṇmukaṉār (1868–1914), a traditional scholar known for his erudition in Tamil grammar, showed no knowledge of it when he published his *Tolkāppiyappāyira Virutti* in 1905. The curious point here is that this work of Aracañ Caṇmukaṉār was published under the patronage of Arittuvāramaṅkalam Kōpālacāmi Irakunāta Rājāliyār (1870–1920), in whose private collection a palm-leaf copy of the Teyvaccilaiyār commentary was later found.

For the first time in 1917, Irākava Aiyaṅkār (1870–1946), in the introduction to his edition of the commentary on *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram Ceyyuḷiyal* by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, mentioned the manuscript (S1) of the *Teyvaccilaiyam* in the Caracuvati Makāl Library, Tañcāvūr [henceforth MSSML]. However, he identified it as a commentary written by Pērāciriyar (12th–13th CE), a name-sake of the well-known *Tolkāppiyam* commentator, on the basis of the incomplete and obliterated scribbling ***ātre**ya-kōttira[ttu]* in the line 6 of the last folio of the palm-leaf manuscript S1 (**fig. 1**):

> *[...] t' uraiyiṉat' aḷavu kiranta vaikaiyāṉ aṟunūṟṟ' irupatu · ൟ **ātre**ya-kōttira[ttu] [...]*[3]
>
> [...] the size of the commentary in the measure of *kirantam*s is six hundred and twenty. In the *gotra* of the Ātreyas [...]



Fig. 1. S1, last page (foliation lost). Courtesy of MSSML. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

We read the same in its paper copy S2 (**fig. 2**).[4]

This phrase ***ātre**ya-kōttira[ttu]* looks like the beginning of a colophon. Unfortunately its continuation could not be reconstructed,

[3] Note that in the present condition of the palm-leaf manuscript, the last syllable *ttu* is lost.

[4] See Kurucāmi (2021: 1–56).

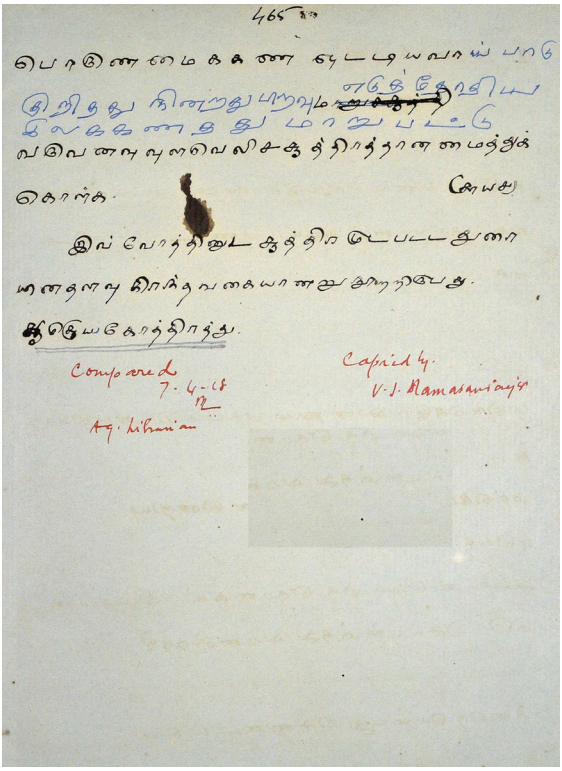


Fig. 2. S2, last page = p. 465, line 8. Courtesy of MSSML.

as the following leaf is presently lost. Such colophon-like phrase is not found in the other well-written palm-leaf manuscript (C1) in the UVS Library [henceforth UVSL]. Irākava Aiyaṅkār justified his inference by connecting the epithet with the name of another author called Āttirēyaṉ Pērāciriyar (10th c. CE), who composed the *Potuppāyiram* verse of *Tolkāppiyam*. This verse, beginning with the phrase *valampuri muttiṉ*, is found in the commentary of the renowned commentator Pērāciriyar (12th–13th c. CE) to *Marapiyal* of *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram* 98.

Olaganatha Pillai, in his *Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts* in the MSSML (1925: 35–38, manuscript no. 628) noticed and recorded this phrase. The catalogue description attributes the commentary to Āttirēyaṉ Pērāciriyaṉ on the basis of this colophon-like phrase ***ātre**ya-kōttira[ttu]*. It further suggests that if he were the Pērāciriyar (also called Mayēccurar), as suggested by the similarity of names, he could have belonged to the period of Oṭṭakkūttar (12th c. CE), his

contemporary according to a story narrated in the *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai* (*Ceṅkāl maṭavaṉṉam*).[5]

In 1925, the manuscript S1 was assigned for edition to the Tamil scholar Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai (1886–1953). His edition came out in print in 1929 [henceforth EKV]. He initially based his edition on the paper copy made in 1918 in the library and on an another damaged manuscript, then in the private possession of Arittuvāramaṅkalam Kōpālacāmi Irakunāta Rājāliyār, referred to above.

2.1. Identification of Teyvaccilaiyār

Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai (1918: 206) already mentioned the name of the commentator as Pērāciriyar, the rationale being the same as that of Irākava Aiyaṅkār referred to above.[6]

Before Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai 1929 edition, many scholars like Nārayaṇa Ayyaṅkār (1861–1947), Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai (1891–1956), Navanīta Kiruṣṇa Pārati (1889–1954), Appaṉaiyyaṅkār, Citampara Puṉṉaivaṉanāta Mutaliyār, Citamparam Piḷḷai (1872–1936) also referred, in their research articles and books, to the author of this commentary as Pērāciriyar.[7]

When Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai was editing the text, he was, in the articles he wrote in the journal of *Tamilppoḻil* (1925a, 1925b), under the impression that it was a commentary by Āttirēyaṉ Pērāciriyaṉ, and even that name as such was printed on the cover page of the book containing the commentary. It was also announced in the pages of the journal *Tamilppoḻil* that a new commentary by Pērāciriyar was forthcoming. All these developments are described in detail by Kurucāmi in his book on *Teyvaccilaiyār Uraineṛi* (2021: 25–54).

Then the denouement came. On knowing the impending publication of the work with the identification of the author as Pērāciriyar, Cāmināta Ayyar (1855–1942) sent the copy of the manuscript of Teyvaccilaiyar's commentary in his possession (C1) with the information about the authorship based on the explicit recording of the name of the author in the paratext, i.e., the initial folio and in the colophon at the end of the manuscript.

---

[5] See Avvai Turaicāmip Piḷḷai (1949: 111).

[6] See Kurucāmi (2021: 34).

[7] See Kurucāmi (2021: 34–36).

In the left margin of the first page (**fig. 3**) one indeed reads:

[lm 1.1–2] *teyvaccilaiya[m]*

[lm 1.4–6] *tolkāppiyattuṭ colla[tikā]ram*

[lm 2.1–3] *mutalatu [k]i(ḷa)[viy]ā(k)ka[m]*



Fig. 3. C1, f1r. Courtesy of UVSL. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

The manuscript concludes as follows (**fig.4**):

> *tolkāppi/yam\ collatikāram oruvakaiyāṉ mu[[n]]ṭintatu* ൟ *teyvaccilaiyār [[†]] eḻutiṉa virutti muṭi*[f165v5]*ntatu* ൟ *āṟumuka=M* ൟ *kuru vāḻ[ka*]* ൟ ***hara ōm*** ൟ ***gurubhyo nama***
>
> In a way / In summary the *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* is completed. The detailed commentary (*virutti*, Sanskrit *vṛtti*) written by Teyvaccilaiyār is completed. Āṟumukam. Long live the preceptor! Homage to the preceptors.

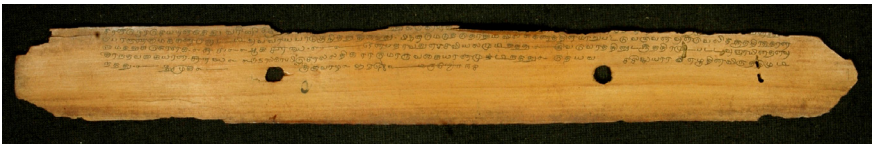


Fig. 4. C1, f165 v. Courtesy of UVSL. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

From this evidence it can be concluded that the author of the commentary is named *Teyvaccilaiyār* and his commentary the *Teyvaccilaiyam*, that is, 'the work by Teyvaccilaiyār'.

Consequently, Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai changed the name of the author as Teyvaccilaiyār on the title page of his edition and narrated its discovery in his introduction. However, in the introduction to his edition (EKV 1929: 5–12) he does not mention the colophon-like phrase ***ātre**ya-kōttira[ttu]*. It seems that he was not aware of it in spite of it being found in S1. Its absence in C1 and C2 must have also weighed in his decision for not giving credit to make any inference.

As the printing of the work was completed with the MSSML manuscripts (S1, S2) and another one with the private collection of Kōpālacāmi Irakunāta Rājāliyār, now not traceable, the editor added all the variant readings found in C1, which he received later from Cāmināta Ayyar, in an appendix (pp. 1–42) at the end of the publication.

After the publication of this work, Tamil scholars examined the contents of the Teyvacilaiyār's commentary from various perspectives. For instance, Cōmacuntaram Piḷḷai discussed the issue of authorship, and, after great debates and exchanges in various journals, he finally concurred with the Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai (1929, 1930, 1931–1932).[8] Subrahmanya Sastri (1890–1978) in his work on *Tolkāppiyaccollatikārak Kuṟippu* (1930: xxvii) clearly mentions the name Teyvaccilaiyār as the author of the commentary and his possible date in a period before the 11th c. CE.[9]

Then a rewind came. In 1989 the MSSML published the *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Āttirēyar Urai*, edited by Vēṇukōpālaṉ [henceforth ESV]. It is factually none other than the one published in 1929 by Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai's edition (EKV). Vēṇukōpālaṉ re-examined the two MSSML manuscripts (S1 and S2) and considered the variant readings found in the UVSL manuscripts (C1 and C2) as representing a different work. He thus published the transcript of S1 and S2 as the work of Āttirēyar solely on the basis of the colophon-like phrase ***ātre**ya-kōttira[ttu]*. It is an exercise of implausible rewind not following any method of critical edition.

2.2. The Name Teyvaccilaiyār

The word *teyvaccilai* has several meanings, such as 'hero-stone,' 'the Potikai hills' and 'the bow of Viṣṇu' (Iracu 1975: 90). The etymology of the name Teyvaccilaiyār can be explained in different ways. The prefix *teyva* means divine or celestial. The suffix *cilai* is a homonymous and polysemic word denoting 'stone,' 'mountain,' 'statue' (Sanskrit *śilā*), and 'bow.' As a proper noun the name Teyvaccilaiyār refers to Viṣṇu in Tamil, with the meaning 'the One with

[8] See Kurucāmi (2021: 39–40).

[9] See also Kantacāmi (1981, 2001), Cuntaram (1978), Caṇmukam (2017), Mātaiyaṉ (2014), and Kurucāmi (2021).

the divine bow', i.e., Rāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. The compound word as a proper name is attested in the songs of Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār (8th c. CE), namely in *Periyatirumoḻi* 9.4.3, referring to Viṣṇu, the presiding deity at Tiruppullāṇi, in the Pāṇṭiya country.[10] The deity at Kriṣṇāpuram (near Tirunelvēli) in the nearby region is also referred to as Teyvaccilaiyār.

In the Tamil epigraphical sources at least five personal names Teyvaccilai are attested from the 13th to the 14th centuries CE in the Pāṇṭiya country:

- Koṭṭaiyūr Teyvaccilaiyāṉ Caṅkara Nārāyaṇaṉ (1203 CE, Tirunelvēli);
- Araiyaṉ Teyvaccilaiyāṉ Eṭuttakai Aḻakiyāṉ (1254 CE, Vēmpanallūr);
- Koṭṭaiyūr Āḷavantāṉ Teyvaccilaip Paṭṭaṉ (1276 CE, Tirunelvēli, alias Kulacēkara Caturvētimaṅkalam);
- Iḷaiyāḻvār Vikkirama Pāṇṭiyak Kāḷiṅkarāyarāṉa Teyvaccilaipperumāḷ (1326 CE, Maṉṉārkōyil);[11]
- Teyvaccilai Mutaliyār (16th c. CE, Kriṣṇāpuram).

We can thus conclude that the personal name Teyvaccilaiyār was used mostly in the Pāṇṭiya country from the 8th century to the 16th centuries CE. Furthermore, in the copper plates of the Cētupati king, a place name called Teyvaccilai Nallūr is mentioned and still found near Uttarakōcamaṅkai.[12]

There are also literary works which comprise the name Teyvaccilai in their titles. These works singing the praise of Viṣṇu attest the currency of the name:

- *Teyvac Cilaip Perumāḷ Vākaṉamālai*;
- *Teyvac Cilaiyāṉ Tiruppukaḻ*;
- *Teyvac Cilaiyāṉ Vaṇṇa Viruttam*;
- *Teyvac Cilaiyāṉ Katavu tiṟattaṟ Pāṭṭu*;

---

[10] *Nālāyira Tivyappirapantam* 1780 = *Periyatirumoḻi* 9.4.3: *teyva-c-cilaiyāṟku eṉ cintai nōy ceppumiṉō*, "[O flocks of birds] please inform/tell the God Teyvaccilāṉ [the presiding deity of Tiruppullāṇi] of my disease of mind [because of my love for Him]".

[11] See Kurucāmi (2021: 523).

[12] See Kamāl (1992: 703).

- *Teyvac Cilaiyāṉ Tuti*;
- *Teyvac Cilaiyāṉ Noṇṭi Nāṭakam*;
- *Teyvac Cilaiyāṉ Kiḷaippāṭṭu*;
- *Teyvac Cilaiyāṉ Tālāṭṭu*, *Tiruvanantal*;
- *Teyvaccilaiyār Nalaṅku* (16 c. CE).

Furthermore, the *Teyvaccilaiyār Viṟali Viṭu Tūtu* (16th c. CE) is named after its patron Teyvaccilai Mutaliyār, who was an important official in the reign of the Maturai Nāyaka king Kumāra Kriṣṇappa Nāyakkar (1564–1572) and who built a temple at Kriṣṇāpuram where the presiding deity is called Teyvaccilaiyār. Kurucāmi (2021: 58) has shown the name was still in vogue in the nineteenth century. A poet called Āṟaimānakar Cāminmāta Piḷḷai alias Teyvaccilaiyār Piḷḷai has composed a work called *Maṉunītikkātal* and published it in 1905.[13] A place called Teyvaccilāyapuram — currently corrupted to Teyvacceyalpuram due to folk etymology — exists near Kriṣṇāpuram on the Tirunelvēli-Tūttukkuṭi Road, where Teyvaccilai Mutaliyār (16th c. CE) had the temple of Teyvaccilaiyār constructed (Kurucāmi 2021: 59).

2.3. Date of Teyvaccilaiyār

Teyvaccilaiyār's commentary has been dated variously between the 15th to the 18th centuries CE by different scholars based on various arguments such as the organization of the text, its references to contemporary life, its allusions to other commentaries, its unique way of interpretation showing bilingual sophistication, its paratexts and meta-language (Nachimuthu 2018a). According to our new understanding of the evidence, notably the metalanguage of the commentary, we suggest that Teyvaccilaiyār lived closer to 18th century.

2.4. Meta-language as Evidence for Dating

Teyvaccilaiyār's meta-language betrays a form or idiom of later years. For example, consider the following collocational idiom used by him in *cūttiram* 1: *ivvāṟ' eḻutum urai kuṟṟam eṇka* (TC 1) "the com-

[13] Edited by Virutupaṭṭi Srimāṉ Irāmaliṅka Kurukkaḷ and published by Ettirāja Mutaliyār in his Prince of Wales Press, Ceṉṉai.

mentary that is written (that is, composed) in this way is wrong". The same collocation *urai eḻutuvōr*, "those who write commentaries", is also found in his commentary on *cūttiram* 245:

> *ivai mūṉṟu cūttiramum īṇṭait toṭarppuṭṭuk kiṭanta itaṉai, urai yeḻutuvōr, pirinilai viṉaiyeṉṉuñ cūttirattuṭ collappaṭṭa peyarecca viṉaiyeccam eṉpavaṟṟai īṇṭu ōtappaṭṭa peyarecca viṉaiyeccamākak karuti, āṇṭuc cēra vaittār eṉpārum uḷar.*
>
> There are also people who say that these three *cūttiram*s [243, 244, 245] are relevant to this place (*Viṉaiyiyal*, chapter 6.); those who wrote a commentary [to this work] joined these (three *cūttiram*s) there (*Eccaviyal*, chapter 9), thinking that the *peyareccam* (relative participle) and *viṉaiyeccam* (verbal participle) discussed in the *cūttiram* which begins with word *pirinilai* (*Eccaviyal*, *cūttiram* 34 of) are the same as those discussed here (*Viṉaiyiyal*, chapter 6).

Here it is not clear whether the phrase *urai eḻutuvōr*, "those who write commentaries", refers to the commentator or the scribe, but it is most probably the commentator.

Normally the earlier commentators would have phrased it with the following collocation: *urai ceyvōr*, "those who make (compose) commentaries", or *iyaṟṟiyōr,* "those who compose commentaries". Teyvaccilaiyār himself uses this collocation in TC 1: *ivvāṟ' uraikkum urai kuṟṟam eṉka*, "the commentary that is said/told/uttered (that is, composed) in this way is wrong". Such a collocation implies that the commentaries were handed down orally, not yet written on manuscripts. But in later commentaries a new collocation, 'writing a commentary', is also used besides the collocation 'telling a commentary'. For example, Tirumēṉi Kāri Irattiṉak Kavirāyar (16th c. CE) in his work *Tirukkuṟaḷ Parimēlaḻakar Urai Nuṇporuḷ Mālai* employs both collocations.[14]

Tirumēṉi Kāri Irattiṉak Kavirāyar uses the traditional collocation *uraikkum urai* in about 36 places and in 13 places he uses the new collocation *eḻutum urai* to express the idea of composing a commentary. This means that already in the 16th century the change of idiom had taken place. So, one can infer that the use of the new collocation by Teyvaccilaiyār could reflect the usage of the later times. The overlapping of these two types of usage and their frequencies could be due to his stylistic preference or it may indicate the beginning

[14] See Cuntaramūrtti (1980).

of the change of idiom in the standard language of his time. Anyhow the use of the above two instances of the new collocations by Teyvaccilaiyār is curious. Teyvaccilaiyār himself has used the traditional collocation with the word telling, i.e., *uraittal* at least 36 times in his corpus. That means Teyvaccilaiyār might have lived in a later milieu, when the shift in the use of the above collocation took place, maybe between the 16th and the 18th centuries.

The collocation *eḻutum urai*, 'the commentary which is written', has replaced the older phrase *uraikkum urai*, 'the commentary which is told' in modern writings especially after the advent of European paper and printing technology and the influence of English verb 'to write' to refer to a composition. It is possible that the shift that had already taken place internally, was then strengthened by the new external influence.

Apart from the use of this new collocation the discussion by Teyvaccilaiyār about the rationale of other commentators for shifting the *cūttiram*s (see below section 4) suggests also that he is later than these commentators whom he refers to as *urai eḻutuvōr*, "those who write commentaries".

3. Paratexts in *Teyvaccilaiyam*: Size of the Commentary

Teyvaccilaiyār's commentary is as elaborate and lengthy as the other commentaries on *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram*. Its size is measured in terms of syllables, otherwise called *kirantam*s (Sanskrit *grantha*), and is indicated at the end of each chapter as a paratext.

For instance, at the end of the first chapter (*Kiḷaviyākkam*), we read in C1, f31v5–6:

> *mutalatu kiḷaviyā*[f31v6]*kka muṭintatu ൟ ivvōttiṉuṭ cūttiram uṭ[[p]] paṭṭa vuraiyiṉat' aḷavu kiranta vakaiyāṉ 560 ൟ ൟ la ൟ*
>
> The first [chapter] *Kiḷaviyākkam* ends here. In this chapter including the *cūttiram*s the size of the commentary is 560 in terms of *kirantam*s.

In S1, f[34]v–f[35]r,[15] the number of *kirantam*s (540) is given in letters, not numerals:

> *mutalatu kiḷaviyākka muṟṟum · ivvōttiṉuṭ cūttiram uṭ[paṭa]* † † † [f35r1] † *ñṉūṟṟu nāṟpatu ൟ*

[15] The original foliation is lost.

> The first [chapter] *Kiḷaviyākkam* ends here. In this chapter as per the *kirantam* calculation the size of the commentary including the original *cūttirams* is five hundred and forty.

At the end of the second chapter (*Vēr̲r̲umaiyiyal*), we find again the total *kirantam*s for the chapter and the total *kirantam*s for the two first chapters, for instance, here in C1 (f48v2–3):

> *iraṇṭāvatu vēr̲r̲umaiyōttu muṭintatu* ൳ [f48v3] *Āka 80 · ivvōttiṉuṭ cūttiram uṭpa[[p]]ṭṭa vuraiyiṉat' aḷavu kiranta vakaiyāṉ · 330 · Ākak kirantam · 890 ·* ൳ *la* ൳ *la* ൳ ൳

> In this chapter including the *cūttirams* the size of the commentary is 330 in terms of *kirantam*s. Altogether 890 *kirantam*s.

The total of *kirantam*s is indicated in numerals in C1 and C2 and in words in S1 and S2. C1 mentions the progressive total number of *kirantam*s up to the third chapter and not afterwards. However, in the manuscript a blank space is provided for the likely entry of the progressive sum. The above paratextual data, total *cūttirams* and total *kirantam*s as indicated in the paratexts at the end of each chapter are presented in **table 1**.

Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai (EKV) includes these paratextual total *kirantams* as found in S1 in words, whereas Cuntaramūrti 1963 (EKS) omits them. In the compilation of *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* commentaries by Kōpālaiyar (*Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Uraikkottu*) and by Civaliṅkaṉār (*Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Uraivaḷam*) they are omitted, perhaps under the influence of Cuntaramūrti (EKS). The re-edition by Vēṇukōpālaṉ (ESV) includes them in their appropriate places. In another edition Kōpālaiyar (ETM) restores them in their appropriate places, but rephrases them.

The total number of *kirantam*s is 3310/3330 and this is not indicated in any of the palm-leaf manuscripts.

4. Teyvaccilaiyar's Constitution of the Text

In a significant departure from the traditional transmission, Teyvaccilaiyār constitutes the text of *Collatikāram* differently from other commentators. In many instances two or three *cūttiram*s are combined into a single *cūttiram*. Teyvaccilaiyār enumerates thus

Table 1. Total *cūttiram*s and total *kirantam*s in each *Iyal* of *Tolkāppiyam*.

	C1 *cūttiram*	**C1 *kirantam***	**S1 *cūttiram***	**S1 *kirantam***	**EKV *cūttiram***	**EKV *kirantam***
Kiḷaviyākkam	60	560	55?	540	60	560/540
Vēṟṟumaiyiyal	20 (21) /80(81)	330/890	21	330	21	330
Vēṟṟumaimayankiyal	33/113	300/1190	33	300	33	300
Viḷimarapu	35/148	–	36	130	36	130
Peyariyal	41/189	310	41	310	41	310
Viṉaiyiyal	54/240	460	53	460	54	460
Iṭaiyiyal	47/287	340	47	340	47	340
Uriyiyal	79/366	280	Not clear	280	100	280
Eccaviyal	64/430	620	64	620	61	620
	430	–	–	–	453	–

453 *cūttiram*s, whereas Iḷampūraṇar has 456, and Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar have 463, as seen in **table 2.**[16]

Conversely, whereas, for instance, *cūttiram*s 52 and 53 are treated as one by Cēṉāvaraiyar, other commentators, including Teyvaccilaiyār, treat them as separate ones. Consequently, his commentary on *cūttiram*s 52 and 53 differs from that of other commentators. In other instances, the last line of a *cūttiram* is treated as a separate *cūttiram* by Teyvaccilaiyār.

Another singularity of Teyvaccilaiyār is the shifting of cūttirams from one chapter to another. For instance, three *cūttiram*s from *Eccaviyal* (31–33) are shifted to *Viṉaiyiyal* (243–245). In C1, f104v5, for instance, the paratext reads thus (**fig. 5**):

[...] 51 · viṉaiyiyaṉ muṭintatu · @a:ṯkēl [...]

The *Viṉaiyiyal* ends here.



Fig. 5. C1, f104v. Courtesy of UVSL. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

[16] In both palm-leaf manuscripts C1 and S1 the *cūttiram* numbers are marked at the end of each *cūttiram* in each chapter, treating it as a unit. The system of continuous numbering for the whole treatise is not followed. Only the printed editions follow this system, starting from the first edition. In addition to chapter numbering, C1 follows another system of mentioning the sum for the total number of *cūttiram*s in each chapter adding to the number of *cūttiram*s from the previous chapters cumulatively, a feature not found in S1. In this fashion it mentions the total number of *cūttiram*s of the whole text as 430 on the last folio as a paratextual note. This is at variance with the total given by the printed editions which give the number as 453. In the manuscript in some places numbers are repeated and in some places the *cūttiram*s are not numbered at all. This may be the reason for the discrepancy. All this will be explained in the forthcoming critical edition. It may also be noted that the noting of the progressive sum in the case of *kirantam*s is also followed in C1 up to the third chapter. The first editor (EKV) has noted all the paratextual notes in the appropriate places in the appendix to his first edition (pp. 1–42). But unfortunately these paratextual notes have not been included in many of the later editions.

Table 2. Distribution of *cūttirams* in *Collatikāram* according to commentator.

Iyal	**Iḷampūraṇar**	**Cēṉāvaraiyar**	**Naccinārkkiṉiyar**	**Teyvaccilaiyār**	**Kallāṭaṉār**	**Paḻaiya Urai**
Kiḷaviyākkam	62	61	62	60	62	62
Vēṟṟumaiyiyal	17	22	22	21	23	22
Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal	35	34	35	33	35	33
Viḷimarapu	37	37	37	36	37	–
Peyariyal	43	43	43	41	43	–
Viṉaiyiyal	49	51	51	54	50	–
Iṭaiyiyal	48	48	48	47	10	–
Uriyiyal	99	100	67	100	100	–
Eccaviyal	66	67	67	61	–	–
Total	456	463	463	453	360	117

After this chapter completion statement we find three *cūttiram*s of *Eccaviyal* (31–33) added with serial numbers.

And finally, after the text of the three *cūttiram*s, the total *cūttiram*s and completion statement is found (f107r2–3):

> *āka 240 ·* [f107r3] *āṟāvatu viṉaiyiyaṉ muṭintatu ·* ൬
>
> Altogether 240. The sixth [chapter], *Viṉaiyiyal*, is completed.

Here the three *cūttiram*s 31–33 are found in the sequential order with numbering, whereas Teyvaccilaiyār explains:

> *ivai mūṉṟu cūttirattiṟkum urai viṉaiyiyaluḷ uraikkappaṭṭatu.*
>
> For all these three *cūttiram*s the commentary is explained in *Viṉaiyiyal.*

This explanation is found in S1, S2, C1 and C2. It is to be noted that the continuous numbering is maintained in the commentary and the total *cūttiram*s in this chapter is thus counted as 64.

Vēṅkaṭācalam (EKV) mentions this in a footnote, but does not include the three *cūttiram*s and the above explanation in the text of his edition. Accordingly, his total *cūttiram*s for this chapter is 61, which is followed in all the later editions:

> *iṅkē iruttaṟkuriya iṟappiṉ nikaḻviṉ 31, evvayiṉ viṉaiyum 32, avaitām tattam kiḷavi 33 eṉṉuñ cūttiraṅkaḷai, ivvuraiyāciriyar iyaipu paṟṟi viṉaiyiyal īṟṟil (52, 53, 54 cūttiraṅkaḷāka) vaittu urai ceytirukkiṉṟaṉar.* [EKV 1929: 243]
>
> This commentator (Teyvaccilaiyār) placed the [three] *cūttiram*s *iṟappiṉ nikaḻviṉ* 31, *evvayiṉ viṉaiyum* 32, *avaitām tattam kiḷavi* 33 at the end of *Viṉaiyiyal* and commented upon them.

Cuntaramūrti (EKS) rephrased this, with a different connotation:

> *iccūttirattiṟkup piṉ ivvuraiyiṉ viṉaiyiyaliluḷḷa 243, 244, 245ām cūttiraṅkaḷ piṟa uraippatippukaḷil kāṇappaṭukiṉṟaṉa.* [EKS 1979: 192, fn. 3]
>
> After this *cūttiram* [422], the *cūtttiram*s 243, 244 and 245 found in *Viṉaiyiyal* of this commentary are found in the editions of other commentaries (on *Collatikāram*).

Only Vēṇukōpālaṉ (ESV) has included it as it is found in the manuscripts.

Teyvaccilaiyār explains in his commentary the reason for shifting the *cūttiram*s to another chapter. See, for instance, the commentary ad *cūttiram* 242:[17]

> *aḵtēl, viṉaic coṟkaḷ muṟṟum, peyareccamum, viṉaiyeccamum eṉa mūvakaippaṭum. avaṟṟuṭ peyareccam viṉaiyeccam eṉpaṉa it taṉmaiya veṉṟu eṭuttōti, muṟṟuc collāvatu it taṉmaiyatu eṉṟu ōtiṟṟilar. ataṟku ilakkaṇam yāṅkup peṟutum eṉiṉ, eccaviyaluṭ peṟutum. viṉaikku iṉṟiyamaiyāta muṟṟiṉai oḻipiyal kūṟukiṉṟuḻik kūṟiya ataṉāṟ peṟṟateṉṉai yeṉiṉ, aḵtu emakkup pulaṉāyiṟ ṟaṉṟu. aḵtēl, viṉaiyilakkaṇam aṟintēṉākuṅkālam muṟṟilakkaṇamum aṟital vēṇṭum aṉṟē. ataṉai āṇṭuk kūṟiya vāṟu īṇṭuraittal vēṇṭum eṉiṉ, uraikkum āṟu.*
>
> Further, the verbs are of three types: finite, relative participle and verbal participle. Among them the author has explained in detail the relative participle and verbal participle, but not defined the finite verb. If one asks where we find the definition, it is found in the *Eccaviyal*. The finite verb is one of the important aspects of the verb, and if it is explained as miscellaneous in *Eccaviyal*, what is the use of it. I do not understand it. Further if I were knowledgeable in the grammatical notion of verb, I should know the nature of finite verb too. So one has to explain it here as it is explained there in *Eccaviyal*. I will explain it here [shifting the three *cūttiram*s 31, 32 and 33 from *Eccaviyal*].

In other cases of shifting of *cūttiram*, Teyvaccilaiyār does not offer explanations but the shifting makes senses and seems appropriate.[18]

5. Conclusion

As outlined above, the history of the edition of the *Teyvaccilaiyam* illustrates the importance of paratexts — often overlooked by the earlier editors — in bringing out print editions from palm-leaf manuscripts. A fresh look at the history of such paratexts in manuscript and print transmission is necessary to gain a better understanding of the transmission and history of the texts, and above all of literary historiography.

---

[17] See also the commentary ad *cūttiram* 245, above.

[18] For instance: *Eccaviyal* 14 of other commentators is *Eccaviyal* 26 for Teyvaccilaiyār (overall *cūttiram*s number 418); *Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal* 9 (beginning with *atuveṉ*) and 12 (beginning with *āṟaṉmaruṅkiṉ*) are *Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal* 15 and 16 (overall *cūttiram*s number 96 and 97) for Teyvaccilaiyār.

In the case of the *Teyvaccilaiyam*, the paratexts found in palm-leaf manuscripts have been crucial for identifying its author and providing information for fixing its date. Furthermore, Teyvaccilaiyār's paratextual notes also help us understand what he perceived as the proper constitution of the text.

Noteworthy also are the different methods of transmitting these paratexts in the palm-leaf manuscripts and in the printed editions, which paved the way towards a standardized *vulgate* or a commonly accepted text or reading. A critical edition needs to record all this information for history.

As for Teyvaccilaiyār as a scholar, he appears as an independent grammarian who can disagree even with the original author Tolkāppiyar himself and with earlier commentators. At times he looks hypercritical and inappropriate, even though eclectic. He is no doubt an insightful linguist, knowledgeable in Sanskrit and in subjects such as, for instance, philosophy and classical literature, etc. He can be called a comparatist in grammatical studies. He cultivates study, showing independence, and some of his views and methods are similar to later-day linguistic analysis in their formulation. In spite of all this, his writings have not evolved into a separate school (Nachimuthu 2018b), as Teyvaccilaiyār had no followers till the twentieth century when his commentary was re-discovered.

Conventions

The original texts read from manuscripts are provided in diplomatic transliteration (text italicised), according to the following conventions:

Roman	characters in Tamil script
Bold	characters in Grantha script
=M	consonant *m* appended as conjunct
(abc)	characters not clearly legible
[abc]	lost characters supplied by conjecture
[abc*]	characters omitted by the copyist
/abc\	characters inserted interlineally from below
[[abc]]	scribal deletion
†	illegible character

[...] ellipsis of text
’ overshort *u* supplied
ൿ *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* (short and long forms)

Unmarked *ē* and *ō* are restored. Tamil numerals are transliterated in decimal notation.
Abbreviations: "f" for folio, immediately followed by folio number and "r" or "v", for recto or verso (e.g. "f1r5" = folio 1, recto, line 5); "lm" for left margin.

References

Manuscripts: *Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*

C1 *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*. UVSL 951/97 (palm-leaf).
C2a *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*. UVSL 479/31 (paper).
C2b *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*. UVSL 480 (paper).
S1 *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*. MSSML 628/60 (palm-leaf).
S2 *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*. MSSML 151/88 (paper).

Primary Sources: *Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*

EKV *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*. 1929. Edited by R. Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai. Karantai: Karantai Tamiḻ Caṅkam. Reprint, Tañcāvūr: Tamil University, 1984 and 2010.
ESV *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Āttirēyar Urai*. 1989. Edited by V. Vēṇukōpālaṉ. Tañcāvūr: Tañcāvūr Serfōji Caracuvati Makāl Library. Second Edition, 2014.
EKS *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*. 1963. Cuntaramūrti Viḷakka Urai. Ceṉṉai: Tirunelvēli Teṉṉintiya Caiva Cittānta Nūṟpatippukkaḻakam.
ETM *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai*. 2003. Edited by Ti. Vē. Kōpālaiyar and Na. Araṇamuṟuval, Ceṉṉai: Tamiḻ Maṇ Patippakam.

Primary Sources: *Tolkāppiyam*

Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Uraikkottu. 2007–2013. Edited by Ti. Vē. Kōpālaiyar, Tañcāvūr: Serfōji Caracuvati Makāl Library (vol. 1), then Tañcāvūr: Tamil University (vols. 2–4). 4 volumes: *Kiḷaviyākkam*; *Vēṟṟumaiyiyal, Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal, Viḷimarapu; Peyariyal, Viṉaiyiyal; Iṭaiyiyal, Uriyiyal*, *Eccaviyal*.
Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Uraivaḷam. 1982–1988. Edited by A. Civaliṅkaṉār, Ceṉṉai: International Institute of Tamil Studies. 9 volumes: *Kiḷaviyāk-*

kam, Vēṟṟumaiyiyal, Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal, Viḷimarapu, *Peyariyal, Viṉaiyiyal, Iṭaiyiyal, Uriyiyal*, *Eccaviyal*.

Tolkāppiyam-Collatikāram Uraikkōvai. Kiḷaviyākkam, Vēṟṟumaiyiyal, Vēṟṟumai Mayaṅkiyal, Viḷimarapu. 1963. Edited by Abraham Arulappan and V.I. Subramoniam, Palyamkottai: Abraham Arulappan Patippakam.

Tolkāppiyamūlam Pāṭavēṟupāṭukaḷ: Āḻnōkkāyvu. 1996. Edited by K. M. Vēṅkaṭarāmayyā, Ca. Vē. Cuppiramaṇiyaṉ, Pa. Vē. Nākarācaṉ. Tiruvaṉantapuram: International School of Dravidian Linguistics.

Secondary Literature: *Tolkāppiyam* **Studies**

Cōmacuntaram Piḷḷai, Ma. Na. 1929. "Tolkāppiyac Collatikāram Teyvaccilaiyār Urai". *Tamiḻppoḻil* 5.6: 201–23.

Cōmacuntaram Piḷḷai, Ma. Na. 1930. "Tolkāppiyac Collatikāra Uraiyāciriyarum Teyvaccilaiyārum". *Centamiḻ* 28.11: 457–484.

Cōmacuntaram Piḷḷai, Ma. Na. 1931–1932. "Piṉṉaṅkuṭic Cuppiramaṇiya Cāttiriyār Tolkāppiyac Collatikāra Vārāyccik Kuṟippuraiyum Maṟuppum". *Tamiḻppoḻil* 7.4: 145–192; 7.5: 453–456, 562–576; 7.10: 145–192.

Cuntaram, Irāma. 1978. "Teyvaccilaiyar Uraittiraṉ". In *Col Putitu Cuvai Putitu*, 1–27. Ceṉṉai: Tamiḻ Nūlakam.

Kantacāmi, S. N. 1981. *Teyvaccilaiyār Uraittiraṉ*. Chidambaram: Abirāmi Patippakam.

Kantacāmi, S. N. 2001. "Tolkāppiyamum Teyvaccilaiyārum". In *Tolkāppiya Ilakkaṇa Moḻiyiyal Kōṭpāṭukaḷ — Seminar Papers* edited by. Ce. Jean Lawrence, 231–253. Ceṉṉai: International Institute of Tamil Studies.

Kurucāmi, Ca. 2021. *Teyvaccilaiyar Uraineṟi*. Ceṉṉai: Central Institute of Classical Tamil.

Mātaiyan, Pe. 2014. "Teyvaccilaiyāriṉ Urai Neṟi". In: *Uraiyiyal*, 68–105. Ceṉṉai: Pāvai Publications.

Nārayaṇa Ayyaṅkār. 1919. "Pērāciriyar Uraiyum Aṇmai Viḷiyum". *Centamiḻ* 17.2: 449–456.

Navanīta Kiruṣṇa Pārati 1920–1921. "Iṭaiccerukal, Ituvumatu". *Centamiḻ*. Monthly Journal. Maturai: Maturai Tamiḻ Caṅkam. 19.2: 35–37.

Rācu, Ce. 1975. "Teyvaccilaiyār: *Cila Varalāṟṟukkuṟipukaḷ*". *Koṅku* April: 90–94; May: 119–122; June: 141–146.

Subrahmania Sastri, P.S. 1930. *Tolkāppiyac Collatikārakkuṟippu*. Tiruchinopoly: P.S. Ganesa Sastri.

Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai, Araṅka. 1918. "Tolkāppiya Ārāycci". *Centamiḻ* 16.4 (Feb.-March 1918): 202–206.

Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai, Araṅka. 1925a. "Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram Pērāciriyar Urai". *Tamiḻppoḻil* 1.4: 123–130.

Vēṅkaṭācalam Piḷḷai, Araṅka. 1925b. "Pērāciriyar Uraikkuṟippu". *Tamiḻppoḻil* 1.5: 163–169.

Secondary Literature

Aṇṇāmalai, Sp. 1974. "Teyvaccilaiyāriṉ Ilakkaṇakkoḷkai". In *Ilakkaṇa Āyvukkatturaikaḷ* edited by Ca. Akastiyaliṅkam and Ka. Pālacuppiramaniaṉ, 283–304. Aṇṇāmalainakar: Aṇṇāmalai University.

Araṅkarājaṉ, Irā. 2002. *Tiruvāymoḷippēruraiyāḷar Nampiḷḷai Uraittiraṉ*, Citamparam: Meyyappan Āyvakam.

Aravintaṉ, Mu. Vai. 1968. *Uraiyāciriyarkaḷ*. Ceṉṉai: Maṇivācakar Patippakam. Second edition: 1995.

Avvai Turaicāmi Piḷḷai. 1949. *Tamil Nāvalar Caritai*. Ceṉṉai: Kaḻakam.

Caṇmukam, Ce. Vai. 2017. "Kantacāmi: Teyvaccilaiyār Uraitiṟaṉ". In *Nāṉ Aṟinta Tamiḻ Aṟiñarkaḷ*, 189–203. Ceṉṉai: NCBH.

Cuntaramūrtti, E. 1980. *Tirukkuṟaḷ Parimēlaḻakar Urai-Nuṇporuḷ Mālai* by Tirumēṉi Kāri Irattiṇak Kavirāyar. Kōvai-Ceṉṉai: Tēṉmoḻi Nūlakam.

Dhamotharan, A. 1999 (ed.). *Naṉṉūl Mūlamum Viruttiyuraiyum*. Ceṉṉai: International Institute of Tamil Studies.

Iraviccantiraṉ, Cu. 2006. *Tolkāppiya Mūlapāṭa Āyvu*. Ceṉṉai: Cakuntalai Patippakam.

Kamāl, S. M. 1992. *Cētupati Maṉṉar Ceppēṭukaḷ*. Rāmanātapuram: Ṣamiḷā Patippakam.

Nachimuthu, K. 2018a. "Critical edition of Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram with Teyvaccilaiyār commentary: Some Preliminary Observations, Part 1". Paper presented in 16th Classical Tamil Winter Seminar in EFEO, Puducherry, held from 12th February to 9th March 2018.

Nachimuthu, K. 2018b. "Tolkāppiyam Collatikarām Teyvaccilaiyār commentary: A lone Representative of an isolated stream of grammatical thought?" Paper presented in the Workshop on Tracing School Formations and Scholarly Networks. EFEO, Pondicherry held from 3rd to the 7th of September 2018.

Natarācaṉ, Ā. Kō. 1994. *Moḻiyiyal Nōkkil Teyvaccilaiyāriṉ Putiya Pātai*, Part I. Citamparam: Pālāji Patippakam.

Pillay, L. Olaganatha. 1925. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library*, *Tanjore*. Vols. I–II. Tañcāvūr: Serfōji Caracuvati Makāl Library.

Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S. 1934. *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and their relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit*. Ceṉṉai: The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. Reprint 1997.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. S1, last page (foliation lost). Courtesy of MSSML. Photo by G. Ravindran/N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 2. S2, last page = p. 465, line 8. Courtesy of MSSML.

Fig. 3. C1, f1r. Courtesy of UVSL. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 4. C1, f165 v. Courtesy of UVSL. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Fig. 5. C1, f104v. Courtesy of UVSL. Photo by G. Ravindran/ N. Ramaswamy, courtesy EFEO.

Formal Translations: The Advent of *Citrakāvya* in Tamil

Victor B. D'Avella (University of Oxford)

In this article I present part of my research into the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* that focuses on the incorporation of *citrakāvya* ("flashy poetry") into Tamil poetics. In order understand such a literary movement, I have included a brief prefatory exploration of how the addition of Sanskrit poetics to the analysis of Tamil poetry has been justified in the commentary to the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* including an as-yet unpublished explanation found in a manuscript from the Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyar Library. In my subsequent study of *citrakāvya*, I detail the history of the genre in Tamil up to the time of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* and then take up the *nākapantam*, a particularly challenging figure that may have its origins in South India. Original manuscript material from the Bibliothèque nationale de France has provided visual presentations and additional glosses.

1. Introduction

For my contribution to this volume, I would like to present a snippet of my research on the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (TA) that draws on manuscript material located in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) and the Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyar Library in Chennai (UVSL). The manuscripts of these two institutions contribute to the study of the TA by bringing to light pictorial representations of complex figures of speech (*alaṅkāram*, *aṇi*, "ornament") and by also providing us with a new view on how the relation between Tamil and Sanskrit was perceived by readers of the TA. After a brief overview of the work, I will present two alternate versions of the commentary on TA 1.25 in which the commentator(s) position Tamil within the language hierarchy of their literary milieu in order to justify the translation of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (KĀ) into Tamil. Thereafter, I will turn my attention to one of the most restrictive and challenging types of poetry from India, *citrakāvya* ("flashy poetry"), and

how this genre, Sanskritic in origin, was adopted and expanded as *miṟaikkavi* ("painful poetry") or *cittirakavi* in Tamil. The manuscript from the BnF will provide diagrams and pictures of these figures including the *nāgabandha*/*nākapantam* "snake diagram", which will be analyzed in some detail.

At the beginning of the second millennium Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* was rendered twice into Tamil. Once as part of a larger all-encompassing grammatical work known as the *Vīracōḻiyam* (VC)[1] and again about a century later as an independent work, the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* usually attributed to one Taṇṭi Āciriyar. The latter might be more properly called a translation of the KĀ as it maintains the same division into three (or four) sections (*potuviyal* "On general matters", *poruḷaṇiyiyal* "On ornaments of sense", and *collaṇiyal* "On ornaments of sound", the last portion of which is, in some manuscripts, further divided into *oḻipiyal* "On the rest") and follows fairly closely the progression of the KĀ, although it is admittedly rather bare bones and leaves out much of the charm of the Sanskrit original as well as the example verses that form an integral part of Daṇḍin's work. Unfortunately, little is known about the TA's authorship, but quotations in the commentary of Aṭiyārkkunallār[2] on the *Cilappatikāram* and example poems in praise of Anapāyaṉ Cōḻaṉ (r. 1133–1150) help to place it in the 12th century.

To assist us in reading the terse *cūttiram*s of the TA, we also have an old commentary that contains the example poems as well as a gloss on both the *cūttiram*s and the cited poems. Just as with the main text, we do not know anything certain about the authorship of the unidentified example poems or the commentary. It may be that the same person who wrote the *cūttiram*s also composed the commentary and example verses or that a different person is responsible for the commentary but the examples were provided with the root text or some other such combination.[3] Whatever the case may be, it is certain that examples and some version of the

[1] See D'Avella (2021).

[2] As an example for the figure *pukaḻuvamai*, Aṭiyārkkunallār (*Cilappatikāram* 1955: 51), quotes the same verse found in the commentary ad TA 2.5 (TA 1962, p. 14).

[3] The text has been transmitted both with and without the commentary. Some examples are identifiable quotes, but most are clearly tailored to the main text such as those for the *kuṇam*s.

commentary accompanied the TA, even if only orally at first, from an early date and could well be the source for the present commentary.[4] I may also mention that an early edition of the TA from 1873 ascribes the commentary to one Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikar, but on what grounds I do not know since I have not yet been able to consult it. The editors of a later partial edition of the TA from 1901, V. M. Satakoparamanujachariar and S. Krishnamachariar, discuss this point as well[5] and are not aware of the ascription from any other source nor do they identify this Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikar with the second teacher of U. Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar at Tiruvāvaṭuturai after the death of Mīṉāṭcicuntaram Piḷḷai. They simply note that no other information is available.[6] Furthermore, since Vaittiyanātatēcikar (18th cent.), the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, utilized the TA, its examples and its commentary (except the glosses on the example poems), the commentary must be prior to Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikar, the latter teacher of Cāmināṭaiyar. I hope to discuss the commentary and textual history of the TA in more detail in a later publication.

2. Translating the *Kāvyādarśa*

The reproduction of the KĀ in Tamil signaled an expansion in the analysis of Tamil poetry as well as its mode of composition

---

[4] Several of the examples are common to the commentary on the *Vīracōḻiyam* by Peruntēvaṉar, e.g., the verse beginning *niṇaivariya* is found ad TA 2.57 and VC 174; the verses *piṟar celvam* and *periyō* are quoted ad TA 2.58 and VC 174. The uncertain chronology makes it difficult to determine if one was borrowing from another or the verses were from another common source.

[5] TA 1901, pp. 4f.

[6] Since the editors of the 1901 edition received a manuscript copy (*ēṭṭup pirati*) of the TA from Cāmināṭaiyar (TA 1901, p. 8) and were therefore in contact with him, it seems that they would have known if UVS's teacher had written a commentary on the TA. Several later editions retain Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikar as the author of the commentary including the popular *kaḻakam* editions. Cf. TA 1920, p. 6, where, however, it is noted that in an old edition one simply finds that the commentary is ascribed to Cuppiramaṇiya Tēcikar (*in nūliṉ paḻaiya accuppiratiyil, 'cuppiramaṇiya tēcikarāṟ ceyyappaṭṭa urai' eṉpatu māttiram kāṇappaṭukiṉṟatu*). The remarks in TA 1943, p. 4 (the *kaḻakam* edition, first printed in 1938), are partially derived from the 1920 introduction.

whereby the elaborate categories of poetic ornaments from Sanskrit *alaṅkāraśāstra* were added to the older poetics of the *Tolkāppiyam* and *Iraiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*. When exactly this blending of the two traditions first happened is difficult to determine, but we have a few clues. In addition to the VC and the TA, we also have earlier lists of *alaṅkāram*s from the *Tivākaram* (Ti 2458) and *Piṅkalam* (Pi 1370), two late first millennium *nikaṇṭu*s (Tamil lexicographical works, cf. Sanskrit *kośa*/*nighaṇṭu*), as well as references to a work named the *Aṇiyiyal* "Section on Ornaments" in the commentary (*virutti*) to the *Yāpparuṅkalam* (ca. 1000 CE), an expansive work on metrics. Although I do wish to discuss these lists here,[7] we might note one telling bit of information from the order of the *alaṅkāram*s, the first of which in these sources is *uruvakam* (= Skt. *rūpaka* "metaphor"). To this we may add the description of the *matura-kavi* ("sweet poem") in Ti 2335 and Pi 367, which is described as containing the ornaments beginning with the *uruvakam* (*uruvakam mutal-ām alaṅkāram uṭkoṇṭu*). One familiar with Sanskrit *alaṅkāraśāstra* will recognize that such a list of ornaments headed by *rūpaka* is not found in the KĀ[8] but rather in the earlier work of Bhāmaha, the *Kāvyālaṅkāra*: 1.13a *rūpakādir alaṃkāras* and 1.14a *rūpakādim alaṃkāraṃ*.[9] I believe that this is more than mere coincidence and it suggests that the origin of the early Tamil lists lies not in the KĀ but in earlier sources, possibly the same list that Bhāmaha had in mind when he used *rūpakādi* if not Bhāmaha's work itself.

Moving from these bare lists to our main text, the TA, we find a wealth of information, explicit and implicit, about the linguistic attitudes that attended the recreation of Daṇḍin's work in Tamil. I would therefore like to highlight two passages from the commen-

---

[7] Jean-Luc Chevillard has analyzed these lists in an as yet unpublished article available online (Chevillard 2020).

[8] In KĀ 2.4cd, *rūpaka* is third in the list after *upamā*; so too in VC 152 and TA 2.2 (*taṉmai*, *uvamai*, *uruvakam*).

[9] Cf. *Dhvanyāloka* 2.17cd: *rūpakādir alaṅkāravarga eti yathārthatām*. The Kashmiri school of *alaṅkāraśāstra* generally followed Bhāmaha and neglected Daṇḍin though the KĀ was known in the region. In discussing the ornaments, Bhāmaha follows yet another order based on what others consider to be the only *alaṅkāra*s: *anuprāsa, yamaka, rūpaka, dīpaka, upamā*. Cf. *Kāvyālaṅkāra* 2.4.

tary that present two very different rationales for subjecting Tamil poetry to rules originally intended for Sanskrit.

The author of the TA, assuming that he did not also compose the commentary, chose not to openly speak of the reasons why he based his work on the KĀ; he simply writes the treatise without any preamble.[10] It is left to the commentator to explain what function in Tamil literary theory a translation/adaptation of the KĀ could fulfill. As noted above, we unfortunately do not know anything very certain about the authorship and date of the commentary, although many of the examples seem to be composed specifically for the *cūttiram*s and are, I believe, likely contemporary with the root text.[11] In my discussion below I am, therefore, cautious in ascribing the ideas expressed in the commentary to a general Tamil readership in one particular period of time but view them rather as potential and influential ways of integrating the TA into Tamil poetics.

In the first chapter of the TA, after defining *samāti* (= Skt. *samādhi*, TA 1.25), the final quality that serves to distinguish between the *vaitaruppam* (= Skt. *vaidarbha*) and *kauṭam* (= Skt. *gauḍa*) styles of poetry, the commentator addresses the elephant in the room:

> *aktēl iṉṉa yilakkaṇam ellā muṉṉaiyōr moḻintatu naṭai pala payiṉṟa vaṭamoḻikk'*[12] *aṉṟē centamiḻ neṟiyiṉ*[13] *vanta vāṟ' eṉṉai eṉiṉ.*[14] (TA 1962 p. 42)

---

[10] We have in a few editions and in a MS a *pāyiram* to the TA of uncertain date and origin, in which Taṇṭi is described as being a scholar of Tamil who learned the northern treatises, or, in one manuscript, a scholar of northern treatises who learned Tamil. On the two versions of the *pāyiram*, see Wilden (2021).

[11] Four *Caṅkam* collections (*Neṭuntokai* [*Akanāṉūṟu*], *Puranāṉūṟu*, *Kuṟuntokai*, *Kallitokai*) and four *Kīḻkkaṇakku* collections (*Tiruvaḷḷavappayaṉ* [*Tirukkuṟaḷ*], *Kaḷavaḻināṟpatu*, *Kārnāṟpatu*, *Aintiṇai*) are mentioned ad TA 1.5. I have identified a handful of other *Caṅkam* quotations in the first section, in addition to those discussed below. The *Pattupāṭṭu* is quoted ad TA 1.19 (*Paṭṭiṉappālai* 196–302) and ad TA 1.25 (*Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* 1f.). *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 319 and 297 are given as examples ad TA 1.17. In the available editions, the examples are generally not identified and none have an index of works quoted.

[12] UVSL 606, f111v1: *vaṭakalaikk'*.

[13] BnF Indien 206, f21r3: *centamiḻmoḻiyiṉ*.

[14] BnF Indien 205, f15v7f. offers a slightly expanded version of the same

> Should that be so, if one asks, "Isn't it for the northern language in which many styles are current that our predecessors uttered all such rules?" how is it that they have occurred on the path of [i.e., been applied to] correct Tamil (*centamiḻ*)?

By simply asking this question the commentator highlights the fact that one could perceive the application of Sanskrit poetics as inappropriate to, perhaps even a sort of invasion upon, the Tamil language, for which there already exists a substantial body of grammatical and poetological theory. In response, we find two distinct justifications, one printed in our editions and known to all modern readers of the TA, and another that I have so far only discovered in one manuscript.[15] Both responses, as we will see, justify the use of the TA but in significantly different ways, implying that at some point in the transmission of the TA's commentary, an individual found the existing explanation insufficient or unpalatable. We will begin with the response found in the vulgate, i.e., the printed editions, and supported by BnF Indien 205, f15v8–16v1 and 206, f21r3–21v6, as well as UVSL 606, f111v2–112r3.[16]

> *itaṉ mutaṉūl ceyta vāciriyar ulakattuccoll ellām caṅkirutam pākatam avappirañcam*[17] *eṉa mūṉṟu vakaippaṭuttu*[18] *avaṟṟuḷ caṅkirutam*

---

commentary: *aktēl iṉṉa vilakkaṇa muṉṉaiyōr moḻintatu tamiḻ naṭai vaḻiyiṉ muṉṉi yuraitta muṟaimai maṟṟivai naṭai pala payiṉṟa vaṭamoḻi[k]k' iṉṟe — centamiḻ neṟiyiṉ vanta vāṟ eṉṉai yeṉa = eṉṉiṉ*. The added element *tamiḻ naṭai vaḻiyiṉ muṉṉi yuraitta muṟaimai maṟṟivai* seems to be a gloss on the preceding and may be translated, roughly, as "These [rules], different in the manner from how [the other rules] were earlier formulated for the Tamil way [of composition]."

[15] I emphasize that I have so far only been able to consult four manuscripts of the TA, not all of which are complete with commentary.

[16] I will not attempt to give a truly critical apparatus but note variants of importance. None of the manuscripts consulted match the printed editions. UVSL 606 is noteworthy because the passage ends in a similar, but not identical, manner as the printed edition. The edition (ed.) referred to in the following footnotes is TA 1962 pp. 42f.

[17] Our manuscripts display different spellings of the Sanskrit words *saṃskṛtam*, *prākṛtam*, and *apabhraṃśaḥ*. For example, in BnF Indien 206, f21r4 we have: சஙகிறகிறுதம பிறாகிறுதம அபபபிபிறஙகிசம.

[18] **vakaippaṭuttu:** ed., UVSL 606; *vakaippaṭattiṉār* BnF Indien 205, 16r1, BnF Indien 206, f21r4. I have a preference for the finite verb here as *avaṟṟuḷ* often begins a new sentence.

puttēḷir moḻi eṉavum, apappirañcam pāmaracātikaḷ[19] *ākiya iḻiciṉar moḻi yeṉavuṅ kūṟiṉār: ataṉāl pirākirutam ellā nāṭṭu mēlōr moḻi eṉap paṭum.*[20] *allatūum, pirakiruti eṉpatu iyalp' ākalāṉ pirākirutam iyalpu moḻi.*[21] *antap pirākirutattait taṟpavam taṟcamam tēciyam eṉa mūṉṟākkiṉār … ivaṟṟaic ceyyuṭcoll eṉat tamiḻnūlārum vēṇṭiṉār ākaliṉ, ivvāṟṟāṉa tamiḻccoll ellām pākatam eṉappaṭum.*[22] *accoṟkaḷāl iyaṟṟappaṭum ellāk kavikkum avvalaṅkāram aṉaittum uṟiya vākaliṉ, īṇṭu moḻipeyarttu uraikkap paṭṭaṉa veṉpatu — ituvum iraṇṭu neṟiyārkkum ōkkum.*[23]

The teacher [Daṇḍin] who composed its [the TA's] root text [the KĀ] divided all the world's words into three categories [in KĀ 1.132]: Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabraṃśa and said that among them Sanskrit is the language of the gods and Apabraṃśa is the language of base people who have a low caste. Therefore, Prakrit

---

[19] **pāmaracātikaḷ:** ed.; *itaracātikaḷ* BnF Indien 205, 16r1, 206, 21r5 "people of other (i.e., low) *jātis*"; *māviratikaḷ ākiya viruṭikaṇ moḻi* UVSL 606, 111v3f. "the language of sages who have undertaken a great vow."

[20] **ataṉāl…paṭum:** ed.; *atalāl piṟākiṟutam ellā nāṭ' ellāp pāṭai moḻi yeṉavum paṭum* BnF Indien 205, 26r2f.; *atavar [p.c.: ataṉāṟ] piṟākiṟutam ellā nāṭṭ' ellā moḻi yeṉavum paṭum* BnF Indien 206, 21r5f., "therefore Prakrit is also said to be the respective language of each civilized region." *pāṭai moḻi* in BnF Indien 205 appears to be an instance of glossing in the text. *ataṉāl appātam [corr. appākatam] ellār [p.c.: ellā] nāṭṭu mēlōr vaḻaṅkum iyalpu moḻi yeṉpatu viḷaṅkiṟṟu* UVSL 606, 111v4f., "therefore it is clear that Prakrit is what is called the natural language that people in all civilized regions use." UVLS 606 does not distinguish the two explanations of the word *prākṛtam* that are found in the edition as well as the BnF manuscripts and separated by *allatūum*.

[21] **moḻi:** ed.; omitted in BnF Indien 205, 26r3, BnF Indien 206, 21r6. The omission is odd. As noted above this sentence is lacking in UVSL 606.

[22] **ivvāṟṟāṉa…collum:** ed.; *avvāṟṟāṉ ellāt tamiḻc collum piṟākiṟutam eṉappaṭum* BnF Indien 205, 16r7 and 206, 21v4f. "in that manner all Tamil words are said to be Prakrit;" *ivvāṟṟāṉ ellāt tamiḻc ceyyuṭ collum pākatam eṉappaṭum* UVSL 606, 102r1f. "in this manner all Tamil words in poetry are said to be Prakrit".

[23] **paṭṭaṉa…ōkkum:** UVSL 606, 102r3; *paṭutalāl appiṟākiṟutavakaiyāṉ mūṉṟāṉuñ collap paṭum eṉak koḷka* BnF Indien 205, 26r8f. (partially worm-eaten) and 206, "since they are…understand that [the ornaments] are stated on the basis of the threefold division of Prakrit"; *paṭṭaṉa* ed. The edition ends abruptly without any word to mark the close of the commentary. Both alternate versions found in the manuscripts make for a better syntax, in particular *koḷka*, which responds to the opening question: "if one asks…understand that…" It is difficult to decide which version is oldest.

> is said to be the language of all people who live in civilized regions (*nāṭu*).[24] Or rather, because *pirakriti* means "nature" (*iyalpu*), Prakrit is the natural language (*iyalpu moḻi*).[25] He [Daṇḍin] has made Prakrit threefold [in KĀ 1.1.33cd]: the same as it [Sanskrit], derived from it [Sanskrit] and regional ... Because Tamil scholars also wanted these to be words for poetry, all Tamil words of this type are said to be Prakrit.[26] Because all of those ornaments [as described in the KĀ] are fit for all poetry that is composed with those words, they [the ornaments] are translated and explained here. And so this [*Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*/*alaṅkāram*s] is suitable to both styles [i.e., Tamil and Sanskrit].

The reasoning can be summarized as follows: language can be divided into three types: Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. Sanskrit is for the gods, Apabhraṃśa for low people and Prakrit is the language spoken by people who live in a "civilized" region (*nāṭu*) or, alternatively, it is the natural language. Prakrit is further divided into words that are identical to Sanskrit (*tatsama*), produced in or derived from it (*tadbhava*) or are regional (*deśī*).[27] In the portion I have left out, the commentator gives examples of Tamil words for each of these categories such as *mūlam* (= Skt. *mūlam*), *pāvam* (< Skt. *pāpam*), and *nīr* (not related to Sanskrit), respectively. For the *tadbhava* words, we are even given two quotations from the

---

[24] In Tamil, *nāṭu* is juxtaposed with *kāṭu*, a region that is not inhabited by people such as a jungle or desert. Following the *Piṅkalam*, the second oldest Tamil *nikaṇṭu*, we may consider *nāṭu* as a possible Tamil equivalent of Skt. *deśa*, i.e., a particular area where a language is spoken as in *deśa-bhāṣā*. Cf. Pi 457, where *tēyam* (< Skt. *deśa*) is one of the 14 synonyms given for *nāṭu*.

[25] The verb *iyal-tal* and its derivatives like *iyalpu* refer to a natural existence or connection. For example, the term *iyal-col*, "natural word" in TC 397c (on which see below) and defined in TC 398c refers to words that are generally used in the land of correct Tamil (*centamiḻ nilattu vaḻakkoṭu*) and in their usual meaning (*tam poruḷ vaḷāmai*). This explanation of the word *piṟākiṟutam* is more in line with what Namisādhu says about Prakrit in an oft-quoted passage ad Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* 2.12, namely, that *prakṛti* is "the innate faculty of speech of all living beings without being refined by grammar and so on." *prākṛta* is what arises therein (*tatra bhavam*). See Ollett (2017: 155ff.) for the translation, a discussion and further references.

[26] Tamil words fall into the sub-category of regional words.

[27] See Kahrs (1992) on these terms, especially *tadbhava*.

Caṅkam corpus: *Akanāṉūṟu* 313.11 *nitiyan tuñcum* and *Pattupāṭṭu* 7 (*Neṭunalvāṭai*) 115 *tacanaṉk' eytiya paṇai maruṇōṉṟāḷ*, where *nitiyam* derives from Skt. *nidhi*, "treasure," and *taca*, from Skt. *daśa*, "10."[28] It is no doubt significant that the commentator chose to quote from the Caṅkam corpus at this point for it shows that even this oldest layer of Tamil poetry makes use of words derived from Sanskrit.[29] Finally, it is argued that since Tamil scholars require all three kinds of words for Tamil poetry,[30] this poetic language must be classified as Prakrit, for which the rules and ornaments of the KĀ are applicable. Thus, a translation of the KĀ into Tamil is necessary. Such reasoning could certainly be applied to any number of Indian languages, and the theory that other Dravidian languages such as Telugu derived from Sanskrit was certainly popular well into the 19th cent.[31] Although Sanskrit words have been acknowledged as a part of Tamil since the time of the *Tolkāppiyam* (on this see below), it was certainly not common to classify Tamil as a subtype of Prakrit.

More important, though, than Tamil's origins is its integration into the linguistic classification laid out in the KĀ itself. As a student of the KĀ will by now have recognized, our commentator has rehashed the content of KĀ 1.32f., two *kārikā*s that are *not* adapted into the TA proper. In these, Daṇḍin enumerates the four linguistic options for composing poetry (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabraṃśa, and a mixture of these[32]) and gives a short definition of each: Sanskrit is

---

[28] Note that the compound *taca-nāṉku* (= *nāṟpatu* 40) is a numeral made up a "northern" number and a Tamil number.

[29] An additional reason for the inclusion of these particular quotes is that they are also found in the commentaries on TC 396i, a *cūttiram* that allows for Sanskrit words to be borrowed into Tamil with "corrupted" (*citaintaṉa*) letters, i.e., those Sanskrit words that require modification to be written/spoken in Tamil. Iḷampūraṇar quotes both *Caṅkam* passages. The later commentators leave out the first and quote the *Pattupāṭṭu* passage as well as others.

[30] Though palpable, I do not think there is an implicit reference here to the four types of words for Tamil poetry given in TC 297c, a *cūttiram* I will discuss below.

[31] Trautmann (2006); cf. the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi kārikā* 4/*sūtra* 11, a grammar of Telugu ascribed to the first Telugu Poet Nannayyabhaṭṭa, where Telugu is said to be a *vikṛti* "modification" of both Sanskrit and Prakrit: *ādyaprakṛtiḥ prakṛtiś cādye eṣā tayor bhaved vikṛtiḥ*. See further D'Avella and Sarma (2021).

[32] A strictly threefold division is found in the work of Daṇḍin's likely predecessor,

the divine language (*daivī vāk*), in poems Apabhraṃśa is spoken by cowherds, etc., and Prakrit is the language of both poetry such as the *Setubandha* and dramatic dialogs. Although no specific class of speakers is given for Prakrit, one may assume by process of elimination that it is those who make up "civilized" society, i.e., people who live in a particular, nameable region (*deśa*) like Mahārāṣṭra, Śūrasena or Magadha.[33] Our commentator on the TA makes this connection explicit with his statement that Prakrit is the language of the people living in all *nāṭu*s. The well-known division of Prakrit into three types of words mentioned above is given in KĀ 1.33cd. By adopting these linguistic categories and finding a place for Tamil words among them, the commentator signifies that the Sanskrit root text offers a sufficient theory of linguistic description that can be expanded to include Tamil. He simultaneously demonstrates specific knowledge of portions of the KĀ which did not get translated as part of the TA, thus not only highlighting his proficiency in both languages but also presenting to the Tamil reader an important linguistic doctrine from the KĀ that would have otherwise been left out. Whether or not the author of these comments was fully convinced by this line of argumentation and, similarly, whether later readers believed him, is not necessarily the main point. Rather, the commentator has fulfilled his duty to (try to) justify the existence and applicability of the root text and thereby provided food for thought.

We are fortunate to have evidence, thus far not noticed in modern times, that the justification outlined above was not to everyone's liking.[34] In a manuscript from the U. V. Swaminatha Iyer Library we find an entirely different response that does not use the internal reasoning of the KĀ to justify the translation but instead

---

the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha: 1.16cd *saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ cānyad apabhraṃśa iti tridhā*.

[33] Hence one commentator on KĀ 1.33, Taruṇavācaspati, glosses *prākṛta* with *mahārāṣṭrādideśabhāṣā* "the language of regions such as Mahārāṣṭra and so forth." Daṇḍin himself lists the regional names for Prakrit in KĀ 1.34f.

[34] The reverse situation is possible but less likely given that the following passage has not been mentioned by any editor. It is only found in one of the four manuscripts I have consulted, but this does not carry much weight.

looks to the *Tolkāppiyam*. The passage, starting after the initial questions reads:

> *tamiḻnūlār iyaṟcoṟ ṟiricoṟ ṟicaiccol vaṭacol eṉṟ' aṉaittē ceyyuḷ īṭṭac collē eṉa vaṭacollaiyum innilattuc ceyyuṭku vēṇṭutalāṉum, uvamai mutaliya cila oruvāṟu kūṟutalāṉum, aṅṅaṉaṅ kūṟum aṇiya āka iyaṟṟutaṟku innilattuc ceyyuḷ u[ṇ]maiyum*[35] *ātalāṉum, innilattārkku avvaṇi iṉpatu kūṭāta kuṟaiyuṭaimaiyiṉ, aḵt' oḻikka vēṇṭutalāṉum avvaṇiya ākac ceyyuḷ iyaṟṟik kaṭavuṇmutaliyōrkk' aḷitt' irumaip payaṉum peṟa vēṇṭutalāṉum avaṟṟai moḻi peyartt' īṇṭu kūṟap paṭṭat' eṉka 25*. (UVSL 181, f11v4ff.)

> Say [in response] that since poetry will have a fault for such a man [as Tolkāppiyar][36] when the sweetness of those poetic ornaments has not been added, [1] because one needs Northern words for poetry of this sort given that the Tamil scholar [Tolkāppiyar] says [in TC 397c], "The words that are collected into poetry are natural words, recherché words, regional words, and Northern words,"[37] [2] because we on occasion utter [poetic ornaments] like the simile and so forth, and [3] because there exists such poetry composed with the ornaments[38] as thus described. Therefore, since we need to remove that [fault] and we need to obtain

---

[35] The manuscript is partially worm-eaten after *ceyyuḷu* and the following *eḻuttu* is not entirely legible. I am not fully convinced that my conjecture is correct.

[36] I understand *innilattārkku* to refer back to *tamiḻnūlār*, i.e., Tolkāppiyar.

[37] Northern words are defined in TC 395c as "a word that is combined with letters but to the exclusion of the Northern letters" (*vaṭa eḻuttu orīi eḻuttoṭu puṇarnta col*). As the commentators make clear, especially through their examples, a *vaṭacol* in this context is not any Sanskrit word but only those that do not contain letters unique to Sanskrit, i.e., those that can be written in the Tamil script without modification. Cf. Cēṉāvaraiyar ad TC 401c: *eṉavē, potu eḻuttāṉ iyaṉṟa vaṭacollum ceyyuḷ ceytaṟkuc col ām eṉṟa vāṟ' āyiṟṟu*. "So it is that he [Tolkāppiyar] has said that Northern words, made up of letters common (to Tamil and Sanskrit), are also words [suited] for composing poetry." None of the four commentators on this *cūttiram* offers an example derived from a Sanskrit word containing a voiced or aspirated consonant. A *vaṭacol* can also be a Prakrit word as Teyvaccilaiyar ad TC 397t notes: *vaṭacol eṉṟataṉāṉ tēyavaḻkk' ākiya pākataccol āki vantaṉavum koḷka*, "Understand that because [Tolkāppiyar] has said 'Northern word' [in the *cūttiram*], [Norther words] are also those that have occurred as Prakrit words, which are current in [specific] regions."

[38] I understand *aṇiya vāka* to mean "so as to be [poems] that possess the ornaments (*aṇiya*)".

> great reward by composing poetry so ornamented and thereby show favor to gods and the like, those [poetic ornaments] have been translated and explained here.

In some ways the argument is very similar to the previous one: Tamil poetry is written in an idiom that requires the type of poetic figures described in the KĀ, but how we arrive at this conclusion differs significantly. Previously the crucial link was that the pure Tamil words of the Tamil language itself can be classified as one of the types of words within Prakrit, one of the three languages for which the KĀ is intended. This time around, however, the argument derives not from evidence internal to the KĀ but rather from the *Tolkāppiyam*, an authority that many Tamil readers would very likely have held in higher repute than a Sanskrit work on *alaṅkāraśāstra*. The chain of reasoning, as might be gathered from the translation, is multilayered. The two basic reasons are: to show favor (*aḷittal*) to gods and the like, among whom we can also understand kings, by composing poetry ornamented according to the KĀ and also in order to remove what Tolkāppiyar would perceive as a fault, namely, if the sweetness of poetic ornaments were absent from Tamil poetry. This poetic idiom should contain Northern words as well as similes (*uvamai*) and the like. To justify the former, the *cūttiram* TC 397c is quoted because it allows for, or even prescribes, *vaṭacol* "Northern words" in Tamil poetry (*ceyyuḷ*). Furthermore, although *uvamai* as the first in a list of ornaments does not stand out, we might nevertheless take it as another connection to the *Tolkāppiyam*, in which it is the only real ornament discussed at length in the *Poruḷatikāram* in the *Uvamaiyiyal* "On the Simile". Thus, the lack of such ornaments would be doubly faulty for Tolkāppiyar because they are needed for the Northern words and, in a sense, also required by the poetics of the *Tolkāppiyam* itself. The additional note that praise-poetry is best (or only) effective upon its recipients when so ornamented links the discipline of *alaṅkāraśāstra* to one of the age-old purposes of poetry: to gain the favor of a deity or a king. One can well imagine that this "emic" justification for the translation of the KĀ into Tamil would appeal more to a readership that, though not eschewing Sanskrit, still preferred to find the reasoning within the Tamil grammatical tradition. In this manner, the KĀ/TA is in some way presaged by the *Tolkāppiyam* and serves mainly as an appendix.

When addressing the question of translation in ancient India, we should understand this activity as more than the conveyance of knowledge to an audience that would otherwise not have had access to a text on account of linguistic barriers. Although there were without doubt many Tamil speakers who would have benefitted from translations of Sanskrit works, a good number of learned Tamil poet-scholars (*pulavar*s) would have known Sanskrit very well at the beginning of the 2nd millennium and been able to read and utilize the content of Sanskrit texts. More important in this context than providing access to a text in a foreign language is that the act of translation helped to cement in Tamil Sanskrit *alaṅkāraśāstra*, which would support with theory the modes of poetic composition and analysis that were previously not available or perhaps even looked upon skeptically by more conservative grammarians and poets. The two discussions I have cited above from the commentary respond to anyone who may have expressed such skepticism about the validity of the Sanskrit ornaments for Tamil. Furthermore, the two responses reflect, I contend, the concerns of two different groups. The first, and what I believe to be the original answer, employs the internal logic of the KĀ and so will satisfy someone looking at the situation with a mindset more rooted in Sanskrit than Tamil *śāstra*. The other, and likely secondary response, reaches outside of the KĀ and back to the *Tolkāppiyam* itself in order to convince those approaching the question from the side of the Tamil grammatical tradition. Although we lack precise dates for these discussions, their existence bears witness to a tradition that was concerned with the translation of the KĀ and whether or not it should be applied to Tamil. It is my hope that access to additional manuscripts will help to determine how widespread the second response was and possibly shed light on its date.

3. "Terrible" Poetry

Sometime during the mid-first millennium poets in India began to write increasingly difficult poetry. Much as the many rigid meters of Sanskrit that require a specific series of light and heavy syllables, poets began to compose with restrictions on the placement of specific syllables (*akṣara*s). For example, in the 9th *sarga* of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, Kālidāsa chose to add a restriction in the fourth quar-

ter of the spritely *drutavilambita* meter, whereby the sequence of syllables 2–4 must be immediately repeated so that we have the pattern x abc abc as in *Raghuvaṃśa* 9.47d *sma**ramate ramate** sma vadhūjanaḥ*. This is a very basic type of restriction known as *yamaka* and not necessarily included among *citrakāvya* or other more difficult kinds of poetry.[39] By the time of Bhāravi in the 7th century, more complex restrictions had become integral to the *mahākāvya* genre and in many of the subsequent epic poems we find entire *sarga*s dedicated to showing off skill in this type of exuberant poetic restraint. Verses were composed that read the same backwards and forwards, in a zig-zag, in loops, and in every which way to name but a few. Here we may also include the various *bandha*s or shapes that the *akṣara*s of a verse can be molded into, such as a sword, a discus or a snake. As we will see, the construction of these "pictoral" poems also relies heavily on the repetition of certain *akṣara*s at specific points in the verse or even between verses. Starting with Daṇḍin, *ālaṅkārika*s also took note of this practice, and various lists and illustrations can be found in the *Kāvyādarśa* (KĀ 3.78–96), Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (Chapter 5), Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābhāraṇa* (SKBh 2.109–123) and so on. Alongside such formal restraints, we also find a keen interest in *prahelika*s "riddles, puzzles" (KĀ 3.96–106), a topic to which entire works are dedicated such as Dharmadāsa's *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* and Ratnākaraśānti's *Vidagdhavismāpana*.

Given the strong interest in these more extreme varieties of poetry, it comes as no surprise that Tamil authors would also replicate both the theory and practice of the poetic form. The origins of this movement are hazy: we have a few examples in early Bhakti literature such as *Tēvāram* 1370–1381 (Campantar, ca. 7th cent.)[40] and, a few centuries later, two very similar lists of what constitutes *cittirakavi* (cf. Skt. *citrakāvya*) from the two earliest *nikaṇṭu*s, *Tivākaram* 2366 (early 9th cent.) with 20 named figures and *Piṅkalam* 368

[39] Daṇḍin says some varieties of *yamaka* are easy while others will be difficult (KĀ 3.3cd).

[40] The verses exemplify *ēkapātam* = Skt. *sarvayamaka* (cf. the commentators to *Bhaṭṭikāvya* 10.19) or *pādābhyāsa* (KĀ 3.71), a type of verse in which each quarter is identical in sound but different in meaning. See further Ate (2020, 26–34).

(late 9th cent.) with 22 named figures.[41] The latter list, with some modifications, is incorporated into *cūttiram* 96 of the *Yāpparuṅkalam*, which Peruntēvaṉar quotes in his commentary ad *Vīracōḻiyam* 181. Fortunately, these lists offer more than a series of names and help us to understand how the authors perceived the use of such literary devices. In the concluding lines of each list (Ti 2336 [12.52].11–14=Pi 368 [3.56].12–15), we have a relatively elaborate (for a *nikaṇṭu*) definition of *cittirakavi*:

> *[...] maṟṟum vaṭanūṟ kaṭaluḷ*
> *orukkuṭaṉ vaitta utāraṇam nōkki*
> *virittu niṟaittu*[42] *miṟaikkavip pāṭṭut*
> *terittup pāṭuvatu cittirakaviyē.*
>
> When, after seeing these and other examples collected together in the ocean of the northern [i.e., Sanskrit] treatises and after expanding and elaborating upon them, one then sings songs of tortuous poetry with added elucidation, this is *cittirakavi*.

These few lines encapsulate much of what we know about *citrakāvya* as a literary genre and how it might have spread to other languages. The basic structure of the *cūttiram* consists of two words in a copular relationship: *cittirakavi* is *pāṭuvatu* "singing" with the patient *miṟaikkavip pāṭṭu* "songs of tortuous poetry", which is likewise the patient of the *viṉaiyeccam* (absolutive) *terittu* "having explained", an indication that such literature requires additional elucidation. The Sanskrit origin of such poetry, given in the opening line (*vaṭanūṟ kaṭaluḷ*), confirms the direction of transmission although the Tamil list of extreme figures contains its own innovations and elaborations compared to contemporary Sanskrit lists. We may also note that the term *miṟaikkavi* "tortuous poetry" likely derives from the Sanskrit term *duṣkaram kāvyam* "poetry painful to make", which Daṇḍin uses repeatedly in the KĀ in reference to particularly difficult figures that usually fall under

---

[41] Pi 368 differs from Ti 2366 by adding the line *tūcaṅkoḷalē vāvaṉñāṟṟē* after the latter's third line. The dating of these works is not very certain. See Zvelebil (1995, 702 and 562, respectively).

[42] Thus the *Piṅkalam*. The *Tivākaram* has *maṟaittu*, "having concealed," which does not suit the context as well. YA 96.14 reads *muṭitta* and slightly changes the syntax: "which has been explained and completed".

the umbrella of *citrakāvya*, a term, however, that Daṇḍin himself does not use.[43]

The list of examples that precedes the above quote contains about a score of challenging poetic figures, some quite familiar from the Sanskrit tradition such as the *mālaimāṟṟu* "garland exchange" (= Skt. *pratiloma[yamaka]*, KĀ 3.73ff.), a verse that can be read the same forwards or backwards as in *Tēvāram* 4057–4067, or the *cuḻikuḷam* "whirl" (= Skt. *ardhabhrama*, KĀ 3.80f.), a verse that can be read straight through or in a helix. Some appear to be unique to Tamil, such as *eḻukūṟṟirukkai* "a place for uttering seven", a verse in which the numbers one through seven are mentioned in both descending and ascending order as in *Tēvāram* 1382. Others fall more within the genre of word puzzles like *karantuṟai-pāṭṭu*, a verse from which another verse can be formed by rearranging the letters.[44] If we should accept that these lists are original to the *nikaṇṭu*s (Or could they be later additions? Could the lists have been augmented?), they attest to the adaptation of Sanskrit *citrakāvya* well before the translations of the KĀ and, as we will see in the next section, that the earlier lists are more elaborate than what we find in the VC or TA.

4. The Lists of Daṇḍin/Taṇṭi

We have seen now that prior to the adaptations of the *Kāvyādarśa* in the 2nd millennium, Sanskrit poetics and the genre of *citrakāvya* had already made significant inroads into Tamil poetry and poetics. Indeed, since the lists of *cittirakavi* from the *nikaṇṭu*s and the YA are in fact more elaborate than the *duṣkara* ornaments presented in the KĀ, the authors of the VC and TA were faced with the perhaps

---

[43] The third *pariccheda* is bookended by the term *duṣkara*: KĀ 3.3c and 3.186b. In the latter verse *citra* also occurs but describes the variousness (*nānāprakāra*) of the paths of ornamentation which are either easy (*sukara*) or difficult (*duṣkara*). For the semantics of *duḥ* in such compounds see Pāṇini 3.3.126, where the meaning is *kṛcchra* (= *duḥkha*), i.e., something *duṣkara* is made with suffering. See Dimitrov (2011: 10ff.) for a discussion of *duṣkara* as a part of the title for the third *pariccheda*. On *miṟaikkavi* as a designation for a type of poet see Chevillard (2014), especially p. 152 for the semantic ambiguity of Tamil *kavi*.

[44] There is more overlap with the poetic games of the *Agnipurāṇam*'s chapter on *śabdālaṅkāra*s (343) than with the *prahelikā*s found in KĀ 3. I do not have space at present to go into this fascinating genre of literature.

awkward choice of either reducing the state of the art to match the KĀ or diverging from their model by including figures already known from earlier sources both in Tamil as well as in Sanskrit.[45] Though both authors opted in the end to remain closer to the KĀ with a few additions, their commentators were compelled to supplement what had been left out albeit in slightly different ways. Below I present a brief overview of the three lists from the KĀ, the VC and the TA and conclude with a discussion of one of the truly new figures found in the TA, the *nākapantam* (Skt. *nāgabandha*) "snake diagram" and the depictions of *muṟaikkavi* in BnF Indien 206.

Before turning to the two Tamil texts based on the KĀ, we may first take stock of the relevant "difficult" figures of sound in Daṇḍin's work.[46] As was noted above, the *yamaka* receives the most extensive treatment in the KĀ with numerous subtypes based on the location of the repeated sounds. The section culminates in a series of more challenging (*duṣkara*) *yamaka*s beginning in KĀ 3.38[47] and culminating with the *mahāyamaka* (KĀ 3.70) and *pratiloma-yamaka* (3.73–77). Thereafter comes another set of difficult (*duṣkara*) figures starting with the *gomūtrikā* (KĀ 3.78).[48] Again, Daṇḍin does not use the term *citrakāvya* to refer to these figures but summarizes them in KĀ 3.96 as the *duṣkaramārgaḥ* ("difficult path"). Those that are also mentioned in any of the Tamil lists are the following:

1. KĀ 3.66 *pādābhyāsa* "repetition of a quarter". Each quarter consists of the same syllables. Cf. Tamil *ēkapātam*.
2. KĀ 3.71–77 *pratiloma-yamaka* "palindrome", with three subtypes exemplified depending on whether a palindrome occurs

[45] On the Sanskrit side, the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Rudraṭa contains a lengthier list of *citrakāvya* than the KĀ, which lacks entirely *citrabandhas* "pictoral arrangements" such as the *cakra* already employed by Sanskrit poets from at least the time of Bhāravi. But again, the exact date of the lists in the *nikaṇṭu*s is by no means secure.

[46] See Dimitrov (2011: 13–32) for an overview of the *śabdālaṅkāra*s in the third *pariccheda*.

[47] KĀ 3.38: "Out of fear of prolixity, I do not wish to name in full all varieties [of *yamaka*]; only some of those that are thought to be difficult (*duṣkara-abhimata*) will be presented below."

[48] The figure is labeled *duṣkara* in KĀ 3.78cd: *gomūtriketi tat prāhur duṣkaraṃ tadvido*, "This difficult thing the experts call 'cow-urine'."

in each half verse, in the whole verse or across two verses.[49] Cf. Tamil *mālaimāṟṟu*.

3. KĀ 3.78f. *gomūtrikā* "cow-urine". A verse that reads the same left to right a well as in a zig-zag between the two hemistiches. Cf. Tamil *kōmūttiri*.
4. KĀ 3.80ab and 81 *ardhabhrama* "half-turn". A verse that reads the same left to right as well in a whirl pattern. See below. Cf. Tamil *culikuḷam*.
5. KĀ 3.80cd and 82 *sarvatobhadra* "good in all directions". A verse that reads the same left to right as well as in a variety of other directions and configurations. Cf. Tamil *caruppatōpattiram*.
6. KĀ 3.83–95 *niyama*, "restrictions [on letters]". Verses in which a restriction has been placed on which letters may be used, e.g., no labials. Cf. Tamil *ōr eḻuttiṉattāṉ uyarnta pāṭṭu*.
7. KĀ 3.125d *praśnottarādayaḥ*, "question and answer, etc."[50] Verses that contain some sort of riddle such as when the answer to a question is contained within the verse. Cf. Tamil *viṉāvuttaram*.

Below I will tabulate where each figure occurs in the various lists. At first blush, however, we can see that fewer than half of the ca. 20 figures listed in the *nikaṇṭu*s can be found in the KĀ since many of those in the *nikaṇṭu*s are more like *prahelikā*s ("puzzles, riddles") although there is almost no overlap with what Daṇḍin describes in 3.124–95.[51]

Since the author of the *Vīracōḻiyam*, Puttamittiraṉ, and Taṇṭi undertook similar translation projects, it will be instructive to see how their lists differ from one another and compare them

[49] In the last subtype the entire verse is repeated again but in reverse.

[50] KĀ 3.125 in, e.g., Kṛṣṇamācārya's edition is likely spurious. None of the commentators I have read comment on it, and it is not present in the editions with the *Ratnaṭīkā*. See Dimitrov (2011: 208) for a discussion of this and other verses that conclude this section. They are labeled as part of the southern transmission.

[51] On the genre, see Sternbach (1975, 38–52) and on the performance of such mental gymnastics in the *avadhāna*, a tour de force of mental concentration and poetic spontaneity, see Sudyka & Galewicz (2012) and Mitchell (2009: 146–154) for the phenomenon in Telugu.

to what Daṇḍin included in his own list.[52] Toward the end of the *alaṅkārapaṭalam* in the VC we are presented the following *kārikai*:

ēṟiya mālaimāṟṟē cakkaram iṉattāleḻuttāṟ
kūṟiya pāṭṭu viṉāvuttaram ēkapātam aṉṟit
tēṟiya kātaikarappuc cuḻikuḷañ cittirappā
vīṟiyal kōmūttiriyum piṟavum viritt' uraiyē (VC 181)

The structure of the verse is simply a list beginning with *mālaimāṟṟu* and ending with *kōmūttiri*, which, along with *piṟavum* "and others", are the direct objects of *viritt' uraiyē* "elaborate and say!" Neither *cittirakavi* nor *muṟaikkavi* occur in the verse itself although the commentator Peruntēvaṉar explicitly labels the figures as such.[53] I give below the items of the list in order with references to the *Piṅkalam* (Pi) and the KĀ or, if absent there, other works of *alaṅkāraśāstra*. Unless otherwise noted, the figure has the same name in the Pi.

1. *mālaimāṟṟu* "palindrome". Pi:1,[54] KĀ 3.71–77 *pratiloma-yamaka*.
2. *cakkaram* "wheel". A verse that can be used to construct a wheel.[55] Pi:2, RKA 5.2 and 6–13, SKBh pp. 276 and 280 *cakra*.
3. *iṉattāl eḻuttāl kūṟiya pāṭṭu* "poem recited with a [single] class [of letter or] with a [single] letter".[56] Reference here appears

[52] There is almost no scholarship that compares the two strategies employed to render the KĀ into Tamil. The unpublished article by Chevillard, cited above in n. 7, is the most detailed.

[53] Cf. the introductory statement to the verse: *iṉic cittirakkavi yām āṟu colluki*ṉṟāṉ "Now he describes *cittirakkavi*." The compound *cittira-kavi* is found both with and without doubling of *k*. For example, compare p. 684 of Kōpālaiyar's edition of the VC with pp. 272f. of Kōvintarājamuṭaliyar's edition. The manuscript BnF Indien 185, 119r1 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508204n/f243>) has doubling.

[54] The number after the colon is the serial number of the figure in Pi 368.

[55] The commentator gives four examples: two types of four-spoked wheel (*nāṉkāraic cakkaram*), a six-spoked wheel, and an eight-spoked wheel. Letters must repeat at certain intervals so that when the wheel is constructed the spokes "interlock" within the felly and the central hub.

[56] The commentator explains: *iṉattāl-um eḻuttāl-um kūṟiya pāṭṭ' āvaṉa*: *valliṉam melliṉam iṭaiyiṉattuḷ oṉṟāl-ē varutal ceyyiṉ ōr iṉap pāṭṭ' ām. ōr eḻuttāl-ē muṟṟum varuvaṉa ōr eḻuttup pāṭṭ' ām*. "These are poems that are recited with a

to be to the various restrictions (*niyama*) on letter usage in a verse. Cf. Pi:14 *ōr eḻuttiṉattāṉ uyarnta pāṭṭu*, KĀ 3.83–95.

4. *viṉāvuttaram* "question and answer". Pi:20, KĀ 3.125d *praśnottara*.[57]
5. *ēkapātam* "one quarter". Each quarter of the verse is identical in sound but different in meaning. Pi:4, KĀ 3.66 *pādābhyāsa* "repetition of a quarter".[58]
6. *kātaikarappu* "concealment of a verse". A second poem is revealed within another poem when, beginning with the initial letter of the penultimate word, one reads back-wards skipping every other letter. Pi:6. Cf. *cyuta* in Gerow (1971: 182) and Sternbach (1975: 65f.).
7. *cuḻikuḷam* "whirl". Pi:3, KĀ 3.80ab and 81 *ardhabhadra*.
8. *cittirappā* "flashy verse." According to the commentary ad YV 96, this figure involved the use of numbers in a line that add up to a particular number, e.g., a verse in which four numbers occur per line and they add up to ten. Pi:17.
9. *kōmūttiri*. Pi:13, KĀ 3.78 *gomūtrikā*.

Although the inclusion of *piṟavum* ("and others") leaves the list open ended, all of those named in the VC are found in the *Piṅkalam* and all but two (6 and 8) are found in the KĀ.

In the TA we find a slightly expanded list with twelve figures:

kōmūttiriyē kūṭacaturttam
mālaimāṟṟē eḻuttuvaruttaṉam
nākapantam viṉāvuttaramē
kātaikarappē karanturaicceyyuḷ
cakkaram cuḻikuḷam caruppatōpattiram
akkaraccutakamum avaṟṟiṉ pāla (TA 3.7)

As above, I tally below the figures and note in which other Tamil and Sanskrit texts they occur.

[single] class and a [single] letter. If one makes [a poem] occur with only one [class] from among the hard class [of letters, i.e., the stops], the soft class [of letters, i.e., the nasals] and the middle class [of letters, i.e., the semivowels], there is a single-class poem. Ones that occur entirely with a single letter are single-letter poems." As will be noted below, these are treated outside of the *cittirakavi* section in the TA and more in line with KĀ.

[57] See the caveat above in fn. 50.

[58] For an example in Tamil, see *Tēvāram* 1.127 (1370–1381).

1. *kōmūttiri* "cow urine". Pi:13, VC:9, KĀ 3.78.
2. *kūṭacaturttam*. "hidden fourth." Pi:12. The fourth verse is hidden in the first three. Cf. Skt. *gūḍhacaturtha*, mentioned in various places, e.g., *Kādambarī* p. 14[59] and *Mōkṣōpāya* 3.16.11, but not in an *alaṅkāraśāstra* text as far as I know. See *Kirātārjunīya* 15.43 and *Śiśupālavadha* 19.96 for examples.
3. *mālaimāṟṟu* "palindrome". Pi:1, VC:1, KĀ 3.71–77.
4. *eḻuttu-varuttaṉam* "augmentation by a letter". Pi:22. This is a rather complex game. Based on the example,[60] the listener must identify a series of words in the verse for which synonyms can be given in the following manner: the synonym for the first word can be augmented by a letter (*eḻuttu*) to yield the synonym for the second; this word in turn can be augmented by a letter to yield a synonym for the third word and so on. For example, *kam*, *nakam*, *kanakam*, *kōkanakam* are all synonyms for the words in the last line of the example poem: *talai* "head", *malai* "mountain", *poṉ* "gold", and *tāmarai* "lotus", respectively. The initial word (*kam*) should be derived from a word alluded to in the verse itself, here *kampu* "conch". The other words are likewise described in the verse.
5. *nākapantam* "snake composition". *Pratāparudrīya* pp. 348f.
6. *viṉāvuttaram* "question and answer". Pi:20, VC:4, KĀ 3.125d.
7. *kātaikarappu* "concealing a poem". Pi:6, VC:6.
8. *karantuṟai ceyyuḷ* "a verse in a hidden place". Letters from a verse are used to create a new verse. Cf. Pi: 6 and VC:6 *kātaikarappu*.
9. *cakkaram* "wheel". Pi:2, VC:2, RKA 5.2 and 6–13, SKBh pp. 276 and 280 *cakra*.
10. *cuḻikuḻam* "whirl". Pi:3, VC:7, KĀ 3.80ab and 81 *ardhabhrama*.
11. *caruppatōpattiram* "good in all directions". Pi:17, KĀ 3.82 *sarvatobhadra*.
12. *akkaraccutakam* "removal of a letter". A verse in which a sequence of words occurs in the last line, each one letter

[59] The larger compound lists several poetic games.

[60] See the description in Kōpālaiyar (2005: 244), which is mostly derived from the TA commentary, TA 1962 p. 54f. Similarly, CKV pp. 539ff.

> shorter than the previous: *kanakāri nakāri kāri*. These words are alluded to in the previous part of the verse in much the same manner as the *eḻuttu-varuttaṉam*.

The commentator adds eight more figures,[61] of which I mention only the *muracapantam* "drum figure" (= Skt. *murajabandha*) as it is visualized in BnF Indien 206, 179r. In such a stanza, each line reads the same both left to right as well like in the zig-zag pattern of the tension strings on the outside of a drum.

The *cittirakavi* figures listed in the TA bear only a slim relationship to the list found in the KĀ: four of the twelve are included in both texts with a fifth (*praśnottara*/*viṉāvuttaram*) included only marginally and perhaps spuriously in the KĀ. The connection with the VC's list is likewise not quite as close as one might have expected since only six overlap. The strongest influence on the lists of both the VC and the TA is the Pi. Each figure in the VC is found in the Pi and nine of the twelve in the TA, which, however has added three new figures. A full investigation into these lists, as noted above, will require a much closer study than what can be offered here, but it is evident that the KĀ was no longer felt to be a sufficient source for *citrakāvya* by the 2nd millennium. Significant is the inclusion of the *nākapantam* for which the earliest Sanskrit source is the *Pratāparudrīya* of Vidyānātha, early 14th century.

5. Depicting Cittirakavi

Most printed editions of works with *citrakāvya* include diagrams to help the reader visualize the figure on display.[62] These include not only depictions of the *citrabandha*s, where the letters are written in a specific shape, but also those verses that can be read in various directions. Constructing such verses in graphic form was no doubt part of the divertissement once the meaning had been

---

[61] *nirōṭṭam* (= Skt. *niroṣṭhya*) "without labials", *oṟṟuppeyarttal* Pi:15 (akin to *sabhaṅga śleṣa*), *māttiraic-curukkam* (subtracting morae to form a new verse), *māttirai-varuttaṉam* (adding morae to form a new verse), *muracapantam* (Skt. *murajabandha*), *tiripāki*, *tiripaṅki*, *piṟitupaṭu pāṭṭu* (a verse that can be scanned in different ways).

[62] For example, *Śiśupālavadha* ed. Durgāprasāda and Śivadatta (1917) contains images after p. 498 (end of *sarga* 19).

puzzled out, and we often find directions in commentaries on how to construct the images from the verses which would likely have been written without much formatting in *scriptio continua*, as is the case in the Tamil manuscripts of the TA consulted for this article. This would make even the rather basic figures like the *gomūtrikā*/*kōmūttiri*, which can be read in a simple zig-zag pattern, difficult to detect especially if the verse runs over to the next side.[63] For this reason we find not only the more elaborate *bandha*s drawn out but also more basic diagrams that consist of regular grids into which the letters (*akṣara*/*eḻuttu*) have been placed. Below I will give examples of both varieties from BnF Indien 206 starting with the grid diagrams and then moving to the more elaborate *nākapantam*.

To understand how a grid helps to visualize *cittirakavi*, I will present as an example the figure known as *cuḻikuḷam* ("whirl"). Let us begin by looking at the poem as it appears in a manuscript[64] (but with modern writing conventions; a slash represents a line break and the circle the string-hole):

> கவிமுதியார்பாவே-விலையரு / மாநற்பா-
> முயல்வதுறுநாதிருவழிந்துமா○யா –

In the commentary, we are given a description of how to arrange the verse so as to facilitate our discovery of the "whirl":

> *cuḻikuḷam āvatu — oru ceyyuḷai yevveṭṭ' eḻutt' āy nāṉku variyāka yeḻuti — mēṉiṉṟuṅ kīḻ iḻintuṅ kīḻ niṉṟu mēl ēṟiyum — puṟaniṉṟum vantu [vuṇ]muṭiya vuccarittālum avvari nāṉkumē yāki yacceyyuḷāyē muṟṟupp' eṟṟuvatu.*
>
> As for the *cuḻikuḷam*, it is constructed[65] as a poem in four lines such that one can also recite it, after writing the verse in four rows of eight *eḻuttu*s [each], starting at the top and descending downwards, then starting at the bottom and ascending upwards, coming from the outside and ending inside.

---

[63] This is the case in BnF Indien 206, f157r6 where we find the example verse for the *kōmūttiri* (*paruva mā...*) as can be seen in the image here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f321>.

[64] BnF Indien 206, f172r2f. (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f351>). I have corrected *viḷai* to *vilai*. Below I give the commentary from the same MS, BnF Indien 206, f172r1f.

[65] *muṟṟupeṟutal* lit. "to get its conclusion".

In other words, we should first write the verse[66] as follows:

கவிமுதி யார்பாவே
விலையரு மாநற்பா
முயலவ துறுநர்
திருவழிந் துமாயா

[without sandhi:]

kavi mutiyār pā-ē
vilai arum mā nal pā
muyalvatu uṟunar
tiru aḻintum āyā

A poem [composed] by men who thrive on poetry
[is] a great,[67] good poem hard to price.
The prosperity of those who make effort,
even when they perish, is not gone.[68]

Although the presentation of the poem in rows is an improvement, straight pathways up and down the rows of *eḻuttu*s still elude the reader. This is where a grid adds greater clarity to the *cuḻikuḻam* just as we find in BnF Indien 206, f172v (**fig. 1**).

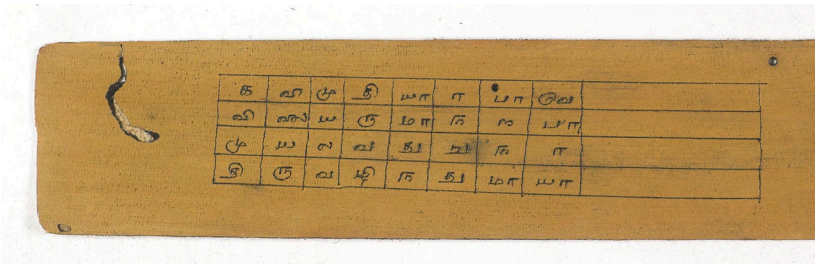


Fig. 1. BnF Indien 206, f172v. Photo retrieved from Gallica. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f352>

[66] Modern editors identify the verse as *vañci viruttam* (TA 1947 p. 235) and *vañcit tuṟai* (TA 1962 p. 70). The latter identification is preferable as it has only two *cīr*s per line. Cf. Niklas (1988: 190).

[67] I understand *mā* "great", *nal* "good". The commentator on the TA ignores these words, but in the CKV p. 554 we have the gloss *perumai vāynta nalla pāṭalkaḷ* "good poems that possess greatness".

[68] I understand *aḻintum* as construed with the authors rather than the prosperity. The verse expresses the common sentiment that poems live on even after the poets. The commentators give *aḻintu keṭātu* "is not lost after perishing" (TA p. 70) and *citaintu tolaiyā* "spoiled [but] not lost" (CKV p. 554).

We obtain the same sequence of *eḻuttu*s by reading across the first row, left to right, as when we read down the first column and up the last column. Similarly, if we read across the second row and then down the second column and up the seventh column and so forth. Such diagrams are also reproduced in printed editions (**fig. 2**).

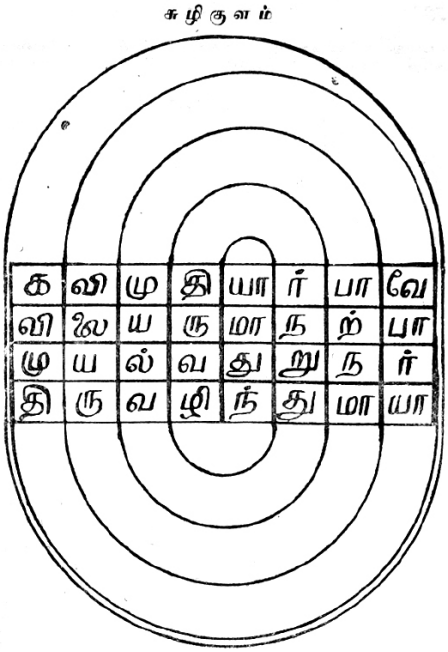


Fig. 2. *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* 1962, p. 71.

It is also possible to specify more abstractly in which cell the *eḻuttu*s must be identical. If we assign a serial number to each cell starting in the upper left and progressing across and then down, the following pattern emerges:

1	2–9	3–17	4–25	5–32	6–24	7–16	8
9–2	10	11–18	12–26	13–31	14–23	15	16–7
17–3	18–11	19	20–27	21–30	22	23–14	24–6
25–4	26–12	27–20	28	29	30–21	31–13	32–5

A cell with two numbers, e.g., 9–2, indicates that the two cells with the respective serial numbers must have the same *eḻuttu*, e.g.,

the ninth cell must have the same *eḻuttu* as the second. There is no restriction on the *eḻuttu* in a cell with only one number.[69]

Several other figures are presented in the same or a similar manner in BnF Indien 206 with the utilization of a grid:

1. *kōmūttiri* in BnF Indien 206, f157v.[70] Cf. TA 1962, p. 52.
2. *caruppatōpattiram* in BnF Indien 206, f174r.[71] Cf. TA 1962, p. 73.
3. *muracapantam* in BnF Indien 206, f179r.[72] Cf. TA 1962, p. 81.

The printed editions imitate these grids although usually with a bit of added artwork (the addition of a drum for the *muracupantam*) or lines indicating the direction of reading (the zig-zag for the *kōmūttiri*). Despite the rather simple nature of these visual aids, they nevertheless facilitate the visualization of the pathways for reading the poem. The assistance is all the more valuable if we start from the manuscript material and think of the complex patterns of *eḻuttu* repetition. Since other manuscripts of the TA I have inspected lack any diagrams, we may assume that interested readers would have had to rewrite the verses themselves on material not intended for preservation.

6. The Nākapantam

In later Sanskrit literature after ca. the 14th century, we find a complex *citrabandha* called the *sarpabandha* "snake diagram",[73] which involves writing the letters (*akṣara*s) of a poem (or poems) on the body of a snake (or bodies of snakes). The challenge in composing such an elaborate verse is that the snakes coil back on themselves and cross one another. In other words, we cannot simply drop poems onto the outline of a snake, but a specific number of letters must occupy each part of the snake, e.g., one in the head, four in each coil, three in the tail, etc., and the same letter must occur at specific intervals either within a verse or between two verses,

[69] On a similar way of representing the repetition of letters for the *sarpabandha* in Sanskrit sources, see my discussion in the following section.

[70] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f322>

[71] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f355>

[72] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f365>

[73] See Battistini (2016).

an indication that a snake overlaps itself or crosses another snake, respectively. In this final section, I will examine the Tamil counterpart of the *sarpabandha*, the *nākapantam* (= Skt. *nāgabandha*) as defined and exemplified in the commentary to the TA, taking into account the varying explanations found in BnF Indien 206, UVSL 181 and the CKV. In closing I will discuss the implications of this evidence for the dating and source of the snake diagram in Indian poetry and poetics.

The commentator begins his remarks on the *nākapantam* by providing instructions for drawing the diagram and the placement of the letters (*eḻuttus*).

> *nākapantam eṉpatu*
> What is called the *nākapantam* is:
> *iraṇṭu pāmpukaḷ tammuḷ iṇaivaṉa vāka upatēcamuṟaiyāṉ eḻuti*,
> writing two snakes as prescribed so that they interconnect within themselves,
> *oru nēricaiveṇpāvum oru iṉṉicai veṇpāvum eḻutic*
> writing a *nēricai-veṇpā* verse and an *iṉṉicai-veṇpā* verse,
> *cantikaḷi ṉiṉṟa eḻuttē maṟṟai yiṭaṅkaḷiṉum uṟuppāy niṟkap pāṭuvatu*.
> and reciting (them) so that those very letters which are in the joints stand as the body of their mutual midparts.[74]
> *mēṟcuṟṟuc canti nāṉkiṉum nāṉk' eḻuttum*
> So that [*ākac*][75] four letters are in the four joints of the upper coil(s),
> *kīḻccuṟṟuc canti nāṉkiṉum nāṉk' eḻuttum*
> and four letters are in the four joints of the lower coil(s),[76]

---

[74] I understand this to be a basic copular sentence in which *nākapantam eṉpatu* is ultimately equated to *pāṭuvatu* along with all its subordinate clauses expressed by *viṉaiyeccam*s, etc. This same construction occurs elsewhere, e.g., in the commentary to the *cūṭacatukkam*, TA 1962 p. 51 (also with *niṟka*). I take *canti* ("joint") to refer to the places where a snake crosses itself or over the other.

[75] From the last line.

[76] In the diagrams from our printed sources there are four crossings (*canti*s) associated with each coil. Two are where a snake crosses itself and two are where the two snakes cross each other. I prefer to understand *kīḻccuṟṟu* and *mēṟcuṟṟu* as unmarked plurals in compound so that we end up with the correct tally: two lower and two upper coils. We must, I contend, envision the snakes drawn horizontally as on a long palm leaf not vertically as in the printed editions (see the figures below). In this context *mēl* refers to coils on the upper part of the leaf and *kīḻ* to those on the lower part.

iraṇṭu pāmpukaḷiṉ naṭuccanti nāṉkiṉum iraṇṭu pāṭṭiṟkum porunta nāṉk' eḻuttum
and four letters which are common to the two poems are in the four middle joints of the two snakes
ākac cittirattil aṭaippatu. (TA 1962 p. 55)
arrange [the verses] in a picture.

Additional descriptions are found in the two manuscripts after the explanation of the poems, but I do not have space to present these with proper annotations and emendations. In sum, each snake crosses itself five times, and they cross each other twelve times. At each[77] crossing (*canti*) the same letter must appear in the poem. Below is a more detailed specification using the serial numbers of the overlapping *eḻuttu*s. Dotted *eḻuttu*s count and each poem contains 59 *eḻuttu*s.[78]

1. The *naṭuccanti* ("middle joints")
The snakes overlap each other in four places along the axis from the heads the tails. The following *eḻuttu*s must be the same between the two verses: 2=2; 22=22, 36=36, 56=56.

2. The *curru* ("coils"), two per snake
Each snake has two coils, one close to the head and one close to the tail. There are five *eḻuttu*s in each coil, i.e., between the identical *eḻuttu*s where the snake twists back over itself. The following *eḻuttu*s must be the same within each verse: 12=18, 40=46.

3. The *mūlai* ("corners"), two per snake
Each snake has two corners, one *eḻuttu* away from each coil, where the snake overlaps itself. The following *eḻuttu*s must be the same within each verse: 4=38, 20=54.

4. The *vayiṟu* ("stomach"), one per snake
The stomach of each snake overlaps itself once. The following *eḻuttu* must be the same within each verse: 8=50.

The stomachs of the two snakes overlap each other near the corners eight times, twice close to each head and twice close to each tail. The following *eḻuttu*s must be the same between the two verses: 6=34, 10=26, 24=52, 26=10, 32=48, 34=6, 48=32, 52=24.

---

[77] See my notes to the second poem below as per the text in the printed editions.
[78] See Battistini (2016) for a similar description in Sanskrit sources.

Stated again:

The same *eḻuttu*s within a verse: 4=38, 8=50, 12=18, 20=54, 40=46 (total 5).

The same *eḻuttu*s between the two verses: 2=2, 6=34, 10=26, 22=22, 24=52, 26=10, 32=48, 34=6, 36=36, 48=32, 52=24, 56=56 (total 12).

These same requirements are kept in other examples of the *nākapantam*, e.g. in *Māṟaṉalaṅkāram* 285 (*collaṇiyiyal*) and *Kāñcipurāṇam*, *Curakaricappaṭalam* 17f.[79]

The two poems given for the example are dedicated to Śiva but mostly contain vocatives and as such are not replete with deep sentiment. Nevertheless, they do yield a sensible meaning, especially when read in tandem with the commentaries. I present below the poem once in Tamil script with spacing based on *cīr*-division and then again broken up with the commentary of the TA 1962 edition and my translation, which relies heavily on the former. I have added the explanations from the commentary as found in manuscripts or other sources when they differ substantially or provide additional illumination. Glosses given in the manuscripts at the end of the commentary are also recorded along with the relevant entries in three of the Tamil *Nikaṇṭu*s, the *Tivākaram*, the *Piṅkalam*, and the *Cūṭāmaṇi*, which may have well been in the mind of the commentator.

Verse 1

Manuscript Testimonies: BnF Indien 206, f263r1–2; UVSL 181, f86r11–f86v1.

Meter: *nēricai veṉpā*.[80]

---

[79] In the latter example, other meters are employed. Note that there are minor differences between the available editions. The 1878 edition given in the bibliography is correct save for in the final line of the second poem, where one must read *ṇati pā* for *ṇatip pā*.

[80] The meter is quite complex. Note that the first two lines must have initial rhyme between themselves (*etukai*), which must also be repeated in the *taṉiccol* at the end of the second line (*aru-*, *teru-*, *poru-*). The last two lines may continue with the same initial rhyme or have a new pattern as in this verse. Cf. Niklas (1988: 181).

அருளின் றிருவருவே யம்பலத்தா யும்பர்
தெருளின் மருவாச்சீர்ச் சீரே[81] – பொருவிலா
வொன்றே யுமையா ளுடனே யுருத்தரு[82]
குன்றே தெருள வருள்

aruḷiṉ ṟiruvuruvē, "O beautiful form of righteousness"

Commentary:

aṟattiṉatu aḻakiya mēṉi yāy

"As being a beautiful body of righteousness"

UVLS 181, f86v1f.: *aṟattiṉuṭaiya kaṇṭār[āl] virumpap paṭun taṉmai [86v1] nōkk' uṭaiya tirumēṉi yuṭaiyaṉum āy*

"As also being the one who possesses a holy body that possesses a natural sight that is desired by onlookers, [a body] of righteousness."[83]

Glosses:

BnF Indien 206, f163r5: *aruḷ — aṟam*[84] *— tiru — aḻaku*[85] *— uru — mēṉi*[86].

UVSL 181, f86v4: *arūḷ — aṟam — tiruk kaṇṭār virumpap paṭun taṉmai nōkku — uru tirumēṉi.*

ampalattāy-um

"and you of Ampalam"

---

[81] I follow the reading in CKV p. 540, which I consider to be correct. *Cīr*s two and three have a number of variant readings: மருவாத சிர்ச்சீரே (TA 1962 p. 55), மருவரு சீரசசீரெ (BnF Indien 206, f163r2), மருவாசசீரெ (UVSL 181, f86v1), மருவாரு சிர்ச்சீரே (TA 1947, p. 221) with fn. * giving the correct reading.

[82] I follow the reading of CKV p. 540, TA 1947, p. 221 fn. †, BnF Indien 206, f163r2 and UVSL 18,1 f86v1. TA 1962 and other printed editions have the reading யுறுதிதரு. Below I provide translations and glosses for both readings.

[83] I take *kaṇṭār[āl]...nokk' uṭaiya* as a gloss on *tiru*, for which we have the following parallel in *Tirukkōvaiyār* (p. 2 n. 1): *tiru eṉpatu kaṇṭārāl virumpap paṭum taṉmai nōkku eṉṟa vāṟu*. *aṟattiṉuṭaiya* modifies *tirumēṉi*.

[84] I have so far been unable to locate this meaning of *aruḷ* in other sources. CKV p. 541 gives the expected gloss *karuṇai*.

[85] Surprisingly this meaning is not given in the three *nikaṇṭu*s I have consulted, although it is given in TL s.v. *tiru*, meaning 4: "Beauty, அழகு".

[86] Cf. T. 2215, where *uru* and *mēṉi* are given as synonyms of *vaṭivam*. Similarly Pi. 995 but only *uruvam* not *uru*. C. 8.26 gives *uru* and *mēṉi* as meanings of *niṟam*.

tirucci̲r̲rampalattai yuṭaiyāy

"You who possess Holy Chidambaram"

BnF Indien 206, f163r5: *tirucci̲r̲rampalattil āṭal purivāy*

"You who perform a dance in Holy Chidambaram."[87]

Glosses:

BnF Indien 206, f163r4f.: *ampala* [163r5] *m — tirucci̲r̲rampalam*.

UVSL 181, f86v4: *ampalam — tiruvampalam*.

umpar teruḷi̲n̲ maruvāta cīrc cīrē

"you who possess beautiful fame that does not unite with the gods' comprehension"

tēvarkaḷ a̲rivi̲rkum eṭṭāta a̲laki̲ya puka̲lai yuṭaiyāy

"You who possess beautiful fame that does not join with even the knowledge of the gods"

Glosses:

BnF Indien 206, f163r6: *umpar tēvarkaḷ*[88] *- teruḷil — a̲rivil*[89] *— maruvaru [corr. vā] — eṭṭāta — cīr — a̲laku — cīr — puka̲l*[90]

UVSL 181, f86v3f.: *umpar tēvarkaḷ — teruḷ* [86v4] *a̲rivu — maruvā ve̲n̲ratu cōrā ve̲n̲ra vā̲ru — cīr — a̲laku cīrē puka̲l̲ uṭaiyāy*

poruv' ilā vō̲n̲rē

"a single without comparison"

opp' illāta ēkarūpattai uṭaiyāy

"You who possess a unique form that is without match."

BnF Indien 205, f163r4: *ku̲r̲ram*[91] *illāta vēkaru* [corr. *ū*] *pattai yuṭaiyāy*

UVSL 181, f86v2: *ku̲r̲ra* [86v2] *m a̲r̲ra cu̲r̲rat toṭarcci yillāta vēkarūpattai yuṭaiya̲n̲um āy*.

---

[87] Similarly, UVSL 181, f86v2: *tirucci̲r̲rampalattilē yāṭal purint** (final letter unclear).

[88] Cf. T. 28, Pi. 177, C. 1.51.

[89] Cf. Pi. 1787, which gives a number of appropriate meanings, but the exact word *a̲rivu* is not listed.

[90] Cf. T. 2045, where *puka̲l̲* and *a̲laku* are given as meanings for *cīr*.

[91] I have only been able to find the meaning *ku̲r̲ram* for *poruvu* in N. Kadirvelu Pillai's dictionary, *tami̲l̲ mo̲li akarāti*, s.v. *poruvu*. Unfortunately, no source is given.

"As also being one who possesses a unique form that is without contact with attendants, lacking faults."[92]

***umaiyāḷuṭaṉē yuṟuti taru kuṉṟē* (reading 1)**

"a mountain that gives the ends of man with Umā"

umaiyammaiyōṭu poruntip puruṣārttaṅkaḷait tarukiṉṟa malai pōlvāy.

"you who are like a mountain, that, suited to the goddess Umā, bestows the ends of man."

***umaiyāḷuṭaṉē yurut taru kuṉṟē* (reading 2)**

"a mountain that gives a form in accordance with Umā"

BnF Indien 206, f163r4: *yumaiyoṭu — poruntiṉa malai polvāy*[93]

"you who are like a mountain suited to/joined with Umā"[94]

Glosses:

BnF Indien 206, f163v1: *kuṉṟē — malaiyē*[95]

UVSL 181, f86v6: *kuṉṟu — malai*

teruḷa varuḷ

"be gracious so that [we] understand!"

yāṅkaḷ teḷiya aṟivai aruḷvāy āka.

"Graciously give knowledge so that we understand."

Verse 2

Testimonies: BnF Indien 206, f263v2f.; UVSL 181, f86v6–8.

Meter: *iṉṉicai veṉpā.*[96]

மருவி னவருளத்தே வாழ்சுடராய்[97] நஞ்சு
பெருகொளியான் றேயபெருஞ் சோதி திருநிலா

---

[92] The precise meaning of the commentary is not entirely clear to me. Perhaps *cūṟṟam* is here something like "peers"

[93] Similarly, UVSL 181: *umātēviyuṭaṉe poruntiṉa kuṉṟam poṉṟāṉē.*

[94] There is an allusion to the Himālaya mountain, the father and birth place of Pārvatī.

[95] Cf. T. 856, Pi. 495, 3414, C. 5.11.

[96] The main difference between this meter and the last is that there is no *taṉic-col* in the second line and so no initial rhyme (*etukai*) in the last *cīr*. Cf. Niklas (1988: 181).

[97] I adopt here the reading of the third *cīr* found in BnF Indien 206, f163v2 and UVSL 181, f86v7 and CKV p. 540. It is also given in TA 1947, n. †. *cuṭarē* is given

வானஞ் சுருங்க மிகுசுடிரே சித்த
மயரு மளவை யொழி.

maruviṉavar uḷattē vāḻ cuṭar-ē

"O growing light in the heart of those who have reached"

aṭaintavar uḷḷattē [nīṅkātu] vāḻkiṉṟa viḷakkam āy uḷḷāy[98]

"You exist as the growing light in [without leaving] the hearts of those who have reached"

UVSL 181, f86v8: *niṉ cīrpāttataic cērnta cīpāta vācāriyar uḷḷattē nilavappaṭṭa voḷi keṭāta viḷakkam āy uḷḷāṉē.*

"O one who exists as the shining light, a light that does not diminish, in the heart of those venerable teachers who have reached your holy feet."

Glosses:

BnF Indien 206, f163v6: *uṇṭātal*[99]

UVSL 181, f86v11: *maruviṉavar cērntār*[100]*. uḷḷam maṉam*[101]*. vāḻtal uṇṭātal. cuṭar viḷakku*[102]

nañcu peruk' oḷi yāṉṟ' ēya[103] **peruñ cōti**

"The great light with which the intense color of the [*halāhala*] poison is filled and united"

---

in TA 1962 and as the primary reading of TA 1947. The adopted reading is necessary in order to have five *eḻuttus* in the snake's lower left coil.

[98] Similarly, BnF Indien 206, f163v3: *aṭaintavar uḷḷatte — keṭāta viḷakkam āy uḷḷāy*. The parenthetical is original to the edition.

[99] For this portion of the poem, the scribe has only written *uṇṭātal*, the gloss for *vāḻtal*, and nothing more. Perhaps his exemplar was damaged or his attention lapsed.

[100] Cf. C. 9.43, where both are given as synonyms of *kiṭṭu-tal*.

[101] Cf. Pi. 1773, C. 8.34

[102] Cf. T. 47, Pi. 3545, C. 1.60.

[103] *āṉṟu* is a contraction of *akaṉṟu*, the *viṉaiyeccam* of *akal-tal*. *ēya*, which is glossed with the past *peyareccam* of *poruntu-tal*, *poruntiṉa/poruntiya*, should, accordingly, also be understood as a past *peyareccam*, but the form is difficult to derive, the expected *peyareccam* being *ēynta* and *ēya* rather the infinitive. One might propose that *ēya* is taken from an alternate form of the root, namely, *ē-tal*. *ēya*, as the past *peyareccam*, would then parallel *āya* from *ā-tal*. The description is of Śiva's dark throat which is often portrayed as giving off a dark light like a sapphire.

nañciṉ iṭatt' uṇṭākip perukiya niṟam[104] *niṟaintu poruntiṉa [tirumiṭaṟṟai yuṭaiya] periya cōti yāy uḷḷāy*[105]

"You who exists as the great light [of the holy throat] with which the augmented color from the poison is filled and united."

UVSL 181 86v8: *viṭattiṉkaṇ uṇṭā* [86v8] *kiya perukiya karumai niṟam porunti yirukkappaṭṭa tirumiṭaṟṟiṉai yuṭaiya periya cōti uḷḷāṉē*

"O the one who is the great light of the holy throat with which the augmented black color in the poison has been connected."

Glosses:

BnF Indien 206, f163v6: *nañcu viṭam*[106] *- peruk' oḷi — va*[*ḷa*[107]]*rum — āṉṟu — niṟaintu — ēya — poruntiya — peruñ* [163v6] *cōti — mikka viḷakkam*[108] *āy niṉṟāy*

UVSL 181, f86v11: *nañcu viṭam peruku-tal — mikutal* [86v11] *āṉṟu — amaintu — eya — poruntiya — cōti oḷiyai yuṭaiyāy*

tiru nilā vāṉañ curuṅka miku cuṭar āy[109]

"As the light so great that the space of the beautiful moon shrinks"

aḻakiya matiyai yuṭaiya ākāyamāṉatu[110] *ciṟukap perukiya voḷiy-ē*[111] *tiru mēṉiyāy uḷḷāy*

"O light so great that the space of the beautiful moon shrinks, o you who exist as the sacred body."[112]

---

[104] *niṟam* and *oḷi* are both given as synonyms for *kēḷ* in C. 11.27.

[105] Similarly (and better), BnF Indien 206, f163v3: *nañciṉkaṇ uṇ* [163v3] *ṭākiya perukiya niṟam — niṟaintu poruntiṉa — tirumiṭaṟṟai yuṭaiya periya cōtiyāy uḷḷāy*.

[106] Cf. T. 538, Pi. 2608, C. 6.31.

[107] Addition below the line, probably same hand.

[108] Cf. C. 1.81 and 11.114 but with *viḷakku*.

[109] As noted above the reading of the editions TA 1947 and 1962, *cuṭarē*, is incorrect. I adopt here the reading of both BnF Indien 206, f163v2 and UVSL 181, f86v7. The correct reading, *cuṭarāy*, is also found in CKV p. 541 within the snake diagram, but the incorrect reading, *cuṭarē*, on pp. 540 and 542.

[110] Cf. T. 37, Pi. 5, C. 1.54.

[111] T. 1394, 2076. The other two *nikaṇṭu*s do not directly link the two words except as synonyms for *viḷakku*: Pi. 46 C. 1.60. Cf. Pi. 1939, which gives *cuṭar-tal* as a meaning of *oḷi viṭal*.

[112] BnF Indien 206, f163v5 gives the same gloss. The idea is that Śiva's effulgence

Glosses:

BnF Indien 206, f164v1: *tiru nilā — aḻakiya — mati*[113] *— curuṅka — ciṟuka*[114] *miku cuṭarē — mikka cuṭar āy niṉṟāy*

UVSL 181, f86v11: *tiru — aḻaku- nilā matiyam curuṅkutal ciṟukutal miku cuṭarē mikka cuṭar poṉṟāy*

cittam ayarum aḷavai yoḻi

"Destroy the opportunity that my mind forgets!"

eṉat' uḷḷam niṉat' aṭi maṟakkum ellaiyai yoḻippāy āka

"Destroy the time[115] when my mind forgets your feet."

BnF Indien 206, f163v5: *eṉat' uḷḷam*[116] *- niṉat' aṭiyai maṟakkum el* [163v5] *laiyē yoḻippāy āka*

"May you destroy the time when my heart forgets your feet

UVSL 181 86v10: *yeṉṉuṭaiya uḷḷamāṉatu niṉṉuṭai cīpātattai maṟavāta vel* [86v10] *laiyai yeṉakk' aruḷvāy āka*

"May you graciously give me the time when that heart of mine will not forget your holy feet."[117]

Glosses:

BnF Indien 206, f164v1: *ayarum aḷavai — maṟakku* [164r1] *m ellai*[118] *— oḻi — nīkkuvāy āka*

UVSL 181, f86v11: *citta maṉam*[119] *ayartal maṟattal — aḷavu ellai atu niṉṉuṭai cī — pātattai maṟavāta vellaiyai yeṉakk' aruḷvāy āka*

These two poems demonstrate a tremendous amount of planning and concentration, efforts that were no doubt carried out in a spirit

---

is so bright that it outshines the moon. All the commentators make it clear that *cuṭar* refers to the sacred body (*tiru mēṉi*) of the deity. UVSL 191 makes the synecdoche explicit: *oḷiyoṭu kūṭiya tiru mēṉiyuṭaiyāṉ-ē* "o the one who possesses a sacred form connected with light".

[113] *nilā* is not listed in the *nikaṇṭu*s although *nilavu* is, which, along with *mati*, is given as a synonym for *cantiraṉ*: T. 58, C. 1.66. Pi. 226 lists *nilavu* as a synonym for *cantirikai* "moonlight".

[114] Cf. T. 1377.

[115] CKV p. 542 provides the helpful gloss *kālattai* "time, opportunity" for *aḷavai*.

[116] C. 11.119, where *cittam* is given as a meaning of *uḷḷam*.

[117] The commentator reformulates the negation but the sense remains the same.

[118] C. 12.272 (*aḷavai*).

[119] C. 8.34, *cittam* is a word for *maṉam*.

of devotion. To decode their meaning, the commentator must likewise have dedicated serious study to Tamil poetry as well as the traditional lexicographical works like the *Tivākaram* and *Piṅkalam*.

We must now draw the snakes. To do so, the description in the commentary to the TA is not really sufficient assuming that the author had a specific image in mind. This deficiency is highlighted by the illustration given in BnF Indien 206, f168r (**fig. 3**).

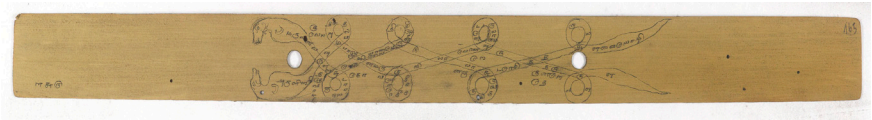


Fig. 3. BnF Indien 206, f165r. Photo retrieved from Gallica. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f337>

As is clear when compared with the above descriptions and the diagrams in printed sources, the scribe was not familiar with how to arrange the letters within the snakes, which ones overlapped and how many needed to occur in each segment, etc. Nevertheless, it was a valiant effort. Our printed sources, on the other hand, are rather uniform in presenting the two snakes as given below (**fig. 4**[120]). The earliest depiction I have so far come across can be found in a 1915 edition of the *Māṟaṉalaṅkāram* and its basic form is repeated in all subsequent publications I have studied. In the future, I hope to find other manuscript material with the correct presentation, but it seems that drawing these snakes must have been part of a tradition that a teacher taught his student by drawing the outlines of the snakes.[121]

The inclusion of the *nākapantam* in the TA has significance for the history of the *sarpabandha* because it predates the first appearance of the figure in Sanskrit sources (as known to me) in the *Pratāparudriya* (ca. 14th cent.), by some two hundred years. Earlier examples may still come to light in Sanskrit, Tamil or other languages, but at the very least knowledge of the TA gives scholars an earlier starting point. We may also look to the content of the example verses in the TA as a springboard to speculate further

[120] Diagram 8 on an unnumbered page at the end of the edition.

[121] I myself have traced the outline of the diagram in order to write the poems of the *Kāñcipurāṇam*.

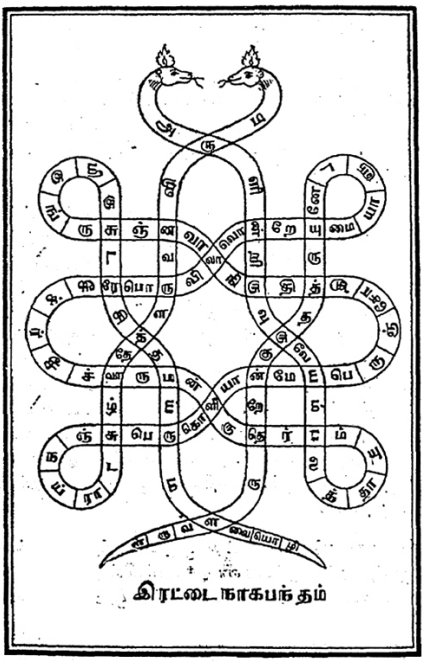


Fig. 4. *Cittira Kavi Viḷakkam* 1939, p. 541.

as to why the snake figure appears in this 12th-century text. One possibly telling association is the invocation of Śiva as *ampalattāy* "You who possess Chidambaram". Although snake worship ("nāga cults") was already well established throughout much of India, Chidambaram was home to both Śiva, who is adorned with snakes, as well as Patañjali, who is to have arrived at the holy city in order to watch Śiva dance (*ānandatāṇḍava*). Moreover, Patañjali is generally believed to be an incarnation of the great Ādiśeṣa, the snake upon whom Viṣṇu sleeps. Whether or not these associations may have played a role in the inclusion of the figure—we are given not information about its deeper significance—is speculative, but further research in this direction may shed brighter light on the early history of the *sarpabandha*.

7. Conclusion

The literary landscape of South India around the start of the second millennium reveals repeated engagements with Sanskrit poetry and poetics in the creation of new regional idioms for the

Dravidian languages. Tamil, with its long history spanning back to the start of the first millennium, is unique among these languages because it had to both "keep up with the Joneses" as well as preserve its distinctive and ancient traditions. The TA is one of the primary gateways for the introduction of Sanskritic theory into Tamil poetics, but as I have demonstrated above, readers and commentators did not accept the complex of *alaṅkāra*s uncritically and sought to justify the new trends within preexisting linguistic structures. The diversity of thought on the subject has been broadened thanks to the use of manuscript material that will no doubt give voice to additional perspectives and further underscore the limitations of printed materials. Besides the discussions in the commentary the TA, we have also seen how the figures of *citrakāvya* were expanded in order to accommodate current practices and tacitly depart from the model of the KĀ placing a distinctive stamp on Tamil poetry.

Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
C	*Cūṭāmaṇi*
CKV	*Cittira Kavi Viḷakkam*
KĀ	*Kāvyādarśa*
Pi	*Piṅkalam*
RKA	Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*
SKBh	*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābhāraṇa*
Ti	*Tivākaram*
TA	*Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (editions of the TA are referred to with "TA" followed by the year of the edition)
TC	*Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* (the letter after the *cūttiram* refers to the commentator: c = Cēṉāvaraiyar, i = Iḷampūraṇar, t = Teyvacciliayar)
UVSL	Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyar Library in Chennai.
VC	*Vīracōḻiyam*

Conventions

In transliterating Tamil and Sanskrit from printed editions, I have followed the conventions of ISO 15919. In transliterating

Tamil from manuscripts, I have given the text as it would appear with *puḷḷi*s, differentiated long and short *e* and *o* vowels and distinct graphemes for *ra* and *ā*. Although these features are largely absent in the original, such additions greatly ease readability and are on the whole uncontroversial. For example, if the manuscript has பாததை, which has twelve different interpretations, I have given *pātattai*, which is the only sensible reading in the context. I have not attempted to undo sandhi in either Tamil or Sanskrit but simply present the text as it was before me even if sandhi has been applied inconsistently. The epenthetic glides *y* and *v* between words are attached to the following word, whereas a doubled consonant is split between two words. An elided final over-short *u* (*kuṟṟiyal ukaram*) is indicated by an apostrophe (’). A space is placed between individual words.

References

Manuscripts: *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*

BnF Indien 205. Cf. Cabaton (1912: 34). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510214m>

BnF Indien 206. Cf. Cabaton (1912: 34). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g>

UVSL 181 = No. 77, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swāmināthaiyar Library. Cf. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts in the Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swāmināthaiyar Library*, vol. 1, p. 103. <https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZp8juIy>

UVSL 606 = No. 76, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swāmināthaiyar Library. Cf. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts in the Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swāmināthaiyar Library*, vol. 1, p. 100. <https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZp2jZUy>

Primary Sources

Akanāṉūṟu. 1969. *eṭṭut tokaiyuḷ oṉṟāṉa akanāṉūṟu nittilak kōvai* edited by Kācivicuvanātaṉ Ceṭṭiyār. Madras: The South Indian Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society.

Āṃdhraśabdacintāmaṇi. 1965. *Āṃdhraśabdacintāmaṇi of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa: Kavishiro-bhushanam Ahobala Panditiyam* edited by K. Lakshmi Ranjanam, C. Rangacharyulu, and A. Rajeshwara Sarma. Hyderabad: Andhra Writers’ Association.

Cētaṉ Tivākaram of Tivākara Muṉivar. 2004. *Cēntaṉ Tivākaram Piṅkalam Cūṭāmaṇi: Texts of the Chēndhan Diwakaram, Pinglam, Choodamani*. Chennai: Santi Sadhana.

Cilappatikāram. 1955. *iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ aruḷic ceyta cilappatikāra mūlamum arumpatavuraiyum aṭiyārkkunallāruraiyum* edited by Vē. Cāmināṭaiyar. 6th ed. ceṉṉai [Chennai]: kapīr accukkūṭam.

Cūṭāmaṇi of Maṅkalapuruṭar: See *Cētaṉ Tivākaram*.

Bhaṭṭikāvya. 1928. *The Ram Charita (Bhattikavya) of Bhatti with Jayamangala's Commentary* edited by Kavriratan Pandit Shiv Dutta. Bombay: Shri Venkateshwar Steam Press.

Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana. 1928. *The Dhvanyâloka of Ânandavardhanâchârya with the Commentary of Abhinavaguptāchārya* 1928. Edited by Mahâmahopâdhyâya Paṇḍit Durgâprasâda and Wâsudev Laxmaṇ Śâstrî Paṇśîkar. 3rd rev. ed. Kâvyamâlâ 25. Bombay: Nirnaya Sagar Press.

Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin. 1936. *Ācāryadaṇḍiviracitaḥ Kāvyādarśaḥ || Vādijaṅghāladevaviracitayā vyākhyayā ... taruṇavācaspatinā anyena ca kenāpi kṛtābhyāṃ vyākhyāntarābhyāṃ ca sahitaḥ*. Ed. Vē. Kṛṣṇamācārya. Tiruvādi: Śrīnivāsa Mudraṇālaya.

Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin. 1957. *Kāvyalakṣaṇa of Daṇḍin (aslo known as Kāvyādarśa) with commentary called Ratnaśrī of Ratnaśrījñāna*. Ed. Anantalal Thakur and Upendra Jha.

Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin. 2002. See Dimitrov (2002).

Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin. 2011. See Dimitrov (2011).

of Bhāmaha. 1970. *Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha* edited by P.V. Naganatha Sastry. 2nd ed.

Kāvyālaṅkāra of Rudraṭa. 1990. *Rudraṭapraṇita Kāvyālaṅkāra* edited by Satyadeva Caudharī. Parimala Saṃskṛta Granthamālā 30. Dilli [Delhi]: Parimala Pablikeśans [Reprint].

Māṟaṇalaṅkāram of Kurukaipperumāḷ Kavirāyar. 1915. *Māṟaṇalaṅkāram* edited by Tiru Nārāyaṇaiyaṅkār. Maturai: Tamiḻccaṅkamuttirācālaip Patippu.

Pattuppāṭṭu. 1961. *Pattuppāṭṭu* edited by Vai. Mu. Naracimmaṉ. Ceṉṉai [Chennai]: Vai. Mu. Kōpālakiruṣṇamācāriyar Kampaṉi.

Piṅkalam of Piṅkala Muṉivar. See *Cētaṉ Tivākaram*.

Pratāparudrīya of Vidyānātha. 1909. *The Pratāparudrayaśobhûshaṇa of Vidyānātha with the commentary, Ratnâpaṇa, of Kumârasvâmin, Son of Mallinātha* edited by Kamalâśaṅkara Prâṇaśaṅkara Trivedî. Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LXV. Bombay: Government Central Press.

Śiśupālavadha of Māgha. 1917. *The Śiśupâlabadha of Mâgha with The Commentary (Sarvankashâ) of Mallinâtha* edited by Pandit Durgâprasâda and Pandit Śivadatta of Jeypore. 7th ed. revised by T. Śrinivâsa Venkatrâma Śarmâ. Bombay: Nirnaya-Sagar Press.

Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram of Taṇṭi. 1901. *University of Madras B. A. Examination of 1901. Porulani Iyal of Thandi Alankaram with commentary and explanatory*

notes. Ed. V. M. Satakoparamanujachariar and S. Krishnamachariar. Madras: V. N. Jubilee Press.

Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram of Taṇṭi. 1920. *taṇṭiyalaṅkāram, śrī suppiramaṇiyatēcikar uraiyuṭaṉ*. edited by vī. āṟumukam cērvai. ceṉṉai [Chennai]: matarās rippaṉ acciyantiracālai.

Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram of Taṇṭi. 1947. *taṇṭiyalaṅkāram cuppiramaṇiya tēcikar uraiyuṭaṉ* edited by kō. irāmaliṅkattampirāṉavar. Tirunelveli: The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society.

Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram of Taṇṭi. 1962. *taṇṭiyalaṅkāram muḻutum mūlamum paḻaiyavuraiyum* edited by vai. mu. kōpālakiruṭṭiṉamācāryar with notes by vai. mu. caṭakōparāmānujācāryasvāmikaḷ. ceṉṉai [Chennai]: vai. mu. kōpālakiryṣṇamācāriyar kampeṉi. [In the edition available to me a second date, 1956, is given on the full title page. The printing houses are there given as āṉantāpārvati accakakku and śrīrāmaliṅkam accakattu.]

Tēvāram. 1965. *Tēvāram: Hymnes Śivaïtes du pays tamoul* edited by T. V. Gopal Iyer sous la direction de Fraçois Gros. Vol. I Ñāṉacampantar. Publications de l'institut français d'indologie No. 68,1. Pondichéry: Institut français d'indologie.

of Tolkāppiyar with *Cēṉāvaraiyam*. 1923. *tolkāppiyam collatikāra mūlamum cēṉāvaraiyaruraiyum* edited by Piramaśrī Cī. Kaṇecaiyar. Cuṉṉākam: Tirumakaḷ Aḻattakam.

Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram of Tolkāppiyar with *Iḷampūraṇam*. 1927. *tolkāppiyam collatikāram iḷampūraṇam* edited by Namaccivāya Mutaliyar. Ceṉṉai [Chennai]: Si. Kumāracāmi Nāyuṭu Saṉs.

Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram of Tolkāppiyar with *Teyvaccilaiyam*. 1929. *tolkāppiyam collatikāram teyvaccilaiyar urai* editd by. n.n. [Thanjavur]: Karantait Tamiḻccaṅkap Patippu.

Vīracōḻiyam of Puttamittiraṉ. 1942. vīracōḻiyam mūlamum peruntēvaṉār iyaṟṟiya uraiyum edited by kā. ra. kōvintarāja mutaliyār. ceṉṉai [Chennai]: pavāṉantar kaḻakam.

Vīracōḻiyam of Puttamittiraṉ. 2005. *vīracōḻiyam peruntēvaṉār iyaṯṯiya uraiyum viḷakkaṅkaḷuṭaṉ* edited by ti. vē. kōpālaiyar. śrīraṅkam [Srirangam]: śrīmat āṇṭavaṉ āśramam.

Yāpparuṅkalam of Amitacāgaraṉār. 1960. *Yāpparuṅkalam by Amitasāgaranār (with an ancient commentary)* edited by M. V. Venugopala Pillai. Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Series No. 66. Madras: Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.

Secondary Literature

Ate, Lynn. 2019. *Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār's Five Shorter Works: Experiments in Literature*. Pondicherry: École française d'Extrême-Orient & Institut français de Pondichéry (Indologie 140 = NETamil Series 4).

Battistini, Alessandro. 2016. "'Latet Anguis in Herba': 'Nāgabandhas' in Sanskrit Linterature." *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali* 89: 25–39.

Cabaton, Antoine. 1912. *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens, indo-chinois & malayo-polynésiens*. Paris: E. Leroux.

Chevillard, Jean-Luc. 2020. Unpublished draft. "The 'colourful' retrospective horizon of Vīracōliyam-143 at the advent of the Daṇḍin doctrine in Tamil Nadu". <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-02179709>

Cūriyanārāyaṇa Castiriyār, Vi. Kō. 1939. *Cittira Kavi Viḷakkam*. Madras: Vi. Cū. Cuvāmināṭaṉ.

D'Avella, Victor and Anjaneya Sarma. 2021. "The Relative Participle and the Limits of Sanskrit". In *Linguistic and Textual Aspects of Multilingualism in South India and Sri Lanka* edited by Giovanni Ciotti and Erin McCann, 453–524. Pondicherry: École française d'Extrême-Orient & Institut français de Pondichéry (Indologie 147 = NETamil Series 8).

D'Avella, Victor. 2021. "The Vīracōliyam: A Tamil Grammar through the Eyes of Sanskrit". In *Linguistic and Textual Aspects of Multilingualism in South India and Sri Lanka* edited by Giovanni Ciotti and Erin McCann, 327–410. Pondicherry: École française d'Extrême-Orient & Institut français de Pondichéry (Indologie 147 = NETamil Series 8).

D'Avella, Victor. 2020. "Recreating Daṇḍin's Styles in Tamil". *Cracow Indological Studies*, 22(2): 17–41.

Dimitrov, Dragomir. 2002. *Mārgavibhāga*: Die Unterscheidung der Stilarten. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Dimitrov, Dragomir. 2011. *Śabdālaṃkaradoṣavibhāga: Die Unterscheidung der Lautfiguren und der Fehler*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Kadirvelu Pillai, Na. 1928. *Tamil Moli Akarathi. N. Kathiraiver Pillai's Tamil Moli Akarathi: Tamil-Tamil dictionary = Na. Kathiraiver Pillayin Tamil Moliyakarati: Tamil-Tamil akarathi*. 6th edition, revised and enlarged. Cennai: Pi. Ve. Namacivaya Mutaliyar, 1928.

Kahrs, Eivind. 1992. "What is a *tadbhava* word?" *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35: 225–249.

Kōpālaiyar, Ti. Vē. 2004. *Tamiḻ Ilakkaṇap Pērakarāti*, vol. 12 [*aṇi*]. Chennai: Tamiḻ Maṇ Patippakam.

Mitchell, Lisa. 2009. *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of a Mother Tongue*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Niklas, Ulrike. 188. "Introduction to Tamil Prosody". *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 77: 165–227.

Ollett, Andrew. 2017. *Language of the Snakes: Prakrit, Sanskrit, and the Language Order of Premodern India*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Piḷḷai, Na. Katiraivēl. 1928. *Tamiḻ Moḻi Akarāti*. 6th ed., rev. and enl. by Pi. Ve. Namacivaya Mutaliyar. Chennai.

S.n. 1956. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts in Mahamahopadhyaya*

Dr. V. Swaminathaiyar Library. Mahamhopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminathaiyar Library: Madras.
Sternbach, Ludwik. 1975. *Indian Riddle: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Sanskrit Literature*. Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute.
Sudyka, Lidia and Cezary Galewicz. 2012 *The eightfold gymnastics of mind: a preliminary report on the idea and tradition of aṣṭāvadhāna*. Cracow Indological Studies, 14: 169–192.
Trautmann, T. 2006. *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Wilden, Eva. 2021. "Naming the Author: The Taṇṭi Motif in the Margins of the Tamil Poetic Tradition". In *Exploring Written Artefacts*, 689–704. De Gruyter: Berlin.
Zvelebil, Kamil V. 1995. *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

List of figures

Fig. 1. BnF Indien 206, f172v. Photo retrieved from Gallica. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f352>, p. 448.

Fig. 2. *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* 1962, p. 449.

Fig. 3. BnF Indien 206, f165r. Photo retrieved from Gallica. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510480g/f337>, p. 460.

Fig. 4. *Cittira Kavi Viḷakkam* 1939, p. 461.

A Missionary Grammar of Tamil of the Early 17th Century

Its History, Its Connections, and Its Main Linguistic Features

Cristina Muru (University of Tuscia, Italy)

This paper describes the Portuguese-Dutch manuscript shelf-marked Cod. Orient. 283 from the Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek Hamburg. The first part analyses its paratexts, provides information about the authorship of the manuscript, the collection to which it belonged, and its connection with other similar texts tracing the history of its transmission. The second part, comparing it with other similar texts, comments on the descriptive categories used for describing Tamil. It also discusses some of its linguistic peculiarities whose analysis allows shedding light on the language to which the missionary was exposed.

1. Manuscript SUB Cod. Orient. 283: History of Transmission

The manuscript SUB Cod. Orient. 283 surfaced in the Hamburg State and University Library (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, hereafter SUB) in 2016. I have already discussed some of its internal aspects and gave an account of its contents and of Gaspar de Aguilar's life.[1] The first section of this paper gives more in-depth information about the unresolved aspects that I raised concerning the authorship of SUB Cod. Orient. 283. Furthermore, based on the examination of its paratexts, this section also points out the connection this manuscript has with others in order to understand the history of its transmission.

[1] On SUB Cod. Orient. 283, see Muru (2014: 362, fn. 26; 2020a: 60; 2021a: 234). On Gaspar de Aguilar, see Muru (2014: 354–359).

1.1. Author(ship)

Three paratexts of second level[2] found in the front protective leaf (**online fig. 1**) suggest information about the ownership and the authorship of Cod. Orient. 283. One of them (**online fig. 1**, item a) allows us to attribute this manuscript to an owner, Philippus Baldaeus (1632–1672),[3] another one (**online fig. 1**, item b) to a composer, Gaspar de Aguilar (1588–?),[4] while the third paratext (**online fig. 1**, item c) on the right side is difficult to read.

Baldaeus belonged to the Dutch Calvinist clergy while Aguilar was a Jesuit missionary at the mission of Cardiva dismissed from the Company of Jesus in 1645 (Muru 2014: 354–359). Both preached in the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam. Therefore, these paratexts place the manuscript in the middle between two religious worlds, demonstrating how the Protestants relied on the Jesuits' materials for implementing their linguistic and religious activity.[5] As discussed in Muru (2020a) — and partially contrary to Pytlowany (2018: 45) who states that "this copy does not seem to be done by Baldaeus own hand. For one thing, he surely would not waste time copying Catholic elements such as *Confessionario* or other prayers" — another important paratext[6] of first level, the *Preface* (**online fig. 2**, item b) that is written by the same hand found in the whole manuscript, suggests that it was not a first-hand composition by Aguilar. Placed on the back of the protective leaf, it clearly states that this grammar was only inspired by Aguilar

[2] For a classification of paratexts in Christian manuscripts see Muru (2020b).

[3] See Francis (2011: 124).

[4] The title provided in this marginal note is the same given in Streit (1929: 210): "in lingoa Portugallica (und fol. 50) ex majori opere P. Casp. D'Aguilar Soc. Jes. Confecta q(uod) ex pr(efatione) p(atet)" (**online fig. 1**, item b). It is also mentioned in Sommervogel (1960).

[5] Israel (2006, 2011: 63) has provided a detailed account on how Protestants worked on Jesuit sources that they re-shaped in language and in terminology. Indeed, "the desire to fix a standard Protestant terminology across all Indian languages was intimately linked to the project of establishing standard version [...] recognizable Protestant vocabulary across the linguistic hierarchy. This translation strategy focused on a "common terminology" for the fundamental terms of Protestant doctrine".

[6] See Muru (2020a: 62) for a complete translation of this paratext.

whose text was modified. However, it does not say anything about its author/writer who could be Baldaeus but could also be someone else. On the contrary, as discussed below, other paratexts of first level, consisting in some glosses written in Dutch next to Tamil religious texts (**online fig. 3**, item c), the translation into Dutch of the Malabar letters (**online fig. 3**, item a and **online fig. 10**),[7] as well as the signature found at the end of the section *Arte de escrever Tamil* (**online fig. 1**, item e), all suggest that the manuscript can be attributed to Baldaeus. The comparison with the other texts also, again discussed below, points towards this direction.

First, I have compared this manuscript (**online fig. 2**, item b) with Aguilar's profession of vows (**online fig. 2**, item a) kept at Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth HARSI)[8] and I can say that the handwriting differs substantially. Considering this and the *Preface*, I have discarded any possibility of considering Aguilar as the writer of this text.

Second, I compared the Dutch handwriting found in different sections of Cod. Orient. 283, that is, glosses next to Portuguese and Tamil text (**online fig. 3**, item c), the heading *De Malabaersche Schryffconst* (**online fig. 3**, item a) with another of Baldaeus' first-hand documents (**online fig. 3**, items d, f) found at the British Library [hereafter BL] (BL Egerton MS 2086, f. 213r and BL Sloane MS 2711, f. 202r) and with the glosses in Dutch found in the Portuguese text in the same Hamburg library, SUB Cod. Geogr. 11 (**online fig. 3**, items b, e)[9]. All these sections were clearly composed by the same hand, as already stated, presumably Baldaeus' hand.

Third, I compared the Tamil script used in the section entitled *Arte de escrever Tamul* (**online fig. 11**) and in the initial syllabary (**figs. 1–2**, right side), as well as in the final religious texts[10] (**online**

---

[7] Pytlowany (2018: 45–46) also states that this section (**online fig. 10**) was written by Baldaeus: "The last 16 pages of the manuscript with a heading *De Malabaersche Schryffconst* look like a barely started draft of a Dutch translation of the part on Tamil script (*Arte de escreuer Tamul*) from page 42".

[8] Lusitania 4, f. 252.

[9] The handwriting in **online fig. 4**, items a, b, corresponding to Cod. Orient. 283 and SUB Cod. Geogr. 11 respectively, is also the same.

[10] Indeed, this grammar does not provide Tamil examples written in Tamil script, but rather all of them are transliterated into Latin characters. Tamil

fig. 6, item a) with other examples of Baldaeus' first-hand Tamil script such as the list of Tamil letters given in the above-mentioned manuscript, BL Egerton MS 2086, f. 213r (**fig. 1**, left side) and f. 214r (**fig. 2**, left side), as well as with a plate (**fig. 3**) taken from one of Baldaeus' manuscripts belonging to a private collection (Willson 2016). What deserves particular attention is the way in which the Tamil ழ (*ḷ*) and ட (*ṭ*) are transliterated into Roman characters in these manuscripts. The first one is an *l* with three dots along its left side (**fig. 2**), while the second one is a *r* with two dots above (**fig. 3**).

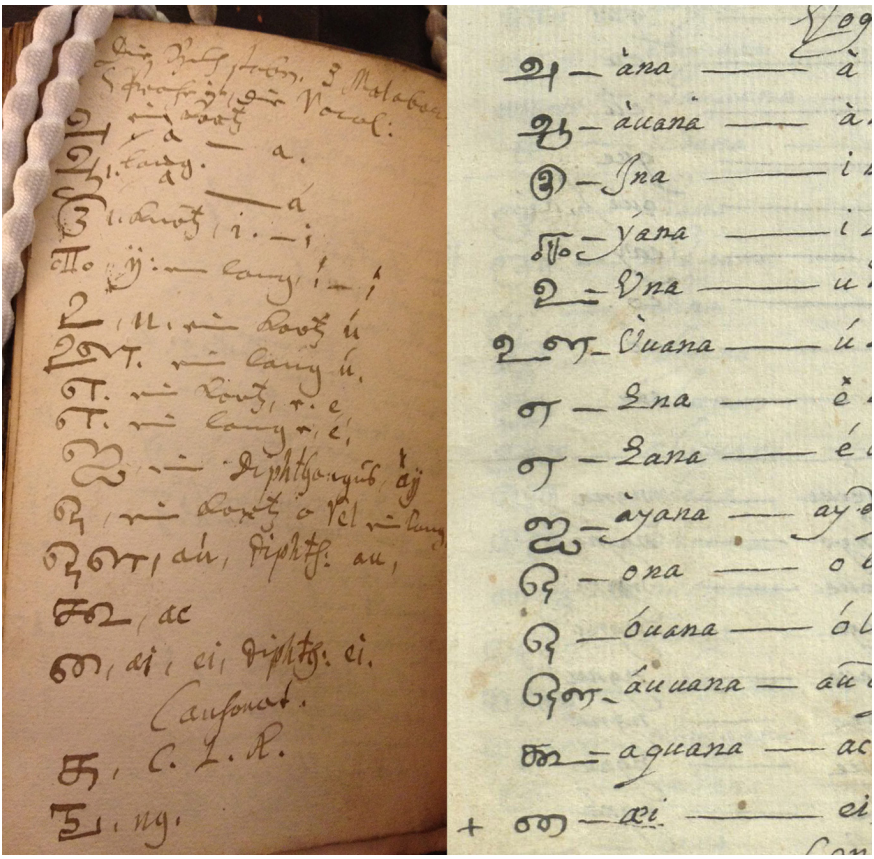


Fig. 1. Initial vowels in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 (right) and BL Egerton MS 2086 (left). Photo by C. Muru, courtesy of BL and SUB.

script is only found in the translation of the religious texts. For details about their contents see Muru (2020a).

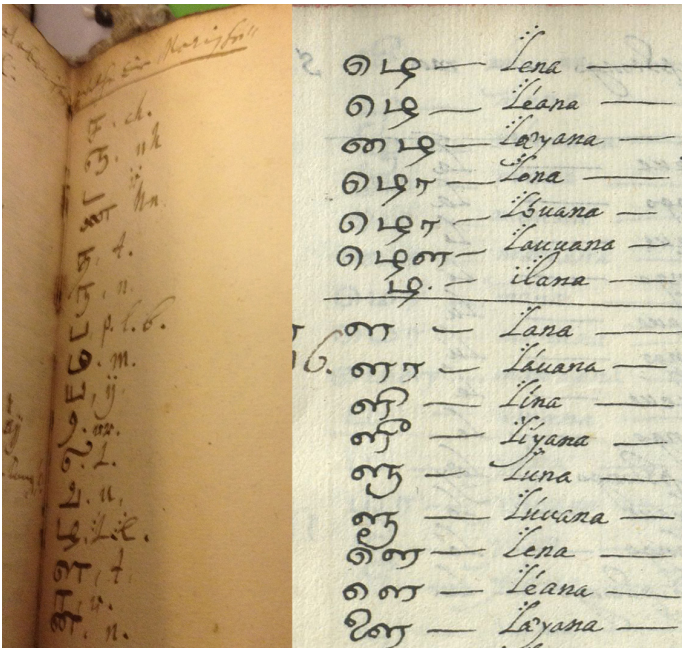


Fig. 2. Tamil ḷ and ḻ in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 (right) and BL Egerton MS 2086 (left). Photo by C. Muru, courtesy of BL and SUB.

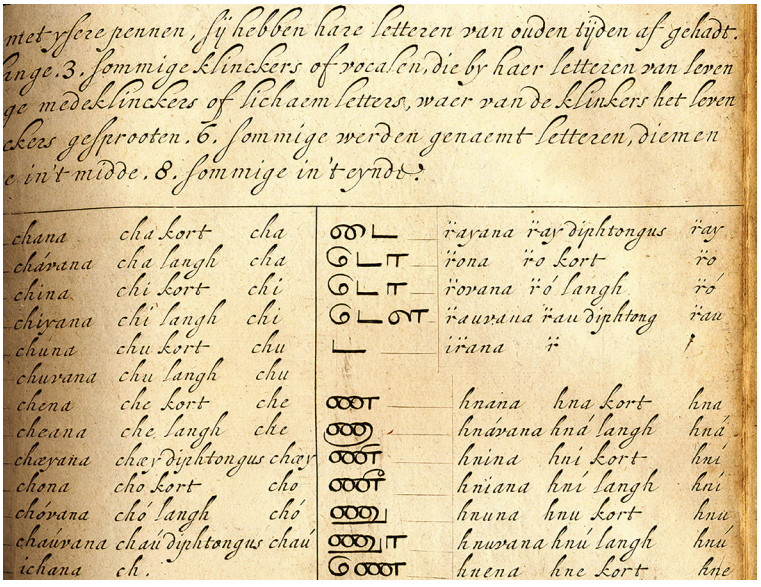


Fig. 3. Tamil ṭ in a plate from one of Baldaeus' manuscripts. Courtesy of Brian Willson. Source: <https://www.oldfonts.com/antiquepenman/tag/18th-century-handwriting>

Fourth, I compared the Portuguese handwriting of Cod. Orient. 283 (**online fig. 4**, item b) with the above-mentioned manuscript SUB Cod. Geogr. 11, (**online fig. 4**, item a). Once again, the handwritings are very similar.

Fifth, I also checked another manuscript kept at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [hereafter BSB], Cod. Tam. 6 (**online fig. 7**, item c), catalogued as Guruśiṣyasaṃvāda, which shows the same paratext of second level found in the other manuscripts (**online fig. 7**, items a, b). The hand that wrote the recto of the protective leaf (**online fig. 5**, item b) seems to be the same hand which also wrote on the protective leaves of SUB Cod. Geogr. 11 (**online fig. 5**, item a) and of SUB Cod. Orient. 283 (**online fig. 5**, item c). The comparison between the main text of BSB Cod. Tam. 6 (**online fig. 6**, item b) and the Tamil texts of SUB Cod. Orient. 283 (**online fig. 6**, item a) also shows how much these handwritings are similar. To whom the hand who wrote the recto of the protective leaves belonged? Considering Pytlowany (2018: 45–46) that the translation into Dutch of the Malabar letters is by Baldaeus' hand as well as specimens of Baldaeus' Dutch and Tamil handwriting (**online fig. 3**, items a and b), it could be considered as that of Baldaeus himself rather than of Baldaeus' native helper, Francisco Fonseca who helped him with Tamil.

Finally, the following record traced in Sloane's collection at the BL is evidence that Baldaeus was proficient in Portuguese, therefore it is possible that he was also accustomed to writing in that language.

> ~~Ms. Or: 85~~ Ms. Or: ~~54~~. / 3591 XXX.E.
>
> Evangelio de sam Matheus tresludado d Original Grego em Portugues por Philipp Baldœo e traducido cū multa diligencia nu Lingoa Tamul por Francisco de Fonseca Malabar. natural de sattnapatam. (Malabarice?) 4o.
>
> BL Sloane MS 3972 B_893[11]

In conclusion, in my opinion all the above features are evidence that SUB Cod. Orient. 283 not only belonged to Baldaeus but was

[11] This text is a translation from Greek into Portuguese by Baldaeus and from Portuguese into Tamil by Fonseca of the Gospel of Matthew. Further information about Sir Hans Sloane's collections and catalogues across the British Museum, the British Library and the Natural History Museum, London can be found on the *Reconstructing Sloane* website: <www.reconstructingsloane.org>.

also written by him rather than by someone at his service. I do not discuss here its intellectual property[12] because until Aguilar's *Arte* surfaces — if ever — it will not be possible to know to what extent Baldaeus copied or modified it. At this point, considering Pytlowany's opinion (2018: 45) stated above, the question arises: why would Baldaeus have wasted his time writing (or copying) in Portuguese rather than in Dutch? One reason might be that Portuguese was the main *lingua franca* used in India and that Dutch was unknown to the locals who helped missionaries in the translation into Tamil.[13] Secondly, some biographical data on Baldaeus' life, discussed in the next paragraph, will give a better understanding of why Baldaeus might write/copy texts in Portuguese, even Roman Catholic texts.

1.2 Biography of Baldaeus

According to Strong (2021: 35) and AA.VV. (1952: 254–255)

> P.B. (1632–1671) was raised in Delft by his grandfather, having lost his parents to the plague. He studied theology at Leiden and became a minister of the Reformed Church, and soon embarked for Asia in the employ of the Dutch East India Company [founded in 1602]. He joined the Dutch forces in their wars against the Portuguese in Ceylon and South India and eventually settled in Jaffna, where **he studied various languages, including Portuguese**,[14] Tamil, and Sanskrit and became one of the first Western scholars to document Tamil culture and life in northern Sri Lanka.

Baldaeus was 21 when he arrived in India, and he stayed in Ceylon until 1665.[15] His presence in Ceylon "witnessed the definitive estab-

---

[12] Indeed, as I already stated in Muru (2020a: 62), "Baldaeus was accused of plagiarism by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) and Lach and Van Kley (1993: 911 and n. 253: 1069) remind us that "after all Baldaeus was the same author who "liberated" Fenicio's work on Hinduism and published it without acknowledgment."

[13] See Stefan Pfänder (2006), Muru (2017; 2018), as well as the bibliographical references there, where I have commented widely on this aspect.

[14] Emphasis is mine.

[15] 1665 in Rubiés (2002: 345) and Mottau (1985: 13), 1664 in Strong (2021: 35) and AA.VV. (1952: 254–255).

lishment of the Dutch in the former Portuguese South Indian enclaves" (Rubiés 2022: 345).

After disputes with both the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Reformed Church, he returned to Holland in 1666, where he became a pastor in the small town of Geervliet. There he wrote *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, derzelver aangrenzende ryken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon [...]* a work published in Amsterdam in 1672.[16]

The book is divided into three parts, and it deals with the personal experience of the Dutch minister on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and in Ceylon along with a discussion of Hindu religion. "In addition to his own observation, Baldaeus includes materials garnered from other European authors [...] While Baldaeus generally acknowledges his debt to published materials, he is not so scrupulous in giving credit to his manuscript sources" (Lach & Van Kley 1993: 911; Frederiks and van den Branden 1888–1891: 33). Indeed, the third part of this book, which appears with a separate title *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische heydenen* ("Veritable Discovering and Refutation of the Idolatry of the East-Indian Heathens") is basically an unacknowledged translation of the manuscript *Livro da seita dos Indios Orientais* (1609) by Giacomo Fenicio (1558–1632) whose original copy is at the British Library (Sloane MS 1820, see Muru 2021b) while Baldaeus' copy is kept at the SUB (the above-mentioned SUB Cod. Geogr. 11). In the book a short grammatical description of contemporaneous Malabar language is also attached.[17] Indeed, as Pytlowany (2018: 43) states, Baldaeus, "one of the most prominent personalities in the field of Tamil believed in *predikants* learning local languages". He himself was a *predikant*, that is, a minister professing the Dutch Reformed Church faith, in Jaffnapatnam for seven years.[18]

Baldaeus struggled to learn the Tamil language. In Veith (1867: 214) one reads that Baldaeus wrote that "he practised Tamil first

---

[16] Translated into German in 1672 and into English in 1676 (Onnekink 2022: 294; Strong 2021: 35). See Baldaeus (1703).

[17] Malabar means Tamil here. This short grammar is also mentioned in Grierson (1906: 302) who remarks that "a short Tamil grammar appeared as early as 1672 in Philippus Baldaeus".

[18] According to Mottau (1985: 163–164) Baldaeus was a *predikant* in Galle from 1656 to 1657 and a *predikant* in Jaffna from 1658 to 1665.

by writing the letters in the sand like children and then, like the natives, scribbling them on palm leaves with an iron pen and getting used to this hard pen a little". He also declared to have written letters to his friends on palm leaves to practise. Veith (1867: 204–205) also informs that before knowing Tamil, **Baldaeus was proficient in Portuguese**. It was a necessity because in August 1658, Baldaeus had been appointed as regular minister in the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam, where he continued to work until 1665. His duties involved administering the churches there and Portuguese was necessary for communicating with Indians. In fact, **Baldaeus declared to have preached in Portuguese in his writings**; he also complained about the need to learn Singhalese after struggling to learn Tamil (Veith 1867: 211–213). When Baldaeus succeeded in learning Tamil with the support of his Indian *tolk* (interpreter) Francisco da Fonseca (Baldaeus 1672: 192), he translated a certain amount of documents into Tamil with him, **after copying and writing them in Portuguese** (Veith, 1867: 214). According to Koolen (1993: 193), "for pastors like Baldaeus, the first priority was the retraining of the dozens of Catholic teachers and the Portuguese translation of a concise catechism for the schools" therefore, "after achieving proficiency in the Tamil language Baldaeus turned his attention [...] to the production of Christian literature in the Tamil language. His aim was to create a body of Christian literature in Tamil, which would make the ordinary Tamil familiar with the various aspects of Christianity, without having constantly to rely on the Predikaants and their assistants" (Hoole 1993: 222).

Therefore, Fonseca worked under Baldaeus' supervision on the composition of works such as *Een Vraagboekje* (*A question booklet*) as well as on the translation of Psalms (1662) (Veith 1867: 214), the short Catechism, and the Sermons. Furthermore, there is a list of Malabar scriptures which Baldaeus left for the service of his congregation such as the Gospel of Matthew (1665)[19] that he translated before leaving the island (Hoole 1993: 211), along with instructions for those who wished to take the Sacrament, and brief questions and answers on the history of the Old and New Covenant, baptis-

[19] According to Israel (2011: 222, fn. 25), Baldaeus was the first to try his hand at translating a section of the Bible, the manuscript version of which circulated on palm leaves and was used in Ceylon at least until 1692.

mal and matrimonial forms, the consolation of the sick and a series of prayers.[20] Baldaeus also made the first systematic attempt to translate the Bible into an Eastern language (Israel 2011: 27). As the Dutch at the time had no printing press in Sri Lanka, copies of the translation were circulated on Palmyra leaves.

Baldaeus was only 33 when he returned to his homeland where he started a new career within the Church becoming a preacher in Geervliet (Frederiks and van den Branden 1888–1891: 33).[21] There is little information about the circumstances of his death, and even the date is uncertain. In fact, according to Veith (1867: 229) family records mention 1672 as the year of his death but this conflicts with other reports which give the year as 1671 (Veith 1867: 231).

1.3. The Collection and Connections with other Texts

I will now scrutinize the paratexts of second level found in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 as well as in some of the above-mentioned manuscripts to provide information on the collections the manuscript entered and the history of its transmission.

Opening Cod. Orient. 283 the first paratext is the collector's plate on the front guard-leaf: it suggests that the manuscript comes from the library of Zacharias Conrad Uffenbach (1683–1734) with signature C 25 (**online fig. 7**, item a). Subsequently, the manuscript was reported by Streit in 1929 in Halle, and then considered lost during the Second World War in Sommervogel (1960).[22]

Uffenbach was a collector of books, manuscripts, coins, and antiquities who was interested in the theory and practice of librarianship. He started his activity in Halle and as early as the beginning of the 18th century he had already elaborated his *ex-libris* (**online fig. 7**, items a, b, c) probably inspired by Levinus Vincent's (1658–1727) cabinet that Uffenbach visited in 1705. He also

[20] Most of Baldaeus' Tamil works were printed in Rotterdam by Johannes Borstius in 1671 (Van Troostenburg de Bruyn 1941: 128).

[21] The letter written by Baldaeus (1672) and translated into English by G. Perry along with some portions of the Tamil grammar and the Tamil letter plates is from Geervliet. This is found in a manuscript kept at the SOAS Library under the catalogue number 7107.

[22] See also Zwartjes (2011: 44).

visited Hans Sloane (1660–1753) in 1710 — another collector of manuscripts (see Muru 2022: 38–50) — whose collection included manuscripts such as Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's (1682–1719) *Bibliotheca Malabarica* (BL Sloane MS 3972B), Baltasar Da Costa's (ca. 1610–1673, henceforth BC) grammar (BL Sloane MS 3972B), and, as referred to above, Baldaeus' translation of Matthew (BL Sloane MS 3972B).[23] However, while Ziegenbalg's and, probably, BC's manuscripts had entered Sloane's collection in 1727 through an auction that Sloane attended in Copenhagen in 1726, Baldaeus' Tamil works must have entered the collection between 1715 and 1719 as gifts sent by other Danish collectors (cf. Ayscough's catalogue 1782).[24] Therefore, Sloane should not be considered as the source for Uffenbach's manuscripts written by Baldaeus. They probably came from a different source, since, for his collection, Uffenbach relied on a wide network of friends and correspondents, including his brother.

The ultimate aim of his collecting activity was to achieve something like a public private library. He wanted to save as many manuscripts as possible from destruction and make them accessible to the scholarly world. For this reason, he constantly travelled around Europe and returned from his trips with almost 4,000 volumes. Eventually, the library was housed in eight rooms of the Palais an der Zeil, later the Palais Böhler, which Uffenbach had built. In 1711 his manuscript collection grew to 12,000 volumes and 20,000 letters (Fischer 2016). Uffenbach was considered a bookworm in the most learned conception of the term.[25]

A catalogue of his collection appeared in Halle in 1720 (Jorink 2012). As early as 1729 Uffenbach had sold part of his collection, indicating the volumes for sale in a catalogue, compiled in four volumes, from 1729 to 1731. "His efforts to find a buyer for the com-

---

[23] See <https://enlightenmentarchitectures.reconstructingsloane.org/catalogueMS3972B>

[24] This is assumed by the hand which composed the entry for these volumes in Sloane's catalogue, that of an amanuensis who worked for Sloane between 1715 and 1719 (Muru 2022: 50–51).

[25] See Jorink (2012: 59): "The Dutch culture of collecting coincided with the establishment of Leiden University in 1575 and the establishment of the VOC in 1602." See also Jensen (2014).

plete manuscript collection, which according to his own credible testimony in Germany was only surpassed in size by the princely collections in Vienna and Wolfenbüttel, were unsuccessful, and so it was scattered to the four winds. As late as 1749, the remainder was acquired by the Hamburg State and University Library, which today has the largest collection of Uffenbach manuscripts [...]."[26]

Uffenbach's Catalogue (1720: 697–698) reports two manuscripts by Baldaeus: Cod. III and Cod. VI.[27] The latter corresponds to SUB Cod. Orient. 283 while the former is the above-mentioned BSB Cod. Tam. 6. Both display the same collector's plate on the front flyleaf (**online fig. 7**, items a and c respectively). Furthermore, BSB Cod. Tam. 6 not only allows a comparison of handwritings but also connects SUB Cod. Orient. 283 to another manuscript written on palm leaves, MS AK-RAK-2015–5 from the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (cf. Muru 2019 and Muru 2024), with which it shares some prayers, typical of the Protestant *milieu*, not found in SUB Cod. Orient. 283.[28]

All three manuscripts have prayers like *Padre Nosso* ("Our Father") which in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 appears to be encircled in a rust-coloured ink (**online fig. 8**) different from the black ink used for the *Arte*. However, while, in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 the prayer faithfully corresponds to the Roman Catholic version,[29] in the other two manuscripts[30] it ends with a sentence which directly translates the last

---

[26] See Rudolf (1985: 135–137) and also Mottau (1985). Note that SUB Cod. Orient. 283 which belonged to the unsold Uffenbach's collection, probably entered the library in 1734 after Uffenbach died.

[27] The same manuscripts are also mentioned in the Uffenbach's catalogues dated back 1730 at p. 62 and 1747 at pp. 2–3.

[28] The religious text in these palm leaves seems to reproduce a portion of the Gospel of Matthew, one of the first texts that Baldaeus translated. See §§1.2 and 1.3.

[29] The first translation of this prayer into Tamil was by the Jesuit Henrique Henriques (1520–1600) and was printed in 1577 for the first time — this copy is lost — then in 1578 and 1579 respectively as part of *Doctrina Christam em Lingua Malauar Tamul. tampirāṉ vaṇakkam* (1578, Quilon) and *kiricittiāni vaṇakkam* (Cochin, 1579). Henriques had translated into Tamil the religious texts of Marcos Jeorge (1524–1571), author of a doctrine published in Lisbon in 1566.

[30] Furthermore BSB Cod. Tam. 6 and MS AK-RAK-2015 also share some prayers (for the morning, before eating, after eating, for the night) typical of the Protestant *milieu* and the dialogue between the teacher and the disciple.

paragraph of *Our Father* found in Martin Luther's *Small Catechism* (1529; Löehe 1893: 30–31). According to Israel (2011: 63) this text, in its German language version or in one of the available Portuguese translations,[31] remained the reference model among the Dutch Protestant missionaries in India until the 19th century. All three manuscripts also have other prayers such as *O sinal da Cruz, Os dez mandamentos*, and *Os mandamentos da Madre Igreja* which are found in Henrique Henriques' (1520–1600, henceforth HH) *tampirāṉ vaṇakkam* (1578) and *kirīcittyāṉi vaṇakkam*.

Lastly, as already mentioned above, a small portion of the grammar in SUB Cod. Orient. 283[32] and the prayers encircled in a rust-coloured ink (**online fig. 8**) are also found in the already mentioned Baldaeus' *magnus opera*, published in Amsterdam in 1672.

2. SUB Cod. Orient. 283: Descriptive Categories and Linguistic Features

In Muru (2014) — where I referred to this text as Aguilar's grammar — I gave a quite detailed description of the contents of SUB Cod. Orient. 283, discussing how Tamil sounds, nouns, and verbs were described (Muru 2014: 375–384). I commented upon how the lexemes used for showing the Tamil noun declensions differ from the other grammars of the same period such as HH and BC (Muru 2014: 371). I also described how the author used both Sanskrit and Tamil technical terms next to the Latin and the Portuguese while describing Tamil cases and noun numbers (Muru 2014: 366–377). I also highlighted how the author was aware of different registers of the language, differentiating between *o fallar mais ordinario* ("the most ordinary speech") and *o fallar menos ordinario* ("the less common speech") (Muru 2104: 375). Furthemore, in Muru (2021a), I

---

[31] One example is *Catechismo Que significa forma de instruçaõ que se ensina em as escholas e igrejas reformadas conforme a Palavra de Deos, posto por Perguntas e Respostas sobre os princípios da doutrina Christaã. Por ordem dos Senhores da Companja Oriental* printed in Amsterdam in 1689. Available online here: <https://bdlb.bn.gov.br/acervo/handle/20.500.12156.3/13770>.

[32] Referred to by James (2007: 173) as *Prodromus Grammaticus*, a definition used by Baldaeus (1672: 195). See Buitenen & Ganeshsundaram (1952–1953: 168–182) for its English translation.

pointed out how much the author was inspired by his model of reference with reference to verbal morphology.[33] Indeed, in this context, the author not only relies on Latin grammatical taxonomy, but he extends it adding new *moods* for taking into account the linguistic diversity he was facing while trying to describe and understand Tamil: *Modo dubitativo ou conveniente* ("mandatory or appropriate mood"), *Modo meditativo ou contingente* ("Meditative or imminent mood") *Modo impossivel* ("Impossible mood"), *Modo parcativo com sicut, assim como* ("prudent mood, in *sicut*, just as"), *Modo æquivalente* ("equivalent mood"), are some examples showing how the author extended its mood taxonomy (**fig. 5**). Indeed, all these labels refer to peculiar Tamil constructions not found in Latin or Portuguese.[34]

Therefore, I will now discuss the descriptive categories used in this manuscript comparing them with other manuscripts. In particular, with HH's *Arte Malabar* (ca. 1548) and *Arte Tamul* composed by BC in the 17th century.

In particular, I wish to assess how far the author of Cod. Orient. 283 was innovative in the descriptive categories chosen for describing Tamil or if he was copying schemes and metalanguage used by others. Finally, I will discuss some linguistic features of Tamil language described and used in the text.

2.1. Descriptive Categories and Metalanguage

Auroux (1992, 1994) was a pioneer in reflecting on how a grammar elaborated for a specific language could undergo a process of extension and adaptation when applied to the description of another. This condition particularly applies to missionary grammars: all based on Latin or on a vernacular language, they were extended when used for the description of the non-European language that missionaries were using. SUB Cod. Orient. 283 does not differ in this regard.

---

[33] In Muru (2020a and 2021a), I support the idea that it is *Ars Minor* (1573) by E. Alváres (1526–1583).

[34] For further details and a discussion on the extension of the imperative and subjunctive mood in SUB Cod. Orient. 283, see Muru (2021a).

As with other missionary grammars,[35] SUB Cod. Orient. 283 also identifies Tamil linguistic forms that nowadays are addressed as *nouns* and *case markers*; *pronouns* and their *oblique forms*; *euphonic increments*; *quantifiers* and *determiners*; *finite, non-finite*, and *auxiliary verbs*; *verb tenses* and *moods*; *adjectives* and *adverbs*; *postpositions*; *conjunctions, disjunctions, particles*.

However, SUB Cod. Orient. 283 seems quite innovative when compared to HH. This is particularly true in the section devoted to the description of the Tamil *verb*. On the other hand, it is quite similar to BC.

Let us start comparing it with BC. Even if the corresponding Tamil forms do not always match between the two missionaries, both Cod. Orient. 283 and BC describe Tamil with a rich apparatus of descriptive categories. Even though most of these categories overlap, both the linguistic forms to which they refer as well as some categories differ. For example, BC classes the untensed verbal noun *vicuvātikkal* with the label *verbal* while SUB Cod. Orient. 283 uses *acçaõ de crer no presente* ("action of believing in the present"); BC labels the linguistic form *vicuvātikka pō̲rē̲n* as *ordinary affirmative future which corresponds to the Latin future and it is used to signify the habitual present* while SUB Cod. Orient. 283 considers it as a *meditativus* verb; both recognise the causative morphemes which can be added to the verb form, but the derived verbs are *reduplicative* verbs in Cod. Orient. 283 while they are *effective* verbs in BC. As stated above, differences between these two texts occur not only in the labels used, but also between Tamil forms included under the same descriptive category such as is the case for the imperative or the subjunctive (**figs. 4–5**).

On the contrary, if one compares SUB Cod. Orient. 283 with HH one may notice to what degree and how these two grammars differ. For example, HH identified nine main conjugations of personal verbs and a series of sub-tenses derived from the present,

[35] I am referring here not only to HH and BC but also to BnF Indien 188, an anonymous manuscript kept at the French National Library that seems to be an expanded version of HH's manuscript. Indeed, it uses similar ways of proceeding in the analysis of the Tamil forms, as well as similar metalanguage for its description. At the same time, it expands further, dealing in more detail with nominal and verbal morphology and also syntax.

the past, and the future respectively, for which he did not provide any labels. In identifying and describing these forms, HH focused on the internal structure of the word, or rather on the addition and the subtraction of linguistic materials that from the present tense, taken as a base, could be added/removed in order to obtain new forms. SUB Cod. Orient. 283 rather than focusing on the internal structure of the identified form, presents a verbal taxonomy based on its semantic.

Table 1 below exemplifies these differences. In the left column there is a list of the sub-tenses that HH derives from the present tense, while in the following columns is the classification into taxonomies under specific labels of the same forms as it appears in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 (central column) and BC (right column). Both fixed the identified forms into a Latinate category directly connected to the meaning that the specific linguistic form gives when used in a sentence.

Table 1. Comparison of linguistic forms and labels in HH, SUB Cod. Orient. 283, and BC.

HH: *subtenses of the present tense*	**Cod. Orient. 283**	**BC**
naṉ vicuvadikkiṟaṉē	form used in the **periphrastic construction for forming the *imperfect***	form used for forming the *relative* and in the **periphrastic construction for forming the *imperfect***
naṉ vicuvadikkiṟaṉ ākil	**conjunctive with meaning of *if not, nisi***	**conditional conjunctive *if***
vicuvadikkiṟavaṉ	substantive participle	substantivated adjectival participle
vicuvadikkiṟa (participle)	participle	adjectival participle

vicuvadikkiṟa vāku eppaṭi	***absent***	***absent***
vicuvadikkiṟa poḻutu	gerund in *-do*	conjunctive mode with *cum*
vicuvadikkiṟa pōlē	gerund in *-do*	conjunctive in *sicut*
vicuvadikkiṟatai	substantivated verb in the accusative	substantivated adjectival participle in the accusative
vicuvadikkiṟatai kāṭṭi	**comparative mode**	**comparative mode**
vicuvadikkiṟatu	substantivated verb	infinite substantive
vicuvadikkiṟatukku	substantivated verb in the dative	infinite substantive in the dative

Therefore, the main difference between these texts is not the identified linguistic data in which HH was a pioneer, but rather in the way they were categorised and organised. We do not know how much HH's grammar was known among missionaries; as far as I know, none mentioned it. On the contrary, the source that inspired SUB Cod. Orient. 283, i.e. Aguilar's text, was very familiar to BC (see Muru 2020a: 61–62), and this may be the reason why the two texts are similar in the Latinate categories that they selected for describing Tamil.

Indeed, the metalanguage used in BC is similar to that of SUB Cod. Orient. 283 and it relies on direct translation into Portuguese of Latinate categories or on the use of Latin. This is more evident in the taxonomy for the conjunctive where both manuscripts make use of Latin directly as shown in **figs. 4–5**.

The main difference between the two texts is probably in the amount of reflections about the application of the Latinate categories for the description of Tamil. This is found mainly in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 as shown by the following passages (**online fig. 9** for full quotations):

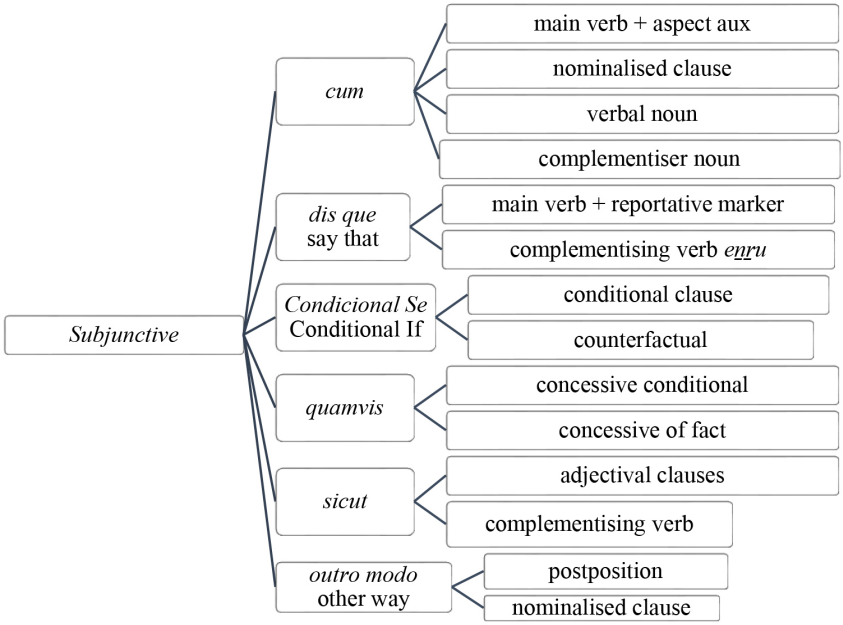


Fig. 4. Taxonomy of Subjunctive, according to BC (from Muru 2021a: 250).

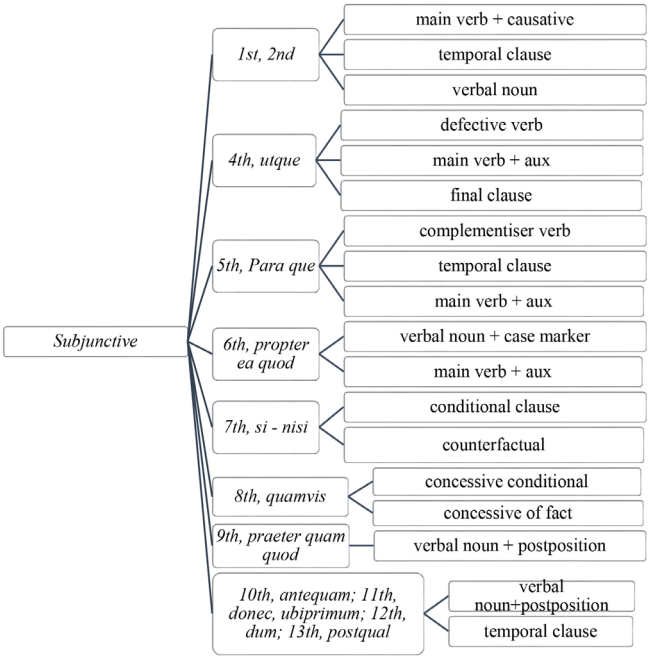


Fig. 5. Taxonomy of Subjunctive according to SUB Cod. Orient. 283 (from Muru 2021a: 252).

(a) este presente habitual [...]. A significação delle se explica pelos verbos frequentativos Latinos [...] e por aquelle modo de falar Portugues eu costumo vir [...] E por esta razão lhe chamamos presente habitual (SUB Cod. Orient. 283, f. 21v, lines 12–17).

This *habitual* present [...]. Its meaning can be explained through the Latin frequentative verbs [...] as well as by those Portuguese ways of speaking through which one says *I am used to coming* [...]. And for this reason, it is called habitual present.

(b) E se nos acostumamos a arte latina que multiplica conjugações [...] no Tamul por-esta[r]ia sò huã conjugação [...] (SUB Cod. Orient. 283, f. 32v, lines 25–34).

And if one is accustomed to the Latin Ars that multiplies the conjunctions [...] in Tamil [this is not the case] since there is one single conjugation [...]

(c) Dos quais com tudo daremos alguã noticia, naõ por necessid(ad)e [...] pera nos conformarmos cõ a arte Latina [...] (SUB Cod. Orient. 283, f. 33v, lines 14–18).

About which, despite everything, we will give some information, not because it is necessary, but only [...] in order to conform with the Latin Ars. [...]

In (a), SUB Cod. Orient. 283 refers to the future tense which, "besides expressing future actions may frequently express habitual or recurrent actions in the present or in the past" (Andronov 1989: 174). As such, habituality is one of the Tamil modalities that SUB Cod. Orient. 283 underlines here through the comparison with a specific Latinate category expressing the same meaning.

In (b), SUB Cod. Orient. 283 comments on the verbal conjugation underlining how the Tamil verb does not have it. Indeed, one single verb, *vichuvadicca* ("to believe") is used for representing the whole Tamil paradigm.

In (c), SUB Cod. Orient. 283 underlines how the author only provides correspondences for impersonal, anomalous, and defective verbs to comply with the Latin model because he does not find them necessary in Tamil.

In BC's *Arte Tamul* these reflections can be considered "resolved". (a) is not labelled anymore as such but the habitual sense of the

future tense is simply included in the paragraph devoted to the future and considered as one feature of this tense in Tamil; as for (b), BC also addresses one single conjugation of one single verb which can be used as a model for all the others (Panjim, MS 50, f. M-34–18, R, lines 26–29); as for (c), it is resolved stating that "what has so far been said of the verb விசு{வசி}ககிறென (*vicuvācikkiṟēṉ*) is common to all verbs of this language that are not anomalous, or defective. And all one could say on this subject, in order to not cause confusion, is left to the teacher" (Panjim, MS 50, f. M-34–37, R, lines 1–6).

2.2. Some linguistic features

Due to space constraints, I cannot analyse in depth any linguistic feature that emerges from this manuscript. I will give a more detailed treatment in the *Introduction* preceding the transcription and translation of the whole manuscript, hopefully to be completed soon. It is, however, possible to give a taste of the language variety, or rather, varieties, that can be traced within this text.

First, I would like to comment upon the section entitled *Arte de escrever Tamul* ("Arte of writing in Tamil"), ff. 42[43]r–49r, which is signed by பிலிபபிவலதெயுசு (*pilīppi valateyucu*) in 1665 (**online fig. 1**, item e). As stated above (§1.1), an incomplete Dutch translation of this section is reproduced in the final eight folios added to the original manuscript (**online fig. 10**). In this section, the author provides a detailed description of how Tamil sounds are articulated.[36]

The section starts with a syllabary for Tamil vowels followed by the explanation of these letters. The description is carried out with a contrastive approach, comparing Tamil with Portuguese, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (**online fig. 11**).

Finally, information on where both vowels and consonants appear within the words is given:

(d) As letras vogaes servẽ só pera o prinçipio dos nomes e nunca pera o meyo nem pera o fim [...] (SUB Cod. Orient. 283 f. 42v, lines 1–2).

[36] A similar attempt is found in the preface to Panjim, MS 50, that is the Tamil-Portuguese dictionary by Antão de Proença (1625–1666), which also contains BC's *Arte Tamul*. For further details see Muru (2022).

> The vowel letters may be used at the beginning of nouns. They can never be used in the middle or at the end [...]

Then, the author describes how each sound should be pronounced, giving similarities and differences with the Portuguese language, as well as highlighting what is peculiar to the Tamil language as shown in the following example:

(e) Este ழ he proprio, l, do tamul pronunciasse tendo a lingoa virada p(er)a o ceo da boca [...] (SUB Cod. Orient. 283 f. 46r, lines 8–9).

> This is the proper Tamil l. It is pronounced with the tongue twisted towards the palate [...]

In this section, as well as the section of religious texts, the author also uses Tamil script,[37] but in the whole *Arte* he uses Roman script even for the examples in the Tamil language.[38] If this choice complicates the task of reading the manuscript centuries later — the main difficulty being the many elisions for simplification on consonant clusters —, it is also a precious source for those wishing to understand the pronunciation to which the author was exposed.

What is more fascinating is the fact that the writing conventions used for representing the Tamil script are regularly used throughout the whole text. Consequently, it is possible to observe that:

1. a grave accent is used to mark vowel length and pitch;
2. two dots above the vibrant indicates the retroflex plosive /ṭ/;
3. two dots next to the lateral or a line in the middle <ɬ> mark the retroflex lateral /ɭ/;
4. double <rr> indicates the alveolar stop, *periya* ற <r̲>;
5. three dots next to the lateral signify the retroflex frictionless continuant ழ <l̲>;
6. one dot above <y> marks the pronunciation of the final semivowel (i.e. in the pronunciation of the accusative marker);
7. <ch> is used to represent the palatilized realisation of ச <c> in front of high and mid-high front vowel, while <s> or <x> in front of back vowels and low vowels;

[37] The Tamil handwriting, the same as that the signature mentioned above reveals that the whole manuscript was composed by the same hand.

[38] Transliteration into Roman characters is also used in the religious texts.

8. <d> can be used for representing the sounded dental plosive as well as the simplification of the consonant cluster ன்ற் <nr>;
9. <c> marks the velar plosive க் <k>.

In order to give an example of this system, **table 2** reproduces the transcription of the prayer *Our Father*. In the first column is the diplomatic transcription of the Roman script version (SUB Cod. Orient. 283, f. 58r; **online fig. 8**) according to some of the conventions described above (1–3; 6–9). In the second column is the diplomatic transcription of the Tamil script version (SUB Cod. Orient. 283, f. 58r; **online fig. 6**, item a).

Table 2. *Our Father* in SUB Cod. Orient. 283.

Padre Nosso (f. 58r) (online fig. 8)	**Padre Nosso (f. 70r) (online fig. 6**, item a)
Vànangàlîl yrùcrà èngàl Pidàve	வானஙகளில இருககிற எஙள பிதா(வெ)
unùr̈èyà nàmam ellàtcum chutam(àga);	உனனுடைய நாமம எலலாற சூஞசுததமாக
uṅur̈èyà yràchiam varà;	உனனுடைய இராசசியம வா.
uṅ manadìn par̈ỳ vànavargàl	உன மனதினபடி வானவாகள
vànatìl cheyumà pòlé pùmijlum	வானததிறசெயயுமா பபொலெ பூமியிலும
elàrum cheyà; an̈dàndùl̈là èngal	எலலாருஞசெயய. அனறனறுளள எஙகள
apàm engałucù ýn̈tùdà; èngal	(அ)பபம எஙகளுககு இனறு தா எஙகள
pił̈ey càr̈àn càrrarucú nàngal	பிழை கடனகாறருககு நாஙகள
porrucùmápòle nỳum èngal	பொறுகுமாபபொலெ நீயுமெஙகள

páva carángaley porrú; engałèy	பாவ ககடனகளைப பொறு எஙகளைத
tòlxatucù èduvàga òttàde ènga(lucù) polángu varàmal vilagù.	தொஷததுககு எது வாக ஒடடாதெ எஙகளுககுப பொலலாஙகு வாராமல விலகு.
	ஆமென. இசெசு

Although the prayer is a formulaic text with a specific register, it still shows how the orality filtered the writing when Latin script was used and how the standard register prevailed when Tamil script was employed: for example, the consonant cluster reduction in the verb *iru* is evident in the first line (yrùcra = இருககிற).

Further evidence of the predominance of orality over writing is found in the final section of the manuscript where there is a dialogue between the confessor and the penitent. **Online fig. 12** is representative of a short extract of this dialogue.

Looking at these examples, as well as the Tamil forms provided in the grammar for exemplifying the grammatical rules, what emerges so far is what I have already pointed out for BC's grammar. That is, in the linguistic elements that SUB Cod. Orient. 283 describes, even though they are typical of those used in the written context rather than the spoken context, there is an overlapping of *formal* and *informal* Tamil "mainly at the phonological level where *formal Tamil* forms are realised using the phonology of the *informal* Tamil." (Muru 2022: 339). Indeed, the most relevant features typical of the standard spoken variety of Tamil emerge and one may observe some features such as simplification of the consonant cluster <*rr*> and <*nr*> into <*tt*>; palatalization of the past tense marker <*tt*> into <*cc*>; intervocalic deletion of <*k*>; reduction of the nasal + consonant cluster; intervocalic deletion of <*l*> (retroflex frictionless continuant) which often merges with <*l*>, but in some cases is deleted instead, resulting in compensatory lengthening பொழுது *time* [po:dʉ] (Schiffman 1999: 22–23).

3. Concluding remarks

Thanks to the eager desire of a collector of manuscripts and books, Zacharias Conrad Uffenbach, SUB Cod. Orient. 283 first entered a

private collection and then passed to the Hamburg State and University Library.

It is a precious manuscript which adds much information to the history of the descriptions of Tamil made by missionaries. It not only connects two religious *milieus* but also provides a connection between earlier texts (HH) and later ones (BC). Inspired by Aguilar's grammar, Baldaeus composed this text with the aim of describing and reflecting on the Tamil language comparing it with Latin and Portuguese, reflecting on how much the Latinate categories could be applied to its description. This grammar and the religious text attached to it also had the aim of providing the Protestant *milieu* with the tools necessary for the creation of a Protestant apparatus of religious texts.

Due to its composite nature, including different texts written in different scripts, this manuscript allows us to carry on a detailed analysis of the language as it was heard centuries ago by missionaries. Indeed, the detailed linguistic analysis of each section of this manuscript, only briefly touched on here, may make a contribution to Tamil studies. Hopefully, this is what the critical edition of this manuscript, along with its translation, will offer to readers in the future.

Acknowledgments

I am in debt to the PIs of the project Texts Surrounding Texts, E. Wilden and E. Francis, not only for the tools their project provided to many scholars and the general public but also for their patience in waiting for this contribution. I am also in debt to the reviewers of my paper, whom I thank for their comments and remarks, which hopefully I was able to insert appropriately to improve my article. Last, but not least, I am in debt to my family, who had the patience to support my absence while I was trying to find the proper concentration for concluding this project.

Abbreviations

BC	Baltasar Da Costa
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France

BSB	Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, München
f.	folio
fig.	figure
HARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
HH	Henrique Henriques
MS	manuscript
r	recto
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
SUB	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Hamburg)
v	verso

References

Manuscripts

BL, Egerton MS 2086. Archives and Manuscripts. British Library.

BL, Sloane MS 1820. Giacomo Fenicio. 1609. *Livro da seita dos Indios Orientais*. Archives and Manuscripts. British Library.

BL, Sloane MS 2711. Archives and Manuscripts. British Library.

BL, Sloane MS 3972B. Archives and Manuscripts. British Library. <https://enlightenmentarchitectures.reconstructingsloane.org/catalogue MS3972B>

BnF, Indien 188. *On Tamil Language (collection)*. <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1037074>

BSB, Cod. Tam. 6. [Guruśiṣyasaṃvāda]. *Oraçaons de Sancta Igreja Reformada de Nosso Senõr Jesu Cristo no Reyno de Jaffnapatam na Ilha Ceylaon. Com Catechismo dos meninos christaons e preguntas et respostas por uso d'aquelles q querem commungar na santa igreja do senõr. Compostas por R.do Philippo Baldæu ministro pregador de Sancto Evañgelho n'as igrejas do Reyno de Jaffnapatam et traducids na Lingoa Tamul por [sic] Lererado Francisco Fonseca. Cranacopoli das mesmas igrejas*. Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, München. <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00084489>

Lusitania 4. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome.

Panjim, MS 50 (previously MS 34). Proença, Antão De. 1670. *Vocabulario Tamulico com a significaçam Portugueza composto pello P. Antam de Proença da Companhia de Iesu Missionario de Madurey*. Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library, Panjim, India.

SOAS, MS 7107. Baldaeus, Philip. 1672. Short Introduction to the Malabar Language by Philip Baldaeus, 1672. Translated by G. Perry. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

SUB, Cod. Geogr. 11. *Sete Livros da Ceita Ceremonias e Leyes dos Indios Orientæs Principalmente dos Malavares. Svm Philippi Baldæj VDM in regno*

Jaffnapatam Ao 1665. By Fenicio Giacomo. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Hamburg).

SUB, Cod. Orient. 283. Aguilar, Gaspar de and Philippi, Baldaues. 1659–1665. *Arte Tamoul. Sive Institutio Grammatica Linguæ Malabaricæ. Sum Philippi Baldej. UDM in Regno Jaffnapatam 1659. Filippi Baldeyusu 1665*. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Hamburg).

Primary Sources

Álvares, Manuel. 1573. *Emmanvelis Alvari è Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres*. Olyssippone: Excudebat Ioannes Barrerius Typographus Regius.

Baldaeus, Philippus. 1672. *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, der zelver aangrenzende Ryken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon. Nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen. Waar inne der zelver grootste Geheymenissen, zoo uyt de eygene Geschriften, asl t'Zamenspraak, en Bywooninge der voornaamste* Bramines, *en andere Indiaansche Wet-Geleerden, getrouwelijk werden aan't licht gebracht. Zijnde hier by gevoeght een Malabaarsche spraak-konst; Zeer dienstigh voor alle die het lust met dien Landaard omte gaan. Met Kaarten, en afbeeldingen van Landen, Steden, Drachten, Boomen, Vruchten, na het leven in Indïen afgeteekent, en kurieus in kooper gesneden. Door Philippus Baldæus, Dienaar des Godlÿken Woords; Eertijdes op Ceylon, en nu tot Geervliet*. Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius van Waasberge and Johannes van Someren. <https://archive.org/details/naauwkeurigebesc00bald/page/n7/mode/2up>

Baldaeus, Philippus. 1703 [1672]. *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East-India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and Also of the Isle of Ceylon*. London: Printed for Awnham and John Churchill at the Black Swan in Pater Noster Row. (Reprint: New Delhi & Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1996)

Henrique Henriques. 1548 (ca.). *Arte da Lingua malabar*. Manuscript Cod. Or. 3141, National Library, Lisbon.

Henrique Henriques. 1578. *Doctrina Christam em Lingua Malauar Tamul. Tampirān vaṇakkam*. Manuscript Ms Typ 100 578. Quilon. <https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:53909112$1i>

Henrique Henriques. 1579. *Kirīcittiyāṉi vaṇakkam*. Cochin. Manuscript MS Vet.Tam. f. Or. 1, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Löehe, Wilhelm. 1893. *Question and Answers to the Six Parts of the Small Catechism of Dr Martin Luther. Translated from the Fourth Edition of the House School and Church-Book for Christians of the Lutheran Faith, of Pastor Wilhelm Löehe by Edward T. Horn*. Columbia.

Martin, Luther. 1529. *Der Kleine Katechismus*. Marburg.

S.n. 1689. *Catechismo Que significa forma de instruçaõ que se ensina em as escholas e igrejas reformadas conforme a Palavra de Deos, posto por Perguntas e Respostas sobre os princípios da doutrina Christaã. Por ordem dos Senhores da Companja Oriental*. Em Amsterdam. Em casa dos Erdeiros de Paulus Matthyz.

S.n. 1730. *Bibliothecae Vffenbachiane Universalis. Tomus III. Exhibens Integrum Msstorum Tam Vet. Quam Recent. Adparatum, quem Z. C. ab Vffenbach summo studio atque labore conlegit, nunc vero bibliophilis æquo pretio offeret*. Francofurti: Apud Jo. Benj, Andræ & Henri Hot. Typis Baltmasaris Diehlii. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433089895563>

Uffenbach, Zacharias Konrad von. 1720. Majus, Johann Heinrich. *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana mssta: seu, catalogus et recensio msstorum codicum qui in bibliotheca Zachariae Conradi ab Uffenbach Traiecti ad Moenum adservantur et in varias classes distinguuntur, qvarum priores*, 697–698. Halae Hermundurorum: impensis Novi bibliopolii.

Uffenbach, Zacharias Konrad von. 1747. *Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum. Bibliothecae Uffenbachianæ*. Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt am Main. Francofurti ad Moenum: typis Balthasaris Diehlii.

Secondary Literature

AA.VV. 1952. "Philippus Baldaeus uit de oude Ieperse schepenfamilie baelde, predikant in voor-indië en ceilon, *Zijn lofspraak. op S. Franciscus Xaüerius*". *Biekorf* 53(11): 254–257.

Andronov, Mikhail Sergeevich. 1989. *A Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil*. Madras: New Century Book House.

Auroux, Sylvain. 1992. "Introduction. Le processus de grammatisation et ses enjeux" in *Histoire des idées linguistiques, Vol. II, Le développement de la grammaire occidentale* edited by Sylvain Auroux, 11–64. Liège: Mardaga.

Auroux, Sylvain. 1994. *La révolution technologique de la grammatisation*. Liège: Mardaga.

Ayscough, Samuel. 1782. *A Catalogue of the manuscript preserved in the British Museum hitherto undescribed: consisting of five thousand volumes; including the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. the Rev. Thomas Birch, D. D. and about Five Hundred Volumes bequeathed, presented, or purchased at various Times*. Vol. II. Containing ... with two indexes by Samuel Ayscough, Clerk. London: printed for the compiler by John Rivington.

Buitenen, J. A. B. van; P. C. Ganeshsundaram. 1952–1953. "A 17th century Dutch Grammar of Tamil". *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute* 14(3): 168–182.

Fischer, Roman. 2016. "Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad van". *Frankfurter-Personenlexikon* (online ed.). <https://frankfurter-personenlexikon.de/node/1521> (accessed November 11, 2024).

Francis, Emmanuel. 2011. "Description of 3 Tamil Manuscripts". *Manuskriptkultur in Tamil Nadu / Manuscript culture in Tamil Nadu* 4: 122–125.

Frederiks, J. G.; F. Jos. van den Branden. 1888–1891. *Biographisch woordenboek der Noorden Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde*. Amsterdam: L.J. Veen.

Grierson, George Abraham. 1906. *Survey of India. Muṇḍa and Dravidian languages, Vol 4*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.

Hoole, Charles Ratnamuktan A. 1993. *Modern Sannyasins, Parallel Society and Hindu replications. A Study of the Protestant contribution to Tamil culture in Nineteenth Century Sri Lanka against a historical background*. PhD thesis, McMaster University.

Israel, Hephzibah. 2006. "Cutchery Tamil versus Pure Tamil: Contesting Language Use in the Translated Bible in the Early Nineteenth-Century Protestant Tamil Community" in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader* edited by R. S. Sugirtharajah, 269–283. Malden/Oxford/Carlton: Blackwell.

Israel, Hephzibah. 2011. *Religious transactions in colonial South India. Language, Translation, and the Making of Protestant Identity*. New York: Palgrave.

James, Gregory. 2007. "The structure of declension in early missionary grammars of Tamil" in *Linguistics III / Lingüística Missionéira III. Morphology and syntax. Selected papers from the Third and Fourth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Hong Kong/Macau 2005, Valladolid 2006* edited by Otto Zwartjes, Gregory James, Emilio Ridruejo, 167–190. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Jensen, Niklas Thode. 2014. "Making it in Tranquebar. The circulation of scientific knowledge in the early Danish-Halle Mission" in *Beyond Tranquebar. Grappling Across Cultural Borders in South India* edited by Esther Fihl and A. R. Venkatachalapathy, 325–351. Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan.

Jorink, Eric. 2012. "Sloane and the Dutch connection" in *From books to bezoars. Sir Hans Sloane and his Collection* edited by Alison Walker, Arthur MacGregor and Michael Hunter, 57–70. London: The British Library.

Koolen, G. M. J. M. 1993. *Een Seer Bequaem Middel. Onderwijs en Kerk onder de 17e eeuwse VOC*. Kampen: Uitfeversmaatschappij J.H. Kok.

Lach, Donald Frederick; Edwin J. Van Kley. 1993. *Asia in the Making of Europe, A Century of Advance: South Asia, Vol. 3*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mottau, S. A. W. 1985. "Translation of Francois Valentijn's Description of Ceylon (Chapter 17). The Christian Religion in Ceylon, and primarily in the Roman Catholic Religion" *Journal of the Dutch Burghers Union of Ceylon* 62(1–4): 3–168.

Muru, Cristina. 2014. "Gaspar de Aguilar: A Banished Genius" in *Intercultural Encounter and the Jesuit Mission in South Asia (16th–18th Centuries)*

edited by Anand Amaladass and Ines G. Županov, 353–389. Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation.

Muru, Cristina. 2017. "Patterns of Cultural Mobility: the Contribution of Portuguese missionaries in South India". Unpublished paper presented at *The Companion language of the empire: Formal and Informal spaces of the Portuguese language (16th–19th cent.)*, Viterbo, University of Tuscia, February 2nd–3rd, 2017.

Muru, Cristina. 2018. "Early Descriptors and Descriptions of South Asian Languages from the 16th Century Onwards" *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, 17(8): 1–29.

Muru, Cristina. 2019. "A Bilingual Tamil-Portuguese Manuscript" *Aziatische Kunst* 49: 35–44.

Muru, Cristina. 2020a. "Grammaire Latine Étendue. Two Portuguese missionary Tamil Arte (17th cent.)" in *Extended Grammars* edited by Émilie Aussant and Jean-Luc Chevillard, 59–73. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*. Münster: Nodus.

Muru, Cristina. 2020b. "Socio-pragmatics on the page. Discursive strategies and packaging of Christian books (16th–19th century) in Tamil" in *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas. Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* edited by Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin, 543–621. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies.

Muru, Cristina. 2021a. "Mood and modality in 17th century missionary grammars of Tamil. The subjunctive and the imperative" in *Missionary Linguistics VI, Missionary Linguistics in Asia, Selected papers from the Tenth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Rome, 21–24 March 2018* edited by Otto Zwartjes and Paolo De Troia, 233–264. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Muru, Cristina. 2021b. "Italian intermediation and knowledge of the languages and cultures of India. The narrative practices regarding the *Other* in missionaries' writings" in *Global Perspectives in Modern Italian Culture. Knowledge and Representation of the World in Italy from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* edited by Guido Abbattista, 109–127. London/New York: Routledge.

Muru, Cristina. 2022. *The linguistic and historical contribution of the Arte Tamulica by Baltasar Da Costa, S. J. (c. 1610–1673). Annotated and commented Portuguese transcription and English translation from Portuguese and Tamil by Cristina Muru*. Vila Real: Centro de Estudos em Letras. Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro.

Muru, Cristina. 2024. "Lingua, testo e paratesto: analisi di un manoscritto bilingue tamil-portoghese" in *Atti del XLIV Convegno Annuale della Società Italiana di Glottologia, Linguistica e filologia tra Oriente e Occidente, Napoli 24–26 ottobre 2019*, 191–202. Roma: Il Calamo.

Onnekink, David. 2022. "Into the Wild: Early Modern Protestant Missionaries and Their Views on Animals". *Exchange* 51(3): 287–320.
Pytlowany, Anna. 2018. *Ketelaar rediscovered. The first Dutch grammar of Persian and Hindustani (1698)*. Utrecht: LOT.
Rubiés, Joan-Pau. 2002. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India Through European Eyes 1250–1625*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rudolf, Jung. 1985. "Uffenbach, Zacharias Konrad von". *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 39, 135–137. Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt.
Schiffman, Harold F. 1999. *A Reference Grammar of Spoken Tamil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Sommervogel, Carlos. 1960. *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jèsus*. Bruxelles: Oscar Shepens & Paris: Alphonse Picard.
Stefan Pfänder, Alessandra Castilho Ferreira da Costa. 2006. "Linguistic Variation in Everyday Life: Language in the Protestant Mission of Eighteenth-Century South East India" in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India Part VIII: Correspondence and Publications* edited by Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau, 1155–1163. Halle: Verlag Der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle.
Streit, Robert. 1929. *Bibliotheca Missionum, Vol. 5: Asiatische Missionsliteratur 1600–1699*. Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein.
Strong, John S. 2021. *The Buddha's Tooth: Western Tales of a Sri Lankan Relic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, C. A. L. 1941. "The Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon 1602–1795. Extracts from a work on "De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost Indie"". *Journal of the Dutch Burghers Union of Ceylon* 30(4): 116–130.
Veith, P. J. 1867. "Philippus Baldaeus". *De Gids* 31: 193–231.
Willson,Brian.2016."PostsTagged'PhilippusBaldaeus'".Blogpost.<https://www.oldfonts.com/antiquepenman/tag/philippus-baldaeus> (accessed April 25, 2024)
Zwartjes, Otto. 2011. *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550–1800*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

List of Figures

Fig. 1. Initial vowels in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 (right) and BL Egerton MS 2086 (left). Photo by C. Muru, courtesy of BL and SUB.

Fig. 2. Tamil <u>l</u> and l̲ in SUB Cod. Orient. 283 (right) and BL Egerton MS 2086 (left). Photo by C. Muru, courtesy of BL and SUB.

Fig. 3. Tamil ṯ in a plate from one of Baldaeus' manuscripts.

Courtesy of Brian Willson. Source: <https://www.oldfonts.com/antiquepenman/tag/18th-century-handwriting>

Fig. 4. Taxonomy of Subjunctive, according to BC (from Muru 2021: 250).

Fig. 5. Taxonomy of Subjunctive according to SUB Cod. Orient 283 (from Muru 2021: 252).

List of Online figures

See <https://didomena.ehess.fr/concern/data_sets/7p88cr905>

Online fig. 1. Paratexts of second level on the guard leaf of SUB Cod. Orient. 283. Photo by TST Project. By courtesy of SUB.

Online fig. 2. Aguilar's handwriting compared with *Preface* in SUB Cod. Orient. 283. Photo by Cristina Muru (Lusitania 4) and TST Project (Cod. Orient. 283). By courtesy of HARSI and SUB.

Online fig. 3. Baldaeus' Dutch and Tamil handwriting. Photo by Cristina Muru (SUB Cod. Geogr. 11; BL Egerton MS 2086), by TST Project (SUB Cod. Orient. 283), by BL (BL Sloane 2711). By courtesy of SUB and BL.

Online fig. 4. Comparison of Portuguese handwriting: SUB Cod. Orient. 283 vs SUB Cod. Geogr. 11. Photo by Cristina Muru (SUB Cod. Geogr. 11) and by TST Project (SUB Cod. Orient. 283). By courtesy of SUB.

Online fig. 5. Comparison of handwriting on protective leaves of SUB Cod. Geogr. 11, BSB Cod. Tam. 6, and SUB Cod. Orient. 283. Photo by Cristina Muru (SUB Cod. Geogr. 11), by BSB (BSB Cod. Tam. 6), by TST Project (SUB Cod. Orient. 283). By courtesy of SUB and BSB.

Online fig. 6. Comparison of Tamil handwriting in Cod. Orient. 283 and Cod. Tam. 6. Photo by BSB (BSB Cod. Tam. 6) and by TST Project (SUB Cod. Orient. 283). By courtesy of SUB and BSB.

Online fig. 7. Zacharias Conrad Uffenbach's *ex libris*. Photo by Cristina Muru (SUB Cod. Geogr. 11), by TST Project (SUB Cod. Orient. 283), by BSB (BSB Cod. Tam. 6). By courtesy of SUB and BSB.

Online fig. 8. *Padre nosso* [Our Father (SUB Cod. Orient. 283, f. 58r.)]. Photo by TST Project. By courtesy of SUB.

Online fig. 9. Examples from SUB Cod. Orient. 283.

Online fig. 10. *De Malabaersche Schryffconst*. SUB Cod. Orient. 283, last 8 folios. Photo by TST Project. By courtesy of SUB.

Online fig. 11. Description of vowels in *Arte de escrever Tamul*. SUB Cod. Orient. 283, f. 42r. Photo by TST Project. By courtesy of SUB.

Online fig. 12. Extract of *Manual for confession — Portuguese and Tamil*. SUB Cod. Orient. 283, f. 50r.

Fishing for Words with Beschi in Tamil Traditional Poetical Vocabularies

Margherita Trento (EHESS, CESAH, Aubervilliers)
Jean-Luc Chevillard (HTL, Paris & TAMILEX, Hamburg)

> non enim ignarus linguæ vulgaris, ad elegantiorem assultim transiliendo accedere, ut censeo, præsumet.
>
> Beschi, 1732, *Caturakarāti*, Præfatio, p. 2. l. 20

This article proposes a dive into a subset of BnF manuscripts containing traditional *nikaṇṭu*s and missionary dictionaries. It takes as starting point Indien 227, a manuscript of Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi (1680–1747)'s Tamil-Tamil dictionary *Caturakarāti*, which was copied in 1732. This manuscript contains a long Latin preface explaining in detail Beschi's involvement and reorganization of traditional Tamil lexicographical knowledge. In this article, we offer the first diplomatic transcription and English translation of this preface, and analyse its contents in order to contextualize Beschi's intellectual enterprise in the *Caturakarāti*.

Taking the word for pearl as our *fil rouge*, we explore the *Caturakarāti*, its Latin models and the Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s on which it was based, to highlight what seem to us to be the two main choices made by Beschi. These choices show the extent to which his work as a lexicographer was in dialogue with the Tamil tradition, while introducing important changes and innovations. The first choice was to create a dictionary following the alphabetical order, which had played a marginal role in the world of Tamil lexicography until then. This completely subverted the mode of consultation required by traditional *nikaṇṭu*s, which was based on their thematic organization and their memorization. The second choice was to make a dictionary of poetic Tamil, which forced him to retain another organizing principle of Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s, namely the separation between a thematic section, containing synonyms, and a polysemic section — a key distinction for anyone interested in writing or understanding Tamil poetry. While keeping this, Beschi also systematically added periphrases

to explain rare non-polysemic words, another (almost-)innovation that paved the way for the development of modern Tamil lexicography.

1. Introduction

The Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) contains several manuscripts produced in the context of the old Jesuit mission to Tamil-speaking South India. Jesuit missionaries arrived in the region in the mid-sixteenth century, when Francis Xavier SJ (1506–1552) spent some years preaching among the fishermen of the Coromandel coast. Soon after, they moved inland when Roberto Nobili SJ (1577–1656) began working in Madurai in 1606, thus inaugurating the Madurai mission.[1] Roughly a century later, in the 1720s, the abbot Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743) asked some French Jesuits of the Madurai mission residing in colonial Pondicherry to buy some Tamil manuscripts to enrich the Bibliothèque du Roi (the first incarnation of the BnF).[2] These acquisitions constitute the Tamil *fonds ancien* still in the library.[3] At that time, besides sending the Tamil classical texts they could access, Jesuits also sent copies of the grammars and dictionaries they had produced over the course of more than a century in their efforts to learn Tamil. These are among the earliest known examples of the Western engagement with the Tamil language, its grammar and lexicography.[4]

Particularly precious among these documents is an early copy of the *Caturakarāti* ("The Fourfold Dictionary[5]"), a "Thesaurus"

---

[1] For a review of the historiography on the Madurai mission, see Županov (2016) and Trento (2022: 5–13). We use in this article the form Roberto Nobili, following Bachmann (1972).

[2] Colas (1997: 345–362).

[3] See Emmanuel Francis's essay in this volume.

[4] See Cristina Muru's essay in this volume.

[5] Although we are making use of the word "Dictionary", it will hopefully become progressively clear to our readers that there cannot exist an unambiguous, atemporal consensus on what terms such as "Thesaurus", "Lexicon", "Vocabulary" mean exactly. One of the goals of this article is to document some of the traces of what has been constantly, ever since, a collective "work in progress", and which was also a continuation of earlier efforts, which were part of another collective "work in progress", performed by ancient Tamil scholars

(**fig. 2**) — or "dictionnaire" (**fig. 1**) — of poetical Tamil in four parts composed by missionary Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi SJ (1680–1747). The manuscript was copied in 1732, as the title page of Indien 227 indicates, and this is also the date around which Beschi must have completed the composition of the dictionary. The BnF volume containing this text, a thick leather-bound paper manuscript, is described in the last entry of the list of books shipped by the Jesuits to the Bibliothèque du Roi in 1734 with the following words: "On y ajouta un Dictionnaire de la langue scavante malabare appellée chem Tamul."[6] The same sentence can be read on the initial page of Indien 227, just before the title-page:

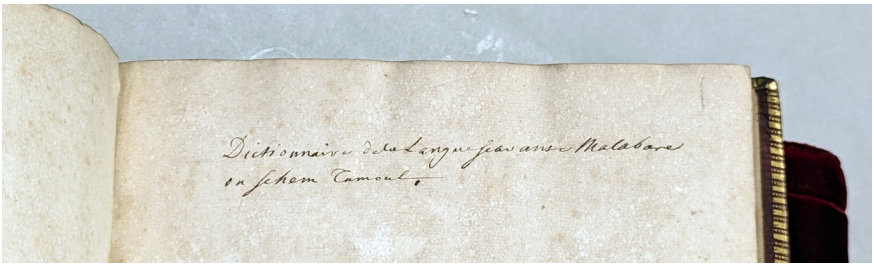


Fig. 1. BnF, Indien 227, initial unnumbered page. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Why is this manuscript, nowadays classified as Indien 227, so important? Among Beschi's grammatical and lexicographical works, the *Caturakarāti* is well-known and widely available in print. The famous pundit Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār (d. 1850) first edited it as early as 1824, and the dictionary has often been reprinted since. However, the text as it appears in the printed editions is not a reliable source for the historian of the eighteenth century, insofar as it has undergone several revisions. As recently shown by Jean-Luc Chevillard, Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār substantially enlarged the dic-

and poets. When doing that, we must of course be faithful to the terminology used by these earlier scholars, but we also strive to explain clearly to modern readers who are not familiar with those ancient sources what lies below the terms which are used.

[6] *Memoire des livres malabares, envoyés à la Bibliotheque du Roy, par les Pères Jesuites de Pondichéry en Janvier 1734*, BnF, NAF 5442, f. 11r/v, here 11v, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105278700/f35>.

tionary, adding many entries.[7] Later editions continued this trend, and as a result the *Caturakarāti* as we know it from the printed editions differs substantially from the dictionary Beschi composed in the early 1730s.

Fortunately, this manuscript was copied in 1732, while Beschi was alive and working in the Tamil country,[8] and sent to Paris soon afterwards. As such, it offers us a unique opportunity to access the original version of the *Caturakarāti* as Beschi conceived it. Moreover, none of the printed editions include the long Latin preface (**fig. 3**) to the *Caturakarāti* written by Beschi to explain his lexico-

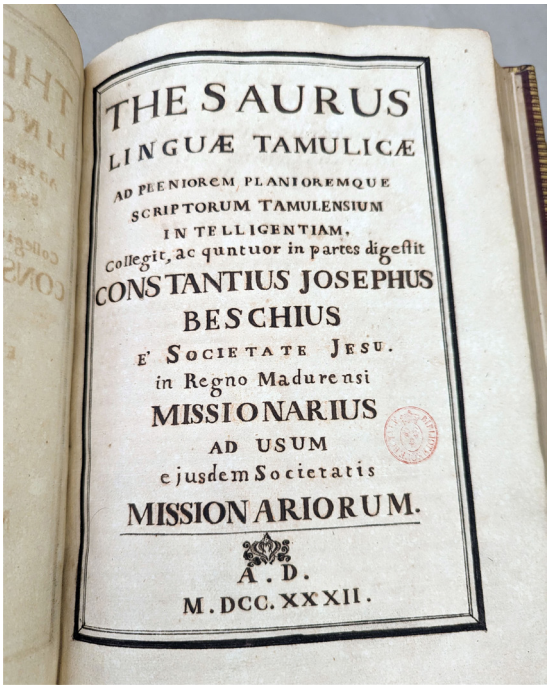

THESAURUS
LINGUÆ TAMULICÆ
AD PLENIOREM, PLANIOREMQUE
SCRIPTORUM TAMULENSIUM
INTELLIGENTIAM.
Collegit, ac quntuor in partes digessit
CONSTANTIUS JOSEPHUS
BESCHIUS
E' Societate Jesu.
in Regno Madurensi
MISSIONARIUS
AD USUM
ejusdem Societatis
MISSIONARIORUM.
A. D.
M. DCC. XXXII.

Fig. 2. BnF, Indien 227, manuscript title-page imitating print conventions. Photos by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

[7] Chevillard (forthcoming B): "Numbers and the hidden discontinuities in the shared collective narrative of *Tamil pulamai*. Retracing the steps of the Tamil scholars who preferred *tokai* 28 to *tokai* 35, when counting *alaṅkārarāṅkaḷ*".

[8] For an overview of Beschi's biography and literary contribution, see Besse (1918); Ebeling and Trento (2018: 53–90); Trento (2022: 133–151). On Beschi as a grammarian, see Chevillard (1992: 77–88).

graphical enterprise. This can be found, to the best of our knowledge, only in the manuscript currently held in the BnF. In this article, we offer the first diplomatic edition and English translation of this Latin preface, as an entry point to discuss the way in which early European lexicographers of Tamil such as Beschi engaged with the indigenous tradition, appropriating and enriching it while also adapting it at the same time.[9] We further transcribe, translate and discuss the Tamil preface (*pāyiram*) to the *Caturakarāti* as it appears in Indien 227. The *pāyiram* was included in most printed editions (albeit in a revised version), but has not been translated so far. The two paratexts nicely complement each other, showing how Beschi presented his *Caturakarāti* to his different — European and Tamil — publics.

2. The Latin Preface to BnF Indien 227

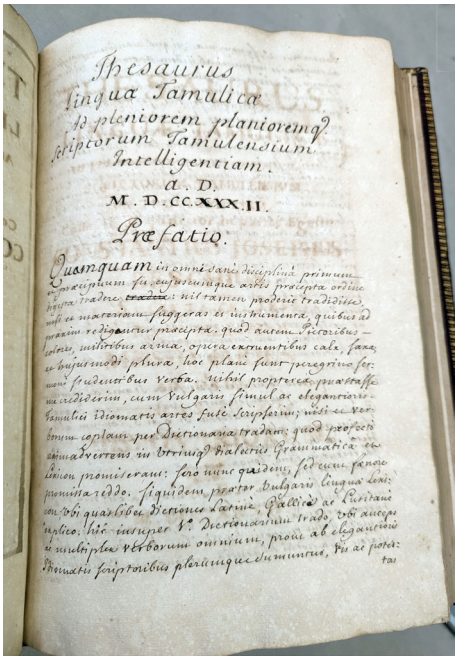

Thesaurus
linguæ Tamulicæ
ad pleniorem planioremq;
scriptorum Tamulensium
intelligentiam.
A. D.
M. D. CC. XXX. II.
Præfatio.
Quamquam in omni doctrinæ disciplinæ primum
præceptum sit ex ipsarum artis præcepta ordine
tradere, tradita: nihil tamen proderit tradidisse,
nisi ea memoriæ suggeras et instrumenta, quibus ad
eam redigantur præcepta. quod autem Dictionibus —
latere, multiplici arte, operæ extremitibus calx, faxe,
ut hujusmodi plura, hoc plane fuit peregrino fer-
mone studentibus verba. nihil propterea prætermi-
sa dixerim, cum vulgari simul ac eleganteriori
Tamulici idiomatis artes fuit scripserim; nisi ea ver-
borum copiam per Dictionaria tradam; quod profecto
animadverteram in Ortho[graphia] Valerius Grammatica ea
lenitate promiseram; sero nunc quidem, sed cum fenore
promittendo. siquidem præter Vulgaris Linguæ Lexi-
con, ubi quasdibet Verborum Latinæ, Gallicæ ac Lusitani
explico. hic nuper V[ocabu]l. Dictionariorum trado, ubi antiqua
et multiplex Verborum omnium, prout ab elegantiori
Tamulici scriptoribus plerumque dumtaxat, Vis ac potes-
tas

Fig. 3. BnF, Indien 227, preface, first unnumbered page. Photos by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

[9] The transcription of this preface already appeared in print in a rather obscure collection by Julien Vinson (1889: 225–233).

What follows is the Latin preface (BnF, Indien 227, first unnumbered page; **fig. 3**), transcribed and translated:[10]

> Thesaurus // Linguæ Tamulicæ // Ad pleniorem planioremq. // Scriptorum Tamulensium // Intelligentiam. // a.D. // M.D.CC. XXX.II. // Præfatio. // Quamquam in omni sanè disciplinà primum // et præcipuum sit, cujuscumque artis præcepta ordine // digesta tradere ~~tradere~~: nil tamen proderit tradidisse // nisi et materiam suggeras et instrumenta, quibus ad // praxim redigentur præcepta. quod autem Pictoribus — // colores, militibus arma, opera extruentibus calx, saxa, // et hujusmodi plura, hoc planè sunt peregrino ser= // moni studentibus verba. nihil propterèa præstasse // me crediderim, cum vulgaris simul ac elegantioris // Tamulici idiomatis artes fusè scripserim; nisi et ver- // =borum copiam per Dictionaria tradam: quod profectò // animadvertens in utriusq.e dialectûs Grammaticã et // lexicon promiseram: serò nunc quidem, sed cum favore // promissa reddo. Siquidem præter Vulgaris linguæ lexi- // =con ubi quas libet dictiones Latinè, Gallicè ac Lusitanè // explico: hic insuper 1.o Dictionarium trado ubi anceps // ac multiplex verborum omnium, prout ab elegantioris // Idiomatis scriptoribus plerumque sumuntus, vis ac potes- // =tas //// *[pag. 2]* constabit; 2.o Synonyma ubi quæ nomina potissimũ // ac perifrases cuique rei ab ijsdem auctoribus tribuantur, // expono. Prætereà cùm plura in hoc idiomate per // summam exprimuntur, ut duo bona, tres mundi, // quatuor arces, quinque sensus, sex sapores, septem // maria; octo montes, et hujusmodi quam plura, // quæ passim apud auctores inveniuntur: horum // quoque explanationem tertio loco invenies. Tandem ut // Poësi inserviam, voces, quæ primâ tantum modo // mutatâ litterâ, ijsdem syllabis eodemq. sono ter- // =minantur in unum collectas exhibeo. Quamobrem // volumen hoc Thesaurum Linguæ Tamulicæ vocare // placuit. quà omnia cum Tamulici alfabeti ordi- // =ne digesta sint, ac quadruplici portione confletur opus, // tamulice சதுரகராதி inscripsimus. Ut autem et indige- // =nis inservirem, tamulica verba Tamulicè explico: // ita tamen, ut in explicatione communibus vulgaris // linguæ vocibus, quantum licuit, usus sim: ac sem- // =per vulgari voce proponam ea, quorum synonyma //

[10] We are grateful to our colleagues Paolo Aranha, Bernard Colombat, Geneviève Clerico, and Anne Grondeux for their comments and their help in revising our translation.

ac periphrases tradere intendo: quod Europæis, inutilè // non judicavi; non enim ignarus linguæ vulgaris, ad // elegantiorem assultim transiliendo accedere, ut censeo, // præsumet.// Ubi vero æquivoco locus esset, usus sum signis ad expriman- // =das seu breves, seu consonantes, juxta regulam, de quâ in // Gram[m]atica vulgari: præterea ut e, et o, longum adhuc // clarius pateret, placuit signum addere litteræ, ெ, கொம்பு // dicta, ita ut, si simplici notetur formâ, brevis sit, si in- // =flectatur in fine, longa e.q. செடி, சேடி, கொடி, கோடி // et alia hoc modo.// Cum autem hæc lingua, ut aiunt, mortua sit; non ex ser- // =mone hominum recenti, sed ex firmiore Voluminum Ve- // =tustate eruenda est verborum vis ac potestas. quare nul // =lo modo hujus temporis hominibus fidendum censui, sed // majori, quâ potui diligentiâ antiquorum volumina per- [// =curri] //// [*pag. 3*] curri — திவாகரம் — நிகண்டு - பிங்கலந்தை — உரிச்சொல் — கயாதரம் // et similia: quia omnia synonima, *non* Dictionaria // sunt. Præterea sapientissimos scriptorum Interpretes // studiosè legendo consului: et cúm amanuensium ne- // =gligentiâ plures irripserint errores; diversâ manu // exaratos libros inter se contuli: Tandem cùm quam: // plurima -- Vocabula á linguâ Grandonicâ accersita // fuerint, et Grandonicos autores accuratè perlegem // ad veritatis normam forte irreptos errores emenda- // =re, atque ex eodem ærario quam plura hauriens // Verba, thesaurum hunc magis adhuc locupletare // conatus sum. // Opus autem hoc, quod majori, quâ potui, diligentiâ, // nec minori labore confectum Jesu-Christi missionariis // offero; quâ ipsis utilitate futurum sit, facile noverint // omnes, si paulisper animadverterint in his regionibus, // monumenta Deorum, Fabularum figmenta, scientiarũ // præcepta, Poëtarum carmina, astronomiæ calculos // medicinæ leges, musices, choreæq.e regulas, omnia deniq. // vel ipsa prima Grammaticæ rudimenta, elegantiori // hoc idiomate ab antiquis scripta fuisse. Quare nil // omnino de eorum Diis ac fabulis, de eorum artibus // ac scientiis radicitùs, ac sine animi hæsitatione quis // scire possit, si hoc idioma penitùs ignoret. Tunc enim // fidendum erit Indigenis, qui, et Bragmanes prae-// =cipuè, ne quid ignorare se fateantur, nil hæsitando // turgentia verba trutinantes, quæ primùm menti oc- // =currunt, figmenta ex cathedrâ proferre non dubitant; // quæ passim eorum auctores legenti, quàm falsa sint, // manifestè patet. Præterea si quàm rationi dissona // forent, quæ de Deorum fabulis narrant, ostenderem; // percepta rationis vi, falsa ea omnia ac vulgi

fig- // menta dicere non dubitabant; si verò eadem prolato // ex antiquorum libris textu, objicerem; nec semel ne= // gare ausi, silentio, ac pudore unâ mecum eadem //// [*pag. 4*] reprobare cogebantur. Ac profectò cum Indi omnes // auctoritati magis, quàm rationi assentiantur; ratio // nondubia, quâ quilibet convinci possit, erit sanè anti- // =quorum scripta proferre. Ubi reverà non ineptè de // Deo ac virtute locuti sunt antiqui Tamulenses. Sed // qui poteris, cum elegantius tamulicæ linguæ Idioma, // quo omnia prorsùs scripta sunt, omnino ignores? // Ex his satis apertè constat, quam utile futurum // sit hoc opus, et quam necessarium Jesu-Christi mis- // =sionariis, cæterisq. omnibus, qui vel Indos ab antiquo // errore ad Christi fidem revocare, vel saltem antiqua // eorum figmenta funditùs indagari desiderant. Deus // Optimus Max., qui labore æque ac fastidio plenum // opus, ad majorem ejus gloriam inchoatuum, singula- // =ri ejusdem ope ad exitum perduci concessit; mentem // quoque et animum exteris omnibus, quô uberrimos // ejus jucundissimosque fructus percipere velint, addere // non dedignetur. – – //

While with regard to every discipline, truly, what is first and most important is to transmit the rules of any art arranged according to an order: it will benefit in no way to have transmitted [such rules], unless you supply also the matter and the instruments through which the rules can be turned into practice. And indeed, what colors are to painters, weapons to soldiers, lime and stone to construction workers, and many other things of the like, this is clearly what words are to students of a foreign language. Therefore, I would have thought of having accomplished nothing, by having composed profusely the grammars (*artes*) of both the colloquial (*vulgaris*) and literary (*elegantioris*) [registers] of the Tamil language (*Tamulici idiomatis*), unless I had not also transmitted the wealth of words[11] through dictionaries (*Dictio-*

[11] The expression *copiam verborum*, which is the accusative of *copia verborum*, which we have translated here by "the wealth of words", seems to have been a kind of technical expression, because we find it for instance used untranslated in the explanations in German given by Ziegenbalg in his *Biblioteca Malabarica* concerning the *Tivākaram* and the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*. He writes: "*Diwagaram*, ein poetisches Buch, so da *copiam verborum* in sich fasset" (entry BM4, Sweetman & Ilakkuvan, 2012: 50) and "*Negendu*, ein poetisches Buch, so gleichfalls *copiam verborum* in sich fasset, als wie *Diwagaram*," (entry BM5, Sweetman &

naria): since I know very well that I had promised a grammar (*Grammaticam*) and a dictionary (*lexicon*) of both dialects. Now, certainly with delay, I deliver what I had promised. Indeed, in addition to the dictionary of the colloquial language (*Vulgaris linguæ lexicon*), where I explain whatsoever entries in Latin, French and Portuguese, here furthermore 1) I hand over a dictionary (*Dictionarium*), where the twofold or even multiple meaning and signification (*vis ac potestas*) of all the words will be determined, as long as these are established from the writers of literary Tamil and in abundance. 2) (A book of) synonyms (*Synonyma*), where I list those nouns, and especially the periphrasis, which are associated by those same authors to each thing. 3) Moreover, since in this language many things are expressed by a (numerical) sum, so that two [are] the goods, three the worlds, four the forts, five the senses, six the flavours, seven the seas, eight the mountains, and many other things in this way, which are found scattered in the literature; so, you will find explanation [of all this] in the third book. 4) Finally, for the purpose of poetry, I present gathered as one group the words, whose [initial] syllables only differ in the first letter, and end with the same syllables and the same sound.[12] Therefore, it pleased [me] to call this volume "A Treasure (*Thesaurum*) of the Tamil Language". And since all of these [words] are organized according to the Tamil alphabet, and the work is divided into four parts, we have entitled it *Caturakarāti* in Tamil. In order to serve the indigenous people well, I explain the Tamil entries in Tamil; however, in the explanations

---

Ilakkuvan, 2012: 50). Ziegenbalg may have felt uncomfortable using newly coined technical terms, such as *Wörterschatz* — attested in the seventeenth century according to Grimm, who gives the example "es sind deren etliche gewesen, so... lieber in ihrem wörterschatze hundert wörter ermangeln lassen, als einigen unflat gleichsam darinnen leiden zu wollen" (entry "Wortschatz", Grimm and Grimm, 1999: 1616) —, or may not have known about them. This might explain why he used the Latin expression in a German sentence. As for *Wortschatz*, it is only attested from the eighteenth century onwards, according to Grimm.

[12] See **fig. 28** for an example of such a group, partially visible there. The reader can see what is common — here marked in boldface — to the items [...] *ta**ttu***, *tu**ttu***, *to**ttu***, *ne**ttu***, *pa**ttu***, *pi**ttu***, *pu**ttu***, *ma**ttu***, *mu**ttu***, [...] This type of rhyme, which is extremely popular in Tamil poetry, where it is called *etukai*, is sometimes called in English "second syllable rhyme" and *dvitīya-anuprāsa* in Sanskrit.

I have used, as far as permitted, common words in the colloquial language: and I will always present with a colloquial expression those [words] whose synonyms and periphrases I intend to give, [as this is something] that I judged would not be useless for the Europeans. In fact, as I believe, someone ignorant of the colloquial register should not have the presumption to access the more elegant [register] by leaps.

Wherever there is space for equivocation, I have used signs to express either the short vowels, either the consonants, according to the rule set forth in the Grammar of colloquial Tamil: furthermore, in order for long *e* and long *o* to be understood more clearly, I found it appropriate to add a sign to the letter "*e*" (ெ), called *kompu*, so that if we write it simply, it will be short, and if we curl it in the end, long, as for instance *ceṭi* (செடி), *cēti* (சேடி)—*koṭi* (கொடி), *kōṭi* (கோடி) and other [words] in this way.

On the other hand, since this language [register] is, as they say, dead, it is not from the recent speech of men, but from the surer antiquity of written tomes that the strength and power of its words will be drawn out. For this reason, I thought I should not in any way rely on men of this time, but I have gone through the volumes of the old *Tivākaram*—[*Cūṭāmaṇi*] *Nikaṇṭu*—*Piṅkalantai*—*Uriccol*—*Kaiyātaram* and others like them with the greatest possible diligence, because all are [Collections of] synonyms (*synonima* [sic!]), not Dictionaries (*Dictionaria*). In addition, I consulted, in a thorough reading, the most learned commentators of the writers, and as by the negligence of the copyists many errors had crept in, I compared between the books written by different hands. Finally, as many and many words came from the grandonic language[13], I tried, also by reading with care the grandonic authors, to correct according to the norm of truth those errors that had crept in, and, by drawing a quantity of words from the same treasure, I tried to enrich even more this *Thesaurus*.

And so I offer this work, which I have composed with as much diligence as I could, and with no less effort, to the missionaries of Jesus Christ; and how useful it will be to them, everyone

[13] Missionaries in the Madurai mission often referred to Sanskrit as "Lingua Grandonica", likely a reference to the Grantha alphabet used to transcribe Sanskrit especially in Tamil-speaking South India.

can easily know, if they have observed for a moment how in these regions the chronicles of the Gods, the fictions of their fables, the precepts of science, the poems of the poets, the calculations of astronomy, the rules of medicine, the rules of music and dance, in short everything, and even the first rudiments of grammar, were written by the ancients in this more elegant register. Wherefore no one may know fully and without hesitation of mind anything at all of their Gods and fables, of their arts and sciences, if they are deeply ignorant of this idiom. Indeed, in that case one is forced to trust the natives, who, especially the Brahmins, would not admit to ignore something, and without hesitation balancing bombastic words, which first come to their mind, they have no scruples to utter such imaginations *ex cathedra*; but for whoever reads passages of their authors far and wide, it is plainly evident how false these [invented answers] are. Besides, if I were to show how much the things they say about the gods and their fables are in contrast to reason; they would not hesitate to say that all those things, perceived through the power of reason, are all false and imaginations of the common people; but indeed, if I were to object to those same things by citing a passage in the books of their ancient authors, not for a moment would they dare deny [my argument], and silently and with shame they would be compelled to condemn all those things together with me. And indeed, since all Indians agree more through authority, than by reason; a procedure beyond doubt, through which anyone would be convinced, will be rather to cite the scriptures of the ancients. And indeed, the ancient Tamils have talked about God and virtue in a sensible way. But how can you [convince anyone], if you are completely ignorant of the elegant register of the Tamil language, in which truly all the things are written?

This will be enough to realize how much this work will be useful to the missionaries of Jesus Christ, and to all the others who either want to call back the Indians to the faith of Christ away from their ancient error, or at least wish their ancient inventions to be investigated in depth. God, most good and most great, who granted through his special help that this work, filled with labour and thoroughness, [but] started to his greater glory, be brought to conclusion; may not disdain to give courage and prowess to all the others, so that they may wish to gain his most rich and most happy fruits.

3. The Tamil *Pāyiram* of BnF Indien 227

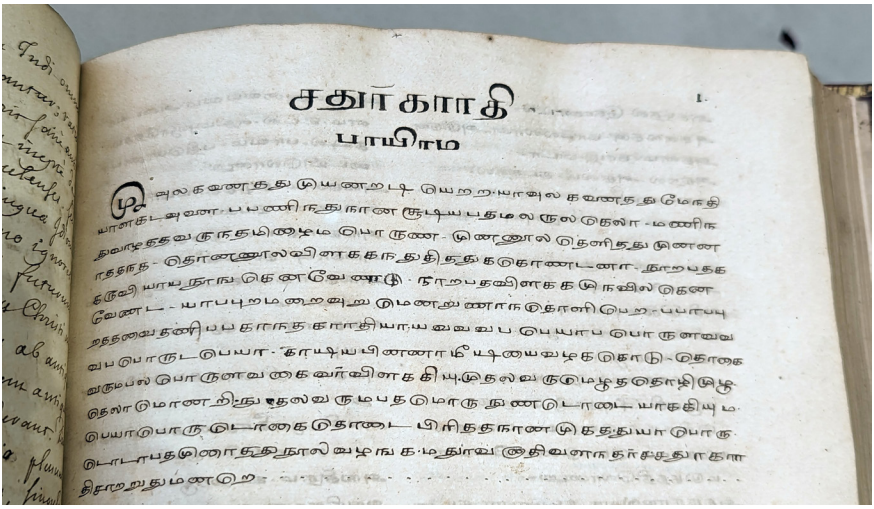


Fig. 4. BnF, Indien 227, *pāyiram*, p. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

What follows is the *pāyiram* (BnF, Indien 227, p. 1; **fig. 4** and **fig. 5** for its diplomatic transcription[14]), transliterated with sandhi and word-split, followed by a tentative translation:

mūvulak' aṉaittu(m) muyaṉṟ' aṭi eṟṟa
yāvulak' aṉaittum ēnti āḷ kaṭavuḷaip
paṇintu nāṉ cūṭiya patamalar ulak' elām
aṇintu vāḻtta-v arun tamiḻ aim poruḷ
muṉṉūl teḷintu muṉṉart tanta
toṉṉūlviḷakkan tutittuk koṇṭaṉar
nūṟpatak karuviyāy nūṅk' eṉa vēṇṭu(m)
nāṟpataviḷakkamu(m) navilk' eṉa vēṇṭa
yāpp' uṟa maṟai-v uṟum eṉṟ' uṇarnt' oḷi peṟap
pāp puṟattavai taṇip pakarnt' akarāti āy
avvavap peyarp poruḷ avvavap poruḷ peyar
kāṭṭiya piṉṉar mīṭṭiyai vaḻakkoṭu
tokai varum pala poruḷ vakai vara viḷakkiyum

[14] This diplomatic edition (we call it facsimile) has been obtained from a transcription in a RAW format; for those interested in such different layers of transcription and interpretation, the Appendix includes the RAW transcriptions of several passages we cite in this article.

mutal varum eḻutt' oḻi muḻut' elām oṉṟi
nutal varum patam oru nuṇ toṭai-y ākkiyum
peyar poruḷ tokai toṭai piritta nāṉ mukatt'
uyar poruḷ toṭar patam uraittu nūl vaḻaṅka
maturavaṇāti vaḷam tarac caturakarāti cāṟṟutum aṉṟē

While his foot (*aṭi*) strives and feels compassion for the three worlds (*mūvulak' aṉaittum muyaṉṟ' aṭiy eṟṟa*)[15], I worship (*paṇintu*) the Lord who supports and rules all the worlds, so that the flower-feet which I wear on my head may adorn (*aṇintu*) the entire earth and prosper (*vāḻtta*).

Those who had praised the *Toṉṉūl viḷakkam* (*toṉṉūlviḷakkan tutittuk koṇṭaṉar*), which I had composed before in order to clarify the old [grammar] books on the fivefold *poruḷ* of rare Tamil, asked [me] (*vēṇṭa*) to please utter (*navilku eṉa*) an explanation of the four types of words,[16] which on account of being something lofty (*nūṅk-eṉa*) as an instrument towards understanding the words in the treatises (*nūṟpatak karuviy āy*), is needed (*vēṇṭum*).[17] In order to obtain

---

[15] We have transcribed and we translate the text as it appears in Indien 227, even though it is sometimes difficult to understand. We especially struggled with the meaning of the expression *muyaṉṟ' aṭi eṟṟa*, which is different from the version we find in the printed editions, where the editors have substituted *eṟṟutal* with *ēttutal*, "to praise". We choose the *lectio difficilior*, also because such difficult word-choices might show that Beschi was still working to be at home in the complex universe of the Tamil language. The fact that the perfect mastery of the distinction between *-tt-* and *-ṟṟ-* was a difficult target to reach for all navigators of the Tamil triglossia can also be seen in **fig. 28**, where the item *puttu* in the entry "பு த து – க @@ ற ய # ன பு த து" on col. 2 of p. 284 of BnF, Indien 227, mentioned as a possible rhyme of the *etukai* type for *pattu* and *pittu*, was silently deleted in the 1824 printed edition: see p. ஈஈ in the *Toṭaiyakarāti* (1824). The reason is that *puttu* is a spoken form, but the literary language makes use of the form *puṟṟu*.

[16] On the two possible lists of four types of words, see Chevillard (2013).

[17] The word *nūṅku* is rare, but listed by Winslow (1862: 689, col. 1) as a noun meaning "greatness" or "abundance, intenseness"; he cites as an example for this second meaning the passage *nūṅk' eṉa vēṇṭu* by Beschi, and translates it as "very much needed." We initially thought of using his translation; however, our current translation is based on the following line of thinking. In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (32) we read: *aṟattiṉūuṅ kākkamu millai yataṉai // maṟattali ṉūṅkillai kēṭu*. Parimēlaḻakar explains this *kuṟaḷ* as follows: ((*aṟattiṉ ūṅku ākkamum illai*)) *oruvaṉukku*

> the light of understanding, since the things that are in meter are hidden,[18] I enumerate things separately without (lit. outside) metrical form as a dictionary (i.e. in the alphabetical order) (*akarātiy āy*), and after showing the [several] meanings of each word [in the *peyarakarāti*], and the words for each meaning (i.e. possible synonyms) [in the *poruḷakarāti*], then repeating (*mīṭṭu*) [differently], I enumerate (lit. "explain", *viḷakki*) exhaustively (*vakai vara*) the several things that come as a set (lit. "total count", *tokai*) according to the tradition; finally, regrouping all the [words] in their entirety (*muḻutu*) except (*oḻi*) for the first syllable, under [each such] head-word, I create (*ākkiyum*) a single subtle (*nuṇ*) string (*toṭai*).[19] For each of the four faces in which [this work] is divided, i.e. *peyar*, *poruḷ*, *tokai* and *toṭai*, since there is now in currency (*vaḻaṅka*) a book explaining lofty matters (*uyar poruḷ*) by means of [simple] periphrases (*toṭar patam*), let us recite the *Caturakarāti*, so that the poets [lit. "the sweet ones and the others"] may prosper.

4. Beschi's dictionaries and the Latin Tradition

As Beschi says in the Latin preface to the *Caturakarāti*, words are the matter upon which the rules of grammar are to be applied,

---

aṟañceytaliṉ mēṟpaṭṭa ākkamumillai ((*ataṉai maṟattaliṉ ūṅku kēṭu illai*)) *ataṉai mayakkattāṉ maṟattaliṉ mēṟpaṭṭa kēṭum illai*. If *nūṅku* is a variant of *ūṅku*, we can translate it by "something lofty, greater, superior.". We know that Beschi admired the *Kuṟaḷ*; there is no explanation other than this passage by Beschi in Winslow. See also:

MTL (p. 2325): நூங்கு[1] nūṅku, n. cf. ஊங்கு. 1. Greatness; பெருமை. (அக. நி.) 2. Abundance, intenseness; மிகுதி. (W.)

MTL (p. 490): ஊங்கு[1] ūṅku, உ[4];. n. 1. Superiority, greatness; மிகுதி. (சூடா). 2. That which is superior; மேம்பட்டது. கல்வியினூங்கில்லை (நீதிநெறி. 2).));

An additional argument supporting this line of thinking, hence our translation, is that in the original *Kuṟaḷ* (32), after *-iṉ*, there is no way to distinguish *ūṅku* and *nūṅku* because of the sandhi.

[18] See for instance the difficulty in precisely unpacking the intended meaning of the *veṇpā* quoted later from the *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu*, which deals simultaneously with three groups of items, because this is what fits in its fifteen metrical feet.

[19] Here Beschi plays on the double meaning of *toṭai*, in metrics, where it is a cover term for various types of rhymes, starting with *etukai*, and in real life, where it can apply to the stringing of flowers.

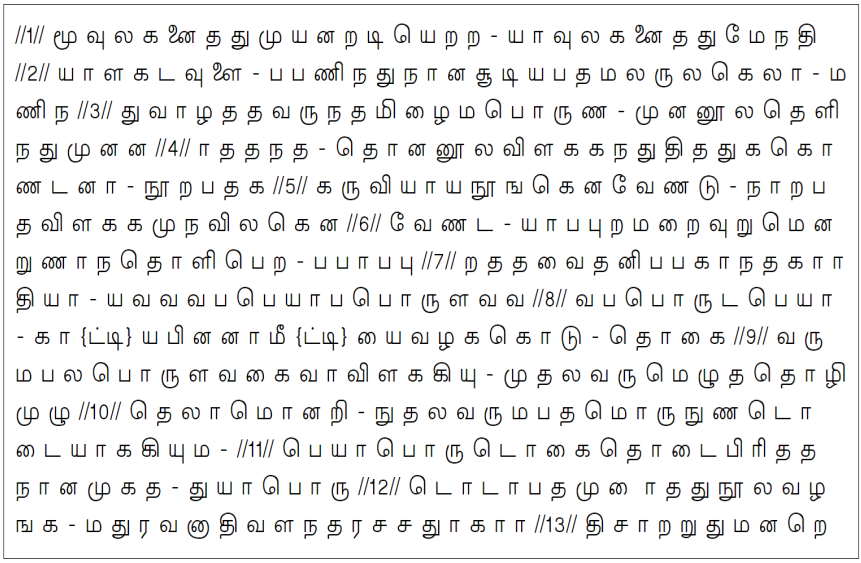

//1// மூ வு ல க ஊ ன த து மு ய ன ற டி யெ ற ற - ய ா வு ல க ஊ ன த து ம ே ந தி
//2// ய ா ள க ட வு ஸ ா - ப ப ணி ந து ந ா ன சூ டி ய ப த ம ல ரு ல கெ ல ா - ம
ணி ந //3// து வ ா ழ த த வ ரு ந த மி ழ ம பெ ா ரு ண - மு ன னூ ல தெ ளி
ந து மு ன ன //4// ா த த ந த - தெ ா ன னூ ல வி ள க க ந து தி த து க கெ ா
ண ட ன ா - ந ூ ற ப த க //5// க ரு வி ய ா ய ந ூ ங கெ ன வே ண டு - ந ா ற ப
த வி ள க க மு ந வி ல கெ ன //6// வே ண ட - ய ா ப பு ற ம ற வு று மெ ன
று ண ா ந தெ ா ளி பெ ற - ப ப ா ப பு //7// ற த த வை த னி ப ப க ா ந த க ா ா
தி ய ா - ய வ வ வ ப பெ ய ா ப பெ ா ரு ள வ வ //8// வ ப பெ ா ரு ட பெ ய ா
- க ா {ட்டி} ய பி ன ன ா மீ {ட்டி} ய வ ழ க கெ ா டு - தெ ா ை க //9// வ ரு
ம ப ல பெ ா ரு ள வ ை க வ ா வி ள க கி யு - மு த ல வ ரு மெ ழ த தெ ா ழி
மு ழ //10// தெ ல ா மெ ா ன றி - நு த ல வ ரு ம ப த மெ ா ரு நு ண டெ ா
ட ய ா க கி யு ம - //11// பெ ய ா பெ ா ரு டெ ா ை க தெ ா ட பி ரி த த
ந ா ன மு க த - து ய ா பெ ா ரு //12// டெ ா ட ா ப த மு ை ா த து நூ ல வ ழ
ங க - ம து ர வ ஞ தி வ ள ந த ர ச ச து ா க ா ா //13// தி ச ா ற று து ம ன பெ ற

Fig. 5. BnF, Indien 227, *pāyiram*, facsimile.

so both words and grammatical rules are necessary to build the knowledge of a foreign language. Indeed, Beschi is well-known for having written several grammars of Tamil.[20] Perhaps less well-known is the fact that he also composed two dictionaries, even though he counter-intuitively wrote them after composing his main poetical achievement, the poem *Tēmpāvaṇi* (*tēmpā v-aṇi*, "an unfading garland", or *tēm pā v-aṇi*, "a garland of sweet songs"), and his grammars (for a relative chronology of his works, see **table 1**). The first dictionary Beschi claims to have compiled was a Tamil-Latin-Portuguese-French dictionary, which focuses on the colloquial register of the language, and was meant for the use of the foreign missionaries. This work would require a study of its own, especially in order to understand its relationship with earlier lexicographical enterprises aiming to record the spoken register, such as the Tamil-Portuguese dictionary by Antão da Proença (of which a manuscript also is in the BnF, Indien 221).

[20] Chevillard (1992); see the editions listed in the bibliography.

Table 1. Chronology of the main literary works, dictionaries and grammars by Beschi.

Main literary works	**Grammars**	**Dictionaries**
1726–1729: *Tēmpāvaṇi* and then the commentary	–	–
–	1728: *Koṭuntamiḻ* grammar (in Latin)	–
–	1729/30: *Toṉṉūl viḷakkam* (in Tamil)	–
1730: *Kittēriyammāḷ ammāṉai*, *Tiruk-kāvalūr kalampakam*	1730: *Centamiḻ* grammar (in Latin)	1730s: Dictionary of the colloquial language (Tamil-Latin-Portuguese)[21]
–	–	1732: *Caturakarāti* (Tamil-Tamil)

[21] The history of Beschi's dictionaries of colloquial Tamil is unclear. According to the preface which we translate in §2, it seems that a dictionary already existed in some form when the *Caturakarāti* was composed, hence before 1732. However, we could not locate any manuscript which could correspond to that text (in which Beschi claims to "explain whatsoever entries in Latin, French and Portuguese", see the preface we translated above). There is a Tamil-Latin dictionary by him, of which we have seen copies in the archives in Copenhagen and Shenbaganur (Ceṇpakaṉūr), and a Portuguese-Latin-Tamil dictionary that Gregory James dates to 1742 (James 2000: 600); and the BnF holds manuscripts of two dictionaries, a Tamil-French one and a French-Tamil one, also attributed to him (Indien 215 and Indien 216). However, many questions remain as to how many dictionaries of the colloquial register Beschi wrote, and how he organized them; this is the topic of another article (or more!)

–	1742: *Clavis* (Latin adaptation of the *To̲n̲n̲ūl viḷakkam*)	–

The *Caturakarāti* is Beschi's second dictionary, written to help his readers — both missionaries and Christian poets — to navigate the literary register of the Tamil language. As we read in the Latin preface, Beschi deemed the literary register of the language crucial for engaging with local scholars. In the Tamil *pāyiram*, Beschi also mentions the hope that composing the *Caturakarāti* would help the spread of Christianity. Notwithstanding the Tamil traditional turn of phrase, that was indeed the religion of the god "whose feet adorned his head." This is coherent with Beschi's idea that, in order to evangelize South India, missionaries would have to develop forms of Christian poetry in Tamil, since poetry was so central to local cultural and political life. We will go back to this in the conclusion of our paper. For the time being, we should notice that Beschi's grammars and dictionaries presuppose a deep knowledge of the different registers of the Tamil language[22], and of the learned Tamil poetical, grammatical and lexicographical traditions.

As for lexicography, Beschi lists his sources in the Latin preface. He says he knew and consulted five Tamil traditional lexicons (*nikaṇṭus*): the *Tivākaram*, the (*Cuṭāmaṇi*) *Nikaṇṭu*, the *Piṅkalantai* (alias *Piṅkalam*), the *Uriccol (Nikaṇṭu)*, and the *Kaiyātaram* (usually called *Kayātaram*). These were the important lexicographical works available at his time. This knowledge is quite exceptional. Missionaries had always been interested in words, and word-lists sent to their interlocutors back in Europe are often among the first signs of their ongoing interest and efforts in learning Tamil as well

[22] While traditionally Tamil has been considered a diglossic language with (A) a colloquial and (B) a formal register, Jean-Luc Chevillard has recently suggested that the Tamil linguistic universe should rather be considered triglossic, because of the constant presence in public discourse and in the mental horizon of Tamil scholars of (C) *Centamil̲*, the poetic "more elegant" dialect, cultivated for many centuries by traditional grammarians and poets of Tamil Nadu; see Chevillard (2024).

as other Indian languages. Yet references to the Tamil lexicographical tradition, which mostly concerns itself with the language of poetry, were rare before Beschi. In the introduction to his dictionary published in 1679, Antão de Proença went as far as to say that poetical words were useless (*não servem nada*).[23] Still, a first mention of the traditional Tamil *nikaṇṭu* called *Tivākaram* in missionaries sources appears in 1610, in the context of a dispute on the best translation of the *Our Father* and the catechism. The tension was between the supporters of Henrique Henrique's old "colloquial" translations, and those proposed by the newly arrived missionary Roberto Nobili, who advocated for a more literary and sanskritized translation of the same prayers.

In the following passage, Nobili uses the *Tivākaram* precisely to justify his translation choice, and to advocate for the use of the word *mōkṣam* for "Heaven":

> In oratione Dominicali primo mutavi, *Vanamgalil*, usurpata pro « in cælis »; sed tamen formalis, et verus sensus eius vocis est, in « aeribus », vel saltem ambiguitatem magnam continet: significat enim ea vox aerem, vel cælum. Tivagaram, qui est apud hos, ut est apud nos Calepinus, seu Dictionarium, pro aere verbum *vanàm* ponitur. Ac tollendam hanc ambiguitatem nomen posui *Moquixàm*, quod dicit de formali gloriam, seu locum gloriæ, quod est guirindaticum verbum, cuius definitio illa est: « *duqua duenza carotiti moquixàm*, id est, « ex omni parte perfecta fælicitas privans hominem omni tristitia et dolore », ub habetur in libro, qui vocatur Sanniaxi Darmam, et alibi, et ab his usurpatur pro gloria, et æterna beatitudine.
>
> In the Sunday prayer I have changed first of all the word *vāṉaṅkaḷil* (வானங்களில்), in Heaven, but whose literal and exact meaning is: in the air, which, to say the least, gives a very equivocal meaning. This word, in fact, means: air or sky. Certainly, in the *Tivākaram* (திவாகரம்), which is the dictionary corresponding to our Calepin, the word *vāṉam* is used for air. To avoid any ambi-

[23] As we read in the translated preface of the VTCSP, in Thani Nayagam (1966: 13). The full sentence is: "I shall leave out also poetic words [...] because they are useless for practical purpose or for prose, and the Tamil poets have their own vocabularies for them, in which those who are interested and might wish to compose verses may find them."

> guity, I have substituted the word *mōkṣam* [மோசகம்], which formally means glory, or place of glory. It is a Sanskrit word whose definition is as follows: *duḥkhadhvaṁsaṃ karotīti mokṣaḥ*, i.e., absolutely perfect bliss, freeing men from all sadness and pain. This definition is found in the *Saṃnyāsidharma* and other works, and the word is used to denote glory and eternal bliss.[24]

Nobili uses the *Tivākaram* to argue that the word *vāṉam* is inappropriate to translate the idea of Paradise, since it can be used to refer to air (*aer*) as well. There is no explicit reference to a *sūtra*, and there is no independent entry for *vāṉam* in the *Tivākaram*, but we can find this word among the synonyms of *ākācam* in the first chapter (1:36). Perhaps it was this equivalence between *vāṉam* and one of the five elements of nature (*aimpūtam*) which was sufficient for disturbing Nobili. These are *pirutivi* (earth), *appu* (water), *tēyu* (fire), *vāyu* (wind), *ākācam* (aether), and they are also listed as one of the groups containing five items in the *Tivākaram* (12:76 in Cānti Cātaṉā 2004; 12:78 in Ca.Vē.Cu. 2008). The difficulties Nobili had with the word *vāṉam* actually show the deep implications of lexicography, in a contest in which Catholic missionaries tried to control the translation of religious ideas and terminology to the best of their capabilities.

For Jesuits like Roberto Nobili, words carried a heavy theological weight, pointed to a whole cosmology, and needed to be carefully selected. This approach was not the only one available in the

---

[24] Roberto Nobili, *Responsio ad ea quæ contra modum quo nova Missio Madurensis utitur ad ethnicos Christo convertendos obiecta sunt*; this text was edited and translated in Dahmen (1931: 154–55). The Sanskrit work cited by Nobili (*Sanniaxi Darmam*, which we rendered in standard transliteration as *Saṃnyāsidharma*) has not been identified; it could be a specific section of a text on *dharma*, dealing with the precepts for the *saṃnyāsin*s (we thank Florinda De Simini for her opinion on this). The Sanskrit sentence that Nobili cites from this text, *duḥkhadhvaṁsaṃ karotīti mokṣaḥ*, literally means "on account of the fact that it causes the annihilation of suffering, it is called *mokṣa*." Notice how his Latin translation is a paraphrasis of this definition, rather than a literal translation. One would have expected the topmost syntactic element in the Latin translation of the *nirvacana* to be "privans" (a participle, i.e., a verbal form, corresponding to *karotīti*), and not "felicitas". That would make it closer to the usual Tamil equivalent which is *vīṭu* "liberation".

seventeenth century — as Torsten Tschacher has argued, Muslim poets in Tamil Nadu rather freely adopted poetic words and conventions all the while aiming to express universal Islamic truths, without engaging in debates regarding the nature of their translation choices.[25] But the weight of words was not unknown to South Indian intellectuals, as shown by the two available version of the first chapter of the *Tivākaram*. In what is likely an earlier version, produced in a Jain context, the first chapter on the name of deities (see **table 2**) begins with a list of the names of Arukaṉ.[26] A possibly later Śaiva version, which we will explore in some detail, opens with sixty-four names of Śiva. The order of all the things that are possible to name in the world changed, it seems, according to the compiler's religion.

Putting aside for a moment the question of how missionaries navigated Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s, we see in this passage that Nobili draws an analogy between the *Tivākaram* and the most important Latin dictionary of his time, often called the *Calepino* from the name of its author Ambrogio Calepio (1435–1511). The work by this Italian friar was very popular throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was edited, enlarged and reprinted several

[25] Tschacher (2014: 195–211).

[26] This is the order which is chosen by Ca. Vē. Cuppiramaṇiyaṉ on page 17 in his 2008 *Tamiḻ Nikaṇṭukaḷ* in two volumes, which provides the text of 18 poetical vocabularies, starting with the *Tivākaram* and ending with several nineteenth-century poetical vocabularies. Ca.Vē.Cu. explains that his text of the *Tivākaram* is taken from the 1990–1993 edition of the *Tivākaram* published by Madras University, for which the editors are Mu. Caṇmukam Piḷḷai and I. Cuntaramūrtti. In that edition, the *sūtra* giving 43 names for Arukaṉ is also provided before the *sūtra* for Civaṉ. It is probable that the authors acted in conformity with a statement made by S. Vaiyapuri Pillai in his *History of Tamil Language and Literature* (1956: 144). We have nevertheless so far never seen a *Tivākaram* MS in which the name of Civaṉ did not come first. Mu. Arunachalam contests the legitimacy of the statements which make the *Tivākaram* a Jain work. His arguments are found in the section *Tivākarar Camayam* of his first volume on the history of Tamil literature in the ninth century ([1975] 2005: 103–106). He argues among other things that, contrary to the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*, a Jain work, in which Arukaṉ has 90 names and Civaṉ has 61, in the *Tivākaram* it is Civaṉ who has the greatest number of names, totalling 64, whereas Arukaṉ only has 43.

times, also during the time when Nobili was attending the Collegio Romano in Rome. This dictionary was just one popular example of a burgeoning genre: general and specialized works of lexicography and nomenclature, both concerning classical and vernacular languages, abounded in early modern Europe. Let us see, as an example of how the Calepino functioned, the entry for "pearl" (*margarita*) — an object which held much importance in early modern economic and social life, and a staple in the refined world of Tamil literature. **Fig. 6** shows how the entry looked in the first edition from 1502, even though Nobili and later Beschi may also have accessed one of the later editions.[27]

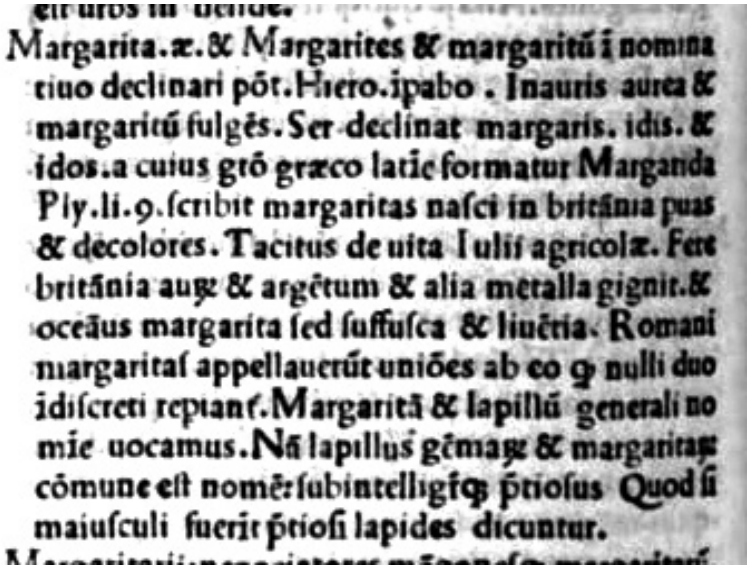

Margarita.æ.& Margarites & margaritū i nomina
tiuo declinari pōt. Hiero. ipabo . Inauris aurea &
margaritū fulgēs. Ser declinat margaris. idis. &
idos. a cuius grō græco latīe formatur Marganda
Ply. li. 9. ſcribit margaritas naſci in britānia puas
& decolores. Tacitus de uita Iulii agricolæ. Fere
britānia augꝫ & argētum & alia metalla gignit. &
oceāus margarita ſed ſuffuſca & liuētia. Romani
margaritaſ appellauerūt uniōes ab eo ꝙ nulli duo
idiſcreti reperiꝛ. Margaritā & lapillū generali no
mie uocamus. Nā lapillus gēmaꝫ & margaritaꝫ
cōmune eſt nomē: ſubintelligiq; p̄tioſus Quod ſi
maiuſculi fuerit p̄tioſi lapides dicuntur.

Fig. 6. *Ambrosii Calepini Bergomatis Dictionarium*, entry *margarita*, "pearl".

This example gives us an idea of how the dictionary was organized at the basic level. First of all, it was a dictionary where Latin was both the language to be explained, and the metalanguage. Further, it aimed to be a dictionary of classical Latin (notice the citations from classical authors) at a time when Latin was used in a variety of other contexts, and a dictionary was needed precisely to have access to the most difficult register of the language used in Roman antiquity.

[27] Calepino (1502); pages are unnumbered.

Ecclesiastical Latin, or the Latin used for everyday correspondence, would have been much more familiar to any dictionary user. Both these characteristics — a dictionary where the target language and the metalanguage are the same, and a dictionary of a classic, poetic language — also applied to the tradition of Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s, and might have been among the reasons why Nobili felt comfortable to draw an analogy between the *Tivākaram* and the Calepino.

5. Navigating Traditional Tamil *Nikaṇṭu*s

So, missionaries took to Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s equipped with an understanding of lexicography born from an acquaintance with works such as Calepino's dictionary. Roughly a century after Nobili's first mention of the *Tivākaram*, Beschi's *Caturakarāti* can be seen as an attempt to understand and reorganize the knowledge missionaries acquired from the *nikaṇṭu*s into a new structure, inspired by Western dictionaries and their most visible organizing principle: the alphabetical order. But in order to understand the *Caturakarāti* and the deep structural changes it introduced, we first need to understand how missionaries in the eighteenth century may have navigated the world of traditional *nikaṇṭu*s. How did they use those dictionaries? How are *nikaṇṭu*s organized? The most striking characteristic of all traditional Tamil lexicons is their thematic (not alphabetical) organization. This appears clearly in the table of contents of the *Tivākaram* in **table 2**.

Table 2. Table of contents of the *Tivākaram*.

1.	தெய்வ பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names of deities
2.	மக்கள் பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names of people
3.	விலங்கின் பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names of animals
4.	மரப் பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names of plants
5.	இடப் பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of place names

6.	பல்பொருள் பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names of various natural things
7.	செயற்கை வடிவப் பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names of manufactured things
8.	பண்பு பற்றிய பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names pertaining to qualities
9.	செயல் பற்றிய பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names of actions (verbs)
10.	ஒலி பற்றிய பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names pertaining to sound
11.	ஒருசொல் பல்பொருள் பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of polysemic words
12.	பல் பொருள் கூட்டத்து ஒரு பெயர்த் தொகுதி	Collection of names for the groupings of several entities

We can see how each chapter of the *Tivākaram* contains words connected to a specific realm of the world. But how did this thematic organisation work in practice? We will take as our guiding thread the exploration of the word *muttu*, meaning "pearl". First of all, how to find *muttu* in a thematic dictionary? This basic question will accompany our exploration of the first edition of the *Tivakāram*, published in 1839 by Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār, who was interestingly also the first one to edit and publish the first edition of the *Caturakarāti* in 1824.[28] Since the pearl is part of the inanimate material word, it is found as a head-word in the sixth chapter of the *Tivākaram* on the names of natural things.

[28] We have preferred here to take as a reference the first printed edition of the *Tivākaram*, which is in general highly reliable and comfortably rearranges the *sūtra*s, instead of the manuscripts of this text available in the BnF. This is because on the basis of our exploration of BnF Indien 239, which is a full copy of the *Tivākaram* procured by Ducler in the early nineteenth century, we found that this manuscript is not always reliable, contains many small errors and constantly needs to be compared with other witnesses of the text.

The chapter opens with the 37 names for *poṉ*, "gold", likely because gold is the noblest and most important among the substances found in nature. The following entries are two lists, first a list of five metals (*sūtra* 2) and then a list of seven metals (*sūtra* 3). We then switch to (precious) stones, with the words to indicate the expression *navamaṇi*, "nine gems" (in itself a list whose components are however not spelled out in *sūtra* 4). The following *sūtra* (5) that appears in the printed edition is somehow out of place, and Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār indicates by means of an asterisk that it was indeed an interpolation. It concerns golden coins. We then have a *sūtra* on the common names for a gem (*maṇi*) (6), and the common names for a special gem (*akaṉmaṇi*) (7). In *sūtra* 8, we find the names for the first gem to compose the group of the *navamaṇi*, the ruby (*māṇikkam*). Finally, *sūtra* 9 (*muttiṉ peyar*, "name(s) of the pearl") gives the synonyms for *muttu*, the pearl, which is the second precious stone among the *navamaṇi*. The synonyms are to be extracted from the *sūtra* 9, which is in the form of an enumeration *nittilan, taraḷam, āra(m) mutt-ē*, but at this stage we can only rely on the work of Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār, who has, as the editor, extracted the last term *muttu*, making it into the headword (and the title), and extracted the three terms which precede it, undoing the sandhi and making them into a real list under the running title "*peyar pirivu*". Still, the title *muttiṉ peyar* is not an invention of Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār, being already found in all the three palm-leaf MSS of the *Tivākaram* which we have consulted, from the BnF, the UVSL and the IFP.

In the printed edition (**fig. 7**), one easily identifies the 3 quasi-synonyms of the term *muttu* thanks to the layout chosen by the editor.

This is more complicated on a palm-leaf manuscript (which was the support used by Beschi), but still possible also thanks to the titles that were already present. See for instance how this *sūtra* appears in the *Tivākaram* copy in the BnF (**figs. 8–9**):

māṇikkattiṉ peyar
māmaṇi patumarāka(m) māṇikkam
muttiṉ peyar
nittilan taraḷam āra(m) muttē
tiraṭciyiṉ peyar
taraḷan taraṭci [sic] *y-ākavuñ cāttuvar* [sic]



Fig. 7. The beginning of chapter six of the *Tivākaram* as it appears in the first printed edition (1839).

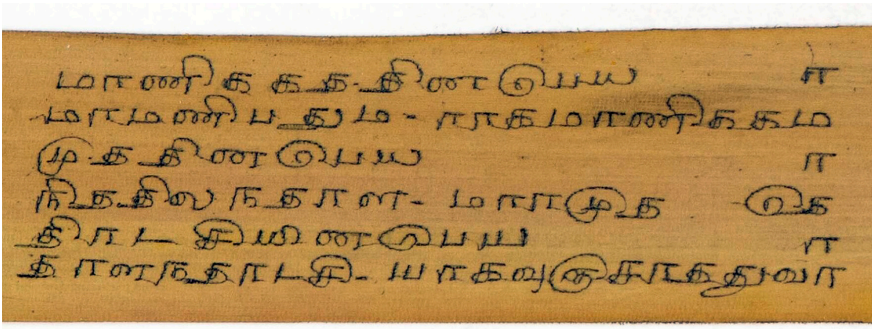


Fig. 8. BnF, Indien 239, fol. 74v, col. 2. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

//1// மாணிக்கத்தினபெயர் //2// மாமணிபதுமராகமாணிக்கம் //3// முத்தினபெயர் //4// நித்திலநதாள - மாமுத்தை //5// திராடசியினபெயர் //6// தாளநதாடசியாகவுஞ்சாதுவர் //

Fig. 9. BnF, Indien 239, fol. 74v, col. 2, facsimile.

As can be seen by comparing **fig. 7** and **figs. 8–11**, the content of **fig. 8** corresponds to three of the entries seen on the right-side page in **fig. 7**, and more precisely to those which are numbered as அ (8), ஊ (9) and ஔ (10). There are, however, a few differences between those two witnesses of an extract from chapter 6 of *Tivākaram*, the more obvious being of course the fact that Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār provides us with a text in which all script ambiguities have been removed and the second being that he also provides us with his own interpretation of the way the text of the *sūtra*s should be split into individual items, by means of a right-side column for which the running title is "*peyarp-pirivu*". We could also mention the fact that line 6 in **fig. 8**, seems to contain a copy mistake, because the symbols 5 to 8 on that line should probably have been "திரட்சி" rather than "தரட்சி". Leaving that small mistake aside, the most interesting difference between **fig. 7** and **fig. 8** is probably, from the point of view of our current clarification, the difference which we see between the 3rd title in **fig. 8** and the title for item ஔ in **fig. 7**, because it allows us to present, *in situ*, two important technical terms, namely *poruṇmai* and *coṉmai*.

More precisely, whereas the first two titles, *māṇikkattiṉ peyar* and *muttiṉ peyar* are the same in both witnesses, the third title appears as *tiraṭciyiṉ peyar* in **fig. 8** and as *taraḷam eṉpatu* in **fig. 7**. Before commenting however on this difference, we shall provide evidence from two other *Tivākaram* MSS in order to estimate which of the two is innovating. Those two manuscripts belong respectively to the UVSL and to the IFP, and the version of the same passage in the two manuscripts appears as follows:[29]

muttiṉ peyar
nittilan taraḷam āra(m) muttē
tiraṭciyiṉ peyar
taraḷan tiraṭci y-ākavuñ cāṟṟuvar

UVSL, MS 449, fol. 24v, line 11 (**fig. 10**)

muttiṉ peyar
nittilan taraḷam āra(m) mutt' eṉpa

[29] The MS images are available on the TVA web site at <https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZp7k0hy>

tiraṭciyiṉ peyar
taraḷan tiraṭci y-ākavuñ cāṟṟuvar

IFP RE47779, folio 45r, column 3, lines 10–11 (**fig. 11**)

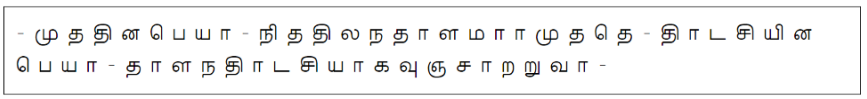

- மு த தி ன பெ யா - நி த தி ல ந தா ள மா மு த தெ - தி ா ட சி யி ன
பெ யா - தா ள ந தி ா ட சி யா க வு ஞ சா ற று வா -

Fig. 10. UVSL, MS 449, fol. 24v, line 11, facsimile.

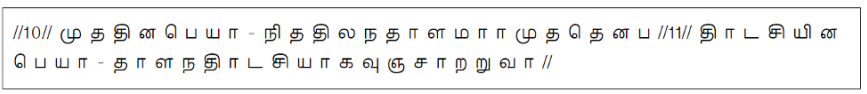

//10// மு த தி ன பெ யா - நி த தி ல ந தா ள மா மு த தெ ன ப //11// தி ா ட சி யி ன
பெ யா - தா ள ந தி ா ட சி யா க வு ஞ சா ற று வா //

Fig. 11. IFP RE47779, folio 45r, column 3, lines 10–11, facsimile.

As seems clear from these transcriptions, if we do not pay attention to very small differences, such as the variant "*mutt' eṉpa*" in the IFP manuscript, against the reading "*muttē*" in the other three witnesses, the UVSL and the IFP MSS are identical with the BnF MS as far as the title "*tiraṭciyiṉ peyar*" is concerned. We must therefore conclude that Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār seems to be an innovator when he chooses to print a title which is "*taraḷam eṉpatu*".

Coming now to the technical distinction which has been announced, we can say that when a noun X is used in a template such as X-*iṉ peyar* "the noun(s) for X", the noun is used in the ordinary manner for referring to a *poruḷ*, i.e., a value, a substance, a notion. And this is what is called *poruṇmai*. On the other hand, when a noun X is used in a template such as X *eṉpatu* or X *eṉṉuñ col*, it refers to itself, and this is what is called *coṉmai*, i.e., "autonymy". In the *Tivākaram*, titles of the type X *eṉpatu* or X *eṉṉuñ col* are typically used in the polysemic section, i.e., in Chapter 11, as titles for *sūtra*s which state that "String X can have Meaning 1, Meaning 2, Meaning 3, etc.". On the other hand, titles of the type X-*iṉ peyar* are used in the thematic section, i.e., in Chapters 1 to 10, as titles for *sūtra*s which state that "Notion X can be expressed by Name 1, Name 2, Name 3, etc.".

We can therefore probably conclude that when Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār decided to use a title which was different from the title seen in *Tivākaram* MS, he was observing that the *sūtra* which reads *taraḷan tiraṭci yākavuñ cāṟṟuvar* is in fact a parenthetic statement

about the polysemy of the word *taraḷam*. The previous *sūtra* had stated that among the words which can be used for referring to pearls, we find the word *taraḷam*. The parenthetical statement tells us that *taraḷam* does not only refer to pearl but has also the meaning of *tiraṭci*. We may even have to understand that this second meaning is in fact more frequent, but it is complicated to reach a conclusion on such questions.

We shall now leave the discussion about *coṉmai* and *poruṇmai* and about the various types of *sūtra*s found in Tamil poetical vocabularies, concentrating for the time being on pearls. The *Tivākaram* was not, as Beschi states in his preface, the only poetical vocabulary which was accessible to him. Each of the traditional *nikaṇṭu*s dealt with a relatively simple lexical item such as *muttu* in its own way. The *Cūṭāmaṇi nikaṇṭu* also gives the list of names for *muttu* in the sixth chapter (6:6), in a *sūtra* on *muttu* among other things. We find four names listed here, the expected *āram*, *taraḷam* and *nittilam*, and the additional *mavuttikam*, which is a possible spelling of the direct borrowing from Sanskrit *mauktika* (a "pearl", but also a "collection of pearls").[30] In the *Uriccol nikaṇṭu*, the entry *muttu* appears once again in the sixth chapter on natural things. Still, the context of the entry is different and places *muttu* among the products of the sea rather than among the precious stones. The fifth verse[31] (in the *veṇpā* meter) enumerates first of all the eight names for the conch (*caṅku*), then it moves to *muttu* and its three substitutes, which are the same triplet found in the *Tivākaram* (*nittilam*, *taraḷam*, *āram*). The verse then lists four names for coral, whose nature is also that of a precious stone as well as a product of the sea.

We can read this *veṇpā* dealing with *muttu* in the MS 329 of the UVS Library in Chennai, which contains the *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu*, in line 5 of the side of a leaf which has virtually been stamped (in blue)

---

[30] Monier-Williams (1899: 836, col. 2): "*mauktika* mfn. (fr. *mukti*) striving after final emancipation, Pañcat. *mauktika* m. (only in MBh.) n. (fr. *muktā*; comp. f(ā).) a pearl (properly 'a collection of p°'), MBh.; Kāv. &c."

[31] If we examine section 6 of *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu* in printed editions, this *veṇpā* is the 4th item in the 1858 edition (digitized by the RMRL), the 5th item in an old edition dated *vikurti Varuṣam* (1890?) digitized by the TVA, as well as in the Santi Sadhana edition (2003:33) and the Ca.Vē.Cu. edition (2008: 474). However, in the UVSL MS discussed here, it is the first *veṇpā* in the section.

as being image 10 in the online version currently provided by the Tamil Virtual Academy.[32] This can be disambiguated and split metrically into a *veṇpā*,[33] containing three semantic sub-groups, which we mentioned in the previous paragraph: (A: conch: 8 items), (B: pearl: 4 items), (C: coral: 4 items). Among these three groups, the one on the pearl is of interest here; the verse gives the synonyms of *muttu* as "*ilaṅkiya nittila(m) mutt' āran taraḷam*".

In order to understand all the implications of *muttu*, each of its three quasi-synonyms would deserve a thorough exploration. A pearl is something globular, for instance, and so when the *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu* (6:31) gives the meanings of 4 words, including *tiraṭci* ("globular object"), among them we find *taraḷam*, which is one of the words for pearl. But the correspondence between *muttu* and its quasi-synonyms is not always symmetrical. The *Piṅkalam* gives 5 meanings for the word *āram*, but none of these is *muttu*. Among the meanings listed, the one that could potentially refer to *muttu*, a pearl, is *taraḷam*; but still, someone who expects that *muttu* can be expressed by *āram* is disappointed.

While the exploration of the semantic range of *muttu* in the *nikaṇṭu*s poses some technical problems, there are words which are much more difficult to grasp. This is the case for many of the words that would have been interesting for missionaries to use in their translations. One example is the word *mōṭcam*, "liberation," whose place and definition in the *nikaṇṭu*s pertains to the semantic, but also theological and cosmological spheres. As we saw, this was the word Nobili wanted to use to translate "Heaven", which is in Christian cosmology a very specific place where people experience bliss and proximity with God. Yet the place of *mōṭcam* in the wor(l)d-order established by Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s is not always clear. In the *Cūtāmaṇi nikaṇṭu*, for instance, we find the entry *mōṭcam* as the

---

[32] The page can be found at the following link: <https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZp0lZYy#gallery-43>.

[33] The entry is part of the following *veṇpā* verse (we give a word-by-word split so to identify the items listed): valampuri kōṭu vaḷai kampu nattuc | calañcalam caṅku paṇilam) (ilaṅkiya | nittila(m) mutt' āram taraḷam) (tukir tuppu | vitturumam viṟ pavaḷam ām). The brackets are used here for separating the three semantic sub-groups: (A: conch: 8 items), (B: pearl: 4 items), (C: coral: 4 items). The function of *viṟ* in the last line is not clear to us.

first entry of the fifth chapter (5:2) on the names of places (*iṭappeyart tokuti*), with a list of 11 synonyms. Immediately after comes the entry for the highest among the heavens in Indian cosmology, *tēvalōka*, which includes 14 synonyms. This order, where liberation comes before heaven, points to a Jain vision of the world.

In folio 66r of BnF Indien 232 (**fig. 12**[34]), we find the invocation verse (*kāppu*) of this chapter of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*, followed by the *sūtra* on *mōṭcam*. We offer here a diplomatic transcription of the folio (**fig. 13**) and a word-by-word transliteration of this *sūtra*, marking the eleven synonyms of *mōṭcam* offered:

mōṣṣalōkattukkup peyar
[1] *kēṭilā v-apavarukkaṅ* [2] *kēvalaṅ* [3] *kaivalaṅkaḷ*
[4] *vīṭōṭu* [5] *civamē* [6] *citti* [7] *mīḷāta katiyē* [8] *nūlōr*
pāṭu niṟuvāṇattōṭu [9] *pañcama katiyē* [10] *mutti*
[11] *nīṭum īraintu(m) mōkkam amutamu(m) nikaḻttalāmē*

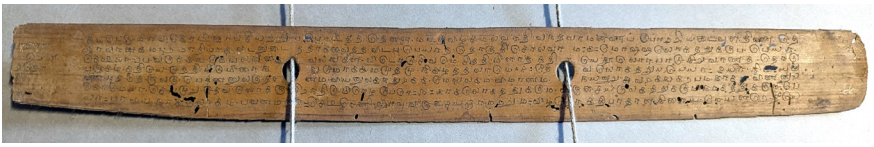


Fig. 12. The entry *mōṭcam* in the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* in BnF, Indien 232, fol. 66r. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

In the *editio princeps* of the *Tivākaram* published by Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār as the main editor in 1839, the chapter on the names of places also begins with the entry *mōṭcam*. This may lead us to believe

[34] The RAW transcription corresponding to the FAX visualization of lines 1 to 5 in folio 66 r in BnF Indien 232 (*Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*) is in the appendix. That folio is part of section 5, alias *iṭappeyart tokuti*. We have given here the folio number as engraved in Tamil numerals on the leaf, even though the digital numbering on Gallica is different (59r); likely based on the assumption that only the initial 32 folios are missing, but there seems to be 38 missing folios according to the Tamil numbering: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52515769j/f59>. The leaf is further identifiable by the fact that it contains a marginal title, indicating the beginning of chapter 5. The marginal title must have originally have been [[ஐ]] ந த # வ // [[தி ட]] ப @ ப // [[ய #]] த @ த # // [[கு]] தி. The elements between double square brackets have disappeared because the leaf is damaged.

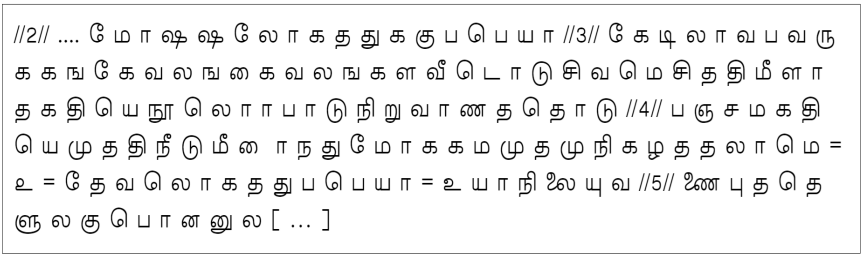

//2// .... மே மா ஷ ஷ லே கா த து க கு ப பெ யா //3// கே டி லா வ ப வ ரு க க ங கே வ ல ங கை வ ல ங க ள வீ டொ டு சி வ மெ சி த தி மீ ள ா த க தி யெ னூ லெ ா பா டு நி று வ ா ண த தெ தா டு //4// ப ஞ் ச ம க தி யெ மு த தி நீ டு மீ ை ா ந து மே மா க க ம மு த மு நி க ழ த த ல ா மெ = உ = தே வ லெ ா க த து ப பெ யா = உ யா நி லெ யு வ //5// ஊ ண புத தெ ளூ ல கு பெ ா ன னு ல […]

Fig. 13. BnF, Indien 232, fol. 66r, facsimile.

that for traditional Tamil lexicographers *mōṭcam* was a place, the most important of them all, especially since the entry appears at the beginning of chapter six in most subsequent editions of the *Tivākaram*. This would not be so different from Nobili's vision. However, at a closer look, the *editio princeps* has the entry *mōṭcam* marked with an asterisk, and we read on the 1839 title page that asterisks (*uṭukkuṟi*) were placed by Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār himself to show when an entry had been added by him to the original text.[35] The traditional version of the chapter, still found in most of the *Tivākaram* manuscripts, begins with the names for *tēvalōka*. Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār's decision to begin the chapter on the name of places with *mōṭcam* points to the history of the reception and circulation of the *Tivākaram* across manuscripts and printed books, to its relationship with the other *nikaṇṭu*s, and the necessity to compare different manuscripts of this *nikaṇṭu* in order to understand the way it changed over time — but this is another story.

6. Christian Readers of Tamil *Nikaṇṭu*s

Notwithstanding the difficulties, Christians in Tamil Nadu read and used *nikaṇṭu*s. The BnF preserves several manuscripts that attest to this reading practice. For instance, Indien 233 contains a copy of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* written on thick European paper and bound in leather, which was most likely prepared by the Jesuits for their shipments of Tamil manuscripts to the Royal Library in the early eighteenth century. Even more important as a source for the history of reading and using Tamil dictionaries in a Christian context

[35] Jean-Luc Chevillard explored this intellectual operation in a recent post on the *Tamilex* blog (Chevillard 2024).

is Indien 240 (**fig. 14**). This palm-leaf manuscript contains a copy of the first chapter of the *Tivākaram*, made by a Christian scribe, as is immediately visible from the little cross on the left margin of the first leaves.

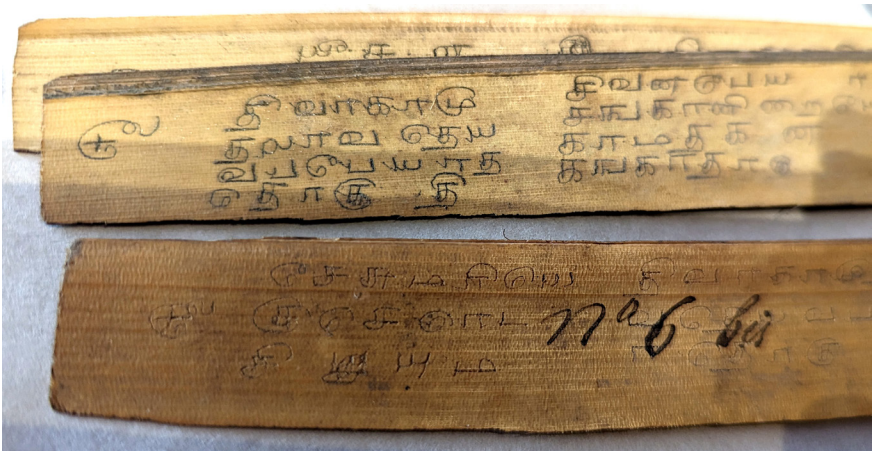


Fig. 14. BnF, Indien 240, title folio r. and fol. 1r, left margins. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

The manuscript further opens with a classical Christian invocation, *cēcu mariyē cūce reṭciyum*, "may Jesus, Mary and Joseph protect [us]." On the same folio, the manuscript also has a Christianized version of the usual invocation verse (*kāppu*) of the *Tivākaram* (**fig. 15** and **fig. 16** for its diplomatic transcription). Here is the transliteration and translation of the invocation on BnF, Indien 240, title folio:

> *tantai cutaṉ ispirittu cāntu patam*[36] *pōṟṟi*
> *cintai viḷakk' ān tivākarattil vanta*
> *tokuti y-oru paṉiraṇṭuñ cōrāmaṉ*[37] *ṉērē*
> *pakuti y-uṟav' ā(m) maṉamē pattu* [sic, *paṟṟu*] ൟ
> *muttucāmi tivākaram.*
>
> Glory to the word/foot of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit!

[36] The letter ம் in the first line resembles a ட, but this cannot be, because the word பதடி has a pejorative meaning ("husk, uselessness," see *Kuṟaḷ* 196) and here we are talking about worshipping the Holy Spirit.

[37] There is a sign missing in the manuscript, which reads சோர instead of சோரா.

Without being lazy [about learning] the twelve collections that come in the *Tivākaram*, which is the lamp [illuminating] thought, but straight to the point. O mind!

You are my support, the organ of discrimination.



Fig. 15. BnF, Indien 240, title folio r., *kāppu*. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

த ந தை சு த ன இ ஸ பி ரி த து சா ந து ப த ம பே ா ற றி // சி ந தை வி ள க
கா ந தி வ ா கா த தி ல - வ ந த // தெ ா கு தி யெ ா ரு ப னி ா ண டு ஞ
சே ா ா ம ன னே ெ ா // ப கு தி யு ற வ ா ம ன மே ப த து வ மு த து சா மி தி
வ ா க ர ம //

Fig. 16. BnF, Indien 240, title folio r., *kāppu*, facsimile.

The only difference with the usual *kāppu* of the *Tivākaram* is the first line of the verse. In the Śaiva version of this *nikaṇṭu*, the verse is usually in honour of Gaṇeśa and reads: *tantimukatt' entai catańkaippatam pō̲r̲r̲i*, "glory to the anklet of our Lord with an elephant's face." Notwithstanding the Christian adaptation of the *kāppu*, though, the *sūtra*s of the first chapter of the *Tivākaram* are the usual ones. After the title of the section (on the names of the deities, *teyvappeyarttokuti*, marked on fol. 1r), the first *sūtra* presents the list of the names of Śiva.

The fact that this chapter circulated independently in a Christian context allows us to make some inferences. At the most basic level, it is clear proof that Christians knew, copied, and used Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s. Second, it shows that Christians were interested in knowing the names of local gods, and they looked at these dictionaries to acquire that type of information. One is tempted to think that the first translation made by Nobili of the name of God as "Śiva" — an erroneous translation, as he himself begrudgingly admitted just a year or so later — might have been influenced by the fact that Śiva was the first entry in the first chapter of the version of the *Tivā-*

karam that he could access. However, the definition Nobili uses in 1610 to make sense of his choice is actually a Sanskrit one, as we can see in the following passage:

> Verum est quod antea anno præterito dicetur Xiven, pro Deo, quæ est vox, qua quædam secta gentilium explicat et vocat Deum, cuius vocis definitio est *Xivam carotiti Xiven*. id est « bonitatem, seu bonum causans » [...]
>
> It is true that before last year, I used the word Śiva for God, which is a word used by a pagan sect to explain and indicate [their] god. The definition of this word is *śivam karoti iti śivaṉ*, namely, "he is goodness, that is, the cause of the good".
>
> Dahmen (1931: 157)

Nobili uses Sanskrit etymological analysis (*nirvacana*) to explain the deep meaning of the name Śiva/Civaṉ.[38] More generally, all these sources point to the fact that Christians, especially the missionaries, were eager to access lexicographical knowledge, and Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s. Still, it is not easy to verify Beschi's claim in his introduction to the *Caturakarāti* that he compiled the content of five *nikaṇṭu*s, not just the *Tivākaram*. Did he really have access to all of them? While this needs to be verified systematically, we do have a small clue to the fact that he knew and used the relatively late *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu* (a *nikaṇṭu* in *veṇpā* verse rather than *nūṟpā*). This text is unique in including *calām* (Arabic *salām*) among the words for greeting (9:2), which occupy the first half of the verse we reproduce here:

> *vantaṉai, kāṇal, vaṇaṅkal, paṇital-ē,*
> *tam talai tāḻtal, calām ceytal, — muntit*
> *toḻutal-ē, taṇṭaṉ; toṭarntu muyaṅkal,*
> *taḻuval-ē, viḻḻutal-um cāṟṟu.*
>
> *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu* (1890: 72; 2003: 43)

This is a clear indication that the text was composed after the Muslims became integral part of the South Indian religious and social landscape. The *Caturakarāti* also includes *calām* among the

[38] The missionary use of etymology to make sense of Tamil and Sanskrit vocabulary is the topic for another article.

greetings, and since the text is a compilation from earlier *nikaṇṭu*s, Beschi could only have taken it from the *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu*. Still, the inclusion of this word might have also been a nod to the political context, since the armies of the Muslim general Chanda Sahib were at the horizon, about to conquer the Kaveri delta region in the mid-1730s.[39]

7. The Fourfold Logic of the *Caturakarāti*

Even though we can safely assume that Beschi knew the *nikaṇṭu*s well, the thematic order and the poetical forms that characterized them was hard to master. As he stated in the *pāyiram* to his own dictionary, "the things that are in meter are hidden." So, he produced a dictionary that was both in prose — containing words listed without any metrical constraints — and in alphabetical order. This is implied in the very name he chose, *akarāti*, a word derived from Sanskrit that literally means "from the letter *a* onwards" and therefore implies the alphabetic order. This form of content organization already existed in Tamil. In the *Tēvāram* (*patikam* 5:97), we find a song where the initial letters of the initial words in each stanzas follow the alphabetical order. More directly related, the *Akarāti Nikaṇṭu* — a sixteenth-century thesaurus by Citampararēvaṇa Cittar — partially followed the alphabetical order. In this *akarāti*, the entries are organized both according to the initial letter and to the number of meanings associated with each word. So, the work is not easy to navigate, and perhaps because of this reason it has not become very popular. Nevertheless, the BnF contain a manuscript copy of this text (Indien 238), which attests to its circulation.

The alphabetical order was not new, then, but certainly Beschi used it in a new systematic way, inspired by Western lexicography. Still, the *Caturakarāti* was supposed to help the understanding and composition of poetry, and it therefore also needed to conform to the ways the words were conceived of in the context of traditional Tamil poetics. Hence the dictionary does not only offer explanations or synonyms for each word. As Beschi mentions in both his Latin and Tamil introductions, the work is divided into four sections:

[39] Trento (2022: 142–151).

- the first one, *peyarakarāti*, literally "Dictionary of Nouns", is originally a collection of polysemic words, in which multiple meanings for a word are enumerated, but it has been significantly expanded by Beschi in order to accommodate many monosemic expressions and words;[40]
- the second one, *poruḷakarāti*, literally "Dictionary of Things", is a collection of quasi-synonyms, listing under one heading other possible terms which can be used for referring to the same target as the heading;
- the third one (*tokaiyakarāti*) lists traditional groups of items associated with well-known "total counts" (*tokai*);
- and the fourth and last one (*toṭaiyakarāti*) contains lists of words that rhyme (according to the second syllable rhyme, alias *etukai*).[41]

What was the basis for the distribution of entries among these different sections? The *peyarakarāti* and the *poruḷakarāti* are respectively related to the polysemic and to the thematic sections of traditional Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s which we evoked in section 5 of this article, where we also discussed, when commenting on Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār's choice of titles, the two modes of use of words traditionally recognized by Tamil scholars and called *poruṇmai* and *coṉmai*.[42] One of the clearest proofs of the fact that Beschi had this

---

[40] See **table 3**, for more precision on the order of magnitude of the expansion of the original polysemic kernel by Beschi. The additional monosemic expressions and words seem to be taken from the body of the entries in the *Poruḷakarāti*. Verifying that fact is of course a challenging task in itself. This is why we plan in the future to prepare a critical edition of the original 1732 *Caturakarāti*.

[41] Notice that sections 1 and 4 are organized in two columns in the manuscript, since they are much longer than the other two.

[42] *Poruṇmai* is the default mode in normal language use. When a noun is used in a sentence, it is normally used for referring to something, which is its *poruḷ*, i.e., its "value, target, thing referred to". As opposed to this, when a word is used under the mode called *coṉmai*, it becomes autonymous. This term means that the word refers to itself and becomes its own name. Using modern writing systems, this can be conveniently made explicit by using quotation marks. If we say "'John' has four letters", *'John'* is used under the mode called *coṉmai*. If we say, "John came yesterday", John is used under the mode called *poruṇmai*. In the *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram*, the terms *coṉmai* and *poruṇmai* are mentioned

filiation in mind is seen in the final statement of this section of his dictionary, found on page 242 of BnF Indien 247, at the end of the *Poruḷakarāti* (**fig. 17**). The statement, *pattut tokutiyākap poruḷakarāti mu̱r̲r̲um*, i.e., "consisting of ten collections (*tokuti*), the Dictionary of Things has been completed", is a clear reference to the structure which is common to many of the Tamil Poetical vocabularies and which has been explained by means of **table 2** (table of contents of the *Tivākaram*). At the same time, it is a paradoxical statement because in the *Caturakarāti* the ten sections have totally lost their individual existence. They have all been mixed together in a random manner after being crushed under that "Rouleau Compresseur" called the Alphabetical Order, in order to jointly become the *Poruḷakarāti* or "Dictionary of Things"!

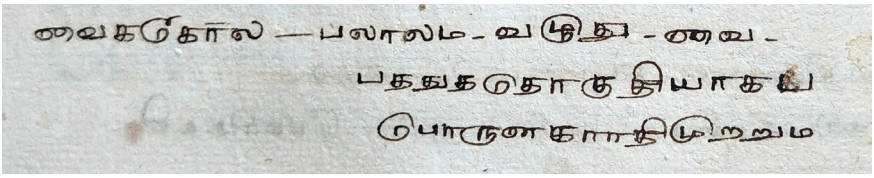


Fig. 17. BnF, Indien 227, page 242, bottom. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

If the structure of *Poruḷakarāti* is relatively easy to explain, accounting for the content of the *Peyarakarāti* is more challenging. The reason is that Beschi was much more of an innovator when

---

by *sūtra* 156c, and explained by commentators. When a term is polysemic, it is still, in normal usage, used for referring to a *poruḷ*, but that *poruḷ* has been chosen among several possible *poruḷ*s. The person who speaks knows which *poruḷ* they have in mind — unless they are trying to play with words, as in a *śleṣa* (Tamil *cilēṭai*) and practice "double meaning", or sometimes "multiple meaning" — and the listener uses various types of clues for deciding which *poruḷ* was in the intention (*mu̱n̲n̲am*) of the speaker. However, if the statement is a metalinguistic one, explaining that a word is polysemic, i.e., can have several distinct possible *poruḷ*s, then the lexicographer will make use of the *co̱n̲mai* mode for the word whose several meanings are being enumerated. This is the case for instance in all the *sūtra*s of chapter 11 in *Tivākaram*. This is the reason why editors used a different pattern for the titles in that section, namely "X *e̱n̲n̲um peyar*", or "X *e̱n̲patu*", as was already pointed at in §5.

it comes to that section. A core component of the *Peyarakarāti* is the explanation of polysemic words, but to this must be added the explanations which he also gives for words which have a single meaning. This is why, even though in the *Tivākaram* the chapters 1 to 10 occupy a space which is more than 5 times bigger than chapter 11,[43] in the *Caturakarāti*, the *Peyarakarāti* occupies more space than the *Poruḷakarāti*.[44] In order to begin to clarify more precisely the respective proportions of those types of entries, the **table 3** examines a small sample of the *Peyarakarāti*, namely the section which contains all the words starting with the syllable *mu*. For lack of time, we do not provide here a separate count for the subset of entries with a single meaning, although this would be very desirable. The main results which are suggested by **table 3** are (A) that some entries which are in BnF Indien 227 were not retained[45] by the copyist — or the chain of copyists — who wrote BnF Indien 228, and that (B) Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār added entries to the source which he was editing, although he also deleted or corrected some of the original entries.[46]

As can be easily inferred by looking at this chart, it would require a book-length study for doing full justice to the relationship between Beschi's original work and the predecessors by whom he was inspired, and also for determining the amount of tampering which took place when a printed version of the *Caturakarāti* was

---

[43] In the Cānti Cātaṉā 2004 edition, chapters 1 to 10 of the *Tivākaram* occupy pages 1 to 93, whereas chapter 11 occupies pages 93 to 105.

[44] In the BnF digitized version of Indien 227, the *Peyarakarāti* is contained in 74 images (which each reproduce two facing pages of the MS) whereas the *Poruḷakarāti* only requires 51 "facing" pages.

[45] In addition to the disappearance of 15 entries, when going down from a count of 200 items (Indien 227) to 185 (Indien 228), we can also see a difference in the spelling of the head-word in 17 cases. There are also differences in the content of the entries.

[46] Only a critical edition of BnF Indien 227 can do full justice to the differences. Therefore, we shall simply state here that the passage from the count of 200 entries (BnF Indien 227) for the subset of words starting with மு to 234 entries (*Caturakarāti* 1824) results from the suppression of 25 entries and from the addition of 59 entries. As for the 175 entries which are "common" to both, a close examination reveals that they are frequently very different, both as regards the spelling of the head-word and as regards the content of the entry.

Table 3. A partial comparison of the content of the polysemic sections of *Tivākaram* and *Piṅkalam* with the content of the *Peyarakarāti* in the original 1732 version (and its almost faithful copy) and with the later interpolated copies.

Source	*Tivākaram* (Chapter 11)	*Piṅkalam* (Chapter 10)	BnF Indien 227	BnF Indien 228 f. 171v–175v	*Caturakarāti* 1824	*Caturakarāti* 1989
Numbers of items starting with *mu*	7	19	200	185	234	269

published in 1824 and became the basis for all the subsequent editions. Among the items which were added by later editors, one can mention for instance the item *muttu*, which had not been included by Beschi in his original *Peyarakarāti*.

In order to better understand the functioning of all the four sections, it is now time to examine the manner in which the word *muttu*, and its semantic range, are treated throughout the dictionary. Following the order of the *Caturakarāti*, since *muttu* is a simple word, we do not find it listed as an entry in the section on polysemic words or Dictionary of Names (*peyarakarāti*) in the original 1732 version. However, in the second section, Dictionary of Things (*poruḷakarāti*), *muttu* appears as a head-entry.

Here is a transcription of this entry (the head-word is marked in bold) as it appears in Indian 227, p. 226 (**fig. 18**):

> ***muttu*** — *āram* — *taraḷam* — *tiraṭci* — *nāli* — *nittilam* — *maṇi* — *mavuttikam* — *muttam* — *muttāpalam*

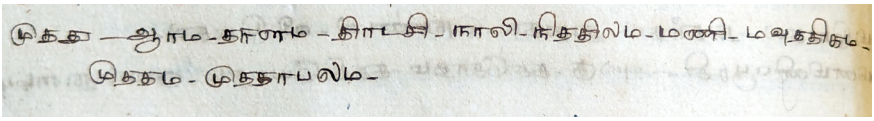


Fig. 18. BnF, Indien 227, p. 226. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

This list is relatively large. It is clear why most of these words can be used in the sense of "pearl": *mavuttikam*, *muttam* and *muttāpalam* are some related Sanskrit-derived words meaning pearl, much like *muttu*; *maṇi* is the general word for a gem, and it can be used also to refer to the pearl (which is, as we learned from the *Tivākaram*, part of the *navamaṇi*), and so on. Perhaps the strangest word listed in this entry is *tiraṭci*, roughly referring to something of globular form. Usually, *muttu* is considered as a possible meaning of *tiraṭci*, not the other way round. However, in the *Caturakarāti* we find *tiraṭci* among the possible meanings of *muttu*, while within the incredibly long list of possible synonyms loosely meaning *tiraṭci*, *muttu* is not included. This is just to say that things are a bit more complicated, and Beschi's understanding of Tamil lexicography a little less crystal-clear that the above examples allow to infer.

Starting from this list of loose synonyms for *muttu* offers a sort of guide to go back exploring the *peyarakarāti* in search for *muttu*,

and the word is indeed listed as one of the possible meanings of several of its "synonyms". We find the word *muttu* scattered across the following entries of the *peyarakarāti* as it appears in the Paris manuscript:

> ***āram*** — *āttimaram* — *āparaṇam* — *pōrparaṇam*[47] — *cantaṉamaram* — *patakkam* — *pittaḷai* — *pūmālai* — *muttu* — *muttumālai* — *maṇivaṭam* (Indien 227, p. 15, c. 1; **fig. 19**)

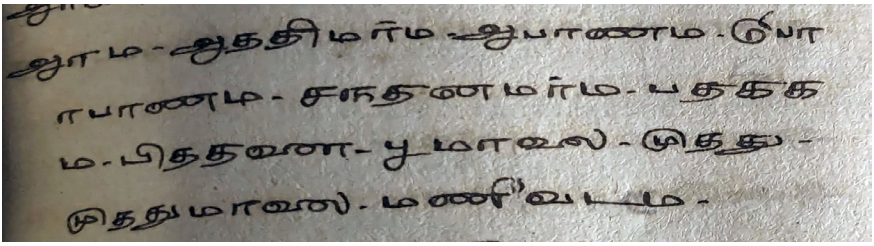


Fig. 19. Indien 227, p. 15, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

> ***taraḷam*** — *acaivu* — *tiraṭci* — *muttu* (Indien 227, p. 77, c. 1; **fig. 20**)

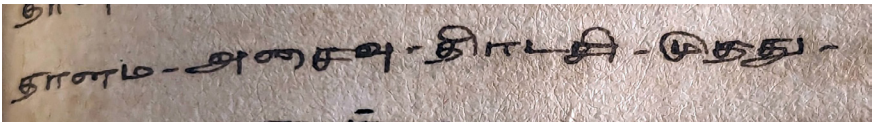


Fig. 20. Indien 227, p. 77, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

> ***tiraṭci*** — *uṇṭai* — *kūṭṭam* — *muttu* (Indien 227, p. 81, c. 1; **fig. 21**)

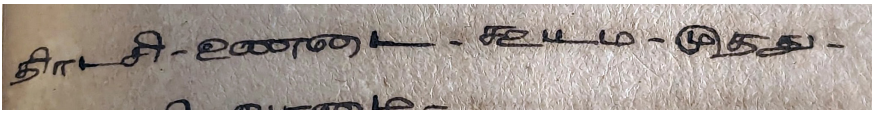


Fig. 21. Indien 227, p. 81, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

---

[47] The reading *pōrparaṇam* could refer to "something to wear", or to a "war armour"; but the spelling and meaning of this word are not clear. If we look at the subsequent editions of the *Caturakarāti*, the initial *p* might be a typo for the glide *v*; we should then read *v-ōrpāṇam*, "something to drink", along with the nineteenth-century editors who both changed the word into *orpāṉam* (1824: 17; 1894: 18). We are currently working on the comparison between the manuscript and printed editions of the *Caturakarāti*, a research that will hopefully allow us to explain such changes.

nāli — *muttu* (Indien 227, p. 92, c. 1; **fig. 22**)

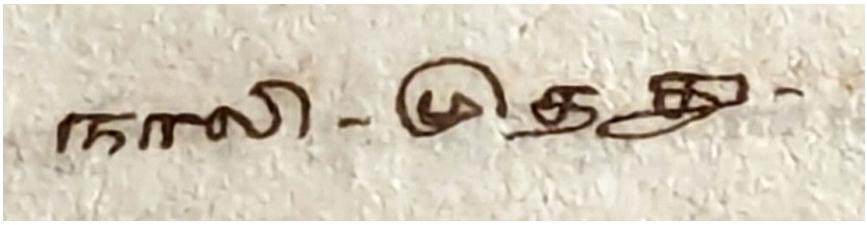


Fig. 22. Indien 227, p. 92, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

nittilam — *muttu* (Indien 227, p. 93, c. 1; **fig. 23**)

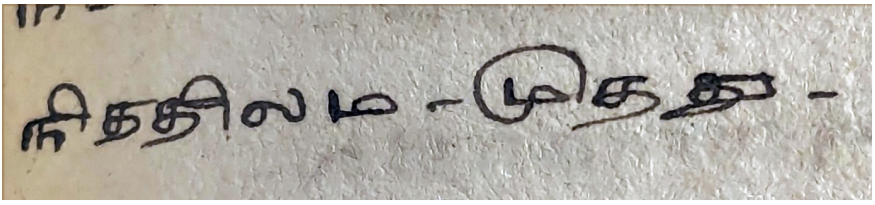


Fig. 23. Indien 227, p. 93, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

maṇi — *aḻaku* — *ōcaimaṇippotu* — *navamaṇippotu* — *muttu* (Indien 227, p. 118, c. 1; **fig. 24**)

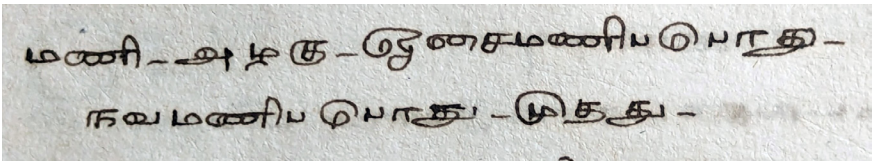


Fig. 24. Indien 227, p. 118, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

mavuttikam — *muttu* (Indien 227, p. 120, c. 2; **fig. 25**)

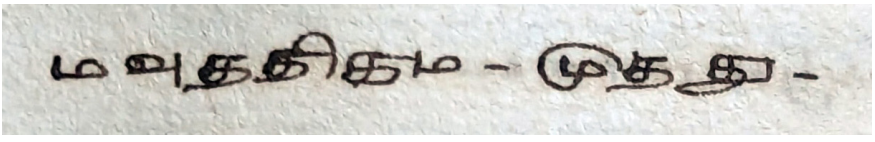


Fig. 25. Indien 227, p. 120, c. 2. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

muttam — *utaṭu* — *piriyam* — *marutanilam* — *muttu* (Indien 227, p. 126, c. 2; **fig. 26**)

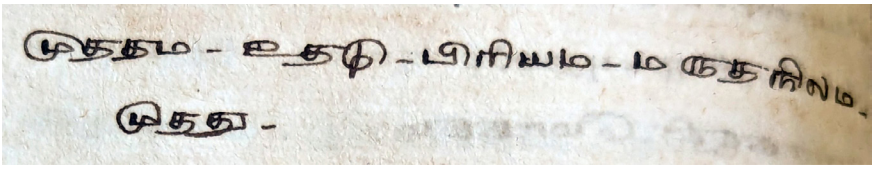


Fig. 26. Indien 227, p. 126, c. 2. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

muttāpalam — *caṅkañceṭi* — *muttu* (Indien 227, p. 126, c. 2; **fig. 27**)

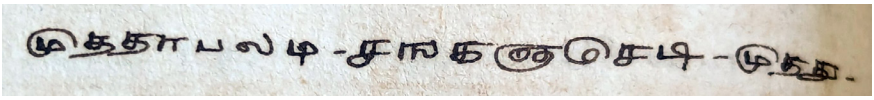


Fig. 27. Indien 227, p. 126, c. 2. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

In brief, a poet-in-training would gather from a perusal of the *Caturakarāti* that *muttu*, a rather simple and non-polysemic word, can be found among the meanings attributed to other, more complex words; and that there are several words which can be used in its stead, loose synonyms which are crucial when composing poetry under the constraints of meter.

If we turn to the third section of Beschi's dictionary, the *tokaiyakarāti*, we find once again an entry concerning pearls, or rather the places of origin of pearls (*muttucaṉippu*). It is a rather long list, as we can see once again in the BnF manuscript (**figs. 28–29**).

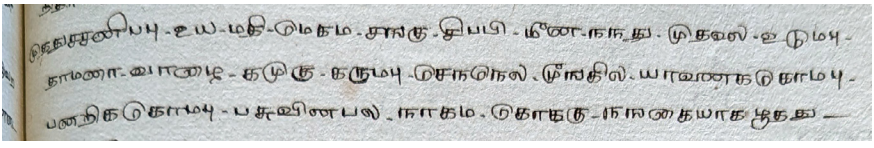


Fig. 28. BnF, Indien 227, p. 257. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

முதுசனிபபு - உய - மதி - மெகம - சஙகு - சிபபி - மீன - நநது -
முதலை - உடுமபு - // தாமரை - வாழை - கமுகு - கருமபு - செந
நெல - மூஙகில - யாஅனகெகாமபு - // பனறிகெகாமபு - பசுவி
னபல - நாகம - கொகாகு - நஙகையாகழுதது - //

Fig. 29. BnF, Indien 227, p. 257, facsimile.

The *tokaiyakarāti* lists here twenty possible origins of pearls. Indeed, this third section of the *caturakarāti* is composed of groups of elements (lists, or ensembles) traditionally considered together. In Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s, these groups are listed according to their (increasing) number: the groups of three elements, then four, five, six, etc. In this section too, Beschi's *Caturakarāti* adopts the alphabetical order, but it makes a concession to the traditional order of listing in the end, where it reorganizes the entry heads according to the number of elements they identify. In this second way of organizing the entries, we find *muttucaṉippu* as the only list of twenty items (**fig. 30**).

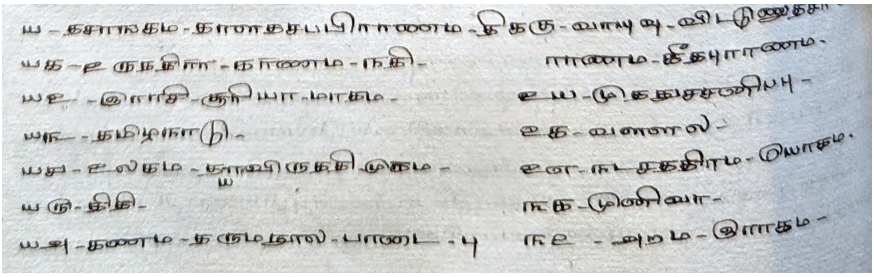


Fig. 30. Indien 227, p. 260, list headings for groups having a count (தொகை) contained in the range [10; 32]. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

It is not easy to identify the precise origin of this list, which does not seem to appear in any of the *nikaṇṭu*s that Beschi explicitly used as his sources — at least, not in the printed or manuscript versions to which we have access. However, we find similar, albeit not identical lists in several dictionaries in the nineteenth century (**figs. 31–32**).

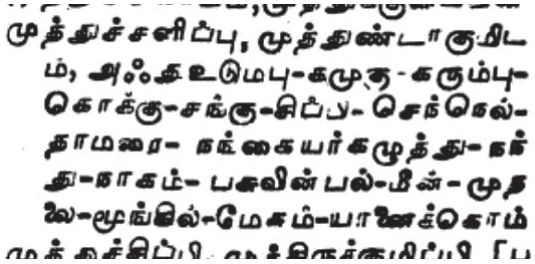
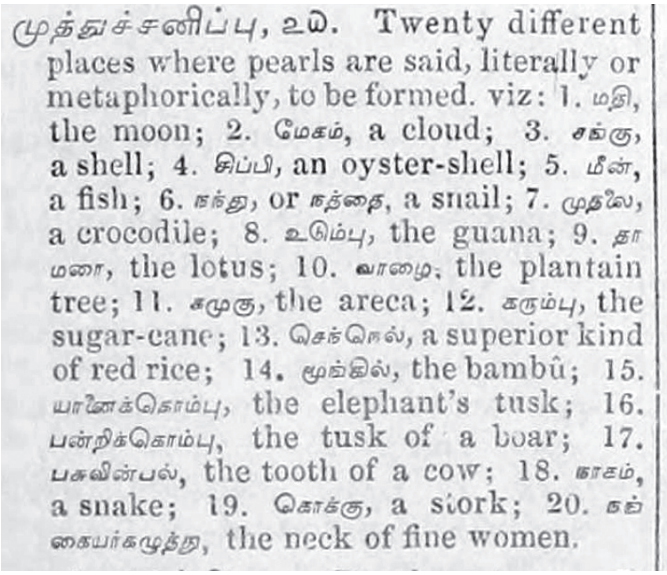


Fig. 31. *A Manual Dictionary of the Tamil Language* (Jaffna Book Society, 1842), p. 584.



முத்துச்சனிப்பு, உவ. Twenty different places where pearls are said, literally or metaphorically, to be formed. viz: 1. மதி, the moon; 2. மேகம், a cloud; 3. சங்கு, a shell; 4. சிப்பி, an oyster-shell; 5. மீன், a fish; 6. கந்து, or கந்தை, a snail; 7. முதலை, a crocodile; 8. உடும்பு, the guana; 9. தாமரை, the lotus; 10. வாழை, the plantain tree; 11. கமுகு, the areca; 12. கரும்பு, the sugar-cane; 13. செந்நெல், a superior kind of red rice; 14. மூங்கில், the bambû; 15. யானைக்கொம்பு, the elephant's tusk; 16. பன்றிக்கொம்பு, the tusk of a boar; 17. பசுவின்பல், the tooth of a cow; 18. காசம், a snake; 19. கொக்கு, a stork; 20. கன்னையர்கழுத்து, the neck of fine women.

Fig. 32. Winslow, *A comprehensive Tamil and English dictionary* (1862), p. 881.

These lists were also known to, and used by the commentators of the classical Tamil poems of the Caṅkam corpus, as we can see from Aṉantarāmaiyar's comment to *Kalittokai*, poem 40, line 4, *cīr*s 3 & 4 (1925 edition).[48] As for the precise list contained in the *Caturakarāti*, the only source we could identify that gives a list of twenty items as "origins of pearls" is the *Irattiṉa curukkam*. This poem is part of a larger set of books, known as *Uvamāṉa caṅkiraka nūlkaḷ*, which detail the characteristics, the terms of comparison, and the activities pertaining to women as they are portrayed in poetry. It is attributed to a certain Pukaḻēnti Pulavar (sixteenth century), and it also contains a list of 20 origins of pearls, in order to show that the

[48] Upon *muttu ār maruppiṉ* "with tusks filled with pearls", Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar commentary is: *muttu niṟainta yāṉaikkompāl*. Aṉantarāmaiyar comments as follows in his footnote: *muttu yāṉaikkompilum piṟakkum eṉpatu marapātalāl ataṉai 'muttār maruppu' eṉṟār; itu marap' eṉpatai (8) "peruṅ kaḷiṟṟu, muttuṭai vāṉkōṭu" muruku. 304 — 5 (ā) "yāṉai, muttār maruppiṉ" kuṟiñci. 35 — 36 (i) "yāṉai, muttuṭai maruppiṉ" malai. 517 — 8 (ī) "muttuṭai maruppiṉ maḻakaḷiṟu" patiṟṟu. 32: 3 (u) "yāṉai veṇkōṭu koṇṭu, nīratikaḻ cilampiṉaṉpoṉ ṉakaḻvōṉ, kaṇporu timaikkun tiṇmaṇi kiḻarppa, vainnuti vāṉmarup poṭiya vukka, teṉṉīrāli kaṭukku muttamoṭu" akam. 282: 3 — e. (ū) "tantivarāka maruppippi .... muttam īṉum irupatumē".*

pearls originating from women (namely their sweat) are superior to all of the other ones. The *Irattiṉa curukkam* does not seem to be very popular today, but it was reprinted several times in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries[49], and there is a manuscript on the whole work in the U.Ve. Swaminatha Iyer Library in Chennai (001047), where we can read the verse in question (v. 35; **fig. 33**[50] and **fig. 34**).



Fig. 33. UVSL, MS001047, *Irattiṉa curukkam* f. 46r, Blue Number 17. Photo by courtesy of the UVSL.

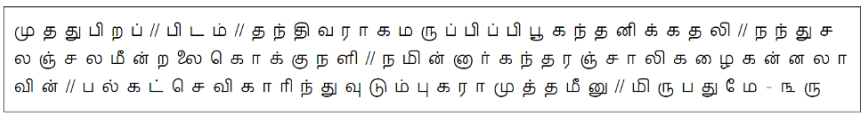


Fig. 34. UVSL, MS001047, *Irattiṉa curukkam* f. 46r, facsimile.

This verse, for which the title is "*muttu piṟappiṭam*" is composed in a meter usually referred to as *kaṭṭaḷaik kalitturai*, in which each of the 4 lines has five *cīr*s and contains 16 *akṣara*s if the line starts with a *nēr-acai* or 17 *akṣara*s if the line starts with a *nirai-y-acai*. Additionally, each line obeys a metrical constraint called *veṇṭaḷai*. The metrical text is as follows:

muttu piṟapp' iṭam
tanti varāka(m) marupp' ippi pūkan taṉik katali
nantu calañcala(m) mīṉṟalai kokku naḷina(m) miṉṉār

---

[49] The first printed edition of this text seems to have appeared in 1878, according to Wikipedia (<https://ta.wikipedia.org/wiki/இரத்தினச்_சுருக்கம்_(1878_நூல்)>); we were able locate, thanks to SUDOC, a copy of the fifth edition, dated 1926, in the BULAC library, which inherited it from Pierre Meile. The 1982 reprint of the *Madras Tamil Lexicon* lists an earlier edition, dated 1920, on page lxx (Volume 1).)

[50] This is the image downloadable as "TVA_PLM_UVSLMS001047 இரத்தினச் சுருக்கம் மூ_018.jpg" but it has the online virtual numbering of 17, superposed in blue to the palm-leaf image, on the TVA web site: <https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZl1july>

kantarañ cāli kaḷai kaṉṉal āviṉ pal kaṭcevi kār
intu v-uṭumpu karā(m) muttam īṉum irupatumē

The places of origin of pearls (*muttu piṟapp' iṭam)* listed in this verse, and their rough counterparts in the *Caturakarāti* as we were able to identify them, are as follows: 1. *tanti* (>*yāṉaikkompu*); 2. *varākam maruppu* (>*paṉṟikkompu*); 3. *ippi* (>*cippi*); 4. *pūkam* (>*kamuku*); 5. *taṉi katali* (>*vāḷai*); 6. *nantu* (>*nantu*); 7. *calañcalam* (>*caṅku*); 8. *mīṉṟalai* (>*mīṉ*); 9. *kokku* (>*kokku*); 10. *naḷiṉam* (>*tāmarai*); 11. *miṉṉār kantaram* (>*naṅkaiyarkaḻuttu*); 12. *cāli* (>*cennel*); 13. *kaḷai* (>*mūṅkil*); 14. *kaṉṉal* (>*karumpu*); 15. *āviṉ pal* (>*pacuviṉpal*); 16. *kaṭcevi* (>*nākam*); 17. *kār* (>*mēkam*); 18. *intu* (>*mati*); 19. *uṭumpu* (>*uṭumpu*); 20. *karām* (>*mutalai*). This shared list shows once again the links between the *Caturakarāti* and the world of Tamil poetry, and how Beschi's dictionary aimed to be a tool for navigating and mastering that world.

The fourth and last section of the dictionary, the *toṭaiyakarāti*, is equally connected to poetry, and its more technical aspects. For in this section, the alphabetical order does not concern the initial syllable of each word, but the second one. It is indeed the sound of the second syllable that is repeated to form the rhyming pattern (*etukai*) that characterize Tamil poetry, especially in the early modern period. The only constraint on the first syllable is that it should have the same duration in both rhyming words. This explains why Beschi divides this section into *kuṟiṟkīḻetukai* "*etukai* occurring below (i.e., after) a short [syllable]" and *neṭiṟkīḻetukai* "*etukai* occurring below (i.e., after) a long [syllable]", depending on whether the first syllable is short or long.

So, to find pearls (*muttu*) in this section, instead of the initial *mu-*, it is the sounds *-tt(u)* which we have to look for. And indeed, we find the word *muttu* in the *toṭaiyakarāti* under the letter *ta* and the heading *attu*, in a list of rhyming words whose second syllable is always *tu*, a list internally organized by alphabetical order (**figs. 35–36**). In this list, *muttu* is first listed as a rhyming word and then its meaning is quickly explained, in this case tautologically by saying that *muttu* means *muttu*.

Notice that the importance of the synonyms listed in the second section of the dictionary becomes clearer in light of this other list. When looking for suitable words to create a rhyme, in case the second syllable required is a *-tta* and not a *-ttu*, one could use a syn-

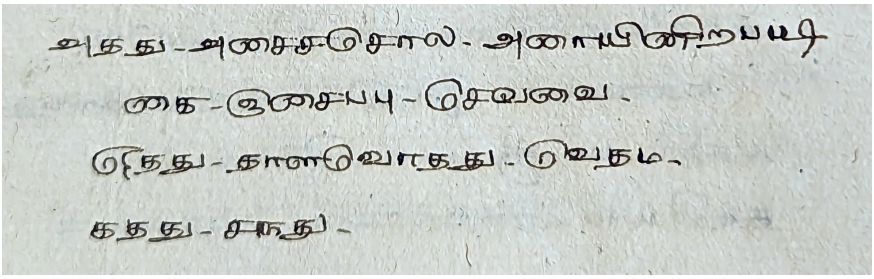


Fig. 35. BnF, Indien 227, p. 284, column 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

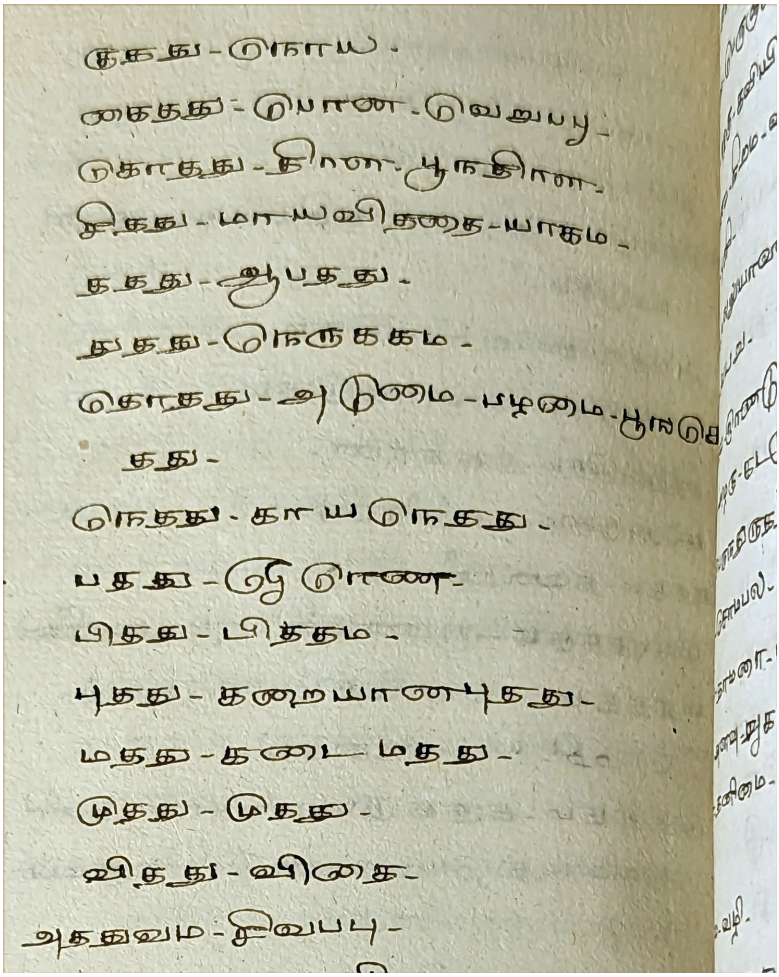


Fig. 36. BnF, Indien 227, p. 284, column 2. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

onym like *muttam* instead of *muttu*, always in the sense of pearl, as indicated in Indien 227, p. 283 c. 1 (**fig. 37**).

Without entering into too much detail, it is clear that all the sections of the *Caturakarāti* are interconnected. The knowledge of polysemic words, of synonyms, of lists, and of rhyming words are all essential building blocks for the writing of poetry, to be used according to the rules of grammar. This wealth of words was something that Tamil poets, the *pulavar*s, would traditionally learn by heart; the traditional thematic *nikaṇṭu*s, composed in verse, were conceived to be learned that way. Beschi's dictionary implies another type of consultation, perhaps starting from a written

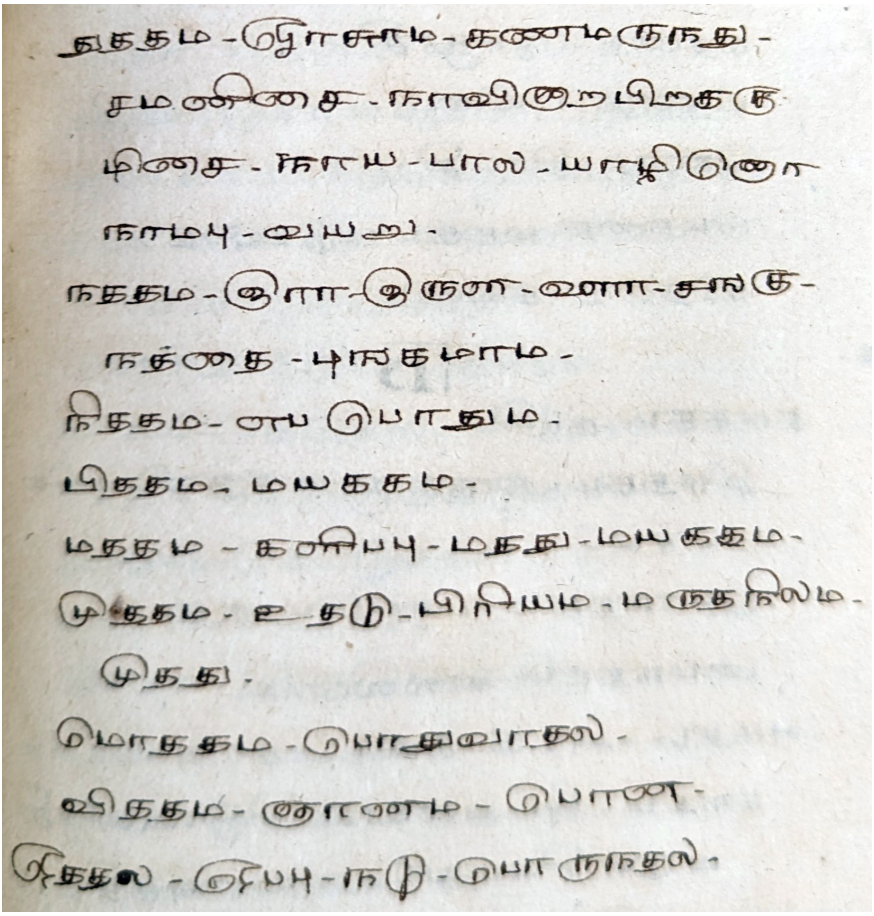


Fig. 37. BnF, Indien 227, p. 283 c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

support, much like the BnF manuscript we have been exploring here. Yet he was trying to master the same type of lexicographical knowledge, for the same purpose of reading, understanding, and writing poetry. We will now turn to an example from Beschi's own poetry, to see how he might have put such knowledge into practice.

8. Auctoritas vs Realia

In the two prefaces which we translated at the beginning of this article, Beschi introduces his dictionary to his two different audiences. To the European missionaries, the recipients of his Latin preface, he promises that the *Caturakarāti* will allow them to understand poetry, and to express themselves in poetry; this being the only register of the Tamil language carrying any authority in the eyes of the Tamil people. In the Tamil preface, he simply declares the dictionary to have been written for the benefit of the poets. Notice how in this preface he calls the poets *maturavaṉāti*, "the sweet one and the others." In passing, this refers to, and therefore shows Beschi's knowledge of, the four types of poets as they are described in traditional Tamil grammars.[51] But how did Beschi use the kind of knowledge he organized in the *Caturakarāti* to compose his own poetry? Answering this question in full would require a thorough reading of Beschi's poems, chiefly the *Tēmpāvaṇi* and the *Tirukkāvalūr kalampakam*, side by side with his dictionary and grammars.

But even a cursory look at Beschi's masterpiece, the epic poem *Tēmpāvaṇi*, shows how the new Tamil Christian world he created in his literary works was constructed with the building blocks of traditional knowledge of poetry, including grammar and lexicography. As an example, the following verse, taken from the second chapter of the *Tēmpāvaṇi* which describes the country of Palestine where Saint Joseph is born, shows Beschi's knowledge and classification of the world according to the list of the twenty *muttucaṉippu*:

வேயுமுத்த மிடைந்தன வேலிவாய்
வேயுமுத்த மிடைந்தன வேலைவாய்
வாயுமுத்த மலிந்தன தீங்கழை
வாயுமுத்த மலிந்தன வாயெலாம்

[51] See Chevillard (2014).

vēyu(m) mutta(m) miṭaintaṉa vēli vāy
vēyu(m) mutta(m) miṭaintaṉa, vēlai vāy
vāyu(m) mutta(m) malintaṉa tīṅ kaḻai
vāyu(m) mutta(m) malintaṉa vāy elām.

Tēmpāvaṇi, *nāṭṭuppaṭalam*, v. 80

The pearly seeds from bamboos were strewn in abundance in the fields,
And in them were also spread abundant pearly paddy seeds covered with husk;
In the sea, there was an abundance of pearls that are yielded by the oysters,
And everywhere there was bountiful pearly seeds from delicious sugarcane.

Translation by M. Dominic Raj (2019: 18)

This is admittedly not Beschi's best poetical exploit. And yet precisely the fact that it is somehow a routine verse, a space-filler reiterating the wealth and the beauty of Palestine, makes it clear that the real importance of the verse is to show how Beschi knew the codes — in this case, the lexicographical codes — which governed the world of Tamil poetry.

As we read in the Latin preface of the *Caturakarāti*, Beschi put so much effort into understanding, appropriating and reworking Tamil grammar and lexicography because he believed poetry was important in Tamil society. He also believed learning poetry was crucial for gaining an authoritative voice, and that using the poetic register was the right strategy for Christians to be respected by and enter into dialogue with Tamil people. But this was not the only available strategy for foreigners seeking to learn Tamil. Missionaries who plunged into the world of Tamil grammar and lexicography before him had a different approach; for pioneers like Henrique Henriques (1520–1600), the goal was to master the words useful for speaking with people about Tamil reality, rather than entering the world of Tamil poetry. This was also the case for Antão de Proença (1625–1666), the author of a Tamil-Portuguese dictionary (*Vocabulario Tamulico com a significaçam Portugueza*, henceforth VTCSP) printed in Ambalakkadu in 1679, after the author's death.

Proença's dictionary is an important, complex work, which we cannot explore here in full. Yet if we search for pearls in this dic-

tionary, and more specifically in the manuscript preserved at the BnF (Indien 221), we do encounter a completely different linguistic universe. Proença does offer us two simple definitions of *muttu* as *aljofre*, a smaller pearl in Portuguese; and of *muttumaṇi*, a pearl gem, as *perola* (VTCSP, p. 146). In all the other instances where pearls appear in the entries of this dictionary, though, it is in connection with the pearl fisheries of the Coromandel coast. Indeed, *paravar* fishermen in this region had converted to Christianity very early on, and the pearl fisheries by the mid-seventeenth century were largely managed by the Jesuit missionaries in charge of the fishermen communities.[52] So, in Proença's dictionaries we find entries referring to the weighing (and therefore selling) of pearls, such as:

> எசவு || Huma conta no pezo // do aljofre, item direitura. ||
>
> A count of the weight of pearls, or, ...
>
> BnF, Indien 221, p. 186, entry 186_L_25 (= Proença 1679, entry 481_L_n) (**fig. 38**)[53]

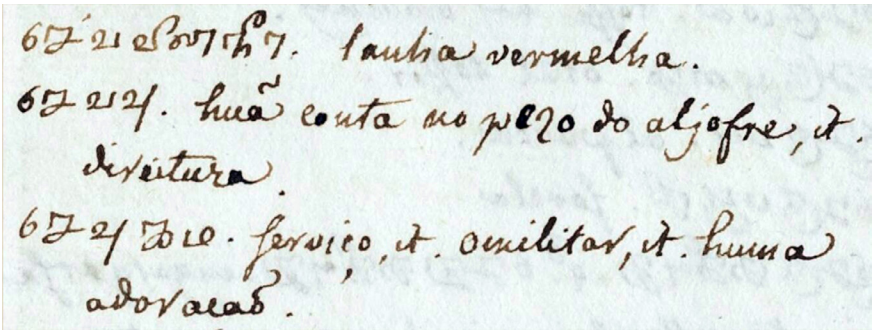


Fig. 38. BnF, Indien 221, p. 186, entry 186_L_25. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

[52] On the history of the conversion of the Paravar, see Bayly (1989: 321–378).

[53] We give here the entries of Proença's VTCSP as they appear in the manuscript in the BnF (Indien 221). We have also given the corresponding entry in the printed edition, a rare book which has been made available as a printed facsimile thanks to Thany Nayagam (1966) and which is now online on the digital repository of the Vatican Library (<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.ind.12>). However, the numbering of 90% of the folios in the printed book is faulty, and because of that we adopt a system in which the page number provided is the logical page number. As an example, the last folio bears the

Other entries describe some of the professions involved in pearl fishing:

> மண்டக்கன் || O que na pes-=caria // do aljofre pega na corda, // do que mergulha, para o alar // a sima de pressa.||
>
> The one who keeps the rope in the pearl fishery, when one dives, to lift him up quickly.
>
> BnF, Indien 221, p. 45, entry 45_L_10 (= Proença 1679, entry 116_L_a) (**fig. 39**)

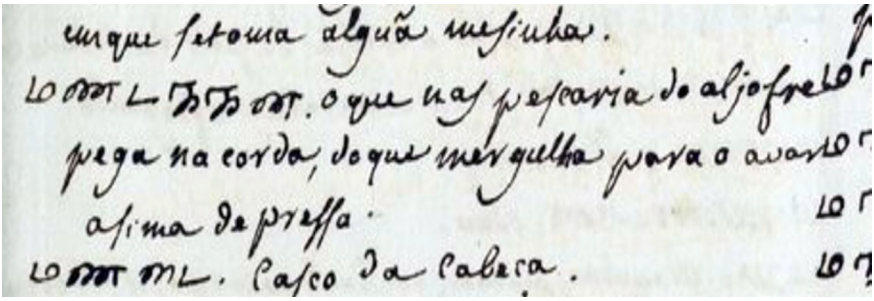


Fig. 39. BnF, Indien 221, p. 45, entry 45_L_10. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

> குழியான், Mergulhador do aljofre.
> Diver for pearls.
>
> BnF, Indien 221, p. 122 entry 122_L_8
> (= Proença 1679, 310_R_i) (**fig. 40**)

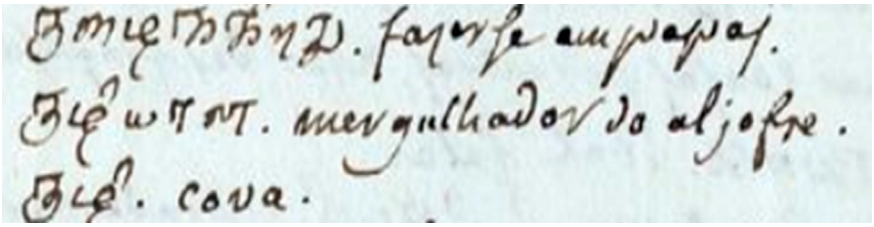


Fig. 40. BnF, Indien 221, p. 122 entry 122_L_8. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

---

number 247 when it should have been numbered as 254. Because of that the recto side of that folio is logical page 507 and the verso is page 508. The citation system we use for the VTCSP is explained at the end of this article, under "Conventions".

Similarly, there are entries that refer to the activity of diving to fish for pearls:

> குழிக்கிறது. Lauar o corpo, neu- // =tro, item pescar aljofres.
>
> To bathe [in order to wash] the body, neutral (verb) (i.e., neither active, nor passive), or, to fish pearls.
>
> BnF, Indien 221, p. 122, entry 122_L_16
> (= Proença 1679, 311_L_a) (**fig. 41**)

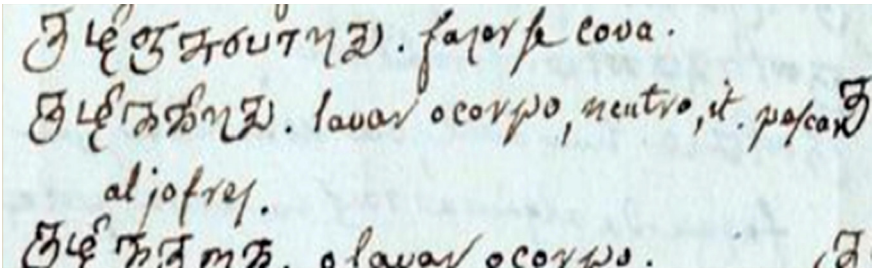


Fig. 41. BnF, Indien 221, p. 122, entry 122_L_16. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

Finally, we find listed in Proença's VTCSP the names of some of the forms of remuneration connected with this economic activity, such as:

> வலி. Dor, item cule que se da // aos da embarcaçaõ, q~ pescaõ al- //=jofre.
>
> Pain, or, salary (*cooly*) which is given to those in the boat, who fish pearls.
>
> BnF, Indien 221, p. 159, entry 159_L_6
> (= Proença 1679, 406_L_q) (**fig. 42**)

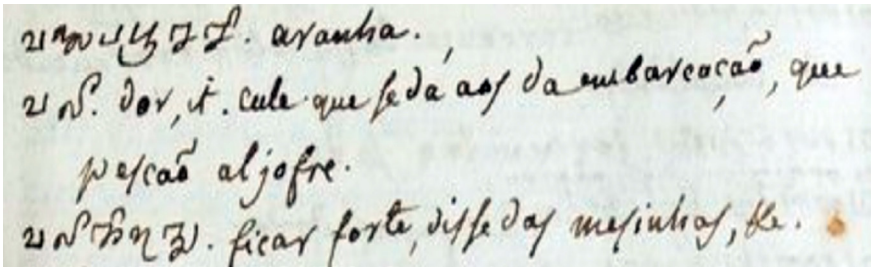


Fig. 42. BnF, Indien 221, p. 159, entry 159_L_6. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

We are very far away from the rarefied world of Beschi's poetry, where bamboos, elephants and women produce pearls whose beauty rivals that of the sea pearls. Proença is interested in giving the users of his dictionaries the words to speak about and act in real life, with a keen eye for economic activities, labour, and the social reality surrounding him and his colleagues at the time. He did include a few poetical words in his dictionary,[54] but he was mostly interested in Tamil colloquial forms, including substandard and dialectal variants, and in the more standardized, but still non-poetical, forms. This did not prevent him from including a large number of Sanskrit words[55] inherited from the texts by Nobili — who, in his efforts to become a "Christian sannyasi," used a largely Brahmanical and Sanskritic philosophical vocabulary.[56] Beschi, a century later, followed a different strategy. As hinted by the way he positions himself *vis à vis* the Brahmins in his preface to the *Caturakarāti*, the kind of intellectual milieu he wanted to integrate was that of Tamil high castes, for whom poetical Tamil (*centamil*) was

[54] There are at least 30 such entries, out of a total of 16,219 entries, as per Jean-Luc Chevillard's current count.

[55] In Jean-Luc Chevillard's work in progress towards an electronic edition of the 1679 VTCSP, 910 entries are currently tagged as being from Sanskrit, on a total of 16,219 entries. In his preface Proença wrote: "[..]. But I include many Sanskritic words, both for the sake of those who read the books of Fr. Robert (Nobili) in which they are numerous, and also because they commonly occur in the ordinary conversation of the Brahmins [...]" (English translation by Edgar C. Knowlton Jr. and Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, 1966).

[56] For instance, Proença's *Vocabulario* has an entry for *mōkṣam* as "glory, goodness" (*gloria*, *bonaventurança*, BnF, Indien 221, p. 53, entry 53_L_19 [= Proença 1679, entry 137_L_f]), as Nobili also understood it. Interestingly, among the words that immediately follow and that begin with *mōkṣam*, we also find an entry *mōkṣaviḷakkam*; this is "A certain ceremony, which they perform on the third day from someone's death, either in the place where they buried [him], or where they cremated [him]." (*certa ceremonia, q~ fazẽ // no 3o. dia do morto no lugar, em que sepul- // taraõ, ou queimaraõ*, BnF Indien 221, p. 53, entry 53_L_23 [= Proença 1679, entry 137_L_i]). By listing these two entries one next to the other, Proença connects the theological concept with a ritual practice, a movement that reflects his own view on Tamil language as well as social and ritual life.

the code of reference, *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṉṉūl* were the grammars of reference, and the *nikaṇṭu*s the lexicons of reference.[57]

9. Conclusions

This quick dive into the manuscript of Proença's dictionary shows first of all how the collection preserved in the BnF represents the different types of knowledge about the Tamil language elaborated by the first Europeans who tried to study and use it. On the one hand, we have the practical knowledge, oriented towards reality, which is found in the Proença's VTCSP (BnF, Indien 221) — as well as in Beschi's dictionaries of the colloquial language, which we have not explored in this article. On the other hand, we have the literary knowledge, oriented towards an ideal imaginary world, as depicted in literature. This is the type of knowledge chiefly represented by Beschi's *Caturakarāti* (BnF, Indien 227). The specificity of Beschi's approach appears more clearly when comparing the two dictionaries by Beschi and Proença. The complexity of the operations and strategies Beschi used to understand, use and adapt traditional forms of literary knowledge emerged while we read and analysed the long preface to the *Caturakarāti*, and the multiple relationships this dictionary articulated with Latin lexicography, but even more importantly, with the universe of Tamil *nikaṇṭu*s.

As we hope was clear from the pages of this article, this was not a close/finite universe. The great number of variations in the texts of the *nikaṇṭu*s that we found across manuscripts and printed editions points to different open questions. First of all, as long as Tamil lexicography was still part of a living knowledge, *nikaṇṭu*s were practical texts, to be learned, appropriated and used in order to understand and compose poetry. They circulated as manuscripts, and were learned by heart, and these older versions present a striking variability compared to the printed editions — which we iden-

[57] Contrary to this attitude, Proença's VTCSP knows, with a few exceptions, only the Sanskrit grammatical terminology. See for instance: "பூ த க # ல Tempo preterito" (Proença 1679, entry 250_R_b); "வ ற த ம # ன க # ல ம. // tempo presente" (ibid. in entry 415_L_r: வ ற த ம # ன ம); "பு லி ங க ம Genero Masculino" (ibid. Entry 246_L_s); "ச ப த ச # {ஸ்த்ர} Gramatica" (ibid. Entry 450_R_e).

tify way too often with a well-established text — both in the choice of verses present and in their arrangement. How to make sense of these variations? What do they tell us about the way *nikaṇṭu*s were used? Secondly, these texts as they were transmitted to us still need to be studied and edited in a text-critical way, in order to understand the development of the tradition over the centuries. In a way, Beschi's *Caturakarāti* — even though at the frontier between traditional and modern lexicography — participates in the same fate as the *nikaṇṭu*s. The original text of the dictionary is only found in a handful of manuscripts, chiefly Indien 227, but all the subsequent changes and additions are crucial for understanding the historical development of the science of Tamil lexicography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Appendix: RAW transcriptions

RAW transcription of BnF, Indien 227, *pāyiram*, p. 1 (see Fig. 5):

//1// மூ வு ல க னை த து மு ய ன ற டி @ ய ற ற - ய # வு ல க னை த து @2 ம ந தி //2// ய # ள க ட வு ளை - ப ப ணி ந து ந # ன சூ டி ய ப த ம ல ரு ல @ க ல # - ம ணி ந //3// து வ # ழ த த வ ரு ந த மி @@ ழ ம @ ப # ரு ண - மு ன னூ ல @ த ளி ந து மு ன ன //4// # த த ந த - @ த # ன னூ ல வி ள க க ந து தி த து க @ க # ண ட ன # - நூ ற ப த க //5// க ரு வி ய # ய நூ ங @ க ன @2 வ ண டு - ந # ற ப த வி ள க க மு ந வி ல @ க ன //6// @2 வ ண ட - ய # ப பு ற ம @@ ற வு று @ ம ன று ண # ந @ த # ளி @ ப ற - ப ப # ப பு //7// ற த த @@ வ த னி ப ப க # ந த க # # தி ய # - ய வ வ வ ப @ ப ய # ப @ ப # ரு ள வ வ //8// வ ப @ ப # ரு ட @ ப ய # - க # {ட்டி} ய பி ன ன # மீ {ட்டி} @@ ய வ ழ க @ க # டு - @ த # @@ க //9// வ ரு ம ப ல @ ப # ரு ள வ @@ க வ # வி ள க கி யு - மு த ல வ ரு @ ம ழு த @ த # ழி மு ழு //10// @ த ல # @ ம # ன றி - நு த ல வ ரு ம ப த @ ம # ரு நு ண @ ட # @@ ட ய # க கி யு ம - //11// @ ப ய # @ ப # ரு @ ட # @@ க @ த # @@ ட பி ரி த த ந # ன மு க த - து ய # @ ப # ரு //12// @ ட # ட # ப த மு @@ # த து நூ ல வ ழ ங க – ம து ர வ னா தி வ ள ந த ர ச ச து # க # # //13// தி ச # ற று து ம ன @ ற

RAW transcription of BnF, Indien 239, fol. 74v, col. 2 (see Fig. 9):

//1// ம # ணி க க த தி ன @ ப ய # //2// ம # ம ணி ப து ம - # # க ம # ணி க க ம //3// மு த தி ன @ ப ய # //4// நி த தி ல ந த # ள - ம # # மு த @ த //5// தி # ட சி யி ன @ ப ய # //6// த # ள ந த # ட சி ய # க வு ஞ ச # த து வ # //

RAW transcription of UVSL, MS 449, fol. 24v, line 11 (see Fig. 10):

- மு த தி ன @ ப ய # - நி த தி ல ந த # ள ம # # மு த @ த - தி # ட சி யி ன @ ப ய # - த # ள ந தி # ட சி ய # க வு ஞ ச # ற று வ # -

RAW transcription of IFP RE47779, folio 45r, column 3, lines 10–11 (see Fig. 11)

//10// மு த தி ன @ ப ய # - நி த தி ல ந த # ள ம # # மு த @ த ன ப //11// தி # ட சி யி ன @ ப ய # - த # ள ந தி # ட சி ய # க வு ஞ ச # ற று வ # //

RAW transcription of BNF Indien 232 (*Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*), fol. 66r, lines 1–5 (see Fig. 13)

//2// .... @2 ம # ஷ ஷ @2 ல # க த து க கு ப @ ப ய # //3// @2 க டி ல # வ ப வ ரு க க ங @2 க வ ல ங @@ க வ ல ங க ள வீ @ ட # டு சி வ @ ம சி த தி மீ ள # த க தி @ ய நூ @ ல # # ப # டு நி று வ # ண த @ த # டு //4// ப ஞ ச ம க தி @ ய மு த தி நீ டு மீ @@ # ந து @2 ம # க க ம மு த மு நி க ழ த த ல # @ ம = ஊ = @2 த வ @ ல # க த து ப @ ப ய # = ஊ ய # நி லை யு வ //5// ணை பு த @ த ளூ ல கு @ ப # ன னு ல […]

RAW transcription of BnF, Indien 240, title folio r., *kāppu* (see Fig. 16)

த ந @@ த சு த ன இ ஸ பி ரி த து ச # ந து ப த ம @2 ப # ற றி // சி ந @@ த வி ள க க # ந தி வ # க # த தி ல - வ ந த // @ த # கு தி @ ய # ரு ப னி # ண டு ஞ @2 ச # # ம ன @2 ன @ # // ப தி யு ற வ # ம ன @2 ம ப த து ஊ மு த து ச # மி தி வ # க ர ம //

RAW transcription of BnF, Indien 227, p. 257 (see Fig. 29)

மு த து ச ச னி ப பு - உ⃝ - ம தி - @ ம க ம - ச ங கு - சி ப பி - மீ ன - ந ந து - மு த லை - ஊ டு ம பு - // த # ம @@

ர - வ # @@ ழ - க முகு - க ரு ம பு - @ ச ந @ ந ல - மூ ங கி ல - ய # னை க @ க # ம பு - // ப ன றி க @ க # ம பு - ப சு வி ன ப ல - ந # க ம - @ க # க கு – ந ங @@ க ய # க ழு த து - //

RAW transcription of UVSL, MS001047, *Irattiṉa curukkam* f. 46r (see Fig. 34)

மு த து பி ற ப் // பி ட ம் // த ந் தி வ ர # க ம ரு ப் பி ப் பி பூ க ந் த னி க் க த லி // ந ந் து ச ல ஞ் ச ல மீ ன் ற லை @ க # க் கு ந ளி // ந மி ன் னா ர் க ந் த ர ஞ் ச # லி க @@ ழ க ன் ன ல # வி ன் // ப ல் க ட் @ ச வி க # ரி ந் து வு டு ம் பு க ர # மு த் த மீ னு // மி ரு ப து @2 ம - ஈ ரு

Abbreviations

MTL *Madras Tamil Lexicon*
VTCSP *Vocabulario Tamulico com a significaçam Portugueza* (see Proença 1679).

Conventions

RAW format

The main characteristic of the RAW format is that it carefully tries not to remove the ambiguities inherent in the Tamil orthography which is seen in the manuscripts transcribed. That means that:

(1) *puḷḷi*-s are not used;
(2) a space is inserted after each non-breakable written symbol;
(3) the symbol "@" is used for transcribing the *kompu* which appears in the spelling of words which nowadays would use "ெ" or "ே";
(4) the symbol "@@" is used instead of "ை";
(5) the symbol "#" is used where modern spelling would distinguish between "ற", "ர" and "ர்";
(6) both "@" and "#" are used for transcribing syllables where *-o* and *-ō* are combined with a consonant;
(7) in MSS where there is a sporadic (inconsistent) use of "ே", that symbol is transcribed as "@2";
(8) the symbol "H" in a Tamil transcription represents the position of a string hole in the MS;

(9) the sequence "//" represent a change of line;
(10) the sequence "////" represent a change of column or a change of leaf.

For further information on the RAW transcription, see: <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-04455964v1>. This power-point presentation was the base for a talk titled "For the sake of future Tamil philologists / புத்தம்புது புலவர்களுக்காக", given at the கணித்தமிழ்மாநாடு 24 [*kaṇittamiḻ mānāṭu* 24], organized by the Tamil Virtual Academy (TVA) in Chennai on 10/02/2024.

Proença's citations

A printed copy of the VTCSP is held in the Vatican Library, and has been published as a facsimile by X. Thani Nayagam in 1966; however, we still miss a reliable edition. The odd pages in the VTCSP contain folio numbers in the upper right corner but because of some mistake in the printing the great majority of these numbers are faulty and there are even duplicate numbers. As a clear example, the last folio in the VTCSP, whose recto is (logical) page 507 and whose verso is page 508, bears the folio number 247, when it should had been numbered as 254. The consequence is that the VTCSP folio numbers are unusable for all practical purposes. For that reason, we use the logical page numbers in our references to the pages: entries are referred to by means of a coordinate system indicating:

- the logical page number (from 1 to 508)
- the column: L for 'left' or R for 'right'
- the rank: indicated by a lower-case letter (from a to y)

References

Manuscripts

BnF, Indien 221. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52509280h>
BnF, Indien 227. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100915963>
BnF, Indien 232. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52515769j>
BnF, Indien 238. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525156589>
BnF, Indien 239. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52514605j>
BnF, Indien 240. <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc103773q>

BnF, Indien 576. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525149655>
BnF,NAF5442.<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc40869b/cd0e1683>
IFP, IFP RE47779.
UVSL, Chennai, MS 329. <https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZp0lZYy>
UVSL, Chennai, MS 449. <https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZp7k0hy>
UVSL, Chennai, MS 1047. <https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZl1july>

Primary Sources

Calepino. 1502. Calepio, Ambrogio [Calepino]. 1502. *Ambrosii Calepini Bergomatis Disctionarium*, impressum Regii Longobardiae: industria presbyteri Dionisii Bertochi impressoris, an. MDII.
Cānti Cāta̲ṉā. 2004. *Cēnta̲ṉ Tivākaram, Piṅkalam, Cūṭāmaṇi*. Chennai: Cānti Cāta̲ṉā.
Caturakarāti. 1824. Beschi SJ, Costanzo Giuseppe [Vīramāmu̲ṉivar]. *Sadur-Agarathi (Quadruple dictionary) in Tamil by Viramamunivar (Beschi)* (Publication recommended in 1819, By Mr. ELLIS). Printed in the College of Madras By Order of Mr Richard CLARKE, Director of the College (1824). Under the supervision of Tandavaraya Mudaliar and Ramachandra Kavugo, Tamil Pundit, who revised the Manuscript and added a supplement.
Caturakarāti. 1894. Beschi SJ, Costanzo Giuseppe [Vīramāmu̲ṉivar]. *Tamil dictionary with supplement, by Vera maha munevur, corrected by Subraya Mutaliar*. Madras: Vathavenayagar Press, 1894. *Vīramāmu̲ṉivar arulicceyta Caturakarāti. Iḫtuṭa̲ṉ cilaco̲rkaḷāliya̲r̲riya a̲ṉupanta akarāti. Tiruppaṇaṅkāṭu Kuppucāmimutaliyārāl pi̲laiya̲rap paricōtitta piratikkiṇaṅka*. K. M. Paccaiyappa Nāyakkaravarkaḷāl veṇpēṭu. Kōvintunāyakaravarkaḷatu vētavināyakar acciyantiracālaiyi̲r parippikkappaṭṭatu.
Caturakarāti. [1989] 2016. Beschi SJ, Costanzo Giuseppe [Vīramāmu̲ṉivar]. [1989] 2016. *Caturakarāti*. Patippāciriyār ḍākṭar Cū. Iṉṉāci. Ce̲ṉṉai: Cantiyā patippakam.
Ca.Vē.Cu. 2008. *Tami̲l Nikaṇṭukaḷ*, tokuti 1 & 2, edited by Ca. Vē. Cuppiramaṇiya̲ṉ. Citamparam: Meyyappa̲ṉ Patippakam.
Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu. See Ca.Vē.Cu. 2008; Cānti Cāta̲ṉā, 2004.
Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European languages*. Revised by E. Leumann, C. Cappeller, et al. Clarendon Press: Oxford.
Proença. 1679. De Proença, Antão. 1679. *Vocabulario tamulico con a significaçam portugveza. Composto pello P. Antan de Proença ... missionario da mis-*

sam de Madurey ... Ambalacassa, na imprensa tamulica da Prouincia do Malabar. <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/295632>.

Responsio. 1931. Nobili SJ, Roberto. *Responsio ad ea quæ contra modum quo nova Missio Madurensis utitur ad ethnicos Christo convertendos obiecta sunt*, edited and translated by Pierre Dahmen, in Roberto de Nobili l'Apôtre des Brahmes, Première Apologie 1610. Paris, 1931.

Tamil Lexicon (MTL). 1924–1936. *Tamil lexicon*. [Madras], University of Madras.

Tēmpāvaṇi. 2019. Dominic Raj, M. 2019. *Thembavani. A Garland of Unfading Honey-Sweet Verses. Translation into English Verse with Sandhi-separate Tamil Text*. India: Independently Published. ISBN: 978–1–073–06153–2.

Tivākaram. 1839. Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār. *Cēntaṉ Ṟivākaram*. Prepared for printing, by removing the errors on the basis of the comparison of many manuscripts, by adding, where necessary, new cūttiram-s, indicated by uṭukkuṟi ("star"), and by providing [in parallel (in a right column)] a noun-separated text, upto the 8th section by Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār, and, in the same manner, for the two following sections, by Pu. Nayanappamutaliyār, and proofread and printed by Koṟṟamaṅkalam Irāmacāmippiḷḷai. English year 1839. Cālivākaṉa Era year 1762. Current [sixty-year cycle] Vikāri [year].

Tivākaram. 1840. Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār. *Cēntaṉ Tivākaram*. Prepared by [...] and printed by Koṟṟamaṅkalam Irāmacāmippiḷḷai in the American Mission Press. In the Year 1840 and in the Current [Tamil sixty-year cycle] Cārvari [year] and Cittirai [month].

Tivākaram. 1990–93. Caṇmukam Piḷḷai, Mu. & Cuntaramūrtti, I. 1990–1993. *Tivākaram*. 2 vols. Madras University.

Tivākaram. See also Cānti Cātaṉā, 2004; Ca.Vē.Cu., 2008.

Uriccol Nikaṇṭu. 1858. Kāṅkēyar. *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu, mūlamum uraiyum. Iṉtu ivvūril vaḻaṅkum pala ēṭṭup piratikaḷaiyum, cila accup piratikaḷaiyuṅ koṇṭu rā. rā. Aruṇācalam Catācivampiḷḷai eṉpavarāṟ paricōtittut tiruttic cērkkappaṭṭa kaiyeḻuttup piratikkiṇaṅka*. yāḻppāṇam māṇippāy, acciyantiracālaiyiṟ patippikkappaṭṭatu. Jaffna: Ripley and Strong — Printers.[58]

Uriccol Nikaṇṭu. 1890. *Iṉtu iṉspekṭiṅ iskūlmesṭar peṉcaṉar virāṭcimaṅkalam vittuvāṉ ti. Civaṉpiḷḷai palapiratirūpaṅkaḷaikkoṇṭu paricōtittu vakutta vuraiyōṭum, kavaṇarmeṇṭu nārmal pāṭacālaittamiḻppulavarāy irunta coṭacāvatāṉam ti. K. Cuppirāyaceṭṭiyār muṉṉilaiyilum paricōtittu*. Śrī Civaṉpiḷḷaiyāl Ceṉṉai: Ātikalānitiyaccuṭattiṟ patippikkappaṭṭatu. [vikurti ஸ்ரீ āvaṇi மீ].[59]

[58] This book does not contain the sections which are nowadays numbered 10 and 12. Its last section is the one which is nowadays numbered 11.

[59] According to Ca.Vē.Cu. (2008: 456), this is the first edition containing all the 12 sections, as per what is currently believed to be the original structure.

Uriccol Nikaṇṭu. 2003. Kāṅkēyar. *Kaṅkēyar ceyta Uriccol Nikaṇṭu*. Veḷiyiṭuvōr: Cānti Cātaṉā.
Uriccol Nikaṇṭu. See also Ca.Vē.Cu. 2008.
Winslow, Miron. 1862. *A comprehensive Tamil and English dictionary of high and low Tamil*. Madras: P.R. Hunt.

Secondary Literature

Arunachalam, Mu. [Mu. Aruṇācalam]. [1975] 2005. *Tamiḻ ilakkiya varalāṟu. Oṉpatām nūṟṟāṇṭu, pākam -1*. Ceṉṉai: The PARKAR.
Bachmann, Peter R. 1972. *Roberto Nobili (1577–1656). Ein Missionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zum christlichen Dialog mit Hinduismus*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.
Bayly, Susan. 1989. *Saints, Goddesses and Kings. Muslims and Christians in South Indian society, 1700–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Besse SJ, Léon. 1918. *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus: His Times & His Writings*. Trichinopoly: St. Joseph's Industrial School Press.
Chevillard, Jean-Luc. 1992. "Beschi, grammarien du tamoul, et l'origine de la notion de verbe appellatif." *BEFEO* 79(1): 77–88.
Chevillard, Jean-Luc. 2013. "On the two lists of 'four [types of] words' (/nāṟ-col/) in the śāstric descriptions of Tamil." *Lingua Posnaniensis* 55(2): 9–23.
Chevillard, Jean-Luc. 2014. "On four types of poets and four types of scholars: from pulavar to kavi in the changing intellectual landscape of Tamil Nadu". *Histoire Epistémologie Langage* 36(2), pp. 149–166.
Chevillard, Jean-Luc. 2024. "New old *words for Classical Tamil: Elements of information concerning the early print history of the Tivākaram, first Classical Tamil poetical vocabulary, in comparison with some MSS evidence." Blogpost. <https://tamilex.hypotheses.org/278> (accessed August 13, 2024)
Chevillard, Jean-Luc. 2024. "How far are the horizons of Descriptive linguistics?", pp. 160–178, in *History of Linguistics 2021. Selected papers from the 15th International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHoLS 15), Milan, 28 August–1 September*, edited by Savina Raynaud, Maria Paola Tenchini and Enrica Galazzi. John Benjamins.
Chevillard, Jean-Luc. (forthcoming). "Numbers and the hidden discontinuities in the shared collective narrative of Tamiḻ *pulamai*. Retracing the steps of the Tamil scholars who preferred *tokai* 28 to *tokai* 35, when counting *alaṅkāraṅkaḷ*", Felicitation volume for Professor G. Vijayavenugopal, edited by Charlotte Schmid.
Colas, Gérard. 1997. "Les manuscrits envoyés de l'Inde par les jésuites français entre 1729 et 1735." *Scribes et manuscrits au Moyen-Orient*, coll.

Études et Recherches, edited by François Déroche et Francis Richard, 345–362. Paris: Éditions de la BnF.

Dahmen, Pierre (ed.) 1931. *Roberto de Nobili l'Apôtre des Brahmes. Première Apologie 1610*. Paris: Éditions Spes.

Ebeling, Sascha and Margherita Trento. 2018. "From Jesuit Missionary to Tamil Pulavar: Costanzo Gioseffo Beschi (1680–1747), the 'Great Heroic Sage'." In *L'Inde et l'Italie. Rencontres intellectuelles, politiques et artistiques*, edited by Tiziana Leucci and Marie Fourcade, 53–90. Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS.

Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. 1999. *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*. München: Band 30 Wilb-Ysop.

James, Gregory. 2000. *Colporuḷ. A History of Tamil Dictionaries*. Chennai: Cre-A.

Sweetman, Will and R. Ilakkuvan. 2012. *Bibliotheca Malabarica. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's Tamil Library. An Annotated Edition and translation*. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry & École Française d'Extrême-Orient (Collection Indologie 119).

Thani Nayagam, X. S. 1966. *Antaõ de Proença's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary A.D. 1679*. Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill.

Trento, Margherita. 2022. *Writing Tamil Catholicism. Literature, Persuasion and Devotion in the Eighteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill.

Tschacher, Torsten. 2014. "Can 'Om' be an Islamic term? Translations, encounters, and Islamic discourse in vernacular South Asia," *South Asian History and Culture* 5(2): 195–211.

Vaiyapuri Pillai, S. 1956. *History of Tamil Language and Literature*. Madras: New Century Book House.

Vinson, Julien. 1889. "Quelques pages inédites du P. Constant-Joseph Beschi (de la Compagnie de Jésus), de la mission de Maduré (1710–1746)." *Recueil de textes et de traductions publié, par les Professeurs de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, @agra; l'occasion du Congr@egra;s des Orientalistes de Stockholm*, volume 1, 225–233. Paris: E. Leroux.

Vinson, Julien. 1899. "Notice sur quelques missionnaires jésuites qui ont écrit en tamoul et sur le tamoul au dernier siècle." *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* 32(2): 101–146.

Vinson, Julien. 1900. "Notice sur quelques missionnaires jésuites qui ont écrit en tamoul et sur le tamoul au dernier siècle (suite)." *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* 23(1): 1–48.

Županov, Ines G. 2016. "The Historiography of the Jesuit Missions in India (1500–1800)," *Jesuit Historiography Online*. <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/JHO/COM-192579.xml> (accessed July 12, 2023)

List of Figures

Fig. 1. BnF, Indien 227, initial unnumbered page. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 2. BnF, Indien 227, manuscript title-page imitating print conventions. Photos by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 3. BnF, Indien 227, preface, first unnumbered page. Photos by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 4. BnF, Indien 227, *pāyiram*, p. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 5. BnF, Indien 227, *pāyiram*, facsimile.

Fig. 6. *Ambrosii Calepini Bergomatis Dictionarium*, entry margarita, "pearl".

Fig. 7. The beginning of chapter six of the *Tivākaram* as it appears in the first printed edition (1839).

Fig. 8. BnF, Indien 239, fol. 74v, col. 2. Photo retrieved from Gallica.

Fig. 9. BnF, Indien 239, fol. 74v, col. 2, facsimile.

Fig. 10. UVSL, MS 449, fol. 24v, line 11, facsimile.

Fig. 11. IFP RE47779, folio 45r, column 3, lines 10–11, facsimile.

Fig. 12. The entry *mōṭcam* in the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* in BnF, Indien 232, fol. 66r. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 13. BnF, Indien 232, fol. 66r, facsimile.

Fig. 14. BnF, Indien 240, title folio r. and fol. 1r, left margins. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 15. BnF, Indien 240, title folio r., *kāppu*. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 16. BnF, Indien 240, title folio r., *kāppu*, facsimile.

Fig. 17. BnF, Indien 227, page 242, bottom. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 18. BnF, Indien 227, p. 226. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 19. Indien 227, p. 15, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 20. Indien 227, p. 77, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 21. Indien 227, p. 81, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 22. Indien 227, p. 92, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 23. Indien 227, p. 93, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 24. Indien 227, p. 118, c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 25. Indien 227, p. 120, c. 2. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 26. Indien 227, p. 126, c. 2. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 27. Indien 227, p. 126, c. 2. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 28. BnF, Indien 227, p. 257. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 29. BnF, Indien 227, p. 257, facsimile.

Fig. 30. Indien 227, p. 260, list headings for groups having a count (தொகை) contained in the range [10; 32]. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 31. *A Manual Dictionary of the Tamil Language* (Jaffna Book Society, 1842), p. 584.

Fig. 32. Winslow, *A comprehensive Tamil and English dictionary* (1862), p. 881.

Fig. 33. UVSL, MS001047, *Irattiṉa curukkam* f. 46r, Blue Number 17. Photo by courtesy of the UVSL.

Fig. 34. UVSL, MS001047, *Irattiṉa curukkam* f. 46r, facsimile.

Fig. 35. BnF, Indien 227, p. 284, column 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 36. BnF, Indien 227, p. 284, column 2. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 37. BnF, Indien 227, p. 283 c. 1. Photo by Margherita Trento. By courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 38. BnF, Indien 221, p. 186, entry 186_L_25. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 39. BnF, Indien 221, p. 45, entry 45_L_10. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 40. BnF, Indien 221, p. 122 entry 122_L_8. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 41. BnF, Indien 221, p. 122, entry 122_L_16. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

Fig. 42. BnF, Indien 221, p. 159, entry 159_L_6. Photo by courtesy of the BnF.

Contributors

Suganya Anandakichenin is an Indologist holding a PhD from the University of Hamburg. Her research expertise encompasses Tamil literature, manuscriptology, and lexicography, with a specialized focus on Vaiṣṇavism in Tamil Nadu. She explores the intersection of Āḻvār poetry, Śrīvaiṣṇava theology, and Manipravalam language and literature. Currently, she is undergoing traditional training in reading Viśīṣṭādvaitic texts under the guidance of Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas. She has published numerous articles and co-edited volumes on various Indological topics. Her notable monographs include a comprehensive study on Kulaśekhara Āḻvār, featuring a philological translation and medieval commentary, as well as an exploration of Tiruppāṇāḻvār and the commentary traditions of medieval Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas.

Neela Bhaskar is a post-doctoral researcher at Universität Hamburg, currently working on a critical edition and annotated translation of the *Cilappatikāram* under the auspices of the Tamilex Project. She defended her PhD thesis on the Pāṇṭiya manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collection in early 2024. Her doctoral project sparked her interest in other texts on the Pāṇṭiyas, such as Nampi's *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam*, about which the article in this volume is. Her current research interests include the theorisation of music and dance practises in Tamil commentaries (particularly that of Aṭiyārkkunallār's on the *Cilappatikāram*), the collaboration of scholars and among institutions and monasteries over the last two hundred years and Tamil medieval commentaries in general.

Giulia Buriola Meneghin is an independent researcher specialising in the Śrīvaiṣṇava Sanskrit production of Pre-Modern India. She earned her PhD from the University of Rome "La Sapienza" and was part of the ERC DHARMA Project under the supervision of Florinda De Simini, where she contributed to the development

of TEI-compliant guidelines for the XML encoding of inscriptions. Additionally, she collaborated with the PLMPI Project, working with Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini to develop TEI-compliant guidelines for the XML encoding of colophons.

Jean-Luc Chevillard has been a researcher in the domain called "History of Linguistics" at the French CNRS ("Centre national de la recherche scientifique") and a member of UMR 7597 (HTL: Laboratoire d'histoire des théories linguistiques, Paris) from 1992 until 2023. He is currently an associate member of HTL and a participant in the Tamilex project in Hamburg. The main focus of his research is the study of the native Tamil Śāstric tradition (grammar and lexicography). He has also worked extensively on the early descriptions of Tamil by European scholars.

Giovanni Ciotti is currently Assistant Professor of Indology at Alma Mater University of Bologna and spokesperson of the Palm-leaf Manuscript Profiling Initiative (PLMPI) at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures of the University of Hamburg. His main research interests are comparative manuscript studies, especially the history of manuscripts in Tamil Nadu, Sanskrit/Tamil linguistic and literary interactions, and Indian grammatical literature and its influence on the formation of modern Western linguistics.

Victor D'Avella earned his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and subsequently worked at the University of Hamburg as a researcher in the NETamil Project where he also taught Sanskrit, Tamil and Indian Literature. At present he is Departmental Lecturer at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies in the University of Oxford and coordinates the BA programme in Sanskrit. D'Avella's research interests encompass a range of topics pertaining to the linguistic study of classical Indian languages (Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu) as well as pedagogy and the history of Indology.

Camillo A. Formigatti studied Classics at the Università Statale in Milan and then Sanskrit, Classical Tibetan, and textual criticism in Marburg and Hamburg. He obtained his PhD in Hamburg, where he worked as a research associate on the project "In the Margins of the Text: Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal"

from 2008 to 2011, within the framework of the research group Manuskriptkulturen in Asien und Afrika. After that, he worked in the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project at the University of Cambridge from 2011 to 2014. At the Bodleian Library in Oxford, he was John Clay Sanskrit Librarian until 2022 and Information Analyst for Asian collections until 2024. He recently worked in the project "Universals in Indian Philosophy of Language" at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. He is now a Research Associate in the Proto-Śāradā Project, a joint project between the University of Lausanne and the University of Würzburg.

Marco Franceschini is Associate Professor of Sanskrit and Indology at the University of Bologna, and a member of the board of the Associazione Italiana Studi Sanscriti (Italian Association for Sanskrit Studies). His main research interests are premodern Sanskrit literature, particularly Indian classical poetry (*kāvya*), Indian manuscript studies, with special reference to the Tamil-speaking area, and Indian palaeography.

Emmanuel Francis is Research Fellow at the CNRS and is affiliated to the Centre d'études sud-asiatiques et himalayennes (CESAH, UMR 8077, EHESS & CNRS) in Aubervilliers. He is a historian of premodern Tamil Nadu and uses inscriptions and manuscripts in his research on the social and cultural history of the Tamil language.

Charles Li received his doctorate in Sanskrit from the University of Cambridge, where he completed a critical edition and translation of Bhartṛhari's *Dravyasamuddeśa*, a 5th-century text on the philosophy of language, along with the 10th-century commentary of Helārāja. He was a research fellow at the University of British Columbia, in Vancouver, Canada, and then at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) in Paris, France, for the *Texts Surrounding Texts* project in association with the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). He is currently part of the Tamilex team at the Universität Hamburg, specializing in philology, lexicography, manuscriptology, and corpus linguistics.

Indra Manuel holds a Ph.D in Tamil Literature (1985) from the University of Kerala, Trivandrum, Kerala, India. She worked under

Prof. V. I. Subramoniam in the Cognate Project for teaching Languages in the Department of linguistics (1975–1977), University of Kerala, India, was Principal Investigator in the Regional Centre of International Scholl of Dravidian Languages, Pondicherry, India (1981), and was Associate Professor in the Department of Tamil, Bishop Heber College (1985 to 2010), Tiruchirappalli, Tamilnadu, India. Since 2014, she is a Senior Researcher at the Pondicherry centre of the EFEO, working in various projects such as NETamil, TST, DHARMA, and now Tamilex.

Cristina Muru received her PhD in Historical Linguistics at the University of Rome 'La Sapienza' in 2009. She is currently Researcher and Adjunct Professor of Sociolinguistics in the DISTU Department of the University of Tuscia (Viterbo, Italy). Her main research interests lie in Missionary Linguistics, the History of the Language Sciences, Tamil studies, and Contact Linguistics. A primary focus of her work is on the early missionary grammars of the Tamil language composed by Jesuit missionaries, resulting in three books and numerous articles contributing to both the History of the Language Sciences and Tamil studies, by analyzing how missionaries adapted and extended the Greek-Latin model of reference in the description of the Tamil language, and by recording forms and varieties of the Tamil language attested spanning the 16th and 17th centuries.

Krishnaswamy Nachimuthu specialises in traditional grammar, history of language, lexicography, historical and cultural studies, Tamil philosophical literature, translation and comparative studies with reference to Malayalam, Hindi and Tamil in addition to place name studies. He published about 20 books and more than one hundred research papers in Tamil, Malayalam, Hindi and English. He worked and taught Tamil language and literature in the University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, Institute of Indology and Tamil Studies, Cologne, Germany, University of Warsaw, Poland, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, Central University of Tamilnadu, Tiruvarur, and EFEO, Puducherry in various capacities. He is associated with many professional bodies and was the Tamil Convener of Sahitya Akademy, the National Body of Letters, New Delhi between 2013-2017. Among his other research pursuits

he is continuing his work on the critical edition of the commentary of Teyvaccilaiyār to the *Collatikāram of Tolkāppiyam*, started under the NETamil Project, EFEO, Puducherry.

Jérôme Petit is a Curator in charge of the South and Southeast Asia manuscript collections at the National Library of France (BnF), and a Professor for Indian manuscript cultures at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE-PSL) in Paris. He studied Jainism and Manuscriptology under the supervision of Prof. Nalini Balbir. Interested in the Digambar mystical tradition, he translated into French some authors inspired by Kundakunda (*Samayasāra*, La quintessence du soi, 2021), up to Śrīmad Rājacandra (*Ātmasiddhi*, La réalisation du soi, 2020), with a focus on the 17th-century merchant Banārasīdās (*Ardhakathānaka*, Histoire à demi, 2011). His last book draws a history of the Indian manuscript collections of the BnF, with a particular interest on the mission held by Charles d'Ochoa in Maharashtra in 1843-1844 (*La mission de Charles d'Ochoa*, EPHE, 2025).

T. Rajeswari holds a PG Diploma in Manuscriptology from I.I.T.S Adayar, Chennai and a PG Diploma in Higher Education from the IGNOU, Chennai. She worked as a Research Assistant in the project *Dictionary of Idioms and Phrases in Contemporary Tamil* under Prof. Dr. P. R. Subramoniam, chief editor at Mozhi Trust in Thiruvanmiyur, Chennai. Since 2003, she has been a senior researcher at the Pondicherry cente of the EFEO, working in various projects such as the Caṅkam project, NETamil, TST, and now Tamilex.

S. Saravanan earned his B.A. and M.A. degrees in Tamil, followed by M.Phil. and Ph.D. degrees in Linguistics from Tamil University, Thanjavur, and Annamalai University, respectively. After completing his studies, he served as a post-doctoral researcher at the Central Institute of Classical Tamil, Chennai, for several months. He then joined the Central University of Tamil Nadu, Thiruvarur, as an Assistant Professor of Tamil, where he taught for three years. Later, he worked as a post-doctoral researcher at the CSMC, Hamburg University. In 2018, he became a Research Fellow at the EFEO Pondicherry Centre, where he contributed to various projects, including the NETamil project. He is currently involved in the long-term project "Tamilex — Historical Dictionary of Classical Tamil".

Margherita Trento is Associate Professor of South Indian History at the EHESS (École des hautes études en sciences sociales) in Paris and currently Head of the Indology Department at the French Institute of Pondicherry. Her research interests include the history, literature and religion of the Tamil country, with a focus on the early modern period. She has written a book on the history of Catholicism in the region in the eighteenth century and is now researching the history of Śaivism in the same period.

Eva Wilden was a scientific member (maître de conférences) of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient from 2003-2017, working on the criticial re-edition and the transmission history of the Tamil Caṅkam corpus. From 2014 to 2019 she directed the ERC project "NETamil: Going form Hand to Hand — Networks of Intellectual Exchange in the Tamil Learned Traditions", jointly hosted by the University of Hamburg and the EFEO. In 2015 she received the Indian presidential award "Kural Peetam". Since 2017 she is a professor of Tamil and Manuscript Studies in Hamburg, where in 2023 her 24-year academy project Tamilex was launched.



Indian and Tibetan Studies Series

(Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, University of Hamburg)

Orders can be made from Biblia Impex: contact@bibliaimpex.com.

1. Kengo Harimoto, *God, Reason, and Yoga: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Commentary Ascribed to Śaṅkara on Pātañjalayogaśāstra 1.23–28*. 2014. ISBN: 978-3-945151-00-6.
2. Alexander Schiller, *Die "Vier Yoga"-Stufen der Mahāmudrā-Meditationstradition: Eine Anthologie aus den Gesammelten Schriften des Mönchsgelehrten und Yogin Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (Kritischer Text und Übersetzung, eingeleitet und erläutert)*. 2014. ISBN: 978-3-945151-01-3.
3. Ayako Nakamura, *Das Wesen des Buddha-Erwachens in der frühen Yogācāra-Schule*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-02-0.
4. Orna Almogi (ed.), *Tibetan Manuscript and Xylograph Traditions: The Written Word and Its Media within the Tibetan Cultural Sphere*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-03-7.
5. Dorji Wangchuk (ed.), *Cross-Cultural Transmission of Buddhist Texts: Theories and Practices of Translation*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-04-4.
6. Nicola Bajetta, *The Clear Realisation of the Quintessential Instructions on All Dharma Practices: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the *Sarvadharmacaryopadeśābhi-samayatantra (Chos spyod thams cad kyi man ngag mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyud) Based on Two Unpublished Manuscripts from the 'Bras-spungs-gnas-bcu-lha-khang*. 2019. ISBN: 978-3-945151-05-1.
7. Torsten Gerloff, *Saroruhavajra's Hevajra-Lineage: A Close Study of the Surviving Sanskrit and Tibetan Works. Part I: Saroruhavajra's Works & Part II: Commentarial Works*. 2 vols. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-06-8 (set).

8. Orna Almogi (ed.), *Birds as Ornithologists: Scholarship between Faith and Reason. Intra- and Inter-disciplinary Perspectives*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-07-5.

9. Orna Almogi, *Authenticity and Authentication: Glimpses behind the Scenes of the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon.* 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-08-2.

10. Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin (eds.), *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-09-9.

11. Dagmar Schwerk, *A Timely Message from the Cave: The Mahāmudrā and Intellectual Agenda of dGe-bshes Brag-phug-pa dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997), the Sixty-Ninth rJe-mkhan-po of Bhutan*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-10-5.

12. Volker Caumanns, Jörg Heimbel, Kazuo Kano, and Alexander Schiller (eds.), *Gateways to Tibetan Studies: A Collection of Essays in Honour of David P. Jackson on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. 2 vols. 2021. ISBN: 978-3-945151-11-2 (set).

13. Orna Almogi (ed.), *Evolution of Scriptures, Formation of Canons: The Buddhist Case.* 2022. ISBN: 978-3-945151-12-9.

14. Martin Delhey, *An Annotated Bilingual Yogācārabhūmi Index: Two Chapters on Meditation in Sanskrit and Xuanzang's Chinese Translation.* 2023. ISBN: 978-3-945151-13-6.

15. Martin Delhey, *Xuanzang's Rendition Technique: A Dictionary of Grammatical and Stylistic Devices Used in His Translations from Sanskrit*. 2024. ISBN: 978-3-945151-14-3.

16. Christine Boedler, *The Art of Manifesting the Sacred: Creating, Filling, and Consecrating Statues and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism Based on the gZungs 'bul lag len (Manual for Dhāraṇī and Relic Insertion) by 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813–1899)*. 5 vols. 2025. ISBN: 978-3-945151-15-0 (set).

17. Emmanuel Francis and Eva Wilden (eds.), *South-Indian Manuscripts in Hamburg and Paris: Paratexts and Provenance, TST Project (ANR & DFG, 2019–2023)*. ISBN: 978-3-945151-16-7.