

Numbers and the hidden discontinuities in the shared collective narrative of *Tamiḷ pulamai*

Retracing the steps of the Tamil scholars who preferred *tokai 28* to *tokai 35*, when counting *alaṅkāraṅkaḷ*

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“Today *Tolkāppiyam* reigns supreme in the world of Tamil grammar. But this is all due to a movement starting perhaps only a thousand years ago.”

G. Vijayavenugopal

A Modern Evaluation of Naṇṇūl, p. 5.

எண்ணென்ப வேனை யெழுத்தென்ப விவ்விரண்டுங்
கண்ணென்ப வாழு முயிர்க்கு
[குறள் நாகூய]

0a. general framework

0b. Numbers, continuities and discontinuities in the Tamil collective scholarly narrative (“an encounter”)

1. *Alaṅkāram*, as it appears in a 19th-century book, claiming to be an edition of Beschi’s 18th-century *Caturakarāṭi* & its offspring in some 19th-century Tamil-English dictionaries
2. Discrepancy between the 19th-century printed editions of the *Caturakarāṭi* and some ancient manuscripts available in the BnF (Paris)
3. What was the model followed by the original *Caturakarāṭi*?
4. Discrepancy between *Tivākaram*, *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* & *Piṅkalam*, on the one hand and CA_1824, on the other hand: back to 28, from 35

5. How different are L_28 and L_35, the two lists of *alaṅkāram*?
- 6a. Textual variation among attestations of the *Tivākaram* list Li_28a
- 6b. How *Tivākaram* list Li_28a was split into individual items by editors
7. Two methods for importing Sanskrit terminology into Tamil technical literature
8. Examining the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* list Li_28b
9. Moving from the *Tivākaram* to the *Piṅkalam*: the L_28c list
10. Investigating the *Yāpparuṅkalam* and the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, in search of the lost *Aṇiyiyal*
11. Attempting to summarize and facing the limitations

Bibliography and Abbreviations

0a: general framework

This is an article about change. It explores a sequence of events, having to do with the attempted transmission of a body of knowledge which concerns one aspect of traditional Tamil poetry. The steps in that transmission occur within a long chronological frame (see Chart 1). The clues examined inside that very vast domain are texts, falling under two general labels: “grammar” and “lexicography”. Those texts, created by Tamil teachers, were intended to be memorized by their students. The goal was to maintain, as a long flourishing activity, the composition of Tamil poetry.

Within the time span which is here considered, a pivotal role falls on the 19th century — the first century of massive Tamil printing — because of the long-reaching consequences of the act of printing for the first time what had been transmitted until then only through oral transmission and through the circulation of hand-written copies of texts. To this we can add that we are now in the middle of another revolution, because for the first time we suddenly have easy access to a very large quantity of online images of those earlier manuscripts which had somehow seemed to be relegated into oblivion by the 19th-century Tamil printing revolution. Provided that we can master, at least partly, a bewildering quantity of information, we may hope to understand more precisely how the early 19th-century books were made, which we see quoted as authorities inside the 20th- and 21st-century dictionaries and vocabularies, although their content is not always faithful to what had preceded them.

Finally, aside from the polarity inherent in the handling of those two technical revolutions — the 19th-century “Printing revolution” and the 21st-century “Digital Humanities” revolution — another polarity is also at play in the succession of events which we examine in this article, namely the polarity which is involved when one opposes “native” and “non-native”. That polarity will be felt when we shall allude to the influence of some Sanskrit texts, such as Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyādarśa* (henceforth DK). It will also be seen when we scrutinize both the roots and the treatment of the *Nachlaß* of one of the prominent actors involved in the transmission process examined here, namely C.J. Beschi, a native speaker of Italian, master of Latin and several other languages, who

was one of the prime movers for making known outside the Indian linguistic sphere the linguistic treasures created in the Tamil-speaking part of South India. However, since it is my personal belief that this polarity is not the alpha and omega of everything Tamil and that it is possible, even for one who was not born in Tamil Nadu, to humbly become “a student of Tamil”, I shall now proceed and enter the heart of the matter, paying homage to one of my Tamil teachers, namely professor G. Vijayavenugopal, by revisiting some of the texts which he helped me gain access to.

0b: Numbers, continuities and discontinuities in the Tamil collective scholarly narrative (“an encounter”)

When I first came to Tamil Nadu, more than forty years ago, in July 1981, I was informed by some friends in Pondicherry that the publication section

20	Madras Tamil Lexicon (MTL) [1924–1939]
19	Paritimaḷ Kalaiṇār [1870–1903] U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar [1855–1942] Rottler[1834], Winslow[1862] Tāntavarāyamutaliyār [d. 1850]
18	Beschi's Caturakarāti (CA) Ziegenbalg's Bibliotheca Malabarica
17	
16	Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu (CN)
15	
14	Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
13	Naṇṇūl (N), Pērācīriyar, Cēṇāvaraiyar
12	Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram (TA)
11	Iḷampūraṇar, Vīracōḷiyam (VC)
10	Piṅkalam (Pi), Yāpparuṅkalam (YA)
9	Tivākaram (Ti)
8	(?)Aṇiyiyal
7	Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa (DK)
6	Avinayam
5	Tolkāppiyam
	Nāṭyaśāstra (NŚ)

Chart 1 — Global Chronological Frame

of the Annamalai University had a number of books for sale which might be beneficial to me, since I was embarking at the time on an exploration of the Tamil linguistic universe. Among the Annamalai University publications which I thus acquired at an early stage, was a 1968 book, whose title was *A Modern Evaluation of Naṇṇūl (Eḷuttatikāram)*, by G. Vijayavenugopal, “Lecturer in Linguistics”. Little did I suspect at the time that I would some day, when choosing a suitable thesis topic, walk myself in the steps of the author of that book, which falls under the “history of linguistics” label, and try like him to explore the maze of interconnected Tamil *ilakkaṇam* texts, many of them only partly known, through quoted fragments, or simply remembered, as titles mentioned. Emphasizing the fact that fame can be fickle — see first epigraph¹ at the beginning of this article — the author mentions in the first section (pp. 5–26) the traces of a lost grammar called *Avinayam*. After that, the second section (pp. 27–70) is mainly focused on a metrical treatise called *Yāpparuṅkalam* (YA) and on the many traces of other texts which its commentary, the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* (YV), contains. As will be seen, some sections in this article will also visit the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, as part of a search for the traces of another lost text, the *Aṇiyiḷal*. They will even contain images extracted from the 1916–1917 two-volume *editio princeps* of the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* (see Figure 1, in this section, and see Figures 31, 32 & 33, inside Section 10), reproduced from Professor G. Vijayavenugopal’s own copy of that rare book, which he kindly lent me at a time when I had become his colleague at the EFEO, many years after my initial years in India.

For all those reasons, it has seemed to me appropriate to present in this article, as a homage to “Professor VV”, as he is known among his affectionate admirers, a segment extracted from an ongoing research, not yet

¹ The epigraph is extracted from a passage where Professor “VV” (G. Vijayavenugopal) vividly evokes the drastic changes of perspective which can occur in a scholarly field as centuries pass by. Using similar words, this article could have started thus: “Today the *Taṇṭiyalankāram* and its ‘five times seven’ ornaments reign supreme in the world of Tamil rethorics, but there was a time when the reference text, composed by Aṇiyiḷaluṭaiyār, had a list of ‘four times seven’ ornaments, which was for a long time dutifully memorized by many generations of students but now lies forgotten, because 35 has replaced 28 even in the ‘cant’ [*kuḷūkkurī*] of astrologers.” (see MTL, Supplement, p. 31, அணி¹. meaning 4.).

brought to a conclusion, which I have been conducting during recent years — it might some day become a full-fledged book — for the remaining traces of another lost text, the *Aṇiyiyal*. As will be seen in the coming pages, numbers play an important role in this enquiry, one reason being that they are one of the most condensed form of symbolic knowledge, and can continue to be robustly transmitted in a semi-encrypted fashion, even when some components of the meaning associated with them is partly lost. That such a form of knowledge was current among scholars in earlier periods can be seen for instance in the fact that, inside the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, when some big numbers are represented in verse form as sequences of digits, some of those digits, belonging to the set $\{0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9\}$, are occasionally replaced by conventional designations, as can be seen in the example below (see Figure 1).

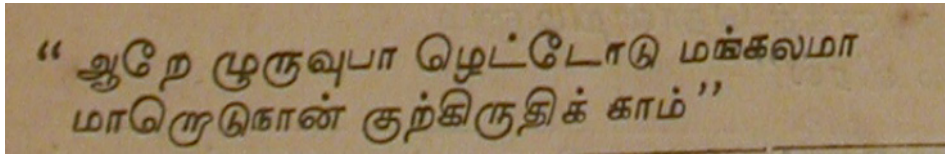


Figure 1 — Partially encrypted representation of 67,108,864. as “6,7,{1}[= உருவு], {0}[=பாழ்],8, {8}[= மங்கலம்],6,4” (in *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti*, 1917, p. 475).

In that example (see Figure 1), a large number, namely 67,108,864, which is also 2^{26} — i.e. two to the twenty-sixth power² — is represented

² My choice of example, and my choice of topic for this article, seem to reveal another form of continuity, because I was a “கணக்கு வாத்தியார்” (maths teacher), as my Tamil friends put it, in the Lycée Français de Pondichéry when I came to Tamil Nadu for the first time in July 1981, at the age of twenty-five, and stayed there for two years, in order to fulfill my legal obligations to the French Republic, having been born a boy. At that time, every French boy had to spend one year doing a military service. Those who were not thus inclined could, as a substitute to spending one year in the army, volunteer to serve for two years as a VSNA “volontaire du Service National Actif”. This could for instance mean serving as a teacher, provided one had the necessary degree. This was my case because I had an “agrégation de mathématiques”. During those two years, I also started to learn the local language during my free time, because I

as a partly encrypted sequence of digits, namely “6,7,{1},{0},8,{8},6,4”, where encrypted {1}, {0} and {8} have to be decoded respectively from உருவு “(UNIQUE) form”, பாழ் “VOID” and மங்கலம் “(EIGHT) auspicious things”. How the knowledge necessary for decrypting such a formula was acquired by students of Classical Tamil can be partly understood by examining the following fragment (See Figure 2) taken from the *Palporuṭ kūṭṭattorupeyart Tokuti*, which is the twelfth chapter of the *Tivākaram*, a traditional Tamil *kōśa* which was still memorized by young boys in Tamil Nadu as late as the 18th century, as reported by Ziegenbalg (see (1) inside Section 3).

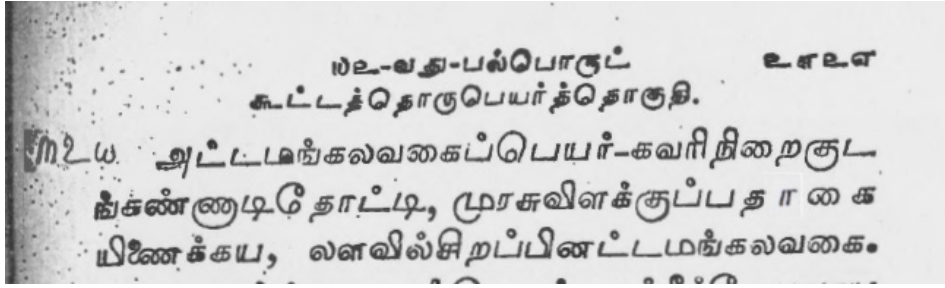


Figure 2 — *Tivākaram*, Chapter 12 (1840 editio princeps), extract from page 227 (top).

The *sūtra* shown here is part of a group of *sūtras*, where terms, such as *maṅkalam*, associated with the number **eight** are explained.³ A more global view of the content of chapter 12 in the *Tivākaram* will be provided in Section 4 (see Table 8 and Table 9), where a comparison will also be made between the *Tivākaram* and Beschi’s *Caturakarāṭi*. A quick glance at the charts provided there reveals that traditional associations between specific numbers and specific notions are in fact not limited to single-digit numbers, but also extend to a few larger numbers. Our study in this article concentrates indeed on such a case, namely the question of determining

was in the process of moving from the field of Mathematics to the field of Linguistics. This was of course a turning point in my life.

³ The explanation consists in an enumeration: the list of eight auspicious items which the Tamil student had to memorize is as follows: *kavari* “yak tail”, *nīrai-kuṭam* “full pot”, *kaṇṇāṭi* “mirror”, *tōṭṭi* “elephant goad”, *muracu* “drum”, *viḷakku* “lamp”, *patākai* “flag” & *iṇai-k-kayal* “pair of carp”.

which *tokai* “total count” has been traditionally associated most frequently with the term *alaṅkāram* “(literary) ornament” in the Tamil-speaking world, and it will be seen that while a few texts associate *alaṅkāram* with *tokai* 35, the majority of Tamil scholarly texts, and especially all the traditional thesauri (alias *kōśas* or *nikaṇṭus*), associate it with *tokai* 28, with an impressive stability across many centuries, although that fact was later partly masked by some singular choices made at the time of early Tamil printing in the 19th c.⁴ Those singular choices may have given, in the eye of new-comers, the wrong appearance of being a main-stream belief to what was in fact an opinion “à contre-courant”, rooted in the popularity of DK (Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyaḍarśa*) among Sanskrit students, as opposed to what had really been taught at the ground level to Tamil students in those days, when they memorized the Tamil *kōśas*, from a young age.

One of the main difficulties in our inquiry is the fact that most of our primary evidence is, as far as books are concerned, recent, because the printed history of traditional scholarly Tamil starts only in the 19th century, and because, unlike the inscriptions on stone or the copper plates on which epigraphists rely, the palm leaf manuscripts which connect us with earlier periods are never very old. This is the reason why I shall proceed very slowly in my exploration of two prototypical lists which I call L_28 and L_35. The tokens of primary evidence examined will be extracted from printed books, which are, whenever possible, first editions. These early editions will then be compared with the testimony of earlier palm-leaf manuscripts, and a number of discrepancies will appear. Although the enquiry frequently remains inconclusive, we shall nevertheless be able to establish a number of facts.

In the case of the *Caturakarāṭi*, which is our starting point, I feel reasonably sure that the evidence used in sections 1 and 2, which is based on a very early 19th-century edition preserved in the EFEO collection (see also François Gros’s copy of CA_1824, now in Toronto) and on two early manuscripts preserved in the BnF (Paris) (one of them dating back to 1732) is sufficient for us to understand what has happened, but if we had to rely only on 20th-century editions we could not reach any conclusion.

In the case of the *Tivākaram*, I was in the lucky position of xeroxing, very long ago, at the Société Asiatique in Paris, both the incomplete 1839 *editio*

⁴ See Figure 3, Figure 5 and Table 4, inside Section 1.

princeps, in which only Chapters 1 to 10 are found, and the first complete 1840 edition, which has all twelve chapters, but is less detailed than the *editio princeps*, as far as Chapters 1 to 10 are concerned.⁵ That fact, combined with the recently obtained availability of digital images of many manuscripts (thanks to the digitization of the whole IFP collection and of a large part of the BnF Tamil manuscripts collection), has allowed me to make a precise comparison between the 1839 & 1840 first printed editions, on the one hand, and two palm-leaf manuscripts, on the other hand, one being BnF Indien 239 and the other one IFP RE 47779. This gives me some degree of confidence in describing the *Tivākaram* content, but if I had to rely only on the contradictions seen between 20th-century editions, which will be detailed inside section 6, I would certainly feel quite puzzled.

In the case of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*, I have unfortunately not yet been able to determine when its twelfth section was printed for the first time, although that type of information is available to me for sections 1–10 and for the 11th section, which seem to have been first printed respectively in 1834 and in 1836 (See Gros [1980: 348–349]). I feel nevertheless lucky because the text of the 12th chapter of *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* is available to us in an interesting manuscript, namely BnF Indien 232, and a comparison of that MS with the available printed edition confirms that the 19th-century editors of *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*, although they were standardizers, did not innovate, as far as the 28 *alaṅkārams* are concerned, contrary to what was done by the editors of the *Caturakarāṭi*, as we shall see in Section 2.

1. *Alaṅkāram*, as it appears in a 19th-century book, claiming to be an edition of Beschi's 18th-century *Caturakarāṭi* & its offspring in some 19th-century Tamil-English dictionaries

We shall start this exploration by examining a textual fragment (see Figure 3) extracted from a book printed in 1824. That book presents itself as being

⁵ Whereas the 1839 edition pages contain both the *cūttirams* and their subdivision into words (*peyar-p-pirivu*) on facing columns, the 1840 edition has done away with the *peyar-p-pirivu* section. The step forward which consisted in providing 19th-century readers with the text of Chapters 11 and 12 was concomitant with a step backwards, as far as Chapters 1 to 10 were concerned.

the first complete printed edition of the *Caturakarāti*, henceforth CA_1824, containing all four parts of what is literally a “Quadruple (*catur*) Dictionary (*akarāti*)”.⁶ We shall however see in the next section that CA_1824 is not in fact a faithful printing of the original *Caturakarāti*, henceforth CA, which was composed during the 18th century by C.J. Beschi [1680–1747] and which we can luckily examine in its original condition thanks to the 18th-century manuscript (or codex) preserved in the Paris BnF (see section 2).

The 19th-century fragment chosen as a representative of CA_1824 contains the entry அலங்காரம் “ornament”. That entry comes from the third part of CA_1824, which is called *Tokai-y-akarāti*, i.e. “Dictionary of ‘Total Counts’ (*tokai*)”.⁷ On the image provided here (see Figure 3), it stands between two other entries, which are அரண் “fort” and அவத்தை “mind state”. As can be verified here in this image, the entries in the *Tokai-y-akarāti* are thus in the Tamil alphabetical order. Inside each entry, the headword is followed by a number N (alias *tokai*, i.e. “total count”) — N = ௪ (4) for *aran*; N = ௩௫ (35) for *alaṅkāram*; N = ௫ (5) for *avat-tai* — and that number N is followed by N items which constitute the collection (alias *kūṭṭam*) of items for which the headword of the entry is a hypernym. Inside the traditional ancient Tamil poetical vocabularies, with which Beschi was familiar, and which he follows here, although he innovates by introducing the alphabetical order,⁸ the section corresponding to the *Tokai-y-akarāti* is called *Pal-poruṭ-kūṭṭatt-oru-peyar-t-tokuti*.⁹

⁶ According to Innāci’s *Caturakarāti Ārāycci* (pp. v–vi), a first edition of the CA, which was printed in 1819, contained only the *Poruṭ-akarāti*. The following edition, in 1824, added the remaining three parts.

⁷ Because there is in fact no discrepancy between CA_1824 and CA as regards the titles of the four sections, I shall from now onwards not distinguish them when simply referring to the section titles. This third section of Beschi’s four-fold *Caturakarāti*, is preceded by the *Peyar-akarāti* and the *Poruṭ-akarāti*, and is followed by the *Toṭai-y-akarāti*.

⁸ More precisely, the text seen in Figure 3 is not Beschi’s original text but an augmented text, in which insertions have been made. Nevertheless, the fact that the entries are in alphabetical order is in conformity with the practice followed by Beschi himself in his original MS.

⁹ We have already encountered an example from the *Tivākaram*. See Figure 2 in the introductory section, taken from the 1840 edition.

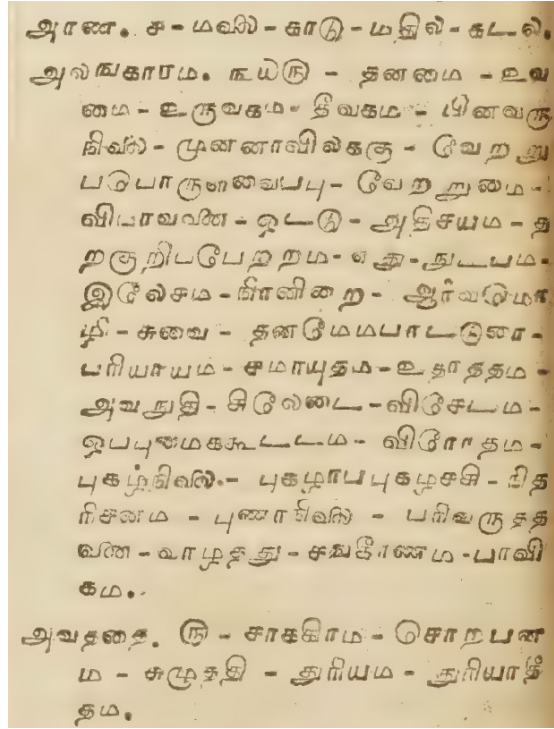


Figure 3 — Extract from the “Augmented Version” of Beschi’s *Tokai-y-akarāṭi* (3rd part of CA).¹⁰

As an introductory first example, I shall remark that the entry *araṇ*, which is simpler than the entry *alaṅkāram*, teaches us that there are four recognized types of fortified places and a quick look at Figure 4, extracted from Rottler’s 1834 dictionary, will show the reader what they are.

After this simple example, if we now examine the much more complex entry *alaṅkāram*, the shortest method for starting to explain its content to the reader seems to be to first reproduce the corresponding entry inside Rottler’s 1834 dictionary (see Figure 5), and then to complement it by an

¹⁰ This is reproduced from a book now belonging to the Toronto library, to which it was bequeathed by François Gros. The book has been digitized and is available on “archive.org” (<https://archive.org/details/gc-sh10-0058>). There is also a copy of the same book in the Pondicherry EFEO Library (Shelfmark EO DICT TA 5), although it is impossible for me to say whether the Pondicherry book is the 1824 edition or a slightly later one.

Note: they reckon four kinds of forts: *viz.*

1. மலை, மலையார்ண்; a fort depending for its strength on a mountain, or mountains; 2. மதில், மதிலார்ண், a fort depending for its strength on its walls only; 3. நீர், நீர்ார்ண், a fort depending for its strength on its being surrounded with water; 4. காடு, காட்டார்ண், a fort depending for its strength on its being surrounded with a forest.

Figure 4 — Rottler (1834), p. 71, extract.

அலங்காரம்; ௩௫. They enumerate thirty-five rhetorical or poetical figures: *viz.* 1. தன்மை, 2. உவமை, or ஒப்பணி, 3. உருவகம், 4. தீவகம், 5. பின்வருநிலை, 6. முன்னர்விலகது, 7. வேற்றுப்பொருள் வைப்பு, 8. வேற்றுமை, 9. விபாவனை, 10. ஒட்டு, 11. அஞ்சயம், 12. தற்குநிப்பேற்றம், 13. ஏது, 14. நுட்பம், 15. இலேசம், 16. நிர்ணிறை, 17. ஆர்வசொழி, 18. சுவை, 19. தன்மேம்பாட்டுரை, 20. பரியாயம், 21. சமாபுதம், 22. உதாத்தம், 23. அவநுதி, 24. இலேடை, 25. விசேடம், 26. ஒப்புமைக்கூட்டம், 27. விரோதம், 28. புகழ்நிலை, 29. புகழாப்புகழ்ச்சி, 30. நிதரிசனம், 31. புணர்நிலை, 32. பரிவருத்தனை, 33. வாழ்த்து, 34. சங்கீர்ணம், and 35. பாவிசம்.

Figure 5 — Rottler (1834), p. 83, extract.

Table 1 — Extract from Winslow [1862]: list of 35 *alaṅkārams*, in which 18 items (highlighted) are Sanskrit borrowings.

*அலங்காரம், s. Ornament, decoration, embellishment, சிறப்பு. 2. Beauty, அழகு. 3. Rhetorical ornament, figures of language, rhetoric, அணியிலக்கணம். 4. One of the sixty-four கலைஞானம், கலைஞானமறுபத்துநான்கினொன்று. Wils. p. 73. ALANKARA. There are thirty-five figures of language; viz.: 1. தன்மை, a word or phrase expressing the nature of a thing. 2. உவமை, a parable. 3. உருவகம், metaphor. 4. தீவகம், a word once used and understood in the other parts of the sentence. 5. பின், the repetition of the word beginning a sentence with the same or a different signification. 6. முன்னர்விலக்கு, rejecting a truth asserted, by showing its absurdity. 7. வேற்றுப்பொருள்வைப்பு, establishing the truth of a particular fact by a general truth. 8. வேற்றுமை, contrast. 9. விபாவனை separating effects from their proper causes and attributing them to other causes alluded to. 10. ஒட்டு, an allegory. 11. அதிசயம், hyperbole or exaggerated description. 12. தற்குறிப்பேற்றம், a principal kind of metaphor. 13. ஏது, a figure showing the cause, &c. 14. நுட்பம், a figure which presents a suitable idea, by a corresponding hint, &c. 15. இலேசம், a figure in which a trifling excuse is given, as a cloak for a thing of greater magnitude. 16. நிரணிறை, one of the eight kinds of construction of a sentence, i. e. the separate successive arrangements of a series of nouns and their verbs in natural or reverse order. 17. ஆர்வமொழி, an affectionate word or phrase. 18. சுவை, the passions or emotions of the mind expressed by gesture, exhibited in action and transferred to poetry. 19. தன்மேம்பாட்டுரை, self-adulation. 20. பரியாயம், a figure in rhetoric by which one thing is told and another connected with it is intended. 21. சமாயுதம், the accomplishing of one's object by indirect means. 22. உதாத்தம், a figure which expresses copiousness, richness, enterprise, &c. 23. அவநுதி, denying the character, quality or essence of a person or thing in order to attribute the same to others. 24. சிலேடை, a word of double interpretation. 25. விசேடம், distinguishing a cause by ascribing to it effects which it is inadequate to produce. 26. ஒப்புமைக்கூட்டம், enumeration of analogous words, &c. 27. விரோதம், opposition. 28. மாறுபடுபுகழ்நிலை, praising a person or thing to the disparagement of another. 29. புகழாப்புக்கச்சி, praise, flattery, &c., couched in terms of dispraise. 30. நிதரிசனம், feigning a thing in nature as doing good or evil to another, a species of personification as a mode of moral instruction. 31. புணர்நிலை, a figure in which the same epithets or attributes are adapted to two or more different subjects. 32. பரிவருத்தனை, a figure in rhetoric, describing an exchange of beauties, excellencies. 33. வாழ்த்து, congratulation. 34. சங்கீரணம், the blending of several figures. 35. பாவிசம், moral instruction, inference, applications, &c., from events related in epic poems.	*அலங்காரம், s. 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extract from Winslow’s 1862 dictionary (see Table 1), because Rottler reproduces the CA_1824 enumeration of 35 items, evidencing a form of continuity, but does not provide English translations for the individual items, as Winslow does.

As a preliminary single observation, I shall remark that the 18 highlighted items inside this Table 1 are all borrowed from Sanskrit. The corresponding individual entries are all marked by stars (i.e. “*”) on their respective pages, as is seen to be the case here for the technical term “*அலங்காரம்” itself. I shall however come back to the question of Sanskrit vocabulary only in section 7 and in section 11, once the general context and the main target of this exploration will have been made more clear.

2. Discrepancy between the 19th-century printed editions of the *Caturakarāṭi* and some ancient manuscripts available in the BnF (Paris)

Having thus introduced my topic, I must now explain why I said in the previous section that the content of CA_1824, which was printed under the name of Beschi in 1824 in Chennai, is NOT a faithful reproduction of what Beschi had bequeathed to his successors when he died. When examining two of the manuscripts of the *Caturakarāṭi* which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF)¹¹ in Paris, namely BnF Indien 227 (henceforth CA_1732)¹² and

¹¹ I must here acknowledge with gratitude my debt to the ANR-DFG project known as TST (“Texts Surrounding Texts”), under the leadership of Emmanuel Francis (CNRS, CEIAS) and Eva Wilden (Hamburg University), and with the strong support of Jérôme Petit (conservateur, BnF). Thanks to the TST project, there is, among other things, an ongoing digitization-cum-cataloguing of the entire collection of Tamil MSS in the BnF. That huge effort was started at the time of the ERC project NETamil (2014–2019), for which the Principal Investigator was Eva Wilden.

¹² Although BnF Indien 227 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100915963>) is hand-written, it contains a title page **resembling** a lithograph and containing a date: M DCC XXXII (see “<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100915963/f15>”). The title page is followed by a handwritten 4-page *præfatio* (in Latin),

BnF Indien 229,¹³ I was surprised to find that they are often not identical with the 19th-century edition, previously referred to as CA_1824, which I also referred to as the “Augmented Version of the *Caturakarāṭi*” in the caption for Figure 3. As far as the focus of the current exploration is concerned, the main local fact is that neither CA_1732 nor BnF Indien 229 contains an entry for *alaṅkāram* or for *avattai*, although they both contain an entry for *araṇ*, inside which the spelling for the second type of fort is however different, because they write it as மதிள, whereas CA_1824 prints மதில.¹⁴ The absence of *alaṅkāram* and of *avattai* is seen on the extract from folio 326v contained in Figure 6, below

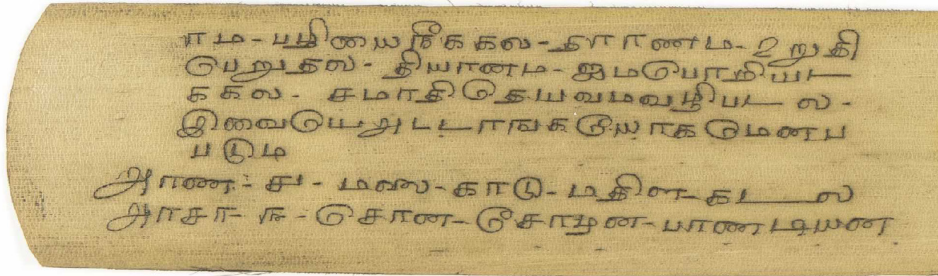


Figure 6 — Extract from folio 326, verso, left column, BnF Indien 229.

with the same date. The third page in the preface contains references to five traditional Tamil vocabularies such as *Piṅkalantai*, etc. See (3a) and see Figure 9. An English translation of that Latin preface, jointly prepared by Margherita Trento and by myself, is under preparation and will appear as part of a forthcoming article (“Fishing for Words with Beschi in Tamil traditional poetical vocabularies”), to be contained in a collective volume, edited by Eva Wilden and Emmanuel Francis. That volume will contain contributions prepared by the participants in the ANR-DFG TST project.

¹³ BnF Indien 229 is the second element in a pair, which also includes BnF Indien 228, but the section which is of direct interest to us here, namely the *Tokai-yakarāṭi*, is contained inside BnF Indien 229.

¹⁴ Antaõ de Proença’s 1679 Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary (see Thani Nayanagam[1966]) lists both spellings, as entries 108_R_1 (“ம தி ல. Quòd ம தி ள. Parede”) and as 108_R_m (“ம தி ள. Parede de pedra”), but seems to consider the second one as more standard, if I have interpreted correctly the cross-reference system.

It is also seen in Figure 7, which is a magnified extract from page 243¹⁵ inside CA_1732, oldest known manuscript of the *Caturakarāti*, dated to 1732 by its title page.

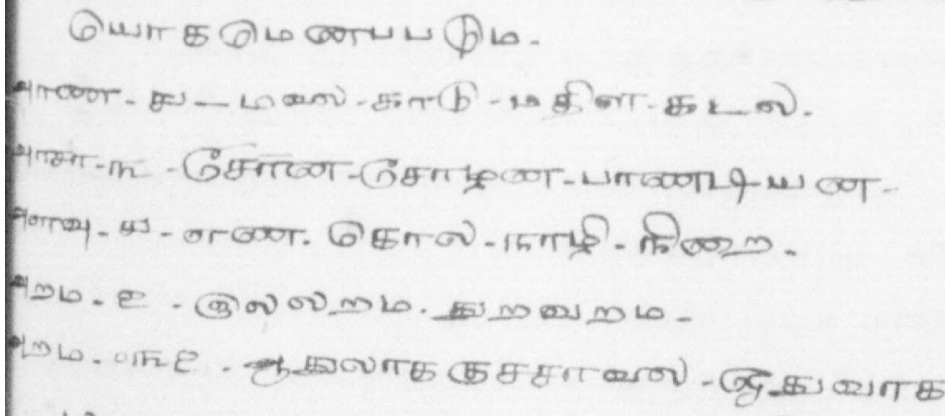


Figure 7 — p. 243 in CA_1732 (first page inside *Tokai-y-akarāti*) [image available online with the possibility of zooming in].

Although the palm-leaf manuscript reproduced in figure 6, namely BnF Indien 229, which belongs to the Duclerc sub-collection of the BnF collection of Tamil,¹⁶ is a 19th-century copy of the *Caturakarāti* which must be very close in time to the 1824 book reproduced in Figure 3, its content is quite similar to the content of CA_1732, and both differ considerably from the “Augmented *Caturakarāti*”, alias CA_1824, printed in 1824 in Chennai. In the specific context which is directly of interest to us here, the “tampering” performed by the 1824 editor has consisted in adding 15 entries to the அ section of the *Tokai-y-akarāti* and by moving one of the entries, namely “*aṅkam* (6)”, to the வே section, where it appeared as *vētāṅkam* (6). The அ section thus saw its content increasing from 10 to 24. For the sake of clarity, the respective contents of the 1824 “Augmented *Caturakarāti*” and of the 1732 original *Caturakarāti* are provided inside Table 2. As already indicated, BnF Indien 229 is identical with BnF Indien 227.

¹⁵ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100915963/f141.item>.

¹⁶ See Francis 2021.

Table 2 — Discrepancy between the original *Caturakarāṭi* and the book printed in 1824: the case of the *அ* section.

	Content of the <i>அ</i> section of the <i>Tokai-y-akarāṭi</i>	
CA-1732 (BnF Indien 227) [BnF Indien 229 is identical]	aṅkam (4), aṅkam (5), aṅkam (6), aṅkam (10), aṅkayōkam (8), araṇ (4), aracar (3), aḷavu (2), aṛam (2), aṛam (32)	10 elements
“Augmented <i>Caturakarāṭi</i> ” (CA_1824)	akirkūṭṭu (5), akkiṇi (5), aṅkam (4), aṅkam (5), ((aṅkam (6) → moved to vēṭāṅkam)), aṅkam (10), aṅkayōkam (8), accuviṇitēvar (2), aracaccinṇam (2), aracar (3), aracarkkukkuḷu (5), aracarkkuttuṇaiyar (8), aracarkkuru-ticcurram (5), araciyaḷ (6), araciyaḷ (6) [[SECOND LIST]], araṇ (4), alaṅkāram (35), avattai (5), aḷavu (4), aḷavai (8), aratturuppu (8), aṛam (2), aṛam (32), anupantam (4), annuvayavilakkaṇam (5)	24 elements

Determining precisely what the 19th-century editors of the *Caturakarāṭi* were doing is of course a complex subject of study in itself, but since it is not here our primary target, I shall conclude this brief account of the discrepancies between the group consisting of manuscripts CA_1732 and BnF Indien 229, on the one hand, and the printed books CA_1824, on the other hand, by providing in a second table (see Table 3) a bird’s eye-view of the proportions (expressed as percentages) of the four sections of the CA. I have also added the figures for a recent reprint of the CA.

Table 3 — Respective proportions occupied by the four parts of the *Caturakarāṭi* (CA) in several witnesses.

	பெயரகராதி	பொருளகராதி	தொகையகராதி	தொடையகராதி
CA_1732 BnF Indien 227	pp. 1–144	pp. 145–242	pp. 243–260	pp. 263–347
	41.6 %	28.3%	5.5 %	24.6%

BnF Indien 228 ¹⁷ & Indien 229	ff. 1–200v (BnF Indien 228)	ff. 201r–324v	ff. 325r–352r	ff. 353r–424v
	47.2 % 29.2 %	6.6 %	17.0 %	
CA_1824 (core)	pp. 1–179	pp. 1–86	pp. 1–36	pp. 1–139
CA_1824 (add.)	pp. 1–33	pp. 1–12	p. 1	pp. 1–2
CA_1824 (corr.)	pp. 1–20	pp. 1–31	p. 1	pp. 1–6
CA_1824 (core)	40.7 %	19.5 %	8.2 %	31.6 %
CA_2005	pp. 1–217	pp. 218–308	pp. 309–349	pp. 350–487
	44.6 % 18.7 %	8.4 %	28.3 %	

3. What was the model followed by the original *Caturakarāṭi*?

We shall soon return to the topic at the centre of this exploration, but before this can be done in a clear manner, we first have to examine the general structure of the CA and to compare it with what precedes it in the chronology, in order to understand the purpose of those who interpolated most of the content of Figure 1 inside the original *Tokai-y-akarāṭi* of Beschi's *Caturakarāṭi*. Beschi was a creative mind, but he was of course not inventing a new concept from scratch, when composing the *Caturakarāṭi*. At the time when he was in South India, Tamil students had at their disposal scholarly instruments which they called *Nikaṇṭus* and which they memorized from a young age onwards, as testified by B. Ziegenbalg.¹⁸ As stated in the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, edited in 2012 by Will Sweetman & R. Ilak-

¹⁷ BnF Indien 228 — containing *peyar-akarāṭi* — is the first half of a MSS pair in which BnF Indien 229 — containing *poruḷ-akarāṭi*, *tokai-y-akarāṭi* and *toṭai-y-akarāṭi* — is the second half.

¹⁸ The practice of memorizing the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* was still alive in the 19th c. when U.Vē. Cāminātaiyar was a student, as attested by a dialogue between him and his teacher Mīṇāṭcicuntarampiḷḷai (1815–1876) contained in U.Vē.Cā.'s autobiography (*En Carittiram*, chap. 27). For more details, see Chevillard [2023: 98–99].

kuvan, the names of the two most well-known *nikanṭus* were திவாகரம் (henceforth Ti)¹⁹ and சூடாமணி நிகண்டு (henceforth CN), which could also be referred to simply as *Nikanṭu*, and Ziegenbalg provides us with the following description concerning them:

- (1) *Tivākaram*, a poetic book containing *copiam verborum*, and studied by the youth at the earliest in their eighth or ninth year. The author of this book is called Tivākaraṇ and was one of the camaṇar nation. [...] This book is studied only by those who wish to become scholars, or those who interact with scholars and wish to understand their language. The common Malabarians understand not a word of it, or at least very little. (*Bibliotheca Malabarica*, Sweetman and Ilakkuvan 2012: 50, BM 4 [translation])²⁰
- (2) *Nikanṭu*, a poetic book which like *Tivākaram* contains *copiam verborum* but differs from it in that it consists only of verses, while the other is written in prose. [...] (*Bibliotheca Malabarica*, Sweetman and Ilakkuvan 2012: 51, BM 5 [translation])²¹

To these two names, we can add the names of three other traditional Tamil lexicographical works, namely *Piṅkalam* (alias *Piṅkalantai*) [Pi], *Uriccol* [Uri] and *Kayātaram* (alias *Kaiyātaram*) [Ka]. All five names are

¹⁹ The table of contents for the 12 chapters of the *Tivākaram* is: 1. Gods; 2. Humans; 3. Animals; 4. Plants; 5. Places; 6. Various substances; 7. Man-made objects; 8. Qualities; 9. Actions; 10. Sounds; 11. Polysemic words; 12. Collections associated with Numbers.

²⁰ *Diwagaram*, ein poetisches Buch, so da *copiam verborum* in sich fasset, und am allerersten von der Jugend in ihrem 8. oder 9. Jahre gelernet wird. Der Autor dieses Buchs heißt Diwagaram und ist einer von der Schammaner Nation gewesen, [...] Dieses Buch lernen allein diejenigen, so da wollen Gelehrte werden, oder doch solche Leute seyn, die mit Gelehrten umgehen und ihre gelehrte Sprache verstehen wollen. Die gemeinen Malabaren verstehen kein Wort aus selbigen oder doch ganz wenig. (*Bibliotheca Malabarica* [ca. 1706–1708], Sweetman and Ilakkuvan 2012: 50, BM 4 [original text])

²¹ *Negendu*, ein poetisches Buch, so gleichfalls *copiam verborum* in sich fasset, als wie *Diwagaram*, ist aber heirinnen (Sic) von jenen unterschieden, weil es in lauter Versen besteht, jenes aber nur in Prosa geschrieben ist. [...] (*Bibliotheca Malabarica*, Sweetman and Ilakkuvan 2012: 50, BM 5 [original text]).

mentioned by Beschi in the Latin *præfatio* to CA_1732, where he explains:²²

(3a) Cum autem hæc lingua, ut aiunt, mortua sit; non ex fer- // =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 diligentia antiquorum volumina per= // =curri {END page 2} (see Figure 8)²³
 {BEGIN page 3} curri – தி வ # க # ம – நி க ண டு – பி ன க ல ந @@ த – உ ரி ச @ ச # ல – @@ க ய # த # ம // et familia : quia omnia synonyma, non Dictionaria // sunt. Præterea sapientissimos scriptorum Interpretes // studiosè legendo consului: et cùm amanuensium ne- // =gligentiâ plures irrepererint errores; diversâ manu // inartatos libros inter se contuli: Tandem cum quam- // =plurima Vocabula à lingua Grandonicâ accersita // fuerint, et Grandonicos autores accurate perlegem, // ad veritatis normam forte irreptos errores emenda- // =re, atque ex eodem ærario quamplura hauriens // Verba, thesaurum hunc magis adhuc locupletare // conatus sum. (see Figure 9)²⁴

(3b) 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 Synonyms, not Dictionaries. In addition, I consulted, in a thorough reading, the most learned commentators of the writers, and as

²² I hereby acknowledge the help of Margherita Trento in deciphering this MS. We are jointly planning to make an electronic edition of the original 18th-century *Caturakarāti*, as it was before it was “improved” (or “tampered with”) by learned Tamil scholars, under the leadership of Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār in the 19th century, when it was printed in 1824 in Chennai, by order of Mr Richard Clarke, Director of the College of Madras, as per the recommendation of F.W. Ellis.

²³ See original at the bottom of the left page in <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100915963/f17>

²⁴ See original at the top of the right page in <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100915963/f17>

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, 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*. [Translation by Margherita Trento and Jean-Luc Chevillard]²⁵

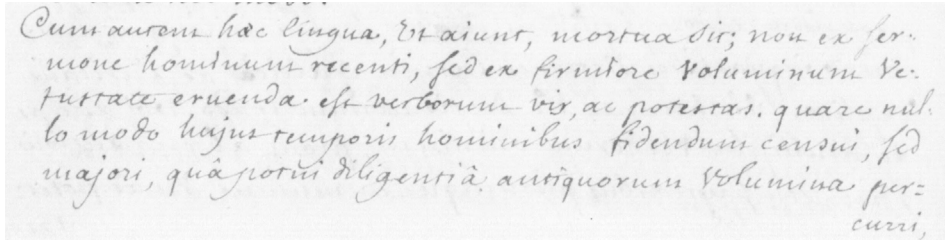


Figure 8 — BnF Indien 227, *Præfatio* (page 2, bottom, extract).

²⁵ This translation is extracted from a complete translation of Beschi's four pages 1732 preface, which will soon appear in the following article: "Fishing for Words with Beschi in Tamil traditional poetical vocabularies" (Trento & Chevillard, forthcoming), as part of the outcome of the ANR-DFG TST Program. I am also very grateful to Anne Grondeux (CNRS, UMR 7597, HTL) for taking time from her very busy schedule and kindly providing me, two years ago, when I was starting my exploration, with the following French translation of this passage: "Puisque cette langue est, à ce qu'on dit, morte, ce n'est pas du discours récent d'hommes, mais de l'ancienneté plus sûre de volumes que sera extraite la force et la puissance de ses mots. C'est pourquoi j'ai pensé ne devoir en aucune manière me fier à des hommes de ce temps, mais que j'ai parcouru avec la plus grande acribie possible les volumes des anciens [textes intitulés] *Tivākaram*, *Nikaṇṭu*, *Piṅkalantai*, *Uriccol*, *Kaiyātaram* et d'autres semblables, parce que tous sont des [recueils de] Synonymes, non des Dictionnaires. En outre, j'ai consulté, en une lecture approfondie, les plus savants interprètes des écrivains, et comme par la négligence des copistes quantité de fautes s'étaient introduites, j'ai comparé entre eux des livres écrits par des mains différentes. Enfin comme de très nombreux mots sont venus de la langue grandonique, et que je lis avec soin les auteurs grandoniques, je suis parvenu sans doute à corriger selon la norme de la vérité les erreurs introduites, et, en puisant quantité de mots au même trésor, à enrichir encore davantage ce *thesaurus*." [Translation by Anne Grondeux]

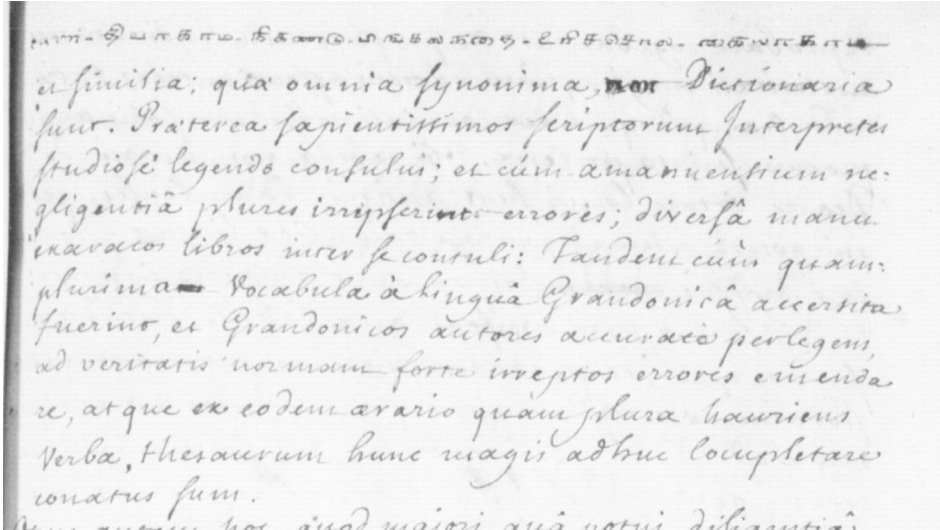


Figure 9 — BnF Indien 227, Præfatio (page 3, top, extract).

The following chart provides elements of information for comparing the structures of the five Traditional Tamil works just mentioned with that of the *Caturakarāṭi*.

This table being largely self-explanatory, I shall now simply add a few additional comments. I shall first remark that the five works which are summarily described in the columns 2 to 6 of Table 4 were professional tools, created by successive generations of what I have called elsewhere “Language Professionals” (See Chevillard [2014, p. 150, fn. 1]) in order for them to perform convincingly in front of their patrons and of the general public. Students were expected to memorize them, if they wanted to be accepted as students by teachers. Some of those students could hope to become professional poets, associated with individual or institutional patrons, who would pay them for their service. As for the specific content associated with the four rows of Table 4, we can say that:

- The content of row 1 is what comes closest to the modern notion of what a dictionary should be, because for each item, the possible meanings are enumerated. Beschi, however, innovates in his *Peyar-akarāṭi* by providing also the meaning of items which have only one meaning, whereas the traditional lexicographic tools, in their corresponding sections, listed only items which were really polysemic.

Table 4 — Comparing the structures of Ti, Pi, Uri, Ka, CN and CA.

	Ti (<i>Tivākaram</i>)	Pi (<i>Piinkalam</i>)	Uri (<i>Uriccol</i>)	Ka (<i>Kayātaram</i>)	CN (<i>Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu</i>)	CA (<i>Caturakarāṭi</i>)
1. Collection of polysemic words (<i>oru-col pala-poruḷ</i>)	Chap. 11 (non alph.) ²⁶	Chap. 10 (alph.)	Chap. 11 (non alph.)	Chap. 11 (non alph.)	Chap. 11 (ordered by <i>etukai</i>)	1. <i>Peyar-akarāṭi</i> (alph.)
2. Thematic collections of quasi-synonyms (<i>oru-poruḷ pala-col</i>)	Chap. 1 to chap. 10	Chap. 1–2, chap. 4–9	Chap. 1 to chap. 10	Chap. 1 to chap. 10	Chap. 1 to chap. 10	2. <i>Poruḷ-akarāṭi</i> (alph.)
3. Traditional groups of items associated with well-known “total counts” (<i>tokai</i>) (<i>pal poruḷ kūṭṭattu oru peyar tokuti</i>)	Chapter 12	Chapter 3	Chap. 12	Missing	Chap. 12	3. <i>Tokai-y-akarāṭi</i> (alph.)
4. Rhyming dictionary (for second syllable rhyme, alias <i>etukai</i>)					Chap. 11 (ordered by <i>etukai</i>)	4. <i>Totai-y-akarāṭi</i> (ordered by <i>etukai</i>)

²⁶ In the first printed edition however, in 1840, an alphabetical reorganization has taken place (see Chevillard 2023: 111). This may be due to the influence of the *Caturakarāṭi*. S. Vaiyāpuri Pillai remarks in his “History of Tamil Lexicography”, on p. xxxi, that the 10th chapter of the *Piinkalam*, another *Nikaṇṭu* (see Table 4 and see Section 9), which is a chapter dealing with 1091 polysemic words, was alphabetized by its editors when it was first printed in 1890. I must acknowledge here that I did not pay attention to that remark of S. Vaiyāpuri Pillai concerning the *Piinkalam* when I wrote my contribution to the *Cambridge World History of Lexicography* (see Chevillard [2019b]). I now stand corrected.

- The content of row 2 can be compared with what is found in books such as Roget's Thesaurus.
- The content of row 3 is encyclopedic in nature. By using the visibility of a *tokai*, it covers in condensed manner a content which can be labeled variously as religious, artistic, moral or political, etc. The established symbolic association between a number and a notion is also what permits the efficient use of *bhūtasamkhyās* in other circumstances.²⁷ See for instance the example *aṭṭa-maṅkalam*, which is made use of in Figure 1, where the word *maṅkalam*, "auspicious item", stands as a substitute for number "eight", as taught to students by the *sūtra* which stands inside Figure 2 in section 0b. Part of the content of this section seems to be abridged from independent treatises, and part of it seems to be derived from general common knowledge difficult to categorize otherwise. As example of Shastric/Technical knowledge, one can mention Musical and Poetological knowledge, although some of it is also found occasionally inserted inside the Synonymy section (row 2). The example at the centre of our attention in this article, namely *alaṅkāram*, and its treatment in *Tivākaram*, *Piṅkalam*, *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* and CA_1824 fall under this head.
- The content of row 4, which is an innovation of the CA, but which has its roots in a feature of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* (see row 1), concerns a feature falling under metrics.

To conclude this comparison between the six works considered, I must add that the systematic use of the alphabetical order is not the only difference between Beschi's *Caturakarāṭi* and the five other collections. Another very important difference is the absence of metrical structure in the *Caturakarāṭi*. That absence most probably made it impossible for its Tamil audience to memorize the *Caturakarāṭi*. Unlike traditional Tamil thesauri, the *Caturakarāṭi* could therefore be used only in a passive manner, as a reference instrument, as virtual knowledge, existing as a book on a shelf, to be consulted for searches, and not embedded in a living consciousness. That feature is also what made it so easy for the 19th-century editors to tamper with the original text, adding countless interpolations, which do not seem to have been very much noticed by the potential users, except for rare exceptions.²⁸

²⁷ For the *bhūta samkhyā* method, see Plofker 2009: 47.

²⁸ There were nevertheless people who had noticed the change. I am grateful to Margherita Trento, for pointing out to me that, in the *Revue de Linguistique et*

4. Discrepancy between *Tivākaram*, *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* and *Piṅkalam*, on the one hand and CA_1824, on the other hand: from 28 to 35

We shall now enter the core of our central enquiry here, after what was only a long contextualizing introduction. Our first goal is to state precisely in which manner the 19th-century “interpolated version”²⁹ of Beschi’s *Caturakarāṭi*, referred to here as CA_1824, which is the basis for all later editions such as CA_2005, differs from the works which were Beschi’s inspiration. Five of these works are mentioned in (3a) and two of them were also known to Ziegenbalg — see (1) and (2) — and their general organisation has been detailed in Table 4. In order to make visible the difference, the clearest method is to present in a nutshell the content of the *Tokai-y-akarāṭi* as available in what we can refer to as the “Augmented *Caturakarāṭi*” — or as “Interpolated Beschi” — and to show how this differs from the content of the models which were imitated by Beschi. This

de Philologie Comparée (RLPC_33), Vinson [1910] states on p. 18 that Dupuis suspected, but could not prove, that Indian editors of the CA had modified Beschi’s text. Vinson then provides several examples proving that Dupuis’ intuitions were correct.

²⁹ Because it has seemed to me important to emphasize the fact that one text, which is usually considered as well-known, is in fact **not** well-known, but equally important not to forget that the reason for the discrepancy can be apprehended from many angles, I have decided that a possible way of tentatively enumerating them seen from various standpoints is to make use of the method inaugurated by Raymond Queneau in his 1947 *Exercices de Style* (“Exercises in Style”), applying it to the wording of the labels used for referring to the 1824 text. If the labels “Augmented *Caturakarāṭi*” and “Augmented Beschi”, can perhaps be called *Neutral*, the use of the label “Interpolated Beschi” could be considered as *Clinical*, the use of the specifier “improved” as *Optimistic* and the possible use of the label “tampered-with *Caturakarāṭi*” as *Indignant*, while the use of the expression “engineered increase” in the following footnote will be described as *Euphemistic*. Of course, the root for those discrepancies is the fact that from the point of view of Westerners Beschi was The One who had reached the highest possible level of competence and authority, whereas Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār probably considered him at best as an advanced student, who had to be silently corrected.

will be done by providing first a group of three tables (See Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7), detailing the distribution of the 292 groups³⁰ (*kūṭṭam*) which are found inside the *Tokai-y-akarāṭi* of CA_2005, as summarized on pp. 348–349 of the CA edition by Cū. Inṇāci. For each *tokai*, the charts indicate how many *kūṭṭams* are associated with that *tokai*. Additionally, the charts provide one example for each *tokai*, and we can see the already familiar example *araṇ* “fort” under 4 as a *tokai* (inside Table 5), as well as the example *alaṅkāram* “ornament” under 35 as a *tokai* (inside Table 7).

Table 5 — Number of *kūṭṭams* having a given *tokai* in the “*Augmented Caturakarāṭi*.”

<i>tokai</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>kūṭṭam</i> count	2	15	38	41	54	23	29	27	10	12	3
Example	<i>vīṭupēru</i>	<i>marapu</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>araṇ</i>	<i>ilakkaṇam</i>	<i>cuvai</i>	<i>kaṭal</i>	<i>tikku</i>	<i>vāyil</i>	<i>aṅkam</i>	<i>uruttirar</i>

Table 6 — Number of *kūṭṭams* having a given *tokai* in the “*Augmented Caturakarāṭi*” (continued).

<i>tokai</i>	12	13	14	15	16	18	20	21	22	27
<i>kūṭṭam</i> count	4	1	4	2	3	5	1	3	2	1
Example	<i>irāci</i>	<i>tamiṇṇāṭu</i>	<i>ulakam</i>	<i>titi</i>	<i>pēru</i>	<i>kaṇam</i>	<i>muttuc caṇippu</i>	<i>vaḷḷal</i>	<i>maṅkalac col</i>	<i>naṭcattiram</i>

Table 7 — Number of *kūṭṭams* having a given *tokai* in the “*Augmented Caturakarāṭi*” (continued 2).

<i>tokai</i>	28	31	32	33	35	56	60	64	96
<i>kūṭṭam</i> count	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	2
Examples	<i>civākamam</i>	<i>muṇivar</i>	<i>aṇam</i>	<i>tēvar vakai</i>	<i>alaṅkāram</i>	<i>tēyam</i>	<i>varuṭam</i>	<i>kalai</i>	<i>pira- pantam</i>

³⁰ A preliminary inventory seems to indicate that BnF Indien 229, a palm-leaf MS which is another copy of the CA found in the BnF, contains 187 entries. This would indicate that there has been what can euphemistically be called an “engineered increase” of 50% in the number of entries when moving from the 18th century to the 19th century.

Symmetrically, in order to illustrate the content of the older poetical vocabularies, I shall now provide by means of two tables (Table 8 and Table 9), the distribution of the groups (*kūṭṭam*), with respect to their *tokai* inside the *Tivākaram*, on the model of what was done by me precedingly for the CA in Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7.

Table 8 — Number of *kūṭṭams* having a given *tokai* in *Tivākaram*.

<i>tokai</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>kūṭṭam</i> count	1	10	17	14	19	19	11	23	6	6
Example	vīṭupēru	marapu	tī	araṇ	poṛi	cuvai	kaṭal	tikku	vāyil	aṅkam

Table 9 — Number of *kūṭṭams* having a given *tokai* in *Tivākaram* (*continued*).

<i>tokai</i>	11	12	18	25	28	32	33
<i>kūṭṭam</i> count	1	2	8	1	1	1	1
Example	uruttirar	ātittar	kaṇam	tattuvam	alaṅkāram	aṇam	tēvar

If we add together the various counts, we find that a total number of 141 collections (*kūṭṭam*) of items are presented in the 12th chapter of the *Tivākaram*. The reader can see that there is a relatively high degree of stability in the examples (when going from Ti to CA_2005). This is of course due to the fact that there is a significant stable kernel, from which I have taken my examples, whenever possible: we do find that *araṇ* is indeed associated with “four” as a *tokai* in the *Tivākaram*, as it is also in the CA, whatever the edition.

However, when we locate *alaṅkāram* inside the *Tivākaram* — and this is also true for the *Piṅkalam* and the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* — we find that the *tokai* associated with *alaṅkāram* is “twenty-eight” and not “thirty-five”. The textual basis for this can be seen in Figure 10 (for Ti) and in Figures 12 & 13 (for CN), to which we shall add later the attestation taken from another *Nikaṇṭu*, namely the *Piṅkalam* (see Figures 27 & 28), which theoretically stands between the *Tivākaram* and the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* inside the global chronology (see chart 1), but which in practice was printed for the first time only in 1890, whereas the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* and the *Tivākaram* had been printed (incompletely) in 1834 and 1839 respectively for the first time,

those incomplete editions being later followed by complete editions.³¹ These editions may have influenced the editor of the *Pinkalam*. This makes its testimony less reliable, until we can access manuscripts.

இருபத்தெட்டலங்காரப்பெயர்—உருவ
கமுவமைவழிமடக்குநிலைமடக்கு, விரிசுடர்வி
ளக்கெனவிரிவருனவும், வேற்றுமைநிலையெ
ளிப்பநிலையே, வார்த்தைதன்மைபிறப்பொரு
ள்வைப்பெனப், பாற்படக்கிளந்தபகுதியின்
வருனவுள், சிறப்புமொழிசிலைமடகு த்து
மொழிநிலையே, நோக்கேயுட்டொடர்தொகை
மொழிமிகைமொழி, யுடனிலைகூட்டமுவமாத்
முருவக, நுவலாநுவர்சிதலைக்கட்டியமொழி, நி
தரிசனம்பாராட்டொருங்கியநிலையே, யையமு
யர்வேவிரவியல்வாழ்த்தென, வெய்தக்கூறிய
வெருநான் கலங்காரம்.

Figure 10 — *Tivākāram*, Chap. 12
(editio princeps, 1840), extract.

உருவகமுவமையோடேயுன்றியவழிமடக்கே
விரிசுடர்நிலைமடக்கேவேற்றுமைவெளிப்படுத்தல்
மருவியநோக்கேயுட்கோள்வருந்தொகைமொழியேமற்றைத்
சருமிகைமொழியேவார்த்தைதன்மைவேறருத்தம்வைப்பே. (கஉரு)

Figure 11 — *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*
(Ārumukanāvalar, 4th ed., 1909, p. 410, bottom).

இருபத்தெட்டுச்செய்யுளலங்காரம்—உருவகவணி, உவமையணி, அடி
மடக்கணி, தீபகவணி, நிலைமடக்கணி, வேற்றுமையணி, வெளிப்
படையணி, நோக்கு, உட்கோள், தொகைமொழி, மிகைமொழி,
சொற்பின்வருநிலை, தன்மை, வேற்றுப்பொருள்வைப்பு. கச. [வெ
ளிப்படையணி - விபாவணையணி. நோக்கு - கருத்துடையணி.
உட்கோள் - விலக்கணி. தொகைமொழி - சுருங்கச்சொல்லணி.
மிகைமொழி - அதிகையணி.]

Figure 12 — *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* gloss
(Ārumukanāvalar, 4th ed., 1909, p. 411, bottom).

³¹ The first complete edition of the *Tivākāram* is dated 1840. As of today (21/10/2023), I do not know the date of the first complete edition of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*, containing the 12th section. This is the reason why I reproduce here a late 1909 edition.

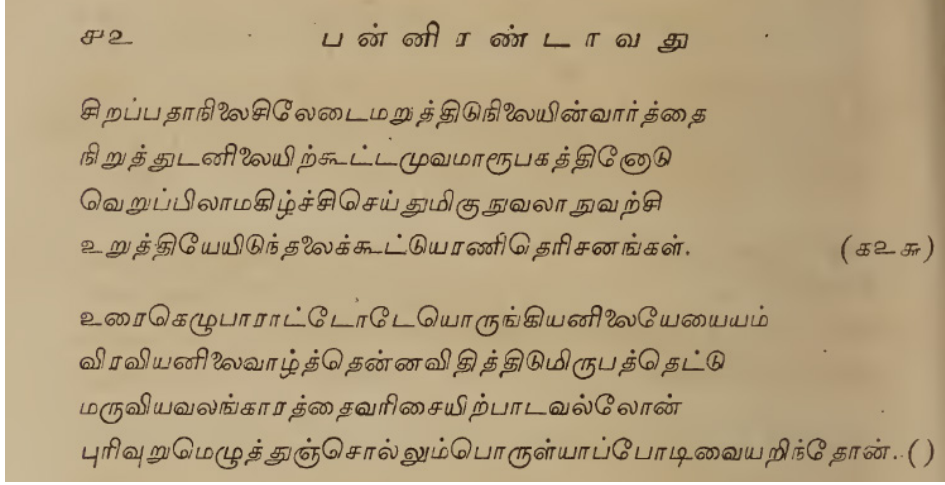


Figure 13 — *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*
 (Ārumukanāvalar, 4th ed., 1909, p. 412, top).

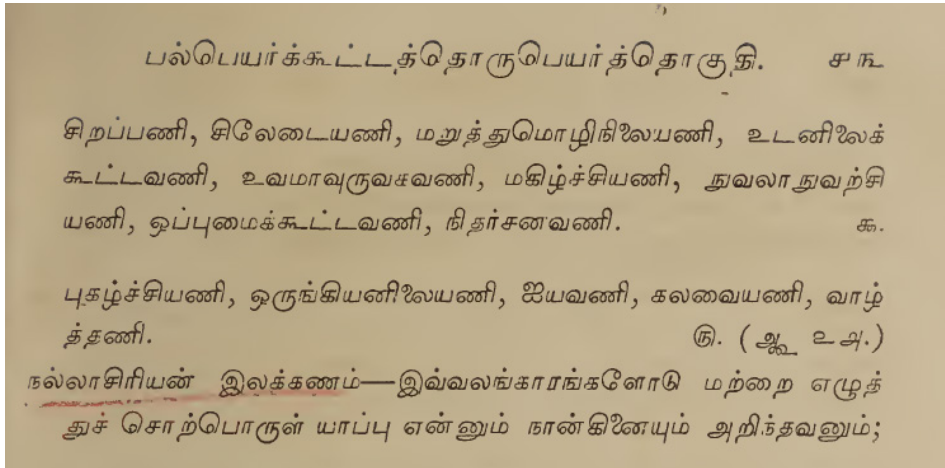


Figure 14 — *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* gloss
 (Ārumukanāvalar, 4th ed., 1909, p. 413, top).

5. How different are L_28 and L_35, the two lists of *alaṅkāram*?

We shall in this section move closer to the centre of our examination. I shall however first remark that the title of the section contains a programmatic simplification because I have already, at this early stage, provided the reader with five distinct lists, which are:

- (L_28a) a list of 28 *alaṅkārams*, as seen in the first complete printed edition of *Tivākaram*, in 1840 (Figure 10)
- (L_28b) a list of 28 *alaṅkārams*, as seen in a 20th-century edition of *Cūṭamaṇi Nikaṇṭu* (Figure 11 and Figure 13)
- (L_35a) a list of 35 *alaṅkārams*, as seen in the 1824 edition of CA (Figure 3), alias “Augmented Beschi”
- (L_35b) a list of 35 *alaṅkārams*, as seen in a dictionary printed in 1834 (Rottler, Figure 5)
- (L_35c) a list of 35 *alaṅkārams*, as seen in a dictionary printed in 1862 (Winslow, Table 1)

Although there are differences between L_28a and L_28b, as we shall see, and although I shall later introduce evidence concerning other lists, such as for instance L_28c (see Section 9), I shall consider them as identical in intention, or more precisely as being encyclopedic pedagogical pointers, created by teachers, in the 9th and in the 16th centuries (see Figure 38), in order to transmit to their students a reasonably faithful knowledge of the content of an earlier treatise, of which the skeleton was an ideal list L_28. That earlier treatise may have been called the *Aṇiyiyal* and was unfortunately lost in the course of time, although fragmentary traces have been preserved. Similarly, I consider L_35a, L_35b and L_35c, even though there are small differences³² between them, as reproducing, in intention, a list L_35 which was put together in the 12th century, being known as the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (henceforth TA). That TA wanted to be a definitive Tamil translation of Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyādarśa* (henceforth DK), and had been preceded by an earlier adaptation, the *Alaṅkārappaṭalam* (henceforth AP), which is the fifth chapter of the *Vīracōḷiyam* (henceforth VC), an 11th-century Tamil treatise, which seems to have been, rather than a Tamil grammar, a brief introduction to some currents inside Sanskrit śāstric litera-

³² A prominent difference, in terms of difficulty of reading, at least for beginners, between L_35a, on the one hand, and L_35b & L_35c, on the other hand, is the absence of dots on the pure consonants, but that is in conformity with the early practice found in MSS. Additionally, item 2 appears as “உவமை” in L_35a & L_35c, but as “உவமை, or ஒப்பணி” in L_35b. Further down in the list, item 28 appears as “மாறுபடுபுகழ்நிலை” in L_35c but as “புகழ்நிலை” in L_35b (or புகழ்நிலை in L_35a).

ture. For the sake of future references, I shall now include, in (4) a list of Sanskrit terms, which will stand here as an object of comparison. It goes without saying that it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss Sanskrit textual variants and that I am in any case not competent for fully exploring that realm, because life is too short for fully exploring **seriously** both Tamil and Sanskrit literatures.

- (4) (DK01) *jāti*, (DK02) *upamā*, (DK03) *rūpaka*, (DK04) *dīpaka*, (DK05) *āvṛtti*, (DK06) *ākṣepa*, (DK07) *arthantaranyāsa*, (DK08) *vyatireka*, (DK09) *vibhāvanā*, (DK010) *samāsokti*, (DK011) *atiśayavokti*, (DK012) *utprekṣā*, (DK013) *hetu*, (DK014) *sūkṣma*, (DK015) *leśa*, (DK016) *yathāsamkhyā*, (DK017) *preya*, (DK018) *rasavat*, (DK019) *ūrjasvi*, (DK020) *paryāyokta*, (DK021) *samāhita*, (DK022) *udātta*, (DK023) *apahnuti*, (DK024) *śliṣṭa*, (DK025) *viśeṣokti*, (DK026) *tulyayogitā*, (DA27) *savirodha*, (DK028) *apastutapraśamsā*, (DK029) *vyājastuti*, (DK030) *nidarśana*, (DK031) *sahokti*, (DK032) *parivṛtti*, (DK033) *āśih*, (DK034) *saṃkīrṇa*, (DK035) *bhāvika*. (Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa* basis for the L_35 list).

As should be clear to anyone familiar with combinatorics, comparing a 28-term list such as L_28 and a 35-term list such as L_35, especially when they are known through copies which differ in many respects, can produce results which may easily saturate the discriminating capacities of a human mind. For that reason, I shall concentrate my efforts on the variants of the existing descendants of the hypothetical original L_28 list, and I shall sometimes seem to treat list L_35 as a published standard, represented here by (4) and easily available to the reader, even though that standard appears in fact under several clearly distinct forms.

6a. Textual variation among attestations of the *Tivākaram* list Li_28a

The first step in our comparison of L_28 and L_35 will be to perform a Verbatim transcription of the content of Figure 10, in view of the fact that this is the most ancient printed text which is available to us for that section of the *Tivākaram*. The result of that transcription, to which I have added, between brackets, capital letters for identifying the metrical lines,

is provided here in Table 10. The intention behind my use of a misplaced X inside the sequence of lines “ABCDEF X GHIJK” will appear progressively.³³

Table 10 — *Verbatim* transcription of Figure 10, with identifiers for metrical lines (list L_28a) (Line order: ABC DEF X GHIJK).

[Title] இருபத்தெட்டலங்காரப்பெயர் --- [A] உருவ
கமுவமைவழிமடக்குநிலைமடக்கு, [B] விரிசுடர்வி
ளக்கெனவிரவிவருனவும், [C] வேற்றுமைநிலையவெ
ளிப்படுநிலையே, [D] வார்த்தைதன்மைபிறபொரு
ள்வைப்பெனப், [E] பாற்படக்கிளந்தபகுதியின்
வருவனவுஞ், [F] சிறப்புமொழிசிலேடைமறுத்து
மொழிநிலையே, [X] நோக்கேயுட்டொடர்தொகை
மொழிமிகைமொழி, [G] யுடனிலைகூட்டமுவமாந
முருவக, [H] நுவலாநுவற்சிதலைக்கட்டியமொழி, [I] நி
தரிசனம்பாராட்டொருங்கியநிலையே, [J] யையமு
யர்வேவிரவியல்வாழ்த்தென, [K] வெய்தக்கூறிய
வெழுநான்கலங்காரம்.

Several later editions of the *Tivākaram* are in existence, but we shall not have to spend much time comparing the readings seen in those editions, because the main difference between them, as far as this *sūtra* is concerned, does not concern the reading, but the interpretation to be given to it, and more precisely the manner of splitting the text, as we shall see later in this article. If we want to see variant readings, what we must examine is manuscripts. Therefore, I shall now first provide the reader here with two images (see Figure 15 and Figure 16) in which can be seen the corresponding text inside BnF Indien 239, a *Tivākaram* manuscripts which has been preserved in Paris since the first half of the 19th century, and has never been collated.³⁴ These images are as follows:

³³ See for instance 5a, 5b, 5c and 5d.

³⁴ I once again acknowledge here my indebtedness to the ANR-DFG project

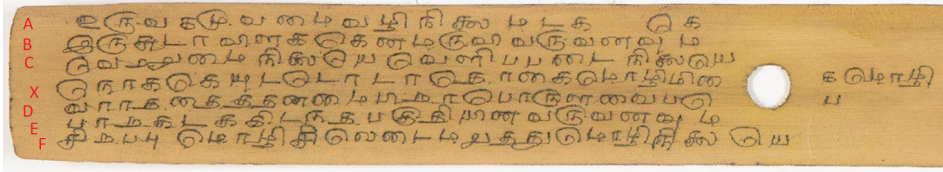


Figure 15 — Indien 239, folio 159, verso, Left column (BnF, Paris).

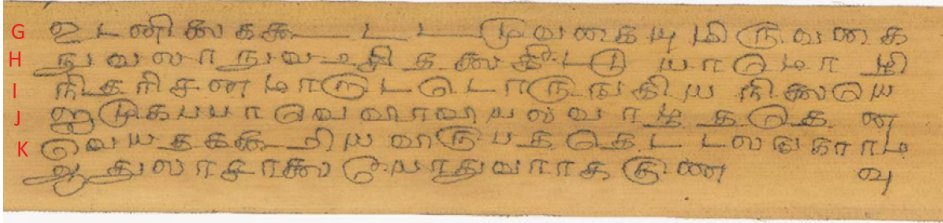


Figure 16 — BnF Indien 239, folio 159, verso, Central column (BnF, Paris).

A verbatim transcription of the content of the *sūtra* at issue, as seen in those two images, was made by me in a specific RAW³⁵ format, and is displayed in the following table (see Table 11), making use of the special FAX (alias “facsimilé”) visualizing protocol which imitates the spelling seen in those two images, but allows for normal paragraph formatting.³⁶

TST (“Texts Surrounding Texts”), conducted by Emmanuel Francis & Eva Wilden as PI-s, for financing the digitization of that MS and of many others.

³⁵ 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 MSS transcribed. That means that: (1) *pullis* are not used; (2) a space is inserted after each non-breakable written symbol; (3) the symbol “@” is used for transcribing the *kompū* 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 “ா”, “ர” and “ஈ”; (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 “//” represents a change of line; (10) the sequence “////” represents a change of column or a change of leaf.

³⁶ The underlying RAW text for the content of Table 11 is: “[A] உ ரு வ க மு வ @@ ம வ ழி நி லை ம ட க @ க // [B] இ ரு சு ட # வி ள க @ க

Table 11 — BnF Indien 239, folio 159, verso, col-2 [Diplomatic transcription (FAX protocol)]. (Line order: ABC X DEFGHIJK)

[A] உருவகமு வமைவழிநிலைமடககெ // [B] இருசடாவிளககெனமருவி
 வருவனவும // [C] வெற்றுமைநிலையெவளிப்படைநிலையெ // [X] நொக
 கெயுடடொடா தொகைமொழிமிகைமொழி // [D] வாராததைததன
 மைபிறாபொருளவைப்பெ // [E] பாறகடககிடநதபகுதியினவருவனவு
 ம // [F] சிறப்புமொழிசிலைடைமறுததுமொழிநிலையெ // [G] உடனிலைக
 கூட்டமு வகையுமிருவகை // [H] நுவலாநுவறசிதலைகீட்டுயாமொழி //
 [I] நிதரிசனமாருடடொருங்கியநிலையெ // [J] ஐமுகப்பாவெவிரவியல
 வாழததென // [K] வெயதககூறியவிருபததெட்டலங்காரம்.

We shall not have time for examining in this article the many variant readings found in those two images. The text gives the impression of being partly corrupt, or possibly influenced by another text. I shall however make a simple remark concerning the line order. The first image (Figure 15) contains six lines which mostly correspond to the lines that I have identified by means of the capital letters A, B, C, X, D, E & F inside Table 10. As for the second image (Figure 16), it contains the equivalent of the lines identified as G, H, I, J & K, as well as an additional line belonging to the following *sūtra* inside the *Tivākaram*. The most important point to be noted is that the order of appearance of the metrical lines — and subsequently of the capital letters which identify them — is not the same as the one seen inside Table 10. This is the justification for the use of the X label. As a confirmation of the variability in this passage, I shall now provide two more images (see Figure 17 and Figure 18) extracted from a *Tivākaram* manuscript preserved in the IFP in Pondicherry, under the reference number RE 47779.

னமருவிவருவனவும // [C] @வற்று@@மநிலை@ய@
 வளிப்ப@@டநிலை@ய // [X] @ந#க@கயுட@ட#ட#
 @த#@@க@ம#ழிமி@@க@ம#ழி // [D] வ##த@@ததத
 ன@@மபிற#@ப#ருள@@வப@ப // [E] ப#றகடககிட
 நதபகுதியினவருவனவும // [F] சிறப்பு@ம#ழிசி@ல
 @@டமறுதது@ம#ழிநிலை@ய // [G] உடனிலைககூட்ட
 முவ@@கயுமிருவ@@க // [H] நுவல#நுவறசிதலை
 கீட்டுய# @ம#ழி // [I] நிதரிசனம#றாட@ட#ருங்கிய
 நிலை@ய // [J] ஐமுகப்ப#@வவிரவியலவ#ழத@தன
 // [K] @வயதககூறியவிருபத@தட்டலங்க##ம”.

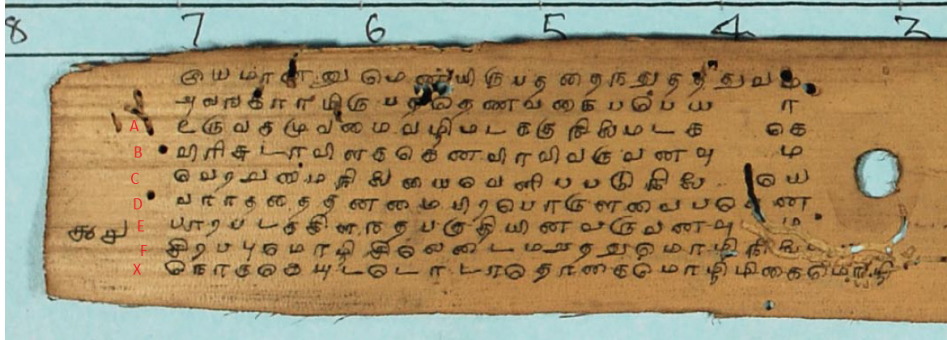


Figure 17 — IFP MS (RE 47779), folio 94 r, Left.

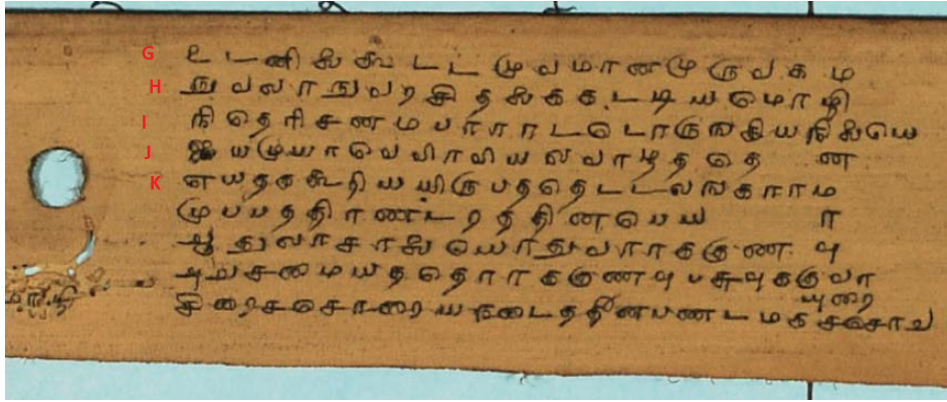


Figure 18 — IFP MS (RE 47779), folio 94 r, Middle.

Table 12 — IFP MS (RE 47779), folio 94 r, left and middle columns [Diplomatic transcription (FAX protocol)]. (Line order: ABC DEF X GHIJK)

//col-1// //1// ... யிருபததைநதுததுவம [[END OF PRECEDING VERSE]] // அலங்காரமிருபததெணவகைப்பெயா [[TITLE]] // [A] உருவகமு வமைவழிமடககுநிலைமடககெ // [B] விரிசுடாவிளககெனவிரவிவருவனவும // [C] வெற்றுமைநிலையவெளிப்படுநிலையெ // [D] வாராததைதனமைபிறபொருளவைப்பென // [E] பாற்படக்கிளந்தபகுதியினவருவனவும // [F] சிறப்புமொழிசிலெடைமறுத்துமொழிநிலை ... // [X] நொக்கெயுடடொடா தொகைமொழிமிகைமொழி //col-2// [G] உடனிலைக்கூட்டமு வமானமுருவகம் // [H] நுவலாநுவரசிதலைகட்டியமொழி // [I] ந்தெரிசனம்பாராடடொருங்கியநிலையெ // [J] ஐயமுயாவெவிரவியலவாழததென // [K] எயதக்கூறியயிருபததெட்டலங்காரம் // [[FOLLOWED BY]] முப்பத்திராண்டறத்தினபெயா // ஆதுலாசாலே ...

In marked contrast with the BnF image, the text in this manuscript seems to be very close to the *editio princeps*. For future references, the two distinct orderings for the metrical lines are provided here below in (5a), in (5b) and in (5c).

(5a) ABCDEF X GHIJK (order of metrical lines in Figure 10) (*editio princeps*, 1840)

(5b) ABC X DEFGHIJK (order of metrical lines in Figure 15 & Figure 16) (BnF MS)

(5c) ABCDEF X GHIJK (order of metrical lines in Figure 17 and Figure 18) (IFP MS)

The next logical step should consist in extracting the 28 elements contained in the enumeration. However, before attempting this, I shall present one additional piece of manuscript evidence, taken this time from a manuscript available in the UVSL in Chennai. The text is not written in columns, which makes it unwieldy for image handling. Therefore, I shall only provide a facsimilé representation (see Table 13).

Table 13 — UVSL-449: [folio 58 r (line 12)] [folio 58 v (lines 1–4)] [Diplomatic transcription (FAX protocol) (BBB indicates a triple blank space)].

//f_58_r// //12// ... ன வி ரு ப த தை ந து த த து வ ம -[[END OF PRECEDING VERSE]]- இ
ரு ப த தெ ட ட ல ங க ரா த தி ன பெ ய ரா -[A]- உ ரு வ க //f_58_v// //1// மு வ மை வ ழி
நி லை ம ட க கெ -[B]- வி ரி ச ட ரா வி ள க கெ ன ம ரீ இ வ வ BBB வு ம -[C]- வெ ற று
மை நி லை யெ வெ ளி ப ப டை நி லை யெ -[X]- நெ ராக கெ யு ட டெ ட ரா தொ
கை //2// மொழி மிசை மொழி -[D]- வாராத தனமபிறா பொருளவைப
பென -[E]- பாறபடக்கிளாநதபகுதியினவருபவும் -[F]- சிறப்பு மொழிசி
லெடைமறுத்து மொழிநிலையெ //3// [G] உடனிலைக்கூட்ட முவமானவுரு
வகம் -[H]- நுவலாமுயற்சிதலைக/கூட்டுயாமொழி -[I]- நிதரிசனமா
ட டெ ரா ரு ங கிய நி லை யெ -[J]- ஐ மு க ப பா வெ வி லை வியலவாழ்த //4// தெ
ன -[K]- வெயதக கூறியவிருபததெட்டலங்காரம் -[[FOLLOWED BY]]- மு ப
ப த திரா ண ட ர த தி ன பெ ய ரா - ஆ து லா சா லை ...

It can be seen in this transcription, which can be compared, if need be, with its online version,³⁷ that the order of the lines (given in 5d) is identical with the order seen in the BnF manuscript.

³⁷ The MS online images are available online at: https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in/palms_detail?id=jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZp7k0hy.

(5d) ABC X DEFGHIJK (order of metrical lines in Figure 15 & Figure 16)
(BnF MS)

It may now become clear to the reader why I have declared earlier, at the beginning of this section, that it will not possible to examine here in complete detail the differences between the various witnesses under consideration. The task is simply too enormous and we are simply here touching the tip of an iceberg. The most reasonable goal which can be assigned to this article is to give in the following sections a broad view of the current state of research and to enumerate in the conclusion the possible next steps. Therefore, I shall now provide the text of the *Tivākaram sūtra* which is currently at the centre of our attention as it appears in the edition which was published in 1990–1993 by the Madras University and was prepared by Mu. Caṇmukam Piḷḷai and I. Cuntaramūrtti.

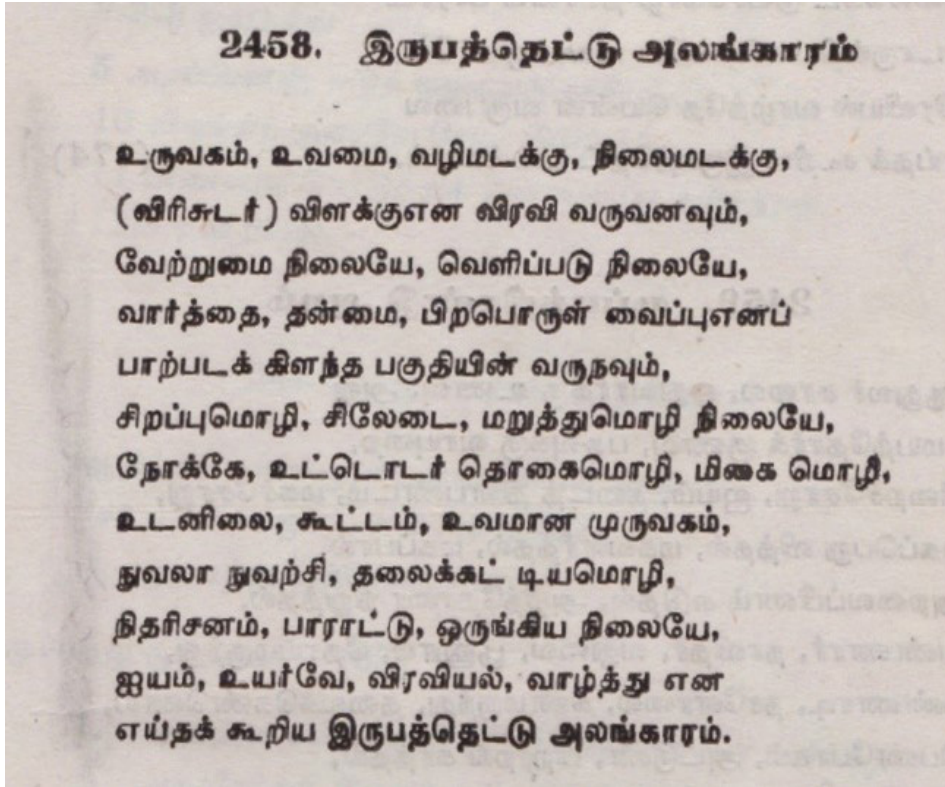


Figure 19 — *Tivākaram* 2458, Madras University 1990–1993 critical edition.

As we can see, the order of lines chosen by the editors is as follows

(5e) ABCDEF X GHIJK (order of metrical lines in Figure 22) (**Madras University Edition, 1990–1993**)

Such a fact would seem to put the 1990–1993 edition in the same group as the 1840 *editio princeps* and the IFP palm leaf manuscript, setting them apart from the BnF and the UVSL manuscripts. However, in reality, this is not the case, as I hope to explain to the reader, by a number of remarks:

- (A) there are currently, among recent Tamil scholars, if we base ourselves on the texts which are currently available for sale to the general public, **two schools** which have quite different views concerning the text of the *Tivākaram* which should be transmitted. One of these two schools, which I shall refer to as the **First School** and which is currently represented by the 2004 Santhi Sadhana joint edition of the *Tivākaram*, *Piṅkalam* and *Cūṭamaṇi Nikaṇṭu*, as well as by the *Akarāti Aṭṭavaṇai* published in 2000 by the same Santhi Sadhana Charitable Trust, follows very faithfully the 1839 and the 1840 texts published by Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār with the assistance of other scholars who completed what he did not have the time to do himself. On the other hand, the **Second School**,³⁸ which is represented by a set of two volumes, *Tamiḷ Nikaṇṭukaḷ*, published in 2008 by Ca. Vē. Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ, and providing the text of eighteen distinct *nikaṇṭus*, from all periods, has taken as its base text the text of the 1990–1993 Madras University Edition, which is currently the closest that we have to a critical edition of the *Tivākaram*, although it should rather be called a pre-critical edition.

³⁸ When I started to use those labels, the justification for calling one school “First School” and the other one “Second School” was based on a comparison between printed editions. Books belonging to the First School were printed before books belonging to the Second School. However, when I started to examine the manuscript tradition, it quickly became clear that the second school was more faithful to what can be seen in the more ancient MSS. I decided nevertheless not to change their designations, although this may seem to result in an illogical order of presentation in the passages where I mention the 2nd School before mentioning the 1st School.

- (B) one important difference between the two distinct texts of the *Tivākaram* which are provided by the two schools is seen in the number of *sūtras* which they provide. Whereas the text provided by the second school consists of 2518 *sūtras*, the text provided by the first school contains 2914 *sūtras*. The 396 supplementary *sūtras* were added by Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār and his collaborators to nine out of the ten first sections, apparently with the intention of improving the text. The title page of the 1839 edition explains that the new additional *sūtras* will be marked by an asterisk *, referred to as *uṭukkuṛi* on the title page. This is in fact only partly true. For instance, inside the fifth section (*iṭap peyart tokuti*), which is devoted to place names, there are at least 65 supplementary entries, but only 15 of them are marked by an asterisk. This means that 50 additional entries were silently added. To this can be added the remark that if the asterisks are visible in the 1839 and 1840 editions, later editions removed them. This is for instance the case in the Santhi Sadhana edition, which does not warn its users of the presence of the additional *sūtras*.
- (C) another important difference between the two texts transmitted by the two schools, is the fact that the content of the 11th section of the *Tivākaram*, which is devoted to polysemic words, has been divided by the first school into two subsections, called *āti* and *antam*, the first one containing the *sūtras* where the headword is in initial position (*āti*), whereas the second subsection contains the *sūtras* where the headword is not in initial position. Moreover, inside each subsection, the *sūtras* have been put in alphabetical order. This is not the case for second school, where the two types of *sūtras* are not separated and no alphabetical order is used.³⁹

On the basis of these criteria, I shall now remark that.

- In both the BnF and the UVSL palm-leaf manuscripts, the 11th chapter of the *Tivākaram* is not split into two sections (*āti* and *antam*)
- In the IFP palm-leaf manuscript on the other hand the 11th chapter is divided into two sections, *āti* and *antam*, and the first of these two sections is alphabetised. To which I shall add that the IFP manuscript is

³⁹ For more details, see Chevillard 2023.

dateable to 1823, on the basis of statements made at the end of each section by the scribe who copied the manuscript.

We can conclude from those clues that when Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyar and his collaborators were publishing in 1839 and 1840 a “modernized” version of the *Tivākaram*, they were following a trend already present in some manuscripts such as IFP RE 47779. If the Madras University 1990–1993 edition intended to return to the *Tivākaram* text as it was before “modernizing” attempts, they could possibly have printed the *sūtra* enumerating the 28 *alaṅkārams* with the “ABC X DEFGHIJK” metrical lines order which is seen in the UVSL and the BnF manuscripts. Of course, my statement is based on the examination of only three manuscripts and further explorations are of course very much needed.

6b. How *Tivākaram* list Li_28a was split into individual items by editors

Our next logical step consists in examining the splitting of the *sūtra* text as it is seen in the two schools that have just been mentioned in the preceding section. I shall first provide, in image form (see Figures 19, 20 and 21) the texts of the *sūtras* enumerating the 28 *alaṅkārams* as they appear in the 2004 and 2008 books already mentioned which represent what I have called the “First School” and the “Second School”.

இருபத்தெட்டு அலங்காரம்

உருவகம், உவமை, வழி மடக்கு, நிலை மடக்கு,
(விரி சுடர்) விளக்கு, (என விரவி வருவனவும்),
வேற்றுமை நிலையே, வெளிப்படு நிலையே,
வார்த்தை, தன்மை, பிற பொருள் வைப்பு (எனப்
பால் படக் கிளந்த பகுதியின் வருவனவும்),
சிறப்பு மொழி, சிலேடை, மறுத்து மொழி நிலையே,
நோக்கே, உள் தொடர், தொகை மொழி, மிகை மொழி,
உடன் நிலைக் கூட்டம், உவமான வருவகம்,
நுவலா நுவற்சி, தலைக் கட்டிய மொழி,
நிதரிசனம், பாராட்டு, ஒருங்கிய நிலையே,
ஐயம், உயர்வே, விரவு இயல், வாழ்த்து (என
எய்தக் கூறிய) எழு நான்கு அலங்காரம். 171

Figure 20 — Santhi Sadhana 2004 edition, page 117, *Tivākaram* 12–171 (First School).

190 தமிழ் நிகண்டுகள்

2458. இருபத்தெட்டு அலங்காரம்

உருவகம், உவமை, வழிமடக்கு, நிலைமடக்கு,
(விரிகடர்) விளக்கு என விரவி வருவனவும்,
வேற்றுமை நிலையே, வெளிப்படு நிலையே,
வார்த்தை, தன்மை, பிறபொருள் வைப்பு எனப்
பாற்படக் கிளந்த பகுதியின் வருநவும்,
சிறப்புமொழி, சிலேடை, மறுத்துமொழி நிலையே,
நோக்கே, உட்டொடர் தொகைமொழி, மிகை மொழி,
உடனிலை, கூட்டம், உவமான முருவகம்,
நுவலா நுவற்சி, தலைக்கட்டியமொழி,
நிதரிசனம், பாராட்டு, ஒருங்கிய நிலையே,
ஐயம், உயர்வே, விரவியல், வாழ்த்து என
எய்தக் கூறிய இருபத்தெட்டு அலங்காரம்.

2458. அலங்காரம்

Figure 21 — Ca.Vē.Cu. 2008 edition, page 190, Ti_2458 (sūtra text) (Second School).

2458. இருபத்தெட்டு அலங்காரம்

1. உருவகம் 2. உவமை 3. வழிமடக்கு 4. நிலை மடக்கு
5. விளக்கு 6. வேற்றுமைநிலை 7. வெளிப்படுநிலை, 8.
வார்த்தை 9. தன்மை 10. பிறபொருள் வைப்பு 11. சிறப்பு
மொழி 12. சிலேடை, 13. மறுத்து மொழி நிலை 14. நோக்கு
15. தொகை மொழி 16. மிகை மொழி 17. உடனிலை 18.
கூட்டம் 19. உவமான முருவகம் 20. நுவலா நுவற்சி 21.
தலைக்கட்டிய மொழி 22. நிதரிசனம் 23. பாராட்டு 24.
ஒருங்கிய நிலை, 25. ஐயம் 26. உயர்வு 27. விரவியல் 28.
வாழ்த்து.

Figure 22 — Ca.Vē.Cu 2008, page 190, Ti_2458 (peyarp pirivu) (Second School).

In what follows, I shall now reproduce, in (6a1) and (6a2), the content of the *sūtra*, as it is understood by the two schools, making use of an additional device, which consists in identifying the items found inside a metrical line by means of a lowercase letter, corresponding to the uppercase identifier of that metrical line, followed by a disambiguating digit, occasionally augmented by a lowercase letter. The expressions which have been underlined can be considered as structuring syntactic accompaniment or as decorative metrical filler expressions. Additionally, one item, namely c1, seems to contain a small mistake in one of the witnesses, for which a correction is suggested in a footnote. (6a1) contains six elements, namely a1, a2, d1, f2, g2 and i1, which are borrowed from Sanskrit and which are highlighted

(6a1) [A] uruvakam (a1), uvamai (a2), vaḷimaṭakku (a3), nilaimaṭakku (a4), // [B] (viricuṭar) viḷakku* (b1) eṇa viravi varuṇavum, // [C] vērrumai nilai-y-ē⁴⁰ (c1), veḷippaṭu nilaiyē (c2), // [D] vārttai (d1), taṇmai (d2), piṇaporuḷ vaippu (d3) eṇap // [E] pārpaṭak kilanta pakutiyaṇ varuvanavum, // [F] ciṇappumoli (f1), cilēṭai (f2), maṇuttu-moli nilaiyē (f3), // [X] nōkkē (x1), (uṭṭoṭar) tokaimoli (x2b), mikaimoli (x3), // [G] uṭaṇilaik (g1a), kūṭṭam (g1b), uvamāna muru-vakam* (g2), // [H] nuvalā nuvaṇci (h1), talaikkaṭ ṭiyamoli (h2), // [I] nitaricaṇam (i1), pārāṭṭu* (i2), oruṇkiya nilaiyē (i3), // [J] y-aiyam (j1), uyarvē (j2), viraviyal (j3), vāḷttu* (j4) eṇa // [K] v-eytak kūriya v-eḷu-nāṇku* alaṇkāram (transliterated version of the content of Figure 10 and of Table 10, with a splitting of items based on the punctuation seen inside Figure 20, Figure 21 and Figure 22) (**Second School**)

As we shall now see, the text splitting which has just been provided, in (6a1), differs in two places, line G and line X, from the text splitting which is seen in Figure 19, now provided in (6a2).

⁴⁰ The text inside Figure 10 and Table 10 reads in fact *vērrumainilaiya*, but that looks like a mistake, where the *kompu* „௧” has been forgotten by the scribe, because every other printed edition has *vērrumainilaiyē* and BnF Indien 239, reproduced in Figure 15 and Figure 16, reads வெற்றமுமைநிலையெ which disambiguates as *vērrumainilaiyē*. Therefore, in what follows, I shall treat the item as being *vērrumainilai-y-ē*.

(6a2) [A] uruvakam (a1), uvamai (a2), vaḷimaṭakku (a3), nilaimaṭakku (a4), // [B] (viricuṭar) viḷakku* (b1) eṇa viravi varuṇavum, // [C] vērrumai nilai-y-ē (c1), veḷippaṭu nilaiyē (c2), // [D] vārttai (d1), taṇmai (d2), piraporuḷ vaippu (d3) eṇap // [E] pārpaṭak kiḷanta pakutiyaṇ varuṇavum, // [F] cirappumoli (f1), cilētai (f2), maruttumoli nilaiyē (f3), // [X] nōkkē (x1), uṭṭotar (x2a) tokaimoli (x2b), mikaimoli (x3), // [G] uṭaṇilaik kūṭṭam (g1), uvamāna muruvakam* (g2), // [H] nuvalā nuvarci (h1), talaikkaṭ ṭiyamoli (h2), // [I] nitaricaṇam (i1), pārāṭṭu* (i2), oruṇkiya nilaiyē (i3), // [J] y-aiyam (j1), uyarvē (j2), viraviyal (j3), vāḷttu* (j4) eṇa // [K] v-eytak kūṛiya v-eḷu-nāṇku* alaṅkāram (transliterated version of the content of Figure 10 & of Table 10, with a splitting of items based on the punctuation seen inside Figure 19) (**First School**)

I shall now provide TWO distinct semi-translations, (6b1) and (6b2), which attempt to make more explicit the differences between the two manners of splitting the *Tivākaram sūtra* Ti-2458 into three sections, which were provided in (6a1) and (6a2).

(6b1) $[28 = 5_{AB} + 5_{CD} + 18_{FXGHJ} = (4_A + 1_B) + (2_C + 3_D) + (3_F + 3_X + 3_G + 2_H + 3_I + 4_J)]$
 “[K] The twenty-eight *alaṅkārams* obtain by enumerating:
 ((**FIRST GROUP: 5 items**)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms (viravi varuṇa) ((namely)) [A] a1, a2, a3, a4, [B1] ((and)) b1 of expansive flame
 ((**SECOND GROUP: 5 items**)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions which are amenable (pārpaṭak kiḷanta pakutiyaṇ varuṇa) (to the previous ones) ((namely)) [C] *c1*, *c2*, [D] *d1*, *d2* and *d3*
 and ((**THIRD GROUP: 18 items**)) [F] *f1*, *f2*, *f3*, [X] *x1*, *x2b*, *x3*, [G] *g1a*, *g1b*, *g2*, [H] *h1*, *h2*, [I] *i1*, *i2*, *i3*, [J] *j1*, *j2*, *j3* ((and)) *j4*”
 (1990–1993 critical edition [University of Madras] and Ca.Vē.Cu, 2008) (**Second School**)

The second translation, (6b2), will differ in two places from the preceding one and is as follows:

(6b2) $[28 = 5_{AB} + 5_{CD} + 18_{FXGHJ} = (4_A + 1_B) + (2_C + 3_D) + (3_F + 4_X; + 2_G + 2_H + 3_I + 4_J)]$

“[K] The twenty-eight *alaṅkārams* obtain by enumerating:
 ((**FIRST GROUP: 5 items**)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms
 (*viravi varuvana*) ((namely)) [A] a1, a2, a3, a4, [B1] ((and)) b1 of
 expansive flame
 ((**SECOND GROUP: 5 items**)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions
which are amenable (to the previous ones) ((namely)) [C]
 c1, c2, [D] d1, d2 and d3
 and ((**THIRD GROUP: 18 items**)) [F] f1, f2, f3, [X] x1, x2a, x2b,
 x3, [G] g1, g2, [H] h1, h2, [I] i1, i2, i3, [J] j1, j2, j3 ((and)) j4”
 (Santhi Sadhana 2004 edition) (**First School**)

It can be seen, by closely examining the labels, that we do have more than 28 distinct candidate-items inside the union of (6a1), (6a2), (6b1) and (6b2). The succession of labels is as follows:

- a1, a2, a3, a4 (on metrical line A)
- b1 (on line B)
- c1, c2 (on line C)
- d1, d2, d3 (on line D)
- f1, f2, f3 (on line F)
- EITHER x1, **x2**, x3, OR x1, **x2a**, **x2b**, x3 (on line X)
- EITHER **g1a**, **g1b**, g2, OR **g1**, g2 (on line G)
- h1, h2 (on line H)
- i1, i2, i3 (on line I)
- j1, j2, j3, j4 (on line J)

The discrepancy is due to the fact that there is a difference of opinion between the two groups of *Tivākaram* editors concerning the splitting of the text inside two lines, namely line X and line G, because, as far as **line X** is concerned:

- The editors belonging to the “Second School” — including for instance Ca.Vē.Cu. — think that the expressions **x2a** & **x2b** must be read jointly as a single expression **x2** which is “(*uṭṭoṭar*) *tokaimoḷi*”, containing *tokaimoḷi* (**x2b**) as the name of an *alaṅkāram* and *uṭṭoṭar* as a decorative epithet.
- The editors belonging to the “First School” — including the Santhi Sadhana trust 2000 Concordance compilers — think that the string *uṭṭoṭar tokaimoḷi* must be split into two subexpressions, namely *uṭṭoṭar* (**x2a**)

and *tokaimoḷi* (**x2b**), each of them being the name of a specific *alaṅkāram*.

Symmetrically, as far as **line G** is concerned:

- The editors belonging to the “Second School” think that the expressions *uṭaṇilai* (**g1a**) and *kūṭṭam* (**g1b**), are the names of two distinct *alaṅkārams*.
- The editors belonging to the “First School” think that those two expressions form a single name, for an *alaṅkāram* (**g1**) called *uṭaṇilaikkūṭṭam*.

The practical consequence is that, inside the list L_28a, the items numbered 15 to 18 are:

- “*tokaimoḷi* (x2b), *mikaimoḷi* (x3), *uṭaṇilai* (g1a), *kūṭṭam* (g1b)” for the Ca.Vē.Cu. group of editors (“Second School”);
- “*uṭṭoṭar* (x2a), *tokaimoḷi* (x2b), *mikaimoḷi* (x3), *uṭaṇilaikkūṭṭam* (g1)” for the Santhi Sadhana Trust group of editors (“First School”).

If we decide at this preliminary stage not to choose between the two groups of editors, we must keep track of the elements in a set of terms which is the union of,

- the consensus set containing elements numbered 1 to 14, namely { a1, a2, a3, a4, b1, c1, c2, d1, d2, d3, f1, f2, f3, x1 },
- the DISCORDANT SUBSET of items numbered 15 to 18, which can be
 - EITHER the set {x2a, x2b, x3, g1}, which is the Santhi Sadhana group of editors choice
 - OR the set {x2b, x3, g1a, g1b}, corresponding to the Ca.Vē.Cu. group reading,
- the consensus set containing elements numbered 19 to 28, namely {g2, h1, h2, i1, i2, i3, j1, j2, j3, j4}.

Because of the overlap, due to the presence of x2b (*tokaimoḷi*) and x3 (*mikaimoḷi*) in both middle sets, we end up with a list of 30 potential distinct items, candidate-members of L_28, which would have to be compared with the 35 members of list L_35, as we know it for the time being.

Before concluding this section, and remembering the variant which is illustrated by BnF Indien 239 (see Table 11) and by the UVSL manuscript (see Table 13), in which lines appeared in a different order, as shown in (5b),

we can see that if this became the accepted order, it would give rise to a THIRD and to a FOURTH semi-translations, namely (6b3) and (6b4), which would be:

(6b3) (28 = 5 + 8 + 15) “[K] The twenty-eight *alaṅkārams* obtain by enumerating:

((**FIRST GROUP: 5 items**)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms (*viravi varuvaṇa*) ((namely)) [A] *a1, a2, a3, a4*, [B1] ((and)) *b1* of expansive flame

((**SECOND GROUP: 8 items**)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions which are amenable (*pārpaṭak kiṭanta pakutiyaṇ varuṇa*) (to the previous ones) ((namely)) [C] *c1, c2*, [X] *x1, x2b, x3*, [D] *d1, d2* and *d3*

((and **THIRD GROUP: 15 items**)) [F] *f1, f2, f3*, [G] *g1a, g1b, g2*, [H] *h1, h2*, [I] *i1, i2, i3*, [J] *j1, j2, j3* ((and)) *j4*” (BnF Indien 239, 1st manner)

(6b4) (28 = 5 + 9 + 14) “[K] The twenty-eight *alaṅkārams* obtain by enumerating:

((**FIRST GROUP: 5 items**)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms ((namely)) [A] *a1, a2, a3, a4*, [B1] ((and)) *b1* of expansive flame

((**SECOND GROUP: 9 items**)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions which are amenable (to the previous ones) ((namely)) [C] *c1, c2*, [X] *x1, x2a, x2b, x3*, [D] *d1, d2* and *d3*

((and **THIRD GROUP: 14 items**)) [F] *f1, f2, f3*, [G] *g1, g2*, [H] *h1, h2*, [I] *i1, i2, i3*, [J] *j1, j2, j3* ((and)) *j4*” (BnF Indien 239, 2nd manner).

7. Two methods for importing Sanskrit terminology into Tamil technical literature

I shall now add, as an additional observation, that the list (6a1) contains six elements, namely *a1, a2, d1, f2, g2* and *i1*, which are borrowed from Sanskrit and which are highlighted. Since we have already encountered such a situation — see Section 1 (Table 1) — although its examination was postponed, and since we shall deal again with such phenomena in the following sections, I shall now introduce, in (7a), a technical device for dealing with borrowings, in the form of a functional notation. That will be followed, in

(7b) and (7c), by two types of illustration, both drawn from (6a1). The functional notation is as follows:

- (7a) if “N” is a Sanskrit word, the symbolic notation “P(N)” designates a Tamil string which is a possible adaptation of N to Tamil phonology.
- (7b) As an example, items a1 (= *uruvakam*), a2 (= *uvamai*), f2 (= *cilētai*) and i1 (= *nitaricaṇam*) can be referred to as P(DK03), P(DK02), P(DK24 _var) and P(DK30), where DK03 (= *rūpaka*), DK02 (= *upamā*), DK24 (= *śliṣṭam* [variant: *ślēṣa*]) and DK30 (= *nidarśana*) are the Sanskrit terms mentioned in (4), inside section 5. Additionally, it can be remarked that these four items have already been seen inside L_35a and L_35c, i.e. in Figure 3 and Table 1, where there are found respectively in positions 3, 2, 24 and 30, which fact is not surprising because both these lists are instances of L_35 and are ultimately based on DK.
- (7c) Item d1 (= *vārttai*) can be referred to as P(*vārttā*) and the first half of g2(= *uvamānam-uruvakam*), namely *uvamānam*, can be referred to as P(*upamāna*). It is to be noted however that the Sanskrit word *vārttā* is not part of the DK list provided in (4), although some editors/commentators present it as being a variant of the standard item for DK05 (*āvṛtti*), namely *corpiṇvarunilai*.

These preliminary remarks being made, we shall now turn to the other terms inside L_28a. Those terms are native Tamil terms, but it is nevertheless possible to specify a possible connection between some of them and some Sanskrit technical terms. In order to deal with that in a compact manner, I shall introduce another functional notation which will be used for making statements concerning translation links. That functional notation is as follows:

- (8a) if “N” is a Sanskrit word, the notation “T(N)” will be used for referring to a translation of N into Tamil.

That being stated, we can now use this notation for contrasting L_28a and L_35a thus:

- (8b) Item b1 inside L1, which appears at the beginning of the B metrical line “விரிகடர்விளக்கெனவிரவிவருனவும்” inside Figure 10 and

Table 10, and as “(viricuṭar) viḷakku” inside (1), in which *viricuṭar* “expansive flame” is a decorative epithet and *viḷakku* “lamp” is the technical term, can be represented as T(DK04), where DK04 stands for *dīpaka*.

- (8c) Conversely, the 4th item inside L_35a, which appears as தீவகம் [*tīvakam*] inside Fig 3 and Table 1, can be represented using the notation defined in (7a) as P(DK04), where DK04, as stated in (4), stands for *dīpaka*, a Sanskrit word meaning “lamp”. That word is also the name of a Sanskrit figure of speech already known to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (henceforth NŚ), along with three others, namely *upamā*, *rūpaka* and *yamaka* (see NŚ XVII, 43–85).

There are of course many more items which can be characterized in that manner, but before examining them, we must now first examine the list Li28b.

8. Examining the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* list, Li_28b

We shall now examine L_28b, which is the list of 28 *alaṅkārams*, as found in the 12th chapter of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*. That list has already been provided in image form, inside Section 4, as Figures 11 & 13, and the extract was taken from a 20th-century edition of *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*. A preliminary observation is here necessary, concerning the metrical form of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*. That observation will also serve as an explanation for one of the remarks made in the 18th century by Ziegenbalg, which has been reproduced in (2), inside Section 3, where we can see him say that the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* “differs from” the *Tivākaram* “in that it consists only of verses, while the other is written in prose”. Technically speaking, one should say that both the *Tivākaram* and the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* are in verse. However, the *Tivākaram* is in a rather flexible metre called *ācīriyam*, or *nūrpā*, whereas the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* is composed in a type of metre called *viruttam*, in which rather long groups of stanzas are composed following a very repetitive pattern. Inside the extract provided in Figures 11 & 13, the list L_28b is spread across three stanzas (from stanza 12.125 to stanza 12.127), which each possess four metrical lines. Each of the twelve metrical lines found in that ensemble falls under a *viruttam* pattern which can be described as

(9a) விளம் மா மா விளம் மா மா,

although the விளம் can occasionally be replaced by a மாங்காய்.⁴¹ Additional constraints are that the four lines of a stanza always share the same *etukai* (i.e. second syllable rhyme), and that the two half-lines of each metrical line are frequently (but not always) linked by *mōṇai* (i.e. initial rhyme). The metrical text of those three stanzas, if split on the basis of the metrical pattern, appears as:

(9b) உருவக | முவமை | யோடே | யூன்றிய | வடிம | டக்கே
 விரிசுடர் | நிலைம | டக்கே | வேற்றுமை | வெளிப்ப |
 டுத்தல்
 மருவிய | நோக்கே | யுட்கோள் | வருந்தொகை |
 மொழியே | மற்றைத்
 தருமிகை | மொழியே | வார்த்தை | தன்மைவே |
 றருத்தம் | வைப்பே (12.125)
 சிறப்பதா | நிலைசி | லேடை | மறுத்திடு | நிலையின் |
 வார்த்தை
 நிறுத்துட | நிலையிற் | கூட்ட | முவமாரு | பகத்தி |
 னோடு
 வெறுப்பிலா | மகிழ்ச்சி | செய்து | மிகுநுவ | லானு |
 வற்சி
 உறுத்தியே | யிடுந்த | லைக்கூட் | டுயரணி | தெரிச |
 னங்கள் (12.126)
 உரைகெழு | பாராட் | டோடே | யொருங்கிய |
 னிலையே | யையம்
 விரவிய | னிலைவாழ்த் | தென்ன | விதித்திடு | மிருபத்
 | தெட்டாம்
 மருவிய | வலங்கா | ரத்தை | வரிசையிற் | பாட |
 வல்லோன்
 பரிவுறு | மெழுத்துஞ் | சொல்லும் | பொருள்யாப்போ |
 டிவைய | றிந்தோன் (12.127)

The extreme regularity of the meter is supposed to make memorization easier, but at the same time it makes the retrieval of information more difficult because, firstly, words are frequently split in the middle, in an unnat-

⁴¹ Inside (9b), this is the case with முவமாரு in the 3rd line of stanza 12.126 and with பொருள்யாப்போ in the fourth line of stanza 12.127.

ural manner and also because, secondly, a lot of metrical fillers are inserted in the text. In order to illustrate, although in a limited manner, the stability

Table 14 — FAX (facsimilé) transcription of the content of 3 stanzas from 12th section of CN, locally numbered as 106, 107 & 108 (but usually referred to elsewhere in this article as CN 12–125, 12–126 & 12–127), and found on view f242 (starting on line 3) and view f243 (ending on line 2) inside BnF Indien 232.

உருவக முவமையொடெயூன்றியவழிமடககெவிரிசுடாநிலைமடக
கெவெத்துமைவெளிப்படுத்தலமருவியநொககெயுடகெவருதொ
கைமொழியைமற்றதருமிகமொழியைவாறதைதனமவெறுத்ததம
வைப்பெ = ஈசு = சிறப்பதாநிலைசிலெடைமறுத்ததிடுநிலையிலவாராத
தைநிறுத்ததுடனிலையிறகூட்டமுமமாருபகத்தினுடுவெறுப்பிலாமகி
டசிசெய்துமிகுதூவலாநுவறசியுறுத்தியெயிடுநதலைககிடயாமொ
ழிதெரிசனங்கஎ = ஈஎ = உரைகெழுபாராட /// டெடெயொங்கியெ
நிலையெயையமவிரவியநிலைவாழததெனனவிதித்திடுமிருபததெட்டு
மருவியவலங்காராததைவரிசையிறபாடவலலொன்புரிவுறுமெழுத்து
சசொலலுப்பொருளாXயXப்பொடிவையறிந்தொன = ஈஅ =

of the transmission, I shall now provide here, in the form of a chart, the FAX visualization of a RAW transcription of this passage in BnF Indien 232 (see Figure 23, Figure 24, Figure 25 & Figure 26, below):

The same elements of information will now be presented differently in the following chart, where the metrical segments taken from (9b) are compared with the standard interpretation provided for them by the Āṛumukanāvalar (ĀN_10) tenth edition, while at the same time indicating the reading variants seen in Table 13 and also trying to provide for each item with the corresponding item in L_28a, taken from (6).

Table 15 — 28 *alaṅkārams* inside CN, Chapter 12, stanzas 125 to 127 (as per Āṛumukanāvalar 10th edition) (ĀN10).

	Segments inside CN metrical text	ornament intended (ĀN_10)	id in L_28a	Stanza
1	உருவக	உருவகம்	a1	125
2	முவமை யோடே	உவமை	a2	125
3	யூன்றிய வடிம டக்கே	அடிமடக்கு	a3__	125

4	விரிசுடர்	தீபகம்	b1	125
5	நிலைம டக்கே	நிலைமடக்கு	a4	125
6	வேற்றுமை	வேற்றுமை	c1__	125
7	வெளிப்ப ஓத்தல்	வெளிப்படை	c2	125
8	மருவிய நோக்கே	நோக்கு	x1	125
9	யுட்கோள்	உட்கோள்	x2a	125
10	வருந்தொகை மொழியே மற்றைத்	தொகைமொழி	x2b	125
11	தருமிகை மொழியே	மிகைமொழி	x3	125
12	வார்த்தை	சொற்பின்வருநிலை	d1	125
13	தன்மை-	தன்மை	d2	125
14	-வே றருத்தம் வைப்பே	வேற்றுப்பொருள்வைப்பு	d3__	125
15	சிறப்பதா நிலை-	சிறப்பு	f1	126
16	-சி லேடை	சிலேடை	f2	126
17	மறுத்திடு நிலையின் வார்த்தை	மறுத்துமொழிநிலை	f3	126
18	நிறுத்துட நிலையிற் கூட்ட	உடனிலைக்கூட்டம்	g1	126
19	முவமாரு பகத்தி னோடு	உவமாருபகம்	g2	126
20	வெறுப்பிலா மகிழ்ச்சி செய்து	மகிழ்ச்சி	(not in Ti)	126
21	மிகுநுவ லானு வற்சி	நுவலாநுவற்சி	h1	126
22	மிகுநுவ லானு வற்சி	நுவலாநுவற்சி	h2__	126
23	டுயரணி தெரிச னங்கள்	நிதர்சனம்	i1 (+ j2 uyarvu?)	126
24	உரைகெழு பாராட் டோடே	புகழ்ச்சி	i2	127
25	யொருங்கிய னிலையே	ஒருங்கியனிலை	i3	127

26	யையம்	ஐயம்	j1	127
27	விரவிய னிலை-	கலவை	j3	127
28	-வாழ்த்	வாழ்த்து	j4	127
Coda	தென்ன விதித்திடு மிருபத் தெட்டாம் மருவிய வலங்கா ரத்தை வரிசையிற் பாட வல்லோன்			127

It is of course a challenge to give a full account of the differences between L_28a, as seen in (6), and L_28b, as seen in Table 14. Trying to keep the longer term perspective in mind, I shall simply provide the reader with a few observations:

- my first remark, making use of the capital letters introduced in section 6, is that the global order seen in L_28b, which is ABAC X DFGHIJ, on the basis of the fourth column of Table 14, resembles the global order described in (5b) and (5d), which was “ABC X DEFGHIJK”, that order being seen in BnF Indien 239, and differing from the order followed in the 1840 *editio princeps*. This discrepancy might indicate that the *Cūṭamaṇi Nikaṇṭu* is faithful to what may have been the earlier order of terms, before the “First School” brought innovations, as suggested previously at the end of Section 6a.
- My second remark is that some of the identifications provided by Ārumukanāvalar (ĀN), which can be seen in the third column of Table 14, make use of a terminology inspired from the Tamil adaptations of DK. This is seen in:
 - item 4, “*viricuṭar*”, glossed as “*tīvakam*”, i.e. T(*dīpaka*), alias T(DK04), concerning which the explanations given in (8b) are relevant;
 - item 12, “*vārttai*”, which is identical with d1, but glossed by ĀN as “*corpiṇvarunilai*”, which is identical with the Tamil translation given by the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* (TA) for DK05, alias *āvṛtti* “repetition”;
 - item 24, “*uraikelupārāṭṭōṭē*”, which contains as a kernel the term “*pārāṭṭu*”, which is identical with i2, but has been glossed by ĀN as

“*pukaḷcci*”, which might indicate that he wanted to link it with DK28 and DK29, i.e. “*savirodha*” and “*vyājastuti*”, for which the TA version are “*mārupaṭu pukaḷṇilāi*” and “*pukaḷā pukaḷcci*.”

- My third remark is that item 20, “*veruppilāmakilcciceytu*”, which is glossed by ĀN as *makilcci*, does not correspond with any member of L_28a, but is the VC rendering for DK17, alias *preya*, which appears in the TA, and in Table 18, as *ārvamoli* “affectionate word or phrase”;
- item 27, “*viraviyaṇilāi*”, which is almost identical with j3 (*viraviyal*), has been glossed by ĀN as *kalavai*. This differs from the terminology seen in VC (*virāvu*) and in TA (*caṅkīraṇam*) for rendering DK34 (*saṃkīraṇam*).
- There is no item inside Li28b corresponding to the item j2 of Li28a, unless we extract the beginning of item 23, but we shall then end up with a list of 29 items, and will have to question the validity of other equations.
- The presence of items 9 and 10, which are identified with x2a and x2b, shows that the splitting is in conformity with the position of the Santhi Sadhana group of editors for the *Tivākaram* (see Section 6). If there was no problem caused by the absence of j2 and the insertion of item 20 (“*makilcci*” alias *preya*), we would have a grouping close to the one presented in (6b4).

We shall not however at this stage continue to elaborate on the differences, but we shall soon turn to an examination of the *Pinkalam*, which will provide us with another set of evidence. However, in order for this article to be as self-contained as possible, I shall now provide the set of manuscript images which were the basis for the RAW transcription given inside Table 13 (see above). My reason for doing so is that it would be unbalanced if the only evidence provided here for the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* were based on a relatively late edition, dated 1909. The comparison between the manuscript and the printed text clearly shows that, unlike the editors of the *Caturakarāṭi*, the editors of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* printed a text which, at least for this passage, was faithful, in the spirit, to the evidence available in manuscripts.⁴²

⁴² There would be however much to say on the order of the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* stanzas inside BnF Indien 232. But the only way to seriously deal with such

The fact that most of them probably had that *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikāṇṭu* text alive in their memories (as was the case for U.V.S.) most probably helped. The images shown here are extracted from BnF Indien 232 and are the Left (L) and Right (R) sides of the items identified on Gallica as <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52515769j/f242> and <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52515769j/f243>, abridged in the captions as “f242” and “f243”.

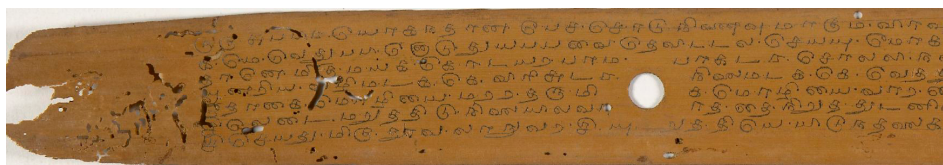


Figure 23 — (BnF Indien 232, f242, Left).

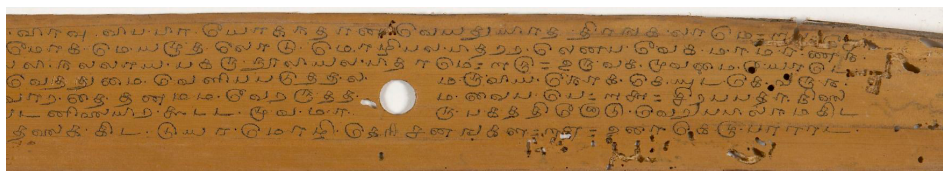


Figure 24 — (BnF Indien 232, f242, Right).

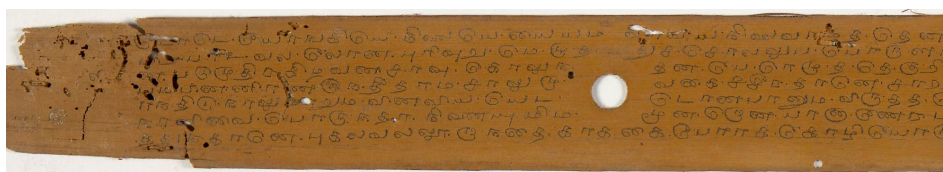


Figure 25 — (BnF Indien 232, f243, Left).

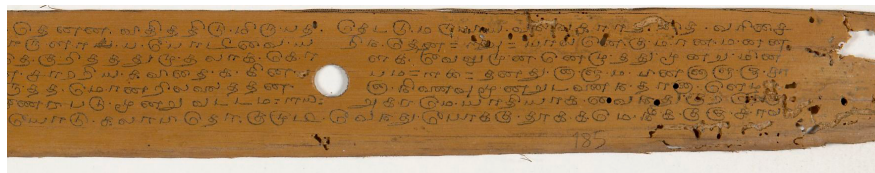


Figure 26 — (BnF Indien 232, f243, Right).

questions consists in critically editing the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikāṇṭu*, the *Tivakāram* and the *Pinkalam*, which is of course a task of a much larger magnitude.

9. Moving from the *Tivākaram* to the *Piṅkalam*: the L_28c list

We shall examine in this section data from another source which is also a representative of Li_28. That source is the *Piṅkalam* and we have already seen it mentioned by Beschi in (3) as பிங்கலந்தை. It stands in the global chronology (see Chart 1) between the 9th-century *Tivākaram* and the 13th-century *Nannūl*, which explicitly quotes it by name: see *sūtra* N459m in Cāminātaiyar [1918, p. 310]. As in the case of the *Tivākaram*, I shall start by providing, in image form (see Figure 27 and Figure 28), the text of a verse, namely Pi-1370, which is extracted from the 8th subsection (*iyal vakai* “literature”⁴³) of the huge 6th section of the *Piṅkalam* and which contains the word *alaṅkāram*, as it can be seen in the first edition of the *Piṅkalam*, which was printed in 1890.

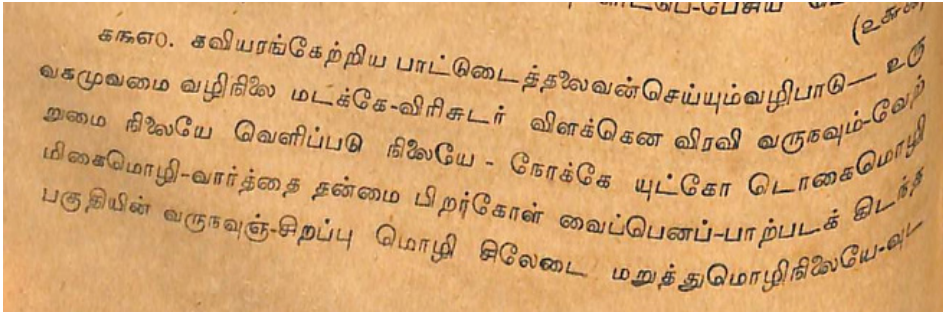
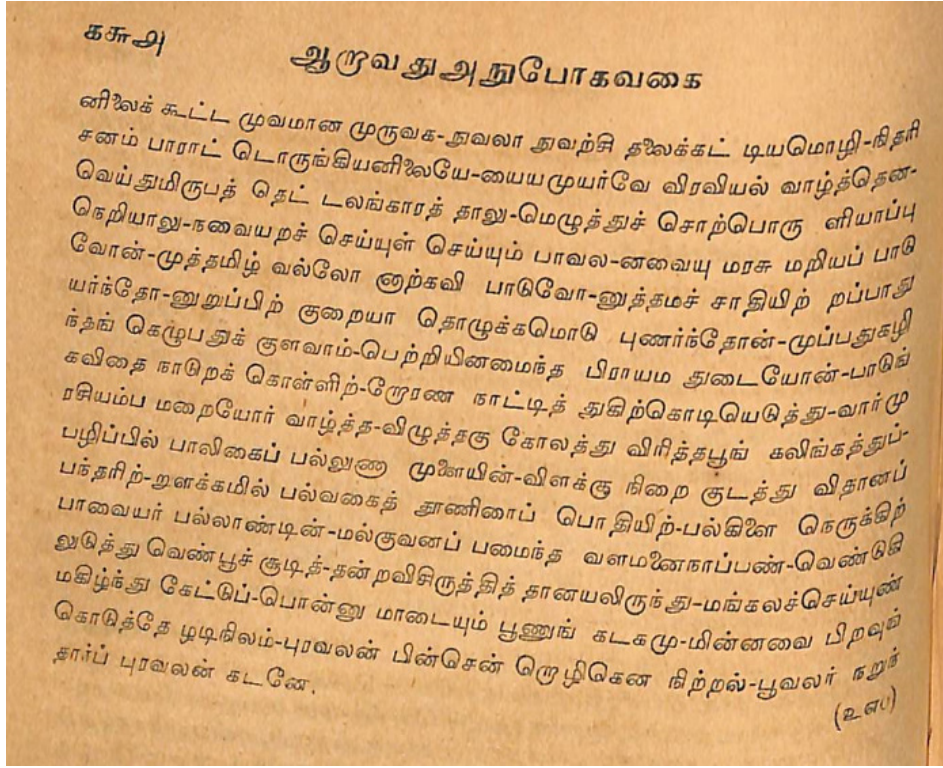


Figure 27 — *Piṅkalam* [1890, p. 167, bottom].

I shall provide, in (10), a transcription of the first twelve lines of that (long) 36-line stanza which explains in detail how a patron (*puravaṇa*) should fulfill his duty (*kaṭaṇ*) and honour a professional poet on the occasion of the initial performance (*araṅkērram*) of a eulogy made to order.⁴⁴

⁴³ More precisely, the *iyal vakai* is devoted to ordinary literary composition, and is followed by the *icai vakai* “section on music” and the *nāṭaka vakai* “section on theatre/dance”.

⁴⁴ That context for the enumeration of the 28 *alaṅkāram* bears in fact some resemblance to the context which is seen in the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* for the three verses (CN 12–125 to 12–127) examined in the previous section. For instance, another verse, numbered 12–133 in the standard *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* edition and 12–118

Figure 28 — *Pinḱalam* [1890, p. 168, top].

The lines transcribed are part of the description of the professional qualities which the poet must have. One of his qualifications is to possess the mastery of the twenty-eight *alaṅkārams*, and it reads thus

- (10) [A] *uruvaka* (a1) *muṇamai* (a2) *vaḷinilai* (a3bis) *maṭakkē* (a4bis) //
 [B] *viricuṭar viḷakk-* (b1) *eṇa viravi varunavum* // [C] *vērrumai*

inside BnF Indien 132, explains what unpleasant consequences would happen to the patron (*pāṭṭuṭait talaivan*) if he did not provide an adequate gratification to the poet. A similar consequence is described inside *Pinḱalam* 1371. This of course reminds us that those poets were language professionals, who hoped to make a living out of their writing of poetry. The situation in the 19th century, as visible inside the autobiography and other such texts, is of course the disintegration of this ancient order, and a kind of sad *Umwertung aller Werten*, which we can never forget, if we want to really enter the lost world of that stage of Tamil poetry.

nilaiyē (c1) veḷippaṭu nilaiyē (c2) // [X] nōkkē (x1) yuṭkō
 (x2aa) ṭokaimolī (x2b) mikaimolī (x3) // [D] vārttai (d1) taṇmai
 (d2) piṛarkōḷ vaipp- (d3bis) eṇap // [E] pāṛpaṭak kiṭanta pakutiyaṇ
 varunavuñ // [F] ciṛappumolī (f1) cilētai (f2) maruttumolī nilaiyē (f3) //
 [G] vuṭaṇilaik kūṭṭa (g1) muvamāṇa muruvaka (g2) // [H] nuvalā
 nuvarci (h1) talaikkaṭ ṭiyamolī (h2) // [I] nitaricaṇam (i1) pāṛāt (i2)
 ṭoruṇkiya ṇilaiyē (i3) // [J] yaiya (j1) muiyārvē (j2) viraviyal (j3) vāḷtt-
 (j4) eṇa // [K] veytumurū patteṭ ṭalaṅkārat tālum
 (Pi-1370, lines 1–12, out of a total of 36 lines)⁴⁵

We can already, while reading this, suspect that the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* text which we have examined in (9b) is in fact a rephrasing of (10). However, since both the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* and the *Piṅkalam* are later than the *Tivākaram*, the relationship between the *Tivākaram* and *Piṅkalam* is also of great interest to us, even though the smaller number of *Piṅkalam* manuscripts, which probably explains why it was printed much later than the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* and the *Tivākaram*, makes it difficult to believe one can easily reconstruct the historical process. A comparison of the *Tivākaram* text which was reproduced in (6) with the *Piṅkalam* text provided in (10) shows that the number of common points between the two texts far exceeds the number of differences. My global perception is that (10) results from an act of creative rewriting of (6), in which one sees that:

- An independent statement of existence (“there exist 28 *alaṅkārams*, which are [...]”) has become an instrumental clause, which is part of the certification of the professional qualities of the Tamil poet (“[...] by means of the 28 *alaṅkārams*, which are [...]”)
- The position of the line X in (10) differs from the “standard position” for the *Tivākaram*, as shown in (5a) and (5c), but resembles the “variant position” shown in (5b) and (5d), which was “ABC X DEFGHIJK”. It is also the same as the one seen in the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* and discussed in section 8. This seems to reinforce the argument already made twice, in sections 6a and 8, that this line order might be the original one.
- Additionally, the content of several lines is partly different. The lines concerned are

⁴⁵ This is based on the 1968 edition of *Piṅkalam* (p. 201).

- line A, in which both a_3 and a_4 have been modified, becoming a_{3bis} and a_{4bis}
- line D, in which d_3 has been modified, becoming d_{3bis}
- line X, in which we have a splitting into four elements (x_1, x_{2aa}, x_{2b} & x_3) resembling what was seen in (3c), namely $\{x_1, x_{2a}, x_{2b} \text{ \& } x_3\}$, except for the item “uṭkōl” (x_{2aa}), which has been substituted for the item “uṭṭoṭar” (x_{2a})
- line G, in which we have the same division into two elements, $g1$ and $g2$, as that which was seen in (3c), as distinct from (3b)

On the basis of those remarks, and as an imitation of what was done in section 6 for the *Tivākaram*, we can propose a semi-translation which runs thus:

(11a) (28 = 5 + 9 + 14) “[K] ... by means of the twenty-eight *alāṅkārams*, which obtain by enumerating:
 ((**FIRST GROUP: 5 items**)) [B2] those occurring in variable forms
 ((namely)) [A] $a1, a2, a3bis, a4bis$, [B1] ((and)) $b1$ of expansive
 flame
 ((**SECOND GROUP: 9 items**)) [E] those occurring in those subdivisions which are amenable (to the previous ones) ((namely))
 [C] $c1, c2$, [X] $x1, x2aa, x2b, x3$, [D] $d1, d2$ and $d3$
 ((and **THIRD GROUP: 14 items**)) [F] $f1, f2, f3$, [G] $g1, g2$, [H] $h1, h2$, [I] $i1, i2, i3$, [J] $j1, j2, j3$ ((and)) $j4$ ” (*Piṅkalam*, 1890 edition)

At this stage, I must provide additional information, although space will prevent me from making full use of it. I have indicated that the twelfth chapter of the *Tivākaram* had been printed for the first time in 1840⁴⁶ and that the first edition of the *Piṅkalam* came out in 1890. There is however an important difference between those two editions concerning the manner in which they guide us in the reading of the text of the *sūtras*. Whereas the 1840 edition of the *Tivākaram* contains only the source text, in unsplit metrical form, the 1890 edition of the *Piṅkalam* uses a facing pages format, where the source text (printed on the left page) is accompanied by a commentary (printed on the right page), which frequently replaces the *sūtra* items by modified formulations. This resembles what is seen in the

⁴⁶ As already stated, the first edition of the *Tivākaram* is dated 1839, but it contains only the first 10 chapters. A more complete edition came only in 1840.

Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu editions and discussed in section 8 (Table 14). Even though the source text is provided in metrical form, we therefore always know how the editor splits it and what he thinks it means. For the sake of completion, I shall now provide the reader, in Figure 29 and in Figure 30, with the commentary extracts seen in the facing pages inside the 1890 edition. This will be followed by a Chart listing the glosses given by the modern editor, wherever they differ from the term explained.

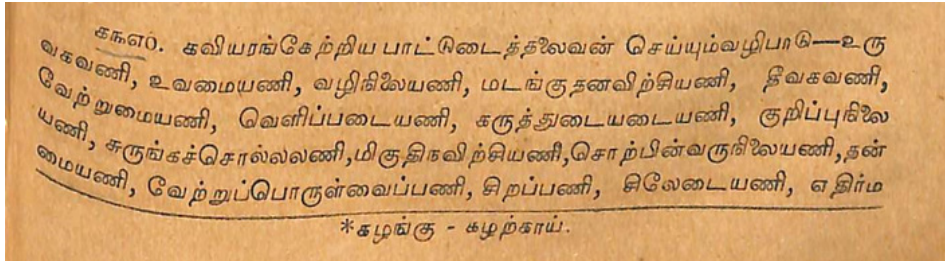


Figure 29 — *Pinkalam* 1370 (commentary on facing page).

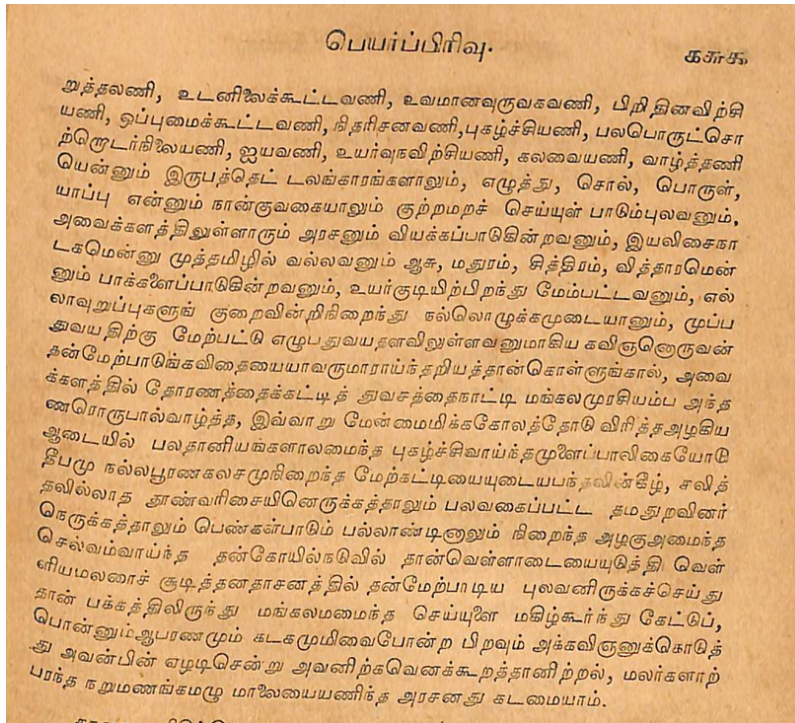


Figure 30 — *Pinkalam* 1370 (commentary on facing page) [continued].

Table 16 — Glosses given for 18 items (out of 28) inside *Pinkalam* 1890 *editio princeps*.

Rank	Pi-1370 (Abbrev.)	Pi-1370 terms	Pi gloss (when it differs from the original text) ⁴⁷
1	a1	uruvakam	—
2	a2	uvamai	—
3	a3bis	vaḷi-nilai	—
4	a4bis	maṭakku	maṭaṅkutanavir̥ci-y-aṇi
5	b1	viri-cuṭar viḷakku	tīvaka-v-aṇi
6	c1	vēr̥rumai-nilai	vēr̥rumai-y-aṇi
7	c2	velippaṭu-nilai	velippaṭai-y-aṇi
8	x1	nōkku	karuttuṭaiyaṭai-y-aṇi
9	x2aa	uṭ-kōḷ	kuṟippunilai-y-aṇi
10	x2b	tokai-moḷi	curuṅkaccollal-aṇi
11	x3	mikai-moḷi	mikutinavir̥ci-y-aṇi
12	d1	vārttai	corpiṇvarunilai-y-aṇi
13	d2	taṇmai	—
14	d3bis	piṟar-kōḷ vaippu	vēr̥rumaipporuḷvaipp-aṇi
15	f1	ciṟappu-moḷi	ciṟapp-aṇi
16	f2	cilēṭai	—
17	f3	maṟuttu-moḷi-nilai	etirmaṟuttal-aṇi
18	g1	uṭaṇilai-k-kūṭṭam	—
19	g2	uvamāṇam-uruvakam	uvamāṇa-v-uruvaka-v-aṇi

⁴⁷ In the case of the 10 items for which I have put a hyphen, the commentator has simply added the word *aṇi* at the end. For instance, *uruvakam* is explained as *uruvaka-v-aṇi* and *uvamai* is explained as *uvamai-y-aṇi*.

20	h1	nuvalā-nuvarci	piritiṇavirci-y-aṇi
21	h2	talai-k-kaṭṭiya-moli	oppumaikkūṭṭa-v-aṇi
22	i1	nitaricaṇam	—
23	i2	pārāṭṭu	pukaḷcci-y-aṇi
24	i3	oruṇkiyaṇilai	palaporuṭcorroṭarnilai-y-aṇi
25	j1	aiyam	—
26	j2	uyarvu	uyarvunavirci-y-aṇi
27	j3	viraviyal	kalavai-y-aṇi
28	j4	vāḷttu	—

However, space limitations will prevent me from drawing many conclusions myself from the data provided here in the commentary, leaving that task to be performed on future occasions. I shall however examine a single extract in order to argue that commentators can sometimes be disconnected from the historicity of the text which they comment. That single extract is the 4th item inside Li28c, which has been transcribed inside (10) as “*maṭakkē* (a4bis)”. We can see inside Figure 29 that the gloss given for this item is “*maṭaṇkutaṇavirciyaṇi*”. We can also verify that this last technical expression is explained in his *Aṇiyilakkaṇam*⁴⁸ by Tiruttaṇikai Vicākapperumālaiyar as being the equivalent of Sanskrit *vakrōkti*.⁴⁹ My impression, which I shall not try to justify here, is that commenting this

⁴⁸ In the 1939 edition, available at <https://noolaham.net/project/49/4882/4882.html>, the item *maṭaṇkutaṇavirciyaṇi* is found on p. 68 and is item 92 in the list of 100 *poruḷaṇi*. For an earlier edition, MTL, p. lxix, expands the abbreviation „*aṇiyi*.” into “*aṇiyilakkaṇam*” (1905). However, since Vicākapperumālaiyar was born in 1798 (cf. Zvelebil [1995:765]), and since “*aṇiyilakkaṇam*” might be extracted from the earlier *Pālapōta Ilakkaṇam*, the commentator on *Piṇkalam* 1890 might be drawing from him.

⁴⁹ See also TIPA, vol. 13, p. 133, where the example given is *Kuraḷ* 1314, in which words uttered with love are twisted, resulting in a scene of jealousy, and references are given to *Cantiralōkam* 118 and to *Kuvalayāṇantam* 92.

Piṅkalam item in this manner seems totally anachronistic, because there seems to exist no compelling reason for depriving the term *maṭakku* from its ancient traditional equivalence with the term *yamaka*.

Finally, I must make another comment on the splitting of the text. It is not clear that one should blindly accept the commentator's interpretation of the string **a**_{3bis} string, namely *vaḷinilai*, which is found in (10). According to another possible interpretation, the sequence “*vaḷinilai* (**a**_{3bis}) *maṭakkē* (**a**_{4bis})” can be understood as “*vaḷinilai maṭakkē* (**a**_{4ter})” and would simply be a factoring out of the term *maṭakku*, performed on a base text which would be the “*vaḷimaṭakku* (**a**₃), *nilaimaṭakku* (**a**₄)”, as seen in (6). That fragment **a**_{4ter} of (10) could then be translated as

(11b) “*vaḷinilai maṭakkē* (**a**_{4ter})

“*maṭakku*, which has the two types called *vaḷi*-(*maṭakku*) ‘follower *yamaka*’ and *nilai*-(*maṭakku*) ‘standing *yamaka*’” [Reinterpretation of a fragment of 4a, cf *supra*]

A practical consequence, in that case, is that one would have to decide whether that **a**_{4ter} item counts for one item or for two items, inside the constrained total of 28. This is of course very speculative and we must now return to the examination of more textual data.

10. Investigating the *Yāpparuṅkalam* and the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, in search of the lost *Aṇiṇiyal*

We shall in this final part of our enquiry examine another text, which belongs to a different line of transmission, namely the tenth-century *Yāpparuṅkalam* (YA), a seminal metrical treatise. While doing that, our focus will also simultaneously be on the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* (YV), an ancient commentary on the *Yāpparuṅkalam*. It is a fact that *Yāpparuṅkalam* would not be understandable without *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, which is why they are normally transmitted together. As already stated, the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* is very important for all historians of the Tamil śāstric tradition, notably because it contains quotations from many Tamil scholarly texts which are now lost.⁵⁰ This was alluded to in the introductory section for

⁵⁰ For a survey of what we know about lost Tamil works, see MPTN.

this article, where some research topics explored by Professor G. Vijayavenugopal were presented. The book which he kindly lent me will now be made visible a second time,⁵¹ in the form of three images, taken from pages 492, 511 and 512.

விரித்து முடித்த மிறைக்கவிப் பாட்டே
 வருவக மாதி விரவிய லீரு
 வருமலங் காரமும் வாழ்த்தும் வசையுங்
 கவியே கமகன் வாதி வாக்கியென்

Figure 31 — Extract from YV editio princeps (vol. 2, 1917, p. 492) showing lines 14–17 inside verse YA-96.

Based on the first image (see Figure 31), I am transcribing below, in (12), a set of two lines, which are lines 15 and 16 inside a verse, YA-96, which is the last *sūtra* in the *Yāpparuṅkalam*. That verse contains 29 lines in all and is a long enumeration of many topics. The extract given in (12) mentions three distinct topics, signalled here by brackets (tagged A, B and C). A slightly longer extract, consisting of lines 14 to 17, is visible in Figure 31.

- (12) ^A{v-uruvaka m-āti viraviya l-īrā // varum-alaṅ kārāmum}^A
^B{vālttum}^B ^C{ vacaiyum }^C “... ^Aand the “ornaments” (*alaṅkāram*),
 [whose list contains] *uruvakam* as beginning (*āti*) and *viraviyal* as
 end (*īru*), ^Band the blessing (*vālttu*), ^Cand the curse (*vacai*), and ...
 (lines 15 & 16 inside YA-96, see Figure 31)

Turning now our attention to *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, which is a very detailed⁵² commentary on *Yāpparuṅkalam*, I have provided, inside Figure 32 and Figure 33, the explanations found in *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* concerning the content delimited by the ^A{ }^A braces inside citation (12). The

⁵¹ The first occasion was when displaying Figure 1.

⁵² Its prolixity can be illustrated by the fact that in the 1998 edition of *Yāpparuṅkalam*, the commentary concerning the 14 lines which precede the 2 lines cited in (2b) occupies 24 pages.

strategy used in *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* consists in first citing verbatim the relevant passage (i.e. line 15 and the first half of line 16) and then immediately after that replacing the elliptical reference seen in *Yāpparuṅkalam*, where only the first term (“*uruvakam* as beginning) and the last term (“*viraviyal* as end”) of the list are specified, by an explicit enumeration of terms”. However, we must remark immediately that the list of 27 items which is provided does indeed start with *uruvakam* but, surprisingly, does not end with *viraviyal*, this term being only in penultimate position, as the 26th term in the list of 27.

This discrepancy might be the result of two competing causal factors:

- On the one hand, it could be a transmissional error, caused by the presence of ^B{*vālttum*}^B in (12), as item B, immediately after the elliptical item A, which was ^A{*v-uruvaka m-āti viraviya l-īrā // varum-alan kāramum*}^A.

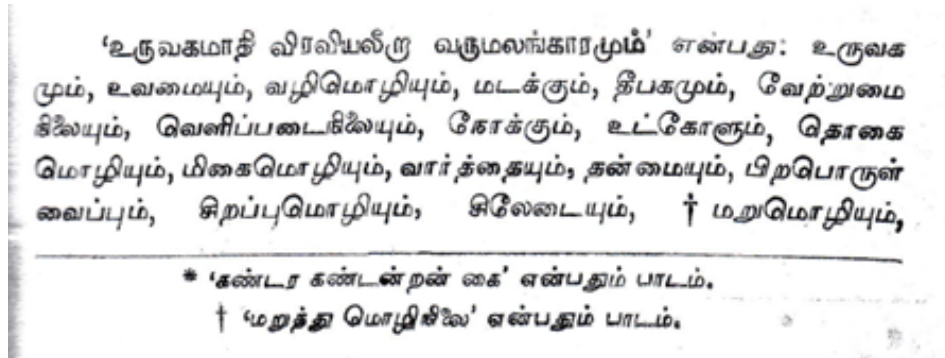


Figure 32 — p. 511 (bottom) in the *editio princeps* of YV (vol. 2, 1917).

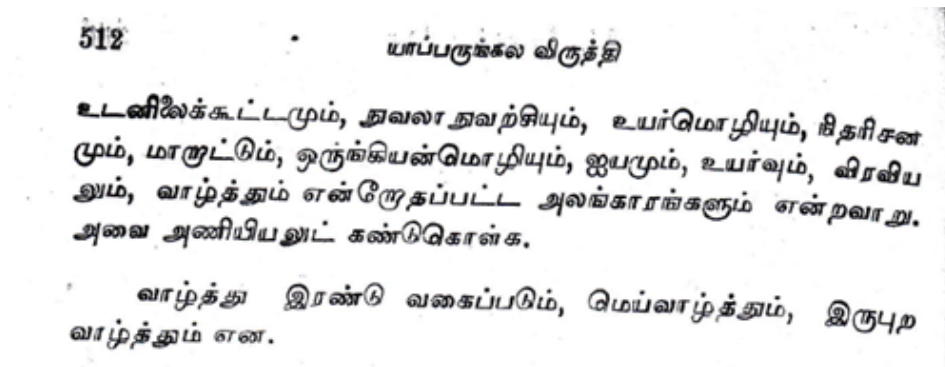


Figure 33 — p. 512 (top) in the *editio princeps* of YV (vol. 2, 1917).

- On the other hand, it could be due to the influence of another list, such as the *Tivākaram* list (see 6a1 & 6a2) or the *Piṅkalam* list (see 10), because both those lists have *vālttu* as a final term.

The role of being the last item in the list falls, from the point of the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* on the item *vālttu*, a fact which is also at odds with the wording of the *Yāpparuṅkalam*.⁵³ Additionally, we are told by the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, after the enumeration of 27 items,⁵⁴ that more information can be found inside a treatise called *Aṇi-y-iyal* (which is unfortunately lost). The list (in prose), which obtains from (12) after insertion of many items between the first item (*uruvakam*) and the last item (*viraviyal*) and after the addition of *vālttu*, will now be provided in (13a), and its pattern, which is **ABC XDF G^{*}H^{*}ZIJ**, will be indicated by methods which emulate those used in (6) and (10), although in the case of (13a) the capital letters do not indicate the beginning of metrical lines, because the content of the citation is in prose, except for the small citation from the *Yāpparuṅkalam* with which it begins:

(13a) “uruvaka m-āti viraviya l-īrā // varum-alāṇ kāramum” eṇpatu
[A] *uruvakam-um* (*YV1* = *a₁*), *uvamai-y-um* (*YV2* = *a₂*), *vaḷimolī-*

⁵³ The discrepancy between the *Yāpparuṅkalam* (the treatise) and the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti* (its commentary) seems due to the impossibility to reach a balanced final stage for the list. If the *Yāpparuṅkalam* list (10th c.) is later than the *Tivākaram* list (9th c.), the fact that the *Yāpparuṅkalam* list ends in *viraviyal*, which is the penultimate element in the *Tivākaram* list, could be due to the desire to make the last element *vālttu* “blessing” (signalled inside citation 2a by the ^B{^B braces) autonomous and to provide it with a negative counterpart *vacai* “curse” (indicated in 2a by the ^C{^C braces). The commentator, the author of the *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, may have disagreed with the author of *Yāpparuṅkalam* and decided to reintegrate *vālttu* inside the list of *alāṅkārams*. Nevertheless, he also made *vālttu* and *vacai* the objects of two separate sets of explanations. The final result was that *vālttu* had to be mentioned twice: (1) first as a traditional ending for the *alāṅkāram* list; (2) secondly as a standalone term in the *Yāpparuṅkalam* verse.

⁵⁴ If we want to obtain a list of 28 items in this case, a possible solution consists in taking the 26 items going from *uruvakam* to *viraviyal*, and to add to them the two items *vālttu* and *vacai*. The only defect of that list is that it does not end with *vālttu* but with *vacai*.

y-um (YV3 = a_{3ter} [NEW = $T(D5)$]), (YV4 = a_{4bis} [MERGER of $a3$ & $a4$]) *maṭakk-um*, [B] *tīpakam-um* (YV5 = b_{1bis}), [C] *vēr̥rumai nilai-y-um* (YV6 = c_1), *veḷippaṭai nilai-y-um* (YV7 = c_{2*}), [X] *nōkk-um* (YV8 = x_1), *uṭkōḷ-um*⁵⁵ (YV9 = x_{2aa} [NEW]), *tokai moḷi-y-um* (YV10 = x_{2b}), *mikai moḷi-y-um* (YV11 = x_3), [D] *vārttai-y-um* (YV12 = d_1), *taṇmai-y-um* (YV13 = d_2), *pīra poruḷ vaipp-um* (YV14 = $d3[Ti]$), [F] *cīrappu moḷi-y-um* (YV15 = f_1), *cilētai-y-um* (YV16 = f_2), *maṛuttumolīnilai-y-um* (YV17 = f_3), [G*] *uṭaṇilaik kūṭṭam-um* (YV18 = g_1) { g_2 vanishes}, [H*] *nuvalā nuvarci-y-um* (YV19 = h_1) { h_2 vanishes}, [Z] *uyar-moḷi-y-um* (YV20 = z_1 [NEW]), [I] *nitaricaṇam-um* (YV21 = i_1), *mārāṭṭ-um* (YV22 = i_{2bis} [REPLACES i_2 by changing m to p and changing r to r] is NOW $T(D27)$), *oruṇkiyal moḷi-y-um* (YV23 = i_{3*}), [J] *aiyam-um* (YV24 = j_1), *uyarv-um* (YV25 = j_2), *viraviyal-um* (YV26 = j_3), *vāḷtt-um* (YV27 = j_4) *enrōtappaṭṭa alaṇkāraṇkaḷum enravāru*. *avai aṇiyiyaluṭ kaṇṭu koḷka*. (YV_1998, p. 585)⁵⁶

(13b) “The [sūtra fragment] which reads ‘*uruvaka m-āti viraviya l-īrā // varum-alāṇ kāramum*’⁵⁷ refers to the (27) ornaments whose list is recited (ōtappaṭṭa) as ‘ $a_1 a_2 a_{3ter} a_{4bis} b_{1bis} c_1 c_{2*} x_1 x_{2aa} x_{2b} x_3 d_1 d_2 d_3 f_1 f_2 f_3 g_1 h_1 z_1 i_1 i_{2bis} i_{3*} j_1 j_2 j_3 j_4$ ’. You can examine them in the *Aṇiyiyal*.”

As I have done in several of the preceding cases, whenever it was possible for me, I shall now share with the reader a fragment of evidence preceding all the existing printed texts, in the form of two leaves, extracted from BnF Indien 203, which is a *Yāpparuṇkalavirutti* manuscript, also containing, embedded in it, the text of the *Yāpparuṇkalam*, on which it comments. Each of these two leaves is divided in two views, showing respectively the Left and the Right side. The images will be followed by a table containing a facsimile visualisation of a RAW transcription of the passage corresponding to (13a). The data is as follows:

⁵⁵ MTL takes it to be an independant *alaṇkāram* on the basis of Pi-1370, even though this contradicts our splitting in (3) and (4). MTL is followed by TIPA (Vol. 12, p. 78), referring to it as “(L)”, for “Lexicon”.

⁵⁶ See also the same text (with footnotes) on p. 550 in the 1973 edition.

⁵⁷ This was translated as “the ornaments, [whose list contains] *uruvakam* as beginning (*āti*) and *viraviyal* as end (*īru*)” in (5).

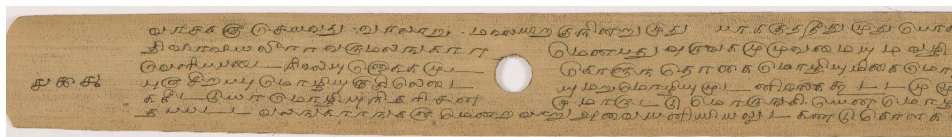


Figure 34 — BnF Indien 203, item_471, Left side.

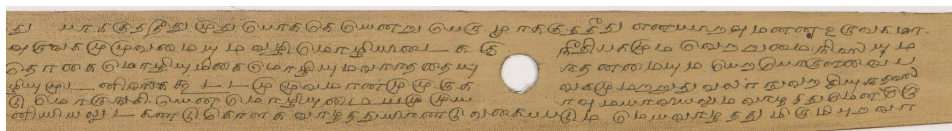


Figure 35 — BnF Indien 203, item_471, Right side.

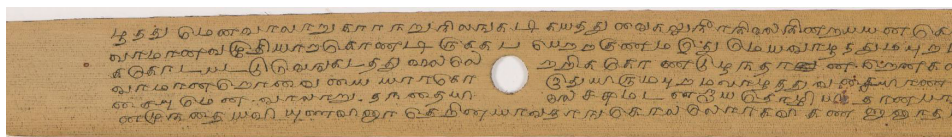


Figure 36 — BnF Indien 203, item_472, Left side.

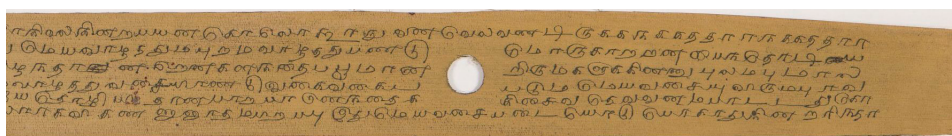


Figure 37 — BnF Indien 203, item_472, Right side.

Table 17 — BnF Indien 203, items 471 & 472 [Diplomatic transcription (FAX protocol)].

[item_471] (1) ... உருவகமா // (2) திவிர்வியலீர்வருமலங்காரா {{_}} மென்ப
துவுருவகமுமுமையுமவழிமொழியிடைககு {{_}} நீதிபகமுமவெற்று
மைநிலையும // (3) வெளிப்படைநிலையுனெககமுட {{_}} கொளுந்தொ
கைமொழியுமிகைமொழியுமவாராதையு {{_}} நதனமையுமபெறபொ
ருளவைப்ப // (4) புஞ்சிறப்புமொழியுஞ்சிலெடை {{_}} யுமறுமொழியுமுட
னிலைககூட்டமுமுமமானமுமுருக {{_}} வகமுமற்றுதுவலாநுவறசியுந
தலை // (5) ககீட்டுயாமொழியுநிதரிசன {{_}} முமாருட்டுமொருங்கியெ
னமொழியுமையமுமுய {{_}} ரவுமயாவியலுமவாழத்துமெனெரு // (6) த
பபட்டவலங்காரங்களுமெனறவாறுஅவையனியியலுடகண்டு கொள
கவாழத்துயிரண்டு வகைப்படுமமெயவாழத்துமிருமிபுறவா [item_472]
(1) முததுமென

11. Attempting to summarize and facing the limitations

As in every research, we have now reached a stage where the most logical continuation of the task would require a very large amount of additional exploration and therefore it is now necessary to summarize what can only be a “résultat d’étape”, and to acknowledge and discuss the limitations of what has been done. One question to which we would like to know the answer is of course: “what was the original form of the L_28 list inside the original *Aṇiyiyal* which seems to be the basis for the existence of both the *Tivākaram sūtra* (discussed inside section 6) and the *Yāpparuṅkalam* commentary passage (discussed inside section 10)?” As for the *Piṅkalam* and the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* extracts, examined respectively inside sections 9 and 8, it seems reasonable to suppose that they are reworkings of the *Tivākaram* text, although the change in the position of line X is intriguing, and the simplest explanation which comes to mind is that the 1840 *editio princeps* innovated, for a reason which is now unclear, when it chose to print the lines in the “ABCDEF X GHIJK” order.

What must probably appear as most frustrating to many readers of this article is the fact that I have so far only offered SEMI-TRANSLATIONS of the various incarnations of the L_28 list, for instance in (6b1), (6b2), (6b3), (6b4), (11a), (11b) & (13b). This certainly makes them less attractive than the L_35 list, as seen for instance in Winslow’s rendering of it inside Table 1, inside Section 1. I have often been wondering why Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār, who being a consummate Tamil scholar must have been very well informed about the existence of the *Aṇiyiyal* L_28 list which is found both inside the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* and the *Tivākaram*, chose nevertheless to embed the DK L_35 list inside the edition of the CA which he was preparing at the instigation of some British authorities in Chennai, giving in this manner an apparent responsibility to Beschi which was in fact without textual basis. Was Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār’s 1824 decision to father this list upon Beschi motivated by the fact that he knew the wording of the L_28 text but could not have explained in detail what it meant, whereas it was not the case for the L_35 list, because both the TA (Tamil *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*) and the VC’s *Alaṅkārapaṭalam* were accompanied by commentaries and provided with examples which never left people in doubt as to what was the intended meaning of any of the 35 terms in the DK list, as given in

(4) [in Section 5], or rather of their purported Tamil reformulations? I do not know whether Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār, or the scholars who worked with him, could have provided a precise gloss for each of the elements contained in the L28a list or in the L28b list because, unlike the 1839 edition of the *Tivākaram*, which systematically duplicates the *cūttiram* text provided in the left column by a *peyarp pirivu* text provided in the right column, but is limited to the first ten *tokutis* of the *Tivākaram*, the 1840 edition of the *Tivākaram*, gives us only a *cūttiram* text, as can be seen in Figure 2. This “original sin” is of course the primary reason why there are TWO SCHOOLS of thought regarding the splitting of the L_28 list, as was illustrated in section 6b, by means of differences in punctuation. Similarly, the 1834 edition of *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*, prepared by Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār and printed by him and by Muttuccāmiṇṇai, provides on facing pages the text of the verses on the left pages and of the *peyarppirivu* on the right pages but is limited to the first ten *tokutis*. I have found online a 19th-century edition,⁵⁸ apparently dated 1893, which claims to be based on Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār’s *mūlamum uraiyum* for *Maṇṭalapuruṭaṇ aruḷicceyta Cūṭāmaṇi Paṇṇiraṇṭu Nikaṇṭu*, but when it reaches the 12th *tokuti* we are no longer provided with a commentary. Therefore, it is unclear to me to date whether the first person to provide us with an explicit splitting of the L_28b list is Ārumukanāvalar, as illustrated inside Section 4 by Figure 12 and by Figure 14.

It is also unclear to me whether Ārumukanāvalar, when interpreting the *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* text as containing as item 20 the equivalent of DK17, alias *preya*, was following his own opinion or was following the opinion of the author of *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*, Maṇṭalapuruṭar himself. The *viruttam* style of versification requires the presence of all sorts of fillers and the phrase “வெறுப்பிலா மகிழ்ச்சி செய்து” could easily be interpreted as a decorative clause. However, it is not my intention here to try to solve this specific problem. My intention is rather to point out the fact that the text of a list, namely the L_28 list, which was not always transparently clear in every detail of its interpretation, had been preserved by generations

⁵⁸ The link is <https://archive.org/details/dli.jZY9lup2kZl6TuXGlZQdjZM3k0ly> (as of today, 2022/02/20) and the book is also identified, inside the Tamil Virtual Academy collection, as “TVA_BOK_0008573”.

of dedicated scholars, through demanding memorizing efforts, and that Tāṇṭavarāya Mutaliyār may have thought that it was not wrong to provide those foreigners who assigned him the task of printing for them a work from the *Nachlaß* of one who was for them the famed Vīramāmuṇivar, but by whom he himself was probably less impressed, a list which was easier to explain, because it was associated with that well-known treatise, the TA.

Additionally, another difficult question is of course the determination of the relationship between the lost *Aṇiyiyal* and the DK, alluded to in section 5 and in section 7 (and concerning which I intend to write an article in the future). It is my opinion⁵⁹ that when the VC author included an adaptation of the DK in his *Alaṅkārappaṭalam*, he was not the first to explore that domain in Tamil and that an *Aṇiyiyal* already existed. Interestingly, the commentary to the VC seems to contain a number of clues which could help one reconstruct Tamil *alaṅkāraśāstra* as it was before the composition of the VC, but it is a huge task to make a systematic exploration of those clues, and would probably require a large section in the structure of a book dedicated to the history of *Aṇi* in Tamil scholarly literature. An even larger chapter in that book would consist of course in exploring the roots of the *Aṇi* domain inside the *Tolkāppiyam*, starting with the *Uvamaviyal* and continuing with a number of *sūtras* in the *Poruḷiyal* and in other sections. I express here the wish that this necessary book will one day be written, either by me, or by another member of the human network of those who perceive that the existence of beauty is made possible by the sharing of dreams among successive generations. Professor G. Vijayavenugopal, VV, can be proud to have played an important role in the continued existence of that network.

Abbreviations

AP *Alaṅkārappaṭalam*

Ca.Vē.Cu see Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ, Ca. Vē., 2008.

CA_1732 BnF Indien 227;

⁵⁹ See Chevillard [Draft] “The “colourful” retrospective horizon of *Vīracōḷiyam*–143 at the advent of the Daṇḍin doctrine in Tamil Nadu (DRAFT 4j)”, on HAL-SHS.

- CA_1824 This source is a book now belonging to the Toronto library, bequeathed by François Gros. The book has been digitized and is available on “archive.org” (<https://archive.org/details/gc-sh10-0058>). There is also a copy of the same book in the Pondicherry EFEO Library, Shelfmark EO DICT TA 5.
- CA_2005 See Inṇāci 2005.
- DK Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyādarśa*.
- MPTN see Vēṅkaṭacāmi [1967].
- MTL see Tamil Lexicon.
- NS *Nāṭya Śāstra*.
- Ti_1839 (Editio Princeps of *Tivākaram*, containing only chapters 1 to 10): See Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār, 1839.
- Ti_1840 (Editio Princeps of *Tivākaram*, as far as chapters 11 & 12 are concerned): See Tāṇṭavarāyamutaliyār, 1840.
- TIPA see Gōpālaiyar 2004.
Tivākaram 1990–1993 — see Caṇmukam Piḷḷai, Mu. & Cuntaramūrtti, I.
- VC *Vīracōḷiyam*.
- YA *Yāpparuṅkalam*.
- YV *Yāpparuṅkalavirutti*. –

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⁶⁰ This is the *editio princeps* [for the first ten section]. It is printed on two parallel columns, for which the column titles are “*Cūttiram*” [Left Column] and “*Peyarppirivu*” [Right column], ends on p. 244 and has an errata list on p. 245.

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⁶¹ This is probably the first complete edition. It is printed on a single column. The section which was on the right column of each page in the 1839 edition [*peyarp pirivu* “separation into nouns “] has vanished, but the titles have been retained, being placed before each individual *sūtra*. The text ends on page 242.