

GLEANINGS  
FROM  
ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE.

I.—PURANĀNŪRU.

II.—KING SENKUTŪVAN OF THE  
CHERA DYNASTY.

*Read on July 13, 1895, before the Ceylon Branch of the  
Royal Asiatic Society,*

BY

P. COOMĀRASWĀMY,

*Member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon, Member of the Municipal  
Council of Colombo, and Member of the Royal Asiatic  
Society (Ceylon Branch).*

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# GLEANINGS FROM ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE.

By the Hon. P. COOMÁRASWÁMY.

## I.—PURANÁNŪRU.

AS a contribution to the history of the ancient Tamils and their literature, I have prepared (I.) a list of the poets whose odes are contained in the *Puranánūru* (புறநானூறு), and (II.) a list of the persons to whom the odes were addressed.

The *Puranánūru* is a very interesting collection of four hundred short poems or odes by celebrated Tamil poets of ancient times. This anthology,\* tradition says, was made by the Sangam of Madura.

The Sangam was a college or academy of literary men of eminence established by the Pándiya kings. Mr. Casie Chitty observes in the *Tamil Plutarch*, "these kings had three different Sangams established in their capital at three different periods for the promotion of literature ..... and they made it a rule that every literary production should be submitted to their *senatus academicus* before it was allowed to circulate in the country." It is now difficult to say when the Sangam was first established, or to give the exact time it ceased to exist. In the commentary written by Nakkírar (a member of the Sangam in its last days), forming the greater part of the now existing commentary on Iṟaiyanár's "Akapporul" (இறையனாரகற்பொருள்), an account of the three Sangams is given. Nakkírar was a contemporary† of the Choḷa King Karikála, who lived prior to the second century of the Christian era.‡ According to the ancient

\* See preface, p. 16, "Víracholīyam" (விநகோலியம்), Mr. Tamotharam-pillai's edition; also p. 16 of his edition of "Kalittokai" (கலித்தொகை)

† Dr. Caldwell's introduction to his "Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," second edition, p. 131.

‡ Cf. my Paper, "A Half-hour with two Ancient Tamil Poets," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, vol. XIII., pp. 190-193.



authorities there were three\* Sangams, known as the first, middle, and last (முதல், இடை, கடை). Amongst the members of the first Sangam were Agastiya, Muḍināgarāyar of Muranjiyūr, and others. And it is said to have lasted 4,440 years, during the reigns of eighty-nine Pāṇḍiya kings, beginning with Káysinavaḷuti (காய்சினவழுதி) and ending in the reign of Kaḍunkon (கடுங்கோன்), when the city of Madura—not modern Madura, but another in the southernmost part of India—was submerged in the sea. The number of authors whose works received the *imprimatur* of that Sangam was 4,449, including seven Pāṇḍiya kings. The second Sangam was established by the Pāṇḍiya king Venḍoccheḷiyan (வெண்டேர்ச்செழியன்)† at Kapāḍapuram, and ceased to exist when that city, the then capital of the Pāṇḍiya kings, was also submerged in the sea during the reign of Muḍattirumāraṇ (முடத்திருமாறன்), having lasted 3,700 years, under fifty-nine different Pāṇḍiya kings. Amongst its members were Tolkáppiyánár, Karunkoli, Mosi, Kírantai, and others. The works of 3,700 persons, including five Pāṇḍiya kings, were accepted by this Sangam. The only work of importance of the time of this Sangam which now exists is the “Tolkápiyam,” the celebrated treatise on Tamil grammar. The third and last Sangam was established by the Pāṇḍiya king Muḍattirumāraṇ at Madura (modern Madura), which was then called Uttara (Northern) Madurai, to distinguish it from Southern Madura, which was destroyed by the sea. Amongst its members were Siṟumedávi (சிற்றுமேதாவீ), Sentambhútanár (சேந்தம்புத்தனார்), Kilár of Perumkuṇḍrúr (பெருங்குன்றூர்க்கிழார்), Marutan Ilaṇáganár (மருதனிலநாகனார்), Nallanduvanár (நல்லந்துவனார்), Nakkírar (நக்கீரர்), Paraṇar, Kapilar, Kalláḍar (கல்

\* Cf. preface, “Víracholiyam”; also Nakkírar, Naccinárkkiniyár, the Ásiriappa (ஆசிரியப்பா), in p. 3, footnote, in சிலப்பதிகாரம் உரைப்பாயிரம், and others.

† The name is so given in Mr. Tamotharampillai's edition of இறையனார்சுப்பொருள்; but in the Ásiriappa above mentioned it is given as Venḍercheḷiyan (வெண்டேர்ச்செழியன்).



லாடா), Sittalai Sattanár (சீத்தலைச் சாத்தனார்), and others. The works of 449 poets, including three Pándiyas, were accepted by this Sangam, which existed for 1,850 years, during the reigns of forty-nine Pándiyas, and ended either in the time of Ugrapperu Valuti (உக்கிரப்பெருவழுதி) or some time thereafter, that is to say, about the first century of the Christian era.

I am aware that Dr. Caldwell says that the last days of the third Sangam, if it ever existed, should be placed in the thirteenth century.\* But I think that those who have studied the results of Dr. Hultzsch's researches in South Indian Archæology, as well as the ancient Tamil works which have been printed *since* the second edition of Dr. Caldwell's Grammar of the Dravidian Languages appeared, will see ample reason to doubt the correctness of the dates assigned by Dr. Caldwell to ancient Tamil authors and kings. I give a few instances in illustration of his erroneous conclusions.

Karikála, the Choḷa king, contemporary of Nakkírar, according to Dr. Caldwell, lived in the thirteenth century. I have established that Karikála lived prior to the second century. See Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, vol. XIII., pp. 190-193.

Dr. Caldwell says that Jnána Sambandha, Appar or Tirúnávukkarasu, and Sundara Múrtti, the three authors of "Deváram," lived in the time of Sundara Pándiya, who, he says reigned at the end of the thirteenth century. All these three authors are mentioned in an inscription of the time of the Choḷa king Rája-rája Deva, which states that their images were worshipped in a certain temple (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II., part II., p. 152), and Rája-rája Deva's reign began in 1004 of the Christian era (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I., p. 169). Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai, M.A. and Professor of Philosophy at the Mahárájá's College at Trivendrum, has shown in his essay "On the Age of Jnána Sambandha"

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\* Dr. Caldwell's introduction to his "Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," second edition, p. 131.

that Jnána Sambandha's age must be placed prior to the seventh century. But there is perhaps reason for placing it even earlier,—earlier than the second century. Those who are familiar with Tamil literature have read of one of the miracles performed by Jnána Sambandha, viz., his raising to life a man of the Vaniga caste, who had died of snake-bite. This miracle is mentioned in the “Tiruvilayáḍaṭ Puránam,”\* as also by Sekkilár (செக்கிழார்) in “Periyapuránam,” written in the eleventh century.† It is mentioned in two poems, the “Tiruvantáti” and “Tiruvulá,” on Jnána Sambandha, by Nambi Anḍár Nambi (நம்பியாண்டார்நம்பி), who lived in the tenth century; † it is also referred to by Jnána Sambandha's contemporary, Appar, as well as by Sundara Múrthi, in their “Devárams.” Now this identical miracle is referred to in the *Cilappatikáram*, a poem of the second century, by Kannaki.‡ It may therefore be that Jnána Sambandha and his contemporary, Appar, lived prior to the second and not in the thirteenth century.

I take this opportunity to state that I think I have been fortunate enough to identify the Pándiyan king who was reconverted into Hindúism by Jnána Sambandha from Jainism, and about whom Dr. Caldwell's work contains much erroneous writing—the learned Bishop confounding him with a Sundara Pándiyan, “Marco Polo's Sender Bandi,” of

\* வன்னியுங்கிணறு மிலிங்கமுமழைத்த படலம்.

† See “Age of Jnána Sambandha”; also Arumukha Návalar's edition of the prose “Periyapuránam,” p. 9; and “South Indian Inscriptions,” vol. I., pp. 63, 64. For an account of this miracle see “Periyapuránam” (Sadasiyappillai's edition), p. 317, v. 473 *et seq.*

‡ See *Cilappatikáram*, Vanjina Málai. This poem was written by the brother of the Chera King Senkuṭṭuvan in the second century. As to the authorship of this poem, see *Cilappatikáram* itself, as well as Mañimekhalai, Arumpadavurai Ásiriyar, and Aḍiyárkunallár; *Cilappatikáram* is cited by Naccinarkkiniyar in his commentary on *Tolkapiyam*. For the age of Kannaki, see remarks on Senkuṭṭuvan (who built a temple for her), in vol. XIII, R. A. S., Ceylon; my Paper on “*Cilappatikáram*,” pp. 81-84; Mr. Raṅasinha's Paper, “Which Gaja Báhu visited India?” p. 144 *et seq.*; and “A Half-hour with two Ancient Tamil Poets,” p. 190 *et seq.* See also p. 24, *infra*.



the thirteenth century. Mr. Sundaram Pillai has established that the seventh century is the *terminus ad quem* of the time of Jnána Sambandha, and I have shown above that he may perhaps be placed prior to the second century. How then can the king whom he converted have lived in the thirteenth century? The right name of this king was Neḍu Máran, and he is still worshipped as a saint under that name.\* Nambi Andár Nambi mentions him, "The Máran, conqueror of *Nelveli*, who formerly impaled the Jains whom Jnána Sambandha overcame."† Sundara Múrtti says, "I am the servant of the devotee, the righteous Neḍumáran, who conquered *Nelveli*."‡

The word Neḍumáran is convertible into Neḍuncheliyan, as Máran and *Cheliyan* have the same signification, viz., Páñḍiya. Neḍuncheliyan was a contemporary§ of Karikála, and was the subject of poems by Nakkírar and Mánkudi Marutanár.¶ The latter calls him, "O great king, who captured *Nel-in-ur*."¶ *Nel-in-ur* means, *úr* the country, *in* of, *nel* paddy or rice. *Nelveli* means also the country of *Nel*,\*\* and Naccinárkkiniyár says that by *Nel-in-úr* is meant *Sáliyúr*.†† And there is only one Páñḍiya in Tamil literature, who is styled the conqueror of *Nelveli*, or *Nel-in-úr*. If my conjecture, that the terms Neḍumáran and Neḍuncheliyan denote the same Páñḍiya king be correct, then Jnána Sambandha must have lived about the time when Jesus was born,

\* Cf. above quoted "Age of Jnána Sambandha." Also Periyapuránam (Sadasiva-pillai's edition, Madras, 1884), p. 246, v. 8, and p. 493.

† Tiruttonḍar Tiruvantáti (திருந்தொண்டர் திருவந்தாதி).

‡ Tiruttonḍattokai (திருந்தொண்டத் தொகை).

§ Cf. Tamil "Cilappatikáram"; also note † on page 18, *infra*.

¶ Both poets were members of the last Sangam; the poems referred to are Neḍunalváḍai and Maduraikkánji, respectively.

¶ Maduraikkánji (மதுரைக்காஞ்சி).

\*\* *Veli* (வேலி) as an affix means *úr*, or country. (See Winslow's Tamil-English Dictionary, under the word வேலி.)

†† *Nel* = Sanskrit, *Sáli* = paddy or rice.

when the throne of the Chólas was occupied by Karikála, a conclusion which is supported by the fact that, judging from the Tamil literature of that period, this was the time when the Jain religion began to lose ground in Southern India.

Let us come back, however, to *Puránánúru*. Amongst several collections or anthologies made by the Sangam is one known as Eṭṭuttokai (எட்டுத்தொகை),\* or "the Eight Anthologies," whereof *Puránánúru* is one. An ancient stanza, quoted both by Mr. Támotharam Pillai and Mr. Swáminátha Iyer,† gives the names of the "eight anthologies," namely, Naṭṭrinai, Kuruntokai, Aínkúrunúru, Paḍiṭṭuppattu, Paripáḍal, Kalittokai, Akanánúru, and *Puránánúru*. Of these only two have yet been printed: Kalittokai in 1887 and *Puránánúru* in 1894.

The *Puránánúru*‡ is cited by the great Tamil commentator Naccinárkkiniyár in several of his commentaries. In the commentary on *Tolkápiyam* he cites it very often. Naccinárkkiniyár, according to the author of the *Tamil Plutarch*, lived prior to the tenth century. Mr. Támotharam Pillai, to my thinking, more correctly places him before the eighth century. Parimelaḷakar, the commentator of the *Kural* and a contemporary of Naccinárkkiniyár, also cites the *Puránánúru*, and so does Aḍiyárkkunallár in his commentary on *Cilappatikáram*. Swaminátha Iyer believes that Aḍiyárkkunallár lived prior to Naccinárkkiniyár, but this is open to doubt.

Therefore the tradition that this collection *Puránánúru* was made by the Sangam of Madúra is well founded.

\* Cf. Kalittokai, p. 16, preface, for the names of all the collections.

† Mr. G. W. Tamotharam Pillai, B.A., B.L., Tamil examiner for the University of Madras, and editor of "Tolkápiyam," "Kalittokai," &c. Mr. Swaminátha Iyer, Tamil Pandit at Kumbhakonam College, editor of "Puránánúru," "Cintámaṇi," &c.

‡ Cf. Ásirippa mentioned in p. 3, footnote, which also gives *Puránánúru* as one of the collections made by the last Sangam.



A series of short Papers under the heading "Gleanings from Ancient Tamil Literature," which I shall from time to time contribute, will, I venture to think, convince the reader that all the poets and princes mentioned in the *Puranánūru* flourished before the end of the second century of the Christian era. The proposed Papers will also give an account of whatever is known of the lives of some of these poets and their patrons.

It will be observed that amongst the names of the poets shown in the annexed lists are included twelve princes and six poetesses, one of whom was a queen of Madura; and that some of the poets and their patrons have more than one name, thus creating a certain amount of confusion as to identity, but this will disappear by a careful study of the different odes, the circumstances under which they were written, and by a comparison of references in other Tamil works.

## LIST I.—POETS.

- 1 Attanvennáganár, of Kallitkaḍai, Madura
- 2 Aḍaineḍun Kalliyár
- 3 Arivuḍainambi (Pándiya)\*
- 4 Áttiraiyanár of Kallil
- 5 Áliyár
- 6 Aiyyáticciruvenderaiyár
- 7 Iḍaikkáḍanár
- 8 Irumpiḍarttalaiyár
- 9 Iḷaṅkaṅṅikkauśikanár, of Madura
- 10 Iḷankíranár, of Poruntil
- 11 Iḷantirayan, the Tonḍaimán
- 12 Iḷamponvaṅṅikanár, of Uṅṅaiyúr
- 13 Iḷamperuvaḷuti who "died in the sea" \* (Pándiya)
- 14 Iḷaveṭṭanár, of the Vaniga caste, of Madura
- 15 Iḷaveyini, "the daughter of the Kuravar" †
- 16 Iḷaveyini, "the daughter of the devil" †
- 17 Uḷoccanár
- 18 Únpotipasunkuḍaiyár
- 19 Erumaiveḷiyánár
- 20 Eyittiyanár, of Pulláṭrúr
- 21 Óḍaikilár, of Tuṅṅaiyúr
- 22 Órampokiyár
- 23 Órusiṅṅaipeyyarinár
- 24 Orúttanár
- 25 Óréruḷavar
- 26 Auvaíyár
- 27 Katappillai, of Karuvúr
- 28 Kataiyankaṅṅanár
- 29 Kandappillai Sáttanár, of Karuvúr
- 30 Kaṅṅiyan Púnkundran
- 31 Kaṅṅaikkál Irumporai (Chera)\*
- 32 Kanakkáyanár, of Madura
- 33 Kaṅṅampukuntaráyattanar, of the Ólaikkaḍai in Madura
- 34 Kaṅṅanár, the son of Perunkóḷináykan
- 35 Kaṅṅanár, of Támappal
- 36 Kaṅṅakanár
- 37 Kapilar
- 38 Kayamanár
- 39 Karunkuḷalátanár

\* Belonging to the royal families of the Chera, Choḷa, or Pándiyas some of whom only were kings.

† Poetesses.



- 40 Kaláttalaiyár
- 41 Kalláḍanár
- 42 Kalaitin Yánaiyár
- 43 Kávaṭṭanár
- 44 Kákkaipátiniyár Naccennaiyár
- 45 Kámakkanniýár
- 46 Kávaṭṭeṇḍu (female guard)\*
- 47 Kárikkaṇṇanár, of Káverippúmpaṭṭinam
- 48 Kilár, of Kári
- 49 Kilár of Arisil
- 50 Kilár, of Álattúr
- 51 Kilar, of Ávur
- 52 Kilár, of Iḍaikkunḍrur
- 53 Kilár, of Perunkunḍrúr
- 54 Kilár, of Kúḍalúr
- 55 Kilár, of Kovúr
- 56 Kilár, of Mánkuḍi
- 57 Kilár, of Vaḍamodam
- 58 Kilár, of Kuṟunkóliýúr
- 59 Kilivalavan (Chola)†
- 60 Kíranár, of Mosi
- 61 Kíranár, the Kuṭṭuvan
- 62 Kuḍapulaviyanár
- 63 Kundukaṭpáliyátan
- 64 Kunḍrúr Kilár's son
- 65 Kumaranár, of Vémpattúr
- 66 Kuṟuvaluti, the son of Anḍar
- 67 Kuḷampátáyanár
- 68 Kúkaikkoliýár
- 69 Kotamanár
- 70 Kopperunchoḷan (Chola)†
- 71 Tamilkkúttanár, of Madura
- 72 Táyankanniýár
- 73 Táyankannanár, of Eṭṭúr
- 74 Tiruttámanár
- 75 Tumbiserkíranár
- 76 Dámodaranár, of Vaḍama Vaṇṇakan
- 77 Dámodaranár, the medical man of Uṟaiyúr
- 78 Nakkírar, of Madura
- 79 Nakkíranár, the son of Kanakkáyanár of Madura
- 80 Nakkanár, of Viriyúr
- 81 Nanmullaiyar, of Alḷúr

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\* Poetesses.

† Belonging to the royal families of the Chera, Chola, or Pánḍiyas, some of whom only were kings.

- 82 Nannáganár  
 83 Nannáganár, " the writer on Purattinai "  
 84 Nannáganár, of Viricciyúr  
 85 Nariverúttalaiyár  
 86 Nallátanár, of Kudaváyil  
 87 Nallurittiran (Chola)<sup>o</sup>  
 88 Nalankilli (Chola)<sup>o</sup>  
 89 Nalliraiyanár  
 90 Nappasałaiyár, of Marókkam  
 91 Nágariyar, also called Sangavarunař  
 92 Náganár, of Vellaikkudi  
 93 Niyamankiłár, of Nocci  
 94 Neđunkałuttupparařar  
 95 Neđunpalliyattanár  
 96 Neduncheliyan, " victor in the battle of Talaiyalankánam  
 (Pándiya)<sup>o</sup>  
 97 Neđuncheliyan, " the conqueror of the Áryas " (Pándiya)†  
 98 Neđimaiyár  
 99 Pakkuđukkainankařiyár  
 100 Pađaimangamařņiyár  
 101 Parařar  
 102 Pándarankařņanár  
 103 Pári's daughters†  
 104 Piramanár  
 105 Pisirántaiyár  
 106 Pútappándiyan " who captured Ollaiyur " (Pándiya)  
 107 Pútanáthanár, of the Perunsatukkam in Karuvúr  
 108 Pútanilanáganár, of Madura  
 109 Puřkovalanár, of Tangal  
 110 Púnkařuttirayar  
 111 Perálaváyar  
 112 Perunkađunko, " the author of a poem on Pálai " (Chera)<sup>o</sup>  
 113 Perumpútanár " the author of a poem on Keđai "  
 114 Perundevanár, " the author of Bháratam "  
 115 Perunkoppendu, wife of Pútappándiya†<sup>o</sup>  
 116 Periya Sáttanár, of Vađamavařņakkan  
 117 Perum Sáttanár, of Vađavařņa-akkan  
 118 Perum Sittiranar  
 119 Perumpadumanár  
 120 Péreyinmuřuvalár  
 121 Pottiyár  
 122 Ponmuđiyár  
 123 Poykaiyár

\* Belonging to the royal families of the Chera, Chola, or Pándiyas, some of whom only were kings.

† Poetesses.



- 124 Maduvélasán  
 125 Marutanilanáganár, of Madura  
 126 Mallánár, the son of Alakkavjnálár, of Madura  
 127 Mákkótai (Chera ?)<sup>65</sup>  
 128 Mátimátirattanár  
 129 Mátpittiyár  
 130 Máđalan Maduraikkumáranár, of Koñáttu Ericcalur  
 131 Márkkandeyar  
 132 Másáttanár, of Áđuturai  
 133 Másáttanar, of Okkúr  
 134 Másáttiyár, of Okkúr  
 135 Mudukannan Sáttanár, of Uṟaiyúr  
 136 Mudukúttanár, of Uṟaiyúr  
 137 Muđavanár, of Aiyúr  
 138 Muđamosiyár, of Enicceri in Uṟaiyúr  
 139 Muđinágaráyar, of Murancyúr  
 140 Múlančilár, of Avúr  
 141 Vađaneđuntattanár  
 142 Vanparanar  
 143 Vanganár  
 144 Vánmikiyar  
 145 Víraivelianár  
 146 Vennikkuyattiyár  
 147 Vellaimálar  
 148 Vellerukkilaiyár  
 149 Sáttanár "of the big head"  
 150 Sáttanár "of the ulcered head"  
 151 Sáttanár, of Mosi  
 152 Sáttantaiyár  
 153 Siruvenderaiyár  
 154 Sirukeruntumbiyár, of Mukaiyalúr in Choḷa territory

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\* Belonging to the royal families of the Chera, Choḷa or Pándiyas, some of whom only were kings.

## LIST II.—PATRONS.

- 1 Akutai
- 2 Anji
- 3 Antuvansáttan
- 4 Antuvankíran
- 5 Antuvan Seralirumporai (Chera)
- 6 Aṟivuḍainambi (Páñḍiya)
- 7 Aruvantai *alias* Sentan, the chief of Ambar
- 8 Átanajisi
- 9 Átanungan
- 10 Ántai
- 11 Áy
- 12 Ilankañtirakko
- 13 Ilankumaṇan
- 14 Ilanchetchenni, "of Neytalankáanal fame" (Choḷa)
- 15 Ilanchetchenni, "conqueror of Seruppáli" (Choḷa)
- 16 Ilanchetchenni, "of Neytalankáanal fame conqueror of Cherás Pámulúr" (Choḷa)
- 17 Ilantattan
- 18 Ilaviccikko
- 19 Ilaveḷimán
- 20 Irunkovel
- 21 Iyakkan
- 22 Ugrapperuvaḷuti "conqueror of the fortress Kánappér (Páñḍiya)
- 23 Uruvappahṟer Ilanchetchenni (Choḷa, father of Karikála)
- 24 Enádi Tirukkíḷi
- 25 Eliniyátan, of Váttáru
- 26 Eḷini, the Atiyamán
- 27 Éraikkón
- 28 Évvi
- 29 Olvát Kopperum Seral Irumporai (Chera)
- 30 Óymán Nalliyakkódán
- 31 Óymán Nalliyátan
- 32 Óymán Villiyátan
- 33 Óri
- 34 Kadiyanedu veṭṭuvan
- 35 Kaḍunkováḷiyátan (Choḷa)
- 36 Kaṇnaki, wife of Pekan
- 37 Kapilar
- 38 Karikála
- 39 Karumbanúrkíḷan
- 40 Karunkái-olvát Perum Peyarvaḷuti (Páñḍiya)
- 41 Kási, the Malaiyamán
- 42 Káriyáti, the son of the chief of Malli



- 43 Killivalavan  
 44 Kíransáttan (Páñḍiya)  
 45 Kuṭṭuvankotai (Chera)  
 46 Kuḍakko Seralirumporai (Chera)  
 47 Koṭkánankilán  
 48 Kopperuncholan (Choḷa)  
 49 Kumaṇan  
 50 Tantumáran  
 51 Tarumaputtiran  
 52 Táman, chief of Tóñḍri  
 53 Tittan (Choḷa)  
 54 Tirumuḍikkári  
 55 Tervaṇmalaiyan  
 56 Tonḍaimán  
 57 Tóyanmáran, chief of Írantúr  
 58 Nannan  
 59 Nanmáran (Páñḍiya)  
 60 Nanmáran (Páñḍiya)  
 61 Nambineḍuncheliyan (Páñḍiya)  
 62 Nalankillicheṭchanni (Choḷa)  
 63 Nalankilli (Choḷa)  
 64 Nalli  
 65 Nallurittiran (Choḷa)  
 66 Nágan, chief of Náḷai  
 67 Neḍunkilli  
 68 Neḍuncheliyan (Páñḍiya)  
 69 Neduvelátan  
 70 Paṇṇan, chief of Vallár  
 71 Paṇṇan, chief of Siṟukuḍi  
 72 Paḷayan  
 73 Pári  
 74 Piṭṭankotṭran  
 75 Pekan  
 76 Perunaṭkilli (Choḷa)  
 77 Perunkaḍunko, "author of a poem on Pálai" (Chera)  
 78 Perunchottudiyān Seralátan (Chera)  
 79 Perumsáttan, son of the chief of Ollaiyúr  
 80 Perumsáttan, son of the chief of Piḍavúr  
 81 Perumseralirumporai (Chera)  
 82 Peruvaḷuti (Páñḍiya)  
 83 Pokuṭ Eḷini  
 84 Poraiyáṭṭrukiḷán  
 85 Pórvaiḷkopperunaṭkilli (Choḷa)  
 86 Malayamán's sons  
 87 Mallan, of Mukkávaluáṭṭu Amúr  
 88 Marutanár, of Mankuḍi



- 89 Mántaram Seralirumpoçai (Chera)
- 90 Máranvałuti (Páñđiya)
- 91 Mávałattán (Chola)
- 92 Mávenko (Chera)
- 93 Mudukuđumbipperuvałuti (Páñđiya)
- 94 Muđittalaikkopperunałkilli (Chola)
- 95 Múvan
- 96 Vađimbalambaninđra Páñđiyan (Páñđiya)
- 97 Vanjan (Chera)
- 98 Valluvan, of Náiyil
- 99 Viccikkón
- 100 Vinñantáyan
- 101 Venkaimárpan
- 102 Senkaññán (Chola)
- 103 Seralátan (Chera)
- 104 Soliya Enádi Tirukkułttuvan
- 105 Soliya Enádi Tirukkaññan



## II.—KING SENKUṬṬUVAN OF THE CHERA DYNASTY.

OF the Chera kings of olden times, Senkuṭṭuvan may be ranked among the most famous, not only by reason of his own greatness, but also as the grandson of the great Chola king Karikála, and, what is interesting to all Tamil scholars, as the brother of one of the most esteemed of Tamil poets.

I shall endeavour to gather together whatever is said of Senkuṭṭuvan in Tamil literature.

The Chera kingdom extended on the north to Paḷani (the well-known sanitarium near Madura), on the east to Tenkási, on the south to the sea, and on the west to Kolikúḍu (Calicut), and included within its limits modern Travancore. Its capital was Vanji. The inhabitants of this kingdom were in those days both war-like and enterprising, presenting a striking contrast to their degenerate descendants. Their language then was Tamil.

Senkuṭṭuvan's father was Seralátan, who was called Kuḍakko Neḍun Seralátan and Perum Seralátan. He, too, was a prince of great renown and martial spirit. One poet calls him "Neḍun Seralátan of the ever-victorious banner, king of the Kuḍavars;" \* another refers to him as "he who exercised sovereign power over the earth, even from Kumári (Cape Comorin) to the Himálayas in the north." † He

\* Paraṇar in the Paḍiṭṭuppattu.

† Cilappatikáram, Váltukátai: note the unusual use of ஒருமொழி in this chapter. Ordinarily it means "one word," but here it is used to signify "exercise of sovereign power," *i.e.*, his *one word* prevailing over the region. Winslow, in his valuable Dictionary, does not give this meaning.

married *Sonai*,\* or *Natsonai*, daughter of *Karikála*, and it is said that on one occasion she saved him from being drowned in the sea. †

The fact of his being the son-in-law of the great *Choḷa* did not prevent *Seralátan* from engaging in battle with *Karikála*, and, after his death, with his son and successor. The battle with *Karikála* took place at *Venñil*, ‡ where *Seralátan* was

\* In the interesting chapter *Indra Viláveḍuttakátai* in *Cilappatikáram*, which contains a short account of *Karikála*'s capital and his doings, it is mentioned that he went to North India for purposes of conquest, and when there the King of *Vajra Nádu* (*Vajra* country) presented him with a canopy of pearls, which was afterwards one of the wonders of *Kavérippúmpaṭṭinam*, the then capital of the *Choḷas*. The commentator says that the river *Sona* watered this country. This is the river now known as *Son*, *Soane*, or *Sone*. According to Hunter ("Imperial Gazetteer of India") it is said "to be derived from the Sanskrit *Sona*, crimson, a great river of Central India, and (excluding the *Jumna*) the chief tributary of the *Ganges* on its right bank. It rises in 22° 41' N. latitude and 82° 7' E. longitude, flows in a generally northern direction ..... in 24° 5' N. latitude and 81° 6' E. longitude it is diverted to the east, and holds that direction in a tolerably straight course until it ultimately falls into the *Ganges* about ten miles above *Dinápur* ..... after a total length of about 465 miles."

It surely is not unlikely that, when his daughter was born, *Karikála* gave her the name of this river in compliment to the king of *Vajra*, it being not unusual for *Hindú* females to bear the names of well-known rivers. I may here mention that *Karikála*'s capital, *Kavérippúmpaṭṭinam*, was partially destroyed by the sea during the reign of his successor or his successor, but before the death of *Senkuṭṭuvan* (see, amongst others, *Mañimekhalai*, 25th *Kátai*). (Cf. also pp. 192 and 193, vol. XIII., *Journal*, R. A. S., Ceylon.

† *Vanjinamálai*, *Cilappatikáram*.

‡ Battle of *Venñil*. In the poem "*Porunaráttuppaḍai*" the victory at *Venñil* is mentioned. (See *Journal*, R. A. S., C. B., vol. XIII., p. 200.) The defeat of the *Chera* king is also alluded to in "*Paṭṭinappálai*" thus: குடவர்க்குமட, meaning that he made the inhabitants of the *Chera* kingdom "tremble with fear." He seems to have also either in the same battle or afterwards defeated the great *Páñḍiya* king *Neḍunchéḷiyan*, who afterwards caused *Kovalan*'s death (see "*Cilappatikáram*"). I think I may as well say why I have come to this conclusion. In "*Paṭṭinappálai*" it is stated that *Karikála* defeated the *Páñḍiya* who uttered the *Vanjinam*. The commentator *Naccinárkkiniyár* refers to this *Vanjinakkhánji* (equivalent to a form of declaration of war), which is No. 72 in *Purandánárya*, recited by *Neḍunchéḷiyan*. *Naccinárkkiniyár* lived prior to the eighth century. (See



defeated and was obliged to flee to the "North,"\* and he seems to have remained there for some time smarting under the defeat. The poet Kaláttalaiyár† addressed an ode to him on this occasion, advising his return to his kingdom :—

The earth no longer hears the sound of the drum ; the *yaḷ*‡ has forgotten its music ; large pans are no longer filled with milk, nor is *ghee* § made any more. The bees do not collect honey and the soil remains untilled. All gaiety has forsaken the broad streets of the cities. Like the sun who sets behind the hills when the moon rises, our king, covered with wounds inflicted by one who is his equal, has gone to the North with his sword. How sad are these days when I think of the past."

Karikála's own poet, Vēṅṅik Kuyattiyár,† commemorating the same battle, sang :—

O descendant of that warrior who, sailing his warship on the broad ocean, when becalmed, compelled the god of the winds to fill the sails! O, Karikála, lord of mighty elephants, victorious in battle! Is he, who, when defeated at Veṅṅil, fled to the North, at all your equal?

Seralátan came back to his kingdom and lived to fight Karikála's son and successor, Perunáṭ Killi : || but this time

p. 8, *supra*. In Cilappatikáram, canto IV., அந்திமாலகைச் சிறப்புச்செய்து சாரை, occur these two lines with reference to the Páṇḍiya of the time :—

இளையராசி னும் படைசுயரகசுடியஞ்  
செருமலாண் டென் னா

That this refers to the same Neḍunchéḷiyān who recited the Ode No. 72 in Puraṇánūru is, I think, clear, as the word இளையர் in both places has special reference to the king's early years when he conquered his enemies.

\* வடக்கு "North," where, it is not stated ; but an eminent Tamil scholar whom I consulted says it may be Tiruppati, which has Vaḍamalai as one of its names ; or it may be the Ganges. Since writing this I find வடகுறைச் செயர்தல், "going to the North," is explained (Cilappatikáram, pp. 361, 362) as கங்கையரடப்போதல், "going to the Ganges to bathe in it."

† Puraṇánūru, Odes 65, 66.

‡ *Yaḷ*, a musical instrument which for several hundred years has not been in existence. See remarks of Aḍiyárkunallár in உரைசிறப்புப்பரையிரம், p. 5, in Cilappatikáram.

§ *Ghee*, clarified butter. The statement here will be understood when it is known that no religious ceremony of any importance can take place without *ghee*, nor is rice eaten without it.

|| He is called Velpahpadakkaip, Perunaṭkilli, and Peruviratkilji.

the battle was disastrous, for both the princes met their death in the battle field.

The poet Parañar bemoaned this event :— \*

Many an elephant, struck by arrows, has fallen, to fight no more ; famous horses with their brave riders lie dead ; warriors who came riding in great chariots have all fallen with their shields covering their faces ; war-drums have ceased to sound, as no drummer is now alive. Alas ! two kings pierced by arrows have lost their lives. Sunk in sorrow are those who people their fair lands.

After the death † of Seralátan, his widowed queen, Soṅai, was taken to the Ganges by her son Senkuṭṭuvan, ‡ but whether she returned with him to Vanji after this pilgrimage or spent her days on the banks of the Ganges, as is not unusual with Hindú widows, it is not possible to say.

Seralátan had two sons, Senkuṭṭuvan, who succeeded him on the throne of the Cheras, and Ilankoḍikal, who renounced the world, resided at Kuṇaváyil—a town east of Vanji—and wrote the celebrated poem *Cilappatikāram*.

Senkuṭṭuvan married Venmál, but whose daughter she was I have not been able to ascertain. After he ascended the throne he went, as already stated, with his mother on a pilgrimage to the Ganges, of which journey nothing is known. But he went again several years afterwards to Northern India, this time on a tour of conquest, of which some particulars may be gathered from *Cilappatikāram*, as also other works—e.g., Parañar in *Paḍittuppattu*, *Maṇimekhalai* ; Nattattanar in *Sirupánāttuppadaí*, &c.

According to these, the king was one day informed by some pilgrims who had returned from North India, that the princes there stated that the Tamil kings of the day, unlike their war-like ancestors, had become effeminate. This so provoked him that he declared he would forthwith march to the North and conquer the princes who

\* Puṇanánúru, Ode 63.

† Kaláttalaiyár has also left a poem on Seralátan's death.

‡ Káteikkátai, *Cilappatikāram*.



sneered at him, and compel them to carry on their heads stone from the Himálayas for fashioning the statue of the goddess Pattini to be placed in the temple which, at the request of his queen, he had determined to build. Orders were accordingly issued for the army to get ready, and the inhabitants of the country were informed by beat of drum of the king's intention. Thereupon the Royal Chaplain or Guru, accompanied by the ministers and commanders of the different sections of the army, waited on the king, who received them seated on his throne borne by sculptured lions. After the usual greetings they inquired what the king's pleasure was. The king replied: "The message of the Árya princes conveyed to us by the pilgrims shall not pass unchallenged; for otherwise disgrace will fall alike on all Tamil kings. If our sword do not compel these Northern princes to carry on their heads the stone intended for the statue of the goddess, then let it be our fate to suffer the pains and penalties which kings who oppress their subjects must suffer." All endeavour on the part of the priest and ministers to dissuade the king failed, and when the Court Astrologer, "learned in the science treating of the twelve houses and the position of the planets and stars, and of the tithi, váram, yogam, and karanam," rising, exclaimed with bowed head, "Mighty king, may your power be always great! the auspicious hour has arrived! If you start now on your journey all the great kings of the earth will become your servants." The king prepared to set out; the earth shook under the tread of the mighty host consisting of numberless horse, foot, elephants, and chariots; \* the welkin rang with the sound of the drum and other martial instruments, and the flags concealed the sky. Having first sent his sword and white umbrella, symbols of royalty, to the temple of Siva, he entered the Audience Hall and feasted the chiefs of his

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\* This is the *Chaturanga*, from which the game of chess is also called *Chatur anga*—the queen, castle, and bishop of the English game represent the minister, chariot, and elephant respectively in the Hindú game.

army. Then he proceeded to the temple, and after prayers he received his sword and umbrella and mounted his elephant. Here garlands and other offerings from the temple of Vishṇu at *Āḍakamāḍam*, which the commentator interprets *Tiruvananthapuram*—Trivendrum, now the capital of modern Travancore—reached him. Leaving Vanji amidst the prayers and blessings of his subjects, he marched to Nílagiri (modern Nilgiris), where he encamped and rested a while. Here some sages visited him and asked his favour and protection on behalf of the Bráhmans residing in and near the Himálayas. Here also Konkanars, fierce Kaṛṇátas, and others joined him. Sanjaya, with 100 great chariots, 500 elephants, 10,000 horse, and 500 military officers, also joined him. He said to Sanjaya, “Kanaka and Vijaya, sons of Bálakumára, having lost watch and ward over their tongues, have reviled me in the North, ignorant of the might of Tamil kings; this army therefore is on its march, nursing its wrath. Go ye forward and arrange for the collection of numerous boats to carry the army across the great river Ganges.” After despatching him and receiving the tributes sent by several princes, and suitably acknowledging them, he quitted Nílagiri and proceeded to the Ganges, which he crossed. And after having been welcomed by the inhabitants, he proceeded further north and met in battle Kanaka and Vijaya and several other princes, whom he defeated after a fight lasting seven hours. He captured Kanaka, Vijaya, and several other princes and made them prisoners. He compelled the first two to change their royal garments for the garb of the *sannyási* (religious mendicant), and sent his prime minister, Villavankotai, with a military escort, to the Himálayas, from where a statue of the goddess *Pattini* was made and brought. He caused the two princes to carry it on their heads and returned to his capital with great spoils, after an absence of thirty-two months.\* At Vanji, it is needless to state, he was welcomed by his queen and subjects

\* *எண்ணெசுமத்யம் வஞ்சிநிங்கியது.* Cilappatikáram. p. 474.



with great rejoicing. Then he sent Kanaka and Vijaya, still dressed as religious mendicants, in charge of his messengers, to be exhibited at the courts of the Pándiya and Chola kings, who however expressed their condemnation of the cruel treatment accorded to the unfortunate princes by Senkuttuvan.\* When he heard this, the fiery king was for immediately declaring war, but was fortunately appeased by the Bráhmaṇ Maḍalan, whose spirited address on that occasion, somewhat abridged, runs thus :—

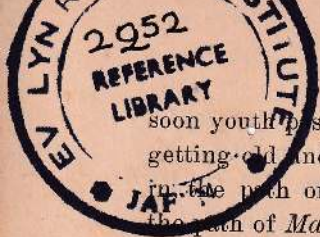
“King of kings, may your power ever increase ! You have conquered *Viyalúr*, you have defeated nine Chola princes, the enemies of your cousin,† and you have now conquered Árya princes. Is your warlike spirit not content? May you live as many years as there are grains of sand on the banks of your beloved river Poruṇai. But will one's life be everlasting? It is well within your own knowledge how

\* Such, and even worse cruelty to conquered princes, was not unusual in those times. There is extant a short poem written by the Chera prince *Kaṇaikkál Irumporai*, immediately before his suicide, complaining of the treatment he received at the hands of his conquerer, the Chola king *Senkannán* (the Red-eye), which is quite pathetic: “Even if a child is still-born, or the birth is a dead mass (embryo), even this is regarded as part of humanity and receives proper treatment. But when, though a prince, my only fault has been misfortune in war, instead of being beheaded, alas! that I should be chained like a dog and treated cruelly, even a drink of water being refused; surely I have enough self-respect and courage left to commit suicide without seeking to appease hunger and thirst at the hands of strangers who pity my state !”

The *Senkannán* here mentioned is *Ko-chengannán* of Dr. Hultzsch (South Indian Inscriptions, vol. II., p. 153), whose name is mentioned in copperplate grants as ancestor of Vijayálaya, who reigned *circa* 875 Anno Christi (South Indian Journal, vol. I., p. 112). Jnána Sambandha, in his *Devárams*, mentions him in more than one of his hymns. So does Appar (Tirunávukkarasu), his contemporary, as also Sundaramúrthi. Jnána Sambandha lived prior to the second century of the Christian era. Cf. pp. 5, 6, 7, *supra*.

† Karikála's grandson. This battle with the Chola princes took place at Neriváyl (நேரிவாயில்), after the conquest of *Viyalúr*; see pp. 473, 474, 481, Cilappatikáram. The defeat and death of the nine Chola princes is also mentioned in *Padittuppattu V.* :—

ஆராச்செருவிற் சேரழர் குடிக்கரியோ  
ரொன்பதின் பர் வீழ்வாயிற் புறக்கிறுத்த.



soon youth passes away, since your hair is gray and you are getting old and infirm. And yet without desiring to walk in the path of *Aram* (the law) you are still intent on the path of *Maṛam*\* (darkness). Cease then your anger and perform, with your queen, the Rāja Sūyayaga† without delay."

Thereupon the king released the Árya princes, and desired his minister Villavankotai to treat them as befitted their rank until the forthcoming religious ceremonies were over, and to send them back to their country. He gave directions for the construction of a temple to the goddess *Pattini*, ‡ and on its completion was present at its consecration, together with Kanaka and Vijaya, the Árya princes, and Konkar and Málwa and other princes, and Gaja Báhu, "king of sea-girt Ceylon."

In my Paper on "Cilappatikáram" I stated that the Gaja Báhu referred to was Gaja Báhu I., who reigned in Ceylon between 113-135 of the years of Christ. This has now been confirmed by the Sinhalese authorities cited by Mr. Raṇasiṅha in his Paper entitled "Which Gaja Báhu visited India?" When this visit took place Senkuttuvan had been on the throne of the Cheras for upwards of fifty years. § Senkuttuvan's reign must therefore have begun about the 70th year of the Christian era. ||

\* There is an old proverb which Appar, *alias* Tirunávukkrasu, contemporary of Jnána Sambandhar, mentions in one of his Devárams :—

அறமிருக்க மறம்வினைக்குக் கொண்ட வாதே.

"When *Aram* is to be acquired easily, how foolish to seek *Maṛam* with one's best efforts." Adiyárkunallár gives Sanskrit *hita* and *ahita* as equivalents of *Aram* and *Maṛam* respectively.

† This is a religious sacrifice or ceremony performed by a supreme sovereign.

‡ *I.e.*, Kaṇṇaki, wife of Kovalan, who lost his life at Madura. *Cf.* page 81 *et seq.*, Journal, vol. XIII., R. A. Society, Ceylon, in which an error has to be corrected. Instead of Kaṇṇakai read Kaṇṇaki, in this as well as in page 148 of the same volume.

§ Cilappatikáram, Naḍukatkátaí. The passage may perhaps also mean that he had *lived* fifty years.

|| *Cf.* Journal, R. A. S., Ceylon, vol. XIII., p. 81 *et seq.*; Mr. Raṇasiṅha's Paper, p. 144 *et seq.*; also page 191, where the age of Karikála. Senkuttuvan's grandfather, is discussed.











