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TAMIL SANGAM ‘MAN OF WAR’ –
HIS ACTIVITIES AND ASPIRATIONS

0. Introduction

The topic is relatively wide-ranging and has been discussed in a number of works dealing with Sangam literature (the most systematic one is perhaps Kailasapathy 1968; cf. also e.g. N. Subrahmanian 1980; K.D. Thirunavukkarasu 1994; T.K. Venkata Subramanian 2010). Though this is principally an aspect of the *puram* genre (‘public life’), it is also mentioned in the contexts of various situations described in the *akam* genre (‘private life’). The topic has a number of aspects and in the following we will discuss its general frame and show how it is reflected in the texts. At the same time we have to underline that the descriptions in the Sangam texts are very *realistic*, in that they concern the various features of everyday life as well as the background image of nature (concerning Sangam realistic description, cf. e.g. Thani Nayagam 1963: 13; Varadarajan 1969: 18).

We will present some interesting passages, but the choice will be highly selective. This topic has many ‘layers’ which are variously reflected by the *literary image* of the active ‘men of war’. We will try to present the main concepts in a structured and as far as possible condensed formulation. Besides the description of the main concepts, we will also analyse the characteristic *stylistic* features, in particular some select *formulas* used in the texts as a reflection of ancient orality (cf. Kailasapathy 1968: 135ff.; Vacek, references in Vacek 2013,

2015a,b). Some of the terms and formulas have also been partly discussed in my earlier papers (Vacek 2013, 2015a,b). The present paper deals with the topic from a broader perspective.

The Sangam texts are not historical documents in the technical sense of the word, they are poetic reflections on various aspects of everyday life. Therefore, they can be investigated with the aim of viewing a certain aspect. At the same time, as mentioned above, the Sangam descriptions are very *realistic* and reflect truly the various features of both the physical and the emotional world (concerning Sangam 'realism' cf. e.g. Thani Nayagam 1966, Varadarajan 1969).

However, there are two semantic 'problems' of the Sangam language, which complicate an exact understanding in some cases and which have to be specified at the beginning. These two problems are the prolific *polysemy* of many of the terms and the existence of *synonyms* and *semi-synonyms*.

Polysemy – some of the words have more meanings and only contextually they may refer to the "objects" discussed here – obviously this is typical for a situation in which jargon is used, when words with different concrete meanings are used and (easily) understood in specific contexts by the "participants" in the situation(s).¹

On the other hand there are a number of synonyms or semi-synonyms for all the concepts discussed below (some of them identifiable as borrowings, only from IA). This is an important feature together with polysemy, obviously reflecting a special sociolinguistic (and social?) situation.²

¹ We also specify the number of occurrences of the individual lexemes. But due to the polysemy of some of the lexemes, the exact number of occurrences of the special meanings can be determined only by viewing (the relatively great number of) individual contexts. This is also the reason why the lists of the terms are made in detail specifying their meanings in the various contexts. These and other semantically similarly complex concepts should be studied separately later, but they will appear in some of the examples presented below, partly also in the formulas.

² This is undoubtedly one more expression of the transitional stage of the language – from isolating (and mixed?) to agglutinative typology – reflected not only in the Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions (cf. Pilot-Raichoor 2012 with further references), but also in the Sangam language. Another example of synonyms in Sangam literature is the various terms designating the 'horse', which may also indicate the existence of various layers in Old Tamil (cf. Vacek 2014: 69, Note 13).

And in addition to that, a number of the ‘concepts’ or ‘figures’ can also be referred to by terms, which are used ‘metaphorically’ when speaking about the ‘chief’ or ‘king’ (*entai*, lit., ‘my father’), or ‘fame’ (*icai*, lit., ‘sound’), but their basic meanings belong to different semantic fields (see also below).

1. Man of war

1.0. The Concept of Hero

The reason why I have considered the subject with reference to a more ‘concrete’ concept, viz. the ‘man of war’, is that the concept of the ‘hero’ seems to be missing³ – the concept of hero in the narrow sense does not seem to exist. There are various concrete ‘men of war’ which may include practically all members of the male population.⁴ Kailasapathy (1968) does not use the Tamil equivalent. On pp. 229ff. in the chapter ‘The world of the heroes’ Kailasapathy speaks about *cānrōr*, or the ‘noble ones’, referring mainly to the poets, and *cāl* meaning ‘the warriors, the great, the learned, the noble, and the poets of the *Caṅkam* period’. The meaning is therefore variable, ‘more often than not (it) connotes warriors, valiant men, excellent men, or heroes’ (Kailasapathy 1968: 229). And according to Kailasapathy (ibid.), ‘M.S. Venkatasamy ... demonstrated convincingly that it originally connoted warriors’. Zvelebil (1973: 106) lists the *puṛam tiṇais* as ‘heroic situations’.

Further discussing the opposition of ‘heroes’ and ‘non-heroes’, Kailasapathy (1968: 258ff.) uses two terms – *cānrōr* (34x) vs. *ilicīnar* (3x).⁵ But both are semantically broader terms,

³ I have discussed the question briefly per mail with Prof. Balasubramanian Govindasamy (University of Kuppam) and with Prof. Govindaswamy Rajagopal from JNU, New Delhi. They agreed that there is no exactly corresponding term.

⁴ This is a more complex phenomenon, not all the various ‘male’ activities concern only ‘war’. For the other various features cf. my previous papers (Vacek 2013, 2015a,b).

⁵ He says (p. 259): ‘The division and all that it connotes is epitomized in the two words *cānrōr* and *ilicīnar*.’ The former is more frequent, the latter appears only 3x in singular:

which cover two opposite groups of society – (in his terms) ‘the free, noble ones’, vs. ‘the unfree, ignoble ones’.

We can find some terms translated in the indexes of the texts as ‘hero’, e.g.:

neṭuntakai ‘hero (person of great worth)’ (Aka. 4x – SVS s.v.;
Pura. 17x – VIS splits the term and
translates *takai* ‘the dignified one’; Sangam
total 32x)

The TL (s.v. *neṭuntakai*) has only ‘person of great worth’⁶ and obviously ‘hero’ is not a special ‘concept’.

The Sanskrit word *vīra-* was borrowed early but it occurs only once in the *Akanāṅṅūru* (*vīrar*; Aka. 36,23). However, it is rendered as ‘warriors’ by SVS (1972, s.v.) and similarly by Vaidehi (web):⁷

..... (*enpa alar ē*) (Aka. 36,12)

.....
*veṇṇi ko! vīrar ārppiṇum peritu ē*⁸ (Aka. 36,23)

lit.,(the gossip) (12)
is greater than the uproar of victorious **warriors** (23)

iḷiciṇaṅ (3x: only Pura. 82,3; 289,10; and vocative 287,2: *iḷiciṇa*). VIS (s.v.) renders *iḷiciṇaṅ* as ‘the pulaya’.

⁶ See also below Pura. 324,12; Hart, Heifetz (1999: 185) also translate ‘man of great worth’.

⁷ In the TL there are various other terms partly derived from the basic Sanskrit lexeme (*vīram* etc.), but they appear in later texts (with the exception of the following single occurrence of *vīrar* in Sangam) and they have also homophones with different meanings, see TL s.vv.:

*vīram*¹ (1. heroism; bravery; 3. strength, might; 4. excellence);

*pīram*³ (1. strength; 2. heroism, bravery);

*vāḷvīram*¹ ‘swordsmanship, skill in the use of the sword’

– besides

*pīram*¹ (1. sponge-gourd /Sangam total 2x/; 2. paleness through love-sickness; 3. portia tree);

*vāḷvīram*² ‘bael’ (Sangam total 1x; Pari. 11,19); cf. PPTI s.v.: ‘Kūviḷam tree; the bael; vilvam’.

⁸ *ārppiṇum peritu ē* ‘(is) greater than the noise’ (Sangam total 9x).

This is a problem for further consideration – do we have to do with a different conceptual world ‘thinking in more concrete terms’, which is ‘complementary’ to the Western thinking in more ‘abstract terms’? Is there such a complementarity? And this is also conspicuous in the case of many of the other terms, which will be briefly listed below. They are often polysemous, but applied with reference to concrete characters.

In later texts (e.g. *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*) the important Sangam term *puṛam* may also mean ‘heroism, bravery, valour’ (TL, s.v. *puṛam*¹ 5.); according to Zvelebil (1973: 91) it means ‘outward life, public life, political life’ and more specifically ‘heroism, war’. Similarly *koṛṛam* ‘victory’ (VIS, SVS s.v.; cf. below 2.2.2.A.) can also mean ‘heroism, bravery’ (TL s.v. *koṛṛam* 2.) in later texts.

As for the concept of ‘heroism’, there is one more general term occurring frequently with a relatively close meaning:

maṛam ‘valour, bravery, strength’ (Sangam total 49x)⁹

It occurs in relatively frequent formulas, mostly attributive phrases used with kings and armies, e.g.:

maṛam keḷu ‘bravery-having’ (Sangam total 11x), e.g.
maṛam keḷu cōḷar ‘the Chola(s) having bravery’
 (2x)
maṛam keḷu tāṇai ‘army having bravery’ (2x)
maṛam keḷu kurucil ‘chieftain having bravery’ (2x)

maṛam miku ‘bravery-abounding’, ‘having much bravery’
 (Sangam total 5x), e.g.
maṛam miku tāṇai ‘army having much bravery’
 (2x)
maṛam miku vēlam ‘elephant having much bravery’
 (1x; Kali. 53,3)

Some of these complex formulas are used as attributes of kings or chieftains, e.g.

⁹ The variant form of the word appears less frequently: *maṛaṇ* ‘valour’ (Sangam total 6x: Aka. 277,15; Puṛa. 213,19; 337,19; Pari. 1,43; 13,56; Pati. 82,14).

maṛam keḷu tāṇai korra kuṛumpiyaṅ lit., 'victorious
Kuṛumpiyaṅ with army having bravery' (Aka. 262,9)
maṛam keḷu tāṇai aracar lit., 'victorious kings with army
having bravery' (Aka. 338,2)

And *maṛam* or 'bravery' is also sung about and the singer(s) obtain(s) gifts for their performances, e.g. see below (2.2.2.A. Victory).

There is also a phrase:

pēr āṇmai – 1. great valour or prowess; heroism; 2. honour; 3.
heroic exploit, feat of arms (TL s.v.; Sangam
total 1x; *Kuru.* 43,3).¹⁰

Finally we have to underline that the concept of 'bravery' is seen from two different points of view – one 'public' (*puṛam*) and one 'private' (*akam*). This is the basic antithesis of the Sangam literary image of society, which is in the background (also mentioned by Kailasapathy 1968: 10f.).

The 'man of war' includes various types of active warriors who are socially differentiated. They will be specified in the following three sections. There are concrete references to *kings* (1.1.) and *chieftains* (1.2.), whose duty it is to defend the interests of their territories. However, the literary image is flexible – besides the clear designation by the relevant titles or names, there is also a more 'intimate' discourse, where various metaphorical or appellative terms are used (1.3.). And last but not least, there is also the opposite of the 'man of war', viz. the 'enemy' (1.4.).

1.1. Kings

¹⁰ This phrase is rendered as 'obstinate combat' by Shanmugam Pillai, Ludden (1976, p. 399). It occurs in a more complex phrase *iru pēr āṇmai* – E. Wilden (2010, I, p. 165; plus *ibid.* Note 189) gives various possible interpretations – lit., 'two big courage(?); 'two great wills' (free rendering of the verse); and she refers to T.V.G.'s understanding of the line: 'the encounter of two great individual prestiges'.

The basic survey of the terms and also occurrences in the texts has been summarised in my earlier paper (2013: 334ff.; Section 2.B). This provides the general picture – as far as the various terms are concerned and also their distribution in the texts of *Puranānūru* (VIS) and *Akanānūru* (SVS). We can also ask, whether the various synonyms are a result of a mixture of dialects or even borrowing from different languages. One term is a borrowing from Sanskrit (*aracaṅ*).¹¹

<i>vēntu</i>	'king, kingdom, royalty' (PPTI s.v.) (VIS s.v.: 'kingship' 26x, 'king(s)' 4x; SVS 1972 s.v.: 'king' 2x) (Sangam total 78x without case suffixes)
<i>vēntaṅ/r</i>	'king (crowned monarch)'; 'Indra' (not in the Sangam) (PPTI s.v.) (-r: 69x; -ṅ: 51x = 120x)
<i>maṅṅaṅ/r</i>	'king(s)' (PPTI s.v.) (-r: 50x; -ṅ: 16x = Sangam total 66x) (VIS s.v., PPTI s.v.: only 'king'; SVS 1972 s.v.: 1x 'chief' in singular – Aka. 209,12; 7x 'king' in plural)
<i>aracaṅ/r</i>	'king(s)' (araca 1x; -r: 5x; -ṅ: 4x = Sangam total 10x) (< rājan-); plus forms with palatalized second syllable: araiṅ (9x, from that 2x: araiṅ), araiṅ (1x, Kali. 130,4), araiṅ (1x, Nar. 291,3)
<i>kō</i>	'king' (most of the occurrences in <i>Pura.</i> 18x; then <i>Pati.</i> 9x; <i>Akam</i> texts have only a few <i>kōcar</i> occurrences – Kali. 2x; <i>Nar.</i> 1x; Sangam total 34x)
<i>kōṅ</i>	'chief', 'king' (PPTI s.v.; VIS s.v.: 5x 'king'; plus <i>Matu.</i> 74; <i>Kali.</i> 94,36; <i>Aka.</i> zero; Sangam total 7x)
<i>kōmāṅ</i>	'king' and 'chieftain' (<i>Aka.</i> both, <i>SVS</i> s.v.; <i>Pura.</i> only 'chieftain', <i>VIS</i> s.v.; <i>PPTI</i> only 'king'; <i>Gurukkal</i> 2010: 125 – 'chief'); (Sangam total 24x)
<i>kōcar</i>	'viceroys, from <i>Tuḷu Nāḍu</i> ' (see <i>PPTI</i> s.v.); <i>VIS</i> s.v., 1972 s.v.: the <i>Koocar</i> warriors (Sangam total 15x) ¹²

¹¹ Note also that the terms *kō*, *kōṅ*, *kōmāṅ* (and the relevant Kurukh form *kōhar* elders, chiefs, etc.; DEDR 2177) are very close to an Altaic term – e.g. Classical Mongolian *xayan*, Khalka *xān* 'Great Khan, emperor, king' (cf. Vacek 2009: 83–84).

¹² For some phrases including these lexemes, cf. Vacek 2013: Notes 15–18.

Besides these more or less unambiguous terms there are also some terms with more meanings, occasionally also contradictory ones and not necessarily interpreted in the same way in different works:

<i>irai</i>	‘king’ (6x , Pura. – VIS s.v.) ‘chief’, ‘king’ (1x , Aka. 388,26 – PPTI s.v.; but not in SVS s.v., see the following) ‘God’ (Murugan) (2x or 3x , Aka. 388,20, Pura. 129,1 – PPTI s.v.; but not VIS s.v.; as for Aka., SVS s.v. adds Aka. 388,26, which means ‘chief’, ‘king’ according to the PPTI s.v., see the previous)
<i>iraivan</i>	‘king’ (4x , Pura. according to PPTI s.v.; 1x according to VIS s.v. <i>iraiva</i>); ‘chief’ (4x , Pura. according to VIS s.v.); not found in Aka.
<i>poruna</i>	Voc. ‘King!’, ‘Chief!’ (VIS; Pura. 11x)
<i>porunan</i>	‘King’ (VIS; Pura. 7x ; 1x: <i>-ai</i> ‘king-you’; Pura. 58,9); ‘chief’ (SVS; Aka. 2x : 13,10; 296,10); also: ‘warrior’ (Pura. 4x ; Aka. 1x : 137,13); ‘dancer’ (Pura. 3x : 389,5; 390,12; 391,12; Aka. 1x : 76,9)

The last lexeme is derived from a root with more meanings – ‘to fight’, ‘to play’ etc.¹³ That is why in some contexts the meaning may be more general (‘warrior’) or practically opposite (‘enemy’). Not all published translations agree in the same contexts:

<i>porunar</i>	‘enemies’ (e.g. Pura. 6x , VIS; Aka. 2x , SVS); ‘warriors’ (Pura. 2x ; VIS), also pronominalized: <i>porunar-ēm</i> ‘dancers-we’ (VIS s.v.; Pura. 382,5; 386,19) – but it can be interpreted differently: in the literal sense
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¹³ < *poru*⁻¹ **it.**, 1. to fight, contend in warfare, engage in battle; 2. to play games of chance; 3. to compete, vie with, strive against; 4. to blow, as the wind;

tr., 1. to play; as a lute; 2. to churn; 3. to resemble; 4. to come in collision with, dash against, as waves; 5. to reach, extend; 6. to join, unite, combine; 7. to multiply (math.); (cf. DEDR 4540, 4541, where not all of the various meanings are variously distributed).

‘we-bards’ (Pura. 382,5; Hart, Heifetz 1999: 223; Vaidehi); but Pura. 386,19 is interpreted as ‘we-bards’ (Vaidehi) or ‘we-fighters’ (Hart, Heifetz 1999: 226)

1.2. Chieftains

There is a great number of tribal chieftains mentioned in the texts (59 according to Thirunavukkarasu 1994: 7; 48 according to Kailasapaty 1968: 16). Select literary images of some of them have been presented in my earlier papers (Vacek 2013, 2015a,b). The ‘basic terms’ (Vacek 2013: Section 2C) are:

- vēl* – (3) ‘A member of the Vēḷir clan’; !but also: ‘Lord Muruka’ (PPTI s.v.) (Sangam total **32x**)
vēḷir – ‘The Vēḷs, the leading feudatories in Tamiḷakam in the Śaṅgam age’ (PPTI s.v.) (Sangam total **12x**)

From among them the so-called ‘last seven *vallals* or patrons’ (referred to as *eḷuvar* ‘the seven’ – total **8x**, from that **1x** *eḷuvaroṭu*) are often mentioned and praised in the texts.

Besides that there are a number of tribes, professionally defined in the context of the five regions, some of which are also connected with making war or at least with robbery and the like (cf. Vacek 2015a: Section 2.2.). It is especially the inhabitants of the *pālai* region or desert tract, the *maṛavar*s, who are devoted to making wars. Their name is etymologically connected with the lexeme designating ‘bravery’, viz. *maṛam* (cf. above **1.0.**; also DEDR 4763):

maṛavar or ‘men of bravery, robbers and cattle lifters’
 (Sangam total **79x**; incl. *maṛavaṇ* **11x**)¹⁴

¹⁴ Cf. PPTI (s.v. *maṛavar*): ‘robbers; a community which supplied warriors to royal armies; they lifted cattle; they used bow and arrows and harassed wayfarers. The word is generally used to denote ‘warriors’ also (Maṛam means ‘Adharma’ ‘bravery’ in battle)’.

Note that VIS translates one occurrence of the term as ‘kings’ (Pura. 93,10), which is shared neither by Hart, Heifetz (1999: 66) nor by Vaidehi – both translate ‘warriors’.

There is one more term looking phonetically 'close' (but linked etymologically with the meaning 'young'; cf. DEDR 4747), which appears less frequently (and relatively more often in two *akam* texts, *Akanānūru* and *Narriṇai*, but not in the remaining *akam* texts:

maḷavar 'warriors' (Puṛa. VIS s.v.: **2x**; Aka. SVS: **14x**;
Naṛ. Wilden: **2x**) (Sangam total: **22x**, no
case forms)

1.3. General Terms

Further there are more general terms used as appellatives or polite references to any of the kings, chieftains, i.e. 'respected chiefs'. These are either 'descriptive' terms directly referring to a 'leader' in general (*talaivar*), or terms expressing some sort of respect ('great one' – *peruma*), or even 'intimacy' ('father' – *entai*). In some cases, perhaps due to the need of greater emphasis, these terms appear in the same poem with different attributes.

kurucil 'chief', 'person of dignity' (e.g. Puṛa. **12x**, VIS s.v.;
Aka. zero, SVS s.v.; Naṛ. zero, Wilden
2008; Sangam total **31x**)
kuricil 'chief', 'person of dignity' (e.g. VIS, Puṛa. **2x**, VIS
s.v.; Aka. **1x**, SVS s.v.; Naṛ. zero, Wilden
2008; plus plural form *kuricilar* **1x**: Matu.
736; Sangam total **5x**)¹⁵

¹⁵ These two terms should probably be connected as two variants, though the TL derives *kurucil* from Skt. *guru*- and does not see any connection between them. Is the form *kurucil* an 'assimilation' to the Sanskrit lexeme? Cf.

TL: *kuricil* 1. person of dignity, illustrious person; 2. philanthropist, benefactor; 3. lord, chief

kurucil probably = *kurucāmi* 1. the most revered of masters, chief or preceptors;

2. see *kurunātan* 1. exalted guru, great master; 2. Skanda

Similarly DEDR 1782 (*kuru* brilliancy, lustre, effulgence) has only *kuricil* 'illustrious person' with a question-mark.

- peruma* ‘Chief!’; lit., ‘great one’¹⁶ (SVS = *perumāṅ ē*) (e.g. Puṛa. 47x, VIS s.v.; Aka. 8x, SVS s.v.; Sangam total 99x)
- perumakaṅ* ‘chief’; lit., ‘great man’¹⁷ (SVS = *talaivaṅ*) (e.g. Puṛa. 2x: 88,3; 157,7; VIS s.v.; Aka. 8x, SVS s.v.; Naṛ. 3x Wilden 2008 III, s.v.; Sangam total 20x)
- talaivar/talaivaṅ* ‘leader’, ‘chief’; lit., ‘the one /at/ the head’ (e.g. ‘leader’, Puṛa. 5x, VIS s.v.; ‘chief’, Aka. 3x, SVS s.v.; Sangam total 7x/13x)
- kāvalaṅ, kāvalar* lit., ‘protector(s)’ (e.g. Puṛa. 1x/7x ‘king(s)’; 1x ‘guards’, VIS s.v.; Aka. 1x ‘watcher’; 10x ‘guards’, SVS s.v.; Sangam total 4x / 32x)

In some cases it is only from the context that the meaning of a polysemous address word can be determined, e.g.

- aṅṅal* ‘superiority’ (Aka. 13x, SVS), ‘superior’ (Puṛa. 13x, VIS), ‘great one’ (Puṛa. 7x; VIS), ‘Great One!’ (Puṛa. 7x; VIS) (Sangam total 77x; from that 3x with a suffix)¹⁸
- celvaṅ* lit., ‘the wealthy one, eminent one’: ‘Lord’ (i.e. *talaivaṅ*: e.g. Aka. 25,20; Puṛa. 56,23)
Note that in Puṛa. the lexeme has more meanings – ‘Sun’ (1x: 34,18), ‘son’ (1x: 273,4), ‘Lord’ (1x: 56,23)

¹⁶ Vocative < **perumaṅ* ‘great one’ (Wilden 2008, III, s.v.; not in TL). The form **perumaṅ* does not occur in the Sangam texts. There is a form *perumāṅ* (Sangam total 4x: 3x Kali. 82,13; 82,21; 82,31; 1x Pati.). According to Vaidehi: ‘lord’ (2x: Kali. 82,13; 82,31), ‘father’ (1x: Kali. 82,21), ‘king’ (Pati. 85,3). Cf. TL s.v.: ‘nobleman, great person; king; elder, elder brother’.

¹⁷ VIS lists as two items: *perum* ‘great’; *makaṅ* ‘man’ (s.vv.). Cf. TL, s.v. *makaṅ*: 1. son; 2. child; 3. man, male person; 4. exalted person; 5. warrior; 6. husband.

¹⁸ The word can also be used as an attribute with animal names: *aṅṅal yāṅṅai* ‘superior elephant’ (Puṛa. 8x; Aka. 6x; Sangam total 23x), *aṅṅal iralai* ‘superior stag’ (only Aka. 3x), *aṅṅal ēṛu* ‘superior bull’ (only Aka. 3x), and the like. Vaidehi renders e.g. ‘noble elephants’ (Aka. 61,4; 96,13); ‘noble stag’ (Aka. 23,8; 34,4; 304,9); ‘noble bull’ (Aka. 64,11) etc. Note that the lexeme *aṅṅal* does not occur in the *Kalittokai*.

Family terms or other forms of expression can express something like intimacy or 'adoption'. This phenomenon seems to be more frequent e.g. in the *Puranānūru* than in the *Akanānūru* (cf. below). And the intimacy is even greater when the term is used in the vocative case.

entai 'my / our father' (e.g. Aka. **10x**; Puṛa. **2x**)
also 'my / our lord' (e.g. Aka. **2x**; Puṛa. **19x** – from that **8x** vocative!)

Note also the 'complementary distribution' of the two different meanings in the two *akam* and *puṛam* texts (Sangam total **55x**)

emmōṇ 'of us-he', i.e. 'our chief' (Sangam total **1x**; VIS: *emmuṭaiya talaivar*; Puṛa. 157,5)

In the texts there is one more concept which is rendered variously as both 'warriors' and 'strong, valiant men'; it is etymologically related to *vayam* 'strength' etc. (cf. DEDR 5254). This is a non-negligible aspect of the general image which documents the manner of 'describing' the individual 'figures' in the 'field':

vayavar, vayavaṇ 'strong men/man'; 'valiant men' (Aka., SVS); 'warrior(s)' (Puṛa., VIS) (Sangam total **24x**; from that *vayavaṇ* **1x**: Naṛ. 260,6)

This is obviously one of the more general concepts used contextually with a relatively concrete meaning.

1.4. Enemies or ‘Opponents’

The ‘enemies’ of various kinds are an ‘integral’ part of the image. There are several terms which are very frequent and regular, e.g. *pakaivar*, *tevvar*, *oṇṇār*. Some terms are less frequent, e.g. *mārrār*, *ceṛuvar*. The terms are mostly ‘motivated’ (in linguistic sense), as they are derived from lexeme meaning ‘opposition, disagreement, hate’ and the like (cf. the explanations in the notes).

In fact ‘enemies’ are also ‘men of war’, though by far not at all ‘heroic’ and they are encountered both in battles and in everyday situations (see the first example below). The use of these terms in the literary image achieves a special effect by playing with the opposition to the other positively viewed ‘men of war’, as the few examples below can show.

<i>pakaivar</i>	‘enemies’ (e.g. Puṛa. 13x ; Aka. 3x ; Sangam total 36x : 30+6 suffixes) ¹⁹ + <i>pakaiyēm</i> ‘we-of the enmity’ (Sangam total 1x ; Aka. 186,18; SVS)
<i>tevvar</i>	‘enemies’ (SVS), ‘opponents’ (VIS) (e.g. Puṛa. 9x ; Aka. 2x ; Sangam total 36x : 34+2 suffixes) ²⁰
<i>tevvir</i>	‘opponents!’ (VIS) (Sangam total 2x : Puṛa. 87,1; 170,9)
<i>oṇṇār</i>	‘enemies’ (VIS) (e.g. Puṛa. 13x ; Aka. 5x ; Sangam total 30x)
<i>oṇṇātōr</i>	‘enemies’ (VIS) (Sangam total 1x : Puṛa. 94,5: <i>-kku</i>)

¹⁹ This lexeme is not used with any regular attributive formulas, more frequent is the phrase *niṇ pakaivar* ‘your enemies’ (Sangam total **6x**).

²⁰ In the TL (s.v.) this lexeme is derived from *tev*¹ ‘enmity, hostility; war, battle, fight; opposing power, enemy’, which does not appear in Sangam literature. It is with a question-mark that the DEDR connects these lexemes with the etymon DEDR 3404:

Ka. *tegaḷ* to rebuke, blame, abuse; Te. *tegaḍu*, *tevaḍu* to be disregarded or neglected; disregard, slight, neglect, scorn, contempt, revile, censure, blame, etc.

However, the lexeme *tevvar* appears to be relatively frequent in Sangam literature and it is also used in one frequent formula:

oṇṇā tevvar lit., ‘enemies who will not agree’ (SVS), ‘opponents who will not unite’ (VIS) (Sangam total **9x**)

The attribute *oṇṇā* ‘who will not agree’, etc. (Sangam total **10x**; cf. also the following lexeme) appears almost exclusively in the above formula.

<i>oṇṇalar</i>	‘foes’ (VIS) (Sangam total 1x : Puṛa. 274,4) ²¹
<i>ceṛunar</i>	‘enemies’ (SVS) (e.g. 2x each: Aka. Tiru.; 1x each: Naṛ., Pati., Pari-ti., Matu.; Sangam total 8x)
<i>ceṛuvar</i>	‘enemies’ (VIS; Krishnambal 1974 s.v.) (e.g. 2x Puṛa.; 1x Kuṛu. <i>ceṛuvarkku</i> ; Sangam total 3x)
<i>ceṛuvōr</i>	‘enemies’ (SVS) (1x Aka.; Sangam total 1x) ²²
<i>mārrār</i>	‘opponents’ (VIS) (e.g. 1x Puṛa. 26,17; Sangam total 3x)
<i>mārrōr</i>	‘rivals’ (VIS), ‘enemies’ (SVS) (e.g. 1x Puṛa. 309,5; 1x Aka. 177,14; Sangam total 5x) ²³
<i>uṭalunar</i>	‘enemies’ (VIS, SVS) (e.g. Puṛa. 3x ; Aka. 1x : 138,6; Sangam total 6x) ²⁴

Just two examples of how ‘enemies’ were perceived (some more examples may be seen below, e.g. Puṛa. 94 in Section **2.1.B**):

neri cel vampalar koṇṇa tevvar (Aka. 113,18)
lit., ‘enemies who killed the newcomers walking
(along) the road’

One interesting passage also implying a consciousness of the IA tradition (Brahmins performing a Vedic ritual are mentioned in the previous lines) uses two of the above designations of enemies:

²¹ The last three lexemes are negative formations derived from *oṇṇu* ‘to agree, be friendly’ (DEDR 990d; a broad etymon, cf. *oṇṇu* ‘one’ etc., *ibid.*; *oru* ‘one’, DEDR 990a).

²² The last three lexemes are derived from *ceṛu-* ‘to hate, dislike’; ‘anger’; ‘furious’ etc. (DEDR 1597); However cf. also DEDR 1981: Ta. *ceṛu* ‘to kill, destroy’; etc.

²³ For the etymology cf. DEDR 4834: *māru* ‘to become changed, exchanged,’ etc.; ‘enmity, hostility,’ etc.; *mārru* ‘to change, alter, hinder, repeal, deny, refuse, destroy’ etc.

²⁴ The lexeme is derived from *uṭal* ‘enmity; offending’ (Puṛa., VIS s.v.), cf. also DEDR 2722: Ta. *ūṭu* ‘to sulk, show displeasure’; *uṭal* ‘to be enraged, quarrel, fight’; etc.; Te. *sūḍu* ‘enmity, pique, spite; an enemy’; etc. Aka. has also other derivatives: *uṭalunaḷ* ‘she who will disagree’ (203,1); *uṭalumōr* ‘they who will disagree’ (316,17).

<i>vēlvi muṛriya vāy vāl vēntu ē</i>	(Puṛa. 26,15)
<i>nōṛṛōṛ maṅṛa niṅ pakaivar niṅṅoṭu</i>	(Puṛa. 26,16)
<i>māṛṛār eṅṅum peyar perru</i>	(Puṛa. 26,17)
<i>āṛṛār āyiṅṅum āṅṅu vālvōṛ ē</i>	(Puṛa. 26,18)

lit., ‘Oh king with sharp sword, who has completed a sacrifice! (15)

Your enemies surely have done penance. (16)

Having won the fame that (lit., saying) (they are) (17) your (16) enemies, (17)

even if they do not fight (with you), they will live in the nether world. (18)’

2. Characteristic Activities, Moral Principles and Aspirations

2.0. There are many aspects of everyday life, especially the need of protection – material protection, military protection and ‘immediate’ protection (food, presents and the like), besides various activities for general prosperity. And they are taken care of by the ‘responsible’ members of the communities, which is very realistically described in the Sangam poetry. In the following we will sum up some of the characteristic **activities** as reflected in the texts in various formulas (**2.1.A**) and in a few textual samples (**2.1.B**). The generally accepted **moral principles** followed by the ‘men of war’ (**2.2.1.**), when they pursue their high **aspirations** (**2.2.2.**), are also important. These concepts are documented by a few select examples, though each of them would deserve a special study.²⁵

²⁵ Besides that there are concrete ‘pieces of equipment’, which are also symbols of sovereignty and which were discussed in my earlier paper (Vacek 2013: 328–332, Sections 1.B. and 1.E. with further references; for the literary description including formulas cf. ibid. p. 340ff., Section 3.).

There are many more concepts, which deserve special attention in this context and which were also colourfully depicted in the Sangam texts. Among them:

pōr ‘war’ (but also meaning e.g. ‘roof’, ‘haystack’; Sangam total **195x**);

ceru ‘war’ (SVS, Eleyaperumal 1975, s.v.), ‘fight’ (VIS, Krishnambal 1974, s.v.; Sangam total **64x**);

ceruvu ‘fight’ (VIS; mostly *ceruvil* **7x** /3x Aka.; each 1x: Puṛa., Kali., Tiru., Matu./; *ceruviṅ* **4x** /2x Malai.; each 1x: Paṭṭi., Peru.; *ceruvirku* **2x** Puṛa.; Sangam total **15x**);

ceruvattu ‘battle’ (2x Puṛa.; 2x Paṭi.; Sangam total **4x**);

2.1. Select Attributes (Formulas) and Contexts

2.1.A. Attributes (Formulas)

Some relevant formulas have already been listed in my earlier paper (2013) and we will add some more in various contexts. The frequent formulas are connected with important concepts of the 'warrior profession', mostly positively understood, like 'victory', 'greatness', and even 'wrath' as an activating element in reaching their targets. But there are also less emotional attributes, like 'manner-knowing' (see below). Some of the formulas will appear in connection with the concepts discussed further below (especially in sections **2.2.1. Moral Principles** and **2.2.2. Aspirations in this World**), and all of them are essential for the general image in the present context. This may be a very extensive topic and we can present only a few examples. Here too, we have to do with polysemy, so typical of the Sangam language style.

tiraṇ (more meanings: e.g. 'manner'; also 'doctrine', 'side' in Aka.; SVS s.v.; 'mature', 'ability', 'side' in Puṛa.; VIS s.v.; Sangam total **29x**), e.g.

tiraṇ ari, 'manner-knowing', i.e. 'knowing how to do things' (Sangam total **4x**), e.g.

araṇ neri piḷaiyā tiraṇ ari maṇṇar (Aka. 188,4)

lit., 'manner-knowing king(s) not failing the path of righteousness'

tiraṇ ari vayavaroṭu tevvar tēya (Puṛa. 20,12)

lit., 'with manner-knowing warriors opponents dwindle' (according to VIS s.vv.)

varuntiya cellal tīrtta tiraṇ ari oruvaṇ (Kali. 129,23)

amar 'war' (polysemous lexeme also meaning e.g. 'battle field', 'strife'; 'desiring'; 'resting upon', 'remaining', in Aka., SVS s.v.; or 'battle'; 'set suitably'; 'desiring', in Puṛa., VIS s.v.; Sangam total **164x**);

viṇai 'war' (in Puṛa.; besides 'action', 'deed' etc.; the meaning 'war' is metaphorical; Sangam total **242x** without suffixes; **47x** with suffixes).

Similarly the 'army' – *tāṇai*, *paṭai* (cf. Note 26 below).

These and other terms will be mentioned occasionally, e.g. in connection with 'victory' (see below **2.2.A.**).

lit., ‘healing manner-knowing one! do not go causing pain’

The concept of ‘victory’ appears very frequently in various formulas, some of the relevant lexemes will be seen in the text examples below (see **2.2.2.A.**). The lexemes designating ‘victory’ often appear together with the lexemes designating the ‘army’, e.g. *tānai*, *paṭai*,²⁶ which will also be demonstrated in some examples below. Here is just one ‘victory’ lexeme for illustration:

valam (more meanings, e.g.; ‘victory’, ‘right side’, ‘circumabulation’, ‘strength’ both in Aka. and in Puṛa.; SVS s.v., VIS s.v.; Sangam total 74x)

valam paṭu, lit., ‘victory falling, occurring’, i.e. ‘victorious’ (Sangam total **23x**), e.g.

valam paṭu tānai vēntar (Puṛa. 116,18)

- ‘kings with victorious armies’

valam paṭu tānai vēntarkku (Puṛa. 324,13)

- ‘to the king with a victorious army’

Some generally positive concepts occur very frequently in the formulas linked with the ‘men of war’, e.g.

pīṭu (more meanings, e.g. ‘greatness; strength’ in Puṛa, VIS s.v.; ‘fame’, ‘greatness’; ‘fertility’ in Aka., SVS s.v.; Sangam total **38x**)

pīṭu keḷu, lit., ‘greatness-having’ (Sangam total **15x**), e.g.

pīṭu keḷu vēntu ē (Puṛa. 35,12) lit., ‘greatness (having) king’

pīṭu keḷu maṇṇar (Puṛa. 128,7) lit., ‘greatness (having) kings’

pīṭu keḷu kuricil (Kuṛu. 31,6) lit., ‘greatness (having) king chief’

²⁶ The latter word *paṭai* is polysemous: e.g. ‘army’, ‘weapon’; ‘saddle’, ‘act of sleeping’, ‘pile’ (Aka., SVS s.v.), or ‘army’, ‘warriors’; ‘war’; ‘javelin’; ‘ploughshare’; ‘sleep’ (Puṛa., VIS s.v.). So e.g. *pal paṭai tānai* (**1x**: Aka. 278,2) means ‘an army (of) many weapons’. Cf. Note 25 above.

However, cf. also the 'negative' phrase (only in comparisons, not addressed to a specific figure):

pītu il, lit., 'without greatness' (Sangam total **3x**), e.g.
pītu il maṇṇar lit., 'kings without greatness' (Sangam total **3x**), e.g.
 Puṛa. 93,4: 'kings without majesty' (Hart, Heifetz 1999: 66); 'kings without pride' (Vaidehi); or
 Puṛa. 148,5: 'insignificant kings' (Hart, Heifetz 1999: 93); or
 Aka. 125,21: 'kings with no pride; kings without pride/petty kings' (Vaidehi)

cīr (more meanings, e.g. 'excellence', 'fame', 'greatness'; 'beauty'; 'sound', 'time measure' in Aka., SVS s.v.; 'excellence', 'goodness', 'beauty', 'measure', 'time measure', in Puṛa., VIS s.v.; Sangam total **117x**), e.g.

cīr keḷu, lit., 'excellence-having' (Sangam total **14x**), e.g.
cīr keḷu maṇṇar (Aka. 246,10) 'excellence-having king(s)'
cīr keḷu viyal nakar (**2x**: Aka. 219,1; Naṛ. 339,6) 'excellence-having huge town'
cīr keḷu tāṇai (Aiñk. 459,3) 'excellence-having army'
cīr keḷu maṭantai (Naṛ. 40,9) 'excellence-having woman'

cīr miku, lit., 'abounding in excellence' (Sangam total **7x**),²⁷ e.g.
cīr miku kurucil (Aka. 184,19) 'excellence-abounding chieftain'
cīr miku cīrappiṇōṇ (Sangam total **2x**: Kali. 105,3; 133,3) 'excellence-abounding superior one'
cīr miku celvam (Puṛa. 161,32) 'excellence-abounding wealth'
cīr miku pāṭali (Aka. 265,5) 'excellence-abounding Pataliputra'

cīr uṭai 'excellence-having' (Sangam total **6x**), e.g.
cīr uṭai / muracu (Puṛa. 73,2–3) 'excellence-abounding drum'
cīr uṭaiya ilai (Puṛa. 11,13) 'excellence-abounding jewel'

²⁷ There is one variant: *cīr mika* '(it was) beautiful' in the verse Puṛa. 243,7: *nīr naṇi paṭi kōṭu ēri cīr mika* 'rising on the branches bending over the water (was) very beautiful'.

cīr uṭai nal nāṭṭu cellum (Aiñk. 214,5) lit., '(he) will go (back) to (his) excellence-abounding good country'²⁸

Then there are also 'stimulating' attributes which are emotionally relevant and add a special atmosphere to the poems. Obviously they are perceived positively, unless some of them are used with animals.

ciṇam (more meanings variously applied, TL s.v.: 'anger, fury'; 'fire'; 'battle, war'; e.g. 'anger', 'heat' in Puṛa., VIS s.v.; 'anger', 'fire' in Aka., SVS s.v.; Kailasapathy 1968: 243 includes it under the heading 'Wrath'. Occurrences: *ciṇam* **91x**, *ciṇa* **52x**, various forms derived from the oblique stem *-tt-* **16x**; Sangam total **159x**)

ve ciṇam lit., 'burning rage, fury'; Sangam total **3x**)

ve ciṇa id., (attributive form; Sangam total **13x**)

ve ciṇa vēntaṇ (**4x**: Aka. 3x, Naṛ. 1x) 'king with hot anger, fury'

ve ciṇa vēntarai (**1x**: Aka. 396,18) id. (acc. pl. or honorific)

ve ciṇa vīral vēl kālaiyoṭu (**2x**: Aiñk. 391,5; 400,5) 'with a young (bull-like) man (chief of the desert tract) having a victorious lance and a hot fury'

ve ciṇa iyakkaṇ (**1x**: Puṛa. 71,14) '(chieftain) Iyakkan with hot anger'²⁹

These formulas should be seen as samples of the style of the Sangam language, which is conditioned by the oral tradition, but the material cannot be treated exhaustively here.³⁰

²⁸ The translations of the phrase *cīr uṭai nal nāṭṭu* in this context vary stylistically: 'good, resourcefull land' (Jotimuttu 1984: 11); 'land full of splendour' (Selby 2011: 91); 'glorious country' (Vaidehi).

²⁹ Most of the other occurrences are attributes of animals – elephants, tigers, snakes, and also thunder (*puyal*, Puṛa. 211,1).

³⁰ E.g. 'fury' has another lexeme *cīṇṇam*, which occurs less frequently (**9x** incl. grammatical forms) and not in regular formulas.

Besides that it would have also been possible to discuss the concept of 'fear', which is relevant in this context and has a number of lexemes, e.g. *uru* (Sangam total **94x**), *añcu* (Sangam total **21x**), *uṭku* (**12x**), some of them polysemous (*uru*) and some with a number of inflected forms or derivatives (*añcu*, *uṭku*). Note that *accam* 'fear' appears only **6x** in Kuṛu.

2.1.B. Contexts

The following few examples will show some typical images, though ‘amputated’ from the broader contexts, but hopefully they will demonstrate the ‘colourful’ atmosphere of the ‘everyday life’, not only the activities of the ‘men of war’.

kurucil

vāḷ vaṭu viḷaṅkiya ceṇṇi (Puṛa. 321,9)
ceru ve kurucil oṃpum ūr ē (Puṛa. 321,10)

lit., ‘the town which is protected by the battle-raging chieftain, (10)
 whose head is resplendent with a sword wound, (9)’

In the following example *peruma* is put into opposition to the enemies (*oṇṇātōr*) in an image of a ‘contrast’ – ‘sweetness’ of the ‘chieftain’ to ‘us’ and his ‘non-sweetness’ to the ‘enemies’ – framed within a colourful background of everyday life.³¹

peruma

ūr kurumākkaḷ veḷ kōṭu kaḷāaliṅ (Puṛa. 94,1)
nīr tuṛai paṭiyum peru kaḷiṛu pōla (Puṛa. 94,2)
iṇiyai peruma emakku ē maṛru ataṅ (Puṛa. 94,3)
tuṅ aru kaṭāam pōla (Puṛa. 94,4)
iṇṇāy peruma niṅ oṇṇātōrkku ē (Puṛa. 94,5)

lit., ‘Like a great elephant entering the ghat (water), (2)
 when little children of the village are washing (its) white tusks, (1)
 you are sweet to us, O Greatness! But (3)
 like (4) its (3) very great (difficult) rut, (4)
 you (are) not sweet, O Greatness!, to your enemies. (5)’

392,2; Kali. 110,8 (*accattāṅ* ‘from fear’); Matu. 489, 652; Kuṛi. 29; Pati. 22,2. We can ask whether this lexeme (also found in modern Tamil) could be an example of a new word formation (possibly in a dialect) reflected in some of the texts. It appears mostly in texts which are considered to be later. But in Kuṛu. 261,5 there is also the other lexeme *aṅcu*. Would that mean that the text reflects various dialects?

³¹ Poetess Avvaiyār sang this short poem to Atikaimāṅ Neṭumāṅ Añci.

In some contexts several lexemes designating the ‘leader’ may be used in combination – a stylistic means to underline the importance of the figure:

<i>uṅṭu āyiṅ patam koṭuttu</i>	(Puṛa. 95,6)
<i>il āyiṅ uṭaṅ uṅṅum</i>	(Puṛa. 95,7)
<i>illōr okkal talaivaṅ</i>	(Puṛa. 95,8)
<i>aṅṅal em kōmāṅ vai nuti vēl ē</i>	(Puṛa. 95,9)

‘If he has (enough), he gives food. (6)
 If he does not have (enough),
 he eats together (i.e. with others), (7)
 our noble king with sharp-tipped spear, (9)
 leader of kinsfolk who do not have. (8)’

Some of the images may be rather colourful and describe the most varied aspects of everyday life, both positive and negative, as can be seen in the various textual samples above and below.

2.2.1. Moral Principles

This is again a rather broad topic (partly discussed already by Kailasapathy 1968: 87f.). We will sum up very briefly the main concepts and give some textual documentation. The poetry of the ‘wise’ (*cāṅrōr*) in fact ‘defines’ some of the basic moral principles, all of which appear rather frequently in the texts and which respected warriors should adhere to – especially the individual feeling of (A.) *nāṅ* (78x) or ‘shame’ (‘modesty’, or rather ‘prudence’) and the respect for public (B.) *paḷi* (64x) or ‘blame’ (or possibly critical ‘public opinion’). And with all the bravery their activities should be motivated by and should respect (C.) ‘order’ or ‘moral path’, ‘virtue’ (*aṅam*, 72x).

2.2.1.A. Moral Principle *nāṇ*

The first moral principle is *nāṇ* (Sangam total **78x**)³² ‘shame’, ‘modesty’ (or more conveniently ‘prudence’).³³ This lexeme often occurs in an attributive phrase (*nāṇ uṭai*; **9x**) both with warriors and with ‘normal’ people.

It can appear in a complex phrase in combination with various types of ‘warriors’:

nāṇ uṭai maṟavar ‘warrior(s) imbued with the sense of shame (modesty/prudence)’ (**3x**: Aka. 67,8; 387,14 /see below Section **2.2.3.**;/ Malai. 387; cf. also Kailasapathy 1968: 88)

Or:

<i>ṭaiyaṇ pottiya ciṟu tī viḷakkattu</i>	(Puṟa. 324,11)
<i>pāṇaroṭu irunta nāṇ uṭai neṇuntakai</i>	(Puṟa. 324,12)
<i>valam paṭu tāṇai vēntarkku</i>	(Puṟa. 324,13)
<i>ulantuḷi ulakkum neṇcu ari tuṇai ē</i>	(Puṟa. 324,14)

lit., ‘...the modest/prudent man of great worth who dwelled with bards (12)
in the light of a little fire kindled by a cowherd (11),
(is) a (life) support (14) to the king with victorious armies,
(13)
(a life support) knowing (his friend’s) heart, who will die at the time of distress³⁴ (14)’

³² From that *nāṇoṭu* (**2x**). Besides that the lexeme also occurs as a verb ending in: *-i*, *-ā*, *-utal*, *-ukam* etc.

³³ The meaning oscillates only slightly, cf. the TL s.v. *nāṇ*¹ ‘sense of shame’; ‘bashfulness’, ‘modesty’. The text indexes render the lexeme variously: ‘modesty’ (VIS, SVS, Krishnambal 1974); ‘shame’ (Wilden 2008); both ‘modesty’ and ‘shame’ (Elayaperumal 1975). Vaidehi translates as ‘shy’. However, there is a homophone which also occurs in the Sangam texts – *nāṇ*¹ ‘string’; ‘bowstring’ etc. (TL s.v.).

³⁴ Cf. *ulantuḷi ulakkum – kēṭu vantaviṭattut tāṇum uṭaṇkeṭuppa; neṇcu ari tuṇai – maṇamaṟiyakkōṇṭa uyirt tuṇaiṅavāṇ* (Commentary of Turaicāmiṭṭai 1973).

In many cases it occurs not as a *terminus technicus* with warriors, but with ordinary people implying their feeling of modesty (SVS s.v.) or prudence (Vaidehi prefers ‘shyness’):

illavar arital añci melleṇa (Aka. 34,16)
maḷalai iṇ col payirrum (Aka. 34,17)
nāṇ uṭai arivai māṇ nalampeṛa ē (Aka. 34,18)

lit., ‘...so that the modest/prudent young woman (18)
 speaking in prattling sweet words (17)
 fearing that the people of the house will know, (16)
 may reach glorious goodness (beauty / pleasure) (18)’

Or:

nāṇoṭu miṭainta karpiṇ vāḷ nutal (Aka. 9,24)
am tīm kiḷavi kuṟumakaḷ (Aka. 9,25)
mel tōḷ peṛa nacaī cenṛa eṇ neñcu ē (Aka. 9,26)

lit., ‘my heart that went with desire to attain her delicate
 shoulders/arms (26)
 (of) the young lady with beautiful sweet words (25)
 of bright forehead and chastity combined with
 modesty/prudence (24)’

Or:

maṛantōm maṇṇra nāṇ uṭai neñcu ē (Ain̄k. 112,4)

lit., ‘we forgot, oh, heart with (the feeling of) ‘shame’
 (prudence)’

The general meaning can also be expressed by the verbal form of this term:

pīṛar kaiyaṛavu tāṇ nāṇutal um (Pura. 157,2)

‘(and) to be shamed by the poverty of others’ (Madhava Menon 2011: 299)

2.2.1.B. Moral Principle *paḷi*

The second moral principle, viz. respect for public *paḷi* (Sangam total **64x**) or ‘blame’ (or rather critical ‘public opinion’), is of great importance. However, the lexeme is polysemous³⁵ and must be interpreted contextually.

For example, it appears in an often cited verse in contrast with *pukaḷ* or ‘fame’:

<i>uṅṭāl amma i ulakam</i>	(Puṛa. 182,1)
<i>pukaḷ eniṅ uyir um koṭukkuvar paḷi eniṅ</i>	(Puṛa. 182,5)
<i>ulaku uṭaṅ peṛiṇum koḷḷalar ayaṛvu ilar</i>	(Puṛa. 182,6)
<i>aṅṅa māṭci aṅaiyaṛ āki</i>	(Puṛa. 182,7)

lit., ‘this world does exist (1)
(there) being those of greatness like (the following): (7)
They are conscious (not forgetful), (6)
if it is fame they will give their lives; if it is blame, (5)
they will not accept (it) even if obtaining (it) with the
(whole) world (6)’

Note that the principle of *paḷi* ‘blame’ is also relatively frequently mentioned in *akam* poems (e.g. Aka. **9x**, Naṛ. **8x**, Kuṛu. **9x**; but Aiṅk. 393,2 has only the verbal form *paḷikkum* ‘who will blame’):

<i>aḷiyal āy ilai aṅṅu peritu uṭaiyaṅ</i>	(Kuṛu. 143,1)
<i>paḷi um aṅcum paya malai nāṭaṅ</i>	(Kuṛu. 143,2)
<i>nillāmai ē nilaiyirru ākaliṅ</i>	(Kuṛu. 143,3)
<i>nal icai vēṭṭa nayaṅ uṭai neṅciṅ</i>	(Kuṛu. 143,4)

lit., ‘Do not despair, you (wearing) lovely jewels, he has
great love, (1)
the man from the rich mountains is afraid of blame, (2)

³⁵ Cf. the broad range of meanings in the TL: ‘blame’, ‘censure’, ‘reproach’, ‘ridicule’; ‘slander’, ‘calumny’; ‘complaint’, ‘imputation’, ‘charge’, ‘disparagement’; ‘fault’, ‘crime’; ‘sin’, ‘guilt’; etc.

In agreement with Kailasapathy (1968) the term is rendered as ‘blame’ in most lexical indexes (SVS, VIS, Krishnambal 1974 s.v.); Wilden (2008 s.v.): ‘blame’, ‘guilt’. In modern translations the term is rendered variously – e.g. ‘dishonor’ (Hart, Heifetz 1999; Vaidehi), ‘disgrace’ (Madhava Menon 2011), or ‘blame’ (Vaidehi), etc.

he is of an affectionate heart desiring good fame (reputation)
 (4)
 even if non-existence ('impermanence', Wilden 2010)
 becomes permanent (3).'

2.2.1.C. Moral Principle *aram*

The last moral principle, viz. 'order' or 'moral path', 'virtue' (*aram*, Sangam total 72x; 56+16 case forms and a variant form *arattu* 'virtue'; *aran*, Sangam total 66x; 65+1 case form)³⁶ is not necessarily inspired by the contact with the IA traditions.³⁷ In some sense *aram* is a positive and 'activating aspect' of the three moral principles (something to be fulfilled) and in a way their 'crown'. While the other two principles are to a certain extent threatening, the last one can be considered to be rather 'motivating'.

..... māṅṭa	(Puṛa. 55,9)
<i>aram</i> <i>neri mutarru ē araciṅ korram</i>	(Puṛa. 55,10)
<i>ataṅāl namar eṅa kōl kōṭātu</i>	(Puṛa. 55,11)
<i>pirar eṅa kuṅam kollātu</i>	(Puṛa. 55,12)

lit., '..... the esteemed (9)
 path of 'order' (righteousness) is the basis of the victory of a
 king (10)
 therefore do not twist your rod of office saying (they are) my
 people (11)
 (and) do not degrade (their³⁸) quality saying (they are) others
 (or: enemies, VIS s.v.) (12)'

However, there was a consciousness of the general IA tradition and *aram* is also mentioned as a component part of the three principles, viz. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, in Tamil *aram*, *poruḷ*, *iṅgam*:

³⁶ Besides *aravaṅ/aravar*, 'virtuous man/men'; Sangam total 3x/6x incl. 1x Dative case *aravarku* // *aravōṅ/aravōr*, id., Sangam total 2x/2x; and 2nd pers. *aravai*, 'virtuous-you'; Sangam total 3x (in Puṛa.).

³⁷ Cf. Skt. *dharma*-; the lexeme *aram* is interpreted as Dravidian in DEDR 311 (though limited only to Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada); however cf. also Puṛa. 28,14 below.

³⁸ Cf. the commentary by Turaicāmiṭṭai (p. 144): *avar narakuṅkaḷaik keṭātu*.

āṭu kaḷam kaṭukkum aka nāṭṭai ē (Pura. 28,14)
ataṅāl araṅ um poruḷ um iṅpam um
mūṅru um (Pura. 28,15)
āṅrum peruma niṅ celvam (Pura. 28,16)
āṅrāmai niṅ pōṅrāmai ē (Pura. 28,17)

lit. 'You (are) a lord of a country resembling a dancing stage.
 Therefore righteousness (*dharmā*), prosperity (*artha*) and
 pleasure (*kāma*), all the three (objectives) (15)
 (are) supported, o Greatness!, by your wealth. (16)
 Non-support (of them) is non-protecting yourself. (17)³⁹

Another combination with *maṅam* 'valour' in one context
 creates a more definite image of the social role of the 'men of
 war' and their being necessarily equipped by various not only
 'moral' but also 'physical' properties.

kuṅru oṅku vaippiṅ nāṭu mīkkūrum (Aka. 338,1)
maṅam keḷu tāṅai aracar uḷ um (Aka. 338,2)
aṅam kaṭaiṅṅiṅṅiṅ ce kōl uṅam amar (Aka. 338,3)
maṅam cāyṅtu eḷunta valaṅ uyar tiṅi tōḷ (Aka. 338,4)
palar pukaḷ tiruviṅ pacu pūṅ pāṅṅiyāṅ (Aka. 338,5)

lit., 'Wealthy Pasumpoon (= with a beautiful jewel)
Pāṅṅiyan, praised by many, (5)
 with very strong shoulders, increasing (his) valour (4)
 (in) battle(s), with justice (a just sceptre), holding to order /
 'moral path' (*dharmā*) (3)
 among the kings with armies possessing valour, (2)
 praised (in) this country of high mountains (1)'

We can conclude this section by saying that apparently the
 three moral principles, viz. *nāṅ*, *pāḷi* and *aṅam*, were on an
 equal level of importance (note also the relatively close number
 of their occurrences). No doubt, this triad represents a complex
 of public moral principles related to the relevant 'passive' (*nāṅ*,
pāḷi) and 'active' (*aṅam*) attitudes to life which affected
 important aspects of behaviour, while they were supposed to be

³⁹ Free renderings of line 17: e.g. 'When it does not, you neglect your own well-being'
 (Hart, Heifetz 1999: 24); 'without that, you neglect yourself' (Vaidehi). Cf. the commentary
 on line 17 by Turaicāmiṅṅiṅṅai (p. 81): *utavāṅṅiṅṅai niṅṅaiṅ pātukāvāmai*.

respected not only by the actual ‘men of war’, but also by the society as a whole.

2.2.2. Aspirations in this world

While respecting the above three moral principles, the men of war follow very concrete targets in the world. By way of a successful accomplishment of an individual war or combat activities, viz. **A.** victory (*vir̥al*, *ven̥ri*, *valam*, *korram*), they expect to obtain **B.** wealth (*celvam*, *poruḷ*, *verukkai*) and to achieve **C.** the respect of their society, or ‘fame’ (*pukaḷ*, *icai*, *cāl*, *peru peyar*; also *pītu* ‘greatness’ etc.). Therefore it is also relevant for the kings and chieftains to offer patronage and generosity to the bards in order to obtain their public praise. The three ‘targets’ are sometimes mentioned in the same contexts, they are in a way complementary and ‘support’ each other.

2.2.2.A. Victory

Victory was one of the main targets of the ‘men of war’, which was possibly a condition for achieving the other aims (but cf. Aka. 174,3; below Section 2.2.2.A, where ‘victory’ seems to be conditioned by ‘wealth’). The importance of ‘victory’ may also be documented by the number of terms meaning ‘victory’ and their high frequency of occurrence. However, polysemy of **some** of the terms is again a characteristic aspect, which partly obfuscates the image.

<i>vir̥al</i>	‘victory, strength, greatness, excellence’ (Aka., SVS s.v.) ‘victory, distinction, superior, strength, the victorious hero (55,3), valour, = <i>maṛam</i> ’ (Pura., VIS) (Sangam total 117x)
<i>ven̥ri</i>	‘victory’ (Aka. 9x ; Pura. 11x ; + 1x: <i>ven̥riyar</i> ‘of victory-they’, 197,6; Sangam total 37x , incl. 8x inflected forms)

- veṇ* 'victory' (Aka., **16x**; + 2x: 'winning'; Pura. 12x: 'winning'; Sangam total **40x**)
verri 'victory' (Sangam total **2x**)
- valam* 'victory' (Aka. **8x**; Pura. **11x**), 'right side' (Aka. **8x**; Pura. **2x**), 'strength' (Aka. **6x**; Pura. **2x**), 'circumambulation' (Pura. **2x**)
- valaṇ* 'victory' (Aka. **2x**; Pura. **4x**), 'right side' (Aka. **7x**)
- koṛṛam* 'valour, the quality of success in battle' (PPTI, s.v.)
-am (**5x**), *-a* (**14x** – either attributes of 'kings' meaning 'strong, victorious'; or Vocatives from *-aṇ*), *-attu* (**5x**) (Sangam total **31x**, various forms); cf. also
koṛṛaṇ 'chief', lit. 'strong one' (e.g. Pura. 171,7; also Vocative *-a*, Pura. 168,17; VIS s.v.)

The existence of various synonyms and their number of occurrences document the importance of the concept of 'victory' as such. Perhaps this terminological multiplicity could also offer some suggestions as to the various local and 'temporal' dialects. It would require a separate study to deal with the stylistic aspects in greater detail, but for illustration we can see some more examples of the formulas, which appear mostly as complex attributes of the 'men of war' or their activities:

- peru viṛal*, 'great victory' (Sangam total **16x**), e.g.
peru viṛal tēr, 'the chariot of great victory' (**2x**:
 Naṛ. 181,12; Kuṛu. 338,6)
peru viṛal vaḷavaṇ, 'the ruler of Vaḷanāṭu of great
 victory' (Pura. 174,14)
peru viṛal nāṭu, 'the country of great victory' (Pura.
 120,21)
- viṛal miku*, lit., 'abounding in victory, having much victory'
 (Sangam total **4x**), e.g.
viṛal miku neṭuntakai, lit., 'victory-abounding man
 of great worth' (Aka. 49,10)
viṛal miku kurucil, lit., 'victory-abounding
 chieftain' (Pura. 161,20)

viṛal keḷu, lit., ‘victory-having’ (Sangam total **4x**), e.g.
viṛal keḷu vēntu, lit., ‘victory-having king’ (Puṛa.
 213,2)
viṛal keḷu tāṇai, lit., ‘victory-having army’ (Puṛa.
 122,4)

vel pōr, ‘victorious battle’ (Sangam total **36x**), e.g.
vel pōr cōḷar, lit., ‘Cholas of victorious battle’ (**3x**:
 Naṛ. 87,3; 281,3; Aiñk. 56,2)
vel pōr cōḷaṇ, lit., ‘Chola of victorious battle’ (Aka.
 141,23)
vel pōr vēntaṇ, lit., ‘king of victorious battle’ (**2x**:
 Puṛa. 304,4; Aiñk. 459,4)
vel pōr vēntar, lit., ‘kings of victorious battle’ (**2x**:
 Pati. 49,7; 79,12)
vel pōr vēntu, lit., ‘king of victorious battle’ (Puṛa.
 41,3)

viṛal pōr ‘victorious battle’ (Sangam total **7x**), e.g.
viṛal pōr cōḷar, ‘victorious-battle Cholas’ (Aka.
 137,5)

The last phrase appears in three contexts in a more complex formulaic expression, the image including also the ‘elephant’:

viṇai navil yāṇai viṛal pōr pāṇṭiyaṇ, lit., ‘Pandya of victorious war with elephants trained in action (war)’ (Aka. 201,3)
viṇai navil yāṇai viṛal pōr tonṭaiyar, lit., ‘those from the Tondai country (who are) of victorious war with elephants trained in action (war)’ (Aka. 213,1)
veḷ kōṭṭu yāṇai viṛal pōr kuṭṭuvaṇ, lit., ‘Kuttuvan of victorious war with elephants with white tusks’ (Aka. 290,12)

Besides victorious wars/battles (*vel pōr*, **36x**; *viṛal pōr*, **7x**) the men of war also perform ‘good’ battles (*nal pōr*, **7x**),

‘conquering battles’ (*aṭu pōr*, **23x**); or ‘great battles’ (*neṭu pōr*, **2x**).⁴⁰

In the broader context, the term designating ‘victory’ often appears together with other ‘positive aspirations’, e.g. ‘wealth’ (*celvam*), or ‘fame’ (*pukaḷ* etc.).

<i>iru peru vēntar māru koḷ viyaṅ kaḷattu</i>	(Aka. 174,1)
<i>oru paṭai koṅṭu varu paṭai peyarkkum</i>	(Aka. 174,2)
<i>celvam uṭaiyōrkku niṅraṅru viṛal eṇa</i>	(Aka. 174,3)

lit., ‘saying (because) victory (also greatness, strength) belongs forever to those having wealth, (3) who with one army turn away the coming army, (2) in the vast battlefield where two great kings fight. (1)’

Or:

<i>vāl iḷai maṭa maṅkaiyar</i>	(Puṛa. 11,2)
.....	
<i>taṅ porunai puṅal pāyumu</i>	(Puṛa. 11,5)
<i>viṅ poru pukaḷ viṛal vaṅci</i>	(Puṛa. 11,6)
<i>pāṭal cāṅra viṛal vēntaṅ um ē</i>	(Puṛa. 11,7)

lit., ‘The victorious king, whose victories are suitable for songs, (7), (king) of the victorious city Vanji with sky-high fame, (6) where delicate girls with bright jewels, (2) plunge into the cool waters of Porunai River (5)’

There is one context where the two frequent terms, viz. *viṛal* and *veṅri*, are combined into one phrase. The combination can be interpreted as a ‘pair word’, which implies a greater emphasis on the meaning, something like ‘great victory’ or ‘victory of victories’ (cf. the concept of ‘pair words’ or

⁴⁰ Some of the above formulas and a number of other formulas were mentioned in Vacek (2013, Section 3).

‘semantic reduplication’ and their function; Vacek 1989, 1995).⁴¹

.... *kaṭal tāṇai* (Pura. 380,3)
iṅ icaiya viṛal veṇṛi (Pura. 380,4)
teṇṇavar vaya maṛavaṅ (Pura. 380,5)

lit., ‘the powerful warrior of the southern king (Pandiya),
 (5)
 (with) *sweetly famous great victories (4)*
 (and with) an ocean(-like) army, (3)

2.2.2.B. Wealth

Wealth or riches ‘are spoken of as something to be seen’ (Kailasapathy, p. 253), i.e. something realistic in agreement with the general realistic character of the whole Sangam poetry. Therefore they should be properly displayed – the ‘booty’ in general. And also ‘small’ but precious objects are much valued, particularly jewels, ornaments – *kalam*, *kalaṅ*,⁴² not to mention feeding the bards and the poor and their families as an expression of the well-being of the donor.

And those who have *celvam* will also have the ‘victory’ (cf. Aka. 174,3; above 2.2.2.A). So ultimately it may appear that these various aspirations and achieved ‘results’ were mutually conditioned and also interlinked with the above moral principles within the complex system of moral, material, and also ‘ideal’, values of old Tamil society.

⁴¹ However, VIS interprets *viṛal* in this context as *maṛam*. For the syntactical relations of the phrases, cf. also the commentary by Turaicāmiṇṇai (p. 388): *kaṭal tāṇai – kaṭalpōṇra tāṇaiyaiyum; iṅ icaiya viṛal veṇṛi – iṅiya pukaṭaiyūṭaiya pōr veṇṛiyaiyum uṭaiya; teṇṇavar vaya maṛavaṅ – pāṇṭiyaruṭaiya valimikka tāṇait talaivaṅ*. His wording (cf. -**um**) suggests that ‘sweetly famous’ (*iṅ icaiya*, line 4) is an attribute of ‘victory’ (*viṛal veṇṛi*, line 4), while ‘army’ (*tāṇai*, line 3) and ‘victory’ (*viṛal veṇṛi*, line 4) are two complex attributes of the ‘powerful warrior’ (*vaya maṛavaṅ*, line 5).

⁴² Here too, *polysemy* is the typical feature, besides ‘ornament’ the words can mean: ‘sea going vessel, vessel, musical instrument, earthen ware’ (in Aka., SVS s.vv.) or ‘vessel, sea going vessel, armament’ (in Pura., VIS s.vv.). Cf. below Pura. 56,17 ff.

There are a number of relatively frequently used terms, some of them polysemous:⁴³

celvam 'wealth' (+ 1x *-amoṭu*; 13x *-attu*; 1x *-attāl*; 1x *-attāṇ*; Sangam total **40x**)

poruḷ 'wealth' (most frequent meaning; besides 'meaning, true object, things'; Aka. **51x**, SVS); 'wealth (most frequent meaning; besides 'suitable, meaningful'; Puṛa. **12x**, VIS; Sangam total **198x** incl. suffixes; from that **7x** with suffixes: 1x *-iṇ*, 2x *-iṇum*, 3x *-ai*, 1x *-kaḷ-ai*)

verukkai 'wealth' (Aka. **6x**; Puṛa. **4x**; Sangam total **18x**)

vaḷam 'wealth' (Aka. **9x**, SVS; besides 12x 'fertility'; 1x 'abundance'; 1x 'greatness'); **BUT:** (Puṛa. s.v., VIS): 8x 'prosperity'; 3x 'fertility'; 1x 'abundance'; 1x 'produce'; 1x = *valam* (i.e. 'victory'!)

Wealth and also generosity are sung about by the poets in various ways, praising the generous donor (and spreading his 'fame' – cf. **2.2.2.C** below), while at the same time also expecting or rather demanding gifts.

Coming or leaving they promise:

<i>ceytu irāṅkā viṇai cēṇ viḷaṅkum pukaḷ</i>	(Puṛa. 10,11)
<i>neytal am kāṇal neṇṇiyōy</i>	(Puṛa. 10,12)
<i>eyta vantaṇam yām ēttukam pala ē</i> ⁴⁴	(Puṛa. 10,13)

lit., 'We have come to be near (13)
you tall One from (the village of) Neytalāṅkāṇal (12)
of far-shining fame of actions (you) did without regretting⁴⁵
(11)

⁴³ One example of a polysemous word may be *payam*, which can mean 'wealth' once in Aka. (343,8; SVS s.v.), while having a number of other (partly related) meanings – 'fertility', 'yield', 'excellence', 'water' (Aka., SVS s.v.); 'yield' (Puṛa., VIS s.v.); 'yield', 'gain', fruit of (good) action', 'milk' (Kuṛu., Krishnambal s.v.) etc.

⁴⁴ The phrase *ēttukam pala ē* appears 3x (only Puṛa.).

(and) we will praise (you) much. (13)'

Or:

nīr cūl̥ nila varai uyara niṅ (Puṛa. 160,29)

cīr keḷu viḷu pukaḷ ēttukam pala ē (Puṛa. 160,30)

lit., 'We will praise (30) your (29) excellence-having great fame (30)

to make it grow up to the land surrounded by water. (29)'

Or:

vāl̥ amar uḷanta⁴⁶ niṅ tāṅṅai um (Puṛa. 161,31)

cīr miku celvam um ēttukam pala ē (Puṛa. 161,32)

lit., 'We will praise much (your) excellence-abounding wealth (32)

and your army which carried out (suffered in) the battle of swords. (31)'

Saying that 'wealth' together with 'fame' is sweet or vice versa, is almost proverbial:

pukaṅṅra celvamoṭu pukaḷ iṅṅitu (Puṛa. 198,22)

'fame together with the desired wealth is sweet' (22)

As for the concrete and visible 'riches', the jewels are one example. But note the play of words if a term is polysemous (cf. Note 42 above and Puṛa. 56,17 ff. below). In one context the word *kalam* appears in three different meanings:

iravalarkku aru kalam arukātu īyā (Puṛa. 56,17)

yavaṅṅar nal kalam⁴⁷ tanta taṅṅ kamaḷ tēral (Puṛa. 56,18)

⁴⁵ SVS (s.v.) translates 'which (will) not be pitied'. Hart, Heifetz (1999: 9): 'Your actions trail no regrets!'. Madhava Menon (2011: 9) renders very freely: 'You do everything only after a due thought so that you never have to regret.' The variant rendering of *ceytu irāṅkā viṅṅai* 'not hurting others by actions' (Vaidehi) is the 'implied' meaning.

⁴⁶ Variant reading *uyarṅṅa*, translated 'powerful' (army) by Vaidehi, is not available in the editions I have at disposal.

poṇ cey puṇai kalattu ēnti nāl um (Pura. 56,19)
oḷ toṭi makaḷir maṭuppa maḱiḷ ciṟantu (Pura. 56,20)
āṅku iṇitu oḷukumati oṅku vāl māra (Pura. 56,21)

May you live sweetly, (21)
 giving away precious ornaments to those who come in need
 and never run out of them, (17)
 while you enjoy life (20) every day (19) as women wearing
 bright bangles serve you (20)
 fragrant and cool wine brought in fine ships by the Greeks,
 (18)
 pouring from finely made pitchers made of gold. (19)
 O Māran whose sword is raised high! (Vaidehi)

However, some donors may lack wealth, and still they practise generosity:

nirappātu koṭukkum celvam um ilaṇ ē (Pura. 180,1)
il eṇa maṟukkum ciṟumai um ilaṇ ē (Pura. 180,2)

lit., 'he has neither the wealth to (be able to) give without
 intermission, (1)
 nor (does he have) the pettiness to refuse saying (he has) not.
 (2)'

2.2.2.C. 'Fame' or Respect

This concept has appeared a number of times above in the context of the other two important 'aspirations'. It is also represented by several synonyms, though polysemy is also frequent.

pukaḷ 'fame' (Aka. 12x; also: 'greatness', 2x; 'praising', 4x; SVS)
 'fame' (Pura. 54x; 1x as relative participle; VIS)
 (Sangam total 151x)

⁴⁷ *nal kalam* (Sangam total 30x).

<i>icai</i>	‘fame’ (Aka. 26x ; also: ‘sound’ (21x), ‘music’ (10x), ‘musical sound’ (4x), ‘sounding’ (2x); (63x , SVS s.v.); ‘fame’ (Pura. 52x ; also: ‘sound’ (9x); ‘having’ (1x), (61x , VIS s.v.) (Sangam total 255x) ⁴⁸
<i>pīṭu</i>	‘fame’ (Aka. 2x), besides ‘greatness’ (Aka. 1x ; Pura. 17x), ‘strength’ (Pura. 2x), ‘fertility’ (Aka. 1x) (Sangam total 38x) ⁴⁹

The meaning can also be described by a more general phrase:

peru peyar lit., ‘great name’ (Sangam total **36x**)

The concept was partly documented above (including the frequent formula *nal icai*) also in connection with the other ‘aspirations’. The various ‘aims’ may be combined in one context with the latter more general phrase (*peru peyar*):

<i>cel kuṭi niṟutta peru peyar karikāl</i>	(Aka. 141,22)
<i>vel pōr cōḷaṅ iṭaiyāru aṇṇa</i>	(Aka. 141,23)
<i>nal icai veṟukkai tarumār</i>	(Aka. 141,24)
...	
<i>iṅṅ kamal neṭu varai piṟaṅkiya</i>	(Aka. 141,28)
<i>vēṅkaṭa vaippiṅ curaṅ iṟantōr ē</i>	(Aka. 141,29)

lit., ‘He went (beyond) the paths of the Vēṅkaṭa mountain (29)

shining with honey-smelling high slopes (28)

...

to acquire wealth with good fame,⁵⁰ (24)’

like Idaiyāru town of Chola of victorious battles, (23)

the very famous Karikāl protecting ruined towns/people, (22)

⁴⁸ Mainly the formula *nal icai*, lit., ‘good fame, good reputation’ (Sangam total **69x**). It also appears in complex formulas, e.g. *nal icai niṟutta* ‘who established good reputation’ (Sangam total **4x**; + **1x**: *nal icai niṟuttal* ‘establishing a good reputation’).

⁴⁹ For some formulas, including a negative one, see above **2.1.A**.

⁵⁰ Cf. the commentary by Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār et alia: *nal icai veṟukkai tarumār – nalla pukaḷ vāyṅta celvattai iṭṭivara*; lit., ‘to acquire wealth full of good fame’. However, the phrase can also be translated as a pari word ‘wealth and good fame’ (e.g. Vaidehi).

And the reputation of a chieftain is also the reason why poets and people in need come to ask for help:⁵¹

pukaḷ cāl ciṟappiṇ niṇ nal icai uḷḷi (Puṟa. 135,9)
vantaṇeṇ entai yāṇ ē (Puṟa. 135,10)

*lit., 'thinking about your good reputation (fame) with
superiority abounding in fame, (9)
I have come (here), oh lord, (10)'*

2.2.3. The Nether World

As to the nether world, it is neither a principle nor an aspiration, but possibly 'remuneration' of the 'men of war' after they have been respecting the general moral principles and after they have accomplished their task(s) with dedication. It does not appear to be their 'aim' to be followed, but in the turmoil of battle they keep soothing themselves with this idea, or their leader does so.

Ultimately brave warriors may also die in a combat and in that case they are said to obtain a place in the 'upper world' or 'heaven' (*uyarnilai ulakam*, 12x), or they are even promised to enjoy 'faultless maidens' (*mācu il makaḷir*) there (Sangam total 2x; Puṟa. 287,11; Tiru. 147: -oṭu). Some of the war scenes are described with great colourfulness.

tuṭi eṟiyum pulaiya (Puṟa. 287,1)
eṟi kōḷ koḷḷum iḷiciṇa (Puṟa. 287,2)
kālam māriyiṇ ampu taippiṇum (Puṟa. 287,3)
.....
ōṭal cellā pīṭu uṭaiyāḷar (Puṟa. 287,7)
neṭu nīr poykai pīraḷiya vālai (Puṟa. 287,8)
nel uṭai neṭu nakar kūṭṭu mutal puraḷum (Puṟa. 287,9)
taṇṇaṭai peṟutal yāvatu paṭiṇ ē (Puṟa. 287,10)
mācu il makaḷir maṇṟal naṇṟu um (Puṟa. 287,11)
uyarnilai ulakattu nukarpa ataṇāl (Puṟa. 287,12)

⁵¹ Lame poet (Uṟaiyūr Ēṇiccēri) Muṭamōciyār addresses the chieftain Āy Aṇṭiraṇ at Āykuṭi near the Potiyil Hill, a generous chieftain and agriculturalist (cf. PPTI s.vv. *Uṟaiyūr* etc., and *Āy*).

vampa vēntaṅ tāṅai (Puṛa. 287,13)
impar ninru um kāṅṅir ō varavu ē (Puṛa. 287,14)

lit., ‘Oh Pulaiya (drummer) who beats the small (*tuṭi*) drum!
 (1)
 Low-caste man with beating drumsticks! (2)
 Even if arrows pierce like monsoon rains, (3)

 great (ones) do not run away. (7)
 Why obtaining villages in the agricultural tract (10)
 (where) *vālai* fish leap from ponds with much water (8)
 into the heaps of rice of huge houses?
 If (you) die, (10) (you) will enjoy (12)
 the good(ness)⁵² of marriage with faultless women (11)
 in the upper world. Therefore (12)
 stand here and observe (14) the enemy king’s army, (13)
 it is coming! (14)’

The following passage describes the funerary rite at a *naṭu kal* or memorial stone according to Madhava Menon (2011: 418):

akal nāṭṭu aṅṅal pukā ē nerunai (Puṛa. 249,7)
pakal iṭam kaṅṅi palaroṭu um kūṭi (Puṛa. 249,8)
oru vaḷippaṭṭaṅṅuru maṅ ē inru ē (Puṛa. 249,9)
aṭaṅkiya karpin āy nutal maṭantai (Puṛa. 249,10)
uṅarnilai ulakam avaṅ puka vari⁵³ (Puṛa. 249,11)
nīru āṭu cuḷakiṅ cīru iṭam nīkki (Puṛa. 249,12)
aḷutal āṅā kaṅṅaḷ (Puṛa. 249,13)
meḷukum āppi kaṅ kaluḷ nīrāṅ ē (Puṛa. 249,14)

lit., ‘Yesterday the food (eating) of the lord of the vast country (7)
 (while) choosing a separate place and (eating) together with many, (8)
 took place, Alas! (it’s over). But today, (9)
 the lady (his wife) with a small forehead and (in him) remaining chastity⁵⁴ (10)

⁵² Or ‘great pleasure’ *pēr inṅam* (Turaicāmiṅṅiḷḷai 1973 commentary).

⁵³ The last word in line 11 varies: *vāri* (electronic version Cologne), *vāra* (Turaicāmiṅṅiḷḷai 1973); corrupted text in the edition of U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar 1971. Ewa Wilden (personal communication) informs me that ‘the only two surviving palm-leaf mss. (UVSL 237+707) read unanimously *avaṅpukalari* (without the gap printed by UVS)’.

has cleared a small space with ashes⁵⁵ (of the size) of a winnowing fan, (12)
 when he had gone to the higher world (to feed him⁵⁶). (11)
 (She) whose eyes weep without stopping (13)
 washes (the place) with cow dung and water trickling from (her) eyes. (14)'

The memorial stones (*naṭu kal*, lit., 'planted stones', cf. e.g. Kailasapathy 1969: 235) are mentioned only in three Sangam texts (Aka. 9x, Pura. 7x; plus 1x Aink. 352,2; Sangam total 17x); e.g.

<i>nal amar kaṭanta</i> ⁵⁷ <i>nāṇ uṭai maṇavar</i>	(Aka. 67,8)
<i>peyar um pīṇu um eḷuti atar torum</i>	(Aka. 67,9)
<i>pīli cūṭṭiya pīraṅku nilai naṭukal</i>	(Aka. 67,10)

lit., 'the 'memorial stones' in the state of shining adorned with peacock's feathers (10)
 on every path having inscribed the name and greatness⁵⁸ (9)
 of warriors with the feeling of 'shame' (prudence) who passed through (won) a good war. (8)'

3. Conclusion

The paper has outlined and documented the *basic concepts and ideas* related to the 'men of war' and their activities by way of select formulas and a few scenes described in the texts, some of them possibly too realistic or even harsh. Besides that the paper has also examined some of the *stylistic characteristics* of the texts, viz. the formulas themselves and the frequency of their

⁵⁴ Cf. the commentaries: *taṇ kaṇṇēyaṭaṅkiya karpīṇaiyūm cīriya nutalaiyumuṭaiya maṭantai* (both U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar 1971 and Turaicāmiṭṭipillai 1973).

⁵⁵ The word *nīru* means both 'dust' and 'ashes' (cf. VIS, s.v.). The available translations render as 'dust' in agreement with both U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar 1971 and Turaicāmiṭṭipillai 1973, who explain as *puḷuti* 'dust, dried earth' etc. (TL s.v.). But the latter meaning 'ashes' may fit the context better.

⁵⁶ Cf. the commentaries which add the idea of 'feeding' (e.g. Turaicāmiṭṭipillai ibid.): ... *avaṇ puka vāra* – ... *avaṇ ceṇru puka avaṇukku uṇavu koṭuttal vēṇi*.

⁵⁷ *nal amar kaṭanta* (Sangam total 4x). The lexeme *amar* is polysemous (cf. Note 25 above).

⁵⁸ Cf. the commentary by Cōmacuntaraṇār: *peyarum maṇa cīrappum porittu*.

use as a symptom reflecting the original oral character of the texts. So in principle the paper followed two aims – presentation of the *world of ideas and activities*, or perception of one aspect of reality in the old Tamil Sangam literary creations on the one hand, and on the other hand the question of one important *formal aspect* of this literature and its *stylistics* as reflected by the formulas. In this sense it carries on the systematic documentation of the phenomena as described in various other topical contexts.⁵⁹

The paper could only touch upon the basic concepts (their meanings and contexts) which form the ‘structure’ of the image of the ‘man of war’ – it is obviously a very complex image, but at the same time its ‘inner and outer contours’ are rather ‘fuzzy’ in the modern sense of (scientific) descriptions (cf. W. Heisenberg). Fuzziness affects not only the basic concept of the ‘hero’, but also all the additional concepts used as ‘qualifications’ or attributes of the central ‘figure’ (especially polysemy). We encounter a different world, which perhaps was ‘in flux’, developing and not yet petrified in a fixed manner – variation of tribal groups, their habits, dialects and also general ideas, which travelled among them and which were also reflected in the language (cf. also Pilot-Raichoor 2012 and Note 2 above). Many of these and related aspects of both the world of ideas, realities and also language deserve to be studied systematically and in greater detail.

⁵⁹ Cf. Vacek 2014 and the preceding series of papers on various features of nature in Sangam published recently in the *Pandanus* journal (Prague).

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⁶⁰ Only those primary sources (editions with commentaries) are listed which were quoted in the paper. The electronic corpus of Cologne University was used for the collection of the lexical material. Further cf. Lehmann, Malten (1992). P. Pandiyaraja's Tamil Concordance was consulted in some cases.

⁶¹ Abbreviations of the Sangam texts are those commonly known.

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