

# Minor Chiefs and “Hero” in Ancient Tamilakam: The topography of ‘Akanānūru’

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**Abstract:** The ancient Tamil country, known as Tamilakam, including part of present-day Kēraḷa and Āndhradeśa, was under the suzerainty of the triple kings, known as Mūvēntar, Cēra-Cōḷa-Pāṇṇiyar. However, there was no national consciousness even if the itihāsa-purāṇas talk of mahā-Bhārata (mā-Pāratam) and Jambudvīpa (Nāvalantīvu). The idea of the nation, sovereignty, the identity of people under one territorial boundary, and the government was absent. The case of Tamilnāḍu was much more precarious. Some 2000 years ago, not less than seventy minor potentates, who were endlessly fighting with the Mūvēntar, ruled the Deep South of peninsular India, particularly the Tamil zone. They were the kuṇṇiḷa-maṇṇar (little kings of small lands). Their government, as a rule, was benevolent, and they were great patrons of letters. Even if divided, they united when an invasion from the north was imminent. Aśoka Maurya (third century BCE), Khāravela-Kaliṅga of the Hathigumpha Inscription (Thapar 1972: 93), the Sātavāhanas (Shastri 1999: 151) and Samudragupta (330-380 CE) could not conquer the extreme south. The present study strives to sort out the little kingdoms in Tamilnāḍu and their rulers. The main source is two-millennium old literature, the Akanānūru and its counterpart, the Purānānūru. I have just listed the names relating to historical geography, and their rulers. One may guess how unity and diversity of the past is example and warning respectively. A far-sighted historian may advocate ‘University State’ (A.J. Toynbee). The sense of unification in Germany under Otto von Bismarck (Nehru 2004: 592-99) and Italy under Giuesppe Mazini and Giuesppe Garibaldi (Nehru 2004: 587-91) is unknown to Indian history until the advent of the British. Scholars wonder “if” (an enigma) India had attained freedom after 1857 (or 1801 as South Indian historians say), it would have broken into several segmentary states. A united nation, even if truncated (1947) would have been beyond reach, which is not the concern here.

**Key Words:** Akanānūru; Purānānūru; Minor Chiefs; Vēḷir, vaḷḷal; Mūvēntar.

## 1. INTRODUCTION:

When the ‘District Gazetteer’ were compiled during the British-rāj in India (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century), J.F. Fleet, an eminent epigraphist and anthropologist, had observed the history of an imperial dynasty is incomplete if the local chieftains and feudatories are not duly considered. Professor M.S. Govindasamy (1965, 1979: preface) of the Aṅṅāmalai University has cited the ‘Bombay Gazetteer’ writing on the feudatories of the Pallavas and Imperial Cōḷas. Scholars think the fall of the Imperial Cōḷas was imminent because the feudatories were rebellious. Edward Gibbon in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, historical literature (1776-1781), evidenced the collapse of the Great Empire was at the hands of ‘Barbarians’ (the White Huns) and ‘Religion’ (Christianity [A.J. Toynbee in *A Study of History*]). Similarly, the fall of the Mūvēntar (the Trio consisting of Cēra-Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya) was at the hands of the alien-Kaḷabhras and the belligerently in-coming Buddhism and Jainism. The followers of the two northern religions were active since the BCE’s in the south, e.g. the advent-myth of Candragupta to Sraṇabelgola (Settar 1983: pl. viii), the Buddhist monuments in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley (Sarkar & Misra 1987: pls. V-VIII), Amarāvātī and the frequently inundating Kṛṣṇā basin<sup>1</sup>. The Kaḷappirar (Kaḷabhra c. 200 to 550 CE) were Jain-Buddhist rulers of the Tamil country, patrons of the didactic works, *Patinenkīḷkaṇakku*. The Pāṇḍyas of Maturai and Pallavas of Kāñci recovered the land from the kings of the Kali age, i.e. Kaliyaracar-Kalappirar as attested by the Vēḷivikuṭi Copper Plates<sup>2</sup>. This leads to the saga of Tamil *bhakti* literature under Kāraikkāl Ammayār (Rajarajan 2018: 72-75) and the early Āḷvārs (Rajarajan, Parthiban and Kalidos 2017: I, 20-22, 28).

<sup>1</sup> Uṇḍavalli, the Kṛṣṇā flowing fast within a short distance from the village, is the abode of Buddhist-Hindu rock-cut temples (Kalidos 2006: IV. I, pl. V.2), see the Hindu excavations in Moghulrājapuram and Akaṇṇa-Madaṇṇa in the foothills of Vijayavāḍa.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Kaḷapparaṇṇuṇ kaliyaracaṇ kaikkōṇṭatanaṇai yirakkīyapiṇ...’ the Vēḷivikuṭi grant in Kalidos (1976: 75, 176 cited from Paṇṭārattār 1967: Annexure). For historical crosscurrents see Sastri (1972, 1972a 1984), Mahalingam (1968) and Kalidos (1976: 72-78).

The literature of the ancient Tamils, collected under *Pattuppāṭṭu* ('Ten Idylls' English translations in Chelliah 1962, Raghunathan 1978) and *Eṭṭuttokai* (Eight Anthologies, *Puṛaṇāṇūru* in Hart & Heifetz 1999), the Twin Epics (*Cilappatikāram* Piḷḷai 1989 and *Maṇimēkalai* Nandakumar 1989) are on the Mūvēntar (cf. Subramoniam 1962, Subrahmanian 1966/1980, 1966/1990, Sastri 1972a). The *Tolkāppiyam* "Primeval Letters" is popular with the Tamil scholars as to the earliest known Tamil grammatical work on speech, a grammar for righteous living (Ilakkuvaṇār 1963 - traditional date 1000 to 700 BCE, 100 BCE - 250 CE Zvelebil 1974: 9), which hints at earlier works such as the forgotten 'Akattiyam' (Kalidos 1976: 20). According to myth Pāṇini (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE - Macdonell 1979: 18) and Akattiyar (Agastya, author of several *R̥g*-vedic hymns), the Tamil-*māmuṇi* of Potiyil (7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century Rev. Caldwell cited in Dowson 1998: 6) cultivated the two primeval Indian languages, Sanskrit and Tamil, writing on grammar. Several minor chiefs, heroes and dedicated philanthropists, called 'Kāṭaiēluvaḷḷal' are interlaced with the history of the Mūvēntar (the "Three Crowned Kings", Triarchy). Normally, scholars working on ancient history take into account, the Cēra-Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya (Abraham 2011: 52-78). Aśoka's Girnar Edict specifically makes a note of the 'Satiyaputo'/Satyaputra (Mookerji 1972: 223), a minor chief, followed by the Mūvēntar (Map). The present article hopes to follow the methodological framework of J.F. Fleet to highlight the minor potentates ("Hero" of Thomas Carlyle, cf. Blackburn 1978) popular in the South. For this purpose, I have mainly depended on the *Akanāṇūru*, listing the concordances of *Puṛaṇāṇūru*, based on V.I. Subramoniam (VIS 1962). Setting my method for documentation, the relevant figures are present in the Anglican alphabetical order. It may be circuitous in Tamil or Sanskrit (e.g. Subramoniam 1962, Subrahmanian 1966, Seshadri 1990) unwieldy for a non-Tamil scholar. I have cited a few poems of the *Puṛaṇāṇūru* (within parentheses) and if the references are abundant, the copious work of VIS authenticated. Brevity is the soul of wisdom, and so sometimes telegraphic format is the need (Bollée 2017). Hosts of scholars have worked in related fields (e.g. Rājā 1887, Sivathamby 1974, Stein 1977, Blackburn 1978, Gurukkal 1981, 2002, Rajan 2001, Devadevan 2006, and Sahae 2015). The present work is a genre dealing with political geography, based on the primary material of the Caṅkam lore.

'Āy-anṭiran'	Mōriyar noted 69, 152 notes Tittan, Mūcupiṇṭan, Pāratattut-talaivaṇ, āra-Nannaṇ and Naḷḷi, 198 notes <i>anaṅkuṭai-cilampu</i> "divinity-possessed anklet". He was the ruler of Potiyil, the Kurrālam Hills (Puṛam. 126), Āykuṭi, his city. The Goddess of the hill was <i>anaṅku</i> (Subrahmanian 1990: 85). Āy-Āy is strange in 'aaay' (VIS 44).
'Āy-Eyiṇan'	All poems note war with Miṇḷi, 148, 181, 208 notes 'Māyōl' <sup>3</sup> , 396 notes Manti, Atti (Ātimanti? - see Āṭṭaṇṭi) and Kaṇṇal <sup>4</sup> ( <i>kaṇ-avaḷ Kaṇṇaki?</i> ).
'Aḷṭai'	76 notes Ātimanti, 96, 113 notes Kōcar. He was a minor chief in the Maturai region. Kōcar were friends. 'Akutai' in 208 notes Miṇḷi, Māyōl, cf. Aḷṭai.
'Āmūr-mallaṇ'	(Puṛam. 80) <i>mallaṇ</i> "wrestler", cf. Māmallaṇ Nṛsiṃhavarmanṇ Pallava. Āmūr was in Cōḷanāṭu (Subrahmanian 1990: 84).
'Añci'	115, 352, 372 notes 'arunṭar-marapiṇ-kaṭavuḷ', identified with Neṭumāṇ Añci (Puṛam. 315).
'Anṇi'	45 notes Titiyaṇ, Ātimanti and Vāṇavarampaṇ, 126, 145 notes Titiyaṇ, 'Anṇi-miṇḷi' 196 notes Kōcar <sup>5</sup> , Titiyaṇ, and Aḷuntai, 262 notes <i>mutu</i> <sup>6</sup> -Kōcar, Pēkaṇ; Miṇḷi was the daughter of Anṇi. They were rulers of western Tamilnāḍu, and at loggerheads with the Kōcar.
'Āṇporuṇai'	See Poruṇai, a River (Puṛam. 36).
'Āntai'	(Puṛam. 71) means "owl". He was the chief of Eyil, maybe a fortified city.
'Aṇṭarmakaḷir'	59 notes Murukaṇ of Paraṅkuṇṇam, "women of Aṇṭar, perhaps a Pāṇḍya chief
'Aṇṭiran'	A chief (Puṛam. 129, 131, 240, 241, 374), see Āy.
'Antuvaṇ-cāttan'	A chief, note Cāttan 'Śāsta' (Puṛam. 71), identified with Sātavāhana (Kalidos 1999: 147-48), 'Antuvaṇ-kīraṇ' (Puṛam. 359). He was perhaps a Pāṇḍya chief, friend of Pūṭappāṇṭiyaṇ.
'Aravōṇ-makaṇ'	(Puṛam. 366) 'Taruma-puttiraṇ', Dharma-putra (Cuppiramaniyaṇ 2008: 496). Aravar, Aravōṇ or Aravōr (virtuous men, the righteous, Tarumaṇ, <i>tarumam</i>

<sup>3</sup> Redundant (infra), Māyōl may be Durgā or Kāḷi, Mālavarkkiḷaṅkiḷai (younger of Māl, 'Cilampu', *Vēṭṭuvavari*, *Vēru* 3), Paḷaiyōl ("the Primeval" *Tirumurukāṇṇruppaṭai* l. 259).

<sup>4</sup> Kaṇṇal is *anaṅku* (Akam. 366), cf. Kaṇṇaṇ/Kaṇṇa/Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>5</sup> *orumoḷik*-Kōcar, famous for their one-word (truthfulness), identified with Satyaputras of Aśoka's Edicts (Subrahmanian 1990: 334). Recently, epigraphists say the Atiyamāṇ is Satyaputra.

<sup>6</sup> Ancient Family, *tolkuṭi*, a status for which the Pāṇḍyas stake the claim

	Puṛam. 353, VIS [p.] 326), <i>aṛam</i> , <i>aṛaṇ</i> “virtue ( <i>tarmam/dharma</i> )” (VIS 35, Bollée 2017: 21-22)
‘Āriyar’	276, 396, 398, notes the race, generally the northerner. Āriya- <i>aracar</i> or Āriya- <i>aracaṇ</i> (Ārya kings), Āriyanatū (Ārya- <i>deśa</i> , Āryāvarta), Āriyappēti (Ārya eunuch), Āriya- <i>poruṇaṇ</i> , Āriya- <i>maṇṇar</i> , <i>vaṭa</i> -Āriyar (northern Āryas) noted (Rajarajan 2017: 19-23). Āriyaṇ/Ārya “honorable” (Bollée 2017: 5) denotes Rāma and the Buddha.
‘Āriyap-poruṇaṇ’	386 “Āryan bard”, cf. <i>Poruṇarārruppaṭai</i> .
‘Aruvantai’	son of Ampar-kiḷāṇ (Puṛam. 385)
‘Ātaṇ-aḷici’	(Puṛam. 71)
‘Ātaṇ-eḷiṇi’	216 notes Kōcar
‘Ātaṇuṅkaṇ’	(Puṛam. 175, 389)
‘Atikaṇ’/Atiyamāṇ	142 notes Naṇṇaṇ and Miṇili, 162 notes <i>pacumpūṇ</i> -Pāṇṭiyaṇ, 325, Puṛam. 230 Eḷiṇi fell fighting with Aiyamāṇ, Neṭumāṇ Añci is the hero of several poems in Puṛam. (e.g. 87-95, 390), his son was Pokuṭṭeḷuṇi (Puṛam 96, 102, 392, Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ 2008: 426). Atiyamāṇ was chieftain of Takaṭūr (Seshadri 1990: 21-23), chief of the Maḷavar. The Nāmakkal cave temples were their contribution (Dehejia 1969: 4-5). The discernible names are Atikaṇ, Atikamāṇ, Atiyar (“of the family of Atiyaṇ” VIS 12) or Uṭiyar (ibidem 114), Atiyamāṇ, Atiyamāṇ Neṭumāṇ Añci, Atiyarkōmāṇ, and Atiyaṇ- <i>viṇṇattaṇār</i> was a poet.
‘Ātimanti’	45 notes Vāṇavarampaṇ <sup>7</sup> , 75, 135, 222, 236, 396 notes Miṇili and Āriyar <sup>8</sup> , Manti, 396 notes Atti, Āriyar, Cēralātaṇ attacked the north when the Āriyar cried, marked the <i>vil</i> emblem on the Vaṭavarai “northern hill”, Himālayas. Supposed to be the daughter of Karikālaṇ Cōḷa, she was in love with the Cēralātaṇ Āṭṭaṇ-attti, see Āṭṭaṇatti (infra).
‘Āṭṭaṇatti’	222, 236 note Ātimanti, 376, 396 notes Miṇili and Āriyar. He plunged into the Kāviri when the new floods came dashing. He was carried away, miraculously saved and wedded to Ātimanti.
‘Atti’	44, war-general of Cēraṇ, notes Naṇṇaṇ. Also denotes the pea-tree (Subrahmanian 1990: 31), “fig” <i>Ficus glomerata</i> (Seshadri 1990: 483). The Tree Goddess in Indic seals (Basham 1971: pl. 5g, Parpola 2000: front cover plate) is supposed to stand below the <i>atti</i> , <i>āl?</i> or <i>vēṅkai</i> tree (Rajarajan 2019).
‘Avanti’	smiths of Avanti ( <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> 19.108, Bollée 2017: 7)
‘Aviyaṇ’	A chief, patron 271 (Puṛam. 383)
‘Āy’	see Āṇy, (Puṛam. 127-136, Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ 2008: 426), <i>talaivaṇ</i> “chief, head, leader”, <i>āyattu/āyam</i> “herd, assembly”, <i>āyar/kōvalar/gopa</i> “cowherd” (VIS [pp.] 53-54), redundant in the ‘Nālāyiram’ Rajarajan et al. 2017a: 244-47, 638).
‘Cāṭṭaṇ’	Chief of Piṭavūr, close to Uṛaiyūr (Puṛam. 395)
‘Ceḷiyaṇ’	cf. Pāṇṭiyaṇ Neṭuñceḷiyaṇ, 36, 46, 47 notes Ciṛumalai <sup>9</sup> , 57 notes port Muciṛi, 106, 116, 137 notes Pēriyāru, 149 notes ‘Neṭiyōṇ- <i>kuṇṇam</i> ’ <sup>10</sup> , 175 notes Eḷiṇi, winner of [Talai]-Ālañkāṇam (Kāḷaiyārkōyil, not Ālañkāṭu), <i>nēmiyam-celvaṇ</i> “wielder of boomerang” (Viṣṇu in <i>bhakti</i> literature), 209 notes Ālañkāṇam, Māal (Māl/Viṣṇu), Vēṅkaṭam, Kāri, Ōri, Cēralar, Kolli- <i>pāvai</i> , 296 notes Māāyōl, Vaiyai, Koṛkai, Kūṭal (Maturai, also Ālavāy), 335 notes Māṭa-mūtūr, primeval city, cf. <i>nāṇmāṭak</i> -Kūṭal. Vide, Ceḷiya or Ceḷiyaṇ “the Pāṇḍya king” (VIS 307), <i>ceḷum</i> “abundant”, denotes Lord of fertile lands.

<sup>7</sup> See Imayavarampaṇ Neṭuñceḷalātaṇ (*Patirrupattu* 2).

<sup>8</sup> War with the Āriyar? Ceṅkuttuvaṇ’s Himālayan expedition is graphically enumerated in the *Cilappatikāram* (Rajarajan 2016: 26).

<sup>9</sup> Fertile, always drizzling, the Small Hills of Ceḷiyaṇ, the Pāṇḍya, *Cilappatikāram* (11.85) notes Tenṇavaṇ-Ciṛumalai “Small Hills of the Southerner” (Rajarajan 2020).

<sup>10</sup> Māliṛuñcōlai is one among the *divydeśas* in the Pāṇḍya country (Rajarajan 2012). The *Perumpāṇārruppaṭai* and *Cilappatikāram* note five early Vaiṣṇava holy lands, Vēḥkā (Kāñci), Arankam, Māliṛuñcōlai, Vēṅkaṭam (Tirumala) and Āṭakamāṭam (Āṇantapuram - Kalidos 2015).

‘Cellik-kōmāṅ’	216 notes <i>ilaṅ</i> -Kōcar, Ātaṅ-eḷiṅi; Celli in folk usage denotes a dear sister, Cellammā, the pet, cf. <i>kuṭṭi</i> or <i>kuṭṭaṅ</i> in case of Kṛṣṇa (Rajarajan et al. 2017a: 688-89), <i>cēṭṭaṅ</i> in Malayālam.
‘Celvaṅ’	Sūrya, son, Lord, will go-I (VIS 305-306), Nāyiru (ibidem 316).
‘Cempiyaṅ’	36 notes the <i>eḷuvar</i> “seven”-[Vēḷir], Vaiyai, Celīyaṅ, Cēral, Titiyaṅ, Eḷiṅi, Erumaiyūraṅ, Vēṅmāṅ; “of the family of the Cōḷas” (VIS 300).
‘Cenni’	<i>talai</i> “head” (“superiority, place” VIS 326-28, <i>talaivar</i> , <i>talaivā</i> in contemporary usage), Cōḷa king, Cēṭ-cenni (Puṛam. 27, 225, VIS 310), 44 prefix <i>perumpūṭ-</i> , notes Kaḷumalam, Aḷumpil, Kuṭavāyil.
‘Cēral’	36, Cēralar, 149 notes Pēriyāru, <i>yavanas</i> , 209, Cēralātaṅ 55, 127 marked the <i>vil</i> “bow” emblem on the Himālayas, 347; usually named Cēraṅ or Cērar, John Marr (1985) says the designation is Cēral or Cēralātaṅ confirmed by the cited poems (Puṛam. 17, 20, 53, 229, VIS 312).
‘cēri’	village, e.g. Pāṅṭiccēri (VIS 312), contemporary usage “slum”.
‘Ceyyōṅ’	Murukaṅ (Puṛam. 56), Ceyyōḷ/Tiru, Śrīdevī ( <i>Paripāṭal</i> 2.31), cf. Tiruviṅṅar, Tiruviṅ-vaṭivu (Rajarajan et al. 2017a: 1402).
‘Cītai’	of the <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> (Puṛam. 378, VIS 293), see Irāmaṅ.
‘Cōḷar’, ‘Cōḷaṅ’	Rulers of the Kāviri delta from time immemorial to the mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century; 60 notes Poṛaiyaṅ, Toṅṭi, Kuṭantai (Kumbhakoṇam), 93 Uṛantai, Vaḷuti, Kūtal, <i>nāḷ-ankāṭi</i> , Māyōḷ, Kōtai, Tirumā, Karuvūr, Poruṅai, 123 Kāvirik-karai-maṅṭu-perumtuṛai (emporium Pukār?), 137 notes Araṅkam, 201 notes Koṅkai of pearls and right-warped conch, paddy of Cōḷar, 326 notes Kāviri-paṭappai, Cōḷaṅ Maṛavaṅ Paḷaiyaṅ, 336, 338 notes Pāṅṭiyaṅ, 356, 369, 375 notes <i>iḷamperuṅ-Cenni</i> , <i>vampa</i> -Vaṭukar, 385 Kāviri-paṭappai Uṛantai; a horde (Puṛam. 212-223, VIS 315).
‘Eḷiṅi/Añci’	A patron, 105, 211 notes Vēṅkaṭattu-umpar (celestials of Vēṅkaṭam).
‘Eḷiṅi/Ātaṅ’	A king (VIS 154), 216 notes Kōcar, Celli (Puṛam. 153, 230, 392, ‘Pokuṭṭeḷiṅi’ 98, 102, 392).
‘Ēraikkōṅ’	He was a <i>kuṛava</i> chief (Puṛam. 157).
‘Erumbai’	Literally <i>mahiṣa</i> “buffalo”, 36 ‘Erumaiyūraṅ’ (he of the buffalo city) <sup>11</sup> , 115 ‘Erumaikuṭanāṭṭaṅ’ (westerner of the buffalo-land), notes Evvi and Cēyṅnāṭu, 253 ‘Erumaināṭu’ (good buffalo country, Mahiṣāsuraṣṭhāna, modern Mysore) notes Koṅkar, Pāṅṭiyaṅ, Vaṭukar.
‘Evvi’	Name of a patron (VIS 154), 115 see “Erumbai”, 126 notes ‘Titiyaṅ’, ‘Aṅṅi’, 266, 366, (Puṛam. 24 notes the <i>eḷuvar</i> “seven” Pāri of Paṛampu, Ōri of Kolli, Malaiyaṅ, Eḷiṅi, Pēkaṅ of Peruṅkalnāṭu, Āy of <i>tiruntumōḷi</i> (refined language), Naḷḷi <sup>12</sup> , cf. Cuppiramaṅiyaṅ 2008: 426).
‘Eyiṅaṅ’	A benefactor (Puṛam. 351), <i>eyiṅar</i> “the <i>maṛava</i> men” ( <i>Cilappatikāram</i> 12.10, <i>maṛakkuṭi</i> ibidem 12.6, VIS 152)
‘Īlam’	Ceylon, Īḷattu Pūtaṅ-tēvaṅṅar was the author of Akam 88 and <i>Kuṛuntokai</i> 343. Another poet was Maturai Īḷattu Pūtaṅ-tēvaṅṅar, author of Akam 231, 307 and <i>Kuṛuntokai</i> 180, 360. This is to suggest the Tamil-Ceylon connection is of the immortal past, 2000 years ago.
‘iḷamperuṅ-Cenni’	375 Cenni (“head, chief” Subrahmanian 1990: 389, cf. Puṛam. 203, 266, 370, 378) was a royal title of the Caṅkam Cōḷas, <i>iḷam-perum</i> “young, the Great.
‘ilaṅ <sup>13</sup> -Kaṅṭirakkōṅ’	a king (Puṛam. 151, VIS 205).
‘ilaṅ-Kōcar’	216 notes Ātaṅ Eḷiṅi, Kōcar, the young, see Kōcar.
‘ilaṅ-Kumaṅṅaṅ’	Kumaṅṅaṅ, the Younger (Puṛam. 165)
‘ilaṅ-Tattaṅ’	cf. Dutta of eastern India (Puṛam. 47)
‘ila-Veḷimāṅ’	(Puṛam. 207, 237)
‘ila-Viṅcikkō’	(Puṛam. 151)
‘Imaiyam’	Himālayas (Puṛam. 2, 34, 39, 166, 214, 369)

<sup>11</sup> He was lord of the buffalo-land, Mahiṣāsuraṣṭhāna (Mysore).

<sup>12</sup> The *Cirupāṅṅaruppatai* (ll. 84-126) lists Pēkaṅ, Pāri, Kāri, Āy, Atikaṅ, Naḷḷi, Ōri and Nalliyakkōṭaṅ of Ōymānāṭu (Māmallapuram region - Map). *Eḷu* “seven” is conventional; they were many, including the veḷir.

<sup>13</sup> *ila[n]*, *iḷam* is “young”, the Younger.



‘iraivan’	A chief (VIS 1962: 89), denotes God; <i>iraiva</i> “O! King” (Puṛam. 6).
‘Irāmaṇ’	70 minor Pāṇḍyan chiefs, Rāma of the <i>itihāsa</i> (case base VIS 74)
‘Iruṅkō-vēṇvēmāṇ’	36 notes Vaiyai, Cēral, Cempiyaṇ, Titiyaṇ, Eḷiṇi, Erumaiyūraṇ, Iruṅkōvēl (Puṛam. 201, 202)
‘Iyakkaṇ’	<i>yakṣa</i> (cf. Bollée 2017: 102), a minor chief (Puṛam. 71)
‘Kaḷaṅkāyikkaṇṇi-nārmuticcēral’	hero of <i>Patirrupattu</i> 3, 199 notes battle of Vākaipperunturai, Nannaṇ defeated.
‘Kaḷuvuṇ’	135 notes ‘Ātimanti’, 365 notes ‘Āyamaṭattakai’.
‘Kaṇaiyaṇ’	44, 386 notes ‘Āriyaṇ-porunaṇ’.
‘Kaṇaiyūr’	Paṇaiyūr (Puṛam. 341), <i>ūr</i> “city, village” cf. later Cōḷa landed divisions <i>ūr-sabhā-nakaram</i> (Kalidos 1976: 151).
‘Kāṇ-amar-celvi’ <sup>14</sup>	345 notes <i>kuṇṛam</i> , <i>vēṅkai</i>
‘kāṇattor’	“dwellers in the jungle” (Puṛam. 28), <i>kāṇavar</i> (Puṛam. 159, 247).
‘kāṅci’	river Portia (Puṛam. 18, 344), <i>nagaresu-Kāṅci</i> .
‘Kaṅkai’	<i>mahānadī</i> -Gaṅga, celebrated in the <i>Cilappatikāram</i> , ‘Nīrpaṭaikkātai’ (Puṛam 161, Subrahmanian 1990: 191).
‘Kaṅkaṇ’	44 notes Nannaṇ, Atti, Katti, Paḷaiyaṇ/Puṛāṇa, Kaṇaiyaṇ, Ceṇṇi
‘Kaṅṅaki’ (Pēkaṇ)	(Puṛam. 143-147, <i>kuṛavar</i> , <i>cilampu</i> , <i>kaṅṅir</i> “tears”, cf. Rajarajan 2016), <i>kaṅṅal</i> “of the eyes-she” (Puṛam. 247, 249, VIS 206); <i>kaṅṅai</i> “you of the eyes” (Puṛam. 353, cf. <i>Cilappatikāram</i> 20.48 ‘nīrvār kaṅṅai’ addressing Kaṅṅaki).
‘Kaṅṅaṇ-eḷiṇi’	197 linked with ‘Tiru’, Mutukuṅṅam; Kaṅṅaṇ “he of the eyes”, one with beautiful eyes (cf. VIS 206). Kaṅṅar “they of the eyes” (Puṛam. 78, 240), cf. Kaṅṅal (supra).
‘Kantaṇ’	a chief (Puṛam. 380)
‘Kapilaṇ’	78 <i>malaināṭaṇ</i> “lord of the hill”, notes <i>vāymolik</i> -Kapilaṇ (poet?), Pāri (Puṛam. 53, 126, 174).
‘kārai’	“a shrub” (Puṛam. 258, VIS 234), cf. <i>Kāraikkāl</i> -[Ammaiyār].
‘Karampai’	Karampaṇūr-[ <i>kiḷāṇ</i> “chief”] name of a place (Puṛam. 285, 302), cf. Karantai (Indian thistle, arrowhead plant Puṛam. 269, VIS 211), name of a place to the north of Taṅcāvūr.
‘Kāri’	35 lord of Kōval of the River Peṅṅai, notes Maḷavar, <i>patukkaik-kaṭavuḷ</i> <sup>15</sup> , 209 notes Teṅṅaṇ, Cēliyaṇ, Ālaṅkāṇam, Pulli, Vēṅkaṭam, Ōri, Cēralar, Kolli <i>palarpukaḷ-pāvai</i> .
‘Karikāl-vaḷavaṇ’	the Great Caṅkam Cōḷa, said to have marched up to the Gaṅgā and the Himālayas, 55 clashed with Cēralāṭaṇ at Veṅṅipparantalai, 125 notes Vākaipparantalai (battle), 141 Cōḷaṇ, 246 notes dip Kāṅci, eleven Vēḷir, Aḷuntūr, 376 patrons of music, notes [Āṭṭaṇ]-Atti, Kuṭṭuvaṇ (Puṛam. 7, 66 notes battle of Veṅṅipparantalai, <i>vaṭakkiruttal</i> <sup>16</sup> , 224 notes <i>vēta-vēḷvit-toḷil</i> “job of Vedas and <i>yajñas</i> ).
‘Karumpaṇūr-kiḷāṇ’	(Puṛam. 381 notes Vēṅkaṭa-nāṭaṇ (of the Vēṅkaṭam/Tirupati hills in Āṅhradeśa), 384).
‘Kaṭalaṇ’	81 “master of the ocean”
‘Kaṭalkeḷu-celvi’	370 “ocean moving maiden”
‘kaṭampaṇ’	a caste (Puṛam. 335), <i>kaṭampu</i> a tree auspicious for Murukaṇ (Puṛam. 23), cf. <i>katampavaṇam</i> of Kūṭal-Maturai.
‘Katti’	44, 225
‘Kaṭṭūr’	a battlefield (Puṛam. 295, VIS 197)
‘Kaṭuṅkō’	142 ‘māntaraṇ-poṛaiyaṇ’ prefix, see Poṛaiyaṇ, notes <i>pāṭi</i> “settlement of cowherd”, Miṅṅili, Kōtai, Koṅku, cf. <i>Patirrupattu</i> 7.
‘Kāviri’	the River 6, 62 (Puṛam. 43, VIS 237, Subrahmanian 1990: 267-68)

<sup>14</sup> She was a Goddess, cf. ‘Vēṭṭuvavari’ in *Cilappatikāram* (ll. 16, 70-71).

<sup>15</sup> “Idol on an elevation or mound” (TL IV, 2477), cf. *tiṭṭai*, *Tiṭṭakuṭi* (Rajarajan 2019), Parthiban (2019: figs. 16, 19, 21) equates it with *kuṛaṭu*.

<sup>16</sup> Inviting or pursuing death by sitting facing the north, not clear whether *vaṭakkiruttal* is equal to *parnirvāṇa* or *sallekhanā* (Settar 1986).

‘Kavuriyar’	Pāṇḍya, 70 <i>tolmutukuṭi</i> “primeval, age old house”, 342 kaḷavar-perumakaṇ, Teṇṇaṇ.
‘Kiḷavaṇ’	“Lord, master, chief of an agricultural tract” (TL II, 936), see Mānitik-kiḷavaṇ, Vallam-kiḷavōṇ, Poṛaiyārru-kiḷāṇ (Puṛam. 391), Malli-kiḷāṇ Kāriyāti (Puṛam. 177), ‘Koṅkāṇaṅ-kiḷāṇ’ (Puṛam. 154-156), Vallār-kiḷāṇ Paṇṇaṇ (Puṛam. 181, VIS 241).
‘Killi’	205, prefix ‘polampūṭ-’, notes Kōcar, Kāviri-paṭappai-paṭṭiṇam, ‘Killivalavaṇ’, 346 notes Paḷaiyaṇ Māraṇ, Kōtai; Cōḷa kings suffixed with ‘killi’ (Puṛam. 27-47), the title of some Cōḷa kings (TL II, 938).
‘Kōcar’	“Warriors” (VIS 9162: 278, cites Puṛam. 169, 396), rulers of Tuḷunātu, 15 notes Tuḷunātu, Naṇṇaṇ, 90 notes <i>aruntirar-kaṭavuḷ</i> (dexterous God), 113 notes Neṭuvēl-viḷavu (festival of the long lance, Murukaṇ?), 196 <i>onrumoḷik</i> -Kōcar (“Kōcar of the one-word”, Satyaputra?), Titiyaṇ, Anṇi-miṇiḷi, 206 notes “dance of <i>pēṭi</i> ” (cf. ‘Kūttaccākkaiyaṇ’ in <i>Cilappatikāram</i> Jeyapriya 2018: 548), 216 notes Cellik-kōmāṇ, Ātaṇ-eḷiṇi, 251 notes Mōkūr, Mōriyar, 262 notes Kurumpiyaṇ, Anṇi-miḷiḷi, Pēkaṇ.
‘Kōḷiyōṇ’	he of the city, Kōḷi or Uṛaiyūr (Puṛam. 212, VIS 281), <i>koḷi</i> is “bird”.
‘kōmāṇ’	“the chief”, lord (VIS 280)
‘Koṅkar’	79, 253 notes Pāṇṭiyaṇ, Kōvalar ( <i>gopas?</i> cf. Kōvalaṇ), Vaṭukar, Erumai-nātu, 368 notes Kuṭumi-nātu (steep tall hill), Koṅkar and <i>uḷḷiviḷā</i> “street dance”, people of the Koṅku region (Puṛam. 130, VIS 267).
‘kaṇṭirak-Kōpperunāḷi’	(Puṛam. 148-151, 158)
‘Korḷkai’	Port of the Ceḷiyaṇ/Pāṇḍya 201, 130, 296 port-metropolis of Verrivēr-ceḷiyaṇ, 350 famous for pearl fishing (cf. Aelian cited in Sastri 2001: 61).
‘korra’	“king” (Puṛam. 168), <i>korram</i> “victory” (Puṛam. 21, VIS 277), Korraṇ “a chief” (Puṛam. 171), cf. Korravai (Goddess of Victory, <i>Cilappatikāram</i> 20.36, equated with Durgā).
‘Kōtai’ <sup>17</sup>	Cēra[lātaṇ] name suffix (93 notes Uṛantai, <i>nāl-ankāṭi</i> (day market), Māyōḷ, Karuvūr, River Poruṇai, 263 notes Vaṅci, 346 notes Paḷaiyaṇ-māraṇ, Killivalavaṇ, Kōtai-māraṇ.
‘Koṭiyūe-kiḷāṇ’	Lord of Koṭiyūr 243
‘Koṭumuṭi’	159 notes Āmūr, place of the same name in Irōṭu (Erode).
‘Kōvalūr’	(Puṛam. 99), Kōval or Kōvalūr in the ‘Nālāyiram’ (Rajarajan et al. 2017a: 637-38).
‘Kumari’	Cape, ‘Comari’ of the <i>Periplus of the Erythraean Sea</i> , Virgin Goddess of beautiful locks lives here (Puṛam. 301, see the ‘Periplus’ cited in Sastri 2001: 59), worshipped by the Eyiṇar ( <i>Cilappatikāram</i> 12.67).
‘Kuṭantai’	Kumpakōṇam/Kuṃbhakoṇam, literally “curve” (Puṛam. 321, VIS 246), the <i>Tēvāram</i> hymns (Kalidos 2006: II, 290) Isit the Śaiva- <i>sthalas</i> Kuṭamukku (3.317), Kuṭantaik-kārōṇam (4.72), Kuṭantaik-kīḷkōṭṭam (2. 253) and Kuṭavāyil (2.158). Kuṭantai is a Cōḷanātu <i>divyadeśa</i> among the forty (Rajarajan 2017a: 683-84, Rajarajan et al. 2017b: 219-74).
‘Kumaṇaṇ’	Chief of Kutirai hills, philanthropist (Puṛam. 158-159, VIS 249).
‘Kurumpar’	petty chieftain (Puṛam 293, VIS 255)
‘Kurumpiyaṇ’	262 notes Kōcar, Titiyaṇ, Anṇi-miṇiḷi, Pēkaṇ
‘Kūṭal’	Ālavāy, Maturai (Puṛam. 58), cf. <i>Nācciyār Tirumoḷi</i> (4.1-11), see <i>Tiruvilaiyāṭar Purāṇam</i> of Paraṅcōti (Rajarajan & Jeyapriya 2013: chap. II).
‘Kuṭṭuvaṇ’ <sup>18</sup>	91 notes ‘Kuṭṭuvaṇ’ and ‘Kuṭanātu (“western country”, cf. Kēraḷaputra in Aśoka’s Edicts), 212 notes ‘pauvam nīnka oṭṭiya’ (cf. <i>Patirruppattu</i> 5 <i>pauvam/kaṭal</i> “ocean”), 270, 290 notes <i>tolkuṭi</i> “primeval family” and the port, Toṇṭi, 376 notes [Āṭṭaṇ]-Atti, cf. Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ, the Cēralātaṇ, the hero of the <i>Cilppatikāram</i> in the ‘Vaṅcikkāṇṭam’, he defeated the Ārya kings and brought a stone from the Himālayas to sculpt a statue for the Paṭṭiṇik-kaṭavuḷ “Goddess

<sup>17</sup> It denotes flower garland (*pūṅkōtai* Akam. 142, also *kaṇṇi*, the Cēralātaṇ ‘Kaḷaṅkākkkaṇṇi Nārmuticcēral’, hero of *Patirruppattu* 4), e.g. Kōtai or Aṅṭāl among the Āḷvārs Parthiban & Rajarajan 2016: 148-53).

<sup>18</sup> The *Patirruppattu* talks of two Kuṭṭuvaṇs, Palyāṅiccelkelu-Kuṭṭuvaṇ (Poem 3) and Kaṭal-pirakkōṭṭiya-Kuṭṭuvaṇ (Poem 5).

	of Chastity” (Rajarajan 2016: 52). “King of the western land”, <i>kuṭa</i> or <i>kuṭakku</i> “west”, <i>Kuṭavaṇ</i> , <i>Kuṭavar</i> is “they of the west” (VIS 246).
‘Māyō!’	the Black (VIS 530), <i>Kāli</i> , cf. <i>Māyōṇ</i> .
‘Makata’	gem-workers of Magadha ( <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> 19.107, Bollée 2017: 51)
‘malai’	mountain, hill, e.g. <i>Cirumalai</i> (Rajarajan 2019: fig. 2), <i>kuṛiñci-tiṇai</i> (cf. Sivathamby 1974, Devadevan 2006).
‘Malaiyaṇ’	a patron, (Puram 123-125, 156), <i>tērvan</i> - <i>Malaiyaṇ</i> (Puram. 126).
‘Maḷavar’	literally “young man, warrior, hailing from the Hill Country, <i>Malainātu</i> (TL V, 3113)”; 1 notes <i>Cēynātu</i> , 35 notes <i>Kōval-kōmāṇ</i> , <i>Kāri</i> , <i>Peṇṇai-pēriyāru</i> , 91 notes <i>Kūṭṭuvaṇ</i> , <i>Kuṭanātu</i> ( <i>Patirrupattu</i> 3), 101 notes <i>Cēnkaṇ</i> , stealing cows, 119, 127 <i>Cēralātaṇ</i> marks the <i>vil</i> ‘bow’ emblem on the <i>Imayam/Himālaya</i> , 129, 187 notes <i>Cēynātu</i> , <i>Tirunakar</i> , <i>pākkam</i> , 249, 269 notes <i>Neṭuṅkal</i> “Tall Rock-[hill]”, 309, 337 notes <i>Umaṇar</i> .
‘Maḷuvāḷ-netiyōṇ’	220 notes <i>Cellūr</i>
‘Mānitik-kiḷavaṇ’	66 cf. <i>Irunitik-kiḷavaṇ</i> - <i>Mācāttuvāṇ</i> / <i>Kōvalaṇ</i> and <i>Mānāykaṇ</i> / <i>Kaṇṇaki</i> (‘ <i>Cilampu</i> ’ 1.23, 33-34).
‘Mānkuṭi’	a place (Puram. 72)
‘Māraṇ’	<i>Īntūr-kiḷāṇ</i> <i>Tōyaṇ</i> (Puram. 180), <i>Tattumāraṇ</i> (Puram. 360)
‘Marāṭta’	goldsmiths of <i>Marāṭha</i> ( <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> 19.107)
‘Maruti’	222 notes <i>Āṭtam-atti</i> , <i>Ātimanti</i> , <i>Kāviri</i> -[ <i>vavval</i> ] <sup>19</sup> , <i>perunturaivilā</i> .
‘Matti’	6, 211 notes <i>Vēnkaṭam</i> , <i>Eḷiṇi</i> , 226 notes <i>Kāviri</i> .
‘Māvilaṅkai’	“a place”, <i>ūr</i> (Puram. 176).
‘Miḷalai’	“the district of <i>Miḷalai</i> ”, <i>Miḷalaik-kūrram</i> (VIS 537)
‘Miṇili’	142 notes <i>Poraiyaṇ</i> <i>Kaṭuṅkō</i> , <i>vāymoli</i> - <i>Miṇili</i> , <i>Atikaṇ</i> , 148 <i>Āy-eyiṇaṇ</i> , 181 notes <i>Kāviri-pēryāru</i> , 208 notes <i>Kuṇam</i> , <i>Āy-eyiṇaṇ</i> , <i>Nanṇaṇ</i> , <i>Ōri</i> , <i>Kolli</i> , <i>Māyōḷ</i> , 396 notes <i>karpiṇ</i> - <i>Miṇili</i> , <i>Manti</i> , <i>Āriyar</i> , see ‘ <i>Anṇi-miṇili</i> ’; a friend of <i>Nanṇaṇ</i> , killed <i>Āy-eyiṇaṇ</i> in the battle of <i>Pāḷipparntalai</i> , also <i>Atikaṇ</i> , <i>Pāram</i> his capital (Subrahmanian 1990: 679).
‘Mōkūr’ <sup>20</sup>	251 notes <i>Kōcar</i> and <i>vampa</i> - <i>Mōriyar</i>
‘Mōriyar’	<i>Mōriya</i> or <i>Maurya</i> 326-188 BCE (Thapar 1980: 12), also <i>Ōriyar</i> (Puram. 175, VIS 1962: 196), 69 marauders up to <i>neṭuvarai</i> “long mountains” ( <i>Vēnkaṭam</i> ), 251 <i>vampa</i> - <i>Mōriyar</i> , 281 moved southward, the <i>Vaṭukar</i> ( <i>Āndhrabhṛtyas</i> ?) guiding.
‘Muciri’	“a port” (Puram. 343), <i>Muzuris</i> ( <i>Kaṇṇaṇūr</i> [see <i>Kaṇṇaṇ</i> ] or <i>Cranganore</i> ) of the ‘ <i>Periplus</i> ’ (Sastri 2001: 57).
‘Mucuṇṭai’	235 <sup>21</sup> , 249 “a chieftain”
‘Muḷḷūr’	the mountain (VIS 548)
‘Murukaṇ’	God (Puram. 23, 299), <i>Muruku</i> (ibidem 56, 259)
‘mutalva’, ‘mutalvaṇ’, ‘mutalvar’	denoting <i>munivar</i> (sage), God, <i>brāhmaṇa</i> (VIS 542).
‘mutiyaṇ’, ‘mutiyōḷ’	(Puram. 389, 277), <i>mutu</i> “old” see <i>kiḷavaṇ</i> .
‘Mūvar’	31 <i>Tamiḷ-keḷu mūvar kākkum moḷi</i> “the excellences of Tamil language protected by the three”, denotes the <i>Mūvēntar</i> (Triarchy), the <i>Pāṇṭiyar</i> , <i>Cōḷaṇ</i> and <i>Cēralātaṇ</i> ; <i>Mūvaṇ</i> (Puram. 209), <i>Mūvar</i> (VIS 553-54).
‘nakar’	<i>nakaram</i> , <i>nagara</i> “city” (VIS 369-70).
‘Nalai-kiḷavaṇ’ (Nākaṇ/Nāga)	(Puram. 179)
‘Nallaṭi’	356 notes <i>Nanṇaṇ</i> , <i>yāṇaic</i> - <i>Cōḷar</i> , <i>Vallam-kiḷavōṇ</i>
‘Naḷḷi’	152, 238 notes <i>Peruṅkal-nāṭaṇ</i> “Lord of the big stone-[hill] ( <i>Paḷaṇi</i> hills)” (Puram. 158)
‘Nalliyakkōṭaṇ’	of <i>Oymā/Oymānātu</i> (Puram. 176), hero of <i>Cirupānārruppaṭai</i>

<sup>19</sup> “snatch, carry off” (TL VI, 3540, Rajarajan 2001: 787-88), *Kāviri* carried off *Āṭṭaṇatti* when he was sporting in the new floods of *Kāviri*.

<sup>20</sup> *Mōkūr* in *bhakti* literature is a *Pāṇṭinātu-divyadeśa* to the east of *Maturai* (Rajarajan 2012 & 2019b).

<sup>21</sup> It denotes also a flora, leather-berried bindweed *Rivera ornata* (TL VI, 3236).

‘Nalliyātan’	of Oymā (Puram. 376)
‘Nallūr’	<i>nal</i> “good”, “good city” (Puram. 144)
‘Nampi’	“having desired” (VIS 373), Pāṇḍyan name suffix, cf. the presiding God of <i>divyadeśa</i> -Kuruṅkuṭi (Rajajaran et al. 2017a: 907). Periyālvār makes fun of the name, ‘nampi-pimpi’ ( <i>Tirumoli</i> 4.6.8).
‘Nannan’	15, 44, 97, 142, 152, 173, 199, 208, 258, 356, 392, 396 Nannan-Āy 356, Nannan-utiyaṅ 258, Nannan-vēṇmāṅ 97 (Puram. 158)
‘Nantar’	265, Nantaṅ 251, cf. the Śiśunāga-Nandas following <i>mahājanapadas</i> (c. 4 <sup>th</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> century BCE) in north India (Kalidos 2019, Rajajaran 2019a) overthrown by the Mōriyar/Mauryas (326 BCE) directed by [ <i>drāviḍācārya</i> ]-Cāṇakya (Bollée 2017: 14, Nanda p. 60), author of <i>Arthaśāstra</i> .
‘nāṭaṅ’	Chief of the land (VIS 382-83).
‘nāṭu’	“land, country” (VIS 383), <i>maṅ/pū/bhū</i> “earth”, see the classical poem (Puram. 187)
‘nēmi’, Nēmiyōṅ/r	<i>dharmacakra</i> “wheel of sovereignty” (VIS 411), <i>nēmi</i> “boomerang” (redundant in ‘Nālāyiram’ Rajajaran 2017a: 953-54, 1372), Tirumāl is Nēmiyāṅ, <i>nemiḥ</i> (Apte 1990: 632).
‘Neṭiyōṅ’, Neṭiyōy	“The Tall” (VIS 407-409), an epithet of Viṣṇu (Puram. 114, cf. <i>Perumāḷ Tirumoli</i> 4.9).
‘Neṭuñceliyaṅ’	see <i>Celiyaṅ</i> 36, 116, 175, 209, prefixed <i>Talaiyālankāṅattuc-ceru-veṅra</i> <sup>22</sup> (Cuppiramaṅiyaṅ 2008: 210, fails to appear in the poems) “victor of the battle of <i>Talaiyālankāṅam</i> ” (Kālaiyārkōyil see <i>Celiyaṅ</i> ), <i>nampi-Neṭuñceliyaṅ</i> (Puram. 239).
‘Neṭuvēḷātaṅ’	“a king” (Puram. 338)
‘Neṭuvēḷ-āvi’	Poem 1 notes <i>Maḷavar</i> , <i>Murukaṅ</i> , 61 notes <i>Kaḷvar-kōmāṅ Pulli</i> <sup>23</sup> , <i>Vēṅkaṭam</i> .
‘kaṭiya-Neṭuvēṭṭuvaṅ’	(Puram. 205)
‘Neytalankāṅal’	“a village”, <i>ūr</i> (VIS 409)
‘nilam’, <i>nilaṅ</i>	“land” (VIS 389-90), <i>perunilam</i> “vast land” (Puram. 363), mostly wasteland if one travels from <i>Vaṭamaturai</i> (north of <i>Tiṅṭukkal</i> ) to <i>Maṅappārai</i> (sandy rock”) onward <i>Tiruccirāppalli</i> .
‘Nimiḷi’	142 notes <i>Atikaṅ</i> , 148 notes <i>Āy Eyiṅaṅ</i> , 181 notes <i>Āy Eyiṅaṅ</i> , <i>Kāviri</i> , <i>nāṅmarai mutunūl</i> (four old Scriptures), <i>Pukār</i> ( <i>Pukār</i> ), 208 notes <i>Imayak-kunṅram</i> ( <i>Himālayan Hills</i> ), <i>Ōri</i> , <i>Kolli</i> , <i>Māyōḷ</i> , 395.
‘nīr’	“water” (VIS 400-402)
‘Nīṭūr-kiḷavōṅ’	266 Lord of <i>Nīṭūr</i>
‘Ōri’	206 notes ‘Vēḷir’, 208 notes <i>Āy</i> , <i>Eyiṅaṅ</i> , <i>Miṅḷi</i> , <i>Kolli</i> , ‘ <i>Māyōḷ</i> ’, 209 notes <i>Ceralar</i> , <i>Kolli</i> .
‘Paḥruḷi’	cf. the strange medley of philology ‘ <i>paḥRuḷi</i> ’, <i>paḥRuḷi</i> (VIS 415), River flowing in the lost <i>Kumari</i> continent (Puram. 9), the deluge of the <i>Paḥruḷi</i> River, the submerged mountain ranges and the Hill of <i>Kumari</i> is echoed in the <i>Cilappatikāram</i> (11.19-20) even if dated in the 5 <sup>th</sup> century CE.
‘Paḷaiyaṅ’	means the “primeval lord” (44 notes <i>Nannan</i> , <i>Atti</i> , <i>Kaṅkaṅ</i> , <i>Kaṭṭi</i> , <i>Kaṅaiyaṅ</i> , <i>Kaḷumalam</i> , <i>Ceṅṅi</i> , <i>Aḷumpil</i> , <i>Paravai</i> , <i>Kuṭavāyil</i> , 186 notes <i>Kāviri</i> , 326 notes <i>Kāviri-paṭappai...kiḷavōṅ</i> ).
‘Paḷaiyaṅ-māraṅ’	346 notes <i>Kūṭal</i> , <i>Kiḷli-vaḷavaṅ</i> , <i>Kōtai-mārpaṅ</i>
‘Pāṅaṅ’	113 notes <i>Aḷtai</i> , <i>Aluṅkal-mūtūr</i> , <i>Kōcar</i> , <i>Pāṅaṅ-nalnāṭu</i> <sup>24</sup> , 226 notes <i>Paratavar-kōmāṅ</i> (king of fishermen), <i>Kāviri</i> , <i>Uṅantai</i> , 325 notes <i>Atiyaṅ</i> , 386 notes <i>Āriyap-poruṅaṅ</i> “hero” [TL IV, 2935], cf. <i>Poruṅarārruppaṭai</i> ), denotes “bards”, cf. <i>Cirupāṅārruppaṭai</i> and <i>Perumpāṅārruppaṭai</i> .
‘Paṅcavar’	<i>Pāṅṭiyar</i> (Puram. 58, VIS 418)

<sup>22</sup> See *Purānānūru* 18-19, 23-26, 72, 76-79, 371, 372, cf. Rajajaran & Jeyapriya 2016: 60).

<sup>23</sup> The *kaḷvar* are the predecessors of the *kaḷlar* population of *Kaḷḷarnāṭu* (Rajajaran 1971: 87-89), supposed to have migrated from the *Vēṅkaṭam/Tirupati* region (Rajajaran 2019b: 44).

<sup>24</sup> Good land of the *Pāṅaṅ* “bards” (cf. *Cirupāṅārruppaṭai*, *Perumpāṅārruppaṭai*); they were *umpar* “celestials” (cf. *vidyadharas*). Therefore, the entire *Caṅkam* literature need not be treated “bardic”.



‘Paṇṇan’	“a Chief”, 54 notes ‘Kaṇṇal’, 177 notes north of Kāviri, <i>aṇaṅkuṭtai-vaṇamulai</i> “divinity possessed (breast) mammalian gland” (Puṇam. 173, 181, 388).
‘Paṇṇi’	13 notes Teṇṇavaṇ- <i>maṇavaṇ</i> , chief of Kōṭai hills (NS 1990: 526), Paṇṇimalai is part of the Kōṭaikāṇal Hills (cf. <i>Tiruvilaiyāṭal</i> 45, Rajarajan & Jeyapriya 2016: 35). The Tamil <i>bhakti</i> literature notes <i>varākam</i> , <i>ēṇam</i> , <i>kēḷal</i> (Puṇam. 168, VIS 264) and <i>paṇṇi</i> (Puṇam. 152, Vacek 2007, Parthiban 2020) denoting wild boar, pig, hog, swine or porcupine (Spiny pig). Puṇam. 109 “having prepared”, <i>paṇpu</i> “nature”, mental disposition, cf. <i>paṇpāṭu</i> (culture), <i>paṇpiṇōr</i> “the cultured” (VIS 426-27).
‘Pāṇṭiyar’/’Pāṇṭiyan’	27 notes Vēṅkaṭam, Korṅkai, 201 notes Korṅkai, <i>muttu</i> (pearl), <i>valampuri</i> (right-warped conch), Kaṇṇal, Cōḷar, Kuṇṇam; prefixed ‘Pacumpūt-’ cf. the mythical Poṅkai Pāṇṭiyan (Rajarajan 2016a: 94), 162 notes Atikaṇ, 231, 253 notes Koṅkar, <i>neṭunakar</i> -Kūṭal, Vaṭukar, 266 notes ‘Pacumpūn’, see Neṭuñceḷiyan from list of Pāṇṭiyar in the <i>Puraṇānūru</i> .
‘pār’	“earth” (VIS 447), <i>polil</i> (Puṇam. 256, 362, VIS 494, cf. Rajarajan 2016a: 85-86).
‘Paratavar’	(Puṇam. 378) <i>nuḷaiyar</i> “fishermen”
‘Pāri’	78 notes Malainātu “hill country”, 303 notes Paṇṇampu (identified with Pirāṇmalai to the east of Maturai at about forty kms) <sup>25</sup> , Umanar (Puṇam. 105-120, VIS 448)
Pāṭali	265, Pāṭaliputra (Bollée 2017: 64-65), <i>pāṭala</i> tree <i>Bignonia suaveolens</i>
‘pati’	<i>ūr</i> (Puṇam. 393)
‘paṭṭiṇam’	“port, emporium”, e.g. Kāviriṇṇampāṭṭaṇam consisting of ‘Paṭṭiṇappākkam’ and ‘Maruvūrppākkam’ settlement of <i>yavanas</i> , their temples in <i>Cilappatikāram</i> and <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> .
‘pavvam’, <i>pauvam</i>	“ocean” (Puṇam. 380)
‘Pēkaṇ’	262 notes Titiyan, Aṇṇi-miṇili, <i>māmalai</i> “great hill”; see Kaṇṇaki, <i>peruṅkal-nāṭaṇ</i> “Lord of the great rocky hill” ( <i>kal</i> is redundant in Puṇam. VIS 213, cf. Rajarajan 2019: note 41).
‘Periyan’	100 notes Aḷuṅkal
‘Peruma’	“Chief” (VIS 483)
‘Peruñcāṭṭan’	son of Ollaiyūr- <i>kiḷāṇ</i> (Puṇam. 242, 243), cf. Ollaiyūrtanta-Pūtap Pāṇṭiyan (Puṇam. 71, 247).
‘Picirāntaiyār’	(Puṇam. 215-218)
‘Piṇṭan’	152 notes Tittan, Veliyan, Nannan, Naḷli
‘piṇṇappu’	(Puṇam 37, VIS 453) “to appear on earth ( <i>avatāram?</i> , cf. Rajarajan et al. 2017a: 194-99), <i>piṇṇappālar</i> ( <i>brāhmaṇas</i> , cf. <i>dvija</i> ), <i>piṇṇappāḷaṇ</i> (he of low birth, <i>iḷipirappāḷaṇ</i> ), <i>piṇṇappiṇōṇ</i> (he of the birth VIS 453-54), <i>mēlmakkaḷ-kīlmakkaḷ</i> (high born and low born, sociologists’ “under-dog”), <i>pullāḷar</i> “mean people” (VIS 465), cf. <i>puḷaiyan</i> , <i>pulatti</i> “washerwoman” (Puṇam 259, 311, VIS 468).
‘Pittāṇ’	“a Chief” 77, 143, ‘Pittāṅkorraṇ’ (Puṇam. 168-172)
‘Poraiyan’	338 notes Cōḷaṇ, Perunturai), prefixed ‘Pacumpūt-’ (303 notes Kolli, Pāri of Paṇṇampu, Umanar (salt traders).
‘Porunai’	River (Puṇam 11, 387), <i>āṇ</i> -Porunai is close to Vañci, <i>āṇ</i> “man, male”. In Indian tradition all rivers are feminine, e.g. Gaṅgā, Kāviri/Kāveri.
‘Poruṇaṇ’	“King” (VIS 491), cf. <i>Poruṇarārruppaṭai</i> (in praise of Karikāl- <i>peruvalattān</i> ).
‘Pukār’	Kāviriṇṇampāṭṭiṇam, Cōḷa port-metropolis, <i>pukār</i> “estuary” (Puṇam. 30), cf. <i>puku</i> “entering” (Puṇam. 80, VIS 458), <i>pukār</i> “cannot enter”.
‘pulam’, <i>pulan</i>	“place, land” (VIS 466-67), <i>vaṭapulam-tenpulam</i> (north-south), cf. Uttarāpatha (Āryavarta), Dakṣiṇadeśa/Dakṣiṇapatha (Pargiter 1972: 257, 259), <i>uttara-Bhārata</i> and <i>dakṣiṇa-Bhārata</i> , cf. Tamiradeśa in Hathigumpha inscription. Bhārata is the traditional Jambudvīpa/Navalantaṇpolil ( <i>Paripāṭal</i> 5.8, <i>Perumpāṇārruppaṭai</i> l. 465) or Nāvalantīvu ( <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> 11.107, 25.11),

<sup>25</sup> Pirāṇmalai is a Śaiva-*sthala*, and the venue of a rock-cut temple housing Umāsahitamūrti in the *garbhagrha* (Rajarajan 1992). For Pari and Auvaiyār see Rajarajan 2014. Auvaiyār was a diplomat and poetess whom the Mūvēntar respected very much, and another versifier of the same name was associated with the myths of Murukaṇ (Jeyapriya 2018).

	<i>nāval/jambu</i> “blueberry” <i>Syzigium jambolanum</i> , <i>sthalavṛkṣa</i> of Āṇaikkā, the mythical Jambukeśvara.
‘Pūliyar’	6 notes Tittaṅ, inhabitants of Pūlinātu in the Cēra country, the Cēras (Puram. 387).
‘Pulli’	61 notes Kaḷvarkōmāṅ (king of robbers) of Vēnkaṭam (Tirupati), 83 notes Vēnkaṭam, 209 notes Vēnkaṭattu- <i>umpar</i> , 295 notes Umanar, Kuṅṅam, Vaṭukar, <i>tōl</i> “shoulder” is <i>aṇaṅku</i> (Kalidos 2019), 311 the land’s people are <i>umpar</i> , 359 notes Vāṇavarampaṅ, 393 notes Kuṭavar, those that die in Vēnkaṭam live long, ‘Nīṭalar vāli vāli’ ll. 20-21; (Puram. 385 notes Kāviri and Vēnkaṭam). Next to Araṅkam (247 frequencies), Vēnkaṭam is the most popular <i>divyadeśa</i> (202 frequencies) in the ‘Nālāyiram’ hymns of the Āḷvārs (Rajajaran et al. 2017a: 157-58, 1599-1601).
‘Punṅurai’	44 notes Kaḷumalam, Aḷumpil, Kuṭavāyil
‘pura’ m	“exterior”, fleeing during the war, retreat (cf. VIS 470-71), <i>purāṅ</i> “place” (Puram. 29, 356), <i>nānūru</i> “four-hundred”.
‘puttēl’	“God”, celestial (Puram. 22, 27).
‘puravalar’	“benefactor” (VIS 462), philanthropist, <i>vaḷḷal</i> .
‘puravi’	“horse” (VIS 463).
‘talaivaṅ’	see <i>ceṅṅi</i> , chief, head, leader (VIS 329), <i>tōṅṅal</i> (Puram. 21, VIS 368)
‘takai’, <i>takkōṅ</i>	“dignified person” (cf. <i>Tirukkuraḷ</i> 114, VIS 317-18).
‘Talaiyālaṅkaṅam’	Kāḷaiyākōyil, battlefield, city of a minor chief (Puram. 19), associated with the 18 <sup>th</sup> century <i>maṛava</i> chieftains of Civakaṅkai/Śivagaṅgā, the Marutu brothers (Rajajaran 2019b: figs. 3-4).
‘Talaṅpan’	a benefactor (VIS 330), “man of scar” (Puram. 348), men were proud to have scars on the chest that were wounded in battlefields, <i>talumpu</i> “scar”.
‘Tamiḷ’	Tamiḷ-nāṭu/nāḍu (Puram. 35, 198), the language and the land (Puram. 50, 168 VIS 324-25, Rajajaran 2017), see Damirica in the ‘Periplus’ (Sastri 2001: 57), ‘Tamiradeśa’ of the Hathigumpha Inscription ( <i>EI</i> XX, 71-89). See Dramila in Bollée (2017: 23)
‘tāṅaiyaṅ’	leader of an army, he who (had) the army (VIS 337).
‘Tēṅṅavaṅ’	Tēṅṅavar (Puram. 380), “the southerner” (‘Cilampu’ 29, <i>Kantukavari</i> 23), Pāṇḍya 13, 138 notes Potiyil, 342 see Kavuriyar, patron of good music, <i>nal-icait-Tēṅṅavaṅ</i> .
‘tikiri’	see <i>nēmi</i> “wheel”, Viṣṇu’s <i>cakrāyudha</i> (Rajajaran et al. 2017a: 1372).
‘tillai’	sprout of “blinding (tiger’s milk) tree” <i>Excoecaria agallocha</i> (VIS 342), later called Citamparam, which name was unknown to the Caṅkam Tamils.
‘Tintaṅ-veliyaṅ’	226 notes Uṅṅantai, Kāviri.
‘Tiraiyaṅ’	85 notes Māyāyōl, 340 notes ‘Vaṭavar’, Paratavar “fishermen”, <i>teṅkaṭal</i> “southern sea”, literally “seafarer”, cf. <i>Toṅṅaimāṅ-iḷantiraiyaṅ</i> , traditional founder of the imperial Cōḷa family (Kalidos 1976: 80), early patron of the Tirupati temple (Aiyangar 1940: 196), <i>tirai</i> “wave” (VIS 341). The <i>Perumpāṅnāruppaṭai</i> extols the munificence of Iḷantiraiyaṅ, the Younger who came through the waves (sea). He was the son of Cōḷa Neṭuṅkiḷli or Nalaṅkiḷli and Pīlivalai, the <i>nāga</i> princess of Maṅipallavam. Supposed to be founder the Pallava dynasty, Pallava is rooted in Maṅipallavam (Kalidos 1976: 80 citing the pioneering authorities on Tamil culture, Mutaliyār C. Irācaṅāyakam, and M. Śrīnivāsa Aiyaṅkār).
‘Tiru’, ‘tiruvu’	“beautiful”, wealth, Lakṣmī, rain-[bow], radiance (VIS 340-41), Śrī “Prosperity” (Bollée 2017: 85)
‘Titiyaṅ’	One among the five <i>vēḷir</i> chiefs, see <i>Vēḷir</i> (6 notes Uṅṅantai, Kāviri, Pūliyar, 122, 152 see ‘Tittaṅ’, 226 see ‘Tittaṅ’).
‘Titiyaṅ-Potiyiṅ-celvaṅ’	25, 322 notes ‘aṇaṅkiyōl’ female <i>aṇaṅku</i> “divinity”
‘Tittaṅ’	“a Cōḷa king” (Puram 80, 352, 395), 6 notes Uṅṅantai, Kāviri, Pūliyar, 122 notes Mūtūr (primeval city), <i>kaṅṅar</i> (means “graced with eyes”), 152 notes Mūcupiṅṅaṅ, Pāratattut-talaivaṅ <i>Nannaṅ</i> (hero of Bhārata), <i>Naḷli</i> , <i>Māḷ-yāṅnai</i>

	(Māl/Viṣṇu like an elephant?), 226 notes Karantai, Paratavar- <i>kōmāṇ</i> (king of fishermen), Kāviri, Uṟantai); Tittaṅ- <i>veḷiyaṅ</i> , 152 (Puṟam. 80, 352, 358, 395).
‘tol’	“old, archaic”, a term linked with the traditional history of the Tamils, <i>tollōr</i> (VIS 363, Rajarajan 2016: 11), cf. <i>Tolkāppiyam</i> .
‘Tōṅṟik-kō’	‘[Taṅ]tōṅṟikkōṅ’ “[self]-born king” (Puṟam. 399); <i>svayambhū-[līṅga]</i> , cf. Tāntōṅṟimalai (below).
‘Tōṅṟimalai’	a mountain (Puṟam. 161, 218), cf. Tāntōṅṟimlai “self-born hill”, close to modern Kar[uv]ūr, the temple on the hill-top is rock-cut with later Pallava or early Cōḷa vestiges (cf. the Nāmakkal caves).
‘Toṅṟaimāṅ’	cf. (Puṟam. 95), see Tiraiyaṅ
‘Toṅṟaiyaṅ’	213 notes Vēṅkaṭattu- <i>umpar</i> “celestials” (PCA, III, 252) of Vēṅkaṭam, <i>nāṭpali</i> ‘nityapūja’, Kollik- <i>kuṭavarai</i> see Tiraiyaṅ.
‘Toṅṟi’	Pāṇḍyan emporium (Puṟam 48), Toṅṟiyōṟ denizens of Toṅṟi (Puṟam. 17), see Tyndis in the ‘Periplus’ (Sastri 2001: 57).
‘Toṅṟiyōḷ’	Kumari, Kanyākumārī, a River and the Goddess, Toṅṟiyōḷ- <i>pauvam</i> <sup>26</sup> “the Sea that engulfed the Kumari continent, Lemuria” ( <i>Cilappatikāram</i> 8.1), Toṅṟitōṭ- <i>Tēṅṅaṅ</i> is the southerner Pāṇḍya (ibidem ‘Paṭarkkaipparaval’ 21).
‘Tōṭṭi’	the mountain Tōṭṭi (VIS 365), <i>tōṭṭi</i> in modern usage denotes the lavatory and street cleaner, the depressed class, cf. Cermāṅ of Kēraḷa, considered the original Cēras.
‘Tuṅcuṅcīrūr’	“dormant fine (peaceful) village” (Puṟam. 297)
‘Turaiyūr’	<i>tuṟai</i> “bathing ghat” (Puṟam. 136), <i>tuṟaippaṭi</i> “steps” (Puṟam. 94).
‘ūr’	city or village (VIS 144-45, Stein 1977).
‘Utiyaṅcēral’	65, 168 notes ‘Utiyaṅ’, 233 notes ‘peruṅcōru’ <sup>27</sup> , 258 notes Nāṅṅaṅ, <i>tolmutir-Vēḷir</i> “primeval chieftains”.
‘Vaiyai’	the River (Puṟam. 71, <i>Paripāṭal</i> 6-7, 10-12, 16, 20, 22, - <i>tiraṭṭu</i> 2-5)
‘Vallam-kiḷavōṅ’ <sup>28</sup>	356 see Nallaṭi, notes Nāṅṅaṅ.
‘Valuti’	Pāṇḍya (VIS 581-82)
‘Valḷuvaṅ’ of Nāṅcil	(Puṟam. 137-140, 380) “soothsayers or country doctors”, supposed to be of low origin, cf. Valḷuvar, author of <i>Tirukkuraḷ</i> (Hanumanthan 1996-97), cf. <i>tōṭṭi</i> .
‘Vāṅṅaṅ’	117 notes <i>ciṟukuṭi</i> ( <i>deṣi</i> little tradition), Tirunakar, 204 notes <i>ciṟukuṭi</i> , 269 notes <i>ciṟukuṭi</i> , in Vaiṣṇava lore denotes God, Vēṅkaṭa-vāṅṅaṅ ( <i>Tiruvāymoḷi</i> 6.6.11, 8.21 Rajarajan et al. 2017: II, 701, 785-86) and Bāṅṅasura (Rajarajan et al 2017a: 1545).
‘Vāṅṅavaṅ’	33 notes Kollī, 77 notes <i>maṟavaṅ</i> , Piṭṭaṅ, 143 notes <i>maṟavaṅ</i> , Piṭṭaṅ, 159 notes Āmūr, 213 see Toṅṟaiyaṅ, 309 notes Maḷavar, 381 notes Katirmaṅṭilam (Solar Orb), Vaṭukar; <i>imaiyavar</i> “celestials (that do not wink)” (Rajarajan et al. 2017a: 409-10).
‘Vāṅṅavarampaṅ’	45 notes Ātimanti, 359 notes Pulli, 389 ‘Imayavarampaṅ’ in <i>Patirruppattu</i> 2 ( <i>vāṅṅavar</i> = <i>imaiyavar</i> ), <i>devānāṅṁpriya</i> of Aśoka’s Edicts (MGS Narayanan).
‘Vaṅci’	Karuvūr (VIS 566), identified with Koṭṭunkallūr (Rajarajan 2016: 115-25), see Karūr.
‘varai’	“mountain” (VIS 575-76)
‘Vaṭavar’	340 notes Tiraiyaṅ, vaṅkēḷ- <i>vaṭṭam</i> (circular stone, shield), Kuṭapulam (the west), Paratavar (fishermen), Koṭumuṭi, <i>teṅkaṭal</i> “Southern Ocean”, denotes “northerner” (see Vaṭukar), cf. Tēṅṅaṅ “southerner”, the Pāṇḍya (Zvelebil 1974: 145).

<sup>26</sup> Neṭṭiyōṅ-*kuṅṅam* (Hill of the Tall, Neṭṭiyōṅ-Trivikrama) to the north, i.e. Vēṅkaṭam and Sea of the Toṅṟiyōḷ to the south is the Tamil speaking land. The celebrated cities are Maturai (Pāṇḍya), Vaṅci (Cēra), Uṟantai and Pukār (Cōḷa). The *vaṭa*-Peruṅkal (Vēṅkaṭam or the Himālayas? Subrahmanian 1990: 730) and *teṅ*-Kumari *āyitait* Tamil *kūṟum nallulakam* was the Tamil speaking good land (*Tolkāppiyam*, ‘Cīrappuppāyiram’ 1-3). The *Puṟaṅānūru* (17) prescribes the boundary of the Tamil land falling in between *teṅ*-Kumari *vaṭa*-Peruṅkal and *kuṅakuṭa kaṭalāvellai* “seas to the east and west” (Kalidos 1999: 152). Pāratam/Bhārata (Bollée 2017: 9) is India, cf. Pāratampāṭiya Peruntēvaṅār, his *mā-Pāratam/Mahābhārata* is not extant, cited in *Tolkāppiyam*. (Surahmanian 1990: 556). Campāpati was tutelary Goddess of Jambdvīpa, cf. Anāḍṛta (Bollée 2017: 4).

<sup>27</sup> *Patirruppattu* 9 is on Iḷaṅcēral Iṟumporai.

<sup>28</sup> Vallam and Nattam for archaeologists are antique settlements where prehistoric relics could be discovered (cf. TL VI, 2528).

‘Vāṭṭārru Eḷiṇi Ātaṅ’	Vāṭṭāru “a place” (Puṛam. 396), Vāṭṭāru a <i>divyadeśa</i> on the way from Nākarkōyil to Kaṇṇiyākumari, brought under Malaināṭu (Kēraḷa), now part of Tamilnāḍu (Rajajaran et al. 2017a: 1577).
‘Vaṭukar’ <sup>29</sup>	107 notes <i>nīlmoḷi</i> , 213 notes Toṇṭaiyar, Vēnkaṭam, Kolli, 253 notes Koṅkar, Pāṇṭiyaṅ, Erumaināṭu (Mysore), 281 notes Mōriyar, <i>paṇi-iruṅ-kunṇam</i> (mist-dwelling mountain, Vēnkaṭam, <i>paṇi</i> “snow, ice” Himālayas), 295 notes Pulli, 375 defeat of the <i>vampa</i> -Vaṭukar by the Cōḷa. See Andhra ( <i>an-ārya</i> country) in Bollée (2017: 4).
‘Vēḷ’, ‘Vēḷir’	135 notes Ātimanti, fourteen <i>īreḷu-vēḷir</i> (Vēḷir-14), 206 notes Manti, 246 notes <i>paṭiṇoru</i> “eleven”, 258 notes Naṇṇaṅ, Utiyaṅ, <i>tol</i> “primeval (family?)”, 331 notes Paḷaiyar “the ancient”, <i>kunṇrakac-cirukuṭi</i> “little hose of the hills”, Titiyaṅ, see Titiyaṅ (Rajan 2001: 360).
‘Veḷḷivīti’	147 “Jupiter’s way”, cf. ‘Veḷḷiyeluntu Viyāḷam (Venus) uṛaṅkiṛru’ ( <i>Tiruppāvai</i> 13, Rajajaran et al. 2017b: 88).
‘Venṇi’	a city, <i>ūr</i> (Puṛam. 66)
‘Vēṅkaimārpaṅ’	(Puṛam. 21) chief of Kāṇappēreyil (Kāḷaiyārkōyil)
‘vēṅtar’, <i>vēṅtaṅ</i>	“kings”, <i>vēntu</i> “kingship” (VIS 622-23)
‘verpu’	“mountain” (Puṛam. 336)
‘Vicckkkō’	(Puṛam. 200) chief of the Vicci hill
‘Villāṅ’	Vēlaṅ-Murukaṅ, Śaktidhara (Puṛam. 69, VIS 603), the presiding gods of <i>divyadeśas</i> Veḷḷiyāṅkuṭi and Puḷḷampūtaṅkuṭi are Kōḷavilli Irāmaṅ and Valvil Irāmaṅ (Rajajaran et al. 2017a: 1221, 1594). See Vēlaṅ and Vēḷōṅ.
‘Villiyātaṅ’	a patron of Oymānāṭu (Puṛam. 379)
‘viṇṭu’	Viṣṇu (Puṛam. 391, Subrahmanian 1990: 764), “mountain, hills” 235 (Puṛam. 391, VIS 600).
‘Yavaṅar’	149 the <i>yavaṅar</i> ships come with gold and return with spices (Rajajaran 2016: 101-102).
‘Yavanat-taccar’	carpenters (architects) of Yavana ( <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> 19.108)

## 2. CONSOLIDATION:

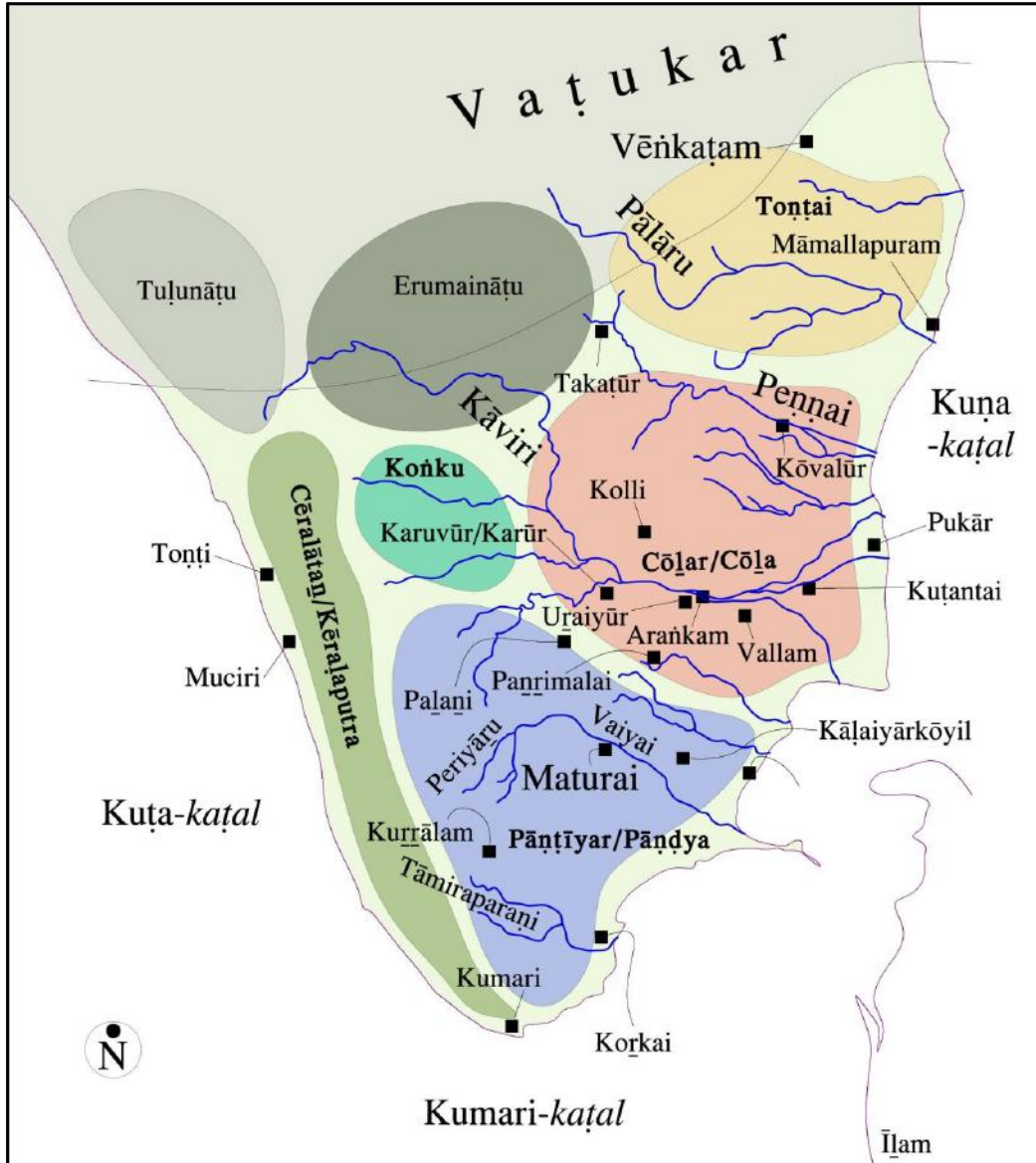
A long list of minor chiefs and heroes is discernible from a study of the ancient Tamil literature. They are Akutai, Āmūr-mallaṅ, Añci, Aṅṅi-miṇili (femme), Āntai, Aṅṭarmakaḷir (femme), Antuvaṅ-cāṭtaṅ, Aṛavōṅ-makaṅ, Ātaṅ, Atiyamāṅ, Aviyaṅ, Āy, Cāṭtaṅ, Cellik-kōmāṅ, Eḷiṇi, Ēṛaikkōṅ, Erumaiyūraṅ, Evvi, Eyiṅaṅ, Irāmaṅ, Iruṅkō-vēṅmāṅ, Iyakkaṅ, Kaḷuvuṅ, Kaṇaiyaṅ, Kaṅkaṅ (Gaṅgā), Kaṅṭirakkō, Kapilaṅ, Karumpaṅūr-kiḷāṅ, Kāri, Kōcar, Koṅkar, Kumaṅaṅ, Kuṛumpiyaṅ, Malaiyaṅ, Maḷavar, Mucuṅṭai, Nākaṅ, Nallaṭi, Nalliyakkōṭaṅ, Nalli, Nannaṅ, Nīṭūr-kiḷavōṅ, Ōri, Paḷaiyaṅ, Pānaṅ, Paṅṇaṅ, Paṅṇi, Paratavar, Pāri, Pēkaṅ, Periyaṅ, Piṅṭaṅ, Piṭṭaṅ, Poraiyaṅ, Pūḷiyar, Pulli, Taḷumpaṅ, Tattaṅ, Tiraiyaṅ, Titiyaṅ, Tittaṅ, Tōṅrik-kō, Toṇṭaiyar, Vallam-kiḷavōṅ, Vaḷḷuvaṅ, Vānaṅ, Vāṅavaṅ, Veḷimāṅ, Viṅcikkō, Vēṅkaimārpaṅ, Vicckkkō and so on. The topographical configurations such as *maṅ-Erde* “earth” (cf. *maṅṅar* “king”), *nāṭu* “living space”, *kāṭu* “forest”, *malai* “hill/mountain”, *āru* “river [course]”, *kaṭal* “ocean”, *makkal* “people”, *āṭci* “government”, *nīti* “justice”, and *vēṅtar* “king” are clearly demarked (cf. Gurukkal 1981, 2002). We get the names of not less than seventy minor chiefs and their sovereign land, some of them far beyond the boundary of the present Tamilnāḍu, e.g. Erumaiyūraṅ and Vaṭukar, including the northern Nantar and Mōriyar. The total districts in the present-day state formation are thirty-three, which means the minor chiefs were double the number. Therefore, under the present state of affairs each district collector (revenue-maker) may be the equal of a *mahārāja* if the minor chief of ancient Tamilnāḍu was a *rāja* (cf. Rājā 1887), medieval tenant-in-chief under a feudal baron in Europe. These minor chiefs were incessantly fighting among themselves and with the Mūvēntar (Cēra-Cōḷa-Pāṅḍya). At time of invasion from the north (Map), they united to form a confederacy to meet the invaders, e.g. Hathigumpha Inscription’s ‘Tamiradeśasaṅghāta’ (second century BCE). The Greek and Roman sources affirming local mythologies, e.g. Kumari (see the names of ports), would enhance the classical notions expressed in Tamil literature are historical. Tamilnāḍu as distinctive lingual state was the outcome of the republican states formed under free India during 1950s going on until date. Today, the idea of linguistic state is disintegrating, e.g. the bifurcation of the erstwhile Āndhra Pradesh. Unless India gives up the curved boundary-line state formation technique, cf. the straight line in the United States, the problems between the state-*mahārāja* and union-*chatrapati* will continue to persist. Nowhere in the world, is river dispute as acute as in the states to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, cf. the Nile and Aswan. India is seemingly living in the BCEs. The ancient Tamils even if divided did not confront on river issues. None dare fight on the issue of a mother. Water for the Indian

<sup>29</sup> Literally “long tongue”, denotes those speaking a mixed language, may be Drāviḍian-Āryan.



is mother, *tāy* (*aṅṅai*, ‘Amman’ Goddess, e.g. Kumari) or *mātā*. The “water the Kāviri (= Gaṅgā), king the Cōla, and the earth Cōlamaṅṅalam” is a proverb, *taṅṅirum Kāviriye tārvēntaṅ Cōlaṅē maṅṅavatum Colamaṅṅalamē*. The bounties of nature are common property of humanity. We have to unite, and even if we fight (to annihilate *adharmā* [*Gītā* 4.8], now terrorism), let us fight for peace as the UNO advocates.

*nātā koṅṅrō kātā koṅṅrō / avalā koṅṅrō micaiyā koṅṅro / evvali nallava rāṅṅavar / avvali nallai vāliya nilanē* (Puṅṅam. 187) “Let that be a land, let it be a forest, a valley or mountain; if the men are righteous, the land is good” (cf. Hart & Heifetz 1999: 120).



(Map by Parthiban Rajukalidoss)

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