

Spatial Perceptions in Early Tamil Poetry

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The early Tamil poetry known in literary tradition as Sangam literature are traditionally divided into two broad poetic themes – *akam* and *puram*. A range of conventions is associated with these poetic categories in the corpus. *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* ascribes the meaning for *akam* as inside, house, place, agricultural tract, breast, and mind and for *puram* as outside, exterior.¹ Thus *akam* poems, according to Hart, view life from inside the family and *puram* poems from outside.² It is worth investigating what these categories meant in the context of poetic sentence. In *Purananuru* 28:11, the word *akattor* in the context of poetic sentence meant people living in a fortified region. In *Kuruntokai* 137:1 and 346:7, the word *nallakam* in the context of poetic sentence meant good heart. In *Purananuru* 238:1 the word *kuvipura* in the context of poetic sentence meant exterior. The word *puramtaruta* in *Purananuru* 312:1 in the context of poetic sentence meant giving for exterior.

In *Purananuru* 250:9 and 363:10, the word *purankatu* in the context of poetic sentence meant the burial ground. Despite the terms *akam* and *puram* emerging in a variety of context in the poems, the broad meaning of interior and exterior cannot be ruled out.

The possibility that these categories represented spatial perception for early Tamils is attested by range of examples from the poems. *Akam* poems are love poems that reflect the emotional relationship between a man and a woman. *Puram* poems are war poems that celebrated the valorism of heroes. Though it was the commentators who were responsible for the division of poetic corpus into *akam* and *puram* there are enough evidence in the poems themselves to suggest that poets too felt the necessity of division. Kailasapathy questioned this traditional classification and argued that such classification might

not have been conducive for the development of bardic thought. To quote him:

Static epithets, descriptive circumlocutions, formulae, and recurrent themes – elements, which characterize the oral literary language vivify the fundamental unity underlying these poems. An essential characteristic of formulaic style is the predominance of metrical patterns of varying lengths, but of specific and definite quantities. Since these are also syntactic patterns, they become the very basis for the functioning and development of bardic thought. Its importance cannot be overestimated. This becomes very conspicuous by the fact that the same bards of this period composed both categories of poems, using the same formulaic language. This fact calls in to question the relevance if any at all of the traditional classification for the bardic compositions under discussion. The very pervasive nature of the style would have been a restraint to say the least on any such schematic approach or grammatical differentiation. In the light of what has been observed it is difficult to believe that the bards would have seen, any generic difference between the love and the heroic poetry.³

Kailasapathy investigated the oral characteristics in the poems and paid less attention to the conventions that went into its production. One of the criticisms leveled against him by Ramanujan was that he rarely studied a poem in detail.⁴ The *Pulavans* (Poets) strictly adhered to conventions in composing the *akam* and *puram* poems. For example, in no *akam* poems, we find the name of the hero and the heroine involved in love relationship whereas the *puram* poems explicitly mentions the name of the hero. It is difficult to come to terms with Kailasapathy's theses that the authors of the poems did not observe the generic difference.

According to Sivathamby, the spatial categories of *akam* and *puram* must have evolved at the stage of tribal state of social organization by early Tamils, since the categories reflect the activities inside and outside of the settlement.⁵ A number of poems in Sangam corpus reflect body as a site of experiencing pain and pleasure. Action or *vinai*, in the poems are worldly or *alvinai* and old or *tolvinai*.⁶ There is evidence in the poems to show that

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people believed and attributed particular consequences to their actions or *vinai*. Belief in the existence of spirit is also evident from reference to *nadukal* or hero stone worship in *puram* poems.⁷ It can be argued that the tribal state of social organization with associated cultural belief system might have been responsible for the evolution of the spatial category *akam* and *puram*. Modern anthropological studies in a Tamil village also pointed to the fact that the relationship between body, object and time is considered to be central in making spatial distinction by villagers.⁸

Akam poems are further classified under five distinct geographical landscapes – *tinai*. *Tinai* are the plants and the poems were composed based on the symbolism of *kurinci*, *mullai*, *marutam*, *neytal* and *palai*. The poets associated a particular aspect of love relationship with particular *tinai*. Marr after investigating the linguistic and semantic cognates of the word *kurinci*, *mullai*, *marutam*, *neytal* and *palai* in Dravidian languages other than Tamil, had come to the conclusion that the words primarily meant the names of plants grown in the mountainous, forest, riverside, seashore and dry barren regions respectively.⁹ Therefore the names of the plants were the symbols taken by poets to refer not only the spatial zones but also aspects of love relationship associated with it. The landscape that served as a background for love relationship was a functional space in the poems. The inhabitants, flora and fauna, the presiding deity are unique to each landscape. For example, the *kuravas* or hunters and *kanavars* or forest tribes were the inhabitants of the *kurinci* or mountainous landscape. Elephants, tigers, monkeys and bears figure as prominent animals in *kurinci* poems. The presiding deity of this region was Murugan. These served as a basis for the ancient Tamil grammar *Tolkappiyam* to formulate *mutarporul* or time and place, *karuporul* or things born into or native to a region and *uriporul* or aspects of love relationship as poetics associated with *akam* poems.

Let us first take *kurinci* poems to examine the nature of particular space it invokes. The poems allude to the small settlement or *cirukuti* of *kuravars* or hunters and *kanavars* in the mountains. *Kuti* in the context of poetic sentence meant settlement. In *Narrinai* 85, the poet Nalvilakkanar makes the heroine's girlfriend tell the heroine about the paths the hero had to cross before reaching their home. She says that in the mountains, the *kanavars* hunt the pigs and share the meat in their settlement or *cirukuti*. In *Narrinai* 156, the poet Kannankorranar makes the heroine's girlfriend tell the hero that the people in their small settlement or *cirukuti* were merciless hunters and hence, request the hero to come during day time. The heroine is addressed in these poems as *koticci* and *kuratti* (a female belonging to the hunter community). She is supposed to be from the *cirukuti* or the small settlement of her community. There are several allusions

to the *cirukuti* in these poems.¹⁰ In some poems, there are references to *cirur* and *ceri*. *Cirur* means small village where a number of *kutis* or settlement may exist. *Ceri* was a place where people lived together. *Ceri* is from the root *cer*, which means 'come together' or 'join together'. *Ceri* must therefore have been a place of communal living characterized by kinship ties. In modern Tamil, *ceri* is a place with derogatory connotations where polluted people are said to live. With the emergence of private property in land and ownership rights, communal living was looked down and the word *ceri* associated with it came to acquire a derogatory meaning. However, in the Sangam poems, *ceri* was not looked down, as it referred to a particular people living together. In *Narrinai* 77, the poet Kapilar makes the hero utter that his lover sleeps in the sound of waterfalls in those areas of *ur* where people lived together (*ceric cirur*). In *Narrinai* 95, the poet Kottampalavanar makes the hero say that his lover is from that small village (*cirrurole*) where the hunters stand in the rocks and play the drums. In *Akananuru* 152, the poet Paranar makes the hero utter that the heroine saves him from his disturbed mood everyday by visiting him and returns to her small village (*cirurur*).

There are poems that refer to *ur* or village. In *Narrinai* 83, the heroine addresses the Owl in the first line (*emur vayil*) that is to say that it sits in a tree at the entrance of their village or *ur* and hoots by disturbing the people. In *Narrinai* 116, the poet Kantaratanar makes the heroine utter that women in her village did not stop their gossip of her relationship with the hero (*kurinci nallur pendir*). Poems with references to *mutur* or ancient village are only few in these *Kurinci* poems. In only one poem taken up for our study, there is an allusion to *nadu*. It is a messenger poem where the heroine addresses the Parrot to inform her lover who is in a different country about her loneliness in the millet fields of the mountainous region. This reference is found in *Narrinai* 102 composed by the poet Cembiyanar.

From the above, it can be gauged that there exist multiple levels of 'functional space' in *Kurinci* poems. It begins with an elaborate description of the mountainous region and then narrows down to various kinds of small and medium settlements of the hunters and other mountainous tribes.

The relation between *akam* and *puram* in *kurinci tinai* poems is one of tension and contradiction. The clandestine love relationship takes place outside the house or *manai*, *il*. A woman was expected to behave according to the norms set by her family. The clandestine love relationship with a man disturbs her existence inside her house. In many poems the heroine and her girlfriend fear going out due to the protection from her mother. *Ircerippu* meant 'protecting the house', but it was the clandestine

love relationship that was celebrated in the poems, which emphatically took place outside the house.

The *mullai* poems describe the pastoral tracts and the flora and fauna associated with it. Patient waiting (*iruttal*) on the part of heroine due to hero's separation from her in order to serve his lord or *ventan* in war is the theme of these poems. The inhabitants of these landscapes were *itaiyars* or shepherds and *ayars* or cowherds. Cattle, deer and hare are the animals that we often find described in these poems. The presiding deity of this region was *mayon*. It is interesting to underline the perception of settlements associated with the *mullai* landscape. In *Narrinai* 59, the poet Kapilar makes the hero order the charioteer to drive the chariot towards the village of the heroine. He describes the nature of his lover's village (*ur*) in this poem. He says that his lover's village is a place surrounded by forest (*vanpulak katu*) where *vattuvoans* or hunters hunt the hare and sleep by consuming alcohol. In *Narrinai* 121, the poet makes the charioteer describe the nature of heroine's village to hero. He says that her village lies in a forest region where male and female deer jump and play. In *Narrinai* 139, the poet Perumkovikanar makes the hero address the rain. He praises the rain in their village that made him and his beloved feel happy (*nallur, viravumalar utira vici*). In *Narrinai* 142, the poet Itaikatanar makes the hero address the charioteer about the nature of his beloved's village. He says that in her village, the *itaiyars* or shepherds sell the milk in the rains.

Villages had settlements of people (*kuti*). Settlements must have been scattered in the villages and hence the connotation *cirukuti* (small settlement). In *Narrinai* 169, the poet makes the hero think about his meeting with the heroine. He imagines whether the lizard in his home, which lies in the midst of small settlements will inform of his arrival to his beloved (*cirukuti pakkatu emperu nagarane*). In *Narrinai* 367, the poet Nakkirar makes heroine's girlfriend console the heroine and her that the hero will soon arrive. She says that her friend i.e. heroine belongs to the *cirukuti* of Aruman. In *Akananuru* 204, the poet Maturai Kamakkani Nappalattanar makes the hero address his charioteer to drive the chariot towards the small settlement (*cirukuti*) of his beloved. In *Narrinai* 366, the poet makes the heroine's girlfriend tell the hero about their activities when he was away from them. She says that the heroine then spends time in *cirur* or small village of the *itaiyars* by picking up the flowers in his absence.

The hero had to serve his lord or *ventan* in warfare and hence, he had to leave for a different country or *nadu*. In *Narrinai* 69, the poet Cekamputanar makes the heroine talk her suffering especially in the evening time. She says that the merciless evening must also be felt by her beloved who is in a different country (*natum*), so that he may come back soon.

Unlike the *kurinci* poems where the relation between *akam* and *puram* was full of tension and contradiction, the *mullai* poems reflect a more balanced relation. The hero had to earn wealth by serving his lord, as it was considered to be his *alvinai*.¹¹ There is also an allusion in the poems that hero serves the army or *pasarai* of the *ventan*.¹² In *Akananuru* 144, the poet makes the hero imagine how his beloved would feel happy if he showed his neighbors the booty of the battle. In all probability, the hero represented in the *mullai* poems must have been the petty chiefs or the *kurunilamannans*. Nonetheless at least a distinction was made between the heroes of *mullai* poems with their overlords or *ventans*. In all the poems, the heroine speaks only from the house or *manai*. The institution of *karpu* or chastity left no alternative for her but to confine in the house, whereas the hero in order to earn his living had to serve his lord outside his village or country. Therefore, the space inhabited by each was defined by convention and in consonance with the generally accepted moral order of the community.

Palai was not a distinct landscape but at a particular time of the year with the transformation of *mullai* and *kurinci*, it came into existence. The marital status of the lovers remains ambiguous, as the poems that describe their elopement only indicate that the relationship was pre-marital. The fauna associated with this region was wild dog, tiger, elephant and boar. The inhabitants were the *Maravar* and the *Eyinar*. The presiding deity was *Korravai*. The picture of wilderness has been beautifully captured in the poems.

The land/space captured by these poems reflect wilderness, where the terrible heat of summer was felt.¹³ The description of settlement patterns in this landscape is interesting to note. In *Narrinai* 3, the poet Ilankiranar makes the hero speak of the wilderness of the landscape. He says that the hunters live together in a small village by attacking the passersby (*vemunai cirrur*). In *Narrinai* 92, a poet makes the heroine's girlfriend tell that in those barren lands where the hunters live together in a small village (*vetta cirrur*), the cattle never drink the water. In *Narrinai* 343, the poet Karuvurk Katappillai Cattanar makes the heroine say that in those small settlements of the little village (*amkuti cirrur*), the crow will fly into its nest. In *Narrinai* 346, the poet Eyintai Makan Ilankiranar makes the hero comment that in the landscape where he is, the small settlements were destroyed by the enemy chiefs (*alinta veli amkuti cirrur*). In *Narrinai* 33, the poet Ilavettanar makes heroine's girlfriend say that the hero went into those lands where near the mountains slopes, the small settlements (*cirukuti*) of hunters attack the passersby. In *Narrinai* 73, the poet Mulankiranar makes the heroine utter that the ghost that lives in their ancient village would trouble her (*mutur*), if the hero leaves her.

In *Narrinai* 143, the poet Kannakaran Korranar makes the heroine's mother say that she is disturbed by the gossip of the women in her ancient village (*mutur*) on her daughter having eloped with a man. In *Narrinai* 293, the poet Kayamanar makes the heroine's mother say that she finds it difficult to take her daughter back home, as she plays with her friends in the festival of her ancient village (*mutur*). The hero's travel to a different country (*natu*) for earning wealth represents a different kind of space in the poems. In *Narrinai* 24, a poet makes the heroine tell that hero has gone to a different country (*vettru natritai*) where wilderness persists.¹⁴

The relationship between *akam* and *puram* in the *Palai* poems is ambiguous. Even though the exterior landscape was full of wilderness, the heroine always felt going with the hero. In some poems, the heroine says that it is the duty and nature of men to earn wealth by traveling to a different country where wilderness persists. If we take into consideration of the fact that it was the *kurinci* and *mullai* that transformed into *palai* tracts, then some poems at least make sense in terms of understanding the relationship between the *akam* and the *puram*. The elopement of the lovers must be seen as the climax of the clandestine love relationship of the *kurinci* poems. In *kurinci* poems we have noticed the fear of heroine and girlfriend over the protection of their house by their mothers (*irccerippu*). When the heroine elopes with the hero in the *palai* poems, it was the mother of heroine who grieves. The colophons speak of such poems as *manaimarutci*.

In the *mullai* poems, *karpu* or chastity was an established institution and the hero's separation from the heroine was considered to be his *alvinai* or worldly act. Again in many *palai* poems, the separation of hero from heroine was for the purpose of earning wealth, which was considered to be his *alvinai*. The heroine in some poems is made to call the act of hero's separation as his *panpu* or quality.¹⁵ Wealth was considered to be essential for their existence. Since the pre-dominant economy was structured on gift exchange, the accumulation of wealth was considered essential. Even the *kurunilamannans* or petty chiefs were expected to offer gift to bards who approached them. Failure to offer gift led to *pali* or blame from the bards. We know from the *puram* poems what constituted the bardic gifts. They were usually gold, elephants and precious metals. The separation of the hero from the heroine in the *palai* poems must be understood in this context. To plunder and accumulate wealth, the heroes of the *mullai* and *palai*, at times served their lords and attempted to make marital relations with *kurinci* and *neytal* women. Gold was available in abundance in the coastal regions where trade with the Mediterranean was carried out while elephants and spices were available at the mountainous region.

Neytal corresponds to the seashore landscape where the fishermen or *Paratavar* community lived. This community was involved in trading essential items like salt and fish. Shark, crocodile and crabs figure in the poems of *neytal*. The presiding deity of this region was *varunan*. A study of the perception of settlement patterns may be interesting. In *Narrinai* 4, the poet Ammuvarar makes the heroine's girlfriend tell that the Paratavar or fishermen community live in a small settlement on the coast (*kanan cirukuti*). There is an allusion in this poem that hero is from a different *ur* or village. This ambiguity is made clear in *Narrinai* 45, where the poet (whose name is not mentioned) makes the heroine's girlfriend describe that heroine is from the small settlement of Paratava community (*cirukuti ... paratava makale*) while the hero is a son of a wealthy lord of an ancient village (*mutur ... celven katalmakane*). In *Akananuru* 240, the poet Ammuvarar makes the hero describe that the Paratava community lives in a small settlement on the coast (*cirukuti paratava*).¹⁶ Since *cirukuti* or small settlement emerges in a number of poems associated with the fishermen community, it is difficult to treat it as a simple conventional formulae employed for oral verse making. That the fishermen community lived in the coastal areas with kinship ties is clear from the word *ceri* associated with their settlement. In *Akananuru* 200, the poet Ulocanar makes the heroine describe their communal living in a small settlement of the coast (*pulan ciri*). In *Akananuru* 220, the poet Maturai Marutan Illanakanar makes heroine's girlfriend tell the hero that gossip is spreading in their village and their settlement (*urun ceriyum*) on the relationship of the heroine with him.

The perception associated with the coastal village or *ur* is interesting to note in some poems. In *Akananuru* 180, the poet Karuvurk Kannan Parannar makes the heroine's girlfriend describe their village as a gossiping village (*valunkalure*).¹⁷ In *Akananuru* 190, the poet Ulocanar makes the heroine's girlfriend narrates to the heroine's mother about the gossip of their village (*ure... alarpatumme*). In *Akananuru* 210, the same poet makes the heroine's girlfriend recollect how the hero praised their village or *ur* when he met them first. In *Akananuru* 270, the poet Cakalacananar makes the heroine's girlfriend tell the hero not to go to his village (*numur*).¹⁸

The relation between the *akam* and the *puram* in the narrative of these poems is that of tension and contradiction, similar to that of *kurinci* poems. The heroine fears that the gossip or *alar* of her village on her relationship with a man. Despite her fears, she carries on her relationship with the hero. The heroine's girlfriend insists that the hero marry the heroine or invite him to talk to the heroine's family.

The *marutam* poems correspond to the river valleys of the early Tamil region. The inhabitants of this region were *ulavars* or agriculturalists. The presiding deity of this region was *Intiran* while we find the buffaloes, freshwater fish and herons in the poems. The theme of *marutam* poems is the wifely sulking or *utal* due to hero's extra-marital relationship with courtesans.

The *marutam* poems employ *ullurai uvamum* or allegory frequently than any other *tinai* poems. What is further interesting is the perception of settlements associated with its landscape. Unlike the poems of other *tinai*s, in the *marutam* poems, there is no mention, either of *kuti* or, *cirukuti* and no mention of *cirur* too. On the other hand there is reference to *teru* or street in the poems. In *Narrinai* 200, the poet Kutarurp Palkannanar makes the heroine's girlfriend tell us that *kuyavans* (those who inform festivals) inform the arrival of festival in the wide street (*akal netun teruvil*). In *Narrinai* 250, the poet Maturai Olai Kataiyattat Nelvellaiyar makes the hero tell the *panan* that the heroine is treating him as an alien. He says that his son plays in the street (*teruvil*).¹⁹ Another 'space' that emerges often in the narrative of the *marutam* poems is the *ceri*. *Parattai* or courtesans lived together in what is called *ceri* where the hero often visited. The hero is often addressed as *uran* or the lord of the village in these poems. We do not know from these poems where the *ulavans* or agriculturalists lived.

The elaborate background landscape that is an inherent part of any *akam* narrative is absent in *puram* poems. The *pulavans* directly addressed their patrons and may invoke their genealogies. Praise of battle, victories and achievements figure pre-dominantly in the *puram* poems. In *Purananuru* 19, the poet Katapulaviyanar sings the glory of Pantian Netunceliyan in the following manner:

Surrounded by the roaring seas,
This dense earth has a place, Talaiyalankanam,
Where Tamils clashed.
There you showed that lives are many,
Death is one,
Celiyan of conquering spear.

...

...

Now on that field, women of ancient houses
Weep with melting hearts and they say,
"Like a flock of little birds resting together on a hill,
arrows have pierced the mortally wounded elephant.
Cut off, its strong hellow trunk and mouth
Roll on the ground like a plow.
That is how with raised swords they won the battle.
Now our sons, the hair still sparse on their faces,
Lie dead with our husbands
And we have a victory."

...

...²⁰

In *Purananuru* 21, the poet Aiyur Mulankilar sings the glory of Pantya chief Ukkirapperuvaluti in the following manner:

...

There was a fortress named Kanapper.
Its moat was deeper than earth;
Its walls seemed to touch the sky;
Its bations were like flowering stars;
The forest that guarded it was so thick with trees
Strong camps surrounded it.
Yet the fortress is gone
Like water vaporized by iron
Heated in a glowing fire by a black-handed smith,
And Venkaimarpan grieves

...

...²¹

In the above two poems the 'historical space' is captured in the life history of the two prominent chiefs of early Tamilakam. The battles fought by them constituted an event that had to be celebrated by the poets. The narratives are 'episodic' articulated through the aesthetic genre of poetry.

In *Purananuru* 65, the poet Kalattalaiyar describes the war that took place between Ceraman Perunceralatan and Colan Karikar Peruvalattan in the following manner:

...

...

On the great day of the full moon,
Sun and moon face each other
And one of them vanishes behind its mountain
In the dullness of the evening.
Just so, a king like him
Aimed at his chest and threw his spear
But wounded his back.
Ashamed, that brave king faced north with his sword,
And here,
The day with its sunlight
Is not the same as the days we once knew.²²

In the above poem, we get a historical fact that Perunceralatan died by performing the ritual of *vatakkiruttal*, in which the chief faced north with his sword and with his shield by his side, and starved himself to death. The *puram* poems thus, encapsulated the 'episodic' space, which the historians have used as a source. In some poems, the chiefs' land is described in detail. In *Purananuru* 109, the famous poet Kapilar who has to his credit a number of *kurinci* poems of *akam* genre, describes the mountain of his patron in the following manner:

You may think Pari's mountain
Is easy to conquer.

...

...

It still has four foods that no farmer needs to grow.

First, the paddy like seed of small-leafed bamboo thrives there.

Second, the fruit of the sweet-pulped jack tree ripens.

Third, the tuber of the rich valli creeper grows underground.

And fourth, honey flows on its tall summits,
Its color dark and rich as the hives are opened.

...
...²³

In another poem, Kapilar sings the glory of Pari's mountain in the following manner:

Even when black Saturn
Smouldered in the sky,
Even when comets smoked
And the Silver Star
Ran to south,
His crops would come to harvest,
The bushes would flower,
Large-eyed rows of wild cows
Would calve in the yard
And crop the grass.

Because his scepter was just,
The green land knew
No lack of rains,
There were many noble men,
Green-leaved jasmine
Flowered
Like the thorn teeth
Of young wildcats
In the country of Pari,
Father of those artfully bangled daughters.²⁴

In the above poems, poet Kapilar captured the fertility of Pari's mountain. We often find in Kapilar's poems, the description of mountainous landscape as the Tamil literary tradition associated Kapilar with the mountainous region. But it is interesting to note the manner in which Kapilar could free himself off from the *akam* conventions while composing the *puram* poems.²⁵ In some poems we find the picture of the devastation of war and the fierceness of battle. In *Purananuru* 12, the poet Nettimaiyar sarcastically exclaims the offers of chief Peruvaluti in the following manner:

...
...
O lord rich in victories,
This ruthless taking
Of other man's lands
While being very sweet to proteges?²⁶

Warfare was endemic to early Tamil society as these poems reflect. People living in villages migrated at times of war.²⁷

The *puram* space was celebrated in the poems. In *Purananuru* 312, the poet narrates the list of duties to make a person *Canror* in the following manner:

To give birth and send my son outside is my duty.
To make him noble is his father's duty
To make spears for him is the blacksmith's duty
To show his moral ways is the king's duty

...
...²⁸

In *Purananuru* 86, the poet Kaverpentu sings in the following manner:

You stand against the pillar
Of my hut and ask
Where is your son?
I don't really know.
This womb was once
A liar
For that tiger.
You can see him now
Only on battlefields.²⁹

The *akam* and *puram* poems invoke multiple 'spaces' that went into the production of narratives. It was culture specific and historically contingent.

NOTES

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3. K. Kailasapathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968, pp. 15-16.
4. A.K. Ramanujan, *Poems of Love and War*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 282.
5. K. Sivathamby, *Drama in Ancient Tamil Society*, Madras: New Century Book House, 1981, p. 108.
6. For *alvinai* see *Narrinai* 103: 10, 148: 3, 205: 7, 214: 3, 262: 8; *Purananuru* 196: 3; *Kuruntokai* 267: 6. For *tolvinai* see *Narrinai* 88: 1.
7. R. Nagaswamy ed., *Seminar on Hero Stones*, Madras: Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 1974.
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9. John Ralston Marr, *The Eight Anthologies: A Study in Ancient Tamil Literature*, Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1985, pp. 16-17.
10. *Narrinai* 114: 3, 122: 3, 168: 11, 204: 10, 213: 6, 232: 4; *Akananuru* 192: 12, 228: 13 and 232: 6.
11. *Narrinai* 69: 10.
12. *Narrinai* 81:10, 121:6, 161:1; *Akananuru* 124:3, 169:19, 174:1, 204:2, 214:5, 254:10, 264:15 and 294:13.

13. See also *Narrinai* 2: 1-6, 24: 1-5, 29: 1-5, 33: 1-8, 43: 1-6, 46: 5-9, 73: 1-4, 84: 5-10, 92: 2-9, 103: 1-6, 107: 2-6, 126: 1-6, 137: 5-10, 148: 4-11, 162: 9-11, 164: 1-11, 174: 1-4, 177: 1-3, 202: 1-11, 212: 1-6, 298: 1-5.
14. See also *Narrinai* 43: 4, 126: 6 and 343: 10.
15. *Narrinai* 24: 7-10, 243: 10.
16. See also *Akananuru* 250: 11, 270: 2.
17. See also *Narrinai* 15: 10, 38: 10.
18. *Ibid.* 49: 10.
19. See also *Narrinai* 320: 3 and *Kuruntokai* 354: 5 for an allusion to street.
20. George L. Hart, *Poets of the Tamil Anthologies: Ancient Poems of Love and War*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979, p. 139.
21. *Ibid.* p. 141.
22. *Ibid.* p. 152.
23. *Ibid.* p. 164.
24. A.K. Ramanujan, sel. and trans., *Poems of Love and War: From the Eight Anthologies and the Ten Long Poems of Classical Tamil*, Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1985, p. 149.
25. See also *Purananuru* 114, 115, 111, 113 and 118.
26. A.K. Ramanujan, *Poems of Love and War*, p. 113.
27. See *Narrinai* 158: 8-10.
28. Translation by V. Rajesh.
29. A.K. Ramanujan, *Poems of Love and War*, p. 184.