Giovanni Ciotti

Teaching and Learning Sanskrit through Tamil

Evidence from Manuscripts of the *Amarakośa* with Tamil Annotations (Studies in Late Manipravalam Literature 2)

Abstract: This paper investigates a specific aspect of Sanskrit education in 19th-century Tamil Nadu. In particular, it makes use of manuscripts containing copies of the Sanskrit thesaurus entitled *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (also known as *Amarakośa*) that are accompanied by intralinear annotations composed in a particular register of highly Sanskritised Tamil, which for convenience's sake can be called Manipravalam. The fact that these manuscripts were used as educational tools by intermediate students of Sanskrit does not only emerge from the content of the work they contain, but also from the analysis of their paratexts. This study aims at reconsidering some of the common assumptions about the traditional Indic educational setting, which is often and most probably unfairly described as relying mostly upon memory to the detriment of the written medium.

1 Introduction

In this paper I attempt to study manuscripts as sources of information for reconstructing practices of teaching and learning. In particular, I concentrate on Sanskrit education in 19th century Tamil Nadu, focusing on the contexts in which a highly Sanskritised register of Tamil, which for convenience's sake can be called

Manipravalam, was used for scholarly communication.[1] The manuscripts I have selected for carrying out this inquiry are copies of the Sanskrit thesaurus entitled *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (also known as *Amarakośa*) that contain intralinear annotations composed in Tamil.[2]

2 Learning Sanskrit in 19th century Tamil Nadu

At the beginning of the 19th century Sanskrit was considered a particularly useful language to be acquainted with for the young British civil servants appointed to the Madras Presidency.[3] Since many words of Sanskritic origin can be found in the languages of South India, the study of Hindi, Bengali, or Persian was considered to be of very limited use for learning Tamil, Telugu, etc. Thus, many servants-to-be were taught Sanskrit already at the East India College (Hertford, UK), before venturing into the study of the languages of the Presidency taught at the Fort of St. George (Madras), especially after the foundation of its College in 1812 under the impulse of Francis Whyte Ellis. In order to familiarise themselves with Sanskrit, students would have had at their disposal not only grammars, but also the most famous Sanskrit thesaurus, namely the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* ('Teaching on Nouns and [their] Genders') of Amarasiṃha (Trautmann 2006, 116–135). A then new edition and partial translation in English of this work had in fact been published in 1808 by Henry Thomas Colebrooke.

At the same time, the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* kept playing what was its traditional role in those elite scholarly environments of Tamil Nadu, and of South Asia

---

1 This article is the outcome of an ongoing research on 'Late Manipravalam' and its literature, in particular as they emerge from the study of manuscripts produced in 18th–19th-century Tamil Nadu. The scope of this research is defined in Ciotti and Sathyanarayanan forthcoming (Studies in Late Manipravalam Literature 1), Preamble.

2 I use the term intralinear to specify that the annotations found in the manuscripts studied in this article are interspersed within the same lines where the annotated text is written. In other words, annotations are neither found on the margins of the folia, nor in between the lines of the *Amarakośa*, i.e. interlinearly. Furthermore, for the time being, I use the term 'annotation' to indicate a wide range of remarks, including glosses (*de facto* synonyms), succinct grammatical remarks, but also full-fledged commentaries. In §§ 6.4 and 6.5, I will more carefully distinguish among these categories.

3 At that time, the territory of the Madras Presidency corresponded to most of South India with a few exceptions constituted by some semi-independent native kingdoms (e.g. the kingdom of Tiruvitāṃkūr/Travancore), which were however subject to a strong British influence. The headquarters of the Presidency was in Madras, today Ceṉṉai/Chennai (Tamil Nadu).

in general, where Sanskrit was one of the main target languages. Since the time of its composition (or redaction) possibly around the 7th century CE, the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, also known as *Amarakośa* ('Amara[siṃha]'s Thesaurus'), had in fact been a fundamental tool for teaching Sanskrit to young students, and a constant reference work for trained scholars.[4] Owing to its importance in the traditional lore, it comes as no surprise that this work has been at the centre of a fervid commentarial activity with textual outputs both in Sanskrit (Vogel 2015, 24–34) and several of the local literary languages of the subcontinent. South Indian languages are certainly no exception: from the library catalogues we know of versions of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* accompanied by annotations – rather than full-fledged commentaries – in Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, and Tamil. Hereafter, I will focus on the latter category, i.e. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*s annotated in Tamil.[5]

---

4 In his three reports dated 1835, 1836 and 1838 on the state of the 'native' education in Bengal and Bihar, William Adam described the use of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* for the instruction in Sanskrit of students who were native speaker of Bengali or Hindi (see Long's 1868 reprint). In the majority of cases, students would first study grammar, and would then move to 'lexicology' as well as other more demanding subjects, such as law, logic, etc. The average age at which students would study 'lexicology' ranges from 15 to 23 (Long 1868, 190, 193, 195, *passim*). Since these reports are, to the best of my knowledge, the most detailed accounts of the curricula in Sanskrit studies that were offered in 19th century India (or, at least, in its first half), I will at times rely on them for drawing patterns representing educational practices that *mutatis mutandi* could have been at work in 19th century Tamil Nadu, too.

5 Vogel's otherwise detailed 1979 study on Sanskrit lexicography—as well as the 2015 revised edition—does not account at all for Tamil commentaries and annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. This is easily explained by the fact that so far there have been no studies on this topic. For this article, I had the opportunity to study the following manuscripts: RE22704, RE34008, RE37121, RE43496, RE45807, and RE50420 of the Institut Français de Pondichéry; EO0044 and EO1272 of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (Pondicherry); ORI3117 and ORI3118 of the Oriental Research Institute of the Sri Venkateswara University (Tirupati); and AL69312, AL70200, AL70820, AL71010, and AL72614 of the Adyar Library (Chennai). The Adyar Library contains more copies I did not have the opportunity to check (see Krishnamacharya 1947). I also had access to some relevant manuscripts held at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Chennai, but I could not include any of them in this study since their conservation state does not allow to work on them (see Kuppuswami Sastri and Subrahmanya Sastri 1938). Similarly, I could only have a glance at the last folio (containing the colophon) of UVSL 1365 of the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library (Chennai), since this is also in a very critical state of conservation (see Anonymous 1977, 37–38). Other copies I could not assess are found at the Saraswathi Mahal Library of Tanjore (see Sastri 1930) and the University Manuscript Library of Trivandrum (see Raghavan Pillai 1965). As for the manuscripts belonging to the EFEO and the IFP, I refer to unnumbered pages according to the image number they correspond to in the .pdf or .jpg files that were produced by the two institutions.

3 Linguistic landscape and linguistic education

Language teaching in 19th-century Tamil Nadu mostly consisted in the training of native speakers of Tamil into the literary and scholarly registers of their language, as well as a number of second languages (L2), namely Sanskrit and, possibly, Telugu.[6] In the context of this article, it is the curriculum combining Tamil and Sanskrit that matters.

As a general remark, before venturing any further, one should be aware that the number of (almost exclusively male) individuals who had access to even the lowest level of formal education was rather limited. Furthermore, the number of students who accessed higher forms of scholarly education, and in particular those who received instruction in Sanskrit, should be estimated in the order of a few hundreds in each generation.[7]

We do not know much about formal education in Tamil language in the period here taken into consideration. Sascha Ebeling (2010, 37–55) has produced a detailed account of the few direct and indirect sources that are presently at our disposal, in particular in the case of the education of Tamil *pulavar*s, i.e. Tamil traditional scholars. Bhavani Raman (2012, 106–134) touches in part upon the same material, while also taking into consideration the reports on the state of education in the Madras Presidency that were produced under the aegis of the British colonial enterprise. In particular, Raman does not focus on those pupils who become *pulavar*s, surely a minority, but on those who went into accounting, and for whom the ability of keeping records and making calculations were the required skills to master. What emerges from the pages of Ebeling and Raman is that we know relatively well how young students started their scholastic carrier, being initiated to the letters of Tamil script before or right after entering school; that we have a few witnesses listing the texts studied by intermediate students;[8] and, finally, that we know very little of what was studied by advanced students,

---

6 One can imagine a similar situation for Telugu native speakers living in the area of Tamil Nadu, who were instructed in formal Telugu, and also in Sanskrit and Tamil (Narayana Rao 2004, 148–149, *passim*).

7 In particular his third report dated 1838, Adam offers some interesting figures concerning the number of Sanskrit students in Bengal and Bihar (Long 1868, 143ff.).

8 Works that were widely studied are the *Āticcūṭi* and the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (both containing moral teachings), the *Kampa Irāmāyaṇam* (epic), the *Naṉṉul* (grammar), and some unspecified *Nikaṇṭu*s (lexicography) (see Gover 1874, 54 and Raman 2012, 115).

U.V. Cāminātaiyar's autobiography being virtually the only source at our disposal.[9]

Much less we know about how Sanskrit was taught. Surely, a number of aspiring *paṇḍita*s ('scholars') populated the *pāṭhaśālā*s ('schools') of Tamil Nadu: men of religion (e.g. Vedic reciters and temple priests), men of knowledge (e.g. court poets), and men of law (see Michaels 2001 and Davis 2009).[10] In most cases, these categories were partly overlapping. As Sharfe (2002, 311) writes:

> [...] the native Tamil speaker, if he happened to be a brahmin, would have learned Sanskrit in his early school years, probably by the direct method, i.e., by listening and imitating. [...] We found a similar approach to teaching in the acquisition of artistic and technical skills of musicians, warriors, etc.: the textbook may be in the hands of the teacher, but the student is introduced to it, if at all, only after he has mastered the practice.[11]

We will return to the 'textbook' in the next subsection, but for now, I would briefly like to touch upon the linguistic background of the "brahmin". For certain Tamil native speakers, in fact, elements of the Sanskrit lexicon were not alien to their mother tongue. There are in fact certain registers of Tamil that are characterised by the presence of a remarkable number of words borrowed from Sanskrit. More

---

9 Cāminātaiyar's autobiography is certainly exemplifying, but cannot be taken as the epitome of every possible curriculum that advanced students of Tamil had to undertake. In this respect, for instance, one can notice that Cāminātaiyar himself was not familiar with the fact that the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (Jain epic) was at his time still studied within the Jain community of Tamil Nadu (see Zvelebil 1994, 372–5).

10 Contrary to Adam's reports (Long 1868), A.D. Campbell's report on the Beḷḷari/Bellary district (in the eastern part of nowadays Karnataka), which to the best of my knowledge is supposed to be the most detailed account of early 18th-century education in the Madras Presidency, does not take into account Sanskrit schools. As its author writes: '[...] there are 23 places of instruction attended by Brahmins exclusively, in which some of the Hindoo sciences, such as theology, astronomy, logic and law are still imperfectly taught in the Sanscrit language. In these places of Sanscrit instruction in the Hindoo sciences, attended by youths, and often by persons far advanced in life, education is conducted on a plan entirely different from that pursued in the schools, in which children are taught reading, writing and arithmetic only, in the several vernacular dialects of the country. I shall endeavour to give a brief outline of the latter, as to them the general population of the country is confined [...]' (Campbell 1823, see extract 1834, 350). For a study of epigraphic records about Sanskrit education in the area of Tamil Nadu during the 'ancient and medieval' period, see Madhavan 2013.

11 Note that Adam remarks that students of Sanskrit schools were instructed at home (Long 1868, 196), and that those who went to elementary schools, where writing and calculus were taught through Bengali and Hindi, mostly pursued carriers as accountants. However, Adam also reports a few elementary schools, where elements of Sanskrit grammar and lexicography were taught to pupils (Long 1868, 167).

specifically, these registers see the combination of Sanskrit nominal and verbal stems with Tamil morphology (case and verbal endings). This is the case for the so-called Brahmin Tamil, a not so well-studied variety of Tamil spoken by communities of brahmins.[12]

Besides Tamil brahmins, among those who happen to be particularly familiar with Sanskrit are the learned scholars belonging to the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* branches of Tamil Nadu (and Karnataka). Śrīvaiṣṇavism is a multifaceted and widespread religious tradition that is embraced by both brahmins and non-brahmins. It also includes a community of scholars devoted to the study of *ubhayavedānta*, i.e. a specific corpus of texts composed both in Sanskrit and Tamil (see Venkatachari 1978). A great deal of *Śrīvaiṣṇava* literature is composed in Manipravalam ('gem and coral', spelled *maṇipravāḷam* in Sanskrit and *maṇippiravāḷam* in Tamil). This could be variously defined as a highly Sanskritised register of Tamil (as in the case of the abovementioned Brahmin Tamil), or as mixed language (see Mccann 2016).[13]

No matter which label we decide to attribute to it, the register of Tamil annotation found in certain copies of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*s is a highly Sanskritised one (see below §§ 5.4–5). It seems safe to assume that Tamil Brahmins and scholars belonging to the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* communities were the most probable audience for these annotations. However, one should not think of the latter as the only target for these works. Below in § 5.1, we will see that although a conspicuous number of paratexts, in particular of invocations, is in honour of Viṣṇu, other manuscripts pay homage to Śiva, and certain sets of annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* are meant to be for the benefit of students of any confession.

---

12 A number of short descriptions of Brahmin Tamil and various references to its features can be found in, for instance, Burnell 1877; Bloch 1910; Bright 1960a, b; and Zvelebil 1959, 1960, and 1963. However, to the best of my knowledge, a comprehensive investigation of this register of Tamil remains a desideratum.

13 The ratio between Sanskrit and Tamil stems in Manipravalam is a prerogative of the stylistic inclination of each individual author. Indigenous definitions of Manipravalam can be found, but they can hardly be used to label *Śrīvaiṣṇava* literature. Two grammars, the *Līlātilakam* (see Gopala Pillai 1985, 95–109) and the *Vīracōḻiyam* (see Gopal Iyer 2005, 711), envisage a belletrist domain for the use of Manipravalam as it is said, respectively, to require either the presence of *rasa* ('aesthetic experience') or of some particular stylistic features, on top of a specific set of linguistic – mostly morphological – features. Thus, both works do not seem to include commentarial literature, such as that of the *Śrīvaiṣṇava*s, in their definitions. However, *Vīracōḻiyam* 182 also seems to suggest the existence of another possible phonological/graphic mix of the two languages called *virav' iyal* ('mixed nature'). The *Vīracōḻiyam* leads us to a further dimension of multilingualism, i.e. its graphic representation. In fact, it is quite common to find a mixture of Tamil script and Tamilian Grantha script both in manuscripts and inscriptions.

4 Retrieving information from manuscripts

In 2002 Hartmut Scharfe published the most up-to-date overview of the educational system in pre-modern India based on (mostly Sanskrit and, to a more limited extent, Tamil) textual sources. In this article I would like to stress the importance of another precious source of data that can be used to reconstruct the educational practices of India: manuscripts.

Virtually every complete manuscript contains textual elements that can be collectively called paratexts. These can accompany the main text of the manuscript by means of fixing the temporal and spatial coordinates of its reproduction (e.g. a colophon reporting date and place of production), or by recording the state of its reception and interpretation (e.g. a set of annotations commenting upon its content according to a specific school of thought). In a way, paratexts can be seen as the interfaces between texts and their material instantiations.[14]

One should notice that paratexts are usually not reported in printed editions. In this way, a number of precious indications about the history of texts in their actual contexts is overlooked.[15] As a consequence, the intention underlying the production of a new copy of a text, i.e. a new manuscript, can be lost. In subsection 6, we will see how it is possible to argue that manuscripts of the *Nāmaliṅgā-nuśāsana* with Tamil annotations were used as educational tools on the basis of their paratexts. This will also enable us to reconsider some of the general assumptions concerning the role played by manuscripts in teaching and learning.

In fact, what emerges from the modern or even contemporary literature on the topic of education in South Asia (in particular, education in Sanskrit and Tamil) is that students were generally discouraged, if not prohibited, to use manuscripts. This view can be found in ethnographic accounts as well as in colonial

---

14 The concept of paratext was first introduced by Genette 1987, whose focus was on modern Western printed books. For various examples of studies of paratexts in manuscripts, see Ciotti and Lin 2016. For an introduction to the study of manuscript as material objects, see Quenzer 2014.

15 This is not only the case for marginal invocations, but also for more conspicuous types of paratexts, such as such as intralinear annotations (see n. 2). A blatant case is that of commentaries (here also subsumed under the category of paratexts) of Sanskrit *kāvya*s, which contrary to the commentaries of, for instance, grammatical or philosophical works, have been object of a limited scholarly interest, at least until recently. A call for more attention to this kind of commentarial literature, which has in the case of certain works a prominent didactic function, is represented by Isaacson and Goodall's (2003–) ongoing edition of Vallabhadeva's *Raghupañcikā*. For the relationship between various commentaries of *kāvya*s and how these are textualised in manuscripts, see Klebanov 2017, which also includes a survey of the secondary literature on the topic.

administrative reports. Even more strongly such a view is enhanced in the literature that regards Vedic education as representative of education in South Asia in general, thus putting an overemphasis on orality over writing (see references in Fuller 2001). The quotation from Scharfe in the previous subsection epitomises such a view: 'the textbook [i.e. the manuscript] may be in the hands of the teacher, but the student is introduced to it, if at all, only after he has mastered the practice'.

However, from the same literature it is possible to gather data outlining a more lively connection between students and manuscripts. I refer here in particular to intermediate students, who would have reached enough intellectual maturity to be able to engage individually with texts, whether new ones, or those explained in class by the teacher.[16] Furthermore, even in the case of Vedic education, the number and character of prohibitions against the use of manuscripts (see, for instance, Kane 1941, 347–349) can be easily understood as evidence of the fact that manuscripts were actually used.

As for *guru*s ('teachers'), it is usually said that they would employ manuscripts as mnemonic aids only, recurring to them for refreshing their memories about texts they had previously familiarised with, or even fully learnt by heart (see, for instance, Gover 1874; Galewicz 2011, 141). However, high-profile teachers were also scholars who would have continued engaging with new texts, therefore acquiring new manuscripts on which to study (a practice that in this context also means exercising one's own memory).[17]

These assumptions are however based on scarce evidence. One can more soundly argue that manuscripts, in particular those containing texts well-known for being part of the standard curriculum such as the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, were not so far removed from the educational praxis of students and teachers by assessing their paratextual materials.[18]

---

16 For instance, while talking about students of Sanskrit in the Rajshahi district of Bengal, Adam (see Long 1868, 123) remarks that: '[h]is books he either inherits from some aged relative or at his own expense and with his own hands he copies those works that are used in the college as text-books. [...] most of the labor of copying is performed by night after the studies of the day have been brought to a close.'

17 A renowned example is that of U.V. Cāminātaiyar, who extensively toured Tamil Nadu between the late 19th and early 20th century searching for Tamil manuscripts (see Zvelebil 1994).

18 Galewicz 2011 employed a similar approach for studying manuscripts containing Vedic texts.

5 Multilingual manuscripts

Before moving to the analysis of the paratexts, it may be helpful to focus shortly on the nature of multilingual manuscripts, which are especially relevant for attempting a reconstruction of the educational practice of 19th-century Tamil Nadu. In this context, by the expression 'multilingual manuscripts' I refer to manuscripts containing Sanskrit texts accompanied by Tamil annotations. All together, they constitute a small group of manuscripts if compared to the oceanic amount of bundles containing just monolingual texts. However, their didactic scope seems to be clear: these are Sanskrit texts presented through vernacular lenses, i.e. in the language spoken by the students.[19]

Manuscript catalogues generally report whether a manuscript contains more than one script. Therefore, as Tamil language is written almost exclusively in Tamil script, when the latter is mentioned next to the indication 'Grantha script', we automatically know that that manuscript must contain texts in both Sanskrit and Tamil. As for which Sanskrit texts are more frequently accompanied by Tamil annotations, from a cursory view through some catalogues (Narahari 1951, Kuppuswami Sastri and Subrahmanya Sastri 1938, Parameshwara Aithal 1968, and Sastri 1933) it emerges that manuscripts containing lexicographical works (virtually almost exclusively copies of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*) are by far the most common.[20] These are followed by manuscripts with works on *nīti* (in particular the collection of *subhāṣita*s called *Nītisāra*), medicine (in particular the *Nānāvidhavaidya*), and astronomy/astrology.[21] Anyway, this list serves only the purpose to offer an impressionistic view: a study – even a mere statistical evaluation – of the kinds of Sanskrit texts that can be found together with Tamil annotations is yet to be written. It seems evident that basic didactic purposes were the main concerns of the authors of these Tamil annotations: on the one hand, as already said, lexicography, but also easy-to-digest moral teachings (*nīti*), were at the founda-

---

19 A more frequent case of multilingualism is that of a manuscript containing a Sanskrit text and a colophon written in Tamil, or in a hybrid of the two languages (see Ciotti and Franceschini 2016).

20 It should be said though that the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* is overall one of the most copied texts in all of South Asia.

21 Also, one find sporadic occurrences of manuscripts with Tamil annotations to ritual texts (for which see in particular the catalogues of the manuscript collections of the Institut Français de Pondichéry – Varadachari 1986, 1987, and 1990; Grimal and Ganesan 2002), *kāvya*s, Jain works, *stotra*s and a few other Sanskrit texts.

tions of any curriculum in Sanskrit studies, whereas medicine and astronomy/astrology were disciplines in which a superficial grasp of Sanskrit would have sufficed to most practitioners for their everyday activity.

What remains difficult to evaluate from the catalogues is what kind of Tamil register hides behind the indication 'Tamil script'. Whether it is the highly Sanskritised register that is commonly used to comment on the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* or any other cannot be assessed. Furthermore, as a rule of thumb, one can get an idea of the nature of such annotations on the basis of the terms used in the title description found in the catalogues. For instance, if the annotations are just glosses to single words the term *nighaṇṭu* is sometimes inserted, whereas for more elaborated forms of vernacular commentaries other terms can be used, such as *ṭīkā*, *vyākhyā*, and *pañcikā*. In the latter case, the identification of a manuscript containing a Sanskrit text annotated in Tamil is made easier, as an entry would be given as *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam Drāviḍaṭīkāsahitam* (see e.g. AL72614).

In this brief excursus I have not touched upon the vast corpus of the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* commentarial literature, of which a good deal is written in the above-mentioned highly Sanskritised register of Tamil called Manipravalam (see § 2 and Venkatachari 1978). The entries of these works are not only found in Sanskrit manuscript catalogues, but also in some Tamil catalogues (see, for instance, Olaganatha Pillay 1964).

Multilingualism seems to be the feature characterising manuscripts with a well-defined intended audience, namely teacher and students. Surely, this kind of manuscript exemplifies how texts were widely manipulated by interspersing the *mūla* texts with glosses and annotations, possibly in order to make them useful for students. In terms of a purely speculative exercise, one could even argue that Tamil annotations were in competition with annotations composed in Sanskrit, which are in any case those found in the large majority of annotated manuscripts. One could speculate about pockets of Sanskrit education in which the vernacular medium was privileged, and possibly only advanced students were invited to engage with more complex commentaries composed in Sanskrit.

6 Engaging with paratexts

6.1 Religious affiliation

The close association between the copies of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*s with Tamil annotations – at least those I have been able to assess – and a *Vaiṣṇava* religious context can be convincingly argued on the basis of several paratexts. For instance, in the colophon of AL69312 [1r1–2] the name of the father of a borrower of the manuscript is given as Śrīṇivācayyaṅkār from Pāṟācūr (= Pārācūr, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai district): Ayyaṅkār is a typical *Śrīvaiṣṇava* brahmanical name. Similarly, ORI3318 has an ownership tag attached to the verso side of its guard leaf reporting that this is the 9th in a series of manuscripts that belonged to a certain S. Kiruṣṇa Ayyaṅkār.

Particularly informative in terms of religious affiliation are the invocations found throughout the manuscripts. For instance, AL70820 [1r1] opens with a well-known verse addressed to Viṣṇu:

> *śuklāmbaradharaṃ viṣṇuṃ śaśivarṇaṃ caturbhujam |*
> *prasannavadanaṃ dhyāyet sarvavighnopaśāntaye ||*

> One should meditate on the wearer of the white garment Viṣṇu, of moon-like complexion, four-armed, with a kind face, for the removal of every obstacle.

Furthermore, AL71010 [1r1] opens with the so-called *hayagrīva-stotra* (note that Hayagrīva is a manifestation of Viṣṇu):

> *jñānānandamayaṃ devaṃ nirmalasphaṭikākṛtim |*
> *ādhāraṃ sarvavidyānāṃ hayagrīvam upāsmahe ||*

> We honour Hayagrīva, the god abounding in knowledge and bliss, with a spotless moonstone-like [bluish] complexion, the foundation of all sciences.

Praises for Viṣṇu are also found in marginal invocations, in particular in the rather common formula *hariḥ oṃ | śubham astu* ('Hari (= Viṣṇu) *oṃ*, may there be prosperity'). Examples are found in RE37121 [2r], EO1272 [GL1r] and ORI3317 [GLr]. On the margin of AL70820 [1r] one reads *śrīrāma jeyam* ('O *śrī* Rāma, victory!'). A marginal invocation to Hayagrīva together with Rāmānuja – the founding figure of Śrīvaiṣṇavism – is a few times repeated on the guard leaf of ORI3318; e.g. on its verso side it reads: *śrimate – rāmānujāya namaḥ* [?] *hayagrīvāya namaḥ |* ('Honour to *śrimat* Rāmānuja, honour to Hayagrīva').

However, it is indeed also possible to come across copies of the *Nāmaliṅgā-nuśāsana* with Tamil annotations containing paratextual elements of a *Śaiva* character. In this respect, it may be interesting to compare two particular manuscripts, namely RE37121 and RE45807. Both offer glosses to the various words of the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*:

> *yasya jñānadayāsindhor agādhasyānaghā guṇāḥ |*
> *sevyatām akṣayo dhīrāḥ sa śriyai cāmṛtāya ca ||*

> O sages! The imperishable one, the unfathomable ocean of knowledge and compassion, whose qualities are spotless, he should be worshipped for *śrī* and immortality.

We will come back in more detail on the interpretation of this verse (§ 5.5). For the time being, it is relevant to note the interpretation of the word *śriyai* ('for *śrī*'). On the one hand, RE37121 [2r1] glosses it as *lakṣmīyiṉ aṭi poruṭṭum* ('for the sake of [wor-shipping] Lakṣmī's foot'), Lakṣmī being Viṣṇu's spouse. On the other hand, RE45807 [3r6] glosses *śriyai ca* as *aiśvaryyattum poruṭṭum* ('for the sake of [obtain-ing] divine power'), where *aiśvaryyam* ('sovereignty') is a way to refer to Śiva's power. The *Śaiva* affiliation of RE45807 is further corroborated by the marginal in-vocation on the recto side of its second guard leaf, which reads *civamayam* ('Śiva in essence', 'all glory to Śiva').

6.2 Additional verses on the target of the Tamil annotations

That Tamil annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* were meant for the benefit of young students is not only clear from secondary sources stating the importance of this *mūla* text for learning Sanskrit, but also from evidence found in manuscripts. In particular, manuscripts containing two particular sets of such annotations, i.e. those authored by Vaidyanātha Yajvan and Veṅkateśvara, present some extra verses men-tioning *bāla*s (lit. 'boys', thus 'young students') as the intended audience.

Manuscripts AL72614 and RE50420 are two copies of Vaidyanātha Yajvan's an-notations. They both contain, the former at its beginning [1r1–2] and the latter at its end [unnumbered folio r2–4] (corresponding to image 109 in the IFP file), the follow-ing couple of stanzas:

> *bālavyutpādanārthāya vaidyanāthena yajvanā |*
> *kriyate 'marakośasya vyākhyā draviḍabhāṣayā |*
> *padavākyapramāṇānāṃ pāragaiḥ pūrvasūribhiḥ |*

nirṇīya likhyate yo 'rthaḥ sa evātra vilikhyate ||[22]

The commentary (*vyākhyā*) of the *Amarakośa* is composed by Vaidyanātha Yajvan in Tamil language for the instruction of young students. The meaning of the means of knowledge of words and sentences, which is written by previous accomplished (*pāragaiḥ*) scholars after having ascertained it, is here exactly copied (?).

Similarly, EO0044 [unnumbered r1] (corresponding to image 30 in the EFEO file) contains a small fragment of Veṅkateśvara's *Amarapañcikā* (the title is partly readable on the left margin of the damaged folio). Here I report the verse found just at the beginning of the text:

śrīśailaveṃkaṭeśānāv ānamya śivakeśavau |
bālakānandajananīṃ karomy amarapañcikām ||

Having bowed to the lords (°*iśāna*) of the holy [abodes of] Śaila and Veṃkaṭa, [namely] Śiva and Keśava (= Viṣṇu), I compose the *Amarapañcikā*, bestower of happiness for young students.[23]

Interestingly, Veṅkateśvara's *Amarapañcikā* also represents an example of a set of annotations that is meant for the benefit of both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva students.[24]

---

22 RE50420 presents a slightly unmetrical reading of the beginning of the first verse as it reads *bālānāṃ vyutpādanārthāya*.

23 EO1272 contains a copy of the same set of Tamil annotations (with some variants) and mentions several times Veṅkaṭeśvara as their author; e.g. [7r1] *śrīmad ātreyaveṃkaṭeśvaravi\ra/citāyāṃ* [7r2] *amarapañcikāyāṃ svargavivaraṇaṃ* ('[This is] the explanation [on the names] of heaven in the *Amarapañcikā* composed by *śrīmad* Ātreya Veṃkaṭeśvara'). The last folio of UVSL 1365 (possibly 262r) – the only folio of the manuscript I could check – concludes what is probably a further copy of Veṅkaṭeśvara's annotations. It reads *iti śrīliṃgappasūritanujaśrīveṃkaṭeśvarabhaṭṭārakaka-vikaviracitāyām ama*[*rapañci*]*kā samāptāḥ* | (Anonymous 1977, 38 emends and reads *iti śrīliṅgap-pasūritanujaśrīveṃkaṭeśvarabhaṭṭārakakaviviraviracitām* [sic!] - *amarapañcikā samāptā* 'The Amarapañcikā composed (emend °*viracitām* into *viracitā* - GC) by Śrīveṃkaṭeśvarabhaṭṭāraka, excellent poet son of Śrīliṅgappasūri, is completed'). Furthermore, the GOML catalogue lists three other manuscripts which are given the title of *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanavyākhyā Amarapañjikā* by Veṅkateśvara, but I could not inspect them. The catalogue of the Adyar Library lists nine works with the same title, among which I have inspected AL69312 and AL70200 (both with some variants). It is probable that the work of Veṅkateśvara enjoyed a certain degree of popularity.

24 Another manuscript containing the name of the author of its Tamil annotations is n° 4971 of the Saraswathi Mahal Library in Tañjāvūr/Thanjavur. I have not been able to check this manuscript personally, but the second verse at its beginning is given in the catalogue (Sastri 1930, 3837) as: *kriyate śrinivāsena yajvanā bālabodhinī | ṭīkā hy amarakośasya samyag āgastyabhāṣayā ||* ('The *Bālabodhinī* [Instruction for young students], a commentary (*ṭīkā*) of the *Amarakośa*, is thoroughly

6.3 A compendium of nominal declensions

RE45807, which contains a copy of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* with Tamil annotations entitled *Amarapañcikai* (different from the *Amarapañcikā* mentioned above), also presents a kind of paratext that is unique among the manuscripts that I have been able to scrutinise. One could label such a paratext 'appendix'. In fact, as the *Amarapañcikai* ends on folio 205, one then encounters two additional texts.

First, on an unnumbered folio (corresponding to image 212 in the IFP file) there is a list of Tamil case endings presented in a single column (see Fig. 1):

avaṉ - yivaṉ - avaḷ - yivaḷ - atu yitu ā	*pra*
avaṉai yivaṉai avaḷai yivaḷai atai yitai ā	*dvi*
āle yoṭe	*tri*
koḷ poruṭṭu	*ca*
niṉṉuṅ kāṭṭilum nimittam āleyu[m][25]	*pa*
ikum[26] *uṭaiya*	*ṣa*
illum ile	*sa*

Here the case endings are presented according to the traditional progressive order from the *pra*[*thamā vibhakti*] ('first case') to the *sa*[*ptamī vibhakti*] ('seventh case'), excluding the vocative case. Note that the first and second case, i.e. nominative and accusative respectively, are exemplified by third person singular pronouns (masculine, feminine, and neuter), which are also given according to the two deixes (e.g. *atu* 'that' and (*y*)*itu* 'this').[27]

Thereafter, seven folios (corresponding to images 213–219 in the IFP file; with a double page number 5!) contain a *rūpāvalī* ('list of declensions') arranged in columns.[28] For instance, the declension of *akārāntaḥ pulliṃgo rāmaśabdaḥ* ('the word *Rāma*, ending in -*a*, masculine'), i.e. of the masculine nominal stem in short -*a*, is provided as follows on [unnumbered folio 1r, column 1] (corresponding to image 213 in the IFP file):

---

composed by Śrīnivāsa Yajvan in the language of Agastya'). Note that Agastya is traditionally considered the founding figure of the Tamil grammatical tradition (see e.g. Chevillard 2009).

25 Most probably, this section should be understood as '[The endings] -*niṉ* and -*kāṭṭil* [indicating] cause, and -*āle*.'

26 Most probably, *ikum* (read *iku-um*) is a way to represent the ending of the Tamil fourth case, which would be usually indicated as -(*k*)*ku*. This ending is normally used to render the Sanskrit sixth case in Manipravalam.

27 Both lists of pronouns are followed by the syllable *ā*. In Tamil this syllable is also a word meaning 'cow'. My tentative guess is that the two *ā*s are examples of the nominative and accusative cases of an inanimate noun, which can be left morphologically unmarked.

28 In particular, these folios contain declensions of nominal and pronominal stems, exceptions such as the noun *sakhi* ('friend'), and the number *dvi* ('two').

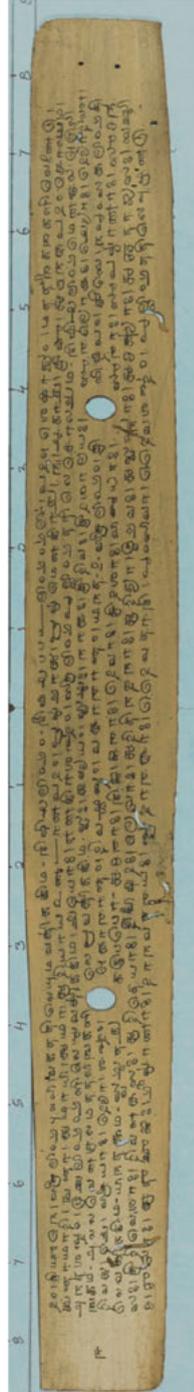**Fig. 1:** List of Tamil case endings presented in a single column (RE45807-212.jpg).

Fig. 2: RE45807 [3r] (RE45807-007.jpg).

akārāntaḥ pulliṃgo rāmaśabdaḥ

rāmaḥ rāmau rāmāḥ	*prathamai*
he rāma he rāmau he rāmāḥ	*saṃbuddhi*
rāmaṃ rāmau rāmān	*dvitīyyai*
rāmeṇa rāmābhyāṃ rāmaiḥ	*tritī*
rāmāya rāmābhyāṃ rāmebhyaḥ	*caturthī*
rāmāt rāmābhyāṃ rāmebhyaḥ	*[pañca]mi*
rāmasya rāmayoḥ rāmāṇām	*ṣaṣṭhi*
rāme rāmayoḥ rāmeṣu	*saptami*

Together with its appendixes, RE45807 constitutes what seems to be a reference work for the formation of nouns in both Manipravalam and Sanskrit. Manipravalam nouns can be formed by adding the required Tamil endings, which are listed in the first appendix, to Sanskrit nominal stems listed in the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. On the other hand, the same Sanskrit nominal stems can be declined according to the examples provided in the second appendix.

6.4 Glosses and annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*

Full-fledged Sanskrit commentaries to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* were most probably the object of interest of advanced students and scholars. If we consider those commentaries with a clear Southern Indian provenance, for instance, we can see that Liṅgayasūrin's *Amarapadavivṛti* focuses mostly on etymological explanations of single lexemes, whereas Mallinātha Sūri's *Amarapadapārijāta* offers etymological remarks and a number of quotations from other relevant texts, such as Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Ramanathan 1971). On the other hand, Tamil annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* are rather simple. In most cases, we find one Tamil gloss for each lexical sub-group. An example of the latter case is found in RE45807 [3v7–8], where the list of names of *asura*s ('anti-gods') is presented as follows:

asurāḥ | daityāḥ | daiteyāḥ | danujāḥ | indrārayaḥ | dānavāḥ | śukraśiṣyāḥ | ditisutāḥ | pūrvadevāḥ | suradviṣaḥ | *yinta - 10 - asurāḷ per* |

Here the verse about the names for anti-gods is not reported, instead its word by word division is given, followed by the simple gloss *yinta 10 asurāḷ per* ('these ten are the names of the anti-gods').[29]

---

29 Note that the plural ending *-āḷ* in *asurāḷ* is a typical feature of Brahmin Tamil.

However, at times ampler annotation is provided for some lexical sub-groups. One more example from RE45807 [3r4–6] will clarify this point (see Fig. 2):

svaḥ | **avyayaṃ** | **svargaḥ** | **nākaḥ** | **tridivaḥ** | **tridaśālayaḥ** | **suralokaḥ** | dyoḥ[30] | **dyodivau** | divat | **dve** | **striyāḥ** | dyo | *śabdaṃ* | *okārāntaṃ* | divach *śabdaṃ* | *vakārāntaṃ* | *yinta - 2 - striliṃgaṃ* | **triviṣṭapaṃ** | **klībe** | *napuṃsakaliṃgattile varttikkim*[31] *- yinta 9m - svargattukkup per -*

I have marked in bold the words singled out from the *mūla* verse. I have left unmarked the two words composing **dyodivau**, which is split as dyoḥ and divat,[32] preceding and following the compound, respectively. I have marked the Tamil annotations in italics. Apart from the final remark for the whole subsection, i.e. *yinta 9m svargattukkup per* ('these nine are the names of heaven'), one also finds some further annotations, contrary to the subsection seen before. On the one hand, we are here offered remarks about the stems of the words **dyo** and **div**, which are classified as ending in *-o* (*okārāntaṃ*) and *-v* (*vakārāntaṃ*), respectively. On the other hand, we find annotations to the Sanskrit terms used to indicate the feminine and neuter gender of certain words (as it normally happens in the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*): **striyāḥ** as *striliṃgaṃ*, and **klībe** as *napuṃsakaliṃgattile*.

In some manuscripts, one finds versions of these extended annotations characterised by a large use of abbreviations. An example is found in ORI3317 [3v1–2]:

svaḥ | a | **svargaḥ** | **nākaḥ** | **tridivaḥ** - **tridaśālayaḥ** - **suralokaḥ** | pu | **dyauḥ** - o - **dyauḥ** | va - strī | **triviṣṭapaṃ** | na | *inta* | *9m - svargattukkup peyar* |

Here, a stands for *avyaya* ('indeclinable'), pu for *puṃliṅga* ('masculine'), na for *napuṃsakaliṅga* ('neuter'), strī for *strīliṅga* ('feminine'), o for *okārānta* ('[nominal stem] ending in *-o*'), and va for *vakārānta* ('[nominal stem] ending in *-v*').

After analysing this as well as other similar passages, it seems to me that even in case two manuscripts share the same set of annotations, the amount of variant readings is remarkable. Changes in the order of words, omissions and synonyms are evidence of a rather fluid transmission (see example in Appendix 1). Such fluidity could suggest that these manuscripts were not intended to transmit a fixed text, but contained notes for teaching and learning the root-text (*mūla*). In other words,

---

30 RE45807 originally reads *dvyoḥ*.

31 The word *varttikkim* appears several times in similar positions in this manuscript. However, its precise meaning and etymology (cf. Skr. *vārttika* 'explanatory annotation'?) escapes me.

32 Since the second nominal root should be *div-*, I am inclined to understand *-at* as a metalinguistic grammatical marker. However, I cannot trace such affix in the literature.

these manuscripts may have been an *aide-mémoire* for the *mūla*, but not for the annotations, which vary from copy to copy. Therefore, I would argue that, contrary to the *mūla* text, Tamil annotations, together with their educational bearing, were bound to the manuscript and not to memory, and that therefore manuscripts should have been actively used as educational tools, possibly by both teachers and learners. Further philological features can also be considered in order to account for the possibility that students were in fact active users of at least some of the manuscripts here under investigation. In particular, a number of scribal mistakes can be explained if one assumes that the scribes were still inexperienced Sanskritists. For instance, aspirated consonants are not rarely written down as unaspirated ones, a fact which could also hint to a Tamil speaking scribe; and colophons, when composed in Sanskrit, can present a rather broken variety of the language (see n. 21 and 22).

6.5 A commentarial leap

In most manuscripts, the annotations to the first five verses of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, i.e. the invocation (verse 1) and the instructions on how to use the thesaurus (verses 2–4), are notably different from those to the other verses of the *mūla* text. There, we do not just find simple glosses, but we are presented with more or less lengthy commentaries. These are usually annotated according to a specific system known as *pañcalakṣaṇa* ('five explanations').

Given a verse, this pattern runs as follows: 1. the words of the verse are divided and the *sandhi* dissolved (*padaccheda*), 2. words are rearranged according to a syntax free of metrical constraints (*anvayokti*), 3. grammatical complexes such as compounds are analysed (*vigraha*), 4. the meaning of individual words is explained, i.e. glossed (*padārthabodha*), 5. and the gist of the verse is provided (*tātparya*).[33] The *pañcalakṣaṇa* system has a clear didactic nature (see also Goodall and Isaacson 2003, l–li for the case of commentaries on *kāvya*s). Students are taken step by step through the components of each verse. It is possible to assume that this system also corresponds to the way in which teachers orally instructed their pupils.

Not all the stages of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* are always present in the manuscripts I have investigated (often the *tātparya* is skipped). An example that presents four out of five of these stages is RE45807 [1r1–6]:

---

[33] For a short but informative report about *pañcalakṣaṇa* and the stanzas in which the five elements are listed together, see Formigatti (2015, 66–67). For more detailed information on the *pañcalakṣaṇa*, see Tubb and Boose 2007.

[*mūla*]
yasya jñānadayāsindhor agādhasyānaghā guṇāḥ | sevyatām akṣayo dhīrās sa śriyai
cāmṛtāya ca |

[*padaccheda*]
yasya [|] jñānadayāsindhoḥ | agādhasya | anaghāḥ | guṇāḥ | sevyatām | akṣayaḥ | dhīrāḥ |
saḥ | śriyai | ca | amṛtāya |

[*anvayokti*]
he dhīrāḥ | jñānadayāsindhoḥ | agādhasya | yasya guṇāḥ | anaghāḥ | akṣayaḥ | saḥ | śriyai |
amṛtāya ca | ca | sevyatāṃ |

[*padārthabodha*, including the *vigraha* of the compound *jñānadayāsindhoḥ*]

he dhīrāḥ | (*a*)*hoy vidvāṃsāḷe* | jñānadayāsindhoḥ | jñānā - *jñānattukkum* | dayā |
dayaikkum | sindhoḥ | *samudrarājaṉaip poleyu*[*m*] - agādhasya | *agādhahṛdayam
āyum* - yasya - *yāt*['] *oru tevataiyaṉuṭaiya* (guṇa)ḥ | *guṇaṅkaḷukkum* | anaghāḥ |
doṣarahitam ākavum - akṣayaḥ | *nāśarahitar āy iruppār āy* | saḥ | *anta devataikaḷai* |
śriyai ca | *aiśvaryyattum poruṭṭum* | amṛtāya ca | *moṭcattum poruṭṭum* | sevyatām |
sevikkireṉ -

Often, *padaccheda*, *anvayokti*, *vigraha*, and *padārthabodha* are merged together.
For instance, in AL70820 [1r1–2] one just reads what corresponds to the
padārthabodha section of RE45807 just mentioned above:

he dhīrāḥ | *vāruṅkoḷ*[34] *vidvāṃsarkaḷe* | jñānadayāsindhoḥ | jñāna | *jñānattukkum* | dayā [|]
dayaikkum | etc.

In certain manuscripts the commentary to verse 1 is remarkably more complex
than the commentaries to verses 2 to 4. I have come across two of such cases,
namely ORI3317 and RE22704.[35] ORI3317 presents a conflated version of the
pañcalakṣaṇa system following the *mūla*: a first stage joining *padaccheda*, *an-
vayokti, vigraha*, and *padārthabodha*, and a second stage offering a relatively
lengthy *tātparya* (the full text is given in Appendix 2 together with a tentative
translation). In RE22704 too we find the *mūla* text followed by a conflated version

---

34 The word *vāruṅkoḷ* is rather obscure. It could be a variant form of standard Tam. *vāruṅkaḷ*
('let's come') or of Brahmin Tamil *vāruṅkō*, here used in the sense of summoning the
vidvāṃsarkaḷ ('sages').

35 This is also the case for the Tamil annotations contained in an early printed edition of the
Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana by a certain Rāmānujācāryyar (alias Citrakūṭaṃ Kaṇḍāḍai Śeṣādri), entitled
Amarapadakalpataru and dated 1849. Annotations to verses 1 to 4 are also here rather lengthy.
Interestingly, part of those to verse 1 are identical to those found in ORI3317.

of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* system, but in addition we also find an *avataraṇikai* ('introduction') inserted before each verse.

RE22704 is particularly notable for it makes an even bigger commentarial leap than ORI3317 thanks to its very sophisticated *tātparya* section at verse 1. It reports extensively on alternative meanings for selected words and the religious and sectarian bearing of such interpretations. Furthermore, this section seems to adapt and extend many remarks already found in the *Amarapadapārijāta*, the commentary of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* composed by Mallinātha Sūri (Ramanathan 1971), who is explicitly mentioned in the text.[36]

RE22704 clearly shows that Tamil annotations too can provide a platform for complex exegetical exercises. It also questions the boundary between Sanskrit and Tamil as access to more or less complex contents may have not been so strictly regimented by the language choice. Although, statistically, the opposition between Sanskrit vs Tamil annotations seems to correspond to that between sophisticated vs elementary annotations, manuscripts such as ORI3317 and RE22704 are witnesses of the fact that there was room for relevant exceptions. Unfortunately, at present I do not have enough elements in order to establish who accessed these more complex Tamil annotations, whether intermediate students, or more advanced ones and teachers.

7 Conclusions

In the Indian intellectual history memory was by far the most prestigious tool for learning, but not at all the only one. It is in fact not easy to make sense of manuscripts such as those containing the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* with Tamil annotations, if we do not understand them as learning and teaching tools. If a teacher had doubts or memory gaps, he could certainly turn to such manuscripts, but it is also

---

36 For an in-depth study of the commentary of the first verse of the *Amarakośa* as found in RE22704, see Ciotti and Sathyanarayanan forthcoming. A peculiarity of this manuscript is that some Sanskrit words are not only glossed in Tamil, but also in Telugu. Similarly, the very beginning of the manuscript [1r1] reads *amarasiṃhuṃḍ*['] *ane graṃdhakartta amarasiṃhan enkira graṃdhakarttā*, where the meaning 'the author of the work, Amarasiṃha' is repeated twice in Telugu and Tamil, respectively. The insertion of Telugu glosses throughout the manuscript seems rather idiosyncratic. We can make an educated guess and imagine its scribe, a certain Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṉātayyaṉ, to have been a Telugu speaking scholar, who worked in an environment, such as perhaps the *Śrīvaiṣṇava*, in which Sanskrit and Tamil were the main languages of intellectual exchange.

true that he could have checked *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*s with more sophisticated Sanskrit commentaries. Advanced students were expected to master enough Sanskrit to be able to access copies of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* with Sanskrit commentaries, which would have provided also contents of a level of complexity more suitable for their intellectual undertakings, such as remarks in *vyākaraṇa*- and *nirvacana*-style. On the other hand, students who could already read, but who were not yet fully proficient in Sanskrit, seem to be not only the most suitable recipients of the content of the manuscripts, but also the recipients of the object itself. What I argue is that given the kind of texts and paratexts found in the manuscripts analysed here, I would challenge the view that beginner students had no access to written materials. Facts were most probably rather variegated: schools with no manuscripts at all, either because too poor or because relying exclusively on oral education, and schools in which the access to manuscripts was not forbidden, at least during study hours after class.

I am aware of the partial limits of my inquiry. For instance, I am puzzled by the almost total absence – to the best of my knowledge – of Sanskrit grammatical works annotated in Tamil. Whether such differences are indicative of the nature of the curricula of students of Sanskrit, in other words of which texts could or could not be studied with the help of vernacular explanations, is a possibility to explore. Furthermore, the possibility to attribute a specific function to a manuscript is hampered by the lack of visual variety. In manuscripts from North India (Formigatti 2015, 79–80, *passim*), as well as in those of other manuscript cultures,[37] one could speculate, and at times convincingly argue, that different layouts reflect different functions. On the contrary, the typically monotone layout of Southern Indian palm leaves was not manipulated to reflect the function of the texts they contained.[38] At the commentarial level, instead, texts can be widely disassembled and rearranged in order to meet different educational requirements, as in the case of the application of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* system.

In conclusion, this article calls for a more disenchanted view on Indic education, which is often idealised as the realm of memory. Simply put, that was not

---

37 For instance, the way in which annotations can be accommodated on the page helps identifying the educational function of a manuscript in the Islamic context (see Bondarev 2014, 129–145 for the case of West Africa) and elsewhere.

38 There are basically two kinds of layouts in palm-leaf manuscripts from Tamil Nadu: (1) the single text block, where the *scriptio continua* is sometimes interspersed with a very light punctuation (*daṇḍa*s, hyphens, etc.) and seldom, if ever, interrupted by short blank spaces, and (2) the much rarer parallel columns (usually from two to four) employed for lists, such as nominal declensions (see above RE45807) or *akarāti*s ('alphabetically arranged lexicons'). A richer variety of layouts appeared in the domain of written Tamil only with the introduction of printing.

always the case. In this respect, while describing the figure of the *paṇḍita*, Aklujkar (2001, 45, n. 8) wrote an insightful remark about the relationship between orality and manuscripts:

> [...] an intimate and wide connection with the older Indian way of preserving knowledge, coupled with an ability to impart that knowledge, is at the core of what *paṇḍita* means to us. The use of the term in performing arts also points in the same direction. It is based on the elements (a) of study in the presence of a teacher outside the Western-style academic institutions that have become common in South Asia and (b) of oral retention.
>
> The above observation, however, does not imply that pandits do not build personal libraries, do not prepare manuscripts and editions, or do not make a significant contribution to the preservation and deciphering of manuscripts. Their association with reading, writing and printing is also close. Their distinction from 'Western' and 'westernized' scholars consists in the *manner* in which they relate to these latter activities.

Appendix 1

The transmission of Tamil annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* seems to be rather fluid. Even in case of AL72614 and RE50420, both containing sets of annotations ascribed to Vaidyanātha Yajvan, one comes across a remarkable number of variants (see § 5.4). Hereafter, one can observe the different arrangement of the annotations to verses 7 to 11 of the first book of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. I have underlined some difficult readings.

AL72614 [4r3–5r4]:

amarā nirjarā devās tridaśā vibudhās surāḥ | suparvāṇas sumanasastridiveśā divaukasaḥ | ādityeyā diviṣado lekhā aditinandanāḥ | ādityā ṛbhavo [']svapnā amartyā amṛtāndhasaḥ | barhirmmukhāḥ ṛtubhujo gīrvāṇā dānavārayaḥ | vṛndārakā daivatāni · puṃsi vā devatā striyāṃ | ṭīkā | amarāḥ - nirjarāḥ - devāḥ - tridaśāḥ - vibudhāḥ - surāḥ - suparvāṇaḥ - sumanasaḥ - tridiveśāḥ - divaukasaḥ - ādityeyāḥ - diviṣadaḥ - lekhāḥ - aditinandanāḥ - ādityāḥ - ṛbhavaḥ - asvapnāḥ - amarttyāḥ - amṛtāndhasaḥ - barhiḥ mukhāḥ - ṛtubhujaḥ - gīrvāṇāḥ - dānavārayaḥ - vṛndārakāḥ - daivatāḥ - daivatāni puṃsi *napuṃsakaliṃgamuṃ uṇṭu* | ayaṃ puṃsa vā - daivataśabdaṃ vā - vikalpārthe *orukkāl puṃlliṃgattile vargattikkum* – devatā striyāṃ - | devatāśabdaṃ strīliṃgaṃ | *yinta yiruvatti āṟum devatayaḷ per* | 4 | **ādityaviśvavasavastuṣitābhāsvarānilāḥ | mahārājikasādhyāś ca rudrāś ca gaṇadevatāḥ | vidyādharopsaroyakṣarakṣogandharvakiṃnarāḥ | piśāco**

guhyakas siddho bhūto [']mi[39] **devayonayaḥ** | ṭīkā | ādityāḥ - *dvādaśādityākkaḷ 12* | viśve - *viśve devarkaḷ - 10* - vasavaḥ - *aṣṭavasukkaḷ - 8* - tuṣitāḥ - *ṣaṭtriṃśattuṣitāḷ - 36* | bhāsvarāḥ - *64* - anilāḥ | [?] mahārājikāḥ | *76* | sādhyāḥ - *12* - ca - gaṇḍapūraṇaṃ | rudrāḥ - *ekādaśarudrāḷ* | *11* | ca - *yivarkaḷ - gaṇadevataikaḷ* | *oruy inam*[40] *āy iruppār* | vidyādharaḥ - apsarasaḥ - yakṣaḥ - rakṣaḥ - gandharvāḥ - kiṃnaraḥ - piśācaḥ - guhyakaḥ - siddhaḥ - bhūtaḥ ami[41] - *yivarkaḷ devayonikaḷ* - devayonayaḥ - *yivarkaḷ devayoniviśeṣaṅkaḷ eṇṭu*[42] *collukai* | 6 |

RE50420 [4r4-5r2] (corresponding to images 16–17 in the IFP file):

amarāḥ | <u>nirjarāḥ</u> | de(vāsv)āḥ | tridaśāḥ | vibudhāḥ surāḥ | suparvāṇaḥ | sumanasaḥ | tridiveśāḥ divaukasaḥ | āditeyāḥ | divaṣadāḥ[43] | lekhāḥ | aditina(nda)nāḥ | ādityāḥ | ṛbhavaḥ | asvapnāḥ amartyāḥ amṛtāndhasaḥ | barhirmukhāḥ ṛtubhujaḥ | gīrvāṇāḥ dānavārayaḥ | vṛndāra(kāḥ |) daivatāni puṃsi vā - daivatā striyaṃ *inda 26m devatayaḷ per* - *daivatāśabdaṃ strīliṃgam* | puṃsi vā vikalpārthe *daivatāśabdaṃ pulliṃgattile vargattikkum* | – – – ādityāḥ *dvādaśādityarkaḷ* - viśve *devarkaḷ - 10* - vasavaḥ *8* - tuḷitāḥ[44] *36* - bhāsvāra[45] - *64* - anilāḥ - *39* - mahārājikāḥ *226* sādhyāḥ *12* - ca śraddhapūraṇaṃ - ru(drāḥ *11*) *ivarkaḷ gaṇadevataiyaḷ oru yeṉattāḷ*[46] *āy iruppāḷ* - vidyādharāḥ - apsarasaḥ yakṣāḥ - rakṣāṃsī - gandharvāḥ (kinnarāḥ |) piśācāḥ guh(y)akāḥ siddhāḥ bhūtaḥ ami[47] *ivarkaḷ devayonikaḷ devayoniviśeṣaṅkaḷ yeṉṉum collukai* –

Appendix 2

Annotations to the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* found in ORI3317 [1r1–1v5] (see 5.5 and Figs 3 and 4). I have underlined some difficult readings. The text is followed by a tentative translation.

---

39 Emend to amī.

40 Read *iṉam*.

41 Emend to amī.

42 Possibly, read as *viṣeśaṅkaḷ eṉṉu*.

43 Emend to diviṣadāḥ.

44 Emend to tuṣitāḥ. Note that the rendering of Skr. ṣ into Tam. ḷ is rather common.

45 Emend to ābhāsvarāḥ.

46 *Yeṉattāḷ* is a colloquial form for *iṉattāḷ*.

47 Emend to amī.

avighnam astu | **yasya jñānadayāsindhor agādhasyānaghā guṇāḥ** | **sevyatām akṣayo dhīrās sa śriyai cāmṛtāya ca** | 1 | jñānadayāsindhoḥ - *samastārtthaviṣayakam āṇa jñānam eṉṉa sarvarukkum upakarikkukaikki veṇṭiya dayaiy eṉṉa ivaittuku ādhāraṉā*[48] *āy iruppāṉ āy* - agādhasya *du(r)jñeyasvabhāvam ākiṟa gāmbhīryyataiyuṭaiyaṉ āy* - yasya *lokavedavedāntatadupabrahmaṇādikaḷile guṇavigrahavibhūtyaiśvaryyādiyuktaṉ āṉa* parabrahmaparamātmaparamapuruṣapuruṣottamavāsudevanārāyaṇādiśabdavācyatvena *prasiddhaṉ āṉa śriyaḥpatiyiṉuṭaiya* | guṇāḥ *āśrayaṇopayogikaḷ āy° āśritakāryyopayogikaḷ āy° anubhavaparikaraṅkaḷ āyum irunt*['] *uḷḷa vātsalyādyasaṃkhyeyakalyāṇaguṇaṅkaḷ* anaghāḥ *āśritaviṣa(ya)ṅkaḷile nirduṣṭaṅkaḷ āka prakāśikiratukaḷ aṉṉikke*[49] - guṇāḥ *adhyetākkaḷuṭaiya prakṛtagrandhārthajñānapradānopayogikaḷ āṉa niravadhikaniratiśayakalyāṇaguṇaṅkaḷ* anaghāḥ *āśritaviṣayattile doṣadarśitvam ākiṟa agham uṇṭu doṣaṃ at*['] *illātukaḷ* - akṣayaḥ *jñānapradatvam illāmai yākira kṣayam uṇṭu*[50] *nāśam at*['] *illātavaṉ āy irukkiṟa* - saḥ *kīḻ coṉṉapaṭi prasiddhaṉ āy irukkuṟa anta śriyaḥpatiyāṉavaṉ* - he dhīrāḥ *dhiyāramatal ativyutpatyar āśritavāñchitārtthapradaṅkaḷ āṉa śriyaḥpatiguṇaṅkaḷile saṃdehamaṟa dṛḍhaviśvastāḷ āṉa vīvekikaḷ* | śriyai ca *prakṛtagrandhārtthajñānapūrvakasakalavedatatvārddhajñānāya* | amṛtāya ca - *jñānavirodhiy ākiṟav ajñānam ākiṟa mṛtiy uṇṭu maraṇam at*['] *illāta* avāṃtarapuruṣārtthapūrvakaniratiśayānaṃdarūpamahāpuruṣārtthāya ca - sevyatāṃ *uṅkaḷāle manovākkāyarūpatrividhakaraṇaṅkaḷāle āśrayikkattakkavaṉ*[51] | *ākavittāl prabandhādhyetākkaḷukku jñānasamṛddhyādyaihikāmuṣmikapuruṣārtthapradānopayuktaniravadhikātiśayajñānadayāvātsalyādikalyāṇaguṇākaraṉ*[52] *āy°*[53] - *heyaguṇarahitaṉ āy° yirukkuṟa śriyaḥpatinārāyaṇane sarvakkum apekṣitasakalapuruṣārtthattukk*['] *āka bhaktyādyupāyaṅkaḷāle āśrayaṇīyan eṉṉu collit talaikkaṭṭittu*[54] |

---

48 Read *ādhāraṉ*.

49 Colloquial for *aṉṟikke*.

50 The word *uṇṭu*, which appears twice more in the text, has clearly the function of *eṉṟu*. However, its morphology and etymology are to me rather obscure (maybe a colloquial form?).

51 The structure of this sentence is ambiguous. From the point of view of Sanskrit syntax, one can understand *manovākkāyarūpatrividhakaraṇaṅkaḷāle* as an apposition (possibly, a *bahuvrīhi* compound) qualifying *uṅkaḷāle*. In this respect, the whole sentence can be translated as: 'he is fit to be resorted upon by you, who have a threefold means in the form of mind, speech, and body'. On the other hand, one can recognise a Tamil syntactic construction, where *manovākkāyarūpatrividhakaraṇaṅkaḷāle* is the instrument by which the action is performed. Hence, the following translation: 'he is fit to be resorted upon by you thanks to the threefold means in the form of mind, speech, and body'. Below I have followed the latter interpretation.

52 Emend °*samṛddhya*° to °*sāmṛddhya*°.

53 *Āy°* is a standard abbreviation for *āyum*.

54 Colloquial for *talaikkaṭṭiṟṟu*.

'May there be no obstacle. **O sages! The imperishable one, the unfathomable ocean of knowledge and compassion, whose qualities are spotless, he should be worshipped for *śrī* and immortality** (1). **Jñānadayāsindhoḥ** ('of the ocean of knowledge and compassion'): him being the vessel for them, namely knowledge, which concerns all meanings, and compassion, which everyone needs for [their] assistance (? *upakarikkukaikki*). **Agādhasya** ('unfathomable'): being of him whose deepness is difficult to comprehend. **Yasya** ('whose'): of the husband of Śrī, known in the mundane world, the Vedas, the Vedāntas, their ancillary works (*upabrahmaṇa*s), etc. because of the fact of being called with the words Parabrahman, Paramātman, Paramapuruṣa, Puruṣottama, Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa, etc., who has qualities, [divine] form (*vigraha*), manifestation (*vibhūti*), sovereignty, etc. **Guṇāḥ** ('qualities'): the felicitous qualities to be counted from tenderness onwards, which are helpful for taking refuge [in god] (*āśrayaṇopayogikaḷ*), which are helpful for the protection of (lit. for the duty concerning) those who took refuge [in god] (*āśritakāryyopayogikaḷ*), and which are instrumental for experiencing [god] (*anubhavaparikaraṅkaḷ*). **Anaghāḥ** ('spotless'): those appearing as defectless (*nir-duṣṭa*) with regard to those who took refuge [in god] (?). Alternatively, **Guṇāḥ**: infinite, unsurpassed, and felicitous qualities, which are fit for teaching the knowledge of the meaning of the foundational work [i.e. the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*] to the students. **Anaghāḥ** ('blameless'): they are without that, [namely] the fault, i.e. (? *uṇṭu*) the blame, which is the fact of showing fault, with regard to those who took refuge [in god] (?). **Akṣayaḥ**: he is without that, [namely] destruction, i.e. (? *uṇṭu*) the decay, which is the incapacity (°*tvam illāmai*) of giving knowledge. **Saḥ** ('he'): he, that husband of Śrī, who is known according to what was said before. **He dhīrāḥ** ('O sages'): o wise ones who have a firm confidence without (-*aṟa*) [any] doubt in the qualities of the husband of Śrī, which provide the meanings that are relied upon and wished for.[55] **Śriyai ca** ('for Śrī'): for the abundant (? *ārddha*) knowledge of the essence of all the Vedas, based on the knowledge of the meanings of the foundational work [i.e. the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*]. **Amṛtāya ca** ('for immortality'): and for the great human aim [= *mokṣa*] consisting of unsurpassed bliss, which is based upon the various human aims [i.e. *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*]; [*mokṣa*] that is without that, [namely] death (*maraṇam*), i.e. (? *uṇṭu*) death (*mṛti*), which is ignorance, the enemy of knowledge. **Sevyatām** ('he should be worshipped'): he is fit to be resorted upon by you thanks to the threefold means in the form of mind, speech, and body.

---

55 I have left untranslated the passage *dhiyāramataḷ ativyutpatyar* as I am not sure about its meaning, nor whether this is the correct reading of the manuscript.

Therefore, Nārāyaṇan, husband of Śrī, being the receptacle of infinite auspicious qualities, such as preeminence, knowledge, compassion, and tenderness, which are fit for teaching to the students of [this] work the human aims of this and the other world, such as knowledge and wealth, and being deprived of bad qualities, [he] should be resorted upon by the followers of *bhakti*, etc. for the sake of all human aims [namely, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* (and *mokṣa* ?)], which are looked for by all (*sarvakkum apekṣita°*). Having said so, it is completed.'
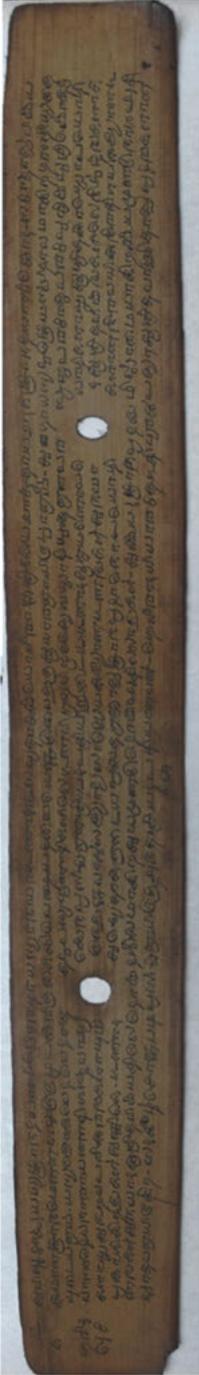
Fig. 3: Annotations to the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* found in ORI3317 ORI3317 [1r1–1v5].

Fig 4: Annotations to the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* found in ORI3317 [1v].

References

Anonymous (1977), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library*. Vol. 6. Chennai: Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. U.V. Swamintha Iyer Library.

Aklujkar, Ashok (2001), 'The Pandits from a *piṇḍa-brahmāṇḍa* Point of View', in Michaels 2001, 41–59.

Bondarev, Dmitry (2014), 'Multiglossia in West African Manuscripts: The Case of Borno, Nigeria', in Quenzer, Bondarev and Sobisch 2014, 113–155.

Brown, Charles Philip (1857), *A Grammar of the Telugu Language*. 2nd edition. Madras: Christian Knowledge Society's Press.

Burnell, Arthur Coke (1877), *Specimens of South-Indian Dialects Consisting of Versions of the Parable of the Sower* (St. Matthew xiii, 1–34) Collected by A.C. Burnell. No. 8. In the Brahman Dialect of Tamiḻ Spoken at Tanjore, from the Vulgate. Tranquebar: E.F. Hobusch, Ev. L. Mission Press.

Campbell, A.D. (1834), 'On the state of Education of the Natives in Southern India by A. D. Campbell, Esq. M. C. S. (Extracted from Appendix to report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company)', in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. I, (Oct.): 350–359.

Chevillard, Jean-Luc (2009), 'The Pantheon of Tamil Grammarians: A Short History of the Myth of Agastya's Twelve Disciples', in Gérard Colas and Gerdi Gerschheimer (eds), *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique / Writing and Transmitting in Premodern India*, 243–268. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.

Ciotti, Giovanni, and Marco Franceschini (2016), 'Certain Times in Uncertain Places: A Study on Scribal Colophons of Manuscripts Written in Tamil and Tamilian Grantha Scripts', in Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (eds) 2016, 59–129.

Ciotti, Giovanni, and Hang Lin (eds) (2016), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 7), Berlin–Boston: DeGruyter.

Ciotti, Giovanni, and R. Sathyanarayanan (forthcoming), 'A Multilingual (Tamil and Telugu) Commentary of the First Verse of the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana as Found in Ms. IFP RE22704', (Studies in Late Manipravalam Literature 1). In Suganya Anandakichenin and Victor D'Avella (eds), *The Commentary Idioms of the Tamil Learned Traditions* [provisional title]. Pondicherry: EFEO-IFP. 2018.

Colebrooke, Henry Thomas (1808), *Cósha or, Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language with an English Interpretation and Annotations*, Serampore.

Davis, Donald R. Jr. (2009), 'Law in the Mirror of Language. The Madras School of Orientalism on Hindu Law', in Thomas R. Trautmann (ed.), *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 288–309.

Ebeling, Sascha (2010), *Colonizing the Realm of Words: The Transformation of Tamil Literature in Nineteenth-Century South India*, Albany: SUNY Press.

Formigatti, Camillo (2015), *Sanskrit Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hamburg.

Fuller, Chris (2001), 'Orality, literacy and memorisation: priestly education in contemporary south India', in *Modern Asian Studies*, 35.1, 1–31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Galewicz, Cezary (2011), '"Let Śiva's favour be alike with scribes and with reciters:" Motifs for copying or not copying the Veda', in *Travaux de Symposium International Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe. Troisième édition – 20 à 24 Septembre 2010. Tome III: La troisième section – Études euro- et afro-asiatiques*, Bucharest: Éditeur bibliothèque de Bucarest, 113–146

Genette, Gérard (1987), *Seuils*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Goodall, Dominic, and Harunaga Isaacson (eds) (2003), *The Raghupañcikā of Vallabhadeva being the earliest commentary on the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa*. Vol. 1, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.

Gopala Pillai, A.R. (1985), *Linguistic Interpretation of Līlātilakam*, Vanchiyoor (Trivandrum): Dravidian Linguistics Association Kerala Paanini Buildings.

Gopal Iyer, T.V. (ed.) (2005), *Vīracōḻiyam mūlamum paḻaiya urayum*, Srī Raṅkam: Srimat Āṇṭavaṉ Acciramam.

Gover, Charles E. (1874), 'Pyal Schools in Madras', in *The Indian Antiquary* (vol. II, 1873): 52–56.

Grimal, François, and T. Ganesan (eds) (2002), *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the French Institute of Pondicherry*, vol. IV. mss. 376–475, Pondichéry: IFP-EFEO.

Kane, Pandurang Vaman (1941), *History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law)*, Vol. II, Part I, Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

Klebanov, Andrey (2017), *The Commentaries on kāvya: Texts Composed while Copying. A Critical Study of the Manuscripts of Selected Commentaries on the Kirātārjunīya, an Epic Poem in Sanskrit*. PhD dissertation, University of Hamburg.

Krishnamacharya, V. (1947), *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library*. Vol. VI Grammar, Prosody and Lexicography. Madras: The Adyar Library.

Kuppuswami Sastri, S. and P.P. Subrahmanya Sastri (1938), *An Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras*, Part I (a-ma), Madras: Government Press.

Long, J. (1868), *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, Submitted to Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838: With a Brief View of its Past and Present Condition*, Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press.

Madhavan, Chithra (2013), *Sanskrit Education and Literature in Ancient and Medieval Tamil Nadu: An Epigraphical Study*, New Delhi: Printworld.

McCann, Erin (2016), *Ācāryābhimāna: Agency, ontology, and salvation in Piḷḷai Lokācārya's Śrīvacana Bhūṣaṇam*. PhD dissertation, McGill University.

Michaels, Axel (ed.) (2001), *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, New Delhi: Manohar.

Michaels, Axel (2001), 'The Pandit as a Legal Adviser: *rājaguru, rājapurohita* and *dharmādhikārin*', in Michaels 2001, 61–77.

Narahari, H.G. (1951), *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, Vol. 5 Kavya, Nataka and Alankara*. Madras: The Adyar Library.

Narayana Rao, Velcheru (2004), 'Print and Prose: Pundits, *Karanam*s, and the East India Company in the Making of Modern Telugu', in Stuart Blackburn and Vasudha Dalmia (eds) *India's Literary History*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 146–166.

Olaganatha Pillay, L. (1964), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library, Thanjavur*. Vol II, Thanjavur: Ukkadai Sri Ambal Press.

Parameswara Aithal, Kota (1968), *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. 4 Stotras Pts 1 and 2*. Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre.

Quenzer, Jörg B. (2014), 'Introduction', in Quenzer, Bondarev and Sobisch 2014, 1–7.

Quenzer, Jörg B., Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (eds) *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 1), Berlin: De Gruyter.

Raghavan Pillai, K. (1965), *Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Manuscript Library Trivandrum*. Vol. II (ta to ma), Trivandrum: The Alliance Printing Works.

Raman, Bhavani (2012), *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ramanathan, A.A. (ed.) (1971), *Amarakośa with the Unpublished South Indian Commentaries Amarapadavivṛti of Liṅgayasūrin and the Amarapadapārijāta of Mallinātha*, Madras: Adyar Library and Research Centre.

Rāmānujācāryyar (Citrakūṭaṃ Kandāḍai Śeṣādryācāryyā [sic!] paranāmadheyam uṭaiya Rāmānujācāryyar) (1849), *Amarapadakalpataru veṇkiṟa Vyākhyānaṃ*. [Madras]: Satkavimanoraṃjanam.

Sastri, Palamadai Pichumani Subrahmanya (1930), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library Tanjore*, Vol. IX Kośa, Chandas & Alaṅkāra. Srirangam: Sri Vini Vilas Press.

Sastri, Palamadai Pichumani Subrahmanya (1933), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore, Vol. 17, Gṛhyasūtras, Bhāṣyas and Prayogas, Nos. 11738-14179*. Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press.

Scharfe, Hartmut (2002), *Education in Ancient India*, Leiden–Boston–Cologne: Brill.

Trautmann, Thomas R. (2006), *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tubb, Gary A. and Emery R. Boose (2007), *Scholastic Sanskrit: A Handbook for Students*, New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies (distributed by Columbia University Press).

Varadachari, V. (ed.) (1986), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits*, vol. I. mss. 1–115, Pondichéry: IFP-EFEO.

Varadachari, V. (ed.) (1987), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits*, vol II. mss. 116–275, Pondichéry: IFP-EFEO.

Varadachari, V. (ed.) (1990), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits*, vol. III. mss. 276–375, Pondichéry: IFP-EFEO.

Venkatachari, K.K.A. (1978), *The Maṇipravāḷa Literature of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas: 12th to 15th Century A.D.*, Bombay: Ananthacharya Research Institute.

Vogel, Claus (1979/2015), *Indian Lexicography*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz /revised edition posthumous published by Jürgen Hanneder and Martin Straube, Verlag P. Kirchheim, Munich 2015.

Zvelebil, Kamil (1959), 'Dialects in Tamil, I–II', in *Archiv Orientální*, 27: 272–317, 572–603.

Zvelebil, Kamil (1960), 'Dialects in Tamil, II (appendix)-III: Madurai', in *Archiv Orientální*, 28: 220–224, 414–456.

Zvelebil, Kamil (1963), 'Dialects in Tamil, IV: Erode, Tuticorin, Ramnad', in *Archiv Orientální*, 31: 635–668.

Zvelebil, Kamil (1994), *U.V. Swaminatha Iyer: The Story of My Life (Eṉ carittiram)*. 2 Vols, Madras: Institute of Asian Studies.