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THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF TĒVĀRAM

BOOK I (VOLUMES I & II)

THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF TĒVĀRAM

With special reference to Nampi Ārūrar (Sundarar)

IN FOUR VOLUMES

BY

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BOOK I (VOLUMES I & II)

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
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DEDICATED TO

Lt.-Col. Diwan Bahadur Sir A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR, Kt.,
M.D., LL.D., D.Sc., D.C.L., D.Litt., F.R.C.O.G., F.A.C.S., M.L.C.
Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras
on the day of his 71st Birthday Celebrations.

FOREWORD

Dr. M. A. Dorai Rangaswamy, Reader in Tamil, University of Madras, was engaged for many years in the study of the sacred Tēvāram hymns of the Śaiva Saints in general and those of one of them, Nampi Ārūrar, popularly known as Sundarar in particular, from various points of view. The present work embodies his research in this field. A part of this work was submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of this University and was approved.

The University has sanctioned the printing of the whole work in two Books. The first part of Book I was published on the 71st birthday (20-1-57) of the illustrious Vice-Chancellor of this University and dedicated to him.

The Author's introduction elaborately explains the scheme and significance of the work. It is hoped that this pioneer work will be followed by many more Studies, throwing further light on this important and interesting period of Tamil history and culture.

University of Madras,
15-8-1958

R. P. SETHU PILLAI,
Professor of Tamil.

PREFACE

"The Tamilians poured forth their intense love in their *hymns*, *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyiram*, the like of which is seen in no other language. Monotheism with all its moral grandeur shines ever resplendent in the Semitic languages. Law is the very breath of the Imperial Latin language. The Greek language is the embodiment of Art. The modern languages, the French, the German and the English march triumphantly along with the progress of Science. Philosophy is beautifully enshrined in the Sanskrit language. For a study of these higher aspects of life, one has necessarily to go to these languages. In a similar way one has to go to Tamil which stands supreme with its God-intoxicating and bone-melting *hymns* of intense love and light expressed in mellifluous numbers of exquisite beauty".*

If this is true, the study of the sacred *hymns* of the *Śaivites* known as *Tēvāram* becomes of paramount interest. *Śaivism* has its best exposition as a living faith in these *hymns*.

The present work deals with the poems of *Nampi Ārūrar*, popularly known as *Sundarar* (*Cuntarar*), the last of the three *Tēvāram* Saints, who modestly states that his verses repeat only the ideas of his predecessors *Campantar* and *Tirunāvukkaracar* (*Appar*), a statement which we may translate as meaning that his *hymns* are the very quintessence of the other two great *Tēvāram* poets. *Nampi Ārūrar's* poems serve as a key to unlock the hidden treasures of *Tēvāram*.

The Religion and philosophy of *Nampi Ārūrar*, as the message of this poet, have a greater value than any other aspect of his verses. But according to tradition his life itself is an expression of a great message. This necessitates a study of his life and fixing of his age. The verses sung by this poet being the main source of our study, the question of the number of verses sung by him

**Some Key words in Tamil Culture* by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram.

has to be answered. The name *Tēvāram* itself requires elucidation as well as the question of the age when this term came into use. The name *Sundarar* (*Cuntarar*) by which this poet is commonly known in modern times creates a problem, because it is not found in the earlier works.

There is again the question of the mythology of *Ārūrar's* age. For a correct understanding of our poet's references to mythology, apart from the *Āgamas* and the *Purāṇas*, we have to search for some concrete representation of these stories. The phrase "*Vīraṭṭāṉam*" occurring in *Tēvāram* shows us a way of grouping all the stories around that conception. The sculptures of *Kailāsanātha* Temple at *Kāñci* which belong to the age of *Ārūrar* according to the present writer, have to be studied with reference to the mythological allusions found in his own *hymns*. When it is remembered that *Ārūrar's* language of mythology is one way of expressing his message, the importance of this study becomes clear.

All these are in one sense a study of the objective life of the poet. Philosophy as the spiritual message of the poet should be the crown of his inner personality or spiritual development. The verses have to be chronologically arranged so as to reveal to one the progress of his spiritual life. This requires a study of these verses from this point of view.

It is on the basis of these preliminary investigations that a study of the Religion and Philosophy of *Ārūrar* is attempted in the present work. All these points have not been discussed and solved in any previous essay or work though the present writer has received guidance from other authors whose writings he has quoted in several places.

In studying the Religion of *Ārūrar* the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, a *hymn* giving the list of saints who appealed *Ārūrar* is considered by the present writer to be of great importance. The *hymn*, so to say gives a concrete picture of the Religion, our poet admired and revered. This *hymn* and the lives of the saints mentioned therein are studied so as to arrive at a conclusion about the extent of these stories which could have been in the mind of our poet. *Periyapurāṇam*, Inscriptions, other literary works in *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* and the representations of the lives of these saints in the famous *Dārāsuram* temple and elsewhere are brought together,

probably for the first time to throw a flood of light on the references to these saints in the very poem of *Tēvāram* writers. The penultimate verse in that *hymn* is held as giving us a convenient and important classification of these saints and the conclusion is further verified by other classifications, if one may use that word found in the other *hymns* of *Ārūrar*. The nationalism of this *hymn* is emphasized in this essay as also our poet's love of Tamil as the very form of the Lord, and the implications of this outlook are explained. *Ārūrar's* theory of *mantra* and of the language of worship come in for study. This nationalism is next shown to be but a stepping stone for the universal outlook of our poet. This raises the question of the unhappy reference to other sects and it is shown here that these references do not run counter to our theory of *Ārūrar's* universalism. The details of worship have been interpreted and explained in terms of the *Āgamas,* as all leading to a mystic experience of the Absolute.

Coming to the study of the Philosophy of this poet, his conception of Nature, Soul and God has been discussed from the point of view of mysticism. The importance of "*Akattiṇai*" poems or poems of bridal love, has been attempted to be brought out. The ethical point of view is also explained, as also the final goal of spiritual life as contemplated by our poet. To some it may be a disappointment that we could not label this poet as belonging to any particular creed or dogma. But the trend of the poems as studied by us leads us to only one conclusion that our poet was a mystic whose experience avoids all conflicts by its harmony.

The present writer does not remember that the subject has been approached from this point of view before, and he claims all the approaches and conclusions referred to above as his original contributions, subject to the sources which he has used and which he has acknowledged.

The Author is extremely thankful to all those* who offered their suggestions when preparing this work, *viz.*, "The Religion and Philosophy of *Tēvāram* with special reference to *Sundarar*", and he offers his special thanks to the members of the Syndicate for having sanctioned the printing of the whole of his research work in four volumes.

*Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Prof. P. Sankaranarayanan, Thiru. V. S. Chengelvaraya Pillai, Thiru. S. Somasundaram Pillai, Dr. D. Raghavan and Sri. S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

The first volume *viz.*, "*Nampi Arūrar's Tēvāram,* His life and Age" was published and dedicated to the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University on the day of his 71st birthday celebrations in January 1957. Now, volumes one and two are published as Book I, and volumes three and four which are in the press will be published as Book II in course of time.

The Author is thankful to the Vice-Chancellor for his having accepted the dedication and to the Professor of Tamil for his ready help and encouragement at all times and for his Foreword.

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15th August, 1958,
Madras.

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

அ	a	உ	u	ஐ	ai
ஆ	ā	ஊ	ū	ஒ	o
இ	i	எ	e	ஓ	ō
ஈ	ī	ஏ	ē	ஔ	au
		ஃ	ḵ		
க்	k	த்	t	ல்	l
ங்	ṅ	ந்	n	வ்	v
ச்	c	ப்	p	ழ்	ḻ
ஞ்	ñ	ம்	m	ள்	ḷ
ட்	ṭ	ய்	y	ற்	ṟ
ண்	ṇ	ர்	r	ன்	ṉ
ஜ்	j	ஸ்	s	ஹ்	h
ஶ்	ś	ஷ்	ṣ	க்ஷ்	kṣ

Method of citing Authorities

Numbers in poetical works refer to the verses; when two numbers are used, the first denotes the *hymn* or *chapter* or *'kātai'*, and the second, the verse or line in it; when three numbers are used, the first denotes the *Tirumuṟai,* the second the *hymn,* and the third the verse. For example, *Tol.* 55 means, *Tolkāppiyam* verse or *cūtram* 55; Campantar 125:3 means *Campaṉtar Tēvāram hymn* 125, verse 3; Campantar 1:15:9 means Campantar Tēvāram *Tirumuṟai* 1, *hymn* 15 and *verse* 9. Mere numbers such as 65:2 will mean only *Arūrar's Tēvāram, hymn* 65 and verse 2.

VOLUME I

NAMPI ĀRŪRAR'S TĒVĀRAM, HIS LIFE AND AGE

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VOLUME I

NAMPI ĀRŪRAR'S TĒVĀRAM, HIS LIFE AND AGE

INTRODUCTION

I

The Tamil Country, more than any other part of this world, continues even now to be the home of all religions. Among these religions, the authoritative treatises on the Śaiva Siddhānta and the Teṉ-kalai Vaiṣṇavism are found only in Tamil. They are the wonderful products of the Tamilian intellect and history. Of these two, Śaivism has become, in the course of the history of the Tamil Land, identified with pure Tamil Literature as contrasted with the Maṇipravāḷa or Sanskritized Tamil, which has become, in the popular view, identified with Vaiṣṇavism.

II

The Sacred books of the Śaivites in Tamil consist of two series: the one, the Sacred Literature called the Tirumuṟais, and the other, the exposition of the Śaivite Philosophy called the Fourteen Śāstras. The Tirumuṟais are placed on a par with the Vēdas themselves. Being poetry of a very high order, they are naturally more popular and authoritative than the other collection which attempts but to systematize the philosophical thought, running through this sacred literature of the hymns.

III

These Tirumuṟais are twelve in number, as they stand at present; for, their number must have evidently been growing from time to time. Tirumuṟai really means a Sacred book. The first seven Tirumuṟais are the hymns of the three great Śaivite saints, Tiruñāṉacampantar, Tirunāvukkaracar (otherwise known as Appar) and Nampi Ārūrar (otherwise known as Cuntarar). These three saints occupy a pre-eminent position in the Tamilian Śaivite world and therefore they are called 'Mūvar Mutalikaḷ', 'the three great Lords of Śaivism.' It is their hymns that were probably first collected. These hymns were the best musical compositions of their age and it is on the basis of their music, that the poems of Campantar were grouped as three different books, the first, the second and the third

Tirumuṟais. In the same way, the hymns of Tirunāvukkaracar were compiled into three different books, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth Tirumuṟais. Though there was a variety of musical compositions in Nampi Ārūrar's poems as well, his works were collected, into one single book alone, as the seventh Tirumuṟai, because of the lesser number of his poems then available.

IV

Of these three saints, Campantar and Appar are contemporaries and Ārūrar comes after them. Appar is admitted on all sides to have been the contemporary of Mahēndravarman whom he has converted to Śaivism. Mahēndravarman belongs to the first part of the seventh century A.D. Campantar, who is a younger contemporary of Appar, is also a contemporary of Ciṟuttoṇṭar, the conqueror of Vātāpi (Bādāmi).[1] In the seventh century itself, Bādāmi was twice conquered by the Great Pallavas, once in the reign of Narasiṁhavarman I, the Māmalla, and again in the reign of his descendant Paramēśvara. Because of these, some like the late Prof. Sundaram Pillai would make Campantar belong to the first half of the seventh century and others like Prof. M. Raghava Aiyangar would assign him to the last part of the seventh century. Ārūrar refers to these two great saints, Campantar and Appar, with great reverence and love. In great humility, he sings that he is only repeating what these two great saints have sung.[2] Therefore, by his time, the two saints and their poems must have become very popular and authoritative. As there is a good deal of conflict about Ārūrar's age, it has to be discussed separately, but it may be stated here that he is not assigned to any period later than the 9th century A.D.

V

The poems that comprise the eighth Tirumuṟai are Tiruvācakam and Tirukkōvaiyār by Māṇikkavācakar. These 'bone-melting hymns' as Dr. Pope would praise them, could not have been missed. The singing of these hymns set to music became a regular part of temple worship and because of their importance, even members of the Royal families composed a few hymns. These musical compositions of kings and others were collected together as the ninth Tirumuṟai, somewhere in the eleventh century, perhaps after the construction of the great temple Kaṅkaikoṇṭa Cōḻapuram, which is referred to in this collection. The omission of the popular and

1. P. P., Ciṟut. 6.
2. 7: 67: 5.

eclectic poems of Tirumūlar was soon felt and they were collected as the tenth Tirumuṟai. Other Śaivite poems belonging to different ages were redacted into a miscellaneous collection called the eleventh Tirumuṟai. The adoration of Śaivite saints and their poems required a Purāṇa or an Epic. Cēkkiḻār gave expression to this universal desire of the Tamilian Śaivites in his Periyapurāṇam which was classified as the twelfth Tirumuṟai, somewhere about the 12th or the 13th century A.D. It is in this century that the age of Philosophical expositions by Meikaṇṭār and his disciples called the Santāna Ācāryas, began; for Meikaṇṭa Tēvar of Tiruveṇṇeinallūr is mentioned in an inscription[3] of the year 1232 A.D., and Umāpaticivam, the disciple of Maṟaiñāna Campantar, himself a disciple of Aruḷnanti, who is in turn a disciple of Meikaṇṭār, writes that his work Caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam was written in Śāka 1235, i.e., 1313 A.D.[4]

VI

It is clear from this enumeration of sacred books that the first place of importance was given from very early times to the hymns of the three Tēvāram saints as they were called. They belong to the heyday of the glorious Pallavas. It was Mahēndravarman that claims to have introduced a new way of building temples in rocks as opposed to the old temples, all of which must have been built either of wood or of bricks. The political revival of the Pallava Age had its counterpart in the religious and cultural revival of the Tamil country; and in this revival the ever-increasing temples became the community centres for the Tamil people. The three great Śaivite saints of Tēvāram, along with their hosts of followers, went round the whole of the Tamil country and composed and sang their beautiful and original musical compositions in every one of the temples they visited. The cult of the temples and pilgrimages was thus unconsciously laying its deep foundations in this country. The beautiful descriptions of landscapes in every village of which these saints sang, made the inhabitants take a pride in their native villages and cherish the memory of the associated musical verses. This local appeal and colouring made these poems really universal and popular all through the Tamil land.

VII

The very fact that these hymns were collected together shows the importance attached to them in public and private worship.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 268.
4. *Pāyiram*: ll. 26-27.

The first place of importance the Tirumuṟais occupy in such worship is explained by the fact, that they were sung and made popular by these great saints themselves, thanks to the practice of singing these hymns in temples, and their singing became an indispensable part of the temple worship. The Kāmikāgama, the āgama which rules most of the temples in South India lays down that the hymns in Tamil should be sung immediately after the daily worship in every temple:

"Tadūrdhvam grandha bhāṣādyair gānam dhupāntamācarēt
Ūrdhvam Drāvida bhāṣāṅgam gānam nṛttayutam tu vā'.[5]

VIII

It is the hymns of the Śaivite aṭiyārs and the Vaiṣṇavite āḻvārs that revitalised Hinduism in the Tamil country. The early Pallava Inscriptions are all in Prākrit and reveal the influence of Sanskrit. The Pallavas were also great patrons of Sanskrit learning and Sanskrit centres of learning, viz., the Sanskrit Universities like Coñjīvaram, Bāhūr and Ghaṭikācalam. Dandin was a poet of the Pallava Court and Mahēndravarman himself had written a Sanskrit Drama, Matta Vilāsam. But Sanskrit could never have appealed to the popular minds of the Tamil country. The Buddhists and the Jains had realised this truth very early in the history of converting Tamil country to their fold. They, therefore, gave the place of importance to the regional languages and developed them by writing in them text books on grammar, ethics, popular stories and philosophy. The Hindu revivalists realized this secret of their success and began singing in Tamil. This had such a tremendous effect; and soon Buddhists and Jains lost their hold on the common man. The revolutionary move has to be explained at length.

IX

As Nampi Ārūrar himself admits that he is giving expression to the same thoughts and ideas which the two other great saints had sung,[6] his work can be looked upon as a key to unlock the secret treasures of the earlier writers. Compared to the small compass of Ārūrar's writings—there are not even 1,000 verses of his—the poems of the other saints are voluminous and without this key they are a labyrinth for beginners. It is therefore safer to begin the study of Tēvāram with Ārūrar.

5. Pūrva.. IV: Arccanāvidhi-438.
6. 7: 67: 5.

CHAPTER I

RISE OF THE TEMPLE CULT IN ŚAIVISM OR TEMPLES AND TĒVĀRAM

I

The Temple Cult gradually developed, thanks to the Tēvāram saints, into Āgama public worship. Ārūrar himself explained the importance of these temples in the spiritual development of the soul in his hymn on 'Ālakkōyil': "Cālak kōyil uḷaniṉ kōyil avaieṉ talaimēl koṇṭāṭi mālait tīrntēṉ viṉaiyum tuṟantēṉ vāṉō raṟiyā neṟiyāṉē"[1]—'O Lord, whose path is not known even to the Heavenly beings; many are your temples. Considering them as my crest jewel, I adored and worshipped and danced. I got rid of my illusions. My karma, I escaped, by brushing it aside.' How this importance came to be placed on the temple is indeed an interesting study. As the Tēvāram verses are sung in relation to the temples, the development of the temples has to be understood.

Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai of the Caṅkam age gives us the various places of natural beauty and social congregation which were held sacred. The Caṅkam poems and Cilappatikāram refer to the temples of Śiva probably built of bricks. Most of the Śaivite temples of the later times grew out of the original places of worship in and around natural scenery in forest areas,[2] on mountain tops,[3] on the banks of rivers,[4] of tanks,[5] or on the seashore.[6] When the country became richer, the temples arose in cities[7] with elaborate gates,[8] where, in course of time, the ancient historical festivals came to be attached to these temples.[9]

1. 7: 41: 3.
2. Kaṭampavaṉam, Puṉṉaivaṉam, Nellikkā, Ālaṅkāṭu, Tillaivaṉam.
3. Eṟumpi, Kāḷatti, Īṅkōymalai.
4. Mayilāṭuturai, Tiruvaruṭṭurai, Tiruvāvaṭuturai.
5. Kuḷam.
6. Neytalaṅkāṉal, and Puṉṉaiyaṅkāṉal of Mylapore.
7. Ūr.
8. Vāyil, Ālavāyil, etc.
9. Campantar's Mayilai hymn and Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ urai: see the hymn of Campantar beginning with 'Maṭṭiṭṭa puṉṉaiyaṅkāṉal'—2: 47, and Iṟaiyaṉār Kalaviyal cūtram 16 urai, 'Maturai Āvaṉi aviṭṭamē, Uṟaiyūrp paṅkuṉi uttiramē, Karuvūr uḷḷi viḻavē'.

Some of these temples remind us of the 'Potiyil' and 'Ampalam' and 'Maṉṟam' of the Caṅkam Age, all connected with communal and religious gatherings. Perhaps there was the tree cult as well. In every Śiva temple there is a special tree or plant connected with the temple.[10] Probably because there was no other temple except the tree to start with, a few temples have come to be known after the names of such trees or plants as Ñāḻalkōyil, Kokuṭikkōyil, Ālakkōyil, Pātirippuliyūr, etc. The temples came to be built as tiled houses with platforms all around, even as we see in Malabar today. They are called 'Ampalams' and the Citamparam temple, called even now Ampalam, preserves this appearance even today in the sacred hall of Naṭarāja. Even in other old temples, the place, where the idol of Naṭarāja is worshipped, suggests from outside this ancient appearance. 'Vauvāṉatti maṇṭapas', otherwise known as 'Vauvālneṟṟi maṇṭapas' are of this type.

II

There are references in literature to the construction of temples and other places with 'cuṭumaṇ' or brick.[11] The various shapes of the old temples of brick are probably represented by the varying shapes of rathas in Mahābalipuram. Even in the times of Ārūrar there must have been one such temple of brick which he refers to in his poems as 'Paravai uṇ maṇṭaḷi', often understood as a place of private worship inside the house of Paravai Nācciyār. Because the meaning of this term has not been well appreciated, a mythological story based on folk philology came to gain currency. It is said that the sea (paravai) overflowed into the city of Ārūr and this temple (maṇṭaḷi) alone remained rearing up its head gloriously above the waters of the great flood and swallowed (uṇ) its waters sent by Varuṇa. This temple is shown as the one existing on the south-west of the temple car. What the great Temple could not do, this minor shrine is said to have done.

At this stage the word 'Taḷi' may be examined and explained. A distinction is made by Tirunāvukkaracar between 'Tirukkōyil' and 'pala taḷikaḷ',[12] both of which according to him should be in any city worth the name and in their absence, a city is but

10. Iṭaimarutu, Mullaivāyil, Pātirippuliyūr, etc.
11. *Manimēkalai*, 3: 127; 6: 59; 18: 33.
12. 6: 95: 5.

a thick forest: "Tirukkōyil illāta tiruvil ūrum .... pāṅkiṉoṭu pala taḷikaḷ illā ūrum ..... avai ellām ūr alla aṭavi kāṭē".[13]

If Tiṟukkōyil is a temple, the taḷis must be something like choultries or mutts with many rooms where the pilgrims could rest and perform their private worship before visiting the temple for public or congregational worship. Probably they are places of tapas as is made clear by Nampi Ārūrar: "Taḷi cālaikaḷ tavam āvatu tammaip peṟil aṉṟē".[14] These taḷis for private worship in due course of time would have become independent temples.

'Taḷi' is a temple.[15] 'Kurakkuttaḷi' is referred to by Nampi Ārūrar.[16] We have the usage Kaccimēṟṟaḷi, Paḷaiyāṟai mēṟṟaḷi, Paḷaiyāṟai vaṭataḷi, Paḷaiyāṟait teṉṟaḷi. Appar mentions in his hymns Kaccimēṟṟaḷi[17] and Paḷaiyāṟai vaṭataḷi.[18] Palace is known as 'Āyiram taḷi' or 1,000 rooms[19] and an inscription speaks of the Paḷaiyāṟai Palace as Āyiram taḷi.[20] Temples in addition to gates grew as guardian angels on the four sacred points of the compass.

Tirupputtūr in Ramnad District has traces of a fort wall, and in this wall must have been built the present temple of Tiruttaḷi-nātar, establishing once again the connection between Taḷi and the fort wall. When Taḷi developed into a temple of public worship, we have a temple official called 'Kaṟṟaḷip piccaṉ' who was a sculptor and engraver on the wall. Kaccimēṟṟaḷi[21] may be taken, on this basis, to be also a temple on the west of the fortress and palace of Kāñci. There is also a place called Ōṇakāntaṉ Taḷi in Kāñci.[21a] Tiru Ārūr also was a place of special importance to the Cōḷas, and they must have had a palace, at least since the times of Manuccōḷa. If 'Paravai uḷ maṇṭaḷi' does not refer to Paravai Nācciyār, it may refer to a temple within the fortress walls, for, according to Piṅkalantai, 'Paravai' means a wall.

But it is not here intended that this temple 'Paravai uḷ maṇṭaḷi' was built of mud. The artistic work of giving shape to the brick

13. 6: 95: 5.
14. 7: 78: 6.
15. *Cintāmani,* 306.
16. 7: 47: 2.
17. 4: 43.
18. 5: 58.
19. *Vīracōḻiyam*—Tokaippaṭalam, verse 3: commentary: 'Āyiram taḷi kūṭiṉa iṭam āyiram taḷi'.
20. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IV, No. 372, l. 24.
21. 7: 21; 4: 43.
21a. 7: 5.

framework with plaster and attractive painting is even now practised by those 'kottans' who work on modern gōpurams (towers). This meaning of plaster on bricks (cutai) is given for the word 'maṇ' by the commentator Parimēlaḻakar in explaining the term 'maṇ māṇ puṇai pāvai'.[22] The word 'cutai' is used in the sense of lime plaster even now, especially with reference to the plaster giving human and other forms to the bricks. This usage is as old as the Twin Epics: 'Veḷḷi veṇ cutai iḻukiya māṭam'.[23] This name arose probably because of its pure white colour. This reference really explains the meaning of 'maṇ' in other places: 'Neṭu nilai maṇṇīṭu niṉṟa vāyil'[24] and 'Pāṅkuṟa maṇṇīṭṭiṟ paṇpuṟa vakuttu'.[25] 'Maṇṇīṭu' seems to be the technical term for this art and the experts in this art were called 'Maṇṇīṭṭāḷar' in Cilappatikāram[26] and Maṇimēkalai[27] the very people whom modern Tamilians call 'cutai vēlaikkārar'.

Tirukkuṟaḷ also takes us back to an anterior period when instead of bricks, wood was used. When the plastering art developed and constructions in brick grew in number, the old decaying wood works were also probably plastered for restoring the former shape. This leads to a new art of plastering on wooden frame as a skeleton. It is this which is referred to according to some commentators in the kuṟaḷ which speaks of such artistic works: "Maṇṇoṭiyainta maram".[28]

Such artistic plaster work continued to beautify the temples and cities in the Pallava period as well. Tiruñānacampantar refers to such 'cutai' work in māṭams: "Culavu mā matilum cutai māṭamum nilavu taṇṭalai nīṇeṟi".[29] Maturai was famous for this kind of work: "Nilā muḷaikkum aṅkaḻakac cutai māṭak kūṭal Ālavāy".[30] 'Kaḻakam' is probably 'kaḻapam', another name for this mixture of lime used as plaster as is seen from Māṇikkavācakar's Tirukkovaiyār, 'Nuṇ kaḻapat-toḷi pāya.'[31] This suggestion is strengthened by the

22. *Kuṟaḷ*, 407.
23. *Maṇimēkalai*, 6: 43.
24. *Maṇi.*, 6: 47.
25. *Maṇi.*, 6: 200.
26. 5: 30.
27. 28: 37.
28. *Kuṟaḷ*, 576.
29. 3: 50: 10.
30. 1: 7: 2.
31. V. 15.

use of the word 'kaḷakam' by Campantar himself: "Kaḷakap puricaik kaviṇār cārum kalik kāḻi".[32] This reference reveals the way in which the fortress walls were beautified by such artistic plaster work and 'Paravai-uṇ-maṇṭaḷi' may be one such work of plaster art.

III

A systematic attempt at spreading this temple cult by building imposing temples was made in the reign of Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ. This was such an important event that Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār, though a Vaiṣṇavite himself, refers to the construction of seventy-eight temples by the Cōḻa in his sacred hymns. These were built on high basements with running steps on the style of 'māṭamāḷikais'. These were therefore called 'māṭak kōyils'. As compared with the old puny temples, these were huge and big. Therefore, these were called 'peruṅkōyils' or the big temples: Naṉṉilattup peruṅkōyil.[33] Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ must have lived before the Pallavas came into power and after Cēraṉ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ. It was probably from his time that the temples came to be known as kōyil or kōvil. Kōyil originally meant the palace of the king,[34] fortified by fortress walls, on the model of the Tanjore temple. Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ thought of building the temples like palaces. The Tamil Lexicon (by referring to verse 2363, Caṅka Ilakkiyam, Samājam edition) gives the meaning of temple for the word kōyil, as having obtained in the Caṅkam age; but a reference to the poem shows that 'Aṉṉal kōyil' is really the palace of the Pāṇḍya king. Cintāmaṇi speaks of the palace as Kōyil. Patiṟṟuppattup patikam[35] speaks of the Queen as 'Kōyilāḷ'. But by the time of Tirunāvukkaracar it has come to mean any temple.[36] Peruṅkōyil, therefore, refers to a particular kind of temple.[37] As contrasted with these peruṅkōyils, we have references to 'Iḷaṅkōyils'[38] either because they are new temples or because they are smaller in size.[39] We have the 'Tūṅkāṉaimāṭam temples' with what are called 'Gajapṛṣṭa Vimānas'. There is a reference to 'Karakkōyil'[40] probably because the approaches and

32. 1: 102: 3.
33. 7: 98.
34. *Cilap.*, 20: 47.
35. 8th ten.
36. 6: 95: 5, 6.
37. 6: 71: 5.
38. The contrast between 'Ilañcēral Irumporai' and 'Peruñcēral Irum porai' may be noted.
39. 6: 71: 5.
40. 4: 19: 1-11; 6: 71: 5.

steps being in the form of the trunk of the elephant. It is said that these temples are in the form of chariots. Tēvāram also refers to 'Maṇikkōyil',[41] probably because of maṇi-like (bead-like) spherical domes in those temples. Campantar speaks of Maturai Temple as Maṇikkōyil.[42] These Maṇikkōyils were probably modelled on the Buddhist Caityas with apsidal domes. Perhaps 'Ālakkōyil', Ñāḻal kōyil', 'Kokuṭikkōyil'[43] were also names after the peculiar shapes of the domes.

Later on, the paḷḷis or caves of the Jains and the Pāḷis of the Buddhists attracted the attention of the people, and cave temples developed during the reign of Mahēndravarma Pallava. From then onwards started the building of temples in rocks. This development can be traced from the sixth to the twentieth century. The Śaiva temples came to be called the 'Īccurams' either after the patrons who built the temple, such as Mahēndrēccuram, Cōḷīccuram, or after the particular sect worshipping there, Kapālīccuram.

Rev. Father Heras speaks of the rock temples first starting as cave temples with Garbagṛha, developing during the time of Narasiṁha I, the Mahāmalla, into Rathas, and rock cut sculptures and during the time of Narasiṁha II or Rājasiṁha into craft-constructed temples of hewn and hand placed stones. He also notes that during the reign of Mahāmalla, the development of Mukha maṇṭapa, Navaraṅga, Pradakṣiṇas round garbagṛha and of smaller shrines, the pradakṣiṇas according to him increasing in number after Mahāmalla. But these may be new developments with reference to the temples in rocks, but these must have been old features in ancient temples built by Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ and others. The pradakṣiṇas were old gardens. This conception of new kind of temples which is preserved even now as against the old temples of brick and wood which have all disappeared, is the gift of Mahēndra, the disciple of Appar. In his Maṇḍagapaṭṭu cave inscription he is rightly proud of his eternal achievement and he speaks with all the joy of a new discovery and creation: "This is the temple caused to be constructed by Vicitracitta, for Brahma, Īśvara and Viṣṇu without bricks, without timber, without metals and without mortar".[44] He is justified in calling himself Vicitracitta or 'Man

41. 6: 71: 5.
42. 3: 120: 4.
43. 6: 71: 5.
44. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 12.

of original conceptions'. Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ was the first great Temple-builder, and Mahēndra the second great Temple-builder.

The temples in rocks have become a natural institution of South India. On the banks of Kāviri, where there is not a single block of granite available, these temples of rock with their heaven-ward looking 'gōpurams' of rock brought from distant mountains speak even today in their majestic voice of the Titanic labour involved in the transportation of the rocks, of the great engineering skill involved in the construction of the temples themselves, of the great love of the people for the temples and of their sincere reverence to God which inspired them to raise the domes and halls.

First starting with the garbagṛha or the sanctum sanctorum adorned with a 'vimāna' or dome, for worshipping the liṅga in the centre, it began to grow in ever enlarging circles, from age to age with a 'naṭu-maṇṭapam' or central hall in front, with the putting up of compound walls, thus giving place for enclosing with a certain amount of vacant space within the compound. Gradually there developed within the compound, the 'cuṟṟālai' or a pillared corridor accommodating therein the shrines of Caṇḍēśvara, Gaṇēśa, Sapta-mātru, Subrahmaṇya, Sūrya, Candra, Jyēṣṭa, etc. Still later, gate-ways were opened on the four points of the compass with small gōpurams raised on their tops, gōpurams which soon eclipsed the vimānas and grew to gigantic heights. These inspired, in time, the devotees to dig tanks and to build more and more prākāras or compounds with māḷikais and māṭams full of beautiful workmanship, wherein Purāṇas were expounded, or to build mutts and colleges and Sarasvatī paṇṭārams or libraries attached to the temples. These were under the supervision of great spiritual men called Tirumāḷikaittēvar, one of whom had composed some verses of Tiru-vicaippā included in the ninth Tirumuṟai. The devotees were also inspired to construct a separate shrine, Kāmakkōṭṭam, for the Mother Goddess, who till then was housed as Bōgha Śakti in the Lord's shrine itself or in a shrine in the cuṟṟālai.

IV

These developments clearly reveal the place the temples came to occupy in the minds of the people and in the social life of the country. The architect, the sculptor, the painter, the dancer, the musician, the philosopher, the religious man, the pourāṇika, the administrator, the humanitarian and the poet found their vocations there. When the temples thus became the centre of the political,

social, cultural, religious, artistic and educational life of the Tamil country, maṇṭapas or halls, where these varied activities could be carried on, were built in these temples by kings and patrons to perpetuate their memories or the memories of saints[45] or the particular forms of God they worshipped or the memories of the particular activity for which the hall was built. The maṇṭapas were originally bowers or gardens as is made clear by such terms as 'Tēvāciriyak kāvaṇam' and they became gardens in stone. The hall of grammar, the hall of dance, the hall of drama, the hall of music, the hall of hymns[46] and the hall of Purāṇa, the open air theatre, the round of wrestling and other tournaments with four pillars, sixteen pillars, hundred pillars and thousand pillars—all these came into existence. Election to the local self-governing assemblies and committees took place in these halls and their meetings also were held under their roof.

Public documents and grants were preserved by being inscribed on these temple walls. On account of this great importance, elaborate rules were laid down for renovating and preserving these charters when temples were rebuilt. 'Kaṟṟaḷip piccaṉ', the sculptor and engraver, therefore, assumes such a great importance that we find in one place at least, his image being erected in a temple.[47]

On account of this importance, the temple administration became a matter of state concern and we have temple assemblies of Māhēśvaras or Śrī kāriyam ceyvār or Kōyil kaṇapperumakkaḷ or Pātamūlattār in those places where the village assemblies themselves did not look after these temples. The Amṛta Gaṇa, probably, was the Temple committee. There was provision (1) for the maintenance of the accounts, Srīpaṇṭārappottakam, (2) for a treasurer, Sivapaṇṭāri, in charge of the treasure of the temple called Srīpaṇṭāram, (3) for the auditing of the accounts by the Government officers and (4) for the condemnation of the Śivadrōhis. Dēvadānas were granted sometimes in the form of whole villages for the families living therein in connection with the temple service—the kōyilparivāram—Devakarmi, Arccakar or Kulaṅkiḻār, Taṭṭalikkoṭṭuvār or Tiruppali koṭṭuvār, Taḷiyāḷvār, Viḷakkut tavacikaḷ, Patiyam pāṭuvār, Mantirācāryar, Pūkkoyvār, Māṇikal (Students), Maṭattuccattap perumakkaḷ, Dancing girls

45. C.f. Ciruttoṇṭanampi maṇṭapam, *M.E.R.*: 57/1913.
46. *Tirukkaikkōṭṭi*, 414/1908, 454/1908.
47. 132 of 1925.

like Kūttikaḷ, Māṇikkattār, Uruttira kaṇikaiyār, Uvaccar. There were regular feeding houses and sometimes what may be called hospital arrangements within the temple. A compulsory contribution called 'Makamai' or 'Makaṉmai' was also collected. This explanation, of the story of the development of Temples, shows how the Tēvāram Saints played an important part in the history of Temples. Mahēndraṉ was Appar's disciple and provisions were made for singing Tēvāram. But this is not all.

V

With the development of temples, grew the cult of pilgrimages to Śiva temples and people reverentially made lists of these temples, 'Kṣēttirakkōvai', to be seen and worshipped by them on their pilgrimage or journey within the Tamil Country. These lists took the form of songs addressed to the Lord of temples. The earliest known literary list of temples, is from the pen of an ancient Pallava king. The book is called 'Kṣēttirat tiruveṇpā' and the author is called Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and this book is included in the eleventh Tirumuṟai and the author is one of the 63 Śaiva saints sung by Nampi Ārūrar.

VI

The name of the author Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ is interesting as it throws a flood of light on the early Pallava history. Kāṭavarkōṉ—the last two words (Kāṭavar and kōṉ) in his name mean the king of the Pallavas. Dr. Mīnākṣi is wrong in stating that the title of Kāṭava as applied to the Pallavas was of a later origin.[48] The father of Nandivarmaṉ II is spoken of as Kāṭavēśakula Hiraṇyavarma Mahārāja and this term Kāṭavarkōṉ is used by Nampi Ārūrar in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai in the 7th or 8th century itself. Narasiṁha I, the Māmalla, is spoken of as 'Kaṇḍuveṭṭi' (Kāṭu nasalised as Kaṇḍu by mistake) in the Mahavamso of Ceylon. The term Aiyaṭikaḷ remains to be explained. Aṭikaḷ can be translated by the Sanskrit word Svāmi. The remaining word 'Ai' means the Lord, the father or the brother, most often in later times the father, he being the head of the family. This Aiyaṭikaḷ, therefore, reminds us of the interesting title known to the students of the Pallava History 'Bappasvāmi'. The Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates mention one Mahārāja Bappasvāmi whose gifts were confirmed by the king Śivaskandavarmaṉ. On the basis of the oft recurring title of

48. Note c. on pp. 17 & 18, *Pallava Administration* by Dr. Mīnākṣi.

Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka, Dr. Mīnākṣi feels that Bappasvāmi also similarly should mean a religious instructor or guru.[49] The gift specifically mentions Bappasvāmi as a Mahārāja and Sivaskandavarman as the Yuvamahārāja. Dr. Mīnākṣi explains this away by reference to religious instructors being respectfully addressed as Mahārājas. But the name in Tamil, Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ, which appears to be a Tamil rendering of the term Mahārāja Bappasvāmi of the Pallava dynasty admits of no such explanation. Whatever doubt that might have arisen at the mention of the term Mahārāja Bappasvāmi whose gift is confirmed by Yuvarāja Sivaskandavarman must now be set at rest by this specific reference to Aiyaṭikaḷ as the Kāṭavarkōṉ, the Pallava king.

The Sanskrit works like Upamanyu Vilāsam, Śivabhakta Māhātmya, Skāndōpapurāṇa, Śivarahasya and works in Kannada try to translate the names found in Tiruttoṇṭattokai of Ārūrar without appreciating the genius of the Tamil Language. Ārūrar in some places refers to his contemporary saints and one such is Kaḷarciṅkaṉ, a Pallava king. This is translated as Pāda Siṁha. Kaḷal, like the Victoria cross, was a symbol of victory and heroism; in the form of an anklet it was worn by the victorious heroes. Therefore, Kaḷarciṅkaṉ means only the king, the victorious, perhaps a Rājasiṁha or a Narasiṁha. In translating the term Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ, these Sanskrit works once again go wrong. Kāṭavarkōṉ is taken to mean the king of the forest, the Siṁha of the land, and Aiyaṭikaḷ is translated as Pañcapāda assumed to refer to the five topics of the Pāśupata Philosophy and therefore the Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ is variously spoken of in these Sanskrit and Kaṉṉada works as Siṁhāṅka, Pādasiṁha or Pañcapādasiṁha. Evidently these books are confusing Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ with Kaḷarsiṅga. Some of these will make it out, that Siṁhāṅka or Kaḷarsiṅga was the son and Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ was the father called Bhīmavarma, who retired from his kingdom early in life but unfortunately this imaginary story of the Sanskrit works goes straight against the Epigraphical records[50] which made Siṁhavarman the father of Bhīmavarman. Therefore, no reliance can be placed on these Sanskrit versions and one may safely proceed on the basis of our identification with Mahārāja Bappasvāmi of Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ whose important work on the temples is collected along with the ancient poems of the Tamil Country in

49. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
50. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1925, pp. 10-11.

the eleventh Tirumuṟai. Aiyaṭikaḷ, therefore, must belong to the third century. But there are difficulties in the way. His work refers to Cirāmalai (Cirāppaḷḷi), which name could not be older than the fifth century; for, the name of the Jain Saint 'Cirā' found inscribed in the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi cave could not be on palaeographical grounds older than the fifth century A.D.

VII

If the term Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ of Ārūrar does not refer to the original Bappasvāmi, it at least proves the usage at the time of Ārūrar, in that way explaining also the older usage of the times of Sivaskanda Varmaṉ of the third century. The kings were called Svāmis or Aṭikaḷ; in the Pallava age 'Perumāṉaṭikaḷ' is the usual reference to the reigning king. An inscription of the age of Aparājita refers to the verse of this king as that of 'Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ'. To distinguish God, who is the king of kings, from the kings of this world, Ārūrar calls Śiva, 'Periya Perumāṉ aṭikaḷ'—the Greater King. If this usage is understood, it will be clear that 'Aiyaṭikaḷ' must be a reference to the previous king—the king who preceded the ruling prince. It will be later on explained that Aiyaṭikaḷ was Mahēndravarmaṉ II.

VIII

Whether this identification is correct or not, it cannot be doubted that this work of a Pallava king preceded the age, at least of Ārūrar who still further popularised the temple cult by singing, not one verse as Aiyaṭikaḷ did at each altar, but ten verses and in some cases tens of verses in praise of the Lord Śiva, in each one of these temples. This practice of singing ten verses (Pattu) is older than that of the three Tēvāram Saints. This 'pattu' is called 'patiyam' or 'patikam'. The exact derivation of this word is not clear; whether it is a corruption of the word for Padyam or of Pratīka, a preface or a summary, or from Pathika, the traveller or pilgrim singing the hymns, or from Pati, the Lord, in whose praise the poem is sung.

Evidently this has a reference to the Tamil word 'Pattu' since these Patikams consist of ten verses, in addition to the last verse giving the name of the author. Before one passes on to consider the conception of patikam, the thoughts on the sacred lists of the temples may be gathered together. Reference was made to the Kṣēttira veṇpā of Aiyaṭikaḷ. This is found included in the eleventh

Tirumuṟai after the works of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, but before the works of Cēramāṉ. Perhaps this arrangement is chronological. Campantar has sung one Tirukṣēttirakkōvai[51]—the string of holy places. This is very important but unfortunately many lines of the hymn are missing and even with reference to the portions available, it is not possible to understand his references like Tuṟai 8, Kāṭu 9, Kuḷam 3, Kaḷam 5, Pāṭi 4, Pāḷi 3 etc. Campantar has composed hymns on many of the temples in existence during his time with the set purpose of making these musical compositions systematically sung during the times of daily worship. The benedictory verses taken in this light assume very great importance. The poems of Appar have no such aim; they are best fitted for mystic musings and contemplation. But he has not forgotten the temple worship and the sacred list of holy places. He sings his string of holy places in his Tiruttāṇṭakam verses. There are two hymns of this kind: one is 'Kṣēttirakkōvait tiruttāṇṭakam';[52] the other is the more interesting 'Aṭaivu tiruttāṇṭakam'[53] which tries to arrange the temples into groups of Paḷḷi, Vīraṭṭāṉam, Kuṭi, Ūr, Kōyil, Kāṭu, Vāyil, Īccuram, Malai, Āṟu and Tuṟai to which Campantar had referred to in numbers. The fact that Appar gives greater number of these has still to be studied as an interesting problem of the growth of the temples. Perhaps new temples came into existence. Ārūrar has three hymns giving the lists of holy places still further throwing light on the growth of the temples—the Ūṟttokai[54] the Nāṭṭut tokai[55] and Iṭaiyāṟṟut tokai.[56] These have been systematized in 'Kṣēttira akaval'.

IX

Turning to examine the conception of Patikam, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār who is anterior to these three saints, a contemporary of Pūtaṭṭāḷvār according to Yāpparuṅkala Virutti, perhaps belonging to the sixth century, has sung the earliest known patikam (Mūtta Tiruppatikam). Tiruvācakam, which is by a few claimed to be earlier than Tēvāram, has a number of 'pattus' and one Mūtta Tiruppatikam. It is not clear why and when the term Mūtta Tiruppatikam was used by the compilers of Tiruvācakam and

51. 2: 39.
52. 6: 70.
53. 6: 71.
54. H. 47.
55. H. 12.
56. H. 31.

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's works. Is it because they were the ancient patikams in Tamil land? Such an interpretation must depend upon a conclusive proof of the greater antiquity of Tiruvācakam than allowed by most of the scholars of the day. Or, is the term Mūtta Tiruppatikam a corruption of Mukta Tiruppatikam, a patikam of ten verses where each verse forms a separate unit or a 'muktaka' verse as opposed to other 'pattus' or patikams and 'iraṭṭai maṇimālais' etc.?

A suggestion may be thrown out at this stage. In Tiruvācakam where two patikams are found on Kōyil or Tillai, one of them is known as Mūtta Tiruppatikam probably because it was composed earlier than the other. Of the two patikams by Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, it is the first alone that is called the Mūtta Tiruppatikam by Cēkkiḻār, justifying the suggestion of having been sung earlier than the second which Cēkkiḻār refers to as merely Tiruppatikam.[57] This suggestion thus explains the usage in Tiruvācakam and in Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's works. The only difficulty is that the present editions of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's works wrongly call even the second Tiruppatikam as Mūtta Tiruppatikam as against the specific distinction made by Cēkkiḻār himself.

X

A reference has already been made to Kāmikāgama, where the singing of Tēvāram verses in accompaniment to music and dance is insisted upon as a necessary part of daily worship in temples. This usage came to be called as 'Tiruppatiyam Viṇṇappittal'. Though there might have been stray patikams as that of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, the systematic attempt to sing the Tiruppatikams must have come into vogue only after the Tēvāram hymns. Possibly Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's poems were themselves classified as Patikams only after the Tēvāram hymns came into vogue. By the 8th century this practice had become fully established in the Tamil country as is made clear by an inscription of the great Pallavamalla which refers to this usage.[58]

The Madras Epigraphical Report 255 of 1916 refers to an inscription under an image which states that the image is that of

57. *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār Purānam*, 63 & 64.

58. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, Part I, 43. See also 423/1908, 624/1909, 129/1914, 349/1918, 139/1925, 99/1928-1929, 433/1903 and 149/1937 of Epigraphical Reports of Madras.

Tampirāṉ Tōḷar Māṉakkañcāṟar who recited the Tiruppatiyam of this temple and took leave. Māṉakkañcāṟar is one of the contemporaries of Nampi Ārūrar and it is not clear whether this Tiruppatiyam was composed by him or by Māṉakkañcāṟar or whether the words Tampirāṉ Tōḷar were by mistake inscribed before the name Māṉakkañcāṟar instead of before Tiruppatiyam. Tampirāṉ Tōḷar is the name of Ārūrar and it is not clear how Māṉakkañcāṟar got that name. It may be in honour of his association with the great Saint that he assumed this name. Tampirāṉ Tōḷar occurs in inscriptions in the sense of the companion to the king as in the term "Puliyūr kiḷavaṉ Tampirāṉ Tōḷaṉ and Kaliyaṉ Cēntaṉ alias Tāmpirāṉ Tōḷaṉ.[59] In that case Māṉakkañcāṟar must have been a companion of the ruling prince. In any case it is clear that this practice of reciting hymns had become an established one even during the life time of Ārūrar, the contemporary of Māṉakkañcāṟar.

Reference had already been made to the Patikams composed by Royal princes and others included in the 9th Tirumuṟai. By the time of Rājarāja, it was felt that the Tiruppatikams should be sung in every temple. When there was no ancient patikam available, a new one was to be composed by poets leading a saintly life. An inscription of the age of Rājarāja[60] reveals this interesting tradition. That inscription mentions the composition of a Tiruppatikam on the Lord of the temple of Tirumāṟpēru, now known as Tiṟumālpuram, by the father of Kuḷakkuṭaiyāṉ Arunilai Srī Krishṇaṉ alias Mūvēntappiṭavūr Vēḷār and endowments were made by the son for the regular singing of this Tiruppatikam of the father in that temple. The beginning of the Tiruppatikam is 'Kōlanaṟkuḻal'.

59. *M.E.R.*, 273 of 1927 and 1928.
60. *M.E.R.*, 333 of 1906.

CHAPTER II

THE HYMNS, THEIR COMPILATION AND THEIR NAME

I

It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of the three Śaiva Saints. It is their hymns which popularised Śaivism by making the temple the centre of all social activities. Except for the few cases like those we have noticed above where the Tiruppatikams were composed by the other poets with reference to those temples where there was no hymn of these Saints available, it can be safely concluded that the Tiruppatikams were all the compositions of Campantar, Appar and Ārūrar. When the singing of Tiruppatikams became a necessary part of the temple worship it was felt necessary to collect these hymns.

The story of the collection may now be examined: The story as current now will make us believe that the compilations of these twelve Tirumuṟais took place at one and the same time and not progressively as described before. This tradition, therefore, has to be examined.

II

Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam gives the story of the recovery of the sacred hymns by a king, who, hearing stray verses of these hymns, was inspired by the desire of listening to all the hymns. This desire he realised with the divine help of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi whose fame as a young Brahmin boy physically feeding the sacred image of Vināyaka of Nāraiyūr, reached his ears. The existence of the authentic manuscript copy of the hymns at Citamparam was revealed to Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi by the God Vināyaka. On enquiry, the priests of Citamparam offered to open the shelf, only on the three Saints who had left the hymns arriving together. Thereupon, Nampi suggested the celebration of a sacred procession of the images of the three Saints and thus the Saints were physically brought before the old receptacle of the hymns. The shelf was opened but, alas! the white ants had eaten away the major portion of these divine poems. A divine voice was heard to say that all that was necessary for the age had been preserved and this consoled all. Then the hymns were arranged into seven parts, the first three con-

sisted of Campantar's hymns, the second three those of Appar's and the last or the seventh part consisted of Ārūrar's poems.

All these are told in twenty-four verses of eight feet lines, the very same metre in which the major portion of the other Purāṇam by the same author—the Cēkkiḻār Purāṇam said to be complementary to this Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam—was also composed. This particular compilation is in this part of the Purāṇam, attributed to the king, and the number seven (Tirumuṟais) was, it is said, suggested by the seven groups or crores of Mantras—for Mantras end in seven different ways. Next in this Purāṇam follow twenty-one verses in a different metre. The previous part gives no information about the compilation or of the Śaivite literature other than the hymns; it starts with the description of the restoration of the Sacred hymns of the three Saints but with no whisper about other Śaivite literature. Therefore, the twenty-sixth verse, at once abruptly starting to mention in the most summary way the other hymns and poems of other Śaivite Saints and poets without any explanation about them, comes as a surprise.

Whereas the compilation of the hymns had been attributed in the first part to the king, these verses of the second part speak of the compilation into ten parts not by one person but by many[1] as suggested by the plural verb which unfortunately has no subject. The eleventh Tirumuṟai is said here to have been collected at the request of the king by Nampi.[2] This part of the Purāṇam[3] then refers to the hymns having been set to music by a lady descendant of (Tirunīlakaṇṭa) Yāḻppāṇar, the great contemporary of Campantar who originally set the hymns of Campantar to music. From these remarks on this part of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, one may not be wrong in believing that this part was a later day addition and that the original Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam must have closed with the first twenty-four verses.

From Cēkkiḻār Purāṇam, one may learn that the compilation of the Śaivite literature into twelve parts inclusive of Periyapurāṇam[4] was completed on the day that it was first read out to the Public assembly which gathered together inside the Thousand

1. Pattāka vaittārkaḷ, Verse 26.
2. V. 27.
3. V. 32.
4. Cēk. Pur., 96.

pillared Hall at Citamparam in the immediate presence of the Cōḻa Emperor Kulōttuṅka.

An examination of the tradition, thus strengthens our conclusion that these twelve Tirumuṟais were compiled as such in different stages and at different times. The very fact that the arrangement is not chronological reveals that they were arranged as and when a gap was felt by the Śaivite world getting to know in stages the significance of the Śaivite works not included in the earlier compilation.

III

The Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam gives us the story of the collection and miraculous restoration of these hymns said to have been lost to the world before the time of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi.[5] But the idea of collecting and preserving these hymns and other sacred writings was inspiring the followers of Campantar even before the age of Ārūrar. Even during the life of Campantar, his hymns were collected and carried with him by his followers and it was from such a collection he drew out Naḷḷāṟu hymn to be placed in the fire brought by the Jains with whom he had a series of debates.[6]

Kaṇanāta is one of the 63 saints praised by Ārūrar and according to Cēkkiḻār, this saint is great because of his adoration of Tiruñānacampantar and the worship, of the Lord of Cīkāḻi, which also took the form of social service to his brethren in religious service. Cēkkiḻār specifically mentions his help to those who were writing down and reading out the sacred hymns of Tirumuṟai.[7] It is thus clear that even before the age of Ārūrar, religious minded persons were collecting and writing down the sacred hymns, probably of Campantar and Appar. It was probably one such collection of the hymns of the three Saints that was recovered at Citamparam by Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi.

The story of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi recovering the lost hymns reminds us of the attempt of Nātamuṇi to recover the sacred songs of Āḻvārs. Nātamuṇi, the Saint, on hearing a few stray verses from Nālāyira Prabandham, resolved to recover the whole collection and by meditating on Maturakavi, he got back to the

5. V. 2.
6. *Periyapurāṇam*, Cam. Pur., 782.
7. *Periyapurāṇam*, Kaṇa. Pur., 3.

world the Nālāyira Prabandham without losing one single verse. But in the Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi Purāṇam the idea of collecting the hymns on hearing some stray hymns occurs first to the great King and not to Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, the Saint.

IV

The Purāṇam mentions Rājarāja Abhaya as the king who was inspired by the idea of winning back the lost hymns. Evidently there is a confusion of names. The name Abhaya reminds us of Kulōttuṅka I, whilst the name Rājarāja, to the students of history, can mean only Rājarāja, the Great and no other. Perhaps this Purāṇam was written in a period when the importance of these names was forgotten, so much so that they were indiscriminately used as a description of one great Cōḷa king. When, therefore, we take these names not as proper names, but as description of any great king, the question arises who the king responsible for the recovery of these hymns was.

Fortunately, Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi in his Tiruttoṇṭar Tiru Antāti had occasion to speak of Saints Pukaḻccōḷa and Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ Cōla as the ancestors of the Cōḷa of his own age. In verse 50 he refers to the contemporary Cōḷa king as the victor of Ceylon and calls the king Kōkaṇakanātaṉ. This term means the Lord of the lotus, i.e., the sun. The proper name equivalent to this as found in the list of Cōḷa kings is Āditya. In verse 82, Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ is described as the ancestor of that great Cōḷa contemporary of Nampi, who adorned the smaller hall of Citamparam with gold tiles and who after his death resided under the feet of Śiva. The adorning of the smaller hall with gold which Āditya brought from the Koṅkumaṇṭala is known to us from other sources. This information is given in verse 65. These facts are mentioned by the Cōḷa king Kaṇṭar Ātittar in his Tiruvicaippā. We also know that this king died on the battle field fighting on an elephant and that a temple was built on the spot he died.

The name Rājarāja was suggested to the writer of the Purāṇa because of the elaborate arrangements Rājarāja had made in the newly built Tanjore temple for reciting these sacred hymns. It is said he had brought 48 persons for singing the Tiruppatiyam whose names convey to us the existence of Śaiva temples there such as Tiruvāñciyam, Tiruvārūr, Tiruvāymūr,

Maṟaikkāṭu, Aiyāṟu, Iṭaimarutu, Āṉaikkā, Veṇkāṭu and Tillai. He also brought 400 women dancers.[8]

It is this tradition still green in the memory of the people of the age of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, that must have led the poet to think of Rājarāja as the real compiler of the hymns instead of looking upon him as one who further popularised the hymns on a nation-wide scale. But it is clear even from this reference that these hymns were being sung in those places from which he brought his musicians and dancers. An inscription belonging to the ninth century—in the 17th year of the reign of one Vijayanandi Vikramavarma—provides for those who recite Tiruppatiyam.[9] In another inscription belonging to the reign of Uttama Cōḻa, the predecessor of Rājarāja, one can decipher the word Tiruppatiyam even in its present incomplete condition.[10] This belongs to the 14th year, i.e, 983-984 A.D. From a third inscription belonging to the 8th year of his reign, viz., 976 A.D., one learns that there had been provided six bushels of paddy per day for two persons reciting the hymns.[11]

V

The singing of hymns had become thus an important item of temple worship, and provisions came to be made for their recitation.[12] By the time of Kulōttuṅka Cōḻa I, because of the emoluments connected therewith, this act of reciting the hymns came to be looked upon as a privilege and Kulōttuṅka conferred this privilege on an individual.[13] Special halls called Tirukkaik kōṭṭi, because of keeping time with hands, were built for the recitation of these hymns[14] and provisions were made for feeding the people who recited the hymns at Tirukkāṟāyil and other places.[15]

From Periyapurāṇam, it is learnt that Campantar's contemporary Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar set this Saint's hymns to music and sang them to the accompaniment of his yāḻ. It was because of this, this Pāṇar is included among the 63 Śaivite Saints by Ārūrar. Having realised the importance of this great Pāṇar, festi-

8. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Nos. 65 & 66.
9. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 43.
10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 139.
11. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 151 A, lines 61-62.
12. 41/1891, 423/1908, 624/1909.
13. 422/1904.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, 135 and p. 30; 414/1908, 454/1908.
15. 454/1908.

vals were being celebrated in his honour in the temples like Koḷḷampūtur.[16] When the hymns of the Saints were collected at a later period, the difficulty of re-establishing the uniformity of their musical recitation according to the original method must have been felt, as mentioned in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam under discussion. That Purāṇam describes efforts made by the king in searching for the descendants of Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar and, in finally finding one lady of that ancient family who helped the king and Nampi to restore the old music of these hymns. These facts will make the information from inscriptions significant that to temples were attached Pāṇas (musicians) and that land grants called Pāṇa-p-pēṟu[17] were made to them. The Tiruppatiyams were sung by Brahmins,[18] by Piṭārar[19] and there were Tēvaraṭiyārs. The dancers must have tried to express the ideas of hymns when they were sung to music, by their dancing gestures. In Srīraṅgam, even today, the Araiyars express the ideas of Nālāyira Prabandham through their abhinayas. With this fact in mind, the importance of the provisions of Kūttarācān or Niruttappēraraiyaṉ or Naṭṭuva Ācāṉ or Nattuvanilai or the dance-master for the Tēvar aṭiyārs who could sing Tiruppatiyams and who could dance, can be easily understood.[20]

VI

The Cult of Saints and the name Tēvāram: The three Saints who sang the sacred hymns, as already explained, occupied a pre-eminent position in the temples. Even during their life-time the temples gave them gold, from temple treasury.[21] Perhaps, from the times of these Saints began the practice of using temple funds for relieving famine and other disasters. In view of their importance to the temple cult, their images and even separate shrines dedicated to them were installed in the temples and worships and festivals were conducted in their honour sometimes on a large scale. Campantar was worshipped in his own shrine at least in one place, Āccāpuram, along with Cokkiyār, his wife.[22] He was worshipped at Pāhūr[23] and at Maḷa-

16. 254/1917.
17. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 705.
18. 99/28-29.
19. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 65.
20. 255/25 and 206/30-31.
21. Paṭikkācu—Vīḻimiḻalai hymn of Campantar, 1: 92; Mutukuṉṟu and Nākaikkārōnam hymns of Ārūrar, 7: 43 & 7: 46.
22. 527/18.
23. 412/22.

pāṭi.[24] Campantar's shrine was found in Kaḷumalam,[25] in Ucāttāṉam,[26] in Kuṭantaik kīḻ kōṭṭam and in Tiruppalātturai.[27] The worship of Appar is referred to as taking place in Rājarājēśvaram in Tanjore,[28] at Maḷapāṭi,[29] at Vāymūr[30] and at Tīrttanagiri.[31] His shrines were found at Ucāttāṉam,[32] at Kaccūr,[33] at Akattiyāmalai,[34] at Tevarāyaṉpeṭṭai[35] and at Tiruvatikai[36] where the shrine was called Tiruvākīśvaram. Saint Ārūrar was worshipped sometimes along with his consort Paravai at Kuhūr,[37] at Tanjore,[38] at Maḷapāṭi[39] and at Tiruvārūr.[40]

It ought not to be concluded that these Saints were worshipped only in these temples. Their images are found today in every Śiva temple and festivals are being celebrated on their Tirunakṣatras, i.e., on the day they attained salvation. The temples referred to are those where there are evidences of inscriptions for the existence of this kind of worship of these Saints from very early times.

Mutts came to be called after these Saints. Tiruñāna-campantar Kukai Maṭam at Muṉiyūr is mentioned in an inscription of Rājarājadēva[41] and provision for another mutt named after the same Saint at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai was made in an inscription of Rājēndra.[42] There were Tiruñānacampantar mutts at Paḻaiyārai,[43] at Tirupputtūr,[44] at Arayanallūr,[45] and at Noṭiyūr.[46] At Āṉaikkā

24. 37/20.
25. 375/18.
26. 258/1911, 216/1908.
27. 437/12.
28. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 38.
29. 37/20.
30. 137/34.
31. 121/1904.
32. 186/1908.
33. 316/1909.
34. 559/1906.
35. 278/23.
36. 368/21.
37. 299/1917.
38. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 38.
39. 37/20.
40. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 485.
41. 156/1911.
42. 392/1908.
43. 398/08.
44. 129/08.
45. 174/35.
46. 199/32-33.

another mutt of this Saint was given lands.[47] A mutt was named after Tirunāvukkaracu Tēvar where Śaiva devotees were fed during the reign of Rājarāja himself.[48] There were other mutts named after this Saint—Vāgīsa maṭam,[49] Nāvukkaracu Tēvar maṭam at Tiruvatikai[50] and at Tirubuvaṉam[51] and Tirunāvukkaracar mutt at Pālaitturai.[52] There were mutts named after Ārūrar (Cuntarar), Cuntarapperumāṉ maṭam at Coṇjīvaram,[53] and Tiruttoṇṭattokaiyāṉ tirumaṭam.[54]

People came to be named after the names of these Saints even as they were named after the names of God. In an inscription of Rājarāja the name of Ārūraṉ occurs.[55] Other names of his occur as names of persons in the inscriptions—Cēramāṉ Tōḷaṉ,[56] Tampirāṉ Tōḷaṉ,[56a] Nampi Ārūraṉ[57] and Aṇukka Vaṉṟoṇṭaṉ.[58] The wife of Uttama Cōḷa was known as Ārūraṉ Poṉṉampalattaṭikaḷ.[59]

Campantar's name was held by many: Pukali Vēntaṉ,[60] Paracamayakōḷari māmuṉi[60a] and Aḻakaṉ Ñānacampantaṉ.[61] People bearing the names of Tirunāvukkaracar are found mentioned in the inscriptions—Vākīcar.[62] Another Vākīcar is the reputed author of the famous Jñānāmirtam.

Even the words used by these Saints have become proper names of the devotees of the age of the greater Cōḷas: Vayirattūṉ.[63] Naccinārkkiṉiyar after Appar's phrase 'Naccuvārkkiṉiyar' is not only found in the inscription,[64] but is the name of the great Tamil

47. 585/08.
48. 583/1908.
49. 49/03 at Tiruvatikai.
50. 382/21.
51. 203/09.
52. 192/29.
53. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 87.
54. 190 & 192/1928-29.
55. 9/1914.
56. 87/28.
56a. 216/25.
57. 275/17.
58. 524/38.
59. 47/25.
60. 97/15.
60a. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 752.
61. 216/1912.
62. 98/26.
63. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, 632 & Appar 6: 42.
64. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, 34.

commentator. 'Āṇai namateṉṟa Perumāḷ' after the last phrase of a hymn of Campantar is the name of a person.[65] 'Maṟaiyaṇi nāviṉāṉ'[66] is a term used by Appar and it has become a proper name of a learned Brahmin.[67] Men and places came to be called after the never to be forgotten phrases of Ārūrar or his life: 'Poṉṉār mēṉi viḻākam'[68] is the name of a place and 'Piccaṉ eṉṟu pāṭac coṉṉāṉ' is the name of a person.

There can be therefore no room for any doubt about the greatness of these Saints and the sacred nature of their hymns in the minds of the people of the Tamil land of the period of the later Pallavas and the greater Cōḷas. The story of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi and his king trying to collect the scattered hymns and to restore their old music can be relied upon for proving this sacred nature of the hymns, looked upon as good as Mantras to be recited in the sacred presence of God.

VII

Tēvāram: These hymns are today collectively known as Tēvāram. But this term is not used by Cēkkiḻār who only speaks of Tiruppatikam[69] and Tirumuṟai.[70] Muṟai is a book and hence the collection was known as Tiruppatika naṉ-muṟai.

The name Tirumuṟai is not found in earlier inscriptions. The inscriptions, as already noted, use only the first of the terms, viz., Tiruppatiyam which is only Tiruppatikam used by Cēkkiḻār. In view of the importance attached to these hymns by the temples during the Cōḷa age, the term 'Tēvāra Nāyakam' found in an inscription of Rājēndra's reign[71] had led even great scholars like Prof. Nilakaṇṭa Sastry to assume that this was an officer supervising the singing of the 'Tēvāram' hymns in the various temples,[72] even as there was a state official called Srī Kāryak kaṇkāṇi Nāyakam[73] for supervising the daily worship of the tem-

65. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 442.
66. 4: 60: 1.
67. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, 634.
68. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, 632.
69. *Tirunāvukkaracar Purānam* 70, *Ñānacampantar Purāṇam* 76, *Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purānam* 74.
70. *Kaṇanātar Purānam*, 3.
71. 97/1931-32.
72. *Cōḷas*, Vol. 2, p. 476.
73. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 56.

ples. If there was a Srī Kāryak kaṇkāṇi Nāyakam, there was no necessity for a separate Tēvāra Nāyakam. If there was a Tēvāra Nāyakam in the sense in which the learned Professor has taken it, there should also have been a Tiruvāymoḷi Nāyakam of which unfortunately there is no mention whatsoever. The term Tēvāram occurs in other inscriptions as well. An inscription of the year 1015 A.D.,[74] refers to the installation of an idol which is referred to as 'Periya Perumāḷukku-t Tēvāra Tēvar'. Periya Perumāḷ, of course, is Rājarāja, whose image was also installed therein; in addition, was installed this king's or Periya Perumāḷ's Tēvāra Tēvar, which term can mean only the image or idol worshipped in private as an 'Iṣṭa Dēvata'. Whenever an idol of a saint or a worshipper was installed, the particular form of God which appealed to the mind of that worshipped was used to be installed in front of his statue. In keeping with this practice, the idol of Candrasēkhara as an 'Iṣṭa Dēvata' worshipped by Rājarāja in his 'āṉmārtta pūja' was installed in front of Rājarāja's statue as his 'Tēvāra Tēvar'. Another inscription found in the same Volume[75] belonging to the period of the same king mentions this word Tēvāram in the phrase 'Tēvarattuc curṟuk kallūri' inside Muṭikoṇṭa Cōḷan's Tirumāḷikai within the Kaṅkaikoṇṭa Cōḷa purattukkōyil. Here we have to visualise a kōyil with a big building or Tirumāḷikai on whose northern portion is a pillared corridor or 'Curṟuk kallūri'. Under these circumstances, the kōyil can mean only the palace and the 'Tēvārattuc curṟuk kallūri' has to be interpreted in the light of the inscription studied earlier as the place of king's private worship, where Tēvāram meant only private individual worship or 'āṉmārtta pūja'. Therefore, the officer 'Tēvaranāyakam' should be taken as one in charge of making necessary arrangements for the private worship by the king.

VIII

There are two interesting inscriptions of the next Century, i.e., the 11th Century.[76] The first has come from 'Tirukkaḷar' and the other from 'Allūr'. These speak of 'Nam Tēvārattukku-t tiruppatiyam pāṭum periyāṉ'[77] and 'Maṭam Tēvārattukku-t tiruppatiyam viṇṇappam ceyum Ampalattāṭi' etc.[78] Tiruppatiyam in these two

74. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 38.
75. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 20.
76. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 260 and 675.
77. 260.
78. 675.

inscriptions must refer to the hymns of the Saints and if Tēvāram also is taken as referring to these hymns, the sentences become meaningless. If the explanation offered to the inscriptions studied above is correct, the phrases under reference must mean the singing of the hymns at the time of the private worship in the palace or at the mutt.

Coming to the twelfth Century there is an inscription of Kulōttuṅka of the year 1110 A.D.[79] wherein the king resided one day in a maṇṭapam in Takkōlam village after worshipping his God. This inscription refers to his worship in the following terms: 'Tiruvūṛal perumāṇai-t tēvāram ceytu', where Tēvāram because of the verb 'ceytu' following it, can refer only to the individual worship of the God by the king as opposed to the public worship in the temple. Tēvāram thus means private worship in the temple and the place of private worship outside the temple and also the 'Iṣṭadēvata' or the deity worshipped privately in a house or mutt.

In the following Century, viz., the 13th Century, Kōpperuñciṅkaṇ is praised in a verse found in an inscription of his.[80] He is said to have converted the great rivers into his private tanks and to have made universal dance of Śiva at Citamparam his private deity: 'Viḷaṅku cemponiṇ Ampalakkūttu nī virumpiya Tēvāram'.

Before passing on to the literary evidence, a reference has to be made to an inscription of Rājarājadēva.[81] This records a gift of land to the 'Tirumuṛait tēvārac celvaṇ maṭam' on the northern side of Tiruttoṇṭīśvara muṭaiya Nāyaṇār temple at Tirukkaḷumalam by the residents of Muṇiyūr. The term 'Tēvāraccelvaṇ' either refers to the image for private worship by pilgrims who came and stayed in this mutt, or to the person in charge of the mutt who looked upon the private worship as his real wealth. In the latter alternative, it may be his proper name as well, in which case, private worship must have taken deep root in the minds of people. Tirumuṛai added to this name may refer to the way in which the private worship was conducted by reciting the hymns probably either because people were not permitted to use the Vēdic mantras or because they were not familiar with Sanskrit. If Tēvārac celvaṇ is a proper name, the term 'Tirumuṛai' may be his title, showing that he was an expert in Tirumuṛai or that his office was to recite them.

79. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1921, Part II, para 33.
80. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 27.
81. 158/1911.

But it is clear from this name that the term 'Tirumuṟai' has gained currency by the time of this inscription. Sundara Pāṇḍya, who reigned from 1216 to 1235 uses this term in his inscriptions.[82]

There is another name occurring in the inscriptions: viz., "Tēvāram Aḷakiyāṉ".[83] Whereas the name Tēvāraccelvaṉ looks upon the private worship or Tēvāram as wealth, this name looks upon it as beauty.

Passing on to the 14th Century we find a reference in Kōil Purāṇam by Umāpati Śivam of the early part of this Century using this word Tēvāram in the same sense of worship: 'Mūvāyiravarkaḷ tāvā maṟaiyōṭu Tēvāram-kaī-p-paṟṟiya paṇi'. The phrase "Tēvāram ceytal' which occurred in an inscription of Kulōttuṅka I, is found in one of the literary works of the poets Iraṭṭaiyar. In Ēkamparanātar Ulā, they sing in praise of these hymns in the following terms: "Mūvāta pēraṉpiṉ mūvar mutalikaḷum Tēvāram ceyta tiruppāṭṭum". This reference makes it very clear that the hymns at the first instance were sung, according to the tradition alive, during the life time of these poets, in their private worship by these Saints. This Ulā which praises Mallināta Sambavarāya who can be no other than Rājanārāyaṇa Mallināta Sambuvarāyaṉ, a contemporary of Āṭkoṇṭāṉ and Koṅkarmaṉ praised by these Iraṭṭaiyars, and Varantaruvār, the son of Villiputtūrār.

Tēvāram is nothing peculiar to Śaivites in this sense of worship. The famous commentary on Tiruvāymoḷi, the Īṭu by Nampiḷḷai,—a disciple of Nañcīyar, who was himself a disciple of Paṭṭar, the son of Kūrattāḻvar, who in turn was the disciple of Rāmānuja, thus belonging to the end of the 12th Century and the beginning of the 13th Century,—uses this very word Tēvāram in a sentence, 'Ummuṭaiya Tēvāramō'[84] in the sense of 'Iṣṭadēvata' in private worship. Even today in those parts of Malayāḷam, where Tamil is spoken and in modern Malayāḷam, the phrase 'Tēvāram kaḻiññu' or 'Tēvāram kaḻittu' as meaning 'after finishing the private worship' is heard almost every day. The Tamil Lexicon refers to the local usage of Nāñcil Nāṭu where Tēvārappeṭṭi means a box containing idols and other objects of worship carried in front of a Royal procession.

82. 92 1907 & 414 1908.
83. 228 28-29.
84. *Iṭu*, 6: 8: 10.

IX

There is an old anthology known as Śivaprakācap peruntiraṭṭu. In a mamuscript copy of this anthology[85] copied according to it in 1679 A.D., the anthology itself is mentioned to have been in existence in Sāka year 597. As this year may be impossible in view of the poems of a later period included in this anthology, it has been suggested that this 597 may be a reference to the Kollam Era, which is also referred to in other places in the same manuscript; and taken in this sense, the year of the anthology will be 1422 A.D. (i.e, 597 plus 825). In this Anthology, the hymns of Campantar are referred to as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu. The hymns of Appar are uniformly referred to as Tēvāram and the hymns of Ārūrar as Tiruppāṭṭu.

Campantar's hymns are referred to as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu in the late Mahavidwan K. Vadivelu Chettiyar's edition of Civappirakācap peruntiraṭṭu.[86]

Appar's hymns are referred to as Tēvāram.[87]

Ārūrar's hymns are referred to as Tiruppāṭṭu[88] and as Cuntaramūrtti Tiruppāṭṭu.[89]

But Appar's verses beginning with 'Kōṭitīrttam',[90] 'Maṇitarkāḷ' and 'Urai taḷarnta'[91] are wrongly noted as Tiruppāṭṭu[92] instead of their being referred to as Tēvāram. His 'Naṭuvilākkālaṉ' is referred to as 'Vākīcar tirunēricai'.[93] So also the verses of Campantar, 'Irunilam' and 'Uraicērum' are also referred to as 'Tiruppāṭṭu' instead of their being referred to as 'Tirukkaṭaik-

85. *Centamiḻ*, Vol. I, p. 285.

86. p. 316, v. 5; p. 379, v. 20; p. 494, v. 12; p. 507, vv. 6-7; p. 520, v. 8; p. 523, v. 13; p. 540, vv. 14-15; p. 553, v 13; p. 561, vv. 7-8; p. 568, vv. 13-14; p. 571, v. 12; p. 582, v. 7 and p 579, vv. 12-14.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 186, v. 9; p. 191, v. 10; p. 269, v. 4; p. 270, vv. 4 and 7; p. 317, vv. 6-8; p. 375, vv. 25-26; p. 378, vv. 11-19; p. 436, v. 7; p. 437, vv. 9-10; p. 464, vv. 12-13; p 471, vv. 16-19; p. 477, vv. 9-14; p. 494, v. 13; p. 499, vv. 11-12; p. 501, vv. 10-15; p 509, v. 17; p. 516, vv 8-11; p. 522, v. 12; p. 528, vv. 8-11; p. 533, v. 11; p. 540, v. 16; p. 554, v. 14; p. 568, vv. 15-16; p. 571, vv. 11, 13, 14 and 15 and p 580, v 21.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 577, vv. 2-4.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 115, v. 8.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 184, v 7, p. 28, vv. 24-25.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 115, v. 7.

kāppu';[94] His 'Tantaiyār pōyiṉār .....' and 'Ceṭikoḷ noy .....'[95] are referred to as Tiruñāṉacampantar Tiruppāṭṭu.

The present edition, at the top of these verses in question has printed within brackets, Tiruñāṉacampanta cuvamikaḷ Tēvāram and Appar Cuvamikaḷ Tēvāram on pp. 81, 83 and 28. Evidently these notes on the top are by a copyist of a later date.

As these discrepancies have crept in only in six places[96] as against 44 places where the correct references are given they must be taken as mistakes committed by copyists or entries made by them wherever the heading containing the name of the work was eaten away by the white ants. On the basis of a more reliable manuscript obtained after printing the book, the editor Mahavidwan K. Vadivelu chettiar corrects the reading 'Tiruppāṭṭu' on p. 81, v. 6 into 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu'. Such corrections ought to have been made with reference to the other mistakes as well as printed above.

We may therefore conclude that the practice in vogue during the time of Svarūpānandar, the author of this Anthology, was, to speak of Campantar's hymns as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu, Appar's, as Tēvāram and Ārūrar's, as Tiruppāṭṭu.

The same distinction is, fortunately and curiously enough, made by Citampara cuvamikaḷ of the 18th Century in his commentary on 'Avirōta Untiyār',[97] though in his commentary on Kolaimaṟuttal, he speaks of Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti Tēvāram, Tirunāvukkaracar Tēvāram and Cuntaramūrtti Nāyanār Tēvāram.[98] It is not clear why this commentator makes these two different kinds of references to these hymns of these Saints. Perhaps in the commentary on Kolaimaṟuttal, which is intended for the common man, he thought it best to speak in terms of the usage prevalent in his days, whereas in his commentaries on the philosophical works intended for the chosen few he thought it best to persist in using the ancient tradition in vogue at least from the times of Sivaprakāsar and Svarūpānandar and Tattuvarāyar

94. *Ibid.*, p. 83, v. 8; p. 81, v. 6.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 114, vv. 5 & 6.
96. pp 28, 81, 83, 114, 115 and 184
97. See his commentary on the 17th Untiyār.
98. See his commentary on the 13th verse of Kolaimaṟuttal.

(Tattuvadēsikar). In the age of these spiritual leaders, Tēvāram meant individual worship or place of worship as is made clear by the following line: "Tēṭiya poruḷ koṇṭu Tēvāram pala ceytu',[99] and 'Tēvāram ceykiṉṟa tiṇṭāṭṭamellām nām tīravē tīrntōmeṉṟiṭu kuṇalai'.[100] Even in the Siddha poems of later times, this meaning is retained: 'Tāvāram illai, taṉakkoru vīṭillai, Tēvāram ētukkaṭi'.[101]

X

It is not clear when the term Tēvāram came to be used as a common name for all the hymns of these three Saints. The Iraṭṭaiyar Ulā connecting the Mūvar Mutalikaḷ with the word Tēvāram, though used in a different sense, might have been responsible for this usage gaining currency. Ñānacampantar speaks of 'Pāṭal neṟi', i.e., a way of attaining salvation by singing hymns. Cēkkiḻār makes Śiva to deliver this great truth to Ārūrar in, 'Namakkum aṉpiṟ perukkiya ciṟappiṉ mikka arccaṉai pāṭṭē ākum'.[102] Even according to the Pāśupata system, amongst its five topics of which the fourth is 'Vidhi' or an operation effecting righteousness, this kind of singing is a vidhi. When singing hymns is looked upon as a worship, it becomes Tēvāram or private worship or individual worship. We know from history and literature, these hymns were looked upon by Tamil Śaivites as their Vēdas and recited reverentially at their private worship every day. As contrasted with its importance in the Temple cult, its importance in individual worship leading to personal salvation is thus emphasised by this term Tēvāram. The fact that Appar's hymns were first known under that term Tēvāram, leads us to conclude that it is his hymns which are more patently mystic and more clearly referring to individual worship, that they were first, for a long time, sung as prayers by individuals in mutts and places of private worship including houses. The spiritual and mystical importance is made clear by the fact that Svarūpānandar in quoting 44 times from the hymns of the three Saints, quotes from Appar alone 29 times. On the basis of this usage, one may suggest that 'Tēvāraccelvaṉ' may refer to Appar—but it is better to wait for further confirmations.

99. *Pāṭuṭuṟai*, 111-3.
100. *Ibid.*, 115-1.
101. Kutampai Cittar pāṭal, 30.
102. Taṭut., 70.

Tirukkaṭaikkāppu, according to Cēkkiḻār, is the last verse in the hymn giving the name of the poet in glorious terms by the poet himself.[103] This term 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu' is popularly used only with reference to Campantar and not at all with reference to Ārūrar's hymns, where also in every Patikam occurs at its end the benedictory stanza giving the name of the poet, though Cēkkiḻār calls this also Tirukkaṭaikkāppu.[104] This is probably because the benedictory stanzas of Campantar are sung in a more authoritative manner and stand as unique verses apart from the other ten verses going before them. In later times Campantar's hymns, especially the hymns beginning with 'Vēyuṟu', came to be looked upon as 'Kāppu' or 'Rakṣa' or protection against evil influences. The closing of a door is known as Kaṭaikkāppu and can it be that perhaps people had in mind the miraculous power of his poems in closing the doors of the temple of Tirumaṟaikkāṭu ?

Ārūrar's poems were called 'Tiruppāṭṭu' or the sacred poems because Ārūrar was known as the learned Tamil poet, chosen as such by God Himself. But that term 'Tiruppāṭṭu' is used by Cēkkiḻār to refer to the individual verses in the hymns of all the three Saints.

The word Tēvāṟam is not used by the three Saints or Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi or Cēkkiḻār or the Santāna Ācāryas or the other poets before the 15th Century. Even the Avvai of the later day ethical works like Nalvaḻi, speaks of the hymns as 'Mūvar Tamiḻ' and not as 'Tēvāram'. As far as the present writer is aware, Tēvāram is used in the sense of hymns of these three Saints in a verse of Tattuvaprakācar as collected in the Tamil Nāvalar Caritai. In the verse beginning with 'Niṉaivu kavi', this poet sings thus: "Pēcuvatu Tēvāramēyalāl vāykkeḻiya pēyk kirantaṅkaḷ pecōm",[105] 'We speak or recite Tēvāram alone and not the cheap diabolical verses', where Tēvāram must necessarily refer to the divine poems, i.e., the hymns of the three Śaiva Saints. This Tattuvaprakācar has sung verses addressed to his contemporary king Kṛṣṇa Mahārāya, evidently Kriṣnadēva Mahārāja, the Great, of Vijayanagar, who ruled between the years 1509 and 1530.

103. Cam. Pur., 80.
104. Ēyar., 82.
105. V. 231.

An inscription belonging to the 10th year of Ativīra Rāma Pāṇṭiya Tēvar appoints one Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip palavaṉ Citampara Nāṭan, alias, Tirumūla Nāṭa Mutali, for singing Tēvāram at Campur Vaṭakarai in Travancore state. This is dated Śaka 1494, i.e., 1572 A.D. Therefore, by the 16th Century, this special usage of Tēvāram in the sense of the hymns must have started. A commentary on Sivaprakasam called 'Cintaṉai urai' 'Meditation or thought on Sivaprakāsam' in the form of a commentary by Maturai Sivaprakācar said to be of the 18th Century refers to the hymns of all the three Saints as Tēvāram. Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ also refers, as already stated, to the hymns as Tēvāram in his commentary on 'Kolai maṟuttal'. Therefore, by the 18th, and possibly by the 17th Century the usage must have become universal.

CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM OF NUMBERS[1]

I

Man aspires for all that is the purest gold. Disappointment, however, meets him on all sides, from very early times. Man creates, therefore, a mythology of poetry to give expression to his feeling of loss, especially of culture and learning. An Asura of darkness rolls up the world with its Book and disappears into the ocean and God unable to bear the sufferings of Man, goes to recover it in the form of the Fish. This is one vision of the Loss of the Book. There is another vision but still of the Great Waters, reminding us of the age of the Floods. The Book is thrown into the Deep and is devoured by the Fish. The Lord, the Fisherman, goes fishing with His net. In a similar way the story of the loss and recovery of Tēvāram is described in a purāṇic vein. Tēvāram is at once great poetry and great musical composition and this story of its loss is more than a tragedy. Is it possible to arrive at an estimate of this loss? It is therefore a problem for the student of Tamil to find out the number of verses sung by Tēvāram Saints, especially of Nampi Ārūrar[2] whom we have taken up for study.

II

The total number of verses sung by these three Saints is believed to have been much more than what is available today. According to Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, most of these hymns had been eaten away by white ants, before the remaining portions were recovered. This Purāṇam consoles us by reporting of a voice heard from the Heavens that what was necessary for the world had been preserved and the king need not be sorry that the other hymns had been lost. This Purāṇam is our authority on the question of the original number of hymns.

Verse No. 14 therein gives that the first hymn sung by Campantar begins with the words, "Tōṭuṭaiya ceviyaṉ" and

1. Of the verses sung by Ārūrar.
2. Cuntarar.

the last is that beginning with "Kallūr".[3] The verse mentions that Campantar "Pāṭiṉār patikaṅkaḷ pāvil oṉṟām patiṉāṟāyiram uḷatāp pakarumaṉṟē": This can be interpreted in two ways: (1) 'He sang the patikams in poetry and the number of patikams is 16,000'. This will make us believe that Campantar sang 1,60,000 verses. (2) 'He sang the patikams. Expressed in terms of verses the total number is 16,000'. The second interpretation will reduce the total number of verses sung by Campantar to the reasonable figure of 16,000. Nampiyāṇṭar himself in his Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvantāti gives this number 16,000 patikams, "Patiṉāṟāyiram patikam".[4] In his other work on Campantar, viz., 'Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruttokai', he states that the total number of verses that Campantar sang is 16,000, "Paccaip patikattuṭaṉ patiṉāṟāyiram pā vittup poruḷai viḷaikka vala perumāḷ".[5] No contradiction need be found here if we take patikam in the sense of an individual stanza, i.e., 16,000 verses.

The total number of verses sung by Appar is given in the 15th verse of the Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. The first hymn sung by him begins with the word "Kūṟṟāyiṉa" and the last with the word "Orumāṇai". The total number is given as 49,000: "Orunāṟ-pat toṉpatiṉā yirama tākap perunāmap pukalūril patikam kūṟip piññakaṉār aṭiyiṇaikaḷ peṟṟuḷārē". This is also capable of two interpretations: One is that after he sang the patikam or hymn at Pukalūr, the total number of verses became 49,000 and he reached the holy feet of Śiva. The other interpretation is that he sang 49,000 patikams inclusive of that sung at Pukalūr and he reached the holy feet of Śiva. According to the second interpretation the total number of verses Appar sang will assume the huge number of 4,90,000.

Fortunately for us, we have more reliable and authoritative statements about the total number of verses sung by Appar.

Nampi Ārūrar in his Tiruniṉṟiyūr hymn, No. 65, in verse 2, sings thus: "Iṉaikoḷ ēḻeḻu nūṟu irumpaṉuvaḷ īṉṟavaṉ Tirunaviṉukkaraiyaṉ" which confirms the first interpretation that he sang only seven into seven hundred, i.e., 49,000 works or patikams. This verse cannot be brushed aside as an interpolation for Cēkkiḻār refers to this particular statement of Nampi Ārūrar in his Periyapurāṇam in describing the singing of the hymns by

3. 3: 125: 1.
4. Verse 15.
5. ll. 42-43.

Nampi Ārūrar at Tiruniṉṟiyūr: "Niṉṟiyūr mēyārai....pāṭuvār uṭaiya aracu eṉṟum ulakiṭar nīṅkap pāṭiya ēḻeḻu nūṟum aṉṟu ciṟappittu añcol tiruppatikam aruḷ ceytār".[6] Even prior to the age of Cēkkiḻār, Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, in his work Tiruvēkātacamālai, in praise of Tirunāvukkaracar, gives the same number in the very same phrase, "Patikam ēḻeḻu nūṟu pakarum mā kavi yōgi paracu nāvaracu".[7] But, in the same work, the verse No. 3, as it stands at present gives the number as "Eḻunūṟu arumpatikam", i.e., 700 patikams. The verse runs as "Itaya nekavē kacin titayam eḻunūṟu arum patika nitiyē poḻintaruḷu Tirunāviṉ eṅkaḷ aracu".[8] As in these lines there is a repetition of the word 'itayam', our sense of poetry drives us to omit the second 'itayam' and insert the phrase, "Kacinta ēḻ eḻunūṟu" to suit the metre on the basis of the oft repeated "ēḻ eḻu nūṟu". All this will give only 4,900 patikams or 49,000 verses.

The total number of verses sung by Nampi Ārūrar is given in verse No. 16 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. The first hymn begins with the verse "Pittā" and the last hymn ends with the verse "Ūḻitōṟum": "Pittā eṉṉum iṉpamutal tiruppatikam ūḻitōṟum īṟāy muppatteṉṉāyiramatāka muṉpu pukaṉṟu avar noṭittāṉ malaiyil cērntār". This is also capable of two interpretations: The first is that Nampi Ārūrar began with the verse "Pittā" and ended with the verse "Ūḻitōṟum" to make 38,000 patikams and reached Kailas; the second interpretation which it must be admitted is somewhat strained, is that Nampi Ārūrar sang from "Pittā" to Ūḻitōṟum", 38,000 verses in Tiruppatikams and reached the Mountain Kailas. But on the basis of the interpretation given with reference to the other two verses 14 and 15 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, the second interpretation is reasonable.

III

In this connection it may be noted that Patikam is used in the sense of ten stanzas and also in the sense of an individual stanza. This second meaning has already been noted, in discussing the two verses of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi on the verses of Campantar. The oft repeated form 'Patiyam' has this meaning of a stanza in places like "Paṉṉu tiruppāvaip pal patiyam" occurring in the 'taṉiyaṉ' or in the stray verse on 'Āṇṭāḷ's Tiruppāvai'.

6. Ēyar., 150.
7. Verse 7, ll. 1-2.
8. *Ibid.*, 3: 5-7.

Therefore, in all the three verses of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, even if it is taken that the number is of Tiruppatikams, we can safely interpret the Tiruppatikams as individual stanzas and that therefore these three verses give us the total number of verses sung by these three Saints. Unfortunately the previous editors of Tēvāram have taken the total number given as that of hymns, each patikam consisting of ten or more verses. According to them the total hymns are 1,03,000 (One lakh and three thousand) and the total verses are more than ten lakhs and thirty thousand. If the number given in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam is taken as referring to individual verses we will get only one lakh and three thousand verses.

It is very doubtful whether even this lesser number gives us the correct position. It has already been pointed out that much reliance cannot be placed on Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam especially because of its confusion of the names of the kings. It must, however, be admitted that it represents the tradition in vogue when it was written. It is also clear that at least with reference to the works of Appar and Campantar it had before it, the authoritative statements by Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi himself. On analysing, however, the verses of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, we find new light thrown on this question. It has already been pointed out that the word patikam has been used with reference to Campantar's works in the meaning of individual stanzas. If this word is interpreted in this sense as used by Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi with reference to the works of Appar in Tiru Ēkātacamālai, we get the total number of his verses as "Ēḻ eḻunūṟu" or 4,900, which will roughly be 490 tens or Tiruppatikams.

Ārūrar's statement that Appar has sung "Ēḻ eḻunūṟu irumpaṉuval" can also be interpreted as referring only to 4,900 verses; the word 'paṉuval' is no difficulty in the way. The meaning of a stanza, especially musical stanza, for the paṉuval is as old as Puṟanāṉūṟu: "Vari navil paṉuval".[9] Cēkkiḻār merely mentions the number "Ēḻ eḻunūṟu". It may be stated that if he wanted to refer to the units of ten stanzas, he would have made it clear by stating so. In the absence of any such specific statement, his number can refer only to individual verses. If this interpretation is correct, the total number of verses of Appar would be 4,900 and not 49,000. Unfortunately no such statement is available from

9. Puṟam: 135.

Ārūrar, for Campantar's poems. Nor have we any authoritative statement of Ārūrar's poem by any one who had lived near his times.

The number of patikams[10] available from those of Appar is 307. That works out as 60% of the total 490. Thus 40% of the total verses may be taken to have disappeared on account of the ravages of time and white ants. At the time, when Tirumuṟai kaṇṭa Purāṇam was composed, the number of patikams available is given in verse No. 25. The total number of Campantar's patikams available then was 384, that of Appar was 307 and that of Ārūrar 100, in all making 791 patikams.

On the basis of the rough calculation made by us that on an average only 40% of the verses were lost, we may assume that the original number of patikams composed by Campantar was 640 and that of Ārūrar 160, making 800 patikams in all and if the patikams of Appar are added the total will be nearly 1,300 patikams or 13,000 verses in all. This number 640 will give us roughly 6,000 verses for Campantar and if "Patiṉāṟāyiram" in Nampi's verses is taken to be a wrong reading of the original "āṟāyiram", one may get a confirmation of the rough calculation. If we take into consideration the number of temples described by Cēkkiḻār, as having been sung by these Saints, these calculations of ours may be justified. Cēkkiḻār's poems can never justify the fabulous number given by the commentator of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. In this connection, we must bear in mind that Nātamuṉi recovered all the ṣongs of Āḻvārs without any loss whatever.

Even the number given in this verse of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam is not followed by some of the editors of Tēvāram; a few like Ramaswamy Pillai of Maturai, give the number 384 for Campantar, 311 for Appar, and 100 for Ārūrar, making a total of 795 as against 791 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, whilst others like Mr. Sabapati Mudaliar (Paṇmuṟai) give the total number as 796, whereas Ārumukha Nāvalar in his prose version of Periyapurāṇam gives the number of patikams of Appar as 312 as against 311 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam and the number of Ārūrar's patikams 101 as against 100, thus making up a total of 797 as against 791 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam.

10. Units of ten verses.

IV

Even with reference to the statement about the verses available at the time of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, this Purāṇam cannot be relied upon. According to this Purāṇam, the number of Campantar's patikams available were 384 of which 383 alone were available till very recent times. The inscription found on the walls of the temple at Tiruviṭaivāy[11] has given us Campantar's patikam for that temple, thus making up a total of 384 as given in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. But Cēkkiḻār in his Campantar's Purāṇam specifically mentions, in verse No. 342, the Saint's visit to Tiruvālanturai, Tiruccenturai and other temples. We know no hymns of these temples are found included within the number 384 mentioned in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. In the inscriptions of these temples belonging to the reign of Rājarāja I,[12] and Parakēsarivarman Uttama Cōḻa,[13] it is said that Tiruppatikams were sung in those temples. But it may be said that Cēkkiḻār does not mention in his verse that Campantar sang any hymn when he worshipped in these temples. However, when Campantar worshipped at Tiruttavatturai, the modern Lālgudi temple, Cēkkiḻār specifically refers to the hymn sung by the Saint[14] and the inscription of this temple refers to the singing of the Tiruppatiyam during the reign of Rājarāja, the Great. This Tiruppatiyam for Lālgudi which must have been in existence during the times of Cēkkiḻār is not found included in the modern editions of Tēvāram. From these, one has to conclude that more than 384 hymns of Campantar were available during the times of Cēkkiḻār and the statement in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam that the hymns, over and above 384, were lost to the world for ever could not be relied on.

V

A similar reference to Cēkkiḻār's Periyapurāṇam will reveal that this number 100 given for Ārūrar's hymns available is not correct. Four of the present hymns in one sense and seven in another sense are not mentioned by Cēkkiḻār whilst eight to ten hymns referred to by him are not found in the collections now available.

11. Madras Epigraphical Report, 1913/147.
12. 199 and 104 of 1918 and 192.
13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 139.
14. Maṉṉum Tavatturai vāṇavar tāḷ eiti iṟaiñci eḻuntu niṉṟē iṉ tamiḻ mālai koṇṭēttip pōntu—Cam. Pur. 347.

Cēkkiḻār refers to more than 187 times to Ārūrar's worshipping in places surrounding the important temples mentioned by him. He speaks of iṭaṅkaḷ,[15] 'iṭam pala',[16] 'iṭaṅkaḷ eṉaippala',[17] 'tāṉam pala',[18] 'piṟa pati',[19] 'patikaḷ piṟa',[20] 'patikaḷ pala',[21] 'māṭuḷa patikaḷ',[22] without mentioning the names of the temples; in a few places he mentions the important or starting places alone as "Īṅkōymalai mutalāka vimalartam pati pala",[23] "Cempoṉpaḷḷi mutal ..... pati pala".[24] In most of these places, Cēkkiḻār uses the words 'paṇintu',[25] 'iṟaiñci',[26] 'toḻa',[27] 'Vaṇaṅki',[28] 'Tāḻntu',[29] all meaning 'bowing down' before the Lord, without specifically referring to the singing of the hymn by Ārūrar. In two places, however, Cēkkiḻār does speak of Ārūrar singing hymns.[30] Again on Ārūrar's return journey to Tiruvārūr from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr after leaving Kāñci, Cēkkiḻār speaks of Ārūrar worshipping temples and offering his garland of verses to the Lord in every one of them, on his way before he reached Āmāttūr: "Tiruppatikaḷtōṟum .... iṟaiñcip paṉṉu tamiḻt toṭai cātti".[31] These hymns are not now available and there is no means of deciding how many of them there were during the time of Cēkkiḻār. Since he himself does not give any particulars about these hymns, these were probably not before him in which case, he must have had tradition of the Saint having sung in those places.

In this connection, mention may be made of those hymns which give a catalogue of the temples. One is 'Nāṭṭuttokai[32] so called because the 'Nāṭus' or the Provinces in which the temples

15. Ēyar., 99.
16. Ēyar., 99, 166, 195, etc.
17. Ēyar., 199.
18. Ēyar., 100.
19. Ēyar., 142, 171, etc.
20. Ēyar., 32, 66; Kaḻaṟiṟ., 108.
21. Ēyar., 62, 64, 70, 85, 88, 92, 93, 149, etc.
22. Ēyar., 111.
23. Ēyar., 85.
24. Ēyar., 149.
25. Ēyar., 32, 62, 64, 92, etc.
26. Ēyar., 93.
27. Ēyar., 142, 171.
28. Ēyar., 85, 111, 166, 195.
29. Ēyar., 100.
30. Ēyar., 92, 199.
31. Ēyar., 292.
32. H. 12.

are situated are also given in this hymn. The other is 'Ūrttokai'[33] giving the names of the 'Ūr' or holy places. The third is 'Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai'[34] giving another list of holy places, and it is called 'Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai' because every verse therein ends with the phrase 'Iṭaiyāṟṟu Iṭaimarutē'. Cēkkiḻār does not mention these hymns anywhere specifically. It is for consideration whether these three hymns may not be a few of those mentioned to have been sung at the various other places.

VI

In a few other places Cēkkiḻār refers to Ārūrar's singing hymns on more than one occasion at one and the same temple. At Tiruvārūr, Cēkkiḻār mentions ten times when Ārūrar sang. With reference to the first hymn sung there, he has given the substance of the hymn[35] and such a hymn is available as hymn No. 73 of Ārūrar's collection. In other places[36] Cēkkiḻār mentions Ārūrar singing hymns on some occasions at Tiruvārūr, but in these places he gives the initial phrase of the hymns along with the substance of the hymns; and with these particulars we can identify those hymns as hymns Nos. 39, 25, 33, 96, 37 and 95 of the present collection of Ārūrar's poems. There is a hymn No. 59 referring to Tiruvārūr but Cēkkiḻār tells us[37] that this was sung at the capital of the Cēra when Ārūrar amidst the Royal feast he was enjoying thought of his Lord of Tiruvārūr. In Taṭut. vv. 126 and 182 and in Ēyar. v. 30 and in Kaḻaṟiṟ. 122 Cēkkiḻār also refers to Ārūrar singing four hymns on four different occasions. These poems are not to be traced. There is hymn No. 8 which may be one of these. Perhaps when in v. 30 of Ēyarkōṉkalikkāma Nāyaṉār Purāṇam, Cēkkiḻār uses the word 'Ēttiṉār' he might not have intended that any specific hymn was sung. In that case, there will be missing only three hymns on Ārūr and if hymn No. 8 is one of them, there will be only two hymns missing.

At Pukalūr, Ārūrar is said to have sung a hymn on entering the temple expressing his mind's desire.[38] After waking up from a miraculous sleep he is said to have sung a hymn which from

33. H. 47.
34. H. 31.
35. Taṭut., 123.
36. Taṭut., 201; Ēyar., 132, 140, 303, 305 and 309.
37. Kaḻaṟiṟ., 156.
38. Ēyar., 47.

the particulars given can be identified as hymn No. 34.[39] With reference to the hymns of Tiruvārūr and Pukalūr not available now, we must assume that they have been lost to us.

In 74 places including those 41 references to miscellaneous temples, the poet Cēkkiḻār refers to Saint Ārūrar worshipping at the various temples. He does not mention that the Saint composed any hymns on these places. But still hymn No. 68 is available for 'Naḷḷāṟu', No. 6 for 'Veṇkāṭu', No. 23 for 'Kaḻippālai', the three of the temples mentioned among those 33 specific references to temples. It is not clear why Cēkkiḻār has not referred to Ārūrar's singing these. Or, should we assume that Cēkkiḻār wants us to understand that Ārūrar also sang in these places where he is said to have merely worshipped?

Cēkkiḻār specifically mentions the Saint's singing in 29 places.[40] This included the references already given for Pukalūr and Tiruvārūr. Of these 29 hymns, or 27 hymns, if Ārūr and Pukalūr are omitted, that for Iṭaimarutu,[41] for Veñcamākkūṭal,[42] for Kaṟkuṭi,[43] for Naṇipaḷḷi,[44] for Kaḻukkuṉṟu,[45] for Paruppatam,[46] for Kētāram,[47] for Āmāttūr,[48] for Nākaikkārōṇam[49] and for Mātōṭṭam (Tirukkētīccuram)[50] are available. At Kāṇappēr, Ārūrar is said to have sung a second time but what he had composed on the first occasion alone is found included in his Tēvāram. The rest of the hymns are not available.

VII

Over and above these general references to the singing of hymns by Ārūrar, there are specific references to hymns, in Cēkkiḻār's Periyapurāṇam, where the poet gives the beginning of the

39. Ēyar., 51.
40. Pāṭi-Ēyar., 47; Coṟpatikamālaikaḷum cātti—Ēyar., 382; Colmalarkaḷ paṉṉippuṉaintu—Ēyar., 65; Tamiḻāl viruppoṭum paravi—Ēyar., 92; Tiruppatikam ... pāṭi—Ēyar., 93, etc.
41. H. 60.
42. H. 42.
43. H. 27.
44. H. 97.
45. H. 81.
46. H. 79.
47. H. 78.
48. H. 45.
49. H. 46.
50. H. 80.

first verse and in some places the names of the hymns in addition to the substance of the hymns. There are 81 such references. Of these, for 66, the initial lines or phrases are given: for three, the names of the hymns are given.[51] In 16 places, he gives the substance of the hymns without giving the initial phrases or lines. In 35 places he gives both the substance and the initial phrases. Of these 66 hymns, the hymn on Tillai is not traceable today though it must have been in the hands of Cēkkiḻār when he sang V. 107 of Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Puraṇam (Teṇṇilā).

There is one other hymn[52] to be mentioned. This is as it appears today, sung at the temple at Tiruniṉṟiyūr. There is another hymn[53] on this very same temple and it is this which is referred to by Cēkkiḻār in unmistakeable terms.[54] Therefore, there is no reference whatever to this hymn No. 19 in Periyapurāṇam. Either it is a new addition or it has missed the attention of Cēkkiḻār. On reading this hymn No. 19, one wonders whether this may not be a hymn on Tiruniṉṟavūr which is referred to by Ārūrar himself as the place of Pūcalār.[55] The references to the devotee in honorific plural in the verses in h. 19 may be Pūcalār. This name Pūcalār is itself explained by the phrase of the second verse: "Nīṟu pūcattiṉār pukal innakar pōṟṟum em puṇṇiyattāl"—'Our embodiment of virtue who holds sacred this city which is the refuge of the Saint Pūcalār.' The reference in V. 5, to God presiding in the hearts of those who take refuge in Him may be taken as a reference to this Saint. So may be the phrase "Pūcai iccikkum iṟaivar",[56] "Cīlamum ceikaiyum kaṇṭuvappār,"[57] "Vāyār maṇattāl niṇaikkum avarukku aruntavattil tūyār,"[58] and "Pukaḻt toṇṭar."[59]

VIII

This study of Cēkkiḻār thus reveals the existence in his times of at least nine more hymns of Ārūrar, thus giving us a total of 109 as against 100 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. But if it is assumed, on a reading of Cēkkiḻār, that seven of the hymns now available

51. Tiruttoṇṭattokai, Cittanilait tiruppatikam, Namaccivāyat tiruppatikam.
52. H. 19.
53. H. 65.
54. Ēyar., 150.
55. Niṉṟavūrp Pūcal—Tirut. 11.
56. V. 8.
57. V. 9.
58. V. 10.
59. V. 11.

are not mentioned by him and that therefore were not before him, one may be tempted to reject them. Then the total number of hymns will come to 102. This falsifies the theory that a major portion of Ārūrar's poems were lost and that only a negligible part of it had been recovered. What one learns here justifies a belief in the story of Nātamuṉi's recovery of all the verses of the Vaiṣṇavite Saints without any loss. The reverence with which the Tēvāram hymns were copied and recited in Temples, as already pointed out, could not have allowed thousands of verses to be eaten away by white ants.

If one argues that in every place Cēkkiḻār refers to Ārūrar's worship, one must assume a hymn to have been sung, even then the total number of hymns cannot be more than 187, a figure which comes very near 160 which was arrived at on the calculation of the statistical average of the percentage of verses lost as against the percentage recovered.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF INTERPOLATION

I

The total number of hymns or patikams sung by Ārūrar now available are 100 and the total number of verses now extant are 1026. If there were only 10 verses in every hymn there must be only 1,000 verses. But there are patikams in which a few verses have been lost. In the 63rd hymn, the last two lines of the last verse are missing; in the 11th hymn there are only 8 verses available, the 8th and the 9th verses according to all the editions having been lost; in the 65th hymn, there are only 7 verses available, the 8th, 9th and 10th verses having been lost; in the 66th hymn, only 5 verses are available, the 6th to 10th verses having been lost. It looks as though the cadjan leaves containing the 63rd to 66th hymns have been originally eaten away by the white ants. If, therefore, allowance is made for these 10 verses lost, there must only be 990 verses, as against 1026 verses now extant. This excess of 36 verses has to be explained. There are 30 hymns with 11 verses each, which account for 30 additional verses and three hymns with 12 verses each, which account for the other six additional verses, in all making up a total of 36 additional verses. All the rest 67 hymns including the four hymns for which lines or verses are missing, have 10 verses each.

That the latter is the scheme of Ārūrar's hymns is made quite clear by his specific mention of number ten in 24 out of 63 such hymns. The word 'pattu' is not a shortened form of patikam which may contain 11 verses and 12 verses as in the hymns of Campantar. Instead of using the 'pattu', Ārūrar in a few places specifically describes the number ten without giving room for any doubt by referring to it as 'eṭṭōṭiraṇṭu' (8 plus 2);[1] 'aintōṭaintu' (5 plus 5);[2] 'aiñciṉotaiñcu' (5 plus 5).[3] Campantar refers to his hymns as 'pattu', 'aintoṭu aintu' but that is on the basis the last verse or 'kaṭaikkāppu' is not numbered as one of the ten. That is clear from his scheme where almost all hymns contain 10 verses

1. H. 44.
2. H. 55.
3. H. 68.

on God and the 11th about himself as composer whilst in Ārūrar's scheme as is made clear by 67 hymns, the verse containing his name as a composer is included within the ten verses of the hymn.

That these ten verses form individual music compositions is made clear by Ārūrar's description of them as 'cantam',[4] 'paṇpayilum pattu'[5] and 'icaikkiḷavi'.[6] Cantam is the rhythm varying with the 'tāḷa' or time-pattern, 'Paṇ' is the melody type and 'Icai' is the general music. 'Pāṇi'[7] is 'tāḷa' or keeping time or a musical composition. It may be a shortened form of 'Tēvapāṇi', a musical composition in praise of God. Ārūrar has looked upon these compositions as pieces of Tamil Literature and he refers to them 'Oṇṭamiḻ',[8] Aruntamiḻ',[9] Naṟṟamiḻ',[10] 'Ceñcoṟṟamiḻ',[11] 'Taṇṭamiḻ',[12] 'Vaṇṭamiḻ'.[13] The longer poems came to be known as 'Pāṭṭu' or 'Pāṭal' from the time of 'Pattuppāṭṭu' and Ārūrar refers to his hymns of 10 verses each as a longer unit of poetry by referring to them as 'Pāṭal'.[14]

This idea of unity is still further emphasised by calling these hymns 'Mālai' or garland.[15] The individual verses are considered as so many flowers going to make up this garland of poetry or 'Nūlmālai';[16] and he refers to individual verses going to make up this garland as 'Colmalar,'[17] 'Tamiḻ malar'.[18] In some places he refers to the hymns as his talk or message 'Pēccu'.[19] All this make it clear that Ārūrar looked upon the hymns as separate units of poetry and music made into an organic whole by the unity of his message of poetry and his music representing thereby a garland—like beauty though consisting of distinct and seemingly un-

4. H. 73.
5. H. 16.
6. H. 84.
7. H. 12.
8. H. 40.
9. H. 9.
10. H. 3, 61.
11. H. 42.
12. H. 4.
13. H. 75.
14. H. 7, 8, 25, 34, 36, 54, 74, 85, 92 and 99.
15. H. 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 27, 29, 41, 42, 47, 56, 60, 68, 69, 71, 75, 76, 79, 82 and 97.
16. H. 41.
17. H. 83.
18. H. 70.
19. H. 14.

connected verses; and that under his scheme each hymn generally consisted only of 10 verses.

II

Having so far made it clear that Ārūrar's scheme is to sing only hymns of 10 verses each, the hymns in which 11 verses are found may be taken up for scrutiny. In H. 2, there are 11 verses and the last verse itself states that the hymn consists of 6 plus 4 plus 1 verses or 11 in all. This is a hymn sung in the presence of the Great kings of Tamil Land, Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya. It is the Tamil tradition, that in addressing the kings, one can sing of his own praises.[20] This last verse, therefore, in singing of Ārūrar himself, in the presence of the kings, has an importance of its own, over and above the ten verses in praise of God. It has to be placed on a par with the 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu' par excellence of Campantar; whereas in the other hymns of Ārūrar, the verses mentioning the name of the author are found included within the ten verses of the hymns, without any such extra significance. This difference explains why Campantar's poems alone were known as 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu' and not Ārūrar's. Therefore, this exception of 11 verses in a hymn only proves the rule that Ārūrar's hymns contain only 10 verses.

There is one other exception as well and that is 'Tiruttoṇṭattokai'.[21] From Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi's Tiruvantāti and Cēkkiḻār's Periyapurāṇam, it is clear, this hymn contained 11 verses. Both these poets at the end of the descriptions of the lives of Saints catalogued separately in each of the 11 verses of Tiruttoṇṭattokai, sing a verse in praise of Ārūrar himself. There are eleven such laudatory verses by Nampi and eleven by Cēkkiḻār. Nampi in verse No. 88 of Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti gives the index of the eleven verses of Tiruttoṇṭattokai and Cēkkiḻār has divided his Purāṇam into eleven carukkams apart from his prologue and epilogue and these are named after the opening phrases of the eleven verses of Tiruttoṇṭattokai.

III

If the other exception was because of the Saint singing in the presence of the kings, this exception is because of the Saint sing-

20. Maṉṉuṭai maṉṟattu ōlaittūkkiṉum ... taṉṉaip pukaḻtalum takum pulavōṟkē-Naṉṉūl—53.

21. H. 39.

ing in the presence of the Śaiva Saints, his Lords, who are to him more than kings. Leaving these two hymns out of account, there are 28 hymns to be explained. Of these, the last verses of two hymns state that these hymns contain 5 plus 5 verses.[22] The hymn No. 61 states that it contains twice five verses. Therefore, there can be no doubt about these hymns having had originally 10 verses and no more. In six other hymns[23] it is clearly stated in the last verses they are 'pattus' or hymns of 10 verses each. These references clearly prove beyond any doubt that this scheme is based on a unit of ten verses only. Therefore, there is no explanation why there should be 11 verses in these cases and in other 19 hymns which do not have any specific reference to the number of verses. As for the hymns with 12 verses, such hymns occur in Campantar's poems where reference had to be made to 12 different names of Cīkāḻi in different verses or different orders but no such explanation is possible for Ārūrar singing in 12 verses. These verses over and above ten could not have been there originally except in H. No. 2 and Tiruttoṇṭattokai.

On this calculation the total number of Ārūrar's poems now available is 992 i.e. (1026-36+2) and the total number of verses originally sung should be 1090 or so.[24]

IV

The hymns containing verses more than ten may be studied at this point with a view to find out any verse or two which may be considered a later day addition. The last verse called 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu' by Cēkkiḻār is 'Nāndi' verse or the benedictory verse giving the reader the information about the author and benefits that may accrue from reading the hymn. In Campantar's hymns this last verse stands apart and is in a pattern different from the other preceding verses which usually end as it were in a chorus or 'Pallavi'. If one examines Ārūrar's hymns Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8 etc., one will find that this kind of scheme to prevail. But hymns Nos. 1, 2, 7, 9 etc. do not follow this scheme; here, the last verse giving the name of the author follows the pattern of having the same ending 'Uṉakkāḻāi iṉi allēṉ eṉalāmē' etc. Therefore, it is not possible to say that these last verses are later day additions.

22. H. 55 and 68.
23. H. 67, 98, 16, 19, 34 and 36.
24. See Chap. 3: VIII.

Though Ārūrar does not give as much importance to this last verse as Campantar, who will declare that it is his order[25] (Āṇai Namatē), yet Ārūrar also follows in the footsteps of Campantar in leaving his mudra or name in the last verses. It is this difference that has made Campantar's benedictory verses to be called Tirukkaṭaikkāppu par excellence. In some places, Cēkkiḻār refers to the last verse of Ārūrar's hymns as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu and in these places,[26] the hymns contain more than 10 verses. On this basis, it cannot be argued that wherever Cēkkiḻār uses the phrase Tirukkaṭaikkāppu, there must be 11 or more verses; for, hymns like 15 where also the last verse is described by Cēkkiḻār as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu,[26a] the total verses are only ten and no more. As this short cut of removing all the last verses, is not available, the hymns containing more verses than 10 have to be scrutinized in detail. Tastes differ and it is not easy to come to any unanimous verdict on any one verse. All the same, the attempt is worth making.

V

The hymn No. 7 contains 11 verses. The verse No. 8 seems at first sight an imitation of verse No. 2. The first line in V. 8 is against the rule of grammar about 'short U', though such 'Ārṣa' breaches of rules are found even in the musical compositions of Campantar.[27] This hymn is described as 'Cittanilait tiruppatikam' by Cēkkiḻar[28] and true to this name, this is addressed by the Saint to his own mind or 'citta'. The term 'Maṉattīr'[29] may be interpreted as referring to mind; the verses point out the defects including evanescence of this worldly life and give wholesome advice. The only verse, not based on this pattern is verse No. 10, which probably was introduced by some who wanted to have a hit at Viṣṇu and Brahma, as is used to be done by Campantar in a few verses preceding the last verse. When such references to Viṣṇu or the Jains come, it may be said verses containing them may be later day additions. But one must take into consideration whether Ārūrar himself might not have been in a reminiscent mood and therefore sometimes made such reference as Campantar himself, almost in the same order.

25. 3: 78: 11.
26. 7: 14—Ēyar., 82; 7: 36; Ēyar.—85.
26a. Ēyar., 42.
27. 1: 106: 8.
28. Ēyar., 121.
29. V. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8.

Hymn No. 9 contains verses alternately addressed to God as 'Aḻakaṉ' or the 'The Beautiful' and as 'Puṉitaṉ', 'The Pure'. This alternating pattern is spoiled by verses 9 and 10 which both address God as the 'Beautiful'. The last or the 11th verse tries to restore order by speaking of Him as the Pure. If either the 9th or the 10th is omitted, the alternating pattern of the 'Beautiful' and 'the Pure' will be restored and the hymn will contain only 10 verses and not 11 verses, as it stands now.

The hymn No. 12 is called 'Nāṭṭut-t tokai'. Tokai is a grouping or collection. In this hymn we get an illustrative catalogue of the holy places. Nāṭu means both an independent state and a province of a state. This hymn describes the temples mentioning the Nāṭu or Province or State in which the city of the temple is. This explains the name 'Nāṭṭu-t tokai'. The last line in each verse gives the name of the city and the name of the Nāṭu almost in similar terms: c.f. 'Marukal nāṭṭu Marukal'. In verse No. 10, this pattern is broken raising a doubt of interpolation by those who wanted to introduce the temples mentioned therein. Though verse No. 7 also does not end like the other verses, giving the name of a city bearing the name of the province itself, it does refer to the Īḻanāṭu, Teṉṉāṭu and Cōḻanāṭu. In passing, it must be also noted that Kiḷḷikuṭi which occurs at the end of this verse as one of the temples of Cōḻa Nāṭu seems to follow the pattern, for, Kiḷḷi is another name for Cōḻa. This hymn conceives God as the Great Wanderer, 'Nāṭataṉil tiriyum Perumāṉ',[30] or the great cosmopolitan or the citizen of the world-states and the places of Śiva worship are enumerated in terms of the various states or provinces. It is really the 10th verse which does not under any interpretation follow the pattern explained; if any verse has to be omitted, it may be suggested that it might be omitted.

The hymn No. 13 which also contains 11 verses, has a pattern of its own. The first two lines describe the 'Peṉṉai river' in high floods, the 3rd line refers to 'Tuṟaiyūr' with appropriate adjectival clauses reminiscent of the bathing ghat (tuṟai) or ford suggested by the name of the holy place (Tuṟaiyūr), and the last line except for the first word is repeated as a prayer for Tapas. Verse No. 10 alone especially its first two lines do not follow this pattern prima facie, suggesting by that very breach that this may be an interpolation by those who thought there must be a reference to Brahma and Viṣṇu in this verse.

30. V. 11.

The hymn No. 14 contains 12 verses. The verses inclusive of the benedictory verse follow one and the same pattern and end with the chorus-like phrase "Ivaralātu illaiyō pirāṉār?"—Is there no Lord but He?' The first two lines in these verses refer to Ārūrar himself or his mind as having complete reliance on God and none else. The third line is a reference to 'Pāccil Āccirāmam', the name of the temple. The fourth line is an interrogation or an interjection: 'Is there no Lord but He, if He were not to help or save us!' Verses Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 follow this pattern. Of these, verse No. 8 is addressed to the poet's mind and therefore verse No. 4 which is also addressed to his mind and in that way a reference to the poet himself, may be said to conform to this pattern. Verses 5 and 7 are not modelled on this scheme; the 5th refers in its first line to Tripuradahanam and to God's help to His devotees, whilst the 7th is a description of God adorning Himself with skull and dancing on the grave yard. If these two are omitted, one gets only 10 verses. In some verses God is described as 'Aṭikaḷ' and in others as 'Paramar', the Lord and the Beyond. Even as 'Puṉitaṉ' and 'Aḻakaṉ' alternatingly formed a pattern of verses in hymn No. 9, perhaps originally there was an alternating pattern in this hymn as well, and there will be no difficulty in re-arranging the verses on this pattern.

The 16th hymn on 'Kalayanallūr' also reveals a general scheme of its own. The first two lines give a purāṇic story of the Lord either of His destroying the evil or His blessing the Good, and the last two lines give beautiful descriptions of Man and Nature of the holy place: "If you ask what is the city of the Lord who has performed this great deed of Grace, it is Kalayanallūr of such beauty"—that is the pattern of the sentence occurring in every verse. The first gives the story of the penance of the Mother Goddess, the third that of Caṇḍēśvara, the fourth that of the playful covering of the eyes of the Lord by the entwining hands of the Goddess, the 5th that of Tripuradahana, the 6th of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, the 7th the destruction of the pride of Rāvaṇa, the 9th the burning of Kāma, the 10th of Brahma's worship, the 11th that of the Lord's begging—that is, all these give only one story each. The second and the eighth verses, however, give more than one story. The first two lines therein in verse No. 2 may be said to introduce some unity by connecting these stories by way of contrast. Asura Jalandhara was killed and the same weapon which killed him was conferred on the worshipful Viṣṇu as a gift whilst the Lord hurled his weapons on

the proud Indra and Andhaka. The 8th verse is really a problem; it refers, to the pillar of Fire, which form, the Lord assumed in the presence of the conceited Viṣṇu and Brahma, to the Lord adorning his crown with the crescent and to the drinking of the poison. Unless one strains a good deal, a unity may not be easily perceived. Somebody having the pattern of Campantar's poem must have thought that the reference to Brahma and Viṣṇu must succeed the verse immediately after the other verse describing Rāvaṇa. In this connection, one may usefully be reminded of the tradition about Veḷḷippāṭṭu—the interpolations by Veḷḷiampalat tampirāṉ of Dharmapuram in Tēvāram.[31]

In hymn No. 17, every last line states that the Lord's place is our Tirunāvalūr; the 2nd line or the third line refers to Veṉṉeinallūr where God saved Ārūrar—"Veṉṉeinallūril vaittenṉai āḷuṅkoṇṭār". The terms 'Veṉṉei nallūr' and 'Nāvalūr' do not find place in v. 2 though the verse describes in more detail the story of the Saviour. The heading 'Veṉṉeinallūr and Nāvalūr' does not, therefore, fit in with this verse. If this verse is omitted, one has only ten verses.

The hymn No. 19, as it stands at present, is against the scheme of ten verses. 'His place is Tiruniṉṟiyūr'—"Iṭamāvatu or iṭamām or iṭam Tiruniṉṟiyūrē"—that is the pattern of the sentence in every verse. Verse No. 10 has the other form, 'Ūr Tiruniṉṟiyūr'. In verse No. 3, the form, 'Iṭam Tiruniṉṟiyūr' occurs; but, whereas in other verses 'Iṭam' occurs in the fourth line and Tiruniṉṟiyūr also in the same line, in this verse, whilst the word Tiruniṉṟiyūr occurs in its proper place in the fourth line, the word 'Iṭam' occurs in the third line instead of in the fourth line. If Ārūrar's love of natural scenery is taken into consideration, one will be tempted to omit the tenth verse rather than the third, so as to reduce the number of verses to ten.

The hymn No. 30 comes next with its extra verse. The last sentence in every verse is a sort of chorus or 'pallavi'—'How sweet is He when we think of Him!' The third line describes the Kokuṭi (or the jasmine), the temple itself being named after this flower. The second line mentions the place 'Karuppaṟiyalūr', with its descriptions which sometimes begin in the first line itself. Verse No. 7 differs from this pattern in that, the first line contains an

31. Campantar's Maṟaikkāṭu hymn 'Viṭaittēvar' and Kampa Rāmāyaṇam, etc.

advice addressed to the world at large; and this may be omitted. In this hymn also, as in the hymns of Campantar there is one verse referring to Viṣṇu and Brahma and another to the Jains and Buddhists.

The hymn No. 34, the famous Tiruppukalūr hymn, contains 11 verses. These verses are addressed to the brother poets of the age, usually singing the vain glories of erratic men. Ārūrar assures them in the first two lines that even if they attribute in their verses all grand qualities to those who have them not, those men will never condescend to give them anything. Ārūrar, in the third line and sometimes in the second line, also advises them to sing the glory of the Lord. In the fourth line he affirms that there is no doubt whatever about those singing the praises of the Lord reaching Śivalōka in the next birth. "Yātum aiyuṟavillaiyē" is the ending of every verse. The contrast between the poet's imaginary description and the cruel reality is emphasised in every verse. This is the general pattern. Verse No. 10 does not specifically mention the contrast. It describes only the poet's hyperbole without even suggesting the reality of ugliness and meanness as in other verses. But so is verse No. 3. In verse No. 10, however, the use of the word 'Kaḷaṟu' may at first sight seem to be not very happy, but perhaps Ārūrar feels that the poets by sheer contrast bring home poignantly the truth of the world. No breach of pattern need be felt; it may be that the darker and more realistic side of the picture is there, in an implied sense. The verse No. 9 repeats the words 'Kaṟṟu nallaṉē' found in verse No. 3 and it repeats the idea of Kāma found in verse No. 10. The singing of the owls[32] reminds one of desolation; Pukalūr's fertility is described in terms of the owl's song, not a very happy description, indeed, of fertility. In hymn No. 32, wherein[33] Ārūrar complains of isolation and desolation, he mentions the owl as the sign of such state. In hymn No. 50, the first verse also refers to the song of the owls. The reference to the high-way robbers in verses Nos. 2 and 5, the appearance of desolation in verse No. 4 and the mention of 'Kaḷḷi' in verses Nos. 6 and 8 make it clear that the context in which the owl is thought of can be only that of desolation—a place in ruins—"Paḷampati".[34] If this is admitted, the beauty of the fertile Pukalūr described in the last verse of the hymn, fits ill with

32. Pottilāntaikaḷ pāṭṭaṟāp pukalūr—V. 9.
33. V. 4.
34. V. 1.

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the description of the owl's song. Hence verse No. 9 may be omitted.

VI

Hymn No. 36 is composed as the speech of the woman to whose doors the Lord goes to beg. All the verses end with the phrase "Āraṇīya viṭaṅkarē"—'The natural unsculptured Beauty of the Forest'. They express their fear of His serpents and other articles of adornment and beg of Him not to bring them along with Him. The first line of verse No. 3 speaks of the Lord in the third person as contrasted with the other verses addressing Him in the second person. It is possible to suggest an emendation; 'Tūyavar' might have been 'Tūyavīr'; but even then the third line is neither musical nor poetical. If this is omitted one will have only 10 verses in this hymn.

Hymn No. 37 on Tiruvārūr is what is called in Tamil 'Tūtu' or 'Sandēśa' where the pining lady-love sends messages to her lover through the birds. Cēkkiḻār calls this 'Kaikkiḻai' or one sided love. The first two lines in every verse addressing the birds, give the description of Ārūr or its Lord and end in 'Ārūrarai' in the accusative case or in 'Ārūrarkku' in the dative case. The last two lines enumerate the sufferings to be explained to the Lord, in triplets. Verse No. 7 does not follow this model in as far as the last two lines are concerned. Probably verse No. 6 does not also give three types of sufferings; but the states of the growth of the suffering can be easily distinguished as (1) sight of the Lord, (2) growing of the fire of love and (3) its consuming the body. In any case the word 'um' has a conjunctive force, but not so the 'um' in verse No. 7 which refers to only one suffering. Further 'Tēṉalaṅkoṇṭa tēṉ vaṇṭukāḷ', 'Pāṉalaṅkoṇṭa' etc., fall flat. Hence this verse No. 7 may be safely omitted.

Hymn No. 39 is the famous Tiruttoṇṭattokai. This hymn had already been explained as an exception. Verse No. 10, as contrasted with the other verses referring to specific devotees refers to devotees in general. When the full implications of the 10th verse are realised, it is not possible to reject it as an interpolation. Even during the times of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, there were these eleven verses. At least with reference to hymn No. 2, which we considered to be an exception to the rule of singing ten verses, it can be said that the last verse has no connection with the verses that have preceded it; but such doubts cannot arise with reference to this hymn. Therefore, it should be looked upon as an exception to Ārūrar's scheme of ten verses.

In hymn No. 40, verses Nos. 8 and 10 do not follow the general pattern found therein of piling up the accusative cases, in the first four lines. Perhaps the pattern should not be taken in such a detailed way. But verse No. 9 is really difficult; it repeats 'Caṭaiyāṉai[35] and the phrase "Tuṉiviṉiya tūyamoḻit toṇṭaivāy nallār tūnīlaṅ kaṇvaḷarum" does not make excellent poetry worthy of Ārūrar. If this is omitted the total verses here also will be ten.

The first two lines in every verse in hymn No. 43 refer to the beggar's part, the Lord plays; and they ask implicitly or explicitly: 'How are the devotees to live if their Lord is a Beggar!' The second two lines describe the Mutukuṉṟam and its natural scenery. Verses Nos. 4 and 9 are not of this pattern. A reference to the 4th line of the verse No. 9 makes it clear that the third line does not go along with 'muṭṭi' of line 4. The subject of 'muṭṭi' is not clear. In verse No. 4, the third and the fourth lines form a description of the Lord of Mutukuṉṟam and there are many places where the description of the Lord takes the place of the description of a city, in Tēvāram. Therefore, it is verse No. 9, which is not intelligible with its "Ceṭṭi niṉ kātali; aṭṭum iṉ cil pali; and muṭṭi aṭi toḻa", that has to be omitted.

Hymn No. 45 has the pattern of repeating the first word of every line suggesting thereby surprise or wonder or certainty. The verse No. 6 repeats the words already repeated in verse No. 1. It is probably a variation or a different reading of the first verse. If this is omitted the hymn will contain only ten verses. A study of hymn No. 99 will help us to understand this position.

VII

In every verse of the hymn No. 46 there is a request for luxuries of life. But the verse No. 3 does not contain any such request. Probably for this reason, this has no place in this hymn.

In hymn No. 51, Ārūrar pines for the sight of the Lord of Tiruvārūr. The last line of every verse chimes like a chorus: "Pirintirukkēṉ eṉ Ārūr Iṟaivaṉaiyē". In the first three lines, he condemns himself for being away from the Lord. Verses Nos. 2 and 7 do not refer to Ārūrar in the first three lines except for the last phrases in the third lines. But this need not be considered a

35. C.f. 1st and 3rd lines.

breach of a pattern as long as the fourth line is all right. In the absence of any breach of a pattern, one may search for any unpoetic repetition. Verses 5 and 9 repeat the reference to Brahma and Viṣṇu and one of these, possibly verse No. 5 which certainly does not rise to the poetic heights of verse No. 9, has to be omitted. It must be said, repetitions of ideas and purāṇic stories are not unknown even in Ārūrar's verse, though in this hymn one is on firmer grounds on rejecting verse No. 5, because one relies on a comparison of poetic worth.

Hymn No. 56 contains 11 verses and it is very difficult to decide which has to be omitted. If the pattern of piling up the accusative cases in each is considered, the fourth verse may seem to be a breach; but, the first verse which is specifically mentioned in Periyapurāṇam is also very much like this fourth verse. Speaking subjectively, this present writer does not see much of poetic beauty or feeling in verse No. 7 which repeats in addition a phrase 'Viṭṭilaṅku'[36] for the sake of 'etukai'. Therefore, it may be concluded that it was not originally there in this hymn.

In hymn No. 57, perhaps, verse No. 10 had been interpolated for introducing a reference to Jains and Buddhists, since in the previous verses reference had been made to Viṣṇu and Rāvaṇa. "Iruntuṇ tērarum niṉṟuṇ camaṇum" is a phrase from Campantar's poems. The descriptions have no ring of sincerity. Verse No. 11 repeats the story of Tripura told with force in verse No. 5. If these two are omitted the hymn will leave only 10 verses.

In hymn No. 59, the verses pile up the description of the Lord in accusative cases and end by saying 'Is it possible to forget Him? The verse No. 4 states "Vaitta cintaiyuṇṭē, maṇamuṇṭē, matiyuṇṭē, vitiyiṇ payaṇuṇṭē" whose significance is all too patent to mislead any one. The verse No. 5 is an elaboration on this model by some one who wanted to outdo Ārūrar. "Ceṟivuṇ ṭēl maṇat tāṟṟeḷi vuṇṭēl tēṟṟat tālvaruñ cikkaṇa vuṇṭēl, maṟivuṇṭēl maṟu maippiṟap puṇṭēl vāṇāḷ mēṟcellum vañcaṉai uṇṭēl, poṟivaṇ tāḻceyum poṉmalark koṉṟai poṉpō luñcaṭai mēṟpuṉain tāṉai, aṟivuṇ ṭeyuṭa lattuyi ruṇṭē yārū rāṉai maṟakkalu māmē" piled up in the first, second and fourth lines with no claim for perspicuity. If this is omitted the hymn will contain ten verses.

In hymn No. 61, the third lines refer to the Mother Goddess worshipping the Lord; the first two lines mention the other

36. C.f. lines 1 and 3.

characteristics of God, and the fourth lines are but the chimings of a chorus—"Kampaṉ emmāṉaik kāṉak kaṉ aṭiyēṉ perṟavāṟē". Verse No. 10 is not according to this pattern, since all the three lines give the story of the worship of the Mother Goddess without any reference to the other characteristics of the Lord. The verse is really good; perhaps it has been composed by one who wanted to describe the puṟāṇic story in greater detail.

VIII

In hymn No. 67, though the verses look like objective statements, they are really expressions of subjective experience. Therefore, the mere piling up of purāṇic stories can have no place, and verse 9 seems to be, on this score, out of tune with the ring of other verses.

In hymn No. 69, Ārūrar refers in every verse to himself and prays for the removal of his misery; the expression, "Pāṭutuyar kaḷaiyāy pācupatā parañcuṭarē" occurs at the end of every verse almost like a chorus. But verse No. 4 introduces a variation, "Pāṭuvēṉ karulāy pācupatā parañcuṭarē"—"Bless me, who is singing your praises." This verse repeats Ārūrar's reference to his singing of Tiruppukaḷ in verse No. 2. The music of assonance is attempted at the cost of its meaning in this verse No. 4 and therefore this may be taken as not to have been originally in this hymn.

In hymn No. 72, one may first feel that the second verse is sacrificing sense, for a jingling assonance of 'arākam' in phrases like "Aravuri irantavaṉ". But "Naravuri irantavaṉ" is the reading suggested which makes good sense. Probably for many verses we are not having the correct reading. Therefore, in this hymn it is difficult to decide which verse has to be omitted.

The 73rd hymn also contains eleven verses. The first verse is unlike other verses in that there is no self condemnation there, as in the following. Again the verse No. 5 which may be interpreted as a special plea for God's pity on the poet based on his innocence does not fit in with the scheme of self condemnation. But it is not clear whether we are having the correct reading for some of the verses here. In the absence of a correct reading it is difficult to decide. The author of Periyapurāṇam, does not mention the initial line. He speaks of 'Tiruppatikaṅkaḷ'[37] in plural;

37. Tatuṭ., 123.

probably the word 'Patikam' means not a hymn but a verse in this reference. If he meant more than one hymn, there must have been 20 verses of which only 11 are available; nine verses on the pattern of the first must be missing.

Taking hymn No. 77 for consideration, one finds that the verse No. 10 repeats what is found in the first line of verse No. 11. A repetition may be found in an 'antāti' composition but this is not one such. This verse probably had been introduced to bring in the story of Viṣṇu and Brahma.

In hymn No. 89, the verse No. 9 seems to be giving elaborate details of the story of Caṅkili and Ārūrar—somewhat more detailed than one may expect in this hymn. This verse must have been in existence even during the days of Cēkkiḻār who it may be said, has based this part of Ārūrar's story on this verse. Or, it may be that on the basis of Cēkkiḻār, somebody has introduced this detail in this verse.

In hymn No. 93, it is very difficult to decide upon the verse to be omitted. If the verses are taken to be referring to purāṇic stories and events, verse No. 8 which seems to describe the adornments of the Lord rather than give the purāṇic stories, may be omitted. It is possible to interpret this verse as referring to the purāṇic events but in that case it must be taken to be repeating the story of the tearing away of the elephant already mentioned in verse No. 2 and the story that followed after that mentioned in verse No. 5, the defeat of the ṛṣis of Dārukavana, who, enraged at the Lord going naked to beg at the doors of their wives, sent the deer, fire etc., all of which the Lord neutralized. In this case, one has to omit it on the score of repetition when such repetition is not a pattern of the hymn.

In hymn No. 95, the verses speak of the devotees in the plural including therein the poet himself. Verses Nos. 2 and 11, however, speak of the poet in the first person. The verse No. 11 is the last verse and as usual it gives the name of the poet. There might have been a variant reading for this verse. As already stated the last verses cannot be omitted. The second verse simply repeats "Eṉ kaṇ koṇṭīr nīrē paḻip paṭṭīr" which occurs in the last verse, when there is no such pattern of repetition in the other verses. Further it states that the poet has committed no wrong whatsoever—a statement which is against the trend of his poems—

c.f. hymn No. 55 and his principle—"Kuṟṟam ceyyiṉum kuṇam eṉa-k karutum koḷkai". The phrase 'maṟṟaikkaṇ' in this verse No. 2 is mentioned by Cēkkiḻār. Or, it may be that this verse was composed by others following the verse of Cēkkiḻār.

In hymn No. 98, the first two lines in every verse describe the Lord and the last two lines, the place where the Temple is situated. Verse No. 4 may be brought within this pattern. It is verse No. 10 which has to be omitted since the idea of Ceṅkaṇāṉ as found in verse 11, is repeated herein, and since it might have been introduced by those who thought that a reference to Rāvaṇa was necessary.

Hymn No. 99 gives in the first two lines of every verse, purāṇic stories and asks why these events took place. The story of Manmata is given in verses 7 and 9. These verses are almost a replica of each other except for the initial words and for a slight difference in line 4. As the 9th verse is more in accordance with the established practice of assonance than its altered form in the 7th verse, it might be taken to have been the original verse rather than the 7th.

IX

One has to confess, one is here in the land of conjecture except in a few cases like hymn No. 99. The difficulty may be explained with reference to a hymn which has only ten verses, for instance hymn No. 54. In that hymn, verse No. 8 is addressed to the Lord but in the middle of this verse, the poet turns to his own mind only to end with his address to the Lord, which forms a kind of chorus at the end of every verse of this hymn. This is not a case of any breach of a pattern. Perhaps the abrupt changes reflect truly the confusion of the poet's misery. It is verse No. 2 which repeats "Tiruvaṭip piḻaiyēṉ" without making any clear sense in any of its lines—perhaps an attempt to sing on the model of verse No. 1—that seems to be omitted. Even the reference to Caṅkili is not clear. If this is omitted this hymn will have only nine verses, one verse having been already lost to us. It is not argued that this should be omitted; it is pointed out only for the purpose of explaining the difficulties in the way.

This examination has proceeded on the assumption that where there is a repetition of ideas or words without any poetic effect, in such repetitions they may not be the work of Ārūrar. As a

check we have Periyapurāṇam which in some cases refers to particular verses and Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi Tiruvantāti. If verses have been referred to by these earlier works it will be difficult to set them aside as interpolations. The other assumption is that when a hymn follows a particular pattern, any verse which does not fit in with that pattern will have to be looked upon with suspicion. But one has to be on one's guard in deciding upon the pattern; one must avoid the temptation of imagining too detailed a pattern. A third source of suspicion which may after all turn out to be baseless, hovers around verses referring to Viṣṇu or Jains on the pattern of Campantar's hymns. Perhaps it is the fourth assumption of poetic worth of a verse—purely a personal predilection inspite of all reasons given—that really decides the matter. It is not claimed that the judgments are final. A case, it is hoped, has been made for re-examining the verses of these hymns with a suspicion that there may be in them verses not sung by Ārūrar. Nothing more is claimed and that is why in our studies in the following pages we do not omit references to the verses here suspected to be interpolations.

CHAPTER V

THE LIFE OF NAMPI ĀRŪRAR—THE TRADITION

I

The life of Nampi Ārūrar assumes great significance in Śaiva Philosophy. It is said to represent by some, the sakha mārga, the way of worshipping God as one's friend.

Civañana Cittiyār—Cupakkam, describes four ways of attaining God, the path of the servant, the path of the good son, the path of the friend and the path of truth.[1] These are equated with Caryā, Kriyā, Yōga and Jñāna Mārgas.

The path of the servant consists in sweeping the temple of the Lord, painting the ground with cow dung, gathering flowers and making them into various kinds of garlands for the Lord, singing hymns in His praise, setting up and lighting the temple lamps, preparing temple gardens, falling at the feet of Śaivites and doing their biddings.[2]

The path of the good son is explained as going with sweet smelling flowers, incense, light, bathing materials and food, performing the five purifications, conceiving and contemplating upon the seat, the image and the inner light of the image, performing worship out of pure love, praising, and conducting the ceremonies in the sacrificial fire with reverence every day.[3]

The path of the friend is the conquest of the sense organs, the control of the inspiration and expiration of breath to such a great extent that the movement of the body ceases, the knowledge of the inner seats of yōga and their internal ways of action, the realisation of their significance, going up the passage of yōga and reaching the sphere of the moon in the body and from there allowing the nectar to flow up to the brim into one's body, contemplating on the Absolute light and performing completely the yōga of eight parts.[4]

1. C.C., V. 270.
2. *Ibid.*, V. 271.
3. *Ibid.*, V. 272.
4. *Ibid.*, V. 273.

The path of truth consists in the knowledge of all śāstras, philosophies and religions, the rejection of varied ways other than the jñāna mārga, realisation of jñāna of the good path, which, analysing the characteristic features of paśu (the soul), pati (God), and pāśa (the fetter) shows the way to the attainment of Paraśiva, the resulting absence of any quest after the knower, the known and the knowledge and the final communion with Śiva.[5]

It is said that the life of Appar represents the path of the servant, the life of Campantar, the path of the good son, the life of Ārūrar, the path of the friend and the life of Māṇikkavācakar, the path of truth. But this cannot be accepted as the final conclusion of the Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy. Tirukkaḷirṟuppaṭiyār[6] has no doubt whatever that all these saints reached the highest stage of spiritual development, viz., oneness with God. But Civañāna Cittiyār, which describes these four paths, explains them as four different stages in the development of spiritual realisation. The path of the servant takes you to the world of the Lord; the path of the good son brings you to the presence of the Lord; the path of the friend gives you His form; and the path of the truth brings you into Advaitic relation with the Lord.[7] All the four great saints, however, attained salvation through the jñāna mārga, though it is possible to differentiate in that path of truth itself, these four varieties of approach, all finally blossoming into the flower of realisation. It is in this sense that we can speak of the life of Nampi Ārūrar as exemplifying the path of friendship. Cēkkiḻār emphasises this by referring to the name of Nampi Ārūrar as Tampirāṉ Tōḻar[8] and speaking of all the activities of Nampi Ārūrar as yōga.[9]

II

Apart from this, the poems of Ārūrar, being the outpourings of his heart, have to be interpreted in relation to the events of his life. His hymns are full of references to his own life. It is, therefore, necessary to have a clear picture of his life for understanding his verses aright. It is better to begin with the story of his life as given in Periyapurāṇam. This story may be next examined in the light of references found in Ārūrar's hymns.

5. *Ibid.*, V. 274.
6. *Kaḷiṟ.*, V. 12.
7. C.C., V. 270.
8. Taṭut., 127-129.
9. Taṭut., 181.

Cēkkiḻār begins his Purāṇam with the narration of events which happened on the top of the Mountain Kailas before Ārūrar was born in this world. The story is that he fell in love with two ladies of Pārvatī's retinue, whilst gathering flowers.[10] Ālālacuntarar, that is the name which our poet bore in his previous birth there,[11] was, therefore, sent to this world for the fulfilment of his desires.[12] At his request, the Lord promised to save him from the ephemeral pleasures of the world.[12a] There are people who consider this as an interpolation in Periyapurāṇam. It is not necessary to go into this vexed question; for, we are not very much concerned with the previous birth of the saint. Beyond stating that our poet, as a Śaivite, was a believer in the theory of Karma and transmigration of souls, we can make no scientific statements about his previous birth with the help of the hymns he had sung.

III

The story of Ārūrar is given in Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam, Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār Purāṇam, Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivār Nāyaṉār Purāṇam and the last Veḷḷāṇaic carukkam of Periyapurāṇam.

Ārūrar belonged to Tirumuṇaippāṭi Nāṭu and was born in the city of Tirunāvalūr[13]. His father was Caṭaiyaṉār and mother Icaiñāṇiyār.[14] He was named (Nampi) Ārūrar after the God of Tiruvārūr.[15] The chief of Tirumuṇaippāṭi Nāṭu, Naraciṅkamuṇaiyaraiyar, was captivated by the beauty of this child and he brought him up in his own palace.[16] When Ārūrar came to be of the marriageable age, his parents made arrangements for getting him married to the daughter of Ṣaḍaṅgavi (Ṣaḍ aṅga vit) Śivāccāriyār of Puttūr.[17] Before the marriage could be performed, Śiva Himself came in the form of an old Brahmin and protested against the marriage of Ārūrar, whom he claimed as his slave.[18] To prove his preposterous story of one Brahmin becoming a slave of another Brahmin, he produced before the assembly of learned

10. Tirumalai., 24, 25.
11. Tirumalai., 22.
12. Tirumalai., 27.
12a. Tirumalai., 29.
13. Taṭut., 1, 2.
14. *Ibid.*, 3.
15. *Ibid.*, 4.
16. *Ibid.*, 5.
17. *Ibid.*, 7.
18. *Ibid.*, 37.

Brahmins, the original deed of slavery duly signed by Ārūrar's grand-father and attested by witnesses of that age.[19] The signatures were compared and the assembly had to decide that the document was genuine and valid.[20] It was mentioned therein that this old Brahmin who claimed Ārūrar as his slave belonged to Tiruveṇṇeinallūr and every one assembled there was anxious to know where he resided. The old man led them all and disappeared at the entrance to the temple of Tiruvaruṭṭuṟai.[21] At the time of the enquiry, Ārūrar at first abused the old man and tore off the copy of the document. Therefore, Śiva now praised him as 'Vaṉ Toṇṭaṉ'—'The stubborn slave'—and declared that the best form of worship He loved was the song.[22] He bade Ārūrar begin singing by using his very word of abuse 'Pittā'—'the madman'—and Nampiyārūrar sang the first hymn beginning with "Pittā piṟaicūṭi."[22a] "Is it fair to deny after having become your slave?'—that is the strain (chorus) of the verses. Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn, "Peritām Tiruppatikam,"[23] 'the great hymn,' because of the great revolution effected in Ārūrar.

From there, the poet naturally went to his place of birth, Tirunāvalūr, and sang a hymn in praise of the Lord of the temple there.[24] In obedience to the command of the Lord that he should go about the world singing His praises, Ārūrar started on a pilgrimage.[25]

The first place visited by Ārūrar was Tiruttuṟaiyūr.[26] He sang there the hymn beginning with "Malaiyār aruvi".[27] In every one of the verses of this hymn, the poet desired that the path of Tapas (Sacrifice) might be shown to him. Periyapurāṇam describes this hymn as the hymn obstructing the path of births—"Pavaneṟikku vilakkākum Tiruppatikam".[28]

After visiting various temples of the Lord, he thought of Citamparam. He crossed the Peṇṇār (Peṇṇaiyāṟu), reached the

19. *Ibid.*, 59, 60.
20. *Ibid.*, 61, 62.
21. *Ibid.*, 65.
22. *Ibid.*, 70.
22a. *Ibid.*, 73, 74.
23. *Ibid.*, 74.
24. *Ibid.*, 78.
25. *Ibid.*, 76.
26. *Ibid.*, 79.
27. H. 13.
28. Taṭut., 79.

outskirts of Tiruvatikai which was the place where Saint Appar worked with his hoe or 'uḻavārappaṭai' and was so overcome by a feeling of reverence that he dared not even set his foot on such a sacred soil. He remained in the Cittavaṭa mutt. Whilst he was asleep, Śiva in the form of an old Brahmin, came and laid Himself down with His feet touching the head of Ārūrar. Ārūrar woke up and protested. The old man begged him to be excused for not knowing the direction because of His old age. But this kind of kicking on the head was repeated so many times that Ārūrar exploded: "Who art thou?" Then the old man disappeared saying, 'Don't you know me?' Only then the truth of divine presence dawned on Ārūrar and he sang the hymn, "Is there any one who does not know his Lord?"—"Tammāṉai aṟiyāta cātiyār uḷarē"[29] ending each verse with the interrogation, "Will I slight the Lord of Tiruvatikai even for a second?".[30]

After bathing in the river Keṭilam, Ārūrar worshipped the temples at Tirumāṇikkuḻi, and Tiṟuttiṇainakar where he sang the hymn No. 64 beginning with "Nīṟu tāṅkiya", advising therein his mind to take refuge into the sprout of Śiva—'Śivakkoḻuntu'.

He entered the temple Citamparam, through the northern gate. He was moved by the sight of the divine dance and sang a hymn praising his own birth as the most blissful because it gave him this great opportunity of worshipping the dance. Unfortunately this hymn is not available for our study. A voice was heard from the Heaven directing Ārūrar to proceed to Tiruvārūr.[31]

The poet crossed the Coleroon (Koḷḷiṭam) and approached Cīkāḻi. He could not set foot on the holy soil of that city where Campantar was born. Whilst on the outskirts of that city, the Lord appeared to him on the sacred bull along with his consort and the poet sang the hymn No. 58 beginning with "Cātalum piṟattalum", describing therein the vision as the very vision of Kailas. Cēkkiḻār describes this hymn as "Paṇ tarum iṉṉicai payiṉṟa Tīruppatikam"—'the hymn of the music full of rāgas or melody'.[32]

After offering his worship at Cīkāḻi, our poet passed through Tirukkōlakkā, Tiruppuṉkūr and various other shrines. The great

29. H. 38.
30. Taṭut., 82-88.
31. *Ibid.*, 108.
32. *Ibid.*, 113.

Kāviri river was reached and our saint worshipped Mayilāṭuturai, Amparmākāḷam and Tiruppukalūr and reached near Tiruvārūr. The people of Tiruvārūr were informed by Śiva of the approach of the poet and they went in a body and gave him a royal welcome. At the sight of this reception, Ārūrar sang the hymn beginning with, "Karaiyum kaṭalum",[33] ending each verse with the plea, 'The Lord resides at Tiruvārūr; ascertain from Him whether He will accept us as well'. That is the burden of every verse in this hymn. Here Cēkkiḻār observes that our poet reached the entrance of the shrine singing, "Canta icaip patikaṅkaḷ"[34] 'hymns of rhythm and music'.

Cēkkiḻār describes at this stage, the episode of love, in all its poetic glory. Paravaiyār, one of the common women, and a virgin, came to worship at the temple of Tiruvārūr and Ārūrar fell in love with her. Paravaiyār was not unwilling and she became love-sick. Ārūrar looked upon her as the very embodiment of Śiva's grace. Both were married and they led a life of happiness and piety. The devotees of the Lord conferred the title of 'Tampirāṉ Tōḻar' (the friend of the Lord) on Ārūrar.[35]

On another day, Ārūrar came to worship at the temple. At the entrance, there was a maṇṭapam of a grove called 'Tēvāciriyaṉ' where sat assembled all the saints of this world. Ārūrar mentally prayed for serving them and begged of the Lord to make him fit for such a service. The Lord revealed to him their greatness and directed him to sing their praises. He was not sure how to begin. Lord's voice was there heard: "Start with the line 'Tillai vāḻ antaṇartam aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ".[36] In obedience to the divine command, our poet composed the famous 'Tiruttoṇṭattokai' hymn No. 39. Periyapurāṇam is really the story of the saints enumerated in this famous hymn. Cēkkiḻār tries to impress the greatness of the message of this hymn by narrating the story of its birth in 15 verses.[36a] He calls this hymn as the true hymn of broad or universal outlook and love.[37] Thus ends the Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam of Periyapurāṇam.

33. H. 73.
34. Taṭut., 123.
35. *Ibid.*, 129.
36. *Ibid.*, 199.
36a. *Ibid.*, 189-203.
37. *Ibid.*, 201, 202.

IV

The next part of the story of Ārūrar is continued in Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār Purāṇam. There was a Veḷḷāḷa called Kuṇṭaiyūr Kiḻār who was supplying Ārūrar with grains and other necessaries of life. A great famine came and the Veḷḷāḷa was at his wit's end. The Lord appeared in a dream and informed him of the gift of a mountain of grains. The problem was how to transport all the grains to Tiruvārūr. Ārūrar worshipped at the temple at Tirukkōḷili which is near Kuṇṭaiyūr and begged of the Lord by singing a Tiruppatikam beginning with "Nīḻa niṉaintu",[37a] begging the Lord therein to help him to transport this grain to Tiruvārūr, so that Paravai might no longer suffer. Periya-purāṇam tells us that the Pūtas carried overnight all this mountain of paddy to Tiruvārūr, where at the request of Paravaiyār all the residents took as much as they wanted from the great store.[38]

Whilst Ārūrar was thus worshipping at the temple of Tiru-vārūr, Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār requested him to pay a visit to his place, viz., Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi. After worshipping various temples on the way, Ārūrar reached Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi, which was adorned by Kōṭpuli in a befitting manner, for welcoming the saint. Kōṭpuli worshipped the saint and arranged for a great feast. He brought his two children Ciṁkaṭi and Vaṉappakai and begged the saint to accept them as his servants. Our poet accepted them as his own daughters. He went to worship the temple at Tirunāṭṭiyattāṉ-kuṭi and in the hymn sung there beginning with 'Pūṇ nāṇ',[39] the poet refers to Kōṭpuli and Ciṁkaṭi.

From there he reached Valivalam, where he sang the hymn No. 67. Therein he says that he had the vision of the Lord who was fond of the hymns of Campantar and Nāvukkaraiyar.[40] Cēkkiḻār mentions here that our poet had composed this hymn by weaving into music the all-pervasive Tamil garland.[41]

Ārūrar returned to Tiruvārūr. The Paṁkuṉi Uttara festival was fast approaching and Paravaiyār had no money for welcoming the pilgrims. Ārūrar had to think of bringing gold and he went to the temple at Tiruppukalūr and sang a hymn expressing his

37a. H. 20.
38. Ēyar., 24-28.
39. H. 15.
40. H. 67: 5.
41. Ēyar., 43.

desire of getting gold from Him. But, this hymn is lost to us. Returning after worship, he felt so fatigued that he fell asleep on the cloth he spread out on the ground after arranging as his pillow the bricks lying there for the construction of the temple. When he woke up, he found to his great surprise that all the bricks had been turned into pure gold. He then sang the famous 'Tiruppukalūr' hymn beginning with 'Tammaiyē pukaḻntu'[42] declaring unto the world that God would give here and now unequalled happiness. Cēkkiḻār describes this hymn as a musical garland of sweet words.[43] On his way, whilst he was approaching Tiruppaṇaiyūr, he had the vision of the great dance of Śiva. He went into the temple there and sang the hymn beginning with 'Māṭa māḻikai'[44] giving expression to the joy of his vision: "He is indeed the beautiful, He the dancer!" Cēkkiḻār describes this hymn as the hymn which the world received for being saved.[45] Ārūrar returned to Tiruvārūr with the gold bricks in great joy and lived in peace with Paravaiyār at Tiruvārūr.

V

Again, Ārūrar started on a pilgrimage. He visited the great temple at Naṉṉilam, built, as stated in the last verse of the hymn which the poet sang there, by the Cōḻa king Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ.[46] Cēkkiḻār describes the hymn as the garland of Tamil.[47] From there he went to Tiruvīḻimiḻalai welcomed by the Brahmins of that place. The hymn No. 88 sung here begs the Lord who had given coins daily to Campantar and Appar with the desire of listening to the music of Tamil, to shower His grace on Ārūrar as well. Periyapurāṇam describes it as the garland of pure Tamil words of expansion.[48] The temple at Tiruvāñciyam was sung in hymn No. 76, when our poet worshipped the Lord there. Cēkkiḻār calls this the hymn of no blot.[49] Ārūrar reached Aricir̤karaip puttūr but went to worship at Cittīccaram temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr. From there he returned to Puttūr welcomed by the Śaivites. In verse 6 of the hymn No. 9 of this temple, Ārūrar refers to the story of Pukaḻttuṇai Nāyaṇār. Tiruvāvaṭuturai situated on his way receiv-

42. H. 34.
43. Ēyar., 51.
44. H. 87.
45. Ēyar., 53.
46. H. 98: 11.
47. Ēyar., 56.
48. Ēyar., 59.
49. Ēyar., 60.

ed the hymn No. 66, which immortalises amongst others, the story of Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ.[50] 'The munificent hymn of a garland of Tamil words'—so says Cēkkiḻār in praise of this hymn.[51] The various temples on the southern bank of Kāviri were visited and Ārūrar finally came to Tiruviṭaimarutūr. In the hymn No. 60, sung there, he requested the Lord to show him the way of escape. This is described in Periyapurāṇam as containing sweet flowers of Tamil words.[52] Tirunākēccuram was sung on his way, in hymn No. 99. Cēkkiḻār calls this the ever-expanding hymn.[53] Ārūrar is said to have visited Śivapuram but there is no hymn for that temple available. After worshipping at various temples, he came to Tirukkalaiyanallūr where he sang the famous hymn No. 16, describing the various purāṇic stories.

He came to Tirukkuṭamūkku or Kumbhakōṇam, Tiruvalañculi and Tirunallūr and sang hymns though no hymns for these temples have reached us. Worshipping various other places, he came to Tiruccōṟṟutturai and composed the hymn beginning with "Aḻal nīr oḻuki".[54] This, Cēkkiḻār calls, the hymn of beautiful words.[55] After worshipping at various temples including Kaṇṭiyūr, Tiruvaiyāṟu, Tiruppūnturutti, he came to Tiruvālampoḻil, where the Lord appeared in a dream asking why our poet had forgotten Maḻapāṭi.[55a] Ārūrar had a vision of the youthful beauty of the Lord. Our poet reached the northern bank of Kāviri and went to worship at Tirumaḻapāṭi and sang the hymn No. 24, exclaiming, "Who else except yourself shall I think of hereafter?" Cēkkiḻār calls this the incomparable hymn of flowers.[56] Various other temples on both the banks of the river Kāviri were visited by Ārūrar. The Śaivites of Tiruvāṉaikkā welcomed the poet and he sang the hymn No. 75, where he asserted that the worshippers of the Lord were his Lords. In this hymn the poet sang of the Cōḻa of Uṟantai, offering his best necklace to the Lord which came to adorn the Liṅga brought in a pot through the Kāviri waters, for bathing it.[57] This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as the hymn of pure or beautiful words.[58]

50. H. 66: 2.
51. Ēyar., 63.
52. Ēyar., 65.
53. Ēyar., 66.
54. H. 94.
55. Ēyar., 70.
55a. Ēyar., 72.
56. Ēyar., 74.
57. H. 75: 7; Ēyar., 76, 77.
58. Ēyar., 76.

After worshipping at other temples, Ārūrar reached Tiruppāccilāccirāmam. Ārūrar prayed for money and Cēkkiḻār reminds of Ārūrar's path of friendship.[59] When no money was forthcoming from the Lord, he sang the hymn No. 14, wherein with disappointed heart, he cried, "If He is not going to shower His grace on His servants, if He is not going to give anything, is there no other Lord for us?" Periyapurāṇam tells us that a heap of money was given by the Lord at this place.[60] From there, Ārūrar went to Tiruppaiñ̃ñīli. He sang the hymn No. 36. It represents the speeches of the woman who fell in love with Bhikṣāṭana, the beautiful person of the forest. This hymn is called by Cēkkiḻār, "the hymn of rare Tamil".[61] Iṅkōymalai and other temples were next visited though no hymns are available for us. Following the Kāviri, our poet reached Koṅkunāṭu.

At Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi, on the south bank of Kāviri, he sang the famous hymn No. 48, that his tongue would continue to utter the Pañcākṣara even if he were unconscious. This hymn is celebrated by Periyapurāṇam as the saviour hymn of Puruṣārtha on the way.[62] Passing through various temples, he reached Pērūr on the banks of the Kāñci river. There he saw the vision of the Tillai dance. He exclaimed, "What else is there for attaining, after one has worshipped this dance of Śiva?"[63] Unfortunately there is no hymn of this kind available for our study.

Ārūrar went to Veñcamākkūṭal, singing there the hymn No. 42, describing the Ciṟṟāṟu, the temple and the city on its bank. In this hymn, he asked the Lord whether he would accept him as well.

The Kaṟkuṭi mountain was visited next and Ārūrar in the hymn No. 27 sung there begged of the Lord to encourage him by saying, 'Fear not'. Periyapurāṇam speaks of our poet worshipping Tiruvāṟaimēṟṟaḷi and Tiru Iṉṉampar.[64] This is on the basis of the first verse of Tiruppuṟampayam hymn No. 35, where the poet states, "We had gone to Āṟaimēṟṟaḷi and had come to stay at

59. Ēyar., 80.
60. Ēyar., 82.
61. Ēyar., 84.
62. Ēyar., 88.
63. Ēyar., 91.
64. Ēyar., 94.

Iṉṉampar and our Lord had not stated anything. Therefore, Oh, my heart! let us start for worshipping at Puṟampayam". This hymn is, according to Periyapurāṇam, the hymn of sweet music established firmly everywhere.[65] At Tiruppuṟampayam, he was welcomed by the Śaiva worshippers. Whilst worshipping at many temples on the way after leaving Tiruppuṟampayam, the Lord appeared to him in the form of an old Brahmin at Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟūr. Ārūrar enquired of the old Brahmin the way to Mutukuṉṟam and the old Brahmin disappeared saying, "This is the way which leads to Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr".[66] All were surprised and our poet gave expression to his sense of divine wonder in his hymn No. 85, where he exclaimed, "I do not understand this wonder of the Lord coming this way".

After worshipping at the temple at Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟūr, Ārūrar went to Tirumutukuṉṟam and sang the hymn 43, the hymn of a garland of beautiful words according to Periyapurāṇam.[67] Ārūrar, according to Periyapurāṇam, had the intention of getting gold from the Lord.[68] The next hymn No. 63 repeatedly praising the Lord as Nampi was sung and Periyapurāṇam tells us that the Lord gave 12,000 gold.[69] Ārūrar requested the Lord for the safe transport of this gold, whereupon, the Lord ordered him to throw the gold into the Maṇimuttāṟu, for being delivered at the temple tank at Tiruvārūr, when he would reach that city.[70] After thus assured of the livelihood for his body, Ārūrar thought of the livelihood for his soul and went on his way to Citamparam. On his way, he worshipped various temples including Kaṭampūr. At Citamparam, he sang the hymn No. 90 praising the vision he had of the Tillai dance at Pērūr. He gave expression to his bliss at the sight of this dance in every one of the verses in this hymn.

From there he went to the Kokuṭikkōyil at Tirukkaruppaṟiyalūr, wherein he exclaimed, "How sweet is He unto us when we think of Him?"[71] This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as the hymn of Truth and the garland of Tamil.[72]

65. Ēyar., 96.
66. Ēyar., 101-103.
67. Ēyar., 105.
68. Ēyar., 106.
69. Ēyar., 107.
70. Ēyar., 108.
71. H. 30.
72. Ēyar., 117.

He sang a hymn at Tiruppaḷamaṇṇippaṭikkarai.[73] Cēkkiḻār describes this as the hymn of praise beyond thought.[74] At Tiruvāḻkoḷiputtūr, he sang the hymn No. 57. "What shall I think of, forgetting this precious gem of Vāḻkoḷiputtūr?"—this is the burden of the hymn. When Ārūrar reached Kāṇāṭṭumuḷḷūr, he saw a vision of the Lord and the poet sang in hymn No. 40, that he had seen and worshipped Him there. Cēkkiḻār describes this as the hymn ruling the Heavens and the garland woven of munificent Tamil.[75]

At Tiruvetirkoḷpāṭi, he sang what Periyapurāṇam calls 'Cittanilait tiruppatikam'.[76] The hymn No. 7 is, true to its name, addressed to the mind, advising it to reach Etirkoḷpāṭi.

At Vēḷvikkuṭi, he sang hymn No. 18, coupling that place with Tirutturutti. Periyapurāṇam states that Ārūrar worshipped Śiva as the Lord of the sacrifice.[77] In every verse of this hymn, the poet exclaims, "Will we not serve Him, if we had known Him?"

Ārūrar returned to Tiruvārūr, worshipping on the way various temples. The gold has to be taken delivery at the temple tank and according to Periyapurāṇam, Ārūrar sang hymn No. 25, which is addressed to the Lord of Mutukuṉram. It begs of the Lord to remove the suffering and shower His blessings, in the very presence of Paravai. In the 9th verse when the poet sang, "Kūtta tantaruḷāy"—'Oh, Dancer, please do give!" It is said that gold appeared and was taken to the house of Paravaiyār.[78]

One day at Tiruvārūr, he sang[79] explaining the characteristic features of the Lord in the form of rhetorical interrogations.

VI

Ārūrar started on another pilgrimage to the various temples with his followers. After worshipping temples surrounding Tiruvārūr, he reached Tirunaḷḷāṟu. He sang H. 68, which is very much on the pattern of H. 57; but there[80] he addressed the Lord as the

73. H. 22.
74. Ēyar., 118.
75. Ēyar., 120.
76. Ēyar., 121.
77. Ēyar., 122.
78. Ēyar., 134-39.
79. H. 33.
80. H. 57.

precious gem, whereas here,[81] he addressed the Lord as the nectar. Cēkkiḻār does not mention specifically this hymn.

At Tirukkaṭavūr Mayāṉam, Ārūrar sang the famous hymn beginning with "Maruvār koṉṟai"[82] and addressing the Lord 'Periya Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ', the Great King. Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn as the hymn of overflowing music.[83] At Tirukkaṭavūr nearby, H. 28 was sung wherein the poet exclaims, "Where is any help for me except yourself?" This pathetic cry makes Cēkkiḻār label this hymn, "Maru īrat tamiḻ mālai"—'the loving (wet) garland of sweet fragrance'.[84]

At Valampuram, Ārūrar sang H. 72, which Cēkkiḻār thinks is full of rhythmic words: "Uraiyōcaippatikam".[85] Tiruccāykkāṭu received a hymn from Ārūrar, according to Cēkkiḻār, which however has not reached us.[86]

Tiruveṇkāṭu received H. 6, wherein the poet as explained in the last verse of the hymn asks a number of questions of the Lord's activities.

Hymn 97 was sung at Naṉipaḷḷi and Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn "Naṟṟamiḻiṉ puṉita naṟuntoṭai"—'the fragrant pure garland of good Tamil'.[87] In this hymn, the poet referred to Campantar being blessed with jñānam.[88] The poem made no request herein except stating that the Lord's city is Naṉipaḷḷi—perhaps this is the purity or 'punitam' because Tiruvaḷḷuvar states, "Tūymai eṉpatu avā iṉmai"[89] 'purity is the absence of desires'. In verse No. 3, the poet described the transcendental and immanent aspect of God.

Ārūrar reached Tiruniṉṟiyūr and sang hymn No. 65. Cēkkiḻār calls this the hymn of beautiful words.[90] Ārūrar described therein, certain stories of God, showering His blessings on His followers and stated that these stories had inspired him to take

81. H. 68.
82. H. 53.
83. Ēyar., 145.
84. Ēyar., 146.
85. Ēyar., 147.
86. It is possible to interpret Cēkkiḻār's verse—Ēyar., 148—as referring to a hymn sung at Tiruveṇkāṭu and not at Tiruccāykkāṭu.
87. Ēyar., 149.
88. 97: 9.
89. Kuṟaḷ, 364.
90. Ēyar., 150.

refuge in the Lord. It is this bubbling up of love that Cēkkiḻār refers to as, "Oṉṟiya aṉpu uḷḷurukāp pāṭuvār"[91]—'he sang whilst his concentrated love melted inwards.' It is in this hymn that Ārūrar gave us the number of songs Appar had sung.[92] Cēkkiḻār as a great research scholar mentions specifically this reference in his description of this hymn.[93] There is another hymn[94] for this self same temple though it is not mentioned as such by Cēkkiḻār. We had already referred to this as belonging to Tiruniṉṟa ūr of Pūcalār.

Tiru Nīṭūr was on the way, but somehow or other our poet failed to go there, but something unique in him reminded him of the temple and he returned back to worship at that temple. He sang the hymn No. 56, where the poet exclaims, "Can we leave off worshipping our Lord?". Cēkkiḻār calls this, "Meypporuḷ vaṇ tamiḻ mālai"[95]—'the garland of munificent Tamil of truth' probably because of various inspiring descriptions of the Lord in various verses of this hymn especially in verses 5 and 8.

Ārūrar passed through Tiruppuṉkūr and reached Tirukkōlakkā where he had a vision of the Lord,[96] and in the hymn No. 62 sung there, he spoke of his having the vision 'Kaṇṭu koṇṭēṉē'. In the 8th verse, reference is made to Campantar receiving the 'tāḷam' (cymbal). Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn 'Poruḷ-mālait tiruppatikam'—'the divine hymn of a garland of significance'.[97] Our poet himself describes this hymn as "Nāṭu iraṅkimuṉ aṟiyum anneṟiyāl naviṉṟa pattu"[98]—'these ten expressed in the way what the world out of love knows always'.[99]

As usual, our poet did not set his foot on the sacred precincts of Cīkāḻi. He went round the outskirts of the city and was about to reach Tirukkurukāvūr. He was overcome by hunger and thirst. As though expecting him, the Lord came there in the form of a Brahmin and set up a shed, 'pantal', for distributing water and food. Our poet could not refuse this kind offer. His

91. Ēyar., 150.
92. 65: 2.
93. Ēyar., 150.
94. H. 19.
95. Ēyar., 151.
96. Ēyar., 153.
97. Ēyar., 154.
98. 62: 10.
99. 62: 10.

retinue and himself were completely refreshed. Whilst they were asleep, the Brahmin disappeared. Realising the divine help offered, he sang hymn No. 29, which states, "Are you not the Lord of Tirukkurukāvūr? I have not realised this. You relieve hunger of those who praise you. You have saved my life." Cēkkiḻār calls this, "Meyttakaiya Tiruppatikam"[100]—'the hymn of truth.' Ārūrar thereafter went to worship at the temple and sang a hymn[101] which however has not reached us. After worshipping at the temples nearby, he reached Tirukkaḻippālai, where he sang the hymn No. 23. Ārūrar, after worshipping at Citamparam and Tiruttiṇainakar, reached his native place Tiṙunāvalūr, where the Śaivites and the residents welcomed him with all their hearts. He sang the hymn No. 17, which describes the Lord saving him at Tiruveṉṉeinallūr.

From there, he entered Toṇṭai Nāṭu and passed through its various temples and cities to reach Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam. He sang there hymn No. 81. Cēkkiḻār calls this, "Pā nāṭum iṉṉicaiyiṉ tiruppatikam"[102]—'the hymn of sweet music sought after by the rhythm of the verse.' It is not possible for us to explain the beauty of the musical compositions which Cēkkiḻār enjoyed so much.

From there Ārūrar reached Tirukkaccūr. His followers and himself almost dropped down because of starvation. The Lord, it is said, came in the form of a Brahmin, went about begging for alms in that city, offered the food to our poet and his followers and disappeared.[103] Ārūrar sang here hymn No. 41, wherein he cried out, "Will not your followers feel miserable at your begging? Is this that great Grace of yours?"

Welcomed by the Śaivites of Coñjīvaram, Ārūrar entered that great city of the Pallavas. Whilst worshipping Tirumēṟṟaḻi, he sang the hymn No. 21, where with all his confidence, he exclaimed that he would worship nobody else but the Lord and that he would not have further births or misery. Cēkkiḻār calls this "Pārār perumait tiruppatikam"—'the hymn of the greatness of the world.'[104]

100. Ēyar., 163.
101. Ēyar., 165.
102. Ēyar., 173.
103. Ēyar., 175-180.
104. Ēyar., 190.

Hymn No. 5 was sung at Tiruvōṇakāntaṉ Taḷi, Kāñci; this hymn according to Cēkkiḻār was sung for getting gold coins from the Lord.[105] Periyapurāṇam tells us God gave Ārūrar the required money.[106] Cēkkiḻār justifies this kind of procedure as one born of true friendship to the Lord. He calls this hymn as "Kalai viḷaṅkum yāṇarp patikam"[107]—'the hymn of beautiful yield, wherein shines art.' In this hymn No. 5, we see the poet playing with the Lord in a humorous way. Hymn No. 10 was at Anēkataṅkāvatam which describes the temple as the place where resides the Lord of varied activities.

After worship at all the temples at Coñjīvaram, Ārūrar reached Tiruvaṉpārttāṉ Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr, where the poet contemptuously rejected the knowledge, the speech and the habit and the support of those who did not think or speak or depend on the Lord.[108] This richness of divine love makes Cēkkiḻār call this hymn 'Vaṇṭamiḻppatikam'[109] — 'the hymn of munificent Tamil', and Periyapurāṇam further states that our poet sang this hymn as a good musical composition.

Ārūrar passed through Tirumāṟpēṟu, Tiruvallam and other temples on his way to Tirukkāḷatti. Another hymn of sweet music was sung by our poet at Tirukkāḷatti,[110] which exclaims, "I cannot praise any one but yourself, my Lord". This is on the pattern of hymn No. 21. Cēkkiḻār describes this as "Matura icaip patikam"[111]—'the hymn of sweet music'.

There is a hymn for Sri Parvatam[112] and another for Tirukkētāram,[113] but according to Cēkkiḻār these were sung whilst our poet was at Tirukkāḷatti, mentally contemplating on these two great temples of the north.[114]

VII

Our poet passed through very many temples nearby worshipping at every one of these places and he reached Tiruvoṟṟiyūr

105. Ēyar., 191
106. Ēyar., 191.
107. Ēyar., 191.
108. H. 86.
109. Ēyar., 194.
110. H. 26.
111. Ēyar., 197.
112. H. 79.
113. H. 78.
114. Ēyar., 198.

welcomed by the Śaivites of the place. He sang there, the hymn No. 91, full of love and nectar-like music, as Cēkkiḻār describes it to have sung as 'Kōtil amuta icai kūṭa.'[115]

Here is described the episode of Ārūrar's marriage with Caṅkiliyār. According to Periyapurāṇam, Caṅkiliyār was the daughter of a Veḷḷāḷa chief Tiruñayiṟu Kiḻār.[116] She felt that she was ordained for a Śaiva Saint and therefore swooned whenever there was a talk of a marriage for her.[117] Once it happened that the man, who sent his men for arranging the marriage with her, died along with the messenger.[118] This alarmed the parents. She was taken to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and was allowed to live in a building, built specially for the virgin. She performed her tapas there, weaving garlands of flowers to the Lord of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. Ārūrar, whilst he was returning from the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr saw Caṅkiliyār as a flash of lightning, coming from behind a screen for handing over the garland and disappearing once again inside the screen.[119] He fell in love with her and resolved to win her with the help of Śiva. The Lord appeared and assured Ārūrar of His help. Śiva appeared in the dream of Caṅkiliyār and pleaded with her on behalf of Ārūrar. The Lord again appeared before Ārūrar and advised him to promise Caṅkiliyār that he would never leave her. As such a kind of promise would prevent Ārūrar from visiting the various temples, he requested the Lord to disappear from the liṅga, whilst he was to make such a promise and to stay under the 'makiḻam tree'. The Lord agreed but inspired Caṅkiliyār to insist on the promise being made under the self same tree. When the day dawned, Caṅkiliyār explained the dream to her companions and they all went to the temple and Ārūrar had to make the promise under the 'makiḻam' tree. That night the Śaivite worshippers were directed by the Lord to arrange for the marriage of this couple. The marriage was duly performed and Caṅkiliyār and Ārūrar were leading a life of happiness.

But the zephyr came with the 'Vasanta' (Spring) season, the season of the festival of Tiruvārūr, when Paravaiyār used to dance before the Lord. Ārūrar sang according to Periyapurāṇam the hymn No. 51, "How long can I remain separated from my Lord of Tiru-

115. Ēyar., 204.
116. Ēyar., 207.
117. Ēyar., 211.
118. Ēyar., 214, 215.
119. Ēyar., 226.

vārūr?" which is the burden of the song. He, therefore, left Tiruvoṟṟiyūr for Tiruvārūr, thus breaking the promise he had solemnly made not to leave Caṅkiliyār. He lost, therefore, his eyesight. The poet felt very miserable and the pathetic cry was given expression to in the 54th hymn. As Cēkkiḻār points out, this hymn expresses the horrible experience of blindness, his feeling of despair and his sense of shame.[120] Hymns Nos. 51 and 54 are praised by Cēkkiḻār for their music—'Icait tiruppatikam'[121] and 'Nallicaikoṭu paravi.'[122] The intense love for the Lord of Tiruvārūr dragged him on and at 'Vaṭa Tirumullaivāyil', Ārūrar sang hymn No. 69. There he requested the Lord to remove all his intense sufferings. He specifically stated there that the Lord had removed his eyesight because of Caṅkiliyār.[123] Cēkkiḻār calls this 'Nīṭiya Patikam'—'the immortal or long hymn.'[124] In this hymn, the poet refers to Toṇṭaimāṉ in one of the verses.[125]

At Tiruveṇpākkam, the 89th hymn was sung. The poet described his sufferings and begged of the Lord to pardon him. Every one of the verses states that the poet asked the Lord whether He was in the temple and the Lord replied, "We are here, you may go." The penultimate verse informs us that he was given a walking stick. This is also praised by Cēkkiḻār as 'Icait tiruppatikam'[126] 'the hymn of music.'

From there Ārūrar went to Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. Without entering into the city of the great lady saint Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, he sang the hymn No. 52. He regretted having fallen a prey to women and expressed his resolve that he would become the slave of the servants of the Lord. Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn also 'Icait tiruppatikam.'[127] After worshipping at Tiruvūṟal, he reached Kāñci (Tiruvēkampam). There, he got back his left eye. "What a great blessing to have this eyesight, to have a vision of the Lord of Ēkampam embraced by the Mother"—thus he gave expression to his feelings of joy in his hymn No. 61. The hymn begins with the description of the Lord as one who has enjoyed the poison given by the Dēvas. Probably because of this Cēkkiḻār feels that Ārūrar

120. Ēyar., 276.
121. Ēyar., 273.
122. Ēyar., 276.
123. H. 69: 3.
124. Ēyar., 277.
125. V. 10.
126. Ēyar., 281.
127. Ēyar., 283.

must have prayed to the Lord to accept and forgive his sins even as he had accepted the poison.[128] This eyesight made him think of his Tiruvārūr and he sang the hymn No. 83, where he exclaimed, "When am I to reach my Lord at Tiruvārūr and see Him with my own eyes?" Cēkkiḻār calls this "Canta icai"[129]—'the rhythmic music'.

On his way to Tiruvārūr, he worshipped and sang at Tiru Āmāttūr. The hymn begins with the exclamation, "I have seen Him! I have seen Him!"[130] In the last verse the poet emphasises the truth aspect of God. Cēkkiḻār describes this also as "Icait-tiruppatikam."[131]

Ārūrar crossed Toṇṭaināṭu and entered the Cōḻa territory. He offered the Lord his garland of words of flowers[132] at Tirunelvāyil Tiruarattuṟai.[133] Our poet himself called this as "Naṟṟamiḻiṉ mikumālai"[134]—'the garland full of good Tamil.' He described the ephemeral nature of the world and this hymn is full of echoes from Tirukkuṟaḷ and Nālaṭiyār. He also referred to his falling a prey to women.

Ārūrar reached the Kāviri in which he bathed and reached Tiruvāvaṭuturai. He cried he had no eye and expressed his physical suffering. He exclaimed, "Oh Lord of Dēvas! There is no one but yourself for me. Show pity on me and encourage me by saying, 'Do not fear.'[135]" This is called, "Iṅkeṉakkār uṟavennum Tiruppatikam"[136]—'the hymn stating that he had no relation—a hymn of helplessness.'

The poet went to Tirutturutti and prayed for the removal of the disease. He was ordered to bathe in the temple tank of Tirutturutti and he became whole.[137] He sang there the hymn No. 74, where he described the Lord as one who knew the desire of his worshippers and one who had removed the disease and sins of

128. Ēyar., 286.
129. Ēyar., 291.
130. H. 45.
131. Ēyar., 293.
132. Ēyar., 294.
133. H. 3.
134. H. 3: 10.
135. H. 70.
136. Ēyar., 296.
137. Ēyar., 298, 299.

those who bathed in the Kāviri. This hymn, Cēkkiḻār calls "Coṟpatikam, sung with seven tunes."[38]

Tiruvārūr became visible from a distance but he was feeling miserable that he had not secured the sight of the other eye. He prostrated himself before the Lord of Tiruvārūrp paravai uṇ maṇṭaḻi. He begged of the Lord to save him from miseries and to show him the world with his own eyes. Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn[139] "Aruntamiḻ" and "Tuṅka icait tiruppatikam"[140]—'the hymn of sublime music of rare Tamil'. From there, our saint went to worship at Mūlaṭṭāṉam, the central shrine of Tiruvārūr. On his way he met the Śaivite worshippers and sang the 'Kaikkiḻai' hymn beginning with 'Kurukupāya'[141] thinking of them all as birds to go and report his words of love to the Lord feeling himself as the love-sick maiden pining for the embrace of the Lord (Kaikkiḻai-ēcaṟavu).[142] He entered the temple. He begged of the Lord to bless him with the other eye.[143] Ārūrar became desperate because of his rights as a friend. He exclaimed, "Your servants suffer. You do not listen to them. You do not restore them their eyes. Will you go on living happily?"[143a] This is described in Periyapurāṇam as the hymn of beautiful words—"Añcoṟ patikam."[144] He got back the sight of the other eye and enjoyed the sight of the Lord with both the eyes.[145]

VIII

But Paravaiyār could not allow Ārūrar to come near her. The Lord Himself had to intervene to pacify Paravaiyār.

Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār was red with rage against Ārūrar that the latter should have sent the Lord as a messenger to a woman. Ārūrar's heart, unable to bear this suffering of a Śaivite saint pleaded with the Lord to pacify Kalikkāmar. Kalikkāmar was inflicted with chronic dyspepsia (cūlai) and the Lord appeared before him to advise that the disease was incurable except at the

138. Ēyar., 300.
139. H. 96.
140. Ēyar, 303.
141. H. 37.
142. Ēyar., 305.
143. H. 95.
143a. 95: 1.
144. Ēyar., 309.
145. Ēyar., 310.

hands of Ārūrar. The Lord also appeared before Ārūrar and directed him to go to Kalikkāmar to cure the latter of the disease. Kalikkāmar thought that this was adding insult to injury and committed suicide rather than bear the infamy of being cured by Ārūrar who had ill-treated his Lord. Ārūrar came to the house of Kalikkāmar. Seeing him dead, he drew his sword for putting an end to his life when by the Grace of God, Kalikkāmar regained his life—thus were the two saints brought together and reconciled. Both of them then went to Tiruppuṉkūr.

Overcome by this feeling of God's Grace, Ārūrar sang the famous hymn No. 55 at Tiruppuṉkūr where he recited a number of Purāṇic stories which inspired him to take refuge in the Lord. This hymn is based on the pattern of hymn No. 65. In this hymn, he refers to Kalikkāmar as Ēyarkōṉ. Both of them went to Tiruvārūr to worship at the temple and after sometime Kalikkāmar returned home.

IX

At about this time Cēramāṉperumāḷ was chosen the king of the Cēras after Ceṅkōṟpoṟaiyaṉ's death. At the close of his daily worship, it is said, he used to hear the jingling of the anklet of the Lord of Dance.[146] One day, he failed to hear this sound and he was very much upset.[147] He was about to cut off his own head when the usual sound came to be heard with the explanation of the Lord that the delay was due to the Lord listening to the hymns sung by Ārūrar at Citamparam.[148] The Cēra king at once resolved to go on a pilgrimage to Citamparam and to pay his respects to Ārūrar. He composed his 'Poṉvaṇṇattantāti' after having a vision of the dance at Citamparam[149] and from there he went to Tiruvārūr.[150] It was at this time that Ārūrar had gone to Nākai to sing the hymn No. 46, wherein he begged of the Lord to give him ornaments, unguents, varieties of dress, gold, horse, dirk (curika) and silk. He had his desires fulfilled and returned to Tiruvārūr just in time to welcome the Cēra king. Ārūrar came to be known as the friend of Cēramāṉ. Both these saints spent a

146. Kalaṟiṟ., 24.
147. *Ibid.*, 41.
148. *Ibid.*, 42, 44.
149. *Ibid.*, 56.
150. *Ibid.*, 62.

few days at Tiruvārūr, Cēramāṉ being the honoured guest of Ārūrar in Paravaiyār's house.

Our poet started on a pilgrimage to the Pāṇḍya country along with Cēramāṉ.[151] After worshipping at Kīḻvēḷur, Nākai and other places, they reached Tirumaṟaikkāṭu or Vēdāraṇyam.[152] Hymn No. 71 was sung by Ārūrar at that place and Cēramāṉ recited the verses in his Antāti relating to the temple.[153] They worshipped at Akattiyāṉpaḷḷi, and at the temple of Tirukkōṭikkuḻakar, Ārūrar sang hymn No. 32, wherein he referred to the Lord residing there with Kāḷi or Kāṭukiḻāḷ. After worshipping at many temples in the Cōḻa territory, they entered the Pāṇḍya country. They reached Maturai after worshipping at Tirupputtūr.[154] The Cōḻa king was then the guest of the Pāṇḍya, the former being the son-in-law of the latter. The three ancient kings of Tamil land, the Pāṇḍya, the Cēra and the Cōḻa met at Maturai to worship the Lord Śiva there. Nampi Ārūrar had a royal reception at Maturai. The three kings and himself went to Tiruppūvaṇam and on sighting the temple Ārūrar sang the hymn No. 11.[155] They returned back to Maturai to go once again on a pilgrimage to Tiru Āppaṉūr and Tiru Ēṭakam.[156] On their return they went to Tirupparaṅkuṉram where Ārūrar sang, as he himself mentions in the last verse of the hymn, in the presence of the three ancient kings of the Tamil land.[157] This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as the 'garland of munificent Tamil of sweet music'.[158] In that hymn, the poet exclaimed that he was afraid of serving the Lord aright and Periyapurāṇam states that after hearing this hymn, the three kings were so overpowered by their sense of reverence that they fell at the feet of our saint.[159]

From there, Ārūrar, along with the Cēra king left Maturai. They went and worshipped at Kuṟṟālam[160] where our poet is said to have sung a hymn which unfortunately is not now in existence. Tirunelvēli and Ramēśvaram were by their visit. Periyapurāṇam

151. *Ibid.*, 81, 82.
152. *Ibid.*, 84, 85.
153. *Ibid.*, 87.
154. *Ibid.*, 90, 91.
155. *Ibid.*, 97, 98.
156. *Ibid.*, 101.
157. H. 2.
158. Kaḷaṟiṟ., 103.
159. *Ibid.*, 104.
160. *Ibid.*, 106.

states that from there Ārūrar sang the hymn No. 80 in honour of Tirukkētīccuram in Ceylon.[161] This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as 'the hymn of a word-garland'. They turned back and visited Tiruccuḷiyal where Ārūrar sang hymn No. 82. This hymn according to Periyapurāṇam is a flower of poetry.[162] Whilst our poet was asleep in that place, the Lord appeared in his dream in the form of a youth and stated that His place was Kāṉappēr. Next day, Cēramāṉ and Ārūrar started for that place and on their way our poet sang the hymn No. 84, the hymn of words,[163] wherein he pined for the sight of the Lord of Kāṉappēr. Tiruppuṉavāyil was next visited and hymn No. 50 was sung. Tiruppātāḷīccuram at Pāmpaṇimānakar[163a] in the Cōḷa Country was next worshipped on their way to Tiruvārūr. Hymn No. 8 was now sung at Tiruvārūr. Cēkkiḻār calls this "the hymn of regret',[164] where the poet in a penitent mood gave utterance to his feeling of disgust of life and exclaimed that he no longer wanted this birth.

The Cēra king invited Nampi Ārūrar to his capital city and from there both of them started on a pilgrimage to the temples in the Cēra country. They worshipped at the various temples on the southern bank of Kāviri. When they came out of the temple at Tirukkaṇṭiyūr,[165] Tiruvaiyāṟu was seen on the other side. When they started to cross the river the Kāviri was in high floods.[166] Nampi Ārūrar sang hymn No. 77 addressing the Lord of Tiruvaiyāṟu, and the Kāviri stopped flowing for some time allowing them to cross the river on its bed of sand.[167] This is alluded in Periyapurāṇam as 'the hymn of known greatness'.[168] They reached finally Tiruvañcaikkaḷam, the Cēra capital, where Ārūrar sang the hymn No. 44. Our poet stayed there as the honoured guest of the Cēra king for some time but he was soon reminded of Tiruvārūr and he sang hymn No. 59, exclaiming, "Is it possible to forget the Lord of Ārūr?" With an unwilling heart, the Cēra king had to bid good-bye and he sent Ārūrar along with his Royal gifts. According to Periyapurāṇam, the Bhūtas of Śiva robbed Ārūrar

161. *Ibid.*, 109.
162. *Ibid.*, 111.
163. *Ibid.*, 114.
163a. *Ibid.*, 120.
164. *Ibid.*, 122.
165. *Ibid.*, 130.
166. *Ibid.*, 133.
167. *Ibid.*, 135.
168. *Ibid.*, 134.

of all those gifts waylaying him in the form of highway robbers, to remind him that he should not receive any gifts except from Him.[169] The poet went to Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi and sang the hymn No. 49 wherein he asked the Lord why he was in that place pested by highway robbers.[170] Periyapurāṇam calls the hymn as 'the hymn of beautiful words'.[171] Cēkkiḻār informs us that all the gifts were restored in front of the temple and Ārūrar reached Tiruvārūr.[172]

After a few days our poet was reminded of his good friend, the Cēra king, and he started on his journey to the Cēra capital.[173] Whilst going through the Koṅku country according to Periyapurāṇam, he heard at Tiruppukkoḷiyūr, the mournings of a Brahmin family reminded of the loss of their child which was drowned 16 years back, a child which had played with another child which was being initiated into his religion (upanayanam) on the day of the visit of Ārūrar. Ārūrar sang hymn No. 92 and made the crocodile, which had swallowed the child, bring the child back. The child was restored to the parents. This news reached the ears of the Cēra king and the king gave a fitting reception to this great Saint of miracles. On this occasion, one day he sang hymn No. 4 addressed to the Father of Tiruvañcaikkaḷam. This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as 'the garland of Tamil'.[174] According to Periyapurāṇam, the idea behind this hymn is that the fetters of his body should be removed. The Lord sent the white elephant to bring Ārūrar to Kailas. The Cēra king followed him on a horse. On his way to Kailas, according to Periyapurāṇam, Nampi Ārūrar sang hymn No. 100, 'the garland of Tamil'[175] and reached Kailas to remain there and serve the Lord as of old.

169. *Ibid.*, 165.
170. *Ibid.*, 169, 170.
171. *Ibid.*, 170.
172. *Ibid.*, 171, 172.
173. Veḷḷāṇai., 3.
174. *Ibid.*, 29.
175. *Ibid.*, 39.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE OF ĀRŪRAR — EXAMINED

I

The story as given in Periyapurāṇam may now be examined with the help of the references from Ārūrar's hymns, i.e., Cuntarar Tēvāram. As already pointed out, the name Cuntarar is not given by Cēkkiḻār when describing our poet's life in this world in the various carukkams. He describes our Saint as Nampi Ārūrar or Vaṉtoṇṭar or Tampirāṉ Tōḻar. The last term has to be explained at some length later on. The other names are found used by our poet himself: Ārūrar[1], Nampi[2] and Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ[3].

The statement that our Saint was born at Tirunāvalūr to Caṭaiyaṉār and Icai ñāṉiyār and that he was brought up by Naraciṅkamuṉai araiyar is borne out by references found in Ārūrar's Tēvāram. He calls himself the son of Icai ñāṉiyār[4] or Caṭaiyaṉār.[5]

He describes Nāvalūr as the city of the Lord, as his own city and the city where Naraciṅkamuṉai araiyar lovingly serves the Lord.[6] In various places, our poet refers to Nāvalūr as his native place[7]. Nāvalūr is probably named after the 'Nāval tree'.[8] Therefore, the terms 'Nāval ūraṉ' or 'Nāval Ārūraṉ should be interpreted

1. 1: 10; 2: 11; 3: 10; 5: 10; 9: 11; 14: 12; 15: 10; 16: 11; 17: 11; 18: 10; 19: 11; 21: 10; 22: 10; 23: 10; 24: 10; 25: 10; 26: 10; 28: 10; 29: 10; 38: 10; 39: 10; 40: 11; 46: 11; 51: 12; 53: 10; 56: 11; 59: 11; 61: 11; 62: 10; 67: 11; 69: 11; 71: 10; 72: 11; 73: 11; 74: 10; 76: 10; 82: 10; 84: 10; 86: 10; 90: 10; 92: 10; 93: 11; 95: 11; 98: 11.
2. 4: 10; 53: 10; 64: 10.
3. 12: 11; 17: 11; 33: 10; 34: 11; 36: 11; 41: 10; 42: 10; 45: 11; 54: 10; 55: 10; 57: 12; 64: 10; 67: 11; 68: 10; 70: 10; 72: 11; 75: 10; 87: 10; 88: 10.
4. 16: 11; 38: 10; 39: 11.
5. 7: 11; 16: 11; 34: 11; 39: 11; 47: 10; 57: 12; 58: 10; 98: 11.
6. 17: 11.
7. 4: 10; 6: 10; 13: 11; 14: 12; 16: 11; 18: 10; 19: 11; 20: 10; 23: 10; 24: 10; 25: 10; 26: 10; 28: 10; 33: 10; 34: 11; 36: 11; 38: 10; 39: 11; 40: 11; 41: 10; 42: 10; 46: 11; 50: 10; 53: 10; 57: 12; 61: 11; 62: 10; 64: 10; 67: 11; 68: 10; 69: 11; 73: 11; 76: 10; 79: 10; 82: 10; 83: 10; 84: 10; 85: 10; 87: 10; 88: 10; 97: 10; 100: 10.
8. Jamorin plum.

as 'Ūraṉ of nāval' or 'Tirunāvalūr'.[9] We find the expressions Nāvalar kōṉ, Nāvalar maṉṉaṉ, Nāvalar vēntaṉ or Nāvalar kōmāṉ in some verses[10] and these also should be interpreted as the chief of the people of the place of Nāval or Nāvalūr. There is an underlying pun in these terms which suggest the idea of our poet being the chief of the orators or the great men of the tongue. 'Nā' meaning, tongue, and 'Kōṉ', 'Maṉṉaṉ' and 'Kōmāṉ' meaning 'king' or 'chief'.

Our Saint's name is Nampi Ārūrar according to Periyapurāṇam. That is also according to the same source, the name of his grand-father. Our poet calls himself Ārūraṉ Nampi.[11] Nampi is a title; Ārūraṉ alone remains to be explained. This is not a name which our poet earned because of his residence in Tiruvārūr. It is a proper name; our Saint was named after the Lord of Tiruvārūr as he himself had explained.[12]

Ārūraṉ is shortened into 'Ūraṉ' in some places.[13]

II

The first incident described by Cēkkiḻār in the life of our Saint is the appearance of the Lord as an old man with the old cadjan leaf document to claim back our poet as His hereditary slave. Hymn 1 which is said to have been sung on the occasion of our Saint realizing that the old Brahmin who had come to reclaim him was Śiva Himself, does not give any details about this incident except for the chorus of an explanation, "I have become your slave. Can I now say 'no'?" After all, this may refer to the eternal relationship between the soul and the Lord. Hymn 17 gives some more particulars about this incident. That hymn states that our poet was saved by the Lord accepting him at Tiruveṇṇeinallūr. This is referred to in all the verses of this hymn. The second verse therein refers to the assembly where the poet was saved and where

9. 14: 12; 19: 11; 25: 10; 26: 10; 40: 11; 46: 11; 53: 10; 62: 10; 67: 11; 73: 11:—these contain Nāval Ūraṉ.

10. 3: 10; 4: 10; 13: 11; 16: 11; 18: 10; 23: 10; 24: 10; 28: 10; 38: 10; 39: 11; 41: 10; 42: 10; 57: 12; 64: 10; 71: 11; 82: 10; 83: 10.

11. 53: 10.

12. 59: 11; 86: 10; 89: 10.

13. 4: 10; 7: 11; 8: 10; 10: 10; 11: 10; 12: 11; 13: 11; 31: 10; 33: 10; 34: 11; 35: 10; 37: 11; 43: 11; 44: 10; 45: 11; 47: 10; 48: 10; 49: 10; 51: 12; 52: 10; 54: 10; 55: 10; 58: 10; 60: 10; 64: 10; 68: 10; 72: 11; 77: 11; 78: 10; 80: 10; 81: 10; 83: 10; 86: 10; 91: 10; 96: 10.

the poet spoke harsh words which brought him the reputation of being a 'Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ'. This is a hymn which consists of 11 verses and it was pointed out that this verse might be argued as being an interpolation. The old cadjan leaf document above referred to is mentioned as 'Āvaṇam'. This 'Āvaṇam' is referred to in other hymns as well.[14] It might be that there was actually an old document of slavery and the old man, perhaps a Guru of Ārūrar utilized that old document to save him by creating the required feeling of spirituality in our poet.

'Āvaṇam' means a cadjan leaf document as referred to above and it is one of the basis of the reference to āvaṇam that the story of the Lord coming to save Ārūrar must have been built. The real difficulty about this kind of interpretation is that a similar term like 'Āvaṇam koṇṭemai yāṇṭa' is found in Campantar and in Appar also.[15] The phrase would, therefore, mean nothing more than emphasizing the relationship between the soul and the Lord.

The verse 2 in hymn 95 of Ārūrar seems to go against the literal interpretation of this story: 'Viṟṟukkoḷvīr oṟṟiyallēṉ virumpiyāṭpaṭṭēṉ' where our poet says that he of his own accord came to serve the Lord and not because of any compulsory legal relationship, like mortgage.

That our poet had some divine vision and a spiritual experience resulting in his conversion at Tiruveṇṇeinallūr seems to be clear and an old Brahmin of a Guru must have played an important part in bringing about this spiritual conversion. The spiritual Guru is always looked upon by Śaivites as no other than Śiva Himself.

The second hymn sung by Ārūrar is hymn 13 and therein naturally he prayed for a life of sacrifice after this sudden conversion.

III

The next incident is what may be called the 'Tiruvaṭi dīkṣā' i.e., the Lord coming in the form of an old man whilst our poet was asleep and placing his feet on the poet's head. It is the established practice among the Śaivites to look upon the spiritual preceptor as

14. 5: 10; 23: 5; 62: 5; 68: 6.
15. Campantar: 1: 116: 3; 2: 81: 10; 3: 16: 4; Appar 6: 124: 3; 6: 125: 3.

the very incarnation of God. There is nothing improbable in an old Brahmin, possibly, the one who brought about the poet's conversion coming and sleeping at the place where the poet slept at Tiruvatikai and trying to place his feet on the poet's head, only to walk away quietly without any notice after the event. But, there are not clear statements about this in this hymn No. 38. The first verse states that the poet is living in the hope that the Lord will come and place His feet on his head. The last verse describes the Lord as the great lover whom the poet had addressed without proper regard. Every one of these verses ends with an exclamation, "Would I slight Him even for a second?" It is on the basis of these references that the story of the incident stands. There is not the slightest doubt that the poet had undergone some kind of spiritual experience at the end of which he realized that he could not slight Him even for a second.

IV

The next turning point is the experience of the divine dance at Citamparam and his hearing there a voice from the Heavens ordering the poet *to go over to Tiruvārūr.* As already hinted, no hymn, sung after the vision of the dance, is available for our study. As for the hearing of the voice, we must remember our poet was living in an age when people were living in an atmosphere of visions and divine voices seen and heard by spiritually minded people. What Dr. Eliot says of Dante is true of Ārūrar as well: "It belongs to the world of what I call the high dream and the modern world seems capable only of the low dream. Dante's is a visual imagination. It is a visual imagination in a different sense from that of a modern painter of still life. It is visual in the sense that he lived in an age in which man still saw visions. It was a psychological habit, the trick of which we have forgotten, but as good as any of our own. We have nothing but dreams and we have forgotten that seeing a vision, a practice now relegated to the aberrant and the uneducated, was once a more significant, interesting and disciplined kind of dreaming."

Every Śaivite looks upon the sight of Kailas as the be-all and end-all of his life. The story of Appar going on his pilgrimage to Mount Kailas and God ordering him to return to Tiruvaiyāṟu to have a vision of Kailas is significant. Our poet Ārūrar had the vision of Kailas at Kaḷumalam, i.e., Cīkāḷi according to Periyapu-

rāṇam.[16] Though the word Kailas does not occur in the hymn, it represents a vision which the poet had. In verse 3, he spoke of a dream of the Lord and his disappointment after waking up from the sleep. Thereafter came the vision. Verse 4 shows the result. The poet was sure, that he would never be born, that he would reach Him. His quest after the Lord was spoken of in verse 5. His mind no longer went on the multifarious paths. It now went in search of the Lord and nothing else. He prayed for the Lord with all his love and his whole body was full of bliss and then came the vision.[17] A net was spread out for catching a hare and a great elephant of a God fell into it.[18] The verse 9, speaks of the people who have a clear vision of the Vēdas remaining at home and of some delusion where the pond and its bank along with a bath therein appear like a great fact. The poet exclaimed that he had not realized the impropriety of believing in this delusion as truth. Then came the vision. The poet stated that the Lord was attained by those who bitterly wept for the past and repented.[19]

On reaching Tiruvārūr, it is said he had addressed hymn 73 to the worshippers of Śiva asking them whether Śiva would accept him as his servant. The poet was conscious of his power of concentration on God and he spoke of his shoulders as those embraced by the God of Wealth, a fitting description of the bride-groom of Paravai.

In two other places also, our poet is said to have had a vision of God. Whilst he was sleeping at Tiruccuḷiyal, he had the vision of the Lord of Tirukkāṉappēr in a form which was not found anywhere else and in that dream the poet was told that it was the form of Tirukkāṉappēr.[20] Hymn 84 said to have been sung at this time exclaims, "When am I to reach this Lord of Kāṉappēr?" It is said that the Lord appeared in the form of a youth and in this hymn the poet addresses the Lord as 'Kāḷai' or the youth. This hymn describes the beautiful personal appearance of the youth and in the last verse the poet speaks of the youth and there is the reference to the poet's contemplation of the form. Verse 6 speaks of his pining for the sight of the Lord and the Lord showering His blessings on him.

16. H: 58.
17. V. 6.
18. V. 7.
19. V. 10.
20. Periya., Kaḷaṟiṟ: 112, 113.

From Tiruppuṟampayam, Ārūrar, whilst going on his way to Tirumutukuṉṟam asked of a Brahmin coming on the road, the way to Tirumutukuṉṟam. The Brahmin replied that that was the way to Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟur, a place which Ārūrar never thought of. In hymn 85 sung at Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟūr, Ārūrar expressed his feeling of wonder "I have not understood this wonderful miracle of the Lord coming this way." This may be due to some spiritual experience the poet had or to the poet thinking of the Brahmin who had reminded about this temple as none other than the Lord Himself as stated in the Purāṇa. But the hymn refers to the Lord going that way with the Mother Goddess and surrounded by Dēvas and Bhūtas: these references make it a vision.

At Tirukkāṇāṭṭumuḷḷūr also, it is said, our poet had a vision of the Lord and the hymn No. 40 states that he had seen Him and worshipped Him there. Wherever the word 'kaṇṭu' is used by our poet, Cēkkiḻār explains it as a vision seen by the poet. In hymn 62 sung at Tirukkōlakkā, the poet exclaims: "I have seen him at Kōlakkā" and Cēkkiḻār states that the Lord appeared before our poet in that sacred place.

It is said that the poet was going to worship at Tiruvārūr temple as usual after his marriage with Paravaiyār and our poet mentally prayed to the Lord for becoming a servant of the congregation of Śaivites assembled at Tēvāciriya maṇṭapam. According to Periyapurāṇam, the Lord appeared before him, made him realize the greatness of this congregation and ordered him to sing, starting the first half of the line with "Tillai vāḻ antaṇartam aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ." There is nothing in hymn 39, the famous Tiruttoṇṭattokai referring to the vision but this hymn refers to a vision of the congregation whose significance one has to study separately.

V

The next important episode is that of his marriage with Paravai. Except the references to Paravai, we do not have any detailed description of the episode of his love with Paravai in any hymn. But as a true yōgi according to Periyapurāṇam, Ārūrar looked upon every event of life as being inspired by his Lord. It is from this point of view, Cēkkiḻār is describing Ārūrar's love affair. Verse No. 10 of hymn No. 51 gives support to Cēkkiḻār's version of the story. According to our poet, the Lord saved him and accepted him as his servant giving him Paravai of the beautiful eyes.

The mystics waver for some time through two contradictory experiences of exhilaration and depression. When the idea of God's Grace is uppermost in their mind they are so full of divine bliss that they look upon every event of life as having been brought out by the Lord and then they exclaim that they can never be separated from Him. But the world around them soon drags them down and they undergo experience of the dark chamber, feeling almost separated from the Lord. In a spirit of self-condemnation, they exaggerate all their drawbacks into heinous crimes. Ārūrar was no exception to this rule. In hymn 51, he felt that Paravai and Caṅkili were the ennobling gifts of God.[21] In hymn 52 and 60, he condemned himself as forgetting the Lord because of his intoxication with passion for women.[22]

The other incidents of his life with Paravai may also be conveniently dealt with at this stage. We are told that at the instance of Kuṇṭaiyūr Kiḻār, a great heap of paddy appeared as a gift from the God and that Ārūrar sang hymn 20 as a result of which the Bhūtas transported the mountain of paddy to Tiruvārūr. Hymn 20 explains Paravaiyār's pang of hunger,[23] and requests the Lord to give him servants to transport the paddy which the poet got at Kuṇṭaiyūr.[24] This hymn only proves that Ārūrar had no separate existence of his own, always identifying all the details of his life with the even flow of God's Grace. It is in this light that we must understand his request for labourers.

Ārūrar must have obtained the labourers for transporting the heap of grains and the story of the Bhūtas removing them to Tiruvārūr may be interpreted by those who do not believe in miracles as a poetic way of stating this truth by the astonished public.

VI

Gold was required for running the family and in addition, Ārūrar had to feed his followers and other visitors to Tiruvārūr on important festivals like Paṅkuṇi Uttiram. As already explained, whatever he got, he deemed as the gift from God. In hymn 45, he described God as that great lightning which showers gold on him

21. 10 and 11.
22. 52: 4, 5; 60: 9.
23. V. 6.
24. VV. 1 to 10.

thereby allowing him not to leave the Lord.[25] According to Periyapurāṇam,[26] Ārūrar found, on waking up from sleep at Pukalūr, the bricks turned into gold. There is no specific reference to this miracle in the Tiruppukalūr hymn,[27] where the poet addressed his colleagues not to sing of men but of God who would give them food and clothes in this birth and make them rulers of the Śivalōkam in their next birth. Probably the tradition which Periyapurāṇam describes grew out of the feeling that this hymn was born out of the joy at the transformation of the bricks or any gift from the God which inspired the poet to address the hymn to other poets, hankering after gold, and knocking at the door of mean minded human beings. The miracle of the bricks may be explained away by the people who do not believe in miracles as gifts from a patron who chose to remain in-cognito for fear of Ārūrar refusing to accept any gifts from any human hand and that this fear it was which drove that patron to place the gold he offered in the form of bricks.

At Tiruvīḻimiḻalai[28] the poet referred to the Lord giving gold coins probably to Appar and Campantar and wound up the hymn with a request that he might also be so blessed.[29] It is rather curious that on this basis no tradition was built up to say that here also Ārūrar was given gold.

Periyapurāṇam tells us that at Tiruppāccilāccirāmam Ārūrar prayed for gold and sang the hymn No. 14 in great disappointment. Verse No. 4 therein exclaims: "Is there no other Lord but Himself if He does not give us anything?" In verse No. 9 he mourns: "If He will not forgive our mistakes and give us anything, is there no other Lord?" Probably on the basis of this statement, this story must have been built. But if we analyse the other verses, we find the hymn expressing the pang of separation from the Lord. "Whatever we may say, if He is going to get away from us in the twinkling of an eye, is there no other Lord?"[30] "If He does not love us and if He remains a lunatic, is there no other Lord?"[31] "If He pretends to be all truthful, in effect turning out to be untruthful, is there

25. V. 8.
26. Eyar., 51.
27. H. 34.
28. H. 88.
29. V. 8.
30. V. 5.
31. V. 1.

no other Lord?"[32] "If He talks big and does but little things or makes us suffer, is there no other Lord?"[33] "If He will not pardon our talk, is there no other Lord?"[34] In this feeling of despair, may be involved a feeling of financial strain; for, as already pointed out, the poet depended on the Lord for everything in this world and the other.

At Tirumutukuṉṟam, hymn No. 63 was sung according to Periyapurāṇam with the intention of getting gold from God and we are told Ārūrar got 12,000 gold coins which were thrown out into the river Maṇimuttāṟu to be taken out at the temple tank at Tiruvārūr. There is no specific reference to this in this hymn or in hymn No. 43, (but unfortunately the last two lines of the 10th verse of hymn No. 63 are missing), unless we interpret the references herein as the blessings the Lord showered on His followers as indirectly suggesting this very gift. It is hymn No. 25 according to Periyapurāṇam especially the verse No. 9 therein that made the gold come out of the tank. Nor is this hymn clear about the miracle. This hymn addresses the Lord as the Lord of Mutukuṉṟam and it is this hymn which refers to the gift of gold to the poet.[35] This hymn must be, therefore, the basis for the story of Ārūrar getting gold from God at Mutukuṉṟam. When the hymn is specifically mentioning Mutukuṉṟam in every one of its verses it is not clear why it is stated to have been sung at Tiruvārūr. The Tēvāram editions give this as a Tirumutukuṉṟam hymn. Every one of the verses in this hymn requests God to shower His blessings so that the poet's misery may be destroyed in the presence of Paravai, who was suffering for want of wealth. The verses 3, 5, 6, 8 and 9 beg of the Lord to give, the word used being is 'tantaruḷāy'. It is not clear whether the words 'cemponai' 'tantaruḷi'[36] are to go with the finite verb "aruḷīr". Because of the reference to the presence of Paravai, it must have been thought that this hymn could have been sung at Tiruvārūr at the place of the residence of Paravaiyār, under the impression that women like Paravaiyār could not have followed Ārūrar on his pilgrimage. In this view of things, verse No. 2 has to be interpreted as asking the Lord to give in the presence of Paravaiyār, the gold which the Lord offered already at Tirumutukuṉṟam.

32. V. 7.
33. V. 11.
34. V. 9.
35. V. 2.
36. V. 2

But the hymn, as it stands, seems to suggest that Paravai must have accompanied Nampi Ārūrar when he begged for gold for her sake at Mutukuṉṟam.

In all cases of miracles one has to differentiate between what even the sceptic will believe from what the believers alone could accept as true. As matters stand at present, miracles are beyond modern science. As Alexis Carrel has pointed out, science cannot disprove them. It is open to the believer to accept the miracles described in Periyapurāṇam as historical facts. But in so far as scepticism continues in the world, it is also necessary for us to point out what is beyond any cavil. It is in this light these explanations are offered especially to those who are not orthodox Śaivites to whom a belief in Śaivite miracles may not be possible. Therefore, these remarks ought not to be understood as any denial of these miracles.

During his travel through the Toṇṭai Nāṭu, before he married Caṅkiliyār, our poet sang hymn 5 at a temple in Kāñci. After his desertion of Caṅkiliyār also, he has come to Kāñci to sing another hymn. This latter hymn has to be distinguished from the other hymn of Kāñcipuram. It is because of this, Cēkkiḻār takes the former hymn to have been sung before and the latter after the desertion. There is not a whisper about his losing the eye or undergoing any suffering in the former hymn. This hymn 5 is addressed to the Lord of Tiruvōṇakāṉṭaṉṭaḷi. The first verse states that if Śaivites worship Him with ghee, milk and curds, they will have mercy from their Lord and that they have only to rely upon His feet. Verse 3 asks, "In lean years can we mortgage you and eat?" Verse 7 exclaims, "You give nothing. You say nothing". Verse 9 enquires, "What can your servants get from you?" Because of these references, the hymn has been taken to have been sung with the intention of getting gold. If this were so, it must have been for the sake of other Śaivite worshippers. The general trend of the hymn seems to suggest that the poet is referring in a jocular vein to various characteristics of God. Verses 2, 6 and 9 justify this kind of interpretation and the remarks of the poet in the last verse still further strengthens this view.

After he returned to Tiruvārūr deserting Caṅkiliyār at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Nampi Ārūrar is said to have gone to Nākappaṭṭiṇam where also he is said to have received from God gold, clothes and ornaments. The hymn 46 is full of such prayers for ornaments, unguents, varieties of dresses, gold, scimitar and dishes overflowing

with ghee. In verse 5, he demands these things to be given from the treasury (Paṇṭāram) perhaps the temple treasury. If this interpretation is correct the temple treasury must have given him all that he prayed for. Verse 8 demands one third of that great treasure which was deposited inside Ārūr. It is not clear what the poet was referring to. Could it be that he was demanding a share of the wealth which the poet had amassed for the Ārūr temple? In verse 10, the poet says that the Lord accepted him as His servant or slave with the promise that He would give him great wealth and that now Nampi Ārūrar would not be deceived. He even threatened in verse 9, 'to sit dhāraṇā' or offer satyagraha for getting the livelihood from his Lord.

The last place where he is said to have received gold is at Tiruvañcaikkaḷam and that from the hands of the Cēra king Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ. There is no specific reference to this gift in any other verse of Nampi Ārūrar. According to Periyapurāṇam, this gold was robbed by the Bhūtas in the form of the hunters of Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi.[37] Hymn 49 sung at this place refers to the highway robbers and asks of the Lord why he stays there in the midst of the cruel hunters who knock away even the clothes. There is no reference here to the poet himself having been robbed of his gold. These poor hunters clothed in rags, the cruel and hard hearted, living on cows are accused of nothing but snatching away the clothes which probably they were badly in need of.[38]

In conclusion, it may be stated that though all the stories of the gift of gold are not conclusively proved by internal evidences, the prayer of gold especially in Nākappaṭṭiṉam hymn 46, goes to justify the traditional statement that Ārūrar always looked to God for the wherewithal of his life and that he looked upon whatever he received from any source whatsoever as direct gifts from God.

VII

The most important incident of Ārūrar's life from more than one point of view is the episode of his love for Caṅkiliyār. To justify this second marriage, the story of his previous birth at Kailas where he fell in love with two damsels is referred to. Some of the modern critics, as already stated do not accept this portion of Periyapurāṇam giving this story as coming from the pen of

37. Kaḷaṟiṟ: 170.
38. Verses 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7—Kūṟai koḷḷal.

Cēkkiḻār. Questions of previous births are much more beyond scientific study than even miracles. Therefore, no useful purpose will be served in discussing this topic. Polygamy was not unknown to the age of Ārūrar and we need not go beyond this custom.

The story about God intervening and suggesting to Caṅkiliyār that she must demand of Ārūrar a promise of non-desertion under the 'makiḻam tree' rather than inside the temple, is on the basis of verse 9 in the 89th hymn. It has already been pointed out that some may argue that this verse may be apocryphal though this must have been in existence at the time of Cēkkiḻār. That Nampi Ārūrar lived with Caṅkiliyār as man and wife is proved by various references in his own hymns and as is the characteristic feature in Nampi's life, he honestly believed that he was inspired by God even in this love affair. He looked upon Caṅkiliyār as the gift of God.[38a] In the Nākappaṭṭiṇam hymn he speaks of God as the connecting link of Caṅkiliyār with himself.[39]

At Tiruvāmāttūr, he gave expression to the divine bliss and in verse 4, he stated that he went to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and embraced Caṅkili and that was the Grace of the Lord of Āmāttūr.[40] In hymn 51, verse 11, our poet couples the gift of nectar to the Dēvās along with the gift of Caṅkili to himself.

Caṅkili is mentioned in hymns 54:2 and 69: 3. These two references give us the further developments of the story of Caṅkili. He must have promised Caṅkili that he would never leave her, in a moment of his love for Caṅkili forgetting his own nature and mission in life. His worship consisted in the outpourings of his heart in the beautiful hymns he sang from temple to temple, in the company of worshippers who followed him wherever he went. It is this life of song and service that represented to our poet the highest conceptions of bhakti and 'aṭimai'. To be imprisoned at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr almost like a sick patient, must have been unbearable to this spirit of worship and service. There was some special attachment to Tiruvārūr as far as this poet was concerned. This is revealed by the various hymns he had sung at Tiruvārūr exclaiming, "Can I forget Him?"[41] "When shall I reach Him?"[42] "Will He accept my

38a. 89: 10.
39. 46: 11; Also hymn No. 51, verses 10 and 11.
40. 45:4.
41. H. 59.
42. H. 83.

services and bless me?"[43] "How long shall I be separated from Him?"[44] "I am afraid of the worldly pleasures".[45] In one hymn he sang of sending birds as envoys of love to the Lord of Tiruvārūr.[46] According to Periyapurāṇam, it has already been seen, our poet heard a voice at Citamparam calling upon him to go over to Tiruvārūr—a tradition which emphasizes the special attachment of Ārūrar to Tiruvārūr. There was also Paravai at Tiruvārūr and this also must have made the place unforgettable. In hymn 59, verse 11, he speaks of the Lord of Ārūr who cannot be forgotten because of the damsel. The damsel, it is true, may be interpreted to mean the Mother Goddess; God of Ārūr cannot be forgotten because of the Mother Goddess who represents to the Śaivites the most important aspect of Lord's Grace. Periyapurāṇam tells us that whilst at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr he thought of Tiruvārūr and sang hymn 51; this thought must have sent Ārūrar on his journey to Tiruvārūr. The promise he had given to Caṅkili must have come to his mind and he probably was overcome by a feeling of criminal desertion. He sings as, "Caṅkiliyō teṇaip puṇartta tattuvaṇai-c-caḷakkaṇēṉ eṅkulakka-p pirintirukkēṉ enṉārūr iṟaivaṇaiyē?"[47] This shows his moral sensitiveness which made him sing elsewhere that he had not committed any mistake—"Kuṟṟam onṟum ceyta-tillai kottai ākkiṉīr".[48]

On his starting to leave Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, according to Periya-purāṇam, he became blind. He got one eyesight at Kāñcipuram and the other at Tiruvārūr. Modern psychology will explain this away as the blindness that has been brought on by the poet's feeling of sin and cured by his feeling of holiness or trust in God. However much this may be explained away, the fact of the poet's greatness, feeling such an amount of remorse as to become blind and to rely so much on God as to become cured of blindness, stands before us to be considered with reverence and awe. This is probably the significance of the yogic path, our poet has followed, the path of friendship as a path of salvation unless purified by such incident as this, will become a path of passion. It is this incident which proves that the path of God is not a path of licence, but a path of morals.

43. H. 73.
44. H. 51.
45. H. 8.
46. H. 37.
47. 51: 11.
48. 95: 2.

Hymn 54, verse 1 begs of the Lord for some medicine for the eyes. Verse 2 cries in despair, "What shall I do for the love of Caṅkili and how shall I explain even if I am a liar? I shall do nothing wrong to the holy feet even if I go wrong. I had agreed to accept willingly all you do". The hymn is very expressive of the sufferings of blindness and even a casual reader will not fail to note the ring of seriousness of personal suffering. The poet cries, "I cannot bear to be dragged in haste like a dog tethered to a stick."[49] "I am getting lost in hell even in this very birth."[50] "How can I live without eyes in my face, O! Lord of the three eyes!"[51] The suffering is as unbearable as when Saturn enters the constellation Makham and the poet addresses the Lord Himself as Saturn.[52] Hymn 69 sung at Tirumullaivāyil describes the Lord as the great one who had deprived his eyes because of Caṅkili[53] and begs of the Lord to remove his sufferings at Tiruveṇpākkam.[54] He again referred to the Lord depriving his eyes of their sight. He spoke of the cataract (paṭalam in the eye).[55] He pleaded for pardon for his wrongs.[56] He stated, "I exclaimed 'Are you here?' and God replied, 'We are here; you go'."[57] He spoke of the Lord giving him Caṅkili.[58] In this place he had received a walking stick to which he had made a reference in verse 10. But when he went to Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, he was so overpowered by his feeling of sin that he condemned himself as one who had become a prey to women.[59] We had already pointed out that there was no real contradiction. At Tiruvēkampam in hymn 61, there is a cry of joy: "Ah! what a great thing! I have received my eyesight, to have the sight of this Lord worshipped by the Mother Goddess."[60] From this it must be assumed that he had been restored at Kāñcipuram only the sight of one eye. But at Tiruvavaṭuturai[61] the poet speaks of his being without eyesight.[62] Should we take this to have been

49. V. 5.
50. V. 6.
51. V. 9.
52. V. 9.
53. V. 3.
54. H. 89.
55. 89: 1.
56. 89: 3.
57. H. 89: 1-10.
58. 89: 10.
59. 52: 4.
60. V. 1.
61. H. 70.
62. V. 2.

sung before he reached Kāñci? At Tiruvārūr in hymn 95, he speaks on behalf of all worshippers crying in despair, "If they come and if they do not see and you do not listen to them, then you alone may go on living happily."[63] In the second verse, he spoke of 'maṟṟaikkaṇ', the other eye. It is this which has suggested the story of getting one eyesight at Kāñcipuram and the other at Tiruvārūr. In V. 7, he accused the Lord of the deprival of his eye. Therefore, it is clear that till he came back to Tiruvārūr, he did not recover his eyesight completely. It was seen that the poet was speaking of a cataract of the eye[64] and curiously enough some would say that he begged the Lord to give him spectacles (Kāmpiṇoṭu nēttiraṅkaḷ) at Nākappaṭṭiṇam;[65] even after he was cured of blindness he must have felt the necessity for spectacles. Should one argue that this was also sung before he got the eyesight? There is also the further question whether spectacles were in existence in that age. But as 'kāmpu' and 'nēttiram' are only varieties of dresses, this kind of interpretation of begging for spectacles in his age has no place at all.

All the poems which he sang when he was blind are full of poetic emotion. As music is considered to be the proper language of emotion, Cēkkiḻār always refers to these verses by emphasising their musical aspect. According to the tradition, Ārūrar never went back to Caṅkili but our poet speaks of the Lord as the great prop of Paravai, Caṅkili and himself.[66] If all the three had not lived together, this reference must be taken to refer to the Lord bringing in together Paravai, Caṅkili and Ārūrar at the first instance.

During that period of his blindness he came to suffer from other ailments of the body. Mental suffering is known to bring on bodily ailment. He referred to this disease as 'Uṭampil aṭu nōy', tormenting his body in the hymn No. 70[66a] sung at Tiruvavaṭuturai on his way to Tirutturutti. According to Periyapurāṇam, at Tirutturutti he was ordered to bathe in the northern temple tank and the poet was cured of his new disease whilst he bathed as directed in the tank.

63. V. 1.
64. 89: 1.
65. H. 46: 2.
66. 46:11.
66a. V. 2.

Hymn 29 sung at Tirukkurukāvūr, in verse 4 refers to the Lord as removing the poet's diseases including fever, but this hymn is said to have been sung before he became blind. In the Tiruttu-rutti hymn also, the poet speaks of the Lord removing the disease tormenting his body; perhaps the Tirukkurukāvūr hymn was sung by the poet when he felt that God had saved him from all diseases, thanks to a feeling of perfect health. After he became blind, this feeling of perfect health and happiness must have been disturbed a great deal. In hymn 3 sung during this period of blindness he spoke of the body as that which could not bear even the prick of a paddy's tail.[67] It is this feeling that must have allowed the diseases to torment his body and it is this which he refers to in hymn 74[67a] as having been removed by the Lord, thanks to the development and strengthening of his trust in God which was to a certain extent shattered by his sudden blindness.

VIII

In this life of pilgrimage and self-surrender, he relied on none but God and whenever he was about to starve with his followers, the tradition states that he had the food supplied in a miraculous way.

The paddy incident of Kuṇṭaiyūr[68] had already been described. When Ārūrar was going from Cīkāḻi to Tirukkurukāvūr,[69] his followers and himself were overcome by hunger and thirst and the Lord Himself according to Periyapurāṇam came in the form of a Brahmin putting up a thatched shed of a pandal for supplying water and viaticum (poti cōṟu) and expecting this group of Śaivites. It is said that whilst they were asleep, the pandal and the old man had disappeared.

Again when our poet coming from Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam[70] to Tirukkaccūr Ālakkōyil,[71] our poet had to lie down because of starvation and according to Periyapurāṇam, the Lord came in the form of a Brahmin to beg for food from houses in the village and to feed the poet and his followers. In the hymn 29 which was sung at Tirukkurukāvūr except for the reference in verse 3 that the Lord remov-

67. H. 3: 6.
67a. V. 1.
68. H. 20.
69. H. 29.
70. H. 81.
71. H. 41.

ed the hunger of those who sang of him and his exclamation in the first verse, "I had not known all this", there is not any specific reference to this miracle. The poet sang of the Lord protecting the poet from fever and other diseases and from slander.[72] He described the Lord as one who removed the illusion from the minds of the worshippers.[73] In verse 7, the poet stated that he had come without bearing probably the poet's suffering. As already seen, our poet took even ordinary incidents to have been inspired by God and if anybody fed him on the way he would have described it as God Himself feeding the followers and himself.

Hymn 41 sung at Tirukkaccūr also does not refer to any miracle. The hymn refers to the Lord going a-begging at midday and asks the Lord, "Will not your worshippers feel for this act of begging?"[74] but since the poet states that the Lord goes a-begging in the Kapāla or skull,[75] it could not possibly refer to the Brahmin going and begging. This hymn must be taken to be referring to the Bhikṣāṭana form. Verse 7 begs of the Lord to think of those who think of Him "Niṉaivāravarai niṉai kaṇṭāy." If the miracle had happened, it would be very unfair for the poet to make that suggestion to the Lord who had come to rescue the worshippers even before they ever thought of Him. But there is nothing miraculous or improbable in a casual help of this kind from a Brahmin whom as usual our poet would have considered to be no other than the Grace of God.

IX

Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār is one of the congregation of Śaivites assembled at Tēvāciriya maṇṭapam of Tiruvārūr. After Ārūrar was completely cured of his blindness and the Lord made Paravai reconciled to Ārūrar, it is said that this Kalikkāmar developed a hatred for our poet because he was responsible for the bringing of the Lord to the position of an errand boy. He committed suicide but at the approach of Ārūrar, Kalikkāmar is said to have become alive. Unfortunately there is no reference to this miracle, in the Tiruppuṉkūr hymn[76] which is said to have been

72. 29: 4-5.
73. V. 6.
74. V. 2.
75. V. 1.
76. H. 55.

sung at this place—except for the phrase, "Ēyarkō ṉuṟṟa irumpiṇi tavirttu",[77] 'the Lord who removed the chronic disease from which Ēyarkōṉ was suffering.' This Ēyarkōṉ is spoken of as the Lord of twelve vēlis of wet land and this reference to twelve vēlis is explained in verse 2 as that piece of land which had been given away probably by Ēyarkōṉ to the Lord in grateful recognition of the rains which the Lord brought, after the whole country suffered without rain for a long time.

X.

The other great miracle attributed to our poet is bringing back the Brahmin boy swallowed by a crocodile many years back. Hymn 92 is said to have been sung on this occasion. Verse 4 therein is interpreted as requesting the Lord to order the God of Death and the crocodile to give back the boy and it is said that as soon as this verse was sung the boy was brought. If this hymn was a prayer for the return of the boy, it is a surprise that there is not any mention about this in verses 1, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

In verse 3, our poet prayed that he might be saved from future birth. In verse 7 he prayed for escape from hell. Verse 5 says that His hall of Dance is the graveyard. Verse 8 says that the Lord will make even blind eyes see. Verse 6 is a rhetorical interrogation, "Is becoming a slave unto the Lord a crime?" The last verse usually explaining the hymn and its purpose, does not mention any word about this miracle.

Verses 2 and 9 refer to 'Māṇi' and this word is interpreted as an unmarried boy. Both these verses speak of that 'Māṇi' having come to bathe in the tank, as having duped our poet or as having created a delusion. An attempt is made to interpret this sentence as to mean, "What sin does this unmarried boy do to deserve death?" The reading in all the available editions is "Eṉaik kiṟi", which is only possible if we take the word in the accusative case. In the sense of 'Which' the form should be "Eṉai kiṟi" without the doubling of 'k'. Verse 2 seems to be addressing the 'Māṇi' and speaking of him in the second person 'Māṇi nī'. "Is it fair that you who had come along with others on the way, should get away?" In the very next phrase in that verse which addresses the Lord, probably there is a feeling that this person who had come along with them and disappeared was none other than the Lord. If the

77. 55: 3.

boy had been brought by the crocodile there is no necessity f the poet referring to this disappearance in verse 9.[78] It looks though the poet is referring to some experience of his, but it is n possible to state definitely what it could have been.

There is another miracle narrated in the Periyapurāṇa That is of the river Kāviri, which was in floods stopping its flo and thereby piling up its flowing water as high as the Himalay on the western side whilst the river bed was dry on the easte side for allowing Ārūrar to cross the river to reach Tiruvaiyā from Tirukkaṇṭiyūr. Hymn 77, said to have been sung at the tin of this miracle, gives definite reference to this miracle. The po stated therein that he was always thinking of the Lord but as y had not any communion with Him, that he knew of no mistal committed by him and that even if there was any mistake the Lo might order that to be erased.[79] In the 9th verse he sang of rea zing the Lord, as if He were a radiating hunger. He confessed tl futility of all conscious efforts and in that sense spoke of the ir possibility of his swimming against the current in the sense th he could not go against the will of the Lord. It looks as thou that this reference to the impossibility of swimming had been take literally, and the tradition had grown that the poet was pathe cally crying to the Lord that he could not reach Tiruvaiyāṟu b cause of the flood in the Kāviri. It was impossible for Cēkkiḻār leave off this tradition which must have become universal by h time.

XI

The last miracle is our poet going on a white elephant Mount Kailas. The question must have arisen how the people this world got this hymn which was sung after he left this worl "Ūṉuyir vēṟu ceytāṉ" (1)—thus sings the poet—'the Lord h separated the soul from the body'. This verse 1 itself seems run counter to the tradition that he went with this original boc as is made clear by Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi in his Tiruttoṇṭar Tir vantāti, "Māṉava ākkaiyoṭum pukkavarai."[80]

78. In one edition of the hymns of our poet, instead of Māṇi, we ha 'Māmaṇi' in all the three places in the two verses 2 and 9 where this wo 'Māṇi' occurs.

79. V. 5.

80. V. 86.

The verse 10 answers the question how the world got this hymn. There the Lord of the Oceans is ordered to bring this hymn to the notice of the Lord or the king of Vañci. If Cēramāṉ accompanied our poet, where is the necessity for informing him? Anyway Periyapurāṇam tells us that Ārūrar did not know of Cēramāṉ following him. It would be very difficult to prove this hymn to be genuine in the literal sense. Nor, is it clear why Ārūrar should have gone over the sea? From this reference to the sea a later day oral tradition had woven a story of Cēramāṉ going to Mecca, a tradition which cannot be believed by anyone who has studied the mental development of these saints as revealed in their works. The significance of this hymn as an allegory is explained later in this study.

XII

In some of his poems Ārūrar refers to Vaṉappakai and Ciṅkaṭi and calls himself their father. According to the tradition preserved in Periyapurāṇam, they are the daughters of Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār of Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi and adopted by Ārūrar as his own children at the instance of the natural father. There is nothing specific in the hymns to support this tradition of their being the children of Kōṭpuli. It is true Ārūrar referred to Kōṭpuli in his hymn on Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi[81] where also he described himself the father of Ciṅkaṭi, but Ciṅkaṭi or Vaṉappakai is nowhere mentioned as the daughter of Kōṭpuli. That these two persons are women is clear from the references to them by Ārūrar. He describes 'Ciṅkaṭi' as "Pūṅkuḻaṟ Ciṅkaṭi";[82] "Cilaiyār vāṇutalāḷ nalla Ciṅkaṭi;"[83] "Maimmān taṭaṅkaṇ maturamaṉṉa moḻiyāḷ maṭac Ciṅkaṭi"[84] and "Naṅkai Ciṅkaṭi."[85] In describing himself as the father of Vaṉappakai, the poet uses the term "Vaṉappakai yavaḷ appaṉ."[86] He calls himself their appaṉ,[87] "Tantai"[88] and "Tammāṉ"[89]—all the three words meaning father in Tamil.

81. 15: 10.
82. 15: 10.
83. 27: 10.
84. 47: 10.
85. 57: 12.
86. 29: 10; 87: 10.
87. 12: 11; 15: 10; 27: 10; 30: 11; 33: 10; 34: 11; 37: 11; 42: 10; 57: 12; 68: 10; 70: 10.
88. 57: 12; 68: 10; 98: 11.
89. 47: 10.

Ciṅkaṭi's name is given as 'Ciṅki.'[90] If that is so, Ciṅkaṭi must be taken to be a corrupt form of "Ciṅki aṭi" or Ciṅki aṭikaḷ. This word Aṭi or Aṭikaḷ is usually used in the sense of the Sanskrit word "Svāmī" either to a king as in the phrase Perumāṇaṭikaḷ or to a great religious person as in Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ, Cēkkiḻār aṭikaḷ, etc. It must be therefore taken that Ciṅkaṭi was a great religious personality and probably "Cēṭiyal Ciṅki"[91] emphasizes this fact. 'Cēṭu' and 'Cēṭār' are used in the sense of 'Siṣṭas' in Sanskrit. There is also the expression "Cēṭār Pūṅkuḻar Ciṅkaṭi."[92] 'Cēṭu' also means goodness.[93] Ciṅkaṭi is also called famous, "Pukaḻc Ciṅkaṭi"[94] and Vaṇappakai is similarly called "Cīrppakai."[95]

As far as Vaṇappakai is concerned, the poet described her in one place as "Cīrppakai ñāṇi".[96] 'Pakai' is the contracted form of Vaṇappakai and the term 'ñāṇi' applied to her, leaves no doubt in any one's mind that she was also a great religious personality.

In two hymns,[97] both of them are mentioned. There are 18 references to them, 8 references to Ciṅki and 10 to Vaṇappakai inclusive of the above two. The question arises what is the real relationship between these and Ārūrar? Prima facie, they seem to be his own children; but the reference to them as Jñāni and Aṭikaḷ, i.e., spiritually great persons lead us to interpret this term Appaṇ as the spiritual Guru in which case they may be according to the old tradition the children of Kōṭpuli or somebody else. But even here nothing prevents Ārūrar being the natural father of these spiritually great women and it is worth remarking that even on the basis of the chronological arrangement of Ārūrar's hymns, reference to these children came only after Ārūrar's marriage with Paravai. The fact that the poet Ārūrar mentioned these as his children along with his father would justify in taking these references literally.[98]

Vaṇappakai means the enemy of the forest and it may also refer to the lion; but on this score Vaṇappakai could not be iden-

90. 98: 11.
91. 98: 11.
92. 15: 10.
93. Cintāmaṇi, 21: 12.
94. 37: 11.
95. 44: 10.
96. 44: 10.
97. 57: 12; 68: 10.
98. 34: 11; 47: 10; 57: 12; 98: 11.

tified with Ciṅkaṭi because in the two references already quoted, these two are mentioned together as two different personalities. These names suggest the name Narasiṁha, the Pallava king Rājasiṁha who was ruling during the time of Ārūrar in whose honour probably they were named Vaṇappakai and Ciṅkaṭi. Or, they might have been named as such in memory of Naraciṅkamuṇaiyaraiyar who was Ārūrar's patron in his younger days. But this name Naraciṅkamuṇaiyaraiyar itself must have been assumed by that prince after the then ruling king not Rājasiṁha but Narasiṁha Māmalla, for if Rājasiṁha was ruling during the adulthood of Ārūrar, the king who must have been ruling during his childhood must be Narasiṁha I. If these children were themselves such great spiritual personalities as to be described Aṭikaḷ and Jñāni, the spiritual stature of Ārūrar certainly grows in height.

XIII

Nampi is the title usually of a prince and it is used to be conferred on important individuals.[99] In this way it has come to mean by the time of Piṅkalantai, the elite among men. Owing to the spread of the temple cult, the priests, the Ādi Śaivite Ācāryas, some of whom appear to be the 'Kula Gurus' of the Coḷas had confered on them the title of Nampi. The name of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi will occur to anyone conversant with the Śaivite Literature. Perhaps Puruṣōttama Nampi, one of the authors of the 10th Tirumuṟai, was another. From this, we may infer that the title of Nampi which occurs in the phrase Nampi Ārūrar, is due to our poet being an Ādi Śaiva Ācarya. Ārūrar calls himself "Maṟaiyārtam kuricil."[100] Not only was he born in the Brahmin community but he had also undergone the course in four Vēdas and 6 aṅgas—"Nāṉmaṟai (āṟ) aṅkam ōtiya nāvaṉ."[101] From the descriptions of the course of studies obtaining in various Universities or Centres of Learning of the Pallava Age such as Kāñci, Bāhūr and Ghaṭikācalam, we know this is not an empty boast.[102]

He was blessed with not only the highest learning of the age, he was also reputed to be of exemplary character which makes him describe himself with modesty as "Cīlamtāṉ peritum mika

99. Tol. Eḻuttu, 154, commentary, and Naṉṉūl 158, commentary of Mayilai nātar.

100. 25: 10.

101. 54: 10.

102. See Administration of Pallavas of Mīṇākṣi.

valla Ciṟuvaṉ."[103] In another place,[104] he spoke of himself in the first person, "Iḻiyāk kulattiṟ piṟantōm"—those of no low caste. As this is a reference in plural to all the bhaktas, it is safer to interpret it as referring to the community of bhaktas, of which Periyāḻvār speaks as 'Toṇṭakkulam'[104a]—a holy community, which our poet had visualised in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai. He is often proud of describing himself as Aṭittoṇṭaṉ,[105] Śiva toṇṭaṉ[106] (for which the other reading is Ciṟu toṇṭan); Śivaṉaṭiyārkaḷukkaṭiyāṉ aṭittoṇṭaṉ;[107] Aṭiyār aṭi nāyūraṉ;[108] Aṭiyār aṭiyaṉ;[109] Aṭiyavarkkaṭiyavaṉ;[110] Aṭiyaṉ;[111] Aṭiyāṉ;[112] Meyppattaṉ[113] etc. According to Periyapurāṇam, he was called Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ because he abused the old Brahmin who claimed him as his slave. Even otherwise, the firm hold he had on Śiva completely relying on Him for everything and threatening at times to sit dhāraṇā would justify his name of Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ.[114] In one place he describes himself as 'Aṉukka Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ'.[115]

The name Nampi[116] may also be explained as being deserved by him because he grew up as a prince of Narasiṁkamuṉaiyaraiyar's family. Periyapurāṇam calls him Tampirāṉ Tōḻaṉ.[117] This term, as already pointed out, occurs in the inscriptions in the sense of companion to the king. Ārūrar did not call himself Tampirāṉ Tōḻaṉ though Periyapurāṇam states that this title was conferred on him by Śiva Himself.[118] Ārūrar spoke of the Lord being his Tōḻaṉ;[119] and his Tūtaṉ, a companion and an envoy. Probably

103. 54: 10.
104. 95: 8.
104a. Pallāṇṭu- 8.
105. 3: 10; 21: 10; 28: 10; 44: 10; 80: 10; 86: 10.
106. 49: 10.
107. 78: 10.
108. 94: 10.
109. 50: 10.
110. 74: 10.
111. 6: 10; 47: 10; 86: 10.
112. 21: 10; 28: 10.
113. 37: 10.
114. 12: 11; 17: 11; 31: 10; 33: 10; 34: 11; 38: 10; 42: 10; 45: 11; 54: 10; 55: 10; 57: 12; 62: 10; 64: 10; 67: 11; 68: 10; 72: 11; 75: 10; 87: 10; 88: 10.
115. 70: 10.
116. Nampiyūraṉ—4: 10; Ārūraṉ Nampi—53: 10; Nampi Vaṉ Toṇṭaṉ—64: 10.
117. Tatut., 129.
118. Tatut., 129.
119. 51: 10; 68: 8; 84: 9.

it is this term 'Tūtaṉ'[120] which is responsible for the story that the Lord went to appease the anger of Paravai on behalf of Ārūrar. As Ārūrar relied upon God for everything in the world and believed that it was the Lord who arranged everything for him, the Lord is his companion and envoy in more senses than one.

As for the training he received as a prince though there are not direct references, the hymns throw some light on his upbringing. When he referred to 'Nāvalūr', he spoke of himself in plural, 'Namakku'[121] and described it as the city both of Naraciṅkamuṉaiaraiyar and himself. He was proud of his strength developed probably as befitting a prince: 'Malai malinta tōḷūraṉ':[122] Ūraṉ of the shoulders like mountains; 'Malliṉ malku tiraḷ tōḷ ūraṉ':[123] Ūraṉ of the shoulders full of wrestling strength; 'Tirumaruvum tiraḷ tōḷāṉ':[124] He of the shoulders of strength embraced by Wealth; 'Matayāṉai Nāvalārūraṉ':[125] Ūraṉ of Nāval city great in the strength of elephants; 'Kūṭalar maṉṉaṉ kula Nāvalūrkkōṉ':[126] The king of Nāval and the Lord of the enemies. He described himself as Nāvalūrāḷi;[127] Nāvalar kōṉ;[128] Nāvalūr Maṉṉaṉ;[129] Nāvalūrkkōṉ;[130] Nāvalar Vēntaṉ;[131] Nāvalar Kōmāṉ.[132]

One may be tempted to take the term Nāvalārūraṉ[133] to mean only a resident of Nāvalūr. But in view of much clearer and unmistakable references to his princehood, this will not be correct. In his 18th hymn, he described himself "Kūṭalar maṉṉaṉ kulanāvalūrkkōṉ",[134] the ruler of the enemies and the prince of Nāvalūr of the proper community. Probably he spoke of this community of rulers because of his training under Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar. His references to the strength of his shoulders assume a new significance in view of this description of Ārūrar, i.e., the king of his

120. 68: 8; 84: 9.
121. 17: 11.
122. 30: 11.
123. 81: 10.
124. 73: 11.
125. 40: 11.
126. 18: 10.
127. 64: 10.
128. 4: 10; 16: 11; 23: 10; 24: 10; 28: 10; 41: 10; 42: 10; 83: 10; 84: 10.
129. 13: 11.
130. 38: 10; 39: 11.
131. 57: 12; 71: 10.
132. 82. 10.
133. 40: 11.
134. 18: 10.

opponents. It is in this light we have to interpret the reference to the Lord as 'He who brings confusion to those chiefs who refuse to pay tribute to the Pallava king who was then ruling the country': 'Maṇṇulakam kāval pūṇṭa urimaiyāṟ Pallavarkkut tiṟai koṭā maṉṉavarai maṟukkum ceyyum perumaiyār.[135] That reference seems to establish some connection between Citamparam and Pallavar, perhaps suggesting that Hiraṇyavarmaṉ mentioned in Kōyil Purāṇam as worshipping at Citamparam and improving the temple was a Pallava king.

XIV

In the hymn[136] quoted above is found developed the divine right theory of king. This is a philosophy which is something new to Śaivism which preached absolute self surrender to God without reference to political or worldly motives. There was the illustrious example of Appar refusing to follow the command of the Pallava king. He retorted by saying that 'Nāmārkkum kuṭiyallōm'.[137] 'We are the servants of none but God.' 'Pārāṇṭu pakaṭēri varuvār collum paṇi kēṭkak kaṭavōmō paṟṟaṟṟōmē.'[138] "Civaṉē eṉṉum nāvuṭaiyār namaiyāḷa uṭaiyāraṉṟē nāvalantī vakattiṉukku nātarāṉa kāvalarē ēvi viṭuttārēṉum kaṭavamalōm kaṭumaiyoṭu kaḷavu aṟṟōmē,"[139] "Ummōṭu maṟṟum uḷarāy niṉṟa paṭaiyuṭaiyāṉ paṇikēṭkum paṇiyōm allōm,"[140] "Vantīrār maṉṉavaṉāvāṉṟāṉ ārē"[141] —'Are we bound to listen to the orders of those who rule the world riding on elephants?'[142] 'Our Lords are those who utter the word of Śiva; even if the Emperor of Jambudvīpa orders us, we shall not obey, for we are devoid of all stratagem, deceit and cruelty';[143] "Paṭaiyuṭaiyāṉ paṇi kēṭkum paṇiyōmallōm."[144] It is not our duty to listen to the orders of the chieftains of the army'. 'Who are you? What have I to do with your king?'[145]

In a sense, this is believing only in the brotherhood of God's followers. To a certain extent this attitude was necessary in the

135. 90: 4.
136. 90: 4.
137. 6: 98: 1.
138. 6: 98: 3.
139. 6: 98: 6.
140. 6: 98: 9.
141. 6: 98: 8.
142. 6: 98: 3.
143. 6: 98: 6.
144. 6: 98: 9.
145. 6: 98: 8.

Age of Appar, because the king was an anti-Śaivite to start with. But when the Pallavas, thanks to the Satyāgraha of Tirunāvukkaracar, became Śaivites and great temple builders, there was no necessity to preach any anarchism. It was the duty of any Śaivite to offer his help in this Pallava propagation of Śaivism and it was from this point of view that Ārūrar felt that those who opposed the great Śaivite Pallava king were opposing the will of Śiva. Apart from this, the divine right theory of king has slowly crept into the minds of the learned people of the age. Nammāḻvār sings, "Tiruvuṭai Maṉṉaraikkāṇil Tirumalāikkaṇṭēṉē eṉṉum"—"When ever she sees the kings of royal wealth, she says she sees the Lord God."

XV

But Ārūrar has also been honoured by the rulers of the three ancient Royal families of the Pāṇḍyas, Cēras, and the Cōḻas. If we follow the chronology given in the Periyapurāṇam, our poet entered the Pāṇḍya country only in the company of the Cēra king, i.e., almost at the fag end of his life. It is really surprising that he had stepped into the Pāṇḍya country only during the closing years of his life. Can it be that his aggressive support of the Pallava, stood in the way of his going to the Pāṇḍya country? After his friendship with the Cēra, he visited the Pāṇḍya temples and the temple in the Cēra land. It is this visit to these temples almost in his later age that created a feeling of separation and it was this which he gave expression to in some of his poems when he exclaimed, "Kātaluṟattoḻuvateṉṟu kolō."[146] 'When shall I worship Him with all my love?' His feeling of surprise was also expressed —'Is this Pūvaṇam?'[147] He referred to the three kings in his hymn 2:4 where he stated that hymn was sung in their presence at Paraṅkuṉṟam. At Tiṟucculiyal[148] Ārūrar spoke of the worshippers becoming kings in their respective points of the compass—"Aṭi toḻuvār avvat ticaikku aracākuvār.[149] One wonders whether he had any reference to these three kings gaining the upper hand or somewhat of freedom.

But there is one incident which does not fit in with this interpretation of Ārūrar's aggressive support of Pallava king in the

146. 7: 84: 2.
147. H. 11.
148. H. 82.
149. V. 3.

early part of his life. Hymn 15 which is said to have been sung immediately after he married Paravai in the early part of his life refers to Kōṭpuli,[150] a commander who had conquered the opposing rulers. This Kōṭpuli if our interpretation is correct must have been one of those friends of Ārūrar supporting the Pallavas. This verse which mentions Kōṭpuli refers to the Cōḻa country but this reference simply means that Nāṭṭiyattāṅkuṭi was within the old Cōḻa country—"Ceṉṉi nāṭār tol pukaḻ Nāṭṭiyattāṅkuṭi Nampi."[151] The name Cōḻa country had become a geographical term losing all political significance and there was nothing preventing this Cōḻa country being under the control of the Pallavas. The real difficulty arises because of Cēkkiḻār calling Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār, a commander of the Cōḻas—"Vaḻavar tantiriyarāy."[152]

Or, it must be assumed that Kōṭpuli and the Cōḻa king were on the side of the Pallavas long before Ārūrar met the Pāṇḍya king. According to Periyapurāṇam the Cōḻa prince was there as the son-in-law of the Pāṇḍya king suggesting probably a new realignment in the political picture of the land.

150. V. 10.
151. 7: 15: 10.
152. Koṭ. Purāṇam, 1.

CHAPTER VII

AGE OF NAMPI ĀRŪRAR

PART I

VARIOUS THEORIES PUT FORWARD

I

The life of Cuntarar (Ārūrar)—the various events relating to his associations with the rulers and chiefs of his age cannot be appreciated without our understanding the historical back-ground. The age of Ārūrar should therefore be fixed at least provisionally. Some of the points to be taken into consideration in fixing his age are the following:

I. (a) The following saints are said to be the contemporaries of Ārūrar:

1. Caṭaiyaṉār, the father of Ārūrar.[1]

2. Icai ñāṉiyār, the mother of Ārūrar.[2]

3. Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmar, a chief who was opposed to Ārūrar to start with and who became his friend later on. Cēkkiḻār calls the family of Ēyar as the family of the commanders-in-chief of the Cōḻa army.[3]

4. Māṉakkañcāṟar is the father-in-law of this Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmar.[4]

5. Viṟaṉmiṇṭar is spoken of as belonging to the cultivators' or Vēḷāḷars' community by Cēkkiḻār. The first word of this phrase 'Viṟal' suggests that he was a victorious commander or a chief. According to Cēkkiḻār, he was opposed to our saint.[5]

1. 7: 11; 16: 11; 34: 11; 39: 11; 47: 10; 57: 12; 58: 10; 98: 11.
2. 16: 11; 38: 10; 39: 11.
3. Verse 5 of Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār Puraṇam in Periyapurāṇam.
4. V. 34, Māṉakkañcāṟar Purāṇam, *ibid.*
5. Viṟaṉmiṇṭar Purāṇam, *ibid.*

6. Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḻarciṅkaṉ was the emperor ruling during the life of Ārūrar, who mentions him in the present tense: "Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḻarciṅkaṉ."[6]

7. Pūcalār was a contemporary of Kāṭavarkōṉ[7].

8. Ceruttuṇaiyār is the king of Tañcai according to Ārūrar and a contemporary of Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḻarciṅkaṉ according to Cēkkiḻār.

9. Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ, the Cēra king, was the patron of Pāṇapaṭṭirar and a friend of Ārūrar. He is otherwise known as Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivār Nāyaṉār.

10. Kōṭpuli, who won a victory over a group of kings according to Ārūrar,[8] a commander of the Cōḻa army and a friend of Ārūrar who is said to have adopted the daughters of Kōṭpuli according to Cēkkiḻār.[9]

11. Perumiḻalaikkuṟumpar: Cēkkiḻār describes him as the chief of Perumiḻalai and the name Kuṟumpar suggests that he was a Kuṟumpa chief.[10] According to Periyapurāṇam, he was worshipping Ārūrar in his mind and died on the day previous to the departure of Ārūrar to Kailas.[11]

12. Naraciṅkamuṇaiyaraiyar is the chief of Nāvalūr who brought up Ārūrar.[12]

13. Sōmācimāṟar: Sōmāci is a Tamil form of Sōmayājin- "One who had performed the Sōmayajña." According to Periyapurāṇam, he went and lived at Tiruvārūr as a great friend of Ārūrar.[13]

(b) The age of these Saints will be the age of Ārūrar in which Cēramāṉ and Kaḻarciṅkaṉ as kings and Ēyarkōṉ and Kōṭpuli as chieftains must have played an important part.

6. 39: 9.
7. Pūcalār Nāyaṉār pūraṇam in Periyapurāṇam.
8. 15: 10.
9. Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār Purāṇam in Periyapurāṇam.
10. Kuṟumpu—Subordinate chief: Puṟanāṉūṟu: 97.
11. V. 4-6, 9, 10 of Perumiḻalaikkuṟumpa Nāyaṉār Purāṇam.
12. Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam, 5.
13. V. 4, Sōmācimāṟa Nāyaṉār Purāṇam.

II. (a) Campantar and Appar lived anterior to Ārūrar and the following are said to be their contemporaries:

1. Ciṟuttoṇṭar.[14]
2. Kuṅkiliyakkalayar.[15]
3. Muruka Nāyaṉār.[16]
4. Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar.[17]
5. Nīlanakkar.[18]
6. Vaḻuti (Neṭumāṟaṉ).[19]
7. Maṅkaiyarkkaraci.[20]
8. Kulacciṟaiyār.[21]
9. Appūti.[22]
10. Appar refers to Campantar.

(b) Among these, Ciṟuttoṇṭar is considered to be the Pallava commander, who captured Vātāpi about 642 A.D. during the reign of Narasiṁha Varma Māmalla, or about 672 A.D. during the reign of Paramēśvara Varma I. Neṭumāṟan, identified[23] with Arikēsari-Neṭumāṟaṉ according to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri may be assigned the period 670-710 A.D.[24] and according to others 640-680 A.D.[25]

III. (a) Campantar, in addition, refers to Pukaḻttuṇaiyār[26] and Appar refers to Kaṇampullar,[27] Amarnītiyār.[27a] Campantar refers to Amarnītiyār.[28] Appar refers to Cākkiya Nāyanār.[29] Both

14. Campantar Tēvāram, 3: 63: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 9; 10.
15. According to Periyapurāṇam, this saint is said to have met Ñāṉacampantar (and Appar)—Kuṅkiliyakkalaya Nāyaṉār Purāṇam, 32-33.
16. Campantar Tēvāram: 2: 92: 3, 5.
17. 1: 62: 9; 3: 115: 6. Yāḻmuri is said to have been sung to show Yāḻppāṇar his place: 1: 136. Periyapurāṇam: Campantar Purāṇam—V. 448.
18. Campantar: 3: 58: 2, 11.
19. Neṭumāṟan: Campantar: 2: 66: 11; 3: 51: 1-11; 3: 120: 2.
20. Campantar: 3: 120: 1.
21. Campantar: 3: 120: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11.
22. Appar: 4: 12: 10.
23. Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, page 53
24. Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, page 41.
25. Pāṇḍyas by T. V. Sadāsiva Pandārattār following Venkayya.
26. 2: 63: 7.
27. 4: 49: 9; 6: 12: 7.
27a. 4: 98: 7.
28. 3: 121: 1.
29. 4: 49: 6; 6: 52: 8.

of them refer to Caṇḍēccurar,[30] Naminanti,[31] Kaṇṇappar.[32] Kōcceṅkaṭ Cōḷar is mentioned by Appar.[33] Appar mentions Tillaivāḷ Antaṇar[34] and Campantar mentions Tillaivāḷ Antaṇar[35]. It is doubtful whether the reference in Appar's is to Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār.

These must be considered to be anterior to Appar and Campantar.

(b) The following are not found mentioned in the Tēvāram hymns of Appar or Campantar but as all the hymns sung by these saints have not reached us, one cannot conclude that all of them came only after these two saints. Some of them must be anterior to Appar and Campantar. They are as follows: Pukaḻccōḷar, Kāraikkālammaiyār, Tirumūlar, Mūrtti Nāyaṇār, Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṇār, Aiyaṭikaḷ, Arivāṭṭāyaṇār, Eṟipattar, Kāri, Atipattar, Kalikkampar, Kaliya Nāyaṇār, Cakti, Vāyilār, Muṉaiyaṭuvār, Itaṅkaḷi, Iyaṟpakai, Nēca Nāyanār, Iḷaiyāṉkuṭimāṟar, Meypporuḷ, Tirunāḷaippōvār, Ēṉātināta Nāyaṇār, Āṉāyar, Uruttirapacupati, Tirukkuṟipputtoṇṭar, Mūrkkar, Ciṟappuli, Kaṇanātar, Tirunīlakaṇṭar and Taṇṭi.

Pukaḻccōḷar and Eṟipattar are contemporaries and the fact that this Cōḷa ruled from Karuvūr suggests that he must belong to the period when the Cōḷa kingdom was in the hands of Kalabhras and others. Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṇār and Mūrtti Nāyaṇār probably belong to the period of Kalabhra interregnum. Tirumūlar should also be taken to have preceded these two saints. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār is referred to as Pēyār by Ārūrar. According to Cēkkiḻār, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār lived long long before Ñānacampantar who is therefore not said to have set foot on the sacred precincts of Ālaṅkāṭu, made sacred by the foot dust of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār.[36] Yāpparuṅkala virutti quotes a verse beginning with 'Karaippāl perumōṭṭu' in its commentary on Cūtram 93 as an ārṣā or a verse

30. 1: 48: 7; 1: 106: 5; 2: 43: 5: 3: 54; 7: 3: 68: 10; 3: 155: 5: 4: 48: 4; 4: 49: 3; 4: 65: 6; 4: 73: 5; 5: 2: 4; 5: 70: 1; 5: 73: 8; 6: 18: 10; 6: 33: 10; 6: 73: 6; 6: 75: 9.

31. 1: 62: 6; 4: 103: 2; 6: 14: 4.

32. 3: 35: 7; 3: 69: 4; 3: 109: 7; 3: 116: 7; 4: 49: 7; 4: 65: 8; 6: 12: 6; 6: 39: 9; 6: 81: 6; 6: 96: 1.

33. 4: 49: 4; 6: 20: 5; 6: 23: 3; 6: 56: 6; 6: 74: 8; 6: 75: 8; 6: 83: 6.

34. 4: 80: 2.

35. 1: 80.

36. Campantar Purāṇam 1009.

sung by a ṛṣi or saint and it mentions that it was sung by both Pūtattār and Kāraikkārpēy.[37] This will make her a contemporary of the first three āḻvārs.

In our study of Tiruttoṇṭattokai, it was suggested that the people who bear the epithet 'Kali' may have some relationship with the Kaliyaracar or Kalabhras. The number of free lances like Muṉaiyaṭuvār, Iṭaṅkaḻi, Cakti etc., seems to suggest that they lived in an age of confusion which preceded the restoration of order by Kaṭuṅkōṉ, the Pāṇḍya and Siṁhaviṣṇu, the Pallava. Meypporuḷ, the chief of the Cēti country and Ēṉatināta, the chieftain who obtained the title of Ēnāti, were living perhaps in these trouble times. Cākkiyar must have lived in an age of Buddhistic domination, described by Fahien, i.e., before their deterioration described by Hieun Tsang.

(c) But all of them could not be said to have preceded Appar and Campantar. Aiyaṭikaḷ, if our identification of this king with Mahēndravarman II is correct, must have come between Campantar and Ārūrar. Again Kaṇanāta who worshipped Campantar must have come necessarily after Campantar and before Ārūrar.[38]

In any case, for our purpose, it is enough if we take them as anterior to Ārūrar for fixing the upper limit of his age.

II

Apart from these names, certain traditions and suggestions may be now considered:

1. The names Aiyaṭikaḷ Kaṭavarkoṉ and Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ seem to suggest a relationship between them. The stories of these saints given in Kannaḍa and Sanskrit works make them father and son.[39]

2. Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ is said to be ruling the world surrounded by the seas, thereby suggesting his naval power.[40] Kaḻal is the heoric anklet worn as a sign of victory. According to Periyapurāṇam,

37. P. 352.
38. Kaṇa. Purāṇam, 5.
39. Mysore Archaeological Report, 1925, pp. 9-10.
40. 39: 9.

(i) Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ came of the old Pallava line; (ii) his mind never knew anything but the feet of Śiva and his worship; (iii) the frontiers of his enemies fell before him and he captured the northern land; (iv) when Ceruttuṇai Nāyaṉār cut away the nose of the queen for smelling the flower set apart for God at Tiruvārūr, Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ cut away her hands which took up the flowers. Of these four points the last alone is found in Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi's Tiruvantāti (verse 64).

3. Kāṭavarkōṉ, the contemporary of Pūcalār is said to have built the Kaṟṟaḷi at Kāñci. The Pallava king Rājasiṁha according to the inscriptions heard a divine voice.[41] This is taken to refer to the message which he received for fixing a date for the consecration of the temple different from that fixed by Pūcalār for consecrating his mental temple.[42] Periyapurāṇam, however, speaks of a dream.[43]

4. The Periyapurāṇam gives the following details about Aiyaṭikaḷ: (i) He came of the Pallava family; (ii) he subjugated other lands; (iii) he established the dhārmic path of Śaivism and the Vēdas; (iv) he abdicated and crowned his son as king; (v) he went on a pilgrimage to Śaivite temples singing a 'veṇpā' at each temple. Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi refers only to the first and fifth points[44] which are proved by the existence of Kṣēttira veṇpā and the very name of the king Aiyaṭikaḷ.

5. Kōṭpuli according to Ārūrar conquered a crowd of kings and he belonged to the Cōḻa country. But, according to Periyapurāṇam he was a commander of the Cōḻas. He is said to have killed his relatives including his baby child for having tasted the rice reserved for bhaktas.

6. (a) Cēramāṉ was the patron of Pāṇapattirar, a musician in the court of Varaguṇa, the Pāṇḍya. (b) Since Varaguṇa II, a Śaivite saint praised by Paṭṭiṇattār and others is not mentioned by Ārūrar, Varaguṇa I, the contemporary of Cēramāṉ must be anterior to this Varaguṇa II. (c) Cēramāṉ and Ārūrar met the Pāṇḍya and his son-in-law, the Cōḻa, at the royal court of Madura. Therefore, all of them must have been friends. This requires that

41. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Part I, No. 24, v. 7.
42. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Part I, No. 24, v. 7.
43. Pūcalār Purānam, 9 and 10.
44. Tiruvantāti: 56.

we must find a period for Ārūrar when the Pāṇḍya, the Cōḻa and the Cēra could have been on friendly terms. (d) The word Neṭumāṟan occurs in Ārūrar's hymns[45] suggesting that he was his contemporary.

7. (a) There is a tradition that Cēramāṉ went away to Mecca and became a Muslim. (b) The Kollam era is said to have been started with his disappearance.

8. (a) The Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarma Pallavamalla speaks of an important elephant name Paṭṭavarttaṉam, (Paṭṭavardhana) which he conquered from the Gaṅgas.[46] Ārūrar speaks of an elephant of a Toṇṭaimāṉ:

"Collarum pukaḻāṉ Toṇṭaimāṉ kaḷirṟai-c
cūḻkoṭi mullaiyāṟkaṭṭi-ṭ
Ṭellaiyil iṉpam avaṉpeṟa veḷippaṭ
taruḷiya iṟaivaṉē."[47]

"You bound the elephant of Toṇṭaimāṉ of fame beyond words and you came to bless him with infinite happiness." This is suggested as a reference to the Paṭṭavardhanam.[48]

(b) In addition, it is suggested that terms like Kāṭavarkōṉ etc., used by Ārūrar are not found used by the Pallavas themselves as their family names before the reign of Nandivarma Pallavamalla.

PART II

THE THEORIES DISCUSSED

I

The various theories put forward on the basis of these various points may be discussed to offer us the starting point and show us our way.

The Mysore Archaeological Report 1925 tries to fix the age of Ārūrar, after fixing the age of Ñānacampantar. The Karnāṭaka Kaviccakravartti, in his Triṣaṣṭipurātana caritrē, mentions according to the Report[49] that the Jain ascetics Jinasēna, Nayasēna, Śṛtakīrti, Viśālakīrti, Buddhacandra and Suvṛtakīrti attempted

45. 38: 8; 39: 8.
46. Tandantōṭṭam Plates, V. 7.
47. 69: 10.
48. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 99, Verse 7, Footnote 6.
49. P. 12.

to cure the Kūṉ Pāṇḍyaṉ by making use of Jaina charms and spells, but failed in their attempts whilst Campantar tried next and cured him. The Jinasēna mentioned herein is the author of Bṛhad Harivamsa Purāṇa and at the end of that Purāṇa, Jinasēna himself writes as follows: "When 700 years in the era of Śāka increased by five have elapsed, when Indrāyudha, son of Kṛṣṇa was ruling over the north, and Śrīvallabha, the south, when Vatsarāja, the king of the Avanti country was ruling over the east and when the brave Jayavarāha was ruling over the Śūrasēnamaṇḍala in the west, this Harivamśa was composed": This gives the year—Sāka 705 or 783 A.D.

It is also stated by Karnataka Kaviccakravartti that Campantar was assisted by Haradatta and Vāgīsa. The report writes: "This epoch is in harmony assigned to Haradattācharya in Haradattamāhātmya", and translated, the verse giving this detail as follows: "When 4,000 years greater by 21 years from the beginning of Kali had elapsed, in the year Vilamba, on Friday, the 5th lunar day of the white half of the month of Puṣya, Haradatta, of Maudgala-Gōtra and father of eight children ascended the heaven. His passage on a brilliant vimāna was a pleasing sight, as witnessed by the inhabitants of the village Kamsa on the northern bank of the Kāvēri (Kañcaṉūr?)". But the report itself admits that 4,021 Kali that is 920 A.D. was not Vilamba year and therefore concludes: "Perhaps the verse was composed long after the event happened." The report however continues:[50] "The Rājāvalīkathē, a Canarese historical work of the Jains furnishes some additional evidence confirming the epoch of Kūṉpāṇḍya fell partly in the 8th and partly in the 9th century. It is stated in the work that Bhaṭṭākaḷaṅka whose name is mentioned by Jinasēna in his Mahāpurāṇa taught Hoysaḷa, the legendary founder of the Hoysaḷa dynasty some charms to enable him to conquer Kūna Pāṇḍya of Madura." This is the translation of the portion in Rājāvalī Kathē: "The Śāka year 800 in the Vilambi year on Thursday the 10th lunar day of the white half of the month of Caitra with the constellation Puṣya, Dhṛiti yōga, and girijākaraṇa, Akaḷaṅka taught Hoysaḷa, the necessary charm and spell for his victory." The Report itself condemns these dates: "The error is that the 10th lunar day of Caitra of the year Viḷambi, 878 A.D., is Monday and not Thursday.

50. P. 12.

Nor, can it be believed that Bhaṭṭākaḷanka, who must have been old enough to be referred to by Jinasēna about A.D. 783 could have lived as long as 878."

The whole argument turns on the mention of the name of Jinasēna, in the list of Jain ascetics who tried to cure Kūṉ Pāṇḍya. The author of "Triṣaṣṭi Purātana Caritrē" in his attempt to glorify the success of Campantar has brought in the names of all famous Jains of all ages in his list of Jain ascetics and pitted them against Campantar. If this assumption is correct, no reliance can be placed on this verse for fixing the date of Campantar whose date has been conclusively proved by late Prof. Sundaram Pillai, in his classic essay on "Some mile-stones in the History of Tamil Literature." Appar was the contemporary of Guṇabhara Mahēndra Varma and Campantar referred to Ciṟuttoṇṭar of the great Vātāpi fame, the great commander of Narasiṁhavarma when Vātāpi was conquered in 642 A.D. The Kūṉ Pāṇḍya was Arikēsarivarmaṉ I of the 7th century.

This report itself fixes the date of Dabhrabhakta, i.e., Ciṟuttoṇṭar correctly. The report writes: "The exploit of Dabhrabhakta, a general of the Chōḷa king (Pallava king?) in destroying the fortification of Vātāpi is another historical event which throws a flood of light on the chronology of the Śaivite Saints in general. According to the history of the Pallavas, it was Narasiṁhavarman I, that destroyed the fort of Vātāpi (Bādāmi) and captured alive Pulakēsi II, one of the Chāḷukya kings about A.D. 634 (643?). This decides the date of Dabrabhakta,..... and also the dates of other Śaivites who are mentioned along with him."[51]

Unfortunately, the Report has failed to take note of the fact that the other Śaivites mentioned along with Dabhrabhakta or Ciṟuttoṇṭar, are Campantar and Appar.

Proceeding next to fix the date of Ārūrar, naturally in a period subsequent to the period fixed for Campantar and it was for this reason that we had to criticise the views on the age of Campantar, the report writes as follows:[51a] "Lastly, regarding the date of Sundaranampi Nāyaṉār, reliable information is furnished by Sōmadēvasūri in his Yaśas Tilaka Campu. In the colophon he writes,

51. P. 11.
51a. P. 13.

"When 881 years in the Sāka year have elapsed on the 13th lunar day of the month of Caitra, in the year Siddhārtha and when Krishna Rāja was reigning in Mēlyāti, after conquering Pāṇḍava Simhalōchana, Chērama and other kings in the Gaṅga country under the rule of king Vāga, the eldest son of Arikēsari, a descendant of the Chāḷukyas and the crest-jewel of the feudal chiefs under king Krishna, his feudal Lord, this work was caused to be composed." The Report assumes that Chērama mentioned here is Chēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār and therefore Ārūrar must have lived up to 959 or 960 A.D., mentioned in the above works. It is impossible to bring Ārūrar to the period of Cōḷa supremacy of Vijayālaya and his successors of the 10th century. Cēramāṉ is a common name of Cēras and from this one cannot fix any date even as it is impossible to fiix any date with the help of the single name Pāṇḍya or Cōḷa.

II

There is an interesting reference to the Skanda Purāṇa emphasised in this report,[52] where Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷarciṅkaṉ are mentioned in Sanskrit. Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ is translated as Pañcapādasiṁha. The report writes as follows: "In the Skāndōpapurāṇa, Śivarahasya, and Śiva Bhakta Māhātmya, the Pallavas are called Āryagṛhyas, worthy of social intercourse with the Āryans. This indicates, that though a non-Āryan tribe, they were regarded as Āryans probably for their devotion to Śaivism. One Pañcapāda Siṁha or Siṁhāṅka is said to have built a number of Śiva temples. His father Bhīma is said to have dedicated his life to the service of Śiva and retired from his kingdom early in life, installing Siṁhāṅka on the throne. According to Epigraphical records, however, Siṁhavarman (550-575 A.D.), was the father of Bhīmavarman." If Kaḷarciṅkaṉ were to be the contemporary of Ārūrar our saint should be taken to have lived in the closing years of the 6th century in the reign of Siṁhaviṣṇu. This will be an absurd conclusion, for Appar whom Ārūrar praises as his leader came only in the reign of Mahēndravarmaṉ, the son of Siṁhaviṣṇu.

The report continues:

"Though with regard to genealogical order, the statement of Skāndōpapurāṇa is wrong, the consanguinity of the two Pallava

52. P. 11.

personages in the story is in itself a reliable index to their position in the genealogy of the Pallava kings. It follows, therefore, that Pañcapādasiṁha or Siṁhāṅka of the Skāndōpapurāṇa identical with the Tamil name Aiyaṭikaḷ or Kāṭavarkōṉ Nāyaṉār is none other than the Pallava Siṁhavarma (550-575) father of Bhīmavarma. Kaḍava or Kāḍava is another name of the Pallavas."

It is clear that the two references in the Skāndōpapurāṇa narrating the story of the 63 Śaiva saints is to Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ whom the Purāṇa makes son and father. There is evidently a confusion much more than is noted in the report. Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ was a contemporary of Ārūrar and therefore Aiyaṭikaḷ must be an ancestor of Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ, not his son. Nor does the term Aiyaṭikaḷ mean Pañcapāda. All this confusion is due to the later day Sanskrit writers attempting to translate the Tamil stories, and the Tamil names into Sanskrit. We have already explained the difficulty, Cēkkiḻār, a great Tamil scholar, feels in arriving at conclusions about these ancient stories. The consanguineous contiguity of the two Pallava saints must have been suggested to the Sanskrit writers by some Tamil scholar who probably interpreted Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ as Kāṭavarkōṉ, the son of Aiyaṭikaḷ and the name Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ as Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ, the son of Kāṭavarkōṉ. This usage of interpreting the first half of a compound personal name as the name of the father and the second half as the name of the person concerned is as old as the Tolkāppiyam.[53] The names Danti Nandi and Nandi Nṛpatuṅga in the Pallava history show that this usage was current even in the eighth and ninth centuries. But Cēkkiḻār has interpreted these two phrase-names Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kāṭavarkōn Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ as Aiyaṭikaḷ, the Kāṭava king and Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ the Kāṭavarkōṉ taking the term Kāṭavarkōṉ as the general name of the Pallava kings. But in any case the tradition about the consanguineous relationship preserved in these Sanskrit versions will have to be taken note of in fixing the date of Ārūrar, the contemporary of Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ.

In this connection, one may note the story of Pūcalār Nāyaṉār who built a temple in his own imagination with all that sincerity and reverence required by the Āgamas and fixed a date for the Kumbhābhiṣēkam (consecration) of this temple on a date and hour, which synchronised with the date and hour fixed unknown

53. Tol. 350.

to him by the Pallava king or Kāṭavarkōṉ for the consecration of his own temple at Kāñcipuram. We are told that Śiva requested the king to change the day and time because Pūcalār had already fixed upon the original day and time. Historians of the Pallava age[54] conclude that this is referred to in Rājasiṁha's inscription in the Kailāsanātha Temple in the following terms: "If in the Kṛta (age) kings like Dushyanta, who saw the gods and were engaged by saints like Kaṇva, would hear a heavenly voice without body, that is not a matter of wonder, but ah! this is extremely astonishing, that Śrībhara has heard that voice in the Kali age from which good qualities keep aloof.[55]

Therefore, one has to conclude with Mr. C. V. Nārāyaṇa Aiyar, "Since Pūcalār Nāyaṇār was one of the 63 devotees honoured by Sundaramūrti (Ārūrar) in the Tiruttoṇṭattokai, Sundarar (Ārūrar) must have been a contemporary of Narasiṁhavarman II or any one of his successors."[55a]

III

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, however, concludes that Ārūrar lived in the middle of the 9th century A.D.,[56] on the basis of an inscription[57] where one Narasiṁhavarma is referred to by another Narasiṁhavarma of Tirunāvalūr, Milāṭuṭaiya Nāṭṭāṉ. This belongs to the 17th year of Kannara Deva's reign, i.e., 957 A.D. This inscription refers to another Narasiṁhavarma whom according to the Tamil usage Mr. Rao assumes to be the grand-father living a 100 years previous to him as a contemporary of Ārūrar. The other argument of Mr. Rao is based on the assumption that Cēramāṉ, the friend of Nampiyārūrar and the patron of Pāṇapattiraṉ, a musician, was the contemporary of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya who was according to Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam, the Pāṇḍya patron of the same Pāṇapattirar. From Ārūrar's verse that Śiva creates confusion amongst those kings who do not pay tributes to the Pallava king[58], Mr. Gopinatha Rao concludes Ārūrar must have lived in an age when Pallava supremacy was being questioned by its sub-

54. *Pallavas of Kāñci* by Gopalan, p. 109.
55. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 24, line 7.
55a. Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India, p. 446.
56. *Sentamil*, Vol. III, p. 312.
57. 120/1900.
58. 90: 4.

ordinates. Mr. Rao refers to the Udayēndram Plates and to the Trichy. Inscription of Varaguṇa to conclude that these refer to this period of Pallavas' fall. He assigns these documents to the 9th century A.D. This essay of Gopinatha Rao was written in 1905, but subsequent research has shown that the Udayendram Plates belong to the age of Nandivarma Pallavamalla who ruled between 733 and 795 A.D. In view of this conclusion, the argument based on the inscription of Kaṉṉaradēva also falls to the ground.

IV

The late Mr. K. Srinivasa Pillai, in his Tamil Varalāṟu, Part II, concludes that Ārūrar must have lived in the reign of Dantivarmaṉ. He proceeds to fix the lower limit and the upper limit of the age of Ārūrar. Having come after Appar and Campantar, Ārūrar should be later than the first half of the seventh century. As according to Mr. Piḷḷai, Māṇikkavācakar lived in the age of Varaguṇa II and since Ārūrar does not refer to this saint, Ārūrar must be anterior to 862 A.D., when, according to Mr. Piḷḷai, Varaguṇa ascended the throne. Ārūrar meets the Cōḷa living under the shelter of his father-in-law, the Pāṇḍya and this Cōḷa, therefore, should be one of those who preceded the powerful Vijayālaya, who required no such protection and who ascended the throne in 849 A.D. As Pāṇapattirar, who came to Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ is said to be a musician in the court of Varaguṇa, this Varaguṇa must be Varaguṇa I, the grand-father of Varaguṇa II. Mr. Srinivasa Pillai within these upper and lower limits fixes definitely the year 825 as the date of Cēramāṉ and Ārūrar leaving this world on the basis of the tradition that Kollam Era began, on the date Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ left Malayāḷam for Mecca for becoming a Muslim. Mr. Pillai refers to the mention of the name of Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ by Ārūrar. But this name according to him is an honorific title rather than a proper name. He feels it cannot refer to Rājasiṁha because in his age of peace and no war, none would have refused to pay tribute to him whereas Ārūrar in the Citamparam hymn mentions such refusal. He is forced to conclude that Ārūrar was a contemporary of Dantivarmaṉ who was conquered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III and who, therefore, must have found it difficult to collect tribute from his subordinates. Because he has built temples like Kailāsanāthar temple in Ālampākkam of the Trichy. Dist., wherein he enshrined the Dantiliṅgam named after him, Mr. Srinivasa Pillai feels that he was such a great patron of Śaivism as to

be referred to in the Tiruttoṇṭattokai. But Dantivarman, though he had built the Kailāsanāthar temple is considered to be a Vaiṣṇavite[59] who had built and renovated Vaiṣṇavite temples; and some told that Tirumaṅkaimaṉṉaṉ was a contemporary of Danti as well as Nandivarma Pallavamalla.

V

Dr. Mīnākṣi on other grounds confirms the period of Ārūrar as the first half of the 9th century, making Ārūrar a contemporary of Nandivarman III, the Teḷḷaṟeṟinda Nandivarman and not Dantivarman.[60]

She writes: "The first half of the 9th century, which is the date generally assigned to Sundarar (Ārūrar) seems to receive confirmation from his own padigam 'Tiruttoṇḍattogai' where he describes among other Śiva bhaktas 'Kaḍal sūḻnda ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ kāḍavarkōn kaḻar-ciṅgaṉ'[61]—that is, the Kāḍava king, Śiṅgan, with the kaḻal (anklet), who is guarding the entire world surrounded by the sea. The mention of him as Kāḍavarkōṉ leads us to believe that he was a Pallava king probably a contemporary of the Saint".[62]

Very carefully she lays down the requirements: "The following points must be satisfied by an attempt to identify this monarch. Firstly, the Pallava king must be a sufficiently prominent ruler; it would be well if it could be shown that his activities extended beyond the seas to justify the description 'Kaḍal sūḻnda ulagelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ'. Secondly, 'Kaḻal Siṅgaṉ' undoubtedly implies that he was a warrior king. Thirdly, this Kāḍavarkōṉ must have also been a great devotee of Śiva in order to receive such an encomium from Sundarar (Ārūrar)".[63]

Applying these tests, she concludes that Nandivarman III satisfies these requirements:

"Now the king who best satisfies all these points seems to be Nandivarman III, who may be said to have ruled the Pallava

59. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 515.
60. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 300.
61. 39: 9.
62. P. 299.
63. Pp. 299-300.

kingdom between the years 840-865 A.D. Let us proceed to consider the points raised above. We have no direct evidence to assert that Nandivarman III extended his sway beyond the seas by conquest. However, we find that the economic relations of South India with the outside world were well established in the 9th century A.D. From the Nandikkalambagam, we learn that Nandi was a master of a navy and from the inscriptions of his period it is clear that he encouraged external trade. The maritime relations of the period are further corroborated by an inscription in Siam which mentions a tank called Avani Nāraṇam evidently named after Nandivarman III (whose title was Avani Nāraṇan).[64]

She refers to Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri for her arguments. Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri has also suggested in editing the Takuapā inscription from Siam that the builder of the tank was probably a prominent noble from Nāṅgūr in South India, who "went over to Takua-Pā and became the author of some charitable works in that locality. The name he gave to the tank was reminiscent of the political allegiance he owed to Nandivarman III."[65]

"These observations are sufficient indications to explain the description 'kaḍal sūḻnda ulagelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ"[66] says she, and she continues: "Regarding 'Kaḻal Siṅgaṉ' a better description than this, of the Victor of Teḷḷāṟu, cannot be sought. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant and the Bāhūr Plates glorify Nandivarmaṉ as a great warrior. Further, his own inscriptions which attribute to him the epithet "'Teḷḷāṟerinda Nandivarmaṉ' the very object of the Kalambakam and the introductory verse in the 'Bhārata Veṇbā', establish his fame as a victor. Besides, in the Kalambakam we read: "Araikaḻal muḍitta Avaṉi Nāraṇaṉ"[67]—Avaṉi Nāraṇan who wears the victorious 'anklets'. Again we have "Kurai kaḻal Vīra Nandi,"[68] i.e., the heroic Nandi (who wears a) jingling kaḻal—and in another place we find him described as the lion among the Pallava kings —"Pallava kōḷari".[69] Thus the name 'Kaḻal Siṅgaṉ' noticed in

64. Pallava Administration, p. 300.
65. J.O.R., Madras, Vol. V., p. 300. Pallava Administration, p. 300.
66. Pallava Administration, p. 300.
67. Verse 66.
68. Verse 28.
69. Verse 59.

Sundarar's (Ārūrar's) poem is supported by these phrases in the Kalambakam."[70]

"That Nandivarman was a great Śaiva devotee is evident not only from the epigraphy of the period but also from the Kalambakam where he is spoken of as one whose mind is always concentrated on Śiva: 'Śivanai muḻudum maṟavāda cintaiyāṉ'.[71]

"Other facts may be adduced in support of the view that 'Kaḷaḷ Siṅgan' of Sundarar (Ārūrar) was Nandivarman III. The Periyapurāṇam relates that 'Kaḷaḷ Siṅgan' was a Pallava king who distinguished himself by invading the northern regions and defeating the kings of the North"[72]. She proceeds to quote from the Kalambakam: "Cēra Cōḻarum Teṉṉarum Vaḍapulattaraśarum tiṟai taṇḍa" —"besides the Cēra, Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍya kings, the kings of the North also paid tribute to the Pallava king Nandivarman" and from Vēlūrpāḷayam Plates to prove that the northern enemy was the Rāṣṭra Kūṭa king who had in the reign of Dantivarman claimed tribute from the Pallavas. She has quoted a verse.[73] She writes: "It thus becomes evident that the chief northern enemy of Nandivarman III was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa against whom the Pallava king led an invasion soon after he ascended the throne of Kāñci to liberate his kingdom from the payment of the tribute. This is implied in the phrase 'rājyasriyam samavāpat'."[74]

And, she continues:—"The successful raid of the Pallava king against his northern foes was enough at once to rouse the jealousy of the southern kings, and give them an opportunity to join together under the Pāṇḍya leadership for a fight against the Pallava king, on his return from the north" (at Teḷḷāṟu).[75]

She sees a reference to this in Sundarar (Ārūrar): "In his padigam on the god at Śiṟṟambalam he makes a reference to the Pallava king. He says: '(Here in Śiṟṟambalam) resides the God who punished those kings who refused to pay the tribute due to the Pallava king'—'Urimaiyāṟ Pallavarkkut tiṟai koḍā maṉṉavarai

70. Pallava Administration, p. 300.
71. Verse 97, *ibid.*, p. 301.
72. Periyapurāṇam, Kaḻaṟciṅka Nāyāṉār Purāṇam, Verses 1 and 2.
73. Pallava Administration, p. 301.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

maṟukkañjeyyum, Perumaiyāṟ puliyūrc ciṟṟambalattemberumāṉaippeṟṟāmaṉṟē.' Here is clearly a reference to the refusal of the southern kings to recognise the Pallava ruler. Again, we have another verse of Sundarar (Ārūrar) where the same defeat of the southern kings is implied though under a different context.

"In his padigam on the God at Nāṭṭiyattāṉguḍi, Sundarar (Ārūrar) purposely pays tribute to his friend Kōṭpuli by referring to the latter's military exploits. He says that Kōṭpuli was successful in a war against a host of enemies—"Kūḍā maṉṉaraik kūṭṭattuveṉṟa koḍiṟaṉ Kōṭpuli." Again, in his Tiruttoṇḍattogai he praises Kōṭpuli as one famous for his victory—"Aḍal sūḻnda vēl Nambi Kōṭpulikkumaḍiyēṉ."

"That Kōṭpuli was a contemporary of Sundarar (Ārūrar) is certain; and in the Periyapurāṇam we read that he was a commander of the army under his contemporary king who was evidently the Pallava Nandivarman III. It is also narrated that Kōṭpuli was suddenly ordered by the king to fight against his enemies in a battle where he distinguished himself by defeating a host of kings.[76] It is thus evident that Kōṭpuli was one of the leaders of the Pallava army which engaged itself against the southern kings at Teḷḷāṟu."[77]

She concludes: "The course of events described so far enables us to distinguish the Pallava king as a great hero. His devotion to Śiva and his interest in Tamil literature deserved well the unique eulogy from his contemporary Śaiva Nāyaṉār who in the presence of Śiva at Tirumēṟṟali extolled Kāñcī the capital of the Pallava as the city on earth: 'Pārūr Pallavaṉūr matiṟkāñci mānakarvāy-c Cīrūrumpuṟaviṟ ṟirumēṟṟaḷi-c civaṉai Ārūraṉṉaṭiyā naṭit toṇṭaṉā rūraṉconna Cīrūr pāṭavallār Civalōkañ cērvārē'."[78]

She dismisses the theory identifying Kaḷarsiṁgan with Rājasiṁha very summarily in a foot note.[79] "Pandit M. Rāghava Iyengar identifies 'Kaḷal siṁgan' with Rajasiṁha.[80] This is untenable as

76. Periyapurānam: Kōṭpuli Nâyaṉār Purāṇam.
77. Pallava Administration, p. 305.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
78. 21: 10; *Ibid.*, p. 305.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
80. Aḻvārkaḷ kālanilai, pp. 135-136.

Sundarar (Ārūrar) cannot be assigned to an earlier date than the first half of the 9th century."

It is very unfortunate that she has not here given us her reasons. Is she relying on the tradition about Cēramāṉ's departure to Mecca and the beginning of the Kollam era? The tradition about the Kollam era may be conveniently examined at this place.

Though there is a tradition that Kollam era began with the disappearance of Cēramāṉ, the inscriptions give a different story about the introduction of this new era. The inscriptions of Malabar always speak of their dates as coming so many years after the foundation of Kollam—"Kollam tōṉṟi . . . . . āṇṭu."[81] The question arises what is the meaning of the phrase "Kollam tōṉṟi"? Teivaccilaiyār, a commentator on the Tolkāppiyam throws some light on this problem. The Tolkāppiyam describes the standard dialect —'Centamiḻ' and the Provincial dialects—'Koṭuntamiḻ'. This commentator enumerates the 12 provinces and in addition speaks of 12 countries from which foreign words or 'ticaiccol' came into Tamil. The following is an old sutra of Agastya he quotes: "The old Kollam, Kūpakam, Siṅkaḷam on the South of the river Kumari, Koṅkaṇam, Tuḷuvam, Kuṭakam, and Kuṉṟakam on the west of Saiyyam, Karunāṭam, Vaṭuku, Teluṅku and Kaliṅkam on the east of Saiyyam or the mountain." He finds that this description of Kollam as being south of Kumari does not agree with the state of affairs existing in his own times. He therefore proceeds to explain as follows: "Of these, Kūpakam, and Kollam became submerged under the seas and perhaps, people were made to immigrate to a new city on the northern bank of the Kumari river which was the same name as Kollam." This suggestion agrees with the conclusions of modern research that in 822, old Kollam disappeared because of erosion by the sea and in 825 the new Kollam was founded at its present place, Quilon.[82] Therefore, this tradition of departure to Mecca has no historical value.

On the tradition that Cēramāṉ going away as a Muslim to Mecca, an event celebrated by the new era of Kollam referred to as already stated in Tamil varalāṟu, Mr. C. V. Nārāyaṇa Aiyar

81. *Travancore Archaeological Series,* Vol. III, pages 57 and 58.
82. *Travancore Archaeological Series,* Vol. III, pages 57 and 58.

expresses himself very forcibly in his work on 'Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India':

"It will be clear to any one who reads the above mentioned arguments[83] that the conclusions are unworthy of acceptance, since they are based ultimately upon a baseless tradition about Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ becoming a Mahommedan. We know that Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ is a Śaiva saint glorified by Sundarar (Ārūrar) and cherished by all the Tamils even at the present day. Such a thing would be impossible if Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ had become a Mahommedan.[84]

VI

Mr. C. V. Nārāyana Aiyar like Mr. Gopinatha Rao, lays much emphasis on the fact of the meeting of the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya on friendly terms, when Ārūrar went to Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. The Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were intermarrying in this period. It was therefore against the Cēras, the Paṇḍyas were leading their expedition off and on. Therefore he proceeds to find out the Pāṇḍya in whose reign there was no such expedition and who might be taken to be the king of Madura to whom Cēramāṉ came. Arikēsari is said to have defeated the Kēraḷa many a time.[85] Kōccaṭaiya Ranadhīra, his son fought against the chieftain, Āy Vēḷ of the South Malabar and not against the Cēra king and his son was Rājasiṁha Pāṇḍya. Rājasiṁha's wars were all against the Pallava. Pāṇḍya's hostility against Cōḷas and Cēras was renewed only during the reign of the donor of the Vēḷvikkudi grant, Pāṇḍyan Neṭuñcaṭaiyaṉ and continued during the reign of Śri Vallabha. Mr. Aiyar concludes: "When we remember that friendly relations must have prevailed between the Cōḷa, the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya and that the Pāṇḍya king must have been a Śaiva devotee, we more or less lay our finger upon Ranadhīra's son Rājasiṁha. The inscription speaks of him as having worshipped Paśupati at Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi."[86]

He interprets the reference to 'Kūṭāmaṉṉaraik kūṭṭattu veṉṟa Kōṭpuli' as alluding to the battles against those who came against

83. i.e., of Mr. K. Srinivasa Pillai in his Tamil Varalāṟu, Vol. II, p. 66.
84. Page 445.
85. Pār aḷavum taṉiccenkōṟ kēraḷaṉaip palamūṟaiyum .... veṉṟukoṇṭum —Ep. Ind. XVII, p. 300, ll. 56-59.
86. Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 301; p. 455.

the Paṇḍya Kōṭpuli as the commander of the Cōḷā force, fighting on the side of Pāṇḍya, commanding the whole army. He next points out that the enemy so fought was Nandivarma Pallavamalla —the battles were those mentioned in the Udayēndram plates of the 21st year of Pallavamalla's reign, viz., 753 or 754 A.D. In passing it may be noted that Mr. Gopinatha Rao also concluded that Ārūrar was a contemporary of the Udayēndram plates though he assigned 9th century for them. Mr. Aiyar assumes that Ranadhīra who ruled before Rājasiṁha must have been known as Varaguṇa which is the name of the Pāṇḍya patron Pāṇapattira and that Cēramāṉ was a contemporary of Ranadhīra and Rājasiṁha.

He further refers to the poem:

"Apparuk keṇpat toṉṟu aruḷvāta vūrarukku-c
Ceppiya nāleṭṭiṟ ṟeyvīkam—Ippuviyiṟ
Cuntararkku mūvāṟu toṉṉāna Campantarkku
Antam patiṉāṟu aṟi."

"Appar lived 81 years; Vātavūrar (Māṇikkavācakar) 32 years; Ārūrar 18 years; and Campantar 16 years" and remarks:

"Ārūrar became a devotee of Śiva only after he was called away by the Lord on the eve of Ārūrar's marriage. He must have been about 16 years old at that time. Thus as a devotee and Tēvāram hymner his life consisted of only two years, that is between his 16th and 18th years. So when he knew his contemporary Kōṭpuli, Ārūrar was between 16 and 18 years old. That was about the year A.D. 731, as we have concluded just now. Therefore the Pāṇḍya king who honoured him was Rājasiṁha I."[87]

Therefore according to Mr. Aiyar, the contemporary of Ārūrar was Nandivarmaṉ II, the Pallavamalla. But he was a 'paramavaiṣṇava',—a staunch Vaiṣṇavite—who was interested in the construction of Paramēśvara Viṇṇagaram and Nandipura Viṇṇagaram and he therefore could not have been included as Kaḷaṟciṁkaṉ in the list of Śaivite saints by Ārūrar.

Somasundara Desikar had suggested that Kaḷaṟciṁkaṉ was Narasiṁhavarmaṉ, the Māmalla, the conqueror of Vāṭāpi and that therefore Ārūrar was his contemporary. This would make Appar

87. Page 458.

and Campantar contemporaries of Ārūrar (Cuntarar). Ārūrar gives the total number of hymns sung by Appar and this could have been done only after the death of Appar. Some time must have elapsed before Ārūrar could make those reverential references to them as he has done. Therefore, the age of Māmalla is too early a period for Ārūrar.

Mr. M. Raghava Aiyangar, Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarattar and other scholars have suggested as already mentioned the age of Rājasiṁha or Rājasiṁhavarmaṉ II as the age of Ārūrar and we had seen the criticism levelled against this conclusion by Srinivasa Pillai and Dr. Mīnākṣi.

It will be thus seen that one or other of the important Pallava kings who reigned between 575 and 850 A.D. from Siṁhaviṣṇu to Nandivarmaṉ III, has been referred to as the contemporary king of Ārūrar by one scholar or another. But if the force of all the arguments are scientifically weighed there may not be any great difficulty in fixing the age of Ārūrar.

PART III

THE LOWER AND UPPER LIMITS OF ĀRŪRAR'S AGE

I

We may now try to fix the lower limit of Ārūrar's age. Images of Ārūrar came to be set up in the temples. Kulōttuṅka II refers to these images in reverential terms.[88] Rājarāja had set up the images of Ārūrar and Naṅkai Paravaiyār in the Rājarājēśvara Temple and these images are included in the list of images set up in the temple within the 21st year of his reign.[89] This takes us to the beginning of the 11th century. But the wife of Uttama Cōḻa who began to reign about 969 A.D. was called "Ārūraṉ Poṉṉampalattaṭikal."[90] Ārūrar is one of the names of Cuntarar. In an inscription belonging to the 8th year of Uttama Cōḻa's reign the dowager queen provides for reciting the Tiruppatiyam.[91] Tiruppatiyam means the Tēvāram hymns. Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi was

88. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 485; p. 298.
89. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 38; p. 151.
90. 47/25.
91. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, 151.

thought of as the person who collected these hymns and we have suggested that he belonged to the reign of Ādityaṉ of the beginning of the 10th century. But the hymns were sung even in the 9th century during the reign of Nandivarma. There is a copy of an old inscription preserved on the walls of the Tiruvallam temple belonging to the 17th year of Kō Vijaya Nandi Vikramapaṉmar which provides for the singing of the hymns:

> "Iṉṉellilt tiruvamirtukku nellu aṟunūṟṟuk kāṭiyum tiruvuṇṇaḷikaiyuḷ ḷārātittup pācarikkum Śivabrāhmanarkku nellu aiññūṟṟukkāṭiyum Srī pali Koṭṭuvārkku nellu aiññūṟṟukkāṭiyum tiruppaḷḷittāmam paṟippārkkum Tiruppatiyam pāṭuvāruḷḷitta palapaṇi ceyvārkkum nellu nāṉuṟṟukkāṭiyum."[92]

"Of this paddy, six hundred kāḍi of paddy (are allotted) for offerings; five hundred kāḍi of paddy to the Śaiva Brāhmaṇas who desire to be fed, beginning with those in charge of the store-room of the temple; five hundred kāḍi of paddy to those who beat (drums before) oblations; four hundred kāḍi of paddy to those who pick (flowers for) temple garlands, and to those who perform various (other) services, including the *singers of the Tiruppadiyam.*"

If this is considered to belong to Nandivarmaṉ III, it will take us to the middle of the 9th century.

The casual way in which the reference to the reciting of Tiruppatiyam is made, suggests that it was, in the reign of Nandivarmaṉ III as usual and widespread as other services. Unfortunately, the full force of this argument had not been realized. If this is correct, Nandivarmaṉ III's reign will be the lower limit of the age of Ārūrar.

II

As for the upper limit, we can take 642, the date of the capture of Vātāpi by Ciṟuttoṇṭar, the contemporary of Campantar and Appar, as the starting point. As already pointed out, Ārūrar must have lived at least a generation after Appar to make all those reverential remarks about these saints contained in his hymns. If the reference to the 'aśarīri' voice in Rajasiṁha's inscription is as

92. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, Part I, No. 43.

claimed by Mr. Gopalan and others, to an incident in Pūcalār Nāyaṉār story, Ārūrar could not have lived earlier than Rājasiṁhaṉ, because Ārūrar includes Pūcalār in the list of saints in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai.

Ārūrar, therefore, must be either a contemporary of or one who lived after Rājasiṁha. The question is which of these two alternatives would be correct? If we could assume that Ārūrar came in the latter part of Rājasiṁha's reign he would be more or less a generation removed from Appar and Campantar and also could have known the incident about Pūcalār Nāyaṉār's story. It has already been pointed out that Nandivarmaṉ Pallava II, being a Vaiṣṇavite could not have been referred to by Ārūrar as a great Śaiva saint, that Dantivarmaṉ could not have been referred to as 'Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakelām kākkiṉra perumāṉ' and that by the time of Nandivarmaṉ III the hymns had become sacred enough to be recited in the temples. This argument leaves Rājasiṁha alone to be considered seriously as the contemporary of Ārūrar. We have already emphasised the fact that Ārūrar in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai is speaking of the Pallava king in the present tense. In the Pūcalār Nāyaṉār story, Cēkkiḻār refers to the king as Kāṭavarkōmāṉ possibly following Ārūrar who speaks of Kaḻaṟciṁkaṉ as Kāṭavarkōṉ.

It has been argued that the name Kaḻaṟciṁkaṉ is not a proper name. None can argue the 'kaḻal' would have been there in the proper name. 'Kaḻal' means a heroic anklet and it comes as an epithet to any king or warrior of heroic fame. If this is omitted, we get Ciṁkaṉ alone as the proper name and this is not a name unknown to the Pallava family. Kōpperuñciṁkaṉ coming almost to destroy the Cōḻa Empire could not be the person referred to by Ārūrar who came many centuries before this Pallava chief. Siṁhaviṣṇu and Narasiṁha Māmalla are too early for Ārūrar. This leaves us Rājasiṁha or Narasiṁha II alone to be taken into consideration in fixing the age of Ārūrar. It is only in the absence of anyone having Ciṁkaṉ as his proper name that one will be justified in taking that name as an honorific title. Taken as an honorific title, it could be referred to any one. Even as an honorific title, it would be under certain circumstances as good as a proper name and we have no evidence whatever to show that either Pallavamalla or Danti or Teḷḷāṟeṟinta Nampi had such specific title. The description of Nandi in Nandikkalampakam as Kōḷari cannot be

taken as such a specific title as Viṭēl viṭuku or Avaṇi Nāraṇaṇ occurring in that Kalampakam.

Following Dr. Mīṇakṣi,[93] Dr. Rajamanikkam combines two descriptions in Nandikkalampakam: "*Kaḷal* Nandi"[94] and 'Pallavar kōḷ*ari*'[95] and underlines the word 'kaḷal' in the first phrase and 'ari' in the second phrase to conclude that Nampi is Kaḷarciṅkaṇ.[96] If we follow this method of literary equation, there is not any king who may not be called Kaḷarciṅkaṇ as will be clear to any student of Tamil literature. Reliance is often made on the Periyapurāṇam by Dr. Rajamanikkam[97] for this kind of interpretation. But when Cēkkiḻār speaks of 'Kāṭavar kuricilārām kaḷarperuñ ciṅkaṇārtām,[98] it is clear that he speaks of the proper name of the king as Ciṅkaṇ. He refers to him as Siṁha the Great, even as the admirers of Kōpperuñciṅkaṇ in the later age, sing of the Pallava chieftain of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.

It is argued that in the traditional story about Kaḷarciṅkaṇ given in Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti and Periyapurāṇam, he is said to have cut off the hand of his own queen for smelling the flower set apart for God at Tiruvārūr, whose nose was cut off by Ceruttuṇaiyār and that this could be true only of the queen of Nandivarmaṇ III.[99] We had already pointed out the discrepancy between the description of Ceruttuṇai found in Ārūrar and that given by this tradition. We had also noted the acts of cruelty sometimes described in the Purāṇas are more imaginary than real. We also suggested that Ārūrar mentions the names of kings for their great patronage and propagation of Śaivite Religion than for anything else. Therefore, the suggestion that the queen whose hand was cut off was probably Saṅka the Jain queen of Nandivarmaṇ III, the daughter of the Jain king Amōghavarṣa, rather than Raṅgapatākai, the queen of Rājasiṁha who herself was a great patron of Śaiva temples, carries no weight.[100] If such an event had occurred in the reign of Nandivarmaṇ III so as to be celebrated in

93. Administration and Social Life under Pallavas, p. 299.
94. Verses 13 and 28.
95. Verse 59.
96. Pallavar Varalāṟu, p. 198.
97. Pallavar Varalāṟu, p. 198.
98. Kaḷal., V. 2.
99. Periyapurāṇa Ārāicci, pp. 55-56.
100. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 23.

the verse of Ārūrar, one may expect a reference to what was considered to be a glorious act in any one of the inscriptions of Nandivarman III. On the other hand, in the Bāhūr Plates, Nṛpatuṅga, the son of Nandivarman and this queen, after the death of Nandivarman, that is after this cutting off of her hand, if ever it took place, speaks of the queen-mother as the mother of the people, the incarnation of the good fortune of the king, the most beautiful queen well versed in the various arts. To suggest that these were written after her hand was cut off cannot be believed.

III

Mr. Srinivasa Pillai's objection to Rājasiṁha being the contemporary of Ārūrar is that in his peaceful age, no one would have refused to pay the tribute as referred to by Ārūrar: 'Urimaiyāṟ pallavarkkut tiṟai koṭā maṉṉavarai maṟukkam ceyyum perumaiyār puliyūrc ciṟṟampalattem perumāṇai-p peṟṟāmaṉṟē.'[101] Nor, according to him and others, could the reference in the Periyapurāṇam[102] to the conquest of northern territories by Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ be true of Rājasiṁha.

It is true, the historians of the Pallava period once came to the conclusion expressed by Gopalan: "His reign appears to have been completely peaceful and free from foreign invasions."[103] As late as 1943,[104] the epigraphist speaks of Rājasiṁha's reign as comparatively free from political disturbances.[105]

But a study of the 'Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple, Kāñci', by Dr. Mīnākṣi, has completely upset this theory and she writes in a note on page 53 of that work: "It is believed that the reign of Rājasiṁha did not witness any warfare. However, from the sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭaperumāḷ temple we are able to gather that his rule was marked by some disturbance probably towards the end of the reign and just before the coronation of Parameśvaravarman II. This piece of evidence is supported firstly by (Rājasiṁha's) birudas which glorify him as a mighty kṣatriya and a great wrestler. In the inscriptions of his temple,

101. 90: 4.
102. Kaḻal., V. 2.
103. Pallavas, p. 108.
104. The introduction to *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII.
105. Int., p. 3.

Rājasimhēśvaragṛham, he is described as Śrī Aparājitaḥ, Śrī Amirtamallaḥ, Śrī Arimardhanaḥ and Śrī Āhavakēsari. In his oft quoted praśasti he is known as the great wrestler—and as one who is always victorious in battle (Raṇajayaḥ). Secondly by a foreign source, namely a Chinese text, we learn that, 'In the year 720 A.D., the king of the kingdom of South India, chelittna-lo-seng-kia (Śrī Narasiṁha) proposed to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Arabs) as well as T'ou-po (Tibetans) and others. Moreover, he asked that a name be given to his army; the emperor praised it greatly and named his army "the army which cherished virtue."[106]

"So far we have not obtained any internal evidence to support Rājasiṁha led any expedition against the Arabs and the Tibetans. However, it is not unlikely that he had some northern enemy whom he defeated. In this connection we may refer to a note by Krishna Śāstri who has suggested that in the period of Rājasiṁha, the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands."[107]

The history of Rajasiṁha's reign is described through the sculptures of the panels 14 to 19 in wall No. 5, lower row of the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple. Dr. Mīnākṣi describes them as follows in her Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 63—The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭaperumāḷ Temple, Kāñci, pp. 31, 32 and 33:

"Panel XIV.—The son and successor of Paramēśvaravarman was Narasiṁhavarman II, surnamed Rājasiṁha. Pallava history tells us that he was a great Śaiva devotee, who constantly wore on his head Śiva as his crest jewel. 'Sivachūdāmaṇi' was a surname of Rājasiṁha. He is best remembered as the builder of the great Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī. Though his surnames pronounce him to be an excellent warrior, his rule is generally believed to have been free from foreign invasions.

"The present panel first represents his coronation.[108] He looks a very handsome king, and it is no surprise that he is described

106. Chavannes: Notes additionneless sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux, T'oung pao II 5: See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's Foreign Notices of South India, Introduction, page 16, and text pages 116-117.

107. EP., Indi., Vol. XVIII, p. 152, note 1.

108. Pl. X, 3.

in the Kailāsanātha inscriptions as "he who possesses the grace of Cupid" and as "one whose beauty is unrivalled." It appears as if Rājasiṁha was married immediately after his coronation, for soon after this scene we see him standing with his mahishī, perhaps the famous Raṅgapathākā.[109] The king holds the right hand of his queen and is leading her. Their facial expressions, their dress and their poses bear striking resemblance to the royal portraits of a king and queen depicted on the monolith, the so-called Arjuna's Ratha at Māmallapuram. Therefore, we may tentatively conclude that the king and queen depicted here in this panel are the same as on the monolith at the Pallava sea-port. The military commanders and chief officials of the realm are paying their respects to the newly crowned sovereign.

"Panel XV.—The sketch of Rea of this panel is far from being a faithful copy. This picture shows in fact a continued attack of horsemen and elephants from the left and foot-soldiers from the right on a fortress standing at a height. The fight as seen in the picture is very severe. To the right of this, the king sits on an *'āsana'* and under a *chatra*. To his left are sitting two men; one on an *'āsana'* and the other on the floor. We cannot fail to notice in this panel the armed soldiers and horsemen vigorously engaged in a conflict on one side, of the panel, and the king sitting with an anxious and grave look on the other half. We have said that Rājasiṁha's rule is generally accepted as one free from warfare, but it is possible that he met with troubles towards the end of his rule, either from the side of the Chālukyas or from some other enemy.[110]

"Panel XVI.—In this the king is seated on his throne. An individual with a *kirīṭa* on his head stands on his left and is touching the king's shoulder in the act of consoling the king who looks very worried. Another man stands to the right of the king with his hands in *añjali*. Two more men are seen to the right of the throne; the one on the top has his hands in *añjali* and the one below is standing. Next comes a building constructed on high plinths and covered with a roof bearing close resemblance to the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci. Below this temple are depicted two men seated on the floor.

109. See *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 29, p. 23., Pl. X., 4.
110. Pl. VII, 2.

"Panel XVII.—This represents the same king seated on his throne. This portion of the panel is slightly damaged. A small man stands to the left of the king in the act of reporting some important news. To the left of this man, we seem to find the picture of a soldier (dressed), his head being damaged as well as his hands. He is depicted as if he is about to fall down. Perhaps he is a wounded soldier who was one of the men defending the fortress represented in panel XV. Two tiny attendants are standing by the side of the throne. The two men whom we saw by the side of the king in panel XV are again standing here, the one with his arms folded and the other anxiously watching something. Before them stand two men wearing turban-like head-dresses, the foremost reporting something. Behind these are two elephants with riders on them.

"Panel XVIII.—The king and queen are seated on the throne. The queen's figure is very much damaged and so also the bust of the king, whose head is also missing in the actual panel, though Rea's sketch includes it. Two Brahmins are seated on the floor below the king's seat, as if they are praying for the welfare of the king. In the top right corner to the left of the king are two men, one facing the other, in the act of carrying a man in a cloth hammock to the presence of the king. This also seems to be a wounded chief. The carriers are feeling the weight of the man who is being carried. We have also a number of men who are distinctly shown as if excited over something, very likely over the presence of the wounded chief.[111]

"Panel XIX.—This depicts the coronation of Paramēśvaravarma II, the predecessor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla."[112]

Therefore Cēkkiḻār's reference to war in the northern countries seems to be borne out by these sculptures. The Kūram Plates describe the successful war which Paramēśvara I, the father of Narasiṁha carried against the Chāḷukyan king Vikramāditya. Panel XI[113] in the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple and XII[114] describe his capture and destruction of the Chāḷukyan capital into which the Pallava king and queen enter. Panel XIII[115] which precedes

111. Pl. XII, 6.
112. Pl. XII, 7.
113. P. 30.
114. P. 31.
115. P. 31.

Panel XIV representing the coronation of Rājasiṁha shows that the war was not over when Paramēśvara died and when Narasiṁha ascended the throne as may be seen from Panel XIII described by Dr. Mīnākṣi. Panel XI[116] already described thus seems to be a continuation of the present warlike activities of the Pallavas represented in Panel XIII.[117] Thus Rājasiṁha's contribution to Śaivism as stated by Cēkkiḻār, begins after his conquest of the northern country.[118]

IV

Whilst referring to these sculptures of Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple one may refer to a few other facts mentioned by Cēkkiḻār which are also confirmed by the description of these panels by Dr. Mīnākṣi. As these are connected with the story till now narrated, they may be discussed conveniently here. We had already mentioned the reference in Skandapurāṇam to Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kaḷarciṅkaṉ. As already stated there is a confusion of names: for we find Aiyaṭikaḷ himself being called Siṁha or Kaḷarciṅkaṉ. But what is important is that this Purāṇa perpetuates some lingering tradition of the close proximity of the reign of Aiyaṭikaḷ and Kāḷarciṅkaṉ. According to this tradition, we find Aiyaṭikaḷ abdicating his throne in favour of his son. The same tradition is preserved in Periyapurāṇam. Cēkkiḻār speaks, in the second verse of Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ Purāṇam, of this king subjugating first his enemies. The poet next refers to Aiyaṭikaḷ's rule being according to Dharma, Śaivism, and Vēdic faith. In the third verse he is said to be desirous of serving the Lord through literature. He is described as feeling the yoke of political sovereignty as a source of grief; therefore he crowned his son as king in his place and took to a life of service composing a song on every one of the temples of Śiva he visited.

The question arises who was the king who had thus abdicated in favour of his son? Tradition preserved in the Skānda Purāṇa suggests that we should look to this king very near the age of Rājasiṁha, if our assumption that Kaḷarciṅka is Rājasiṁha is correct. True to our expectations, we find the scene of abdication depicted in one of the panels preceding the description of the lives

116. P. 30.
117. P. 31.
118. Kaḷal., 2.

of Rājasiṁha and his father Paramēśvara. Panels XVII, XVIII and XIX (on wall No. 5, upper row) describe the incidents in the life of Mahēndravarma II, who has abdicated in favour of his Son Paramēśvaravarma. Dr. Mīnākṣi describes and comments on the panel as follows:[119]

"Panel XVII.—After the death of Narasiṁhavarman I Mahāmalla, his son Mahēndravarman II succeeded to the throne. We have neither copper-plates nor stone inscriptions of this Mahēndravarman except a few references to him found in the grants of his successors.

"The Kūram grant[120] of his successor Paramēśvaravarman I, says that Mahēndravarman 'thoroughly enforced the sacred law of the castes and orders' and the Kāśākuḍi plates glorify his benevolent charities towards temples and his devotion to Brahmins. This pious-minded patron of Brahmins seems to have ruled only for a short time. This may be due to more than one cause. We must know that Narashiṁavarman I ruled for a long time and when the Pallava throne came to his successor, the latter, i.e., Mahēndravarman II, must have been a fairly old man. Secondly, being pious-minded himself, he did not perhaps care to continue as king very long, and might have renounced the throne in favour of his young and enterprising son Paramēśvara. That Mahēndravarman II ruled only for a short time is not only corroborated by the complete absence of any inscriptions dated in his reign but also by the next panel where we have the old king witnessing the coronation of his young son.

"In this panel we witness the coronation of Mahēndravarman II. Two royal elephants are depicted on the right upper corner. The corresponding lower half of the sculpture is effaced.

"Panel XVIII.—The king sits on his throne with three attendants standing behind and one sitting below. In front of the king stands a man with a conical head-dress and another individual is standing behind him.

"Panel XIX.—This panel is divided into two halves. In the upper register we have the old king who sits on his throne. The

119. Pp. 27 and 28.
120. *S.I.I.*, Vol. 1, p. 152, i. 17.

crown on his head is missing, perhaps indicating that he had renounced his kingship. Four attendants are standing behind him, the foremost having his hands in *añjali*. In the lower register is represented the coronation of the young son, to whose right we see two officers, seated, the one in front folding his hands in *añjali*."[121]

There is no other abdication of this kind found in the whole history of the Pallavas depicted in these historical sculptures. If we assume that the phrases Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōn and Kāṭavarkōn Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ have been interpreted by the Purāṇa writers as Kāṭavarkōn the son of Aiyaṭikaḷ or Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ the son of Aiyaṭikaḷ, then we get three kings, Aiyaṭikaḷ, Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ corresponding to Mahēndravarmaṉ, Paramēśvaravarmaṉ and Rājasiṁha. It is not found that Paramēśvara had ever the specific title of Kāṭavarkōṉ unless we assume that the legend Kaṭhacitra on an ancient gold coin refers to this king.[122] But the Kūram plates justify his being called the great Pallava by the people of his age. However, except for the purpose of showing that this tradition to a certain extent is based on historical fact as shown above, much reliance could not be placed on this, when we conclude that the Purāṇic writers have been confused over this interpretation.

Cēkkiḻār who knew better makes Aiyaṭikaḷ, the king that abdicated. The name Aiyaṭikaḷ itself proves this story. Cēkkiḻār's reference to Aiyaṭikaḷ's propagation of Dharma, Śaivism and Vēdic path is amply borne out by the references in the Kūram plates and Kāsākuḍi plates. All these still further strengthen our interpretation that Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ is Rājasiṁha.

V

The story of Rājasiṁha's conquest is well established by the sculptures of Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple. What we have stated so far satisfies the second test laid down by Dr. Mīnākṣi that Kaḷaṟciṅkan should be a warrior king. So far, it has been pointed out that Rājasiṁha led his expedition successfully against the northern king. This may not answer the objection raised by Mr. Srinivasa Pillai on the basis of Ārūrar's reference to subordinate

121. Pl. XII, 4.

122. Dr. Mīnākṣi, Administration and Social life under the Pallavas, p. 89, note 47.

king of Pallava refusing to pay tribute to Kaḷarciṅkan. Dr. Mīnākṣi, we had already pointed out, suggests that there were disturbances probably towards the end of the reign of Rājasiṁha.

We may now turn to find out if more particulars could be obtained. Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri assigns to Arikēsari Māṟavarmaṉ of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and Smaller Sinnamanūr plates, whom he identifies with the Arikēsari Parāṅkusa of Larger Sinnamanūr plates, a period between 670 and 710 A.D., and to his son Kōccaṭaiyaṉ of Vēḷvikkuḍi grant whom he identifies as Jaila of the Larger Sinnamanūr plates the period between 710 and 740 A.D. The Pāṇḍya records of Arikēsari do refer to his wars with Pallava. The Larger Sinnamanūr plates speak of the "Villavarum nelvēliyum viri poḻil Caṅkaramaṅkai-p Pallavarum piṉkaṇṭa Parāṅkucan."

Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sastri writes as follows:—"But amidst all this uncertainty, one large fact stands out clearly. It is evidently under this king that the Pāṇḍyan power comes into collision, apparently for the first time in this period, with its neighbours the Pallavas on the north and the Kēraḷas on the west; and as important successes seem to have been won, we may take it that the Pāṇḍyan kingdom extended its territorial limits in both these directions beyond its traditional boundaries. And this expansion of Pāṇḍyan rule into foreign territory, that is, into territory lying outside the traditional limits of the Pāṇḍyan country, remains a permanent factor in the history of the rest of the period, and leads us to describe it as the Age of the First Empire."[123]

Ārūrar refers to Neṭumāṟaṉ in two places. One is in the list of Śaivite Saints given by him in Tiruttoṇṭattokai. The other is in his Tiruvatikai hymn. In the latter hymn he describes Śiva, 'Poṭiyāṭu Tirumēṉi Neṭumāṟaṉ muṭimēl Teṉṉāṉaik kuṭapāliṉ vaṭapāliṉ kuṇapāl cērāta cintaiyāṉ."[124] The word Neṭumāṟaṉ here is split by some editors into 'Neṭumāl' plus 'taṉ' so as to make it refer to Viṣṇu. The description of this person is given as

123. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 53.
124. 38: 8.

"Poṭiyāṭu tirumēṉi"—one whose form is besmeared with the sacred ash and the word which follows is Teṉṉāṉ which brings to our mind the name of the Pāṇḍya—Teṉṉavaṉ. Neṭumāṟaṉ or the Kūṉ Pāṇḍiyaṉ came to be besmeared with the sacred ash by Campantar who is reputed to have sung the famous Tirunīṟṟuppatikam or the hymn on the sacred ash, in which Campantar himself states that it was sung to cure the Teṉṉāṉ. Bearing all this in mind one cannot help taking the phrase Neṭumāṟaṉ in the present context to refer to the Pāṇḍya king Neṭumāṟaṉ on whose head or crown, Śiva as the real Pāṇḍya of Pāṇḍyas is said to rest as the ruler of the south without ever thinking in his mind of the east, the north or the west. This phrase suggests the same idea as Śiva Cūḍāmaṇi explained later as a title of Rājasiṁha Pallava.

The question then arises whether this Neṭumāṟaṉ or Arikēsari was a contemporary of Ārūrar. To justify the period, Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri had assigned to Arikēsari whom he admits ought to be identified with Kūṉ Pāṇṭiyaṉ the contemporary of Tiruñāṉacampantar who in his turn was a contemporary of Ciṟuttoṇṭar, the destroyer of Vātāpi in 642 A.D.; he states that "Ciṟuttoṇṭar was older and Māṟavarmaṉ (Neṭumāṟaṉ) was perhaps younger than Jñānasambandar."[125] If according to Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri, Arikēśari ruled up to 710, Ārūrar could have been a younger contemporary of this Pāṇṭiyaṉ king.

Other scholars make Kōccaṭaiyaṉ Raṇadhīraṉ and Rājasiṁha I, the contemporaries of Rājasiṁha suggesting for them the period between 680-765 A.D. The Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha is according to Dubreuil, a grandson of the Pallava Rājasiṁha through his daughter married to Kōccaṭaiyaṉ Raṇadhīraṉ.[126] If this were true, ordinarily there might not have been conflict between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas after the said marriage unless the marriage alliance failed to bring about a political alliance. If there was any conflict, it must have been before the marriage. But there is room for suggesting that Rājasiṁha claimed some kind of suzerainty as suggested over the Pāṇḍyas.

Further evidence is furnished by his coins which bear the legend Srībhara or Srīnidhi which are the specific birudas of Rāja-

125. Note: P. 54, Pāṇḍyaṅ kingdom.
126. Pallavas: pages 68-69.

simha. Some of these coins bearing this legend on the obverse have a fish or double-fish on the reverse which is usually consic to be the Pāṇḍyaṉ emblem.[127] As Dr. Mīnākshi points out, as the coins of Rājarāja the great, contain fish and the bov undoubted Pāṇḍyan and Cēra emblems, suggesting thereby supremacy claimed by the Cōḻas over the Cēras and Pāṇḍyas coins of Rājasiṁha contain in addition the Pāṇḍyan emblem as suggesting the recognition of the Pallava's supremacy by Pāṇḍyas. This suggestion is still further strengthened by a refe in the Chinese Annals where it is said that the ambassador co from Rājasiṁha was presented by the Chinese Emperor am other things with a purse bearing an emblem in the form of a fi

The Pāṇḍyas must have consolidated their kingdom durin troubled days of Pulikēsin's and Vikramaditya's invasions. If had taken part in stemming the tide of his foreign invasion pro at the battle of Nelvēli praised by Ārūrar and if there ensu matrimonial alliance between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, might have been no conflict between these two royal families with reference to the territories recently consolidated by Pāṇḍyas. To start with in the beginning part of Ārūrar's Neṭumāṟaṉ's fame must have become widespread all throug Tamil Kingdom and his name must have become a legend celebrated in the Pāṇṭikkōvai of Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ commer Later on Rājasiṁha overcoming the enemies must have becom Emperor and the ruler of the seas at the time of Ārūrar singin Tiruttoṇṭattokai.

Apart from the Pāṇḍya, there must have been other sub nates. The Gaṅgas who might have been the subordinates of lavas, might have tried to escape from the supremacy of the Pal when Rājasiṁha came to the throne even as they did in reign of the previous Pallava kings. Śivamāṟa I ruled bet 679-726 A.D. This makes him a contemporary of Rājasiṁha.[12]

"Śivamāṟa's reign witnessed a Pallava invasion carried w view to redeem the defeat sustained at the hands of Bhū Vik

127. Coins of South India, Eliot, p. 132.

128. Toung Pao Series II, Vol. 5, pp. 44-45; Pallava Administrati Dr. Mīnākshi: p. 90.

129. E. Carnatica, Vol. III, M.D., 112.

(Śivamāṟa's brother and previous ruler). Śivamāṟa is said not only to have confirmed his elder-brother's conquest but also energetically maintained his control over the Pallavas and received hostages from them. While he was extending his sway in the South and East, his country was invaded by the great Chāḷukya sovereign Vinayāditya, who ruled between 680-696 A.D. Chāḷukya records describe Vinayāditya as arresting at the command of his father, the excessively exalted powers of the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, and Pallava kings and gratifying his father's mind by bringing all these provinces into a state of peace and quiet, and reducing Kaḷabhras, the Haihayas and the Maḷavas into a similar state of servitude and his hereditary servants, the Alupas and the Gaṅgas.[130] But all this is however an empty boast. The Gaṅgas were often considered to be feudatories by the Pallavas and the Chāḷukyas and the Chāḷukya Vinayāditya must have been defeated by Rājasiṁha as soon as the latter came to power, and all this vain boast, probably refers to their first success obtained before Rājasiṁha put them down. The other people who might have been subordinates paying tributes might be the petty chieftains like Kaḷabhras, Maḷavas and Haihayas enumerated above.

After all, all the subordinates could have been defeated by the Pallava at the time of his succession itself, if they had attempted to make common cause with the northern enemy the Chāḷukya. If that was so, one can easily understand the reference to Kōṭpuli by Ārūrar, 'Kūṭā maṉṉarāi-k kūṭṭattu veṉṟa Kōṭpuli.'[131] Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār is described by Ārūrar as living in the Cōḷa country. From this Cēkkiḻār assumes that he (Kōṭpuli) was a commander of the Cōḷas. But even then, it may be assumed that the Cōḷa might have sent the commander to help the Pallava king. Cēkkiḻār refers to Kōṭpuli going to the cruel frontier which may probably refer to the northern frontier of the Tamil land. But in the absence of specific references, all these have to remain as guesses. The question was also discussed whether Kōṭpuli of Tiruttoṇṭattokai and Periyapurāṇam could have been the contemporary of Ārūrar as the father of Vaṉappakai and Ciṅkaṭi.

130. I.A., VI, p. 87, 88; *ibid.*, VII, p. 303; Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 200.
131. 15: 10.

Ārūrar had further known personally some feudatory kings who might have been the subordinates of Rājasiṁha. Ēyarkōṉ was probably the Haihaya referred to in the inscription of Chāḷukya. It is said that he was hostile to Ārūrar to start with, though he came to be reconciled ultimately with our Saint. Though the reason given is that Ēyarkōṉ hated Ārūrar for making God run on his errands, one may suspect that there might have been something more than this—perhaps political hostility against Ārūrar, the supporter of the Pallava cause. Perumiḻalaikkuṟumpar as the name itself suggests should be a chief of the Kuṟumpar clan; he was a follower of Ārūrar. Naraciṁkamuṉaiyaraiyar, another feudatory chief was bringing up Ārūrar when the latter was young; Muṉai Nāṭu or Muṉaippāṭi Nāṭu is as pointed out by Gopinatha Rao, the Cēti country and Muṉaiyaraiyar was therefore the king of the Cēti and his name Naraciṁka itself proves that it was probably assumed by him as a recognition of the suzerainty of Nārasiṁha II another name of Rājasiṁha.

VI

We have to point out that Ārūrar does not speak of any rebellion by the subordinates of Pallava paying the tribute. He seems to be referring to God Himself creating confusion possibly in the countries of those subordinates who think of not paying the tribute thus seeing something divine in the Pallava rule. Naturally this shows the public opinion of the age looking upon the troubles falling on the heads of those who failed to pay the tribute as so many divine punishments. This feeling must have been created in the minds of the people and more so in the minds of subordinates themselves. If this is all that is intended by Ārūrar, one need not be looking for a rebellion in the south.

The full significance of Ārūrar's reference to Pallavas in the Tillai hymn may be brought out in this connection. The Pallava is referred to as possessing the right to rule or protect this country, "Maṇṇulakam kāvaḻ pūṇṭa urimaiyāṟ Pallavar.[132] The poet speaks of the Lord confusing the kings who do not pay tribute to Pallavas and this the poet speaks of as the greatness of the Lord of Citam-

132. 90: 4.

param. He speaks of the joy of our good fortune in having Śiva as our Lord—Śiva who helps to escape from the fetters of Yama or Death—Śiva who blesses us with His Heavens. The Lord has become thus our possession, thanks to this greatness, the greatness of confusing the kings—that is the import of this verse. There is clear reference to the Pallava, as an Emperor. This imperial title seems to have some connection with Citamparam, if we may believe the story given in Periyapurāṇam that Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṇār was very anxious to be crowned at Citamparam. The poet seems to feel that the peace and prosperity which the Pallava king Rājasiṁha brought were a divine gift. If however this Tillai hymn is taken as referring to revolts against the Pallava, it need not be wrong. Our study suggests that this hymn belongs to the last part of Ārūrar's life, probably after the death of Rājasiṁha.

VII

Mr. Nārayaṇa Aiyar was in search of a period when the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya could have met as friends and he had pointed out that there was no hostile relation between the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra in the reign of Raṇadhīra and his son Rājasiṁha. We had also suggested that Raṇadhīra who was the grand-father of Varaguṇa might have been himself known as Varaguṇa—the Varaguṇa who was the patron of Pāṇapattira, a musician, who went to Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ. One may assume that Ārūrar went to the Pāṇḍya court when one of these Pāṇḍyas entertained the Cōḷa, the Cēra and our saint. As it was suggested, that at least a generation should have elapsed after Campantar and before the age of Ārūrar, that we may assume Ārūrar began to compose his hymns during the last part of Rājasiṁha's reign. In that case he might have survived Rājasiṁha to witness the troubles in the country which arose after Rājasiṁha as well as the dynastic revolutions. He might have sided Citramaya as against Nandi and this may explain why he restricted himself to the worship of the temples in the Pāṇḍya, Cēra and Koṅku countries in the latter part of his life. Rājasiṁha Pāṇḍya's inscription speaks of his worshipping at Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi, a place worshipped by Ārūrar where he sang the famous Pañcākṣara hymn beginning with 'Maṟṟup paṟṟeṉakku.'[133]

133. H. 48; Madras Museum Plate.

If we take this view of the life of Ārūrar, it must be admitted that it goes against the verse which gives 18 years as the life period of Ārūrar. No such statement is made by Cēkkiḻār and it is not possible that our saint could have performed such pilgrimages as described by Cēkkiḻār within the short space of one or two years. Though Ārūrar might not have become as old as Appar, his poems show he must have lived sufficiently long to undergo all the experiences referred to by him; in any case, he could not have been below 30 at the time of his demise.

In seven places Ārūrar describes himself as 'Ciṟuvaṉ'. In three places, this word ciṟuvaṉ comes after the word Caṭaiyaṉ;[134] in one place it comes after the name of his mother Icaiñāṉi;[135] in another place, after the names of both Caṭaiyaṉ and Icaiñāni.[136] In these five places, it means no more than a son. In these references themselves, he refers to himself in addition, as the father of Vaṉappakai in one instance[137] and as the father of Ciṅkaṭi in another.[138] The father of a daughter could not have been a mere boy. In two other places he uses the word ciṟuvaṉ to describe himself without reference to his father or mother; both the hymns are those sung after he deserted Caṅkili. Perhaps it shows his modesty though there may also be a reference to his repentance for the sinful act of desertion. In these two references this word is compounded with his greatness; that he was famous for capturing the minds of Siddhas;[139] that he was great as a hero of good conduct[140] where this word ciṟuvaṉ seems to suggest a pathetic fall in his own eyes. The usage of the word 'Bāla' in Sanskrit may be compared with this usage of ciṟuvaṉ. In any case, if he was as old as Appar, he would not have used this term to describe him, though this word ciṟuvaṉ cannot mean 'a boy' in any of the places wherein Ārūrar uses it. One who describes himself as the father

134. 7: 11; 34: 11; 47: 10.
135. 38: 10.
136. 16: 10.
137. 34: 11.
138. 47: 10.
139. 52: 10.
140. 54: 10.

of the grown up girls of Vaṇappakai and Ciṅkaṭi could not have been less than 30 years of age.

If Rājasiṁha ruled till 720 A.D., we may fix the period of Ārūrar's life between 700-730 A.D.; if Rajasimha's rule is pushed back, this period of Ārūrar's life also will have to be pushed back. In general, one may conclude that he was born during the closing years of the 7th century to live through the first quarter of the 8th century.

VIII

Dr. Rājamāṇikkam assumes that the interval between the demise of Appar and Campantar and the birth of Ārūrar should be more than 30 years for he feels that a revolution had been effected by Appar and Campantar in the religious world so that the world has passed from an age of religious controversy to a world of Śaivite peace. He takes Appar to have been a contemporary of Mahēndravarmaṉ (615 to 630 was accepted by the Dr.), the Guṇabhara, whom he had converted and of Ciṟuttoṇṭar, the conqueror of Vātāpi in 642 A.D., and of Neṭumāṟaṉ (640 to 680—this period is accepted by Dr. Rājamāṇikkam) whose fever, Campantar cured. As Appar spent the early part of his life as a Jain before converting Mahēndravarmaṉ, Dr. Rājamāṇikkam takes Appar to have lived from 580 to 660 A.D., on the basis of the verse which assigns 81 years of life to Appar. If Rājasiṁha is assumed to have ruled between 685-720 A.D., there are only 25 years between the demise of Appar and the age of Ārūrar according to Dr. Rājamāṇikkam.

If we assume that the poet lived during the latter part of the period of Rājasiṁha, there may be an interval of half a century enough to justify any change in the state of affairs in the country. The description of the country by Hiuen Tsiang shows that Buddhism was already on the decline. During the life of Appar himself, if we were to believe the story as given in Periyapurāṇam, the Jains had lost their importance. Therefore, by the time of the demise of Appar, Śaivism would have assumed the first place among the religions requiring no further period to elapse for the peaceful religious atmosphere said to be portrayed by Ārūrar's verses.

But it may be stated that Ārūrar's verses do not portray any such absence of religious controversy. The following verses refer to the Jains and the Buddhists:

"Kuṇṭā ṭiccamaṇ cākkiyap pēykaḷ koṇṭā rākilum koḷḷa-k
Kaṇṭā lumkaru tēṉ."[141]

"Veṟṟarai-k kaṟṟamaṇum viraiyātuviṉ ṭālamuṇṇum
Tuṟṟarai-t tuṟṟaṟuppāṉ tuṉṉavāṭai-t toḻiluṭaiyīr."[142]

"Kuṇṭāṭum camaṇarum cākkiyarum puṟaṅkūṟum."[143]

"Namaṇananantiyum karumavīraṇum tarumacēṉaṉum eṉṟivar
Kumaṇamāmalai-k kuṉṟupōlniṉṟu taṅkaḷkūṟaiyoṉ ṟiṉṟiyē
Ñamaṇañāñaṇa ñāṇañōṇameṉ ṟōtiyāraiyum nāṇilā
Amaṇar."[144]

"Kariya maṇaccamaṇ kāṭi yāṭu kaḻukkaḷāl.
Eriya vacavuṇum taṉmaiyō . . . . . empirāṉukkē."[145]

"Poyaccamaṇ poruḷāki īṇṭu nampi."[146]

"Naṉmai oṉrilā-t tērarpuṉ camaṇām
Camaya mākiya tavattiṉār avattattaṉmai viṭṭoḻi
naṉmaiyai vēṇṭil."[147]

"Kuṇṭāṭiyum camaṇāṭiyum kuṟṟuṭukkaiyar tāmum
Kaṇṭārkaṇṭa kāraṇammavai karutātukai toḻumiṉ."[148]

"Miṇṭarkku miṇṭalāṟ pēcēṉ."[149]

"Kuṇṭāṭiya camaṇātarkaḷ kuṭaiccākkiya raṟiyā

"Miṇṭāṭiya vatuceytatu vāṉālvaru vitiyē."[150]

"Mōṭuṭaiya camaṇarkku muṭaiyuṭaiya cākkiyarkku mūṭam vaitta
Pīṭuṭaiya puliyūrccir ṟampalattem perumāṉaip peṟṟā maṉṟe."[151]

141. 15: 9.
142. 22: 9.
143. 30: 10.
144. 33: 9.
145. 44: 9.
146. 63: 9.
147. 64: 9.
148. 71: 9.
149. 73: 8.
150. 82: 9.
151. 90: 9.

"Kuṇṭarai-k kūṟaiyiṉṟi-t tiriyuñcamaṇ cākkiyappēy
Miṇṭarai-k kaṇṭataṉmai viravākiya teṉṉaikolō."[152]

We have already assumed that the stories of religious persecutions are not warranted by history. Even during the life of Mahēndra and Narasiṁha and Rājasimha, Jains and Buddhists must have been living in the country peacefully. The Cittaṉṉavāsal[153] paintings and the Jain Chandraprabha temple of Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam known as Jina Kañcī and the Jain remains at Tēnī malai, Nārttā malai, Vēḍal etc., show the continued existence of the Jain greatness. Rājasiṁha built a Buddhist temple at Nākappaṭṭiṇam as revealed by the Chinese sources. Nor could we assume that there were not religious controversy in the age of Rājasiṁha. Śaṅkarācharya is claimed to have visited Kāñci during the reign of one Rājasēna mentioned in the life of Śaṅkara called 'Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilasa' by Cidvilasa, and this Rājasēna is identified by Dr. Chintāmaṇi[154] with Rājasiṁha Pallava, and Śaṅkara in his Soundarya Lahari refers to Jñānasambandar as the 'Draviḍa śiśu'. If this age for Śaṅkara, the founder of the Kāñci Kāmakōṭipīṭā Mutt of Kañcipuram is correct, we must conclude the religious and philosophical controversies which he carried on with the Buddhists and other philosophical schools would naturally belong to the age of Ārūrar. These considerations minimise the importance of Dr. Rājamāṇikkam's arguments.

IX

Rājasiṁha I or Narasiṁha II further satisfies the tests laid by Dr. Mīnākṣi that any king to be identified with Kaḷarciṅka should be a conqueror. Rājasimha's inscriptions describe him as a warlike king comparing him to the war God Subrahmaṇya. He is spoken of as the illustrious Atyantakāmah, the chief of the Pallavas who crushed the multitude of his foes by his power or spear.[155] He is described as Raṇajayah,[156] the conqueror in battle;

152. 99: 10.
153. Aṉṉalvāyil—Peruntokai 1019; also see Centamil, Vol. 6, pp. 12-17.
154. J.O.R., V. III.
155. *S.I.I.*, Vol. 1, No. 24, Verse 5.
156. V. 8.

Chitrakārmukhah, the wonderful archer;[157] Ēkavīrah,[158] the unrivalled hero. He is spoken of as having humbled those princes, who were puffed up with pride of abundant prosperity which they had acquired, by polity and prowess, depriving them of their intelligence in the mere space of knitting his brows; as having enjoyed the whole world which he had conquered by valour combined with polity and in which he had killed rebels and humbled kings; as having made all quarters obedient to his orders and proved himself a *royal lion* (*Rājasiṁha*) to the dunce troops of the elephants of his daring foes.[159] Here the composer of the prasasti is punning on the name Rājasiṁha, and this brings to our mind an old poem quoted in 'Yāpparuṅkala virutti' which makes use of the same punning:

"Nilamiku kēḷvaṉum nērkaḷali ṉāṉum
Nalamiku kacciyār kōveṉpavē
Nalamiku kacciyār kōvayi ṉāṉum
Cilaimiku tōḷciṅkaṉ avaṉeṉpavē
Ceruviṭai yāṉai avaṉeṉpavē".[160]

"It is said that the Royal consort of this damsel of our earth and the Lord of the heroic and upright anklet is the Lord of Kacci (Conjeevaram) of growing beauty. It is said that he who had become the Lord of Kāñci of growing beauty is he, the Ciṅkaṉ (the lion) (the Rājasiṁha) of the shoulders of the bow. It is said in the battle, he is an elephant". This punning on the word Siṁha and the emphasis of the fact that he is an elephant are found in some of his birudas Puruṣa Siṁhah, Pārthiva Siṁhah, Vikramakēsari and Rājakuñjarah.

The birudas or titles he assumed clearly prove that he is entitled to be called Kaḷarciṅkaṉ, a first rate warrior and a hero of many battles:

"Raṇajayah (Conqueror in battle); Aparājitah (the unconquered); Amitramallah (the wrestler with his foes); Akutō-

157. This is repeated in Paṇamalai inscription—ibid., No. 31.

158. V. 12; Ins. 24.

159. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, p. 12ff.

160. Page 300.

bhayah (the fearless); Ūrjjitah (the mighty); Jayaparah (one who is eager for conquest); Atiraṇacandah (the excessively fierce in battle); Arimarddanah (the destroyer of his enemies); Ugravīryyah (he who possesses terrible prowess); Ugrapratāpah (he who is endowed with terrible bravery); Āhavakēsarih (the lion in battle); Kharavikramah (he who possesses harsh valour); *Cakravarttīh* (Emperor); Cāpadvitīyah (he whose companion is the bow); Amitrāśanih (thunderbolt to the foes); Apratimallah (the unrivalled wrestler); Ibhavidyādharah (he who possesses the knowledge of elephants); Paracakramarddanah (the destroyer of hostile armies); Narēndracūḷāmaṇih (the crest jewel of princes); Rājarājah (king of kings); Vīrakēsarih (the lion among heroes); Kṣatracūḷāmaṇih (crest jewel of warriors); Yuddhārjjunah (Arjuna in battle); Saṅgrāmarāmah (Rāma in wars); Śārvvabhaumah (the ruler of the whole earth: Compare this with Ārūrar's description 'Ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ'.[160a] Kṣatravidrāvaṇah (the dispeller of warriors); Āhavabhīmah (he who is fearful in battle); Trailōkyanāthah (the lord of three worlds); Dīptapaurushah (he who is endowed with brilliant courage); Dānaśūrah (he who goes to war only in order to procure the means for gifts—this expresses the idea popular in the Tamil country as 'Koḷḷār tēem kuṟitta koṟṟam;[161] Samara dhanañjayah (the conqueror of wealth in battle); Bhīshaṇachāpah (he whose bow excites terror); Ajayyah (the invincible); Āhavadhīṟah (he who is firm in battle); Duṣṭadamanah (the subduer of the wicked); Kālakōpah (this is translated as 'he who resembles death in anger' but Ārūrar has used a corresponding term Kāmakōpaṉ[162] in the sense of the enemy of Kāma; interpreted in that way, this phrase will mean enemy of death); Purushasiṁhah (the lion among men); Pārthavikramah (he who resembles Arjuna in valour); Bhīmakāntah (the terrible and lovely); Bhayarahitah (the fearless); Mahāmallah (great wrestler); Bhuvanabhājanah (the possessor of the world); Mahēndraparākramah (he who resembles Mahēndra in heroism); Mahāprabhāvah (the powerful); Raṇavīrah (the hero in battle); Yugāntādityah (the sun at the end of the world);

160a. 39: 9.

161. Tol. 1012.

162. 68: 6.

Raṇadhīrah (he who is firm in battle); Raṇacaṇḍah (the fierce in battle); Raṇavikramah (he who shows valour in battle); Atulabalah (he whose strength is unequalled); Ahitāntakah (the destroyer of the enemies); Apāravikramah (he whose valour is unbounded); Aśvapriyah (he who is fond of horses); Akhaṇḍaśāsanah (he whose commands are unbroken); Akāṇḍāśanih (the sudden thunderbolt); Amōghavikramah (he whose valour never fails); Ānatamaṇḍalah (he to whom the provinces bow); Adbhutaśakttih (he whose power is wonderful); Āścharyyavīryyah (the wonderfully brave); Āpātadurddharah (the irresistible in attacking); Āśāvijayih (the conqueror of all quarters); Āhavōddhurah (he who is unrestrained in battle); Ibhavatsarājah (he who resembles the king of Vatsa in the knowledge of elephants); Iddhaśāsanah (he whose commands are blazing); Iḷāparamēśvarah (the supreme Lord of the earth), Ugradandah (he whose punishments are terrible); Ucchritavīryyah (the highly brave); Ugraśāsanah (he whose commands are terrible); Upēndravikramah (he who resembles Viṣṇu in valour); Utkhātakaṇṭhakah (the destroyer of rebels); Ēkadhanurdharah (the unrivalled archer); Atisāhasah (the daring); Anavagrahah (the unimpeded); Udvṛttadamanah (the subduer of rebels); Ekarājah (the Unrivalled king); Kālavikramah (he who resembles Death in valour); Jayanidhih (the receptacle of victory); Kālavasanah (the black robed); Garvvitadamanah (the subduer of the haughty); Damitavyālah (the subduer of villains); Durvvāravēgah (he whose speed is unrestrainable); Tuṅgavikramah (the highly brave); Tīvrakōpah (he whose anger is fierce); Dharmmavijayī (he who is making conquest only for the sake of justice); Davāgnih (the wood-fire); Dṛptaśāsanah (he whose commands are proud); Atanupratāpah (he who possesses no small prowess); Arināśah (the destroyer of the enemies); Avanibhājanah (the possesser of the earth); Apravivāryyah (the irresistible); Avandhyakōpah (he whose anger is not fruitless); Amitrāntakah (the destroyer of his foes); Avihataśaktih (he whose power is unresisted); Arātikālaḥ (Death of the enemies); Anavagrahah (the unimpeded); Atisāhasah (the daring); Gandhahastī (the scent elephant); Kāraṇakōpah (he who goes to anger with good reason); Caṇḍhadaṇḍhah (he whose punishments are fierce); Asahyakōpah (he whose anger is unbearable); Varuṇapāśah (the noose of Varuṇa); Dhairyyasāgarah (the ocean of firmness); Pravṛtta cakrah (the emperor); Nāgapriyah (he who is fond of elephants);

Niramitrah (he who has no enemies left); Nirarggaḷah (the unbarred); Parantapah (he who distresses his enemies); Lōkaśikhāmaṇih (the crest jewel of the world); Pārtthivasiṁhah (the lion among princes); Balapramathanah (the destroyer of armies); Pratibhayah (the formidable); Bhīmavikramah (he whose valour is terrible); Rājakuñjarah (the elephant among kings); Vāraṇabhagadattah (he who resembles Bhagadattah in the knowledge of elephants); Vikramakēsarī (the lion in valour); Śūrāgraganyah (the foremost among heroes).[163]

Amōghabāṇah (he whose arrows never fail); Asahyamārggaṇah (he whose arrows are unbearable); Bhīmakārmmukah (he whose bow is terrible); Uddhataviśikhah (he whose arrows are ever raised); Avismitah (the never perplexed); Amitramarddanah (the destroyer of his enemies); Ājmarddanah (the destroyer in battle); Durutsahah (the irresistible).[164]

The Tirupporur pillars containing his inscriptions describe him in terms of the birudas already mentioned and add a few more like Arikari kēsari (the lion against the elephant enemies).[165]

An inscription found in the shrine of Mahēndravarmēśvara built by the son of Rājasiṁha describes him as Ūrjitah, whose bravery frightened the elephants of rival kings. He is described again as Lōkāditya, the sun of the world, whose valour dried up the army of Raṇarasikah just as the heat of the sun does the mud. The description, is, as we have seen, confirmed by the Historical sculptures of Vaikuṇṭaperumāḷ temple. In another inscription of Raṅgapatāka, the wife of Rājasiṁha, Rājasiṁha is described as Kālakāla, whose bow had become manifest at the destruction of cities, who has split the parts of his foes.[166]

It is very doubtful whether any other king bore as many birudas as Rājasiṁha so much suggesting his greatness in war.

163. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, p. 14 ff.
164. *Ibid.*, No. 26, p. 21 ff.
165. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 27, p. 12.
166 *Ibid.*, No. 29, p. 23.

PART IV

AGE OF ARŪRAR — CONCLUSIONS

I

The argument that terms like Kāṭavarkōṉ Toṇṭaimāṉ are used as titles of greatness only from the reign of Nandivarma Pallavamalla and that therefore Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷarciṅkaṉ cannot be earlier than the age of Pallavamalla may be next considered.

The usage of the word 'Kāṭavarkōṉ' is considered by some historians to be comparatively of later date. Dr. Mīnākṣi has brought together all the references to this word and its equivalent forms: Kātavarkōṉ is used in Ārūrar's hymn[167] and Periyapurāṇam.[168] Kāṭuvettippēraraiyaṉ is the title assumed by feudatories of Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅga.[169] Kāḍava Mādēviyār is the title of Nṛpatuṅga's queen[170] and Kāḍuveṭṭi is the name by which the Gaṅga king Srī Purusha refers to the Pallava king.[171] The earliest reference in the inscriptions shown by her, belongs to the age of Nandivarma Pallavamalla of the 8th century. Pallavamalla's father Hiraṇyavarma is referred to as Kāṭavēśakula Hiraṇyavarma Mahārājah[172] and Pallavamalla himself is called in his own inscription as 'Kāṭava kulam ciṟakkattōṉṟiya satyānvita suputraṉ.[173] Taking these facts along with the absence of these names in the inscriptions of the early Pallava kings of the Siṁhaviṣnu line Dr. Mīnākshi concluded that these titles were not assumed by the Pallava as the titles of greatness but were bestowed on them by the Tamil feudatories and their Tamil subjects.[174]

But the description Kāṭavarkōn, the ruler of the forest territories, is appropriate to the early rulers as is clearly proved by the 'Talaguṇḍa pillar inscription of Kakutstavarmaṉ[175] which refers to Māyūrasarmaṉ defeating the frontier guards of the Pallavas and

167. 39: 9.
168. Pūcalār., 9.
169. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, page 93; Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, i, p. 11
170. 400/1905.
171. M.A.R., 1920; 51-52; M.A.R., 1918, para 76.
172. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 135, l. 2.
173. *Ibid.*, section d. l. 1.
174. Pallava Administration, p. 18.
175. Ep. Car., Vol. 8, p. 24 ff.

occupying the inaccessible forests stretching to the gates of Srī Parvata. There is a poem quoted by the commentators on Tolkāppiyam[176] which speaks of an invasion against the Vaḍuga frontier tribes by the soldiers of Toṇṭaippallavaṉ:

"Mulaipōḷi tīmpāl maṇcēṟu paṭuppa
Malartalai ulakam ōmpum eṉpa
Paricilait toṇṭaip pallavaṉ āṇaiyiṉ
Veṭcit tāyattu villēr uḻavar
Poruntā vaṭukar muṉaiccuram
Kaṭantu koṇṭa pallā ṉiraiyē."[177]

Toṇṭaimāṉ, Tiraiyaṉ etc., are all names assumed by rulers of the northern part of Tamil land now represented by Chingleput, Madras, Chittoor, North Arcot and South Arcot.

Next we may refer to the reference to terms like Kāḍava in the earlier inscriptions. The earliest reference to Kāṭuveṭṭi is to be found in the 'Sirakuṇḍas' stone record of about 480 A.D.[178] One wonders whether there may not be an implied suggestion to the title 'Kāṭuveṭṭi' in the birudas of Rājasiṁha' 'Dāvāgnih' (the woodfire).[179] The Daḷavāṉur cave inscription of Mahēndravarma I calls him Toṇṭaiyantārvēntaṉ.[180]

"Toṇṭaiyantār vēntaṉ curēntirap pōttaraiyaṉ
Veṇkōṭṭiṉ teṉpāl mikamakiḻntu-Kaṇṭāṉ
Caramikka Veñcilaiyāṉ cattumallē cammeṉ
ṟaraṉuk kiṭamāka vaṉṟu."[181]

The Vakkalēri plates refer probably to Rājasiṁha or his father as 'Tiraiyarāja Pallavaṉ.' Dr. Mīnākṣi herself in a note refers to the gold coins in the Madras Museum where the legend 'Kaṭachitra' is found in archaic characters. She writes: "If, 'Kāṭha' is an abridged form of 'Kāṭaka', synonymous with Kāḍava and if 'Citra' again is a shortened form of the names Citrakārapuli and Citramēgha—surnames of Mahēndravarmaṉ I,—then we may suggest that these six gold coins belong to the Pallava king Mahēn-

176. Akattiṇai Iyal., 54.
177. Peruntokai, 970.
178. Ep. Car., Vol. VI, Cm. 50.
179. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.
180. Ep. Ind. Vol. XII, p. 255.
181. Peruntokai 972.

dravarman.[182] But we may suggest the meaning of tiger for the word 'citra' in which sense it is used in Tamil literature possibly as a corrupt form of the word 'citraka'. Some of the birudas of Mahēndravarman praise him as 'puli' in such titles as 'Citrakārappuli.' Whatever that may be, the important point is that on Palaeographical ground the archaic characters of this legend could be placed in the age of Mahēndravarman and this shows the term Kāṭava was claimed as a title of greatness by the early Pallava kings themselves. These monarchs have become the rulers of the Tamil land and even if they were not the descendents of the old 'Tiraiyas' and 'Tōṇṭaiyar', the ancient Tamil chieftains of this part of the country known to the Caṅkam poets, they would have tried to show themselves as Tamilians to please the Tamil subjects. That is how we find the ancient titles of Tiraiyan,[183] and Toṇṭaimān[184] being assumed by the Pallava kings even of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line.

The vēḷirs of Caṅkam age claimed to have descended from a great man who was born out of a pot reminding one of the birth of Drōṇa claimed as one of the ancestors of the Pallavas in their grants and inscriptions.[185] The story of the Pallavas having been born to a Nāgī and connected with the sprouts is often referred to in their inscriptions and a connected story is referred to in Maṇimēkalai.[186] There is a story suggested by the very name Pulikaṭimāl referred to in Puṟanāṉūṟu.[187] The story is told that whilst he was going on a hunting expedition he was asked by a ṛṣi to kill a tiger which was coming unawares.

Dr. Mīnākṣi describes panel III on the wall No. 2 upper row of the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple thus:—

"This is a picture of a hunt. A man is represented in the act of blowing a trumpet as he is running. He is chasing two deer while a ferocious tiger is hiding himself in his den. To the extreme right are seen two men standing, while three others are also depicted witnessing the scene from their perches on a branch of a tree."[188]

182. Administration and Social life under Pallavas: p. 89, Note 47.
183. Vakkalēri plates.
184. Daḷavāṉur inscription.
185. Puṟam., 201.
186. 25: 178; 24: 50 etc.
187. V. 201.
188. Pl. V, C.

The Pulikaṭimāl's story seems to explain this panel better than any other explanation offered till now.

All these go to prove that attempts were being made to connect the ancient chieftains of Tamil country with the ancestors of the Pallava kings even if they were not really so related. As we had already found reference to the titles like Kāṭavarkōṉ, Toṇṭaimāṉ even in the age of Mahēndravarmaṉ, one cannot say that they could not have been so assumed by Rājasiṁha or by his father or grand-father as titles of greatness. Ārūrar uses the words Kāṭavarkōṉ,[189] Pallavar,[190] Toṇṭaimāṉ.[191]

It has been assumed that reference to the Pallava and Kāṭavarkōṉ should be a reference to a contemporary king of Ārūrar. But the reference to Tōṇṭaimāṉ could not be definitely said to be a contemporary king of Ārūrar because the poet uses the past tense 'veḷippaṭṭaruḷiya'. The name Mullaivāyil like Kuṇavāyil and Kuṭavāyil suggests that the place was in the outskirts of a city or fort. In the period of Ārūrar, it was on the northern banks of Pālāṟu, which unfortunately had moved far south since then. Probably there was an old city there, which disappeared for some reason or other, to become overgrown with jungle. The tradition says that when the king passed that side on an elephant, the jasmine creepers into which the king's elephant was caught, would not allow the animal to take even a single step out, that therefore the creepers had to be removed and when they were so removed an ancient liṅga became visible and that the king was overcome by a feeling of reverence and he is said to have built a temple there. It is not clear who this Pallava king was. He might be Paramēśvaraṉ the father of Rājasiṁha who might have on his march to Vātāpi passed through this Tirumullaivāyil. Or, it may be even Rājasiṁha who is himself praised for his love of elephants and for his control of elephants: Ibhavidyādharah (He who possesses the knowledge of elephants); Ibhavatsarājah (He who resembles the king of Vatsa in the knowledge of elephants); Nāgapriyah (He who is fond of elephants).[192] The panels which according to Dr. Mīnākṣi describe the history of Rājasiṁha, do show elephants.

189. 39: 9.
190. 90: 4.
191. 69: 10.
192. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.

Therefore, one need not assume that the elephants referred to by Ārūrar is the Paṭṭavardhana of Nandivarma Pallavamalla. There is nothing in that epigraphic reference to Paṭṭavardhana to justify any reference to 'Vaṭatirumullaivāyil' and one cannot jump to the conclusion that wherever in literature an elephant is referred to it ought to be the paṭṭavardhana of Pallavamalla.

One may next turn to the first test proposed by Dr. Mīnākṣi for identifying any king with Kaḷarciṅkaṉ. She thought Nandivarman III satisfied this test because traders of his land had gone to distant Siam to dig a tank in his name. This can prove only an economic relationship; even though to safeguard the economic trade there might have been a navy of Nandivarmaṉ III, whose existence is proved by Nandikkalampakam. It may be worth while to point out that all are not agreed that Nandivarman III was a star of the first magnitude in the Pallava heavens. Professor Nīlakaṇṭa Sastry writes :[193]

"Dubreuil seems to exaggerate the significance of Teḷḷāṟu when he writes that 'this glorious campaign enabled him to reign peacefully not only at Kāñci but also on the banks of the Kāvēri'. 'The poetry of the Nandikkalampakam should not be mistaken for history'." "We may conclude", he writes on p. 75, "that if Nandi of Teḷḷāṟu began his reign with a victory against Srīmāṟa, he lived long enough to sustain a defeat in his turn at Kuḍamūkku inspite of the fact that on this occasion he seems to have been supported by several of his allies".

It may be replied that Ārūrar lived to see the victory at Teḷḷāṟu and not the defeat at Kuḍamūkku, and that it is not fair to judge a description of the victory like that of Teḷḷāṟu which must have appeared as a great feat to the contemporaries in the light of other events of history like the glories of Rājasiṁha and others. One must accept the force of this reply but still it is open to point out that Rājasiṁha better fulfils the test than Naṇdivarmaṉ III especially when the argument proceeds on finding out a Pallava, fulfilling their own tests.

II

The naval power of Rājasiṁha is now proved to be of such great importance as to be recognised even by distant China of

193. Note on page 73 of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

those days. Professor Nīlakaṇṭa Sastry has given a translation of the extracts from *Ts'o Fou Yuan Kouei*, a great Chinese Cyclopaedia compiled about 1013 A.D. under the heading "692-720 A.D. Embassies from South India to China":[194]

"I. In the eighth year of K'ai-yuen (720), the king of the kingdom of South India, Che-li Na-lo-seng-kia (Śrī Narasiṁha) proposed to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Arabs) as well as the T'ou-po (Tibetans)[195] and others. Moreover, he asked that a name be given to his army; the emperor praised it greatly and named his army; 'the army which cherished virtue'.

"II. In the 8th year K'ai-yuen (720), the 8th month, the day ting-tch'eou, a decree was addressed to tchong-chow-men-hia to inform him that the king of South India having sent from afar (an ambassador) to render homage and pay tribute, and this ambassador being due to return, he must look after him with the greatest care till his departure and act in such a way that his desires might be fulfilled. The ambassador was therefore given a robe of flowered silk, a golden girdle, a purse with an *emblem in the form of a fish and the seven objects;* then he was sent away.

"III. In the 11th month, an ambassador was sent to confer by brevet the title of king of the kingdom of South India on Che-li-Na-lo-seng-k'ia pai-to-pa-mo (Śrī Narasiṁha Pōtavarman).

"The texts marked I and II under year 720 are found again in Kieou T'ang Chou which adds the following: "the 9th month, the king of South India Che-li-Na-lo-seng-k'ia-to-pa (Śrī Narasiṁha Pōtavarman) constructed a temple on account of the empire (i.e., of China); he addressed to the emperor a request asking from him an inscription giving a name to this temple; by decree, it was decided that the name should be 'which causes return to virtue (Koei-hoa) and it was presented to him (i.e., the emperor sent Narasiṁha a tablet with the inscription Koei-hoa se, so that it may be placed on the front of the temple erected in India by Narasiṁha for the benefit of China).

194. Foreign Notices of South India, p. 116 ff.

195. In this period 'the supremacy of Tibet was so firmly established in Bengal that, for 200 years, the Bay of Bengal was known as the sea of Tibet. (BG., I. I. 501).

"This Narasiṁha, king of Kāñci, is known to us from the Mahavamsa and from the inscriptions of India; and relying on these last pieces of evidence, inscriptions Sylvain-Lévi has proposed to carry back the reign of this prince to about 700 A.D. (J. A. 1900 May-June); we see that his conclusion is borne out by the Chinese texts which speak at such length of Śrī Narasiṁha Pōtavarman in 720" (Chavannes, p. 44n.).

"The data given in these extracts from Ts'o fou yuan Kouei, a great Chinese cyclopaedia compiled about 1013 A.D., are confirmed by the following extract from Ma Twan-lin:

"In the third of the years keen-fung (A.D. 667), the Five Indias (or five kingdoms of India) sent ambassadors to the court of the emperor. In the years kae-yuen (A.D. 713 to 742), an ambassador from Central India proceeded three times as far as the extremity of southern India, and came only once to offer birds of five colours that could talk. He applied for aid against the Ta-she (or Arabs) and the Too-fan (or Tibetans), offering to take command of the auxiliary troops. The Emperor Heuen-tsung (who reigned from A.D. 713 to 756) conferred upon him the rank of general-in-chief. The Indian ambassadors said to him: 'the Fan (or Tibetan) barbarians are captivated only by clothes and equipments. Emperor! I must have a long, silk embroidered robe and a leathern belt decorated with gold, and a bag in the shape of a fish.' All these articles were ordered by the emperor" "— Chavannes: Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs.) Occidentaux. Toung Pa II 5: pp. 1-110; and JASB vi, p. 71, for Ma-Twan-lin."[196]

This extract establishes the greatness of Rājasiṁha's navy and extends his reign to 720 A.D. Professor Sastri comments on these in his learned introduction:[197]

"These embassies have not received the attention they deserve at the hands of Indian historians. ...But the most surprising fact we learn from these records is that in 720 A.D. Narasimhavarman II, the Pallava ruler of Kāñci, well-known under his surname Rājasiṁha, sent an embassy to China to inform the Chinese Emperor of his intention to go to war with the Arabs and Tibetans and asked the Emperor to give a name to his army; he also sent

196. Pages 116-117, Foreign Notices of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

197. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

word that he had constructed a temple on account of the Emperor and wanted him to give it too a name. The ambassador that brought these requests was highly honoured and a Chinese embassy was sent in return to visit South India and gratify the wishes of Narasimhavarman. These precise references to Narasimhavarman go to show that the usual chronology of the reigns of the Pallava monarchs at the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth is not as well founded as it is generally taken to be; it is possible that the reign of Narasimhavarman lasted longer and that of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla began later than is generally believed."[198]

The reference in their extracts to Tibet and the Arabs is difficult to understand. Professor Sastri next explains this riddle: "The mention of Arabs and Tibetans as the enemies of the Pallava kingdom in this period should also be noted. Separately or allied together, the Arabs and the Tibetans were more the enemies of China in this period than of any Indian state, and one may reasonably surmise that it was the Chinese court which, being impressed by the political power of Narasimhavarman in India, was anxious to enlist his support in its plans against the Tibetans."[199] It is this we spoke of as a recognition of the supremacy of the navy of Rājasiṁha. Professor Sastri next quotes:[200]

"It is certain, according to the evidence of certain Chinese authors", says Reinaud, "that the Tibetans, called Thufan by those writers, played in the seventh and eigth centuries A.D. a great part in Central Asia. Masters for a time of regions situated in the north-east and south-east, they made the emperors of China tremble even in their capital. A Chinese author says that, at an epoch which corresponds to the year 787, the emperor of China found himself constrained for his own security, to make an alliance with the king of Yunnan, the Khalif of Bagdad, and certain Indian princes. The Tibetan arms seemed to extend to the remotest parts of the Bay of Bengal; it is only in some such way that we can explain the name Tibetan Sea applied to the Bay by Ishtakri and Ibn Hawkal.[201]

198. Pages 16 and 17, Introduction to Foreign Notices of South India.
199. *Ibid.*, p. 17, Introduction.
200. Reinaud-Aboulfeda, i. pp. ccclvii-viii. Also Smith—Early History of India,[4] p. 377
201. *Ibid.*, page 17.

If the Bay of Bengal was known as Tibetan sea and if Rājasiṁha was the Lord of the Bay as well as the Arabian sea there is no wonder in the Chinese assuming that he was the best person to help China to conquer the Tibetans and the Arabians, on the mistaken notion that the Tibetans could be attacked from the Bay of Bengal.

III

Nor is this all. The Pallavas came to inherit the naval powers and trade of the Tamils in the eastern and western seas. The Andhra navy was inherited by the Pallavas who were, to start with, the governors of the Andhra kingdom as may be seen by their coins. The Andhras issued lead coins with a two masted ship. In the collection of Eliot's coins, there are coins which bear the Pallava emblem of a bull along with the two masted ship and these have to be assigned to the Pallavas. During the times of Narasiṁhavarma Mamalla, Māṉavamma of Ceylon was helped by the Pallava navy, first unsuccessfully but at the second attempt successfully to become the king of Ceylon. Gopalan writes about this Ceylon invasion as follows:

"The circumstances that led to the intervention of Narasimhavarman I in the affairs of Ceylon are gathered chiefly from the Mahāvaṁśa, (The Mahāvaṁśa, ch. 47—Turnour's translation). It appears from this account that Mānavamma, a Ceylon prince, having become an exile, fled to India, and, arriving at the city of Kāñcīpuram, managed to enter service under Narasimhavarman I with a view to secure his aid and ultimately to gain the Ceylon throne. Here he is described as having constantly engaged himself in the service of the king and proved his trustworthiness by many an act of bravery and loyalty. The Mahāvaṁśa mentions in great detail the various acts of Mānavamma, particularly his services to Narasimhavarman I in his wars against the Vallabha, the Chāḷukya king: how once king Vallabha came to make war against Naṟasimha and how the Pallava king with a view to test Mānavamma left him at his capital city and proceeded to the battle-field alone, and how Mānavamma's affection caused him to leave the safety of the fortified capital and join his king in the field of battle in victory, defeat, or death. Such action was bound to increase Narasimha's esteem for him, and it is therefore not surprising that when the Ceylon prince prepared to go back to his country, Narasimhavarman I gave him a strong escort and an army with which he was able to secure the Ceylon throne. But this success did not last

long. Soon after, his army deserted him and the Prince of Ceylon came back once more to seek the help of Narasimhavarman I. Again Narasimhavarman I gave him an army much bigger than before and this time the Pallava king himself accompanied his troops as far as the harbour where his men went on board on their voyage to the shores of Ceylon. It is noteworthy that this naval expedition of Narasimhavarman I set sail from the ancient Pallava port, Mahābalipuram, which, according to contemporary account was a harbour at this time. It is worthy of note that Hieun Tsang (Beal, Records, Vol. II, p. 228) who stayed in the city for a considerable time (circa 642) recorded the fact that ships go to Ceylon from Kāñchi, and that it extended by twenty miles to the coast. Tirumangai Āḻvār also records that Mahābalipuram was a busy port in his hymns on this place and particularly notes that in its harbour ride at anchor 'vessels bent to the point of breaking laden as they are with wealth, big trunked elephants and nine gems in heaps":

"Pulaṅkoḷnitik kuvaiyōṭu puḻaikkaimma kaḻirriṉamum
Nalaṅkoḷnava maṇikkuvaiyum cumanteṅkum nāṉṟocintu
Kalaṅkaḻiyaṅ kummallaik kaṭaṉmallait talacayaṉam
Valaṅkoḷmaṇat tāravarai valaṅkoḷeṉ maṭaneñcē."
(Periа Tirumoḻi, Kaṭaṉmallai Hymn, V. 6).

"This second naval expedition was a complete success and must have made a profound impression on the contemporary powers of south India. The Kāsākkuḍi plates which confirm the conquest of Ceylon justly compare this achievement of Narasimhavarman I with that of Rama's conquest of Lanka. Prince Māṉavamma was firmly placed on the throne, and not until Narasimhavarman I's death did trouble overtake him again."[202]

This is quoted in full to give us a graphic picture of the naval power of the Pallavas which Rājasiṁha inherited.

Dr. E. Hultsch (in his article on Contributions to Singhalese Chronology, J. R. A. S., 1913—p. 517) whilst pointing out that Narasiṁha is spoken of as a Kāḍuveṭṭi (Kaṇḍuveṭṭi being a mistake for this word) uses the word Rājasiṁha twice to refer to this king[203] probably because the original uses that name as well. The name of the enemy of the Kāḍuveṭṭi is given in the Mahavamsa,

202. Pp. 98-100, History of the Pallavas of Kāñchi by R. Gopalan.
203. P. 527, 529.

as Vallabha and Vallabharāja.[204] Vikramāditya, the son of Pulikēsiṉ II speaks of himself as Sri Vallabha in his Gadval Plates.[205] This combination of Rājasīha, which is the Pāli form of Rājasiṁha, and Vallabha would suggest that the war was between Rājasiṁha and Vikramāditya. As Rājasiṁha was also called Narasiṁha, the Mahavamsa perhaps uses both the names. Probably it is the use of these two names that misled Wijasinha into translating the verse 7 of Ch. 47 of Mahavamsa so as to suggest that Kāḍuveṭṭi was a different person from the Pallava king first mentioned in that chapter. To support this reference to Rājasiṁha's attack on Vātāpi, we can refer to Raṅgapatāka, Rājasiṁha's wife whose inscription compares her husband's valour before a city to Śiva standing before the Tripura. Māṇavamma is given the year 720 for his accession by Turnour[206] but of course certain deductions have to be made in these years. These considerations, however, require further elucidation and examination.

IV

We had already referred to the coins of Rājasiṁha and these also are signs of his naval power. The Vayalur pillar inscriptions of Rājasiṁha throws further light on the naval power of this king: The word 'Dvīpalakṣam' occurs in this inscription. "May he exercise the royal prerogative and take up the vow of administering (his) subjects up to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand islands, he, who is known by the name 'the great wrestler' (Mahamalla) on account of his (skill in) hand-to-hand fight, who is excessively devoted (Atyantakāma) ever to serve at the pair of the lotus feet of Sambhu (Śiva), who is the blessed cloud (Sri Mēgha) that makes the mass of crops, the Brahmins prosperous, who is the Moon to the ocean of (his) race, "the victorious in battle" (Raṇajaya) and "the storehouse of Prosperity" (Śrīnidhi).

"Jiyatmahēśvaraśikhāmaṇi dīptamauliryyodharjjani sakala lōkanarēndrasiṁha (1) Sambhōh pādāravindaddvaya paricaraṇēnityamatyantakāmah srimēdhō viprasasyakravibhakarē vyōmaratnōghachandrah/Rājyāntaravāgahavidotamahāmalla sabdah/ prajanai rakṣadikshadhikaram vahatu raṇajayah/ srīnidhidvīpalakṣham (2) (Text—Ep. Indi., XVIII, P. 145)." Mr. Krishna Sastri

204. Ch. 47, verses 15, 18, 24.
205. Ep. Ind., No. X, No. 22.
206. Mahawanso, P. LXIII.

whose translation we had given brings out the significance of this term in the following note:

"This is a doubtful translation of the word 'Dvīpalakṣam' (the translation given in the text 'thousand islands'). I propose to take it as an avyayibhāva deriving it 'dvīpa lakṣyantē yasmin karmaṇi iti'. (Dvīpah lakṣam yasmin' etc., is another suggestion—H. 8)." If this interpretation is correct, it shows that the Pallava rule must have extended in the time of Rājasiṁha even to the distant island in the ocean. The word 'dvīpa lakṣat' and with 'a' repeated we may translate 'up to the thousand islands'.

Could there be a reference by dhvani in the word dvīpalakṣam to the Laccadive Islands called lakṣadvīpa in Sanskrit? The exact relation that might have then existed between the Pallava king Rājasiṁha and the Laccadive islands has nowhere been found. In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that Dr. Vogel in his learned contribution on the Yupa inscriptions of the king Mūlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo) (Nederlandsch Indie, 1918, p. 192) asks: "Suppose the powerful Pallava princes of Kāñcīpura had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Champa and Java, may we not assume that their conquest on the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their prasastis with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chāḷukyas?" Here we have though not a prasasti, at least a significant hint that the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands.

This suggestion receives further support from the references to Rājasiṁha in the Chinese annals already mentioned.

V

One more suggestion may be made. The subordinates in the Tamil land are found to assume the titles of their paramount king.[207] Perhaps in the Eastern Archipelago also such a practice obtained. The Jāva king Jayanagara of the 14th century when Ṣundara Pāṇḍya ruled in South India assumed the Pāṇḍyan title Ṣundarapāṇḍya and the Pāṇḍyan emblem of double fish. One king assumed the name of his suzerain overlord, Sundara Pāṇḍya.[208] With these facts in mind where one reads an inscription

207. C.f., Viḍēl viḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ i.e., Viḍēlviḍugu Vikramāditya—S.I.I., Vol. III, p. 93, Pudukkotta Inscription, p. 11.

208. Bk. I, VII, 2, 1904, pp. 311-14—Nilakanta Sastri.

of the king Jayavarman II of Cambodia, who ruled at about the time Rājasiṁha was ruling in South India, describing Jayavarman as Rājasiṁha, one wonders whether it implies any acceptance of the suzerainty of this Pallava king. The Pallava kingdom was not unknown to them; for, we find an inscription of Jayavarma referring to Kāñci, the capital city of the Pallavas (P. N. Bose).

The following remarks of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri help us to make the above suggestion:

"There are some inscriptions of Citrasēna, all bearing very close resemblance to the South Indian Pallava inscriptions of the early seventh century. One of them from Thma-kre, meaning stone-bed, from a large level rock in the bed of the Mekong between Sambok and Kratie, is a single anustubh verse recording the erection of a liṅga by Citrasēna after obtaining the permission of his parents (BEFEO, iii, pp. 212-213). The other record is found in two places, Phou Lakhon in Laos (ibid., pp. 442-6) and Khan Thevada in the province of Ubon (BEFEO, xxii, p. 58). It comprises three verses in the same anustubh metre. It opens with the statement that the grandson of Sārvabhauma, the younger son of Vīravarmaṇ, was not inferior in prowess to his elder brother, Bhavavarman; then it says that this younger son was Citrasēna who took the name Mahēndravarmaṇ at his consecration, and after having conquered the entire country set up a liṅga of Girīśa (Śiva) on the mountain as a symbol of his victory.

"Jitvēmam-dēsam akhilaṅ Girīśasyeha bhūbṛti
Liṅgannivēsayāmāsa Jayacihnamivātamanah".

"These events, the liberation of Kambhuja and the erection of the liṅga, must have taken place a little before A.D., 616; in fact, the nearly contemporary Souei annals cited above place them between A.D., 589 and 618, and this is in perfect accord with the date unmistakably revealed by the palaeography of the inscriptions of Citrasēna. It is clear that at the time of the first record he had not yet become king."

"It will be recalled that about the same time another Mahēndravarmaṇ, the first of that name and the most talented among the Pallava rulers of South India, erected a shrine to a liṅga on the rock of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi overlooking the Kāvēri river. *Considering the very close resemblance in the lettering of the inscriptions of the two Mahēndravarmaṇs, one is tempted to ask whether this*

is not more than a mere coincidence. Separated by several hundreds of miles of land and sea, the records of these rulers are evidence of exactly the same type of culture, same in almost every detail that can be thought of."[209]

VI

We have not so far considered the reference in the Chinese annals to the building of a Buddhist temple by Rājasiṁha. It is taken to be a reference to the Buddhist Vihāra at Nākappaṭṭiṉam known as the China vihāra for which Rājarāja the great made an endowment. Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār who is said to have enriched the Raṅganātha temple at Śrī Raṅgam with the booty obtained by looting this Buddhist sanctuary[210] is assigned the age of Pallavamalla and therefore the vihāra must have been in existence before his time, i.e., in the reign of Rājasiṁha itself. This proves his international outlook for encouraging the trade of his country.

The cumulative value of all these considerations can suggest only one conclusion that Rājasiṁha is entitled to be called 'Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ' rather than any other Pallava king.

VII

The third test laid down by Dr. Mīnākṣi is that any king to be identified with Kaḻarciṁkaṉ must be a great devotee of Śiva in order to receive such an encomium from Ārūrar. Rājasiṁha is famous for introducing a new type of temple architecture, different from the cave temples of Mahēndra and the Rathas of Narasiṁha Māmalla. "Narasiṁha II (Rājasiṁha) builds craft constructed temples of hewn and hand placed stones",[211] though these look like the Dharmaraja ratha of Māmalla in the back wall of the garbagṛha behind Rājasiṁha's peculiar prismatic liṅgas, a form of Somāskanda is invariably found in all the temples of Rājasiṁha. Nor can any one mistake the rearing lions supporting the pilasters in Rājasiṁha's temples. And he has started building prākāras consisting of a series of Śivaliṅgas. Therefore, he and his Kailāsanātha temple occupy an important place, perhaps the most important place in the History of Śaivism of the Pallava period.

209. South Indian Influences in the Far East—pp. 36-37.
210. Guruparamparai; S.I.I., Vol. XII, Introduction iv.
211. Heras—"The Builders of Mahabalipuram.

Vikramāditya II, the Chāḷukya, even though he came and captured Kāñci as the inveterate enemy of Nandivarma Pallava and the Tamils, was so very much impressed with the architecture of the Kailāsanātha Temple that he not only enriched and beautified it but also took the Tamilian architects, the Sūtradhāri Chittra Rēvadi Ovajji of the Sarvasiddhi Ācārya knowing the secrets of Srī silāmudras[212] thus introducing this style of Kailas temple in his Chāḷukyan country. The reference to the temple built by Kāṭavarkōṉ in the Pukaḻccōḻa Nāyaṉār purāṇam of Cēkkiḻār, is therefore considered to be a reference to the Kailasanātha temple of Rājasiṁha. He is considered to be the builder of the shore temple at Mahābalipuram, the temple at Paṇamalai, the Airāvatēśvara temple at Kāñcipuram in addition to the Kailasanāthar temple. The story of Rājasiṁha hearing a disembodied voice shows how important he and his temple were considered by the Śaivite inscription writers of his reign.

His birudas only go to emphasise his greatness as a Śaivite:

"He whose refuge is Īśāna or Śiva (Īśāna saraṇah); the religious (Ācāraparah); he whose authority is the Śaiva doctrine (Āgamapramānah); one who is fond of the itihāsas (Itihāsapriyah); the follower of the Śaiva doctrine (Āgamānusārih); he whose goad is knowledge (Jñānāṅkuśah); devotee of Śiva (Dēvadēvabhaktah); the sinless (Dūraduritah); devotee of Śaṅkarah (Śaṅkarabhaktah); he who knows the truth (Tatvavēdīh); devotee of Śiva, i.e., Īśvarah (Īśvarabhaktah);[213] the ocean of wisdom (Jñānasāgarah); one who takes refuge in Īsāna or Śiva (Īśāna saraṇah).[214] Atiraṇa caṇḍēśvara Temple at Śāḷuvankuppam describes him as follows: "One who assiduously worships Śiva (Hara ārādhana saṅginah); one who bears Bhāva in his mind which is filled with devotion; one who bears deep devotion to 'Īśānah."

VIII

The following version, but in verse form, is often repeated in his inscriptions: "Just as in a large lake filled with water which is fit for bathing and covered with various lotus flowers, handsome Śaṅkara (Śiva) abides on the large

212. Vakkalēri plate 1. A.p. 23; Kendur Plates-Ep. Ind. p. 208.
213. *S.I.I.*, Vol. 1, No. 25, Rājasiṁhēśvara Temple, Kāñcipuram.
214. Tiruppōrūr inscription, S.I.I., Vol. XII, No. 27.

head—sprinkled with the water of coronation and covered with bright jewels—of the illustrious Atyantakāmah."[215] As this verse form is found in the inscription at the Ganeṣa temple[216] and Dharmarāja maṇṭapa[217] at Mahābalipuram, they may be taken to refer to Rājasiṁha. The former inscription describes the king in these terms: "Śrīnidhih *bears on his head the unborn* (Śiva) by the weight of whose great toe, Kailasa together with the ten faced (Rāvaṇa) sank down into Pātāḷa". The Kailāsanātha temple inscription[218] describes Rājasiṁha as, "one who had got rid of all impurities by walking on the path of Śaiva doctrine (Śaiva Siddhānta mārga)". He is called "Śaivachūḍāmaṇih" (he who has Śiva for his crest jewel).[219]

The Kāsākuḍi plates describe him in the following terms: "From Paramēśvara Pōtavarmaṉ was born, a complete incarnation of the blessed Paramēśvara who equalled Narasiṁha both by the strength of his body and by his name (Narasiṁhavarma) that spread over the world.[220]

The Vayalūr Pillar Inscription describes him as one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel namely Mahēśvara (Mahēśvarasikhā maṇidīptamauli) and Mr. Krishna Sastry writes in his introduction thereto as follows:[221] "The adjunct 'Mahēśvarasikhā maṇidvīpamaulih' which occurs in these verses (i.e. the two verses recorded in lines 9 to 14 of the inscription) and which, literally rendered means 'one whose diadem shines with the head jewel, viz., Mahēśvara (Śiva)' is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like Śivachūḍāmaṇi, etc., and the verse 'yasyāṅguṣṭabharākrāntah', etc., which occurs in the South Indian Inscriptions, Volume I, Nos. 18 and 19[222] and 'Abhiṣēkajalāpūrṇa', etc., in *ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 22[223]—all with reference to king Rājasiṁha—it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the liṅga, on his head. This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse 'Guṇabhara nāmāni rājanyanēna liṅgēnaliṅgini jñā-

215. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 18.
216. No. 18.
217. No. 19.
218. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 24.
219. *S.I.I.*, Volume I, No. 24.
220. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Part III, No. 73, p. 357.
221. Ep. Ind., No. 18.
222. V. 3.
223. V. 2.

nam',[224] etc., which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I Guṇabhara from Jainism to Śaivism. Again V. 4 of No. 34 in the same volume speaks of 'Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head.' All these references clearly point to the existence of a liṅga cult long before the revival of the Vīra-Śaiva faith under the auspices of the famous Kalachūri minister Basava (Chenna Basava) in which the wearing of the Liṅga plays a prominent part. Again, the sense of the two verses, particularly that of the second, is such that it suggests the occasion for the engraving of this record to be the accession of king Rājasiṁha to the throne. This, if it were so meant, would indeed have been a fitting opportunity to eulogise his many acts of heroism, charity and piety, and to proclaim to all subjects his assumption of power over his hereditary dominions".

The description given above in Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara Temple, Śāluvaṅkuppam[225] referring to the coronation water—a verse repeated very often assumes a similar significance.

IX

This king is proud of his musical talents and his inscriptions call him, Ātōdyatumburuh,[226] Vādyavidyādharah[227] and Vīṇānaradah.[228] The Atiraṇachandēśvara Temple inscription poetically raises the question, "Who will be able to understand the music of Kālakāla (Rājasiṁha) if it were not Brahma, Bharata, Hari, Nārada or Skanda?[229] This will suggest that the music had a religious significance. Ārūrar's hymns have many references to this kind of religious music. Rājasiṁha is also called Kalāsamudrah;[230] Kāvyaprabodhah (the reviver of poetry).[231] He is considered to be a disciple of Dandin. All these admirable qualifications must have made him endearing to the heart of Ārūrar that great art connoisseur and poet and musician. The Kailāsanātha Temple justifies his biruda Itihāsapriyah[232] and our study of Ārūrar's poems

224. *Ibid.*, No. 33, V. 2.
225. Nos. 21 to 23, S.I.I., Vol. I.
226. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.
227. *Ibid.*
228. *Ibid.*
229. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 21.
230. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.
231. *Ibid.*
232. *Ibid.*, 25.

has proved that our saint was equally an Itihāsapriyah and a lover of music, and dance, apart from himself being a poet and a composer of music. These descriptions of Rājasiṁha have greater force than the descriptions of Teḷḷāṟeṟinta Nampi in Nandikkalampakam as 'Sivanai muḻutum maṟavāta cintaiyāṉ;[233] 'Paintamiḻai āykiṉṟa kōṉ Nandi;[234] 'Nūl narampu muḻutum kaṇṭāṉ';[235] 'Nūṟpulavaṉ'[236] and the description in the Vēḷurpāḷayam grant 'he who bears the symbol of Śiva in his forehead'. Nandivarman III is known to have built no temples though he had endowed many temples.

X

Dr. Rājamāṇikkam refers to Periyapurāṇam where Cēkkiḻār speaks of Kaḻarciṁkam as going to temples and performing 'toṇṭu' or service and concludes that this could not be true of Rājasiṁha. He admits that Rājasiṁha had built temples. One wonders why this is not considered as 'toṇṭu' or Śaivite service to God, for Pūcalār is included in the list of Toṇṭars on the basis of the building of a mental temple and Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ is also found included in that list because of the temples he built. There could not be a higher service than this according to the Āgamas. Probably the learned Dr. feels that making endowments alone could count as such service or 'toṇṭu' for he makes the following references to Nandi's toṇṭu : "According to the Vēlūrpāḷayam grant, Nandi had endowed a village as 'dēvadānam' to the temple at Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi near Poṉṉēri.[237] Nandi made a gift of 100 kaḻañcu of gold for the lamp to be lighted at Tiruvatikai.[238] He presented a lamp to be called after him as Kumāramārttāṇṭa for being lighted in the temple at Tiruviṭaimarutūr.[239] He gave away gold for a similar purpose to the temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[240] and Tiruttavatturai or Lālgudi.[241] He provided for the recitation of Tiruppatiyam at Tiruvallam.[242] He

233. V. 97.
234. V. 25.
235. V. 3.
236. V. 26.
237. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, 98.
238. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 309.
239. 197/1907.
240. 162/1938.
241. 27/1931.
242. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, page 93.

gave away lands to the Lord Tirukkaṭaimuṭi."[243] These are considered by our Dr. to be of greater importance than the building of temples by Rājasiṁha, temples representing a new school of architecture, considered by the Chāḷukyas to be worthy of being copied by them.

Nor could it be said that Rājasiṁha had not made any endowments to the temples. Vikramāditya II speaks of the great wealth of Rājasiṁhēśvaram of Kailāsanātha temple: "Vikramāditya, who led an excursion into the Tuṇḍaka country defeated his natural foe, the Pallava king Nandipōtavarmaṉ and entered the Pallava capital Kāñci but did not destroy it. He restored to the Rājasiṁhēśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasiṁhapōtavarmaṉ, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them."[244] His successor Kīrtivarmaṉ II in his Vakkalēri grant[245] praises the Vikramāditya II for having left alone the great wealth of Kailāsanātha temple without confiscating it when he captured Kañcipuram. Cēkkiḻār himself refers to this endowment of this great wealth by Kāṭavarkōṉ, the contemporary of Pūcalār Nāyaṉār, almost in terms of Cāḷukya inscriptions, "Kāṭavarkōmāṉ Kaccikkaṟṟaḷi eṭuttu muṟṟa māṭelām Śivaṇukkākap peruñcelvam vakuttal ceyvaṉ".[246] If Rājasiṁha had endowed like this on a scale much grander than the endowments of Nandivarmaṉ III, one cannot understand the conclusions of the learned Dr. that the description of Kaḷaṟciṅkan by Cēkkiḻār as the one who performed 'toṇṭu' at temples could not be true of Rājasiṁha as it is of Nandivarman III. An examination of the references in the inscriptions should have convinced any impartial student that the description can be true only of Rājasiṁha.

243. 11/1899.
244. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 202 ff.; see also Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 360.
245. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 200.
246. Pūcalār Nāyaṉār Purāṇam, V. 9.

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VOLUME II

NAMPI ĀRŪRAR AND MYTHOLOGY[1]

INTRODUCTION

I

The important part which *Tēvāram* plays in Temple worship has been sufficiently explained in our Introduction to Vol. I. The Temples are the holy places where God is worshipped in His images. Ārūrar's poems deal to a large extent with the description and significance of the image forms of the Lord. The various *Purāṇas* are even now green in the minds of the Hindus, and the image forms are in a sense representations of these popular *purāṇic* stories. Ārūrar's age is, in more sense than one, the age of the *Purāṇas* and that explains why he is speaking, in the language of the *Purāṇas,* in most of the verses. Therefore, it is necessary for us to turn our attention first to Ārūrar's language of *Mythology,* which is also his language of mysticism and religion.

The *Purāṇic* stories are many and varied and an attempt has to be made to group them under some system of classification. There are stories which may be taken as interpreting the philosophy of Śiva's essence. They are the stories which assert His superiority over all others in this Universe. The Liṅga is Śiva's pre-eminent form. God is significant to us only when He is all love and this truth is brought out by the form of Śiva in the company of the Mother Goddess who is no other than His love or Grace. The representation of the Lord as riding on the bull, brings out the truth that He is the Lord of all, the Lord of *Dharma.* These stories will, therefore, form the First Part of our inquiry

1. By the words *'myths'* and *'mythology'*, it is not to be understood that they refer to what is fanciful or merely imaginary or to something grotesque and meaningless judged by rational standards. *'Myths'* constitute the concretized wisdom of the ancients, the portrayal of eternal truths which have been intuited by the sages. They are not ever to be confused with allegories in the sense that a story has been woven round a truth, for its better comprehension. The Indian tradition invests the *'myths'* with a historical character and expounds them with the piety and devotion associated with a religious verity.

into Ārūrar's language of Mythology. But, before plunging into the subject, it is necessary to explain this language of Mythology in general terms by way of introduction and that is done at the very beginning of this Volume, as Chapter I.

II

The great message of Ārūrar is Lord's Grace. This takes us on to the stories which are acts of pure Grace and Love which are called the *Anugraha Mūrtis*, which according to *Śilpaśāstra* assume *sāttvic* forms. *Viṣāpaharaṇa mūrti, Gaṅgādhara mūrti* or *Bhāgīratha anugraha mūrti, Pārthānugraha mūrti, Candrānugraha mūrti* and *Rāvaṇānugraha mūrti* are all *Anugraha mūrtis* discussed under this head of *Anugraha* in Part II of our study.

III

The phrase *'Aṭṭavīraṭṭāṉam"* occurs in Appar's poems and this conception, therefore, must have been popular in the age of *Tēvāram*. The phrase *'Vīraṭṭam'* occurs in the verse of Ārūrar also.[2] Śiva is said to have performed eight great heroic feats in eight different places[3] within the Tamil country, which suggests an attempt at looking upon the feats as the feats of Tamil Land. We have thus eight different forms of Śiva: *Tripurāntaka, Dakṣāri, Kāmāntaka, Gajāha, Jalandharāri, Kālasaṁhāra, Andhakāri* and *Brahma śiraschēdana*. In one sense, all the *Purāṇic* stories relating to Śiva can be brought under these eight heads. The story of the company of the Mother Goddess, discussed in our first part is a sequence to the stories of *Dakṣāri* and *Kāmāri* forms. The wearing of the crescent moon on the crown is related to the story of *Dakṣa*. Śiva's unique ornaments, weapons and clothes are related to the events connected with the *Kāpāli* form of *Brahmaśiraschēdana mūrti*. The forms we are going to discuss in the subsequent part, viz., the story of *Bhikṣāṭana* and *Naṭarāja* are also connected with this story of the *Kāpāli* form and the *ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form is what precedes the *Kāmāri* form. Looked at from this point of view, the *Aṣṭavīraṭṭāna* conception explains all the mythological stories relating to Śiva. These stories explain the Absolute as the greatest power. But by the time of Ārūrar, these heroic feats have come to be looked upon as

2. 7: 28: 1-10; 7: 38: 1-10.

3. *Atikai, Paṟiyal, Kuṟukkai, Vaḻuvūr, Viṟkuṭi, Kaṭavūr, Kōval* and *Kaṇṭi*.

the acts of God's Grace and therefore Ārūrar equates power with Grace of Love.

So, in the next part, we discuss certain forms which have become very popular in South India almost becoming Tamilian forms, thanks to *Tēvāram* writers who have made the forms of *Bhikṣāṭana, Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and *Naṭarāja,* the very forms of Love.

IV

In the concluding part which is more or less the miscellaneous part, the weapons, ornaments and clothes of Śiva, other *purāṇic* personalities and the cosmogony are all discussed as described by Ārūrar.

V

In all these parts, the *Purāṇic* stories and descriptions are first summarised. The *Āgamic* references to these descriptions in relation to their worship in the temple are also noted. For a better understanding of these descriptions and for arriving at a judgment about the popularity of these forms in the age of Ārūrar, the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha temple are next studied. In the view of the present writer, the Kailāsanātha temple belongs to the age of Ārūrar. Even if Ārūrar is assumed to have come later, we do not have a temple of that eminence for studying the idea of the age as that of Kailāsanātha temple. In the light of the sculptures there, the references in Ārūrar to the various forms, assume a great significance and, therefore, these references are studied last. As already stated, the poet is speaking the language of *mythology* for expressing his own message of Lord's Grace in a popular form. The mystic significance of these forms are also emphasised with the help of Tirumūlar and others whose poems help us to better understand the verses of Ārūrar.

PART I

CHAPTER I

ARŪRAR'S LANGUAGE OF MYTHOLOGY

I

The Absolute Brahman, the Impersonal Godhead, is beyond words and thoughts. The Divine experience of the Saints, especially of the poetic Saints cannot lie hidden within the soul. It tries to find expression in words of their poems. The Absolute thus takes an incarnation in words. It becomes personal and concrete. Man from the earliest times must have felt the inexpressible Divine presence, and *Mythology* which is sometimes called the singing of the unconscious state, has developed all over the world. "*Myth-form,* according to modern criticism, is a complex of images or a story whether factual or fanciful taken to represent the deepest truths of life or simply regarded as specially significant for no clearly realised reason"[1] and represents a unanimous common and perennial philosophy of man's nature and destiny.[2] The language of mythology, well known to the common man and exciting in him sublime emotions and great thoughts, lies before the Saints and Poets as the very raw material to be given a shape and form and significance by them. How else could they express the inexpressible? Impersonal and personal are not, therefore, kept separate in their poems and these poets of God, pass from one state to the other, to the great consternation of the modern critics.

One of the inscriptions of *Champa* says, "He is possessed of the powers of *Aṇimā* etc., yet He is devoted to austerities. He has burnt *Madana* and yet He is married. He is the unique Lord, yet He rides on the bull. His nature is beyond the domain of thought and speech; yet His image identical with the Universe is manifested by His form." Even the distant islands have understood the true inwardness of the Indian conception of God and His worship.

1. *Myth and Ritual in Christianity,* by Alan W. Watts.
2. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy.

II

The study of the *Purāṇic* stories, as referred to in Ārūarar's *Tēvāram,* cannot be a study of their origins. Historically, this may show what *mythological* stories appealed to that age in general and the poet in particular. To go beyond this, in search of their origin and growth, will be futile, for, there are no materials available in Ārūrar's poems for such a general study. It is however possible to refer to the particular version of the story he mentions, as compared to others, so as to point out the particular stage the story had reached in its historical march. The *Tēvāram* poems are mainly lyrical outpourings of the heart of the poet, and the stories are referred to express the subjective experience. They have, therefore, to be related to the subjective experience of these stories by the poet. They have a significance to the author and it is this that has to be studied.

An incident or a scene, like a drunken bout, the solitary reaper, a mountain top suddenly raising up its hoary head whilst one rows the boat, the cock on a dung hill or the moon rising from the sea, is well impressed in the mind of a poet. They become symbols of the message of the subjective experience of the poet, without ceasing to be concrete and alive, poetic and graphic. So do the stories, the poets read or hear, become such symbols. It is from this point of view these stories have to be studied in Ārūrar.

How the great minds of the age looked upon these stories should also be known. The forms of Śiva described are many. The images are not fetishes. They are not idols but representations of ideals. What Dr. Coomaraswamy says of the Indian Art applies to Iconography as well: "Indian art at its best is never realistic but is based on abstractions or ideal forms—a tendency to naturalism is but rarely followed and is rather an expression of a mental conception than a realistic picture that is aimed at." If hands and legs and wives of Śiva are spoken of, they ought not to be taken in the gross physical sense. Śiva is, according to these seers, beyond matter; therefore, there arises no question of flesh and blood and all their incidents. Nor, is there any question of sex, which, after all, is a physical phenomenon. Therefore, the Śaivites say, these are the forms of His Grace. Even as light and heat are found indivisible in fire, His bliss of Grace and His Spiritual essence of *Jñāna* are indivisible from Him. Therefore, the Form

is spiritual in its essence. The image is an imperfect realisation of the attempt at concrete visualisation. The matter is but the Grace of Śiva because the ancients found no other way of expressing it to be understood by the man in the street. This science of spiritual semantics has given rise to the Hindu Iconography. As an expression of art, these image forms have a universal appeal but the full significance cannot stand revealed completely to the amateur audience. Iconography and painting are related to *Bharata Nāṭya*. The significance of the language of dance arises out of the tradition and convention of that art. It has to be learnt. In addition, in *Iconography*, one has to learn what the organs and weapons stand for.

Therefore, ours becomes a study of value or ideal rather than of origins. What Dr. Coomaraswamy says with reference to Śiva's Dance may be generalised with reference to all forms or images of the Hindu God: "I do not mean to say that the most profound interpretation of Śiva's dance was present in the minds of those who first danced in frantic and perhaps intoxicated energy in honour of the pre-Aryan hill-god afterwards merged in Śiva. A great motif in religion or art, any great symbol, becomes all things to all men; age after age, it yields to men such treasure as they find in their own hearts. Whatever be the origins of Śiva's dance, it became in time the noblest image of activity of God which any art or religion can boast of."

It is not as though there is any dead rigidity about this symbolic language of *Ātmavidyā*. It allowed sufficient fluidity for individual artist or poet to give expression to his transcendental vision. In our study of Ārūrar's poems and the sculptures of this age, this truth is being very forcibly impressed on our minds.

III

But anyway, the letters of the alphabet have to be learnt for spelling out the words of this language. No attempt is made here to study exhaustively this variety of alphabet. That much which is necessary to substantiate the thesis here put forward alone is attempted. Tirumūlar, before Ārūrar, is the first bold spirit who calls them idiots, those who interpret the stories literally,[3] "*Muppuram ceṟṟaṉaṉ eṉparkaḷ mūṭarkaḷ*" and he gives his

3. *Tirumantiram*: 343.

mystic significance of *Tripura* as the resultant of the three *'malas'*. His interpretation of the dance and other forms are mentioned under their respective heads. Paṭṭiṉattār, perhaps coming after Ārūrar, explains the mystic significance of the forms. Therefore, it is the Tamilian tradition of the Age of Ārūrar we are referring to, as our thesis. Nor, is it opposed to the spiritual and social science and art of Temple worship which developed in the Tamil land of that age. The *Āgamas* are the embodiments of this science. They have not become finalised in their present form, as is made clear by our study at every stage. But they may be taken to represent the growing tradition of the age of Ārūrar. *Kāmika Āgama* is the most important one, from this point of view and it gives the significance of the weapons and other representations of the image of Śiva.

IV

The *Kāmikāgama* in its first part, IV *Paṭalam*, describes the form of *Sadāśiva* to be contemplated on by the worshipper. There is fluidity enough to suggest two different forms. The Āgama proceeds to give meaning of the various organs and weapons described in these forms. As the form of Śiva is well known and is going to be described in the following pages with reference to various forms, the descriptions need not be repeated here. The *crescent moon* of pure white colour is the symbol of Śiva's Omniscience. His *ten hands* are the ten points of the compass. The *trident*, with its three heads, represents the three *guṇas, Sattva, Rajas* and *Tamas* of *Prakṛti* under His control. The *hatchet* represents His energy or *Śakti*. The *sword* is the symbol of His valour or omnipotence. Adamantine *Vajra* or the weapon of diamond represents His invincibility or the unbreakability of godhead. The *fire* in His hand represents the power of destruction, the power of illuminating the objects above *Mahāmāyā*, and the power of burning to ashes the fetters of *Pāśa*. The *serpent* in His hand symbolises His law that rules everything. The *noose* in three strands represent the three fetters or *pāśas—Māyā, Karma* and *Āṇava*. The *bell* He holds in His hand, through its sound, represents the Mantra form. The *abhaya hasta* represents His power of protecting all the Universe. The *goad* symbolises what is fit for enjoyment and what are so attained. It is these subtle aspects which are represented by these visible forms.[4] Even as the potential heat, all pervasive

4. *Kām., ibid.*, 335-340.

in a log becomes potent in one concentrated point of friction, Śiva becomes potent in the image form.[5]

V

From the point of view of Tamil tradition the poems of Paṭṭiṉattār may be usefully studied :

This problem of the *Purāṇas* seems to have been agitating the mind of Paṭṭiṉattār. He gives expression in his *'Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Orupā Orupatu'* to the mystic vision he had after such cogitation.

"The great world is a damsel wearing according to her nature the struggling sea as her garment over which shines the girdle of gems. The city of *Oṟṟi* is the clasping face of the girdle. Oh! Thou the Lord of this city! The flash of the lightning is the matlock of yours. The ever present firmament is the form of your crown. The lord of fire, the sun, and the cool moon—these three fires, form your eyes, on and around your forehead. The necklace of cool rays is the milky-way. The *Ākās*, where reside the *Dēvas*, forms your beautiful body. The eight points of the compass are your sturdy shoulders. The black sea is your garment. The beautiful hip of yours is the earthly sphere. The serpents with the gems on their hoods of the nether world represent but the movement of your pair of feet. The wind running without any pause is your breath. All the unfailing sounds are the words from your lips. The totality of the faultless *jñāna* of all the wide spread eternal lives from that of *Dēvas* downwards is but your consciousness. In this crowded world, its nature, its sustenance, its involution and evolution are but the appearance of your activity. Its creation, its destruction and movement are but the natural opening and closing of your eyes, with many other characteristic forms like these. You the one became two in form and enjoyment, and three *jñānas* resulting in four kinds of birth, the five sense organs, the six religions or philosophies, the seven worlds, the eight forms and you grow beyond innumerable aeons and mix in every form becoming every one of those things. In this context, who has realised in one sweep, your form?"[6]

"O! Lord of *Oṟṟi* City! Saying, that along with the lady residing on the left you have two bodies, that you performed the dance

5. *Ibid.*, 355-56.
6. *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Orupā Orupatu*: 1.

in the midnight, that you adorned yourself with the tiger's skin along with bones, that you have practised the life of wandering beggary, that you have become formless and formful, that you are the four-faced (*Brahma*), and the Great (*Tirumāl*), the beloved of the lady of Beauty and Riches, that you are one that exists, that you are one that does not exist, that you are one that does not grow tired, that you are tired, old and vanquished, that you are the beginning, that you are the Lord of *Aśōka* (the Jain), that you are the ancient shining under the *Bōdhi* (Buddha) and so on and so forth in a similar vein, according to the measure of their knowledge confused by the plurality of established books—men are thus at variance with each other. Seeing the characteristics of theirs, unto those who suffer like this, you become as they think and your form is like the colour of the crystal assuming the hue of whatever thing is placed underneath it."[7]

"O! Great One, that is the unique One of the world of form! There is nothing else amongst these varied shapes. Whatever it be, if it exists here, that is but a part of yourself. Therefore, conspiring for destroying the suffering of the world of ancient waters by setting fire—the cracking and resounding fire—to the onrushing three fortreses, cutting and letting away the head of the Lord of sacrifice, crushing down the shoulders of the Ruler of the huge skies, depriving the eminent lord of the *Vēdas* of one face, looking at Cupid (*Manmatha*) of the floral arrows to reduce him to ashes, pressing down powerless, the *Rākṣasa* (*Rāvaṇa*) with the beautiful toe, attacking with an ideal the Lord of Death to bring about his infancy—all these feats of valour beginning from these are but acts of yours, all crowding about you in the very place where you stand. These, therefore, who had seen that there is nothing besides yourself speak of this truth. Will these who have realised this significant truth, instead of taking it as an ordinary routine, include it amongst your praises?"[8]

"The eternal lives or souls—from the Lord of flower (*Brahman*) downwards—that Lord of flower grown eminent because of his knowledge of the principle—the eternal lives who move in the bodies with the help of dark ignorance are differentiated in various ways, by form, by knowledge, by eminence, by humility, by riches,

7. *Ibid.*, 2.
8. *Ibid.*, 3.

by power and by the variety of activities. They are never separated from their karmas. In this multiplicity of their disagreement, their behaviour, like the white waves from the well established ocean, rising from yourself and becoming one with you, evolving and involving, appearing and disappearing, lying in union with you and standing separated from you, but explains you. O! Thou Lord of ceaseless ancient fame! The chief of the form that never grows old! If at all, those who have received your Grace may know this, can others understand this bewildering puzzle, there in you?"[9]

"The words of no confusion are but yourself. Yet, what conspiracy they confounded, know not your varied form! The mind is your abode and yet what stealth it is, that you disappear from there leaving that blotted. You are the doer of all the acts performed in this world and yet what wonderful nearness or magic of your atomicity that the results of these acts never come near you. There they worship you for the sake of the happiness of society or the whole humanity and yet what a wonderful beauty that there you become the sea of bliss in their minds! You are the nearest of the near unto those who approach you out of love unto you. This conspiracy, this stealth, this magic, this beauty of nearness are the daily bone-melting characteristic features of yours. Therefore, O, that Lord of *Oṟṟi*, of the pure moon of the ruddy thick matlock, of great tapas and well established extensive fame! We have realised that this body of flesh does melt and disappear away unto those who had seen you."[10]

"Your adorning yourself with the pure moon on the top of your matlock for establishing the fact, 'I am the knowledge of the pure path'; your riding on the bull which is but the form of *'Aṟam'* or *Dharma* or Virtue, proclaims the truth, 'I am the all pervasive Lord'. You stand as He, She, It and this explains the principle, 'I am the common basis of all'. That you are the three eyed is a symbol for the truth, 'The three fires lie within me in sacrifice'. Your carrying the young one of the deer of the *Vēdas* proclaims the truth, 'I am their Lord of sound'. Your holdng the trident of one handle and three blades states there the fact, 'The great ones are but myself'. The fact of the eight forms signifies, 'I am clearly the only truth in this world'. Your standing clearly, as the earth, water, fire, wind and the high *ākās*, and as the Lord of the ancient

9. *Ibid.*, 4.
10. *Ibid.*, 5.

but undying fame and as the Lord of the army of good *Bhūtas*, is for making the world realise the truth. All your nature and forms from these downwards, clearly express your evergrowng greatness. The suicidal men (*taṛkolimāntar*) realise this not, and whirl, caught within the power of the word and meaning, born out of themselves. Their chiefs, the lords of the six activities, never cease to recite in you *Oṛṛi*, O, Lord *of Oṛṛi'*. You consider all this as the activities of children and sit smiling till they turn towards you !"[11]

These poems of Paṭṭiṇattār clearly explain the philosophy of the *Purāṇas* as understood by the great men of the Pallava Age, for Paṭṭiṇattār also belongs to the Pallava period though coming much later than Ārūrar.

VI

In the age of the Pallavas, the Tamil Land became the seat of Sanskrit learning. The inscriptions came to be written in Prākrit first and later on in Sanskrit. The great scholars from the Tamil land went to the North, like Diṅ Nāga and Dhamma Pāla and even to distant China, like the founder of *Zen Buddhism*. Sanskrit was the lingua franca of India, and Pallava kings, like Mahēndra Varman, were great scholars of Sanskrit. Inscriptions began with philosophical truths and king Rājasiṁha prided himself on his knowledge of *Śaiva Siddhānta*—a knowledge which went to the Eastern islands as well. It is but natural that the *Purāṇas* should become popular among the ordinary men. In addition to these stories, folk tales and traditions relating to the various places of worship also grew up. These tales became stories circulating among the masses.

The literature of this age as distinguished from the literature of the *Caṅkam* age is characterised by its wealth of references to the *Purāṇic* and other mythological stories. In making their popular appeal, the *Tēvāram* hymns cannot but take cognizance of this common new heritage of the times. They have perforce to speak this language and it will be surprising to note that if these references are left out, there may not be much remaining. They cannot escape the climate of the times, nor is this a calamity. The *Caṅkam* works were for the few. *Tēvāram* is for the many.

11. *Ibid.*, 6.

Every age offers the material, the raw material for the arts. The poet shapes out of it his beautiful poetry. It is the art form that is important—not the material which after all concerns the scientific technique of manipulating the material. Even if the stories are discredited all the glory to the poet who has created out of it, the representation of the Absolute, delivering the message of his inner vision.

VII

It is for this purpose that an attempt has been made to explain the mystic language of the *Purāṇas* as understood by Ārūrar and his age. The elaborate quotations from Paṭṭiṉattār must convince all doubting *'Thāmasis'*. This question of their significance has been a live problem in the minds of great thinkers of that age and their conclusions and explanations are indeed illuminating. Without these, a sympathetic study of the poems and the sculptures of the age is not easily possible for the modern mind stuck up into the mire of expressionism, cubism and realism.

For understanding the significance of these poems we have to go to the *Purāṇas*. As it happens all the world over, here also we have various versions. The poems of Ārūrar will tell us which version or versions had appealed to his mind.

There are also the sculptures of the Pallava Age representing the various forms. The *Āgamas* give what are now considered to be rules for making these image forms. Though these rules are now considered obligatory, our study shows that to start with they were only recommendatory. Here also we have varied rules. A comparison of the sculptures and the rules of the *Āgamas* leads us to this conclusion.

A word should be said about these *Āgamic* rules and the representations of the image forms in the Temples.

VIII

It is clear that the forms mentioned, from one point of view, represent various episodes of one and the same story starting with *Brahma's* haughty dispute, if we leave out of account the variant forms of the stories. These episodes were either painted on the wall or done in stucco. Later on, they came to be represented as bas-relief work on the panels of walls. Lastly came the images of these forms in stone and in metal. But, this is from the point of view of history of Śaivism in South India; in North India, the

images were older forms of worship. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* speaks of *Pratīkṛta* and not *Liṅga*. Varāhamihira refers to the installation of *Śambhuvigraha*. It is true, certain forms are by the *Āgamas* of the South, prescribed possibly referring to the conditions prevailing in a later age, for particular kinds of worship: for instance *Pāśupata mūrti* for daily worship or *nityōtsava; Aghōra* form for attaining success against enemy kings; but, there are also rules prohibiting worship of certain forms in images, for instance the *Raudra Pāśupata mūrti*.

IX

In the period of Ārūrar, the images had not come into existence. Therefore, in addition to the panels described, there must have been paintings. Traces of painting are found at Māmallapuram and Kailāsanātha temple.[12] The panels themselves suggest that they succeeded the paintings and stucco work on brick and mortar of the previous age. The descriptions given in the *Śilpaśāstras* and the *Āgamas* themselves show that they are intended for paintings, and colouring of the stucco. In the *Liṅgōdbhava* form, according to *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama, Śiva* is to be red, *Viṣṇu* black, and *Brahma* golden yellow. *Candraśēkhara*, according to *Śilparatna*, is white or red like the Sun, or yellow like gold; his throat is blue. According to *Kāraṇāgama, Nṛtta mūrti, Kaṅkāḷa mūrti* and *Dakṣiṇā mūrti* are white, whilst other forms are coral red. According to *Rūpamaṇḍana* in the *Umāmahēśvara* form, *Śiva* is coral red. The *Āgamas* decorate *Kāma* in the *Kāmāri* form with golden ornaments and He is golden yellow. In the *Gajāha* form, He is deep red; in the *Kālāri* form He is coral red according to *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama*. According to *Kāmikāgama, Yama* is clothed in red garments with red eyes, red hair, moustaches and brows. *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama* makes *Tripurāntaka* red. *Kāmikāgama* makes *Śarabhēśa* a golden bird with red eyes. *Bhairavas* are, according to the various forms, described by *Viṣṇudharmōttara*, rain-cloud coloured, yellow, white, blue, smoke-coloured or red. *Aghōra mūrti* is according to *Kāraṇāgama* dark, draped in red clothes, and adorned with red flowers and red jewels. *Lalitōpākhyāna* makes *Mahākāla* and *Mahākālī* black, with red eyes and black coat. *Candēśa*, according to *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama* is golden yellow. According to *Śrītattva nidhi*, in the *Cakra-*

12. *Pallava Architecture* by Alexander Rea, Pl., 29.

dāna form, *Viṣṇu* is black with yellow garments. In the *Vignēśvara anugraha mūrti* form, *Śiva* is black. *Kirātārjuna mūrti* is red. In the *Naṭarāja* form, the *jaṭās* are brownish red, according to *Uttara Kāmikāgama,* whilst *Naṭarāja* is milky white. In the *Kaṅkāla mūrti* form, Śiva is white, with red upper garment and pearl white teeth. In the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, the left half is either black or parrot green, whilst the right half is red. In the *Harihara form, Śiva*-half is snow white and the *Viṣṇu*-half green or blue. In the *Kalyāṇasundara* form *Śiva* is red and *Pārvatī* dark, *Viṣṇu* black and *Brahma* red. In the *Ṛṣabhārūḍha mūrti, Śiva* is red, clothed in red garments.

These references clearly apply to paintings and painted in stucco works. Gōpinātha Rao quotes from a work whose name is not known but found at the end of the manuscript copy of *Śilparatna.* The quotation begins with the words, *"Mahādēvam pravakṣyāmi yathā lēkhyasya bhittiṣu"*—'I shall describe the form of *Mahādēva* as painted on walls'. This leaves no doubt that these contemplate, paintings on the walls or on stucco works. The panel-sculpture, therefore, reminds us of these paintings. As the images have not come into existence till very late in the history of temples, the references in the Āgamas, some of which at least, must be as old as *Tēvāram* and *Tirumantiram,* could not be to the images. But this does not deny that, as the names of the *Paṭalams* in the *Uttara Kāmikāgama* show, the *Āgamic* rules as they stand are for the establishment and consecration (*Pratiṣṭhā*). The suggestion is that though the *Āgamas* may be very ancient, these terms like *Pratiṣṭhā* and other details are of a later date.

X

If this line of argument has any force, the rules given about these forms are as descriptives as the references in *Tēvāram.* It is true in some cases the measurements and proportions of the figures in relation to each other are given. But, if our arguments have any weight, these so called rules describe, rather than prescribe any one standard form. The varieties of description in some cases going up to eight—e.g. *Tripurāntaka* form—only proves this point.

XI

In an introduction to a book on the *Aṣṭāṣṭa Vigrahamālā* or *Śiva Parākkiramam* in Tamil, by Īkkāṭu Rathinavēlu Mudaliar,

one editor of the *Āgamas*, K. Shunmukhasundara Mudaliar writes as follows: "These forms are referred to in the *Vēdas* as forms of meditation; in the *Āgamas* as forms of worship for the salvation of Bhakta and in the *Purāṇas* and stories describing those who were thus saved."

This represents the orthodox view. But those who have followed the growth of the Śaivite temples from the times of Mahēndra Varma I, will easily see that this cannot be correct. The *Liṅga* alone was found in the temples, to start with; it alone received the worship. The paintings and panel-sculptures might have been there; but they could not have assumed such importance as to receive any worship; even now the paintings in the temples receive no worship except in the *Citra Sabhā* in Tirukkuṟṟālam. The next land-mark occurs in the reign of Rājasiṁha, when he introduced the panel containing the *Sōmāskanda mūrta*, behind the *Liṅga* form of worship, inside the *Garbāgṛha* or *Sanctum Sanctorvm* which till then contained no personal form. After this introduction, the worship performed to the *Liṅga* became also a worship performed to this personal form. Probably Rājasiṁha thought that in addition to the *Liṅga*, a mere symbol, some more visualisation was necessary. It must be noted in passing that the form of *Tyāgarāja* of the sacred temple of Tiruvārūr, is only the form of *Sōmāskanda* form. The question is, which was earlier, in places like Tiruvārūr and Chidambaram, the *Liṅga* or the metal image. The term *Mūlaṭṭāna* used with reference to the place of the *Liṅga* both at Chidambaram and Tiruvārūr is significant. By the time of Rājarāja the Great, the inscriptions give detailed descriptions of the images of various forms, which once started as literary descriptions, paintings on the walls and panel sculptures and whichever on their way to be conventionalized.

XII

Even before the temples in stone started on their development, the paintings of these forms should have been there in the old temples built of bricks. Representation of *Purāṇic* episodes in painting is as old as *Paripāṭal*. Nappaṇṇaṉār sings of the devotees going up the steps of Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Temple of *Muruka*, pointing out and explaining them in the hall of painting. "This cat is *Indra;* this lady is *Akalikai* (*Ahalyā*); this man is *Kavutamaṉ*

(*Gautama*) who returned; this is the stone form she assumed, thanks to his anger."

"Intiraṉ pūcai ivaḷaka likaiyivaṉ
Ceṉṟa Kavutamaṉ ciṉaṉuṟa-k kalluru
Oṉṟiya paṭiyiteṉ ṟuraicei vōrum
Iṉṉa palpala eḻuttunilai maṇṭapam
Tuṉṉunar cuṭṭavum cuṭṭari vuṟuttavum
Nērvarai viriyaṟai viyaḷiṭa-t tiḻaikka-c
Cōpaṇa ṇilaiyatu tuṇiparaṅ kuṉṟattu
Māaṉ marukaṉ māṭa maruṅku."[13]

Some of the temples must have become famous because of the particular representation of Śiva's form they contained. As hinted already *Aṭṭa Vīrattāṉams* must have become famous that way. It was also found that more than one place became famous in connection with one and the same feat of Śiva like the flaying of the elephant, probably because of the painting of that feat in more than one place. When Ārūrar sings, *"Kallāl niḻaṟ kīḻ oru nāḷ kaṇṭatum Kaṭampūr-k karakkōyiliṉ muṉ kaṇṭatum allāl virakoṉṟilam"*[14]—'We have no tact or way except that we saw you under the shadow of the *'Kallāl'* tree (perhaps of *Kaccūr*) we saw you in front of the apsidal temple of *Kaṭampūr'*—this reference is probably to paintings.

XIII

The heroic feats of Śiva or *Śiva Parākramas* were thus enumerated as eight. *Śilpaśāstra* enumerates sixteen forms of Śiva: *Sukhāsana, Vaivahika, Umāsahita, Vṛṣārūdha, Tripurāntaka, Naṭarāja, Candrasēkhara, Ardhanāri, Harihara, Candēśvara, Kāmāri, Kaninēsa, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Bhikṣāṭana, Sadāśiva and Liṅgōdbhava. Mayamata* speaks of *Umāskanda* instead of *Umashita,* of *Caṇḍēśānugraha* instead of *Candēśa* and of *Mukhaliṅga* instead of *Sadāśiva*—possibly because of the greater prominence given to *Sōmāskanda mūrta* in the age and place of birth of *Mayamata.*

13. *Paripāṭal,* 19: 50-57.
14. 7: 2: 5.

Kāraṇāgama enumerates twenty-five sportive incarnations (*līlā mūrtis*) of Śiva. They are as follows:

1. *Naṭarāja*, 2. *Candrasēkahara*, 3. *Umāmahēśa*, 4. *Ṛṣabhārūḍha*, 5. *Kalyāṇasundara*, 6. *Bhikṣāṭana*, 7. *Kāmāri*, 8. *Kālāri*, 9. *Tripurāri*, 10. *Jalandharāri*, 11. *Mataṅkāri*, 12. *Vīrabhadra*, 13. *Hariyardha*, 14. *Ardhanāri*, 15. *Kirāta*, 16. *Kaṅkāla*, 17. *Candēśānugraha*, 18. *Nīlakaṇṭha*, 19. *Cakraprada*, 20. *Gajamukhānugraha*, 21. *Sōmāskanda*, 22. *Ēkapāda*, 23. *Sukhāsana*, 24. *Dakṣināmūrti and* 25. *Liṅgōdhbhava*.

In *Skanda Purāṇa*, Kēśi muni enumerates sixty-four forms. Later Mr. Īkkāṭu Raṭṇavēlu Mudaliār has collected the stories and pictorial representations of these forms, from the references to works in Sanskrit and Tamil in his valuable contribution of a book *"Śiva Parākkiramam"* in Tamil. Thus it is clear the number seems to have been growing.

CHAPTER II

LIṄGŌDBHAVA MŪRTI

I

Every ninth verse in Campantar's hymns refers, as though such a reference were a religious ceremony, to the story of Viṣṇu and Brahma among the *Trimūrtis* searching for the head and toe of Śiva. This form of Śiva is known in the *Āgamas* as *Liṅgōdbhava mūrti*.[1] The story as given in *Kūrma, Vāyu, Śiva, Liṅga* and *Vāmana Purāṇas* is summarised in *Śiva Parākkiramam*.[2] Rāja Rāja's Inscriptions of Tanjore describe this form as *Liṅga Purāṇa Dēva*—the Lord of Liṅga Purāṇa.[3] This usage can be traced to Tirunāvukkaracar, who refers to this story in every one of the verses of his hymn known as *'Iliṅkapurānat tirukkuṟuntokai'*.[4] The *Liṅga Purāṇa* gives this as the coming into form of the *Liṅgāyat's* manifestation: hence the name *Liṅgōdbhava* mentioned in the *Āgamas*.

II

The story as told in *Liṅgapurāṇa*[5] is shortly as follows:

There was a deluge after destruction and before creation. Viṣṇu was sleeping on the ocean and thereafter Brahma appeared. Both of them claimed to be the creators of the Universe. A pillar of fire—a luminous Liṅga rose in their presence. They agreed, that one, who found out the crown or the root of the pillar first, should be hailed the creator. Viṣṇu, in the form of a boar, burrowed down to reach the foot of this pillar. Brahma, in the form of a swan flew up to reach its crown. They returned crest fallen, to pray to the Lord of Lords. *Śivānanda Lahari* refers to this more than once.

1. *Uttarakāmikāgama*—50th *Paṭalam*—147.
2. P. 29.
3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 44.
4. 5: 209.
5. *Muir*, Vol. IV, p. 385.

In a few versions, it is stated that Brahma, learning from a *'tāḷai* flower'[6] which he met on the way that it was falling from Śiva's crown, entreated it to bear a false witness to Brahma reaching the crown of the pillar. At this, Brahma was cursed by Śiva that the former should have no separate temple or worship.[7] According to one version, it was because of this falsehood Brahma lost one of his five heads; and this will connect the *Brahmaśiraschēdana Mūrti* with the *Liṅgōdbhava Mūrti.*

The story of the Brahma appearing like a pillar of fire before the *Dēvas* to whom *Umā* comes and explains, occurs in the *Upaniṣads* but there it appears in the form of a *Yakṣa.* The *Skambha* hymns of the *Atharva Vēda*[8] which speak of the supporter, the supreme soul, and which ask, "How far did *Skambha* penetrate into that highest, lowest and middle Universe" and answering, "*Skambha* is all" seem to be adumbrating this story of the pillar.[9]

III

Coming to the description of the image as given in the *Āgamas,* we find the *Liṅga* in the midst of which appears the *Candraśēkhara.* According to *Kāraṇāgama* one fifth at the top and bottom of this *liṅgam* should be left uncarved. Śiva's form appears up to the knees. At the top, on the right of the *liṅga,* is Brahma in the form of a swan, whilst Viṣṇu appears on the left at the bottom in the form of a boar. Brahma and Viṣṇu are also there, facing the *Liṅgam* with hands held in *añjali* pose. *Kāmikāgama* interprets the boar's posture as burrowing down. Viṣṇu and Brahma stand submissive, shorn of their egotism. Their forms are, sometimes, omitted but not the boar and the swan. *Kāraṇāgama* makes Śiva's four hands hold the axe, the deer, the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. *Śilaparatna,* however, inserts the trident in one of His hands.

IV

Turning to the sculptures of the age of Ārūrar, we find representation in the Kailāsanātha temple itself.

6. Fragrant screw-pine.
7. It is said that at Puṣkara in Rajaputana, Brahma receives separate worship.
8. *A.V.,* X, 7 & 8.
9. *Muir,* IV, p. 18.

In the subsequent age of the *Cōḷas*, on the western wall of the *Garbhagṛha* on the outer side, this image is always seen, as required by the *Āgamas*. But its earliest appearance is only in the reign of Rājasiṁha; the plate No. XII (*Rea*) gives a photograph of this image. A sketch of it is given in plate LX. The idea of a pillar is made clear by the portion of a pillar up above the crown of Śiva. Perhaps fig. 2 in Plate XLIV represents Śiva appearing before the submissive Brahma and Viṣṇu. There is no description of these[10]—but Mr. Gopinātha Rao gives another photographic plate[11] and a critical description.

"This piece of sculpture is very much at variance with the textual descriptions. The figure of *Śiva Candraśēkhara* has eight arms (not 4) of which some are seen carrying the *paraśu*, the *śūla*, an *akṣamālā* and some other objects[12] while one is held in the *abhaya* pose and another is resting upon the hip (*Kaṭyavalambita*). Then again the one fifth part of the *liṅga* on the top is not left unsculptured nor is the part of the *liṅga* lower than the knees of the figure of Śiva, equal to a fifth of the total length of the *liṅga*. But the sculpture agrees with the Sanskrit texts in that the legs of Śiva below the knees are left out unsculptured; the digit of the moon is shown on the crown of Śiva; the boar *avatāra* of Viṣṇu with four hands out of which two are shown as digging the earth and the other two as carrying the *śaṅkha* and the *cakra* and not an ordinary boar as stated in the *Āgamas* is carved out at the bottom space of the panel; Brahma is seen flying in the air in his own form instead of as a swan; one of his legs as also that of the other deities on the left of the *liṅga* is horizontal while the figures of Brahma and Viṣṇu each having four arms are sculptured on the right and left of the *liṅga;* they have each one arm lifted up in the pose of praising, while the other rests upon the hip and remaining ones carry their respective weapons."[13]

V

According to the tradition of the Tamil land the mountain of fire was the original form of the present Tiruvaṇṇāmalai hill. This feat also according to this, took place in the Tamil country.

10. Plate LX, Rea's volume on Pallava Architecture.
11. No. XIII.
12. Aksamālā, etc., are not mentioned in the *Āgamas*.
13. P. 109, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.

Liṅgapurāṇadēva described in *S.I.I., Vol. II,* No. 44 is worthy of notice as we very often find a representation of the scene in Śiva temples. The Tanjore temple itself bears a sculpture on the west wall of the central shrine. The group is now known as *Liṅgōdbhava.* The following is the note of the Epigraphists. The *Kāraṇāgama* states:

> *"Liṅgākārasya madhyē tu Candraśēkharavat sthitam*
> *Nālikādhasthitam pādam lingōdbhavasamanvitam;*
> *Viriñcirhaṁsarūpēṇa cōrdhvargō vāmapārśvakē*
> *Dakṣē varāharūpasya rūpēṇādhōgatō harih;*
> *Vāmadakṣiṇapārśvasthau kṛtāṁjalisamanvitau*
> *Svarūpēṇa dvipādasthāvajaviṣṇū vibhōh parē."*

The story is that Brahma and Viṣṇu once had a dispute about their relative superiority. Both of them appeared before Śiva who had assumed the shape of a huge *liṅga.* Viṣṇu had to find out the bottom and Brahma the top of this *liṅga.* The former became a boar and went on burrowing into the earth and the latter soared into the air in the shape of a swan to trace the top. Neither of them could achieve his object and accordingly it became evident that Śiva was superior to both of them. In the group set up by queen *Abhimānavalli,* the gods Brahma and Viṣṇu figure. The latter is said to have the face of a boar. The swan form of Brahma is not mentioned. The group must have closely followed the representation in stone of the same scene on the west wall of the central shrine.

Tradition asserts that the hill at *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* in the South Arcot district represents the *liṅga* of the *Liṅga purāṇa.* Accordingly pilgrims who visit the temple at *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* have to circumambulate the hill itself. It is worthy of note that the *liṅga* at *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* is believed to be one of the five *liṅgas* which are supposed to consist of the elements (*pañchabhūta*). The *Ēkāmbranātha* temple at Conjeeveram has the *pṛthvīliṅga* (made of earth) and the *Jambukēśvara* temple on the island of *Srīraṅgam* the *ap-liṅga* (made of water). The *vāyu-liṅga* (made of air) is at Kālahatsti in the North Arcot district; the *ākāśa-liṅga* (made of space) at *Chidambaram* and the *tējō-liṅga* (made of light) at *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* in the South Arcot district. The ancient names of these five shrines offer no justification for this supposition. Apparently the idea of tracing them to the five elements is a comparatively recent one.

VI

There are 37 references to this story in Ārūrar. In the light of these references to the scupltures, *Āgamas* and *Purāṇas*, Ārurar's verses describing or suggesting this story may be studied. He says, "There is one ancient authority" *"Paṇṭutāṉ piramāṇam oṉṟuṇṭē"*:[14] thus begins the poet in one place. It happened, the poet says, in former times *"Muṉ"*[15] as told in the *Liṅga purāṇa*. 'Viṣṇu and Brahma were then the ancient ones'—*"Paṇṭai Māl Piramaṉ"*.[16] 'The two did not know' *"Iruvarāl aṟiyoṇṇa"*.[17] There were the two who are by your (God's) sides'—*"Iruvartām uḷaiyā niṉṟavar,"*[18] in this the form represented as *Ēkapāda* or *Tripāda Trimūrti*. The very names of Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Hari used in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*[19] are referred to by Ārūrar in the Tamil forms, *'Nāraṇan'*,[20] *'Ari'*,[21] *"Aṭal Ari"*—'the conquering *Ari* or the powerful *Ari*',[22] *"Oḷḷari"*—'the resplendent *Ari*',[23] suggestive of the phrases in the *Purāṇa* (*Bhāsadhyastō Bhagavān Harih*).

VII

Brahma is mentioned as *'Piraman'*.[24] He is *'aja'*—the unborn; this word appears as *'Ayaṉ'* in Tamil.[25] This seems to be the favourite word with Ārūrar; the poet says that even this unborn principle of this Universe could not fathom the divinity of Śiva. Or, the poet may be ironical. 'Brahma is the Lord of the Vēdas', *"Vēda mutalvaṉ"*.[26] His function is then glorified. He is the creator of aeons: i.e., the very time giving place to spatial expansions and formations, *"Ūḻi paṭaittavaṉ"*.[27] Brahma is *"Nāṉ mukaṉ"*—'the Lord of four faces'.[28] We would expect Brahma to be with five heads. Has he lost the other head prior to this event?

14. 7: 46: 5.
15. 7: 51: 9.
16. 7: 20: 9.
17. 7: 76: 7.
18. 7: 86: 9.
19. *Muir*, Vol. IV, p. 386.
20. 7: 45: 6.
21. 7: 28: 9; 7: 44: 8.
22. 7: 82: 8.
23. 7: 84: 8.
24. 7: 20: 9; 7: 63: 7; 7: 67: 4.
25. 7: 6: 9; 7: 7: 10; 7: 8: 8; 7: 16: 8; 7: 24: 9; 7: 28: 9; 7: 33: 8; 7: 56: 6; 7: 68: 1; 7: 69: 11; 7: 97: 1.
26. 7: 40: 6.
27. 7: 84. 8.
28. 7: 18: 9; 7: 22: 8; 7: 32: 9; 7: 45: 6.

Perhaps our poet does not think of cutting away the fifth head in connection with the lie uttered here. The other description of Brahma which has captivated the mind of the poet is his abode of the lotus. The flower is *'Pū'*, (the flower), emphasising its beauty, appearance and colour. 'He is on it'—*"Pū micaiyāṉ"*.[29] It is 'Malar'—'the fully blossomed flower'; 'he is on it'—*"Malar micaiyāṉ"*.[30] 'He rises up on the flower and resides there' —*"Ōṅki malar uṟaivāṉ"*.[31] 'The flower is not only full of fragrance but also wafts the sweet smell—it makes a gift of it'— *"Virai taru malar"*.[32] What is this flower? 'It is the lotus and he is on it'—*"Tāmarayiṉ mēlāṉ"*.[33] 'It is a very big flower—a throne of flower'—*"Pūvēntiya pīṭattavaṉ"*.[34] 'It is a flower of purity and he appears glorious and resplendent, the prince of the pure flower'—*"Tū malar-ṯ tōṉṟal"*.[35] 'He is red in colour'—*'Ceyyāṉ'*.[36]

VIII

The poet enjoys the colour contrast—the red colour of Brahma and the blue or black colour of Viṣṇu, whom he describes in the same verse as *"Kariya niṟattāṉ."*[37] He calls Viṣṇu in another place as *"Kariya māl"*.[38] He is enamoured of this beautifully black one or the good black one—*"Nalla kariyavaṉ"*.[39] The colour of the eye of the Viṣṇu has attracted the attention of all—*Puṇḍarīkākṣa* of the *'Kapyāsam Puṇḍarīkam'* fame. Ārūrar speaks of him as one with eyes like the beautiful red powder specially prepared by women *"Cinturak kaṇṇaṉ"*.[40] The term, the poet is more often using is *'Māl'*[41]—the wonderful, the big, the black, the magician, etc. It is used often in referring to this story with *'Ayaṉ'* except in 7: 20: 9. The poet speaks of him as *'Neṭu māl'*[42]—the

29. 7: 44: 8.
30. 7: 13: 10.
31. 7: 18: 8.
32. 7: 69: 11.
33. 7: 30: 9.
34. 7: 82: 8.
35. 7: 87: 7.
36. 7: 23: 9.
37. 7: 23: 9.
38. 7: 8: 8.
39. 7: 22: 8.
40. 7: 18: 9.
41. 7: 6: 9; 7: 16: 8; 7: 20: 9; 7: 56: 6; 7: 68: 1; 7: 97; 1.
42. 7: 24: 9; 7: 63: 7.

Lord who grew so tall as to reach the heavens for measuring out the universe by three steps. This is again emphasised by the term *'Neṭiyōn'*[43] reminding us of the *Purāṇa's* superlative description of Viṣṇu.[44] 'He is the *Māl* of the flood', the *mahāghōra ekārṇava* of the *Purāṇa*, *"Veḷḷattu mālavaṉ"*.[45] The conch is also mentioned. His symbol is *Cakra*—*'Āḻiyaṉ'*;[46] in this connection, he connects all the greatness of Viṣṇu — *'Umparāṉ'*, *'Ūḻiyāṉ'*, *'Āḻiyāṉ'*. But after the *Gīta* and the *Mahābhārata*, his conch has become more dear to his devotees. Is not *Āṇṭāḷ* addressing her love-sick hymn of *'Kāruppūram nāṟumō'* to this very conch? He holds the conch in his hand—*"Caṅkēṉtu kaiyāṉ"*.[47] There is the *Anantaśayana* form of Viṣṇu, another sign of his greatness. The poet refers to this along with Brahma's greatness. Brahma is residing on the big flower; Viṣṇu on the couch of the serpent with its big or open mouth—*"Pēḻ vāy araviṉ aṇaiyāṉum periya malar mēl uraivāṉum"*.[48] The suggestive force of these lines refuses any translation. All this glorification is only to show that *Śiva* is beyond this beyond—*"Neṭiya mālukkum neṭiyar."*[49] Has not Brahma been described for a similar purpose, the Lord of *Vēdas* and the creator of aeons ?

IX

The poet is referring to the *līlās* of Viṣṇu, which have become popular before his age. The orthodox will see no anachronism here, for, according to them these feats occur in every aeon—in the aeon, say, previous to the springing up of the pillar of fire. The grammarians may explain that these are to be taken as mere proper names denoting Viṣṇu without connoting any of their meaning. From a historical point of view, these terms only show the great popularity of these stories. It is significant that these relate to the playful activities of *Kaṇṇaṉ* or Kṛṣṇa.

Viṣṇu is the great god of protection. His protection is patent when the world is manifest during all its evolutionary stages.

43. 7: 32: 9.
44. *Muir*, Vol. IV, p. 386.
45. 7: 40: 6.
46. 7: 18: 8.
47. 7: 30: 9.
48. 7: 52: 8.
49. 7: 33: 8.

When there comes the destruction, Viṣṇu swallows it all, to keep it safe within himself. He spits it out, as it were, at the time of creation. Indeed he is verily the great enchanter and magician—*'Māyaṉ'*.[50] This will suggest he is performing all the three activities of creation, protection and destruction. But his is a dependent activity, a *Kārya'* according to *Lākulīśa,* the ultimate basis and foundation of all these, being Śiva, as is shown by this very story. *"Maṇṇiṉai uṇṭumiḻnta māyaṉ"*[51] sings the poet. There is a pun on the word *'Maṇ';* it means not only the world but also the earth or mud. It is a freak of some children to eat mud. Kṛṣṇa had this freak and when his mother made him open his mouth, the seven worlds were seen. Thus the line does not only refer to Viṣṇu in general but also to *Kṛṣṇa Avatāra* in particular.

In Kṛṣṇa's childhood, the demons lay in ambush assuming various forms to take Kṛṣṇa unawares and to make an end of him. Two demons stood in the form of two *'marutu'* trees to crush him in between them when he would pass for grazing the kine. Kṛṣṇa, in a playful way tore away the plants as a child would a bush, and passed in between them—*"Marutu kīṟi ūṭu pōṉa māl."*[52] Another demon *'Kēśi'* came in the form of a horse and Kṛṣṇa tore away its mouth—*"Mā vāyp piḷantāṉ,"*[53] *"Turaṅkam vāy piḷantāṉ"*[54] Kamsa, the uncle and sworn enemy of Kṛṣṇa, had a powerful elephant of the forest and Kṛṣṇa—as the deceitful child—tore away playfully its tusk—*"Kāṉa āṉaiyiṉ kompiṉaī-p piḷanta kaḷḷa-p piḷḷai."*[55]

The seven demons came in the form of bulls when it was declared by the father of the shepherd princess *Nappiṉṉai,* that she would be given in marriage to anyone controlling these proud bulls. Kṛṣṇa, as a humble shepherd jumped into the arena and controlled the seven bulls all at the same time. Kṛṣṇa's shoulders are the beloved of *Piṉṉai,* the princess—*"Piṉṉai nampum puyattāṉ."*[56]

50. 7: 85: 9.
51. 7: 83: 9.
52. 7: 7: 10.
53. 7: 13: 10.
54. 7: 87: 7.
55. 7: 57: 8.
56. 7: 63: 7.

X

In the presence of these two gods rose the pillar of fire. The poet in one hymn makes Viṣṇu and Brahma search in all the three fires of the world, i.e. the Sun, the Moon or the Lightning and the Fire: *"Cuṭar mūṉṟilum oṉṟi-t turuvi"*[57] perhaps because it encompassed the whole universe. In the *Vēdas,* Viṣṇu is said to have taken three steps. Possibly our poet is suggesting that this *Vēdic* feat was done in this search for the Lord by both Brahma and Viṣṇu having in mind the comment of *Śākapūṇi.* Here is the comment of Durgachary as quoted in the Nirukta of Yaska, wherein appears the comment of *Śākapūṇi*: "Viṣṇu is the Sun; How so? Because the hymn says 'in three places he planted his step, i.e., plants his step, makes a planting with his steps. Where then is this done? On the earth, in the firmament and in the sky' according to *Śākapūṇi.* Becoming terrestrial fire he strides over, abides in wherever this is on earth; in the shape of lightning in the firmament and in the form of the Sun in the sky. As it is said, "They made him to become threefold."[58]

In one hymn the poet exclaims, 'He rose high; he rose high'—*"Nīṇṭavaṉ; nīṇṭavaṉ"*[59] 'beyond the search of Brahma and Viṣṇu', *"Nāraṇaṉ Nāṉmukhaṉ nētavē."* 'He stretched Himself up as a magic, as the huge fire whose nature was impossible to be discovered'—*"Kāṇpariya māl eriyāy nimirntōṉ."*[60] 'He is taller than the tall Viṣṇu'—*"Neṭiya mālukku neṭiyar."*[61] The poet addresses the Lord 'Those who have seen you could not realise your truth; you grew up as a fire'—*"Nummai-k kaṇṭārkkum kāṇparitāyk kaṉalāki nimirntīr."*[62] 'He is the principle of the principles that stood there as a fire'—*"Taḻalāy niṉṟa tattuvaṉ."*[63] The poet is moved by this wonder of these very gods always with Him failing to see Him in His true colours—*"Iruvartām uḻaiyā niṉṟavar uḻka uyar vāṇa-t tuyarvāṉ"*[64]—'His form rises into the high heavens so that the Two always by His side may pause and consider'. He

57. 7: 67: 4.
58. *Muir,* Vol. IV. p. 65.
59. 7: 45: 6.
60. 7: 16: 8.
61. 7: 33: 8.
62. 7: 46: 5.
63. 7: 52: 8.
64. 7: 86: 9.

expresses this idea again and again: 'There is the Lord of the Heaven, who could not be realised even by that Divine child of the deceit'—*"Kaḷḷap piḷḷaikkum kāṇparitāya Vāṉanāṭaṉ."*[65] 'If we had known He is the person who is one with Brahma and Viṣṇu and who, all alone away from them, stretches into the unknown heights, we would not have come to serve Him'—*"Uṭaṉāy-t taṉiyē antaram celvatu aṟintōmēl nām ivarkku āṭpaṭōme."*[66] 'Even by the masters of the *Vēdas*, He cannot be described, He that is unknown to Viṣṇu and Brahma, He is a great illumination'—*"Aṟiyā-c curutiyārkkum coḷḷavoṇṇā-c cōti."*[67] 'He is the illumination impossible to be grasped by intellect'—*"Aṟitaṟku ariya cōtiyaṉ."*[68] What can be more wonderful than this magic of sudden appearance and uprising of this flame of fire beyond the reach of all? The poet asks, 'Why do you so roam about showing the magic form unapproachable even unto Brahma and Viṣṇu?'—*"Naṇukā vaṇṇam aṉalum āya vēṭam kāṭṭi-t tirivatu eṉṉē."*[69] This according to the poet occurred in the primeval forest—*"Nāṭum kāṭṭil."*[70] Or, this may simply mean, 'When they searched'.

XI

'Viṣṇu and Brahma were frightened, thus stretched He, my Lord, the Father',—*"Ayaṉōṭu Mālum veruviṭa nīṇṭa emmāṉ."*[71] They proceeded to find out. The poet uses the roots, *'Tēṭu'*, *'Nāṭu'*, *'Nēṭu'*, and *'Turuvu'*. *'Tēṭu'* implies a physical search; *'Nāṭu'* implies a purpose, a mental longing; *'nēṭu'* perhaps connected with *'nāṭu'*, implies the length of attempt; *'turuvu'* implies searching through and through—*'Nāṭum kaṭṭil'*;[72] *'Nāṭi'*;[73] *'Tēṭi'*;[74] *'Nēṭa'*;[75] *'Turuvi'*.[76] The fire Pillar was a physical presence, but it came as a magic; they did not understand. The poet speaks of their seeing Him and yet not seeing Him. The first seeing is the

65. 7: 57: 8.
66. 7: 18: 9.
67. 7: 7: 10.
68. 7:97: 1.
69. 7: 6: 9.
70. 7: 6: 9.
71. 7: 69: 11.
72. 7: 6: 9.
73. 7: 63: 7; 7: 68: 5.
74. 7: 8: 8; 7: 13: 10; 7: 56: 6.
75. 7: 45: 6.
76. 7: 67: 4.

sight of the physical presence. What is not seen is two fold; non-perception and non-realization. Even as a physical presence, it is never seen as a whole; they see but its parts; it is infinite. Man does not perceive anything unless he can put it under its genus and species as known previously by him. Unless it is related to his knowledge so as to become meaningful, what he sees is a mere sensation. There are various stages of this perception according to the knowledge of the seer. He refers to the physical presence as well—*"Naṇṇariya Āti"*[77]—'The beginning of all, who could not be approached.' The poet refers to all the stages, perception and realization. God is not an object to be seen in the physical sense; He is one to be experienced and realized. *"Kaḻalaṭi kāṇa māṭṭā ariyaṇay niṉṟa"*[78]—'He who stood as one whose feet adorned with the heroic anklets were impossible for the visual powers of the two (Brahma and Viṣṇu) to grasp.' *"Kaṇṭilarā yavarkaḷ kaḻal kāṇparitāya pirāṉ"*[79]—'He is the Lord whom they did not look in; *kaḻal*' or foot became difficult or impossible to be seen.' *"Aṭiyum muṭiyum kāṇpariya pariyavaṉ"*[80]—'He is the huge one—the all pervasive—whose crown or foot could not be seen.' *"Kāṇpariya"*,[81] *"Kāṇavaritāya"*,[82] or *"Kāṇā"*,[83] is very often used. What they could not see is also explained, thereby enriching this conception of looking. 'He is the light of lights—the supreme light'—*"Param cuṭar"*,[84]—'the goal of our efforts—the ultimate value'—*"payaṉ"*—'the final experience or bliss; this they could not'—*"Kāṇpariya payaṇē."*[85] He could not be seen by them as that great principle conferring bliss—*"Kāṇa aritāya Caṅkaraṉ,"*[86] 'they have not known Him as conferring Happiness.' *"Kāṇā-c campu"*[87]—'They have seen the thing in itself'—*"Kāṇa aritāya ..... tattuvaṉ"*,[88] they have not seen his characteristic feature—*"Taṉmaikāṇā."*[89]

77. 7: 83: 9.
78. 7: 8: 8.
79. 7: 20: 9.
80. 7: 22: 8.
81. 7: 28: 9; 7: 57: 8; 7: 68: 5.
82. 7: 40: 6.
83. 7: 30: 9; 7: 63: 7; 7: 68: 1.
84. 7: 24: 5.
85. 7: 28: 9.
86. 7: 40: 6.
87. 7: 68: 7.
88. 7: 40: 6; 7: 52: 8.
89. 7: 30: 9.

The poet also uses the word, *"Aṟivoṉṉā"* and other connected terms denoting intellectual knowledge—*"Aṟivoṉṉāppaṭiyāṉ"*[90]—'He is the form of nature which cannot be known'. 'They do not know His beginning'—*"Aṭiyum aṟikalār."*[91] *"Aṟiyoṉṉā iṟaivaṉ"*[92]—'He is the all pervasive Lord and Sovereign who could not be known.' *"Turuvi ..... aṟiyāta māttāṉ"*[93]—'He is the Mahat, the great all pervasive matrix, for, the Universe is His form perhaps because He is all pervasive'. 'Or, He is the Lord of the Mahat which could not be known even by any thorough search'. The idea of clarification also comes. 'He is difficult of clear understanding'.—*"Terivariyāṉ."*[94] He is an illumination impossible to be known by intellectual cogitation—*"Aṟitaṟkariya cōtiyaṉ."*[95] The poet also refers to the conception of realization and experience by using the suggestive word, *'uṇar'* connected with *'uṇ'* (to eat) and therefore to experience. 'He is the Lord of the Universe beyond the experience or realization of the Two'—*"Uṇarā Aṇṭaṉ."*[96] The poet perhaps refers to all the human faculties when he says, 'the Lord was not within their power—within their reach'—*"Tam param allavar."*[97]

XII

The efforts of these two in their search is described by the poet. 'They searched everywhere'—*"Eṅkum nāṭiyum."*[98] Viṣṇu went as the boar and Brahma as the swan.[99] This does not attract the attention of the poet very much; for it is only once that he refers to this metamorphosis and even there he does not minimise the greatness of these gods by mentioning these forms as theirs. He simply states that the swan and the boar could not see Him though they searched everywhere—*"Ēṉamōṭu aṉṉam eṅkum nāṭiyum kāṇpaṟiyāṉ."*[100] 'Brahma went in search of His crown;

90. 7: 32: 9.
91. 7: 44. 8.
92. 7: 76: 7.
93. 7: 67: 4.
94. 7: 23: 9.
95. 7: 97: 1.
96. 7: 84: 8.
97. 7: 18: 8.
98. 7: 68: 5.
99. 7: 68: 5.
100. 7: 68: 5.

Viṣṇu in quest of His foot'—*'Aṭiyum muṭiyum."*[101] *"Aṭi iṇaiyum tiru muṭiyum."*[102] 'The one flew up and the other went burrowing down'—*"Paṛantum iṭantum."*[103]

At every step the poet emphasises their defeat. He pathetically exclaims, 'Alas!, they searched everywhere; they wandered far and wide; they were perplexed and confused'—*"Āvā avar tēṭit tirintu alamantār."*[104] In the first stage it is their egotism that predominates. Tirunāvukkaracar in his, *'Iliṅka purāṇa-t tiru-k kuṛuntokai'* emphasises this fact of their non-submission and their non-worship. Ārūrar walks but in His illustrious foot-steps and therefore he speaks of their not coming near Him and taking refuge in Him with humility, inspite of their overpowering sovereignty—*"Ko ēntiya viṇayattōṭu kuṛuka-p pukal aṛiyār."*[105] They had not worshipped at His feet praising Him with the eight flowers—*"Aṭṭa puṭpam avai koṇṭaṭi pōṛṛi ..... kāṇpariya periyavaṇ."*[106] The worship may be physical or mental. If it is physical, the eight flowers are *puṇṇai,* the white *erukku, ceṇpakam, nantiyāvaṭṭam, nīlam, pātiri, alari* and the red lotus. If it is mental, the flowers are human excellences—ahiṁsa, control of the sense organs, forbearance, grace or universal love, true knowledge, truth, tapas and kindness. They did not see God because they were devoid of these.

XIII

In the end they were tired—*"ayarntum";*[107] confused—*"alamantār."*[108] The truth at last dawned on them. They wasted no further time. Without any further delay they fell at His feet, the refuge of all—*"Tāḻātu uṇṛaṇ caraṇ paṇiya."*[109] 'They concentrated on Him; praised Him sincerely; that was how what was not known and non-existent to them became known all-existent; this is the greatness of the Lord'—*"Niṇaintu iṇitu ētta-p peṛṛulaṇām perumaiyaṇ."*[110] They worshipped Him; in that fire-pillar as the

101. 7: 22: 8.
102. 7: 40: 6.
103. 7: 20: 9.
104. 7: 13: 10.
105. 7: 82: 8
106. 7: 22: 8.
107. 7: 20: 9.
108. 7: 13: 10.
109. 7: 52: 8.
110. 7: 51: 9.

great Liṅga or symbol of the great *Liṅgam*—the Great unknowable symbolized (as Brahma states in the very beginning of the *Liṅga Purāṇa* story)—*"Neṭumālayaṉ pōṟṟi ceyyum kuṟiyē"*[111]—'The great symbol worshipped by the Great *Māl* and the Unborn'. In passing, it is clear that the poet interprets the Liṅga as a sign and a symbol—one way of translating that Sanskrit word.

It has already been pointed out that every one of the feats of Śiva ends in a dance. Our poet therefore sings of the Lord dancing in that Hall of dance when He thus was unknowable to the conqueror of the horse and the prince of the flower of purity—*"Turaṅkaṉ vāy piḷantāṉum tū malar-t tōṉṟalum aṟiyāmal tōṉṟi niṉṟu araṅkil āṭavallār."*[112] Is not this beautiful phrase, *"Āṭavallāṉ"* that has captured the imagination of Rāja Rāja, the Great, who endearingly calls his *Naṭarāja* of this Great temple *"Āṭavallāṉ"* and christens the measures after this beautiful phrase? This makes very clear the influence of Ārūrar.

Thus may be summarised the spiritual pilgrim's progress of the Two as suggested by our poet.

111. 7: 24: 9.
112. 7: 87: 7.

CHAPTER III

UMĀBHĀGA MŪRTI

I

The Mother Goddess is mentioned 133 times by Ārūrar in his hymns. The descriptions, given here and there, may be pieced together to form a beautiful conception of the divine Mother of beauty. In the traditional way, we may start from the feet, the refuge of the worshippers, and proceed to her crown. 'Her feet are soft and tender like the tender shoots of leaves'—*"Taḷir pōl mellaṭi."*[1] 'They are beautiful like the soft cotton'—*"Pañcēr mellaṭi."*[2] 'Her soft feet are coloured red with the dyed cotton'—*"Pañcērum mellaṭi."*[3]

II

The garment of cotton in which minute threads enter to form beautiful patterns flow from her waist. *'Alkul'* is the word used. In later times, it is used in the sense of *'bhaga'* or the *pudendum muliebre;* but in more ancient times, it was used in the sense of the part of the larger curve below the waist as looked at from behind—the posterior of a woman. The reference to the garments by Ārūrar makes it clear that he is using the word in the older sense. The cobra's hood, the convex side of its curve with its dint in the middle, probably suggests the form of the convex curve of the flesh padded on the pelvis on the back to form the posterior. Ārūrar seems to have been very much impressed with this characteristic shape; for he mentions the simile at least four times. 'She of the beautiful posterior, like the form of the serpent (its hood)—*"Aravēr alkulāḷ."*[4] That is, the hood that is referred to, is made clear by another statement, 'that lady of the posterior like the young serpent with its hood'—*"Pai iḷa aravalkul pāvai".*[5] In the other descriptions, the same simile is repeated, but out of the love of the beautiful shape of the serpent, the serpent is also

1. 7: 26: 9.
2. 7: 15: 3.
3. 7: 96: 5.
4. 7: 32: 6.
5. 7: 85: 2.

described—as inseparable from its hole of a residence—*"Aḷaippiriyā aravu"*[6] and as creeping on the ground—*"Pārūrum"*.[7]

If the cobra hangs down with its hood expanded, the hood will be the posterior of the woman and the neck above, her waist. In this sense, the waist also represented as the hood of the cobra —*"Paṭa aravu nuṇ ēr iṭai"*.[8]

It is the usual conceit of the poets of India to speak of woman's waist as invisible, *sūkṣma*, subtle and the *Caṅkam* poets speak of the portion above the waist and the portion below the waist as being broad along with the bosom whilst the waist is small.[9] This is very well brought out by the comparison with *"Tuṭi"*—the drum of the shape of the hour glass—*"Tuṭi iṭai naṇ maṭavāḷ"*.[10] Our poet speaks also of the subtle, but beautiful form of the waist of the Mother—*"Nuṇ iṭai"* and *"Nuṇ ēr iṭai"* and in not less than three places.[11] It is lovely like a creeper; this simile expresses the beautiful twist of the tender waist. She is the lady of the creeper waist—*"koṭi iṭaiyavaḷ"*.[12] The poet improves the beauty by hinting at the creeper in full bloom—*"Koṭi koḷ pūnuṇ iṭai"*,[13] probably suggesting the girdles and other jewels adorning the waist. Just like the creeper, any twig may be tender; the waist, which is in Tamil called the middle of the body (*iṭai*) is compared to the twig by our poet also—*"Kompaṉa nuṇ iṭaiyāḷ"*.[14] The sudden beautiful and artistic bend of the waist reminds us of the lightning flash with its creeper or twig-like formation and our poet calls the waist of the Mother, the waist flashing like a lightning—*"Miṉ tayaṅkiya iṭai"*[15] and *"Miṉ ilaṅku nuṇ iṭai"*.[16]

III

The swell of the bosom—the bosom of the Mother—the Mother of the divine child, is also described. It is like a

6. 7: 43: 4.
7. 7: 90: 10.
8. 7: 49: 8.
9. *Kali.*, 180: 2-3.
10. 7: 11: 5.
11. 7: 30: 7; 7: 49: 8; 7: 89: 5.
12. 7: 85: 10.
13. 7: 30: 7.
14. 7: 83: 7.
15. 7: 62: 7.
16. 7: 89: 5.

bud in shape—*"Mukiḻ"*.[17] It is in shape like the conic piece with a bell-like crown used in the game of *'cokkaṭṭāṉ'* (dice), but soft and tender therewithal—*"Cūtaṇa meṉ mulaiyāḷ"*.[18] But, after all, it is small; the immature cocoanut is therefore suggested by the poet as a better comparison for the true proportions—*"Kurumpai mulai"*.[19] Another ideal that the glands should be so juxtaposed in their swell that there is no intermediate space. Māṇikka Vācakar speaks of *"Īrkkiṭai pōkā iḷa mulai"* and *"koḷḷēr piḷavakaḷā-t taṭaṅkoṅkai"*.[20] Our poet speaks of them as being in close touch as it were in embrace—*"Puṇar mulai"*.[21] Why go on describing? They are unique for which there is no comparison—*"Oppilā mulai"*.[22] A shining breast-band of ribbon (*vār*) as seen in fig. 128 and fig. 133 of Gods and Goddesses of South India, tightens them like a bodice—*"Vārār koṅkai"*;[23] *"Vār koṇṭa vaṇa mulai"*;[24] *"Vār ārum mulai"*,[25] *"Vārt tayaṅkiya mulai"*[26] and *"Vāriṭaṅ koḷ vaṇa mulai"*.[27] A necklace heaves up on the bosom—*"Vaṭam eṭutta koṅkai"*.[28]

The shoulders attract our attention. They are always compared with a bamboo. The comparison is more appropriate to the Mother since her shoulders are not only well shaped and rounded like the bamboo with joints, but are also green like the bamboo. Ārūrar speaks, therefore, only of *"Vēy"* or 'bamboo' as a comparison.[29] The word *'Paṇai'* is also used; it means the well grown and well rounded bamboo—*"Paṇai-t tōḷ"*.[30] This word itself suggests a contrast with the subtle waist—*"Nuṇṇēriṭai-p paṇai-t tōḷ"*.[31]

Bangles are the insignia of married or marriageable beauty. On the death of the husband, the bangles are broken.

17. 7: 52: 1.
18. 7: 84: 1.
19. 7: 16: 1.
20. *Tiruvācakam*—IV, 34: VI, 2.
21. 7: 76: 1
22. 7: 64: 3; 7: 70: 3.
23. 7: 25: 10.
24. 7: 39: 6.
25. 7: 28: 4.
26. 7: 62: 4.
27. 7: 89: 8.
28. 7: 6: 5.
29. 7: 2: 9; 7: 44: 5.
30. 7: 49: 8.
31. 7: 49: 8.

Ārūrar speaks of the Mother inseparable from Śiva as *"Nirai vaḷai maṭantai"*[32]—'the young lady of a row of bangles'. The bangles are on the wrist of the fore-arm—*"Vaḷai-k kai muṉ kai"*.[33]

As part of the organ, the bangles adorning is not mentioned elsewhere; the *'vaḷai'* in these places may be shoulderlets, armlets and wristlets. "The lady of the bangle" is almost her name as may be seen from its repetition.[34] Here the *'vaḷai'* is described as *"Kōl vaḷai"*; it may mean 'beautiful bangle or the rounded gold of bangle or bangle with lines of all patterns'. Her hands and the palms cannot be forgotten. Her soft fingers suggest the womanly game of ball. 'On her fingers fall the ball she plays'—*"Pantaṇavum virlalāḷ"*;[35] this describes the dynamic part of the game. The poet also refers to 'the static part when the ball is within her fingers'—*"Pantārum viralāḷ"*.[36]

IV

The mouth lights up the whole form. Is it not literally expressive? Mother's mouth with the lips, is soft, tender and ripe like the fruit; it is beautifully coloured like the red coral. The beauty of ripe softness and the ruddy hue are both found in one and the same place in the red fruit of the *'Coccinia indica'* (*Kovvai, Toṇṭai*). Mother's mouth and lips are this very fruit—*"Toṇṭai vāy."*[37] This comparison becomes of royal and imperial importance if once we remember, that the Pallavas, the rulers of Ārūrar's age, had their association with the creeper of *'Toṇṭai'* as this poet himself refers to *'Toṇṭaimāṉ'*.[38]

It is the smile that gives the beauty of the curve and the light of joy to the lip and the mouth. The smile flashes forth—the teeth are revealed as a new creation—'the teeth of jasmine or mullai' —*"Mullai paṭaitta nakai"*.[39] Again he refers to the *"Mullai muṟuval"*[40] or 'the smile of jasmine or jasmine of teeth'. There is the white radiation of the smile, 'the radiation of the white teeth shin-

32. 7: 64: 1.
33. 7: 57: 5.
34. 7: 30: 2; 7: 30: 4; 7: 30: 7; 7: 96: 8.
35. 7: 85: 4.
36. 7: 27: 5.
37. 7: 20: 4.
38. 7: 69: 10.
39. 7: 84: 5.
40. 7: 20: 5.

ing like the pearls—*"Muttaṉṉa veṇ muṟuval"*.[41] The teeth are not only like jasmine and pearls but also like the tender white of the quill or springing point of the peacock's feather—*"Kuruntāya muḷ eyiṟu"*.[42]

Words come forth; they are indeed very expressive and sweet, as mother's tender and loving speeches. There is no harshness; it is all tender and soft—*"Meṉ moḻiyāḷ"*.[42a] It is sweet like the very milk she nurses with —*"Pālaṉa"*.[43] It flows like a tune or *rāga* or *'paṇ'*; it is full of music—*"Paṇ ār moḻi"*;[44] its beauty or subtlety or straightforwardness of import is one better than the *'paṇ'* or music—*"Paṇṇiṉ ēr moḻi"* or *"Paṇṇiṉ nēr moḻi."*[45] Therefore, her words have vanquished the sweet musical flow of the flute—*"Kuḻalai veṉṟa"*.[46] Her sweet words, therefore, put the *yāḻ* to shame—*"Yāḻai-p paḻitaṉṉa moḻi"*.[47]

V

The look is much more expressive. The length and width of the eye are often exaggerated to suggest this expressiveness, that length of love and width of feeling. The very end of the eye—a mere glance—speaks of the Mother's pity and grace. It may be the tail end of the eye but the red and blue lines of the eye—the veins and capillaries—by their sudden changes reveal the rushing of feelings of love towards us. The eye is said to reach the ear —a mark of beauty and of sympathy. This represents the long look or the length of the eye. The widened look with all the eyes fully open represents a complete comprehension—a widening of joy with no shrinking or distortion of anger or sorrow. There is the calm coolness of the loving eye and tender look of the Mother. Her grace comes as far as we are concerned unexpected; the loving look comes like the flash of the sword, quivering with sympathy like the quick rolling fish.

Ārūrar speaks of all these expressions of the eye. He speaks of the 'long eye'—*"Neṭuṅkaṇ"*,[48] 'the very long eye'—*"Nīḻ*

41. 7: 85: 6.
42. 7: 30: 4.
42a. 7: 85: 9.
43. 7: 85: 9.
44. 7: 2: 6.
45. 7: 75 6.
46. 7: 12: 5.
47. 7: 71: 1.
48. 7: 5: 6.

neṭuṅkaṇ",[49] 'the long eyes with the lines'—"*Vari neṭuṅkaṇ.*"[50] He refers to 'the cool eyes like the rains or clouds'—"*Maḷai-k kaṇ*";[51] 'the eyes which brighten up and flash forth like swords'—"*Vāḷ neṭuṅkaṇ*";[52] "*Vāḷār kaṇ.*"[53] He describes 'the eyes of the motherly anxiety, swiftly moving like the fish'—"*Keṇṭaiyan taṭaṅkaṇ.*"[54] Ārūrar having in view this motherly anxiety calls Her, 'the very fawn'—"*Māṇ.*"[55] He speaks of Her eye also as fawnlike.[56] He speaks of the "*Viśālākṣī*"—of the wide eyes—the *lady of "taṭaṅkaṇ."*[57]

The poet speaks of "*Māḻai oṇ kaṇ.*"[58] '*Māḻai*' may mean 'youthful, beautiful or innocent'. The shining eyes of the ever young mother are youthful, beautiful and innocent. The Tamil Lexicon interprets this to mean 'a tender mango' or '*mā vaṭu*'. The tender mango when cut in twain suggests the form of the eye. The fish[59] (*keṇṭai*) also suggests the stream-lined-form with its tapering ends. The youth and freshness of beauty and colour suggest the '*kāvi*' flower—the red or blue water-lily, and our poet speaks of the Mother as '*Kāvīyaṅkaṇṇi*'[60]—the Lady of the lily eyes. In relation to wide eyes the practice of feeding the eyes with collyrium which darken the eyelids making them of wider darkness, intensifies the effect and makes the eyes appear much wider than they are. Ārūrar refers to this practice—"*Maiyār kaṇṇi*"[61] and he speaks of the collyrium especially in connection with "*Taṭaṅ kaṇ*"—"*Maiyār taṭaṅkaṇ.*"[62]

The forehead really gives shape and form to the eyes as well. People read their characters from the forehead. 'Mother's forehead beams up with light'—"*Oṇ nutal.*"[63] 'It is like the crescent moon'—

49. 7: 36: 5.
50. 7: 49: 8.
51. 7: 9: 9.
52. 7: 5: 6.
53. 7: 24: 2.
54. 7: 61: 4.
55. 7: 62: 4.
56. 7: 33: 4.
57. 7: 32: 5; 7: 41: 7; 7: 61: 4.
58. 7: 67: 3.
59. 7: 61: 4.
60. 7: 68: 3.
61. 7: 23: 9.
62. 7: 32: 5; 7: 41: 7.
63. 7: 89: 6.

"Piṟai nutal",[64] 'the eighth day crescent as others explain it'.[65] The eyes, the mouth, the forehead form the beauty of the face. Ārūrar, as all other poets of India, is struck with the sweet and striking resemblance of the blooming lotus with the beaming face blossoming into a smile—*"Paṅkaya mā mukattāḷ."*[66]

As a crown of it all, come the tresses of hair. According to the Tamil tradition, which Kampar has beautifully expressed in his immortal epic—the tresses of hair are a sign of chaste married life. It ought not to be touched except by the husband. Rāvaṇa in Kamparāmāyaṇam, therefore, does not carry Śītā by her tresses of hair as in Vālmīki. With the death of the husband the tresses of hair go.

The special word Ārūrar uses for the tresses of hair is *'Kuḻal'*. In all cases where the poet refers to the tresses, he uses this word nearly a dozen times.[67] It comes from a root, meaning 'curling'. This round tube-like formation of the tresses is not clear. In the sculptures of the Pallava age—Lakṣmī and Durgā at Māmallapuram and at Kailasanātha temple[68] have their tresses dressed in a peculiar way. Here, there is a top hat-like arrangement; the *'karaṇḍa makuṭa'* looks like a smooth wall of a hat; there is the fillet-like arrangement, in the form of a tube going round at the bottom of the *'makuṭa'*, all round. It reminds us of the *'vāsika bandha'*. The tube-like bottom reminds the name *'kuḻal'*. 'Mother's tresses are long and dark'—*"Vār iruṅkuḻal."*[69] The long tress is taken out as a strand or twist (*puri*), curled or wound spirally (*curi*) and fastened (*vari*)—*"Puri curi vari kuḻal"*;[70] *"Puri kuḻal"*;[71] *"Curi kuḻal."*[72] 'The tresses are well adorned with flowers'—*"Pūṅkuḻal"*;[73] *"Malar-k kuḻal."*[74] He mentions *'Kuravam'*, 'the bottle flower'—*"Kuravamarum kuḻal."*[75] He speaks of the

64. 7: 85: 8.
65. Puṟam., 118.
66. 7: 97: 7.
67. 7: 5: 6; 7: 15: 5; 7: 16: 1; 7: 20: 6; 7: 20: 7; 7: 26: 1; 7: 28: 4; 7: 48: 8; 7: 52: 7; 7: 72: 7; 7: 85: 1; 7: 85: 5.
68. Rea, Plate XXIX, XXX, XLV, fig. 1, XVI. LXXIV, figs. 4 and 5.
69. 7: 5: 6.
70. 7: 72: 7.
71. 7: 85: 1.
72. 7: 85: 5.
73. 7: 15: 5.
74. 7: 16: 1.
75. 7: 20: 6.

honey bubbling new flowers of *'koṉṟai'*, but in the particular context, it may be applicable to Śiva.[76] 'The flowers are full of honey'—*"Maṭṭār pūṅkuḻal"*[77] and therefore, 'the bees hum there'—*"Vaṇṭārum kuḻal"*.[78] *'Kuravam'* is said to blossom like a doll and therefore much liked by women. But more than the form, it is the fragrance of the flowers, for which they are preferred. 'The tresses themselves become full of the fresh fragrance'—*"Vampamarum kuḻal"*,[79] 'wafted all round'—*"Vampulām."*[80]

In one place, he gives the total effect of this dazzling beauty on his mental vision. The *'tribhaṅga'* and the resplendent beauty come as it were in a flash of light and he calls the mother, 'One, who is like the lightning'—*"Miṉṉaṉaiyāḷ."*[81]

VI

The words used by the poet for denoting the Mother as a woman are equally interesting. *"Peṇ"* in contrast with *"Āṇ"* is often used.[82] One who nurses and takes care of the husband and children is a *'Peṇ'* coming as it does from the root *'Pēṇ'*[83]—'to rear with love'. Tiruvaḷḷuvar has described the high water-mark of this conception *"Taṟkāttu-t taṟkoṇṭāṟ pēṇi-t takai cāṉṟa coṟkāttu-c cōrvilāḷ peṉ"*[84]—*'Peṇ* is one who protects herself, takes loving care of her husband, preserves the exellent reputation without any negligence or fatigue'.

Another ordinary word is *'Makaḷ'*.[85] It comes from the root *'Maka'* signifying childhood—a tender youth—from which it has assumed the significance of a daughter though the meaning of a wife also is found in *'Maṇimēkalai'*.[86]

In this significance of a daughter, the word *'Makaḷ'* is often used by Ārūrar in combination with *'Malai'* the mountain of

76. 7. 41: 1.
77. 7: 15: 5.
78. 7: 26: 1.
79. 7: 20: 7.
80. 7: 48: 8.
81. 7: 11: 6.
82. 7: 20: 3; 7: 31: 2; 7: 38: 7; 7: 86: 3.
83. *Tol., col.*, 338.
84. *Kuṟaḷ*, 56.
85. 7: 73: 1; 7: 76: 5; 7: 82: 4.
86. XXI: 30.

Himavān or the Himalayas as *"Malai makaḷ"*[87] *"Malaiyāṉ makaḷ"*,[88] *"Imavāṉ makaḷ"*[89] and *"Varaiyāṉ maṭamakaḷ."*[90]

'Maṭam' also means the conservatism, credulity and the firm hold of the feelings of women. *'Maṭavaral'* and *'Maṭavāḷ'* come from this root *'Maṭam'*; they are also used by our poet.[91] This root *'Maṭam'* is often compounded with *'Makaḷ'* as *'Maṭamakaḷ'*[92] and also with *'Mātu'* as *'Maṭa mātu'*.[93]

'Maṭantai' is a connected word.[94] This forms another group with words like *'Arivai'*[95] and *'Maṅkai'*.[96] Ārūrar is a contemporary of Cēramāṉ perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, the author of the First *Ulā*, which describes the members of the fair sex of various age following in love with the Lord, a beautiful expression of the truth of the souls of various stages of development thirsting for God. Members of the fair sex from age 5 to 40 are divided into seven groups according to their age. According to this convention which has taken a very deep root in later day Tamil literature, the words mentioned above have a definite meaning. *'Maṅkai'* is one between twelve and thirteen years of age—the age of marriage of those times. *"Maṭantai'* belongs to the next group between the ages of fourteen and nineteen. *'Arivai'* follows as being between twenty and twenty-five years. *'Pētai'* and *'petumpai'* are less than 12; *'Terivai'* and *Pēriḷampeṇ'* are above twenty-five and these words are not mentioned by Ārūrar probably because of their assuming such a restricted significance in his age as to suggest the usage in *'Ulā'* of Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ. But, since the Mother is ever said to be eternally young—never going beyond the age of marriage, the distinction made amidst the words *'arivai'*, *'maṭantai'* and *'maṅkai'* though growing to prominence as is evidenced by the *Āti Ulā*, could not have become crystallized. In this nebulous state of their usage, the poet must have thought, there is nothing im-

87. 7: 5: 6.
88. 7: 41: 1.
89. 7: 44: 2
90. 7: 73: 1.
91. 7: 9: 9; 7: 12: 5; 7: 49: 8.
92. 7: 73: 1.
93. 7: 82: 4.
94. 7: 41: 7; 7: 57: 4; 7: 64: 1.
95. 7: 72: 7.
96. 7: 1: 9; 7: 6: 8; 7: 15: 3; 7: 19: 3; 7: 22: 5; 7: 33: 4; 7: 62: 7; 7: 74: 10; 7: 75: 6; 7: 84: 4; 7: 85: 3; 7: 88: 3.

proper in using these words, even if there is the shadow of the new usage overhanging them, since they all refer to a young woman in the prime of her youth. This way we get an unexpected confirmation of the tradition of the contemporaneity of Cēramāṉ and Ārūrar. It must also be mentioned that Ārūrar's poems were composed long before the *Ulā*.

'Maṅkai' has a family likeness to *'Eṅkai'*, *'Taṅkai'*, *'Naṅkai'* and *'Nuṅkai'* but the original meaning cannot be definitely traced. *'Maṅkai'* is used with *'naṅkai'* as *"Maṅkai naṅkai."*[97]

'Naṅkai' means 'our sister', but the old prefix *'Na'* found in old terms like *'Nakkīrar'* has become *'Nam'*, signifying as of old 'great' as may be seen from such terms, *'Nampi'*, *'Nammāḻvār'*. *'Naṅkai'* is then the woman, the great heroine, the princess, here the Greatest of women, the divine Mother of all.[98] This is used not only with the *'maṅkai'*, as already shown, but also with *'Umai'* a usage which is very common in Ārūrar making it clear who the *'Naṅkai'* is. The phrase *"Umai naṅkai"* is of frequent use.[99] In the hymn[100] of Ēkāmparar of Conjīvaram, famous for the Mother's charity and domestic life, the word *'Naṅkai'* is significantly used. *'Kāmakkōṭṭam'* is the temple of the Mother. For the first time, a separate shrine was built in Conjīvaram, so much so, though *Kāmakkōṭṭam* is a common name of a shrine of *Dēvī*, Conjīvaram alone comes to the minds of Śaivites. It is because of this importance that *Dēvī* is described as *Naṅkai*.

'Maṭantai' is related to *'Maṭam'*.

'Arivai' connected with the root *'Ari'* meaning soft or tender, brings out the meaning of *"Melliyalāḷ"*, 'She of the softer or tender nature', of the weaker sex—a phrase also used by Ārūrar.[101]

VII

'Ēḻai' is another word used by Ārūrar.[102] It means 'the poor'. There is no question of poverty as far as the Mother is concerned,

97. 7: 10: 4; 7: 33: 4.
98. 7: 2: 9; 7: 10: 4; 7: 20: 2; 7: 20: 4.
99: 7: 2: 9; 7: 20: 2; 7: 20: 4; 7: 20: 6; 7: 49: 8; 7: 52: 7; 7: 61: 2; 7: 61: 4; 7: 61: 7; 7: 90: 10.
100. 7: 61.
101. 7: 84: 5; 7: 17: 3.
102. 7: 76: 9.

either intellectual or material. Poor man is a helpless man and it is this secondary sense of innate helplessness that is suggested by women, always demanding or relying on some support. Ārūrar uses this term in the phrase *"Ēḻai pākaṉ"*,[103] a phrase suggesting his being her prop of her side.

'Mātu'[104] and *'Mātar'*[105] are connected. The words ending in short *'U'*[106] at one stage of the development, had *'ar'* added; *'Paṇṭu'* becoming *'Paṇṭar'; 'Curumpu'* becoming *'Curumpar'. 'Mātu'* also accordingly becomes *'Mātar'*. An explanation may be offered. The pronunciation of the short *'u'* is difficult to be understood by foreigners and some pronouncing it more like a neutral *'a'* must have been responsible for these kinds of forms. Tolkāppiyar, however, speaks of *'Mātar'* as the basic form in his *'Uri iyal'*[107] and gives the meaning of love or *'Kātal'*. To trace *'Mātar'* to *'Mātru'* or to explain the *'ar'* as the epicene plural suffix used honorifically is not therefore necessary. *'Mātu'* means beauty and love, very well suited to describe the loving mother of all beauty. This word means also a daughter and as such it is used with *'malai'* as *"Malaiyiṉ mātu"*,[108] 'the daughter of the mountain'.

The idea of beauty is suggested by the word *'Kārikai'*, a sanskrit word used by Ārūrar,[109] but as old as *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in Tamil.[110] A variety of female angels are said to inflict human beings by their very beauty—*'Tākkaṇaṅku'*; the root *'aṇaṅku'* means to suffer. The bewitching beauty, with its shining effect, is expressed by this word *'Aṇaṅku'* used by Ārūrar.[111] In addition to this natural beauty, there is the grandeur of decoration of jewels and flowers and garments. This is referred to by the word *'Taiyal'*[112] and the connected form *'Taiyalāḷ'* with the feminine suffix[113] coming from the root *'Tai'* 'to make up'. Jewels are re-

103. 7: 76: 9.
104. 7: 6: 5; 7: 58: 1; 7: 68: 8; 7: 70: 8.
105. 7: 69: 3.
106. *Kuṟṟiyal ukaram.*
107. *Cutttiram,* 810.
108. 7: 58: 1.
109. 7: 45: 1.
110. *Kuṟaḷ,* 571.
111. 7: 63: 8.
112. 7: 12: 9.
113. 7: 5: 6.

ferred to in three compounds: *'Cēyiḻai'*,[114] *'Āyiḻai'*[115] and *'Ēntiḻai'*.[116] *'Iḻai'* is jewel. *'Cēyiḻai'* are red jewels or jewels of excellent art. *'Āyiḻai'* are either the beautiful jewels or the chosen jewels. *'Ēntiḻai'* are the jewels which she bears or which are prominent.

The purpose of art is to represent the ideal. To Plato, Nature is but a rough copy of the ideal; the Tamilians believed in this doctrine. *'Pāvai'* is a doll of perfect art and as such a young woman is spoken of as a doll. The Goddess of beauty, *Lakṣmī*, is *'Pāvai'*, par excellence—See *"Pāvai āṭal."*[117] Ārūrar also describes the Mother as *'Pāvai'*.[118] The word as having significance of a child is used with *'Malai'* or *'Varai'*—the mountain—the father of *Dēvī*, *"Malaippāvai,"*[119] *"Varaiyiṉ pāvai."*[120]

VIII

The two great names of the Mother as old as the *Vēdic* literature are *'Umā'* and *'Haimavatī'*. *'Umā'* means according to *Tāranātha Vācaspatīyam*, the *Lakṣmī* of Śiva. Kāḷidāsa states that the Mother got this name when she was entreated not to perform tapas. *'U' 'Mā'*—'You do not', i.e., 'Do not practise penance'. Ārūrar, true to this tradition as already mentioned, uses the term *"Umai naṅkai"* with reference to the Mother's form in Conjīvaram, where she is said to have performed tapas.

'Haimavatī' means the lady of the Mountain Himalayas; the daughter of Himavān. Curiously enough, Ārūrar uses only these two ancient names and their synonyms along with the word *Dēvī* made sacred in the *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas*. It means the Divinity in the female form; the crowned queen, a respectful title applied to a lady of first rank.[121]

The expression *"Umai naṅkai"* is also of frequent use.[122] We have already explained the importance of the phrase *"Umai*

114. 7: 89: 4.
115. 7: 9: 1.
116. 7: 85: 7.
117. *Cilap.*, VI, 61.
118. 7: 33: 1; 7: 40: 10; 7: 67: 9; 7: 85: 2; 7: 91: 3.
119. 7: 33: 1.
120. 7: 67: 9.
121. *'Umai'*—7: 10: 2; 7: 11: 1; 7: 20: 5; 7: 26: 1; 7: 26: 2; 7: 53: 2; 7: 55: 10; 7: 59: 9; 7: 85: 5; 7: 97: 4.
122. 7: 2: 9; 7: 20: 2; 7: 20: 4; 7: 20: 6; 7: 49: 8; 7: 52: 7; 7: 61: 2; 7: 61: 4; 7: 61: 7; 7: 90: 10.

naṅkai." *Dēvī* also implies the same idea of the greatest Goddess, the Queen of the Universe, the wife of the Lord.[123]

'*Haimavatī*' is "*Himavān makaḷ*", the daughter of Himavān;[124] "*Poṉ malai-k kōmāṉtaṉ pāvai*",[125] the daughter of the gold mountain, Himavān. The idea of the daughter of the mountain without mention of that proper name Himavān is variously expressed as "*Malaimakaḷ*",[126] "*Malaitaru malai makaḷ*",[127] "*Malaimaṅkai*",[128] "*Mā malai maṅkai*",[129] "*Malaiyāṉ makaḷ*",[130] "*Varaiyiṉ maṭa-makaḷ*",[131] "*Malaippāvai*",[132] "*Varaiyiṉ pāvai*",[133] "*Mā malaiyāḷ*",[134] "*Malaiyiṉ mātu*"[135] and "*Malaiyuṭaiyāḷ*".[136]

Pārvatī as meaning the daughter of Parvata, the mountain, appears in the form of '*Pārppati*' in Ārūrar.[137] The replacement of '*v*' by a double '*pp*' after an '*r*' is a usage of the Pallava and the early Cōḻa age as may be seen in the use of '*Paruppatam*' and '*Parppatam*' in *Tēvāram* and of '*Caruppatōpattiram*' by Amitacākaraṉār of the 10th century. Here we see a difference; the ban on the use of an '*r*' after the short syllable vowel as '*ar*' '*ir*'[138] seems to have been effective in the early Cōḻa age, which, therefore, inserts one '*u*' after the '*r*' (*Carva—Caruppa*) but it does not seem to have been effective in the *Tēvāram* age as is proved by the words '*Uḻitarvar*' in Appar, '*Parppatam*' in Ārūrar.[139] Therefore, the form '*Pārppati*' is helpful in describing a particular development of the Tamil language in *Tēvāram* age.

123. 7: 40: 10.
124. 7: 44: 2.
125. 7: 40: 10.
126. 7: 5: 6; 7: 15: 5; 7: 44: 5; 7: 58: 8; 7: 76: 5.
127. 7: 58: 8:
128. 7: 4: 5; 7: 10: 4; 7: 15: 3; 7: 33: 4; 7: 38: 5; 7: 54: 8; 7: 98: 2.
129. 7: 84: 4.
130. 7: 41: 1; 7: 82: 4.
131. 7: 73: 1.
132. 7: 33: 1.
133. 7: 67: 9.
134. 7: 88: 1.
135. 7: 58: 1.
136. 7: 19: 7.
137. 7: 45: 2.
138. *Tol., Cuttirams*, 49 and 50.
139. 7: 79: 1-10.

IX

In describing Śiva in relation to the Mother, Ārūrar speaks of him as the Lord—*'Talaivā.'*[140] This does not signify any lordship over her. It is a term known to *Tolkāppiyam* and *Caṅkam* literature emphasising the fact that in the theme of love, the hero and the heroine of equal greatness are the topmost man and woman, in all respects—the chiefs. It is in this sense this term *'Talaivaṉ'* in relation to *'Talaivi'* is used. *'Kōṉ'* means a king, and this term also is used by Ārūrar.[141] In describing a king—here the king of all creation—the Tamil tradition from the Caṅkam age is to refer to him as 'the husband of the chaste wife'. The queen thus seems to play an important role. Therefore, Ārūrar also speaks of Śiva as the king of *'Umā'*. *'Perumāṉār'* from the root *'Per'* or *'Peru'* (great) means the great Lord and is used in the same significance in the term *"Oṉṉutali Perumāṉār."*[142]

'Kaṇavaṉ' from *'kaṇ'* (eye) connoting the eye of the heroine is the ordinary term for a husband. Ārūrar speaks of the Lord as *"Malaimakaḷ kaṇavan."*[143] There is another term for the husband *'Maṇāḷaṉ*[144] from *'maṇam'* (marriage) connoting the bridegroom. The original meaning of *'maṇam'* is fragrance; and marriage seems to make the flower of the bride and bridegroom bloom into fragrance—they come from the time of their union to shed their light on the surrounding world.

Ārūrar's description of the Lord as 'the bridegroom of the doll of the mountain',—*"Varaiyiṉ pāvai maṇāḷaṉ"*[145]—a fitting way to describe the coy bride, and as the bridegroom of the young lady of the mountain with armlets and wristlets—a suggestion of bridal decoration—reminds us of the *Kalyāṇa Sundara mūrti* described in *Uttarakāmika Āgama, Pūrva Kāraṇa Āgama* and *Aṁśumadbhēda Āgama.* Śiva and Pārvatī, the principal figures in this form face the east. Viṣṇu performing the giving away of the bride to the bridegroom, stands between them in the background with a pot ready to pour out the water; his consorts stand behind the bride. Brahma, as the priest, is seated before the fire. In the

140. 7: 24: 5.
141. 7: 55: 10.
142. 7: 89: 6.
143. 7: 58: 8.
144. 7: 57: 5; 7: 67: 9.
145. 7: 67: 9.

background are assembled the pleased and happy gods. Śiva stands firm on His left or right leg whilst He rests the other on the ground slightly bent. Of the front arms, the right arm is held out to receive the bride whilst the left is held in *'varada'* pose, the back arms holding the axe on the right and the deer on the left. He is in three bends with three eyes, *Jaṭāmakuṭa,* crescent moon, *paraśu, kēyūra, udarabandha* and girdle. He is young. To His left, or according to some to His right, stands Pārvatī, with her head slightly bent and shy, but fully adorned, draped in silk, holding a blue water lily or *'nīla* flower' in her left hand, and stretching out the right arm to hold Śiva's. She is as high as Śiva's eyes or chin, shoulder or chest. She is a well developed young maiden with two eyes and two arms. The forms and proportions of other figures in the scene are also described. Mēnakā and Himavān, according to some authority are substituted for Viṣṇu, and Lakṣmī as the giver of the bride, though Viṣṇu is present with the other Dēvas.

X

If there is not the background of the marriage scene, this is only Śiva and Pārvatī standing in the form called *Umāsahita Candraśēkhara mūrti.*

If Śiva is alone without Umā, we get the *Samabhaṅga kēvala Candraśēkhara mūrti* with four hands, according to *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama,* holding the *'ṭaṅka'* and a deer in the back two arms and holding the front arms in *'varada'* and *'abhaya'* poses, with three eyes, with a *'jaṭāmakuṭa'* adorned with the crescent moon, wearing *'pītāmbara'* with the ends coming down as far as the knees and bigger folds passing between the two legs. According to *Uttara Kamīkāgama,* Śiva stands adorned with all ornaments on a *'padma pīṭha'* with curls of hair hanging at the back as far as the ear and the *jaṭā* hanging on the right and left as far as the shoulders; on the right ear is *'ratna kuṇḍala', 'śaṅkhapatra'* or *'padma patra',* whilst on the left ear is *'makara kuṇḍala', 'śiṁha-kuṇḍala'* or *'patra kuṇḍala'.* If this figure carries *śūla* (trident) and rosary or *kapāla* (skull) instead of *'ṭaṅka'* and *'mṛga',* it is *Pāśupata mūrti,* prescribed by the *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama* for *nityōtsava* or daily worship. Śiva in the so-called Arjuna penance sculpture comes very near this description. *Dēvī* stands in this form by Śiva's side on the same *'piṭah'* or on a separate pedestal.

If Śiva is found embracing Umā, that represents what the *Āgamas* call *'Āliṅgana mūrti'*. Ārūrar speaks of Śiva as *"Puri nūlar, puṇar mulai Umaiyavaḷōṭu maruvaṉār"*[146]—'He is with the *'yajñōpavīta'*.[147] He is with *Umā* embracing her'.[148] This suggests the *Āliṅgana mūrti*. There is also a much more direct reference, *"Pulki iṭattil vaittāy"*[149]—'You have embraced her and placed her on your left'. The *Āgamas* describe this form where Śiva's right arm rests on the left side below Pārvatī's breast and is placed upon her left arm. Umā keeps a lotus on a *'nīlōtpala'* flower in her right hand, or embraces Śiva with it, when the left hand holds the flower. Or, both Śiva and *Umā* are in mutual embrace, one embracing the other with the left and the other embracing with the right hand. These are all standing figures.

If Śiva is seated we have the *Sukhāsana mūrti* when alone, the *Umāsahita mūrti* when seated with *Uma*, the *Umamahēśvara mūrti* when Śiva and Uma are found embracing each other, and the *Sōmāskanda mūrti* when Skanda is between the seated *Śiva* and *Umā*.

In the *Sukhāsana* form, Śiva is seated on a *'bhadra pīṭah'* with His left leg, according to *Śilaparatna*, and right leg according to *Pūrva kāraṇāgama*, bent and resting upon the seat and the other leg hanging below it, and has *yajñōpavīta, jaṭāmakuṭa* with ornaments, three eyes, four arms, the back arms holding the axe and the deer, the front being kept in *'varada'* and *'abhaya'* or *'siṁhakaraṇa'* pose. In the right ear, there is *'makara kuṇḍala'* or *'siṁha kuṇḍala'* whilst in the left ear is *'patra kuṇḍala'* or *'vṛtta kuṇḍala'*.

In the *Umāsahita* form, Umā with two hands, the right hand holding a *'padma'* or *'utpala'*, the left either in *'Siṁhakaraṇa'* or *'varada'* pose or resting straight on the seat, is seated on the same seat and within the same *'prabhāmaṇḍala'* by Śiva's side on His left, facing Him and with her left leg hanging down the seat and bent, whilst the right leg is resting on the seat.

In the *Somāśkanda mūrti*, one faced Śkanda, with no clothes but with *'karaṇḍa makuṭa'*, *'nakra kuṇḍala'*, *'channa vīra'*, waist zone and bracelets, is in between Śiva and Umā, dancing, or stand-

146. 7: 76: 1.
147. The significance of this is explained in the chapter on Dakṣa.
148. 7: 76: 1.
149. 7: 20: 4.

ing or sitting on the seat or on the lap of his mother. When dancing, the child holds a fruit in the left hand or keeps it stretched out, whilst the right is in *sūci* pose; when standing, it holds in its right hand a lotus with the left hanging down or both hands hold lotus flower or it holds a book in the right hand, whilst the left is kept in *'varada'* or *'simhakaraṇa'* pose. According to *Kāraṇāgama,* Brahma and Viṣṇu stand on either sides with their consorts.

The embracing form is *Umāmahēśvara. Viṣṇudharmōttara* and *Rūpamaṇḍana* give a description of this form. According to *Rūpamaṇḍana,* Śiva has four hands, holding trident, a *'mātuḷa'* fruit[150] on the right, whilst on the left, He holds a snake with one hand and embraces Umā with the other. There are the bull, Gaṇapati, Skanda and the dancing *Bhṛngin.* In *Viṣṇudharmōttara,* Śiva has two arms, the left embracing Uma's left shoulder, the right holding a *'nīlōtpala'.* Umā embraces Śiva's right shoulder and holds a mirror in her left hand.

XI

Coming to the age of Ārūrar's sculpture, we have adopted from Rea, the following description of the panels in which the Mother figures. In this the *'Mahiṣāsura mardanī'* forms have been omitted to be mentioned.

"In the interior of the small (East) court in the North-east corner is a stone with a well carved figure of Śiva seated on a bull; He holds a trident and a *nāga* on the right hands. On the right of the panel containing Pārvatī and the lion, is the small shrine with seated figures of Śiva and Pārvatī".

In describing the Sculptures on the series of cells on the four sides of the large court beginning with those immediately to the South of the Mahēndravarma shrine on the East side of the court and numbering in succession round the South, West, and North, and North half of the East side, Rea describes :

"No. 1 cell has panelled seated figures of Śiva, Pārvatī and child.

Space between Nos. 1 and 2—Śiva and Pārvatī.
No. 2—Same as No. 1.
Space between Nos. 2 and 3—Same as No. 1.

150. *Pomegranate.*

No. 3. Same.

Space between No. 3 and South-east corner recess, same. Space between the South-east corner recess and No. 4 cell has Pārvatī seated under a banyan tree; one large and two small elephants are on the left side. A *yōgi* sits, with his knees bound, on the back of the large animal. A female attendant is on the right.

No. 4 cell has Pārvatī and the lion. In this panel, an additional *gandharva* figure stands on the left.[151]

The space between Nos. 4 and 5 has the usual panel of Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between Nos. 5 and 6—Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 6—Pārvatī under a tree with a female chaurie bearer on each upper side of the panel; two figures and a kneeling worshipper are on each lower side.[152]

Between Nos. 6 and 7—Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between 7 and 8—Pārvatī seated under a tree; a deer is on her left, and two are underneath; a bird, probably a peacock, is on a branch of the tree; a female attendant is on her right.

Between Nos. 8 and 9—Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between Nos. 9 and 10—Pārvatī under a tree; a female attendant is on her right and a *yōgi* on her left; beneath the last are three bulls with long curved horns.

Between Nos. 10 and 11—Pārvatī under a tree, attendant, bird and two elephants.

Between 11 and 12—Śiva and Pārvatī.[153]

Between 12 and 13—Pārvatī and attendants, birds and two elephants.

Between 13 and 14—Same as between 12 and 13.

Between 14 and 15—Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between 15 and 16—Pārvatī with an attendant on her left; two elephants and a bird on her right.

Between 16 and 17—Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between 17 and 18—Śiva armed with a large club—and his wife Pārvatī.

151. See Plate No. XXXII, fig. 1.
152. Pl. No. XXXIII, fig. 5.
153. Pl. No. XXXIII, fig. 31.

Between 18 and 19—Pārvatī stands, with two figures on each side. On the west side of this space are two representations of Brahma—one kneeling, and the other standing; over are two *gandharvas.*

No. 23—Śiva—with Pārvatī standing by his side, supports and places in his hair Gaṅga.[154]

Between No. 23 and South-west corner cell—Śiva and Pārvatī with five attendants.

Returning along the inner west side of the Court and continuing from the south-west corner, the first space between the corner cell and No. 24 has—on the back—Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 24—Śivā, Pārvati and child.

Between Nos. 24 and 25—Śiva and Pārvatī, with attendants.

No. 25—Śiva and Pārvatī, with attendants, one of whom seems to be Brahma.

Between Nos. 25 and 26—Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 26—Śiva and Pārvatī with attendants.

Between Nos. 26 and 27—Śiva and Pārvatī with attendants.

Between Nos. 28 and 29—Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 29—Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between Nos. 29 and 30—Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 30—Śiva and Pārvatī, with child and umbrella over.

Between Nos. 30 and 31—Śiva and Pārvatī, with umbrella over.

No. 31—Śiva and Pārvatī and child and umbrella.

Between Nos. 31 and 32—Śiva and Pārvatī, with umbrella.

No. 32—Śiva, Pārvatī, child, and umbrella.

Between No. 32 and North-west corner—Śiva, Pārvatī, child, and umbrella.

Returning along the North side, the space between the North-west corner recess, and No. 33, has the usual panel of Śiva and Pārvatī seated.

Between Nos. 33 and 34—Pārvatī under a tree, with attendant and chaurie.

154. Pl. No. CXXIII, fig. 2.

No. 34—Śiva and Pārvatī seated by the side of pillar.[155]

Between Nos. 34 and 35—Pārvatī holding a parrot; an attendant is behind, and two elephants underneath.

On the right side between 35 and 36 is a panel with Pārvatī under a tree and chaurie bearer on each side.

Between 37 and 38—Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 38—Śiva as a *yōgi*, seated with Pārvatī; two *gandharvas* support the pedestal on which they sit. Brahma sits on the left of the panel and aids in supporting the pedestal. Another figure, over Brahma, sits with hands crossed in contemplation.[156]

Between Nos. 38 and 39—Pārvatī playing on a *vīṇā;* a parrot is on the left side; attendant with chaurie on the right and two elephants underneath.

No. 39—Śiva and Pārvatī attended by two servants and a *gandharva.*[157]

Between 39 and 40—Pārvatī, holding in her left hand a flower, on which sits a parrot; an attendant is on her right and a figure sits cross-legged under.

No. 40—Śiva and Pārvatī, and three attendants, supported on a lotus by Brahma.[158]

Between Nos. 40 and 41—Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 41—Śiva, Pārvatī and two attendants supported on a lotus by Viṣṇu. Śiva has Brahma's head placed on the top of his own. An attendant of Viṣṇu stands by holding his conch and chakra.[159]

Between 41 and 42—Pārvatī, with attendant, parrot and two elephants.

No. 42—Śiva with Pārvatī on his right. On the right of Pārvatī are an attendant and *gandharva.* A female figure, probably *Gaṅgā,* stands on Śiva's left hand. On the same side are *Sūrya,* Brahma and a female with umbrella over.[160]

Between 42 and 43—Pārvatī, attendant and two deer under a tree.

155. Plate No. XXXIX, fig. 4.
156. Pl. No. XLI, fig. 2.
157. Pl. No. CXXIII, fig. 4.
158. Pl. No. CXXIII, fig. 5.
159. Pl. No. XLII, fig. 1.
160. Pl. No. XLII, fig. 2.

No. 43—Śiva and Pārvatī with two *gandharvas* and two attendants.[161]

Between Nos. 43 and 44—Śiva and Pārvatī, a halo—in plaster—is over Śiva's head.

Between Nos. 44 and 45—Pārvatī, attendant, bird and two elephants.

No. 45—Śiva and Pārvatī seated; under, are two attendants—one standing and the other kneeling. A *gandharva* on the under side of Śiva's right, holds a mace, which extends up, and supports a *yāḷi* bearing a lotus, over which is a *gandharva* with a halo.[162]

Between 45 and 46—Pārvatī, attendant, bird and two deer.

No. 46—Śiva stands with his left foot raised, and resting on a pedestal; He holds a musical instrument across His body. Two devotees, one with knotted hair and the other bearded—stand on his left. Two bulls are seen—on the left of Śiva—ascending the sky, with Śiva and Pārvatī on each.[163]

Between Nos. 46 and 47—Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between 47 and 48—Pārvatī with an attendant; a *yōgi* is underneath.

No. 48—Śiva, with Pārvatī placing Gaṅgā on his head. A kneeling devotee supports another, who with unlifted hands is adoring Śiva.[164]

Between Nos. 48 and 49—Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 49—Śiva, Pārvatī and child; Brahma and Viṣṇu, with *gandharvas* under worshipping the triad.[165]

Between Nos. 49 and 50—Pārvatī, attendant, bird and bull.

Between Nos. 50 and 51—Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between Nos. 51 and 52—Pārvatī, attendant, elephant and bird.

Returning along the east side, from the north-east corner, the first space between that corner and No. 53 has a back panel with Śiva and Pārvatī; also another with Śiva on left side.

No. 53—Śiva and Pārvatī.

161. Pl. No. XXXIX, fig. 3.
162. Pl. No. XLIII, fig. 1.
163. Pl. No. XLIII, fig. 2.
164. Pl. No. XLIV, fig. 2.
165. Plate No. XLV, fig. 1.

Space between Nos. 53 and 54—Śiva and Pārvatī.
No. 54—Śiva and Pārvatī.
Between 54 and 55—Śiva and Pārvatī.
No. 55—Śiva and Pārvatī.[166]

In the *Mahāmaṇḍapam,* the large left panel on the South elevation has Pārvatī seated with a noose in her right hand and a lotus bud in her left.

The north side of the same *maṇḍapam* has—in the large right panel—Pārvatī seated with two attendants on her right; and on her left are a bird, and lamp bearers.

Ardhamaṇḍapam

On the back interior wall of the shrine, is a panel with seated figures of Śiva, Pārvatī and child.

On the south exterior side of this shrine is four armed Śiva with Pārvatī.

On the south exterior wall of the central shrine, and in the space between the south-east corner shrine and that on the middle of the south side, are a six armed Śiva and Pārvatī, seated with their feet on *Vyādhi,* the god of sickness.

On the left side of the same recess is the entrance to the shrine on the centre of the south facade of the *'vimāna'.* In the shrine—on the back—is Śiva seated with his left foot on a *gandharva;* the platform on which he sits is supported by two *yāḷi* pillars. Brahma and Viṣṇu are in attendance, worshipping.

On the left interior side is Śiva, in bridegroom's dress—seated on a bull, with attendants; a *gandharva* leads the animal.

On the right side of the shrine is Pārvatī seated on a pedestal supported by a *yāḷi* on the left, and two *gandharvas.* She is shown dressed as a bride. The two panels seemingly represent the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.[167]

On the north wall of the *'Vimāna',* in the recess between the north-west corner shrine and on the centre of the north face are Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva has eight arms, and various symbols, including noose, bow and umbrella.

166. Plate No. XXXI.
167. Plate No. LI also shows Pārvatī; Plate LIX also.

In the panel on the back interior is Śiva supported by *gandharvas* and *yāḷis*.

On the north exterior side of the shrine at the north-east corner of the *'vimāna'*, are Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva has four arms and rests one foot on a lotus. Two of his hands hold the elephant's skin over his crown.

In this wherever Śiva and Pārvatī and the child are mentioned, it is the *Sōmāskanda mūrta*. If Śiva and Pārvatī alone are found, it is the *Umāsahita mūrta*. In some, Pārvatī is not found in the company of Śiva; in many cases the descriptions suggest that these forms are referring to Pārvatī, performing tapas or penance. The repetitions of these forms are very significant.

XII

In Conjīvaram, according to *Tantras*, Kāmākṣi is the supreme principle of the Universe. Ārūrar in one place, refers to the Mother, all the characteristics of Śiva, even as we find in Cilappatikāram: *"Cāntamāka veṇṇīṟu pūci veṇparṟalai kalaṇā vēynta veṇ piṟaik kaṇṇitaṇṇaiyor pākam vaittukantīr."*[168] 'You are great in placing on one side, her, who is adorned with the laurel of a crescent and with the jewels of the white toothed skulls, besmearing her body with white ashes as a fragrant paste.' This reference to white ash will explain another description of Śiva, as besmearing along with her, the ashes on the chest—*"Tuṭi iṭai naṉ maṭavāḷoṭu mārpil poṭi aṇivār."*[169] This may be better understood in the light of another description where the poet speaks of the Mother as inseparable from his broad chest adorned with the garlands—*"Koṉṟait tāriruṇtaṭa mārpu niṅkāt taiyalāḷ."*[170]

Conjīvaram is considered to be the seat of the Mother–'Kāmakkōṭṭam—that which was established by her for saving the world in the ancient city of Conjīvaram of the cloud covered big groves—the Mother who is inseparable from your wide chest of honey bubbling garlands'—*"Tārīṟun taṭa mārpu nīṅkāt taiyalāḷ ulakuyya vaitta kārirum poḻiṟ kacci mūtūr Kāmakkōṭṭam"*.[170a] 'The Mother is said to cook for doing all kinds of charity in every

168. 7: 49: 9.
169. 7: 11: 5.
170. 7: 5: 6.
170a. 7: 5: 6.

city'.[171] The story of the *tapas* and worship of the Mother at Conjīvaram is mentioned in every verse of the Ēkampam hymn.[172] This story of the tapas and worship of the Mother is given in some detail in verse No. 10 of this hymn. *"Eḷkaliṉṟi imaiyavar kōṇai īcaṇāi vaḷipāṭu ceyvāḷpōl uḷḷattuḷki ukantumai naṅkai vaḷipaṭac ceṉṟu niṉṟavā kaṇṭu vellaṅ kāṭṭi veruṭṭiṭa añci veruvi yōṭit taḻuva veḷippaṭṭa kaḷḷak kampaṇai eṅkaḷ pirāṇaik kāṇak kaṇ aṭiyēṉ peṟṟavāṟē."* 'She did not slight Him—no negligence was shown to the Lord of the gods, *Īśa*, the God. As though she was worshipping Him (outwardly) she concentrated on Him mentally with great joy. The Lord went and stood and saw it all. (To test her), He (remaining invisible) made the flood appear (as though rushing on her) and frightened her. In fear and fright, she ran and embraced (the *liṅga*). The thief of a *Kampaṉ* manifested Himself there. Ah! what a grace I am blessed with an eye to see Him?' —This is *'Taḻuvakkuḻainta vaṭivam'*—the form of embrace.[173]

The poet further says: 'The Lord saw the penance of her; He understood through and through her characteristic features. He conferred on her all that she aspired for; He married her.'[174]

Appar has referred to the Mother worshipping there at Conjīvaram.[175] Campantar refers to the river there.[176] But the phrase *Kāmakkōṭṭam* is not used in literature earlier than Ārūrar's. Slowly the importance of Umā at Conjīvaram had been growing probably due to the *Tāntric* influence both Hindu and Buddhist. How this name *Kāmakkōṭṭam* came into use is not clear. One of the mutts of Śaṅkarācārya goes by the name of *Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha* Mutt; if Ārūrar's reference is earlier, *Kāmakōṭi* must be another form of *Kāmakkōṭṭam*. *Kōṭṭam* is a temple as is explained by Aṭiyārkkunallār, the commentator on Cilappatikāram.[177]

Kāma, which is the name of Cupid, does not refer to him in this phrase *Kāmakkōṭṭam*. Temples were in existence, where *Kāma* was worshipped in *Caṅkam* age. *"Kāmavēḷ kōṭṭam"* is spoken of in Cilappatikāram;[178] the two tanks attached to this temple are

171. 7: 43: 9.
172. 7: 61: 1-10.
173. 7: 61: 10.
174. 7: 16: 1.
175. 5: 47: 2.
176. 2: 12: 5.
177. *Kunavāyil kōttam—Pāyiram*, line 1.
178. IX: 60.

spoken of as *"Iru Kāmattiṇai ēri"* in *Paṭṭiṇappālai.*[179] There is no reference whatever to Cupid in relation to Conjīvaram, to lead us to conclude that what was originally a Cupid's temple, later on came to be converted into a temple of the Mother, though it must be noted that the form of the Mother now found holds the sugar-cane bow and the flower arrows in its hands even as Cupid holds them. Therefore, the word *'Kāma'* continues a puzzle. But, we are aware of temples being known after the patron and builders, as *Mayēntirappaḷḷi* named after Mahēndra. This sends us on an enquiry to find any king of the name *Kāma* and we know that one of the titles of Rājasiṁha was *'Atyantakāmah'* found inscribed on some of the *rathas* of Māmallapuram. Can it be that *Kāmakkōṭṭam* came to be named after this renovator of the temple? In the absence of a more definite evidence, such as an inscription in the temple, this can remain only a suggestion.

But the fact that almost all the panels in the Kailāsanātha Temple bring out the influence or importance of the Mother except a few striking exceptions shows Rājasiṁha's devotion to the Mother. From the numbers omitted on the above extract from Rea, one can form a view of the proportion between the panels in which the Mother figures and those on which she does not.

XIII

The *Sōmāskanda mūrta* may be taken up for consideration. It is one of the clues conclusively proving that any one temple where this figure occupies the panel behind the *Liṅga* belongs to Rājasiṁha's age. In the Ēkampam temple the *liṅga* is not fluted like those of Rājasiṁha's age; it is said to be very ancient having been sung by Appar and Campantar belonging to an earlier period. But there is a panel behind the *liṅga* in the *Garbagṛha* containing the sculpture of this *Sōmāskanda mūrta,* revealing the hand of Rājasiṁha as a renovator of the temple.

The *Sōmāskanda mūrta* is found in Māmallapuram as well. Longhurst gives a representation in Plate XVI, C.[180] *Rea* in addition to the descriptions already extracted, gives a few plates in which this form is found.[181] Śiva has four hands with His right

179. l. 139.
180. *Pallava Architecture,* Vol. II.
181. Plate XLV, fig. 1, is one.

leg bent and resting on the pedestal whilst the left leg hangs down. The child is there perhaps sitting on the lap of the mother. The mother has only two hands; the left hand is resting straight on the pedestal and the left leg is hanging. Viṣṇu is on the left of Śiva whilst Brahma is on the right. With reference to the presence of Viṣṇu and Brahma in the *Umāsahita Sukhāsana* form and in *Sōmāskanda* form, it may be stated that the original *Trimūrti* shrines when Śiva's worship assumes importance are thus reduced to these forms with the old Brahma and Viṣṇu continuing to be present on both the sides. We see this change gradually taking place at Māmallapuram. Ārūrar, when he speaks of the Lord coming to Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr, speaks of Viṣṇu and Brahma being there with Him along with the inseparable Pārvatī—"*Vaiyakam muḻutuṇṭa Māloṭu nāṉmukaṉum....Pāvaiyōṭum uṭaṉē....pōnta aticayam aṟiyēṉē*".[182]

Plate LII, fig. 1 is from the Tripurāntakēśvara Temple. The *Abhaya* pose of the right front arm is clear. The child is on the mother's lap and the mother is embracing it with the right arm. Otherwise, this is like the Plate XLV. Plate LII, fig. 3 gives a *pañcaloha* image of *Sōmāskanda,* perhaps of a later age. The axe, the deer, abhaya and varada are there in the hands. The right leg is hanging down. The child is separately shown between Śiva and Pārvatī in a dancing posture.

Plate XCVI is from the Mataṅgēśvara Temple. Śiva is resting his hanging left leg on a stout figure. Pārvatī is resting her left hanging leg on a head. The *makuṭa* is there for Skanda. He is holding something in both the hands. The crown of the Mother is different from what it is in Plate XLV. Viṣṇu and Brahma are also there. Śiva seems to be holding a snake in his upper right hand, which is curling up its head near His thigh.

Plate CIV, fig. 1, is from the Muktēśvara temple. The hanging legs of Śiva and Pārvatī are on a pedestal. Pārvatī is seated slightly lower down. *Yāḷis* are below the pedestal, suggesting the idea of *Siṁhāsana.* There are umbrellas both above Śiva and Pārvatī. Brahma and Viṣṇu are there. Plate CXVII, of *Sōmāskanda mūrti,* is from the Airāvatēśvara temple.

182. 7: 85: 2.

Ārūrar speaks always of Pārvatī and Śiva being together. In ten places he refers to Śiva as the father of Muruka[183] and at least two places he speaks of Pārvatī as his mother.[184] These references taken together describe the *Sōmāśkanda mūrti*. *Umā sahita mūrti* without Skanda is like the *Sōmāskanda mūrti* above described. It is found in Plate XXXIX, fig. 3. The back right arm of Śiva probably holds a rosary. *Ibid.*, fig. 4 also is an *Umāsahita mūrti* (probably *Caṇḍēśā anugraha mūrti*). Śiva is resting his right front hand straight on the pedestal. The left leg is kept downwards and lifted up vertically to rest on the pedestal. The right leg is hanging down. The left front arm is resting on the raised up leg. Both the legs of Pārvatī are hanging down. Her right arm is resting on the pedestal straight. Plate XLI, fig. 2 gives another *Umāsahita mūrti*. Śiva sits cross legged with the left leg hanging and the right leg going over it. There is a rosary in the right back arm. The left leg of Pārvatī is hanging down. Brahma is perhaps performing *pūjā*. In Plate XLII, Rea gives another *Umāsahita mūrti*. The right leg of Śiva hangs down and the foot rests on a pedestal and the left is crossed over it. The right leg of Pārvatī hangs with its foot resting on a pedestal, whilst the left leg is bent downwards and kept vertically on the pedestal. Śiva has four hands and Pārvatī two. Viṣṇu is worshipping with lotus. Plate XLIII, fig. 1 gives another *Umāsahita mūrti*. The front right arm of Śiva rests on his thigh. Pārvatī is not resting her hand straight on the pedestal.

Plate LV, fig. 1 gives Pārvatī and Śiva standing as in *Umāsahita Candraśēkhara* form. We suggested this may be *Tripurāntaka*.

Plate LVII is also an *Umāsahita mūrti* but this is *Gajāha mūrti*. Plate LIX is also an *Umāsahita mūrti* but this is *Gaṅgādhara*. Plate XCVII, fig. 1 (to our right side) is another *Umāsahita mūrti*. It is unique inasmuch as Pārvatī is on the right side of Śiva, as mentioned in some *Āgamas*. This sculpture is from the Muktēśvara temple.

Coming to the Age of Rāja Rāja, we find the *Umāsahita mūrti* about which the epigraphist writes as follows: "In the group *Umā-*

183. 7: 5: 2; 7: 16; 7: 18: 6; 7: 38: 8: 7: 58: 3: 7: 59: 10; 7: 63: 2; 7: 64: 6; 7: 68: 7; 7: 83: 5

184. 7: 46: 9; 7: 62: 4.

sahitar described in No. 32,[185] the God and Goddess are separate images seated together and accompanied by a standing image of Subrahmaṇya and one of Gaṇapati. The donor was a certain *Vēḷāṉ Āditтaṉ* alias Parāntaka Pallavaraiyaṉ. This group is probably the same as that now known under the name *Umā Mahēśvara,* though in the latter Subrahmaṇya and Gaṇapati do not generally figure:

Hēmādri's description of *Umā Mahēśvara mūrti* is as follows:

"Yugmam strī puruṣam kāryam umēṣau divyarūpiṇau
Aṣṭavaktram tu dēvēśam jaṭācandrārdhabhūṣitam;
Dvipāṇīm Dvibhujām dēvīm sumadhyām supayōdharām
Vāmapāṇiṁtu dēvasya dēvyāh skandhē niyōjayēt:
Dakṣiṇaṁtu karam śambhōrutpalēna vibhūṣitam
Dēvyāstu dakṣiṇam pāṇim skandhē dēvasya kalpayēt
Vāmapāṇau tathā dēvyā darpaṇam dāpayēndubham."

In the *Kāraṇāgama,* under *Saparivār-Omamahēśvara-dhyānā* occurs the following:

"Vāmē śailasutā purastu vṛṣabhah paścātsurēndrādayō
Daityāriśca vidhiśca pārśvadalayōrvāyvādikōnēṣu ca
Bhṛṅgīnāradabāṇabhairavagajāsyaskandavīrēśvarā
Madhyē śubrahsarōjakōmaḷaruca śambhum bhajē
pāṇḍuram."

In his *Bṛhatsamhita,*[186] Varāhamihira describes Śiva as follows:

"Śambhoh śirasīndukalā vṛṣadhvajōakṣi ca tṛtīyamapi
cōrdhvam
Śūlam dhanuh pināka vāmārdhē vā girisutārdham."

This was perhaps the commencement of the worship of the deity in its feminine aspect.

There is also the *Kalyāṇasundara mūrti* in Plate XLII, fig. 2, though Rea does not describe it as such. Only two hands of Śiva are seen. Pārvatī has only two hands. There is an umbrella over the crown of Pārvatī and a bigger one over Śiva. Brahma is standing on Śiva's left. He is said to be the officiating priest.

185. *S.I.I.,* Vol. II.
186. Chapter XI, verse 43.

Pārvatī is to the right of Śiva; she is in the act of placing the right foot forward to the left. Śiva is taking or holding her right hand into, and with, His right hand. His feet are oriented towards the left. Probably it represents *"Saptapadī"* part of the ceremony of marriage after *pāṇi-grahaṇa,* the walking seven steps together. In between Śiva and Brahma is seen a head with a halo; Rea identifies it as the Sun. It may be Viṣṇu, the halo being there to show his importance. On the right of Pārvatī is a woman standing with the right hand on the hip and left raised up to the crown. On the left of Brahama is a man with a crown, necklace, armlets and ear-rings. These last two are probably Mēna and Himavān. There is a *Gaṇa* at the left hand corner coming up to the knee of Pārvatī. The marriage represented in two opposite panels found in the *Ardha maṇḍapa* has already been mentioned.

Coming to the later ages, we find the inscription,[187] recording that before the 29th year of the reign of Rājarājadēva, his queen Trailōkyamahādēvi set up copper images of Śiva called *Kalyāṇasundara,* of his wife *Umāparamēśvarī,* and of the two gods Viṣṇu and Brahman, who were represented as worshipping the first image and that she presented a number of ornaments to the first two images. An inscription of the 10th year of the reign of Rājēndra Cōḷadēva,[188] refers to these two images of *Kalyāṇasundara* and his wife as having been set up by *Trailōkyamāhādēvi,* the consort of Rājarājadēva.

The name *Kalyāṇasundara* means, *'Sundara'* preparing himself for the marriage. The group consisted of the god Śiva with four arms. Close to Him was His consort *Umāparamēśvarī.* An image of God Viṣṇu with four arms was pouring water into the hands of the God Śiva, and Brahma was confortably seated offering oblation. This is the usual representation of the marriage of the God *Sundarēśvara* of Madura with the goddess *Mīnākṣi.*

Of *Kalyāṇasundara* also called *Vaivāhikamūrti* the following description is given in the *Kāraṇāgama* :—

"Sindūrābham triṇētram yugabhujasahitam hārakēyūrabhūṣam
Divyair vastrairvṛtāṅgam varakatakalasaddhēmakalhārabhūṣam

187. No. 48 of the *S.I.I.,* Vol. II.
188. No. 11.

Śambhum dakṣiṇapārvatīkaratalam savyēna saṅgṛhvatam
Ṭaṅkam kṛṣṇamṛgam dharam varakaram cūḍhēndu-
baddhādaram.
Jaṭāmakuṭasaṁyuktam candrārdhakṛtabhūṣaṇam
Ṭryakṣam caturbhujam namasyē navayauvanagarvitam
Samabhaṅgayutam dēvasthānakam samprakīrtitam
Kuñcitam savyapādēna sthitasavyētaranghrikam".

XIV

To continue Ārūrar's reference to Śiva in relation to Pārvatī, our poet describes Śiva being supremely happy with Pārvatī. *'Makiḻṇaṉ'* is a term for lover, coming from the root *'Makiḻ'* to be happy, like an intoxicated man. Ārūrar uses verbal forms *'makiḻvāṉ'*,[189] and *'makiḻnta'*.[190] *Śṛṅgāra rasa* is made to correspond in Tamil to *'Uvakai'* or happiness and Ārūrar uses the verbal form *'Uvantīr'*.[191] There is a connected word *'Ukantīr'*[192] which also has a suggestion of happiness but the basic meaning according to Tolkāppiyam is, 'You become great with her'. Śiva is also said to be seated at rest with Pārvatī, suggesting liking or propriety in the combination—*'Amarntavaṉ'*.[193] This suggests the Sukhāsana idea. *'Mēvum Īcaṉ'*[194] is another term. It may mean *'Īśa* who likes' or *'Īśa* who reaches or attains her or who is by her side'. He also speaks of *"Uṭaṉ .... mēyavaṉ"*.[195] The Lord is all love for her—*"Parivuṭaiyār"*.[196] *'Parivu'* is pity also; it may be referring to His becoming manifest when she became frightened. He loved her so much that when she was the daughter of a mountain, He became the man of the mountain country, that in His culture—*"Virumpiya māyamil māmalai nāṭaṇākiya māṇpaṉ."*[197] He is equally possessed of her love all to Himself along with her form.[198]

"Uṭaṉ uṟai vāḻkkai" is a favourite phrase with the ancient poets.[199] It is domestic life of not only co-operative partnership of

189. 7: 23: 9.
190. 7: 19: 3.
191. 7: 9: 9.
192. 7: 49: 8.
193. 7: 12: 9; 7: 20: 7; 7: 27: 5; 7: 28: 4; 7: 32: 6; 7: 48: 8.
194. 7: 62: 7.
195. 7: 24: 10.
196. 7: 11: 1.
197. 7: 44: 5.
198. 7: 38: 5.
199. *Maṇimēkalai*, II, 47.

man and woman but also of actual physical inseparability. This has been the dream of women in this Tamil land; they want to realize their dream at least in their next birth. In the ideal representation of Śiva and Pārvatī, the dream is found realized and Ārūrar speaks of *'Malai makaḷ uṭaṉuṟai vāḻkkai'*,[200] as an important sign of Śiva's divinity, thus hinting at the indispensable *Umāsahāyatva* aspect of Godhead spoken of in the Upaniṣads.

XV

There are three terms used which seem to be all connected at first sight: *'Pākaṉ'*, *'Paṅkaṉ'* and *'Kūṟaṉ'*. *'Kūṟu'* is a division, or a share. *'Paṅku'* is *'paku'* with nunnation and means a share. *'Pāka'*, if derived from *Bhāga*, means also a share or a moiety. It may also be taken as a form of 'Pāṅkaṉ' — a partner, a friend. Pākaṉ means one who drives the elephant and therefore one who drives any animal; Ārūrar has used the term *'Viṭaiyiṉ pākaṉ'*;[201] in punning on this word he makes the Lord *'Pāka* of the bull' and Pārvatī and Viṣṇu, as their leader or as being by their side: *'Paṭamāṭum pāmpaṇaiyāṉukkum pāvai nallāḷ taṉakkum vaṭamāṭum māl viṭai ēṟṟukkum pākaṉ'*.[202] But the term *'Pāṅkaṉ'* and *'Pākaṉ'* are explained sometimes, as is shown in the Tamil Lexicon, as, 'One who is by the side of'. They become merely the name of the part of any place like *"Orupāl"*;[203] See *"Kaṇṇi paṅkā"*, *"Umai paṅkā"*, *"Maṅkai paṅkā"*, *"Maṅkai paṅkiṇaṉ"*, *"Naṅkai paṅkā"*, *"Maṭantai paṇkā"*, *"Āyiḻai paṅkiṇar"*, *"Pāvai paṅkaṉ"*, *"Or paṅkuṭaiyīr"*.[204]

"Kaṇṇi paṅkā";[205] *"Pāvai paṅkaṉ"*;[206] *"Umai paṅkā"*;[207] *"Maṅkai paṅkā"*;[208] *"Maṭantai paṅkā"*;[209] *"Umai naṅkai Paṅkā"*;[210]

200. 7: 76: 5.
201. 7: 84: 7.
202. 7: 17: 9.
203. 7: 84: 5.
204. 7: 1: 9; 7: 2: 6; 7: 2: 9; 7: 15: 3; 7: 15: 6; 7: 19: 1; 7: 20: 5; 7: 20: 6; 7: 24: 2; 7: 27: 4; 7: 32: 5; 7: 41: 7; 7: 42: 4; 7: 52: 1; 7: 52: 7; 7: 68: 3; 7: 68: 5; 7: 71: 1; 7: 75: 6; 7: 90: 10; 7: 97: 7.
205. 7: 24: 2; 7: 27: 4; 7: 32: 5; 7: 68: 3.
206. 7: 91: 3.
207. 7: 90: 10; 7: 97: 7.
208. 7: 1: 9; 7: 15: 3; 7: 15: 6.
209. 7: 41: 7.
210. 7: 52: 7.

"Ōr Paṅkuṭaiyāy"[211]—all these use the word *'Paṅku'* in various forms and combinations. It is the idea of *"Uṭaṉuṟai vāḻkkai"* that is conveyed by these terms. This meaning of being by his side is strengthened by such usage as "Paṅkiṉil taṅka",[212] 'whilst she rests in one part' necessarily meaning 'one side' because of the force of the word 'rests'. In view of the idea of *Ardhanārīśvara* form the meaning of sharing the body, in other places, may not be absurd and at least in one place there can be no other meaning — *"Paṅkam ceyta Maṭavāḷ"*.[213] The verb 'ceyta', 'who did or effected' rejects any other meaning. 'The youthful damsel who has effected a partition (of your body)' — this is the meaning of the phrase.

'Pākaṉ' is the next word. Ārūrar speaks of *'Ōr pākam'*,[214] *"Oru pākam"*,[215] *"Oru pākā"*,[216] or *"Pākaṃ vaittukantāṉ"*,[217] *"Pākam amaṛntavaṉ"* or *'amarntu'*,[218] *"Oru pākam vaittār* or *vaittu"*,[219] *"Aṇaṅkoru pākam vaittu"*,[220] *"Ēḻai pākaṉ"*,[221] *"Umai pākaṉ"*,[222] *"Kōḷ vaḷaiyāḷai ōr pākamāy"*,[223] *"Pākam"*,[224] and *"Pākaṉ"*.[225] Even here the suggestion of *Ardhanārīśvara* is not inappropriate.

That form alone should have been intended in a few places: *"Tirumēṉi viḷaṅka ōr taṉṉamar pākamatākiya"*,[226] — 'The one part (of his body) which He likes, He has made it shine with the divine form of the lightning-like Lady'; *"Peṇ pākam orupāl ceytāṉ"*.[227] — 'He made one part of the body the share of the woman'; *"Tēvi.... pāvaiyākat taṉaturuvam orupākam cērttuvitta Perumāṉ"*.[228] 'The

211. 7: 20: 2; 7: 42: 4.
212. 7: 10: 4.
213. 7: 80: 5.
214. 7: 6: 5; 7: 9: 9; 7: 11: 1; 7: 19: 3; 7: 96: 8
215. 7: 20: 7; 7: 28: 4; 7: 40: 10; 7: 63: 8.
216. 7: 70: 3.
217. 7: 86: 8.
218. 7: 12: 9; 7: 27: 5; 7: 32: 6; 7: 48: 8.
219. 7: 19: 7; 7: 49: 9.
220. 7: 63: 8.
221. 7: 76: 9.
222. 7: 26: 1.
223. 7: 96: 8.
224. 7: 6: 8; 7: 84: 1; 7: 88: 3; 7: 89: 5.
225. 7: 57: 4.
226. 7: 11: 6.
227. 7: 38: 7.
228. 7: 40: 10.

doll of the mountain is His consort; in His form in one part the Lord has made her in Him combine'; *"Iṟaivar Umai ōroru pākam peṇ āṇ āvar"*,[229]—'He becomes along with Umā one part woman, one part man'. *"Umaiyāḷai oru pākattaṭakkiṉāṉ"*[230] — 'One who made Umā to fit into one part (of His body)'. In all these cases there can be no doubt that it is the *Ardhanārīśvara* form that is described.

Even as Ārūrar speaks of *"Pākam koṇṭa"*, and *"Paṅku kōṇṭa"* he speaks of *"Ōr pāl koṇṭa"*, *"Ōr pāl koṇṭa maṇi"*[231] and *"Ōr pāl makiḻntu"*,[232] suggesting that the Mother is on one side. But in *"Orupāl mōkam mikuttu ilakum kūṟu cey apparicu"*[233] — 'That characteristic feature of the Lord according to which the Mother partitions and takes away the shining part as hers' — the reference can only be the *Ardhanārīśvara* form.

This is because of the force of the word 'Kūṟu' or share used therein. In all places where this word is used there can be no doubt about the poet describing the *Ardhanārīśvara form*. In *"Ōr kūṟaṇām"*,[234] *"Ōr kūṟaṇ"*,[235] *"Ōr kūṟutaiyāṉ* or *Kūṟuṭaiyāy"*,[236] *"Kūṟaṉṟi-k kūṟuvatillaiyō"*,[237] *'Kūṟaṇ'*,[238] *'Kūṟukantu'*[239] and *'Kūṟamarntu'*,[240] it is clear the reference is to Śiva partitioning the body between Himself and Pārvatī, with all His heart and as an important act.[241] This is made clear by another reference that the moiety of the body is the partitioned share of the lady — *"Pāti mātu oru kūṟuṭaiyāṉ"*.[242] Our poet is looking upon this as a great ideal — Fatherhood and Motherhood of God as embodied in one form — and he speaks of Śiva as holding to this as His divine principle of one bearing up with this partition — the divine ideal

229. 7: 53: 2.
230. 7: 59: 9.
231. 7: 58: 1.
232. 7: 72: 7.
233. 7: 84: 5.
234. 7: 12: 5.
235. 7: 64: 9.
236. 7: 22: 5; 7: 23: 8; 7: 26: 2.
237. 7: 44: 2.
238. 7: 83: 7.
239. 7: 74: 10.
240. 7: 25: 4.
241. 7: 74: 10.
242. 7: 70: 8.

or observance or a characteristic feature of this divinity or pride — *"Kūṟu taṅkiya koḷkaiyiṉāṉ"*.[243]

XVI

There are other descriptions which clearly bring out the conception of the unity of Fatherhood and Motherhood of God: 'You have placed the woman in one half of your body' — *"Pāti ōr peṇṇai vaittāy"*.[244] In what part of the body she was placed is stated in other verses: *"Iṭattil vaittāy"*[245] — 'You have placed her on the left side'; *"Mātiṉukku uṭampu iṭam koṭuttāṉ"*[246] — 'He gave a place on the left portion for the woman in His body'; *"Maṭamātu iṭam ākattavaḷ"*,[247]—'The young damsel is on the left in His body'; *"Ākam koṇṭār"*,[248]—'He took her within His body'; *"Ākattamarntaruḷi"*,[249]— 'He was pleased with her being in His body';— thus He showered His grace. The poet speaks of the Lord of the man and woman form: *"Peṇ āṇ āya pirāṉ"*;[250] *"Peṇ āṉ āvār"*.[251] The Lord dances in this form with the *'tōṭu'* or *'patra'* or woman's ear-ring inserted in one ear and *'kuḷai'* or *'kuṇḍala'* or man's ear-ring swinging on the other: *"Tōṭu peytu oru kāṭiṉil kuḷai tūṅka ..... āṭumāṟu vallār"*.[252] There is another form of God, 'the *Bhikṣāṭana mūrti*' which symbolizing God's wandering in love for the souls is of special significance to the Śaivites. Ārūrar imagines that God goes wandering in this 'Man-woman form' — *"Nīḷ netuṅ kaṇṇiṇāḷoṭum kūṟar"*,[253] 'with the anklet of heroism jingling on one leg and the anklet of woman-hood on the other' — *"Kaccēr aravoṉṟu araiyil acaittuk kaḻalum cilampum kalikkap palikkeṉṟu uccam pōtā ūrūr tiriya"*.[254] Here on one side is the gold and silk garment of the Mother; on the other side is the skin garment of the Father. Thus He roams about: *"Tukilōṭu poṉ tōluṭuttu uḻalvāṉē"*.[255] There is another description:

243. 7: 64: 1.
244. 7: 20: 3.
245. 7: 20: 4.
246. 7: 68: 8.
247. 7: 82: 4.
248. 7: 17: 3.
249. 7: 26: 9.
250. 7: 86: 3.
251. 7: 53: 2.
252. 7: 87: 1.
253. 7: 36: 5.
254. 7: 41: 2.
255. 7: 29: 9.

"Kuṟṟamil taṉ aṭiyār kūṟum icaip paricum
kōcikamum araiyil kōvaṇamum ataḷum
mal tikaḷ tiṇ puyamum mārpiṭai nīṟu tutai
māmalai maṅkai Umai cēr cuvaṭum pukaḻak
kaṟṟaṇavum paravik kaitoḻal eṉṟu kolō":[256]

'The music or the fame sung by His faultless devotees — the silk (of the Mother), the loin cloth and the skin at the waist (of the Father), the strong wrestling like strong and good looking shoulder, the mark of the Lady Uma's embrace or part in the chest, full of the sacred ash — these when shall I praise repeating what all I have learnt for praising and when shall I worship them ?'

There are 131 references to Lord Śiva being one with Umā, the Mother Goddess. Śiva is always found inseparable in the representations with the Mother Goddess. The *Pūrvakāraṇagama*, however, states in the representation of *Bhikṣāṭana, Kaṅkāla, Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, Kāmāntaka, Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and *Sukhāsana* forms, the Mother Goddess should not be represented, whereas, in all other aspects, she should be found near Śiva. But Ñāṉacampantar makes the Mother inseparable in almost all the representations as may be seen from his famous *'Kōḷaṟu Tiruppatikam'*.[257] Probably he is following the tradition of the Tamil land that beautifully expressed in the invocatory verse to Kalittokai, where the activities of God are shown to be inspired by His Śakti or the Mother Goddess keeping the time for His various dances of activity — *Koṭukoṭṭi, Pāṇṭaraṅkam* and *Kāpālam*. The sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple seem to agree with this.

Ārūrar is not so very clear about this question but perhaps the juxtaposition of the terms, *"Malai maṅkai maṇāḷaṉ māraṉār uṭal nīṟeḻac ceṟṟut tuḷaitta aṅkattōṭu tūmalarkoṉṟai tōlum nūlum tutainta varai mārpaṉ"*[258] may be interpreted as referring this inseparable aspect mentioned in the verse of *'Kōḷaṟu Tiruppatikam'* in this very representation.

What is therefore more important is the *Ardhanārīśvara* form which Māṇickavācakar calls the most ancient form: *'Toṉmaik-*

256. 7: 84: 4.
257. 4: 85.
258. 7: 57: 5.

kōlam'.[259] The invocatory verse to *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* refers to this form: *"Nīla mēṉi vāliḻai pākattu oruvaṉ irutāḷ niḻaṟ kīḻ mūvakai ulakum mukiḻttaṉa muṟaiyē"*.

It is the firm conviction of these poets as is stated in this very verse that the creation and the multiplication of the species is due to this form. The Vēdas refer to the one principle desirous of becoming many for starting the creation. In many places we find the usual description of Śiva being made the description of Śakti as well. Even this *Ardhanārīśvara* form is found thus transferred. The Goddess of Madura is identified with the Mother Goddess by the closing *veṇpā* of *Aḷarpaṭu kātai* of Cilappatikāram and she is described in the opening lines of the next *kātai*,[260] as an *Ardhanārī* :

"Iṭamaruṅku iruṇṭa nīlam āyiṇum
Valamaruṅku poṉṉiṟam puraiyum mēṉiyāḷ
Iṭakkai polampūṇ tāmarai ēntiṇum
Valakkai añcuṭark koṭuvāḷ piṭittōḷ
Valakkāl puṉaikaḻal kaṭṭiṇum iṭakkāl
Taṉiccilampu araṟṟum takaimaiyaḷ".[261]

The *Śivapurāṇa* gives its own version of this form. Brahma begot the *Prajāpatis* but they were not able to create the world and its beings. Thereupon, the creator meditated on *Mahēśvara*, the Great Lord, who appeared to him in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, reminding the creator thereby the necessity for the female principle in creation.

XVII

There is another story, where, when the Ṛṣi Bhṛṅgin went round Śiva alone in his worship, whereupon, the Mother Goddess prayed to God for being united with His own body, so as to prevent any worshipper neglecting her. Almost all the *Āgamas* and other works on sculpture give a detailed description of this image. The right half is male and the left half is female and therefore the right half has a *jaṭāmakuṭa* with the crescent moon; the right ear has a *kuṇḍala;* the right half of the forehead has one half of an eye; the whole of the right side is adorned with

259. *Tirukōttumpi in Tiruvācakam*—V. 18.
260. *Kaṭṭurai kātai.*
261. *Cilap.*, XXIII: 5-10.

ornaments peculiar to Śiva and the garment should cover the body below the loins only up to the knee, the garment being the tiger's skin or silk. On the right part of the chest there is the *'nāka yajñōpavīta'*. There is the serpent as *yajñōpavīta* and a girdle of snake on the right side of the loins. The right half is besmeared with ashes.

Coming to the left side, there is the *'Karaṇḍamakuṭa'* (*Koṇṭai*) and a half *'tilaka'*. The left eye is painted with collyrium and the left ear wears a *'vālika'*. The parrot perches upon the wrist. There is one bosom on the left and there are ornaments fit for women. This half is smeared with saffron and draped in coloured silk saree up to the ankles. The garment may be of white silk also and is held tight by three girdles. There is the left anklet and the left foot is tinged red with henna (*marutōṉṟi*). If there are four hands, the two on the right keep the *abhaya* pose and the *'paraśu'*, or the *varada* pose and the trident, or the *abhaya* pose and *taṅka* (*tuṭi*) or the trident and the *akṣamālā*. In some cases, one arm is bent resting on the bull, while the other keeps the *abhaya* pose. Of the left two arms, one is bent and resting on the bull, whilst the other, is let down hanging, or, hold the blue lily or the blue lotus.

If there are only two arms, the right, is the *varada* pose, or, holds a skull, whilst the left either is let down hanging, or, keeps a mirror or a parrot or a flower, or, rests on the head of the bull. The *Āgamas* also contemplate three arms, when there is only one on the left side, holding a flower or a mirror or a parrot, adorned with armlets, wristlets, bangles and other ornaments. This reference to the three arms is important because of the *Ardhanārīśvara* sculpture found in the Kailāsanātha Temple at Kāñcīpuram. It has three arms; the front right hand is holding a trident by its lower end while the back fore-arm on the right is raised up to the *jaṭāmakuṭa* and is holding a cobra by its tail whilst the cobra hangs down lifting up its hood near the hand holding the trident. The left hand on the Mother's side holds a *'vīṇā'* and its elbow rests upon the sitting bull. Whereas the *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama,* the *Kāmikāgama,* the *Suprabhēdāgama,* the *Śilparatṉa* and the *Kāraṇāgama* insist upon this image being in a standing posture, this sculpture represents as a seated form. In this sculpture, the *'vīṇā'* takes the place of the usual parrot. Ārūrar as already stated refers to this form as *"Peṇ āṇ āya pirāṉ"*.[262]

262. 7: 86: 3.

Ardhanārīśvara form is represented in *Dharmarāja ratha* of Māmallapuram. This form is found even in Jāva and the Eastern Archipelago, where the inscriptions explain that in this form Śakti and Śiva are conceived as essentially one and the same.

XVIII

An image of *Ardhanārīśvara* was set up by Kṛṣṇan Rāman.[263] The note of the Epigraphists is as follows: The image is often met with, among the sculptures of Śiva temples in Southern India, and is partly male and partly female. In one of the niches of the north wall of the central shrine of the Tanjore temple, there is a figure of *Ardhanārīśvara*. This differs from the group described in No. 39, there being a bull in the former close to which the figure is standing. A later representation of *Ardhanārīśvara* in the Madura temple has no bull. In the group set up by *Kṛṣṇaṇ Rāmaṇ* and the sculpture on the north wall of the central shrine the *Īśvara* half has two arms and the *Umā* half only a single arm. In the Madura sculpture each of them has two arms. *Hēmādri* in the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvargacintāmaṇi* describes the figure of *Ardhanārīśvara* as having four arms:

"Ardham dēvasya nārī tu kartavyā śubhalakṣaṇā
Ardhamtu puruṣah kāryah sarvalakṣanabhūṣitah;
Īśvarārddhē jatājūṭam karttavyam candrabhūṣitam
Umārddhē tilakam kāryyam sīmantamalakam tathā;
Bhasmōddhūḷitamarddham tu arddham kuṅkumabhūṣitam
Nāgōpavītinam cārddhamarddham hāravibhūṣitam;
Vāmārddhē tu stanam kuryyāt ghānam pīnam suvarttulam
Umārddhē tu prakarttavyam suvasttrēṇa ca vēṣṭitam;
Mēkhalām dāpayēttatra vaiṛavaiḍūryyabhūṣitām
Ūrddhvaliṅgam mahēśārddham sarpamēkhalamaṇḍitam;
Pādañca dēvadēvasya samapadmōparisthitam
Śālakttakam smṛtam vāmamañjanēṇa vibhūṣitam;
Triśūlamakṣasūtramca bhujayōh savyayōh smṛtam
Darpaṇamcōtpalam kāryyam bhujayōrapasavyayōh."

The group set up by Rājarāja's general was made of copper but the *Umā*-half was coated with brass. Closely connected with

263. *S.I.I.*, Vol. 11, No. 39.

this group is No. 47 which records the setting up of an image of *Bhriṅgīśa* with 3 arms and 3 legs by *Kōvaṇ Aṇṇāmalai alias Kēralāntaka Virupparaiyaṇ*. It was the exclusive devotion of *Bhriṅgīśa* to the god Śiva that led Pārvatī to seek union with her consort in the form *Ardhanārīśvara*.

XIX

Harihara :

The *Harihara* form may be taken as a variant of this form. The Mother Goddess represents the *Prakṛti* whilst Śiva represents the *Puruṣa*. The *Liṅga* and *Āvuṭaiyal* represent the same principle. Viṣṇu is the Lord of the Prakṛti according to the Śaiva Siddhānta. The Mother Goddess is addressed as the sister of Viṣṇu—"*Mālavaṛkiḷaṅkiḷai*",[264] and she holds the conch and wheel like Viṣṇu.[265] That is why Viṣṇu is substituted in the place of Mother Goddess.

Vāmanapurāṇa narrates a story where Viṣṇu preaching to a Ṛṣi as identified with Śiva manifested Himself to the sage in the dual aspect of *Harihara*. The structure representing this form is the Śiva half as in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form. The *Vaiṣṇava* half has two arms carrying the *cakra* or *saṅkha* or the *gadā* in one hand, the other holding the *kaṭaka* pose near the thigh. There is a *kirīṭa* (crown) set with precious stones and ear ornament shaped like a *makara*. Wristlets and armlets adorn the arms. There is an anklet, shaped like a snake, which is probably '*kaḻal*' worn as a sign of victory by warriors of Tamil land. Yellow silk garment held in position by girdles flows from the waist up to the ankles.

During the period of the first *Aḻvārs* there has been an attempt at harmonising Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Pēyāḻvār in describing the figure of the Lord on the Tiruppati hills sings of this Harihara form :[266] "The descending *jaṭā*, the tall crown, the shining axe and the discus, the encircling serpent and the gold waist-band are seen. So my Lord of the sacred mountain surrounded by over-flowing streamlets himself appears thus uniting in himself both the forms". Poykaiyāḻvār describes this form in his

264. *Cilap.*, 12: 68.
265. *Cilap.*, 12: 108.
266. *Third Tiruvantāti*, 63.

Antāti (First 5): "His name is Hara and Nārāyaṇa (Haranarāyaṇa). His conveyance, the bull and the bird. His words, the book (*Āgamas*) and the *Vēdas*. His residence, the Mountain and the Waters (Sea). His activity, destruction and protection. He holds the spear and the discus. His colour is of the fire and the cloud. His form is one".

The last statement leaves no doubt that the Aḻvār is describing the *Śaṅkaranarāyaṇa* form for which there must have been many temples all through the country like the one which exists even today in *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇar* kōil in the South.

The Eastern Islands to which the Tamilians carried their own culture and civilization developed in those foreign lands at Cambodia and elsewhere the peculiar Harihara cult; this is an echo of the songs of the First Aḻvārs.

Harihara image in the form of the Javanese king *Krīṭarāja* is found in East Java. An inscription of the Sāka year 561,[267] throws a flood of light on this new development or harmony about which we do not have much of evidence left in the Tamil Country except the few verses quoted above. As the period corresponds to the age of Ārūrar, this information is important for understanding our *Tēvāram* poets. "Victorious are Hara and Acyuta who have become one for the good of the world though as the spouses of Pārvatī and Srī, they are two distinct powers. Victorious also is Īśānavarmaṇ found especially for his heroism who supports the earth like Seṣanāga". The Muni Īśānadatta celebrated for his austerities, his life devoted to poverty and study, of the offspring of an illustrious family has consecrated this image in which the bodies of Śiva and Acyuta are joined half and half for the welfare of his parents. He has also consecrated a Liṅga of Viṣṇu and of *Īśāna Caṇḍēśvara*, his decision being that their worship should be combined by participation in the same offering". The name *Īśāṅa* is peculiar to the Śaiva sects. In this inscription we see the king and his priest taking interest in the cult of Harihara. This harmonized form of the God-head is called *Śiva-Viṣṇu, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Śambhuviṣṇu, Hariśaṅkara, Har-Acyuta.* This inscription is important because it attempts at making the *Liṅgam* itself as a representation of Śiva and Viṣṇu. We do not have this development preserved in South India, but since the *Āvuṭaiyāḷ* in

267. 639 A.D.

the Śiva liṅga form is said to represent the Śakti or *Prakṛti*, it may be said to represent Viṣṇu as well.

Ārūrar refers to this Harihara form in two places.[268] In both the places he jointly refers to the *Ardhanārīśvara* and *Harihara* form, thereby suggesting that both are one and the same. Referring to the sculptures of the Pallava age, we find in the Dharmarāja Ratha not only the *Ardhanārīśvara* form already noted but also the *Harihara* form.

268. 7: 17: 9; 7: 87: 5.

CHAPTER IV

ṚṢABHĀRŪḌHA MŪRTI

I

The *Brāhmaṇi* bull is sacred to the Indian from the times of Mohenjadaro and Harappa civilization. Śiva is seen to ride on the sacred bull. Perhaps the term, "Pacuvukantēri,"[1] implies that He is the Lord of the sacrifice. His flag also is the sacred bull. Ārūrar mentions at least in seven places the sacred bull which has by his time become the sacred flag of the Imperial Pallavas.[2] In all, there are 102 references to the *Brāhmaṇi* bull in Ārūrar's hymns.

II

From the age of the *Caṅkam* onwards, the sacred bull has become endearing to the Śaivite poets.[3]

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār sings the mighty prowess of this bull[4] and in her *Tiruviraṭṭai Maṇimālai*,[5] she jocularly asks, "Is there nothing else to ride upon for this God?" Ārūrar himself speaks of the bridegroom on the bull which is prattling like a child thus emphasising its childish innocence — *"Maḻalai ēṟṟu maṇāḷaṉ"*.[6] It will be seen that it forms the very foundation and support of God-head. Sometimes, it is looked upon as the pure white Dharma. In other places it is the pure white knowledge represented by the *Vēdas*.[7] Again the Omnipresent Viṣṇu, the personal aspect of the Absolute inasmuch as the incarnation of the impersonal Śiva, is looked upon as this very bull — *"Māl viṭai"*.[8]

The form of Śiva as riding on the bull is so sacred to the Śaivite worshippers that among the ten days' festivals in any Śiva temple, the festival usually on the fifth day, when the image of

1. 7: 75: 6.
2. 7: 7: 3; 7: 10: 7; 7: 27: 1; 7: 33: 1; 7: 47: 6; 7: 82: 8; 7: 91: 6.
3. *Puṟanānūṟu*: 56:1.
4. *Arputa-t tiruvantāti*: 100.
5. V. 18.
6. 7: 12: 5.
7. 7: 57: 3.
8. 7: 70: 1.

Śiva, seated upon the bull and carried round the street in procession, is held the most sacred.

Periapurāṇam tells us that God Śiva appeared to many of the Saints as riding on this bull.[9]

III

In this form of *Ṛṣabhārūḍha mūrti*, Śiva with three eyes and *jaṭāmakuṭa* stands on His straight right leg whilst the left is slightly bent. He has four arms: in the back arms, he carries the hatchet on the right and the deer on the left; the front right arm holds a *'vakra daṇḍa'*—a crooked stick. The front left fore-arm rests on the head of the bull in the *paṭāka hasta* pose.[10] On the left, stands Gowrī.[11] The bull stands behind Śiva as high as the chest or the thigh, the navel or the fore-leg.[12]

Ṛṣabhārūḍha mūrti is what Ārūrar calls "Erutēru mūrti".[13]

Queen Sōramahādēvi set up an image of *Ṛṣabhavāhanadēva* with the goddess Umāparamēśvari and a bull.[14] The Epigraphist writes as follows: "The God Gaṇapati appears to have been a member of the group though he is not found in the usual representation of *Ṛṣabhārūḍha mūrti*.

"According to one of the Śaiva legends, it was the God Viṣṇu himself that became a bull (*ṛṣabha*) for Śiva to ride upon when the latter had to fight against the demon Tripura. In one of the sculptures of the Seven Pagodas,[15] there is a representation of *Ṛṣabhavāhanadēva*. Here Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on a couch each of them resting one of the legs on the back of a bull which is lying down. Pārvatī has Subrahmaṇya on her knee. Behind them is seen a figure of the God Viṣṇu to the right and one of Brahma to the left. Behind the bull is seated a woman. A parasol is held over the head of Pārvatī. It is not impossible that this group represents the usual *Sōmāskanda* in which, as the name denotes, the images of Śiva, Umā (*Pārvatī*) and Skanda appear. The bull, however, is not generally seen in representations of *Sōmāskanda*".

9. *Taṭut.*, 66; *Ilaiyāṉ.*, 25; *Māṇakkañcāṟar*, 33 etc.
10. *Uttara kāmikāgama*: 62: 1-3.
11. *ibid.*, 12.
12. *ibid.*, 13-14.
13. 7: 64: 3.
14. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 46.
15. *Cave temples of India*, p. 147.

IV

The poet has used almost all the synonyms of the word bull in Tamil. It is only an analysis of his poems that reveals this truth, showing no conscious effort on his part. The exigencies of versification alone cannot explain this; the imaginative effort at choosing the correct poetic word for the context is also there, a choice made possible by his command of the Tamil Language.

In 10 places, he uses the phrase *"Māl viṭai"*[16] for, according to the *purāṇas*, at the time of the burning of the three castles, Viṣṇu, as Śiva's *Ṛṣabha vāhana* came to support the chariot which was giving way under the weight of Śiva. The Tamil *Upadēca Kāṇṭam* also gives this story. *'Māl'*, therefore, may be taken to be used in the sense of Viṣṇu, though the sense of big or huge may be there as a secondary meaning. Viṣṇu is famous as *'Puṇḍarīkākṣa'*— 'the lord of the red lotus eyes' and the reference to *'ceṅkaṇ'* or the ruddy eye in nine places in relation to the bull, further confirms this interpretation, though it has a secondary meaning of being natural to the fighting bull. If Viṣṇu is interpreted, by natural association, his blue colour will be suggested; but the *Ṛṣabha* is pure white, the very incarnation of *Dharma*. Before Viṣṇu assumed the bull-form, *Dharma* it was, which was carrying Śiva in the form of the white bull. Therefore, even Viṣnu had to assume the white colour when he became a bull — *"Veḷai māl viṭai"*.[17]

Ārūrar speaks of *"Vēda māl viṭai"*.[18] The *Vēdic* song comparing the *śabda* to the cow is wellknown and Ārūrar makes *Vēdas* themselves the bull.

'Viṭai', another word for the bull, used by Ārūrar, is traced to the Sanskrit *'vṛṣa'* by the Tamil Lexicon. But there are others, who will trace it to the root *'viṭu'*. *"Kaṭā viṭutal"* is one of the operations of cultivation, where the bulls are allowed to go round and round the heaped up paddy for separating the straw. There is also the root *'viṭai'* implying the majestic and angry gait of the bull.

16. 7: 35: 1; 7: 42: 5; 7: 44: 10; 7: 57: 3; 7: 57: 10; 7: 61: 3; 7: 62: 6; 7: 70: 1; 7: 84: 7; 7: 86; 5.
17. 7: 42: 5.
18. 7: 57: 3.

'Ēṟu',[19] is another word used by Ārūrar and this suggests the overpowering, almost the arrogant posture suggesting its masculine virility. The pouncing attitude is alluded to by Ārūrar — *"Pāyum viṭai"*.[20] The majestic gait of heroes is often compared in Tamil with that of the bull. Ārūrar refers to the majestic walk — *"Naṭai uṭai nal erutu"*.[21] *"Ēṟu ēṟum īcar"*,[22] therefore, is not only beautiful as a *'piṉvaru nilai aṇi'* but full of significance as revealing the divine majesty and Omnipotence of God. This angry and proud majestic form is, therefore, emphasised for suggesting by contrast the higher divinity of Śiva. It is a murderous bull, killing perhaps the Rākṣasas. It is warlike — *"Poru veḷ viṭai"*,[23] it is cruel — *"koṭu mā viṭai"*,[24] and teasing — *'alaitta'*.[25] It is a murderous bull roaring in anger, — *"Cilaikum kolaiccē"*.[26]

The word *'Cē'* denotes the bull but the secondary sense of *'Cemmai'* or uprightness is there to suggest that it is all in the path of righteousness. It has green eyes — *'Paiṅkaṇ'*.[27] Its eyes fume with anger, the red becomes almost green as explained by Parimēlaḻakar.[28]

It takes the offensive part in war and it is so strong — *"Aṭal ēṟu"*.[29] It takes the offensive even before the other side thinks of it — *"Munti-p poru viṭāi"*.[30] It runs with all its speed — *"Vēkam koṇṭōṭi"*.[31]

This poet uses a very suggestive phrase — *'Paṭṭi veḷ ēṟu'*[32] full of very rich meanings. *'Paṭṭi'* means a cattle-pound or cow stall; it means the unbridled person,[33] from which significance has come the idea of the straying bull. The same idea of unruly mischievous disposition towards the enemies is emphasised by the phrase —

19. 7: 4: 2; 7: 7: 3; etc.
20. 7: 53: 3.
21. 7: 11: 5.
22. 7: 7: 7.
23. 7: 3: 3.
24. 7: 62: 6.
25. 7: 57: 1.
26. 7: 9: 1.
27. 7: 90: 10.
28. Commentary on *Paripāṭal*: 5-27.
29. 7: 19: 4.
30. 7: 73: 7.
31. 7: 17: 3.
32. 7: 43: 9.
33. *Kali*, 5.

"Cillai veḷḷēṟu",[34] used by Ārūrar. The idea of *"paṭṭi maṇṭapam"* or the hall of scholars is familiar to the Tamilians and, therefore, the idea of a learned bull is also suggested. The bull is *Nandi*, the Master of Śaiva Siddhānta, praised as such by *Tirumūlar*.[35] Ārūrar also refers to the bull as the very embodiment of Vēdas— *"Vēda viṭai*.[36] All these shades of secondary meanings enrich the conception of the bull on which Śiva sits.

The poet also emphasises its youth — its eternal youth. It is *"Maḻaviṭai"*.[37] It shoots or leaps up in rage or in joy or in pride — *'Poṅku'*.[38] He speaks of its childlike lispings — *'Maḻalai veḷḷēṟu'*,[39] *"Maḻalai ēṟu"*.[40] This may be suggestive of the childlike innocence and divine upadēsa of Nandi or the sound of the *Vēda*, for both of them are represented by the form of a bull. *"Kuṟuṅkōṭṭiṉ ēṟu"*,[41] suggests the youth through the horns described as short. The horn is said to be rich — *'Ceḻuṅkōṭu'*.[42] *"Kūḻai ēṟu"*,[43] is a dwarfish or young bull. *'Kūḻai'* as connected with *'kūḻamai'* suggests duty, and fondling. This idea of fondling and childlike attachment is well brought out by the phrase *"Mūciṭu māl viṭai"*,[44] the bull sniffing its lord or swarming round Him, as the bee, its honey. Connected with this is the idea of beauty expressed by the phrase — *"Pukar ēṟu"*.[45]

'Iṭavam', another word for the bull, is used by Ārūrar. It comes from the Sanskrit *'Vṛṣabha'*. It has secondary associations. *Piṅkalantai* gives the meaning of, the covering bull, explaining one of the shades of the meaning of the word *'ēṟu'*. The same lexicon gives also the meaning *'Nandi'*. In the verse in which it is used in the *"Murukaṉ Pūṇṭi"* hymn,[46] the poet seems to be punning. He is accusing God of doing some thing inappropriate. Therefore,

34. 7: 44: 2.
35. V. 61.
36. 7: 57: 3.
37. 7: 82: 2.
38. 7: 35: 1.
39. 7: 72: 3.
40. 7: 12: 5.
41. 7: 33: 1.
42. 7: 63: 4.
43. 7: 12: 1.
44. 7: 84: 7.
45. 7: 4: 2.
46. 7: 49: 8.

'iṭavam' may suggest the left handed inferior path or a lump of earth,[47] on which He gets up.

The word *'Pacu'* also is used,[48] by Ārūrar. In a place, where he wants to speak ill of God in a jocular vein, this word is used: The poet says, 'I shall not slander you, if you ride on the *pacu'*,[49] which has probably an under-ground suggestion of a cow. *'Pacu'* is a word very important in Śaiva Philosophy. *Paśupati* is the Śaivites' beloved term and the particular word *'paśu'* suggests the idea of *'Paśupati'*.[50]

'Mūri' is another name for the bull,[51] because of its strength and greatness. It means also the hump which is the special characteristic feature of the *Brāhmaṇi* bull. The word also has the underground suggestion of antiquity in Ārūrar's *"Mūri veḷḷai erutu"*.[52]

The word *'Erutu'* is also used. Perhaps it is connected with *'ēr'*, the plough, meaning the beast of plough. This is the bull which according to Ārūrar, the cultivator cannot get *"Uḻuvārk-kariya viṭai"*.[53] Again, the poet lovingly calls it "Nal erutu" — good bull; probably the *"Naṭaiyuṭai nal erutu"*[54]—emphasises not only its majestic gait, but also its good behaviour suggesting that the bull in effect is an embodiment of goodness.

The word *'Cē'* also is being in use for the bull from the days of Tolkāppiyam. The Tamil Lexicon derives it from the red colour, probably under the impression that this colour is more predominant among the bulls. It may be derived also from *'Cēttal'* which means 'to be lying down at rest' — the characteristic couchant posture of the bull whilst it chews its cud. As already suggested, this word *'Cē'* suggests straightforward righteous act. *"Cēviṉ mēl varum"*,[55] is the phrase used by Ārūrar, where the great wealth of divinity is suggested to consist of increasing righteousness and impartiality. The direct meaning is that his

47. *Periyāḻvār*, 3: 5: 5.
48. 7: 15: 8; 7: 75: 6.
49. 7: 15: 8.
50. 7: 75: 6.
51. *Patiṟṟuppattu*—67: 15.
52. 7: 22: 6.
53. 7: 42: 6.
54. 7: 11: 5.
55. 7: 68: 3.

wealth is the bull He rides. The bull is the sign of divinity — "*Ceṅkaṇ cēvuṭai-c civalōkaṉ*".[56]

There is one other word for the bull used by Ārūrar, '*Peṟṟam*' with its variant form '*Peṟṟu*'.[57] If it is to be derived from the root '*Peṟu*', it may mean the best gift in a pastoral economy, where the cattle forms the real wealth, which is another idea of "*Cēviṉ mēl varu celvaṉ*".[58] Ārūrar calls the Lord, '*Peṟṟār*',[59] as one in possession of the bull.

The common word is '*Ā*', with its variant form with the '*ṉ*' suffix, thus forming '*Āṉ*'. It is traced to the root '*Ā*' in the sense of 'to prosper', belonging to the same cattle economy of the pastoral age. In "*Ā nal veḷḷēṟu*"[60] and '*Āviṉiṟ cē*',[61] '*Ā*' is used by the poet to denote the genus. The poet makes this reference to the pastoral tract is clear. In Tamil Literary tradition, the bull belongs to '*Mullai*' or pastoral tract. Ārūrar speaks of "*Kollaic cillai veḷ ēṟu*"[62] and "*Cempuṉaṉ cēr koṭipaṭu mūri*"[63]—'the oxen in the pastoral area in the rich fields full of creepers.'

'*Kō*' is another word derived from the Sanskrit '*Gō*' or related according to a few to the Tamil word '*Kōṉ*' the name of the pastoral chief. The poet calls God, "*Kōviṉ mēl varum Kō*"[64]—'the lord of the bull', using the same word '*kō*' in two different meanings, the bull and the Lord. The bull is thus suggested to be the sign of divinity.

V

This reminds us of the Pallava age in which Ārūrar lived. The bull was the emblem of the Pallavas. Like Śiva they had the bull flag—"*viṭai veḷ koṭi*".[65] Their coins bear this emblem.[66] Their seals with a few exceptions bore this symbol of a couchant bull — "*Viṭai maṉ pori ōlai*".[67] When we see in the Kāsākuṭi

56. 7: 95: 5
57. 7: 90: 8
58. 7: 68: 3
59. 7: 22: 9
60. 7: 8: 2.
61. 7: 17: 4.
62. 7: 44: 2.
63. 7: 22: 6
64. 7: 68: 1.
65. *Peria Tirumoḷi*—11: 9.
66. *Eliot's coins of South India*. No. 31-38.
67. *Nandikkalambakam*—11.

plates and elsewhere the liṅga surmounted on the recumbent bull, we have to recognize that it is not the ordinary bull but Śiva's bull that is represented, thereby making the seal not only a seal of the Government but also that of the state religion of Śaivism.

In the light of these seals, the descriptions of Rājasiṁha in his inscription,[68] of Kailāsanātha Temple as not only "the *Ṛsabhalāñcana*"—'He whose emblem is the bull', but also as "*Srī Ṛsabha darpah*"—'He who is proud of the bull (as his sign)' becomes very significant. Just in front of the Kailasanātha Temple is the *Nandi maṇṭapa* with the bull, as in other Śiva temples of modern times. In the age of the Ādi Dravida Saint, Nandaṇār, these must have been in front of the temples, because tradition tells us that at Tiruppuṇkūr, where this untouchable Saint was standing outside the temple precincts, he felt miserable that the couchant bull was hiding the view of God, whereupon God ordered the bull to move a little away, for giving the Saint a *darśana*. In ancient times, these bulls must have been built in brick.

VI

In the temples of the period of Mahēndravarma, these bulls are found only in *Bhairava koṇḍa Temples*,[69] but the other temples also must have had them. Coming to the period of Narasiṁha, the Māmalla, we have in *Arjuna Ratha* on the Southern side in the central panel, a figure of Śiva leaning on the bull. Near the *Arjuna's Ratha* is the couchant bull.[70] In the *Krṣṇa Maṇḍapa*, the sculptor has carved out a beautiful bull in the form in which it is found in Śaivite temples, perhaps because of the artist's interest in the *Pallava lāñchana*. The shore temple at Māmallapuram belongs to the period of Rājasiṁha. The smaller Śiva shrine has the domical cell crowned by a stone image of the sacred bull.[71] Nandis were placed on the ground at each corner and face of the larger shrine. The same scheme is found in the Kailasanātha Temple.[72] Here near the base at each corner and face, between the projecting shrines, a large 'nandi' is placed on the ground.[73]

68. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.
69. Plate XX, *Pallava Architecture* by Longhurst, Vol. I.
70. Plate X.
71. Plates I and II—the bull is seen on the West.
72. Page 20, *Rea*.
73. Page 19, *Rea;* See Plate VII and Plates XII and XIII.

The Kailasanātha Temple must have been very imposing. "The architectural effect is accomplished by the true principle of design in the grouping of a number of minor features round about and leading the eye up to the central and crowning object of the structure; in these cases, this is the vimāna tower. The central object is the greater tower over the shrine with lesser towers over the shrines at each of its corners and at the centre of each face. The view outside would originally be extremely effective, for, in the peculiar arrangement of cells grouped along each side of the courtyard, each shrine has a small tower over it which stands clear of the courtyard wall head,"[74] presenting a varied skyline, reminding us of the temples of the Eastern Archipelago.

The main outlines are marked of as it were by the bulls. On the ground are the bulls; on the wall heads are the bulls about which more shall be mentioned. On the top of the tower, below the dome are, supporting as it were, the bulls in the four corners. This last is a new feature of the Kailāsanātha temple. This is the description of the *'vimāna'*: "The general elevation of this superstructure is a small tower over each of the exterior shrines at the corners and facades. Above this is a storey. Over this is a double cornice; the storeys above are successively stepped back forming a slight platform between each. Over this is a square portion with cornice, a *'nandi'* at each corner and a finial over it. The tower cap is capped by an octagonal *śikharam*.[75] These *'nandis'* in the *'vimāna'* form a new feature. At the Māmallapuram shore temple, there are only *gaṇas* playing on conches. This is replaced by *'nandi'* in the Kailāsanātha temple and in all the temples of Conjīvaram."[76]

A word has to be said about the bulls near the cells: "On each side of the large court is ranged a continuous series of cells each with a small tower and *'sikhara'* over it. These *'śikharas'* have originally stood with their summits appearing above the wall, the head of the court with *'nandis'* and elephants placed alternately on the wall head between them. This would form a most effective grouping as a whole, from the outside". These bulls and elephants remain to be explained. Appar speaks of *'Airāvaṇam'*

74. Extract from page 15, *Rea.*

75. Plate XXVI.

76. Plate C, *Matańgēśvara Temple;* Plate XVI, *Matańgēśvara Temple;* Plates XVIII, XIX, *Muktēśvara Temple;* Plate XX, *Tripurāntakēśvara Temple,*

the elephant of Śiva: *"Ayiravaṇam ērātu āṉēṟēṟi"*[77]—'You ride on the bull without riding on the elephant'. Therefore, we have this alteration of the elephant and the bull. If this idea is grasped, the full meaning of Ārūrar's interrogation may be grasped: *"Viṭai ēṟuvaṭeṉ, mata yāṉai niṟka?"*[78] 'Whilst the elephant stands, why are you riding on the bull?'

VII

The Lord loves the bull—*'Ukantu'*.[79] He rides on it *'Mēṟkoḷum'*,[80] *"Erutēṟṟaiyum mēṟkoṇṭāṉ"*;[81] *"Viṭaiyiṉ mēl varuvāṉ"*;[82] *"Varuvār viṭaimel"*;[83] 'He comes to us on it'. The bull is harnessed and He rides, *"Pūṭṭikkoṇṭu ēṟṟiṉai ēṟuvar"*[84] and comes to us along with Pārvati—*"Varuvār viṭai mēl mātōṭu."*[85] We usually find God riding on the bull even as women ride on the horse with both the legs hanging on one and the same side. Postures of God riding on the bull even as one rides on the horse are found in the Kailāsanātha Temple,[86] and Airāvatēśvara Temple.[87]

There is a beautiful description of this *mūrti* by Ārūrar:
"Maruvār koṉṟai maticūṭi māṇik kattiṉ malaipōla
Varuvār viṭaimēl mātōṭu makiḻntupūtap paṭaicūḻai
Tirumāl piramaṉ intiraṟkum tēvar nākar tāṇavarkkum
Perumān Kaṭavūr mayāṉattup periya perumāṉ aṭikaḷē."[88]

'The Lord, who is known as *Periya perumāṉ aṭikaḷ* at *Kaṭavūr*, who is the Lord of Viṣṇu, Brahma, Indra, the *Dēvas*, *Nāgas* and *Rākṣasas*, comes on the bull with Parvatī surrounded by the *Pūtas* adorned with *'koṉṟai'* flower and the crescent moon on His head like a ruby mountain'.

77. *Ap* 6: 25: 1.
78. 7: 4: 5.
79. 7: 9: 1.
80. 7: 50: 2.
81. 7: 22: 6.
82. 7: 86: 1.
83. 7: 53: 1.
84. 7: 18: 5.
85. 7: 53: 1.
86. Plate XLIII, fig. 2.
87. Plate CXVI; See Dārāsuram plates; *M.A.R.*, 1919-1920.
88. 7: 53: 1.

VIII

This form of riding on the bull has its own esoteric significance. The poet asks of God, "what is this liking of yours—this riding on the beautiful bull?"—"*Pukar ēṟu ukantēṟal purinta teṉṉē?*"[89] He repeats this rhetorical interrogation: "*Viṭai ēṟuvateṉ?*"[90] "*Viṭai ēṟit tiriva teṉṉē?*"[91] Ārūrar speaks of the Lord riding on the bull of the form of '*O*' or *Praṇava*.[92] In another place he speaks of the Universe being in the form of '*Ōmkāra*' or *Praṇava*.[93] Vēdas are, but the elaboration of this Pranava and therefore the bull is said to be the *Vēdas*.[94] Dharma is that which supports everything; the very basis of everything and *Praṇava* is its symbol. The Lord is there in this form, the very ruler of the Universe. The conception of *Paśupati* or the Lord of the souls receives concrete representation in this form.

89. 7: 4: 2.
90. 7: 4: 5.
91. 7: 6: 3.
92. 7: 5: 10.
93. 7: 67: 1.
94. 7: 57: 3.

PART II

CHAPTER I

VIṢĀPAHARAṆA MŪRTI

I

A story which has always captivated the imagination of the Tamilians is the story of Śiva swallowing the poison. For obtaining the *ambrosia* which would make them immortal, the *Devas* churned the ocean of milk. The '*Mandara*' mountain was placed as the churning post; the great snake-king *Ādiśēṣa* was made the rope; Viṣṇu himself became the support for the post. The *Dēvas* caught hold of the rope at one end and the *Asuras* (Demons) at the other end. To the great consternation of all, there first arose the all destroying poison. Śiva swallowed it. Pārvatī who was near Him pressed the throat of Śiva to prevent the poison going into the stomach. The blue poison, becoming visible through the fair skin of the throat of Śiva, is ever remembered as the embodiment of Śiva's Grace.

II

Ṛg Vēda refers to Rudra drinking '*Viṣa*' from a cup along with a Muni. The *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of Rudra drinking '*viṣa*', which means water and poison. Hālāhala means also poison and liquor. Rudra is the Fire-god,[1] and the drinking of water refers to the evaporation of water effected by Fire or Sun. '*Viṣa*' has the meaning of poison and probably because of this the story of swallowing poison has developed. The *Atharva Vēda*,[2] and the *Yajur Vēda*,[3] speak of his blue neck (*Nīlagrīva*) and from the time of *Śvētāśvatara Upaniṣad*, this *Nīlakaṇṭham* is considered by the Śaivites as the important mark of divinity.

III

The form of this *Viṣāpaharaṇamūrti* is found described in the *Kāraṇāgama*. Therein, it is stated: "Siva, as usual, should have a face with three eyes on it, wearing a *jaṭāmakuṭa* and having four

1. Ṛg Vēda, Part II, 1: 6.
2. XV: i. 7-8; XI: 2. 6.
3. *Vājasanēya Samhita* XVI: 7.51.2-4.

arms. In two of His hands there should be the *'paraśu'* (the battle axe) and the *'mṛga'* (the deer); in one of the remaining hands there should be the cup containing the poison and the fourth hand should be held in the *'varada'* pose. His sight must be fixed upon the poison and the general attitude should be such as to indicate that He is going to sip the poison immediately. He should be adorned with all kinds of ornaments. On the left of Śiva there should be His consort Pārvatī, embracing her Lord about the neck with her right arm and appearing highly perplexed and distressed.[4] Her complexion should be dark; she should have two eyes, two arms and be standing in the *'tribhaṅga'* posture (with three bends in her body), with her right leg placed vertically on the ground and the left one kept slightly bent."

Another description adds to the above the following details: "The appearance of Śiva should be made terrific (*ugra*) by the addition of side tusks: His complexion should be white as the full-moon and He should be draped in garments made of tiger's skin: there should be a garland made of small bells, and along with the other usual ornaments, there should be some others composed of scorpions (*Vṛścika*). In the right hands of Śiva there should be the *'triśūla'* and a beaked vessel (*nāsikarna*) containing the poison: and in one of the left hands the *'kapāla'*. Since no object is mentioned as being in the fourth hand, it appears that this arm may be taken to be employed in the act of embracing the *Dēvī*. In the first description, Śiva and Pārvatī are required to be standing, but in this one, they are said to be seated on the bull-vehicle of Śiva".[5]

In the age of Rāja Rāja, Queen Prthivīmahadēvi set up a seated image of *Śrīkaṇṭhamūrtikaḷ* with four arms.[6] The following is the note of the epigraphist: "The God Śiva got this name in consequence of his swallowing the *hālāhala* poison produced at the churning of the ocean. The name *Nīlakaṇṭha* of the god is also traceable to the same event".

Visāpaharaṇamūrti, 'the swallower of poison' is described in the *Kāraṇāgama* to have one face, three eyes, braided hair and and four arms holding in the two upper ones the antelope and the axe. He is in the posture of drinking the poison which he

4. See *Ārūrar*, 7: 99: 1.
5. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 357-58.
6. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 80.

holds in his right (lower) hand. On his left side is the goddess with two arms. With her right arm stretched round the neck of Śiva she shows anxiety in her face.

IV

Our search for a representation of this form in sculptures of the age of Ārūrar, is not successful. But however there is a sculpture of the churning of the oceans.[7] A general note may be added before we proceed further. Most of the sculptures reveal the various poses described in the *Nāṭyaśāstras* and according to the IV Chapter of this work by *Bharata*, it was, the samavākara of the churning of the ocean that was performed by Bharata on the advice of Brahma on the Himalayan slopes to please Śiva who witnessed the same.[8] It is no wonder, therefore, the sculptors, well versed in the Nāṭyaśāstra gave this picture of the churning of the oceans. Dr. Mīnākṣi has brought out with the help of quotations from *Citra Sūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmōttara*, the necessity for a knowledge of dancing for the proficiency in painting and has proved with the help of the paintings at Cittaṉṉavāsal that the Pallava painters were so proficient in the *Bharata Śāstra*.[9] She has also pointed out the royal interest which Rājasiṁha evinced in dancing as revealed by the sculptures of his Kailāsanātha Temple especially his special interest in *Kuñcita* dance.[10] But the postures of every figure in these sculptures could be referred to as describing the various postures of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The sculptors of the Pallava age along with the painters were well versed in this art of dancing. Therefore, the sculptors represented the stories as a series of dances. The churning of the ocean is one such scene in this drama of *Viṣāpaharaṇa*.

V

Ārūrar's description of this story may be now taken up for study. We are in a better position to understand his references in the light of what we have summarised from the *purāṇas*, *Āgamas* and the sculptures which were all probably before him. From the known sea, the poet proceeds to the unknown ocean of milk, from which the poison came up. The ocean on which the

7. Plate XXXIII, fig. 3, *Rea's Pallava Architecture*.
8. Ch. IV, 1-9.
9. P. 280.
10. P. 285.

ships sail — *"Vaṅkam mali kaṭal'*,[11] *"Vaṅkam mēviya vēlai"*,[12] must have been very familiar to the age of Ārūrar, when people from the port of Mahābalipuram and other ports of the East coast, must have sailed for purpose of trade to the East. The limit of the sea is the shore *'Vēlai'*,[13] from which we get a glimpse of its greatness. The sea from which the poison came up is *'kaṭal'*; perhaps like *'kāṭu'*, a forest, it comes from the root *'kaṭu'*, a cruel and terrific expanse of water — *"Taṭaṅkaṭal"*.[14] It is dark — *"Karuṅkaṭal"*[15], the clouds feast therein—*"Kārār kaṭal"*.[16] It is full of tides — *"Ōtakkaṭal"*.[17] This big ocean heaves up as though to cover everything — *"Poṅku mā kaṭal"*.[18] It is the noisy sea — *"Oli kaṭal"*,[19] *"Muḻaṅkum kaṭal"*,[20] teasing the conches — *"Caṅkalakkum taṭaṅ kaṭal"*.[21]

This ocean is churned by the *"Vāṇavar and Tāṇavar"* (the Dēvas and the Demons).[22] The beautiful mountain is the churning post; the deadly serpent is the churning rope.[23] The poison sprang up from the sea — *"Eḻunta ālam"*,[24] *"Eḻukaṭal nañcu"*,[25] *"Vēlaiyuḷ mikkeḻunteriyum nañcam"*.[26]

The poison is *'Nañcu'*. It is the deadly *'Kālakūṭam'*.[27] It is the terrible great poison — *"Periya nañcu"*,[28] the *'ālam'* (*Hālāhala*);[29] it is the *'viṣa'* (*Viṭam*).[30] It comes swarming like the gathering darkness — *"Kārulāviya nañcu"*,[31] and concentrating a

11. 7: 51: 11.
12. 7: 75: 2.
13. 7: 75: 2.
14. 7: 19: 3.
15. 7: 18: 3.
16. 7: 53: 7.
17. 7: 94: 6.
18. 7: 70: 1.
19. 7: 73: 10.
20. 7: 63: 3.
21. 7: 51: 3.
22. 7: 68: 4.
23. 7: 55: 5.
24. 7: 55: 5.
25. 7: 82: 2.
26. 7: 68: 4.
27. 7: 9: 9.
28. 7: 67: 9.
29. 7: 55: 5.
30. 7: 6: 5; 7: 16: 8; 7: 23: 3; 7: 51: 3; 7: 70: 1; 7: 81: 6; 7: 93: 7; 7: 7: 99: 1.
31. 7: 36: 1.

point — *"Moyttelunta viṭam"*.[32] The *Dēvas* were terrified when the poison sprang up and an alarm was raised — *'Pūcaliṭa'*.[33] The poet proceeds to explain the drinking of the poison in various ways. He exclaims in one place, 'But what an innocent and foolish one is the Great God to swallow this poison?' — *"Nañciṉai uṇṭiṭṭa pētai-p perumāṉ"*.[34] He again says, 'This poison of the sea He swallowed without knowing it and the throat became black' — *"Vēlai viṭam aṟiyāmal uṇṭu kaṇṭam kaṟuttāy."*[35] This may mean that you swallowed it to save the world without anybody knowing but the throat became black permanently, revealing the secret act. If so the poem must be describing the version that God of His own accord swallowed the poison.[36]

The other version is that the Dēvas requested Him to swallow the poison.[37]

In another place, he speaks of the distressing lamentation and confusing uproar amongst the *Dēvas* at which *Śiva* swallowed the poison — *"Vāṉavarkaḷ pūciliṭa-k kaṭal nañcuṇṭa"*.[38]

In one place the poet speaks of the *Dēvas* as deceitful and mean—*'Vañcarkaḷ'*,[39] who gathered together at the sight of the poison and begged of God to swallow it so that it may not attack them — *"Vaṅkam mēviya vēlai nañceḷa vañcarkaḷ kūvi-t taṅkaḷ mēl aṭarāmai uṇṇeṉa"*.[40] The idea probably is that Śiva will never refuse the request especially when they pretend that they are offering a feast — *"Uṇ eṉa"*.[41] He calls the Dēvas, *"Viñcai vāṉavar"*,[42] which in view of the hymn 75, verse 2, may be interpreted as adepts in deceitful magic art, deceiving God also, giving Him the poison as food.

In another place,[43] the poet speaks of Śiva swallowing the poison because the three great gods, Viṣṇu, Brahma and Indra,

32. 7: 16: 8.
33. 7: 84: 1
34. 7: 94: 6.
35. 7: 23: 3.
36. 7: 55: 5.
37. 7: 19: 9; 7: 46: 2; 7: 51: 3.
38. 7: 84: 1.
39. 7: 75: 2.
40. 7: 75: 2.
41. 7: 75: 2.
42. 7: 68: 4.
43. 7: 19: 9.

fell at His feet reciting the Mantra. In the hymn 19, verse 3, the poet probably refers to the *Rudras*, the *Dēvas* carrying the trident, falling at His feet and begging of Him to save them from the poison — *"Aṅkaiyil mūvilai vēl amarar aṭi parava"*.[44] Ārūrar speaks of God clearing the doubts in the minds of these *Dēvas* by this act of swallowing the poison — *"Caṅkaiyai nīṅka aruḷi-t taṭaṅkaṭal nañcamuṇṭār"*,[45] a conclusive proof of His omnipotence and divinity.

God made a feast of this poison (*aruntu*) as a great delicacy[46] and *"Ukantu amutu ceytāṉ"*.[47] He dined it to His full — *'Nuṅki'*.[48]

The poet refers to the presence of Pārvatī at the time of this feast.[49] In the last reference, Ārūrar describes *Umā* of the crescent-like beautiful and shining forehead, closing her eyes or staring in great fright. It looked as though this look of hers made the poison to stay in the throat; it became full and was pressing hard. Thus did the Lord make a feast of the great blue poison.[50] In one place,[51] Ārūrar, overpowered with his imagination which makes the story occur before his very eyes, cries with all the anxiety of a mother, "Please do vomit forth this poison. You have drunk this deadly dark poison as though it was food or nectar specially prepared for you in the fear that if it were not swallowed it would destroy all the world".

In another place, the poet exclaims that Śiva, swallowing the poison, became immortal, so to say — *"Vārkaṭal nañcuṇṭataṉuk kiṟavā teṉṟum iruntavaṉ"*.[52]

The blue neck is not natural; it was the result of this feat. It darkened because of the poison.[53] It became a poisoned throat — *"Kāḷakaṇṭaṉ"*,[54] a blue throat—*"Nīlakaṇṭar"*,[55] a blotted throat—

44. 7: 19: 3.
45. 7: 19: 3.
46. 7: 63: 3.
47. 7: 61: 1.
48. 7: 51: 11.
49. 7: 6: 5; 7: 96: 5; 7: 99: 1.
50. 7: 99: 1.
51. 7: 9: 10.
52. 7: 84: 8.
53. 7: 18: 3; 7: 26: 2; 7: 31: 7; 7: 36: 1.
54. 7: 12: 8.
55. 7: 7: 2.

"Kaṟai miṭaṟu",[56] a throat of black spot — *"Maiyārum miṭaṟu"*,[57] the throat where darkness spreads — *'Kārūr'*,[58] *"Kārūṟ kaṇṭam"*,[59] *"Kāriruḷ pōṉṟa kaṟai"*.[60] It is a beauty spot; beautiful like the sapphire—*"Maṇi kaṇṭam"*,[61] *"Maimmāṉa maṇi nīla kaṇṭa-t temmāṉ"*.[62] The poet speaks of the beauty, directly using the word *'ēr'* — *"Nañcēr kaṇṭā"*[63] It shines — *'Tikaḻ'*.[64]

VI

In 82 places in all, Ārūrar refers to this act of swallowing the poison. It is indeed very curious that this *Viṣāpaharaṇa Mūrti* is not specifically mentioned as *Anugraha Mūrti* in the *Āgamas*.[65] Ārūrar, as already stated, has referred to this in his enumeration of *Anugrahamūrtis*.[66] The *Nīlakaṇṭham* signified God's Grace and the very name *Nīlakaṇṭha* was cherished as the most lovable name of Śiva. The story of *Tirunīlakaṇṭa Nāyaṉār* explains the importance of this name. To ward off any danger, this name was always pronounced and this is clearly proved by *Tirunīlakaṇṭar* and *Tiruñāṉacampantar*.[67]

Ārūrar also mentions with all love and reverence this phrase *"Tirunīlakaṇṭam"* as though it were a *mantra*. The addition of *'Tiru'* to any name suggests divine association. Pērāciriyar in his commentary on *'Tiru'* in the first verse of *Tirukkōvaiyār*, makes this tradition clear. The name *'Nīlakaṇṭar'* is also used,[68] by Ārūrar, but the phrases *'Tirunīla miṭaṟṟiṉāṉ'*,[69] and *'Tirunīla miṭaṟṟempirāṉ'*,[70] are used with the prefix *'Tiru'* to bring about the sacred aspect.

VII

The spiritual significance of this story was realized by the Tamilians as early as the *Caṅkam* Age. When Atikamāṉ instead

56. 7: 89: 4.
57. 7: 25: 5.
58. 7: 95: 11.
59. 7: 95: 11.
60. 7: 58: 9.
61. 7: 9: 8.
62. 7: 38: 6.
63. 7: 15: 3.
64. 7: 27: 7.
65. *Hindu Iconography*, V. II, P. 1, page 356.
66. 7: 55: 5.
67. See *Periyapurāṇam* and *Campantar Tēvāram*—I. 116.
68. 7: 7: 2.
69. 7: 27: 4.
70. 7: 22: 1.

of eating the black emblic myrobalan (*karunelli*) of life-giving properties offered it to *Avvaiyār*, it amounted to his preferring death if the lady of the culture could be saved. This is the act of a saviour preferring crucifixion for redeeming the world. Avvaiyār when she learns the truth about the magic powers of the fruit offered to her, explains that Atikamāṉ is verily Śiva, the Great Saviour, swallowing the poison and preparing to die for saving others.[71] We see our poet mentioning this kind of Grace — *"Nañcuṇṭu tēvarkku amutam koṭutta nalam"*,[72] 'We do not understand this Good act", *"Nalam oṉṟu aṟiyōm"*[73] — says Ārūrar.

The famous *Kuṟaḷ* defining civilization in terms of *'Dākṣaṇyam'* (*Kaṇṇōṭṭam*) refers probably to this very great act of Śiva knowingly swallowing the poison offered by others.[74] The poet has a veiled reference to this.[75]

No other story can bring out this theory of Grace of God swallowing all our sins and saving even the prodigal son — *"Pātakamē cōṟu"* and *"Ceytaṇavē tavamākkum."*[75a] This form is, therefore, the rare nectar—*"Āramutu"*,[76] unto the worshippers. These simple, credulous, innocent and tender lovers of God keep this form in their mind—it looks He has assumed this poisoned neck, so that, He himself might be in their hearts—*'Maṭamuṭaiya aṭiyārtam maṉattēyuṟa viṭamuṭaiya miṭaṟaṉ'*.[77]

VIII

It is probably this esoteric significance of this story that Tirumūlar expresses, when he writes the verse:

> *"Aṇṭamo ṭeṇṭicai tāṅkum atōmukam*
> *Kaṇṭam kaṟutta karuttaṟi vārillai*
> *Uṇṭatu nañceṉ ṟuraippar uṉarvilōr*
> *Veṇṭalai mālai viricaṭai yōṟkē"*.[78]

71. *Puṟanāṉūṟu*: 91.
72. 7: 2: 4.
73. 7: 2: 4.
74. *K.* 550.
75. 7: 94: 6, etc.
75a. *Tiruvācakam*: *Tiru-t-tōḷnōkkam.*
76. 7: 51: 2.
77. 7: 81: 6.
78. *Tirumantiram*, 521.

In other places Tirumūlar speaks of God as swallowing us all and keeping us immersed in the bliss of His love:

"Antamum ātiyum ākum parāparaṉ
Tantam paramparaṉ taṉṉiṟ paramuṭaṉ
Nantamai uṇṭumeyñ ñāṉanē yāntattē
Nanti iruntaṉaṉ nāmaṟi yōmē.[79]

Ārūrar elaborates this in an autobiographical reference[80] that God's Grace revealed by this story has inspired him to take refuge in Him. He says, "The big mountain of beautiful pattern was fixed as the churning post; the deadly serpent was bound round it; (the ocean) was churned; there arose the deadly poison and all those who saw it ran very fast away from this danger. With a view to showering your blessings upon the *Dēvas*, you swallowed the blue poison of the sea and kept it for ever in your throat. O Mad Lord! Seeing this conduct of yours, I have taken refuge in your feet".[81]

IX

This story has thus a special significance to the worshippers of Ārūrar, because of the tradition of the Purāṇic story about his previous birth. *Periyapurāṇam* in *'Tirumalai-c ciṟappu'* makes out that this poet in his previous birth was a denizen of Kailās going under the name Ālālacuntarar. *Ālālacuntarar* is the *'tatbhava'* form of the phrase *'Hālāhala Sundara'*. The reflection of God Śiva in a mirror came out as the beautiful form of Sundara and when the *Dēvas* rushed to Śiva for his help against the growing poison of *Hālāhala*, Śiva sent this Sundara to collect the poison and bring it to Him for being swallowed; and it is because of this, Sundara came to be known as *Ālāla Cuntarar*. Therefore, this poet's description of this story has a special significance to those who believe in the *purāṇic* tradition. Maṟai Malai Aṭikaḷ and others feel that the verses about the previous birth are later day interpolations. Be that as it may, this poet does not refer to the story of bringing the poison. He seems to suggest that Śiva straightaway swallowed the poison at the instance of the *Dēvas*.

79. *Tirumantiram*, 2594
80. 7: 55: 5.
81. 7: 55: 5.

X

It may be stated in passing, that how this poet came to be called Sundarar, remains still a riddle unless it be that he was called Sundarar because of the name in his previous birth, though in the 100th hymn, the poet describes himself, *'Cuntaravēṭaṅkaḷāl turicē ceyyum toṇṭaṉ'*.[82] In one of his verses, this poet refers to this name. It is clear Cēkkiḻār does not give him this name except where he refers to his previous birth.

Sundarar as a denizen of Kailās is referred to by Appar, *"Cuntaraṉai-t tuṇai-k kavari vīca-k koṇṭār"*,[83] where he is given the function of fanning with the chaurie. In *Periyapurāṇam,* his function is to bring the sacred ashes and the garland.

82. 7: 100: 3.
83. 6: 96: 5.

CHAPTER II

GAṄGĀDHARA MŪRTI

I

Generally Śiva is described as having a matlock which is described as having the *Gaṅgā* (the Ganges) in it. He is, therefore, called the *Gaṅgādhara mūrti.*

II

The description of the blue neck of Śiva has suggested to some that the form of Śiva represents a natural phenomenon of the mountain. The *Śatarudrīya* speaks of *Girīśa* lying on a mountain, because of his thunderbolt springing from a mountain of cloud and creeping along his blue neck and red complexion. Perhaps this is the vision of God as seen in the black cloud tinged red by the glow of lightning. The matted hair, the crescent moon, the Ganges and His connection with the Himālayas suggest the personification of the very form of the Himālayas awful and beautiful. Oldenberg has pointed out this similarity of the nature of *Rudra's* in its essence to Mountain God.

Whatever that be, in the later ages when the Ganges came to be looked upon as the sacred river almost divine, stories were invented regarding enterprises about its coming down from the Heavens to this world. It was easier for Śaivites who have thought of their God as the husband of the daughter of Himavān to connect Him with the holy Ganges.

III

One of the kings of the Solar family Bhagīratha becomes famous in the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas* as a great king who brought this holy river, to save his cursed ancestors after a great penance of thousands of years. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *purāṇas* narrate this story. When the cult of pilgrimage and bathing in the holy waters of the rivers became popular, this story assumed a greater importance. By the time of Appar this cult of pilgrimage has become well established, *"Kaṅkai āṭileṉ, Kāviri āṭileṉ?"*—'What is the use of bathing in the Ganges or what is the

use of bathing in the Kāviri?'[1] Here it will be seen that Appar is combining the Ganges and *Kāviri* on the same level. Kulāśēkhara Āḻvār goes a step further and speaks of the *Kāviri* of the Tamil land as of greater holiness, *"Kaṅkaiyiṟ puṇitamāya Kāviri"*. All this implies the admitted sacredness of the Ganges and the Tamil epic poet Kampaṉ narrates the story of the coming of the Ganges by the Grace of Śiva, thanks to the penance of Bhagīratha.

That this story has been very popular in the age of *Tēvāram* especially in the age of Ñānacampantar and Appar of the 7th century A.D. is made clear by the various representation of this story by the sculptures of the age responsible for the Pallava monuments of that age. It is Tiruccirāppaḷḷi which first revealed by its Inscriptions the truth of Appar's influence over Mahēndra, otherwise called Guṇabhara. In this Tiruccirāppaḷḷi cave temple excavated by him, halfway up the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi rock, there is carved in the western wall of the hall facing the shrine in a large panel of seven feet square, a fine image of Śiva in the form of *Gaṅgādhara*. "In this sculpture, Śiva is portrayed with four arms, the right upper arm holding the Ganges issuing from His hair. The left upper arm perhaps holds a rosary, whereas, the left lower arm rests on the left hip. The right lower arm holds a hooded serpent. The raised right foot rests on the head of an ugly dwarf. On the right side of Śiva's head is the head and bust of a little human figure with the hand raised in prayer; evidently it is the Ganges": This is the description given by Longhurst.[2] This will make the figure that of *Gaṅgāvisarjana Mūrti* where Śiva crushing the pride of *Gaṅgā* by making her disappear within His matted hair, allowed her to flow out as a tiny rivulet.

IV

The *Gaṅgādharamūrti* represents the figure where Śiva allows *Gaṅgā* to come down with all her force only to disappear within His locks. The Tiruccirāppaḷḷi representation is interpreted by Kṛṣṇa Sāstry,[3] as *Gaṅgādharamūrti* holding with His right hand a lock of hair in order to receive *Gaṅgā* descending from the clouds. Bhagīratha is not represented in this panel unless we take one of the faded out *Ṛṣi's* form as representing him.

1. *Appar Tēvāram*: 5: 99: 2.
2. *Pallava Architecture*, Part I
3. *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 132.

It is the temple of Kailāsanātha built by Rājasiṁha, that magic casement which brings before our eyes the Śaivite spirit making it alive through its representations of Śaivite mythology, in illustrating them, following the descriptions of the Śaivite poets. In this temple, several panels represent the story of the descent of *Gaṅgā*. Plate No. 44, fig. 2 (*Rea*) represents Śiva standing on a pedestal. *Gaṅgā* is descending on His left side of the head. Pārvatī is standing with her body forming two curves. Bhagīratha is standing on the right with folded hands in a mood of penance. Plate LIX (*Rea*) gives a bigger representation. There is no *Bhagīratha* here. Śiva has eight hands, instead of four, as in the previous panel. Mr. Rea is wrong in saying that there are only six arms. The lower left arm is embracing Pārvatī. Plate LVII is also said to be a representation of *Gaṅgā Avatāra*. Pārvatī and Śiva alone are found here. But the form of *Gaṅgā* is absent. Śiva is holding what appears to be a portion of a curve bent upwards. In other places *Rea* has interpreted this as the skin of the elephant flayed. The topmost panel represents Śiva killing an elephant which had terrified Pārvatī. The lower-most panel also represents an elephant and the middle panel, therefore, may be taken as the representation of Śiva holding up the flayed skin of the elephant as His shawl or cover.

Plate CIV, fig. 2 gives the very story of the descent of *Gaṅgā*. There are three hands on the right, but only two on the left, the lower arm, embracing Pārvatī, has been destroyed. The form of *Gaṅgā* is there descending on to the left side of Śiva. Plate CXXIII, fig. 2 gives more or less the same figure. Plate XCVII, fig. 2 is from Mataṅgēśvara temple of Conjīvaram. Śiva and Pārvatī have a conical crown. Śiva has two hands on the right but only one is visible on the left. *Gaṅgā* is seen descending from the left side.

The *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama*, the *Kāmikāgama* and the *Kāraṇāgama* describe the figure of *Gaṅgādhara Mūrti*. Śiva should stand with His right leg remaining straight while the left leg should be slightly bent. The front right hand should be placed towards the chin of Pārvatī. His left front arm should be embracing her. The back right arm lifted up to his crown should be holding a *jaṭā* and the back left hand should carry a *mṛga*. *Gaṅgā* should be placed on this. Pārvatī should be on the left with her right leg somewhat bent on the left remaining straight. Her right hand should be hanging down freely or holding up a few folds of her cloth, whilst the left one should be carrying in it a flower. Her face should

express a state of mental uneasiness perhaps due to a feeling of jealousy. Sometimes Śiva's front right hand should be in the *'abhaya'* pose and the front left in the *'kaṭaka'* pose. He should carry the hatchet and the deer in the other two hands. Bhagīratha should be coming to the height of Śiva's navel, chest or neck on the left of Śiva. He should be draped with a garment of barks. His matted hair should be flowing down. His two arms should be held in *'añjali'* pose on his chest or over his head. It will be seen that most of the rules are not followed by the sculptures of the *Tēvāram* period when probably no rigidity or convention had been achieved.

V

The most wonderful representation of the descent of *Gaṅgā* is found represented at Mahabalipuram on the open side of a mountain which stands almost like a wall. This is wrongly called as the figure of Arjuna's penance which is really the descent of *Gaṅgā* from the Himālayas' tops and the figure represented as doing penance can be no other than Bhagīratha. This great rock sculpture is unique and unlike any other ancient monument in India. Appar compares God to a fully filled irrigation tank, *"Ēri niṟaintaṉaiya celvaṉ kaṇṭāy"*.[4] It is almost the divine feeling for the waters felt by the people of Toṇṭamaṇṭalam that is embodied in this remarkable scene sculptured here. 'This rock-cut drama' as Percy Brown remarks, 'is an allegorical representation of the holy river Ganges issuing from its source in the distant Himālayas, the water fed from a receptacle above cascading down a natural cleft in the rock in the centre of the magnificent picture in relief'. Perhaps the whole figure representing *Gaṅgāvisarjana* has brought forth the real feeling of the Tamilians for the water, for irrigating their fields. Śiva is here represented as being nude whereas in the other images of *Gaṅgādhara,* He is portrayed fully clothed and decorated. The importance of his sculpture may be realized from the other attempts to visualize the same scene on another part of a mountain (rock). It is almost a duplicate representation of the so-called Arjuna's penance but unfortunately not finished, perhaps because there were cracks in the mountain (rock) or it may be, as Longhurst points out, a kind of experimental mode for the great finished work at the other end of the hill. Plates 29, 30, and 31

4. *Appar Tēvāram*: 6: 23: 5.

in Longhurst's *Pallava Architecture*, Part II give us this sculpture from various points of view.

That idea has captured the minds of the artists of Rājasiṁha's age as may be seen from the scene portrayed in the Shore temple—a first copy of the idea which reached its final form in the sculpture of the so-called Arjuna's penance.[5] Percy Brown explains the Shore Temple in such a way as to bring out the importance of the sculpture: "In the first place it seems evident that portions of the ground plan of the enclosure consisted of a system of shallow cisterns which could be flooded on occasions so that it resolves itself into a type of water temple. Some of the conduits or receptacles may still be traced and it is clear that they constituted an essential part of the lay out. The water to feed this system was brought by a canal and conveyed by sluices throughout the building any overflow being carried down a rocky cascade in the rear of the shrine and into the sea. The name of *Jalaśayana* temple seems to be appropriate".

VI

Ārūrar has in all 72 references to *Gaṅgā* in his hymns. He uses the form *'kaṅku'* instead of *'Kaṅkai'* (*Gaṅgai*) or *'Kaṅka'* (*Gaṅgā*) at least in two places.[6] In the famous 'Tiruppuṉkūr' hymn where the poet says he has refuge in Lord because of the various acts of Grace narrated of olden times, he refers to this story of God acceding to the request of Bhagīratha and making *Gaṅgā* rushing down with an uproar (almost destroying the whole world) to disappear within His matted hair.[7] The Ganges of the famous holy bathing ghat—*"Tuṟai-k kaṅkai"*[8] was coming down from the heights of the twilight sky—*"Cekkar vāṉ nīr"*,[9] in whirling high floods—*"Kaṅkai veḷḷam"*,[10] *"Kaṭuṅkaluḷḷik-kaṅkai nīr veḷḷam"*,[11] almost like a sea throwing up the rolling waves—*"Tiraikaḷ vantu puraḷa vīcum Kaṅkai"*.[12] Proud Ganges was sent to disappear at the bottom of the braided hair.[13] The water in-

5. Plate 3, Part III, *Longhurst.*
6. 7: 30: 9; 7: 41: 7.
7. 7: 55: 7.
8. 7: 82: 6.
9. 7: 1: 8.
10. 7: 4: 1.
11. 7: 38: 4.
12. 7: 5: 2.
13. 7: 77: 2.

creased and swelled but lo ! the matted hair swallowed up and the water was nowhere.[14] The full river is in His towering braid of hair.[15]

In one poem he speaks of Śiva adorning Himself with the crescent moon and the Ganges and dancing with the ever increasing fire in His hand whilst the serpents whirled and the jingling anklets began to resound.[16] In another place,[17] Ārūrar speaks of the waters of Śiva's crown which can be no other than the Ganges along with the matted hair whirling around in a dance. Plate XLIV, fig. 2 already referred to (*Rea*) shows eight parted projections proceeding from the crown of Śiva. If they are not to be representations of the cobra hood, they may be taken as whirling eight-fold matted hair of Śiva. In many places Ārūrar is very much impressed with the beauty of this form, *"Āṟu tāṅkiya Aḷakaṉ"*,[18] *"Āṟu cūṭa vallār avarē aḷakiyarē"*.[19]

Gaṅgā is looked upon as the woman, *"Peṇpaṭi ceñcaṭaiyāṉ"*[20] and this suggests the idea of Gaṅgā being the consort of Śiva. Ārūrar speaks of Śiva as *"Gaṅgā nāyakaṉ"*.[21] He speaks of the love of *Gaṅgā* — *"Kātal cēr mātarāḷ Kaṅkaiyāḷ"*[22] and he refers to Gaṅgā as Śiva's wife, *'Tāram'*.[23] She is described as the beautiful lady of the waters with the flowing tresses conversing with the Lord like a koel so happy in His company that the fishes in the river danced up in joy.[24]

In a few places the poet speaks of Śiva being in the company of both the wives *Gaṅgā* and *Pārvati*.[25] He speaks of the special consideration and love shown to *Gaṅgā*.[26] In another poem,[27] the poet jocularly remarks that he cannot serve the Lord because

14. 7: 92: 10.
15. 7: 7: 2; 7: 96: 8.
16. 7: 86: 2.
17. 7: 19: 7.
18. 7: 64: 1.
19. 7: 87: 2.
20. 7: 98: 6.
21. 7: 23: 2.
22. 7: 38: 3.
23. 7: 5: 9.
24. 7: 38: 5.
25. 7: 9: 9; 7: 10: 2; 7: 19: 7; 7: 20 3; 7: 32: 5 7. 43: 4; 7: 52: 7; 7: 54: 8; 7: 62: 4; 7: 85: 4; 7: 98: 2.
26. 7: 19: 4; 7: 38: 3.
27. 7: 5: 2.

there is nobody in the Lord's household, who would take care of the servants; for, *Gaṅgā* will not open her mouth; *Gaṇapati* is immobile with his belly; *Subrahmaṇya* is a child and *Pārvatī* will not supply the daily batta; or, according to another reading she is always playing on the strings of the *'Vīṇā'* (*Vīṇai*) without caring to feed the servants.

VII

Ārūrar refers to this form in another autobiographical episode of his. Ārūrar once got a heap of paddy but no servant could be found for transporting it to his house. He prays to God for help. Therein he states: "In half of your body you have placed a woman; in the spreading matted hair you have placed *Gaṅgā*. You know the sufferings of good women. Please order the transport".[28]

Ārūrar had experienced the torture of being the husband of two wives. He has been punished according to the tradition for this double marriage. In one place in a moment of utter dejection, he pleads, perhaps in a lighter vein, that he can accuse Śiva himself with the same charge;[29] he is treading on a very dangerous ground: "You embraced the maid of the mountain; without considering this you adorned yourself on your crown with that lady of the thousand faces — *Gaṅgā Dēvī*. (The mountain and the thousand faces — *"Kaṅkai āyiram mukam uṭaiyāḷ"* — suggest the mountainous passer expressing in thousand ways). If I have forgotten *Paravai* and married *Caṅkili*, you did so. It is possible to retort" — so says the poet.

VIII

He brings out the seeming inappropriateness of the whole show: "The Lord is a *yōgi* himself burning to ashes *Kāma* as already known to all. This austerity and renunciation is shown by the matted hair, *'caṭai'*. On one part of His body is *Umā*, the daughter of the Mountain and in what form ? She is performing great austerities bubbling up with victory — *"Mā tavam cey malai maṅkai"*. As though it were not enough, another woman is allowed to sit at rest on the matted hair. Is she an expression of Love? No. She radiates anger — *"Calam kiḻar Kaṅkai"* (There is a pun on the word *'calam'* which means also water). What a wonderful

28 7: 20: 3.
29. 7: 54: 8.

effusion of Love ! Perhaps these descriptions suggest that there is no mean animal passion but a conquest of passions and a communion of souls".[30] A beautiful conceit explains this truth: "God burnt to ashes *Kāma* with his fiery eye of His forehead; This fire of His skill shoots up through varied flowers and blossoms. It is the *'koṉṟai'* flower up above His ruddy matted hair, where shines crystal clear the flower Ganges"[31]—*"Kaṇṇutalār Kāmaṉaiyum kāynta tiṟal Kaṅkai malar teṇṇilavu ceñcaṭai mēl tī malarnta koṉṟaiyiṉāṉ'*.[32]

In another place he weaves an interesting drama out of this kind of mythology: *"Pārvatī* has taken a portion of Śiva's body and *Gaṅgā* also has become attached to His body. There is no other place for a third wife and, therefore, Śiva has *'Kāṭukiḻāḷ'* by His side at *'Tirukkōṭi'*.[33]

IX

We had referred to the beauty of this form as experienced by Ārūrar. Apart from the beauty of the womanly form, the poet suggests another source of beauty. It is the beauty of a harmonious combination of contradictory and conflicting things—a beautiful symbol of the Absolute where all contradictions are dissolved and harmonised in its wonderful unity with no *'sajātīya'*, *'vijātīya'* or *'svagata' bhēda*. It is said *Māndhāta* and other great kings made the cruel tiger and the meek lamb drink side by side at one and the same stream. Some such wonderful divine peace is suggested by the beauty of Śiva's matted hair, where reside the moon, and the serpent wont to swallow it, along with the woman accustomed to shiver at its very sight.[34] In addition, there are the flowers and leaves of the trees. The word *'viravukiṉṟa'*[35]—combining—offers the key to the beauty of the form and its mystic significance.[36]

There is the harmony of the cool deep river and the white clear moon,[37] of the river and the shining crescent with probably

30. 7: 98: 2.
31. 7: 89: 6.
32. 7: 89: 6.
33. 7: 32: 5.
34. 7: 6: 8.
35. 7: 6: 8.
36. 7: 77: 8; 7: 83: 8; 7: 93: 1; 7: 99: 8.
37. 7: 16: 11.

its reflections on thousand waves.[38] This harmony of God is sweet like the sugarcane and its quintessence sweet, like the candy.[39] There is a community of spirit of beauty, light and refreshing coolness suggested by the description of the *'kuravu'* flower and *'kūviḷa'* leaves glistening amidst the ruddy braids of His hair along with the cool moon and the Ganges[40] and again by the description of the crescent moon, the *'koṉṟai'* flower of the sylvan tract and the river—*"Pōḻum matiyam puṉak koṉṟai puṉal cēr ceṉṉi-p puṉṉiyā".*[41] There is also the harmony of the waters and the flowers and the serpents and the braids of hair.[42]

The Lord raises up a new ideal happy family of love: "The lady of love, *Gaṅgā* — He adorns His braids of hair with this beauty coming in the form of water — is the heroine of this ideal household. The crescent refuses to grow perhaps because of fear of the serpents — the poisonous serpents with their pattern of lines. But God here makes them sleep together fearless. Our father (of this universe, of us all, of both the moon and the serpent) rules with Grace that way".[43] This happy family is again and again described. *'Koṉṟai'* with the humming bees, as though somebody has injected the honey there, the Ganges, the moon— these He adorns on His braided hair; the Heroine, here is the daughter of the Mountain, into which enter the darkness and cloud, for rest — He keeps her reside in one part of the body.[44] The same higher harmony is described in hymn 43, verse 4. This is the crown and glory of god-head. Ārūrar speaks of the Ganges and the crescent as the crown of the Lord.[45]

This story of the Ganges has also a mystic significance. And, as usual the poet asks of the Lord, "What is the significance of your adorning yourself with the Ganges on your head?"[46] "What is the significance of your crowning yourself with *Gaṅgā* along with the embracing Lady of the Mountain"?[47]

38. 7: 33: 1; 7: 35: 2.
39. 7: 54: 3.
40. 7: 98: 8.
41. 7: 77: 8.
42. 7: 93: 1.
43. 7: 38: 3.
44. 7: 10: 4.
45. 7: 19: 4; 7: 44: 1.
46. 7: 4: 1.
47. 7: 4: 5.

CHAPTER III

PĀRTHĀNUGRAHA MŪRTI

I

The *Mahābhārata* shows that Śaivism came to be followed by great *Ṛṣis* like Upamanyu, Vyāsa and a host of others. Śiva preaches Ahiṃsa — non-eating of flesh,[1] and even today this non-eating of flesh goes by the name of Śaivism — perhaps by this time the Jainism had become developed. *'Tīrtha yātrā'* cult had come to stay[2] for removing sin and for enjoying celestial pleasure. It also reflects the conflict of Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites and an attempt at harmony. If Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa is the great master expounding *Gītā* to Arjuna, Śiva is claimed to be the special God of Arjuna bestowing on him the special weapon, *Pāśupatāstra,* with which Arjuna won the Bhārata War.

The story occurs in the *Vanaparvam* of the *Maha Bhārata.* Arjuna, advised by his divine father Indra, performed tapas, for getting *Pāśupatāstra* from Śiva. Śiva came in the form of a hunter. An asura assuming the form of a boar was about to attack Arjuna, who, therefore, aimed an arrow at it. The *kirāta* or the hunter also aimed. The animal was dead. The hunter, to pick up a quarrel, abused Arjuna for shooting at his quarry and in the fierce fight that ensued, Arjuna was worsted in both the battles, of bows and that of wrestling. Arjuna struck the hunter on the head with his bow which mysteriously disappeared. The *kirāta* was recognized by Arjuna as Śiva, and Śiva admiring Arjuna bestowed upon him the *Pāśupatāstra.* It is said in the *Purāṇas* that *Pārvatī* went as a huntress carrying the child Subrahmaṇya, followed by four dogs, the *Vēdas.* Even the Vaiṣṇavites like Villiputtūrār become eloquent and very much moved when they come to narrate this story of *Kirātārjuna.* The Sanskrit poet Bhāravi has been inspired by this episode so much as to write a beautiful drama on it the *'Kirātārjunīyam'.*

II

The *Kirātārjuna mūrti* according to the texts on sculpture has four arms, carrying *dhanus, bāṇa, mṛga, jaṭāmakuṭa,* three eyes,

1. Ch. 213, *Anuśāsana Parvam.*
2. Ch. 79, *Vana Parvam.*

yajñōpavīta and ornaments. He stands erect with Arjuna on the right who has two eyes, *jaṭāmakuṭa*, ornaments and *añjali* pose on the right and with Gaurī on the left. In the *Kāraṇāgama*, Śiva is described as holding an arrow and a bow and an antelope; the latter two are seen in a figure in Cidambaram.[3] Bow and arrow are found in Tirucceṅkāttaṅkuṭi image. According to the Āgamas the *Pāśupatāstra mūrti* has four terrific faces with three eyes, tusks, stiff hair and fierce mustache carrying *śakti, mṛga, śaṅkha* and *khaḍga* in the four hands. *Vēṭkaḷam* near Cidambaram is considered to be the place where this weapon was bestowed on Arjuna. There is an image there. Evidently the rules of the *Āgamas* were not obligatory. Tanjore inscriptions refer to an image of this form.

There is one sculpture of the age of *Tēvāram* in the Kailāsanātha Temple.[4] This is how Rea reads it: "Panel 15 shows Śiva as a hunter fighting with and slaying the king who was afterwards turned into a pig. Two figures are shown with right and left legs advanced. An animal on the under right side of the panel seems to represent varāha."[5] It is not clear where Rea got the story he narrates; but anybody knowing the story of Arjuna and the hunter will easily recognize the hunter and Arjuna in the two human figures.

III

Coming to the age of Rāja Rāja, we find, an image of *Kirātārjuna* set up in the Śrī Rājarājēśvara temple by the magistrate,[6] Udayadivākaraṉ Tillaiyāḷi.[7] The following is the note of the Epigraphist:

The detailed description of the image is not furnished. But it evidently represented the scene of fight between Arjuna and the God guised as a *Kirāta* or hunter. The fight ended in the former obtaining the blessings of the latter together with the weapon known as *Pāśupatāstra*.

3. Fig. 92, *Gods and Goddesses of South India*
4. *Rea*: Pl. No. XXXIV, fig. 2.
5. *Rea*: p. 31.
6. *Adhikāri*.
7. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 9.

Kirātārjuna-mūrti is one of the 25 sportive incarnations (*līlā-mūrtis*) of Śiva mentioned in the *Kāraṇāgama*. It described him as follows:

"Caturbhujam triṇētram ca jaṭāmakuṭasaṁyutam
Sarvābharaṇasaṁyuktam divyāmbarasamāvṛtam
Dhanurbāṇayutam raktam kṛṣṇaparaśusaṁyutam
Upavītasamāyuktam samabhaṅgatanum kuru."
"Vāmē gourīsamāyuktam dakṣiṇētvarjunam sthitham."

Arjunasvarūpam:

"Ēkavaktram dvinayanam jaṭāmakuṭasaṁyutam
Sarvābharaṇasaṁyuktam kṛtāñjaliputamsthitam."

An image of *Pāśupata mūrti* was set up by queen Ilāḍamahādēvi. The details are however not given. In fact, her setting up the image is only incidentally referred to in *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 95. The scene relates to the gift of the *Pāśupata*-weapon to the Pāṇḍava Prince Arjuna for use in battle against Jayadratha.

IV

Arjuna has been popular in the Tamil land. His name has got mixed with all kinds of folk tales of *Pavaḷakkoṭi mālai, Alliyaracāṇi mālai*, etc. Places in the Tamil land were called after the Pāṇḍavās. In the age of Ārūrar himself Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr was known as *"Vaṉ Pārttāṉ Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr"*,[8] though a different kind of interpretation is given to this expression,[9] one may notice that this expression has got some connection with *Pārthan* (*Arjnua*). The temple in this place must have come into existence during the time of Ārūrar since there is no hymn from Campantar or Appar on this place.

Ārūrar has referred to the story of Arjuna in thirteen places in his hymns. Ārūrar has used the mythological terms: *'Pārthaṉ'*[10] *'Vijaya'*[11] and *'Arjuna'*.[12] He calls him *'Pārthaṉ*, the great' *"Perumpārttaṉ"*.[13] Arjuna was performing an austerity. The Lord

8. 7: 86: 1.
9. c.f. the study of the hymns, Vol. III.
10. 7: 55: 7; 7: 56: 2; 7: 76: 3; 7: 88: 7; 7: 97:6.
11. 7: 53: 8; 7: 57: 6; 7: 66: 4; 7: 70: 5.
12. 7: 98: 9.
13. 7: 97: 6.

went in the foot-steps of a boar. It was an angry boar—*'Ciṉakkēḷal'*;[14] *'Kēḷ'* usually refers to the colour, perhaps the poet wants to emphasize its appearance: 'unique boar'.[15] It was a terrific boar, *'Kaṭuṅkēḷal'*.[16] The other name of the boar is *'paṉṟi'*,[17] because of the tusks or teeth. This word is also used by Ārūrar,[18] and pointed attention is drawn to the tusk of the boar, *'Kōṭār kēḷal'*.[19]

The Lord went merrily along with his young wife,[20] in his assumed form of a hunter to play the spy, *'Vēyāṭiyār'*,[21] for knowing the real strength of Arjuna, *'Vēṭuvaṉ'*,[22] *'Vēṭaṉ'*.[23] He was a unique hunter. His courage took the form of a hunter, *"Vīrattāl oru vēṭaṇāki"*.[24] The hunter was a warrior and a hero, *'Maṟavaṉ'*[25] a great magician, *'Māyaṉ'*[26] as the subsequent events proved.

He was a denizen of the forest or desert, *'Kāṉavaṉ'*[27] and he went there appropriately as such in the desert to avoid all doubts.[28] He wore the feather of the crane.[29] It was a burning desert, so hot that the land was full of cracks, *"Kamar payil veñcuram"*.[30] He carried a bow of war, *"Ceru vil ēnti"*[31] and following the boar he came near Arjuna. He came driving it fast and approached Arjuna.[32] Arjuna was performing austerities. He started the fighting operation. He fought with Arjuna leaving no room for the latter to suspect who the hunter was. He came down to his boar playing the part of a hunter he had assumed beautifully well, *"Nāṭāvaṇṇam ceru-c ceytu"*.[33] This quarrel over the boar upset

14. 7: 17: 8.
15. 7: 57: 6; 7: 66: 4.
16. 7: 98: 9.
17. 7: 68: 7.
18. 7: 68: 7.
19. 7: 53: 8.
20. 7: 53: 8.
21. 7: 17: 8.
22. 7: 17: 8; 7: 53: 8; 7: 66: 4.
23. 7: 56: 4; 7: 57: 6; 7: 70: 5.
24. 7: 66: 4.
25. 7: 68: 7.
26. 7: 68: 7.
27. 7: 98: 9
28. 7: 53: 8
29. 7: 84: 2
30. 7: 98: 9
31. 7: 57: 6
32. 7: 66: 4
33. 7: 53: 8

Arjuna's equanimity of austerity. The austerities were thus destroyed, *'Tavamaḻittu'*.[34] The hunter fought with seemingly righteous indignation and his eyes became red with this anger, *"Ceṅkaṇ vēṭanāy"*.[35] He was indulging in war, *"Amar payilvu eiti"*.[36] On the round and well shaped shoulders of Arjuna, the Lord sent many a sharp arrow to pierce through. Arjuna was a lover of bows. But now his skill as an archer faded away, *"Melkiya viṟṟoḻilāṉ."*[37] He became thoroughly exhausted. But the Lord fought with love and kindness enjoying probably every minute the valour and skill of Arjuna.[38] Finally, pleased with him, the Lord gave the strongest weapon, *'Vaṉpaṭai'*,[39] the *'Pāśupata'*[40] well placed in its receptacle, *"Āva nāḻi nilai"*.[41]

V

This episode is one of the stories which appealed to the poet inspiring him to take refuge in God. This is a story of Grace (Anugraha) of God,[42] the story of the battle of love where the Lord comes to judge and present the fitting weapon. The whole story is repeated there in another hymn.[43]

"Vāṭā mulaiyāḻ taṉṉōṭum makiḻntu kāṉil vēṭuvaṉāy-k
Kōṭār kēḻal piṉceṉṟu kuṟuki vicayaṉ tavamaḻittu
Nāṭā vaṇṇam ceru-c ceytu āva nāḻi nilaiyaruḻcey
Pīṭār caṭaiyār mayāṉattu-p Periya perumāṉ aṭikaḷē".

34. 7: 53: 8.
35. 7: 57: 6.
36. 7: 98: 9.
37. 7: 97: 6.
38. 7: 66: 4.
39. 7: 66: 4.
40. 7: 55: 7.
41. 7: 53: 8.
42. 7: 66: 4.
43. 7: 53: 8.

CHAPTER IV

CANDRA ANUGRAHA MŪRTI

I

Dakṣa had the 27 stars as his daughters and gave them in marriage to the Moon, with a strict warning that he should not show any favouritism to any one of them. But the Moon became so much attached to *Rōhiṇī*[1] that he neglected others. The slighted and neglected wives complained to their mighty father. Enraged *Dakṣa*, cursed the Moon to waste away and lose all his sixteen *'kalais'*[2] or phases of brilliance. Day after day the Moon began to lose one sixteenth of his total brilliance like our waning moon. There was no Power on earth who could help him out of this effacement, except the omnipotent Śiva. The Moon prayed, worshipped and took refuge in the feet of the Lord. Śiva, taking pity on him and his foolish wives who were following a suicidal policy, wanted to save the Moon from dying out and at the same time to save *Dakṣa's* curse from becoming nugatory. The crescent Moon had but one sixteenth of his brilliance. The Lord took him up and adorned his crown with the laurel of this crescent Moon. By this contact with divinity or divine Grace, the Moon stopped decaying any further and began growing day after day till he attained his original fullness of brilliance. But *Dakṣa's* curse was also to be fulfilled and he began deteriorating from his fullness. Thus began in the World the waxing and the waning moon. The crescent is the shining example of the cursed being saved by Lord's Grace.

The merciful Lord came to be known, therefore, as *Candraśēkhara*—one who has the Moon on His crown.

II

Karaṇāgama speaks thus of *Candraśēkhara mūrti*:

"Abhayavaradahastam saumyaśṛṅgārabhāvam
Vipulavaradanētram candrabimbāmśamaulim
Ṛjutanusamapādasthānakam vidrumābham
Hariṇaparaśupāṇim padmapīṭhōparisṭham".

Though Ārūrar does not use the phrase *Candraśēkhara*, he uses a corresponding name, *"Indu śēkhara"*[3]—one who has the

1. *Hyades.*
2. *Kalās.*
3. 7: 70: 5.

moon in his crown. The Tamil forms *"Mati cūṭi"*,[4] *"Piṟai cūṭi"*[5] and *'Piṟaiyāṉ'*,[6] are also found. The words used by him to denote the moon are (1) the Sanskrit word *'Indu'*, in its Tamil form *'Intu'* meaning that which cools the world with its light, which word occurs only once,[7] and the Tamil words arranged in the order of their frequency of usage, (2) *'Mati'* is used nearly thirty times,[8] and its variant forms with the suffix *'am'*, (3) *'Matiyam'* used ten times,[9] the word *'Mati'* coming from the verbal root *'mati'* to value, to count, and, therefore, meaning the moon that measures the time into months, (4) *'Piṟai'* used about 28 times,[10] this word coming from the root *'piṟa'* to be born and meaning, therefore, the 'new born crescent moon', later on coming to denote the crescent, whether waxing or waning, (5) *'Tiṅkaḷ'* used about 13 times,[11] perhaps a variant of *'tikaḷ'* undergoing nunnation and coming from *'tiku'* to dazzle, though some explain it as the sweet nectar, (6) *'Nilā'*,[12] with its variant forms, (7) *'Nila'*,[13] and (8) *'Nilavu'*,[14] corresponding to the word *'Nilavu'*—'to shine', and denoting originally the suffused and steady light of the moon-shine as against the dazzling and glistening hot glare of the sun and later on coming to mean in the age of Ārūrar and Māṇikka vācakar, the moon itself.[15]

III

The verbal roots he uses in relation to the Moon are here given in the order of frequency: (1) *'Cūṭu'*—'to crown'—Śiva

4. 7: 47: 9.
5. 7: 1: 1.
6. 7: 38: 4.
7. 7: 70: 5.
8. 7: 1: 6; 7: 2: 4; 7: 3: 1; 7: 15: 3; 7: 16: 8; 7: 16: 11; 7: 23: 1; 7: 25: 7; 7: 32: 8; 7: 33: 5; 7: 38: 6; 7: 40: 1; 7: 40: 11; 7: 41: 5; 7: 46: 3; 7: 47: 9; 7: 53: 1; 7: 53: 5; 7: 56: 2; 7: 56: 9; 7: 62: 2; 7: 68: 9; 7: 71: 7; 7: 75: 6; 7: 82: 5; 7: 86: 3; 7: 88: 4; 7: 91: 3; 7: 94: 10; 7: 97: 6.
9. 7: 6: 4; 7: 6: 8; 7: 7: 9; 7: 35: 2; 7: 40: 3; 7: 41: 7; 7: 47: 5; 7: 77: 8; 7: 85: 7; 7: 90: 5.
10. 7: 1: 1; 7: 4: 2; 7: 10: 3; 7: 24: 7; 7: 25: 10: 7: 27: 6; 7: 28: 2; 7: 31: 9; 7: 33: 1; 7: 38: 1; 7: 38: 3; 7: 38: 4; 7: 42: 5; 7: 44: 6; 7: 48: 10; 7: 49: 9; 7: 53: 4; 7: 60: 4; 7: 63: 9; 7: 70: 10; 7: 71: 1: 7: 71: 2; 7: 73: 4; 7: 75: 8; 7: 80: 2; 7: 80: 3; 7: 84: 1; 7: 86: 2.
11. 7: 5: 2; 7: 10: 4; 7: 14: 7; 7: 22: 2; 7: 25: 4; 7: 44: 1; 7:44; 8; 7: 48: 6; 7: 61: 6; 7: 63: 2; 7: 87: 3; 7: 97: 8; 7: 98: 8.
12. 7: 70: 2; 7: 87: 8.
13. 7: 3: 1.
14. 7: 89: 6.
15. *Tiruvācakam*—35: 5.

crowns Himself with the moon and this root is used about 32 times; (2) *'Vai'*—'to place' used about 6 times[16]—'Śiva has placed it on His crown;' (3) *'Cēr'*—'to reach'—'The moon reaches Śiva's crown' used about 3 times;[17] (4) *'Taṅku'*—'to rest': 'The moon rests on His head', used about 2 times;[18] (5) *'Ār'*—'to rest or to be full' (because of its light) used two times or so;[19] (6) *'Tāṅku'*—'to bear'—'Śiva's head bears it', used thrice;[20] (7) *'Muṭi'*—'to crown' or 'adorn the head' used about twice;[21] 'God has adorned the moon as a laurel or a crown'; (8) *'Puṉai'*—'to adorn' used once[22] and *'Aṇi'*—'to adorn' used once,[23] 'Śiva adorns Himself with the moon;' (9) *'Uṭai'*—'to be possessed' used about twice,[24] 'Śiva is moon's Lord'; (10) *'Pulku'*—'to embrace' or 'cleave to' used once,[25] 'Śiva's head, the moon cleaves to'; and (11) *'Mēvu'*—'to rest' or 'to desire' used once.[26] 'The moon with all his heart reaches and rests on Śiva's head'.

IV

It is the crescent that Śiva saved, by adorning Himself with it. The word *'Piṟai'* means the crescent. Since it has come to mean the waning moon as well, the poet is anxious to emphasize the fact of the waxing crescent—the crescent born after the new moon by referring to its youth and its being an extreme fraction of the young moon—*"Iḷampiṟai"*,[27] the young crescent—*"Malku vāṉ iḷampiṟai"* 'the increasing or growing young crescent',[28] *"Piḷai veṇpiṟai"*—'the innocent infant of a crescent'[29]—(there is here a pun on the word *'veṇ'* which means innocent or simple and white), *"Vaḷarāta piṟai"*—'the crescent which has not developed or

16. 7: 6: 4; 7: 15: 3; 7: 16: 8; 7: 38: 3; 7: 41: 7; 7: 46: 3; 7: 71: 1; 7; 71: 2.
17. 7: 25: 7; 7: 77: 8; 7: 91: 3.
18. 7: 5: 2; 7: 61: 6.
19. 7: 28: 2; 7: 53: 4.
20. 7: 16: 11; 7: 24: 7; 7: 33: 1.
21. 7: 10: 3; 7: 44: 1.
22. 7: 62: 2.
23. 7: 25: 4.
24. 7: 27: 6; 7: 98: 8.
25. 7: 97: 6.
26. 7: 87: 8.
27. 7: 84: 1.
28. 7: 44: 6.
29. 7: 42: 5.

grown',[30] *"Piṟai-t tuṇṭam"*—'the bit of a crescent';[31] *"Nalla tuṇṭappiṟai"*—'the good bit of a crescent';[32] and 'the fractioned bit of a crescent'—*"Paṅkam ceyta piṟai"*,[33] (there is here a pun on *'paṅkam'* which not only means division but also disgrace and, therefore, it suggests the cursed crescent).

V

Poetically the same suggestions gleam through his description of the moon as *'mati'*. It is *"Matippitir"*—'a particle of the moon',[34] *"Pāka mā mati"*—'a fraction of the big moon'.[35] It is the glorious infant of a moon—*"Piḷḷai mā mati"*;[36] 'the growing or waxing moon'—*"Uyarum mati"*.[37] 'It is the young and growing sprout of a moon'—*"Muḷai vaḷar iḷa mati"*.[38] 'It is an undeveloped moon'—*"Murṟā mati"*.[39] This suggestion has to be made even when the word *'Tiṅkaḷ'* is used. It is *"Iḷantiṅkaḷ"*—'the young moon'.[40] *'Nilā'* as is seen from its usage in nursery is the crescent moon.

There are other ways in which the poet suggests this infancy of the crescent moon. It is the crescent appearing on the west at dusk that is the starting point of the waxing moon. The poet refers to it as the white crescent of the dusk—*"Anti veṇpiṟai"*[41] as the moon of the beautiful or 'cirrus clad evening'—*"Mañcuṇṭa mālai mati"*,[42] and *"Mālai mati"*—'the crescent moon of the evening'.[43] 'It is the crawling moon'—*"Tavaḻumati"*[44]—the word crawling suggesting the idea of a baby moon.

VI

The first shoot of the crescent is a deeper curve suggesting the sharp sickle. To the poet, it is the crescent moon of the

30. 7: 38: 3.
31. 7: 10: 3.
32. 7: 80: 2.
33. 7: 80: 3.
34. 7: 88: 4.
35. 7: 56: 9.
36. 7: 68: 9.
37. 7: 82: 5.
38. 7: 71: 7.
39. 7: 32: 8; 7: 94: 10.
40. 7: 48: 6.
41. 7: 60: 4.
42. 7: 2: 4.
43. 7: 41: 5.
44. 7: 91: 3.

sharp edge—*"Vaḷ vāya mati"*.[45] It is too much bent—*"Kōṇal mā mati"*,[46] and therefore it is *"Kōṇiya piṟai"*,[47] the crooked crescent moon. There is another beautiful conceit—*"Kuṇiviṇiya katir matiyam"*[48]—'the shining moon with the sweet bend of a dance'. The other description of the form of a crescent suggests the "palmyra *ōlai*" or rather the blade of the flower *'tāḻai'*—*"Ēṭu vāṉ iḷantiṅkaḷ"*—'the leaf of a tender crescent moon of the heaven';[48a] *"Pōḷu matiyam"*[49]—'the leaf of a moon'. (*Pōḻ* with the enunciative vowel *'u'* becomes *'Pōḷu'* and has been interpreted on the analogy of the *'Ēṭu'* above, though it can be interpreted in a different way as will be presently seen). This idea of a flower of a moon explains the poet's enumeration of this along with other flowers, like *vaṉṉi, kuravu, koṉṟai, mattam* etc.,[50] especially with *koṉṟai*.[51]

VII

This idea or suggestion of a *"Tāḻai* flower",[52] leads on to the favourite description of the crescent as the crowning laurel wreath of God, so often alluded to by Tirunāvukkaracar in the hymn beginning with *"Mātar-p piṟaik kaṇṇiyāṉai"*.[53] This description also appeals to our poet, Appar's devoted follower and admirer. 'The Lord is spoken of as wearing the laurel wreath of a moon': *"Tiṅkaṭ kuṟun teriyal tikaḻ kaṇṇi"*[54]—'the shining crest wreath of a dwarfish garland of a moon; *"Veṇmatiyak kaṇṇi"*[55]—'the wreath of a white moon'; *"Mati-p pitir-k kaṇṇi"*[56]—'the wreath of a spark of a moon'; *"Vēynta veṇ piṟai-k kaṇṇi"*[57]—'the wreath wrought of the white crescent'.

VIII

The conception of a crown or a diadem is also there: *"Piṟait tuṇṭamuṭi"*[58]—'crown or diadem of a crescent'. *"Cikarattiṭai iḷa*

45. 7: 40: 1.
46. 7: 33: 5.
47. 7: 48: 10.
48. 7: 40: 9.
48a. 7: 48: 6.
49. 7: 77: 8.
50. 7: 6: 8; 7: 10: 4; 7: 16: 8; 7: 44: 8; 7: 70: 10; 7: 77: 8; 7; 98: 8
51. 7: 27: 6; 7: 40: 3; 7: 53: 1; 7: 53: 5.
52. 7: 48: 6.
53. 4: 3: 1-11.
54. 7: 97: 8.
55. 7: 90: 5.
56. 7: 88: 4.
57. 7: 49: 9.
58. 7: 10: 3.

veṇpiṟai"[59] is the young white crescent of the moon on the crown. The verb '*cūṭu*' suggests this idea of a crown or "*cūḷāmaṇi*" or the crest jewel. Hence its brilliance and lustre are alluded to, apart from the usual description of its whiteness: "*Kuṟumāppiṟai*"[60]—'the glorious crescent of the brilliant lustre'; "*Nilā veṇ mati*"[61]—'the shining white moon'; "*Tikaḷ matiyam*"[62]—'the resplendent moon.' Here the poet speaks suggestively of "*Tūmati*",[63] "*Tū matiyam*"[64]—'the pure white crescent moon with no blot', even as we speak of the pure white blotless pearl. 'It is a crystal clear crescent', "*Teṇṇilā*".[65] This certainly suggests the purity, which the cursed moon achieved, thanks to the Grace of the Lord. "*Katir matiyam*",[66] refers to its effulgent radiance. "*Pōḻum mati*",[67] is the moon driving out darkness by its radiance; it reminds us of the phrase, "*Vāḷ pōḻ*" of Nakkīrar, in *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.[68] It is this light of a beautiful gem of the crown that the description of the moon as "*Vaṉṉi mati*",[69] and "*Taḻal mati*"[70]—the fire-like moon can be understood. Otherwise, '*Vaṉṉi*' in "*Vaṉṉimati*" has to be taken as '*Vaṉṉi* flower' and '*Taḻal*' in "*Taḻal mati*" as the burning of the wasting disease brought on moon's head by the curse of *Dakṣa*. Or, it should be referring to the conceit of the Indian poets who make the desolate lovers cry against the heat of the moon. For, otherwise the description, "*Taḻal mati*" falsifies the other descriptions, "*Taṇṇār mati*",[71] "*Taṇṇār māmati*"[72] or "*Taṇ mati*",[73] 'the cool moon or the moon full of coolness', and "*Kuḷirtaru tiṅkaḷ*"[74]—'the moon that gives out coolness'.

59. 7: 71: 2.
60. 7: 63: 9.
61. 7: 3: 1.
62. 7: 7: 9.
63. 7: 56: 2.
64. 7: 40: 3.
65. 7: 70: 2.
66. 7: 40: 9.
67. 7: 77: 8.
68. 7: 1: 11.
69. 7: 16: 8.
70. 7: 62: 2.
71. 7: 1: 6.
72. 7: 86: 3.
73. 7: 38: 6.
74. 7: 98: 8

IX

It is to this conceit of the love sickness we must again go for explaining the *"Nīṭuṟaiyum nilā veṇ mati"*[75]—'the white moon of the radiance abiding for a very long time'. But, here also there may be a reference to the never fading brilliance of the gem of a moon. More than anything else this suggestion of a long life here brings out clearly the eternal blessing the moon received — the new life in the company of the Lord, the never to end long life. This description thus sings the poet's song of Grace and redemption of the Saviour, even as the description *"Tūmati"*[76] does. Has not the poet pointed out the very place, where this crown of His, the moon was relieved of and saved from the cruel enemy of his karma?—*"Piṟai-t tuṇṭamuṭi-c ceṭi koḷ viṇai-p pakai tīrum iṭam ..... Kacci Aṉēkataṅkāvatamē"*.[77]

X

The braids of cirrus of the heavens and the crescent therein have been suggested as the very reflection of the Lord. The poet is captivated by this beauty of the moon within the braid setting it ablaze with light or of the moon on the braid: *"Piṟaṅkum caṭai mēl. piṟai"*[78]—'the crescent on the braid thrown into bold relief'. He is enamoured of the beauty of the colour contrast—*"Puṉ caṭai mēl veṇṭiṅkaḷ"*[79]—'the white resplendent moon on the lustreless braids'. *"Mañcēr veṇ mati ceñcaṭai vaitta maṇi"*[80]—'the great ruby of the ruddy braids adorned with the white moon of the cirrus', if we may add, turned ruddy at dusk—a reflection of the braids as it were. The colour contrast of the red braids and white moon is repeated often and often—*"Ceñcaṭai mēl veṇ mati"*.[81] The idea of bringing together the braids and the moon is thus clear.[82]

75. 7: 3: 1.
76. 7: 56: 2.
77. 7: 10: 3.
78. 7: 4: 2.
79. 7: 14: 7.
80. 7: 15: 3.
81. 7: 40: 11; 7: 90: 5.
82. 7: 4: 2; 7: 5: 2; 7: 10: 4; 7: 15: 3; 7: 16: 11; 7: 25: 4; 7: 25: 7;7: 25: 10; 7: 28: 2; 7: 33: 1; 7: 35: 2; 7: 38: 1; 7: 38: 6; 7: 40: 1; 7: 40: 3; 7: 40: 9; 7: 40: 11; 7: 41: 7; 7: 44: 8; 7: 46: 3; 7: 47: 5; 7: 53: 4; 7: 56; 2; 7: 61: 6; 7: 62: 2; 7: 68: 9; 7: 70: 2; 7: 71: 1; 7: 72: 3; 7: 73: 4; 7: 75: 8; 7: 82: 5; 7: 85: 7; 7: 87: 8; 7: 89: 6; 7: 90: 5; 7: 91: 3; 7: 97: 6; 7: 98: 8.

XI

The colour scheme brings in the '*koṉṟai*' therein.[83] The cool Ganges glistens and throws a reflection of all the flowers and serpents and the juxtaposition of the moon and the Ganges explains this peculiar beauty.[84] The Ganges is a crown or a laurel wreath and so is the moon—"*Muṭippaṭu kaṅkaiyum tiṅkaḷum.*"[85] The combination of the Ganges and the moon on the crown of the Lord has already been explained, when commenting the *Gaṅgādhara* form of Śiva.

XII

The harmony of the Lord has already been explained in that connection.[86] The divine harmony of love is still further emphasized by the surprising attachment of the moon to the serpent on the crown of the Lord. This is an idea which occurs very often in Appar and in our poet. He is possessed, all to Himself, of that one form of the great moon and the serpent sleeping together on His crown—"*Muṭimēl māmatiyum aravum uṭaṉ tuyilum vaṭivē tām uṭaiyār*"[87], "*Valarāṭa piṟaiyum variyaravum uṭaṉ tuyila vaittaruḷum entai.*"[88] The moon does not grow, usually afraid of the serpent, but here our Lord makes them, out of His grace, sleep in peace together. The Lord of the glorious crescent moon embraces the serpent—"*Kuru māppiṟai pāmpai-t tīṇṭu Nampī*".[89] This is something unusual—a sign of divine presence and love; for, in the ordinary world it is the serpent of a *Rāhu* who rushes at the Moon to swallow whereas here on the crown of the Lord the erstwhile frightened moon it is that goes to approach, touch and fondle the serpent. Both are found in mutual embrace of love—"*Malkiya ceñcaṭaimēl matiyum aravum uṭaṉē pulkiya Āraṇaṉ*".[90] They play and interchange their places—"*Taṉmatiyum pāmpum taṭumāṟu caṭai.*"[91] It is this the kingdom of God come;

83. 7: 10: 4; 7: 27: 6; 7: 40: 3; 7: 53: 5; 7: 53: 1; 7: 77: 8; 7; 98: 8
84. 7: 6: 8; 7: 10: 4; 7: 16: 11; 7: 33: 1; 7: 35: 2; 7: 41: 7; 7; 73: 4; 7: 77: 8; 7: 86: 2; 7: 98: 8.
85. 7: 44: 1.
86. 7: 6: 8; 7: 10: 4; etc.
87. 7: 23: 1.
88. 7: 38: 3.
89. 7: 63: 9.
90. 7: 97: 6.
91. 7: 38: 6.

the New Order—the unique culture of the Lord—"*Pāmpiṉoṭu paṭar caṭai mēl mati vaitta paṇpīr*".[92]

In keeping with the tradition of the Homeric simile where the poets digress and indulge in descriptions, captivated by his own imagination and vision of the thing Ārūrar describes the moon at length. The beautiful white moon appears in the midst of the cirrus clouds—"*Mañcēr veṇmati*".[93] "*Maḻai nuḻai matiyam*"[94]—'It is the moon entering the rain-bearing clouds'—a sight which has pleased every child imagining that the moon is playing a game of hide and seek with it.

XIII

The moon has reached the topmost place. It is the great moon of the high skies—"*Viṇṇil mā mati*".[95] It approaches the topmost heights of human arts of architecture and of the nature's grandeur of a garden. There is the rampart of a wall made cool by the over-hanging bunches of flowers of the surrounding garden of nature, the palaces, the rise within the city wall (unimaginable heights according to the conceit of Man); the moon comes on the top—"*Kontaṇavum poḻil cūḻ kuḻir mā matil māḻikai mēl vantaṇavum mati cēr caṭai mā mutu kuṉṟuṭaiyāy*".[96] Here is the over reaching and soaring imagination of Man crowned by the moon. This imaginative art appears but a reflection of Divinity with the moon on its spreading braids of Heaven. The poet does not say so; his words suggest this idea. This is not of the weaving of our own imagination. In another place the poet makes the phenomenon of the universe standing with the moon on the crown of the Heavens, a symbol and a reflection—nay an incarnation of the inner vision of the seers and the reality of the Lord—a symbol and an incarnation on this world required for giving a firm grasp to the poorer pilgrims to the promised land. 'You are in their eyes; there are those who think of you in their inner thought—in their heart of hearts; you enable them to see you to become an existence of this earth; so you have placed the moon (on the crown)'—"*Kaṇṇuḷīray-k karuttil ummai-k karutuvārkaḷ kāṇum vaṇṇam maṇṇuḷīrāy matiyam vaittīr*".[97] Here is explained the

92. 7: 46: 3.
93. 7: 15: 3.
94. 7: 85: 7.
95. 7: 75: 6.
96. 7: 25: 7.
97. 7: 6: 4.

philosophy of beauty and the theory of art representing divinity as incarnating in the images and other works of art.

XIV

As in other cases of Śiva's feats, here also the final consummation is the dance of Grace and joy. The Lord moves or changes the modes and dances wearing *Gaṅgā* and the crescent—"*Piṟaiyum Kaṅkaiyum cūṭi-p peyarntāṭum perumāṉār*".[98]

XV

The poetic epic of the story of moon's redemption, the artistic representation of this form as a dance and an image—all these thus have an esoteric meaning—a revelation of Lord's Grace, and therefore Ārūrar asks, 'What is the significance of your wearing the crescent and why have you done so?'—"*Piṟaṅkum caṭaimēl piṟai cūṭiṯṟu eṉṉē?*"[99]

98. 7: 86: 2.
99. 7: 4: 2.

CHAPTER V

RĀVAṆA ANUGRAHA MŪRTI

I

Among the forms conferring Grace, *Āgamas* mention also *Rāvaṇa anugraha mūrti*. Whilst *Rāvaṇa* was going in his chariot, coursing through air, Mount *Kailās* stood in his way. Proud *Rāvaṇa* began to uproot the mountain and throw it away from his path. The trembling of the Mountain terrified Pārvatī, and Śiva pressed down the mountain with his toe, crushing *Rāvaṇa* underneath it. He was advised to sing hymns on Śiva. His music and song pleased the Lord who blessed him with long life and a sword.

If Vaiṣṇavites glorify their Lord as the conqueror of *Rāvaṇa*, should not Śaivites have a story of Śiva vanquishing this *Rākṣasa*? The defeat of *Rāvaṇa* at the hands of the monkeys was itself, according to Śaivites, a result of *Nandi's* curse on *Rāvaṇa* when the latter insulted *Nandi* on the Mount *Kailās* at his advising *Rāvaṇa* to go a different way. The very name *Rāvaṇa* — from the root '*Ṛ*' to bewail or scream — according to the Śaivites, arose out of his screaming under the Mountain. They love the story so very much that they think that it was Appar who in his previous birth advised *Rāvaṇa* to sing the hymns of God and that, therefore, Appar in every one of his hymns refers to *Rāvaṇa*. Ñāṉacampantar also, sings of this story of Rāvaṇa in the 8th verse of each of his hymns uniformly — except in a few cases. There can be no doubt that this was a very popular story in the age of *Tēvāram*.

II

The story is popular in the Tamil country from the days of the *Caṅkam* work *Kalittokai*. In the *Kuṟiñcikkali*, Kapilar compares, an elephant striking its tusk against a '*vēṅkai*' tree,[1] from which the tusk cannot be taken out, to the twice five headed king of the *Rākṣasas*, placing his hands underneath the mountain, trying to lift it up with his bent hands shining with shoulderlets, failing in his attempt and suffering therefrom, whilst the '*Antaṇaṉ*' of the cool

1. *East Indian kino tree.*

braided hairs, who bent the bow of Himālayas sat on that high mountain lovingly with *Umā* :

"Imayavil vāṅkiya īrñcaṭai antaṇaṇ
Umaiyamarntu uyarmalai iruntaṇaṇ āka
Aiyiru talaiyiṇ arakkar kōmāṇ
Toṭipoli taṭakkaiyiṛ kīḻppukut tammalai
Eṭukkal cellātu uḻappavaṇ pōla
Uṛupuli uruvēyppap pūtta vēṅkaiyai
Kaṛukkoṇ ṭataṇmutaṛ kuttiya matayāṇai".[2]

III

No particular form for this *mūrti* is prsecribed in the *Āgamas* or *Śilpa śāstras*. In the sculptures of the age of Ārūrar we are fortunate to get the representation of this form. There is figure 5, in Plate CXXIII of *Rea*. Rea enumerates the figures found there as follows:—'Śiva, Pārvatī and three attendants. supported on a lotus by Brahma'. This is evidently wrong. Brahma is given only four hands by *Mānasāra* and other works. Here, there are more hands than four; there must be more beneath the chest line, up to which alone the figure appears. The posture is one of trying to carry something — suggesting *Rāvaṇa* under the mountain. Only three faces are visible but others must be beyond the angle of vision. In other figures which are admittedly of *Rāvaṇa*, we see only three clear faces. Pārvatī is sitting by the side of Śiva resting her hand firmly on Śiva's thigh. Śiva is pressing down his right arm, whilst he is catching something up in support. The left leg is bent vertically whilst the right leg is hanging and is pressing down.

From the Tripurāntakēśvara temple in Coñjīvaram comes another representation.[3] Five faces of *Rāvaṇa* are within the angle of vision. *Rāvaṇa* is kneeling down and trying to uproot the mountain with his hands and with all his strength, as is revealed by the twists of his body and heads. Śiva and Pārvatī are seated up above. *Rāvaṇa's* efforts seem to have tilted them to the left, for he is moving the mountain up and to their left. They are pressing down on their left. Pārvatī's body seems to lean towards Śiva. Ten arms on the right and eight arms on the left are within the angle of vision.

2. *Kalittokai*, 38.
3. Plate CIX, Fig. 2 of *Rea*.

Plate CV, Fig. 1, represents *Rāvaṇa* uprooting the mountain. *Rāvaṇa's* three faces alone are visible.[3a] The effort of *Rāvaṇa* is very well brought out. He is kneeling down; a rotary effort is attempted. The heads are being crushed and are falling down. Rocks are giving way and one is falling down on one of his left hands. This is from the Muktēśvara temple of Coñjīvaram.

Plate LXXIV, Fig. 4 of *Rea* is from Matańgēśvara temple, Coñjīvaram. *Rāvaṇa* is found kneeling down. Five faces are visible; six hands on the left and eight on the right are there. We see his back. Pārvatī shows some loss of equilibrium. Śiva's elongated right leg is hurriedly pressing down. All these sculptures bear a family likeness as belonging to one particular school of artists.

IV

Ārūrar's descriptions may be studied in the light of these explanations. *Rāvaṇa* was a *Rākṣasa*—"*Arakkaṉ*".[4] He was adamantine—"*Val arakkan*".[5] He was mighty and strong—"*Vali cēr arakkaṉ*".[6] He was a hero and a warrior—"*Maṟakkoḷ arakkaṉ*".[7] But all his capacities and strength were used for evil; it was a crime, not strength—"*Kuṟṟattiṟal*".[8] "*Maṟakkoḷ arakkaṉ*" mentioned above may also mean a sinful and deadly *Rākṣasa*. He was like the black mountain—"*Karuvarai pōl arakkaṉ*;[9] but all the same he has a splendour or beauty of his own—"*Tēcuṭaiya*".[10]

He was Rāvaṇa—"*Irāvaṇaṉ*".[11] He was the lord or king of *Laṅka*—"*Ilaṅkaiyar kōṉ*"; "*Ilaṅkaikkiṟaivaṉ*";[12] "*Ilaṅkai vēntaṉ*".[13] Laṅka was of the great ocean throwing up the breakers. It was surrounded on all sides by the ocean which by its very motion (of its currents or waves) is circum-ambulating the island—"*Kaṭi cūḻ kaṭal ilaṅkai*".[14] It was in the Southern seas full of waves—"*Tiraiyiṉār kaṭal cūḻnta Teṉṉilaṅkai*".[15] It is the city full of

3a. Plate CXXIII, *ibid.*
4. 7: 2: 10; 7: 20: 8; 7: 62: 9; 7: 88: 9; 7: 91: 9; 7: 93: 4.
5. 7: 23: 8.
6. 7: 47: 9.
7. 7: 93: 4.
8. 7: 67: 9.
9. 7: 8: 10.
10. 7: 46: 7.
11. 7: 18: 9; 7: 90: 7.
12. 7: 3: 8; 7: 4: 8; 7: 16: 7; 7: 40: 11; 7: 46: 7; 7: 55: 9; 7: 78: 9
13. 7: 68: 9.
14. 7: 78: 9.
15. 7: 40: 11.

very long trunk roads for strong chariots—perhaps opening out into all the parts of his universe—*"Tiṇṭēr neṭu vīti"*.[16]

This happened once upon a time—*"Paṇṭu"*.[17] Rāvaṇa came in the chariot.[18] He was in his glories or with the sword—*"Vanta vāḷ arakkaṉ"*.[19] He was in the prime of his youth like a bull—*"Kāḷai"*.[20] He cared for none; he never thought of God—*"Karutāta Arakkaṉ"*.[21] He was coming in a chariot, a strongly built and fast moving chariot—*"Kaṭuttavaṉ tēr koṇṭōṭi"*.[22] When his chariot was running, the mountain lay across preventing his free flight—*"Malaṅka varai"*.[23] It was the beautiful and resplendent Kailās—*"Eḻil tikaḻ Kailai"*;[24] the good Kailās—*"Kayilāya naṉ malai"*.[25] He was too full of the pride of Sovereignty—*"Mikkiṟai ēyavaṉ"*[26] to notice at first this mountain. His intellect worked the wrong way—*"Tuṉmati"*.[27] He thought he had the required proud strength—*"Miṭukkuṇṭu eṉṟu"*[28] and rushed to uproot the mountain—*"Oṭiyōr veṟpeṭuttāṉ"*.[29] He wanted to pluck it out as it were—*"Paṟṟi varaiyai eṭutta arakkaṉ"*.[30] He was in the act of raising it, but the poet states he had raised it.[31] It refers to the attempt and not the achievement. The poet dramatically thus brings out the effort which to the onlookers appears to be almost successful.

V

This gave a shaking to the mountain. The daughter of Himavān, was frightened—*"Imavāṉ makaḷ añca"*.[32] Ārūrar develops an idea which Appar has imagined in his poetry.[33]

16. 7: 3: 8.
17. 7: 73: 8.
18. 7: 53: 7; 7: 82: 10.
19. 7: 70: 5.
20. 7: 57: 9.
21. 7: 38: 9.
22. 7: 22: 7.
23. 7: 78: 9.
24. 7: 68: 9.
25. 7: 22: 7.
26. 7: 11: 7.
27. 7: 11: 7.
28. 7: 17: 10.
29. 7: 17: 10.
30. 7: 91: 9.
31. 7: 2: 10; 7: 17: 10; 7: 57: 9; 7: 68: 9; 7: 90: 7; 7: 91: 9.
32. 7: 68: 9.
33. 6: 12: 10.

The Lady of the pure words and the broad pelvis draped in rich cotton was in a sulky mood, full of bouderie. Śiva could not appease her. Rāvaṇa came at the most opportune moment, as though he had been told to come—*"Coṟpāṭāy vantu"*.[34] His shaking of the mountain made her suddenly embrace Śiva, forgetting all her bouderie.

VI

The Lord smiled a little. He pressed his foot.[35] He touched the mountain below with his foot,[36] only with one toe on the mountain.[37] Rāvaṇa was caught under the mountain and crushed.[38] Mountains of his shoulders were crushed, by the mountain or by the dint of the line made by the tip of God's toe—*"Varai"*.[39] There are two places in these hymns where the swift movement and the sense are suggested by the sound of the words.

"Paṟṟi varaiyai eṭutta arakkaṉ
Iṟṟu muriya viralāl aṭarttāṉ".[40]

"Maṟakkoḷ arakkaṉ varaitōḷ varaiyāl
Iṟakkoḷ viraṟkōṉ irukkum iṭam".[41]

Thus was Rāvaṇa attacked. His stength was also crushed.[42] His power was destroyed—*"Āṟṟal aḻittu"*.[43] He was thrown out and he fell down with his body mangled—*"Pōy viḻntu citaiya"*.[44]

Rāvaṇa's discomfiture is described in greater detail. The ten heads were crushed.[45] The poet counts the heads leisurely as five plus five, perhaps following Kapilar, mentioned above.[46] In the sculptures, we see five faces represented on one side and five suggested on the other side or back side. Alas! what a fate for

34. 7: 46: 7.
35. 7: 88: 9.
36. 7: 90: 7.
37. 7: 11: 7; 7: 16: 7; 7: 53: 7; 7: 57: 9; 7: 91: 9; 7: 93: 4; 7: 98: 10.
38. 7: 73: 8.
39. 7: 93: 4.
40. 7: 91: 9.
41. 7: 93: 4.
42. 7: 17: 10.
43. 7: 62: 9.
44. 7: 53: 7.
45. 7: 2: 10; 7: 4: 8; 7: 16: 7; 7: 90: 7.
46. 7: 88: 9.

the crowned heads![47] He began to shriek with the twice five mouths of the ten crowned faces.[48] He screamed under the Mount Kailās.[49] He moaned at being crushed.[50]

The poet indulges in counting the heads and hands. It is only in a few places he says that the heads and hands were crushed without mentioning their numbers.[51] The shoulders were very big—"*Peruntōḷkaḷ*;[52] he most often gives their number. The twenty round shoulders, God crushed.[53] Sometimes he emphasizes the large number of shoulders as referring to them as 'many shoulders' perhaps suggesting they are innumerable.[54] He speaks of the five times four arms.[55] He counts both the ten heads and the twenty arms.[56]

Ārūrar in describing Śiva's attack on *Rāvaṇa* uses the verbs '*iṟuttu*' (smashed),[57] '*aṭarttu*' (crushed—oppressed),[58] '*nerittu*' (squeezed),[59] '*iṟṟu*' (broke the bones),[60] '*citaittu*' (mangled),[61] '*aḻittu* (destroyed),[62] '*tolaittu*' (removed)[63] and '*ceṟṟu*' (subdued and overcame).[64]

The poet states that the Lord of the shoulders and ten crowns was made to evolve through the three stages of a '*Pēy*',[65] or ghost or demon. Perhaps the three stages are: growing big, growing small and disappearing in almost death; or, it may mean losing the heads, losing the arms and shrieking. Or, the three stages of

47. 7: 38: 9.
48. 7: 22: 7.
49. 7: 98: 10.
50. 7: 16: 7.
51. 7: 20: 8.
52. 7: 38: 9.
53. 7: 3: 8.
54. 7: 4: 8.
55. 7: 47: 9.
56. 7: 16: 7; 7: 38: 9; 7: 88: 9.
57. 7: 2: 10; 7: 4: 8.
58. 7: 23: 8; 7: 46: 7; 7: 47: 9; 7: 55: 9; 7: 73: 8; 7: 78: 9; 7: 88: 9; 7: 91: 9; 7: 98: 10.
59. 7: 3: 8; 7: 17: 10; 7: 68: 9; 7: 82: 10.
60. 7: 4: 8; 7: 16: 7.
61. 7: 53: 7.
62. 7: 62: 9.
63. 7: 70: 5.
64. 7: 40: 11.
65. 7: 38: 9.

demonhood may refer to the *'Pēy', 'Pāriṭam'* and *'Pūtam'* which are explained later.

The heads and hands fell broken—*"Iṟṟu vīḻa"*.[66] The sculpture above described illustrates this.[67] The hands were broken; the brain matter had come out of all his crowned heads; that was how the Lord crushed him down with one toe.[68] In the course of these descriptions, the poet is himself overpowered by the horror and exclaims: 'He is pitiless — He who broke up the five and five heads and twenty shoulders of the Rākṣasa whom He completely crushed'.[69]

VII

If the poet is horrified at this first step, he is inspired by the next step. It is said that *Rāvaṇa* made a harp or *'vīṇa'* of his hands with the head as the sound box. The representation of *Rāvaṇēśvara Vāhana* of modern times clearly expresses this idea. In Plate CV of *Rea,* one of the heads fallen on *Rāvaṇa's* thigh may represent the sound box; the upper part of the *'vīṇa'* the hand, is not there. The poet, however, refers to this. *Rāvaṇa* sings the *Vēdic* songs to the tune of the strings of his hands—*"Kai narampāl vēda gītaṅkaḷ pāṭaluṟa"*.[70] He sang divine music—*"Tippiya kītaṅkaḷ"*.[71] The Lord heard the sweet music of these songs of great ideal or significance—*"Kuṟikoḷ pāṭaliṉ iṉṉicai kēṭṭu"*.[72] All this was the work of God—*"Paṭuttavaṉ"*.[73] The sinner who had to die was given a fresh long lease of life—*"Vāḻum nāḷ koṭuttāy"*.[74] It was fixed at many thousands of years. A chariot was given; a sword was also given by the Lord to *Rāvaṇa.*[75] The chariot was the *'Puṣpaka vimāna'* which *Rāvaṇa* won from *Kubēra;* but the poet makes it a Śiva's gift. The Lord gave him not only the sword into his victorious right hand but also the title of *Rāvaṇa* —one who screamed—which had become famous.[76] The scream-

66. 7: 4: 8.
67. Plate CV—*Rea.*
68. 7: 57: 9.
69. 7: 88: 9.
70. 7: 22: 7.
71. 7: 46: 7.
72. 7: 55: 9.
73. 7: 22: 7.
74. 7: 70: 5.
75. 7: 46: 7.
76. 7: 68: 9.

ing is the repentance and the theory of Grace lays much store by this repentance. Therefore, this name becomes of great importance. God never looks down upon this but saves him and gives him a long life. He is indeed the munificent Lord. 'Oh! Thou Lord of Umā! Thus you shower your sweet Grace'—"*Iṉṉaruḷ ceyta Umāpati*",[77] exclaims the poet. The foot that crushed, worked this wonder. The Lord was there bestowing this final goal—"*Ketipēṟu ceytiruntāṉ*".[78] The Lord blessed *Rāvaṇa*.[79] The Lord is no more the pitiless. He melted down into pity at *Rāvaṇa's* song; that is the victory of the Lord, the victory of His pity.[80] The crushing down, in the eyes of Ārūrar, is no victory. 'The Lord is pitiless', the poet said, but understanding the final consummation, he hurries to add, 'He is alone the beautiful'—"*Avarē aḻakiyaṟē.*"[81]

This story of the sinner repenting and singing hymns to God and becoming the unequalled, inspires our poet, a poet and a musician himself, singing hymns on God and he confesses this in his famous *Tiruppuṇkūr hymn*.[82]

77. 7: 98: 10.
78. 7: 78: 9.
79. 7: 18: 9.
80. 7: 62: 9.
81. 7: 88: 9.
82. 7: 55: 9.

PART III

CHAPTER I

TRIPURĀNTAKA MŪRTI

I

The story of the burning down of the three castles of the air has captivated the imagination of the Tamilians. The conception of flying in the air has been dreamt of by generations of men. The Tamilians spoke of an ancient Cōḷa king of theirs, adorned with beautiful armlets of heroism, conquering the three castles hanging in the air and flying through it—"*Tūṅkeyil eṛinta toṭittōḷ Cempiyaṉ.*" The epic *Maṇimēkhalai* refers to the story of the more ancient Cōḷa, burying down the castles at the instance of Agastya. *Puṛanānūṛu*, 33 refers to these hanging castles terrifying the enemies. *Puṛam.*, 55 refers to the story of Śiva as harassing the three castles with a single arrow and bow of the towering mountain fitted up with the bow-string of a serpent. *Cilappatikāram* in its *Vāḻttukkātai* gives the number of these castles as three. *Paḻamoḻi*[1] explains that these were hanging in the air.

II

Though the *Saṁhitās* of the *Vēdas* do not speak of the Cōḷa, they are aware of these three castles, which, as explained in the commentary on the *Vājasanēyi Saṁhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*,[2] the asuras built, as a result of their severe austerities to counteract the defeat the gods had inflicted on them but unfortunately, only to be destroyed by *Agni*. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the *asuras*, the brothers of the gods through their common father Prajāpati, building the three castles for destroying which the jealous Indra, the leader of the *Dēvas*, prepared a thunderbolt with *Agni* as shaft, *Sōma* as iron, and Viṣṇu as the point. This is still further amplified by the *Taittirīya saṁhitā*, where the three castles are said to be in three different rising strata of iron, silver and gold and where it is further stated that *Rudra* was chosen to wield the thunderbolt of an arrow and that he destroyed

1. V., 49.
2. VI. 2: iii.

the castles and drove away the *asuras*. The *purāṇas* still further elaborate the story by trying to explain the name *Mahēśvara*.

The *Mahābhārata* tells us, the three sons of *Tāraka*, who was killed by *Kārtikēya* as mentioned in *Kumārasambhava*, the three viz., *Tārakākṣa*, *Kamalākṣa* and *Vidyunmālī*, were blessed by Brahma for their penances, with the power to occupy three castles which would be moving at their whims and fancies and becoming one, after a thousand years to be destructible thereafter only by one single arrow. Probably the *asuras* thought they could escape any error by their flight. *Maya* built the castles, one of gold in heaven, the other of silver in air and the third of iron on earth. Indra's *vajra* had no effect on them. Brahma said that the single arrow which would destroy the castles could be wielded by Mahādēva only. Mahādēva obtained one half of their strength from all the gods, thereby becoming Mahēśvara and Mahādēva. Viṣṇu became his arrow, *Agni* its barb, *Yama* its feather, *Vēdas* his bow, *Śāvitri* his bow-string and *Brahma* his charioteer. The castles were destroyed.

In the *Mahābhārata*, it was Prajāpati, who advised the *Dēvas* to go to Mahēśvara, explaining that the latter alone could destroy the *Tripura*, because, by Him the Universe is pervaded. Who through particular austerities knows the *yōga* and the *sāṁkhya* of the *ātman*.[3] Mahādēva is stronger than others by these austerities, this *yōga* and *sāṁkhya* and in addition He has got half the strength of every *dēva*, the power they get from sacrifice. This explains one stage in the development of Śaivism and wherever the word *Mahādēva* or *Perumāṉ* is mentioned, it may be taken as a reference to this conception of God of gods.

III

This *Tripurāntaka*, the destroyer of the three castles, His form became popular in the islands of the Eastern seas. A Sanskrit inscription of *Champa* speaks of *Praṇava* being the bow of Śiva, *Sāvitri* his bow-string, *Viṣṇu* the arrow, *Sōma* the feather, *Agni* its barb, *Gods* his chariot, *Vēdas* its horses and *Ida* and *Viriñca* its charioteers.

3. *Muir.*, IV, p. 224.

IV

The Tamil Country which even now cherishes the memory of the story of "*Tūṅkeyil eṛinta Toṭittōḷ Cempiyaṉ*" has been speaking of *Vīraṭṭāṉams* at least from the times of Tirumūlar and *Tēvāram*. The Tamilians have been believing that the eight great heroic acts of God Śiva including that of the *Tripura Dahanam* were performed within the sacred precincts of Tamil land. This burning of the castles took place, according to Tamilian tradition, at Tiruvatikai near the railway station Paṇṇuruṭṭi.[4]

Names of some villages nearby are explained in relation to this feat of Śiva. We are told that because Vināyaka was not worshipped, the axle of the chariot broke down and the place is Acciṛupākkam now known as Accarapākkam. Pēraṇi is the place where the army of *Dēvas* stood arranged.

More particulars are given in the tradition as obtaining in the Tamil Country and as embodied in the local *stalapurāṇas*. The world becomes the chariot, the *Vēdas* the horses, the Mount *Mēru* the bow and *Ādiśēṣa* the bow-string. It is this tradition that Sundarar has in mind in singing of the feats of Śiva. As the chariot breaks down proving the impotence of the whole world and the *Dēvas*, Lord Śiva laughs and the radiance of that smile reduces the castles to ashes.

V

The great epic *Cilappatikāram* enumerates the ancient eleven dances of Tamil land. Two of them relate to the burning of the castles—*Koṭukoṭṭi* and *Pāṇṭaraṅkam*:

> "*Bārati yāṭiya Bārati araṅkattu-t*
> *Tiripuram eriya-t tēvar vēṇṭa*
> *Erimuka-p pērampu ēval kēṭpa*
> *Umaiyavaḷ orutiraṉ āka ōṅkiya*
> *Imaiyavaṉ āṭiya koṭukoṭṭi āṭalum*
> *Tērmuṉ niṉṛa Ticaimukaṉ kāṇa-p*
> *Pāraṭi aṭiya viyaṉpāṉ ṭaraṅkamum.*"[5]

The *Dēvas* were desirous that the three castles should be burnt. The big arrow with the marine fire at its point obeyed His com-

4. Bāṇa Rāstra.
5. *Cilap.*, 6: 39-45.

mand (and burnt them). The demons were burnt to ashes. It was now a heap of ashes—the very burning ghat where the *Bhairavī* or *Kāḷī* went to dance. On the stage of *Bhairavī*, with *Umā* sharing one part and keeping time with her hands, the God of gods in the joy of victory clapped His hands and danced the terrible clapping dance. In that chariot, a form assumed by the *Dēvas,* were yoked, the four swift galloping horses of *Vēdas* and there sat Brahma covering his back and tying up the long cloth into a turban and holding the whip. Lord Śiva danced in the form of *Bhairavī* or *Sarasvatī,* besmearing Himself with ashes. This is the explanation that the commentator Aṭiyārkkunallār gives. We have discussed this explanation in the place referring to the *Kapāla* dance in another article. In another place in *Cilappatikāram*, the Cākkaiyaṉ (dancer) dances *'Koṭṭiccētam'*—the dance of *'Koṭukoṭṭi'* above mentioned, before the Cēra king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ on his victorious return from his northern tour.

Tirunilai-c cēvaṭi cilampuvāy pulampavum
Paritaru cēṅkaiyiṟ paṭupaṟai ārppavum
Ceṅkaṇ āyiram tirukkurippu aruḷavum
Ceñcaṭai ceṉṟu ticaimukam alampavum
Pāṭakam pataiyātu cūṭakam tuḷaṅkātu
Mēkalai oliyātu meṉmulai acaiyātu
Vārkuḻai āṭātu maṇikkuḻal aviḻātu
Umaiyavaḷ orutiṟa nāka ōṅkiya
Imaiyavaṉ āṭiya Koṭṭi-c cētam".[6]

"In His feet where wealth takes for a root, the anklets began to resound; the thousand ruddy eyes expressed the feeling of His heart; His fiery matted hair stretched far and wide, brushed the eight faces of the compass. But there was no anxious haste in Her (Umā's) anklet, no fear and motion in Her armleṭ, no sound in Her girdle, no movement in Her soft bosom, no swing in the long pendents of Her ears, no unloosening in Her dark tresses of hair. Thus the out-stretched God of gods danced a *'Koṭukoṭṭi'* dance with the (calm) .... Umā on one side. This *'Koṭukoṭṭi'* dance (*Koṭṭi-c cētam*), the Cākkaiyaṉ dancer of Paṟaiyūr performed whilst the king was looking at it from his balcony".

6 *Cilap.*, 28: 67-75.

VI

Kalittokai, one of the *Caṅkam* anthologies, mentions this Śiva's feat of burning the castles both in its invocatory verse and in the first verse. The first verse has not much to say. "The desert", it says, "which the hero has to cross, is burning and hot because of the spreading forest fire of bamboos, spreading all around, like the fire spreading all round the three castles at which Śiva sent His arrow":

"Toṭaṅkaṟkaṇ tōṉṟiya mutiyavaṇ mutalāka
Aṭaṅkātār miṭalcāya amararvantu irattaliṉ
Maṭaṅkalpōl ciṉaii māyamcey avuṇarai-k
Kaṭantaṭu muṉpoṭu mukkaṇāṉ mūveyilum
Uṭaṉṟakkāl mukamēpōl ōṉkatir ṭeṟutaliṉ
Cīṟaruṅ kaṇicciyōn ciṉavaliṉ avveyil
Ēṟupeṟ ṟutirvaṇapōl varaipiḷan tiyaṅkunar".[7]

The invocatory verse is much more important; it describes the dance mentioned above:

"You have recited many rare *Mantras* to the saints, great in six lores. You have hidden the clear water within your matted hair and you have burnt the wandering castles. Around you stand your terrible servants who never know any defeat. You pass beyond words and thoughts. You of the sapphire throat and the eight arms! Pray, listen to me now! That resounding drum in your hand makes many a musical instrument to resonate. The numerous visible forms, you make them all disappear and involve in yourself and you dance the dance of cruel clapping. Will She of the wide hip, of the raised sides and creeper-like waist (Pārvatī) give the closing phase of the 'tāḷa' correctly? You have won many offensive wars. In the joy of that strength, you besmear yourself beautifully with the ashes and you dance the white dance of *Pāṇṭaraṅkam.* Will that lady of the tresses where hum the bees and of tender shoulders soft like the pillow and beautifully formed like the bamboo, give you that growing medial duration of the *tāḷa?*—So exclaims one, at the thought of your dance. The lady of the jewels of exquisite art keeps the three phases of the tāḷa for your dance of destruction. Out of love for us, the wretched things

7. *Kali.,* First Verse.

without love, you have taken a form for saving us—you the dancer of these dances of destruction."

"Āṟaṟi antaṇarkku arumaṟai palapakarntu
Tēṟunīr caṭaikkarantu tiripuram tīmaṭuttu-k
Kūṟāmal kuṟittataṇmēl cellum kaṭuṅkūḷi
Māṟāppōr maṇimiṭaṟṟu eṇkaiyāy kēḷiṇi;
Paṭupaṟai palaviyampa-p palluruvam peyarttunī
Koṭukoṭṭi āṭuṅkāl kōṭuyar akalalkul
Koṭipurai nucuppiṇāḷ koṇṭacīṟ taruvāḷō !
Maṇṭamar palakaṭantu matukaiyāl nīṟaṇintu
Paṇṭaraṅkam āṭuṅkāṟ paṇaiyeḷil aṇaimeṇṟōḷ
Vaṇṭararṟum kūntalāḷ vaṇṭūkku-t taruvāḷo !
(Kolaiyuḷuvai-t tōlacaii-k koṇṟait-tār cuvalpuraḷa-t
Talaiyaṅkai-k koṇṭunī kāpālam āṭuṅkāl
Mulaiyaṇinta muṟuvalāḷ muṟpāṇi taṟuvāḷo!)
Eṇavāṅku,
Pāṇiyum tūkkum cīrum eṇṟivai
Māṇiḷai aṟivai kāppa
Āṇamil poruḷemak kamarntaṇai āṭi."[8]

Nacciṇārkkiṇiyar quotes the following verses in explanation of the dance mentioned here:

"Koṭṭi yāṭal tōṟṟam oṭṭiya
Umaiyavaḷ orupā lāka orupāl
Imaiyā nāttat tiṟaiva ṉāki
Amaiyā vuṭkum viyappum viḻaivum
Polivum ... porunta nōkkiya
Tokka avuṇar iṉṉuyir iḻappa
Akkaḷam poliya āṭiṉaṉ eṉpa
Maṟṟataṉ,
Viruttam kāṭṭaṟ poruḷoṭu kūṭi-p
Porutta varūum poruntiya pāṭal
Tiruttaku marapiṉ teyvat tutippē".

"The *Koṭṭiyāṭal* appears thus: Umā is on one side. The Lord of the never opened eye is on another side. It appears as though that His looks express frightfulness, wonder, love and beauty. The *Titans* lose their sweet lives and that field becomes beautiful whilst

8. *Kali., Invocatory verse.*

Lord dances there. The song appropriate for this dance is in praise of God, bringing out the import of protection".

"Ēṟamar kaṭavuḷ mūveyil eivuḷi-k
Kūṟukūṟāka-k koṭiyoṭum paṭaiyoṭum
Vēṟuvē ṟuruviṉ viṉmicai-p parantaṉar
Avvaḷi oḷiyoṭum uruvoṭum tōṉṟi-t
Tērmuṉ niṉṟu ticaitalai paṉippa-c
Cuvaiyum kuṟippum oḷivila tōṉṟi
Avaiyavai avvaḷi āṭiṉaṉ āṭa
Maintarum makaḷirum tantanilai aḻiya
Meyppaṭu cuvaiyoṭu kaippaṭai maṟappa-k
Kaṭiya kāla-k kāṟṟeṉa ēṟṟavaṉ
Paṭinilai tiriyā-p pāṇṭaraṅ kammē."

"The Lord seated on the bull aims his arrow at the three castles. At that time, with flags and weapons, they spread out, above the skies, in various forms, in many groups. At that time, the Lord appears in a frightful form of brightness. He stands on the front part of the chariot. Interminable sentiments and ideas are inspired then and there, whilst He dances. At the sight of this dance, the men and women cease to be themselves. They are moved by the sentiments expressed by the dance and forget their weapons. He dances like the whirlwind of the day of destruction. He remains unmoved, this Lord of the Bull, when He dances this white dance of *Pāṇṭaraṅkam!*"

It will appear therefore, according to Naccinārkkiniyar, that *'Koṭukoṭṭi'* is the dance of final destruction whilst *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* is the *Tripura* dance. This interpretation must be in accordance with the tradition prevailing in Naccinārkkiniyar's time but there is a much more ancient tradition preserved in *Cilappatikāram* as already pointed out, where *Koṭukoṭṭi* was looked upon as the first part of *Tripura* dance, a dance performed on the chariot before the castles were destroyed whilst *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* is the final part of the *Tripura* dance, the dance on the ashes of castles and *Titans.*

VII

In view of the variety of forms of the image which the story must have produced, the *Aṁśumadbhēda Āgama* prescribes, rather describes, eight forms. In the first form, the left leg of Śiva is bent a little backwards, whilst the right is moving slightly forward. One right hand is in *siṁhakaraṇa* pose at about the height

of the navel holding the bow-string in which the arrow is set. The bow is held in the left hand, with three bends or with crescent form. Another right hand grasps the *ṭaṅka;* the left holds the deer; other hands are held in *kartari-hasta* pose. Śiva has *jaṭā-makuṭa.* On the left is the *Dēvī.* The bow tapers at the ends and the arrow is as thick as Śiva's little finger. *Uttara kāmika Āgama* mentions that there will be *makara kuṇḍala* on the right ear and that Śiva may have four or two hands and that Śiva should be in *samabhaṅga* pose.

In the second form Śiva's left foot is kept on the *Apasmāra.* In the third, Śiva, with His left leg straight, stands, whilst the right leg is slightly bent. In the fourth variety perhaps the right foot is placed on the *Apasmāra.* In the fifth variety the palm of the front left hand faces up and that of the right hand remains turned downwards, grasping the point and tail of the arrow respectively. The back right and left hands hold *ṭaṅka* and deer or bow respectively. The legs remain a little bent with no *Apasmāra.*

In the sixth, as opposed to the four arms of the five varieties, there are eight arms holding the arrow, *paraśu, khaḍga, vajra* on the right, and *vismaya* and *kaṭaka* poses, the bow and the shield on the left hands. Śiva is graceful and beautiful in His *atibhaṅga* pose with Dēvī to His left.

In the seventh, His arms are ten, carrying *bāṇa, cakra, śūla, ṭaṅka, vajra* in the right hands, *dhanus, śaṅkha, khēṭaka, vismaya* pose and *sūci* pose in the left hands.

In the eighth form, Śiva is driving in a chariot with the right leg slightly raised resting on a part of the chariot and the left leg being planted in its middle. There is a *mukula,* the *koṭiñci* of Tamil literature, the prop in the form of lotus bud. It is tied up with a rope. Brahma, the driver, is seated in the middle of the lotus with a bamboo stick in the one right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the other, whilst *padma pāśa* and *kuṇḍikā* are held in His left hands. Below the *mukula,* the white bull is standing, which is no other than Viṣṇu getting down from the arrow to restore equilibrium to the chariot now giving way under the feet of Śiva. The chariot is shown as sailing in the air.

The plate XXXIII (6) of *Rea,* gives a representation of this. It is the left leg that is kept in front. Śiva has the right leg bent forwards. The left arms are kept in *vismaya* and *kaṭaka* poses. The right hands hold a torch, a *sūcī* pose and possibly a *paraśu.* The

driver is Brahma. There are two horses visible. There is a sitting bull on a resting pole. This does not tally with any one of the eight forms, if the details are taken as authoritative, though it is clear it corresponds roughly to the eighth variety.

Probably plate LV (1) of *Rea* also represents the *Tripura* fight with the three asuras on the lower panel and Pārvatī by His side. The bow is visible. There is an imperial umbrella. Pārvatī is there on the left. This may be compared with the *Tripurāntaka* form of Cidambaram given as Fig. 90, in *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, where also the asuras are represented in the lower panel, from which alone we conclude, it is *Tripurāntaka* form though in addition, the arrow shows fire at its tip.

Plate No. LIII of *Rea* is described thus: "The shrine at the North-west corner of the *vimāna*, has, in the back interior panel, an eight-armed Śiva, seated on a chariot, drawn by two horses; the heads of the horses and front of the vehicle are shown towards the front, with a wheel on each side".[9] This evidently represents that part of the story, where, when the whole mechanism of the *Dēvas* broke down, Śiva laughed and the castles were reduced to ashes. In the face of the Śiva image, the smile is very expressive. The upper row of teeth is visible. He is holding the post of the chariot with His back right arm. There is something like a *cinmudra* in his front left hand, *sūcī* and *vismaya* poses in the right hands whilst one arm is hanging down. He is sitting with the front right leg bent up vertically, whilst the left is bent horizontally. *Tripurāntaka* has become so popular that a temple was built in Coñjīvaram in the Rajasiṁha style and pictures of this temple are found in *Rea's* work.[10]

VIII

The *Tripura* dance has thus become famous and popular from the *Caṅkam* age—from the age of *Kalittokai* to the age of *Cilappatikāram*. The *Āgamas* describe *Tripura Tāṇḍava*: "The dance of Śiva with sixteen arms and as many symbols having Gaurī and Skanda on the left and right sides respectively, receives the name *Tripura Tāṇḍava*".[10a] In a note it is added: "The *Śilparatna* says

9. p. 41.
10. Plate XX and Plates CIX to CXIV.
10a. South Indian Gods and Goddesses, p. 84.

that Skanda stands, on the same side as Gaurī, holding her by the hand and shows fear, love and wonder in his face"—sentiments which are mentioned in the verse quoted by Naccinārkkiniyar, though the commentator does not refer to Skanda. A more detailed description is given following the *Āgama* by Gopinatha Rao. He calls it the sixth variety which is however connected with the fifth. In the fifth form of the dance, the right leg is to be lifted straight up to the crown of the head and the left leg, somewhat bent, rests upon the *Apasmāra puruṣa*. Śiva in this aspect has eight arms; in three out of the four right hands are to be seen the *śūla, pāśa* and *ḍamaru,* while the last one should be kept in the *abhaya* pose; one of the left hands is to be held cross-wise, from left to right in the *gajahasta* pose and the three other hands are to carry the *kapāla,* the vessel of fire and a bell. This is *Kālika Tāṇḍava* to a certain extent, according to Krishna Sastri.[11] If the lifted leg is to be seen, we must go to the '*Lalāṭatilaka*' mode of dance of Śiva represented in the Kailāsanātha temple. Passing on to the next variety, what corresponds to the *Tripura* dance, Gopinatha Rao writes, "In the sixth variety of dance, the legs of the figure of Śiva should be as in the case of the fifth variety described above; but Śiva is to be represented here as having sixteen arms; one of the right hands is required to be held in the *abhaya* pose and the remaining right ones to carry the *ḍamaru, vajra, śūla, pāśa, ṭaṅka, daṇḍa* (*ḍaṇḍa-hasta?*) and a snake; or, *abhaya, śūla, pāśa, khaḍga, ḍamaru, dhvaja* (or *patāka-hasta?*), *vētāḷa* and the *sūcī* pose. One of the left arms should be held in the *gaja-hasta* pose, being held across the body from left to right, while the remaining ones carrying either *Agni, mithuna,*[12] *valaya* (quoit), banner (*patāka hasta*), *ghaṇṭa, khēṭaka* and *kapāla;* or agni, *gajahasta, khēṭaka,* the *vismaya* pose, *ghaṇṭa, kapāla, khaḍga* and the *sūcī* pose. To the left of the dancing Śiva, should be standing, His consort, carrying in her left arm Skanda and keeping her hands in the *añjali* pose while the child Skanda should, out of fear at the sight of the ecstatic dance of his father, be catching hold of the breast and abdomen of his mother, the *Dēvī.* On the face of the *Dēvī* the emotions of fear and wonder and yet a friendly feeling should be brought out by skilful artist". Gopinatha Rao refers to an image from Teṉkāsi as illustrating the

11. See his figure 53 from Nallūr and Plate LXVII in the *Hindu Iconography.*

12. A double-headed instrument like the vajra?

mode.[13] In view of the variety of ways in which the poses of the hands and the weapons are arranged, emphasis should not be laid on this arrangement. *Kalittokai* clearly mentions only eight arms; that must be an earlier tradition. The *Catura* dance of Nallūr which gives the nearest approach to the *Kālika* dance does not give the *'lalāṭatilaka'* pose or raising up the leg. Under these circumstances, one may have to look out for some other distinguishing mark. In these dances the person or persons accompanying the dance seem to be very important. In the *Tripura Tāṇḍava,* both Gaurī and Skanda are to be represented either standing on the left and right respectively or both standing on the left.

IX

If we search for such a representation of a dance of Śiva in the sculptures of the *Tēvāram* age, the only store house of such images as these, is the great Kailasanātha Temple; for, the other old temples which might have contained the representation of divine forms, in stucco, having been constructed of wood or brick should have decayed and disappeared to be replaced by the stone temples built in their places by the Cōḷas and other subsequent rulers of this country. That is the reason for our referring to the Kailāsanātha temple of Coñjīvaram in almost all cases.

Our search is successful this time. Plate XLIX represents a window in the East end of the *Ardhamaṇḍapam* of this temple. Here is Śiva dancing in the *kuñcita* pose. What is important is that Gaurī is on the left and Skanda is on the right turning away in fright as required in the descriptions. On the panel 19 from the East end of the west side of the court is another representation given as fig. 2, in plate XL. This has ten arms, the right hands holding a serpent, a drum, a *valaya, sūcyasta* pose with the palm turned upwards and a *gajahasta* pose; of the left hands one is stretched straight up to the crown; the other is holding something which is not there; the third is holding the *paraśu;* the fourth palm is held up open and the fifth is in the *khaṭakamukha* pose with the palm turned upwards. There is a garland, armlets, wristlets and anklets. This representation is found in the four cells forming part of garbagraha, two on the northern wall and two on the southern wall and two more on the same walls in the

13. Plate LX.

same line with the *mūlavigraha* on either side, all of them facing East.

Plate LI gives the one in the panel first to right of the back central shrine. Gopinatha Rao in writing about this says, "This is of a kind of dance, which it is not easy to identify with any one of the hundred and eight standard modes of dance enumerated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In this sculpture Śiva is seen assuming in the middle of his dance, a posture similar to the *ālīḍhāsana*.[14]

Dr. Minakshi identifies this with the *kuñcita* mode of dance described in the *Nāṭyasāstra*.[15] She explains:[16] "In adopting this mode—the right leg and the right arm should be bent and the left leg and the left arm should be raised aloft" (perhaps this is the meaning to be given to the raising of the leg on the *Tripura* dance as well). She continues to describe its popularity in the age of Rājasimha and his son Mahēndra by referring to the sculptures already noticed by us: One of the many sculptures depicting this pose is found behind the *garbagṛha* of *Rājasimhēsvara gṛham*. This is in perfect agreement with the description of *kuñcita* pose just observed.

"In this illustration, Śiva has eight hands. In the uppermost right hand He holds the tail of a snake, in the next the *ḍamaru*. The third hand is bent and the palm is characterised by an *abhaya hasta* which is not quite easy to identify. The last is held in the añcita pose. The uppermost left hand carries a burning faggot, the second is in the *patākahasta*, the third in *tripatāka* pose and the last is lifted up straight, the palm touching the top of the *jaṭā-makuṭa*. The *triśūla* and the *paraśu* are depicted separately as distinguishing emblems. The entire sculpture is set up on a *padmapīṭha*. Below Śiva, three *gaṇas* are seen dancing gleefully. In the niche to the left of Śiva, Pārvatī is gracefully seated. Below, in the second niche is the couchant bull. On the right of Śiva, there is a dancing figure, while below it, there are two *gaṇas* playing on the lute and the flute." This agrees with the reading of the sculpture by Gopinatha Rao as above given. We have connected this with *Tripura dahanam*. The number three of the figures in the lower panel, LI-*Rea*, said to be *gaṇas* is important. May we not identify

14. p. 269.

15. Ch. IV, Verse 113: *Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇa*, by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, p. 34, p. 130 and p. 98.

16. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 285.

them with the three *asuras* of the *Tripura*? The verse quoted by Naccinārkkiṉiyar as describing this dance states that the Lord dances so quickly taking different poses signifying different *rasas* of the dance, forgetting the war and their weapons and resonating as it were, with the dance of the Lord. No wonder God when He came to bless them made two of them *dvārapālas*, always attending His dance and His music, whilst the third became one of the inner conclaves of the dance party, a drummer. On the left is Gaurī and on the right, one wonders whether the dancing figure is Śubrahmaṇya turning away his face from the Lord's dance.

Mahēndravarmēśvaragṛham contains a magnificent sculpture of this on the southern wall of its *antarāḷa*. Here is a misrepresentation of this by *Rea*.[17] "In the interior of the porch on the right side is a row of the *hamsas* or the sacred geese; over these, is a large kneeling figure with eight hands; the symbols on the right side are a chaurie, noose and others broken and covered with plaster; in two of the left hands are two balls probably representing lime fruits". Dr. Mīnakṣi describes it correctly. All the features characterising this particular mode (*kuñcita*) have been brought out with marked precision. Additional factors which contribute towards rendering the sculpture more attractive and graceful are ornaments and flowing loin cloth which have been worked out neatly. There is a garland, armlets and wristlets, *cilampu* round the ankles and other ornaments. The hands are held in proper poses, one holding the *pāśa*, another the faggot (torch, which *Rea* has taken for a chaurie) and a third the tail of a three headed serpent. Śiva is depicted in the act of catching two balls which have been thrown up. In a note, she suggests, these may be '*ammāṉais*' and adds, "It is a popular display of skill by dancers to throw up plates, dishes, pots, *ammāṉais* and then catch them after accomplishing subsidiary tests". We have noticed a *valaya*.[18] "He seems to have first thrown up the balls and then assumed the necessary pose. One of his hands is held in the *patāka* pose preparatory to catching the falling ball between the thumb and the fore-finger held close to the other fingers. The other ball is meant to be caught by his palm which is held in the requisite pose".

17. p. 27.

18. Fig. 2 of Plate XL of *Rea*, probably intended to be thrown up and caught.

The description suggests that it is one of the many states of the dance, at least to the extent of catching the balls. Gopinatha Rao speaks of Śiva suddenly assuming in the middle of a dance this posture. The verse quoted by Naccinārkkiṇiyar makes this quite clear; it is a dance of varying modes and postures inspiring varying rasas in the minds of the enemies including the wives and children of the asuras. Sundarar also refers to the wives and sons of these asuras in his poem.[19] To captivate the minds of them He danced—if so the *valaya* or *ammāṇai* or the balls or *kaḻaṅku* thrown up and caught may be easily understood.

X

There are 74 references to this story in the poems of Ārūrar. The demons became great by blessings from Brahma and the poet refers to them as —"*Varaṅkaḷ perṟuḻal vāḻarakkar*".[20] They were three in number.[21] Their castles are described in varied terms. In almost all the places, their number is given as three: that seems to be an important description. They go together as helping each other—"*T'uṇai cey mummatil.*"[22] They form a fortress—"*Araṇ*",[23] with fortified walls, "*Matil*",[24] all built of stone, "*Cilaiyār matil*",[25] the strong fortification rises very high, "*Uyarum vallaraṇam*".[26] They are full of deceit, "*Vañca matil*";[27] they are the very embodiment of deceit, "*Eyilār pokkam*";[28] they are perfect and complete, "*Muṟṟal ār Tiripuram*";[29] they are in the sky, "*Vāṇa matil*",[30] hanging in the mid air, "*Antarattu eyil*";[30a] they wander and come "*Tirivaṇa mummatil*";[31] they are flying castles "*Mītōṭum tiripu-*

19. 7: 57: 5.
20. 7: 61: 9.
21. 7: 55: 8; 7: 66: 5; 7: 70: 3.
22. 7: 75: 5.
23. 7: 62: 5.
24. 7: 7: 5; 7: 22: 6; 7: 64: 2.
25. 7: 22: 6.
26. 7: 62: 5.
27. 7: 7: 5.
28. 7: 86: 6.
29. 7: 62: 1.
30. 7: 97: 9.
30a. 7: 14: 5.
31. 7: 22: 8.

ram";[32] they are shining and resplendent, "*Poli*",[33] clean and pure, "*Vāliya*",[34] colourful, "*Ēr ār*"[35] and beautiful, "*Sundara*".[36]

XI

Ārurar's short and pithy descriptions of the demons are very suggestive. They do not think of god, "*Eṇṇār*",[37] or ponder over "*Karutalar*".[38] They are wicked libertines, "*Tūrttar*".[39] They are "*Vañcar*",[40] the most deceitful, full of strategy revelling in war, "*Pōrār*",[41] splitting themselves away from the good, from the *Dēvas* or Śiva, "*Viṇṭavar*"[42] and destroying and creating havoc, "*Ceṟṟavar*",[43] who will never come near the good people, associate or be in communion with them, "*Kuṟukār*",[44] "*Kuṟukātavar*",[45] "*Maruvār*",[46] "*Viravār*",[47] "*Mēvalar*".[48] It is true these terms will mean merely enemies but in the poetry of our saint, one must give these words their full significance. In their arrogance, the titans slight and speak ill of all others, "*Ikaḻuntakaiyōr*".[49] They are so overbearing that they submit to none, "*Aṭaṅkalār*".[50] They never consider that they should embrace God's feet at the opportune moment, worship Him and become great, "*Pulliyiṭam toḻutuytum eṉṉātavar*".[51] They are violent and obstinate, "*Mūrkkar*",[52] who will never get reformed, "*Tiruntāta vāḻ avuṇar*".[53] They were revelling in their hatred and enmity, "*Tiḻaikkum tevvar*".[54] Being

32. 7: 69: 6.
33. 7: 47: 9.
34. 7: 61: 9.
35. 7: 24: 10.
36. 7: 22: 4.—Cf. *Ēr eḻil* translated as *rūpalāvaṇya*.
37. 7: 52: 6; 7: 53: 2.
38. 7: 56: 1.
39. 7: 76: 3.
40. 7: 64: 2.
41. 7: 93: 11.
42. 7: 20: 2.
43. 7: 14: 3.
44. 7: 63: 5.
45. 7: 19: 1.
46. 7: 25: 5.
47. 7: 41: 5.
48. 7: 17: 1.
49. 7: 93: 3.
50. 7: 6: 1.
51. 7: 10: 8.
52. 7: 77: 6.
53. 7: 38: 9.
54. 7: 57: 5.

slaves of passion, they have no fore-thought, *"Muṉ niṉaiyār"*.[55] The basis of all this evil is that they do not know the truth, *"Uṇarār"*.[56]

XII

These demons, united together, are flying in their castles, destroying people and *Dēvās*, *"Ceṟṟu mītoṭum tirupuram"*,[57] *"Tirivaṉa mummatil"*,[58] *"Tiriyum muppuram"*,[59] *"Tiriyum puram"*.[60] Life becomes impossible for the *Dēvas* in this Universe and Viṣṇu and Brahma, their leaders, with all their followers go and beg of Śiva to remove their danger, *"Niṟpāṉum kamalattil iruppāṉum mutalā Niraintu amarar Kuṟaintirappa"*.[61] The *Dēvas* come to do all the menial service, *"Kuṟṟēval ceyya"*.[62] Śiva takes this to heart, *"Kuṟaintirappa niṉaintaruḷi"*,[63] and thinks of removing the sufferings of the *Dēvas*, *"Imaiyōrkaḷ iṭar kaṭiyum karuttār"*.[64] All the *Dēvas* take part in the war that follows, by becoming the bow and the charioteer etc., and this probably is what the poet means when he says, *"Kuṟṟēval ceyya"*.[65]

The great *Mēru* becomes the bow, the great serpent *"Vācuki"* becomes the bow-string,[66] and the fire becomes the *"Ampu"*—arrow.[67] In another hymn,[68] he adds *"Agni"* becomes *"Kaṇai"*, Viṣṇu becomes the *"Pakaḷi"*. In another poem, he makes use of the chiasmus figure and sings, *"Māl varai ari ampāk koṟṟavil"*[69] thus making Viṣṇu the *"Ampu"*, and mountain the bow. In another hymn,[70] *"Kaṇai"* is *"Agni"*, the serpent is the bow-string and the stone (mountain), the bow.

55. 7: 11: 6.
56. 7: 97: 2.
57. 7: 69: 6.
58. 7: 22: 8.
59. 7: 67: 9.
60. 7: 79: 8.
61. 7: 16: 5.
62. 7: 17: 1.
63. 7: 16: 5.
64. 7: 23: 7.
65. 7: 17: 1.
66. 7: 9: 4; 7: 92: 5; 7: 99: 8.
67. 7: 16: 5.
68. 7: 51: 6.
69. 7: 62: 1.
70. 7: 75: 5.

"Kaṇai" is the arrow-head[71] and *"Pakaḷi"* is the foot of an arrow.[72]

The *Vēdas* become the horses,[73] *"Vēda-p puravi-t tēr"*. Mahāviṣṇu, as already been referred to, becomes the bull to re-establish the equilibrium of the chariot.[74]

Ārūrar also makes mention of this bull in connection with the burning of the castles.[75] In 7: 61: 3 and 7: 71: 7, he makes it clear that this bull is the ruddy eyed Mahāviṣṇu. The last reference combines this feat along with the presence of Pārvatī. It has already been noted that in Śiva's dance at the time of *'Tripura Dahanam'*, Pārvatī also takes part as one keeping the time for the dance. Hymn No. 74, verse 10 makes this clear.

XIII

After all this elaborate preparation, the actual destruction is effected in the twinkling of an eye. The Tamilians, from the time of Tolkāppiyar,[76] have been denoting an instant of time as a snap of the fingers or as the twinkling of an eye. Ārūrar makes use of both the ideas, *"Noṭi"*[77] and *"Imai"*[78] in describing the instantaneous destruction of the three castles. All the three castles are burnt together before this final destruction comes.

The poet describes graphically the various stages of the war through his suggestive words. The three castles came opposing him, *"Varu muppuraṅkaḷ."*[79] Then they acted in unison, helping each other, *"Tunai cei mummatil"*.[80] It looks as though defeat was imminent and the poet describes God making them run away or fly away.[81] The castles came down with a crash, *"Iṭi paṭa"*.[82] They were burnt; they were made a feast to fire;[83] and the great

71. *Cīntāmaṇi*, 90.
72. *Piṅkalantai.*
73. 7: 88: 5.
74. 7: 77: 7.
75. 7: 42: 6.
76. *Tol.*, 7.
77. 7: 4: 9; 7: 44: 1.
78. 7: 9: 4.
79. 7: 9: 1.
80. 7: 75: 5.
81. 7: 42: 6.
82. 7: 9: 4.
83. 7: 99: 8.

fire made great feast of the three castles, *"Eriyuṇṇa"*[84] The castles, the demons, their wives and children were burnt.[85] Finally they were reduced to mere ashes, *"Poṭi"*.[86] It is on this heap of white ashes Śiva danced and it is because of this His dance came to be known as 'White dance' or *'Pāṇṭaraṅkam"*.

It has already been noted that the boon the demons received was that their castles should be aimed at only once by one single arrow and the poet in his hymn 38, verse 9 refers to this fulfilment of the boon by emphasising the point that only one arrow was released.

There are two versions of this destruction: one, that it was brought about by the arrow sent by Śiva; the other, that all the mechanisms of the *Dēvas* failing at the last moment, Śiva smiled at their incompetence and the very ray of the radiant smile burnt the castles to ashes. It would appear as though our poet in almost all the places is referring to the first version. But they may be all taken as auxiliary to the final destruction by Śiva's smile, which our poet describes in two important places. He does it in the opening hymn itself,[87] immediately after his first vision of God. In the Tiruvaiyāṟu hymn again, he refers to this destructive smile of Śiva.[88]

It is this great feat which has established the title of Mahadēva and Mahēśvara to Śiva, and Sundarar rhetorically interrogates, *"Umakkāretir Emperumāṉ"* — 'Who is your equal?'[89] in describing this feat.

XIV

Ārūrar is not so much interested in describing the destructive activity. What the other *Purāṇas* describe as *"Samhāramūrtis"* are to Sundarar the various forms of Śiva blessing the sinners and the down-trodden, after reforming them all. In hymn 6, verse 1, he says, "You burnt the castles; you were ferocious with them; but that day you showered your grace on the demons."[90]

84. 7: 1: 6.
85. 7: 57: 5.
86. 7: 10: 8; 7: 27: 3; 7: 52: 3.
87. 7: 1: 6.
88. 7: 77: 6.
89. 7: 9: 4.
90. See 7: 70: 3 also.

In the famous *"Tiruvāvaṭuturai* hymn",[91] where he confesses that the *purāṇic* stories inspired him to see God, he states: "You burnt the three castles altogether and the three pondered over your greatness and took refuge in you and you made them rule the world of gold or svarga. Having learnt this fame of yours, I have come to you".[92] He refers to this showering of His grace at the same time when the castles were burnt in hymn No. 70, verse 3. He describes this grace of Śiva in a more detailed manner in another verse.[93] "Of the three demons saved by the Saviour, our God, at the time of the burning of the castles and after their taking refuge in Him, two became the guards at the palace door or temple door of Śiva".[94] The *Dvārapālakas* of the Pallava age as given in *Pallava Architecture* by *Rea* and *Longhurst* clearly bring out the cruel aspect of these demons. The third demon was given the duty of playing upon the drum whenever the Lord dances at the burning ghat in the company of Pārvatī perhaps he was a soul more culturally evolved and interested in dance and music.

XV

The mythology is a special vehicle for mystic thoughts. Tirumūlar's explanation,[95] has become a classic and it is his poem that has once for all settled the problem of mythology in Hindu Religion and Philosophy. The direct meaning of these stories is for folks and children who also in time learn and realise the truth.

"Appaṇi ceñcaṭai āti purātaṇaṇ
Muppuram ceṟṟaṇaṇ eṇparkaḷ mūṭarkaḷ
Muppuram āvatu mummala kāriyam
Appuram eitamai yār aṟivārē !"

"Fools say, 'The very old ancient Man of ruddy braided hair adorned with water, destroyed the three castles!' The three castles are the combined effect of the three *'malas'* (*Egotism, Karma* and *Māya*). Who knows the destruction of these castles?." Sundarar also feels that these stories have an esoteric meaning. He asks, "What is this setting fire to the castles?".[96]

91. H. 66.
92. 7: 66: 5.
93. 7: 55: 8.
94. 7: 55: 8.
95. *Tirumantiram,* 343.
96. 7: 99: 8.

Chapter II

DAKṢĀRI

I

Next to the legend of the three castles, which has established the title of *Mahādēva* to Śiva, the legend of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice throws light on the slow and steady growth of Śaivism in India. *Tiruvuntiyār* in *Tiruvācakam,* because of this importance refers at length to these two legends emphasizing the most dramatic situations therein.

This conflict of Śiva with *Dakṣa* throws a flood of light on various references in *Tēvāram.* It is, therefore, best to trace the history of this story, as a sort of ready reference. We may conveniently summarize what we know of *Rudra mythology* from the *Vēdas* following *Keith.*[1]

First, for his appearance, *Rudra* has braided hair, beautiful lips, firm limbs; he is brown and multiform, radiant (*Śuci*) bright as Sun or gold—the *Asura* of heaven—wearing gold ornaments and sitting on a chariot seat. His belly is blue, his back red, his neck blue; he has mouth and teeth;[2] he is copper coloured and red with blue-black neck though the throat is white. He is clothed in a skin, and dwells in the mountain.[3] Coming to his formidable character, we find, he, as an archer, wields the lightning and thunderbolt but with no onslaughts on demons; though this ruddy boar of heaven is destructive and terrible, unassailable and therewithal a young unaging ruler and father of the world, therefore wise, beneficent, bountiful, easily invoked and auspicious (*Śiva*) full of healing remedies. He drinks with the mad muni, poison, from a cup, with dishevelled hair. In spite of these, many passages deprecate his wrath and pray that his shafts—his cow-and-man-slaying weapons—may not fall upon the worshipper and his family and wealth. He is the Father of *Maruts,* the *Rudras* or *Raudriyas* and is *Tryambaka* (having three sisters or mothers) a reference to the three divisions of the Universe, and he is *Agni.*

1. pp. 142-150.
2. *A.Y.,* XV. 1.7, 8; XI, 2.6.
3. *VS.,* XVI, 7, 51, 2-4.

By the time of the *Brāhmaṇas,* he is one of the two great gods, *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu.* He is there the lord of the cattle with a prescribed offering to save the cattle; for, he is the patron of robbers, highwaymen, cheats and swindlers followed by wide mouthed howling dogs, swallowing unchewed, their prey, and he is said to attack with fever, cough and poison.

Agni, Paśupati, Bhāva, Sarva, Mahandēva, Īśāna and *Ugradēva* are the forms of *Agni. Ambikā* is the sister, later the mother of *Rudra. Umā, Haimavatī* or *Pārvatī* is his wife.[4] Even gods are afraid of him; his origin is traced to the evil deed of Prajāpati consorting with his own daughter; the gods in their anger make up this most appalling of beings piercing Prajāpati. According to *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa,* Prajāpati is *Mṛgaśira,* is Rudra, the *Mṛgavyādha;* Prajāpati's daughter is the constellation *Rōhiṇi;* and the arrow is, the *Isu Trikaṇḍa* in the sky. He appears once as a black being, claiming all that is over there, on the sacrifice as his own which claim, Nabhanediṣtha's father admits. In the ritual he is marked out emphatically from the gods; and at the end of a sacrifice a handful of strew or at the end of a meal what is left over, is offered. His abode is in the north and not in the east where reside other gods. Snakes are conceived as his servants. *Rudra* was left behind when the *Dēvas* went to heaven.

The tendency to generalize his operations, credits him with the activity in almost every aspect of nature—mountains, woods, paths and streams receiving offerings in manifold places on varied occasions (snake infested places, mount of manure, waters, roads and trees), so much so, cowherds and maidens get a glimpse of him whilst drawing water in lonely haunts—a deliberate tendency to see in him a god with a comprehensive control over all nature. A formula must be altered in order to avoid the direct mention of his name. In *Sūtra* literature he is called *Hara, Mṛḍa, Śiva* and *Śaṅkara.*

After discussing the various theories about *Rudra,* Keith concludes: "What is obvious is that the great god absorbs, as other great gods have done, a mass of Sondergotter, though in the *Satarudrīya* form we have priestly ingenuity extending and amplifying Sondergotter in the best manner of the Roman Indigitamenta. It is probably to syncretism, again, that we owe the connexion of

4. *Taittirīya Aranyaka.*

Rudra with thieves, robbers, and highwaymen, whose patron he seems to have been, and from whom, therefore, he is expected to protect his votaries, and we need not press the suggestion that he was regarded himself as tricky, or connect this aspect with the uncertain character of the lightning. Nor, in the *Vēdic* texts does he ever become a snake god; his connexion with snakes is only incipient and it becomes much more marked in the epic, showing us clearly the process of identification in its advance. On the other hand, it is probable that some of his characteristics in the later *Vēdic* period come from a god of death; this may primarily be due to identification with *Sarva* and *Bhāva,* and it is suggested in his connexion with birds of evil omen and howling dogs; for such birds and dogs are closely connected with *Yama* as a god of the dead.

II

Whatever might be the historical fact, what counts in the history of religion is how that fact came to be looked upon by the later ages. The word *Rudra* is explained by *Sāyana* as follows: "*Rud*" means suffering or sin etc., which causes suffering. "Thou art the God so called who drives this away."[5] "*Śiva*" is explained by *Sabdhakalpadruma* as one who attenuates *aśubha* or sin, tracing it from the root '*Śo*', to attenuate. "*Rudra*" is, therefore equated with "*Śiva*". The destruction effected by *Rudra* is destruction of Sin. There is no malevolence but punishment. He thus becomes the embodiment of propriety. Since in the eyes of the worshipper, respect was due only to the performer of the greatest number of sacrifices, *Rudra,* the respectful, was called *Upavīta.*[6] Punishment and dispensation of justice are the duties of kings and *Rudra* is King *Bhāva.* Nothing escapes his thousand eyes. He is associated with the *muni* in the *Ṛg Vēda* and *kēśins* in the *Atharva Vēda*—the long haired *muni*—a mortal becoming godlike—thanks to his austerities; perhaps the *munis* are the followers of the path of *Bhakti* and *Yoga,*[7] and the knowledge of the imperishable man. A story in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*[8] confirms this suggestion.

5. Commentary on *R.V.*, II, 1:6.
6. *Upavīta* is worn by the performer of the sacrifice.
7. Cf., *Śaivism in South India*, by Narayana Aiyar, p. 13.
8. VII, 4, Note.

Note:

It is stated therein that a golden bird flew up to *Kēśin Darbhya* who had sat down, not being consecrated (i.e., not having gone through the ceremonies needed to entitle one to perform the sacrific). The bird said, "Thou hast not been consecrated; I know the consecration; let me tell it to thee; I have sacrificed once; I am afraid of it perishing; thou dost know the imperishableness of that which once has been offered; it, do thou (tell) me." The Brāhmaṇa proceeds thus: "He said, yes". They two discussed together ..... He said, "the bodies are consecrated by that sacrifice; but the man is consecrated indeed whose gods within are consecrated." ..... Now the imperishableness of what has once been offered is faith; he who sacrifices with faith, his sacrifice perishes not. Imperishableness is the waters, both those which are in these worlds, and those which are about the self. He, who, knowing, "In me there is imperishableness; sacrifices, his sacrifice perishes not. This imperishableness of what has once been offered Kēsin Darbhya proclaimed to the golden bird".[9]

Many of these followers of Śiva, because of their disapproval of *Vēdic* rites came to be called *Vrātyas,* who however were glorified in *Atharva Vēda.*[10] Here begins the cosmopolitanism or freedom from castes of Śaivism, caring more for the salvation of the offscourings of society[11]—prodigal sons of God. Coming to the *Upaniṣads* we pass from the ancient *Bṛhad Araṇyaka* mentioning all the *Vēdic* gods,[12] and the sacrificial rites, through *Chāndōgya* laying no such emphasis on these gods, and *Taittiriya* mentioning their names only in its invocatory verse, *Aitarēya* and *Kauṣītaka* to *Kēna,* which gives a story of their ignorance.[13] Brahma appeared before the *Dēvas* in the form of a wonderful being. Ignorant of Brahman, Agni, Vāyu and Indra tried their skill with 'It' only to accept defeat. Brahman disappeared and Umā Haimavatī appeared to expalin that It was Brahman. Gods were no more to be dreaded by the Ātmajñānis of *tapas, śraddha* and *śānta* and *virāga. Mundaka Upaniṣad,* adumberates the theory *"Avaṉaruḷālē avaṉ tāḷ vaṇaṅki"*[15] 'He is to be obtained only by the one whom

9. *Keith, Ṛg. Vēda Brāhmanas,* pp. 385-6, quoted from p. 14, *Śaivism in South India* by Narayana Aiyar.
10. *Whitney, A.V.,* pp. 778-79.
11. *Whitney, A.V.,* p. 769.
12. T. 4, 11-17.
13. *Kēna,* IV.
14. III: 2.3,
15. *Tiruvacakam-Civapurāṇam* -1: 18

He chooses; to such a one, that *Ātman* reveals His own person. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* speaks of God's prasāda. *Śvētāśvatara* is still more clear: *"Tapah prabhavat dēva prasādīca brahmō ha śvētāśvataro thē vidvān"*—"By the greatness of austerity and by the God's Grace the wise *śvētāśvatara* in proper manner declared Brahman'. *Śvētāśvatara* is the name of a Guru. *Guru śiṣya parampara* thus commences. The *Upaniṣad* speaks of the Lord of *Kāla, Svabhāva, Niyata* releasing from fetters of the two unborn as the knowing Lord and the unknowing individual. It thus brings about the harmony of *Bhakti* and *Jñāna.* It identifies the well-known *Rudra* with the unknowable *Brahman.*

Śaivite sects multiply, not at all in a desirable way, as is referred to in *Maitri Upaniṣad.*[16] "Verily, the source of the net of delusion (*Mōha*) is the fact of the association of one who is worthy of heaven with those who are not. Now, there are those who are continually living upon handicraft; moreover, there are others who are twin-beggers, who perform the sacrifices for the unworthy, who are disciples of *Śūdras* and who though *Śūdras,* know the scriptures. And moreover, there are others who are rogues, who wear their hair in a twisted knot. And moreover there are others who falsely wear the red robe, ear-rings and skulls. With these one should not associate". This very *Upaniṣad* has Vaiṣṇavite leanings;[17] thus starting the age-long conflict between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, though this *Upaniṣad* stands for the harmony of *Trimūrtis* and the three paths of *Karma. Bhakti* and *Jñānam* and identifies *Bharga* of *Gāyatri* with *Rudra.*

III

As the conflict against Śaivites of Śiva had already started, the significance of *Mahādēva* burning the three castles is clear indeed. *Dakṣa's* sacrifice may be studied a little more closely from this point of view. The story is told in the *Śānti Parva* of *Mahā Bhārata: Dakṣa* performed a sacrifice, attended by all gods except *Rudra,* who was not invited. The conversation between *Dakṣa* glorifying *Viṣṇu* and *Dadīci* glorifying Śiva reveals this conflict.[18]

Dakṣa: We have many *Rudras,* armed with tridents and wearing spirally-braided hair, who occupy eleven places. I know not Mahēśvara.

16. VII, 8.
17. V, 2; VII, 3.
18. *Muir,* IV, 374 ff.

Dadīci: This is a pre-concerted plan of all the gods that *Mahādēva* has not been invited. Since I perceive *Śaṅkara*, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore, this sacrifice of *Dakṣa* shall not be prosperous.

Dakṣa: I offer to the Lord of sacrifice (*Viṣṇu*), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable *Viṣṇu*. He is the Lord, the all-pervading god of the sacrificial fire.

Dēvī, the wife of Śiva, feels the insult and Śiva creates *Vīrabhadra* who goes and destroys the sacrifice when *Dakṣa* praises *Mahādēva* and completes the sacrifice.

IV

The story as told in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[19] brings out this rivalry very clearly. When *Dakṣa* came to the sacriifice, all stood up except Brahma and Mahādēva. *Dakṣa* addressed at this insolence of Śiva, "Hear me, ye *Brahman Ṛṣis*, with gods and Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless being (Śiva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the world (Prajāpati), he, by whom, stubborn as he is, the course pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inasmuch as, like a virtuous person, in the face of the Brahmans and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter. This monkey-eyed (god) after having taken the hand of (my) fawn-eyed (daughter), has not even by word shown suitable respect to me whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave my daughter to this *impure and proud abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers, like the word of the* Vēda *to a* Śūdra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and spirits, like a mad man, naked with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing garland of dead men's skulls, and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be *Śiva* (*auspicious*), but in reality *Aśiva* (*inauspicious*), *insane*, the lord of *Prāmathas* and *Bhūtas*, beings whose nature is essen tially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose purity has perished, I have, alas, given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahma". He follows up this speech by a curse, "Let this *Bhava* (*Śiva*) lowest of the gods, never, at the worship

19. IV, Chapters 2-7.

of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods, Indra, Upēndra (Viṣṇu) and others." Then he departed. This action roused the fury of *Nandīśvara,* the chief follower of Śiva. He cursed in return: "May the ignorant being, who, from regard to this mortal (*Dakṣa*), and considering (Śiva) as distinct (from the supreme spirit), hates the deity who does not return hatred, be averse to truth. Devoted to domestic life in which frauds are prevalent, let him from a desire of vulgar passions, practise the round of ceremonies, with an understanding degraded by *Vēdic* prescriptions. Forgetting the nature of the soul, with a mind which contemplates other things, let *Dakṣa,* brutal, be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat. Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those who follow this contemner of Sarva (Siva), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Siva) whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words of the *Vēda,* become deluded. Let those Brahmans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising austerities and ceremonies (merely) for subsistence, delighting in riches and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars": This curse rouses the anger of *Bhṛgu* who delivers in his turn the following curse: "Let those who practise the rites of *Bhava* and all their followers be heretics and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile the *Vēda* (*Brahma*) and the *Brāhmaṇas,* the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this (*Vēda*) is the auspicious (*Śiva*), eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of the goblins." This was a curse by a Brahman, which could not be avoided, and so, according to the story, Śiva went away with his followers and *Dakṣa* and the other *Prajapatis* celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifice in which Viṣṇu was the object of adoration.[20] It was this humiliation and disgrace of Śiva that apparently made *Dakṣa* neglect Śiva, when he invited all the gods to sacrifice which he individually celebrated.

20. *Muir,* IV, 382.

V

The story of the sacrifice, as narrated here, differs from the *Mahābhārata* account, and since this account throws some light upon the development of Śaivism in that remote period, it may be taken notice of. *Satī* (*Umā*) requests her husband to permit her to go to the sacrifice performed by *Dakṣa*. Śiva warns her that she would be insulted. In spite of this warning, she goes and is slighted by her father. Remonstrating in vain with *Dakṣa* to change his attitude towards Śiva, she gives up the ghost. Śiva's followers, who had accompanied *Satī*, were prevented by a *mantra* of Bhṛgu from destroying the sacrifice. They returned to narrate the tale to Śiva, who, in his wrath, created out of a lock of his hair a terrible spirit who led Śiva's followers to the scene of sacrifice and destroyed it. The story is, that later, Śiva himself went to the place, plucked out the beard of *Bhṛgu*, who was pouring oblations into the fire, tore out the eyes of *Bhaga* and knocked out the teeth of *Pusan*, for all these had been partisans of *Dakṣa*. *Dakṣa's* head was cut off.[21]

VI

The *Varāhapurāṇa* gives a different version. *Rudra* born of Brahma's anger was asked in vain to create beings, whereupon, Brahma created *Dakṣa* and six other *Prajāpatis*, who begot Indra and other children, who in their turn performed sacrifices to please *Dakṣa*. Inactive *Rudra*, hearing of their voices, bestirred himself into activity and became angry with the creation effected by others, the fiery anger shooting up in the form of demons rushing against *Dēvas*. *Dakṣa* prayed to *Rudra* to appease himself and gave Gaurī in marriage.

VII

Kūrma Purāṇa story gives a third version. *Dakṣa* paying a visit to Śiva, his father-in-law was not pleased with the respect shown. When Śiva's wife *Satī* went to her father *Dakṣa's* house, *Dakṣa* reviled Śiva and abused *Satī*. At this insult, she burnt herself to death but was born as Haimavatī or Pārvatī. Śiva hearing the death of *Satī* cursed *Dakṣa* to be born as a Kṣatriya Pracheti committing incest with his own daughter. This Pracheti

21. Nārāyaṇa Aiyar's *Śaivism in South India*—pp. 65-67.

performed a *yāga* at Gaṅgādvara but refused any offerings to Śiva. *Dadīci* alone remonstrated and cursed all those present to become heterodox and prayed to Śiva. At the request of Pārvatī, Śiva created *Vīrabhadra* with thousand heads, eyes and arms resembling in the brightness *'vaṭavāmukhāgni'* having side tusks, carrying *śaṅkha, cakra* and bow and besmeared with ashes. Pārvatī created *Bhadrakālī*. The sacrifice was destroyed. He plucked out the tooth of *Sūrya*, putting out his eyes. Hands and tongue of *Agni* were cut off. *Indra's* arm, lifted to strike, remained stiff. *Candra* was crushed by the toe. *Garuḍa* fled for life. *Dakṣa* came to his senses and prayed.

VIII

The story prevalent in South India is given at length in the Tamil *Kanta Purāṇa, Dakṣakāṇṭam*, with some variation.

The image of *Vīrabhadra* is described in the *Kāraṇāgama*. The terrific image indicating anger has four arms carrying sword, shield, bow and arrow, three eyes, fire emitting *jaṭā*, side tusks, garlands of bells and skulls and scorpions; a *yajñōpavīta* of serpents, beautiful anklets, pair of sandals and short drawers.

Sri Tattvanidhi replaced the shield by a club which along with the bow is said to be on the right, whilst the rest are held in the left arms. This speaks of *Bhadrakālī* by his side, whilst *Dakṣa* with a goat's head and *añjali* pose is on the right.

Pāñcarātrāgama, gives him sword, arrow, bow and club. *Śilparatna* gives him eight hands and makes him ride on a *'vētāḷa'*, surrounded by *gaṇās*. *Śilpasaṅgraha* mentions three varieties: *sāttvic, tāmasic* and *rājasic* forms with two, four and eight arms respectively. Seated figures represent *yōga vīra;* standing figures, *bhōga vīra;* walking figures, *vīravīra*.

In Tanjore, a panel shows Śiva putting the head into the fire whilst a woman (the wife of *Dakṣa*) and the priest with the ladle run away.[22]

22. *Gods and goddesses*, Fig. 100.

IX

Coming to the sculpture of Ārūrar's age,[23] pl. XXXVI of *Rea* represents this story. This is Rea's description of panel No. 18, in the Kailāsanātha Temple: "Śiva kills a double headed *Rākṣasa* with his trident. A figure on Śiva's left—midway up the panel—has a tiger's legs and probably represents *Vyāgrapāda.* On the upper portion of the panel, Śiva is seen seated with his wife Pārvatī, soaring through the sky."[24] There is no two headed asura, known to mythology. The figures are all *Dēvas.* The *Dēvas* are running for their life, some holding their hands in *añjali* pose; some have fallen down, probably, *Dakṣa* and *Yajña.* The serpent *Yajñōpavīta,* the anklets, wristlets and armlets, the flowing cloth, the necklace, the girdle of serpent, the dishevelled back portion of the *jaṭā* dancing up and down in two halves, the ring-like ear ornament on the right ear and a bell-like pendant ear-ring on the left ear are all there. There are four arms: the right back is holding the trident; the right front is held up as though supporting something. The left front arm is held in *catura* pose; the back left arm is not clear.

Every heroic act of Śiva was in ancient times shown as a drama and as a dance. Perhaps to witness this dance, *Patañjali* and *Vyāghrapāda* had also come. Śiva and Pārvatī on the bull had come on the scene at the end, as described in *Kantapurāṇam.*

X

The speech of *Dakṣa* as quoted from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and as found in *Tamil Kantapurāṇam* breathes fire against Śiva. It is this vituperation against Śiva and Pārvatī, that comes to the mind of Ārūrar, as it did to Campantar.[25] *Dakṣa* had no regard for Śiva or his daughter *"Pēṇā muṇivaṉ."*[26] *Dakṣa* had not honoured Śiva—*"Paḷikkum peruntakkaṉ;"*[27] not honouring Śiva, he had refused offerings to Him—*"Koṇṭāṭutal puriyā varu Takkaṉ peruvēḷvi"*[28]—in the great sacrifice of *Dakṣa.* The *purāṇas* describe the sacrifice in glowing terms where all the *Dēvas* were assembled.

23. Fig. 1 of *Rea.*
24. P. 32.
25. *Camp.* 1: 20: 3.
26. 7: 93: 9.
27. 7: 9: 7.
28. 7: 82: 9.

Ārūrar calls it again and again *'Peru vēḷvi'*—'the great sacrifice.'[29] The people who attended this sacrifice were all great *Dēvas*—*"Peruntēvar."*[30] There came there innumerable *Dēvas*—*"Pala Dēvar."*[31]

The performer of this sacrifice is again referred to as great—*"Peruntakkaṉ."*[32] He was full of all that should bless man—wealth, knowledge and perhaps pride etc.—*"Nirampiya Takkaṉ.*[33] He was a *Ṛṣi,* being the veritable Prajāpati—*"Munivaṉ".*[34] He was one who never thinks of the Lord—*"Karutātavar."*[35] Ārūrar describes the sacrifice by the Tamil term *'Vēḷvi'*[36] and by the Sanskrit term *'Eccam',*[37] a corruption of *'Yajña',* the last term suggesting a slur on it by its association with the word in Tamil *'eccam'. Dakṣa* does not know any propriety—*"Perṟimai oṉṟu aṟiyāta Takkaṉ,*[38] where Ārūrar uses *'Perṟimai'* in the sense in which *'perṟi'* is used in *Nālaṭiyār,*[39] *"Perṟi piḻaiyā torunaṭai yār."* The important events of the *purāṇic* episode are suggested by these descriptive titles of *Dakṣa.* It was this intoxication of spiritual power, knowledge and wealth that sent *Dakṣa* on the path of arrogance and unrighteous acts. This brought down its own retribution. The whole programme of his sacrifice went to pieces—*"Uṭaittāy vēḷvi taṉai."*[40] The whole sacrifice failed to achieve its greatness; God saw to it that it ended in disrepute—*"Māṇāmai ceytāṉ.*[41]

The Lord made the sacrifice without any intervening space there, heaping up and huddling all the *Dēvas* together—*Nirantaram ceyta."*[42] The whole field of sacrifice was clearly packed up with their remains. In this, the Lord had no obstruction, he was free from enemies, dangers or any nuisance whatsoever—

29. 7: 61: 9; 7: 88: 9; 7: 93: 9.
30. 7: 16: 6.
31. 7: 9: 7.
32. 7: 9: 7.
33. 7: 61: 9.
34. 7: 93: 9.
35. 7: 97: 5.
36. 7: 93: 9.
37. 7: 9: 7.
38. 7: 16: 6.
39. V. 343.
40. 7: 23: 8.
41. 7: 93: 9.
42. 7: 61: 9.

"Nirantaram ceyta niṭkaṇṭakaṉ."[43] *'Nirantaram'* is however interpreted as destruction by the Tamil Lexicon. The *Dēvas* tried to run away for their lives: the Lord made them flee—*"Aṉṟimaiyōrai iritta Nampi."*[44] He enjoyed kicking the *Dēvas* and making them roll on the ground—*"Imaiyavarai uruṇṭōṭa utait-tukantu."*[45] They had done the dangerous act of eating away the offerings of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice and it looked as though the Lord rolled them, so that they might vomit the poison.[46] The idea of kicking and making them roll suggests that the Lord played the game of balls or *'ceṇṭu'*. The sound of the verse echoes the sense—*"Koṇṭāṭutal puriyā varu Takkaṉ peru vēḷvi ceṇṭāṭutal purintāṉ."*[47] The Lord first drove all the *Dēvas* by shouting and uttering threats—*"Pala dēvaraiyum teḷittiṭṭu."*[48] They ran pell mell huddling together as explained above. Their organs were mangled and cut away. 'The great gods lost their heads, shoulders, teeth, hands and eyes along with their greatness.'[49] The poet gives further particulars of this destruction. The god, whose shoulders were worsted and broken was Indra.[50] The proud Sun it was, who lost his eyes[50a] and his teeth.[51] *Dakṣa* and the *Yajña Puruṣa* lost their heads whilst *Agni* lost his hands according to *Tiruvācakam,* though Ārūrar does not give these details. The moon was rubbed away by the Lord's toe and all his rays were shattered.[52] The sacrifice was completely destroyed.[53] This was all an act of Grace,[54] making them gorge out the poison. The Poet exclaims, "The Lord has conquered the *Dēvas* in the sacrifice."[55] Is it not the import of the whole story?

XI

Though the references seem to know of the tradition preserved in *Kūrmapurāṇa* and *Tamil Kantapurāṇa,* they suggest as in *Varā-*

43. 7: 61. 9.
44. 7: 63: 6.
45. 7: 97: 5.
46. 7: 97: 5.
47. 7: 82: 9.
48. 7: 9: 7.
49. 7: 16: 6.
50. 7: 16: 2; 7: 17: 5.
50a. 7: 17: 5.
51. 7: 26: 3.
52. 7: 16: 6.
53. 7: 53: 9.
54. 7: 9:7; 7: 16: 6.
55. 7: 45: 5.

hapurāṇa, that Śiva himself did this heroic act. The term *Vīrabhadra* is never used. *Ñāṇacampantar* even speaks of the cutting of *Sarasvatī's* nose, which is ascribed in the *Purāṇas* to *Bhadrakālī,*[56] to Śiva himself. The worship of *Vīrabhadra* and other awe inspiring forms came into South India, thanks to the Northern influence; In *Ciṟuttoṇṭar Purāṇam,* this *Mahābhairava* is said to have come from the North.[57] But these awe inspiring forms are not often met with in South Indian Temples. *Vīrabhadra* cult with its *Tāntric* elaborations became prominent in later times so as to deserve a *'Paraṇi',* the *Takka Yāka-p paraṇi,* from the pen of Oṭṭakkūttar the court poet and teacher of the Śaivite Cōḷas, Kulōttuṅga II, Rājarāja II and Rājādhi Rāja II of the 12th century. Even after this, though the temples and images of *Vīrabhadra* are very common in the Telugu and Kannada countries, such images and temples are very rare in Tamil land. In the age of *Tēvāram,* probably this cult has not developed in the Tamil country. Like the burning away of the three castles, the suppression of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice is attributed to Śiva Himself directly. The Sanskrit Lexicon *Amarakōśa* also directly calls Śiva, the destroyer of the Sacrifice, *Kratu-dhvamsin.*

XII

The poet is conscious that there is here an esoteric significance. He asks, "What is the gracious act of destroying the organs of the *Dēvas* in *Dakṣa's Sacrifice?*"[58]

Tirumūlar speaks of this in *Tirumantiram,*[59]

"Kolaiyiṟ pilaitta piracā patiyai-t
Talaiyai-t taṭintiṭṭu-t tāṉaṅki iṭṭu
Nilaiyula kukkivaṉ vēṇṭumeṉ ṟeṇṇi-t
Talaiyai yarintiṭṭu-c cānticey tāṉē."

"The Lord cut away the head of *Dakṣa Prajāpati,* who was guilty of murder (as causing the death of *Satī*) and offered it to the sacrificial fire. The Lord thought that he was required for this world wherein stands fire (where reigns the Law of conservation of matter and energy). He cut the goat's head and fixed it on to *Dakṣa*"—a wonderful way of converting the proud murderer into a meek lamb. Thus the heroic act is a symbol of God's Grace.

56. 3: 118: 5.
57. *Ciṟuttoṇṭar Purāṇam,* 40.
58. 7: 9: 7.
59. V. 340.

Tirumūlar further explains this in *Tirumantiram*,[60] where his idea seems to be that the inner principle always with us in this sacrificial pit of a body seems to be hostile as long as we are up against the law, but when we get submerged and take refuge in Him, He saves us from all obstacles.[61] "Even those who have realized clearly like the Dēvas, may get confused but you do not get confused. *Dakṣa* is dead; God showed His displeasure and then showed His Grace. This is the unsullied message given there for us, that, it is He who is to be reached when we become tender and loving."[62]

"Teḷintār kalaṅkiṉum nākalaṅ kātē
Aḷintāṅ kaṭaivatem āti-p pirāṉai
Viḷintā ṉatutakkaṉ vēḷviyai vīya-c
Cuḷintāṅ karuḷceyta tūymoḷi yāṉē."

60. VV. 353 to 361.
61. *Ibid.*, V. 360.
62. **Ibid.**, V. 361.

CHAPTER III

KĀMĀNTAKA MŪRTI

I

The story of *Kāma* or *Manmata* going to kindle the passion of love in Śiva and meeting his death in that attempt is very popular in India. Kāḷidāsa's Kumārasambhava has made this episode immortal. In the Tamil country, Kacciappar's *Kanta purāṇam* gives the same story at great length. But this *purāṇam* is later than Tēvāram.

II

The Buddhists speak of *Māra* and *Kāma* conquered by Buddha, and *Maṇimēkalai* praises Buddha's feat as *"Māraṇai vellum vīra"*[1], *Kāmaṛkaṭanta Vāma"*.[2] Śiva in his form of a *yōgi* or *jñāni*, or Buddha, burns to ashes *Māra*—this time it is *Cupid*: he is the son of Viṣṇu. After the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, Śiva's consort, in the form of Dakṣa's daughter, gives up that form in disgust. She is born again as the daughter of Himavān or the god of Himālayas. Śiva, in the forests of the Himālayas, remains an ascetic *yōgi*, initiating the great *Ṛṣis* in that mystic art. The daughter of the Mountain went to perform Tapas for winning the hand of Śiva. The demon *Tāraka*, according to *Kumārasambhava* and the *Liṅga purāṇa*, but *Tāraka*, *Simhamukhāsūra* and *Sūrapadma* according to the Tamil *Kantapurāṇam*, should be killed, if the universe were to be saved. This can be done only by the son of Śiva. How is the child to be born if the *yōgi* of a Śiva and the daughter of Himavān do not come together? The impatient *Dēvas* request the Lord of erotic passions, *Kāma*, to aim at Śiva his flower arrows, which usually kindle the passions in the hearts of *Dēvas* and men. Knowing the danger, he protests, but ultimately yields to their entreaties. Darkness or night is his elephant; the fish is his flag; the parrot is his horse; the zephyr is his chariot; the spring is his ally. *Rati* or Love is his consort; the moon is his

1. XI, l. 61.
2. V, l. 77.

royal umbrella; the cuckoo is his trumpet; the sea is his drum; the sugar-cane is his bow; bees are his bow-string and five flowers are his arrows (the flowers are: lotus, *aśōka*, mango, jasmine and blue lily, producing the *unmattam, matanam, mōhanam, santāpam* and *vaśīkaraṇam* respectively according to *Tivākaram* in Tamil; whilst *Kāraṇāgama* however gives the names of the arrows as *Tāpini, Dāhani, Viśvamōhini, Viśvamardini* and *Mādini*). It will be seen all these paraphernalia of Cupid are notorious for kindling thoughts of Love. When Kāma aimed his blooming arrows, Śiva opened his eye of the forehead and Cupid was burnt to ashes. Rati was promised by the Lord that her husband would become alive, but only be visible to her. Campantar refers to this boon.[3]

III

The cult of Cupid or Kāma was popular in the Tamil land. There was a temple near the mouth of Kāviri.[4] Cilappatikāram speaks of this festival of victorious bow of Cupid occurring in the month of Paṅkuṇi. His five arrows are also known.[5] The spring is spoken of as Cupid's prince, having jurisdiction over all the living beings of the world. The Chapter VIII,[6] therein, is a glorification of Cupid and as such is an interesting exposition of this cult: "The king *Māra* of great fame reigns supreme alike in Madura, Uṟantai, Vañci and Pukār".

This is explained by Aṭiyārkkunallār. Kāma's chariot is the zephyr; his horse is the parrot; his elephant is the evening twilight; his army is the womenfolk. Therefore, Cupid's chariot is under the protection of Pāṇḍya of Madura; his horse under the Cōḷa of Uṟantai; his elephant under the Cēra of Vañci whilst he himself along with his army remains at Pukār.

"Cupid's friend Spring has come. This information is brought by the envoy, Zephyr. 'The army (women) of this Lord of the victorious flag of *makara* will get itself ready in its beautiful forms'. —so proclaimed the trumpet bearer of a cuckoo—these words of the envoy": Thus begins this chapter before describing the forlorn Mātavi writing her famous love letter to Kōvalaṉ describing the suffering of her solitude.

3. 1: 66: 3.
4. *Cilap.*, 9: 60.
5. *Cilap.*, 28: 43.
6. *Vēṉiṟkātai.*

IV

A further development—a sublimation of this idea of *Kāma* may also be noted. As Keith observes: "There is a real affinity between the process by which *Buddhi* and *Ahaṅkāra* are deemed to produce the world of experience and older myths of *Prajāpati* and his desire, *Kāma,* as playing their parts in the creation of the world, while still further back we have the picture of *Puruṣa* as at once the material and spiritual source of the world".[7] These form the rudiments of the *Sāṁkhya Philosophy* which has been adopted in a way by Śaivism. Kāma is said to be born in the form of *Pradyumna,* which is one of the three or four *'vyūhas'* or divine manifestations of Viṣṇu. This particular manifestation is referred in the *Caṅkam* Anthology—*Paripāṭal* as *'Paccai'*.[8] When this is remembered, Ārūrar's statement, that *Kāma* was burnt by Śiva in the very presence of Viṣṇu assumes a greater importance.

In this connection, the Vēdic conception of Kāma, which is equivalent to the Tamil word *'Vēḷ'* may be studied for understanding the growth and development of this idea in the religion and philosophy of India. Keith writes, "In the *Atharva Vēda* is found the conception of Kāma, 'desire' or love. He is described as the first to be born and he has arrows which pierced all hearts. He is not, however, as far as appears from the scanty notices we have of him a god primarily of human love though that side of his character may have existed from the first or have been attributed soon to him. In his cosmic aspect which is in accordance with the theosophic tone of the *Atharva Vēda,* the one in which he is described in it, he is probably derived from the mention of *Kāma* in one of the most important cosmogonic hymns of the *Ṛg Vēda* as the first seed of mind regarded also as cosmic. It is not until the later literature in the last strata of the epic that we meet with the Indian Cupid with his arrows, who is described as the disturber of the hearts of men whom he vexes with pangs of love."[9]

V

The conquest of *Kāma* is one of the eight acts of Śiva's heroism as remembered and cherished in the Tamil Country. The Tamilian

7. Religion and Philosophy of the *Vēdas* and *Upaniṣads*, p. 542.
8. 3: 82.
9. Religion and Philosophy of the *Vēdas* and *Upaniṣads*, p. 210.

tradition is that this act took place at *Kuṟukkai* in the Tanjore District. It is, therefore, called *Kuṟukkai Vīraṭṭāṉam*. Appar refers to this *Vīraṭṭāṉam* and Tirumūlar also in his usual way gives his mystic interpretation of this story. He mentions this as the last of the heroic acts of Śiva.

VI

According to the *Āgamas*, the form of this *Kāmāri*,[10] is exactly like that of *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti* with the addition of *Manmata* sculptured as fallen down with his bow and arrows on the left hand and on the right hand respectively accompanied by *Rati* and *Vasanta*. Campantar refers to the *Yōgic* form as *Kāmāri*.[11] The *Pūrva kāraṇāgama* assigns four arms and three eyes and a terrific look, one arm carrying a snake, the other arm *akṣamāla*, the third and the fourth being kept in the *patākahasta* pose and *sūcī* pose respectively. The *Kāmāri* is found sculptured on one of the pillars near the tank in the Ēkāmparēśvara temple in Conjīvaram but it is very modern. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form is separately discussed by us.

VII

The Pallava architecture of the 7th century as embodied in the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjīvaram, has many panels describing the various episodes of this story. The following descriptions seem to refer to the representations of Pārvatī's Tapas.[12] "Returning along the South wall, the space between the South-east corner recess and No. 4 cell, has Pārvatī, seated under a banyan tree; one large and two small elephants are on the left side. A *Yōgi* sits with his knees bound on the back of a large animal. A female attendant is on the right".[13] Between 7 and 8: "Pārvatī is seated under a tree; a deer is on her left and two are underneath; a bird, probably a peacock is on a branch of the tree; a female attendant is on her right". Similarly we have between 9 and 10, between 10 and 11, 12 and 13, 13 and 14, and 15 and 16. The scheme adopted seems to be this: the cells portray Śiva's acts whilst recesses between the cells portray Pārvatī's or Śakti's acts.

10. The destroyer of *Kāma*.
11. 3: 103: 2.
12. *Rea.*, p. 30.
13. Perhaps this represents the story of Śiva appearing to Pārvatī in the form of an old man—*Ṛṣi*.

There are various forms of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti.* Rea speaks of a few of such forms, preaching war to his disciples seated in the opposite panel.[14] Śiva is said to have eight hands, the upper and left supporting an elephant's skin over his head, in his right arm carrying a drum, a club and a trident, whilst one of the left touches his crown, the other holds what Rea calls a noose which probably is *Akṣamāla* and the lowest is empty. Possibly this is *Kāmāri.*

VIII

Ārūrar uses the beautiful compound *Kāmakōpa,* one who is infuriated against *Kāma.* Ārūrar mentions the names *'Kāmaṉ',*[15] *'Māraṇār'.*[16] The Tamil word is *'Vēḷ'* (desire and therefore the Lord of passions) and Ārūrar uses the compound *"Kāmavēḷ"*[17] and *"Vēḷāḷiya kāmaṉ"*[18] (*Kāma,* the lord of erotic passions). His bow of sugar-cane is referred to by Ārūrar.[19] So are the arrows of flowers;[20] these are fragrant,[21] they are full of honey.[22] He gives the number as given in many places.[23]

Why Kāma came is also explained. "You assumed a great form of penance. The *Dēvas* begged of him. He came to destroy this penance.[24] He came very near erasing the well established great penance and meditation. He was very haughty.[25] Śiva's eye was opened;[26] only the very end of the eye opened.[27] The eye had become completely reddened.[28] It was a beautiful eye of red.[29] It was a mere twinkling of the eye *'Imaitta'.*[30] It was an eye of fire, the eye on the forehead—*"Kaṇṇutal"*[31] and *"Naya-*

14. P. 26; p. 28.
15. 7: 2: 9.
16. 7: 57: 5.
17. 7: 6: 2.
18. 7: 2: 9.
19. 7: 9: 4; 7: 16: 9.
20. 7: 9: 4; 7: 10: 1; 7: 16: 9; 7: 51: 2; 7: 53: 4.
21. 7: 9: 4.
22. 7: 53: 4.
23. 7: 10: 1; 7: 51: 2; 7: 53: 4.
24. 7: 6: 2.
25. 7: 99: 7 & 9.
26. 7: 6: 2.
27. 7: 9: 4.
28. 7: 75: 9.
29. 7: 51: 2.
30. 7: 94: 8.
31. 7: 89: 6.

natti",[32] "*Kaṇ aḷal*".[33] The fire of the eye burnt his body.[34] He is thus the very fire unto Cupid.[35] Here comes a beautiful idea. Śiva is engaged in a great penance and this burning of the passions is a great sacrifice. It is a great sea of '*Hōma*' or sacrifice.[36] In that fire Śiva danced.[37] This was done in the presence of the very father of *Kāma,* that great Viṣṇu.[38] "What a victory! Like the paper doll burnt retaining its form only to be wafted away by any small puff of breath, Cupid remained only to be dissolved into air by the breath of *Rati*". That is how Kāḷidāsa describes the final dissolution of *Kāma.* Ārūrar suggests the very same idea when he speaks of Śiva making the body of *Kāma* become burnt and shattered—"*Kāmaṉākam kaḷaintāṉ*". Kāma lay there a heap of ashes.[39]

IX

Reference has been already made to Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram.* The esoteric meaning of this mythological story lies on the very surface; it is the conquest of the passions.

> "*Irunta maṉattai icaiya irutti*
> *Porunti iliṅka vaḷiyatu pōkkit*
> *Tiruntiya kāmaṉ ceyalaḷit taṅkaṇ*
> *Aruntava yōkam koṟukkai amarntatē*".[40]

"This mind is made to co-operate and to be in communion. It is sent through the path of *Liṅga* (or, it is made to get away from the phallic way). The action of Cupid is destroyed. The great meditation of rare penance becomes established at *Kuṟukkai*". Ārūrar also feels that this story connotes a great mystic truth. He does not express it himself but asks of God, "What is the import? What is the significance of this victory of staring at *Kāma?*"[41] Why was he baked to be reduced to ashes?"[42]

32. 7: 53: 4.
33. 7: 45: 3.
34. 7: 16: 9.
35. 7: 70: 1.
36. 7: 94: 8.
37. 7: 10: 1.
38. 7: 6: 2.
39. 7: 9: 4; 7: 53: 4; 7: 57: 5; 7: 94: 8; 7: 99: 7; 7: 99: 9.
40. *Tirumantiram,* V. 346.
41. 7: 6: 2.
42. 7: 9: 4

CHAPTER IV

GAJĀHA MŪRTI

I

In *Cilappatikāram,* there is a description of *Durgā,* whom the hunters worship in the deserts. That is curious inasmuch as the description seems to be that of *Śiva,* tranferred wholesale to *Durgā,* the *Śakti* of *Śiva,* evidently because of the identity of Śiva and *Śakti,* roughly the static and the dynamic aspects of God-head:

"Matiyiṇ veṇṭōṭu cūṭum ceṇṇi
Nutal kiḻittu viḻitta imaiyā nāṭṭattu-p
Pavaḷa vāycci tavaḷavāḷ nakaicci
Nañcuṇṭu karutta kaṇṭi veñciṇattu
Aravunāṇ pūṭṭi neṭumalai vaḷaittōḷ
Tuḷaieyiṛ ṛurakak kaccuṭai mulaicci
Vaḷaiyuṭaik kaiyiṛ cūḷa mēnti
Kariyiṇ urivai pōrttaṇaṅ kākiya
Ariyiṇ urivai mēkalai yāṭṭi
(Cilampuṅ kaḷalum pulampum cīṛaṭi
Valampaṭu korṛattu vāyvāḷ korṛavai
Iraṇṭu vēṛuruvil tiraṇṭatōḷ avuṇaṇ
Talaimicai niṇṛa taiyal)".[1]

"On her crown she adorns herself with the white blade of the moon. Tearing the forehead as it were, looks out for once, the never opening eye. The mouth is the very coral. Her smile is of white radiance. Her throat has become black with the poison drunk. Fitting up the furious snake as the bow-string, she bends the huge mountain of a bow. She wears the serpents as her breast band. She holds up the trident in her bangled hand. She covers herself with the skin of the elephant; the lion-skin is her girdle thereon. (The anklets, and the victorious and heroic sign of a leg-ring, jingle on her feet. She is *Korṛavai* (or *Durgā*) of the never failing sword and victorious courage. She stands on the head of the demon of two forms.)

1. *Cilap., Vēṭṭuvar vari,* XII, ll. 54ff.

II

It is the *line underlined* that is important for the present. It refers to the flaying of an elephant and wearing its skin as a shawl. The story is thus seen to be popular even among the hunters of the age of the epic. Apart from the heroic deed of flaying the elephant, there is also the greatness involved in wearing the skin. The ancients believed the very touch of the flayed skin of an elephant will bring death; to escape this death is itself a divine act.[2] The *Kūrmapurāṇa* states that when a demon assumed the form of an elephant for interfering with and frightening the Saints in contemplation near the *Kṛttivāsēśvara liṅga* in Benares, Śiva came out and killed him.

The *Purāṇas* including the *Suprabhēdāgama* describe how the *Ṛṣis* of *Daṇḍakāraṇya,* enraged at Śiva's sport with their wives as *Bikṣāṭana,* performed a destructive sacrifice for killing Śiva, when from the sacrificial fire came many fatal objects, including an elephant, which, along with the other objects were neutralized. Śiva wore the flayed skin of the elephant in this case. This is probably what Ārūrar refers to. This will be described and discussed later on.

The third story occurs in the *Varāhapurāṇa.* A great demon *Gajāsura* by name, was like the other demons of the *Purāṇas* giving endless trouble to *Dēvas;* and Śiva fought and flayed him. The heroic act according to the Tamilian tradition, took place in *Vaḻuvūr* in the Tanjore District.

III

The important point is killing the elephant and wearing its skin. The form of the Lord is called *Gajāsurasaṁhāra mūrti* or if it is merely the killing of the elephant sent by the *Ṛṣis, Gajāhamūrti. The Āgamas* describe this form. Śiva appears with either four or eight arms holding in the former case, the noose and the skin of the elephant with the right hands, and the tusk and skin with the left, whilst holding in the latter case of eight arms, the trident, the drum, the noose and the elephant's skin with the right hands and the skull, the tusk, the skin and the *vismaya* pose with the left. Śiva's left leg is planted straight

2. See: *Cintāmaṇi,* V. No. 2787—commentary—"*yāṉaiyiṉ pacuntōl piṟai uṭampiṟ paṭṭāl kollum eṉṟu uṇarka*".

on the elephant's head; His bent up right leg is lifted above to the left thigh. The tail of the animal is seen as coming over Śiva's crown, whilst the skin appears like a halo round the image of Śiva with legs hanging as artistically arranged. *Dēvī* stands by, terrified, holding Subrahmaṇya in her hands. It appears that the *Pērūr* image answers to this description, and not the image of *Vaḷuvūr,* the place famous for this heroic act,[3] because here the legs take a contrary position.

Another description of the *Āgama,* places the trident, the sword, the tusk and the skin in the right hands and a skull, a shield, a ball and the skin in the left; the right leg is bent and held as in *utkuṭikāsana. Kāraṇāgama* gives *ṭaṅka,* deer and *sūcī* pose as in *Tirutturaippūṇḍi* image,[4] which however has ten arms and not the *Āgamic* eight or four hands.

IV

Coming to the sculpture of the age of *Tēvāram,* Rea describes the panel of the back of the last but one *ratha* on the north, among the eight *rathas* at the entrance of Kailāsanātha Temple. "The group has Śiva on an elephant; the death noose is in His left hand; His right foot is uplifted on the elephant's head; He holds in the lower right hand a trident and in the lower left a *nāga.* He is represented as stripping the elephant's skin which he waves aloft in his two upper hands. At His sides are a standing figure of a devotee on the left, and two *gandharvas* on the right. The panelled back of the seventh (going to the South) *ratha* is similar to that just described but in this case Śiva has six hands".[5] *Rea* described Fig. 1 in his plate CXXIII as follows: "*Śiva* with the usual weapons sits on the back of an elephant. A woman is in front".[6] A reference to the figure leaves no doubt that it is the *Gajāhamūrti.* Śiva is standing on the elephant with His straight right leg, whilst the left leg is lifted and bent, straight above its head. The trident of the right hand is piercing the elephant. The front left hand and the back right hand are holding up the skin. Perhaps, there are eight hands.

3. *Madras Archaelogical Survey Report* for 1911-12: Plate IX, fig. 2; plate XXXI, *Hindu Iconography,* Vol. II, Pt. 1.

4. Fig. 83, *Gods and Goddesses of South India.*

5. *Rea.,* p. 24.

6. P. 32.

Pārvatī is frightened and this fright is very well expressed by her bends of the legs and body—so frightened as almost to run away without seeing the cruel act. In plate LVII, the top panel gives the representation of the *Gajāhamūrti*. *Śiva* has six hands. The elephant is being pierced by the trident held in the right middle arm. The back right arm and the front left arm are holding up the elephant's skin, high above the *jaṭāmakuṭa*, which is in a peculiar form of three semi circles. The right leg is on the ground with a slight bent; the left is raised up to the thigh, the feet resting on the head of the elephant — a *talasamsphōṭita* mode of dance. The curves and bends express the victorious fight. *Pārvatī* as in the previous figure expresses fear. These sculptures show that the *Āgamic* rules have not as yet become crystallized.

V

The frequent representation of this story may be better understood and appreciated with reference to the following: In the Paṇamalai Temple inscription, Rājasiṁha, describes himself as 'the Rājasiṁha, the vanquisher of the elephants'. The Pallava kings of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line specialized in the lion pillars. Rājasiṁha portrays therein lions standing on their hind legs in the act of springing forward. "Under the feet of lions", says Longhurst in describing the Paṇamalai temple, "are the heads of small recumbent elephants portrayed as being crushed by the lions. Thus the rampant lions appear to symbolize Rājasiṁha as the lion and the vanquisher of the elephants.[7] The latter refers to the enemy princes as according to tradition, the lion is the natural enemy of the elephant".[8] Perhaps it is because of this, that this king came to be known as merely *"Ciṁkaṇ* or *Kaḷarciṁkaṇ"*. This explains the idea of the elephants being placed in the lower panels whilst Śiva is represented in various forms in the panels above, suggesting the crushing down of the elephant. Rājasiṁhēśvara is the name of the God of Kailāsanātha temple in Conjīvaram and these particular panels visualize this significance. The *Gajāsura Saṁhāra* is a more concrete and a more orthodox representation of this idea of a vanquisher of elephants by which term Rājasiṁha probably liked his God also to be praised.

7. The elephant is the symbol of the *Gaṅgas*.

8. *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, p. 8.

VI

In that age of divine right of Kings, certain amount of identity between the king and God came also to be emphasized. We know that in the Eastern Archipelago, *liṅgas* were not only named after the patron kings, but forms of God were sculptured to represent the faces of the patron kings. *Paḷḷipaṭai* temples in Tamil land were those built on the places where the kings were burnt. *Ādittēccuram* was one such built, where Āditya Cōḻa died. There might have been, however, such temples of the Pallava age. An inscription of the 8th year of Kampavarman,[9] speaks of a temple built by one Rājāditya at the place where his father was burnt. The *Mataṅgan Paḷḷi* Temple of Satyavēḍu is considered to be a temple as the tomb of one Mataṅga.[10] But this interpretation of the *Paḷḷi* is wrong, for that will make *Tiricirāppaḷḷi, Mayēndirappaḷḷi* etc., tomb temples which is against what we know of the *Paḷḷis* as the original temples of the Jains converted into Śaivite temples. But though *paḷḷis* are not *Paḷḷipaṭai* temples, there were the latter kind in the Tamil country. The king is used to be called as *Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ. Kaṭavūr Mayāṉam* as the name itself suggests must have been originally a burning ghat. The name of the God there, is *Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ* as seen from the poems of Campantar, Appar and Ārūrar. It may not be a far fetched inference to hold that it was a *Paḷḷipaṭai* temple of a king.

Appar living in the reign of Narasiṁhavarma Pallava I, who extended the use of the pillars with squatting base who was himself called Siṁha, addresses God as *'Ciṅkamē'*.[11]

The *Gajāsura saṁhāra mūrti* as suggesting the idea of 'Siṁha' the title of the king, explains the beautiful and original phrase or compound which Ārūrar coined and applied to God so lovingly *"Tēvar ciṅkamē"* — "Lion of *Dēvas*", a phrase, "One better than Rājasiṁha".

VII

Ārūrar refers to the elephant 57 times in his hymns; Ārūrar is looked upon as a great poet. His rich active vocabulary is

9. 429 of 1902.
10. *History of Ancient Deccan*, p. 384.
11. Appar, 6: 99: 2.

evident in his poems. Without any conscious effort, he has used nearly a dozen familiar words perhaps with different shades of meaning, to denote an elephant: *'Atti'*, connoting the idea of the Tamil term, *'Kaimmā'* used by him, and *'Kuñcaram'* (that which has a tusk) are the two Sanskrit words used in their Tamil form.[12] Perhaps *'Kari'*,[13] also may be traced to Sanskrit if it does not mean a black or huge animal, bringing out the same idea as the Tamil *"Karumāṉ"*,[14] or *'Maimmā'*,[15] which also Ārūrar has used. The other terms are *'Yāṉai'*[16] with its variant later form *'Āṉai'*,[17] *'Vēḻam'*,[18] *'Kaḷiṟu'*[19] from *'kaḷi'* which means, 'must', and *'Pakaṭu'*[20] (from which probably *'pakaṭṭu'* has come).

As a poet, he describes the elephant. Some of the descriptions explain the nature of the elephant species, whilst others specifically glorify the elephant destroyed by Śiva. Ārūrar refers to *"Mata yāṉai"*,[21] — the elephant of the oozing must. *"Karuṅkaṭak kaḷiṟu"*,[22] gives the black colour of the oozing must; *"Kaṭamā kaḷi yāṉai"*,[23] refers to the intoxication and pride of the elephant, thanks to this oozing. This animal is blessed with a crown as big as a *'kuṁpam'* or a round vessel, *"Kuṁpa mā kaḷiṟu"*.[24] It is tethered to a post, *"Kampamaruṅkari"*,[25] and it is always moving its body, *"Kampa māl kaḷiṟu"*,[26] (*kampam* is shaking or post). Its feet are big, *"Karuntāḷa matak kaḷiṟu"*.[27] Its food is given as huge balls of food, *"Kavaḷa-k kaḷiṟṟiṉ"*.[28] It is hard and firm like a mountain and therefore mighty, *"Vaṉpakaṭu"*.[29] Its trunk is serving as its hand, its chief characteristic,

12. 7: 30: 1 & 7: 2: 9.
13. 7: 9: 1; 7: 28: 4.
14. 7: 38: 8; 7: 90: 5.
15. 7: 21: 5.
16. 7: 10: 1; 7: 18: 4; 7: 23: 6.
17. 7: 7: 1; 7: 19: 6.
18. 7: 6: 8; 7: 17: 10.
19. 7: 6: 6; 7: 17: 5.
20. 7: 23: 7.
21. 7: 27: 4.
22. 7: 72: 6.
23. 7: 42: 7.
24. 7: 68: 1.
25. 7: 89: 4.
26. 7: 55: 10.
27. 7: 38: 9.
28. 7: 91: 3.
29. 7: 23: 7.

"Kaimmā".[30] As a hand, it is like a pipe with a hollow, *"Tuḷai-k kai-k kari.*[31] It lives on the mountain, *"Malai mēl yāṉai".*[32]

Gajāsura is an elephant, par excellence, an embodiment of evil. It has conquered — perhaps uprooted — the mountains with extensive slopes with its very trunk — so fierce and cruel — conscious of its unyielding honour and pride, *"Tāḻvaraikkai veṉṟa vemmāṉa matakari".*[33] It is monstrous, fierce and big, *"Veyya mā kari".*[34] Its eyes are fierce; it is fearless, *"Veṅkaṇyāṉai".*[35] Its must does not ooze but flow like a river, *"Matam āṟupaṭa-p poḻiyum,*[36] or, it pours down while it is in the fighting mood. Its very trunk is death, *"Kolaikkai yāṉai".*[37] It rules death, *"Kōḷ āḻiya kuñcaram".*[38] Its fame has spread slowly but steadily, *"Pērūrum mata kari".*[39] Nobody could prevent its onslaught on the universe, *"Taṭukka voṇṇātatōr vēḻam".*[40] It is also victory for it, *"Veṉṟi matakari".*[41]

It is this demon of an elephant that Lord Śiva conquered. This ruler of death was made to die.[42] Perhaps piercing it with the trident was not enough; perhaps it continued its monstrous acts. The Lord had to flay it.[43] He caught hold of it from the front and flayed its skin for becoming His cloth. The hot blood was then pouring down, *"Kuruti cōra".*[44] It was an act, giving great exercise to His body, *"Varunta aṉṟu uritta",*[45] or, rather it is the suffering of the elephant that is referred to. Every act of the so called destruction is an act of His Grace. The elephant's skin became His favourite shawl. The cow relishes all the dirts on the new born calf and Śiva relishes all the refuses of the

30. 7: 38: 1.
31. 7: 93: 2.
32. 7: 10: 1.
33. 7: 38: 6.
34. 7: 70: 7.
35. 7: 62: 2.
36. 7: 10: 1.
37. 7: 57: 1.
38. 7: 2: 9.
39. 7: 51: 12.
40. 7: 17: 10.
41. 7: 99: 4.
42. 7: 38: 6.
43. 7: 6: 6.
44. 7: 7: 10.
45. 7: 63: 3.

body of this demon. He has covered Himself with it full of relish, *"Iṭṭamāka-p pōrttīr"*,[46] *"Kuruti cōra"*,[47] — with its oozing blood, still wet, *"Īruri"*,[48] full of the festering odour of the carcass, *"Pulāl nāṟa"*.[49] It covers His whole body, perhaps as a halo round His body.[50] It forms the aureola of his head, *"Tōl koṇṭa kuḷaṟ caṭaiyan"*.[51] The poet himself revelling in the act of Śiva's Grace, visualizes the beauty of this skin, *"Kōlamār kaḷiṟu"*.[52] Anybody, seeing the representation of this in sculpture, will readily agree with this aesthetic judgment of our poet.

VIII

In the description of the sculptures of this form, Pārvatī is found frightened. This is referred to by Ārūrar.[53] He views it from a few poetic points of view. God was desirous of seeing the beautiful fright of Pārvatī and flayed the elephant to kindle this expression of terror in her, *"Naṭukkam kaṇṭār"*.[54] In another place, he says that Pārvatī became frightened at seeing the demon and therefore Śiva flayed him.[55] There is a third graphic and poetic idea suggested. Pārvatī became terrified at this heroic fight with the elephant and at His terrific form; and therefore, Śiva flayed the elephant and covered His terrific form till it cooled down.[56] The poet brings out the loving fright of the woman and the terrific cruelty of the man,[57] as also the tenderness of love in the form of Pārvatī and the rank materialism of the mass of flesh in the form of the elephant, *"Pavaḷa-k kaṉivāy"*,[58] and *"Kavaḷa-k kaḷiṟṟiṉ"*,[59] where he contrasts the tender and beautiful lips of Pārvatī, tender like the fruit and beautifully red like the coral, or tender and frightful like the deer,[60] or, beautiful with

46. 7: 6: 6.
47. 7: 7: 10.
48. 7: 21: 5.
49. 7: 23:6.
50. 7: 19: 6; 7: 99: 4.
51. 7: 7: 10.
52. 7: 56: 10.
53. 7: 6: 8; 7: 30: 1; 7: 33: 4; 7: 69: 3; 7: 99: 4, etc.
54. 7: 17: 10.
55. 7: 9: 1.
56. 7: 41: 8.
57. 7: 6: 8; 7: 9: 1; 7: 99: 4, etc.
58. 7: 91: 3.
59. 7: 91: 3.
60. 7: 33: 4; 7: 41: 8.

the tender waist of a serpent,[61] with mountain of food of the mountain of an elephant.

IX

These stories are not mere objective experiences as far as Ārūrar is concerned. He very often correlates them with his own autobiographical experiences. It is again a glorification of the Grace of Śiva. The story is that an elephant was sent to carry Ārūrar to *Kailās* on his last pilgrimage. With a feeling of loving and respectful gratitude, he refers to this in his last hymn that is said to have been delivered to the sea, "He has flayed the elephant and this age long enmity of His against the elephant is dissolved along with me. Is it for this He has blessed me with this elephant, for me to ride on?".[62] Some, it must be added, hold this hymn as apocryphal.

The whole story of the elephant has like other stories a mystical significance. Ārūrar asks, "What is the import of this flaying of the elephant?" Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of conquering the elephants of senses with the goad of knowledge.[63] The black elephant of a deceitful world, becomes in the end the white elephant of knowledge, as experienced in the last episode of Ārūrar, true to the message of *"Uṇmai viḷakkam"* that the three *'malas'* themselves become the *Sat, Cit* and *Ānanda* aspects of *Mōkṣa*. Tirumūlar gives his own mystic interpretation of this story:

"Muttīk koḷuvi muḷaṅkeri vēḷviyuḷ
Atti yuriyara ṉāva taṟikilar
Catti karutiya tām pala tēvarum
Attīyiṉ uḷḷeḷun taṉṟu kolaiyē".[64]

"The three sacrificial fires were kindled. They did not know, that the skin of the elephant is Śiva, the numerous *Dēvas* who thought of power. Murder was born out of fire". Is this, a reference to the sacrifice of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana?*

61. 7: 93: 2.
62. 7: 100: 2.
63. *Kuṟaḷ*, 24.
64. *Tirumantiram*, V. 344.

Chapter V

JALANDHARĀSURA SAMHĀRA MŪRTI

I

Another of the eight heroic feats of Śiva is the conquest of *Jalandharāsura.* This according to the Tamilian tradition took place at Tiruviṛkuṭi near Tiruvārūr in Tanjore District. According to *Śiva purāṇa,* the fire, that emanated from Śiva's forehead at the time of the burning of the three castles, when let into the sea, where the Indus joins the sea, rose up as a child *Jalandhara,* to grow up and marry a chaste woman *Bṛndā,* to conquer and plunder the *Dēvas* after knowing of their riches from the deformed *Rāhu* and finally, misled by *Nāṛada,* to demand of Śiva the surrender of Pārvatī herself so as to become the asura's wife. In the fight that ensued with Śiva, the demon made Śiva absorbed in the dance and music of those whom the asura created by his magic, so absorbed, that He was unconscious of His weapons dropping down. Taking this opportunity, *Jalandhara* went to Śiva's abode in the form of Śiva. Pārvatī could not be deceived and she took her revenge by sending Viṣṇu to ravish *Bṛndā,* who, unable to bear the indignity, committed suicide. When *Jalandhara* returned to the battlefield, Śiva, recovering from the spell of music, killed the asura with *Sudarśana* from the sea. But according to the tradition prevalent in the Tamil land, Śiva, drew up a circle with his toe on the earth and this became the discus *Sudarśana* for killing the demon. This is made clear by Tirumular:

> *"Eṅkum kalantumeṉ uḷḷattu eḻukiṉṛa*
> *Aṅka mutalvaṉ arumaṛai yōtipāl*
> *Poṅkum Calantaraṉ pōrceyya nīrmaiyiṉ*
> *Aṅku viraṛkuṛit tāḻicey tāṉē".*[1]

A challenge was thrown whether the demon could lift this wheel on to his head; the demon did lift it, whereupon it cut his body through.

1. *Tirumantiram,* V. 342.

II

According to the *Āgamas*, Śiva resting on a pair of sandals has, in this form of *Jalandhara Saṁhāramūrti*, three terrific eyes but only two arms holding an umbrella on the right and water-pot on the left with a dishevelled *jaṭābhāra*, adorned with the crescent moon and the Ganges; *Jalandhara*, with a tucked up sword, is there, with two arms in *añjali* pose with the *Sudarśana* held on them. This description of *Jalandhara* seems to follow the version of the Tamil country.

The next episode is the grant of this *Sudarśana* to Viṣṇu. The form of God is known as *Cakradāna mūrti* or *Viṣṇu anugraha mūrti*. Viṣṇu's original *cakra* broke to pieces when he hurled it against the *Ṛṣi Dadhīci*. Finding no weapon against the demons he had to fight, he prayed to Śiva for the *Sudarśana*, which killed *Jalandhara*. He was every day performing *pūja* or worship with one thousand lotus flowers. To test his devotion, Śiva secreted one flower but Viṣṇu, finding one missing, offered his own eye of a lotus. Is he not *Puṇḍarīkākṣa*? At once, gratified Śiva presented the *Cakra*. It is further told in Tirumantiram which deals with the story in four verses[2] in *Tantiram* II, that Viṣṇu could not bear this *Cakra*, whereupon Śiva divided Himself into parts and conferred on Viṣṇu a part of Himself.[3]

III

There were two great temples in the days of Appar and Campantar where this presentation of *Cakra* was said to have taken place. One is *Cakkarappaḷḷi* which Campantar refers to in *Kṣēttirakkōvai*[4] as, *"Vaṉ cakkaram māl uṟaippāl aṭi pōṟṟa-k koṭutta Paḷḷi"*, 'the Paḷḷi where the big discus was given when Viṣṇu worshipped His feet'. This place is near the Aiyampēṭṭai Railway station in Tanjore. The other place is 'Tirumāl pēṟu' near Conjīvaram. Appar refers to this story in the first and the third verses of his first *Kuṟuntokai* on this temple *Tirumāṟpēṟu*.[5] Campantar also mentions Viṣṇu's worship. Of course, it is not open to us to conclude that these Saints want us to believe that these feats were performed in the particular places; for they refer

2. VV. 367—370.
3. VV. 368 & 369.
4. 2: 39: 4.
5. 5: 59: 1, 3.

to these feats in almost all their hymns. The tradition must have grown probably, because of the first or early representation of the episode being made in stucco work before the age of stone sculptures, in the particular temples. Otherwise, it is not possible to appreciate the claim of more than one place for one and the same feat as here.

Speaking of the *Gajāha mūrti,* we referred to the tradition, that Vaḻuvūr was the place of the performance of *Gājāha.* Vaḻuvūr is not sung by the *Tēvāram* poets except by Appar who casually mentions it when enumerating the *Vīraṭṭānas.* In praising Kacci Anēkataṅkāpatam, Ārūrar, who alone had sung about it, speaks of it at one place, as the place where the elephant was flayed.[6] Probably on account of this, a tradition has grown, that this feat was performed in this area and people show the fields round about it being known even today as *"Āṉaiyurittāṉ vayal"*, which may simply mean, 'fields belonging to the *Gajāha mūrti'* by which name God of that temple must have been familiar from early ages.

IV

The *Āgamas* must have framed their standard descriptions on the basis of these old stucco representations which unfortunately are not now in existence and also on the basis of the poems of *Tēvāram*, etc. The *Uttarakāraṇāgama* gives a description of the gift of the wheel. Pacific looking Śiva, with three eyes, *jaṭāmakuṭa* surrounded by a halo and *śirascakra* and four arms, carrying, on the right, the drum and the wheel and on the left, the deer and the *varada* pose, sits with the left leg bent and the right hanging down, along with Pārvatī on the left and Brahma on the right, whilst Viṣṇu with hands in *añjali* pose worships with lotuses and his eye. According to *Śrītattva nidhi*, Śiva holds the axe instead of the drum and Viṣṇu, holding conch and wheel in the back arm and keeping the other two in añjali pose, stands to the left of Śiva, in readiness to receive the boons; Śiva presents him with *pītāmbara*, *Kaustubha* and the *Cakra* along with the name *Kamalākṣa.* It is clear that the *Kāraṇāgama* gives the first part of the story that of worship and *Śrītattva nidhi* the final part, that of the gift.

6. 7: 10: 1.

V

There are two pictures of this worship of Viṣṇu now available. They belong to the Rājasiṁha period. One is from the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjīvaram. It is in the 12th panel from the East end of the North side of the court of that temple. It is represented in plate XLII, fig. 1.[7] Rea describes it as follows: "Śiva, Pārvatī and two attendants, supported on a lotus by Viṣṇu. Śiva has Brahma's head placed on the top of his own. An attendant of Viṣṇu stands by, holding his conch and *cakra*".[8] The head in the *jaṭāmakuṭa* is not Brahma's head but *Gaṅgā's*. Śiva is not supported by a lotus of Viṣṇu who is kneeling; the lotuses in his two hands are those which are offered by him in *pūja*. With the left front arm—its fore-finger, Viṣṇu is in the act of removing the eye-ball from its socket, for offering it as flower. Śiva's right front arm is resting on the seat. The right back arm is raised up as though holding something probably the *cakra* to be presented. The left back arm is held up in *vismaya* pose. The right leg is hanging down and resting on a step. The left leg is crossed on the right. Pārvatī is on his side. There is a halo also visible. There is a photo of this,[9] in *Hindu Iconography* with a slightly different description.[10]

The other comes from the Airavatēśvara Temple of Conjīvaram. It apears on one of the panels on the sides of *Antarāḷa maṇṭapam*.[11] It has to be interpreted as two panels. The lower panel represents Viṣṇu worshiping a *liṅga*. He is in a submissive, almost in a kneeling mood. He has eight hands. The front two are in the *añjali* pose. One left hand is coming into contact with the *liṅga* in the course of this worship. Three on the right and one on the left are holding the lotus flowers to be offered. The other left hand is holding the plucked out eye, which looks like a lotus bud. The upper panel represents Śiva appearing before Viṣṇu. Śiva and Pārvatī are seated as in the Kailāsanātha temple except for the back arms which seem to have been interposed here.

7. *Rea.*
8. Rea, P. 34.
9. Plate LI.
10. P. 211, Vol. II, Pt. II.
11. *Rea*, Plate CXVIII, Fig. 2.

VI

Ārūrar does not refer to *Jalandhara* separately. It is in connection with the gift of the *cakra* that the *Jalandhara* story is also casually stated. There are nearly nine references to this story of the gift in his hymns. The poet mentions the Tamil word *'Āḻi'* six times,[12] and the Sanskrit word *'Cakṟa'* two times.[13] It is a weapon—*'Paṭai'*.[14] It is a wheel beaming up with a flame—*'Cuṭar āḻi'*.[15] One may note in passing that Dubreuil has, on an examination of the sculptures of the Pallava age, shown one clue to their age, which Longhurst explains thus: "Sacred symbols such as *'Śaṅkha'* (conch) and *'Cakra'* (discus) are represented in early Indian art without flames of fire issuing from their sides. In later art,[16] these symbols are decorated with flames of fire".[17] In the figure of Viṣṇu's worship we find in the Kailāsanātha temple, the *cakra* is represented with flames on four sides. Perhaps the description of poets like Ārūrar has inspired the sculptors to translate their poetry into stone.

Coming back to the description of the discus, it is *"Aṭal āḻi"*—'murderous or victorious *cakra*',[18] full of fighting excellence—*"Poru viṟal"*.[19]

It is in connection with the description of this discus the story of *Jalandhara saṁhāra* is given, by referring to the discus as the one which killed the asura. The name *Jalandhara* is mentioned twice.[20] *Jalandhara* was on the battle-field and the *cakra* hacked him into two—*"Ceru mēvu Calantaraṉai-p piḷanta cuṭar āḻi"*.[21] *Jalandhara* was possessed of immense strength; his mouth was deep like a cavern (ready to swallow everything); this discus split his body into two parts. *"Pilantaru vāyiṉoṭu peritum vali mikkuṭaiya Calantaraṉ ākamiru piḷavākkiya cakkaram"*.[22] Another event of this war is described without the name of *Jalandhara*

12. 7: 9: 2; 7: 16:2; 7: 53: 9; 7: 70: 7; 7: 75: 10; 7: 97; 5.
13. 7: 66: 3; 7: 98: 5.
14. 7: 97: 5.
15. 7: 16: 2.
16. After 800 A D.
17. *Pallava Architecture*, Part I, Page 10.
18. 7: 70: 7.
19. 7: 9: 2.
20. 7: 16: 2; 7: 98: 5.
21. 7: 16: 2.
22. 7: 98: 5.

being mentioned. This is a discus which is not the result of action—thus sings the poet referring to the creation by Śiva's *saṅkalpa*. Śiva created this weapon of a discus—*Paṇṇaṟ kariyatoru paṭai āḻi taṉai-p paṭaittu*".[23] How it was created is not given here but from the reference from Tirumūlar cited above we know Śiva created it by simply tracing a circle on the ground with his toe, which on being carried by *Jalandhara*, cut him in twain. There is a head with the discus on it, in one of the panels of Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple.[24] It is not clear whether Viṣṇu was also considered to have fought with *Jalandhara* and killed him with the discus.

VII

Ārūrar's description of Viṣṇu in this connection may be noticed. He is *'Māl'*,[25] a word which suggests his immensity and omnipresence as Viṣṇu, his dark colour and also his divine magic deluding all. He is *'Neṭumāl'*,[26] the towering tall one, suggesting the *'Trivikrama'* form measuring the world, often represented in the sculptures of this age.[27] He is the resplendent *"Māl"*—beautiful and grand—*"Tikaḻum mālavaṉ"*.[28] He is *Hari*.[29] He is *Kaṇṇaṉ*, a word said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word Kṛṣṇa, with an underlying suggestion because of its association with the Tamil root *'kaṇ'*, that he is the very eye and the dear one.[30] He is the Lord of the great Lady of the Earth—*Bhūdēvināyaka*—*"Nilantaru māmakaḷ kōṉ*.[31] He is the Lord of the Lady of wealth *Śrī*—*"Tirumakaḷ kōṉ"*,[32] *"Tiruviṉ Nāyakaṉ"*.[33] He is the Lord of the *Cakra*—*"Āḻiyāṉ"*.[34] This shows that he had a discus already; if he wanted another the old one must have been destroyed when he fought with *Dadhīci*. That was why Hari wanted a new discus.[35] Viṣṇu is spoken of as one great with his eyes as lotus.[36]

23. 7: 97: 5.
24. Plate LXXXIV, Fig. 3,*Rea*.
25. 7: 57: 6.
26. 7: 9: 2.
27. Plate LXXXI, Fig. 2, in *Rea*.
28. 7: 66: 3.
29. 7: 53: 9; 7: 70: 7.
30. 7: 97: 5.
31. 7: 98: 5.
32. 7: 9: 2.
33. 7: 57: 6.
34. 7: 75: 10.
35. 7: 70: 7.
36. 7: 16: 2.

Viṣṇu's worship is also described. The story must have developed when the *Sahasra nāma* came into vogue. God has therefore come to be called the Lord of Thousand names. The worship is described in some detail in two verses.[37] Viṣṇu worshipped with 1000 flowers. This was going on for many days—*"Pala nāḷ"*.[38] It was an excellent pūja—*"Ciṟappākiya pūcaṉai."*[39] He was offering the flowers and praising God with *mantras.*[40] During one such worship he found, out of thousand flowers, one was missing. For making up the deficiency—*"Kuṟaivāṉ niṟaivāka"*,[41] he scooped out his eye *"Kaṇṇiṭantu"*[42] and offered adorning the Lord with it.[43] This is indeed a famous act.[44] God was moved and pleased—*"Purintu"*;[45] he offered the discus he prayed for. The *purāṇas* narrate that the Lord gave the title *"Kamalākṣa"*. Ārūrar states that Viṣṇu has become great with the flower of ruddy eye becoming the lotus—*"Ceṅkaṇ malar paṅkayamā-c ciṟantāṉ"*.[46]

VIII

This is an act of God's Grace,[47] a message of hope to all. Ārūrar says that he himself was moved and inspired by the story so much that he immediately took refuge in Śiva.[48] It is because this story has some such mystic significance that Tirumūlar deals with it specifically at some length as already noted.

37. 7: 9: 2; 7: 66: 3.
38. 7: 9: 2.
39. 7: 9: 2.
40. 7: 66: 3.
41. 7: 9: 2.
42. 7: 66: 3.
43. 7: 9: 2.
44. 7: 66: 3.
45. 7: 9: 2; 7: 66: 3.
46. 7: 16: 2.
47. 7: 57: 6; 7: 70: 7
48. 7: 66: 3.

Chapter VI

KĀLASAMHĀRA MŪRTI

I

Conquest of death is the dream of man. Śaivites represent this as realized in the Sage *Mārkkaṇḍēya*. There are two sides to every act of God. From one point of view it is destruction and punishment; from another point of view it is purification and grace. *Mārkkaṇḍēya's* eternity is the Death of Death. *Kālasaṁhāra Mūrti* or *Kālāri Mūrti* is the embodiment of this heroic act of Śiva. The story of *Mārkkaṇḍēya* is very popular in Tamil. There was a poet of his name in *Caṅkam* age singing the ephemeral nature of this world.[1] It is assumed by all, that the Saint Tiruvaḷḷuvar refers to this story of *Mārkkaṇḍēya*.[2] According to the *purāṇas*, he was the son of *Mṛkaṇḍu*, who performed austerities for being blessed with a child. Śiva, according to the former's choice, gave only one child to live for 16 years, rather than useless children who might live up to an old age. This was *Mārkkaṇḍēya*, and when he was about to reach his 16th year, sorrow clouded his parents' brows, and the boy went to worship Śiva. *Yama's* servants failed to carry him to *Yamalōkā*, whereupon, *Yama* himself came. Whilst about to bind him, *Mārkkaṇḍēya* embraced the *Liṅga* and Śiva sprang forth from there, kicking *Yama* to death. However, *Yama* was revived, and *Mārkkaṇḍēya* was ever sixteen years of age. This heroic feat, according to Tamilian tradition, took place at Tirukkaṭavūr—the city of ambrosial pot, in the Tanjore District, one of the eight *Viraṭṭāṇams*.

II

The Āgamas describe the image of this *mūrti*. He stands with his right foot on a seat of lotus, whilst the left is raised up, so that its toe may hit against *Yama's* chest.[3] He has three eyes, lateral tusks, *jaṭāmakuṭa*, four or eight arms, the right hands in the former case carrying the trident lifted up to the ear and the

1. Peruṅ Kāñci in *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 365.
2. *Kuṟ.*, 262.
3. 7: 27: 9; 7: 68: 4.

hatchet or *varada* pose, the left hands being in *sūcī* pose near the naval and *vismaya* pose near the crown.

In the latter case of eight arms, the right hands carry trident, hatchet, *vajrāyudha* and the sword; whilst the left hands carry a shield, a rope, *vismaya* pose, and *sūcī* pose. *Yama*, with *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* and with a look pleading for mercy, is nearby with two arms, holding *pāśa* in one and raising the other in *añjali*. Instead of *sūcī* pose, there may be *varadā* pose holding the skull and instead of *vismaya* pose, the deer may be held. The *śilpasaṅgraha* places the trident and the kettle drum in the right hands and the *varada* pose and the hatchet in the left hands. *Kāmikāgama* places the left leg on the ground whilst the other leg kicks. Trident and hatchet are in the right hands, whilst a serpent-noose and *sūcī* pose are in the left hands. Śiva's eyes and His *śula* are turned towards the neck of *Yama* who has fallen down. This *Āgama* describes another form in which *Mārkkaṇḍēya* is found worshipping and where *Yama* is seen to have fallen down, while Śiva in the *Liṅga* looks like the *Liṅgōdbhava Mūrti*.[4] According to *Kāraṇāgama*, Pārvati also is there.[5]

III

In a sculpture of the *Daśāvatāra* cave, Ellora,[6] Śiva kicks *Yama* near his navel; in another,[7] He kicks on *Yama's* chest.[8]

In the Chandragiri image,[9] *Mārkkaṇḍēya* is found with a noose round his neck, embracing the *Liṅga*, from which Śiva rushes out to attack *Yama*.

The forms found in the Tamil Country are like the one described in *Kāmikāgama*. The Tamilian representation of this form is really a dance on *Yama* as found in Tirukkaṭavūr, just like those of Paṭṭīśvaram and Tiruccenkāṭṭaṅkuṭi,[10] where Śiva, with hatchet, deer, skull and the prominent trident with its head turned down on *Yama*, is standing with His right or left leg on the fallen *Yama* and kicking him with the other leg on his chest.

4. 7: 69: 9.
5. 7: 30: 2.
6. Plate XXXIV, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II. Part I.
7. Kailāsa temple, Ellora.
8. Plate XXXV, Fig. 1.
9. Fig. 8, *Gods and Goddesses of South India*.
10. Pl. XXXV, XXXVI, *Hindu Iconography*.

IV

Coming to the sculptures in the age of Ārūrar, we find fig. 2, in Pl. XXXVIII in Rea's *Pallava Architecture,* reminding us of the modern images of the Tamil land described above. In this basrelief, Śiva has eight hands with the left leg lifted up as in Tirucceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi image. The hatchet, the noose, the sword, the serpent, the *viśmaya* and *sūcī* poses are there. The most important thing is that the trident is not there. *Mārkkaṇḍēya* also is not there. Joveau Dubreuil,[11] refers to fig. 2, Pl. XXXV of *Rea*, as a representation of *Kālāri mūrti.* Here, Śiva holds the trident upwards in His right hand. The right arm is held up in *vismaya* pose. Of the middle right arms, one is holding a club, whilst it is not clear what the other is holding. The left upper hand holds the bow; the middle left has the noose; the lower one is held in a pose where two fingers are raised up.

Viṣṇu is on the left with his hands in *añjali* pose. There is a figure in front, on the left, holding its right hand to the height of its crown and the left hand to its chest as though preventing in a prayerful mood, full of emotion of fright. This must be *Yama.* There is a figure on the right hand bottom corner, with five cobra heads up above the head. In between these two figures is a smaller figure—perhaps a boy—and this must be *Mārkkaṇḍēya.* Perhaps Viṣṇu represents the Higher regions and *Nāga* the nether regions. The form of Śiva appears in a diamond-like rhombus, of which the lower angle alone is visible. This reminds us of the *Liṅgōdbhava mūrti.*[12] If so, this is very much like the second form given above in *Kāmikāgama,* to this extent.

V

There is another representation of this episode on the panel on the north side of the shrine at the N. W. corner of *Vimāna*, in plate liv. Śiva holds a *pāśa* on the left upper hand and hitting down with a trident held up in the raised up right hand. The right lower arm is not seen. A small face is seen between the right arm and Śiva's hip. It is holding a weapon with a long pole-like handle. Or, is it the *pāśā* thrown round *Mārkkaṇḍēya* on *Liṅga*, from which Śiva has leapt up? Śiva is in *Atibhaṅga* form full of motion. There is another figure with a club which

11. Dravid-Architecture.
12. See Plate XII in *Rea*.

suggests that it is *Yama*. The central panel may suggest the dance of victory on *Yama*, like the one in plate xxxviii, with this difference, that *Yama* is lying here on his chest and not on his back.

VI

The idea, in referring to these details in the *Āgamas* and the sculptures, is to show that the images described in the *Āgamas* are of a later date and even then they were not authoritative prescriptions but only illustrative descriptions, that the images grew out of the dramatic poses seen in the sculptures which were in turn inspired by the poetry of the *Purāṇas* generally and more specially by the poetry of *Tēvāram*. These episodes of *purāṇas* must have been enacted as proved by quotations given by us under other forms of Śiva from *Cilappatikāram* and *Nāṭaka Sūtras*. The striking scenes from these poems were shown in basreliefs by the sculptures; for, till very lately, there was nothing but the *Liṅga* as image in Śaivite temples. Rājasiṁha it was, who first introduced the *Sōmāskanda* form as a basrelief on the interior side of the back wall of the shrine. It was in his age that the forms of the various so called later images came to be sculptured. It will be shown later on, that Ārūrar belonged to this age. This comparison is necessary for showing the inter-relation of his poetry and those sculptures.

VII

There are two important parties in this drama of *Yama*. Śiva is the centre of this circle of a drama, with *Yama* and *Mārkkaṇḍēya* as two poles. *Mārkkaṇḍēya* is a *vedic* Brahmin "*Maṟaiyōṉ*"[13] and its other form is "*Maṟaiyavaṉ*".[14] He is a saint of loving heart —"*Antaṇāḷaṉ*"[15] as interpreted by Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[16] He is a '*māṇi*'[17] —a Brahmacāri—an unmarried boy. To increase the effect of contrast between the powerful *Yama* and the boy, the poet calls him a '*Bāla*'.[18] But he is a great boy, "*Perumpālaṉ*"[19] as is proved

13. 7: 28: 3.
14. 7: 66: 1.
15. 7: 55: 1.
16. *Kuṟ.*, 30.
17. 7: 69: 9.
18. 7: 27: 9; 7: 68: 4; 7: 99: 3.
19. 7: 27: 9.

by his act. He was well-versed and perfect in the *Vēdas*, "*Maṟaiyōṉ*",[20] and the various *śāstras* or arts. The import of these inspired him to worship at the feet of the Lord with all care and devotion—"*Nirampu pal kalaiyiṉ poruḷālē pōṟṟit taṉ kaḻal toḻumavaṉ*".[21] 'What is the use of learning, if the learned worship not at the feet of the Lord of pure knowledge?' asks Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[22] "You are my only refuge"—so saying he fell at the feet of the Lord—"*Tañcam eṉṟu taṉ tāḷatu aṭainta pālaṉ*".[23] He is therefore "*Aṭiyāṉ*"—the man of his feet; He is a servant; a saint. When one takes refuge in the Lord, he has no egotism; no selfish interest; he is submerged in Him; it is all thereafter God's work, whatever he may do. God becomes his beloved—"*Vāramāy*".[24] He worshipped God's feet in the traditional way with fresh flowers bubbling with honey; the Lord is fond of this flower-offering, of beauty, love and self-sacrifice; for, the worship is born of subdued and conquered mind; volcanic passions become peaceful and calm in love towards God—"*Ārum aṉpar*".[25] These lovers are happy in offering themselves and their love—"*Iṭṭukantār*".[26] It is the worship of such that Lord likes most, "*Ukantār malar-p pūcai iccikkum iṟaivar*".[27] He is a "*muṉivar*", a saint.[28]

VIII

According to ancient Tamil literature, man's marriageable age is sixteen; he becomes then a man, whilst he remains a youth or *pālaṉ*, "*Māṇi*" or Brahmachari, till then. *Mārkkaṇḍēya* was in that age of the limit of boyhood. He was the cream of the culture of his day, spiritually and intellectually. He was performing worship at the feet of the Lord. To him came *Yama*. He was "*Kūṟṟam*"[29] one who divides the life from the body on the appointed day. The forms "*Kūṟṟam*",[30] "*Kūṟṟu*"[31], "*Kūṟṟaṉ*"[32] are

20. 7: 28: 3.
21. 7: 62: 6.
22. *Kuṟ.*, 2.
23. 7: 68: 4.
24. 7: 66: 1.
25. 7: 19: 8.
26. 7: 19: 8.
27. 7: 19: 8.
28. 7: 63: 4.
29. 7: 57: 1; 7: 61: 4; 7: 62: 6.
30. 7: 5: 8.
31. 7: 57: 1; 7: 61: 4; 7: 62: 6; 7: 63: 4; 7: 93: 10.
32. 7: 30: 2.

found. He is pre-eminent and great that way—"*Aruṅkūṟṟu*",[33] not like others bringing life to an end. The other word used by the poet is—"*Maṭaṅkalāṉ*"[34]—a word as old as the *Caṅkam* literature.[35] It means one making life go back; one who brings out involution; one who brings about absorption.[36] The secondary meanings of end, lion, thunderbolt, and the submarine fire bringing out the end of an aeon suggest the cruel strength of *Yama*. He is the Lord of time—the lord of life, coming like an unfailing clock —"*Kuṟiyil vaḻuvāk kotuṅ kūṟṟu*",[37] correct to the second. He is '*kālaṉ*'.[38] He is an angry hard-hearted adamantine—"*Veṅkālaṉ*",[39] "*Kaṭiya vaṉkālaṉ*"[40] and cruel *Kāla*. But all the same, there is *Dharma* in his act, giving no room for any partiality working like a law of nature; he is *Dharma* meting out even-handed justice—"*Tarumaṉ*".[41] *Yama* is used in the Tamilian form—"*Namaṉ*".[42] He carries the *Daṇḍa* or the Club: it is his sign—"*Taṇṭamuṭait tarumaṉ*".[43] He spreads his net of a *pāca* or rope—"*Valaiyam vaitta kūṟṟam*".[44] He carries the spear (*śūla*) with blots or stains of blood—"*Kaṟai koḷ vēluṭaik kālaṉ*".[45] With all these paraphernalia he went on *Mārkkaṇḍēya*. He knew not what would follow or what should follow—"*Viḷaippaṟiyāta veṅkālaṉ*".[46] Intoxicated by his irresistibly hard and crushing victories, he came on him who had taken refuge in the feet of God with no interest or thought or act of his own—on one submerged in His feet. The poet contrasts the child and Death with effective assonance—"*Pālaṉ mēl vanta kālaṉ*".[47] The same idea of the contrast between the boy who has not reached manhood and the Lord of the very end of times, is again emphasised—"*Māṇi taṉ*

33. 7: 63: 4.
34. 7: 6: 1.
35. Kali., 2.
36. *Paripāṭal*—1: 44.
37. 7: 93: 10.
38. 7: 43: 4.
39. 7: 43: 4.
40. 7: 22: 6.
41. 7: 10: 6.
42. 7: 55: 1.
43. 7: 10: 6.
44. 7: 5: 8.
45. 7: 66: 1.
46. 7: 43: 4.
47. 7: 68: 4.

mēl vanta Kālaṉ".[48] It was not only intoxication of power, blinding his eyes to the future, but the cruel-heartedness knowing no sympathy that egged *Yama* on to rush with bubbling anger on this innocent child—"*Pālaṉatāruyir mēl pariyātu pakaitteḻunta Kālaṉ*"[49] unable to brook an obstacle on his way. Whilst the innocent youth was forgetting himself—in his self-surrender to God, *Yama*, regardless of this, came to bind him with his rope—"*Matiyātē kaṭṭuvāṉ vanta Kālaṉ*",[50] to remove his life—"*Toḻumavaṉāruyiraip pōkkuvāṉ*".[51]

There was nothing more to be done by the boy. This intoxication of power, recklessness about the future, diabolical disregard for childish innocence and complete absence of love on the part of Dharma or executor of the law of Nature demanded divine intervention. God stood between Yama and the boy Saint—"*Vilaṅkalāṉ*"[52] the loving God. His eyes became red with anger—"*Kaṇ-civappāṉ*".[53] The eyes turned blue with increased rage and hatred of this unrighteousness—"*Karuttāṉ*".[54] He was burning with rage against him—"*Kālaṇṭaṉṉai-k karuttāṉ*".[55] The anger expressed itself in a kick "*Kālaṉ-cīṟiya kāluṭaiyāṉ*".[56] God leapt up and dashed against *Yama*—"*Pāynta*".[57] This fact is made impressive by assonance—"*Kālarcīṟiya kāluṭaiyāṉ*",[58] "*Kālaṇaik kāl koṭu vīntaviya-k kolli*".[59] This follows the pattern of the name "*Kālakāla*", the Yama unto Yama, the Lord of Time for the Lord of Time himself. There is an underlying meaning of *Kāl*. The anger did not pass beyond the leg. The kick was on the heart—"*Neñcilōr utai koṇṭa*".[60] The beautiful and tender toe but touched him—"*Tirumelviralāl*".[61] The chest gave way with a tear—"*Uram kiḻiya*".[61a] The revulsion felt by His feet of many past victories

48. 7: 69: 9.
49. 7: 99: 3.
50. 7: 69: 9.
51. 7: 62: 6.
52. 7: 12: 1.
53. 7: 75: 9.
54. 7: 22: 6.
55. 7: 22: 6.
56. 7: 59: 2.
57. 7: 12: 1; 7: 45: 3.
58. 7: 59: 2.
59. 7: 10: 8.
60. 7: 68: 4.
61. 7: **27: 9.**
61a 7: 51: 7.

against the diabolical act of *Yama* was indeed so great—"*Muṉ cayamār pātattāl muṉintukanta*".[62] There was a happy satisfaction at this inborn revulsion—"*Ukanta*". The kick was a terrible feat—"*Utaitta koṭuntoḷil*".[63] This description of the kick on the chest must have inspired the *Āgamas* to describe this pose as mentioned above. *Yama* was confused—"*Kalaṅga*".[64] God smashed him—"*Kumaittāṉ*".[65] Yama fell down—"*Vīḻa*"[66] on the ground perhaps like a heap of feathers—'*Paṭṭukum pāriṭai*'.[67] The life was as it were hacked to bits—"*Cekutta*".[68] The light of *Yama* was put out—"*Vīntaviya*".[69] The measurer of time had his own life measured out and cut—"*Kālaṉ kālamaṟuttāṉ*".[70] The poet revels in this pun and oxymoron. *Yama* who came to snatch away the life of the boy, his great life itself was snatched away by God—"*Vanta kālaṉtaṉ āruyir ataṉai vavviṉāy*".[71] His life went back—"*Maṭiya*"[72] to involute. This *Yama* was famous for separating the life from the body but his life itself was now thus separated.[73] He came to make the life depart from the worshipping Saint, and God thrust aside the very life of *Yama*.[74] He who destroyed others' lives, had his own life destroyed—"*Uyir vīṭṭiṉīr*".[75] He was killed. God was this great executioner. Thus did the Lord punish—"*Kaṭintiṭṭa*";[76] this worst suffering was inflicted on *Yama* with the legs.[77] God was victorious in this straight fight without any trickery of military stratagem—"*Kālaṉaik kālāl kaṭanta*".[78] Verily He is "*Kālakāla*".[79]

62. 7: 51. 7.
63. 7: 61: 4.
64. 7: 75: 9.
65. 7: 56: 3.
66. 7: 12:1.
67. 7: 19: 8.
68. 7: 69: 9.
69. 7: 10: 8.
70. 7: 86: 7.
71. 7: 55: 1.
72. 7: 27: 9.
73. 7: 27: 9.
74. 7: 62: 6.
75. 7: 43: 4.
76. 7: 56: 6.
77. 7: 62: 6
78. 7: 66: 1
79. 7: 53: 2. 7. 61. 1; 7. 64. 8; 7: 70: 1.

It is true it was the kick that was glorified for the heroic feat. The heroic kick appears to Ārūrar as God's creation.[80] But God carried also the murderous spear, shaped like three leaves. Its juxtaposition with the kicks[81] suggests that they were both responsible for the victory. Do not the *Āgamas* refer to this trident? He had the weapon of a hatchet or an axe, felling *Yama* down after kicking him down—"*Kūṟṟutaitta eṟiyum maḻuvāṭ paṭaiyāṉ*".[82] In the plate of *Rea*, the axe is held downward by Śiva as though in a position to use it on *Yama*.

IX

The story has, like others, a significance of its own. Every destruction of God is a constructive act. Weeding is necessary for cultivation. "*Koṉṟāy kālaṉ uyir koṭuttāy maṟaiyōṉukku*"[83] gives expression to this truth most beautifully, especially because the poet has made the one word '*Uyir*'—'life'—to swing forward as an object of the verb '*koṉṟāy*' (killed), and swing backward as the object of the verb '*Koṭuttāy*' (gave), like the light of the central place illuminating in front and back. The doctrine of grace is the message of Ārūrar. Laws of Nature are but servants of the Lord and of those who take refuge in Him. This is one of the stories, which, the poet states, has inspired him to take refuge in God.[84]

This conquest of *Yama* has to be an ever-recurring episode. "I have myself to be saved from the messengers of *Yama*".[85] "God protects, at *Aṉēkataṅkāpatam*, my people also from the people of *Yama*".[86] In a hymn, the poet suggests indirectly that unless he worships God like *Mārkkaṇḍēya*, hearing the words that *Yama*, spreading his net, is standing just above our heads in the sky, he cannot be saved.[87] This is the significance of the eternal play of the Lord.

X

It is not *Mārkkaṇḍēya* alone who was saved; *Yama* also was purified. He also was released from ignorance and intoxication of

80. 7: 94: 5.
81. 7: 56: 3.
82. 7: 93: 10.
83. 7: 28: 3.
84. 7: 55: 1; 7: 66: 1.
85. 7: 55: 1.
86. 7: 10: 6.
87. 7: 5: 8.

power. He was purified and sublimated. *Yama* was thus released of the fetters. "What is this mystery? What is the import of all this?" asks the poet.[88] The esoteric meaning is thus emphasised. Has not Tirumular himself sung,

"Mūlat tuvārattu mūḷum oruvaṉai
Mēlait tuvārattu mēluṟa nōkkimuṉ
Kāluṟṟuk kālaṉaik kāyntaṅki yōkamāy
Jñālak kaṭavūr nalamāy iruntatē".[89]

The Saint here seems to be suggesting an explanation of Yōga: "From the *mūlādhāra* flashes forth the *One*. He should be seen up above the *Sahasrāra* also (or, the inner principle as the one of the supervening exterior should be seen). Death is conquered through breath. This is the *Yōga of Fire*. (Or, there He is well in *Yōga*). He is comfortable in *Kaṭavūr* (which means the city of the body in the world).

88. 7: 99: 3.
89. *Tirumantiram*, 345.

CHAPTER VII

ANDHAKĀSURAHARA MŪRTI

I

Yama is called *Antaka,* one who brings about the end but there is an *Asura Andhaka* conquered by Śiva, according to Tamil tradition at Tirukkōvalūr, in the South Arcot District, once the capital of the Malayamāṉ kings and of Cēti Nāṭu of Meypporuḷ Nāyaṉār, which is referred to as a *Vīraṭṭāna* or a place of heroic feat by both Appar and Campantar.[1] But the word *Andhaka* is written in Tamil as *Antakaṉ*. Therefore, as to the two references where Ārūrar speaks of *"Ceṟuttīr aḷaṟ cūlattil Antakaṉai"*[2] and *"Iruḷ mēvum Antakaṉmēl tiricūlam pāycci"*,[3] one cannot easily decide whether the poet is referring to *Yama* or *Andhakāsura.*

II

'Andh' plus *'ka'* makes *Andhaka;* it means one who is blind. It is the name of an *asura*, son of *Kāsyapa* and *Ditī.* He is represented as a demon with 1000 arms and heads, 2000 eyes and feet. He was called *Andhaka,* because, he walked like a blind man though he could see very well. He was slain by Śiva when he attempted to carry off the *'Pārijāta'* tree[4] from heaven. According to *Matsya Purāna*, he was about to be killed by Śiva for having attempted to carry off Pārvatī. The *Upadēśa Kāndam* in Tamil—a part of the *Maha Skānda Purāṇa*—makes him win blessings from Śiva after severe austerities. He went about harassing the *Dēvas* and when they fell at his feet he ordered them to assume female forms, wear ladies' garments and to depart in safety. This reminds us of the tradition in Tamil land where the heroes, to insult their enemies, made figures of them in womanly form, carrying ball and other womanly toys, and raised them up along with the flag of their kings.[5]

The *Dēvas* departed to Mount Kailās, but in spite of his promise *Andhaka* pursued them there. Śiva sent *Bhairava.* The

1. Appar, 4: 69 and Campantar, 2: 100.
2. 7: 9: 2.
3. 7: 16: 2.
4. One of the *pañca-tarus.*
5. *Pattuppāṭṭu* I, ll., 67, 68.

trident ran through his body and he was held up whilst the blood dripped into the cup of skull held by *Bhairava*. After thousands of years, at his importunity and humble supplication, his body was lowered; he was made a *gaṇa*.

III

Andhakāsura saṁhāra form, never became popular in Tamil Land, though the first act of Śiva's heroism mentioned by Tirumūlar is this *Andhaka Saṁhāra*. The *Upadēśa Kāṇḍam* confuses *Andhakāri Mūrti* with *Bhairava Mūrti*. According to the conception of '*Aṣṭa Vīraṭṭāṇam*', the heroic acts are those of Śiva and not of *Bhairava* or *Vīrabhadra*. No sculpture of *Andhakāsura Saṁhāra* comes from the Tamil Country. Nor, is there any description of it in the *Āgamas*. But sculptures from the cave temples of Bombay explain the form. *Hindu Iconography*[6] illustrates this and explains: "Śiva has eight arms in two of which *he carries a triśūla at the end of which is pinned the body of Andhakāsura and from it blood drips down*. Śiva himself bears the *Kapāla* to collect the blood. On the left, squats on the ground, *Kāli*, carrying a dagger and skull-cup to collect the blood with a *ḍākinī*, half human, half bird, sitting on her head. *Dēvī* is seated on *Padmāsana* on the left of *Kāli*".[7]

The portion underlined may explain the references in Ārūrar. Though the *triśūla* is found in the hands of *Kālāri Mūrti*, his heroic act is that of his leg whereas in the references under discussion, the heroic act is spoken of as the trident's. '*Pāycci*' brings out the conception of pinning. The *triśūla* is fiery. *Andhaka* is dark. Therefore, one is correct in interpreting these references as speaking of *Andhakāśura*.

IV

As already stated, Tirumūlar mentions this *Andhaka Saṁhāra* first in his enumeration of the heroic deeds of Śiva:

"Karuttuṛai antakaṉ taṉpōl acuraṉ
Varattiṉ ulakat tuyirkaḷai ellām
Varuttañcey tāṉ eṉṟu vāṉavar vēṇṭak
Kuruttuyar cūlaṅkaik koṇṭukoṉ ṟāṉē!"[8]

6. Vol. II, Pt. I, Plates XLV—Fig. 2, XLVI, XLVII.
7. P. 193.
8. *Tirumantiram*, 339.

"The *Asura,* who moved like a blind man full of the pride of his imagination in which he dwelt, teased and harassed the living beings of the world, thanks to the power conferred by divine blessings; *Dēvas* complained to Śiva and prayed for his removal. The Lord took up the trident, going up like a tender shoot and killed him"—a generalized story of the suicidal policy of all who became blind with pride and power.

Śiva's destruction always ends in abounding Grace. In this story also *Andhaka* is said to have become a *gaṇa.* What is more important is the story given in the *Vāmana Purāṇa,* where *Bhṛṅgin* was the name conferred by Śiva on *Andhaka* after this demon had proved himself to be a staunch devotee of Śiva. *Bhṛṅgin* represented with an emaciated body holding a staff and a rosary, with a third leg, to support the body and with eyes always directed towards Śiva. An image of this *Bhṛṅgin* with three arms and legs was set up in the Tanjore temple by a subordinate of Rāja Rāja I.

There is a terrific form with 12 hands on the 18th panel on the south side of the court in the Kailāsanātha temple.[9] The person sitting with *añjali* may be *Andhaka* after he was accepted by Śiva.

9. Plate No XXXVIII Fig. 1, *Rea.*

Chapter VIII

BRAHMA ŚIRASCHĒDA MŪRTI

I

(1)

Brahman originally had five heads and one of them was cut off by Śiva as a punishment for insulting the latter. This account is given in many different ways. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* version is as follows: Once the *Ṛṣis* inquired the Creator of the basic source of this universe and Brahman proudly declared himself to be that source and origin. Śiva came on the scene disputing this claim. The *Vēdas* and the *Praṇava* walked in to assert Śiva's greatness, but to no purpose. A great pillar of light flashed forth in which was found Śiva. The haughty head of unrelenting *Brahman* was ordered by Śiva to be cut off by *Bhairava*. The Creator's intoxication of Power was thus cured.

(2)

The *Varāha Purāṇa* gives a different version. *Brahman* created *Rudra* and called upon him to protect the world, but addressed him as *Kāpāli*—an insulting term which so enraged *Rudra* that he plucked the fifth head of the Creator with his thumb nail. This head stuck to *Rudra's* hand. At the latter's request *Brahman* prescribed the *Kāpālika* penance for twelve years, wearing a sacred thread of hair, garland of bones and a *cūḷāmaṇi* (*cūḍāmaṇi*) of the skull and carrying a skull filled with blood.

(3)

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa gives a variant story of the falling away of the skull. To put down the pride of the *Dēvas*, Indra, Viṣṇu and *Brahma*, God went about begging for the blood of self-sacrifice, to fill up his bowl of skull. It never became full. Śiva went to Viṣṇu's place where the men at the gate especially *Viṣvaksēna*, a partial form of Viṣṇu, obstructed Śiva, only to be pierced through the chest and carried about. Viṣṇu with his nail of the finger tore his forehead to offer his blood for filling the bowl of a skull. Tens of thousands of years elapsed but the skull was

not filled up, but Viṣṇu collapsed because of this haemorrhage. The form carrying the *kaṅkāla* or skeleton of *Viṣvaksēna,* a form of Viṣṇu, is *Kaṅkālamūrti.*

According to *Kūrma Purāṇa,* when *Bhaivara* followed by an army of *Bhūtas,* went about begging, all the women of the houses he visited fell in love with him. This is the *Bhikṣāṭana* form.

(4)

The *Liṅga Purāṇa* gives a different version, which is the one finding favour in Tamil tradition. The *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana,* even women and children, relied on the sacrificial fire for taking them to Heaven, even without the necessity for any God. They thus forgot the *pravṛtti mārga* or worldly ways of life. Their atheistic pride had to be curbed. Śiva went about their houses, begging naked, whilst Viṣṇu in the form of a captivating woman or '*Mōhinī*' went to the place of sacrifice of the *Ṛṣis.* The *Ṛṣis* fell in love with *Mōhinī* and their wives with Śiva. It is only with great difficulty the women following Śiva could be brought home. *Brahman* advised them to worship Śiva's *Liṅga* form. But there is another version given in Tamil *Kantapurāṇam* which is also found in *Śuprabhēdāgama.* The enraged *Ṛṣis,* realizing the truth, performed a sacrifice to kill Śiva; a tiger, an elephant, a lion, a black buck, an axe, a skull, the moon, a bull, snakes and an *apasmāra* came from the fire; the *Ṛṣis* sent them one after another to kill Śiva. Śiva took the axe, the black buck and snakes as his playthings; *apasmāra* was trampled down under his feet; lion, tiger and elephant were flayed and their skins were worn by Śiva; the skull and the moon became his *cūḷāmaṇi.*

(5)

With reference to the *'kaṅkāla'* also, there is a different version. When probably the conflict between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism became intense, the Śaivites for every one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, had a feat of Śiva putting down Viṣṇu's intoxication of power. When Viṣṇu took the *Trivikrama* form and sent down *Mahābali* to the nether-worlds, his intoxication of power was so fatal to the universe, that Śiva had to knock him down on his chest with a *Vajra daṇḍa;* Śiva flayed him and put on Viṣṇu's skin as a robe and carried the backbone as a club. Similarly the tusk of the bear in *Varāhāvatāra,* the shell of the tortoise in *Kūrmāvatāra,* the skin of the lion in *Narasiṁhāvatāra* and the eyes of

the fish in the *Matsyāvatāra* were taken out and worn as marks of victory. These give rise to *Varāhāri, Simhaghna, Matsyāri* forms. It will be seen that flaying of the lion, etc., said to have been performed as against the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana,* are said to have been effected at the time of some of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. In other *avatāras* of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu is conceived as worshipping Śiva.

(6)

The story of the cutting away of the head of *Brahman* shows the superiority of Śiva amidst the Trinity of Gods. The Tamil tradition is preserved in a verse:

"Pūmaṉ ciram Kaṇṭi; Antakaṉ Kōval; Puram Atikai;
Māmaṉ Paṟiyal; Calantaraṉ Viṟkuṭi; Mā Vaḷuvūr;
Kāmaṉ Kuṟukkai; Yamaṉ Kaṭavūr; Intak kāciṉiyil
Tēmaṉṉum koṉṟaiyum tiṅkaḷum cūṭitaṉ cēvakamē."

"These are in this world the heroic feats of Him, who adorns Himself with honeyed *koṉṟai* and the moon (destroying the following): The head of the *Lord of the flower* at *Kaṇṭiyūr; Andhaka* at *Kōvalūr; Tripura* at *Atikai;* the father-in-law (*Dakṣa*) at *Paṟiyal; Jalandhara* at *Viṟkuṭi;* the *elephant* at *Vaḷuvūr; Kāma* at *Kuṟukkai* and *Yama* at *Kaṭavūr.*

According to this verse this feat took place at *Kaṇṭiyūr* in the Tanjore District.

II

Ārūrar refers to this story. He says that it took once upon a time in that far off day—*Aṉṟu*'.[1] *Brahma* is referred to as '*Piramaṉ,* the Great',[2] or '*Ayaṉ*',[3] a variant form in Tamil of the Sanskrit word '*Aja*' (the unborn). He is described in relation to his seat as "*Arumalarōṉ*"—'the Lord of the rare flower or the precious Lord of the flower'.[4] In the absence of any epithet, the flower means the lotus: *Pū eṉappaṭuvatu poṟi vāḻ pūvē;* and Ārūrar makes this clear by specially mentioning the lotus and speaking of *Brahma*

1. 7: 62: 7.
2. 7: 4: 8
3. 7: 28: 9
4. 7: 9: 2.

elsewhere as *'Tāmaraiyōṉ'*,[5] 'the Lord of the lotus'. He is also described in relation to his function in the universe as Creator. Ārūrar refers to him as *"Pār paṭaittāṉ"*,[6] 'the Creator of this world'. *Brahman* is a Brahmin—*'Antaṇaṉ'*.[7]

The reason for inflicting this punishment of cutting away the head is suggested by the epithet *'Ēṉṟa'* attached to the word *'Antaṇaṉ'* above mentioned. *'Ēṉṟa'* is 'one who has taken up'—here, 'one who has assumed the offensive or the disputation'.[8] *"Ēṉṟa antaṇaṉ"* is a contradiction in terms, the hot offensive attitude being inappropriate to the beautiful and cool loving attitude of a Saint. God was magnanimous in that, only one head was cut off. For, *Brahman* had five heads—*"Talai aintu"*;[9] *"Ciram añcu"*[10]—it is thus seen the poet uses both the words the Tamil *'talai'*, and the Sanskrit *'śiras'* in its Tamil form *'ciram'*. One of these heads was cut away—*'aṟutta'*.[11] It was done indeed so quickly—in the twinkling of an eye—*"Kaṭuka....aṟuttāy"*.[12] The skull according to the story became attached to Śiva's hand. Ārūrar states that the Lord, of His own accord, had the skull attached to His hand:[13] *'Cērttavar'*. There is another reading *'Cēttavar'* which means 'One who has put down' but in this reading there is no assonance.

III

The description of this form known as the *Brahma Śiraschēda mūrti* is given in the *Śrītattva nidhi*. Śiva is white and has three eyes, four arms and a *jaṭāmakuṭa, patrakuṇḍala* in the right ear and *nakrakuṇḍala* in the left ear, carrying *vajra* and the axe in the two right hands and the skull of *Brahma* and *śūla* in the left. Various forms of *Bhairavas* are also given.

Rea gives a description in page 31 of a panel in the Kailāsanātha temple in which he identifies this form. "Cell No. 14 shows Śiva cutting off one of the heads of *Brahma* and holding it in one

5. 7: 16: 11.
6. 7: 19: 6.
7. 7: 67: 10.
8. 7: 67: 10.
9. 7: 4: 8.
10. 7: 19: 6.
11. 7: 4: 8; 7: 9: 2; 7: 53: 9; 7: 62: 7; 7: 67: 10.
12. 7: 4: 8.
13. 7: 19: 6.

of his left hands. *Brahma* sits in a dejected attitude on the left. A devotee with arms crossed in amazement, sits under Śiva, on *Brahma's* right. In Śiva's right hands are sword, trident, snake and noose; in his left, are *Brahma's* head and broken symbols. There is not much plaster on the panel and the deep and bold cutting is seen to advantage, giving fine effects of light and shade".[14]

In this representation, the head is held by the tuft; it does not stick on to the palm with the skull downwards. This reminds us of the representation found in Tanjore of *Vīrabhadra* holding the head of *Dakṣa* over the fire.[15] The similarity may suggest that what Rea describes also is a representation of the cutting away of the head of *Dakṣa*. The number of hands also are more than what is ascribed to this *Brahma śiraschēda mūrti*. But the statements of the *Āgamas* are never followed especially with reference to the hands; and that is one reason why we have been holding that these statements are not prescriptions but illustrative descriptions. As for the holding of the head by the tuft, it is very doubtful whether Ārūrar is thinking of the cutting away of *Brahma's* head with nail or the thumb. Ārūrar does not make mention of the thumb in connection with Brahma, even as he makes mention of the toe in connection with *Rāvaṇa*. The root of the verb used is '*aru*', to cut—a word used for cutting away the paddy with a sickle held in one hand whilst holding up the top portion, with the other hand. Some such thing is intended here as well: holding the head's tuft with one hand and cutting it away with '*khaḍga*' or sword as represented here.

IV

(1)

Kāpālika Penance :

In this story, it has already been stated that the head of Brahman stuck to the hand of *Bhairava* and for getting rid of the mark of *Brahmahatya*, *Kāpālika* penance for twelve years was prescribed. It will be seen that the penance prescribed is as pointed already by Mr. Gopinatha Rao, almost the same as the one prescribed by the *Āpastamba Sūtra* for the murder of a *bhrūṇa*

14. Plate No. XXXIV, Fig. 1 gives this picture.
15. *Gods and Goddesses of South India*, Fig. 100.

or a Brahman of great learning and good conduct by another Brahman.

"Atha bhrūṇahāśvājinam kharājinam vā bahirlōma paridhāya puruṣaśirah pratipānārtham ūdāya | | Khaṭvāṅgam daṇḍārthē karmanāmadhēyam prabruvāṇaś caṁkramyēta ko bhrūnaghnē bhikṣamiti | | Araṇyē kuṭīm kṛtvā vāgyatah śavaśira dhvajō ardhaśāṇīpakṣam adhōnābhi uparijānvā ācchādya".[16]

"The murderer of a learned and good brahmin, wears as an upper cloth an animal's skin—ass's or horse's (dog's?) — with its hairy side appearing outside; he carries the skull as a cup to drink with (and as a bowl to eat with) and the bones as a stick. He begs (only in seven houses a day) saying: 'Who will offer alms to the murderer?' He himself constructs a hut in the forest with a skull flag and wears hemp cloth not going below the knees".[17] As already stated, *Varāhapurāṇa* describes the *Kāpālika* penance as wearing *yajñōpavīta* of hair, garland of bones, *śirōmaṇi* of a skull and carrying in hand the cup of a skull.

(2)

[a]

The Skull:

In the *mahāvrata,* the skull adorns the head as a crest jewel and the garland of skulls is worn as the garland of beads. Ārūrar often refers to this idea of skulls forming ornaments—*"Ōṭuṭaiyaṉ kalaṉā."*[18] 'He has the skull as his ornament'. His ornament is the head or skull, *"Ciram eṉṉum kalaṉāṉ."*[19] He has a crest where fits in as an ornament a foulsmelling head, adorned by rushing kites—*"Pāṟaṇi muṭai talai kalaṉ eṉa maruviya ..... muṭiyiṇāṉ".*[20] He places the crest jewel of a head on his head, *"Talaikkalaṉ talaimēl*

16. *Hindu Iconography* Vol II Pt I, p 300.
17. *Ap. Dh Sū., Har. Com.* 1. 10. 29.
18. 7: 97: 4.
19. 7: 86: 5.
20. 7: 72: 8

tarittāṉ".[21] The garland of beads also comes in, *"Talaikku-t talai mālai aṇinta teṉṉē"*[22]—'Why have you adorned your head with the garland of beads of skulls'?

[b]

This *'vrata'* is also called *'Kāpālika vrata'* because of the skull held as a bowl and a cup. Was not *Kāpāli*, the term of abuse resented by Śiva — the very starting point of this feat? As such, this term becomes full with the meaning of this divine feat. It has become a beloved name of the Lord. Is there not a sect of Śaivites calling themselves *Kāpālikas*? Ārūrar refers to Śiva as *'Kapāli'*,[23] and *'Kāpāli'*;[24] *"Muṇṭam tarittīr"*,[25]—'You hold or adorn yourself with the skull or the head'.

[c]

The serpents also beautify the Lord on the occasion of this special feat. Ārūrar refers to the serpents and the skull both together, *"Aravam paṛṛi.....Kapālam ēṉti"*,[26]—'He catches hold of the serpent and holds the skull'. This skull is that of *Brahma* and it is in this the begging has to be done. What is a punishment for others is a glory unto the Lord. There is no Law above Him but He Himself places Himself under the Law to prove its omnipotence. *"Aṉaṉ ciram aṛiṉ taṭil palikoṇṭu amararukku aruḷ veḷippaṭuttāṉ"*[27]—'He made His Grace manifest unto the *Dēvas* by begging in the very skull of the head He had cut off from *Brahma*'. 'He begs in the skull of the head of Brahma'—*"Piramaṉ talaiyiṛ palikoḷ"*[28] The skull, under the circumstances explained above, may be a bowl for others; it is a jewel, a sign of divinity as far as the Lord is concerned because of His act of Grace. *"Ōṭu naṅkalaṉā uṉ palikku uḻalvāṉē"*[29]—'He who roams about for the alms with the precious jewel of a skull'. It is not only *"naṅkalaṉ"* but *"talaikkalaṉ"*—the crest jewel. *"Tāmaraiyōṉ*

21. 7: 57: 1.
22. 7: 4: 1.
23. 7: 72: 9.
24. 7: 89: 4
25. 7: 2: 2.
26. 7: 91: 5.
27. 7: 62: 7.
28. 7: 28: 2.
29. 7: 29: 3.

talai kalaṉā-k kāmaram muṉ pāṭi uṇpali koṇṭulal paramaṉ"[30]—'The great Lord who wanders about begging for alms with the skull of the Lord of lotus as the jewel of jewels'. In *"Talai-k kalaṉ"*, there is a pun on the word *'talai'*; it means the head or skull and also the first or the chief ornament.

[d]

Unless Brahman was dead, there was no necessity for a penance. Ārūrar therefore suggests his death and implies Brahman coming to life, thanks to the Lord's Grace—*"Vīntavar talaiyōṭu kaiyāṉ"*[31]—'He whose mark is the hand with the skull of the head of him who died'. Brahman becomes converted and performs *pūja* or worship over-powered by this Grace of the Lord.

"Taṇkamala-p poykai puṭai cūḻntaḷakār talattil
taṭaṅkoḷ peruṅ kōyil taṉil takka vakaiyālē
vaṇkamala-t tayaṉ muṉṉāḷ valipāṭu ceyya
makiḻntaruḷi irunta paraṉ".[32]

'It was a beautiful place surrounded by cool lotus ponds. Therein was the expansive great temple. Once upon a time, the Unborn (*Brahma*) of the great lotus worshipped Him in the proper way. He was pleased and stayed there out of His Grace aboundings. He is the supreme principle—*'Paraṉ'*. Fig. 2 in plate XCI in Rea's *Pallava Architecture* probably refers to the worship of Pārvatī and Śiva by *Brahma*. To befit the worship by a Lord of knowledge and ceremonies, God is with *Yōgapaṭṭayam* and rosary, though seated with Pārvatī. *Brahma* is sitting down.

[e]

We have given the references to the skull where it is specifically stated, it is *Brahma's* skull. But there are other references where the skull is mentioned as a bowl without describing it as *Brahma's*: *"Talai kai ēnti"*[33]—'Holding the skull in the hand'; *'Talai aṅkai ēnti"*[34]—'Holding the skull in the palm of the hand'; *"Talai-yiṭai-ar pali"*[35]—'The rare alms received into the skull'. But in

30. 7: 16: 11.
31. 7: 56: 7.
32. 7: 16: 10.
33. 7: 6: 1.
34. 7: 9: 3.
35. 7: 19: 7.

commenting on the *Āpastamba Sūtra* quoted above, Haradatta writes : *"Puruṣasya śirō yasya kasyacit mṛtasya śirah"*—'The head it is that of the murderous one or of any dead man'. Therefore any head is sufficient. We have referred there what other heads are there to the *Pāṇṭaraṅka* dance on the ashes. This is after the destruction of the Universe when everything remains involved in Him as if for rest; God wears the dead bones and the skulls and dances. This is expressed by Māṇikkavācakar : 'What is this my dear Lady, look there He wears nerves and bones and loves the skeleton placed on His shoulders! Hark, you, to this, how this skeleton came ! At the time of destruction He adorns Himself with these two so that they may in Him abide by their time; i.e., in Him they will be made alive after rest'.[36] This refers to the stage of evolution. Appar also has an explanation : 'The great ocean submerges (everything within it). There is the deluge. *Brahman* goes and dies submerged in the great dark ocean. There is the corpse of this dead man. There is also the corpse of the Lord of the hue of the blue sea. The Lord carries them all and becomes the Lord of the skeleton. Our Lord plays on the good *vīṇa* so that the ocean may recede'—

"Peruṅkaṭal mūṭi-p piralayaṅ koṇṭu piramaṇumpōy
Iruṅkaṭal mūṭi iṟakkum iṟantāṉ kaḷēparamum
Karuṅkaṭal vaṇṇaṉ kaḷēparamum koṇṭu kaṅkāḷarāy
Varuṅkaṭal mīḷaniṉ ṟemmiṟai nalvīṇai vācikkumē".[37]

The *Kāpāla* dance is in one sense the dance of involution. There the skull is not that of Brahman alone.

In the light of these explanations the references to skulls in plural may be understood. It will be clear that Ārūrar, who has confessed that he is expressing only what Appar and Campantar had expressed, believes, in the same explanation.

[f]

Iṟantār talaiyiṟ palikōṭal",[38]—"Receiving alms in the skulls of the dead persons'. If Śiva is the Lord of involution or destruction as it is called, *kapāla* is the emblem of this destruction; it is the capital of his trials of Divinity and it is His great penance bearing

36. *Tirucciḷal*: 11.
37. 4: 113: 7.
38. 7: 4: 6.

up with this for the sake of their future salvation—bearing the cross for others: "*Cettavartam talaiyiṟ palikoḷvatē celvam ākil attavam āvatu āṟintōmēl*"[39]—'If receiving the alms when begging in the skulls of the dead persons is His wealth and if we had known that this is His penance (we would not have come to serve Him)'. On the surface, there is a humorous vein, but underneath this lies all the message of this form: in this sense, the skulls of the dead ones—dead, long long ago—decayed and deteriorated. It is "*paṭu-talai*"[40] 'dead head'. The skull is spoken of as deteriorated and giving way in some part—"*Kaṭuvāy-t talai*",[41] or, "*Oṟuvāyt talai*".[42] The skull is a broken one and it is dried up into white colour though the old flesh is all there—"*Ūṉār uṭai veṇṭalai*".[43] This dried up white skull smells the carcass—"*Muṭai nāṟiya veṇṭalai*".[44] It is a dried up head—"*Uṇaṅkal talai*".[45] Because of the dried up flesh still on the whole skull, the kites rush on and surround it—"*Pāṟār veṇṭalai*",[46] "*Pāṟaṇi veṇṭalai*".[47] The skull is white because it is dried up and therefore whenever a skull is described, white one, it has to be imagined a dried up one.[48] In the skull the teeth will be all intact and then it looks like grinning, so much so, the poet describes it as "*Naku veṇṭalai*".[49] This is the first stage. The teeth fall away due to deterioration: "*Pallaṟar veṇṭalai*",[50]—'the white skull from which the teeth get loosened'. This is the second stage. The teeth are then completely fallen—"*Pallai yukka paṭu talai*",[51]—'the dead head from which the teeth had fallen away'; "*Pallil veḷḷai-t talai*"[52]—'the white skull with no teeth'.

[g]

That the skull is taken from the cremation ground (representing the involution) is made graphic by a few suggestions. The

39. 7: 18: 7.
40. 7: 33: 1.
41. 7: 41: 1.
42. 7: 41: 6.
43. 7: 93: 6.
44. 7: 2: 3.
45. 7: 9: 5.
46. 7: 26: 8.
47. 7: 83: 8.
48. 7: 33: 2; 7: 36: 1; 7: 85: 3.
49. 7: 28: 7.
50. 7: 20: 5.
51. 7: 5: 4.
52. 7: 57: 4; 7: 81: 10.

kites rush on the skull. The fox burrows down and removes the corpse, feasts on it and throws away the skull and the bones. "*Nari ārum cuṭalai naku veṇṭalai koṇṭavaṉē*",[53]—'You, who had got hold of the grinning white skull from the cremation ground which is full of foxes'; "*Nari kāṉṟiṭṭa eccil veḷḷai-p paṭu talaiyē purintāṉ*"[54]—'One who loves only the decayed white skull spat out and thrown out by the fox'. Since this is a reading adopted here, a word is necessary about this reading. Some editors read this passage as, "*Nāṇiyiṟ kōl aṭutalaiyēpurintāṉ ari kāṉṟiṭṭa eccil veḷ-ḷai-p paṭutalai*"—having, *aṭutalaiyē* as the opening word of the third line, the reading *ari* is adopted so that there may be the required alliteration. "*Nāṇiyiṟ kōl aṭutal*" makes no sense. "*Nāṇiyiṟ kōl naṭutal*"—'He planted the bow on the bow-string' is therefore better. If the line thus begins in '*nā*', alliteration will require '*nari*' and not '*ari*'.

(3)

Bones :

Bones also are the ornaments. The garland of bones forms His garland of beads. He adorns Himself with bones—'*Eṉpaṇintu*'.[55] The idea of ornaments is specifically mentioned. 'He has adorned the bones as jewels or ornaments'—"*Eṉpiṉaiyē kalaṉāka aṇintāṉ*".[56] 'You yourself have decked with the bones'—"*Pūṇṭāṉ clumpai*".[57] 'He is possessed of the chest, bearing bones as jewels (as a necklace) befitting His greatness, along with or as balancing the tusk of the boar and the shell of the tortoise—"*Ēṉamāeyiṟu āmaiyum elumpum īṭu tāṅkiya mārpuṭaiyāṉ*".[58] The bones like the skulls referred to, are, of all the dead at destruction. 'He wears the bones of the dead'—"*Ceṭiārtam elumpaṇintu*",[59] "*Ceṭṭār elumpaṇivāṉ*".[60] It has already been pointed out that the poet attributes some of these characteristic features to the Mother and She is said to wear the skull, etc.[61] If the idea of the destruc-

53. 7: 28: 7.
54. 7: 22: 4.
55. 7: 7: 7.
56. 7: 38: 10.
57. 7: 52: 3.
58. 7: 70: 9.
59. 7: 46: 1.
60. 7: 80: 1.
61. 7: 49: 9.

tion is kept in mind, the significance of Ārūrar's statements that the Lord adorns Himself with all the bones—"*Enpelāmaṇintu*"[62] will be clearer.

(4)

[a]

Burning Ghat:

In the *mahāvrata*, one has to reside in the forest without coming into the village except for alms and wear the skin with *khaṭvāṅga* held as a stick. "*Khatvāṅgam daṇḍārthē*"—that is what *Āpastamba* says. The very word '*khaṭvāṅga*' in its Tamil form '*Kattaṅkam*' is used by Ārūrar. The penance is clearly mentioned, "*Kaiyatu kapālam kāṭurai vālkkai kaṭṭaṅkam ēntiya kaiyar*"[63]—'The skull is in his hand; His is the life in the forest; His hand bears or holds the *kaṭṭaṅkam*'. *Khaṭvāṅga* is described by Mr. Gopinatha Rao: "The *Khaṭvāṅga* is a curious sort of club, made up of the bone of the fore-arm or the leg, to the end of which a human skull is attached through the fore-arm".[64] This *khatvāṅga* became the Pallava emblem: they had the *khaṭvāṅga dhvija*.[65]

[b]

Ārūrar refers to these, 'You live in the old burning ground'.[66] 'Your village is the forest; your garment is the skin'.—"*Ūrum kāṭu utaiyum tōlē*":[67] 'you will never devoid of your unique attachment to the burning ground'—"*Paṭukāṭṭakattu eṉṟum parroliyāy*".[68] 'He has the forest as the familiar (abode)'—"*Payila-k kāṭutaṉiyāṉ*".[69] 'Is He of the cremation ground—the charred forest'?—"*Kari kāṭarō*"?[70]

(5)

Khaṭvāṅga:

The representation of the *Kaṅkāḷa mūrti* is found in the Kailāsanātha Temple. This may be taken up along with the

62 7. 36. 7.
63. 7: 14: 7.
64. See *Mālati Mādhava* 5 1. 24.
65. *S. I. I.*, II, Part II, No 25 *S I I* Vol IV, No. 135; *Ep Ind*. Vol. IX, p. 203. *II* 33-36.
66. 7: 2: 2.
67. 7: 5: 9.
68 7: 42: 4.
69 7: 97: 4.
70 7: 33: 7.

Bhikṣāṭana form. Here may be noted the representation of *Kaṅkāla* and *Khaṭvāṅga*. Plate XLVI, fig. 1, gives the panel in front of the second cell from the East end of the large court on the North side of the Kailāsanātha Temple. The stick is seen resting on His left shoulder. What is behind is not visible. This is visible as a chaurie in the plate LXI representing the panel on the back of the shrine at the South-west corner of the *Vimāna*. We see the *Āgamas* stating that the *Kaṅkāla* is tied up with probably chaurie as well. There is fig. 2, plate CXIX with a *kaṅkaḷa* which represents the South side panel on the side wall of Airavatēśvara Temple.

The *Khaṭvāṅga* has been identified in one of the panels by Dr. Mīnākṣi,[71] in the shrine.[72] It is seen in Rea's Plate XXXIX, fig. 4. His description had already been mentioned whilst describing the panels containing the Mother. This misinterpretation is due to bad touching up and white-washing. Her interpretation is this: "There are two *gaṇas* at the feet of Śiva one above the other. The lower one holds a staff at the top of which we see a skull fixed and sheltered by the hood of a fine serpent entwining the staff", because of which serpent, as she points out, "the Pallava, 'the *khaṭvāṅgabhṛt*' comes to be called "*Pāmpuṭaippallavar kōṉ*",—the chief of the Pallavas with the serpent". Ārūrar also speaks of the "*Viṭai arava-k koṭi*"—'the flag of the Bull and the Serpent'. Pallava had both these emblems—the bull and the *khaṭvāṅga*. Śiva, according to the legend here narrated, has both these flags. In fig. 1, of Plate XLIII in *Rea*, representing the panel from the north on the North side of court, there is a *gaṇa* carrying a staff with a joint at the top. What Rea represents as '*muḷi*' is possibly the bull. What he calls a lotus is probably the skull and the hood of the serpent. This, therefore, may be taken to be a representation of the *khaṭvāṅga*.

(6)

Pañcavaṭi (*Pañcavaṭa*) :

In the *Kāpāliṅka vrata*, it is said that the clothes of the penitent should be made of the skin and the hairs should be worn as *yajñōpavīta*. *Mahāvratas* wear this kind of sacred thread. This has

71. *Pallava Administration*, p. 44.
72. No. XXXIII, fig. 1, *Rea*.

become well known in Tamil land, where Cēkkiḻār has given a pen picture of the *Mahavratin* in his story of *Māṇakkañcāṟa Nāyaṇār*, the Saint who cuts and gives away the flowing tresses of hair of his own daughter, on the day of her marriage itself to a *Mahāvratin* who has come in there to beg for the same—it is verily Śiva who comes to test the firm resolve of the *Nāyaṇār*. "The forehead was full of the three lines of the sacred ashes. The crown was shaved except for the tuft. At the top of the tuft was the garland of beads of bones. In olden time, He bore the burden of the bones of the body of one, like the white pearl carved out of it; the *kuṇḍala* was swinging up above in His ears. He was wearing a long necklace or garland of shining beads of bones. Leaving aside the hard-hearted big serpent of hood, He had the shoulder strap for the *yōgic* postures. He wore as *yajñōpavīta* the rope of hairs of the collyrium colour. He had the sack of sacred ashes removing the birth of His devotees of upright mind. The sūtra or string was there on one of His wrists with one single bead alone. On the waist-cord of strict privacy and loin cloth (or the loin cloth of the *Vēdas*) fluttered His cloth. The beautiful feet, beyond the painter's art, were on this great earth. The five *mudras* or marks of greatness were shining on His feet. The surface of His body was besmeared with the world famous sacred ashes and He appeared like the live ember covered with ashes. Thus came the *"Mahāvrata Muni"*.[73]

The term *Mahāvrata* has already been explained. The *yajñōpavīta* is called *Pañcavaṭa*; in Tamil *Pañcavaṭi*. The Saint who came to the *Nāyaṇār*, on seeing the beautiful tresses of the bride worshipping at His feet stated, 'Her tresses will be useful for our *Pañcavaṭi*'.

Having understood the meaning of this term, one finds this very term used by Ārūrar. He says that the Lord has the *Pañcavaṭi* on His chest, *"Pañcavaṭi mārpiṇar"*.[74] Ārūrar uses this, in juxtaposition with the other technical term *'Pācupatar'* wearing in profusely the sacred ashes, according to the description of the *Pāśupata vrata* of the *Atarva Śiras* and wearing the loin cloth and the waist cord. The poet's other reference to *Pañcavaṭi* is more explanatory : 'He with the chest adorned with the *Pañcavaṭi* with grey hair interspersed amidst (black) hair'—*"Narai viraviya*

73. *Māṇakkañcāṟa Nāyaṇār Purānam*-Verses 22 to 26.
74. 7: 53: 6.

mayir taṉṉoṭu pañcavaṭi mārpaṉ".[75] This may also mean He has the *Pañcavaṭi* or *yajñōpavīta* along with the grey hair possibly of the ass, whose skin had to be worn with the hair appearing on the exterior though there is no such *purāṇic* reference available.

The poet refers to *yajñōpavīta* as "*Purinūl*",[76]—'the twisted thread'; he speaks of it as the white thread of embracing darnings—"*Iḷai taḻuvu veṇṇūl*".[77] It is so characteristic that our poet speaks of it as that; it is on the body of the Lord—"*Meyyatu puri nūl*".[78] He is the Lord of the sacred thread—"*Purinūluṭai nampi*".[79] It is pure white—"*Veṇpurinūl*,"[80] "*Veṇṇūl*"[81] and it glistens—"*Viṭṭilaṅku puri nūl*".[82] Our author gives a poetic description of this beautiful sight of the sacred thread on the form of Śiva. The Lord is red like the coral mountain and the sacred thread appears to him like a stream of crystal diving into this coral mountain:

> "*Paḷikkut tārai pavaḷa verpil*
> *Kuḷikkum pōl nūl*".[83]

In one place the poet speaks of "*Pūṇ nāṇ āvatōr aravam*"[84] and if we compare the modern usage of "*Pūṇ nūl*" for the sacred thread we have to assume that the poet is contemplating a case of the serpent itself being the sacred thread of the Lord.

(7)

Skins:

Coming to the wearing of the skins, the *Purāṇas* have made for Him all kinds of skins. One may point out at this place the

75. 7: 71: 4.
76. 7: 14: 7.
77. 7: 40: 8
78. 7: 14: 7.
79. 7: 63: 3.
80. 7: 53: 2.
81. 7: 40: 8.
82 7: 56: 7.
83. 7: 94: 4.
84. 7: 15: 1.

great transformation effected, by the Tamilians in the horrid and terrific forms. It has already been noticed by us that these terrific forms with which Śaivism started from its early beginnings, are not so very prevalent in the Tamil Country, though believing in a federation of sects and creeds, they never said anything derogatory of any sect or any form worshipped by it. They have, on the other hand, tried to understand the inner spirit and enjoy their mystic experience giving expression to this in their own mellifluous verses, as is made clear by the suggestive descriptions of Ārūrar and Cēkkiḻār already quoted.

It is the lovable forms and the dance of Śiva that have captivated the Tamilians. More than this the Tamilians have made the terrific forms themselves beautiful and lovable. The *Kāpālika* form has already been referred to and according to the *Kāpālika vrata*, God has to go a-begging to not more than seven houses. The seven houses are the houses of the seven great *Ṛṣis* of the Great Bear. The begging at the door of the *Ṛṣis* has a similarity with another story of the Lord's feat—begging at the doors of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*, which had already been referred to. By transplanting the terrible and horrid form of *Kāpāli* to this atmosphere of love and beauty, the Tamilian has worked a miracle; one gets the sublimation and universalization of this story.

The skin worn here is not the skin of the ass but the skins of all varieties which we see in the lady's corner of a modern leather emporium—the skin of the tiger, the lion, the elephant and the deer. The enraged *Ṛṣis* performed a sacrifice from which sprang these wild beasts and rushed, at the behest of the *Ṛṣis*, to kill Śiva. We have studied the *Gajāsura Saṁhāra* but from what Ārūrar states, it is clear, the elephant, the Lord flayed, was really the one which jumped out of the sacrifice along with the other beasts of the fire rather than any other asura.

> *"Taṅkiya mātavattiṉ taḻal velviyiṉ niṉṟu eḻunta*
> *ciṅkamum nīḻ puliyum ceḻumāl kariyōṭu alaṟa-p*
> *poṅkiya pōr purintu piḻantu īr uri pōrttatu eṉṉē"*?[85]

'Because of their abiding great *tapas* or penance, there came out of the Sacrifice of fire, the lion, the tiger and the huge and great

85. 7: 99: 6.

elephant. You fought with them bubbling up with the spirit of war, made them shriek, split each one of them and wore their wet skins. Why was this'?

The poet makes Him wear the skins and in some places he does not specify the skin. He is satisfied that he is clothed in the skin according to *Kāpālika vrata*: *"Uṭaiyum tōlē"*[86]—'His dress is skin'; *"Tuṇivaṇṇattiṉ mēlum ōr tōluṭuttu"*;[87] *"Tayaṅku tōlai yuṭutta caṅkaraṉ"*,[88] *"Tōlum nūlum tutainta varai mārpaṉ*[89]—He of the mountain-like chest on which squeeze the skin and the thread, *yajñōpavīta.*'

"Pāy puliṉtōl"[90]—'The skin of the tiger jumping on its enemy' is a favourable phrase. God wears the tiger's skin—*"Pulittōl uṭaiyāṉ"*;[91] *"Vēṅkai āṭaiyiṉāy"*;[92] *"Vaṉ talai vāy aṭupuli āṭaiyaṉ"*[93] —The skin of the tiger is His cloth. The *'puli'* probably implies the cat family as is clear in Telugu; it may mean the leopards which are more prevalent in the Tamil Country. *"Pāy puli"* is the tiger, which jumps in one long stretch, at the victim. *'Vēṅkai'* by the suggestion of the cruelty means the tiger. *"Vaṉṟalai vāy aṭupuli"* is the murderous tiger with its strong head and mouth.[94] The skin is called the *'tōl'* but he has also used the word *'āṭai'*. The term *'Uri'* suggests that the skin is flayed. It becomes the *'āṭai'* (cloth)[95] and *'uṭai'* (the garment).[96]

The Tiger's skin is worn as an undergarment and is tightened at the waist—*"Pāy pulittōl araiyil vīkki"*;[97] *"Araimēl puli īr urivai"*;[98] *"Araiyār puli aṭaḷ"*;[99] *"Pulittōlai araikkacaittu"*.[100]

86. 7: 5: 9.
87. 7: 2: 8.
88. 7: 49: 5.
89. 7: 57: 5.
90. 7: 2: 3.
91. 7: 57: 10; 7: 57: 11; 7: 89: 2.
92. 7: 70: 7.
93. 7: 83: 5.
94. 7: 83: 5.
95. 7: 70: 7; 7: 83: 5.
96. 7: 53: 3; 7: 57: 10; 7: 57: 11; 7: 83: 2.
97. 7: 6: 1.
98. 7: 19: 6.
99. 7: 23: 6.
100. 7: 24: 1; 7: 25: 1.

The skin of the tiger is His cloth—"*Vēṅkai āṭaiyiṉāy*";[101] "*Vaṉṭalai vāy aṭupuli āṭaiyāṉ*";[102] "*Pulittōl uṭaiyān*";[103] "*Kāyum puliyiṉ aṭaḷ uṭaiyar*".[104]

The poet suggests that He tightens the cloth of the tiger's skin with the girdle of a serpent dancing with its hood—"*Kol pulittōliṉ mēl āṭu pampatu araikkacaitta*"[105] and the poet is charmed by this beauty and exclaims, "*aḻakaṉē*"[106]—'O, thou beautiful One'. 'You do not like the white cloth; You are fond of the skin of the tiger'—"*Veḷḷāṭai vēṇṭāy vēṅkaiyiṉ tōlai virumpiṉāy*".[107]

But the tiger's skin is worn as an upper garment as well. He places it on His shoulders—"*Pulittōl piyaṟkum iṭṭu*".[108]

The skin of the deer He wears—"*Māviṉ īr uri uṭai puṉaintāṉ*"[109]—'He adorned Himself with the wet skin garment'. The word '*mā*' may mean the deer but probably refers to the elephant which we had separately discussed. Our poet is more specific when he mentions the particular species of the deer—"*Uravamuḷḷatōr uḻaiyiṉ uri uṭaiyāṉ*"[110]—'He has the flayed skin of the deer full of strength'. In passing, we may note that the root '*ura*' implying violence and strength becomes '*uravu*'[111] and with the suffix '*am*' assumes the form '*uravam*' in Ārūrar—a peculiarity which we find in him. It is a wet skin which He wears probably immediately after flaying the deer—"*Uḻai īr uriyum uṭaiyāṉ*".[112]

The skin of the lion comes in, in the *purāṇas* in two ways, as the skin of *Narasiṁha* and as the skin of the lion sent by the *Ṛṣis* already referred to by Ārūrar.[113] With the lion's skin the Lord covers Himself up—"*Ciṅkatturi mūṭutir*"[114] and then the gods are worshipping—"*Tēvar kaṇam toḻa niṟṟīr*".[115]

101. 7: 70: 7.
102. 7: 83: 5.
103. 7: 57: 10; 7. 57: 11, 7: 89: 2.
104. 7: 53: 3.
105. 7: 48: 6.
106. 7: 48: 6.
107. 7: 92: 9.
108. 7: 18: 4.
109. 7: 64: 4.
110. 7: 75: 8.
111. *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, V. 25.
112. 7: 94: 1.
113. 7: 99: 6.
114. 7: 2: 7.
115. *Ibid.*

Arūrar refers to a combination of skins—"*Ārttavar āṭaravam araimēl puli īr urivai pōrttavar āṉaiyiṉ tōl uṭai vempulāl kai akalap pārttavar iṉṉuyir pār paṭaittāṉ ciṟam añciloṉṟai-c cēṟṭavar*"[116]—'He wore the tiger's wet skin as an undergarment and tied it all with the serpent at His waist. He covered Himself up with the skin of the elephant and He holds the head of Brahma'. It is clear the reference is to the *Kāpāli* form. There is a combination of the tiger's skin and the garment of the bark of a tree. *Āpastamba,* we found, mentions the wearing of a cloth of hemp. Arūrar mentions the bark of a tree '*maravuri*' instead. He covers over the tiger's skin on the waist, with the bark of a tree—"*Maravuri puli ataḷ arai micai maruviṉāṉ*".[117] Arūrar makes a combination of these three garments of skin—"*Māṉai-t tōl oṉṟai uṭuttu-p pulittōl piyaṟkum iṭṭu yāṉai-t tōl pōrppatu aṟintōmēl nām ivarkku āṭpaṭome*"[118]—'If we had known that He clothes on deer's skin, places on His shoulders the tiger's skin as upper garment and covers Himself with the elephant's skin as a shawl we would not have come to serve Him'.

We have stated that the *Kāpāli* form has been beautified. The *Āgamas* describe a fully adorned beautiful form. According to them, the Lord wears a red coloured upper garment and an under garment of silk and tiger's skin. *Uttara Kāmikāgama*[119] directs: "*Kusumāmbaramjitam kuryāt*"—'the wearing of the white silk garment'. Probably this is referred to by Arūrar when he addresses the Lord as one roaming about dressed in skin, gold and silk: "*Tukiloṭu poṉ tōl uṭuttu uḻalvāṉē*"[120]—"*Kōcikamum araiyiṟ kōvaṇamum ataḷum..... paravi-k kai toḷal eṉṟu kolō*"?[121]—'The silk and the loin cloth at waist and the skin—when am I to praise and worship these with (folded) hands'?—this probably also refers to the description given in the *Āgamas.*

116. 7: 19: 6.
117. 7: 72: 2.
118. 7: 18: 4.
119. 52 pādah, p. 18 of Grantha edition.
120. 7: 29: 9.
121. 7: 84: 4.

V

(1)

Pāśupatas etc.:

The terms *Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, Kāḷāmukhas* and *Mahāvratas* occur as names of various sects.

It is only from the old commentaries we learn anything about these sects. *Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kāruṇika siddhāntins* and *Kāpālikas* are mentioned by the commentaries of *Śaṅkara. Vācaspati* mentions the *Kāruṇika siddhāntins; Rāmānuja* mentions the *Kāḷāmukhas* in the place of *Kāruṇika siddhāntins; Vāyavya saṁhita* mentions *Siddhānta mārgins* in the place of *Śaivites* and *Mahāvratas* in the place of *Kāḷāmukhas.*

(2)

The *Pāśupata* cult is adumbrated in the *Mahābhārata* epic itself. *Patañjali* mentions the *Śivabhāgavatas.* Wild aspects of God were sometimes prominently emphasized. Their seclusion in the burning ghat and their pretension to be mad, wearing skull etc., must have further emphasized these aspects by some of the followers. They were probably opposed to animal sacrifice and believed in bodily mortification as leading to spiritual development. *Tāntric* aberrations must have clouded their principles, when all castes were admitted into their fold. They had their converts and these are in existence in Nepal. *Lakuḷīśa,* before the second century, must have referred and reorganized this sect giving it a philosophical basis of the five topics: 1. The Effect in the peculiar sense of the Dependent, 2. The Cause (God and *Pradhāna* or sources of the Universe), 3. *Yōga,* 4. *Vidhi* (Primary vidhis or vows like besmearing with the ashes, producing the sound *hum,* laughing, singing, dancing, producing the sound *huḍu* like a bull, falling down and inaudible muttering of mantras), and 5. *Duḥkhānta* or total destruction of misery. The important characteristic here is the *vidhi.* The means of attaining the *Duḥkhānta* are appearing to be sleeping when awake; shaking of the limbs as if paralyzed; walking on legs as though disabled, amorous gestures, doing things condemned by all as though devoid of discrimination and nonsensical talk—all intended to show that one is mad thus to scare away the crowd. *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār* and *Pēy Āḻvār* called themselves '*Pēy*'. *Kulasēkhara* sings: "I am a '*pēy*' to all and all are '*pēys*' unto me". It is this which gives

the significance of *jñani* to the words *'pittaṉ'* and *'pēyaṉ'*. The degenerations start when without the internal enlightenment, followers emphasize the outward show alone. *Bāṇa* describes the *Pāśupatas* as wearing the red clothes. Hieun Tsang mentions *Pāśupatas* at least 12 times. Nāgavardhan, the nephew of *Pulikēśin*, made provision for *Kapālēśvaras* and the *Mahāvratas* living in the temple. According to Rāmānuja, *Kāpālikas* believe that one attains the highest bliss on knowing, by concentrating on the soul seated in the female organ, the essence of six mudras (necklace ornament, ear ornament, crest jewel, ashes and *yajñōpavīta* through eating food in a skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of the dead body, eating the ashes, holding a club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping God as seated therein). They wore bracelets of *Rudrākṣa*, matted hair, skull and besmeared the body with ashes. In the *Śaṅkara digvijaya*, the *Kāpālika* carries an iron trident. *Śrīsaila* is mentioned by *Bhavabhūti* as a rendezvous of the *kāpālikas*, where a woman wearing a garland of human skulls carries away males for being sacrificed. It has not been very popular in the Tamil Country. But the Tamil Country knew human sacrifices as early as *Cilappatikāram*. Mahēndravarmaṉ refers to *kāpālikas*, *kāḷāmukhas* and *pāśupatas*.

Lakuḷīśa calls all dependent things *kāryas*. Divine dispensation—free to act irrespective of *Karma Yōga* or union of soul with God is achieved by *japa* and *dhyāna* and other such *sat-karmas* and strict control of senses. *Prabōdha candrōdaya* gives a ghastly description of their rites in the mouth of a *kāpālika*.

(3)

Mahēndravarmaṉ differentiates between the *Pāśupatas* and *Kāpālikas*. Appar speaks of *Śaivites, Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas,* as *"Vittaka veṇṭalaimālai viratikaḷ"*. Śaivites and Śaiva siddhāntins are those who did not indulge in these out of the way practices but believed like Appar, Campantar and Ārūrar in *Caryā, Kriya, Yoga,* and *Jñāna* paths of *Āgamas* and *Tirumantiram*. The *kāpālikas* lived inside the temple of Ēkamranāthar in Conjīvaram as mentioned by Mahēndravarmaṉ. The Mylapore temple was known after the *kāpālikas* as *Kāpālīccuram*. *Sōmasiddhānta* is their philosophy. Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription speaks of this.[122] Mr. K. A. Nīlakaṇṭa Sastri thinks that *Somāsiddhānta*, bridges the gulf between the

122. 1912/61.

Pāśupatas and the *Kāpālikas*.[122a] The *Kāḷāmukhas*, a subsect of *Pāśupatas*, are *Lākuḷīśapāśupatins*. Lakuḷīśa is said to have been born at *Kāyārōhaṇa* and their temples, therefore, were called *Kāyārōhaṇas or Kārōhaṇas*, as sacred as the birth place of Lakuḷīśa, an avatar of Śiva. This word *Kāyārōhaṇam* becomes *Kārōṇam* in Tamil. Temples known as *Kārōṇam—Nākaikkārōnam*, *Kuṭantaikkārōṇam* and *Kaccikkārōṇam*—must have been the temples of the *Kāḷāmukhas*. More of their mutts grew up at *Koṭumpāḷur*,[123] *Ālakkōyil*,[124] *Valaṁcuḷi*,[125] *Pantaṇainallūr*[126] and *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr*.[127]

(4)

When Śiva is said to have followed the *Kāpāla vrata*, *Pāśupata vrata* or *Mahā vrata*, some sects must have thought that they must follow the same ritual. The besmearing of the ashes is called *Pāśupata vrata* in the *Atharva Śira Upanisad*. But Ārūrar speaks of God only as *"Mā viratatta kaṅkāḷan"*,[128] for the poet's way of worship is different from those followed by these terrific sects of the North. The *Tēvāram* considers Śaivism as a federation of sects.

Mr. Gopinatha Rao says, "The *Śivāgamas* inform us that the *Śaivites* worship Śiva in the aspect of *Tāṇḍavabhūsana*, the *Pāśupatas* Śiva smeared with ashes and wearing *jaṭāmakuṭa*, the *Mahāvratis* Śiva wearing a garland of bones, the *Kālamukhas* Śiva wearing *sphaṭika* and *putradīpa* beads, the *Vāmacārins* Śiva wearing the sacred thread and carrying fire, and the *Bhairavas* Śiva carrying *damaru* and wearing anklets".[129] According to this statement, the Tamil Country looks upon these episodes of Śiva's heroic acts as so many mystic dances of Śiva. References had been made to the *Kāpāla* dance of Śiva with *Kapāla* in His hand whilst *Pārvatī* kept time.

122a. *Cultural Heritage of India*, *Vol. II*, p. 29.

123. A. R. E. 1908, p. 75-76.

124. 352 and 357 of 1914, A. R. E. 1912, p. 60.

125. 192/28.

126. 74/30-3.

127. 388 and 371/1911.

128. 7: 67: 10.

129. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.

VI

Pāṇṭaraṅka Dance :

(1)

Ārūrar mentions Śiva as the dancer of *Pāṇṭaraṅka*, when he mentions him as going round with the *kapāla* to the houses of damsels. This *pāṇṭaraṅkam* has been referred to in connection with the burning of the three castles.[130] Probably it means the white hall of dance and derivatively a dance performed there, which therefore came to be called the white dance. The white dance hall is the place of ashes, the place where the castles were burnt to ashes. It is because of the white ashes, the dance came to be called the white dance or *Pāṇṭaraṅka*. Aṭiyārkkunallār explains by saying that God smeared the ashes white in colour and danced this dance.[131] Therefore, any dance on the ashes—or the burning ghat—may be called the *Pāṇṭaraṅka* without reference to *Tripura*. It is in this sense that Ārūrar speaks of God with a *kapāla* as the dancer, *Pāṇṭaraṅkaṉ*—"*Talaiyiṟ kaṭaitōṟum pali paṉṉiyal meṉmoḻiyār iṭam koṇṭulal pāṇṭaraṅkaṉ*"[132]—'The Dancer of *Pāṇṭaraṅka* roaming about the places of the ladies of soft words and sweet tunes and receiving alms at every door in His (bowl of a skull)'.

(2)

But the interpretation given by Aṭiyārkkunallār may, to a certain extent, stand in the way of this interpretation. The words in *Cilappatikāram* are, "*Tērmuṉ niṉṟa ticaimukaṉ kāṇa*..... *Pārati āṭiya viyaṉ pāṇṭaraṅkam*".[133] It is the 'great expansive white dance' because he danced all round the place of the ashes. 'It was seen by Brahma standing in front of the chariot of the Lord. It was a *Bhāratī dance*'. The commentator interprets, "the *Bhāratī* dance", in view of the preceding line, "in the presence of *Brahma* as a dance which Śiva danced in the form of *Bhāratī*, the wife of Brahman, probably to please Brahma and egg him on to drive the chariot fearlessly". It is not clear wherefrom this idea was got by Aṭiyārkkunallār. *Bhāratī* has the meaning of *Bhairavī* or *Durgā* and her hall of dance is the burning ghat or burning

130. *Tripurāntaka Mūrti.*
131. *Cilap.*, VI, l. 45.
132. 7: 98: 1.
133. *Cilap.*, VI, ll. 44-45.

pyre.[134] *Pārati* in the phrase "*Pārati āṭiya*" as distinguished from "*Pārati araṅkam*" refers to one of the *vṛttis*—modes of dramatic style. Aṭiyārkkunallār himself mentions the four modes—*Cāttuvati* (*Sātvatī*), *Ārapaṭi* (*Ārabhaṭī*), *Kaiciki* (*Kaisikhī*) and *Pārati* (*Bhāratī*). In *Cāttuvati*, the subject matter is virtue, and the heroes are *Dēvas* and men. In *Ārapaṭi*, the subject matter is *artha*,[135] the heroes are men. In *Kaiciki*, the subject matter is love, and lustful persons are the important characters. In *Bhāratī*, the subject matter is about the actors and the actor is the hero. A note in *Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇa*[136] explains these. "*Kaisikhī* is the most polished performance without any bustle or tumult. The dancer of *Kaisikhī* should be neatly and modestly dressed; women alone are fit to expound this type of dance. *Bhāratī* is characterised by rhetorical flourish. *Sātvatī* expresses emotion; and *Ārabhaṭī* is used to indicate tumultous situations.

It will be seen from the explanations given by Aṭiyārkkunallār, that in the modes other than *Bhāratī*, the actors enact the drama or an episode from some hero's life, past or present. In *Bhāratī* alone there is no enactment of other's life; it is his own life that the dancer dances. In actual life when a man or a woman expresses his or her activity, according to *Nāṭya Śāstra*, it is to be looked upon as a dance in the *Bhāratī* mode. In actual life we are slaves to our passions; in a drama or dance when the actor enacts the same episode of ours he is no slave; he is a master of the situation; his performance becomes art. So, when even in trying situations one has complete control of oneself and one's passions, and acts one's part in real life, one is a saint like Yājñavalkya and every one of his activities is a dance of the *Bhāratī* mode.

Aṭiyārkkunallār himself makes this distinction patent and clear: "In these four modes described here, unlike the other three modes, *Bhāratī* does not give expression to some other subject matter or the acts of some other heroes. If *Koṭukoṭṭi* and *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* are considered the hero, Śiva is not enacting any other past story of any other hero. It is His own act, where He is the subject matter, the hero and actor. It is not even a representation of His act elsewhere. This shows His divine self control. Therefore, these

134. *Bhārati Araṅkam*: *Cilap.*, VI, l. 39. See notes in the old *Arumpata urai*.

135. Society and Government-*Pārthivar*.

136. Edited by Dr. B. V. Naidu and P. Srinivasulu Naidu, p. 4., n.c.

two dances belong to the *Bhāratī vṛtti* and *Iḷaṅkō*, the author, draws our pointed attention to this by stating '*Pārati āṭiya koṭukoṭṭi*' and '*Pārati āṭiya, pāṇṭaraṅkam*'. Similarly this *Kāpāla* dance or *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* should also belong to *Bhāratī vṛtti*. The mystic and saintly non-entanglement and mastery over the passions are expressed by our poets and sculptors of the Tamil land when they represent every feat of the Lord as a memorable dance".

VII

Pēy, pūtam & pāritam :

(1)

The burning ghat is associated with ghosts in the minds of primitive people and Śiva is said to be surrounded by *Bhūta gaṇas*. The *Bhūta gaṇas* come from the sacrificial fire of the *Ṛṣis* which the Lord made His own army of followers. The *Bhūta gaṇas* were with *Rudra*, from the time of the *Vēdas*. The *Kēsin* and the *Munis* were looked upon as mad and diabolical. This tradition persists and devotees call themselves as '*Pēys*'.[137] '*Pēy* and *Pittaṉ*' come to denote the *Jñāni*. Have not the erratic critics mistaken Prophet's divine trance for epilepsy? At the final dance of Śiva, these Saints who have attained Salvation are there, witnessing it singing, "*Aham annam Aham annam*" as told in the *Chāndōgya*. There are in a sense the *Bhūta gaṇas*. Has not, according to *Periapurāṇam*, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār prayed for remaining under the feet of the Lord when He dances : "*Aravā nī āṭumpōtu niṉ aṭiyiṉ kīḻ irukka eṉṟār*".[138] It is in this way the devil dance has been sublimated into the mystic divine dance of joy.

(2)

Ārūrar coming after Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, knows the significance of this so called madness and devilry. Has not he himself started addressing God as '*Pittā*',[139] the mad? The poet however differentiates amongst the *gaṇas;* he speaks of the three varieties : the *pēy*, the *pūtam* and the *pāriṭam*. '*Pēy*' from '*pēm*' meaning fear, is the frightful one—the *paicāca* or the ghost of the cremation

137. The devil, like '*Pēyālvār*' and '*Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār*'.
138. *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār Purānam*, V. 60.
139. 7: 1: 1.

ground. *'Pūtam'* is *Bhūta gaṇa*. *'Pāriṭam'* is traced by the Tamil Lexicon to *'Pāriṣada'*, an attendant of God; perhaps, it is better to trace to the form *'pārṣa'* connected with *'parṣada'*, *'pārṣatī'* (*Durgā*) in which case the derivation can be easily explained on the analogy of *'Ārṣa'* becoming *'Āriṭam'* in Tamil. The meaning of goblin or a demon is clear in the Sanskrit word. It may also be a Tamil word but the derivation is not clear. Ārūrar mentions all the three in one verse and, therefore, must be taken to differentiate them—*"Mūṭāya muyalakaṉ, mūkka-p pāmpu muṭai nāṟiya veṇṭalai moytta palpēy pāṭā varu pūtaṅkaḷ pāy pulittōl pariconṟaṟiyāta pāriṭaṅkaḷ"*[140]—thus he enumerates the surroundings of the Lord :—'the idiotic epileptic; the furious and obstinate serpent; the pale skull smelling carcass, the innumerable and crowding *'pēy'*; the *Bhūtas* coming singing; the skin of the pouncing tiger; the *pāriṭams* knowing not any manners'.

(3)

From this it would be seen the *pūtams* are made singers at the dance. *"Teṉṉā-t teṉā-t tet teṉaveṉṟu pāṭi-c cila pūtamum nīrum ticai ticaiyaṉa paṉṉāḷ maṟai pāṭutir"*[141]—'You sing for many days the four Vēdas with a few *pūtams* in all the main points of the compass to the tune', *'Teṉṉa-t teṉā-t tet teṉā'*. This phrase *"Cila pūtamum nīrum ticai ticaiyaṉa"*—'a few of the *Bhūtas* and yourself are in every direction', occurs in the first verse of this hymn as well.[142] They seem to be all pervasive like the Lord. The poet again sings of the singing of the *Bhūtas*—*"Pūtam pāṭa-p purintu naṭṭam puvaṉi ētta āṭa vallīr"*[143]—'You are capable of dancing so well that the whole world praises you, performing your dance with all heart whilst *Bhutas* sing'. Again, *"Eṟṟiṉai ēṟuvar ēṟi"*, or, *"ēṟuvatu ēṟi ōr pūtam tampāl pāṭṭi-k koṇṭu uṇpavar"*[144]—'He rides on the bull-thus riding, He makes one *Bhūtam* on His side to sing whilst He eats the alms thus got'. In this verse, we cannot interpret this to mean that the Lord riding on the *Pūtam* sings Himself, because of the force of the phrase, *'tampāl'* which is not at all brought out then. Going on the bull to dance with the *Bhūtas* is very often referred to : *"Ilavitaḷ vāy umaiyōṭu erutēṟi-p pūtam*

140. 7: 2: 3.
141. 7: 2: 6.
142. 7: 2: 1.
143. 7: 6: 7.
144. 7: 18: 5.

icai pāṭa iṭu piccaikku.....uḷitaruvīr[145]—'You roam about for alms riding on the bull along with Umā of the lips red and soft like the silk cotton, whilst the *Bhūtas* sing music'.

(4)

But the '*pēy*' also is said to sing. "*Paṟaikkaṇ neṭum pēy-k kaṇam pāṭal ceyya-k kuṟaḷ pāriṭaṅkaḷ paraitām muḷakka-p piṟaik-koḷ caṭai tāḷa-p peyarntu naṭṭam peruṅkā ṭaraṅkā niṉṟāṭal eṉṉē*"[146] —'What is the significance of your abiding dance taking the cremation ground as your hall of dance when the braids, studded with the crescent, are unfurled and flown down whilst the army of tall '*pēys*' of the drum-like eyes, sing and the dwarfish *pāriṭams* make the drum resound'. "*Pāṭal ceyya*" may mean composing verses. In the '*Paraṇi*' the *pēys* describe and sing the battlefield where they feast on the blood and flesh. This then, will be the natural characteristic of the *pēy* even according to tradition. Perhaps the *pēys* in the ecstasy of the dance forget the propriety; there is a higher harmony of love and Grace even in this impropriety.

(5)

In the same way, '*pāriṭam*' also is made to sing. "*Patti ceytu pāritaṅkaḷ pāṭi āṭa-p pali koḷḷum pittar*"[147]—'The mad man who receives the alms whilst the '*pāriṭams*' out of love to Him sing and dance': Thus sings Ārūrar. This may simply refer to the *Pāśupata* act of worship without any reference to music. It is only with reference to the '*Pūtam*' and 'a few'—'*cila*' chosen '*pūtams*'—that are made to sing the *Vēdas* and give a performance of music in terms of tunes.[148] There are about nine references to the *Bhūtas* and of them in five places they are made to sing.

(6)

Considering the other four cases, one of them may refer to the *Bhūtas* or the living beings—'*Bhūta nāthan*',[149] the Lord of the *Bhūtas*, or the Lord of beings.[150] The other reference[151] speaks

145. 7: 46: 6.
146. 7: 9: 8.
147. 7: 53: 5.
148. 7: 2: 6; 7: 46: 6.
149. 7: 62: 1.
150. c.f. *Āsvalāyāna Gṛhya Sūtra*, iii-4.
151. 7: 53: 1.

of the Lord coming on the bull along with the damsel surrounded by the *Bhūtas* dancing and singing in their intoxication of love—*"Varuvār viṭaimēl mātōṭu makiḻntu pūta-p paṭai cūḻa"*—*'makiḻcci'* corresponding to *'makiḻntu'* used here, is the dance of intoxication, though it has come to mean merely to be happy. *'Kaḷittal'* and *'makiḻtal'* are differentiated by Tiruvaḷḷuvar in *Kuṟaḷ* 1281. Parimēlaḻakar explains that in *'kaḷittal'*, the first stages of intoxication, the drunkard is still conscious, whereas in *'makiḻtal'*, the second stage, he is not conscious of himself. There he dances and signs and prattles. Taken in that sense the *Bhūtas* may be said to sing as well. *'Makiḻcci'* here denotes the effacement of the self and the divine bliss. It may mean merely the joy of God's presence. Or, the joy may be the joy of the Lord in the presence of the damsel of divine Grace. In the third reference, *"Cila pūtamum nīrum ticai ticaiyaṉa"*,[152] their all pervasiveness with the Lord standing alone is mentioned, as already noted; but the same words are repeated in the 6th verse of the hymn where what they do is explained at length—they are singing a tune and reciting the *Vēdas*.[153] As the poet, though in one place, speaks of the army of *Bhūtas*, often speaks of a few *Bhūtas*, the word *'pala'* or many has to be taken along with *'Pēy'*—*"pal pēy"*—which alone are said to crowd and swarm.

(7)

The *'pāriṭams'* are mentioned in eight places. *"Pariconṟaṟiyātaṉa pāriṭaṅkaḷ"*[154]—"The *'pāriṭams'* which do not know any dignity, or way of doing things or any order (*paricu*)—all suggesting the effacement of self—a non-worldly behaviour of the saints. They are made dwarfish as contrasted with the tall giant-like *'pēys'*. *"Nēṭum, pēykkaṇam pāṭal ceyya, kuṟaṭ pāriṭaṅkaḷ paṟaitām muḻakka"*[155]—this refers to their *'naicyānusandhāna'*—"The group of giant-like tall *'pēys'* compose verses and sing whilst the dwarfish *'pāriṭaṅkaḷ'* beat the drum'. In another place, Ārūrar speaks of the army of dwarfs. Though tradition knows *'kuṟaḷ pūtam'* and *'kuṟaṭ pāriṭam'*, in view of the above reference,[156] this army of dwarfs has to be interpreted as the army of dwarfish *'pāriṭam*. In

152. 7: 2: 1.
153. 7: 2: 6.
154. 7: 2: 3.
155. 7: 9: 8.
156. 7: 9: 8.

this verse the poet speaks of his wonder at seeing God coming on the way to Kūṭalaiyārṟūr accompanied by the *Dēvas* of *Vēdas*, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Indra, in the company of the damsel of crescent forehead, surrounded by the crowd of *'pēys'* and the army of dwarfs.[157] He being followed by gods is as important as His being followed by *'pāriṭam'* and *'pēy'*, in the eyes of Ārūrar. All the supernatural beings are around Him—'The many *'pāriṭams'* surround Him when He dances on the cremation ground'—"*Mayānattu-p pāriṭaṅkaḷ pala cūḻa-p paṯiṉṟāṭum paramēṭṭi*".[158] But their rendezvous is not the cremation ground as it is for the *'pēys'*. They follow the Lord wherever He goes. The poet sings, "*Paranta pāriṭam ūr iṭai-p pali paṟṟi-p pārttuṇum cuṟṟam āyiṉīr*"[159]—'The *pāriṭams* spread themselves out in villages; they clutch at the alms; they eat glancing this side and that; you have become the near and dear relative of these surrounding you, these encircling relatives'. *'Cuṟṟam'* may mean the constant attendants. 'They spread out and come always surrounding Him', "*Paranta pāriṭam cūḻa varuvar*".[160] They are His devotees too, worshipping Him, with Bhakti or love, singing and dancing (as *Pāśupatas* do, if we may say so); 'whilst they come, all concentrated on Him singing and dancing (perhaps as His attendants submerged in Him and doing His work as their work), the Mad Lord, receives the alms'—"*Patti ceytu pāriṭaṅkaḷ pāṭiyāṭa-p palikoḷḷum pittar*".[161] These dwarfs—goblins —suggest the errand boys of all duties. They play the part of a drummer as already mentioned.[162] These carry (His) weapons and praise His feet (i.e., keep themselves ready to do His errands) 'whilst the Lord with the damsel speaking no truth goes about clothed in one single loin cloth'—"*Mātum nīrum uṭaiyōr kōvaṇattarāki uṇmai collīr*".[163]

(8)

The *'pēy'* is mentioned fourteen times; that is, more frequently than the *pāriṭam* and *pūtam*, because it is the good old Tamilian word and a Tamilian conception. The *'pēys'* were imagined in the

157. 7: 85: 8.
158. 7: 89: 8.
159. 7: 88: 8.
160. 7: 76: 6.
161. 7: 23: 5.
162. 7: 9: 8.
163. 7: 6: 3.

Caṅkam age to dance round the chariot of the hero on the battle field—*'muṉtēr-k kuravai'* and *'piṉtēr-k kuravai'* of *Tolkāppiyam.*[164] They were thought of as ghosts, approaching with avidity the carcass of the dying hero, for, the heroes were a delicacy to these *pēys.* These conceptions lay at the bottom of *'Toṭākkāñci* and *Pēykkāñci* of *Tolkāppiyam.*[165] Even these cannibals are moved by the dying hero who cannot be taken care of in the thick of the battle by his colleagues or his family. There is here thus the humanizing of the ghost—a way of sublimating the idea of the devil as the embodiment of love.[166] They are even according to the *Vēdas, 'kravyad'*—the eaters of raw flesh[167] and of the flesh of a sick man.[168]

Maturai-k kāñci and other *Caṅkam* poems speak of *'Kaḷa-vēḷvi'*—the cooking of the feast of the blood-curdling battlefield[169] developed into the *Paraṇis* of later days. Nakkīrar in his *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* describes the dance of the *pēy*—the *'tuṇaṅkai'* dance in praise of Murukaṉ—another way of sublimating the devil dance into a dance of love. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār uses this conception of *'Pēy'* for explaining the inexplicable stage of the Saints. She called herself a *'pēy'*.[170] The Saint is in a sense out of the ordinary. His values are different from those of the ordinary men. He yearns for the unknown, looking upon the ordinary men hankering after their passions and material pleasures as mad people.[171] "He sleeps where others are awake; he is awake where others are asleep"—so says the *Gītā.* He is almost dead here to be alive there. What the world throws out and abhors, he gathers and cherishes. Is it not exactly what the *'pēy'* is said to do? It haunts the burning ghat and feasts on the thrown out refuse of the bone and the carcass; the cremation ground is its hall of dance, where, by its very devil dance, it besmears its whole form with the dust of the burning ashes—*"Pūccoḻiyīr".*[172] Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār gives a realistic colour to this allegorical ghost world, by speaking

164. *Tol.,* 1021.
165. *Tol.,* 1024.
166. *Tol.,* 1024.
167. *Atarva Vēda,* V. 29: 9.
168. *Atarva Vēda,* IV, 36: 8 etc.
169. *Tol.,* 1021.
170. *11th Tirumuṟai, Arputat tiruvantāti,* V. 101.
171. *Kulasēkara Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi,* III, 1.
172. 7: 2: 5.

of the babe ghost and mother ghost and all their loving acts.[173] *"Pēyōṭāṭi"* has, therefore, become the name of Śiva in *Piṅkalantai.*

(9)

Ārūrar comes, after all these developments have taken place, and it is the underlying idea of an allegory that makes him and other poets to sing of the *'pēy'* without any revulsion whatever. The Lord according to Ārūrar dances in the graveyard—so much He loves it and the corpses which the *'pēys'* do not leave—the graveyard which is ever their abode—*"Pēy māṟā-p piṇam iṭu kāṭu ukantu āṭuvāy".*[174] He is again the king of the cremation ground where live the *pēys—"Pēykaḷ vāḻum mayāṇattu-p periya perumāṉ aṭikaḷē".*[175] He, in the eyes of our poet, loves or performs the dance with the *'pēy'* in the outside forest of cremation—*Īma-p puṟaṅkāṭṭil pēyōṭu āṭal purivāṉē".*[176] The idea of the group dance is here suggested. This is the sublimation of the devil dance. These *'pēys'* are cruel and bad—from the point of view of the world—and He dances surrounded by them—*"Tuṭṭarāyiṇa pēykaḷ cūḻa naṭamāṭi'.*[177] There is a more graphic description of the graveyard. It is a midnight revel and a dance. It is the dark forest. The fox stealthily catches hold of a skull. The wolf raises the alarm. The *'pēys'* with flaming heads surround Him on all sides—is it in *kuravai* dance?—*"Nari talai-k kavva niṉṟu ōri kūppiṭa naḷ iruḷ eri talai-p pēy cūḻa ār iruḷ kāṭṭiṭai".*[178] This reminds us of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's *Mūtta tiruppatikam.* The omnipotent God can never do two things. He can never renounce, being surrounded by the *'pēys'* whilst riding on the bull. He can never forget the cremation ground. He accepts it as His abode and dances always there—*"Peṟṟam, ēṟi-p pēy cūḻtal tuṟavāy maṟavāy cuṭukāṭu eṉṟum iṭamā-k koṇṭu naṭamāṭi".*[179] This seems to be something intrinsic about His Divinity, about His divine Grace. The damsels to whom the Lord goes to beg entreat Him to leave off this devil dance. 'Your eyes, your mouth (words), your form are pure. Your cloth is made of stitched up rags. Leave off

173. *Mūtta Tiruppatikam.* I. V. 5 ff.
174. 7: 96: 3.
175. 7: 53: 3.
176. 7: 52: 9.
177. 7: 46: 4.
178. 7: 44: 4.
179. 7: 41: 6.

this dancing with the *'pēys'* in the cremation ground. Are you mad?'—*"Tūyavar kaṇṇum vāyum mēṉiyum tuṇṇavāṭai cuṭalaiyil pēyōṭu āṭalai-t tavirum nīr oru pittarō"*?[180] Here is thus an attempt to connect this dance with *Bhikṣāṭana* form. This midnight dance, He dances with the many *Bhūtas* and the *'pēys'* of the clear (vision)—*"Telḷiya pēy pala pūtam avaṟṟoṭu nalḷiruḷ naṭṭamatu āṭal naviṉṟōr"*.[181] The description *"telḷiya pēy"* is a tell-tale phrase where the allegory is almost non-existent. The *Yōga Narasiṁha* is called by Tirumaṅkai Āḻvar of the Pallava Age, *"Telḷiya Cīyam"* where this word *'Telḷiya'* is itself used.

The old ideas about the *'pēy'* are not absent in this verse. The *pēys'* eyes are like the kettle drum—*"Paṟaikkaṇ"*.[182] They are giant-like, unlike the dwarfish *pāriṭams*: they compose verses or sing as already explained.[183] The *pey's* mouth is full of flesh—*"Pulāl vāyaṇa pēy"*.[184] The Lord dances on the ashes and gets besmeared with ashes. This besmearing He will never leave—*"Pulāl vāyaṇa pēyoṭu pūccoḷiyīr"*.[185] Or, this may mean, 'He can get rid of making commotions with them'. The immensity of form is again emphasized: 'The Lord stands in the great forest of cremation along with the group of huge and giant-like *peys'*—*"Peruṅkāṭṭakattīr perumpēyum nīrum....niṟṟīr"*.[186] This *pēy* is one of the *gaṇas*. The poet speaks of the *'pēykkaṇam'*.[187] Here the idea is not so much the *gaṇa* as the crowding of these around the Lord, *"Moytta pal pēy"*[188]—'the *pēys* which swarm round you' —the verb *'moytta'* suggests the simile of the bees swarming in the honey.

(10)

This survey reveals three gradations. *'Bhūtas'* almost identifying with God, represent the few great souls, the *siddhas;* the *pēys* as revealed by the phrase, *'telḷiya pēy'* represent the *yōgis;* the *'pāriṭams'* are the attendants doing all service and all wor-

180. 7: 36: 3.
181. 7: 11: 3.
182. 7: 9: 8.
183. 7: 9: 8.
184. 7: 2: 5.
185. 7: 2: 5.
186. 7: 2: 8.
187. 7: 9: 8; 7: 85: 8.
188. 7: 2: 3.

ship—the *'toṇṭar'* and *'bhaktas'* of the path of *caryā gaṇas* and *kriyā gaṇas* usually grouped together.[189] Ārūrar enumerated in one place[190] three kinds of followers of Śiva—the *'aṉpuṭaiyār'*, *'toṇṭar'* and *'pattar'*. He calls upon the *'aṉpar'* to dance, the *'pattar'* to sing and *'toṇṭar'* to adorn their heads with Śiva's feet. This classification seems to agree with the description of the *'pēy'*; as dancers—the *Aṉpar;* the *Pūtam* as singers—the *'Pattar';* and the *Pāriṭam* as followers—the *Toṇṭar.* In other places, he groups the worshippers under the two heads of *'Pattar'* and *'Cittar'*—the *'cittar'* or *Siddhas* are those who have achieved the *jīvanmukta* stage and the *'pattar'* or *Bhaktas* are those who are on the way to *jīvanmukta* stage—*"Pattar cittar".*[191] In this verse he speaks of the many (*palar*) and one may argue that this group refers to the third group of *'Toṇṭar'* but in another place he speaks of *'Pattar'* and *'Cittar'* and uses the word *'pala'* as qualifying *'Pattar'* —*"pala pattar"*[192] suggesting that such an interpretation is not correct.

189. *Tiruvācakam,* 46: 2.
190. 7: 22: 3.
191. 7: 52: 10.
192. 7: 88: 7.

Part IV

Chapter I

BHIKṢĀṬANA MŪRTI

I

The *Brahmaśiraschēda Mūrti* introduces the *Bhikṣāṭana Mūrti* form and this may be now studied separately. We have already emphasized the revolution effected in making the horrid and terrific form, one of love. This is connected with the *Kaṅkāla* and *Kāpāli* forms.

Kaṅkālamūrti and *Bhikṣāṭana* :

The description of the *Kaṅkālamūrti* is found in the *Āgamas* which we have been mentioning—*Kāmika*, *Kāraṇa* and *Amśumadbhēda*. *Kaṅkālamūrti* with *yajñōpavīta*, a red *uttarīya* and a cloth of skin is standing with the left leg straight and right leg slightly bent and forward as though in the act of walking. There is the *jaṭāmakuṭa* with *'ūmattam'*[1] flowers, the crescent moon and the snake. His beaming face with half visible pearly teeth and ears of *kuṇḍalas* suggest that he is merrily smiling and singing. He has four hands. There is, in the right front hand, a short stick probably resined, to rub and vibrate the drum held on the left front hand. The back right arm holds the deer and the left the horizontal *kaṅkāla daṇḍa*—the bone of the arms and legs of the murdered person, tied up together with rope and adorned with peacock feathers and a flag, all of which hang on the left shoulder. There is a gold dagger with a silver handle tucked up in the girdle. He wears a pair of sandals and a number of snakes. *Bhūtas* romp, dance and sing whilst one carries a receptacle for alms. Women appear around him full of passionate love for him giving alms, blessing him and yearning for his embrace, with their clothes slipping down. Other dēvas and *ṛṣis* are there in *añjali* pose or doing services such as sweeping of the path by *Vāyu*, sprinkling of water by *Varuṇa*, carrying of the umbrellas by the Sun and the Moon and recitation of the *Vedās* by *ṛṣis*. *Bhikṣāṭana* form is similar.

1. *Datura.*

Instead of the *bāṇa* stick he holds the *kapāla*. He has *jaṭābhāra*[2] or *jaṭāmaṇḍala*. There is an ornamental band on the forehead. There are ornaments all over the body but with no clothing whatever except a snake coming as a waist string. Instead of the *Kaṅkāla daṇḍa* he carries the *Triśūla*, similarly adorned.

Ārūrar refers to this episode in one verse :

"Māl utirattiṉai ēṟṟut tōṉṟu tōḷmicai kaḷēparantaṉṉaic cumanta māviratatta kaṅkāḷaṉ".[3]

'He received the blood of Viṣṇu (in his bowl) and bore the burden of the dead body on his prominent shoulder—He of the *kaṅkāla* of the great penance".

II

In the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple there are many representations of *Bhikṣāṭana* and *Kaṅkāla Mūrti* which are always found with two hands. In fig. 1 of Plate XLVI (*Rea*), we find a beautiful figure of Śiva with two hands as against four hands of the *Āgamas*. The matted lock is divided at the centre of the crown and flows on either side freely downwards in eight parts on each side reminding us Ārūrar's description—*"Caṭai eṭṭu"*.[4] He is holding on His shoulder a stick with what appears to be a handle at the lower end, on which He rests His left hand with three bends, one at the shoulder, the other at the elbow and the third at the wrist. The right arm crosses His chest with a right-angle-bend at the elbow and the palm and the fingers are above the left shoulders held in the *sūcī mudra* pose. Whilst the face, the chest and the trunk present the front view, the legs are twisted to the left showing their hind view, whilst their front portion faces the women opposite. The left leg stands as required by the *Āgamas* straight on a wooden sandal with the knob between the toes. The right leg also wears this sandal but the leg is bent showing a forward motion. The cloth as a ribbon or a sash is knotted round the waist in front, one end of which reaches the left toe whilst the other end remains as a loop and a free end, hanging on the right thigh. Probably there is also a girdle of gems or bones. There is a *yajñōpavīta* hanging cross-wise from the left shoulder and going over the hind part of the left knee. This is probably

2. dishevelled hair.
3. 7: 67: 10.
4. 7: 19: 7.

a serpent. Before Him sit kneeling, two women with ear-rings, bangles, armlets and necklace. A third is behind them. The other two are holding their hands across their chests crossed one over the other. Perhaps the expression is to reveal their love for this form which is naked. What appears to be a stick has already been explained to be the *kaṅkāla* and what seems to be a handle is probably the joint of the bones.

Rea's plate LXI represents another *Kaṅkāla mūrti.* The matted locks are parted as in the previous case, but there is a crown on the head with rims artistically shaped as *'paṭṭam'* above the forehead as mentioned in the *Āgamas.* The crown is conical with a lotus bud-like ending at the top. The portion below this bud appears to be shaped like the *'arinellikkāy'*—a kind of gooseberry. The matted-locks escape through openings on either side of this crown. There is a curious weapon with a handle, the hatchet portion in the middle and the trident spears at the top. It appears to be a combination of a *'triśūla'* and a *'paraśu'*. This hangs as though in the air above His right shoulder. On the left is a round ring; if it is not representing the begging bowl, it must be taken to represent one of the *'vaḷaiyams'* found in abundance in these sculptures. The pose is very much similar to the other one except that the twist is to the right, and the left leg, as against the *Āgamas,* is bent and held up in forward motion. The *kaṅkala* is held on the right shoulder and the palm is resting on what appears to be the handle. At the top-most portion of this handle there is again a knob representing, as already hinted, the joint of the bones. From this knob flows around it, something like a chaurie. It has already been seen that the *Āgamas* describe this *kaṅkāla* adorned at its head with peacock feathers and things similar to them. Therefore, the flowing chaurie-like thing can be taken as some such adornment of *kaṅkāḷa.* It is not a trident ascribed to *Bhikṣāṭana.* There are hanging in his person, ear-rings, neck-lace, a broader garland of rubies or bones, two armlets on each shoulder and many bangles at the wrists. In addition to the flowing cloth of a sash, there is also a sash of serpents. The *yajñōpavīta* flows down and goes over the left knee-cap. There is at least a ring visible, in one of the fingers of the left hand, if it is not to be taken as an *akṣamāla.* A serpent with three heads is seen going round His right hand and making a loop near its neck. There is a woman standing on the left fully adorned and there is another kneeling on the right.

Plate No. XII,[5] at its right hand corner of the top gives another representation of *Bhikṣāṭana* form. Plate No. LXXXVI, fig. 5,[6] gives this separately. The pose is like that of the figure in Plate LXI of Rea. One lady is kneeling down with an *añjali* pose, her face expressing love and joy. Her head is a little bent down to the left perhaps with a blush. Behind her is another woman who is holding up her left hand and placing her right hand on the right shoulder of the woman in front. She is holding up her hand also. There is a *ṛṣi* at the right hand top corner; perhaps he represents the *Dārukavana Ṛṣi*, coming in haste and protesting against the women. Gopinātha Rao thinks that the pole held in one of the hands of Śiva is a *'śikhi piñccha'*. The other hand according to him keeps an *akṣamāla* and is held in *cinmudra* pose. He feels that there are no clothes worn. In other respects it is very much like Rea's plate No. LXI except for the absence of the crown and the three headed serpent.

III

Coming to the later time we find an image of *Picchadēvar* set up by Rājarāja's queen Lōkamahādēvi.[7] The following is the note of the epigraphist. "It consisted of the god Śiva with four arms in a standing posture accompanied on one side by a standing goblin (called generally *Kuṇḍodara*) carrying the begging bowl on his head, and by an antelope on the other. This description agrees in the main with the figure *Bhikṣāṭana mūrti* which we find in Śiva temples.

"*Kāraṇāgama* describes *Bhikṣāṭana* thus:

> *"Caturbhujam triṇētram ca nagnam caiva smitānanam*
> *Bhasmadigdham vidrumābham kaṭyām pannagasamvṛtam*
> *Āvṛttālaṅkṛta bhṛṅgīpādam pādukasaṁyutam*
> *Dakṣiṇam tatkarāgram tu hariṇāsyānugam bhavēt.*
>
> *"Dakṣiṇē aparahastē tu ḍamarum caiva kārayēt*
> *Vāmē tvaparahastē tu triśūlam piñchadhāriṇam*
> *Kuñcitam dakṣiṇam pādam vāmapādam tu susthitam*
> *Samabhaṅgasthānakam ca gamanōnmukharūpakam.*

5. *Rea.*
6. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.
7. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 9.

"Kapālōpētahastam ca vṛṣanābhisamam bhavēt
Ēvam Bhikṣāṭanam prōktam guṇḍōdaramathō śṛṇu.
"Dēvasya vāmapārśvē tu guṇḍōdaramadhaḥsthitam
Hastadvayasamāyuktam kapālam śirasi nyasēt.
"Bhūtākārasamāyuktam kuṇḍalē karṇayōrnyasēt
Damṣṭrākarālavaktram ca pūrvōktam lakṣaṇānvitam.

"In a niche on the south wall of the central shrine is a beautiful image of *Picchāṇḍār* but without the goblin and the antelope. It is worthy of note that there is a temple dedicated to *Picchāṇḍār* near Trichinopoly."

IV

On page 27, *Rea* describes what he calls a large finely carved figure of *Jīmūtakētu* or the 'cloud-bannered Śiva' in the Mahēndravarmēśvara shrine. Here is his description: "He is represented with matted hair; the right knee bent; he has a richly carved crown, and neck, arm and leg ornaments. Over his left shoulder is a garland, with rings of what seem intended for bones; another has alternate square and round ornaments on each of which is a sculptured skull: these reach down to his anklets. The waist ornament is broad, and has several bends of different ornamental designs. The anklets are in circles of balls; and on the feet are well carved and ornamental sandals (*pādarakṣa*). On each sandal, the *kumiḻ*—or small knob between the toes—is shown. On his left side is the three hooded *nāga*, with its tail twisted upwards, and resting on his hand. The cloud banner held in a left hand over the shoulder, goes behind him and drops over the right, down to the waist; on the upper portion of the same side is—apparently—a club. A worshipping female figure stands on his right; two females are on the left, one of which profusely ornamented with jewels is kneeling and worshipping: the other female on the left side supports one of Śiva's left hands. There are some other minor attendants in the group.

"This panel is remarkably striking in the arrangement and execution of the whole design, even the smallest ornaments being clearly and beautifully cut".

It will be seen that this description agrees with our description of two other representations of *Kaṅkaḷa mūrti*. In the absence of the clue given by the *Āgamas* to identify the *Kaṅkāḷa*, Mr. Rea has erred in his interpreting this form as cloud-bannered Śiva. *Kaṅ-*

kaḷa form is not, according to the *Āgamas,* naked as these figures and the *Bhikṣāṭana* form. Perhaps there is an attempt to synchronize and synthesize the various forms of *Kāpāli, Kaṅkāḷa* and *Bhikṣāṭana.*

V

To this important step taken about the time of *Tēvāram* we must now turn. God goes a-begging. Before this stage of the Absolute, of union or unity is realized, the world stares us in the face with the varied souls and God, then, is the Lord of all. The intimate and inter-dependent relationship between the many souls and one God has however to be expressed in words.

Mystics in this connection always think of love especially fugitive love which is true and sincere. This is taken as the symbol of intimate spiritual relationship. God is the lover, the souls are the ladies in secret love with Him, giving up every other relationship with the world and running mad after Him. The *'gōpīs'* and *Kṛṣṇa,* the *Ṛṣipatnīs* and *Bikṣāṭana*—all these are but various attempts at expressing the inexpressible truth. The *Kāpāli* and *Kaṅkaḷa* forms—horrid, terrible and revolting at first sight—are thus beautified and sublimated so as to represent this mystic form of *Bikṣāṭana.*

Ārūrar sings of this story in a dramatic way, making the women, love and speak for themselves. They have to be considered at length in conection with Ārūrar's mysticism. We may, therefore, at this stage restrict our study to the poetic way in which this *Bikṣāṭana* form is described by our poet.

The skull, the bones and the serpents,[8] and other peculiarities of this form have already been noted. It was seen that in the *Kāpālika vṛata,* one must not beg in more than seven houses. But our poet speaks of the Lord begging in ten villages.[9] In another place he speaks of the Lord going a-begging to many houses,[10] which brings out the significance of the Lord going to the doors of all. This suggests that the word ten above mentioned should be interpreted as meaning many, unless there is a pun on the word *'pattu'* to imply *'Bhakti'*. True to this, in other places, the poet

8. 7: 91: 5.
9. 7: 46: 1.
10. 7: 46: 6.

speaks of Śiva going for alms to every house in every junction of the streets.[11] Our poet also states that Śiva wanders on all the points of the compass for begging,[12] and that he begs the whole world.[13] He puns on the word 'Ārūr', which means both 'Tiruvārūr' and a village of any one, and states that the Lord begs entering any village of any one.[14] He goes to all and sundry, not only to the devotees; and, therefore, one love-sick woman sings, 'Why roam about in all directions and receive alms? Pray, receive it only at the hands of the devotees who give with love and reverence'.[15]

The Lord goes with the shining garment of skin and sings *Sāmavēda,* whilst begging.[16] In addition to the *Sāmavēda,* He is said to sing many hymns. The word which is used is *'patikam'* or a hymn of ten verses, a word which we have already discussed. The poet seems to suggest that even as the Saints of Tamil land as himself were going about in singing *patikams,* God also goes about singing *'patikams'* probably in Tamil.[17] That He sings Tamil songs is emphasized by the question, *"Centamiḻ-t tiṟam vallirō?".*[18]

Śiva carries on a conversation with the women telling them all sorts of fibs (*kiṟi*) and indulges in the play of deceit (*paṭiṟu*).[19] The *'pāṇas'* of the low caste were the go-betweens; they were the messengers of love, bringing back the lover to the harlot or pacifying the rightful indignation of the truthful wife. All this kind of lustful talk is known as *'pāṇ'* after the *'pāṇas'* and the Lord according to the poet indulges in such talks of flattery, humility and lust with the women.[20]

The *'pūtam'* goes singing with him.[20a] *'Pāriṭam'* also follows him.[21] We have suggested that the *'pūtam'* etc., refer really to the ardent devotees of God. In keeping with this interpretation,

11. 7: 6: 6; 7: 43: 5; 7: 43: 8.
12. 7: 43: 10.
13. 7: 77: 7.
14. 7: 83: 5.
15. 7: 43: 10.
16. 7: 49: 5.
17. 7: 46: 1.
18. 7: 36: 4.
19. 7: 46: 1.
20. 7: 46: 3.
20a. 7: 46: 6.
21. 7: 88: 8.

we find the poet describing the Lord going to the doors of *Ṛṣi-patnīs* in the company of *aṭiyārs* or followers.[22] Probably he differentiates the worshippers from the followers though he calls them both the '*aṭiyār*' because he asks why the Lord is going for alms when there are the worshippers who intoxicated with his love, madly prattle, worshipping Him with sweet-smelling flowers and praising Him, do all that is good for Him.[23] If these are not differentiated as worshippers and followers, we must hold in some cases that the Lord goes a-begging without the *aṭiyārs*.[24]

VI

The poet speaks of the Lord going on the back of the bull,[25] spurring it on.[26] What is more curious is that He goes along with His wife on this escapade of love and this shows that it is not any pastime of the libertine that is hinted at but some mystic characteristic feature of God. The mother aspect is indivisible from Śiva. She is a creeper-like damsel who is but a moiety of Him, "*Kūṟupaṭṭa koṭi*", and along with this partitioned better-half of a creeper, He goes a-begging.[27] This suggests the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, something which cannot be thought of, for a libertine's way of life. In another hymn also the poet suggests our Lord coming with half of His form appearing with the damsel of the long eyes.[28] The Lord is also said to come with the jingling '*cilampu*' and resounding '*kaḻal*' where the '*cilampu*' the anklet, refers to the feminine half and the '*kaḻal*' or the heroic-ring on the leg refers to the masculine half, thus suggesting once again the *Ardhanārīśvara* form.[29] 'With the lady of the mountain on one side the Lord begs the whole world'—thus sings another hymn.[30] The poet further groups together the bull, the *pūtam* and the lady of the red lips, red like the flower of the silk-cotton along with the Lord on his begging march.[31] One of the women refuses alms

22. 7: 43: 5; 7: 43: 8.
23. 7: 41: 9.
24. 7: 41: 9.
25. 7: 6: 3; 7: 6: 6; 7: 46: 6.
26. 7: 6: 6.
27. 7: 6: 6.
28. 7: 36: 5.
29. 7: 41: 2.
30. 7: 77: 7.
31. 7: 46: 6.

because of this very fact of his coming with his wife,[32] even as another refuses because of the serpent he wears.[33]

Here again it must be noted that He does not always go on his begging pilgrimage accompanied by his wife. 'There is the *Kamakkōṭṭam,* the temple of your love and why then do you go for common alms?', asks one woman.[34] 'That form of parsimony, the lady-love of yours in every village cooks for charitable distribution. Why then do you wait at every door for alms?' asks another.[35] Here is a word *'ceṭṭi'* which has been interpreted above as one who is parsimonious and as referring to the mother. Otherwise it must refer to Śiva as a *'vaisya'*. Murukaṉ is described as a *ceṭṭi's* son, taking the form of *'Uruttiracaṉmaṉār',* son of *'Uppūrikuṭi kiḻār'*. No such story is told of Śiva. It may be that the speaker is referring to the miserly nature of Śiva in begging for alms whilst there is the lady-love feeding all. Another woman asks the Lord, 'Are all this wealth amassed as a result of begging for alms at every door along with your followers, for your wife Umā'?[36] What is important here is that the women are referring to the lady-love not as standing before them but remaining elsewhere as the lady of wealth and charity.

VII

The poet gives some interesting particulars. He speaks of the Lord going at dusk—*'Anti'*.[37] In another place, he speaks of the Lord coming for alms at mid-day when the sun is at the zenith of the heaven—*'Ucci'*.[38] In the common place of the women companions, He goes for begging and the ferocious dogs probably frightended at His sight go into the house and bark.[39] The word for the woman companion is *'cēṭicci'*.[40] *'Cēṭi'* means a woman-companion and also a servant and the word *'cēṭicci'* must have been formed with an additional feminine suffix. Or, we may trace it to the word *'cēṭi'* meaning the *Vidhyādhara* world.

32. 7: 36: 5.
33. 7: 36: 2.
34. 7: 5: 6.
35. 7: 43: 9.
36. 7: 43: 5.
37. 7: 43: 8.
38. 7: 41: 2.
39. 7: 43: 7.
40. 7: 43: 7.

Perhaps by calling them denizens of *Vidhyādhara* world, the poet wants to emphasize their superhuman aspect and their present life of love. The common place is made still more realistic. It is the place where the fruits of the palmyra fall down producing a *'caṭacaṭa'* noise.[41] The alms given is mixed with the eatable *'vaṭakam'*.[42] It is not clear that the word *'vaṭakam'*[43] was used in this sense in the age of Ārūrar; it may also mean small balls of food. The meaning obtaining at the time of *Cilappatikāram*[44] and *Cintāmaṇi*[45] is that of a valuable cloth, and the words in this hymn can be interpreted so as to mean that the Lord came with a variety of clothes or skins.[46] In another place the poet speaks of the Lord knocking away the dried food, the women gave as alms—*'Uṇaṅkal'*, and this seems to suggest that *'vaṭakam'* as a dried preparation might have been known in Ārūrar's age. If this is so, the Tamil Lexicon is evidently wrong in giving ordinary cooked food as the meaning for *'Uṇaṅkal'* in this verse, as the meaning of dried food material seems to be more appropriate.[47]

VIII

The Tamilians are in mortal fear of begging. Tiruvaḷḷuvar comes down with a curse on God or the maker of the state, if he were responsible for the state of affairs in a society in which man has to drag on his existence by begging.[48] To give is to live and our hand has to be always above that of others as it is in the act of giving; therefore, if such giving is not possible, the frightful death is more welcome.[49] That is Tiruvaḷḷuvar's ideal. The poet, therefore, asks the Lord, 'Why are you alive here if you are to live by begging for the crumbs thrown out?'.[50] Propriety is spoken of in Tamil as the beauty of the moral grandeur. The women feel at first sight the impropriety of this begging of the Lord and they ask, 'Is this in keeping with the beauty of your moral grandeur—

41. 7: 72: 9.
42. 7: 72: 9.
43. 7: 72: 9.
44. *Cilap.*, XIV, l. 108.
45. V. 462.
46. *Piṅkalantai.*
47. 7: 91: 5.
48. *Kuṟaḷ*, 1062.
49. *Kuṟaḷ*, 230.
50. 7: 49: 6.

Aḻaku'?.[51] Or, 'Is this in keeping with your characteristic feature —*pāṉmai*'?.[52] Or, 'Is this the life worth the name—*vāḻkkaiyē*'?.[53] Or, 'Is this proper and just—*takkatē*'?.[54] 'Will not your followers cry over this pathetic sight of your wandering through many villages?', cries one.[55] Or, 'What will others say?'.[56] This line of thought is, therefore, valid as far as it goes and the poet concludes, the Lord reveals himself as the true principle to those who supplicate to Him saying, 'Why have you received alms'?.[57] One pathetically exclaims, 'Will not your followers cry over this sight of your wandering through many villages'?.[58]

But this is only a *prima facie* view. The other hymns reveal the true essence of this picture. If this begging is not an occasional activity this must be so if its mystic significance is understood. 'He will never leave off going for alms', says one to the Lord.[59] It is, therefore, a never ending activity till the last soul is saved. He loves this eating of the alms and, therefore, He dances all through the night in the fire.[60] The dance and cosmic activity are thus connected with this begging of souls. The Lord goes for alms dancing.[61] Is not any act of His, a dance of the *Bhāratī* variety? The begging in the skull of the dead is His wealth and His great Tapas or Sacrifice—His crucifixion for us.[62] He revels in this. He goes to every door saying, 'Give me alms'.[63] He loves with all His heart the alms thrown at the door.[64] One who receives the alms, is the beggar—that is His name, and our poet has coined a phrase for this, "*Pali koḷḷi*".[65] He has no other food; His hunger for the love of souls is indeed so very much. He has no food except the common alms of the village for Himself to eat and for

51. 7: 41: 9.
52. 7: 43: 3.
53. 7: 43: 7.
54. 7: 43: 8.
55. 7: 41: 2.
56. 7: 43: 10.
57. 7: 88: 9.
58. 7: 41: 2.
59. 7: 9: 1.
60. 7: 72: 2.
61. 7: 6: 3.
62. 7: 18: 7.
63. 7: 11: 5.
64. 7: 57: 2.
65. 7: 83: 5.

others to distribute.[66] But He begs and distributes the alms received.[67] God comes in quest of love and once He finds it, it is repaid a thousand-fold. 'You receive the alms but you do not know any way of eating it', so says a woman.[68] That is because He does not know to withhold the love for Himself but He repays it all and more. Taken in this light, this form is no pretension but the true characteristic form of God. 'Oh! our prince of the true form assumed at every door merely for the remnants of the alms', so sings the poet.[69]

Therefore, the poet calls him, 'He whose characteristic feature is to go in quest of alms and eat whatever He gets'.[70] The word used here is '*Paṇpu*'—'*Paṇpuṭaiyāṉ*' and this word '*Paṇpu*' has a peculiar meaning of behaving befittingly after knowing the characteristic features of all those with whom one meets. The begging of love is thus a befitting act, befitting Him and befitting the environment of souls. This itself thus becomes the true test of divinity. The poet calls the Lord, "*Pali tērum Paramēṭṭi*[71]—"Thou, Great Lord in quest of alms'. He is sure that the Lord who begs for alms at every door is the Lord, our master. There he sings in the hymn, 'I shall not deride you for this characteristic of begging which is after all befitting the world'.[72]

IX

It is now clear that this begging form has an esoteric significance and, therefore, the woman asks the Lord to explain this mystery. 'What is the significance of receiving alms'.[73] 'Why is this wandering on the bull for alms from house to house'?[74] 'What is this wandering, where you are so very much transformed'? [75] This transformation is that of the Lord becoming a beggar.

66. 7: 18: 5.
67. 7: 19: 8.
68. 7: 49: 5.
69. 7: 63: 8.
70. 7: 97: 4.
71. 7: 15: 3.
72. 7: 15: 8.
73. 7: 5: 6.
74. 7: 6: 3.
75. 7: 6: 6.

Chapter II

DAKṢIṆĀMŪRTI

I

Silence is the limit of true knowledge—"*Mōṉameṉpatu ñāṉa varampu*". This silence expresses the supreme peacefulness. It is a negation of all the worries and frenzied activities of the world. The Absolute is characterised by this supreme calmness and the *Vēdas* always wind up crying in joy: "*Ōm Śānti! Śānti! Śāntih!*". The Seers of India have visualized this form of supreme peacefulness and have given to it a concrete form, a form which has moved the hearts of great philosophers like Śaṅkara. He exclaims, "What a wonder of wonders! The Teacher is young; the students are hoary old men, and His teaching is but silence, and lo! all their doubts are cleared." This refers to the form of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, found in every Śiva temple in a niche on the southern wall. It is because He faces the south, He is known as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* or in Tamil, "*Teṉ mukam koṇṭa kaṭavuḷ.*" As the Tamil Country including Ceylon where Tamil was spoken, was the southernmost Country then known, the Tamilians looked upon *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*—and *Naṭarāja*, who also faces south—as the Deity of their own.

II

The *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form is traced to the Mohenjo-daro-Harappa civilization. One of the engraved seals found there is described by Marshall. Because of the importance of his remarks for the History of Śaivism, they are quoted in full: "The God who is three faced is seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of *yōga*, with legs bent double beneath Him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched, His hands with thumbs to front, resting on His knees. From wrist to shoulder the arms are covered with bangles, eight smaller and three larger; over his breast is a triangular pectoral or perhaps a series of necklaces or torques, like those on the later class of Goddess figurines from Balūchistān; and round His waist a double band. The lower limbs are bare and the *phallus* seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what appears to be the *phallus* is in reality the end of the waist

band. Crowning His head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress. To either side of the God are four animals, an elephant and tiger on His proper right, a rhinoceros and buffalo on His left. Beneath the throne are two deer standing with heads regardant and horns turned to the centre".[1] In continuation, he says, "At the top of the seal is an inscription of seven letters, the last of which, for lack of room at the right-hand top corner, has been placed between the elephant and the tiger. From the foregoing, it will be seen, that the attributes of the deity are peculiarly distinctive. In the first place, He is three faced (*trimukha*), and we are at once reminded that in historic times Śiva was portrayed with one, three, four, or five faces and always with three eyes, and that the familiar triad, of Śiva, Brahma and Viṣṇu, is habitually represented by a three-faced image. Of the three-faced Śiva—that is Śiva without Brahma and Viṣṇu—there is a fine example among the ruined temples of Dēvāṅgaṇa near Mount Abu, and other examples are illustrated in T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, notably one at Mēlcēri, near Kāvēripākkam in the North Arcot District, another near the Gokak Falls in the Belgaum District, and a third at Chitorgarh in Udaipur State but in historic times the type was not a common one and may have been produced under the influence of the trimukha images representing the triad. Indeed, the question presents itself whether the three-faced deity on our Mohenjo-daro seal is not a syncretic form of three deities rolled in one. I do not mean by this that the philosophic idea of a triad associated with the doctrine of the absolute had taken shape at this early period, but simply that the cult of this particular god—call him Śiva or by whatever name we like—had been amalgamated with other cults, and that the fact was signified by giving him three faces instead of one. In support of this suggestion, it is to be recalled that the conception of the triad or trinity is a very old one in India, though it was possibly not until the historic period that it assumed a philosophic aspect, and that it was equally old in Mesopotamia, where such triads as those of Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar or of Anu, Enlil, and Ea were long antecedent to the Aryans. In this three-faced God from Mohenjo-daro, therefore, it may be that the germ of the same idea is expressed. It is more likely, however, that in the first instance the god was provided with a plurality of faces in token of his all-

1. *Moh. Ind. Civ.*, page 52.

seeing nature; that these images afterwards suggested the *trimūrtis* of Śiva, Brahma, and Viṣṇu; and that the latter in their turn subsequently inspired such images as those referred to above.

"The second feature of this pre-Aryan god that links him with the historic Śiva is his peculiar *Yōgi*-like posture, with feet drawn up beneath him, toes turned down, and hands extended above the knees. Śiva is pre-eminently the prince of *Yōgis*, the typical ascetic and self-mortifier, whence his names *Mahātapaḥ*, *Mahāyōgin*. Primarily, the purpose of *yōga* was the attainment of union with the god by mental discipline and concentration; but it was also the means of acquiring miraculous powers, and hence in course of time the *yōgi* came to be regarded as a magician, miracle-monger, and charlatan. Like Śaivism itself, *yōga* had its origin among the pre-Aryan population, and this explains why it was not until the Epic Period that it came to play an important role in Indo-Aryan religion. Even before the discovery of this seal, Rai Bahadur Rāmaprasad Chanda had pointed out that the head of the male statue from Mohenjo-daro illustrated in Pl. XCVIII has its eyes concentrated on the tip of the nose, and had concluded—with remarkable intuition—that it was portrayed in an attitude of *yōga*. Probably it is the statue of a priest or may be of a king-priest, since it lacks the horns which would naturally be expected if it were a figure of the deity himself. That it possessed a religious or quasi-religious character is suggested by the distinctive trefoil patterning of its robe—a motif which in Sumer is reserved for objects of a sacral nature. A deity in the same *yōgi* attitude is also depicted on a small faience sealing from Mohenjo-daro,[2] but in this case there is a kneeling Nāga to either side of him with hands uplifted in prayer. Whether this deity is three-faced or not, the sealing is too defaced to show, but it is noteworthy that on another seal lately found at Mohenjo-daro a deity is portrayed in the same posture with one face only. As already remarked, Śiva may be represented with one, three, four, or more faces, but that his prehistoric prototype also had a variable number of faces obviously cannot be taken for granted. It may be that the god on all three seals is one and the same, but it may also be that the *yōga* attitude was transferred to other deities as well.

"Śiva is not only prince of *Yōgis;* he is also lord of the beasts (*paśupati*), and it is seemingly in reference to this aspect of his

2. *Ibid.*, CXVI, 29, and CXVIII, 11.

nature that the four animals—the elephant, tiger, rhinoceros, and buffalo—are grouped about him. In historic times the title *paśupati* meant "lord of cattle", and by analogy *paśu* was applied to the human herds of which Śiva was the herdsman; but in the *Vēdic* hymns *paśu* signified a beast of the jungle, and it may reasonably be inferred, therefore, that at that time the deity was regarded as master of wild, no less than of tame animals. Rudra, the *Vēdic* God, whose cult was amalgamated and identified with that of Śiva, also bore the title of *paśupati,* and this may conceivably have been one of the reasons for identifying him with Śiva. An instructive parallel to this aspect of the deity is furnished by the nameless god and goddess of Minoan Crete, who are frequently figured on the monuments in company with lions or leopards and have come to be known as the master and mistress of animals. The Anatolian Cybele, too, who is analogous to the Great Mother *Mahādēvī*—the consort of Śiva—was similarly supported by lions.

"Still another attribute that helps to connect this unknown God with Śiva, though it does not amount to actual evidence of identity, is the pair of horns crowning his head. Similar horns appear on the heads of various figures at Mohenjo-daro,[3] as well as on the terra-cotta masks figured in Pl. XCV, 1-3. In these cases there can be little doubt that the horns have a special sacred significance. In Pl. XII, 18 and 22, they are certainly the emblem of the deity; in other cases they seem to have been transferred to the priest or possibly to the votary. Precisely the same practice obtained at this period in Sumer and Babylonia, where horns were commonly used to denote the deity, but were also worn by kings or priests, presumably because they were regarded as incarnations or representatives of the horned gods. Such horns, therefore, must not be regarded as the attribute of any particular deity or used as an argument for associating one deity with another. On the other hand, this particular pre-Āryan emblem of divinity, although not generally adopted by the *Vēdic Āryan,* did not entirely die out. In later days it took the form of the *triśūla* or trident, and in that guise continued to be a special attribute of Śiva, though it was subsequently usurped by other sects as well; notably by the Buddhists, with whom it stood for the Trinity of the three jewels (*triratna*). This emblem, therefore, while of itself proving nothing

3. e.g. *ibid.*, Pls. XII, 18, 22, and XIII, 17.

definite, nevertheless provides another link in the chain which connects Śiva with the pre-*Āryan* religion, and to this extent supports his identification with the deity of the seal.

"Finally, there remain the deer or ibexes beneath the seat of the god. Two deer in a like position are portrayed on many mediaeval images of Śiva, especially when he appears in the form of *Dakṣiṇamūrti* or *Yōgadakṣiṇāmūrti;* and a deer (*mṛga*) held in one of his hands is a frequent attribute of the god in other manifestations. The two deer beneath the throne recall, of course, the familiar deer beneath the Buddha's throne in the *dharmacakra* scene, where they are symbolic of the deer-park, in which the first sermon was preached; and so common, indeed, was this motif in early Buddhist India, that we might well have been excused for supposing that it was borrowed by the Śaivites from the Buddhists. It now becomes evident, however, that the motif was long anterior to Buddhism, and it seems not improbable that the Buddhists themselves adopted it, as they adopted so much else, from the popular religion of the day, as being peculiarly associated with the *Yogi* or the Teacher type already long established by the Saivites."[4]

III

The *Purāṇic* story as found in Tamil *Kantapurāṇam* based on the *Śaṅkara Saṁhita* of *Mahā Skānda Purāṇa* is as follows : The Mother Goddess, born as the daughter of *Dakṣa,* gave that form away, enraged at the insult of *Dakṣa* hurled on Her and Her husband. She lay down Herself as a child to be picked up by the Mountain-king *Himavān.* In the meantime, Śiva in *Kailās* seated Himself under a banyan tree (*Ficus dalhouseae*) *'kallaāl'.* The sons of Brahma, the four great *ṛṣis Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana* and *Sanatkumāra* came to Him; and He took them to that secret place for conferring on them the highest knowledge and bliss. The teacher and the taught were realising the supreme bliss of the Absolute. The whole world remained unmoved by any rufflings of the heart or lust. It looked as though creation had stopped. No child was born. The daughter of Himavān was performing tapas for winning the hands and heart of Śiva. The *Dēvas* were suffering under the grinding tyranny of *Sūrapadma.* It was foretold to them that a child born to Śiva could alone kill this

4. *Moh. Ind. Civ.,* pp. 53-55.

demon and restore peace. To bring about a union of the Mother-Goddess and Father-God, the *Dēvas* sent *Kāma* to kindle the passion in the heart of Śiva. It is before this great *Yōgi* of a God, teaching the *ṛṣis* to experience the highest bliss, that *Kāma,* much against his wish, went, only to be burnt to ashes.

IV

It is this form of the God, expounding the highest truth to the *ṛṣis,* that is called the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form. It is the form of the great teacher. It has come to be generalized thus: "Therefore we have a teacher of *Yōga,* a teacher of *Jñāna,* a teacher of Music and a teacher of *Śāstras* (*Books and Arts*)." This gives us four forms: *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti.*

The *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti,* according to the *Āgamas,* is found in three forms. In the first form, the legs are found crossed one over the other such that the soles are turned upside in what is called the *svastikāsana.* The front right hand holds the *yōga mudrā* near the chest. The front left hand rests on the lap. The back right hand holds the *akṣamālā* and the back left hand, a lotus. The sight is fixed on the tip of the nose. A few *jāṭās* hang over the shoulders. Here, we find *ṛṣis* surrounding Him.

In the second form, the right leg hangs down, whilst the left leg is bent as in the '*utkuṭikāsana*'. The *yōgapaṭṭa* surrounds the body and the left leg. The stretched out front left arm rests by its elbow on the knee of the bent left leg. Otherwise this form is like the first.

In the third form, both the legs are bent and crossed and kept more or less vertically whilst a *yōgapaṭṭa* goes round the body and the legs to keep them in position. The front arms rest stretched out on the respective knees. The back hands hold an *akṣamālā* on the right and a water pot on the left. The *jaṭās* are disposed in the form of *jaṭāmaṇḍala* and in it are the crescent moon, a snake, and other objects.

The *Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is of the same form as the *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti.* But here, the back right hand holds the *akṣmālā* and the back left hand a water lily, whilst the-front right hand and left hand are held in *jñānamudrā* and *abhaya* or *daṇḍa* poses respectively.

The *Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, as the teacher of music, is called *Gāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* by *Kāmikāgama*. The front hands are held *sarpākāra*, the right palm faces downwards whilst the left faces upwards. The left arm is held at a higher level and the right arm is held at a lower level. This is the pose required for holding the '*Vīṇā*' whose sound-box rests on the right thigh. The lower right hand manipulates its strings. The *vīṇā* itself is held at the top by the left hand and at the lower end by the right hand. The *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama* keeps the left leg as in '*utkuṭikā*' pose. The two front hands hold the '*vīṇā*'; otherwise this form is like the *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form.

The *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is seated under a banyan tree on a seat of tiger's skin or on a *padmāsana*. The right leg hangs down straight; the left leg is bent and it rests on the right thigh, as in '*vīrāsana*'. The right leg may or may not be resting on an '*apasmāra puruṣa*'. There are four hands, the front right is held in *cinmudrā* or *saṁdaṁśa* pose and the front left hand is kept in a *varada* pose resting upon the left knee. Sometimes this is held straight in the *daṇḍa* pose when the elbow rests on the left knee. In the back right hand is the *akṣamālā*. In the corresponding left hand, there is fire or snake. The hand held in *varada* pose may hold a book and the other left hand may hold a snake, fire, a lotus or a *nīlōtpala* (*blue lily*). The body is rigid, without any bend, in the upright posture of a *yōgi*. In the *jaṭā*, there are *datura* and other wild flowers, and a serpent on the left, the skull, the crescent moon and small bells on the right, whilst the smiling *Gaṅgā* is in the centre. The face shows no mental perturbation. His sight is fixed on the tip of the nose or on the tip of the toe. The *ṛṣis* are surrounding Him, eager to learn. Their names are given in many different ways: *Kāmikāgama* beginning to enumerate seven *ṛṣis* specifically refers only to five: *Kauśika*, *Kaśyapa*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Atri* and *Gautama*. Some *Āgamas* refer only to four: *Agastya*. *Pulastya*, *Viśvāmitra* and *Āṅgiraśa*. Others give the names of seven *ṛṣis*: *Nārada*, *Jamadagni*, *Vasiṣṭa*, *Bhṛgu*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Śanaka* and *Agastya*. There are *kinnaras* and *dēvas*.

In some cases, *Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is found in a standing posture, as in the Madras Museum image.

V

Coming to the sculptures of the age of Ārūrar, we find various representations of this form in the Kailāsanātha temple. In the

interior of the small court, *Rea* describes[5] two panels thus: "The panel to the right is a large one, and has a sculptured group of twelve sages, who seem to be listening to the exhortations of the philosophic Śiva (*Dakṣiṇāmūrti*), who is represented seated under a banyan tree in a panel opposite this one, on the south side wall of the central shrine in this court. The panel, with the sages, occupies a position on the south wall of the court, and the two panels exactly face each other. The ingenious arrangement is adopted on the opposite side of this court, and also on the north and the south sides of the large *vimāna*".

Lower down, in the same page,[6] he refers to a large panel opposite to the large one noted on the south side. He writes: "The subject is much the same in both cases; in this panel eleven seated sages are listening to the exhortations of Śiva, who is represented in a panel on the north side of the central shrine. He is armed with different symbolical weapons, and seems to be preaching war".

On page 28, Rea describes the exterior of the *Mahēndravarmēśvaragṛham*: "On the south side of this shrine is the large panel (before referred to), as being opposite the sculptured group of twelve sages. It represents the figure of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, or Śiva in His *yōgi* seat, under a banyan tree. He has four hands: in the upper right is a noose; and in one of the left is a serpent. His hair is matted; and His knees are bound together with a cloth. In the same panel are a male, and a female and two deer".

"Over the niche is a central figure of Gaṇapati....On each side of the large panel is a set of three small ones; in the right lower are two figures seated cross-legged; they have matted hair, and are seemingly *yōgis;* the panel over has a lion and two *gandharvas;* the top panel has a musician playing to amuse Śiva.

"The lowest of the three panels—on the left of the central one—has two figures, one of which is a *yōgi,* with beard, matted hair and crown; the upper tier of panels is similar to the right side".

5. *Pallava Architecture*, p. 26.
6. *Rea*, p. 26.

"The north side has a design similar in its main features and grouping, to the south side. The principal figure is Śiva, but, in this case, He is shown in fierce attitude, armed with numerous symbolical weapons, and seemingly preaching war to His disciples seated in the panel directly opposite. He has eight hands; the upper right and left support an elephant's skin over His head; in the right, are drum, club and trident; one of the left touches His crown; another has a noose, and the lowest is empty. Over the figure is a row of *gandharvas*".

Describing the inner court, *Mr. Rea* notices that the central panel has Śiva as a *yōgi* with an attendant on right and left.[7]

Coming to the *Ardhamaṇḍapam*, on the south outside face of the shrine is Śiva as a *yōgi* seated under a tree. He has four arms: in one of His left is a torch; beside Him are birds, two deer and a snake under. The panel is supported on an elephant's head. The side panels have *yōgis* under, with *yāḷis* and ornament on top: This is given in plate No. LXII. On the north side of the central shrine, on the north facade of the *vimāna*, is Śiva in *yōgāsana* seated over a *bhūta*: these are supported on an elephant. The lower side panels have worshipping figures of Brahma on Śiva's right, and Viṣṇu on His left. In the two upper side panels are a *yāḷi* and rider: This is given in plate No. LV, fig. 2.

Among the cell sculptures also, we have representations of *Dakṣiṇāmurti*. In cell No. XVI, Śiva, according to Mr. Rea, is found in *yōgāsana* resting on the shoulders of a devotee, whilst two *yōgis* sit in meditation, on what seem to be clouds. This is found in plate No. XXXV, figure 1.

Between cells Nos. XXII and XXIII, there is a *yōgi* with four attendants. In the XXXV cell, Śiva is found seated in *yōgāsana* under a banyan tree; His right leg rests on a deer; two *gandharvas* are held up on each side in His hands; two *yōgis* kneel under: This is found in plate No. XL, figure 1. The space between cells XXXV and XXXVI represents eleven *yōgis* seated in a row on a platform, on the right side of which is a panel with Pārvatī under a tree. All these three give the story of Pārvatī's tapas and Śiva's *yōga*.

7. *Rea*, p. 29.

There is one thing very startling about *Rea's* description of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. He interprets the expression as a sermon inciting war.[8] The *Purāṇas* give nowhere any such hint. Hence Mr. Gopinatha Rao dismisses this interpretation with the remark, "Such mistakes are fairly common in Rea's publications and hence need no serious refutation".[9]

The surface of the stone wherein this form was sculptured had peeled off, leaving a disfigured sculpture. It is because of this disfiguration, *Rea* must have been misled into this kind of wrong interpretation. In addition to this, sometimes, replastering had been done in later ages by people who could not make out the exact nature of the injured sculptures. Mr. Gopinatha Rao suggests that this must have been in this way, that the lotus, required by the *Āgamas* to be in the hand of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, had been replaced by a later day artist by a torch.[10]

Plate XXXV, fig. 1, (*Rea*), gives us the picture of *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti*—the third mode of its representations as described above.

Plate LV, fig. 2, (*Rea*), is a similar *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. The description of this figure as given by Rea had already been noted.

Plate CXI, fig. 2, (*Rea*), gives a similar sculpture in a panel on the North side of the *Tripurāntakēśvara* temple. The *Saṅkha* and *Cakra* found in the hands of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* are evidently wrong.

The second form of *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti* which may be easily recognized with the help of the *yōgapaṭṭa* surrounding the left leg is found in plate XL, fig. 1, and in plate LXII. The latter appears as plate LXXVII and the former more or less as plate LXXVIII in Hindu Iconography,[11] which Mr. Gopinatha Rao describes as follows: "In this sculpture Śiva has His left leg bent and resting vertically on the seat and this leg and the body are bound together by the *yōgapaṭṭa*. The front right hand is held in the *yōgamudrā* pose, while the front left hand is in the *abhaya* pose. The back

8. *Rea*, p. 26.
9. P. 288, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, V. II, pt. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
11. Vol. II, Part I.

right hand keeps an *akṣamālā* and the back left hand, *agni* or a lotus flower. The right leg is hanging down the seat. Śiva is as in the previous instances, seated under the shade of a banyan tree and below His seat are deer lying, with their heads lifted up to Śiva. Below His right elbow is a cobra with an uplifted hood, also gazing at the enchanting figure of Śiva. Above the head of Śiva are seen seated a pair of *bhūtas* on either side. On three niches situated on either side respectively of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* are *ṛṣis* sitting and listening to the preaching of *Dharma* or *Yōga* by Śiva. The image, whose photograph is reproduced as plate LXXVIII, is almost similar to that on plate LXXVII; the back right hand, in this instance, carries a cobra. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is seen sitting here upon a *bhadrapīṭha* placed upon a hill".[12]

Plate XL, fig. 1, in *Rea*, is more or less similar to the plate LXXVIII of *Hindu Iconography*. The background of the banyan tree is visible. In *Rea*, there, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is holding what appears to be a hatchet on the left back hand. The left front hand seems to be holding the *yōga mudra*. There is the cobra with the uplifted hood on the right side. There are two *ṛṣis* sitting under His feet; the form of the deer is also visible.

Forms of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* described by Rea as preaching to the *ṛṣis* may be taken as *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* or *Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti*.

Coming to the *Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, fortunately, we have one representation of this form in a sculpture of the Kailāsanātha temple. Plate XLIII, fig. 2, gives a drawing of this sculpture. Rea describes it as follows: "Śiva stands with his left foot raised, and resting on a pedestal; He holds a musical instrument across His body. Two devotees—one with knotted hair, and the other bearded—stand on His left. Two bulls are seen—on the left of Śiva—ascending the sky, with Śiva and Pārvatī on each".[13]

Those who are riding the bulls must be taken to be, two out of the eleven *Rudras*. There is also a third figure behind the two *ṛṣis*. All the three seem to be dancing in joy to the tune of the music played on the '*Vīṇā*' by Lord Śiva. There is an umbrella above the crown of Śiva. It is not clear what the back arms are

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-288.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

holding. The front arms are held in the *kaṭaka* pose holding the musical instrument: the left arm is holding its upper end and the right arm is probably playing on the instrument near its sound box. Except for the standing posture, this tallies with the *Āgamic* description; and the tradition of South Indian temples seem to favour this standing posture as may be seen from the *Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti* found in the Madras Museum and at Vaṭaraṅkam which are all in standing posture.

VI

Marshall's suggestion that this *yōgi's* form of Śiva is probably as old as Indus valley civilization as has already been mentioned. The intimate connection of Śaivism with *yōgic* practices from the *Vēdic* age has been referred to when describing the *Dakṣa yajña* elsewhere. The *munis* and *kēsins* of *Ṛg Vēda* are associated with *Rudra*. The *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* speaks of the *yōgi*. The cult of *guru* is found developed even in *Śvētāśvatara Upaniṣad, Śvētāsvatara* being the *guru*. In the *Mahābhārata,* we see this cult taking a firm root and Kṛṣṇa is initiated into Śaivism by Upamanyu.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti as the Lord of the banyan tree is as old as the *Caṅkam* Literature. He is often connected with Muruka, the Tamil God, as His son. The *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* sings of Him as *"Āl kelu kaṭavuḷ.*[14] *"Āl amar celvaṉ"*[15]—seems to be the popular term of the God in the *Caṅkam Age. Puṟam.,* 198:9 mentions, *"Ālamar kaṭavul".*

It will be seen that He is described as being rich and it is because of this that the poet of *Puṟanāṉūṟu, Pēricāttaṉār,* compares the wealth of his patron Pāṇṭiyaṉ Naṉmāṟaṉ to this God.[16] This tradition of the peculiar wealth of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* seems to have been current during the time of Ārūrar also, who sings of Him as *"Āl nilal kil iruntaruḷum celvaṉ".*[17]

'Āy', one of the seven Tamil patrons is remembered even today for his artistic appreciation of the form of this Lord which inspired

14. 1. 256.
15. *Ciṟupāṇ*: 1. 97; *Kali*, vv. 81, 83; *Māṇi., Cilap., Kaṭṭurai kātai,*—1. 91; *Kuṟiñcikkuravai*, 14: 3.
16. *Puṟam.*, 198.
17. 7: 70: 3.

this patron to make a gift of a costly silk presented to him by the *Nāgas* to this God.[18]

Cilappatikāram mentions a brahmin boy who bore the name *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and who conquered others in a learned debate. He is mentioned as *"Ālamar celvaṉ peyarkoṇṭu vaḷarntōṉ"*.[19] Therefore, by that time, the name of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* must have gained great currency in the land.

In the age of *Tēvāram*, this cult of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, as the cult of the great teacher of *Yōga*, *Jñāna* and of all kinds of learning and Arts, seems to have become fully developed. If *Naṭarāja* represents the bliss of the Absolute, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* represents the knowledge aspect as unperturbed peace and silence.

VII

We have *"Ālakkōyil"*,[20] of 'Kaccūr' in the Chingleput District. Ārūrar addresses the Lord, *"Kōlakkōyil kuṟaiyāk kōyil kuḻirpūṅ kaccūr vaṭapālai ālak kōyil kallāl niḻaṟkīḻ aṟaṅkaḷ uraitta ammāṉē"*[21]—'Oh! Thou father! who expounded the *Dharmas* under the shade of the banyan tree in the *"Ālakkōyil"* in the northern part of the cool and beautiful Kaccūr, that beautiful temple, that temple without any want". Probably in the age of Ārūrar, there was a famous representation of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form in the temple of *"Ālakkōyil"*.

It looks as though that the tradition as found crystallized today had not taken that final form in the age of *Tēvāram*. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is found all alone without the Mother Goddess on His side. But, Campantar speaks of our Lord who expounds the Vēdas seated himself under a banyan tree along with the Lady of the crescent forehead.[22]

Plate XLI, fig. 2, in *Rea*, gives the representation of Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva is seated there. There is *akṣamāla* in the right back hand and probably *cinmudra* in the left front hand. The left leg, instead of the right leg, is hanging down and the right leg is crossed over it. The right front arm is resting straight on the

18. *Cirupāṇ.*, ll. 96-99.
19. *Cilap., Kaṭṭurai kātai, l.* 91.
20. 7: 41.
21. 7: 41: 3.
22. 2: 85: 4.

seat. There is Brahma beneath the seat. *Yōgapaṭṭam* is seen binding the right leg on to the body. It is this which makes us suspect that this is something similar to what Campantar describes in his form. Rea describes here Śiva as a *yōgi*.[23] But Ārūrar speaks of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* as '*Aṟavaṉ*'.[24] This word '*Aṟavaṉ*', thanks to *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, has come to denote an ascetic or a *sanyāsin*, the '*nīttār*'—"*Antaṇar eṉpōr aravōr*".[25]

The number of *ṛṣis* or saints, who were taught by *Dakṣṇāmūrti*, has not reached the definiteness of the later days. In the Kailāsanātha temple sculptures, we saw in a few cases eleven *ṛṣis* and in a few others twelve *ṛṣis* undergoing spiritual training under *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. Rea's plate No. LXII has four saints, two on either side of the panel. In plate LV, fig. 2, there are only two attendants with *añjali* pose. In plate XL, fig. 1, there are only two *ṛṣis*. This number two becomes important in view of Campantar's poem[26] where he speaks of the great Lord who expounded the *Vēdas* and the path of righteousness when the two persons fell sincerely at his pair of feet beneath the shadow of the beautiful banyan tree.

In the *Āgamas*, we find the same variety of numbers. Some give the number as seven, some as four; even here, when the names are enumerated, they differ. It was stated that some *Āgamas* give the number as four; but as already pointed out, this four is not *Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana* and *Sanatkumāra*, but *Agastya, Pulastya, Viśvāmitra* and *Āṅgīraśa*.

By the time of Jñānasambandar, the number four was gaining strength. Out of the seven places in which he refers to the Lord of the teacher, he does not mention any number in four places;[27] he speaks of the saints as '*antaṇāḷar*' or '*muṉivar*' in the plural. Ārūrar also refers to them as '*antaṇar*'.[28] In one place, as already hinted, Campantar mentions the number as two.[29] But in two places, he speaks of the *ṛṣis* as four—'*nālvar*'.[30]

23. Page 34.
24. 7: 68: 7; 7: 70: 6.
25. *Kuṟaḷ*, V. 30.
26. 1: 20: 5.
27. 1: 53: 6; 1: 68: 6; 1: 131: 7; 3: 79: 3.
28. 7: 55: 7.
29. 1: 20: 5.
30. 1: 48: 1; 2: 50: 6.

VIII

Ārūrar, in about 38 places, refers to the expounding of the *Vēdas*, etc. Ārūrar speaks of these *ṛṣis* as 'the group of great tapasvins'—*"Mātavar kuḻu"*[31] and 'great *munis* of rare *tapas*'—*"Aruntava mā muṉivar"*[32] and *'Antaṇar'*[33] giving no number in all these places. But in two places, he mentions the saints as four *'Nālvarkku'*.[34]

What he taught the saints is mentioned variously. It is because of this, we have the various forms of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. Campantar speaks of the Lord expounding the *Vēdas*, the subtle thoughts of the *Vēdas* along with the *Dharma*.[35] In another place he speaks of the Lord expounding the *Vēdas* where shines the *Dharma*;[36] in another place he is said to have expounded the *Dharma* as the *Vēda*.[37] In a fourth place, he speaks of the Lord expounding *'Aṟam nāṉku'*—'the Dharmas four' sitting along with the saints. The *'Aṟam nāṉku'* is still further explained in another hymn.[38] *'Aṟam nāṉku'* is nothing except the *'Aṟam, Poruḷ, Iṉpam* and *Vīṭu'*, the *puruṣārthas*. These were expounded to the *ṛṣis*, whose minds ever thinking of the significance of Śiva form, were no slaves to the five senses.[39] He is spoken of as the author of all the religions and philosophies— *"Camayaṅkaḷai vakuttavaṉ"*.[40]

Ārūrar speaks of the Lord as one who gave out the *Vēdas* especially *Śāmavēda; "Maṟaiyōti"*,[41] *"Vēdamōti"*,[42] *"Sāmavēdamōti"*,[43] *"Māmaṟai pāṭavallān"*,[44] *"Nāṉmaṟi pāṭavallāṉ"*,[45] *"Śāmavēdam peritukappāṉ,"*[46] and *"Pāṭiya nāṉmaṟaiyaṉ"*.[47] This may

31. 7: 65: 6.
32. 7: 99: 2.
33. 7: 55: 7.
34. 7: 28: 3; 7: 68: 7.
35. 1: 20: 5; 2: 50: 6; 3: 79: 3.
36. 1: 131: 7.
37. 1: 48: 1.
38. 1: 53: 6.
39. 1: 53: 6.
40. 3: 79: 3.
41. 7: 1: 9; 7: 15: 6; 7: 54: 9.
42. 7: 49: 7.
43. 7: 49: 5.
44. 7: 56: 4.
45. 7: 57: 10.
46. 7: 61: 6.
47. 7: 98: 4.

refer to *Dakṣiṇamūrti* form or to the fact that the Lord is the author of the *Vēdas*. In other places, the poet makes it clear that the Lord expounded the *Vēdas* under the banyan tree—"*Maṟai nāṉkum kallāl niḻal kīḻ-p paṉṉiya eṅkaḷ pirāṉ*",[48] or that he elaborately expounded the *Vēdas*—"*Maṟai nāṉkum virittukantīr*",[49] "*Vēdantāṉ virittōtavallāṉ*"[50] and also "*Nāṉmaṟai nūl urai peruka uraittu*".[51] In these places, the reference must be to *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, the teacher, because, these references assume the teacher, commenting elaborately in the subtle and fundamental principles of the *Vēdas*. Whenever the verb '*uraittal*' or '*pakartal*' or '*kūṟutal*' is found, we can assume a reference to teaching as contrasted with the verb '*ōtu*' or '*pāṭu*'. The teacher expounds not only the *Vēdas* but all the subsidiary sciences related to the *Vēdas* called its '*aṅgas*'; He is a great expert in them".[52] The Lord expounds also the *Āgamas*.[53] Here it is stated that they have been expounded to the *Dēvas*, evidently meaning the *Dēva ṛṣis*. God is great in showering grace on those who follow the path of *Āgamas*.[54] Ārūrar also refers to this great teacher expounding the *Dharma*.[55] This *Dharma* is used in a wider sense. We have seen Jñānasambandar speak of the four *puruṣārthas* as four '*aṟam*'. The Buddhists also speak of *Dharma* in a wider sense as to include the attainment of '*nirvāṇam*'. It is in that sense that Tiruvaḷḷuvar has used '*aṟam*' under which head he speaks of the true experience of '*meyyuṇarvu*', etc. In this sense, God is not only the embodiment of the *Vēdas* and the subsidiary sciences,[56] but also the embodiment of '*aṟam*'—'*aṟavaṉ*'.[57] We have seen Campantar referring to the Lord as the author of all philosophies and religions.

Ārūrar speaks of '*Aṟam*' or *Dharma* in the plural as '*Aṟaṅkaḷ*,[58] perhaps having in mind Campantar's phrase '*Aṟam nāṉku*' above

48. 7: 22: 1.
49. 7: 25: 4.
50. 7: 61: 7.
51. 7: 99: 5.
52. 7: 61: 5; 7: 63:4; 7: 73: 3.
53. 7: 84: 8.
54. 7: 96: 6.
55. 7: 28: 3; 7: 41: 3; 7: 55: 7; 7: 65: 6; 7: 68: 7; 7: 99: 2.
56. 7: 62: 2.
57. 7: 68: 7.
58. 7: 41: 3.

referred to. If we bear in mind such usage as Buddha *Dharma, Dharmōpadēsa,* etc., it will be clear that '*Aṟam*' may be used in the use of philosophy or religion, and the use of the word '*Aṟam*' in the plural may refer to these.

Ārūrar speaks in one place as the Lord expounding everything, the four *Vēdas,* all the other things that exist, the various paths, the various Lords of the hymns, the ancient things and all that is good.[59] Here we see *Dakṣṇāmūrti* developing the teacher of all sciences and arts and of all that can be conceived of.

IX

The description of the saints may be next noted. They are referred to as "*Antaṇar*'—'the brahmins' or according to Tiruvaḷḷuvar, 'the ascetics of the kind heart'. They are described as "*Kōtil mātavar*",[60]—'the great *tapasvins*' without any chaff or defect. We have already referred to their description as '*Antaṇar*'. In another place they are described as "*Aruntava māmuṇivar*"—"the great *munis* of rare *tapas.*"[61] These '*antaṇas*' are described as "*Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyāḷar*".[62] The length of the ear may be explained as referring to their extensive learning. '*Pōrtta*' or covered ear may be interpreted to signify their concentration so keen as to shut out all other detractions as though they were keeping the ears closed. The same idea is conveyed in another verse of Ārūrar by the phrase '*Kātu pottar*'—'those who close their ears'.[63] The inscription of Rājarāja describing the image of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* installed by him in his great Tanjore temple,[64] speaks of "*Karṇa prāvṛtas*". They are the '*Karṇa prāvaraṇas*' mentioned in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa.* This word appears in the *Kiṣkinda Kāṇḍa*[65] as the name of a savage hill-tribe described by Sugrīva whilst sending the *vānaras* in search of Sīta, and in the *Sundara Kāṇḍa,*[66] as the description of some of the *Rākṣasīs* guarding *Sītā* in the *Aśoka vana* as seen by Hanumān from a tree. They are said to have ears which they can close whenever

59. 7: 75: 1.
60. 7: 65: 6.
61. 7: 99: 2.
62. 7: 55: 7.
63. 7: 65: 6.
64. *S. I. I.,* Vol. II, 50.
65. XL: 25.
66. XVII: 5.

they wanted,[67] or, those whose ears are so large that they use them as a covering of the head.[68] But this name is used by Ārūrar to the worshippers concentrated in their meditation, taking the word in its *yōga* significance or in its full connotation. He speaks of *'Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyāḷar'* as *'Antaṇar'* who received the message from *Dakṣiṇāmūrti.*[69]

The God expounded and explained the truth and the verbs used in relation to this by Ārūrar are significant. The first root is *'Paṇ'*,[70] which means to repeat or to speak many times. As a good teacher, the Lord must have been repeating the *Vēdas* for the clear grasp of the essentials. The next verb is *'Virittal'* or elaboration.[71] Here, the Lord is said to love or be great in this elaboration. The elaboration is necessary for clarification. As a good teacher He is not tired of it; identifying with the students, He loves it. *"Aruḷ purital"* is another verb used by the poet, emphasising the infinite grace of the Absolute taking form and shape, expounding the truth of the *Dharma*,[72] *'Uraitta'*[73] *'Uraippar'*[74] *'Uraittu'*[75]—All these come from the root *'Urai'* which has assumed a special significance in the learned world. The noun form means a commentary and therefore the verbal root means the comment. Ārūrar makes it clear in one place where he speaks of the Lord, commenting elaborately on the four *Vēdas—"Urai peruka uraittu"*,[76] and the poet adds that the Lord enjoyed it and thus showered His grace. Another verb used by the poet is *'Kūṟu'*,[77] which implies oral teaching, in the course of a conversation and the poet adds, the Lord has made the *Vēdas*, etc., crystal clear to the students. The root *'Moḻi'*[78] has the same significance.

67. See the interpretation of Govindarāja on Kiṣkinda Kāṇḍa, XL: 25—*"Ācchātita karnāh"*, i.e., *"Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyar"* or *"Kātu pottar"* of Ārūrar.

68. See the interpretation of Govindarāja on *Sundara Kāṇḍa*, XVII: 5, *"Karṇau prāvaranē śirasa ācchādakau yasyāh sā karṇaprāvaraṇa tām"*.

69. 7: 55: 7.

70. 7: 22: 1.

71. 7: 25: 4.

72. 7: 28: 2.

73. 7: 41: 3; 7: 68: 7.

74. 7: 53: 9.

75. 7: 99: 5.

76. 7: 99: 5.

77. 7: 63: 4.

78. 7: 84: 8.

The root *'Pakar'*[79] has the meaning of giving and declaring and this is used by the poet and it therefore implies the solemn declaration of the fundamental principles and in this connection the poet speaks of the Lord as *'Paṭṭaṉ'*[80] or the 'learned scholar' usually famous for His commentary. The root *'Aṟai'*[81] has the same significance of a solemn announcement or an emphatic declaration, or a clear enunciation and this word is used with reference to the *Vēdas,* various arts, etc., as already referred to. The word *'Ceppa'*[82] also is used which denotes answering a question. According to the *Pūrāṇas,* the Lord dispelled the doubts which arose in the minds of the *ṛṣis* and the word *'Ceppa'* brings out the significance of an oral discussion with the students. The word *'Puri'*[83] means according to Parimēlaḻakar always saying a thing[84] and Ārūrar asks the Lord, why He has become naturalized so as to be always speaking of *'Dharma'* seated under the banyan tree to shower His blessings on the great saints.[85] The *Purāṇas* also state that apart from this kind of oral teaching, there is a much more wonderful teaching by silence and contemplation. This is probably what the poet means when he says that our Lord has Himself become the *Vēdas,* etc.[86]

X

All the authorities agree, that the Lord taught under the banyan tree especially the variety called *'Kallāl'*,[87] and of the banyan tree in general.[88] All are also agreed that He is seated and our poet signifies this idea by using the verb *'Iruntu'*.[89] He is with the loin cloth and the serpent tied round.[90] The varieties of versions with reference to the number of saints who have been taught have already been referred to. The authorities also make

79. 7: 68: 9.
80. 7: 66: 9.
81. 7: 75: 1.
82. 7: 70: 3.
83. 7: 99: 2.
84. *Kuṟaḷ,* 5.
85. 7: 99: 2.
86. 7: 62: 2.
87. 7: 2: 5; 7: 22: 1; 7: 31: 7; 7: 41: 3; 7: 47: 8.
88. 7: 3: 6; 7: 28: 3; 7: 55: 7; 7: 65: 6; 7: 75: 3.
89. 7: 99: 2.
90. 7: 99: 5.

it clear that *'Kinnaras', 'Dēvas'* and others adore His speeches. From the time of Mohenjo-daro, we find various animals surrounding this representation of a great teacher, bringing out the force of the description of the Lord *'Paśupati'*. Our poet uses this representation for preaching his theory of Lord's grace. He speaks of his being inspired to take refuge in the Lord by the story he heard of those who had erred—people who close their ears to the world, the *kinnaras*, the tiger, the snakes that bite, the lions which could not be easily caught, the group of *tapasvins*—all those attaining happiness when the Lord under the beautiful banyan tree expounded the *Dharma* in their very hearing.[91]

XI

The *Vīṇādhara* is not mentioned with reference to the banyan tree by Ārūrar. Our poet however refers to the Lord playing on the *'Vīṇā'* in four places. In one place, he asks, 'Is He the Lord of the *Vēdas*, and *Vīṇā* alone His musical instrument?'[92] In another place he addresses the Lord as the pure one, who is possessed of a *'Vīṇā'*.[93] In a third place he enumerates all the musical instruments along with the *'Vīṇā'* and addresses the Lord as one who stands, sings and dances to their tune.[94] In the fourth reference he addresses the Lord as coming in the street with the flowing matted hair and appearing beautiful with His *'Vīṇā'*.[95] We have already referred to the Lord playing on the *'Vīṇā'* when the whole universe is involved in Him as sung by Appar. The mention of *'Koṭukoṭṭi'* in the first two references above mentioned, denotes that our poet also is referring the dance of the final destruction. The fourth reference is to the Lord coming begging in the streets.[96] Sambandar speaks of the Lord playing on the *'Vīṇā'* in the company of the Mother Goddess.[97] We have already seen when describing the *Ardhanārīśvara* form that there is a sculpture at the Kailasanātha temple where this *Ardhanārīśvara* form is found playing on the *'Vīṇā'*.

91. 7: 65: 6.
92. 7: 33: 5.
93. 7: 42: 9.
94. 7: 36: 9.
95. 7: 85: 6.
96. 7: 85: 3 & 6.
97. 2: 85: 1.

In the third reference above mentined the poet speaks of the Lord dancing along with the musical instruments like *'Vīṇā'* and we have already seen that our poet speaks of the Lord dancing in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form and going a-begging in that form when the fourth reference also may be taken to refer to that form.

This story of the great teacher expounding the *Dharma* under the banyan tree has also an esoteric meaning and our poet raises the question in two places, "Why has the Lord done this? What is the significance of this?"[98]

The esoteric significance of this form has been explained in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Upaniṣad*. According to the explanation given there, *'Dakṣiṇā'* is *'Jñāna* or knowledge' and it is in front of the Lord, and therefore He is called *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. The *'Apasmāra'* is the personification of ignorance which the Lord crushes down under. The book in His hand is the embodiment of wisdom illuminating our soul. The *akṣamāla* is the concrete form of the *tattvas*. The *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form is the Absolute bliss. The banyan tree, with its shade, represents *Māyā*. His seat, the *'kamalāsana'* or the lotus seat is the symbol of the sacred syllable *'Om'*. The bull represents *Dharma*. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is found seated on the bull in the *Vaḷḷalār* temple at Māyavaram where alone there is *'utsava mūrti'* form for Him. Probably our poet has some such esoteric significance at that explained by the *upaniṣad* in his mind when he raises the question above referred to.

XII

S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 50 describes a group of copper images which the king Rājarājadēva himself had set up in the temple of the Lord Śrī Rājarājeśvara. The central image was *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* with four arms represented as seated under a banyan tree on a mountain. The latter had two peaks on which there were two *kinnaras* and two *kinnarīs*. Under the foot of the god was *Muśalagaṉ*. On the mountain were four *ṛṣis*, a snake, two *karṇapravṛtas* and a tiger. The banyan tree on the mountain had nine main branches and forty-two minor ones. A wallet was suspended from the tree, and a bunch of peacock's feathers, joined to a solid handle, was one of the accompaniments of the God.

98. 7: 99: 2; 7: 99: 5.

The four *ṛṣis* on the mountain may be representing *Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana* and *Sanatkumāra*, the four sons of god *Brahma*. In order to expound the mysteries of the *Vēdas* to these four *ṛṣis*, the god Śiva is said to have assumed the form of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. In fact *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is the god Śiva in his capacity as a spiritual teacher.

The following verse gives a description of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* :—

"Prōdyaccākhamahāvaṭadrumatalē
yōgāsanastham prabhum
Pratyaktattvabubhutsubhiḥ pratidiśam
prōdvīkṣyamāṇānanam
Mudrām tarkamayīm dadhānamamalam
karpūragauram śivam
Hṛdyantaḥ kalayē sphurantamaniśam
śrīdakṣiṇāmūrttikam."

Hēmādri in his *Vratakhaṇḍa* has :—

"Dakṣēṇa mudrām pratipādayantam
Sitākṣasūtram ca tathōrdhvabhāgē
Vāmē ca pustāmakhilāgamādyām
Bibhrāṇamūrddhvēna sudhādharam ca".

"Sitāmbujastham sitavarṇamīśam
Sitāmbarālēpanamindumaulim
Jñānam munibhyaḥ pratipādayantam
Tam Dakṣiṇāmūrtimudāharantam."

The *Kāraṇāgama* supplies the following information :—

"Nāradō jamadagniśca Vasiṣṭabhrugudakṣiṇē
Bharadvājaśśaunakaścāpyagastyō Bhārgavastathā
Vāmabhāgē vidhātavyāḥ kinnarādyaissusēvitē
Kailāsaparvatē tasminvaṭavṛkṣasya mūlakē.

"Āsīnam sakalēśam tam śāntarūpam mahēśvaram
Dakṣiṇāmūrtimityuktam."
"Adhōpasmāram śāyayēt."

The following verse exemplifies the popular belief in *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* as a teacher:

"Nityaśo Dakṣiṇāmūrttim dhyāyētsādhakasattamaḥ
Śāstravyākhyānasāmarthyam labhatē vatsarāntarē".

In South Indian temples, at present *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* occupies a niche on the south wall of the central shrine with a stone structure in front of it. In the old ones, however, the niche appears to have remained alone without any clumsy addition made to it. For instance, in the Rājarājēśvara temple there is a niche to *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* on the south wall. But the structure in front of this niche covers one or two sections of an inscription of Rājarāja.[99] It is therefore clear, that, though *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* was worshipped in the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the practice of raising up a special structure for him had not yet been come into vogue. It is also worthy to note that all the foregoing accompaniments are not found in the sculptures of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* which we now find in Śiva temples.

99. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 4.

CHAPTER III

NAṬARĀJA OR THE DANCE OF ŚIVA

I

(1)

The Dance of Śiva as represented in the *Naṭarāja* form is a wonder of the aesthetic world. No doubt the dancing form of Śiva is known from many parts of the North and the Deccan and the Telugu and Tamil areas of the South as well but it is in the Tamil country that the mysticism of Śiva's dance no less than the iconography of the dancing of Śiva had been given a perfection that has been universally acclaimed. The *Aṣṭa Vīraṭṭas*[1] had been claimed by the ancient Tamilians to have been performed by the Lord within the Tamil country. The *Naṭarāja* dance is similarly claimed to have been performed by Śiva within the sacred precincts of *Tamiḻakam.* Like *Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Naṭarāja* faces South and from this, poets have concluded that He directs His Grace and gaze to the South, the land of sweet Tamil. An ancient orthodox Vaiṣṇavite commentator on the *Āḻvārs* grows eloquent over the conception of *Raṇganātha* facing South turning his back to the North and he explains that because the South is the land of loving Tamil, *'Īrattamiḻ'* suggesting that, therefore, it leads not to the arrogance of learning but to the saving Grace of sympathy and love. The author of *Tiruviḻaiyāṭalpurāṇam* asks, "Is it not in the hope of enjoying the sapphire of the sweet Tamil language, that Śiva moves dancing ever Southwards?" This movement refers to the various Dance Halls of Naṭarāja in the Southern Country.

In Toṇṭamaṇṭalam, the Northern Province of Tamiḻakam, is Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, near the modern Arkonam junction. We have there the *Ratnasabhā* or the Dance Hall of gems, wherein dances *Ratnasabhāpati.* One moves Southwards nearer the Koḷḷiṭam (*Coleroon*) and reaches Cidambaram, the very heart of the Cosmic Being (*Virāṭapuruṣa*). We have here the *Kanakasabhā* or the Dance Hall of gold. In this southward move the precious value

1. The eight heroic exploits of Śiva.

of the matter of which the Dance Hall is made, i.e., the container, may go down materially but it does in proportion rise in the precious value of the spiritual significance of the thing contained, *viz.*, the Dance. Śiva moves South to the banks of *Vaikai* in the land of the Pāṇḍyas. There, in their Capital city of *Maturai,* is the Dance Hall of Silver, where the Lord dances all the merrier. Moving further South, Śiva reaches the other great river of the Pāṇḍyas, the *Tāmraparaṇi,* on the banks of which stands Siva's Dance Hall of copper in the city of Tirunelvēli. Going further South almost near *Potiyil,* the place of *Agastya* and the cradle of Tamil, there is the Dance Hall of painting, on the banks of the *Citra* River in Tirukkuṛṛālam.

In the last place there is no image but a painting on the wall. This suggests that the terms *Ratnasabhāpati, Kanakasabhāpati, Rajatasabhāpati, Tāmrasabhāpati* and *Citrasabhāpati* may be so called, not only because of the Dance Hall but also because of the image of Naṭarāja being in precious stones, gold, silver, copper and painting respectively. There is a tradition that there was an emerald image of Naṭarāja at Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. Ratnasabhāpati shows as such at Cidambaram is one carved out in a precious stone. The silver and gold images however are unfortunately not found. It must be further mentioned in support of the traditional interpretation of taking the words *Ratna,* etc., as describing the Dance Hall rather than the image, that *Veḷḷi ampalam,* the Silver Hall of Maturai, without any reference to the image, was known as such as early as the *Caṅkam* age, c.f. *Veḷḷiampalattu-t tuñciya Peru Vaḻuti.*[2]

(2)

The *Āgamas,* especially *Pūrva Kāraṇāgama,*[3] describe seven Dances of Śiva. Of these, the last is the *Saṁhāra* or the Dance of involution performed in the Hall of midnight. The Dance of Destruction of the whole Universe should take place everywhere and not in *Tamiḻakam* alone. As for the other dances, some claim, that they were performed in the five places above enumerated and in one other place. The author of *Tirupputtūrp Purāṇam* claims the sixth place as Tirupputtūr, in the Pāṇḍya Country, and calls that Dance Hall, the *Citsabhā*—the Dance Hall of *Jñāna* or pure

2. *Puranāṉūru,* 50—colophon.
3. 86—*Sapta Tāṇḍava Paṭala*—4 to 6.

consciousness or true knowledge. The *Ānanda Tāṇḍava,* according to him, is performed within the *Kanakasabhā* of Cidambaram; the *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava,* within the *Rajatasabhā* of Maturai; the *Gaurī Tāṇḍava,* within the *Citsabhā* of Tirupputtūr; the *Tripura Tāṇḍava,* within the *Citrasabhā* of Tirukkuṟṟālam; the *Kālikā Tāṇḍava,* within the *Ratnasabhā* of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu and the *Muni Tāṇḍava,* within the *Tāmrasabhā* of Tirunelvēli.

(3)

On the basis of the names of the places mentioned in the *Tirupputtūrp Purāṇam,* where the various dances are said to have been performed, a reference to the different *sthala purāṇas* of these sacred places is worth making. *Muni Tāṇḍavam* according to *Tirupputtūrp purāṇam* is said to have been performed at Tirunelvēli. In the *Dāruka vaṇa-c carukkam* of that *Purāṇam,* the *Ṛṣis,* after they are brought to their senses, go to Tirunelvēli along with the *Dēvas* and worship the Lord. After blessing them, the Lord dances at the request of Brahma and Viṣṇu. The Lord dances in the *Kaṅkāla* form in the *Tāmra sabhā.* At every effort of *Muyalakaṉ* to rise up, the Lord presses him down and dances on. Lo! the whole universe, with everybody therein, dances! At this Nārada, Agastya and other *Ṛṣis* beg of the Lord to stop. What is important here is, the connection that is established between the *Kaṅkāla* form and the Dance of this Universe. One wonders whether this is the *Muni Tāṇḍava;* for, unfortunately, this name is not used in the *sthala purāṇa.* In the 113th *carukkam,* the Mother approaches the Lord with the request that He may be pleased to dance for her sake, so that she may have a sight of the Dance, and the Lord so dances in the *Tāmra Sabhā.* In the next *carukkam,* the *Dēvas* beg of Him to dance, and He performs the *Aghōra Taṇḍava,* which the frightened *Dēvas* cannot see with their ordinary eyes. The Lord, thereupon, blesses them with the eye of knowledge and their hearts become full. In the next *carukkam,* a discussion on the relative greatness of the sexes arises between the Lord and the Mother. They agree to decide the issue by a tournament of Dance. The Mother takes the form of *Kālī;* but when the Lord lifted up His leg to perform the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava,* the Mother could not follow suit, out of modesty and had to accept defeat. The Mother is thereafter in a sulky mood and the Lord, to pacify Her, brings the *Ānanda Sabhā* and performs in the next *carukkam,* the *Ānanda Saundarya Naṭa (Tāṇḍava),* the dance of Bliss and Beauty. The next *carukkam*

speaks of *"Iruṭikaṭkā eḷil maṉṟil āccariya naṭam payiṉṟa nātaṉ"*—'the Lord who performed the *Āścarya Naṭam'* or the Dance of wonder for the sake of the repentent *Ṛṣis* of *Dāruka Vana* in *Maṇur*. Perhaps this is the *Muni Tāṇḍava;* but unfortunately no further particulars are given.

(4)

Tirupputtūr Purāṇam in the *Gauri Tāṇḍava-c carukkam* speaks of the serpents, *Vāsuki* and *Kārkkōṭakaṉ*, performing *tapas* for seeing the dance and for enjoying physical contact with Śiva's feet. In the *Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭṭu-p purāṇam, Kārkkōṭakaṉ* who once ejected poison in the hand of Śiva, which however Śiva put on his hand as a bangle, is cursed by the Lord and he performs *tapas* at Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭu to get a glimpse of the dance of Śiva. Thus it is clear the serpents play a prominent part in the Dance.

At the request of *Gaurī* who has to perform severe *tapas,* the Lord gives her a sight of the *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* at Tirupputtūr. The smiling Lord assumes a multi-armed form of wonder which shines like a crore of moons.[4] He assumes ten hands.[5] In the right hands, He holds the trident, the *maḻu* (the battle axe), the *uṭukkai* or drum, the arrow and the sword. In the left hands He holds the fire, the noose, the shield, the bow and the hand-pose *gajahasta.*[6] The poet speaks of *'supannam';* that is, the bird which has therefore to be counted as the eighth symbol. In Rea's plate CIX, fig. 1, one finds a bird in the left hand, the third from behind. Except in the figure of Śiva in *'Karikkuruvikku upatēcitta paṭalam'*, such a thing is not to be seen in the hand of Śiva elsewhere. The Lord wears the Ganges and the crescent moon, the masculine ear-ring on the right and the feminine ear-ring on the left, the *yajñōpavīta,* the skin dress and the resounding anklets of *Vēdas.* He wears *Ananta* on the bent left foot and the *'Kārkkōṭa'* on the left thigh. On the up-lifted foot He wears *Vāsuki.* The other serpents are worn in other suitable places of His body.[7] At the instance of *Mahāviṣṇu, Lakṣmī* begs of the Lord to give her a glimpse of the *Gaurī Tāṇḍava.*[8] The Lord,

4. *Gauri Tāṇḍava-c carukkam,* VV. 197-198.
5. *Ibid.,* V. 198.
6. *Vīciya malark karam—ibid.,* V. 199.
7. *Ibid.,* VV. 199-203.
8. *Lakṣmī Tāṇḍava-c carukkam,* V. 113.

facing the South, dances afresh in all the eight points of the compass, this inexpressible dance beyond word and thought.[9]

(5)

Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu-p purāṇam, after speaking of the greatness of that sacred place, refers to Viṣṇu's description of that place to *Ādisēṣa* and speaks of the Saint *Sunanda* and the serpent *Kārkkōṭa* going and performing *tapas* to get a glimpse of the dance which the Lord is to perform in the presence of *Kālī*. The *asuras, Śumbha* and *Niśumbha,* are killed by *Kālī,* who drinks away all their blood. As a result of this blood intoxication, she works havoc in the sacred forest of the banyan trees. *Nārada* carries this news to Śiva, and Śiva assumes the form of the *Kāla Rudra Bhairava* of the last destruction and comes surrounded by *bhūtas*. Proud *Kālī* threatens Śiva with destruction and finally she agrees to settle the issue by the tournament of dance *'Nirutta yuddham'*.[10] The music is arranged for. The Lord first performs the *'Kōccu Koṭṭi'* dance. This is evidently a corruption of the word *'Koṭukoṭṭi'* which is familiar to all students of Tamil Literature. It is performed with slow movement which *Kālī* mistakes for Śiva's fatigue. She dances round and round, throwing out her eight hands with such great rapidity, in the confidence of a victory. The Lord, thereafter, began to perform the *'Pāṇṭaraṅkam'* dance, otherwise called the *'Caṇḍa Tāṇḍava'* of final destruction. One leg is firmly kept on the ground and the other leg goes up into the skies. One hand is raised up as a kind of armour for the uplifted leg. The other hands holding the fire, the drum, the trident and the *abhaya* pose are thrown out to reach the four points of the horizon. The serpents and the anklets resound and dance but the crescent moon and the Ganges are kept up wonderfully poised in the midst of this terrible dance without any movement whatever on their part. In passing, it may be stated that the Lord first came to the banyan forest with eight hands holding the skull, the trident, the goad, the noose, the sword, the shield, the *vajra* (*Śaktī*) and the bell.[11] The Lord assumes in the end a great calm, covering the whole universe and His terrific speed makes everyone giddy including *Kālī*. She has to accept defeat.[12]

9. *Ibid.,* VV. 114-118.
10. *Nirutta Yuddha-c carukkam.*
11. *Nirutta Yuddha carukkam,* 10.
12. *Tirunaṭana-c carukkam.*

(6)

Tirukkūvappuraṇam by the great poet Śivaprakāsar gives a slightly different version. *Kāḷī* kills *Dārukāsura* and becomes blood-intoxicated. At the request of the *Dēvas,* the Lord comes in front of her and begins to dance. *Kāḷī* says, "Why dance in vain? Why don't you dance with me in a tournament?" The Lord accepts the challenge and with the Mother as the arbitrator begins to dance. *Kāḷī* feels fatigued but continues to dance, afraid of accepting defeat. The Lord assumes a universal figure like that of *Trivikrama* and lifts up the leg for dance.[13] Everyone including *Kāḷī* falls down like the doll from which the moving string has been cut away. Nobody can even look at this terrific dance. *Kāḷī* falls at His feet. The Lord, out of pity, tells her, "You cannot even look at this terrific dance, but if you go southwards to Kūvapuram, you can see with all your eyes the dance of protection (*Rakṣā Tāṇḍavam*) which we perform there.[14] Because *Kāḷī* threw out a challenge to the Lord, she comes to be called *"Tarukka Mātā",*[15] 'the Mother of challenge'. In another place also this *purāṇam* refers to this dance[16] in these terms.

In Mount Kailās, the *'Sandhyā nṛttam'* is performed. In the golden Hall of dance the *'Ānanda naṭa'* is performed. *'Caṇḍa Tāṇḍava'* is performed at 'Ālaṅkāṭu' and for the sake of the *'Tarukka mātā', 'Rakṣā Naṭam'* is performed every day at Kūvapuram".

(7)

The *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* is described in *Kōyil purāṇam.* The *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana* send the tiger, the fire, the serpent, etc., against the Lord and He seizes all of them as mere playthings and ornaments and begins to dance on *muyalaka* who is also sent by them. *Ādisēṣa* prays for having a glimpse once again of His majestic dance and for his sake the Lord dances at 'Tillai', the centre of the Universe. *Vyāghrapāda* and *Patañjali* are ever witnessing that dance there.

13. *Tārukan vataic carukkam,* VV. 270-271.
14. *Ibid.,* VV. 275-276.
15. *Ibid.,* V. 278.
16. *Cennel vaitta carukkam,* V. 36.

(8)

The *Purāṇas* of Maturai do not speak of any *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava,* which is said to take place there according to *Tiruppuṭṭūrppurāṇam,* but describe the *Kāl māṟi āṭiya naṭam* referred to elsewhere. *Kallāṭam,*[17] speaks of the Lord of Maturai as the Lord of *Dēvas* who performs the dance of bliss with the goddess of the honey-bubbling tresses of hair, in the silver hall of dance in Maturai. The commentator on that work, Mayilēṟum perumāḷ piḷḷai, explains this dance of bliss as a dance of love. Pārvatī performs *tapas* for a long time in the Himālayas for embracing Śiva and 'the dance of the lady' or *'Lāsya'* called *'Citrakuṇḍali'* is the dance of such embrace. *'Lāsya'* is a dance performed by women and not one of those performed by men. Both the Lord and the Mother must be taken to be performing a calm dance of love. The *lāsya* is a soft dance while the *tāṇḍava* is a vigorous dance. Sometimes, the texts describe, that, when the dancer sits and makes her *abhinaya,* the dance is called *'Lāsya',* and when the dancer stands and dances, it is *'Tāṇḍava'.*[18] Anyhow, it is clear that no *'Sandhyā tāṇḍavam'* is performed in Maturai, unless we are to interpret this *'Lāsya'* as *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava.*

(9)

Nor is the statement that the *'Tripura Tāṇḍava'* is performed in the *'Citrasabhā'* of Tirukkuṟṟālam borne out by *Tirukkuṟṟala-t talapurāṇam.* The dance there is described in the 8th and 9th chapters of Part II of that work,[19] as a great secret dance *'Mahāparama rāsyam'.* The Lord, in the form of pure knowledge or consciousness, dances in the vacant space of *'Nāda'* unknown to any soul, seen only by the Mother, the very form of His Grace. The dance takes place; then everything also disappears into the last stage of involution. The *Dēvas* and *Ṛṣis* are anxious to have a sight of this dance. The serpent *'Vāsukī'* comes to *'Kailāsa'* with a request that the God should give him a sight of that dance, even as He has blessed *'Anantan'* to have a sight of His dance at Tillai. The Lord Himself describes the greatness of this dance: "The dance performed in the Hall of *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* whilst the singing *Pūtams* serve, the dance which puts down the arrogance

17. V. 28.
18. See *Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇa,* p. 16.
19. *Śiva Rahasya kāṇḍam.*

of *Kāḷī*, the dance which crushes down the cruel *'Muyalaka'* — these dances are capable of being seen by others. But the other dance, which the whole world is surcharged with, is the beautiful dance known only to my consort. The dance-hall of silver in South Mathurai, the golden hall of dance which is the very hall of the void space, Cidambaram, the hall of precious gems of Ālaṅkāṭu, the dance hall of copper so full of purity — these halls are matters of common knowledge to all; every one can see them. But the hall of paintings at 'Tirukkuṟṟālam' is the secret of secrets". After the serpent had performed *tapas*, the Lord shows him and others, the secret dance of His, which Brahma paints in that place. This is the story, as given in the *Tirukkuṟṟāla-t tala purāṇam*. It is there clear that this dance hall is claimed to be the *Cit-sabhā*, a name which *Tirupputtūrppurāṇam* claims for Tirupputtūr dance hall itself. More than this it is clear that *Tirukkuṟṟāla-t tala purāṇam* does not speak of any Tripura dance.

(10)

Therefore, the statements of *Tirupputtūrp purāṇam* are not supported by other *purāṇams*: it is only an attempt by its author of the last century at harmonizing the tradition about the various dance halls of the Tamil land with the seven kinds of dances mentioned in the *Āgamas* as a kind of summary of the various stories of the dances of Śiva described in the *purāṇas*, as taking place not only in the Tamil land but all over the Universe.

(11)

Dr. Raghavan would suggest that the Dances of Śiva were performed in other places as well: "Bharata describes 108 poses of *Tāṇḍava* dance in his *Nāṭya Sāstra;* in Śaiva literature, Śiva is said to have danced in 64 shrines, but the exact forms of these latter 64 dances are not given and we cannot, therefore, trace in full detail the inter-relation of the dances of Śiva in *Nāṭya Sāstra, Śaiva literature,* and, *Sculpture* and *Iconography.*"[20] He does not point out his authority for the 64 dances in 64 shrines. No such tradition is known to Tamil. Probably he is confusing the 64 *līlās* or *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* with the 64 dances.

20. *Tāṇḍavas de Śiva*, p. 21.

(12)

Before describing these seven kinds of dances, one may raise the question, "Why this number seven?". The *Tiruppuṭṭūrp purāṇam* speaks of these seven dances proceeding from the seven basic notes of music: *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Da* and *Ni.* This correspondence with the musical octave suggests that these dances can be arranged as an octave of power based on the energy radiated in increasing number of pulsations of action. Even as the bud slowly opens its petals and finally blossoms forth, the dances also proceed from a slow movement into virile whirls. The author of *Tāṇḍavas de Śiva,* following Mayilai Vēṅkaṭaswami's Seven dances of Śiva, speaks of the seven dances as symbolizing the *pañcakṛtya* or the five functions of Śiva, *viz.,* Creation, conservation, destruction, *tirōbhava* and *anugraha.* The former three relate to matter and the last two to the spirit. The soul has to pass through grosser experiences till it reaches the subtler experiences. Our education follows this method of proceeding from the gross to the subtle. God educates the soul in a similar way. *Anugraha* or the final goal of divine blessing and bliss is illumination. But before this illumination, comes purgation where the soul is purified gradually, where the spiritual truths are allowed to dawn gradually. Therefore, in this stage, there is some concealment or obscuration. This function of the Lord, of veiling or darkening with a view to keep the souls engrossed in the experiences of the world until the *karma* is completely wiped out is called *Tirōbhava.* The basic note *'Sa'* represents the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* which implies and includes all the notes of the lower octave. In a similar way *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*[21] implies and includes all these five dances of creation, conservation, destruction, purgation and illumination. This accounts for their being six dances, one for each one of the five *kṛtyas* or activities of the Lord and the sixth being the basic note including all the five. Why then the seventh dance? It is explained that conservation is of two kinds: (1) where there is the pleasant experience and (2) where there is the unpleasant experience. The conservation is thus taken as consisting of two functions, the total functions of the Lord become six and therefore the functional dances also become six, making seven in

21. *Planches,* XIII, XIV—these two as far as their padas are concerned may not be *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*—XV.

all if we include the synthetic dance of *pañcakṛtya* or the *Ānanda Naṭanam*. All this explanation is based on the following:

"Caṭamataṉiṟ ciruṭṭi titi caṅkāram nikaḻum
Tarum uyiril tirōpavam anukkirakam takkum;
Tiṭamuṟum attiti iraṇṭām cukatuṇpam aruntum
Ceytiyin; ammuṟaiyāl ceytoḻil āṟām".[22]

(13)

In connecting the seven different dances with the various functions of the Lord, emphasis is made on the relative freedom from activity which goes on decreasing. The movement of the '*Jaṭā*' which proceeds from a bundled up position to a movement of whirling and the position of the raised up leg which proceeds from its contact with *muyalaka* along with the other foot and reaches the position of being held up straight heavenwards. The movements and positions of the hands are also thus explained as releasing more and more of energy. *Kālika Tāṇḍavam*[23] is the dance of creation. The *Caturam*[24] and *Kaṭisamam*[25] dances belong to this category.

The *Ūrdhvajānu*[26] is identified with *Gaurī Tāṇḍavam* and *Bhujaṅgatrāsam.*[27] This is also called the *Rakṣā Tāṇḍavam* and *Lakṣmī Tāṇḍavam*. This is the dance of conservation where the experiences are bitter.

The next is the *Sandhyā Tāṇḍavam.*[28] It is also identified with *Lalitam.*[29] This is the dance of conservation where the experiences are pleasant.

Śaṅkāra Tāṇḍavam is the dance of destruction. It is identified with *Talasamsphōṭita*[30] and the dance on the fire.[31]

22. Page 31, *Tāṇḍavas de Śiva.*
23. *Planche,* XVII.
24. Planches, XVIII, XIX.
25. Planche, XX.
26. Planche, XXI.
27. Planches, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV.
28. Planches, XXVI, XXVII.
29. Planches, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.
30. Planche, XXXI.
31. Planche, XXXII.

Tripūra Tāṇḍavam is the dance of purgation;[32] *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍavam* which is also called as *Kālī Tāṇḍavam* or *Chaṇḍa Tāṇḍavam* is the dance of illumination and blessing—*Anugraha Tāṇḍavam*.[33]

(14)

The names and the descriptions of these dances are not always clear. Dr. Raghavan gives the name of *Gaurī Tāṇḍavam* to the *Ānanda Tāṇḍavam* itself. According to him all the dances of Śiva are *Sandhyā Tāṇḍavam* being performed in the twilight of the evening. But this is not correct as our essay will show. The confusion in these names and descriptons, however, is very well brought out by Dr. Raghavan.

"The dances of Śiva as described in works of dance[34] and as dealt with in religious works of Śaivism[35] show differences. There is no doubt that the latter grew out of the former, and even in the form in which they are spoken of in the latter, they keep some tell-tale names in a few cases which show their link with the *Nāṭya Śāstra*."[36]

"In *Āgamas* the above dance[37] of Śiva is also mentioned as *Bhujaṅga-naṭana*. In fact, two kinds of *Bhujaṅga-naṭana* are mentioned, *Bhujaṅga trāsita* and *Bhujaṅgalalita*. The definition of these two are, however, confusing. In the *Uttara-kāmika-āgama*, the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* described above is called *Bhujaṅga-trāsita*. To understand this name, we have to go to the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata."[38]

"In *Nāṭya Śāstra* itself the *Bhujaṅga-trāsita* is defined as the 28th pose; its sculptural illustration from Chidambaram shows a pose which is not met with at all in sculpture or icon. As in *Āgama*, so in *Bharata* too, there appears to be some confusion; for in the definition of the *Bhujaṅgāñcita* itself, *Bharata* includes the *Bhujaṅga-trāsita*. To add to the confusion, some *Āgama* works

32. Planche, XXXIII.
33. Planche, XXXIV.
34. Nāṭya Śāstra.
35. *Āgamas* and *Sthalamāhātmyas* pertaining to different Śiva shrines.
36. Pages 20, 21, *Tāṇḍavas de Śiva*.
37. *Ananda Tāṇḍava*.
38. p. 22.

call the *Catura-tāṇḍava*[39] and the *Ūrdhva-jānu*[40] by the name *Bhujaṅga-trāsita.*"[41]

"Besides the *Bhujaṅga-trasita,* the only other pose-name which the *Āgamas* know is *Bhujaṅga-lalita.* An *Āgama* text quoted by Gopinatha Rao explains the *Bhujaṅga-lalita* as *Bhujaṅga-trāsita* with the knee of the lifted leg still higher! According to the *Āgamic* compilation called *Śiva-parākrama, Bhujaṅga-lalita* corresponds to the 25th pose in Bharata, the *Ūrdhva-jānu,* of which we have in the Madras Museum a bronze representation of the Pallava times from Kūram village near Kāñcīpuram. Gopinatha Rao would identify one of the two Ellora Naṭarājas as *lalitā.*"[42]

"The names *Catura, Kaṭi-śama* and *Tala-saṁsphōṭita* do not occur in Śaivite religious texts; they are names given by Bharata by which Gopinatha Rao identified some other Naṭarāja poses available in *sculpture* and *iconography.* Two Naṭarāja bronze images of Tiruvaraṅguḷam and Nallūr have their legs in a diagonal position which, being very near the 39th pose in Bharata called *Catura,* are called by that name. The pose of legs forms the basis and common factor to a number of other dance-poses".[43]

"*Kaṭi-śama* is applied by Gopinatha Rao to one of the two Naṭarājas of Ellōra. But this *kaṭi-śama,* No. 19, as defined by Bharata and as illustrated by the Cidambaram sculpture is somewhat different. Similarly again, a dancing pose of Śiva at the Kailāsanātha temple is identified by Gopinatha Rao as *Tala-saṁsphōṭita.* This specimen is nearer Bharata's *Ūrdhvajānu* already referred to. Bharata's definition of *Tala-saṁsphōṭita* is not clear and the correctness of the Cidambaram illustration is open to doubt; anyway neither Bharata's definition nor the Cidambaram sculpture accords with the pose identified by Gopinatha Rao as *Tala-samsphōṭita*".[44]

"*Ūrdhva-tāṇḍava* is a pure *Āgamic* name. This was a dance which Śiva did to vanquish *Kālī* in a dance-contest that He had with her. The story centres round the shrine at Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu near Arakkoṇam where we have an image of it; other images of

39. 39th of Bharata.
40. 25th.
41. *Ibid.,* p. 23.
42. *Ibid.,* p. 23.
43. *Ibid.,* pp. 23 and 24.
44. *Ibid.,* p. 24.

this dance are to be found at Kāñcīpuram, Tirucceṅkāṭṭaṅguḍi, Teṉkāsi and Tāramaṅgalam. In them the right leg is lifted right up to the head, thus giving the dance the name *Ūrdhva;* while one explanation is that by doing this Śiva, without anybody noting it, restored to his ear an ornament that fell from there during the dance; another explanation is that this was done so that *Kālī,* as a woman, could not do similarly and thus could be vanquished. This is Bharata's *Lalāṭa-tilaka."*[45]

"As this is a terrible type of dance, *Āgamas* call it *Caṇḍa-Tāṇḍava* also. As it was done with *Kālī,* it got another name also, the *Kālī tāṇḍava.* According to the *Vaṭāraṇya Māhātmya,* the story of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Mss. in Adyar Library, this same *Ūrdhva-Tāṇḍava* is the dance of destruction, *Saṁhāra-Tāṇḍava."*[46]

(15)

This confusion itself points the way out. The dances must ultimately be traced to the popular folk dances which have been systematized and made classical in the *Nāṭya-śāstra.* There must have been other variations apart from the classical modes. The *Purāṇas* probably describe these variations and the *Āgamas* with the knowledge of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* seem to be combining both these. The mystic value of these dances as they appealed to the later generation cannot be minimised by such references to origins as these.

II

(1)

The *Āgamas* also describe the seven Dances. The *Ānanda Tāṇḍavam* is the well known form found in every temple. Śiva has an ash-besmeared body. He has four arms; the right back arm holds the *'uṭukkai'* or the hour-glass, like drum; the left back arm holds the fire or the fire-pot; the right front arm with a *valaya* of *sarpa* with 1, 2, 5 or 7 hoods (the corresponding *valaya* of serpent on the other hand according to Havell has fallen down) is the *abhaya* pose or the pose of protection, i.e., the palm, level with the straight fingers in close contact, raised up showing the palmside to the front; the left front arm is in *gajahasta* pose, i.e., is bent at the shoulder joint going straight across the chest to the

45. *Ibid.,* p. 24.
46. *Ibid.,* p. 24.

right side with its fingers gracefully pointing below towards the left leg which is raised in a dancing posture. The ecstasy of the dance, in whirling on one leg is shown by the matted hair sweeping out on both sides of the head in 5, 6, 7 or 11 divisions, standing horizontally or forming a circle. *'Erukku'* (Madar) and *'Ūmattam'* (Datura) flowers, snake, crescent moon, grinning human skull are on the left matlocks; *Gaṅgā* is on the right. The cloth, partly tied round the waist and partly thrown over the left shoulder, flies up in the air. The head of Śiva wears peacock feathers and this characterises this *murti's* crown. The right leg is slightly bent, placed upon the back of the black *apasmāra puruṣa* or *'Muyalakaṇ'*. The left leg is lifted up somewhat turned towards the right leg and kept across it. *Apasmāra,* a hideous malignant dwarf trodden on by Śiva, lies right to left. He is playing with a snake by keeping all his fingers in a serpent hood-like shape. The pedestal of the image is a double lotus flower, placed back to back. The *prabha* or the aureola is surmounted all round with flames of fire similar to the one which is held in His hand and the *Śilparatna* states that this *prabha* is the *ravi-maṇḍala* or the sun's disc.

Uttara Kāmikāgama gives further particulars in addition to the above as given in *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama.* The *jaṭās* separated from one another vary from 5 to 30 and in the vacant space between the *jaṭās* are *'ūmattam', 'erukku'* and other flowers. In the *jaṭā,* on the right stands the three-eyed Gaṅgā, with hands held in *añjali* pose, with the upper half of body shaped in the form of a lady adorned with *karaṇḍa makuṭa* and other ornaments, whilst the lower half is in the form of running water. In the *jaṭā* on the left is the crescent moon. There are necklaces of various patterns round his neck made of (1) pearls, (2) of snakes, (3) of *'makiḻam'* flower, (4) of sea shells, boar's tusks, tiger's claws and beads with a pendant of tortoise shell. The left ear wears *patra kuṇḍala,* whilst the right has *nakra kuṇḍala;* on the feet are anklets of tiny bells and another pair of other designs. This dance is known as *Bhujaṅga trāsa.* If the foot of the uplifted leg is kept higher than the knee of the standing leg, the dance is called *Bhujaṅga lalita.* According to *Nāṭya śāstra,*

"Kuñcitaṁ pādamutkṣipya tṛyaśramūrum vivartayēt
Kaṭijānū vivarttau ca bhujaṅgatrāsitam bhavēt;"[47]

47. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IV. 85.

i.e., 'One leg is bent in a triangular way. It is lifted up. The body above the hip and the knee are slightly turned on one side'. Abhinavaguptācārya explains the term thus: 'This kind of dance is called *bhujaṅga trāsa,* because in it, the dancer suddenly lifts up his leg as though he discovered a snake very near him and appears to be on an unsteady gait. In this, one arm should be in *dolāhasta* (hand hanging down freely from the somewhat drooping shoulder in the form of *patākahasta*) and the other in the *kaṭaka* pose'.

(2)

The second dance is *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava.* The *'muyalakaṉ'* is absent. The left hands hold peacock feather and *vismaya* (wonder) pose in which the palm is held up but is bent forward a little curved, the first and the second fingers being bent forward together whilst the third and the fourth fingers and the thumb stand separated. Dr. Ānanda Coomaraswami refers to this as one of these three dances—the evening dance, the *Tāṇḍava* on the cremation ground and the *Nādānta* dance and writes as follows:—"One is an evening dance in the Himālayas with a divine chorus described as follows in the *Śiva pradōṣa stōtras*: 'Placing the Mother of the three worlds upon a golden throne, studded with precious gems, *Śūlapāṇi* dances on the heights of Kailās, and all the gods gather round Him':..*'Sarasvati* plays on the *'Viṇā'*, Indra on the flute, Brahma holds the time-marking cymbals, *Lakṣmī* begins a song; *Viṣṇu* plays on a drum, and all the gods stand round about'. *Gandharvas, yakṣas, patāgas, uragas, siddhas, sādhyas, vidyādharas, amaras, apsaras* and all the beings dwelling in the three worlds assemble there to witness the celestial dance and hear the music of the divine choir at the hour of twilight". "This evening dance is also referred to, in the invocation preceding the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*": "In the pictures of this dance, Śiva is two handed, (Mr. Gopinatha Rao questions this) and the co-operation of the gods is clearly indicated in their position of chorus. There is no prostrate asura trampled under Śiva's feet".

The *Pradōṣa stōtras* may be compared with *Kāraṇāgama*: "On the top of the Kailās mountain, in front of Goddess *Gaurī*, who is seated on jewelled throne, Śiva with the crescent on His head *dances in the evenings.* All the *Dēvas* attend the dance. Brahma plays on cymbals, Hari (Viṣṇu), on a *paṭaha,* Bhāraṭī, on the lute, the Sun and the Moon, on flutes. *Tumburu* and *Nārada*

supply vocal music and *Nandi* and *Kumāra* bear drums." *Mayamata* mentions in addition, *Vighnēśa, Kālī* and seven mothers.

A story is told about this dance and this is referred to in one of the verses of *Āgamattiraṭṭu* in Tamil: "The Lord swallowed the poison; He remained quiet without saying anything for a moment. The *Dēvas* were worshipping without any pause. That was a day of the 11th phase of the moon—*Ēkādaśī*. The next day—*dvādaśī*—the *Dēvas* broke their fast and became perfect. On that day, placing the gold creeper of Himavān—the Mother—at head, for four hours, Śaṅkara danced whirling the trident. The four *Vēdas* speak of it as *Pradōṣa*". The *Śilpasaṅgraha* and *Mayamata* further state that this was performed under the banyan tree. This is found represented in the *Lalitā* mode of dance. But the *Mayamata* speaks of this as *Bhujaṅgatrāsa*.

(3)

The third is *Umā Tāṇḍava*. Śiva has six hands, i.e., two more to what had been already mentioned. The additional right hand holds *triśūla;* the additional left, a skull. The left leg is placed on *apasmāra*. The right leg sweeps to the right. *Umādēvī* stands on the left of Śiva. The *Pūrva Kāraṇāgama*, in the enumeration of the seven dances mentions *Muni Tāṇḍava* instead of *Umā Tāṇḍava*. The Dance of marriage is spoken of as a separate dance and this is called the Dance of the Dances, the *Umā Tāṇḍava*. In describing the *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*, the Tamil work *Āgamattiraṭṭu*, we noted, mentions a *Triśūla;* perhaps because of this, *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* is known sometimes as *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*. All these are pointed out to show that the descriptions have not become authoritatively definite and the variations have been the rule.

(4)

The fourth *Tāṇḍava* is the *Gaurī Tāṇḍava*. This is like the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*. The important feature is the holding of the serpent in one of the left hands. Some of the dances are characterisd by the persons standing by the side of Naṭarāja. In this dance *Nandi* stands on the right side and *Gaurī* on the left. If the Mother's presence is taken as an inevitable concomitant, the presence of *Nandi* seems to be the characteristic feature of this dance. *Mayamata* describes this as *Bhujaṅga lalita*, probably because of the playing with the serpent held in one hand. It further states that in the position of the legs, the fire in the hand is blown into a

blaze and the braided locks are spread out into 5, 7 or 9. It places *Nandi* on the right but *Viṣṇu* on the left instead of *Gaurī*.

(5)

The fifth dance is *Kālikā Tāṇḍava*. Śiva has two eyes only but 8 arms of which the three, on the right, hold the *trīśūla, pāśa* and *uṭukkai*, the three on the left hold *kapāla*, fire and the bull, whilst the remaining right arm is held in an *abhaya* pose and the left in *gajahasta* pose. Mr. Krishna Sastry in his *'South Indian Images'*, speaks of the "*Kaṭṭu caṭai Naṭarāja*" of Nallūr as representing this dance. But, as he himself points out, the position of the legs and the *abhaya* and *gajahasta* poses are found reversed in this image of Nallūr; for, Śiva there stands on the right leg, raising up the left, whilst the *abhaya* pose and the *gajahasta* pose are held by the right and left arms respectively. In this figure *'muyalakaṉ'* sits facing forward with his two legs stretched in front of him. The drum (*uṭukkai*) is nearer the ear, and Śiva is found bending His head slightly towards it. The *Kālikā Tāṇḍavam* is according to *Tirupputtūr-p purāṇam* performed at Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭu. But, the form of the image as found at that place is that of *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*. The *Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭṭu-p puraṇam* speaks of the Lord standing on His right leg and sending up His left leg to reach the Heavens. But we know of no *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* image in which the left leg is sent thus higher up except one at Agastīsvaram temple. The *Trivikrama* form, where also the image is found standing on one leg whilst raising the other to the Heavens, has to be differentiated from the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* form. Rea's plate CXXIII gives, the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* form as fig. 3, and the *Trivikrama* form as fig. 7. Here the most important differentiation consists in the different legs raised skywards, the left in the case of *Trivikrama* and the right in the case of *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*. This is in accordance with the theory, that the left half is the Vaiṣṇavite or Śaktī half, whilst the right side is Śiva's half. Whatever this may be, *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* of Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭu is as old as Kāraikkālammaiyār.[48]

(6)

The sixth dance is *Tripura Tāṇḍava*. Śiva has 16 arms. There is the Mother on the left and the child Murukaṉ on the right. According to *Śilparatna* however, the child stands on the same side

48. *Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭṭu Mūtta Tiruppatikam*, V. 4.

as the Mother holding her by the hand and expressing fear, love and wonder in his face. This dance we had already described in describing *Tripura Dahana.*

(7)

The seventh dance is the *Saṁhāra Tāṇḍava.* It is the dance of involution. God has 3 eyes and 8 arms. The left leg crushes down *apasmāra* and the right leg is raised. The right hands are holding the *Uṭukkai,* the *pāśa,* the *trīśula* and the *abhaya* pose and the left hands hold the fire, the skull, the *vismaya* and *gajahasta* poses. Here also *Nandi* stands on the right side and *Gaurī* on the left. The eight hands differentiate this form from *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* form.

(8)

The *Nāṭya Śāstra* enumerates 108 modes of dances and all these poses are found sculptured on either side of the doorway of the Cidambaram temple. The *Āgamas* assert that Śiva danced in all these modes but they describe only 9 out of them probably as being the most celebrated amongst them. The first is the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* form. The *Uttarakāmikāgama,* as already noted, speaks of this as *Bhujaṅgatrāsita* and *Bhujaṅgalalita.* It is this figure, which has gathered round it, all the esoteric and mystic significance.

In the second form of dance, the only differentiating feature mentioned by *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama* is that *Gaṅgā* is made to stand with an *añjali* pose on the *jaṭās* flowing on the right side of Śiva.

In the third mode of dance, the left foot is found placed on the *apasmāra* whilst the right leg is lifted up. This is *'Kālmāriyāṭal'* described in the *'Kālmāri āṭiya paṭalam'* of *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam.* According to this *Purāṇam,* the *Pāṇḍya* at the idea of God eternally dancing without any pause, standing on His left leg, is overpowered by the feeling of sympathy and he begs of the Lord to change the posture and to dance standing on the left leg. The Lord alters His posture to please him and dances as rquested. The image in the *Veḷḷiampalam* represents this altered posture.

In the fourth mode of dance, the *jaṭās* are required to be in the form of a *jaṭāmaṇḍala,* i.e., they had to spread round the crowned head of Śiva, in the form of a circular disc. It will thus be seen that all these four dances are one and the same except for slight variations.

The fifth mode of dance represents the Lord resting His slightly bent left leg on the *apasmāra,* whilst the right leg is lifted straight up to the crown of His head. He has 8 hands, the four on the right holding the trident, the noose, the *uṭukkai* and the *abhaya* pose, whilst the other four on the left hold the fire, the skull, the bell and the *gajahasta* pose.

The sixth variety is differentiated from this only by its 16 arms; the right arms hold *uṭukkai, vajra,* trident, noose, *taṅka, daṇḍa* and a serpent and the *abhaya* pose. Instead of *vajra, taṅka, daṇḍa* and snake, He may hold the sword, the *patāka,* the *vētāla* and the *sūcī* pose. The left hands exhibit the fire, the quoit, a double headed instrument—*mithuna, patāka,* the bell, the *khēṭaka* the skull and the *gajahasta* pose. Instead of the *mithuna,* quoit, *patāka,* He may hold the sword, *vismaya* and *sūcī poses.* His consort, with a face expressive of fear, wonder and love, stands with *añjali* on the left carrying in her left arm *Murukaṉ,* who, terrified at the sight catches hold of the breast and abdomen of his mother and this last feature reminds us of the *Tripura* Dance. In the fifth and the sixth, Śiva has only two eyes as in the *Kālikā* dance.

In the seventh mode of dance, Śiva has 8 arms, but 3 eyes. The *jaṭāmaṇḍala* is spread out. The right hands exhibit trident, noose, *uṭukkai* and *abhaya* pose whilst the left show skull, fire, *gajahasta* and *vismaya* poses. There is a bend in the body and the mother is standing on the left. The left leg of Śiva is placed upon the *Apasmāra* and the right is lifted up fully stretched as far as the head.

The eighth form, an *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava,* is similar to the seventh. Śiva has six instead of eight hands with *abhaya* pose, *uṭukkai* and trident on the right and *gajahasta, vismaya* and the skull on the left reminding us to that extent of the *Umā Tāṇḍava.*

The ninth reminds us of the *Sandhya Tāṇḍava. Śiva has* 4 arms, 3 eyes and *jaṭāmakuṭa.* The hands on the right exhibit *uṭukkai* and *abhaya* pose, the hands on the left spear, fire and *gajahasta* pose. The left foot is not on any *apasmāra* but on the *pīṭha.* The great toe of the right foot also rests upon the *pīṭhá,* the left leg and the right leg making a cross as it were.

III

Coming to the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple, we have various representations of Śiva as the Dancer. In discussing

the various heroic feats of Śiva in the light of *Tēvāram*, we had the opportunity of emphasising one important fact that every one of the feats ended in a particular dance of Śiva. The sculptures representing the various stories are to that extent dramatic representations. The *Hasta abhinaya*—or the poses of the hands of the various actions and other postures of the body have to be interpreted according to *Nāṭya Śāstra*. This has been very well brought out by Dr. Mīnākṣi, who writes: "A profound knowledge and critical appreciation of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* is clearly revealed by the Pallavas in their representation of the different poses of the divine dancer. The art of dancing was popularised and encouraged in the South by the Pallavas through the medium of these various representations which were a source of inspiration".[49]

The Pallavas believed in the divine nature of the Dances. Mahēndravarma's invocation to Śiva in his *Mattavilāsa* is significant:

"Bhāṣāvēṣavapuḥ-kriyāguṇa-kṛtānāśtritya bhēdan gatam
Bhāvāvēśa vaśāda nekarasatām trailōkyayātrāmayam
Nṛttam niṣpratibaddha bōdhamahimā yāḥ prēkṣakassa svayam
Sā vyāptāvanibhājanam diśatu vō divyah kapālī yaśaḥ".

The dance of *Kāpāli* full of all sentiments is said to cover the three worlds. To the interest of Rājasiṁha and Mahēndravarma II in this divine art, the Kailāsanātha Temple stands as a living monument. Apart from the sculptures of dances, dance is even now a part of temple ritual, in combination with music. The dancing girls of high and noble ideals called *'aṭikaḷmār'* were attached to the Temples of the Pallava and Cōḷa age. In fact numerous inscriptions refer to this provision.

Rea's Plate XXVIII is a representation of *Ūrḍhva tāṇḍava*. Śiva has only six arms, as required in the 8th form of dance enumerated above. He stands straight on His left leg. There is no *apasmāra* there. The front left arm is held up straight with the hand bent at right angles to the right side, and its palm is turned downwards. The left leg and the left arm thus form as it were the central axis; the right leg is lifted up almost parallel to the raised left arm. The toe is pointing towards the crown of the Lord. He

49 *Pallava Administration*, p. 287.

is having the *jaṭāmakuṭa;* He is wearing ear-rings, necklace, three bangles and two armlets on each arm and an anklet on each leg. There is a *yajñōpavīta,* probably of a serpent going round the left shoulder and encircling the raised up leg. Another serpent hangs from the left shoulder down to the left ankle. There is a sash round His waist and the two ends of another cloth are found below His waist on the right and the left. There is a serpent with its outspread hood; probably it had fallen down. On the right hands He is holding the drum or *uṭukkai, abhaya* pose, and a *daṇḍa* at the top of which is attached a banner. The left hands hold a torch (or bell) and the *vismaya* pose. The third left hand has already been described.

This is the *Lalāṭatilaka* Dance described by Bharata:[50]

"Vṛścikam caraṇam kṛtvā pādasyāṅguṣṭhakēna tu
Lalāṭē tilakam kuryāllalāṭa-tilakam tu tat".

One of the legs is lifted up and its foot is held in the form of a scorpion and its toe is so turned towards the forehead as though in the act of marking a *tilaka.* According to Abhinavagupta, the leg pose in which the leg is lifted up behind is called the *Vṛścika* pose, because it then resembles the tail of a scorpion.

Rea's plate LVIII is another representation of this dance which has been referred to and described by Gopinatha Rao[51] and by Dr. Mīnākṣi. The right leg is lifted up with the foot in the form of a *Vṛścika* touching the *jaṭāmakuṭa.* In this figure, the Lord has eight hands, as required in the seventh mode of dance enumerated above. As contrasted with the figure described above, there is a small bend of the body and the head, and this also has been referred to in our description of the seventh mode of the dance. The right hands hold an *akṣamālā,* a sword and two *patāka* poses. The left hands exhibit a *valaya,* fire, noose and *vismaya* pose. Nandikēśvara is found immediately on the left side of Śiva dancing in the *lalita* mode. In the adjacent niches, there is Brahma on the right and Viṣṇu with his wife on the left. Gopinatha Rao identifies the figure on the right as *kinnara,* half man and half bird, playing apparently on a stringed instrument. The former figure which we described above is an exemplification of

50. *Nāṭya Śāstra,* Ch. IV., 111.
51. Page 265, H.I., Vol. II, Pt. 1.

the beauty of straight lines whereas this figure exemplifies the gracefulness of bends.

Rea's plate XCVII, fig. 2 is from the Matañgēśvara temple. It combines the characteristic feature of both the figures we have described. The Lord stands straight on His left leg and lifts up the left arm as in the previous figure. The body is straight but the head alone exhibits a slight bend towards the right. The right leg is lifted up but not at parallels to the lifted arm. The foot is in the *vṛścika* pose. Therefore, this figure with the central axis formed by the left leg and the left arm exhibits a kind of rotatory action of the other parts of the body. On the left there is a figure dancing in the *lalita* mode. On the right there is a figure playing on the drum. There is a figure sitting between the Lord and the figure on the left.

Rea's plate CIX, fig. 1 is from Tripurāntakēśvara temple. It is a beautiful figure of symmetrical angles. There is no *apasmāra* visible. The Lord stands on the left-leg, but it is bent at its knee and this leg forms another angle with the trunk. The left leg goes up with the arm bent. He has *jaṭāmakuṭa* and the head is bent to the right, forming another curve. The right leg is almost parallel to the bent head. On the left there are three arms thrown out holding things which are not clear; the fourth is bent at its elbow at right angles to its hand in the *sūcī* pose. There is on the right a corresponding arm bent at the elbow; there are three other right arms thrown out holding the hatchet, trident and serpent. The upraised right arm answers to the upraised leg on the other side. At the top on each side there are two persons in the air, worshipping the dance. On each side of the leg, there is one person. On the left is the Mother; on the right is one playing on the drum. The serpents swing from the waist downwards in this dance of ecstasy. To harmonize with ecstatic dance of the hands and the leg in the top portion, there is the group of people playing on musical instruments in the lower portion.

Rea's plate CXVIII, fig. 3 is from the Airavatēśvara Temple. This is like the first figure elsewhere described but the straight lines are softened into smooth curves following the shape of the muscles. The Lord has ten arms. On the right hands are exhibited the flag, the *uṭukkai*, a *daṇḍa* and, *abaya* and *patāka* poses. The left hands exhibit a flame, a serpent, an upward bend of one hand and a downward bend of another hand. There seems to be some

symmetry between the right and left arms; the backmost arms form a right angle bend at the elbow; the next adjacent arms form acute angles. The hands next in order are thrown out whilst those next look downwards. Of the fore-most arms, the left arm is held straight up, straight except for the inward curve near the elbow and the bend inwards of the hand at the top. The right hand is in the *abhaya* pose. The banner answers to the bend of the left hand. The raised up right leg is parallel to the raised up arm but for the bend of the foot with its toe approaching the crown in *vṛścika* pose. The crown is a little bent towards the raised up leg. There is something static about this dance as though the whole universe rests equipoised on Him. At the top corners two persons in the air worship symmetrically. On the left stands the Mother. On the right are three *bhūtas* whose curved parts harmonize in a comic way with the rocks of the mountains and their drums.

Rea's plate CXXIII, fig. 3 from the Kailāsanātha temple is probably the original for Plate CIX, fig. 1 etc. Śiva has ten arms. The right arms, those making obtuse angles, exhibit a sword, a drum and a serpent in their hands; the other two hands are held in *cinmudra* and *abhaya* poses. The left hands show a downward move exhibiting the flame of the fire, the hatchet both being turned downwards. The front left arm is held up with the hand bent to the right above the crown. As for the other two hands, their poses are not clear. Śiva stands on His left leg which is bent a little to the front and left. The right leg is lifted up but not parallel to the lifted up arm; its foot is in *vṛścika* pose. The head is bent towards it. Every thing suggests a dynamic motion and equipoise. On the left stands the Mother with beautiful bends. On the right probably sits *Nandi* playing on a drum. Calm is the peaceful base and all above is in full motion and joy.

Both Dr. Minākṣi and Mr. Gopinatha Rao refer to the sculptures representing the *Lalita* mode of dance. Bharata describes it thus:

> *"Karihastō bhavēd vāmō dakṣiṇaścāpavartitaḥ*
> *Bahuśaḥ kuṭṭitaḥ pādō jñēyam tallalitam budhaiḥ".*[52]

Kari hasta pose is the usual *gajahasta* found in the usual Naṭarāja figure. This is also called *añcita* and Abhinavagupta

52. Ch. IV., 94.

calls this *'Alapallava'*. The Cittannavasal cave inscriptions exhibit one of the women dancers in this pose and it is this pose that had become popular in Jāva during the Pallava period.[53]

In the *gajahasta* pose, one hand is stretched across the chest towards the shoulder, whilst the other arm is bent thrice, i.e., the upper arm lifted up as high as the shoulder horizontally and the fore arm held at right angles to it vertically and the palm of the hand bent at right angles to the fore-arm and facing upwards. *Apavartita* pose is represented by the uplifted arm. The leg pose required is *'Kuṭṭitam'* where one leg rests firmly on the ground whilst the other resting upon the toe, strikes the ground with the heel.

In the *Lalāṭatilaka* dance described above, Nandikēśvara is found by the Lord's left.[54] Here, the right arm of Nandi is in the *gajahasta* pose and the right leg in the *kuṭṭitam* pose. The right leg is resting on the toe whilst the left leg is fixed on the ground.

In Plate XXXIII, fig. 4, there is a figure with spread out matted hair in *Lalita* mode of dance. The *vāmahasta* or left hand is in the *Gojahasta* pose and the Dakṣiṇa or right hand is held up in the *apavartita* pose. The left leg is in the *Kuṭṭitam* pose. This figure has only four arms. It looks as though the same figure assumed greater proportions to dance perhaps on the *muyalaka* sent by the *Ṛṣis;* probably we see ten arms and the fire on the left alone is clear. One leg rests on the same platform on which the other figure stands. The other leg is stamping on the *muyalaka*. There is the same *gajahasta* pose and the *apavartita pose*.

Rea's plate XCVII, fig. 1 from Muktēśvara temple gives what seems at first sight a representation of the *Lalita* dance with a left hand in *Gajahasta* pose and another left hand in the *prasārita* pose. The legs are in the *kuṭṭita* pose. As the pose of the right hands are not clear—the right front one may be in catura pose—one may doubt whether this is not a *catura* dance. But a deeper study reveals this to be an *añcita* dance:

"Vyāvṛtta parivṛttastu sa ēva tu karō yadā
Añcitō nāsikāgrē tu tad añcitam udāhṛtam".[55]

53. *Krom, Borobudūr,* Vol. I, Plates 0.149; I-b 19.
54. Pl. Rea LVIII.
55. Bh., Ch. IV, 84.

"The same hand, i.e., *karihasta* hand of the 22nd *karaṇa* is put in this 23rd *karaṇa*, in *vyāvṛtta* and *parivṛtta* and finally arched over the nose". *Parivṛtta* is bringing the hands to the sides in front. In *vyāvṛtta* the hands are lifted up side-ways. As in the 22nd *karaṇa*, we have here *svastika* of the legs, i.e., crossing of the legs.

Another mode of dance is *Talasamsphōṭita* dance. Bharata describes it there thus:

> *"Drutam utkṣipya caraṇam purastād atha pātayēt*
> *Talasaṁsphōṭitau hastau talasamsphōṭitē matau".*[56]

"The dancer lifts one of his feet fairly high and suddenly and vehemently stamps the ground in front of him clapping his hands at the same time. The commentators insist on the *patāka hasta* pose. Rea's plate XXXIX, fig. 5 and Mr. Gopinatha Rao, Plate No. LXVIII,[57] and Dr. Mīnākṣi[58] give us a representation of this dance as found in the Kailāsanātha temple. Śiva is lifting up His right leg above the left knee as high as completely to double it expressing His attempt to thump the ground forcibly and suddenly. The left leg in slight bend rests firmly on the ground. His right upper hand is holding a coiled serpent which forms a curve near His hand to form into another curve round His crown to curve once again for running parallel thereafter to the left back hand to be caught by another left hand. In the second right hand Dr. Mīnākṣi sees *jñānamudra*. The other two right hands are in the *patāka* and abhaya poses. The left hand is holding *Gaṅgā* with a five headed cobra and the hand is in curved *añjali* pose. She is descending in parallel to the cobra's curve. Another left hand is holding the cobra. There is another left hand in *vismaya* pose. The remaining hand is in *Gajahasta* pose. The mother is on the left. There are two *gaṇas* one in the *ūrdhva tāṇḍava* posture. Some interpret this as *caṇḍa tāṇḍava* or *koṭukoṭṭi*.

Rea's plate LVII is the *Gajāri mūrti*. On the topmost niche is Śiva with straight hands killing and flaying the elephant and dancing this *Talasamsphōṭita*. His left leg is raised up to thump on the head of the elephant. Usually *Gajāri* is in this form.[59]

56. Bh., Ch. IV. 130.
57. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.
58. Plate VII, fig. 14.
59. See Plate CXXIII, fig. 1.

Rea's plate LIX is a *Gaṅgādhara-mūrti* holding up one of his *jaṭās* for receiving the *Gaṅgā*. He raises up the left leg to thump on the dwarf with His foot in *kuṭṭita* pose. Usually *Gaṅgādhara* is in this form but the raised leg is on a pedestal.[60]

The *kuñcita* mode of dance has been already described with reference to our description of the *Tripurāri*. Rea's plate XXXIV, fig. 1 is a *Dakṣāri* or a *Kāpāli* and He is destroying everything by thumping on the ground. Here He is standing on the right leg and thumping with the left. Plate XXXVIII, fig. 2 is probably *Kālāri* in *Talasamsphōṭita* form thumping on *Kāla*.

Our identification of this *kuñcita* dance with *Tripurāri* is still further justified by the *Tripurāri* form given in fig. 6 in Rea's plate XXXIII, where Śiva kneels down on His right knee while the left leg is bent up. This is the posture for bending the bow. This answers to the *kuñcita* mode where the right leg and the right arm are bent whilst the left leg and left arm are raised aloft. A variety of this is seen on the left side of the fig. 1, in Plate CXI.

Dr. Mīnākṣi has noted the absence of the popular *nādānta* mode of dance though the *gajahasta* pose is found in abundance. Rea's Plate CXI, fig. 1 shows a representation of the *Bhujanga-trāsita naṭana*—the usual *nādānta naṭana*. The *gajahasta* pose is found in the right hand with the left hand in a *prasārita* pose. The right leg is lifted up in the *Bhujaṅga trāsita* style. In plate CXII, the Lord is with four hands. He probably stands on the right leg slightly bent, with the left leg raised up. In the Kailāsanātha temple that which comes nearer to this dance is fig. 4 of plate XXXIII.

Other *karaṇas* could be recognized. Rea's plate LIII represents the *Tripurāri* seated in the chariot with a smile in the *sūcī-viddha* mode—the 78th *karaṇa* :

> *"Pādasūcyā yadā pādō dvitīyastu praviḍhyatē*
> *Kaṭivakṣah sthitau hastau sūcīviddham tad ucyatē".*[61]

'The right foot rests on the heel and the left pierces into the right in *sūcīpāda*, i.e. touching the other foot. The hands should

60. See Rea's plate XLIV, fig. 2; Plate CXXIII, fig. 2; Plate CIV, fig. 2.
61. Ch. IV, 139.

be on the waist and the chest. The legs in the sculpture are as required. The right hand is on the chest in *vismaya* pose and the left hand is bent and near the waist in *jñānamudrā* pose.

Many figures stand on one leg lifting up the other leg.[62] This is the *ūrdhvajānu karaṇa*, the 25th *karaṇa* described in verse 86. *Utkṣipya*: Here the bent leg is lifted up and kept on a level with the breast whilst the hands are free to be used as the dancer pleases.

The *Bhikṣāṭana* forms,[63] found in the Kailāsanātha temple are in the *janita karaṇa*.[64] In this mode of dance, one hand rests on the chest and the other is hung down. The foot is in *'talāgra'*, i.e., on the tip of the sole. One of the feet of *Bhikṣāṭana* is on the tip of the sole.

Rea's plate CV, representing the dance of *Gajāri* seems to give us the *Rēcita Nikuṭṭa* dance.[65] The right hand is to be in *rēcita* (i.e. lifting up the hand, throwing it about, moving it round and round and drawing it back); the right leg is to be *nikuṭṭa* and the left in *dōla* (arms let down loose and free). In the sculpture, there is one left arm in *dōla* pose; many arms in *rēcita* pose. The left leg is in *nikuṭṭa* pose.

Rea's plate LIV probably represents the *Pārśvakrānta* mode, where the pace of *Pārśvakrānta*, i.e., leg is lifted so that the knee comes to the level of the breast and it is dropped on the ground and in that pose thrown in front. The hands should accord with the leg action. This pose is used in terrific situations such as those associated with Bhīma. Here in the sculpture we find a vigorous fight.

Coming to the times of Rājarāja, who, we will suggest presently, adopted the name of *Āṭavallāṉ* for his Naṭarāja from the poems of Ārūrar. The image of *Āṭavallāṉ* was set up by his queen Sōramahādēvi.[66] The epigraphist's note is as follows: "It is a standing figure of the god with *Muyalakaṉ* under his feet. (*Muya-*

62. Rea's plates XLIV, fig. 2; LVII; LIX.
63. Rea's plates XLVI, fig. 1; LXI.
64. Bh., Ch. IV, 155.
65. *Ibid.* V. 90; *karana* 29.
66. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No 42.

lakaṉ or *Muśalagaṉ*—known in Sanskrit as *Apasmāra*—is the name of a black dwarf who issued out of the sacrificial fire of the *ṛṣis* of the *Dārukavana*. The sacrifices were offered in order to discomfit Śiva; and Śiva came there to teach them a lesson. A fierce tiger and a monstrous serpent issued out of the fire one after the other and were quickly overcome by the God. *Muyalakaṉ* appeared next. His form was hideous and malignant and with eyes of fire he brandished a club. Śiva pressed the tip of his foot and broke *Muyalakaṉ's* back so that he writhed on the ground. With this last foe prostrate, Śiva resumed the dance of which all the gods were witnesses. This is why *Muyalakaṉ* is represented as lying under the feet of Śiva. He is also found under the feet of *Caṇḍēśvaraprasādadēva, Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and *Tañjai-Aḷakar*. *Muyalakaṉ* is also described as a kind of disease from which a woman of Pāccilāccirāmam was suffering. She was cured by the saint Tirujñānasambandar according to the *Periyapurāṇam*.) The image had four arms, nine braids of hair (*jaṭā*), the goddess *Gāṅgā-bhaṭṭārakī* on the braided hair, and seven flower garlands. The goddess Umāparamēśvari who formed a part of the group was standing on a separate pedestal. This description corresponds to the representation of one of the many forms of Naṭarāja. Another queen of Rājarājadēva named Pañcavaṉ-Mahādēvi set up an image of Śiva in the dancing posture and called it Tañjai-Aḷakar.[67] The image was apparently standing with *Musalakaṉ* under the foot on which the god stood; the other foot was apparently lifted upwards in dancing though this fact is not specifically stated. An image of *Umāparamēśvari* and one of *Gaṇapati* were included in the group. The image of *Patañjali* and that of *Vyagrapāda* both of which usually accompany the dancing image of Śiva (called *Naṭarāja*) are not mentioned here. The sages *Patañjali* and *Vyāghrapāda* are believed to have been present at the dance of the god Śiva. It is however worthy of note that the same Cōḷa queen set up a separate image of *Patañjalidēva*.[68] It was a solid image and measured 'three-quarters and one eighth (of a *muḻam*) in height from the tail to the hoods (*phaṇa*). It had five hoods, one face in the midst of these hoods, one crown (*makuṭa*), two divine arms, above the navel a human body, and below the navel three coils'.

67. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 51.
68. *S.I.I.* Vol. II, No. 53.

IV

(1)

The Dancer is the name of Śiva and our poet refers to this name as "*Naṭamāṭi*" in Tamil.[69] The more popular name is '*Kūttaṉ*'[70] and Ārūrar addresses the Lord as '*Kūttā*'[71] and '*Kūttaṉ*'[72]. He also calls Him "*Niruttam cey kālaṉ*".[73] The poet uses the words 'Āṭal',[74] '*Āṭṭam*',[75] '*Āṭṭu*',[76] '*Naṭam*',[77] '*Naṭṭam*',[78] '*Niruttam*'[79] and '*Kūttu*'[80] for Dance. *Āṭal* and *Āṭṭam* signify motion and play—the conception of *līlā*. '*Āṭal*' is also Dance: c.f. "*Paṭiṉōrāṭal*"[81] of the ancient times. '*Naṭam*' is from the root '*Naṭ*', to act, dance or injure (*Muyalakaṉ*?). '*Naṭṭam*' is the *prākṛit* form of '*Nṛttam*'. '*Nṛttam*' has a technical meaning. '*Kūttu*' is derived by the Tamil Lexicon from '*Kūrdda*'—'to jump' when there is the Tamilian and Dravidian root '*Kuti*'. '*Kūttu*' is used as a technical term in Tamil from very ancient times and '*Kūrdda*' is never found in any of the technical terms of Sanskrit *Nāṭya-śāstras*. Under these circumstances, one must be on the search for a purely Dravidian root. '*Nāṭakam*' is drama and is another technical term. '*Kuṉittal*' is another root, to bend and to dance.[82]

(2)

Some of the terms used by Ārūrar may be explained at this stage. "Indian acting or dancing" (the same word *Nāṭya* covers both ideas) "is" as Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy writes in the

69. 7:17:9; 7:41:6; 7: 63:3.
70. 7:62:4.
71. 7:92:6.
72. 7:61:11; 7:62:4.
73. 7:58:3.
74. 7:6:9; 7:9:8; 7:10:2; 7:15:1; 7:15:2; 7:36:3; 7:36:7; 7:38:1; 7:41:1; 7:42:6; 7:52:9.
75. 7:17:6.
76. 7:2:5.
77. 7:3:2; 7:6:5; 7:17:9; 7:18:2; 7:19:7; 7:29:3; 7:41:6; 7:42:7; 7:55:8; 7:72:7; 7:81:7; 7:84:7.
78. 7:6:7; 7:9:8; 7:10:9; 7:11:3; 7:63:3.
79. 7:58:3.
80. 7:70:4.
81. *Cilap.*, 6:66.
82. 7:43:6.

Mirror of Gesture[83] "a deliberate art. Nothing is left to chance; the actor no more yields to the impulse of the movement in gesture than in the spoken words....precisely as the text of the play remains the same whoever the actor may be....so there is no reason why an accepted gesture language should be varied with a view to set off the actor's personality. It is the action not the actor which is essential to dramatic art. Under these conditions, of course, there is no room for any amateur upon the stage. In fact, the amateur does not exist in Oriental art". Readers of *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* will readily agree with this conclusion. In the Pallava period, the kings took interest in *Nāṭya* and Mahēndravarma Pallava is the author of *Mattavilāsa,* a play. The sculptures and paintings of the age reveal to us the great popularity of dances and dance poses. The worshippers also danced and Campantar speaks of the path of the dance along with the path of song for attaining the Lord, *Āṭal neṟi,*[84] and *Pāṭal neṟi.*[85]

Bharata is the name of the *Ṛṣi* considered to be the author of *Nāṭya Śāstra.* Vēdanta Dēsikar in his *Saṅkalpa Sūryōdaya* explains the word *Bharata* as acrostic of the initial syllables of the words *Bhāva* (idea), *Rāga* (Tune) and *Tāla* (Timing). We had referred to Ārūrar referring to *Tiṟam, Icai,* and *Pāṭal* referring to the tune, music and song, and to *Cati* referring to the *tāla.* As to the idea or *Bhāva,* the poet speaks of Śiva as, 'Our prince who performs the dance, inspired by the subject matter or *bhāva*'— *"Poruḷāl varu naṭṭam purinta Nampi".*[86] *Bhāva* is important. This is brought out by *Purāṇic* incident with the help of which Dr. Ānanda Coomaraswamy tries to reveal the interpretation of the dance. He translates thus in the work *'Mirror of Gesture'*:[87] "When....the *Dānavas* (Titans) found that the drama depicted often their own defeat, they remonstrated with Brahma and this afforded occasion for an explanation of the true character and significance of dramatic art, not to flatter any party, but to represent the true and essential nature of the world. Brahma explains to the *Dānavas*: 'This play is not merely for your pleasure or the pleasure of the *Dēvas* (celestials) but **exhibits mood** or

83. P.3.
84. 2:44:5.
85. 2:44:5.
86. 7:63:3.
87. P.2.

bhava for all the three worlds. I made this play as following the movement of the world, whether in work or play, profit, peace, laughter, battle, lust or slaughter; yielding the fruit of righteousness to those who follow the moral law, pleasure to those who follow lust, a restraint for the unruly, a discipline for the followers of a rule, creating vigour in the impotent, zeal in warriors, wisdom in the ignorant, learning in scholars, affording sport to kings, endurance to the sorrow-stricken, profit to those who seek advantage, courage to the broken willed: replete with the diverse moods, informed with the varying passions of the soul, linked to the deeds of all mankind, the best, the middling and the low, affording, excellent counsel, pastime, weal and all else' ".

Bharata begins by narrating the enactment of the dramas of churning the ocean and the *Tripura dahana* in the presence of the Lord. This is important for realizing that individual poses are not significant, in themselves, except as part of the whole, representing an event or a story. In this view, we can understand the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha temple and references in *Tēvāram* which do not refer to any image in a particular posture but depict a particular dramatic scene. The significance of the *Bhāva* of the divine dance must be much more important as may be presently seen. The way of expressing the *bhāva* is through *Abhinayas,* which are any means of exposition or any means of evoking *Rasa* in the audience; these may be *āṅgika,* i.e., the poses of the body, the face and movements, or *vācika,* i.e., the vocal expressions, or *āhārya,* i.e., the costumes, ornaments and other adventitious appendages or *sāttvika* i.e., the expression of mental states.

(3)

The importance of the Dance in Śaiva religion is great and some of the technical names are connected with Śaiva terms. The word *Tāṇḍava* itself is derived from *Taṇḍu,* the name of *Nandi,* to whom Śiva gave this Art and who, therefore, became its author. *Aṅgahāra,* which consists of the varied dispositions of the body—placing the limbs in different suitable positions—is traced by Abhinavagupta to Hara or Śiva, as according to him these practices relate to Hara. Probably it is these suitable or harmonious dispositions of the body that were called *'Ilayaṅkaḷ'* in *Tēvāraṁ.*[88]

88. *Ilayam*: 7:69:2.

Karaṇam is a technical word found in Ārūrar's poem[89] and explained in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. A combination of the prescribed position (*Sthānaka*), the gait (*Cāri*) and the hand pose (*Nṛtta hasta*) constitutes a *karaṇa*—each of these positions being called *mātrikā* or unit.

> *"Yāni sthānāni yāścāryō nṛttahastāstathaiva ca*
> *Sā mātṛkēti vijñēyā tadyōgat karaṇam bhavēt".*[90]

A *karaṇa* in dance is the coordination of the movements of hand and foot:

> *"Hastapādasamāyogō nṛtyasya karaṇam bhavēt".*[91]

The *cāris* and *nṛtta hastas* referred to here constitute a prime unit (*Mātṛkā*) and *karaṇas* are formed out of these:

> *"Cāryaścaiva tu yāh prōktā nṛttahastāstathaiva ca*
> *Sā mātṛkēti vijñēyā tadbhēdāt karaṇāni tu".*[92]

A single unit (*Mātṛikā*) of action consists of two *karaṇas*. The *aṅgahāras* arise out of the combination of either two, three or four of these units:

> *"Dvē nṛttakaraṇē caiva bhavatō nṛtta mātṛikā*
> *Dvābhyām tribhiścaturbhirvāpi aṅgahārastu mātṛbhih".*[93]

In a *karaṇa*, the body as a whole is in one fixed position or *sthānaka;* in an *Aṅgahāra* there is frequent change of *sthānaka*. When Ārūrar speaks of the Lord dancing frequently changing the *sthānaka*—*"Peyarntāṭum perumāṉ"*[94]—he is referring to *Aṅgahāra*. But the *karaṇas* and *Aṅgahāras* are fundamental poses and they are as such abstractions in the enactment of particular themes; these appropriate poses follow in the proper sequence to present a concrete dramatic situation or situations. In that very verse the poet speaks of the Lord dancing, adorning Himself with the crescent and the Ganges—the dance is, therefore, to represent the theme of *Candraśēkara* and *Gaṅgādhara* episodes.

89. *Karanam*: 7:6:3.
90. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV, 59.
91. *Ibid.*, IV. 30.
92. *Ibid.*, IV, 173.
93. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, 31.
94. 7:86:2.

(4)

Nṛttam has a technical meaning as distinguished from abhinaya or gestaculatory action. *Bharata*[95] says about this: "The *Ṛṣis* asked Śiva: Gestaculatory action has been created for the understanding of the meaning. What is the purpose of *Nṛtta*? It has no relation with the subject matter of the song; nor does it appear to be the representation of the meanings of words. Why then is *Nṛtta* performed in singing and *Āsārita* music? In reply, it was stated that *Nṛtta* no doubt does not look to the meanings of the words (of the song) but it is practised because it is beautiful by itself. Usually *Nṛtta* by its very nature, is pleasing to the whole world. It is highly esteemed as betokening auspiciousness in marriages and their attendant functions, and at the birth of sons. It is also practised as a source of merriment".

Laya—ilayam—as harmony is also mentioned.[96]

Śiva danced in several *Aṅgahāras* in strict accordance with *Laya* and *Tāla*. The musical instruments should be tuned with due observance of *Laya*.[97] Ārūrar also speaks of *ilayam* and *cati*. "*Kūṭiya ilayam cati piḻaiyāmaik koṭiyiṭai yumaiyavaḷ kāṇa āṭiya aḻakā*".[98]

Tāṇḍava is another word. Śiva created the *Rēcakas, Aṅgahāras* and *Piṇḍi bandha* and gave them away to *Nandi*—that is *Tāṇḍavam*. Thereafter, all dances accompanied by good music came to be known as *Tāṇḍava*.[99]

Kūttu or *Naṭam* means dance. It is of two varieties: the *Cāntikkūttu* or the dance of peace and the *Viṇōtakkūttu* or the dance of fun. The first is the classic dance and the second is the folk dance. The first is said to be of four kinds—the *cokkam* or *śuddha nṛtta*, consisting of the 108 *karaṇas* described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra;* the second is the *meykkūttu*—the dances of the Ceylon, Vaḍuku and other countries in which the body is in various poses, giving expression to *Sāttvic, Rājasic* and *Tāmasic* characteristic features; the third is *Avinayakkūttu*—the song is explained

95. *Nat. Śas.*, IV, 268-273.
96. *Nāṭya Śāstra*, Ch. IV., 259.
97. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV., 308.
98. 7:69:2.
99. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV., 266, 267 and 268.

through *abhinayas* but there is no continuous story and the fourth is *Nāṭakam* which is the dance explaining a story, i.e., the drama.[100] The commentators speak of[101] Nāṭya with *Nṛtta* and *Tāṇḍava,* and state that *abhinaya* is the expression of ideas. *Tāṇḍava* is the name of the whole style of dance which is violent like the dance of Śiva; *Nṛtta* is the 108 *karaṇas,* without *abhinaya,* a part of *Tāṇḍava.*

(5)

More particulars are given by *Ārūrar* about the modes of dances. *Laya* is the harmony of the song to the tune and the harmony of the dance to the basic time or *tāla*—the harmony of the *'Koṭṭu āṭṭu-p pāṭal',* i.e., of the *Tāla, Dance* and *Song.*[102]

The *cati* is the movement of the leg, keeping time by stamping on earth.[103] It is probably an onomatopoetic word and why the Tamil Lexicon should trace it to *jati,* the pause in music, is not clear. But Sanskrit scholars admit that the word *jati* is today used in dance in the same sense as Ārūrar uses *cati.* The Lord in the presence of the Mother, it is said in one verse,[104] performed the dance without *'cati'* or the *tāla* stamped with the leg going out of time. Or, it may mean that the Lord danced in the presence of the Mother without the established harmony ever ceasing to keep time with the *tala* of the leg movement. The poet speaks of the Lord dancing with His eight hands creating and maintaining the *laya* and harmony.[105] The Dance with the eight hands has already been mentioned with reference to the fire dances.[106]

Laya means also the modes of dances.[107] One verse states: "This is the place where the Lord who is everlastingly fond of dancing productive of various poses resulting from the many leg movements and the ankle joint.[108] It is possible

100. See *Aṭiyārkku Nallār's* commentary lines 12-25 in III *Araṅkēṟṟukkātai in Cilappatikāram.*
101. See *Cilappatikarām,* III, l., 158.
102. 7:13:6.
103. 7:69:2.
104. 7:69:2.
105. 7:33:8.
106. 7:40:8.
107. *Tēvāram: Sāminatha Paṇḍitar edition*: 1235:6.
108. 7: 10:2.

to make out here the compound name "*Tillai Ampalavāṇaṉ*"—'He who resides and lives in the Hall of Dance at Tillai'—and then it will refer to His dance, in the company of *Pēy* and wolf. The difficulty is only with the word '*kuṭaka*', qualifying the compound name 'Tillai Ampalavāṇaṉ' (*Khuṭṭakah*—ankle joint), probably referring to the bend of the *kuñcita* poses. The reading probably is not correct. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* knows the word '*kutapa*' and emphasizes the '*kutapa vinyāsa*'—the arrangement of the orchestra playing in accompaniment to the dance. *Bharata* lays much emphasis on the correct position of the musical orchestra. The descriptions of the Dance of Śiva also give particulars about the musical instruments (*kutapa*). With reference to the singing in accompaniment to '*yāḻ*' the ancient Tamilians called a particular mode of playing on the instrument *Kuṟumpōkku* (short steps) which is said to be of two varieties: (1) *Tuḷḷal* or quick or rhythmic leaping-like movement and (2) *Kuṭakam* which may be said to be the opposite of *Tuḷḷal*. Then we may interpret the *Kuṭaka* in '*Kuṭakkat tilai*' dance, as a dance where there are no short quick steps or fast musical rhythms but calm slow and soft rhythms.

The Lord comes a-begging with the bull performing many '*karaṇas*' or modes of dances[109]—says a verse. In the sculptures of Kailāsanātha Temple, we get glimpses of '*Kutapa vinyasa*'. In Plate CXXIII, fig. 3, we have already noticed, *Nandi* playing upon '*Kuṭa muḻā*'—'*Kuṭamuḻa nandīcaṉ*'[110] sings Appar. On the left side of Śiva's leg is somebody with an instrument, which is not clear, whether it is a lute or a stick for beating the drum. In Plate CXVIII, figure 3, we referred to the *Bhūtas* playing on the drum. In plate CIX, fig. 1, there is one in the act of beating an one-sided long drum. In plate XCVII, fig. 1, there is one in the act of playing on two drums. In fig. 2, therein, there is one sitting and playing on a drum all concentrated in such a play. On the left side of the leg there is one sitting with two sticks raised in the act of beating probably a drum.

Kuta is the sound and '*kutapa*' is that which sustains and maintains this sound; that is, the musical instruments which are according to *Piṅkalantai* and other Tamil Lexicons five in number: (1) *Narappukkaruvi* or stringed instruments; (2) *Kañcakkaruvi*

109. 7:6:3.
110. 6:96:11.

or the metallic instruments like cymbals; (3) *Tōl karuvi,* the instruments of hides and skins like the varieties of drums; (4) *Tuḷaikkaruvi,* the hollow instruments like the flute, known as wind instruments in science and (5) the *miṭaṟṟukkaruvi,* the instrument of the human throat. The last is not recognized as an instrument outside the Tamil land and the Sanskrit terms for the first four are, *'Taṭa', 'Ghaṇa' 'Ānaddha'* and *'Suṣira'*. The *Nāṭyasāstra* in speaking of *Tāṇḍava* refers to its accompaniment with *Vardhamānaka (Tala)*. *"Vardhamānaka* is also called", says *Nāṭyasāstra,* "because of the harmonious development of its *kalās,* and letters (the interval of tune calculated in terms of the duration of letters) and also because of the prosperity it produces for the dancer. O! best of *Dvijas*! the *kutapa vinyāsa* has first to be performed as ordained by the rules and then the performers may proceed with *Āsārita* practices. Thus making *upōhana* (humming a tune before singing it aloud) to the accompaniment of stringed musical instruments, vocal music and *Bhāṇḍa* (a drum) the lady dancer has to make her entry. Where a song has to be represented in *Abhinaya,* there should be no accompaniment of instrumental music. *Bhāṇḍa Vādya* is ordained for the performance of *Angahāras.* Instrumental music, which is well harmonized, well timed, enjoyable, and attuned to the *Nṛtta* should be used in *Tāṇḍava* by those skilled in the use of such instruments".[111] These remind us of Ārūrar's emphasis on *Laya, Cati, Pāṭal, Icai* and musical instruments. *Kutapa vinyāsa* according to the commentary is to be in the following manner: There is the *mṛdaṅga;* to its left is the *paṇava;* the singer is to the south of the platform himself facing north; to his north is the songstress herself facing south; *Vīṇa* is to the left of her; next is the flute.

In *Araṅkēṟṟukkātai,*[112] we have the description of the Dance master,[113] the master of music,[114] the poet,[115] the master of *taṇṇumai* drum,[116] the master of the flute,[117] and the master of *yāḻ* or the harp.[118] The poet here refers to the *kutapa vinyāsa* when he

111. Ch. IV., 277-285.
112. *Cilap.,* III.
113. ll., 12-25.
114. ll., 26-36.
115. ll., 37-44.
116. ll., 45-55.
117. ll., 55-69.
118. ll., 70-94.

states "*Kuyiluva mākkaḷ neṟippaṭa niṟpa.*"[119] The lyre follows the flute and so does the song. *Taṇṇumai* follows the lyre. *Muḻā—kuṭa muḻā*—follows the *taṇṇumai* or *mattaḷam; Āmantirikai—iṭakkai*—accompanies the *tāla;* and the other instruments follow these like the shadow following the kite flying higher and higher.[120]

But it must be noted that the word used is *'kuṭaka'* and not *'kutapa'*. We must assume *'ṭ'* comes in for *'t'*. It is possible to take the *kuṭaka* as a corresponding reading to *kuṭṭaka,* one of the ways, the sole is struck on the floor in dance. Or, is he referring to Pērūr, the western Tillai ?

The drums are classified by Aṭiyārkkunallār on the basis of the authorities as (1) *Aka muḻā* (The inner drum) like *Callikai, Iṭakkai, Karaṭikai, Pērikai, Paṭakam, Mattaḷam* and *Kuṭamulā* which are called the best ones; (2) *Akappuṟa muḻā* (the inner-outer drum) like *Taṇṇumai, Takkai, Takuṇiccam,* etc., called the middling; (3) *Puṟa muḻā* (the outer drum) like *Kaṇapparai,* etc., called the last; (4) *Puṟappuṟa muḻa* (the outer-outer drum) like *Neytarpaṟai* (funeral drum); (5) *Paṇṇamai muḻā* or the heroic drums like *Muracu, Nicalam, Tuṭumai,* and *Timilai;* (6) *the Nāḷ muḻā* or the day drum or the drum announcing the hours if we may use the word for clarification; (7) the *Kālai muḻā* or the morning drum, that is the *Tuṭi or Uṭukkai.* An explanation of some of these names is next given by this commentator: *Mattaḷam* is so called because *'mat'* is the sound; *'taḷam'* is the basis of all musical instruments, hence this is the basis of all drums. *Callikai* is so called because it has the sound like *'cal'*. *Āvañci, kuṭukkai* and *iṭakkai* mean the same (kind of drum). It is called *'Āvañci'* because it is covered with the hides of the cow. The meaning of *vañcittōl* is not clear. *Kuṭukkai* refers to its form. It is called *'iṭakkai'* because it is played upon with the left hand. *'Karaṭikai'* is so called because it sounds like the noise raised by the bear. What is first played upon is the *mattaḷam* and, therefore, it is the first instrument. That which comes in the middle is the *'calli'* which is the *'iṭaikkaruvi'*. *'Uṭukkai'* comes in for the closing beat and hence it is called *'kaṭaikkaruvi'*. The differentiation of these into the inner and the outer, the inner-outer and the outer-outer is probably based upon the possibility of tuning them, the inner is what is completely tuned

119. l., 130.

120. *Cilap.*, III., ll., 138-143.

and musical like the *mṛdaṅga* or *mattaḷa;* the outer-outer is what is completely non-musical and nothing but noisy like the funeral drum; the others come in between. Dr. Rāghavan considers this as *akam* and *puṟam.* The commentator enumerates all the drums: *Pērikai, paṭakam, iṭakkai, uṭukkai, mattaḷam, callikai, karaṭikai, timilai, kuṭamuḻā, takkai, kaṇappaṟai, tamarukam, taṇṇumai, taṭāri, antari, muḻavu, cantiravaḻaiyam, montai, muracu, kaṇviṭu tūmpu, nicalam, tuṭumai, ciṟuparai, aṭakkam, takuṇiccam, viralēṟu, pākam, upāṅkam, nāḻikaippaṟai, tuṭi* and *perumpaṟai.* He quotes a verse containing these names as his authority.[121]

The names of some of these are as old as the *Caṅkam* age and occur in *Malaipaṭukaṭām:*[122] *Muḻavu, ākuḷi, pāṇṭil, (cymbal), kōṭu, kaliṟṟuyirttūmpu, kuṟuntūmpu, kuḻal, taṭṭai, ellari* and *patalai.* Naccinārkkiṇiyar explains these: *'Ākuḷi'* is *'ciṟuparai'*; *'Kōṭu'* is the horn; *"Kaliṟṟuyirttūmpu"* is the big *'tūmpu'* of the shape of the elephant's trunk and sounding like its deep breath; *'Taṭṭai'* is *'karaṭikai'; 'Ellari'* is *'calli'; 'Patalai'* is the *'kiṇai'* beaten on one side. *'Pīli'* (line 5) is counted by Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar as a separate drum on the basis of Ārūrar Tēvāram—*'Viḷikkum Taḷaippīli.*[123]

Ārūrar's reference to these musical instruments may be better understood in the light of *kutapa vinyāsa.* "You dance standing and singing in accompaniment to the musical harmony of *takkai, taṇṇumai, tāḷam* (perhaps cymbal), *vīṇai, takuṇiccam, kiṇai, callari, kokkarai, kuṭa muḻavu",*[124] so sings Ārūrar, emphasizing the harmony of the music and dance, in the best traditions of *Nāṭya* art. Here, one finds names of drums, not mentioned in the list of *Aṭiyārkkunallār. Kiṇai* is the old *Caṅkam* drum,[125] and is probably *taṭāri. Callari* is *callikai.* We have already referred to *koṭukoṭṭi* coming in accompaniment to *vīṇai.*[126]. In another place, Ārūrar speaks of Śiva enjoying probably as the Dancer, the *kokkarai, koṭukoṭṭi* and *tattaḷakam,* all of which sound intermittently and the *tuntumi,* and *kuṭamuḻā,* which are beaten and to the tune of

121. See his commentary—*Cilap.,* III, 1., 26.
122. ll., 2-11.
123. 7:9:7.
124. 7:36:9.
125. *Puṟam.,* 70:3.
126. 7:42:9.

which the songs are sung.[127] The tuning of *muḻā*, so as to harmonize with the song is referred to, as is made clear in *Cilappatikāram*. *Tattaḷakam* is not in the list above given. *Piṅkalantai* speaks of *'Tattaḷa pañcamam'* as a tune. Perhaps *Tattaḷam* is a drum of the *marutam* like *'kiṇai'*. *'Kokkarai'* is explained by *Tivākaram* as conch.[128] *Tēvāram* speaks of *kokkarai* as keeping time—*'Tāḷamali kokkarai'*.[129] Conch is described under *Tālavādyas* in Sanskrit works. *Muḻā* is the basis and the common name. Ārūrar speaks of *'Paṟaiyār muḻavam'*— 'the *muḻavam* which is accompanied by all the drums or *paṟai* or the *muḻā* which is full of sound,[130] and of *'maṇi muḻā'*, the beautiful *muḻā*.[131] The harmony of the drums and the flute to the sound of the song and the heroic anklet resounding in harmony is spoken of by Ārūrar.[132] *Paṭampakkam* is also mentioned as a musical instrument.[133] Probably it is *pākam*: c.f. *Cilappatikāram* commentary; c.f. *Viralēṟu pākam*.[134] *Paṭam* is probably the hood-like mark made by the beating with the fingers,[135]—*"Paitta pāmpiṉ tutti ēypp-k-kai-k kacaṭirunta eṉ kaṇṇakal taṭāri"*. *'Montai'* is an earthen vessel and a drum is made of it by covering it with a skin, very much like the modern *'caṭṭi-p paṟai'*. It is mentioned above in the list. The form of the word as found in *Tēvāram* is *'mōntai'*.[136] The musical instruments *'Yāḻ'*,[136a] and *'Vīṇai'*[137] are also mentioned.

Gītam is another technical term used. *Gītas* are a class of songs. 'A *Gīta* comprehending all things has first to be performed in *Abhinaya*. The same thing has again to be represented in the dance' says the *Nāṭya Śāstra*.[138] But Ārūrar speaks of *Vēda- gītam* and this technical meaning may not apply to that term. Our poet how

127. 7:49:6.
128. It also means a bow; is it an instrument like a bow?
129. Swaminatha Panditar's edition: 1141 : 7.
130. 7:53:4.
131. 7:55:8.
132. 7:32:7.
133. 7:2:6.
134. *Cilap.*, 3:27 commentary.
135. *Porunar ārṟuppatai*: ll., 69-70.
136. 7:49:9.
136a. 7:8:7; 7:71:1.
137. 7:36:9; 7:46:4; 7: 85:6.
138. Ch. IV., ll., 301-302.

ever refers to *vari*.[139] This is explained by the commentator.[140] According to this definition, *'Vari'* is something like our modern *'cintu'*. Various forms of *vari* occur in the *'Kāṇal vari'* and *'Vēṭṭuva vari'* of the *Cilappatikāram*. *'Vari'* may be taken as *'Varikkūttu'* mentioned in the commentary.[140a] Aṭiyārkkunallār refers[141] to *Palvarikkūttu* which includes all kinds of folk dances of adults, children, women and foreigners. To please the women or the *Ṛṣi-patnīs*, the Lord may be taken to have performed these dances as well.

V

(1)

In more than sixty places Ārūrar has referred to the dance of Śiva. But the references to the dance at Cidambaram is restricted to three places only. In this, we have not taken into account the mention of *'Puliyūr-t tirucciṟṟampalam'* ten times in the *koil* hymn. According to the *Periyapurāṇam* tradition, this hymn was sung by Ārūrar at Cidamabaram describing the vision he had, of the Lord, at 'Pērūr' on the banks of the river 'Kāñci' in the *'Koṅku nāṭu'*.[142] This tradition is confirmed by the last verse of Ārūrar's hymn 90. The first verse in this hymn describes the Lord holding *'Damarukam'* or *'Uṭukkai'*, *'Eriyakal'* or the fire-pot, and *'Kariya pāmpu'* or the cobra. This is not what we find at Cidambaram. It is true that Appar speaks of the serpent and the skull in his second *Koil Tirukkuṟuntokai*.[143] But he refers to these in relation to the dance of Śiva in the burning ground. The form of Naṭarāja holding the serpent is to our great surprise found at Pērūr and that is why Ārūrar speaks of Pērūr vision in the last verse. This is very significant and reveals to us the painstaking researches of Cēkkiḻār. This form is often referred to by Ārūrar.[144] With reference to the *Bhikṣāṭana* form, this had already been noticed. In the Kailāsanāthar temple and other temples of

139. 7:72:7.
140. *Cilap.*, VII, l., 19.
140a. *Cilap.* III. ll., 12-25.
141. *Cilap.*, III, l., 13.
142. *Ēyar kōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār Purāṇam*—V. 115.
143. Verse 3.
144. 7:14:8; 7:39:9; 7:36:4.

Coñjivaram, we had found Śiva as dancer holding a serpent in His hand.[145]

It is very unfortunate that the hymn which he first sung on his visit to Cidambaram is not now in existence. It must have been a glorious description of the dance, from what Cēkkiḻār says of that hymn.[146] But there are three other references to Cidambaram, i.e., in three different hymns. After singing the 90th hymn above referred to at Cidambaram, according to *Periyapurāṇam*, our poet goes to Tiruvārūr and starts again on another pilgrimage towards the north. He passes through Cidambaram and when he reaches his old place Tirunāvalūr, he is reminded of Cidambaram and mentions it in the 6th verse of his 17th hymn "*Āṭṭaṅ-koṇṭār Tillai-c Cirṟampalattē*"—'He began dancing in Cirṟambalam in the small hall at Tillai'. Before going to Cidambaram, whilst passing through 'Tirukkōlakkā', he speaks of having a vision of the dance of Cidambaram.[147] This is reminiscent of his previous vision at Cidambaram itself. "He who was pleased with accepting me as His servant being His confidant, the Lord of the eternal, He who is keeping by His side the Mother of Kumāra, has made the Ganges to be hidden in the Heavens, the pure Śiva, the rich honey, the dancer who fills up and dances in the Tillai hall, the great gem of my teacher, Him I have verily seen at Tirukkōlakkā". The hall being full with the dance, the subjective experience of the poet shows how the poet was moved at Cidambaram.

According to *Periyapurāṇam*, when Ārūrar was going on a pilgrimage along with Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, he had a dream one day at Tirucculiyal, a dream of the Lord as a youth and then he sang the 84th hymn: "When am I to see this youth of Kāṉappērūr?" He refers there to his previous sight of the Lord at Cidambaram, in verse No. 5. He refers to the beauty of the bull, the beautiful and sweet smelling mat-lock, the boquet of *Koṉṟai* blooming in bunches, the tender lady of the jasmine-like teeth with passionate love, the beautiful dance performed in the hall in the city of Tillai, the powerful hatchet, the blazing fire on the hand and the characteristic features of His followers playing on

145. Rea's Plate CIX, fig. 1, CXVIII, fig. 3, CXXIII, figs. 3, 7, etc.

146. *Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam*, VV. 106, 107.

147. 7:62:4.

the drum called *'Kallavaṭam'* and explains, "When am I to see all this and the youth of Kāṇappēr?".

Except in these three places and the *Koil* hymn, the references to the dances are not to this kind of dance which has now become popular and almost universal in all temples but to the dance performed on the burning ghat and at the door of the *Ṛṣi-patnīs* of *Dārukavana.*

(2)

We found in our study of the Kailāsanāthar temple sculptures that the *Nādānta* dance of Cidambaram was conspicuous by its absence. All the dances are of the wild and terrific variety. The similarity between the majority of descriptions of dance found in Ārūrar and the representative figures of Śiva's poses in the Kailāsanātha temple is indeed very significant, revealing to us the spirit of the age and the particular stage of the popularity of the various dance poses in the history of the Tamilian conception of Śiva's dance.

(3)

It has been found that the Dance of Śiva described by Ārūrar refers to the dance at the burning ground. The words used by Ārūrar with reference to this place are, *"Mutukāṭu"; "Iṭukāṭu"; "Cuṭalai"; "Karikāṭu"; "Cuṭukāṭu"; "Kaṭṭa-k kāṭu"; "Piṇakkāṭu"; "Piṇamiṭu kāṭu"; "Piṇampaṭu kāṭu"; "Mayāṇam"; "Īmam";* etc.

"Mayāṇam"[148] is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *'Śmaśāna'*, derived from the roots, *'Śma'* (Corpse) and *'Śā'* (Sleep) signifies the place of corpses, the *"Piṇakkāṭu"*,[149] *"Piṇampaṭu kāṭu"*.[150] *'Kāṭu'*[151] is the place of wild growth; it was a place outside the village where the dead were buried or burnt. Because it is a wild growth of bushes, it is called a *'Tūṟu'*—wild bush.[152] Because it is outside the village, away from the waste or pasture lands of jungle growth, it is called *"Puṟaṅkāṭu"* or the outside wood.[153] In view of the horror of death, it is called *"Pollāppuṟaṅ-*

148. 7:53:29; 7:89:8.
149. 7:98:4.
150. 7:14:8.
151. 7:9:8; 7:29:3; 7:36:7; 7:56:6; 7:72:7; 7:97:4.
152. 7:44:2.
153. 7:2:5; 7:15:1; 7:52:9; 7:94:7.

kāṭu".[154] It is the wild of death—*"Paṭukāṭu"*.[155] Usually the cremation used to take place at dusk or in the last part of the evening. Hence this place is called the *"iruṭkāṭu"*—the wild waste of darkness.[156] *'Cuṭu'* is to burn and *"Cuṭu kāṭu"*[157] is the wild place in which corpses are burnt. *'Cuṭalai'*[158] from *'Cuṭu'* means the place of cremation. Because of this burning, this wild place appears charred and full of cinder and hence it is *"Kari kāṭu"*—the burnt or charred wood.[159] There is also a custom of burying the dead and, therefore, the burial ground is called *"Iṭukāṭu"*[160] and it is made clearer as *"Piṇam iṭu kāṭu"*[161]—*"Piṇak-kāṭu"*[162] the place where the corpses are thrown or buried. Therefore the kites fly there to prey upon the dead bodies; hence is the name of the wild waste, carrying the kites—the hovering kites look as though being supported by the force of this wild waste *"Pāṟu tāṅkiya kāṭu"*.[163] *'Kāṭu'* as the place of wild growth comes from the root *'kaṭu'*—the harsh, the wild and the bitter and *'kaṭumai'*, *'kaṭukkāy'*, *'kaṭuku'*, *'kaṭuvāy'* are traceable to this root. *'Kaṭṭam'* from the same root is a variant form of *'kaṭu'* with the suffix *'am'*; it means according to *Tivākaram*, a jungle. Our poet calls the burning ghat as *"Kaṭṭakkāṭu"*[164] a compound of words in duplicate, if one may use the term. On the analogy of *"Kaittalam"*, *"Cāraippāmpu"*, etc., one may say that the second term *'kāṭu'* has become a generic name whilst *'kaṭṭam'* was the special name of burning ghat. Here is also a suggestion of sorrow, on account of the similarity between the Tamil word *'kaṭṭam'* and the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *'kaṣṭa'*. It is *'Peruṅkāṭu'*, the wild expanse.[165] The greatness or *'Perumai'* is explained by another name. It is *'Mutu kāṭu'*,[166] the most ancient jungle. As one

154. 7:2:5.
155. 7:42:4.
156. 7:44:4.
157. 7:10:9; 7:41:6.
158. 7:36:3; 7:44:2.
159. 7:33:7; 7:38:1; 7:42:7; 7:55:8
160. 7:4:6; 7:43:6; 7:92:5.
161. 7:96:3.
162. 7:98:4.
163. 7:33:1.
164. 7:18:2.
165. 7:2:8; 7:9:8.
166. 7:2:2; 7:41:1; 7:42:6.

Caṅkam poet sings[167] it has seen generation marching away out of this world; they showed their back or presented it with a pair of heels but nobody has seen it march out. This is what Tolkāppiyar calls "*Kāṭu vāḻttu*".[168] Hence the name "*Mutu kāṭu.*[169] This is the Hall of His dance—"*Kāṭaraṅku*";[170] "*Peruṅkāṭaraṅku*".[171] All His Hall of Dance is the beautiful grave yard.[172] '*Īmam*' is another word which the poet uses along with "*Puṟaṅkāṭu*", "*Īmappuṟaṅkāṭu*".[173] This is from the word '*Īm*' with the suffix '*am*'. Tolkāppiyar gives the form '*Īm*'[174] and Naccinārkkiniyar explains it there as the burning ground.

The ghosts—the *Pēy*, the *Pāriṭam* and *Pūtam*—are said to crowd the burning ground. Their dance with the Lord had already been described in our description of *Kāpāli* form.[175] We have referred to the serpent He holds.[176] The serpents dance whilst He dances, especially the serpents on the cloth of the tiger skin.[177] Rea's plate CIX, fig. 1 already noticed, represents the swinging of the serpents from the waist in Śiva's dance. The burning ghat is the rendezvous of the fox and the wolf; it is their happy haunt.[178] The world stands there dazed at the serpent of the dance[179] or it also dances according to the interpretation given by Rāmānanda yōgi. The fox snatches a skull with its mouth; the wolf stands and hails; the ghosts of burning heads surround Him and He dances in the Dark forest.[180]

(4)

Next to the description of this dance as a dance of the burning ground, we have its description as a midnight dance or a dance

167. *Puram.* V., 356; *Puṟap. V.M.*, V., 274.
168. *Tol.*, S., 1024.
169. 7:41:1; 7:42:6.
170. 7:42:6; 7:55:8; 7:72:7; 7:98:4.
171. 7:9:8.
172. 7:92:5.
173. 7:52:9.
174. *Tol.*, S., 328.
175. 7:9:8; 7:10:2.
176. 7:14:8.
177. 7:39:9.
178. 7:72:7.
179. 7:10:5.
180. 7:44:4.

of darkness. If the burning ground is the place, midnight is the time. *'Ir'* is the root of the word *'Iruḷ; Irā; Iravu. 'Irumaṉ'* is the dark mud; *'Irumai'* is blackness; *'Iruḷ'* is darkness; *'Ira', 'Iravu', 'Irā'* mean the night which is the dark part of the day. **'Ir'** has the meaning wet and cool; does the meaning of night arise from this as being the cooler part of the day? 'Elli' is another word for the night of this dance.[181] Tolkāppiyar in his *'Iṭaiyiyal'* gives the particle *'El'* meaning brightness[182] and he uses the word in the phrase *'Eṟpāṭu',*[183] where *'El'* means the Sun.[184] It means the day time.[185] From this comes the meaning of 'clearly and openly'.[186] But by the time of the Muttaraiyars of *Nālaṭiyār*[187] of the age of *Cintāmaṇi,*[188] and the age of *Pāṇṭikkōvai*[189] which may be all said to belong to the age of the Pallavas, this word has developed the meaning of night and darkness. How this revolution in its meaning has been effected is not clear. In Malayāḷam the word *'Ira'* has come to mean the day-break. In a similar way this *'El'* might have been used for the sun-rise and then gradually for the day-break, the last part of the night and the night itself. The word *'Aḷukai'* becomes in Telugu *'Ēḍuka'*. It is not, therefore, impossible for the Tamil word *'Al'* which means night to be pronounced as *'El'* in these parts in contact with Telugu or the Northern Dravidian dialect of those days.

The other word used by Ārūrar is *'Kaṅkul'*. If *'ul'* is left off as a formative, the form *'kaṅku'* remains. *'Kaṅku'* is the name of a black millet where we have the meaning of blackness lurking.

Note: *'Ku'* itself may be another formative; and *'kam'* alone will remain. *'Kammutal'* in colloquial language is to be dark, to be overcast. In this case, we must assume *'l'* of *'Kal'* has changed into a nasal as *'Kam'*. The final nasal in Tamil words takes the place of *'l', 'ṉ'* and *'v'*; we have *'nālku'* becoming *'nāṉku'; 'tēṉ'*

181. 7:15:2.
182. *Tol.,* S., 754.
183. *Tol.,* S., 954.
184. See also *Pattuppāṭṭu,* 1, l., 74.
185. *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal,* S. 170.
186. *Cintāmaṇi,* V., 2959.
187. V., 8.
188. V., 1877.
189. V., 277.

becoming *'tēm'* as in *'tēṅkuṭam'*; the *'v'* of *'tev'* becomes the nasal *'m'* as in *'temmuṉai'*. With these remarks in mind one can study the word *'Kaḷṟu'*, a word for which the commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* give the meaning of darkness.[190] In *'Kaḷṟu'* we may think of *'kal'* as the root ending in *'l'* which may change into *'āytam'* in the presence of the formative *'tu'* which itself changes there into *'ṟu'*. Perhaps this is connected with the root *'kaṟu'*, black.

Our poet speaks of *"Naḷḷiruḷ naṭṭam"*—the dance of midnight[191] and of *"Kaṭu iruḷ naṭam"*[192]—the dance of bitter darkness. He asks why this dance in the night—*'Iravattu'*.[193] The poet makes a confession that he steals (a sight of) the night dance or the *"elliyil āṭal"* in the burning ground.[194] The significance of this statement will appear when explaining the mystic meaning of the dance. Ārūrar addresses the Lord as the night dancer of the burning ground, carrying the never extinguished fire in the hand—*"Kaṅkuṟpuṟam kāṭṭu āṭi"*.[195]

(5)

This dance of destruction is also a fire dance, a dance on the burning funeral pyre. Most of the dances of the *Bhārati* mode represent the heroic feats of Śiva. *Kāma* was burnt and our poet says, that burning away the lord of the shining arrows, by fire, Śiva danced in that fire.[196] In the light of this description, one can understand the other references to the fire dance as the dance in the fire of destruction. There is the reference to His carrying the fire[197] but this is not a dance in fire. "Dancing in the fire He preaches",[198] says the poet. This may refer to His carrying the fire in His hand whilst dancing. In another place Ārūrar says: "He throws out the fire or He emits fire and stands and dances."[199]

190. *Tol.*, 40.
191. 7:11:3.
192. 7:29:3.
193. 7:4:6.
194. 7:15:2.
195. 7:47:2.
196. 7:10:1.
197. 7:47:2.
198. 7:40:8.
199. 7:42:7.

This also may after all refer to the fire in the hand. In describing the fourth *Tāṇḍava* as *Bhujaṅga lalita,* the *Mayamata,* we had already noted, speaks of the fire in the hand being blown into a blaze as a result of the poses of the dance; perhaps this is referred to as *'aṉal vīci'*.[200] More definite references are however there in Ārūrar's poems about this dance of fire. "Why this dance in the fire in the night in the graveyard?"[201]—that is the question. "The sacred thread on the beautiful chest is thrown out along with the eight arms in the act of the dance in fire"[202]—sings the poet. He calls the Lord *'Eriyāṭi'*—'the dancer in the blazing fire'[203] and *"Tīyāṭiyār',*[204] the fire dancer. An image of this dance is found in the Gwalior Museum.[205]

(6)

The other dance of destruction is the white dance or the dance on the burning ground or the decaying dust of the graveyard ashes called *'Pāṇṭaraṅkam'* already referred to.[206] 'He, the dancer on the white dust'—thus Ārūrar addresses the Lord.[207] The poet further says, 'He sings and dances besmearing the burnt-out white ashes'.[208]

'Koṭukoṭṭi' dance also had been already referred to. The sculpture of Talasamsphōṭita dance of Kailāsanātha temple of Conjīvaram, as described by Mr. Gopinatha Rao is really a representation of *'Koṭukoṭṭi* dance'. *Koṭukoṭṭi* is the fatal clapping on the day of destruction according to Naccinārkkiṉiyar. Our poet sings of the Lord as the One who wears an anklet of heroism in the leg of destructive stamping—*"Koṭukoṭṭi kālar"*[208a]—*'Koṭukoṭṭi'* is the destructive dance of terrific stamping with the foot.

200. 7:42:7.
201. 7:46:1.
202. 7: 40:8.
203. 7:72:7.
204. 7:17:8.
205. *Trouvilles de Nedoungadu Tandavas de Śiva*—Planche XXXII. This dance is called *Śaṅkara tāṇḍavam* (p. 54).
206. 7:22:2; 7:98:1.
207. 7:81:4.
208. 7:18:2.
208a. 7:33:5.

(7)

The wild dance has been described with reference to the swinging dance of the serpents.[209] The sweep of the blazing faggot in the hand and the dance of the thrown out eight arms have also been referred to. In this dance the mat-lock is thrown out and it flows down[210] and it whirls in eight different parts.[211] It is significant that whilst the *Āgamas speak of the* mat-lock getting divided into 5, 7, or 9 parts, i.e., of odd numbers and Appar speaks of 9 in the 9th verse of the "*Viṭam tīrtta*" hymn, our poet speaks of the even number eight, emphasizing the symmetry and harmony. The *Āgamic* rules have not yet crystallized. "The resounding heroic golden anklet roars, the serpents dance; He dances moving"[212]—thus the poet sings of this whirling wild dance. This dance is accompanied by music—song—and *tāla* or drum.[213] The importance of '*kutapa*' has already been mentioned. *Muḻā* or *mṛdaṅgam* is, as Sir C. V. Raman has pointed out, not a non-musical noisy band. It is India's greatness that it is a musically tuned instrument. The lovesick maiden asks the Lord, "Are you an expert in dance and song?".[214] It is a Tamil song He sings and she asks, "Are you capable of singing the classic Tamil tunes—"*Centamiḻ-t tiṟam vallirō*"? [215] The "*vari-p pāṭṭu*" or musical songs are sung to the tune of the stringed instrument as mentioned in one verse.[216] '*Muḻā*' is mentioned. This is played on by one of the *Asuras* of *Tripuram*.[217] Other musical instruments are also referred to: "*Koṭukoṭṭi*" is a drum carried along with the '*Vīṇā*.[218] "*Paṭampakkam*" is another drum.[219] "*Kallavaṭam*" is a drum carried by the worshippers.[220] "*Damarukam*" is the *uṭukkai* in His hand.[221]

209. 7:39:9.
210. 7:9:8.
211. 7:19:7.
212. 7:86:2.
213. 7:42:6.
214. 7:36:7
215. 7:36:4.
216. 7:72:7.
217. 7:55:8.
218. 7:42:9.
219. 7:2:6.
220. 7:84:5.
221. 7:90:1.

(8)

In all these dances, the Mother stands on the left. She, representing Śiva's Grace, inspires the Dance—a dance born of love for Her and pity for the souls to be redeemed. All art is so inspired by these great sentiments. The poet sings, 'So that she may enjoy—the lady of the white jasmine teeth—the damsel of the never deserting but ever growing fame, *Śaṅkaraṉ*, the Creator of bliss, stands in the middle of the burning ground and dances'.[222] 'With the charred burning ground as the hall of dance, you perform the unique dance for the fawn-eyed to enjoy, whilst the *muḻā* or the drum of gems is played upon by one of the three asuras of *Tripura* after the other two had been sent away to guard your gateway'.[223] 'Oh ! Thou Beautiful who dances to be seen by Umā of the creeper waist.'[224] The poet speaks of the harmony here—never disturbed by the leg movement or '*Cati*' going out of time. Does this refer to the Mother keeping time as mentioned in *Kalittokai* ? Sometimes He dances with her as already pointed out in *Kallāṭam*. 'Along with the damsel of the thread-like subtle waist, why do you dance in the graveyard so wild and fast, that the ring bedecked ears dash against each other?'[225]—that is a question raised by our poet. 'The great Lord who practises the dances along with the damsel of the beautiful bosom',[226]—thus sings the poet. In one place the poet sings of Śiva coming as the Lord of the Mother and Viṣṇu and the bull and dancing on the left.[227] Does this refer to the dance of the Mother, or, does it refer to the dance in the '*iṭam*' which simply means the place and here 'Veṇṇainallūr' ?

It has already been pointed out that in *Sandhyā Taṇḍava*, the Mother stands on the left and that it is a dance of peace. Ārūrar specifically mentions '*anti*' which is the *Sandhi* of the *Sandhyā* dance.[228] The other references to the Mother may refer to *Gaurī* and *Umā Tāṇḍavas* as well, except in these places which specifically

222. 7:10:9.
223. 7:55:8.
224. 7:69:2.
225. 7:40:8.
226. 7:89:8.
227. 7:17:9.
228. 7:43:8—*Bhikṣāṭana* form is connected *with Naṭana* form.

mention the burning ground where the wild dance of destruction takes place.

(9)

The tournament of dance with *Kālī* is also referred to by our poet. *Kālī* is the terrific aspect of *Śaktī*. Mother worship is found all the world over especially in the Primitive South India as Mr. Ehrenfels points out. We have in the Tamil land the Goddess of the Desert and Forest: *Kāṭukiḻāḷ*, the goddess of Victory, worshipped by heroes, *Koṟṟavai* and the most ancient Goddess, *Paḷaiyōḷ*. There is also the Goddess of the Vindhyas. There is the *Nīli* of Paḷaiyaṉūr. For killing many asuras many forms of *Kāli*,—*Durga*, *Caṇḍi*, etc., are being spoken of by the *Purāṇas* and tradition. The *Sapta mātraḥ* or the seven virgins or Mothers came to be very popular in the age of the Pallavas. *Mahiṣāsura mardani*, the victor over the Buffalo-asura had captivated the imagination of the Pallava kings and the sculptures of Mahābalipuram and Kailāsanātha temple are rightly famous for the beautiful representations of this form. All these stories have been attempted to be harmonized, and *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* makes some of these, the forms of one great Mother of Muruka who Himself is spoken of as the leader of the heavenly warriors.[229] The Dance of this Mother aspect is referred to in *Cilappatikāram*—*Vēṭṭuva vari*. This conception is even now popular in Bengal.

In the *Vēṭṭuva vari* of *Cilappatikāram*, we see one of the hunter women adorns herself in the form of *Koṟṟavai* and dances, possessed by the deity whilst the hunters perform the worship. All the adornments of Śiva as already pointed out, she wears: the shawl of the elephant skin, the garment of lion's and tiger's skins, the serpents, the crescent moon, the eye in the forehead, the blue neck shining with the swallowed poison. She is spoken of as the lady, who with the bow of the mountain and the bow-string of the serpent won the victory over the Tripuras. The *Ardhanārīśvara* form also is suggested; for it is said that the anklets and heroic ring resound in her feet. She is made a *Vēdic* goddess and she is the secret of the *Vēdas* (*Maṟaimēl maṟaiyāki*). She is the sprout of *Jñāna*. She resides on the lotus flower of the hearts of the three great gods. She is spoken of as the better half of Śiva.

229. Il., 257-260.

The feats of Viṣṇu also are attributed to her. She carries the *Śaṅkha* and *Cakra;* she destroys the '*maruta*' tree and the *Śakaṭa* and conquers all the tricks of Kamsa. She rides on the deer and on the lion—in origin they were two different persons—and she stands victoriously on the head of the buffalo demon. Thus even in *Cilappatikāram,* we see an attempt at unifying varied folk-lores describing varied forms of the mother worship and at harmonizing as a *Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava Vēdic* cult. The *Śākta* worship must have gained a prominent place and *Takkayākapparaṇi* of Oṭṭakkūttar is its glorious bloom.

There are two trends found in the Śaivites' attempt at harmonizing *Kālī* 's cult as theirs. One is making her Śiva's consort identifying her with their conception of the Mother, the very form of Śiva's Grace. The other trend is to look upon some of these representations of *Kālī* as variations of minor deities to be conquered and brought to her senses by Śiva in the tournament of dance. Perhaps this represents an aggressive form of Śaivism declaring its victory over *Śāktēyas* or the followers of Śaktī cult. Even here, those who want to harmonize, speak of *Kālī* marrying the victor after her defeat, or speak of *Kālī* as an emanation of *Pārvatī* or the Mother.

(10)

Ārūrar refers to both these trends. We had occasion to notice the humorous way in which Ārūrar sings of residing with *Kāṭukāl,*[230] on the beach at '*Kōṭi*' or the point Calimer, because He had no other place in His own body which was already being shared by *Gaṅgā* and *Pārvatī.*[231] While singing at Tirunāvalūr,[232] our poet thinks of this story and speaks of the Lord enjoying '*Mōṭi*' or '*Kālī*' at *Kaṭaṟkōṭi.* The phrase '*Kāṭukāḷ*' is the corruption of the form '*Kāṭukiḻāḷ*' the queen of the forest. '*Mōṭi*' is another word used by our poet and it comes from '*mōṭu*' which is used in the *Caṅkam* age to signify the belly.[233] Later on, it assumed gradually the significance of stoutness, largeness, greatness and high position. Perhaps as the leader of the army *Pēys* which, as referred to in *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai,* were conspicuous by their belly, she also came to be

230. 7:32:5.
231. 7:32:5.
232. 7:17.
233. *Pattuppāṭṭu,* 1:50.

called *'Mōṭi'* to start with. But later on, the meaning of eminence must have gradually supplanted the old meaning and emphasized the mighty personality and the Absolute eminence of *Śaktī*.

The other legend of conquering *Kālī* and putting her pride down is also referred to by our poet. It is this which is specifically remembered when the name of *Kālī* is pronounced whilst the other forms are identified with the Mother. *Kālī* there represents the power of destruction and naturally she is spoken of as coming with bubbling anger. Māṇikkavācakar says that, if the Lord has not danced to put her down, the whole universe would have become prey to the bloody revolutionary force—say, like that of the atom in the atomic bomb.[234] It is the dance of sheer force, a dance of matter. *Puruṣa* or *Puruṣōttama*, the power of *'Cit'* conquers this and dances over it. The conception of conquering nature is now something peculiarly western, though the *purāṇas* preach of this dance as the conquest by Śiva. But Ārūrar refers to a significant legend of the east which looks upon nature as the very form of the Mother and, therefore, speaks of this dance not as a dance of conquest but as a dance of pacification. The presence of the Lord's dance quietens the sheer dance of maddening matter—a sublimation and deification of matter. Therefore, Ārūrar addressed the Lord, *"Kotiyiṉāl varu kāḷitaṉ kōpam kuṟaiya āṭiya kūttuṭaiyāṉē"*.[235] 'Oh! Lord of the dance performed to pacify the anger of Kālī who came bubbling with rage'.

VI

(1)

Ārūrar speaks of the idea expressed by the Dance.[236] Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami's Essay on the Dance of Śiva has become a classic and the essay may be studied with reference to the remarks of Ārūrar. The learned Dr. writes there: "No doubt the root idea behind all these dances is more or less one and the same, the manifestation of primal rhythmic energy : Śiva is the Eros Protogonos of Lucian, when he wrote: It would seem that dancing came into being at the beginning of all things, and was brought to light together with Eros, that ancient one, for we see

234. *Tiruvācakam—Tiruccāḷal*, V., 14.
235. 7:70:4.
236. 7:63:3.

this primeval dancing clearly set forth in the choral dance of the constellations and in the planets and fixed stars, their interweaving and interchange and orderly harmony".

The learned Doctor continues to refer to three dances: the *sandhyā tāṇḍava, Tillai* dance and the wild dance. About this last dance which we have been studying in Ārūrar, he writes: "The second well-known dance of Śiva is called the *Tāṇḍava* and belongs to His *tāmasic* aspect as *Bhairava* or *Vīrabhadra*. It is performed in cemetaries and burning grounds, where Śiva usually in ten armed form, dances wildly with *Dēvī*, accompanied by troops of capering imps. Representations of this dance are common amongst ancient sculptures, as at Ellōra, Elephanta and also at Bhuvanēśvara. This *Tāṇḍava* dance is in origin that of a pre-aryan divinity, half god, half demon, who holds his midnight revels in the burning ground. In later times, this dance in the cremation ground, sometimes of *Śiva*, sometimes of *Dēvī*, is interpreted in *Śaiva* and *Śākta* literature in a most touching and profound sense."

(2)

It is very unfortunate that, in spite of the realization of this profound sense, he should call this the *Tāmasic* Dance. It is this which has to be called the real *Nādānta* Dance which name he reserves for the Tillai Dance. The *Pañcakṛtya Naṭana* cannot be the *Nādānta* Dance. But after all the story of Tillai Dance is a repetition of the Dance performed when the *Dāruka Ṛṣis* hurled death, as it were, on Śiva. The connection between the *Kāpāli* form, the *Bhikṣāṭana* form and the *Naṭarāja* form, whichever might have been the origin of these stories, have been transformed from *tāmasic* (dance) to Cidambara dance. The same thing has happened to the *Tāmasic* frantic and violent dance of the crematorium.

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami knows the significance of this dance of destruction; for he writes further, "Śiva is a destroyer and loves the burning ground. But what does He destroy? Not merely the Heavens and Earth at the end of a Kalpa, but the fetters that bind each separate soul. Where and what is the burning ground? It is not the place where our earthly bodies are cremated, but the heart of the Bhakta, the devotee, laid waste and desolate. He brings not peace but a sword. The place where their selves are destroyed, signifies the place or state where their egotism or illusion and deeds are burnt away: that is the crematorium, the

burning ground where Sri Nāṭarāja dances, and whence He is named '*Cuṭalaiyāṭi*',—'Dancer of the burning ground'. In this simile, we recognize the historical connection between Śiva's gracious dance as Naṭarāja and His wild dance as the demon of the cemetery".

He continues and refers to the Dance of the Mother current amongst the *Śāktas* of Bengal. The Dance of the Mother is not unknown to the Tamil land. *Cilappatikāram* describes it in *Vēṭṭuva vari*. He quotes the Bengāli hymn which speaks of the necessity for the purification by the fire of the heart made empty by renunciation, if *Kālī*, the *Danseuse*, were to enter the heart.

"Because Thou lovest the Burning-ground,
I have made a Burning-ground of my heart—
That Thou, Dark one, haunter of the Burning-ground,
Mayest dance Thy eternal dance".

"Naught else is within my heart, A Mother:
The ashes of the dead, strewn all about,
I have preserved against Thy coming,
With death conquering Mahākāla 'neath Thy feet
Do Thou enter in, dancing Thy rhythmic dance,
That I may behold Thee with closed eyes."

(3)

Thus is the Dance of Destruction; the dance of Heart's purification. What is the crematorium? Ārūrar explains it: Of the five elements, the *Ākāsa* is the empty space; water and earth—the liquid and the solid—form this world. Fire—the luminous melting stage and air the gaseous stage are the other two. Destruction starts; there is really the involution — the gross becoming the subtle. The solid world of earth and water disappears into the luminous fire and in its turn it disappears into thin air; in the end even this disappears as vacant space or *Ākās*. It is the void which is spoken of as the crematorium. "*Mārutamum aṉalum maṇṭalamum māya kāṇiṭai mā naṭaṉ eṉ ṟeytuvatu eṉṟukolō*"?:[237]—'When am I to reach Him who dances the great dance inside the wild, when the air, the fire and the world are dead'? The poet longs for this experience. This is really the Nādānta Dance. The uni-

237. 7:84:3.

verse evolves; there starts the movement (*Nāda*); a point of stress is formed (*vindu*), and the vibrations result in various forms becoming grosser and grosser till one reaches the world of the present. The involution is the reverse process and the final stage is the *Nāda,* and *Nādānta* is what is even beyond this incipient sign of creation. It is this void of *Nādānta* where nothing but Śiva exists; this Grace is there inseparable from Him as the Mother. 'It is the dance of the Nectar beyond the universe of universes'[238] —the dance of the transcendental principle but yet a nectar unto His worshippers.

Every soul in its march towards the Absolute, passes through the subtler and subtler experiences of these *tattvas* or stages, till it reaches the *Nādānta* or the Absolute, beyond any trace of this fettering universe. "He performs the dance—the *Jñāna mūrti*— One whose form is Cit or supreme consciousness—firmly in the mind of His servants of no fault or defect"[239]—this is the description of the immanent dance—another aspect of the transcendental dance. "Your servants carry the water pot and with the water and the flowers they perform your worship of errands. You start your *Naṭam* singing and dancing and showering your grace on them, so that, you may be in their loving embrace"—thus our poet sings of the acts of the followers and Śiva, as the courtship and final passionate embrace and union of divine love.[240] "You are capable of performing the dance so lovingly that the whole world praises it, whilst the *Pūtams* sing all for the sake of those in your service, contemplating on you and in love with you"[241]—thus Ārūrar once again emphasizes the mutual love which the whole world praises. The mention of the *Pūtam* suggests that this is the dance of destruction—the dance of the burning ground. The heart is the crematorium and the poet specifically states it: "There is a firm self luminious conviction. Out of this unshaken faith, they are ever in meditation. In them in the wild (crematorium) of their song, you are found in the act of your dance. How to praise you?".[242] This *Nādānta* dance is the dance in the Heart, but none can see,[243] none who has not reached that stage. One

238. 7:12:2.
239. 7:81:7.
240. 7:6:5.
241. 7:6:7.
242. 7:9:9.
243. 7:18:2.

may not see but the dance is there moving and vivifying the whole universe. "He is capable of appearing unknown to the universal powers of creation and sustenance—unknown to the great Brahma and Viṣṇu and yet dancing on the open theatre there"[244]—the poet exclaims.

(4)

This transcendental and immanent dance is beautifully described in *Tirumantiram*:

"His form is everywhere: all-pervading is His Śivaśakti:
Cidambaram (the vacant space of Cit or pure consciousness) is everywhere: everywhere His dance:
As Śiva is all and omnipresent,
Everywhere is Śiva's gracious dance made manifest".[245]

"His fivefold dances are in Sakala and Niṣkala form,
His fivefold dances are His pañcakṛtya:
With His grace He performs the five acts,
This is the sacred dance of Umāsahāya".[246]

"He dances with water, fire, wind and ether,
Thus our Lord dances ever in the court".[247]

"Visible to those who pass over Māya and Mahamāya
Our Lord dances His eternal dance".[248]

"The form of the Śakti is all bliss (ānanda)
This united bliss in Umā's body:
This form of Śakti arising in Sakala
And uniting the twain is the dance".[249]

"His body is Ākāśa and the dark cloud therein is Muyalaka,
The eight quarters are His eight arms,
The three lights are His three eyes,
Thus becoming, He dances in our body as the assembly (on sabha)."[250]

244. 7:87:7.
245. V., 2722.
246. V., 2727.
247. V., 2746.
248. V., 2766.
249. V., 2769.
250. V., 2774.

This is Dr. Coomaraswami's translation and he continues to comment thereon:

"This is His dance. Its deepest significance is felt when it is realized that it takes place within the heart and the self: the kingdom of God is within. Everywhere is God: that Everywhere is the heart. Thus also we find another verse:

"The dancing foot, the sound of the tinkling bells,
The songs that are sung and the varying steps
The forms assumed by our Dancing Gurupara—
Find out these within yourself, then shall your fetters fall away".[251]

This reminds us of Ārūrar's verse where he speaks of the song, the dance and the *Guru.*

"To this end", the Doctor continues, "all else but the thought of God must be cast out of the heart, that He alone may abide and dance therein. In *Uṇmaiviḷakkam* we find: "The silent *Jñānis* destroying the three fold bond are established where their selves are destroyed. There they behold the sacred and are filled with bliss. This is the dance of the Lord of the assembly, whose very form is Grace".[252]

"With this reference to the 'silent *Jñānis*' compare the beautiful words of Tirumūlar:

"When resting there they (the *yōgis* who attain the highest place of peace) lose themselves and become idle".[253]

"Where the idlers dwell is the pure space
Where the idlers sport is the Light
What the idlers know is Vēdānta
What the idlers find is the deep sleep in Curuti there".[254]

Whilst Tirumūlar speaks in the *Siddha* language of idlers, *Ārūrar* speaks in the mystic language of erotic love.

Here is the conception of the divine activity as Dance. Dr. Ānanda Coomaraswamy explains it: "The conception of *Līla,* the

251. V., 2760.
252. V., 38.
253. V., 127.
254. V., 128.

world process as the Lord's sport or amusement, is also prominent in the Śaiva scriptures; thus Tirumūlar writes: "The perpetual Dance becomes His play. This aspect of His activity appears to have given rise to the objection that He dances as do those who seek to please the eyes of mortals; to which the answer is given that He dances to maintain the life of the cosmos and to give release to those who seek Him". Ārūrar calls this *'Āṭal'*. How else are we to conceive of this conception of Absolute Bliss except in terms of this concrete Dance, saving us all!

The later day works speak of Naṭarāja as representing the *Pañcākṣara* or *Namaśivāya* and the *Pañcakṛtya*. No such reference is found in Ārūrar's verse. But the *mantras* are as old as the *Vēdas*. "He discards the flesh. He is the very life permeating the world. He stands in the form of *Ōṁkāra* or *Praṇava*"—thus the poet has realized the Lord at Valivalam.[255]

(5)

There is the story of the Lord competing in dance with the blood intoxicated *Kālī*. Māṇikkavācakar says that she would have swallowed everything—everything would have become a feast for her, if the Lord had not danced and put her down.[256] *Kāḷī*, here, is not *Umā*, the Mother. It is the principle opposing the spirit; it is matter. Matter is spiritualized—that is the story of *Kālī* dance—the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*—the going up rather than getting entangled in the mire. *Kālī* is not destroyed; her anger is appeased—that is what Ārūrar says. This suggests, the anger is transformed into love. This mystic significance also Dr. Coomaraswamy explains in his inimitable way.

"The *Tiru Aruṭpayaṉ* of Umāpatisivam[257] explains the *Tiruvāci*, arch round the image of the Dance, more naturally as representing the dance of Nature, as contrasted with Śiva's dance of wisdom. "The dance of matter (*Prakṛti*) proceeds on one side: the *jñāna* dances on the other. Fix your mind in the centre of the latter". I am indebted to Mr. Nallasivan Pillai for a commentary on this: "The first dance is the action of matter—material and individual energy. This is arch, *tiruvāci*, *ōṁkāra*,—the

255. 7:67:1.
256. *Tiruvacakam, Tiruccaḷal*, V., 14.
257. Ch. IX., 3.

dance of *Kālī*. The other is the Dance of Śiva—the *akṣara* inseparable from the *Ōṁkāra*—called *ardhamātra* or the fourth letter of the *Praṇava, caturtam* and *turiyam*. The first dance is not possible unless Śiva wills it and dances Himself. The general result of this interpretation of the arch, then, is that it represents matter, nature, *prakṛti*;—the contained splendour, Śiva, dancing within and touching the arch with head, hands and feet, is the universal omnipresent *Puruṣa*".

Ārūrar also speaks of discarding the flesh or matter and sublimating the *Ōṁkāra* itself as His form all over the world.[258]

The learned Doctor summarizes the whole interpretation: "The Essential Significance of Śiva's Dance is three fold: First, it is the image of His Rhythmic Activity as the Source of all Movement within the Cosmos, which is represented by the Arch: Secondly, the purpose of His Dance is to Release the Countless souls of men from the Snare of Illusion: Thirdly the Place of the Dance, Cidambaram, the centre of the Universe, is within the Heart".

(6)

His epilogue may serve as an epilogue to this part of the thesis:

"In these notes I expressly refrain from all aesthetic criticism and have endeavoured only to translate the central thought of the conception of Śiva's dance from plastic to verbal expression, without reference to the beauty or imperfection of individual works. In conclusion, it may not be out of place to call attention to the grandeur of this conception itself as a synthesis of science, religion and art. How amazing the range of thought and sympathy of those *ṛṣis*—artists, who first conceived such a type as this, affording an image of reality, a key to the complex tissue of life, a theory of nature, not merely satisfactory to a single clique or race, nor acceptable to the thinkers of one century only, but universal in its appeal to the Philosopher, the *Bhakta*, and the artist of all ages and all countries. In these days of specialization, we are not accustomed to such a synthesis of thought; but for those who 'saw' such images as this, there could have been no

258. 7:67:1.

division of life and thought into water-tight compartments. Nor, do we always realize, when we criticize the merits of individual works, the full extent of the creative power which, to borrow a musical analogy, could discover a *rāga* so expressive of fundamental rhythms and so profoundly significant and inevitable.

"Every part of such an image as this is directly expressive, not of any mere superstition or dogma, but of evident facts. No artist of today, however great, could more exactly or more wisely create an image of that Energy which science must postulate behind all phenomena. If we would reconcile Time with Eternity, we can scarcely do so otherwise than by the conception of alternations of phase extending ever vast regions of space and great tracts of time".[259] "Especially significant, then, is the phase alternation implied by the drum, and the fire which 'changes' not destroys. These are but visual symbols of the theory of the day and night of Brahma.

"In the night of Brahma, Nature is inert, and cannot dance till Śiva wills it. He rises from His rapture, and dancing sends through inert matter pulsing waves of awakening sound, and lo! matter also dances, appearing as a glory round about Him. Dancing, He sustains its manifold phenomena. In the fullness of time, still dancing, He destroys all forms and names by fire and gives new rest. This is poetry: but none the less, the truest science.

"Again, this *Naṭarāja* is not only Truth, but Love: for the purpose of His Dance is Grace, the giving of freedom to countless individual souls. Lastly, also, how supremely great in power and grace this dancing image must appear to all those who as artists have striven in plastic forms to give expression to their intuition of Life!

"It is not strange that the figure of *Naṭarāja* has commanded the adoration of so many generations past: we, familiar with all scepticisms, expert in tracing all beliefs to primitive superstitions, explorers of the infinitely great and infinitely small, are worshippers of *Śrī Naṭarāja* still".

259. Oliver Lodge, *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. X, No. 2, 1911.

Chapter IV

COSMOGONY

I

(1)

Our poet has no occasion to describe any cosmogony, but here and there, there are passing references which we may piece together here.

Yamalōka :

Yamalōka in the popular mind is somehow connected with hell, and, therefore, a study of the references to *Yama* is necessary. Our poet refers to *Yama* in various places. In one group of references, the poet speaks of Śiva's conquest of *Yama*. These references we have discussed whilst describing the *Kālāri* form. In other places, he refers to *Yama,* whenever he has to speak of fear of death. In one hymn,[1] he speaks of the ephemeral world and begs of the Lord to teach him some method of escape. In one verse, there,[2] he speaks of the fear of death: "The five senses become confused, the mind reaches a pathetically weak state, everything seems to whirl. The men of *Yama* with their fighting spears press hard and make one suffer. In that struggle of death before one gets tired and is immersed in oblivion, oh Lord, tell me of a way of escape."[3] In the 60th hymn, he begs of the Lord to bless him by showing him a way out of his difficulties. In another place he speaks of death, *Yama* as the Lord of the days or life:[4] "Before the Lord of days comes near and oppresses me, I have taken refuge in you as your servant, pray accept me as such".[5]

In one verse, he condemns himself in superlative terms: "I cannot purge myself of my defects, my enmity, etc., and my impulsive cupidity and anger. Even if I want it, the five senses are

1. 7: 3.
2. 7: 3: 5.
3. 7: 3: 5.
4. *Nāḷār.*
5. 7: 24: 6.

not under my control. When the trembling old age comes, *Yama's* men will be placing me inside the hell; afraid of that I am feeling miserable. I have come to you; tell me a way of escape".

"Koṭukka kiṟṟilēṉ oṉporuḷ taṉṉaik kuṟṟam ceṟṟam ivaimuta lāka
Viṭukka kiṟṟilēṉ vēṭkaiyum ciṉamum vēṇṭil aimpulaṉ eṉvaca malla
Naṭukkam uṟṟatōr mūppuvan teyta namaṉṭa marnara kattiṭal añci
Iṭukkaṇ uṟṟaṉaṉ uyvakai aruḷāy Iṭaima ruturai entaipi rāṉē."[6]

In another group of references the poet refers to this fear of death and advises people to think of the Lord to escape from the delusion of the world by doing *Dharma* and thinking of God: "You carry this burden of a body and wander alone. You do not know that the fox will one day tear this way. On that day, when the Lord of Death separating the body from life, takes the life away on the appointed day which is announced to all by the crying lamentations, but there is *Dharma* to save us."[7]

In another verse in this hymn, he begs of the people of the world not to fall into the net spread out by captivating women and advises them to be saved by approaching the Lord and becoming His servants, before the coming of *Yama's* men who run on the heels on the appointed day.[8] All these form a positive statement about the fear of death to all those who are away from the Lord. He negatives this fear to those who are with the Lord and assures the world that *Yama's* men will do no harm to those who think of the Lord in many ways — *"Nāṉā vitam niṉaivār tamai naliyār naman tamarē."*[9]

In a separate hymn,[10] the poet describes the horrors of *Yamalōka*. We are reminded, when we are reading this hymn, of *Garuḍapurāṇa,* but a detailed study of this hymn confirms us in the

6. 7: 60: 7.
7. 7: 78: 2.
8. 7: 78: 5.
9. 7: 82: 1.
10. 7: 90.

belief that he is after all giving expression in these verses to the folk-lore about *Yamalōka* obtaining in Tamil land. The general trend of the hymn is that we have obtained the Lord for ourselves and there is no longer any fear of *Yamalōka,* for there is the Lord to save us. The hymn is addressed to his mind: "Oh! Mind! when you go on living in this world without serving Him, *Yama's* men will put an end to the even flow of your life, tease you and place you inside the oil-mill to crush you there; the Lord will intercede and accept us as His servants; we have in this our Lord of Puliyūr a great boon"[11]—thus sings the poet. The idea is repeated in the second and following verses also, this idea of the Lord saving us from the punishment in the oil-mill. In the fourth verse in this hymn, he speaks of the servants of black *Yama,* binding us together and the Lord cutting away this kind of fetters and bestowing on us His own world. The idea of the oil-mill is mentioned in verses 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9 and 10. In this hymn, the poet emphasizes the idea that people who love the Lord will be saved.

(2)

Narakam :

In connection with *Yamalōka,* our poet speaks of *'Narakam'* or hell.[12] This represents the folk-lore of Tamil land. He speaks of not entering *'naraka'*.[13] He refers to the hot *narakam* and describes the Lord as one who shows the true path so that we may not be pressed down into the hot or cruel *Naraka*.[14] It is not clear whether the poet is referring to the fire of hell: The word *'vemmai'* suggests that, but the word *'aḻuntāmai'* — 'not getting stuck up', may suggest the mire of hell — *"Aḷḷarpaṭṭu aḻuntātu"*.[15] According to Piṅkalantai, *'aḷḷal'* is the name of one of the seven hells. This is the same as *'aḻaṟu'* so often spoken of by Tiruvaḷḷuvar'.[16] In another place also,[17] our poet begs of the Lord to remove the defects so that one may not get stuck up with life into *'naraka'*. The use of the word *'aḻunta'* in all these cases makes it clear that Ārūrar is following the footsteps of Tiruvaḷḷuvar.

11. 7: 90: 1.
12. 7: 60: 7.
13. 7: 92: 7.
14. 7: 40: 10.
15. 7: 34: 8.
16. *Kuṟaḷ,* VV. 255, 835, 919.
17. 7: 54: 6.

(3)

Heavens:

Coming to his conceptions of Heavens, we have to distinguish the world of the *Dēvas* from the *Mōkṣa* state. Sometimes the *Mōkṣa* state is also spoken of as a world as *'Nilamicai'* in Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[18] Certain philosophies believing in a personal god think of His abode as the place of the freed souls. The references to *Śivalōkam*[19] and *Rudralōkam*,[20] *"Arumaiyām taṉṉulakam"*,[21] have to be separately discussed after a consideration of Ārūrar's conception of *Mōkṣa*. This *Mōkṣa* is often spoken of as the Heavens: *"Vāṉa nāṭu"*;[22] *"Vāṉa neṟi"*.[23] The freed souls are the real immortals and the Vaiṣṇavite commentators on *Tiruvāymoḻi*, therefore, interpret the word *'Amarar'* as those freed souls or free souls,[24] and the word *"Amarulakam"* in the 34th hymn of Ārūrar,[25] is equated with *Śivalōkam* in verse 1. Therefore, this *'Amarulakam'* must be taken as the place of *Mōkṣa*. The *"Vāṉa neṟi"* is spoken of as a *'Śiva gati'*. These *'amarar'* as contrasted with the ordinary *Dēvas* are spoken of as *"Amararkk kamarar"*.[25a] But Śiva is the Lord of the *Dēvas* and their Heavens: *"Tevatēvaṉ"*,[26] *"Umparāḷi"*,[27] *"Viṇṇavartam Perumāṉ"*,[28] *"Viṇ paṇintēttum vētiyā"*,[29] *"Viṇṇavartam kōṉ"*,[30] *"Umparār toḻutēttum taṭaṅkaṭal nañcuṇṭa kaṇṭā"*,[31] *"Umparār toḻutētta"*.[32] He is the Lord of the *Dēvas* and the freed souls: *"Amararkk kamarar Perumāṉ"*.[33] He speaks of the Universe as *'Aṇṭam'* in the form of an egg, and He is the Lord of this Universe—*'Aṇṭam'*—*'Aṇṭaṉ'*,[34] *'Aṇṭā'*,[35] *"Aṇṭa-*

18. *Kuṟaḷ*, V. 3.
19. 7: 34: 1; 7: 60: 8; 7: 67: 7.
20. 7: 73: 1.
21. 7: 90: 4.
22. 7: 57: 8; 7: 70: 9.
23. 7: 7: 9.
24. See commentary on verse 1 on *Tiruvāymoḻi*—*"Ayarvarum amararkaḷ"*.
25. VV. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9 & 10.
25a. 7: 3: 8.
26. 7: 61: 6.
27. 7: 55: 10.
28. 7: 38: 3.
29. 7: 69: 3.
30. 7: 40: 6.
31. 7: 69: 8.
32. 7: 88: 1.
33. 7: 3: 8.
34. 7: 73: 8; 7: 84: 8.
35. 7: 3: 8.

mutalvaṉ"[36] but He is also beyond this Universe—"*Aṇṭaṅkaṭantum appuṟattum iruntīr*",[37] "*Aṇṭattaṇṭattiṉ appuṟattu āṭum amutaṉ*".[38] '*Immai*'[39] is this birth. '*Ammai*'[40] is the next birth and he uses the word '*Ammai*' as what we achieve in the next birth or the place we reach. He speaks of the seven worlds and describes Śiva as the Lord thereof—"*Ēḻulakāḷi*".[41] He also speaks of the Heavens of the Dēvas up above the sky—"*Antara māl vicumpu*",[42] as a happy place of gold as contrasted with our earth—"*Poṉṉulaku*",[43] "*Poṉṉulak*kam".[44] It is in the skies—'*Vāṉ*'.[45] It is what is above, '*Umpar*';[46] sometimes the *vimāna* of the temples here descend from the Heavens above.[47]

II

(1)

We have mentioned that our poet has no occasion to describe any cosmogony. We have already seen that he is referring to the *Purāṇic* stories trying as much as possible to bring out their spiritual significance. It is in that connection that he is referring to the various *Dēvas*. Śiva is the supreme principle of the Universe and our poet uses the *purāṇic* language of describing Śiva as the Lord of all *Dēvas*. Our poet is not concerned with anything more than this. He calls Śiva, "*Viṉṉōr talaivar*";[48] "*Imaiyōr perumāṉ*";[49] "*Dēvarkaḷ cūḷāmaṇi*";[50] "*Dēvar ciṅkam*"[51]—the Lord of the denizens of Heavens, Lord of those who do not wink, the crest jewel of the *Dēvas* and the Lion of the *Dēvas*.

36. 7: 94: 2.
37. 7: 2: 2.
38. 7: 12: 2.
39. 7: 7: 6.
40. 7: 7: 6.
41. 7: 83: 6.
42. 7: 100: 3.
43. 7: 66: 5.
44. 7: 100: 5.
45. 7: 100: 2.
46. 7: 55: 10; 7: 69: 8; 7: 88: 1.
47. 7: 88: 2.
48. 7: 53: 2.
49. 7: 22: 8.
50. 7: 40: 5.
51. 7: 52: 1.

Among the *Dēvas*, three are said to be supreme: *Viz.*, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra, representing the Power of Creation, the Power of Protection or Sustenance, and the Power of Destruction. These represent the Hindu Trinity. But in course of time, Brahma loses this unique place in the hearts of men. Śiva and Viṣṇu alone come to be worshipped in special temples and in the popular mind they are looked upon as the two great principles of the Universe. Each one of them is looked upon by their respective votaries to represent all the three powers of Creation, Sustenance and Destruction. The *Trimūrti* form gave place to the *Hari-Hara* form. But the Śaivites claim Śiva to be the Supreme Principle while the Vaiṣṇavites claim Viṣṇu as such. It is the historical progress of this conception that Ārūrar is singing, when he speaks of Śiva as the Lord of three eyes, who is Himself the three great *Dēvas* and the two great *Dēvas*—"*Muvareṉa iruvareṉa mukkaṇuṭai mūrti*".[52] In another place he states, 'He is alone the chief or the first Principle, Himself becoming the three great *Dēvas* and the two great *Dēvas*'—"*Mūvarāyum iruvarāyum mutalvaṉ avaṉṉēyām*".[53]

To express the supremacy of Śiva, the *Śivapuraṇas* describe in a most concrete way the worship of Śiva by Brahma and Viṣṇu. We have already referred to this kind of worship.

(2)

In the *Caṅkam* age, Indra who is very important in the *Vēdas*, also continues to be important. He is counted along with the great *Dēvas* mentioned above. In *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, he is mentioned along with Śiva and Viṣṇu when they march for getting the release of Brahma. It may be suggested that '*Nāṟperunteivam*' mentioned in *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*[54] refers to the four great *Dēvas* though interpreted otherwise by Naccinārkkiniyar. Of these four, three[55] led the procession of *Dēvaṙ*, because the fourth (Brahma) was in prison and it is these three that the poet refers to as "*Palar pukaḻ mūvar*".[56]

52. 7:80:9.
53. 7:7:4
54. *l.*, 160.
55. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Indra.
56. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, l.*, 162.

Our poet also refers to these four. Rudra, included among the Trinity, is sometimes differentiated from Śiva who is the Absolute, who is the Lord of all creation, protection and destruction and in that sense He is called, *'Muvariṉ mutalāyavaṉ'*,[57] *'Mūvar kōṉ'*,[58] the Lord of the Trinity. Our poet seems to refer to this conception when he speaks of Śiva as one beyond the powers or reach of (1) the Lord of Heavens, *i.e.* Indra, (2) the Lord of aeons, or destruction, *viz.*, Rudra, (3) the Lord of the wheel, *i.e.* Viṣṇu, the Lord of protection and (4) the denizen of the flower, *i.e.*, Brahma, the Lord of creation—*"Umparāṉ ūḷiyāṉ āḷiyāṉ ōṅki malar uṟaivāṉ tamparamallavar"*.[59] In other places he does not refer to the Lord of destruction. Worshipping Śiva along with others — *"Kōvalaṉ nāṉmukaṉ vaṇavarkōṉum kuṟṟēval ceyya"*[60]—'Viṣṇu, the shepherd, Brahma of the four heads and Indra, the king of the *Dēvas,* do even menial acts unto the Lord'. *"Māloṭu Nāṉmukaṉ Intiraṉ mantirattāl vaṇaṅka"*[61] — 'Viṣṇu, Brahma and Indra worship him uttering *mantra.*' In another place he groups Tirumāl, Brahma and Intiraṉ together and Śiva is said to be their Lord there.[62] Indra is said to have worshipped Śiva and pleased with him God blessed him saying 'You rule the Heavens' — *"Vāṉa nāṭu nī āḷka"*.[63] He refers to the Dēvas as those under the leadership of Muruka — *"Amarar cēṉaikku nāyakaṉāṉa Kuṟavar maṅkai taṉ kēḷvaṉ"*[64] In another place he asks the Lord, 'What is this that you stand inside Heavens whilst the denizens of the Heavens, approach you and praise you?'— *"Vāṉa nāṭar maruvi ētta viṇṇuḷīrāy niṟpateṉṉe?"*.[65] In that verse he speaks of the Lord as being inside the musical tune and the song, in the eye of those who think of Him and inside this earth; therefore, he is surprised the Lord being equally great even in the world of *Dēvas,* who pretend to be supreme. The poet is probably describing graphically the immanence and transcendence of God. The so-called great gods *"Peruntēvar"*,[66] or many gods —

57. 7:56:5.
58. *Tiruvācakam, Tiruccatakam,* V. 30.
59. 7:18:8.
60. 7:17:1.
61. 7:19:9.
62. 7:53:1.
63. 7:65:5.
64. 7:68:7.
65. 7:6:4.
66. 7:16:6.

"Pala tēvar",[67] are being punished by Him at the sacrifice of *Dakṣa, i.e.,* the Lord of the Sacrifice lost his head, Indra lost his arm, the Sun lost his teeth,[68] Agni or Fire lost his hand, another Sun *Bhaga* lost his eyes, and the Moon lost all his brilliance[69] and another Sun *Arka* was punished.[70]

Brahma and Viṣṇu have already been referred to in our discussion of the *Liṅgōdbhava, Kāpāli* and *Jalandharāri* forms.

(3)

The *Dēvas* are pitted against the asuras or *rākṣasas* or *dānavas*. The Lord however showers His blessings evenly on both: *"Intiraṉukkum Irāvaṇaṉukkum aruḷ purintār"*[71] — 'He blessed both Indra and Rāvaṇa'.

The *Ṛṣis* who are equally divine take their place by the side of the *Dēvas;* so do the *Nāgas* or the denizens of the Nether world, considered to be a world of happiness.

Yakṣas as those who are adored as a class of demi-gods are said to be the attendants of *Kupēra*. The worship of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* is referred to in *Cilappatikāram* — *"Iyakkikkup pālmaṭai koṭuttu"*,[72] and it is even now found especially in the Tirunelveli District where they speak of *'yakṣī'* and *'Isakkī'*.

Kinnaras in the sense of a deformed or semi-human form is the name of a mythical being with a human head and the form of a horse or a bird and they also worship the Lord.[73]

Siddhas are semi divine beings supposed of great purity and holiness. Our poet, we have seen, is using this word in the meaning of a *jīvan mukta* and not as the *Siddhas* of the 18 groups of *Dēvas*.

The *Vānaras*, usually in the meaning of deformed men, refer to the monkeys, but *Hanumān* and others are said to have been born of *Dēvas*.

67. 7:9:7.
68. 7:26.3.
69. 7:16:6.
70. 7:31:7.
71. 7:18:9.
72. *Aṭaik., l.,* 116-117.
73. 7:55:6.

Our poet speaks of the tiger, worshipping Śiva without any delusion, along with *Iyakkar, Kiṉṉarar, Yama, Varuṇa, etc.*[74] This is said to refer to *Vyāgrapāda* worshipping Śiva's dance at Cidambaram.

He also specifically mentions *Yama, Varuṇa,* the Lord of Fire, the Lord of Wind, the Sun and the Moon worshipping Śiva. The *Nākam* mentioned in this poem,[75] should refer to *Patañjali* and probably also to *Vāsuki, Ananta* and *Kārkkōṭaṉ.*

Ārūrar speaks of *Iyakkar* or *Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Yama, Varuṇa,* Fire, Wind, Sun, Moon, tiger, monkey, serpent, *Vasus, Vāṉavar* and *Tāṉavar* worshipping the feet of the Lord ever concentrated on Him without any fatigue and winning His blessings,[76] and this, the poet says has inspired him to take refuge at the feet of the Lord.

In another place, he groups the three great Lords in one class, the *Dēvas,* the *Nāgas* and the *Dānavas* in another class and describes Śiva as the great Lord of all — *"Tirumāl Piramaṉ Intiraṟkum Tēvar Nākar Tāṉavarkkum Perumāṉ".*[77]

(4)

Kātupottar, Kinnaras, the tiger, the serpent, the lion and the *Ṛṣis* listen to the message of *Dharma* delivered by the Lord as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* under the banyan tree.[78] The *Kātupottar* is found in this,[79] and the inscription of Rājarāja, describing the image of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* installed by him in his great Tanjore temple speaks of *'Kaṟna Prāvṛtas'.*[80] The foot-note there gives: *"Karṇaprāvṛta* is the same as *Karṇaprāvaraṇa,* a being whose ears are so large that it uses them as a cloak". *Karṇaprāvaraṇas* are mentioned in the *Vālmīka Rāmāyaṇa.* This word appears in the *Kiṣkinda kāṇḍa,*[81] as the name of a savage hill-tribe described by *Sugrīva* whilst sending the *vānaras* in search of *Sītā* and in the *Sundara Kāṇḍa,*[82] as

74. 7:55:6.
75. 7:55:7.
76. 7:55:6.
77. 7:53:1.
78. 7:65:6.
79. 7:65:6.
80. *S.I.I.,* Vol. II, No. 50.
81. XL: 25.
82. XVIII: 5

the description of some of the *Rākṣasīs* guarding *Sītā* in the *Asōka vana,* as seen by *Hanumān* from a tree. But this name is used by our poet to the worshippers concentrated in their meditation, taking the word in its *yōga* significance or in its full connotation. They are said to have ears which they can close whenever they worship[83] — or those whose ears are so large that they use them as a covering of the head.[84] Ārūrar speaks of *"Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyāḷar Antaṇar"* who receive the message from Dakṣiṇāmūrti.[85] The description of the *Dakṣiṇamūrti* image installed by Rājarāja may be conveniently referred at this place for throwing light on the conception of this image.[86]

"1. Hail ! Prosperity ! (The following) copper images, which the lord Srī-Rājarājadēva had set up until the 29th year (of his reign) in the temple of the lord Srī Rājarājēśvara, were measured by the cubit measure (preserved) in the temple of the lord and engraved on stone :

2. One solid image of *Daksiṇāmūrti,* having four divine arms and measuring eighteen *viral* in height from the mountain (*parvata*) on which (it) was seated, to the hair.

3. One mountain on which this (image) was seated, (measuring) at its foot one *muṛam* and ten *viral* in length, one *muṛam* and four *viral* in breadth, and twelve *viral* in height.

4. Two mountain peaks (*śikhara*), (measuring) twelve *viral* above it in height, nine *viral* in length, and eight *viral* in breadth.

5. Two solid *Kinnaras,* joined to these peaks, having two arms (and measuring) four *viral* in height from the feet to the hair.

6. Two solid *Kinnarīs,* having two arms (and measuring) three *viral* and a half in height from the feet to the hair.

7. One solid image of *Musalagan,* lying under the sacred foot of the god, having two arms (and measuring) ten *viral* in length from the feet to the hair.

83. See the interpretation of Gōvindarāja on *Kiskinda kāṇḍa* (XL: 25) *'ācchātita karnāh'* which is expressed by our poet as *'Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyāḷar'.*

84. See the interpretation of Gōvindarāja on *Sundarakāṇḍam* (XVII: 5) *'Karṇau prāvaraṇē śirasa ācchadakau yasyāh sā karna prāvaratām.*

85. 7:55:7.

86. *S.I.I.,* Vol. II, No. 50.

8. Two solid *Rishis*, having two arms (and measuring) twelve *viral* in height from their seat to the hair.

9. Two solid *Rishis*, having two arms (and measuring) eight *viral* in height from their seat to the hair.

10. One solid snake (*pāmbu*), (measuring) six *viral* in height from the tail to the hood.

11. Two solid *Karṇaprāvritas*, having two arms (and measuring) three *viral* in height from their seat to the hair.

12. One solid tiger (*puli*) lying on the mountain (and measuring) five *viral* and a half in length from the tail to the forelock.

13. One solid banyan-tree (*āla-vriksha*), measuring one *muṛam*, eight *viral* and a half in length from the mountain to the top, and six *viral* and six *tōrai* in circumference. On (it) were shewn nine separately made large branches, and on these, forty-two minor branches.

14. One wallet (*pokkaṇam*), suspended (from the tree and measuring) three *viral* and four *tōrai* in length, one *viral* and two *tōrai* in breadth, and four *tōrai* in thickness.

15. A solid handle (*kai*), (measuring) six *viral* and six *tōrai* in length, and one *viral* and a half in circumference; and joined to it, one bunch of peacock's feathers (*taṛai*), (to be carried in) the hand (and measuring) five *viral* in length and three *viral* in circumference."

(5)

We have various forms with many headed serpent-hood in the Kailasanātha temple sculptures representing probably the *nāgas*.[87]

The *Kinnara* form is found in Plate LVIII, *Rea*, the *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas* are those found at the feet of the Lord in many places.

The worship by the monkey probably *Hanumān* is found in Rea's Plate XLVI, fig. 2. There is a figure of a temple in front of which *Hanumān* is found with the hands in the *añjali* pose. It may be even a *Śivaliṅgam*. There is a figure with three heads and six hands alone visible. Some take it as *Rāvaṇa* and interpret

87. Fig. 2, Plate XXXV—*Rea* and probably also fig. 6, Plate CXXIII, fig. 2, Plate LXXIV and Plate LIX of *Rea*.

this as representing the story of *Hanumān* carrying away the *Śivaliṅga* worshipped by *Rāvaṇa,* without his knowledge.

Rea's Plate LXV, fig. 1 from the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple gives the figure of a temple *vimāna* with a worshipper seated near it, with the hands probably in the worshipping pose; he wears a *yajñōpavīta* and there is on his left, a lady, his wife, sitting by his side. Does this represent Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ, the earliest builder of big temples or the Pallava king who built the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple ?

The *Dēvas* are said to be 33, the 12 Suns, 11 *Rudras,* 8 *Vasus* and 2 *Maruttuvas.* There are 18 groups of *Dévas* enumerated differently by different authors: *Dēvas, Asuras, Daityas, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Yakṣas, Vidhyādharas, Rākṣasas, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Sāraṇas, Bhūtas, Paicācas, Nakṣatras, Nāgas, Ākāśavāsins* and Denizens of *Bhōga Bhumi.* Of these, except those we have already noted, Ārūrar does not exhaustively mention this list, possibly because he was not impressed with this array of the *Dēvas,* with their minute variations.

The word *Siddha* is used by Ārūrar in the sense of mystic souls which have attained realization.

The words *Bhūta* and *Paiśāca* along with *Pāriṭam* have a special mystic significance in Ārūarar's poetry as noted elsewhere.

The word *Cāraṇaṉ* is used as the name of *Vināyaka.*[88]

Mr. R. Raven Hart in his article 'Humour in Singhalese Art',[89] writes, "Dwarfs are a special feature of that humour (Singalese rather than Indian) — odd little pot-bellied people doing all sorts of things with intense seriousness that makes them even more comic and one has to search one's memory or one's photographs to find rare examples of such dwarfs in India". This is not correct if the sculptures of the Pallava Age are taken into consideration. We have the *Bhūtas* in almost every one of the sculptures and they are in full activity and good humour. The description of *Bhūtas* and *Pēys* by *Ārūrar* as already been noticed is full of humour.

88. 7:48:9.

89. *Souvenir and Guide to the Colombo Exhibition,* 1952, page 30.

Chapter V

PURĀṆIC PERSONALITIES

I

Reference to particular Gods and Ṛṣis may be next studied :

(1)

Kāmaṉ:

Manmata is considered to be the Lord of beauty. He has been described whilst discussing the *Kāmāri* form, but in other places where the poet advises the poets and scholars not to waste their poetry and scholarship on worthless people who are unfit for any praise because he is sure they will give nothing, while Śiva will give us everything, including the overlordship of Heavens. In two verses in that hymn he speaks of the futility of praising men as beautiful *Kāmadēva* or *Kāma* in the eyes of women.[1]

(2)

Himavān:

Ārūrar speaks of the Lord of the Mountain Himālayas and references about him have been studied when we discussed our poet's description of the Mother.

(3)

Kālī :

The story of *Kālī* has been told and discussed under the Dance of Śiva.

(4)

Yama :

About *Yama* it has already been referred to with reference to *Yamalōka*.

1. 7:34:9 and 7:34:10.

(5)

Murukaṉ :

(a)

We may next pass on to the family of Śiva. The sons of Śiva are *Murukaṉ* and *Vināyaka*. They are but the very forms of Śiva. Whatever might have been their origin, they have been completely harmonized with Śaivism to such a great extent as to identify them with Śiva.

(b)

There are 14 references to Muruka in Ārūrar's Tēvāram. The names used by the poet are : *'Kumaraṉ'*,[2] *'Vēlōṉ'* or *'Vēlāṉ'*,[3] *'Murukavēḷ'*,[4] *'Ciṟuvaṉ'*,[5] *'Cēntaṉ'*,[6] *'Ceṭṭi'*,[7] and *'Piḷḷai'*.[8]

'Kumaraṉ' means the youth. *'Ciṟuvaṉ'* and *'Piḷḷai'* have the same significance. But the *'Ciṟuvaṉ'* is used in the sense of 'son' —*"Malaiyaraiyaṉ poṟpāvai ciṟuvaṉ"*—'the son of the golden doll of the king of the mountain'.[9] Our poet creates a humorous situation out of this conception of *Murukaṉ's* childhood. In one place, he says, "Your family and yourself are unfit for managing servants", and he refers to the infancy of *'Kumaraṉ'* as one of the proofs.[10]

'Cēntaṉ' is the red-god, another form of *'Cēyōṉ'* used in *Tolkāppiyam*.

'Murukaṉ' is the other name of this God in Tamil from the very ancient times. *'Muruku'* means (1) honey, which is sweet to the tongue, (2) fragrance, which is sweet to the nose, (3) beauty, which is sweet to the eye, (4) beautiful strength of youth, which is sweet to touch, (5) never dying eternity, (6) divinity and (7) divine music, sweet to the ear. The Tamilians thus conceive of their God as the real essence of happiness, whilst the outward form

2. 7:5:2; 7:62:4; 7:63:2; 7:73:9.
3. 7:5:2; 7:34:10.
4. 7:38:8.
5. 7:46:9.
6. 7:58:3; 7:64:6.
7. 7:59:10.
8. 7:5:2.
9. 7:46:9.
10. 7:5:2.

and name of things hide this inner reality which is both immanent and transcendent.

'Vēḷ' is one who is aspired for and it is the name of *Manmata* who is the most beautiful person. But according to the Tamillian tradition *'Muruka'* was the most beautiful person—*"Cāla nala aḻakuṭai aiyaṉ"*,[11] and, therefore, in other places as contrasted with *Manmata,* the *Vēḷ,* he is spoken of as *"Murukavēḷ"*.[12] The spear or the *'Vēl'* is the emblem of this divinity according to the Tamillians and His worshipper carries this spear and dances in moments of ecstasy. *Murukaṉ* was, therefore, known as *'Vēlōṉ'*—'One who holds the spear in his palm'—*"Aṅkai vēlōṉ"*,[13] *"Kaiyulāviya vēlōṉ"*.[14]

(c)

He is the beloved of the daughter of the *Kuṟavas, Valḷi,* to win whose heart he went to her place—a story which has been looked upon by later generations as the eternal pilgrimage of the Lord to the soul in quest of its love and for saving it from its deluding environments. Our poet speaks of *Muruka* as *"Kuṟavar maṅkaitaṉ kēḷvaṉ"*,[15]—'the beloved husband of the lady of *Kuṟavas'*. In another place he says, 'the wife of the Lord's son is the daughter of the *Kuṟavas'*—*"Kuṟavaṉār tammakaḷ tammakaṉār maṇavāṭṭi"*[16] and this he mentions in a poetic mood suggesting that the hunter's form which the Lord assumed to shower blessings on Arjuna is somehow related to His son's relationship with the *Kuṟavas.*

He is also called a *'ceṭṭi'* because according to the *Purāṇas,* he was born as a child, *Rudrasanma,* in the house of a *ceṭṭi, Uppūri kuṭi kiḻār* and the poet refers to *Muruka* as *ceṭṭi.*[17]

(d)

Murukaṉ is famous for his victory over *Cūrapaṉmaṉ;* the ancient *Caṅkam* poems speak of this *asura* as *'Cūr'* or the fright-

11. 7:34:10.
12. 7:38:8.
13. 7:5:2.
14. 7:34:10.
15. 7:68:7.
16. 7:18:6.
17. 7:59:10.

ful.[18] He was cut in twain in the mid sea—"*Kaṭal Cūr taṭintiṭṭa*".[19] It is said that this *asura* assumed the form of a mango tree standing upside down,[20] when the Lord felled it down. Our poet speaks of "*Kaṭuvarimā*".[21] "*Kaṭuvari*" is the tiger. It is not clear whether the poet is referring to the various forms including that of a tiger which this '*Cūr*' assumed in the course of his war with *Muruka* or whether he is coining a metaphor "*Kaṭuvari mā*" the tiger of a mango, for bringing out the ferocity and destructive nature of the *asura* even in the form of a mango tree.

(e)

In Northern India, *Murukaṉ* or *Kārtikēya* is more famous as the warrior God, *Dēvasēnāpati*, the field marshal of the *Dēvas* and our poet refers to this as "*Amarar cēṉaikku nāyakaṉ*".[22] In this way *Murukaṉ* is the leader of the *Dēvas* and our poet speaks of the Lord Śiva as the prince of all *Dēvas* from *Kumaraṉ* onwards: "*Kumaraṉ mutal tēvar taṅkal nampi.*"[23] In Northern India, Lord Subrahmanya is famous not for killing '*Śūrapaṉma*' but '*Tāraka*'. It is this story which Kāḷidāsa writes in his *Kumārasaṁbhava* and our poet has this tradition in his mind when he speaks of Śiva as that Pure One who became Great by creating in ancient times that principle which destroyed *Tāraka* after a war with the *asura*, full of strength of war—"*Porum palama tuṭaiyacuraṉ Tārukanaip porutu poṉṟuvitta poruḷiṉai muṉ paṭaittukanta puṉitaṉ*".[24]

Murukaṉ is worshipped as seated on the beautiful peacock and our poet also speaks of him as one who rides on the peacock: "*Mayilūrti*".[25]

Murukaṉ is the popular God of the Tamillians from the very ancient times and many places have been named after him even by hunters and nomads as is clearly proved by the name of *Murukaṉpūṇṭi* where our poet was waylaid and robbed by the hunters of that place,[26] who might have been responsible for naming their village after their ancient God *Murukaṉ*.

18. *Tirumuruku.*, *l.*, 46.
19. 7:59:10; 7:64:6.
20. *Tirumuruku.*, *ll.*, 59-60.
21. 7:83:5.
22. 7:68:7.
23. 7:63:2.
24. 7:16:9.
25. 7:38:8.
26. 7:49.

(f)

The *Pāñcalōka* image of *Subrahmaṇya* with *Vaḷḷi* and *Deivayāṉai* are given in Rea's Plate LII, fig. 2. Probably it is of later origin.

Plate LXV, fig. 3 is a representation of Lord *Subrahmanya*. This comes from the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple, Kāñcīpuram. *Subrahmaṇya* has one head and four hands. The right hand is holding *śaktī;* the other right hand is broken. The front left hand is held on the waist with the palm turned downwards. The back left hand is holding something which is not clear. Behind this image is the peacock, whose head has also been broken.

Subrahmaṇya appearing in the *Sōmāskanda* images had already been described.

(6)

Gaṇapati :

(a)

'Piḷḷai' or *'Piḷḷaiyār'* in ancient times referred only to *Murukaṉ*. When *Gaṇapati* worship spread from its home in the Western India to South, he came to be called *"Mūtta piḷḷai"* or *"Mūtta piḷḷaiyār"*, the elder son as is proved by the work of *"Kapila Tēvar Mūtta Piḷḷaiyār Tiruviraṭṭai Maṇimālai"* of the 11th *Tirumuṟai*. There are no references to him earlier than in this work of Kapila Tēvar and in *Tēvāram*.

In various places, *Gaṇapati* is known as *'Vātāpi koṇṭa Gaṇapati'* and the great music composer Saint Dīkṣitar sings of *'Vātāpi Gaṇapati'*. That shows that this form of worship has spread into Tamil Land almost as a fashion after the Pallavas' capture of Bādāmi. But the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* had set their heart on Tamil Land earlier to this and had invaded Tamil land. Narasiṁha's invasion of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* in fact came later. It is, therefore, possible that the idea of *Gaṇapati* worship might have been introduced during the march of Pulikēśin into Tamil Land.

(b)

There are only three references to *Gaṇapati* in Ārūrar's poems. In two places,[27] the poet refers to the household of the Lord and

27. 7:5:2; 7:46:9.

complains that none of the members of His family will take care of him. In one place he says, 'As for *Gaṇapati,* he carries his big belly suggesting he is too immobile to be of any service to anyone'.[28] In another place he once again calls *Gaṇapati,* the Lord of the big belly but the emphasis is on his eating innumerable things—"*Eṇṇili uṇ peruvayiṟaṉ*"[29] and the poet says he knows nothing perhaps suggesting that he is made or that he is too young for the world. The *gaṇas* are said to be mad. In the third place Śiva is spoken of as the father of *'Cāraṇaṉ', i.e., Vināyaka* as the leader of the *Cāraṇas* or *gaṇas* that move about everywhere.[30]

(c)

The representations of *Gaṇapati* must have found a place in Śaivite temples like those built by *Ciṟuttoṇṭar.* A temple which he built was known as *'Gaṇapatīccuram'.* In the Kailāsanātha temple, *Gaṇapati* is found represented in *'kūṭus'.* Plate LVIII (*Rea*) contains one. It has four hands. The *pāśa* is visible on the right back hand. In Rea's plate LXII, there is a *Vināyaka* in the sitting posture, but there is someone as though sitting on his shoulders or is it a figure behind him?

In the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple, he occupies an important place on the left side of the entrance *gōpuram.* The *'aṅkuśa'* is in the right back hand and the *pāśa* in the corresponding left hand. Plate LV, (figs. 1 and 2) contains *Gaṇapati* between the *makaras* over the central niche.

There are two images of *Gaṇapati* in the two side *'kūṭus'* found in fig. 1 and fig. 2 of Rea's plate CXI. This is from Tripurāntakēśvara Temple. In plate CXII also there are two *Gaṇapatis* in the two side *kūṭus.* There is another *Gaṇapati* with a crown in the left side niche there.

In plate CXIII also, we find two *Gaṇapatis,* on the two side *kūṭus.*

Rea's plate CXIV gives a big sized *Gaṇēśvara* form of the Tripurāntakēśvara temple. There is the crown on his head; the back right hand holds the goad, whilst the back left hand holds the noose. The right tusk is found broken and the broken portion is held in the front right hand. The trunk is curved to the

28. 7:5:2.
29. 7:46:9.
30. 7:48:9.

left and then curved again downwards to be placed inside the palm of the left front hand. There are necklaces, bangles, ornaments, anklets, and *yajñōpavīta* and *udarabandha*. The right leg is bent up, resting on the heel. The belly is bulging out. Of the left leg, the sole and the toes are visible. There is a big *tilaka* on the forehead.

In plate CXIX from Airāvatēśvara temple in fig. 2, there is a *Ganēśa* at the top *kūṭu*.

II

Ārūrar, apart from these references to the *Dēvas* of the *Purāṇas*, sings of the heroes, kings and saints, mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. Such references are not many. He is not, therefore, trying to bring in these *Purāṇic* references simply to reveal in his knowledge of *Purāṇas*. A study of his poem leaves the impression in the readers' mind that as a popular poet, he is only referring to such *Purāṇic* stories as have become the common property of the folk-lore in Tamil land. He emphasizes the fact of the Universe being a federation of love.

(1)

Arjuna :

Arjuna was the most popular figure in the Tamil Country amongst the *Pāṇḍavas*. The story of the Lord blessing him with '*Pāśupata*',[31] had already been referred to in our description of this special form of the Lord. In the famous 'Tiruppukalūr' hymn, where the poet advises the scholars not to throw pearls of their poetry before the swine of rich men, he begs of them in his second verse to desist from describing, the weak and the mean, as victorious Vijaya, great in the art of archery.[32]

(2)

Bhīma :

Next to *Arjuna* comes his elder brother *Bhīma*, a word pronounced in Tamil as '*Vīmaṉ*'. In the same verse of the Tiruppukalūr hymn, he is requesting the poets not to praise those without any strength as *Bhīmas*.[33]

31. 7:55:7.
32. 7:34:2; See *Pārthānugraha mūrti*.
33. 7:34:2.

(3)

Bhagīratha :

The other king who has become popular all through India is *Bhagīratha* who brought down the *Ganges* from the heavens. We have already referred to this story in describing the form of *Gaṅgādhara.*

(4)

Mārkaṇḍēya :

Coming to the saints, the story of *Mārkaṇḍēya* has been discussed by us with reference to the *Kālāri* form.

(5)

Sūta :

The *Ṛṣis* receiving the message from *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* have also been referred to in our description of this form. The great *Ṛṣi* of the *Purāṇas* is *Sūta,* pronounced in Tamil as '*Cūtar*', who recites the *Purāṇas* to the *Ṛṣis* after having heard them from *Vyāsa.* Our poet speaks of him as the learned *cūtar,* "kaṟṟa cūtaṉ".[34] He enumerates along with this *Ṛṣi* others and speaks of the Lord looking upon their mistakes as praiseworthy characteristic features, in accordance with the Lord's ideal reminding us of the parable of the Prodigal son. The poet says, it is this ideal of the Lord that had inspired him to take refuge at His feet. Unfortunately this poet does not specifically refer to any defect or mistake or sin committed by them. The only mistake we can think of with reference to *Cūtar* is that he has recited *Purāṇas* attributing the characteristic of the Absolute Brahman to the minor deities in *Purāṇas* other than *Śaiva Purāṇas.*

(6)

Paraśurāma :

The other *Ṛṣi* referred to is *Paraśurāma.* In the Tiruniṉṟiyūr hymn[35] Ārūrar refers to a story according to which the *Ṛṣi* worshipping the Lord in the temple there, made a gift of 360 *vēlis* of famous lands along with 300 Brahmins. He also carried pots of gold and precious jewels whilst worshipping with real love and whilst making the gift. *Paraśurāma* is referred to as a *Tapasvin.*

34. 7:55.4.
35. 7:65.

Pleased with this gift, love and *tapas,* God gave him a glimpse of His feet. The established rule of the Lord showering blessings on his worshippers has inspired our poet to take refuge in the Lord.[36]

(7)

Agastya ;

(a)

Agastya pronounced as *'Akattiyar'* in Tamil is looked upon as the Saint, indispensable for the Tamil Language. According to some, he represents the principle of colonization. The geological cataclysms, the *Vindhyas* and to equalize this disturbance, the Himalayas went up. The *Purāṇas* speak of this distant tradition as the story of *Agastya.* The Himalayas went down with the burden of the *Dēvas* assembled at the marriage of Pārvatī and *Agastya* was sent to humble the *Vindhyas* to settle down in the South in the *Potiyil,* to equalize the weight of the Himalayas with his weight of *Tapas.* He is the first great Saint of Tamil, the *purōhit* of the Pāṇḍyas, the first great writer on Tamil grammar, the master of Tolkāppiyar. We get to know of his importance in South India from the times of the copper plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas of the Pallava age. He is also an important figure in the East Indian Archipelago where his cult assumes an importance just about that time. The name of *Agastya* is as old as the *Ṛg Vēda* and many are the stories told of the *Ṛṣis* of that name in the *Purāṇas* but in the Tamil land he is ever remembered as the Saint of Tamil and his images are found in Jāva and the Eastern islands. It is this tradition probably that Ārūrar refers to when he is mentioning the name of *Agastya.*

(b)

Ārūrar speaks of *Agastya* worshipping the *Liṅga* form. *"Tāparam niruttic cakaḷi ceytu iṟaiñcu Akattiyar"*[37] are the words of our poet. The following note may explain this reference:

The *Liṅgas* are of two kinds—*cala liṅgas* and *acala liṅgas* or *Sthāvara liṅgas*—movable and immovable *liṅgas.* The *cala liṅgas* may be taken from place to place being made of metals, precious or other stones, *etc.* The *acala* or *sthāvara liṅgas,* which are

36. 7:65:3.
37. 7:65:5.

according to the *Kāmika Āgama, Svāyambhuva,* (that which rises up by itself), the *Daivika* (established by the *Dēvas*), the *Ārṣaka* (established by the *Ṛṣis*), *Gāṇāpatya* (established by the *Gaṇas*), the *Mānuṣya* (established by men) or *Bāṇa liṅga*[38]—all of which are not so removed from place to place, being fixed to a place in a temple.

The Lord is formless (*niṣkala*), but he takes up forms of Grace out of pity to the people who could not worship Him otherwise. These forms of Grace are the *Sakala* forms, and the *Liṅga* is the most important symbol of such *sakala* forms. Akattiyar, according to our poet, established the *sthāvara liṅga*—"*Tāparam niṟutti*"[39] and gave it a form. One wonders whether it is a *mukha liṅga*—"*Cakaḷi ceytu*".[40] This *liṅga* having been established by a *Ṛṣi* should be considered an *Ārṣa liṅga*, which, according to *Kāmikāgama* is said to be spheroidal like the unhusked cocoanut fruit and according to *Kāraṇāgama,* without any specific shape or measurement.

Ārūrar speaks of Akattiyar performing worship at the three *sandhyās* or the junctions of time, *viz.*, morning, midday and evening. This worship is referred to in the Tiruniṉṟiyūr hymn but the poet does not specifically state where this worship took place. *Tirukkuṟṟalappurāṇam* will have it at its place. But its story of converting the form of Viṣṇu's image into *Śiva liṅga* is not however referred to by *Ārūrar*. As a result of this worship, the Lord blessed *Agastya* to reside always at *Potiyil*, near the Pāpanāśam falls and the poet speaks of the *Potiyil* as the place beautified by great precious stones falling down, referring probably to the great falls. *Agastya* is said to be one of the *Ṛṣis* at the feet of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* according to some *Āgamas*. It is difficult to identify his form in the Kailāsanātha Temple.

III

(1)

Folklore :

The folk lore conceives the universe as a temple for the Lord where reside the federation of living beings, immersed in the love

38. A kind of liṅgam found in the *Narbadā* as worshipped by the Asura *Bāṇa.*

39. 7:65:5.

40. 7:65:5.

of God and radiating His presence from everyone of their hearts. True to this conception, we find not only human and divine beings but also beasts worshipping the Lord, in this brotherhood of love.

(2)

The Federation of Love—The Cow—The Elephant:

'Kāmadhēnu', the divine cow of the Heavens, *'Curapi'* (*Surabhi*)[41] as the poet calls, the pleasing and the shining one worshipped the Lord every day before the sun-rise allowing the milk from its udder to flow and immerse the Lord. Thus it was in quest of the Lord. Ārūrar says, that he has heard of the story and an irresistable conviction grew on him. He praised the Lord and this thought broke away the cruel fetters and he reached His feet. Therefore, this story has a special significance to Ārūrar as he himself confesses.[42] In this very hymn we have already seen one verse bringing together the tiger, the serpents, the lion, the *Dēvas* along with the *ṛṣis* to listen to the message of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*—a silent representation of the federation or brotherhood of love moving the mind of our poet,[43] as it did the mind of the common man of the Tamil land. This conception has appealed to Rājarāja the great, and he has attempted to form the image of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* in terms of this verse 6 of Ārūrar's Tiruniṉṟiyūr hymn.[44]

The appeal of this conception is still further proved by two other verses of this hymn. It is very unfortunate that the three closing verses of this hymn are wanting, which might have thrown still further light on this conception of a federation of living beings in love with the Lord. The seventh verse refers to the story of *Airāvata* though that name is not mentioned. It is the elephant of the Heavens with four tusks. It shivered and shuddered in repentance or out of love to the Lord whilst worshipping His feet full of beauty or goodness. It stood shuddering and worshipped the Lord by praising Him; immediately the Lord blessed it with the glory and grandeur of the Heavens. Having heard this characteristic feature of the pardoning Lord, the poet says that he himself has taken refuge at His beautiful feet. This federation of the saintly beasts, colours his vision and in the last two lines of this very verse he gives expression to his vision where the beautiful

41. 7:65:4.
42. 7:65:4.
43. 7:65:6.
44. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 50.

damsels with crescent-like foreheads who dwell on the top of the rich mansions of that place, appeared to Him as peacocks, young deer and child-like parrots.

(3)

Federation of love — the Spider — Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ :

That the whole hymn[45] starts from this conception is made clear, by the first verse which sings not of a higher animal but of a lowly creature, the spider.[46] It wove a cobweb as a canopy for the Lord at Tiruvāṉaikkā. Pleased with this loving thought of the spider, the Lord blessed it with wealth, munificence and powerful kingship. It is this spider that was born as the great *Cōḷa king Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*, the first Great *Cōḷa* temple-builder on a vast scale in brick and mortar. His temples have become known as great temples — *"Peruṅkōyil"*. This has inspired the poet, and he in his turn, overflows with this divine love and sings of the young innocent children playing in the streets, in the pials and in the courtyard with the precious stones gathered on the banks of the Kāviri which had thrown them out on the sides.

In another place, in his famous Tiruppuṉkūr hymn,[47] where also he refers to the various stories which inspired him, he mentions the *'cilanti'*[48] or spider. He gives the importance of the message of these stories. We may be sinners and committing sins. The cow as soon as it brings forth a calf does not look upon its child as full of dirt. It licks away lovingly and makes it clean and whole. Our defects are the characteristic features of our creation. The great mother of us all, the Lord, therefore, takes them as signs of our lives and looks upon them as good qualities under the circumstances and rushes to save us. It is this ideal which inspires our poets. The parable of the prodigal son is popular all over the world.

(4)

Cāṇḍēśvara :

In connection with the love and reverence for cow, the story of *Caṇḍēśvara* may be referred to. The poet speaks of *Daṇḍi* or

45. 7:65.
46. 7:65:1.
47. 7:55.
48. 7:55:4.

Caṇḍi, the *Caṇḍēśvara*.[49] He milked the cows and bathed with the milk the Lord of the *Liṅga* which he formed out of beautiful white sands; his father rushed on this *liṅga* or the Lord and *Caṇḍēśvara* cut away his father's leg and the Lord was pleased with him and blessed him with the flowers on His own matted hair.[50] In another place the poet speaks of *Caṇḍēśvara* as he who hacks away.[51] He also speaks of *Caṇḍēśvara* as *Daṇḍi*,[52] and also as *Caṇḍi*,[53] perhaps the poet uses the same form in all the four places. In the hymn 17, verse 4, he speaks of the Lord promoting *Caṇḍēśvara* to His own rank and becoming great that way. This is further explained in another hymn.[54] The beautiful clothes of the Lord, the beautiful jewels and the garlands He wears and the food He eats, He made *Caṇḍēśvara* to get. This story again emphasizes the Grace of the Lord where our poison becomes His nectar. The inscriptions uniformly record the documentary transactions of the Śiva temple as being conducted in the name of *Caṇḍēśvara*, the manager of the temple, a position which Ārūrar refers to in his hymns.

The *Āgamas* speak of this *Caṇḍēśa* assuming different forms in different *yugas*.[55] He is also given a wife;[56] but all this is contrary to the tradition preserved in *Periyapurāṇam*.

The *Āgamas* describe the image of the Lord showering his Grace on *Caṇḍēśa*. Śiva is seated with Pārvatī.[56a] His face is turned towards the left.[57] The right hand is in *varada* pose and the left hand is on the crown of *Caṇḍēśa*. *Caṇḍēśvarar*, beautiful in all parts, is standing or sitting[58] with hands in *añjali* pose. Śiva holds the ends of a flower-garland with His right hand and ties it round the head of *Caṇḍēśvara* with His left hand.[59]

49. 7:17:4; 7:55:3; 7:65:2; 7:88:6.
50. 7:55:4.
51. 7:88:6.
52. 7:17:4; 7:55:3.
53. 7:65:2; 7:88:6.
54. 7:65:2.
55. *Uttara Kāmikāgama, Paṭalam* 65, *ślōka* 29.
56. *Ibid.*, 65:29.
56a. *Uttara Kamika*, 55:2.
57. *Aṁśumadbhēda.*
58. *Uttara Kāmikāgama*, 55:3 and 4.
59. *Ibid.*, 55:5.

This description agrees with the image found in Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḻapuram.[60] The images from Śucīndram and Madura Temples given in plate L, agree with this, and, therefore, must have been sculptured after the above descriptions if the *Āgamas* had become authoritative rules. In the Kailāsanātha temple, however, the image is in a different pose thus showing that *Āgamic* rules had not become crystallized at the time it was made. Fig. 2 in the above plate gives a sketch of this image in the Kailāsanātha temple. It appears as fig. 1 in *Rea's* plate XXXIX, found in the 20th panel from the east end of the north side of the court. Gōpinātha Rao has given a correct description of this sculpture: "Śiva is standing on His right leg whilst the left one is resting upon a raised seat. He has four hands, the right one of which is held in the *varada* pose. It is not quite clear which objects are kept in the remaining hands. To the right of Śiva stands *Caṇḍēśvara* with the axe with which he cut down the leg of the father resting upon his right shoulder. Below and fallen on the ground is the father of *Caṇḍēśvara* with his left hand held in *vismaya* pose".

(5)

Others:

The stories of Campantar, Tirunāvukkaracar, Ēyarkōṉ, Pukaḻttuṇai, Nāḷaippōvār, Cākkiyar, Kaṇṇappar, Kaṇampullar are also referred to, but these will be discussed when referring to Ārūrar's Tiruttoṇṭattokai saints.[61] Though the story of *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* and *Caṇḍēśa* also occur therein, we described them at length for bringing out the significance of Ārūrar's ideal of godhead and love of animals.

There is a reference to *Toṇṭaimāṉ* receiving the blessings of the Lord.[62] In our study of the hymns under the head 'Pilgrim's Progress'[63] and in our discussion with all about our poet's relationship with the Pallavas, *Toṇṭaimāṉ* is narrated in detail.

Pāri is referred to by Ārūrar.[64] *Pāri* is one of the seven great patrons of the *Caṅkam* age. This *Vaḷḷal* according to the *Caṅkam* tradition unable to bear the sight of the helplessness of a jasmine creeper left his chariot on the way so as to allow the creeper to

60. See fig. 1, plate 49 of the *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.
61. See Vol., IV.
62. 7:69:10.
63. Vol. III
64. 7:34:2.

spread and entwine round the vehicle. Ārūrar is one of the few poets who have been impressed with this Tamillian vision of the overflowing kindness. The Koṭuṅkuṉṟam or Paṟampu Malai in the Rāmanādapuram District contains a Śiva temple which is now known as *Pārīccuram*—the Temple where worshipped *Pāri.*

This reference to *Pāri* suggests an interpretation for another passage in Ārūrar's passage. "*Pēr aruḷāḷaṉ piṭavūraṉ tammāṉē*",[65]—'Father of the Lord of *Piṭavūr,* the great munificent lord of Grace and memory'. The *Caṅkam* literature speaks of the patron "*Aṟappeyarc cāttaṉ*" of Piṭavūr which is said to be to the east of *Uṟaiyūr* in Tiruccirāppālli.[66] One wonders whether Ārūrar is referring to this patron of the *Caṅkam* age. Perhaps the reference is to a contemporary of Ārūrar. If the patron of the Caṅkam age was named after *Cāttaṉ* which is derived by some from *Śāsta,* the *Aiyaṉār, Śāsta* image itself is said to be originally an image of the *Buddha.* Can this reference of Ārūrar be to the *Śāsta* who is according to tradition a son of Śiva and Viṣṇu?[67] Cēkkiḻar refers to *Śāsta* (*Aiyaṉār*) as being famous in Piṭavūr and it is this Śāsta of Piṭavūr who brought from Kailās the first hymn[68] of Ārūrar. Probably this story was built on the foundation of this reference in Ārūrar.

65. 7:96:6.
66. *Puṟam.,* 395.
67. *Hariharaputra* of Kandapuraṇam tradition.
68. 7:100.

Chapter VI

WEAPONS AND ADORNMENTS OF ŚIVA

I

In our study of the various forms of Śiva, we have referred to the weapons, the ornaments and His toilet. As already pointed out in the beginning of this study, these have a mystic significance. Therefore, it is necessary to collect all the references under various heads of weapons, dress, *etc.*, and study them from this point of view.

Kantapurāṇa-c curukkam summarizes the story of the sacrifice of the *Dārukavana Ṛṣis*: "We shall destroy Him who had spoiled the chastity of the women of no evil", so saying they (the *Ṛṣis*) performed a sacrifice of huge conflagration. They commanded against Him the cruel attacking tiger, the battle-axe, the deer, the swarm of terrible serpents, the *Bhūtas* or devils, the dashing white skull, the drum of unshakable power and *muyalakaṉ*—all born and coming out of the fire one after another.

He flayed the tiger's skin and clothed himself with it; He ordered the devils to stand by Him as His army; He trampled with one of His wide lotus feet, *muyalakaṉ* and made him moan. The deer sent was held as a plaything in one of His hands on the left. He adorned His form of invaluable beauty, with all the rest.

The plate of fire was also sent along with the axe though this is not specifically mentioned here, because latterly the '*maḻu*' meaning the battle-axe came to be confused with fire.

In this place itself it is better to bring all the descriptions of not only the things mentioned in connection with this sacrifice but also of all the adornments, hands, eyes, weapons and dress of the Lord.

II

Māṉ, the deer:

Ārūrar refers to the deer held in God's hand, 17 times and speaks of it as '*māṉ*'. Originally '*mā*' meant in Tamil any animal

but later on, especially with the *'cāriyai' 'ṉ'* or *'āṉ'*, its meaning came to be restricted to the deer. Of the various varieties, the poet speaks of *'kalaimāṉ'*, the antlered deer, the *'pulavāy'* of *Tolkappiyam*.[1] Because its form with the branching horns and virility is impressive, it is specifically mentioned, *"Kalaimāṉ maṟi"*[2] *"Kalai cēr kaiyiṉaṉ"*.[3] The poet is captivated by its tender age. He uses the word *'maṟi'*, which according to Tolkāppiyar is traditionally used with reference to the young one of a deer *"Mān maṟi"*;[4] *"Kalai māṉ maṟi"*.[5] He, in some places, simply calls it *'maṟi'* without mentioning the word *'māṉ'*.[6] *'Kaṉṟu'* also seems to have come into use by the time of Ārūrar; for, he uses it at least in one place—*"Māṉ kaṉṟu ārum karavā*.[7] He is not satisfied with referring to it as a baby of a deer; he is desirous of calling it a 'wee little deer'—*"Ciṟu māṉ maṟi"*.[8] But in a few places, he does not refer to the tender age, but simply speaks of the deer.[9] In all these places, the poet does not lay the emphasis on the playful deer but on the deer as a characteristic symbol of Śiva, even as the *Cakra* is the symbol of Viṣṇu. He holds it in His *'kai'*, a Tamil word for the hand—*'Kai'*,[10] or within His palm, *"Kaittalam"*.[11] He uses the Sanskrit word *'kara'* for the hand, at least once,[12] and also the connected phrase *"karatala"*, equivalent to *"kaittalam"*.[13] He speaks of Śiva holding it up—*'Ēntum'*,[14] *'Ēnti'*.[15] In other places, he speaks of the deer going up to His hand—*'Ēṟum'*,[16] being up there with all its heart—*'Mēviya'*;[17] reaching the hand—*'Cēr'*;[18] embracing or being in close contact as a dear

1. *Sūtrams*: 1511, 1535.
2. 7:77:2; 7:93:8.
3. 7:27:3.
4. 7:11:4; 7:18:9; 7:53:9.
5. 7:77:2; 7:93:8.
6. 7:24:9; 7:26:4; 7:46:10.
7. 7:28:3.
8. 7:53:9.
9. 7:51:4; 7:67:1; 7:86:7; 7:87:5; 7:88:3.
10. 7:10:1; 7:11:4; 7:24:9; 7:26:4; 7:27:3; 7:51:4; 7:53:9; 7:88:3.
11. 7:67:1.
12. 7:28:3.
13. 7:46:10.
14. 7:57:11.
15. 7:86:7.
16. 7:46:10.
17. 7:88:3.
18. 7:27:3.

little thing—*'Maruvum'*.[19] The hand appears to be full with this deer—*'Ārum'*.[20] The deer is held on the left hand—*"Māṉai iṭattōr kaiyaṉ"*.[21]

Though the deer and the axe have become the symbols of Śiva, these do not appear in all of His forms. We have noted in what all forms the deer or the *"kṛṣṇa mṛga"* appears. References to the deer in Ārūrar may be analysed from this point of view. The poet usually does not specify any particular form of Śiva. But the details given in and around the mention of the deer may throw some light on the form referred to. It may be, he does not refer to any form. Even if a reference could be spun out, this study may show that it is not always in accordance with the rules of the Āgamas as they are available at present. Ārūrar refers to the deer in juxtaposition to his description of the story of *'Kāmāri'*,[22] of *'Gajāri'*,[23] of *'Kālāri'*,[24] of the quest of Viśṇu and Brahma',[25] of *'Tripurāntaka,'*[26] of the form of his *Guru* or of his inner vision,[27] of *Dakśiṇāmūrti*,[28] of *Pāśupatavrata*,[29] of *Gaṅgādhara*,[30] of *Ardhanāri* and *Hari ardha*,[31] of *Umāsahita*,[32] of *Ravaṇānugraha*,[33] of *Dakṣāri*,[34] of *Brahmaśiraschēda*[35] and of *Viṣṇucakradāna*.[36]

He mentions the deer in connection with the *'maḻu'* or battle-axe.[37] In a few places the fire is mentioned along with these two[38]

19. 7:51:4.
20. 7:28:3.
21. 7:20:1.
22. 7:10:1.
23. 7:10:1; 7:26:4; 7:53:9; 7:93:8.
24. 7:28:3; 7:86:7.
25. 7:18:9; 7:24:9; 7:53:9.
26. 7:27:3; 7:57:11.
27. 7:26:4; 7:46:10; 7:51:4; 7:67:1.
28. 7:28:3.
29. 7:57:11.
30. 7:11:4; 7:27:3; 7:67:1; 7:77:2.
31. 7:87:5.
32. 7:24:9; 7:27:3; 7:53:9; 7:57:11; 7:88:3.
33. 7:18:9.
34. 7:53:9.
35. 7:53:9.
36. 7:53:9.
37. 7:11:4; 7:86:7; 7:87:5; 7:93:8.
38. 7:11:4; 7:87:5; 7:93:8.

and in one of these places the elephant's skin is mentioned as probably referring to the *Gajāri* form.[39]

III

Muyalakaṉ:

The *apasmāra puruṣa* was also sent against Śiva. '*Smṛ*' is to remember; '*apasmāra*' is the forgetful epileptic fit. The man in an epileptic fit perhaps must have been expected to effect murder much more easily and with supernatural forces. The Tamil name for the epileptic fit is "*muyal vali*" because the patient breathes like the hare whilst following a scent; it is also called '*muyalakaṉ*' as is made clear by *Periyapurāṇam*. Therefore, the *apasmāra puruṣa* is known in Tamil as *Muyalakaṉ* of which the colloquial form is '*musalakaṉ*' as found in Tanjore Temple inscription. The unconscious epileptic demon has to be under control with great force and the Lord presses him down under His feet. The Tamil term '*muyalakaṉ*' occurs for the first time in Ārūrar and that only once[40] where he describes Śiva as the Lord of the burning ground. He calls the Muyalakaṉ as "*Mūṭāya muyalakaṉ*", the idiotic epileptic.

IV

Yajñōpavīta:

'Śiva's image shines with a '*yajñōpavīta*'. We have already seen the significance of Śiva being specially called '*Yajñōpavītin*' where He wears the *yajñōpavīta* leading on to the conception of order and rulership. When Brahminism took deeper root in this country, this *yajñōpavīta* came to signify its prevalence.

The use of '*Pañcavaṭi*' as *yañōpavīta* has been referred to in our discussion of the *Brahma śiraschēda mūrti*'.

The poet refers to *yajñōpavīta* as "*Purinūl*"[41]—'the twisted thread'; He speaks of it as the white thread of embracing darnings —"*Iḷai taḻuvu veṇ ṇūl*".[42] It is so characteristic that our poet speaks of it as that; it is on the body of the Lord—"*Meyyātu puri*

39. 7:93:8.
40. 7:2:3.
41. 7:14:7.
42. 7:40:8.

nūl".[43] He is the Lord of the sacred thread—"*Purinūluṭai Nampi*".[44] It is pure white—"*Veṇpuri nūl*",[45] '*Veṇ ṇūl*"[46] and it glistens "*Viṭṭilaṅku puri nūl*".[47] Our author gives a poetic description of this beautiful sight of the sacred thread on the form of Śiva. The Lord is red like the coral mountain and the sacred thread appears to him like a stream of crystal diving into this coral mountain :

"Paḷkku-t tārai pavaḷa veṟpil
Kuḷikkum pōl nūl".[48]

In one place the poet speaks of "*Pūṇ nāṇ āvatōr aravam*"[49] and if we compare the modern usage of "*Pūṇ nūl*" for the sacred thread, we have to assume that the poet is contemplating a case of the serpent itself being the sacred thread of the Lord.[50]

V

Maḻu :

There are 30 references to '*Maḻu*' or the axe in Ārūrar. The *Ṛṣis* sent also the battle-axe born of the Sacrifice, against Śiva which he caught and held for ever in His right hand. Ārūrar refers to this as well. He sings, "*Maḻuvāḷ valaṇ ēntī*"[51]—'Thou art the bearer of the axe in your right hand'. This '*Ēntī*' or holder of axe or holding the axe is used often.[52] The poet speaks of the Lord as the 'Man of the battle axe'—'*Maḻuvaṇ*';[53] "*Maḻuvāḷar*";[54] "*Maḻuvāḷiṇaṇ*";[55] "*Maḻuppaṭaiyāṇ*";[56] "*Maḻuvātpaṭai mali kaiyaṇ*"[57] and addresses Him, 'Thou of the axe',[58] or 'He is possessed of it'.[59]

43. 7:14:7.
44. 7:63:3.
45. 7:53:2.
46. 7:40:8.
47. 7:56:7.
48. 7:94:4.
49. 7:92:8.
50. 7:15:1.
51. 7:1:9.
52. 7:11:4; 7:63:1; 7:85:1; 7:86:7; 7:88:3.
53. 7:22:2; 7:22:5; 7:81:4; 7:91:6.
54. 7:53:9.
55. 7:71:6.
56. 7:82:2.
57. 7:98:7.
58. 7:1:9.
59. 7:10:3; 7:10:4; 7:10:5; 7:53:9; 7:58:5; 7:61:5; 7:71:6; 7:81:4; 7:82:2 7:91:6; 7:93:10; 7:98:7.

The description of the *Maḻu* is important. In later days in the fire ordeal, the sharp battle axe was put in the fire and taken out red hot to be caught with its sharp edge inside the palm of the persons undergoing the ordeal when, if he is not guilty it will neither cut nor burn the palm. On account of this ordeal *"Maḻu ēntal"* or *"Maḻu eṭuttal"* has come to signify the red hot-fire. But as is revealed by the sculptures of Ārūrar's age the *'Maḻu'* is an axe different from the fire shown in the form of a flame or a torch. Ārūrar also differentiates the fire from the axe or *'Maḻu'* for he speaks of God thus : 'He holds the *maḻu* and has the fire in one hand'—*"Mā maḻuvēnti ōr kaiyil aṉal uṭaiyār"*.[60] Perhaps the ordeal by fire is also hinted here—*"Nilamuṭai māṉ maṟi kaiyatu teyvak kaṉal uṭai māmaḻu"*[61]—'the great battle axe possessed of divine fire contrasted with the deer belonging to this earth whereon it has the frisk'; *"Kaṉal maḻu"*;[62] *"Maḻuviṇoṭu aṅkait tī ukappār"*[63]—'The Lord is fond of the fire on his palm along with the battle axe'—*"Maṟiyum eriyum maḻuvum uṭaiyāṉ"*[64]—'He is the Lord of the deer, the fire and the axe'—these are some other references. In another verse where the poet enumerates Śiva's characteristics he speaks of the *'maḻu'* and the fire.[65] The *maḻu* is sharpened and polished; therefore, it is white : *"Veṇ maḻu"*.[66] The cruel sharp glistening edge may be said to vomit fire as a poetic conceit. Hence the battle-axe may be spoken of as fiery—*"Kaṉaluṭai mā maḻu"*,[67] *"Kaṉal maḻu"*.[68]

There is a cryptic description in hymn 10, verse 4. One thing is clear that the *'maḻu'* in the palm is like the fire: *"Caṅku kuḻaic cevi koṇṭu aruvit tiraḷ pāy aviyat taḻal pōluṭait tam aṅkai maḻu"*—'There is the ear-ring of conch near the hand. It sheds white flood of its lustre which looks like a cataract or waterfall'. Then the reading is not clear: *"Pāy aviyat taḻal pōluṭai....maḻu"* —'The cataract flows; this flow does not put out the fire; like such a fire is the axe'. There is another reading: *"Pāya viyarttu*

60. 7:11:4.
61. 7:11:4.
62. 7:77:2.
63. 7:87:5.
64. 7:93:8.
65. 7:84:5.
66. 7:22:2; 7:22:5; 7:26:3; 7:27:1; 7:61:5; 7:63:1.
67. 7:11:4.
68. 7:77:2.

aḻal pōḷuṭai....maḻu"—'When the cataract rushed down, the *maḻu* perspired in rage at this and blazed up like a fire'. It may suggest any of these meanings.[69]

It shines and glistens—"*Cuṭar veṇ maḻu*".[70] It is a cruel *maḻu* —"*Koṭu maḻu*".[71] '*Koṭu*' may refer to the curved form of its sharp edge as may be seen from the sculptures of the Kailasanātha Temple. The poet speaks of the Lord as "*Koṭu maḻu virakiṉaṉ*"[72]—'the Lord who is enthusiastic over His curved or cruel axe or the Lord who is an adept in the tactful use of the axe'. The curved form is its standard form; therefore, it adds to its shape and beauty —"*Vaṭivuṭai maḻu*".[73] Its edge is very sharp—"*Kūr nuṉai maḻu*".[74] In "*Muḷiṟu ilaṅku maḻu*",[75] '*muḷiṟu*' means being sharp like a thorn, from '*muḷ*' and '*muḷi*' with the suffix '*ṟu*' as in '*ākiṉṟu*'. This is the peculiarity of the age of Ārūrar. Leaving off this digression we find that the poet states that the edge of the *maḻu* is then like a leaf—"*Ilai malinta maḻu*".[76] It may be like the leaf but it is firm and adament—"*Tiṇ maḻu*".[77] Apart from the beauty of the shape, there is the beauty of its function. It cuts in twain in the twinkling of an eye. The division is the beauty of this curved axe—"*Kūṟaṇi koṭu maḻu*".[78] This axe is not the axe of the wood-cutter—an instrument of livelihood; it is a weapon of war—"*Paṭai*".[79] Among the weapons of war it belongs to the cutting weapons of the sword variety and hence it is called "*Maḻu vāḷ*"[80] and "*Maḻu vāṭapaṭai*".[81] 'It is the conquering axe'—"*Vellum veṇ maḻu*".[82] To the iron part of the axe is attached a handle of a stick and the poet refers to this: "*Taṇṭēr maḻup paṭaiyāṉ*[83]—'The Lord of the weapon of a battle axe beautified by its handle of a stick'.

69. 7:10:4.
70. 7:98:7.
71. 7:58:5.
72. 7:72:5.
73. 7:85:1.
74. 7:85:3.
75. 7:81.4.
76. 7:30:11.
77. 7:84:5.
78. 7:72:3.
79. 7:26:3; 7:27:1; 7:58:5; 7:82:2; 7:93:10; 7:98:7.
80. 7:1:9; 7:10:3; 7:10:5; 7:81:4.
81. 7:58:5; 7:93:10; 7:98:7.
82. 7:61:5.
83. 7:82:2.

With the same warning that we gave with reference to the study of the deer, we shall try to find out in combination with what all forms of the Lord, the *'maḷu'* is mentioned. It is found mentioned in juxtaposition to what may be taken to be a reference to the forms of *"Umāsahita"*,[84] *"Candra śēkhara"*,[85] *"Viṣāpaharaṇa"*,[86] *"Kāpāli"*,[87] *"Ardhanārī"*,[88] *"Dakṣāri"*,[89] *"Gaǰāri"*,[90] *"Ēkāmranātha"*,[91] *"Tripurāntaka"*,[92] *"Vṛṣabhārūḍa"*,[93] *"Gaṅgādhara"*,[94] *"Pāśupatavrata"*,[95] *"Nṛtta mūrti"*,[96] *"Kālāri"*[97] *"Śaṅkara nārāyaṇa"*,[98] *"Bhikṣāṭana"*[99] or inner vision of the poet.[100]

VI

Triśūlam :

Śiva is said to hold the *"Triśūla"* or trident in His hand. This *triśūla* is traced sometime to the universal symbol of a cross or a *svastic*. In the engraved seals of the Mohenjodaro and Harappa, there are forms of human faces with two inward bent horns and the head-dress. They are said to be representations of divinity. An examination of these figures bring out their similarity with the *triśūla*. At Māmallapuram, such faces as the crowning head of the *rathas*, have been found lying on the sands, nearby, by Longhurst. We are familiar with the *"Cakradēvata"* represented in a human form with a number of hands, round which, we find the *cakra*. Similarly these forms found at Māmallapuram may be taken as *'Śūladēvata'*, the personification of *Triśūla*, where the central sphere appears as the head, and the side spheres as horns. This representation is exactly like the representation found at

84. 7:1:9; 7:10:4; 7:88:3.
85. 7:10:3; 7:10:4; 7:22:2.
86. 7:10:3; 7:61:5; 7:82:2.
87. 7:53:9.
88. 7:10:4; 7:22:5; 7:84:5; 7:87:5; 7:88:3.
89. 7:26:3; 7:53:9.
90. 7:53:9; 7:85:1; 7:93:8; 7:98:7.
91. 7:58:5; 7:87:5.
92. 7:63:1; 7:72:5; 7:82:2.
93. 7:71:6; 7:72:3; 7:82:2.
94. 7:10:3; 7:10:4; 7:11:4; 7:72:3; 7:77:2.
95. 7:81:4.
96. 7:84.5.
97. 7:86:7; 7:93:10.
98. 7:87:5.
99. 7:53:9.
100. 7:27:1; 7:30:11; 7:77:2.

Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Such personification of other weapons are referred to by the old commentators.[101]

This weapon of destruction, so frightful, has been transformed into a weapon of love. The story of *Andhakāsura* and the part the *triśūla* played therein, have been mentioned in a different place. The *triśūla* destroys all our obstructions towards redemption and salvation, obstructions which are personified as demons.

The association of Śiva with the *Triśūla* is found in the *Caṅkam* works themselves. The invocatory verse of *Akanāṉūṟu* speaks of the "*Mūvāy vēl*"—'the three mouthed spear' which is no other than the trident. What is considered to be the invocatory verse of '*Patiṟṟu-p pattu*' quoted by Naccinārkkiṉiyar[102] mentions the very word '*Śūlam*' and speaks of Śiva as "*Teriya śūlam piṭitta cuṭarppaṭai-k kaṭavuḷ*"—'the Lord of Time, of resplendent weapons holding the clear trident'. This trident is the characteristic weapon of *Śakti* and in the '*Vēṭṭuvar vari*' of *Cilappatikāram*, we find this emphasized.[103]

Ārūrar's reference to this trident in connection with *Andhakāsura* has already been mentioned. The form of *Mahiṣāsura mardhani*, so beautifully sculptured at Māmallapuram and in Kailāsanātha temple[104] represents the heroic use of this trident by the Mother Goddess. The sculptures of Kailāsanātha temple represent Śiva holding the trident.[105]

There are eleven references to *triśūla*, the trident. Ārūrar calls it "*Śūlam*"[106] from the root '*śūl*' to pierce. He calls it, "*Paṭai-t talai-c cūlam*"[107]—the head or the king of weapons. It is a three-headed spear. The spear-head is usually said to be in the form of a leaf and the three-headed spear is naturally in the form of three leaves—"*Ilaikoḷ cūlam*".[108] Therefore, our poet calls this '*Cūlam*'—"*Mūvilai vēl*".[109] He calls it simply, "*Mūvilai*", a meta-

101. *Pattup pāṭṭu*—3: *ll.*, 94-95.
102. *Tol., Porul., Puṟam.*, 26.
103. XII, *ll.*, 60; 68.
104. Rea's Plate Nos. XXIX; XXXII, fig. 1; LI, fig. 2; LVI.
105. Rea's Plate XXXIV, fig. 1; XXXV, fig. 2; XXXVI, fig. 1; XXXVIII fig. 1; XLV, fig. 2; LI, fig. 1; LIV; LVII; LX; LXI; CIX; CXXIII, fig. 1.
106. 7:14:6; 7:33:7; 7:37:5; 7:40:3; 7:81:5.
107. 7:14:6.
108. 7:81:5.
109. 7:19:3; 7:28:1; 7:56:3.

phorical expression for the trident. The poet has formed out of this a *"peyareccam"*—'a relative participle with the genitive significance'[110]—*'mūvilaiya paṇtaṅkaṉ*[111] and *"Mūvilaiya paṅkaya pātaṉ"*.[112] He also makes this *"Mūvilaya"* descriptive of *'Cūlam'* in the phrase, *"Mūvilaiya Cūlattiṉāṉ"*.[113] The poet speaks of its radiating rays of light, *"Katir mūvilaiya"*.[114] Its destructive aspect is also emphasized: *"Kollum mūvilai vēl"*[115]—'the trident which kills'; *"Alaikoḷ cūlam"*[116]—'the teasing trident'; and also *"Alaiyār Katir mūvilai."*[117] Its swift movement is also referred to *"Viraiyār katir mūvilai"*[118]—'the light radiating trident full of swift movement'.[119] It is made of iron—*"Irumpuyarnta mūvilaiya cūlattiṉāṉ"*.[120] That it is a weapon is also clearly described by calling *"Paṭaittalai-c cūlam"*[121] and *"Cūlappaṭai"*.[122] The Lord is catching hold of it in one of His hands, *"Cūlam paṟṟiya kaiyar"*.[123] It is inside His palm —*"Aṅkaiyil mūvilai vēl"*.[124] He has the trident in His hand—*"Kaiyiṟ cūlamatuṭaiya"*.[125]

The *triśūla* is spoken of as the characteristic feature of Śiva and the lady love speaks of Śiva as the Lord of the trident—*"Cūla-p paṭai Aṭikaḷ"*.[126] The trident is mentioned in juxtaposition to the heroic feat of the Lord conquering *'Kālaṉ'* or *'Yama'* in one place, *"Kollum mūvilai uṭaiyāṉai-k koṭiya kālaṉaiyum kumaittāṉai"*.[127] In another place it is mentioned when referring to the *'Pāṇṭaraṅka'* dance of Śiva.[128] It is also mentioned in *Andhakāsura saṁhāra*—

110. 7:22:2; 7:22:5.
111. 7:22:2.
112. 7:22:5.
113. 7:40:3.
114. 7:22:2.
115. 7:56:3.
116. 7:37:5.
117. 7:22:5.
118. 7:22:2.
119. 7:22:2.
120. 7:40:3.
121. 7:14:6.
122. 7:37:5.
123. 7:14:6.
124. 7:19:3.
125. 7:33:7.
126. 7:37:5.
127. 7:56:3.
128. 7:22:2

"Iruḷ mēvum Andhakaṉmēl tiṟicūlam pāicci"[129] which we have already referred to. In other places it is difficult to say to what particular *mūrtas* the *cūlam* is referred to.

We have been noticing that descriptions of Śiva being made applicable to *Śakti*. In one place,[130] it is possible to interpret the trident as being held by *Gaṅgādēvi*, a *Śakti* of the Lord.

VII

Hands :

The all-pervasiveness of God has been referred to elsewhere, by the matted hair going in eight parts and meeting the eight points of the compass.

The hands of the Lord in His image form have some such significance. The sculptors try to represent super-human powers by giving more than two hands to their figures. In the Mohenjodaro pictograms, the human figures with two hands are interpreted by Rev. Father Heras as denoting gods. In the Naṭarāja forms, the four hands, eight hands, ten hands and sixteen hands represent so many points of the compass. Sculptures with ten, eight and four hands are seen in Kailāsanātha temple. The enumeration of the things held in the hands may suggest the existence of four hands of the Lord,.[131] In many places the poet speaks specifically of eight hands.[132]

In two places there, eight hands are described in relation to the Lord's dance.[133] In four places these are mentioned in juxtaposition to the Lord's blue neck, *"Maikoḷ kaṇṭam"*[134] or *"Kārūr Kaṇṭam"*[135] or *"Kaṟaiyārnta kaṇṭam"*[136] probably because of their assonance with the phrase *"Eṇṭōḷ"*. Sometimes the poet groups things which can be numbered thereby creating beautiful pattern of number *"Eṇṭōḷiṉaṉ mukkaṇṇiṉaṉ ēḻicaiyiṉaṉ"*.[137]

129. 7:16:2.
130. 7:28:1.
131. 7:93:8.
132. 7:12:10; 7:30:8; 7:30:10; 7:33:8; 7:40:8; 7:53:3; 7:61:9; 7:71:9; 7:76:5; 7:86:6; 7:95:11.
133. 7:33:8; 7:40:8.
134. 7:12:10; 7:76:5.
135. 7:95:11.
136. 7:30:8.
137. 7:71:9.

VIII

***Eyes*:**

Śiva is represented as having three eyes, the three lights of the three worlds. Our poet speaks of the Lord as *"Mukkaṇṇaṉ"*.[138] In another place, he speaks of Him as *"Mukkaṇ iṟaivaṉ"*,[139] *"Mukkaṇ"*,[140] *"Mūṉṟu kaṇ uṭaiyāy"*,[141] *"Mukkaṇṇiṉaṉ"*[142] and *"Kaṇ mūṉṟuṭaiyīr.*[143] He mentions this as the emblem of divinity, *"Kaṇṇu mūṉṟum uṭaiyāy oru Nampi,*[144] probably having the three great lights symbolized by the three eyes; the poet speaks *"Periya kaṇ mūṉṟum uṭaiyāṉ"*[145]—'the Lord of the three great eyes'. The two eyes are in their ordinary places but the third eye is found represented in the centre of the fore-head; because the third eye is really the distinguishing mark, our poet describes Śiva as the Lord of the eye on the fore-head, *"Neṟṟi-k kaṇ uṭaiyāṉ"*.[146] *"Kaṇṇutalōṉ"* or *"Kaṇṇutalāṉ"*,[147] *"Kaṇṇār ṇutalar"*.[148] The appearance of this third eye in addition to the ordinary eyes is indeed a curious sight and our poet describes it as the one eye above the eyes, *"Kaṇṇiṉ mēlṟoru kaṇṇuṭaiyāṉ"*,[149] *"Kaṇmēl oru kaṇṇāṉ"*.[150] Our author is so immersed in the poetic mood, that he addresses pathetically to this form in a moment of distress when he had lost his eyes—'Oh, Thou Lord, who are possessed of three eyes! Is it fair that you should deprive your servant of his eyes?'—*"Mūṉṟu kaṇṇuṭaiyāy aṭiyēṉ kaṇ koḷvatē"*;[151] it is this third eye which winked at *Kāma* and burnt him to ashes—*"Kāmanuṭal vēva-k kaṉal viḷitta Kaṇṇutalōṉ"*.[152]

A story is told how the Lord came to be possessed of this third eye. "The damsel of the mountain was playing with the Lord.

138. 7:12:3; 7:30:8; 7:33:4.
139. 7:86:6.
140. 7:95:11.
141. 7:54:4.
142. 7:71:9.
143. 7:12:7.
144. 7:63:1.
145. 7:38:9.
146. 7:86:4.
147. 7:16:1; 7:56:6.
148. 7:53:2.
149. 7:59:7.
150. 7:80:4.
151. 7:54:4.
152. 7:16:9.

She became so intoxicated in the playful sporting of the Lord that she closed His eyes with her hands where danced the bangles, perhaps little thinking what will be the consequence of her act, for His eyes are the lights of the world. The whole universe was enshrouded in dense darkness. The God, to save this world and for making this darkness run away and disappear, created a single eye in His forehead and became Great, the best of men, probably because of His sympathy for every living being".

"Malaimaṭantai viḷaiyāṭi vaḷaiyāṭu karattāl
Makiḻntavaḷkaṇ putaittalumē valliruḷāy ellā
Ulakuṭaṉṟāṉ mūṭaviru ḷōṭumvakai neṟṟi
Oṟṟaikkaṇ paṭaittukanta uttamaṉ".[153]

IX

Serpent:

In the Bhikṣāṭana form there are no clothes. *"Kaṭi dēsē prakartavyah phaṇi sūtrēṇa vēṣṭitah".*[154] 'The serpent is tied round the waist. He is adorned with the serpent.'

Serpent worship must have been very popular in South India as is seen by the *Nāga* stones still found under the trees. Śiva in keeping His out of the way abodes, came to be associated with serpents, as well. In the Tamil country of *Nāga* worship, this assumed a greater importance, on account of the harmony effected between Śiva worship and this *Nāga* worship. The serpent became the greatest symbol of Śiva, the hood of the serpent appearing as a kind of umbrella up over the crown of Śiva. In addition to this in the age of the Pallavas, there was their tradition of a Pallava marriage with a *Nāga kanyā*. This gave an additional glamour to the serpents adorning the Lord.

The psycho analysts have spoken of the significance of the serpent symbol appealing to the unconscious and the racial memory. The serpent in Hindu Philosophy represents the *kuṇḍalinī yōga*. It also represents the Universe; the evolving Universe is the serpent with its hood spread out; when it has not the hood thus spread out, it is the Universe at rest lying in involution. All these suggestions are there imbedded in every description of the forest.

153. 7:16:4.
154. *Kāmika.*, 52:23.

(a)

The words for serpent used by Ārūrar are (1) *Nākam,* the Tamillian form of the Sanskrit word *'Nāga'*,[155] (2) *'Puyaṅkam'* from the Sanskrit word *'Bhujaṅgaḥ'* (that which moves in a curved way),[156] (3) *'Arā'*[157] with its variant forms *'ara'*[158] and *'aravu'*[159] and *'aravam'*,[160] (4) *'Pāmpu'*,[161] (5) *'Pāntaḷ'*.[162] Nāga as that which moves not—that goes not—refers probably to its serpentine motion; so does *'bhujaṅgaḥ'* as that which moves on its shoulders. Possibly *Nāga* itself is traceable originally to the Tamil root *'naku'* to the Tamillians referring to the shining appearance of certain serpents. It is a shining serpent, says the poet: *'Vāḷ aravu'*.[163] The poet speaks of *"Kōla aravu"*, 'the beautiful serpent or the serpent with the beautiful pattern'.[164] *'Naku'* meaning 'youthful' is also traceable to the same root. The *Nākar* may be the race of eternals. If *Nākars* are non-aryans, it is but reasonable that their name should be traced to a non-aryan root. *Aravu* is compared with *'Sarpa'* by the Tamil Lexicon. This is indeed very unfortunate; for the form *aravam* is to be traced to *'ar'*, *'arā'*, *'ara'* and *'aravu'* according to the well established Tamil grammatical tradition which is not opposed to any canon of comparative philology. *'Ara'* may mean the sound of the rattlesnake. From this has come the word *'arakku'* which means to wriggle, like a serpent.

'Pāmpu' is from *'pāy'*, to spring forth, as pointed out by Dr. Caldwell. *'Pāntaḷ'* probably means the same.[165] Naccinārkkiniyar interprets this to mean the big snake. The other epithets which the poet uses are suggestive and realistic. It captures any cleft or crevice and makes it as its own abode—*"Muḷaikoḷ aravu"*.[166] Any hole is a fit abode for many serpents and God captures the serpents there. The Tamil Lexicon gives this mean-

155. 7:2:4; 7:2:8; 7:4:1; 7:4:2; *etc.*
156. 7:10:7.
157. 7:61:4.
158. 7:50:3.
159. 7:9:9; *etc.*
160. 7:3:3; 7:14:8; *etc.*
161. 7:2:1; *etc.*
162. 7:64:4.
163. 7:12:10.
164. 7:94:3.
165. 7:64:6.
166. 7:9:9.

ing of a hold for the word *'pāḻi'*—*"Pāḻitoṟum pala pāmpu paṟṟi"*.[167] Any ant heap becomes its rendezvous and it dances with its hood —*"Puṟṟatu aravam"*;[168] *"Puṟṟil vāḷ aravu"*.[169] It is the cruel serpent of the jungles or uncultivated areas—*"Kollai val aravam"*.[170] It has the hood which it spreads and dances. The hood is known as *'paṭam'*, *'pai'*, and *'paṇam'*,—*"Paṭam koḷ nākam"*,[171] *"Paitta paṭattalai"*,[172] *"Paikoḷ vāḷ aravu"*,[173] *"Paṇampaṭum aravam"*.[174] It, especially the cobra, has the spots on its hood *'Tutti'* usually in the form of two *'S's*.[175]

(b)

It is an obstinate and cruel one—*"Mūkkappāmpu"*.[176] It foams up and dances—*"Poṅkāṭaravā,"*[177] *"Poṅkaravam"*.[178] The idea of its wriggling serpentine motion is beautifully expressed by the phrase, *"Oṟṟiyūrum aravu"*,[179] that which creeps attached to the thing it creeps on. It is deadly—*"Kōḷ nākam"*.[180] It is powerful—*"Val aravam"*.[181] It is cruel and angry—*"Veyya pāmpu"*,[182] *"Kata nākam"*.[183] Its eyes are red with anger—*"Ceṅkaṇ aravam"*.[184] They become green *"Paiṅkaṇ"*,[185] probably because of excess of anger.[186] It opens up its mouth wide—*"Paku vāy"*,[187] that shows its pride—*"Cerukku vāy"*.[188] Its teeth, *'Eyiṟu'*[189] with the poison-

167. 7:18:5.
168. 7:3:3; 7:92:1.
169. 7:62:1.
170. 7:56:10.
171. 7:57:4.
172. 7:10:5.
173. 7:12:10.
174. 7:14:8.
175. 7:42:7.
176. 7:2:2; 7:2:3.
177. 7:92:3.
178. 7:30:5.
179. 7:91:10.
180. 7:53:5.
181. 7:56:10.
182. 7:33:7.
183. 7:4:1.
184. 7:36:4.
185. 7:42:7.
186. The commentary on *Paripāṭal* — 5:27.
187. 7:42:7.
188. 7:40:5.
189. 7:42:7.

ous fangs are then visible and from there flows the poison—"*Naccaravam*",[190] "*Viṭa nākam*".[191] The poison is suggestively described as fire—"*Neruppumiḻ aravu*",[192] "*Aḻalē umiḻum*".[193] It hisses—"*Pāmpatu mūceṉum*"[194] and people are afraid of this hiss.

(c)

The serpents are of various appearances. Some are bright—"*Vāḷ arā*",[195] "*Vāḷ aravam*".[196] Some are white—"*Veḷ aravu*".[197] Some are with various lines—"*Varitaru pāmpu*",[198] perhaps as in the rattlesnake. Or, they may refer to those found on the cobra snake. But when the poets speak of the serpent, they usually refer to the cobra and all these descriptions must be taken as applicable to it.

There are various fables which have grown around the serpent in an attempt to express the super-human powers of the serpent. It is said to have five heads and five mouths—"*Aivāy aravu*".[199] Thousand hoods and, therefore, thousand heads are also spoken of—"*Paṭam āyiram*".[200] '*Ādisēṣa*' is said to possess thousand heads. The *purāṇas* speak of eight great serpents on the eight different points of the compass, supporting the world—representing perhaps the *kuṇḍalinī śakti* of the world. The Lord is described by Ārūrar as "*Aṭṭapuyaṅka-p pirāṉ*"[201]—'the Lord of the eight great serpents'. There is said to be a precious stone on the head of the cobra of long life—a gem said to shine at night. Our poet refers to this great gem of the cobra—"*Māmaṇi nākam.*"[202] In the phrase he uses, "*Tuṇai mā maṇi nākam araikkacaittu*",[203] '*tuṇai*' means two. Unless we take it that he is referring to a serpent of two hoods and two gems, we must interpret it to mean that the Lord is tying two serpents around his waist.

190. 7:83:8.
191. 7:89:2.
192. 7:72:3.
193. 7:42:7.
194. 7:36:2.
195. 7:61:4.
196. 7:85:7.
197. 7:40:5.
198. 7:44:8.
199. 7:15:7.
200. 7:42:7.
201. 7:10:7.
202. 7:2:3.
203. 7:2:3.

(d)

The Lord wears the serpent as the waist-string to which is attached His loin cloth which has been separately discussed. He uses the serpent as a kind of belt or sash for tightening the skin of the tiger He wears.[204] But the Lord uses the serpent also as a variety of ornaments. It is there up above His matted hair—"*Ceñcaṭaimēl āṭaravam cūṭi*".[205] It is there tied round his neck and the shoulders as necklace and armlets[206] and on His hands as bangles or wristlets and on the head as a crown.[207] Because of the gem, the serpent possesses, it is really a necklace of gems—"*Āram pāmpu*",[208] "*Āramāvatu nākamō*".[209] It is worn as an ear-ring.[210] Because of the serpent surrounding the Lord thus, Ārūrar speaks of God as the flaming light of the surrounding serpents—"*Cūḻum arava-c cuṭar-c cōti*',[211] suggestive of the description of *Kaṅkāla mūrti* by the *Āgamas*. The poet rhetorically interrogates, 'Do you live adorning with (tying round) the serpents?'—"*Kaṭṭi vāḻvatu nākamō?*".[212] '*Kaṭṭi*' may mean neutralizing their cruelty or poison when this will mean, "Do you live by neutralizing the serpents?". In the *Bhikṣāṭana* form, He is described as coming with a serpent held in one of His hands.[213] This is referred to in other places also.[214] The love-sick maidens become afraid of this serpent and beg of Him not to come with it.[215] This form of serpent adornment is looked upon as beauty, '*Aḻakaṉ*'.[216] But the Lord in this form is described as deceitful, "*Paṭiṟaṉ*"[217] probably because it is all a show implying something mystical especially when He goes a-begging. Not only He is called "*Paṭiṟaṉ*", He is also derided as

204. 7:2:8; 7:4:1; 7:23:6; 7:48:6.
205. 7:83:8.
206. 7:2:2; 7:36:10.
207. 7:9:8.
208. 7:5:9; 7:18:1.
209. 7:36:1.
210. 7:40:8.
211. 7:77:8.
212. 7:33:2.
213. 7:36:4.
214. 7:2:1; 7:4:2; 7:14:8; 7:14:10; 7:36:2; 7:44:1; 7:64:6.
215. 7:36:2.
216. 7:48:6; 7:80:8.
217. 7:86:7.

a "*Paṭṭi*"[218]—a lawless and unbridled person, because of His unbridled Love for the soul—"*Naccaravārtta paṭṭi*".[219]

(e)

The serpent seems to play an important part in the dance of Śiva. It is one of the weapons which grew out of the great sacrificial fire of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dāruka vana*, for being hurled against Śiva. Śiva caught hold of it and danced. 'In the hands which dance fast, the Lord, holds the drum, the plate of fire and the dark serpent and dances'—thus sings our poet.[220] The serpent as held in one of the hands of Śiva is seen in some of the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple. In Rea's Plate XXXIV, fig. 1, one of the right hands, the third from the front holds a three headed serpent. So is the fig. 1, Plate CIX, holding the serpent in the right hand, the third from the back. In fig. 3, Plate CXVIII, Śiva dances holding a three-headed serpent in the left hand, the third from the back. In Plate LXI, the *Bhikṣāṭana mūrti*, in addition to his clothes hanging in front has also a serpent round his waist and a look is seen hanging down in the front row. Another three-headed serpent is twining round his right hand; the three headed serpents are found in abundance in the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple. There is a serpent near the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form in Plate LXII. In Plate CIX in the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*, we find the snakes of the waist also moving fast hanging low. So also in fig. 3 of Plate CXVIII.

(f)

The serpent is mentioned in juxtaposition to the mat-lock, the crescent moon and the Ganges.[221] There is a suggestion of the serpent spreading like a creeper round the mat-lock.[222] The harmony which we have been often emphasizing is described by the grouping of '*kurā*' flower, '*koṉṟai*', the moon, the *datura* flower, the damsel of Ganges and the serpent and the poet used the suggestive word '*viravukiṉṟa*'—commingling.[223] In another place, he speaks of the serpent, *vaṉṉi* and moon and the *datura* flower in

218. *Kali.*, V. 51.
219. 7:59:10.
220. 7:90:1.
221. 7:42:9.
222. 7:91:10; 7:93:1.
223. 7:6:8.

the mat-lock.[224] The contrast is emphasized between the moon and the serpent and their harmony is described as the beauty of divinity.[225] The Lord makes them sleep together in peace.[226] In another place the poet brings about a group of terrible things—the serpent, the bones and the ashes and he asks the Lord, 'What is the significance of this?'[227]

There is one phrase which is not clear in Ārūrar. He speaks of "*Aravuri irantavar*".[228] No story is known where the Lord begs for the serpent's skin. One wonders whether the correct reading may not be "*Naravuri īrntavar*" as referring to Śiva's feet as *Śarabēśa*' flaying the skin of Narasiṁha.

X

Dress :

Coming to the dress which Lord Śiva wears, His wearing of the tiger's skin, elephant's skin and the lion's skin as heroic feats has already been described in another place. Śiva, the Absolute depending on nothing, is represented as being nude. Therefore, He is called as '*Nakkaṉ*' (*Nagna*) from the time of Mohenjodaro. This is poetically described as wearing the *Ākas* (space) as His clothes.

Next to this comes the form where He wears the loin cloth alone. The history of dresses and clothing of man shows us clearly that these were not at first intended to hide his nakedness but to bring into prominence certain parts of the body. Therefore, even the loin cloth does not go against his naked form. In the ceremony of begging prescribed in the *Kāpālika vrata*, this want of clothes heightens the moral seriousness. The great beggar, coming to beg our souls and our love, has nothing but a loin cloth. This kind of idea makes His Absolute dependence on our love, glorious and beautiful in the eyes of worshippers. Our poet is, therefore, very much captivated by this idea of our Lord having nothing but loin cloth, which almost became an emblem of god-head. The waist-band is a serpent and to this the loin cloth is tied up. 'His dress

224. 7:44:8.
225. 7:15:7; 7:61:4; 7:85:7; 7:97:6.
226. 7:23:1; 7:38:3.
227. 7:9:9.
228. 7:72:2.

is the loin cloth'—"*Uṭaiyōr kōvaṇattar*",[229] "*Uṭai kōvaṇavaṉ*"[230] He is the Lord, rich in this dress of loin cloth—"*Kōvaṇa āṭaiyuṭai aṭikaḷ*".[231] He has tied the loin cloth to the serpent—"*Paitta pāmpu ārttōr kōvaṇattoṭu*".[232] This serpent coming in as a waist-band is very often referred to.[233] The poet calls this waist-band as a waist-band of very great precious gem—"*Mā maṇikkaccu*"[234] because of the tradition that the serpent possesses a ruby in its head. He also says that one end of this band has many heads referring to the tradition of the serpent possessing many hoods.

He calls this waist band "*Araikkaccai*";[235] "*Arai nāṇ*",[236] '*Kīḷ*',[237] "*Pūṇ nāṇ*".[238] '*Pūṇ*' or jewel emphasises its beauty. '*Kaccu*' is a ribbon; '*Nāṇ*' is a string. '*Kīḷ*' comes from the verb '*Kiḷ*' to tear. Strip of cloth is torn and used as a waist-band on ceremonial occasions even now. Our poet makes this clear by referring to "*Tuṇi vār kīḷ*".[239]

The verbs used are "*ārttal*";[240] "*Acaittal*";[241] "*Kaṭṭutal*"[242] "*vīkkutal*";[243] "*Cārttutal*";[244] "*Puṇaital*".[245]

'*Ārttal*' comes from the root '*ār*', to be full, spreading all over, to abide and stay there by making the whole thing beautiful and ultimately to adorn. '*Ārttal*', therefore, is to make a thing adorn and, therefore, to bind a thing as an ornament. Therefore, the idea of ornament is suggested by this word '*ārttal*'. '*Acaittal*' is

229. 7:6:3.
230. 7:97:4.
231. 7:7:3
232. 7:14:1.
233. 7:2:3; 7:15:2; 7:19:6; 7:30:5; 7:31:3; 7:33:5; 7:33:7; 7:36:10; 7:40:5; 7:41:2; 7:48:6; 7:48:10; 7:50:3; 7:52:2; 7:56:10; 7:57:4; 7:59:10; 7:62:1; 7:75:8; 7:78:5; 7:80:3; 7:80:8; 7:86:7; 7:89:7; 7:99:5.
234. 7:76:3.
235. 7:30:5.
236. 7:48:10.
237. 7:78:5.
238. 7:92:8.
239. 7:53:6.
240. 7:2:1; 7:2:3; 7:33:5; 7:33:7; 7:36:10; 7:50:3; 7:57:4; 7:59:10; 7:62:1; 7:80:8; 7:86:7; 7:99:5.
241. 7:2:3; 7:41:2; 7:48:6; 7:52:2; 7:56:10; 7:78:5; 7:80:3; 7:89:7.
242. 7:15:2.
243. 7:75:8.
244. 7:76:3.
245. 7:9:8.

related to *'acaital'*. which is again related to *'ayartal'* and has come to mean also to resting in a particular place and, therefore, 'to be lying'. *"Acaittal"* is, therefore, to make it rest in a place without moving out. In this way, it has come to mean being tied up. Therefore, there is a suggestion of a rest to the ever-moving serpent. It is the stage of involution. The contrast between its movement and rest is brought about by the statement *"Ūr aravam araikkacaittāṉ"*.[246] It does not come to rest all at once. It dances with its hood before the complete rest and the poet speaks of *"Araikkāṭaravā"*,[247] 'the Lord of the serpent which dances in His waist'. *"Kaṭṭutal"* is to fasten. But there is an underlying suggestion of making the serpent powerless. *"Vīkkutal"*[248] is the transitive form of *"Vīṅkutal"* and refers to the tightness of the tying, thus to make the serpent absolutely at rest and powerless. The word *"cāttutal"* is used in the sense of putting on or adorning great persons. The Tamil Lexicon traces it to the word *'cārttu'*. *"Puṉaital"* is to adorn.

XI

Kōvaṇam :

"Kōvaṇam" is traced to the Sanskrit word *'Kaupīnam'* by the Tamil Lexicon. Our poet uses the word very often.[249] The word *"kōvaṇam"* is interpreted as to mean *'Vasiṣṭa'* as one who is very near the *'Gō'* or *'Kāmadēnu'*. This form *"Kōvaṇam"* is found in all the Dravidian languages and some are tempted to treat it as purely a Dravidian word. This *'Kōvaṇam'* is pure *jñānam* aspect of God, wherein the serpent of the Universe lies at rest or involuted. Therefore, this *kōvaṇam* is spoken of as being pure white —*"Veṇkōvaṇam"*.[250] While the serpent lies at rest completely tied down, the purity of God spreads out as is implied by the poet's reference—*"Araiviri kōvaṇattoṭu aravārttu"*.[251] This *'kōvaṇam'* or loin cloth as described as *"Tuṉippaṭum uṭai"*[252] because it is a torn piece of cloth. He calls it in another place as stitched up cloth—*"Tuṉṉa āṭai"*.[253]

246. 7:89:7.
247. 7:92:4.
248. 7:75:8.
249. 7:5:10; 7:2:1; 7:6:3; 7:7:3; 7:49:7; 7:53:6; 7:84:4; 7:97:4; 7:99:5.
250. 7:49:7.
251. 7:99:5.
252. 7:14:10.
253. 7:36:3.

In some places, in addition to the skins and the loin cloth, the Lord is said to wear silk—*'Paṭṭu'*,[254] *'Kōcikam'*,[255] and fine cotton cloth—*'Tukil'*.[256] This is contrasted with *'Paṭṭu'* here[257] as in *Nālaṭiyār*.[258] In all these places, the poet is probably referring to the *"Ardhanārīśvara"* from where the *Kōvaṇam* refers to the Śiva's masculine half, whilst the cotton and silk refer to the Pārvatī's feminine form. But it must be mentioned in passing that the *Āgamas* in various places speak of the image of Śiva dressed in silk, skin and cotton, and the sculptures of Kailāsanātha Temple seem to justify this *Āgamic* reference.[259] But the difficulty is about the reference, to this *kōvaṇam* which cannot be visible if other clothes are used and it is this which make us suggest that the references to *kōvaṇam* in Ārūrar's form wherever there are descriptions of the cotton or silk cloth, one to the *Ardhanārīśvara* form.

XII

Ornaments :

(a)

Ear :

In the image forms of Śiva, even in the absence of the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, we find some distinction made between the right half and the left half especially with reference to the ear-rings worn. In the right ear, there is usually the *"makhara kuṇḍala"* or a *"siṁha kuṇḍala"*, whilst in the left ear there is *"patra kuṇḍala"* or *"padma patra"* or *"śaṅkha patra"* or *"ratna kuṇḍala"*.

The *Tēvāram* writers usually distinguish between *"kuḻai"* and *'kuṇḍalam'* on one ear and *'tōṭu'* and *'curuḷ'* on the other. The palmyra leaf is wound round and inserted in the ear-lobe by poor women even today. This is the *'tōṭu'* or *'uru'*. Golden ornaments sometimes studded with precious stones are made in this form. Poor women who cannot afford to possess rubies, usually colour the palmyra leaf, by dying with either red or green before wearing it. The *'kuḻai'* is in the form of a ring, perhaps a hollow

254. 7:5:10.
255. 7:84:4.
256. 7:5:10.
257. 7:5:10.
258. V. 264.
259. Rea's Plates No. XLVI, fig. 1, LXI

ring worn in the ear-lobe, as hanging down. This is made of gold or conch. Sometimes this is made in the form of *'makhara'* or *'nakra'* or crocodile.

Ārūrar often speaks of the *'kuḻai'* adorning the ear of the Lord. It is the shining ear-ring—*"Viḻaṅkum kuḻai"*.[260] Sometimes he speaks of *'kuḻai'* alone without any qualification—*"Kuḻai-k kātu"*,[261] *"Kuḻaikoḷ kātu"*,[262] *"Kuḻai viravu vaṭi kātu"*.[263] He differentiates between the ear-ring made of gold and that made of conch. It is only in one place he refers to this golden ring of the ear—*"Kātilār kaṉaka-k kuḻaiyaṉ"*.[264] In another place he speaks of the sturdy and long ring of the ear—*"Tiṇivār kuḻai"*[265] and this may refer to the weighty gold. The shining ear-ring above referred to —*"Viḻaṅkum kuḻai"*—may also imply that the ear-ring is of gold. In other places, he speaks of the *"caṅku kuḻai"*[266]—the ear-ring of conch,[267] also *"Caṅka-k kuḻai"*[268] and *"Caṅka veṇ kuḻai"*.[269] In other places, he speaks of the white-ear-ring made of conch—*"Veṇ kuḻai"*[270] and this interpretation is justified by our poet's reference *"Caṅka veṇkuḻai."*[271] The qualification of white is used with reference to the ear-ring of conch. In one place the poet speaks of *"Cantār veṇ kuḻai"*,[272] where *'cantu'* may mean the joint, where the two ends meet or it may mean beautiful. He also refers to the *"Makara-k kuḻai"*, the ear-ring in the form of a *makara;* 'the low hanging *makara-k kuḻai*'—*"Tāḻ makara-k kuḻai"*.[273] He speaks of this *kuḻai* as *kuṇḍalam*.[274] In one place, he speaks of *"Kuṇḍalam kuḻai tikaḻ kātu"*[275] and hence it may be said that *kuṇḍalam*

260. 7:4:8; 7:26:3; 7:28:8.
261. 7:33:1; 7:70:6; 7:86:9.
262. 7:81:9.
263. 7:89:1.
264. 7:56:7.
265. 7:53:6.
266. 7:10:4.
267. 7:47:2; 7:61:6.
268. 7:47:2.
269. 7:61:6.
270. 7:27:5; 7:42:5; 7:58·1.
271. 7:61:6.
272. 7:27:5.
273. 7:84:9.
274. 7:40:9; 7:58:5; 7:61:4.
275. 7:58:5.

is different from *kuḷai*. In one place, the poet speaks of the Lord having the serpent as an ear-ring.[276]

These ear ornaments hang down from a very big ear-lobe—*"Vaṭi kātu"*.[277] Even now we find some people wearing these, so as to touch almost their shoulders. The poet, therefore, speaks of the ear-rings dashing against each other whilst the Lord dances —*"Kuḷai vaḷar kāṭukaḷ mōta niṉṟu kuṉippatē"*.[278]

The poet speaks of the *'tōṭu'*[279] as adorning the ear of the Lord and also *"Veḷḷai-c curuḷ"*.[280] He mentions both the *"Veṇ kuḷai"* and *"Curuḷ veṇ tōṭu"* as adorning His ears.[281] How these are worn is made clear in another verse where the poet speaks of the Lord wearing *'tōṭu'* in one ear and the *'kuḷai'* in the other,[282] which evidently means that the *'tōṭu'* is worn on the left or *Śaktī* half and the *'kuḷai'* on the right or Śiva's half. It is because of this we have interpreted this to refer the *Ardhanārīśvara* form when describing that form.

(b)

Feet:

In the feet of the Lord are found ornaments but our poet specifically mentions the *"Kaḻal'*. It is found midway between the foot and the knee-cap, perhaps a little higher-up. It is an ornament worn by warriors as the sign of their heroism and valour, their greatness being sometimes inscribed on this ring-like ornament. This has a hanging clasp. It is usually worn on the right leg. Unfortunately, it has not been noticed clearly by Rea and therefore, we do not get it sketched in his pictures. However, in the photographic plate of *Yōgadakṣiṇāmūrti* found in the Kailāsanātha Temple appearing as plate LV, fig. 2, this ornament can be easily identified in the middle of the knee muscle with its hanging clasp. If this is compared with the Plate LXXII, fig. 1, LXIV,

276. 7:40:8.
277. 7:89:1.
278. 7:43:6.
279. 7:56:4.
280. 7:88:2.
281. 7:42:5.
282. 7:87:1.

fig. 1 and LXXIX[283] our interpretation will be correct—"*Kālar kaḷalarō*".[284]

In the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, on the right leg appears this heroic ring and on the left appears the feminine ornament, the anklet of the "*Cilampu*" which we have already discussed when we were describing the *Ardhanārīśvara* form.[285]

(c)

Caṭai:

Śiva is said to possess matted hair or *caṭai*. It is said to be red in colour. It flashes like lightning when the Lord dances, up above his body of golden hue. Our poet speaks of it thus—"*Miṉṉār ceñcaṭai*" above his "*Poṉṉār mēṉi*".[286] It is very curious that his friend and contemporary Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, starts his '*Antāti*' with a reference to the golden hue and the lightning like matted hair—"*Poṉvaṇṇam evvaṇṇam avvaṇṇam mēṉi purintilaṅkum miṉvaṇṇam evvaṇṇam avvaṇṇam vīṛcaṭai*".[287] The ancient man standing entranced by the beautiful rising sun colouring the spreading clouds with golden hue spoke of the Lord dancing on the horizon or on the infinite space with his body of gold and the dancing matted hair of red colour of the dawn. The sun-set reveals the same poetic glory which can be easily spoken of as the dance of sun-set —"*Antinaṭam*". The matted hair is cool, because of that Ganges there, and, therefore, our poet speaks as cool matted hair—"*Kuḷir caṭai*",[288] "*Kūtaliṭu caṭai*".[289]

The matted hair is described in various forms as already described in our images: "*Jaṭābhāra*", "*Jaṭābandha*", "*Jaṭāmaṇḍala*", "*Jaṭāmakuṭa*". When the Lord dances, the matted hair also dances and spreads out, in eight parts representing the eight points of the compass. Our poet is enamoured of the posture of the rare dance when the eight tufts of Śiva's matted hair whirl around.[290] In another place the poet expresses his experience of divine bliss by referring to the Lord of sugar-cane. The leaf-blades of this plant

283. *Hindu Iconography.*
284. 7:33:5.
285. 7:41:2.
286. 7:24:1.
287. *Poṉvaṇṇattantāti*, V. 1
288. 7:40:8.
289. 7:84:2.
290. 7:19:7.

are spoken as "*caṭai*". Here is an occasion for punning and the poet loses no opportunity. Of punning on this word which means both the blade of the sugar-cane and the matted hair and speaks of the "*caṭai*" of a sugar-cane of the Lord branching off "*Kōṭaram payil caṭai uṭai-k karumpu*".[291] In some form of the '*jaṭā*', the front portion appears to be tied up whilst the back portion seems to be spreading out. Probably, it is this that our poet refers to as "*Piṉ caṭai*'.[292]

'*Piññakar*' is a name of the Lord very popular among the *Tēvāram* writers and Ārūrar also is fond of this word.[293] The Tamil Lexicon traces this word to the Sanskrit root, '*Piñj*' to destroy. But, unfortunately, this word '*Piññaka*' with this meaning is not found in Sanskrit dictionaries. The tradition among the Tamil scholars is to interpret this word as referring to the Lord Śiva, because the particular way of dressing His hair. The *Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu* speaks of '*Piññakam*' as a kind of dressing the lady's tresses of hair and the Tamil Lexicon traces this word to the Sanskrit word "*Piññakam*" which means only the tail of the peacock. Nor is this Tamil usage known to Sanskrit dictionaries. There has been a tendency from the days of *Cilappatikāram* to the days of *Tēvāram* to palatalize the dental-nasals. Appar writes "*Ceyñ-ñiṉṟa*", "*Ceynniṉṟa*", etc. Even '*ṉa*' which probably was lingual nasal underwent this change and *Cilappatikāram* uses the form '*Aññai*' for '*Aṉṉai*'.[294] These forms may suggest that the original form of '*Piññakam*' is '*Piṉṉkam*' and, therefore, the old traditional meaning given by the Tamil Scholars may be after all correct.

There is another term "*Kuḻaṟcaṭai*" used by our poet.[295] '*Kuḻal*' is the tresses of the ladies' hair and, therefore, we can trace this phrase to the *Ardhanārīśvara* where the matted hair is on the right side and the ladies' tresses of hair on the left.

XIII

Uṭukkai :

In a few forms Śiva is found to hold the '*Ḍamaruka*' or '*Uṭukkai*' especially in the form of Naṭarāja at Cidambaram, in the right

291. 7: 62:10.
292. 7:81:9.
293. 7:38:7; 7:48:10; 7:81:9.
294. 7:9:24.
295. 7:7:10.

back arm whilst the burning faggot is held on the back left arm. In plate XL, fig. 2 and plate CXVIII, fig. 3 (*Rea*), the hindmost right hand near the crown seems to hold this drum or '*uṭukkai*'. In one of the right hands, right of the hand holding the drum, there is a serpent. Ārūrar seems to be describing this form of the very great swift action "*Kaṭuttāṭum karatalattil ḍamarukamum eriyakalum kariya pāmpum piṭittāṭi*".[296]

XIV

Fire :

The fire was also sent against Śiva from the Sacrifice of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*. It was held in the left back hand of the Lord of Dance. Not only in the fire ordeal but also during the worship, the fire is held in the hand to prove one's purity. Even today worshippers of *Māri* carry a mud vessel of fire in their hands. God Śiva is holding the plate of fire—"*Eri akal*"[297]

Ārūrar mentions the fire in Śiva's hands in 12 places. In the Kailāsanātha temple sculptures, Plates LI, fig. 1, LXII and CIX, fig. 1, *Rea*, reveal this fire in the form of torch almost like the Grecian torch. In Plate LI, the torch is bent downwards. The confusion of '*Maḻu*' with the fire has already been explained. That the fire is mentioned along with '*Maḻu* has also been noted.[298] The fire is called '*aṉal*',[299] '*eri*',[300] '*Taḻal*',[301] and '*Tī*'.[302] He holds the fire in His hand—"*Kaiyil aṉaluṭaiyār*",[303] "*Aṉal cēr kaiyiṉaṉ*",[304] "*Aṉal cēr kaiyāṉ*",[305] "*Viṭṭilaṅku eriyār kaiyiṉāṉ*."[306] It is held with His palm or '*aṅkai*'—"*Aṅkaiyiṉ nal aṉalēntum avaṉ*",[307] "*Eri aṉṟi aṅkai-k koṉ ṟillaiyō empirāṉukkē*",[308] "*Taḻal aṅkaiyiṉāṉ*",[309]

296. 7:90:1.
297. 7:90:1.
298. 7:11:4; 7:87:5; 7:93:8.
299. 7:10:9; 7:11:4; 7:27:8; 7:47:2; 7:47:3; 7:86:2.
300. 7:44:8; 7:56:7; 7:93:8.
301. 7:68:1.
302. 7:87:5.
303. 7:11:4.
304. 7:27:8.
305. 7:47:3.
306. 7:56:7.
307. 7:10:9.
308. 7:44:ŧ
309. 7:68:1.

"Aṅkai-t tīyukappar".[310] The palm is kept upwards and the fire is in it—*"Kaimicai-k kūr eri"*.[311] The same idea is conveyed by the verb *"ēntu"*—to hold—*"Aṉal ēntum avaṉ"*[312] and *ēnti*'.[313] In other places the Lord is said to be possessed of the fire—a symbol of His divinity —*"Eriyum.....uṭaiyāṉ"*,[314] and the poet asks, 'Is there nothing else for the palm except this fire?'—*"Eri aṉṟi aṅkaikku oṉṟillaiyō?"*.[315] The fire is said to reach or to be attached to the hand signifying physical contact—*"Aṉal cēr kaiyiṉaṉ"*.[316]

The fire glistens—*"Viṭṭilaṅku eri"*.[317] It is an ever increasing fire on the palm—*"Kai micai-k kūr eri"*.[318] 'You carry the fire that is never put out and dance at night on the cremation ground' —*"Aviyā aṉal ēnti-k kaṅkuṟ puṟaṅkāṭṭāṭi"*.[319] 'The golden heroic anklet resounds; the serpent dances; the Lord adorns Himself with the crescent and the Ganges, and holds up the fire; He changes His modes or postures and dances'—*"Araiyum paiṅkaḻal ārppa aravāṭa aṉalēntippiṟaiyum kaṅkaiyum cūṭi-p peyarntāṭum perumāṉār"*.[320] The never to be put out fire—*"Aviyā aṉal"*[321] and the ever increasing fire—*"Kūr eri"*[322] reminds us of the description of *'Bhujaṅga lalita'* dance as described in *Mayamata* when by quick changes in the position of the legs, the fire in the hand of the Lord of dance is blown into a blaze.

The Great Lord of dance, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram is also mentioned by *Ārūrar* as holding the *"eri akal"*, the plate of fire. 'In the quick dancing hands, He holds the *Ḍamarukam* or the short drum, the fire plate and the black serpent and He dances in *Ciṟṟampalam*. We have him to save us from Yama.[323] But according to this description we see the *Ḍamarukam*, the fire plate and

310. 7:87:5.
311. 7:84:5.
312. 7:10:9.
313. 7:47:2; 7:86:2.
314. 7:93:8.
315. 7:44:8.
316. 7:27:8.
317. 7:56:7.
318. 7:84:5.
319. 7:47:2.
320. 7:86:2.
321. 7:47:2.
322. 7:84:5.
323. 7:90:1.

the black serpent only in the hands of Naṭarāja at Pērūr near Coimbatore. Perhaps our poet Ārūrar was very much absorbed in the Naṭarāja form at Pērur when he visited that place and had the same vision at Cidambaram so much so, he had sung that the Naṭarāja of Cidambaram was having these things.

The fire is mentioned in connection with the following forms if at all any form could have been thought of by the poet—the *Gajāri*,[324] *Ardhanārī*,[325] *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa*,[326] *Nṛtta mūrti*[327] of both the *Tillai Ānanda Tāṇḍava* and *Saṁhāra Tāṇḍava* of midnight,[328] *Gaṅgādhara*,[329] *Liṅgōdbhava*[330] and *Kāpāli*.[331]

XV

Ash :

(a)

Śiva is described as having besmeared the sacred ashes all over the body—"*Poṭiyār mēṉiyanē.*"[332] This ash is white—"*Veṇ nīṟu pūci*".[333] The ash is the dust of the cremation ground and the Lord looks upon it as an adornment—"*Cuṭalai-p poṭi aṇintu*".[334]

The *Pāṇṭaraṅka* dance is so called because of the whiteness of the ash on which Śiva dances. When He thus dances, the white dust or the ash of the burning ghat rises up and covers all His body. Ārūrar refers to this with the help of the word—'*Ēṟu*'—"*Nīṟērun tirumēṉi*".[335] The whole body becomes full of this ash and the fullness is referred to with the verb '*Ār*'—*Nīṟār mēṉi*";[336] "*Poṭiyār mēni*".[337] The body gets attached to this dust and the Lord receives this as though it were very precious—"*Poṭi-k koḷ mēṉi*".[338] The dance on the ash amounts to a diving into the dust

324. 7:93:8.
325. 7:87:5.
326. 7:87:5.
327. 7:10:9; 7:47:2; 7:84:5; 7:86:2.
328. 7:10:9; 7:47:2.
329. 7:11:4; 7:47:3.
330. 7:27:8; 7:44:8; 7:68:1.
331. 7:56:7.
332. 7:28:1.
333. 7:49:7.
334. 7:53:6.
335. 7:86:4.
336. 7:26:8.
337. 7:28:1.
338. 7:34:2.

or a sacred bath in the holy ash. The ideas of dance and bath are suggested by the verb '*Āṭu*' and Ārūrar speaks of "*Poṭiyāṭi*";[339] "*Poṭiyāṭu mēṉiyaṉ*".[340] The verb '*Pūcu*'—to besmear—is also used to suggest the sacred ash which is used by Śiva even as others use sandal paste. The poet asks in one place, "*Nīṟaṉṟi-c cāntamaṟṟu illaiyō?*"[341]—'Is there no other paste but sacred ash for you?'. In other places, he speaks of the Lord besmearing the ash as '*Cāntam*' or ornamental scented paste—"*Cāntamāka veṇṇīru pūci*".[342] The poet uses the phrase "*Paricāntam*"[343] with reference to this sacred ash as the beloved paste of the Lord. Or, it may be, a Tamillian form of the phrase '*Pariccantam*' or Royal insignia in which case, it will mean that the sacred ash is symbolical of divinity. The idea of beauty or adornment is suggested by another verb "*Ani*' which Ārūrar very often uses with reference to this sacred ash.[344] There is another verb used by the poet '*Caṇṇitta*'.[345] The Tamil Lexicon gives the meaning of this verb as besmearing. The verb in the phrase "*Āmāttūr caṇṇippāṇāi*"[346] has the meaning of living in a place as abode. There is a word '*caṇāy*' for which the meaning given in Tamil Lexicon is 'to be inflamed with passion or lust'. If '*Caṇṇitta*' can be taken as the original form coming from the verb whose corruption is '*Caṇāy*' one can interpret it as that which is loved or liked most. This meaning will be applicable to both the places in which the root '*Caṇ*' is appearing in *Tēvāram*.

With reference to this adornment with sacred ashes, there is what has been referred to as the '*Basma snāna*' or "*Poṭiyāṭal*" when the whole body gets besmeared with ashes. Our poet refers to this as "*Muḷu nīṟu mey pūcal*;[347] "*Poṭittāṉ koṇṭu mey muṟṟum pūcutal*";[348] "*Meyyelām potikkoṇṭu pūcutal*";[349] "*Meyyai muṟṟa-p poṭi pūcutal*";[350] "*Muḷu nīṟaṇi mēṉiyaṉ*".[351]

339. 7: 81:4.
340. 7:50:10.
341. 7:44:2.
342. 7:49:9.
343. 7:19:4.
344. 7:18:2; 7:33:3; 7:53:6; 7:68:1; 7:83:5; 7:83:7; 7:85:1; 7:93:5.
345. 7:38:6.
346. *Tēvāram*, 1020.8 Swaminatha Panditar's edition.
347. 7:2:2; 7:9:9.
348. 7:4:2.
349. 7:36:10.
350. 7:63:1.
351. 7:93:5.

The sacred ash is worn as three horizontal lines or *'Tripuṇḍra'* in various parts of the body and it is very prominent and striking in the forehead and our poet refers to this also when he describes the Lord as, *"Nīṟu tāṅkiya tiru nutalāṉ"*,[352] 'the Lord of the beautiful forehead, which bears the sacred ash'. The poet refers to the sacred ash specifically besmeared on His chest along with the Mother—*"Tuṭiyiṭai naṉmaṭavāloṭu mārpil poṭiyaṇivār"*.[353] The significance of mentioning the Mother will be explained later.

We have already referred to the sacred ash being considered as a precious toilet paste. It is as soft as a dust *'poṭi'*. It is more minute, and subtle than the dust—*"Nuṇ poṭi"*.[354] The word *"Nīṟu"* also suggests the softness of the ash. It is completely powdered and is as valuable as the *cuṇṇam* or scented powder in the preparation of which the women of ancient Tamil land spent all their time, energy, money and artistic talent: *cuṇṇa veṇṇīṟu"*,[355] *"Cuṇṇa nīṟu"*.[356] It is white—*"Veṇ poṭi"*,[357] *"Veḷḷai nuṇ poṭi"*,[358] *"Veṇṇīṟu"*,[359] *"Veḷḷai nīṟu"*.[360] It is white like milk, *"Pāl veṇṇīṟu"*.[361] There is no admixture of any other colour. It is of pure white colour,—*"Tū vaṇṇa nīṟu"*.[362] It is beautiful ash—*"Kōla nīṟu"*,[363] *"Vaṭivārnta nīṟu"*.[364] It may be that in these two references the beauty may refer to the beauty of the *'Tripuṇḍra'*, the three lines of ash. One of the love-sick maidens is so very much enchanted with it that to her the sacred ash on Śiva's form appears like pearls—*"Nīṟu nuṇ tiru mēṉi nittilam"*.[365]

(b)

The Absolute as the unapproachable purity becomes of any significance to humanity only when it embraces Grace or love

352. 7:64:1.
353. 7:11:5.
354. 7:76:4.
355. 7:14:10; 7:29:5; 7:73:5.
356. 7:2:8.
357. 7:24:7; 7:70:5; 7:81:4.
358. 7:76:4.
359. 7:14:6; 7:38:6; 7:49:9; 7:89:2; 7:91:6.
360. 7:7:3; 7:33:4; 7:68:1.
361. 7:22:7; 7:40:9.
362. 7:17:5.
363. 7:12:3.
364. 7:19:2.
365. 7:36:5.

which alone can save us. This is visualized as Śiva's embrace of the Mother. They are not two separate entities but a united whole, where one becomes the other. In poetic language this is expressed as an embrace of the loving pair where the characteristic feature of the one becomes the characteristic feature of the other. The honey from the lotus is taken up to the honey-comb on the sandal wood tree and there is a union effected, a union of sandal flavour and the sweetness of the lotus honey.[366] When the rain from the cloud falls on a red soil, a union is effected; the water takes the colour of the red soil and the red soil becomes liquified taking the characteristic feature of the rain water.[367] Thus the poets of the Caṅkam age spoke of the significance of the union of the lovers. Our poet Ārūrar speaks of the Lord's embrace of the Mother in a similar vein. There are the strong shoulders of the Lord shining as though they will wrestle and become victorious in all such tournaments of wrestling. But there is no wrestling going on. Instead, we have the loving embrace of the Lord. He embraces *Umā*, the lady of the great mountain. The Lord's chest is full of the sacred ash and in that embrace all the ashes are imprinted on the Mother's breasts, and it is probably this that Campantar speaks of *"Parāvaṇamāvatu nīru"*—'The sacred ash is the form of the great Mother'.[368] The Mother's breasts embrace in turn the chest of the Lord and their impression is eternally there to be praised by the worshippers. Śiva takes the imprint of love and the Mother takes the imprint of the pure Absolute. Our poet sings of this in one of his beautiful hymns: *"Maṟṟikaḷ tiṇ puyamum mārpiṭai nīṟu tutai māmalai maṅkai Umai cēr cuvaṭum pukala"*.[369] This reminds us of Māṇikkavācakar's *"Tuṭikoḷ nēriṭaiyāḷ curikulal matantai tuṇaimulai-k kaṇkaḷ tōycuvaṭu poṭikoḷ vāṇtaḷalil puḷḷipōl iraṇṭu ponkoḷi taṅkum mārpiṇaṇē"*.[370]

(c)

In addition to the words *'Poṭi'*, *'Nīṟu'*, our poet at least in one place uses the Sanskrit word *'Bhūti'* otherwise called *'Vibhūti'*. The sacred ash is the wealth of the Śaivites (*Bhūti*). The

366. *Naṟṟiṇai*, V. 1.
367. *Kuṟuntokai*. V. 40.
368. 2:66:8.
369. 7:84:4.
370. *Tiruvācakam*: *Aruṭpattu*, V. 5.

Lord carries this *'Bhūti'* in a small bag—*"Bhūti-p pai"*.[371] Because of this the ash is called *"Tiru nīṟu"* or the 'sacred ash'. It is precious to the Śaivites and our Poet uses this terminology of orthodoxy—*"Tirunīṟṟaṉ"*.[372]

(d)

We have already seen that the poet refers to it as *"Poṭi"* It is the *"Cuṭalai-p poṭi"* or 'the dust of the burning ghat',[373] and, therefore, it is a hot dust, *"Cuṭu poṭi"*,[374] or *"Cuṭuvār poṭi"*,[375] *"Cuṭalai-p poṭi"*,[376] *"Cuṭṭa veṇṇīṟu"*.[377] It is the ash of the bodies burnt to dust, *"Venta veṇ poṭi"*;[378] *"Ventār veṇ poṭi"*;[379] *"Venta nīṟu"*.[380] Thus this ash refers to the final stage of the involution where the Absolute stands pure and unadulterated when nothing but the Absolute exists. Thus it becomes the emblem or *"Pari-c cāntam"* of the god-head. It is an emblem of purity and unselfishness and of the great sacrifice. It also stands as a symbol of the evanascence of the whole world where everything is reduced to ashes. The whole universe becomes but a handful of white ashes, *"Piṭitta veṇṇīṟu."*[381] It is this significance that Ārūrar refers to when he speaks of the Lord besmearing himself with the sacred ash with an import—*"Kurippāki nīṟu koṇṭa-ṇivarō"*.[382] And it is this import which he wants the Lord to make clear—*"Poṭittāṉ koṇṭu mey muṟṟum pūciṟṟeṉṉē?"*.[383] Again he says that his besmearing of the pure white ashes has got a significance—*"Maṟuvilāta veṇṇīṟu pūcutal maṉṉum oṉṟuṭaittē"*.[384] The greatness of this ash and all its implications have been sung in a specific hymn by *Jñānasambandar* which is reputed to have cured his Pāṇḍya contemporary of the incurable fever, a hymn which is considered to be very sacred by the Śaivites.

371. 7:57:10.
372. 7:82:7.
373. 7:53:6.
374. 7:33:1; 7:83:5.
375. 7:80:2.
376. 7:53:6.
377. 7:18:2.
378. 7:70:5.
379. 7:24:7.
380. 7:57:3.
381. 7:14:6.
382. 7:33:3.
383. 7:4:2.
384. 7:76:2.

(e)

The poet as usual indulges in colour contrast—the contrast between the red form of Him and His white paste of the sacred ash, *"Cempoṉ mēṉi veṇṇīṟaṇivāṉ;*[385] *"Ceyyaṉai veḷiya tiru nīṟṟiṟṟikaḷum mēṉiyaṉ".*[386] His form is red like the *'kuṉṟi'* (the red seed of the creeper called the crab's eye) and on that the Lord besmears the white sacred ash, *"Kuṉṟi pōlvatōr uruvarō kuṟippāki nīṟu koṇ ṭaṇivarō".*[387] The same idea of colour contrast is amplified and made poetic in relation to the various ornaments of different colours which the Lord wears.[388]

In some places instead of colour contrast, he emphasizes the beauty of the uniformity of colour. He groups together the white ash, the white teeth of the skull and the white crescent of the moon.[389] In another place he groups together the *Vēdas* which stand for crystal clear knowledge, the white ash and the white loin cloth all standing for purity, knowledge and *dharma*.[390] In a third place he groups together the white bull that He rides and the sacred ash to be contrasted with the black neck.[391] He also groups the white ash with the white bull-flag and the white loin cloth.[392]

"Nīṟu" has the significance of the ash coated on the burning embers and this suggests the poetic description of the Lord by Ārūrar—*"Cempoṉṉār tī vaṇṇar tū vaṇṇa nīṟṟar"*[393]—'He is of the colour of the fire in which melts the gold and He is full of ashes'. There is another poetic conceit. The form of fire of the Lord is hidden behind the sacred ashes. It looks as though He is putting on this ash to submerge the fire but the fire of poison is emitted by the serpent which He wears. This is brought about by a contrast of the activity of Śiva and the activity of the serpent or Māya—*"Nīṟaṇi mēṉiyaṉ neruppumiḻ araviṉaṉ".*[394]

385. 7:68:1.
386. 7:57:11.
387. 7:33:3.
388. 7:2:8.
389. 7:49:9.
390. 7:49:7.
391. 7:7:2.
392. 7:7:3.
393. 7:17:5.
394. 7:72:3.